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THE LEAGUE.

No. 107.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1845.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 87, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

The Council of the League begs to announce that the List of Subscriptions for beds, to be presented to Agricultural labourers, is now completed. No further donation for that purpose can be received, as the amount already subscribed is quite equal to the number that can be furnished.

The Council also begs most cordially to thank the subscribers for their ready co-operation, and to assure them that their benevolent intentions will be carried into immediate effect.

By order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

We beg to inform our subscribers that bound volumes of the LEAGUE newspaper, containing the whole of the first year's Numbers, may be had on application at the offices, either in London or Manchester.

THE LAST AND GREATEST LANDLORD ADMISSION.

Nothing is more worthy of note in the agricultural meetings of this season, than the admission everywhere made, in terms more or less direct and explicit, that the Corn Law has failed of the end for which it was professedly enacted—the ensuring a sufficient and abundant supply of home-grown wheat; that landlords, or farmers, or both, have broken faith with the nation which they contracted to feed; that, after all that has been said and done, the soil of this country does not produce enough for its people; and that, in this thirty-first year of agricultural protection, the real work of agriculture is shamefully behind-hand. The fulfilment of the promises so liberally made in 1815 by the framers and proposers of the Corn Law of that year, is still, it seems, future and contingent. It is admitted on all sides—very superfluously, indeed, with the Custom House returns vouching so intelligibly for the fact—that the soil of Great Britain does not yield a sufficiency of food for the wants of the British people. Sanguine hopes are, to be sure, entertained that some day or other, and somehow or other, it will—provided landlords and farmers can agree to adopt some new and improved system, having no relation to the Corn Law. And then, as his Grace of Rutland tells us—“When the land shall produce as much corn as is required for the home consumption”—i.e., when the fundamental assumption of landlord legislation shall, for the first time, become a truth,—the Corn Law may be “given up.” In the meantime, pending the discovery and working of the new and improved system, which is to do for us what the Corn Law promised it would do, the people must shift as they can. There seems no doubt, on the part of landlords and farmers, that “if” something were done which has never been done yet—and which protection was to have done, but has not done—the land

might, could, should, or would produce food enough for the people. But how, when, and by whom this essential “something” is to be done—what security we have that it ever will be done—and what the people are to do until it is done,—they omit to tell us. They only ask us to please be so good as renew their dishonoured bill, and accept the landlords’ “if” as a security for payment.

The prevalence of this tone in the recent utterances of landlordism is really a new feature in a question which one might have thought, by this time, was scarcely susceptible of novelty. The frankness with which the whole case against monopoly is admitted, in these confessions of broken faith and baffled expectation, would be both gratifying and edifying, were it possible to pardon the audacity which taxes our exhausted patience with new demands, and asks our hunger to await the issue of a new experiment. Nothing can be more explicit and straightforward than Mr. Newdigate’s statement on this head, made at the meeting of the South-West Middlesex Agricultural Society, last Tuesday. The hon. member for North Warwickshire said:

“It might, perhaps, be so, that from various causes, and particularly as containing the great metropolis of this country in its centre, agriculture was not the most important interest in the county, but still he deemed it a most important object that those who represented the agricultural interests should be able to prove to the community that it was not beyond their power to supply them with the necessities of life. He knew that those around him were striving with this object.”

The Herald was very angry with us the other day, for taking the Duke of Rutland to mean what he said; and favoured us with a lecture on the impropriety of criticising landlord dicta, which “call for explanation.” What “explanation” our ingenious contemporary may discover for poor Mr. Newdigate’s benefit, it passes our sagacity to divine. To us the above seems perfectly self-explanatory. The sufficiency of British agriculture to meet the needs of British hunger, which is the fundamental assumption on which the Corn Law rests, Mr. Newdigate speaks of hypothetically. It is a thing still to be “proved;” a thing which it is “most important” to get proved; a thing which men are “striving” for. Perhaps the striving may be successful—perhaps not. Perhaps agriculturists may be willing to strive—perhaps not. Nobody knows. We are only told that, after 30 years of protection to agriculture, the thing which protection was to have done, has not been done, and must be begun over again from the beginning, on an entirely new principle; and that while the experiment is in progress—while they are debating who is to try the experiment—nay, while it is actually undecided what exactly the experiment is to be—we are to go on, just as if it had already succeeded. Protection is still to be kept up all the same. We are not to feed ourselves during the next few years, but to wait and see what the landlords can do for us.

A more preposterous and audacious proposal was never made to a people than this of waiting to see the result of an experiment, of which we do not so much as know that it is really going to be tried. For, be it remembered, the whole thing is still in *nubibus*. It is still a disputed point who is to do it, and who is to blame for its not having been done already? The landlords throw it on the farmers—and the farmers throw it back on the landlords. The responsibility for past failure, and the onus of future exertion, are bandied to and fro, in shuttlecock fashion. The landlords tell the farmers to “keep moving;” and the farmers reply, that the landlords have tied their legs. The landlords ask, “Why don’t you improve?” and the farmers retort, “Why don’t you give us leases?” at which the great Norfolk Squire, Mr. Conyers, “cannot repress a smile,” for “his maxim has always been to rely upon

a landlord’s honour to retain a good tenant.” Landlords find fault with bad ploughing, and complain that “hardly one field in ten is ploughed as it should be;” and farmers cry out against game. In one county, we have a peer deploring that “as yet the simple duties of an agriculturist are unfulfilled—in another, we have a gentleman lamenting that “he hears little or nothing of the duties of landlords.” The landlord suggests more capital—the farmer hints at improved tenure. “Draining” is universally approved; but then Mr. Spearman would like to know “by whom shall the draining be done?”—a question which he justly characterises as one of “great pith and moment.” Mr. Trotter, the Member for West Surrey, is clearly of opinion, “that the country might be rendered entirely independent of any supply of corn from abroad, if the agriculturists continued to exert themselves;” and his friend, Mr. Barclay, has “no doubt that if the farmers were to exert themselves in improving the condition of their land, they would be able,” &c.:—an opinion which curiously pairs with that of Mr. Lister, of Yorkshire, to the effect, that “if landlords generally would pay more attention to their estates, it would be better for the nation.”

For the people of this country to wait, and take the chance of the possible and contingent success of a grand agricultural experiment, which must itself wait until the different sections of the agricultural community shall have decided on its nature, and adjusted their controversy as to its preliminary conditions, would be downright infatuation. We have all heard of “the steed starving while the grass grows;” but this pithy proverbial description of the cruel postponement of an urgent need to the completion of a tardy and long-dated process, falls far short of the enormity of the present case. Our “grass” is not growing. It is not so much as sown. It is not by any means clear that it is going to be sown. The very implements of the husbandry that is to sow and grow it, are still—like Adam, in the old monkish drama—“waiting to be created.”

As regards the intrinsic possibility, or probability, of the fulfilment of the expectations of our agricultural improvers, our opinion is sufficiently well-known. Were the Corn Law out of the question—were the “bane of agriculture” removed—were British agriculture left to the free development of its great and untried natural resources, we have no doubt whatever that its productiveness would be rapidly and vastly increased. But “improvement” means “capital;” and capital “shrinks instinctively from insecurity;” and insecurity will be the inseparable condition of all agricultural pursuits and interests, so long as the price of agricultural produce is the subject of Parliamentary promises, whose duration and whose fulfilment are alike precarious. “Agricultural improvement” must stand over until the day when the unnatural union of prices and politics shall be, once for all, repealed—and when landlords and farmers shall, as landlords and farmers, have nothing to do with watching the “state of parties.”

ENGLAND “TEACHING NATIONS HOW TO LIVE.”

The columns of last Saturday’s Times contain a highly instructive, though most humiliating illustration of the way in which the monopolist legislation of Great Britain is corrupting the morality and perverting the policy of other countries, and “teaching nations how to live”—as they ought not. Under the heading “Affairs of Spain,” our contemporary gives the suljoined extract from a Spanish journal, entitled the *Fomento*, whose editor moralizes in the following strain on “the struggle existing in England between the agricultural and

manufacturing interests," and the exalted wisdom of the Peel policy :

"The Government of that country, animated by the most enlightened views, and obedient to the eternal principle of securing the greatness and prosperity of the State, continues firm and unshaken in the prohibitive system. In vain are being exercised the public efforts of the one party, the wily intrigues of the other, or even the promised advantages held out by free commerce. These profound and eminent statesmen are deaf to all, because they are favoured with the genius to foresee that the benefits to England would be passing and illusory, and in the end might produce the total ruin of her colossal power. Let Continental nations learn a lesson, then, from the powerful mistress of the seas. If she, in the zenith of her power, holding a predominating ascendancy over three-fourths of the globe, firmly adheres to her protective system, why should not feeble nations, whose industry is only springing into life, adhere to it also? and they may believe us when we assert that to them it is certain self-destruction to open their ports to free commerce. Should it happen that England were to offer us advice on this head, our answer would be, that we prefer to follow her example to her advice."

Could we afford to amuse ourselves with a subject which presents so much matter for painful and humbling reflection, there would certainly be something diverting in the Spanish journalist's bird's-eye view of our British politics. Even the staid and sober Premier himself—however little he might relish the compliment paid to his "genius," at the expense of the principles which he has repeatedly declared to be "sound" and "enlightened," and which his colleague of the Home Office holds to be those of "common-sense"—would find it hard to keep his gravity at the notion of his "*continuing firm and unshaken in the prohibitive system*." Sir R. Peel "firm and unshaken" in that prohibitive system which he has been busy these four years past in loosening and shaking, in sapping from beneath and paring down from above, and which he makes it his pride and boast to have done more to destroy than the boldest Free Trader of his official predecessors! It is not difficult perhaps to account for the *Fomento's* mistake. Our Spanish contemporary looks at the Peel policy only as a Spaniard. The disreputable trickeries of the Spanish Colonial Sugar question are still running in his head. Unacquainted with the ins and outs of our party politics—not knowing, or not remembering, the history of the Sandon resolution—he looks on the great treaty-juggle of last session, not as an exception to the rule of present English policy, but as an example of the rule. He naturally enough ascribes to the author of that shameful repudiation of distinct and solemn national engagements, a blind and obstinate adhesion to the most rigid dogmas of commercial prohibition.

This indication of Spanish opinion and feeling is, however, far too grave a matter to be looked at merely on its ludicrous side. The extract above quoted is a melancholy instance of the perverting and corrupting power of our bad national example. It strikingly shows the mischief which our protectionist policy is doing to other countries and Governments, and the hostility which it is raising up against ourselves, and our own most palpable and urgent interests. By maintaining, in despite of experience and conviction, a confessedly false and vicious system, we suffer our acts to be adduced in refutation of our principles—of the principles which every one of our public men possessed of the slightest pretensions to statesmanship has again and again affirmed to be sound and just; and which we are profoundly solicitous to see adopted by other countries in their dealings with ourselves. And a piece of exploded and superannuated folly, which a year or two more will contemptuously erase from our statute-book, we have the mortification of seeing exalted into an "*eternal principle*," and lauded as the offspring of "*the most enlightened views*." We give Spain the strongest encouragement in our power to perseverance in a course destructive to herself, and in its reaction greatly and deeply injurious to us. No country in the world has suffered, or is suffering, more ruinously from the consequence of a "firm and unshaken" adherence to "the prohibitive system" than Spain. That system has there remarkably succeeded in doing its work of turning a great country into a little one. Smugglers intercept her revenue, monopoly has extinguished her trade, and the loss of the civilising influences of commerce, industry, and the arts of peace has gra-

dually sunk her people into a state bordering on barbarism. Yet no sooner does this insane system come to be called in question, than the example of England is cited in proof of its transcendent wisdom; and patriotic editors urge an exhausted and impoverished people to continue firm and unshaken in their adhesion to a vicious policy which English legislation seems to authenticate. Few European countries afford the elements of a more profitable and prosperous traffic than that which the undeveloped resources of this noble country offer to England. A liberal commercial treaty with Spain (minus her colonies) would, we are very sure, be paraded by any English Minister as a great achievement of statesmanship. Yet our Minister expends the utmost resources of a perverse ingenuity in finding arguments for a course that is fatally calculated both to exasperate the passions, and rivet the prejudices most hostile to commercial intercourse. "Let Continental nations learn a lesson from the powerful mistress of the seas. . . . Should it happen that England were to offer us advice on this head, our answer would be, that we prefer to follow her example to her advice."

We cannot wonder at this. The Spaniards can scarcely be expected to be sounder politicians and political economists than ourselves. We cannot exact of them the discrimination to perceive that England has grown great and powerful, not by protection, but against and in spite of protection. It is not surprising that "feeble nations, whose industry is only springing into life," shrink timorously from an experiment which the systematic public acts of the first commercial country in the world announces to be fraught with danger. They do as we do, not as we say. They lean on authority, and our authority is on the side of prohibition and restriction. Our professions may be fraudulent and self-interested; they choose rather to go by our deeds, as the more authentic index to our real convictions. Incapable of philosophising on their own experience, they accept the result of ours as it stands, or seems to stand, on our statute-book and the surface of our diplomacy.

Disagreeable and humiliating as it is thus to hear our own nonsense echoed back to us just as we are beginning to be heartily sick and ashamed of it ourselves—and to see our own exploded follies erected into an "eternal principle" and permanent landmark of policy—these signs of the influence which British legislation wields over the public opinion of nations give a hopeful promise of the future. This influence is operative for good, no less than for evil. Not our commercial blunders and injustices alone, but our commercial reforms are sure, sooner or later, of finding faithful and zealous copyists. The first commercial country of the world must give the tone to the commercial legislation of the world. "*I feel quite confident*," said the late Mr. James Deacon Hume, in his evidence before the Import Duties' Committee of 1840, "*that if we were entirely to drop our system of protection, in a very little time it would be a race with other countries, which should be first, or rather, which should avoid to be last, to come in for the benefit of that trade which we would then open*." This indisputable ascendancy of Great Britain, in matters of commercial policy, over surrounding nations, adds incalculably to the grandeur and importance of our Free Trade movement. We are working, not merely to get a particular law erased from our code, but to effect a radical change in the spirit and purpose of our legislators, which will certainly, if not speedily—we believe, speedily no less than certainly—react on the policy of all civilised countries and Governments. We are working, really though not formally, to change the public opinion, and reform the public policy of the world. The League, as an organisation, will, of course, at no very remote period, expire with the attainment of the object for which it was formed; but its real victories will only then commence. That act of the British Parliament which shall totally and finally rescind the landlord's monopoly, will do more for the diffusion of the truths of economical and social science than all the philosophy and oratory in the world. All true Leaguers will thenceforth have the unspeakable

satisfaction of witnessing, year by year, new triumphs of their cherished principles, in the successive advances of nation after nation towards the complete adoption of that policy, whose economical expression is, indeed, but the commonplace mercantile formula, "Buy in the cheapest market, and sell in the dearest"—but whose ultimate moral tendency is to "Peace on earth, and good-will among men."

THE ECONOMY OF PRIZE-GIVING.

Much as we sometimes see to criticise in the after-dinner sayings and doings of agricultural meetings, there is one portion of their proceedings which commands our unfeigned admiration. The landlords have completely mastered that great secret in the practical philosophy of philanthropy—how to do the most good at the least cost. They know how to make the *minimum* of outlay yield the *maximum* of return. Their labourers' prize-system is, in its way, a masterpiece. The contingent reversion of a 30s. or 40s. prize, to fall due some time in the course of 30 or 40 years, with the accompaniment of a framed and glazed testimonial, guarantees the virtues of a life-time; keeps the prospective and possible recipient off the parish books; preserves the landlord's game from unlicensed sporting; and ensures a willing and hearty, a sober and steady labourer, for the landlord's domain.

We had scarcely been aware, till recently, of the full merits of this system. We had imagined it was merely an affair of the heart. We had no idea that there was anything more in it than "good feeling." We thought it was all philanthropy. It never occurred to us that these annual benevolences had a mercantile aspect. We supposed the labourer's prize to be the simple free-will offering of landlord kindness and gratitude to meritorious industry, having merely a retrospective bearing. That the 30s. or 40s. donation was meant to be in any way prospective—that it possessed the useful qualities of a retaining fee—that it was to be regarded in the light of an investment of capital, was what we never dreamed of. It seems, however, that the frugal and provident genius of landlordism has discovered that this seemingly so simple arrangement is susceptible of new, and before, unsuspected uses. At East Harling, the other day—where they distributed 104l. 5s. among 58 "meritorious agricultural labourers and farm-servants"—after the chairman, Lord Colborne, had discoursed, in the old style, of the "honest pride" with which "the agricultural labourer receives, after a lapse of years, the reward of his steadiness and sobriety,"

Mr. Conyers, described as a large landed proprietor in Norfolk, struck out the novel and gratifying suggestion, that these "rewards" were not only agreeable to the labourer's honest pride, but a singularly profitable investment of the landlords' cash:

"The system of rewarding the agricultural labourer would be remunerative to the landlord in a tenfold degree, as there was that feeling of gratitude in the English character which would not permit a boon to be conferred without a permanent and substantial acknowledgment. Such was the inducement held out by these associations to the labourer; and what could be found that would better preserve the link between the employer and the employed than that best of all bonds—the bond of reciprocal interest?"

The Dorchester Squires carry the economics of prize-giving a step further. They draw the "best of all bonds" tighter still, by the ingenious yet simple expedient of taking *twelve months' credit*. This year, the labourers have just come into receipt of the prizes awarded in 1845; and when the distribution was concluded, we are told that "the secretary read the premiums awarded to the ploughmen of this year, who, he observed, would not get their money until this time next year." Of the prudence of this arrangement it is impossible to speak too highly. As laziness, drunkenness, insubordination, or poaching would of course, vitiate the inchoate title acquired by industry, sobriety, obedience, and respect for the landlord's game preserves, the twelve months' delay may be regarded as a sort of *binding-over*. It keeps all the virtues in full force and vigour. During the year intervening between the award and the payment, the happy but solicitous creditor will be more than ever attached to his paymasters, the gentlemen of the prize association, and to their

representative, the farmer, by the bond of that description of "gratitude," which consists in "a lively sense of future favours." "Such is the inducement held out by these associations to the labourer; and what could be found that would better preserve the link," &c.

Our manufacturers in the north have, it must be confessed, much to learn. They have never succeeded in carrying the "organisation of industry" this length. They have yet to acquire the art, or science, of turning to so extraordinarily profitable account "the feeling of gratitude in the English character." Their labourers are extremely apt—when bread is tolerably cheap, and trade brisk—to "give themselves airs" (as the Duke of Norfolk has it); and, at this moment, nothing can be done with them in Manchester and the country fifteen miles round without "holding out the inducement" of an *extra* premium of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds weekly. We may add, however, that no complaints have reached us of the working of this singular arrangement. The *extra* one hundred and fifty thousand pounds weekly, are paid weekly—cheerfully and ungrudgingly; and no discount is asked for ready money. All parties seem quite well satisfied with the nature of "the link between the employer and the employed."

THE REGISTRATION—NORTH WARWICK.

We shall reserve our remarks upon the progress made in the registration courts until the close of the present revision. In the meantime, however, we may observe, that wherever the directions of the Council of

League have been carried out systematically and carefully by intelligent local committees, success more or less triumphant has invariably crowned their efforts. This has been especially the case in the counties, as will be shown when we publish the detailed account of the proceedings in the registrations for Middlesex, North and South Lancashire, West Yorkshire, North Cheshire, and South Staffordshire. But in those cases where, in default of a local organisation for carrying out the instructions of the Council of the League, the task has been left to the desultory efforts of zealous but ill-informed individuals, the result has been either an insignificant gain, or an exhibition of egregious blunders. North Warwickshire is a case in point.

We shall not now inquire *why*, in a division of a county containing two such towns as Birmingham and Coventry, no efficient committee has been formed for registration purposes. Such is the fact; and the consequences, the natural consequences, of the neglect were exhibited in the registration courts, last week, as reported in the Birmingham monopolist paper. It appears from this report—we have no other authority for the facts—that a Mr. Berry, of Coventry, undertook the task of procuring objections to be signed to several hundred voters on the list; and that he applied to William Worthington, of Cow-lane, Coventry, a freeholder on the register, who agreed to sign the notices. The papers, apparently regularly signed, were then forwarded to an agent of the League, in Manchester, who undertook to put them in the post-office, and to furnish the necessary proofs of service of notice before the revising barrister. Upon the opening of the Revision Court, an objection was taken to the notices by the solicitor employed for the monopolists, on the plea that Worthington's signature was not genuine. Worthington was called. He is described as "an aged, diminutive, decrepid object;" and, from his conduct, we should infer that he is superannuated, and in his dotage. He swore that he signed the objection to William Henry Osborn, the first name called, but afterwards prevaricated a good deal; and, at last, when the monopolist lawyers chucklingly informed him that "Benjamin Stafford was in the Court," the old man confessed that the signature was not in his hand-writing.

From the disclosures that subsequently took place, it appears that Benjamin Stafford called upon Worthington, whilst he was signing the notices, and assisted him in writing his name to a great number of them. It did not appear that the old man had asked Stafford to assist him, nor was it clearly shown who employed or paid him. The matter, so far as the conduct of this man goes, wears a suspicious aspect, and leads one to suspect that he was "planted" upon Worthington. At all events, it was proved that Stafford passed in and out of his house, uninvited by him, during the greater part of the night, and wrote his (Worthington's) name to as many of the notices as he pleased. He then goes and informs the monopolist lawyers of his fraudulent proceedings, and appears in the revision court as the sole witness to prove himself a rascal. The very suspicious familiarity that existed between Stafford and the solicitors for the monopolists, coupled with the fact that the first name called at their instance was a case in which this man was ready in

an adjoining room to prove that he signed Worthington's name to the notice paper, goes far to warrant the inference, that there had been some collusion behind the scenes between the parties. The result of these disgraceful proceedings was, of course, that Worthington's notices failed, and he was threatened with an indictment for perjury; and unless it can be pleaded in his behalf, that he is in a state of imbecility of mind, that he was in fact the dupe of mere cunning men, he appears to be deserving of punishment for his conduct.

We have referred to this case, not for the purpose of noticing the absurd accusation made by the monopolist papers, that the League was cognisant of the doings of Worthington. The League has for several months published weekly directions for registration proceedings, which, if they had been carried out by a committee of Free Traders in North Warwick, would have prevented the possibility of such an exhibition of ignorance, folly, and illegality, as we have been describing. Our object in alluding to the subject is to show to our friends, not only in North Warwick, but elsewhere, the necessity of working their registration through intelligent local committees. The Council of the League may render assistance to such local bodies by placing at their disposal the results of much experience, and aiding them in a variety of ways with their efficient organisation; but without the co-operation of intelligent committees on the spot, to look after the character and ability of men who, like Worthington, undertake to sign objections, and to inquire into the legality of the objections before they are made, it is impossible to enter the registration courts with the least chance of success. We have no doubt that when, in a week or two, the results of the well-organised labours of the League in the counties already named shall be known, many other districts will put themselves in a position to carry on their registration upon the same system of efficiency, and with similar success.

It is not a little amusing to find the *Standard-Herald*—"Goose and Shadow"—taking advantage of this petty incident to revive the old folly of extended conspiracy and dangerous objects. The blundering of a registration court is strangely associated with tales of bribes from Russia and plots for murder. Like Croaker in the "*Good-Natured Man*," the Editor and echo find treason and assassination in every part of so mysterious an incident. It is surprising that they did not connect it with the earthquake in Syria, or the last eruption of Vesuvius. The reasoning would be as valid in the one case as in the other. "Stafford signed for Worthington; therefore the Emperor Nicholas, the great adversary of Free Trade, has bribed the League to overthrow his favourite system of policy." "Worthington is an aged, diminutive, decrepid object; therefore the League is employed in hiring assassins." Some hundred years ago, Worthington's infirmities might have exposed him to a charge of witchcraft from the old women of his parish. It may be taken as a proof of the march of intellect that the *Grannies* of the present day are contented with the milder charges of treason and assassination.

Even on the face of the report given by those extravagant followers of Titus Oates, it is evident that the Free Traders succeeded in a fair proportion of the cases that were gone into; and there is no reason to conclude that they would not have been equally successful with the rest, had not the objector vitiated his notices by allowing another person to sign his name for him. It is utterly absurd to accuse the League of designedly vitiating their own notices of objections; such a course would obviously frustrate all their previous labours, and render them as useless to the cause as the bribes of the Russian Emperor or the lamented death of Mr. Drummond.

FAMILIAR LECTURES ON THE ELEMENTS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

BY THE EDITOR.

No. VII.

CAPITAL AND LABOUR.

Although the first principles of political economy have been long since incontrovertibly established by the investigations and labours of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Mill, Say, and others, we are sometimes compelled to go back to them and examine once more the evidence on which they are founded, because they have not yet so firm a hold of the public mind as to be received everywhere as axioms. There are, indeed, men, happily designated "the sentimental economists" by the *Manchester Guardian*, who deliberately set themselves to work to overthrow the deductions of science, to justify artificial interference with the natural order into which the laws of exchange settle down when left to their own independent action; and who seem to think that emotions and feelings—nay, that even passions and prejudices, should have as large a share in legislation as intelligence and reason. We have occasionally noticed some strange doctrines emanating from this school, which have appeared under the head Anti-Leaguer in the columns of the *Morning Post*. These doctrines, indeed, are far from being clearly propounded, or intelligibly expressed, but we gather generally that

the writer wishes to maintain; 1st, That employers, by the command of capital, have such an advantage over labourers, that the latter ought to be protected in obtaining adequate remuneration for their toil.

2dly. That one element of this protection ought to be some restraint on the progress of machinery—a tax is recommended—because machinery displaces human labour, and diminishes the demand for it in the market.

3dly. That cheapness of production is injurious to producers, and tends to increase the injurious supremacy of what he calls "the money-power," at the expense of the industrious portion of the community.

Before entering on any examination of these propositions, we must notice a misrepresentation of history which Anti-Leaguer has very frequently repeated in his effusions. He asserts that the early examples of legislative interference with wages were intended as protections to the labourer; whereas, the two great "Statutes of Labourers" were passed to keep down wages, for they fix the *maximum* which a labourer had a right to demand, not the *minimum* that he had to receive.

By the statute of Henry VII., passed in 1496, the following rates of wages were fixed:

AGRICULTURAL SERVANTS, WITH DIET, FOR ONE YEAR.			
To a bailiff of husbandry, not more than	16 s.	8 d.	for clothing
A chief hand or chief shepherd	1	0	0
A common servant of husbandry	0	16	8
A woman servant	0	10	0
A child under 14 years of age	0	6	8

WAGES APPOINTED FOR ARTIFICERS, PER DIEM.			
A free mason, master carpenter, rough mason, bricklayer, master tiler, plumber, glazier, carver, joiner.	Between Easter and Michaelmas, with diet, 4d. without, 6d.	Between Michaelmas and Easter, with diet, 3d. without, 5d.	
Other labourers (except in harvest)	with diet, 2d. without, 4d.	with diet, 1½d. without, 3d.	
In harvest, every mower, every reaper, every carter, A woman,	with diet, 4d. without, 6d. with diet, 3d. without, 5d. with diet, 3d. without, 5d. with diet, 2½d. without, 4½d.		

If any unemployed person refused to work at these wages, it was enacted that he should be imprisoned until he found sureties to serve according to the statute. It is not necessary to add another word to prove that the design of this law was to fix a *maximum* of wages for the benefit of employers, and not a *minimum* for the protection of labourers. From these rates it appears that the cost of food was estimated at one-third of the wages of an artificer, and one-half of the wages of a labourer. Now it is very clear that the cost of food has increased in a far larger proportion than the rate of wages, and this sufficiently demonstrates the interest of the labourer in having cheap bread. But the historical error of the sentimental economist is not of so much importance as the principle that it is designed to support: he insinuates that there is a natural hostility between capital and labour, and he demands that the latter should be protected against the former. In exposing this fallacy we shall make large use of an admirable little work on Capital and Labour, just published by Mr. Charles Knight in his Shilling Monthly Series, and which has been written by Mr. Charles Knight himself.

To understand the relations between capital and labour, we have only to fix our attention on any industrial pursuit, and to see that a great variety of *consumption* is a necessary antecedent to *production*. There is a consumption of the raw material; a consumption of the instruments or tools employed in the manufacture; a consumption of the labour of the operatives engaged; and it must be further remarked, that these several consumptions are a kind of outlay or advance, to be repaid when the production is completed.

That there is an actual consumption of the raw material is a very evident fact: when I sow seed in the ground in order to raise a crop, the seed-corn is a product which I consume, and of which I destroy the value; for if I dug it up at the end of a week, no one would give me a farthing for it. In the same way I have consumed the labour of the persons whom I employed in ploughing and harrowing; and a part of the value of the agricultural machines has been consumed in wear and tear. Now the function of capital is to provide for the advance of the values to be consumed before production can be effected; and it can accomplish this result, because it is itself composed of values previously accumulated. This view of the case is very quaintly illustrated by Mr. Knight.

"There is an old proverb, that 'When two men ride on one horse, one man must ride behind.' Capital and Labour are, as we think, destined to perform a journey together to the end of time. We have shown how they proceed on this journey. We have shown that although Labour is the parent of all wealth, its struggles for the conversion of the rude supplies of nature into objects of utility, are most feeble in their effects till they are assisted by accumulation. Before the joint interests of Labour and Capital were at all understood, they kept separate; when they only began to be understood, as we

shall show, they were constantly pulling different ways, instead of giving 'a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether;' and even now, when these interests in many respects are still imperfectly understood, they occasionally quarrel about the conditions upon which they will continue to travel in company. In the very outset of the journey, Labour doubtless took the lead. In the dim morning of society Labour was up and stirring before Capital was awake. Labour did not then ride; he travelled slowly on foot through very dirty ways. Capital, at length, as slowly followed after, through the same mire, but at an humble distance from his parent. But when Capital grew into strength, he saw that there were quicker and more agreeable modes of travelling for both than Labour had found out. He procured that fleet and untiring horse Exchange; and when he proposed to Labour that they should mount together, he claimed the right, and kept it, for their mutual benefit, of taking the direction of the horse. For this reason, as it appears to us, we are called upon to assign to one of the companions, according to the practice of the old Knights Templars, the privilege of sitting before the other—holding the reins, indeed, but in all respects having a community of interests, and an equality of duties, as well as rights, with his fellow-traveller."

The sentimentalist endeavours to raise a prejudice against capital by identifying it with what he calls *money-power*. But that an accumulation of values should become what is strictly termed capital, it is not necessary that the accumulation should take the form of money. The value of capital, as of everything else, is estimated in money simply because the precious metals have been generally recognised as a convenient standard of comparison; but all that is requisite to constitute capital is an accumulation of values which can be used for the production of other values. When a manufacturer is said to have a hundred thousand pounds invested in his business, or when a merchant is said to have a similar sum engaged in commerce, no one supposes that he has the amount by him in hard cash: we have only estimated the sum total of the several values of all his means of production; his mills or his ships, his stock or his cargo. Let us next see for what purpose these values have been accumulated, or rather, what is the important function to which this accumulation is destined.

It is unnecessary to show that without some accumulation there would have been no means of providing for the several consumptions which we have shown to be necessarily antecedent to production. It is of more importance to observe, that when once this process of consumption is commenced, the capitalist must go onwards to production, and must therefore become an employer of labour. Mr. Knight illustrates this very ingeniously, by the example of a heap of coals laid down at a door, which a labourer must be employed to shovel into the cellar.

"The heap of coals was capital. The coals represented a very great and various accumulation of former labour that had been employed in giving them value. The coals were altogether valueless till labour had been employed to raise them from the pit, and to convey them to the door of the man who was about to consume them. But with what various helps had this labour worked! Mere manual labour could have done little or nothing with the coals in the pit. Machines had raised them from the pit. Machines had transported them from the pit to the door of the consumer. They would have remained buried in the earth but for large accumulations of knowledge, and large accumulations of pecuniary wealth to set that knowledge in action by exchanging with it. The heap of coals represented all this accumulation; and it more immediately represented the circulating capital of consumable articles of utility, which had been paid in the shape of wages, at every stage of the labour exercised in raising the coals from the mine, and conveying them to the spot in which the prodigal found them laid. The coals had almost attained their highest value by a succession of labour; but one labour was still wanting to give them the highest value. They were at their lowest value when they remained unbroken in the coal-pit; they were at their highest value when they were deposited in the cellar of the consumer. For that last labour there was circulating capital ready to be exchanged. The man whose course of production we have been tracing imparted to them this last value, and for this labour he received a 'few pence' and a 'gratuity of meat and drink.' These consumable commodities, and the money which might be exchanged for other consumable commodities, were circulating capital. They supplied his most pressing wants with incomparably more readiness and certainty than if he had been turned loose amongst the unappropriated productions of nature, with unlimited freedom and absolute rights. In the state in which he was actually placed his rights were limited by his duties,—but this balance of rights and duties was the chief

instrument in the satisfaction of his wants. Let us examine the principle a little more in detail.

"An exchange was to be carried on between the owner of the coals and the man who was willing to shovel them into the owner's cellar. The labourer did not want any distinct portion of the coals, but he wanted some articles of more urgent necessity in exchange for the new value which he was ready to bestow upon the coals. The object of each exchanger was, that labour should be exchanged with capital. That object could not have been accomplished, or it would have been accomplished slowly, imperfectly, and therefore unprofitably, unless there had been interchangeable freedom and security for both exchangers,—for the exchanger of capital, and the exchanger of labour. The first right of the labourer was, that his labour should be free;—the first right of the capitalist was, that his capital should be free. The rights of each were built upon the security of property. Could this security have been violated, it might have happened, either that the labourer should have been compelled to shovel in the coals—or, that the capitalist should have been compelled to employ the labourer to shovel them in. Had the lot of the unfortunate prodigal been cast in such a state of society as would have allowed this violation of the natural rights of the labourer and the capitalist, he would have found little accumulation to give a profitable direction to his labour. He would have found production suspended, or languishing. There would probably have been no heap of coals wanting his labour to give them the last value;—for the engines would have been idle that raised them from the pit, and the men would have been idle that directed the engines. The circulating capital that found wages for the men and fuel for the engines would have been idle, because it could not have worked with security. Accumulation, therefore, would have been suspended;—and all profitable labour would, in consequence, have been suspended. It was the unquestionable right of the labourer that his labour should be free; but it was balanced by the right of the capitalist that his accumulation should be secure. Could the labour have seized upon the capital, or the capital upon the labour, production would have been stopped altogether, or in part. The mutual freedom and security of labour and capital compel production to go forward; and labour and capital take their respective stations, and perform their respective duties, altogether with reference to the laws which govern production. These laws are founded upon the natural action of the system of exchange, carrying forward all its operations by the natural action of the great principle of demand and supply. When capital and labour know how to accommodate themselves to the direction of these natural laws, they are in a healthy state with respect to their individual rights, and the rights of industry generally. They are in that state in which each is working to the greatest profit in carrying forward the business of production."

Now take the case of a manufacturer who has invested a large sum in mills, machinery, and raw materials. He must employ labour, or all that he has thus consumed will be utterly unproductive, and in effect thrown away. If the persons he employs are dependent upon him for labour, he is equally dependent on them for the interest of the money he has invested, that is, in fact, consumed. And the greater and more direct his investment is, the more obvious and perceptible will be his dependence upon those whom he employs. At Oldham the men invite their masters to become their guests, and receive them with that courtesy which always accompanies self-respect; in Dorchester the labourers are invited by the landlords, lectured on the honour done them, and turned out just as the proceedings of the meeting were likely to become most interesting.

The objections made by the sentimentalists against the accumulation of capital evince a total ignorance of its nature and origin; for the rights of capital, and the rights of industry, are co-extensive and identical. If the industrious man has a right to the reward of his labour, he has an equal right to what he saves from this reward out of his daily expenditure; and it is by the accumulation of such savings that capital is formed. But many vague writers find it convenient to denounce the accumulation itself as something criminal or immoral, assuming, perhaps unconsciously, that the process is identical with sordidness. This error enables them to enlist popular prejudice against capitalists, whom they represent as mere money-grubbers. When driven from their bad economy they take refuge in bad morality. We can trace the consequences of this error in the sad history of the middle ages; when a farmer or corn-dealer stored up corn, which was, in fact, accumulating capital, he was sure to be assailed by the ignorant populace for keeping provisions from the markets, and thus raising prices. But such accumulation could alone prevent the dreadful famines invariably resulting from having no

stock that might be available in case of a bad harvest. Hence no one ventured to store corn; and such were the fluctuations of price, that wheat often rose just before the harvest from 5s. a quarter to 5l.; and the poor consequently perished by thousands.

The subject of capital is too important to be passed over lightly, and we shall endeavour to present a condensed view of some of its varied operations in a future lecture.

THE LATE THOMAS ASHTON, ESQ.

(From the *Christian Reformer*.)

Thomas Ashton, Esq., of Flowery Field, near Hyde, died 27th August last, in the 70th year of his age. This excellent and deeply-lamented man must not pass away from us without some brief record of the events of his life and his important public services. He was born December 4, 1775, at Gerard's, a small estate which has been in the possession of the family for several generations, situated in the township of Werneth, in the parish of Stockport. His father, Samuel Ashton, who lived till the year 1812, was a man of strong sense, and brought up a large family, consisting of 10 children, in a truly respectable manner. Thomas was the second of seven sons who grew to manhood, nearly all of whom have raised themselves to an important rank in society. He received a plain but sound education under Mr. Joel Cheetham, the village schoolmaster of Gee-Cross. Possessed of great quickness of observation, a tenacious memory, and above all a very sound understanding, Mr. Ashton made so good a use of his opportunities of acquiring knowledge in his early and after life, as to be always able to take his rightful place in conversation and society. It was not till about his 25th year that he entered into the cotton-manufacture, then in its infancy, now raised to such vast national importance. Till the year 1800, there was but one small cotton-mill in the immediate neighbourhood of his father's house. The second was built at Hyde by Mr. Randal Hibbert, and was tenanted by the three eldest sons of Mr. Samuel Ashton, who had shrewdness to perceive, and talent and industry to realise, the amazing capabilities of the cotton business. The lease was for 14 years. The result showed that they had taken the tide at its flood, and before the expiration of the lease the foundations were laid for the large fortunes raised by this very successful family. Success did not relax Mr. Ashton's close attention to business, or alter the habits of wise economy in which he had been trained. Nothing in the history of trade is more remarkable than the long-continued frugality and resolute self-denial of the founders of cotton-spinning in England. Untempted by great gains and the possession of ample means to change their simple habits and devote a portion of their time to pleasure, they with untiring assiduity devoted gains, time, and every energy to the increase of their manufacturing establishments. There were many in Lancashire and Cheshire who had advantages equal at the outset to those of the Ashtons, and other great capitalists. Whatever distinction these have attained is attributable to the energy and self-denial of a few men, possessed of clear heads and strong character, in the early parts of their career. Mr. Thomas Ashton in every respect deserved his success. He desired that his servants and all around him should feel the advantages of his prosperity. He was sedulously attentive to the comfort and health of those who worked for him. On this important point, impartial testimony has been borne by two journalists possessed of good opportunities of knowledge—the Editors of *The League* and the *Manchester Guardian*.

The writer rejoices to know that there are now many manufacturing not inferior to Mr. Ashton's in whatever can contribute to the health and comfort of the operatives. At this time of day, it is happily not necessary to combat the once-popular prejudice, that every cotton-mill is a den of filth and pollution, moral as well as physical. In establishments where the proportion of fixed to floating capital is as four to one, and where the principal labour is expended on piece-work, and in which the master's profit will chiefly depend on the amount of work done, enlightened self-interest alone, without regard to higher and better feelings, would induce the owner to attend diligently to the personal comfort of his workpeople. Mr. Thomas Ashton proved that he was influenced by the highest motives in the zealous and costly efforts he made to promote in those around him, sound knowledge, good morals, and practical religion. In respect to education, he earned the distinction of being in advance of his order. The school-buildings which he erected many years ago at Flowery Field are an enduring monument of his philanthropy. No cost was spared by him in building and furnishing them. He was especially desirous to procure the assistance of the best teachers. The principal school-room is a very spacious building, excellently lighted and ventilated, fitted up with an organ and other conveniences, so as to make it suitable for a lecture-room, a place for public meetings, or a chapel. In the latter capacity, he, with true catholicity of spirit, allowed it to be occupied by Christian ministers of all denominations whom his people might wish to hear. At Christmas-time, this spacious room was the scene of an annual festival, at which Mr. Ashton and his family collected together, for a social meal and for a variety of amusements, as many of their poorer neighbours as the room would hold. The aged people, and especially such as did not often sit at feasts, were sought out on these occasions, and their comforts personally looked to by this benevolent family. It was a pleasant sight to see the kind-hearted master presiding over these festivities. He had not the gifts of the orator; but the few words of welcome and kindness which he was wont to utter, were better than eloquence. From his habitual shrinking from public speaking, few persons out of the circle of his intimate friends were aware how large a share he took in public business. He was through life a consistent upholder of Liberal politics, cherishing to the last with undiminished zeal the principle, that Government ought to be for the protection and good, not merely of a class, but of all. From a very early period of life, he saw the importance of *Free Trade* to an insular country, like England, possessed of a limited territory, and occupied by a daily-increasing population. His counsel, his purse and his heartiest sympathy were freely given to the energetic band of men who, under the guidance of Richard Cobden, a few years ago devoted themselves to the task of popularising the principles of *Free Trade*. During the latter years of his life, Mr. Ashton, in addition to his manufacturing, embarked a large capital in foreign commerce; and the writer of this tribute of respect well remembers upon one occasion, when the conversation turned on the unsatisfactory prospects of the harvest, Mr. Ashton spoke of the various articles he was

importing—tea from China, diamonds from India—and added emphatically, "I import almost everything except corn; that no merchant in his senses will touch while the Corn Laws last."

In the election struggles of Manchester and North Cheshire, Mr. Ashton zealously supported the Liberal candidates. At the county meeting at Knutsford, in the election of 1837, he proposed to the freeholders of North Cheshire the Hon. E. J. Stanley, who was then elected. But notwithstanding his well-known character as a member of the Liberal party, he was ever ready to hold intercourse and to maintain the most friendly relations with men of all parties. On many occasions was his counsel taken, and more than once his opinion was quoted in Parliament by Conservatives, and by members of the Government. His knowledge of all matters of trade was extensive and accurate, and even his political opponents knew that they could rely on his sincerity and honour. He was pleased during the latter years of his life to spend some weeks in London during the Parliamentary session. He was often to be seen in the gallery and lobby of the House of Commons; and when there his opinion was as anxiously sought on commercial topics before the House, as it was on the Exchange of Manchester. He was well known and respected at the Board of Trade and in other Government offices.

Mr. Ashton was placed in the commission of the peace for the counties of Chester and Lancaster, and in his native county diligently discharged his magisterial duty. He was merciful in administering the law; and where little cases of litigation brought parties before him, he knew how to blend the neighbour and the friend with the magistrate, and by a timely word of counsel to both, or a happy personal appeal to one, sometimes brought about a reconciliation.

In his family relations, Mr. Thomas Ashton enjoyed comfort and happiness in no common measure. He was in any circle a cheerful companion, but his kind, and hopeful, and affectionate temper shone brightest when the members of his own family and his friends were gathered together in his hospitable dwelling, or when he and the beloved partner of his happiness were visitors at the homes of their married children.

During the last two years, Mr. Ashton's health had been giving way. Till within a week or two of his decease, the decline was very gradual. Those who love him are consoled by the knowledge that he was spared acute suffering; and though his death was at the last sudden, his dismissal was very tranquil. When the tidings of the sad event spread through the mill, it is said scarcely a dry eye was to be seen amongst the many hundred workpeople. This was a spontaneous tribute to a good man's worth, which fear could not extort nor gold buy. On the day of the funeral and on the Sunday following, the chapel at Gee-Cross (although the funeral was strictly private) was densely filled with a congregation of sincere mourners. Amongst those who attended on the latter occasion were Thomas Thornely, Esq., M.P., Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., Edmund Buckley, Esq., M.P., and many gentlemen from Manchester, Dukinfield, and other places, of different sects and parties. We close this imperfect memorial of a good man's life with the words of the writer in "THE LEAGUE."

"Fortunately for the district which owes so much to Thomas Ashton, the inheritors of his name and fortune are also worthy representatives of his virtues; his spirit will still direct the establishment at Hyde; his name be upheld as a bright example in the manufacturing districts; and his memory have a living monument in the continuation of his noble principles, developed in equally noble practice."

TITCHFIELD.—TESTIMONIAL TO MR. BRIGHT.—We have just seen a beautiful piece of plate about to be presented to John Bright, Esq., M.P., on which is the following inscription:—Presented to John Bright, Esq., M.P., by a few of the inhabitants of Titchfield parish, as a small token of their approbation of his zealous endeavours to expose the injustice and iniquity of the game laws. September 15th, 1845.—This testimonial was the result of a subscription originating with a few disinterested individuals, who have on many former occasions accelerated by their influence and contributions the cause of freedom and justice. We beg to refer our readers to our last number, under the Christchurch head, for information on the oppressive working of the game laws.—*Hants Independent.*

THIRTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF MR. ANDREWS'S COACH ESTABLISHMENT.—On Wednesday last Mr. Andrews gave his thirteenth annual festival to the workmen employed in his extensive coach manufactory at Southampton. It has been our pleasing task to record the proceedings of these festivals for several years past, and this one differed but little from those of preceding years. There was the same manifestation of cordiality between the employer and employed, the same commendable decorum of conduct on the part of the artisans, and similar statements of increased and increasing prosperity in the establishment, to the lasting credit of Mr. Andrews's genius and perseverance, and the skill of his ingenious workmen. According to the established custom, a holiday was given to the whole of the workmen, employees, and labourers, which was spent in the old English game of cricket, at Day's Ground. At six o'clock the company assembled in the spacious octagon gallery in the Coach Factory, Above Bar, where tables were laid for the whole of the workmen, and gentlemen, and friends invited by the worthy host to join in the evening's festivity. The gallery was very tastefully fitted up with evergreens, flowers, and flags, and inscriptions were hung around the walls, consisting principally of sentences expressive of the advantages of unrestricted trade. Mr. Andrews took the chair, supported by Lord Dudley Stuart, E. Stuart, Esq., Capt. Townsend, R.N., R. Beste, Esq., of Botleigh Grange, H. Drew, Esq., of the firm of Randson and Drew, Mr. H. Lowe, of Birmingham, Mr. F. Mulliner, coachmaker, of Northampton, R. D. Corderner, Esq., of Dublin, Mr. Murcott, of Long Acre, London, Messrs. Wright and Ibbotson, of Hammersmith, Mr. Middleton, coachmaker, of Long Acre, Mr. Palfrey, of the Patent Wheel Works, Pimlico, Mr. Bran, coachmaker of Christchurch, Mr. Underwood, of Bristol, and several friends of Mr. Andrews's, of Southampton, Winchester, and other places. The vice-chairs were filled by the foremen of the different departments. In the course of the evening Lord Dudley Stuart proposed the health of Mr. Andrews, whose character he warmly eulogized.—*Hants Independent.*

ADVANCE IN WAGES.—Yesterday week, Messrs. R. and J. Anderson, cotton spinners, Collier Vale, near Garstang, advanced the wages of their spinners, &c., $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., without any solicitation.—*Preston paper.*

THE PROGRESS OF OUR EXPORTS.

(From the Economist.)

It is generally known that the declared value represents the actual value at the time of shipment, and that the official value is the quantity of goods of each kind estimated at uniform prices which were affixed to them in 1694; while, therefore, the declared value is an indication of cost, the official value is an indication of quantity, and the two compared at any period shows the changes which takes place in the price of goods. Previous to 1844, the year to which the largest amount of goods, according to the declared value, was exported, was 1836. In that year our exports amounted to 53,368,572*l.*, according to the declared or real value, and to 85,229,837*l.*, according to the official value; showing, therefore, that the price of goods had fallen from the official standard of value by 36 per cent. In 1844 (last year), the real value of our exports exceeded any former year, and amounted to 58,584,292*l.* of which the official value was 131,564,503*l.*; showing that, now the price of goods has fallen below the official standard by no less than 55 per cent., or, in other words, showing that, while the quantity of goods exported has increased since 1836 by 54 per cent., their value has increased barely 10 per cent. This a striking evidence of the low price of goods at the present time, as compared with 1836, and of the great improvement and economy introduced into their manufacture during that period, by the improvements of machinery and otherwise. And there can be no doubt that it is chiefly to these improvements, and the lower price of our goods, that we are able to command such an increasing demand in the markets of the world.

The whole value of exports to all our own possessions, including those in Europe, is not one-third of the whole, and our exports to foreign neutral markets are consequently more than two-thirds. This shows how fallacious is the general opinion that ascribes to our colonies the great bulk of our export trade. The amount exported to the British possessions in 1836, was 13,721,379*l.*, out of a total amount of 53,368,572*l.* Last year the former had increased to 16,504,060*l.*; but more than the whole difference arises in the trade to the East Indies and Gibraltar, the latter being almost exclusively for Spanish consumption. Our exports to India during that period have increased from 4,285,829*l.* in 1836, to 7,695,666*l.* last year, and, therefore, alone shows a larger increase than the whole aggregate colonial exports; so that, leaving India and Gibraltar out, the remainder show a considerable diminution. With so satisfactory a progress under the recent system of low duties, it is, indeed, much to be regretted that any cause has arisen to induce the Indian Government to increase the rates of duty. It is true the prices of goods are now so very low, that it is hoped that step will cause no sensible diminution of that valuable trade; at the same time we much fear it will materially check the progress which might otherwise be expected. The following statement shows the comparative progress of our trade to the various geographical divisions, thus:

	1836.	1844.
Northern Europe	£9,999,861	£14,326,797
Southern Europe	9,011,205	11,294,388
Africa	1,468,062	1,615,530
Asia	6,750,842	11,273,721
United States	12,425,695	7,936,079
British N. America, Colonies and W. I.	6,518,744	5,592,348
Foreign West Indies	1,338,785	1,173,931
Central and S. Amer. including Brazil	5,555,468	5,439,502

This comparison shows a very large decrease to the whole of the western world, including our own colonies, while the largest increase is to Europe, and the next to the eastern markets. It is not a little curious and instructive, to find that, in spite of hostile tariffs, made more and more stringent, on the Continent of Europe, the greater liberality exercised towards the produce of those countries here, has had the effect in so striking a way of increasing our exports. It will further be observed, that the greatest increase of our exports has taken place to Russia, Prussia, Germany, Belgium, and France, which are just the countries that have imposed the highest duties in order to exclude our goods.

THE AGRICULTURAL SCAPEGOAT.

(From the Examiner.)

The farmer is blessed with more counsellors than Job, but he is worse off than the man of Uz, for he has not the small solace of reply. It is his hard lot to be *semper auditor tantum*. We marvel greatly at his patience. We wonder that he does not find a voice, and break into speech, as the dumb have been known to do upon mighty provocation. The burden of advice upon him is more than mortal man can bear. It is a very remarkable fact that in the agricultural system, so nursed by the Legislature, only one part is sound and as it ought to be, and that the landlords. There are bad labourers, there are bad farmers; there are no bad landlords. There are reedy soils, there are no reedy rents. There are soils which want draining, but the draining of tenants by landlords has been brought to the greatest possible perfection. The landlords see with grief that the farmers do not improve. The population is increasing at the rate of 100,000 a year, and the farmers are not exercising the skill by which the produce of the land might be proportionately augmented to supply the enlarged demand. The farmer, tenant-at-will, is so ill-advised as to be indisposed to improve the land mainly for his landlord's profit, or else to take a lease adjusted to the existing Corn Law, and with every prospect of a change or abolition of them. But there are farmers who happen to have leases, leases framed by wise landlords with various conditions, some that cannot possibly be performed, others that would compel the worst cultivation of the soil. A farmer of this class was lately made an example of by no less a personage than Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department. This farmer had violated the terms of his lease in improving the cultivation of the land. His excellent landlord treated the improvement as a defiance of his authority, and tried hard, but unavailingly, to punish it. Proof was adduced that the "Farmers' Friend" had awarded prizes for the very improvements he was attempting to punish as breaches of engagement, but Sir James Graham stood on the letter of the bond, and insisted on the penalty for the advantageous infraction. In this righteous attempt he was defeated; and if wise and good landlords want the power, under the law, of compelling tenants to conform to the rules that seem best to them, however bad for the cultivation of the soil, can we wonder that agriculture is in a defective state? We must not omit to mention the circumstance that the tenants against whom Sir James Graham proceeded for improvements, in defiance of his authority commanding a faulty cultivation, had voted for a Liberal candidate—a thing not to be endured in Netherby head-bushy. Besides the rapid increase of population, there is a circumstance requiring the redoubled exertions of the

farmers to augment the productiveness of the soil (subject only to persecution or prosecution if they vote for Liberals), which has not been noticed, namely, the very considerable quantity of land which will be withdrawn from agricultural uses by the railroads about to intersect every part of the country. The soil is lessening, while the population is so enormously augmenting, and the poor farmer is to make up for both by his improved skill. If he does not shortly raise as much corn in a flower-pot by the light of science as he now does in a rood of land, we all know where the fault must lie. The farmer is to make up for everything under the blessed Corn Laws; cut away the soil as much as you please, let the population augment as you cannot help, and the farmer's skill is to provide for all; and yet, wonderful as the capacities of the farmer must be, the landlords, who have no such wonderful capacities, set up for his instructors and directors in everything. It seems odd that the farmers don't retaliate, and form some association for teaching the landlords. What excellent speeches might be delivered, deploring the absence of improvement in landlords, showing the barbarism of maintaining high rents, and the stupid impolicy of not granting leases, and that final settlement of the corn question without which tender of leases is a sheer mockery.

THE LEAGUE AND ITS ENEMIES.

(From the Liverpool Chronicle.)

The League is beginning to make itself terribly felt even by those who at one time affected to treat it with the most profound contempt. Some of the monopolists, indeed, having once pronounced it dead, still, for the sake of consistency, stoutly assert the same self-delusion, as if they believed that the most sturdy ghost could inflict the heavy and hearty blows continually dealt to them. But others of them are wiser. They tremble before "the great fact" which they sorrowfully admit. They recount its progress and its victories and confess its influence, in the vain hope that the bare recital of them will stimulate the agriculturists to defeat the full-grown giant before whom they quailed and fled when he was an infant in the cradle. Thus, for instance, a Gloucestershire monopolist paper, now lying before us, blows the trumpet of alarm and strives to rouse its paralysed friends to courage and exertion—

"All the daily journals except the *Herald*, *Standard*, and *Post*, advocate Free Trade: the vast majority of the London journals, and at least half of the provincial. In addition to these, the League publish a paper of their own, which is said to have a virtual circulation of nearly 40,000 copies weekly."

There is small and miserable comfort for the terror-stricken monopolists in such confessions as this. They are much more likely to create a panic than to give encouragement. But this is not all. In the very next number of the same paper the subject is again returned to in an article headed in large letters, "THE REGISTRATION: THE AGGRESSION OF THE LEAGUE." The League, it appears, giving its help to the Free Trade party in East Gloucestershire, has objected to a number of voters, supposed to be *fagot* or *fictitious*, and this very proper proceeding is very modestly pronounced to be "an aggression." The Tories, forsooth, never attempt to improve their position on a registration, either by striking off, if possible, the names of their opponents, or by putting on increased numbers of their own friends! They never think of doing anything of this sort, nor yet of manufacturing votes by the dozen by cottage building or buying! They never force their tenants to vote against their consciences, nor perpetrate anything to gain or keep power against the free choice and will of the people! Naughty, naughty League! To make war against innocence like this! To sow discord and dissension in this more than earthly and almost heavenly paradise! Could crime go farther? Could hostility be more bitter? Could "aggression" be more unprovoked? The vested rights of monopoly not respected! This is the climax. The *ne plus ultra* of iniquity is attained! The League has out-Leagued itself in its horrid and dreadful attempts to give prosperity to the country and employment and labour to the people. This is droll and laughable. But there is more of it yet. Thus continues our comical opponent, calling on his friends to fight to the last, and "support and uphold the Church and State in their integrity, and oppose the wild and visionary doctrines of Free Traders in corn and religion, which would be subversive of the social arrangements of an ancient country, and would bring ruin on a class of the community—the cultivators of the soil—entitled to consideration and protection." We never met with a prettier jumble nor yet a more impudent one. According to the writer's idea of it, the Corn Law is a much more comprehensive affair than many people have an idea of. With him Corn Law is "church." Corn Law is "state." Corn Law is our guardian against "the wild and visionary doctrines of free-traders in religion." Corn Law is the security "for the social arrangements of our ancient country," although, in very truth, social arrangements existed, and our country was somewhat ancient before Corn Law was ever heard of. But what comes next? Here we jump into the pith and marrow of the whole affair. Corn Law "would bring ruin on the cultivators of the soil." It would do no such thing. But the writer thinks so, and *hinc ille lachrymæ*, hence his cries and lamentations over the oddly combined interests of religion and monopoly. But even this conjunction of opposites is not original. The world has seen it before. This is not the first Demetrius who has sounded the alarm, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians. Her worship is threatened, and our craft is in danger. Her magnificence must be upheld, and the source of our wealth must be maintained." So it was in times of old, and so it is now. Human nature is ever the same, unchanged and unchangeable. To attack the Corn Law is, therefore, declared to be to assault religion.

They say religion, but they mean their pelf, They shout Diana, while they think of self. But let them go on. We love to hear these howlings of despair. Their cause must be, indeed, a bad one and on the point of expiring, when they are thus driven from all show of argument to take refuge in the outpourings and ravings of senseless folly. The flying vermin must be nearly at its last shift when, throwing Bedlam into the shade, it puts forth, as a rallying cry, the solemn announcement that Corn Law is "Church and State in their integrity."

THE SMALLEST IMPROVEMENT THANKFULLY RECEIVED.—The difficulty, it seems, with railways, is to invent a whistle that shall give intimation to another train of approaching danger. We are sure the public would be too grateful for any improvement of the kind, especially as they now find that, if they lose their lives on a pleasure excursion, it is paying rather too dearly for their whistle.—*Punch*

NORTHAMPTON.—The following is the result of the revision for this borough:—Objections made by monopolists, 40; sustained, 15; objections made by Liberals and Free Traders, 26; sustained, 14; new claims by monopolists, 7.

new claims by Liberals and Free Traders, 20; sustained, 16; Liberal and Free Trade majority on revision, 8.

CHIPPENHAM.—The revision of the lists of voters for this borough took place on Friday, Oct. 3, before Geo. Poulton, Esq., T. A. Fellows, Esq., and — Pinniger, Esq., appeared for the Monopolists; Mr. Huggett, of Westminster, for the Free Traders. The Free Traders made one claim, which was allowed; but made no objections. The monopolists made no claims; but they made four objections, all of which were rejected. The claim of Job Obern, a Free Trader, was allowed. On the name of George Barnes being called on, the barrister desired Mr. Huggett to produce his appointment to appear for the parties objected to. Mr. Huggett said he appeared at the request of the parties; but did not conceive it necessary to produce a written appointment. After some opposition on the part of Mr. Fellows, Mr. Huggett was heard in support of the votes. On the party appearing to support his vote, the objector withdrew the objections. Mr. Huggett applied for costs; no intimation had been given to the party of intention to withdraw the objection. The barrister inquired if the parties had incurred any expense in attending the court. Mr. Huggett contended that the object of the Legislature was not to defray expenses incurred, but to prevent groundless and speculative objections. In answer to questions by the court, it appeared that the party paid exactly 10*l.* per annum to his employer for the premises; the barrister thought this was not a case for costs. Charles Spiers was objected to on the ground of non-residence. John Spiers (brother of the voter) proved that his brother resided in Spital-square, London; but had a room on his premises in Chippenham, which he had furnished with a bed for his own use. He had never slept there; witness had slept there, but had no right except as Charles Spiers's servant. Mr. Huggett contended that it was not necessary the party should actually sleep on the premises to constitute a residence, but that the means of doing so was sufficient. He cited several decisions of Committees of the House of Commons in confirmation of this position. The vote was ultimately allowed; the barrister observing that the case was not altogether free from doubt.

FROME.—On Tuesday, Sept. 30, the court for revising the list of voters for the borough of Frome was held by G. N. Oxenham, Esq., revising barrister. The following is the result of the revision:

	Monop.	Free Trade.	Dblful.
Struck off the list by barrister..	4	3	2
Dead	1	0	0
New claims allowed	2	2	0
Added to the list by overseers ..	13	18	3
Omitted on account of removals and deaths	11	11	3
Gain to Free Traders on barrister's revision ..		2	
Ditto on overseers' list		5	
Total gain on new list		7	

CARNARVONSHIRE BOROUGH.—The registration for these boroughs was completed last week. The following is the result of the registration for all the boroughs:—

	Expunged by Libs & Free-traders.	Expunged by Monopolists.
Coway	6	0
Criccieth	0	0
Pwllheli	1	5
Nevin	5	1
Carbarnvon	11	0
Bangor	11	7
	34	13

WHAT IS SCOTLAND DOING?—The *Montrose Review*, speaking of the success of the League in its registration operations in the northern counties, Middlesex, and other places, says: "But the same party is working in other quarters, and producing, we fancy, equally remarkable results in smaller constituencies. Their perseverance should be a lesson to others. They are practical, laborious men. They have sat at the feet of Peel, and heard words of wisdom from his lips. They have been told that the battle of the country is to be fought in the registration courts; and they have taken the hint, and fought the battle there. In Scotland, we merely think of these things. Our counties are left in the possession of the aristocracy. They are quietly handed over to some one of the sections. The natural influence of property, we are told, must be respected; but no effort is made to raise property of a different kind. Since the date of the Reform Bill, the working classes of Forfarshire might have taken the representation of the county into their own hands, through the agency of building societies, if one or two honest and intelligent men from their own body had directed their proceedings. There are very few Scottish counties where the same achievement could not have been accomplished. It is one that requires time and perseverance; but, meanwhile, the outlay is profitable—property is secured—the stake in the country is provided—and the power of the millions would be very strikingly exemplified. In many English and some Scottish towns, an operation of this nature is already well commenced. The parties who conduct it have probably no view in the matter beyond the profitable investment of small savings; but, as a contingent result, it will greatly change, in ten or twelve years, the complexion of political parties in this country, by introducing into the constituencies a large body of artisans, with the feelings of their order, and the endowment of property, even if, in the meantime, no change shall be accomplished in the qualifications for the franchise."

SOUTH CHESHIRE REVISING BARRISTERS' COURT.

(To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.)

SIR,—Having attended the South Cheshire Revision Court, presided over by — Townsend, Esq., I was much surprised to find he was generally acquainted with the persons summoned before him, as I always understood the judges did not appoint any barrister to revise for any borough, division, or county, where he had local connections. In this instance, I had clear proof of the necessity of such a course, as the barrister above-named made it a practice to select persons for a hearing from his acquaintance with them; whilst scores of others, remaining long in court, had to wait their regular turn.

On inquiry, I was informed that he is legally connected with Macclesfield, and regularly attends the county sessions. Whether he would adjudicate differently amongst strangers, I do not know; but it is not in accordance with popular ideas, to see the judge of any court giving precedence to his acquaintances (or, it may be, his clients in another court), and marking his decisions by strong expressions of sympathy and regret, where negligence or want of qualification prevented his giving costs.

I select a few of the many cases that might be instanced, where the conduct and decisions of the barrister appear extraordinary.

In the Birkenhead Court he complimented a Mr. Peers for his zeal and ability, allowing him an extra sum for expenses (from parish funds, of course);—Peers's attention consisting of his objections to Free Traders, against whose qualifications he could not say a single word. Some of these were admitted on their appearing in court; but others, not being able to leave their business, lost their franchises. He also asked, and was allowed time to canvass for the attendance of monopolist claimants.

This treatment of Peers was the more conspicuous when contrasted with that suffered by one of the most upright, attentive, and well-conducted of the district overseers, Mr. A. Kerr (Seacombe), whose appearance before the barrister occasioned an outburst of judicial ill-temper. Mr. Kerr's expenses were disallowed, under a pretext that was set aside in the very next case (Harwood's); Harwood had but *twenty yards* to come—Kerr *five miles*; yet the former was allowed his expenses, while the latter was not!

The next case is that of the Rev. Joshua King, Rector of Woodchurch. On his appearance in court, the barrister turned to his name, called him up, inquired if he was objected to, and being answered in the negative, informed him that if he had been objected to, he must have been struck off, as the word "Rector" was the only qualification given in the third column; then, to the evident surprise of all in court, the barrister, without either claim or objection being before him, expunged the word "Rector," and substituted a freehold qualification, promising to give the utmost extent of costs, in case *any one* objected to the name next year.

The next case was that of a Mr. Stanton, of Thelwell, in Lancashire; the objector finding no such township in Lancashire, sent his objection. Mr. Stanton made his appearance, and stated that he lived more than twenty miles distance—namely, at the village of Thelwell, in the Hundred of Bucklow and north division of the county of Chester; yet a fine of 20*s.* in favour of Mr. Stanton was levied, and his name was retained for a residence that has no existence. In addition to all this, more than half-a-dozen times a day the barrister announced what fines he would give next year. The general belief is, that he expects to be appointed to revise for this district again; and it is therefore hoped that the Judges who have the appointments will take care that, if appointed at all, it shall be beyond the limits of his political or other partialities.

A CORRESPONDENT.

WIGAN.—On Monday evening, Mr. Falvey, of the Anti-Corn-Law League, delivered an admirable lecture in favour of Free Trade, and on the propriety of supporting such principles at the approaching election. The large room of the Buck-lit-Vine Inn was crowded to excess; and, although men of all political parties were invited, and, what is more, attended, there was not a murmur against the arguments of the lecturer. He was much applauded during his address, and at its close three cheers were given for the Free Trade candidate, and one hearty cheer for the lecturer. The canvass of Mr. Thicknesse is proceeding very satisfactorily, and if any judgment can be formed from the acknowledged principles of those who have made no promise of their votes, the election is certain in his favour. The total number of registered electors, after making deductions for deaths, and of those who cannot vote from other causes, is about 530. It is very probable that upwards of twenty will be neutral—in deed, if 500 voters should poll, the constituency will be worked well. Mr. Falvey delivers a series of lectures during the week.—*Leeds Mercury.*

REPRESENTATION OF WOODSTOCK.—The good people of Woodstock seem to have been taken a little aback by the sudden occurrence of a vacancy in their representation, caused by the elevation of Lord Loftus to the peerage. The town still retains its usual appearance of quietude and repose; and betrays no indications of an approaching election. Even busy rumour has scarcely yet begun to whisper the names of those who are likely to present themselves as candidates for the favour of the "free and independent" electors of Woodstock. No official intimation of the vacancy has yet been received, and probably will not be for some days; for before such notification is given it will be necessary for Lord Loftus to prove his title to the peerage, which he is not likely to do until after the funeral obsequies of the late Marquis have been performed. It is probable, therefore, that a period of two or three weeks will elapse before the election takes place.—*Times.*

PRESENT WORKING OF THE SLIDING SCALE.—It will be seen from the return of the average prices of wheat for the last six weeks, given in another column, that that kind of grain appears to be falling rapidly, and that, according to the last weekly return, the average price of wheat in the United Kingdom was not more than 52*s.* a quarter, a decline of 4*s.* having apparently taken place since the return of the week before last. Now it is a fact as notorious as the shining of the sun at noon-day, that there has been a rise of at least 8*s.* per quarter during that period in the price of wheat, and that good wheat cannot at the present time be bought for less than 58*s.* to 60*s.* per quarter. This is the result of the sliding-scale, which, as we stated last week, causes the bad quality of the wheat brought to market to produce precisely the same effect on the averages as an abundant supply. Owing to the wetness of the season, some of the wheat now coming forward is a little better than food for pigs; and scarcely any of it is really good. All of it, however, enters into the averages; and thus the duty is kept up, because a large portion of the grain now on sale is scarcely fit for human food.—*Liverpool Times.*

NORWAY.—The people of Norway, with their legislation entirely in their own hands, without a nobility or privileged class in their Legislature, and with the power of the King limited constitutionally to a mere suspensive veto in the enactment of laws, and without any exclusive right to the sole initiative, are prosperous and thriving in a remarkable degree—that they have, by the economical measure of their Legislature, paid off their national debt, have reduced their taxes, have, notwithstanding, provided for military, naval, and civil establishments suitable to their just position in the political world; are removing gradually and judiciously, not precipitately, restrictions on the freedom of industry and trade inherited from their Danish masters; are allowing no superfluous functionaries, military, naval, or civil, Swedish or Norwegian, to batten upon the means of the industrious classes, and are evincing the most unquestionable and enlightened loyalty to the monarch to whom they have sworn allegiance, although steadily, firmly, but respectfully, exposing and denouncing his want of loyalty to the Constitution he had sworn to accept and maintain.—*Lang's "Notes of a Traveller."*

MISCELLANEOUS.

FLOODS IN THE NORTH.—NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.—**SATURDAY.**—A great quantity of rain has fallen in this district within the last few days, which has swollen the rivers, and done considerable damage to property on their margins. On Thursday the rain descended in torrents all day, and yesterday the Tyne, at high water in the afternoon, overflowed its banks for several miles, covering all the low grounds near Hexham and Newburn, carrying away the corn produce of several fields in stock, and doing serious injury to the potato and turnip crops. The quay at Newcastle was covered with water, and the cellars in the neighbourhood completely inundated. During the ebb tide the current was so strong as to carry away several vessels from their moorings; and the damage done among the shipping in the harbour was very extensive. The Ocean brig was driven on the Fleet sands, and the sea is breaking over her in such a manner that it is feared she will become a total wreck. The *Drach*, of Yarmouth, had her mainmast carried away, and the Dove steamer lost her foremast. The mate of the Atlantic, of Shields, was killed by the breaking of a warp, and the Blossom steamer was driven against the brig John with such violence as to stove in her quarter, and she was only kept from sinking with the greatest difficulty, her funnel being also carried away. It is impossible at present to enumerate the casualties that have occurred, as the extent of damage is not yet fully ascertained. The harbour was a complete scene of confusion from the vessels adrift; several wharves were sunk, and indeed it was impossible for a small boat "to live." The police boat had a narrow escape, having just got out between two vessels, when they were driven together with great violence. A great number of bowsprits have been broken, and an immense pile of broken warps have been collected in Young's dockyard by the police, who are protecting it till claimed by the owners. The ebb-tide today has brought down large quantities of hay and corn, a cow, several sheep, and a horse, and from these indications it is apprehended the damage done in the west, of which only very partial accounts have been received here, will be very great. The Blaydon station of the Newcastle and Carlisle Railway was knee-deep in water, and the line for several miles was covered. The garden grounds about Hexham are still under water, and it is feared that the entire potato crop in those places will be destroyed.

CATTLE AND FRUIT IMPORTS INTO HULL.—We have this week received from Hamburg, by the Leeds, 30, and by the Helen Macgregor, 44 oxen. The Victoria, from Hamburg, has also landed 36 oxen and 9 cows; and the Emerald Isle, from Rotterdam, 37 cows and 50 sheep; and on Sunday last a large ox bred in Fifehire, whose dead weight is estimated at 100 stone, was landed with 40 moor sheep and 25 swine from the Martello steamer, from Leith. Upwards of 1240 baskets of plums have been landed from the Helen Macgregor, and 1800 ditto from the Leeds. The Helen brought 20 baskets and 10 boxes of apples. The Victoria brought 1150 baskets of plums, and 5 baskets and 13 cases of apples; and the Emerald Isle, from Rotterdam, 949 baskets of apples and pears, 240 casks of plums, 83 baskets of walnuts, 71 bags of filberts, and 23 baskets of pears.—*Hull Advertiser.*

HESSE CASSEL, SEPT. 25.—From this day the exportation of corn from the Electorate is prohibited.

NEW RAILWAY PROJECTS.—The number of new schemes, announced for the first time during the last fourteen days, is seventy-nine; and the aggregate of their estimated capital is 81,535,500*l.* We place these facts before the public, believing them to merit the serious consideration, not only of parties engaged in railway speculations, but of all men interested in the commerce and manufactures of the country.—*Manchester Guardian of Saturday.*

The brick-making business has been unusually brisk this season, owing to the increasing demand for building additional cotton-mills, arching tunnels, common sewers, and other public works around the city. The consumption of bricks has been greater this year than for many years past; consequently prices have advanced from 25*s.* to 35*s.* per 1000, at which price they are now sold in general. On account of drain tiles being now generally preferred and adopted for draining lands in this country, that branch of manufactures is fast increasing also. There has been a great increase in the pottery business of late. The demand for glazed ware, brown ware, and Staffordshire ware, has been unprecedentedly great in this part of the country.—*Glasgow paper.*

His Highness Saeid Hilal Ben Saeid, the eldest son of the Imam of Muscat, and heir apparent to the throne of that principality, has arrived in town from Arabia. The Prince visits England for the purpose of getting information regarding our government and institutions, and personally inspecting our works of art and science, with the view to their gradual introduction amongst his subjects in Arabia and East Africa.

A great meeting of the iron-masters was held at Birmingham on Thursday, when, after some discussion, it was resolved to advance the price of iron, the demand for which has become unusually great in consequence of the rapid extension of railways. The price was fixed as follows: Bar iron, 10*l.* per ton; pig iron, from 5*l.* 10*s.* to 6*l.* per ton; sheet iron, 12*l.*; and hoops, 11*l.* At Glasgow, last week, 2500 tons were purchased at 95*s.* net cash, being the then price of the day.

On Tuesday night the keenest frost of the season was experienced in this quarter. Still waters were found covered with a pretty thick coating of ice next morning, and the havoc wrought among the vegetable kingdom was very perceptible. In particular, the dahlias were cut down at once. Upon the whole, however, the past week has been favourable for the ingathering of the later harvest; and to-day the weather is beautiful, and seems set fair.—*Manchester Herald.*

The great Ballinasloe fair for the present year is said to be one of the best held for many a previous year. The number of sheep sold in two days amounted to 66,061. The average of the first class of wethers is stated to be 4*l.* 13*s.* In 1845, it was 2*l.* 1*s.*; in 1837, 2*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*; in 1832, 2*l.* 1*s.*; in 1843, 2*l.* 5*s.*; in 1844, 2*l.* 7*s.* On the average, the prices exceeded those of last year about 4*s.* or 5*s.* all round.

The *Dublin Evening Post* alleges, on authority, it is not disposed to question that it is not the intention of her Majesty's Government to dedicate the Quit Rents of Ireland to the building and repairs of Catholic places of worship.

A farmer named Lady, at Llan-tymon, county of Denb., has just completed the sowing of the fourth crop from the same land within the year. The first was barley, and the other three, each better than the preceding one, were hay.

NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

In consequence of the expiration of the period for which the building was engaged, the late Bazaar in Covent Garden Theatre terminated, leaving unsold a great number of articles of considerable value; and the Council of the League have therefore to announce, in harmony with an intimation made at the time, that a BAZAAR will open in the FREE TRADE HALL, Peter-street, MANCHESTER, on the 15th of OCTOBER for the purpose of disposing of the same.

The Interior of the Building will be converted into a TUDOR HALL, around which will be placed the various Models, Articles of Curiosity and Vertu, together with a Large Collection of Paintings.

The Bazaar will open at Eleven o'clock in the Morning of each day, and remain open till Nine in the Evening.

Admission, on Wednesday the 15th, Two Shillings and Sixpence each; on the remaining days, One Shilling.

The magnificent support received in connexion with the late demonstration, which enabled the Council to make it one of the most imposing and influential exhibitions of public feeling ever seen in the Metropolis, demands their acknowledgment, while, at the same time, it forbids their making any urgent appeal to the friends of Free Trade for support in the present instance.

They have, however, received communications from several parts of the country, from persons who have for some time past, without solicitation, been actively engaged in forwarding the interests of the present undertaking; and in courtesy to these, and to any others who may, unknown to the Council, be engaged in a similar manner, they have to add, that any contributions will be most gladly received, and will be exceedingly useful in giving variety and increased value to the collection of articles of which they are already in possession.

To those who had not an opportunity of co-operating with them on the previous occasion, the present is a suitable mode of expressing their interest in, and devotion to, a cause which time has not robbed of any of its importance.

The following classification of articles suitable for presentation has already been published, but is again subjoined:—

1. Articles usually contributed to Bazaars.
2. Articles of Manufacture, British and Foreign.
3. Models of Mechanism, &c.
4. Designs, Architectural and Fancy.
5. Specimens of Coins, Minerals, Birds, Insects, &c.
6. Books and other Publications from Authors, with Autograph.
7. Autograph Letters from celebrated Men and Women of present and former times.
8. Portraits, Pictures, and Illustrated Works.
9. Philosophical Instruments.
10. Music.
11. Original Poetry and Tales.
12. Pecuniary Contributions.

All communications to be addressed to the Chairman, 5, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

By order of the Council,

September 23, 1845.

GEORGE WILSON, Chairman.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LEAGUE FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Oct. 8, 1845.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

*Reynolds, John, 57, New Compton-street	£2	2	0
*Manser, William, Hertford	2	0	0
*Martin, J., Wicken, Newport, Bishopstortford, Herts ..	2	0	0
*Pollitt, John, ditto	2	0	0
*Turner, H. N., Upper Belgrave-place	2	0	0
*Johnson, R. S., 43, New-road, Commercial-road-east ..	2	0	0
*Goodyear, Thomas, Market-street, Bedfordshire ..	1	1	0
*Boarer, Robert William, Folkestone, Kent	1	1	0
*Mason, John, 199, Albany-road, Old Kent-road ..	1	1	0
*Ritchie, Thomas, Middle-street, Cloth-fair	1	1	0
*Younger, James, 7, St. John's-lane, Smithfield ..	1	1	0
*Rouse, Richard, White Conduit-house, Pentonville ..	1	1	0
*Kilner, Richard, 4, Hanway-street, Oxford-street ..	1	1	0
*Heinrick, Johann, 3, York-street, Blackfriars-road ..	1	1	0
*Morgan, H. L., Langbourn Chambers, Fenchurch-st. ..	1	1	0
*Bennett, William, 47, Cannon-street	1	1	0
*Hill, Samuel, 23, Homer-street, Marylebone	1	1	0
*Bicknell, Henry S., Effra-road, Brixton	1	1	0
*Meredith, John, 10 Wharf, City-road	1	1	0
*Hall, W. J., Custom-house-quay	1	1	0
*J. J. C.	1	1	0
*Barton, Samuel, 3, Strand	1	1	0
*Tait, William, Duddington-grove, Kennington ..	1	1	0
*Mordan, A., 2, Barkham-terrace, Lambeth-road ..	1	1	0
*Ronalds, E., 109, Upper Thames-street	1	1	0
*Cotton, W. B., Langley-place, Commercial-road-east ..	1	1	0
*Byron, J. B., Canterbury-wharf, Belvedere-road, Lambeth ..	1	1	0
*Bryer, Thomas, 44, King William-street, City ..	1	1	0
*Stone, Orlando, ditto	1	1	0
H. C.	1	1	0
E. C.	1	1	0
*White, G. F., 45, Gloucester-ter., Commercial-road-east ..	1	0	0
*King, Thomas, Leadenhall-market	1	0	0
*Verity, John, 46, Salisbury-square	1	0	0
*Allen, Joseph, 16, Tooley-street	1	0	0
*Bennett, J. A., 27, Peckham-grove, Camberwell ..	1	0	0
*Pitts, Thomas, 8, Melina-place, St. John's Wood ..	1	0	0
*White, William, 108, Cheapside	1	0	0
*Dear, Charles, 78, Watling-street	1	0	0
*Kensett, William, St. Marylebone	1	0	0
*Jarvis, John, 6, Circus-road, St. John's Wood ..	1	0	0
*Jackson, J., 167, Regent-street	1	0	0
*Poulton, John, Hounslow	1	0	0
*Candler & Brightwell, 23, Liverpool-terrace, Islington ..	1	0	0
*Gladish, T. N., Belvedere-road, Lambeth	1	0	0
*Cole, J., 3, Percival's-buildings, Whitechapel-road ..	1	0	0
*Johnson, G., 14, Artillery-place	1	0	0
*Gibson, James, 77, Old-street-road	1	0	0
*Allen, William, 13, Stepney-green	1	0	0
*Jordeson, Christopher, 2, St. Mary-at-hill	1	0	0
*Stevenson, John Clark, 6, Riley-street, Chelsea ..	1	0	0
*Gourlay, F., 27, Hoxton-square	1	0	0
*Young, Thomas, Mark-lane	1	0	0
*Bates, W. D., 129, Whitechapel-road	1	0	0
*Martin, John, 22, Crescent, King'sland-road ..	1	0	0
*Rigg, Samuel, Canterbury	1	0	0
*Jones, Lewis, Squirrel's Farm, Rufford	1	0	0
*Agate, James, Horsham	1	0	0
*Rickword, William, ditto	1	0	0
*Braga, J. M., Liverpool	1	0	0
*Lambe, Markes, Yeovil, Somerset	1	0	0
*Jones, W. H., 9, Barbican-terrace, Barnstable ..	1	0	0
*Paxton, John, Bérwick	1	0	0
*Lawrence, Geo., farmer, Olenpitchard, Hereford ..	1	0	0
*Lawrence, Samuel, farmer, Stoke Lacey, ditto ..	1	0	0
*Nelms, Richard, 109, Week-street, Maidstone ..	1	0	0
*Pring, Samuel, Newport, Isle of Wight	1	0	0
*Upright, James, jun., City Mills, Exeter	1	0	0
*Tiddle, Henry, 2, Bedford-place, Commercial-road-east ..	0	5	0
*C. E., 13, Elizabeth-street, Hans-place, Chelsea ..	0	10	0
*Higgin, Thomas H., Lancaster	2	0	0
*Higgin, John, ditto	2	0	0
*Butterworth, Edwin, Leech-street, Browns-field, Ancoats, Manchester	1	0	0

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE BAZAAR.

Ackroyd, Wm., Otley, Yorkshire	5	5	0
Rawson, Miss, ditto	1	0	0
Pullan, The Misses, ditto	0	15	0
Small contributions, ditto	1	18	0
X. Y. Z.	0	4	6

* These names marked with an asterisk are renewed subscriptions.

LETTERS ON THE CORN LAWS, No. XLV.

TO TENANT FARMERS.

The useful and honourable occupation in which you are engaged ought to be a profitable one. A people's food-producers have a natural claim on its grateful and liberal regard. You should not be rewarded grudgingly. Nor is there any disposition in the inhabitants of this country to undervalue your toils, or to repine at your successes. They are not such fools. It is not expected by them that any body should work without pay. They know that no stuffs are so needful as bread-stuffs. They sing "Speed the plough" for their own sakes. They are also ready to admire the triumphs of industry; they like to see it rising to wealth and station; the gratification is certainly not diminished by the intimate connection of such success with their own means of sustenance; and some strange disturbing force must intervene before the sight of fortunes made by farming is otherwise than a pleasure to the public.

In the natural course of things, you are, then, the objects of sympathy and respect. Your toils are associated with our enjoyments. The more you work, the better we fare. And there is a further bias in your favour. Your occupation, in itself, is alien from tricks of trade. It seems remote from the gambling and over-reaching of which commerce is accused in some of its operations. You labour with nature's materials. The fertile earth is your factory. You live in the eye of heaven. What you realise is the meed of skill and patience, and not the lottery-prize of daring speculation. With you, more than in almost any other mode of life, is merit the measure of success. Your lot should be a safe and happy one; alike desirable in itself, and in its social relations and estimation. I need not ask whether you find it so. But if it differ widely from this pleasant picture, you may be wise in asking yourselves how it so happens?

Do not commit so egregious a blunder as to say that manufacturers are malignant, and the League a contrivance for holding you up to hatred. There is no innate aversion to agriculture in human nature for declamatory breath to fan into a flame. There is no popular hostility to you or your interests. Your injury is nobody's good. Your ruin would be nobody's riches. Every tradesman and manufacturer in the kingdom would rather have you as a thriving than as a bankrupt class of customers. There is no old nurse's tale of ghost, hobgoblin, or old bogie more preposterous than the spectre sometimes raised in broad daylight at your meetings, of manufacturing animosity towards native agriculture.

The great secret of what is most uncomfortable in your position is this: you have been led to identify yourselves with a law alike unjust, pernicious, and obnoxious. By your support of the Corn Laws, you assume a character not less odious than that of the farmer is naturally popular. You present yourselves to the public not only as cultivators of the soil, but as leviators of taxation. While the supply of our wants is augmented by your land, it is diminished by your law. Your honest labour tends to fill the belly—your dishonest legislation to plunder the pocket. In the one capacity, you are the producers of natural plenty; and in the other, of artificial scarcity. You make with the right hand, and mar with the left. This causes you to appear as starvers, when you should only be seen as feeders. Those who would bless you for the loaf, only curse you for its littleness or its cost. And what has this monopolist identification done for you? Have you reaped a money reward for the iniquity? Has any one of successive Corn Laws made you proportionately successful? Has any one been true to the promises of its proposers? Has any one shielded you from distress and suffering? You know that, as to your profits, all have been deceptive. Under eminent "protection," your trade has become pre-eminently bad. Many of you are paying rent out of capital, instead of realising pro-

fits to purchase the fee-simple of your farms. Under Corn Law legislation, your brief glimpses of prosperity have been times of national calamity. You have been an alienated class, whose joys were the measure of others' sorrow, and your sorrow of their joy. Your thriving has been the signal of tumult; and your sliding-scale has commissioners of bankruptcy at one end, and incendiary paupers at the other.

You have sold yourselves to monopoly for nothing. The production of food cannot become a permanently unprofitable occupation, if law does but let it alone. You are sure of the demand. Famine will never be a fashion. Could you grow counties as well as corn, a new county every year would only supply the increase of our population. Consumption is competitive, and the consumers can pay you, if the law allows them to work for the world. And you lend yourselves to their hindrance, for fear the world should sometimes pay them with a peck of corn, which you fancy would leave as much of your own unsold. You don't know your customers. A nation's appetite is not easily gauged. With double our consumption of corn, it would not cry, "hold, enough." There are the five millions of potato people to come in yet. There is a market for you! Only let the restrictions come down. Free trade would then raise crops of consumers; a golden harvest for you. The foreigner must be a clever fellow to feed them cheaper than you can. Who fears lest he should clothe them cheaper? The unprotected cotton or cloth manufacturer hires his factory as you hire a farm. He needs a building wherein to spin his yarn, as you need land whereon to grow your wheat. He calculates prices and profits; and you must do the same. He will not run the risk of being turned out at the year's end, nor should you. He will not have his hands tied up to prescribed processes, nor should you. He will not engage for a rent estimated by the prices at which cottons are valued in Acts of Parliament; nor should you be guided by a Parliamentary price of corn. Calculate, as he does, by the world's market; measure your rent by your means; find your true and honest position; and neither ships, colonies, nor commerce will render the plough unprofitable.

The great fault finding with you, of late, comes not from the League, but from the landlords. Agricultural meetings have become a continual reprimand. One noble president scolds your short horns, and another your high hedges. One says the plough is badly driven, and another that the field is badly drained. My Lord This twits your neglect of guano, and my Lord That is not satisfied with the application of your home-made manure. In every landlord you meet a lecturer. They are as unsparing with you as Mrs. Caudle with her spouse. And you cannot sleep it off. It comes round with the next cattle show. My Lord Stanley does not deign to look at your prize ox, but he deals you hard knocks. He says, it is your "duty" to feed the population. How stomach you these ethics? How like you to be stuck up, in sight of the League and all the world, like a dunce at school, with a fool's cap on your head, to be lectured on the laws of farming by rent-receiving lords? And what does it all mean? Simply this: that by increased exertion and outlay you are to stave off the repeal of a monopoly, the profits of which never rest with you, but pass over into the pockets of the proprietary. The conductors of no other sort of business are talked to in this way by their landlords. They would speedily be told to mind their own concerns, take their due, and hold their tongues. You can afford to be as independent as other people, when corn sells at its natural price, and the outlay of capital has the security of a lease. If improvement have advanced less rapidly in your occupation than in others, the fault is in the factitious system created by your law-making landlords. They may be hereditary legislators, but they are not hereditary ploughmen. The science and practice of cultivating the soil are not instinctive in its owners. When estates are purchased, agricultural knowledge is not thrown in to better the bargain. All this interference, insolent even when it is not ignorant, if it be uncalled for, is only a galvanized kicking of monopoly against Free Trade. Farming will elicit skill, energy, and enterprise, when it repays them. Men need no admonition to make the

most of their time and money. Give you fair play and equable prices, and you will work your own way, without all this badgering. Profit is the best premium for a well-cultivated farm. You will learn all you want of the mechanical powers, when free from the annual turning of the machinery of the rent-screw. Are you not too old for leading-strings? Must baby be petted and patted, to be good when it wears top-boots? Every other British class is proud of defying the world's competition. All that any of them claim is a fair field and no favour. So would it be with agriculture, left to itself. It would thrive amongst the sturdiest. But it is disgraced and crippled by this legislative juggling, which, under the name of "Protection," makes a tool of the farmer and a prey of the consumer.

A NORWICH WEAVER BOY.

LETTER FROM ANDOVER.

ABOUT PAUPERS AND CONVICTS.

Andover! The very name of this place must be to the public by this time like a well-picked bone; a bone which, falling to the daily newspapers at a season of scarcity and dearth of news, has been snapped up—*The Times* carrying it off for its own use, to gnaw it in its own corner, and growl over it as it gnaws—a bone which is now so bare, so old, so emptied of its marrow, a disagreeable bone of contention from the first, that even a pauper in the workhouse would hardly gnaw it.

Still, I think it possible that the "dailies," keenscented as they are, eager and industrious as they have been here, may have overlooked some little morsels of fact, which a "weekly" may take up and turn to a useful purpose.

The name of Mr. Hugh Munday, of Down-farm, has been frequently mentioned in connection with the Poor Law inquiry at Andover. It was his petition to Parliament, praying for an inquiry into the allegation which he set forth, that the dietary was so low in the workhouse, as to starve down the paupers to the necessity of eating the rotten gristle off the bones, which they got to break for manure, that led to the recent inquiry after much delay, much cavilling, and some attempts on the part of the Poor Law Commissioners to wriggle out of it. Personally, Mr. Munday has taken no active share in promoting the charges against the late master of the union. These charges have been taken up as secondary thoughts, but promoted and proved so far as they have been proved as primary objects by other parties. Some of the parties may have been very honest, very pure, very humane in their motives; but if so, I must confess that so far as I can see, the honesty, the purity, the humanity, seem sadly obscured by personal ill-feeling, political partizanship (aye, even political hatred, strange as it may seem), and by a rather large amount of that cowardice which affects the bravo to hound on the public indignation against one man's deeds, that it and its own misdeeds may escape. The honesty, purity, and humanity of the promoters of the charges against Macdougall, the late master of the workhouse, have been sadly clouded by such moral impurities as these; and also by the fact that some of the persons who gave evidence against him on the score of immoral character, and others who did not give evidence against him personally, but who worked hard behind the scenes to get up damning evidence, ransacking the memories of themselves and neighbours over a period of nine years for everything that would tell against the man whom they once called friend; making friends of paupers, and of persons who had been paupers, and had always been odious to their new friends of to-day, and scornfully kept at a distance because they were paupers—prompting these persons, cramming them with stories which they were to remember the dates of, but which they could not remember the years of, when they came to be sworn—I say the fact of such opponents of Macdougall being now candidates for his vacant situation, throws an additional cloud over the alleged purity and humanity of their motives, in getting him removed from his situation.

It has always seemed to me a grievous error in the national economy to shut people up within workhouse walls because they sought employment, and could not get it, and that in a country whose soil has treasures buried and wasted in it for the want of labour—a grievous error in moral economy to think of making the idle industrious by shutting them up where they have no useful thing to do, and where they can learn, and feel, and understand nothing but how to hate their fellow-men. It has always seemed to me a grievous error to deny out-door relief to families in temporary distress, whereby they are compelled to undergo the most cruel privations, or submit to break up their little homes, sell off their furniture (their houses and gardens it may be, as in the parish of Heysham, in Sussex, and in numerous

other parishes), and become thorough, confirmed, irredeemable paupers. To me it has seemed cruel, terribly cruel, to take the aged and infirm from the cottages they have laboured to keep above their heads, and which they have sanctified with their affections, and shut them up in the workhouses, drilling them in their old days under the discipline of a barrack-yard, conducted by some non-commissioned officer of the army, whose fitness for keeping the workhouse in order is estimated by his success on the drill-ground and in the barrack-yard over a long period of years (Macdougall's service in the Royal Horse Artillery was 30 years, 27 of which he was a non-commissioned officer, and five of which regimental serjeant-major); terribly cruel to break up "the old house at home" of an old couple whose eyes see "home" written in every corner of it, in every crevice of the walls, whose affections rest upon the old stools where their young babies sat, on the old table where many ascanty, yet many a happy frugal meal was eaten; to part them from all and from each other, and drill them in their old days into military habits, under military men, as if they were young recruits! The impolicy of shutting up the able-bodied who cannot get work outside, compelling them to do worthless, profitless, filthy work inside, merely to punish them, is only surpassed in enormity by this cruel treatment of the aged and infirm, whose helplessness only compels them to submit. All others leave the workhouse walls as soon as they can. They only leave to go to their graves. And to put the deeper shame on age and poverty, most workhouses present them with graves within the walls, as prisons do to the most felonious of criminals. All, save the aged and infirm, and the incapable of acting for themselves, can escape, and do escape, from the stupid punishment of the workhouses. They escape to kill game, steal sheep, rob hen-roosts—to do anything, to take any chance rather than be punished in the workhouse for seeking parish relief; they escape from the dietary of the unions to the better fare of the prisons and the hulks, and the better fed convict gangs of the Bermudas, Gibraltar, and New South Wales; but the old—the venerable fathers and mothers of the villages, cannot escape, save into their graves; and, that even the hope of the grave may not be too comfortable to them in the imprisonment of their old age, they have the certainty placed before them that since they are such vile creatures as to be old and poor, they will not be buried in the old churchyard with their kindred, but will be consigned to pauper's ground.

Say the best that can be said for the workhouse system, and even then there is a frightful balance of ignorance of human nature, irrational efforts to reform the idly disposed, and of cruel irreverence for the holiest affections of mankind left in it.

Strange, that in an age that boastfully calls itself the nineteenth century, and boasts of reforming its criminal code, of banishing the criminal code; of banishing the birch from its schools; of working upon mind rather than upon matter; on hopes rather than fears—an age in which even the cruelties of naval and military discipline are relaxed and amended; and which promises at no distant period to abolish capital punishments in obedience to the progressive cry of charity and peace, and tolerant rationality instead of intolerant barbarism: strange, that in this age called the nineteenth century, and in this country called England, a systematic code of punishment for the aged, the infirm, and the unfortunate should for the first time in the world's history be adopted and rigorously applied.

And the strangeness of the fact does not seem less when we call to mind that many of those public men who have been foremost—most sincerely and earnestly in the front, as I believe—in softening the rigours of the criminal code, for the better reformation of criminals, and in advocating a more comprehensive and rational system of education for the young, that they may be led and induced to imbibe education as a pleasure, ceasing to be treated as ill-used brute-beasts, and beginning to be treated as rational beings,—that such moral reformers should at the same time be foremost in making industry compulsive, not by leading the idle to work, but by driving them in one common herd, idle, unfortunate, aged, infirm, and sick, as the worst-used of brute-beasts are driven, to compel them to work or die quickly at little expense. Strange that men, foremost in civilising and humanising and leading on the moral armies of the nineteenth century, conquering old prejudices and old barbarities, should turn back to use cruelty and coercion in the rear of their moral army, upon the aged, the infirm, and unfortunate—upon the helpless, who in all ages and countries, the most ignorant and barbarous, have been spared and protected.

This is no idle sentimentalism: it is but a feeble expression of what I have found during the last three years in my travels through almost every parish (two or three unions excepted) in the south and south-west of England.

I have said that Mr. Hugh Munday originated this inquiry by a petition to Parliament. The inquiry had thus a respectability of birth which gave it a higher character throughout with those who know Mr. Munday than it might otherwise have had. He is a practically liberal man. I paid a visit one day to Down Farm, and found, nestled among some trees on the left-hand side of the Basingstoke-road, between two and three miles from Andover, Mr. Munday's residence. He at one time, after succeeding his father, had 1800 acres of land in occupation. As his brothers grew to manhood, and got married, and needed farms, he parted the land with them. He occupies now, I think, about 500 acres, quite enough for one management, and has yielded up the parental house, with the best portions of the farm, to his brothers, he being a bachelor, betaking himself to a smaller house; also to the worst portion of the land. This is mentioned to show that the gentleman whose genuine humanity led him to interfere in behalf of the famine-stricken paupers, has kindly feelings in him for other uses, and at other times, than to be exhibited for holiday show.

I found his work-people more comfortably provided for than is common on many other farms. But what pleased me still more, I found them greater in number, in proportion to the acres, than on most other farms; and Mr. Munday answered me that all the progress he had made towards this increase of employment on his farm had been attended with additional profit. He does not believe that his agriculture is by any means perfect; he expects to advance; but, as he now stands, he is far enough to say, that if all farmers employed as many hands as he does on the same number of acres, there would not be an idle hand in Hampshire, nor in rural England. And if every employer encouraged and assisted his work-people, as he does, to feed pigs, keep bees, grow their vegetables, and live regularly, soberly, and be industrious, there would be no need—at least less need—to ask relief from the poor-rates at times of sickness and temporary distress.

Walking in the garden and orchard behind his house, I observed a row of beehives, five-and-twenty in number I think, and made the remark to him that he had a goodly share of them. He said they were not his; they belonged to two of his work-people, who had not a convenient place for so many elsewhere; and he had invited them, as he kept no bees himself, and had a good garden, to put them there. The bees belonging to these two persons produced 12*l.* last year, being 6*l.* each; a small matter to people whose honey and money are always overflowing, but a great matter to agricultural labourers.

The current wages are 9*s.*, 10*s.*, and 11*s.* a week; but with such employers as Mr. Munday, other advantages, some of them not to be estimated by money—I mean the moral advantages of being always cared for—are additional to the current rate of wages.

It being on a Friday when I was at Down Farm, I observed that Mr. Munday had established the good and convenient custom of paying his work-people on Fridays.

The readers of this paper know that it is an axiom with Mr. Cobden to say, "Show me a good farmer; a man cultivating better than his neighbours, and I will show you a man not afraid to part with protection." Such a man is Mr. Munday. He is not a political man; and, I believe, neither an orator in practice nor in ambition; but being at Winchester on the occasion of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright's well-known visit to that city, he was asked, as a tenant farmer of Hampshire, to take a part in the proceedings. He consented, and proposed and supported a resolution to the effect that the Corn Laws had been of no benefit to the farmers, and that agriculture and the agricultural labourers would have been in a better condition than they ever have been in, had there been no Corn Laws.

Being at Winchester the other day, I returned to Andover—the regular distance being about 11 miles—by way of Sutton Scotney, which made the distance four miles farther. Sutton Scotney is a goodly-sized village—a thousand people in it, or thereabout. It has the village of Newton, in which parish it stands, half-a-mile eastward, and Barton Stacey, a parochial village, a mile westward. It was in these villages conjointly that the Swing riots of 1830 first began. Several persons belonging to them were convicted and transported, and one hanged. One of those who had been sentenced to seven years' transportation, but got off with two years' imprisonment at Portsmouth, was mentioned to me, and I sent for him, and drew him into familiar conversation. His account was to the following effect:

"My name? my name be's Joseph Carter. Ees, I had seven year on't for them mobs; but they let me off with imprisonment at the hulks for two years and one day. That was the exact time. The way I got off was this: they found out when they put me to school there that I never could read none; no reading nor writing. I never had a book put afore me never in my life, not

as I minds on, till I went aboard ship a prisoner to serve my seven year at Portsmouth. I wish I had ha' served my seven year. They would ha' made me a scholar by this time. They learned me to read the Testament a bit; but did not make me much of a scholar, 'cause, why you see, I wor only but two year and a day there. But they finding out as how I had never been no scholar, they knew it could not have been I, as Old Barrowman called in to see if it wor a good ten-pound note. That old Barrowman was the father of young Barrowman as was hanged. The old one was transported. Both they were from Barton Stacey.

"Well, about the ten-pound note, it was in this here way. The mob goes up to Mr. Callander—he is Sir Thomas Baring's steward—and they said they must have money, or they would do mischief. Well, he said, don't do mischief, come in with me, and I will give you money. Old Barrowman went in to get the money; but he could not read a word of figures or writing, and he did not know if it were a good note. So he comes out and gets another man to go in with him, to see if the note were a good one. Mack was the man who went in. He be here now, and everybody knows he wor the man as went in. But he be a tall man like myself; and i' faith, somebody swore it wor me; and they took me. But when they found I wor no scholar, they believed it might not be me.

"Oh, ees, ees, I wor with them. But then, everybody was forced like to go. There was no denying. I be an old man now. I was not young then. It was the young men as did it. They worked, you see, for little wages, as they do now. They suffers most. They get but 4s., and 4s. 6d., and 5s., and one or two may get 5s. 6d. a week. At that time the married men got 9s. and 10s. a week. But it was the young men as led the others and forced them into it. I was took afore Squire Wickham and the other gentlemen, for the squire to show as how I had no business to be mobbing. I was a hurdle maker and thatcher, and jobbed at hedging. The squire showed as how I got 64l. a year from him for work of that kind for seven years. But then he did not show that I had most times a man to help me, and two women besides at times. He did not show that. I paid as much as 20l. some years, for helpers. Oh, I did not say I paid the money away that way, because they would ha' thought I complained, and would ha' taken that as guilty of going out to mob. I said that I wor forced out agin' my will. And so I wor.

"But you see, I wor at the meeting across the street there, in that corner house, the night as Joe Mason read the letter to us all, that came from Overton. There was no name to the letter. But Joe said he knowed who it came from. Joe was a good scholar. The letter, I know came from old D——'s; he be dead; and it came out of Newton; never came from Overton. It said we was all to leave off work; and the Sutton men was to go out and stop the ploughs. They was to send home the horses for the farmers to look after them themselves; and was to take the men with them. And they was to go and turn the men out of the barns. And they was all to do and break the 'sheens' as the farmers had got to do the threshing. That was what they was to do. They ha' got three sheens now in this place, now at this very time; and one farmer borrows one; and them four sheens does the work of eight men. They be a doin' of that in Sutton at this moment; and men be again doing nothin'.

"Well; about the letter. Joe Mason read it. We did not then know who it came from. But we knows, all on us now in this here place, that old D——'s had a hand in't. He was a great friend of Mr. Cobbett. He used to write to Mr. Cobbett. He never got into no trouble about it. He was too good a manager to get other people into trouble to get in himself. No; I do not blame this on Mr. Cobbett. I mean old D——'s, the shoemaker. Mr. Cobbett was a good master. I ha' nothing to say agin' he. I lived with him at Botley, and would never wish to serve a better master.

"About the letter; well, it was this: I was there at the reading on't, and that came all out, and you see that went agin' me. And then some of them told as how that I carried the money; and, eed, you see that was true. Joe Mason was by far the best scholar, but they would not trust Joe with the money; nor yet old Barrowman. They said I wor honest, and they gave it to me to carry. I had 40l. at one time,—40l., every shilling. Some people ha' told me since that I should ha' gone off with it. I did think of doing that once. The coach came by when we was up on the London road, and it did come into my head to get on the coach, and get away from the whole business, with the 40l. But I thought about leaving my wife behind, and about what a vagabond they would all call me, and the coach was soon past. I never had another chance. But had I ha' knowed I was to be tried, and sentenced to be transported, I'd ha' got up on the coach.

"I needn't ha' been tried at all. They came to me

times and times after I was in Winchester gaol, to get me to speak against the two Masons. They offered to let me clear, if I would only tell what I knowed agin' them. Had I told what I knowed, they'd ha' been hung, as sure as Barrowman, and Cooke, and Cooper, was hung. I was took out with the other prisoners to see they hung. They tried to frighten us by it to tell all we knowed on one another. But I wouldn't split. So the Masons' was only transported, and they transported me, too.

"Ees; the mob took me agin' my will; but then that wa' enough to make me split, 'cause, you see, I staid with them. They took many a man agin' his will. They took Harry Mills, of Barton Stacey, and carried him a mile and a half. Harry Mills be alive now. He wor yesterday. I seed him in this here place. He have a pension of 1s. a-day, he have. He were in the 63rd regiment, and stood guard over Bonaparte at St. Helena. The mob carried Harry Mills a mile and a half, and forced him to go with them. It wor the young fellows did it. The worst on them never got nothing done to them. Some of those as got most done to them, some as got hanged, never did half so much as some I knows on in this here parish."

"Were you ever in a workhouse?"

"Was I ever in a workhouse? No, thank God, I never did no harm to be put in workhouse."

"But I do not mean a prison; you have been in a prison. I mean a union workhouse; were you ever an inmate of the union?"

"No; I never did nothing to be sent to the union."

"Do you mean by that answer that they send people to the union as a place of punishment?"

"I don't know, I ha'n't been in; but I hear tell it be a terrible place; and I knows this, that if a man does not please his master here with his work, the master says he'll be d—d but he'll send him to the union. An' if a man seeks more wages, and the master ben't willing to give more, and the man say he can't live on what he be getting, the master says 'D—n ye; I'll send thee to the union; see how ye like that!' No, I never was in the union myself; hope I never shall be so bad as ha' to go."

"What kind of food had you on board the hulk at Portsmouth the two years and a day you were there?"

"Why, Sir, not always good alike; and not always bad alike. The bread was mostly always bad, 'cause one man, who had great favour, had the contract all the time I was there. The butchers took the contract for six months; and there was a great deal of difference in one six months from another six months, according as to who might have the contract. The worst on't was better than I can get now in Sutton Scotney. I do not mean but there be's good meat to be got in Sutton by them as have money; but it ben't no working man like me as can get it. I wish I had as much meat now as I had in the hulk; and I wishes the same to every poor hard working man in Hampshire.

"The allowance we had, Sir, was this:—We had 4 oz. of biscuit a day—the best of biscuit. The bread was 1 lb.; it was black, and not good. We had oatmeal too, and pea soup; and we had garden vegetables that we bought with the money we worked for. We had 14 oz. of meat each time, four times a week; one six months the meat was beautiful. That man gave always good meat when he had the contract. We had plenty of victuals. The only thing was the bread. I wishes every poor, hard-working man in this here parish were as well fed with meat, and myself with them, as I wor in the hulk."

"Oh, Sir, you are very kind. You need not say you are sorry to have troubled me. A man once came from Winchester and took down in writing, like you, all I had to say. He was a shoemaker, somebody told me. I do not know his name, but he said he was going to make a history of the mobs. I never heard no more of him."

"Oh yes, Sir, you are welcome to know all as I know; but to tell you the truth, I thought, at first, when you sent for me, it was about that old horse. You see I was to pay one shilling a week, and that for 26 weeks, and it only lived a month. So they want to make me pay the whole price for it. I thought it was about that, and I was rather afeard. But I ben't the least afeard now."

So much for a Hampshire peasant in the year 1845.

ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH.

ATHENS, SEPT. 20.—A Russian ukase has just been published here, which has caused great sensation. It is to the effect that vessels belonging to Powers having no commercial treaties with Russia will have to pay an immense duty on entering her ports in the Black Sea. Now Greece has no treaty with Russia, and all her trade is with the Black Sea. Several Greek merchants and proprietors of vessels are seriously thinking of quitting Greece (and becoming Russian subjects) for Odessa and Taganrog; the third article of the enforced on Greek vessels, would ruin them:—"Foreign vessels to pay a silver rouble per last, import and export duty." It is, however, also stated that this is to last until the reasons for which it is imposed are removed.—Times.

AGRICULTURE.

PRIZE FARMING.

DO FARMERS REQUIRE TO BE DANDLED?

We have for some years watched attentively the proceedings of "agricultural associations," not because they have been of much value to practical farmers, but because they have afforded indication of the current of landlord-opinion. Now the landlords, as a class, have exercised great and usually most pernicious influence upon agriculture; and these societies being occasionally their toys, and sometimes their political engines, the after-dinner talk affords a clue to the policy of the landocracy. There was a time when it was grievous to see the monstrous and mischievous errors palmed off upon the farmers; and there have been times when the ludicrous so strongly predominated, that the malicious intent of the "protectionist" squires was almost overlooked. But a new sensation has been excited by the speeches of many of the landed grandees at the agricultural meetings of the present autumn; namely, one of absolute nausea. To hear a dull lord, or an ignorant squire, abuse the League, or denounce the Prime Minister, was tolerable; for one might hope that in the midst of passionate vituperation some glimmerings of intellect would be elicited. But the complacent, self-sufficient twaddle wherewith the aered magnates have *entertained* (!) their tenantry during the present season is literally hopeless. It is unmitigated stupidity. That active, intelligent men of business, such as the best of the tenant-farmers of England are, should feel compelled by their position to listen with apparent patience to such stuff is truly lamentable. There are, however, two sources of consolation to be derived from this monopolist drivel; first, that it amounts to a plea of guilty to all the charges of impeding agriculture we and others have made against the landlords; secondly, that it is exciting deep and universal disgust in the minds of the tenant-farmers.

In this country, men are too apt to bow down instinctively to an estate of so many thousand acres, or to a rent-roll of five or six figures, whether the possessor of such advantages be a man or a monkey. But we should like each solemn twaddler to hear his pompous inanities freely discussed at the market-tables the succeeding week. We doubt whether even squirearchical complacency could afterwards venture on another exhibition.

We cannot pretend to give our readers one-half of the sayings at these meetings which bear out our remarks, but we shall offer them a few, and they must judge of the sack by the sample.

It should seem that the first qualification for the Presidency of an agricultural society is to know nothing of agriculture. Thus, at the "East Norfolk Agricultural Association," the Earl of Orford, who presided at the dinner, said, "I blush to confess that I do not know the A B C of farming;" yet "no one was more deeply imbued with the necessity, or more intent upon the means of encouraging it," than his lordship; and his avowed ignorance did not prevent his lordship from delivering a long string of generalities on Norfolk farming. All this has since been much laughed at by the farmers present. So Lord Hastings said, "I did not see that improvement in the stock exhibited to-day which might have been expected after the existence of the association for four years." This was, perhaps, a just reproof; but let us tell his lordship what a first-rate judge of stock said in answer to an inquiry about his lordship's cattle. "Lord Hastings has some well-bred animals, but they are sadly underfed." And we believe that as a rule the stock of enterprising tenant-farmers is far better kept than that of landlord-farmers. And the reason obviously is, that the farmer feeds for profit, the gentleman for fancy or "example."

Later in the evening, Lord Orford stumbled upon the following praise of "competition," which has a wider application than he probably intended:

"That in bringing together such meetings, COMPETITION WAS THE SURFEST BASIS OF THEIR SUCCESS, and without that they might consider their own beasts very good, continuing to pursue the same plodding career since 1745. He thought that COMPETITION WAS OF ALL THINGS THE MOST

DESIRABLE, and the more they amalgamated with strangers, who were better informed than themselves, the better would it be for the country."

No doubt that competition is the grand stimulus to success in farming as in other businesses; but then the farmer wants to be free from landlord-created trammels.

Foremost amongst the lordly twaddlers stands the Duke of Norfolk, who at the "Arundel and Bramber Association" thus poured out his not very gentle dullness:

"He was aware, and he thought proper to state it, and he stated it fearlessly, that since he had come into possession of this property, he had dealt hardly, and brought forward rules, and desired his tenantry to improve their farms in certain ways."

His grace's passion seems to be for "neat hedges:"

"He asked of no one more than was asked of the tenants of other great estates, and he should require it of them. He prided himself on those farms where there was a neat hedge-row. If they went into Norfolk and Suffolk, they saw every farm had neat hedge-rows, but that was completely neglected in this part of the country. He was sure that any tenant of his, or of any other person, if they had been recommended to keep up their fences, would have done it, but now he was under the disagreeable necessity of begging them to do it. Indeed it was a disgrace to them all, to them and to him, and to those who looked after them, that the fences were not in a very good condition. Of those who came into this country, who did not say, 'What a dreadful state their fences were in?'"

We do not yield to the sapient Duke of Norfolk himself in our respect for a "neat hedge-row," when it is an indication, as it commonly is, of good farming; but dictatorially to insist on the yearly tenants of the heavy undrained soils of Sussex trimming their hedges lest the rude hedgerows should be a disgrace "to them," to their ducal landlord, and "to those who look after them," is simply absurd. A neat hedgerow thus enforced is about as much evidence of good farming as the smart livery-coat on his grace's footman is proof of the lacquey's taste. Both are merely badges, marking the ownership of his grace of Norfolk. And who "looks after them?" Is it the steward or the nursery-maid? the butler or the gamekeeper? His grace "regretted seeing so small a number of farmers" at the meeting, and "that so small a number of cattle were shown for prizes." And he admitted that "it required a stout heart to go on with this institution." We do not wonder at the ducal bile being excited by the fact that only two farmers competed for a prize of 50*l.* he had offered.

"They would remember that this time last year he proposed a premium of 50*l.* to the farmer who employed the greatest number of labourers. That he did, that they might have a greater number of labourers employed; and then he proposed another, for the best-cultivated farm, and several of his friends were kind enough to make out the sum of 50*l.* for that also. He regretted exceedingly that there were only these very few candidates for these prizes. He regretted that the number was not five times as great, because that would have shown some enterprise and spirit."

What a notion of enterprise and spirit his grace of Norfolk must have! He seems never to have outgrown that intellectual stature when the first prize for nonsense-verses might have been a laudable object of his ambition. But let us tell his grace, in confidence, that the common people who rent farms really do outgrow their boyhood somewhere about the age of 21. But his grace very properly resolved no longer to cast his pearls before—the Sussex farmers:

"Finding there was this want of competition, he must withdraw his premiums this year. If he had found there had been anything like competition, he would have gone on with it, but he must withdraw it."

Weep, farmers of Sussex, weep! Mourn "Arundel and Bramber," in sackcloth and ashes; the two prizes of 50*l.* each for the farmer who employs most labourers, and for the best cultivated farm, offered by the Duke of Norfolk, are withdrawn! Adieu all hope of competing with Norfolk and Suffolk. Even cut hedges will be visible only where the farmers are well "looked after." His grace then went mauling on about the "drinking," "rick-making" and miserable drilling of the district, to correct which, nothing daunted by former failures, he proposed to offer prizes of 2*l.* and 1*l.* We suppose his grace imagines that by diminishing the amount of his prizes he will increase the "spirit and enterprise" of competitors. Really such nonsense, addressed to grown men as an inducement to them to follow with spirit the business upon which the livelihood of themselves and their families is dependent, and in which they have probably embarked every farthing

they possess, is worse than ridiculous—it is childish trifling. If the Duke of Norfolk and others of his class really wish to promote the employment of "the greatest number of labourers," and the good cultivation of farms, we can offer him a simple and certain plan for effecting his object; let him grant 21 years' leases, unencumbered with reservations and restrictions beyond such as may be necessary to secure the regular payment of rent. The duke will then find no lack of candidates. We could quote much more from his grace's talk of equal value; but, like an over-dose of James's powders, its very tastelessness produces nausea.

At the Wokingham Agricultural Association, Sir John Conroy, having quitted his "public duties" in the antechamber of a palace, and "pitched his tent amongst them as a farmer—he hoped in time to be a practical farmer"—was, of course, called upon to preside. His ignorance of farming seemed to be of that perfect kind as to fit him exactly for the post. It is fair to Sir John, however, to say, that his theory of farming is more hopeful than the Duke of Norfolk's; for instead of limiting his aspirations to cut hedges, well-trimmed ricks, and straight drills, he said "he had no doubt that as he went for double produce he should be successful;" and that he looked for "remuneration from plenty, not from scarcity." Let him follow out this, and he won't go far wrong.

Lord Barrington, one of the county members, after stating also that "he was not a practical farmer," launched into a long and minute disquisition "on sowing or dibbling of wheat," which was literally "a tale without an end," for "it [the said wheat] would not be thrashed until the spring, and consequently he was not able to tell the result." How wonderfully the practical farmer must profit by such intellectual communings with his county member! Again, we have Lord Stanley at the Liverpool meeting lecturing the farmers in his off-hand and haughty style on the way in which they should benefit by the assistance afforded by their landlords.

"He saw, with satisfaction, landlord and tenant co-operating together to improve the agriculture of this county; and unless the landlords did so co-operate and combine, he was satisfied it was not reasonable to expect improvement from the farming and agricultural population of the country. (Hear, hear.) When landlords did come forward and lend their assistance, they had a right to expect that the tenants should go hand and hand with them. They had a right to expect that assistance given by the landlord was not an excuse for slovenly conduct to the farmers."

And his Lordship referred to the increasing population, the necessity "for fresh exertions and renewed applications of capital, science, and skill." We wonder whether it ever occurred to his imperious lordship that the shortest road to agricultural improvement would be to make the farmers independent?

And it is remarkable, that the only gentleman whose farming has been mentioned at any of these meetings with unqualified approbation, is Mr. W. Marshall, M.P., for Carlisle, one of the well-known firm of Marshall and Co., of Leeds. At the Penrith Association, the chairman, in giving Mr. Marshall's health, said—

"He did not know any man amongst those of his friends, in that part of the world, whose opinion on farming matters he would sooner take than that of Mr. Marshall. (Applause.) He had given his mind to agriculture, and had improved his land in a spirited way, worthy of imitation. He only wished that all Members of Parliament would do the same."

In a subsequent part of the evening, the Free Trader, Mr. Marshall, added his testimony to that of the monopolist, Mr. Wames, that British farmers might profitably cultivate the unprotected article, flax.

Mr. Marshall said—

"He went over this year to Belgium, with his brother, to observe the cultivation of flax. In that country it gave the farmer the greatest profit, and the finest flax was produced. The result of their observations was, that there was no doubt but the introduction of the cultivation of flax on a large scale into England would come on rapidly."

This, from the largest consumer of flax in this country, is an important testimony. Such a practical suggestion is, however, a mere drop of sense in the ocean of nonsense which the reports of these meetings afford; and we suspect that the greater part of the agricultural associations will soon become extinct, unless the farmers themselves take

them up. At present, except perhaps as mere cattle shows, the farmers, as a body, regard them with mighty small respect.

FARMERS HEED THE VOICE OF ONE OF YOURSELVES.

At the recent meeting of the South Beds and North Herts Agricultural Association, Mr. C. H. Lattimore was called upon by the unanimous voice of the company, to respond to the toast of the "Labourers."

And who could so fitly respond to the toast as one of the most intelligent employers of rural labour in the kingdom—whose example, if followed, would not leave an unemployed peasant throughout the land? We extract from the *Hertford Mercury* some of the passages in Mr. Lattimore's speech, which was a most telling one. He first referred to the practical character of the meeting, and said:

"He had always been of opinion that at gatherings of this kind they ought to discuss fully and fairly all matters relating to the interests of the farmer and of agriculture generally. (Hear, and cheers.) He believed that candour—open, manly candour—and the full expression of the farmers' sentiments on these occasions, would be better than that secret fires should be allowed to lurk and smoulder in their breasts. He was of opinion that it was better to discuss what they believed to be their grievances, and thus get rid of the danger, than that they should suffer from concealed injuries, whether those injuries were imagined or real."

He then alluded to the circumstance of the manufacturers of Luton being the chief givers of funds for agricultural prizes, and he thanked them for the kindly spirit it indicated:

"But he was jealous for the honour of his own class; he felt and he hoped the agriculturists generally would feel also, that the necessity for this assistance ought not to exist. If one class was in want of encouragement, and another class was able to give it, this was an indication that the class which could afford to give aid was in a more prosperous condition than that which required to receive it; and then they came to the question, 'How is it that agriculture is not carried on with the same spirit and success as manufactures?' The simple answer was, that the manufacturing class felt that they were working for themselves, while the agriculturists, at least the tenant-at-will farmers did not feel certain on that point; they did not feel certain that the improvements they might make would be to their own advantage, or that they would not ultimately be called upon to pay, in the shape of increased rent, a premium on the improvements which had been effected by their own skill, their own labour, and their own capital. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) That was one reason why the agriculturists did not evince the same spirit, and did not realise the same success as the manufacturers."

Mr. Lattimore then brought out the sentiments of the meeting, when he added:

"Then, who were the gentlemen who took away the prizes on these occasions? Those who had the most capital on their land. (A cry of 'No!') He did not say in all cases; but the prizes taken were generally by those who held leases, and who thus had security for the expenditure of their capital. (Cheers, and a cry of 'That's better.') The great evil in connection with the cultivation of the land was the want of capital. The manufacturers who had raised the town of Luton, in which they were then assembled, to its present state of prosperity, did not do so without capital; and the stock exhibited at these annual agricultural meetings were not brought to their present state of perfection without capital. (Cheers.)"

He then referred to the fact, that in Worcestershire Mr. Woodward had quoted with approval the speech of Mr. Cobden, in which he attributed the defects of agriculture to insecurity of tenure and want of capital:

"This was what Mr. Woodward said, and he (Mr. Lattimore) entirely concurred in this opinion. It was not likely that a farmer would lay out a large amount of capital on his land, unless security were given him. There was no instance of a manufacturer building up costly premises to carry on an extensive trade without having some security that he himself would enjoy the fruits of it. (Hear, and cheers.) There was no dissimilarity in the cases. What the manufacturer could do, that the farmer could do under the same circumstances. (Cheers.)"

Mr. Lattimore then, in some detail, went into the statistics of landed property in England, in the course of which he remarked, that of the 28 millions of acres of cultivated land in England and Wales, not more than one-third had sufficient capital expended upon it; "that is, as much as could be profitably employed upon it." And at least 3*l.* an acre was required in addition, or 60 millions sterling.

"The employment of the labourer," said Mr. Lattimore, "would come with this additional expenditure of capital; but before necessary labour could be employed, sixty millions of capital must be laid out. (Hear, hear.) Were the landlords able or willing to lay out this sum? and if not, were they ready to give security to those who were able and willing? Till this point were cleared up, they would have to rely on and permanent good, although they might make some partial and local improvements. (Hear, hear, and cheers.)"

And forty millions more might be profitably invested in the improvement of land in Scotland and Ireland.

"Were they then sincere in their desire to employ the poor? (A cry of 'Yes!') If so, he would take it as a proof of their sincerity, if they advocated the principles best calculated to bring into effect the alterations he had pointed out; for whatever solitary efforts might be made to employ the labourer; whatever individual kindness might effect employment could never become permanent unless it were profitable; and without security of tenure, the outlay necessary to make the employment of labour profitable, could not and would not be made. (LOUD CHEERS.) Some might be

staggered at the amount of the capital he had stated to be necessary; but if, when they went home, they quietly thought over the matter, he had no doubt that they would agree with him that there was ample room for a very large outlay, if not for quite so much as he had represented. (Hear.) *Why, the tenant-at-will was but the occupier of the day, and had no permanent interest in the inheritance, or we might liken him to a passing traveller who might see and project the improvements required, but did not stay long enough to carry them into effect. (Loud cheers.)*

He warned the farmers against empirical remedies, and royal roads to farming.

"The medium through which they should alone expect to secure agricultural prosperity, was the independence of the farmer. (Cheers.) Improvements and inventions were carried out by means of energy and activity; but he never heard of their being carried out by slaves in prison; and he thought that whatever placed the farmer on his knees when he ought to stand upright, tended to throw back agricultural improvement. (Hear, and cheers.) Without security of tenure, the farmer could not pry for labour on the soil; and without labour he could not make those improvements which every lover of his country must desire to see carried out. (Hear, hear.)"

Having referred to Capt. Rous's speech, in Suffolk, and his reference to the Chinese, Mr. Lattimore said—

"He did think it very odd that it should be necessary for Christian England to take lessons in moral, social, and political economy from the Pagans of China. (Hear, hear.) He believed that there was ample capital in the country, but without security of tenure it never would be devoted to the cultivation of land. Agriculturists were like other men; they had the same spirit—the same energy and activity—the same bias and impulse—but they required to be treated like other men; they wanted security! (Hear, hear.) Let them have this, and then their skill and their energies would be exercised—improvements in the cultivation of the land would be carried out, and there would be ample employment for labour for another generation."

And he then stated the value of such improvements to the labouring classes.

"There was enough of capital in the country. We were making railroads for Australia and the East Indies, and upon the Continent of Europe; and the capital thus employed we could devote to the cultivation of the land at home, if we had security of tenure. (Hear.) If we had this, there would be no need of the rewards to the labourer for good conduct, which had been given that day; for we should then, like the manufacturers, be able to give him the best of all rewards—namely, full and constant employment at remunerative wages. The manufacturers of Lancashire have lately been thus distributing 150,000*l.* weekly in extra wages. (Hear, hear.) In the reception of this kind of reward there would be no degradation; the recipient would lift his head aloft in the consciousness of honest independence, and feel that he was a free and useful citizen, giving a full equivalent for the support of himself and family to his country at large. (LOUD CHEERS.)"

This useful speech was very well received; indeed such observations come with great weight from a farmer whose own practice so fully bears out his precepts. Yet will it be believed, that Mr. Lattimore was lately turned out of one of his farms by a little Hertfordshire Squire, in consequence of his sound and able public advocacy of the best interest of the farming body?

THE CANT OF MONOPOLY.

The following most exquisite bit of humbug was delivered by that pattern monopolist, Mr. George Bankes, at the *Dorchester Agricultural Association*. It seems that the labourers who had received premiums were allowed to dine in the same room, though at a separate table with the gentry and farmers, in avowed imitation of that prince of pretenders, the Duke of Richmond. Mr. Bankes, addressing these labourers, said—

"It has been said, I know, with respect to meetings such as this, What good do they do? And especially with reference to the industrious and deserving labourers who appear on such occasions, it is said—Well, and what good do these meetings do them? The pecuniary value of the premiums which they receive is of no great consideration, it is true. Is there then no other good to be derived from these meetings? Now, my friends (addressing the labourers) I will consider the question for a moment with you, and I will suppose the question put with reference to myself. There are those who are, in rank, power, and condition, high above me in station of life, as I may, by the ordinances of Providence, be in station above you. And if those who are greatly my superiors should, not on account of rank, not on account of wealth, not on account of brilliant talent, for I have none of those qualities; but if the great and worthy should select me as deserving of their notice, because I had in my station endeavoured with faithful industry to discharge every duty incident to that station; if I had been found willing in my services to my fellow-subjects, and proving myself if an humble yet a useful member of the community, I think I should derive good from being selected on such terms, and on such a recommendation, and that an invitation on such terms may do good as well to those who invite, as to those who are the objects of the invitation. (Loud cheers.) Nor is this good confined to the hour when it occurs, nor yet to the individual who receives it. I return to my family, and my children gather round me, and inquire the incidents of the day; and when I tell them of the notice I have received from the great and the worthy, in whose company I have been treated as though I had a right to be there (cheers), I think the lesson of the night will not be forgotten on the morrow. And many who are here now will, I trust, live to see your children emulating those characters which we are so happy to record for you. (Cheers.) This, then, is one source of good from such meetings as these."

Now, unless Mr. George Bankes is a most consummate hypocrite, the above speech indicates a degree of mental servility which we firmly believe the poorest labourer present would have despised. The reporter says—

"The labourers then rose, and gave three cheers for Mr. Bankes, Lord Stavordale, and the gentlemen and farmers present; after which they retired, it being about seven o'clock, having conducted themselves with the greatest propriety and order."

And this is the way in which the 'squires seek to raise the labouring classes. But the fact is, the gentry do not desire to raise the rural labourers beyond the point of bowing to the parson and the 'squire.

And then Mr. Bankes affects to consider the entertainments given by the intelligent operatives of the manufacturing districts to their masters as imitations of such re-unions as that at Dorchester!

Probably the force of assurance never went further than in the following passage of Mr. Bankes's speech:

"Now, that we have tried the experiment, I think we may consider that the new regulation is quite practicable. It gives me great pleasure to find that meetings are not falling off, but that those who were once in the habit of thinking very little of anything done by the agriculturists, if not of sneering at us and our societies for encouraging the labourers, and uniting the different classes together, are now imitating us, and indeed going beyond us. I saw in a newspaper the other day, that at Oldham the workmen are going to give a *fête* to the masters, and that a ball is to be included. I do not stop to ask what good it will do. I think it will do the masters good to mix with their men, for a little friendly enjoyment. I am glad to find that there is a good spirit springing up between the employer and the employed. I never did encourage a feeling of hostility between agriculturists and manufacturers. I was never one of those who encouraged a bad feeling on the part of workmen against their masters."

Of the real value of the landlords' good will towards the industrious agricultural classes, some notion may be gained by the fact mentioned by Mr. Churchill, with reference to a proposed prize for good cultivation of farms. He said—

"They had now the addition of a very useful prize offered by Lord Stavordale, for which also he hoped there would be much competition, although he had been told in the market that day that such was not likely to be the case, as there was a disinclination on the part of renting tenants to permit such an inspection as would be required, from the supposition, as he understood, that the landlord would take advantage, and raise the rent on the next lease."

And the market estimate of landlord liberality is pretty accurate. For it will be found that notwithstanding all the high-flown sentiment expressed about the labourers, the 'squires of Dorsetshire are most anxious to pull down every cottage they can lay hands on, so as to drive the "surplus" labourers into the towns. And yet the greatest want of the rural population of Dorsetshire is decent cottage accommodation. We commend to the reader's attention an admirable article on this meeting, which we reprint from the *Morning Chronicle*.

A DELICATE INQUIRY.

At the *Dunmow Agricultural Meeting*, Mr. Low, one of the farmers used by the Duke of Richmond's clique to get up "protection societies," said:

"He was inclined to think, from what he saw in one of our manufacturing towns, that they were as blind to agricultural matters as it was possible to be; but the information put forth by the Protection Society was spreading better views; and he alluded to this society because he had the honour to propose the first resolution at the first meeting, when Essex took the lead, and her example was quickly followed throughout the kingdom at large."

Mr. Low may be excused for reviving the memory of his short-lived and rickety bantling; but we thought that the "Central Protection Society" had not only been dead and buried, but totally forgotten, until we saw in the *Morning Post*—*et tu brute!*—the following delicate inquiry, by a correspondent from Spilsby, near Boston, who signs himself "A Tenant Farmer":

"Two seasons ago, there was formed in London a society, called the Society for the Protection of Agriculture, or the Agricultural Protection Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and which society, after passing several very excellent resolutions, agreed to appeal to the then very numerous local associations for liberal support to enable them to carry out their very extended scheme of operations against the efforts of Free Traders. Among the many plans proposed by this very admirable association, was one of offering prizes for the best essays upon three subjects they gave out; and which essays were to be sufficiently conclusive, in a very few pages, of the whole question. As one of the members of a local society, seeking for information, in reply to the gradually persuasive arguments of Free Traders, who really have a method in their madness, and who do begin to persuade us there are other interests than those of the landlord, I have looked for some time with much anxiety for these tracts. The only answer I can get from the secretary to this society is, that he is not able to say how soon they will appear. My object in addressing you is to ascertain, if I can, what has been done by our parent association, or rather our father-in-law society, for it assumed this name after the birth of many of us, and subsequent to the death of our real parent, who formerly lived in Regent-street. I am told, up and down the country, that large sums, say nearly 50,000*l.*, have been subscribed to this society, and I rather want to know what they have done with it besides paying rent and salaries. Their report said that three subjects of importance to agriculture came before Parliament; but, on consideration, they thought it better to pass by one of them as of secondary importance; the next they thought of an individual character, and consequently not within the range of their operations; and the last they thought it better to leave alone! But then it went on to say they had distributed 30,000 tracts of various kinds—perhaps a few more—all of which they had reason to believe had been read."

"Now really, Sir, I do think the subscribers hereabouts

have reason to ask what these gentlemen are about? You know the movement began with us tenant farmers; and it was bravely backed by your efforts, and has been ever since. But the gentlemen who form this Peel-supporting society thought, I suppose, we were likely to assert our rights too plainly, and stepped in in time to 'Burke' the expression of our opinion. When next the tenants arouse themselves (at all times, by the way, a slow process), they, the landlords, may rest assured our silence will not be so easily obtained. I have said this society, with 50,000*l.* at its back, has succeeded in distributing 30,000, say 50,000 tracts. Why, Sir, I hold in my hand now a little pamphlet published by one of your London houses (the name is torn off), which purports to be the ninetieth thousand. Now I never heard that there was any subscription set afloat, to the amount of a thousand pounds even, to aid this effort; therefore I am justified in asking what has been done with our funds by this Agricultural Protection Society of Great Britain and Ireland?"

THE BERKELEYAN THEORY OF GAME-PRESERVING.

We last week copied from the *Hampshire Independent* an account of Mr. Grantley Berkeley's doings in Hampshire, to vindicate the majesty of the hare; and as that gentleman has addressed a letter to the *Morning Post*, which he supposes to be a contradiction of the local report, we feel bound to give our readers the benefit of the effusion. Here is the letter, with the honourable game-preserver's own italics:

THE GAME LAWS.

To the Editor of the *Morning Post*.

Sir,—My attention having been called to a statement copied from the *Hampshire Independent* into the *Examiner* of last Sunday, and other of the London papers, headed "Game Laws," in which statement my name has been introduced, may I beg of you to afford me space for this, as a public contradiction to the falsehood therein contained. A tissue of falsehood founded on a circumstance.

I did convict two notorious poachers, named Burrey and Purchase, of beating for game in standing barley, with a lurcher, and for cursing a hare, on the testimony of two credible witnesses; and they, the poachers, brought forward three of their gang to swear they were not poaching; one of whom, a man twice previously convicted of poaching by me, with the most iniquitous effrontery swore that he himself had never been in goal, when at the same time he was standing face to face with the Justice who committed him, but who, from the man's utter disregard to the obligations of an oath, thought that he must be mistaken in the man's identity, until I represented the fact.

I did, as prosecutor, put a few questions through the Bench, to elicit the above fact, as well as others, but I did not take my seat between the two magistrates, and I did not remove from any place I occupied upon any complaint or suggestion made by the attorney who attended for the poachers. This paragraph to which I allude, would have been treated by me with the contempt it deserves, but that I recognise in it a hair of the dog that pulls the Anti-Game Law barrow.

It is of itself an excellent example of the way in which the designer gulls an Editor, whom I am bound to believe would not publish a falsehood, if he knew it, and, through the editor, a susceptible public, into the most erroneous views and opinions.—Your most obedient, G. F. BERKELEY. Beacon Lodge, October 6, 1845.

The elegant reference made to those who are endeavouring to relieve the farmers from the scourge of the game-preserving, and the rural labourers from the persecution of game-preserving justice, is quite as characteristic as it is elegant. If Mr. Berkeley would know the "dog that pulls the Anti-Game Law barrow," he must look at the universal yeomanry of England.

AGRICULTURAL CORRESPONDENCE.

A very good Norfolk farmer, writing to thank a friend for a copy of THE LEAGUE which had been sent to him, says: "It contains a brief but interesting account of West Norfolk farming; also many other topics important to agriculturists; indeed, it is becoming quite a farmer's paper; and if published on the Monday instead of Saturday, so as to contain the latest accounts of Mark Lane, I think it would soon meet with a greater circulation amongst the latter class. I for one would immediately become a subscriber." And he afterwards adds, "The corn markets are again rising; and now is the accepted time for the repeal of the Corn Laws. There could not possibly be a more favourable opportunity; a Free Trade at the present moment could scarcely prevent a rise in prices. Farmers would therefore get a fair starting, and be fully prepared for the future."

IMPORTANT TO LEASEHOLDERS.—By a decision of the Court of Queen's Bench in the case of Doe Muston v. Gladstone, reported in the *Jurist* of the 21st of June, 1845, it is apprehended that about 80 out of every 100 of the leases throughout the United Kingdom may be declared legally void; and the unhappy persons who have laid out their money on the lands of others, may be disinherited at the free will and pleasure of the ground landlords. This is another of the late Lord Egremont's cases, of such notoriety; and clearly points out the gross and iniquitous manner in which the judges (with the law as it is) are necessitated to administer the laws of one of the greatest kingdoms of the earth. Leaseholders should take care that their covenants to insure in the joint-names of themselves and their landlords are complied with, or they may be ousted, as in the above cited case, at the pleasure of their landlords.—*Western Times*.

ALLOTMENT SYSTEM.—The practice of allotting little bits of ground to agricultural labourers to diminish their ground of complaint, and by employing them on small plots of earth preventing them from entering on plots of a more dangerous character. The system is said to have worked well, and the labourers have worked well wherever it has been adopted.—*Punch*.

DORCHESTER DINNER—AN EXPERIMENT.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

The gentlemen of the Dorchester Agricultural Society have, we observe, been trying an "experiment." It was not an experiment of the class usually recognised as coming within the scope of an agricultural society's operations. It was not an experiment on the fertilising qualities of guano, nor on the virtues of sub-soil draining, nor on the comparative merits of different descriptions of ploughs, nor on the weight of fat which a well-educated ox can be trained to without choking. The great Dorchester experiment had nothing to do with the *arcana* of agricultural mechanics, or agricultural chemistry. It simply consisted in inviting a few labourers to take dinner in the same room with a few gentlemen.

With what precise object this experiment was tried, does not clearly appear. In fact, there is nothing to show that it was an "experiment" at all, except the enthusiasm and unanimity with which the gentlemanly section of the dinner party in question voted it such. The more obvious experimental uses to which so novel a juxta-position as that of landlords and labourers in the same dining-room might be applied, were altogether neglected. Nothing was done towards eliciting from the peasant guests those views which they would doubtless have been happy to offer to the meeting, as to the facts of their own every-day condition, and the means of its amelioration. No use was made of the frank garrulity with which the labourers, as well as lords, are apt to be inspired in their convivial moments; they were not asked to speak out their honest thoughts on Game Laws, Poor Laws, wages, and the duties of landlords and farmers. We do not know whether such revelations of the peasant mind were desired, or would have proved acceptable; they certainly do not seem to have been in any way invited. The labourers were there, not to talk, but to be talked to. With the exception of "three hearty cheers for the gentlemen," they were silent guests at the gentlemen's table—or side-table. Neither was the experiment designed to ascertain the fitness of farm-labourers for the convivial companionship of gentlemen. At least, if such were its purpose, we must, while applauding the caution of the experimenters, lament a timidity which has prevented it from yielding any certain result; for, long before that period of the evening when the experiment would have become most delicate and critical, the labourers were "sent away." On the whole, we must confess ourselves quite in the dark as to what doctrine of agricultural science, or of social and moral philosophy, our Dorchester savans designed to establish or confute.

Of course, not knowing what the experiment was for, we are not in a condition to pronounce any opinion on its success or failure. The authorities are somewhat conflicting. The president, Mr. Bankes, was clearly of opinion that the experiment was successful; but other accounts are less satisfactory. The editor of the *Sherborne Journal*, writing coolly, after a few days' interval, and with the command of the best sources of information, speaks hesitatingly—qualifies the "experiment" rather ambiguously, as a "novel"—and suggests that "it would be unfair, as well as unjust, to pronounce an opinion upon it, when it has been barely tested." From one very important statement made by this journalist, we should fear that the experiment has created a strong under-current of dissatisfaction among the gentlemen, of which courtesy only precluded the loud public expression. It seems to have completely spoiled the dinner, as a dinner. "The only visible effect produced by it was that it considerably deteriorated the character of the dinner, the price of which had been lowered from 10s. to 3s., that the labourers might partake of the same viands as the rest of the company." Whether the gentlemen of Dorsetshire will submit to eat another 3s. dinner, for the more perfect solution of a great agricultural or social problem, remains to be seen.

It would, however, be doing great injustice to the Dorchester Agricultural Society, to omit all notice of the elaborate speech in which their president justified this novel and important proceeding—expounded the principle of it—and suggested a further extension of that principle for the benefit of himself and family in particular, and society in general. When the appointed time came for giving the assembled labourers their prizes for last year (it seems to be the Dorsetshire practice to make the poor fellows give 12 months' credit), the recipients were "desired to stand up," and were regaled with the following exquisite *moreau* of moral philosophy:

"It had been said of meetings of this kind where they thus recognised the services of the labourer—the award, it was true, as far as the amount was weighed in money, only in a small degree acknowledged their long and faithful services—it had been said, what good do these meetings do? He would suppose he might be invited to the tables of those who were higher than he was in the world, as by the dispensations of Providence he was higher than they, and, if he should be selected, not for his rank, not for his high talents, not for his wealth (for to none of these could he pretend), but merely because he had discharged his duty in the ranks in which it had pleased Providence to place him—because he had endeavoured to prove serviceable to his fellow-subjects in as high a degree as he was capable of—if, on account of claims like these, he were invited to the tables of the highest and most eminent in the land, he thought he should consider that he derived some considerable good from the distinction thus conferred upon him, and that those who had invited him might also derive some good in return, and he thought the good would not stop even with the events of that particular day, for when he returned to his home where he had children, and those children were to ask him of the events of the day, he should tell them that he had been in the society of those by whom he had been selected on account of the conduct which he had pursued, and he thought he should thus bring home to his family a lesson which those children would not forget, and in turn he might hope they also would endeavour to sit at the tables of the great on the same terms on which he had been sitting."

We trust the honourable gentleman's ingenious and original suggestion for regenerating society by dinner parties, will not be lost on "the highest and most eminent in the land." We had, certainly, not been fully aware of the moral efficacy of an occasional invitation to "sit at the tables of the great." We had not the slightest idea that being asked out to dinner was the best reward and incentive to virtue. An annual invitation to Windsor or Buckingham Palace will, it appears, ensure the virtues of the house of Bankes in *secula seculorum*. Never was a finer opening for doing much good at little cost, than that which the Member for Dorsetshire here offers to his Sovereign. If her Majesty would but have a few Dorset squires to dinner now and then—selecting them not for their rank, talents, or wealth, but

purely on moral grounds—the advantages would be incalculable. They would be both immediate and enduring. The good done would descend from generation to generation; and children, and children's children, would industriously emulate their sires' virtues, in hopes of one day participating their sires' reward. We warmly recommend this proposal to the consideration of the proper authorities. The thing will cost little. There need be no disagreeable mixing and confusion of ranks. It will not exact of royalty any painful or humiliating condescension, to copy the Dorchester precedent. The "sitting at the tables of the great" need not be taken literally. Mr. Bankes and his party can be put at a side-table—there need be no talking—and they can be "sent away" immediately the cloth is removed.

Seriously, this is sorry stuff for an English gentleman to address to a body of English labourers. Rejoiced, indeed, should we be to witness any symptoms of a disposition to kindly and natural social intercourse—any signs of a real and genuine union of feeling and interest—among different classes of the agricultural community. But we confess that, beyond the simple fact that certain Dorsetshire labourers got a dinner, which we venture to say they did not deem "deteriorated," we can see little cause for satisfaction in this exhibition of twaddling condescension on the one side, and mute servility on the other. A more tasteless and clumsy attempt in the "condescension" line, we do not remember ever having seen.

Of the sort of social intercourse between employers and employed which yields really and permanently beneficial moral results to both, we had a gratifying specimen, a few days since, in the Operative Cotton Spinners' Festival, held at Oldham, in honour of the liberality with which the manufacturing capitalists of that town and its vicinity have lately acceded to the request of the workmen for an advance of wages. Mr. Bankes, we observe, speaks of this, and very pleasantly calls it "an imitation of their proceedings," which "he thinks will do a great deal of good." The imitation is singularly unlike the original. The working men of Oldham gave the entertainment. They were there, not as humble and silent guests, but as proud, free-spoken, and delighted hosts. The masters had, it is true, a "special tea-table set apart for their accommodation;" but this was by the voluntary courtesy and good taste of the men. For the rest, they were not "sent away" early in the evening; they did not "stand up" to be lectured on the moral advantages of eating and drinking in the same room with rich people; nor did they sit tongue-tied to hear great men talk. An operative took the chair, and operatives were among the speakers who "addressed the meeting on the present position of the industrious classes, and on the vital importance of maintaining good feeling between employers and employed."

We shall heartily rejoice when such meetings of employers and employed become possible in the agricultural districts. But we beg to assure all well-meaning and kind-hearted landlords, that like effects can only come of like causes. When agricultural labourers have an independent status in the labour market, when they find themselves wanted, when steady employment at liberal wages become the habitual condition of their existence—which will be when capital is freely and largely expended on agriculture—which will be when agriculture is relieved of the uncertainties of political prices and political tenures—there will be a solid basis laid for the gradual development of those feelings between different sections of the agricultural community, which would find natural and graceful expression in festive meetings of landlords, farmers, and labourers. When that day arrives, we may be quite sure that nothing will be said about "experiments;" the labourers will not be put at a side-table—will not be "sent away"—and will find some more articulate mode of utterance than "three cheers for the gentlemen."

THE WEATHER AND THE HARVEST.

(From the Mark Lane Express.)

We had comparatively fine weather in the neighbourhood of the metropolis up to Thursday; since then a considerable quantity of rain has fallen, and though there is little corn abroad in the south, the wet must be regarded as unfavourable, inasmuch as that portion of the potato crop which may have escaped the disease, regarding which so much has been said, is likely to receive further injury from wet. In the northern and eastern parts of the kingdom there is still a good deal of grain in the fields; and, as the weather seems to have been quite as unsettled there as with us, the conclusion of the harvest must be still further delayed. The chances of the remainder of crops in the later districts being secured in even tolerable order are, therefore, very slight. In early seasons the northern counties sometimes fare better than the south; such was the case last year, and the enormous produce of wheat in Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire did much to swell the general yield. This season the deficiency is likely to be much greater in the backward than in the early counties; the corn was not ripe there till the weather became decidedly broken, and the quality will, we fear, prove even worse than the yield. We cannot, therefore, calculate on anything like the large supplies we have been in the habit of drawing from the east coast. The western side of the island has been the more favoured this season, but even there the produce of wheat to the acre is complained of; whilst the weight per bushel is certainly 2½ lbs. less than last season. It is, therefore, to be certain that the total produce of the kingdom must be regarded as short of usual years, and a steady and progressive rise in the value of bread-stuffs must be expected. The upward movement may, and probably will, from time to time receive checks; but, on the whole, wheat will, we think, advance in price until next spring. After that time much will depend on the then appearance of the crop, the probable extent of the spring shipments from the Baltic, and other causes of which nothing can at present be known. That considerable importance is still attached to the weather may be readily seen by the influence it has had on business during the week; the few fine days experienced in the early part had the effect of causing a depression in prices, and giving a generally dull tone to the trade at most of the markets held previously to Thursday; whilst the return of wet restored confidence to holders, and rendered buyers anxious to add to their stocks.

By our advices from Scotland we learn that harvest operations have been very much impeded by the unsettled state of the weather. A letter from Glasgow, dated 1st inst., states that more than half the crops were then still abroad, and much corn霉. Wheat was on that day quoted 1s. to 1s. 6d. per boll higher at the town named; and at Edinburgh, on the same day, fine qualities of old were worth 70s. per qr. Oats, Beans, and Peas were from 1s. to 2s. per qr. higher than the week before at both places, and flour and oatmeal were also held at enhanced rates.

In Ireland the weather appears to have been fine up to

about the middle of the week, but a similar unfavourable change as that experienced here on the 2d also took place on that side of the Channel. In the southern parts of the island the harvest had previously been nearly concluded, but in the more backward localities a considerable quantity of corn is yet abroad. Many very unfavourable rumours as to potatoes were afloat, but the complaints are not of so decided a character as to cause us to feel much apprehension. Still it is pretty certain that the disease so prevalent in England has manifested itself in the sister isle.

THE POTATO DISEASE.

Although the almost universal failure of the potato crops has not yet been much felt by the humbler classes of society, in consequence of the abundance of cabbage, carrots, and other vegetables available at this season of the year, yet it is to be feared, as the winter approaches, that the poor will be great sufferers by the calamity. Mr. Funnell, of Southsea, near this town, who has for many years been an extensive cultivator of potatoes, which from their excellent quality have been in great repute, and who has annually supplied the leading families of Lewes and Brighton with their winter stock, has been compelled to intimate to his customers his inability to do so this year, in consequence of the failure of his entire crop from the effect of the prevailing disease.—*Sussex Advertiser*.

We hear that the disease amongst the potatoes is disappearing—that it is assuming the appearance of a mere scab upon the skin, the potato being restored to perfect health. Should this turn out to be the fact generally, the case will be one of the most singular on record. That it has occurred we have several instances upon the most undoubted authority.—*Carlisle Journal*.

Among other ingenious theories by which this disease is sought to be accounted for, is the practice of using potatoes for seed, instead of the potato apple. It appears, however, to be quite immaterial which of the two is adopted for that purpose, for Mr. Wm. Marsland, of Quernmore, near this town, has this season grown from 80 to 100 varieties of the potato, and all of them have been affected with the prevailing distemper, though grown from the apple.—*Lancaster Guardian*.

The disease which has been this year deteriorating the quality of the potato crop has made its appearance in Switzerland.

The Prussian Government has prohibited the exportation of potatoes from Westphalia and the Rhenish provinces.

A letter from Frankfurt in the *Cologne Gazette*, states that the different Governments of the Zollverein are to decide in common how far it will be useful to prohibit completely, or only to restrict, the importation of potatoes and corn at the present conjuncture.

HAMBURG, OCTOBER 2.—PRICES OF CORN.—Wheat: Polish, 130 to 155; Anh. Magd. red, 125 to 145; ditto white, 126 to 148; Marks and Brunswick, 125 to 145; Silesian yellow, 125 to 145; ditto white, 125 to 145; Meck. and Pom., 125 to 145; Holstein, 120 to 140; Lower Elbe, 115 to 136. Rye: Anh. and Magd. 97 to 107; Danz. Elb. and Königs., 90 to 105; Marks, Meck., and Pom., 95 to 106; Holstein and Lower Elbe, 98 to 102; Danish, 95 to 100. Barley, Meck. and Oderbruch, 67 to 77. Oats: Upland, 45 to 50; Meck. and Holstein, 45 to 51; Lower Elbe, 39 to 45.

THE TRADE OF BRADFORD.—Notwithstanding the failure of two or three persons in Bradford, in a large way of business, within the last few weeks, we may truly say that Bradford trade on the whole is in a prosperous state. Within the last few months a very large factory has been built at Shipley, another at Bowling, another by Messrs. Harrop and Craven, at Thornton, and another at Clayton is in course of being built. A mill at Clayton Heights, which has been unoccupied four years, has been taken and filled with looms. We do not know of a single mill in Bradford or the neighbourhood that is not let.—*Leeds Times*.

SCREW-AUXILIARY VESSEL, MASSACHUSETTS.—The screw-auxiliary vessel Massachusetts, Captain White, arrived in the Mersey Friday afternoon. She left New York on the 15th ult., and from wharf to wharf, her passage may be put down at 17 days 11 hours. She had the whole way head-winds and calms, and her run may therefore be considered excellent. She brought 10 passengers. She is, without doubt, the most extraordinary vessel, as a specimen of consummate engineering skill, that ever crossed the Atlantic, and will, we think, excite more attention and admiration than any craft that ever left the American shore. She is the first of a screw-auxiliary line to sail between this port and New York, built at Boston by Mr. Samuel Hall, for Messrs. B. Forbes and Co., of Boston; and has already made one voyage from that port to New York. She is 800 tons burden, American measurement, 155 feet on deck, 178 feet from billet-head to taffrail, 33 feet beam, has engines of 280 horse-power, and is ship-rigged with a few exceptions, the most striking being that her topmasts are fixed abaft the mast. The lower masts are also unusually tall, and the funnel of unusual lowness, even in screw steamers. Her cabins are capacious, well fitted up, and ventilated in a new, most ingenious, and strikingly effective manner; and she can accommodate 40 passengers. Her screw is of a novel construction; it can be drawn completely out of the water at pleasure, by a most simple process, and placed in a perpendicular position against the stern; and, in such circumstances, the Massachusetts is, to all intents and purposes, a sailing-vessel. The screw works most powerfully, and insures a speed, with sail, of 12 knots an hour. The sails and rigging abound in the most curious contrivances to ease the labour of reefing, shortening sail, &c., perhaps the first instance in which modern machinery has been carried aloft. All sail has been repeatedly set in 25 minutes. She has four life-boats; and, what will be found the most extraordinary proof of American ingenuity yet known in ships, every bench, every seat, stool, &c., is a life-boat, made of iron, with air-tight compartments, and adapted to swim, even with the weight of a man. So many contrivances for safety were never yet brought together. Between the quarter-deck and fore-castle, both of which are raised to an unusual height, there are, figure-fashion, between the deck itself and the top of the bulwarks, a kind of stages, found to be vast improvements on the plan in general use. For all these particulars we are indebted to the chief-mate, Mr. J. R. Gordon; but it would be an impossibility to enumerate the various novelties and wonders to be found in the Massachusetts, and it is an inspection alone which can teach an appreciation. On the water she is a beautiful-looking craft, with sharp bows, and an unexceptionable run fore and aft. She is consigned to Messrs. Harnden and Co., and goes into Waterloo Dock this morning.—*Liverpool Journal* of Saturday.

REVIEW.

Legends of the Isles, and other Poems. By Charles Mackay, Esq. Edinburgh, Blackwood.

We have read the poems collected in this little volume with great delight. Mr. Mackay's previous publications had prepared us to expect beautiful sentiments in graceful and flowing verse, but we did not anticipate such a union of the wildness of old romance with the sweetness and tenderness of lyrical poetry, as we have found in the *Legends of the Isles*. The author is a perfect master of the melody of versification; his poetry seems to tell its stories in the varied music of its measures. The *Sea-king's Burial* is a funeral march, mingled with swelling notes of triumph; the *Witch of Skerrievore* is a plaintive wail, where every tone is anguish. The unearthly course of the steed of the Kelpy of Corryreckan is echoed in the following lines:

He mounted his steed of the water clear,
And sat on his saddle of sea-weed ere;
He held his bridle of strings of pearl,
Dug out of the depths where the sea snakes curl.

He put on his vest of the whirlpool froth,
Soft and dainty as velvet cloth,
And donn'd his mantle of sand so white,
And grasp'd his sword of the coral bright.

And away he gallop'd, a horseman free,
Spurring his steed through the stormy sea,
Clearing the billows with bound and leap—
Away, away, o'er the foaming deep.

A more ambitious legend, and of more general interest, is the creation of the poet's own mind. It describes the congress of War, Intolerance, and Ignorance, the three worst despots of mankind, plotting to maintain their iron rule over the human race. The catastrophe is powerfully described:

"Rejoice! Rejoice! the world is ours!"

And hell, in all its lairs,

Repeated by a myriad tongues—

"Rejoice! the world is theirs!"

But high above the festal din,

A sudden sound was heard—

A noise as of a mighty storm,

When earth and heaven are stirr'd.

'Then all was still—In dread suspense

The myriads held their breath—

And a loud voice, pervading space,

Pronounced their doom of death.

"Tyrants!" it said, "of human kind,

For ages drunk with gore,

Another era dawns for man—

The world is yours no more.

"The film that hid, for ages long,

Your hideousness from sight,

Has fall'n from human eyes, that now

Behold a dawning light.

"In the refulgence of its beam

Your tottering thrones shall fall,

And men shall wonder that their hearts

Ere bow'd beneath your thrall.

"Peace shall descend to bless the world,

And CHARITY shall smile,

And bounteous KNOWLEDGE pour her fruits

To ocean's furthest isle.

"Though you have reigned o'er human hearts

Since Time's primeval day,

Your hour is come, your doom pronounced,

Your empire pass'd away!"

Mr. Mackay joins his voice to the protest against the system which renders food dear and labour cheap. The *Lay of the People* is a stirring appeal, which will find an echo in every honest heart:

Our backs are bow'd with the exceeding weight

Of toil and sorrow; and our pallid faces

Shivel before their time. Early and late

We labour in our old accustomed places,

Beside our close and melancholy looms,

Or wither in the coal-seams dark and dreary,

Or breathe sick vapours in o'ercrowded rooms,

Or in the healthier fields dig till we weary,

And grow old men ere we have reach'd our prime,

With scarce a wish but death to ask of Time.

For it is hard to labour night and day

With sleep-defrauded eyes and temples aching,

To earn the scanty crust, which fails to stay

The hunger of our little ones, that waking

Weep for their daily bread. 'Tis hard to see

The flow'rets of our household fade in sadness,

In the dank shadow of our misery.

'Tis hard to have no thought of human gladness,

But one engrossing agony for bread,

To haunt us at our toil, and in our bed.

And many of us, worn with age and pain—

Old wither'd leaves of men, who, fading, cumber,

Long for that pleasant fosse, six feet by twain.

Impervious to all grief, where we may slumber.

And others of us, more unhappy still,

Youthful, warm-blooded, with a life to cherish,

Offer in vain our sinews and our skill

For starving recompense, and yet must perish

In our young days, and on a fruitful soil,

Because our food is dearer than our toil.

Oh, it is bitter-hard to roam the earth,

Alien to joy, with sad thoughts overflowing,

To hear the young birds carol in their mirth,

To feel the sunshine, and the warm winds blowing,

To see the beauty in the fields and floods,

The plenty of the meadows, green or golden,

The fair full orchards redolent of buds,

And know that we, by a hard fate withholden,

Must keep our appetites aloof, nor dare

To taste the stores which happier birds may share.

We shall conclude by quoting the closing stanzas of this protest against the oppression produced by the Corn Laws.

But these we sigh for all our days in vain,
And find no remedy where'er we seek it;—
Some of us, reckless, and grown mad with pain
And hungry vengeance, have broke loose to wreak it:
Have made huge bonfires of the hoarded corn,
And died despairing. Some to foreign regions,
Hopeless of this, have sail'd away forlorn,
To find new homes and swear a new allegiance.

But we that stay'd behind had no relief,
No added corn, and no diminish'd grief.
And rich men kindly urge us to endure,
And they will send us clergymen to bless us;
And lords who play at cricket with the poor,
Think they have cured all evils that oppress us.
And then we think endurance is a crime;
That those who wait for justice never gain it;
And that the multitudes are most sublime

When, rising arm'd, they combat to obtain it,
And dabbling in thick gore, as if 'twere dew,
Seek not alone their rights, but vengeance too.
But these are evil thoughts; for well we know,
From the sad history of all times and places,
That fire, and blood, and social overthrow,
Lead but to harder grinding of our faces.
When all is over: so, from strife withdrawn,
We wait in patience through the night of sorrow,
And watch the far-off glimpses of the dawn
That shall assure us of a brighter morrow.
And meanwhile, from the overburden'd sod,
Our cry of anguish rises up to God.

CHEAP TRAIN FROM NEWCASTLE, SUNDERLAND, SHIELDS, &c., FOR THE LEAGUE BAZAAR, MANCHESTER.

THE COUNCIL of the LEAGUE having determined that a BAZAAR should be held in the FREE TRADE HALL, MANCHESTER, commencing on the 14th of October, the Public are respectfully informed, that arrangements have been made for

A SPECIAL TRAIN

to accommodate Visitors from this District. Fares, there and back

First-Class-Passengers 15s.

Second-Class-Passengers 12s.

The Fares from Darlington will be—1st Class, 15s.; 2d do., 9s.

The Train will leave the GATESHEAD Station on the Morning

of TUESDAY, October 14th,

upon the arrival of the Morning Train from CARLISLE, or at

HALF-PAST NINE o'Clock.

Passengers from SUNDERLAND and SHIELDS will leave

these Stations by the QUARTER-TO-NINE o'Clock Train from

Brookley Whins, where they will join the Train from Gateshead.

Passengers from DURHAM will leave that Station at QUARTER

PAST TEN o'Clock, to join the Train at Belmont.—To

guard against a delay on the Line, and inconvenience to Passen-

gers, the Train will stop, between Gateshead and Darlington,

at Brookley Whins, Fence Houses, and Belmont Stations only.

The Carriages will leave the MANCHESTER STATION, to

RETURN, on FRIDAY, the 17th inst., at ELEVEN o'Clock

in the Morning.

As the number of Carriages is limited, an early application for

Tickets is necessary.

DANIEL LIDDLELL, Agent to the League.

Anti-Corn-Law Office,

38, Carlisle-street, Newcastle, Oct. 2, 1845.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, *Saturday Morning, October 11, 1845.*

The accounts that reach us from Belgium, Holland, and Western Germany, describe the panic produced by the failure of the potato crop as rapidly increasing and extending; indeed, the pressure of distress from scarcity is already felt in several of the Belgic departments. So general has the demand become for an abolition of the import duties on corn and other provisions, that the Belgian government has conceded their suspension, and will most probably grant their entire abolition; but as there is nowhere a surplus produce in Europe, it is a very difficult question to determine whence supplies can be obtained. Other articles of provision have been affected by the failure of potatoes; the prices of corn are gradually but steadily rising in the provinces of the Upper Rhine, and the influence of the rise has extended to the Danube, and the countries along its banks, even to the borders of Hungary. Dread of the approaching winter is the prevailing sentiment throughout Central Europe, and the precautions that should be taken to prevent apprehended scarcity engage the earnest attention of princes and people. Buyers from the Netherlands have appeared in the rice-markets of India, and America; and it is feared that the competition of the Belgian for the food of the Hindoo may seriously affect the grain-markets of Asia.

Taking the entire of Great Britain, it appears that we have not suffered quite so severely as our neighbours; but that there has been a partial failure of the potato crop is now an ascertained fact,

whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the extent of the injury. An average corn-harvest will not, therefore, suffice to meet the wants of the country; because, in addition to providing for ordinary consumption, it will be necessary to have a surplus to meet the deficiency of potatoes. Even had there been no failure of any kind, the demand on the produce of the present harvest must be greatly aggravated by the circumstances of the country. Labourers on the railways cannot be fed on potatoes; the proportion of nutriment in the root is so small, when compared with bread, that its bulk impedes its transport. A cargo of potatoes from America, however cheap and abundant they may be there, would hardly remunerate the importers, unless potatoes had reached a famine price in this country. There is solemn warning in this visitation of Providence; it points out the peril of rendering a large mass of the population dependent on the most precarious of crops, and the least nutritious of the vegetables used for human food.

We have been told by the reverend head of an Oxford College, that "seven millions of our countrymen rejoice in potatoes." Never was there a more emphatic exposure of the iniquity of the Corn Laws than is contained in this simple sentence; seven millions of human beings are dependent on a crop always uncertain and variable, affording at its best insufficient nutriment—so perishable, that it can rarely be preserved from the conclusion of one harvest to the commencement of the next, and so bulky in proportion to its nutritive qualities, that it can hardly ever be imported from abroad in case of a deficient supply. Instead of *rejoicing* in such an esculent, the seven millions would be much better described as *sorrowing*, or almost *despairing*.

Those who imposed restrictions on the importation of food, virtually undertook the task of feeding the people from domestic produce, and they cannot evade this responsibility. That the country does not raise enough of corn for the support of its population, is undeniable; if it did so, there would be no seven millions, and indeed no one million, either rejoicing or sorrowing in potatoes. It is true that some protectionists declare that agricultural improvements have kept pace, and will keep pace, with the progress of the population. They are palpably wrong in the fact, and miserably mistaken in the prospect. It is notorious, that the quality of the food of the labouring classes has been much deteriorated since the imposition of the Corn Laws. As the *Times* justly remarks, "As far as regards a vast proportion of the empire, there is and always has been an actual dearth of corn. There is not enough of it, so long as it bears a price above the means of any fairly industrious class of men."

So much for the fact of the monopolists. Let us now glance at the probability of the performance of their promises. More corn can only be grown by a larger previous expenditure of corn, by employing more labour on the cultivation of the land, and supporting that labour by abundant food. It is by impeding, or rather preventing, this previous expenditure of corn, that the Corn Laws have interfered with the extension of corn-cultivation in our land. Let us grant that they do in some years enhance the immediate profits of the farmer, from an existing harvest, and even then they will be found in a still greater degree to fetter the energies and limit the capital which is necessary for the production of the next crop. The agriculturists place fetters and clogs on themselves, and then expect us to believe that they will march as rapidly and advance as fast as if they had been wholly unencumbered.

We should not murmur very loudly against a temporary pressure, if it compelled the attention both of the government and the people to the uncertainty and insufficiency of the esculent which those who limit the supply of corn proffer to us in its stead. The nation that becomes dependent for its supply of food on potatoes, must have retrograded from the march of civilization and gone a long way back towards original barbarism. As a variety of food, no one, save an enthusiast like Cobbett, would object to its cultivation; but as the sole means of support, it is foredoomed by the laws of Nature to be the most insecure of aliments. "It leaves the cultivator," says the *Times*, with equal force and truth, "always on the verge of an actual famine, not to speak of a yearly taste of the evil, in the interval between the

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article to see the word "ROWLAND'S" is on the Wrapper, and that "A.
ROWLAND & SON, 20, HATTON GARDEN," is on the Government
stamp affixed on the KALYDOR and DENTIFRICE.
* * * All others are FRAUDULENT COUNTERFEITS.

T H E L E G.
Reader, in following up our views, we beg
to say a word or two upon "The Leg."
The human "Leg" by Nature is supplied
As a support of support on either side.
The "Leg" it was which first gave man the notion
Of gaining any part by locomotion.
Man with the "Leg" can move about at will;
And, but for this, he must, indeed, stand still.
With show, then, should such use him he deek it?
We ought to treat the "Leg" with great respect.
From MOSES many lessons may be learned
So far as "gentleness" may be concerned.
MOSES and SON have trousers at their Mart.
Which make the "Leg" look elegantly smart.
The human "Leg" may move with perfect ease
With such superior coverings as these.
They give the "Leg" new beauty in its form;
And in the winter they will keep it warm.
Then come all ye who have a "Leg" to walk,
And purchase trousers which are all the talk.
MOSES and SON your favours humbly beg;
And in return they'll not forget your "Leg."

LIST OF PRICES.		READY MADE.	£ s. d.
Tweed Taglioni			from 9 7 6
Ditto, superior quality, with silk collar, cuffs, and facings			0 13 6
Cadiz and Chesterfield in light and gentlemanly materials			0 18 6
Charmette Coats in every style and make, including the Register			
a Pelote			1 2 0
Holland, Jean, Grand Drill, and Diagonal Blouses			0 3 6
Gold and Silver Buttons			0 2 6
Charmette and Persian ditto, in endless variety			from 0 2 6
Black and Fancy Satins			0 6 6
Cloth Trousers			from 0 9 0
Tweed ditto			0 4 6
Springs ditto (woollen)			0 12 0
Dress Coats			1 0 0
Frock Coats			1 3 0
MADE TO MEASURE.			
Tweed Coats, trimmed with silk			0 12 0
Ditto, ditto, in any shape, handsomely trimmed, made in the			
first style of fashion			1 5 0
Saxe Gotha ditto, handsomely trimmed			1 5 0
Quilting Vests 6s. 6d., or three for			0 19 0
Charmette ditto, in choice patterns			0 8 6
Satin ditto, plain or fancy			0 12 0
Spring Trousers, in great variety			0 10 6
Tweed ditto, in choice patterns			0 13 6
Single Milled Albert and Plain Doe Trousers			0 19 0
Best Quality Black, or Dress ditto			1 6 0
Dress Coats			1 2 0
Ditto, ditto, best manufactured			2 15 0
Frock Coats			1 5 0
Ditto, ditto, best manufactured			3 3 0

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT.
A new work, entitled "The Leviathan of Trade," with full directions for
self-measurement, may be had on application, or forwarded post free.
Mourning to any amount can be had at five minutes' notice, at the follow-
ing prices:
Men's Suits, dress coat, vest, and trousers from 1 16 0
Ditto, jacket, vest, and trousers from 0 18 0
IRRESISTANT. Any article purchased or ordered, if not approved of, ex-
changed, or the money returned.
Observe, E. MOSES and SON, Tailors, Wholesale and Retail Woolen-
drapers, Outfitters, and General Warehousemen, 151, Minories, and 85, Ald-
gate, City, opposite the Church.
CAUTION. E. MOSES and SON are obliged to guard the public against
imposition, having learned that the untrustworthy falsehood of being
connected with them, or it's the same concern, has been resorted to in
many instances, in the purchase of their goods. They have no connection
with any other establishment in or out of London; and those who do desire
genuine Cheap Clothing should (to prevent disappointment, &c.) call or send
to 151, Minories, or 85, Aldgate, opposite the Church.
N.B. Business transacted at this Establishment from sunset on Friday
to sunset on Saturday, when business is resumed till twelve o'clock.

NOTICE.
Observe—This Establishment will be closed on Thursday, Friday, and
Saturday, 16th, 17th, and 18th inst., till Saturday Evening, when business
will be resumed till 12 o'clock.

Printed at the Whitefriars Printing-office, Boulevard-street, in the pre-
dict of Whitefriars, in the City of London, by JOHN GADSWAY, printer, of
Number 7, Ridgman-place, Hampstead-road, in the County of Middle-
sex, and also of Number 4, Fairfield place, Chesham-hill-road, in the
parish of Manchester, in the County of Lancashire, and published at Num-
ber 67, Fleet-street, in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, in the City
of London, by ANDREW WATSON, Printer, of Number 67, Fleet-street,
aforesaid,-- Saturday, October 11, 1843.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 108.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1845.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

The Council of the League begs to announce that the List of Subscriptions for beds, to be presented to Agricultural labourers, is now completed. No further donation for that purpose can be received, as the amount already subscribed is quite equal to the number that can be furnished.

The Council also begs most cordially to thank the subscribers for their ready co-operation, and to assure them that their benevolent intentions will be carried into immediate effect.

By order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

We beg to inform our subscribers that bound volumes of the LEAGUE newspaper, containing the whole of the first year's Numbers, may be had on application at the offices, either in London or Manchester.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

Now that the proceedings of the Revising Barristers' Courts are everywhere drawing to a close, we entreat all Free Traders in the counties, who are not in possession of the vote, to look out at once for qualifications. Those who have already placed their names upon the county lists, must canvass their neighbours to do likewise. There is now no doubt or difficulty about the possibility or the right of securing a county vote, either by single property or joint ownership. Everywhere the revising barristers have decided that the *bonâ fide* purchase of a freehold property, yielding a clear annual income of 40s., entitles the owner to a county vote. Some of the barristers have even declared their opinion that it is a commendable act to purchase property with the view of possessing the franchise. Not only is it praiseworthy to do so; but, in our opinion, it is disgraceful to every man above the rank of an unskilled labourer who does not aim at possessing a 40s. freehold. From what has been already done on a small scale in a few counties, we are satisfied that, by this simple and all but universally accessible avenue to power, the people of this country can secure for themselves the right to make good laws, and thus put down peaceably and constitutionally the undue ascendancy of a particular class. To be entitled to be upon the register next year, the freehold must be possessed before the 31st of January. The sooner the property is looked after, the better will be the chance of making a good bargain. We shall not enter into detailed instructions for the purchase of freeholds, but simply recommend our friends to intrust the business to lawyers who are known to be friends to Free Trade.

SOUTH LANCASHIRE OUR OWN!

Never, since the commencement of our seven years' struggle, have we had a more cheering and heart-stirring announcement for our constituents and friends, the Free Trade public—one sealing the

labours of the past with a more decisive success, or giving more significant presage of the triumphs of the future—than that which the result of this year's registration now enables us to make. SOUTH LANCASHIRE IS OUR OWN! The battle of the Registration Courts is here fought and won. The untiring exertions, the unsleeping activity and vigilance, the admirable organisation, with which the Free Traders of South Lancashire have sought those constitutional franchises which guarantee social and industrial rights, are now crowned with victory. Once for all, South Lancashire belongs to the League. Rather, we would say—as South Lancashire “belongs” only to itself and the empire (it is counties like South Warwickshire that recognise proprietors)—South Lancashire is identified with the League—is the League. South Lancashire has, once for all, adopted, in the most formal and authentic manner, the principle of which the League is the exponent and organ. The monopolist majority of 600, which 15 months ago made Mr. Entwisle a monopolist legislator, is now, under the present registration, turned into a Free Trade majority of THREE THOUSAND. Never again will South Lancashire witness or enact the stupendous absurdity of a contest on the question of chaining or unchaining her own industry. The question is a question no longer, and there can be no contest without two parties. Come the next election when it may, South Lancashire will quietly return two Free Traders.

The industrial power of this country has now fairly measured its strength with feudalism, and gained a victory as brilliant as it will be fruitful of results. The “great families” which for centuries have ruled and represented South Lancashire, are now politically no more than the poorest of those artisans who constitute our new democratic landed interest. The Stanleys, the Egertons, the Scarisbrooks, the Gerards, just count as so many units. They have their votes—such of them as are commoners—like the rest of us, and that is all. As leaders and rulers of the people, they are extinct. They have set themselves against the spirit of the age, and they have found their master. They have pretended to stem the flood-tide of public intelligence, and they are swept away. Their attempt to crush the principles of commercial liberty, and obstruct the course of public right, has reacted in their own political annihilation.

This magnificent success of the popular power is virtually decisive of the Free Trade struggle. It is not merely that two monopolist members of the House of Commons are about to be replaced by two Free Trade members. South Lancashire counts for more than two in the House of Commons, as the landlords, and Sir Robert Peel, and the *Post*, and the *Herald*, and the *Standard* (poor *Standard*! which told us, fifteen months ago, that Mr. Entwisle's return was “decisive of the fate of the League”) are thoroughly well aware. In Parliament, and in the empire, South Lancashire counts for that which it really is—the type and embodiment of that commercial and manufacturing industry which makes Great Britain a first-class European power. How long, we should like to know, will any Minister—how long, especially, will such a Minister as Sir Robert Peel—dare to carry on the government of this commercial and manufacturing country on principles which are explicitly condemned by the numbers, wealth, intelligence, mental activity, and public spirit of South Lancashire? How long will any portion of the public press set itself in opposition to the voice of the county which supports nearly one-fourth of the popular literature of the age? Why, there is more of the empire in South Lancashire—more of everything that makes us an empire—than in half the southern

counties together. South Lancashire is the seat of the great staple manufacture that supplies half of our exports—that sustains half of our external force and greatness. It is the home of the steam-engine, the birth-place of the locomotive and railroad, and the cradle of the League. Mechanical inventions which are changing the face of Europe, and a political organisation which is acting on the public opinion of the world, have alike their origin in South Lancashire. In its industrial organization, its free and active intellectual life, its triumphant applications of science to the arts, South Lancashire is the very type of modern progress—the condensed and epitomised expression of that industrial civilisation which all European nations are striving to imitate and rival. For any man to dream that the voice of South Lancashire, on an industrial question, only tells for as much as that of South Wilts or South Devon—or that South Lancashire, with its two Members of Parliament, exercises only two-thirds of the political power of Dorsetshire, with its three Members—would imply a state of mind, the correction of which we are contented to adjourn until the first week of the first session of the next Parliament.

We are perfectly sure that Sir Robert Peel comprehends the import of a registered Free Trade majority of 3000 in South Lancashire. Nay, more than this, we verily believe that underneath the husk and shell of political formalisms, trickeries, and conventionalisms in which the Minister is encased, “Sir Robert Peel has” (at times) “a heart after all,” to which these tidings of the triumphant course of the principles that he deems “sound” and “enlightened” will impart as lively an emotion of satisfaction as a hacknied Parliamentary politician and party tactician is capable of enjoying. There must be enough of the blood of old “Parsley Peel” still running in the Premier's veins to enable him to forget, for the moment at least, the entanglements of monopolist pledges, monopolist speeches, and monopolist party-ties, in the manly pride of seeing his own county head the movement for commercial and industrial enfranchisement. If it only reach him at a moment when *Hansard* is out of his head, we are quite certain Sir Robert Peel will regard the news from the South Lancashire registration courts as good news.

Most heartily do we congratulate all Free Traders on the successes of this year's registration; successes which, though most striking and decisive in the case of South Lancashire, are not by any means (as we shall take other opportunities of showing) confined to that district. The “virtual annual election” of the Registration Courts has yielded results which—whether viewed in their direct bearing with reference to the next great electoral conflict, or indirectly, as signs of the progress and tendencies of opinion—sufficiently indicate that the classes with whom rests, in the last resort, the sovereignty of the empire, are preparing themselves for the approaching and final struggle with the powers of feudalism.

REPORTED FAILURE OF THE POTATO-CROP IN IRELAND.

We have placed among our literary notices a historical account of the introduction of the potato into Ireland. Since that article was written, we have received the following letter from a resident landlord, the proprietor of extensive estates in the south of Ireland, who has been long and eminently distinguished for his intelligence and his patriotism.

“The accounts from various quarters of the state of the potato-crop are really fearful. The disease prevails extensively in the county of Cork; and since they have begun to dig the main crop, it is also found to prevail in this county (Waterford). Potatoes appearing sound when dug, in many instances have rotted in the heaps. If there is anything

like a general failure, the consequences in this country will be awful. I have advised my tenants not to send their corn to market. Even if the failure is not very general, still from what already appears, the price of corn will be very high. If the failure is general, we shall want all our provisions at home to save the lives of our own people. In this case, to send corn to England will be out of the question. Our own corn will go but a short way in feeding the multitudes hitherto supported by potatoes. The Corn Laws can no longer be maintained. They have done too much mischief already by driving vast numbers in England as well as here to adopt potatoes as their principal food. The state of the potato crop here must seriously affect the subsistence of the people of England; but with us there is too great probability of absolute famine. As is truly observed in the last Number of THE LEAGUE, "Lower than potatoes, there is nothing but death by hunger."

The melancholy intelligence contained in this letter is confirmed from all quarters; every Irish paper contains fresh intelligence of ravages committed by the potato-disease in quarters where its presence was not suspected. So great is the alarm in Cork that several of the citizens have requested their chief magistrate to convene a public meeting on the subject; and his letter, in reply to this and some other suggestions, is well worthy of attention.

"I shall, as in duty bound, communicate to Government the very general opinion entertained here, that the potato crop is very much damaged; and not with a view to create unnecessary alarm, but to induce forethought, and a deliberate preparation for whatever events may result. In the time of the cholera the citizens of Cork experienced that awful affliction in a mitigated form, because they were prepared; let us now, without precipitateness or terror, attend to facts, and be prepared for whatever be the will of Providence respecting the condition of the food of the country. I would not think it as yet, and in this premature state of our knowledge, prudent to request Government to adopt any specific restrictions of provision export; it is the business and duty, however, of the authorities, to keep a strict watch on the state of agricultural productions, and to be ready to act firmly and promptly, if there be a proved necessity for interference. As to 'stopping the distilleries,' I deplore the fact that wholesome food is daily perverted into poison for the mind, the morals, and the body of mankind; but I hope that they may be stopped yet on higher grounds than even the important necessity of mitigating a temporary scarcity. The Government ought to know that every evil and mischief which befalls the people, is aggravated by the results of distillation; and of course, in spite of the loss of revenue, it ought to be discouraged. The corn crops will, no doubt, all be required, we hope, for increased labour on railways, increased payment of wages, and increased consumption of grain food; if all this combine with a deficient potato crop, the restrictive Corn Laws, it is hoped, will be first rendered nugatory by orders in council, and finally abrogated. The suggestions of some persons, 'to seek a prohibition of the export of potatoes,' requires cautious reflection; if they will not keep in pits, the sooner the poor people can get money for some of them the better, and if they do keep, there is a large crop in the country, which can spare a tenth without much injury to the general home supply. Restrictions on the freedom of trade should be a last resource; but if necessary, it must be boldly adopted. I am, Sir, your obedient,

"Oct. 10th, 1845. RICHARD DOWDEN (R), Mayor."

Mr. Dowden is not the only Irish magistrate who has deemed it necessary to place himself in communication with the Castle; several other functionaries in the South and West of Ireland have warned the Government of the alarming deficiency in the supply of the ordinary food of the Irish people, and have urged that precautionary measures should be immediately adopted to avert the frightful evils of famine. Among the suggestions made is the immediate opening of the ports to the produce of all nations—a step taken by Mr. Canning at a similar crisis, when his ministry was far weaker than that of Sir Robert Peel.

The judicious course taken by the Irish magistrates throws the responsibility of the future on the Government. In spite, not only of remonstrances, but of their own avowed convictions, that "the principles of Free Trade are the principles of common sense," they resolved to maintain the Corn Laws, and for the consequences of these laws they are answerable to the nation.

It appears from the latest accounts, that the harvests in the United States have been very abundant this year; and there is no doubt that if the ports were immediately opened, a fair supply might be expected in a few weeks; but if the measure be delayed, it is not improbable that Belgium and Holland, in both of which counties the Corn Laws have been suspended, will anticipate us in the markets of the United States. At this very moment there are vessels in the harbour of Cork taking in cargoes of potatoes for exportation to Rotterdam.

It is only justice to state that the Irish Govern-

ment has taken proper steps to ascertain the extent of the evil, by sending commissioners to inquire into the state of the crops in the principal potato-growing districts of the south and west of Ireland; and that information has been sought from the several boards of Poor Law guardians. It will not do to trifle with the lives of millions, when the danger of famine is so imminent. If the reports sent to Government confirm the fearful apprehensions that are entertained, the ministers must open the ports by an Order in Council, and take their chance of an act of indemnity. There is little danger of their being refused; the sliding-scale is but as dust in the balance when compared with the peril of starvation to an entire people.

We cannot contemplate this state of things without feeling some astonishment at the fatuity with which the supporters of the Corn Laws have wilfully exposed the country to this imminent danger. The cry of not being dependent on foreigners has, at this moment, rendered us almost wholly dependent on foreign growers. The stocks, which under a system of Free Trade would have accumulated in our warehouses, are too low to afford any ground of confidence. Sudden want produces sudden demand, and supplies are wanting in the unexpected crisis.

Even should it appear on inquiry that the danger has been exaggerated, we shall have received solemn warning THAT THE EVIL IS POSSIBLE. It would argue little for the intelligence of our age and country if such a terrible contingency continued to be disregarded. Every one must now see that Free Trade in food can alone give us assurance of safety, and the further delay of the measure can only be regarded as an iniquitous tempting of Providence.

RAILWAY ENTERPRISE, AND THE CORN LAW.

Among the many new and grave considerations which the agricultural and commercial history of the present year has introduced into the Free Trade question, there is none which more imperiously claims the attention, both of our statesmen and of all classes of the community, than that suggested by the recent startling development of railway enterprise. It is not our business at present to warn the public against embarking in bubble speculations, or to attempt the task of checking the prevalent *mania* for share gambling; nor do we propose to follow our contemporaries of the press, in estimating the relation which the vast yet finite resources of British capital and industry sustain to that enormous expenditure of wealth and strength to which the country has committed, or is about to commit itself. Our object, in adverting to this subject, is simply to press on the public attention the fearful risks of embarking in any large, novel, and long-dated industrial enterprise, however intrinsically useful and profitable, with such a contingency impending over us as that to which we are annually exposed by the landlords' Corn Law.

The immense engagements to which, under the Railway Acts of the last two sessions, the capital and labour of Great Britain now stand pledged—not to speak of the very large addition to our obligations which will certainly be made by the legislation of 1846—may, or may not, be more than this country is, in the nature of things, capable of fulfilling. But there can be no doubt whatever that their fulfilment will task all our disposable strength—will require uninterrupted commercial prosperity, plentiful and regular supplies of every necessary of life, and an easy and steady money-market. Any considerable commercial reverse—any serious derangement of our monetary affairs—such as would infallibly ensue on a bad harvest, with the Corn Law unrepealed—would now be inconceivably calamitous. The railway schemes at present in progress, or in contemplation, are the product of plenty and prosperity, and they demand a continuance of plenty and prosperity as the necessary condition of their successful accomplishment. We have been taking for granted, with careless confidence, that we are to go on repeating, and repeating again, through an indefinite succession of years, the happy

experience of this year and the last—that the next five years, or ten years, will one and all be like 1844 and 1845, and not like 1839 and 1840; and woe betide us if this easy and pleasant assumption be not realised! We have enlisted a vast army of labourers for a costly and protracted warfare, and are still beating up for fresh recruits; it is time to see to the state and prospects of our stores. We are about to venture on the portentous experiment of turning tens of thousands of our producers of food into consumers; and our straightened and impoverished agriculture, with this new and "peculiar burden," cannot afford to dispense with any available *succedaneum*. We are going to make a gigantic effort, and we have no strength to waste. With our capital and labour committed to the construction of thousands of miles of iron railway, we must run no needless risks. We must clear out of our way the frightful possibility of another 1839.

We hear much of "railway mania." But all the madness of private or corporate speculation is sober wisdom as compared with the national infatuation which plays this annual game of hazard against the elements. The worst and most fatal form of railway *mania* is that by which the Government and Legislature of the country are so deeply infected—the *mania* of acting, in matters of the largest and weightiest national concern, on an assumption which, with our present anti-commercial code, may break down any year—which must break down some year. By all the analogies of our past experience, it is, practically speaking, certain that within two, three, or four years from this time, we shall have such a harvest as will realise the worst terrors which haunted us ten weeks back. And it is also certain, that if such a harvest overtake us, with the law for keeping empty granaries still unrepealed, the blow will fall with cruel and crushing force on the "railway interest." The remembrance of those weeks of July and August last, during which "shares" trembled with every storm of hail and shower of rain, and the money articles of the daily papers were a sort of meteorological register, may sufficiently warn the railway interest, the country, and the Government, that those undertakings on which we are about to expend the surplus accumulation of a brief and precarious prosperity will be the first to feel, and the last to overcome, the effects of national exhaustion and collapse.

THE VASSALS OF THE HOUSE OF WARWICK.

If all popular constituencies were like that of South Warwickshire, and all popular candidates like Mr. Bolton King, the former "Radical" Member for the county town, we should beg to be excused from further attendances on so sorry a farce as that of electoral Government. We should greatly prefer feudalism simple, to the absurd and degrading hoax of feudalism with the forms and false pretences of popular representation. Here is a constituency of 4000 Englishmen looking on in gaping and servile stupidity, while Mr. Bolton King gives them in a present, with his best compliments, to the Earl of Warwick—that the Earl of Warwick may hand them over to his son, young Lord Brooke, or Master Brooke, a lad who is just now amusing himself somewhere on the Continent sight-seeing.

The great Guy himself had not a more patient and obsequious set of vassals than are the 4000 very humble and obedient servants of his modern lordship. If any one of these 4000 British electors were hiring an errand-boy, he would ask about the youth's character. If any one of them were about buying a horse, he would choose to satisfy himself as to the animal's "points." It is only in choosing a legislator for Great Britain, Ireland, and the British colonies in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia—an arbiter of the gravest questions of peace and war, taxation, commerce, and jurisprudence—that they one and all abdicate their independence and self respect, and resign every pretence of judgment and choice to obey a lord's *conge d'elire*.

When the landlords and farmers of Great Britain, under the wholesome compulsion of Free

Trade and foreign competition, become agriculturists in real earnest, these shameful exhibitions of electoral subserviency and stupidity will, so far as the counties are concerned, gradually drop into desuetude. It is the tenancy-at-will system that turns counties into pocket boroughs; and it is the Corn Law—which promises high prices and high rents by a process totally disconnected from the business of agriculture—that at once enables and invites landlords to keep up a system so wasteful and mischievous. Electors are not allowed to elect, because, on the protectionist theory, votes are a more paying crop than corn. When landlords are made to look for their rents—not to parliamentary prices upheld by subservient suffrages—but to the improved value given to their land by intelligent tenants on lease, we may hope to witness the revival of the old principle of the British Constitution, that the Commons of England nominate the Commons' House of Parliament.

FAMILIAR LECTURES ON THE ELEMENTS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

BY THE EDITOR.

No. VIII.

CAPITAL AND LABOUR—(CONTINUED.)

The sentimental economists, represented by Anti-Leaguer of the *Morning Post*, have, as has already been shown, endeavoured to confound all kinds of accumulation with the grasping and mercenary thirst for riches which passes under the name of avarice. They forget that accumulation is absolutely necessary to re-production; the farmer must save from the present harvest seed sufficient for his next operations, or he cannot reasonably expect to have a crop. If the sentimentalists could introduce a system of dissipation, the nation, like a thoughtless prodigal, might consume all its wealth in one season of riotous excess, and then be condemned to misery for futurity. The fact is, that the sentimentalist stops short at the accumulation, and does not follow capital, or at least follows it very imperfectly, into its uses and applications. We have already said that the use of capital is to provide for the consumption of value which must take place previous to the production of value; and every investment of capital in business is virtually a consumption of that capital which is to be replaced by the products of the business. It is obvious that no man will invest capital who has not a prospect of its being thus replaced.

This leads us to consider Anti-Leaguer's objections to machinery; and in the first place we have to remark, that scarcely any production is possible without some machinery. A plough is a machine, so is a spade, a saw, a hatchet, or even a pen; the plough turns up the earth more economically and more efficiently than men could with their hands and nails, but there are more men employed in turning up the earth, where the plough has been introduced, than there are in countries where the labourers have to work with their hands.

It is of some importance to show that machinery has been introduced not to supersede labour, but to prevent the unprofitable expenditure of labour. The labour of all rude nations, and of all uncultivated individuals, is labour with ignorance. Such labour consumes a larger amount of time and toil, while it yields a much smaller return than labour with knowledge. The sentimentalist is anxious that the people should be employed; the economist requires that they should be profitably employed: the former reasons as if the good was in the act of labour; the latter measures the benefit by the results of labour; the former, if he acted consistently, would applaud the vast expenditure of Louis XIV. on fortifications and palaces; the latter would condemn such a waste of labour and capital, both being sunk in works which yielded no return. Now capital invested in the form of machinery produces the largest amount of returns for the smallest expenditure of labour. Mr. Knight illustrates this principle by a reference to the railways and internal communications of the country; and as this subject engages a large share of the attention of the country, we shall extract the passage.

"Two hundred years ago—even one hundred years ago—in some places fifty years ago—the roads of England were wholly unfit for general traffic and the conveyance of heavy goods. Pack-horses mostly carried on the communication in the manufacturing districts. The roads were as unfit for moving commodities of bulk, such as coal, wool, and corn, as the sandy roads of Poland are at the present day. Bad roads in Poland double the original price of wheat by the cost of conveyance a very few miles. Bad Corn Laws in England prevent the natural course of commercial exchange, which would very soon mend the Polish roads from the

corn-field to the sea-port. The great principle of exchange between one part of this island and another part, which has ceased to be an affair of restrictions and jealousies, has covered this island with good roads, with canals, and finally with railways. The railway and the steam-carriage have carried the principle of diminishing the price of conveyance, and therefore of commodities, by machinery, to an extent which makes all other illustrations almost unnecessary. A road with a waggon moving on it is a mechanical combination; a canal, with its locks and towing-paths, and boats gliding along almost without effort, is a higher mechanical combination; a railway, with its locomotive engine, and carriage after carriage dragged along at the rate of thirty miles an hour, is the highest of such mechanical combinations. The force applied upon a level turnpike-road, which is required to move 1800 lbs., if applied to drag a canal boat, will move 55,500 lbs., both at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour. But we want economy in time as well as economy in the application of motive power. It has been attempted to apply speed to canal travelling. Up to four miles an hour the canal can convey an equal weight more economically than a railroad; but after a certain velocity is exceeded, that is $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, the horse on the turnpike-road can drag as much as the canal team. Then comes in the great advantage of the railroad. The same force that is required to draw 1900 lbs. upon a canal at a rate above $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, will draw 14,400 lbs. upon a railway, at the rate of $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour. Who can doubt that the cost of consumption is diminished by machinery, when the producers and consumers are thus brought together, not only at the least cost of transit, but at the least expenditure of time?

"If we add to the road, the canal, and the railway, the steam-boat traffic of our own coasts, we cannot hesitate to believe that the whole territory of Great Britain and Ireland is more compact, more closely united, more accessible, than was a single county two centuries ago. It may be said, without exaggeration, that it would now be impossible for a traveller in England to set himself down in any situation where the post from London would not reach him in eighteen hours. When the first edition of 'The Results of Machinery' was published in 1831, we said that the post from London would reach any part of England in three days; and that 'fifty years before, such a quickness of communication would have been considered beyond the compass of human means.' In fourteen years we have so diminished the practical amount of distance between one part of Great Britain and another, that the post from London to Aberdeen is only thirty-six hours. In a few years it will be even less. Railways are producing these wonderful changes; and in connection with railways and improved roads and steam-ships, the mental labourers have been at work with improved organisation to make the condition of all other labourers more advantageous.

"Roads, canals, steam-ships, railways, are each and all machines for diminishing the cost of transport, whether of commodities or of human beings. They create labour, they lower and equalise prices. About twenty years ago a new road was made, at the expense of Government, through a barren country, which presented an impassable barrier to communication between Limerick, Cork, and Kerry. We will take one example of the instantaneous benefit of this road-making, as described by a witness before Parliament:—'A hatter, at Castle-island, had a small field through which the new road passed: this part next the town was not opened until 1826. In making arrangements with him for his damages, he said that he ought to make me (the engineer) a present of all the land he had, for that the second year I was at the roads he sold more hats to the people of the mountains alone, than he did for seven years before to the high and low lands together.'

"The hatter of Castle-island got comfort and prosperity by the roads, because the man who had to sell and the man who had to buy were brought closer to each other by means of the roads. When there were no roads, the hatter kept his goods upon the shelf, and the labourer in the mountains went without a hat. When the labourer and the hatter were brought together by the roads, the hatter soon sold off his stock, and the manufacturer of hats went to work to produce him a new stock; while the labourer, who found the advantage of having a hat, also went to work to earn more money, that he might pay for another when he should require it. It became a fashion to wear hats, and of course a fashion to work hard, and to save time, to be able to pay for them. Thus the road created industry on both sides, on the side of the producer of hats and that of the consumer.

"What the new Irish road did for the hatter of Castle-island, the railroads of England and Scotland have done, and are doing, for our millions of producers and consumers. But it may be held by some that railways, as far as passenger communication goes, are inventions for the benefit of the rich and the pleasure-seeking. Parlia-

ment thought otherwise when it enacted, in 1844, that upon every railway there should be a train once a day provided for third-class passengers, in carriages with seats, and protected from the weather, which should take up and set down passengers at every station, and the fare not to exceed one penny per mile. If all railway proprietors had understood their own interests, none would have waited for a legislative enactment to carry third-class passengers at a penny a mile. But before this Act of Parliament was passed, the penny-a-mile passengers formed an important class of travellers. From the 1st of July, 1842, to the 30th of June, 1843, sixty-six railways then in operation in the United Kingdom received from passengers and for the conveyance of goods the enormous sum of four million five hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds. Of this sum three million one hundred and ten thousand pounds was received from passengers, amounting to more than twenty-three million persons. Of these, six million five hundred thousand were third-class passengers, who paid four hundred and eleven thousand pounds, being upon an average fifteen pence for each. It is evident that the third-class passengers went short distances, some less than fifteen miles, some more. Can any one doubt that the free interchange of labour is promoted in an unexampled degree by such railway communication?"

We have already shown that a large amount of consumption is involved in every production, and it must be remembered that the value of every article consumed is utterly destroyed and lost. Whatever, therefore, facilitates production, effects a saving on the consumption necessary to the production of that particular commodity, and thereby adds the amount of that saving to the working capital of the community. Suppose that an artificer in Plymouth was thrown out of work, and that he heard of employment to be obtained in Manchester. If there were no mechanical means of transport it would take him 14 or 15 days to get from one place to the other. During that space of time his labour of travelling would be unproductively wasted, his time would yield him no wages, and the provisions he consumed on the road would equally form a part of a dead loss; but if there were railroads open the whole line he would effect the passage in a day; and instead of coming foot-sore and weary to his work, he would arrive in Manchester fresh and vigorous. His fare would probably not amount to more than half the cost of the provisions that he would have consumed had he walked. Here we have machinery displacing 14 or 15 days' labour of the pedestrian, and yet the most insane of the sentimentalists would not assert that the workman was thereby injured. The labour displaced was unproductive, and the displacement afforded him an opportunity to devote his time to profitable and productive labour. But this benefit extends beyond the individual; for the consumption that has been saved, and the amount of production effected during the time gained by expeditious transit, are not only added to the profits of the individual but to the stock of values that make up the capital of the country.

Now the effect of every mechanical improvement and invention is just the same as that which we have shown to result from the railway; that is, to economise the time and labour necessary to produce a given result. If a piece of cloth woven by hand required 15 days for its completion, and if, by the use of machinery, it could be perfected in one day, the saving of 14 days' labour to the producer is just as obvious as the similar saving to the traveller by railway; the one is spared as much unprofitable labour of the hand as the other was unprofitable labour of the feet. In both cases there has been a displacement of labour; but in neither case can this be regarded as injurious to the operative. Let us take another example from Mr. Knight's admirable little work.

"The present Pasha, or chief ruler of Egypt, in one of those fits of caprice which it is the nature of tyrants to exhibit, ordered, a few years ago, that the male population of a district should be set to clear out one of the ancient canals which was then filled up with mud. The people had no tools, and the Pasha gave them no tools; but the work was required to be done. So to work the poor wretches went, to the number of fifty thousand. They had to plunge up to their necks in the filthiest slime, and to bale it out with their hands, and their hands alone. They were fed, it is true, during the operation; but their food was of a quality proportioned to the little profitable labour which they performed. They were fed on horse-beans and water. In the course of one year, more than thirty thousand of these unhappy people perished. If the tyrant, instead of giving labour to fifty thousand people, had possessed the means of setting up steam-engines to pump out the water, and scoop out the mud—if he had even provided the pump which is called Archimedes' screw, and was invented by that philosopher for the very purpose of draining land in Egypt—if the people had even had scoops and

shovels, instead of being degraded like beasts, to the employment of their unassisted hands—the work might have been done at a fiftieth of the cost, even of the miserable pittance of horse-beans and water; and the money that was saved by the tools and machines, might have gone to furnish profitable labour to the thousands who perished amidst the misery and degradation of their unprofitable labour.

“Some may say that this is a case which does not apply to us, because we are free men, and cannot be compelled to perish, up to our necks in mud, upon a pittance of horse-beans, doled out by a tyrant. Exactly so. But what has made us free? Knowledge. Knowledge,—which, in raising the moral and intellectual character of every Englishman, has raised up barriers to oppression which no power can ever break down. Knowledge,—which has set ingenious men thinking in every way how to increase the profitable labour of the nation, and therefore to increase the comforts of every man in the nation. Is it for the working men of this country, or for any other class of men, to say that knowledge shall stop at a certain point, and shall go no farther? Is it for them to say, that although they are willing to retain the infinite blessings which knowledge has bestowed upon them—the improved food, the abundant fuel and water, the cheap clothing, the convenient houses, the drainage and ventilation which make houses healthful, the preservation of life by medical science, and the profit and comfort of books—that we are to rest satisfied with what we have got: or rather, if the haters of machinery are to be heard, that we are to go back to what we were five hundred years ago? Depend upon it, if we once begin to march backwards, however slow may be the first steps, the retreat towards ignorance, instead of the advance towards knowledge, will soon become pretty quick; till at last there would be one mad rush from civilisation to uncivilisation. Then comes the labour of the despot, who has been comparatively idle while knowledge was labouring. There is no halting-place then; and the mud and horse-beans of the Pasha of Egypt will be the natural end, and the fit reward of such monstrous folly and wickedness.”

It is very hard to get the sentimentalists to define precisely the nature of their opposition to machinery; they will not tell us at what improvement their principle of applying discouragement and taxation should commence. A waggoner having a long whip can drive a long team of horses: we are not told whether it is proposed to tax long whips, and to compel the waggoner to have a driver for every pair of horses. But how does this differ in principle from a proposal to limit the number of spindles to be driven on a single mule-frame? The waste of the labour of the drivers with short whips is the same in effect as the waste of the labour of the spinners with single-decked mules, and we wonder that the absurdity so palpable in the one case is not equally manifest in the other.

Those who clamour for a tax on machinery forget that it is subject to a very heavy tax already; every new improvement deteriorates the value of the capital invested in old machinery, and many instances could be quoted to show that this is a far more onerous tax than is generally supposed. There are some other relations between labour and capital in the form of machinery, which the sentimentalists have so misrepresented as to render it necessary to examine them with attention.

THE LEAGUE BAZAAR.

(From the Manchester Guardian of Wednesday.)

This fancy fair, which opens to day in the Free Trade Hall, offers to the world-wide renowned liberality of the Free Traders of this town and district, another opportunity for the exercise of their generous encouragement to the cause of commercial freedom. It is, besides, an agreeable *réunion* for the fellow-workers in that cause; a sort of “high change” where they may look to find their collaborators, and where especially the ladies, by their presence and their exertions, gracefully exercise their prerogative, and do what they can for the abolition of monopolies and the promotion of Free Trade. The Free Trade Hall, which has contained within its walls so many various gatherings for purposes of philanthropy and patriotism, and where the charms of music and the dance have often contributed to the funds of worthy and benevolent objects, appears to day in a new and gay attire in honour of this, the second bazaar held within its walls. The stalls are loaded with a countless number and variety of articles, so that even the most fastidious may find something to purchase, at once pleasing and useful. Looking over the printed catalogue, we are of opinion that the useful (in which we include all the various models, processes, and specimens of different textile and other manufactures) predominates over the fancy departments; and this, we believe, is just what should be, to meet the tastes of the community of Manchester. As the bazaar is open only six days, those who intend to be present should lose no time, as the hall will undergo another metamorphosis next week, for the grand *soirée* of the Athenæum on the Thursday evening, and therefore the bazaar must close on the preceding Tuesday.

[We hoped to have furnished our readers with a descriptive account of the opening of the Bazaar in our present Number; but owing to some unaccounted for delay, it has not reached us. We shall next week, however, give full particulars.]

THE REVENUE.

Abstract of the Net Produce of the Revenue of Great Britain, in the Years and Quarters ended on the 10th of October, 1844 and 1845, showing the Increase or Decrease thereof:—

	Years ending Oct. 10, 1844.	1845.	In-crease.	De-crease.
Customs	£ 20,213,505	£ 18,652,552	£ 1,560,953	
Excise	11,950,912	12,069,215	109,273	
Stamps	6,553,385	6,061,370	492,085	
Taxes	4,301,855	4,298,281	23,426	
Property Tax	5,158,470	5,127,136	31,344	
Post Office	672,000	688,000	16,000	
Crown Lands	135,000	145,000	10,000	
Miscellaneous	606,357	902,960	296,603	
Imprest and other				
Moneys	181,515	406,019	225,104	
Repayments of Ad- vances	956,503	1,325,760	369,167	
Total Income	50,741,022	50,506,883	1,987,558	1,022,207
Deduct Increase				1,387,558
Decrease on the Year				234,739
	Qrs. ending Oct. 10, 1844.	1845.	In-crease.	De-crease.
Customs	£ 6,002,855	£ 4,848,363	£ 1,154,492	
Excise	3,960,890	3,955,106	5,784	
Stamps	1,665,688	1,780,175	114,487	
Taxes	201,439	201,279	160	
Property Tax	1,458,711	1,823,893	365,182	
Post Office	200,000	203,000	3,000	
Crown Lands	10,000	20,000	10,000	
Miscellaneous	220,561	465,102	244,541	
Imprest and other				
Moneys	28,117	24,591	3,526	
Repayments of Ad- vances	123,492	473,881	350,189	
Total Income	14,372,353	13,811,380	737,817	1,298,790
Deduct Increase				737,817
Decrease on the Quarter				560,973

(From the Times.)

The quarterly table of the revenue exhibits a decrease of so formidable an aspect as at first to remind us of the days when it was thought sagacity to leave an odd million or two fructifying in the pockets of the people, however much they might be desolated in the Treasury. Those, however, were days of increasing deficit. The *minus* quantity in the present instance is only by comparison with the last year. Still it is enough to stagger the firmest believer in Sir Robert Peel. Under the head of customs, the decrease on the quarter is 1,154,492*l.*; on the year, 1,560,953*l.* We hasten, however, to assuage the terrors which this simple announcement is likely to produce, not only in the Ministerial partisan, but in the minds of all who love their country or even themselves. The decrease on the quarter is more than accounted for by two important considerations. It was in this quarter last year that about 800,000*l.* was paid on the import of foreign corn, raising the quarterly customs to the unusual sum of six millions. This year, unfortunately for the Exchequer, wheat has not risen to quite a starvation price, so there is very little to set off against that large item. As this is the most noticeable feature in the present table, we will shortly return to it. The other explanatory circumstance is the great reduction of the sugar duties, computed at 1,700,000*l.* in the year, and therefore not less than 500,000*l.* on this particular quarter, assuming the quantity imported to be the same as last year. For the reduction or entire abolition of other duties, including that on cotton, we may set down probably more than a loss of 100,000*l.* on the quarter. These three sums amount to 1,400,000*l.*, which by our dead reckoning ought to be the loss under the head of customs alone. The actual loss is only 1,154,492*l.*, as above stated. The difference therefore between these two sums, being about 250,000*l.*, may be set down as so much increase in the revenue from our regular imports, and may fairly be ascribed to the increased prosperity of the country, *i.e.*, as some will put it, to the credit of Sir Robert Peel.

Under the head of excise, the decrease on the quarter is only the nominal sum of 578*l.* We believe people were generally prepared for a result showing the policy of large reductions on the excise. Every one, for example, who happens to have had experimental proof of it, is aware, to his inconvenience and cost, that the glass manufacturers are quite unable to meet the increased demand. Few, however, could be prepared for the fact of the revenue's so speedily filling up the gap of a reduction. The Property-tax presents a decrease of 134,888*l.*, which we can only ascribe to some accidental reason, such as a change in the method of collection; unless the triennial renewal of the burden has found the victims rather more knowing and shifty. The stamps show an increase of more than 100,000*l.*, symptomatic of an unusual commercial activity. On the whole, the total decrease on the quarter, after deducting the increase, is 560,973*l.*, which, considering how much we were getting before-hand in our money affairs, and how thriving we are just now at least, is not very alarming.

The present table illustrates with unusual force a very remarkable, and we will add, a very unseemly result of the sliding scale. Government is made to appear dependent for a large item of its revenue on a certain accident which must be considered a national calamity. When corn is less plentiful and dearer, when consequently there is less to be spent in wages, and the bulk of the people must be worse off, then Government gets its windfall of a million or so from the importation of foreign corn. “It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good,” applies to many professions, more or less honourable, which depend on the inevitable misfortunes of humanity. But it must be wrong to raise the storm for the sake of its wrecks. We have heard of a northern port which long successfully opposed the erection of a lighthouse on a neighbouring promontory, because it was considered prejudicial to the interests of the port, as a harbour of refuge, and because certain influential inhabitants of the town trafficked in wrecks and salvage. But men generally prefer to live on the prosperity of their fellow-creatures. A percentage on lives preserved is better than one on lives lost. It is more agreeable to live by feeding and clothing than by starving and reducing to nakedness. It would then be far pleasanter to look to the quarterly or annual produce of the corn duties, if corn duties there are to be, as significant of national abundance, rather than as a certain consequence of death.

Besides, consider the intricacy in which we manage to lose ourselves by this arrangement. Last year the Minister got about a million on the import of corn; this year he gets

next to nothing. Unquestionably the country has been better able to pay that sum this year than last year, for more can be spared for public purposes out of a large private accumulation than out of a small one. But as the matter stands, a bad year gives a good revenue—a good year a bad one. The short harvest of 1843 helped to give the Premier his magnificent surplus. The abundant harvest of 1844, the most abundant England has ever seen, appears likely to pinch him not a little. He remits taxes, and makes grand speculations of increasing prosperity on the strength of having three millions to spare. Nature is more than kind, and the country more than prosperous. Are his speculations, therefore, more than realised? On the contrary, the well-intentioned kindness of Nature has cut away a third of his surplus. We do not say the Premier is not interested in a good harvest, either in heart or in position. Every season is a special Godevid which puts off that evil day when the drama, or rather the farce, of protection will be concluded by the catastrophe of an irremediable famine. The Premier lives by good harvests, though they help to starve his pockets and defeat his calculations. We are pointing out the game of cross purposes in which he is involved. It cannot be right that the interests of the Exchequer should run directly counter to those of the nation; that a short harvest should be made to produce a show of prosperity which a good harvest is next year to disappoint; that extraordinary taxes should be made to occur just when they are least capable of being borne; and that a financial system, hoping to be tolerably permanent, should be based on the conflicting conditions of death producing a national revenue and abundance producing a general prosperity.

THE GLORIOUS UNPAID.

(From the Nonconformist.)

“Oh, send him to me, and I'll give him a month!” is, we believe, one of those forms of neighbourly courtesy, with which gentlemen of the bench gratify the vindictive feelings of their friends, when annoyed by having their path crossed in any way by the poor. “I'll give him a month!” as though it were a matter of no greater importance than just administering physic to an ailing dog. The shame, albeit no crime has been committed, the separation from home, the laceration of domestic ties, the removal of the main prop of a poor man's family, the consequent destitution of wife and children meanwhile, debts incurred requiring a twelve-month's self-denial to wipe off—all this is as nothing to some of your rural and clerical “unpaid,” when a favour is to be done to a gentleman, who wishes to rid himself of some trivial annoyance, or gratify a petty spite. Let Sir James Graham vouch for the integrity and kindness of the justices of England—it is all in the way of his business; we do not hesitate to aver our belief that the records of magisterial conduct, could they but be sifted, contain stories, by no means unfrequent, of heartless cruelty and oppression which not Russia or Egypt could outmatch.

Our readers will probably remember the cases of Thomas Lakin and Ann Ward, committed to Leicester county gaol for the crime of having been unable to pay a poor's rate, in April last, being brought under the notice of the Houses of Parliament. The rate, in that instance, having been paid by a charitable gentleman, Thomas Lakin was released, and afterwards re-committed for inability to pay costs. The illegality and inhumanity of the course pursued were admitted and condemned by the Lord Chancellor and by the Home Secretary, and the poor man was liberated by Sir James Graham's order, just three days before his term of imprisonment had expired. Well, the unhappy victim is again in prison for the same crime—inability to pay, out of wages averaging 9*s.* 8*d.* per week, a rate to the poor, after having satisfied his landlord, and provided, with the remaining 8*s.*, a scanty support for a wife and four children, the eldest eleven years old, and blind, and the youngest barely 12 months. Here is little more than a shilling a day with which to furnish sustenance to six persons; and, because no surplus remains for the poor (save the mark!) Lakin is sent a third time to gaol. The committing magistrates are R. G. Cresswell, Esq., and the Reverend (yes! we will give him his title) the Reverend Sir Nigel Gresley. Is R. G. Cresswell, Esq., he of the Loughborough bench, the bad fame of which has reached the extremities of the empire? If so, we are not surprised at his decision. He, it appears, was one of the committing magistrates on the first occasion of poor Lakin's imprisonment, and we believe he usually discharges this function of his office with evident relish. The wonder to us is, how, in both instances, he managed to find a pliant or sympathising colleague; but we are told clerical magistrates reserve their mercy for the gospel, and pique themselves upon severity in the administration of law. We beg to congratulate the worthy pair. They must have enjoyed a good day's sport. It is not every day that gentlemen have a chance of running down incarnate poverty merely for its own sake. Here there was everything to give them unalloyed satisfaction. The man's destitution is attested by the fact, that even the little furniture which he uses belongs to his landlord. He can show an excellent character, too, which makes the sport of worrying him to the grave all the more exciting. And to crown all, he has been hunted before, and must therefore be all the more sensitive to this cruel infliction. Could R. G. Cresswell, Esq., find anything more felicitously suited to his taste?

Seriously, however, we protest that it was a burning disgrace to the character of the British Government that this man was not cushioned from his office, when his doings were last under the notice of the House of Commons. Can it be, that the *Times* is absorbed in surveying its own broad sheets of advertisements?—otherwise, how is it that we have not heard its thunder? We hope some steps will be taken to bring the matter under the special notice of the Home Office, and that as *supersedeas* cannot safely be sent to Ireland, to discourage Orangism, two may be spared for the Ashby-de-la-Zouch Bench, where they will do a world more good.

MEETING OF PIECERS.—On Wednesday evening, a public meeting of the piecers was held, in the room of an empty mill, in Bentinck-street, Ashton, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of demanding from the spinners an advance of 20 per cent. upon their present prices. The meeting, which was numerously attended, was addressed by a number of the older piecers; and a resolution was agreed to, that shop meetings should be called, to consider the best means to be adopted for carrying their object. It was also resolved, that, after the opinion of the piecers of the various mills had been obtained, another public meeting should be called, at which ulterior measures should be adopted.—*Manchester Guardian.*

CONSUMPTION OF SUGAR IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA.

(From the Economist.)

The following interesting calculation of the entire consumption of sugar in Europe, the United States, and the British Colonies has been made by Mr. Frederick Scherer, after many and careful inquiries, for which his extensive connections with the sugar trade throughout Europe afford him peculiar facilities:

"CONSUMPTION OF SUGAR.—Having attempted to ascertain the actual consumption, as well as the entire production, of the important article of sugar, I now submit to my friends the result of my inquiries. Extreme accuracy can, of course, hardly be expected; but I have no reason to apprehend that I have committed any material error. For corrections, accompanied by official returns or authentic proofs, I shall feel greatly obliged.

"It will be seen that the average consumption of the 278 millions of civilised people, which my inquiry embraces, is about 6 2-5 lbs. per head per annum, or at the rate prevailing in the Custom House Union.

"The following table is curious, and may lead to some useful conclusions:

Country	Consumption	Per head	Total
In Russia ..	26-10	pr hd.	198,000
Austria ..	8-10	—	324,000
France ..	12-10	—	1,017,000
Holl., Belg., &c.	12-10	—	1,501,000
United States	18	—	2,231,000
Great Britain	19	—	2,357,000

If the consumption were equal to what is allowed to persons in English workhouses, according to Mr. Child, 24 lbs. per annum, it would amount to 4,219,000. To what is allowed to sailors in the British Navy, two ounces per day, would amount to 5,662,000. To what is probably used among the middling classes in England, namely 1 lb. per individual in the week, would amount to 6,453,000.

"There can be no doubt that, with a general reduction of duties, the use of this article might be enormously increased, and since it is certain that the greater the demand the cheaper will commodities be supplied, such increase would open an unbounded field for enterprise, commerce, and colonization. It is to be hoped that governments will take this into consideration, and relieve the article from the heavy burthens and restrictions under which it now labours almost in every country. Thus, sources for industry and enjoyment might be opened to the enormous mass of people enumerated by me, to an extent exceeding almost the flights of the most sanguine imagination."

ESTIMATED CONSUMPTION OF SUGAR IN 1845.

Countries	Population according to best authorities	Quantity of Sugar	Qty. p. hd.
Custom House Union	29,068,000	(Colonial 70,000) (Beetroot 10,500)	80,500 6 2
Belgium	4,211,000	—	—
Holland	3,100,000	—	—
Oldenburg	250,000	—	—
Hamburg	165,000	—	—
Bremen	72,000	—	—
Lubeck	47,000	—	—
Hanover	1,800,000	—	—
Mecklenburg	600,000	—	—
Prussia	10,340,000	(Colonial 51,000) (Beet 5,000)	56,000 12 1
Russia	56,778,000	(Colonial 37,000) (Beet 7,000)	44,000 1 6
Austria	28,797,000	—	—
Naples & Sicily	8,200,000	—	—
Switzerland	4,882,000	—	—
Tuscany	1,500,000	—	—
Rome	2,077,000	—	—
Parma	460,000	—	—
Liguria	170,000	—	—
Sardinia	700,000	—	—
Moldavia	378,000	—	—
France	35,400,000	(Colonial 62,000) (Beet 6,000) (French colonies 30,000) (Foreign 11,000) (Beetroot 28,000)	128,000 8 2
Portugal	3,112,000	—	10,000 6 6
Spain	13,786,000	(from Cuba, 1844 35,100)	36,000 5 8
Sweden	3,111,000	—	—
Denmark	2,238,000	—	—
Norway	1,150,000	—	—
Gr. Brit. & Irel.	6,500,000	—	12,000 4 1
Indian Islands	205,000	—	240,000 19 0
Melanch Gibraltar	130,000	—	—
Cracow	375,000	—	—
Switzerland	145,000	—	—
Turkey	2,316,000	—	—
Greece	10,000,000	—	—
Canada & other colonies	770,000	—	—
United States	10,770,000	These and shipping stores estd.	4,900 15,000 18
Number of people	278,033,000	—	845,900 tons

CATTLE IMPORTS.—The following is an official account of the importations during the last three years, ending on the 30th of September in each year:

	1843	1844	1845
Oxen and bulls	556	1142	5426
Cows	270	538	3093
Calves	32	40	462
Sheep	150	314	3783
Pigs	5	15	105
Swine and hogs	242	186	403
Totals	1261	2565	13,672

THE GAME LAWS.—Yesterday week, Thos. Higgins, of Aylesbury, was summoned before the Wakefield magistrates for an offence against the Game Laws. Higgins, who is a farm labourer, was proceeding to his work early in the morning, and picked up a hare, which he found dead in a wheat field: being observed by the game keeper, the poor fellow was taken into custody. The hare had been caught in a snare, but there was no evidence to prove that the prisoner was in any way connected with poachers. He was proceeding to work, with his squire over his shoulder, to a field adjoining that in which the hare was found, when he accidentally saw the animal, and naturally enough took possession. Higgins was fined in a penalty and costs amounting to 5l., and in default he was sent to the House of Correction for three months. —*Leeds Mercury.*

* Consumption in France increased, but mostly included in the quantities assumed to be used elsewhere.

THE WEATHER, THE CROPS, AND THE CORN TRADE.

(From the Mark Lane Express.)

The very wet, unfavourable weather experienced during the week, has done so much injury to that portion of the crops still abroad in the northern counties, as to render it next to impossible for the grain to be secured in any other than the worst condition, however auspicious the weather may hereafter become. When rain occurs early in the season, its effects may frequently be almost wholly remedied; but the year is now too far advanced to admit us to hope that the mischief done in the present case can be repaired; the shortness of the days, the diminished power of the sun, and the heavy night dews, all tend to prevent that which has been thoroughly saturated with wet being easily dried, except by artificial means; the corn which has been exposed in the fields to the frequent heavy showers of the past fortnight (and the quantity is, we are sorry to learn, considerable) must therefore inevitably be carted in a damp state. In some localities, where there have been heavy floods, a portion will be entirely lost, and that part saved can scarcely be expected to be in fit order for thrashing for months to come; so far, therefore, from any improvement having taken place in our prospects, there is reason to fear that the result of the harvest—taking the kingdom collectively—will prove even more unfavourable than was before apprehended; and there can no longer be any doubt that fine old wheat will become more valuable in proportion as it is found to be required for mixing with the damp, inferior qualities of new. That the quantity left over of last year's crop is trifling, is generally admitted; whilst it is an undoubted fact, that of free foreign very little remains in the country. It is true that we have about half a million of quarters of wheat in bond in the kingdom, and it is possible that somewhat about 100,000 quarters may arrive before winter puts a stop to shipments from the Baltic; but even were the whole of this quantity immediately released, we doubt whether it would have any material influence on prices. In the present position of affairs it is not likely, however, that importers will enter for home consumption, as by leaving their property under lock, they will be in a position to take advantage of the fall which must, later in the year, occur in the duty.

The trade in wheat has, since our last, been active, and not only has the previously established advance been maintained, but a further rise in prices has taken place at many of the principal markets. Notwithstanding the inducement held out by the present remunerating rates, farmers have manifested very little anxiety to part with their wheat, and the deliveries have rather fallen off than increased; buyers have, on the other hand, deemed it prudent to make further addition to their stocks, and at present we can discover no symptoms of a reaction.

Our advices from Scotland speak very despondingly of the weather, and the progress made with harvest operations in that country. Even in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh much of the corn is still, we are informed, in the fields; and in the backward localities immense injury has, it is feared, been done by the heavy and constant rain; as, however, the prospects in respect to quantity were previously very good, it was still hoped that—though the quality would be inferior—about an average produce would be secured. These remarks apply more particularly to oats, the staple crop of the country; wheat appears there, as with us, to have suffered from the want of warmth and excess of moisture during the summer months, and is therefore expected to be short in yield.

Ireland appears to have been visited with similar weather to that experienced on this side of the Channel; and a good deal of injury is said to have been done in the later districts, not only to the corn remaining abroad, but also to the potatoes. These reports, and the rise in the English markets, had caused holders of grain to demand higher terms; and at the principal markets the value of wheat and oats had tended upwards.

A lively inquiry for bonded wheat has prevailed throughout the week; and had importers been disposed to have accepted former terms, extensive transactions would probably have been entered into. The very high rates asked have to a certain degree checked business; still some rather large sales were concluded on Friday for good to fine high-mixed Dantzic wheat at 58s. to 59s. per quarter, and for a lot of old red Königsberg 52s. 6d. per quarter was paid. There was very little Lower Baltic red wheat offering as low as 50s., and for fine heavy Rostock sellers declined accepting less than 52s., making the rise from Monday fully 2s. per quarter.

As yet the duty remains at 18s. per quarter; but the averages are now coming high even from the agricultural districts, and a full must take place before the end of the month; whilst from the present position of affairs, we are inclined to think that wheat will, ere the termination of the year, be admissible at 10s. or 12s. per quarter, if not lower.

The millers have shown some unwillingness to enter into forward contracts to deliver flour, expecting a further rise in the value of the article. Ship flour was decidedly dear on Friday, as was also Canadian and United States.

Though that portion of the oat crop which was secured early yielded well to the acre, and proves of good quality, so large a proportion of the harvest is yet abroad in Ireland and Scotland that it has become doubtful whether the total quantity will come up to the estimates formed of the yield earlier in the year. This, and the disease by which the potatoes have everywhere been attacked—a circumstance which must cause a greatly increased consumption of oatmeal—may account for the firm tone which holders of oats have this week assumed. On Wednesday few factors were willing to sell at former prices, and on Friday an advance of 6d. to 1s. per quarter was established without difficulty, not only on home-grown, but likewise on free foreign oats.

In the early part of the week prices of beans had rather a downward tendency, but the continued wet weather, and the probability of the outstanding crop being much injured thereby, gave rise to a more lively demand on Friday, when the slight depression was completely recovered.

Peas were also much more sought after at the close than in the commencement of the week, and neither white, blue, nor maples could be secured on so easy terms on Friday as on Monday.

The animated character of the English advices have, as might naturally be supposed, had considerable influence on the value of wheat on the Continent.

All over the Baltic the rise has been quite as great as in this country, and it is now certain that we shall have to pay very high prices to secure any quantity of wheat abroad. By the latest accounts from Dantzic (the 14th of October) we learn that the finer kinds of High mixed were held at 54s. to 55s. per quarter, free on board.

Letters from Stettin of the 14th inst. state, that though the

harvest had been brought to a close in that neighbourhood under favourable circumstances, the quality and yield of the grain being alike good, still the value of wheat had, in consequence of the complete exhaustion of the stocks of old, and the expectation that Great Britain, Holland, and Belgium will all require supplies from the Baltic, risen considerably.

At Rostock, on the 6th of October, such high prices were asked for wheat as greatly to check business. The quality of the new Pomeranian wheat is highly spoken of, but no supplies of importance were expected at Rostock till the winter had set in; and the stocks of old having been greatly reduced, it was not anticipated that much business would be done till after the shipping season had terminated.

From the southern parts of Europe we have also advices of rising prices. A letter from Leghorn, dated October 5, informs us that a very lively inquiry for wheat has been experienced there. Most of the purchases had been from Holland and Belgium. Subsequently a rise had taken place, and on the 5th inst. there were no sellers of soft Marano or the best Polish Odessa below 30s. 2d. per quarter.

From Odessa the accounts are also lively: letters dated 26th of September state that good qualities of wheat had again risen there 1s. 6d. per quarter. There was still a good stock on hand, and rather large arrivals were expected.

The following is Messrs. Fowler and Tunncliffe's circular, dated Liverpool, Tuesday, October 14, 1845:—"During last week we had increasing firmness evinced on the part of holders here, and although the business effected was not extensive, rather higher prices must have been paid for wheat, flour, and oatmeal, had purchasers appeared. Yesterday's post brought us from parties in Ireland (on whose statements we can place complete reliance) very grievous accounts of the potato crops. We have also a similar report from Staffordshire. As yet, in this immediate district, though complaints are general, they are not of quite so serious a character as above alluded to. The position of this swarming kingdom at the present time is, in our judgment, not quite so satisfactory as some are disposed to paint it: in the first place the deficiency in the weight of wheat per bushel, as compared with last year, will be equal to about one million quarters; and, without glancing at the failure of the potato crops, it is well ascertained that the yield of wheat, not to speak of the diminished produce of flour, from the inferior quality of the wheat, will fall short of an average, and at the present moment a considerable quantity of wheat remains ungathered in the fields, receiving, for the last few weeks, almost continuous rain; we grant this is a gloomy picture, but it is one which, in our uncertain climate, we are any season liable to, and the only mitigating feeling which arises under such circumstances, is the conviction, that considering our vast population, the glaring insanity of our make-scarce bread law, with all its fettering, withering effect upon commercial enterprise, and all its biting tendency upon those whose means are scanty, will become more and more apparent. Exported to Ireland from the 7th to the 13th instant inclusive, 50 barrels of flour. Coastwise, 186 quarters of wheat, 312 quarters of Indian corn, 67 sacks, and 94 barrels of flour. This morning's market fully attended, and a large business was passing, chiefly to consumers. We note an advance of 4d. per 70 lbs. on wheat; 2d. per 45 lbs. on oats; 1s. per quarter on barley, peas, and beans; 2s. per sack and barrel on flour; and 2s. per 240 lbs. on oatmeal.

THE POTATO DISEASE.

The most recent accounts from various parts of Ireland represent the potato malady as spreading to a frightful extent, and exciting the most lively apprehensions for the poor, whose staple article of diet is thus threatened with destruction. Connaught as yet appears to have escaped the disease, but accounts from the other provinces are exceedingly gloomy.

Thus, a letter from Lismore says, in the *Cork Constitution*—"A great outcry in this neighbourhood about potatoes. If the injury be as extensive as is reported, I fear we shall have a famine next summer." In the neighbourhood of Killeagh, near Youghal, a gentleman who had 60 men engaged for two days in digging, found, out of the quantity thrown up, between 30 and 40 barrels perfectly useless, and which he could not allow to be mixed with the others.

The *Limerick Chronicle* of Saturday writes:—"We are much concerned to state, that the prevalent distemper in the potato crop has been this week found to extend its fearful ravages to the county of Limerick, and the fields on several farms show unequivocal symptoms of the rot or canker in the potato. At Cahirell the disease was first observed, and subsequently at Fedamore, where 12 acres were opened, and the spade labourers left off work on finding the plant was not worth raising; the evil was also apparent at Coolyhenan and other parts of the country, where no suspicion of the kind was entertained."

The *Belfast Protestant Journal* says:—"We are sorry to state, during the past week, the accounts from the various towns around Belfast are discouraging; and there is no doubt but that, both in the county Down and county Antrim, the disease has spread to a serious, though not an alarming extent. At Comber, immediately opposite the police barrack, there is a large field scarcely worth digging; and in the vicinity of Ballinacree, Killinelly, and Killyleagh, the crop is much injured. At Antrim, a few days ago, Lord Massereene sold some potatoes, in the ground, at the high price of 36l. per acre. They looked very well; but so extensive has been the ravages of the rot, that the purchasers are greatly disappointed, and would gladly withdraw their agreement. Similar accounts have reached us from other places."

The *Drogheda Conservative* says:—"We are sorry to say that the farmers, and the poor cottiers who yearly rent potato ground in this neighbourhood, are sufferers to a large extent, the disease having destroyed several fields. God help the poor: the prospect before them for the winter is dreary indeed. Potatoes a failure, conds 18s. per ton, and the field work nearly finished. The next crop the poor have to fall back on is, of course, the oat one. Well then, we have great fears that the country will shortly be drained of this crop also, if in every port in Ireland shipments are made in the same ratio as that from Drogheda on last week. We have taken the pains to analyse the exports for that period, and the following is the result:—3,700 loads of oatmeal, 912 qrs. of wheat, 200 qrs. of oats, 287 qrs. of barley, and 300 sacks of flour. Cattle, &c.: 657 cows, 1,009 sheep, 2,054 pigs, and 124 boxes of eggs. Whether are we to take this as a criterion of Ireland's wealth or poverty?"

POTATOES IN BELGIUM.—The Royal Committee established in Brussels on the occasion of the failure of the potato crops, for the purpose of seeking a remedy for the de-

ficient of alimentary supplies, waited a few days since on the Minister of the Interior. That high functionary received the committee with the most marked attention. He thanked the members present, eight in number, for the proofs they were giving of devotion to their country's interests, and for their efforts in carrying out the benevolent and enlightened views of his Majesty. It is understood that the committee has already devoted four sittings to inquiries into the subject. The preservation of potatoes has been an object of especial attention, and the means of insuring their reproduction will be the next subject of inquiry. From the documents collected and communicated by several members of the committee, the failure of the potatoes in Belgium may be estimated at two-thirds of the early crops, and at five sixths of the late crops. Thus it is considered to be of the utmost importance to attend to the reproduction for next year. There is every reason to believe that the labours of the committee will satisfy public expectation.

BRUSSELS, Oct. 13.—We have had our attention called to a fact much to be regretted which has occurred several times in that part of Flanders where work is given to the weavers. In consequence of the high price of potatoes the distress of some of these weavers has become so great that they have sold the materials which were confided to them. If this should continue, the manufacturers will desist from giving out work, rather than expose themselves to such risks, and the good will suffer for the bad. The failure of the potato crop is on the point of giving occasion to lawsuits in the district of Brussels, in consequence of disputes between the farmers and the individuals who generally agree with them for the lease of the land prepared for the cultivation of potatoes. It is usual to pay for such land at the rate of one franc per rod, and then those who have taken the land plant it at their own risk. The farmer who thus lets his fields prefers a small rent to the chances of a good or bad crop. In the present state of things most of those who have planted potatoes on the above condition have refused to pay the rent agreed to, and abandon the produce, which in some places is not worth the trouble of gathering. They pretend that it is quite enough that they have lost their time, their seed plants and their crops, without being obliged to pay the rent; and besides that it is equitable that the loss should be shared by the contracting parties. It remains to be seen whether the courts of justice will recognise this mode of reasoning. The magistrates of Courtrai have placed a military post at every gate of the town, to hinder the plunderers, who every day rob the fields in the environs, from going out of the town with sacks, rakes, &c., with orders to ascertain the origin of the potatoes, carrots, turnips, &c., which beggars bring into the town. This prudent measure will give confidence to the farmers and inhabitants of the country, which has been much shaken by their audacious robberies and incessant depredations. The Antwerpen steamer, from London, brought yesterday 133 sacks of potatoes; and the Monarch, from Hull, 699 sacks.

CARLSRUHE, Oct. 9.—The government has prohibited, under heavy fines, the export of potatoes beyond the Zollverein boundaries, and also the purchase of them in large quantities, for purposes of sale or distillation.

THE POTATO.

The potato plant seems first to have been introduced into Britain by Sir Walter Raleigh, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; but for more than a century its cultivation was exceedingly confined, owing probably to erroneous modes of rearing it, and to an improper mode of preparing it for food. In the reign of James the First, this root was considered a great rarity, and sold so dear as 2s. per pound; and even so late as the beginning of last century, it seems not to have entered into the lists of agricultural produce. Bradeley, who wrote about the year 1720, and who treated expressly of new improvements in horticulture, says of potatoes: "They are of less note than horseradish, scorzonera, beets, and skerrit; but as they are not without their admirers, I will not pass them by in silence."

The district of England where the potato was first generally cultivated seems to have been Lancashire; and about the same time it was introduced to general use in Scotland. In 1728, a day-labourer of the name of Prentice, living near Kilsyth, in Sirlingshire, successfully raised a crop of potatoes on a little plot of ground attached to his cottage, and was fortunate enough to call the attention of his neighbours to the value of this hitherto neglected vegetable. By the annual sale of his produce, he soon realised what was to him a fortune, the sum of 200*l.*; and meanwhile, the public attention being called to the plant, it gradually made its way. It is not, however, till after the year 1743, which was remarkable as a season of scarcity, that it became to be generally cultivated as a regular branch of field husbandry. I very well remember a near relative of mine mentioning an anecdote which showed that so late as the year 1755 or 1756, the potato was still a rarity in Wiltshire. This incident was, that a lady had brought some potatoes in her pocket to church on Sunday, to present to a friend, as something quite new; but the string of her pocket breaking as she was in the act of going out on the dismissal of the congregation, she lost her burden in the passage, which created considerable speculation. In England, with the exception of Lancashire, the progress of this esculent into general cultivation was still slower. It was known in Yorkshire only as a garden plant down to 1760; and in Somersetshire we must date its introduction as an article of farm produce, at least 10 years later. After this period, however, the value of the potato came to be very generally appreciated; and in the year 1796, in the county of Essex alone, no fewer than 1700 acres were planted with this root, for the supply of the London market. Potatoes seem to have found their way into the Continent of Europe at a considerably later period than into England; but they came rapidly into common use, and we may date their general cultivation there from about the middle of last century.—*Duncan's "Philosophy of the Seasons."*

It is highly interesting and satisfactory to learn that the imports of sugar into Great Britain, up to this time, exceed those of 1841 by 21,000 tons.

The *Augsburg Gazette* gives a rather alarming account of the Corn harvest in Russia, Poland, and most parts of Germany, but it does not appear to have arrived at its conclusions from official returns, or any other information of a very positive character.—*Galignani.*

FORBES, Oct. 6.—According to an official notification, the cholera case which has broken out in Poland is making greater strides, and is approaching the frontiers. The necessary precautionary measures will therefore be taken against the introduction of the disease.

THE ZOLLVEREIN AND OUR MANUFACTURES.

The following is a communication received from a quarter entitled to the highest confidence:—

"I am sorry to have to inform you, that my latest accounts from Carlsruhe, coming from very good authority, it now appears definitely arranged that from the 1st of January, 1846, the duties in the German Customs League in all figured goods, 'all worsted,' and 'worsted and cotton mixed,' will be raised from 30 Prussian dollars to 50 dollars per cwt.

"Under this head will fall all Bradford fancy goods, such as figured Orleans, Alpaccas, Paramattas, Merinos, Saxones, Amazonians, Lamas, Damasks, Pantaloon stuffs, &c. &c., and it will be a serious blow to that important branch of trade, which three years ago we were fortunate enough to ward off.

"Plain goods are not mentioned, and it may therefore be presumed that their rates will not be altered for the present; neither is anything stated respecting worsted yarns. Cotton twist, and linen yarns will not be altered, as the delegates from the various German States could not agree on these articles.

"All the arguments which you so happily set forth three years ago respecting the policy of the German States, and especially of Prussia, in gradually raising the duties on British manufactured goods, and admitting twist and yarns in general at mere nominal duties, still hold good. The apathy of the English Government and the Bradford manufacturers, who were informed of this contemplated alteration of the German duties about three months ago, by various ways and means, has been very great; the matter has been received and taken up in a very cool and indifferent manner. Worsteds goods will, with few exceptions, have to pay the same rate as cotton goods (*i.e.* 50 dollars per cwt.), and this high duty has almost annihilated the latter branch for the consumption within the German States. A few years longer will bring the worsted trade to the same level, there can be no doubt.

"P.S.—This moment I have received letters from Frankfurt, October 5th, which fully confirm the above; plain articles remain at dollars 30—; no alteration in the duties on cotton, worsted, and linen yarns. Prussia was willing to accede to a duty of 3 dollars 8 groschen per cwt. on cotton twist, which, however, was not accepted by Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden, who demanded a much higher rate. The protocols were left open on this question for later renewed discussion."—*Leeds Mercury.*

REGISTRATION TACTICS.

A correspondent in South Cheshire, who professes to be a subscriber to the League, complains of the objections which were made by our party to wealthy and influential individuals on the register. He alleges that many clergymen and large landowners, including one Member of Parliament, had been objected to; and he asks, "What possible good can arise from this system of raising objections to persons of large landed possessions in the county?" We are not sufficiently informed of the details of the registration in South Cheshire to be able to say whether the revision was judiciously managed. Probably it was not, for want of local organisation. If so, we hope that next year it will be put on a better footing, and its management assimilated to that which has been attended with such triumphant results in North Cheshire and other counties.

But our correspondent falls into a common error in assuming that it is of necessity wrong to object to "clergymen, Members of Parliament, and landowners," who happen to possess property in the county. The object of the revising barrister's court is to bring the register into conformity with the law; the law requires not only that a man should possess a property qualification, but that it should be properly registered; and there is no exception to this rule in favour of the rich over the poor. The Leaguers, therefore, adopted the rule of objecting to all known monopolists who were not *legally* upon the register, and they carried out their plan without respect of persons. In one polling district of North Lancashire, 8 clergymen, monopolists, were struck from the county list; the name of Mr. Talbot Clifton, M.P., the representative of North Lancashire, was also struck off; he had been upon the register as owner of certain freehold property, which was proved to the satisfaction of the Court by the League agent, to belong to his father; objections to 38 *reverted* claimants to the franchise in Middlesex were sustained; and in the same county the names of three knights, three baronets, and an Irish peer were expunged from the register at the instance of our agent. In South Staffordshire, Mr. Hickin succeeded in his objections against seven clergymen and a Member of Parliament. We mention these instances merely to satisfy our correspondent, and all who entertain his views, that "clergymen, Members of Parliament, and landowners" do require looking after like other people.

It would be a piece of useless folly to attempt to fight the battle of the registration courts upon any other plan than that which we have adopted. Our opponents avail themselves of every advantage which the most subtle knowledge of the technicalities of the law will afford; and the Leaguers oppose them with the best legal skill they can command. It is pretty evident that the Free Traders are proving an overmatch for their opponents in the registration courts, and the latter are naturally enough resorting to their old cry of "foul play." But our friends generally will not, like our South Cheshire correspondent, give ear to so stale a charge.

THE REGISTRATION.

CITY OF LONDON REGISTRATION.
PARLIAMENTARY REVISION, 1845.

Free Traders put on lists for the first time in consequence of claims to be rated and registered	2221
Monopolists expunged on objection	279
Monopolist claims sustained	2500
Monopolist objections to Free Traders sustained 818	851

Free Trade majority on revision 1649
N.B. To the above has to be added the majority of last year.

Besides the foregoing, a number of double objections and objections to neutrals were made on both sides, which, as they do not affect the state of parties on either side, are here omitted for the sake of clearness.

COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX.
RESULT OF THE REVISION.

DISTRICT.	New Claims.	Overseers' Objections.	Free-Traders' Objections.	Monopolists' Objections.
	Free-Traders. Monopolists.	Free-Traders. Monopolists.	Free-Traders. Monopolists.	Free-Traders. Monopolists.
Bedfont	57 10	20 26	70 38	51 13
Bethnal-green	106 5	22 12	132 82	82 30
Brentford	117 12	25 27	106 56	98 7
Edgware	26 20	4 16	76 37	12 7
Enfield	23 10	16 28	136 54	52 15
Hammer-smith	181 55	65 274	163 36	19
Hamstead	21 15	7 18	108 46	4 3
King's Cross	91 34	41 43	279 185	93 56
London (City of)	103 58	22 31	270 158	86 43
Mile End	114 8	32 27	261 168	204 90
Uxbridge	24 12	6 17	44 11	4 3
Westminster	62 35	12 17	188 121	46 30
	925 274	262 328	1944 1119	751 316

Monopolists struck out by Overseers 328
Free Traders struck out by Overseers 262
New Claims 925 274

2372 852
1520
Total Majority in favour of Free-Traders.

It is pleasing to be able to state that every one of those gentlemen who purchased qualifications, at the suggestion of the Council of the League, for the County of Middlesex (although objected to), have been successfully defended, and their names inserted on the register. It is, therefore, hoped that Free-traders who do not possess a qualification for Middlesex, will lose no time in making application to have one purchased for them. To the grumblers at the League's activity in the Registration Courts, accusing them of making frivolous objections, the answer in Middlesex is complete, seeing that 1914 notices of objection were proved, and 1918 only awarded for costs on the whole revision—208. was on one case, where an appeal on a point of law was granted.

WEST RIDING.

The following Table shows the complete result of the revision, which ended at Ripon, on Tuesday, the 7th inst.:

New Claims.	Struck off on Objection.	Free-Trade gain.	Free-Trade gain last year.	Monopolist gain last year.
Free-traders. Monopolists. Doubtfuls.	Free-traders. Monopolists. Doubtfuls.	Free-Trade gain.	Free-Trade gain last year.	Monopolist gain last year.
Aberford	14 62	20 77	16 9	19
Barnsley	133 40	4 59	66 9	100
Birstal	121 34	9 70	49 12	66
Bradford	605 185	2 101	106 335	18
Dent	29 10	1 22	20 1	17
Doncaster	73 131	9 70	132 33	4
Gisburn	62 54	5 20	38 4	26
Halifax	291 42	3 86	74 1	240
Hebden-edge	158 8	29 9	1 130	18
Holmfirth	58 7	2 42	13 5	22
Huddersfield	334 48	83 67	17 270	7
Keighley	63 9	2 24	27 10	57
Knare-sbro'	34 64	3 21	69 10	18
Leeds	161 131	2 193	126 4	263
New Delph	162 34	3 47	35 5	116
Otley	94 26	2 59	20 3	29
Pateley bridge	25 26	18 26	1 7	29
Pontefract	25 28	1 22	38 13	13
Ripon	19 29	22 40	4 8	21
Rotherham	74 21	35 38	2 56	11
Settle	37 39	2 26	54 2	26
Sheffield	225 47	93 88	35 173	15
Skipton	37 18	1 67	54 11	16
South	29 33	3 14	42 2	21
Wakefield	120 40	2 81	118 15	117
	3286 1166	56 1401	1126 231	1242 267

Orange gain on New Claims 2120
Ditto Objections 22

Total gain 2142

At the Election of 1841,

Mr. Wortley's majority over Lord Milton was 1085
Ditto Lord Morpeth 1131

Mr. Denison's majority over Lord Milton 700
Ditto Lord Morpeth 749

Free-trade and Liberal gain on revisions from 1841 to 1844 inclusive 263
Ditto, 1845 2145

Total Free-trade and Liberal gain 2105

SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE.

The revision of the lists of voters for the southern division of the county of Stafford, which commenced at Lichfield on the 25th September, closed on Friday, the 10th instant, at Wolverhampton. The revising barrister was Thomas Bros, Esq. The learned gentleman has performed similar duties in this division during several years past. Of objections by third parties, the number taken at the instance of the League were 815; while very few were taken by the monopolists. Mr. Hickin, the secretary of the League, attended every court throughout the circuit. In several he was assisted by the following professional gentlemen:—Mr. C. Simpson, of

Lichfield, Mr. T. Bolton and Mr. T. Walker, of Wolverhampton, Mr. Barnett and Mr. Dunston of Walsall; Mr. Fleetwood and Mr. Pinchard of Wolverhampton, and others appeared on behalf of the Monopolists. The usual denunciations against the conduct and policy of the League were indulged in, and numerous applications for costs were made, but with little comparative success. The principle laid down by the learned barrister, in reference to costs, and to which he adhered strictly throughout the proceedings, was, that wherever any substantial alteration was required in the lists he would not give costs at all, although the qualification might be good, the voter having failed to do that which the law required of him. Too much praise cannot be given to the barrister for the pains he took in correcting the register by supplying the proper description of the place of abode in the second column, and by inserting the names of streets, &c., and the names of tenants, where required, in the fourth column, in accordance with the decisions of the Court of Common Pleas. At every court held during the revision, he took occasion repeatedly to express his opinion that the objections originated by the League would be found to be most useful, and that the county ought to hold itself indebted to them for enabling him to clear the register of bad votes, and to amend it where it was necessary. This, with the statement given below, is the best answer which can be given to the cavilling of opponents. At the close of the business at Wolverhampton, on Friday, Mr. Hickin begged to be allowed to tender his thanks to the learned gentleman for the courtesy he had invariably received at his hands during the revision. Mr. Bros expressed his acknowledgments, and repeated his former declarations that he had no doubt much good had been done. The following is the general result:—

DISTRICT.	Free Trade new claims.	Monopolist new claims.	Free Traders struck off.	Monopolists struck off.
Pilston	48	2	7	8
Breward	5	9	4	47
Handsworth & Perry	28	4	7	17
Kingswinford	118	22	21	87
Lichfield	10	6	5	22
Penkridge	8	10	16	50
Rugeley	15	6	8	20
Salsley	27	5	12	40
Tipton	21	4	0	65
Tamworth	1	0	0	15
Walsall	50	6	7	49
Wolverhampton	79	3	33	40
West Bromwich	15	9	5	31
Wolverhampton	116	14	4	80
	594	100	129	571
Free Trade new claims	594			
Monopolist ditto	100	Free Trade gain	404	
Monopolists struck off	571			
Free Traders ditto	129	Free Trade gain	442	
		Total Free Trade gain	936	

NORTH CHESHIRE.—On Tuesday and Wednesday last, W. Yaldley, Esq., the revising barrister, held a court, for the revision of the lists of voters, in the large school room, Dukinfield. Mr. Hudson, solicitor, of Stockport, and Mr. Henry Gartside, solicitor, Ashton-under-Lyne, appeared for the Free Traders; and Mr. Nicholson for the Monopolists. The result of the Dukinfield district is as follows:—

	Free-traders.	Monopolists.
Voters on the register ..	271	53
Struck out	32	0
	239	53
New claims	125	6
	364	59
Struck out	11	0
	353	59
	Free-trade majority, 294.	

NORTH LANCASHIRE.—Revision Courts have been held at Ulverston, at Lancaster, and at Garstang. Mr. Ascroft, assisted by Mr. Moorhouse, appeared for the Free Traders; and Messrs. J. Bray, P. Caterall, T. S. Shuttleworth, of Preston, and Mr. R. Jackson, of Lancaster, have severally been advocates for the Conservatives. The clear gain to the Free Traders from objections and claims was at Ulverston, 98; at Lancaster, 162; and at Garstang, 39.—*Preston Guardian*.

LANCASTER.—The following is the result of the revision for this borough:—
Monopolist objections to freemen sustained .. 34
Liberal and Free-trade objections sustained .. 40
One claim was allowed on each side.
Liberal and Free-trade occupiers struck off .. 9
Monopolist occupiers struck off .. 5
Several Monopolist claims were allowed, but all previously on the list.
New Liberal and Free-trade claims sustained .. 2

THE ROCHEDALE REVISION.—The *Manchester Courier* of Saturday last contains a statement regarding the results of the late revision for the Rochdale polling district, very well calculated to mislead those who have no other sources of information on such points. From the tabular statement in the *Courier*, it would appear as if the clear gain of the Rochdale monopolists was 127; whereas, a careful analysis of the number of new claims allowed, and old names struck off the register on each side, gives a majority of 37 to the Free Traders in that district. The mode in which the *Courier* contrives to give the monopolists the appearance of a majority, is by saying nothing at all about the new claims, and by representing every Free Trader struck off as a vote lost to that party, even in those cases where there was a double qualification.—*Manchester Guardian*.

BLACKBURN.—The revision for this borough is as follows: Liberal and Free Trade objections sustained, 53; monopolist ditto, 23; Liberal and Free Trade claims sustained, 11; monopolist ditto, 10: Liberal and Free Trade gain, 31.

BATH.—The following is the result of the revision for this borough:—Expunged by Liberals and Free Traders, 57; ditto by monopolists, 40; Liberal and Free Trade majority on objections, 17. Liberal and Free Trade claims allowed, 16; monopolist ditto, 5; majority on claims, 11. Total Liberal and Free Trade majority, 28.

WELMOUTH AND MILCOMBE REGIS.—(From a *Correspondent*.—) Monopolist claims, 4; sustained, 3. Objections, 27; sustained, 11. Free Trade and Liberal claims, 8; sustained, 5. Objections, 47; sustained, 25. Giving a majority of 15 to the Free Traders and Liberals: thanks to the valuable information derived from Mr. Huggett, of the League. Thus, with the continued majorities since the

last election, makes it a matter of certainty that the monopolists have no chance.

ISLE OF WIGHT.—The revision for the borough has given a total gain to the Liberals and Free Traders of 12 new voters, and 7 monopolist ditto expunged. The monopolists added 3 to the old list, and expunged 1 Liberal.

EXETER.—The following is the result of the revision for Exeter:—Objections sustained by monopolists, 51; Ditto by Liberals and Free Traders, 179; Objected to by both parties, 4; 125. Claims by monopolists, allowed, 18; by Liberals and Free Traders, ditto, 40; claimed by both, 1; 23. Gain to Liberals and Free Traders, 147. "There is also," says the *Western Times*, "a large gain to the Liberals on the additions in the overseers lists, which shows the healthy state of the Liberal cause in the old city."

TRETFORD.—The result for this borough was as follows: Liberal and Free Trade objections, sustained, 7; ditto claims, sustained, 5; monopolist objections, sustained, 4; ditto claims, 3. Total Liberal and Free Trade gain, 5.

HULL.—The following is a return of the result of the revision for the present year:	
Liberal and Free Trade Objections to Freemen, 341, sustained	201
New claims for ditto by Liberals and Free Traders ..	5
Liberal and Free Trade objections to householders, sust. 31	
Ditto claims for householders, sustained	23
	260
Monopolist objections to Freemen, sustained ..	8
Ditto new claims for Freemen	5
Ditto objections to householders, sustained ..	27
Ditto claims for householders 74, sustained ..	16
	56

Total Liberal and Free Trade gain on the revision .. 204
"This," says the *Hull Advertiser*, "clearly establishes the growing strength of the Free Trade party in Hull. At no former registration within the memory of the oldest elector were so many of the old freemen struck off the register."

MISCELLANEOUS.

NEW RAILWAY BREAK.—The Rev. F. H. Maherley, of Stowmarket, has invented a railway break, by which every carriage of a whole train may be easily and almost instantaneously stopped. If this break is applied in all parts it will be the means of preventing the fearful effects of concussion, as well as the carriages being thrown off the line by oscillations or otherwise, and giving protection especially to the engineer.—*Railway World*.

COMMERCIAL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN FRANCE AND BELGIUM.—"It is generally believed," says the *Patrie*, "that the journey of King Leopold to Paris will remove the last difficulties which have prevented commercial negotiations between France and Belgium, M. Deschamps, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, will not come in person, as he has been announced, to carry on the negotiations. He has delegated that office to M. Paroels, Director of Commerce, who arrived in Paris a few days back."

STATE OF TRADE IN BIRMINGHAM.—It is gratifying to state that the working classes in most of the various trades of the town are in full work. Many of the manufacturers are so busy that they cannot take in more orders. We observe that many of the large manufacturers are enlarging their premises. Hands are wanted in every direction.—*Birmingham Advertiser*.

HANOVER, OCT. 6.—It is *Zollvereins Blatt* gives, under the heading "Melancholy Intelligence of the Congress of the Customs' Union," a confirmation of the news, that the manufacturers have not succeeded in urging the Government to carry the prohibitive system any further. "According to the latest accounts from Carlsruhe," says that paper, "there is scarcely any hope left of obtaining in the Congress any decision in favour of the often-proposed reform in the tariff. The Free Trade party in Northern Germany, it is said, has, in consequence of instructions lately received, opposed more decidedly than before the demands of Southern Germany, and the influence of Prussia has completely gained over those Governments which have not yet fully made up their minds."

THE HAGUE, OCT. 6.—A letter from Copenhagen, of September 27, contains the following statement:—"8,000 tons of potatoes were purchased for the Netherlands, to be delivered on the 21st of October. Several purchases of corn were likewise made, to be delivered on the 20th of October. It would be to the advantage of the captains to come here as soon as possible in ballast, as in that case they would be certain of finding freight. Three have arrived from Elsinore, who have already met with engagements. Since the 1st of this month one herring brig has arrived at Scheveningen, with a cargo of 50,000 herrings; the highest price at which they were sold was 37 florins per thousand."

THE HAGUE, OCT. 9.—The *Provinciale Groningen Council* contains a long article on the alarm that has been excited by the general failure of the potato crop. The article blames the language that has been used on the subject, which represents the facts with much exaggeration—the prospects of the ensuing winter as more gloomy than they really are. We can affirm that the prospect is not so unfavourable. There will be no famine in our country; in England alone there are more than 40,000 lasts of foreign wheat, which cannot be sold for consumption in England but on payment of a duty of 102 florins per last. Parcels of this wheat have been brought to Holland. During the last month we have received not only wheat from England, but many cargoes of barley, buck wheat, pearl rice, and many hundred barrels of flour; also more buck wheat than is usual from France and Denmark; wheat and rye from the Baltic, several cargoes of rye and potatoes, and even from Odessa and Taganrog. One paper contains a great number of articles from different parts of the kingdom, relative to the disease of the potatoes.

FOREIGN CATTLE AND PROVISIONS.—The different steamers which have arrived at the various wharfs on the banks of the river during the last two or three days have continued to bring large quantities of cattle and fruit from the various Continental ports, although there is a visible falling off in the supply of the latter commodity, owing to the advanced period of the season. The Dutch steam-ship Batavier brought 62 oxen and cows and 99 sheep, four hampers of poultry, fifteen baskets walnuts, a large quantity of seeds, and a variety of every other description of Dutch produce, with the exception of ripe fruit, of which article she did not bring any on this voyage. The General Steam Navigation Company's steam-ship Venezuela, also from Rotterdam, brought 111 sheep, 12 cows, two oxen, 30 packages of yeast, two packages of poultry, a large quantity of fish,

butter, pickles, and roots, and an extensive variety of articles the production of Holland. This ship did not either bring the least quantity of fruit of any description, which would imply that the importation of the article from that country has been entirely discontinued for the season. The quantities which have been brought weekly throughout the summer from that country, and that at a very early period of the arrival of the season for each separate kind, have been of a most extensive nature, and entirely beyond all precedent. It is admitted on all hands that Holland is of very great importance to us, not only in the production of cattle, but also of fruit and every other description of provisions, the whole being of a very superior quality. The company's steam ship Rainbow, from Havre, brought 117 packages of fruit, including walnuts, pears, &c. The Earl of Liverpool, from Ostend, brought 47 packages of poultry, consisting principally of rabbits, with which Belgium at this season of the year abounds, a very large quantity of butter, eggs, &c.; and the Belgian steam-ship Antwerpen, from Antwerp, brought 90 bags and 87 baskets of walnuts, 30 packages of pears, and a small quantity of a novel article of importation—viz.: four baskets of smelts. The cattle by the Venezuela were landed at the Brunswick-wharf, Blackwall, and those by the Batavier, as well as the whole of the fruit and provisions by that and the other vessels, at the St. Katharine's wharf, at which they were as usual examined by the revenue officers, and delivered to their several destinations with the least possible delay. In addition to these importations, a sailing vessel called the Rapid, from Harlingen, arrived at Blackwall with a cargo of Dutch cattle, consisting of 14 oxen, 52 cows, and 140 sheep on board, in addition to a large quantity of butter and other produce. Also the City of Boulogne steamer at London-bridge-wharf, with upwards of 60 large packages of walnuts and an extensive and valuable cargo of every variety of French produce and manufacture. A sailing vessel called the Adventure, from Villaviciosa, also arrived with the large quantity of 1360 bushels of nuts on board. The importation of nuts for table use would appear now to be confined principally to the Belgian and French ports for the remainder of the season.

THE SLOW PROGRESS OF THE HARVEST.—We have now advanced to nearly the middle of the third month of our harvest in England, and there is still a good deal of grain in the fields unsecured, and an unusual quantity for the season uncut, north of the Humber. The weather has been very unsettled for the last fortnight; we have scarcely had two successive fair days; very little corn has been carried during that time, and that which has been stacked will prove, when it comes to be thrashed, in a damp state unless kept till the March winds have whisked through it. The season has, however, not been damaging; frequent brisk winds and the cold air have prevented the process of sprouting, and we still think that not much harm has been done to the grain since it passed through the hands of the reapers. The Duke of Rutland, speaking at the Leicester Agricultural Meeting the other day, said:—"I have had during the summer such a series of skies as I never witnessed before, old as I am." This observation his Grace probably applied to the skies of the South, but the remark is equally applicable to those of the North, and not only to the summer but to the autumn. This week there has been some improvement in the weather, and a good deal of outstanding wheat has been secured in tolerable condition. As to the aggregate of the harvest, we adhere to the opinion we have already expressed, namely, that taking the average produce of the year at 20,000,000 quarters of wheat, last year's produce would yield 21,000,000, while this year's will not exceed 19,000,000. Of other grain it seems to be the general opinion that we shall this year have a fair average, but that potatoes will be a failing crop in some parts of the kingdom, though by no means generally. The three weeks of fine weather in the early part of September was the salvation of the food of the country for another year; taking the prospects then, and comparing them with the results now, the country has much more cause for gratitude than complaint. Speaking commercially, we may not quite have 20s. in the pound, but 19s. will be considered as a good composition. In the grazing districts, the supply of grass has been abundant, and the depasturing of stock has been very successful. The gathering of the winter stock of potatoes has already commenced, both in this and the neighbouring county of Lancaster, where they are still more extensively cultivated, and the crop appears to us a fair average with little or no disease. The price of good sound potatoes in Leeds is one-fourth more than at the same period last year; but it is not likely, we should think, that this great advance will be maintained, unless the alarm caused by the idea that potatoes will be extremely scarce in consequence of extensive shipments to Holland and Belgium, should be realized. It is the more probable that this remarkable increase of cost is but temporary, from the fact that at Manchester and Liverpool the price now is about the same as at the middle of October, 1844. We are informed that in many parts of Lincolnshire, the potatoes in the field are so bad as to give out a most unpleasant smell.—*Leeds Mercury*.

THE CORN LAWS.—Our readers can hardly have failed to remark the altered tone of the agricultural meetings, so quiet and subdued as to form a perfect contrast to the bold defiance which they were wont to assume. We no longer hear any threatening denunciations of the Minister: the clamour for agricultural protection has almost wholly ceased; and the reliance of the "agricultural mind" is now nearly, if not altogether, placed on improved methods of cultivation, instead of protective laws. The agricultural interest and the monopolist press seem to be at length fully persuaded, that the time is at hand when every class must depend upon its own industry and resources, without any unjust legislative favour at the expense of other classes. Not only has the public mind generally become prepared for this, but the very elements seems conspiring to bring about the change. The heavens have rained repeal. Never was a more salutary lesson taught to any people. We have narrowly escaped the horrors of a famine; and as it is, the supply of corn is very far short of an average harvest, although the scarcity may not be felt just yet. There is a very generally prevailing expectation, that a change in the Corn Laws is approaching; and it is understood that Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington have fully made up their minds as to the necessity of a further modification of those laws; but differ as to the precise extent of the change. We shall take an early opportunity of recurring to the subject, being fully persuaded that another session of Parliament cannot pass away without another approach being made to complete commercial freedom.—*Ducham Chronicle*.

THE MANCHESTER ATHENÆUM SOCIETY.—We understand that no fewer than 2500 tickets have been disposed of, and that the demand has been unprecedentedly great.—*Manchester Guardian*.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LEAGUE FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Oct. 15, 1845.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

*Prime, S. S., 7, Radnor-place, Oxford-ter., Hyde-park	£10	0	0
*Coke, D'Essex, Brookhill, Alford, Derbyshire	3	0	0
*Platton, Daniel, Dominick-street, Dublin	3	0	0
*Phillips, Joseph, Paternoster-row	2	2	0
*Tallis, Wm., Auchmuty and Rothly Mills, Markinch, Fife	2	0	0
*Gibbs, Alexander, 3, Brunswick-terrace, Hackney-road	2	0	0
*A Friend	1	1	0
*Paul, Thomas, 10, Mansion-house-street	1	1	0
*Thorne, Timothy, East Dulwich	1	1	0
*Hawkins, G., 88, Bishopsgate-street	1	1	0
*Oliver, John, 33, Whitechapel-road	1	1	0
*Leach, Joseph, 31, Duncan terrace, Islington	1	1	0
*Cundell, George, 8, 17, Finsbury-square	1	1	0
*Charlton, G., 21, Beaufort-terrace, Edgware-road	1	1	0
*Davis, B., 4, Devonshire-square, Bishopsgate-street	1	1	0
*Prendergast, J., 13, Camden-road Villas, Camden-town	1	1	0
*Kent, John, 11, Great Marlborough-street	1	1	0
*Paterson, John, 104, Wood-street	1	1	0
*Baker, Wm. M., Green Dragon, 2, Botolph-alley	1	1	0
*Parker, James, Great Ormond-street	1	1	0
*Forbes, Thomas Wm., Hampstead	1	1	0
*Dodgson, R. S., 50, Old Broad-street	1	1	0
*Grayson, Thomas, 15, Mornington-crescent	1	1	0
*Verning, Naylor, and Robins, 9, Tokenhouse-yard	1	1	0
*Boyle, Edward, Holborn-bridge	1	1	0
A. R.	1	1	0
*Dunne, Benj., 43, Noble-street, City	1	1	0
*Corney, William, 55, Whitechapel-road	1	1	0
*Kitchener, J., 73, Great Suffolk-street, Southwark	1	1	0
*Cuthbert, J., 53, Union-street, Clarendon-square	1	1	0
*Alfred, William, 25, Great Tower-street	1	1	0
*Bentley, J., 6, Halfmoon-street, Piccadilly	1	1	0
*Shipden, George, Hythe, Kent	1	1	0
*Minton, Edw., 26, Darley-st., Bradford, Yorkshire	1	1	0
*Comfute, G. L., Perth	1	0	0
*Wells, E., Bell and Crown Inn, Bridge-st., Cambridge	1	0	0
*Dorset, Joseph, Minchell, Somerset	1	0	0
*Clark, John, Chatfield, Carlisle, Isle of Wight	1	0	0
*Walker, J. W. O., Havant, Hants	1	0	0
*Forster, Joseph, Green Bat Cottage, Alnwick	1	0	0
*Forster, Miss, ditto	1	0	0
*Clark, S. P., Princes Risborough	1	0	0
*Taylor, John, Bately, near Dewsbury	1	0	0
*Morell, Rev. Stephen, Little Badow by Boreham, near Chesham	1	0	0
*Reynolds, J. P., Lea Bridge-road, Leyton	1	0	0
*Bayer, L., 6, Dorset-street, East-road, Hoxton	1	0	0
*Mackintosh, Donald, 40, Russell-st., Bournemouth	1	0	0
*Feast, Robert, 16, Finsbury-pavement	1	0	0
*Harrison, J., 26, Gutter-lane	1	0	0
*Hurren, Charles, 13, Wormwood-street, Bishopsgate	1	0	0
*King, John, Black Swan, St. Paul's Churchyard	1	0	0
*Dobell, B., 25, Gracechurch-street	1	0	0
*Hatfield, Alexander, 45, Minories	1	0	0
*Dexter, John, 125, Whitechapel-road	1	0	0
*Briggs and Lees, 71, Kingsland-road	1	0	0
*Wright, Charles, 1, Water-street, Blackfriars	1	0	0
*Williams, Joseph, 4, Beer-lane, Tower-street	1	0	0
*Mayhew, William, 128, Union-street, Borough	1	0	0
*Cowper, T., 144, High-street, Borough	1	0	0
*Lawver, Wm., 45, Aldersbury	1	0	0
*James, T. B., 18, King-street, Cheapside	1	0	0
*Sweett, Thomas, 287, Holborn	1	0	0
W. J.	1	0	0
*Brace, H. Y., 11, Crown-street, Finsbury	1	0	0
*Ralph, Joseph, 6, Mitre-court, Milk-street	1	0	0
*Cox, John, 30, Bloomsbury-street	1	0	0
*Bessell, John, Chertsey	1	0	0
*Alder, George, ditto	1	0	0
*Bartholomew, Joseph, 11, Stuart-street, Spitalfields	1	0	0
*Worley, Philip, Carlton-street, Gordon-square	1	0	0
*Dadd, Robert, 54, High-street, Whitechapel	1	0	0
*Slater, Thomas, 4, New-ann-yard, Shoreditch	1	0	0
*Drybrough, A., 6, Basing-lane, City	1	0	0
*Barr, J. W., 11, Lowth Cottages, Wellington-rd., Cmbwll	1	0	0
*Moody, James, 33, Hunter-street, Brunswick-square	1	0	0
*Preston, Henry John, 43, Bloomsbury-square	1	0	0
*Chadwick, Thomas, 61, Bournemouth-street	1	0	0
*Browning, James, 113, St. John's-street	1	0	0
*Needleford, J. S., 54, High Holborn	1	0	0
*Wood, Frederick George, 113, Fleet-street	1	0	0
*Smith, E., West-side, Abbey-road, St. John's-wood	1	0	0
*Walter, G., 19, Chilton-street, Somers-town	1	0	0
*Shakespeare, W., 11, Laundown-road, Stockwell	1	0	0
*Butler, Richard, 15, Pickering-place, Bayswater	1	0	0
*Jackson, G. L., 2, Billiter-court	1	0	0
*Chalmers, John, St. Alban's-place, St. James's	1	0	0
*Morphy, Matthew, 110, London-wall	1	0	0
*A Few Friends of Free Trade, at Messrs. Collards' Pianoforte Manufactory, Tottenham-court-road	0	10	0
*P. G.	0	10	0
*Livingstone, R. P., Islington-square, Salford	1	1	0
*Barnsley, John, 28, Mill-street, Ancoats, Manchester	1	1	0
*Satterthwaite, Samuel, Gorton, near ditto	1	1	0
*Moonhouse, James, 14, Johnson-street, Chatham, do.	1	0	0
*Brown, Wm., 5, Kent-street, Pall-mall, ditto	1	0	0
*Pennington, Geo., 7, Princes-court, Market-st., ditto	1	0	0
*Staley, John, Nightingale-street, Strangeways, ditto	1	0	0
*Irwin, John, Denton, near ditto	1	0	0
*The Son of a Tory, New Mills, Derbyshire	1	0	0
C. T. P. M., London	1	0	0
*Foster, Miss, Gateshead	0	10	0
*O'Brien, H. J., Feneloe, Derbyshire	0	2	6
*Hedley, William, Rothbury, near Morpeth	0	2	6

* SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE BAZAAR.

Hallors, Richard, Sunderland	1	0	0
A Cheshire Farmer	0	10	0
Widdows, Mrs., Frodham, Cheshire, per Mrs. Bedford	0	5	0
Leicester, J., Over, Cheshire	0	5	0
Cooke, J., ditto	0	5	0
A Friend, ditto	0	5	0
Starbuck, J., ditto	0	2	6
Egerton, A., ditto	0	2	6
Stables, T., ditto	0	5	0
Bedlington, J., ditto	0	2	0

* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed subscriptions.

ERRATUM. In THE LEAGUE, No. 105, for John Sutton, 16, Upper Marylebone-street, Portland-place, read Jonathan Sutton.

THE EMPEROR AND THE LEAGUE.—The *Standard* of Thursday announces that the League has been enabled to carry on its extensive operations to purify the register of voters throughout the kingdom by a liberal grant from the Russian Government. We have made inquiry into the truth of this statement, and we are sorry to say that the Treasurer has not as yet received or heard of the remittance. We call the attention of the Emperor to the subject. If he really has resolved to promote the cause of Free Trade, he ought to see that his money reaches the proper quarter.—*Manchester Times*.

LETTERS ON THE CORN LAWS, No. XLVI.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD STANLEY.

MY LORD,—You have displayed your accustomed vivacity as a speaker, in co-operating with those lords and landowners who have taken of late to lecture the farmers at almost every agricultural dinner. The new character of the oratory at these meetings must be rather astounding to plain country people.

It has undergone an entire revolution. The farmers are no longer flattered. They are not courted, but corrected. Instead of promises, they are treated with precepts. Instead of cheers for abuse of the League, if they cheer at all, it must be at abuse of themselves. They have put their "friends" into office, and find that the office of a friend is to rebuke. Such is the result of their exertions at the last election. They have tied the twigs, and the rod is on their own backs. Protection was promised them, and now they most need it from their friends. Agricultural Societies are become a great mission for showing how wretchedly the soil of England is cultivated, and for preaching down the ignorance, the indolence, and the prejudices, the narrow means and the narrow minds of the tenant-farmers.

All this may be very well; but surely they are entitled to ask why you did not tell them so before the last election? Their "crops of weeds" were just as large when you were talking of the corn crops of Tamboff. You kept the secret till it was exposed by the League; and now you try to turn the undeniable facts, backed with exaggerations, to your own account. You recommend improvement, while yet retaining the system by which improvement is retarded. My lord, this will not do.

To what cause are the alleged deficiencies in the art of cultivating the soil to be ascribed? Mainly to the Corn Laws. You, the authors and upholders of that system, have kept down the independence of the farmer's character; you have sought for a herd of political retainers in your tenantry; you have acted on terror by the threat of ejectment, and you have bribed by the promise of law-created profits. The ignorance and prejudice of which you complain have been your political strength, and the weapons of your party warfare. You pretended to shield from competition, which you now desiderate as essential to improvement. For the sake of the Corn Laws, you cherished delusions which have impaired your property. You made agriculture a species of gambling; and now you whine about the lack of capital and industry in the holders of your legislative lottery tickets. If the tenants be at fault, it is the landlords that have led them astray. If there be reason in your reproaches, it arises from the success of your own temptations. You, my lord, and those of your class, whose policy has deteriorated the agriculture of the country, should be the lectured, and not the lecturers, at association meetings.

At the Liverpool meeting you descanted on the philosophy of competition; you proved how needless it was for the farmers of Lancashire. You rejoiced in the amalgamation of the Liverpool with the Manchester Association, because "the greater the competition, the greater the range of improvement." If this be true of a district, it is true of a nation. If it be good for North Lancashire and South Lancashire, it is good for Great Britain and the Continent of Europe. But your Corn Laws are laws against competition. They were professedly enacted to "protect" the farmer from competition. They tie up the mainspring of the agency to which you appeal for improvement. You deny the principle on the broadest scale, while you patronise it on the narrowest. According to your philosophy of motives human nature is a different thing in counties from what it is in countries. There is a limit at which you hold that good becomes evil. Enlarge the domain of competition from South Lancashire to all Lancashire, and you rejoice. Include the northern counties—a clear advantage. Add the southern—better still. Step an inch over the national boundary, and what was best of all immediately becomes abominably bad. The competition that enriches Lancashire, ruins England. The meeting laughed at your joke of the farmer, whose notion was that "iron ploughs breeds weeds." And yet your notion of the iron plough of competition is, that it breeds weeds, should the furrow overpass certain limits of latitude and longitude. You are indebted to the League, or the political

economists, whose works are its text-book, for this doctrine of the utility of competition. But you take it without its primary application. If it makes Lancashire farmers, much more will it make British farmers. The world's rivalry is a mightier impulse than the competition of a county. It is the universal power which sets the local power in motion. You advocate the local, and resist the universal. Like the savage who stole a watch, and could not wind it up, you push on the minute hand of district competition towards the hour of improvement, and renounce the key of national competition, without which the balance-wheel has no movement, and the spring gives no impetus.

Your lordship broadly affirms your belief in the capabilities of the soil of this country to support the existing population, together with its increase at the rate of 300,000 mouths per annum. You told the farmers that "it was their duty and their advantage to find the means of providing for that population." The "advantage" must be demonstrated before the "duty" is recognised. Who wants the farmers and their families to become sacrificers for the common good? Not the League; they wish for that just as little as they desire those same farmers to victimise themselves for the profit of their landlords. The farmer is no more bound than any other tradesman to carry on a losing business, or waste his capital in experimental devices for increased production. His "duty" as a producer is best fulfilled, but for the interests of society no less than for his own, by the course which most turns it to his own "advantage." The nation has no need that he should use himself up in making bricks without straw. It has no right to impose any such obligation. He will make his farm answer for it can; and if he cannot, there is an end of his duty of feeding the population.

The truth is, there is a bit of "thimbling" policy in this devolution upon the farmers of the duty of feeding the nation. The pea has been shuffled from under the landlords' thimble. It is to the legislative obstructions of foreign supplies that the population has a right to look for a sufficiency of food. They have virtually, by the Corn Laws, undertaken to furnish a supply. They promised they could and would, if those laws were enacted. They are bound to do so, or to forego their monopoly. Their language in substance was, "Protect us from competition, and we will feed the nation." You have had the protection you asked, and you have not fed the nation; and now you invoke the competition you deprecated—and which you still deny, as between nation and nation, to exert its power as between district and district, and stimulate the farmers to make good your own forfeited bond. The manœuvre is as hopeless in economy, as it is bad in ethics. That this little island, with its gigantic industry, should be well fed from its own soil, is not in the nature of things; least of all is it practicable, without that foreign competition which is essential to the full development of energy and enterprise in any department. Only in the abandonment of restrictions can the entire capability of British agriculture be developed. The competition in which it would do itself full justice is that of the world's north and south, as well as the north and south of Lancashire. You must bring kingdoms into the field, instead of provinces; and then increase of population will no longer be a difficulty, but a pledge of increased resources, of augmented power, wealth, and abundance.

The Corn Law legislators and landlords ought to feel a deep responsibility at the present moment. We have been on the verge of a precipice. We are not yet out of the wood. Even before the extent of damage to the potato crop appeared so fearful, the wheat harvest had placed the country in a critical position. The national supply of food for the coming twelvemonth is not a topic to be disposed of at a Liverpool dinner of farmers from the vicinity, even though the noble Secretary of State for the Colonies be chief speaker and expositor of agricultural duty. The question, my lord, with all its serious and awful responsibilities, belongs to your position as a Cabinet Minister. You must deal with it, not amongst farmers, but statesmen. Take then, into the ruling conclave, your sense of the duty of feeding the population. If, by negligence and obstinacy, by delay and compromise, what is

right and needful be postponed to party considerations and Parliamentary tactics, and the possible results of calamity, wretchedness, and crime, ensue—on you and your colleagues in the Cabinet, with both God and man, devolve the blame. There is no time to lose. Precaution should forestall not only disaster, but alarm. Your lordship would “like to see a considerable increase of iron ploughs.” Be it so; but let not, through Governmental negligence or timidity, “stern Ruin’s ploughshare drive clate” over those whose work and wages, whose daily fare and nightly rest, whose health, morals, and lives, are contingent on an adequate and accessible supply of food for the population.

A NORWICH WEAVER BOY.

LETTERS FROM WEYHILL FAIR.

FIRST LETTER.

About the place of the fair; about the sheep; and about the future Members of Parliament for Andover.

The Weyhill Fair is reported to be the greatest in England. I shall attempt this week to give some account of it, and of the products exposed there for sale and hire. Sheep, hops, and cheese are the chief products for sale; and farm servants, with some particular kinds of animals and implements, are the chief things for hire.

The fair is held annually on a piece of elevated ground about three miles west from Andover, in Hampshire, through which ground runs the road from Andover to Devizes, in Wiltshire. Weyhill is distant from London about 67 miles. It occupies a central position for the southern and western counties of England; the sheep and cheese coming from the south and the west to be sold and carried eastward to Kent, and northward to London; the hops coming from the east and south-east, from Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, to be sold and carried to every town and village on every side of Weyhill; but chiefly to the south and the west, and to London.

The commencement of the fair is ruled by old Michaelmas-day. This year it began on Friday, the 10th of October, which day and Saturday were the sheep days, Monday was what is called the “pleasure day,” on which the hops began to show, but with few sales transacted. On Monday, also, horses were sold and servants hired. On Tuesday the hop fair began in earnest, and is continued on this day, Wednesday—the day on which I write. The quantity of hops for sale regulates the duration of the hop fair. This year the quantity for sale is small; still the prices are low, at least moderate. There is, it is believed, a large growth of hops in the country; but being late from the wetness of the season, they are not in a condition to bring to the fair in the usual quantities. The dampness and doubtful nature of those shown at the fair tended also to keep down prices, as speculators did not buy fast, being afraid of the article spoiling on their hands.

From these causes the fair will probably not last much over Thursday, if it stretches into Friday at all.

The origin of Weyhill Fair lies beyond the horizon of written history. Tradition tells us that it arose out of the Michaelmas revels, which were held on the place it now occupies; but conjecture dates these revels farther back than the time when Michaelmas, as a Christian festival, was first heard of.

On the Monday previous to Friday, the 10th of October, a great yearly sheep fair began at Appleshaw, a village in the neighbourhood, and lasted up to the commencement of Weyhill Fair. So far as the nearest town, Andover, is concerned, which furnishes lodgings and stabling for men and horses, these two fairs may be looked on as one; that one lasting two weeks, and these two weeks made up of golden moments, not one of which is to be lost, being more precious than the remaining fifty of the year.

I did not go to Appleshaw sheep fair, nor to Weyhill on the sheep days; but I had opportunities of seeing the droves of sheep, and of speaking to the drovers, and the dealers and the farmers on the roads leading to the fairs from the south of Hampshire and from Dorset. Prices from the first kept up, and at the last were higher than the first.

It was amusing to see how some of the agricultural gentlemen who knew me personally, and knew my opinions on the Free Trade view of sheep feeding, wriggled from one pretence to another, and out of that other into something else, and away altogether when they could not find another pretence to retreat to.

“Well, gentlemen, what do you think of the effect of a little foretaste of good trade upon the agricultural interest, now? Good trade, you know, means Free Trade; and Free Trade, good trade. What do you think of cotton and wool, now that all the factories are going in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and all the people getting better wages than they had, and eating better

food? Is it not telling upon you at Appleshaw and Weyhill last week and this, as it did on the Irish graziers at Ballinasloe, the week before?”

“That be all very fine for you to talk, Mr. Whistler, but that be n’t it. You know as well as any of us that stock was short of keep last winter, and was in bad condition. See how sheep was sold in the spring by them as had no hay nor keep for them; and see how many a man as had to get money somehow, sold sheep at two-pence ha’penny and threepence a pound, which should ha’ gone at sixpence had they been fat, only that he could not keep them on! Look at that. That be where mutton went. Dang you and your Free Trade; Free Trade, nor no other trade, ha’ nought to do wi’d. It wor shortness of feed did it. The sheep be n’t recovered yet of what harm they took this last year.”

(Chorus of Farmers.)—“That they beant, and wunt for a good time to come.”

“Very well, gentlemen; I shall take you on that argument; in every word of which I agree, save that ‘Free Trade, nor no other trade, has anything to do with the poverty of your flocks.’ Hay was 7l. per ton; many of you could not get it, even at that price; to those who could buy it, the price was far beyond its value. But the ports of Southampton, and Poole, and Weymouth, are near. From these there are ocean thoroughfares to the shores of Continental Europe on one side, and to Africa on the other, to the barley, and oats, and rye of Germany and Poland, the Indian corn of America, and to the beans and maize of Egypt. All of them cheap and plentiful. All of them valuable for feeding cattle and sheep, joined with your scanty turnips and scantier hay. All of them foreign, to be sure; yet not more foreign than that dearer and less profitable oil cake which you did buy then, and do buy now, to give your stock; and by which many of you injured your stock, giving it, in the absence of sounder provender, in undue proportions. And thus, because you are protected by a Corn Law, which prevented you from getting those articles of good and cheap provender which I have named, your flocks were doomed to starve.”

“That be all very well on your part, to talk that way, Whistler, but you leave out the main thing when you speak of what the Corn Law keeps out of the ports of Southampton, and Poole, and Weymouth; you said ne’er a word about wheat. An’ we got wuts, and barley, and beans, and that there maize stuff, to feed sheep on, wouldn’t wheat come, too, and make wheat not worth growing at home?”

“If you could feed more cattle, and sheep, and hogs, and feed them more speedily than you now can do, you would have much greater quantities of valuable manure to grow wheat—you would depend less on wheat for your rents. What you did grow would be more valuable to you, because the land being well fertilised, a larger quantity of grain would be produced on a limited number of acres. Millions of people who do not eat meat now would eat it then, because they could get enough of bread, and have money to spare. The increased feeding of your cattle, and increased fertility of your land, would give more employment to your work-people; and more employment would reduce poor rates, and add to wages. From this alone a demand would arise for your beef and mutton.”

Such was the nature of some of the conversations I have held with south-country gentlemen, going to and coming from the fair. With some of the agriculturists residing near Andover, conversations have taken a turn like the following:

“You gentlemen about Andover are proposing to establish a new fair—a fair for wool; is it likely to succeed?”

“We see no reason why it should not succeed. This is the centre of a great wool-growing district of England. We are near a railway to London—the South Western; and we expect to have one through this town—the Manchester and Southampton. That would bring us within easy access of the woollen manufacturers. So that, altogether, a wool fair promises very well here. Our south-country wool is much improved of late years. It fetches a good price; and farmers depending so much on it as they do, to help to pay their Michaelmas rents and their tradesmen’s bills, before they can send much corn to market, should try to get the wool off their hands to the best advantage, and for ready money, if they can; the wool to go off in a lump, the money to come in in a lump. Nothing like a fair for that kind of business.”

“I am glad to hear you speak in that way about wool, and railways, and manufacturers. You seem to be getting fast on the road to Free Trade; I expect to find you seeking the repeal of the Corn Law soon.”

“No, Sir. You cannot twist what has just been said about wool into anything in favour of Free Trade; that I am sure you cannot. But you Free Trade people have got only one string to your fiddles, and you are always

fiddling on that string. No, Sir; the Hampshire farmer that seeks the repeal of the Corn Law should at the same time look for a hole in the river deep enough to drown in. The one will be no more suicide than the other.”

“Stay a few minutes, my friend. Let us recal one or two things to mind which have occurred and are occurring in Andover. Do you remember Sir John Pollard being Member for Andover?”

“Certainly I do; that is not so long ago!”

“Do you remember Mr. Huskisson as a member of the Government, when so much stir was made here, because he was attempting to reduce the wool duties?”

“Oh, yes; very well.”

“You remember, also, Sir John Pollard’s speech in the market-place at that time, when he used the memorable words, that if Mr. Huskisson was not put down, and the wool duties kept up, wool would fall to such a price, that the sheep would not be worth shearing: ‘that you might shear the sheep’—you remember those words—‘because it would be necessary to do so for their health, for the sake of their mutton; but that the wool would be lying kicking in the streets of Andover, nobody would lift it, unless it were the scavengers to put it on the dung-hill.’”

“Oh, yes; I remember that speech very well. Sir John was in a terrible way about the letting down of the duty on wool.”

“But Sir John was your oracle—your chosen protective representative. You all believed him, and cheered him, did you not?”

“Yes; he was a very good Member, Sir John. He was a very good gentleman. He did more for this here town than any other Member have done.”

“But you must admit that he was wrong on the wool question. The duty is now wholly repealed; there is a Free Trade in wool; and your wool is not kicking about the streets of Andover, with nobody to lift it. Instead of the scavengers sweeping it to the dunghill, you have got such a good taste of what Free Trade in that article can do for you, that you are eager to have a direct railway to the factories, and a wool fair, that you may get it speedily and still more profitably off your hands.”

At such a point as this there was generally some head-scratching and humming; and a kind of muttering of—“Yes; but wool be n’t corn, and corn be n’t wool.”

It is proper to remark, however, that in the immediate neighbourhood of Andover, a majority of the farmers are avowedly hostile to the Corn Law, or any kind of agricultural protection. This I have been told by gentlemen who should know, and who should be believed. I do not know the fact to be so of my own knowledge.

I may here also state incidentally that many regret in this borough that Mr. Walter, of Bearwood, the proprietor of *The Times*, should be at present in the field for Windsor; regret that, after having lost several contested elections, he should enter upon such a doubtful contest as that for Windsor, with the exclusive Tory influence against him, and the Liberals not all heartily with him; regret that, if elected for Windsor, they, the voters of Andover, will not have it in their power, as they desire to have, of repaying him the services rendered to them in the cause of humanity through *The Times* newspaper. The dislike of the Poor Law, as at present enacted, and as carried into practice in the Andover Union, is so strong, on the part of a large majority of the borough voters, that an election would be sure to turn upon that question in Andover, and on that alone. Nor is the ferment which is now working in this locality likely to be soon allayed. The guardians of the out-parishes stand in resolute hostility to the guardians of the borough and its neighbourhood; the out-parishes out-voting the borough guardians on everything, that the latter, no matter what their former party politics may have been, are now combined as opponents of the new Poor Law. A majority of these are also Free Traders, and all of them have great influence over other voters. Had not the Poor Law question arisen in such intensity here, and become an Andover question, the subject of Free Trade would have taken the lead here as elsewhere. There being no chance of Lord William Paget standing again, the struggle would have been to return a second Free Trader with Mr. Erwall. As it is, the struggle will be to return with Mr. Erwall another opponent of the present Poor Law. Were Mr. Walter to stand, there would be no struggle at all. The moderate Conservatives would vote for him; the Free Traders would vote for him, and his election would be sure. There is no other known Parliamentary candidate, no man in the House or out of it, who would be so sure to be returned for Andover as would Mr. Walter. And he would be returned by uniting the voters who have hitherto been discordant.

Free Traders, not resident in Andover, and not feeling that intense excitement on the starvation clauses of

the Poor Law, and not knowing that the union system is used, as it is, to screw down wages in Hampshire, and punish men and women, and little children, and helpless old people, who may incur the displeasure of some king of a thousand acres, by consigning them to worse than a House of Correction, to the Union, with the hard labour, more filthy labour, and less food, where they must remain so long as the said king of a thousand acres, and his brother kings of acres and dunghills think fit; I say, to those Free Traders living at a distance from Andover, and not acquainted with the practice of rural guardians in rural districts, it may seem that the leaders of the Free Trade cause in Andover are hardly making the right choice for a colleague to Mr. Etwall in fixing on one who has hitherto been for a low fixed duty on corn. But the time for fixed duties has gone by. The recent leaders of *The Times* indicate that even there the thought has ceased to find a place. We should be more ready to hail such an ally as Mr. Walter than to cavil at him; and we should bear in mind that all questions of humanity are not bound up in the Corn Law, deeply fraught as that is with the well-being and the woe of our population. Let us liberate trade from starveling monopolies, that the working man may be industrious, and not poor; but let us also liberate the poor man from starveling Boards of Guardians (his irresponsible masters, whose interest it is to starve him, and make him work at starvation wages), that he may eat as well as work, and live honestly, because he can work and live. And let this be done alike for the advancement of that national and individual industry which Free Trade seeks to advance, and to the condemnation of those monopolies in corn and in human labour which our Corn Laws and our Poor Laws are unitedly operating to perpetuate.

LETTER SECOND.

About the Shows, the Farm Implements, and the Hop growers.

On reaching Weyhill Fair, I did not find myself on a hill, nor did I see any hill. The country was elevated to the breadth of a mile or more, and commanded a view of the woody parks and hedged corn fields lying west and north of it; and eastward and south the distant elevations higher than this could be seen. And, though I could not see, I knew that the wide expanse of country on every side, though apparently little broken from a level, was not a level, but was varied and twisted into hilly ridges by the valleys or "bournes" in which the rivulets run, and in which nine-tenths of all the churches, and villages, and farm-yards, and human habitations, are to be found; the farms having all their heads down in the valleys, and their tails stretching upwards and backwards on the high and the dry ground, the heads dipping into the rivulets, as if they had come down to drink: an idea pleasing enough, were it not that those pretty rivulets are defiled and poisoned by the farmers which come down to drink, they being so unnatural as to discharge their excremental offal into the places where they drink, and so unagricultural as to let that offal run to waste, rather than carry it out to the fields to fertilise them; the country, I say, seemed from Weyhill to be little broken from a level; but knowing the rivulets and the bournes, I knew it was not a level. On one side, the only side where the hill can properly be so called, we could, by crossing a beautiful open green, where the horses were compelled to show off their metal by lads who, in riding them, showed off theirs, look down into a hollow, and across it upon a finely expanded woodland. But to see this, it was necessary to go out of the fair.

The Andover and Devizes road, ascending at an easy gradient westward, divided that green on the right, on which was the horse-market, from another green on the left, where now stood the farm implements for sale and the men to hire, and on which the sheep-fair had been on former days. Beyond these, at the distance of four or five hundred yards from the centre, the land was all enclosed, and so were the roads; the latter being nothing more than narrow waggon ways, confined in lofty hedge-rows, in which the currents of traffic to and from the fair struggled, as madness struggles in strait jackets—all the madder and all the more likely to continue so that they were confined.

Some rows of elm-trees, and a few not in rows, two rather showy white villas, wearing shrubberies, gravelled walks, and painted gates outside—a church which hides behind a wall among the trees, as if it thought it shame to be seen, and which nobody would suppose to be a church unless they were told—two or three, or it may be four, public-houses—about as many private dwelling-houses, one of them an exciseman's—and somewhere about a dozen rows of low thatched and slated houses, with white shining walls, forming squares and parallelograms, wide streets and narrow streets, grassy within all the year save now, covered with straw now, and the interior of the houses, or sheds, only occupied now,—

these, so far as I remember, constitute the buildings which stand permanently on Weyhill.

They belong to a Mr. Heath, of Andover, and are let at a good rent; many of them as temporary taverns—the renters of which are all bound, so I was told, to take their liquors from him, he being a wholesale dealer. I believe, however, that he also is only a tenant under the corporation of Andover.

It is in these parallel and cross lines of permanent sheds that the peculiarity of Weyhill Fair is to be seen from all others, and in the commodity exposed there for sale—hops. There are also booths, as at other fairs; clowns, pantaloons, drummers, trumpeters, with clanging pieces of metal and screeching voices. Pictures of the Battle of Waterloo, or some other great assemblage of red, and blue, and smoky paint, which made the female friends of young fellows in smockfrocks and recruiting ribbons, who had taken the shilling, cling round them and sob, and say, "Oh, Jem, wult thee go and be done that to? See there! what they be a doin' on; shootin' one another! Jem, Jack, Bill, wult thee go to be knocked on the head, and leave me for ever?"

Also there was the head of a wonderful ox bred in Cumberland, which was warranted to measure more from horn to horn than the largest man in the fair, measured round the body; and with that, as a joint stock concern, was associated the wonderful lamb, with one head, two bodies, two tails, and eight feet; two of them growing from the back, which was lambled at Mr. Godwin's farm, at Wallop, near this place, and is the property of Mr. Ramsbury, a butcher, in the village of Broughton, where I now write; who, I believe, would be willing and ready to sell it to any collector of natural curiosities. Also there was a "correct view of the ship Tartar, burned by fire in the Southampton dock; with the storming of *Jane Dacre*, in *China*, where 4000 men, women, and children, were destroyed and blown up; also many other grand and beautiful views of *batels* by sea and land; and the beautiful animal from America to be seen alive." And besides these, many more shows too numerous to mention.

In some of the lanes, long and narrow, formed by the rows of sheds being back to back, there were old clothes' men, perhaps not from Holywell-street, nor Monmouth-street—but looking very like them. One kind of article attracted my notice especially—soldiers' great-coats, worn threadbare; worn four years, and discharged for being too old. These were here in great numbers to be sold, and were sold, to labourers in agriculture and shepherds, to fence off the coming winter. I thought it was a pity the soldiers' rations of beef and bread could not be brought to Weyhill for the outcast labourers, as well as the cast-off clothes.

Saddlery, whippy, turnery, corn-measures, cheese-presses, dairy utensils, and vast piles—a Woolwich arsenal of piled cheeses, were upon the ground.

Implements and newly-invented machines, or old inventions slightly varied, and called new, were there by the hundred. Ploughs of every description—"Taskers," "Ransomes," and all the iron and wooden humbug of twenty other "makers," who make everything but useful, serviceable, practical ploughs; who make machines, and show them, and puff them, as if they were specially sent upon the earth to torment and punish poor farmers for the sin of being easily imposed upon—all such implements usually found at agricultural shows and fairs were there, with their few grains of utility, and their vast amount of chaff and puffs and uselessness.

The only machine at work was a moulder of drain-tiles, said to be the invention of the gentleman who was showing it. This, for simplicity and effectiveness, was a decided exception to the general mass of rubbish gathered there. That gentleman did not fail to tell us that he was making drain-tiles with such a machine as that for her Majesty the Queen and Prince Albert; and that he had contracted to lay down 50 miles of drains on the new royal property in the Isle of Wight. William Bullock Webster, Esq., of Houndsdown, near Southampton, is the address of the inventor. I was so pleased with the simplicity and real utility of this machine, that I shall probably pay the Isle of Wight a visit to see it at work on the royal farm.

There were, perhaps, some other useful machines for various agricultural purposes there; and not having examined all, it may be going too far to condemn all. My remarks, however, only apply to farm implements, and alleged new inventions generally. If any class of implements are to be specially condemned as a class, it is the most useful class—that of ploughs. The best of them in Hampshire are but poor affairs—clumsy, odiously offensive to the eye, inconvenient for their work, and wasteful of horse-power.

But horse-power seems to be undervalued and misunderstood in the south and west of England, else the farmers would never waste good corn and hay upon such inferior horse-flesh as they do. The show of horses at

Weyhill, though numerous, was so inferior as to cause remark even among Hampshire farmers.

Returning to the hop-sheds, let us look around us. If the farmers' horses have been below respectability, not so the farmers themselves. A finer show of men, whether viewed as the "animal man," or as well-mannered, polite, business-like gentlemen, is not to be seen in England, and after that, not very likely in the world, than the Kent, Surrey, and Sussex hop-growers, who are each attending with their "pockets" of hops in these sheds. I must give the reader some outlines to judge what this part of the fair is like.

First, we enter a space 30 or 40 yards wide, three times as long or nearly, with sheds up each side. This is exclusively set aside for Farnham hops. Other hops are in the fair grown near Farnham; indeed, some of them, as it is expressed, "only over the hedge;" but these are in another larger division of the fair, called "the country." This "country" division admits all comers. The "Farnhams" being of a superior kind generally, they get one or two, sometimes three or four or five pounds sterling more per hundred weight than any others. The mere fact of being "Farnhams" gives them a reputation; and to keep up the reputation, the Farnham growers unite and hire this division of the fair to themselves, to exclude all others, who by introducing an inferior hop near them might injure the character of theirs. This year, however, owing to the weather, the "Farnhams" are inferior to many of the "country's." The quality is as good, but they are not dry, not in "condition;" and they have had to submit to 8*l.*, 8*l.* 10*s.*, and 9*l.* per cwt.; some few of the best "pockets" drawing 10*l.*; while many of the "country's" drew 9*l.* 10*s.* to 11*l.* per cwt.

Going out of this division, we get into one narrower, but longer, running to our right hand at a right angle to this. This on one side is called the "London." On inquiry I found that no kind of hop came under that name; it was applied to the London dealers, who take offices there, and sheds, and buy and sell, and speculate. They seemed to do a good deal of business by samples. Some of them I saw had bought the very best they could get; and then when buyers for noblemen and gentlemen's families came, they sold the best at a good price; such as 11*l.* per cwt. The chief buyers in the fair are country innkeepers and brewers; and they like a "a good useful hop," which they mostly procured at about 9*l.* 10*s.* The main question with them seemed to be, whether the hops were dry enough to keep; and whether they had not been kiln-dried and "brimstoned" too much to make them look well?

In the same division with the "London" are the "Kent" and "Sussex." But I think some of these were also in the "country," which means all parts of Surrey not in the "Farnham." The "country" strikes off at a right angle from the "London" continuing westward as the "Farnham" was doing, and is the largest division of the hop fair.

Though the sheds are in continuous rows, they are each divided by partitions, each hop grower who comes there to sell having one; or, sometimes two or more growers join together and have one. In most cases each grower has his own shed; the size—I only speak from recollection—may be about 20 feet square. In front, and occupying five or six feet square of each shed is a little house, its front wall flush with the front of the row. It has a door and lock and key, and is entered from the interior of the shed. It has a window in the front, and a shutter outside, which folds down, and shows as it hangs down the name of the hop-grower, and the name of his farm, whose shed it is. The passers by thus see at once whose hops are within.

I do not know if in all, but I saw in some, a plentiful supply of wine, and substantial refreshments, with which purchasers were regaled, and, if I am not personally forgetful, which some were invited to who were not purchasers.

The "pockets" of hops are put in the sheds on end. They are about 8 feet long, and about 20 inches in diameter, as hard packed as to be like a log of round timber. They have all got a kind of coat of arms on them in red and blue colours, each differing according to its locality; besides which, there are in plain letters, legible to all who can read, the name of the place where the hops grew, and the name of the grower (we must not say owner, it is always grower). This is on each "pocket." There is also the weight of each marked on it by the exciseman, and the amount of duty charged. Generally, the weight increases from the time of being weighed at home up to the time of weighing at the fair, by the absorption of moisture. This causes most purchasers to say they will rather take the exciseman's weighing than have them weighed again; and the seller generally tells them he will do whichever they choose.

The weight of each "pocket," so far as I could learn

averaged about 2 cwt. Some were 13½ cwt.; and some 2½ cwt. The price of a "pocket" is thus about 20l.

They are packed by a man going into the empty bag with a heavy weight of iron, attached to which is a rope. He is nearly naked, and is oftentimes nearly suffocated. The hops having been dried in an upper room, the bag is slung below, and the loose hops are showered down upon the man deep within the bag. He treads all round the iron weight, and can pull it up by the rope if it does not rise; but if he packs well with his feet round the weight, it should rise of itself, and keep on the top.

The "pockets" being thus packed and marked, as already told, and conveyed on waggons to Weyhill, and put in the sheds, one from each lot is taken and laid down outside the shed. It is slit open in the middle, about 12 inches at the seam, and the canvass folded neatly back, and pinned down to keep it back by strong pegs. An iron instrument with two blades, which I tried to ascertain the name of, and which was called "pincers" by some, and by others was said to have no name at all, the blades each four inches broad, and nine or ten inches long, sharp as knives on the lower face, and apart from each other four inches—this instrument was inserted in the firmly packed hops as deep as it would go, the two blades cutting their way down. A knife, which every "grower" seemed to have for the purpose, was then taken and inserted ten inches deep, and a cut was made on each blank side of the instrument from blade to blade. A screw at top was then turned, so as to make it grasp the hops it had got hold of more firmly, and then it was drawn out. It was all made of polished steel, and was laid across each "pocket," with the square cut sample in its grasp. The buyers, as they came up one after another, lifted it by its polished handle and put it to their noses, and sniffed, and smelt, and asked questions, and examined all the specks of colour, and again smelt it, and looked knowingly at the "growers," and then laid it down, and took up two or three of the hops between the finger and thumb, and nipped and crushed these, and smelt them, and asked the price; and said the price would not do, and that "that hop" would not keep; and again, that "that hop" had "saccharine" in it, which was a good sign; or that "that hop had been brimstoned;" and so forth they would go from "Farnham" to "London," and "Kent," and "Sussex," and up the "country," smelling, and sniffing, and rubbing, and determining to buy, yet afraid, lest they should have bad beer next year.

The odour pervading the fair from the hops was delightful; the air was filled with perfume, and the day being fine, Weyhill was altogether very pleasant. I observed that the publicans and innkeepers, known to each other, clubbed together, two and three, and three and four, and bought the whole stock of some growers, consisting of eight, ten, and twelve packets, and then paid for them in the lump, and drank their wine together in the lump.

I intended to follow this up by some account of the culture of the hop plant, and of the hop planting population, but I find my space more than occupied; so for the present I must come to a stop.

ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH.

SHIPWRECKS.—The average number of British shipwrecks in a year is 600; the value of property destroyed about two and a half millions sterling; and the number of lives lost 1500.

SPANISH AND FRENCH FRUITS.—The importations of the large and much-approved description of onions usually brought in large quantities from the Spanish ports about this time of the year for consumption in this country, have commenced for the season, and several ships having arrived with very large quantities of the article, of a very superior quality on board, both at the port of London and also at Liverpool, and one or two others of the principal outports, they are now to be had in profusion at the various metropolitan fruiterers' and grocers' shops, and elsewhere. They fetch a good price, and are reckoned very cheap considering their size, and also very serviceable, although they are of a remarkably mild and inoffensive flavour. The importation of dried plums and prunes, for table use, has also commenced from the French ports, and excellent samples of those favourite and much-esteemed fruits are now attainable at about the usual prices, according to the respective merits of the different qualities and parcels on sale.

MANUFACTURES ABROAD.—The *Journal du Commerce d'Amers* states that, by an ukase of Sept. 9, Russia has adopted the following Custom-house regulations for the Grand Duchy of Finland:—"Hemp, linseed, and all oleaginous seeds, as well as cordage of all kinds, and hempen yarn for sail cloth, will, until an order shall be given to the contrary, be exported from the Grand Duchy of Finland free of duties. The exportation from Finland of planks and lath-wood is interdicted." In the same paper it is observed that the linen trade of Germany being threatened by the rivalry of England, steps are taking to resist it. In Silesia, for instance, a demand is made on the Government that measures should be adopted to make known in the American markets the superiority of the linen yarns of Silesia, spun by hand, and bleached by the natural process, over linens produced by mechanical means, and bleached by chemical expedients. Besides this, it is mentioned in the *Sveabian Mercury*, that a society has been formed for the encouragement of the national industry in Wurtemberg. This society, it is added, already numbers more than 400 members."

AGRICULTURE.

A LEASE, AND NOTHING LESS THAN A LEASE.

Practically, farmers have abandoned the Corn Laws. They no longer rely on "protection." They have ceased to be angry when Free Trade is advocated, or to be startled, as at an apparition, by the advent of a Leaguer. Indeed, wheresoever we go amongst farmers, we find them originating discussions on Free-trade questions, and, in nine cases out of ten, admitting, without reference to their personal wishes, that the system of restriction cannot be much longer maintained. They say it must go, and the sooner the better. They want the question settled, that there may be a solid basis for farming calculations. Then it is agreed on all hands that British farmers would have nothing to fear from foreign competition if their land was well cultivated. Protection is confessedly required for bad farming only, not for good. This was distinctly stated by Mr. T. A. Green at the *Olney Agricultural Association*, who said, "If agriculture were properly carried out in this country, the farmer need fear no repeal of the Corn Laws." And the same thing has been implied or stated at nearly every agricultural meeting of the present autumn.

And what are the impediments to good cultivation? We shall again call in evidence Mr. Green, who said, "If useless woods were grubbed up, rascally bad pastures ploughed up, and prejudices removed, a great increase in the growth of corn would be the result." And at the same meeting at Olney, Mr. Pain, in responding to the toast of "the tenantry," said, "he knew many bad pastures that would pay more in one year if ploughed up, than they now did in ten. This breaking up of old and worthless pastures would also increase the demand for labour, and be productive of good also to the landlord and the farmer." Mr. C. Whitworth, however, thought that "there was no necessity to break up old pastures, while the arable land we have at present was so badly farmed." Here, then, we have two plain and obvious means of increasing production on our own soil; first, to farm the present arable land well; next, to break up inferior pastures, and, of course, to farm them well afterwards. Then the permanent pasture lands admit of great improvement. Again, at the Luton meeting, to which we last week referred, Mr. Brett, an intelligent farmer of Hertfordshire, said that, in the counties of Bedford and Hertford, "one great improvement was wanted—the cutting away of useless timber and fences." And that suggestion was received, and properly received, by the farmers with vociferous cheers. Mr. Brett stated that, "in one case in Hertfordshire, he had made a rough valuation of the timber on 50 acres of land, divided into fields of eight acres, but which might be made into fields of 25 acres, without injury to the landlord, and with great benefit to the tenant. This timber he had valued at 5l.; and he had no hesitation in saying that if it were removed no tenant would mind paying 2s. or 3s. an acre more for the land." He also wished landlords "would pay a little attention" to the scattered and ill-arranged position of farm-buildings, which ought to be more concentrated, and collected in smaller space than they usually are. Our readers will remember also, that at this meeting Mr. Lattimore, from whose speech we gave some extracts last week, attributed the generally defective state of cultivation to want of capital. And whence arises all these defects? On this point neither is there any difference of opinion. Sufficient capital is not employed by tenant-farmers because they have no security for reaping where they have sown. They want, as Mr. Lattimore so pointedly said, security of tenure. So Mr. Brett said, "that great improvements were required in the cultivation of the soil, but these improvements can only be carried out by giving to the farmer a proper tenure and proper security, and thus making it advantageous to him to cultivate his land in a superior manner." And he cited the example of the late Earl of Leicester, in proof that by giving security to his tenants the landlord best promoted

his own interest. Mr. Brett afterwards observed, "that if landlords gave farmers security of tenure, the soil would be better cultivated, and the condition of the tenant would be so far improved, that the rent would become a secondary consideration."

Now all these things look so like truisms that it requires some previous acquaintance with the actual state of agriculture, and the relations of landlord and tenant in this country, not to feel surprised at hearing them so often repeated and so earnestly enforced. But it was for simply stating such truisms that we, not long ago, had the reputation of an evil design of setting landlords and tenants together by the ears. Now, however, landlords admit that tenants must have some security. Thus, at Olney, Mr. Tower, one of the Duke of Buckingham's members for the county, said, "more corn might be profitably grown in that neighbourhood;" but "he was glad to see that the farmers were bestirring themselves." He said, "improvement was the watchword of them all;" and for these improvements "it was necessary that the tenant should have some security of tenure." This, then, is the position of the farmer; he wants no protection against foreign competition, provided his land be well farmed—better farmed than at present; that he only requires security of tenure, and liberty to use his land to the best advantage, in order to farm well; while the landowners, on their part, admit that some additional security is required by their tenants. What, then, is that security? We answer—A RATIONAL LEASE. No farmer asks for more, and none ought to be satisfied with less. But farmers must not suppose they can be made secure by any of the make-shift agreements about which landlords and their agents have lately become so eloquent. We find long articles in the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society*, telling how Lord A.'s or Lord B.'s tenants have improved their farms under agreements by which, if dispossessed of their farms, they are entitled to be paid for "unexhausted improvements." Oil-cake is to be good for two years, bone-manure for three, and clay or chalk for four or five years, and so on; all of which, as additions to a lease, would be perfectly just and fair. But let farmers beware of such agreements without leases, for they are mere farmer-traps, and afford none of that security which is essential to the tenant's well-doing. With such an agreement the farmer would be as much dependent upon his landlord as an ordinary yearly tenant is now; and besides the loss and inconvenience of quitting his farm when he least wishes it, he is never really paid for his improvements. From the nature of things it is impossible. When the Corn Law question has been settled, but not till then, let farmers require leases; and, above all, let them regard with suspicion every proposal for allowance for "unexhausted improvements" as the substitute for a lease.

Landowners, however, are now "trying it on." For instance, at the meeting of the *Central Suffolk Agricultural Association*, held at Stowmarket, the Rev. Coppinger Hill said:

"But though leases would not secure the farmer from loss, there existed a well-devised system of compensatory clauses, which might be placed in action, capable of saving the farmer from any loss at the close of his term of occupation, and also averting loss to the landlord by a change of tenant. (Hear, hear.) He had considered this subject deeply for a lengthened period of time, and his opinion was this: that it was preferable to the occupier to have six months' notice to quit, with compensation for the value of the improvements he had made on the land, than trust to security the best lease could afford him. (Cries of "No, no.") Look at Scotland, the country to which it was now the fashion and habit to turn on all questions of agriculture, where the lease expired and the tenant quitted at the same time. Look, again, at Lincolnshire, where it would be found that six months' notice to quit, with the compensatory clauses in the agreement, worked well, both for tenant and landlord. (Hear.) He was therefore of opinion, as he said previously, a six months' notice to quit, with a compensation for outlay and improvement—the sum, of course, settled by valuation properly made—was more remunerative and fair to a farmer than the uncertainty of a lease. ("Hear, hear," and "No, no.")

The exclamations of dissent were general and unequivocal. But the absurdity of Mr. Hill's proposition was thus exposed by Mr. Fisher Hobbs, who said:

"His opinion was that an enterprising tenant would not be satisfied by a holding that might expire at the end of six months. (Hear, hear.) There were improvements made and money expended on a farm which no valuer could

detect, or detecting, appreciate—(Hear, hear)—and though the occupier were paid for improvements, still the uncertain tenure by which he would hold under Mr. Hill's plan would be a bar to his prosperity and comfort. The landlord on his part ought to have a good and remunerative rent for his land, but he thought he would not do his duty if he did not afford to his tenant a *fixity of tenure.* (Hear, hear.)"

Farmers of England, is not this strictly, literally true?

And Mr. R. B. Harvey, whose exertions on various occasions to show what a lease should be merit the thanks of the farmers, observed:

"He was glad to hear that on all sides it was now allowed that security must be given to the occupiers. The only difference was as to the best mode, Mr. Hill recommending compensation clauses in preference to leases; but it must not be forgotten that, although these compensation clauses might repay to the tenants to-morrow the money which they had expended to-day—might give some security for capital expended on a farm—they did not give that which was equally required, *security of possession.* The tenants were as attached to their homesteads as any other class of persons, and the great stimulus to improvement was the knowledge that if they did not live to enjoy the comforts which they were raising around them, their wives or families would. LEASES ALONE GAVE BOTH THE NECESSARY STIMULUS AND THE NECESSARY SECURITY."

These two extracts from *farmers'* speeches comprise the whole question. Without a lease there can be no security of possession, and security of possession is necessary for profitable farming. Tenant rights and allowances for "unexhausted improvements" without a lease are sheer delusions, and should be so treated by farmers. We are glad, nevertheless, that the landowners have introduced the subject of "unexhausted improvements" and compensation clauses, because it will be found that no lease can be perfectly fair towards the tenant which does not comprise such clauses. Nor is it to be supposed that the tenants alone will benefit by rational leases. Landlords will receive equivalent advantages in the form of higher rents, and more certain and continuous payment; and they will lose that only which no honest man can desire to possess, viz., the power of perpetrating fraud and committing injustice.

AGRICULTURAL PROGRESSION.

Every journal has of late been expatiating on the progress of agricultural opinion, as evidenced by the speeches at the meetings of the present season; but the progress is apparent rather than real. It is true, tenant farmers have spoken out more freely and plainly than has hitherto happened at these meetings, but their speeches have been such only as they have been long accustomed to make amongst themselves; and the recent utterance of them in public is owing to the circumstance that the great landholders in general have fought shy of agricultural meetings this autumn. The presidencies have therefore fallen to the lot of smaller men; and the farmers, relieved from the influence of the grandees, have spoken. Wherever grandees have presided, there has still been the usual *quantum* of sickly sentiment and unmeaning compliment. And at every meeting where practical and useful speeches have been made, they have proceeded from tenant farmers, not from landlords; and in not a few instances strenuous effort has been made by the gentry to burk the expression of tenant farmers' opinions. Of this, we find an illustration at the meeting of the *North Staffordshire Society, at Newcastle-under-line.* At the Committee dinner on the previous day, when none but gentry were present, the following eloquent appeal by Mr. Ricardo, M.P., was rapturously applauded.

"You have set an example this day which I hope to see followed throughout the kingdom—you have brought together at one board, agriculture and commerce. (Hear.) You have placed down, cheek by jowl, the ploughshare and the hatter's block. I am glad to see here practically refuted that which has been said so often and so wrongly, that there is an antagonism existing between commerce and agriculture. (Cheers.) Men never pass through a sterile barren deserted district, and expect to come to a thriving town. *But in the neighbourhood of a prosperous town every eye expects to meet with fertile lands, and high cultivation.* (Cheers.) If farmers have not been so told by their fathers, they must tell it to their sons, that it is to the manufacturers they must look for their customers. (Cheers.) Every tall chimney, throwing forth its smoke, shows that hundreds are employed in honest remunerating industry. Wherever the chimney is damp within, and moss-grown without, there misery and starvation exists. In the prosperity of commerce, the prosperity of agriculture is involved—their welfare is your welfare—their interest is bound irrevocably to yours."

At the public dinner on the following day, some 300 persons were present; and the president, Mr. R. Sneyd, being, according to approved custom in these Societies, apersonally ignorant of agriculture, the greater part of the evening passed in handily compliments between the Lord, M.P., and gentry present, diversified occasionally by allusion to the "prejudice cherished by farmers." Lord Sandon, however, distinctly recognised the identity of

the farmer's interest with commercial and manufacturing prosperity. And so long as all was confined to generalities, every thing went smoothly and pleasantly; but by-and-bye came the toast of "Mr. Charles Minton, the Farmer, Vice-president, and the tenant farmers of North Staffordshire." Mr. Minton, in returning thanks:

"Suggested the propriety of landlords supplying the more expensive, yet essential agricultural implements, and instanced the case of Lord Sefton, who provided his tenants with subsoil ploughs. After enumerating the advantages to be gained by improved cultivation, and through drainage, Mr. Minton proceeded to speak upon the evils and disadvantages under which tenant farmers laboured, not the least of which was the enormous quantity of hedge-row timber on some estates. He was glad to inform the meeting that a neighbouring landowner—Sir Edward Vavasour—had given permission for his tenants to cut down every tree obnoxious to their arable land. Mr. M. was proceeding further to elucidate the subject, when the noise caused by the departure of some of the company, and the impatience of others, compelled him to desist. Mr. M. was so imperfectly heard throughout, that it would be impossible to furnish anything like a correct report of his address."

And we learn from other sources that this interruption proceeded entirely from the gentlemen at the cross table, who had no inclination to listen to the real sentiments of the tenant farmers. Thus it always is whenever the farmers attempt to speak. The evening is wasted in a long string of complimentary toasts, so that by the time any outspoken farmer can have an opportunity of saying a word, so much time has elapsed as to give the grandees an excuse for breaking up the meeting.

A remarkable proof of the ready acceptance which sound common sense views find with the farmers, is offered by an incident which occurred at the dinner of the *Highland Agricultural Society.* On the "Tenantry of Scotland" being toasted, a gentleman got up to return thanks, but there was so loud and general a call amongst the farmers for Mr. Aitchinson, that he was compelled to do the duty.

Now Mr. Aitchinson is obviously a hard headed practical man, and a Free Trader; for he thus referred to the subject of the toast:

"Had he (the chairman) come here three years ago, he would have found the farmers excited by feelings which might have made them remind his grace, and those of his order, that the day seemed coming when the farmers—unless they were to be superseded—would require to lean upon a more substantial reed than liberal speeches."

And he afterwards said—

"He would not deny that the farmers in this district were participating in the general prosperity of the country—(cheers)—and although the harvest had not been altogether such as would satisfy the husbandman, there had been no check to the prosperity of the trading classes with whom their interests were permanently bound up. Political subjects were very properly, as Mr. Hope Johnson had observed, kept entirely in abeyance in meetings of this society, but whatever opinions there might be, he was satisfied that to this complexion they must come at last—that prosperity in *Lancashire was prosperity in Dumfriesshire.* (Great and prolonged cheering.) They were all now agreed, or must come to agree, whatever were their political opinions, that it was in vain for them to fatten their stock if they could not send them when fattened to remunerating markets. And these markets were only to be had where the trading classes were congregated together. *The consuming power of the masses to take off the food which the farmers could send them depended upon their wages; and the rate of these wages again depended upon the prosperity of the manufacturers who employed them.*"

And these are the rational views most acceptable to the farmers. Subsequently, after a reference to railways, Mr. Aitchinson said:

"These changes must give a great impetus to agricultural improvement; but their full development must depend greatly upon the conduct of the lords of the soil to their retainers, upon those liberal views by which they govern their estates. For as liberality is now the controlling principle in the government of nations, so he trusted it would also become in private property, for what was good for countries must be good for communities; and in the discharge of those duties, in his humble opinion, depended more the advancement of agriculture, than upon restrictive laws and legislative enactments. (Cheers.)"

Compare these masculine sentiments of a tenant farmer with the namby-pamby talk the landlords address to their tenants, and see whether it is not incumbent on the gentry to take up higher ground at these agricultural meetings, if they mean to retain any real influence over the farmers.

"PROTECTED" AGRICULTURE.

WHO ARE THE PROTECTORS?

We observe that that theoretical protectionist, but practical Free Trader, Mr. Warnes, has been attending a meeting of the *Stowponcy Agricultural Association*, where he urged with great effect the use of linseed compound for fattening cattle, and the growth of flax for the employment of labourers. The reporter states that Mr. Warnes—

"Had on the ground a copper for cooking nutiment for cattle, and for the incorporation of linseed with any material which may be used as food for cattle, and by means of which, cabbage, turnip-tops, &c., are rendered useful for this purpose. An additional object of it is to convey linseed to the animal's stomach in such a state that it may be quickly returned to be ruminated, and the process of digestion has-

tened. Mr. W. also exhibited a model cattle-box, constructed for harbouring stock intended for fattening, and in which the animals may remain for weeks cleaner than under the existing system by which the standing places of cattle are cleaned out in some cases twice a day. These two articles were generally approved by the company."

We think the agricultural community is much indebted to Mr. Warnes for bringing into notice the advantages of fattening cattle with linseed compound. Cattle feed faster and at less expense on this compound than on oil-cake, for which it is a substitute. The process of making it is extremely simple. One measure of crushed linseed to seven or eight of water makes, when cooled, a thick jelly. The water being at boiling point, the linseed is thrown in dispersedly, and stirred for five minutes, and then the liquid is mixed with cut straw or hay in the winter, or cut grass, clover, tares, &c., in the summer; and when cool, the compound is given to the cattle twice or three times a day. At first they do not always eat it kindly, but after a few days they invariably devour it greedily. Between each bait of compound the beast should have a feed of cut roots, or dry chaff, or cut green food by way of variety. An iron boiler erected with a flue in any out-building adjacent to the cattle-sheds, and a couple of tubs to hold the food, are alone required to feed with the compound. Indeed, it is scarcely more trouble than feeding with oil-cake, and we have reason to rely on Mr. Warnes's estimate that the cost is not more than one half. This plan opens a new source of productiveness to the farmer in his own cattle yards. Then the economy of keeping the manure in the box or pen, littering the animal down once or twice a day, so as to keep it clean, until the accumulation becomes inconvenient, is such, that the superior value of the manure over that which has been exposed day by day in the open yard is at least double. Here, then, we have another important suggestion of means within the farmer's own power, by which he may set competition at defiance. The principal article recommended by the plan is a seed grown exclusively abroad, and imported without any duty. This seed, this unprotected seed, Mr. Warnes tells us, and he refers to data derived from his own experience, which seem decisive, can be profitably grown in this country. Can there be a more biting commentary upon the protective system?

At the dinner, Mr. W. Whitmore thus referred to Mr. Warnes's plans:

"He invited the attention of agriculturists to this matter, because he believed the experiment would be found highly advantageous. Mr. W. next proceeded, in complimentary terms, to propose the health of Mr. Warnes—a gentleman who had turned an active and intelligent mind to the improvement of agricultural science—one who had experimentalised successfully, as they had witnessed in the show-yard that day. With reference to his system of feeding cattle in boxes, he had witnessed the plan in operation, and he never saw cattle in cleaner and better condition; the place was dry and clean, perfectly free from smell, and was a means by which cattle were fattened much quicker than by any other plan. (Hear.) He was also satisfied with the efficacy of his (Mr. Warnes's) plan for preparing food, and he was also satisfied that linseed ought to be cultivated to a great extent in this country, seeing that it was difficult to procure it from abroad; and he was therefore of opinion that the growth of flax ought to be introduced as a valuable part of agriculture."

We shall hear presently why this "valuable part of agriculture" cannot be at present generally introduced.

Mr. Warnes, in responding, said:

"He urged the growth of flax, for this amongst other reasons—that it would be a means of providing full employment for the labourer; insisted that it would be found far more beneficial food for cattle than oil-cake, which it was well known was composed of material almost utterly worthless. People might as well believe that all the Port wine on our tables came from Oporto as that all the oil-cake received in this country was made from linseed; at the same time he admitted that the robbery on the public was not by the English merchant, but the foreign trader. The speaker addressed the meeting at some length in advocacy of the principle of preserving the liquid manure; from what he had seen he believed that half the manure in Shropshire ran into the ditches."

We are satisfied, however, that the compound will justify the comparison we have made when put in competition with the best cake. Sir Thomas Winington, the President, also "hoped to see the hints and suggestions of Mr. Warnes fully carried out at no distant day." Mr. Foley subsequently referred to an absurd rule of the society, which excluded from competition animals fed on artificial food—a system of feeding which is the very first step to improved husbandry:

"We are now assembled at our fifth anniversary meeting. The premiums offered are more, and the competition less than on any former occasion. The disposition to keep breeding flocks does not seem to have increased; and by a recent regulation all sheep fed on oil-cake, corn, and other artificial food are excluded from obtaining prizes at your show. You complain that your seeds fail; but if instead of subsoil ploughing them after harvest with pigs, you would preserve them till May, and then feed them with sheep penned, and give in addition this food that you object to, I think you would not find that to be the case."

Such a rule is literally a premium on low farming. Afterwards, Mr. Baldwin, in returning thanks, showed that the obstacle to flax-growing consisted in the re-

strictive rules of the landlords, the self-styled protectors of agriculture. He said :

"He had been connected with farming all his lifetime; and the more he studied the subject, the more thoroughly convinced was he that agriculture had been neglected. It presented a wide field for improvement, far more so than any branch of trade; and having himself recently taken a farm, he had determined to carry out improvements to their fullest extent. He remarked on the curious circumstances connected with the terms on which he had taken his farm, as bearing upon the discussion of that night, respecting the growth of flax; observing that for every acre of flax he grew, it was agreed that he should forfeit 20*l.*; but I am quite sure that if my landlord had heard the speech of our friend Mr. Warnes to night, he would give me 10*l.* for every acre I grew. (Laughter.)"

Now these objections to flax-growing, to breaking up pastures, to removing trees and hedge-rows, are landlord's "prejudices," to which they adhere with the most blind tenacity. And yet, after such a practical illustration of the truth of our imputations against the landowners, we find Mr. Thomas Whitmore giving utterance to the following silliness :

"I am glad to find that the attempt to set landlord against tenant, and tenant against labourer, has failed. The agriculturists have more good sense than to regard the nonsense of the Anti-Corn Law League, or their still more silly letters."

We are quite content to abide by the award of the agriculturists whether the "nonsense" is ours, or Squire Thos. Whitmore's.

ECONOMY OF CATTLE-FOOD.

The following statement of a mode of using inferior hay was made by Mr. E. Buller, M.P., at the Newcastle-under-Lyne Dinner :

"He had lately been informed how to make damaged hay available; and he had practised the experiment with complete success. The plan was to cut all the hay and straw together; then form a gruel of offal grain and linseed cake; steep the grain and cake for 48 hours; mix it hot, press it down, and leave it for 48 hours. The cattle eat it eagerly, and thrive on it. The process softens all the hard fibre, and makes the hay nearly as serviceable as if it had been gathered in good condition. The whole machinery required might be had for 19*l.*; one horse, employed for two evenings in a week, would cut hay and straw for all the horses on the farm, and be the means of saving three times the actual cost."

Now the linseed compound, made as described in another column, is a cheaper, more expeditious, and far more effective mode of using damaged hay. In this wet season such hints are most useful to the farmer.

AGRICULTURAL CORRESPONDENCE.

"A FARMER FROM THE WABASH VALLEY," resident in London for a few weeks, says :

"I am a grower of wheat; and I should be glad to deliver on the banks of the Ohio River, a high road to the sea, wheat for 3*s.* per bushel of 60 lbs. Before I left home, I sold it for the miserable pittance of 56*c.*, or about 2*s.* per bushel of 60 lbs. Was I reasonably certain of obtaining 3*s.* per bushel, or its equivalent in manufactures such as I or those I employ stand in need of, instead of putting in 20 acres of wheat for next year, I could put in 200; and I speak the sentiments of thousands. But if the interests of the English farmer deny to the working millions the luxury of cheap wheat, or if his interest is likely to suffer from the competition of wheat grown 5000 miles distant, which is improbable, the same objection cannot be urged against maize or Indian corn, which agriculturists say cannot be successfully grown in this country. That could be supplied at a very low rate from the Western States, Government interference excepted. The farmer would be well paid to deliver it on the banks of navigable rivers, at from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 3*d.* per bush. of 56 lbs. Was such facility given to the west, we should not hear of repudiated bonds."

The following account of an experiment with guano will be useful to our farming readers :

"To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

"Sir,—Having heard various opinions as to the most proper time for the application of guano to wheat, I determined last autumn to make the subjoined experiment; and although the corn grown in the fields in which they were tried cannot be thrashed soon enough to ascertain the respective yields, yet I think it desirable to communicate thus early the judgment I have formed, in order that it may find a place in your columns before the season for sowing wheat shall have passed away. I selected three fields contiguous to each other, the soils of which are pretty much alike, and condition nearly equal.

"1844. Nov. 5th and 6th.—Drilled the first field with wheat, and sowed 1½ cwt. of guano per acre, harrowing it in with the seed; and on the 26th March, sowed 1½ cwt. more of guano per acre, rolling and bush harrowing immediately afterwards.

"Nov. 18th and 19th.—Drilled the second field with wheat, and sowed 3 cwt. of guano per acre, harrowing it in with the seed. The field was rolled in the spring, but nothing further done.

"Nov. 23th and 26th.—Drilled the third field with wheat, but without guano or any other manure. Swede turnips have been pulled and carted off. On the 1st of April, 1½ cwt. of guano per acre was applied; and on the 21st of April, 1½ cwt. per acre more.

"Two bushels of seed of the same sort of wheat were sown per acre, and the two first fields were clover leys once ploughed. The crop of the field sown on November 18th and 19th, in which the 3 cwt. of guano per acre was sowed at seed time, is so decidedly superior to the crops of both the other fields, that I shall adopt that course in future. I freely admit this to be contrary to my present impression and practice, which has been to put on half the manure at seed time, and the remaining half as a top-dressing in the spring.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

"S. H. WILLIAMS, Col., &c.

"Catsfield House, Battle, 13th Oct., 1845."

REVIEW.

On the Value of the Potato. By a Munster Farmer. Unpublished.

The subject to which this little pamphlet refers is one of painful and increasing importance. The view taken of it by the author is too confined and local to have any general interest, but we avail ourselves of the opportunity to say a few words on the present aspect of a crop, which is declared on high authority to furnish the chief means of subsistence to rejoicing millions of our countrymen. Most persons have heard the legendary history which describes the introduction of the cultivation of the potato into Europe. It is said that Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom large grants of forfeited estates had been made in the south of Ireland, brought from South America the seeds of several new esculents, which he planted in his garden at Myrtle Grove; a seat which had been originally the residence of the Master of the College, established in Youghal soon after the Anglo-Norman Conquest. There is abundant evidence to prove that Raleigh valued the lands which he obtained on the banks of the Blackwater, and particularly those near the town of Youghal, more than any of the other estates he received. Youghal harbour, possessing a safe and good anchorage, easily accessible from the Atlantic, and scarcely known by name to the nations of Europe, afforded a safe depot for the plunder which the Buccaneers obtained from the Spaniards; and there is no doubt now that Raleigh's connection with the Buccaneers was continued long after he had entered the service of Elizabeth.

Nothing is more remarkable in the history of the English Buccaneers, many of whom were young men of good family, than the care which they took to destroy every scrap of paper or memorandum which could preserve the history of their proceedings. Sir Walter Scott describes Philip of Morham, in the poem of Rokeby, as a desperate pirate in his early days, and a most rigid puritan in later years. Tradition narrates the same change in many of Raleigh's associates, who settled under his patronage on the banks of the Blackwater; they were most of them young adventurers from Devonshire and the vicinity of Bristol; and the shortness and comparative safety of the voyage from Youghal to Bristol was probably a strong recommendation of Raleigh's settlement. The ferocious practices ascribed to the Buccaneers in the American seas were not abandoned when they made Youghal their European depot; the legends of the peasantry point out several spots on the sea-coast where Spaniards were murdered and burned to prevent their telling tales of cruelty and robbery, or where a negro was slaughtered that his grisly ghost might defend a hidden treasure.

It is said that when the potatoes first grew to maturity, the original cultivator tried to use the seed-apple; but that finding this to afford no nutriment, he ordered the roots to be dug up and thrown away. When this was done, the true potatoes were discovered; and from thenceforth they began to be regularly cultivated.

From the time of Elizabeth to the close of the war of the Revolution, the valley of the Blackwater was the scene of obscure and petty warfare between the English settlers, brought over by Raleigh and the first Earl of Cork, and the native Irish. One result of these barbarous hostilities was the frequent burning of the uncut harvest; and the great advantage derived from the culture of the potato was that the crop could not be fired. The progress of the cultivation, however, was very slow and imperceptible; it may surprise many to learn that the esculent was long viewed with dislike by the native Irish, and that the use of it was deemed characteristic of the English settler. In the Cromwellian wars, the cultivation of the potato appears to have rapidly increased; it was found that the crop was not only safe from the danger of flame, but that its difficulty of transport saved it frequently from military requisitions, and that it derived further protection from the ease and safety with which it would be preserved in pits. Indeed, pits dug in the earth are to this day the ordinary potato stores of the Irish peasantry.

The revolution by which the food of an entire population was changed must have been slow and gradual; potatoes had not become the staple esculents in the early part of the last century, for they are scarcely noticed by the satirical author of "Gillo's Feast." It was not until the operation of the penal laws began to substitute a cottier tenantry for a middle class of farmers, that potatoes, which admit of slovenly and careless cultivation, were substituted for corn, which requires the application of some skill and capital to yield a remunerative return. It was because the potato could be raised, though imperfectly, under the worst possible management, that it was denominated by the Royal Agricultural Society of Ireland, "the Upas tree of Irish agriculture."

Some check to this evil might have been afforded, if care had been taken to cultivate only those kinds

of potatoes which yield the largest proportions of farinaceous matter; but it soon appeared that such varieties could only be retained in their perfection by a skilful and careful system of culture, and that the quality of the yield, rather than its quantity, should engage the attention of the farmer. Cottiers without either skill or capital, however, looked only to the yield; they wished to have great numbers of potatoes, and did not pay sufficient attention to the nutritious qualities of each. The Munster farmer mentions several varieties of the potato which some years ago bore a high character, but which from careless cultivation have now so far degenerated as to be fit only for food for cattle.

Of the present crop in the south of Ireland, the Munster farmer speaks rather despondingly; we regret to find that his gloomy anticipations seem too likely to be verified; at a meeting of the Fermoy Board of Guardians last week, Mr. Stephen Barry, an eminent practical agriculturist, said :

"That he came to call upon the Board to take some practical steps to prepare, as far as in them lay, to meet the awful calamity with which the country was threatened. He said he had examined closely all the fields along the road from Rathcoormac to Riverstown the day before, and he found only one free from disease. In one place, where several men were digging out the general crop, they told him they had nearly escaped the visitation, as only a very few of the potatoes were injured. But on examining those put by as sound, he was sorry to say that at least 20 per cent. of them had the most unmistakable symptoms of the rot, which he pointed out, to the utter horror of the poor owners. They were, also, he said, putting them into pits, much too deep and over large in every way, and putting but very little earth with them. He then went on to call upon the Board:—First to send urgent circulars to the Rural Guardians, praying them to make minute examinations of every field within their reach, and to report the result at the next Board day, when by comparing notes they would be able to estimate the damage done in an area of 200,000 acres, and a condensed report may be drawn up and published. Secondly:—To write to every Roman Catholic clergyman in the Union, respectfully requesting them to recommend to their flocks on Sunday next, the immediate digging out of the potatoes, and the greatest possible attention in picking them, to separate the still sound roots from the unsound. Those as yet free from the disease to be placed in small heaps on the crown of the ridge, after being dug, and not in the furrows as is usually done; but slightly covered, and a large quantity of earth thrown in with them, so as to keep them from contact with each other as much as possible. But a still better plan has been suggested to me by a practical farmer of great intelligence, namely, to leave all the healthy potatoes, on the crown of the ridge, as they are dug out, trenching them up with a slight covering of earth, by which all risk of contact and fermentation would be avoided. With regard to the unsound roots, to beg that the people may be strongly urged to make them at once into starch, which would be found to make a good and wholesome bread mixed with flour or meal."

The accounts from other parts of Munster are equally alarming, and it is generally believed that much which had been stored as sound, will be found on trial to have been diseased.

We have referred to this subject principally to show a result of the Corn Laws, to which sufficient attention has not been paid. The increased use of potatoes in England has arisen entirely from the high price of corn. Since 1815 there has been a growing and grievous revolution taking place in the staple food of the working classes, and it is therefore of importance that we should study with attention the economic qualities of the landlords' substitute for bread. And first, we have to remark, that since Ireland has become dependent upon the potato, the country has been subject to visitations of famine and disease, occurring at irregular periods, but arriving so sudden and so unexpected, that there is no opportunity for the exercise of caution or foresight. The very quality which recommended the potato in the time of civil war—the crop being concealed beneath the surface—prevents any knowledge of its condition until it is dug up to be stored. The difficulty of transport which saved it from being carried away by Cromwell's soldiers, equally prevents its being brought to supply a sudden deficiency. Its perishable nature prevents it from being stored; and its liability to degenerate, even under the most favourable circumstances, renders its cultivation hazardous.

The Munster Farmer proposes that experiments should be made to obtain new varieties from seed, to ascertain the nutritious qualities of each variety, and the kind of culture best suited to the most nutritious kinds. Long before his remedies could be applied, famine might spread through the length and breadth of the land. The extent of the danger is not yet ascertained; but if it is as great as the most intelligent believe, those who have exposed us to the peril have incurred a fearful responsibility.

Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave. Written by himself. Dublin, Webb and Chapman.

This book is a curiosity, however we view it. It comes to us certified by highly respectable persons on this and the other side of the Atlantic as the authentic production of one who has witnessed and experienced the bitter fruits of slavery. To understand and appreciate the Narrative, it is necessary to lay aside the office of critic and realise the condition of the author, whose whole mind seems to be filled with the subject of slavery and its victims, whether slaves, overseers, or slave

holders. Only in this way can the writer be forgiven his occasionally elaborate portraits of individuals having nothing about them worthy of notice, save their almost incredible brutality. But even as a literary production, this book possesses no ordinary claims. The author, though uneducated, or rather self-educated, displays great natural powers: he utters his thoughts always lucidly, and often with a polished and vigorous eloquence. Indeed, the book convinces us, and must convince any impartial reader, that the argument, if it can be so termed, which would uphold slavery on the ground of the slaves' natural inferiority, has no foundation as regards such men as the writer, and therefore totally fails in its general application.

Where there is so much to interest the reader and excite the philanthropist—now with pain at human suffering from inhuman oppression, and now with hopefulness that that suffering, and the causes of it, promise soon to be brought to a termination, we can only afford space for a striking extract, in which the author exhibits his style and power as a writer, while accounting for and refuting the proslavery assertion of the contentedness of the poor African under his bondage:

"The slaves selected to go to the Great House Farm, for the monthly allowance for themselves and their fellow-slaves, were peculiarly enthusiastic. While on their way, they would make the dense old woods, for miles around, reverberate with their wild songs, revealing at once the highest joy and the deepest sadness. They would compose and sing as they went along, consulting neither time nor tune. The thought that came up came out—if not in the word, in the sound—and as frequently in the one as in the other. They would sometimes sing the most pathetic sentiment in the most rapturous tone, and the most rapturous sentiment in the most pathetic tone. Into all of their songs they would manage to weave something of the Great House Farm. Especially would they do this, when leaving home. They would then sing most exultingly the following words:

'I am going away to the Great House Farm!
O, yea! O, yea! O!'

This they would sing, as a chorus, to words which to many would seem unmeaning jargon; but which, nevertheless, were full of meaning to themselves. I have sometimes thought that the mere hearing of those songs would do more to impress some minds with the horrible character of slavery than the reading of whole volumes of philosophy on the subject could do.

"I did not, when a slave, understand the deep meaning of those rude and apparently incoherent songs. I was myself within the circle; so that I neither saw nor heard as those without might see and hear. They told a tale of woe which was then altogether beyond my feeble comprehension; they were tones loud, long, and deep; they breathed the prayer and complaint of souls boiling over with the bitterest anguish. Every tone was a testimony against slavery, and a prayer to God for deliverance from chains. The hearing of those wild notes always depressed my spirits, and filled me with ineffable sadness. I have frequently found myself in tears while hearing them. The mere recurrence to those songs, even now, afflicts me; and while I am writing these lines, an expression of feeling has already found its way down my cheek. To those songs I trace my first glimmering conceptions of the dehumanising character of slavery. I can never get rid of that conception. Those songs still follow me, to deepen my hatred of slavery, and quicken my sympathies for my brethren in bonds. If any one wishes to be impressed with the soul-killing effects of slavery, let him go to Colonel Lloyd's plantation, and, on allowance-day, place himself in the deep pine woods, and there let him, in silence, analyse the sounds that shall pass through the chambers of his soul;—and if he is not thus impressed, it will only be because 'there is no flesh in his obdurate heart.'

"I have often been utterly astonished, since I came to the north, to find persons who could speak of the singing among slaves, as evidence of their contentment and happiness. It is impossible to conceive of a greater mistake. Slaves sing most when they are most unhappy. The songs of the slave represent the sorrows of his heart; and he is relieved by them, only as an aching heart is relieved by its tears. At least, such is my experience. I have often sung to drown my sorrow; but seldom to express my happiness. Crying for joy, and singing for joy, were alike uncommon to me while in the jaws of slavery. The singing of a man cast away upon a desolate island might be as appropriately considered as evidence of contentment and happiness, as the singing of a slave; the songs of the one and of the other are prompted by the same emotion."

THE MANCHESTER ATHENÆUM SOIRÉE.—In addition to the distinguished persons who have already accepted the invitation to the *soirée* on the 23d instant, Mark Lemon, Esq. (the editor of *Punch*), and Gilbert à Beckett, Esq., one of its most distinguished contributors, have expressed their intention to be present. With these gentlemen, Douglas Jerrold, and Charles Dickens, the *soirée* bids fair to be a glorious "Night with *Punch*."—*Manchester Guardian*. We have looked over the list of the guests as advertised, and observe, much to the credit of the Manchester people, that the foremost names are those of the men of genius who have been invited.—C. Dickens, Esq., D. Jerrold, Mark Lemon, Gilbert à Beckett, Charles Knight, Samuel Lover, and then come the Members of Parliament for the borough, some of their distinguished townsmen and neighbours, such as Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Brotherton. The municipal authorities are also to be present; but with the exception of Sir B. Heywood, who is one of the society itself, we do not observe a single titled guest. The Lancashire gentlemen have in general been reproached with entertaining too profound a respect for the aristocracy, and we may therefore look on the meetings of the Manchester Athenæum as proofs that they are reforming themselves. Last year, if we recollect correctly, Mr. D'Israeli was their chief guest at the Athenæum. They have, therefore, come to the right conclusion, that talents and genius ennobles whatever they mingle with, and can receive no additional dignity from mere conventional and political titles.—*Chronicle*.

The existing House of Commons may continue in being till the autumn of 1847, and from actual appearance there is no reason to conclude that it will be dissolved much before that time.—*Globe*.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"E. D., York-shire," is informed that the League has no connection with the Building Society he refers to; but it is understood to be a very promising institution, and under good management.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, *Saturday Morning, October 18, 1845.*

In other parts of our paper will be found accounts of the prospects of the harvest far less gratifying than those which were rife a few weeks ago; and these have produced in most of our markets feelings, if not of positive alarm, at least of uneasiness and uncertainty. The Bank of England has raised its rate of discounts as a measure of prudent precaution, and the consequence has been a marked depression in the fund and share-markets; but the full effect of this advance cannot be known until we learn the results of this intelligence in the country. A few wet days have thus excited apprehensions which, in a commercial country like ours, must exercise a depressing influence on every branch of business. We, however, meet with few who misunderstand, or even affect to misunderstand, the cause of the evil. Commerce is the remedy provided by Providence for those fluctuations in the production of the fruits of the earth which arise from the vicissitudes of the seasons; restrictions on commerce not only deprive us of the remedy, but greatly aggravate the evils of the fluctuations. Had the trade in corn been free during the last two years, our stores would have been filled with surplus produce, ready to come into the market whenever deficiency of supply offered a remunerative price; but, under the sliding-scale, the exercise of such prudential foresight is rendered too hazardous to be attempted. Should our supplies for the coming year be inadequate, as there is too much reason to fear, we shall have to rush suddenly into unprepared markets to obtain food at any price or any hazard.

The intelligence we have received from Belgium, by newspapers and private letters, is far from being calculated to soothe our feelings of alarm. The pressure of distress is beginning to be felt in Old Flanders and Brabant. Farmers whose crops have failed murmur against demands for rent; and it has been found necessary to take measures for protecting the vegetables in the fields from the depredations of the distressed. The Belgians, however, have had one great advantage: their potato-crop being earlier by about six weeks than that of Ireland, the extent of the evil was ascertained in sufficient time to enable the Belgian Government to adopt the wise measure of suspending the Corn Laws, and throwing open their ports before there was a rush of other competitors into the provision-markets of the world. We have given the latest intelligence of the state of the potato-crops in Ireland. We find from the semi-official organ of the Cabinet, that the Ministry is not insensible to the danger; but when we seek what are the remedies proposed, we find ourselves perplexed by the following oracular sentences:

"The effect of a considerable failure in the Irish potato crop, such as has been described, cannot be painted in colours too dreadful. Potatoes, as we have said, constitute the sole food of millions, and there is no coarser kind of food upon which to descend, even in the last necessity. Add, that even of potatoes, the usual supply of each Irish peasant is miserably scanty—they live habitually in scarcity, in what elsewhere would be thought famine; any deterioration, therefore, must be DEATH in its most cruel form—mark, the death—by want, of millions of our fellow creatures, men, helpless women, and innocent children, our fellow subjects and our fellow Christians.

"This is a frightful picture, but it is neither manly nor wise to hesitate either to present or to contemplate it. The people must not be, and with the blessing of the Almighty, shall not be permitted to perish—and the sooner and the more universally the threatened danger is considered, the easier and more effectual will be the means of guarding against it.

"The Government is happily administered by a statesman the most careful and vigilant that ever directed the affairs of the country, and nevertheless, the most bold and energetic that England has seen in office since the days of Clatham. Of a minister too, whose attention has lately been rivetted on

Irish affairs, with affectionate anxiety. Whatever a Government can do will be done; of this we may be well assured, for Sir Robert Peel is by far too wise a man to apply pedantically the general rule to a case so rare—so singular as to be absolutely *sui generis*."

Now what is the meaning of the emphatic *shall*? The only remedy for a deficient supply at home is the importation of food from abroad; and this is of course impossible so long as a duty of 18s. per quarter exists, as if specially enacted to ensure the certainty of famine. If the paragraph has any meaning, it must point to the immediate adoption of the course that has been pursued in Belgium and Holland—the immediate opening of the ports. An attempt to purchase up corn at home from our present limited stock would both accelerate and aggravate the crisis; prices would at once rise to such a height as to place provisions out of the reach of the poor, and famine would spread through the length and breadth of the land before the operations of the sliding scale would allow of any effectual relief by facilitating imports. A few days must solve the nature and extent of the danger, and these few days will be fraught with momentous consequences to the reputation of the minister—and, what is of far more importance, to the prosperity of the country.

WIGAN ELECTION.

The Free Trader has been defeated at the election for Wigan. However grieved we may be at such a result, we are not surprised or disappointed. If our readers will refer to the 57th Number of this Journal, containing an account of the Great Free Trade Meeting in Manchester, at which the chairman of the League made an official report on the registration of last year, it will be seen that no claim was made for gain or progress in Wigan, which was thus an exception to most of the manufacturing boroughs. The fact is, that there are from 50 to 100 electors in Wigan who regularly trade in their votes, who are as corrupt as any mercenaries in the country, and have generally sold themselves at as high a price. At one of the former contests, a butcher held off until five minutes before four o'clock, and then got 60% for his vote; he subsequently boasted that his own carcass was the most profitable ever sold in his shop. It is in boroughs of this kind that the monopolists generally triumph over Free Traders; but in the case of a growing manufacturing town like Wigan, we may reasonably hope that in time the increase of respectable voters will overgrow and neutralise the corrupt portion of the constituency.

The nomination of candidates for this borough took place on Wednesday morning, at the Moat Hall, at 11 o'clock. Thos. Eckersley, Esq., Mayor of the borough, presided. Mr. Joseph Acton, proposed R. A. Thicknesse, Esq., as a fit and proper person to represent them in Parliament. Rice Bevan, Esq., seconded the nomination. John Thompson, an extensive ironfounder, came forward and proposed Mr. Lindsay. John Lad, Esq., late Mayor, seconded the nomination. Mr. Thicknesse and Captain Lindsay then addressed the electors.

The Mayor then took a show of hands, when a majority appeared in favour of Mr. Lindsay.

Mr. Acton demanded a poll on behalf of Mr. Thicknesse, which commenced on Thursday morning at eight o'clock.

The polling commenced at eight o'clock on Thursday morning, and terminated in the return of Captain Lindsay; the numbers being—

For Lindsay	273
Thicknesse	211
Majority	62

WINDSOR ELECTION.—Sir John de Beauvoir has retired from the contest for this borough, leaving the battle to be fought by Colonel Reid and Mr. Walter.

FARM LABOURERS.—This useful class of men are now much sought for in Glamorganshire, in consequence of so many of them leaving the farmers for the ironworks at Merthyr, Tredegar, Nantyglo, &c., where they have high wages and constant employment. Many men have lately arrived at Aberthaw and Cardiff from Minehead. If this had not been the case the harvest could not have been finished by November or December. The wages have been 16s. to 18s. per week, which is about double what they could get in Somerset. To show how scarce ploughmen are, a Welsh newspaper contained an advertisement for three of this useful class—the same application appeared several weeks. This would not have been the case in Wilts or Dorset.

FAILURE OF THE SALTPETRE EXPEDITION TO POSSESSION ISLAND.—We have been favoured with the perusal of a letter from Possession Island (coast of Africa), dated 2nd July, 1845, by which it appears that the expectations of parties who hoped to find an extensive deposit of saltpetre in that quarter have been entirely defeated, as there is none to be obtained on the whole coast. We are sorry it has turned out thus, as three or four vessels which sailed from this port are amongst the disappointed.—*Mail Advertiser*.

EPITOME OF NEWS.

FOREIGN.

FRANCE.—The Paris papers of Tuesday do not contradict the rumour that a corps of 200 French soldiers had been compelled to surrender to the troops of Abdel Kader. The preparations for largely reinforcing the army of Algeria were rapidly progressing, and according to the *Semaphore de Marseille*, a French naval squadron, under the command of the Prince de Joinville, is forthwith to be despatched to Mogador. It is, however, pretty confidently believed that the King will not allow his sons to take part in the new operations, the more especially as a naval expedition would seem to be wholly uncalled for.—Two letters of the late Prince Talleyrand—the first to (it would seem) the Archbishop of Paris, the second to the Pope—announcing the Prince's orthodoxy as a son of the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church, and written shortly before his death, are given by the French journals. *The Ami de la Religion*, in which they first appeared, pledges itself for their authenticity.—*The Conservateur de la Dordogne* had published a letter from Marshal Bugeaud to the Prefect, complaining of his (the Marshal's) treatment by the French Government. Notwithstanding, it was generally believed that he would still be employed against the Moors as commander of the expedition now preparing.—The Paris *Moniteur* of Wednesday, contains a report from General de Lamoriciere, dated O'ran, the 1st. inst., confirming the news of the surrender of 200 French soldiers to the Arabs.

SPAIN.—The Madrid *Gazette* of the 7th inst. publishes a royal decree reducing to 10 per cent. *ad valorem* the import duty on potash. Messrs. Lopez, Madoz, Cortina, and others prosecuted for participation in the revolt of Alicante, had been honourably acquitted. The Conservative and Liberal parties were both actively preparing for the municipal elections, which were to commence at Madrid on the 15th. The latter were certain of success.—It would appear that in Valentia the task of collecting the contributions is not very easy. The intendant of the province has been obliged to send out no less than 300 commissioners for that purpose. The latest accounts state that one of those commissioners had been killed in a small town, not far from the capital, in the execution of his duty.—*The Emancipation*, published at Toulouse, alleges on what it asserts to be authority, that the Young Queen of Spain is already married, and married to the eldest son of Don Carlos. The Madrid correspondent of the *Post* also states that this intelligence is perfectly authentic.

THE WAR IN THE CAUCASUS.—The *Augsburg Gazette* states, that Russia lost during the campaign of this year in the Caucasus 3 general officers, 6 colonels and lieutenant-colonels, 20 staff officers, 200 officers of various grades, and from 10,000 to 12,000 soldiers. The army, says that journal, is at present in a very deplorable state; famine and sickness have carried off vast numbers of men. The operations of this year have wholly failed. It was found necessary to abandon all the posts which had been gained with such great sacrifices, and in no part has a garrison been left.

THE RIVER PLATE.—Accounts which reached Liverpool on Friday week, reported from Buenos Ayres the rejection, by General Rosas, of the Ultimatum, of the allied powers, and the consequent seizure of the Argentine fleet by the French and English squadrons, while the ministers of these powers had adopted immediate steps to drive from the Banda Oriental the troops under Oribe.

UNITED STATES.—The British and North American Royal mail steam-ship *Britannia*, Captain Hewitt, arrived on Tuesday, in the Mersey with the usual mails from Canada and the United States. The advices are of the usual meagre and unsatisfactory character. The question of war had been universally decided in the negative. It was rumoured that official relations would shortly be resumed with Mexico.

The *New York Sun* reports a successful insurrection in Yucatan against Mexico. It says:—On the 9th of last month the Yucatanese under Gen. Barneo took possession of a Mexican schooner of war, and having placed on board of her all the Mexican functionaries and soldiers in that state, ordered her captain to sail with them for Vera Cruz, whence she departed immediately. She had been despatched by the Mexicans to levy men and money for the Texian war, but the people of Yucatan had suffered too much already from the oppressive tyranny of the central government; an immediate separation was resolved upon and carried out in the manner stated, without shedding a drop of blood. The state government was at once changed to a national one, retaining all the republican principles which have distinguished the citizens of that state.

Another outbreak amongst the Mormons had taken place. A letter in the *St. Louis Republican* from the editor of that paper, dated at Warsaw, Sept. 17, represents the state of things among the Mormons, or rather among the bands of lawless men who had assumed the title of Anti-Mormons, as most deplorable. They were carrying fire and faggot into the Mormon settlements in all directions, and did not confine themselves to the Mormons only, but laid waste the dwellings of all those suspected of favouring those fanatics. Down to the night of Sunday, the 14th, it is stated that 60 houses had been burnt down in Adams and Hancock counties. The Anti-Mormons had entered into an extended combination, and announced their determination not to stop short of the expulsion of every Mormon from Hancock county, in which is Nauvoo; and it was apprehended that a conflict would result between the two parties.

DOMESTIC.

The directors of the Bank of England, at a Court held on Thursday, resolved to raise the rate of discount on bills and notes to 3l. per cent., such bills and notes not having more than 95 days to run.

The Rev. Mr. Newman, with several others of the party denominated Puseyite, have openly seceded to the church of Rome.

An immense quantity of the magnificent slate from the quarries on the estate of the Knight of Kerry, Valentia Island, has been ordered for the new Houses of Parliament. It has been also ordered in large quantities for public buildings in France and other parts of the Continent. So beautifully veined and variegated is it, and so susceptible of a high polish, that it is capable of being wrought into elegant tables and other domestic articles. It is only a few years since this marble quarry was discovered.—*Limerick Reporter*.

Above a million of bricks, it is said, have recently been sent to Ceylon, as ballast, for the erection of a coffee-mill there. The price in the metropolis is rising. A few weeks ago, a brickmaker, in the Isle of Man, worked, for a wager, 611 bricks in eleven hours, being at the rate of 94 per minute.—*The Builder*.

Mr. Alfred Tennyson, the author of "Locksley Hall," the "May Queen," and some other beautiful poems, which stamp

him one of the first poets of the age, has just received a pension of £200 per annum from her Majesty. Sir R. Peel did the thing very delicately through Mr. Hallam, the historian.—*Cambridge Independent*.

The representatives of some Manchester manufacturers have, it is said, in many instances received instructions, when accounts over-due are not paid by their customers, to inquire whether the debtor is a holder of shares in projected lines of railway; and if so, further instructions are given, that the account must be closed. This course, it is urged, is rendered necessary by the fact that in many instances the payment of the wholesale tradesmen's accounts is postponed in order to enable the shopkeeper to meet his railway calls. This, in fact, is nothing less than speculating with the creditor's capital.—*Times*.

A detachment of sappers and miners arrived at Hayle last week, and proceeded to the parish of Zennor, where they have been engaged in repairing a battery, and report states that guns of heavy calibre are shortly to be mounted there. We have been informed that other places along the coast are to be visited by this party of sappers and miners, and that Castle Dennis is to be a signal station.—*Penzance Gazette*.

Mr. Charles Miller, of Great Wakering, Essex, writes to the *Essex Herald* to the effect that a comet is now visible to the naked eye, in the constellation Cancer, and that the best time for seeing it is from two to four in the morning; at the former hour it will be found due east, about 30 degrees above the horizon, and about 11 degrees to the left of and a little below the bright star Pollux in Gemini.

THE YELLOW FEVER AT STANDGATE CREEK.—No new case has been reported on board any of the hulks to which the crew of the *Eclair* steam-sloop has been removed. Mr. Coffey, the assistant surgeon, late of the Growler, is slowly gaining strength; and Mr. Rogers, assistant of the Ocean, who was attacked, is also recovering. A fever has broken out on board the Growler, and two sailors, whom it attacked, have died of it.

A painful excitement has for the last few days prevailed in Elstree, near Edgware, from the rumour that Lieut. Col. Edward James Metcalf, of the Horse Artillery, had been killed in a duel by a brother officer, that the body had been removed to his residence in the dead of the night, and that it was the intention of his friends to conceal the affair from the public, and bury the corpse without an investigation of the circumstances leading to his death. On investigation before a coroner's jury, satisfactory evidence was given to show that the deceased came by his death accidentally, while endeavouring, as was supposed, to draw out a ramrod with his teeth from a loaded pistol, which exploded and discharged its contents into his head.

A distressing accident occurred at Sunderland on Wednesday, by which four lives were lost. The pupils, 38 in number, of Dr. Cowan, of the Grange Academy, having proceeded to the sea side for the purpose of bathing, two of them while in the water were swept away by a heavy ground swell. Their situation being observed by a youth named Baird and a tutor, Mr. Special, these attempted to go to their rescue, but unhappily, from the same cause, were also swept away, and the whole four perished. Two of the youths were sons of Sir David Baird, who lives near Dundee.

The *Galway Mercury* states "that the improvements at Lough Corrib have been greatly advanced, and that next summer they shall have the entire work finished, and the waters of that splendid lake made available for the purposes of commerce. It is an inland sea, which now runs almost waste, but must shortly become useful and profitable to the community."

The Repeal Association met, as usual, on Monday last at the Conciliation Hall, Dublin. The attendance was meagre. The proceedings possessed no general interest. The rent for the week was announced to be 21s. 11d.

The take of herrings all along the west coast of Ireland is so immensely abundant, that the people cannot procure salt in sufficient quantity to save them. Even the frequented bathing-places are full of them. So that amongst the many sources of food which Providence has so bountifully supplied this season, the people will be provided with a large stock of this delicious fish.

POVERTY.—What is poverty?—Not destitution, but poverty? It has many shapes—aspects almost as various as the minds and circumstances of those whom it visits. To the savage in the wilds it is famine; to the labourer in the cottage it is hardship and privation; to the proud it is disgrace; and to the miser it is despair. It is a spectre—haunting the man who lives at ease with dread of change. Such are its varied aspects; but what is it in reality? It is really a deficiency of the comforts of life—a deficiency present and to come. It involves many other things, but this is what it is. Is it then worth all the apprehension and grief it occasions? Is it an adequate cause for the gloom of the merchant, the discontent of the artisan, the foreboding sighs of the mother, the ghastly dreams that haunt the avaricious, the humiliation of the proud? These are severe sufferings; are they authorised by the nature of poverty? Certainly not, if poverty induced no adventitious evils, involved nothing but a deficiency of the comforts of life, leaving life itself unimpaired. "The life is more than food, and the body more than raiment;" and the untimely extinction of life itself would not be worth the pangs which apprehended poverty excites.—*American paper*.

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. Oct. 11	MON. Oct. 13	TUES. Oct. 14	WED. Oct. 15	THUR. Oct. 16	FRI. Oct. 17
Bank Stock	208	208	207	206½	206½	207
3 per Ct. Red. Ann. ..	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
3 per Ct. Con. Ann. ..	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½	97½
3 per Ct. Red. Ann. ..	100½	100½	99½	99½	99½	99½
Long. An. Ex. 1860 ..	114	114	114	113-16	114	114
Cons. for Acct.	98½	98½	98½	98½	98	97½
Exc. Bills, Jan.	49-52	51-53	51-53	51-53	52	52
Ind. Bds. Am. 10000 ..	67	63	63	63	63	63
India Stock	266	267	267	265	265	265
Austrian	112	112	112	112	112	112
Belgian Bonds	100	100½	99½	99½	99½	99½
Brazilian 5 per Ct.	86½	86½	86	86	86	86
Chilian	17½	18	18	18	18	18
Colomb. ex. Venez.	17½	18	18	18	18	18
Danish	17½	18	18	18	18	18
Dutch 4 per Cent.	60½	60½	60½	60½	60	59½
Dutch 2½ per Cent.	31½	31½	31½	31½	31½	31½
Mexican	37½	37½	37½	37½	37½	37½
Peruvian	61½	61-62	60½	60½	60½	60½
Port. conv.	111½	111½	111½	111½	111½	111½
Russian 5 per Cent.	27	26½	26½	26½	26½	26½
Spanish 5 per Ct.	37½	37½	37½	37½	37½	37½
Do. 3 per Ct. ex. dv.	37½	37½	37½	37½	37½	37½

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MONDAY, OCT. 13.—We have been shortly supplied with English Wheat since last Monday, and to-day the arrivals from Essex and Kent, though rather better than last week, are not more than equal to the demand. The wet weather that prevailed all over the country in the middle of last week has caused higher prices to be asked for all grain. Wheat is 2s. cheaper than Monday for all sorts. Barley comes forward very sparingly, and is again 1s. dearer. The arrival of Oats, both British and Foreign, are very short, and with the prospect of the duty declining 2s. if not more. Bonded Oats are in good demand at 2s. over the prices of Monday last. Free Corn is also 1s. to 2s. dearer; this rather checks sales, but on the whole a considerable amount of business has been transacted. Peas come forward more freely, and are 2s. cheaper. Old Beans maintain very high prices. S. H. LUGG.

		BRITISH.		Per Imperial Quarter.	
Wheat, Essex, Kent, & Suffolk Old	Red 52 to 64	White 60 to 68			
Ditto	New 51 62	56 66			
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Old	49 56	56 64			
Scotch .....	.. ..	.. ..	
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feed					
Ditto	Ditto ..	Polands ..	26 28		
Scotch Feed	23 25	Potato ..	53		
Limerick .....	.. ..	.. ..	25 26		
Ditto .....	.. ..	.. ..	29 31		
Cork .....	.. ..	.. ..	23 24		
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black .....	.. ..	.. ..	24 25		
Sligo .....	.. ..	.. ..	25 26		
Galway .....	.. ..	.. ..	28 30		
Barley .....	.. ..	.. ..	28 30		
Beans, Mazagan .....	.. ..	.. ..	43 45		
Harrow .....	.. ..	.. ..	46		
Small .....	.. ..	.. ..	48		
Peas, White .....	.. ..	Boilers ..	60 61		
Grey .....	.. ..	Maple ..	42 44		
Flour, Town-made	per sack of 280 lbs.	.. ..	48 60		
Norfolk and Suffolk .....	.. ..	.. ..	46 50		

		FOREIGN.		PRICES IN BOND.	
				Per Imperial Quarter.	
Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed	60 to 68.		
Rostock	58 62		
Stettin	57 62		
Hamburg	54 59		
Odesa	48 52		
Odesa Polish	52 58		
Russian	50 59		
Ditto	48 57		
Spanish		
Ditto		
Australian	60 69		
Barley, Grindling	23 27		
Distilling	29 31		
Oats, Archangel	25 26 21 22		
Danish	25 26 21 22		
Swedish	26 27 22 24		
Stralsund	25 26 22 23		
Dutch Feed	27 29 24 25		
Brew	29 30 26 27		
Polands	40 41 39 40		
Beans, Egyptian		
Peas, White		
Ditto Boilers		
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 196 lbs.	34 35		
United States	32 35		
Dantzic		
Australian, per sack of 280 lbs.		

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from Oct. 6 to Oct. 11, 1845, both days inclusive.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas.
English	6768	877	1306	467	2980
Scotch	17	510	5267	..	..
Irish	3557	..	229	458	..
Foreign .....	..	..	..	..	..

		LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending Oct. 14, 1845.	
Wheat	13461	63s. 4d.	Rye 53 37s. 5d.
Barley	484	34s. 4d.	Beans 402 40s. 8d.
Oats	13787	25s. 0d.	Peas 1853 46s. 7d.

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending													
		Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Rye.		Beans. Peas.			
		s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.		
6th Sept.	55	10	31	8	22	10	33	5	42	2	36	9
13th "	54	1	31	0	22	3	33	2	42	10	36	5
20th "	52	6	30	9	21	7	32	8	42	5	37	0
27th "	53	4	30	2	22	2	33	1	42	5	38	9
4th Oct.	56	0	31	1	23	4	33	8	43	1	42	6
11th "	57	9	31	3	23	4	34	2	43	1	44	4

Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks. Wheat, 54s. 11d.; Barley 31s. 0d.; Oats, 22s. 7d.; Rye, 33s. 4d.; Beans, 42s. 8d. Peas, 39s. 3d.

Duty. Wheat, 18s. 0d.; Barley, 7s. 0d.; Oats, 6s. 0d.; Rye, 9s. 6d.; Beans, 1s. 0d.; Peas, 3s. 6d.

Stock of Corn in Bond, Sept. 5, 1845.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.	Flour
In London, 146712	18526	36582	..	15452	2179	39910	
Unit. King. 444408	59727	89114	..	48073	11420	22220	

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, OCT. 10.

BANKRUPTS.

J. ELLIOTT, Beer-lane, Great Tower-street, ship and house-smith. (Mr. Hodgson, Great Tower-street.)
J. FARRAR, Leeds, and J. FARRAR, Halifax, woolstaplers. (Messrs. Jacques and Edwards, Ely-place.)
J. LILLY, Brincliffe, Lodderill, Worcestershire, farmer. (Mr. Hall, New Baswell-court.)
E. GLOVER, Shelton, Staffordshire, publican. (Mr. Griffin, Shelton; and Messrs. Mottram and Knowles, Birmingham.)
W. BROWN and T. PRESTON, jun., cotton-spinners. (Messrs. Humphrys and Co., Chancery-lane.)

TUESDAY, OCT. 14.

BANKRUPTS.

R. J. CHAPMAN, Bedford New-road, Clapham, market-gardener. (Mr. Buchanan, Basinghall-street.)
J. S. WILLIAMS, Lombard-street, master-mariner. (Mr. Keighley, Basinghall-street.)
T. ASHWORTH and M. S. KEYWORTH, Manchester, brewers. (Messrs. Maples and Co., Old Jewry.)
H. G. GIBSON, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, chemist and druggist. (Mr. Plumtree, Temple.)
T. F. SHILLAM, Dudridge, Gloucestershire, wool-broker. (Mr. Brisley, Chispeide.)

THE LEAGUE.

No. 109.—Vol. III.]

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1845.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

We beg to inform our subscribers that bound volumes of the LEAGUE newspaper, containing the whole of the first year's Numbers, may be had on application at the offices, either in London or Manchester.

OBSERVE!

Samples of good Wheat were sold in Mark Lane on Friday at 74s. per quarter.

The duty on Foreign Wheat is 17s. per qr.

The national expenditure for bread is NOW at the rate of 20 millions a-year, or FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND pounds weekly MORE than during the whole of last winter and spring.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

Now that the proceedings of the Revising Barristers' Courts are everywhere drawing to a close, we entreat all Free Traders in the counties, who are not in possession of the vote, to look out at once for qualifications. Those who have already placed their names upon the county lists, must canvass their neighbours to do likewise. There is now no doubt or difficulty about the possibility or the right of securing a county vote, either by single property or joint ownership. Everywhere the revising barristers have decided that the *bonâ fide* purchase of a freehold property, yielding a clear annual income of 40s., entitles the owner to a county vote. Some of the barristers have even declared their opinion that it is a commendable act to purchase property with the view of possessing the franchise. Not only is it praiseworthy to do so: but, in our opinion, it is disgraceful to every man above the rank of an unskilled labourer who does not aim at possessing a 40s. freehold. From what has been already done on a small scale in a few counties, we are satisfied that, by this simple and all but universally accessible avenue to power, the people of this country can secure for themselves the right to make good laws, and thus put down peacefully and constitutionally the undue ascendancy of a particular class. To be entitled to be upon the register next year, the freehold must be possessed before the 31st of January. The sooner the property is looked after, the better will be the chance of reaping a good bar-

gain. We shall not enter into detailed instructions for the purchase of freeholds, but simply recommend our friends to intrust the business to lawyers who are known to be friends to Free Trade.

THE FIXED-DUTY GHOST AGAIN.

The times have been, that "when the brains were out, the man would die, and there an end"—especially after the funeral;—and the death and burial of "fixed-duty," in the course of the summer of 1841, had been, as we imagined, sufficiently authenticated to relieve mankind of all serious apprehension of the creature's re-appearance. Until within these few days past, we had not the least idea—not being in direct communication with the nether world—that the wan and melancholy ghost still walked the earth, and that our services in the capacity of exorcists might again be in requisition to lay this restless spirit. We have no wish, even now, to act the part of alarmists; very likely the thing is all a hoax; still, we feel it our duty, for the sake of such persons as may be troubled with weak nerves, to tell the friends of the deceased (if the deceased have any friends), that the ghost (if it be a ghost, and not a white sheet), would do wisely to retreat to his quarters without more words. It is a *real* world that we are living in, in this year 1845—a world decidedly intolerant of shadows and shams!

We were, last Monday evening, considerably surprised, and very greatly amused—we might have been indignant, but that our sense of the ridiculous preserved our good humour—at reading, in the *Globe*, an announcement to the effect, that "*the time has arrived for substituting a small fixed duty for the fallacious sliding-scale*," and, moreover, that this extraordinary politico-economical creed "*is now believed on every hand*." It is no particular business of ours to inquire what party, or what clique or section of a party, the *Globe* assumes to represent, or how far the assumption is authorised; but we must take leave to express our amazement that any waking man should pen such a piece of nonsense. We certainly must allow the extreme appropriateness of calling in a fiction to speak for a phantom. The imaginary *everybody* is the fittest of all witnesses to certify the vitality of the deceased "fixed duty." Who is the *everybody*, we should like to know, that "believes the time has arrived" for a fixed duty? Can the *Globe* produce anybody who holds this enrious and eccentric belief? Where are the evidences that everybody—or that anybody, out of the *Globe's* columns—wants a fixed duty, or expects a fixed duty, or contemplates a fixed duty as a thing lying within the compass of ordinary moral and political probability? Who petitions for a fixed duty? Who votes for a fixed duty? Who agitates for a fixed duty? How many pounds sterling, or pence sterling, have been subscribed to propagate the belief in and desire for a fixed duty? What meetings have been held to discuss the merits of a fixed duty? Or, is it, after all, only a fashionable "everybody" that believes in fixed duty—the correlative of the unfashionable and vulgar "nobody," that, in this month of October, is the solitary occupant of an empty metropolis? Never, surely, was there a more laughable illustration of the self-exaggeration incident to the spirit of political *cliquism* than the *Globe's* "everybody." The half-dozen or so of people—if there really be so many as half-a-dozen—who "believe that the time has arrived" for a compromise whose time expired rather more than four years ago, are "everybody" to a journalist who knows just so much of the empire as he sees in the club-houses of the West End.

Were there reason for supposing that the *Globe*, in this matter, speaks the deliberate sentiment and purpose of any considerable political party—that

this ridiculous anachronism of a "small fixed duty" for the session of 1846, is actually intended to be gravely proposed for national adoption—we should have much to say on which it were now a mere work of supererogation to insist. We should ask, *What is the small fixed duty for?* For protection? But "*protection is the bane of agriculture*," according to an authority which we believe the *Globe* respects. For revenue? But "*corn is one of the worst articles you can tax*," says the same authority. For the countervailing of "peculiar burdens?" But, again says the same authority, "*it is quite impossible that any such question should be entertained, while we maintain exclusive favours and exclusive protection*." For "breaking the transition" to the farmer? The farmer wants, once for all, to have done with transitions. The farmer wants permanence, stability, something to rest on; and "it is now believed on every hand" that a fixed duty will have no fixity about it. The fixed duty would infallibly get unfixed the very first bad harvest. Such a year as 1816, 1817, or 1818—such a year as 1826, such a year as 1839, 1840, or 1841—a second such year as 1845, would be the death of any fixed duty that any Parliament would deem worth the trouble of legislating for.

It is needless, however, to discuss the scheme of the fixed duty—the fixed injustice, and fixed absurdity—that, after all, is not to be fixed, but contingent and terminable. The phantom is but a phantom. Nobody wants the fixed duty—nobody expects it—nobody asks for it—and nobody will propose it except to be laughed at. Sir Robert Peel, with all his reputed fondness for the contents of his predecessor's wardrobe, is known to have a special aversion for this particular garment. He is much more likely to send for the *Free Trade velvetens* which he discarded some two or three years back, and "apply them," according to the donor's intent and his own first thoughts, "to his own use"—figuring them, perhaps, with the decoration, so akin to his peculiar taste in dress, of a "vanishing scale." His predecessors, we must hope, have by this time outgrown the fixed duty article, and would deem it unfit for their present wear. If not, they may rest assured that the country has outgrown them.

We have only to add, that if there be any political party, or section of a party, in this country, who imagine that the Free Traders will assist them in turning the present Ministerial difficulties and perplexities to a mere party use, and improving the odium that attaches to the "fallacious sliding-scale" into the occasion of a mere party triumph, they are very greatly mistaken. Our war is not with the sliding-scale, in particular, but with monopoly; and fixed duty is monopoly, as much as sliding-scale. We are perfectly ready to accept and acknowledge the volunteered services of journalists who denounce the iniquity, and expose the mischiefs, of the sliding-scale; but we cannot recognise any regular alliance with those who—while adopting the Free Trade arguments as their own, and talking in the Free Trade tone—only seek to substitute one form of monopoly for another. The League is of no party, and is too strong, and too much in earnest, to allow itself to be used by any party. The men who head and lead the League make no pretension to the character of professional politicians; and their seven years' struggle for the popular dissemination of just and sound principles has done nothing to cure their original distaste for an active share in the game of party politics. With their strong, deep, and matured conviction of the paramount importance of the Free Trade principle, both as a social right and as a national policy, they are totally unprepared to listen to any compromise at variance with it. The personal preferences, or the general political sympathies which may attach them individually to one class of public

men rather than to another; even the strong sense which they may entertain of past services, rendered to the Free Trade cause in its earlier stages—cannot operate to divert them from the path which they have chosen, deliberately and on conviction. Until the Free Trade principle shall be realised on the statute book of the empire, and the League expire in its own success, Free Traders can take no note of political distinctions which they deem of secondary and subordinate moment. Of all the present generation of British statesmen—whether occupants of office, or aspirants for office—he who shall first heartily and unreservedly espouse the Free Trade principle, in its simplicity and entirety, is the man who will wield the whole amount of that moral and political force which the League have spent seven laborious years in accumulating.

MINISTERIAL RESPONSIBILITY.

The sliding-scale proposed and made law by Sir Robert Peel in 1842 is only now brought into active operation. The bounty of Providence in three successive harvests suspended the complex and artificial system which had been devised for supplying food to the people, and nature delayed the action of legislation. But the unfavourable season through which we are passing, the diminished yield of corn, the ascertained failure of a large proportion of the potato-crop, the proclamations announcing scarcity issued by the governments of Holland, Belgium, Russia, and Turkey, and the precautions taken by the kingdom of Hanover, and other states in Northern Germany, announce that the sliding-scale is coming into stringent operation, and that the policy of its provisions will be tested by rigid experiment. For the results of this trial, they must be responsible who have taken the supply of food from the natural and ordinary course of trade to subject it to legislative fetters and restrictions. The ministers who proposed and the majorities which sanctioned the scheme took away their proper functions from the traffickers in corn, and incurred the responsibility of supplying food through the agency of their own devices. Should these devices fail,—should a period of scarcity, with all its terrible consequences, ensue—the ministers and their supporters will be accountable for the result to their country and their God.

We doubt not that this responsibility is keenly felt by the Premier; he has never shown any want of sensitiveness to the accountability which his office involves. Perhaps, in one instance, at least, he may have exhibited the feeling too acutely. There can be no doubt that during the late fluctuations of the weather he must have suffered the most terrible anxieties; that ever since July his hopes have been raised by gleams of sunshine, and damped again by showers of rain. Every fluctuation in the barometer has been accompanied by doubt and fear; his fame as a Minister, and his feelings as a man, must have appeared to him dependent on the uncertainties of the most uncertain of climates; and he must have looked forward to the severe and perilous trial which his system of Corn Laws is about to undergo with feelings of uncertainty as to the result the most torturing to the mind of a statesman. His sense of responsibility and his feelings of anxiety must have been aggravated by the consciousness that he had expressly condemned his own system on the ground of principle, and defended its continuance merely on the expediency of circumstances. He was warned that those circumstances were varying and uncertain in their nature; that the most important of them—the ability of the home-growers of corn to meet the demands of the population—was a mere gratuitous assumption contradicted by the experience of the past, and by every calculation of probability for the future. But, like the sailor in a vessel which sails gallantly in fair weather, but is unfitted to bear the brunt of the storm, he enjoyed his voyage with a quiet and contented crew, refusing to believe any warnings that tempests are to be expected. The clouds are gathering round the horizon; half of the States of the Continent have joined in a general declaration of European scar-

city; prices are rapidly rising in England; the labourer already pays twopence more for his loaf than he did six weeks ago; petty grocers and hucksters already begin to complain of declining custom; the cry of distress is heard from Ireland rising above the clamours of party, loud though they be in that distracted country. Confident as he may be in his pilotage, Sir Robert Peel cannot mistake the signs of danger; no one knows better than he does that the vessel of protection is not sea-worthy, and that in no more fragile bark could a statesman have trusted his fame and fortune. Even were we disposed to give him credit for no higher motives, we should believe that Sir Robert Peel has been induced to contemplate a repeal of the Corn Laws by the mental torture he has endured, and the perilous trial he foresees. The time is at hand when he must take upon himself the responsibility of his system, and he must be something more than man if he does not shrink from the issue.

There are few now who do not proclaim that the Corn Laws are a manifest failure; the maintenance of a duty of 18s. per quarter on wheat, at a moment of increasing alarm, which, even if exaggerated, rests on a certainty of deficiency large enough to justify some share of apprehension, is an evil too monstrous to be endured. He would be a bolder minister than we take Sir Robert Peel to be, who would face Parliament in the midst of a famine which he could have averted. There is a very general opinion now that the ports will be thrown open in Britain as they have been in Belgium, Holland, Russia, and Turkey. This opinion, however, is founded more on the desirableness of adopting such a measure of precaution than on any knowledge of such a step being contemplated. Still this opinion is evidence of the direction which the public feeling has taken; it shows that the nation has fixed the responsibility of the Corn Laws on the minister by calling for an act of direct ministerial interference to save us from their perilous and too probable results.

Scarcity brings other evils in its train likely to startle a statesman who has staked his fame on the success of his financial measures; the capital absorbed by the high price of food cripples industry, prevents speculation, and restricts employment. A monetary crisis may aggravate the evils of scarcity and increase the danger of social derangement. Already it is found that share-lists are affected by the reports of the potato-crop; Capel Court has become sensitive to the changes of temperature in Connaught. This is a point on which we have no wish to dilate, but it is one of increasing gravity and importance.

Winter is approaching; the time for efficacious action is limited; those who have taken the responsibility of regulating the supply of food cannot shrink from their stewardship. We wish them a good deliverance in the trial they have sought. No remembrance of warnings bestowed in vain induces us to withdraw our sympathies from those who have undertaken a task disproportioned to human powers. There must be no recriminations among the crew when the first duty is to save the ship. We believe that Sir Robert Peel is alive to the danger, and cognisant of the means of safety; if his courage rises proportioned to the exigence of the circumstances around him, the course is still clear before him; but if he waits to be swept onward by the rising tide of misery, he must answer for his neglect of the helm while the vessel could be kept subject to its guidance.

In the present we must read the future; no measure of mere temporary expediency can, or ought, to satisfy the country; we must not so legislate as to secure periodical returns of alarm; we want to be restored to sound health, not to be exposed to intermittent fever; we have had too much of uncertainty and insecurity. Let us then not temporize with a system which has so often brought us into perils; let us at once and for ever remove the cause of jeopardy; there must be no compromise with injustice, no dalliance with the fragments of impolicy. The change to be effectual must be final, and to be final must be complete. Nothing short of this can

either satisfy or save the nation; and those who dream of mediating between the righteous claims of the many and the sordid demands of the few must be taught that higglers in scarcity and huxterers in distress have no right to expect a hearing; that their mock-auction of terms will find no bidders, and that nothing but a full and perfect measure of justice will either meet the present crisis or prevent its future recurrence. The repeal of the Corn Laws must be total, unconditional, and immediate.

A FEW FACTS FOR THE *STANDARD'S* LEISURE.

That the *Standard* should make much of the monopolist success at Wigan, last week, is what we can quite well understand. Monopoly is just now in the humour to be thankful for small mercies. The replacing of one Ministerial borough member by another, in the last week of a registration which gives South Lancashire, Middlesex, and the West Riding of Yorkshire to the Free Traders—at a time, too, when it begins to look somewhat doubtful whether ministerial members will ever again be asked for a monopolist vote—is a triumph of so very moderate and qualified a description, that it seems positively cruel to say a word to mar the delight of our happy and easily-pleased contemporary.

Nevertheless, it is always kindness, in the long run, to let the whole truth be known just as it is; and we feel that the common debt of benevolence which man owes to man, requires us to take the trouble of disabusing our contemporary of his pleasant hallucination, and endeavouring to reduce his estimate of things to the sober proportions of reality. We must, then, inform him, that this Wigan election, of which he had so much to say on Saturday last, does not quite bear out his sanguine inference as to the declining popularity of the League, and the League's principles. It no more proves the League to be dying in this present year 1845, than his frequently renewed certificates of the League's death and burial prove that the object of his terror departed this life one, two, three, four, or five years ago. The borough of Wigan just maintains its *status quo* in the House of Commons, as it has maintained (*vide* Mr. George Wilson's speech at Manchester, on the 25th of last October) its *status quo* in the registration courts. The League have lost nothing in Wigan—they have only to regret that they have gained nothing. The fact is, good *Standard*, the people of Wigan have not, in their decision of last week, pronounced any opinion, one way or the other, on the merits of Free Trade and the League. Nothing could be further from their thoughts. The Wigan election, like the Sunderland election, did not turn on Free Trade and the League. The Wigan electors have long been in the habit of deciding on the claims of rival candidates on a principle with which Free Trade and the League have nothing to do—namely, the “local interests” principle. The Wigan reading of “local interests” is not quite identical with the Sunderland reading, but the principle is essentially the same. Sunderland votes for docks and railways—Wigan for the humbler and more transient, but perhaps more tangible local advantage of a Irish market, held at septennial intervals, for threadbare coats, cracked crockery, boots that let in water, and canary-birds that won't sing—a description of valuables which, if report speaks truly, have on various occasions realised for their fortunate possessors the most extraordinary prices. Of the five or six hundred electors who compose the Wigan constituency, from fifty to a hundred—a number sufficient to turn the scale of a contest under ordinary circumstances—are thoroughly indoctrinated with the principle that a man's vote is worth exactly what it will fetch in the market between three and four o'clock on polling-day.

As the *Standard* has deemed it expedient, *apropos* of Wigan, to raise the question of the growing or declining popularity of the League and the principles of which the League is the exponent, we may take the opportunity of furnishing our contemporary with a few facts, which may materially help

him in arriving at a correct conclusion. Freely admitting that monopoly is, as a general rule, strong where electoral honesty is weak, and electoral independence unknown—that in little borough constituencies where the agencies of bribery and corruption can be conveniently brought to bear—in county constituencies that recognise the proprietary rights of dukes, earls, and marquises, and whose decision may be anticipated by the Stanley rule of political arithmetic—“calculating the number of the great landed proprietors, and weighing the number of occupiers under them,”—and in constituencies which are, as the phrase goes, “under influence,” monopoly is, very generally, in the ascendant;—we beg to remind the *Standard*, that the large popular constituencies, where the electors really elect, are with us, almost without an exception. It is sufficient to mention the names of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, Sheffield, Wolverhampton, and Stockport, to show on which side the balance of “popularity” inclines. Birmingham and Leeds are accidentally and temporarily divided on our question, and for the present, answer ambiguously; the next election may possibly elicit a more distinct response. Then we have all the Scottish boroughs, Falkirk and Haddington excepted—exceptions which, we rather expect, will not survive the duration of the present Parliament. A most significant fact is this;—the moral, intelligent, and independent town constituencies of Scotland—untainted by the hereditary corruptions of the old electoral system, and ignorant of what is meant by “influence”—are all but unanimous in the cause of commercial and industrial freedom. It is needless, however, to pursue the enumeration in further detail. There is one short answer to the “popularity” question—THE CITY OF LONDON. Can the *Standard* inform us how many Wigans it would take, by the political multiplication table, to make one London?

We need hardly go on to remind our readers that such of the large towns as are, wholly or in part, against us, are places which have long been notorious for the venality and debauchery of large portions of their constituencies—as witness Liverpool, Hull, Bristol, Cambridge, Norwich, and Ipswich. Wherever popular opinion is free, and the suffrage exercised honestly and independently, the Free Trade cause is triumphant—triumphant in a tolerably exact proportion to the amount of the freedom, honesty, and independence. All which the monopolists are perfectly well aware of; and accordingly, they take excellent care to avoid the occasions of contests where their defeat is foreknown. It is a curious result and evidence of the present state of opinion in the large and independent popular constituencies, that the monopolist members, by whom a few of them happen just now to be represented, are virtually disabled from taking office under the crown. It is only the members for corrupt or close pocket boroughs, or for equally close pocket counties, that dare accept any Government office which would necessitate an appeal to their constituents for re-election. To be Member for the City of London, or the West Riding of Yorkshire, is a high honour, undoubtedly: but to a monopolist, a painfully embarrassing one. For a gentleman occupying that proud but awkward position, the acceptance of a place in the Cabinet would involve the forfeiture of a place in the Legislature; the superstructure of his political ambition could only be raised at the expense of the foundation. Of course the experiment is never tried. The good things which a monopolist ministry has from time to time to give away among its friends, are for the present monopolised by that humbler but more fortunate class of its Parliamentary adherents whose dependent or venal constituencies may be safely relied upon to give a satisfactory answer to the application for renewed confidence.

As the *Standard* takes so much interest in this inquiry, may we beg our contemporary to favour us at his earliest leisure with his opinion on the question—Whether is it possible for any monopolist member of the House of Commons, representing South Lancashire, or the West Riding of Yorkshire,

or Middlesex, or any one of the metropolitan boroughs, to accept a Government appointment of a nature requiring his re-election by his constituents?

LORD ASHLEY ON “DESTINY.”

We have seldom read any document emanating from a public man, which evinces a more complete and cowardly disregard of public duty—a more thorough lack of the manly and honourable sense of public responsibility—than Lord Ashley's recent letter “to the gentry, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Dorset.” After alluding to a rumoured dissatisfaction, on the part of a “numerous and respectable” section of his constituents, with his political conduct, and informing them that “it is not likely that he shall have the pleasure this year of attending any of their agricultural anniversaries,” his lordship proceeds in the following strain:—

“I will seize this occasion to touch the subject of the Corn Laws, and the certain result of the present movement against them. IT APPEARS TO ME THAT THEIR DESTINY IS FIXED; and that the leading men of the great parties in the legislature are by no means disinclined to their eventual abolition. The debates of last session have left no doubt on this head—both the candidates for power, and the occupants of it, approximated so much more closely than at any former period, that most of the hearers were induced to believe that their difference was less a matter of principle than a question of time.

“If this be so, IT IS NEEDLESS TO ARGUE THE POLICY OR IMPOLICY OF SUCH A CHANGE; it would rather be wise to consider in what way you can break the force of an inevitable blow. The sudden repeal of these laws would be destructive; the gradual abolition of them would be less injurious. You have, at this moment, the power to offer such terms; there is no certainty that you will retain it much longer—our actual prosperity must come to an end; and then the wide and fearful pressure of commercial distress, with the hostility on the one side, and the indifference on the other, of the great political chiefs, will leave you, in an hour of especial difficulty, altogether without a refuge or resource.”

Rather hard on the Dorsetshire “gentry, clergy, and freeholders,” who made Lord Ashley a legislator that he might uphold their “protection” by his votes and speeches, to be told in this cool, off-hand way, that the question is already disposed of by “destiny”—that the *Dii Majores* of the Legislature, the “leading men of the great parties,” have so ruled it among themselves—and that it doesn't signify talking about “the policy or impolicy of such a change.” There can be no doubt in the world that the “destiny” of protection is “fixed”—though not altogether by the “leading men of the great parties;” but it is not exactly in this way that a representative of the people—especially a man of Lord Ashley's pretensions to political sanctity—should make his constituents acquainted with the fact. Of all the virtues, or substitutes for virtue, that the world ever saw, this of submission to “destiny” is the most equivocal—convenient cloak, as it is, for any cowardice or treachery that a man may deem convenient. Is protection a right or a wrong thing, a good or a bad thing?—is the question for an honest politician to ask, and to answer, as he best may, for his own and the public guidance. If protection be, in Lord Ashley's judgment, just and beneficent, it is his duty to struggle to the last against the adverse destiny that menaces with ruin the rights and interests which have been confided to his guardianship. If protection be unjust and baneful, and the “destiny” but a short way of expressing the necessity which exists for its abrogation, it is Lord Ashley's duty to show its iniquitous and pernicious character, and endeavour to enlist the judgment and conscience of his constituents on the side of truth and right. To run away from the question in this manner is a piece of shabbiness and poltroonery, which no man could be guilty of who respected himself, his constituents, or his duty. Had Lord Ashley told the men of Dorsetshire, in 1841, that according to his notion of the fitness of things, Members of Parliament are mere puppets in the hands of “the leading men of the great parties”—made to move just as the said leading men may be pleased to pull the wires—with no other or higher duty than that of blindly executing, or mutely enduring, the “destiny” of which “great political chiefs” are the sovereign arbiters—we are very sure that the men of Dorsetshire would not have waited till now to look out, as it seems they are doing, for

“some other gentleman, whose principles and whose practice are more in accordance with their views.”

Lord Ashley's real opinion on the merits of the Corn Law—if he have one—he leaves in the convenient ambiguity which befits a politician who talks about “destiny” when he ought to be thinking of duty, and makes over the fee simple of his conscience and understanding to “the leading men of the great parties in the Legislature.” He speaks of “sudden repeal” as “destructive,” and of “gradual abolition” as only “less injurious:” yet he goes on to say that, as matters stand, “our actual prosperity must come to an end,” and be followed by a “wide and fearful pressure of commercial distress”—of which commercial distress the repeal of the Corn Law is, by implication, indicated as the appropriate remedy. We are not disposed to give ourselves the trouble of finding a meaning which it was probably his lordship's purpose to hide; but we cannot forbear noting the characteristically cold-blooded and heartless tone in which this philanthropic statesman speaks of “commercial distress.” Not a syllable of remonstrance with the gentry, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Dorset, on the cruelty of maintaining a law, of which, in the event of its prolonged continuance, a “wide and fearful pressure of commercial distress” will necessitate the repeal. Not a whispered hint on the Christian and moral duty of preventing the commercial distress by repealing the cruel law beforehand. Not a breath even of anticipatory sympathy with the victims of the coming distress. The good man thinks of “commercial distress”—“wide and fearful” commercial distress—not as a national calamity to be deprecated for its own sake, and if possible prevented by timely legislation, but as an awkward and disagreeable contingency for the agricultural interest, which will seriously embarrass landlords in their negotiations with the Government, and “leave them, in an hour of especial difficulty, altogether without a refuge or resource.”

From this senatorial epistle, farmers may see what they have to expect at the hands of the men in whom they have put their trust. Truly they are living in a “house of cards,” as Sir James Graham calls it. The moment the minister gives the word, down it all comes together. One little sentence in a Queen's speech, and we shall have “farmers' friends” by the dozen discovering *impromptu* that Free Trade is “destiny,” and that it were an idle waste of words “to argue the policy or impolicy of such a change.” A cool and civil sneer at “agricultural anniversaries” may perhaps serve to season the announcement that the agricultural interest is made for the Peel ministry, and not the Peel ministry for the agricultural interest, and that farmers and farmers' friends have nothing to do with Peel law but to obey it.

If the farmers of England are wise, they will cast off, at once and for ever, all confidence in the legislative promises of men who shuffle off their responsibilities on Peel and destiny; they will demand a SETTLEMENT of the question, such as shall for ever take them and their interests out of the keeping of slippery politicians—and will resolve to be henceforth masters of their own “destiny” as a section of the one great industrial interest of British producers.

CONVERSION AND PERVERSION.

Among the many indications of an approaching change in the system of our commercial policy, not the least significant is the ingenuity displayed by ministerial writers in devising arguments to excuse a departure from the policy which they have hitherto advocated, and to prepare the way for vindicating whatever course they may hereafter deem it expedient to adopt. As a general rule of policy it is wise to receive the aid of new converts without too narrowly scrutinising the motives by which they have been led to adopt the true faith; but when these converts appear to be halting between two opinions, and endeavouring to assume an attitude which may enable them to propose terms of compromise, the reasons which they assign must not pass unquestioned, for from them we may form some opinion of the sort of aid likely to be derived

from such new associates. In the *Standard* of Tuesday night we find the following paragraph: it is a specimen of that style of reasoning which may mean anything or nothing, which may be hereafter quoted to justify the writer for persevering in his present course, or for veering round to any conceivable point of the compass.

"That the repeal of the Corn Laws is only a question of time may be most simply demonstrated by the solution of a very plain question in arithmetic. If the supply of corn increases more rapidly than the population, as has been the case for many years (thanks to the Corn Laws, which have so nearly done their work), it is obvious that a time must arise when supply and demand shall be balanced, and when the price of corn must commence a rapid course of decline, unless in the interim provision be made greatly to augment the pecuniary resources of consumers. But these pecuniary resources cannot be augmented to the extent necessary save by the extension of commerce—a preparative more necessary to the interests of agriculturists than of any other class. The Anti-Corn-Law League say that the time for that preparative has already arrived. We assert, on the other hand, that the difference of average prices in this country, and in the corn-growing countries of the Continent, proves that time to be somewhat distant; but come it must, sooner or later, and they are the worst enemies of agriculturists who would conceal from them the truth."

It is assumed that the home supply of corn has increased more rapidly than the population: we should be glad to see the estimates on which this conclusion is founded; but even supposing that this were the fact, the real question is, whether the supply of home-grown corn is adequate to the wants of our population, and if not, whether there is any prospect of such an increase as would render us independent of foreign supplies? Assuredly there cannot be a sufficient supply of corn in a country where "seven millions are rejoicing in potatoes," and where more than a million and a half of persons are dependent on public charity. Any increase in the growth of wheat has been accompanied by a decrease in the growth of the inferior grains, and the substitution of potatoes for oats, barley, and rye. The extension of manufacturing industry has certainly increased the demand for bread, and the farmers in the agricultural districts which supply the manufacturing towns have exerted themselves to meet this demand by extending the cultivation of wheat; but the wheat sent to the manufacturing districts has been obtained by grinding down the agricultural labourers; and if the food of operatives has been improved, that of farm-labourers has been deteriorated. The proportion between the home supply of food and the wants of the population may be tried by another test—the amount of foreign imports. Now the quantity of foreign wheat retained for home consumption between 1831 and 1835, both years inclusive, was 1,656,189 quarters; and between 1836 and 1840, both years inclusive, it was 6,482,230 quarters; and in the four years ending last January the amount was 6,660,959 quarters.

But whatever increase there has been in the production of wheat, it has clearly arisen not from the Corn Laws but in spite of them. The increase by universal consent is owing to the demand produced by the manufacturing population, but the prosperous career of that population has been most seriously impeded by the restrictions which these laws have placed on commercial enterprise. Now the increase of imports in the periods we have just contemplated shows that English produce has been unable to meet this demand, in spite of the disadvantages to which the manufacturers are subjected. But says the *Standard*—"The Corn Laws have done their work;" and so they have in one sense; they have not wrought any of the good that was hoped, and they have produced infinitely greater evil than was anticipated.

Looking at the steady increase of imports when we take an average of quinquennial or decennial periods, we cannot anticipate a period when the corn of home-growth will be more than sufficient for the wants of the British people; but we, on the contrary, think that this very season conveys strong indications of a contrary result. Low prices have been the great stimulus to agricultural improvement, by forcing farmers to look for their profits to increased production. Unfortunately we have no authoritative agricultural statistics to which we can refer as evidence, but one fact is within the cognisance of everybody, that the leaders and guides of

agricultural societies did not begin to lecture the farmers on the necessity of improvement until the progress of the League had shaken their confidence in the continuance of protection.

We believe that the English farmers, if they had fair play, could easily compete with any in the world in the growth of the superior corn; but to do so they must have command over a cheap supply of the inferior corn. They must be able to feed their cattle with maize, beans, &c., in order to have means of so fertilising the soil as to render it able to support a large growth of wheat. They are now, like the cotton manufacturers two years ago, paying a tax on the raw material, and receiving in return a protecting duty which fails them at the moment that its assistance is most wanted.

The *Standard* hints that the prices of corn in England are sinking gradually to the Continental level, and when that point is attained, the writer is prepared to consent to the abolition of the Corn Laws. To reach that point, however, England must lose her superiority in manufacturing production, and then the Corn Laws will have done their work with a vengeance. So long as the English farmers have large consuming markets in the manufacturing districts close to their own door, so long and no longer will they be able to command higher prices than their Continental rivals; but if, by perseverance in unjust and impolitic restrictions, they diminish the consuming powers of their customers, and stimulate manufacturing rivalry abroad, they will of necessity produce a decline of their own prices, to an extent which will be directly proportioned to the length of their perseverance in demonstrated absurdity.

THE FREE TRADE BAZAAR.

(From the *Manchester Times of Saturday*.)

The Free Trade Hall, converted into a Tudor Hall, is at this moment a scene of great attraction. And well it deserves to be; for of all the rare displays we have seen in Manchester at fancy fairs, this surpasses all. We were curious to see what would be the result of Mr. Grieve's skill, and the effect he has produced is beyond our anticipations. The appearance of the place is nothing like what we have been accustomed to in spectacles of this kind—mere temporary fittings of white and pink drapery, designed to convey a notion of eastern magnificence, but disclosing too visibly the presence of more glitter and tinsel: it is a place more accordant with our own English feelings of substance and reality. In fact, the artist has taken the building as it stands to engraft his design upon it, and decorating it so as to resemble the interior of one of our own ancient halls has produced an effect at once calculated to excite surprise and admiration. He has gone back to the middle ages for a design; but in the execution of the details he has brought to bear the perfection and refinement of modern skill, blending the whole with singular judgment. There is nothing gorgeous or grand about it; but the different parts are all in harmony, and everything about it is at once chaste and classic. The place is not one which would excite gaping wonderment at a glance; but it rivets attention and invites examination. It would be idle to attempt a description which would convey a notion to the reader, and we prefer inviting him to a personal inspection—especially as, while gratifying his curiosity, he may be led to aid an undertaking for the accomplishment of a great national benefit.

The stalls are arranged with great judgment, so as to allow the utmost facility of approach, and at the same time plenty of space for promenade. They extend lengthwise up the hall, one range at either side being under the galleries, and then two double ranges down the centre. Between these, in the very centre of the floor, is the elegant bronzed fountain, used at Covent Garden, and contributed by Messrs. Barge and Co., Colebrookdale: it stands in a kind of charmed circle, formed by a double or treble row of choice and rare plants in pots, and throws around it a delightful and refreshing sense of coolness upon the scene. Then at the foot of the room, projecting from the platform, in the form of a half circle, is a stall loaded with confectionary and other refreshments. The platform itself is converted into a picture gallery, stored with a vast collection of paintings, drawings and engravings, many of them works of considerable merit.

Returning to the entrance, which is from Peter-street, to notice the stalls more particularly, we come to those under the gallery. The first is a stall displaying a large collection of ironmongery, contributed by Mr. J. Hayward, and also a considerable quantity of cutlery. The next stall, which stretches for a considerable length up the wall, is a sort of museum, stored with all kinds of curiosities: including stuffed birds, insects, shells, and models of iron bridges, breakwaters, and other scientific inventions. The third stall exhibits a goodly show of geological specimens; and the fourth, which is the top, is a stall for the sale of books, at which Mr. Gadsby and Mr. W. Shuttleworth preside, and exert themselves with wonderful assiduity and patience to disseminate knowledge. The stalls under the other side gallery, that next Wadmill-street—are stored chiefly with mechanical instruments, or models of different machines, and of ships, and of Indian and other foreign curiosities. Indeed, nearly half of this range of stalls are occupied with models of ships—a whole fleet of the British navy in miniature, with a convoy of merchantmen. This, we presume, is meant to illustrate the present state of things; when Free Trade is predominant there will no longer be a need for "protection" of this kind more than the other. Upon these stalls are also observed a set of dies used in the manufacture of screws, and a set of standard gauges, contributed by Messrs. Whitworth. An old spinning-wheel of the time of our great great grandmothers, contributed by Mr. G. S. Dale,

is also an object of much curiosity in these times of spinning-jennies and double deckers. Then there is a box of specimens illustrating the process of the Alpaca manufacture, the model of a twist doubling machine, and a case of cotton, in different compartments, exhibiting the material in its raw state and in the different processes of combing and preparation for manufacture. In other parts of the room—in spare corners here and there—are also many objects of interest which would occupy too much room, or are too cumbersome for stalls: such for instance is a case of circular saws, contributed by Messrs. Spear and Co., Sheffield, and one of very costly wrought files.

The ladies' stalls are, as usual, loaded with articles of interest to ladies, and occasionally to gentlemen also; all kinds of needlework, gimcrackers of every description, executed in the most elaborate and skilful manner no doubt, but such as we cannot pretend to understand the use of, and as would more than puzzle a Philadelphia lawyer to explain. These stalls, however, are all the rage, and are literally besieged with visitors from morning till night. They are 23 in number, and are presided over by the following ladies:—

Stall No. 1.—Mrs. Scott, of Manchester, and Mrs. Harrison, of London.

2. Mrs. Stephens and the Misses Bright, of Rochdale.

3. Mrs. Lucas and Mrs. T. Bright, of Rochdale.

4. Mrs. Houtson.

5. Mrs. G. Wilson, Mrs. S. Lees, and Mrs. and the Misses Torkington.

6. Mrs. and the Misses Rawson.

7. Mrs. Massie, Miss Grant, Miss Cathrall, and Miss Bates.

8. Miss Johnson, of Nottingham.

9. Mrs. R. R. Moore.

10. Mrs. Platt, Stalybridge.

11. Mrs. Gill and Miss Gill.

12. Mrs. Hacking, of Bury.

13. Mrs. McKerrow.

14. Mrs. Higgins and Mrs. Cobden.

15. Mrs. Brotherton and Mrs. Harvey.

16. Miss Woolhav.

17. Mrs. Armstrong.

18. Mrs. W. Bickham and Miss Southwell.

19. Miss Satterthwaite and Mrs. Edward Hall.

20. Mrs. Molineux, Mrs. Swindells, and Miss Ker.

21. Mrs. Kershaw and Miss Scott.

22. Mrs. Ashworth.

23. (For refreshment.) Mrs. Woolley, Mrs. Matley, the two Miss Butterworths (of Rochdale), Miss Woodcock, and Miss Owen.

Now that we have given a list of the presiding deities—comprising all that is fair to look upon and agreeable in manners—can we wonder that the ladies' stalls are the most attractive?

The bazaar was opened on Wednesday; and although the day was unfavourable throughout in consequence of a continuous fall of rain, there was a large company, and the receipts at the doors and stalls realised nearly 350*l.*, an amount which in other bazaars would be thought enormous.

The receipts on Thursday, the weather being more favourable, were 480*l.*, but yesterday (Friday) we had bad weather again, and the receipts fell off slightly; we did not hear the exact amount. To-day, there will be a novel attraction—the presence of a youthful Arabian prince, the son and heir of the Imam of Muscat, who, we believe, arrived in town last night. He comes here, we are told, with a request to the mayor from influential quarters that he shall be treated with the consideration he is entitled to by his birth, and introduced to the principal manufacturers for the purpose of witnessing the processes of the cotton manufacture. He breakfasts this morning at the Queen's Hotel, at 10 o'clock, where Mr. Cobden and other gentlemen are invited to meet him, and he visits the bazaar about 12 o'clock.

(From the *Manchester Guardian of Wednesday*.)

In our last we gave the receipts of the first three days at this bazaar. On Saturday it was honoured with several visits of a remarkable character. In the afternoon, upwards of nine hundred workpeople of Messrs. John Bright and Brothers, Rochdale, had a holiday given them by their employers. A special train conveyed them to Manchester, and the firm gave them free admission to the bazaar. They walked in procession, headed by a band of music, through the streets from the railway station to the Free Trade Hall, where they promenade with great delight for some time, observing the greatest order and decorum, and most of them making small purchases, chiefly of useful articles. During the afternoon, a still larger body of the workpeople of Mr. John Whitaker and Sons, of Ilrurst, we believe about twelve hundred in number, entered the bazaar, and remained there for some time, much delighted with what they saw, and many of them making trifling purchases at the stalls.—About a quarter past one o'clock, as previously announced, Prince Hilal, son and heir of the Imam of Muscat, attended by two of his officers, Saad Abdah and Hamid Abdah, and also by Captain Cogan and the interpreter, Assad Kayat, entered the Free Trade Hall, and the prince was loudly cheered. He was received by Mr. George Wilson, the chairman of the League, and Mr. R. R. Moore, who conducted him to the platform that he might see the hall; and these gentlemen subsequently conducted him round the hall, that his highness might inspect the various stalls. Mrs. Cobden, Mrs. George Wilson, and Mrs. Thos. Woolley were introduced to his highness; and at one of the stalls Mr. George Wilson presented to his acceptance a very large and magnificent knife, a sort of chef-d'œuvre of Sheffield manufacture, worth about 25*l.*, which his highness much admired and cordially accepted. The prince and his two officers signed their names in a book at one of the stalls, the prince writing his name in Persian characters (we believe) "Hilal Saad;" the other two names we have already given. The orientals all wore their Eastern costume; the prince, from some religious feelings, wearing a dress without any display of magnificence; his turban was of white cotton. He is apparently about 31 or 32 years of age, his countenance and manners interesting, and his features and conversation, especially his interrogatories, put through the interpreter, displayed considerable intelligence and acuteness. His officers followed him at a respectful distance, and they carried richly ornamented scimitars or swords. His highness remained about an hour in the bazaar, during which time the mayor and the mayors were introduced to him; also Mr. Cobden and Mr. G. R. Porter, of the Board of Trade, who has been for some days on a visit to the town and neighbourhood. During the visit of the prince the bazaar was thronged with curious visitors. The receipts of Saturday were, at the doors, 58*l.* 3*s.*; stalls, 339*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.*; total, 397*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*. On Monday there was a still larger influx of visitors, 74*l.* 5*s.* being received at the doors, and 269*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* at the stalls; total, 344*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*, making the total receipts

of the five days 1844. 18s. 6d. Yesterday the receipts at the doors were 84l. 6s. and at the stalls, 382l. 2s.; together making the receipts of the sixth and last day, 460l. 8s.; and the total aggregate receipts of the six days 2401l. 6s. 6d. We understand that there still remain articles unsold worth 1400l. or 1500l., and that it is intended to dispose of them by raffle or otherwise, in about a fortnight.

RECEIPTS OF THE SIX DAYS' BAZAAR, MANCHESTER.

Wednesday.			
	£	s.	d.
Stalls	281	8	6
Admission	72	17	6
Thursday.			
Stalls	361	17	10
Admission	115	10	6
Friday.			
Stalls	292	6	10
Admission	63	16	0
Saturday.			
Stalls	339	18	10
Admission	58	3	0
Monday.			
Stalls	269	19	1
Admission	78	5	0
Tuesday.			
Stalls	382	2	8
Admission	84	6	0

Total £2402 12 0

THE REGISTRATION.

WEST RIDING.—It deserves to be mentioned that the success of the recent registration for the West Riding was greatly contributed to by the talented advocates of the Free-Traders. Their names are, Edward Newman, Esq., Barusley, R. G. Gainsford, Esq., Sheffield, Edward Hulston, Esq., Bradford, solicitor, and James Stansfield, jun., Esq., Inner Temple, special pleader.

SOUTH LEICESTERSHIRE.—The registration revision in the southern division of Leicestershire has proceeded satisfactorily for the cause of Free Trade. It having been discovered that the lists in many instances were only signed by the minority of the overseers, they were objected to by wholesale by Mr. Staines, for the liberals. The revising barrister allowed the validity of the objection, when at "one fell swoop" 16 out of 17 lists, for as many parishes, were declared null and void. At Bosworth and Loughborough we understand that similar triumphs have attended the genship of the liberals.—*Notts Review*.

LEICESTER.—The following is the result for this borough:
Objections made by Monopolists 240
Liberal and Free-trade voters expunged .. 50

Liberal and Free-trade voters allowed .. 190

Objections by Free-traders 186
Voters expunged by the Free-traders .. 134

Monopolist voters allowed 52
Liberal and Free-trade claims allowed 74
Monopolist claims allowed 33
Majority over Monopolists in objections and claims .. 125

NOTTINGHAM.—The following is the result for this borough:—wards of St. Ann, Byron, and St. Mary:—Free-trade and Free-trade claims sustained, 7; Liberal and Free-trade objections sustained, 6; Monopolist objections sustained, 2. Household and Freeholders—Liberal and Free-trade claims sustained, 15; Monopolist claims sustained, 14. Claims to amend list—Liberal and Free-traders, 11; Monopolists, 2. Liberal and Free-trade objections sustained, 18; Monopolist objections sustained, 10. In Castle, Park, Exchange, and Sherwood wards—Liberal and Free-trade claims allowed, 34; Monopolist objections allowed, 34. Liberal and Free-trade claims allowed, 24; Monopolist claims allowed, 18.

SUNDERBY.—League Triumph.—The advice of Messrs. Cobden, Moore, and Bright, given at the contested election of 1844, at Sunderland, has proved exceedingly useful. The parties to whom those duties were entrusted, have proved themselves worthy of the praise of every Liberal and Free Trader in this city; and it also shows the co-operation of others which will not easily be forgotten, seeing that their efforts are crowned with such complete success. The majority of Campbell over Bouvier in 1843 was 47, and the same number by which Mr. Cobden had been beaten at Stockport; and this very number has, on this registration, been achieved. Liberal and Free Trade claims sustained, 31; Monopolist claims sustained, 26; majority on claims, 5. Liberal and Free Trade objections, 34; Monopolist objections, 29; majority in objections, 15. Total majority for Free Traders, 47. Independent of this, a case is presented for the consideration of the court, on the ground of informality; Charles Adey, the objector, who described the petition, but not the street in that parish, which is the basis of the case. Should this suit succeed, no less than 14 Monopolist objections will fail; thus making a League triumph of 61 votes. *Here!*

WIGAN ELECTION.—As a remarkable proof of the good temper which prevailed in the town, it may be mentioned that while Mr. Falvey, the Anti Corn-Law lecturer, was addressing a large body of Mr. Thicknesse's friends, from a window of his committee-room, a number of men, on their return from another street, looking out of the borough, somewhat indiscreetly presented themselves with their flags and banners flying, on the margin of the crowd, when way was immediately made for them, and they passed on without the slightest harshness or interruption of any sort.—*Times*.

THE DEMONSTRATION AT MANCHESTER.—The day for the banquet to the Hon. Mr. Villiers, the distinguished advocate of Free Trade, appointed to take place on Thursday, the 15th of November. The demonstration promises to be a most important one, both in regard to the numbers, rank, and influence of those who will be present. Among the contributors who have been promised to take part in the proceedings, we may mention Mr. Cobden, M.P.; Mr. Bright, M.P.; Mr. M. Phillips, M.P., of Manchester; Mr. Brown, of Liverpool; Mr. Thorneley, M.P.; Mr. Wilson, and Mr. G. F. Wilson, of Manchester. It is expected that the demonstration will be a most successful one, and will result in a permanent establishment of the Free Trade cause in this city.

THE DEATH OF A MAN.—A man named John Smith, of the parish of St. Mary, died on the 10th inst. of a disease which had been long in the family.

FAMINE—ITS TEACHINGS.

(From the Nonconformist.)

Ireland is becoming the centre of new interest, and, as usual, of the melancholy kind. Report gives out that her staff of life is broken. The potato-crop, the sole support of her numerous peasantry, is thought to be extensively affected by the prevalent disease. Representations to this effect have reached the castle at Dublin from many quarters, and official steps have been taken to institute inquiry into their correctness. Their causes enough in operation upon which to base a supposition that the actual state of the case has been exaggerated. We earnestly hope that the facts will not be found to justify the rumour. The possibility that they may, however, cannot be denied; and upon this possibility we feel ourselves not merely warranted, but imperatively called upon to hang a few reflections.

Famine is a spectre so hideously cruel that even a distant glimpse of its hard features may well awaken serious alarm. There needs not that we should wait till it is in our very midst, before we ask ourselves, "Why is this terrible visitation?" Before its grim, gaunt outline is well defined—even when, through the haze of general uncertainty, we only think we can descry its awful form—we are required, by all the laws of prudence, to determine the reasons which render its appearance probable. As mariners, when, unexpectedly, they fancy they hear the hoarse roar of breakers ahead, conclude that the bare suspicion indicates that they must be out of their course, so we, satisfied that famine may overtake us, and doubting only whether the warnings we receive be true or false, are driven upon the conviction, that we cannot be just where we ought. Something must be amiss, or why these fears? When the sky is cloudless, none can get up a panic about the fall of thunderbolts. There must be a substratum of possibility, if not of likelihood, in which for alarm to root itself—otherwise impostors, however unsparingly they might sow the seeds of it, would but labour in vain. And the existence of such a substratum is a condemnation of the policy which allows it. The fault may be in a Government, or in a people—but fault there is somewhere, wherever national famine approaches so near to a kingdom, as to justify common apprehension. Seasons, it will be said, are not in the hands of man. This is very partially true. As it respects a particular crop, or a special district of country, it is unquestionably correct; but applied comprehensively, as too often it is, no pretended axiom can be more heavily fraught with falsehood. To all practical purposes, the seasons are providentially put under our control. We can command both the sunshine and the rain. But the privilege in this, as in all other instances, is inseparably connected with the performance of duty. We must go after them, instead of indolently expecting them to come after us. All climates, all soils, all varieties of produce constitute the common inheritance of our race—but industry, forethought, and wisdom must turn them to account. Providence never has left, never will leave the world without a sufficiency of food; it needs only to be properly distributed to meet the wants of all. When therefore any considerable portion of the human family encounter the horrors of starvation, it would far better become us to cast the blame upon our artificial modes of distribution, and search out the remedy, than to regard it as an ordination of supreme power, which can only be submitted to with unrepining patience.

The bare prospect of what Ireland may have ere long to undergo suggests two topics of inquiry, which it were well for us to settle at once. The first respects the desirableness, or otherwise, of encouraging a nation to lean exclusively upon one article of subsistence—the second, the policy of suspending its whole temporal welfare upon the influence of a single climate, and that a proverbially fickle one.

Nature, we are told, wants but little, and that little is easily supplied. True, we reply, if men are destined to remain but one remove above the level of brutes. That such is not the purpose of Providence may be inferred from its own beneficent laws. The countries in which the staple article of food is one, and is obtained in abundance without much labour in the cultivation of it, might, at first sight, be esteemed happier, because simpler, than those in which use has created a considerable variety of animal and social wants. And yet the fact that all such countries are, every now and then, cursed with the visitations of famine, might suffice to convince us, that this easy mode of subsistence—this exclusive reliance upon a single article of food—is not in harmony with the purposes of the Universal Ruler. The truth is, that our temporal wants are constituted the means of our intellectual and moral training. The fewer they are, the less urgency there appears for the exercise of thought. If bread grew spontaneously to our hands, and the crop were sufficient and unfailing, mind would sleep away its existence, or pass it in idle dreams, and we should all be but an upper and respectable class of brutes. But it is not intended that we should be so. Hence, our common craving for variety. As civilisation makes progress, our wants increase—as our wants increase, our dependencies multiply—as they multiply, we are driven upon new resources—and, in proportion to the variety of our resources, mind develops itself, man puts forth his inherent energies, and nations escape from the evils of those vicissitudes which, in their rude states, would have gone far to overwhelm them. Famine, then, or the possibility of famine, we take to be indicative of the savage state of being—and the community exposed to it must needs, in our judgment, be near the bottom of the scale of intelligence.

Another lesson is taught us by the prospective danger. We see the folly, nay, the impiety, of those artificial restrictions upon commerce which place all the comforts of nations within the range and influence of one climate. Providence has not so shut us up. There is abundance for all, and it asks but an equal distribution. This secured, famine would be impossible. And why is it not secured? Why, but that a dominating class may reap unnatural advantages? If the trade of the world were open to us, failure of a particular crop, or dearth in a particular district, would prove nothing more than a partial and temporary inconvenience. Want in one locality would be compensated for by superfluity in another. If, therefore, we have a famine in Ireland, the landlords' law must take the responsibility of it. Let us hear nothing about the mysteries and afflictive ordinations of Providence. Man alone is to blame. A nation which cuts off its own means has no right to clamour because thus mutilated, it cannot pluck fruit from the remoter branches of the tree of life. It is all very well to be patient, but patience is not the only virtue. If it were, the disciples of Mohammed might put Christians to the blush. What we want is active and manly industry, and, wherever this is found, upon us, we are more likely to be contented than we ourselves have been in the past. The only remedy for the present state of things is to be a free and open market, so that the produce of the soil may be distributed to all who are entitled to it.

would fain hope it will make a due impression upon the minds of our legislators. Famine, indeed, is a dreadful scourge, but its teachings may be highly beneficial and necessary. "Spare the rod, and spoil the child."

LEGISLATION FOR SCARCITY.

(From the Economist.)

The question, How are the people to be fed? is becoming urgent at home and abroad. Every day brings us new evidences of defective vegetation. It is not in wheat or other grain alone, but in all that constitutes vegetable food, that deficiency becomes apparent. In the latter end of August we gave the first account of the appearance of the potato disease on the coast of Kent. Since then it has spread in every direction, and has become almost universal, not only in England but in Ireland. Since that time, too, the weather has been extremely unpropitious, not only for the ripening, but for the gathering of the grain crop. Wheat is everywhere defective in quality, and in many places deficient in quantity. The price to the consumer, taking quality and condition into account, is 20s. per quarter dearer than it was a year ago. THE NATIONAL EXPENDITURE FOR BREAD IS NOW AT THE RATE OF TWENTY MILLIONS A YEAR, OR FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS WEEKLY MORE THAN DURING THE WHOLE OF LAST WINTER AND SPRING. This increased expenditure for a first necessary could not fail to have a serious effect, especially in ordinary times, on the demand for all other less necessary articles. No doubt the extraordinary expenditure of capital in public works, in addition to the usual income, will make a high price less felt in the meantime than it otherwise would have been; but still the fact of scarcity and deficiency, with all their horrors and privations, is now to be dealt with.

The necessity of an immediate removal of all existing restrictions from the free import of food appears even greater when we consider the condition of the great bulk of the Continental countries. We have on former occasions referred to the precautions used by the Dutch and Belgian governments in order to induce the largest foreign supply of food. At this time every steambot leaving this country for Antwerp carries large quantities of potatoes. We would place no restriction on exports, but we would remove all restriction from imports; and then we might rest satisfied that no exchange would take place that was not beneficial to the country. But with our high duties on grain, we are placed at a fearful disadvantage with other states. In Holland, Belgium, and Russia all duties are suspended; and by the latest accounts from the latter country (Russia), the government has issued an order relieving foreign vessels carrying grain to the Baltic provinces from all the customary port charges.

With such a state of facts existing abroad, and with the complexion of affairs at home, it is scarcely possible to conceive that Sir Robert Peel will wait until the beginning of February without making some extraordinary effort to avert or mitigate so much threatened suffering.

It cannot be denied that there exists at this moment a more favourable opportunity of getting rid of all restrictions on the import of food than at any former time. The combination of events renders such a step not only easy, but needful. No one denies the insufficiency of our home supply to carry us over the next year. No one can be alarmed for excessive supplies from any part of the world. There never was a period when any change of the kind could even momentarily interfere less with the demand for labour, which, for a long time to come, must be much greater than the supply; and the large consumption which must exist as a consequence of full employment, and high wages would be an ample guarantee to the home producer against any temporary or sudden reduction of price. All admit that the change is inevitable before long; necessity and common prudence demand that it should not be delayed.

The question which, even with a removal of all restrictions, creates with us the greatest solicitude, is, whence are supplies to be obtained? In Europe generally they are buyers and not sellers, and the most trivial imports would raise their prices to an equivalent with our own. From the Black Sea we might look for some supply. But our chief reliance must be upon the United States. Their crop of Indian corn has been good, and that of wheat taken altogether, has been an average one. But even there, as well as in British America, we regret to find by our latest advices the potato disease has again for the third year made its appearance. Still with a removal of all restrictions, we may hope for considerable supplies of flour and Indian corn, for the latter of which the poor Irish are now craving. And there is another consideration which at this moment should weigh much with the minister. Of late years we have relied greatly upon a Continental demand for many of our leading articles of manufacture. The high price of food throughout the Continent at this time must affect very unfavourably the prospects of our trade for the next year, especially in the cotton districts. A free intercourse opened up with the corn-producing states of America would secure us an increased demand for our goods, and prevent that reaction in our manufacturing districts which we otherwise may apprehend—a reaction which would be felt by no class more prejudicially than by our own farmers.

It is impossible to calculate the amount of evil which may be averted, and of positive good which may be secured, by an immediate and bold removal of all existing impediments to a free supply of food. If the law be permitted to remain as it is, the future must be to every reflecting man a subject of considerable apprehension and solicitude.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?—It is expected that the leading members of the Cabinet will assemble in London about the second week in November, and it cannot be denied that most grave considerations await them. By that time they will be in full possession of the information which, in the meanwhile, will be sedulously procured from all parts of the country as to that most vital of all questions, the food of the people—in fact, the means of sustaining life among millions of our humble fellow-beings. Should such information show that the public safety requires energetic action, no party considerations or monopolist clamours will, we are confident, be suffered to influence their deliberations.—*Observer*.

IMPORTATION OF CATTLE.—From Friday to Sunday last there were imported in this country 101 head of cattle and 25 sheep, from the Hamburg and Rotterdam steamers, viz., per Leeds, 12 oxen, 1 cow, per Helen Macgregor, 30 oxen, 15 cows, and two calves; per Victoria, 30 oxen and seven cows; and per another ship, 63 oxen, 1 cow, and 25 sheep.

LORD ASHLEY UPON THE CORN LAWS.

(From the Dorset County Chronicle, of Oct. 18.)

TO THE GENTRY, CLERGY, AND FREEHOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF DORSET.

Gentlemen,—The interval of the recess from public duties affords me leisure to address you on the subject of my conduct as a member of the House of Commons.

I have taken the course of addressing you by letter, because it is not likely that I shall have the pleasure, this year, of attending any of your agricultural anniversaries; and if, moreover, the period of a dissolution of Parliament be nigh at hand, you may possibly be summoned to exercise the elective franchise before another such opportunity occur for inquiry or explanation.

A requisition has, I understand, been numerous and respectfully signed, and circulated throughout the county, to call upon some other gentleman whose principles and whose practice are more in accordance with the views of those who have subscribed it, to offer himself as a candidate at the general election for the honour of representing you.

I do not complain of this proceeding on the part of the requisitionists; they have exercised, openly and legitimately, a constitutional right, and probably a duty—yet it renders inevitable a declaration on my part of the course I shall pursue, that we may not remain in ignorance of the views of each other, and that I may not have anything to suppress now, and explain away hereafter.

But it will be very short, because I cannot promise you any alteration. It would be desirable, I know; for I am fully aware of the incompetent manner in which I have discharged the trust committed to my hand; but that is an imperfection beyond my power to amend; and thus, as I am unable to improve my abilities, and altogether indisposed to change my conduct, I have the pain to find myself at variance, for the first time during the space of 14 years, with many of those who have hitherto honoured me by their countenance and support.

I will seize this occasion to touch the subject of the Corn Laws, and the certain result of the present movement against them. It appears to me that their destiny is fixed; and that the leading men of the great parties in the Legislature are by no means disinclined to their eventual abolition. The debates of last session have left no doubt on this head—both the candidates for power, and the occupants of it, approximated so much more closely than at any former period, that most of the hearers were induced to believe that their difference was less a matter of principle than a question of time.

If this be so, it is needless to argue the policy or impolicy of such a change; it would rather be wise to consider in what way you can break the force of an inevitable blow. The sudden repeal of these laws would be destructive; the gradual abolition of them would be less injurious. You have, at this moment, the power to offer such terms; there is no certainty that you will retain it much longer—our actual prosperity must come to an end; and then the wide and fearful pressure of commercial distress, with the hostility on the one side, and the indifference on the other, of the great political chiefs, will leave you, in an hour of especial difficulty, altogether without a refuge or resource.

And now, gentlemen, with many and sincere thanks for the kindness and confidence you have hitherto bestowed upon me, allow me to subscribe myself, with much respect,

Your very faithful friend and servant,

London, Oct. 10.

ASHLEY.

THE POTATO FAILURE IN IRELAND.

(From the Times.)

The accounts of the potato crop in Ireland are of a nature to excite the most serious apprehensions for the ensuing year. The alarm, we are told, is somewhat abated; still, under the most favourable circumstances, and allowing for every exaggeration, there will be a lamentable deficiency of the crop, which will be far under an average one.

The accounts from Meath, from the neighbourhood of Dublin, from Tyrone, Roscommon, Waterford, Kilkenny and Carlow, Down and Armagh, are all to the same effect. The vegetable pestilence, though not universal, and in some instances happily ascertained to have been exaggerated, is yet known to be spreading, and to be most destructive. The extent of the loss cannot be at present known. The first appearance has often proved delusive.

The failure of this crop would now be a calamity in any of the north-western countries of Europe, far beyond what it would have been in the last generation; a greater calamity, indeed, than any could realise till they saw it fulfilled. But Ireland above all other countries is dependent on this crop not only for well-being, but for existence. England and Belgium, and other Continental districts which share the disaster, have all many resources. The potato is only part of their labourers' diet. They have manufactures, and commerce, and capital, to procure foreign supplies equal to their deficiency at home. They have large accumulations both of money, and of stock, and food, which enable them to draw on their neighbours and on the future. The vast population is only provisioned for one year. Of a food which no human ingenuity can preserve longer than one year it raises just enough to last one year. That is the one string to its bow. Reduce it by an inch or two, and the bow is useless. There are tribes which live on the fish that visit their shores. The shoal changes its route, and they perish. There are tribes that live by the chase. The deer are exterminated, and so are their pursuers. There are those who live on the track of the bear and the elk. The prey gets a day's too much start, and they die before they can come up. Such is the rude providence of Ireland.

The peasant reckons not quite from day to day, but, what is not much better, from year to year. He puts into the ground as much as on a narrow calculation will serve for a twelvemonth. It falls short, and he must starve for a month or two. He may be helped by his neighbours, but should all be in the same case, how are all to be helped?

It would be premature to suggest an immediate remedy till the extent of the disaster is known and reduced to calculation. To forbid exportation, as has been proposed, would be the surest way to prevent Ireland from ever having a stock in hand beyond her present needs. To remove the duties on imported food, whatever its merits as a permanent measure, would be a very responsible act for a Minister, and even for a Legislature, if adopted only for the occasion. So abrupt an interference would not be very encouraging to that useful class which tills the ground and buys and sells for profit. Whatever is done, for mercy's sake, let it be for good.

LATEST ACCOUNT.—The Dublin Evening Post of Tuesday says: "Referring to the potato crop, the following are the places, and the extent of the crop, in the county of Kerry

and Galway. In the former, the potato crop was still unaffected—in the latter, the disease was extending far and wide. Our Meath correspondent, who is a sensible man, and had been in the beginning a stern sceptic, reports that the disease in that county, especially about Kells and the surrounding district, has been much more destructive than he had any notion of when writing last week. He states that, even if the rot should proceed no further, the supply of potatoes cannot last beyond the 1st of March, and that the peasantry were beginning to talk of the injustice of drawing away oats and other provisions from the country. The oat crop in Meath is described as a very abundant one. From some northern districts, the returns are much more favourable—less injury being suffered than had been apprehended, and the disease apparently dying away. But we should observe that the rot has commenced in some parts of Cavan.—We understand that Professors Lindley and Playfair are to be sent over by the Government, in the course of the week, to be associated with Professor Kane, of this city, in the duty of investigating the disease in the potato crop.—A second circular has been very properly issued by the Royal Agricultural Society of Ireland, requesting further information as to the progress and extent of the disease. We trust that all local societies and country gentlemen will promptly return answers to the queries in the circular. It is of the last importance to have the fullest and most authentic information.

I called your attention yesterday to some slight symptoms of improvement in the potato crop in one or two localities. I have gone very carefully over the reports to day, and I feel happy in stating that the grounds for alarm seem somewhat diminishing; although, doubtless, terrible losses have been suffered, and most serious apprehensions exist as to a scarcity of food for the people.—*Dublin Letter, Chronicle.*

ISLE OF MAN.—We are sorry to learn that the prevailing disease in this useful esculent has made its appearance in this island since the prevalence of the late wet weather. The crop, we understand, is an average one. Mr. Faulder turned up the crop in a field in the immediate neighbourhood of Castletown this week by the plough, which proved an extraordinary one, averaging, it is supposed, from 12 to 14 tons of fine healthy potatoes per acre, of the Brocklebanks seedlings.—*Manx Sun.*

CROPS IN PRINCE EDWARD'S ISLAND.—It appears that the potato pestilence has made fearful ravages in Prince Edward's Island, and that the grain harvest has been also unpropitious.

THE POTATO CROP IN DENMARK.—We have accounts from Copenhagen of the 3d of this month, which state that the disease in the potatoes is spreading more and more in Denmark, as in Funen, Lolland, Falster, and likewise Sealand, especially in Amak, near Copenhagen. It has likewise appeared in the Duchy. It is stated that the disease is beginning to show itself in Sweden, and as the crops, particularly of the later kinds, are more backward than in the Netherlands, it is feared that the disease may spread wider. It will, therefore, be advisable to take measures in the discharging of cargoes from that country, to ascertain the quality of the potatoes.—*Dutch Paper.*

FREE TRADE.—POTATOES.—In the course of the last eight days, three cargoes of potatoes have been shipped for the Continent—two for Ghent, and one for Rotterdam—while another is announced as passing the Sound from Stettin to the southward; all with a view to relieve the distresses of the inhabitants of the Low Countries. Reciprocity involves an excellent principle, and should be extended and consolidated.—*Dundee Advertiser.*

OPENING OF THE PORTS.—Finding that there is such a lamentable failure of the potato crop, so essential to the sustenance of the people of the three kingdoms, and to prevent a consequent but unnatural rise in the price of other provisions, we understand, from a well-informed source, that Sir Robert Peel is already devoting his most anxious attention to the subject, and that in all probability he will recommend to her most Gracious Majesty to summon an immediate meeting of the Privy Council to proclaim the opening of the ports for the admission of foreign grain, for the next three months, duty free. If Sir Robert Peel does this, we have no hesitation whatever in stating, that he will sit enshrined in the hearts of the people, and make himself one of the best and greatest ministers that ever counselled the sovereign of these realms.—*Scotch Reformers' Gazette.*

STORING POTATOES.—We cannot too strongly urge on all who are now taking up potatoes, the importance of keeping them out of the earth for a few days previous to storing them, of drying them as much as possible, and of sorting out all that appear in any way diseased. Considering the infectious nature of the potato rot, and the rapidity with which it sometimes spreads, the extra time and trouble consumed in doing this will be well bestowed if it enables us to save a portion of the crop.—*Leeds Mercury.*

THE HARVEST.

Though the weather has not been uniformly favourable during the present week, we have had several fine harvest days, and a good deal of the corn that was in stock in the fields in this and the neighbouring counties has been secured—we fear, not in very good condition, but we hope not essentially damaged. It would probably not be an over-estimate to say, that not less than a tenth of the corn grown north of the Humber is yet exposed to the hazards of the weather, so that the deficiency already ascertained to exist in the harvest may be still further increased. Beans would also suffer from wet weather. Potato gathering for the winter supply will soon be general, should the weather, on the other hand, be dry; at all events, it cannot safely be delayed beyond the first of November. The promise of this root in Yorkshire and Lancashire is still good. It is not improbable, from the result of observations which have been made, that the disease will be found most extensive on ill-drained soils.—*Leeds Mercury.*

SCOTCH CATTLE.—Within the last few days several droves of Scotch cattle, on their way to the south, have been detained in the immediate neighbourhood of this town, in consequence of suffering under the severities of the prevailing epidemic. At one time they amounted in number to more than 800. Some of them were unable to rise from the ground, and had to be fed with hay; but all of them required almost incessant attention. It is to be feared that this lamentable disease will occasion very serious losses to the dealers in Scotch cattle, because the expenses on the road are not only increased, but the quality of the animals is very much depreciated.—*Doncaster Gazette.*

Information from Genoa of the 3d October announces that very large consignments of Piedmontese wheat, and other provisions, are preparing in the ports, destined for the Netherlands.

TAXATION.

(From the Sun.)

In the last number of the *Edinburgh Review* there is an article on a work by Mr. McCulloch, called "A Treatise on the Principles and Practical Influence of Taxation and the Funding System." This is a comprehensive title for a book published in a country that surpasses all others in taxation, and in the amount of its public debt, and from the introductory remarks of the reviewer we anticipated much information on these important subjects, and entertained hopes that political economy at last had discovered some means by which taxation might be lightened, and the enormous debt which oppresses us might be diminished. The exordium would lead to such an inference. The author is extolled to the skies by the writer. "This work," he says, "embraces one of the most extensive and pre-eminently the most practical department of the all-important science to which it belongs; and it comes to us recommended by the authorship of one of the most distinguished cultivators of that science." And further on, "It need hardly be said that a writer at once so deeply versed in scientific deductions, and so thoroughly conversant with statistical details, is peculiarly qualified to meet such a subject as taxation, in which conclusions drawn from abstract premises and general principles continually demand the correction of practical knowledge." We had looked at the work and tried to derive some advantage from it, but in vain. This mishap we attributed to our ignorance of political economy, and the peculiar phrases which Mr. McCulloch uses in conveying his sentiments to the public, and we therefore after this high praise in a journal so celebrated for its ability, and especially for its numerous articles on the principles which regulate the economy of trade, commerce, and manufactures, expected to find some light thrown on the chaos of confusion, and to behold at a glance the discoveries made by one "so deeply versed in scientific deductions and so thoroughly conversant with statistical details." But miserable was our disappointment, for the reviewer seems as much bewildered as ourselves. He, in fact, can make nothing of the work, and when he begins to analyse its parts, he only points out faults, or defects, or contradictions. In the very first page we find that the work contains no great amount of absolute novelty, and that so much deep study and careful observation have suggested but little in the way of practical amendment; and in the second page the writer boldly speaks out, and asserts that "it would not be easy altogether to reconcile in Mr. McCulloch the theorist with the statistician." He gives a good reason, too, for this left-handed blow at "so able and experienced a writer." McCulloch, in alluding to the condition of the working-classes, states that during the last 20 or 30 years, notwithstanding a considerable reduction of taxation, "their condition has certainly not in any degree been improved, but has rather, we incline to think, been sensibly deteriorated." To which this eulogist sarcastically replies: "In some of Mr. Culloch's previous statistical inquiries, he seems, if we recollect rightly, to have proved that during a period in which the population of England has doubled, its agricultural produce, chiefly for the use of man, has quadrupled; and this although, in the interval, England has become an importing instead of an exporting country; from which it follows that an Englishman at this day eats twice as much as his ancestor 80 years ago—a fact difficult to digest in itself; more difficult still when we are informed that for 30 years the condition of the great bulk of the people has been falling off." This shows that political economists, as well as liars, ought to have good memories. Throughout the whole review of the work similar criticism prevails. We do not find one principle laid down which bears the test of examination; and though the writer to keep up the appearance with which he commenced, throws in now and then a little "soft sawdust," he is evidently highly dissatisfied with a production which comes forth with such high pretensions. We are not surprised at this, for really it contains nothing new except staggering dogmas, without any attempt at elucidation or the slightest proof. It abounds with all the stock phrases of political economists, and expresses a common idea or the plainest proposition in such a complication of high-sounding words and peculiar phraseology, that ordinary readers cannot arrive at the meaning without translating the paragraph, and sometimes the whole chapter, into plain English, and after sifting it are astonished to find nothing but chaff—not even one grain of wheat. Such phrases as these meet you at every turn—"incidence of taxes," "the natural or necessary price of labour," "population increasing with appalling rapidity," "the irremediable helotism of the great majority," "the horoscope of the system," "net or taxable incomes," "funds, mortgages, capital, industry," and 50 other terms of the same stamp, to which, however, we should not object, if they were used in such a way as to produce any good effect, or afford the least consolation for the enormous taxes under which the population, and especially the working population, labours. But they all come to nothing. Population is increasing at a fearful rate; Watt and Arkwright, and others so celebrated for their wondrous inventions and discoveries, are the great culprits; even the poor Irish are blamed for coming over to this country, and reducing the comforts of the English population. The command of the Creator, "to increase and multiply," is to be disobeyed, though the world is not yet half peopled; the condition of the labouring classes is every day becoming more and more deteriorated; and then comes this sage reflection:—"There may, however, be, and we trust there are, countervailing principles at work, of which we cannot at present trace the operation; and at all events we are, whether for good or for evil, too far advanced in manufactures to think of seriously checking their progress. And what does he recommend in the meantime? "Opening additional markets for our manufactured goods, lightening the burdens of the lower classes, and repealing or modifying injudicious or oppressive taxation." Why, the first would act precisely in the same way as Watt's and Arkwright's inventions, for the manufacturing population increase or diminish according to the demand for their labour, and by lightening the burdens on the industrious classes, new burdens must be cast on others, of course on men who have capital in land or money, and according to his own showing, this would "lessen the means of capitalists to employ labour, and increase the temptation to carry capital abroad; and it has not yet been shown how a measure productive of such results should be otherwise than injurious to the labouring classes. But he even despairs of his own remedy, and it is not to be wondered at, after such a jumble of confused ideas. "When this has been done," he says up, "Government had better pause; and, how unphilosophical soever it may seem, the safest course will then probably be to fold our arms, and to leave the denouement to time and Providence." We have only space to notice two or three of the glaring contradictions and unfounded statements with which the work

abounds. Mr. McCulloch contends that every shilling raised by the Income-tax is so much deducted from the fund for the employment of labour; that it lessens the means of capitalists to employ labour, and increases the temptation to carry capital abroad. Why, any man who possesses common sense, without a particle of that science called political economy, knows that there are as many false statements here as paragraphs. The money raised by the Income-tax is not thrown into the sea: it still exists, and forms a fund for the employment of labour, either in improving or forming harbours; in constructing machinery for steam-vessels; in building ships and making railroads, bridges, &c. for the service of the country. And if a heavy Income-tax drives capital to other countries, has not every tax the same tendency? If families find themselves burdened with taxes here more grievously than in other countries, or if manufacturers ascertain that they can carry on their trade on the Continent at a cheaper rate, they would be as likely to emigrate for one tax as for another. But after all, these high taxes do not, to any perceptible extent, drive capital abroad. This is a mere bugbear, to be found only in the imagination of the author, and at direct variance too with one of his indisputable dogmas. What country ever was so taxed as Great Britain during the war with France? The Income-tax alone was three times heavier than it is now. Did capital emigrate on that account? Not in the least, and McCulloch is our authority, for he is of opinion that *all* taxes, when judiciously imposed, and not carried to an oppressive height, occasion an increase of industry and economy, and 'but rarely encroach on capital.' Nay, he deems it probable that "the capital of this country, notwithstanding the enormous expenditure occasioned by the American and late French wars, is about as great as it would have been had we enjoyed profound peace since 1770." What is to be done with a writer like this? It is impossible to bind Mr. McCulloch to anything, for what he advances as an indisputable fact in one place, he contradicts in another, and leaves the reader at an utter loss to know what he means by "true," and what he means by "false." The perusal of the work has only more confirmed us in the opinion of Mr. Cobden, who, in animadverting on McCulloch's notes and comments on the "Wealth of Nations," said that he was a good collector of statistical facts, but a miserable political economist; and in attempting to elucidate the theories of the immortal Adam Smith, had "only made that obscure which was before clear."

RISE IN THE PRICE OF GRAIN.—We have this day to report a very considerable rise in prices. Yesterday wheat advanced 3d., barley 2d., and oats 1d. This day the rise on wheat is 6d., barley 4d. to 6d., and oats 2d., being an advance since our report on Saturday of 9d. on wheat, 6d. to 8d. on barley, and 3d. on oats.—*York Reporter.*

RICHES OF PENNSYLVANIA.—The *United States Gazette* says, measures have been adopted which will insure the prompt payment of the interest, due next February. This rich state produces annually 15,000,000 bushels of wheat, and 45,000,000 bushels of other grain, and is capable of increasing the amount fourfold; she will send to market this year 2,000,000 tons of anthracite coal, yielding a return to the state of 7,000,000 dols.; she manufactures three-fourths of the iron made in the whole Union, and has the means of supplying the consumption of the world; she has a bituminous coal field through which the main line passes, for 130 miles, containing 1000 square miles, or 6,400,000 acres; while all Europe contains only 2000 square miles of bituminous coal land.

IMPORTANT TO DEALERS IN WOOD.—The Commissioners of the Treasury, on the application of an eminent merchant, praying that a parcel of partridge wood, recently imported into Liverpool from Antigua, may be admitted to entry on importation into this country free of duty, as furniture wood; and on a memorial from Messrs. Folke and Boulton, of Liverpool, requesting that the description of wood known by the trade as cherry wood may be added to the list of furniture woods, admissible to entry, under the tariff of the last session, duty free, and that a parcel of this cherry wood recently imported by them into the port of Liverpool from New Orleans may be so admitted, their Lordships have been pleased to authorise compliance with the request of the parties. These decisions, which are of very considerable importance to the importers and dealers in woods used in the manufacture of furniture, have been communicated to the revenue officers at the various outposts.—*Leeds Mercury.*

RAILWAY SPECULATION.—The increase within the last ten days of new railway speculations announced, answers to a capital in round numbers of £50,000,000, the schemes being about forty in number. There had previously been advertised about 450 new railway schemes to be brought before the Parliamentary session of 1846, and representing a capital of nearly £500,000,000, the first calls on which may be roughly estimated at £45,000,000. The maddest of railway speculators, who is invulnerable to reason and to argument, must be startled, one would think, and pause a little at such facts.—*Times of Monday.*

AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY.—At a meeting of the Harlow Farmers' Club, held by adjournment on the 6th inst., the following was the subject of discussion, and the resolution at which the Society arrived. Subject: Agricultural Machinery—its effect upon our labourers. Resolution.—That in the opinion of this meeting, the employment of machinery in agriculture, where there is sufficient capital at the occupier's command, is both beneficial and effective, as to the employment and moral condition of the labourer; but where it is employed for the purpose of extinguishing labour, there it is most baneful in every point of view. The great expense of good implements and perfect machinery, can only be borne where the tenant is sufficiently secured by the terms of his tenure.—*Nonch Mercury.*

TURN OUT OF POWER-LOOM WEAVERS AT OLDHAM.—The thousands of power-loom weavers of Messrs. Jones, Wallshaw mills, and Mr. Dronfield, Werneth mill, still continue. Mr. Dronfield has sent forth an announcement that he is willing to give the same prices as other masters, and inviting new hands to take the places of the turn-outs.

ADVANCE IN THE PRICE OF WHISKY.—The Dublin distillers have made a considerable advance in the price of whisky. The failure of the potato crop, and the consequent anticipated consumption of oats, is the cause of the advance.

"A Berkshire Farmer," writing in the *Mark Lane Express*, says, that on putting up some of his Scotch turnips, on the 1st instant, he found about a tenth part of them at root, much in the same way as the potatoes are this season.

STOCKPORT. MONOPOLY IN FULL FORCE AGAIN. To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

Sir,—During the last three years, until very recently, the condition of all classes in this borough was rapidly and progressively improving. Many large and long unoccupied manufacturing houses having been put in motion, employing thousands of additional hands, and paying some thousands of pounds weekly in wages, the shops of our tradesmen became crowded with customers, and hundreds of previously empty houses got filled with tenants; the workhouse has been emptied of its able-bodied inmates, and the poor-rates are reduced very low. Such has been the happy and progressively prosperous state of this borough for the last two or three years.

If we look at the dress of its inhabitants at the present time, as compared with what it was three years ago, we cannot but be astonished on reflecting how much in this limited period the expenditure of this one town has done to stimulate and sustain the industry of every place in the kingdom, which is the seat of any useful branch of manufacture and trade, and how in like manner the increased expenditure of other places has tended to the prosperity of this. The happy progress which Stockport was making has, however, received a sudden and serious check, and from the nature of the cause, and the intimate and immediate connection between all our seats of industry, we may shortly expect wide-spread distress. A large, a very large amount of the money which until lately was spent weekly in clothing, &c., is now paid for common daily indispensable food. The apparently trifling advance of one penny per 13 lbs. of flour, makes a difference in this borough of 125l. per week! The advance within the last few months is not less than from 1s. 8d. to 2s. 6d. per 12 lbs.!! Now, the weekly consumption in this borough, when not put upon W. T. Egerton's short-common Corn Law duty, is 1500 loads of 12 casks each; and, consequently, its 10,000 families are now paying exactly 1000l. per week more for flour than they did a few months ago!!

The above being a fact which every head of a family but too well knows, do we need to at all wonder at the daily increasing complaints of all those classes of tradesmen who do not make or deal in the dire necessities of life?

In addition to the advance in the price of bread, we have been paying at least 20 per cent. more for butter, cheese, and all sorts of animal food, during the past 12 months, than we did the year before; so that for four of the principal articles of human subsistence the people of this borough are actually paying about 1500l. per week, or after the rate of 80,000l. per annum more than last year!

In the last session of Parliament, state taxes to the amount of 3,700,000l. were repealed. This afforded relief to the extent of 2s. 6d. per head per annum to the whole population. Now, this was thought at the time to be a large and comprehensive financial operation, and a very wise and liberal reduction of the national burthens. But when we come to compare this reduction in state with the subsequent increase in monopoly taxation, how insignificant the former appears.

The relief by the repeal of the Government taxes was, for Stockport, to the amount of about 6000l. a-year, whereas we are now paying at the rate of 80,000l. a-year more taxes than we did last year to W. T. Egerton and his monopolist confederates!

If the evil was not likely to extend further than to deprive large classes of retail tradesmen of custom, whilst the cost of maintaining their families increased, and of making the working classes work a full day a week more than they previously did, to support the extravagance of Egerton and Co., even then the gross injustice of the system is such that it ought to be at once put down by the resolute and stern demand of an indignant nation. But when we come to calculate the certain and immediate consequences which must result, unless something can be promptly done, to relax the iron grasp of the monopolists, the prospect before us becomes certainly most appalling.

Stockport is only the 560th part of the kingdom in point of population; and if that town is paying 1000l. per week more for bread than it did a few months ago, what must be the amount paid by the kingdom? and from the falling-off which must generally take place in the purchase of manufactures, we may expect soon to see reductions of wages, stopping of works, emptying of houses, and filling of "Bastilles," and general prostration and distress.

I purpose troubling you with more detailed statistics of the condition of this borough.

Oct. 22. Yours, &c. A LEAGUER.

The *Monmouth Merlin* publishes a long account of the twelfth anniversary of the Abergavenny Cymreigyddion, which took place with great ceremony on Wednesday and Thursday last. A procession of harpers and singers and other members of the society marched along, and a large waggon containing a printing-press was in the cavalcade, in which two printers, dressed in Welch flannel, printed cards of the festival, and distributed them to the crowd as the procession moved on. Sir Benjamin Hall, who presided, delivered a long oration; and among the company assembled in the hall were the Indian Prince, Dwarakanath Tagore, dressed in the costume of his country; Count Pollon, Sardinian Minister; Count Reventlow, Danish Minister, and many of the highest families of the principality. There was a dinner and a distribution of prizes for lyric odes, Welch songs, essays, harpists, singers, and Welch flannels. The festival appears to have gone off remarkably well.

A very superior class of steam vessels is now in the course of building, intended to run as packets between Dover and Calais. Two of them, of iron, are on the stocks, and a third of diagonal timber is under construction at Chatham. They are spoken of in the highest terms, and are expected to be far beyond any vessel that has yet been launched.—*United Service Gazette.*

MINERAL DISCOVERIES IN AUSTRALIA.—New discoveries of copper have been made at about two miles beyond the Light, and the probable extent of the minerals there will shortly superinduce the occupation of the valuable corn lands and pastures comprised in the two special surveys intersected by the river above mentioned. A copper lode recently discovered on the estate of Mr. A. Hallett, beyond O'Halloran's, has been sufficiently examined, and is pronounced a most valuable property. Nor are these all the current discoveries. Messrs. Philcox and Campbell have purchased a section near Wollunga, on which a copper lode has been laid bare to the extent of about eight fathoms, the quality of the ore being such as can be pronounced upon "at sight." We are almost tired of hearing about manganese; if all the reports are true, and we see no reason to doubt them, the deposits of this useful mineral are obviously great, if not incalculable.—*Adelaide Observer, May 5.*

ILMINSTER PLOUGHING MATCH.

This match took place on Wednesday. A great number of ploughs were entered for the prizes, and some excellent work was exhibited. The dinner took place, as usual, at the Grapes Tavern, and was admirably served up, the whole fully sustaining the well-known reputation of that respectable establishment.

The chair was taken by WILLIAM SPEKE, Esq., of Andovers, who ably performed the duties which devolved upon him.

Several gentlemen addressed the company; among them were Bickham Escott, Esq., M.P., P. V. T. Langworthy, Esq., &c.

We regret that our limited space will not allow of our inserting more than an important speech delivered by Mr. Escott.

The CHAIRMAN having proposed "The health of the Member for Winchester,"

Mr. ESCOTT rose amid loud cheering, and spoke to the following effect:—He said he might almost complain of the kindness of the chairman, in thus repeatedly bringing his name before the company present, but that he had neither the wish nor the power to conceal what sincere gratification he derived from the kind and hearty welcome which they had given him. He had peculiar pleasure in meeting a large body of farmers, and others interested in agriculture, in this town of Ilminster, because he had not forgotten that here, three years ago, he had met a like party, and had been allowed by them the opportunity of stating frankly to the public his opinion on certain questions in which they were all deeply interested—(cheers). The agricultural societies had in some places, and in some other parts of the country, a little fallen into disrepute with farmers—(hear)—and why was it? because they had fettered the expression of public opinion on public questions, by absurd restrictions—(loud and continued cheers); whereas, he was sure that here every man might express what each believed to be true, and that all would be best pleased by plainness and freedom of speech—(cheers). There was, then, a great practical question, on which all men's minds were more or less interested, and which was every day becoming more and more a subject of intent thought and anxious reflection. Of course he meant the question of restriction on imported food—(hear, hear)—duties for the purpose of keeping up price—the present Corn Law. (Hear, hear.) He had that morning read a letter from Lord Ashley to his constituents on this subject. The noble lord had, indeed written what to his mind seemed a curious epistle—(a laugh)—he had spoken of his own incompetence and want of ability. He was the only man in the country who would have spoken of that. No (proceeded the hon. gentleman), Lord Ashley is an able man, sees truly what is coming; but then Lord Ashley is tainted with that which is the feeling of so many county members, or, if not their feeling it is the mode in which they speak and write. He writes of the Corn Law as given up; but then he describes its loss as a blow, and a blow in another place, destructive of the prosperity of his constituents. Why, surely, if the noble lords think this, then the House of Commons is the place where he and others who think the same should ward off the blow—(hear and cheers). Lord Ashley is quite right in saying the Corn Law is given up, but how can he be right in submitting quietly to allow his constituents to suffer heavy blows?—(cheers). Gentlemen, the truth is, and it had better be spoken plainly, it is the conduct of the special representatives of what they call agricultural opinions which has precipitated the fall of this Corn Law—(tremendous cheering). Why, I have sat in the House of Commons, and heard a gentleman, a worthy friend of my own, pure in character, high in fortune and station, harangue the representatives of the people by the hour, on the low price of beef, mutton, veal, and lamb (hear and great laughter), and do this avowedly for the purpose of supporting agriculture, and propping up protection—(hear, hear); in other words, arraying the supposed interests of agriculture against the real interests of the people—(cheers). Whereas I always thought that the only way to maintain any system of protection was to shew, if you can, that the interests of the community required it, and that the friends of the farmer are the friends of the consumer—(cheers). Gentlemen, so soon as I had heard that speech and others of a similar, though none quite of so monstrous a tendency, and so indiscreet in its expression, I feel, as Lord Ashley feels, that the game of protection was up. This was an attempt to maintain a contest with the bellies of the people—(great laughter and cheers). But I differ with Lord Ashley in one important respect. I dread no blow. I think the change is inevitable, but I do not despond for the result—(cheers). It is true things might have been better if we could have foreseen all that has happened. Late last session I gave a notice for the admission of Indian corn (the very best food for stock), free of duty. Oh, if that measure could have been carried last session, what a blessing would it have been for the country!—"hear" and "no". I hear some gentlemen dispute that opinion. Now, consider for a moment. We import the fat beast and give the Dutch grazer the profit, and the Dutch farmer the manure. Why on earth should we not import the food which is to fatten our own (hundreds were starving last March and April), and keep to ourselves the profit of the grazer, and nourish our own crops with the increased manure? (loud cheers and cries of "that's common sense.") Common sense, says some gentlemen, yes it is indeed common sense; and that is what the Secretary of State has said of the wise course in which we are proceeding. Lord Ashley is, indeed, right on one point; when the leading men of all parties are agreed to support common sense, it must be very unbecomingly common sense that can prevail against them—(laughter and cheers). I have thought it right to speak openly. I have wondered how it is that at so many of these dinners so little or nothing is said of the great question. One recommends better farming, another advises the granting of leases, but both forget the facts that better farming requires capital and security—(great cheering), and the other fact, that the security of leases can never be generally obtained, while there is uncertainty about these laws of importation—(cheers). Let us all, then, endeavour to meet the times, not by concealing the truth, but by preparing for its inevitable conclusions. It will be thus that temporary difficulties will be surmounted, as they have been surmounted before, by the kindness and consideration of some, by the energy and unfettered enterprise of others, and for myself, I feel very grateful that you, to whom I owe no public allegiance, and have no concessions to make, or votes to regret, have allowed me to express to men whom I respect, something of my own convictions on the greatest public question of the day.

The whole company then rose and cheered tumultuously for some minutes.

NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.—A SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING of the MEMBERS of the LEAGUE will be held in the FREE-TRADE HALL, MANCHESTER, on TUESDAY evening, the 28th inst. The Chair will be taken by GEORGE WILSON, Esq., at half-past seven o'clock precisely. The meeting will be addressed by Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., John Bright, Esq., M.P., and Henry Ashworth, Esq., of Bolton. Members of the Council, and gentlemen from the country, may obtain tickets of admission to the platform by application to the Secretary, on and after Saturday next, the 25th inst., at the Offices, Newall's-buildings, Manchester. Members of the League will be admitted on showing their cards of Membership. The gallery will be, as usual, reserved for ladies. By Order of the Council.

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LEAGUE FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Oct. 22, 1845.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

*Wood, John, 17, Cumming-street, Pentonville	..	25	0	0
*Epps, Dr., 89, Great Russell-street	..	1	0	0
A fee unexpected, paid by W. R. to Dr. Epps	1	1	0	2
The amount for books sold	0	12	0	0
*Mellish, P., Banner-street, St. Luke's	..	1	10	0
*Bower, Wm., 5, Sloane-square, Chelsea	..	1	1	0
*Bell, John, London	..	1	1	0
*Davies, Wm., 15, Fell street, Wood-street	..	1	1	0
*Watson, Wm., Park-road, Holloway	..	1	1	0
*Jilkin, Wm., 3, Kinaston-street, Lambeth	..	1	1	0
*Boswell, Thomas, 49, Skinner-street	..	1	1	0
*Wilson, Thomas, 103, Cheapside	..	1	1	0
*Edwards, Peter, 72, ditto	..	1	1	0
*Thorne, James, Mayhew House, South Lambeth	..	1	1	0
*Lee, Thomas, Park Villa, Highgate	..	1	1	0
*Crelin, Philip, Ratcliff highway	..	1	1	0
*Leavers, William, 5, Park-street, Islington	..	1	1	0
*Leavers, Wm., jun., 2, Duncan-place, City-road	..	1	1	0
*Harker, J. W., 24, Upper Barnsbury-street	..	1	1	0
*Coventry, J., Stoke Newington	..	1	1	0
*Ladell, Richard, Chelmsford-place, Pentonville	..	1	1	0
*Gurney, Wm., Charlton-street, Somers-town	..	1	1	0
*Calway, B., 118, Tooley-street	..	1	1	0
*Seward, J. and C., 8, Hereford-place, Commercial-road-east	..	1	1	0
*F.	..	1	1	0
*Brown, Josiah, 47, Cannon-street, City	..	1	1	0
*Townend, W., 3, Brabant-court, City	..	1	1	0
*Burt, Messrs. and Potts, 65, York-st., Westminster	..	1	1	0
*Mudie, C. A., 28, Upper King-street, Bloomsbury	..	1	1	0
*Wright, A., Kirkham, Lancashire	..	1	1	0
*Boyle, Humphrey, 88, Meadow-lane, Leeds	..	1	1	0
*Gill, Joseph, top of Meadow-lane, Leeds	..	1	1	0
*Mennell, Wm., 8, Dowsbury-road, Leeds	..	1	1	0
*Garnen, W. H., Hayne, near Tiverton	..	1	1	0
*Nottelroff, Samuel, Birmingham	..	1	1	0
*Miller, C. H., 8, Union-place, Montrose	..	1	0	0
*Bradley, James Bradley, Huddersfield	..	1	0	0
*Priestman, Joshua, Thornton, near Pickering	..	1	0	0
*Hutton, Rev. Joseph, Fairfield, Glasnevin, Dublin	..	1	0	0
*Thallon, Robert, Madeira-court, Glasgow	..	1	0	0
*Campbell, Thomas B., 18, Greenside-place, Edinburgh	..	1	0	0
*Monro, F., Cheltenham	..	1	0	0
*Cowburn, John, Settle	..	1	0	0
*Jones, Thomas, Wheeler Gate, Nottingham	..	1	0	0
*Millar, Charles, Devonport	..	1	0	0
*Callam, Geo. & Co., 13, Greenside-place, Edinburgh	..	1	0	0
*Kilmer, J., Paton's Farm, Gouthurst, near Bridgewater	..	1	0	0
*Keighley, Joseph, Low-street, Keighley, Yorkshire	..	1	0	0
*Square, C. W., Salisbury	..	1	0	0
*Monro, M. M., Enfield	..	1	0	0
*Dalman, G. J., 31, Gifford-street, Hoxton	..	1	0	0
*Robinson, Edward, 11, Upper Belgrave-place	..	1	0	0
*Grisbrook, Joseph, Woolwich	..	1	0	0
*Smart, R., 55, High-street, Camden-town	..	1	0	0
*Coghill, Donald, Maiden-lane, Covent-garden	..	1	0	0
*Laroche, B. W., 4, Clarence-terrace, Albany-road, Stoke Newington	..	1	0	0
*Bennett, John Jos., 5, Melim-place, St. John's-wood	..	1	0	0
*Daniell, George, 14, Elm-tree-road, St. John's-wood	..	1	0	0
*Garey, E. B., 24, Southampton-buildings	..	1	0	0
*Jackson, Richard, Pittman's Arms, Pittman's-buildings, St. Luke's	..	1	0	0
*Marsden, Geo. Eagle, Parson's Mead, Croydon	..	1	0	0
*Marsden, Geo. Eagle, jun., Kingston, Surrey	..	1	0	0
*Marsden, R. A., Elliott's Vale, Blackheath	..	1	0	0
*Marsden, Mark Eagle, 22, Cloak-lane, City	..	1	0	0
*Jackson, John, 10, Broadbridge-street, Chelmswell	..	1	0	0
*Jones, Thomas Ellis, 57, Old Broad-street	..	1	0	0
*King, J. T., 10, Camden-street, Islington	..	1	0	0
*Taber, R. W., 10, Lower James-street, Golden-square	..	1	0	0
*Page, Thomas, 23, White-lion-street, Spital-square	..	1	0	0
*Hall, Wm., 3, Pickering-pl., Queen's-road, Bayswater	..	1	0	0
*Overton, William, 20, Galford-street, Poplar	..	1	0	0
*Dodwell, W. W., 32, Queen-street, Bryanstone-square	..	1	0	0
*Ball, William, 124, Piccadilly	..	1	0	0
*Collier, Wm., 1, Biloyst-st., Cromer-st., Gray's-inn-road	..	1	0	0
*Ball, J., 4, Great New-street, Gough-square	..	1	0	0
*Martin, William, 81, Old-street, St. Luke's	..	1	0	0
*Slim, James, 17, Spital-square	..	1	0	0
*Goodbehere, T. G., 5, Martin's-lane, City	..	1	0	0
*Bushfield, S., 198, Kingsland-road	..	1	0	0
*Cooking, Samuel, jun., Harder's-lane, Peckham	..	1	0	0
*Browne, P., Rye-lane, Peckham	..	1	0	0
*Kitchin, Geo., 50, Hatton Garden	..	1	0	0
*Wright, Joseph, 48, York-street, King's-square	..	1	0	0
*Stone, John, 51, Great Titchfield-street	..	1	0	0
*Robinson, George, 23, Berkeley-street, Connaught-sq.	..	1	0	0
*Swan, William, 41, Minorities	..	1	0	0
*Robinson, John, 8, Commercial-road East	..	1	0	0
*Edmond, Henry, Vine-street	..	1	0	0
*Hudson, W. G., 13, King-street, Cheapside	..	1	0	0
*Butler, Thomas, 58, Shoreditch	..	1	0	0
*Ingles, Adam, St. John's-square	..	1	0	0
*Finch, Samuel, 21, King-street, Clerkenwell	..	1	0	0
*Shorter, William, Longthorpe Lodge, Hammersmith	..	1	0	0
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*Rooker, James Marshall, Rio Janeiro	..	5	0	0
*Lindop, Thomas, Hanley, Staffordshire	..	2	0	0
*Brooks, W., Upper Brook-street, C. on M. Manchester	..	2	0	0
*Booth, Edward, 79, Union-st., Ardwick, Manchester	..	1	1	0
*Dyson, Thomas, Duke of York, Shadwell, ditto	..	1	1	0
*Collinson, John, Newton Heath, near ditto	..	1	1	0
*Sheffield, Wm., 113, Oldham-street, ditto	..	1	1	0
*Keighley, W. J., 9, Princess-street, ditto	..	1	1	0
*Kitts, John, Green-street, Little Bolton	..	1	1	0
*Pike, John, farmer, Melton, Wilts	..	1	1	0
*Wood, William, Whitcross Bank, Salford	..	1	1	0

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LETTERS ON THE CORN LAWS, No. XLVII.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD ASHLEY.

My LORD,—The gift of foresight is of little avail without the power of action. It only produces a pitiable exhibition of feebleness. Your lordship predicts the approaching downfall of the Corn Laws. You admonish the freeholders of Dorsetshire to prepare for their "destiny." You consider it "needless to argue the policy or impolicy of such a change." And having relieved your mind of its prophetic burden, you turn away from the agriculturists of Dorset, whose representative you are, to discuss the hours of labour with the operatives of Lancashire.

Your lordship possesses this negative mark of true inspiration, that you seem scarcely to understand the full import and extent of your own prediction. The decisive sign of the times and prognostic of the coming change, is, with you, the agreement of "the leading men of the great parties in the Legislature." Others foresaw it while those same "leading men" were agreed in their hostility to Corn Law repeal. They reckoned on the power of principles, which has only become visible to your lordship when embodied in the influence of persons. You anticipate a "wide and fearful pressure of commercial distress" as the constraining cause of Corn Law repeal, for its relief; and yet you counsel the agriculturists to "consider in what way they can break the force" of that relief. Assuring them that such a course would "be wise," you announce your purpose of not "attending any of their agricultural anniversaries," to assist in reducing this wisdom to practical shape. You hold yourself better engaged with the wants of other classes, for whom the coming change, whether as an improvement or as a deliverance, is undoubtedly propitious.

It is not very long since you professed to stand appalled and self-reproached at disclosures of the wretched condition of the peasantry in your own county of Dorset. Their tattered garments, their coarse and scanty fare, their crowded hovels, present pictures of misery not to be paralleled amongst the cotton-spinners towards whom your heart is overflowing. But you leave their guardian angels, if such they have, to guide them through a change which, you say, may be "destructive." You renounce the annual gatherings of farmers and labourers now that the "destiny is fixed" of the Corn Laws. The love of the labourer is waxing cold. The philanthropic anniversary, with its prize ploughmen and toasted thrashers, is involved in the "fixed destiny" of abolition. "It is not likely that you will have the pleasure this year" of sympathy with the peasantry. No more agricultural "protection," and no more agricultural philanthropy. One would have thought that meetings which can no longer uphold monopoly might still have promoted charity. It was the more prominent topic of the two in the professions of their presidents. No doubt your lordship has some benevolent purpose hid beneath the mystery of this withdrawal at a critical period; but the potato-fed serfs of Dorsetshire must feel it an inscrutable abandonment.

You think you are more wanted in the north. The people are better paid, and consequently better clad, better fed, better housed, better taught, than your hungry and ragged labourers at home. But you are their champion for short hours. Remember, my lord, your prophecy of "the wide and fearful pressure of commercial distress" that is impending. Remember that "our actual prosperity must come to an end." Who will thank you, when that period arrives, for having abridged the operative's right of hiring out his labour, and disposing of his time? When leaves become less, and meat vanishes from the table, who will bless your name for the annihilation even of one profitable hour? Think of the mine-women, of whom so many have been punished for evading your law on their behalf! Think of the poor girl who perished by falling down the coal-pit, into which she was endeavouring to steal, in boy's clothes, to earn needful food by forbidden work! Distress can only be mitigated by increased exertion, and would be ill prepared for by a legal limitation of labour.

If your lordship expects commercial distress to be averted by the repeal of the Corn Laws, the case is not less strong against interposition. The factory operatives can make their own terms in proportion

times. Food, cheap and plenty, is to them a ten hours' bill, or an eight hours' bill, that executes itself. It needs no informers or inspectors. Prosperous trade ensures better bargains. You may trust the Corn Law Repeal Act for relief. But why, then, has your lordship always opposed Corn Law repeal?

You involve yourself in terrible entanglement by declining to look the Corn Law question fairly in the face. Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell, shaken into one, do not constitute a "destiny," even for an Act of Parliament. If the present law be wise and just, your constituents and the country have a claim on your uncompromising support of it, whatever parties may combine for its abolition. If that law be neither just nor wise, they have an equal claim for your exertions against its continuance. You cannot evade the question of "policy or impolicy," and yet discharge your duty as a legislator. Nay more, you cannot evade that question, and yet sustain your position as a philanthropist.

In the field or in the factory, the prospect of an ameliorated condition is bound up in the great point at issue. All efficient aid, and all consistent charity, must proceed on the assumption of the policy or impolicy of the Corn Laws. It is a previous question to all others. You assume the repeal to be an evil when you advise the agriculturists to "break the force" of the blow. You assume the repeal to be a good when you describe its inevitable contingency on commercial distress. The same breath blows hot and cold. If the repeal will be no relief to commerce, and even "gradual abolition" be "injurious" to the farmer, it is little in harmony with your benevolent professions to couple such measures with impending calamity, and become accessory to a disastrous national delusion, even though it should be patronised by "the leading men of the great parties in the Legislature." If, on the other hand, it be a measure which the prospect of distress ought to render "inevitable," you ought assuredly to re-consider your counsel to agriculturists, that they should diminish the good as much as possible, make "terms" on behalf of an expiring mischief, and save a nest-egg of monopoly for future vivification.

The extent of this question as one, not merely of a particular enactment, but of national policy, seems not to have impressed itself on your lordship's mind. If Free Trade be inevitable, every kind of influence claiming to be useful should direct itself towards rendering the principles of Free Trade all-pervading. It cannot co-exist with a system of minute legislation, however kindly in its purposes. The best help to the working classes is that which enables them to help themselves. You might enact that no man shall wear a hat with a hole in it; and if at the same time you enact that he shall not work the hours required for a new hat, what follows? I know an establishment in which a wholly unnecessary legislative interference about white-washing, last year, cost the workpeople employed therein no less than 2000*l.* in suspended wages, and did no good to any living being. Such cruel kindnesses are, I fear, not uncommon in the history of legislative philanthropies. They must happen when good gentlemen intermeddle with what in detail they cannot understand. And they must also happen, so long as desired and most desirable improvements in the food and clothing of the poor, in their hours of toil, in the cleanliness and wholesomeness of their homes, &c., are not based upon the general improvement of their condition, adequate wages, and full employment. This general improvement might still leave the working classes in need of instruction and suggestion. There might still be occasion to direct, stimulate, and aid their struggles into a better mode of daily existence. A wide field would be open for much of the beneficent enterprise in which your lordship is engaged. Happy results would cheer on philanthropic exertion. The case of the farm labourer would no longer be so desperate as to be relinquished for a more promising solicitude on behalf of the manufacturing operative. All classes would have vantage ground to start from in the career of improvement.

However near the termination of the corn monopoly may be, your course, my lord, must needs be one of helping or of hindering. Even in such a change as that, much must be contingent on the

spirit in which it is accomplished. Ill would it become you to leave your name associated, in Parliamentary records, with what you deem "destructive" or "injurious;" or, on the other hand, to connect yourself to the last with a doomed system, whose existence is incompatible with the kindly purposes to which your life is devoted. You must take a side, my lord. You thwart and falsify all for what you profess to live, unless you take the right side.

A NORWICH WEAVER BOY.

THE HOP GROWERS AND THE HOP CULTIVATION.

Last week I gave some account of Weyhill hop fair. Perhaps it will be interesting to many readers, if I give some account in continuation of that of the hop culture.

The hop is used in the brewing of beer. When the liquor is drawn off the malt, it is sweet; hops being added to it, produces an acidity. The longer beer is intended to be kept, the more liberally it is "hopped;" for instance, the directions to brew strong ale and strong beer are the following:—"Twelve bushels of malt to the hogshead for beer, (or fourteen, if you wish it of a very good body); eight for ale. For either pour the whole quantity of water hot, but not boiling, on at once, and let it infuse three hours close covered; mash it in the first half hour, and let it stand the remainder of the time. Run it on the hops previously infused in water. For strong beer, three quarters of a pound to a bushel; of malt, if for ale, half-a-pound. Boil them with the malt three hours from the time it begins to boil. Cool a paleful to add three quarts of yeast to, which will prepare it for putting to the rest when ready next day; but if possible, put together the same night. Turn as usual. Cover the bung-hole with paper when the beer has done working; and when it is to be stopped, have ready a pound-and-a-half of hops dried before the fire, put them into the bung-hole, and fasten it up. Let it stand twelve months in casks, and twelve in bottles, before it be drank. It will keep five, eight, or ten years. It should be brewed the beginning of March."

Such are the uses to which the hop are put. The nature of the plant, and the portion of it used, will be seen presently.

The cultivation of the hop is a species of husbandry principally confined to that part of the island, comprised in the counties of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex. Each of these counties presents a great variety of external features when taken by itself; but when collected and compared together, they exhibit a remarkable uniformity and sameness. The great formations of the wealden, the sand, and the chalk, belong to each and to all. In the core of the district lies the wealden, comprising the wealds of Kent, Surrey and Sussex. This large and central tract of country is girt with a belt of chalk hills, which, rising from the sea about the Isle of Thanet, range in a westerly course over the north of Kent, and passing through Surrey, return in a circular sweep along the south of Sussex to the channel. A fringe of sand forms the union between the chalk and the wealden.

These three varieties of soil govern the kinds of agricultural occupation, afforded at different seasons. The woodland is the great feature of the wealden. The sand, as it rises into the chalk, furnishes some of the most celebrated hop-gardens and orchards. The most highly-cultivated arable land is found upon the chalk of the Isle of Thanet.

There is perhaps no produce in the country that requires so much, or such varied human labour, as the hop at the different stages of its progress. The ground is at one time a field, at another a garden. Great outlay of force must be expended on the soil as on the corn-land; but the force is that of the human arm, not that of the beast of burden; which, in some plantations, as those about Farnham, scarcely enters. Unlike corn, too, and other produce, which, when the soil has been prepared, and the seed committed to the ground, is left in the main to the course of nature and the order of the seasons to bring to perfection, it must be trained and tended from its first shoot to its ripening. Then it is not gathered like corn, and stored upon the stalk, but is cut at once by the farmer. It thus call into play the energies of all ages and of either sex. The soil is tilled and subdued by the man; the plant is trained and tended by the woman; in the gathering, are united all—man, woman, and child. The practice of tilling and sowing, however, has in some places the character of a man's work, and in others of a woman's; and even times the girl in the more laborious treatment of the land. The women do much of the men's labour at task-work, and in the hop-picking, which is the most laborious of all. But, however, only the higher portion of the female population is called upon to do the hop-picking; and the men, who are called upon to do the hop-picking, are the men who are called upon to do the hop-picking.

digging the gravel down, and which are left by the plough in order to drain the surface-water off.

In describing the various processes through which the hop passes before it reaches the market, I will begin at the beginning.

Digging is usually begun in the month of December, and performed by the acre. The rate of payment is from 18s. to 17. an acre. A man and a boy will dig about an acre in the week. The next stage is *opening the hops*—that is, levelling the hills which have been piled round the plants in the preceding summer. Women and boys are occasionally employed at this; but it is usually done by the men as taskwork. Sometimes they contract to do it by the acre, but it is nice work, and therefore seldom done in this way. When the woman is hired to do it by the day, she gets about 10d. or 1s. It lasts for about a week in the month of March. It is hard work for a woman; the moving the ground is heavy. When men contract, they are paid about 4d. per hundred.

About the month of April, when the hop plants begin to shoot, the poles are fixed in the ground. It is common for men to contract to do this by the acre. It is called "*poling the hops*." The wife often assists at this, generally by carrying the poles to the hills, where the man fixes them, and by fastening them after he has done so by a "rammer," with which she beats the ground into the hole. This commonly lasts about a fortnight, but it depends on the weather, and some farmers will only do it when the moon is new. 1200 hops are planted on an acre, and when it is done by contract it is at the rate of about 4d. per 100. After the "*poling*," boys and women are employed at "*chokeclearing*," or picking up the chips and old pieces of poles from the ground; they are hired to do this by the day. It lasts only for a day or two. At the beginning of May, or latter end of April, the hops are "*tied*." Neither boys nor men are ever employed at this work. It is an "endless" job for a man; a man cannot get on with it. Women generally contract with a farmer to "*tie*" for the season, at 9s. an acre. A woman will generally take two acres, or two acres and a half. The trouble depends on the weather. If it is boisterous, she has to bind them over and over again, as the wind blows them from the pole, or blows them round in a wrong direction away from the sun. She can bind about two acres and a half in about a week, and must visit them to rebind them every three or four days, till they grow out of her reach. This takes place on an average in five or six weeks.

The next process is that of "*shimming*," which is effected by an implement called the "*shim*," in other places it is called "*breaking*," "*nidging*," or "*nidgeting*," from the term "*break*," nidge, and nidget, being applied to the implement, which during the summer months is occasionally drawn by horse through the hop gardens and between the hills, to loosen the earth, and remove the weeds. Boys of various ages are made use of to lead and direct the horse, which must, in the narrow spaces through which they are driven, be held in strict command. When the hops reach the top of the poles, it is a common occupation with the women to fasten the bines which may have been blown off again to their places; this is called "*horsing the hops*," and is so named from a kind of ladder they mount for the purpose.

The hop is now prepared for the last out-door process, that of "*picking*." Few things are more beautiful than a hop-garden in this state. As the plant approaches to maturity, the numerous green and over-arching alleys are brightened by the light-tinted flowers, which hang in clusters from the top to the bottom of the poles. The air is scented with the pleasant perfume they exhale to a considerable distance, and many who wander into foreign lands to look at the vine-clad hills of the sunny south, leave a much more beautiful sight unvisited at home, in the fertile and highly cultivated landscapes of Kent and Surrey.

Hop-picking begins generally about the second week in September. All hands are employed at this—men, women, boys, and girls, down to the youngest that can work. The better the crop, the less money is given for picking the same quantity. In an average year 1s. is given for picking seven bushels, and a good picker in the same year could pick 11 bushels. Picking is usually continued for 12 hours in the day. A woman can pick rather more than a man. Immediately after the poles are gathered, the poles are stripped and stacked. Labourers commonly contract to do this at from 5s. 6d. to 7s. an acre. Their wives and children often assist them; the refuse bine is their perquisite, in addition to the pay.

Rags are extensively used in manuring hops. The women are occasionally employed in cutting them; but it is more generally done by the men on rainy days. The average price is about 9d. per cwt. In some parishes, where the population is large, the black and

spud," which are used manually do the work of the "shim," and horse-power is but little used. The work is very laborious, and the same observation applies to all the work on hop-grounds which men perform.

The "Report on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture," presented to Parliament in 1843, contains some interesting statements with reference to the physical, social, and moral condition of the population employed in the culture of the hop. It does not appear that any dangerous disease is generated by the occupation; on the contrary, it seems to be decidedly healthy. W. Newnham, Esq., surgeon, Farnham, says: "There is no work performed by women or children in the hop plantations calculated to produce disease, or to which these disorders can be fairly traceable, with the following exception: If the hop-picking season proves a wet one, they are exposed frequently to become wet, and to stand for many hours upon the ground saturated with moisture; and when this happens to be the case, disorder of the digestive functions ensues, commonly showing itself in the form of diarrhoea, and not usually of an obstinate or severe character. With regard to the imported population at this [hop-picking] season, they of course are exposed to the same causes of disorder, aggravated by their being lodged in very crowded and ill-ventilated apartments, and by their great want of cleanliness and generally imprudent and dissolute habits. Even here malady is not of a severe character; and a death among the imported population is scarcely ever heard of. . . . I have never been able to trace any endemic or epidemic malady, arising after the hop-picking season, which could fairly be attributed to it as a consequence."

Much evil results from the intermixture of the "imported population" here spoken of with the regularly employed inhabitants of the hop districts. As the season approaches, a new population of men, women, and children is poured into them. The crowd is motley, and differently composed in different districts. Mr. Paine, a large grower, states, that there resort to Farnham about 4000 or 5000 strangers, being an addition not far short of the whole stationary population, which is 7000 for the parish. These strangers "come chiefly from the towns and villages within 20 miles of Farnham, some few from a greater distance, and others are labourers who have no settled home: among these last are gipsies. Various means are provided for their reception; part are admitted into barracks constructed for the purpose, others into spare rooms in cottages which are specially reserved from the tenants." This vast influx of strangers, in addition to the confusion which their very number produces in a small town or village, often bring with them habits and language calculated to degrade if not to pollute their companions. Farnham becomes thronged with a temporary population of country people, vagrants, and gipsies; the last of whom are in some few instances preferred to the others from their wild and active habits which speed the work during the day, and are content with any lair to rest in at night. The intercourse between them and the inhabitant work-people is more complete, because it is the custom for the mother of the family to take the very youngest into the hop-gardens, where the children pick, and the infants rest and play while the work goes forward; and at night many are crowded into the inhabitants' cottages by virtue of the reservation already mentioned. The Rev. R. Sankie, Curate of Farnham, says: "I think the parish stands under considerable disadvantages from the peculiar nature of the labour which is employed at the hop-picking. I have seen the cottages crowded with strangers and their families at this season, who so much disturb the order of the household, that *provisions are bought for the day* instead of a longer period, lest in the confusion they should be lost or made away with. The crowded intercourse, both on the hop-ground and in the cottages, must be productive of mischief, especially to the young. There is little uproar until the close of the picking. The labours of the day, and as is commonly alleged, a soporific influence from the hop itself, disposes them to be quiet. At the close of the labour in the grounds, when the workmen are being paid off, the scene changes. There is much drinking, fighting, and bad language."

The rector of the village of Brede, in the neighbourhood of Rye, speaks of the same influences in a different part of the country. "I am of opinion that the imported hop-pickers do much to demoralise the parish, as they are generally persons of the lowest character in both sexes; the very effect of whose manner of living while here is sufficient to produce the worst feelings and consequences. It is by no means uncommon to see from eight to ten, or more, sleeping under one shed, without any other partition between them than that which the darkness of the night may provide. It is a common practice for servant girls at this season to give their employers notice to quit their service, and to go to the hop-picking, where they will be paid for their services."

Those who frequent the neighbourhood of Maidstone are stated to "come from all parts of England and Ireland, and amongst them may be found many unfortunate members of various classes. A great number of the English come from St. Giles's, Saffron Hill, White-chapel, and Kent-street, and they are the most vicious and refractory. The Irish, who are the most numerous, are extremely dirty, both in their persons and habits, and are very indelicate in their conduct and appearance. They frequently bring contagious disorders."

All the witnesses concur in representing female chastity as being at a very low ebb—and some go to the length of saying, that in many instances the women are utterly devoid of the feeling. This, however, is not entirely attributable to the periodical influx of strangers into these districts. It has its root deeper, and is to be sought for in the disgraceful physical condition in which the labourers generally are permitted to rest by those who profit by their toil. The undivided state of the larger families acting upon the scantiness of house room and general poverty, or high rents, often crowds them together in their sleeping apartments, so as seriously to infringe on the decencies which guard female morals. Mr. Hart, a professional gentleman, of Reigate, says:—"The great difficulty is to say at what age brothers and sisters do not sleep together in one apartment, but generally until they leave home, be that at ever so late a period."

In the neighbourhood of Cuckfield, in Sussex, it is common for children of both sexes to use the same sleeping-room and bed, up to the age of 12, and even 14. The Rev. W. Sankie, of Farnham, in Surrey, mentioned a case where two sisters and a brother, all above 14, habitually slept together. These are mere glimpses of the ordinary and every-day influences to which the labouring class are subjected, and it can be no matter of wonder that they lose, or rather never acquire, that delicacy and purity of mind which is the origin and the safeguard of chastity.

Nor are the deteriorating effects of these vicious domestic arrangements counteracted by an education likely to promote the growth of principles of resistance or self-restraint. But upon this wide subject I have left myself no room to dilate, important as it is, and necessary to be fully understood, in order to form an accurate idea of the state of society in the hop-growing districts. It may briefly be said that education in the ordinary sense of the term is almost unknown. Superstition as a consequence lurks among the labouring classes of these counties to an extent of which the career of Mad Thom *d'as* Sir William Courtenay, at Canterbury, and its fatal termination, affords a melancholy illustration. The belief in charms for the healing of bodily hurts is not uncommon; faith in the same means of fertilising the ground and trees is said to exist; and that in witchcraft has not yet expired. A very substantial farmer in the north-east of Kent, within a few years, used to arrange scythes in a particular order around his stables to secure his horses from witchcraft.

I was present one day this week at an interesting assemblage of landed gentlemen, clergy, farmers, and farm labourers at Stockbridge in Hampshire; and a short while before that, I was present at a public entertainment given to the farming population by one of these landed gentlemen, in his own park, at his own house; I mean Charles Baring Wall, Esq., M.P., of Norman Court. These friendly gatherings gave a pleasant proof of the advance that is making towards the elevation of the working people, in some of the rural districts. An excellent library provided by Mr. Wall, for all who will read, and read free of expence, is another pleasing feature.

I had prepared for this week a full description of those proceedings at Stockbridge, and at Norman Court, but have mismanaged it so as to make it much too long to follow this letter. No for the present it stands over.

ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLUGH.

HAMER STANFIELD, Esq.—We are informed of a fact, which, though not strictly public, yet deserves to be made such, both for its own nature, and as characteristic of a highly respected fellow-townsmen. It is well known that several years since the firm of Stanfield, Briggs, and Stanfield, of which Sir Hamer Stanfield was a junior partner, became unfortunate. Ever since that period, this gentleman has contemplated the present, if Providence should prosper him, of his share of the debts owing by the above firm; and just previous to his marriage, which took place a few weeks since, he sent round a circular to all his former creditors, accompanied by 20s. in the pound on his proportion of every debt. Such instances of mercantile honour as this should be widely known, in order that they may be both admired and imitated. *Leeds Mercury.*

CHURCHMAN.—At the Oxfordshire Quarter Sessions, held last week, William A. Hey was charged with stealing half a pint of wheat in the straw, of the value of one penny, the property of Robert Abbot, Newton, of Benson. The prisoner was acquitted. Anne Cook and Harriet Harding were charged with stealing about two pints and a half of wheat in the straw, of the value of two pence, the property of John Collins Ditchings, Thomas Hutchings, and William Hutchings of Benson. These prisoners were also acquitted.

AGRICULTURE.

POLITICAL RIP VAN WINKLES!

Washington Irving tells the story of an idle, do-nothing fellow, called Rip Van Winkle—a creature living on the industry of others—who went up into the mountains one day, there remained playing bowls with certain unearthly Dutchmen for 40 years, and returned to his native village perfectly unconscious of the length of time he had been absent, and of the changes which had occurred during that time. Now the *Morning Post* tells of a meeting of gentlemen in Essex, under the title of the "Hinckford Agricultural and Conservative Club," which forcibly calls to mind the story of Rip Van Winkle. Had the Conservative gentlemen who spoke on that occasion been buried for the last two years in the recesses of the Catskill mountains, they could scarcely have betrayed more ignorance of what has passed in this country with relation to the Corn Laws. This Club met under the Presidency of Sir John Tyrell, a fact which will prepare the reader for some curious, if not very statesmanlike, opinions. The meeting was itself a curiosity, for the union of "Conservative and Agricultural," since Sir Robert Peel has avowed himself a Free Trader in principle, must be to Monopolists something of an anomaly. However, unless the *Post* is "poking its fun" at its readers, such a meeting really did take place. Sir John began by stating that the duties of a Member of Parliament were "of a very careful and anxious character," involving "great steadiness of judgment, prudence, and perseverance;" and went on, and by implication claimed for himself all those high qualities. Sir John then said "Lord Western, Mr. Coke, and others, had for their object plenty, and security for plenty; that is the object of the Corn Laws." After the discussion the subject has undergone, and the admissions made by protectionists, we think even the Hinckford Agricultural-Conservatives must have stared at that assertion. But what must have been their astonishment when afterwards Sir John Tyrell gravely said—

"The poor man has lost his potato crop; Belgium has been a great portion of the summer under water, and I heard a gentleman from there describe it as a great sponge; and all this may have tended to raise the price of corn; but if there had been no protection I believe the price of corn would have been much higher than it is now."

The price of corn has risen because another kind of food was deficient, and yet restrictions on the importation of corn has prevented a rise of price!! Verily, the Essex baronet is an original reasoner. He then put forth this oft-refuted plea for protection, and supported it by a—falschood.

"There are rates and taxes, and burthens of that description which belong to the land; and, though committee after committee had inquired into them, I think it would be highly inexpedient for the agricultural members to place themselves in the hands of the Anti-Corn Law League; if I cannot defend my course of protection let it be taken from me; though I think from the good sense of the people of this country that we have nothing to fear from an investigation."

Here is a bundle of absurdities which must have been most puzzling to the audience, if they tried to make "head or tail" of the chairman's speech. And Sir John actually believes, or pretends to believe, that the farce of "protection societies" may be revived. He said:

"When we look to the Protection Society, which emanated from an individual in this club, although the fruits of that combination may not have answered the expectations of many gentlemen present, it has moved in the right direction, and is capable of being improved; we have the same parties who called it forth in a state of efficiency."

Poor Mr. Round, an out-and-out supporter of Sir Robert Peel, laboured earnestly, if not very successfully, to show that Sir Robert is an ardent supporter of "agricultural protection." And, in direct contradiction of all that the most sensible men amongst the supporters of the Government have been saying for the last year, at least, Mr. Round ventured to assert that he believed "protection would be maintained to them."

A Mr. Fulcher then made a speech full of abuse of the League, quite in the style of the protection societies, a style of which all but the Rip Van Winkles of monopoly are now heartily ashamed. He then said:

"The last time I had the pleasure of meeting you, the Anti Corn Law League was traversing unopposed the length

and breadth of the land. Since that time, it has received 'a heavy blow and great discouragement,' by the formation of the *Agricultural Protection Societies*. 'The great fact' has become 'small by degrees and beautifully less.'"

Fancy a gentleman waking up from a political nap of two years' duration, and stating that the League had received a heavy blow from the "Protection societies!!" He then claimed for the Rev. Mr. Cox "the high honour of originating the protection societies." The rev. founder then spoke, and said:

"I will say a word or two on what has been the result produced by it. Some people say, 'It is a very pretty thing, but you have done nothing at all—you are just where you began.' Why, that is where we wish to be; the principle on which we began was, that the protection we have we mean to maintain; and I think we have effected everything we could possibly have anticipated."

Why, if the almost universal abandonment of "protection" is what they anticipated, the protection societies may claim some credit, for the present state of public opinion on the subject is unquestionably owing in some degree to the exhibition of the principles of monopoly made by those societies. Next to the teaching of the League, the cause of Free Trade has been most indebted to the self-exposure of monopoly made by the protection societies. They have been what drunken helots are said to have been to the youth of Sparta,—they have been awful warnings to all men of sense or humanity to avoid monopoly. Mr. Cox then attributed Mr. Hudson's success at Sunderland "to the sound information spread over the country at large" by the protection societies! He then explained an ambiguous passage of the President's speech thus:

"There was one expression of Sir John Tyrell's, which might be misconstrued to your disadvantage. He said that the price of corn would have been higher now if the Corn Laws had been repealed. I agree in the truth of that; but I think he meant to refer to the experience of the present moment, and to say, that if we had no Corn Laws a vast quantity of land would have been thrown out of cultivation, and from the failure of the potato crop, and the state of the harvest, we should not have had sufficient corn to make up what we wanted, and prices would have been higher; but he did not mean to say that the British farmers would have had a better remunerating price without Corn Laws."

It is clear Mr. Cox has slept since his mind gave birth to the grand conception of the protection societies, for there are not 20 persons out of Essex—we should have thought but for this meeting that there had not been so many there—who do not know that the present means of meeting Free Trade in corn recommended by the protectionists, is better cultivation at home. Let us hear what Mr. Cox says of the present Corn Law:

"I told you I thought the Corn Law of the Government was a good measure, for there were many false figures in the old law that never came into operation, and the present law was more likely to give you a steady price of corn, though I thought the scale a little too low. That has been fully borne out; for under the present Corn Law you have had a protection when you required it, of 14s. a quarter. The great bulk of foreign corn has been brought in at 14s. a quarter duty. Under the old law they would have paid no such sum. They would have run up the averages, and when they got them to an exorbitantly high pitch the duty would vanish, and in would come all the corn. This is my justification of what I said. I think the present Corn Law has been productive of very material good; and I wish to impress on you that you have had a protection of 14s. a quarter when wheat was 12s. or 14s. a load. There is now no difference between Lord John Russell and Mr. Cobden; and therefore when there is anything worth fighting for, recollect you have a protection of 14s. a quarter."

The time is coming, the time indeed is come, when such a statement of the operation of the present Corn Law ought to be remembered. Prices have advanced from actual and apprehended deficiency, and prices would have advanced had there been a perfectly Free Trade in corn; but the end is not yet. We believe before another harvest none will more bitterly regret the effects of monopoly than the British farmer.

THEORY AND PRACTICE.

DILETTANTI FARMERS' INSTRUCTORS.

Perhaps nothing is more remarkable to the practical agriculturist, first turning his attention to chemistry and geology as applicable to agriculture, than the strict accordance between theory and practice. He begins to find that the practices of the best farmers conform, with more or less precision, to the dictates of science; and that the great value to him of scientific knowledge is its power of carrying out his former system with more certainty, and often with greater economy. It is to the practical farmer, therefore, that scientific knowledge applicable to farming is of the greatest advantage; and to practical farmers, its cultivation, earnest, business-

like cultivation, is to be recommended. But there is a class of scientific farmers, or rather of talkers about scientific farming, whose influence and example certainly do not tend to give the ordinary farmer a very high notion of the value of science. These are gentlemen, landholders, who get a smattering of chemical science, and retail it often most erroneously at agricultural meetings. Some time since, every landlord throughout the land seemed to have run wild on the merits of guano, and its chemical properties and scientific uses were constantly and elaborately detailed. Now, however, the squires—the ordinary kind of squires—seem rather to draw back from and discountenance scientific farming, and hint that it may be all very well “in theory,” but is to be dealt with slowly and cautiously in practice. Now the hot haste with which the farmers were to be lectured into chemical knowledge at the one time, and the sage cautions against “theory” at the other—as if theory rightly formed could ever be placed in contrast with practice—are easily to be traced to the same source. When prices were low, crops had partially failed, and fear of Free Trade existed in the farming mind, it was very convenient to anticipate applications for abatements of rent by suggesting that a top dressing of guano scientifically used was a specific for all the evils farmers suffered; and that men who were so benighted as not to adopt such an easy remedy, could scarcely expect help from their landlords. Farmers understood well enough at the time that this was the real meaning of all the squirearchical lectures on guano and chemical farming. In the landowners’ mouths, if not in their minds, Liebig and his fellow-labourers had a short cure for agricultural distress. Lately, however, prices have got better, and science has shown the farmers that they waste upon their own farms in one way or another more of produce, or of the elements of production, than the most lavish use of guano could supply, and that such waste is chiefly caused by circumstances in great measure beyond the farmers’, but entirely within the landlord’s control.

Artificial scarcity, produced by the landlords’ game; artificial shade and barrenness, caused by the landlords’ trees; superabundant moisture, because the landlord’s won’t drain; waste of manure and deficiency of manure, from the want or ill construction of the landlords’ farm-buildings, and the rules and restrictions of landlords’ agreements, form a part, and only a part, of those evils which an exact estimate of the position of the farming business discloses. Now, farmers very naturally say, “We know the value of science, but here are the preliminary obstacles which prevent its application to the business of husbandry in England; these the landowners must remove, if they expect to keep up their rents.” The truth is, that farmers, knowing little perhaps of the vocabulary of scientific chemistry, are far beyond the landlords in the knowledge of its practical value, and of the impediments to its reduction into practice; and landlords are conscious of such truth, for whenever they now hear a farmer talking of improved or scientific farming, they know that his talk implies the previous conditions of no game preserves and a fair lease. This is what they really object to when they decry “theory.” We have been led into this line of remark by the observations of the chairman at the Cleveland Cattle Show. At that meeting, as the reporter tells:

“The Hon. Octavius Duncombe, M.P., for North York, (son of Lord Feversham, of Duncombe Park, and cousin of Mr. T. S. Duncombe, M.P. for Finsbury), was in the chair.”

As if the pedigree of a chairman was to be given with all the precision of that of a short-horn. The honourable Chairman said:

“Much was now said, at agricultural meetings, on the application of science, chemical and geological, to the cultivation of the soil. He was inclined to think, however, that practice was in advance of theory;—and that more was to be learned from practical men than from the geologist and the chemist. *Theory was often at variance with practice.* Thus, the farmer was told that he should cover his manure, and exclude the atmosphere, or the ammonia would escape, and the value of the heap would be deteriorated. *And yet, in practice, top-dressing was found to be of great service to the land, notwithstanding the exposure of the manure to the action of the atmosphere.*”

That “top-dressing is of great use to the land” there can be no doubt, when it comes, as it commonly does, in the place of a more effective dressing; but that does not disprove the statement of the agricultural chemist, that it is a wasteful mode of using manure.

Mr. Duncombe then expatiated on the importance of “deep draining,” and the benefits derived from his own practice of draining at three feet deep.

We quite agree with the necessity of deep draining, where draining is wanted; but it is not by telling the farmers what he has done on his own pet farm that a landlord can benefit his tenants, but by draining *their* farms in the same complete manner. A shrewd observer, who is much employed as an agricultural architect and surveyor, remarked to us the other day, “that

most of the improvements we hear of in England by the landowners are done upon their own farms—they are doing nothing for their tenants;” and this remark, which applied especially to the improvements of farming buildings and yards, is in the main true.

At the Cleveland meeting, the Earl of Zetland said:

“He had listened with much interest to the worthy President’s recommendation of deep draining. Having himself had considerable experience in various parts of the kingdom, and especially in Scotland, he had no doubt of the advantages of draining deep; and he was glad to find that a change of feeling had shown itself in Cleveland on this important question. Those who had drained 15 or 16 inches deep, now saw the wisdom of going to twice that depth; and he believed they would do better still, if they went to three feet. As to deep draining, *theory and practice, however they might clash on other subjects, were in perfect harmony*; for if the drain were not deep enough to carry the water from the roots, the object aimed at, as a matter of course, was not accomplished. The root struck deeper than 15 or 16 inches; and the drain must go to 30 or 36 inches, or the plant would not flourish.”

As a rule, we have found tenants much more ready converts to the system of deep draining than landlords. But there is one obstacle to deep draining in many places which requires the interference of the Legislature, viz., the difficulty of obtaining an outfall for the water of sufficient depth, because the owners or occupiers of the lands through which such outfalls or brooks pass will neither deepen them, nor, in many cases, permit them to be deepened; and they cannot be compelled. This is a serious evil.

Another speaker on deep draining was Mr. Wharton, of Skelton Castle, who we have been informed is *draining all his farms in the best manner*, in some instances in opposition to the prejudices of inferior tenants. Mr. Wharton said:

“He had come into the district almost totally ignorant of the theory and practice of agriculture; for he had previously been confined in London, where he held an official situation. But he had come with an anxiety and a determination to do his duty as a landed proprietor, and therefore to set to work to learn his business. (Laughter and applause.) He first consulted that eminent drainer and foremost friend of agriculture, Mr. Smith, of Deanston. (Loud cheers.) The feeling of the district was against him; but that he did not care much about. (Laughter.) He persevered in his course, and was now happy to find so many others pursuing it, and acting upon the system so well recommended by the worthy Patron and President. (Applause.) He would add his testimony to theirs, and say that no drain should be allowed under 30 inches; and, like them, he was not sure that that was deep enough.”

This is learning the business of a landlord, and doing it to some purpose. Some one had hinted that Mr. Wharton would have obtained the premium for “the leanest beast on the ground,” had such a prize been offered, in reference to which he said:

“As to the exhibition of stock, he did believe he was fully entitled, at the very least, to what the judges had awarded him. (Laughter.) He had often thought that holders of stock were too shy of sending their cattle for competition, and he had determined therefore to set them an example, and send to the show-field every animal he had. (Laughter and cheers.) He hoped to be more successful another year. At present he could not say much for the pasturage in the parish of Skelton (laughter); but when the land was drained there would be better keep, and he trusted he would be able to show something better. (Cheers.)”

And Mr. Wharton’s notion of what a cattle show ought to be is not far wrong. It ought to be a fair specimen of the farmer’s stock, not a mere picked specimen which he has perhaps brought for the purpose, and pampered for a year or two, while the rest of his stock has been but poorly fed.

At some shows, we believe it is so at Smithfield, there is a prize for cattle which have nothad oilcake, meal, grains, and so forth, the object being to have grass-fed animals shown (of what use such a restriction may be we don’t presume to guess)—and how is this accomplished? Why, in addition to grass, the prize beast has often the cream from several cows given daily.

And there is another reason why farmers should show a good many of their stock, viz., the worst sometimes get the prize. We heard lately an instance of the kind. We need not tell our readers that a keen competition exists amongst the breeders of sheep; and to men who let their rams for 30, 40, and 50 guineas for a season, it is of much importance to carry off the prizes at the great cattle-shows. If they fail, it is immediately said their flock is going down. Now, a celebrated breeder of Southdowns in Cambridgeshire, in selecting several lots of sheep to be shown at the late meeting of the Royal Agricultural Society at Shrewsbury, was about to put back one lot so decidedly inferior to the other lots as not to be worth sending, but was persuaded to send them in case of accident. The rejected lot obtained a first class prize, and the better sheep were unnoticed!!!

We have often said, the fair, or the market, is the best cattle show, and that is the place in which the best practical farmers strive for pre-eminence.

Mr. Mauleverer afterwards made the following allusion to the cheap feeding of stock, that its quantity might be increased.

“With respect to the feeding of stock, to which attention had been directed by the worthy President and Mr. Whar-

ton, there could be no doubt the English farmer had been going on like a spendthrift. *The land would rear and feed far more cattle than it was allowed to do.* Look at, he would not say the alarming, but certainly the serious imports of stock. (*A cry of ‘Oh!’*) Within the last year or two, there had been an increase in the imports to the extent of 800 per cent. The effect might be little felt as yet, but the imports would pinch the home breeder by and bye. *His only defence was to feed faster than at present—with boiled linseed, mixed with meal, and beans, and chopped straw and turnips, &c.* Mr. Marshall, of Bedale, and Mr. Warrnes, of Norfolk, with whom he had been in correspondence, did so, and at only half the expense incurred by the ordinary method.”

It is curious to remark how contemptuously the alarmist reference of Mr. Mauleverer to the “cattle tariff” panic was received by the farmers.

Whilst amongst the Yorkshire men, let us hear what a shrewd Yorkshire landholder says of the “simplest duties of a landlord,” and their method of performing them. At the Richmond Agricultural Meeting, held about three weeks ago, Wm. Lister, Esq., said:

“He attended a large meeting of this county, where toast after toast was given by the landlords, and in the speeches that were made he heard little or nothing of the duties of landlords, whilst he heard it continually impressed upon the tenant farmer that he was to cultivate his mind scientifically, and educate his children, and give higher wages to agricultural labourers. *All that was very good, but he should have liked the landlord to have impartially stated his duties.* (APPLAUSE.) The landlord should have borne in mind that many of the tenant farmers could not carry on their farms; *he should drain their soil, improve their fields, and in some instances shelter their property.* The landlords met on that occasion ought to have stated impartially their duties as well as impress upon the tenant farmers what they should do. If he might be allowed to offer an opinion—it was perhaps a bold one, and might be condemned—he certainly thought that the labourer and tenant farmer were individually as well able to fulfil their duties as the landlords; and if generally landlords would pay more attention to their estates, that is, the practical management of them, it would be much better for the nation. He could not help hearing and observing these very usual remarks from landlords, and he believed their intentions were good, but many of them were not able to do one practical thing. There were many bright exceptions, but generally they were not able to manage their estates, and what was the consequence? They very often chose men as agents who were not able to manage either—money was spent without care and knowledge, and bad results ensued. He thought Mr. Colborne had spoken well, if he had not misunderstood him; he (Mr. Colborne) had told them the farming interest was not well supported in the House of Commons, by which he supposed Mr. Colborne meant they were not practical men, and were not so competent as the practical men of the manufacturing interest. (APPLAUSE.) He (Mr. Lister) believed that was one great cause why the House of Commons did not listen to the agricultural members so readily as the manufacturing members, because they are not acquainted with the practical workings of agriculture. He wished to drink the health of the tenant farmers with that honour which they deserved.”

And Mr. Outhwaite, a farmer, in reply to the toast, said:

“He thought with Mr. Lister that the tenant farmers had not been looked after in Parliament as they ought to have been; but he did not go the whole length with him respecting the want of knowledge in landowners and their agents. Many landlords allow their tenants to do as they like; whilst others would only allow them to do certain things, much to the injury of the tenant. Lord Feversham had acted in that way; so had Lord Bolton, but his restrictions were broken through now. Lord Powlett has been asking the landed proprietors if it would be beneficial to the tenant farmers to be allowed to sow a rotation of bean crops instead of growing clover, and has allowed his tenants to do so; but he (Mr. Outhwaite) did not think Lord Feversham had yet altered his system. At all meetings of this description it was often said that farms would let well, if only the landowners would allow them to sow such crops as they thought proper.”

PREPARATION FOR COMING EVENTS.

It is satisfactory to find that the landowners in all directions are preparing themselves for Free Trade. We believe that the more sensible of them are heartily ashamed of their former advocacy of protection, and we are convinced that they will, when the change has come, be still more so. Instances of the sort are to be found at nearly every agricultural meeting, from which we have culled a few specimens. At the Preston Association, Mr. Talbot Clifton, M.P., said

“It was undeniable that great improvements were going on, though not so rapidly, perhaps, as could be wished; yet though slow, they were on that account, probably, the more sure and permanent. He attributed these improvements mainly to the landlords, who appeared to be preparing for what might happen, and which was likely to be for the worst.”

At the Hollywell Farming Society in Flintshire, Sir Richard Bulkeley said:

“Being zealously devoted to agricultural pursuits, their welfare was concurred with his own, and the general prosperity of agriculture must be the first impulse in all their hearts. A legislative change must be looked forward to, of this there could be no doubt; and whatever opinions might prevail, that change could not be looked upon without anxiety. He felt that anxiety in common with others; yet that anxiety was rather akin to hope than to dismay. (CHEERS.) He of course alluded to a contemplated change in the Corn Laws (unrenewed cheers). That change demanded, on their parts, increased energy in every thing connected with the cultivation of the soil.

Now there is no mistaking this warning, and the way in which it was received is a significant sign of the

IMPORTANT COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.—We have just received a communication from an esteemed correspondent at Karlsruhe, on whose means of information we can place every reliance. He announces the most gratifying intelligence that the Zollverein tariff is at length finished, and will speedily be made public. He is a good German, and seems to recognize our advantages, for he says, the duties on British manufactures are not raised at all on any one article of the least importance; indeed, only on one or two, and trifling ones, is needed. He speaks of the national feeling for us, under his article, *the Zollverein*, as "what disappointed," because there are, so he felt, in Germany as elsewhere, thoughtful people, who suppose the liberties of commerce with this country are not granted, and thus create us our own artificial tariff. However, a national feeling, even of enmity, now exceedingly gratifying—*M. Irving Herald*

REVIEW.

Credit, the Life of Commerce; being a Defence of the British Merchant against the unjust and demoralising tendency of the recent Alterations in the Laws of Debtor and Creditor, with an Outline of Remedial Measures. 12mo. pp. 220. London. Madden and Makohn.

In the Newgate Calendar, some 60 years ago, may be seen the picture of a bankrupt, hanged in Smithfield, for cheating his creditors. Within the last two years one Bromley, a distinguished attorney, and as distinguished a bankrupt, after a career of magnificent misappropriation, received a gentle reproof, and was discharged from the Court! During the period marked by these extremes, rapid changes have been made in our Insolvency Laws; and from having been most cruelly vindictive, they have become as cruelly indulgent. An enlightened people neither require the one nor the other; but they require *just laws*, which shall punish duly all evildoers, protect commerce, not against either home or foreign competition, but against dishonest adventurers, and shall secure to all men the fruits of their industry. The extreme insecurity of all commercial transactions, especially in retail, caused by the various Acts of Lord Brougham, excited a more general discussion during the present year than the subject of insolvency had ever before undergone. Among the various productions that are now before us, "*Credit, the Life of Commerce*," is perhaps the most elaborate, while it is at the same time most suited to the popular reader. The author is "a merchant," and he attempts to develop only the principles of commercial law; but being "not a lawyer," he presumes not to meddle with the details of law process. Just such an inquiry has long been wanted, wherein to set forth the claims of commercial transactions to protection, and to expose the common fallacies with which the matter has been encumbered. Mr. Elliott has certainly turned up new ground; his propositions are startling, and sometimes a little paradoxical; and we therefore give their substance without comment. The author claims for property existing in the *necessary shape of debt* that protection which political economists have required for property in general, and which they have shown is indispensable for the purposes of civilisation. Mr. Elliott maintains that:

"It is hardly possible to exaggerate the influence over happiness, of those laws which govern the relations of debtor and creditor. On these depend, in a great degree, the moral relations of nearly all the people, but especially of that most important section, the middle class; whose very existence must gradually dissolve away, when their industry, frugality, and probity, and the visible product thereof—their property—are debilitated, discouraged, and openly exposed to waste and destruction, by the laws of the country in which they live. Without complete protection in these respects, those who now compose the middle class must soon lose their nobler attributes, and fall into that murky multitude of poor, and destitute, and desperate persons, whose increasing numbers and social disorganisation are already a source of painful alarm to the statesman and philanthropist; and who, without any impulse from that body, (the middle class,) hitherto antagonistic, will soon attain an acme of suffering that will burst through, as gossamer threads, all the gentle influences of religion, state education, or Free Trade. Between these and the privileged orders, the aristocracy, stands as yet the middle class."

In opposition to the prevailing opinions, it is maintained that

"Credit is an indispensable thing in a civilised country, it is the *second mark*, indeed, of civilisation. That people may transfer themselves from one end of the land to the other, the poor, the weak, and the defenceless, even women and children, with the utmost confidence and security, is the first mark of civilisation. This is already attained with such perfection, that had any philosopher in the first or second century after the Norman conquest, indicated the almost boundless and absolute security of liberty that the people of England now enjoy, going about, yet entirely unarmed, trusting nothing to their own powers of self-defence, not at all dreaming that they must be always vigilant themselves, but trusting entirely to the laws and to the officers of the law, for which they pay; such an indication of the first mark of civilisation would have been clamoured down as an idle dream. Then would it have been said, 'Great men, surrounded with all the instruments of protection which wealth can purchase, may be safe; but as for the rest of the nation, *poor people*, they cannot obtain nor must they expect the protection of the law; they are not worth protecting; the machinery is too costly for them.' Thank God such a dream has in our day been realised! That people should transfer their property, the products of human ingenuity and toil, from one end of the country to the other, either the largest or smallest parcels thereof, with the utmost confidence and security, is the *second mark* of civilisation. Amid the fear and doubt, the ruin and disaster, that people now-a-days endure, in consequence of an invasion of their laws, scarcely less furious than the Norman invasion itself, any poor philosopher would be called a dreamer, who should declare, that property in all its states might enjoy the same absolute security, if proper means were employed. That the time will come, when people need not be told, that they must trust to their own vigilance and alertness, but that they will repose confidence in the laws, and the officers of the law, for whose services they pay, and that rents and taxes and masses of wealth protected by such curious securities, will not be deemed more deserving, nor more capable of receiving protection, than the 'petty debts' of a mechanic. England must be very quiet about her civilisation, until she renders human men's property as secure as she has rendered humble men's lives."

It is then insisted, that no debts, however small,

should be considered beneath protection; and as the need of obtaining the money or the goods of another on credit is incessantly occurring, Mr. McCulloch is declared to be wrong, who, in his article *Credit* (see "*Dictionary of Commerce*"), could prevent the contracting of all small debts by denying to the creditor legal powers of recovery; that is to say, he would uphold powerful monopolies by denying to all but rich merchants and large dealers the privilege of obtaining the commodities they deem they require, giving in exchange their "word-of-mouth promise to pay," an instrument of currency as indispensable (and indeed more so) in a civilised country as corn or bank-notes; for what is a bank-note but a *written promise to pay*, issued by some publicly known person—an instrument many worthy persons cannot obtain, but whose "word-of-mouth promise" may be as safe, and may deserve to circulate within their narrow circle of reputation with as much confidence, and which, if it is not to be so circulated—that is, if the receivers thereof are not to be protected against all who wilfully and knowingly utter base promises, then are all persons in humble life denied the blessings of civilisation; they are refused the privilege of contracting a debt, and are put in a state of outlawry. It is said, people need not get into debt; Mr. Elliott, on the contrary, maintains that they have as much need of contracting a debt as they have of going in and out of doors; and illustrates this by a number of facts drawn from various affairs of life of every class; and that *petty debts* are no more to be outlawed than *petty persons* or children, whose lives the law as strongly protects as it does those of the most important and distinguished men. Again, men cannot protect themselves against dishonest or extravagant insolvents any more than they can protect themselves against forgers or coiners whom the law seizes and punishes, and does not say to the injured person, "You should have used more discretion, and not have parted with your goods or your change for such a note; your carelessness encourages dishonesty, and the accused must be discharged," which is what the law does say commonly in the complaint against an insolvent debtor. By an exposition of the errors of the Commissioners' Report of 1840, and by some remarkable returns obtained from various Courts of Request, the efficacy of imprisonment for debt in persuading reluctant debtors to pay is but too clearly made out. Creditors are defended against the vulgar accusation of being vindictive and rapacious, against whom debtors require protection; on the contrary, they are declared to be too lax and indulgent, and too often tolerate conduct which they ought to punish.* The Report of 1840, though the fact is adduced for a *contrary purpose*, shows that out of 1679 persons who had been arrested in six months, 1147, or nearly three-fourths, were discharged *unopposed*, the creditor or creditors having tried coercion up to the point of putting their debtors in prison, usually but for a few days, and then allowing them to obtain their discharge as a matter of course.

Wilful insolvency is declared to be not merely a private wrong, as heretofore assumed, but a public wrong, just as is forgery or theft, because it renders property insecure; weakens the motives to the exercise of industry and frugality; prevents people from obtaining credit when they most need it; and in a time of difficulty and misfortune, leaves them no chance or hope, but casts them at once among thieves or paupers. The following in reference to the Dutch laws, (which though *much more stringent and salutary than ours*, do not allow of constraint of the person for debts contracted for food &c.) seems not easy of contraction:

"The effects of this are not so humane as they are intended to be. If bread debts are not as securely protected as wine debts, bread cannot be so readily obtained on credit as wine. But it is more desirable to enable men to obtain bread (without which they cannot exist) on credit than wine. If men who have no ready money cannot obtain bread on credit, the blow is at once struck, they must perish, which they will not submit to, or they will on the instant become paupers or thieves; in a week or a month something may happen: surely a little breathing time may as well be allowed, because at worst they then become only imprisoned debtors, instead of paupers or imprisoned thieves. To which may be added their *second chance*, that their creditors will not imprison them. All experience shows that insolvents

* In a paper by Mr. Commissioner Fane the following official table supplies the confirmation of this; he says:—"I directed the schedules of insolvents, whose cases came before me on the 10th of July 1845, to be examined, and I obtained the following return, by which it would seem that only one creditor in eight ventures to attack his debtor:

19th JULY, 1845.		
Name of Insolvent.	Number of Creditors.	Number of Creditors who had sued.
Doyle	61	8
Colwell	29	7
Albans	54	4
Waters	12	1
Shannon	23	—
Agnew	14	—
Morton	31	1
Richards	8	5
	216	26

The extreme improbability of being sued makes men leave by, under a better system, would not honestly. Moderate punishment is a kindness."

are less closely followed up than thieves. To protect a bread debt is, therefore, most humane, since it clearly diminishes the number of paupers and thieves. Take one hundred persons in destitution, the whole hundred must become thieves or paupers; there is no middle course; but protect debts, and sixty of them may contract a debt, forty may recover and pay; of the other twenty, not more than ten may be imprisoned by their creditors. Under one set of circumstances destitution has one hundred victims; under the other, but fifty. While there is life there is hope. Nothing is more cruel in its consequences than misplaced humanity."

The causes of wilful insolvency are said to be—*Idleness*, especially the not keeping books of accounts. *Extravagance*, especially in domestic expenditure. *Gambling*, which is not confined to games of hazard, but is made to include commercial speculation, there being more gambling on the Stock Exchange, or in Mincing-lane than on the turf, or at Crockford's, the results of which are highly injurious to the community; they divert attention from the steady plodding course of industry; stop the transit of commodities from producer to consumer; and raise their price, and cause a toll to be levied on them for the advantage of the non-producer—the speculator—at the expense of the public. When men become insolvent through speculation, they are in a high degree delinquents. *Dishonesty* is the fourth and most flagrant cause of wilful insolvency. The result of the inquiry is thus set forth:

1. Credit must be, or commerce cannot be; and without it no civilisation. All transactions have a claim to credit, from the milk-score or the newspaper-bill, to the state loan. Therefore the whole of such transactions, with regard to magnitude, have a claim to protection.
2. Broken credit or insolvency is a wrong—a public as well as a private wrong.
3. Insolvency is commonly, but not universally, a voluntary or wilful wrong.
4. Wilful wrong is punishment-worthy, because
5. The fear of punishment constrains men in their conduct with respect to wilful wrongs.
6. Involuntary wrong is not punishment-worthy, because men cannot be restrained thereby.
7. Wilful insolvency is a wrong, punishment-worthy, and will be duly punished in all virtuous and civilised countries, because wilful insolvency is more or less preventable, according to the due pressure of law-sanctions.

PROCEDURE.
1. Allow and assist any man (the creditor) to accuse any other man (the debtor), but at his peril, of having done him the wrong of not paying a just and due debt; just as any man is allowed and assisted (but at his peril) to accuse any other man of having done him any other kind of injury.

2. Bring the accused before the magistrate—time and manner at the discretion of the accuser, but within the limits of prescribed forms—to inquire: 1. Truth of the accusation; 2. Explanation of accused; can he pay the debt, and will he; or if not, why not? 3. Being able, he may have good reason for not paying the debt; on which issue is joined. 4. Or he may be unable by reason of any of the before-named causes, combined or not, called voluntary or involuntary. 5. During inquiry the debtor must be held to bail, or kept in safe custody, or by any the easiest means that can be devised, be held to be forthcoming, to give from time to time what explanations are needed, that he may not escape with or without property, and that he may receive what punishment the inquiry may show to be due to his offence, if it be a wilful one.

3. Concurrently with this, means must be employed to obtain possession of debtors' property of all kinds for the benefit of creditors.

4. Proceedings having been commenced (or information laid) by one creditor, the detention of the debtor, and the subsequent inquiry shall be for the protection of all the creditors (if more than one), as is now in bankruptcy.

5. The issue of the inquiry will determine the nature of the insolvency; if involuntary, the insolvent must be treated as an unfortunate person, and discharged. It must be a cruel code that would hurt such a man, and which I for one abhor.

6. If a wilful insolvent, the liability to punishment should depend on the amount of dividend, modified by the cause or causes already examined, and classed in the order of their intensity of wrong.

The amount of dividend will, generally, be an index of the cause of insolvency; the rogue paying a smaller dividend than the gambler or the idler.

Such a rule will be useful to the whole debtor class, as well as creditor class. A man will be urged to pursue that very course which is so conducive to his *own* security. He will keep proper books, watched and balanced, and will stop early in his career, and not persevere, hoping against hope, until all his creditors' property as well as his own is gone.

Facilitate *cessio bonorum*; but this is no bar against punishment: he who surrenders himself, if a knave, is still to be tried and punished. But a prompt surrender will tend to render those whom he has injured less hostile, and to induce them to assist him in a new effort; for, strange as it may appear to the superficial in these matters, the creditors whom an insolvent has just injured, are those amongst whom he must look for his best friends; if he obtain credit again, it will be from them, not from strangers. It is something, far the law to place such antagonistic parties in the least hostile, or the most friendly relation to one another."

Though by no means so severe in many respects as is that of some European nations, the author's code of punishment is stringent. This could not fairly be set before our readers without in their minds were prepared by the facts and reasonings in the body of the book. The writer thinks that a little suffering must be endured, if by it the great and increasing evil of insolvency can be curtailed. Insolvency, according to Mr. Elliott, is the beginning of a sad career, which too often ends in pauperism, forgery, or some other dreadful crime. It is as much the interest of the debtor as of the creditor class that economical and good business habits should be enforced; and experience too painfully proves that men are not to be restrained without law and law-sanctions. The law is the greatest of

schoolmasters. Lord Brougham should think of this in his law reforms—if, indeed, he have time to think of anything.

Without yielding implicit adherence to all the opinions of Mr. Elliott, we do not hesitate to say that his book deserves the attention of mercantile men.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

W. M., Dundee.—Sir,—I will feel obliged by your answering, whether a person convicted of crime, and transported, can, on the expiring of his time, should he return to this country, have a vote for a Member of Parliament?—[Where any offender convicted of any felony not punishable with death, has endured the punishment to which he shall have been adjudged, such punishment has the like effect and consequences as a pardon under the great seal as to such felony. 9 Geo. IV., c. 32, s. 2.]
 "H. W. C. Browne" is informed that all the results he alludes to are calculated upon with confidence, except the last, of which we have as yet received no specific information.

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, The Ninth Lecture on Political Economy, and several other articles, for want of space, are unavoidably postponed.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, October 25, 1845.

The probable opening of the ports by an Order in Council has been the chief subject of discussion during the week, and it seems to be generally admitted that recourse must be had to this remedy if the accounts of the failure of the potato crop in Ireland are confirmed. A leading article on the subject, in the *Standard* of Thursday evening, has excited much attention not only from the semi-official character of that journal, but from the tone of authority which pervades the article itself. Independent of these characteristics there is, in the supposed manifesto, such a strange blending of right with wrong,—such a mixture of honest confession and daring misrepresentation—such large admissions on one hand and such gross perversion of facts on the other, that it well merits notice as a curiosity in logic and literature. Having given a survey of the extent of the potato disease, and glanced at some of the remedies proposed, the writer says:

"The ultimate consideration, however—that to which all other considerations must give place—is the duty of the State to ensure that not one of the Queen's subjects shall perish from famine. In the discharge of this duty, statesmen must not fear to venture upon anomalies, however violent and daring; for anomalous dangers must be met by anomalous remedies. Sir Robert Peel, we are convinced, is not the statesman to shrink from the most urgent of all a statesman's duties—the preservation of the lives of his fellow-citizens; he is not the man to allow considerations of expense, or of uniformity of system, or to allow his Ministerial responsibility to stand in the way of the protection of the people from famine. Should it prove necessary, as we trust it will not, Sir Robert, we are persuaded, will not hesitate to suspend the Corn Laws, as has been suggested by more than one journal; nay, the case requiring it, a good and a bold Minister would not scruple to award a bounty upon the importation of foreign grain, extravagantly impolitic as such a measure would be for permanent operation. In the supposed case of a very great deficiency in the potato-crop, it seems pretty plain that a suspension of the Corn Laws ought to be resorted to, cruelly as such suspension would weigh upon the agricultural body, already sufferers in a greater degree than their fellow-subjects by the calamity calling for it. It is true that when grain arrives at a certain price, not a very high price, to those accustomed to subsist on grain, the Corn Laws are self-suspended; but the failure of the potato-crop augments the number of consumers of grain by the addition of millions too poor to consume it at its ordinary price, or they would not subsist upon potatoes; and therefore much too poor to purchase it at that higher price at which the Corn Laws cease to operate."

The duty of the state becomes imperative on those who administer power, when they have taken upon themselves the responsibility of regulating the supply of food; they are accountable for every life lost in consequence of their artificial restrictions. The dangers are anomalous, because they have resulted from an interference with the operations of nature and the laws of Providence; a temporary remedy may suffice for the present exigency, but who is to secure us against its recurrence?

But while the *Standard* strenuously argues for the suspension of the Corn Laws, at the present crisis, it labours hard to prove that the maintenance of those laws hitherto not only have had no share in producing the prospective calamity, but

that they have tended to diminish both its intensity and amount. To establish this strange position, he asserts that the stock of corn in this country is greater than it would have been, under a system of Free Trade; and secondly, that the Corn Laws have diminished the use of potatoes, as an article of staple food for the population. Now the first assertion is so purely gratuitous, that we feel almost ashamed at being obliged to meet it with a reply. So long as Holland had a free trade in corn, the warehouses of Amsterdam had always large stocks in store to meet any contingency; but will the *Standard* calculate the amount of reserved stock in the stores of England? It is not so much on the import of wheat as on that of the inferior grains, that these restrictive laws act most injuriously. Wheat is the growth of temperate climes, the inferior grain is most abundant in warmer regions. Maize, or Indian corn, which could be had in abundance from America, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic islands, has been in effect excluded from our ports; and vessels laden with it in any one of our harbours would be prevented from landing any portion of it, even if starvation raged on the shore. In fact, the operation of the Corn Laws has led to the very reverse of the results ascribed to them by the *Standard*; they have prevented the accumulation of stock, for they have forced sales at home, and prevented importation from abroad.

The second point urged by the writer, that the Corn-Laws have tended to check the use of potatoes as a staple provision for the people, may be answered by an appeal to the experience of any person of middle age. Are potatoes in a greater or less degree the food of the labouring population than they were thirty years ago? There is not a man who has reached the age of forty, who does not know that the labourers have every year used less and less of bread, and more and more of "the famine root." The *Standard* seems to think that a corn-growing, must, of necessity, be a corn-fed country; and, led away by this supposed identity, favours us with this singular specimen of inconclusive reasoning:

"The great objection, however, to a potato diet, as the staple diet of a people, is that now so painfully felt—the uncertainty of the crop. This uncertainty is no novelty in Ireland. Since potatoes became the staple food of the peasantry in that island—little more than a century, by the way—scarcely five years have passed without a famine, arising from the deficiency of the crop, visiting one or other considerable division of the island. This never happens in any corn-fed country of the temperate zone. Corn crops are uncertain, it is true, but then as corn will keep from year to year, and as it is easily transportable from place to place at little cost, the surplus of one year or one country is always at hand to supply the deficiency in another year or another country; by consequence a famine in a corn-fed and corn-growing country is, humanly speaking, almost an impossibility, while in potato-fed countries periodical famines are as certain as the revolution of the seasons."

The *Standard* has just reversed the laws of cause and effect. The corn-fed population will stimulate the production of corn by creating a demand for that kind of food. To preserve that balance, which the *Standard* itself describes as the perfection of a system of supply, the corn-fed country must have the means of receiving and storing the surplus necessary to counteract the effect of possible failures, and this is precisely the wise provision which the Corn Laws render impossible.

Whatever may be the ultimate result of the potato crop in Ireland, and the consequent determination of the ministers as to the opening of the ports, we are persuaded that the discussions to which both uncertainties have given rise, must greatly accelerate the doom of the Corn Laws. Sir Robert Peel's position as a statesman at this moment must be too painful to be endured with equanimity; and no Englishman capable of reflection can contemplate the condition of his country, without feeling it to be as humiliating to national pride as it is dangerous to national prosperity.

On Tuesday evening next, a GREAT LEAGUE MEETING will be held in the FREE TRADE HALL, MANCHESTER, which will be addressed by Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and other leading advocates of Free Trade. The critical circumstances of the times will no doubt render this demonstration one of peculiar interest, and rouse the Free Traders of South Lancashire to an attitude of preparation commensurate with the importance and magnitude of coming emergencies. At this crisis of our struggle, a grave responsibility devolves upon the Free Traders of Manchester; and we feel confident that they will nobly vindicate the urgent requirements of the time by an overwhelming demonstration of unsubdued earnestness and determination.

GEORGE HUDSON, ESQ., M.P., AND THE ELECTORS OF SUNDERLAND.

Holy Writ records that the selfish silversmiths of Ephesus collected the citizens together that they might join for an hour in shouting, "Great is Diana, the Goddess of the Ephesians!" Similar examples of interested and unmeaning eulogy applied to dumb and to speaking idols may be found in every country and in every time, and if the objects of such adulation possess either the sense or the modesty to estimate such exhibitions at anything near their real worth, the world is generally sufficiently generous to leave them to enjoy their temporary glorification, until time has fixed their deserts at their proper level. Mr. George Hudson has not used this wise discretion; he has not only set himself forward to claim the tribute of public homage as a public man, but he has assailed the motives of other men, and has, therefore, challenged a comparison which ordinary prudence would have taught him to avoid.

Mr. Hudson has ventured to characterise the League as a selfish body; can he point out any one of its members to whom selfishness can be attributed? Which of them has made half a million of money by his agitation? Their sacrifices of time, health, and money, in endeavouring to effect a great national object, are notorious; but where are the profits, to support the charge of selfishness? In his railway agitation, Mr. Hudson professes to be actuated by pure and patriotic principles; but "doth Job serve God for nought?" We have neither the right nor the inclination to enter into the results of any person's private speculations, so long as he conducts those speculations in his private capacity; but if any man sets himself up as a public character, and claims public rewards, he must not hope to escape public responsibility. It is Mr. Hudson's own affair to determine whether he has exercised a wise discretion in courting such responsibility; but he makes it imperative on the world to institute investigations when he provokes comparisons.

Having endorsed the calumnies of his rather notorious chairman, Mr. Wright, he has the hardihood to charge with selfishness a body of men, any one of whom may well challenge comparison with Mr. Hudson in honour, intelligence, and integrity. He must not be surprised if men begin to contrast the agitation of a railway speculator with that of a member of the Anti-Corn Law League. Is he prepared for such a result? As a public man—boasting of his personal performances as grounds for public confidence—he cannot demand privacy for any of his transactions. He had better be quiet, if his vanity will permit him to hold his tongue.

It is easy to calumniate the absent and the undefended. Surrounded by parasites and expectants he may

"Like Cato give his little senate laws,
And sit attentive to his own applause;"

But there is a different arena in which his powers remain to be tested. He is now a Member of the Legislature; and on the floor of the House of Commons he will find Free Traders ready and willing to defend the League. The encounter will take place before an audience very different from those to which he has been accustomed, and the weapons of debate must be still more different from those with which his public speeches hitherto have shown him to be familiar. A little more mistrust of his own powers, a less ostentatious display of information—the most shallow, conveyed in forms not the most elegant—would be better training for a legislative career, than the course of instruction to be obtained under the presidency of Mr. Wright. The Normal school of oratory in which Mr. Hudson has entered himself as a pupil, and where he appears to have made some proficiency, is one which dispenses with argument, and covers lack of reason by hardihood of assertion. If he would avoid the ridicule and disgrace which is sure to overwhelm the proficients in such eloquence, he should pause for reflection, if he is capable of exercising that faculty. Above all things, he should endeavour to cultivate his modesty, if he perchance possesses any undeveloped stores of that virtue.

RAILROADS VERSUS MONOPOLY.—We foresee very clearly too, that the development of railroads in England will ultimately destroy the landlords' monopoly. A powerful interest is now rising up to compete with the landlords' class interest; this new interest being almost entirely dependent on the prosperity of trade and commerce. And when it finds that it cannot thrive unless trade be free, then away will go the restrictive monopolies of the landlords for ever.—*Leeds Times*.

INCENDIARISM IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE.—We are very much concerned to state that two more incendiary fires occurred in the village of Waterbeach last Thursday night.—*Cambridge Chronicle*.—On Monday morning the neighbourhood of Gamlingay was thrown into the utmost state of alarm by the discovery of a fire on the premises of Mr. Payne, called Brocken, in the village, which we understand extended to nearly the whole of the corn stacks and farm buildings. At 10 o'clock on Monday morning the fire was blazing fearfully. We have not received the particulars of the catastrophe, but there is no doubt as to its origin.—*Cambridge Independent*.

EPITOME OF NEWS.

FOREIGN.

FRANCE.—The *Moniteur Parisien* of Monday night had an article which intimated that Marshal Soult had been prevailed upon to forego his intention to withdraw from the Ministry. To the management of the king this change was attributed, but we are assured, that "the withdrawal of the Marshal from the Cabinet was only postponed on a representation that it might possibly break up the Ministry, or, at least, add to the alarm on the Bourse, already sufficiently great."—The run upon the savings-bank of Paris continued. The deposits received at this establishment on Sunday and Monday, the 19th and 20th inst., amounted to 621,785*f*. The sums withdrawn during the same period amounted to 1,090,770*f*. A desire to obtain a higher rate of interest for their money, by placing it in railroad undertakings, is the only motive assigned in our private letter for this proceeding on the part of depositors.—The *Constitutionnel* quotes a letter from Oran of the 10th instant, stating that on the 3d, General Cavaignac had not yet been able to relieve the garrison of Djennah Ghazouat, which was still besieged by the Arabs. The inhabitants of Nedroma had been kept in constant alarm ever since the small column of Colonel Barral had fallen back upon the division of General Cavaignac, and had called for assistance. They declared that unless speedily relieved, they would be obliged to surrender to Abd-el-Kader, in order to obtain favourable conditions from him. Communications between Oran and the interior were interrupted by the insurgents, and along the coast by the bad weather.—The *Journal des Débats* has a long article on the distressing accounts from Ireland. Our contemporary thinks it impossible under such circumstances that Sir Robert Peel will venture any longer to bolster up the Corn Laws.—The *Moniteur* publishes a royal ordinance authorising the calling out of 14,000 recruits of the class of 1844 to join the army. The expenses of the new expedition against Abd-el-Kader will amount to at least 20 millions of francs.

COMMERCIAL TREATY.—It is stated that the commercial treaty between France and Belgium, about to expire, will be renewed by royal ordinance for one year, the existing duties remaining without modification.

SPAIN.—THE CONScription.—The Government has ordered another contingent conscription to be levied in Catalonia. It appears that the *quota* corresponding to the year 1843 has not been filled up, and the Government now demand its completion. It would be difficult to describe the sensation produced here by this order. The deepest state of excitement has existed for several months past, as I detailed to you in my communications, and it now assumes a deeper and more dangerous character, because it begins to be universally believed that the Navarez administration is resolved to measure its strength with Catalonia, and force on them all those measures which have been so long obnoxious to the province. The new contributory system is being opposed at every step, and all the dispositions of the local authorities to carry it out have been successively evaded, and collectors cannot be procured, even at a considerable remuneration, because the passive resistance plan has been brought to act in all the details of the measure. The conviction beginning to be felt that the Government had seriously taken into consideration the question of tariff duties and prohibitions on cotton goods, with a view to the repeal of the one and a modification of the other, awakened fresh discontent, in which the manufacturers participated, and which they are now preparing to foment with all the influence they are naturally possessed.—*Times*.

HOLLAND.—The King opened the session of the states on Monday. By the annual revenue accounts just published, there is a deficit of nearly 548,000 florins, 226,572 florins of this amount being caused by the reduction of the duty on corn.

GERMANY.—Letters from various parts of Germany speak of a financial crisis as inevitable, and state that several failures to a large amount are expected. At Leipzig some failures have already been announced, but the amount is not stated.

JAMAICA.—The weather, since the departure of the last steamer, has continued extremely dry, and in most of the lowland parishes the drought has been so severe as to threaten serious injury to the ensuing crop, unless the early setting in of the October seasons should happily rescue it from peril.—The House of Assembly has been convened for the 21st October, and one of the principal measures which will come before it for legislation, will be the question of immigration.—*Jamaica Dispatch* of Sept. 23.

INDIA.—An extraordinary express of the *Herald* brings intelligence from Calcutta, September 8th, and Bombay, September 15th. Much disaster and misery has been caused in the country to the west of Calcutta, by the inundations which have lately prevailed. The indigo crop has suffered considerably. The news from China is not important.

DOMESTIC.

The excellent and philanthropic Mrs. Fry, so long and so deservedly known for her labours in ameliorating and improving the condition, and elevating the characters of female criminals, as well as for her munificent liberality, died on Tuesday last week, after a protracted illness.

The report of the death of Lieut. Col. Mitchell under peculiar circumstances, which appeared in the metropolitan journals last week, turns out to be a hoax.

Sir Robert Peel arrived on Tuesday last at his seat, Drayton Manor, where he has been passing the remainder of the week, surrounded by several scientific and agricultural friends and gentlemen of eminence. It is currently reported that the Premier is about to set the laudable example to all extensive landed proprietors and tenants of an entire drainage of all lands requiring it on his own estates, on the new, economical, and effective system recommended in the reports of the influential association. We regret to state that Sir Francis Lawley's absence from this important social meeting was occasioned by indisposition.—*Birmingham Gazette*.

An alarming fire broke out on the night of Monday last on the farm of Mr. Charles Machin, at Erlington. Information was immediately forwarded to this town, and the engines from the various fire offices having been despatched to the spot, the flames were quickly subdued. The fire is supposed to have been the act of an incendiary, and a reward of 50 guineas has been offered for the apprehension of the offender.—*Birmingham paper*.

Saturday Mr. Payne went into an inquiry at the Crown, Brompton street, touching the death of John Conolly, aged 35, a dentist. Latterly the deceased had suffered a good deal from nightmare. On Friday evening he went home rather depressed in spirits, and retired to rest at a quarter to 10. His companion, Samuel McMahon, who slept in the same bed with him, on awaking next morning discovered him apparently lifeless. Believing him at first to have been

labouring under some paroxysm of his complaint, he shook him, when he breathed very heavily. A surgeon was immediately sent for, but before his arrival life was extinct. The surgeon was of opinion that death was caused by the breaking of some blood-vessel in the region of the heart, no doubt from the excitement consequent upon nightmare.—Verdict accordingly.

It is rumoured that her Majesty purposes visiting Liverpool next summer. We have made inquiry, and believe that such is the royal intention. Of course much depends on events; but the visit is, under all circumstances, more than probable.—*Liverpool Journal*.

Advertisements follow each other in succession in the *Morning Chronicle*, beseeching surveyors to appear. One wants sixty, and offers £5 a day and all expenses.

A collision took place on Monday on the North Midland Railway, near Bousley. Several of the passengers received severe injuries. An old gentleman was completely jammed between two carriages, while one of his legs hung nearly severed from his body.

On Friday night Mr. Coxhead, well known in the theatrical world, and who, it is said, has lost £15,000 in theatrical speculations, went into a hairdresser's shop in Kennington, where, after he was shaved, he inflicted a dreadful gash across his throat. Surgical assistance was instantly provided, and as soon as the necessary remedies were applied the unfortunate gentleman was conveyed in a cab to his residence in a very hopeless state.

The Repeal Association met at the Conciliation Hall, Dublin, on Monday. The attendance, Mr. O'Connell being present, was better than it had been for some weeks past. Among other topics, Mr. O'Connell mentioned the existence of dissensions among repealers in various parts of the country, which prevented the collection and transmission of "rent" to head quarters. He expressed his intention to visit the disaffected districts, in order to restore union, &c. Among other complaints of the hon. gentleman was one against placing Cromwell's statue in the new Houses of Parliament. The rent for the week was 377*l*. 5*s*. 2*d*.

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. Oct. 18	MON. Oct. 20	TUES. Oct. 21	WED. Oct. 22	THUR. Oct. 23	FRI. Oct. 24
Bank Stock		207	207	207	206½	
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	96½	96½	96	96½	96½	96½
3 per Ct. Con. Ann.	97½	97	97	97½	97½	97½
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½
Long An. Ex. 1860	1013.16	1013.16	1013.16	1013.16	1013.16	
Cons. for Acct.	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
Exc. Bills, pm.	43.7	40.5	43.5	43.5	43.5	
Ind. Bds. un. 1000 <i>f</i> .		60	56	59		
India Stock	266		264			
Austrian					110.11	
Belgian Bonds	99½	99	98½			
Brazilian 5 per Ct.			85		81	
Chilian				100		
Colomb. ex. Venez.					17½	18
Danish		87			86.7	
Dutch 4 per Cent.						
Dutch 2½ per Cent.	59½	59½	58½	58	58½	59
Mexican	31½	31½	32	32	31½	32
Peruvian				37		
Portug. conv.	59½	59½				
Russian 5 per Cent.					26	27½
Spanish 5 per Ct.		26	25½	25½		
Do. 3 per Ct. ex. dv.	37½	37			37½	37½

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MONDAY, OCT. 20.—We have a fair show of Wheat samples by land carriage, and a moderate one coastways; the quality and condition of most of it is only indifferent. With fine weather, the trade is not so brisk as last Monday, but the prices of that day are supported, both for English and free foreign. There is a fair arrival of foreign, which fetches 1*s*. to 2*s*. more money in hand. There are still very scanty supplies of Barley, and most of what arrives is of a coarse quality; there is no alteration in the price of any sort. On the whole we have been pretty well supplied with Oats during the past week, but the previous deficiency, together with an increased alarm respecting the Potato crop, has caused a free sale at 3*s*. to 4*s*. over the prices of this day week. Beans fully as dear, and White Peas 4*s*. dearer than Monday last.

	BRITISH.	PER IMPERIAL QUARTER.
Wheat, Essex,	Red 52 to 64	White 60 to 70
Kent, & Suffolk	51 62	56 66
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire	49 56	56 64
Scotch		
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feed.		28 30
Ditto	Ditto	New 29 31
Scotch Feed	31	Potato 36
Limerick		28 30
Ditto	Fine New 31 32	Old Fine 33 35
Cork		
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black		27
Sligo		27 28
Galway		27 28
Barley		28 36
Beans, Mazagan	New 40	Old 43 45
Harrow		
Small		
Peas, White		Boilers 60 61
Grey	40. 41	Maple 42 44
Flour, Town-made		per sack of 280 lbs. 48 60
Norfolk and Suffolk		46 50

FOREIGN.

	FREE.	IN BOND.
Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed	60 to 68	16 52
Rosstock	58 62	44 48
Stettin	57 62	43 46
Hamburg	54 59	42 45
Odesa	48 52	40 42
Odesa Polish	52 54	40 43
Russian	Soft	50 59
Ditto	Hard	48 57
Spanish		
Ditto	White	
Australian		60 69
Barley, Grinding		27 30
Distilling		30 32
Oats, Archangel	31 32	25 26
Danish	32 33	26 27
Swedish	32 33	26 27
Stralund		
Dutch Feed	30 31	24 25
Brew	36 38	28 30
Polands	34 36	24 30
Beans, Egyptian	41 42	40 41
Peas, White		56
Ditto Boilers		none
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 196 lbs.	34 35	
United States	32 35	
Dantzic		
Australian, per sack of 280 lbs.		

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from Oct. 13 to Oct. 18, 1845, both days inclusive.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas.
English	10536	1548	1585	589	2683
Scotch		295	1551		107
Irish			16113		
Foreign	13842	300	15680	2450	115

Flour, 7387 sacks; 2338 barrels.

FRIDAY, OCT. 24.—With the exception of Foreign Wheat, of which there is a moderate arrival, the supply of all grain during the week has been scanty. The Wheat trade has notwithstanding been dull, both on Wednesday and this morning. Lower prices are not admitted to, but the amount of business doing has not been extensive. The landed Wheat trade is more buoyant than that for other English or Free foreign. In Barley there is not much stirring, and prices remain the same as on Monday. Beans and Peas are without alteration. Great excitement has prevailed in our market for several days past, caused partly by short supplies and partly by the increase of fears for the safety of the Irish Potato crop, the accounts of which are more alarming from the generally entertained fears as to their keeping in the pits. To day such high prices are asked that none will purchase unless absolutely obliged to do so. Prices of British Oats are 2*s*. to 3*s*. higher than Monday, and for Bonded Corn 3*s*. to 4*s*. advance is asked. These prices have caused speculators to pause, but a good business might be done at fully 1*s*. to 2*s*. over Monday's rates. The duties on Wheat and Peas declined each 1*d*. yesterday. There is no other alteration in the duties.

Account of COIN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 20th of October to the 24th of October, both inclusive.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	4580		16680
Barley	1560		
Oats	588	7410	4180

Flour, 2350 sacks.

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending Oct. 21, 1845.

	Qrs.	Price.	Qrs.	Price.
Wheat	10820	64 <i>s</i> . 0 <i>d</i> .	Rye	51 37 <i>s</i> . 7 <i>d</i> .
Barley	1336	30 <i>s</i> . 7 <i>d</i> .	Beans	634 41 <i>s</i> . 9 <i>d</i> .
Oats	27188	20 <i>s</i> . 7 <i>d</i> .	Peas	2548 48 <i>s</i> . 14 <i>d</i> .

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
13th Sept.	54	1.31	0.22	3.33	2.42	10.36
20th "	52	6.30	9.21	7.32	8.42	5.37
27th "	53	4.30	2.22	2.33	1.42	5.38
4th Oct.	56	0.31	1.23	4.33	8.43	1.42
11th "	57	9.31	3.23	4.34	2.43	1.44
18th "	58	2.32	0.23	5.34	5.44	5.43

Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks. Wheat, 55*s*. 3*d*.; Barley, 31*s*. 0*d*.; Oats, 22*s*. 8*d*.; Rye, 33*s*. 6*d*.; Beans, 43*s*. 1*d*.; Peas, 40*s*. 4*d*.

Duty. Wheat, 17*s*. 0*d*.; Barley, 7*s*. 0*d*.; Oats, 6*s*. 0*d*.; Rye, 9*s*. 6*d*.; Beans, 1*s*. 0*d*.; Peas, 2*s*. 6*d*.

Stock of Corn in Bond, Sept. 5, 1845.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.	Flour
	Cwts.						
In London, 146712	18526	36582		15152	2179	33910	
Unit. King. 444408	59727	89114		48073	11420	222250	

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, OCT. 17.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

Oct. 17, Thomas Winston, Cornhill Buildings, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

M. J. PYKE, Brighton, jeweller. [Messrs. Galsworthy and Co., Cook's Court, Chancery Lane.

G. PRATT, Addison Road North, Notting Hill, builder. [Messrs. Richardson and Co., Golden Square.

J. BROOKS & J. BROOKS, Glastonbury, curriers. [Messrs. Nash and Rocks, Glastonbury.

W. LOCKWOOD, Hightown, Yorkshire, stuff manufacturer. [Mr. Flower, Broad Street.

W. PHILLIPS, Flucherbrook, Cheshire, publican. [Messrs. Sharp, Field, and Jackson, Bedford Row.

DIVIDENDS.

Nov. 8, T. C. Smith and R. Hayes, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, hotel keepers.—J. W. Collyer, Newgate Street, City, victualler.—Nov. 7, W. H. Rave, Portsea, currier.—C. Gent and G. J. Millar, Broad Street, commission merchants.—J. P. and G. J. Brady, Great St. Helen's, City, wine merchants.—G. Estall, Holywell Street, Westminster, plasterer.—Nov. 11, J. Smith, Reading, grocer.—W. Robson, Clipping Norton, grocer.—Nov. 14, J. Livingston and T. Britain, Manchester, plumbers.—J. Kitchen, Stockport, corn dealer.

CERTIFICATES.

Nov. 8, T. Reeve, Ann's Place, Hackney-road, victualler.—J. W. Collyer, Newgate-street, victualler.—R. Starbuck, Gravesend, shipwright.—Nov. 11, J. Filbey, Egham, victualler.—C. W. Kessel-meyer, Manchester, merchant.—Nov. 7, J. Taylor, Bromley, Mid-dlesex, maltster.—J. P. Pocklington, Newgate Street, meat sales-man.—C. Ridings, Manchester, worsted manufacturer.—J. Young, Bury St. Edmund's, tobacco-conist.—P. Walker, Quicksort Row, New Road, builder.—J. Bryn, Bristol, chemist.—J. Lane Bristol, victualler.—J. Batchelor, Bath, butcher.—C. Gent and G. Miller, Broad Street, City, commission merchants.—J. Marsh, Brewood, Staffordshire, grocer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

A. CANNON, Edinburgh, printer.—M. McKay, Glasgow, cigar importer.—D. THOMASON, Edinburgh, spirit dealer.

TUESDAY, OCT. 21.

CROWN OFFICE, OCT. 21.

MEMBER RETURNED TO SERVE IN THIS PRESENT

PARLIAMENT.

Borough of Wigorn.—James Lindsay, of Haigh Hall, in the county of Lancaster, in the room of Peter Greenall, Esq., deceased.

BANKRUPTS.

J. J. TRIGWELL, Harrow Road, beerseller. [Mr. Cross, Surrey Street, Strand.

W. H. TAYLOR, Piccadilly, stove manufacturer. [Mr. Foster, Jewry Street.

W. G. BOUCHER, Stepney Green, merchant. [Mr. Ashley, Shoreditch.

E. W. WYON, Gower Street, Bedford Square, bronze and ornamental manufacturer. [Mr. Shireff, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

C. HAWKINS, Brick Lane, Spitalfields, grocer. [Messrs. Tucker and Stevenson, Threadneedle Street.

W. SENIOR, Sheffield, hosier. [Messrs. Atkinson and Pilgrim, Church Court, Lambhury.

J. BREAKENRIDGE, Liverpool, tailor. [Messrs. Sharp, Field, and Jackson, Bedford Row.

H. BLUNT, Woolton, Lancashire, victualler. [Messrs. Vincent and Sherwood, Temple.

J. RAWTHORNE, Manchester, general agent. [Mr. Lever, Bedford Row.

D. SMITH, King Swinford, Staffordshire, iron master. [Mr. Davies, Moorhay 15, Edil.

W. PARFITT, Bristol, engineer. [Mr. Church, Essex Street, Strand.

DIVIDENDS.

Nov. 11, C. Colls, C. Thompson, and R. P. Harris, jun., Lombard Street, bill brokers.—T. Clarkson, jun., Charles Street, Middlesex Hospital, upholsterer, was horseman.—H. Evans, Bucklebury, merchant.—G. Greenwell, J. Benjamin, D. Dearburg, and W. Whitehall, Fore-street, and Coventry, silk manufacturers.—T. Kemp, Blackman Street, builder.—J. W. Carter, Long Acre, coach painter.—C. Tapp, Wigmore Street, coachmaker.—Nov. 13, H. D. Cogan, Friday Street, warehouseman.—Nov. 13, T. Mohan and R. Simons, Mincing Lane, wine merchants.—J. Egan, Argyle Street, tailor.

CERTIFICATES.

Nov. 11, H. Kohne, Laurence Pountney Lane, stay manufacturer.—C. G. Webb, Long Lane, Bermondsey, woollens.—G. Salmon, City Road Basin, timber merchant.—Nov. 13, W. Greenwell, Redcross Street, Borough, wheelwright.—Nov. 15, T. Doub-bery, New Farringdon Street, boot and shoe factory.

boys. The Theatre Open from Eleven to Ten. Admittance, 1s. Napier's Room, 6d. Madame T. T. S. A. C. D. and S. N. S. Lazarus, Baker Street.

are the most common primary mutations, which are pathogenic, to sell or use without a label.

in London, by Mr. J. H. WATSON, of SUMMIT ST. PAPER-SHEET
MANUFACTURE, on Saturday October 25, 1874.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 110.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1845.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

We beg to inform our subscribers that bound volumes of the LEAGUE newspaper, containing the whole of the first year's Numbers, may be had on application at the offices, either in London or Manchester.

OBSERVE!

Samples of good Wheat were sold in Mark Lane on Friday at 74s. per quarter.

The duty on Foreign Wheat is 16s. per qr.

The national expenditure for bread is NOW at the rate of 20 millions a-year, or FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND pounds weekly MORE than during the whole of last winter and spring.

WHAT WILL SIR ROBERT PEEL DO WHEN PARLIAMENT MEETS?

The profound and breathless interest—qualified only by a sense of quiet, self-relying strength—with which the country now awaits the answer to this question, is itself an answer. Sir Robert Peel will do that which the palpable, overwhelming exigencies of the empire, as interpreted by the voice of the empire—which his own judgment and convictions, echoed back to him by waiting and expecting millions—enforce him to do. He will not higggle and haggle; he will not botch and patch; he will not go tinkering again. This time he will act the statesman. He will get quit, once and for ever, of a responsibility too vast for Minister or man to bear.

For what CAN Sir Robert Peel do? Fixed duty, improved sliding-scale, vanishing scale, or any other conceivable expedient that the genius of compromise itself could suggest, would, one and all, be as diametrically opposed to the Premier's matured and avowed convictions, as they would be shamefully and insultingly inadequate to the necessities and demands of the country. Against "fixed duty," in particular, he is pledged in a way that renders it almost ludicrously "needless," as Lord Ashley would say, "to argue the policy or impolicy of such a change." From his earliest Corn Law speeches to his latest, he has been clear, uniform, and self-consistent on this matter. So far back as April, 1828, he objected entirely to the principle of a fixed duty; for, "in times of scarcity, the duty could not be levied," and he has never missed an occasion since of repeating and enforcing the objection. Thus we

find him, on the 3d of April, 1840, urging that "when the price of corn becomes inconveniently high, it may be difficult for a weak, or even for a strong Government to maintain such duty;" and he asks, almost derisively, "would it tend to promote a final settlement of the question?" "In times of scarcity," he continues, "the duty still remaining, would be described as a 'tyrannical impost on the staff of life;' and, as I do not hesitate to say, it must be soon practically removed—and, if removed, I profess myself unable to see how it can be re-imposed." And—not to multiply quotations, for which it is scarcely necessary to give any other reference than "*vide Hansard passim*"—in his speech at the Tamworth hustings, in June, 1841, we have the pregnant question, so strikingly applicable to the present crisis, "If corn be at 70s. or 80s. a quarter, will it be possible to levy the fixed duty of 8s. a quarter? By whom is it to be taken off? and when? Once off, by whom is it to be laid on again?"

The query is equally decisive now against any conundrum of new pivot, or vanishing scale. The ports once open—and who shall dare to close them by a new Corn Law? "ONCE OFF, BY WHOM IS IT TO BE LAID ON AGAIN?"

Most assuredly, not by Sir Robert Peel. Sir Robert Peel has had enough, by this time, of "regulating" prices and duties. It is enough for him to have failed once. Why, who could tell but that, by this time next year, he would have to ask the Privy Council again to mend his work? How can he expect to succeed better in 1846 than in 1842, in constructing a patent self-acting Corn Law. He cannot take more time for deliberation; he cannot go to work with a better intention of succeeding; and he has derived no new aids from the experience of the intervening years. Experience has not given him new securities against failure, but rather demonstrated its certainty. He did his very best then to make a self-acting Corn Law; he put all his strength into the task; he went on "large and comprehensive views;" he flattered himself that he had succeeded to a nicety in keeping out corn when it is not wanted, and letting it in when it is wanted; and the result is, a prohibitory duty of 16s. a quarter, with scarcity officially declared over half Europe, and gaunt famine menacing one-third of the empire. His clock has every possible excellence—only it won't go, without somebody to keep pushing the hands. It is a most beautiful sliding-scale—only it doesn't slide; the index marks sixteen, when it ought to be at zero. Is it conceivable that this farce should be announced for repetition? Is such a burlesque on Government and legislation endurable? Can any statesman, with a statesman's character to lose, risk a second such failure as that of the Corn Law of 1842?

On more general grounds, we are convinced that there is only one thing which Sir Robert Peel can do. The opening of the ports makes the Corn Law question a *res integra*; a thing to be dealt with on its merits as an abstract question. The "special circumstances" which the Premier once regarded as modifying the action, and restricting the application of sound abstract views, are swept away by the flood of an overwhelming necessity; and the ground is clear for "sound" and "enlightened" principles. There will be nothing to be said next February of the perils of "innovation"—the dangers of "rash and sudden change." The innovation will then have been established—the change will have been already made. Free Trade will be one of "the existing circumstances of the country." A new Corn Law would then be the "innovation." Prescription and establishment will be at one with abstract principles. What Sir

Robert Peel has long believed to be true "in the abstract," he will then find realised in the concrete. Now, will he—can he—meddle with this state of things, otherwise than by legislating for its permanence? Why should he? Will "consistency" exact it from him? That he has had his fears and hesitations about changing from wrong to right—will this be any reason for changing back again from right to wrong, when the right is already established *de facto*? Can *Hansard* justify anything so preposterous? Could there be a more outrageous self-contradiction? His work will have been done for him; will he undo it, merely because it has been done not quite in his way? He is irresistibly borne along, with hurried impetuosity, to the goal to which he was leisurely travelling by very easy stages; we may expect to see him a little discomposed and out of breath, but it is perfectly incredible that he should be for retracing his path. Depend upon it, once there, there he will stay. There is nothing in *Hansard* and "consistency" to bind Sir Robert Peel to create a Corn Law where no Corn Law exists. He has fulfilled his old engagements to landlordism, to the very best of his ability and judgment; and now that nature herself has rescinded the contract, he is a free man again.

In the present circumstances and prospects of this country and of Europe, the re-imposition of a tax on corn would be downright impiety. With scarcity proclaimed over the half of Europe—famine, in its worst form, menacing Ireland—and our people growing at the rate of four hundred thousand per annum, it would be a high crime against God and man to interpose a sixpence of duty between the hunger of an empire and the harvests of the world. We must have all we can get. Let it be as much as it may, it will still be too little. We cannot afford to drive from our shores even that small quantity which a sixpenny duty would cause to be sent elsewhere. Instead of repelling, we must invite. We must instantly set all the husbandry of the world to work, sowing and growing for us. We shall want it all. Sir Robert Peel cannot meditate such an insult to the religious feeling and moral sense of the British people as to ask Parliament, at a time like this, to provide against a possible superabundance of food twelve months hence.

In writing thus confidently of what Sir Robert Peel will and will not do, we assume something over and above Sir Robert Peel's sense of public duty and intelligence of national exigencies: it is for the British people to make good the assumption. We assume that they have already determined what Sir Robert Peel, or any other Minister who may hold office, SHALL do. And we warn them that they must be thus determined. Believe not that Sir Robert Peel either will or can do the right thing without a perfect assurance of the most earnest, hearty, and resolute popular support. It is just possible that monopoly may submit to be snuffed out quietly; but it were most perilous to count on this. We expect it will take a tremendous wrench to tear up this Upas, root and branch; and if we do not make root and branch work of it—if a living slip be left, to be planted and grow again—we shall have bitter cause to repent it. No doubt in the world, Sir Robert Peel would like to be rid of it, and would gladly be the Minister to perform the office. The Premier has avowed himself not indifferent to "posthumous fame," and never did a more enviable posthumous fame glorify the name and memory of a statesman than that which history will award to the emancipator of British commerce and industry. But, if Sir Robert Peel likes posthumous fame, he also likes ease. Make it easy to him. Make it impossible to him to shrink or quail. For this honour

on him—of being the Free Trade Minister of the British empire. The opportunity which the needs of the hour offer to him and to us, for a victory that will last while England lasts, is indeed precious, but it may be lost. Only by action and effort—resolute, prompt, and concentrated—can this great occasion be improved into a full and final success.

FAILURE OF THE POTATO-CROP.

We have taken great pains to collect from the Irish papers and from private sources of information on which we can rely, the extent of the failure of the potato crop in Ireland. The disease is described by the Government commissioners as "an enemy whose history and habits are yet but imperfectly known." The following facts, however, have been ascertained:

1. The superior kinds of potatoes have not been tainted in the same proportion as those of inferior qualities, and when symptoms of the taint are discovered on them, the progress of the disease appears capable of being arrested.

2. The disease frequently exists where there is no external appearance on the skin; potatoes that have been housed in Cork, Waterford, and Kerry, apparently in good condition, have proved unexpectedly to be tainted.

3. The disease is very contagious, spreading rapidly from the unsound to the sound tubers; and it appears to be in some degree dependent on atmospheric influence, since its progress is far more rapid in damp weather than in dry.

4. It is believed by many experienced farmers that even the best potatoes of the present year will be found very difficult to keep, and that there is little chance of preserving a store until the coming in of the next harvest.

5. The extent of the loss, making every allowance for exaggeration, may be estimated at less than one-half, and more than one-third, of the crop. But this calculation is based on the supposition that all the potatoes stored as sound continue to be so, which is, however, very questionable.

6. The dread of not being able to preserve their potatoes has induced many farmers to bring them at once to market; and hence prices are lower, and the present consumption greater than we should have been led to expect from the ascertained fact of deficiency.

7. From the railroads, and other causes, employment is more abundant and wages are higher in Ireland at present than has been the case for some years past; the general impression seems to be, that the deficiency will not begin to be seriously felt until late in the spring, and that we have more reason to be alarmed for the summer than the winter.

8. The soundness of the seed for the next year's crop is doubted by many eminent agriculturists. They assert that potatoes have been gradually degenerating for the last 10 years; and that within the last three or four the rapidity of the decline has been very perceptible.

We give these results as we have obtained them from a patient analysis of the evidence before us; there are some apparent contradictions in the statements transmitted to us; but these are easily explained by a reference to the Ordnance survey. On limestone, the crops have suffered comparatively but little; this also has been the case where seaweed has been used for manure; but in the heavy clays and boggy soils, the amount of loss is fearful.

Lime has been recommended to be sprinkled on those potatoes where the presence of disease is suspected; but some medical men have declared that the chemical agency of the lime renders the vegetables deleterious. This point at present engages the attention of her Majesty's commissioners, who are making minute and accurate experiments on the subject.

The other crops in Ireland have not engaged much attention; oats are said to be above an average crop, but wheat is deficient both in yield and quality. Many Irish landlords have addressed circulars to their tenants, recommending them to keep back their corn; and the supplies in most of the markets are reported to be unusually short for this

season of the year. It is gratifying, however, to observe that the Irish have struck at once at the source of the calamity, and have urged from all sides on the Government the necessity of immediately opening the ports, and abolishing the Corn Laws in the next session of Parliament.

MR. BICKHAM ESCOTT AND THE ILMINSTER FARMERS.

The wide spread and settled public conviction—amounting now to little short of a moral certainty—that not only is the "destiny" of protection "fixed," but that the next session of Parliament will, once for all, register the decree of destiny on the statute-book, materially diminishes the interest and importance attaching to particular indications of agricultural opinion. But Mr. Bickham Escott's speech at Ilminster on Wednesday week—still more the reception which it met with from a purely agricultural audience—is too striking a sign of the times to be passed over in silence. Nor can we refuse ourselves the pleasure of expressing the high respect in which we hold this gentleman's sincerity, frankness, good sense, and moral courage. Mr. Bickham Escott does not, like Lord Ashley, shuffle off his responsibilities on "destiny," and "the great political chiefs." He does not pin his faith, nor ask other people to pin their faith, on "the leading men of the great parties in the Legislature." He does not run away from "agricultural anniversaries" the moment he adopts an opinion which agricultural assemblies may possibly find distasteful. He does not talk like a coward of "inevitable blows," of which it were "needless to argue the policy or impolicy." He thinks and speaks for himself. He argues and invites argument. He has a generous confidence in the good sense of his brother agriculturists, and pays them the respect of reasoning with them—believing that the reasons which have acted on his mind will act on their minds. He "dreads no blow." If he thought a blow was coming, he would feel himself called on to do his best to ward it off. He is disgusted with protection, and with the protectionist argument—and he says so, and gives his reasons why. He loathes the policy of "arraying the supposed interests of agriculture against the real interests of the people." He abhors the impudent selfishness which makes a grievance of cheapness and plenty, and he shrinks from the wicked madness of "maintaining a contest with the bellies of the people." He has the sense likewise to see, and the straightforwardness to say, that all the talk about "agricultural improvement" is so much moonshine, until agriculturists are in possession of that "security" which "can never be generally obtained while there is uncertainty about these laws of importation." It is highly honourable to the farmers of Somersetshire, that they like this plain thinking and plain speaking. The "tremendous cheering" which occasionally interrupted the speaker, and the "tumultuous cheering for some minutes" when he sat down, are among the greatest of all the "great facts" which our agitation has to show.

We last week transferred this most remarkable speech to our columns, but we cannot refrain from again putting before our readers one or two of its more important and characteristic passages:

"Gentlemen, the truth is, and it had better be spoken plainly, it is the conduct of the special representatives of what they call agricultural opinions which has precipitated the fall of this Corn Law. (Tremendous cheering.) Why I have sat in the House of Commons, and heard a gentleman, a worthy friend of my own—pure in character, high in fortune and station, harangue the representatives of the people by the hour, on the low price of beef, mutton, veal, and lamb (hear, hear, and great laughter), and do this avowedly for the purpose of supporting agriculture and propping up protection (hear, hear); in other words, arraying the supposed interests of agriculture against the real interests of the people (cheers); whereas, I always thought that the only way to maintain any system of protection was to show, if you can, that the interests of the community required it, and that the friends of the farmer are the friends of the consumer. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, so soon as I heard that speech, and others of a similar, though none quite so monstrous a tendency, and so indiscreet in its expression, I felt, as Lord Ashley feels, that the game of protection was up. This was an attempt to maintain a contest with the bellies of the people. (Great laughter and cheers.) But I differ with Lord Ashley in one important respect. I dread no blow. I think the change is inevitable, but I do not despair for the result. . . . I have

thought it right to speak openly. I have wondered how it is that at so many of these dinners so little or nothing is said of the great question. One recommends better farming, another advises the granting of leases, but both forget the facts that better farming requires capital and security (great cheering); and the other fact, that the security of leases can never be generally obtained while there is uncertainty about these laws of importation. (Cheers.) Let us all, then, endeavour to meet the times, not by concealing the truth, but by preparing for its inevitable conclusions; it will be thus that temporary difficulties will be surmounted, as they have been surmounted before, by the kindness and consideration of some, by the energy and unfettered enterprise of others, and for myself, I feel very grateful that you, to whom I owe no public allegiance, and have no concessions to make or votes to regret, have allowed me to express to men whom I respect something of my own convictions on the greatest public question of the day."

Whereupon, adds the report, "the whole company rose, and cheered tumultuously for some minutes." There is more of "destiny" in those honest farmers' cheers, than even in the "inclination" of the "leading men of the great parties in the Legislature." When farmers not only tolerate, but approve, and not only approve, but enthusiastically applaud, such home truths as these, "the game of protection is up" indeed. Not a whole Parliament of Richmonds and Buckinghams could carry on the hoax now.

THE RAILWAY KING AND HIS FLATTERERS.

The new Member for Sunderland does not seem to be a man much given to serious reflection; else we should think the festivities of last week must have left, in some respects, a deeply painful impression on his mind—an impression of grave responsibilities incurred, and sacred duties neglected. Without, of course, contending that a public man is answerable for all the nonsense that is said and believed of him by ignorant and foolish persons; and freely allowing that it is an embarrassing and somewhat ungracious task for the guest of a political dinner party to repel the adulation, and rebuke the follies, of his entertainers—we cannot understand how any man, with a sense of public duty, can feel justified in allowing such wild and perilous extravagances as those which, on the occasion alluded to, were indulged in by the Chairman, Mr. J. J. Wright, to go uncorrected, even for a brief convivial hour. A wise and earnest man, with a just sense of his responsibility to those who look up to him for counsel, guidance, and example, would assuredly have found some courteous, but effectual mode of intimating his entire dissent from the latter portion, at least, of such a rhapsody as the following:—

"The reputation of Mr. Hudson as a man of business and enterprise stands unrivalled in the present day. As the great accomplisher of railway undertakings, the public spirit and the indomitable perseverance which have marked all his operations, the astonishing rapidity with which all his great works have been executed, and the signal success which has attended all his efforts, have become matters of national record, and the theme of wonder throughout Europe. So strongly, gentlemen, is his fame felt, that you cannot take up a newspaper, whether Tory, Whig, or Radical—whether local or metropolitan—may, whether English or Continental, without finding some article to his praise, or observations to his honour." (Applause.) He has identified his name with the national character by the works he has already accomplished; and such is the opinion formed of his power, and such the reliance placed on his judgment and integrity, that he wields at command and presides over an amount of pecuniary capital exceeding that of any other man in this empire. He may be said to be a sort of Chancellor of the Exchequer in railway matters, whose duties, however, are more to give than to receive; for he has founded a national stock which has not only provided for the security of the investments, but returned to the possessors their capital doubled, trebled, or quadrupled in premiums and dividends, and opened a new fountain of prosperity which has flowed in copious and refreshing streams through the country."

And Mr. Hudson returns thanks for this trash, and for the "enthusiastic acclamations" that followed its delivery. Mr. Hudson takes it all as a "compliment," and has "difficulty in giving expression to the grateful feelings that warm his heart." That is to say, Mr. Hudson, knowingly and wilfully, allows himself to be taken for a man who holds a *Fortunatus's* purse. He likes to have it thought that his mere individual *pat* can "found a national stock"—"double, treble, and quadruple" people's capital, in the shape of "premiums and dividends," and open "new fountains of prosperity," beside whose "copious and refreshing streams" a thirsty country has only to lie down and drink. Nothing said as to where the premiums and dividends are to come from in the first instance. No attempt to indicate the original sources, and explain

the conditions and limitations of this wealth-creating power. Not a thought of the rights, interests, and might of that commerce and industry, which are the true fountains of the wealth of which railways are but the conduits and channels. Not a hint at the dependence of the "national stock," and the "premiums and dividends," on the prosperity of the labouring and trading millions—and the dependence of this on free markets for industry, and a plentiful and steady supply of the necessities of life. Not a syllable of allusion to the possibility of a tightening of the money-market and a diminution of the surplus of national capital available for railway enterprise. Not a whisper of cautionary warning, from which his worshippers can infer that the thing may, in certain imaginable emergencies, be carried too far. Nothing said or suggested of conditions, limitations, contingencies, casualties, and *natural laws*. Mr. Hudson is vain enough, and reckless enough, to like to have it thought that he does it all. He makes the laws. National prosperity is in his gift. It all comes out of his magic bank, at the *open sesame* of his mere individual will. With scarcity and dearth officially proclaimed over half Europe; with the Queen's commissioners in Ireland, anxiously taking the gauge of the damaged and diminished resources that stand between one-third of the empire, and the horrors of famine; and with a law on the statute-book (Mr. Hudson consenting and approving), to make the empire "independent of foreigners;"—this man thinks—or likes to have it thought—that he, Mr. Hudson, can double, treble, and quadruple people's capital, and open new fountains of prosperity to flow in copious and refreshing streams through the country. Mr. Hudson, or the firm of Hudson, Wright, and Co., might as well set up for the philosopher's stone at once. The most audacious quack of an alchemist never came this length.

Has this "sort of Chancellor of the Exchequer," whose duties lie in the way "more of giving than of receiving," ever heard of a certain real Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose "prosperity" speech was the prelude to a general commercial crash, the memory of which has fastened a *sobriquet* to the luckless gentleman's name that will stick by him to the end of his days? We earnestly trust, for the sake of dearer interests than even those of railways and the railway-system, that the friends and admirers of the Member for Sunderland may never have to speak, in bitter derision, of *Mr. Prosperity Hudson*.

GREAT LEAGUE MEETING AT MANCHESTER.

In another part of our paper will be found an ample report of the proceedings at the Free Trade Hall, in Manchester, on Tuesday night; but that report will but faintly portray the earnestness, the firmness, and the unabated zeal which characterised the meeting. On no former occasion was equal anxiety displayed to learn the course of proceedings which should be adopted under the unexpected circumstances in which the great question of food and employment is placed. Eight thousand persons crowded the hall; multitudes remained outside unable to obtain admission. On the platform were the representatives of an amount of wealth and capital such as has never before been collected in one assembly in the north of England. Many who have hitherto been lukewarm and neutral, many that had passionately doubted, and not a few who had opposed, appeared to testify that the repeal of the Corn Laws has become—what the League has laboured to make it—a national question, independent of men and parties, but identified and bound up with the vital interests of the people. With a universal conviction on all hands, that something must be done—with famine imminent in Ireland, and scarcity threatened in England—with the leading journals of the most opposite views in politics, proclaiming that the time is come when the policy of interfering with the laws of Providence, and intercepting the compensations of Nature, must be abandoned—with proclamations of European scarcity issued on the shores of the German Ocean, the Baltic, and

the Propontis—with demands on all our energies to complete labours the most stupendous, it was to be expected that men should come together deeply impressed with the weight and urgency of the matters to be deliberated upon. But this was not the only source of the deep interest and importance of the meeting. Events have, indeed, become teachers; they have set to work active agencies potent for change. But those who assembled in the Free Trade Hall on Tuesday evening, felt that it would be neither the part of wisdom nor of sound policy to watch the course of events with folded arms, and to trust the results of a great struggle to the doctrine of chances. They came together, convinced that the signs of the times are invitations to action; that the events to which we have alluded are appeals for co-operation, and that we may endanger our great cause of truth and justice by trusting too much to the power of circumstances, however unexpected or however favourable.

There was probably never any meeting in which the feelings of the audience were more faithfully reflected in the speeches delivered. The speakers seemed only to give utterance to the thoughts of the assembled thousands; there was a unanimity of opinion which seemed the result of previous concert, but which was derived from all having reflected on facts which all knew. The connection between high prices of food and manufacturing distress—between low prices of provisions and manufacturing prosperity is no longer a lesson to be taught in Manchester,—it is a conviction so thoroughly inwrought and impressed, that it forms a part of every man's existence. It is a truth of consciousness rather than of reasoning.

We trust that the other great towns of the empire will imitate the example of the men of Manchester, and give utterance to those feelings which are now universally experienced through the nation. It is not enough to say that the Corn Laws are doomed, and then wait, in the spirit of Turkish fatalism, until their destiny is accomplished. The destiny is in our own hands; let unity and direction be given to the enlightened opinion which is spread abroad, and the barriers erected by fraud and folly will be swept away by the tide.

OPENING OF THE PORTS.

(From a Correspondent.)

EDINBURGH, 28TH OCT.—It may be satisfactory to you and to your readers to know, that at a special general meeting this day of "the company of merchants of the City of Edinburgh," one of the oldest chartered companies in this kingdom, and one which has greatly given the tone to other public bodies in Scotland, called by requisition, a memorial to her Majesty's Government was unanimously agreed to, generally condemnatory of the Corn Laws, and specifically praying for the "opening of the ports" for the free admission, without duty, of corn and provisions, as a measure dictated at once by the necessity of the time, and a measure of sound policy.

Further, the company resolved to publish their resolutions in all our papers, that by calling public sentiment forth, Sir R. Peel might have his hands strengthened against all sinister influence, which might prevent or delay so necessary a step being taken.

On Wednesday the Lord Provost, magistrates, and council of Glasgow unanimously resolved to memorialise her Majesty's Government to open the ports for the admission of grain duty free; and a memorial to that effect has already, we believe, been transmitted to Sir Robert Peel. —*Scotch Reformers' Gazette of Saturday.*

We have also received the following intelligence:

"At the meeting of the Town Council of Hull on Thursday last, it was moved by Dr. Gordon, and seconded by Geo. Cookman, Esq., that a petition be presented to her Majesty in Council to pass an order to admit all kinds of foreign grain duty free, which motion was powerfully supported, and carried unanimously."

MANCHESTER ATHENÆUM SOIREE. —The annual *soirée* or literary meeting of the members and friends of this institution was held on Thursday evening in the Free Trade Hall, Pease-street. The interest manifested by the people of this locality was, perhaps, greater than on any former occasion. Tickets were issued for 3,600 persons, but the demand far exceeded that number; and on the day before the meeting as much as three guineas was offered for tickets which originally cost 7s. 6d. The directors had provided ample accommodation for the company, and the attraction offered was of a high character. Mr. Charles Dickens, M. Eugene Sue, and Mr. Thiers, were expected to be present, but from various causes those gentlemen were absent. Mr. Sergeant Talfourd, the chairman, eloquently addressed the meeting on the advantages of such institutions, and on the progress made by that of Manchester. Mr. Mark Phillips, Mr. F. Stone, Mr. John Bright, Mr. Douglas Jerrold, Mr. M. Gibson, and Mr. Cobden, also delivered speeches on the occasion.

A man, dressed in the garb of a labourer, was killed on the Creydon railway, on Sunday, having been accidentally run over by a train. How he came on the railway could not be ascertained.

GREAT MEETING OF THE LEAGUE.

(From the Manchester Guardian.)

Tuesday evening another of those extraordinary gatherings, the aggregate meetings of members of the Anti Corn Law League resident in Manchester and the neighbourhood, was held in the Free Trade Hall, Pease-street, convened by advertisement, as a special general meeting of the members; and it being announced that the meeting would be addressed by Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Henry Ashworth, the greatest interest was manifested, and the demand for tickets of admission, both for ladies and members from the country, was unprecedentedly great. To give every facility to the attendance of the members of the League from Ashton, Rochdale, and their neighbourhoods, it was arranged by the Council that railway-trains should leave Manchester for those towns and their neighbourhoods at 10 o'clock. Though there was no subject announced for discussion, no resolutions of an important character to be proposed, no proposition to be considered for another vast subscription, in order to raise a 50,000l. or 100,000l. fund, the greatest excitement prevailed, and the most intense interest was manifested at the meeting; as it was justly anticipated that it would naturally have reference to the present critical state of the country consequent upon the failure of the potato crops, both in England, Ireland, and the principal countries of Europe. It was expected that allusion would be made to several recent and remarkable indications of a change of opinion amongst those who have hitherto been the advocates of protection and monopoly; and to the supposed intentions of ministers—the probable issue of orders in council for a temporary suspension of the Corn Law—would be adverted to, if not discussed, and their several advantages and disadvantages pointed out. Even amongst those less informed, it was felt that the addresses of the leaders on this occasion would have a direct bearing upon that new phase of the food question, suggested by the too great probability of a famine year in Ireland. To these causes we may attribute the vast congregation of individuals collected within the walls of the Free Trade Hall last night.

As usual on these occasions, the galleries were reserved for ladies, and gentlemen accompanying them. They were densely filled; as indeed was the whole area of the hall, and every inch of space on the large platform, long before half-past seven o'clock, the time appointed for the chair being taken. Great as has been our experience of large assemblies within the walls of this vast building, we do not remember any previous occasion on which it was so closely packed in every part; and we understand that hundreds were unable to gain admission. The usual space in front of the platform, on both sides the reporters' table, was crowded with ladies and gentlemen, many of them unable to obtain seats.

Exactly at half-past seven o'clock, Mr. George Wilson, Chairman of the Council of the League, took the chair; he was accompanied by Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, Mr. Henry Ashworth, Mr. John Brooks, Mr. William Rawson, and various other members of the Council, who were loudly cheered as they took their seats.

Amongst the gentlemen on the platform we may name the following:—R. Cobden, Esq., M.P.; J. Bright, Esq., M.P.; J. Brotherton, Esq., M.P.; H. Ashworth, Esq., of Turton; Mr. Alderman Walker, Mr. W. H. Callender, Mr. Alderman Armitage, Mr. Alderman Burd; Messrs. J. Brooks, T. Bazley, E. Davy, of Crediton, Devon; J. Whitaker, of Ashton; S. Lees; R. Platt, Salford; C. Howard, Hyde; Mons. A. Fonteyraud, of Paris; D. Collins, Oldham; T. Garside, ditto; R. Ascroft, Preston; R. Welsh, Huddersfield; Jacob Bright, jun., Rochdale; C. Cobden, H. Rawson; T. Bright, Burnage; P. Seville, Lees; W. Evans; J. G. McMinnies, Warrington; W. Ascroft, Burnage; Rev. Thomas Hudson, Wesleyan minister; J. Potter; William Littlewood, Rochdale; James Littlewood, ditto; Oliver Ormerod, ditto; W. Coates, ditto; John Petrie, ditto; John Hoyle, ditto; J. B. Scott; W. Harvey; W. Lockett, mayor of Salford; C. H. Lattimore, Wheatthamstead; J. Harding, J. Barratt, T. Woodcock; J. Schofield, Littleborough; J. Rawson, J. Chadwick, P. Walker, S. Lucas; J. T. Crook, Liverpool; T. H. Williams; W. Black, London; O. Whitaker, Ashton; J. B. Smith, W. Rawson, J. Simpson, R. B. Moore, J. C. Dyer; T. Eskridge, Stockport; J. Hampson; Nathan Lees, Ashton; Nicholas Heald, B. Nicholls; J. D. Fernley, Stockport; Alderman P. H. Willert, Watkin Lees, G. Higginbottom; A. Darby, Coalbrookdale; Mr. Alderman Tysoe.

The CHAIRMAN: We anticipated at this, the opening meeting of the season, that we should be in a position to place before this meeting, and through this meeting before the country, some few of the results of the registration labours of the League. Owing, however, to the non-reception of some documents essential to that purpose, we are obliged—reluctantly, it is true, but still obliged—to postpone that important report until the next meeting of the League, which I trust will be on a very early day. (Hear.) Under these circumstances I shall not occupy your time any longer, but proceed at once to the business, by calling on Mr. Cobden to address you. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

MR. COBDEN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—Many as have been the meetings which I have had the honour of addressing in Manchester, yet I think I can truly say, that none will lay claim to the present in numbers and intelligence; and, if I look around me on the platform I am led to the conclusion that for weight, influence, and moral power, this constitutes altogether about one of the strongest meetings I have ever known held in this great country. (Hear, hear.) As I came along the street just now, I saw such a rushing and struggling to gain access to this meeting, that I could not help asking myself what it was that we were called together for. You have nothing particular to learn, we have nothing particular to communicate in reference to this cause, and yet there seems to be something in our question which naturally and instinctively draws us together. I think there is some danger of a misapprehension on the part of some as to the particular object which again draws us together to-night in this building. Our business here to-night is to state the position in which our cause stands at the present moment, to draw some consolation from the past, and to indicate the way in which we are now placed, and to make some allusion to the dilemma in which our opponents, as many suppose, are now placed. (Applause.) We are not met here to-night to exult in the fallen and menacing condition of our unhappy sister-land, Ireland, whose inhabitants, in consequence of the failure of the potato crop, and

the deficiency of the wheat harvest, seem to have starvation staring them in the face, and famine impending over them. But, ladies and gentlemen, let it be perfectly understood that we do not meet here to exult over the calamity in which a large portion of our countrymen are likely to be placed, or over the scarcity and famine which impend over our unhappy sister island. (Hear.) The objects for which we have laboured for seven years have been abundance and cheapness. (Cheers.) "Plenty," is our motto—"Plenty always and everywhere!" (Loud cheers.) And if there be drought, or scarcity, or famine, here or elsewhere, we, at all events, of all our fellow-countrymen, may fairly claim to stand guiltless of the cause of that famine and distress. (Hear.) We are told that in a country where the great bulk of the population are always upon the verge of famine, where that gaunt spectre now threatens to stalk through the land—that misery, starvation, and even death, may be the portion of millions of our fellow-countrymen in Ireland. Now, what is the remedy for this? We do not come to talk about the principle which is applicable to all times and seasons; but what, I ask, is the natural and obvious remedy, under existing circumstances, against the gaunt famine that threatens a country like Ireland? You would say, "Open wide the ports, and admit the bread of the whole world to feed the people." (Cheers.) That is the obvious and natural remedy—that is the remedy which an enlightened despot would at once fly to. Witness Russia, witness Turkey, witness Germany, Holland, and Belgium; these Governments have not waited, but when their people have been threatened with want they have at once thrown open their ports, and in some cases stopped exportation in order to supply their people with abundance of the first necessities of life. (Hear.) Why has not our Government taken a similar course? Why have they waited to learn Christianity from the Turk, or humanity from the Russian? (Cheers.) Is it because our Government is less merciful than that of the Mahometan Sultan? Is it that our boasted constitutional power is less humane than that of the despot of Russia? Or is it that our prime minister, who holds the responsible position of sultan in this country—(hear)—is it because he is afraid that if he takes the step—the obvious and natural and necessary step—he will not have the support of the country in throwing open the ports of this kingdom to foreign corn? If that be his doubt, we meet here to give him all the support which we can give him. (Cheers.) I hesitate not to say that whatever may be the attempts of the aristocracy to thwart the minister in taking such a course, there is popular power enough in the country to support him in that act of humanity. (Loud applause, and cheers.) We support him here in this magnificent meeting! (Cheers.) What we say, South Lancashire will say whenever he appeals to it. (Hear.) We speak the voice of the West Riding of Yorkshire whenever he chooses; and Middlesex will endorse what we say in this hall. (Renewed cheers.) You have animated the hearts and hopes of this empire; and a minister having the support of the vast multitude in this country—having their intelligence at his back, which he may have whenever he chooses to draw upon it—I say he is a criminal and a poltroon if he hesitates a whit. (Loud cheers.) He has the power. There is no man, whether he be the Grand Turk, or whether he be a Russian despot—there is no man in the world that has more power than Sir Robert Peel has in this country. His party cannot do without him. (Laughter.) Let anybody sit in the House of Commons as we do, opposite to Sir Robert Peel, and watch the proceedings of his party. He comes down to the House night after night. With the exception of his colleague, Sir James Graham, the whole of the side of the House upon which they sit may be called a dreary waste, as far as statesmanship is concerned. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Sir James Graham, although I admit he has manifested great administrative talents, has not exactly arrived at that state of personal popularity in this country, that he can take Sir Robert Peel's place. (A laugh and cheers.) Sir Robert Peel is therefore absolute with his party; and with the power he possesses, he must be content to take the responsibility which attaches to power. (Cheers.) I need not tell you that that word "responsibility" has an ugly and a sinister sound in the ears of the prime minister; but let us be understood. By responsibility, we mean moral responsibility:—(hear, hear)—he is responsible to his country, he will be responsible to history, if he fails, upon this occasion, in taking that step which he is bound to take to save a large portion of the people of this country from famine. (Hear, and cheers.) Many people now say, "Admitting that Sir Robert Peel opens our ports, and foreign corn comes in, that will not settle the question;" and this is a point that I wish particularly to draw the attention of this meeting to, for I see a disposition upon the part of many of my friends to throw up their caps, and consider this question as settled. (Hear.) I do not exactly see my way to the settlement of this question yet. I wish I did. I do not think the opening of the ports would settle this question. We had the ports opened in '26; but they passed the sliding-scale in '28, with all its horrible iniquities. (Hear, hear.) It is not because Ireland wants feeding that we shall necessarily have a repeal of the Corn Laws. Ireland has been in a state of semi-famine for the last 30 years; and in 1822 you had subscriptions in England—every church was thrown open—you had 250,000L. raised in England, and sent to Ireland, to save the two provinces of Connaught and Munster from a state of actual famine; but nobody said a word about repealing the Corn Laws then; not the slightest syllable was said about relieving the people of Ireland by admitting foreign corn; and what I wish to impress upon you now is this, that it is not the opening of the ports alone we want, but we want to set our backs against them to prevent them from ever being shut again. (Cheers.) Do you not think we may find some arguments nearer home in favour of this principle? (Cries of Yes.) I believe many of you are brought here because you have an idea that things are not looking quite so promising as they have been in Lancashire. (Cries of Hear, hear.) You are not arrived exactly at that state they are in in Ireland, where they have commissioners sent over just now, learned doctors, to see how much the patient will bear, to see how much it can endure. They have got it upon the rack, and there are learned doctors round it, feeling the pulse, to see if the patient will live a little longer, or to see whether it should be taken off the rack. Then the *Standard* newspaper tells us, that even if the patient is taken off the rack, it shall be put on again as soon as ever it will bear it. (Hear.) Now you are not exactly arrived at that state yet; but what is the price of oatmeal? I believe that what used to be a guinea is now 38s.; and I believe, too, that flour has advanced 5s. per cent., that the dozen pounds of flour which used to cost 18s. 8d. is now 28s. 6d. And I believe? (Cries of Yes, yes.) Then you have bread still dearer, because flour makes more than its own weight in bread; and

every man who is now spending half a crown in bread is just getting one-third less for it than he did this time twelvemonths. Every man will then have one-third less to spend upon the other things which he uses. We thus come to the old story again—if he has so much more to spend in what he eats, he will have less to spend in what he wears; and if there is more goes to the baker, and through him to the miller, there will be less to go to the draper, and to the wholesale dealer. You will then have less work, while you will have more to pay for your food. Then the masters will cry out at their short profits; then there will be no more strikes for higher wages. It is the old thing coming round again, and I believe many of you here have felt it, and that you are come here to see whether you are likely to get rid of the cause. It will not be got rid of, however, by throwing up your caps, because a lord has written a very ambiguous sort of a letter, or because certain honourable gentlemen make speeches, the meaning of which you cannot tell, and indeed they do not appear to comprehend it very clearly themselves. (Laughter.) You must not throw up your caps and fancy you are going to have the Corn Law abolished without thinking of it by any such adventitious aid as that. It will have to be done by your own right arm, if it is done at all. (Loud cheers.) We have a new class in this country that I think are more deeply interested in this question than they have been yet considered to be. I wonder if we have any people here that have got any interest in railways? (Loud laughter and cheers.) I should think, judging by that response, that almost every lady and gentleman here has a little sympathy in that direction. (Renewed laughter.) Now the railway people have got—a king! (A laugh.) Kings sometimes make speeches, though we never expect much from kings' speeches. Cobbett once wrote a grammar for the purpose of teaching statesmen how to write better kings' speeches; but I do not think that your railway king has studied that grammar. (Loud cheers and laughter.) You have a "king," and he has lately been railing at the League, at Sunderland. He is given to railing (laughter), and he calls the League a "selfish" body; he denounces us. I think railway kings and their subjects are more deeply interested just now in the success of the League than any other class of the community. (Hear.) Did you ever take a look at the trains starting from the Leeds or Sheffield station, or out by Ashton? You who have got shares in railways, just go and take stock of your business; see who your customers are: inquire from the secretary or one of the directors how much they receive for first-class passengers, how much for second-class, and how much for third-class, and then you will be able to understand how much you are indebted to the working classes for the prosperity of your lines. Learn where the cheap trains go, how much they carry, and how much they pay; and then just make a little calculation. Here is John Tomkins, his wife, and seven children; they earn together a guinea a week: his wife comes and says, "John, I'm paying 3s. 2d. more for flour than I did three months ago." "Then," says John, we must give up the trip to Alderley—we shall not be able to take that." (Cheers.) Go and tell your "king" this. They sometimes call him the railway Bonaparte. Recollect that a man may be a Napoleon among navigators, and only a navigator among statesmen! (Cheers and laughter.) I am not happy at nick-names, but I will give him a title. He shall be one of those pastebord potentates that shuffle and cut, and win tricks—call him "the King of Spades!" (Tremendous bursts of laughter.) I do not know how it is, but there is nobody who attacks the League but you may be almost certain, whatever fame or reputation he had before—you may take it for granted, I say, that that man is at the end of his tether, he is just at the brink of the precipice, and that all his public fame and character goes overboard. We were attacked by an ex-chancellor once, and what a figure he has been cutting in *Punch* ever since! (A laugh.) Then we have had ministers attacking us, prime ministers too, who said we should be mad if we persevered for Free Trade. What is become of them? And, mark my words, the railway "king" will turn out only a "pretender." Depend upon it people will soon avoid running their heads against that stone wall called the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Loud cheers.) I wonder if there is any man who has laid out his money upon railways that has not bought a county qualification. (Hear.) I cannot imagine a man showing less calculation or sound foresight than the man who lays out his 50L. or 100L. in buying a couple of shares in the railways, rather than upon a freehold qualification. It is the 40s. qualification that can make railways profitable, by giving us Free Trade. (Loud cheers.) I like these railways too, and I will tell you why. They are carrying common sense, that is, when the railway king does not travel upon them, into the agricultural districts. (Cheers and laughter.) The great proprietor and squire in the west and south of England have all been anxious to have railways. For many years they have wanted railways to their own houses, and they found out that, if they are to have them, they must come to Lancashire or Yorkshire, for there was nobody else that had either the money or the wit to make them. That makes them sympathise with the prosperity of Lancashire and Yorkshire; they come into contact with business men, and they understand men of business. They are beginning to feel that railways are the barometer of the state of trade, as you all will find it out by-and-bye. I like railways; they are drawing us more together; they are teaching the landowner to feel for the manufacturer, and placing the manufacturer upon better terms with the landowner. I wish them to go on; but they cannot prosper unless you have something to carry upon them. The more trade you have—the more Free Trade—the more profits will your railways bring. Nobody objects to railways now; but how was it twelve years ago with the landlords in this respect? Twelve years ago, the Marquis of Chandos then, but Duke of Buckingham now, presided at a public meeting at Saltil, near Windsor, at which the fellows of Eton College, and other great and distinguished men of the county assembled, to celebrate the first defeat of the Great Western Railway Bill. (Hear.) What do these gentlemen say now? Why even the pope himself is now in advance of these subjects, and they are only some ten years in advance of the pope. Is it not just as possible that they may be as much mistaken about their true interests in the matter of Free Trade as they were in the case of railroads? This is encouraging. Indeed we are only now about three or four years in advance of the monopolists with our arguments. About three or four years ago, we put out pamphlets stating that the population of this country was increasing at the rate of a thousand a day. I was passing by when I heard a man with a shovel in his hand railing it upon the wall. "That's a lie any how!" he said. (Laughter.) But that incredible fact at that time has been so well

established, that now even Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham admit it is true, and are compelled to acknowledge that it is necessary to make provision for the large and increasing population. (Hear, hear.) This also is encouraging; it shows that the principle we contend for is good, and that we need only continue the efforts hitherto used to set ourselves free. (Hear, hear.) It begins to be seen now on all hands, that the present Corn Law cannot stand; but it seems to be very doubtful, at present, what we shall get instead of it. Are we to have another Corn Law? (Loud cries of No, no.) Are we to have a sliding scale or a fixed duty? (No, no.) Only think of the number of Corn Laws we have had during the last few years! The present has been in operation three years, and now we are talking of getting rid of it. (Hear, hear.) Why is it so? Because just now there is a probability of scarcity; we want food, and this law, which Sir John Tyrell tells us is to give us "plenty, and security for plenty," stands in the way of our obtaining it. (Applause.) It is a law at once unnatural, impolitic, and inexpedient, and meant only to suit the pockets of those who believe themselves interested in its continuance. (Hear, hear.) There will be attempts made to cheat us out of the demand we make, and there is every probability that those attempts will succeed, unless we as Free Traders stand fast to the principle we have espoused, by showing to our opponents that we are neither to be used nor abused by the acceptance of either a sliding scale or a fixed duty. (Applause.) I think we have made out a sufficient case, and by that we must stand, without any attempt at compromise. We do not ask to be benefited at the expense of any other portion of the community; I have all along repudiated that idea; but I think we have fully demonstrated that monopoly is the bane of agriculture; and Peel says ditto to it.—(Applause.) And we shall continue to labour and to urge this cause, whether the ports be immediately opened or not, until not the slightest ground is left to the monopolists, or until every rag and vestige of the protective system is done away with. (Loud applause.) We have told them in the House of Commons that the farmers are robbing one another, and that position was not controverted but must be acquiesced in by all who are in any way acquainted with the subject. But since the close of Parliament, I have had an opportunity of consulting with many of this class of men, and have obtained a variety of statistics and details on the subject, which go to show that the farmer, instead of being a gainer, is a most material loser by this so-called system of protection. (Hear, hear.) It has been proved to me, that the better off the farmer is, the more he suffers by protection. The large stock farmers, as they are called, are more seriously injured than any other part of the community. They are consumers of Indian corn, oats, beans, cheese, butter, beer, and of all other taxed articles, and they are made to pay artificial prices for all these articles for protection. (Hear, hear.) We have now had thirty years of protection, and during the whole of this time, the farmer has been the dupe of every blockhead who gave the cry of "protection!" But it is not enough that we demonstrate the iniquity and impolicy of these laws, and the injury they inflict upon all classes of the community. We may make this clear and unanswerable by the most direct and logical of processes. There shall not be found a man in the House of Commons, with any pretension to intellect, who shall dare to controvert it. Yet you cannot carry the abolition of this system unless you are active and energetic in putting yourselves in a position to have the power of carrying out your principles. Talking will not do it. I admit we can show our enemies are wrong; but still, you cannot make men do right unless you have the power to compel men to it. I believe that power is in your hands. We have done something already by resorting to the constitutional weapons of war which have been already referred to, the 40s. freeholders. We called upon the West Riding Free Traders this time twelve months, and we asked them to qualify 2000 voters, to rescue that country from the grasp of monopoly; they have nobly responded to that call. (Cheers.) They have put 2300 upon the register. (Loud cheers.) They have converted the majority that formerly existed in favour of monopoly of 1100, into a majority of 1600 for Free Trade. (Loud cheers.) Now I ask them not to rest satisfied there. I ask them to go on again, and by the same process, qualify 2000 more by the 31st of next January; for if they do that they will save themselves much trouble and expense at the next election. (Hear.) An election must come in twelve months, or a little more. A contest for the West Riding of Yorkshire will cost each party £10,000, and by the expenditure of £1000 between now and the 31st January, our friends may induce as many more to buy freeholds as will render a contest hopeless, and thus save themselves the expense. (Hear.) I ask them to put themselves in the same position as South Lancashire. We have a majority of 3000 in South Lancashire. (Loud cheers.) Mark the extraordinary change that we have witnessed. In 1841, at the dissolution of the liberal government, the Whig committee of that time took the registration books in hand, and looked at them with the view of contesting the county. They found if they had contested it, they would have been in a minority of 2000. (Hear.) Four years have elapsed; the League took the registrations in hand. South Lancashire was wholly abandoned by the so-called Whig party. The League took the registration in hand, and in four years the minority of 2000 has been converted into a majority of 3000. (Cheers.) You will have no contest in South Lancashire. (Renewed cheers.) Nobody will be such a fool upon the side of the monopolists as to incur the expense of a contest in South Lancashire. We have a majority in the Manchester polling-district alone large enough to cover the monopolist majority in all the districts where they have one. (Cheers.) We made an appeal to North Cheshire. We asked them to qualify, to put themselves into a majority; and they have done so. You will hear the particulars when the time comes. But I ask them now not to rest satisfied where they are. I am jealous of North Cheshire. I want to see the county (for a borough in which I have the honour to sit), so safe in three months' time, that Mr. Egerton will not think of coming to contest it. (Cheers.) This is easily done. North Lancashire—aye, we shall make an example of the monopolists in North Lancashire. (Cheers.) There is some pluck in North Cheshire; but they are a poor, beaten, coward, craven set in North Lancashire. They have no heads. Make light work of them in North Lancashire. (Loud cheers.) Why they have turned Lord Stanley and family to the right about, and set up their own little champion; but I think they will have to go and seek the Derby family to come and help them out of the scrape; for they seem sadly in want of a leader. (Laughter and applause.) Middlesex we have won; South Lancashire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, North Cheshire, South Stafford-

shire, North Lancashire. This is nothing but a basis. This is only the basis of our operations to begin with. Having done what we can down here, we must now appeal to the country at large to follow our example. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Wherever there is a man above the rank of an unskilled labourer, whether a shopkeeper, a man of the middle class, or of the skilled working-class, that has not got a county vote, or is not striving to accumulate enough to get one, let us point the finger of scorn at him; he is not fit to be a freeman. It is an avenue by which we may reach the recesses of power, and possess ourselves of any constitutional rights which we are entitled to possess. They cry shame upon us for inviting the people to qualify. Why, the revising barristers everywhere have not passed the qualifications that have been made, and have not only admitted them to be strictly legal and right, but they have gone out of their way, and said that they considered it honourable for men to purchase property with the view of acquiring the franchise. For myself and friends, I may say that we consider it our duty to enlist as many of the counties as possible in the cause of Free Trade; we have a list of 20, and we intend to visit every one of them. (Cheers.) We will have them organised on the plan that has been so successful in South Lancashire, under the superintendence of our excellent chairman. I mention this to account to our friends for the neglect of many visits we may have been expected to pay in various quarters. They must allow us to proceed with this registration business; for assuredly it is of the utmost importance. There is nothing that will so much alarm the monopolists as to be told that the League has got hold of the counties. What are their pocket boroughs in comparison with South Lancashire, Middlesex, and the West Riding of Yorkshire? With these constituencies to back them, the principles of Free Trade would be found more powerful than all the borough-mongers. Don't let any friend of the cause, however, entertain the vain hope that a letter from any noble lord will secure the full triumph of the Free Trade cause. This principle for which we have been so long contending will prove successful when the Free Traders are prepared to work out their own redemption, and not before. (Hear, hear.) We have everything to encourage us, however; and I for one believe that the day of our redemption draweth nigh. (Applause.) But we must not relax in our labours; on the contrary, we must be more zealous, more energetic, more laborious than we have ever yet been. When the enemy is wavering then is the time to press upon him. (Loud applause.) I call, then, upon all who have any sympathy in our cause, who have any promptings of humanity, or who feel any interest in the well-being of their fellow-men, all who have apprehensions of scarcity or starvation, to come forward with their efforts, to avert this horrible destiny, this dreadfully impending visitation. (The honourable gentleman resumed his seat amidst loud and prolonged applause.)

Mr. HENRY ASHWORTH, of Turton, near Bolton, then stepped forward, and was received with great applause. He said: It requires a bold man at the conclusion of a market-day's business to encounter a spectacle like this, and to undertake to communicate something which themselves do not know; but the task is still more difficult when we remember that the whole field of our agitation has just been gone over by our worthy friend the Member for Stockport. (Hear, hear.) However, in matters concerning the League, I find we have only to apply the same reasoning and the same course of thinking that we apply to our own businesses, and the affair will be well understood. Our chairman has told you that we have come together this evening, but he has not told you for what definite object. So far as I can tell you, I think I may as well put it in this shape: wheat has arrived at 60s. a quarter, and is going upwards; and it is now time to sound the alarm. (Hear, hear.) Those who have been accustomed to go through the arguments of the League will not have forgotten that when wheat has ranged from 40s. to 45s. or 50s. a quarter, we have been accustomed to enjoy a reasonable amount of prosperity (hear, hear); but when wheat has arrived at 60s. a quarter, and has got up occasionally to 65s. or 70s. or more, we have been steeped in adversity. (Hear, hear.) I don't want you to take this for granted simply upon my assertion. We shall take no harm if we pass simply before our recollection the events of the past 10 or 12 years. Looking at the years 1833 to 1839, we had good harvests and plenty, and a season of prosperity. From 1837 to 1842 we had five years when wheat was 60s. to 80s. a quarter, and ranged from 61s. for nearly the whole period. At that time we had unexampled adversity. From 1842 to the present time, wheat had declined in price from 65s. to 45s., and we had again partaken of prosperous days. (Hear, hear.) Taking these three periods as examples which we have not forgotten, we may fairly go on to consider that now, when we have passed 60s. again, we are on dangerous ground. (Hear, hear.) If 60s. a quarter had been arrived at, in consequence of scarcity—scarcity which was attributable to the Almighty—it would have been our business and our duty humbly to submit to it (hear, hear); but if 60s. a quarter and upwards is a price which it is in human power to prevent, then, I say, a responsibility rests somewhere. (Hear, hear, and applause.) We find that in times of scarcity in one country there is often superabundance in another; and at the present time we are aware that corn, to a very large extent, may be imported into this country at something like 40s. to 45s. a quarter; and if we can command the resources of other countries at those reasonable rates, the current price of the world, we have no business to pay 60s. a quarter or upwards for the benefit of any class. (Great applause.) Gentlemen, we come now to consider where the responsibility rests. It has been hinted, that by an order in council wheat could be introduced into this country free of duty. Now, we know that the duty this day is 17s.; therefore, if we had foreign corn free from duty, we have reasonable ground to suppose that we should not be paying 60s. or upwards. The difference, therefore, betwixt the artificial price we are called upon to pay and the general price of the world is just the mark of difference between prosperity and adversity to us. (Hear, hear.) Now, gentlemen, you come to consider not only the responsibility which lies upon the minister who has to do an act of justice when impending danger stares us in the face, but we have also to consider that we have a duty in this matter—that we ought to exercise not only our wealth and influence, but our intelligence to compel such measures. (Hear, hear, and great applause.) We have gone on for seven years existing upon Free Trade. Do not take it for granted that because the sliding scale will be removed for a moment that you then get quit of it. Beware lest political tricksters come together,

and removing the sliding scale, fix upon you a fixed duty. (Hear, hear.) You have been working seven years to get quit of the sliding scale. It is not gone yet, but hereafter you may have to work seven years more to get rid of a fixed duty. (Hear, hear.) Therefore it is imperative upon you that you bestir yourselves strenuously to prevent those awful calamities which may fall upon our countrymen, if the price of corn is not speedily reduced and the impending danger removed. Mr. Cobden has wisely told you the way in which this is to be done,—by an appeal to the registry. I will now tell you what has been done already by argument, and by pleading the cause of justice. We have removed from the protectionists all those pleas which they rested upon when they first started into existence as a body. They talked of inundating the country with foreign corn. Nobody talks about that now. They spoke of breaking faith with the national creditor. Nobody cries out about that now. They spoke of many other burdens, more especially the burdens upon land, but they can't find them. (Laughter.) And where are those men who came forward with those arguments? What has become of the upholders of monopoly? Where are the advocates we once heard of, so noisy? (Hear, hear, and applause.) What has become of Dr. Sleight and his master—you know whom I mean? (Laughter.) Where is Dr. Sleight? Gone. Where are Mr. Game Day and Mr. Feargus O'Connor? (Hear, hear.) Well, then, gentlemen, if this has been done by argument, I trust that full and ample justice will be done, and that we shall not be content to take for the next seven years a fixed duty. (Hear, hear.) Who are the parties now whom we have to contend with? Mr. Cobden has summed them up into a very small compass, as far as regards the House of Commons. I believe they are very few, exceedingly few; for those who are themselves practical agriculturists now insist that Free Trade is the best thing they could have for the agriculturists themselves (hear, hear); and those proprietors who have their title-deeds at home are not afraid to encounter Free Trade (laughter); but there is a small and noisy party of men who go in the name of possessing land, but who have it in their possession mainly for a political object, or for keeping up a great head of game,—those are the noisy men you have to deal with. (Hear, hear.) Now, gentlemen, consider for a moment what are the powers and appliances you have at your disposal to deal with them. The order to which you belong little knows the responsibility attaching to it; you little know the moral force you have in your own power. (Hear, hear.) You have been trained to the exercise of it for a short time. I should be glad, if suffering were not involved, if you had another seven years' apprenticeship. You have now gone so far as to convince the thinking portion of the country, and if the young Free Traders of Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds, had to work seven years longer, they would show to the world that Free Trade principles are good, not only here, but everywhere. (Hear, hear, and applause.) I know that, in anticipating another seven years of agitation in the diffusion of intelligence, I am anticipating that which I have no right to claim on the part of those who have done their duty in their day. I know there are around me those whose cheeks are furrowed with the exercise of the last seven years, but I fully believe they will endure another seven years' labour, if such were needful, in the same cause. (Applause.) And there are those who have made large sacrifices, pecuniary sacrifices, I mean, in carrying out this object. (Hear, hear.) You have not yet spent a quarter of a million in exposing those fallacies and untruths, you have not spent that sum in getting rid of the grievous injustice you have endured; and if you take another quarter of a million to get rid of it, it will be the cheapest purchase you ever made in your lives. (Hear, hear.) I will not detain you, but I will remind you of your responsibilities. We have not failed to remind the premier of his—let us not forget to remind you of yours. I cannot lay claim for you that you have been the parties to promote the speed of the race-horse, but I do claim for you, and the party to whom you belong, that you are the order which has given speed to the steam-engine, and from that—shall I say potentate, or power?—that great civiliser of mankind, comes all the wealth and importance that we see around; and shall that wealth and importance be snatched by the hands of a few? and will you, who have risen up from an order which has the civilising of mankind to the ends of the earth, mind that that power which you hold is not laid hold of by a power which has hitherto been thought stronger, but which is far feebler, than that which you possess. (Hear, hear.) I therefore implore you, as you would spare the people around you from impending famine, to bestir yourselves, and act forcibly as one man, and the sliding scale and fixed duty are for ever done with. (Great applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I have now great pleasure in calling upon Mr. Bright.

JOHN BRIGHT, Esq., M.P., then came forward, amid loud and long-continued cheering, and said: Mr. Chairman,—On looking back over the seven years during which we have laboured in this great cause, I am led, irresistibly, to the conclusion, that there are many thousands of members and friends of the Anti-Corn-Law League, who have been from the first stimulated and sustained by a deep conviction of the sordid, the cruel, and the unnatural character of the enactment which they have striven to repeal. (Hear, hear.) Impressed with this feeling, they have struggled with higher motives than those low and party considerations which too often influence those engaged in political contests. I have felt from the first, and I feel now more than ever, that this cause is too great and too holy, too important for this country, and too momentous for the world, for us to allow anything but the highest motives to stimulate us in the labours we undertake. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) At this moment, all around us is strengthening the conviction of former years; all around us is telling us, in a voice louder than ever, that every word of reproach, that every harsh saying, which we have uttered against the Corn Law, has not by any means conveyed its true character as it is now exhibited before us. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) The present state of feeling throughout the country is one that we must all understand—one of distrust and alarm. And why? Is it because the price of provisions is rising, and that there is an apprehended scarcity before us? It has been said that the Corn Law was a law to secure plenty, and to secure it from our own soil. If that be true, then in this hour of apprehended scarcity, of distrust, and alarm, what is there to which we should so readily turn, in the hope of relief, as to this very Corn Law, which has been pronounced to be the height of legislative wisdom. (Hear, hear.) And yet no man looks to the Corn Law to save us from this evil. (Hear, hear, and No.) Every man now is filled with the opinion that this law, which has been palmed upon the people as a law to secure plenty, has in reality been passed

for the express purpose of enacting scarcity. (Cheers.) And when our object for years past has been to repeal this law, we have been met by men in every grade of society, from the highest to the lowest, and by the monopolist organs of the press, with the assertion, that upon its continuance depended the prosperity of the country. (Hear, hear.) They have said especially, that without this law there could be no good home trade; and yet everybody now knows that there is nothing which endangers the continuance of a good home trade, so much as the occurrence of the present apprehended scarcity. (Hear, hear.) They said that it was necessary to have high prices of provisions to remunerate the farmer, and that high prices of provisions would give us all high prices for every thing that we had to sell (hear, hear); and yet, just in proportion as provisions rise, that state of things occurs under which the price of all the productions of the industry of the people must inevitably fall. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) They said that the high price of provisions would give high prices to the manufacturers, steady employment to the operatives in all the branches of industry, and high wages to them; and yet we find that the manufacturers already are looking to a diminution of the prosperity of the last 12 months. Workmen are not now so sanguine of a further rise in wages as they were three months ago. (Hear, hear.) There is a consciousness in the public mind that every statement which has been made by the monopolists is going to be falsified, and falsified to such an extent that the blindest men may see, and the deafest may hear, and the most obstinate may understand, what it is upon which depends the prosperity or the suffering of the great mass of population of our country. (Great cheering.) The Corn Law—this Corn Law especially—is a pet law. (Laughter.) It was passed at a time when there was great anxiety on the subject; it was passed avowedly to remedy the evils of the old law, to prevent an excessive rise of prices—to prevent gambling in corn; to put down the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Laughter.) This law is now working; you have it before you, as if it were some model machine (hear, hear), but you don't see the inventor pointing out the beautiful execution of his machine. (Laughter and cheers.) Is there a man living, of ordinary intelligence, who has observed the working of the protective system for the last 30 years who did not know when this law was passed that it was but a fair-weather law? (Hear, hear.) It was like many a vessel which may put out to sea when the sun shines, and there is a light wind, and there are no rocks, and no breakers a-head; but it cannot stand a gale; no, it even now totters and trembles when there is but the prospect of a gale. (Immense applause.) Prices now are reaching what the protectionists call a remunerating point. (Laughter.) Sir Robert Peel, in bringing forward this law, said that he wished to remove the superfluous protection, and to give, as far as legislation can give to the cultivators of the soil—(that is to the landlords, who are not cultivators)—(hear, hear)—a price ranging from 54s. to 58s. per quarter. Well, what is the average price now? Not more than 58s., but somewhere between the very points which he named as those which this law was intended to keep as the permanent price of corn. Well, then, Sir R. Peel would say (any man would say), that this law had exactly served its purpose (hear, hear), that the price of corn is that which the promoter and framer of this law promised to the farmers; and yet, people are very much afraid of scarcity. (Hear, hear.) We have had rain; up to the middle of August, rain for weeks; not ordinary rain, but torrents. Then we had three weeks of fine weather, and one of the Members for Oxfordshire said, at an agricultural meeting, that he rejoiced that, owing to the fine weather, prices had not risen to such a point as to make it extremely inconvenient for those who were anxious to maintain the Corn Laws. (Laughter.) But after three weeks' fine weather, it pleased Providence again to send us heavy showers. The result is, that a very large proportion of the wheat in various parts of the country, but especially in the north, is in an exceedingly bad condition. This inferior wheat is brought into the market; sold in far larger quantities than the good wheat, reduces the average price to 56s. or 57s., and keeps the duty up at 17s.; whilst good wheat is selling from 55s. to 65s., and some even as high as 75s. a quarter. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) But the sliding scale has effectually put a stop (or rather this Corn Law has put a stop) to the gambling in corn. Time was when all the hostility of the monopolist press was directed to those unfortunate, but praiseworthy, individuals, who, when there is a prospect of scarcity, are venturesome enough to bring us a supply from abroad. But under this law, the boldest men dare not import corn. That is the object of the law; and now, when it is fulfilling its end, and we have only about 500,000 quarters of wheat in the bonding warehouses, the newspapers are saying, "How strange it is that those men who aforetime have brought us corn; those men, who, in former years, have been the special safeguards of the country, have this year not come to our relief?" The law intended that they should not come to our relief; and it is now working precisely as was intended by its authors. It is to prevent a trade in corn (hear, hear); to make you and your fellow-men—the 27 millions—work, and work, and work, and scramble, and scramble, and starve it may be—aye, in order that out of the produce of your industry—of the scanty wages of the many, something may be taken by law, and handed over to the rich and to the great, by whom the law was made. (Hear, hear, and great cheering.) But, if prices are rising to the remunerating point, according to the protectionist doctrines everything else should be rising. But the city articles of the morning papers are remarkably unanimous as to the price of funds; they are down considerably. They are not less unanimous as to the price of railway stock (hear, hear, and laughter); and the feeling of every individual in this meeting, and the universal feeling throughout all the manufacturing districts of the kingdom, is, that from the circumstance that the price of provisions is so rapidly rising, there must, if it continues, very rapidly come a great and disastrous change in the state of trade. (Hear, hear.) The *Standard* newspaper, which alternates between an affectation of superior piety (laughter), and the most unblushing effrontery and audacity in its statements, the *Standard* has at last found out that in this realm of England, beneath the benignant sceptre of the Queen, under the guidance of such a statesman as has had no rival since the days of Chatham (hear, hear), that no human being, no one of her majesty's subjects, must perish of hunger. (Hear, hear.) We have said for seven years that Providence did not intend that man should perish of hunger. (Hear, hear.) We have pointed to all the material riches which are around us; and to the riches of the industry and the skill of the people, as a means of perpetual supply and abundance. The *Standard* has for seven years heaped all its slanders, and poured out all its venom, especially upon the men who have been accustomed to address you from this platform (hear, hear), and on no other ground than this

that we asked that we might all possess that simple right, the right which was given to us from on high, that right which, with your help, shall not much longer be kept from us (cheerful and reiterated cheering, in which the concluding words were lost.) The *Standard* has summed up, without intermission, a law whose especial object was to bring about such a state of things that, though the rich might have enough, and the moderately rich might not starve, still the poorest of the poor must necessarily be driven into the earth. (Hear, hear.) Now, what are the impending dangers which everybody talks about? for almost every man that one meets has a peculiar sharpness about his look. (Laughter.) There is an extraordinary earnestness in looking at the newsmen; one subject is the topic of almost every conversation. Is it because the grain market is deficient, and the potato crop throughout the country, but especially in Ireland, is pronounced a failure? This is not a new visitation. I am not old enough to recollect how people looked when there was a failure of the potato crop in Ireland before; but I feel quite certain that so long as I live, I shall never forget the way in which people look and speak at the present time. (Hear, hear.) We have had visitations of scarcity before; from 1816 to 1819 we had very high prices—the average price of wheat being 80s. a quarter; and many here will remember, the state of the country, and especially of the northern districts at that time. We all remember one very celebrated, but ever to be deplored event, which took place near this spot in the year 1819. (Hear, hear.) Many will recollect that great numbers of their countrymen were sent to foreign lands; some suffered upon the scaffold—(hear, hear);—evils of the most fearful character threatened the country. Another period somewhat similar came from 1822 to 1823, when the average price of wheat was 64s. a quarter; and we can all recollect the state of the southern counties then. (Hear, hear.) Were they not lit up, night after night, with the blaze of the incendiary? (Hear, hear.) Were not many men tried before a special commission—transported, hanged? We have had a time still later, from 1838 to 1842, when the price of wheat averaged 60s. a quarter; at that time we all know what happened—we had a new corn law, for the old one was found no longer tenable, and we had something like an insurrection throughout this and the neighbouring country. (Hear, hear.) Are we never to learn anything? or, if we do, shall we for ever fail to teach our rulers? (Hear, hear.) We are now in 1845. I cannot go on and add three years to it, and tell you what has taken place, or what will take place in the coming three years; but, if the three periods of which I have spoken have taught us such a lesson, shall we not discover in the present, and in the symptoms of the present, that there are dangers, and great dangers ahead? (Hear, hear.) The future is before us, unknown to us; but we can gather much of what it will be from the lessons of the past. (Hear, hear.) But all facts and all arguments seem lost upon some men. We had no interest beyond the interests of our country in this question. Who is there I should like to know connected with the League, who finds himself a gainer by the agitation which has taken place? We did not come into existence as an organization to overthrow the Whig ministry then in power, or to install into office the men who are now in power. We did not ask that a monopoly should be done away with, which pressed upon us only, and that some peculiar privileges should be given to us. We did not ask that we should go to Parliament, although accident has sent some of us there. (Applause.) What we wanted from the first was, that this unnatural and iniquitous law should be denounced on all hands, and repealed by the power of the legislature, and that the people throughout this country, and ultimately throughout the world, should have freedom to work, and freedom to earn, and freedom to spend and to enjoy. (Hear, hear, and great cheering.) It is consolatory, however, to find that difficult as it has been to teach some men, at this hour there is a much greater teacher than we are at work; it has pleased Providence to surround us with difficulties of no ordinary character; and many who for seven years have been deaf to all argument, are now looking anxiously at each other, and wishing that this great question were once well settled. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Just observe the condition in which we are placed. Sir James Graham, a little while before the end of the last session of Parliament, boasted that there were 450,000 quarters of grain in bond, because some years ago there happened to be a smaller quantity than that. Why, it is but a week's consumption; it is not anything to rely greatly upon. He actually twitted Lord John Russell with having unnecessary fears; and he said he thought the noble lord must be drawing his arguments and forming his conclusions from some few clouds or mists which he had seen on the Surrey hills. There may be clouds and mists now before Sir James Graham's eye (hear, hear); and he may learn a lesson which statesmen should always learn, that when a man of known character and ability, like Lord John Russell, stands forward to point out the dangers which are ahead, that it becomes a statesman, though in office, to hear with attention, and not to meet counsel and warning with ridicule such as this. We have no corn, then, in bond, and there is very little on the Continent for us to buy. (Hear, hear.) You have heard already that other countries have prohibited the exportation of corn from the high prices and scarcity existing in them. Now, if at the present moment the Corn Laws were abolished, every quarter of grain we should get from abroad could only be brought here at a very high price. If the ports are opened, there will be a scramble over Europe for grain to bring to England; for as we are the wealthiest nation, we should be first supplied in the world's market. But what are the consequences to the people abroad? Prices rise there unaturally, and high prices there produce precisely the same effect as they do here. (Hear, hear.) And when manufacturers and mechanics wish to send out their cloth and their yarn to the Continent of Europe, they will find the people there paying 2s. 6d. for their flour instead of 1s. 8d., and having just so much less with which to purchase the manufactures usually exported from this country. (Cheers.) Some two years ago a gentleman, a doctor, I believe—whether of divinity or law I know not—spoke of some millions of our population who "rejoiced in potatoes." Many unthinking men might fancy that was not a very lamentable condition; but now they find out their mistake. How comes it that such a large portion of the population of this kingdom, I will not say "rejoice," but exist mainly on potatoes? Time was, when our forefathers did not eat many potatoes. The time will come, I trust, by the exertions of this League, when our posterity shall only eat potatoes, and shall have as much bread as is necessary for them. (Cheers.) But under present circumstances, with five millions at least of the population in Ireland, and a very large number in England living upon potatoes—if potatoes fail, is there anything else to which they

can go? Where is there a lower food? Is there anything between potatoes and hunger and starvation? (Hear.) It is an easy thing to talk of famine. I have often tried to picture to myself what famine is; but the human mind is not capable of drawing any form or any scene that will realise the horrors which are included in that term. The men who made the Corn Law are totally ignorant of what it means. The agricultural labourers know something of it in some counties—the worst famished counties in the kingdom; aye, and there are some hand-loom weavers in Lancashire who know what it is. I saw the other night, late at night, a light in a cottage window, and the loom busy at work, the shuttle flying rapidly. It ought to have a cheerful sound, and naturally it has a cheerful sound; but when it is at work near midnight, when there is care upon the brow of the workman, lest he should not be able to secure that which will maintain his wife and his children, then there is a forebode of that which is meant by the term "famine." (Hear.) Oh, if these men who made the Corn Law, if these men who step in between the Creator and his creatures, could for only one short twelvemonth—(I would inflict upon them no harder punishment for all their guilt)—if they for one single twelvemonth might sit at the loom and throw the shuttle (great cheering)—I will not ask that they should have the rest of the evils; I will not ask that they should be torn by the harrowing feelings which must exist when a beloved wife and helpless children are suffering the horrors which this Corn Law has inflicted upon millions. (Renewed cheering.) But famine in Ireland is found to be very serious. There, if it come, it will come to vast multitudes; for there is no great middle class, and no capitalist class, which can keep the people employed, and feed them, though it be scantily, during a period of scarcity. Famine becomes a serious thing to men at head quarters, not when one weaver starves quietly, but when multitudes are involved, for multitudes will never starve quietly. (Hear.) The cord is now stretched, and it may be stretched too far; it may break. It is this which causes anxiety to Government; it is this, if anything, which will cause them to open the ports first, and to repeal the Corn Law afterwards. The evil which now exists cannot be prevented, but it may be greatly mitigated. Suppose that we had had no Corn Law, how changed would have been our position! I saw a circular to-day from a Liverpool cotton broker, from which it appears, that in Liverpool we have at least eight or nine months' stock of cotton, an article that comes almost entirely from one country, and at the same time another and a very large crop is being gathered in the United States, and is now coming down to the ports for shipment to Great Britain. We have from one to two years' stock of tea in the country; a large supply of coffee, of indigo, and of spices of various kinds. How comes it that these things find their way to England, and that Englishmen find the market well supplied with them; and yet, that of this article of food, without which man cannot live, there is almost a perpetual scarcity? How do these other articles come here? Your merchants send for them, or foreign merchants send them here; your ships bring them; your sailors navigate the ships that bring them. All the means by which the treasures of the world are ransacked for your supply are just as much at your command to bring you grain from every country under heaven—for there is no country probably in which wheat will not grow—and it is just that article of all others which you might bring to this country from any other country, and you would be sure to find a market for it. (Cheers.) All this is very plain; I am almost ashamed to re-state these things at this meeting; I feel that instead of our being the teachers and professors, and you the students in this school of political economy, we are here all upon a level, and all fit to go forth as apostles and missionaries in this great cause; yet we must reiterate these things until the hour when the Corn Law shall be abolished; and then we must reiterate them, that the world may know the principles upon which the Legislature and the people of this country have at length acted. The scarcity which now threatens us has found in the minds of almost all men a very ready remedy. Of all things the Corn Law will soon be the most despised and hated. It stands in the position of a man who is universally suspected. (Laughter.) If anybody has lost anything, the chances are that it is in that man's pocket. (Laughter.) If any calamity befall the country all men turn at once to the Corn Law; even those who have been cherishing it as our greatest safeguard. The newspapers are now decrying it; a noble lord, you have heard, has written a letter against it, and he attributes its coming destruction to destiny. (Laughter.) Perhaps it was destiny that put on the Corn Law? No; it was noble lords and great landed proprietors, who happened to govern a hoodwinked people, who passed that law; but now we are no longer hoodwinked; we know quite as much of this law as any noble lord or great landed proprietor; and it is precisely because we know it and understand its working from beginning to end that the destiny of the Corn Law is fixed. (Loud cheers.) I take it that Sir Robert Peel will open the ports. (Hear, hear.) I cannot imagine that if there be any truth in the statements which we have heard from Ireland, he can long hesitate as to his course. A Cabinet Council, it is said, is called for Friday; but we must not trust to accidents of seasons, or to Cabinet Councils; there will be something more to be done, and something very serious; there is not the smallest doubt but some of those who would gladly see the ports open, think that that measure would be sufficient to still the coming storm; and then when it is just passed over, the door would shut again, as of old, and we should go on quietly as before. They much mistake the character of this agitation who suppose for a moment that any rag of the Corn Law can long continue to exist. (Great cheers.) We know quite well the position of the question now; and if we may judge of it by the course which every other great question has taken, we may be assured that the destiny of the Corn Law is fixed. But I have seen one or two other questions which, when they have approached their settlement, have been short of a complete and honest and just settlement, because men did not adhere to the principles which had animated them in their agitation. (Hear, hear.) I think it will not be so with the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Hear, hear.) It is their oppressions that have made this League; and so long as there shall be but a feather's weight pressing upon the industry of the people of this country—so long as one ounce of food shall be kept beyond the shores of Britain by legislative enactment—so long, I believe, there will be determination enough in this country, and in the counties which you have led, to rise up and protest against such an invasion of your rights. (Loud cheering.) Of conviction throughout the country there is enough to do anything with the Corn Law—except to keep any of it on. (Hear.) Every town is almost unanimous; many intelligent landlords are with us; nearly every intelligent and first-rate

farmer is friendly to our views;—how then should it happen that there is a danger that any of the Corn Law should be left on? Because we trust to men that are at head-quarters. (Hear.) Some men think that Sir Robert Peel, at some time ago he assumed a partnership with Providence in giving us two or three years of good trade, may be safely relied upon in this hour of our necessities. Others think that what Lord J. Russell pointed out, if a fixed duty of 3s. 4s. or 5s. could be had, there could be no harm in taking that which so wise a man recommended. (Hear.) Now recollect that these wise men supported the Corn Law from 1815 downward; that they were instrumental in passing it and in defending it; recollect that they never found out it was a bad law till we told them so, in a voice that was not to be misunderstood. (Hear, and great applause.) Then you may conclude from this, that if we relax in our exertions—if this League were to settle down, and we were all to go back to our homes and counting-houses,—no more meetings, no more lectures, and especially no more county qualifications—the chances are a thousand to one, and far greater, that our children and our children's children would have to suffer under that great abandonment of duty of which we should be guilty. (Hear.) Well, then, I will not put a resolution to this meeting; but I will assume that it is the universal opinion of this meeting, and of all the members and friends of the Anti-Corn-Law League throughout Great Britain and Ireland, that the Corn Law, whether as a prohibitive law, or as a sliding-scale of certain amount, or as a scale of somewhat smaller dimensions, has been proved to be a law destructive of the true interests of the great mass of the people, and delusive even to those for whose especial benefit it was said to be passed. (Applause.) And further, that having had so long experience of this law, we are not disposed to have any more of its character, any of its knismen, even of the most distant relationship; but the whole family, from beginning to end, shall be for ever expatriated and driven from these islands. (Loud and continued cheering.) Sir R. Peel would greatly rejoice his greatest political opponents if he would propose a fixed duty. He has argued against it most conclusively; he has been charged with having run away with the Whig garments; and certainly that charge would be true to the very letter, if, after all he has said and all he has learned, he were to come down to the House of Commons, and ask the Whigs to help him to put on the Whig fixed duty. (Hear.) I do not believe that Sir Robert Peel is such a child in statesmanship as to do that. From all I have been able to see and read of him, I have come to the conclusion, that whatever his faults may be as a statesman, he does hope that future times shall speak of him as a man who did some good to the country over which he was called to rule. He has stated that he does look to the time when his name is to be read amongst those who are not wholly to be despised by posterity. Then, is there in the whole range of politics, of legislative action, any single question upon which he could base so great a name as on this? Is there any principle so worthy of the highest statesmanship, and the purest patriotism? I have some hope that Sir Robert Peel will see this; that he will not fall into the trap which his political adversaries have set for him; that he will not support that principle of a fixed duty which he has constantly for the last two years said was altogether unsound and untenable; but that, as his policy has been signalled by relaxations in the commercial code, he will now complete the work he has begun, by carrying out fully upon the statute-book a principle so essential to his country's safety. (Applause.) It rests with us to say whether he shall do so or not. (Hear.) We have no change of tactics to offer you. We have no sudden blow to propose by which we hope to abolish the Corn Law. Seven years' work, and the results of seven years' work, have shown how far we have acted wisely. There must be no faltering for the future; everything that is past stimulates us to go on in the same course. Some two years ago, I believe it was, that the collection of a large sum of money brought out the declaration that the League was a great fact. We knew it at the time (laughter); we have worked that it should become a great fact; it is a much greater fact now than it was then. (Cheers, and laughter.) And if the collection of that sum was sufficient to cause such a declaration, I have no doubt that if necessity be shown for it, we could collect a much larger sum now, and call forth, if need be, a still stronger declaration. (Great cheering.) But still I look more to the spontaneous and ardent action of the people. (Hear.) The money which they subscribed is an undeniable test of their zeal; but there is another that is not less so, and that is in continuous action in their several localities. (Hear.) We have not heard much from the monopolist press as to our county registration, for very good reasons. The *Standard* had a paragraph when the Middlesex registration was concluded, which amused me greatly. He said: "Yesterday the Middlesex registration closed at such a place (naming one of the districts). We may just say in passing, that this year's registration has not been signalled by any of those remarkable and interesting features by which several other preceding registrations had been distinguished." (Laughter.) One only remarkable thing was this, that the Free Traders had obtained a majority of between 1500 and 1600 upon the registration for Middlesex. (Hear, and applause.) Well, now, Colonel Wood, who sits for Middlesex, knows quite well—as well as I do—that his day for Middlesex is gone; and that, if he means to go to Parliament again, as a protectionist, he must look out for some place where Free Traders cannot disturb him. (Laughter.) If South Lancashire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, North Lancashire, North Cheshire, Middlesex, and South Staffordshire,—if these counties and divisions of counties are ready to pronounce in favour of Free Trade by the return of men who are members and friends of the Anti-Corn-Law League to Parliament at the next election—it is producing its effect now on the mind of Sir R. Peel. (Hear.) He is not the man to stop till the election comes; he knows that if the votes be on the register, the men will be in the House of Commons; and you may rely upon it that there has never been in the lifetime of the oldest man amongst us, nor for generations back, any lever so potent, so all-overturning of evils in legislation, as this scheme of the 40s. freeholds for the counties. (Applause.) Oh, I wish it were spread all over the kingdom; I wish Scotland had the 40s. freeholds; I have been there lately, and I come back with the warmest admiration for a people who have a love of freedom which I fear we cannot equal. They have no 40s. freeholds; if they had, I believe there is not a county in Scotland that would at the next election return a monopolist to Parliament. We have the weapon here; their hands are tied. Let us keep this weapon bright; let us use it bravely; and you may rely upon it that no trick of statesmanship, no combination of parties, no power of the sordid oligarchy by which the Corn Law was passed, can in any degree turn back that

weapon, or prevent it from winning for the people of this country every right to which they are entitled. (Great cheering.) Not a week ago this hall was filled by a meeting almost as large as this—a meeting which, I cannot but think, had an object kindred to our own. (Hear, hear.) We would feel the boy; we would give every man the means of living; they would give to every man the means of cultivating that which is of more value than the body. On that occasion the distinguished chairman, in a speech which I heard with more interest than I can possibly express, alluded to the unfortunate poet, Chatterton, whom he spoke of as “the wondrous boy of Bristol.” That “wondrous boy,” when not more than 16 or 17 years of age, wrote a poem which he styled “A Prophecy,” and not inaptly styled it, for the prophecy is always a prophet. (Hear, hear.) He said—

“Commerce o’er Bondage shall prevail,
Free as the winds that fill her sail;
When she complains of vile restraint,
And power is deaf to her complaint,
Look up, ye Britons! cease to sigh,
For your redemption draweth nigh.”

(Much cheering.) He some eighty years ago foresaw a day when, through the spread of manufactures and commerce, there would be a new people created in this kingdom, and with a new people a new mind, and with a new mind a new power—a power which should cope with the elements of despotism, which he saw then gathering and strengthening themselves for the enslavement of his country. (Hear, hear.) Now, it comes to us to fulfil that which he foretold. This hall in which we are assembled is consecrated to freedom. Who is there in this kingdom who does not look at times to the Free Trade Hall of Manchester, either with fear that he may be deprived of something that he unjustly holds, or with hope that, from it shall go forth a voice which shall ring from side to side, and shall pronounce the doom of the very worst law that ever disgraced the statute book of this country? (Cheers.) We have worked for seven years, and we have been trusted. We may have made blunders, but we have wished to do honestly and wisely—(cheers)—I dare say we have far more confidence placed in us than we deserve (No, no.); but at any rate we strive to deserve all we have. (Cheers.) Rely upon it, if you will go on as you have gone for seven years past, every year increasing in strength, there are none of those who have championed your cause, and to whom you have entrusted the carrying out of your will, who will for a moment withdraw from this contest, until it shall be completely won. (Renewed cheers.) We war not with any right of any man; we war with a law which all men are beginning to doubt, and which most intelligent and good men hate. We want to substitute for that law the original charter, by which men have a right to live and to labour, and to enjoy the fruits of their earnings—“And God said, behold I have given you every herb bearing seed which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed, to you it shall be for meat.” Was this Scripture written only for our first parents? Was it intended only for those who should inhabit that, to us, most distant land, or was it an universal promise and benediction? Was it not given forth by inspiration that mankind, till the end of time, till the world should be wrapt in flame, should trust in Him, who gave that promise? And if we thus believe—how dreadful the abandonment of duty, how awful the crime, not less than that of those who made the Corn Law, if we turn back from our place, if we fail in the work we have set ourselves, which is to abolish the law that restricts the bounty of Providence, and to establish this original and heaven-given law, which will give plenty to all the earth!—The honourable gentleman resumed his seat amidst most enthusiastic cheers.

Mr. John Brooks said, he rose for the purpose of proposing a vote of thanks to the gentlemen who had delighted the meeting by their eloquent addresses. Mr. Bright had remarked, most truly, that the sliding-scale of Sir Robert Peel was worse than the old law. Mr. Bright, Mr. Ashworth, and himself, were of the deputation sent up to oppose the sliding scale, and he (Mr. Brooks) told Lord Ripon, the president of the Board of Trade, that it was infinitely worse than the old law. Mr. Gladstone was present at the time, and said immediately, “How do you make that out, Mr. Brooks?” To that he (Mr. Brooks) replied, “I’ll make it out in a minute.” (Cheers, and great laughter.) He told him that the old scale had a jump in it, and admitted corn before it came to a starvation price; but that the present was a dragging scale, which made a full stop in the middle, and made the trade in corn so uncertain that speculators were afraid of entering into it, and thus the people would be left for two or three months, with bread at a famine price, before supplies would be sent in. This was what he told Mr. Gladstone, and the truth of his statement might be soon realised. In the old law there was a jump; but there was a wide difference between jumping and standing still. (Great laughter.) He was aware the ladies would expect him to say something about sugar (continued laughter), but upon that point he would be very brief. The duty upon sugar was different from that upon tea. Tea paid so much per pound, and was continued the same from year to year, but which agreed to sugar, the duty was fixed every year. Now when Sir Robert Peel came into office in 1841, and began his tripping with the tariff, he refused to grapple manfully with the sugar question. He knew the Whigs were knocked out of office by a sugar hoghead, and therefore he was afraid of meeting a similar fate. (Cheers and laughter.) Sir Robert altered the Corn Law because he knew he had the League to back him; in fact, he was standing upon the League line at the present time, and if he did his duty they would prove his last friends. (Cheers and laughter.) The movement in favour of the 40s. franchise was making its way nobly; and he was proud to say that he had been appointed president of the “Freehold Building Society,” and that the next at the Mechanics’ Institution on the first Wednesday evening of every month, where he would be happy to see any one who wanted to secure himself the franchise. His own men at Sunny-side had subscribed for 91 shares, and he trusted that thousands of working men would follow their example. (Cheers.) Mr. Brooks concluded by moving a vote of thanks to Messrs. Cobden, Bright, and Ashworth, for the address they had delivered.

Mr. Rawson seconded the motion, which was carried amidst the most enthusiastic cheering, and the meeting broke up a few minutes before 10 o’clock.

South Australian journals to the 17th of June state that the colony was going on prosperously. The country is ascertained to be rich in copper and iron, and indications of coal have been lately met with.

DINNER TO SIR W. MOLESWORTH.

On Wednesday evening a public dinner was given at the Bridge-house Hotel, London-bridge, to Sir William Molesworth, Bart., M.P., in celebration of his return as member of Parliament for the borough of Southwark. By the appointed hour, which was five o’clock, the dinner-room was crowded to excess. About half past four Sir William Molesworth entered the room, accompanied by Emanuel Cooper, Esq., who acted as chairman on the occasion, W. D. Christie, Esq., M.P., Cartwright Ellis, Esq., William Wilson, Esq., William Wansley, Esq., Dr. Eliston, — Dappa, Esq., John Vowsley, Esq., H. Sturmy, Esq., and other gentlemen, who, on taking their seats, ranged themselves on either side of the chair. The hon. baronet, on making his appearance, was received with repeated rounds of cheers, and seemed perfectly recovered from the effects of his late indisposition.

About 300 electors of the borough sat down to a very sumptuous entertainment, served up in a style which reflected great credit on the management of the house.

John Bright, Esq., M.P., entered the room about half-past seven o’clock, having just arrived by train from Manchester, and was received with rounds of applause.

On the removal of the cloth, the usual loyal toasts were given from the chair and duly responded to.

The CHAIRMAN then rose, and in a eulogistic speech gave the health of Sir William Molesworth, which was drunk with loud and repeated plaudits.

Sir WILLIAM MOLESWORTH responded in a long and eloquent speech. He congratulated the electors on the great progress those principles had made to represent which they had returned him to Parliament. He pointed to the many indications of the rapid advances society was making in knowledge and civilisation, and the practical application of science in England to the uses of daily life. He dwelt especially on the great utility of rapid communication, and the effects of railroads in promoting commerce and manufactures; and showed that they would constitute in every community a most powerful party, exercising great influence over public opinion, and using that influence in favour of Free Trade. (Loud cheers.) I look upon the extension of railways (said the hon. baronet) throughout this country and the continent of Europe—I consider the daily augmenting of steam navigation of the rivers, the seas, and the ocean, as the sure forerunners of universal Free Trade. It is the duty of this country, which, as I have always said, is the first in the world in practical affairs, to take the lead, and to make the first great steps towards Free Trade. We are pre-eminently the manufacturing people of Europe—we possess more capital, more skilful and laborious citizens than any other nation—we have all but inexhaustible means of producing cheaply and well every description of manufactured goods. All that we want is to exchange our goods for the productions of other countries. For this we possess every facility—we have every convenience: railroads by land, fleets of merchantmen on the sea, steamers traversing the ocean. What more do we require? I answer, permission to buy—abolition of protecting duties—Free Trade with the nations of the earth. (Great cheering.) You have sent me to Parliament to support Free Trade; I will do so to the utmost of my power—(hear)—in the firm hope and belief that at no distant period our efforts will be crowned with success. (Hear, hear.) Everything indicates a great change in public opinion on the subject of Free Trade; and that change is most striking amongst the members of the Conservative party in the House of Commons. (Hear.) A short time ago they were almost to a man opposed to Free Trade. During the last Parliament they constituted a great and powerful party, firmly cemented together—if not by principle, yet by interest concealed under the semblance of principle: they were sufficiently strong to obstruct or defeat every liberal measure, and to overthrow the existing government. At the last general election, with the tacit consent of their leader, they offered themselves to the agricultural constituencies as the peculiar friends of the farmer, and declared themselves opposed to Free Trade, and to any alteration of the Corn Laws. (Hear, hear.) Since that period, reason, experience, and Sir Robert Peel—(hear, hear, and laughter)—have worked a great and beneficial change in the opinions of a large portion of the Conservative party. The more prudent, intelligent, and reflecting men amongst them have supported the commercial policy of the prime minister by their votes and speeches in favour of that policy. They have renounced the doctrines of protection, and are gradually becoming Free Traders. The rest of that party, composed chiefly of men stupidly honest, devoted to their narrow prejudices, and ignorant of the signs of the times, together with some needy or disappointed adventurers, are now loud in their lamentations, and ridiculous by their complaints of being deceived, deserted, and forlorn. As a party opposed to Free Trade the Conservatives are disunited, broken to pieces, and politically defunct. (Cheers.) The question of Free Trade, and especially of Free Trade in food, is at the present moment of urgent importance. (Hear, hear.) It is now, I am sorry to say, but too certain that the harvest is deficient; that in many parts of England the crops have been injured by the weather, and are inferior both in quantity and in quality. In addition to this, the potato crops have in many places entirely failed. The consequence will be, that before long food will be scarce; and I am afraid that it will be difficult to obtain any considerable supply of food from abroad; for, in consequence of our Corn Laws, the countries best fitted to produce corn do not grow corn for our market, but only attempt to raise a quantity sufficient for their own ordinary consumption; and it appears that, unfortunately, at the present moment the crops are likewise deficient in those countries. Consequently their inhabitants, who have hardly corn enough for themselves, will have little to spare us except at a high price. (Hear, hear.) I am much afraid, therefore, that before the next harvest the price of food will considerably augment. (Hear, hear.) This will cause great distress amongst our labouring population, and may give a shock to credit, which would have a most disastrous effect at the present moment, when so much capital is engaged in railway speculations, some of them of a very questionable character. (Hear, hear.) I cannot contemplate the possibility of these events without great alarm. I hope that my anticipations may prove unfounded (hear); but if they are, as I am afraid they are, but too well founded, we shall soon have ample and painful experience of the evils and impolicy of our Corn Law. (Hear, hear.) I trust, however, that that experience will not be thrown away, that out of the evil some good may come, and that a vigorous effort will be made in the next session of Parliament to repeal the Corn Laws. (Hear, hear, hear.) So alarming, indeed, is the state of the crops, especially of the potato crops in Ireland, that, according to the *Times* of this morning, a cabinet council is to be immediately held for the purpose of either opening the ports for the free admission of

corn, or of summoning Parliament to consider the propriety of so doing. I trust this report is well founded. It would be a wise and prudent act on the part of Government. And be assured, if the ports be once opened, we will never permit them to be closed again. (Great cheering.)

Mr. BRIGHT, M.P., who arrived by the train from Manchester towards the close of Sir W. Molesworth’s speech, was called upon to reply to the toast of “The total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws.” The hon. gentleman was received with great acclamation, and made a long and eloquent speech, for which we regret that we cannot find space. He closed with a stirring exhortation to the Free Traders of Southwark to follow the example of the Leaguers of South Lancashire, and emancipate, by a large creation of new 40s. freeholders, the division of Surrey in which their vast population lived from the thralldom of the monopolists. The meeting (the only which took place last night at Manchester, was, in every respect, a splendid and spirit-stirring affair. At that meeting it was unanimously determined that there should be made one great—one noble and final move in favour of the cause, for the success of which they had so unflinchingly laboured. Some facts of the most important character were laid before that meeting, showing the great gain which had accrued to the League in many districts of the country, in the registrations. East Surrey was a fine field for the electors of Southwark to work upon. (Hear.) Every man before him might, if he chose, become an elector of East Surrey, and by such management the next election would place the representative of that portion of the county in hands something like those to which they had just committed the representation of their borough. (Cheers.) The register must be enlarged and purified. East Surrey must do as Southwark had done. (Hear, hear.) If the registration were properly attended to throughout the country, attended to as it had been in the north of England and in Middlesex, they would unite together a phalanx of the order of industry, in every way as noble as the order of title (cheers), before whose pressure every tyranny must give way, no matter how gigantic in its proportions, or how strong in its position. (Cheers.) They need not stop at Corn Laws, but might use the power thus constitutionally put into their hands until every other obnoxious law was removed from the statute book. Let them not neglect their opportunity. By following it up in the south, contemporaneously with their brethren in the north, they would soon be in a position to effect a revolution, thorough, glorious, and peaceful, a revolution which would entail no suffering upon those defeated, but which would, more or less, be advantageous to all. (Cheers.) He hoped, in concluding, that something would be done by them, not only to rescue their own county, but the neighbouring counties from the adverse influences to which they were now improperly subjected. The hon. gentleman resumed his seat amid great applause.

Business calling the chairman into the country, he retired at this stage of the proceedings, and William Wilson, Esq., was called to the chair in his stead.

The CHAIRMAN, in proposing the health of W. D. Christie, Esq., M.P., adverted briefly to the hon. gentleman’s exertions in behalf of education, and more especially to his endeavours to throw open the two national universities.

The toast was drunk amid cheers.

Mr. CHRISTIE returned thanks.

Several other toasts were proposed and responded to, after which the company separated.

INCENDIARY FIRE AT BARROW.—On Sunday morning last, shortly after 9 o’clock, a fire was discovered upon the farming premises of Mr. John Place, called Wolf’s Hall Farm, situate in the parish of Barrow. An alarm having been given, a barley stack was found to be in flames, and in spite of every effort to subdue the devouring element it was in a very short space of time totally destroyed. Very fortunately, a pea-stack which adjoined the stack of barley escaped without damage, the wind blowing from a favourable direction, and driving the flames contrariwise. We regret to add, there is little doubt that this fire was caused by some wicked and criminal incendiary. Two or three other fires of a similar character have recently occurred, and we cannot but apprehend that unless the utmost vigilance and decision are exerted, we may be called upon to repeat the same horrible and disastrous recitals that last year encumbered our columns.—*Bury Herald*.

ASHENDEN PETTY SESSIONS.—(Before T. T. Bernard, Esq., and the Revs. J. T. Baron and Thomas Martyn.)—Thomas Ridgway, of Waddesdon, was on Monday last convicted in the penalty of 5*l.*, and 10*s.* costs, and in default of payment was committed to Aylesbury gaol for three months, for having, on the 20th of March last, shot a hare on land in the occupation of Mr. Charles Simmons, of Waddesdon. George Neary, one of the Duke of Buckingham’s lookers-out, proved the charge.—Francis Longland, baker, of Preston Bissett, was charged by George Bridger, gamekeeper to the Duke of Buckingham, with having on the 18th inst., between the hours of 5 and 6 in the evening, shot at a pheasant in Gawcott wood. Defendant endeavoured by the evidence of some females to prove an *alibi*. In this he failed: the case was proved, and defendant ordered to pay a fine of 2*l.*, and costs 1*l.* 6*d.*, and in default of payment to be imprisoned for six weeks. The amount was paid.—*Oxford Chronicle*.

SALE OF THE PRINCE CONSORT’S LIVE STOCK.—The annual sale of Prince Albert’s live stock, fattened upon the Norfolk and Fensham farms, in the occupation of his Royal Highness, and Windsor Home Park, took place on Tuesday afternoon at Norfolk Farm. From the deservedly high character of the Prince’s stock, the whole of which (comprising Southdown ewes, short-horned heifers, Shetland and Highland oxen, fat hogs, &c.) were in beautiful condition, upwards of 150 of the neighbouring graziers and butchers, and several from London, attended the sale. The average prices at which the respective lots (of which there were upwards of 100) were knocked down, were as follows: 133 Southdown ewes, from 3*s.* to 37*s.* each; 16 superior ewes, 47*s.* per head; 31 splendid six-tooth wethers, 49*s.* per head; 36 excellent two-tooth wethers, 43*s.* per head; 63 superior two-tooth maiden ewes, 42*s.* per head; 100 prime wether sheep, 38*s.* per head; and four Southdown lambs realised 36*s.* each. Forty fat short-horned heifers brought from 9*l.* to 24*l.* per head; 11 small fat Shetland oxen were knocked down at from 10*l.* to 13*l.* per head; and the average of 10*l.* per head was obtained for 10 pairs of Highland oxen. The proceeds of the sale amounted to upwards of 1650*l.* At the Prince Consort’s annual sale, last year, the stock realised 1400*l.* odd.

HAMBURG, Oct. 22.—The telegraphic intelligence from Cuxhaven states that the steamer *Transit* has returned from sea, with the loss of a boat and other articles. 34 oxen were thrown overboard, in order to lighten the vessel.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LEAGUE FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Oct. 29, 1845.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

*Jackson, Rev. James, Bathford, Bath	£1 10 0
*Fountain, Wm., Academy House, East-street, Hoxton Old Town	1 10 0
*G. J. D.	1 10 0
*Scalley, Wm., 69, Mark-lane	1 10 0
*Underwood, John, Park-hill, Clapham	1 10 0
*Annonier, David, 1, Cornhill	1 10 0
*Cunningham, Wm., 33, Hatton-garden	1 10 0
*Cumming, W. E. D., Charlton, Kent	1 10 0
*Cumming, J. D., 16, Park-terrace, Brixton	1 10 0
*Faulkner, John, 325, Strand	1 10 0
*Bushell, Thomas, 324, Strand	1 10 0
*Trumpler, Charles, 3, Lane-house-square	1 10 0
*Pritchard, T. K., 20, Manchester-street	1 10 0
*Harvey, Wm., Ballham Hill	1 10 0
*Meyers, Barnett, 18, Crutched Friars	1 10 0
*Lewis, James H. P., 28, Essex-street, Strand	1 10 0
*Wheeler, James Lowe, 21, Carlton-sq., Old Kent-rd.	1 10 0
*Wheeler, Lowe, 102, High-street, Borough	1 10 0
*Wheeler, Joseph, Avenue-road, Lewisham	1 10 0
*Bollen, H., 13, St. Paul's	1 10 0
*Lawrence, Wm., Knightsbridge	1 10 0
*R. P. St. P.	1 10 0
*Patrick, Wm., 2, Wilmington-place, Commercial-road, Limehouse	1 10 0
*Jones, Edward, 157, Strand	1 10 0
*Smith, Charles, 123, Holborn	1 10 0
*Knight R. and Co., 10, Budge-row, Watling-street	1 10 0
*R. V. H.	1 10 0
*King, Samuel, 12, Wilmington-square, Clerkenwell	1 10 0
*Jacques, G. H., Kennington-terrace, Vauxhall	1 10 0
*Martineau, Peter, Gulsonton-street, Whitechapel	1 10 0
*Farrin, John, Church-lane, Commercial-road East	1 10 0
*Courtney, James, 21, Water-lane, Tower-street, City	1 10 0
*Norton, Wm., Warwick-place, Peckham Rye	1 10 0
*Rawlings, Daniel, Chippenham, Wilts	1 10 0
*Beck, Edward, Isleworth	1 10 0
*Owen, James, 10, Boundary-street, Liverpool	1 10 0
*Owen, Richard, Field View, Boote-lane, do.	1 10 0
*Harris, Geo., Stourport, Worcester	1 10 0
*Mitchell, J. and D., Chickensley, near Dewsbury	1 10 0
*Fox, J. J., Devoizes	1 10 0
*Keele, J. R., Southampton	1 10 0
*A Young Tory Lawyer, per James Hamilton, Johnstone, by Paisley	1 0 0
*Fraser, James, Academy-street, Belfast	1 0 0
*Squarey, Robert, Combes, Hants	1 0 0
*Squarey, N. V., ditto	1 0 0
*Squarey, Charles, Salisbury	1 0 0
*Wilkinson, T. A., 11, Nelson street, Hull	1 0 0
*Cunningham, H., Bonnington, near Edinburgh	1 0 0
*Cunningham, A., ditto	1 0 0
*Curtis, James, Harpenden, near St. Alban's	1 0 0
*Lee, John, Ashover, near Chesterfield	1 0 0
*Ornn, Samuel, Market-street, Devonport	1 0 0
*Mills, Charles, Asher, Peabury, near Halesden, Norfolk	1 0 0
*Croft, George, Providence House, East Hill, Hastings	1 0 0
*Wood, Hugh, 6, Norfolk-row, Sheffield	1 0 0
*Sleigh, Rev. Samuel, Castle-street, Salisbury	1 0 0
*Toome, John, surgoon, High-street, ditto	1 0 0
*Hammonds, W., New Brentford	1 0 0
*Cook, Thomas, Sutton Bridge Hotel, near Wisbeach	1 0 0
*Tilcomb, James, 119, Wood-street, City	1 0 0
*Norman, Thomas, 1, Temple-street, Dalston	1 0 0
*Elliott, Daniel, 268, Oxford-street	1 0 0
*Sparrow, Sam., 11, New North-street, Red Lion-square	1 0 0
*Tapp, James, Bath Road, Hounslow	1 0 0
*Goodwin, James, 120, Bethnal Green-road	1 0 0
*Sykes, Mr., 7, York-street, Middlesex Hospital	1 0 0
*Davey, Charles, 100, Upper Thames-street	1 0 0
*Cecil, Charles, 33, Golden-lane, Barbican	1 0 0
*Jones, J., Ash Grove, Hackney	1 0 0
*Townsend, Wm., Forty Hill, Enfield	1 0 0
*Holcomb, John, 78, Crawford-street	1 0 0
*Drew, James, 19, Bridge-street, Westminster	1 0 0
*Widlake and Gould, 1, High-street, Bond-street	1 0 0
*Pennington, Thomas, Thomas-street	1 0 0
*Buxton, Dr., 5, Brownlow-street, Bedford-row	1 0 0
*Storer, J., 15, York-place, City-road	1 0 0
*Thorne, James, South Lambeth	1 0 0
*Madden, R., British Museum Tavern, Museum-street	1 0 0
*Osborne, Geo., 4, Lower Grosvenor-street (3d Sub.)	1 0 0
*Verity, Major, 21, South street, Thurlow-square	1 0 0
*Miley, Miles, 42, Warwick-street, Regent-street	1 0 0
*Kelsey, W., College House, Warner-place, Hackney-rd	1 0 0
*Boak, Joseph, 2, Gloucester-place, New-road, Commercial-road East	1 0 0
*Crook, John, 38, Cannon-st.-road, Commercial-rd East	1 0 0
*Gayford, Robert, 4, Savoy-street, Strand	1 0 0
*Michie, Archibald, 333, Edward-street, Portman-sq.	1 0 0
*Dean, W. S., 119, Wood-street, City	1 0 0
*Fincham, J., 119, ditto	1 0 0
*Daft, Philip, 3, Albion Cottage, Liverpool-road	1 0 0
*Rogers, Joshua, 133, Bunhill-row, St. Luke's	1 0 0
*A Free Trader	1 0 0
*Hoady, Geo., 12, Cumberland-mart, Regent's-park	1 0 0
*Weaver, Wm., Battle Bridge Wharf, King's Cross	1 0 0
*Best, Wm., 93, Blackfriars-road	1 0 0
*Eckett, Rev. R., 6, Argyle-square, King's Cross	1 0 0
*Burnard, John Piper, Fornosa Cottage, Holloway	1 0 0
*Grieve, James, 34, Bread-street, City	1 0 0
*Stephens, Thomas, 151, Canon-street, Southwark E. N.	0 5 0
*Jaquemot, J. M., 39, Great St. Helens	0 2 6
*Barker, Edward, Portico	2 2 0
*Stanton, Joseph, Nantwich	1 1 0
*Pitt, Thomas, King-street, Huddersfield	1 1 0
*Lockyer, Thomas, 69, St. Stephen-street, Salford	1 1 0
*Charlton, John, 13, Cheswick-place, Regent-road, ditto	1 1 0
*Smith, John, 1, River-place, Hulme, Manchester	1 1 0
*Simson, S. J., 43, Lloyd-street, Greenhays, ditto	1 1 0
*C. M., King-street, ditto	1 1 0
*Saunders, M., surveyor, Cross-street, ditto	1 1 0
*Nelson, J., 5, Wilberforce-ter., Stratford New-road, do.	1 0 0
*Elliott, Geo., 99, Fountain-street, ditto	1 0 0
*Warburton, Wm., 16, Hanging Ditch, ditto	1 0 0
*Adkinson, Thomas, Abchurch-lane, Market-street, ditto	1 0 0
*Sheldon, S. and J. J., Mason-street, ditto	1 0 0
*Dugdale, Wm., Chestwood, ditto	1 0 0
*Bragg, John, 2, Back Princess-street, ditto	1 0 0
*Mallett, Wm., 4, Exmouth-street, Oxford-road, ditto	1 0 0
*Bell, Robert, 39, York-street, C. M. ditto	1 0 0
*Harvey, R., Piazza, Lincoln, do. land	1 0 0
*Wood, John, Lord-street, Southampton	1 0 0
*Cummings, R., Ouse-street, Newcastle-on-Tyne	1 0 0
*A Tory, Manchester	0 2 6

* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed subscriptions.

THE BAZAAR.

Mrs. John Mayson has the pleasure to hand to the Anti-Corn Law Bazaar the sum of *£71. 10s.*, being the produce of that part of the various articles contributed by the following ladies and gentlemen which were sold by her. The other articles sent to the Bazaar were estimated by the committee at the value of *27l. 15s. 3d.*, making together *£98. 9s. 3d.*

Mrs. Mayson, Oxford-place, about *6l.* Miss M. Johnson, Park-place, Broughton, a handsome doll and other articles, value *6l. 10s.* Mrs. Brooke, Bollington, about *5l.* Miss Williams, Altrincham, a hand-ome shawl, value *3l. 10s.* Mrs. Trenbath, Mrs. Joseph Johnson, Mrs. Clough, Miss Morris, Mrs. Berry, Misses Hounsfield, Mrs. Lendbeater, Mrs. Wm. Johnson, Miss Gray, Mrs. Krauss, Mrs. Barker, Miss Sumner. Messrs. J. and E. Waters, a very handsome present of sewing cotton, value *12l.* Mr. Jabez Johnson, some specimens of his manufactured cotton goods, retail value about *7l.* Mr. T. F. Johnson, Mr. Joseph Simpson, Mr. John Mellor, Mr. Hounsfield, Messrs. J. and E. Johnson, Mr. Burd, Mr. P. Drummond. Donations—Mrs. Higginbottom, *1l.*; Mrs. Schofield, *1l.*; Mrs. Worthington, *1l.*; Mr. Bateman, *1l. 1s.*; Mr. Heap, *1l.*; Mrs. Furnhead, *5s.*; Mr. Mellor, *2s. 6d.*

Mrs. Mayson has also to acknowledge the kindness and liberality of Mr. Neild, who made two gentlemen's dressing coats, and Mr. Peacock, who made one ditto, without any charge; also of Mr. Wilde, cabinet maker, who made a handsome rosewood frame for an ottoman, and only charged half the value; also of Miss Parry and Miss Shawe, dress-makers.

P.S.—The above list of money and articles, amounting in value to *95l. 9s. 3d.*, was sent by Mrs. Mayson to the Bazaar held in London in May. In addition to this Mrs. M. begs to hand to the committee *2l. 5s. 6d.*, a small amount which she has since received.

Oxford-place, Manchester, Oct. 1845.

LETTERS ON THE CORN LAWS, No. XLVIII.

TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT PEELE, BART., M.P., FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, &c.

SIR,—The time of trial is at hand. Will your law work through the coming winter? Will it secure food for the population for the next ten months? Dare you face the prospect before us, relying on its operation? Are your nerves strung for a responsibility greater than has ever before devolved upon a statesman, inasmuch as you will stand at the bar of public opinion embittered by public suffering? The period is a critical one, most critical, both for yourself and for the country.

Thousands of voices proclaim that the "destiny" of the Corn Laws is fixed. In many cases, the champions of their enactment have become the prophets of their destruction. Far and wide has spread the confident anticipation of their repeal. Your path is prepared. All eyes look for your advance. Whatever injury your party or Parliamentary influence can suffer, by the actual proposition, is already inflicted by the common assumption of its certainty. No mischief to yourself, as a politician and statesman, remains to be averted by delay. No further strength is to be gained by delay. The anticipation grounds itself upon your own character and policy, as well as upon the obvious justice and necessity of the case. All things wait for you. It little signifies that Parliament is not sitting. The world only wants assurance that you are determined.

Why cling with any foolish paternal fondness to your law? It embodies no great principle. It lays no foundation for a statesman's fame. It will not tell for a stone upon your cairn, nor furnish a sentence of inscription for the pedestal of your statue. You shaped it not for the expression of previous years of inquiry and thought. It was the expedient of the moment; the extempore avoidance of a temporary difficulty. Let it pass away, together with the circumstances of its enactment. It has helped over a transition in our commercial policy. It helps no longer. Its continuance is only a foreboding of difficulty and disaster.

To the farmer, your law has neither given "protection" nor satisfaction. His only attachment to it has risen from the dread, now vanishing from his thoughts, of vast and undefined injury in the application of Free Trade principles. Agricultural societies are become occasions for preaching reliance on improvement rather than on protection. Intentionally or not, you have shown to all interested in the land, that Parliament can neither regulate prices nor secure remuneration. They neither thank nor trust you, but cultivate reliance upon themselves. They look to skill, and capital, and energy. You have been the occasion of this good—of bringing them to this desirable state of mind. Its wholesome influence requires security against change. You can only bestow that by fully establishing the policy of Free Trade in corn.

The manufacturers have not been ruined by your law, nor the multitudes pressed down to the borders of starvation. But they have escaped, simply because the bounty of Providence rendered it inoperative. The time has not come—though now the symptoms of its approach are gathering—for it to bring down on your head their hoarded maledic-

tions. Yet this has only been an escape from the more glaring mischiefs of restriction. Trade, though flourishing, has been limited; and the people know it, both masters and men. They keep a keen watch on events. They note the progress of the bearable towards the intolerable. Let your law begin to act strongly on the prices of food—and in present circumstances it must act strongly, if at all—and the reaction will be terrible. If you can "never forget Paisley," still less will they. Your law seems to them, and it is, an "infernal machine" across their path. In every added penny to the loaf's cost, they will behold the lighted fusee that will produce its explosion.

Inferior bread, and a scanty supply of that, is all that protected agriculture has prepared for us. Foreign corn, at enormous prices, must be procured to mix off with it, and fit it for consumption. Yet the badness of the product keeps up to a high rate the importation duty. The common reserve fails us; and taking the potato crop at the best that can be expected, it is a dreary resource to fall back upon. Europe is in no condition to help us. Some of our own little stock of foreign corn has already been re-shipped for Belgium. Apprehension runs before pressure; but the pressure will follow with too sure a step for the apprehension to subside. We have need of all resources, in the old world and the new, which Free Trade can open to us. You can as yet take time by the forelock. How long will the opportunity last?

The land of England, in its present state of cultivation, cannot feed the people of England. That is demonstrated. The effect of restrictive laws is not to improve cultivation, so that it can feed the people of England. That is also demonstrated. The spirit of agricultural improvement has only sprung into being amid the throes and convulsions of expiring monopoly. Its nurture to maturity will only be found in competition. The juncture demands your change of policy. Home produce must always have its advantages in the home market; and settling into the regular supply of whatever proportion can profitably be raised, the cultivators of our own soil will have a secure trade, and a fair remuneration.

The day of temporary expedients is past. A fixed duty would be the most unfixed of all things. Your own blows have demolished that obstacle, smashed it to atoms. Indian corn may serve to fatten cattle, or may be a resource in the failure of potatoes; but to admit that, and exclude wheat, would be too glaring an attempt at reducing a nation for the gratification of a class to a lower species of food. There is corn in the world, and our multitudes can earn it. You have only to strike off this great link in the chain that fetters industry. By your own statement in the last debate on Mr. C. Villiers's annual motion, you hold the principles of Free Trade to be sound and wise, and only require to be guided by circumstances in their application. Since last June, circumstances have changed. The series of abundant harvests is broken. Alarm has succeeded to hope. Disappointments have combined that we are only accustomed to encounter singly. The shadow of a coming period of distress darkens the land. You emphatically claimed, then, the right to continue the application of your principles, of abating protective duties. Stand to your claim. Abate the system by the destruction of the corn duty. The need of a nation is your warrant. The course of events has only left it for you to speak the word, and demands that you speak it promptly. The expectation is strong and general; the gratitude will be proportionate to the expectation. Rise to the emergency, and win the blessings of an anxious nation.

A NORWICH WEAVER BOY.

PRICE OF BREAD.—Another advance of a halfpenny on the 4lb. loaf took place yesterday in different parts of the metropolis; the "top" price, therefore, of "cheap" bread is now *8½d.*, and of the best wheat *9½d.*, and in some places *10d.* the 4lb. loaf.

THE CASE OF THOMAS LAKIN.—We are happy to announce that poor Thomas Lakin, whose case has caused so much interest, with the humane portion of the public, was discharged from Leicester gaol on the 11th instant, the poor-rate of which he was the victim, amounting to *5s. 4d.*, having been paid.—*Chronicle.*

EARL DUCIE, owing to the failure of the potato crop, has most generously returned two thirds of the rent of the allotments on his estates, and thus he has gladdened the hearts of more than one hundred and fifty cottagers by his great and well-timed liberality.

surrection, these may, and *must be*, subdued by the strong arm of constitutional authority. But Government becomes weak, and the powers with which it is invested by the constitution are paralysed, when what Lord Bacon calls "the rebellion of the belly," prompts the discontent, and impels the sufferer to outrage. Sir James Graham, in his "*Corn and Currency*,"—a production of his better days, which he would now fain have forgotten by the public, and has employed every effort to suppress—has given a very impressive warning of what are the natural results of a deficiency of food upon the suffering masses. At the Cabinet Council which is about to be held, to consider what measures are best fitted to meet the exigency with which Sir Robert Peel feels he is imperatively called upon to deal, a few extracts from the Home Secretary's book would not be out of place. The question will probably arise, whether the opening of the ports to foreign grain, and the release of the foreign grain in bond, would not endanger, if it did not absolutely destroy, the hope of returning to restrictive duties; and whether, therefore, it would not be better to trust to the chapter of accidents for mitigating the calamity which is suspended over Ireland, even though famine, with its progeny of horrors, should devastate that country? Even if there be in the Cabinet a spirit bold and bad enough to brave the alternative—a circumstance we can scarcely regard as within the limits of possibility—Sir James Graham's book will tell him the fearful dangers which he dares.

"The receivers of rent (for whom the Corn Law would preserve solely exists) are a very small body. Backed by public opinion they are almost omnipotent—in violation of public opinion they cannot long sustain an exclusive advantage. The contest is fearful: for on what ground will it be decided? On the very topic which inflames to madness. That hunger, which breaks through walls, will be arrayed against them. Reason will be heard no longer. The barriers of society will be broken down; and estates, distinctions, honours, swept away in one resistless torrent."

Sir Robert Peel's sliding scale of 1842 has broken down under the first trial to which it has been subjected. When its boasted efficacy was, according to its advocates, about to be demonstrated, its utter failure is shown. Like the Frenchman's horse, which was to live without food, and died just as he had got into the way of it, Sir Robert Peel's carefully adjusted system of fluctuating duties has reduced the nation to the perils of sanity, just at the time when its plenty-creating qualities were about to be called into action.

(From the *Morning Advertiser*.)

The League's occupation is gone. Their work is over—their labours are at an end. The monster monopoly has received its finishing stroke. The days of the Corn Laws are numbered. Before the Easter recess they will have ceased to exist.

Though the brief interval of eight days is all that has elapsed since the publication of Lord Ashley's letter, we have had since then another proof of the Ministerial determination to abandon the sliding scale.

Mr. B. Escomb, the Member for Winchester, had a meeting with his constituents at Limington, on Wednesday last, and on that occasion the honourable gentleman gave the plainest possible intimation that the Premier had made up his mind to the substitution of a moderate fixed duty in the room of the sliding-scale. We give an outline of Mr. Escomb's speech in another column. No one can read it, and doubt that the Corn Laws are, at the least in the hon. gentleman's view, doomed to early destruction. The wish with him is *not* father to the thought. All his predilections run in a different course. If he were to have his own way, he would uphold the sliding scale. His interests, or at least his supposed interests as a landlord, are identified with the continuance of the corn monopoly. The testimony, therefore, of such a man as Mr. Escomb, when it makes against his imagined interests, is entitled to every weight. It is true that he speaks of the abolition of the Corn Laws as if not injurious to the interests of the agriculturists; but this is new language for him to adopt, and is, doubtless, adopted on the principle of making a virtue of necessity. Were it possible to perpetuate the corn monopoly, Mr. Escomb would be the last man to say anything that would imply his sanction to its extinction.

The hon. gentleman prefaces his speech in terms which must have prepared his audience for what was coming. "The agricultural societies," said Mr. Escomb, "had in some places, and in some other parts of the country, a little fallen into disrepute with farmers; and why was it? Because they had fettered the expression of public opinion on public questions, by absurd restrictions; whereas he was sure that here every man might express what each believed to be true, and that all would be best pleased by plainness and freedom of speech."

This is hitting the Protectionists and their societies somewhat hard. We wonder how their *Gazettes* of Richmond and Buckingham will relish this rap on their knuckles. Coming from a *quondam* friend, a Conservative member, they must smart all the more sensibly under it. "And, then too my son," from the League this night have been borne, but from a Tory and an agriculturist, it must be felt by the noble monopolists to be a cut of the unkindest nature.

But there is more in store for the ultra-Protectionists. After alluding to Lord Ashley's letter to his constituents, in which he says that the Corn Laws must be given up, Mr. Escomb remarks, "Gentlemen, the truth is—and it had better be spoken plainly—it is the conduct of the special representatives of what they call agricultural opinions which has precipitated the fall of this Corn Law."

This declaration was, we are told, received with tremendous cheering—a fact which indicates in a manner not to be mistaken, the views which the more enlightened agricultural communities now entertain of the conduct of the ultra-monopolists.

We welcome the adhesion of the Member for Winchester into the ranks of the Corn Law repeaters. He will prove a great accession. Should the League meetings be renewed in Gosport, we shall not be afraid of seeing Mr. Escomb playing a prominent part on the boards of that establishment.

(From the *Speculator*.)

There is every prospect of dearth in Ireland at least; the accounts of the wheat harvest do not improve, but the potato crop appears to be a failure throughout potato-eating countries; and Ireland is threatened with a thing that is new in history and in distant countries, but scarcely in our land and time—a famine. Whole fields of the root have rotted in the ground, and many a family sees its sole provision for the year destroyed. Government are making inquiries; of course, if the worst fears prove true, Government

must do more than inquire, and then the momentous question occurs—*what* will they do?

The Corn Laws! Ay, all men's thoughts turn that way. It is assumed that if the Irish are starving the Minister must abandon the restrictions on the importation of food; and other tokens are observed of an approaching change. Lord Ashley, threatened by his agricultural constituents of Dorchester with opposition at the next election, has been provoked to a bold declaration that the Corn Laws cannot last; their "destiny is fixed." The *Times* sneers at Lord Ashley for his tardy discovery; the *Morning Post* is scandalised at his desertion of agricultural meetings, where, according to the *Post*, his declaration might more manfully have been made. It is to be inferred, less that Lord Ashley was afraid to meet the friends to whom he gives such frank counsel, than that he has no high opinion of such meetings as an arena for the preaching of political doctrines. At all events, he has done no more than give public voice to what everybody has thought and said for some time.

At no period could the statesman find greater ease in effecting a destined change. It is taken for granted that the landed gentry would not refuse a relaxation of the law if asked in the name of starving Ireland; it could not be denied to England when granted to the sister country; if granted for a time, the law could hardly be renewed. Never, perhaps, would a Minister encounter less opposition to the measure. Among agriculturists, especially among farmers, opinion already wavers; and great part of what is opposition before the change—a remnant of prejudice kept up by timidity—would turn to admiring concurrence as soon as the change should have been achieved and found to be harmless even to those who dreaded it. Never would it do so much obvious good with so little injury; the benefit to be anticipated from a free supply of food is most attractive in a time of scarcity; while any temporary injury to agricultural property and agricultural employments would be prevented by these seeming enterprises which give unusual value to the land and employment to the labour of the country.

And if a change be made—what change? Jumping to obvious conclusions that there will be a change, political gossips have already determined what it is to be, and we are told that Sir Robert Peel will propose "a moderate fixed duty." We trust that he will make no proposition so idle and so little creditable—a notion abandoned even by all the Whigs of any mark; for even Lord John Russell has 'bated his favourite scheme until he has brought it down to three shillings or something lower. To outdo Lord John in that Dutch auction, Sir Robert must laggle for sixpences, and offer two shillings or eighteenpence. But in sooth we need scarcely speculate on the reasons against the probability of his making any such proposal, since he himself has said all that can be said against it. Almost better propose no measure at all. Such a one would settle nothing; and when the Corn Laws are next changed, it is to be hoped that the question will be settled for evermore. There is but one way to attain that state of repose—by total repeal. The measure would indeed startle many; but it would frighten them and injure them less than at any other time; and in great emergencies boldness becomes the truest discretion.

(From the *Nonconformist*.)

We take it, then, that the doom of the corn monopoly is sealed. We so express ourselves because we so believe. Our readers well know that, on this subject, we have been the very opposite of sanguine in our estimate of probabilities. Where others had visions of certain and splendid triumph, we foresaw little but disappointment. Measuring the power of the machinery in operation with that of the interests against which it was brought to bear—looking at the compact phalanx of landlords in the Houses of Legislature, and at the subservient character of constituencies, as usually exhibited in electoral contests—knowing that, on the one hand, everything was held to be at stake, and that, on the other, correct views were far from universal, and, even when correct, were not always practically influential—we never could win over our judgment to a full acquiescence in the anticipations of the Free Traders—and, as we thought, so we spoke, often rather than not to the chagrin of our best friends. The whole case comes before us now under a novel, and, to all parties, an unexpected, aspect. We believe, from the evidence before us, that the Corn Laws must be repealed, and that speedily; and we rejoice as heartily as can any one in being able to give unhesitating utterance to our belief. Be the triumph whose it may, we, at all events, shall fully participate in the joy of it.

Entertaining, then, as we do, a pretty confident persuasion that the victory of Free Trade principles is at hand, we claim permission to speak of it, for once, as a well-defined certainty, and, upon that supposed certainty, to base two or three observations, such as we think the occasion calls for. If our hypothesis should be found too flattering a one, no harm will have been done, and we shall have delivered our souls.

We see, then, in the anticipated event, a very marked illustration of the essential weakness of any combination which gathers around what is itself a falsehood and an injustice. Heaven confounds the purposes which mock the strength of man. "The stars, in their courses, fight against Sisera." Who could have predicted, at the last general election, that the monopolists were putting out their whole energy and wealth to exalt into power the very men destined to humble them? What mortal sagacity could have foreseen that the means of defence resorted to by Peel, would have been such as to lay open his own citadel to irresistible assault? Where, amongst us, is the man who calculated upon the tariff of 1845? We were all looking towards some future deficient wheat harvest—not one of us caught a glimpse of the coming danger in potatoes. The things which we expected have not been; the things that are, and from which deliverance is to be hoped for, are those which we did not expect. The injustice which, five years ago, was rampant and audacious, where is it now? What unsexed spirit has breathed upon it, that it turns pale, and is in the agonies of death? The God of the seasons has rebuked it, and all its boasted strength shrivels up like a scroll. Its own creature—how often has it previously happened!—will probably be the minister of its death. The retribution is complete. Frightened monopoly will turn suicide, and hang itself with the very rope it twisted for a scourge to the backs of others.

Whilst, however, we attribute much to that agency of events over which man has had no sort of control, which he never predicted, and could not have brought about, we have no temptation to commit the injustice of withholding honour where we think it due. We have never concealed our opinions of the League; we have never seen reason to alter them. We always regarded it as a great teacher—bold, indefatigable, and apt. We never looked upon it as a political power, likely

to succeed in capturing, by its own might, the strong holds of monopoly. The machinery which it brought to bear upon the fortresses which it sought to level with the dust, always struck us as inadequate; and events have fully borne out our opinion. Probably, with their enlarged experience, they would not go over precisely the same ground, if called to run their course again. But it must not be forgotten that if, but for events, they would assuredly have failed; events, but for them, would never have succeeded. "The teachings of famine are, indeed, all powerful; but then the League put the words of wisdom into famine's mouth." There have been dearths in Ireland before now, but they did not enforce the abolition of the Corn Laws. The League has done the work of preparation. To their labours mainly we owe the altered views of the agricultural tenants, the enlightened state of public opinion, and the glorious result that now, when danger is at hand, all men spontaneously turn to the right remedy. The general *presentiment* to which we have already alluded, and which is more difficult to resist than the most violent of passions, owes its being to them. They have so familiarised the national mind with Free Trade principles, that it seems a war against common sense and household necessities to refuse to act upon them when in peril of starvation. To them, therefore, instrumentally, we are indebted for our prospects. "Honour to whom honour is due." With our whole hearts we congratulate them. We willingly forget what appeared to us to be their mistakes; we recognise only the invaluable benefits they have conferred on their countrymen.

THE HON. GRANTLEY BERKELEY AND THE GAME LAWS.

This honourable gentleman, not content with the severe judgment which he obtained of the magistrates on a former conviction, on two labourers named Barry and Purchase (two respectable, honest, and industrious young men, and the latter the chief support of his widowed mother), has this week preferred the same charge against them in another shape, viz., "of unlawfully using a dog," (called by him a lurcher, but declared, on oath, by one of his own "credible witnesses," to be a common sheep-dog) "for the purpose of killing and taking game." Accordingly, on Monday, the hon. gentleman made his appearance in court, in his shooting attire. Again did the hon. M.P. shake hands with the hon. Captain Harris on entering the hall, and again did he take his seat between the hon. Captain Harris and the right hon. Sir G. Rose, the former on his right hand, and the latter on his left. Before the hon. gentleman's case was called, Sir G. Rose left the hall, and Captain Harris not having a commission, retired from the bench, and ultimately left the hall also. The hearing of the case was thus left entirely to Captain Hopkins, who, though one of the "great unpaid," we are bound in justice to acknowledge is an honourable man, and in all cases of jurisprudence proves himself a gentleman in the true sense of the word. The hon. plaintiff sat during the time in the principal seat of the bench. Mr. Berkeley's keepers, his two "credible witnesses," then gave their evidence, which in some material points disagreed with their former testimony, but which in substance was the following:—That on the 27th of August last they were lying in the hedge watching Purchase and the rest of the mowers who were mowing barley in a field in the occupation of Mr. Ploverman, the property of Lord Stuart, from two o'clock till four in the afternoon, when about that time they saw a hare start from the barley, and the shepherd's dog, which had got from his master's yard, which was separated from the field only by a road, ran after it, and that he heard Purchase halloo at the dog, but that the hare being the fether of the two escaped. A cross-examination by Mr. Guy, who attended professionally for defendant, somewhat shook their testimony. Mr. Guy then asked if he should proceed with the defence; but the worthy magistrate on the bench, after candidly and impartially considering the subject, said he did not think it worth while, as it was his opinion that this case did not at all come within the meaning of the act, for it ought to be proved that they were actually and in fact hunting with the dog, whereas by the evidence produced they were all lawfully employed in mowing their master's corn, and while they were doing so the shepherd's dog accidentally started a hare. Mr. Berkeley then said he considered it *did* come within the meaning of the Act, but was of course compelled to bow to the magistrate's decision, and the case was dismissed amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of applause from a dense crowd who filled the hall. When Mr. Berkeley left the hall the whole street presented a scene of excitement, and he was assailed with the hisses and hootings of a number of poor men.—*Hants Independent*.

We have received an intimation from the editor of the *Weekly Dispatch*, that he has received from J. Collett, Esq., M.P. for Athlone, the sum of 5*l.* for Barry and Purchase, the defendants in the now somewhat celebrated Game Law charges preferred by the Hon. G. F. Berkeley. Mr. Lane, our agent at Christchurch, has undertaken to transmit the money to the men, and at his request it will be paid over to him for that purpose.—*Ibid*.

POACHING.—At the Woodbridge Division of the Suffolk Michaelmas Sessions, the chairman, R. N. Shawe, Esq., in his charge to the jury observed, he was very happy to say the calendar presented no one point upon which he could make an observation—nothing but this, perhaps—that there were only nine persons committed to gaol this quarter, on summary conviction, and seven persons charged with felony, four of whom had been discharged from want of sufficient evidence, and the remaining five would be tried that day. He would also add to this an extraordinary circumstance—a circumstance that, long as he had sat on the bench, he did not remember happening—namely, that there was not one poacher in the gaol for the Woodbridge Division, in this, the month of October. He had nothing further to say.—J. Moseley, Esq.: *I fear the absence of poachers arises from the scarcity of game*.—Mr. Shawe: I don't know why it is. I only state a fact.

THE GAME LAWS.—At the Tring Agricultural Association meeting on Tuesday, Mr. Houghton, the vice-president of the society, thus expresses himself: "I stand here as one of the largest occupiers of land in the kingdom. It is not only unfair but absolutely dishonest for a landlord to take rent for a farm, and then to stock it with game. (Cheers.) I have stated this before a committee of the House of Commons, and will avow it on all occasions. It is dishonest of landlords to stock farms with vermin. Plenty of game might do for the landlords, but it would not do for him. If the aristocracy needed 'battues,' let them keep their game and shoot at it through the key-hole." We understand that Mr. Houghton farms nearly 4000 acres of land.

AGRICULTURE.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

WHAT PART SHOULD THE FARMERS TAKE?

No one can mistake the signs which bespeak the doom of monopoly. For some time past the moderate and more rational monopolist members, who support the Government, have been throwing out hints that the time is at hand when farmers must not rely on protection; and it is the natural course of things, that such predictions are realised more speedily than those who make them, in words, suggest. When a monopolist politician hesitates he is lost to monopoly.* No man of average capacity can reason upon such a question and remain a protectionist. The only genuine protectionists are those who won't and those who can't reason. Recent events have shown that the non-reasoners by choice form, in fact, the most numerous section of the supporters of the Pro-Corn-Law Ministry. But the party objects which blinded them to the evils of protection having been attained, the rottenness of the system has of late become obvious to them.

Not long since we had Mr. Sotheron in Wiltshire, and Col. Rolleston in Nottinghamshire, plainly telling their agricultural constituents that protection could not much longer be maintained, and that they must rely on their own skill and energy to meet the world's competition. To those who believed there was any substance in the protectionist agitation of 1843-44, the calmness with which these hints were received by the farmers must have been surprising. Not so to the initiated. They knew well enough, that if all that the "protection societies" said about the fall of prices that would ensue upon Free Trade had been true, the landlords had the short means in their own hands of indemnifying their tenants. The tenants' anxiety, therefore, consisted only in certain doubts not very complimentary to their landlords. The farmers said that rather than give the tenants security of possession, and complete possession of their farms so as to enable them to withstand all competition, the landlord would ruin their present tenants and then trust to the competition for land to get others. But although this was said it was not much apprehended, because—apart from all feelings of honour and honesty on the part of the landowners—such a course would be most detrimental to their own interest. Nothing proves this more clearly than the course taken at the agricultural meetings of the present season, where the landowners have, in most instances, shown a disposition to meet their tenants half-way, and that under circumstances which indicate that they will ultimately go the whole length of the tenants' very reasonable requirements. The tenants have objected to game preserves, and the landlords are generally disposed to give up hares and rabbits. The farmers ask for leases, and the landowners offer allowances for "unexhausted improvements." And the squires generally anticipate objections to timber by offering to cut down the "ash trees." If the fear of Free Trade has done so much, it is certain actual Free Trade will do all the rest. That the landlords can take advantage of the tenantry during the transition from restriction to freedom is out of the question.

These considerations will account for the equanimity with which the "agricultural mind" received the preliminary intimations that monopoly is doomed. Then there was the more explicit reference of Captain Rous to the increasing population, and the possible deficiency of food. Since that time the ravages of the "potato disease" have become more general and more serious, and moderate men of all parties have made up their minds that a temporary Free Trade, at all events, is the only remedy for the national emergency. Then there have followed rumours of dissensions in the Cabinet on the question; and, finally, we have the letter of Lord Ashley, and the unmistakeable speech of Mr. Bickham Escott. Even the *Morning Post* deems that "the cry that one now hears on every side, that the Corn Laws are doomed, is additional evidence of the mortifying fact, that the country gentlemen

who were returned in such numbers to Parliament at the last election, have shown themselves unequal to their position." That may be so; and it may be perfectly just that the monopolists who promoted these gentlemen should say to them, in the words of the *Post*, "if they are going to allow the Corn Laws to be overthrown, because of the convictions of their own minds that they ought to be overthrown, then let us hear their reasons, and by what process of thought or of evidence they have been persuaded that the course to which they pledged themselves in 1811 ought to be abandoned." It is, we say, fair and just that each monopolist county member should be thus put to the question; that those who promised the performance of things impossible should be required to show why they made such promises is but common justice. But all that is beside the main question.

Farmers have a graver question to consider, viz. what course they should now pursue? A few practical suggestions will satisfy them that their only wise course is to demand a prompt and complete settlement of the question: that is, an immediate and unconditional Free Trade in grain.

Prices of all kinds of agricultural produce are now high; stock and meat are high, because for two years the trading and manufacturing classes have been in a state of great prosperity; a prosperity which commenced with such abundance at home as for a period nullified the Corn Laws. Prices of grain are high, because the wheat harvest has been late, and the crops defective, whilst potatoes have proved almost a failure. Let us see what the authorities in the corn trade say of the actual state of the grain market. The *Mark Lane Express* of last Monday says that

"Nothing has, however, transpired to allow us to hope that the reports of the defective nature of the wheat crop have been in the slightest degree exaggerated; on the contrary, every day furnishes fresh evidence that the yield per acre, as well as the weight and quality, are to the full as inferior as was at any time anticipated would be the case."

And the writer adds that "bread stuffs" will probably be higher later in the year. And although "at none of the leading consuming towns is good wheat obtainable much under 70s. per qr.," the weekly average price is but 58s. 3d. per qr.; while the six weeks' average which regulates the duty is only 55s. 3d. As the *Express* remarks, "The very inferior condition in which the new wheat continues to come to hand is abundantly proved by these returns." And he further says:

"That the duty must sooner or later fall to a very low point is now deemed certain, and with this prospect there is little probability of any part of the bonded stocks being for some time entered for home consumption."

Such is the prospect of the home trade; let us turn now to the reports of the foreign trade in grain:

"The prospect of Great Britain being likely to require a supply of wheat, and the fact that the harvest has terminated so unfavourably in Holland and Belgium as to induce the respective Governments of those countries to admit grain free, have, as may easily be conceived, caused prices in the Baltic to rise materially; indeed, at many of the ports from which, if our wants should prove urgent, we must draw our supplies, quotations are actually higher than the prices of similar qualities at Mark Lane."

"The latest accounts from Dantzic are of the 18th Oct., and inform us that, though little or nothing had during the preceding fortnight been bought for shipment to either England or Holland, about 1500 basts had changed hands on speculation at very high terms. Really fine samples, the growth of 1844, had brought 50s. to 57s.; moderately good parcels of high-mixed, 53s.; and inferior sorts, from 47s. to 50s. per quarter free on board. When to these rates we add freight, insurance, and other charges, it will be seen that, high as bonded wheat now is, fresh imports cannot be profitably made, unless the duty falls to a very low point. The supplies of wheat into Dantzic from the interior had been small; the quality of the new wheat is no longer so well spoken of as was the case immediately after harvest. The few lots received had, however, met a ready sale, at terms quite equivalent to those at which old wheat had been sold."

We also learn that "from the Mediterranean the reports are quite as lively as those from the Baltic, and wheat has risen as rapidly in that quarter as in this country." We find, also, that "at the principal Dutch and Belgian markets the value of wheat has been supported, notwithstanding the remission of the duties." Now, then, the Corn Laws come into stringent operation, and it is certain that the actual and apprehended deficiency in our own crops will drive the prices so high as to reduce the duty to "a very low point." Possibly some 10s. a quarter may be added to the year's prices by the Corn Laws. So far all looks well for the grower. But will it be so in the

long run? Even at this moment the high prices of oats, beans, and peas very greatly increase the expense of the farmer's horse keep, and diminish the profits he might fairly expect from the high price of stock. Let the high range of prices continue only for a short time, and a decline in the commercial prosperity will soon be visible; and with a longer continuance of scarcity the whole series of evils from which the community has so recently escaped will be repeated. The masses of the population, compelled to pay exorbitant prices for food, will have little power to buy aught but food, and manufacturers will suffer in consequence; and then will vanish the high price of stock, and all that steady and increasing demand for agricultural produce which has lately been going on.

Then mark the effect of these high, these artificially high prices upon the landlords. Already we see at many of the agricultural meetings landlord congratulations "that the cloud under which husbandry has been is passing away;" which means that high rents will be paid out of small produce. The competition for land by persons with insufficient capital—one of the great evils of the existing system—will again increase, to the injury of the whole body of tenantry when the next good harvest comes, bringing with it moderate prices. Much of that progress now made towards security of tenure will be arrested, and when low prices again come, as come assuredly they will, the farmers will find themselves in a state of distress, and at the mercy of the landlords.

Let any farmer trace the recent rise in the price of corn, and he will find it to have arisen mainly from scarcity, which, had the trade in corn been free, would still have advanced prices considerably. The farmer would have obtained a full equivalent for the deficiency of his crop in an increased price, for it would be quite impossible for any importation of past or present years to have prevented a considerable rise in price. But then the rise of price would have stopped short of that exorbitant amount to which it is now going, and the evil effects on the farmers' customers would have been avoided. The immediate repeal of the Corn Laws would simply check prices, and limit the rise to some extent; it would merely prevent that aggravation of scarcity which it is the office of the Corn Law to create; and, at a time when the wildest "Tamboff" monopolist could not frighten the farmer by fables of foreign produce, would place the business of husbandry once for all upon a safe and steady basis. The impulse given to the foreign trade of the country by the abandonment of restriction would quickly tell upon the farmer; and the landlord, knowing exorbitant prices and artificial scarcity would not hereafter form part of the elements in valuing landed property, would at once determine to make the most of his property by granting to the tenant a secure tenure and complete possession of his farm.

The present state of the corn trade leaves all the arguments hitherto urged against the Corn Laws in full force, and offers this additional one, that the most timid alarmist cannot now fear the transition from restriction to Free Trade.

ARTIFICIAL SCARCITY.

The monopolists often pretend that because their scheme does not nominally prohibit the importation of corn in years of scarcity, that in fact it admits foreign grain when corn is wanted. This is altogether untrue. See what the *Mark Lane Express* city article says on the present prospect of supply from America:

"As there is every probability that access to foreign grain and flour will be given upon a very moderate import, and a free entry to colonial flour, &c., it is a matter of anxious inquiry, what are our supplies likely to be, and from whence will they come? It is too late in the year (even were an order in council issued this day) to anticipate that much more flour can be received from Canada than that now in all probability on ship-board consigned to this country. At the latest dates from Montreal and Quebec there were available for export, say from 200,000 to 250,000 barrels, all of which no question has been taken on speculation. It is mere guess work to hazard an opinion what the shipments may be from the United States. That they are likely to be so large as is expected in many quarters is out of the question. The Southern parts of the Union have suffered so much from drought, that the crops of wheat and Indian corn have been most materially injured. But should prices rate much higher here, many sacrifices may be made by the people of the United States, so as to realize the profits that would accrue from abstaining much from the use of flour. To an-

icipate a supply of a million of barrels, as some of our agricultural contemporaries have done, is quite out of the question, except indeed the stocks on hand in the interior should prove much more plentiful than there is any conception of at the present moment. From the Continent of Europe the supplies will not be to any great amount. Therefore it is considered to be a most unfortunate circumstance that the real extent of the failure in the potato crop was not more accurately inquired into earlier, so that supplies of flour might have been sent down the St. Lawrence from Upper Canada and the State of Maine before the winter sets in and the navigation becomes closed."

Now the Corn Laws alone have placed the country in the "unfortunate" position of having to seek a foreign supply of food when too late. Had the trade in grain been free, there would have been such a store of corn in this country as would have effectually alleviated all fear of famine, though not enough to have prevented some, perhaps a considerable rise of price.

At this moment, the most rabid monopolist scarcely dares to whisper a sentence in favour of his monopoly.

INDIVIDUAL, NOT LEGISLATIVE PROTECTION.

Let the landowners of the country abandon all delusive reliance on legislative "protection," and fairly do all that is within their own power to afford individual protection, and agriculture will take its proper place amongst the steady and regular businesses of the country. This is the lesson inculcated more or less distinctly by all the practical farmers and land agents who speak their minds openly at farmers' clubs.

Thus, at the *Tring Agricultural Society*, in Buckingham, Mr. Wm. Bennett, a farmer and land-valuer—and who, by-the-by, put himself forward, or was put forward, to oppose Free Trade when Mr. Cobden met the farmers of Herts—remarked:

"It was said by some writers, that that man was the best friend of his country who made two blades of grass grow where but one had grown before. Such a man was a benefactor to his country, not merely to his neighbourhood in employing the labourer; but in increasing the quantity of food, and lowering the price to the consumer. If good cultivation was to be the order of the day, a proper security must be given to the tenant for his outlay of capital, and to induce him to apply to the soil the skill he ought to possess. In the occupancy of a farm, if the least doubt existed as to who would reap the profits, it was most unreasonable to expect the application of either toil, skill, or capital. (CHEERS.) There was nothing to be got by blinking these questions, either on one side or the other. The landlord would not be justified in giving a lease to a bad farmer; he ought to be satisfied that the tenant had the means, ability, and will to cultivate the soil properly. If the landlord would rather not grant a lease and give up the possession of his land, then was he bound to insert an improvement clause in his agreement to let from year to year. It was but fair that, in all such agreements, the tenant should have secured to him compensation for the benefits of all the unexhausted improvements he might leave in the soil. Without such a certainty, it was most unreasonable to expect any large outlay, or any important improvements. The landlord might please himself about giving leases; but if he refused, he was bound to say to his tenant, 'Improve your land as fast as you can, and I will take care that you have all the benefit of your toil and outlay.'"

We have before shown, and shall again have occasion to show, that an agreement for "unexhausted improvements" can never form any efficient substitute for a lease. Such an agreement may prevent a landlord from stripping the farmer bare, but it will not place the farmer in such a state of certainty and security as will enable him safely to cultivate his farm properly. Farmers will do well to keep this in mind, for landowners and land-agents are everywhere setting these farmer-traps.

Mr. Bennett justly thought that these questions were fit to be discussed at agricultural meetings, and said:

"Lord Charles Russell had said, at Leighton Buzzard, that these questions should be settled out of doors; but for his (Mr. Bennett's) part, he could not see that the discussion would be put in any worse position by bringing public opinion to bear upon it. The farmers were not always in a position to settle matters with their landlords out of doors. The farmers had spirit enough, if properly protected in their occupancy, to farm the land well and to make England the garden of the world. (CHEERS.)"

Mr. Thos. Butcher thus referred to the acts of Mr. Gordon, the president of the association, as evidence of his real interest in agriculture.

"Every gentleman must be taken to be what he professes himself. The time would surely come when he would be brought to the test. On the first occasion of their anniversary, Mr. Gordon had expressed his regret that some of his tenants were not there. A great deal of good sense had been spoken by the tenantry; nothing was heard, now of legislative protection, but a great deal of individual protection by lease. How had Mr. Gordon acted? He had had a farm to let, and had made a public announcement of letting it on a lease of 21 years. At their last meeting he had recommended the use of guano; and one of the tenantry had said that guano would not cut down the hedge-row timber. In his advertisement, Mr. Gordon not only offered his farm for 21 years certain, but said, 'you may cut down the hedge-row timber.' Great good arose from the exchange of sentiments at these meetings. Some of the tenants had said that it was unfair for landlords to stock their farm with game. 'Do what you like with the game,' said Mr. Gordon in his announcement. Thus had their president removed at once three of the grievances of which the tenantry complained; he had offered leases, given liberty to destroy hedge-row timber, and allowed the tenantry to destroy what game they pleased. He had thus given them protection, and had left

them to exercise their skill under the best and most desirable circumstances. He had gone still higher, and had told the applicants that he would ask no questions as to their religious or political sentiments."

That it should be necessary to announce all, or any, of these things in the advertisement of a farm to let, bespeaks the wretched system on which landed property in England is managed. And yet this system of mismanagement is "protected" and perpetuated by a special law.

It seems Mr. Gordon offered his farm by tender, on which point the following conversation occurred.

"Mr. William Bennett said he had been delighted with the description given of their president by Mr. Butcher. There were many points in Mr. Gordon's announcement worthy of admiration, and there was one which he hoped would never be generally imitated. He referred to the unfair system of letting farms by tender. Such a course was worse than that of common auction, for in the latter case a man knows who his opponents are, but in the tender system a man may be bidding against himself. The advertising the farms by tender looked as if there were no honest agents in the country. He always would oppose the horrible system of letting farms by tender.

"Mr. Butcher had, after giving the subject his consideration, come to the conclusion that the system of letting by tender was a good one. It was acting up to the commercial spirit of putting a farm fairly in the market. Mr. Gordon's experiment had ended well. He had had sixteen tenders, and the farm was now occupied by one every way qualified to do it justice. He had no doubt but that in seven years time New Ground farm would produce more than it ever had yet. There was no restraint, no compulsion; all was free, under the tender system."

Now, on this plan of offering farms to be let by tender much difference of opinion, and, we suspect, some misapprehension, exists. Upon principle, there is no more reason why a landowner should not offer his farm to be let by tender than to be sold by auction; and practically, most offers of farms form a concealed system of tender, for an outside rent is asked, more in fact than the farm is worth, and the highest bidder is usually taken. When a farm is fairly vacant, we cannot help thinking the plan of open tender upon declared terms is preferable to the sort of secret tender which goes on in the steward's office. It would be unjust to apply it to the generality of yearly tenants, under existing circumstances, but let leases be general, and few farmers would object to a letting by auction.

But the speech of the night was that of Mr. Houghton, whose manly adhesion to Free Trade our readers will bear in mind. Mr. Houghton said:

"He stood there as one of the largest occupiers in the kingdom: he held land in Ireland and in Scotland, and he would as soon think of attempting to fly as of taking a farm without a lease. This is the plain common-sense of the question. He had grown good crops where nothing green had ever grown before; could he have done this without a lease? It was true some of the best farmers held under insecure tenures; their landlords had the best of intentions and were most anxious for the welfare of their tenants and their tenants' families, but life was very uncertain, and who could tell what would become of the property after the death of either landlord or tenant? It was nonsense to expect any one to expend capital on another man's land. He had seen, on some farms, with very small inclosures, timber as thick as it could stand. He would ask which had the best of the land, the landlord who sold the timber, or the tenant whose corn was injured by the soil being exhausted by the growth of this timber? As to the game, it was not only unfair, but absolutely dishonest, for a landlord to take rent for a farm and then to stock it with game. (LOUD CHEERS.) He had stated this before a committee of the House of Commons, and was ready to avow it on all occasions. It was most dishonest for landlords to stock farms with vermin."

After referring to the capabilities of the district, and the room there was for improvement in farming it, he said:

"In this country are sometimes to be seen four horses to a plough, two pulling one way, and two the other. Sometimes six horses were seen to a plough, most of them, of course, a good way from the plough. If they wanted draught, they must put the horses close to the plough. In this country, too, they had one to drive the horses and another to hold the plough; but the horses were seldom much attended to, as the boy had quite enough to do in talking to the man; they might do away with one man and two horses; while the two were talking, the horses would do but little. In Scotland, they did the work better, at a less cost. We had the advantage of Scotland in having the best land, the best climate, and the best markets; but the Scotch farmer ploughed with his two horses and one man, and had an instrument much more easily managed than some of the cumbersome ploughs to be seen in this country. Farmers must go on with the spirit of improvement; unless they moved on with the times they could not expect to succeed. Plenty of game and hedge-row timber might do for the landlords, but would not do for him. Ploughing with four horses might have done for his father, but would not do for him. If the aristocracy really needed battles, let them keep their game in a room, and shoot at it through the keyhole. With some remarks on draining, the expense of which ought to be borne by landlords, Mr. Houghton concluded."

THE ZOLLVERFIN AND WORSTED GOODS.—We have no further accounts from Germany, and some merchants are in consequence disposed to hope that the threatened enhancement of the import duties on figured worsted goods may have been postponed; whilst others confidently expect that the decisions already announced will shortly appear in official form, and that the new duties will take place from the 1st of January next.—*Leeds Mercury*.

THE CORN CROPS OF EUROPE.

We extract from the *Gazette d'Augsburg* the following article on the crops of 1845 in Europe:

"According to the custom we have adopted, we shall divide our accounts of the results of the last crop into two parts—one referring to the east, and the other to the west of Europe. For several years past the east threatens us with sterility; it first of all began in Russia, spread over Poland and Prussia, and appeared even this year likely to diffuse itself in the east of Germany. Experience has generally proved that in the boreal latitude the rainy years are more sterile than the dry ones. The fact has again been confirmed during the last years. It was humidity that diminished the crops a few years ago in Russia, and which produced the like effect in Poland, Galicia, and Upper Silesia in the course of last year. In Germany, the humidity has not produced any unfavourable consequences, but in certain countries; there are others, on the contrary, which have suffered from want of rain. The results of the crops are, in the meantime, far from being satisfactory; and from the calculations which have been made, will not suffice the public consumption.

"It is far from our intention to represent the situation of things in more dreary colours than belongs to it; but we do not wish, and we ought not, to exaggerate the advantages of it, desirous as we are of attaining our present object, which is to furnish an exact appreciation of actual circumstances. We shall separately name the different countries, and indicate the supplies they stand in need of or can dispose of.

"Russia will have sufficient corn for the whole empire, without purchasing any foreign corn. Its Governments are in a position to assist mutually each other; but it is very doubtful whether they can send much corn abroad.

"The crops of Poland are not sufficient for its general consumption; and unless it has been previously supplied, will suffer from a scarcity, or be obliged to receive corn from abroad. But whom can one have recourse to when one's neighbours have only had themselves but middling crops, and have not wherewith to supply the deficiency? Money also is scarce in Poland, and important sums cannot be sent abroad to purchase corn.

"The kingdom of Prussia has greatly suffered last year and this from inundations, which have ravaged precisely its most fertile countries; and want, which is generally felt there, is on the point of transforming itself into actual famine.

"The news from Pomerania agree in stating that the results of the last crops are very mediocre.

"In the Grand Duchy of Posen only a middling crop has been obtained, and anterior provisions can alone prevent a scarcity. The author does not remember having heard such numerous and general complaints, unless it be in the years 1841 and 1842. God grant that the unfortunate events of that epoch be not again reproduced! There are in this province whole countries where the usual corn sellers will be obliged themselves to make purchases the next spring. The situation of Galicia is still worse. The price of rye rose 60 per cent. immediately after the crops: it is still on the rise.

"In Hungary, which is usually so productive, the Government has been obliged to lay in large stores of corn to prevent a famine. The hope entertained of having good crops has been still more cruelly disappointed than in Silesia.

"In Austria, Moravia, and Bohemia, the results of this year's crops are below those of the average ones, and must scarcely suffice for the general consumption.

"If we consider the west of Germany, we find, first of all, that the crops in Saxony have not precisely failed, although they are very far from being abundant. The same may be said of the provinces of Brandenburg and of Magdeburg.

"Bavaria, like other countries, has suffered greatly this year from hail-storms and water-spouts; the results of the crops have in consequence been diminished, as likewise by the state of the atmosphere, which has shown itself but little favourable to the cultivation of corn.

"Wurtemberg, the country of Baden, Westphalia, and the Rhenish provinces, have been better treated; but the disease which has ravaged the potato crop will be severely felt. Nevertheless the potato crop has been generally good throughout Western Germany; it will supply many deficiencies in the crops of other places, although they are not so much grown as in other parts of Germany.

"Belgium and Holland have had but bad crops; and the news from France sufficiently proves that this year has not been a productive one.

"Spain occupies but an inferior rank among corn growing countries: still reports from this country do not mention that the crops have been deficient.

"England, where the states of the European Continent generally find a market for their surplus corn, appears today to be reassured on the wants of its internal consumption, or at least the alarming news which arrived from that country has been succeeded by much more favourable intelligence. Those who count upon corn supplies from the Baltic and provinces of the North Sea, will be greatly deceived; the prices of these productions will first of all be very high, and in the second place the quantities that can be supplied very small. A great quantity of wheat has this year been struck by blight, and this disease, which has spread throughout Germany, Poland, and Hungary, has deteriorated the quality of the corn as well as diminished the quantity. Further, it cannot now be accurately known whether at a later period England will not be reduced to supply itself from abroad, for it is well known that it is only in case of an abundant crop that enough corn can be grown for the country. In the contrary case she will look to supplies from America, or from the countries bordering on the Black Sea.

"In Scandinavia, that is to say, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, the crops have not been satisfactory. In a few weeks, then, it may be said that for many years past there has not been so unfavourable a year as the present one; and if it be added that last year only furnished but indifferent crops in comparison with the preceding ones, this circumstance ought to give rise to measures being taken to prevent the danger which threatens us."

The corn-dealers of Liverpool are actually exporting the corn in bond to Russia! This fact speaks volumes.

THE USE OF DIFFICULTIES.—If any man possessed every qualification for success, it is probable he would remain perfectly stationary. The consciousness of his powers would tempt him to omit opportunity after opportunity to the end of his days. Those who do succeed summarily owe their success to some disadvantage, under which they labour; and it is the struggle against a difficulty that brings faculties into play.—*Thomas Walker*.

REVIEW.

COLLEGIATE AND COMMERCIAL EDUCATION.—*Code Universitaire de France.* Paris: Hachette. London: Dulau.

So many correspondents have requested us to discuss this important subject, that we can no longer delay complying with their wishes; and as the greater part of their letters ask for practical rather than theoretical information, we shall give an account of the system established in France, founded on official documents and our own personal examination of the principal collegiate establishments. The University of France, as established by Napoleon, was intended to embrace every branch of public instruction, not merely colleges, but secondary and primary schools, Lyceums, and even scientific and literary societies. The duties of the University Senate were limited to supervision and registration, all the functions of instruction being left to the branches, and the power of granting degrees, diplomas, and certificates of proficiency being entrusted to the colleges. The degrees are conferred in letters, arts, and the faculties of law and medicine, a separate and special organisation being fixed for the faculty of divinity; diplomas and certificates are given for special courses of instruction necessary to certain professions, such as that of an apothecary, a druggist, a herbalist, &c.; and no one is allowed to conduct any of the specified trades without having a certificate from the college of his district. The number of trades thus brought within the supervision of the colleges is greater than might be supposed; it includes chemists, grocers, druggists, and others which in England are perfectly free.

Napoleon imprinted on his system a military form which has not since disappeared; the pupils were led to regard admittance to the special military courses as the best reward for literary or scientific proficiency, and hence a disproportionate share of attention was paid to drawing, practical mathematics, and the military branches of engineering. The study of the moral sciences was neglected, and the professorships of political economy and modern history were abolished. The first great improvement on this system arose from the establishment of courses of instruction for the sea-service: in these, prominence was given to the natural sciences, geology, zoology, botany, &c., until by the exertions of Cuvier the title of naturalist became recognised as equivalent to a learned profession.

The progress of the French system led to the establishment of distinct courses of instruction suited to the different professions and occupations for which students are designed. But the great difficulty, which has not yet been perfectly surmounted, was to determine how much general knowledge should be imperative on all, independent of the special instruction necessary for a profession. On the one hand, there was the danger of contracting the mind by special technicalities; on the other, that of loading the memory with matters absolutely useless in public life. When it was proposed to establish special industrial and commercial courses for merchants, manufacturers, agriculturists, &c., it came to be a question how far a classical education was necessary to these pursuits, and whether the time devoted to Greek and Latin might not be much better spent in the acquisition of modern languages and such branches of sciences as would be of use in business. A second question arose out of this discussion, namely, how much of any course should be obligatory and prescribed by the college, and how much should be voluntary and chosen by the student, or rather by his parents or guardians.

A great step was made when it was found that one efficient collegiate staff sufficed for many different courses of instruction, each course being in effect a separate special school. Thus the professor of zoology taught the medical student, the agriculturist, the naturalist, the furrier, and the importer of animal matter; but when they quitted his classroom, each might go to a different department from the rest—the medical student to anatomy, the agriculturist to geology, the mercantile student to geography and statistics. It is now the duty of principals of colleges so to arrange the hours of instruction as to allow of several such courses or schools being simultaneously conducted in each college where this system has been introduced. Should collegiate institutions be established in any of our great northern towns, it would be essential to give them this elasticity in their special courses of instruction, so as in effect to have a special school for every variety of business, and yet to have all united in one general college.

The usual obligatory course includes grammar, logic, and rhetoric, with practice in composition, French history, the elements of mathematics and physics, and the principles of ethics. In France, *classe* is used in a very wide sense, so as to include political economy, jurisprudence, and the elements of international law.

It is in the applied and mixed sciences that the

distinctions of special instruction are most marked. Let us suppose a professor of chemistry, who lectures six hours every day. His time might be thus divided:

First hour—General and elementary class.

Second hour—Agricultural class.

Third hour—Manufacturing class.

Fourth hour—Naturalists' class.

Fifth hour—Junior medical class.

Sixth hour—Senior medical class.

Again, take the professor of mathematics:

First hour—Junior general class.

Second hour—Senior general class.

Third hour—Agricultural surveying,

Fourth hour—Engineering.

Fifth hour—Mathematical elements of geometry and astronomy.

Sixth hour—Abstract and higher mathematics.

We might easily extend these examples, but those quoted are sufficient to show that a Polytechnic college—that is, one having a large variety of professional courses of instruction—may be maintained with a limited staff of professors, and at a comparatively small expense. Practical difficulties have frequently arisen in homologating these courses, so as to prevent any set of students from being thrown out of their attendance on one course when the same hour was fixed for their attendance on another. This has been particularly the case when a medical school was connected with the college, and the usual practice has been to require a certificate of attendance on a prescribed general course of education preparatory to admission to the medical classes. Of late the tendency has been to render the medical schools separate establishments. We regard a medical school as a most important adjunct to a Polytechnic college; anatomy is useful to the artist and designer; physiology ought to form part of the general education of those who may have occasion to visit foreign countries; and the same remark is applicable to zoology and botany; the various applications of chemistry to the industrial arts are too notorious to need mention. On the other hand, medical men ought to have larger opportunities than a special school would afford for the study of general literature and the physical sciences. Thus, not only would there be a greater economy, but also a larger amount of advantage to all parties by making a medical school an essential part of a Polytechnic college.

It has been proposed to have itinerant professors for groups of colleges, to lecture on such subjects as might be completed in short courses, so that three or four colleges combining can enlarge their sphere of instruction at a moderate cost. This plan has not yet been tried, because in France such professorships are frequently held by persons engaged in other pursuits, such as young lawyers or physicians, to whom a small salary is an object at the commencement of professional life. In the north of England, where there are many local literary institutions, easily reached by railroads, it is evident that considerable assistance to defraying the salaries of professors might be obtained by agreeing with the different committees for annual courses of lectures.

To manufacturing towns a system of evening instruction for the education of adults is peculiarly desirable, and provision for such a system might easily be made in conjunction with the Polytechnic College. Courses of merely popular lectures, combining amusement with instruction, might also be superadded at the discretion of the managers; but attendance on these should not be compulsory to regular students.

It is obvious that many courses in such a college might with advantage enter into the routine of female education; it has been proposed to try the experiment in some of the French institutions, but as yet, we believe ladies are only admitted to the popular courses of lectures. It would, however, be easy to make arrangements for their attendance on the educational courses, which would prevent any unpleasant results. This, however, is a matter of detail which may be fairly remitted to future consideration. The system of instruction consists of lectures and examinations; text-books are named for each course; these are illustrated and developed by the lecturer, while the proficiency of students is tested by periodical examinations, at which the principal is obliged to be present. The French system is not quite so elastic as could be desired, or as it is likely to become. The military organisation of its commencement, and the revival of many of the old scholastic forms after the Restoration, are great impediments to the establishment of a sufficient variety of industrial courses. But, in the organisation of a new system, this evil could easily be avoided. The principal point on which attention should be fixed, is, that commerce and manufactures having risen to the dignity and importance of professions, should be furnished with their own special courses of professional instruction.

These courses should be capable of subdivision; engineering should be taught in its applications to mining, surveying, and constructing, according to the special destination of the student. In this the French are very defective; they have rather too

much of abstract, and too little of applied science; a similar error has caused the comparative failure of the London University College.

The question of distinctive dress has been raised by one of our correspondents, and we must confess that we should wish to see the cap and gown worn within the precincts of the college. Dress is an element of discipline; it is an outward form, but it gives the student a feeling of fellowship with his compeers. And as there would be no residence within the walls of the college, it is desirable that the sentiments of brotherhood should be cultivated by all other possible means. Mr. Lyell has very ably shown the advantage which the state of New York has derived from a system of education similar to that which we have described, and in doing so, he has justly directed attention to a point that has not yet received all the notice it merits—the structure of educational buildings. Splendid architecture leads to a waste of money and space; convenient lecture rooms opening into a common hall, a reserved wing for medical students, and a theatre for general meetings and public lectures, comprise all that is necessary. It would indeed be desirable to have the principal resident, but in most cases it is probable that he could obtain a house in the neighbourhood. It is too common an error to sink capital in cut stone, bricks and mortar.

The great problem which remains to be solved in our systems of education is, that youth should perceive a direct connection between their studies and the business of their future lives. This can only be effected by giving such a special direction to their studies as will bring them to bear on business; the industrial and practical courses will lead students of their own accord to search for the abstract principles; it is found that boys never spell well until they have learned to write, because they then first feel the practical want of orthography.

The number of subjects for which chairs should be founded, and of professors that ought to be appointed, must vary according to the exigencies and means of different localities. In America, the Board of Direction has the power of engaging lecturers distinct from the professors, and thus bringing the students acquainted with many subjects not included in the collegiate course. England affords much wider scope for the exercise of such a discretion, and from the number of its literary and scientific institutes, need hardly fear the difficulties of expense.

There can be little doubt that such institutions would be encouraged by the government, and that means would be taken to ensure the recognition of degrees and titles granted for proficiency. How far the government should possess a visitatorial power, is a question that should not be discussed under existing circumstances. We have briefly noticed the points to which our attention has been solicited, and shall be ready to give any further elucidations that may be deemed desirable.

Tytler's Elements of General History. Edited by the Rev. B. Turner, M.A. London: Scott.

We could wish that the able editor of this work had given us an original history of his own instead of re-casting Tytler's meagre outlines. The elements were originally framed as a kind of text-book for those who attended the professor's lectures, and were thus chiefly confined to the heads of subjects which he subsequently developed by oral instruction; and where such a system of instruction is pursued—as it ought to be everywhere—this manual, even in its unimproved state, would render valuable assistance. The additions, however, which have been made by Mr. Turner, render it more nearly an outline of history, fit to be used as a class-book, than a mere text-book as an aid to lectures. He has expanded what was too brief; and, in the early Roman history, has added much valuable information from the works of Niebuhr and Arnold. He has supplied many important omissions, particularly an account of the state of the East under the successors of Alexander, and has continued the history from where Tytler broke off to the present day. We prefer the additions to the original. Mr. Turner has bestowed more thought and care on his work than professional avocations allowed Tytler to afford. We could wish that he had taken nothing from the professor but his plan, which is excellent; but we are bound to state that we could not easily point out a work containing so much historical information in the same space as the present volume.

Life of Lorenzo de Medici. By W. Roscoe, Esq. London: Bogue.

This is a convenient reprint of an admirable work, and one which we are glad to see produced at a time when the cultivation of literature and art is beginning to be intimately associated with the pursuits of commerce. The editor has taken creditable pains to improve the arrangement of the matter, which in some parts was very defective; and he has rendered acceptable service to many of his readers by translating the different quotations, which the original author rather too lavishly paraded. It is, however, to be wished that he had

used the pruning-hook a little more freely in a work designed to have an extensive circulation. Roscoe wrote for the few; many of his dissertations were designed only for professional scholars, and to such alone can they be interesting. The controversies with Sismouldi and others do not involve any great facts or great principles; they turn on points of minute criticism, to which men of business can neither spare time nor attention.

THE REGISTRATION.

SOUTH WALES. BOROUGH OF CARDIGAN. CARDIGAN.

Objections. Struck off. Free-trade gain.
Liberal and Free-trade .. 9 .. 8
Monopolist 4 .. 2 ——— 6

LAMPETER.
Liberal and Free-trade .. 18 .. 16
Monopolist 0 .. 0 ——— 13

CRAPAUD AND NEWCASTLE EMLYN.
Liberal and Free-trade .. 0 .. 0
Monopolist 14 .. 9 ——— 19

Deduct Monopolist gain .. 9

Liberal and Free-trade clear gain .. 10

The above return does not include Aberystwith, where the principal strength of the Free-trade party lies.

CARMARTHEN.—The Monopolist party did not appear in the revising courts for this borough. The gains on the register will be for this year 40.

SWANSEA, AND CONTRIBUTORY BOROUGHS.—In these boroughs the gains on the register are in favour of the Free-traders and Liberals.

COUNTY OF GLAMORGAN.

Free-trade claims—

Town and Franchise of Swansea 25

Hamlet of Class 20

Monopolist objections—

Town and Franchise of Swansea 13 struck off 6

Hamlet of Class 34 " 15

Llantrididian Higher 11 " 4

Free trade claims 45

Deduct Monopolist objections .. 25

Clear gain for Free-traders .. 20

Three cases of costs were given against the Monopolists in the above court. In the other portions of the county not a single objection was taken by either of the two sections (Whigs and Conservatives) who have up to this time amused the county with warm contests about "distinctions of names" without "difference in principle."

BRIGHTON.—The following are the number of county claims made for the eastern division of the county of Sussex—total, 133. There were no objections taken by either party to the register.

Free-traders 74 sustained 67

Supposed Free traders .. 16 " 13

Monopolists 23 " 15

Doubtful 20 " 19

Majority in favour of Free Trade, 46.

A few other claims were also made by Free-traders residing in Brighton for property situate in other parishes of the division. For the borough we are right; all we want is a good candidate.

COVENTRY.—The following is the result of the revision for this borough:—Liberal and Free-trade objections—Freemen, 11; sustained, 38. £10 Household, 1; sustained, 1. New claims—Freemen, 10; sustained, 10. Household, 3; sustained, 3. Monopolist new claims—Freemen, 5; Household, 3; sustained, 8. Total Liberal and Free-trade majority, 46.

WEST-RIDING REGISTRATION.

(From the Bradford Observer.)

The revision of this first county register of the kingdom concluded on the 7th inst., and we are now able to give the final and correct result, as contained in the following table:

The total Liberal gain is 2142, which in detail may be thus stated:

Gain on new claims 2120

Gain on objections 22

Total gain 2142

The entire of this gain is attributable to the Free Trade qualification movement of last November, December, and January. We state this on no party assumption. We know that upwards of 2500 qualifications were made in consequence of that movement; and we also know that on the average of the years 1842, 3, and 4, the Tory party gained 68 votes per annum; and there is no reason to suppose, that in the nearly-balanced condition of the two parties, the result would have been different this year but for the League effort. To the Free Traders, then, the Liberal party are indebted for the satisfactory position in which they now stand. Nor is that party more indebted to the Free Traders for rescuing it from its low position on the register than it is for the generous spirit in which their aid has been given—a spirit which has overlooked the coldness and half-hostility with which the Free Trade question has been treated by a section of the Liberal party—high in station and influence, though commanding not a tithe of the votes which are polled at an election. Conscious of the truth of their principles, the Leaguers have co-operated zealously with this section, yielding to it its accustomed precedence in the administration of all the registration apparatus; and not doubting that ere another election takes place their wise and manly interference to the coldness of which we have spoken, will secure confidence and cordiality, where for a time it seemed disturbed; and will so unite and cement together all classes of Liberals, that as with one voice they will shout the then rallying cry—Free Trade!

The position of the Liberal and Tory parties, is not, however, correctly indicated by the gain on the present year's revision. At the election of 1841, the majorities of the Tory candidates, over the Liberal ones respectively, stood as under:

Mr. Wortley over Lord Milton .. 1085

Do. over Lord Morpeth .. 1134

Mr. Denison over Lord Milton .. 700

Do. over Lord Morpeth .. 749

The Liberal party have gained on the whole series of regis-

trations, since 1841 and up to 1841, 263, which added to this year's gain, gives a total of 2405. Now, assuming that the electors who voted in 1841 would vote again just as they did then, and that all the 2405 Liberals would vote for Lord Morpeth and Milton, the relative position of the candidates would be as follows:

Lord Milton's majority over Mr. Wortley .. 1920

Lord Milton's majority over Mr. Denison .. 1705

Lord Morpeth's majority over Mr. Wortley .. 1271

Lord Morpeth's majority over Mr. Denison .. 1656

A battle fought on the present register, the Liberal electors being united, would be a successful one for them; but a mean majority of 1488, on a register containing 34,105 electors, is an unsafe one. It has no margin for secession or minor points, for disunion about Maynooth; the holding back of some 5 per cent. of the Liberals, or the transfer of half that from one side to the other, turns the majority into a minority. It has been said that the Tories cannot increase their strength. We do not so think. We are convinced that they both can and will—Tory merchants and manufacturers can enfranchise sons and nephews as easily as Liberal merchants and manufacturers; nor is there any hindrance to Tory shopkeepers and others purchasing joint qualifications, as the Free Traders have done. We may rest assured, now that such an authoritative opinion has been given on the validity of such qualifications, the Tories will not wait the issue of their appeal to the Court of Common Pleas ere they commence operations. The Riding is increasing more rapidly than ever in numbers and wealth; and looking to the comparative number of electors in 1835, 1841, and 1844 respectively, we find little ground for supposing that the Tories have done all they can do. The total number of registered electors in each of those years, respectively, was 18,063, 30,998, and 34,001. The constituency has nearly doubled in nine years; and what is of more moment to the Liberal party, Lord Morpeth was in a majority of 2897 on a register containing but 18,063 names, and in a minority of 1134 on a register containing 30,998. Allowing most liberally for change of colour on the Corn Law question at the election of 1841, it is abundantly evident that the excess of Tory qualifications placed on the register since 1835, is near 3000! Can we doubt that a party who can do this, yet possesses means—ample means—to break down in one year, a mean majority of 1488? It would be sheer folly to entertain the idea for a moment. What then? The Free Traders must be up and doing. They are the majority in the manufacturing districts—an increasing majority—and they must keep the lead, now so well won. We think little of what more can be done in the agricultural districts by the Tories. The £50 rental, and the limitation which agricultural occupations places on the growth of the population, will prevent any great increase of the constituencies there. In the manufacturing districts the population expands by the twofold process of natural increase, and of immigration; and the mass is rapidly becoming Free Trade in its views. We would then again rouse the Free Traders to action. Three months and a fraction only remain, during which those who are unenfranchised may purchase qualifications. The state of trade is prosperous; the next year may witness a seriously bad harvest, and cheap means which are now sufficient. Let no Free Trader, who by thrift and industry can accumulate the funds, be without a qualification on which he may claim to register on the revision of 1844; and in the great contest which in all probability will take place on that year's register, be a *weaponless combatant*!

NEW WORK BY MISS MARTINEAU. On the 1st of December will be published Vol. I. of FOREST AND GAME LAW TALES.

By HARRIET MARTINEAU.
To be completed in three Volumes.
Edward Moscon, 11, Dover Street, London.

TAIT'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE for NOVEMBER.
Price One Shilling, contains—Nelson's Dispatches and Letters, Jenny Basket, an American Romance—Lectures from Naples, by Madame Wollenberger—The Life of Mozart—Notes on Galileo's "Gallery of Lifesize Portraits," by Thomas de Quincey—Adapted to be read by Railways—A Guide to the Lakes and Coast—Poetry—Literary Register: Dishes—Revelations of Spain, Brown's New Zealand, &c. &c.
W. Tait, Edinburgh; Simpkin, St. Paul's, and Co., London.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Titchfield case received, but too late for this week.
The length of the Manchester Meeting again compels us to omit our Lecture on Political Economy, and several other articles.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 7s. 3d. by Post-office order to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, November 1, 1845.

We write at a moment of anxious interest. The Cabinet has met to consult on the measures necessary to be adopted in the present crisis, and its deliberations are not yet concluded. The reports received from the commissioners appointed by the Government to investigate the state of the Irish potato-crop are understood to be more gloomy and alarming than had been at first anticipated, so that there is an urgent necessity to take immediate measures of precaution to avoid the dangers of famine. Under these circumstances we have little doubt that the ports will be thrown open, and the restrictions on the importation of food suspended for a season. The obvious policy, or rather the stern urgency, of such a measure must silence gainsayers. We lament that the insane policy of restriction should have brought the nation to such a crisis.

But this crisis forcibly shows the necessity of at once and for ever abolishing the odious mono-

poly of food; not only are the English producers unable to provide for the provision of the people, but their monopoly has lessened our chances of supply from foreign nations. The ports may be opened, but it does not at all follow that an adequate supply of corn will come in; prices will rise on the Continent, so as nearly, if not wholly, to counterbalance the suspension of the sliding-scale. At best we can only look to alleviation, not to complete relief.

Throughout the country there is a universal conviction that the dangers before us and around us are the necessary result of the Corn Laws; at the very moment that they have come into operation their ruinous tendencies have become apparent. They are so manifest that no one attempts to deny, and few even to palliate them. It is the duty of the people to give voice to their convictions; the moment for action is come. All who have hitherto laboured for Free Trade must redouble their efforts; those who have hitherto hesitated and hung back must give their prompt aid in the struggle. We have laboured long to show that this is no party question, and we are rejoiced to find that it is every day viewed more and more on its own merits, apart from the consideration of mere political differences. The nation is ripe for the great measure of justice; the circumstances of the time proclaim the dangers of delay; the prospects of the future second the warning. One vigorous and united effort alone is wanting, that the abolition of the Corn Laws should be total, unconditional, and immediate.

PEEL'S PILLS.—Famine already stares Ireland in the face; and Peel's "sliding-scale" prescription for her preservation, according to the *Gazette*, is a duty of 17s. per quarter, or more than 30 per cent., on the admission of foreign corn! The Doctor, we suspect, will be fain to change the medicine ere long.—*Gateshead Observer*.

IMMENSE COAL TRADE WITH FRANCE.—No less than 32 cargoes of coals from this country arrived at the single port of Rouen on Saturday last, viz., 17 from Newcastle, 9 from Sunderland, 1 from Stockton, 1 from Swansea, 2 from Newport, and 2 from Blyth. These cargoes would probably consist of not less than 5000 tons of coal. So much for the repeal of the coal-duty.—*Gateshead Observer*.

SUPPLY OF FLOUR IN THE UNITED STATES.—Large orders have been received from Liverpool for flour, by the steam-ship Great Britain, and shipments to a great extent will at once be made, principally on foreign account. An advance of one dollar per barrel has already been demanded, at which large sales have been made. 9000 barrels of flour were exported from this port to Liverpool in September, and double that quantity will probably go forward direct this month. Already there has, from previous accounts, been a rise in breadstuffs here, and upwards of 300,000 barrels have been exported. Nor have the shipments been confined to flour. Last week 4000 bushels of rye were purchased at the high price of 71c., to be exported to Holland. Letters have also been received from the Continent, ordering potatoes to be shipped from here. There is every prospect that corn as well as flour will feel the effect of the news.—*New York Herald*, Oct. 15.

THE COLOSSEUM.—Among the many exhibitions of London, there is none which surpasses the View of London, exhibited at the Colosseum, either in artistic merit or suggestive influence. The great metropolis is displayed before us with such strength of illusion, that we seem to recognise individual acquaintances, while the silence pervading the mighty mass fills the soul with a feeling of contemplative wonder, delightful to be experienced, but impossible to be described. The night view of the city is even more imposing; the twinkling of the stars, the sober radiance of the moon, the flickering of the lights reflected on the river, which here alone vindicates its claim to the title of "the silent highway," and the lights seen in the houses, give to the prospect such a stamp and impress of reality, that it is with an effort we recognise the triumph of Art. The Gallery of Sculptures the Swiss Cottage and scenery, but above all, the Stalactite Cave, are wondrous productions, that seem to belong more to a world of Oriental fancy than to the sober facts of European life. We are glad to hear that the exhibition has been successful in attracting visitors; all strangers who come to London should go there, because there alone can they adequately comprehend the extent and management of the metropolis; and Londoners will find that the Colosseum affords them a better knowledge of their city than they could otherwise obtain by the labour of a life.

Intelligence has been received by the General Steam Navigation Company of the loss of one of the Hull and Ham-burgh steamers, called the Margaret. She left Ham-burgh for Hull on the 19th of October, and was discovered on Sunday morning last to have been wrecked on the coast of Heligoland, 16 of the passengers, and three of the crew having perished with her. Within a few miles of the spot where the Margaret was lost, viz., off Norderney, a ship foundered about the same time, and every soul belonging to her was drowned. Another vessel, belonging to St. Petersburg, named the Melba, was lost on the previous day on the same sands, and the captain and one of his crew perished. In addition to these deplorable disasters, the *Hamburgh Mail* announces the loss of no fewer than nine other vessels on the Dutch coast during the storm.

Following the examples of the London and Brighton Company, the Manchester and Birmingham Company have reduced their first and second-class fares, the latter from 6s. 6d. to 4s. 3d., and the former from 7s. 6d. to 5s. 6d.; and a first class passenger now travels between Birmingham and Liverpool for 15s.

On Wednesday last, the floor of a Methodist chapel at East Wulfrden fell, while a meeting was being held to consider a plan for erecting a new chapel, the building being in a dilapidated state. Two persons were killed, and several more or less injured.

Cart, Bishopgate Street, merchant—W. Sore, Strand, print-
seller—E. Mullan, Brook Street, Bond Street, dentist—Nov. 21,
J. H. Suckling Birmingham, instrument.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 111.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1845.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

We beg to inform our subscribers that bound volumes of the LEAGUE newspaper, containing the whole of the first year's Numbers, may be had on application at the offices, either in London or Manchester.

OBSERVE!

Samples of good Wheat were sold in Mark Lane on Friday at 74s. per quarter.

The duty on Foreign Wheat is 15s. per qr.

The national expenditure for bread is NOW at the rate of 20 millions a-year, or FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND pounds weekly MORE than during the whole of last winter and spring.

THE COUNTIES!

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

If we were obliged, for the next three months, to confine ourselves to one single topic to the exclusion of all other matter, we should, without an instant's hesitation, choose *this*, as incomparably the most vital, essential, and pressing. The sense or non-sense of agricultural meetings might be safely left uncriticised—monopolist journals might say their say without let or hindrance, and the world be little the worse—all questions of what Peel will or will not do might wait the solution of time—and rumours of Orders in Council and the like might pass as so much tittle-tattle. Our work is done, and well done, if we can but add a dozen or two to our catalogue of FREE TRADE COUNTIES. From now to the 31st of January next, this is the first thing to be thought of—the one thing needful—QUALIFY, QUALIFY, QUALIFY FOR THE COUNTIES!

In urging our friends everywhere to possess themselves forthwith of the county franchise, we stand on much stronger ground than we did, when, about this time last year, we first began to press this matter on their attention. We are stronger by the results of a year's experience. Then, the thing was novel; and, like most other novelties, was doubted and distrusted even by many who thought it excellent in the abstract. Friends were a little sceptical of its practicability—half-friends carped and picked objections—enemies derided. There were outstanding legal queries likewise, waiting for judicial decision. All this is at an end now. The questions of practicability and legality are completely laid to rest. Revising barristers have everywhere ruled that the *bonâ fide* purchase of freehold property which yields to the purchaser—whether

buying singly, or jointly with others—a clear annual income of forty shillings, entitles to a vote for the county; and in some cases, the judges of the registration courts have expressed an opinion that such purchases, made for the sake of the franchise which accompanies them, are not only legally unimpeachable, but morally commendable and praiseworthy. A year ago when we were showing our friends "how to win counties," the extreme simplicity and facility of the means seemed to many out of all proportion to the magnitude of the end, and our confident expectations were held to be somewhat over-sanguine. Now, we can point to counties actually won. South Lancashire, Middlesex, the West Riding of Yorkshire, North Cheshire, South Staffordshire, North Lancashire are our own already, by registered majorities more or less considerable. A year ago the country was prosperous, with a fair hope of continued prosperity, and our question seemed less immediately pressing than at any previous period since the commencement of our labours. Monopoly was virtually inoperative in consequence of a succession of abundant harvests, and there was no very conspicuous need of special exertions. Now, we are coming to feel it once more. The creature has warmed up into new life, and is ready to sting again. British scarcity and Irish famine are beginning once more to show the empire what the Corn Law really is. Then, a general election seemed too remote an event to call for so much eager and toilsome preparation. Now, a general election stands in the foreground of our nearest political futurity. Parliament is a year older, and the probabilities are great that circumstances may arise to anticipate the period of its legal decease. It is as good as certain that the registry of 1846 will be that on which the next general election will be taken. Every man who is too late now will be too late then. Whoever lets the 31st of January pass over without taking out his title to citizenship, condemns himself to be a helpless and impotent spectator of a struggle fraught with the largest and weightiest consequences to the present and future generations, to Great Britain and the world.

We entreat Free Traders to spare themselves this bitter mortification. Think not that any power on earth will ever carry the Free Trade question but the power of votes—either votes actual, or votes potential—the legal power of votes given at the hustings, or the moral power of votes registered and ready to be given when asked for "Public opinion" will not do it if the public opinion cannot vote. It is *qualified and registered opinion* that now rules this country. There was a time, before the Reform Act, when unqualified opinion was really a power in the state; it is now little better than a nullity. The very fact that opinion is contented to remain unqualified and unregistered robs it of all moral weight and influence. The opinion which cannot take the trouble to legitimate itself in the registration courts, which slights a constitutional franchise so easily and cheaply attainable as that of the 40s. freehold, proclaims itself destitute of all the characteristics that make opinion respectable. It wants depth and strength, earnestness and heartiness. There is no volition along with it; and opinion without volition is as contemptible in the eyes of the politician as in those of the moralist. Once for all, this country is ruled by votes; and if any man will not take the pains to get a vote on the terms offered by the law and constitution of the land, he may as well make up his mind at once to have "nothing to do with the laws but to obey them."

Equally vain is all confidence in Sir Robert Peel. Sir Robert Peel will never give Free Trade to an unregistered people. Sir Robert Peel will

never come out as a Free Trade Minister on any other inducement than that of compulsion—the direct and actual compulsion of the polling booths, or the indirect and prospective compulsion of the registration courts. It is better to leave Sir Robert Peel out of the question altogether. "Put not your trust in princes," says the highest authority; and the warning is as good against putting trust in prime ministers. Confidence in Sir Robert Peel were as silly as it is degrading. The nation that is contented to see its destinies waver in the tremulous balance of a Peel policy deserves its chains. Sir Robert Peel neither will nor can help us any further than we choose to help ourselves—at least, the want of will is so clear, that it were superfluous to speculate on the *can*. Sir Robert Peel is the minister of registered opinion. That he cares for; that he respects; that he fears; that he will obey. Registered opinion made him; registered opinion could unmake him; and with registered opinion he will take care to eschew all serious quarrel. On registered opinion he stands, and by registered opinion he will be solicitous not to fall. "*How to win counties*," and "*How to win Peel*," are perfect political synonymes.

As we shall again and again return to this subject, we will satisfy ourselves for the present with having expressed our strong sense of its importance and urgency. From now to the end of January, every man's first care should be to possess himself of a county vote—his second, to stir up his neighbours to do likewise. It will be Free Traders' own fault if the next registration do not double or treble the number of our Free Trade counties. Some counties may be as close as some boroughs, and present almost insuperable obstacles to a movement of this kind—though we really do not know, looking at the hitherto neglected condition of the registries, and at the present state and tendencies of opinion among the farmers, that any county in England need be given up as hopeless; but every commercial and manufacturing county—every county with a large town population—may be ours, if we will. Never were the institutions of a country more favourable to earnest, resolute, pains-taking effort. The constitution of Great Britain offers us citizenship and sovereignty very cheap. The 40l. or 50l. necessary to purchase 40s. worth of annual interest in the soil, is a sum within reach of all classes above the poorest. This 40s. freehold franchise is far more easily got and kept—especially by industrious and prosperous working men—than the 10l. household franchise, clogged and complicated as this is with the conditions as to rate-paying and residence. One great, united, concentrated effort, another batch of Free Trade counties, and the work is done—the giant nuisance is, once for all, abated.

SIR ROBERT PEELE RESPONSIBLE FOR HIS OWN CORN LAW.

Nothing is to be done, it seems, after all. Monopolist alarms, and national hopes and expectations turn out to be alike baseless. We have all been mistaken together. The public presentiment which so confidently inferred ministerial purposes from ministerial duties and national necessities, has proved delusive. Cabinet Councils held almost daily, through the greater part of a week, appear to have meant nothing more than that a feeble-minded poltroon of a premier tried hard to tame refractory subordinates into justice, humanity, and prudence. Evidently there has been a sharp struggle in the Cabinet—and, as evidently, nothing has come of it. Ministerial divisions are patched up again, and the nation pays. The landlord faction has triumphed, and the people may starve. The ports are not open—Parliament is not summoned—Sir Robert

Peel does not resign. Of the "three courses" which, as the premier is so fond of saying, were "open to him," he has chosen neither. After a faint and irresolute effort to fling off a responsibility which, in the present circumstances of the country, must be a living torture, the statesman has again collapsed into the party politician. We have now nothing before us but sliding-scale and starvation. According to present appearances, Sir Robert Peel has finally made up his mind that British and European scarcity, and Irish famine, shall have three months given them to do their worst, while he looks on, and watches the curious machinery of averages and rests.

A more daring and cruel piece of infatuation than this, to which Sir Robert Peel is now apparently about to commit himself, was never perpetrated by an English Minister. Never was such a courting of calamity—such an invitation to misery. The mad wickedness of it is perfectly astounding. With half the Governments of Europe publicly proclaiming scarcity, and ransacking the markets of the world to find food for their people; with a serious deficiency in our own corn-harvest menacing the prosperity of our trade and the comforts of our labouring population; and with the provision grounds of one-third of the United Kingdom devastated by "an enemy whose history and habits are but imperfectly known," but of whose power and malignity quite enough is known to set us preparing for the very worst;—in this state of things, the man intrusted with the government of the empire determines still to carry on the war against bread. With his own commissioners anxiously and dubiously calculating, by the best lights which science can afford, in which month of next year the starvation of four millions of the people is likely to begin, Sir Robert Peel maintains, in all its "integrity," his hostility against food. He must still be taking securities against too much corn. He still indulges the savage and impious fanaticism which abominates abundance, and rejects Providential bounty as a curse. "No corn wanted here" is still placarded all round our coasts. If any came by chance, away it may go again. All the world may eat it for the cost of its growth and carriage, and welcome; English hunger must pay the fine of sixteen shillings per quarter. In the great European struggle for the means of existence, we must only be spectators—perhaps by-and-by we may come in at the fag end. Holland and Belgium, Russia, Germany, and Turkey must have the run of the world's markets first. The last potato may rot in the ground; but the sliding-scale must take its time—a shilling a week, with rests when convenient.

Parliamentary impeachments of public delinquents are gone out of date; else we should say, that no British Minister, for this hundred years past, has more richly merited than Sir Robert Peel to be made penally responsible—individually and personally responsible—responsible after the fashion of old legal and constitutional precedents—for the consequences of a cruel and criminal policy. The deficiencies of our present public and Parliamentary code will, he may rest assured, find their compensation in the indignant moral sentiment of a suffering people. For this barbarous and impious policy of starvation, and for all that may come of it, the national judgment will hold Sir Robert Peel answerable. "Sir Robert Peel has done it all," will be the nation's comments on its own calamities. There will be no wriggling out of it. The Corn Law of 1842 is Sir Robert Peel's law—framed quite at his leisure, "cautiously and deliberately," after the fullest consideration, with the best means of knowledge and the amplest powers—and cautiously and deliberately maintained, after three years' reiterated warnings of its latent mischiefs. He cannot hide himself among his colleagues. He is the Ministry; he is the Government; he rules like an autocrat both the cabinet and the legislature. If he will make it his business "to regulate" that which the human mind has not faculties for regulating, we must come upon him for all the consequences of bad regulation. If he will stand between producer and consumer, dictate to buyer and seller, and fix the terms and conditions

of a purely mercantile transaction, he is answerable for all the results of so mischievous and iniquitous an interference. There is no mistake—there can be no mistake—there shall be no mistake. Sir Robert Peel has charged himself with the function of food-purveyor to the empire; and if the empire runs short of food, at his door lie all consequences.

NUMBER SEVENTEEN, OLD BOND-STREET.

"The creature's at its dirty work again."

Until within the last few days, we had been a long time without intelligence from Number 17, Old Bond-street. In fact, not having walked that way lately, we rather imagined the concern was shut up. For many months past, the grease-and-lard faction has kept very quiet. Noble lords, and honourable gentlemen of "area-sneaking" fame, have seemed to retain a wholesome recollection of certain memorable castigations, and have prudently kept out of the way of the Free Trade police. Lately, too, there has been no particular need of their reminding the world of their existence. Things have gone well for the hucksterers in famine; and an unwonted prosperity has obviated the necessity of any very damaging self-exposures. Corn has been "looking up," and a reasonable prospect of British scarcity and Irish famine has brightened their future with golden visions of "remunerating prices." The 56s. are come at last, and the "interest" may drop the old mendicancy whine.

The repose of Number 17 has, however, within this past week or two, been rather roughly shaken. Three or four Cabinet Councils in as many days cannot be agreeable to tradesmen whose business profits are mixed up with politics. They are, naturally enough, startled by indications of decision or indecision among their patrons. Our cornmongers are afraid Sir Robert Peel may be of opinion that starvation and remunerating prices may possibly be carried too far. They scent competition, and are accordingly again in arms for the good of the shop. From Wednesday morning's papers, the world learned that Number 17 had met the preceding day, in general committee, and unanimously voted as follows:

"That the secretary be directed to call the attention of the different local Agricultural Protection Associations to a resolution adopted by the Central Society on the 27th of February, 1844, to the effect, 'That it be recommended to the different societies to form for each county, or division of county, a general society, to the committee of which may be added the chairman or the vice-chairman of the different local societies, as *ex officio* members,' with the view of condensing their influence, promoting an unity of action, and of more extensively diffusing information on the real condition of agriculture, and on the consequences to be apprehended from the attacks of its enemies."

"That the present advance in the price of wheat and other grain arises, to a considerable extent, from an unfounded apprehension of inadequate supply, together with the increasing demand for certain agricultural products from several of those Continental states which have heretofore been exporters to this country."

"That the price of grain being (proportionally with the means of the people) lower in this country than in the above Continental states, proves that the protection afforded to the producers of grain in this country is beneficial to the community at large."

"That it is the opinion of this society that the supply of wheat and other grain in this country is not such as to justify alarm, notwithstanding the efforts so industriously made to impress the public mind with a conviction to the contrary; and that the supply will be found sufficient, since the average prices at the present time barely exceed those contemplated as desirable by the framers of the Corn Law of 1842."

"It therefore becomes incumbent upon this society to impress upon the Legislature and the community at large that, since the principle of the present Corn Law, which this society is, by its fundamental rule, bound to support, has been found beneficial to the country, the society will exert itself to maintain that protection inviolate."

"That circulars be addressed to the secretaries of the local Protection Societies, requesting them immediately to call their committees together, and to forward, with as little delay as possible, to the secretary of this society, returns of the amount of this year's crops within their respective districts; viz., whether they exceed, or are below, an average, and to what extent; and in what proportion the potato crops have failed throughout their districts."

"And that they be requested to call the attention of all peers and Members of Parliament representing their interests, or resident within their respective districts, to the necessity of supporting inviolate protection to British agriculture not less than that at present existing."

The facts and logic of this precious document we are not solicitous to criticise. The absurdity of first affirming as true an hypothesis which is afterwards ordered to be investigated by a machinery of committees and returns—voting the "apprehension of inadequate supply," to be "unfounded," and

then begging to be informed of the year's crops, "whether they exceed, or are below, an average, and to what extent"—is of a sort which only one body of men in Great Britain could be guilty of. But look at the moralities and humanities of these gentlemen of Number 17, Old Bond-street. Was there ever a more shameless exhibition of sordid, greedy, and cold-blooded selfishness? At a time when, by their own admission, it is dubious whether the crops of Great Britain "exceed, or are below, an average, and to what extent"—when the worst horrors of famine, with pestilence in its train, are impending over Ireland—these men have their heads full of the 56s. They can think of nothing but "average prices." Those who would feed the hungry are their "enemies." Measures against famine are "attacks" on them. They must and will be "protected" from bread. Not a syllable of lamentation or regret at the prospect of the terrific calamity that menaces four millions of their fellow men and fellow subjects. Not a whisper of Ireland. Ireland may eat sea-weed, if you will but please to "support inviolate protection to British agriculture not less than that at present existing." They have got their famine at last, after long waiting—it is a legitimate famine, "barely exceeding that contemplated as desirable by the framers of the Corn Law of 1842"—and they mean to make their penny by it.

The ancient Spartans taught their children lessons of sobriety, by ocular demonstration, on the persons of their slaves, of the brutal and loathsome phenomena of drunkenness. On the same principle—that virtue grows out of the recoil of disgust from vice—might we send our ingenious British youth to Number 17, Old Bond-street, to learn justice and humanity in the school of landlordism.

AGGRAVATIONS OF THE SLIDING-SCALE.

If Lord Glenelg's Corn Law chastised the people with whips, that of Sir Rehoboam Peel is likely to chastise them with scorpions. His sliding-scale is just coming into operation, and four cabinet councils held in the short space of eight days abundantly prove that he is not quite easy while witnessing the operations of his handiwork. His rests, ingeniously and confessedly designed to check speculation, have had the desired effect; they have prevented the merchants from importing corn to feed the people. His scale of duties has driven abroad a portion of the grain imported to eke out our scanty supplies, and what high duties have driven away will require very high prices to bring back. A semi-official announcement of the premier's intention to do nothing at the present exigency appeals to the low state of the averages as a proof that there is no pressure of distress; but the low prices arise from the immense amount of inferior wheat which is thrown upon the market: the difference between the cost of the prime and the inferior qualities amounts to about 20s. per quarter; and as the present crop is below the average in quality, the duty as levied at present is equivalent to a tax of 40 per cent. on the wheat of the late harvest; and at the same time this duty prevents the importation of any good corn to mix with the bad. We are thus forced to pay a most iniquitous tax, and at the same time to rest content with inferior and imperfect sustenance.

An allusion was made to this phase of the Corn Laws by Earl Fitzwilliam five years ago, but it is only now that the cruelty of its operation is sensibly felt. The bread-tax is the only Customs-duty levied upon the price of the article raised at home, and not upon the *ad valorem* of the foreign article; when, therefore, we have a harvest of bad quality, its low price becomes the measure of the duty to be imposed on the import of the best wheat, and thus we have at the same time low averages and dear bread. The quality of the corn brought to market forms no element of the calculation by which the operation of the sliding-scale is regulated. Though there is no general scarcity, there is an excessive scarcity of wheat of good quality, and hence the absolute cost of food is raised far beyond the point which the averages would seem to indicate; and

Sir Rehoboam Peel has this year levied a tax upon our provisions double as heavy in reality as it is in appearance.

The very high prices obtained for prime wheat compared with those paid for wheat of middling and inferior quality, show that the supply of the former is very limited. Were importation regulated by the adequateness of the corn to afford sustenance, the duties would not be half their present amount; but the sliding-scale has double precautions for ensuring scarcity, by providing that good wheat must be excluded until hunger drives us to pay high prices for the bad: we must not purchase flour until we have paid the price of flour for the bran. This cruel aggravation of the evils of the Corn Laws is now in active operation before our eyes; it increases present suffering, and removes the prospects of relief to a greater distance. The new markets added by Sir Rehoboam Peel to those which returned the averages under the act of 1828, are precisely the places where the inferior qualities of corn preponderate in the sales: it would almost seem as if one great object of his boasted change was to ensure the protection of bran, for he has so contrived that its cost should be an important element in regulating the price of flour. It was not enough to tax our food; we must now pay a heavy tax in addition for that which we cannot use as food. The great bran interest has come in for a very disproportionate share of the profits accorded to the great corn interest. The food of the labourer must not only be dear, but by the juggle of the sliding-scale it must be bad into the bargain. The price of prime foreign wheat is regulated by that of bad English wheat—an iniquitous absurdity which has no parallel in the commercial history of the world.

TESTIMONIES OF HISTORY AGAINST THE CORN LAWS.

In no part of our legislation have the lessons of experience been so ostentatiously neglected as in the acts for regulating the export and import of provisions. From the first interference with the natural laws of commerce, which as Burke justly observed are "the laws of God," to the last tinkering of the sliding-scale, every promise of good made by the menders of the institutions of Providence has proved delusive, and every apprehension of evil from interference has been more than realised. Legislators have proceeded as if the recognition of principles was but a preliminary to their violation; in the preamble to the Corn-statute of 1534, it is stated that "Forasmuch as dearth, scarcity, cheapness, and plenty of victual, happeneth, riseth and chanceth of so many and divers reasons, that it is very hard and difficult to put any prices to such things," and then the enacting part quietly contradicts the preamble, by ordaining that prices should be fixed by the Lords of the Council, and made known by proclamation. This is probably the earliest specimen of Free Trade doctrines in the abstract in our records; it was the precedent for a speech, declaring that men ought to buy in the cheapest, and sell in the dearest market, and putting the sliding-scale as a corollary to this proposition. The early legislation aimed at two inconsistent objects, which are thus stated in Elizabeth's statute of 1571, "That the regulations should not be hurtful to the country by means of dearth, or too great a hinderance to tillage by reason of too much cheapness;" and we find that the laws to prevent "too much cheapness" were always altered when any unexpected event caused their pressure to be felt.

We have, however, important evidence to prove that this dreaded cheapness led to results of great practical advantage to agriculturists. There was a succession of good harvests in England from 1617 to 1621, and though the low price of provisions at first affected rents, the cheapness soon produced the compensating effect of raising the standard of diet among the working-classes; they are described in pamphlets of the day as "traversing the markets to find out the finest wheats, for none else would serve their use, though before they were glad of the coarser rye-bread." This was a most valuable because a most natural stimulus to production; the finest

wheat is of course that which demands the largest amount of artificial cultivation; it is the produce which gives most employment to the labourer, and yields most profit to the farmer. But in order to raise the finest wheat, the agricultural speculator must have command over the supplies of inferior grain; he must have a large stock of cattle to furnish artificial stimulants to his soil, and he must have abundant food for them and for his labourers. But the legislators of that day looked to the general average of prices, not to the price obtained for the superior; and in 1670, a heavy duty was imposed on the importation of foreign corn. In the following year, Roger-Coke thus described the result:—"The ends designed by the Acts against the importation of Irish cattle, of raising the rents of the lands of England, are so far from being attained, that the contrary has ensued." And he elsewhere declares that a great deal of land had been thrown out of cultivation.

This portion of our history has been rather neglected; but it abundantly proves that the raising of the standard of diet among the people is the necessary result of cheapness of provisions, and that this elevation of the standard is the best possible incentive to agricultural improvement. It must further be remarked that the finest and best wheat, being an eminently artificial production, depends less on the accidents of weather than the inferior grains; it is because the inferiority of our climate compels us largely to employ the resources of art that we have suffered less by this calamitous season than other countries more favoured by the sun.

The system of granting bounties on the export of corn was established immediately after the Revolution; the act of 1670 had secured to the English corn-growers the sole supply of the home-market, but as this did not keep down prices in years of abundance, bounties were introduced to prevent the overstocking of the market. The law was framed on calculations of continued good harvests, but seasons of dearth followed, and the bounties were suspended, changed, and altered, with every variation of season. It is only necessary to remark that years of cheapness were always years of prosperity. In the ten years ending Jan. 1751, the average price of wheat was under 30 shillings per quarter, and Malthus has remarked that as food fell wages rose, and Hallam describes the reign of George II. as the most prosperous period that England had ever experienced. In 1773 a new corn act was passed in which the restrictions on import were greatly relaxed; the preamble states that it had been found frequently necessary to suspend the former laws when supplies were short and crops scanty, and that in consequence of the evils produced by such fluctuations, it was necessary that a permanent law on the corn trade should afford encouragement to the farmer, be the means of increasing the growth of that necessary commodity, and of affording a cheaper and more constant supply to the poor. By law, foreign corn was admitted at a duty of sixpence per quarter, when the price of middling wheat rose to 48 shillings; bounties were withheld, and exportation prohibited when the price was at or above 44 shillings. During the 18 years that this law remained in force, prices fluctuated less than at any similar period in our history. Imports, however, gradually increased, and the bounties formerly derived from exports ceased to be paid to the corn-growers. The cry of dependence on foreigners was raised; and in 1791 the landlords compelled Mr. Pitt very reluctantly to consent to a law imposing a duty of 24 shillings when wheat was under 50 shillings per quarter. This attempt to prohibit import was followed by a far greater amount of importation than had taken place under the comparatively free system of 1773. In 1795 not only were the ports thrown open, but large bounties were offered for the import of wheat; and neutral vessels laden with corn were seized on the high seas, and the masters compelled to sell their cargoes to the agents of the Government.

Thus was exhibited that test of Corn Law restrictions which is about to be repeated before our eyes. These restrictions are found untenable at the

moment of severe pressure, while their previous operation is felt to have seriously aggravated the evils of such a contingency. The prohibitory duty of 1791 could not be maintained in the face of the famine of 1795; but the opening of the ports coming unexpectedly, no preparations had been made to supply the market, and it was necessary to tempt foreigners by enormous bounties to give us some portion of their stock. The very same scenes were re-enacted in 1799 and 1800, but the three following years of good harvests brought plenty and cheapness, whereupon a new clamour was raised for more stringent protection.

Comparing the operations of the law of 1773 and 1791, it will be found that under the comparatively free system, there was but little fluctuation of price, that bad harvests were almost insensibly counteracted by the silent effects of regular trade, and that imports kept the market steady, though never of so large an amount as to interfere with the fair profits of the home-grower. On the contrary, under the law of 1791, prices rose in 18 months from 50s. to 130s. per quarter; every period of scarcity ran rapidly onward to famine; imports were then not merely permitted, but were purchased at enormous sacrifices; and in no one instance did the advance of wages keep pace with the price of food.

In spite of all this evidence, the legislators of 1804 adopted a more stringent Corn Law than that of 1791; but we were forced to import 400,000 quarters of wheat from France in 1809, and in 1810 our imports of grain exceeded two millions of quarters. Prices ranged very high during the whole period of the war; but just at its close there came three good harvests in succession, and low prices once more became the pretext for a more stringent Corn Law, by which the ports were to be closed until wheat reached the price of 80s. per quarter. The object of this law was palpably and even confessedly to keep up high prices and high rents by artificial scarcity. But the real difficulty of such legislation escaped the notice of its authors. In seasons of abundance, Nature would virtually repeal the law by rendering the importation of corn unnecessary, and then the farmers who had engaged to pay high rents on the faith of high prices must be ruined; in seasons of scarcity foreign corn must be had at all hazards. This law had a very slight ordeal of scarcity; but from 1820 to 1822 it had to endure the test of abundance, and therefore the cry of agricultural distress was raised, and the Corn Law of 1822 was substituted for it. In 1826, however, it was necessary to pass a temporary act for the admission of foreign grain; in the May of the following year, all the bonded corn was released by Parliament, and in the September of the same year (1827) the ports were opened for grain until 40 days after the next meeting of Parliament.

It was evident that this law would not work; it had been compelled to give way to the force of circumstances in three successive years, and a change was on all hands confessed to be necessary. A plan devised by Canning was defeated by the Duke of Wellington, but a temporary act was passed, by which 572,000 quarters of grain were admitted at an average duty of more than 20s. per quarter.

In 1828, Mr. Charles Grant proposed and carried a new sliding-scale, which gave just as little satisfaction as any of the former measures; it neither prevented fluctuation in prices nor agricultural distress, while it had a marked tendency to encourage the production of inferior grain in preference to the finer kinds of wheat. The quantities of inferior quality sold at low prices kept down the averages, and thus prevented the importation of sound foreign wheat, except at the most extravagant prices. The injurious operation of this sliding-scale has been so often exposed, that we need not here dwell upon the subject. It was vainly assailed by Lord John Russell in 1841, and was thrown overboard by Sir Robert Peel in 1842, who gave us in its stead a triplicity of regulations—that is to say, a foreign sliding-sale, a colonial sliding-scale, and a fixed duty on corn and flour from Canada.

The melancholy history of legislative interference through which we have gone shows that Corn Laws, instead of regulating supply, have been found dis-

turbing forces when brought actively into operation. It has always been found necessary to change or suspend those laws just at the moment that they began to work. While good, or tolerably good harvests allowed us to live under the laws of Providence, artificial restrictions were a dead letter; but so soon as the seasons caused these restrictions to be felt, they were set aside and counteracted by the most costly and clumsy expedients. Since 1688, there has been a change in the law about every five years; and more frequently if we take into account such measures as permitting corn to be ground in bond, &c. There has been no fixity or permanence in the corn trade, and no security in agriculture. There has been a tendency to lower the general standard of diet, and to throw the poor more and more on the use of the potato; and we are now testing the law of 1842 as rigidly as that of 1822 was tested, by the ordeal of admitted scarcity, and not improbable famine.

We cannot mend the laws of Providence. Sir Robert Peel, with such evidence of failure as the potato-crop in Ireland affords him, must be thoroughly convinced that it is dangerous for a Minister to take upon himself the attributes of Omniscience. He had a long list of failures before him. The history of the Corn Laws is indeed nothing more than a dreary record of failures. He is once more called upon to legislate; and history has been written in vain if it has not taught the peril of legislating on the supply of food to a people in the direction of limitations. We are brought to a position in which these limitations are found to include undesigned severities of the most fearful character. We have met a dread contingency after having cast away and frustrated the Providential arrangements for mitigating its consequences. If, after such a warning, we again set up men to legislate against the ordinances of the Creator, we shall be regarded as a people whom experience could not instruct, whom dangers could not warn, and whom even suffering failed to rouse to a sense of their condition.

FAMILIAR LECTURES ON THE ELEMENTS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

BY THE EDITOR.

No. IX.

CHEAP PRODUCTION.

We have shown that some accumulation of capital is necessary to provide for almost every kind of production, and that large capitals are required to effect economy of production, or, in other words, to prevent any waste of time or labour. Now it is a common doctrine among the sentimentalists, and one which the writers of the *Morning Post* have set forth very frequently, that every saving in the cost of production is effected at the cost of the producers. This statement involves the fallacy that producers and consumers are different classes of society, when, in point of fact, every producer is himself a consumer, and that a great proportion of the consumers in this country must be ranked as producers. It is said that a high price of corn must be maintained for the sake of the agricultural labourers who are employed in its production; but when we come to compare their gain in wages as producers with their loss from the enhanced price they pay for provisions as consumers, we shall find that the balance of loss grievously preponderates.

The legislature has virtually prohibited cheapness of production in food, for to the consumer the merchant who imports food is as much a producer as the farmer who raises it at home: the prohibition, therefore, of production, in the form of importation, is an increase to the cost of production on our own soil. Were this a sound system of management, the agricultural labourers ought to be more comfortable and better fed than any portion of the labouring community. But is this the case? On the contrary, it is undeniable that the standard of food has been deteriorated in the agricultural districts, that the high price of corn has driven the labourer to look to potatoes as a substitute for bread, and that he has thus been pressed down to an average of support beyond which there lies nothing but famine, despair, and death. The labourer would not have had recourse to potatoes if he could have afforded to purchase bread; the raising of the cost of the production has, therefore, excluded him from the consumption of that which he has himself produced: he is as effectually excluded from the eating of bread as the silk-weaver from the wearing of satin.

Let us now take the case of operatives employed in a

branch of manufacture where the cost of production has been greatly diminished. In the cotton trade cheapness of production has been making steady progress for more than half a century, and yet the operatives employed have been as steadily increasing in wages and advancing in comforts. The operatives are, to a large extent, consumers of their own produce; and as consumers they find more advantage from having cotton dresses cheap than they would as producers from their becoming dear.

We have before said that there are many people in the world who think that wages are discretionary, and that the price of labour may be regulated by something independent of demand and supply. In fact the cry for "protection to labour," and the variety of a "protection to native industry," not unfrequently meet our ears at the present hour. At the risk of being charged with repetition, we must be permitted again to show, that what is called "protection to labour" would lead by a certain and direct process to the ruin of the operative. A capitalist, or master-manufacturer, must either pay wages out of his capital or his profits; if he is forced to pay it out of his capital, his ability to give employment must rapidly diminish, until it is finally exhausted, and then his factory must close, for no other capitalist will embark in a business which yields no return. Wages, then, must be legitimately derived from profits, and profits can only be obtained from sales. The extent of sale will depend on the ability of consumers to buy, and on the ability of the seller to meet other sellers in the market, and dispose of his goods at as low a price as his competitors. Even if all foreign competition was excluded, a small rise in the price of an article would greatly limit its consumption, or, in other words, diminish the sales, which sales are to give the profits, which profits are to give the wages. An instance of this occurred during the war when a stamp-duty was imposed upon hats; though it was small in amount, we have been assured by persons engaged in the trade that it diminished the consumption of hats more than one-half; and that even persons of fortune made it a subject of boast that they could wear "a shocking bad hat" for months without being tempted to purchase a new one. The number of hatters thrown out of employment was consequently very great, and we are assured that in one town two-thirds of the journeymen hatters enlisted for soldiers within a single year. Now, precisely the same result would follow if, by any combination of workmen, an addition was made to the cost of production, and, consequently, to the selling price of printed calicoes, muslins, gingham, &c.; patched and mended gowns would multiply; new dresses would be diminished in the same proportion; and even if the trades-unions succeeded in maintaining the rate of wages, they would greatly diminish the amount of employment, for in their worst madness they never dreamed of anything so preposterous as asking for an act of Parliament to compel manufacturers to engage or keep more workmen than they could profitably employ.

But the evil would be incalculably aggravated if foreign competitors appeared in the market able to undersell the English manufacturer; and to this danger there is generally a wilful and obstinate blindness equally astonishing and deplorable. It has been hinted that the master-manufacturer could be "protected." But is there any conceivable system of protection which would give them superiority in foreign markets? Will a Brazilian pay a higher price for the same article to an Englishman than to a Frenchman, a German, or an American? Here the rise of price would put an end to sales, profits, and wages, in a single blow.

In fact, the amount of profits will determine the number of masters that can be tempted to enter into any given business, and, consequently, it will determine the amount for the specific labour which that business requires in the labour-market; and thus the whole question comes to the plain common-sense principle, "when two masters are looking for a man wages will be high, and when two men are looking for a master wages will be low."

But we must advance a step further, and inquire by what means cheapness of production is effected. We agree with the sentimentalists that the result is obtained by substituting tools and machinery for mere manual labour. But these implements do not work of themselves; they derive their applications from the agency and superintendence of men, and these men require an amount of training and instruction which would not be necessary where mere manual labour was required. A demand is thus raised for skilled labour; "the counter-control to the absorbing power of capital is the equally absorbing power of skill—for that also is capital. Knowledge is power, because knowledge is property."

All industrial employments are undertaken not for the sake of setting the producers to work, but to furnish articles to consumers; in other words, there is no abstract value in labour until it is invested in the results of labour. The only question, then, to be determined

is, whether these results are more valuable when they combine abundance with cheapness, or when they combine scarcity with dearness. We have already shown the solution which experience supplies, and we have only to inquire whether the sentimentalists have made out any case for the limitation of the principle; and here again we must be indebted to Mr. Knight.

"Those who have taken a superficial view of the question of machinery say, that only whenever there is a greater demand than the existing means can supply; every new discovery in mechanics is a benefit to society, because it gives the means of satisfying the existing wants; but that, on the contrary, whenever the things produced are sufficient for the consumers, the discovery is a calamity, because it does not add to the enjoyments of the consumers; it only gives them a better market, which better market is bought at the price of the existence of the producers."

"All such reasoning is false in principle, and unsupported by experience. There is no such thing, nor, if machines went on improving for five hundred years at the rate they have done for the last century, could there be any such thing, as a limit to the wants of the consumers. The great mass of facts which we have brought together in this book must have shown that the cheaper an article of necessity becomes, the more of it is used; that when the most pressing wants are supplied, and supplied amply by cheapness, the consumer has money to lay out upon new wants; that when these new wants are supplied cheaply, he goes on again and again to other new wants; that there are no limits, in fact, to his wants as long as he has any capital to satisfy them. Bear in mind this, that the first great object of every invention and every improvement is to confer a benefit upon the consumers,—to make the commodity cheap and plentiful. The working-man stands in a double character—he is both a producer and a consumer. But we will be bold to say that the question of cheapness of production is a much more important question to be decided in his favour as a consumer, than the question of dearness of production to be decided in his favour as a producer. The truth is, every man tries to get as much as he can for his own labour, and to pay as little as he can for the labour of others. If a mechanic, succeeding in stopping the machine used in his own trade, by any strange deviation from the natural course of things were to get higher wages for a time, he himself would be the most injured by the extension of the principle. When he found his loaf cost him two shillings instead of one—when he was obliged to go to the river with his bucket for his supply of water—when his coals cost a guinea a bushel instead of eighteenpence—when he was told by the hosier, that his worsted stockings were advanced from a shilling a pair to five shillings—when, in fact, the price of every article that he uses should be doubled, trebled, and, in nine cases out of ten, put beyond the possibility of attainment—what, we ask, would be the use to him of his advance in wages? Let us never forget that it is not for the employment of labourers, but for the benefit of consumers, that labour is employed at all. The steam-engines are not working in the coal-pits of Northumberland, and the ships sailing from the Tyne to the Thames, to give employment to colliers and to sailors, but to make coals cheap in London. If the people of London could have the coals without the steam-engines and the ships, it would be better for them and better for the rest of the world. If they could get coals for nothing, they would have more produce to exchange for money to spend upon other things; and the comforts, therefore, of every one of us would be increased."

"This increase of comfort, some may say, is a question that more affects the rich than it affects the great mass. This again is a mistake. The whole tendency of the improvements of the last four hundred years has not only been to lift the meanest, in regard to a great many comforts, far above the condition of the rich four hundred years ago, but absolutely to place them, in many things, upon a level with the rich of their own day. They are surrounded, as we have constantly shown throughout this book, with an infinite number of comforts and conveniences which had no existence two or three centuries ago; and those comforts and conveniences are not used only by a few, but are within the reach of almost all men. Every day is adding something to our comforts. Our houses are better built—our clothes are cheaper—we have a number of domestic utensils, whose use even was unknown to our ancestors—we can travel cheaply from place to place, and not only travel at less expense, but travel ten times quicker than the richest man could travel two hundred years ago. The bulk of society is not only advancing steadily to the same level in point of many comforts with the rich, but is gaining that knowledge which was formerly their exclusive possession. Let all of us who are producers keep fast hold of that last and best power."

"We have endeavoured to show throughout this

book that the one great result of machinery, and of every improvement in art, is to lessen the cost of production—to increase the benefit to the consumer. But it is a most fortunate arrangement of the social state, as we have also shown, that cheap production gives increased employment. The same class of false reasoners who consider that the wants of society are limited, cry out, it is better to have a population of men than of steam-engines. That might be true if the steam-engines *did* put out the men; but inasmuch as they increase the productions by which men are maintained, they increase the men. What has increased the population of England nearly tenfold during the last five hundred years, but the improvement of the arts of life, which has enabled more men to live within the land? There is no truth so clear, that as the productions of industry multiply, the means of acquiring those productions multiply also. The productions which are created by one producer furnish the means of purchasing the productions created by another producer; and in consequence of this double production, the necessities of both the one and the other are better supplied. The multiplication of produce multiplies the consumers of produce. There are probably, upon the average, no more hats made in the year than there are heads to wear them; but as there are sixteen millions of heads of the British subjects of Queen Victoria, and there were only five millions of the British subjects of Queen Anne, it is self-evident that the hat-makers have three times as much work as they had a century and a quarter ago. What has given the hat-makers three times as much work? The trebling of the population. And what has trebled the population? The trebling of produce—the trebling of the means of maintaining that population."

We have seen that cheapness of production benefits producers in their capacity of consumers; that it benefits them by extending the demand for their productions so as greatly to exceed the loss sustained by reduction of price; and that it benefits them by opening to them a market for skill and intelligence as well as for manual labour. Now the acknowledged purpose of every monopoly is to raise the cost of production, and to deprive producers of all the advantages we have enumerated.

Why, then, it may be asked, do many classes of producers clamour for protection and monopoly? The reason is plain; they look only to the profits to be obtained from the sale of the stock on hand, and do not take into consideration the re-production of that stock, and the chances of its future consumption. Should the restrictions on the import of foreign corn be maintained during the coming year, in presence of the scarcity which there is now too much reason to apprehend, the holders of corn will this year get very high prices for their stocks, but the agriculturists as a body will be exposed to a certain and almost a ruinous re-action in succeeding years, from the increased cost of their own consumption, from the increased cost of the re-production of the next harvest, and from the diversion of their capital to corn-cultivation from other forms of tillage. When the price of corn rises, the farmer not only pays an enhanced price for the food of his family, but also for the food of his cattle; and we would not hesitate to say that in many instances the loss on this kind of stock more than counterbalanced the gain on the price of corn.

Cheapness of production from import would lead to cheapness of production by home-growth. The fertilising effects resulting from the keeping of cattle have not yet been fully tried in England on account of the artificial increase in the cost of provender; maize or Indian corn, for instance, which could not profitably be grown at home, could be advantageously imported, and in its results it would become a valuable agent in the production of wheat. The *Times* some weeks ago, in a very able article showed how much more than is generally supposed the production of corn depends on the consumption of corn; we could easily give further illustrations of this important truth, but we wish to confine ourselves to the point which we undertook to demonstrate, that economy of production inflicts no injury on producers.

IMPROVEMENT.—It is impossible for an additional blade of corn to spring from the earth, for a new product to be created by industry, or a new act to be discovered by philosophy, without a consequent benefit, resulting through the whole chain of civilised connection.—*Sir C. Morgan.*

A HINT TO EDUCATION OBSTRUCTORS.—It is vain now to say that questions of religion and politics are above the understanding of the poorer classes: so they may be, but they are not above their *misunderstanding*, and they will talk and talk about them, so that they had best be taught to think and talk rightly.—*Dr. Arnold.*

VIENNA, OCT. 25.—According to statistical accounts, the population of the Austrian empire has increased at the rate of 21 per cent. during the last 25 years, being at present more than 38 millions of souls. Two millions belonging to the regiment in garrison here were executed this morning for the murder of a Jew, whom they had previously robbed.

THE POTATO DISEASE IN IRELAND.

On Monday afternoon, at three o'clock, a mixed deputation from the Dublin corporation and committee, appointed at the public meeting held on Friday last, waited upon the Lord Lieutenant by appointment. The deputation consisted of the Lord Mayor, the Duke of Leinster, Lord Cloncurry, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. H. Grattan, and several others. The Lord Mayor read a series of resolutions which had been previously submitted to the Lord Lieutenant. His Excellency read his reply from a written paper, as follows:

"My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen,—It can scarcely be necessary for me to assure you that the state of the potato-crop has for some time occupied, and still occupies, the most anxious attention of the Government.

"Scientific men have been sent over from England to co-operate with those of this country in endeavouring to investigate the nature of the disease, and, if possible, to devise means to arrest its progress. They have not yet terminated their inquiries; but two reports have already been received from them, which have been communicated to the public.

"The Government is also furnished with constant reports from the stipendiary magistrates, and inspectors of constabulary, who are charged to watch the state of the potato disease, and the progress of the harvest. These vary from day to day, and are often contradictory; it will therefore be impossible to form an accurate opinion of the whole extent of the evil till the digging of the potatoes shall be further advanced. To decide, under such circumstances, upon the most proper measures to be adopted would be premature, particularly as there is reason to hope that, though the evil exists to a very great extent in some localities, in others it has but partially manifested itself.

"There is no immediate pressure on the market. I will, however, lose no time in submitting your suggestions to the consideration of the Cabinet. The greater part of them can only be enforced by legislative enactment, and all require to be maturely weighed before they can be adopted. It must be clear to you that in a case of such great national importance no decision can be taken without a previous reference to the responsible advisers of the Crown."

When the deputation was about to withdraw, Mr. O'Connell, addressing his Excellency, said that with reference to one of the resolutions passed by the committee—that which referred to the stoppage of distillation—he was afraid that there was a serious difficulty to be got over before its adoption, namely, the injury it would be to the trader who had advanced his capital in the purchase of corn, spirits, &c.

The Lord-Lieutenant briefly replied, that the observation of the gentleman who had spoken was one deserving of much consideration, and one which had not been overlooked by the Government when they had the matter under discussion. The deputation then withdrew.

The *Dublin Evening Post* of Tuesday publishes a supplement, containing a vast body of information on the potato disease, from various parts of Ireland. Commenting on the accounts, that well-informed journal says:

The accounts present the same characteristics as heretofore. They are contradictory, almost conflicting, but we are bound to say that they are, upon the whole, more favourable than we were led from previous communications to expect. The weather doubtless has contributed to this encouraging tone. Indeed, that has been all which the most sanguine could expect, or the most religious could pray for. If the crop can now be saved, doubtless the fineness of the season for the last ten or twelve days must prove the best of doctors. But we must remember that we are not yet over the bridge. We have an anxious month before us, and three weeks at least must elapse before we shall have the satisfaction of congratulating the public on the salvation of two-thirds of the crop. We should observe also, that the corn-markets at present are stationary, and rather down—evidently under the impression of a defective potato-crop. Old oats, that which furnishes the best meal for human food, are now 17s. a barrel—a circumstance, we rather think, totally unprecedented in the presence of the new harvest, that harvest being, we are assured on all hands, one of the most abundant ever gathered in Ireland. New oats are about 14s. a barrel. In short, the only article of consumption that remains at a comparatively low figure is the potato.

A WARNING TO SIR R. PEEL!

The *Dublin Evening Post* of Tuesday, a paper of great influence, and one which has hitherto held back from the Repeal movement, has the following striking passage in an able article on the threatened potato famine:

"It does seem to us a shocking and disgraceful fact, and quite sufficient to create the disaffection which every one deprecates, that there is at this moment, when the people are clamouring for bread, a protective duty against the importation of wheat. John Bull may agitate, but will not act until he is pinched with hunger, and Patrick may enjoy the liberty of bawling, but the means which might possibly relieve the latter, who is beginning already to feel the approach of want, are denied, because, forsooth, an Act of Parliament is necessary to open the Ports. But the Ports might be opened, notwithstanding—the Queen's signature to an Order in Council would effect the object if it would be inconvenient to assemble Parliament before Christmas. This we know—and as non-repealers we are anxious to declare it—that a DOMESTIC LEGISLATURE, IF CALLED TOGETHER, WOULD SETTLE THE QUESTION IN THREE DAYS—and it would be assembled, if, indeed, the unanimous voice of the country were allowed to prevail. For Heaven's sake, let not an argument gathered from our present peril be added to those already in circulation in favour of repeal. If this hint be neglected, we are satisfied that many who are now wavering will embrace the principle of a resident Parliament. And who can blame them? We, certainly, shall not be amongst the number."

LANDS IN TEXAS.—The following items respecting the public lands of Texas are derived from a public document from the Land Office, laid before the Convention of the Republic:

Superficies of Texas 254,281,166 acres.
Total amount subject to location and unsurveyed 181,991,403 "

According to this, six states, each of the size of Virginia, may be formed out of Texas.—*American Paper.*

OPENING OF THE PORTS.

The Directors of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce forwarded, on the 22d ult., a memorial, of which the following is a copy, to Sir Robert Peel, as First Lord of the Treasury. We subjoin also the right hon. baronet's reply:

TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART., M.P., FIRST LORD OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, &c. &c.
The Memorial of the Directors of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures, at Manchester,

Sheweth,—That long experience has taught your memorialists that the prosperity of the cotton trade mainly depends upon the price of food; that an abundant and cheap supply of the first necessities of life has never failed to be coincident with increased employment and a higher rate of wages, whilst dearness and scarcity of provisions have as invariably been attended with a diminished demand for labour and a reduction of the earnings of the working-class.

That the cost of wheat flour and oatmeal has risen fully 50 per cent. within a few months, and the price of potatoes is kept down only by the eagerness with which the growers force them upon the market, on account of their inferior quality, and from a fear that they will decay; which increases the danger of future deficiency; whilst the reported failure of the crop in many parts of Ireland adds a fearful gloom over the prospects of that portion of the empire, in whose fate this country is indissolubly involved. From these facts your memorialists fear that a period of scarcity and privation is impending, which may endanger the well-being of this district, and subject the surrounding population to a repetition of those sufferings from which they have so recently emerged.

That, under these circumstances, your memorialists beg leave respectfully to urge upon your attention the necessity of devising some means of securing a sufficient supply of food for the people. In the opinion of your memorialists, often expressed to the Government and the Legislature, that object would have been best secured by removing, at a former period, all restrictions upon the trade in corn, believing that the enterprise and capital of our merchants, which have accumulated in our warehouses a stock of cotton equal to eight months' consumption, would have made a similar provision against a casual deficiency of food, had corn, like cotton, been left to the unimpeded operations of commerce. But so long as a law is maintained to prevent the regular exchange of our manufactures for foreign grain—virtually deterring other nations from providing for our wants, and prohibiting our capitalists from storing up a supply for future emergencies—so long as such a law is enforced, the Government invests itself with the responsibility of securing a sufficient supply of food at all times for the people.

Your memorialists call your attention to the difficulties which present themselves at the present moment, arising from the scarcity of food in Holland and Belgium, in parts of Germany, and even in portions of Russia. Those countries, which in former periods of scarcity ministered to our wants, are now competing for the scanty stocks in more distant markets. But their Governments have wisely and humanely offered facilities for the importation of food, which are denied in this country; their merchants are forestalling us in the grain markets everywhere, not excepting our own shores.

That, under these circumstances, your memorialists are of opinion that it becomes the duty of Government to open the ports for the free admission of food of all kinds. The success even of this decisive remedy depends mainly upon the promptitude with which it is applied, and therefore your memorialists urge the imperative necessity of adopting it without delay, by means of an order in Council; and they feel assured that such an act, dictated alike by prudence, justice, and humanity, would have the sanction of Parliament and the enthusiastic approval of the nation.

THOS. BAZLEY, President.

Whitehall, October 27th, 1845.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the memorial of the Directors of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures, at Manchester, which bears date the 22d of October.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Thos. Bazley, Esq. ROBERT PEEL.

(From the *Norwich Mercury*.)

This city has not been backward in taking steps in support of an order in Council for the relief of bonded corn. This week the following memorial has been signed by nearly 500 of the most respectable inhabitants of this city.

TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR R. PEEL.
The Memorial of the undersigned Inhabitants of the city of Norwich,

Sheweth,—That your memorialists partake in the general alarm excited by the failure of the potato crops, and the deficiency in the wheat crops which have occurred simultaneously in Great Britain and Ireland, and in many of the nations of the Continent of Europe.

That the scarcity and consequent privation to the poor throughout her Majesty's dominions, to be apprehended from these causes, will be felt with peculiar severity in the city of Norwich.

That the operatives of this city have just emerged from a lengthened period of distress, unexampled in the memory of any living citizen, if not unparalleled in the history of civilised countries—a distress which, though borne with patient fortitude, has in many instances induced a condition of slow starvation—a distress which the Poor Law, and the utmost efforts of private charity, have been found alike utterly inefficient to relieve—a distress, in the recollection of which, your memorialists cannot look backward without affliction; nor forward, under present circumstances, without absolute dismay.

That the rate of wages now earned by these operatives—a rate not likely to be soon raised, and not certain to be long continued—is but barely sufficient to sustain life; the impending advance in the price of food must therefore plunge them during the coming winter into aggravated want. Necessity, it is said, has no law; the present emergency, as it appears to your memorialists, calls imperatively for the temporary suspension of that law which limits the supply of food.

For the sake of warding off as far as possible the anticipated sufferings of the poor citizens of Norwich, as well as the distress which is threatened to their fellow-subjects in Ireland, and in other parts of the empire, your memorialists entreat her Majesty's Government to suspend, for such time as they may deem expedient, all DUTIES ON IMPORTED ARTICLES OF FOOD.

(From the *Dundee Advertiser*.)

A meeting of the Town Council was held on Friday at noon. Present—Provost Brown; Baines Moyes and Hean;

Dean of Guild Thoms; Messrs. P. H. Thoms, Thomas Cuthbert, Charles Smith, Alexander Easson, James Webster, W. G. Baxter, Alexander Low, Edward Urquhart, William Harris, J. B. Rattray, Alexander Moncur, and John Couper. The Provost was in the chair.

Mr. W. Thoms took the customary oaths and his seat as Dean of Guild.

Provost Brown, before the commencement of the regular business, adverted to the alarming failure of the potato crop. He had made particular inquiry into the subject—at the principal dealers in Dundee as well as at competent individuals in the surrounding districts, and all were of opinion that fully half the crop had been destroyed by disease. Under such circumstances, it was impossible to know the consequences, if a supply of food were not obtained from abroad. He had therefore prepared a resolution on the subject, to be inserted in the council records, and a memorial to the Lords of her Majesty's Treasury, praying them to issue an order for the admission of provisions from other countries, free of duty. The Provost then read the resolution and memorial. The following is a copy of the memorial:

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY.

The Memorial and Petition of the Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council, of the Royal Burgh of Dundee,

Humbly sheweth,—That your memorialists consider it their duty to represent to your lordships that a great calamity has befallen this part of the United Kingdom, by the failure of the present year's crop of potatoes, which constitute a very large proportion of the food of the lower classes.

Your memorialists have made extensive inquiries in this place and neighbourhood, and the result of these inquiries is a conviction that more than one half of the crop of potatoes is already affected by the disease, and that it is still spreading in such a manner as to cause apprehensions that almost the whole crop will be lost. They are informed by persons of experience that there will not be one-fourth of the usual quantity left at the end of December, and that it is doubtful if any can be preserved for seed till next spring.

Under these circumstances, your memorialists would humbly suggest to your Lordships that it becomes absolutely necessary, in order to prevent great distress, if not famine, among the lower classes, that an Order of Council should be immediately issued, permitting the importation of corn, and all sorts of vegetable food, free of duty. It is said that there have been abundant crops in the United States, and in the British colonies of North America. Were it immediately known that corn might be imported into this country free of duty, a supply would be obtained from these countries before next spring, and thus a great deal of distress and misery prevented.

May it therefore please your Lordships to take this memorial into consideration, and grant the relief suggested therein; and your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Dean of Guild Thoms said, that the Council were much indebted to the Provost for bringing the subject under their notice, and for the trouble he had taken in collecting information. In a case affecting the food of the people, they should sink all minor differences. He would therefore heartily second the adoption of the resolution and memorial, and propose a vote of thanks to the Provost for the trouble he had taken in the matter.

Without a remark from any other member, these propositions were unanimously agreed to.

(From the Ayr Advertiser.)

The counties, hand in hand with the corporations in Scotland, must advise the precaution; and, to its very great credit, foremost amongst the latter has appeared the county of Lanark. The following advertisement appears in Tuesday's *Glasgow Courier*, which we insert as an example to other shires, and in the hope that Ayrshire may be amongst the first to follow:—

COUNTY OF LANARK.

Excerpt from the minutes of a meeting of the commissioners of the county of Lanark, held at Hamilton on the 24th day of October, 1845.

The Right Honourable Lord Belhaven in the chair.

The meeting took under their consideration the alarming disease in the potato crop, which prevails universally in this county, and which appears also to prevail throughout the rest of the United Kingdom, and over a great part of Europe and America. They came to the following resolutions, viz.:—That a general meeting of the county should be called to consider the propriety,

1. Of petitioning her Majesty to throw open the ports for the admission of all kinds of grain, pulse, flour, and other articles of food of a vegetable nature, duty free, and to suspend the use of grain in the distilleries.

2. For the purpose of recommending a disuse of oats, beans, and peas, as far as possible, in the maintenance of horses, and using due economy in the consumption of these articles.

3. For recommending to farmers to lay aside as much of their sound potatoes as will sufficiently serve for seed for the ensuing seed time.

4. For recommending to the farmers to convert all their unsound potatoes into farina or starch.

The meeting request Mr. Brown, and Mr. Marr, the clerk, to communicate this resolution to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant of the county, requesting him to call the meeting, with as little delay as possible.

NEWBURN.—On the evening of Friday last, a public meeting was held in the Town Hall, Bailie James Lyell in the chair, when it was unanimously resolved to memorialise the Government on the necessity of an immediate suspension of the Corn Laws, as a palliative in some measure to the evil that is soon to follow the alarming defalcation in the potato crop. The disease in that valuable esculent is very prevalent in this quarter.—*Peebles Advertiser*.

GLASGOW.—The Commissioners of Police came to the unanimous resolution, on Thursday last, of memorialising her Majesty's Government to open the ports for the admission of all foreign provisions free of any duty, it being argued by the various speakers that with scarcity of provisions comes a lamentable increase of crime.

LEITH.—On Monday the Chamber of Commerce of Leith passed resolutions in favour of opening the ports, and memorialised the Government to that effect.

CORK.—The Cork town council on Saturday unanimously passed the following resolutions: "That the council petition the Government, under the circumstance of the extensive failure of the potato crop, to open the ports for the admission of grain and all descriptions of food." "That the Government may direct any sum or sums of money, by way of loan or security, needful for obtaining such supply of oats, &c., for the use of the poor against the year 1846, to avert

the evil of famine amongst them, which is likely to take place without these precautions."

BELFAST.—The Belfast corporation (almost exclusively Conservative), at a meeting on Saturday, adopted the following resolution by a large majority:—"That a petition be presented to the Queen, praying that under the present circumstances of the anticipated scarcity of food in this country, the ports shall be opened for the free admission of grain, and that distillation from grain be immediately prohibited." The merchants and other inhabitants of Belfast are about to meet for the same object.

THE WEST RIDING AGAIN IN MOTION.

HALIFAX, THURSDAY MORNING.—Last evening the qualification campaign for the West Riding of Yorkshire was recommenced in this town, when the Odd Fellows' Hall was filled with an audience probably unequalled on any former occasion for numbers and enthusiasm. Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright attended, and their entrance into the hall, along with Mr. Jonathan Ackroyd, the chairman, and other gentlemen, was the signal for repeated cheers. The meeting was called for the purpose of renewing the qualification effort of last year, and every man present seemed to feel the stimulus which past success is calculated to afford. After some very appropriate and impressive observations from the chairman, the meeting was addressed by Mr. Cobden, M.P., Mr. Edward Ackroyd; Mr. Plint, of Leeds; and Mr. Bright, M.P. The present position of the country, and of the Free Trade question, formed the great subject of the speeches; every argument met the response which the experience and intelligence of the audience dictated, and the exhortations to a further increase of the register of the West Riding were received with an enthusiasm from which great results may be expected.

At the conclusion of the meeting the chairman stated that the registration committee sit on Tuesdays and Fridays to receive applications for qualifications, and to take measures for securing the property suitable for the purpose.

The meeting concluded with three times three cheers for Free Trade.

Halifax has taken the lead; but we understand that Huddersfield, Bradford, Leeds, and Sheffield, are also on the move.

THE LEAGUE—NEW CAMPAIGN.

(From the Scotsman.)

The League, taking prompt advantage of the present crisis, held a great gathering at Manchester on Tuesday, which should act as an example and a signal to the Free Traders throughout the country. We have made room for the principal portions of the speeches of Messrs. Cobden and Bright, both of which are full of sound advice and stirring appeals. In particular, the address of Mr. Cobden is one of great value, distinguished by all his wonted clearness and vigour, and presenting a striking view of the position in which Free Traders are placed at the present juncture, and the duties to which they are called. Mr. Cobden's warnings not to consider the question of the Corn Laws as settled, because a Lord has written an ambiguous letter, and because the ports are likely to be temporarily opened to stave off a famine, are well-timed and not unneeded. The wavering and embarrassment of the monopolists, and the certainty that circumstances will compel them to a temporary suspension of the Corn Law, should be taken by Free Traders not as guarantees of victory, but as incentives to effort. The monopolists are weaker than they were, but not a whit more willing; and will yield nothing that they can safely or possibly keep. It may, indeed, be set down as certain that the ports are about to be opened, the dreaded scarcity now appearing so near as to admit neither doubt nor delay. All the other countries placed this year in similar positions to Britain, or even in positions far less alarming—Russia, Holland, Belgium, even Turkey—have promptly and timely removed their restrictive laws, and, in some cases, have even resorted to bounties on importation. The Peel Government is, of course, considerably behind with its measure of relief; but in a day or two it will certainly show that, in the forcible phrase of Mr. Cobden, it "has learned Christianity from the Turk, and humanity from the Russian." It is equally certain, however, that the compelled deviation of a monopolist, or at best nondescript, Ministry and Legislature into justice and sense is not likely to be of long duration, unless in one form or another additional force and duration can be given to the compulsion. They will certainly attempt to do in 1845 as they did in 1826, when they suspended the Corn Laws for a few weeks to avert absolute famine, and reimposed them on the very first day on which they could safely venture the step. The people are now, however, better inclined and far better able to resist such a proceeding than they ever were before. The popular mind has been well saturated with the facts and reasonings of the question, and few are now partisans of the Corn Laws save those who imagine that personally they have a special and sinister interest in their maintenance. It would have been impossible in 1826 to get up an agitation of one-fourth the activity and influence of that which can now be brought into operation. Besides this, both the Ministry and the Parliament are far more accessible to the pressure from without than those of 1826. Public opinion now operates more powerfully and immediately on the Legislature (though in this respect there is still room for advance) than in the days of borough-mongering; and Sir Robert Peel is incomparably a more bidable and "squeezable" minister than George Canning. Even, therefore, though no emergency come to their aid, the Free Traders are in an infinitely stronger and more promising position than ever before; and there cannot be the shadow of doubt that the circumstances of the present juncture, and the measures which it will necessitate, will give them a golden opportunity of using their advantages. As we stated a week ago, the probability is, that the reasons necessitating a suspension of the Corn Laws this year may be found in existence next year also, while it is certain that the farmers will not lament the loss of the rent laws, nor the public be inclined to pray for their restoration. It is easier to keep a door shut than to close it again after opening. The League have hitherto been thundering at a shut gate—let it be opened but a little and for a little, and the work will be vastly easier. But let not the mistake be cherished that the work is already done—an opportunity is only given for doing

it, but an opportunity so valuable that to neglect it were no less than treachery to a good and great cause. The time has come not for celebrating the victory, but for commencing what only, if promptly and energetically effected, will prove the decisive assault.

(From the Leeds Mercury.)

At the opening meeting of the Anti-Corn-Law League, at Manchester, on Tuesday last, Mr. Cobden, with his wonted judgment and sagacity, addressed to the assembled Free Traders the language of salutary caution, as well as of encouragement and stimulus. Admitting the probability that the ports would be opened at this alarming crisis, he recommended his hearers not to rely too confidently on a temporary measure, as though it would amount to a repeal of the Corn Laws, but to put themselves in a position that would ensure the attainment of their ultimate object in the entire abolition of the duties on food. Ireland has often been on the verge of famine, and the ports were opened in 1820; but, notwithstanding, the Corn Laws were continued, after the temporary exigency had been removed. It may be so again, if the Free Traders are feeble and unprepared. We want, as Mr. Cobden says, "not the mere opening of the ports, but to set our backs against them, to prevent them from ever being shut again." Neither Lord Ashley's letter nor Mr. Escott's speech assures us of such a consummation. It is by their own strength, resolution, and well-timed activity that the Free Traders must obtain the victory. The threatened dearth, though in itself more lamented by Free Traders than by any others, because they know so well the suffering it will produce, is yet an opportunity to be improved. It affords another illustration of the folly of laws which restrict the trade in human food: and we must avail ourselves of that illustration to strengthen our ranks, and to call forth public opinion with such force that the Minister will not only be encouraged, but compelled, to abandon the Corn Laws.

(From the Bradford Observer.)

The League has met and spoken. On Tuesday evening the great Free Trade Hall in Manchester was crowded, and hundreds could not get in. Mr. Cobden was the first speaker. As our readers may naturally suppose, he soon came to speak of the failure of the potato crop in Ireland. "But we are not," said Mr. Cobden, "come here to-night to exult in the fallen and menacing condition of our unhappy sister island, Ireland. We are come to devise a remedy; and what, I ask, is the natural and obvious remedy against the gaunt famine which threatens a country like Ireland?"

You would say, "Open wide the ports, and admit the bread of the whole world to feed the people." (Cheers.) That is the obvious and natural remedy—that is the remedy which an enlightened despot would at once fly to. Witness Russia, witness Prussia, witness Germany, Holland, and Belgium; these Governments have not waited, but when their people have been threatened with want they have at once thrown open their ports, and in some cases stopped exportation, in order to supply their people with abundance of the first necessities of life. (Hear.) Why has not our Government taken a similar course? Why have they waited to learn Christianity from the Turk, or humanity from the Russian? (Cheers.)

Sir Robert Peel might probably open the ports, under the pressure of circumstances; but Mr. Cobden warned his audience that there was danger of them being shut out again:

Many people now say, "Admitting that Sir Robert Peel opens our ports, and foreign corn comes in, that will not settle the question;" and this is a point that I wish particularly to draw the attention of this meeting to, for I see a disposition upon the part of many of my friends to throw up their caps, and consider this question as settled. (Hear.) I do not exactly see my way to the settlement of this question yet. I wish I did. I do not think the opening of the ports would settle this question. We had the ports opened in '26; but they passed the sliding-scale in '28, with all its horrible iniquities. (Hear.) What I wish to impress upon you now is, that it is not the opening of the ports alone we want, but we want to set our backs against them to prevent them from ever being shut again." (Cheers.)

But for all that the League had done, it had much work yet to do. With famine for an ally; with millions shrieking on the brink of despair, and ready to be swept over with the besom of hunger, they must still work; they themselves must give the Corn Laws the coup de grace, else the serpent would be scotched, not killed. The ports might be temporarily thrown open, but they might depend upon it an attempt would be made to shut them again as soon as possible. The registrations must still be attended to. The 10s. qualification must be worked as efficiently as it was last year. Mr. Cobden hoped that the West Riding of Yorkshire, which had so nobly done its duty this year, would qualify 2000 more by the 31st of January next, and thus save the expense of a contest at the next election. Mr. Henry Ashworth and Mr. Bright were the other speakers. Mr. Ashworth thought that with wheat at 60s., and still tending upwards, it was time to sound the alarm, for they might be assured that they were on dangerous ground. Mr. Bright eloquently urged the meeting not to put their trust in princes. The conversion of a lord here and there would never carry the point. They should remember that there were no conversions among lords before the League became powerful; and when the League was powerful enough to carry a repeal of the Corn Laws without the aid of lords, they would be repealed, but not before.

(From the Macclesfield Chronicle.)

The enormous money engagements to which the country at this moment stands pledged, renders the crisis unspeakably more alarming than it would otherwise have been; and in regard to that contingency especially, the League has all along given the nation most solemn warning. Some telling remarks of Mr. Cobden's, in regard to the bearing of the foot question on the railway interest, will be found in our account of the League meeting, held at Manchester, last Tuesday evening.

(From the Blackburn Mercury.)

The past week, like its predecessor, has been less distinguished by the occurrence of remarkable events, than the symptoms presaging their coming. The public mind has been kept actively employed, although few circumstances have offered themselves to divert it. Reflection on the country's condition and prospects continues all engrossing. The event of the week is the great meeting of the Anti-Corn-Law League, in Manchester; and it is to be regarded as a gigantic indication of the spirit to which we refer. Reflection on the country's prospects furnished the incentive to that great convention, and the topic of discussion.

before it; and truly no topic more important was required, or could have been found better fitted to converse such an immense meeting, and so thoroughly enchain its sympathies, as that which engaged its attention. Its numbers and influence—the topics discussed—the spirit manifested—and above all, the circumstances under which it was summoned—constituted this one of the most imposing demonstrations this extraordinary body has ever made. What a refutation it furnished of the drivelling assertion of the dissolution of the League, lately made so dippantly by some of the Tory organs. Anxiously as Free Traders are constrained to regard the present prospects of the country—their anxiety could not be unmingled with satisfaction and pride. They reviewed their seven years' campaign. Little less than hopelessness distinguished its commencement,—wasting toil and anxiety had marked its progress—and, as Mr. Ashworth observed, "had furrowed the cheeks of old men amongst them," who, were nevertheless ready, if necessary, to re-devote themselves to the arduous work. But the astounding and important evidences of approaching triumph were enough to render apprehension of a renewed campaign of seven years unnecessary. The citadel of the enemy is abandoned by its watchmen, the League has completed the sap of its foundations—the mass totters—it needs but a last, combined, determined effort, to hurl it into ruin. The special object of the meeting appeared from the addresses of the different speakers to warm up the country to make that effort, to prepare for its prolongation if necessary. That the fall of monopoly is at hand, there are strong reasons to believe. Our earnest aspiration is, that its fall may come quickly, and that it may arise no more.

(From the Newcastle Advertiser.)

The Anti-Corn-Law League are once more fairly in the field. They have opened another campaign with unabated earnestness and zeal, at a period when all that appears requisite to secure their unconditional triumph is almost within their immediate reach. Mr. Cobden's address deserves an attentive perusal, as well because it may be regarded as an enunciation of the views of the League on the present crisis, as on account of its admirable and sagacious reasoning. While admitting the desirability and probability of the ports being opened, he cautions the friends of Free-trade not to be satisfied with a measure merely temporary in its character, and urges them to secure a victory so decisive as to prevent the continuance of the Corn Law after the impending danger shall have passed away. Not only must the ports be opened, but we must be able "to prevent them from ever being shut again;" and the most effectual way of doing this is by largely increasing the number of Free Traders on the county registers. The people are pretty well agreed, we conceive, that the hazards, uncertainty, and cruelty of the Corn Law are too monstrous to be tolerated; and all that they have now to do is to make one more united effort, and in the abolition of the Corn Law to pronounce the doom of every other law at variance with the general good. The key-stone out, the fabric will not long remain.

(From the Glasgow Argus.)

The meeting of the League at Manchester, which took place on Tuesday evening, was one of the most telling demonstrations which have as yet been made in behalf of Corn Law repeal. Mr. Cobden's speech is a perfect masterpiece of popular oratory, and told with electric effect upon the thousands who were assembled on the occasion in Free Trade Hall. The gains which a close attention to the registry has secured to the League are perfectly astounding, and are stimulating to exertions in the south of England, which will rescue some of the agricultural counties from the withering blight of monopolist influence. Come when it will, the League will be ready, with its armour on, for the struggle which will universally characterise the next general election.

OUR EXPORTS AND HOME TRADE.

(From the Economist.)

It may be remembered by many of our readers, that in the spring of 1840, immediately after the close of a year of unusual depression in trade, a paper was issued from the pen of Mr. Edward Baines, jun., of Leeds, purporting to prove (what to many appeared a staggering proposition) the extent of the depression of the trade of 1839, by the increased exports of that year. In a country where we are so much in the habit of measuring our prosperity by the extent of our commerce, and where an almost entire absence of statistics with regard to our internal consumption, leaves us with little general data as to the increase or decrease of that consumption at home, we are too apt to take the statistics of our foreign trade as conclusive of the general condition of the country at any given period. It must, however, be evident to all, that an increase of our export trade may co-exist with a corresponding increase of production without influencing the amount of home consumption, or it may arise directly from the diminished means of the home consumer. A large export trade may arise either from a great productive power, or from the inability of the country to consume its own produce from some artificial cause. And the only means of determining at any particular time, whether an increased or decreased amount of our exports is to be considered as an evidence of prosperity or depression, is to ascertain the proportion which it bears to the whole production of the year.

That an increase of our exports may be an evidence of a decreased home consumption, and of an unusually depressed state of the country, the statistics of the trade of 1838 and 1839 afford abundance of evidence. And this proposition will appear even more clear to the practical merchant, when he considers how much more easy it is to procure consignments of manufactures to foreign markets, when the home trade is in a depressed state, than when it is prosperous. For the purpose of making this principle more clear, and showing its application in another way to the experience of the present year, we will shortly refer to the facts connected with the trade of those two years, 1838 and 1839.

In the year 1838 the declared value of our exports amounted to 50,000,970*l.* and in 1839 to 53,233,580*l.*; so that, judging only by this criterion, the latter would be at once pronounced to have been the more prosperous year of the two. But it must be quite clear, that without knowing the state of our home consumption at the same time, we have not sufficient data, for forming a correct opinion. For this purpose we have not, however, any direct statistics on which we can rely; but we have a means of discovering the whole extent of our production by the amount of the various articles of raw materials imported and consumed at the different periods. Now, in the two years in question, we

find this remarkable fact—in 1832, while the amount of our exports increased so much, the whole quantities of raw materials imported and taken for consumption materially diminished as compared with 1838. It is, therefore, thus rendered clear, that out of a smaller entire production we exported a much larger quantity, and beyond doubt, therefore, retained for home consumption a quantity less, not only by the additional amount exported, but also by the lesser entire quantity produced. The following are the quantities of raw material which were consumed in 1838 and 1839.

	1838.	1839.
Cotton Wool lbs	460,756,013	355,781,960
Silk, raw "	3,683,739	3,483,363
—, Thrown "	213,570	223,911
Flax "	1,625,830	1,228,894
Sheep's Wool (Foreign) ..	56,115,160	53,221,231
Cochineal "	202,087	492,008
Indigo "	3,020,562	2,715,503
Log Dye "	633,819	523,709
Logwood tons	11,107	17,937
Madder cwt	109,385	97,645
Madder Roots "	83,725	81,219
Stannac "	208,251	171,222
Olive Oils gals	2,037,917	1,815,692

—Board of Trade Tables.

But notwithstanding the great decrease here indicated, of the whole amount of goods which was produced in 1839 compared with 1838, we find that we exported in the two years as follows:—

	1838.	1839.
Cotton manufactures ..	£16,715,857	£17,694,303
Silk "	777,280	865,763
Linen "	2,730,272	3,422,488
Woollen manufactures and yarns	6,179,604	6,679,277
Total of all goods ..	50,060,970	53,233,580

—Board of Trade Tables.

It is impossible to look at these two statements, the one exhibiting so great a decrease in the whole amount of goods produced, while the other exhibits so much larger a proportion of what were produced, as being exported, without being forcibly struck with the sudden and rapid decline in the home consumption. And it cannot be without peculiar utility at the present moment, in more ways than one, as we shall hereafter show, that we should refer to the immediate cause of this enormous decrease in the home consumption of manufactured goods. After the American crisis of 1836-37 had passed away, the commerce of the country assumed an unusually steady and healthy appearance, and the close of 1837 and the greater part of 1838 bore all the evidences of a prosperous and legitimate trade. There never was a period more free from speculation or excitement of any kind. The Bank of England had regained a safe and satisfactory position, the amount of bullion was steadily increasing, the people were well employed, the public revenue was improving, and food was abundant and moderate in price till the autumn of 1838. The price of wheat in 1837, and the greater part of 1838, averaged from 48*s.* to 52*s.* the quarter. In the autumn of 1838, when it was discovered that the harvest was defective, the price suddenly rose until it reached 73*s.* the quarter on the 5th of September; and from that time, and during the whole of 1839, it fluctuated between 70*s.* and 80*s.* the quarter. Now, it is especially worthy of remark, that at that moment there existed no other cause whatever for the depression in trade which immediately followed that rapid increased price of food. There was no other general source of public loss. The effects of the speculations of 1835-36 had entirely passed away with the crisis in the latter year. But when we consider that from Sept. 1838, and during the whole of 1839, computing the consumption of wheat at twenty millions of quarters per annum, the weekly cost of bread to the whole country was increased by the sum of 400,000*l.* or at the rate of 20,000,000*l.* for the year, it is not difficult to understand why the home consumption of manufactured goods should have declined so materially as we have shown it to have done. It were impossible to find a better and more conclusive reply to those who contend for a high price of corn as a means of promoting a great home trade, than the remarkable facts to which we have now referred.

In the debate upon the Corn Law question in March, 1840, Sir Robert Peel referred to the arguments which we have now stated, and by way of replying to them said, "That if it were contended that an increased amount of our exports proved a diminished home consumption, it might equally be contended, when our foreign trade was declining, that it proved only an increased internal prosperity." Sir Robert Peel, however, omitted to notice that the fact of an increased export proving a diminished home consumption was only contended for, because it co-existed with the other fact, of an entire decrease of the quantity of goods produced. And if the right hon. baronet had said, that the argument then contended for amounted to the admission, that a decline in our export trade, co-existing with a large increase of our entire production of goods, proved an increased home consumption, then there can be no doubt such an inference would have been borne out by the arguments and facts then used. And we have now come to a period when the exact reverse state of the facts as they existed in 1838 and 1839, leads to the reverse conclusions. During the last six months, while our entire production of goods has been larger than at any former period, the proportion of those goods which has been exported has been gradually diminishing; and we now find, that a decrease in our export trade is an evidence of an increasing home consumption.

That the entire production of goods in the present year exceeds that of any former one, we have the best evidence, again, by comparing the entire quantities of raw materials consumed.

By the Board of Trade Tables of imports, which we published in our last supplement, the following are the quantities of the various articles of raw materials of our manufactures, imported to the 5th of Sept. in the present year, compared with 1844.

	1844.	1845.
Cotton wool cwt	4,860,100	5,068,177
Silk, raw lbs	2,450,777	2,538,725
Thrown "	220,960	266,343
Flax cwt	1,990,141	1,814,869
Hemp cwt	421,045	477,709
Sheep's wool lbs	43,871,706	46,134,778

The consumption of dye stuffs and other articles, generally contributing to manufactures, has also considerably increased during the present year.

For the first four months of the present year, to the end of April, the amount of our exports showed an increase over those of last year; but in every month since that time there has been a rapid and somewhat considerable decline, as the following statement, taken from the official accounts, show:

	1844.	1845.
COTTON MANUFACTURES EXPORTED.		
Four months, to May 5 ..	25,991,353	26,347,715
Four months, to Sept. 5 ..	6,800,681	6,882,174
SILK MANUFACTURES EXPORTED.		
Four months, to May 5 ..	238,094	241,391
Four months, to Sept. 5 ..	309,067	312,711
LINEN MANUFACTURES EXPORTED.		
Four months, to May 5 ..	1,010,936	1,000,798
Four months, to Sept. 5 ..	1,100,893	1,029,925
WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES EXPORTED.		
Four months, to May 5 ..	2,351,894	2,483,916
Four months, to Sept. 5 ..	3,500,096	3,083,433

Thus showing that the exports of woollen manufactures have decreased nearly 800,000*l.*, and cotton manufactures upwards of 200,000*l.*, during the last four months, as compared with 1844. And the effect is even more striking when we compare the progress of the whole amount of the exports from month to month.

ENTIRE EXPORTS OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF BRITISH AND IRISH PRODUCE AND MANUFACTURES.

	1844.	1845.
	1844.	1845.
Four months, to May 5 ..	14,987,255	16,035,365
In 3 months, to May ..	4,503,464	4,447,213
— June "	6,005,253	4,916,171
— July "	5,131,341	4,800,121
— August "	5,545,233	5,033,616

It is thus shown that, in every succeeding month, our exports have been diminishing at a greater rate. And in the face of so much evidence as we have, that at the same time the whole amount of production has been larger, it must follow that the home consumption has been increasing so much, as not only to include the deficiency in our exports, but also the excess of our entire production. Here, then, we have a remarkable result of a continued abundance, and comparatively moderate price of food up to the period in question; and the whole experience of 1844 and 1845, to the time to which these accounts are brought down, again furnishes another conclusive reply to those who contend that a high price of corn is necessary to maintain a good home market for manufactures.

It is, however, impossible that we can dismiss this subject without referring to the new condition in which the country is placed in consequence of the recent advance in the price of provisions, and to the certainty that the price must continue high for a considerable time to come. Little more than two months ago the average price of wheat was 49*s.* the quarter, now it is 59*s.* But this increase of the price of wheat does not actually indicate the real advance in the price of bread. A highly intelligent correspondent, on whose accuracy we can place the most implicit reliance, writes thus:

"The low quality keeps down the averages, and keeps up the duty. It is quite on the cards (and indeed we are approaching to such a state now), that our corn might all be so bad as not to reach 50*s.*—(our correspondent is a landowner in the north)—and thus keep up the duty at 20*s.*, when we had not a sack of flour fit for human food. In fact, the worse the article, the higher the prohibition against purchasing a better. I was very much struck the other day with this unfair operation of the averages. I purchased some fine flour at 35*s.* the load, about two months ago, when the average price of wheat was 32*s.* When I returned from the Continent a week since, I found the averages at 58*s.*, but I had to pay 56*s.* the load for the same quality of flour." The rise in the average price of wheat is no fair indication of the real advance in the whole entire additional sum which the country is now paying for food, which is more truly shown by the difference between 35*s.* and 56*s.*, as the price of a load of fine flour. With the experience of 1838 and 1839 before us, it is impossible that any prudent man can disregard so important a cause of disturbance to our recent unusual prosperity as is presented by this great increase in the cost of food, and the disturbance which must take place by the altered distribution of the entire expenditure of the country for some time to come. There are many reasons which will, in all probability, prevent any sudden reaction at the present time; but it cannot be denied that the almost universal failure of the potato crop, and to say the least a defective grain crop, have, within the last two months, materially changed the future prospects of trade.

ADULTERATION OF FLOUR.—A special petty sessions was held at the Crewe Arms, Crewe, on Friday, when there were present on the bench five of the six justices in the district of Nantwich, to hear informations against several of the millers and flour sellers in the district, who were charged with adulterating their flour with alum. The court-room was full of hearers. The first case called on was against Mr. James Cookson, of Warrington, for having in his possession, at Crewe Green, a quantity of alum for the purpose of adulterating flour. It was clearly proved, that about 44 pounds of alum were found in the defendant's mill, together with a quantity mixed in the grain, with beans and wheat, and which were then being ground into flour. On the part of the defence a great number of witnesses were examined, many of whom grossly perjured; and, after a most patient investigation, which lasted nearly the whole day, the defendant was convicted in the mitigated penalty of 40*s.* and costs. There is another information against the defendant, and 15 against other parties. As this system is carried on to an alarming extent, we call upon the public to exert themselves in the cause, and give them the following extract as a stimulation to the work:—"The pernicious ingredients, alum and spirits of vitriol, used by bakers as binders and whiteners, are the causes of thousands of untimely deaths in this country, and a large portion of the diseases under which mankind are suffering."—*Liverpool Albion*.

THE HAGUE, Nov. 3.—Among the many measures adopted by the Government to procure from abroad a supply of provisions to make up the deficiency in our crops, especially potatoes, is the following:—His Excellency the Minister of the Colonies informs the merchants, that by the King's authority, orders have been given to the Governor-General of our East Indian possessions, to encourage by all possible means the exportation of rice to the mother country, and to take care that during the year 1846 Dutch ships, the half of whose cargoes at the least consists of rice to be imported into the Netherlands, shall be admitted free into all the little ports of Java, to exempt them—1, from the payment of export duties on rice, or to cause it to be returned to them if they have already paid it; 2, from the import duty on the sacks for the rice; and, 3, from the anchorage, convoy, and harbour dues. The captains of ships are only bound to give security for the amount of their dues, in order to insure the importation in the Netherlands.—*Dutch paper*, Nov. 4.

David Salomons, Esq., late sheriff, has presented the City of London Schools with 1660*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*, for the purpose of establishing scholarships of 50*l.* a year for ever.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LEAGUE FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Nov. 5, 1845.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

*Le Kex, Henry, Bocking, Braintree, Essex ..	£2	2	0
*Taylor, John, 17, Kent-terrace, Regent's-park ..	2	0	0
*Alexander, Philip, Swanage, Dorset ..	2	0	0
*Drake, J., 13, Oxford-street ..	2	0	0
*West, G., 12, Cannon-st.-road, St George's-in-the-East ..	1	1	0
*Skepe, Peter, 52, Hart-street, Covent-garden ..	1	1	0
*Johnson, Wm., 175, Bishopsgate-street Without ..	1	1	0
*King, George, 92, Lower Marsh, Lambeth ..	1	1	0
*Cheverton, H., 72, Pratt-street, Camden Town ..	1	1	0
*Fenwick, J., 8, Blandford-square, New-road, Paddington ..	1	1	0
*Blackman, G., 7, Gowers Walk, Commercial-road East ..	1	1	0
*Lambert, Wm., 20, Bernondsey-new-road ..	1	1	0
*Hall, R. W., Ravensbourne Park, Lewisham ..	1	1	0
*Southall, R., Stoke Newington Common ..	1	1	0
"A Friend"	1	1	0
*Edgecomb, J., 17, Newington Causeway ..	1	1	0
*Davis, R. P., 42, Lothbury ..	1	1	0
*Griffin, N., 2, Cloisters, Temple ..	1	1	0
*Rees, R. J., 45, George-street, Portland-square ..	1	1	0
*Peel, John, 17 and 18, Golden-square ..	1	1	0
*Venning, S. B., 12, Pancras-lane ..	1	1	0
*Colman, Jeremiah, 1, Dowgate Hill ..	1	1	0
*Oastler, J., 19, White's Grounds, Bernondsey ..	1	1	0
*Parrott, Charles, 124, Albany-road, Camberwell ..	1	1	0
*Bowling, N., 78, Pearson-street, Kingsland-road ..	1	1	0
*Tuke, W. E., 36, North Bank, Regent's Park ..	1	1	0
*Collingford, Henry, 24, Cobourg-street, Euston-sq. ..	1	1	0
*Wansey, Francis, Arborfield Mills, near Reading ..	1	1	0
*Prosser S. and J., 6, High Holborn ..	1	1	0
*Buxton, Edward, 76, Basinghall-street ..	1	1	0
*Slack, Henry, ditto ..	1	1	0
*Edmiston, Charles, 69, Strand ..	1	1	0
*Crockford, Joshua, 34, Alfred place, Bedford-square ..	1	1	0
*The Workmen at Mr. Allingham's Rug Manufactory, Upper Russell-street, Bernondsey ..	1	0	0
*Rogers, Thomas, Maryland Point House, Stratford ..	1	0	0
*Phillips, Vincent, 30, Sun-street, Bishopsgate-street ..	1	0	0
*Brown, Thomas, 119, Wood-street, Cheapside ..	1	0	0
*Buckbarrow, John, ditto ..	1	0	0
*Harris and Lilley, 5, Gloucester-street, Curtain-road, Shoreditch ..	1	0	0
*Alexander, W., Southwark Arms, Tooley-st., Borough ..	1	0	0
*Page, Samuel, Dulwich ..	1	0	0
*Richardson, Charles, Springfield, Lurgan, Ireland ..	1	0	0
*Sexton, Henry, Bedford, Middlesex ..	1	0	0
*Jackson, H. B., 3, Prospect-ter., Longsight, Manchester ..	1	0	0
*Smith, Geo., Prestbury, near Cheltenham ..	1	0	0
*"A Welsh Teetotaler," York ..	1	0	0
*Angus, J. and J., Horsham, Sussex ..	1	0	0
*Hardley, W. J., 1, St. James's-square, Cheltenham ..	1	0	0
*Gimson, L., Loughborough ..	1	0	0
*Baker, John, Thirsk ..	1	0	0
*Buchanan, John, 106, Hutcheson-street, Glasgow ..	1	0	0
*Fawcett, Samuel, carpet manufacturer, Kiddleminster ..	1	0	0
*Bough, James, ditto ..	1	0	0
*Simpson, John, timber merchant, ditto ..	1	0	0
*Slater, William, Habberley-street, ditto ..	1	0	0
*Badland, C. D., maltster, ditto ..	0	10	0
*Walker, J. E., Grecian Chambers, Doreux-court ..	0	10	0
*Ashton, Francis, 36, City-road ..	0	10	0
*J. T. W. ..	0	5	0
*Heath, Richard, 3, Three Colt-street, Limehouse ..	0	2	6
*A. B. Smithfield ..	0	2	6
The Earl of Ducie's Iron Works, Uley, near Dursley, Gloucestershire ..	3	0	0
*Johnson, Thomas, Lancaster ..	2	0	0
*Johnson, Dr. J., per T. Johnson, ditto ..	1	1	0
*Lupton, B., Cheadle, Gloucestershire ..	1	1	0
*Gee, W., Flour-de-lis, Pin Mill Brow, Ardwick, Manchester ..	1	1	0
*Moore, Richard, 50, Lloyd-street, Greenhays, ditto ..	1	1	0
*Cockbaine, Mr., Piccadilly, ditto ..	1	1	0
*Castree, Geo., 81, Collyhurst Road, near ditto ..	1	1	0
*Anderson, W., Castleditch, near Guisborough, Yorkshire ..	1	1	0
*Scott, Francis, Traquair Know, by Peebles ..	1	1	0
*Varley, Edmundson, Colne, Lancashire ..	1	1	0
*Walker, Charles, Manchester ..	0	5	0

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE BAZAAR.

Higginbotham, Samuel, Glasgow ..	5	0	0
Royle, J. E., Arcade, Manchester ..	5	0	0
Buchan, Right Hon. the Earl of, Galashiels ..	2	0	0
R. A. P., Manchester ..	1	0	0

BEDS FOR AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

Merriman, Rev. N. J., Street, Gloucester ..	0	10	0
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* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed subscriptions.

LETTERS ON THE CORN LAWS, No. XLIX.

TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND, PRESIDENT OF THE AGRICULTURAL PROTECTION SOCIETY.

MY LORD DUKE,—The resolutions published by the general committee of the above-mentioned Society, dated the 4th inst., are not graced by your name. Your responsibility may be the less apparent; it is not the less real. Until disowned, every member of that Society, much more its president, is committed to the approval of proceedings which the minds of many can only regard with unqualified reprobation and unutterable disgust.

The thoughtful and humane of all ranks, parties, and classes, are anxiously contemplating the condition of the country as to its supply of food. They look far and near for the means of averting the most fearful of calamities. Other feelings on public measures are for a time in abeyance. "All mankind's concern is charity," except that of your Central Society, and theirs is "protection."

Already numerous meetings have been held, as many more will soon be held, to suggest alleviations, or pray for their prompt adoption, in order to meet the coming crisis. The analyst will have to record that, at a juncture so momentous, one meeting was held for the purpose of taking care that the bread-tax should neither be removed nor

abated. President of protectionists, in that fact you are "damned to everlasting fame!"

You call the "apprehension of inadequate supply" unfounded. And why? Not because you know it to be so, for you forthwith apply for information to your country correspondents. The assertion is made in confessed ignorance, and then the forms of an inquiry are prescribed for its confirmation. Your local agents cannot mistake their duty. Facts are to be furnished for your assumptions. You question even the deficiency of the potato crops. You are satisfied of nothing, and with nothing, but that plunder extorted from contingent starvation which you stimulate and struggle to retain under the veil of "protection to British agriculture not less than that at present existing."

There is suggestive falsehood in the terms of your inquiry. You ask whether the crops exceed or are below "an average." You inquire simply of quantity, and not of quality; and, had the instruction been more complete, what would avail the crops being up to an average, the population not being kept down to an average? The wants of progressive increase cannot be met by averages. There are 380,000 more mouths to be filled this year than last. The mouths of last year were not redundantly crammed, though the crops far exceeded an average. This reference to average is sheer delusion.

One clause of your resolution contains what is meant for proof of your professed opinion:

"That it is the opinion of this society that the supply of wheat, and other grain in this country is not such as to justify alarm, notwithstanding the efforts so industriously made to impress the public mind with a conviction to the contrary; and that the supply will be found sufficient; since the average prices at the present time barely exceed those contemplated as desirable by the framers of the Corn Law of 1812."

You misrepresent Sir Robert Peel. He never professed to legislate for 56s. a quarter, as the price of wheat unfit, without admixture, for human food. He never professed the protection of wholesome corn at 70s., by a duty of 15s. a quarter. And this, as you know, is the present state of the markets. The spirit of his Act is violated by the effect of literal adherence to its provisions. You have more than your bargain. The duty ought to be only 1s. The 14s. are yours by the partial clumsiness of the machinery. This sharp practice, however, adds little to the enormity of battling for "protection" at all at such a moment.

Corrupt motive is insinuated in the mention of "efforts so industriously made to impress the public mind." Could dishonesty as well as industry have been shown; could the falsification of facts and figures, of quotations and authorities, have been proved upon the alarmists as they have been proved upon the publications of your society, you would have felt no delicacy about the production of the demonstration. You would have spoken out plainly. Efforts to ascertain and make the public acquainted with the truth ought to be "industriously made." They need no cowardly or dirty innuendo. Such "protection," my lord duke, is left to your Central Society.

The greatest curiosity in this document remains to be noticed. You suggest a proof of the advantage of "protection" to the community, and that proof is in comparative cheapness. The *verba ipsissima* run thus:

"That the price of grain being (proportionably with the means of the people) lower in this country than in the above Continental states, proves that the protection afforded to the producers of grain in this country is beneficial to the community at large."

The community, then, is benefited by comparatively low prices of grain. "What! can the devil speak truth?" There stands the proposition, clear and distinct, in the manifesto of the Agricultural Protection Society. The question of fact, as to relative prices, and the relative means of the people, I pass over. It matters not to the principle whether your assumptions on those points be correct or incorrect. You have linked together the common good and low prices; and you know that low prices are neither the object nor the result of Corn Laws. Low prices are your everlasting objection to Free Trade. Rest the merits of your monopoly where now you have placed them, and debate is brought to an immediate termination. Every thing is conceded. In your words, protection makes confession before execution

The condition, "proportionably to the means of the people," is ingeniously introduced to evade the comparison of actual prices. It suggests many questions. If the people, by skill and industry, multiply the means, is that a just reason for making laws to raise the price of their provisions? If let alone, would not prices be yet lower in proportion to their means, and therefore (by your own logic) the community more benefited? Have landowners a vested interest in the gains of merchants and manufacturers, and thereby a right to appropriate, by class legislation, a portion of those gains? Who make the people's means? Are they not enhanced by the extension of industry, and limited by its restrictions? In what plight do the people's means leave millions? What signifies this doctrine of proportion to the potato-eaters? It is a shadowy consolation to the hungry peasant that some Continental serf is hungrier than he; and that, while the loaf is three times more than that serf can afford to pay, it is only twice as much as he himself can afford to pay. Cold comfort to the drowning man, in 20 fathoms water, that somebody else is drowning in 30 fathoms water. Such comfort brings his grace of Richmond to the pauper peasantry of England.

The Protection Society has lost a chance. At a time when facts sufficiently alarming have been ascertained, and there is a large margin of vague but not altogether causeless apprehension; when a combination of calamity threatens the wealthiest portion of the United Kingdom with hard struggle and sore endurance, and its poorer with the horrors of absolute famine; when accurate knowledge, careful forethought, and prompt action, are imperatively demanded; when each man asks his neighbour, what can be done, what is going to be done?

—at such a time, the Central Society might have aided other inquiries, by calling for facts from its agents without tainting them by "a foregone conclusion;" it might have co-operated with all who, through the length and breadth of the land, are uniting themselves to wrestle with the demon of want; it might have argued that even if alarm be unfounded, there are no means of allaying it so efficient as prompt measures for the amplest supply that can be obtained; and it might have resolved that no considerations of class interest should stand a moment in the way of the people's food and the people's painful reliance on the future. Instead of so doing, the Central Society seizes this awful moment to "call the attention of all peers and Members of Parliament representing their interests, or resident within their respective districts, to the necessity of supporting inviolate 'protection to British agriculture not less than that at present existing.'"

In a painting of the Deluge, a whole family perishes because the infatuated grandsire clutches with unrelaxing hand a bag of gold, and thus the bough breaks on which they clung, and which upheld them all above the waters. The type is not complete. It does not appear that the old man's gold was not honestly earned, or that it was extorted by taxation upon human necessities.

A NORWICH WEAVER BOY.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Colehill House, Highworth, Nov. 3, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—I rejoice to see that the League are still in full activity. How are your funds? If you are looking for further subscriptions, I will send as in former years, 50*l*.

The signs of the times are strongly for you; but I agree with Cobden, that we must not relax in our efforts.—Yours faithfully,

G. Wilson, Esq.

Rosse Priory, Nov. 3, 1845.

My dear Sir,—I am pleased to see by the report of the meeting of the League at Manchester, that you are quite alive to the important crisis which is at hand, in consequence of the failure of the potato-crop; and no time should, I think, be lost in bringing the powerful machinery of the League into play, to arouse the people, and through them the Government, to the approaching danger, which can alone be prevented, under the blessing of Providence, by giving every encouragement to merchants to import food largely from the southern states of America, where the supply is abundant. If the Government delays much longer opening the ports in Great Britain as well as in Ireland, the necessity for an additional supply of grain will become more imperative; and for it we shall be forced to pay in the precious metals. The consequences of a drain of gold to our trade, and the misery it entails, must be too fresh in the remembrance of every

one not to call forth feelings of the greatest alarm at the possibility of such an occurrence.

It is evident that the supply can only come from America. Other nations have been beforehand with us, and set us a wise example by throwing open their ports, and securing that supply which we can only buy by offering a high price in hard cash; whereas, if orders are sent out immediately to New Orleans, there is every chance of our manufactures being taken in exchange, instead of our having to pay in gold, which, as I said before, would prove not only a fatal blow to our trade, but also to the great works now in progress, which are giving employment to so many thousand people. It is now ascertained beyond a doubt that the failure of the potato crop is general, both in Ireland and Scotland. Ireland, whose wretched population has long been reduced to the cheapest article of food, which has now failed, must evidently become a prey to famine, with its usual attendants—crime and disease.

Scotland will also suffer most seriously. The consumption of potatoes in this country is very great, and constitutes one half of the food of the people. It is needless to observe that the annihilation of so large a proportion of their food will be most severely felt, especially when to this scarcity is added the increased price of every other article of consumption. That there is but too much foundation for these fears cannot be denied. The disease in the potato is gradually spreading north; and those in the Highlands are beginning to be affected; and I do not believe that by the 1st of Jan., there will be a potato left in Scotland. True it is that the people can fall back upon oatmeal, but the price of this will soon be beyond the reach of many—and has advanced already from 26s. per sack (at which it was selling last year) to 42s. Indeed all kind of grain is rapidly reaching famine prices—Laving advanced from 10s. to 20s. per quarter in the last three weeks; old wheat selling at 85s.; new wheat at 65s.; and barley, new, at 37s.; all of which are extravagantly high, considering there is a good crop in this part of the country. But corn dealers clearly foresee, that if there be so large a deficiency in one item of food, even if there was a good average crop throughout the country generally, which there is not, there must be a scarcity; for instance, at Perth alone, not taking into account Newburgh and Dundee, and the other ports on the Tay, upwards of 80,000l. was last year paid for potatoes shipped to England, all which supply is for this year stopped, which of course must raise the demand for other produce.

If we can only succeed in getting the ports open, with the present feeling as exhibited by Lord Ashley and others, as to the final doom of the Corn Laws, we need not fear a re-imposition of the duty.—Yours faithfully,
George Wilson, Esq.

LETTERS FROM THE SOUTH OF ENGLAND.

FIRST LETTER.—THE FAMINE.

While the question of opening the ports for the admission of more food is occupying the attention of all who are learned on such a subject, or who should be so, in London, the disease in the potatoes, their actual dissolution into nothing but rottenness, is occupying the attention of those in Hampshire who know little about port opening, and little of the potato disease, save that they are likely to have much hunger during the ensuing winter, and very few potatoes.

It has appeared to me very extraordinary that so much should be written of the potato disease in Ireland, and so little said of it by the newspapers, or apparently known by them, or cared to be known, in England. I speak of the west and south of England more especially, as the districts with which I am best acquainted. If the state of the potato-crop in Ireland is to decide the opening of the ports, surely the English potatoes are not to be overlooked, nor the English labourers, whose chief article of diet potatoes are. With bread high in price, and likely to rise, even a large supply of potatoes would not be enough this year. How much greater must the suffering be when to dearthness of bread there is the companionship of scarcity of potatoes! Bacon is now 9d. per lb. in Hampshire. No labourer can buy it; and what is worse, those who have hitherto fed pigs to have some bacon, to sell to pay the shoemaker and the tailor, cannot keep their pigs—they have no potatoes. Those who raised good crops, and stored them away apparently sound, find the mystery of rottenness upon them, and the heavy misfortune of want upon themselves.

Notwithstanding the advance in the prices of all kinds of food, and the repeated assertions of master agriculturists, that wages rise and fall with the prices of food, no rise whatever is taking place in many parishes; and even where there is a rise, it is not in any degree commensurate with the asserted rule.

In the parish of Wallop, Mr. Lewis, a farmer, with a good character for fair dealing, and who like most others settles with his men once a month, told his men last Saturday at the monthly settlement, that he would advance their wages from 8s. a week, at which figure they have been paid for a long while past, to 9s. The men begged hard to have the sum set at 10s.; but Mr. Lewis said he could not promise it until he saw how his neighbours could do, some of whom objected to give the 9s. Thus, though bread has risen between 40 and 50 per cent. since last year, wages are only now rising at

the rate of about a fourth of that rise in bread. Yet almost every shilling of these wages is expended in food; and this at a time when the potato mystery is emptying every cottage of its potatoes.

Already the village shopkeepers and tradesmen feel it, and complain that the labourers are neither paying what they owe for clothes and groceries, nor are they making new purchases. They are rapidly sinking by the high price of bread to that state in which they would live almost exclusively on potatoes; and this while they have no potatoes, or soon will have none, to live on.

I find one or more of the London morning papers have "potato commissioners" in Hampshire, inquiring into the state of that article. Their reports will be published, and you will have them to reprint if you think fit, so I need not enlarge on the details. I can only assure you the worst accounts from Ireland do not convey to us anything worse than Hampshire and the adjoining counties exhibit. I have seen in that very parish of Wallop, already mentioned, a family store of potatoes which was sound a month ago, and which is now rotten to the full extent of one-half, with the disease rapidly extending into the other half. A mother of a family, whose store is still worse, I saw the other day looking over her potatoes; and out of three sacks, which were good at Michaelmas, she has only one bushel of good ones now, the other eight bushels being gone absolutely to pulp. A person standing by said, "Surely if Sir Robert Peel saw your 'tatoes he would do something for you, and the like of you?" "God be good to him!" said the woman earnestly; "What I and my poor family be to do if the Lord Almighty do not send some good angel upon the earth, I know not. We be like to have nothing for it, but to die; and it be a hard thing to look forward to—that of dying of hunger. And it be a'most as bad to be half dying as we be now."

A shopkeeper, who retails potatoes, Mr. Wallis, has just told me that besides losing about one-half of his own crop, he feels the potato pestilence, added to the dear bread, affecting his trade very severely. Selling the potatoes in small quantities from day to day, they are picked by the poor purchasers as a matter of course; and the tainted ones, which a day before were perhaps sound, turned back upon him. Dealing as he does, also, in flour and bread and groceries, also in bacon, butter, and cheese, he sees a third of the money paid for bread and flour, which used to be paid for sugar, tea, butter, cheese, and bacon; and he sees in addition to that, persons who used to have potatoes of their own, buying them from him with money which is not only withheld from grocery purchases, but from bread and flour.

I believe Mr. Wallis's evidence as to his potato crop, and the frightful disease in it has been taken by a "potato commissioner," and sent to a morning paper—the *Chronicle*, if I mistake not.

At present I will not farther pursue the potato subject.

SECOND LETTER.

Labourers and Landlords.

On Monday (20th of October), I was present at Stockbridge, in Hampshire, when premiums were awarded to about 80 farm labourers, ranging from boys up to old men, and also to some women; the premiums, 101 in number, being given for long service, for cleverly-executed work, for careful attention to live farm stock, for the best cottage gardening, for the best managed allotments of a quarter of an acre each, for the virtue of foresight, and for generosity to suffering relatives. The premiums varied from 5l. to 3l. for each individual.

I shall not at present halt to inquire into the moral worth of these sums of money. Whether their amount and manner of distribution may effect all the good which is expected of them is one question, and the good intentions of the givers is another. Of the goodness of the intentions I have no doubt. But some of the sentiments delivered by the gentleman who presided for the day are worthy of special notice. I speak of Charles Baring Wall, Esq., M.P. for the borough of Guildford, in agricultural Surrey, and the owner of a large landed property in agricultural Hampshire; a gentleman whose liberality is not that of sentiment alone.

In addressing the men and boys, and the women, who received the premiums at the Town Hall, he said, amongst other things:

"The secretary had stated the pleasing fact that 100l. had been distributed that day; but this was not mentioned because it was a large sum, nor as being adequate to the value of the labourers around him. They all knew their value as labourers. They all knew what they owed them for giving them the sweat of their brow—the aid of their toil; and it would, he believed, gratify those who thus honourably fulfilled the duties of their station to know that they were sympathised and co-operated with by their employers."

And, in addressing the clergy, gentry, and farmers, after dinner, at the Grosvenor Hotel, he said:

"That they did their duty fully, he did not pretend to say;

few did; but still they were on the way, and he hoped each successive year would find them approximating more nearly to it. Since he knew the county, great improvements had taken place in it, and especially during the last seven years, through the instrumentality of that society. They were all liable to ride their favourite hobby over-much, and though he highly estimated the value of such an institution, he did not think that it could cure all the evils of our present social state. It was merely one of many agencies which must be employed, and in its own way had its use; and it was gratifying to state, that it had not only the support of a majority of the landlords, but also of the tenantry of the district, and under their auspices it was doing much good. They might not be able to go at railway speed, but he hoped they were steady and sure. The more happy they made the people, the more they would promote their individual interests. They must give education to improve the mind; and, at least, they ought to secure to the work-people good full bellies and well clad backs. (Cheers.) This would give them a better return than any speculation whatever; it would join them all in bonds of union, rich and poor together, and soften down the asperities which were but too apt to grow out of the want of friendly intercourse between the different classes of society."

Mr. Twynam, a tenant farmer, having given utterance to similar sentiments, a gentleman present, Mr. Busigny, complained that much of what was done and said at these meetings was idle show. The labourers wanted better wages, better food, and better cottages. And if the landlords were sincere in their friendship for the labourer, they would all dine together on such an occasion as this, instead of at different inns, at different hours, on different kinds of fare.

Mr. Wall, in reference to these remarks, spoke to this effect:

"With respect to the cottages round Stockbridge, he did not personally know their condition—not thoroughly. But those on his own estate were very different from what they had been. In some districts much difficulty existed in improving the cottages, because they were held on lives, and the landowners had no power over them whatever. Still even with such property a change for the better was in progress. He did not like standing up for his own class, merely because he belonged to it, but he had on several occasions when these lifehold properties fell in, and he had an opportunity of "doing what he liked with his own,"—taken advantage of that circumstance to improve the cottages upon them. With respect to the introduction of the labourers into that room, he was sure there was among those present no more objection to sit with a smock frock on each side than a frock coat—the class to which he (Mr. Wall) belonged. But he questioned whether there were not practical difficulties in the way. If all had been admitted, the room would have been too full even for Mr. Busigny, and as the labourers could not themselves have afforded it, he did not know whether Mr. B. would have liked to pay for the wine, &c., which the smock-frocks liked as well as the frock-coats.—(Laughter.) He had considered the subject, and had been led to the conclusion that it was inadvisable. The workpeople had dined at a more convenient hour, and had got away in good time to their own homes. They enjoyed themselves more among their own class; they did not injure themselves by spending above their means, and it would not be for the comfort or convenience of either one or the other class to drive them forcibly together. At the same time he repeated there was no personal disinclination to dine with smock-frocks, and if Mr. Busigny would get up another society for the improvement of cottages, and a dinner at the Three Cups, he (Mr. Wall) would be happy, not to preside, but to take his seat at the lower end of the table, and contribute to his utmost to aid its objects."

I have given these quotations from Mr. Wall's addresses for two purposes. First, because they suggest some remarks on a topic which has lately occupied some public attention. We have read of the Messrs. Chambers, of Edinburgh, holding their annual soiree with their work-people, and enjoying—masters, men, and invited guests, a social evening on perfect equality. We have heard of the factory workers of Oldham, inviting their employers to a soiree; and rising above mere social equality, they (the workmen) have filled the position of hosts to the masters. We have heard that the factory workers in the employment of the Messrs. Bright of Rochdale, stated to be above 900 in number, were brought to Manchester in a special train the other day, as were also those of Messrs. Whittaker, of Ashton-under-Lyne, 1200 in number, to see the Free Trade Bazaar, the day being given as a holiday, and the expenses of transit to and from Manchester, and the admission to the Bazaar, paid by the respective employers. Other reports of holidays and kind approaches to occasional equality of social life reach us from the regions of the factories. We, who live at a distance, have heard the wings of the press flapping over us, with poetry on them, mingled with the eloquent joy of Sergeant Talfourd at finding the hard-handed hard-working men of Manchester taking boyhood's play, and boyhood's name to the play, of the "Saturday half-holiday." The same press, on the same day, with the same wings; to wit, supplements, double supplements, and additional supplements to the double, brought us from London—London having inhaled it as if by a breath from Manchester—Jerrold's speech, with its simile, already illustrious, of the polar bear on the polar ice, the bear and the ice drifting into lighter and warmer latitudes; and the poor beast, used to darkness, howling and roaring, as if heaven and earth were coming together—fit type of the bears of human kind, who have loved darkness rather than light.

We have heard, too, of Leclair, of Paris, giving a

hundred workmen, and upwards, a share in the profits of his business, on the principle and in the faith that he himself would have higher profits because they would become better workers and better men. All these things, indicating human progress, have come upon us from the cities and from the marts of trade within a few weeks.

But in those few weeks we have also heard from Dorsetshire that "an experiment" was made by George Banks, Esq., M.P., and his agricultural friends, to dine labourers and landowners in the same room; and farther, we have heard that the experiment was successful. But again we have heard from other quarters that it was a shabby thing to put the labourers at a side table by themselves, and dismiss them as soon as they had eaten their dinner and given "three cheers for the gentlemen." Comparisons have been made between the sociality of the men and masters of Dorset and the sociality of the men and masters of Oldham, in Lancashire.

Now I have never been inclined to admire the wisdom of Mr. George Banks—not his political wisdom—but I think in this dinner experiment he has not been fairly treated. To compare the working men of Oldham—who, many of them, in the experience of public meetings become public men, while in years they are little beyond boys; who all of them associate together through boyhood and manhood in the direction of societies, assemblies, and deliberative meetings—to compare them with the farm labourers, who have no experience in public association (unless it be the experience of disaster, when Dorsetshire labourers associated, and were dispersed by transportation), to compare the factory workers—who, being skilled in all the arts of managing their masters by associative experience, and who at last, in friendship, treat their masters to their hospitality—with the secluded and excluded, the cloddish and clayed, farming-men of Dorsetshire, is wholly unfair. But as you will see in my next letter, even landowners and land-labourers associate together, with a liberality and kindness on one side, and independence and enjoyment on the other, not surpassed anywhere else by any other people. I have, at least, seen one such assemblage; and it is because I have seen it that I have given the quotations in this letter from Mr. Wall's addresses at Stockbridge.

If any gentleman can contend at an agricultural dinner that it is not desirable to mingle people together who do not desire to be mingled, he can best afford to do so. He asks to preserve the separate dinners, because he knows the parties on each side prepared to dine, are not prepared to meet. But he holds a festival with his own labourers and poorer neighbours, because he and they are prepared to meet, and can enjoy the meeting.

THIRD LETTER.

Mr. Wall's Festival at Norman Court.

This occurred on Friday, the 17th of September. I was at that time attending the Poor Law inquiry at the Andover workhouse. Andover is 11 or 12 miles from Norman Court, and 10 miles from the village of Broughton. That village is four miles or thereabout from Norman Court. Hearing of the festival, I came across the country to see it. Not knowing anywhere else to go to, I took up my quarters at Broughton; and I wish I may never have worse; I should like to see all who can appreciate good accommodation as well quartered as I have been at the village inn there.

On the 16th, the day before the festival, the rain poured and the wind blew; cloud careered after cloud, and blast warred with blast. Still cooks cooked, carpenters hammered, tents were erected; and in the villages of Broughton on one side, and West Tytherley and West Dean on the other, preparations were going forward in boiling and roasting to supply the respective tents of the innkeepers in the park, only second in magnitude to the roasting and boiling at the squire's mansion in the park. But large as they were, they were second to that; the cooking there was on a scale of great compass.

The reason why the innkeepers of the villages had tents in the park was, that more people were expected to come, and did come, than the mansion could hold; and because, on a former occasion, several thousands of strangers had been there more than provision had been made for, or were invited; and who, though admitted to the tables so long as anything remained on them, only displaced others who had been invited; all of them saying, if they had only been able to get something to buy to eat, the staying to see the sports and the grand fireworks at night, would have been more agreeable.

This year Mr. Wall issued tickets to all who had been invited to dine amounting to about 1000, and better accommodation was therefore secured. The sports, consisting of every variety of healthful, pleasing, and harmless games, were open to every one who came, no matter of what rank, nor from whence.

The morning of the 17th dawned, and was fair and clear. For ten days and nights there had been rain and wind—sometimes more of the one than of the other; but always less or more of both. As already said, on the previous day was a storm. This morning was agreeably bright and fine. A few drops came on once or twice before the sun had risen high; but the sun himself, so pleasant upon the holiday-goers, seemed to say, as they said—

"What a shame! we ought to have no rain to-day." And then the rain said, "Well, then, I shall go somewhere else;" and it shrunk within its clouds, and they bundled themselves up and mounted upon a high and dry wind, and rode away.

Having breakfasted at the Greyhound, or the Hare and Hound, or the Dogs—I am not sure which it is, but the traveller who likes a good breakfast, the freshest of watercresses, and eggs and bread and butter, and coffee and cream, will not make any mistake, as it is "the house of the village—having breakfasted, and read while at breakfast the printed rules of that day's vegetable, fruit, and flower-show, the competitors in which were all to be labourers living in cottages rented from Mr. Wall, in Broughton, the two Tytherleys (East and West) for which show a liberal and comprehensive scale of premiums were awarded—having breakfasted, and also read at breakfast the catalogue of the Norman Court Lending Library, which library consists of 500 or more volumes, provided at Mr. Wall's expense, the only qualifications to obtain which is a desire to read, and a request to be allowed to borrow a book—the books consisting of the best periodical and serial works of the day, and of the standard works in religious, moral, and scientific biographies, poetry, instructive tales, and so forth; having also, when at breakfast, listened, as I have often done since, not only in Broughton, but in all the villages and districts around Norman Court, to the respectful, grateful, almost reverential remarks on Mr. Wall, as a kind landlord and liberal helper of all who need a rich man's help—as an employer of many men, and a payer of good wages—as the protector, not only of the living, but of the dead—the restorer of grave-stones of churchyards and of churches—having breakfasted, read, and listened to all these things, I, with some other friends, drove off in a "trap" for Norman Court.

Up Broughton-hill, westward, we toiled, one or two getting out, that the horse might have less toil; up Broughton-hill, a portion of the chalky ridge crossing the country, we went and got to the top of it, and upon the old Roman road from Winchester to Salisbury, (Winton to Sarum), locally called the "Devil's Walk," which road in part was altered and amended by the Socialists of Harmony Hall, who are now in difficulties with their property, difficulties which some venerable fathers and mothers of the villages say were to be expected to befall anybody who meddled with the "Devil's Walk;" having surmounted Broughton-hill, and left the wide expanse of woodless farm fields behind, turning only round to look down upon Broughton in its nest of trees for a minute, and upon the three Wallops, (in their bourne farther north, and upon "Lenard's Grove" (the cross roads which so named tell their own tale,) between us and the villages of the Wallops, we looked westward and southward, into a country all different from that east and north of us. A succession of woodlands, now in hollows and now on heights; now with open fields, and elsewhere, with winding glades; now humble and cope-like, and again lofty and majestic, lay before us and below us, over a distance of six miles, bounded by another bold range of chalky hills, resembling that which we had just come over.

By turns we went down and again up; to the left and to the right, and on, forward, turning again and again. Elderly men and women were standing aside to let us pass in the narrow woodland roads, or setting down to rest themselves with their baskets of vegetables which they were carrying to the show. Boys with clean "smocks" on, or new jackets, were pushing on as fast as they had breath to Norman Court, and shouting as we passed; old and young, male and female, rich and poor—most of the rich, who had horses at home, walking as well as the poor, lest there might be no stabling for all the horses expected there; all these peopled the roads; and each gave the other joy of the fine day, as they journeyed onward.

To linger long enough to tell how the ripening filberts hung upon the bushes which bordered us in clusters; how the glittering wet in the morning sun gave freshness to the autumn leaves; how the dark woods towered aloft, and the stealthy rays of the sun, as if it crept into a solemn cathedral silently and softly to worship; to linger long enough to describe all these would be to leave neither space nor time for what is coming.

We arrived near the front of the mansion, commanding a magnificent view southward over woods and meadows, and fields; dells, eminences, openings, thickets,

and through noble park trees, amid which the carriage-roads led off, and lost themselves. On the side of the mansion next us, extending over a dozen acres or so backward, and now on our right hand, was a green smooth sward embosomed in lofty lines of trees, these lines being but the front rank men of deep thickets. Into this we turned, and drove to the tent of Mr. Lane, from Broughton, which stood fronting downward and towards us.

On our right hand, at entering under the trees, was the sign of the Lion, Mr. Beauchamp, from West Dean; and half-way up, in front of the trees, was the Black Horse, Mr. Fowkes, from West Tytherley. Varieties of other smaller tents with confectionary, and exhibitions of natural curiosities and such like, were in the intermediate spaces. But the grand attraction were two tents of Mr. Wall's, on the left hand side, near the centre; one was for the show of vegetables, fruits, and flowers; and the other was a kind of store, at which Mr. Wall himself presided, furnished with a variety of fancy and useful articles, to be given as prizes to those who might win them at such games as archery, for which there were six targets, with bows and arrows in abundance; such games also as cricket, and nearly all kinds of ball playing, puff and dart, quoits, hurdle racing, leaping, and so on. There were generally such chances as 12 shots for a penny; the men attending to the targets, &c., receiving the pennies, and giving a ticket to the winners, who carried it to Mr. Wall, and received prizes according to its amount. If it was a 2s. 6d. or 3s. ticket, there would be a silk handkerchief, and a knife perhaps, or a hat, or a waistcoat. For the children there were swings and roundabouts; and ropes with seats on them were suspended between the venerable trees, that young people who wished to swing might swing there.

The vegetable and fruit show was exceedingly good, and would have done credit to many professional gardeners. It certainly did credit to Mr. Wall's cottagers, of whom about 100 were competitors. The judges were Mr. White, the gardener, at Norman Court, and two other gentlemen, whose names I now forget. The beautiful fuchsias, and other flowering plants from the cottage-windows, showed favourably for the domestic neatness and taste. So did the garden products tell for cottier industry. But, if all dwellers in humble houses had as good dwellings and gardens, with as good a squire, and as good a steward between them and the squire, as they have, there would be more comfort and more industry exercised to obtain it throughout England than there now is.

As visitors arrived, some in carriages, some in vans, and some in holiday waggons, others in gigs and trap-carts, from distances varying from one to ten miles, those who were known had tickets given them by Mr. Sergeant, the land-steward, to the dinner. A yeoman cavalry band, in their uniform, mounted about and played music, which the woods re-echoed, or would have re-echoed, had there been less din of human voices, and a lower breeze of wind. There were several policemen of the county constabulary on the ground, but as it was observed at the time, every man was his own constable; no mischief was done.

The chief dinner was spread in the court-yard of the mansion twice, from 250 to 300 dining each time. The great body of the people, however, dined in the tents on the green, having tickets which paid for their admission and their fare. Each party dining in the court passed into the mansion, and went through the splendid suite of rooms on the ground-floor by way of exit. On a former occasion, the house was left open to every person indiscriminately. They did no wilful damage, but there being many thousands of them going in and out for a whole day, they did damage to elegant furniture, whether intending it or not. On that occasion, a gentleman staying on a visit with Mr. Wall, had left his bedroom-door open, not expecting that any of the strangers would penetrate there; also, he left his money in sovereigns, and his jewellery lying open on his table. The staring wonderers, who had never before been in such a house, went, hundred after hundred, into that room, as well as into others; but there was not there, nor in the house, a single act of theft committed. Yet these people had the full compliment of poachers, petty thieves, and loose reputations among them; persons who were honest against their inclination, because they saw and felt they were trusted.

On the present occasion, Mr. Wall sat down at one of the tables, but did not preside; the presidency and several other offices of honour devolved on some of the principal tenants and the farm steward. The domestic servants, from the house-steward downward, waited on and served the visitors with alacrity and kindness; as much so, indeed, as if the kind spirit of their master was thoroughly infused into them.

On Mr. Wall's health being given, he delivered a short address, thanking the people for coming to see him

and dine with him, and hoping to see them again and again, and to see a closer bond of friendship established between persons of all ranks than there ever yet had been.

The sports upon the green went on. Every minute some prize was won at one or other of the games. The floor of the tent in which the vegetable show had been was boarded for dancing, with a platform for the band. Accordingly there was dancing. And, when night closed in, there were fireworks; and these were on a scale of grandeur rarely excelled, if ever excelled at all. Artists of first-rate ability were brought from London to conduct their exhibition. Fire balloons went off and away; and rockets went up and shot off, and showered down brilliancies that illumined the wondering country. While the multitudes gazed and admired, devices in fire of all shapes and colours, and of many meanings, succeeded each other, rockets firing all the time, with a magnificence that would have made Vauxhall clap hands and shout. But there was little shouting here, and not a hand was clapped. The excessive wonder at such prodigies done in fire constrained to silence. And the silence of the human tongues was all the deeper, and the grandeur of the fire-works all the greater, that the black shadows of the trees started back, and struggled to be out of sight, each behind his own tree, as if affrighted; while the lofty branches showed themselves in the red glare and in the blue, as if the giants of the forest stood with heads erect and hair on end.

The fireworks at Norman Court were sublime; and the people who looked upon them, upwards of 2000 in number, seemed at a loss whether to have most gratitude to Mr. Wall for his kindness, or most admiration for his unrivalled liberality. They gave him the best return they could give; they went all to their homes, without mishap or disturbance, all pleased with the day's entertainment, and pleased with one another. The only exception, if so it may be called, was that some of the labourers from the railway, farming through West and East Dean, from Salisbury to Bishopstoke, came up at night, after leaving off work, and seemed as if "they would not go home till morning." But even they, considering they were "navvies," were not so far amiss.

ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH.

THE REGISTRATION.

WESTMINSTER.—It appears the Westminster constituency has greatly improved since the last election; the number of voters on the householders' list at the last election was 9614, the number on the same list of the forthcoming register is 11,440, being an increase of 1826. This increase has been affected by continuous attention to the register every year since the last election. Some of the overseers have been compelled to insert the names of the occupiers of small houses in the rate-book, and on the list of voters; others, however, still persevere in setting the law at defiance, by keeping the occupiers of compounded houses off the rate-book. The result of the revision, which is no test of the state of the new register, is as follows:—Free Trade claims allowed, 38; Monopolists claims allowed, 14; Free Trade objections sustained, 151; Monopolists objections sustained, 209. A great number of those who had claimed to be rated were put on the list of voters, and were not objected to, and do not therefore appear in the account.

HERTFORD.—Free Traders struck off, 16; Monopolists ditto, 28. Monopolists added, 9; Free Traders, ditto, 25. Free-trade gain, 10.

DEATH OF J. R. GIBBS, Esq.—The Liberal and Free-trade party have sustained a loss by the death of John Rolls Gibbs, Esq., the able editor of the *Aylesbury News* and *Bedford News*, which papers have obtained popularity by their zealous and untiring advocacy of Liberal and Free-trade principles, and their unflinching exposures of the evil workings of the game laws. The deceased (who was but 31 years of age) had been long known as a political writer of sound and correct views, and the articles emanating from his pen have ever been forcible and convincing. It is, indeed, lamentable that so promising an advocate should have been thus cut off in his youth and in the zenith of his usefulness and activity. He has left a widow and young family to mourn their irreparable loss, afflicted parents to grieve; and by a large circle of relatives and friends will his decease be long felt. He died at his residence at Aylesbury on Friday afternoon last.—*From a Correspondent.*

WINDSOR ELECTION.—The nomination is fixed to take place on Saturday, and the polling on Monday next.

REPRESENTATION OF WORCESTER.—The rumour of the probable elevation of Sir Thomas Wilde (the Liberal representative of the city of Worcester) to the House of Lords is again in circulation, and a succession of similar principles is talked of in the person of Mr. Edw. Holland, of Dumbleton, Gloucestershire (a large landowner in the southern and eastern part of Worcestershire). Mr. Holland was formerly one of the members for the county of Worcester, and is well known as an advocate for extending the leasing-system in farming. He is also favourable to the abolition of the Corn Laws, and is a subscriber to the League fund. It is thought he would have a better chance for the county than the city representation. He is a great favourite with the farmers in the eastern part of the county.—*Globe.*

BREAD STUFFS.—We regret to see that this odious American term is finding its way into our agricultural reports, and instead of speaking of grain, of which so much of the public food is derived, we are told continually in the English, as well as the Irish and Scotch papers, of "the material rise which has already taken place in the value of bread stuffs," instead of in the value of bread, or in the value of grain.—*Leeds Mercury.*

AGRICULTURE.

HONESTY THE BEST POLICY.

The Corn Law has begun to act. For the first time since its enactment, in 1842, the protective law has fulfilled the object of its framers. Providence has visited this country with a deficient harvest, and the Corn Law is about to convert deficiency into famine. It has already caused a scarcity. It has operated to prevent the accumulation in this country of a store of grain, the produce of foreign land. Already is the agricultural labourer, with a numerous family, complaining that all his wages go to purchase BREAD. The comforts of the artisan and the skilled labourer are abridged, and there is every prospect of a further abridgment. The prosperity of trade and manufactures, which was recently hailed as the source of so many benefits to agriculture, is in hazard, and may vanish altogether under the effects of such another season as that just past. And how stands the farmer? An intelligent and experienced farmer in the west of England said a few days since to a friend of ours, "You may think we (the farmers) are making great profits now, but I assure you that is not the case; though the price is high to the consumer, the quantity of wheat is so deficient, and its quality so inferior, that we shall not do so well as we did last year with a good crop and lower prices."

And this we believe to be true; for if the farmer were to balance the account of all he pays for protection and all he receives from protection, he would in most cases, find himself a positive loser by the system.

Let us call the attention of the farming community to the actual state of the corn trade, and the permanent influence it is likely to have upon the business of husbandry. And in entering upon this review, let us remember that if the agriculturists could be permanently benefited by a law which produces artificial scarcity of food, they would profit by an injustice. Their gain would be derived from a direct robbery of the rest of the community. Their wealth would be derived from the poverty, not the prosperity, of their customers. Like usurers, they would be devouring those they profess to feed. We know enough of British yeomen to say, that where they understand "protection," they spurn gains thus obtained. And farmers do now in a great measure understand the questions involved in the protective system. Were it necessary we should confidently appeal to the farmers' sense of justice from their desire of gain; but there is no necessity for making any such appeal; for in this instance, as in all others, honesty is the best policy. The high prices the farmers are now receiving—where in fact they are receiving them—only enable them to meet their "protection" rents, tithes, &c., out of the comparatively low produce which, under their present insecure tenures, they are able to raise. They are working—aye, and in chains of the most galling kind—for their landlords, not for themselves. The present is a crisis in the condition of husbandry on which much of the future prosperity of the farmers depends. That the Corn Laws, whatever may be their other merits or demerits, are the main source of the hazard and uncertainty which attend the naturally steady business of a farmer, is now generally admitted. "Let the question be settled, let us know what we are about," are now the universal demands of all intelligent farmers. And that the question can be settled otherwise than by Free Trade, the wildest monopolist will scarcely assert. And the question is likely to be settled. Yet there is still a strong and numerous section of the landholders, represented in the Cabinet, it is said, by the Duke of Wellington, who have determined to resist this settlement to the uttermost. They care not for the welfare of the community; they disregard the earnest desire of the agriculturists for a firm basis for their business calculations; they think only of maintaining the semi-feudal system under which the farmers of England have been ground down to the dust. Now then it is the interest no less than the duty of farmers to lend their aid to put down this faction; a faction which, after all, only uses its political influence for aristocratic and selfish ends. Few

farmers will forget how the "protection" agitation of 1844 ended in places for the Duke of Richmond's poor relations, and a silver salver for Mr. Baker, his grace's instrument. The political landlords then used the farmers; and there are some signs that the same faction intend, if they can, to use the farmers again. Not ten days ago, a gentleman expressed his intention of making a visit of discovery to No. 17, Bond-street, to ascertain whether the "Central Protection Society" had even a nominal existence. Nothing less than ocular proof could satisfy him that even a door-plate and a live secretary told that the society was in being. On Wednesday last, however, an advertisement appeared, dated from the "room in Bond-street," and signed by the secretary, from which it would seem that another attempt is about to be made upon the farmers' gullibility. So the *Morning Post*, whose leading articles have lately been of the doleful cast, has returned again to a style of vigorous assertion and its former contempt of vulgar facts, which bespeak an intention of once more doing battle for monopoly. Farmers, however, have had enough of their "friends," and will not be easily moved again to shout for high rents and yearly tenures.

We have expressed a doubt whether the farmers generally are really getting any vastly high prices, although the consumers are paying at a dear rate for their bread; and the two are quite consistent, without imputing, as the *Post* does, all sorts of rogueries to the millers and bakers. Competition will effectually prevent those tradesmen from getting any extraordinary profits; and it is well known that they never get such good profits when prices are high as when they are moderate. The *Mark Lane Express* says, "There is a difference of at least 20s. per quarter between the best and worst samples of this year's produce, which plainly proves how wretched must be the quality of the latter." And from the same authority we learn:

"The very inferior quality of a large proportion of the wheat of this year's growth has hitherto prevented the duty receding more than a step or two, and from present appearances it is questionable whether the article will for some time be admissible below 12s. per quarter."

And again:

"Had the quality of the new produce been only tolerably good, the duty would undoubtedly ere now have fallen to 10s. per quarter, or perhaps lower, in the regular course of things, the finer sorts of red having for some weeks past been selling at 70s. and upwards, whilst choice samples of white have realised as much as 80s. per quarter at several of the principal consuming markets. It may readily be conceived therefore how bad must be the quality of the common runs, to have kept the general average below 60s. per quarter; such has, however, been the case, the last weekly return for the kingdom being only 58s. 2d. per quarter."

Now, good first rate flour cannot be made from the wheat of this year's growth without a considerable mixture of old wheat, or of wheat grown in a drier climate; and as the Corn Laws exclude foreign wheat, millers are compelled to give exorbitant prices for the comparatively small quantity of old and dry wheat which is to be obtained. Dry wheat they must have; and therefore, though the few who happen to hold it may make great profits, the great mass of farmers, who have only this year's crop to sell, get less than they would obtain if millers could buy dry wheat at a cheaper rate. The consumer can only give a certain price for flour; and the miller, in order to manufacture it at that price, must give so much less for the damp wheat, in consequence of the exorbitant sums he is compelled to pay for dry samples. We happen to have before us bread made from wheat of this year's growth—good heavy wheat, selling for 64s. a quarter, which was well got in after remaining a considerable time in the field. This was ground for the grower without any mixture of dry wheat; and the bread, though sweet and wholesome, is close and dark. No miller could venture to make such flour for sale; his article must contain at least one third of flour made from dry wheat, bought perhaps at 75s. or 80s. a quarter.

Now, had there been a good supply of dry wheat in the market, as would have happened had the trade in corn been free, the miller could have given the farmer a better price for his damp wheat of this year's growth. Much of the wheat of the present year sells for less than its intrinsic value, estimated by its weight of flour, because its condition is so bad, that the miller

must use a very large proportion of high "protection" priced dry wheat to produce marketable flour. At this moment a large importation of dry foreign wheat would tend to raise the prices of inferior conditioned wheat in the hands of the farmer, while the consumer would get his flour and bread at lower rates. Such considerations, and similar practical examinations of the real circumstances of the corn and provision trades, will satisfy farmers that, to use the words of Mr. Huskisson, "Monopoly is not always profit."

A STALE TRICK.

It is an old and not very ingenious device amongst those who are detected in attempts to appropriate to themselves the goods of other people, to try to divert attention by raising an outcry against a third party. Yet to this seedy shift it appears the monopolists are now driven; for we see that the *Morning Post*, after stating that "no one pretends that we have not enough of corn," and that there is "nothing urgent" in the present state of affairs, goes on to say, "people get alarmed at the London price of the loaf of bread, but that is really a bad criterion of the pressure of the price of wheat upon the people throughout the country." And why, think ye, readers? Because the fault all lies with the bakers!!!!

The time was when under the paternal despotism of the Turks, some of the finest regions of the world became so ruined and depopulated that the fertile lands failed to produce food for the people; and when the people murmured, the eastern despot, with an anxiety to shift the blame similar to that which actuates the *Post*, told the people to hang the bakers. Accordingly the bakers were hanged, yet the price of bread did not fall in consequence. Then the people, with a discriminating intelligence which we commend to the consideration of the *Post*, hanged the sultan.

See the *Post's* incitement to hang the bakers:

"Instead of setting up a clamour for the overthrow of British agricultural protection because the four-pound loaf costs 10d., it would be much more just to inquire how much of that 10d. is received by the producer of the wheat, and how much may possibly be the undue profits of those who come between the wheat producer and the bread-eater. These charges would weigh with equal pressure upon the bread-consumer whether wheat was bought from the importing merchant or from the cultivator of our own soil."

We have elsewhere referred to some of the circumstances which compel the makers of flour and bread to charge a much higher proportionate price for the manufactured article than the farmer gets for his raw grain; as, for instance, the high price caused by a very limited supply of dry foreign wheat. This is directly and solely attributable to the Corn Laws, and the millers and bakers have just as much to do with it as they have with causing Turkish misrule. But it is essential to the protectionists that the blame should be cast anywhere except in the right quarter. They are in a state of alarm because the public is disposed to put the saddle upon the right horse, and the prime minister is not disinclined to draw the girths.

This is the array of figures by which the *Post* hopes to stir up the public mind to the point of hanging the bakers:

"A quarter of wheat of average quality produces 313 lbs. of fine flour, 10lbs. of seconds, 31lbs. of thirds, 77lbs. of bran, and in the dust and dirt brushed away from the wheat about 14lbs. weight of each quarter is lost. We have, however, 313lbs. of fine flour. The sack of fine flour, which weighs 280lbs., produces 86 loaves of bread of 4lbs. each. The produce of a quarter of wheat, therefore, gives about 96 4lb. loaves of the finest quality. These, if sold at 10d. each, would produce 80s., leaving still 151lbs. of the quarter of wheat to be sold for inferior purposes. Now, by the returns for the week ending 25th October, the price of wheat was 59s. 5d. the quarter, and the average of the six preceding weeks upon which the duty was struck, was 56s. 2d. per quarter. It will be seen, then, that the London public pay 80s. for the fine flour produce of 60s. worth of wheat, leaving 151lbs. of the coarser parts to be sold, and added to the 80s."

This looks imposing; but is it true? Let any one invest 60s. in the purchase of wheat—he can't get dry wheat for less than 70s. or 80s. a quarter—get it ground into flour without admixture, and then make it into bread, and let him see whether he will put in his pocket the tempting profit promised by the *Post*.

Now we don't speak without warrant, for we have tried it. And it is obvious that the array of figures posted by the "Central Society" proves too much, for the profit there said to be derived from a quarter of 60s. wheat, would show a royal road to fortune for not a few enterprising bakers who would sell at lower prices. Why don't Bicknord and Company open a baker's shop at 17, Bond-street, and recruit the funds of the "Central Society," by proving practically the "undue profits" of the bakers? We cannot help commending this scheme to his grace, and suggesting that

perhaps one side of the shop might be profitably devoted to the sale of Scotch salmon!

Now let us suggest to our readers, agricultural and others, producers as well as consumers of wheat, that we may learn something from the practice of the Turkish populace; and, without first perpetrating the wrong of hanging the bakers, the unwilling agents of scarcity, let us repeal at once and for ever the cause, and the only cause, of scarcity or apprehended scarcity in this country, every law which restricts or "regulates" the importation of foreign corn.

LECTURES FOR LANDLORDS.

There may be a vast body of "useful knowledge" adapted for the consideration of the landed gentry drawn from the speeches of the agricultural associations of this season. For instance, at the *Chertsey Meeting*, in Surrey, Mr. Trotter, M.P., said:

"He must congratulate them that the country had last year produced quite sufficient food for the population without foreign assistance; and, when he took into consideration the great increase in that population, he thought it was a very cheering fact, and he had no doubt that if they continued the same course of skill and exertion which they had hitherto pursued, they should always be able to achieve the same result."

True, Mr. Trotter; but how is it when the year does not produce food enough for the population, as happens, perhaps, two or three years out of five? However, when legislators talk in this fashion, it is plain they see the way in which the wind blows. Col. Challoner on the same occasion afterwards went more closely to the real question:

"He agreed with the Hon. Member in his opinion, that the land was able to produce sufficient food for the population, but it could not be done without great labour, great exertions, and in some counties entirely turning over a new leaf. They should recollect, that although their population was increasing enormously, their quantity of land was still the same, and it was only by increasing its fruitfulness that they could hope to supply food for their population. Some gentlemen talked of bringing poor land into cultivation, but he was of opinion this would never answer, because he knew the expense of doing so, and that it would never pay unless corn was at high prices; which he thought they could not see again in this country, unless it were the result of scarcity, which God forbid should ever be the case. He had told them on a former occasion, that they must not rely upon what they termed protection; they must rely upon themselves, and they might rely upon it that the time would come when they would have none, and would be compelled to depend upon their own exertions. It might be next year, it might be 10 years, but they might depend on it the time would come; and he called upon them, therefore, to be upon their guard, and not be taken by surprise, if they were told some morning that next year there would be no Corn Laws. He had no fear, but even then they would be able to cultivate their land profitably if they exerted themselves. He had been recently in Scotland, and he saw land which formerly only produced five sacks of corn an acre, from which five quarters were now thrashed. Supposing, therefore, that the former quantity fetched 60s., the farmer would be better off with the increased quantity if it only fetched 40s. He, therefore, repeated that he had no fear that if they were deprived of the benefit of those enactments which they considered a protection, that they should still be able to cultivate the land with sufficient profit to themselves, give good wages to their labourers, and a remunerating rent to their landlord."

Then spoke Mr. Wells, a large farmer; and, as usual, gave a sufficient reason for the actual state of inferior husbandry. He said:

"That a great many observations had been made about improving the condition of the labourer, but he thought the position of the tenant ought also to be taken into consideration. ('Hear, hear,' and cheers.) If the tenant had assistance from the owners of the soil he could do much to improve the condition of his labourers, but the bad covenants under which they now held land prevented them from doing so. They had no inducement to improve; they were bound down to a certain course of cropping under all circumstances, and which he must call a most stupid system; and he hoped their landlords would take these matters into their consideration, and render their tenants assistance. They had many grievances to complain of, which acted as a bar to improvement. There was the useless timber, the game—('Hear, hear')—although, happily, they were not much troubled with that in this neighbourhood; and many other things in which the landlords might render their tenants essential assistance; and until this was done, they could not expect that tenant farmers would exert themselves. ('Hear, hear,' and cheers.)"

Mr. Briscoe, a landowner, also gave an excellent comment on the same text. He said:

"As some observations had been made with regard to the protection afforded to British agriculture, he might be excused for saying that he rejoiced to hear landlords give their opinions respecting it, for it had always been his opinion that it was more a landlord's than a tenant's question. (Cheers.) He held it to be the duty of a landlord to give assistance and support—and that not scantily, either—to his tenant. (Cheers.) He also thought that all those unwelcome restrictions in leases that had been alluded to by Mr. Wells, and which prevented the tenant-farmer from exercising his skill and ability, and from making use of those scientific experiments which were so advisable, ought to be done away with. ('Hear, hear.') So far as regarded himself, he would inform them that a short time back he had the pleasure of signing a lease for one of his tenants, in which there was not a single condition or restriction, except that the premises should be kept in repair. (Cheers.) An old tenant of his had some time ago made him a similar observation to that of the gallant Colonel, namely, that he expected shortly there would be no protection; and he told him in reply that should such an event occur, he would be happy to give him a lease

by which the rent should depend on the prices. (Great cheering.) He should be ready to do so, and he thought no landlord ought to object; it was perfectly fair to both parties. If corn fell, the rent would fall with it; and if it rose, the rent would rise also. (Cheers.)"

Mr. Newman, a farmer, and one of the judges of ploughing, also said:

"He concurred with Mr. Wells in the opinion, that there could never be any permanent improvement unless the landlords came forward and assisted their tenants, and gave them a better tenure of their land. ('Hear, hear.') Under the present system, a tenant was induced to get all that he could out of his land, during the latter period of his holding it; and it took the new comers-in five years to bring it round again, so that eight years were lost. Under the six months' tenure it was impossible to think that a farmer would make improvement. He might have a good landlord upon whom he could depend; but landlords, like tenants, would die, and fresh ones come in their place; and worse than all, fresh agents, who would look over the land, and if they found it in a good state would turn out the tenant at six months' notice, perhaps to his utter ruin, and put a friend of their own in his place. ('Hear, hear,' and cheers.) If the farmer had a security for his holding, he would always farm up to the mark, and thus render it better for the landlord, the tenant, and the labourer. (Cheers.)"

That the public and general expression of such sentiments are due to the exertions of the League is to us a source of pride and gratification; for of all things we desire to see the farmers emancipated from that deplorable thralldom they now endure.

The following practical testimony in favour of leases, or rather of the necessity of leases to improvement, was given at Preston by Mr. Scott, a Scotch farmer, brought into Lancashire by Mr. Clifton:

"If any marked improvement in the agriculture of the district had taken place since their last meeting in consequence of their different system of management, they must attribute it entirely to Mr. Clifton, who was the means of bringing them to Lancashire, as, had he not granted them leases on fair and liberal terms, none of them would have been here. At their last meeting, he took the liberty of stating, in opposition to what fell from Colonel Rawstorne, his opinion of the beneficial effects of leases; and he took this opportunity of again stating that he did not think any substantial improvements need be expected in the general agriculture of this or any other district before the landowners were prepared to follow Mr. Clifton's example, and grant leases on the same liberal terms; as no tenant-at-will is warranted in laying out his capital on the improvement of another man's lands, unless he has security for reaping some advantage from it. In short, no sensible, calculating tenant will do it, and no right-thinking, well-informed landlord will expect it, as the necessary outlay to put land in a fit state of profitable cultivation is far beyond what most people are aware of, and certainly much too great a risk without having at least a chance of getting it back. (Applause.)"

He pointed out some of the defects in the farming of the neighbourhood, and said no improvement could be made till the land had been drained and much stock kept, and added:

"But this system of farming was attended with a very serious outlay of capital, and the question seemed to be who was the proper party to bear the necessary expense of putting the land into a fit state for profitable tillage. His opinion was, that if landowners were prepared to grant leases on fair and liberal terms, they would not find much difficulty in letting their lands to tenants of capital and enterprise, who would manage matters as they ought to be; but, if landowners were not prepared to do this, they must continue to submit to their estates being very imperfectly cultivated, or adopt the only alternative of improving their lands themselves. (Applause.)"

At the same meeting Mr. Garnett, jun., said:

"He hoped, however, he should yet see the land covered with corn instead of rushes. In Scotland he had seen on one side of the road a beautiful crop of corn, and on the other nothing but heath. This was entirely the effect of industry and skill; and to such an extent had the improvement of land been carried in that country, that the Duke of Roxburgh, when the leases upon a part of his estates recently expired, was able to re-let his farms at an advance of 30 per cent. on the old rent."

It appears, also, from the report of the inspectors of farms made to the *Ashton (Lancashire) Society*, that the farmers are beginning to find they can do without "protection"—that they can best protect themselves by exertion and industry.

"At the conclusion of their general report of last year, the inspectors remarked upon a feeling of depression which was observable among some of the farmers of this country. It seemed in many instances to have checked enterprise, and thrown a chilly damp upon all improvement. They are happy, however, to observe, that it has now mainly passed away. The farmer begins to perceive more and more, that by management, industry, and outlay, all difficulties may be overcome; but that, without these, neither difficulty can be mastered, nor good effected. While, then, the inspectors admit that much has been done, and is now in progress, they would remind the tenantry that much yet remains undone. They would urge them to go on with spirit and enterprise, and assure the farmer, that if he so acts, he cannot fail of prosperity and success. If, on the other hand, he stands still, or falls back, in the general competition which is now so greatly increasing, he may rely upon it, he will not be able to maintain even his present position. While the manufacturer is improving his machinery, the farmer must not neglect improvement in his sphere of action; and while one farmer, from spirit and management, gives increased productiveness to his land, his neighbours must follow in his steps, and keep pace with him, or it is evident, to the plainest reason, they cannot hope to succeed in the race of competition."

RISE IN THE PRICE OF BREAD.—In consequence of the recent advance in flour, the incorporation of bakers in this town have, this week, raised the price of bread to—fine 1lb. loaf 10d.; coarse, do. 9d.—*Kilmarnock Herald*.

THE CORN TRADE AND THE CROPS.

(From the *Mark Lane Express*.)

Three weeks of unusually fine weather has enabled farmers in the north to save a large quantity of grain, which at the close of last month was almost given over as totally lost. That the quality of much of the corn lately carried must be indifferent cannot, when the repeated drenchings it has undergone be called to mind, be for a moment questioned; still it has been got in, and will therefore, in some way or other, help to furnish food for man or beast, which, considering the deficiency of the crop of wheat as a whole, and the extensive failure of potatoes, is something gained. This slight improvement in our prospects has not been without its influence on the trade, and farmers having (as is usual at this period of the year) thrashed out pretty freely, a check has been given to the upward movement in prices.

So far from it having been discovered that the yield of wheat is better than expected, complaints of the number of quarters procured from a given quantity of straw are becoming more general in proportion as thrashing is proceeded with; and the fact that there is a difference of at least 20s. per quarter between the best and the worse samples of this year's produce proves plainly how wretched must be the quality of the latter. Meanwhile the investigations which are being proceeded with, to discover the extent of the potato disease, have brought nothing to light which warrants us in stating that the alarm on that subject is ill-founded; indeed the reports from all quarters are of a nature to confirm our worst fears; and however quiet the trade may at present be, we cannot divest ourselves of the apprehension that prices of bread stuffs will ultimately rise to a point threatening serious inconvenience to the poorer classes of the community.

The very inferior quality of a large proportion of the wheat of this year's growth has hitherto prevented the duty receding more than a step or two, and from present appearances it is questionable whether the article will be for some time admissible below 12s. per quarter; this is under existing circumstances, unfortunate, inasmuch as the tardy manner in which the duty diminishes will give the opponents of the law grounds for raising an outcry which may have some effect on our expediency minister. There has lately been a great deal of talk about an Order in Council to admit corn free; and though we do not believe that any such project is contemplated, still it indicates the course of public feeling. Had the quality of the new produce been only tolerably good, the duty would undoubtedly ere now have fallen to 10s. per quarter, or perhaps lower, in the regular course of things, the finer sorts of red having for some weeks past been selling at 70s. and upwards, whilst choice samples of white have realised as much as 80s. per qr. at several of the principal consuming markets. It may readily be conceived, therefore, how bad must be the quality of the common runs, to have kept the general average below 60s. per qr. Such has, however, been the case, the last weekly return for the kingdom being only 59s. 2d. per qr. All the wheat lately received from abroad has therefore been landed under lock, and that which may still come to hand is likely also to be stored in bond, importers feeling perfectly satisfied that sooner or later a foreign supply will be needed, and that ultimately they will be enabled to enter their property at a very low duty, notwithstanding the opposing influence of the bad qualities of the new wheat. In one respect at least the law of 1828 was more favourable for the consumer than the present enactment, for after prices had risen to a certain point the duty came off rapidly; and though this was, we must confess, a strong temptation to tamper with the averages, yet it had this benefit, that when there was real necessity—such as we believe there to be at present—the impost was speedily reduced sufficiently to induce importers to enter for consumption.

At Mark Lane the trade in wheat has been extremely dull this week, which must be partly attributed to the effect produced by the rumour to which we have already alluded, viz., the ministerial intention of opening the ports. Foreign free wheat has moved off very tardily throughout the week; holders have, however, refrained from pressing sales, and quotations have remained nominally unaltered. By the official account just published, it appears that the total stock of wheat in bond in the kingdom consisted on the 10th Oct. of 513,666 quarters, whereof 207,574 quarters were in the port of London.

With oats the market has been sparingly supplied, the total quantity which has come to hand up to this (Saturday) evening, including 5181 qrs. from abroad, amounting to only 14,612 qrs.

STOCKHOLM, OCT. 21.—Although the harvest on the whole has been an average one, it has nevertheless entirely failed in some parts, particularly in Uppland.

FOREIGN CORN.—The following is extracted from a letter dated Mayence, October 27:—"Our corn market is rising daily, and prices are now at a height so as to create alarm. Wheat has been paid to-day at 15s. per matter; rye, 11½s.; barley, 8s.; oats, 5s. per matter, cash; and even at those prices holders are unwilling to sell. At Strasbourg 34s. to 37s. per 100ks. has been paid for wheat. There have been shipped to the Upper Rhine since this year's crop 20,000 quarters of wheat, and prices would rule much higher had not the countries on the Rhine produced an unusually large quantity. To follow the measure of the other German states, our government (Hesse) has prohibited the exportation of potatoes. Since eight days the potatoes in our vicinity have begun to rot on the ground as well as in the pits, and even in the granaries. This refers only to the white sorts; the red ones are sound as yet, but I am afraid they will equally be attacked."

CROP EXTRAORDINARY.—Mr. H. Rawcliffe, Longton, shopkeeper, has had this year, on a small extent of ground, lying to the south side of his house, about 32 perches, or thereabouts, of oats, which have been so productive as to yield the extraordinary quantity of three loads and five score (240lb. to the load) of meal, being after the rate of rather better than 17 loads to the acre.—*Preston Guardian*.

RECRUITING IN SCOTLAND.—It appears that in the midst of our present prosperity our countrymen are not at all actuated by the pugnacious spirit which has been characteristic of ourselves and ancestors for the last 1000 years. An officer and whole recruiting staff had been despatched from Woolwich to Scotland early in the summer, to recruit for the Royal Artillery, and, wonderful to say, they have not yet succeeded in procuring a single individual to join this distinguished corps. Some attribute this strange fact to the reduction of the retiring pension from a shilling to sixpence a-day. We have some hope that it is proof in some sort that our countrymen, even those who enlist for soldiers, prefer prosperous peace to war in any shape.—*Stirling Observer*.

THE POTATO PLAGUE.—REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*.)

Those peculiarities in the case of Ireland which especially call for prompt action, we have noticed on a former occasion. At this season of the year, before the frost blockades those northern ports which, so far as Europe is concerned, we must look for our chief supplies of the coarser species of grain, every week is precious. We must also entreat attention to the singularly insidious character of that mysterious calamity which now threatens that wretched country with the worst horrors of famine. We already know enough to justify the most distressing apprehensions; but we likewise know that we do not, and at present cannot, know all. The potato plague, or murrain, or whatever else it may be called, which is now devastating Ireland, is described by the Government commissioners as "an enemy whose history and habits are but yet imperfectly known." Nothing is perfectly known of this enemy, but that its ravages are of immense and unascertainable extent—that it attacks, on the shortest notice, both growing and housed crops which were previously considered safe—that the most promising signs of vegetable health may turn out to be utterly deceptive—and that the enemy is beyond measure difficult to dislodge from a soil of which it has once taken possession. Is this an enemy to trifle and temporise with? Is it to be believed that the Minister to whose anxious inquiries his own agents return such an answer as this—so full of dismal certainties, and suggestive of dire possibilities should have nothing to say to the prayer of wretched and affrighted millions, but—

"Let the law take its course."

We are almost ashamed to allude to considerations which, in the view both of statesmanship and of humanity, should now be held undeserving even of a passing thought. Yet we cannot forbear adding, that the class interests to which protection professedly ministers can, at all events, have nothing to apprehend now from the boldest and most sweeping of measures. All objections, or pretences of objection, to "sudden" change, are nullified by the circumstances of the present season. The change now would not be sudden. The utmost that any change could effect would be to maintain something like the *status quo*. Though an Order in Council slid down the scale to zero to-day, and an Act of Parliament fixed it there to-morrow, farmers are secure of their "remunerating prices." The landlords may make themselves quite easy on the score of a possible superabundance. Tamboff itself is effectually put *hors de combat*. The men who dread a corn invasion now are of that genus of alarmists who would have cried "fire" at the general deluge. Even the poor agricultural labourer, whom they dread "throwing out of employment," is provided for too. The railways will take care of him, if only Government will take care of the railways, and of that which keeps railways going.

We have only further to add, that, as the exigencies of the moment loudly call for prompt measures to meet a pressing need, the state of the public mind requires that such measures should be sweeping and final. Something must be done, and if less than everything be done, it will be but a new incentive to agitation. If compromise were desirable, it has long since ceased to be possible. Sir Robert Peel is too shrewd an observer, and too sagacious an interpreter of the signs of public opinion, to imagine that the spirit which spoke last week at Manchester, by the lips of Mr. Cobden, and still more in the enthusiastic cheers that welcomed the speech of the League leader, and most of all, in certain of the facts which that speech detailed, can be laid to rest by any half or three-quarter measure.

POTATO DISEASE.—From a Stockholm letter of the 14th ult., we learn that the prevalent disease in the potatoes has made its appearance in only a very few parts of Sweden; but, as the crop in general was scanty, the government had issued an interdiction against the exportation of potatoes from November 1st till the end of September in the next year.

POTATOES.—EAST LOTHIAN.—Our correspondent says—"I am sorry at not having anything more favourable to report respecting the potatoes, as those that were taken up about a fortnight ago, and closely covered up, are in many instances away to a pulpy mass. To preserve the bulk of the crop, therefore, for any length of time can never be thought of. The only thing that can be done is, to retard decomposition as long as possible, until they are used up by cattle, &c., and to secure that, let them be put in long narrow pits, in an airy but cool situation, and covered with straw alone; turn frequently over, picking out those that are damaged. A little quick-lime would be an advantage. Those that have escaped with least injury are the Irish cups. In a general way, the finer the variety, the more damage has been sustained."—*Witness*.

EXPORT OF POTATOES.—Considerable bustle prevailed at Dundee harbour last week in shipping potatoes for the Continent. Various vessels were loading with this staple produce, and it is probable that several more will be put in requisition for the same traffic.—*Caledonian Mercury*.

POTATO CROP IN FRANCE.—Notwithstanding the alarm for the consequences of the failure of the potato crop created in France, the price of bread for the next fortnight is to remain unchanged in Paris, that of the first quality being 38 centimes the kilogramme (7½d. for the 4lb. loaf), and that of the second quality 30 centimes.

THE LEIPSIK FAIR.—The fair just over has been an excellent one, except for woollens and hogs' bristles. Very extensive business has been done in cloths of all descriptions, at higher prices than those which ruled last year. The produce of the Zollverein manufactures, as well as articles of luxury and fashion, were in great demand. Leather sold freely and at advanced prices.—*Frankfort Postamt's Zeitung*.

NEW DUTIES IN THE ZOLLVEREIN.—The best-informed parties in this country feel no doubt that the new duty of 50 dollars per cwt. on figured worsted goods, has been decided upon by the Diet of the Zollverein. The *Allgemeine Zeitung* tacitly admits that an article in the *Leeds Mercury* of the 11th ult. is true in its facts, but it represents that the increased duty on worsted goods "had in fact already been fixed upon in the session of 1842, but that by a false interpretation of the word *broché* it had not then been put in force." This is true. The augmented duty was then only avoided by the interpretation put upon the word "*broché*." The German press seem to be very sure that the first news concerning the resolutions of their Diet should have reached them this year, as it did in 1842, through the *Leeds Mercury*. The great yarn-consuming and dealing towns of Elberfeld, Berlin, and Leipzig first learnt from our columns that there were not to be augmented duties on cotton, worsted, and linen yarns; and the protectionist *Allgemeine Zeitung* calls this decision a triumph of the English party.—*Leeds Mercury*.

REVIEW.

British Manufactures. By G. Dodd, Esq. Knight's Weekly Volume, No. 70.

At the present moment, the question of food is one of such absorbing interest, that our readers will be glad to obtain some information respecting the manufacture of bread, and the means that are sometimes used to eke out the supply of wheaten flour. Even in the best of times, fraudulent bakers are guilty of adulteration:

"In making loaves of an inferior quality, potatoes are frequently used; and if the quantity be small, the bread is said to be improved thereby; but when added in large quantity for fraudulent purposes, which is sometimes the case, the bread is deteriorated. The existence of too large a quantity of potatoes in bread may often be indicated by the bread cracking and crumbling, by its soon turning sour, by adhering to the knife when cut, and by leaving a depression when pressed by the finger. The erroneous impression that white bread must necessarily be better than that of a darker tint, and therefore worth a higher price, frequently offers an inducement to the baker to add bleaching ingredients to his bread, in order to produce this effect; for no flour except the very finest will produce white bread. In this instance, the taste of the purchasers is partly to blame for the occasional admixture of bleaching substances in the bread. Alum, ground bones, or whiting, are among the ingredients occasionally employed for this purpose; and the means whereby the employment of them may be detected are soiled by chemists to be these:—If bread contain whiting or chalk, and if diluted sulphuric acid be poured on it, there will be an effervescence; but there will be no deposit when pearlash is added to the filtered solution. If ground bones be contained in the bread, and diluted muriatic acid be poured on it, effervescence will ensue; and if it be then filtered and pearlash added, a white heavy deposit will be precipitated. If an excess of alum be used (a very small quantity improves the bread), pour boiling water on the bread; let it cool, and then press out the moisture; boil it away to one-third; when cold, filter it through blotting paper, and add a little muriate of lime to the filtered liquor. If a muddiness now appear, an excess of alum may be suspected. For a similar end, persons sometimes use an excess of salt in their bread, as, by absorbing a great deal of water, it increases the weight of the loaves; when this is the case, the grain of the bread is very rough; and two loaves, on being parted, generally part uneven, one taking away a portion from the other."

In various parts of Britain, and still more on the Continent, other kinds of grain are used instead of wheat:

"The inquiries of practical chemists into the comparative nutritive qualities of different kinds of grain have shown that wheat possesses the largest proportion of nutritive matter, but that other kinds are also capable of forming very wholesome bread. Household bread and brown bread, though deemed of inferior quality to wheaten, are still made from wheat flour mixed more or less with bran. The Scotch peasantry, until a comparatively recent period, ate very little wheaten bread. They used to mix a peck of oatmeal with an ounce of salt, and make it into a stiff dough with water, then form it into flat cakes, and afterwards bake it. These oat cakes, and a somewhat similar kind made from barley, were the substitutes for leavened or fermented bread."

The Cornish miners eat bread made almost wholly of barley instead of wheat. In some parts of the north, penmeal mixed with oatmeal has occasionally formed the material of bread. Parmentier, the French chemist, proved that potatoes, turnips, horse-chestnuts, briony-root, and other plants were capable of yielding a meal which might be made into bread more or less wholesome. In some cases he cut potatoes or turnips into slices, dried them thoroughly, pounded them, and then mixed them with grain-flour; in other cases, the potatoes or turnips were boiled, mashed, and in that state mixed with the flour. A large portion of the bread used in America is made of one-half maize or Indian corn, and one-half barley, with a leaven of wheat. One measure of rice with two of barley afford a wholesome bread, as do equal weights of barley and potato-pulp, or equal weights of wheat and rye. Grain of rice, the pith of the sago-tree, the root of the mandioc, are all formed in various ways into bread in Eastern countries.

"From these details it appears that many vegetable substances are susceptible of conversion into a material for bread more or less salubrious, and it is an object of prominent importance to increase this list, since it is not in human power to command at all times a plentiful return for the labour which the husbandman bestows on his field of corn."

The Americans assert that the bread made wholly or in part from Indian corn is more strengthening than that in which wheaten flour alone is used; and those engaged in very heavy work prefer the maize-bread. The late William Cobbett was also a great advocate of Indian corn, and he was very anxious to have it substituted for the potato. Recent attempts have been made to render wood alimentary, and the experiments have now become important in consequence of the deficiency of the corn harvest in the timber-growing countries of Northern Europe. The experiments were made by Professor Autenrieth, of Tübingen. The following detail of this novel mode of *boarding* a family is very curious:

"The wood is first thoroughly stripped of its bark, and then cut transversely into thin slices about an inch in diameter. These slices are beaten to fibres in a pounding-mill, and then mixed with the sawdust which results from the cutting. The woody particles are boiled in a large quantity of water, in order to remove, as far as possible, the harsh and bitter principles it may contain; or else they are subjected for a long time to the action of cold water, by enclosing them in a strong sack, and beating or treading the sack in a rivulet. The wood is next dried by exposure to the sun or to the heat of a fire, and is afterwards ground repeatedly, till it assumes the form of a rough flour."

"The wood flour is then formed into small flat cakes by the addition of water which has been rendered slightly mucilaginous or gummy. Professor Autenrieth employed one ounce of the roots of the common marsh-mallow, which rendered eighteen quarts of water sufficiently mucilaginous to make four pounds and a half of wood-flour into cakes. The

cakes are baked until they are quite dry and of a brownish-yellow colour; after which they are broken up and ground repeatedly, till the flour will pass through a fine bolting-cloth. According to the hardness or softness of the wood must the baking and grinding processes be repeated more or less frequently. When birch is employed, the labour is much shorter than with beech or other woods of a more compact kind.

"The flour thus prepared acquires nearly the smell and taste of corn flour, but never presents the same appearance, being never white, but of a yellowish hue. It does not ferment without the addition of some leaven, and in this case sour leaven of corn flour is the best. With this it makes a spongy and perfectly uniform bread, like common brown bread, and, when thoroughly baked, is said to have a better taste than the bread prepared in times of scarcity from bran and husks of corn. The addition of a little wheat-flour is recommended to form a wholesome bread in the following manner:—Two pounds of wheat flour and three pounds of sour wheat leaven are mixed up with a little wood-flour and milk, and allowed to stand for some hours in a moderately warm place to rise or swell. About fifteen pounds of birch-wood flour and an additional quantity of milk are then kneaded in, and the dough is rolled out into thin cakes. These cakes are allowed to stand for some time to swell, and are then well baked in an oven. Thirty-six pounds of bread may be produced from the ingredients mentioned above.

"As a proof that wood-flour is both soluble and nutritious, it has been stated that starch is obtained from it in the same way as from wheat-flour, which with boiling water forms a thick, tough, tenacious jelly. More decisive proofs have likewise been obtained by experiments on animals. Professor Autenrieth tried its effects on a young dog. He kept the dog a whole day with only water, and then set before him a gruel of indifferently prepared wood-flour, salt, and water. At first the animal ate very little of it, and in the evening was very weak from having taken so little food. During the night he ate freely of the gruel, and in the morning became lively. He now had as much gruel as he could eat four times a day, and in the course of a few days appeared perfectly reconciled to his diet. This course was continued for seven days, the dog remaining in health, and even appearing to grow.

"The Professor next tried the effects of the wood-flour on himself and his family. They used it in the form of gruel, soup, dumplings, and pancakes, all made with as little of any other ingredients as possible; and not only did they suffer no inconvenience from this kind of diet, but they also found it palatable. When formed into bread, as before described, Professor Autenrieth first tried its effects by eating a quarter of a pound of it, with weak coffee, for breakfast. The more bread he ate, the rougher and more unpleasant did it become; his throat became somewhat constricted and his stomach oppressed, so that he felt convinced at the time that its continued use would prove injurious to him. At dinner-time, however, his appetite returned, and he ventured to eat of several kinds of soup made of this flour. Finding no inconvenience from this, he ate another quarter of a pound of bread in the evening with some milk, and no longer found any repugnance towards it or subsequent oppression. He slept well, and arose in his usual health."

"According to Von Buch, the mode of making bark-bread in Lapland is as follows:—When young and vigorous fir-trees are felled, the tree is stripped of all its bark, and all the outer parts peeled away, except an innermost rind, which is extremely soft and white. This is hung up for several days in the air to dry, and is afterwards baked in an oven, then beaten on wooden blocks, and pounded as finely as possible in wooden vessels. The meal is mixed up with *hexel*, with threshed-out ears of corn, or with a few moss-seeds, and cakes about an inch in thickness are formed of this composition. 'Nature,' says Von Buch, 'receives with reluctance the bitter and contracting food, and the boors endeavour to disguise the taste of it by washing it down with water: but in the beginning of spring, after having lived on this bread a great part of the winter, they become weak and relaxed, and are incessantly tormented with an oppressive shooting and burning about the chest. The Laplanders of Kemi Lappmark are described as using bark in a still more crude form. During the summer they peel off the innermost bark of the fir, divide it into long strips, and hang these strips in their dwellings for winter store, subsisting meanwhile almost entirely on fish. In winter, when their supply of fish fails, they cut these strips of bark into small pieces, and boil them with water and reindeer tallow for several hours, till in consistency they form a thick kind of broth."

We give these few extracts on account of their temporary interest; but we are bound in justice to state that Mr. Dodd's account of British manufactures is ably and accurately written, and that his details are full of instructive knowledge.

The following very clever *jeu d'esprit* has appeared in the *Glasgow Argus*, and bears internal evidence of having come from the same sources as the Odes on Cash, Corn, and Catholics, which some thirty years ago set the country in a roar. It is gratifying to find the sweetest of modern poets firmly adhering to those principles which he maintained against the usurpations of monopoly in the disastrous struggle when the Corn Laws were imposed. Free Traders have not forgotten their obligations to the poet who fought their battle almost single-handed under the most disadvantageous circumstances, and they have reason to rejoice when they find that the veteran puts in his claim to share in the victory.

A THRENODY ON THE APPROACHING DEMISE OF OLD MOTHER CORN-LAW.

By THOMAS MOORE.

I see, I see—it is coming fast,
Our dear old Corn-law's doom is cast!
That ancient Lady, of high degree,
Is as near her end as she well can be;
And much will all vulgar eaters of bread
Rejoice, when they see her fairly dead!

For never, from ancient Medea* down
To the late Mrs. Brownrigg, of bad renown,
Has any old dame been known, they aver,
Who could starve and carve poor folks, like her.

But, dear old dunsell, they wrong her sadly,
'Twas all by law she behaved so badly;
And God forbid, whate'er the event,
That free-born Britons should e'er repent
Wrongs done by Act of Parliament.

But is it indeed then come to this,
After all our course of high-bread bliss?
Poor, dear old Corn-law!—prop of Peers,
And glory of Squires, through countless years,
Must all thy structure of Pounds and Pence,
Like another Babylon, vanish hence?
Must towering Prices and Rents sublime
Thus topple, like turrets touch'd by time—
And all, for what? that each shirtless out
May bolt, for breakfast, a larger loaf!
For this one vulgar purpose alone
Is all this inelegant mischief done.
For this poor Knatchbull—hard privation—
Must lower a peg his "social station!"
For this, even lords (distressing thought)
Will soon to short commons all be brought;
Will fall with their wheat so much per quarter,
And get to look, blue as Bucky's garter,
And stars will grow pale as prices fail,
And fees in tail will be cut off for sale,
And all will sink by a sliding scale—
As "slips o'er its slime the sleek snug-snail,"
Nor leave one corn-lord high and hale,
Though they flounsh now, to tell the tale!

* This lady, as is well known, was in the agricultural line. See, for an account of her farming operations, Ovid, *Metamorph.* l. vii. v. 227. Her skill in "carving" is thus briefly described by the same poet.

—*stricto Medea recludit.*

Ense senis pugnabit.

+ A line borrowed, with but little alteration, from one of the Lake poets, the original being as follows:—
"Slow sliding o'er its slime the slippery, sleek snug-snail."

FREE TRADE COUNTY QUALIFICATION.

A GENERAL MEETING OF THE LEAGUE COUNTY REGISTRATION COMMITTEE will be held at the OFFICES, Newall's Buildings, Manchester, on TUESDAY Evening next, Nov. 11th, for the purpose of taking the necessary steps to induce Free Traders in the Counties to purchase Freehold Qualifications previous to the 31st of January, 1846. The Chair will be taken at half-past six o'clock.

By Order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, *Saturday Morning, November 8, 1845.*

The *Court Circular* of Friday morning makes the following announcement:

"A Cabinet Council was held yesterday afternoon, at the residence of Sir Robert Peel, in Whitehall-gardens. The Ministers present were Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Wharncliffe, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Earl of Haddington, Earl of Ripon, the Earl of Lincoln, and the Right Hon. Sidney Herbert. The Duke of Wellington and the Earl of Ripon arrived in town yesterday morning. The Council sat four hours."

This is the fourth Cabinet Council held within the short space of eight days; and yet, for any result that has appeared, the ministers might as well have remained at their country seats, their shooting boxes, or their watering-places. A deputation from the citizens of Dublin waited on the Lord Lieutenant, to press upon him the necessity of taking early measures to prevent the famine too likely to ensue from the failure of the potato crop in Ireland, and his Excellency delivered to them an oracular answer, from which nothing could be gathered beyond the fact that he had not yet received any intimation of the course about to be pursued from the responsible advisers of the Crown. England, as well as Ireland, waits for some exhibition of vitality and mental activity in these responsible advisers, and finds nothing but doubt, hesitation, and uncertainty. In another column will be found a sad account, from a known correspondent, of the ravages of the potato disease in Hampshire and the south of England; letters from Wales declare that a large portion of the principality has been visited by the same calamity; the great deficiency in Ireland is universally admitted, though there may be some uncertainty as to its extent; bread is rising, trade is sinking, the bank has raised its rate of discount, enterprise is checked in every direction, and this is the period at which a Cabinet deliberates for four hours, and only arrives at a conclusion in which nothing is concluded.

The *Standard* at dowy eye proclaims to the world that the Premier has the nerve and firmness not

only to open the ports, but to adopt the policy of 1795, and grant bounties on the importation of grain. Night, however, works a change in the Ministerial dream; and at the dawn we find the *Herald* declaring that the sliding-scale works so smoothly and so well, that the crisis anticipated on the preceding evening cannot possibly arrive, and that the State physician will persevere in his cautious course of homœopathy without having recourse to any active remedies. The Premier's courage is blazing to its height in the evening paper; but when the morning journal appears, it is found, like the courage of Bob Acres, to have oozed out through the tips of his fingers.

We were not among those who expected any great or immediate results from the opening of the ports; the Corn Laws have done their work abroad as well as at home. Our Continental neighbours have no surplus to spare for our wants, and they seem resolved to retain all the provisions they possess for their own consumption. We find it stated in the *Commerce*, that the Municipal Council of Strasburgh, following the excellent example of the Councils of Mulhouse and of Nancy, has voted the purchase of 7000 metric quintals of foreign wheat, to be retailed to the poor should prices continue to rise in the approaching winter. The *Réforme* declares:

"Provisions are every day becoming dearer in Paris. Potatoes are now double the price they were a month since. The price of other vegetables rises in the same proportion. Poor families are already beginning to feel severely the effects of the bad harvest. If this rise in the price of provisions increases in the same proportion for only one month, the necessities of life will become beyond the reach of the indigent."

La Presse calls loudly for a prohibition of the export of corn. "Let us," says this republican journal, "let us prevent the English from coming to satisfy their hunger at the expense of those gifts which God has reserved for us. . . . The French Government ought to take care of the French population before it melts into pity for the sufferings with which Ireland is menaced." Food is going out of Britain. An Antwerp journal states that a large quantity of Irish potatoes has been destroyed by the police of that city as being unfit for human food; a vessel from Londonderry laden with potatoes appears among the arrivals in the ports of Holland. It is believed by many influential merchants, that if the present high rate of duty continues, much of the corn now in bond will be re-exported; and thus the reserve-stock will be irrecoverably lost to the country.

How the British population is to be fed for the next ten months, is the problem which the Premier must solve, for he has voluntarily incurred the responsibility. To him the nation has a right to look, because he has intercepted the supplies which would have come in the natural course of Providence, and the resources which he promised in their stead have been found failures. Events are too powerful for artifice; the irresistible march of circumstances tramples down shifts and contrivances. To enact Corn Laws under any circumstances was a crime and a blunder; to maintain them amid ominous menaces of scarcity and famine would be the very consummation of iniquity and absurdity.

The following announcement in the *Standard* of Friday evening has a semi-official character. We give it without comment, which, under present circumstances, is unnecessary:

"We are, however, we trust, in a condition to congratulate the Leaguers upon the certainty that the ports will not be opened, inasmuch as the stock of provisions in Great Britain is amply sufficient; and the deficiency in Ireland is not likely to proceed to an extent calling for any violent remedy."

AN EXAMPLE TO GREAT BRITAIN.—Mr. James Reed, Belgian Consul at Sunderland, has received from the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Brussels, an ordinance of the 24th September, 1845, of which the following is a translation:—"Leopold, King of the Belgians, greeting to all present and to come. The Chambers have adopted and we sanction what follows: Article 1st. Until the 1st June, 1846, will continue to be free as imports, wheat, rye, barley, buckwheat, maize, beans, and vetches, peas, oats, oatmeal, potato meal, and other like substances—vermicelli, macaroni, and Semolina potatoes, rice. The Government will grant besides, for the same term, the total or partial remission of the import duties on flour, cattle, and all provisions not set forth in this article. It will be perceived in these articles a balance duty of 10 centimes per 1000 kilogrammes. Article 2nd. It will be allowed until the 1st June, 1846, a remission of tonnage duty on the importation of potatoes, which shall be acknowledged of good quality and as consumption. Done at Laken, the 24th September, 1845. Signed, LEOPOLD."—*Sunderland Herald*.

EPITOME OF NEWS.

FOREIGN.

The Paris papers of Tuesday announce that it is by no means certain that Marshal Soudt will give up the Portfolio of the War Department. The Paris opposition prints appear to anticipate difficulties of a serious character between France and Turkey, on account of the conduct of Chekib in the Lebanon, against which the Baron de Bourquenay had hitherto vainly remonstrated. The *Constitutionnel* publishes a letter from Father de Plonghe, directly accusing the Druze chief of the murder of Father Charles, who was acquitted by the Turkish tribunal, notwithstanding the demand of the French authorities for his execution.—The *Courier de Marseilles* says, "We believe we may announce positively that the Government has conceived it to be necessary to send further reinforcements to Africa, and that, instead of 12,000, it will send 20,000 men before the month of February. This leads to a supposition that our troops will not enter Morocco before the spring, and that between this and then our military operations will be confined to restraining the population of Algeria. In the meantime negotiations will be opened with the Emperor Abderrhaman, in the hope of inducing him to carry into execution the principal clauses of the treaty of Tangier." It appears that of the 80,000 men previously in Algeria, not more than 20,000 are in the field under all the Generals; the remainder couped in garrisons, or sick in the hospitals. Allowing that 10,000 of these may be taken into Morocco, this would, with the intended reinforcement of 20,000 men, give an army of 30,000. This would be a formidable force if it could arrive intact at the intended scene of action in Morocco. But before it could get there half would be disabled by sickness or fatigue. If Marshal Bugeaud is in the spring to penetrate into the territories of the Emperor, he must have a reinforcement not merely of 20,000, but of 50,000 men, and there is his own authority on record for declaring that even in that case he will not be sure of success.—The *Débats*, in a notice of Lieut. Waghorn's success with his India mail experiment by Trieste, urges the French Government to take immediate steps for preventing the utter abandonment of Marseilles. It recommends principally the amelioration of the quarantine regulations.—The long-expected accouchement of the Princess de Joinville took place at the Chateau of St. Cloud on Wednesday morning. Her Royal Highness and infant (a son) were stated at three o'clock on that day to be as well as could be expected. It was reported that the young Prince would be created Duke of Tangier or Count of Mogador. The Court would, it was expected, return to the Tuileries towards the end of the present month. The accouchement of the Duchess d'Annamule would, it was expected, take place in the first week in December.

BRUSSELS, Nov. 4.—The Antwerp and Bruges police seized the other day a large quantity of potatoes which had arrived from Ireland in a damaged condition. It is probable that they were sound when shipped, but in many cases the voyage is prejudicial to that vegetable.

ANTWERP.—A letter from Antwerp of the 2d says, "This morning a cargo of 1000 sacks of potatoes of good quality and in excellent condition, arrived from Dundee; a cargo of potatoes has also arrived from Londonderry. The police have caused several cart loads of potatoes from Ireland to be thrown into the river. The Congress of the Customs Union at Carlsruhe is terminated; all the members have left the city, and it is affirmed that nothing has been done in favour of German manufactures. The next Congress is to be held at Cassel, but it is affirmed that in the interval there will be an extraordinary Congress at Berlin during the winter. Some persons hope that protective measures will be adopted at this extraordinary meeting, but this hope is ill-founded.

DOMESTIC.

A Cabinet Council was held on Thursday afternoon at the residence of Sir Robert Peel in Whitehall-gardens. The Ministers present were—Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Wharfedale, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Earl of Londonderry, the Earl of Ripon, the Earl of Lincoln, and the Right Hon. Sidney Herbert. The Duke of Wellington and the Earl of Ripon arrived in town yesterday morning. The Council sat four hours.

The following important notice was issued on Thursday afternoon, at the Bank of England:—"Notice.—The minimum rate of interest on bills discounted at the Bank of England, not having more than 95 days to run, is 3l. 10s. per cent.

Sir James South, in a letter published in the *Times* of Wednesday, announces that Professor Faraday has succeeded in obtaining, experimentally, what he had long sought for, namely, "the direct relation of electricity and magnetism to light." The details of the experiments are to be made public at the approaching evening meetings of the Royal Institution.

During the past week several large flocks of those well-known winter visitors, the field-farce and the redwing, have been seen in various parts of England. These birds ordinarily visit us in November, and their early arrival this autumn proves that the winter must have already set in with considerable severity in Norway and Lapland.

The 51st anniversary of the triumphant acquittal of John Horne Tooke, the great philologist, Thomas Hardy, and John Thurgate, was celebrated on Wednesday evening at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, when a party of about 100 sat down to dinner. Dr. Bowring, M.P., took the chair, and was supported on the left by Mr. Fox, and on the right by Mr. Taylor.

On Saturday last, between the hours of eleven and twelve o'clock, a fire was discovered in the stackyard of Mr. John Carrington, of Ty Bryth, Minera. Great exertions were made by Mr. Carrington and his neighbours to stop the ravages of the devouring element, but their efforts proved unavailing; four ricks of oats, one of barley, and part of a stack of hay were consumed. A meeting was held in the Town Hall, on Tuesday last, which was attended by R.M. Lloyd, Esq., and other influential parties, for the purpose of investigating the cause of the fire. The firemen and various witnesses were examined, and we are sorry to announce that, from the tenor of the whole of the evidence, it was manifest that the fire had not arisen from spontaneous combustion, but was the diabolical work of an incendiary.—*Carnarvon Herald*.

Mr. G. R. Phillips, one of the members for Poole, attended a meeting of his constituents at the Town-hall on October 30, convened for the purpose of meeting him, and, on his explaining his Parliamentary career, a resolution approving his conduct was negatived by a majority of nearly two to one, much to the astonishment of the hon. member. This

unexpected notification in all probability will close his connection with this borough.

About ten minutes after seven o'clock on Saturday evening last, a dreadful gunpowder explosion took place at the shop of Mr. Richard Jones, ironmonger, No. 58, Dale-street, Liverpool, which not only seriously injured Mr. Jones himself, and his shop-boy, John Buckstone, but more or less injured several other persons, and caused a devastation of property to a considerable amount.

Such is the demand, at the present time, for shipwrights at her Majesty's dockyards at Portsmouth, that our city is placcarded, offering liberal wages and a free passage to forty good workmen.—*Chester Courant*.

We learn, from the *Scotsman*, that Lord John Russell, accompanied by his lady, arrived in Edinburgh on Saturday the 25th. On Thursday the town council unanimously resolved to confer the freedom of the city on his lordship. No doubt, the corporation of Glasgow will imitate the excellent example set them by that of Edinburgh, if his Lordship, as we understand he will, should be induced to honour this city with his presence.—*Glasgow Argus*.

It is a fact that the largest entry of goods for export or the largest declared value ever included in one entry, was made at the Liverpool Custom-house the other day, in the ship *Jeremiah Garnet*, for China—1700 bales of goods, valued at 43,000l. The total cargo, it is said, will reach 120,000l.—*Liverpool Mercury*.

Orders were on Thursday received at the Cork Custom-house directing returns to be forwarded to the Castle, Dublin, setting forth the quantity of potatoes shipped from this and all the outports of the district since the 1st of September last; and also directing that returns should be made every Saturday of the quantities exported during the week, distinguishing in all cases those shipped to England, coastways, and to other places. Orders similar to the above have been received at the Custom-house of Dublin, and at the various outports.

As a proof that the feeling with regard to the suspension of distillation from grain is gaining ground, we may mention that we have just now heard (four o'clock) that an eminent distiller of this city has purchased to-day 400 hogheads of sugar, which of course he intends to use as a substitute for grain, in case it be necessary.—*Dublin Pilot*.

The North Riding Tipperary papers of Friday bring the horrible intelligence of the assassination, in open day, of Mr. Patrick Clarke, a gentleman of extensive property, and late of the firm of Clarke and Vincent, solicitors and land-agents, of Merriem-square, Dublin.

The directors of the Bank of Ireland have determined upon a further advance in discounts; namely, to four per cent. upon English bills, and to five per cent. upon Irish bills. This proceeding is one of great commercial importance under existing circumstances, and cannot fail to produce a material influence upon railway enterprise.

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. Nov. 1	MON. Nov. 3	TUES. Nov. 4	WED. Nov. 5	THUR. Nov. 6	FRI. Nov. 7
Bank Stock	205	206.5	204	204	204	204
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	95	95	95	95	95	95
3 per Ct. Con. Ann.	96	96	96	96	96	96
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	98	97	97	97	96	96
Long. An. Ex. 1860	103	102	102	101.16	101	101
Cons. for Acct.	94	94	94	94	95	95
Exc. Bills, pm.	39	35.8	33.6	36.9	..	..
Ind. Bds. un. 1000l.	53	53	..	50	..	..
India Stock .....	..	..	204	203	202	..
Austrian .....	..	..	..	106	110	..
Belgian Bonds .....	..	..	..	90	96	..
Brazilian 5 per Ct.	83	83.4	83	82	..	..
Ch. Ind. .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Columb. ex. Venez.	..	..	..	16	..	16.17
Danish .....	..	..	..	87	..	..
Dutch 4 per Cent.	93	93	93	93	92	92.3
Dutch 2½ per Cent.	54	54	54	54	54	59
Mexican	32	32	32	31	31	32
Peruvian .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Portug. conv.	58	58	59	..	56	..
Russian 5 per Cent.	111	111	111	..	..	..
Spanish 5 per Ct.	..	27	27	27	27	28
Do. 3 per Ct. ex. dv.	..	..	37	38	..	38

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

Monday, Nov. 3.—We have been only moderately supplied with English Wheat during the past week, and to-day there is no great addition to the show of samples left over from Friday: of all other grain the arrivals are scanty. There is no like in any branch of the trade. Where sales of English Wheat are pressed, lower prices must be taken, but factors will not sell at a decline. Bonded Wheat is held for 2s. to 3s. more money, but there are no purchasers at these rates. Barley, Beans, and Peas remain the same as last week. The Oat trade partakes of the general dullness without any material alteration in price. S. H. LUCAS.

BRITISH.

	Per Imperial Quarter
Wheat, Essex,	Red 5s to 6s White 6s to 7s
Kent, & Suffolk	51 62 56 66
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire	49 56 56 64
Scotch .....	.. ..
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feed	28 30
Do. Ditto	Polands
Scotch Feed	31 Potato 36
Limerick	28 30
Do. Ditto	Old Fine 33 35
Cork .....	.. ..
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black	27
Sligo	27 29
Galway	27 28
Barley	32 39
Beans, Mazagan	New 40 Old 43
Do. Harrow	48
Do. Small	50
Peas, White	Boilers
Do. Grey	40 41 Maple
Flour, Town-made	per sack of 28 lbs. 48 60
Norfolk and Suffolk	48 50

FOREIGN.

	PER. IN BOND.	Per Imperial Quarter.
Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed	60 to 68	46 52
Rostock	58 62	44 48
Stettin	57 62	43 46
Hamburg	54 50	42 45
Odesa	48 52	40 42
Odesa Polish	52 58	40 43
Russian	soft	50 59
Do. Ditto	hard	48 57
Spanish .....	.. ..	.. ..
Do. Ditto	White .....	.. ..
Australian .....	.. ..	60 69
Barley, Grindling .....	.. ..	27 30
Do. Distilling .....	.. ..	30 32
Oats, Archangel .....	.. ..	31 32
Danish .....	.. ..	32 33

Swedish	32 33 26 17
Stralsund .....	.. ..
Dutch Feed	30 31 21 25
Brew	34 36 28 30
Polands	34 36 28 30
Beans, Egyptian	41 42 40 41
Peas, White	56
Ditto Boilers	none
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 196 lbs.	34 35
United States	32 35
Dantzic .....	.. ..
Australian, per sack of 280 lbs. .....	.. ..

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from Oct. 27 to Nov. 1, 1845, both days inclusive.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas.
English	5100	3552	1910	732	913
Scotch .....	..	..	600	..	..
Irish .....	..	..	782	..	..
Foreign	7469	..	5181	..	175

Flour, 3718 sacks; 2549 barrels.

FRIDAY, Nov. 7.—We have short arrivals of grain of every kind this week. There is no life in any branch of the trade, and to make sales, rather lower prices must be taken. This, however, holders decline to do, and the amount of business doing is, in consequence, very limited, and prices almost nominal. The duty on Wheat fell 1s., and on Peas 6d., yesterday. S. H. LUCAS.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 31st of October to the 7th of November, both inclusive.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	7190	..	850
Barley	6080	..	..
Oats	4900	10090	5500

Flour, 7760 sacks.

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending Nov. 4, 1845.

	Qrs.	Price.	Qrs.	Price.
Wheat	7110	65s. 10d.	Rye	67 39s. 7d.
Barley	2843	38s. 4d.	Beans	68s. 43s. 2d.
Oats	13661	27s. 10d.	Peas	1331 49s. 9d.

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d.						
27th Sept.	53	2.30	2.22	2.33	1.42	5.38 9
4th Oct.	56	0.31	1.23	4.33	8.43	1.42 6
11th "	57	9.31	3.23	4.34	2.43	1.44 4
18th "	58	2.32	0.23	5.34	5.44	5.43 0
25th "	59	5.33	0.24	11.34	5.45	5.44 1
1st Nov.	60	1.34	3.26	2.33	2.45	3.43 10

Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks. Wheat, 57s. 6d.; Barley, 31s. 11d.; Oats, 23s. 11d.; Rye, 35s. 10d.; Beans, 43s. 11d.; Peas, 42s. 9d.

Duty. Wheat, 15s. 0d.; Barley, 7s. 0d.; Oats, 5s. 0d.; Rye, 9s. 6d.; Beans, 1s. 0d.; Peas, 1s. 0d.

Stock of Corn in Bond, Sept. 5, 1845.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.	Flour.
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In London, 145712	18526	36582	..	15452	2179	39910	Cwts.
Unit. King. 44408	59727	89114	..	48073	11420	222290	

MEAT MARKET.

FRIDAY, Nov. 7.—The supply to-day was somewhat larger, and the trade upon the whole heavy. J. PRENTICE.

PER STONE OF 8 LBS. PER STONE OF 8 LBS.

Prime Beef .. 3s	0d to 2s	6d	Middl. Mutton 2s	10d to 3s	6d
Middling do. 2s	0d to 2s	8d	Veal, from ..	4s 0d to 4s	8d
Plain, or infe-	rior Beef ..	d to 2s 4d	Small Pork ..	5s 0d to 5s	8d
Prime Mutton 3s	8d to 4s	0d	Large, or infe-	rior Pork ..	3s 8d to 4s 4d

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, Oct. 31.

BANKRUPTS

W. COOPER, Lower Shadwell, brewer. [Messrs. Lawrance and Plews, Bucklersbury.
H. FITZGERALD, Bond Street, Lambeth, coal merchant. [Mr. Hindmarsh, Crescent, Jewin Street.
W. J. WALKER, Oxford Street, bootmaker. [Mr. Turner, Mount Street, Whitechapel Road.
W. H. SHELDRAKE, Ipswich, bootmaker. [Messrs. Shearman and Evans, Gray's Inn.
A. LACK, Stockbridge Terrace, Fimlico, saddler. [Mr. Robinson, Halfmoon Street, Piccadilly.
J. SMITH, Liverpool, victualler. [Mr. Nethersole, New Inn, Strand.
T. OXTON, Liverpool, cart owner. [Messrs. Johnson and Co., Temple.
J. THOMAS, Bristol, marble mason. [Messrs. Daniel and Barker.
T. LIDDELL, Boldon West Pastures, Durham, corn factor. [Messrs. Chisholme, Hall, and Gibson, Lincoln's Inn Fields.
J. RAMSDEN and J. RAMSDEN, jun., Leeds. [Mr. Walker, Farnival's Inn.

DIVIDENDS.

Nov. 21, T. Johnson, sen., and Co., Romford, bankers—C. Mann, Romford, banker—J. K. Cotterell, Glastonbury, grocer—H. R. Osborne, Truro, grocer—Nov. 25, J. Hutchings, Bath, shoemaker—J. Marshall and T. Collier, Manchester, merchants—Nov. 26, J. Bourne, Benmesley, Staffordshire, printer—Nov. 27, F. Ridd, Nether Stowey, Somersetshire, surgeon—Nov. 28, H. Warr, Bridport, carrier—Dec. 16, J. Clarke and Co., Leicester, bankers.

CERTIFICATES.

Nov. 19, J. Guy, Bury Street, St. James's, publisher—Nov. 21, R. Mackenzie, Hunter Street, Brunswick Square, commission agent—R. Harris, Newgate Street, tailor—C. Bailey, Gardick Hill, wholesale druggist—J. L. Machu, Macclesfield, silk trimming manufacturer—Nov. 22, E. Cook, Little Newport Street, grocer.

TUESDAY, Nov. 4.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

Oct. 31, C. Brook, Huddersfield, dyer.—M. Ibbotson and J. Ibbotson, Ecclesfield, Yorkshire, paper manufacturers.

BANKRUPTS

J. REDING and W. N. JUDD, Horseshoe-court, Ludgate-hill, City, printers. [Messrs. Goddard and Eyre, Wood-street, Chapsdale.
E. SPILLER, Berners-street, Oxford-street, tea dealer. [Messrs. Wire and Co., St. Swinith's-lane.
W. ASHCROFT, sen., Bere-street, Ratcliffe, cooper. [Mr. Hartley, New Bridge-street.
J. LITTLEWOOD, New Bond-street, hosier. [Messrs. Goddard and Eyre, Wood-street.
G. STAIGHT, Skinner street, Snowhill, ivory worker. [Mr. Barber, Farnival's Inn.
J. GADD, High-street, Camden Town, baker. [Mr. Hare, Coleman-street.
J. SPOFFORD, Chatham, linendraper. [Mr. Sharp, Devonshire-terrace.
E. TURNER, Princes-street, Soho, chemist. [Mr. Buchanan, Basinghall street.
J. WHITEWAY, Chudleigh, Devon, miller. [Mr. Stogdon, Exeter.
T. B. VAUGHAN, Poulton-cum-Spittall, Cheshire, farmer. [Messrs. Norris and Co., Bartholomew-street.
G. GREENSTOCK, Weston-super-mare, Somersetshire, iron-monger. [Messrs. Jones and Co., Crosby-square.

DIVIDENDS.

Nov. 25, T. Palmer, Newwood, Whitechapel, soapmaker—S. Fawcett, Chiswell-street, linendraper—J. E. Smirk, Broad-court, Bow-street, victualler.

CERTIFICATES.

Nov. 25, W. Mossman, Clarke's-place, Islington, fancy stationer—R. Line, Finsbury-street, Linchhouse, under-merchants—J. Glass, White Hart-street, Drury-lane, victualler—J. Lazarus, Marylebone-lane, clothes dealer—Nov. 26, J. and J. R. Reay, Mark-lane, wine merchants.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

R. Fowlds, Kilmanock, draper.

Nov. 8.

charges. Mr. Clark, Surgeon Dentist, No. 61, Grosvenor street, Bond street, London. At home from eleven till four.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 112.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1845.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

We beg to inform our subscribers that bound volumes of the LEAGUE newspaper, containing the whole of the first year's Numbers, may be had on application at the offices, either in London or Manchester.

OBSERVE!

Samples of good Wheat were sold in Mark Lane on Friday at 74s. per quarter.

The duty on Foreign Wheat is 14s. per qr.
The national expenditure for bread is NOW at the rate of 20 millions a-year, or FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND pounds weekly MORE than during the whole of last winter and spring.

BUY FORTY-SHILLING FREEHOLDS!

We again urge our Free Trade friends everywhere, promptly and strenuously to improve the precious weeks from now to the 31st of January in making out their title to citizenship on the cheap and easy terms on which it is offered by the ancient constitution of the country. Let every Englishman who would rescue his property and industry from the clutches of the greedy and sordid oligarchy that claim a vested interest in famine, come forward and accept this simple and all-efficient weapon of self-protection—the good old 40s. freehold county franchise.

Nothing else will do. Nothing but votes—and county votes are the easiest to be got and kept. If any of us ever dreamed that Sir Robert Peel would yield to any power on earth but the power of votes, either actually given, or registered to be ready when wanted; that he would submit to any other necessity than that imposed by Parliamentary majorities, present or prospective; that he would recognise any other "destiny" than the destiny whose decrees are duly enrolled in the registration courts, and counter-signed by the revising barristers; or that he would respect any other "public opinion" than the public opinion which is qualified and registered;—that dream is now at an end. For an unqualified and unregistered people, Sir Robert Peel either will not, or cannot, lift up a little finger. Unqualified and unregistered Russians, Turks, and Dutchmen get themselves attended to by their rulers—but not unqualified and unregistered Englishmen. The Minister who wields the resources of a wealth and power which we create, who quarterly receives a salary which we pay, cares not for us. He is in the hands of the Richmonds and Buckinghams, because

the Richmonds and Buckinghams have the votes; and he will do their bidding so long as they have the votes. His and their power rests on votes—especially county votes; and by votes, especially county votes, must it be overthrown. WE MUST HAVE THE COUNTIES.

That we may have the counties, if we will, is as certain as that we have South Lancashire. There is scarcely a county in England that might not be won, either by efforts from within or from without, through the medium of the 40s. franchise; there is not one county that we would give up as quite hopeless. As, however, in the present stage of this movement, selection is desirable, to prevent a too minute subdivision of our forces, we subjoin a list of counties, every one of which may be ours, and ought to be ours, by the end of January—in every one of which there is an ample sufficiency of those materials and facilities, by the use of which the first four of the catalogue have already been won to the Free Trade cause:

South Lancashire	West Gloucester
Middlesex	East Somerset
West Yorkshire	West Somerset
North Cheshire	North Wilts
North Lancashire	North Notts
South Stafford	South Leicester
South Cheshire	Rutland
North Durham	East Surrey
East Cumberland	South Essex
South Northumberland	West Kent
North Stafford	South Hants
North Warwick	East Sussex
East Worcester	East Cornwall
East Gloucester	West Cornwall

With the entire confidence derived from a careful study of the resources of these counties, and of those bordering on them, and from the experience of the past year's efforts and successes, we tell the Free Traders of England, that every one of the above may be wrested from monopoly in time for the next general election.

We entreat our friends in all the towns of all these counties to begin their operations at once, by the formation of active and efficient Qualification and Registration Committees.

In some of the counties or divisions above enumerated, it will be obvious to many of our readers, that the means of self-emancipation afforded by a numerous and free-spirited town population, do not exist to a sufficient extent within the boundaries of the county or division itself. This, however, need create no difficulty. One county and one division may help another. As this is a franchise which does not require residence, the number of county votes which a man may possess in England is limited only by the number of counties in England. Every Free Trader, after looking to the safety of his own county, may step over the border, and take out his qualification in the adjoining one. This is what we have already done in the north to a great extent. In fact, a prosperous Manchester man's complement of county votes is regularly understood to be four, at least. We hope our friends will deem the precedent worthy of general adoption. As South Lancashire helps Cheshire and the West Riding, let the West Riding people step over into North Nottinghamshire, and look about them to see if they can find any little properties there to their mind. Cheshire and Worcestershire freeholds may afford desirable investments to the men of North and South Staffordshire; and we need not say that Londoners must take care of Middlesex, Kent, and Surrey. This sort of charity cannot be too diffusive—provided, that is, that in every instance it begin at home.

Working men of England!—all who, whether by the toil of head or hands, make England what it is—here is the way from a worse than feudal serfdom, to citizenship and sovereignty. Will you not walk in it? Your country is yours by right, for you have made it; will you not make it yours by law,

and take the rule of it? The constitution means to give citizenship and sovereignty to every one of you that has 40s. worth annually of independent property, inherited or earned; but the constitution requires that the fact be authenticated by certain formalities, the first and chief of which is the purchase of a piece of land. Will you not comply? It does not seem a very hard condition. Property in the soil of England is worth having without the vote; but the good old English law and constitution gives the vote over and above, gratis.

IF SIR ROBERT PEEL IS NOT RESPONSIBLE, WHO IS?

We are determined to have no mistake about this. The Herald may wince, and set up the stale, stupid, and impudent cry of "assassination"—infinitely to the annoyance, we are very sure, of the Herald's master, who owes small thanks to anybody for reminding the world of the most discreditable passage of his life. But, good Herald, we assure you it won't do. Somebody is responsible, we suppose, for the government of the country. Somebody may take the credit, "individually and personally," of the fruits of good government—and must bear the blame, individually and personally, of the consequences of bad government. For certain things which befall a country there is, of course, no responsibility. For those contingencies which legal phraseology designates the "act of God"—for hurricanes and earthquakes, ungenial seasons and hostile elements—no human being is responsible. But for everything that comes within the range of human legislation and administration—for all arbitrary interferences with the course of nature and Providence—for all artificial hindrances of natural good, or aggravations of natural evil—for everything that a Government undertakes to do, that Government is responsible: that is, the men who govern are responsible—the man who presides over the Government is chiefly responsible. And again and again we ask,—If Sir Robert Peel is not responsible for all that may happen to the country under and in consequence of his own Corn Law—the law which he made, which he maintains, which he will not advise the Queen to suspend by act of prerogative, nor summon Parliament to repeal by act of legislation;—if Sir Robert Peel is not responsible, individually and personally responsible, who is?

Will they say that Parliament is responsible? Parliament is responsible for many things for which we should be very sorry to be responsible; and among the rest, for making the Corn Law of 1842. But Parliament is certainly not responsible for refusing to call itself together to re-consider or repeal the Corn Law. To call Parliament is an act of prerogative. Parliament is not responsible for there being no Order in Council to suspend the Corn Law and open the ports, which likewise is an affair of prerogative. Do they mean to insinuate, then, that the Queen is responsible—that it is by her Majesty's act or default that the Government carried on in her name is more merciless than that of the Czar of Russia, and less Christian than that of the Grand Turk? Every schoolboy knows better. An individual and personal responsibility of British sovereigns is unknown to the constitution. Royal responsibility in this country is put permanently into commission—is delegated to those functionaries whom our everyday political phraseology denominates "responsible advisers of the Crown." And the responsible adviser of the Crown, who now counsels Majesty to let the law of artificial famine take its course, is SIR ROBERT PEEL. Legally and constitutionally, politically and morally, to Parliament and to the country, is Sir Robert Peel now responsible—individually and personally respon-

sible—for all the consequences of keeping up prohibitory duties with famine prices. All the bankruptcy, insolvency, and pauperism; all the stinting and pinching of men, women, and children in their daily comforts; all the famine and pestilence; all the mortality and crime that may ensue in this enormous public delinquency—*ALL is Sir Robert Peel's doing.*

Nothing in this world was ever plainer. The case is complete on their own showing. The Ministerial *Standard* itself gives us all the *duties*—the common sense of mankind may be trusted for the comment. On Thursday, the 23rd of October, when the potato disease first began to assume its present menacing aspect, this journal said:

"The ultimate consideration—that to which all other considerations must give place—is the duty of the state to ensure that not one of the Queen's subjects shall perish from famine Sir Robert Peel, we are convinced, is not the statesman to shrink from the most urgent of all a statesman's duties—the preservation of the lives of his fellow-citizens Should it prove necessary, as we trust it will not, *Sir Robert Peel, we are persuaded, will not hesitate to suspend the Corn Laws*

In the supposed case of a very great deficiency in the potato crop, it seems pretty plain that a suspension of the Corn Laws ought to be resorted to."

Since the 23rd of October, we have had no fewer than four Cabinet Councils, for the purpose of examining whether any and what special security need to be taken, "to ensure that not one of the Queen's subjects shall perish from famine," and of considering the best means of discharging "the most urgent of a statesman's duties—the preservation of the lives of his fellow-citizens." On Friday, the 7th instant, the same *Standard* announced the result as follows:—

"We are, we trust, in a condition to congratulate the Leaguers upon the certainty that the ports will not be opened, INASMUCH AS THE STOCK OF PROVISIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN IS AMPLY SUFFICIENT."

That is to say, Sir Robert Peel takes it on him to affirm that "the most urgent of all a statesman's duties" is in a fair way of being fulfilled, and that the stock of food in the country is such as "to insure that not one of the Queen's subjects shall perish from famine." Were there the slightest doubt on this matter, the ports would be immediately opened—opening the ports being, as a matter of course, admitted by the ministerial journalist to be the appropriate remedy for any deficiency of food. But as there is no deficiency of food—"inasmuch as the stock of provisions in Great Britain is amply sufficient"—of course the ports are not opened. It is a "certainty" that the ports will not be opened—implying that the fact of "ample sufficiency" is likewise a matter of certainty. Having arrived at this most gratifying—though, to the country generally, most unexpected—conclusion; having discovered the needlessness of applying a remedy to an evil which is ascertained to be purely imaginary,—Sir Robert Peel dismisses his colleagues to their respective country seats, and instructs his organs to cry lustily, "*All right.*"

We trust we have succeeded in making ourselves perfectly understood. If there is any inaccuracy in our facts, or looseness in our logic, we beg the *Standard* to take an early opportunity of pointing it out, since we intend to be continually harping on this matter. Our position is simply and briefly this: that Sir Robert Peel, as Prime Minister of Great Britain, has now made himself responsible—"individually and personally" responsible of course (we know nothing of a responsibility "in the abstract")—for the "CERTAINTY" of his hypothesis that "THE STOCK OF PROVISIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN IS AMPLY SUFFICIENT," and for all consequences that may ensue on the policy which takes this assumed certainty for its basis. To this responsibility we mean to fix him. There he is, and there we will hold him fast.

GREAT FREE TRADE DEMONSTRATION.

PUBLIC DINNER TO C. P. VILLIERS, ESQ., AT BIRMINGHAM.

A public dinner was given on Thursday evening in the Town-hall, Birmingham, to the Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P. for Wolverhampton. The dinner was appointed for four o'clock precisely, but long before that hour all the approaches to the hall were crowded with those who had procured tickets to the banquet, and multitudes who were drawn from curiosity and other motives to the spot. As soon as the doors were thrown open a tremendous rush was made into the hall, and in the course of a few minutes the main and side galleries and the body of the room were filled to overflowing. The principal gallery was reserved for spectators, and by four o'clock it was occupied by from four to five hundred ladies. The whole area of the hall was occupied by the various tables, on which was spread a magnificent cold collation. At either end were rows of cross tables, that under the organ being reserved for the chairman and his guests; the table of the vice-president being at the opposite extremity of the hall. Tables were also spread in the side galleries, every seat of which had its occupant. Upwards of 600 gentlemen sat down to dinner, and every seat was occupied long before the chairman and guests made their appearance. At five o'clock the Hon. C. P. Villiers entered the hall, accompanied by Henry Smith, Esq., Mayor of Birmingham, who presided on the occasion; the Right Hon. the Earl of Ducie, Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P.; John Bright, Esq., M.P.; Thomas Thornley, Esq., M.P. for Wolverhampton; J. L. Ricardo, Esq., M.P. for Stoke-upon-Trent; R. Scott, Esq., M.P. for Walsall; T. M. Gibson, Esq., M.P. for Manchester; Colonel Perronet Thompson; George Wilson, Esq., chairman of the League; C. J. Fox, Esq.; W. Brown, Esq., of Liverpool; the Rev. Mr. Bache, — Crawshaw, Esq., of Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Aldermen Cutler, Phillips, Geach, Weston, Muntz, Hutton, W. Scholefield, Clement Scholefield, Van Wart, Beale, and James James; Lucas Chance, Esq.; George Edmunds, Esq., clerk of the peace; T. Whitfield, Esq.; W. Ellis, Esq., low bailiff; and Eyre Lee, Esq.; who ranged themselves on either side of the chair and vice-chair. The latter was occupied by Thomas Phillips, Esq.; and the Honourable C. P. Villiers took his seat on the right of the chairman.

Mr. Villiers, on entering, was received with shouts of applause, which were repeated again and again, the whole company rising *en masse*, and the ladies in the gallery waving their handkerchiefs to welcome him on his appearance. The applause lasted for several minutes, and when silence was at length restored, the proceedings of the evening commenced, grace being said by the Rev. Mr. Bache.

The Mayor said, that in commencing the discharge of the important duties which devolved on him in connection with the situation in which he was placed, he felt in the deepest degree the onerous character of those duties; but he could assure the meeting that he would bring to them the best abilities which he possessed, and all the powers which he could command, depending alone on their consideration and sympathy for support. (Cheers.) The first portion of his duty was to congratulate them on the noble assembly which he saw around him; and in the second place he had, as a portion of his duty, to bring before them the names of some highly honoured individuals who were not then present. (Hear, hear.) It was not his intention to read letters, for in doing so he felt that he should occupy the valuable time of the meeting, which might be much better employed in listening to the various excellent speeches which would no doubt be delivered to them on that occasion; but, nevertheless, he considered it necessary to state that, amongst other letters, he had received one from the Earl of Radnor, in which that nobleman deeply regretted that he was unable to attend at the dinner, in consequence of his age, which had for some time prevented him from attending public meetings; but he had stated in that letter that he felt the deepest interest in the meeting, and the most sincere desire to co-operate with them in paying a well-deserved and just compliment to Mr. Villiers. (Loud cheers.) He regretted, also, that he had to mention the absence of another individual whose presence he had expected to hail—it was, he would admit, the unexpected absence of an honourable member for a borough, both of whose members he had been prepared to expect would attend—he meant Mr. Mark Phillips, member for the borough of Manchester. (Hear, hear); and he was authorised by that gentleman to say that his absence was produced by a cause which he (the Mayor) could not regret, namely, that this had been appointed as the wedding-day of his only brother. (Cheers.) That was a cause which he should say that he could not regret, and the same cause had kept away from that assembly another individual whose presence they would all have hailed with pleasure, an individual who had long been connected with the exertions which had been made for the abolition of the corn-laws, and as the advocate of commercial freedom—he alluded to Mr. Robert Hyde Gregg, of Manchester, whose connection with Mr. Phillips, and that alone, had caused his absence on that occasion. (Hear.) He had hoped to see present on that occasion the member for Birmingham, and he was enabled to say that the cause which had prevented the attendance of Mr. Muntz was that this day was fixed for an interview with the honourable gentleman by Prince Albert, at Windsor, and he was enabled to say, on the part of Mr. Muntz, that he should feel the greatest pleasure in joining in any testimonial of respect to Mr. Villiers, and to say that he would on all occasions vote for a repeal of the corn-laws. (Loud cheers.) He had also hoped to have seen Mr. M. Gibson there, as well as the other member for Manchester, and Mr. Ricardo, M.P., and he had a hope that they might appear before the conclusion of the meeting, for trains were constantly arriving, and they might have been but casually delayed. Before he proposed the toast which was the first on the list on all such occasions, he would beg to remark

that previous to the meeting he had experienced anxiety arising from two sources—his first cause of anxiety being that this great assembly, which had been so long looked forward to, should be worthy of the occasion which had caused it, and he had also felt anxious that it should pass away in such a manner that it might be afterwards referred to with admiration, and looked back to with pleasure. (Cheers.) When he looked round that hall and saw himself surrounded by such a meeting—when he recollected that hundreds had gone away, unable to obtain tickets of admission—when he knew that they had present representatives of the neighbouring manufacturing towns—the representatives of the trade of their own districts of that firm, the name of which was eminent throughout the world—namely, the firm of Bolton and Watt (loud cheers), and of numerous other firms, which, though smaller and less extensive in their operations, but yet not less enterprising or active (loud cheers)—when, in addition to those individuals, he saw around him representatives also of the agricultural interest assembling not less largely,—he should at once admit that his first source of anxiety had been removed, and he had no desire left but that they should remember that they had assembled, not at a party or political meeting, but at a social meeting, the object of which was to mark their respect for an eminent individual, whose principles they approved of, and whose public conduct they admired; and he felt that every one around him would cordially co-operate with him in carrying out that purpose. (Hear, hear.) The toast which he had to propose was one that required no preface on his part. It was the health of an illustrious lady who filled with dignity the highest throne in the world—who, filling the most exalted position, stood forth pre-eminent for all those virtues which we most admire in her sex, and all those graces that most captivate us. (Loud cheers.) He would give them "The Queen."

The toast was drunk with the greatest enthusiasm. The next toast was "Prince Albert;" after which followed "The Prince of Wales, and the other young branches of the Royal Family;" and "The Queen Dowager;" all of which were received with acclamation.

The Chairman then said that the next toast he had to propose was "The Navy and Army" (cheers), and in proposing that toast he could not avoid expressing the hope that henceforth the navy of England would be employed in assisting the intercommunications of commerce and civilisation all over the world (loud applause); and with respect to the army, he could not avoid expressing the hope that the army of this country would be in future employed in the protection of our rights, without any undue encroachment on the rights of others. (Cheers.) "The Navy and Army."

The Chairman said that he now came to the health of the individual to honour whom they had assembled, and in approaching it he felt deeply his own inability to discharge his duty as chairman on that occasion; but he had, however, the great satisfaction of knowing that it was a toast which required no introduction, and that whatever want of ability he might evince in bringing it forward, it would nevertheless be received in such a manner as would show how highly they appreciated the merits and talents of the individual to whom it referred. (Cheers.) The last toast which he had proposed was one which had reference to those who well deserved the gratitude and admiration of their country for the patriotism and self-devotion which they had so often displayed. They had drunk the health of those who had so often illustrated those high qualities, and thereby expressed their admiration of them; but he would now turn from such a theme, which applied so much to themselves—he would turn from the dead and the absent, and give his thoughts to the living and the present. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) It was unnecessary for him to say that the toast which he was about to propose was the health of the distinguished guest who had on that day honoured them by accepting their hospitality, and in bringing forward that toast he was satisfied that none in that assembly would suppose he was going to insult Mr. Villiers, or to disgrace himself by addressing to him the language of vain flattery or empty compliment; for it was due to him, it was due to them, and it was due to himself to avoid such a course. (Cheers.) Why had they assembled on that occasion to do honour to Mr. Villiers? It was because they had seen in the conduct of that gentleman since the commencement of his political life everything to admire; that they had witnessed his untiring advocacy of those principles in which they most concurred; and because they all admired the zeal and ability with which he had so advocated those principles. (Cheers.) If he were asked to define more clearly what those principles were, he would answer briefly in two words, the principles of commercial freedom. (Cheers.) He had been always, since the commencement of his public life, the advocate of commercial freedom, the advocate of the rights of labour, and of the social, moral, and intellectual advancement of the human race (cheers); he had been constantly engaged in extending those principles which, if carried out, would effect the development of truth, and most successfully effect the promotion of civilization. (Loud cheers.) If it were asked why they had assembled to do so much honour to Mr. Villiers for advocating those principles which were possessed and supported by so many others, or why they were so grateful to him for exertions to remove a law which others were also desirous to remove, he would answer that it was because ever since his first advent in the House of Commons he had been constantly remarkable for the clearness, the intelligence, the sagacity of mind, and independence of purpose, he might almost say the political prescience which enabled him to put his hand at once upon the flaw in our system which had the effect of depriving the labourer of the value of his labour, and which made the occupation of the merchant and the manufacturer, instead of being occupations of honour, pursuits of anxiety and harassing care, and which had done more to check the progress of the people than any other system which he had ever heard of. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) They admired the conduct of Mr. Villiers in Parliament, and they could not withhold their approval of a man, who, in such circumstances as he was placed, surrounded as he had been by the fence which aristocratic life hedges round those born within its precincts, encompassed

MANCHESTER, NOV. 10TH.—A requisition is in the course of signature, calling on the Mayor to convene a public towns meeting, to memorialise the Government in favour of opening the ports for the free admission of grain and all kinds of food.

by those prejudices which the influences which he was subjected to might be expected to engender, and being, in addition to that, a member of a profession the education for which was supposed to have a tendency too often to narrow the mind, whilst it sharpened the intellect, (hear.) under such influences as these—the influences of rank, of prejudice, of fashion, with the prejudices of professional education, to overcome—he had formed his views, and notwithstanding all these circumstances, there was no man in England who was better qualified as the advocate of commercial freedom. (Hear, hear.) He requested sincerely that the honoured guest would accept that mark of the admiration of the people of Birmingham, and that small though it might appear, it would be as sincerely and as honestly accepted as it was offered, and he trusted that it would not suffer, in being unduly estimated, from any want of ability on his part. (Cheers.) He would not delay the assembly any longer by dwelling upon the health of one whose conduct was so much admired by all around him, and he would therefore propose to them—"Charles Pelham Villiers, Esq., M.P."

The toast was received with the most enthusiastic cheering by the whole assembly, who rose at once and burst into a simultaneous and deafening cheer.

Mr. VILLIERS then rose to respond to the toast, and his rising was the signal for a renewed burst of applause, which was again and again repeated. As soon as silence had been restored, he said—Gentlemen, I am sure that you will readily believe that I cannot rise without great embarrassment in attempting duly to acknowledge the peculiar honour which you have done to me this evening. (Cheers.) When I consider the flattering circumstances under which I am your guest on this occasion, and the friendly manner in which the chairman has expressed his sentiments with respect to me, I feel the greatest difficulty in conveying to you in adequate terms my sense of your kindness and consideration. (Loud cheers.) I hardly feel myself entitled to so much distinction. There are many this evening, there are many men now at your board, who possess talents far superior to mine, and who have rendered more effective services to the great cause of commercial freedom with which we are identified, than myself. I am only distinguished from them perhaps by having been longer in Parliament; and I may state what they will bear me out in saying, that when they entered the House I was not idle (cheers); but that I had been long toiling in the same direction with themselves, and that I had been so toiling under greater disadvantages than they have had to contend with. (Cheers.) I have no higher title to honour than that since I entered Parliament as the representative of a respectable and intelligent constituency in your neighbourhood, I have striven to do my duty, and that I have never preferred the interests of individuals or of a class to the interests of the community. (Loud cheers.) Or have I it on my conscience that in any single instance have I preferred my own advantage to what I have considered my duty to the public. (Cheers.) I can only say, that if the course which I have pursued has had the good fortune to meet with your approbation, and if the humble advocacy which I have given to the cause which has this evening been connected with my name can be considered a service, this gratifying manifestation of your opinions, on this occasion, gives me the amplest reward for all that I have done, and offers to me the highest encouragement to persevere. (Cheers.) You know, gentlemen, how the House of Commons is constituted—you know the feeling which they entertain on the question of the Corn Law—you know also the unfortunate manner in which they identify their own interests with the maintenance of that law; and you can therefore readily understand how it is that those who assail that law, and place themselves in hostility to them, act under the greatest possible disadvantage. But I am sure that I can answer, as well for those distinguished men who are present on this occasion, as for myself, that nothing has cheered us more in the part which it has been our lot to take against that law, nothing has more encouraged us to persevere, than the confidence which we have felt that sooner or later the respectable, the intelligent, and independent portion of the community would and must appreciate the importance and the truth of our principles and views. (Hear.) I draw, therefore, from this assemblage a satisfaction more than personal. (Hear, hear.) I accept it as a sign of the progress of the cause, and as a gratifying verification of what we have expected. (Hear, hear.) And, gentlemen, allow me here to hope, that coinciding with us in our views upon this question, you will not underrate the importance of your openly declaring your opinions. The Legislature no doubt must ultimately decide this question; we who sit in the House of Commons have of late seen the most conclusive signs that they who have thus to decide feel that they are wrong, and that they cannot much longer maintain their false position. (Hear, hear.) They think they have an interest in the Corn Law, but evidence has been pressed upon them by their own ministers, and by circumstances which they cannot dispute, which leaves them no doubt that they can no longer maintain their interest consistently with the interests of the community. But, gentlemen, if you will allow me to say it, there is one thing which they appear not to know—they seem to be ignorant of what your opinion is in reference to this great question. They really appear to be ignorant of what is the opinion of persons throughout the country, of the intelligence and respectability of those whom I have now the honour of addressing. They appear to be in want of some sign of the opinion maintained by the intelligent and independent portion of the public. They choose to assume that if you dissent from agitation you coincide with them, and pretend that the public either agree with them in opinion, or are indifferent to the operation of the Corn Laws. Gentlemen, I do not, certainly, believe that the aristocracy of this country are better than other men, but I do believe that they are just like other men (hear, hear);—they are very much like all those in other classes of society, who, if they help themselves to something which they are not entitled to, require a great deal of pressing to make them give it up. (Cheers and laughter.) They are like other great bodies in this country—they will not move unless the steam is up. (Laughter.) And it is not a gentle pressure, but a high pressure which they require. (Laughter.) Sir James Graham was never nearer the truth than when he wrote, and it is one of those things which he has not unsaid (loud cheers and laughter), that the aristocracy of this country, when backed by public opinion, were omnipotent; but without it, or if opposed to it, they were virtually without power. (Cheers.) The truth

of this has been specially indicated in reference to the laws imposing restrictions on food. What they now require, and the want of which I believe, stands at present between us and the repeal of the Corn Laws, is some clear, intelligible, and unmistakable expression of opinion throughout the country. (Hear, hear.) They want to be assured that the public are as much impressed as we are here with the evils and mischiefs superinduced by these laws. Satisfy them of that, and I firmly believe that another session will not pass over without the Corn Laws being repealed. (Cheers.) If this is the case, need I say how important it is that the opinion of this most noted and important town should be known (cheers);—how important it is that this great capital of the manufacturing industry of the country should speak out firmly on this and on every future occasion? (Hear, and cheers.) What Birmingham has done when its opinions were strong, its spirit aroused, and its determination taken, is yet fresh in the recollection of many in both Houses of Legislature. (Hear.) That which was then done was regarded almost as the result of rebellion, but has since been deemed and admitted to be salutary and beneficial. That entitles you of Birmingham to the confidence of the country, when you choose again to act; and I am satisfied that you cannot manifest your feelings on this occasion without exercising a powerful influence on the Legislature. (Hear, hear.) It is for that reason peculiarly gratifying to all sitting here who have perseveringly laboured in this cause, as well as to myself, to see this unequivocal testimony of the state of feeling in this town. (Hear, hear.) We accept it, not as a manifestation in favour of a party or of an individual, but in favour of a great principle and a righteous policy, the immediate adoption of which you identify with the permanent well-being of the people at large. (Cheers.) Commercial freedom is an object in every way worthy of your efforts and exertions. The chairman well characterised it as connected with all the best interests of commerce. Commercial freedom is only an extension of that liberty, in its truest sense, for which you have fought before, instalments of which the people of this country have so frequently succeeded in obtaining. (Hear, hear.) Commercial freedom is as much a right of the people of this country as any other for which they have struggled and obtained, and there is as much reason why they should now claim it. (Hear, hear.) And such are the circumstances of this country, that if its commerce continue to be restricted, as it has been heretofore, it would be almost as well without the liberty which it now possesses, and of which it so justly boasts. The people of this country have acquired much liberty for themselves, they have at least acquired the power of saying what they please, and thinking as they please, and praying where and as they please. They have secured to themselves civil and religious liberty, and the liberty of the press, and the result has been that with which every extension of the liberties of this country has been attended—the country has been greater and the people have been better for it. (Cheers.) Nay more, the people of this country are, as a consequence of what they have thus got, more peaceful and more powerful, more intelligent and enterprising, and more eager to raise their condition. It is on this account that they are the more aggrieved by restraints on their commerce. What is it to a man that he is more intelligent and skilful than his neighbours, if he is not allowed to enjoy the full fruits of his industry? What is it to him that he is free if the comforts and necessities of life are beyond his reach? (Hear, hear.) What are these to a man if he is not permitted to spend his wages where he pleases, and has to share them with monopolists? What is it to millions of men that they live in the midst of wealth, and luxury, and abundance, if they are doomed themselves to live on the lowest kind of food, which, failing them, they are reduced to destitution? (Hear.) And is that not the position of millions of our fellow-subjects in these two islands? (Hear, hear.) And the great question which is now agitating the country is, whether this calamity of destitution will not speedily befall them? (Hear, hear.) Does any man believe that this state of things is necessary, or a visitation of Providence, or that it is an evil which human foresight could not have foreseen and provided against? It is the necessary and natural result of legislating against food. (Cheers.) It is the direct consequence of that law which we assail—a consequence which has been foreseen by us, and which the Legislature and Government were warned against over and over again. By the laws, the Legislature makes the best kinds of food inaccessible to the people, and drives them to the use of inferior kinds; and if any of those calamities which we now dread should happen, they will be rendered totally destitute. Such has been the constant and invariable result of rendering food difficult to be obtained by the masses of the people. No man who has been a party to the legislation which occasions such evils has a right to talk of the visitations of Providence in connection with this matter. (Hear, hear.) We will not, on so great a question, accept them as authority in favour of calling these evils visitations of Providence, who proposed, support, and still maintain the system of legislation which I assert, and which you all believe, is the true cause of the mischief. (Hear, hear.) It is to this, and to this alone, that the evil is attributed by all persons of sense and observation, who have either written of, spoken of, or observed the state of this country at present. (Hear, hear.) It is the constant observation of every foreigner who comes here that they witness extremes in the social condition of this country which are discernible nowhere else. With greater wealth and abundance in our possession than any other country in the world can boast of, they see, by its side, a mass of poverty and suffering in England and Ireland which is not equalled or approximated elsewhere. (Hear, hear.) Now all this is invariably traced, by all intelligent foreign observers, to that law which we are now met to oppose, as the necessary consequence of the law that makes food scarce and difficult to obtain. I saw the other day that Lord John Russell had passed an eloquent panegyric on the constitution of this country, while addressing the citizens of Edinburgh, and to much that was said on that occasion of the particular advantages which the English people enjoy, every reasonable man in the country is ready to assent. But no Englishman now dares to boast of his institutions in any part of Europe, without being exposed to the reproach that in his country a law is still stoutly maintained, the whole consequences of which fall with dreadful effect upon the poor. (Hear, hear.) With all your boasted freedom, they say—with the long catalogue of your sacred rights, vindicated, fought for, and obtained—see only what injustice is daily perpetrated in your hand under the forms of liberty. (Cheers.) Other people may complain loudly of the despotism which crushes them to the earth, but where do you find such practical injustice wrought as results in this country from that code of laws which within the last thirty years have been

passed to make the wealthiest aristocracy in the world wealthier still, by means which expose millions of the people to want? (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I am aware that, in speaking in this place on this subject, we may be reproached with having it all on one side, and with not hearing what our opponents may have to allege in favour of the Legislation of which we complain. This is a moment when we have no desire to shirk the question, certainly; it is a moment when we are perfectly ready to hear all that the friends of monopoly have to allege. We are all aware that the sliding-scale, which is their patent machine for making food scarce, is asserted by them to spring from a solicitude to make food not only abundant and cheap, but to render us in respect of it independent of the foreigner. (Hear, hear.) This is really a rare moment in which to examine the virtues of this device. By this scale we are told food will be rendered abundant, and we, in its supply, will become independent of the foreigner. I repeat it, that now is a favourable opportunity for ascertaining how far it has succeeded in accomplishing one end, and how far the other has proved itself an advantage to the country. And here, let me say that there are other sliding-scales besides our own in the world; for in this matter other people have, unfortunately for themselves, imitated our example; and it is not a bad time to examine them all. They attempted a sliding-scale in Holland and Belgium. At the first moment when there was the chance of a deficiency of food, how did they fulfil their promises to the people of these countries? Why the authorities lost not one moment in assembling in these countries, and consigning those scales to that place from which it was the honest hope of all that they might never return. (Cheers and laughter.) In both these countries, as in our own, the people have had the good fortune to have the producers of food preponderating in the Legislature, and they have all not unnaturally hit upon the same device for making food abundant. (Hear, hear, hear.) It has not, however, with them been allowed to stand in the way when there arose the apprehension of a scarcity. There was no time to be lost, and they at once assembled and passed resolutions that their sliding-scales should be removed (hear, hear), and that a system of entirely Free Trade should be resorted to. (Cheers.) I know of no better instance of the mischiefs of the protective system, and of the advantage of that for which we contend, than that with which Holland furnishes in this respect. Upwards of two centuries ago, to go back to its former history, and draw useful lessons from it also, it had an entirely Free Trade: it did not then raise one grain of corn, and yet it is alluded to by all contemporary writers as the granary of Europe. (Hear, hear.) Amongst others, Sir Walter Raleigh has observed that Holland was able to supply the wants of the other countries of Europe, when they were visited by a deficiency. It enjoyed a perfect Free Trade in corn, and the consequence was that it could always command a surplus wherewith to supply the wants of its neighbours. Raleigh says, ever since it resorted to the system of freedom of commerce, it had always an abundance of food, not only for its own people, but on an average about 700,000 quarters available for the communities around it that were ill provided. Does anybody believe that Holland ever had occasion to substitute the system of the sliding-scale for that of Free Trade, while it enjoyed that blessing? What is the condition of Holland now? The Dutch substituted the miserable system of the sliding-scale for that of Free Trade, and on the instant that they find themselves likely to be pinched for food, they are obliged once more to resort to the old system, which they so unfortunately abandoned. (Hear, hear.) And what confidence have we lately shown in the system of protection? What read we now in some of the public journals? Why, that ministers of the crown have been meeting four hours a day for the last week, for the purpose of seeing how decently they could get rid of their sliding-scale. (Cheers and laughter.) The only scruple which they now appear to have upon the subject is, that they are the authors and promoters of the scheme, which they are now desirous of throwing overboard. (Hear, hear.) And what, in reference to their late doings, is the universal opinion of the country? Why, that if there has been one act of folly greater than that of establishing the sliding-scale, it has been that of not seizing so favourable a moment, as was offered, for abolishing it. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) I am not exaggerating, in the slightest degree, when I say, that this is the prevailing opinion throughout the country. (Hear, hear.) They had a great and a glorious opportunity of getting rid of this mischievous scale, but they have not profited by it. (Hear, hear.) The sliding-scale promised to make us independent of foreigners. Now, will not that be a signal advantage to us at this moment? (Laughter.) What everybody is now regretting is, I believe, that foreigners have not enough for us to depend upon, if we should be in want, and that we cannot, in our present exigency, be more sure of their supply. (Loud cheers.) Those who devised this notable scheme seemed to forget that this was likely to follow: that if we made ourselves independent of foreigners, they would become independent of us. In looking at the organs of monopoly, I find that they are able to meet this emergency by saying that Sir R. Peel is not afraid—that he is ready to meet whatever emergency may arise, because he is ready to give a bounty to foreigners to induce them to send us food. That is extremely good of him; but I should like to know who are to pay that bounty? (Hear, hear.) I do not suppose that Sir Robert is going to pay it. (Hear.) I take it that the people of this country would have to pay it, and that the remedy proposed seems to be, that you are not only to pay more than you should do in this country for your food, but that when you want more you are to be especially taxed to enable you to buy up the food of other people. (Hear, hear, hear.) I really believe that there is no merit whatever in the sliding-scale but this, that now it deceives nobody. To confirm this, I recommend the people of this country to carry back their memories. What was the state of public feeling during the months of August and September last? Were not the state of the weather, and our prospects of the coming year in connection with it, the all engrossing topics of conversation? Were not these all-important subjects then anxiously revolved in everybody's mind? All were anxious to know whether we were to have plenty or scarcity, whether food was to be dear or cheap. And what means all this anxiety about the harvest? Why, everybody is anxious about the state of the nation, because they see that the food of the nations is made to depend on the most variable thing in the world, the English climate, and that abundance or scarcity, dearth or cheapness, is made to turn upon the clouds of August and September. Now, what is the meaning of this? Why are people anxious about the price of food? Because they have certain ideas fixed in their minds at present connected with the dearth or cheapness of food. (Hear.) There has been so much experience of late as to

the consequences of abundance or scarcity of food upon the condition of the people, that there is no one in this country, I believe, who is not prepared to say with confidence what must be the result of the one and the other. You cannot divest the people of this country of the idea that when food is cheap and plentiful, credit will be good, trade will be brisk, manufactures will be prosperous, wages will be high, and the country generally in a state of prosperity. (Cheers.) And that when it is scarce and dear, money will be scarce, credit impaired, manufactures depressed, wages low, all local burdens increased, and that capital, which in prosperous times is available for railways and other great public works, must be necessarily withdrawn to pay for the increased charge of food. (Cheers.) These are the ideas which now obtain in all thinking minds. (Hear.) It is only natural, then, that there should be anxiety as to whether the harvest is good or not. (Hear, hear.) But the question is, whether all this apprehension and anxiety is necessary? Ought we to be dependant alone on the harvest? or having ascertained that it is desirable that food should be cheap, should we not take the best, most certain, and the readiest means to secure that end? (Hear, hear.) And is it the means to make food cheap that have been taken by the Legislature? Why one should know that there is not a single article which is in great demand in this country, which is subject to the regular principles of commerce, that is at any time deficient in supply. (Hear.) There are many articles of which we obtain our supplies from foreigners; but in which, there being no legislative interference, as in the case of food, the supplies are, nevertheless regular and abundant. There is no exception to the rule, that these are at all times supplied not only with regularity and in sufficient quantities, but with a tendency to fall in price. (Hear, hear, hear.) It is a fact which the monopolists should be eternally called upon to explain (hear, hear), that with Free Trade we have always a sufficient supply, and low prices; whereas when we take such pranks into our heads as making a sliding-scale with regard to any article, we are immediately exposed to all the evils of an uncertain, and often a deficient supply and high prices. (Hear, hear.) And such is the result of our experience of the Corn Laws. And I want to know in this, the thirty-first year of the Corn Law, whether they have one thing of any other kind to allege in its favour? (Cheers.) We expect to know something of the character of a man when he is 21 years old; surely it is time, if any thing can be said in favour of this law, that we should be made acquainted with it, now in its 31st year. (Hear, hear.) What we really know is, that it occasions great anxiety for about two months in every year; it throws the country into a state of confusion about every four years; that it has always occasioned a great loss to the country, and peculiar privation to the poor. (Cheers.) I do not know anything in which our friends exerted themselves to so much advantage in their attacks upon this absurd law, as in showing the influence of more or less food upon the moral and physical condition of the people. They have worked out this point in a manner that must satisfy everybody. (Hear, hear.) How the working man suffers privation when bread is scarce and dear, and gets the comforts and advantages he desires when it is plentiful and cheap, is now demonstrated. This exposition, too, has not been without its effect on our opponents, the monopolists. (Hear, hear.) When I first entered Parliament, I remember that I was told the Corn Laws must be maintained as a national object, that they were necessary to the maintenance of the national credit, that the national debt could not be paid without them, and that it raised wages. Now, however, we no longer have the plea of national credit brought forward in support of the Corn Law; we are now told "All we want is time. Give us time and we are now told "All we shall have plenty of corn, and food protection, and you shall have plenty of corn, and food shall be as cheap as you wish." But I have an objection to waiting. (Cheers.) I mistrust the man who proclaims himself the advocate of cheapness and plenty, and yet keeps a Corn Law in his house. I distrust people who combine to keep a monopoly, in order, as they say, to make things cheap. That is not the way business is done in this world. (Hear.) The manufacturers, it is true, endeavour to make things cheap, but they do so under the pressure of competition. (Cheers.) But when a man says, leave me a monopoly in order that I may make the article in which I have the monopoly cheap, I distrust him. (Cheers.) I distrust protective societies for agriculture, for I never see that they do anything with the purpose of cheapening food. They assemble often, it is true, and they talk much—they tell each other how cheap corn can be grown by improved methods of cultivation—what new inventions have been made in agriculture, and the great advantages which would result from their adoption; but in my view all they prove is, that if they would only put their shoulders to the wheel, and not trust to protection, they would be able to meet any competition that could be brought against them. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) But after all the learning and all the talent brought out by the protective societies, we see nothing done by them. If we could perceive that they did anything at their meetings besides reading long lectures to benefit the farmer, I should say they were really in earnest. If they drew up a report on agriculture and said, we have made the farmers on our estates our political tools; we have, by our legislation, placed them under great disadvantages; we make them pay high rents by holding out expectations that we know can never be realised; we make them improve the property for our benefit; and we compel them to preserve a species of vermin, which it is our sport to hunt and kill (hear, hear); and the result of such treatment and interference has been that the farms are badly cultivated, and the people badly supplied with food;—we recommend that all landlords in future should secure their tenants in their farms—that we will do it ourselves, and that vermin should be destroyed by the tenants; no doubt that in that case the learning of Liebig and Smith of Deanston would be soon turned to account, and be useful in developing the resources of agriculture. But while the protection people confine themselves to lecturing, and do nothing, they have no claim on confidence, nor have they any reason to call on us to wait the result of their improvement (Hear, hear.) But there is another reason why we should pause before we trust these upholders of monopoly. They say, give us a little time, and we shall be able to give you all you want; but unfortunately whenever food has been cheap and abundant, they were the only people that were annoyed at it, and discontented. (Hear, hear.) Last year, had you been in the House of Commons you would have heard what I now tell you confirmed; you would have seen a certain gentleman with a huge bundle of papers in his hand, speaking with much energy and firmness, hurling threats against the Treasury bench; and had any stranger entered at the time, and been told that the speaker was a member of the Society for the Protection of British Industry,

he would have supposed him to be some great and philanthropic statesman propounding a scheme for raising the condition of the people; but how astonished would he have been when he found the bundle of papers consisted of prices current of almost every article of agricultural produce, animal and vegetable, and heard him quote the one after the other to show, by way of complaint, how much bacon was less per pound and flour was less per stone than he and his friends had been led to expect they would be when they assisted in bringing the present Government into power. (Hear, hear.) The prices in 1841 were brought forward and compared with the prices at the time—charges for breach of faith were made against the Minister, and threats of withdrawal of confidence heard. (Laughter and cheers.) The discussion on the occasion was what was termed in the House a practical debate; (hear, hear;) and it absorbed the interest and engaged the attention of the whole party who want time to produce cheaply. (Laughter.) He got the ear of the House, and it went forth that that was a bad night for the Government. This was an instance of a gentleman high in the confidence of and trusted by the party representing the agricultural interest occupying the House of Commons two hours and a half in complaining of the great fall that had occurred in the cost of the necessities of life. (Shame, shame.) Certainly that was an exhibition calculated to astonish those who look upon our constitution as characterised by intelligence and benevolence, and who consider the British legislature as remarkable for its Christian character. (Cheers.) The gentleman who brought this complaint forward is however a most respectable gentleman. He sits in Parliament as a country gentleman, and, besides doing his part in passing laws for 28,000,000 of people, he attends quarter sessions and officiates as a magistrate. For my part I rather like the simplicity with which he stated his views on the subject. There was no concealment or hypocrisy in the matter (hear), and as I think, he made a most valuable speech. Indeed it is impossible to overrate its importance. (Hear.) I was glad the other day to see that that speech had been spoken of even by one of the hon. gentleman's own party as a remarkable one. One gentleman was indignant at the indiscretion of his honourable friend, he meant Mr. Escott, who said a short time ago, that when he heard that speech of his honourable friend (Mr. Miles) he saw that the game of protection was up. (Hear, and a laugh.) And it is true the game of protection was up from the moment that speech was made; (a laugh;) listen to any of these gentlemen, or read their published opinions, you would not suppose that their object in supporting the Corn Laws was to make the necessities of life scarce and dear. It was well, therefore, that the indiscretion of one of the party let the cat out of the bag. A nobleman, of whom I do not wish to speak with disrespect, referring to his experience of the last session, said the Corn Laws were doomed—he meant detected. (Laughter.) I hope that noble lord is a prophet. Another gentleman, a captain in the navy, said, I have heard two things this year; I have heard that the population of the country is increasing at the rate of 1000 a day, and I see the object of protection is to make the necessities of life scarce and dear. (Hear, hear.) Why this is worse, said he, than the Chinese, for they do all they can to feed their people, and make food plentiful and cheap. And he goes down to his own country, and says, this will never do; the population is increasing at this enormous rate, and your system is not one to provide them with adequate subsistence. This statement, then, had a good effect upon the House. Shortly afterwards Lord John Russell thought it necessary to bring the condition of the working classes before the House. The working classes do not, said his lordship, keep pace with the increasing wealth of the country. The wealth increases rapidly, but the condition of the working classes has not increased in like proportion. Lord John Russell made a most able speech on that occasion, and referred to circumstances that had occurred during the last fifty years, by which the condition of the people had been affected, and he referred also to matters for which Parliament was responsible, and which they might remedy; but he came to no other conclusion than that what prevented the people from advancing in condition and comfort was those laws which make scarce necessities of life. (Hear.) He asked the House to take the matter into immediate consideration, and it was curious to see the manner in which the proposition was received by the Government. The price of food was then low, and the Government had to meet two things—they wanted to take credit to themselves for the prosperity which then existed, and at the same time keep well with their own friends. But that was a difficult task, because their friends wished food to be dear, and the Government had admitted that the prosperity existing depended on its being cheap. Sir J. Graham, who succeeded the noble lord, did not oppose the motion, but moved the previous question; but he admitted that the game of protection was up, and in his speech he made a clean sweep of all the rubbish that had been put forth in favour of protection, and a more clear and comprehensive argument against protection to maintain price no one ever heard. He stated the effect of the price of the necessities of life on the condition of the working-classes, and proved that when food had been abundant and cheap, the moral and physical condition of the people had improved. No speech delivered by any Free Trader could be more conclusive as to the advantages of the cheapness of the necessities of life than that of Sir James Graham, the Secretary of the Home Department. (Hear.) No one of the Government supporters, no one of the protection party, said one word in reply. The simple-minded gentleman to whom I have referred said not a word. He was content with having complained of cheapness and plenty; he did not deny the results on the social condition of the country. I had a motion on the paper on the very subject; but my friends advised me not to bring it on after the speech of Sir J. Graham. I had evidence from every part of the country showing that the people are more prosperous, happy, and moral when food is cheap than when it is dear. Ten days after I brought forward my motion for the repeal of those laws that exist only to make the necessities of life dear and scarce, and no answer was offered but that the people were then well off, there was plenty of employment, trade was brisk in every department, and it was asked, as the law has failed in its purpose, why disturb things as they exist? The Minister admitted that the law did not meet the objects for which it had been framed, but he said, why interfere with it at such a time of general prosperity? many voted in the minority who had not voted before determined to trifle with the country no longer. The Howards, the Cavendishes, the Fortescues, and Russells refused to be any longer parties to what was clearly exhibited in the course of the session to be either a fraud, practised on those who were said to be protected by this law, or an enormous

injury to the community at large. (Cheers.) And I do believe, that if there was a public meeting in any part of the country, no high-minded men would be found to support a law so shabby in its purpose, and so dangerous and mischievous in its results (hear, hear); and I don't see how these people who are the real or pretended "friends of humanity" can countenance any longer a law which has been demonstrated beyond all question, by late exposures, to be a giant cause of misery. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) And it is on the ground of humanity I like to rest this law (loud cheers); yes, it is on the ground of its inflicting positive physical evil on those least able to bear it that I want to consider it. I don't underrate its commercial, political, or financial bearings. I have considered them all, and nothing is more complete than the arguments against the Corn Laws on these heads. The mischief and folly of a law which interrupts the commerce of the country by preventing food from being made a medium of exchange, cannot be equalled. And I don't believe there is any town in which the rights of capital and the interests of individual enterprise are more egregiously injured by commercial restrictions than in this very place. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) You are large exporters to countries where the produce of the soil is the only means of exchange, and you have your commerce limited, and the business of this great town interrupted, by an impertinent and violent interference with the rights of capital, of which the feudal or dark ages afford no more flagrant instance. (Loud cheers.) Again, I know nothing more important for you to consider than the bearing of the law on the financial condition of the country. When you see great works set on foot, it is in times when capital is abundant, and men find from the prosperity of trade its application in this direction profitable; but let there be anything like a scarcity of food, and a large abstraction of the national means to pay for it, we see that public works are stopped, and that confusion ensues, of which we have been so often the witnesses before. It is equally bad in a political point of view. It prevents that knitting together of nations in the bonds of mutual interest and amity which keep off the greatest curse—the infliction of war. What is the result of these restrictions as regards other nations? We are regarded as a nuisance throughout Europe. We are looked upon as foes everywhere when we might be revered as friends by all. (Cheers.) But at this moment I am calling your attention to the practical bearing of this law as a food question. There is now a deficiency of food. One great article of food is supposed to be lost, and there is great difficulty in obtaining food from any other country. The price of the necessities of life is rising everywhere. (Hear, hear.) It has now reached that point at which it was when, after a long duration, starving men broke into the shops of tradesmen and plundered them to get food. (Hear.) The price has now reached that point at which it was when the scenes of Paisley and Stockport were enacted—scenes to which Sir R. Peel said he could not refer without emotion (hear, hear), which sprung from that scarcity, and during which Sir J. Graham said crime, poverty, mortality, political discontent invariably pervaded the country. (Loud cheers.) The price has now reached that point at which it was when the revenue declined—when the imposition of the Income-tax was found necessary; and when the public works, commenced under more favourable auspices, were checked. There is a prospect of the recurrence of such a state of things. (Hear, hear.) There is no confidence to be placed in the apparent prosperity of the country. In 1838 everything appeared as healthy and sound as possible. It was in that year that I implored the House to take the Corn Laws into their consideration, warning them that the career of prosperity might be stopped by the failure of a harvest. In May they rejected my motion by an overwhelming majority, and in the Sept. following the whole country was alarmed by a deficient harvest. (Hear, hear.) We have now many of the signs of that year; the same results may again recur. I say, then, when was there any political question submitted to an intelligent community more ripe for decision? When were the people more strongly called on to urge the Government to provide for these prospects of the country? (Cheers.) Gentlemen, Government have decided on nothing; they wait for you to suggest what their decision shall be. (Hear, hear.) There never, in my opinion, was a time when the people of this country were more called on to speak out. I was convinced that it would be a libel on that character which you have honourably acquired, if at such a time you were found lagging behind the rest of the community, and that you would by your silence give evidence of wanting public spirit. In a cause of justice and humanity you would be never found wanting, and I am sure that you would not descend to notice the humble efforts of an individual like myself if you did not intend to rise up yourselves and accomplish the work. (Cheers.) Gladden the hearts then, cheer the courage of millions by calling on Government to strike down at once and abolish for ever their selfish and mischievous obstacle to the supply of food for the people. (Loud cheers.) And if ministers should resist that appeal, or Parliament should sanction their refusal, call on them to put the electors on their trial, and try whether they are the proper depositories of power, or faithful guardians of the interests of those unenfranchised millions who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. (Loud and continued cheering, which lasted for some time.)

The CHAIRMAN: You have seen something of the qualities of the men by whom your interests are advocated in the House of Commons, and Mr. Villiers referred to the many noble and honourable names found supporting his motion. Mr. Villiers told us also that this question must be settled by the Legislature. We must not forget that the Legislature consists of two Houses—the Lords as well as the Commons; and let us not forget that, in the former, there are amongst the first of the nobility our most able and intelligent advocates. There are men in that House who would not degrade themselves by being parties to a species of legislation described as a fraud in those who sanctioned, and an enormous wrong inflicted on those who were the objects of it. I am now going to propose the health of a nobleman equally distinguished for his station and talents, as well as for the energy with which he carries out everything that has reference to the improvement of agriculture in connection with the interests of commerce and manufactures. (Cheers.) There is a nobleman amongst us this day who takes a pride and pleasure in showing that his interest is not confined to agriculture, but by his presence at this commercial assembly he gives a proof how anxious he is to see manufactures and agriculture flourish together. (Great cheering.) I give you, Earl Ducie, and those noble lords who advocate the principles of commercial freedom. (Loud cheering for some time.)

The EARL DUCIE rose and said: I can hardly express to

you the gratitude I feel for your very kind reception, and the more so, as I find from the authentic accounts of proceedings in another place, a similar honour was refused me. I need hardly say that it was not at a meeting of free traders I was so treated. You have associated my name with those of other peers who are sincere and zealous advocates of the repeal of the corn-laws. I am the least of those advocates (no, no); but I must say that though we have not been so active as Messrs. Villiers, Cobden, and Bright, we have used good judgment in the course we have taken. It is not the cue of ministers in the upper house to declare themselves "friends of free trade" in the abstract. (Hear, hear, and a laugh.) Were we to press the subject, we might call forth some dogged dictum from the Duke of Wellington which might inspire our opponents, and strengthen their opposition; whereas, all who know the House of Lords are sufficiently aware that it will go with the times. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) On occasions of this kind I have generally said a few words as to the bearing of the corn-laws on agriculture, but that part of the subject has been taken out of my hands. A little pamphlet, published by Messrs. Trimmer and Morton, practical agriculturists, has quite superseded any observation I could make. They looked on the corn-laws in a debtor and creditor point of view. They took different farms in different soils, and they showed what their owners gained by protection, and what they lost. They proved to demonstration that protection only injures small farms, and that the only farmers who gained by it, are those who you might have least expected, dairy farmers. The first time I received that book, I was a little staggered by the facts which it adduced; but having read and considered it several times, I am now quite satisfied that it underpins, rather than overprints, the real state of the case. (Cheers.) Now, as I know a great many willing and anxious to see a repeal of the corn-laws, and to secure full commercial freedom, who have some lingering doubts as to whether their agricultural friends may not suffer in some way or other from such an event, I recommend all such persons to lay out a shilling in the purchase of the pamphlet, and to read it carefully through. (Hear, hear.) I have said that the only persons who were proved to gain by protection were the dairy farmers, and they did so by the non-employment of labour. Now, if protection only benefited those who employed little or no labour, it was a curse, for it would be far better that such ground was turned into arable, to feed our population, and employ the thousands of agricultural labourers who were now not adequately paid. (Hear, hear, hear.) I know that to the deductions in that pamphlet our opponents make the objection that the protection supposed applies only to the charge for labour, and that the price of labour is regulated by supply and demand. The law of wages, like every other law, is supposed to work within wise, regulated, and well-defined limits; and wages will adjust themselves to supply and demand when other circumstances do not prevent that law from working properly. There is no price of labour so purely dependant on supply and demand as that of the manufacturers, but the law there works within limits strictly defined. If the demand raises wages beyond the market price of the work, the manufacturer will soon cease to export; and so on the other hand, if the supply reduces the wages to a starving point, dying men cannot work, and so there is a limit to the operation of the law in that way. But as to the agricultural labourer, the case is totally different. The supply has long exceeded the demand. I speak particularly of the southern districts of England, where the population is not drawn off to such towns as this. And if that law had been strictly acted upon in such places, the labourers would have come to the starving point long since, instead of being kept up, as they are, to the bare existence point. (Hear, hear.) Therefore I think the pamphlet quite correct in saying that the wages of the labourer are to a certain degree dependant on the protection to food. If there had not been a law to say that the land should support its own poor, they must have starved; but wages were given them to keep them out of the workhouse. There is another kind of labour, as to which the law of supply and demand acts to a great extent. But these labourers cannot be brought down to the starving point, for they require a good and full supply of food to bear up against the waste of such arduous labour. My friend Mr. Cobden asked at Manchester, the other day, if those holding railway property considered how much they lost by the high price of food. Now, as there is hardly any one who has not shares either in lines in the course of formation or in prospective lines, I should like to know, have those parties ever considered what they are likely to lose by protection, as it affects such speculations? The ten per cent. deposited on the estimated or real cost of railways was almost equalled by the sum paid for protection. (Hear, hear.) That was an important fact, and it was one which he could with very great ease prove to demonstration. A great deal had been said of late with respect to the opening of the ports; but they could not expect a government which had scarcely any strict political principles (cheers)—a government which existed by a sort of hermaphrodite support (cheers and laughter), would have any such strong or devoted sympathy with the people, and such a desire to prevent want in this country. (Hear.) There was not less venom in the snake because a few of his joints rattled discordantly—nor was there less danger as regarded the corn laws, because Lord Ashley, or Mr. Miles, or Captain Rous sung a somewhat different tune from the government. (Hear.) The question of the corn laws was at present in a peculiar state, for in consequence of the existing state of circumstances—in consequence of a deficiency in the harvest, the advocates of the abolition of the corn-laws had now an opportunity of showing to the country practically, that which they formerly demonstrated theoretically—namely, that a great amount of suffering on the part of the people arose from the corn laws (hear, hear), the effect of which was to increase the price of bread, and that an attempt to persuade a labouring man that such a law would not affect him in that manner, was, in fact, to attempt to cheat him into the idea that he had a full belly when he had not. (Cheers.) The friends of the League in Parliament had done everything which could be expected from

them; they had one by one destroyed all the arguments of those who were opposed to them, and had demonstrated the injurious tendency of the corn laws. Mr. Villiers and his coadjutors had nobly done their duty in Parliament, and it now remained for the people of England to rise and express their opinions with regard to their sufferings from this law—to express their opinions not in an isolated movement in one place now, and in another place at a different period, but simultaneously to rise and appeal boldly to the Parliament and to the government, and say that they were resolved no longer to be trifled with. (Immense cheering.) If the people took that course, they might depend upon it that the assembling of the next Parliament would be the precursor of the end of a law which was a curse to the consumer and to the agriculturists, a delusion, and, he might add, a snare. (Loud cheering.)

The Mayor said that the next toast which he had to propose was one with respect to which he should not feel it necessary to address any lengthened observations to them. He would call on them to fill a bumper, whilst he proposed to them "The health of Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P."

The toast was received with thunders of acclamation, which having subsided,

Mr. Cobden rose and said—Mr. Mayor and gentlemen, I feel deeply indebted to you for the kind and warm manner in which you have received the announcement of my name, and I may add that I am truly encouraged and gratified by the aspect of the meeting, and the numbers which have assembled here this evening. (Cheers.) The greatest gratification next to that which I received from the manner in which the electors of Wolverhampton returned my friend, Mr. Villiers, to Parliament, is that such a tribute has been paid to him by the men of Birmingham on this occasion,—because it will put into his hands additional weapons in the House of Commons, which I am sure he will use right manfully for the common benefit of us all. (Loud cheers.) I did not come here for the purpose of making an argumentative speech on the subject of commercial freedom, for all now are made aware, from experience of the results, how injuriously the restriction of commercial freedom acts, and the poorest and least informed can see that those consequences which were predicted from the existing system are approaching. (Hear, hear.) We are now near a state of famine, and this, as my friend (Mr. Villiers) has already stated, is one of the results which were frequently predicted as to be expected from the law which prevented the importation of corn. It was a prediction which had been made by every enlightened speaker and writer on the subject, from the time of Lord Grenville's protest in the House of Lords in 1815, down to the last pamphlet which had been written in relation to the question. (Hear, hear.) We have to expect from time to time, amidst occasional gleams of happiness and prosperity, such seasons of gloom as that which we now witness in consequence of the operations of the corn-law, for that is its necessary result (hear, hear). A consequence, which has been well described by my friend Colonel Thompson, that veteran champion of free trade (cheers), in one of those graphic comparisons for which he is so remarkable, when he said the country, under the influence of the law, was like a bird fastened with a spiral spring—it might wing its way aloft for a short time, but only to be again inevitably drawn back to where it ascended from (hear, hear, and cheers). What, then, is to be done? It seems that we have been deluding ourselves, when we thought that the government was going to do something. We, it seems, have not a government such as several continental nations enjoy. Are you not exceedingly gratified that you are not deemed worthy of as good treatment at the hands of your government as the Russians, Turks, and Dutch receive from theirs? When these governments find that there is likely to be a scarcity, they do that which common sense would dictate to any one; which any community, out of Bedlam, would do at once, if left to their own unbiassed judgment. Seeing that there was a prospect of an insufficient supply of food at home, they opened wide their ports, to admit the needed supply from any part of the world from which it might come (cheers). This was precisely what we expected from our rational government (hear, hear, hear). What have thirteen certain noblemen and gentlemen been lately meeting in Cabinet Council to discuss? I wish I had the names of the thirteen notables, for they would be historic curiosities to be handed down to posterity (hear, hear). What have they been deliberating upon? Was it whether they, from their own rents and revenues, should make a large purchase of grain or potatoes abroad, in order to supply the wants of the people at home (hear, hear)? Was it whether they should vote a subsidy out of the public taxes, with which to buy food for a starving people? It was none of these. The difficulty upon which they solemnly deliberated was this—whether they should allow the people of this country to feed themselves?—and it seems they have decided that they shan't (hear, hear). Rumours reach you—we cannot tell you how well founded—that there is in the cabinet a division on this matter. You are told that Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham have ranged themselves on the one side, and the Duke of Wellington and Lord Stanley on the other—that they are thus at variance with one another on this question, and that the duke and his party have decided that you, the people of England, shall not be allowed to feed yourselves (cheers). Now this is the question on which we are at issue with these mighty personages. If I mistake not, you have tried the metal of the noble warrior before in Birmingham (cheers and laughter). He is a man whom we all like to honour, as possessing those qualities which entitle men to our esteem wherever possessed—high courage, firmness of resolve, and indomitable perseverance. But let me remind the noble duke that notwithstanding his victories on the field, he never yet entered into a contest with Englishmen in which he was not beaten (loud and prolonged cheers). I say we shall feed ourselves (loud cheering). And now, that this battle must and shall be fought, I hope the veteran duke will live long enough to test the quality of his countymen again (renewed cheering). But, after all, it is not the duke who is the Government—it is Sir R. Peel. We hear in the House of Commons, in the rainy days of prosperity, when Peel brings forward his measures, and dictates to his servile

colleagues what his policy shall be, the little word "I," repeated over and over again, reminding us that "I, as premier, act upon my own responsibility"—that "I" do this, and "I" do that. If he is the prime minister, we hold him responsible for his acts (cheers). Now, I see many attempts made to shirk that responsibility, and sometimes in a very shabby manner, by trying to make it appear that we who cry out against this responsibility mean to do him some personal violence (cheers and laughter). Was ever such a school-boy trick as that resorted to by a man in his situation (cheers)? He is fairly ashamed of it now, as are all who sit behind him, and who faithfully supported him in it. But we find the newspapers still dealing with this hypocritical and absurd argument. Why, for my own part, I would not touch a hair of his head, were he ever so much in my power (cheers.) But what is the meaning of this responsibility on the part of a minister? The Queen, with us, is not responsible. If we were governed by a Czar, or by a Grand Turk, we would then hold the sovereign responsible. In a system of constitutional government like ours, however, it is the minister alone who is responsible (hear, hear). None but the Queen can issue an order in council for the opening of the ports, and the Queen would have done this long ago but that she has to wait until Sir Robert Peel chooses to inform her that the cabinet have consented to her doing so (hear.) We, then, as loyal subjects, are only pursuing a constitutional course when we bring him to the bar of public opinion, and declare him responsible for the acts of the government (hear, hear, hear). We are told, to be sure, by those who still put forth their daily nonsense in defence of monopoly, that to admit foreign corn is not to hit the right way, by which the present difficulties can be surmounted. Instead of enlarging the supply of food, we are told that certain great public works are to be undertaken. Railroads are to be constructed, and lands to be drained in Ireland, and the fisheries are to be promoted, and all these devices are to be carried through by the instrumentality of the public purse. Any thing will be done but the right thing (cheers.) That reminds me of the old story of the man who had a horse, which was in the last stage of decline, for want of sufficient nourishment, and who told his friend that the horse would not thrive, although he had given him old shoes, chips, and even oyster shells (laughter.) His friend replied to him, "Suppose you try corn" (cheers and laughter.) Now we say to those gentlemen who want to feed the people with pickaxes, shovels, fishing nets, and draining tiles, "Suppose you try a little corn" (renewed cheers and laughter.) You, who do not sit in the House of Commons, would be astonished how reluctantly we bring our opponents' noses to the corn crib (cheers and laughter). Now mark me. Be prepared in the present emergency, and constantly on your guard. There will be an effort made to extract some enormous jobbery out of the anticipated famine (hear, hear.) The landlords in Ireland have not cultivated their lands, their bogs, and wastes as they should have done, and now they will get the government to do it for them out of the public taxes, of all which, of course, they will reap the benefit (hear, hear.) Now, be on your guard. I have no objection, after everything else which should first be resorted to has been done—after the ports have been thrown open, without let or hindrance, if charity is to be administered to the Irish people, that it should rather be bestowed in the shape of payment of wages than as eleemosynary grants (hear, hear). I read in the papers of to-day the speech of the King of Belgium to the Chambers in that country, in which he congratulated them that they have opened the ports for the admission of foreign corn, and that being done, they are enabled, by a vote of public money, to execute certain public works, to make up for the deficiency in employment, and thereby supply the people with food. In Belgium, you see, they do not expect to feed their people with mere pickaxes and shovels. They first let in the needed supply, of foreign corn, and then, by supplying funds for the execution of public works, provide the people with the means of feeding themselves without resorting to charity (hear, hear.) Was ever a people so insulted as are the English people by the arguments of the monopolists? What is our present dilemma? It is neither more nor less than the want of food. Now what do people work for? Not for work itself certainly, but for the food which they are enabled to procure by it (hear, hear). The monopolist writers think, or so pretend, that it is work that is wanted at present. Now work is never wanted but as a means of getting something out of it (hear, hear). We have the highest authority—that of sacred writ itself, for considering work a curse, but a curse which is mercifully sweetened by the rewards of labour. (Hear, hear.) But where are the rewards to come from if there is an insufficient supply of food to meet the wants of the people. The Irish are about to suffer from a famine. It will not confine its effects to those who can work upon railroads, but will also, in all probability, affect every man, woman, and child scattered over the face of that country, and with the exception of the wealthy portion of the population, the mass of the inhabitants of towns. Those able to work, and those not able, will equally suffer. (Hear, hear.) Are these the people into whose hands, with your supply of food manifestly deficient, you can put pick-axes and shovels, and expect them to work, without holding out to them the prospect of receiving the ample and legitimate reward of labour? (Hear, hear.) What happened in the spring of 1822, I am afraid, is very likely to happen again. Mark my words, and I speak them in sorrow, that next spring will develop the calamitous result of our present suicidal policy. It was only in the spring after the harvest of 1821 that the evil, to which I have just alluded, was felt. In the spring of 1822, when the country people had eaten up the potatoes which were left them, they flocked in crowds to the towns for subsistence, for it is in towns that you find ample supplies of food generally accumulated, and in the towns the starving masses had to be fed from the charity of their fellow-countrymen. Depend upon it you will have to feed large masses of the people of Ireland, in a like manner, out of a public fund, before midsummer. But where is the subsistence to come from which you are to administer to them? It is not in this country, and must be procured elsewhere. (Hear, hear, hear.) But does it not behove the minister of the Crown to see,

in the present emergency, that not a moment is lost in accumulating in this country such a stock of food, as may not be procurable next spring, when famine presses heavily upon us, for less than double the price which, some time ago, we would have been called upon to pay for it? (Hear, hear, and cheers?) Mark how our present rulers are tampering with the existing alarming condition of the country (hear, hear). You behold the organs of the government giving vent to statements, the object of which is to induce us to believe that the evil does not exist to the extent which has been assigned to it. Is there, then, a deep-laid conspiracy on the part of any one to lead us falsely into the anticipation of evils which there is no real ground to apprehend? That cannot be. Have we not seen that solemn masses have been offered up in Roman Catholic chapels, beseeching the Disposer of all Events that he would graciously avert the impending calamity. (Hear, hear)? Did we not see in yesterday's paper, that the Primate and bishops of Ireland had ordered prayers to be offered up, to arrest, if possible, the progress of the threatened evil? (Hear, hear, hear). Have we not had boards of guardians, on more occasions than one, memorialising government to do what they could to moderate the severity of the apprehended famine? (hear, hear). If all this be so, can it, then, be possible that any person or persons have harboured a wide and diabolical conspiracy, for the purpose of trifling with the most sacred feelings of humanity, or is the statement of the evil a lamentable and incontrovertible fact? (Hear, hear). That statement is unfortunately but too melancholy a truth, and yet the government is tampering with this most critical juncture of our national welfare, and leads us to infer that it is prepared to do nothing. (Hear, hear). Well, then, as Mr. Villiers and Earl Ducie have well advised you, it is high time for the people to speak out. There have been scarcely any demonstrations as yet in the country in favour of the immediate opening of the ports. And why? Because every one expected that every successive mail from London would carry to him the welcome decision of the Cabinet that the ports had been already opened. People did not choose to waste their strength and their energies in preparing for a demonstration, which was to take place at the end of a week's time, in favour of an object which they thought would be accomplished every twenty-four hours. (Hear, hear). It now behoves the people of every town to meet, as the people of Manchester are going to meet—(great cheering)—and throw upon the government the whole responsibility of the present state of things, and call upon them immediately to open the ports; and when once opened, they will never be shut again. (Cheering.) That is the true reason why the ports have not already been opened. If there had been no Anti-Corn-law League, they would have been opened a month ago. (Cheers.) It is because they know well in the Cabinet, and because the landlords also well know, that the question of total and immediate repeal of the corn-laws is at stake, that they will risk, like desperate gamblers all that may befall us during the next six months, rather than part with that law. Well, if they won't open the ports, somebody must make them. Why, you will be the laughing-stock of all Christendom if you do not make them; only think of the Dutchman—think of Mynheer whilst smoking his pipe, and seeing the ships coming in from America laden with corn for him. How he will laugh at your stupidity when he sees Englishmen starving, while Dutchmen are well fed. (Hear, hear, hear). We are not sunk quite so low as that yet. (Cheers.) But for Sir Robert Peel, what a critical moment in his fortune has now past. I say past, for let him do the act at the end of this month, which he ought to have done ten days ago, still he will not be the same man that he would have been had he done it then. There is not even a child in statesmanship that could not have then told Sir Robert Peel, "Now is the critical period of your political fortune—this is the tide of your political life; if you take it at its flood, you go on to such a fortune as no statesman ever attained in this country before; but if you miss it—if you allow the flood to pass by you—you will prove to the world that you have been all your life a pretender and a mere hoax on the credulity of your countrymen. (Great cheering). We have all been thinking for some time past that Peel was the man—not the coming man—but the come man. (A laugh). Everybody began to say, Peel is the man for a practical statesman, to govern a practical people, and I have no hesitation in saying, that if Sir R. Peel had taken the course I have suggested, of boldly hearing the Iron Duke (a laugh), and at once dismissing him and his tail from the Cabinet—I have no hesitation in saying, so far as Lancashire and Yorkshire are concerned, he would have rallied around him the whole of the mighty population of those counties as one man in his support. We should have buried Whig or Tory from the moment we found Sir Robert Peel had abolished the corn-laws. (Hear, hear). There would have been a union of all men and all classes in those districts in support of the man who had the courage and the honesty to put an end to this atrocious and long-continued injustice. But he has not done it, and I venture to prophesy that he won't do it. Somebody else will have to do it, and we are not yet so badly off in England but that we may find somebody willing and able to do the will of the country whenever it is unmistakingly expressed. (Cheers). We are told that it would be useless to pass a law to admit foreign corn, for there is none to come in. Then, what was the Cabinet been deliberating about so long? (Hear, and a laugh). If there was no corn to come in, why did the Government hold four or five Cabinet councils to decide whether it should come in or not? (Hear). Some of the protectionists tell us, that even if our supply is deficient, the remedy is not to look to foreign countries, but to our native products. But that is not the rule they follow in anything else but corn. I heard not long ago Mr. Gladstone expound, most eloquently, the great importance of permitting the free admission of foreign lard, flax, hides, and many other things, as being necessary as the raw materials for our manufactures. Though flax is grown in England, though we produce hides and make lard, these are admitted from abroad, but with regard to corn, the argument is, that we are not to

look to foreign countries for an increased or supplementary supply of that article. (Shame, shame). And so it is. It is the corn question upon which the mighty struggle will be after all. And I will whisper in your ear the reason why;—corn is the article upon which rents are fixed, and by which tithes are regulated. Do not deceive yourselves and suppose you will get a free admission of foreign corn—that is, wheat—except after a considerable struggle. They do not mind so much about Indian corn. Lord Sandon the other day wrote from Liverpool that he has no objection to Indian corn coming in. And why? It does not regulate tithes or operate on fixed rents in this country. My noble friend (Lord Ducie) was quite right when he said that the landowner might do as well without corn-laws as with them, and the farmer and farm labourer much better. But, unfortunately, everybody in the same position is not up to the light of my noble friend. The squire and landowner in general think differently from my noble friend, and they actually hiss him at their agricultural meetings. (Cries of "shame, shame.") I tell this as a specimen of their intelligence. But they only act according to their own convictions and their own ignorant prejudice. (Hear, hear.) And here let me remind you, that this country is governed by the ignorance of the country. And I do not say this without proof; for amongst those members of the majority of the House of Commons who uphold the corn-law protective principle, there is not a man of anything like average intellect who dares to speak in their favour. You cannot appeal to a single statesman that deserves a moment's regard as such, who has uttered anything like an authoritative dictum in their favour. (Hear, hear.) There is no single writer of eminence who has not repudiated the doctrines of the monopolists. They are condemned alike by all the intelligence of this and of past ages (hear, hear), and yet they rule this country at this time with more tyranny than even the Grand Turk himself governs with. (Cheers.) These people, though possessing no intelligence themselves, yet find people to do their work for them. They will find Sir R. Peel to do it, and that against his own conscientious convictions; for there can be no doubt that Sir R. Peel is at heart as good a free-trader as I am myself. He has told us so in the House of Commons again and again; nor do I doubt that Sir R. Peel has in his inmost heart the desire to be the man who shall carry out the principles of free trade in this country. (Hear, hear). But he has been tampering with the question in order to adapt his policy to the ignorance of his party, and we see the state into which the country has been brought the while. (Hear, hear.) We have, however, one consolation, we have run the fox to earth at last, and know he cannot double on us again. (Much cheering.) The question cannot be dealt with in another session, as it has been when the country has been blessed with her abundant crops, and when trade was good, and the people all employed. If you had seen the jaunty airs Sir Robert Peel gave himself when we talked of free trade in past sessions, you would have been amused if not astonished. (Hear, and laughter.) But that is all at an end now, and next session we shall have him fairly pinned (cheers and renewed laughter), and he knows it too. And I can tell you that if there is one man who will go up to Parliament next session with a heavier heart than another, that man is Sir Robert Peel. (Hear, hear.) It is my belief that if in the meantime he does not take the step of throwing open the ports, he will not dare to face us at all next session. (Hear.) Of this I am quite sure, that if the leading members of the opposition, in another session, take the position they ought to take—in the van of the people (hear); and, having the people at their back, stand boldly forth as the advocates of those sound principles we are met here to support—and will show themselves ready and determined to apply them as fairly, as effectually, and as permanently as my honourable friend, Mr. Villiers would, and Sir Robert Peel takes his place in Parliament without first opening the ports, I undertake to say that they will shake him out of office in a week (general cheering). But I do not like, altogether, the idea of giving Peel up. He is a Lancashire man (hear, hear)—and in my part of the country we are proud of Lancashire men. We used to think that Sir Robert cast a sheep's eye on the tall chimneys, and that he had something of a lingering kindness for Lancashire; and I can tell him it would have been a proud day for the Lancashire men, when they saw a Lancashire man, and the son of a Lancashire manufacturer, stand forward to rescue the commerce of the country from the shackles of that feudal and senseless oppression it has so long laboured under (cheers). I must not forget that I am charged with a message from Lancashire to you. You have already heard what we have done by our twelve months' labour at the registration. We have secured that county for the free-traders; and you have also heard what we have done in the neighbouring northern counties with their constituencies of 70,000 or 80,000—constituencies greater than those of all the counties south of Middlesex put together. We sent Mr. Hickin to Staffordshire to attend the last revision—he followed the barrister to every court; and the result is we have gained between 1000 and 2000 votes (cheers). The expense of this proceeding has been paid by the League out of its funds, and when we asked you to contribute your money to the League, it was with the view of spending it in the same way for your benefit. I believe South Staffordshire is safe at the next election for two free traders. But we must not rest there—we must do the same in other counties. In South Lancashire we have put such a majority of free traders on the registry, that, unless I am much mistaken, our opponents will not dare to contest another election with us (loud cheers). I say every man in Birmingham who can afford it must buy a 40s. freehold, and so qualify himself to vote for South Staffordshire. In Manchester we say to every man who has a good coat on his back—"You must buy a freehold and qualify for the county." But you have a county nearer here—you are partly in North Warwickshire, as well as Coventry; and if you qualify, what is to prevent your returning two free traders for that place at the next election (hear, hear)? Shame on you if you doubt it (hear)! Think of the beauty of the 40s. freehold! Why, it is the best part of the Reform Bill—it is an inheritance handed down to us from our ancestors 500 years ago. A man for £50 can buy one of these freeholds, and

place himself, as regards the county franchise, upon an equality with the squire who has an estate of £5000 a-year (hear, hear). The landowners have multiplied their £50 tenants-at-will, and, do what they will, they cannot stretch out their land like Indian rubber, but you can make every cobbler's stall, every butcher's shambles, every stable, the means of conferring the franchise, and placing its owner on an equality with the man who holds an estate of £50,000 a-year. I say, too, if you choose you can ensure the return of two free traders for Worcestershire. Worcester must also be won. There was a desultory effort made to gain North Warwickshire the other day, which ended disgracefully, and which showed the necessity of some local organisation. 'Tis votes, not meetings, that persuade Sir Robert Peel (hear, hear). In Staffordshire the revising barrister acknowledged that the League had purged the registry of an immense number of fictitious votes. The finger of scorn should be pointed at any of the middle classes in the northern towns who did not become co-electors. The man is not fit to be a freeman who, when he could afford it, refuses to pay £50 for the franchise (hear, hear, hear). Having qualified every man you can, you must proceed to a systematic purging of the registers. Many silly persons object to this as disfranchising the people; but if our opponents strike off our votes, are theirs to remain untouched (no, no)? We should be in such a position as to be able to tell the government, "You must give up the corn laws or give up a good deal more" (hear, hear, and cheers). The aristocracy of this country have the army, the navy, the colonies, and a large amount of expenditure at their disposal. 'Tis a perfect paradise for the aristocracy in this country, if they knew only how to behave themselves! (much laughter)—not as angels, but as decent, honest, rational men (renewed laughter). Whom have they to govern? Practical, industrious, intelligent men, whose thoughts centred in their business, and who would gladly leave to those above them the toil of government, if those were willing to allow commerce and industry fair play (hear, hear, and cheers). What a people for an aristocracy to govern! And yet they risk all for the sake of a miserable tax on bread, which is of no earthly benefit even to themselves (cheers). Be prepared for a crisis as to this law, which may come on even before the next dissolution. You will see by the swaying of parties, and the general agitation of the public mind in the next session, that some great change is approaching; and when you discover these symptoms, don't mind who goes out or in, but keep your eyes steadily fixed on this corn question; and when the crisis does come, let the multitudinous numbers of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Staffordshire, be prepared to act with united strength against the vile fabric of monopoly, over which, when levelled with the earth, will be driven the ploughshare of peace, that prosperity may arise out of its ruins (loud and long continued cheering).

The CHAIRMAN next proposed Mr. Bright, who, as one of the people, had done good service to the people's cause in the House of Commons.

Mr. BRIGHT was received with most enthusiastic cheering, but the lateness of the hour rendered it impossible for the reporter to remain longer in the Hall, and we are consequently unable to give even an outline of his address.

We understand several very eloquent speeches were delivered in the course of the evening, by W. J. Fox, Esq., Colonel Thompson, W. Brown, Esq., of Liverpool, and other gentlemen; and that after a most enthusiastic meeting, the large assembly broke up at a late hour.

MEETING OF THE COUNTY OF LANARK POTATO DISEASE.

The Duke of Hamilton, as lord-lieutenant of the county of Lanark, called together the fresholders to take into consideration the alarming disease in the potato-crop, causing a deficiency of food for the labouring classes and the poor. This meeting was held on the 7th of November, and was attended not only by the gentlemen usually present at such meetings, but by a number of practical farmers. Circulars, requesting information on the subject, had been previously sent to the leading farmers in the county, and to the ministers of the several parishes. From the results of the returns to these queries, which had been carefully tabulated, it appeared:

"That, taking the entire county, the potatoes have been affected to the extent of about one half; and it was stated by Mr. Marr, that the statements given in as to whether the disease was progressing or not progressing, were 22 for progression against two or three for non-progression. As a specimen of the answers given by the farmers, we may observe that from the extensive parish of Avondale, there were returns from 13 farms, and that the estimates of the extent of the potato disease on each were respectively as follow:—One-half, one-fourth, three-fourths, one-half, one-third, one-half, one-third, one-half, one-half, one-half, one-half, three-fourths, one-half. From each of these farms the report was, that the disease was progressive; and generally speaking, no remedy was suggested. From Lord Douglas's farm, managed by Mr. Rutherford, the return was, that nearly three-fourths were affected; from the parish of Bothwell, the potatoes on two farms were one-half affected, and on one farm three-fourths. From the parish of Carluke, one-half were reported as affected."

Some discussion took place on the resolutions proposed for bringing these facts under the consideration of her Majesty's Government, in the course of which the Hon. Major Cochrane made some remarks, to which we beg leave to direct the attention of our readers as illustrations of protectionist policy and humanity:

"The Hon. Major Cochrane was opposed to opening

the ports: the farmers had suffered already the loss of their potatoes; and it would be too much to throw wholly on them the burden of supporting the whole suffering population. There was no deficiency in the grain crop at home, though it might not be of superior quality; and the opening of the ports would lower the price, but do no good. The Irish had neither credit nor money to purchase grain, and the proper way was to supply them with provisions out of the revenue from grain imported. The resolution would lead the Government to believe that the county of Lanark wished the ports open. If they did so, their tenants ought then to be entitled to throw up their leases."

For the sufferings of the people of Scotland, from the apprehended scarcity, Major Cochrane expressed neither sympathy nor compassion. All his tenderness and charity were reserved for the Irish. In the system of humanity devised by the protectionists, "tis distance lends enchantment to the view." The opening of the ports he declares "would lower prices but do no good." Why, the evil of which the nation complains, is the great rise in prices, greater far in reality than it is in appearance. The extravagant price of sound prime wheat which is wanting to mix with the inferior grain of the present harvest, is the cause of the cry for opening the ports. We believe that such a measure would ultimately benefit the protectionists themselves by creating a regular demand for their inferior grain. But, having resolved that the opening of the ports should be resisted, the gallant major has a pet remedy of his own, which is simply that the people should be still taxed for the benefit of the monopolists, and that the fractional dribble of this tax derived from the admission of foreign corn should be given to the poor, that with this pittance they may further enhance the profits of the monopolists by buying their taxed bread. Here is a plain proposition for establishing a trade in scarcity and fixing profit by famine. CORN IS TO BE TAXED THAT MONOPOLISTS MAY OBTAIN FAMINE-PRICES, and pocket the amount of duty in addition to the high price of scarcity; and when the landlords are thus secured, THE PEOPLE ARE TO BE FED BY A TAX LEVIED ON THEIR OWN MISERY, the amount of which will be graduated precisely by the amount of distress. This is a most instructive revelation of monopolist policy; it is a declaration that the protectionists are resolved to grasp their own unhallowed gains at all hazards, no matter what may be the sufferings of the country, and that they will insist on the miserable raising from their distress means of succour for misery. The heartlessness of such a proposition is as revolting as its absurdity is palpable; it is stamped with condemnation the instant that it is named.

We have great pleasure in turning from this disgraceful exhibition of sordid selfishness to the manly and honourable reply of the chairman, Lord Belhaven:

"Lord Belhaven was afraid that if they went into the question of opening the ports, it would lead them into a lengthy discussion. He was one of those not in the least apprehensive about seeing the ports open at any time, or under any circumstances. (Hear.) And he might mention, for the comfort of his friend Major Cochrane, what had lately happened in his own (Lord Belhaven's) case. A deputation from his tenants waited on him and stated that they were quite willing to give up, as tenants, all protection of every kind. He asked them if they would in that case seek to be allowed to give up their leases, when they said "no," as they were satisfied that the corn and provision laws did more harm than good. (Hear.) This was just one instance showing that farmers were beginning to see that protection was valueless to them. He had to apologise for entering upon this subject, and he certainly would not have done it but for the remarks of his friend Major Cochrane. He thought it was better, seeing there was a great variety of opinion among them upon this point, and that there was no possible chance of agreeing in regard to it, that a discussion should be avoided; while they must be agreed upon this, that any thing was better than to see the people want food. (Hear, hear.) With respect to the potatoes, they must take into account that the first thing was to secure seed for another season. The quantity of potatoes going out of the country was immense; and he could state the demand for rice was so great that the price had been doubled within these three months, and the larger proportion of it taken to Belgium. He must say that he did not think it likely they would be inundated with grain from the Continent; but on this subject he did not wish to enter, as it was quite impossible they could all agree upon it. But, considering that in the county of Lanark the greatest mass of population in Scotland existed, and that they had no means within the county of feeding one-tenth part of that population, they should be the first to take steps for averting such a state of matters, by endeavouring to get food from other places. The county of Lanark was more deeply interested in this matter than any other; they were more dependent on foreign supply than any other part of Scotland; and they should, therefore, be the first to take measures for averting any calamity that might threaten them. No gentleman could deny that they ran great hazard of having a shortness of food. He admitted that the corn

crop, in point of quantity, was a fair one, though inferior in quality, but the question arose, how far would the grain crops go to feed the people? He had seen calculations made in regard to the consumption of potatoes as an article of food; and from these it was ascertained, that in Ireland potatoes formed one-half of the food of the people, while in Scotland it was one-third. These calculations, it was well known, came from people who had the best sources of information; and, taking them as correct—for they could not be denied—he asked, what was to become of their grain food?"

It is honourable to the intelligence of Lord Belhaven's tenantry that they should thus denounce the delusion of protection; it is equally honourable to him that he met them with equal candour and sound sense. But we shall not now discuss the general question; it is of more importance to examine the monopolist remedy for the present crisis. The Hon. Major Cochrane gave a further exposition of his views.

"Major Cochrane said, perhaps her Majesty's ministers might not be inclined to open the ports—for that was what was pointed at in the resolution—but levy a small duty on grain. Now, if that grain produced a large revenue, it might be devoted to the feeding of the poor. The people of Ireland could not afford to purchase grain at any price, even though it were at a penny a peck; and of what use would it be to them to admit it free. He thought it would be more wise to prohibit the exportation of food than to let it in. The wages of labourers in this country were at present exceedingly good. Wheat was not higher than it had often been when wages were lower, and no one would say that at this moment people, with such wages as were going, were badly off."

The duty on grain to maintain the monopolist price is still his first object; not a fraction of the amount thus put into the pocket of the protectionist can be spared to stave off famine; it is only from the portion which accumulated distress may add to the revenue that this distress will be permitted to expect any relief. Further comment is superfluous; such a proclamation of heartless rapacity at such a prospective crisis as the report of the secretary and the speech of the noble chairman described, is a melancholy illustration of the great truth, that systematic selfishness stultifies the intellect, while it hardens the heart.

PARISH OF ST. PAUL, COVENT GARDEN.—On Tuesday night, a public meeting of the parishioners of St. Paul, Covent Garden, was held in the vestry-room, for the purpose of "taking into consideration the present high price of provisions, and to petition her Majesty to open the ports for the admission of foreign corn and provisions duty free."

Mr. TAPSTER, the senior churchwarden, in the chair.

Mr. WALKER said that he rose for the purpose of moving a resolution in accordance with the notice given to the churchwardens for calling the meeting, and if ever there was a time more than another which called upon them all to come forward and prevent a threatened evil, the present was that time. Day after day they saw accounts of the total failure of that article of human consumption by which a great number of their fellow-creatures solely lived, and it was deplorable to think of what would become of those poor creatures who were unable to obtain a better article of food than the potato. (Hear.) It was quite clear, therefore, that unless something was speedily done, thousands would die of starvation. It would be the same as it was a few years since, when thousands in the manufacturing districts died of sheer starvation. This was owing in a great measure to the Corn Laws for the protection of the landed aristocracy, who were bringing the country to a state of desolation and famine. Mr. Walker then moved the following resolution:—"That the appalling accounts daily rendered of the progress of disease in the potato crop imperatively call upon us, as men and as Christians, to endeavour by every means in our power to avert the coming danger of threatened famine, and consequent plague of typhus."

Mr. BURNETT, after some remarks, read the following extract from the evidence of Mr. McCulloch before the agricultural committee in 1831. Speaking of the failure of the potato crop, that gentleman says—"It is clear that when the crop of potatoes happens to be deficient in a country thus situated, the condition of its inhabitants must be in the last degree unfortunate. During a period of scarcity men cannot go from a low to a high level. If they would elude its pressure, they must leave the dearer and resort to cheaper species of food; but to those who subsist on potatoes this is not possible—they have already reached the lowest point in the descending scale. Their wages being determined by the price of the least expensive sort of food, they cannot, when it fails, buy that which is dearer, so that it is hardly possible for them to avoid falling a sacrifice to absolute want." It was a well-known fact that potatoes could not be stored like corn. There was no mode of preserving them; the whole crop is exhausted in the year. Therefore a scarcity, the pressure of which falls upon the lower orders, cannot be alleviated. He concluded by seconding the resolution.

Mr. TOLLEY moved the second resolution, to the effect, "That the meeting believed the most effective mode of averting the coming evil, and preventing the effects of such a scourge as the desolation of the land by famine, is immediately for her Majesty to instruct her Ministers to open the ports of the kingdom for all kinds of foreign grain and other provisions duty free."

Mr. BECK seconded the resolution, which, as well as the first, was carried unanimously.

It was then moved that a petition embodying the foregoing resolutions be drawn up and signed by the chairman, on behalf of the meeting, and presented to her Majesty by the Home Secretary.

This also having been carried, a vote of thanks was given the chairman, and the meeting separated.

FREE TRADE COUNTY QUALIFICATIONS

On Tuesday evening a meeting of the League County Registration Committee was held at the Offices, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, Mr. Wilson in the chair. A large number of members were present, including the following: Messrs. S. Lees, T. Simpson, J. Heywood, J. Barratt, B. Syddall, J. E. Royle, W. Shuttleworth, T. Chadwick, S. Lucas, S. P. Robinson, W. McCall, W. Macartney, W. Burton, C. Grundy, —Bunting, C. Duffield, J. D. Fernley, J. Hickin, &c., &c.

The Chairman, in opening the business of the meeting, entered into a detailed statement of what had been effected by the League and its agents during the past year. He reminded them of the plan which had emanated from that room at the close of the revision of 1844. In consequence of that recommendation many thousands of freeholds had been purchased, and county qualifications thereby obtained. Some doubts had been at first entertained by the timid as to whether these qualifications would be held good, and their opponents had called them faggot-votes; but the barristers had everywhere decided in their favour. During the recent registration, the number of new claims in South Lancashire was upwards of 2600, in the West Riding 3369, in North Lancashire 1162, North Cheshire 889, and in Middlesex 925. The meeting was aware that something had been done in other counties. The Council had sent Mr. Hickin into South Staffordshire, and there had been a gain in that division of 936. The gain in North Stafford was 942. In other counties they had succeeded in making considerable improvement; and they had now determined to extend their operations, and to call upon their friends in other parts of the kingdom for that assistance in working out the plan, which was essential to its success. Mr. Wilson then read a list of the counties which it was thought might be worked with success. He had no doubt the committee then assembled would as heretofore perform their share of the good work. The meeting was afterwards addressed by Mr. McCall, Mr. Simpson, Mr. R. Owen, Mr. Hickin, Mr. Duffield, Mr. Royle, Mr. S. P. Robinson, Mr. Syddall, and others. About 30 names were handed to the Secretary of persons who wished to purchase qualifications. A general canvass was resolved upon, and canvassing forms were taken by most of the gentlemen present. The following is the list of counties read by Mr. Wilson, grouped into districts for the convenience of working:

South Lancashire North Lancashire West Riding	I.	North Cheshire South Cheshire
East Cumberland West Cumberland	II.	North Durham South Northumberland
North Stafford South Stafford	III.	North Warwick East Worcester
North Notts North Derby South Derby	IV.	South Leicester Rutland
East Gloucester West Gloucester East Somerset	V.	West Somerset North Wilts
Middlesex East Surrey East Sussex South Essex	VI.	South Hants West Kent Herts
East Cornwall West Cornwall	VII.	East Norfolk West Norfolk

THE REGISTRATION.

LEICESTERSHIRE, SOUTHERN DIVISION.—The following is a return of the registration for the southern division of this county, and exhibits a loss to the Tory interest of 1600! What will Messrs. Halford and Packe say to this? Their "glorious majority" of 1400 and odd is annihilated at one blow; and by the aid of their party's agents, too!—Messrs. John Johnson, Adams, and Co. Such unprecedented success is indeed surprising, and well does Mr. L. Staines merit the thanks of the party in whose behalf he labours.

Parish Lists of Votes	Liberals	Tories
disallowed.	off.	off.
Hinckley Division.. 625 ..	161 ..	464
Bosworth ditto 513 ..	65 ..	448
Harborough ditto .. 323 ..	52 ..	271
Leicester ditto 1041 ..	238 ..	803
	2503	516
		1986
		516

Loss of Tories.. 1470

PERSONAL OBJECTIONS.	Liberals struck off.	Tories struck off.
Bosworth Division .. 0 ..	12	
Harborough ditto .. 6 ..	37	
Lutterworth ditto .. 3 ..	25	
Leicester ditto .. 15 ..	89	
	24	143
		24

Loss of Tories.. 139

Loss as above .. 1470

Majority over Tories in objections.. 1600

PERTH.—A meeting of the Town Council was held on Monday. Provost Sidney in the chair. Treasurer Halley proposed a resolution in favour of opening the ports, which was seconded by Bailie Dewar, and carried unanimously.

BRADFORD.—It is the intention of the Free Trade party in Bradford to get up a public meeting in a week or ten days, at which Messrs. Cobden and Bright will attend, and urge on the Free Traders to increase their numbers on the register by the purchase of small freeholds.

A memorial to Sir Robert Peel requesting him to open the ports of Great Britain and Ireland, for the admission of foreign grain, &c., duty free, is in course of signature at Crayford, Kent, and will be transmitted to the hon. Baronet in the course of a few days.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

THE Friends of FREE TRADE residing in the Northern or Midland Counties, desirous of purchasing Freeholds in any of the undermentioned Counties, are requested to apply to the Secretary of the League, Newall's Buildings, Manchester.

North Lancashire	North Derbyshire
South Lancashire	South Derbyshire
North Cheshire	North Durham
West Riding of York	East Cumberland
South Stafford	West Cumberland
North Stafford	South Northumberland
South Cheshire	

Each applicant is requested to give his name and residence at full length.
By Order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

FREE TRADERS desirous of purchasing Freeholds for Middlesex, East Surrey, West Kent, South Essex, East Sussex, and South Hants, are requested to send their applications, with name and address in full, to the League Offices, 67, Fleet-street, London.

By Order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

THE LEAGUE COUNTY REGISTRATION COMMITTEE for Manchester and the neighbourhood will meet at the Offices, Newall's Buildings, on Tuesday Evening next, Nov. 18th, to receive the Report of the Sub-Committee appointed to canvass for the names of persons desirous of possessing County Qualifications.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LEAGUE FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Nov. 12, 1845.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

*Crosfield, Henry, Temple-place, Liverpool	£5 0 0
*Wainwright, R. A., 28, Lonsdale-square, Islington	2 2 0
*Huckvale, Robert, Regent's Villas, Regent's Park	2 0 0
*Gloyne, Thomas Henry, Druggist, Dewsbury	2 0 0
*Swepson, W., 66, Cannon-street, City	1 1 0
*Heppburn, Thomas, Clapham	1 1 0
*Lister, William, 15, Manchester-buildings, Westminster	1 1 0
*Sedgwick, R., Walthamstow Coffee House, 245, Shore-ditch	1 1 0
*Woodbridge, Wm., 6, Jermain-street	1 1 0
*Darnell, George, 26, Theberton-street, Islington	1 1 0
*Booth, H., 1, Haberdasher-street, Hoxton	1 1 0
*Barford, R., 18, Wharf road, City-road	1 1 0
*Bedford, J., 92, Long-lane, Bermondsey	1 1 0
*B. H.	1 1 0
*Crockford, Joseph, Queen's-buildings, Knightsbridge	1 1 0
*Amory, Samuel, 25, Throgmorton-street	1 1 0
*Richards, John, 19, Albany-place, York-road, Lambeth	1 1 0
*Hardy, Francis, 25, Milk-street, City	1 1 0
*Andrews, Wm., jun., 1, Albion Villas, Liverpool-road, Islington	1 0 0
*Combes, Thomas, 6, Church-terrace, Waterloo-road	1 0 0
*Proctor, Wm., Commercial-place, Old Kent-road	1 0 0
*Crane, Joseph, Commercial-road East	1 0 0
*Allen, George, Little George-street, Spitalfields	1 0 0
*Howitt, James, Upper Whitecross-street	1 0 0
*Barton, William, 23, Redcross-street, Cripplegate	1 0 0
*Pitty, David, 13, New-road, Whitechapel	1 0 0
*Peachey, James, 38, Goswell-street	1 0 0
*Morris, Joshua, Blisset place, Greenwich	1 0 0
*Stephens, Henry, 54, Stamford-street	1 0 0
*Monkhouse, A., 6, Green-street, Grosvenor-square	1 0 0
*Biddood, A. W., 6, Vico-street	1 0 0
*Price, Robert, 16, Cheapside	1 0 0
*Allen, William, 62, Warren-street, Fitzroy-square	1 0 0
*Shephard, Charles, 3, Lewis-place, Fulham Fields	1 0 0
*Hall, John, 31, Orchard-street, Portman-square	1 0 0
*Craft, John, 20, Philpot-lane, City	1 0 0
*Cuthbert, J. L., 6, Pelham terrace, Fulham-road	1 0 0
*Hastings, Robert, 2, Castle-street, Falcon-square	1 0 0
*Reed, John F., White Hart-street, Newgate Market	1 0 0
*D., the Temple	1 0 0
*Bowers, C. H., 18, Cannon-st.-rd., Commercial-rd. East	1 0 0
*Levit, M. T., 31, Minories	1 0 0
*Webb, Thomas, 257, Bethnal-green-road	1 0 0
*Sale, C. F., Gun-alley, Bermondsey	1 0 0
*Chaplin, B. J., 17, Redcross-square, Cripplegate	1 0 0
*Hill, George, 7, Maddox-street, Bond-street	1 0 0
*Hocken, J., 23, Maddox-street, Regent-street	1 0 0
*Lattimore, C. H., Wheathampstead-pl., near St. Albans	1 0 0
*Hart, Edwin, Woodville Cottage, Gravesend	1 0 0
*Rosling, Gabriel, Albion Tavern, High-street, ditto	1 0 0
*Wynn, James, and Son, Dewsbury	1 0 0
*Biffin, John, East-gate, Chichester	1 0 0
*Bacon, Benjamin, Market Hill, Cambridge	1 0 0
*Dresser, Joseph, 25, St. Thomas-street, Borough	10 0 0
*James, W., Conway, Pontnewydd Works, near Newport	1 0 0
*Williams, Peter, Frodsham, Cheshire	1 0 0
*Watterston, James, Bagonic Barns, by Haddington	1 0 0
*Webb, Robert, Queen's Hotel, Cheltenham	1 0 0
*Heron, R. and Co., P. Pottery, by Kirkcaldy	1 0 0
*Trumper, John, Rock Ferry, near Liverpool	1 0 0
*Adams, John, Selby	1 0 0
*Blyth, Alex. & Co., St. Clair Town, Kirkcaldy	1 0 0
*Clarke, J. & Co., thread manufacturer	2 0 0
*Walker, Son, & Co., ditto	1 1 0
*Whitehill, M. & Co., merchants	1 1 0
*McFarlan, Son, & Co., manufacturers	1 1 0
*Ersikine, D. & J., cloth singers	1 1 0
*Hutchison, Archibald, manufacturer	1 1 0
*Brodie, Robert, Western Bank	1 1 0
*Boyd, Robert, merchant	1 1 0
*Murray, J. & G., manufacturers	1 1 0
*Wallace, Hugh, ditto	1 1 0
*Millar, James, ditto	1 1 0
*Rowat, Robert, ditto	1 1 0
*Brown, Hugh, merchant	1 1 0
*Boyd, William, grocer	1 1 0
*Callender, Thomas, jun., currier	1 1 0
*Mitchell, George, dyer	1 1 0
*Sinclair, James	1 1 0
*Kington, William, Plume of Feathers	1 1 0
*Smith, W., cheese factor, Fisherton	1 1 0
*Pittman, A., Bedwin-street	1 1 0
*Moore, G., Queen's Arms, Ivy-street	1 1 0
*Hodgskin, John, Army and Navy Hotel	2 0 0
*Smith, Wm., Old King's Head	1 0 0
*Wood, Thomas William, auctioneer	1 0 0
*Beveridge, Thomas, builder	1 0 0
*Bacon, M., Oldmixon-terrace	1 0 0
*Goldston, Paul, grocer, East-gate, Rochester	1 0 0
*Todynau, George, King Inn, Oldham-st., Manchester	2 0 0
*Patchett, E., 69, Piccadilly	1 1 0
*Mawson, M., Rose Grove, Ardwick	1 1 0
*Smith, W. A., 20, Cottenham-street	1 1 0
*Nadin, Joseph, Chadde, Cheshire	1 1 0
*B. van, James, Hawick Vale, near Bolton	1 1 0
*Graham, Benjamin, Drake-street, Rochdale	1 1 0
*Smith, J., & Son, tailors & drapers, Stamford-street, Ashton-under-lyne	1 0 0

*Lincoln, Wm., 22, Booth-street, Oxford-st., Manchester	1 0 0
*Burton, William, 61, Oldham-street	1 0 0
*Bannerman, Charles, Messrs. Bannerman & Sons, York-street	1 0 0
*Gillibrand, Philip, at ditto	1 0 0
*Walker, Henry, 64, Rusholme-road, C on M	1 0 0
*Mattershead, John	1 0 0
*Mattershead, Alice	0 1 0

* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed subscriptions.

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE BAZAAR.

Sundry Contributions to the Bazaar, per Mrs. Poulter, Harden-road, Peckham	1 6 6
The Workpeople in the Hope Hill Mill, Stockport, per Mr. George Smith, collector—viz.	
(Ninth Remittance.)	
Hadfield, R.	0 3 0
Stafford, James	0 3 0
Jones, John	0 3 0
Booth, James	0 3 0
Harrison, Samuel	0 3 0
Brocklehurst, George	0 3 0
Clarke, Thomas	0 3 0
James, John	0 2 6
Maylew, Henry	0 2 6
Brown, William	0 2 6
Thompson, John	0 2 6
Smith, William	0 2 6
Southworth, Thomas	0 2 6
James, Richard	0 2 6
Henshaw, Ephraim	0 2 6
Percival, James	0 2 6
Hazlehurst, Charles	0 2 6
Gouldbourne, George	0 1 6
Bann, John	0 1 6
Harrison, Peter	0 1 6
Ryeford, William	0 1 6
Boole, M. A.	0 1 6
Wood, E.	0 1 6
Bullock, H.	0 1 6
Walker, Charles	0 1 6
Baizon, James	0 1 6
Glover, Thomas	0 1 6
Potts, S.	0 1 0
Tagg, Thomas	0 1 0
Rayner, Charles	0 1 0
Spaight, Joseph	0 1 0
Brown, William	0 1 0
Socket, Thomas	0 1 0
Littler, Peter	0 1 0
Radcliffe, William	0 1 0
Henshaw, E.	0 1 0
Hinchliffe, James	0 1 0
Hewitt, Mat.	0 1 0
Embery, William	0 1 0
Henshaw, Thomas	0 1 0
Lavton, William	0 1 0
Hambleton, Edward	0 1 0
Charleston, George	0 1 0
Gaunt, William	0 1 0
Barrett, John	0 1 0
Potts, Ralph	0 1 0
Spaight, Mat.	0 1 0
Power, Peter	0 1 0
Goodrick, John	0 1 0
Gaskill, William	0 1 0
Hopwood, Simeon	0 1 0
Charleston, William	0 1 0
Sums under 1 Shilling	1 9 10

EVIDENCES OF PUBLIC OPINION.

We have taken some pains to collect from the metropolitan and provincial journals the tone of public opinion at the present alarming crisis, and we find that through the length and breadth of the land there is a universal feeling of alarm at the prospects of supply for the coming winter and summer, and that there is a general concurrence as to the nature of the precautions that ought to be adopted. On all hands the deficiency of supply is admitted: on all sides the opening of the ports is demanded. If the Minister is resolved to maintain prohibition in the face of famine, it is well that the nation should be aware where the responsibility rests. We hope that the evidences of public opinion which we have collected will stimulate all friends of their country and their kind to speedy exertion; they have before them proofs that their labours will be supported by general co-operation, and their remonstrances seconded by the voice of the country.

(From the Morning Chronicle of Friday.)

The proceedings at the dinner given last night to Mr. Villiers by the Free Traders of Birmingham, of which we give a report, by express, in another page, will be read with deep and delighted interest in every part of the country. As an expression of respect for the public character of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton, and an acknowledgment of the eminent services which he has rendered to the Free Trade cause, during a long series of years, by an able, earnest, and consistent advocacy—begin at a time when all mention of the Corn Law seemed dolefully out of season, and perseveringly continued until, aided by public discussion and the course of national experience, the question has made all seasons its own—never was a better earned tribute of honour rendered to a public man. As a demonstration of feeling and opinion on the part of a large industrial and trading community, with respect to the Corn Law monopoly, it was most effective and unmistakable. The prompt intelligence, the sturdy determination, the enthusiastic unanimity that pervaded the vast assemblage gathered last night within the walls of the Town Hall of Birmingham, give the earnest of a national movement which will speedily teach Sir Robert Peel to regard his neglect of recent and present opportunities—his “loss of the tide”—as the most enormous blunder of his political life-time. We rejoice to see Birmingham once more taking its old place in the front ranks of the cause of rational and practical reform. The town which bore so large and influential a part in the struggle for the Reform Act ought to be something more than a neutral spectator of the conflict for the rights of industry. We trust we may now look to Birmingham to do that for commercial which it has heretofore done for political reform. The spirit evinced last night gives a cheering assurance that the blunder which for the present has virtually disfranchised Birmingham, and doomed the capital of a great commercial, manufacturing, and railway district to a parliamentary neutrality on the first industrial question of the time, will be corrected on the earliest opportunity.

There never was a crisis in the affairs of this country more loudly calling for that energetic and united public protest against the mad folly of its rulers which, last night, went forth from the metropolis of the Midland Counties. Just now we are “prosperous,” or seem so; but the dry rot has begun eating into our prosperity. Those symptoms which a bitter and recent experience has so well taught us to interpret, are daily becoming more formidable. Already, as Mr. Villiers warns us, in a speech deserving to be read, and read again, by all who would understand the real significance of the phenomena of our present national condition, the signs have appeared that heralded those years of distress which the youngest man living will never forget. The price of bread is now what it was when starving men rilled bakers' shops for food—when Paisley and Stockport exhibited misery and horrors, which the premier prays God he may never live to see again—when the rising flood of pauperism threatened to efface all distinction between rate payer and rate-eater—and when the fearful increase of crime and mortality attested, in facts and figures, the prevalence of a dis-

stress past all power of moral and physical endurance. The country has already made the first step in that course, of which a distress like that of the years from 1839 to 1842 is the natural consummation. If there be truth in experience—if law and causation have power in the affairs of men—that which happened then will, without a prompt and total change of our present ruinous policy, happen again now, point by point, with those special aggravations resulting from a potato famine in one-third of the United Kingdom.

If the people will not help themselves, there is now no help for them. The delusion of those who, like ourselves, expected that Sir Robert Peel would for once act the statesman, is thoroughly dissipated. The “hoax on the credulity of the country” can hoax us no longer. We have no doubt but that the country will show itself equal to the emergency created by the Government's abdication of the first function of Government. The Premier will find that he misinterpreted the recent quiescence of the public mind. That there has, until this week, been little popular agitation on the subject of the present crisis was justly referred by Mr. Cobden to the general tacit conviction which the people felt, that agitation was needless, and that the next London Gazette would settle the question by Order in Council. Sir Robert Peel has now, once for all, thrown the people on their own resources; he will, we expect, find the people fully equal to the occasion.

In Mr. Cobden's remarkably vigorous and telling speech of last night, the moral relation in which Sir Robert Peel has now placed himself to the country, was expounded with a truth and force which the Premier's own conscience can scarcely fail of recognising. We know not whether the Ministerial organs will deem it discreet, by quarrelling with the doctrine of the responsibility of public men for public measures, further to revive the recollection of a certain well known and singularly discreditable incident of Sir Robert Peel's parliamentary life. But the Premier may rest assured that he will hear again and again of that “responsibility,” the mention of which once seemed so odious to him. The plain, common sense view of the case, so powerfully put by Mr. Cobden, is that which the country will take. When Sir Robert Peel undertakes to “regulate,” the people's supply of food, he is responsible if the supply turn out to be ill-regulated; certainly he has never shown himself backward to claim any credit that may seem due for good regulation. By maintaining his Corn Law under circumstances so imperiously demanding its instant abrogation—by refusing to counsel his Royal Mistress to perform an act of the commonest prudence and humanity, which has already been done, on a far less pinching necessity, by half the Governments of Europe, the Czar of Russia, and the Grand Turk included—Sir Robert Peel does, most distinctly, make himself responsible for all that may follow. Whether it be agreeable or not to him and his supporters, he will certainly be held to this responsibility. There is nothing to divide it with him. “Over-production,” “machinery,” “joint-stock banks,” Chinese war, and United States currency—all are unavailable this time. He cannot even throw it on “railway speculation.” It was but yesterday that he turned navigator himself, and, spade in hand, gave the most emphatic sanction to that investment of vast masses of capital in long-dated enterprises, requiring for their successful issue the stability and progressive prosperity of all national interests, which derives its chief dangers from his own anti-commercial policy. Of “colleagues” there can, of course, be nothing said. In matters of first-class national and imperial magnitude, a Prime Minister has no colleagues. The act of consenting to continue the Government of a country on principles disapproved by a Minister's own deliberate judgment, is an “individual and personal” act, of which no co-partnership can alter the character, or diminish the culpability.

(From the Times of Thursday.)

The recent decision, or rather indecision of the Cabinet is as inexplicable as it is unfortunate. No one pretends to say that things can remain as they are. Sooner or later a suspension of the duties on imported grain must take place. For this every man who has attended to the state of Ireland and Scotland is prepared; and so evident is this, that most people are astonished at the procrastination which ministers have interposed between popular expectation and an inevitable necessity. The reasons advanced to defend their inactivity neither explain nor justify it. It remains inexplicable and inexcusable.

Surely within the last fortnight no means of inquiry into the state of the harvest have been withheld from them. They know by this time that there is a deficiency of good corn in England, a dearth of potatoes in Ireland, a scarcity impending over Scotland. No further inquiry can add to their present information. No further delay can change the aspect of affairs, or diminish the final necessity for exertion. And yet they stand with their hands folded, inert and expectant, bidding men take heart, because as yet there is no famine in the land!

The consequences of such a policy are as dangerous as its selection is unaccountably foolhardy. Whatever is likely to be the extent of the privation which a scarcity of food may impose upon individuals during the ensuing year, whatever its duration may be, whether for one month or two months, or more, it is the duty of a Minister to seek every method for abbreviating its length and mitigating its rigours. The Minister who, foreknowing the approach of such a calamity, forbears to provide against it, or masks his indecision under the guise of deliberation, is virtually adding to the intensity of the evil which is about to burst upon the country. If there were a probability of our being always able to purchase food from abroad at the same rate as we have lately procured it, a delay of a few weeks would be of little consequence; it would not signify whether we laid in our stock in November or in January, provided the quantity imported kept pace with our own deficiency at home. But there exists no such probability in the present case. Already some of the Continental Governments are taking precautions which evince a dread of the same scarcity that threatens ourselves; and it was only the other day that we quoted the sentiments of no inconsiderable portion among our French neighbours—sentiments which, if followed up in practice, would effectually preclude any relief being extended to us by the only country in Europe now capable of affording it with ease. If such be the case now, what will it be in a few weeks, not to say months, hence? What may be our facilities for buying after the next Cabinet Council? The paternal governments of the Northern States are no less anxious than the constitutional ministries of France and Belgium to secure to their subjects a cheap supply of food. Nor is it unlikely that all the European Governments, absolute and constitutional, will unite to prevent what they will call the ill-timed and unnatural rapacity of British gold and British hunger from raising their markets and starving their people. It is all very well

to say that where there is a demand there will also be a supply; that if money is offered in exchange for corn, corn will be given for money; that the same laws govern the market of food and every other market; and that it is only fair that he who bids the most should buy the most. But foreign Governments are on great emergencies very well disposed to contravene the ordinary laws of commercial intercourse, and by no means indisposed to check the influence of British gold. The foreign dealer may be anxious to supply our demands; but if his negotiations are thwarted by his Government, he will find it no easy matter to profit by our offers, and he will also find the arm of the executive supported by the popular voice. It is easy, at all times and in all countries, to raise a clamour against the dealers in the staple article of food. It is only within a few years that our statute book has been purged of certain provisions conceived in a spirit of the most narrow-minded, but once the most widely-extended, jealousy against this class of men; but this feeling still exists, and is capable of being fanned into a flame amongst an ignorant populace, and in seasons of unusual dearth. How great a facility would be given to such attempts when directed against the relief of English wants, or the operations of English money, will easily suggest itself to all who are aware of the envy with which the greatness of this country is regarded abroad, and of the cordial wishes often expressed for its humiliation. Nor could a more desirable opportunity ever present itself to the malignity of professed foes or jealous friends than that of England seeking for her people in the granaries of Europe the food which she had for so many years obstinately rejected, and being herself in turn sent away empty. But to such a strait we may be driven by the tardiness of a Minister who is too wary not to know that something must be done, but too timid to set about doing it at once.

(From the Globe.)

Sir R. Peel does not seem to be conscious that in losing time he is losing what is just now of more importance to himself and to the country than anything else. We are now in the actual presence of a national emergency, such as has perhaps never before tried the ability and energy of a Prime Minister. Upon the most moderate estimate it amounts to this—that several millions of the very poorest people of the United Kingdom are entirely unprovided with food for the next year. They are equally destitute of any means whatever of supplying the deficiency. They must either be fed by the Government or their fellow-subjects, or they must die of starvation. For some weeks this necessity has been gradually making itself apparent; and now it stands forth in all its hideous reality, supported by evidence which carries conviction wherever it is heard. The food which has been destroyed was of the most inferior description used for human sustenance. It has been similarly destroyed throughout Europe and America. For the coming year at least, therefore, it may be considered not to form part of the world's stock of food. Those who have hitherto lived upon potatoes must now, to escape starvation, ascend in the scale of diet. But the superior descriptions of food are also unusually scarce. Wheat grown in the United Kingdom this year is generally so inferior in quality and in its yield of flour as to be intrinsically worth 3s. or 4s. per quarter less than it has been on an average of several years. So much for natural obstacles. Then we have the artificial ones growing out of the Corn Laws. Not only can foreign wheat not be taken into consumption in this country until our own poor wheat has risen to a famine price, but, what is at the present juncture of infinitely more importance, no regular corn trade is established between this and other corn-growing countries. Our demand is a sudden one, made upon a supply not raised with any view to its occurrence, and therefore necessarily deranges the relation of supply and demand abroad, and creates inconveniences there which we must pay a compensation for in the price of our imported corn. Nothing can be done with regularity or facility, consequently nothing is done well. We are now told that prices of wheat in the Baltic ports have risen so rapidly, that few of the orders from hence to purchase wheat have been executed, higher rates having been paid by speculators than the limits of the British orders have admitted. We still exclude corn, because, after some half-dozen Cabinet Councils, Ministers cannot make up their minds to do at once what they will shortly be compelled to do, though every day's delay makes the doing of it of less value—open the ports. Meanwhile other countries, similarly situated, are taking off the scanty stocks of wheat yet lying in the northern ports; and, by the aid of speculators, making provision for the coming pressure. Never was delay more fraught with danger than it is at this moment. In Great Britain, the resources of private benevolence are likely to be pressed hard enough in providing for the potato-fed and now destitute peasantry of the south and west counties. In Ireland no such resources can be of the smallest avail. The wretched beings to be provided for—whose daily food must for months together be meted out to them or they die—are millions in number, and are scattered over thousands of square miles. To victual the largest army that has ever been collected, through the most arduous campaign such an army has ever made is a task not to be compared with that of supplying the deficit of the Irish potato crop. The number to be fed—the bulkiness of the emergency—the total want of any arrangement, either for collecting, for storing, or for distributing the food—for ascertaining where want exists, and its extent, and for duly and adequately supplying it—together with the physical impossibility of making such arrangements on the scale required, and bringing them into effective operation within any short period of time—combine to surround Sir R. Peel with difficulties such as have, perhaps, never hitherto encumbered the path of a statesman. We put out of sight for the moment the question of how a sufficient quantity of food is to be got together, and paid for. No mean obstacle may be looked for in the solution of this question, for it includes a new demand on the markets of Europe for means of subsistence during the greater part of a year for several millions of our population, and upon the national Exchequer for the price of it, be that what it may. But what this question to be solved—say the money is sure to be had for asking, and the corn or other provision to be had on our paying enough for it; are we not, in the loss of every day, not directed to organising the means of providing and applying the required relief, throwing away what no subsequent effort can retrieve; the time, already short enough, allowed necessary for making those arrangements with which it will be impossible, with all the gnomies of Europe at our command, to rescue the utterly destitute, scattered, and improvident peasantry of Ireland from the famine and disease which have already begun their ravages amongst them?

(From the Sun.)

Rating the morale of the Premier's government at no higher value than this, and thereby not taking up any hypothesis calculated to betray our judgment into any disparaging estimate of his sagacity, we yet cannot comprehend the delusion under which he must be labouring if he imagines that he can with impunity attempt to obviate, by procrastinating, the opening of the ports. He who is so ready to school others about their inability to read the "sign of the times," must be seized with a chronic blindness—a defective perception *pro hac vice*—if he cannot recognise in the condition of the country the imperious and paramount necessity for such a measure—in the quiet but emphatic bearing of the public upon it—the decree which must compel its prompt concession. The potato crop failure now shares, with Ireland, the fatal distinction of proving "his greatest difficulty." His tenure of power is staked upon the single cast of solving that difficulty. The opening of the ports is the only card which can save the trimming and difficult game he has hitherto had to play against adversaries who have become more formidable as antagonists from the very successes he has achieved against them, and with partners who are incapable of playing up to him.

But why should Sir Robert hesitate to obey the wish of the vast majority, by virtue of whose past confidence or approval he retains the first place in her Majesty's Councils? Is it because he would compromise his popularity with his own party, the Conservatives? Why he has over and over again relinquished and repudiated them on other questions, when he could command adequate support for his purpose from their opponents. Is it that he dreads a combination of the landed interest? In how many instances has he already thwarted and resisted them? Does any man imagine that he is afraid to appease the alarms of the empire, and to satisfy the clamour of the famishing, out of some delicacy for the trammels of those views and prejudices which the political associations of his earlier official and Parliamentary career respected and upheld as identified with the principles of a sound and sagacious policy? Such a man needs only to be reminded that Sir Robert Peel has thrown them overboard, from time to time, with as little ceremony as he knocked some hundreds of items out of the tariff of Customs' Duties retained by his predecessors. Besides, who among our modern ministers has ever bidden higher, or more largely for the favour of the people than Sir Robert, in his measures for the relief of civil and religious disabilities—the extension of education—the relaxation of imposts on raw materials of manufactures, &c., &c. In a word, it seems difficult, if not impossible, to ascribe his dogged refusal to open the ports at once, under exigencies so fearful as those of the present time, to any other motive than personal deference or consideration for some colleagues in office, the prestige of whose continued and close alliance he is rash enough to set before the cordial and firm support of a great and determined people. If this be the fact, the career of the Prime Minister draws as near to its termination as the past reputation of the statesman.

(From the Manchester Guardian of Wednesday.)

The accounts which have been received from Ireland within the last few days are in no degree calculated to lessen the alarm which has been lately felt regarding the failure in the potato crop throughout that island. Many of the poor farmers, who, a week or two since, were confidently calculating upon the preservation of two-thirds or one-half of the crop, now state that they have no hope of being able to save more than one-third of it; and there is much reason to fear that even the small portion which they have saved will, in many instances, become partly unfit for consumption before long. What the consequence will be to the famishing peasantry, unless prompt measures of relief are adopted, may be easily anticipated. As to the course which ministers intend to take, nothing has yet transpired from which the slightest clue can be obtained. The *Dublin Evening Mail* of Friday announces, that "it is the intention of Government to appoint a commission of intelligent and experienced persons, to consider the measures which it may be proper to take, with a view to provide against the expected scarcity of provisions from the failure of the potato crop;" but we have not seen anything further on the subject; and what the ministry will do, remains as doubtful as ever. What they will *not* do, however, becomes tolerably clear. Since Thursday last, no more cabinet councils have been held; and as most of the members of the cabinet have left London for their country seats, it is to be presumed that a majority of them must have at last come to the conclusion that there is nothing in the present aspect of the food market which requires their immediate interference. Rumours are abundant respecting divisions in the cabinet. Lord Stanley and the Duke of Wellington are said to be opposed to the opening of the ports; while the premier and Sir James Graham, it is asserted, are favourable to that mode of averting the dearth with which we are threatened. We question whether there is much better than mere conjecture for these reports; and yet the obvious indecision of the cabinet would almost seem to indicate some important differences of opinion.

By way of consolation, however, the *Standard* and the *Morning Herald* are both most assiduous in announcing to the impatient public, that food is not dear, and that there is not the slightest ground for apprehending any scarcity of grain during the next ten months. So long as it was thought probable that ministers would open the ports, the twin ministerial journals were loud in their lamentations regarding the failure of the potato crop, and equally so in their admiration of the boldness of Sir Robert Peel, who was just the man, we were told, that ought to be at the head of affairs during an emergency like the present. But no sooner do they find that the premier cannot carry his point, than they instantly turn round and tell us, that since Sir Robert Peel has not opened the ports it must necessarily be assumed that there was no need for his doing so.

In contradiction to the assertions of the *Standard*, regarding our supplies of food, we find the *Dublin papers* announcing that "the prayer appointed to be used in time of famine has been ordered by the primate and several bishops to be offered in their churches during the present month." In reference to the statement of the Downing-street organ, that "wheat is cheap," we call the attention of our readers to the following article on the sliding scale, from the *Scotsman* of Saturday.

"In Haddington market (the most important in Scotland) on 31st October we have the following very striking variety of prices:—

	Old Wheat.	New Wheat.
First quality ..	84s.	73s.
Second do. ..	72s. 7d.	57s. 11d.
Third do. ..	64s.	41s.

"Thus, between the best old wheat in the market, and the best new, there is a difference of 11s.; between the second

qualities the difference is 14s. 8d.; and between the third or lowest qualities the difference is no less than 20s. What is called the second quality is the mean or average of the whole sales, and may be taken to represent the comparative value of the last and the present crop. Mark, then, what follows.

"If the quality of the present crop had been equal to that of the last, the average at Haddington on the 31st ult. would have been 72s. 7d. And as the Haddington average for the week merely exceeds by one penny that for the kingdom, the difference on the six weeks' average regulating importation, may be assumed as nearly the same, namely, 14s. 8d. Now, the six weeks' average, which was 56s. 2d., would thus be raised to 70s. 10d., and *foreign wheat should at this moment have been admissible at 3s. instead of 16s.* But prices have not yet reached their limit; and let it be observed, that a further rise of 2s. 2d., which will bring down the duty only to 13s., would have opened the ports, if the grain had not been of inferior quality.

"Thus the sliding-scale cheats the consumers, as it cheats the farmers, by promising each a protection which it does not give. It promised the farmer 50s., and for the last two years it has given about 40s. A year of real scarcity has come, and now it cheats the consumer, by making the admission of foreign corn dependent on a fictitious average 14s. above the real average. The difference in price between the best and the worst quality in Haddington market was no less than 40s. In the corresponding week of 1844 it was only 22s. The low price which so large a portion of the present crop brings is owing to deficiency of yield, quite as much as to deficiency of quality. A given quantity of the inferior grain will yield 30 to 35 per cent. less flour than the same quantity of the superior. The result is, that the real rise is much greater than the apparent; and while the *Gazette* tells us that the price of wheat is 56s. we are paying at the rate of 70s. for our bread. In the Edinburgh market, on Wednesday, the extremes of price were still greater. Wheat ranged from 34s. to 86s., and in weight from 52lbs. the bushel to 66."

No man can read these statements without coming to the same conclusion as the writer of them has done—that, but for the deceptive working of the sliding scale, prices have already risen to a point at which the grain ought to be admitted at a merely nominal rate of duty. What can be more monstrous than the fact, that the best wheat is 84s., and yet that the import duty on foreign wheat is no less than 15s. per quarter?

(From the Manchester Times.)

There never was a period in which there was so eager a desire to see the London papers than has been manifested in this district for the last ten days. Every morning and every afternoon the first question has been—"ARE THE PORTS OPEN?" And every morning and every evening has witnessed the deep disappointment of thousands upon thousands who have been hopeful enough to believe that what was right to be done would be done. In the prospect of starvation to one-half of Ireland and great distress in England, there are as yet no indications of the ministerial policy. Cabinet meetings have followed Cabinet meetings, and yet there is no sign of relief. The corn-markets throughout the kingdom are in a state of confusion; merchants and manufacturers are waiting in deep anxiety, not knowing what they may safely do; and millions of working men, who are now convinced that full employment and good wages can never be had while there is a scarcity of food, are almost breathlessly looking to the result of all these deliberations; and yet nothing is done, and no hope is given that any thing will be done. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in reply to a deputation from the citizens of Dublin, has indeed said that ministers are inquiring. Yes, no doubt they are inquiring—inquiring how far scarcity may be permitted to prevail without the risk of tumult—inquiring whether one-fourth or one-half of the potato is rotten—inquiring whether the people can be made to believe that because the average price of wheat is not high, in consequence of the general inferiority of its quality, good bread is not and will not be dear—inquiring, in short, how infinitesimally small the homœopathic dose of relief may be made!

(From the Leeds Mercury.)

The Cabinet has met four times within the week, but no result of its deliberations has appeared. Yesterday week, on Saturday, on Monday, and again on Thursday, have the Ministers assembled, but without being able to arrive at a decision on the great question of permitting a people threatened with death to buy themselves food. It is stated that Ministers are divided on the question. That the opening of the ports has been proposed, is beyond doubt. That it is resisted by a portion of the Cabinet, may be inferred with equal certainty. According to the *Globe* and the *Morning Chronicle*, the Duke of Wellington opposes the opening of the ports by Order in Council, and insists that if anything is to be done, Parliament shall be summoned. According to the *Standard*, the ports ought not to be and will not be opened, at least for some considerable time. It is better, in the opinion of that journal, to put the people on every possible effort to save their own food at home, especially the potatoes, than to lead them to look abroad for relief. No doubt, every thing that skill can suggest, or patient industry accomplish, to save the potato crop, ought to be done. But such precautionary measures would not be prevented by opening the ports. We shall require every relief that can be obtained from abroad, as well as every appliance that can be used at home. The sooner our ports are opened, the more likely we are to obtain supplies. By that step, other countries would be put upon sending us all the food they can spare, and economising their own consumption that they may obtain the profit of the sale. At such a time, when the grain crops are indifferent and the potato crops a failure in the greater part of Europe, we shall have to draw our supplies from very distant countries, from the United States, where much of the corn must be brought from the interior and from the Western States to Atlantic cities, which cannot be done after winter has set in,—from Canada, where winter equally obstructs the navigation,—and from the Black Sea, where we shall find many competitors among the merchants and governments of other countries. The opening of the British ports would put all the world on scraping together and shipping corn for our markets: whilst the delay of that measure leaves all the world in doubt whether it will be taken, and of course paralyses their enterprise.

We feel, therefore, that a very heavy responsibility rests on the Cabinet for the course now taken. If the people should be prevented from obtaining food, and if the health and lives of many should in consequence be endangered, Ministers will have to answer for it *in foro conscientie*, and at a higher bar, if not before Parliament and the country.

The sliding scale now shows its treacherous operation. Food is dear, but the ports do not open, because the *bad quality* of much of our English corn keeps down the averages. The very circumstance which necessitates an importation of foreign corn, is thus made the means of preventing it! It is plain that no device of man can pollute the evil of a monopoly of the supply of food? What is the true and only remedy?—TO SWEEP AWAY ALL RESTRICTION, NOW AND FOR EVER!

(From the *Liverpool Mercury*.)

That which is done now, must be done once for all. No patching up of the sliding scale, no fixed injustice and absurdity of a fixed duty, no gimcrack of a vanishing scale will now satisfy the country. Whatever temporary concessions may be made to meet a temporary need—whatever legislative compromise may be afforded, by way of truce between right and wrong—nothing will now stay the national demand for justice. The war will go on until the last rag and shred of monopoly shall be torn from the statute-book.

That Sir Robert Peel should deem it expedient to leave this question outstanding against him at the next general election, is perfectly incredible. We cannot but believe that he will be well pleased to be driven from a position at once dangerous and humiliating, by the force of an overwhelming necessity, which visibly releases him from all further obligations to *Hansard* and "consistency." Nay, *Hansard* and "consistency" will, three months hence, be on the side of total and immediate repeal. With the ports once open, it would be a piece of gross inconsistency in Sir Robert Peel to close them again. No man has insisted oftener, or more emphatically, than the Premier, on the impossibility of re-imposing a temporarily abandoned corn duty. It was always his grand argument against the Whig scheme of a fixed duty, that such a tax could not stand the stress of famine prices, and that, once off, it could never again be laid on. Consistency itself will require him to recognise practically an impossibility which he has so repeatedly urged hypothetically. With the Corn Law repealed *de facto*, by order in Council, nothing will remain but to make the repeal legislative and permanent.

(From the *Liverpool Albion*.)

The ministerial mountain has for some days past been heaving before the eyes of anxious multitudes, as if big with some mighty project that should appease the apprehensions of prudent men, and exhibit our rulers as perfect specimens of sagacious statesmen. The world has been looking on in wistful expectancy, doomed, alas! to be baffled by less than the usual product of such a labour; for the mountain, in the instance under consideration, has not even brought forth a mouse. Ministers have scattered hope amongst the people, but the yield is nothing. There is through the length and breadth of the land a cry of apprehension; and the monster that has caused the nations to fear, and forced even despots to take wise precautions, is nothing less than gaunt famine, the shadow of whose coming even now darkens our islands. There is one universal cry from all quarters for our rulers to unlock the gates which shut out the supplies that might yet be obtained from other nations. So certain were all that the request would be complied with, so strong was the feeling that none but madmen could resist the appeal or risk the responsibility of refusal, that people already hailed the promised blessing, and were thankful by anticipation. There was Cabinet meeting after Cabinet meeting, and the most minute movements of those who held, as it were, the keys of fate were industriously chronicled. Those who took the trouble to suggest, to advise, to prognosticate, might have spared their labour, for the whole of the ministerial doings may be summed up thus:—They have met, they have consulted, and gone back to their shooting. Even the ministerial journals cherished the hopes which were so naturally indulged, and the *Gazette* of Friday was eagerly scanned for a response to the important question, What are the ministers going to do? The answer was, "Nothing."

If we are to pass through a period of privation, while those who have power to relieve us, benefited by the scarcity and unpunished by its effects, look unmoved on our sufferings, it is some consolation to think that the ordeal will lead us to a result so desirable. To see the Peel Ministry and the Corn Laws fall together would compensate for much misery, while the pleasant reflection that future generations were released from the risk of similar affliction would, perhaps, even make us look back with satisfaction to the means whereby so desirable an end had been accomplished.

(From the *Liverpool Times*.)

If it is true, as is generally reported, that her Majesty's Ministers have determined to leave the country to the mercy of the sliding scale during the present winter, without either opening the ports for the immediate admission of foreign grain, or in any way explaining their plans for the future regulation of the corn trade, the following will in all probability be the working of that ingenious instrument of starvation for the next three months.

There is at present in the country about a million quarters of foreign grain or flour; a quantity sufficient for the comfortable support of a million of persons for 12 months, or of twelve millions for one month. This supply of food, if at once admitted in the market, would have a considerable effect in diminishing the price of grain, and with it the sufferings of the poor, during the time when work is least plentiful, and poverty most intolerable. Under the sliding-scale, however, there is not the slightest reason to hope that any part of it will be liberated until after Christmas, at least for the purposes of food, although a few samples suited for the purposes of seed may possibly be liberated before the seed time is ended.

The present position of the corn market is such as to render it certain that the mass of it will be withheld, for though increasingly unfavourable reports of the wheat crop have at last forced the duty on wheat below the first of those rates which are the peculiar glory of Sir Robert Peel's scale, the duty is still 15s. per quarter. It will continue to decline steadily for some time, but it is very doubtful whether it will reach the point at which the holders of foreign grain will liberate their supplies until January or February in next year. That it will reach the lowest point—the shilling duty—some time in one or other of these months, does not appear to us at all doubtful, and at all events the conviction that it will do so is so strong with the holders of bonded grain that none of them will part with their supplies until the experiment has been fairly tried. At present all the probabilities are in their favour. The present average price of wheat, according to the last six weeks' returns, is 7s., and

the duty is 15s. The general return for the last week, of which any account is made up, is 60s., which gives a duty of 12s., and makes a difference to the holders, including decrease of duty and increase of price, of upwards of 5s. per quarter; and the London average for the week ending on Thursday last is 65s., which gives a duty of 7s. or 8s. per quarter, and makes a difference (again including duty and price) of about 16s. per quarter. This is the increase of profit which is now within prospect of the holders of foreign grain, and we believe there is not one of them, and scarcely one of the public, who doubts that the average price will go up to at least 70s. per quarter, and the duty down to 1s. The latter price is nothing more than that which is paying at the present time for the finest samples of wheat, and as the mere rubbish is swept from the market, and the quality of all sorts of grain improved by the winter's frost, this will be the regular price, and the one declared by the averages. The effect, therefore, of leaving the law as it is will be to keep about a million quarters of wheat locked up in bond during the worst months of winter, and gradually to force up prices to the starvation point.

It would be well, however, if the mere withholding of this quantity of food for two or three months was the extent of the evil, but this is very far from being the case, for, as prices rise in this country, they will rise abroad, so that if it should be found that when this fortnight's supply of food now in bond (and it is no more for the whole population), is admitted into the market, that it is totally inadequate to the wants of the people, then the further supply will have to be purchased at most exorbitant rates. We have already seen the price of good wheat rise in the Baltic ports from about 30s. per quarter to 55s. or 57s.; and if the English markets should advance to 70s. per quarter, we shall see the foreign markets advance to the same point—less, the freight, insurance, and other charges of conveying the grain from the Baltic to this country, and a small profit or commission to the importers. In this manner the Government is not only deliberately cutting off supplies which are urgently wanted at the present moment, but is, by so doing, forcing up prices abroad as well as at home to a point which will compel us to pay from 15 to 20 per cent. more than the present exorbitant prices for any supplies which we may require for the future. If the result of this course of madness should be to produce a monetary panic, in addition to the miseries of starvation, the whole guilt of having produced it will rest on their heads. They have been warned in time, but seem to be determined to leave the country to all the dangers and sufferings of dearth and scarcity, rather than to make a confession of their own errors.

(From the *Preston Guardian*.)

Cabinet Council meetings were held on Friday, Saturday, Monday, and Thursday, from each of which the country, waiting in almost breathless suspense, expected the welcome news of open ports. Not one word, up to last night, had transpired. Rumour as usual is quite active; and it is said, though upon no clear evidence, that the Wellington and Stanley party, stand out against relaxing the law which regulates the supply of food; and indeed the tone of the ministerial papers within these few days gives but slender hopes of a free admission of grain. It seems probable that if any alteration is decided upon, Parliament will be summoned, so as to throw the responsibility from Ministers. We confess we do not so much dislike these repeated meetings, because we think they prove that the Premier will be tough upon the hands of his opponents. Meanwhile the state of Ireland is alarming, and unless food be cheapened in England, we shall have a depressed trade and a gloomy winter. Memorials are being forwarded to Government from numerous bodies; and if ever there was a crisis when a simultaneous movement should be made to compel ministers to feel the force of pressure from without, now is the time.

(From the *Preston Chronicle*.)

Three Cabinet Councils, the deliberations of which are generally believed to have been upon the great question which is now more than ever agitating the minds of all classes of the community, have "passed away, and given no sign." Yesterday week the ministers met, and having decided nothing, they adjourned again till Monday; when, the result still being the same, they agreed to repose till Thursday last. Meanwhile, the newspaper organs of the Government have been feeling the public pulse slyly, and dropping hints and innuendoes, to try the effect of a *statu quo* policy upon the temper of the people. It may be thence inferred, that the Cabinet would prefer to let famine and the population take their chance in a contest for mastery during the ensuing winter—provided there should be no decided indication of general restiveness under such an infliction. If there should seem a disposition, on the part of her Majesty's subjects, to starve quietly—starve they may, and welcome, for her Majesty's Ministry. But if, on the contrary, they should evince symptoms of angry discontent, they may possibly gain from the fears what they are not likely to obtain from the wisdom or justice of their rulers.

That there must be a modification of the Corn Laws, before the expiration of another year, is almost universally admitted. The corn crops and the potato crops are alike defective; and yet the sliding scale, which was designed to meet and remedy such an emergency, has failed even to point out its existence. The very landlords themselves are ashamed of a thing which has proved so inert; and, through the agency of the Agricultural Protection Society—which has suddenly started from its long slumber into dreamy and agonised vitality, awakened by the rumbling of an approaching crisis—they are pointing, one and all, to the refuge of a fixed duty,—the remedy which they erst repudiated with scorn and indignation. It now remains to be seen whether the public will submit to accept, as a settlement, the terms which formerly they would have gratefully consented to receive as an instalment; or, whether they will not insist upon the payment of principal and interest at once and for ever.

(From the *Birmingham Journal*.)

Some anxiety is felt respecting the course likely to be taken by the people of Birmingham at this juncture. Besides the general interest which our townsmen must take in the national question of providing for the maintenance of the community, the effect of the Corn Laws on the American trade is a portion of the subject by which the iron districts are more directly touched than any other portion of the United Kingdom. Now, there is a very general belief in America, resting it must be confessed on plausible grounds, that the sliding-scale was specially directed against the agricultural produce of the states; and this is the chief source of the strength of the tariff and war party beyond the Atlantic.

The free admission of American produce at this moment would do more to check the apprehensions of war than the squadron which has been sent with sealed orders into the Northern Pacific. The check given to railway speculations by the rising price of food has already cast a shade of gloom over the iron markets. The shadow is not yet so dark as to produce positive depression, but it seems to herald the advance of some pending calamity. We shall soon see an assembly of the friends of Free Trade gathered in our town to do honour to its great advocate, the Hon. C. P. Villiers. But we must not look upon this as an ordinary gathering. At other times we may meet to drink toasts, and to make speeches, but at this crisis there is momentous business to be done. On every great national occasion Birmingham has given a bright example to the country, by taking a lead in pointing out the path of safety, and evincing a firm resolution to obtain those measures by which the perils of the country might be averted, and its prosperity insured. When we despair of Birmingham, we shall have abandoned our last hope of Britain. We trust, and confidently believe, that on the coming occasion our townsmen will evince the same political foresight and the same persevering resolution which have more than once contributed to the salvation of the entire country.

The intelligence from Ireland becomes more alarming every day. Farmers, believing that potatoes have become a perishable stock, are anxious to get rid of them at any price, and at all hazards. They are forcing consumption, in order to empty their stores; and thus, with admitted scarcity, we have the unavoidable evil of positive waste. The most feasible recommendation yet made is, to extract the farinaceous matter from the potato, and mix it with ordinary flour; but in order that this expedient should be adopted, the peasants must have the means of obtaining the flour, which they cannot do while the ports are closed by what are virtually prohibitory duties. To act upon the recommendation now, would lead to a sad aggravation of the scarcity, for the potato starch by itself is not suited to human sustenance.

The Cabinet hesitates. Had any course been resolved upon, we should have found some intimation of it in the last *Gazette*; but ministers are manifestly irresolute, and will sit still to watch the course of events. But "the stars in their courses fight against Siera;" the minister has raised artificial restrictions to limit the operation of the laws of God and nature; but retributive Providence asserts its supremacy, and menaces sad consequences for such a course of impiety. We must confess that our hopes are not so high as they were a week since. We have lost precious time, and every day's delay aggravates our peril. A further diminution of the stock in bond, by export to neighbouring countries, is menaced; and if high duties send the corn abroad, it will require very high prices to bring it back. Still we do not despair; men of all parties agree that the Corn Laws cannot be maintained. Let voice be given to this common sentiment, and the doom of these iniquitous laws, pronounced by the nation, must be ratified by its rulers.

(From the *Birmingham Pilot*.)

The semi-official information which appeared in the *Globe* of Thursday week, and on which we assumed that the Corn Laws were practically abolished, turns out to have been premature. There is every reason to believe that the scale of nominal duties thus announced was submitted by Sir Robert Peel to other members of the Cabinet Council; but it is understood that while the majority were prepared to concede them for a very limited time, a serious difference of opinion arose as to the propriety of limiting the "order" to corn actually in bond, in the first place, leaving ulterior proceedings to the judgment of Parliament. It has been stated, also, in well-informed circles, that Sir Robert Peel was in favour of an order being issued for the unconditional opening of the ports, and that the project of a four shilling duty is Lord Stanley's, backed by Sir James Graham. The Duke of Wellington, it appears, takes his stand on the official information obtained in answer to circulars addressed by the executive to various parties in the United Kingdom, with a view to ascertain the extent of the potato famine, and deficiency in quality of the wheat crop, contending that these returns show that the real facts of the case have been greatly exaggerated, and that there is abundance in the land for man and beast. With his usual stubbornness, it is said he won't yield an inch; and being strengthened in this position by one or two other obstructives, Peel is unable to carry his point. Whether all these rumours be founded in fact or not, one thing is clear—there is division in the camp; and unless the fourth meeting of the Council end in unity, the Government will speedily realise the truth that "a house divided against itself cannot stand."

While Government is thus distracted in its official councils, all is uncertainty and anxiety out of doors. The monopolist landlords are working the "Royal Agricultural Society" with the utmost vigour and zeal—holding meetings, passing threatening and stringent resolutions, and proclaiming, in language the most violent and vindictive, their unmitigated hostility to Sir Robert Peel. Other "great interests," whose existence is bound up in monopoly, are busy making friends with other "mammon of unrighteousness;" and, ere long, there will be a phalanx of monopoly, the power of which might well make the strongest Free Trade minister for the moment quail. But while the monopolists are thus rallying in opposition to the supposed intentions of ministers, the friends of commercial freedom, on the other hand, are neither inactive nor supine. The League has come out at Manchester in fresh vigour; its registration statistics may well startle the holders of monopolist seats; and the earnest and determined tone of their proceedings, and more especially the speeches of Mr. Cobden, go to show how vain it is to think of stopping short of total repeal. The time has gone by when the country would rest satisfied with even a four shilling duty; and whether the Cabinet Council decide for Wellington or Peel matters but little, as regards the ultimate result, for the days of monopoly will soon be numbered among the things that were.

(From the *Carlisle Journal*.)

The Corn Laws have not yet been knocked down with the rotten potatoes; but their doom is sealed—although the "Iron Duke" persists in upholding the scale which it is now discovered cannot be made to slide even when the necessity of its movement has become absolute. Long, and it is said, very stormy debates have taken place almost daily in the Cabinet since our last. All the ministers were summoned to London to consider what was to be done, with Ireland on the verge of famine, and England threatened with a scarcity, from the failure of the potato crop, to save the country from a crisis such as has scarcely been witnessed within the memory of the present generation. From four to six hours have been spent daily in deliberation upon this momentous

question; but neither Order in Council for opening the ports, nor proclamation for the immediate assembling of Parliament—one or other of which was confidently expected by those who are supposed to possess the best information—has yet made its appearance. On Friday, after the first meeting of the Cabinet, it was announced that Sir Robert Peel had proposed to admit wheat at a fixed duty of 4s., barley 2s., and oats 1s. But the next rumour knocked this on the head, and informed us that there was great dissension in the Cabinet, and that the Duke would not yield an inch. The *Globe* of Wednesday last, in reference to this subject, says:

"The non-appearance of any Order in Council might excite an impression in the minds of many that the information communicated under this head last Friday was not founded upon any sound basis, or that, in fact, Government never contemplated the opening of the ports. Such an impression, however, we believe we may confidently affirm, would be erroneous; and furthermore we are prepared to go to the length of stating our belief that the duties given on Friday last in the *Globe* were really those which Sir Robert Peel was willing to try. On the other hand, however, difficulties have arisen since then among the members of the Cabinet; and the Duke of Wellington is said to be the most opposed to the introduction of grain—on the ground, we presume, which we stated on Monday, viz., that the duty under the present system is sure to come down to 8s. So this, we suppose, must satisfy the people, who, with a deficient supply, have a good prospect of very 'short commons' during the winter, for the consumption this year shows already an increase of two million quarters!"

Another Cabinet Council was to be held on Thursday, when in all probability a final decision would be come to on the subject.

(From the Nottingham Review.)

It was reported in Nottingham yesterday that Sir Robert Peel had resigned. Such report, though false in point of fact, was not without some foundation. Sir Robert is in danger—he stands on ground most delicate—his position is actually between two fires—a people maddened by the prospect of famine on the one hand, monopolists grown desperate amid increasing danger on the other. There is a division in the Ministerial camp—some would do things by halves—others would go to work like men, and would do full justice to a panic-stricken population. The Premier begins to find his brethren in arms but shaky, and wavering supporters in his hour of need. He needs aid and sympathy—he invokes public opinion to the rescue. His competency to stand out the storm, and win the victory for justice over landlordism, to a very great extent depends on the people themselves. If he retains the reins of Government, it is for them to strengthen his hands, and hail him on to the final blow at the Corn Laws; if he resigns, it is still for them to bring him back to power again, as the acknowledged vindicator of Free Trade and liberator of industry. We repeat it, the matter rests with them. The moment is a golden one, and must not, should not be lost. Meetings should be called, resolutions passed, petitions to the throne prepared, and full vent given to the feelings, wishes, and hopes of the population. Let the nation rise in its might and majesty, and in a voice of thunder bid the Minister give the death-stroke to this monstrous, unnatural, and irreligious system. Free Traders of Nottingham, now is the time for action. Procrastination were treason to yourselves, to your principles, to your age. We call upon you in the name of truth, justice, and humanity, to arouse yourselves. Meet—speak—resolve—petition! Let not another week elapse without such a demonstration of your feelings as shall give increased power and influence to your principles. To work then in earnest—raise another, and as we think it will be a FINAL, protest against that system which is the foe alike of all—which forbids the free course of the Creator's bounty—which fattens the few, whilst it starves the many—and which bases the fancied prosperity of England's nobles on England's pauperism, misery, and discontent.

(From the Leicester Mercury.)

At present the rumoured and much looked for Order in Council for suspending the Corn Laws and opening the ports for the admission of foreign grain, has not been issued. Cabinet Councils have been held from day to day, and fierce discussions, it is said, have marked their deliberations, but hitherto no result has transpired. The Duke of Wellington and Lord Stanley, it is reported, hold out strongly against the Premier, and are the cause of this criminal delay on his momentous question. In the meantime, the nation become more dissatisfied at the pusillanimity and indecision of ministers and more importunate for decisive measures. The Council of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and several municipal bodies, have agreed to addresses, urging upon Government the instant opening of the ports. The more general and unanimous this expression of opinion, the better; and if a public meeting of the inhabitants is not to be convened in this town for the purpose, we think the Town Council of Leicester would only be fulfilling its duties for the public welfare by adopting an address for the suspension and total repeal of the Corn Laws—the subject which now agitates the length and breadth of the land.

(From the Whitehaven Herald.)

Little is heard, now-a-days, from one end of Ireland to the other, but speculations on the probabilities of dying with hunger in consequence of the partial failure of the potato crop, and the various means of averting the threatened calamity.

The Irish peasants may exercise patience under oppression and political degradation—they have done so; but it is madness to expect them to wait for food. The claims of hunger are imperative—they must and will be heard. Let the Government see to it. "Delays are as dangerous" as opening the sea-gates for the admission of food for a season only is a phantom. This was done in 1826, and in 1828 the deplorable sliding-scale was enacted. What is wanted, and what must, in the very nature of things, sooner or later, come to pass is a mutual and uniform foreign trade—one which is not subject to the mere accidents of ice and rain, but which is unfettered and free from restrictive imposts, and subject to no scale but that of nature and common justice. It is not enough that the ports should be opened, but that they should be kept open.

(From the Sunderland Herald.)

The one great emergency subject of public agitation is the contemplated Order in Council for the admission of foreign corn. Towards the close of last week a rumour extensively prevailed that such an Order would be immediately issued, and grain and flour admitted at the following scale of duties:

Wheat, 4s.; barley, 2s.; oats, 1s.; beans and peas, 2s. per quarter; and flour 2s. per sack. The Cabinet Council, however, met at Sir Robert Peel's on Friday, and broke up, after an unusually long sitting, apparently without having arrived at any decision on the subject. On Monday and Tuesday they again met, and yesterday (Thursday) afternoon another meeting was to take place at the Premier's residence in Whitehall Gardens. What their decision may be is extremely doubtful. It is obvious that there is a great difference of opinion prevailing in the Cabinet, and it is difficult to ascertain what would be the effect of the measure. No doubt a very extensive reduction would follow in the prices of all kinds of provisions, and it is probable that there would be an increased exportation of manufactured goods to the Continent; but a large and sudden drain of bullion in payment for foreign corn might seriously derange the monetary interests of the country, arrest every description of speculation, and bring distress and ruin in its train. The necessities of the people now, however, imperiously demand that the Corn Laws shall be virtually repealed. Last year the Government might have established Free Trade, and conferred upon the nation an incalculable boon: now they must carry out League principles, eat their own past words, and disgrace their political character, or permit famine to stalk through Ireland, and scarcity to prey upon the vitals of England. Memorials have been presented to Government from the Hull Town Council, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, the Trades of Glasgow, the Edinburgh Town Council, and other public bodies in the country, urging the propriety of immediately opening the ports to foreign corn; and we trust that their example will be followed by the Corporation of Sunderland at its ensuing quarterly meeting. No man with a wise head and benevolent heart will advocate the continued action of a law which will speedily bring upon our fellow-countrymen in Ireland the horrors of a famine. It is stated to be the intention of Government to assemble Parliament this month.

(From the Tyne Mercury.)

It is not known that various Cabinet Councils have been held to consider of means for mitigating the enormous sufferings of the people during the scarcity of food which is now impending over the whole empire. It is now known that these Councils have led to no result—that, as far as the Government is concerned, famine may march unchecked over unfortunate Ireland, and in a less degree over England herself. Whilst in all other European countries steps are taken to counteract the failure of the potato crop, and the bad condition of the wheat crop, in Great Britain and Ireland, which need interference most, nothing is done. The aristocracy's feasts and games go on, whilst the poor perish. The excuse for this heartless cruelty is, we know, that the average prices of grain are not high; and that any opening of ports would be perilous in the existing state of public feeling, inasmuch as the landlords might find themselves in the predicament of Milton's Satan, who opened the "infernal gates," but—

"To shut excelled his power!"

This is the true reason of the repugnance of the Cabinet to do their duty in this crisis, for the excuse of the prices of grain is (as they well know) hollow. The "sliding-scale" system confounds high prices with dearth; but this is a gross fallacy. When crops are deficient, but good in quality, the scale has some justice, or, at least, some common sense in it; but when the mischief is in quality rather than in quantity, the whole is a cruel delusion. The prices of grain are low because the bulk in the market is so wretched as to yield, and condition as to be dear at almost any price. Hence wheat, though really dear, is nominally cheap, a fact which any one may satisfy himself by marking the prices at which fine old wheat is selling. And here we have another proof of the cruelty of these laws. It is known that there are in bond about 300,000 quarters of fine old wheat, for which fair prices might at once be had, were it at the market. But, alas! the averages are such as to keep the duty at 17s. the quarter. With such a duty as this, the importers cannot sell it in bond, and the consequence is that it is now going over to Belgium, free of duty, whilst Ireland and England are rapidly approaching a state of famine. No words of ours can aggravate the view which these statements give of the system prevailing here. Our consolation is, that a state of things so monstrous cannot last. A few weeks will bring Sir Robert Peel to a full sense of the position in which he stands. There can be no doubt of the dreadful failure of the potato crop all over the kingdoms; and this being so, no one who knows the actual state of these kingdoms need be at a loss what to expect before the first day of January, 1846.

(From the Durham Chronicle.)

The atrocious laws which have inflicted so much injury on this country by crippling and fettering its trade and commerce, and produced so much misery to the population by limiting their supplies of food, seem at length to have their doom sealed both by God and man. Year after year our leading statesmen have admitted that the question of Corn Law repeal was one of time only, and was deferred merely in compliment to existing prejudices, and in tenderness to interests that had grown up and been fostered and nurtured under legislative protection. While statesmen thus faltered and paused in their career of justice to the community, and monopolists lingered over their darling privilege of starving the people to promote their own aggrandizement, Divine Providence has interposed, in a manner so marked and terrible, as to preclude the possibility of misconception, and to enforce the speedy granting of an act of justice already too long withheld from an injured and oppressed people. The first notes of warning were sounded when the heavens rained repeal, and the harvest was proved to be deficient in quantity and inferior in quality. Another alarming intimation was the fact that the harvest throughout Europe was in like manner a failure, and that no relief could be hoped for from that quarter. To complete the alarm, the potato crop in Ireland, on which the people of that country almost wholly depend for subsistence, is threatened with destruction. These combined causes of dismay have at length roused the attention of our slumbering Government, and a Cabinet Council was summoned to meet on Friday last, to consult what was to be done to meet the threatened emergency. It was generally anticipated that an Order in Council would be forthwith issued to throw open the ports to the free admission of grain, as has been done by several of the Continental governments. Much disappointment was felt when Friday's *Gazette* came out without any such order; but it appears that the discussions in the Cabinet have been prolonged much more than was anticipated. Ministers resumed their sitting on Saturday, and have continued to meet every day, and were still sitting yesterday (Thursday) afternoon. There can be no

doubt that the Premier, and many of his colleagues, clearly see the justice, and feel the imperative necessity of availing themselves of the present necessity, and abolishing at once and for ever the abominable laws which limit the supply and enhance the price of the people's food. But it is understood that the Iron Duke, and two or three of his colleagues, are not willing to consent to this act of plain and evident justice; and the utmost they will consent to is a further modification of the iniquitous Corn Laws. We cannot for a moment doubt that Peel and his friends will prevail. No man having the slightest reputation as a statesman will hesitate as to the course to be pursued; and with the moral force of the country to sustain him, the head of the Government may easily and safely set at defiance the military dictator and his confederates. Not a day passes but testimonies of the all but universal feeling against the Corn Laws pour in upon us. One of the latest, and from the judicial station (so far removed from politics) and high position of the party, one of the most important of these testimonies, is that of Mr. Justice Coleridge, who, at a recent agricultural meeting, at which he presided, declared in effect that the Corn Laws could not stand any longer; that the increasing population of the country must be fed; and that the abolition of monopoly need not be looked upon with the slightest alarm, for while the manufacturing interests of the country prospered the British corn-grower would always find customers at remunerative prices.

The condemnation of the Corn Laws being now pronounced by men of all classes—echoed by the representatives of the agriculturists, and admitted to be inevitable by monopolists themselves—we hold it to be an absolute impossibility for any minister, any government, or any legislature to maintain them any longer.

(From the Blackburn Mercury.)

The food question continues, and will be till settled, the question of the day. No other topic challenges the right of this one to occupy the chief place in the public mind; for the nonce, however great their merits, and strong their claims, they are content to remain in abeyance. Till it is settled, we may not be unprofitably employed in noting the varied phases this all-important question may assume.

The past week has been one of intense anxiety to the country. Eight days ago hope was in the ascendant. The notorious Free Trade convictions of Sir Robert Peel—the imperative necessity of the case—the peril to which the commercial interests of the country, and the prosperity and comfort of the masses were exposed, the justice of the abrogation of the Corn Laws, and the apparent recognition on the part of Ministers of the necessity for prompt action, indicated by the summoning of a Privy Council, all conspired to incite the fond hope that deliverance from present difficulties and threatened calamities was at hand. But the prospects of the country, though sufficiently gloomy to fill everybody else with painful apprehension, do not yet seem sufficiently dark to move Ministers to action. Already famine prices are telling on the community. Trade is daily worsening; but the people can stand a great deal more ere they are dangerous. There are yet no symptoms of rioting or rick-burning, and Ministers take the matter coolly. A week ago there was little or no fear expressed or felt that the Cabinet Council would at once, and without hesitation, release the country from the pernicious influence of the famine laws—whose menace alarmed everybody—whose continuance was defended or urged by nobody. But the country has been disappointed. No good reason (or bad either) was conceived or expressed why the Ministry should hesitate. The highest monopolist authorities imperiously dictated the propriety and necessity of applying the "anomalous remedy" of opening the ports to the "anomalous" evil of scarcity of food. Government has as yet heeded not. "Providence" Himself, whose dictation to apply the desired remedy is admitted by the monopolist organs—vainly essays to teach Ministers their duty. They have met, and met, and met again; but nothing has been authoritatively announced as the result of their deliberations. Why do they hesitate? Their credulous dupes, the tenant farmers, are completely unhooded, the trickery is fully disclosed—the landlords are resigned, and declare "the game up"—the patient enduring John Bull may well be considered on the verge of dangerous—humanity imperatively demands prompt action. But in thick blindness to their own interests, utterly reckless of the public weal, the vultures will not be scared from their prey. They have the opportunity of voluntarily rising from it—they can do so with grace—they must do so, or speedily be driven from it in disgrace, covered with shame, their public characters overwhelmed in ruin—their memories to be pickled in endless infamy.

(From the Coventry Herald and Observer.)

The *Times* has more than once dubbed the present administration, the "do-nothing ministry." The description is now more apt than ever; for with a necessity for promptitude and energy of action so pressing, that all parties in the country are compelled to see it, her Majesty's ministers

"Soundly sleep the night away,
And just do nothing all the day."

And it is plain that nothing but the angry and ominous rumblings of discontent throughout the kingdom—the symptoms of the rebellion of the belly, will move them from this state of inaction.

The barren termination of three long Cabinet meetings has naturally given rise to the speculative inquiry as to who is responsible? Is Sir Robert Peel quailing under the frowns of the obstructives in the Cabinet?—is he performing a monody over his pet bantling, the sliding-scale, previous to preparing its elegy?—or is the disastrous state of suspense in which he has left things meant to convey to the country the hint, that he merely waits for the pressure from without to furnish him with a pretext for once more avowing his own "individual responsibility" for the policy of the state, taking as the common phrase is, "the bull by the horns," and at once getting rid of one of his greatest "difficulties" by putting in the plea of necessity for its excision.

Whatever may be the cause of this stand still in the Cabinet—whether it be that one part of her Majesty's horses are pulling one way, and the other in a contrary direction, while the fore-horse is laying down his ears and inclining to kick over the traces or upset the state waggon altogether, the course which the people ought to adopt is self-evident. They have waited in the hope, that with Ireland already almost in a state of mutiny for food, and the other parts of the empire with a not very distant prospect of the same condition before them; with prices of almost every article of common consumption rising; trade and employment waning, and a money panic not impossible, these facts alone were enough to impress ministers with the conviction that the letting such

things alone—the do-nothing policy would suffice no longer. The Cabinet, however, has shown itself infatuated enough to believe that all these evil symptoms may pass on without an effort at amelioration. Her Majesty's advisers have met, and met, and met again, and separated on the resolve to do nothing at present; and it therefore remains now for the people to enforce their own case, and awaken Peel and his associates from the lethargy in which they seem inclined to indulge too long. There ought to be no delay in memorialising for an instant opening of the ports for the admission of foreign grain, while a chance remains of enlarging the supply of food by such an expedient; and as example is always influential, we trust that the town council of our own city will not hesitate to represent the claims of its inhabitants. We are glad to perceive that the movement has already commenced in some quarters; but although Coventry cannot be first, it would be a wise and commendable course if one of the earliest steps of the corporation at its first quarterly meeting, were to adopt a memorial for the making such an Order in Council, as it had been thought would issue from the late Cabinet meetings, but which meetings from some cause or other have ended in inaction.

(From the Kendal Mercury.)

Three Cabinet Councils have been held since our last, each of which has broken up without the ministers coming to any conclusion on the important question whether the ports are to be opened. A fourth was summoned for Thursday, but the result has not, of course, yet reached us. It is said that the Duke of Wellington continues obstinate on the subject of the Corn Laws, and we fear that the rumour is correct, from the difficulty that the Cabinet have experienced in their deliberations. A law that requires to be suspended must be a bad law; and with grain at the present high price, and the prospect of a very limited supply, we cannot see what ground of hesitation can exist. The thought of scarcity recalls all the horrors of the winter two years ago, and inasmuch as the self-regulating power of the sliding-scale seems to have come to an end, it is the imperative duty of our ministers to step in with a bold and decided measure of relief. The Dublin correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* says, that the Duke of Leinster had formally stated to the Lord Mayor that Parliament would be called together immediately. We should have been well satisfied with an Order in Council, but if the Cabinet are not agreed, or if the Premier shrinks from the responsibility, he is bound to submit the matter to Parliament without delay.

(From the Hull Advertiser.)

The agriculturists' organ, the *Mark Lane Express*, unites with *THE LEAGUE*, the *Times*, and the *Morning Chronicle*, in ringing the knell of the Corn Laws. All attempts to cajole and deceive the farmers are now at an end, even in *Mark Lane*. "Protection," cries the farmers' oracle of Monday, "is gone for ever: the Corn Laws are doomed. [Our very words!] Those laws have done their work of deception: the farmer pays double, treble, quadruple his former rents. The peasants have been deprived of their rights of common and pasture. The wages of labour have been squeezed to the lowest point. All the objects of the law makers have been carried out—why continue the "bubble" or the "trickery" any longer? The political Pecksniff may gain credit by becoming suddenly compassionate to the poor Irish, deprived of their potatoes. No doubt the repeal will be asked for as a temporary expedient, like the income tax; but, when once granted, it will be as permanent. If the ports are ever opened by law, free of duty, they will never be shut again. No more protection will ever be given. High rents have been obtained under the pretext of protection, and they will be continued when that pretext is given up. To be sure, this has a queer aspect, and may be called by an awkward name, something like "obtaining money under false pretences: but what will legislators care for that? They have effected their objects. Rents are secured, and Government influence in the hands of their very good friends. As to tenant-farmers, who care for them? They may bark; they cannot bite." Moderate men have frequently complained of the serious charges preferred against the landlords by the members of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and it was only this week that we heard a most respectable clergyman of the Church of England express his belief that the repeal of the Corn Laws was retarded by the violence of the Free Traders. But on what occasion did even Mr. Bright charge the landlords with acts so immoral as are here advanced against them by the accredited organ of the agriculturists? Files of *THE LEAGUE* newspaper are to be found in every village and hamlet in the north of England, but we defy the most careful reader of it to discover a passage bearing so hardly upon the landlord-legislators of Great Britain and Ireland as the one which we have quoted above from the last number of the *Mark Lane Express*. For what is the purpose of it? Simply that the Corn Laws were never intended for any other purpose than to defraud the tenant-farmer, plunder the labourer, and establish a Government known to the landlords themselves to be an organised hypocrisy! We have never said anything half so bad as this of the supporters of the Corn Laws. Some of them we knew to be dishonest, but the majority we held to be labouring under a delusion, which time and increased information would not fail to dissipate. The Corn Laws are doomed; but their doom is not the result of any treason on the part of the Legislature, but of increased knowledge of the real tendency and effect of these laws. It is not that the Premier and his supporters are more dishonest, but that the people of England are better informed upon the merits of the corn question than they were seven years ago. The League undertook the national enlightenment with respect to the policy of Free Trade, and the doom of the Corn Laws is a legislative attestation of the success of the great Manchester Confederacy. The triumph is that of truth, and not of hypocrisy. In opposing the League, the Tory members of the Legislature found themselves compelled to study the Free Trade question. It would not do to meet such men as Cobden, Villiers, Bright, and Thompson, with a parrot-like recitation of current commonplaces, unsupported by facts or figures; and, consequently, a full inquiry became essential. This settled the business. Truth was elicited by such inquiry. Honest men, like Captain Rous and Mr. Bickham Escott, became convinced that the maintenance of the Corn Laws involved the starvation of the people, and they shrank from the moral responsibility of any longer supporting such a system. They yielded to increased knowledge, and to a paramount sense of public duty. We admit that no such apology can be offered for the Premier. Sir Robert Peel understood the Corn Law question seven years ago just as well as he does now, and he accepted office with a full knowledge that their repeal was sooner or later inevitable. Still, as he has not deceived us, we are not called upon to join the *Mark Lane Express* in exposing the tor-

tuosity of his proceedings. We leave the Premier to be dealt with according to the good pleasure of those Tory friends who shouted so lustily for him at the last general election.

(From the Bath Journal.)

The people, under the fearful apprehension of a famine in Ireland, and a near approach to it in England, are calling on Government to open the ports. This only remedy which the menaced danger suggests has been readily adopted by other Governments from their own foresight; but in this country of laudocratic thralldom, where the Government has no will of its own, Sir Robert Peel holds meeting after meeting of the Privy Council, as though he tried to solicit from his inflexible masters a concession to some degree or other. The meetings of the Cabinet have thrown no light on the subject as yet. If they terminate not in freely opening the ports, under circumstances of deficiency, not only at home but abroad, when the earliest advantage should be taken of the rapidly rising markets of Europe, Sir Robert Peel will prove himself, in moral courage, inadequate to the present emergency, or unperceptive of the national exigencies. We were in hopes that we should last week be enabled to congratulate our readers on a termination to the present fears and dreadful suspense of the people; but we have yet to wait another week, and for perhaps an equally fruitless result. Were we to prophesy for a wager, it would be that the Privy Council meetings will come to nothing; and if so, the League will obtain its triumph by a fearful penalty of privation, disease, and death, and the people goaded by hunger to rebellion.

(From the Dover Chronicle.)

The rumour respecting an Order in Council for the opening of the ports for foreign grain is not yet realised. It is generally understood, however, that the subject has been most earnestly deliberated on in Council, the difference of opinion being not so much the expediency of issuing the order, which for the most part was admitted, but the conditions which should be attached to the order. The fixed duty which was talked about, viz., 4s. on wheat, 2s. on barley, we take to be, under the emergencies of the case, excessive and harsh. The peculiar position in which we are placed, with regard to our supply of home grown food, while demanding the immediate suspension of the Corn Law of 1842, demands also what alone will make that suspension available—the adoption of every measure that will facilitate the importation of corn from foreign countries. The transfer of food from the granaries of the world to the bellies of our population should be expedited by all possible means and contrivances, and every impediment and obstacle scrupulously removed.

This is no time for paltering policy, evasive tricks, or Peel temporising. Scarcity is beginning to make itself felt in this portion of the realm; while Ireland, that devoted country, is strongly menaced with all the calamities gaunt famine brings in its train. Now, if ever, are vigorous measures called for, and public opinion must prick the sides of the Premier's intent. The enactment of a 4s. duty under the prospects before us would be a monstrous piece of cruelty, and the Order in Council a horrid mockery; and if it were once established by Government, and acknowledged (as doubtless it would, as that body is constituted at present) by the Legislature, it would procrastinate to an indefinite period the final settlement of the great question. The voice of the country must ding back into the Premier's ears his own grand argument against a fixed duty—that it never can be maintained in seasons of scarcity; and warn him against its adoption at the present time.

It ought to be a source of congratulation to Sir Robert Peel, that Providence, in its wise designs, has given him an opportunity of getting rid of that patched up and blundering piece of legislation, his Corn Bill of 1842. Its first operation was to injure the farmers, without benefiting the community. The bounteous harvest of that year, and those of the two years succeeding—which spread plenty over the land, and gladdened the home of the artisan and operative with abundant labour and generous wages—were, of course, independent of its enactment; while, in assuming the power of establishing a minimum price of wheat, on which the farmer's rent was founded, but which exceeded by 35 per cent. the price he got for it, it has crippled his resources and wasted his substance. And now the year of scarcity, against which it was to guard us most effectively, has arrived, and finds us totally unprepared to meet its rigours. The new sliding-scale has failed in every one of its objects; it has impoverished the farmer; it has endangered, it is still endangering, the prosperity of the whole country: it has encouraged the gambler and speculator; and now, in our time of need, has established a prohibitory duty of 16s. per quarter. Arguments, which have been urged over and over again by Corn Law repealers, are now substantiated by the most stubborn and glaring facts; and minds which would not open themselves to the former have been taken unwilling captives by the latter—to what end is not yet seen.

(From the Kent Herald.)

The great point then is not to open the ports—but to keep them open, to "set our backs against the gates," as Mr. Cobden forcibly expresses it, "to prevent them ever being shut again." With the ports permanently open, the corn-growing countries would cultivate for our market, commerce would increase, the home market thrive as it always does when commercial activity prevails, and the people would be exempt from the casualties of seasons, and rendered independent of the vicissitudes of our proverbially fickle climate. To restrict trade is manifestly to thwart the intentions of Providence.

(From the Devonport Independent.)

An adjourned Cabinet Council has been held, but no Order in Council has yet appeared on the subject of foreign corn. When it was reported that the duty was about to be suspended, a very general impression was created that it was news "too good to be true," and so we fear it will prove. The step is too wise to be made by the ministry of monopoly; the measure is too bold for Peel. At the present time its value would be more for the principle it would establish, than as a remedy for scarcity. Other nations by all accounts are as short in their supply as ourselves. It is the peculiar felicity of the sliding scale that it keeps out corn when other countries have it to sell, and ensures our having none when we want to buy. The utmost that can be expected is a reduction of the duty on American grain, such as Indian corn, for Irish consumption, and even this seems doubtful.

Sir Robert Peel has been suffering from an attack of gout, but is said to be recovering. We trust his health will soon be perfectly re-established, for the crisis will require all the

energy that can be found in the Cabinet to meet it. The day of Wellington is past, and neither Graham nor Stanley is equal to a great emergency; in a case in which he can coerce his own party there is much to be expected from the Premier, but nothing when his party can coerce him.

(From the Western Times.)

The hopes which were formed last week of Cabinet interference with the baneful sliding scale, have proved to have been most painfully fallacious. The Council has assembled three times at the house of Sir Robert Peel, who is confined with the gout; the deliberations have been protracted, for the meetings are reported to have lasted several hours, but of what may be the result nothing is yet known. Whether Sir Robert Peel will suspend the operation of the sliding scale, which won't slide at the very time he wants it, by opening the ports and going to Parliament for a bill of indemnity, or whether he will assemble Parliament instantly and ask for a legislative enactment on the subject, was, up to the last post, a matter of uncertainty. He cannot be unconcerned or indifferent at the condition of the country, or the prospect of the coming winter; bread is rising to a famine price, and yet such is the effect of the sliding-scale that the duty does not fall in any proportion to the increase in the price of bread, for a great quantity of the wheat which is brought into the market cannot be made into bread without a large mixture of valuable wheat, which has the effect of keeping down the returns of prices, and consequently keeping up the amount of duty. Ireland, which depends so mainly on the potato crop, is bordering upon a state of absolute famine, and the same evil threatens England—and yet the minister does nothing. In the meantime foreign Governments, more alive to the awful state of the crisis, have promptly invited supplies of food for their people, and corn actually in bond on our own shores, driven away by the sliding-scale, has been taken to our more fortunate neighbours. The minister, tied up by his pledges, cannot act—but what will the people do? We hope they will assemble in every town, and, by strong memorials, remonstrate with, and quicken on the hesitating steps of an incompetent Government. We trust that Exeter will take her usual post in the van in a crisis like this, and that some vigorous steps will be immediately adopted to further that appeal on behalf of the nation, which is going up from other places.

(From the Ipswich Express.)

We adhere to our opinion, that Sir Robert Peel will not, by his own act, put the *coup de grace* to the Corn Laws by an Order in Council, without the sanction of Parliament; unless, indeed, circumstances should render such a course absolutely irresistible.

Sir Robert Peel does not like to take so important a step without the justification of high prices; and the moment wheat obtains a famine price, the duty will descend to one shilling! Sir Robert says that there is nothing in the price of food to call for such a desperate measure as an Order in Council; but the fear is, that by the time prices attain such a height as to cause the duty to slide down to 1s. per quarter, there will be no corn left for us to purchase. Now or never; if the duty were now 3s. or 4s. we should receive a tolerably large supply of food; but if we refuse to admit it at the present juncture, the probability is, that a few weeks' hence it will be futile to lower the duty; there will be no food in the market. We must not forget that for some months past the ports of Belgium have been open, and that exportation has been prohibited; the crops have partially failed in several countries on the Continent; and many states which have heretofore exported grain will require more than their own growth to supply their wants.

As an offset to this, however, it must be stated that the wheat crops in Canada have been peculiarly abundant this year, and large supplies can be drawn from that colony. The United States also are capable of supplying us to almost any extent we may require with Indian corn or maize, next to wheat the most nutritious kind of grain. It would be highly desirable to introduce Indian corn into general consumption in Ireland, in order that the wretched peasantry should no longer be exclusively dependant upon potatoes. Sir Robert Peel's attention has recently been called, by the Chamber of Commerce, Manchester, to the utility of this valuable esculent. Lord Heytesbury, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, is actively employed in disseminating advice relative to the preservation of the potato-crop, and acquiring accurate information respecting the amount of food for the people. We think we may infer from the hints thrown out by this shrewd diplomatist, that Parliament will certainly be called upon to legislate upon this subject. The recent declarations of Captain Rous, Mr. Escott, Lord Ashley, and Mr. Justice Coleridge, all indicate a change which is gradually taking place in the feelings of the nation on the subject of protective duties. We should deceive our readers if we affected to disbelieve the words of Lord Ashley, "Their destiny is fixed." Whether we shall come at once to a total and unconditional repeal, or to a very low fixed duty, is perhaps uncertain; but we look upon it as a matter beyond all doubt and question, that the present Corn Law is irrevocably ruined. Too long has the great food question been made a party cry—a mere political squabble. It is for the interest of the nation that it should be speedily and finally settled. We trust to the providence of God to mitigate the perils of a scarcity of food; but should want come upon us, should our provision fail, and the horrors of famine visit any portion of the kingdom, it must not be forgotten that Sir Robert Peel had the opportunity of obtaining supplies at moderate prices in the beginning of the month of November, by issuing an Order in Council for opening the ports.

(From the Bristol Gazette.)

Although each succeeding day's advices afford the most distressing corroboratory intelligence of the spread of the potato murrain, and although the fact is pressed strongly upon the attention of the Executive (particularly in Ireland) by the scientific men employed by themselves to investigate the nature and extent of the injury, the Government remains in a state of helpless imbecility and inactivity, apparently bewildered and confounded by the magnitude of the impending calamity. After the vacillation, doubt, and timidity displayed during the past week, it would be idle for the public to expect decision and energy at the hands of our rulers. The public, then, must trust to their own exertions. There is an old proverb, "The woman who hesitates is lost." The truth of the saying is equally applicable to a Cabinet. The time for deliberation is past: the time for action is come. To dally further with a catastrophe of so frightful a character as that of famine—famine, too, in the dark inclement season of winter—is worse than folly; it is a crime of the deepest dye. We have received letters from numerous correspondents, pressing the matter on the immediate attention of the Town

Council to make such representations as may spur ministers to exertions. Our correspondents have but limited means of knowing, till our publication of this evening, that the subject was mooted at the meeting on Monday. They will see, and seeing will not be surprised, that there was a squeamish delicacy in approaching a subject which appears to involve (though in reality it does not) "party" or "political" considerations; and this at a moment when all the energies of party, or rather of the two contending factions of one party, were prepared to contest for the baubles of office. Whether the motion was or was not brought on judiciously as respects time and preparation is not the question. This is not an occasion to stand on points of punctilio and etiquette. Other corporations have already moved. At Gateshead, so strong was the imperative necessity of the case felt, that the standing orders were suspended, and a memorial petitioning for throwing open the ports, unanimously agreed to. At Newcastle, a similar affected opposition to that of Bristol was overborne, and the petition agreed to. Even Sunderland, with all the prestige of Mr. Hudson's return fresh upon it, has taken the same course. Other places also are rapidly moving. Bristol, which ought to have led, must now, as usual, follow; but we do hope it will follow speedily. Let there be a special meeting called, due notice given, and let the discussion take place on the merits of the case, and not on any trumpety points of precedence or party.

(From the Norwich Mercury.)

The current of the national thought has never been directed with deeper intensity, nor with greater anxiety to any one subject, than it has been towards the decision of the Cabinet upon opening the ports. Of course in proportion as the decision has been delayed, the hopes and fears of the most anxious of either party have risen above temperate or fallen towards zero. In the meanwhile the moderates, who after all are the barometers regulating and directing the great bulk of the community, continue in the steadfast belief either that the Cabinet intend to await the result of further inquiries before they decide on any step, or that it has determined to summon Parliament and leave the decision of so important a question in the hands of the National Council—while those who take the higher and better ground, consider that Sir Robert Peel ought to make the question a *sine qua non*, and if he be beaten, either dissolve and obtain the national will through an election, or place his resignation in the hands of Her Majesty. A Minister of a high mind would take one of these latter courses. It would be the very acme of madness to suppose that any Minister, however inclined to uphold his own plans, however strongly wedded to party or to place—much more Sir Robert Peel, would, in the present admitted state of the national food, risk the danger with which a much higher price would threaten, not only England, but the United Kingdom. Are they, who in the warmth of their delight at the non-appearance of the anticipated Order in Council, exclaimed, "He dare not open the ports"—are they, we ask, prepared to jeopardise not only that present manufacturing prosperity, in whose advantages they have largely participated, but the internal peace of the entire kingdom, by upholding such a course? It is in vain to exclaim, "Corn is not yet at famine price"—"it is not more than remunerative." The question is not whether it be either the one or the other; but whether, with an admitted under-average crop at home—an admitted very short crop, if not worse in those countries from whose resources we have been accustomed to draw our needful supplies—with the daily increasing knowledge of the almost total destruction of the potato-crop, not only in Ireland, but both in England, Scotland, and on the Continent, with the additional information now obtained from Sweden and other countries, that the harvest is an almost total failure, delay is not hourly adding to the danger? Would these gentlemen have Government wait, with stern winter fast approaching, before we husband those resources which are within our grasp. It is not a matter of a few more or a few less shillings per quarter in the pockets of the landlord or the farmer, but whether a nation is or is not to be placed within the very verge of starvation. It is not whether a Corn Law or an Anti-Corn Law party is to be in the ascendant—whether a Peel, a Russell, or a Richmond is to be Prime Minister of England—but whether the national welfare and the national peace is to be hazarded by the adherence to a plan which has failed to fulfil its object, which the bounty of Providence has hitherto rendered powerless for good, but which, when earth has failed in her customary fertility, threatens to add to the evil. No one will venture to deny, that any present danger of an excessive importation would be at this moment incurred by a Free Trade in corn. On the contrary, is it not the universal exclamation, "Corn cannot be cheap this next year." Wherefore then the justice of opposing a proposal which, if carried out to the extent, has only a tendency to prevent a fearful crisis, not even to create a sufficiency, but to avoid a famine?

To trifle with the time is, if not to add to the danger, at least only to put off the evil day until too late for that effective succour of which energetic minds desire to avail themselves. *Carpe diem* must be the motto of the Minister who would meet such an emergency. He must be bold, undaunted, resolute. Temporising policy, however it may as yet have "served his turn," will not avail Sir Robert Peel in the present exigency. That the state of the nation is imminent, the repeated, long, and apparently inconclusive deliberations of the Cabinet demonstrate. We fear the mighty and commanding mind is wanting which, while it meets the immediate danger, will adopt for English and Irish industry the path which leads to healthy employment, and with it to commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural prosperity.

No measure can be exclusively applied to Ireland. Any plan to be useful must be general. If therefore Sir Robert Peel cannot overcome the reluctance of his colleagues, which rumour asserts to be the Premier's position, the course is plain, and the retention of his present power depends upon the issue. That course is either dissolution or resignation. There is no middle path for any statesman, who in such a crisis would desire to continue the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

(From the Dorset Reporter.)

Meanwhile, the alarm in Ireland occasioned by the failure of the potato crop bears a serious aspect. Meetings have been held, and deputations have waited upon the Lord Lieutenant, but nothing satisfactory has yet been done on the part of Government. Are ministers bent upon trifling with the country at this alarming crisis? We fear, indeed, there is reason to apprehend that they have no intention of suspending the Corn Laws, as the following remarks of the *Morning Chronicle* too clearly indicate: "The ministerial

'organ,' it will have been seen, is already apologising, by anticipation, for the inaction on which the Government would appear to have resolved. That journal of yesterday gives us pretty clearly to understand that the sliding-scale is to work its will of us. Our contemporary's discoveries that 'corn' is not now 'becoming in England a matter of great anxiety'—that 'the Corn Law of 1842' has not 'been found to be either inoperative or injurious'—that there is no particular connexion between corn in England and potatoes in Ireland; and that Irish cottiers can live on 'employment and wages,' without troubling the English food market—how ever amusing in the abstract, assume a very serious importance when viewed as suggestive of the Government policy which they are put forward as justifying. It is now for the merchants, bankers, railway proprietors, manufacturers, traders, and other industrious classes of the people of this country, to consider whether they are satisfied to wait and see what British scarcity, Irish famine, and the sliding-scale may conjointly bring forth. If they are satisfied, we counsel them to speak plainly, strongly, and at once."

(From the Brighton Guardian.)

Let the Legislature depend upon it, as that master cheat by law-making (Sir Robert Peel) continually says, it cannot meddle with this subject without causing mischief. It has done mischief by its former meddling; and the so-called benevolent attempts now making to remedy the mischief will only add to it. The only cure for the Government to take its rough hand from the delicate machinery of the supply of food—more delicate than the work of any watch-maker, for it is not made by mortal hand. Men are the wheels and pinions on which and by which it works. Far less mischief, therefore, will ensue from an instant abolition of the Corn Laws than from the proposed suspension of their horrible fix. Sir Robert Peel, who made a Corn Law in the year 1842, with all the light of the age, has brought the people into a horrible fix, so that he can neither continue his law, nor alter it, without causing vast mischief. He cannot remedy his own monstrous iniquity. This is a lesson which both law-makers and people ought never to forget, and it ought to make both turn away with scorn and indignation from any and every proposition for legislating about the national subsistence.

(From the Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle.)

There is again something like a panic in the money market—not in railway shares alone, for stock investments of all kinds are affected—the national funds as well as joint-stock shares. The causes alleged are various, but the most apparent are the apprehensions of a scarcity, and the probability that the currency will be contracted by an immediate resort to Free Trade, and large exportations of gold for grain. There is perhaps some ground for this apprehension, but we are mistaken if there is not much more reason to fear the effects of continued restriction. If the ports are not opened promptly, the danger of a derangement of the currency will be tremendously augmented; for the sliding-scale, after it has prevented imports of grain when they might be had at reasonable prices, must slide at last when the average mounts to the famine pitch. The importations then, though perhaps too scanty to supply our wants, will be very effective in draining gold out of the country, and making the crisis more severe than it would be now.

(From the Glasgow Examiner.)

Great excitement prevails regarding the rumoured opening of the ports for the admission of foreign grain. No fewer than three long Cabinet meetings were held last week on the subject; at least the general opinion is that the Council sat on that question. The result is still undivided, and conjecture is various and discrepant on the subject. No one will be the least surprised should the results of the meeting be the entire removal of the duty for a limited period. Sir Robert has influence and daring to accomplish this, and he has now neither party nor political character to lose. Under circumstances less urgent the ports have been temporarily thrown open, and we believe the only cause of hesitancy at present is the consciousness that, if they are once opened, public opinion will prevent them from ever being shut again. Though the removal of duty will not reduce the price to the extent some anticipated, that is no reason for the perpetuity of a tax false in principle, and destructive in practice to the happiness of millions. Should delay take place, the credit Sir Robert would have gained by an immediate and bold step, will be at once ascribed to an urgent necessity.

(From the Glasgow Argus.)

It is the great question of the opening of the ports and the indecision of the Ministry that have combined with the proceedings of the Banks to put a check upon the enterprise of the country, and to fill the timid with alarms for our prospects during the ensuing winter. Let but the ports be opened—let us but know, by that act, that all hesitation has ceased on the part of Sir Robert Peel, and that he will repeal the Corn Laws in the ensuing session of Parliament—and confidence will revive. This great country, left to its own energies and resources, is able to steer a clear course through difficulties fifty-fold greater than any that menace us by the failure of the potato-crop. The bank directors have, we think, done well, not only for their own interests, but for those of the public; and though a check has been put upon speculation for a time, none but the very timid or very roguish speculator will be hurt by it. Let the timid gain courage, and hold what they have got, and no evil will accrue to them; and as for the rogues, if they suffer, it will be so much the better for honest men. To show how absolutely necessary it was for the Bank of England, and the Scottish banks to act as they have done, and that it is ministerial indecision and the Corn Law question which have caused the depression in the funds, we borrow the following from the *Morning Chronicle* of Friday.

(From the Dundee Advertiser.)

We have yet nothing stronger than conjecture regarding the deliberations or intentions of the Cabinet concerning the state of the country and the Corn Law. Although every day's delay adds to the evil, and to the responsibility of the Prime Minister; yet day after day is the only measure delayed by which there is any chance of a great threatened calamity being mitigated. We would have thought that the past would have established sufficient responsibility without its being increased by that of the future; and that there would have been safety to the minister as well as satisfaction to the country generally in the suspension of a law, which at no time could be so naturally and so gracefully effected as at the present. But up to this time

the minister has refused to speak. He acknowledges the receipt of memorials from all quarters, in the shortest possible terms, but by no phrase or word does he deign to signify his opinion of them. It is suggested that he has his difficulties, and that they are of no trifling nature. Political connexions of many years' standing are threatened to be dissolved; and it requires no little decision of character to pronounce the sentence of their instant dissolution. Decision is certainly not the characteristic of the Premier's mind; and we can easily understand his wish to stave off, as long as he can, the hour of disruption among his colleagues; but he has had time to consider all consequences,—to estimate his own risk and that of the country, and it is almost impossible that he has not made up his mind. The people await his decision quietly and confidently. However the members of the Cabinet may act with regard to one another, there is but one measure which will be accepted of by the country.

(From the Stirling Observer.)

We had fondly hoped to have been able this week to announce the opening of the ports for the admission of foreign corn, free of duty, as the Cabinet Council was to meet on Friday last for this purpose; they did meet, but broke up without coming to any conclusion. The *Standard* announced on Saturday morning that the Council would meet again that night, which they did; but it was quite as futile as that on Friday; the morning papers of Monday contain no account of anything that was done. The Council was to meet again on Monday; but of this we have heard nothing; and thus the fond anticipations of the whole nation, excited to the keenest intensity, are trifled with as if it were a matter of child's play they were debating about, and not the very life of the community, particularly in Ireland. But our space forbids comments. We have no expectation that opening the ports will lower the price of provisions, as so little can be got from the Continent, there being a scarcity there as well as here; and so we have nowhere to look for assistance but Canada and the United States, the former of which will be frozen up before much can be got. One good thing will be effected, however—the very idea that the ports are open, and that English enterprise, industry, and capital are in the market of the world for food, will keep prices down, and at all events prevent them from rising so high as present appearances would indicate.

(From the Ayr Advertiser.)

The all-engrossing topic of conversation and inquiry now has reference to the intentions of the Ministry on the subject of opening the ports for the admission of corn. The food of the people has fallen short. The usual supply which our soil affords has received one of those checks which history teaches us have, in all ages, now and then thrown nations into difficulties, and where the arrangements of the State were defective, have brought down upon them the terrible destruction of famine. Amongst savages a failure of the usual sources of food mows down whole tribes, and even whole nations, in one year. As the aboriginal man rises in the scale of improvement, we see his sources of sustenance become more certain, and less dependant upon the accidental changes of season or climate. It is the triumph of civilisation to secure for every citizen a plentiful supply of all the requisites of life, in food, clothing, and abode; and until that supply is perfect and continual, the arrangements of the country cannot be regarded as having achieved the point which an enlightened people should not rest till they secure.

Our time of trial has come. We are in the condition which has often afflicted this and other countries before, but we are a thousand years in advance of the Heptarchy, and a partial failure of the food of the country is not likely to destroy half the population. Yet the failure of the potato crop, and the insufficient supply of our corn to make up the deficiency, already threatens to cast millions—aye millions—of our countrymen upon the brink, if not into the agonies, of starvation, and what is the moral of this fearful fact? *It teaches us that our civilisation, if great, is far from complete.* It proves there is "something rotten in the State of Denmark." It calls with a loud voice for national attention, and the nation should not be satisfied until the mischief is probed to its source, and until every human effort is made to lift a rich and populous, and powerful country like Great Britain, as far as human foresight can lift it, beyond the reach of famine.

Can there be two opinions as to the wisdom and justice of such an attempt? Certainly not. The means of effecting it, therefore, become the question. Throw another glance over the world. See the wide-spread fields that supply the ships of the Baltic—see the boundless prairies that invite cultivation in America. *In those two directions alone, behold a food factory for treble the whole present population of Europe.* If this be doubted, take figures, and be convinced that we have only to adopt our laws to the necessities of our position to ensure a constant, cheap, and ample extra supply of grain. Let capital, industry, and chemistry increase our home supplies as much as possible. The more we grow in our own fields the better; but, as our population has outgrown our present internal supply, should we not obtain what we must purchase as cheaply and plentifully as possible? That is the question which agitated the Cabinet Council held on Friday last. Sir Robert Peel has the gout, and the ministers met at his house in Spring-gardens, and the Duke of Wellington has a great objection to Free Trade, and so nothing came out of the meeting. The decision was postponed. The papers have been full of rumours, the favourite one being that a fixed duty of 4s. is the favourite plan of the Premier, and that the ports are to be open at this duty for six months. We shall see what comes of it; but it is now unhappily notorious that the corn supply of Europe and America is scanty, and, as they do not grow a supply for open ports in England, the prices are likely to be high everywhere. Grain is wanted in Belgium and Holland, and both those countries have been importing free of duty for some time past; Canada has little in store, and that store is said to have been bought up upon the chance of a scarcity. If, therefore, the Ministry, with a starving population, agree to open the ports, and to those ports only high-priced food should come, it will but be one other melancholy proof of the folly and wickedness of not adapting our laws to our real condition—not allowing the corn countries of the world to feed the manufacturing population of Great Britain.

(From the Fife Herald.)

The practical answer to the question—What will Sir Robert Peel do under these circumstances? is meanwhile waited for with "profound and breathless interest." The result of the meetings of the Privy Council, and the question whether or not the ports will be opened, are creating as

much anxiety as if on the issue were suspended the question of peace or war. It is confidently believed by many of the thorough Free Traders—who, by the-by, are willing to give the Prime Minister at least as much credit as he deserves for good intentions—that he will see his duty, under the exigencies of the country, to act a decisive and liberal part. Various guesses are afloat as to what he will do. Some parties opine that he will order the ports to be immediately opened, and that grain will be admitted duty free; others, that he will agree in the meantime to a small fixed duty; while some think it probable, that to avoid taking upon himself the responsibility of such a measure as the state of the country would seem to demand, he will order an early meeting of Parliament to take up the question. Whichever of these assumptions is the true one must soon transpire; and the anxiety on the matter will then be set at rest.

In the meantime there is no doubt that Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues are watching with intense concern the current of public opinion on this question; and though we are not so sanguine as to predict the certainty that Ministers will act upon a preponderance of this opinion, yet we are not without hope that the issue may be favourable to our wishes, and that all duty on grain will be abolished. Let us at the least believe so. The eloquent and stirring speeches delivered at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, by Mr. Cobden and others, are admirably fitted to inspire the Premier with a confident reliance on the support of the country, even if he should have to encounter the heartless opposition and disaffection of the less intelligent and less principled portion of his own friends.

That the Premier will consent to enforce a fixed duty of 4s., 2s., or 1s. on corn, there is not the least ground to surmise. He has all along strenuously opposed a fixed duty; and from his public acts and speeches, it is clear that of the two he has a decided preference for the Free Trade principle. Then is there any danger that he will go "botching and patching" the sliding-scale again—that he will "higgle and langle" and "go tinkering" after his old habits? We should hope not. The sliding-scale is highly unpopular; and though that of itself is not sufficient to condemn it, yet it is proved to be baneful in its effects, and as such must be abandoned. Agitation in favour of Free Trade, however, must by all means be kept up. Now is the time to strike a decisive blow for sound principle. If allowed to pass by unimproved, such an opportunity may not soon occur again. If it should not be determined by the Privy Council to open the ports, it is requisite that such representations of the necessity of this measure should be forwarded as cannot with safety be resisted. Even if the duty on grain should in the meantime be suspended, it is necessary to set vigorously to work in order to prevent its re-imposition. The door of Free Trade once fairly opened, it must be the fault of the people if it be not kept open in all time coming; and to effect this end, it is manifestly necessary that a strong expression of the opinion of all intelligent men should be made on the subject.

(From the Scotch Reformers' Gazette.)

Three Cabinet Councils have been held, at which no doubt the question as to the opening of the ports has been gravely discussed. One of these Councils was summoned on Sunday last, for Monday, which circumstance of itself almost makes it obvious to the country that the Premier considers this as a question of necessity and mercy.

We rather suspect that Sir Robert Peel is now encompassed with difficulties for the first time by some of his own colleagues. Another Cabinet Council (being the fourth) was summoned for Thursday; and probably its decision is disclosed by this time in London, and we may have it in our second edition.

As has been well observed, we hope that the Premier, like Oliver Twist, will at last "pluck up a spirit," and without heeding the depreciation of timidity on the one hand, or the remonstrance of interested selfishness on the other, meet with firmness and courage the exigency of the moment, and immediately and decisively adopt full measures for averting the calamity which impends over us from the conjunction of an injurious policy with hostile skies. Lord John Russell, in the course of last session, urged on the Premier with much earnestness and force of argument the propriety of considering the Corn Laws, with a view to the adoption of a low fixed duty on the foreign product. The time was particularly favourable for the discussion of the subject. Prosperity and tranquillity reigned throughout the country. Heaven had blessed our store, and the means of subsistence were cheap and easy. The noble lord warned his hearers that then was the suitable time to make provision against the day of adversity by amending laws which nature, and reason, and humanity unite to condemn, because they restrict and diminish the supply of the first necessary of life, obstruct the profitable pursuit of trade and commerce, foster ill-feeling between neighbouring states, and tend to controvert the benevolent design of Providence, that the scarcity of one country should be relieved from the abundance of another. The motion was slighted—the Ministry refused to consider the Corn Law. Now it is forced on their consideration by the dire necessity of the strait to which it has reduced us—a result which had been all along foreseen by wiser statesmen. From this we can only now be extricated by a prompt and vigorous coup, and what should have been the work of reflection must now be done out of hand. Had measures been taken last session for the admission of foreign corn, free or at a low fixed duty, Sir Robert Peel would have escaped a difficulty perhaps worse than Ireland, and the public mind would have been spared the alarm and excitement which the prospect of a deficiency in the supply of food for the people has created in all classes.

We trust that these may be speedily allayed by the only reparation it is now possible to make, for opportunities neglected and warnings unheeded, that the ports may be immediately opened for the relief of our impending necessities; and one thing more, let us take care, having got them once opened, to put our backs resolutely against them, so that they may never be closed again.

(From the Kelso Chronicle.)

The country is at present watching the course of public events with nervous anxiety. They see that in the failure of the potato crop and the high price of corn, an opportunity is afforded to Sir Robert Peel of enacting in reference to the Protection Laws that policy which the Whigs announced, and he himself has so far at least adapted on commercial questions. Scarcity threatens our sister island, and bread bids fair in this country to reach a price which will be beyond the power of the poor to pay. The Premier, it is rationally assumed, must yield to the public voice and wants by a temporary suspension of the Corn Laws; and the people have resolved that such relaxation shall be permanent—that industry shall no longer be shackled and bound up in swad-

dling-clothes, but send round the globe the results of their toil to gladden the hearts of thousands, who will in return supply our necessities, and provide us with the luxurious bounties of nature; in short, that we shall henceforth be permitted to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest markets we can find.

The meeting of the League at Manchester last week came most opportunely; and it is gratifying to observe that the Town Council of Edinburgh have memorialised her Majesty to suspend the operation of the Corn Laws, in consequence of the distress at present existing in the country. Nor are other parts of Scotland and England apathetic. We trust that our own neighbourhood will take part in such a trying crisis. If any feel disinclined to bestir themselves from personal interest, they will surely be alive to the gaunt spectre of misery, starvation, and even death, that may be the portion of millions of our fellow-countrymen in Ireland.

What is the remedy? It is simple and natural. Open wide the ports, and admit the bread of the whole world to feed the people! "That," said Mr. Cobden, at Manchester, "is the obvious and natural remedy; that is the remedy which an unenlightened despot would at once fly to. Witness Russia, witness Prussia, witness Germany, Holland, and Belgium; these Governments have not waited, but when their people have been threatened with want they have at once thrown open their ports, and in some cases stopped exportation, in order to supply their people with abundance of the first necessities of life. Why has not our Government taken a similar course? Why have they waited to learn Christianity from the Turk, or humanity from the Russian? Is it because our Government is less merciful than that of the Mahometan Sultan? Is it that our boasted constitutional power is less humane than that of the despot of Russia?"

(From the Kilmarnock Herald.)

The English agricultural mind has been in a dreadful state of perturbation for the last ten days—and no wonder. The fact that they were in hourly expectation of learning that the very ministry who were raised to power specially to uphold the Corn Laws, had swept away the whole system at one blow, renders it no wonder that the "agricultural party" should be somewhat dumfounded and enraged. The shock, however, is so sudden and so severe as apparently to deprive them of the power of resistance or even of utterance. The "Protection Societies," which were to "unmake" the Peel Ministry, and annihilate the League, are mum as mice. A few of what were once the agricultural leaders believe, or pretend to believe, that Sir Robert Peel has no such wicked intention as everybody imputes to him, and are still content to feed upon his promises.

"Alas! unmindful of their doom,

The silly victims play,

No thought have they of ills to come,

No cares beyond to-day."

All those, however, having ordinary shrewdness or common honesty, see things in a different light, and hold a different language. There is excellent sense and truth in the following lamentations in the *Mark Lane Express*, a pertinacious protectionist and "farmer's friend":

"We doubt not that the fate of the Corn Laws is sealed and certain. It may be postponed till the meeting of Parliament, in order to avoid unnecessary responsibility. Sir Robert Peel is a man of plausibilities, and likes to have a majority of his supporters at his back; who, being returned apparently by the people, and especially by the farmers in their unsuspecting confidence, can help to bear the burden of his derelictions. No doubt the repeal will be asked for as a temporary expedient, like the income-tax; but, when once granted, it will be as permanent. If the ports are ever opened by law, free of duty, they will never be shut again. No more protection will ever be given. The force will be at an end, though not the tragedy. The high rents have been obtained under the pretext of protection, and they will be continued when that pretext is given up. To be sure, this has a queer aspect, and may be called by an awkward name, something like 'obtaining money under false pretences;' but what will the Legislature care for that? They have effected their objects. Rents are secured, and Government influence in the hands of their very good friends. As to tenant farmers, who cares for them? They may bark; they cannot bite. They have placed this very Ministry in office; they have returned as their representatives the very men who are creatures of this Ministry, and who prefer party infinitely beyond consistency or the public good. What, therefore, can the tenant farmers do? Nothing."

"Protection is gone for ever; the Corn Laws are doomed. Those laws have done their work of deception; the farmer pays double, treble, quadruple his former rents. The peasants have been deprived of their rights of common and pasture. The wages of labour have been squeezed to the lowest point. All the objects of the law-makers have been carried out—why continue the 'bubble' or the 'trickery' any longer? The political Pecksniff may gain credit by becoming suddenly compassionate to the poor Irish, deprived of their potatoes. He may give up his sliding-scale, and all protection along with it, as a great sacrifice of a favourite system. He will take credit, doubtless, for it, as well as for repeal; nothing comes amiss to the Joseph Surface of our times. Protection gets him power, and the sacrifice of it keeps him in power. He is equally prepared for both. The leader of the 'farmers' friends' to-day, the advocate of Free Trade to-morrow; consistent to nothing, he makes use of everything. We shall speedily have the changes rung upon the necessity of providing for the poor Irish, as we formerly had upon the necessity of protecting the poor farmers. The same solemnity, the same sincerity."

All this is welcome, though it has been long of coming. Do not those who swear by such papers as the *Mark Lane Express* remember that, all along the Free Traders have been telling the farmers that the only objects and the effects of the Corn Laws were those very two things announced in the above extract—the raising of rents and the lowering of wages? And when this is confessed by their own organ as the only result of the doomed and departing Corn Law, why, in the name of common sense, should the farmers be called on to lament the blessing of its abolition or attempt the impossibility of its restoration?

(From the Scotsman.)

We are still without the slightest information as to the intentions of the Ministry regarding the Corn Laws and the threatened dearth. The meeting of the Cabinet on Friday was of long duration, and was succeeded by another next day, which lasted for the unusual period of four hours and a half. Nothing whatever has transpired as to the proceedings at these meetings, and it is certain that if any decision has been come to, it would, before this time, have been announced in some form more or less authoritative. On Sunday, sum-

monses were issued for another meeting of the Cabinet on Monday afternoon, the result of which, if any transpired, cannot reach us in time for to-day's paper. When the next post may bring the result, speculation is vain, nor indeed has anything transpired affording data for conjecture. It may, however, be considered certain that the subject regarding which the Cabinet have been summoned, and which has afforded them employment during their three sittings, is the question of meeting the impending national scarcity by a suspension of the Corn Laws. There is no other known question that can be imagined to require such urgent attention, and the fact of all the London press—Tory and Liberal—assuming day after day, without contradiction, that such is the matter under deliberation, is of itself sufficient evidence. It may also be inferred, though not on such clear grounds, that a difference of opinion among the members of the Cabinet is the cause of their lengthened deliberations and repeated adjournments. At the meetings both of Friday and Saturday, all the members of the Cabinet were present, with the exception of one or two of the most insignificant, so that a desire to postpone decision till the opinions of the absent were obtained, could not be the cause of the delay. Neither is the conjecture probable that the delay is made in order to obtain further information regarding the state of the potato crop and the supply of food, seeing that it was impossible that anything like full or decisive information could be procured on Saturday, if it could not be procured on Friday. The most feasible conjecture, therefore, that can yet be formed as to the cause of the long deliberations and the adjournments from day to day, is, that there are dissensions in the Cabinet as to a question which is not only of the highest importance, but the settlement of which hardly admits of a day's delay.

(From the Dumfries Advertiser.)

This is hardly the time to discuss the theory of the Corn Laws. The present crisis calls upon us to determine not whether they should, but whether they can exist. Storm necessity threatens to step in and cut short all argument. The frantic cry of millions in want may soon drown the voices that still speak of protective duties. To this complexion the question of the Corn Law will probably soon come, as we always thought it would come at last. If not given up as a mischief and a wrong, it must be surrendered as an impossibility. So difficult, so impossible, in the end, is it to withstand those great natural laws which God hath given to regulate supply and demand in the articles of human food.

In writing this, we cherish no hostility to the great agricultural interest of this country, in many respects the most precious and important of all. That interest would have been in a more flourishing state had no Corn Law ever existed; and it will flourish more than ever it has done when the Corn Law shall be no more. Fixed and regular, not high and fluctuating, prices are what the British farmer requires to enable him to calculate the proper rent, and derive a permanent profit from the cultivation of the soil. And as to foreign competition, there is a science and an enterprise ready now to be infused into agriculture, were the Corn Law only settled, which would enable him to set all such competition at defiance. A lowering of prices also would lead to an increased consumption and a brisk demand, which could not fail to stimulate his energies, and remunerate him for all new improvements of the soil. This is what farmers generally are now beginning to feel, and they are already as a body more than half resigned to the abolition of a law made to protect, but operating only to tantalize and distract them.

Landlords, we are aware, especially those in embarrassed circumstances, dread the alteration of a system which keeps up, as they think, their present rent-roll. Their fears even if to some extent well-founded, can only entitle them to our pity, mingled with some degree of blame. Such apprehensions cannot be allowed to influence our opinions on a great public question, involving principles of the first importance, and affecting the most urgent interests of the people of these realms. Let the proprietors of land only act as becomes them on such an emergency, as wise and brave men preparing for a storm which may try, but need not overpower their energies, and their interests will not eventually suffer: they will be delivered from much fear, and much odium; and they will benefit themselves and the public, by adding to the food of the country.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, Nov. 10.—The council of this borough, at their meeting to-day, had their attention called to the apprehended scarcity of food in this country by Sir John Fife, who moved the suspension of the standing orders of the body, to allow the adoption of a memorial to the Privy Council on the subject. The motion was agreed to; and, after an animated discussion, the council adopted the following memorial by a large majority:—

"TO THE RIGHT HON. THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF

HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY.

"The Memorial of the Council of the Borough of Newcastle-upon-Tyne,

"Sheweth—That, with the prospect of distress amongst the humbler classes of society in the United Kingdom, more especially in Ireland, from the result of the late harvest, your memorialists are convinced of the expediency of opening the ports of the United Kingdom to the free importation of grain.

"Your memorialists, therefore, entreat your lordships to take the necessary steps for opening the ports."

The Gateshead council also met to-day, and adopted a similar memorial to Sir Robert Peel.

SUNDERLAND, TUESDAY, Nov. 11.—Yesterday the annual meeting of the corporation of this borough was held at the police court. There was an unusually numerous attendance. After electing Mr. Robert Brown, solicitor, mayor for the ensuing year, and transacting other business,

Mr. R. FRENCH called the attention of the council to the desirability of presenting a memorial to her Majesty's Government, requesting them to issue an order in council, authorising the free importation of grain and other provisions. (Applause.) This was a duty which they owed to themselves, to the town, and the community at large, for the deficiency of the late harvest, and the disease in the potato crop rendered such a step essentially necessary for the continued welfare and safety of the country. He therefore moved that such a memorial be forthwith prepared by the town-clerk, and forwarded to the Government.

Alderman GREGORY seconded the motion, which was supported by Mr. Moody, Alderman Brown, Messrs. A. J. Moore and Featherstonhaugh, and carried unanimously amidst loud cheers.

PRECEPT AND PRACTICE.

(From the Gateshead Observer.)

Sir James Graham, ever ready to profit by political changes, is preparing to "turn a penny" by the repeal of the Corn Laws. Six years ago, when he was bidding for office as a Monoplist-minister, he delivered in the House of Commons his famous "incense-breathing" oration. His heart bled at the prospect of a peasant transformed into an operative, and summoned to his daily toils, not by the larks and the linnets, but by the factory bell.

"Talk no more to me (said he to callous Cobdens and Bluebeard Brights) of the cruelty of the transfer of the Poles to Siberia, or of the export of the Hill Coolies from Coromandel to the Mauritius. You contemplate a cruelty far more unnatural, far more heart-rending, in the bosom of our native land! You wish to make this country the vast workshop of the world, dependent on distant foreign lands for the supply of daily bread."

This was in 1839. In 1845, he is plotting with the Premier the reduction of England to a "dependence on distant foreign lands for the supply of her daily bread," and concocting with his steward the conversion of Longtown into a branch of "the vast workshop of the world." Yes! in a lithographed circular, bearing date the 1st ult., "the Right Honourable Sir James Graham, of Netherby, Baronet, M.P.," makes known his "desire to encourage the establishment of manufactures, &c., upon his estate, at the market town of Longtown, in the county of Cumberland," and holds out "inducements" to "capitalists" to "embark in the undertaking." "The town," says our Ministerial George Robins, "is pleasantly situated," "remarkably healthy," and "can supply a numerous set of useful labourers at moderate wages." To Sir James, therefore, as to the men of Manchester, the poetic appeal may now be made, which the versatile Baronet pathetically addressed to the Free Traders on the 14th of March, 1839:—

"You talk glibly of the transfer to manufacturing employment; but what cruelty, what suffering, lie hid under the surface of these gentle-flowing words! A change from agricultural to manufacturing labour! What a change to him! A change of home, of habits, of manners, of nature, of life itself—a change from the breezy call of incense-breathing morn, to the sad sound of the factory bell—from the balmy air of heaven and the voice of earliest birds, to the foetid atmosphere of the workshop, and the perpetual clack of the spinning-jenny and the shuttle—from the thatched cottage, the blooming garden, and the village green, to the dark cellar or wretched garret, in some noisome alley of the crowded city—from the rural work, the innocent enjoyment of the rustic Sabbath, to the pestilence, the vice, the temptations, and the sorrows of congregated multitudes! This is the change which you contemplate—this is the change which you ask us deliberately to sanction."

And "this is the change" which Sir James Graham, "the Cumberland landowner," is now "desirous to encourage upon his estate at Longtown!" He sees that the Corn Laws are doomed—that power is passing from the hands of the landed interest to those of the manufacturers—and he is eager to improve his fortunes by the revolutionary event.

The *Courier Francais* may well be astonished by the revolution—a "social transformation," not "by the armed struggle of parties in the field," not by "a victorious army," nor by "a popular revolt like that which threw down the Bastille," but (we quote our Paris contemporary) "by a pacific association of manufacturers of all professions, by conspirators who plot in the face of day on innumerable platforms, and in innumerable journals." Thus it is "that a powerful aristocracy, an oligarchy disposing of the government and fortune of one of the two most civilized nations of the earth, is overthrown without striking a blow." But the vanquished oligarchs have the mortification to know, that the platforms and the journals have not the undivided honour of the victory. A double renegade—the Cumberland Delator—is among the forces by whom they are overthrown!

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, November 15, 1845.

We have been obliged to omit our reviews and a great portion of original and selected matter, to make room for a report of the very important meeting in Birmingham. It is with great regret that we find ourselves compelled to postpone our account of the scarcely less important meeting at Huddersfield, but we shall make place for it next week. The accounts which we continue to receive from various parts of the empire, show that these meetings are symptomatic of well-grounded fears. The alarm for the potato-crop in Ireland is on the increase; the Catholic Hierarchy have ordered prayers to be offered up in the several chapels beseeching Divine Providence to avert the horrors of famine; and the same course has been pursued by the Primate and Bishops of the Establishment. Subscriptions for the relief of the poor have been commenced in several counties, and John O'Connell, of Greenva, the brother of D. O'Connell, has contributed 500*l.* to the subscription in Kerry. The late rains are said to have added greatly to the evil, but the extent of the mischief done has not yet been ascertained. We have before us most alarming accounts of the failure of potatoes in Scotland, particularly from the Lothians, Lanarkshire, Fife, Perthshire, Ayrshire, and the Western Highlands. In England, too, the ravages of this pestilence are on the increase, particularly in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the eastern and southern counties. In this period of general alarm, we find our rulers so daunted by the monopolists, that the Corn Laws are allowed to run their destructive course, and "restrictions are maintained in the face of famine." We shall not add

more, but refer our readers to the speeches of Messrs. Villiers and Cobden for an accurate portraiture of the perilous position of the country.

GATESHEAD TOWN COUNCIL.—This body met on Monday. On the motion of Alderman Brockett, the standing orders were suspended in order that he might propose a memorial to Sir Robert Peel for the opening of the ports. He would not trouble the council with any observations further than to say, that as the matter was urgent, if the memorial was adopted, it would be forwarded that evening. The memorial was then read, and it briefly stated that the corn harvest was most unfavourable, both as to quantity and quality, and that the potato crop in Ireland had been a complete failure. In order to prevent the fearful consequences that would otherwise ensue, the memorial prayed that the British and Irish ports might be immediately opened. (Applause).—Mr. John Robson seconded the memorial, which was unanimously adopted, without any observations from the members of the council.—*Tyne Mercury.*

AUCHERMUCHTY.—FREE TRADE.—A public meeting was held in the Town Hall here on the evening of Saturday the 1st inst., the chief magistrate in the chair, when resolutions were unanimously adopted in favour of Free Trade, and of memorialising the Queen in Council to issue an order for the admission of foreign grain and other provisions duty free. The meeting also appointed a committee to see that a machine be provided for converting potatoes into starch, the disease being very prevalent in the district.

We received late last night, several letters requesting to know where the pamphlet of Messrs. Trimmer and Morton, mentioned by Lord Dacie, in his speech at Birmingham, was to be had. We believe the pamphlet has been published by Ridgway, of Piccadilly, and may be bought there.

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. Nov. 8	MON. Nov. 10	TUES. Nov. 11	WED. Nov. 12	THUR. Nov. 13	FRI. Nov. 14
Bank Stock	201.2	200.2	201.1	201.1	201.5	201.5
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	94.1	94.1	94.1	94.1	94.1	94.1
3 per Ct. Con. Ann.	95.2	95.2	95.2	95.2	95.2	95.2
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	96.1	96.1	96.1	96.1	96.1	96.1
Long. An. Ex. 1860	107.16	107.16	107.16	107.16	107.16	107.16
Cons. for Acct.	95.2	95.2	95.2	95.2	95.2	95.2
Exc. Bills, pm.	21.3	22.7	25.8	22.8	..	..
Ind. Bds. val. 100 <i>l.</i>	33	..	..	38	40	..
India Stock .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Austrian .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Belgian Bonds	95.1	95.1	95.1	95.1	95.1	95.1
Brazilian 5 per Ct.	95.1	..	..	81.1	..	..
Chilian .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Colomb. ex. Venez.	..	17	..	..	10.1	..
Danish	86	..	86	..	86.1	..
Dutch 4 per Cent.	94	94	94	93.1	93.1	94
Dutch 2 1/2 per Cent.	59.1	60.1	60	60	60.1	60.1
Mexican .....	..	31.1	31	30.1	30.1	..
Peruvian .....	..	..	35	..	35	..
Portug. conv.	55.6	56.7	57	56.1	57.1	..
Russian 5 per Cent.	..	111	..	..	..	..
Spanish 5 per Ct.	28.1	28.1	28.1	28.1	28.1	29.1
Do. 3 per Ct. ex. div.	..	37.1	38	37.1	37.1	38

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MONDAY, Nov. 10.—At this morning's market we had a small show of samples from Essex, and a rather better one from Suffolk and Kent, but altogether the supply was only moderate; though prices were generally 1*s.* to 2*s.* lower than this day week, there was more firmness in the trade, and the bulk of the samples was cleared off before the close of market. In Bonded Wheat very little doing. There is a better supply of English Barley than we have had in any week since harvest, and 2*s.* less money is generally taken. Beans and Peas are also in better supply, and 1*s.* cheaper. There are fair but not large arrivals of Irish and English Oats; the supply is, however, quite equal to the demand, and prices must be noted 6*d.* to 1*s.* lower than Monday last, with not a very extensive sale.

BRITISH.		Per Imperial Quarter	
Wheat, Essex,	Red 52 to 64	White 60 to 70	
Kent, & Suffolk	51	62	56 66
Lancashire & Yorkshire	49	56	56 64
Scotch .....	..	..	..
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feed .....	..	..	27 29
Ditto	Polands	New 29	31
Scotch Feed	31	Potato 36	
Limerick .....	..	..	27 29
Ditto	Fine New 30	31	Old Fine none
Cork .....	..	..	..
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black .....	..	..	27
Sligo .....	..	..	27 29
Galway .....	..	..	27 28
Barley .....	..	..	32 39
Beans, Mazagan	New 40	..	Old 43 45
Harrow .....	..	..	48
Small .....	..	..	50
Peas, White .....	..	Boilers	60 61
Grey	40. 41.	Maple	42 44
Flour, Town-made	per sack of 280 lbs.	..	48 60
Norfolk and Suffolk .....	..	..	46 50
FOREIGN.		FREE IN BOND.	
		Per Imperial Quarter.	
Wheat, Danzig, high mixed .....	..	60 to 68	46 52
Rostock .....	..	58	62 44 48
Stettin .....	..	57	62 43 46
Humburg .....	..	54	50 42 45
Odesa .....	..	48	52 40 42
Odesa Polish .....	..	52	58 40 43
Russian	soft	50	50
Ditto	hard	48	57
Spanish .....	..	..	..
Ditto	White .....	..	..
Australian .....	..	60	69
Barley, Grinding .....	..	27	30
Distilling .....	..	20	32
Oats, Archangel .....	..	29	30 25
Danish .....	..	29	30 21 25
Swedish .....	..	28	29 24 25
Stralsund .....	..	..	..
Dutch Feed .....	..	27	28 23 24
Brew .....	..	28	29 24 25
Polands .....	..	32	33 28 30
Beans, Egyptian .....	..	41	42 40 41
Peas, White .....	..	..	..
Ditto Boilers .....	..	..	none
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 196 lbs. ....	..	34	35
United States .....	..	32	35
Danzig .....	..	..	..
Australian, per sack of 280 lbs. ....	..	..	..
Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from Nov. 3 to Nov. 10, 1845, both days inclusive.			
English	8295	7001	4441
Scotch	7	149	1828
Irish .....	..	..	11324
Foreign	858	98	7673
Flour, 10176 sacks; 50 barrels.			

FRIDAY, Nov. 14.—With the exception of about 13,000 qrs. of Foreign Oats, we have been shortly supplied with all grain during the week. To-day there is a general disposition exhibited by buyers generally, not to purchase, unless an opportunity is offered. Every batch of the trade is consequently extra care being taken; holders appear to be disinclined to accept lower prices, and the little business transacted is on about the same terms as on Monday. The duties on Wheat, Barley, and Oats, fell 1*s.* yesterday. S. H. LUCAS.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 10th of November to the 14th of November, both inclusive.		English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	2599	..	5149	
Barley	3330	..	1950	
Oats	1700	4990	19570	
Flour, 2220 sacks.				

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending Nov. 11, 1845.		Qrs.	Price.	Qrs.	Price.
Wheat	588	64s. 4d.	Rye	378	38s. 10d.
Barley	5359	38s. 5d.	Beans	1011	44s. 11d.
Oats	10469	29s. 7d.	Peas	1447	52s. 9d.

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending		Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
4th Oct.	d. s. d.	0. 31. 1. 33	4. 33	6. 43	1. 42	6	
11th "	d. s. d.	0. 31. 3. 33	4. 34	2. 43	1. 44	4	
18th "	d. s. d.	0. 32. 0. 33	5. 34	5. 44	5. 44	0	
25th "	d. s. d.	0. 33. 0. 34	11. 34	5. 44	5. 44	1	
1st Nov.	d. s. d.	0. 34. 3. 33	2. 33	2. 45	5. 43	0	
8th "	d. s. d.	0. 35. 1. 35	2. 35	7. 45	1. 44	9	

Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks. Wheat, 58s. 6d.; Barley, 32s. 9d.; Oats, 24s. 5d.; Rye, 34s. 3d.; Beans, 44s. 5d.; Peas, 43s. 9d.

Duty. Wheat, 14s. 0d.; Barley, 6s. 0d.; Oats, 4s. 0d.; Rye, 8s. 6d.; Beans, 1s. 0d.; Peas, 1s. 0d.

Stock of Corn in Bond, Oct. 10, 1845.

Wheat.		Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.	Flour
In London, 207874	10210	48329	..	3163	..	5213	
Unit. King. 543606	58470	103130	..	6805	1656	241095	

NEAT MARKET.

PER STONE OF 8 LBS.		PER STONE OF 8 LBS.	
Prime Beef ..	0s 6d to 0s 6d	Middle Mutton	0s 0d to 0s 0d
Middling do.	0s 0d to 0s 0d	Veal, from ..	3s 8d to 4s 6d
Plain, or inferior	0s 0d to 0s 0d	Small Pork ..	4s 4d to 5s 4d
Prime Mutton	3s 0d to 4s 2d	Large, or inferior	0s 0d to 0s 0d

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, Nov. 7.

CROWN OFFICE, Nov. 7.

MEMBER RETURNED TO SERVE IN THIS PRESENT

PARLIAMENT.

County of Warwick, Southern Division.—The Hon. George

Guy Greyville, commonly called Lord Brooke, in the room of Sir John Mordaunt, Bart., deceased.

BANKRUPTS

C. DRAPER, Sun, Bishopsgate-street Without, victualler.

Mr. Smith, Wilmington-square.

W. HAY and J. A. TITTEBTON, London-road, oilmen. [Mr.

Loughborough, Austin Friars.

J. ELLIOTT, Pavement, Finsbury, surgeon. [Mr. Taylor,

North Buildings, Finsbury Circus.

W. HARDING, Johnson-street, Westminster. [Mr. Depree,

Laurence-lane, Cheapside.

M. DAVIDS, Paternoster-row, fishmonger. [Mr. Bridley,

Paneras-lane, Cheapside.

S. M. LEVY, Leadenhall-street, navy agent. [Mr. King, St.

Mary Axe.

H. CUNNINGHAM, Strand, bookseller. [Messrs. Laurance

and Plews, Bucklersbury.

C. NORMAN, Cumberland Mews, Edgware-road, coach

builder. [Messrs. Mardon and Pritchard, Christchurch-build-

ings, Newgate-street.

J. WRIGHT, Wheelton, Lancashire, calico printer. [Messrs.

Milne, Parry, Milne, and Morris, Temple.

R. PEARSON, Chorley, Lancashire, grocer. [Mr. Sutton,

Manchester.

J. GAINER, Bridgend, Gloucester, dyer. [Mr. Brisley, Pan-

cras-lane, London.

W. H. LYON, Liverpool, cotton broker. [Mr. Cotterill, Throg-

morton-street.

E. MEREDITH, Liverpool, linendraper. [Messrs. Vincent

and Co., Temple.

H. LIPTRON, Wrexham, Denbighshire, shoemaker. [Messrs.

Nicholls and Doyle, Bedford-row.

S. RHODES, Bradford, worsted spinner. [Messrs. Wigles-

worth, Gray's Inn.

DIVIDENDS.

Nov. 28, J. and T. Binney, Sheffield, merchants.—R. Nicholson,

Stockton, bookseller.—J. C. Petrie, Bedlington, Durham.—Nov.

29, J. Oldham, Wood-street, silk warehouseman.—Dec. 5, J. Lewis,

Bristol, grocer.

CERTIFICATES.

Nov. 28, J. Allison, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, grocer.—R. Nichol-

son, Stockton, bookseller.—Dec. 1, T. Cutsforth, Salisbury,

builder.—Dec. 2, G. E. Noone, East-street, Manchester-square,

engineer.—N. G. Coombes, Craven-street, Strand, coal merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

W. Stewart, Dundee, carpenter.—J. Petrie, Dundee, coal mer-

chant.—A. McLAREN, Fintry, distiller.—J. Ramsay, Crossgates,

Inverkeithing, coal master.

TUESDAY, Nov. 11.

CROWN OFFICE, Nov. 11.

MEMBERS RETURNED TO SERVE IN THIS PRESENT

PARLIAMENT.

Borough of New Windsor.—George Alexander Reid, of Bul-

strode Park in the county of Buckingham, Esq., in the room of

John Ramsbottom, Esq., deceased.

BANKRUPTS.

T. MILLER, Mansell-street, oilman. [Mr. Henderson,

Mansell-street.

S. STOCKER, sen., St. John-street, Clerkenwell. [Mr. Robin-

son, Ironmonger-lane.

C. H. WHITE, Gravesend, linendraper. [Mr. Brisley, Pan-

cras-lane.

J. CHALLEN, Odlam, Southampton, brewer. [Messrs. Lind-

say and Co., Gresham-street.

G. H. WATSON, New Bond-street, tobacconist. [Mr. Blake,

Blackfriars-road.

W. WARD, Belton, Rutlandshire, farmer. [Messrs. Clarke

and Co., Lincoln's Inn Fields.

G. ABRAHAM, Great Prescott-street, watch manufacturer.

[Messrs. Laurance and Co., Bucklersbury.

W. R. PARSONS, Limehouse-causway, baker. [Mr. Spiller,

Camomile-street.

J. KIRBY, Soop-lane, Kirkcaldy, fancy manufacturer.

[Messrs. Sudlow and Co., Chancery-lane.

DIVIDENDS.

Dec. 3, E. Baldwin and R. Garrett, Henfield, Sussex, linen-

drapers.—J. H. Bardsley, Blackland-street, Marlborough, Ironmonger.

J. Bourne, Domesday, printer.—T. H. Wetmore, Worcester,

grocer.—Dec. 4, R. Kimble, Great Marlborough-street, ironmaster.

—Dec.

THE NEW QUADRILLES, MAZURKAS, and POLKAS, in "LE DIABLE" &c.

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£5000 FUND.—A PUBLIC MEETING of the ME-
TROPOLITAN DRAPERS' ASSOCIATION was held at Exeter
Hall on Tuesday, November 11, the Hon. Lord R. Grosvenor, M.P.,
in the Chair. Mr. D. Grainger Esq., M.P., seconded, and the
Rev. W. Curling, M.A., supported the resolution, viz.:—
"That this meeting, believing in the expediency of the late-hour system,
and in the expediency of the late-hour system, and in the expediency of the
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THE LEAGUE.

No. 113.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1845.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

We beg to inform our subscribers that bound volumes of the LEAGUE newspaper, containing the whole of the first year's Numbers, may be had on application at the offices, either in London or Manchester.

OBSERVE!

Samples of good Wheat were sold in Mark Lane on Friday at 74s. per quarter.

The duty on Foreign Wheat is 14s. per qr.
The national expenditure for bread is NOW at the rate of 20 millions a-year, or FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND pounds weekly MORE than during the whole of last winter and spring.

BIRMINGHAM AND ITS DUTY.

The eager and enthusiastic response made by the men of Birmingham last week, in cheers that are yet ringing in our ears, to the appeals of the Free Trade leaders, justifies us in looking to them for those active exertions by which—and by which alone—the success of the cause which they have now made their own can be ensured. It cannot be that the magnificent and heart-stirring scene which the Birmingham Town-hall exhibited on the evening of Thursday, the 13th inst., was a mere scene, as evanescent as the mimic splendours of theatrical art. It was quite real thunder that we heard that night. Birmingham enthusiasm, as we have always understood, means something. Birmingham men may be hard to move; but, when moved, they are wonderfully in earnest. Birmingham has a great reputation for that sort of business-like sincerity and thoroughness which one can trust. Birmingham "demonstrations" have a character for meaning all, and more than all, that they seem to say—a character which the future historian will have abundant occasion to recognise when the chronicles of 13 years ago come to be written, and which we are sure he will not find falsified in the annals of the closing years, or months, of the Free Trade struggle. Birmingham, and the great industrial district of which this metropolis of the Midland Counties is the centre, will, we are well convinced, follow up last week's emphatic and unmistakeable expression of opinion with as emphatic and unmistakeable deeds—with deeds worthy of the men who wrested schedule A from the proudest aristocracy on earth, when at the very top of its power. We now look to Birmingham to "schedule A" a worse tyranny than

that of the boroughmongers, and a more nefarious and shameful fraud than that of Gatton and Old Sarum.

The way is simple. Simple and easy—that is, as easy as things worth doing are wont to be in this hard-working world. BIRMINGHAM MUST WIN COUNTIES. Birmingham must get legal and constitutional rights and powers in and over that great district which its own marvellous and many-handed industry has made what it is. Birmingham must work out the constitution of 1832—develop the latent and untried capabilities of its own Reform Bill; especially of that oldest and best part of the Reform Bill—that precious relic of the ancient democratic constitutional law of England—the 40s. freehold county franchise. Birmingham must put an extinguisher on the Gatton of North Warwickshire, and the Old Sarum of East Worcestershire.

We urge our friends, the Free Traders of Birmingham, immediately to make their town the headquarters of a great qualification and registration movement, having, for its object, to give to the industry and intelligence of the capital of the midland district of England that overwhelming electoral preponderance in the counties created by them and dependent on them, which the constitution offers on certain terms not very difficult of fulfilment, and to which they are naturally and rightfully entitled. The Free Traders of Birmingham have all the facilities of position and circumstance which have enabled Manchester to conquer—and not merely to conquer, but to silence and extinguish—monopoly in South Lancashire. They have a vast industrial town population, eager to possess the franchise, and every way fitted for its intelligent and independent exercise. They have a sufficient number of small freehold properties within easy reach to qualify an army of Free Trade voters. They have the singular advantage of a local position, which places them in convenient proximity to two counties besides their own. And they have powerful allies in all directions, only waiting to be incited and organised, to form one dense and overpowering force. Birmingham and Coventry can, with the most perfect ease, subdue and occupy North Warwickshire. Birmingham, and Dudley, with Stourbridge, Bromsgrove, and Kidderminster, can take possession of East Worcestershire. Birmingham, with Wolverhampton and Walsall, can seal and secure the victory just won in South Staffordshire, by making the Free Trade majority (as it already is in South Lancashire) such that no monopolist candidate would ever dream of raising a contest. We much mistake, too, if Birmingham has not arms long enough to reach as far as North Staffordshire on the one side, and South Warwickshire on the other. But, of the first two counties named, there cannot be a moment's doubt; they may and can—we look to Birmingham to say they MUST and SHALL—be put past all doubt. Between now and the 30th of January, NORTH WARWICKSHIRE and EAST WORCESTERSHIRE must have their thousands and thousands of 40s. freeholders, ready qualified for the registration of 1846, and the general election which will almost certainly take place not later than 1847.

Men of Birmingham! you have great powers—you cannot but be conscious, likewise, of great responsibilities. The name of your town is honourably inscribed on one of the most brilliant pages of English history—you have now an opportunity of showing that the spirit of 1832 is not extinct, that the power of 1832 has not exhausted itself with that single effort. Your country has not forgotten the days when Birmingham was the centre of national interest, expectation, and confidence—when the issue of one of the most memorable political conflicts that Great Britain has ever seen, awaited the decision

of your town meetings. The marked attention which the metropolitan press has paid to your last week's proceedings shows how much is still expected from you—how closely your movements are still watched, and how powerfully they are felt throughout the empire. It is now, as it was 13 years since. The vote which you are about to give on this great national question will have very much the character and effect of a casting vote. Two or three counties won from monopoly by you will tell, in point of moral and political power, for two or three times—for five or ten times—the mere number of votes which those counties may reckon in the division lists of the House of Commons. When the word once goes forth, that *Birmingham is in the field conquering counties*, and garrisoning the strong holds of landlordism with an industrial and democratic landed interest, all men will feel that the end is indeed come. We leave this matter in your hands, with a firm and full assurance that BIRMINGHAM WILL DO ITS DUTY.

THE TIMES AND OURSELVES.

We are always happy to receive advice from parties competent to give it, and have no sort of objection to criticism, friendly or unfriendly, on our sayings and doings, provided only that it be tolerably fair and truthful. All men and bodies of men are the better for being criticised. It is salutary even, though not agreeable, to be shown one's faults and foibles, now and then, in the distorted proportions and exaggerated dimensions of caricature. So that the likeness be striking on the whole, minute fidelity to nature in the delineation of particular features is scarcely essential to its moral utility. The *animus* of the artist is a very subordinate consideration, if he have a good eye and a sure hand. But when a man daubs at random with any colours that happen to come to hand, and calls it portrait-painting, he cannot expect people to sit quietly. The airs of a critic, and the temper of a partisan, are a perfectly unendurable combination.

It was with much regret, and more surprise, that we observed in last Tuesday morning's *Times* an article on the subject of the recent Birmingham dinner in particular, and the Free Trade agitation in general, containing a larger amount of gross and glaring misrepresentations than we should have thought could have been crowded within the compass of a newspaper column. Under colour of a calm and dignified exhortation to temperance, moderation, rationality, and the rest of the cardinal virtues, our eccentric contemporary presents us and the world with a tissue both of vague insinuations and of specific statements, every one of which is not only not true, but is flatly contrary to the truth. We wish, and can well afford, to be civil; for, after all, the *Times* is in an odd crotchety way of its own coming round to the right side of the question. But such careless or, passionate perversions of notorious fact as those on which we have now to comment, cannot be suffered to pass unproved. Really, when a leading journalist sits down to criticise a public meeting, the least he can do is to read the speeches.

What will the public say, for example, to the following piece of free-and-easy criticism on Mr. Cobden's speech of Thursday week?—

"Mr. Cobden talked in a strain of puerile exaggeration about the redundancy of cheap bread which would result from a repeal of the Corn Laws, just as if the experience of this very year had not proved what all previous information had suggested—viz., that there is neither in Europe nor in America that abundant supply of food which can, in the most propitious times, overstock the markets of any one country. The great objection to the existing Corn Law is, that it prevents that equable distribution of food which the aggregate average of the corn harvests throughout the world is calculated to promote. A notion that its repeal would inundate us with a vast influx of foreign wheat is contrary

both to all experience of foreign harvests, and, in a greater degree, to common sense. . . . The Corn Law contravenes the operation of a natural law, and embarrasses the mechanism of commerce. If it were repealed to-morrow, bread would not on an average be 2d. a loaf cheaper, nor the value of any tolerably good land be diminished even at first as much as ten per cent. in value. Mr. Cobden SHOULD BE CAUTIOUS OF MAKING THESE GROSSLY-COLOURED MISREPRESENTATIONS."

This takes away one's breath. One would think the *Times* was talking in its sleep. To charge Mr. Cobden with "talking in a strain of puerile exaggeration about the redundancy of cheap bread which would result from a repeal of the Corn Laws," is something more than a "grossly-coloured misrepresentation"—it is a bare, naked fiction, without any colouring at all. Mr. Cobden not only did not say one syllable at the Birmingham meeting tending, by the remotest construction, to sanction the expectation of a redundancy of cheap bread resulting from a repeal of the Corn Law—he never talked in this strain. Why, it was only at the last Covent Garden League meeting, held on the 18th of June, that Mr. Cobden talked, most explicitly and at considerable length, in the very opposite strain—quoted, with the strongest expressions of concurrence and approval, an admirable article from the *Times*, to the effect that "rivers of corn are as pure and impossible a fiction as rivers of gold," and that "there is not too much corn on earth, nor will there ever be till the saddest and awfulest words that ever were spoken are finally unsaid"—amplified on the *Times*' text—illustrated and confirmed it in the most striking manner, from the experience of former years, when our merchants were ransacking the granaries of the world for corn, "bribing the nations of the earth with the high price of 67s. a quarter," and could only bring in eight millions of quarters during a period of three years—and wound up his demonstration of the *Times*' own truth with asking, "If therefore you were not inundated with corn in those dear seasons, where is the corn to come from that is to inundate you now?" And now we have the *Times* begging Mr. Cobden to "be cautious of making these grossly-coloured misrepresentations!!!"

We need scarcely remark on the exquisite absurdity of the *Times* affecting to argue, as against Mr. Cobden, that, under the Free Trade régime, "the value of any tolerably good land would not be diminished, even at first, as much as 10 per cent. in value." The *Times* might as well plead the cause of monarchical institutions and standing armies, as against the Duke of Wellington—or remonstrate with Sir Robert Peel on the danger of advocating an inconvertible small-note currency—or lecture Colonel Sibthorpe on the mischiefs of railway speculation. Mr. Cobden, as all the world knows, has invariably contended that land would not suffer in value at all by the repeal of the Corn Law; and, so far from confining this to "tolerably good land," he has always maintained—and the best agriculturists and Free Traders, as Earl Ducie, for example, maintain with him—that poor land would be benefited more than any other by Free Trade in grain of all kinds. We suppose we shall next see the *Times* expostulating with Mr. Bright on the evils of game preserving and battues.

A little further on—after sagely rebuking the "monideal" doctrines of the Leaguers on the subject of naval establishments—the *Times* has the incredible carelessness to add:

"One other instance of this one-thoughted style of dealing with important matters: Mr. Cobden says 'Open the ports, and there will be no necessity for voting pecuniary relief to Ireland.'"

This is monstrous. Mr. Cobden did not say this—did not say anything resembling this, or that could be mistaken for this—he said, most distinctly, the direct contrary of this. Mr. Cobden's words (as given by the *Morning Chronicle*) were:

"I have no objection, after everything else which should first be resorted to has been done—after the ports have been thrown open, without let or hindrance, if charity is to be administered to the Irish people, that it should rather be bestowed in the shape of payment of wages than as eleemosynary grants. I read in the papers of to day the speech of the King of Belgium to the Chambers in that country, in which he congratulated them that they have opened the ports for the admission of foreign corn, and that being done, they are enabled, by a vote of public money, to execute certain public works, to make up for the deficiency in employment, and thereby supply the people with food. In Belgium, you see, they do not expect to feed their people with mere pickaxes and shovels. They first let in the needed supply

of foreign corn, and then, by supplying funds for the execution of public works, provide the people with the means of feeding themselves without resorting to charity."

So that "the proposition, not to vote an indiscriminate sum of money to the Irish, but to vote a sum of money for the express purpose of giving them employment in some national works"—which, according to the *Times*, "the gentry of the League think entirely beneath their notice"—is a proposition which, as a subsidiary arrangement, the gentry of the League do most expressly notice, and notice favourably.

The admonitions, exhortations, and oburgations with which the *Times* favours us on the subject of our general goings-on, past, present, and future, are about as valuable as its representations of Mr. Cobden's Birmingham speech are authentic. The recommendation to the League, "to disclaim all party connections and obligations," would be extremely judicious, were the League Whig, Tory, or Radical;—as it happens to be neither, the *Times* might as well recommend the League to have nothing to do with the London and York Railway. The *Times*' objection to the "eminently sectarian" character of the League would have great force, and be quite *apropos*, were the League a high-church or low-church, a Calvinistic or Arminian, confederation;—as it happens to be none of these, one can only wonder what on earth the *Times* means. The well-meant advice to the League, to "carry out its professed intention of embodying the opinions and expressing the wishes of the most intelligent and the most moderate among the commercial classes," would have a good deal of point if the League ever had professed any such intention;—as it has always been the professed intention of the League, not to embody the opinions, or express the wishes, of the commercial class in particular, but to expand the principles, and realise the practice, of a policy perfectly just to ALL classes, the *Times* misses the mark again. The intelligent and moderate labourers of the country are as much our clients, as the most intelligent and most moderate among the capitalists; and the class whose rights and interests we have most at heart, is the very large and important class of bread-eaters. One would think our contemporary had been living in the moon these seven years past. Everything that the League is, and does, and says, and means, he interprets by the rule of contrary.

The *Times*' view of the present position of the League, and the Free Trade cause—"Free Trade opinions are gaining strength, the League is losing it"—is one which we feel no sort of anxiety to controvert. Our readers are perfectly well able to pronounce, without any prompting from us, on each branch of this statement. We can only say, that if the principles of the League are in the ascendant, it is of the least possible consequence how the world goes with the League itself. The process which the *Times* here describes is exactly that whose completion will be the consummation and crown of our labours. The extinction of the League in the triumph of its principles—the reabsorption of the special and separate organisation of the Free Trade party, into the general mass of a Free Trade people—is the goal of all our hopes, efforts, and aspirations. The day is now not distant when the "death" of the League, so impatiently anticipated, and so often prematurely announced, will be a "great fact"—a fact immeasurably greater than the League itself—and when friend and foe alike will write its epitaph: "Free Trade opinions are victorious in the statute book—the League is extinct."

WHAT IS OUR PRESENT CONDITION?

We are not surprised that some of the journals which are supposed to reflect the feelings of the Premier should object to any exhibition of the great responsibility which devolves upon him at this crisis. In all times of difficulty, Ministers are accountable to the nation for the measures of policy which they adopt to meet the exigency of circumstances; if they have neglected to man the navy when maritime war is threatened—if they have not called out the army when invasion is menaced—

the rulers must answer for their improvidence and their negligence to Parliament and the nation. We are menaced by an enemy more formidable than the Armada of Spain or the hosts of Napoleon; one described by the Commissioners of the Government as an enemy whose history and habits are yet but imperfectly known; and inasmuch as "the pestilence that walketh in darkness" is infinitely more to be dreaded than "the arrow that flieth by noon-day," we look with anxiety for the precautions which our rulers have adopted to check the ravages of this insidious foe, and find that their final resolution is to do nothing, but to let devastation pursue its course. The last report issued by the Government Commissioners in Ireland is far the most alarming that has yet appeared. While it tacitly confirms the accounts of the failure of the present year, it intimates the probable chances of a worse and more disastrous crop in the ensuing year; and while it suggests remedies, throws out very strong doubts that any remedies would prove effectual should the season prove adverse.

A very short period has elapsed since the evening organ of the ministry, the *Standard*, sounded the note of alarm in its most menacing tone, and congratulated the country on possessing a minister adequate to the perilous crisis, which it declared to be imminent. Sir Robert Peel was ready, we were told, not only to open the ports in case of necessity, but to grant bounties on the importation of corn rather than suffer any of the Queen's subjects to be exposed to the horrors of starvation. But within the last few days a change has come over the spirit of the ministerial press. The *Herald* proclaims in the morning, and the *Standard* reiterates in the evening that the failure of the potatoes in Ireland has been exaggerated, and that there are no apprehensions for scarcity of food in England. They quote the low price of potatoes as a proof of abundance, though they know that it results from the dread of their perishing, which induces the farmers to force sales at every hazard. They refer to the low corn averages, though they know that this arises from the disproportionate amount of bad grain that is thrown upon the market. They justify the inactivity of the Cabinet by declaring that "there is no risk of want," and as this is the only justification that can be pleaded for the neglect of precautions, by its results the Cabinet must abide. The minister through his semi-official organs has declared that, having gauged the appetites of the people and measured the supply of food, he has assured himself that there is no deficiency, and has shaped his policy by his calculations. This is a responsibility which he has sought, and which he cannot evade. Should a deficiency appear, he stands inexcusable before the nation. Lord Cloncurry's letter, which we insert at full length, states our grounds for asserting that there is not enough of food to supply the people, and it is therefore a document which must stand as a historical record for future reference.

"Mansion House, Dawson-street, 7th Nov., 1845.

"SIR,—As chairman of a committee, consisting of highly respectable gentlemen of all classes of political and religious opinions, appointed at a recent public meeting of the citizens of Dublin, the right hon. the Lord Mayor in the chair, it devolves upon me as a public duty to address you as responsible adviser of our most gracious sovereign, and which I do with unfeigned respect, and in the most anxious manner to call for your fullest and most immediate consideration to the present afflicting and most dangerous state of the people of Ireland. We can assure you that our information is both accurate and extensive—that it reaches over all parts of Ireland, and is derived from sources altogether unaffected by any political party motive whatsoever. Be assured, sir, we tell you but the simple truth when we inform you that the danger of famine is immediate and pressing, and if not averted by the activity of man, and the blessing of a merciful Providence, must result in a pestilence of the most frightful nature.

"We do solemnly assure you of our perfect knowledge that the destruction of the potato crop is extremely extensive, with some slight mitigation in particular localities; but, as a general calamity, is extending to all the provinces and counties of Ireland. Nor does the evil rest here—for day after day the disease is extending. Quantities of potatoes apparently in the most healthy state one day, are found on the ensuing, partially, if not entirely unfit for human or even animal food; the disease is in its nature expansive, and is to our knowledge daily and hourly expanding; nor is there any rational evidence to show that this wide-spreading rottenness will find any other limit than in the destruction of the entire potato crop. We do not intend you any disrespect, quite the contrary; but we do wish to impress upon your mind the awful responsibility which, as her Majesty's principal adviser, you incur if your Government hesitates to adopt the most speedy and extensive possible modes of alleviating the impending calamity. Whilst you

hesitate, if hesitate you shall, the people of Ireland are about to perish in countless numbers. May we respectfully refer you to Lord Devon's report of last session, where you will find, or indeed whence we take for granted you are already informed, that the Irish agricultural labourers and their families are calculated to amount to more than 4,000,000 of human beings, whose only food is the potato—whose only drink is water—whose houses are pervious to the rain—to whom a bed or blanket is a luxury almost unknown, and who are more wretched than any other people in Europe. We respectfully call your attention to the fact that the foregoing description of the state of the Irish peasantry was published long before there was or could be the least suspicion of the most afflicting visitation of Providence in the destruction of the present crop. If then such was the condition of a large portion of the Irish people even in favourable harvests, you will in your humanity easily judge what must be the horrors of their situation if the approaching famine be allowed to envelope the entire population.

"We implore of you, sir, not to allow yourself to be persuaded that we exaggerate the horrors of a certainty of the approaching famine; we have no motive under heaven for misleading or misinforming you, and even if we had, you may believe we are utterly incapable of acting on such a motive; our only object is to impress on your mind what we know to be the fact, that famine and pestilence are at our door, and can be averted only by the most extensive and active precautions. The season for receiving supplies of foreign food is rapidly terminating; the southern ports of Europe, as also the ports of the British American colonies, as well as of the Northern American States, will soon be closed, until it will be too late to receive supplies from these countries. Other foreign countries afflicted by a similar calamity have already been before us in the market, and are daily enhancing the price of those supplies, which our government might otherwise calculate on. The lives of the people of Ireland are in the hands of your government. If you determine not to take immediate precautions, we are unable to contemplate the extent of the horrible consequences resulting from the destruction of the people's food, and from the neglect of the protection of Government. We are incapable of using any language that could be construed into dictation; but we respectfully declare it to be our conviction that it is the imperative duty of the Government to adopt some or all of the following measures, together with such others as the Government may deem advisable to meet the impending evil:—

"1st—The opening of the ports of Ireland for all kinds of human food duty free.

"2nd—The closing of the ports of Ireland against the exportation of oats, either ground or whole.

"3rd—That the consumption of oats by cavalry regiments in Ireland be diminished as much as it possibly can with safety to the public service.

"4th—That the distillation from grain be suspended in Ireland, due precaution being taken to prevent illicit distillation.

"5th—That there be immediately raised money, by way of loan, to the extent of one million and a half at the least, and chargeable upon Irish resources—such as the department of Woods and Forests, &c., and that the amount of such loan be applied in the first instance to the increasing the quantity and decreasing the price of food in Ireland.

"6th—That we earnestly recommend the forming of granaries in each of the Poor Law Unions and other localities throughout Ireland, so as to bring food within the reach of all its inhabitants.

"7th—That we also earnestly recommend the setting the people to work without any delay, by urging on and assisting the construction of railways, and also in the works of drainage, as recommended by Government Commissioners, and other works of general or local utility.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,
"CLONCURRY."

The daily reports of the Committee sitting at the Mansion House in Dublin, have become more and more gloomy since the date of this letter. On Tuesday last, it is stated that 72 letters were received, the tenor of which was still more discouraging than those of the preceding day. The information was mostly from clergymen of every denomination, those of the Establishment being the greater number. They state that more than one-third of the crop was lost or damaged, and that energetic measures should be speedily adopted to afford relief.

A Catholic clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Comyns, of Kilkee, county of Clare, attended the committee. He stated that having heard that a commission was appointed by the Government to take means to alleviate the present distress, he came up to town to represent the state of his parish. He said that in one case which came under his observation, five or six stone of potatoes were boiled for the food of a large family, and that there was not as much of them sound as would feed a single person. This gentleman also said that the people were becoming sick from the use of the bad potatoes, and that if prompt measures were not used, disease would certainly spread.

The ravages of "the imperfectly known enemy" are not confined to Ireland; deplorable accounts of destruction are received from the southern counties; potatoes which appeared quite sound when stored have suddenly exhibited signs of the mysterious taint, and those who not more than three weeks ago declared that the evil had been exaggerated, are now foremost in asserting that it has been grievously underrated. Here, then, is an exigency as novel and at least as alarming as a war or an invasion;

and here, consequently, are circumstances which throw a vast amount of responsibility on our rulers.

But this responsibility is fearfully increased by the undeniable fact, that this "enemy whose history and habits are yet but imperfectly known," has derived its force and strength from the policy of the Premier himself; it is his system of Corn Laws that has furnished the potato pestilence with "hands to war and fingers to fight." Providence supplied granaries for our growing population in fertile and thinly-inhabited lands, where the cultivators were not only willing but eager to exchange their corn for our manufactured goods; the vast prairies watered by the Ohio and Mississippi would have teemed with food for the manufacturing operatives of England, had not the Peel ministry refused its admission into our markets. He denied the people provision from abroad, and thus voluntarily took the responsibility of supplying them from at home. The supply has failed in quantity, and still more lamentably in quality; there is a terrible and growing disproportion between the averages of corn and the price of bread; an inferior grain is forced on the people at an extravagantly high price, and this aggravation of the evils of his cruel system the minister takes the responsibility of leaving uncorrected.

The opening of the ports is now sought by all the most influential of the commercial communities throughout the empire. Every day's delay will render the concession less valuable; ice will soon fetter rivers, and the storms of winter sweep the seas; the Continental nations who have anticipated us in removing restrictions on the import of food, will soon collect the available surplus from foreign markets, and even compete with us at the doors of our own bonded warehouses. So notorious are these facts, that during the last three weeks there was a strong and general belief that ministers had resolved to suspend their restrictive laws and open the ports to food, rather than incur the responsibility of remaining inactive during three months of winter, with warnings of danger before them and around them, growing louder and deeper every moment. If during those three months any of our countrymen perish from famine, those who have excluded food from the country are morally and constitutionally responsible for their death. It may be that no coroner's jury will pronounce the sliding-scale or its author "guilty of murder," but what will and must be the verdict of the universal people?

It is perfectly monstrous to suppose that Ministers cannot be made responsible for the exercise of the power delegated to them in trust during the intervals between the sessions of Parliament. If they shrink from such responsibility, their only remedy is to call Parliament together in the shortest time possible. But it would of course be absurd to assemble the Legislature for the purpose of helping the Cabinet to do nothing. The Ministers have taken upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining prohibitory duties in the face of famine. Against this insane and criminal resolution there must be a prompt and firm protest through the length and breadth of the land. If, as is said, the Minister waits for the country, the country must not wait for the Minister, because events will wait for neither of them. The functions of the Legislature are suspended, and those of Administration virtually abandoned; the nation must look to itself; the somnolency of one, the obstinacy of another, and the flexibility of a third, may be pleaded to amuse the clubs, but they neither can nor will serve as excuses to the people. Let memorials and protests from public meetings be presented against the fatal ascendency which rules the councils of the realm. Scarcity is proclaimed; famine is acknowledged; and yet food is excluded. The opening of the ports is felt by the whole nation, with scarcely the exception of any but the most rabid monopolists, to be inevitable before another harvest can be reaped. Every one knows that our supply of food is insufficient, and that one great element of that supply is doomed to premature destruction. Delay is scarcely less dangerous than continued prohibition. We think that Ministers deserve impeach-

ment for having allowed the last packet to sail for America without intelligence that our ports had been opened to the corn of the United States. If Sir Robert Peel shrinks from all allusion to responsibility as an outrage, he ought to have taken measures to diminish the amount of his accountability. The Corn Laws are his: he framed them, he maintains them, and he must answer for their results. But it will not do to wait until their operations have led to the dire consummation which the coming events that cast their dark shadows before seem to portend. Life and death are involved in such an experiment; the symptoms of the patient prognosticate too much of danger to wait the leisure of the physician. Let us, then, promptly and earnestly invoke the powers of the constitution to interpose between England and scarcity—between Ireland and famine; let us nerve ourselves to endurance, for some pressure of suffering is, we fear, inevitable; let us learn humanity from the Russian and Christianity from the Turk; and, while yet there is time, secure all possible means of sustenance for an industrious and famine-menaced people.

FREE TRADE IN AMERICA.

We are glad to see that the advocates of Free Trade in the United States are alive to the struggle which they will have to sustain in the ensuing session of Congress. A letter having been addressed to Mr. McDuffie, the South Carolina senator, by one of his constituents, asking for his opinion upon the present state of their prospects, has drawn from that distinguished champion of our principles an able exposition of his views. We are glad also to perceive that he entertains full confidence in the determination of President Polk's Administration to carry out the principles upon which he was elected in opposition to Mr. Clay.

"A brief exposition," he says, "of the true principles of a revenue tariff, and a reference to Mr. Polk's inaugural address, will be sufficient, I think, to banish your apprehensions. It is obvious to remark, that a revenue tariff is the lowest rate of duty upon every foreign import that will raise the required amount of revenue. The smallest addition to that rate upon any one article with a view to increase the price of its domestic rival, is 'plainly and intentionally' a protective, as contradistinguished from a revenue duty. But if the additional duty not only enhances the price of both the foreign and domestic article, but diminishes the revenue, it would be the most barefaced mockery—the most impudent and hypocritical disguise, by which a mercenary and merciless oppression ever attempted to conceal its deformity, to call this a revenue duty."

He boldly meets the cry for "incidental" protection by showing that it is an evil only to be borne when it cannot be avoided; and he points to the desirableness of a better system of taxation:

"If protection to particular classes at the expense of all others results from a revenue duty—as it does from all revenue duties—it is an unavoidable incident not to be desired but regretted. It is impossible to separate the protection given to the sugar planter, for example, by even a revenue duty of 20 per cent., from the twofold burthen imposed upon everybody else, not only by raising to the consumers the price of imported sugar which yields a revenue equal to the burthen, but the price of domestic sugar, which imposes an equal burthen, and yields no revenue. It is this last result, which unjustly transfers the money of the many to the pockets of the few, which constitutes the incidental protection of a revenue duty—a result which, so far from being desirable to the people at large, can only be regarded as a public evil unavoidably resulting from an unequal system of taxation."

He then deals with the class interests, the manufacturers, iron masters, &c., who, like our landed proprietors, make use of their power in the Legislature to tax their fellow citizens; and he goes to the root of the evil:

"Is it not apparent, therefore, that to permit those interests to control Congress, in the matter of taxation, would be to put the power of taxation, the most important of all political powers, in the hands of those who have a deep pecuniary interest in increasing the taxes? If the manufacturing nations of Europe would agree to supply the federal revenue by a perpetual tribute, would these monopolists consent to a total repeal of the duties on imports, and free the country from taxation? They certainly would not. They solemnly declare that these duties, which are surely taxes to the country, are essential to their prosperity; that to reduce them from 50 to 20 per cent. would be injurious to them; but to repeal them altogether would be absolutely ruinous. Here, then, is a confession of what is apparent without it, that those who receive the taxes, impudently claim the prerogative of prescribing to the Government what burthens shall be imposed on those who pay them! If we submit to these things, can we claim to live under a responsible, representative republic?"

To meet the old fallacy, common to both sides of the Atlantic, that by taxing foreign articles you protect the home produce, he points to the fact that

the *home producer* has to pay his taxes before he can buy the foreign article :

"Now when we recollect that all foreign imports are as truly the productions of domestic industry, as their home made rivals—and that the industry which *acquires* the foreign article is as much entitled to be exempted from taxation as that which *makes* the domestic article; it will be seen that the very lowest rate of revenue duties upon sugar and iron, and upon all manufactures of iron, cotton, and wool, is an unjust discrimination in favour of one branch of domestic industry and against another. The true point of equality and justice, as I have always maintained, would be to impose the same rate of duty on the home made that we impose on the imported manufacture. The exemption, therefore, of our home made manufactures, from the duties imposed on those we import, is a most liberal concession, gratuitously made by the people to the manufacturers; and that they are not satisfied with this discrimination is a proof how feeble is the sense of gratitude and justice among masses of men, when their interests are in question."

The monopolists in America, who must have studied in the same school as the Duke of Richmond, ("we don't grow glass, but we do grow timber"), have put enormous protecting duties upon cotton manufactures, iron, and sugar, which are produced at home, whilst they have exempted from duties tea and coffee, which are not grown in America:

"But our system is as burthensome as it is unequal. It may be safely stated that it imposes a pecuniary burthen on the people three times as great as the amount of revenue it yields to the treasury. The duty on imported cotton manufactures, for example, may be assumed to average 40 per cent., and the amount imported set down at ten millions. This will yield a revenue of four millions. But the cotton manufactures annually produced in the United States and equally enhanced in price with the foreign, by the duty imposed on the latter, amount to thirty millions of dollars. Forty per cent. on this gives us twelve millions as the additional burthen imposed on the people, by the duty on cotton manufactures; so that the people are subjected to a burthen of sixteen millions to obtain a revenue of four, paying to the cotton manufacturers, who are now realising from 20 to 40 per cent. on their capital, three dollars for every one they pay to the Government!—Now let us compare this duty on cotton manufactures, with a like duty on tea and coffee, which the manufacturers artfully prevailed upon Congress to exempt from duty altogether by the act of 1832. Let us assume that we annually import tea and coffee to the amount of ten millions of dollars under a duty of 40 per cent. This will yield a revenue precisely equal to that derived from the duty on cotton manufactures, and will impose only one fourth of the burthen on the people. The money collected at the custom-house would be the full measure of the popular burthen. And yet it is one of the schemes of the manufacturers to let tea and coffee remain free of duty, in order to create a necessity for increasing the duties on sugar, iron, and the various manufactures embraced in the protective system. Of all foreign imports, tea and coffee are among the most proper subjects of a revenue duty, inasmuch as they yield the largest amount of revenue with the least burthen to the people, and that burthen is equally distributed among the consumers. But the manufacturers, who carry their manufactures to China to exchange them for tea, and to Brazil and Cuba to exchange them for coffee, understand perfectly well the benefit of Free Trade, if it be only confined to themselves."

Not content with high duties, the monopolists have contrived a scheme of arbitrary valuations at the Custom-house which often double the real duty upon low goods :

"In any scheme which the administration may present for adjusting the tariff, I feel confident that the leading feature will be the total abolition of minimum and specific duties. These are fraudulent contrivances that serve no other purposes but to deceive the people and disguise oppression. Let us have *ad valorem* duties that everybody can understand. Let the people see the full extent of their burdens, and if they must be oppressed let it be 'so nominated in the bond.' As these duties now stand, low priced articles consumed by the poor pay the highest rates of duty, while those of the highest price, consumed by the wealthy, pay the lowest rate. This is a fatal objection to all specific duties. A yard of calico, for example, which costs six cents in Manchester, pays nine cents duty, which is 150 per cent. on its cost; while a yard of the finest coloured muslin, which costs 30 cents., pays only nine cents., equal to 30 per cent. on its cost. These revolting deformities must be removed, and I feel assured that Mr. Polk will cordially co-operate in the patriotic labour."

Mr. McDuffie evidently understands his case, and is armed at all points against his insidious opponents. We trust he is sufficiently recovered in health to take his seat in the senate at its approaching opening. We leave the cause of Free Trade safely in his hands, heartily agreeing with him in the concluding reflections in his letter :

"It is apparent that the days of monopoly and commercial restriction are numbered in all the civilised nations of the earth. Even in Great Britain—so long held up to us by our monopolists as an example for imitation—all parties now concur in the principles of Free Trade, and differ only as to the time and manner of reforming ancient restrictions and abuses. And permit me to say, that the day that shall witness the downfall of commercial restrictions and the establishment of Free Trade among the nations of the earth, will be the greatest and most glorious era that ever marked the progress of improvement in the temporal affairs of man. It should be the ambition of our statesmen to take the lead in this great reform, which is destined, as I firmly believe, to contribute more to the liberty, prosperity, and peace of the nations than any event since the advent of our Saviour. In this view of the subject few men ever occupied a more responsible position than Mr. Polk, and I have every reason

to believe he fully realises that responsibility, and will so far elevate his views above the miserable schemes of mercenary monopolists and factionists contending for office, as to be equal to the occasion, and fulfil the expectations of his country.—Yours, &c.,
GEO. McDUFFIE."

THE SUPPLY OF FOOD.

We copy from the *Times* a remarkable article on the supply of food in the principal countries with which we have commercial intercourse, and on the amount of assistance likely to be obtained from abroad, to meet the deficiency of production at home. Our cotemporary justly remarks, that "the annual supply of food in the world is determined by the laws of Providence, of nature, and of trade." Every restriction on trade is therefore a discouragement to the production of supplies, since men will not produce when they have no reasonable prospects of a market. Our Corn Laws compel our neighbours to stint production to little more than is sufficient for their annual supply, taken at its average; and hence the impolicy of one nation aggravates the distress of all in a season of general scarcity. The higher the standard of food is raised in any country, the greater will be its security from scarcity, because there will be a supply of inferior grain on which the people can fall back in seasons of scarcity. If Englishmen had been accustomed to use generally the finest kinds of wheat, the inferior grain would be used chiefly as subservient to the growth of the superior, and would therefore be an available resource at a crisis. But the effect of the Corn Laws is to stimulate the production of the inferior grains and of potatoes, beyond which there lies nothing but sheer destitution. While the corn trade was free in Holland, the storehouses of Amsterdam contained abundance of corn, from which other nations supplied themselves in seasons of dearth; and the Dutch themselves, for more than a century, never felt the pressure of scarcity, much less of famine. Europe does not appear to have profited much by this signal example of the blessings of Free Trade. The effects of exclusive policy, adopted in imitation of England, are shown in the following portraiture of its condition by our cotemporary :

"The principal countries of the west and south of Europe are at no time exporters of wheat. In France the export and import of corn is about equally balanced in ordinary years; but wheat is not the customary food of the French people, and the demand for it and for the lower kinds of grain must be increased beyond the average, if not beyond the supply, by the failure of the potato crop this year. The harvest in France is probably not much below the average, but it is insufficient to compensate for the destruction of other food. In Spain and in Italy the harvest has been indifferent, and very little, if any, corn can be exported from either country. The progress of population in the Spanish peninsula for the last century has been far more rapid than the extension of tillage or the improvement of agriculture. The consequence is that Spain has comparatively little agricultural produce to export; and her own colonies of Cuba and Porto Rico now draw their supplies of food from the United States. Throughout the Austrian dominions, with the exception of Hungary, great privations will inevitably be felt. The large stock of corn usually warehoused at Trieste for the purposes of foreign trade has never been known to be so much reduced as at the present moment. From Fiume we have received no recent accounts, but that place is the sole port of Hungary to the west; much of the corn grown upon the plains of the Danube is brought thither up the Save; and it is not unlikely that a supply might be obtained from thence by foreign vessels, if measures have not already been taken by the Austrian Government to appropriate it to the uses of the empire. But although the harvest of Hungary is abundant, the surplus of that country will certainly not suffice to satisfy the wants of all its neighbours. In the lower provinces of the Danube and in Moldavia the scarcity is already great, especially in those districts which are within reach of water communication; higher up the country the crops are reported to have been better, but the means of transport are wanting. The provinces of Russia and Poland, which are usually the most fertile wheat lands of Europe, are this year dependent on foreign importation; and as a necessary consequence, the Prussian ports of the Baltic, which commonly export the produce of the interior of Poland, of Western Russia, and in part of Silesia, will be unable to furnish any considerable amount of corn to the foreign market. Sweden and Norway do not once in five years grow their whole consumption; but it is a curious circumstance, that in the midst of this sweeping calamity, which has impoverished empires, and threatens to spread famine over so many parts of Europe, the little kingdom of Denmark has been blessed with a harvest of singular abundance, and may export a quantity of corn, large in proportion to its territory, though very small as a measure of relief to the necessities of other countries."

Our cotemporary does not mention the chances of supply from Odessa, Alexandria, and the ports of the Levant; but we have been informed that very limited assistance can be expected from these quarters. The distress in Turkey is already great, and is increasing, and the Pacha of Egypt has prohibited

the export of provisions from his dominions. We therefore turn with some interest and anxiety to the United States:

"There at least it is admitted that the harvest has been excellent, and the crop of Indian corn especially abundant. The potato disease has, we fear, shown itself in New England and some of the northern states, as well as in some of the British North American colonies; but the consequences of this disaster are less formidable in America than in Europe. Let us, then, inquire what are, in a good year, the resources of the United States for the supply of food? The answer to such an inquiry is a matter of great interest, not only as it affects our present necessities, but with reference to the whole question of the corn duties; and we have no hesitation in replying, upon the authority of tables and statements of great minuteness and accuracy, which are now before us, that the agricultural produce of the United States available for the purposes of food in foreign markets has been greatly exaggerated by the hopes and fears of contending parties in this country. It is demonstrable that in the United States, as well as in most other countries, the consumers of agricultural produce increase more rapidly in numbers than the producers; and that the progress of the production of wheat has not been more rapid than that of the population. In 1790 the population of the Union was 3,929,328, the estimated produce of an average crop of the wheat lands was 17 millions of bushels of 60lb., and the quantity of wheat exported was 4,750,000 bushels, or 28 per cent. of the whole wheat crop. In 1840 (a year in which the export was unusually large) the population of the Union had risen to 17,068,666; the estimated produce of the wheat crop was 80,000,000 bushels; the export was 11,300,000 bushels, or 14 per cent. of the whole wheat crop. The states of New England, Maryland, and Virginia no longer produce wheat enough for their own consumption; and we are told by an able writer in the *Philadelphia Commercial List* for 1842, that—

"If we make a natural line of the Mississippi to the confluence of the Ohio, and up this river to Pittsburg, and thence draw an imaginary line north to Lake Erie, and continue it round the northern and eastern frontiers of the United States, it will be found that at this time the wheat raised in all this section of the United States is about equal to what is consumed in it, and that the whole surplus shipped from the United States to foreign countries, including Canada, is, in fact, produced in the States and territories north and west of the Ohio river."

"By calculations based upon the official returns made by the Marshals in the United States in 1840, and taking into consideration the constant progress of the population, it appears that the utmost amount of wheat and wheaten flour which may by possibility be exported from the United States from the present time to 1850, with average harvests, will not exceed 12 millions of bushels per annum.* The whole wheat produce of the country is considerably below 100 millions of bushels. The greatest quantity ever exported was in 1840, when it reached 1,720,860 bushels of wheat, and 1,897,501 barrels of flour; but in 1837, when the preceding harvest had been below the average, no less than 3,921,259 bushels were imported into the Union from foreign countries."

"If this be the whole available produce of the United States, it is evident that the proportion of it which will reach the English market is still more limited. The largest quantity ever exported to England direct was 615,972 bushels of wheat and 620,919 barrels of flour in the year 1840; but the effect of the Corn Laws has of course been to render this trade excessively variable; though for the last five years another branch of the same trade, by the export to the British North American colonies, has been regular and considerable. But it must be borne in mind, that under any circumstances almost all the West Indian islands draw a large portion of their supply of wheat, as well as of Indian corn, from the United States. Our own islands take about 250,000 barrels of wheaten flour per annum; the Danish, 50,000; Hayti, 40,000; and Brazil more than 200,000 barrels; and this is independent of a consumption of about 364,000 barrels of Indian corn meal in the West Indies alone. In short, wherever the population, whether of slaves or free men, is engaged in raising those agricultural products, such as cotton, tobacco, sugar, and coffee, which are not primary articles of food to themselves, they must of course draw their sustenance from other countries, more suited to the growth of bread stuffs; and the north-western territories of the United States are in every way adapted to supply the Southern States as well as the West Indian and South American markets with these commodities."

"It is certain that the production of any surplus wheat for the foreign market is confined to that portion of the United States which lies beyond the Ohio and is most remote from the maritime cities of the coast. The growth of the population in the manufacturing and non-corn-growing districts is sufficiently rapid to consume all the additional corn-produce of the country, supposing 130,000 acres of new land per annum to be put under wheat culture alone, and three times that quantity under other crops and pasturage. The extension of agriculture barely keeps pace with the population; and the whole supply of wheat is hardly more than one month's consumption ahead of the demand in the Union. Nor is there any prospect that this state of things will alter. It is true that we have here confined our observations to the American wheat crops, and that in computing the supply of food in the United States the enormous production of Indian corn is the most important element, and constitutes the bulk of the food of the people. But to the people of England in ordinary years the supply of wheat is the principal question. Indian corn is little known in this country; and it never will be known, except under a very extraordinary degree of pressure, as long as it is subjected to the same duties which are levied on foreign barley, and is therefore, for all practical purposes, a prohibited article."

When the supplies in Europe are so short, and the available surplus in America so limited, every hour's delay in opening the ports is fraught with peril. Whilst ministers consult and hesitate, the sources from which alone relief can be derived must be drained away, scarcity will be followed by

* Or 1,500,000 quarters. It may be convenient to remind the reader that the American barrel of flour contains 196lbs., and is taken by Act of Parliament to be equal to 3½ gallons of wheat.

dearness, and, as in the bargain of the Sibylline books, we shall have to purchase small quantities at the price for which we could now procure comparative abundance.

SIGNS OF NATIONAL OPINION.—THE PROVINCIAL PRESS.

Those "evidences of public opinion" on the great question now before the country, of which we gave our readers, last week, so gratifying and decisive a summary, in page after page of extracts from the provincial newspapers, continue multiplying on us daily. Extended quotation is now impracticable, on account of their voluminousness, and needless, because of their unanimity. Never was the public mind more thoroughly made up on any subject—never was it more energetically and emphatically declared through the press. Everywhere we find a profound and lively anxiety as to the prospects of the country for the next year; everywhere the opening of the ports to the free importation of food is proclaimed to be the one thing needful; and everywhere is the national voice clear, full, and strong on the subject of ministerial responsibility. The press is doing its duty.

We subjoin a list, as complete as we can make it from the materials at present in our hands, of upwards of 50 of the principal provincial organs of the public press of the United Kingdom, which have this week again occupied their leading columns with most able and earnest articles on this great national question.

The Brighton Herald
The Tyne Mercury
The Worcester Chronicle
The Bradford Observer
The Liverpool Albion
The Bristol Mercury
The Lancaster Guardian
The Sunderland and Durham County Herald
The Birmingham Pilot
The Bath Journal
The Doncaster Gazette
The Leeds Times
The Dover Chronicle
The Kent Herald
The Suffolk Chronicle
The Cambridge Advertiser
The Coventry Herald
The Liverpool Times
The Banbury Guardian
The Preston Chronicle
The Manchester Guardian
The Preston Guardian
The Newcastle Chronicle
The Sussex Advertiser
The Oxford Chronicle
The Hull Advertiser
The Leeds Mercury

The Blackburn Mercury
The Sheffield Independent
The Birmingham Journal
The Carnarvon Herald
The Macclesfield Chronicle
The Lancaster Guardian
The Carlisle Journal
The Liverpool Mercury
The Chester Chronicle
The Durham Chronicle
The National Reformer
The Scotsman
The Fife Herald
The Dundee Advertiser
The Glasgow Argus
The Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle
The Dumfries Advertiser
The Ayr Advertiser
The Kilmarnock Herald
The Montrose Review
The Kelso Chronicle
The Perthshire Advertiser
The Dumfries Standard
The Londonderry Journal
The Belfast Chronicle
The Dublin Evening Post &c. &c. &c.

NEW ORLEANS, 15TH OCTOBER.—The advices from Great Britain with respect to the harvest are of a very contradictory character; but, as some intimate a fear of a serious deficiency in the harvest there, we have been induced to put together such statistics as we could collect, to show what quantity of wheat and flour this country could supply, if suddenly called upon, and, from the tables given below of our exports hitherto, we fear the general expectation will be greatly disappointed. Under a regular trade, the result, doubtlessly, would be very different. The Brazils, Cuba, and the British West Indies look to and receive from the United States a certain supply; but England, which has the greatest power of consumption, limits that power by a cunningly-devised scheme, which tends to make the primary article of subsistence dear when scarce, and cheap when abundant. The small interest which the United States have in the trade is well illustrated in the tables below; and it further appears, that the average exports of Indian corn and meal to England during the past fourteen years have been only 24,515 dols., or about £5000. If, as some fear, these evils are now to be practically felt, we feel assured that any large demand from England will be unsatisfied by this country; and such limited portion of it as may be met, will have the effect of raising prices here materially, which speculators only will derive any benefit from, as they are the only parties who are willing, for probable large profits, to run the risk of a sliding-scale of duties. As a consequence, the trade generally will be disturbed by the contraction of credits and that want of confidence which an uncertain supply of food invariably produces. We are, therefore, most anxious for further advices from Great Britain, and the course of our trade for the coming season will much depend upon their character.—WYLLIE AND EGANA.

AN AWARD SPORTSMAN.—The worst battues are not those where the slaughter is confined to deer; the shooting of a serf or two, employed to chase the game, is often an inevitable accident. A royal or ducal chase took place, not many years since, not very far from that described in our journal of last week (at Reinhardtbrunn). A prince of the north was the personage in whose honour it was got up; but his highness was so very impatient with his gun, that his shot took effect not on the deer, but on their two-legged drivers. The noble host accordingly gave an eyer to his illustrious visitor, who took care to put no ball in his gun. The great personage was in consequence much mortified at finding that he hit nothing, and the battue was afterwards discontinued during the remainder of his visit.—*Morning Chronicle.*

OPENING OF THE PORTS.

THE OPERATIVE COTTON-SPINNERS.—

The operative cotton-spinners, and others employed in the mills of Lancashire, who are among the most intelligent of the working classes in the United Kingdom, have addressed a memorial to the Premier, praying for the opening of the ports. They have learned by experience that wages fall as the prices of provision rise; and alarmed by the signs of dearness which precede and are premonitory of scarcity, they have appealed to the Government to adopt the only measure by which a recurrence of past calamities may be averted. All other operatives, whether miners, machinists, farmers, masons, tailors, shoemakers, &c., are exposed to the same dangers; scarcity of food will infallibly narrow the field of employment, and lower wages by diminishing the demand for labour. Let, then, the operatives of the kingdom imitate the conduct of the cotton-spinners. The facts so perspicuously stated in their memorial, belong equally to all the working classes; it is a proof of the progress of sound principle that the operatives have discovered the identity of their interests with the abundant supply of food to the community. The document is highly creditable to the intelligence and feeling of the parties from whom it emanated:

"TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART., &c.

"The memorial of the Operative Cotton Spinners, Self-acting Minders, Rovers, and Twiners of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire, in delegate meeting assembled, representing the whole of the operatives engaged in the above-mentioned branches of the cotton trade, being upwards of 10,000 men, humbly sheweth,—That your memorialists view with painful feelings the consequences which threaten to ensue from the general and almost unprecedented failure in the potato crops, and the deficiency in the late harvest in Great Britain and Ireland. That your memorialists have but recently been relieved from a period of great suffering and privation—a period when the price of food was high, wages extremely low, and employment most difficult to be met with; that at that period, your memorialists suffered to a much greater extent than any other class of operatives, and they cannot contemplate a recurrence of similar evils without feelings of extreme fear and alarm. That your memorialists are of opinion that the present scarcity of food, leading, as it must, to a continued rise in prices, will, if not prevented, inevitably bring about calamities as great as those to which they have adverted. Your memorialists, therefore, entreat, that by an Order in Council, the ports of the United Kingdom may be immediately opened for the free admission of all kinds of food. And your memorialists will ever pray."

As another proof of the just views which the working classes take of the present crisis and its cause, we have to notice a meeting of the operatives of Kendal; they, too, have learned that low wages are the consequence of scarcity of food, and they are consequently alarmed at the menacing signs of coming dearth.

KENDAL.—MEETING OF THE WORKING CLASSES.—

On Thursday evening, a meeting of the working classes, convened by placard, was held in the Town Hall, kindly granted for the purpose by the mayor. The hour appointed was eight o'clock, and at that time the Hall was completely filled, and the proceedings seemed to create great interest. On the motion of Mr. William Thornborrow, seconded by Mr. John Rook, Mr. John Gill was called on to take the chair.

Mr. JOHN GILL, on taking the chair, said that the meeting had been got up by a class of men who had not had the advantages of education, and they must not, therefore, expect any lengthened display of speech-making; but he was sure that all would be agreed, that the object they had in view was a very important one. It was on that account that they had thought it necessary to call together the working-men, for the purpose of addressing her Majesty to take into consideration the necessity of opening the ports for the free admission of grain, and the other necessities of life. All agreed that something must be done in the present state of affairs. He had had an opportunity, during the last few weeks, of observing the potato crops belonging to different farmers, and scarcely one out of ten was free from injury. The farmers' produce was also, in other respects, defective. That being the case, a scarcity in that article which had become a necessary, must occasion a rise of price in other articles of food. In consequence of this rise in the price of other articles, trade, he was sorry to say, had begun to decline. It certainly was not so brisk as it had been a few months ago. He had heard, both in Lancaster and Preston, that some of the millowners were beginning to curtail the time of their workmen. This indicated a rise in the price of provisions, and a scarcity of trade. (Applause.) Their worthy mayor had stated that, in consequence of the public works going on, there existed general employment. To a certain extent that would be so, but with regard to those branches of trade which gave work to working-men, such as themselves, they must look for a depression. They were, therefore, called upon to memorialise her Majesty to interfere on the present occasion, and grant them relief by freely opening the ports to admit grain and other articles of food. The chairman concluded by reading the memorial.

Mr. HENRY HOUGHTON proposed the adoption of the memorial, which was seconded by Mr. RICHARD MUSGRAVE, and unanimously carried.

Thanks were then voted to the mayor and the chairman, and the meeting separated.

PUBLIC MEETING AT MANCHESTER.

THURSDAY.—This morning at 11 o'clock a very numerous meeting of the merchants, bankers, manufacturers, tradesmen, and other inhabitants of the borough of Manchester, was held in the large room of the Town-hall, King-street, "for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of memorialising her Majesty's Government in favour of opening the ports for the free admission of grain and all other kinds of provisions, to avert the calamity likely to arise from the scarcity of food, owing to the failure of the potato crop and the defective quality of the wheat harvest." The meeting was convened by the mayor on the requisition of upwards of 800 firms and individuals of station in the town. Mr. W. B. Watkins, mayor, presided; and on the platform we observed Mr. Phillips, M.P., Mr. Brotherton, M.P., Messrs. Aldermen W. Neild, C. J. S. Walker, James Ker-shaw, John Mayson, J. Shuttleworth, P. F. Willert, A. Kay, E. Armitage, and John Burd; also Messrs. G. Wilson, T. Bazley, President of the Chamber of Commerce, Absalom Watkin, J. B. Smith, James M'Laren, Sidney Potter, Benjamin Pearson, W. Bickham, W. Woodcock, Robert Gardner, J. Chadwick, J. Watts, Rev. W. M'Kerrow, W. Gaskell, Joseph Greave, Thomas Woolley, Samuel Lees, J. S. Grafton, Joseph Simpson, T. H. Williams, W. Morris, Thomas Hard-bottle, and others.

The MAYOR said, that independent of the object of the meeting, the respectability of the requisition would have warranted him in calling such a meeting. They were met to memorialise her Majesty's Government, and he hoped the business would be transacted not only with good temper, but with great spirit, and if there were any gentlemen present who differed as to the objects of the meeting, he hoped they would have a fair hearing. He would, without further comment, call on Mr. R. H. Greg to move the first resolution.

Mr. GREG then came forward, and observed, that if he had been asked to sign such a requisition a month ago he would not have consented to do so; but now that so alarming a necessity had presented itself he did not hesitate to ask for the opening of the ports. It was well known that there was a failure of the wheat crop. He had been in Scotland last week, and in some of the most forward districts the wheat crop had not been gathered. He regretted the further calamity which arose from the failure of the potato crop, a description of sustenance which formed a large portion of the food of the people of Ireland, Scotland, and the north of England. When the extent of that disease became known, the cry was raised "Open the ports," and that cry was re-echoed by the press without regard to politics. Four Cabinet Councils had been held, and he did not hesitate to say that nine-tenths of the population expected to see the result of those meetings in the opening of the ports; but, from some cause which he could not explain, no order was issued for the admission of foreign grain. He was decidedly of opinion that the sliding scale was one of the greatest curses that ever afflicted this country. He concluded by moving the following resolution:—"That the deficiency of the harvest and the failure of the potato crop in many parts of the United Kingdom have produced the utmost apprehension among all classes of the community, and are circumstances imperatively requiring the immediate consideration of her Majesty's Government."

Mr. J. HEXWOOD, in seconding the resolution, said that the cultivation of the potato crop was one of the causes of keeping on the Corn Laws. As the price of grain advanced the cultivation of the potato root progressed, and it was a curious fact that a disease in that root should now come to facilitate the repeal of the Corn Laws. In England the disease might not be so great, but in Scotland it was severely felt. In Lanarkshire, meetings had been held, at which statements were made from which it appeared that at least one half of the crop was diseased. In Ireland, the suffering created by the disease was greater than in any other part of the kingdom, owing to the fact that potatoes were the staple food of the people of that country. After a few remarks on the disputed territory of America, he concluded by seconding the resolution, which was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Alderman KAY moved the next resolution. He had no desire to be considered an alarmist, but when he saw the present, and contemplated the future state of this vast district, he could not help urging the people of Manchester to devise means to avert a calamity which must inevitably ensue. If the ports be not opened, or some other measure adopted, famine and great distress, he was sure, would overtake the inhabitants of the manufacturing districts. He then took a review of the difference of the prices of food, and contended that, when food was cheap, manufactures were prosperous. They (the people of Manchester) were met for the purpose of demanding from her Majesty's ministers the opening of the ports, and he hoped every district in the kingdom would make the same demand in terms not to be misunderstood. He was no party man; the time was come when all names in politics should be forgotten, and the ministers told that the people were not to be allowed to starve for the protection of sectional interests. The worthy alderman then read lengthy extracts from a work entitled "Manchester in 1844." We copy a few of the extracts:—"In Manchester, in March, 1842, there were 116 factories and other mills which had ceased working; 681 shops and offices had been closed, and 5492 houses were unoccupied. The value of mill buildings and machinery had lessened fully one-half; and five spinning mills, estimated at 211,000*l.*, only found buyers at the sum of 66,000*l.* The butchers, grocers, and linendrapers declared that their daily sales had decreased 40 per cent. A committee of relief, formed for the distribution of clothing and bedding to the poor, visited, in the course of the year 1840, 10,000 families, containing 45,591 individuals, of whom 2000 could not be relieved for want of funds. The rooms and cellars occupied by these unfortunate beings were entirely destitute of furniture. Bricks and logs of wood were the substitutes for tables and chairs. Heaps of shavings, litters of straw, defiled with all sorts of impurities, served them for beds. Frequently several families occupied different corners of the same chamber, and there was no separation of the sexes, save the distance between the beds of straw. It was found that a certain portion of the town, consisting of No. 1 and part of No. 2 districts, contained 2000 families, numbering 8866 persons, earning on the average 1*s.* 2*d.* only per head per week, being at the rate of 5*s.* 3*d.* only per week for each family. The number of pawn-tickets possessed by these families was 22,417, and, upon the articles thus pawned, the amount of 2780*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* had been advanced." "In Bolton, a town of 50,000 souls, 50 manufacturers employed ordinarily 8124 workmen; in 1842, 30 of these establishments were closed, or did not work more than four days per week, and 5061 hands were thus deprived wholly or in part of the means of subsistence. Of 2110 ironfounders and mechanics, 785 had been thrown out of work, and the remainder, viz., 1325 of

These men, who in 1836 had been urged to make 9 to 12 working days out of each week, were reduced to 4 or 5 days per week. The other trades had suffered the same reduction. In short, if to the decreased wages of the working classes, we add the augmented price of provisions—the loss to these operatives must have been at least 320,560*l.* per annum, or upwards of 1000*l.* per day. Public charity is powerless against such calamities as these." Stockport and other manufacturing towns were in the same condition. He concluded by moving the following resolution:—"That the recollection of the calamities which afflicted this district and the whole country during the period of high prices of food, from 1838 to 1842, renders it impossible to contemplate the recurrence of a similar state of suffering without intense anxiety and alarm."

Mr. Alderman WALKER seconded the resolution, and observed that no time should be lost; they had waited seven years and nothing had been done. Sir Robert Peel had not grappled with any of the great questions which were necessary for the improvement of the condition of the poor; he had conceded the whole question of the Corn Laws, and he was well aware of the injustice of the sliding-scale. It had been said that he would repeal the Corn Laws if he could, but he (Alderman Walker) believed he could repeal them if he would. He had not forgotten the advice which Sir Robert Peel had given to Lord John Russell; he told him if he could not carry his measures he ought to resign. Now, he (Alderman Walker) would suggest to the Minister to apply that advice to himself, and if his colleagues stood in the way of the repeal of the Corn Laws, let him appeal to the country, and see if the constituencies of England would not return to Parliament such members as would support him in his glorious undertaking. He concluded by seconding the resolution.

Mr. Alderman NIELD, in supporting the resolution, said, he respectfully submitted that the sliding-scale would slide away, and never again be heard of in England. It was well known that the protection afforded by that law had done more to prevent the cultivation of the soil than any other circumstance. He concluded by calling on Sir Robert Peel to comply with the prayer of that meeting, in which he would be supported by the great majority of the people.

Mr. A. WATKINS moved the third resolution, in a speech of some length, in the course of which he stated that Sir R. Peel had been bound down by the owners of the soil, and it did appear to him one of the most extraordinary cases of the aberration of a noble mind. He could not conceive why he allowed himself to be thus bound down, knowing as he did that these very men hated him. He moved,—"That the immediate opening of the ports for the free admission of food, and the repeal, without delay, of every law which restricts its importation, are measures obviously required to prevent a serious revulsion in trade, and consequent grievous suffering to the whole of our industrious population."

Mr. B. PEARSON seconded the resolution, and contended that they were letting themselves too low in asking for a repeal of the Corn Laws alone; they ought to demand a bounty on all corn imported into England for the next 30 years as a compensation for the injury they had sustained since the imposition of the Corn Laws. Whilst they were demanding a repeal of these laws, they must take care they do not split on the rock of a fixed duty, which would, in his opinion, be more injurious than the present law, because it would delay their ultimate repeal. He regretted that the Government had taught the people that however good their cause was, it could only be obtained by clamour, and therefore he urged the people to demand an immediate and total repeal of the Corn Laws. (Applause.)

The resolution was then put and carried with acclamation. Mr. T. BAZLEY, president of the Chamber of Commerce, moved the next resolution:—"That this meeting therefore respectfully, but most earnestly, calls upon her Majesty's Ministers to suspend immediately the operation of the Corn Bill, and to submit to the Legislature, at an early day, a measure for the entire abolition of all laws which restrict the free supply of food." With cheap food they had seen prosperity in trade and manufactures, and with dear food a revulsion of that prosperity, and therefore he urged them to demand the opening of the ports, and having procured that object, care should be taken never again to allow them to be closed. The manufactures of England had scarcely recovered from a depression of many years, when by a failure of the crops and consequent dearness of food, they were again to be plunged into the same state. With cheap food and prosperity of trade the wages of the workmen had been advanced, but with the prospect of bad trade and dear food before them, a reduction of those wages must follow.

Mr. Alderman KERSHAW seconded the motion, and declared that he would not have seconded the resolution had it not contained a demand for a total repeal of the Corn Laws. He had not the nerve to contemplate the pending evils without serious alarm. What has already been the consequences? The state of the money market had been seriously affected, and the price of manufactures had declined within the last two months at least 10 per cent. He felt that in calling on the Government to open the ports he was demanding a measure of humanity; and where were they to look for such succour but from the paternal Government of the country. He did not wish to exaggerate the state of the country; but he could not help calling the attention of the meeting to the awful state of the country, more especially of the manufacturing districts, a few years ago, when its trade was interfered with by the operation of the Corn Laws. He hoped the voice of every town in the kingdom would ring in the ears of her Majesty's Ministers, and on them lie the moral responsibility of the future state of the country if they refused to listen to the prayers of the people.

MARK PHILIPS, Esq., M.P., on rising to move the next resolution, was received with repeated cheers. He observed that they had arrived at an important crisis in their national history, and, without wishing to exaggerate in the least degree the evils to be apprehended, he did not hesitate to say that he agreed in everything that had been said by those who had preceded him, when they spoke of the evils to be dreaded as the result of the scarcity which was now staring them in the face. He had risen to suggest to them now the propriety of embodying the resolutions, which they had just adopted, in the shape of a memorial, to be presented to her Majesty's Government. Her Majesty herself truly and deeply sympathised with the wants and the privations of the people. What would, by and bye, be the feelings of her ministers, on whose actions every political movement in this country depended, if they failed in the present emergency to act in accordance with what were well known to be the heartfelt wishes of her Majesty? (Hear, hear.) That they might better understand his object in rising, he would here read to them the resolution which had been put into his hand, and which was in these words:—"That the following me-

morial, embodying the sentiments of the previous resolutions, be signed by the mayor on behalf of this meeting, and presented to the right honourable Sir Robert Peel, Bart., First Lord of the Treasury;" and, before proceeding any further, he would also read to them the memorial itself. He would not detain them with many observations in connection with the present aspect of affairs. He would address them for a few moments as an agriculturist, for to agriculture he frequently resorted for recreation and rest from the cares and anxieties of other business. Should famine overtake the land, what would the position of the agriculturist be? This was an important question for all classes to consider. He had of late years taken the deepest interest in the establishment of the system of field gardens, a system from which he was sanguine the most beneficial results would arise. What was at present the condition of many of the holders of small allotments, to say nothing of farmers on a large scale? In his own neighbourhood he feared that the destruction of the potato crop would amount to more than one half of the entire quantity produced—he had serious apprehensions that he would not be able to save, for the purpose of human food, any portion of the crop raised on his own ground. He was now endeavouring, therefore, to secure as much as was available for the supply of nourishment to cattle and pigs. Such was a faithful picture of the district in which he lived, and if it were a correct representation of the condition of many other districts in the kingdom, which he had but too much reason to fear it to be, what a melancholy prospect was opened up, not merely to the manufacturer and merchant, but also to the agriculturist. (Hear, hear.) Many of the last-mentioned would consume all their available potatoes before Christmas, and what then remained for the sustenance of their families? (Cries of hear, hear.) The sliding-scale not only damaged the manufacturer and the mechanic, but also re-acted with terrible force upon the poor agricultural labourers, who were insulted by being told that the Corn Law was the avowed and favourite policy of the landlords, principally on the farm labourer's account. (Hear, hear, hear.) His potatoes gone, either consumed or rotted, he and his family must starve. If they had a pig they must kill it before it was properly fatted, which every economic farmer well knew was a waste of his property—although a waste to which he was driven by imperative necessity. (Hear, hear.) When his pig was consumed, what had he then to depend upon? Why, both the agricultural labourer and his family became then dependent for subsistence upon the supply of grain. (Hear.) If that supply were deficient, and the ports were not opened to remedy the defect, what resource then remained for him, for the supply of his necessities? (Hear, hear.) Thus they plainly perceived that no class of the community whatsoever could be free from the horrible influence of the infernal sliding-scale. (Cheers.) Even with the greatest care, economy, and forbearance, it will be difficult for the farmer to preserve from the produce of this year sufficient for seed for the potato crop of next year. Every practical man was aware of this. Sir Robert Peel was not ignorant of it. (Cheers.) But that was not enough. It was the duty of the people to make their wants and desires known to the Government in a way they could not misunderstand. They must call upon him to show whether he was prepared to govern the country with a view to the welfare and happiness of the great majority of the people, or whether he was still determined to sacrifice these objects for the benefit of one small class of the community? (Hear, hear.) He had a document in his hand which fully confirmed the statement of Mr. Kay, as to what took place in former years of scarcity. That document (which he would not detain the meeting by reading) was prepared by Mr. Royston, of Manchester, and clearly showed what had been the effect of the fluctuations in the price of food in that town. By this paper it appeared that whenever the price of wheat was high, the number of inmates in the workhouse was great in proportion; and that the injury was more permanent than was generally supposed might be gathered from the fact that the number did not decrease in the same proportion and with the same immediate effect as prices lowered. (Hear, hear.) He had been formerly (though he was not now) extensively engaged in foreign trade, and he could tell them from his own experience, that such was the operation of the sliding-scale, that it was utterly impossible for him to exchange his goods for grain, with the view of re-mitting it to this country, with any certainty of profit, for he never could calculate what the price would be here, or what sort of an exchange he could effect. There were many gentlemen on the platform engaged in foreign trade, but he did not believe one of them would venture generally to take wheat for the home market in exchange for his goods, or would have done so this year, however favourable the terms might be on which he could have obtained it. The consequence of the present system was, that all the grain that was brought into this country was brought in by adventurers and speculators, and not by merchants and those regularly engaged in trade. If Sir R. Peel opened the ports—and he would tell him that he must do so (loud cheers)—if he opened them only for a short time, the evil would be not remedied, but aggravated (hear, hear); for in that case, all purchases of grain to supply the present deficiency, must be made in bullion, and as the price at home would speedily become the price abroad—i. e., if the price were 60*s.* here it would be 60*s.* abroad—the money that would be required to purchase it, and money only would be taken, would occasion a drain on the Bank of England, and the pressure on the whole monetary system would be so great, that the strongest capitalist would view it with alarm; and that man who laid his head on his pillow with the consciousness that he was responsible for the wages, and of course the subsistence of perhaps thousands of his fellow-men, would do so with feelings of no very enviable character. They would see, then, that this was a question affecting the poor man as well as the rich—for when the capital of the employer was jeopardised, what was to become of the interest of the working man? Let them then unite in declaring that they would be no longer the slaves of any party or any interest. (Hear, hear.) Let them show to the Government their determination to insist on the carrying out of that natural law which gave every man the right to purchase the food that he wanted in those countries which produced it in the greatest abundance and which sold it cheapest. (Cheers.) Belgium had opened her ports for the admission of foreign corn; Holland had done the same; and the Pacha of Egypt, despot as he was, had shown a regard for the welfare of his people in this respect. He had prohibited the export of corn; he had said to his people, "You shall not export corn, because you will want it to feed yourselves." But with us it appeared that a Dutchman was more valuable than an Englishman, a Belgian than a Scotchman, and an Egyptian than an Irishman. (Cheers.) Let it never be said, however, that the people of Manchester were indifferent to their Irish fellow-

subjects. There were 50,000 or 60,000 Irishmen in that town, and he would say to them, as to his own countrymen—let the two countries forget all differences, and endeavour at this juncture to assist each other. (Cheers.) The hour of trial had arrived, and it was for Englishmen to show with what fortitude they would bear the pressure that was even now beginning to work upon them. Let Sir R. Peel see and know that there was a spirit abroad in this country which declared, "We will be fed." We will at all events disentangle ourselves from the baneful influences of the sliding-scale, and leave its promoters and supporters to settle the question among themselves of what is best for their own interests hereafter. (Hear, hear.) If the meeting should be of opinion that it would be desirable for a deputation to wait on Sir Robert Peel with the memorial, he should be most happy to make one, and do all he could to further the views expressed in the resolutions of that day. (Hear, hear.) He would leave no argument unemployed to urge upon the minister the importance of the interests at stake, and which depended on aye or no on this great question. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JOSEPH BROTHERTON, M.P., seconded the adoption of the memorial. He said he considered the objects of the meeting to be good, and the means taken wise and politic. He would ask, were they asking the Ministers for a favour or a right? ("Right.") The landowners undertook to feed the people, and they had not done so, and therefore the people must now demand the privilege of feeding themselves. He was of the same opinion as Mr. Walker; he believed Sir R. Peel could repeal the Corn Laws, and he must be made to know that the people demanded it as a right, and were determined to have it. (Applause.)

The memorial was carried with loud cheers; and Messrs. Phillips, Brotherton, May, and Greg appointed a deputation to present it.

On the motion of Mr. Robert Gardner, seconded by Mr. White, thanks were voted to the mayor, and the proceedings terminated about two o'clock.

We have been compelled greatly to abridge the report of the proceedings at this important meeting from the pressure of time and space.

COMMON COUNCIL, MANCHESTER.

MANCHESTER.—At a meeting of the town council on Wednesday, after the business on the notice paper had been gone through.

Mr. Councillor SHUTTLEWORTH asked whether this was not an adjourned quarterly meeting, and if so, whether it was not competent for a member of the council to propose a motion of which notice had not been given?

The TOWN CLERK, after a short consultation with the mayor and ex-mayor, said although their circular did not state that this was not an adjourned quarterly meeting as well as special meeting, yet he had read the proceedings of the last meeting at the commencement of the business, by which the quarterly meeting was adjourned to this day, and whether there had been a circular issued or not for special business, the council would have met to-day by that adjournment, and he conceived therefore that it was competent for Mr. Shuttleworth to move any motion though notice of it had not been previously given.

Mr. Councillor SHUTTLEWORTH said he would rather not have moved the resolution before him if any other gentleman, of whom he saw many more competent, would do so; but if no one else rose to make such a motion he must; for he felt it to be a question of duty. (Hear, hear.) He moved a resolution calling upon her Majesty's Ministers to open the ports; and declaring that the council will hold them responsible for the calamities that might result to the country should they neglect to do so. (Loud applause.)

Mr. Councillor PRENTICE said although he had not previously heard the terms of the resolution, he felt bound to second it with all his heart. (Applause.) He must confess that he, along with a great number of the members of the Council, had been guilty of signing a requisition to the mayor to call a meeting on this subject to-morrow (Thursday), and not having taken the trouble to read the heading carefully, he had thought that it was to call a meeting of the Town Council; however, it turned out that it was a requisition to call a public town's meeting. And he was pleased to see that it bore the names of all the aldermen, and nearly all the councillors of the borough. This itself was a pretty strong test of the opinion held upon the question by that Council. Short as the notice was at which the motion was brought before them, he thought the opportunity a favourable one: there was no doubt the minister would be obliged to do something, and as he had himself declared in Parliament that it was the right of every man to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest markets, they were only helping him to carry into effect his own opinions. He understood that on a late occasion, when the Mayor was invited to Tamworth, Sir Robert Peel took every opportunity of showing in his person the respect he paid to the town of Manchester, and if he paid that respect to him (Mr. Watkins) as Mayor of Manchester, it was to be hoped that he would pay the same respect to a memorial from the town of Manchester when it was signed by him as the Mayor of Manchester. (Hear, and applause.)

Mr. MATTHEW TOMLINSON supported the motion, and said he was happy to find that it put the responsibility of neglecting to comply with its object where it was said to rest by a gentleman once a distinguished member of their body—Mr. Cobden—upon the ministers. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Ald. KAY (late mayor) said he did not rise to object to the motion, but he suggested that it would be unwise to affix responsibility where it did not exactly rest. Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues could only open the ports with the sanction of Parliament, and if they were to open them during the recess they would have to ask Parliament, upon its assembling, for an act of indemnity. He suggested that a committee be appointed, who should retire from the Council, and put the resolution into such shape that it would be less objectionable. Ultimately, upon this suggestion, Mr. Ald. Nield, Mr. Ald. Kay, Mr. Shuttleworth, Mr. Prentice, and Mr. A. Heywood, were appointed a committee to retire, and after an absence of about ten minutes, they returned with Mr. Shuttleworth's resolution slightly altered, and put in the form of a memorial to Sir Robert Peel.

Mr. SHUTTLEWORTH said he thought at the time that he and Mr. Ald. Kay were agreed on this subject, though they expressed themselves differently and misunderstood each other. Mr. Ald. Kay meant legal responsibility, and he (Mr. Shuttleworth) moral responsibility. He had great pleasure in moving the memorial, and that it be signed by the mayor on behalf of the Town Council, and that the common seal of the Corporation be attached to it, and that it be presented to Sir Robert Peel. (Applause.) He felt that after the sentiments he had expressed, Sir Robert Peel must only be acting in accordance with his own

wishes and convictions in acceding to the prayer of their memorial, for though closely connected with the landlords, he had as clear a perception of our commercial interests as any of them, and he (Mr. Shuttleworth) had no doubt that he was preparing—if not in ordinary sense of the term, in one which might be readily understood—to “turn another sod”—(hear, hear, and laughter) and to enable them still to occupy that position in the country which they ought and must occupy. (Applause.)

Mr. Ald. KAY said he could not but look at the course likely to be taken in the present emergency with singular apprehension—for though on looking over the files of the newspapers for the last six months, he found that though Lord Stanley had abstained from alluding to the state of the harvest, yet the Duke of Rutland (who was one of that class who thought it right to enjoy the revenue from their estates, without reference to the comforts of other classes) stated at an agricultural meeting that the results of the harvest had been satisfactory. (Hear, hear.) Now he (Mr. Ald. Kay) thought that the duke must have been sadly misinformed, for in less than a fortnight after, that statement was followed by a report stating that the harvest in Ireland was awfully deficient, and that the potato murrain was almost universal. (Hear, hear.) He trusted that this memorial, backed by the others which were flowing in from all parts of the country, would have the effect sought, and with that hope he cordially seconded it.

After a few words from Mr. TOMLINSON the motion was agreed to unanimously, and the council separated.

SALFORD.

SALFORD COUNCIL.—A special council was held on Saturday last, at the Salford Town Hall, in order to adopt a memorial to the Lords of the Treasury, praying that the ports may be forthwith opened for the free admission of foreign corn. At 9 o'clock, John Kay, Esq., the mayor, took the chair.

Mr. Alderman LOCKETT then moved the series of resolutions, of which he gave notice at the last meeting, declaring the necessity, at the present crisis, of opening the ports for the free admission of foreign corn, and determining the council to adopt a memorial to the Lords of the Treasury, praying that the ports may be opened forthwith. In moving the resolutions, he said, the injurious effects of the Corn Laws were now so well understood, that it needed no eloquence to convince the council that it was their duty, as well for their own interests as those of the public at large, to endeavour to get those wicked laws as soon as possible repealed. He had collected a few facts from various Poor Law and other reports, and he thought those facts would show the alarm and horror with which they ought to view the present state of the country. He would begin near home, where the effects of the present high price of corn had begun to be severely felt. In June this year, the guardians of the poor of the Salford Union were paying 5d. for a 4lb. loaf; they were now paying 7d. Taking the population of the Salford Union at 70,000, and allowing each person a 4lb. loaf weekly (which was less than the inmates of the workhouse were allowed), the difference in the cost would be 30,338l. per annum, or 583l. per week, for the Salford Union alone. (Hear, hear.) Now, look at the effect which this large additional expenditure for bread must have upon the drapers, shoemakers, tailors, and other trades supplying the necessities of life! Suppose a family to consist of a man, his wife, and four children, and that they only used the same quantity of bread which was allowed to paupers, that family would have now to pay at the rate of 2l. 12s. a year extra for bread, compared with what they had to pay in June last. 2l. 12s. a year might be thought a small sum; but it was a very large one to a working man; and, by having to pay that amount extra for bread for his family, he was deprived of many other necessities which he might otherwise obtain. Suppose the population of Great Britain were taken at 20 millions—which would be about the population now, allowing for the increase since the census—we should be paying for bread alone, since June last, at the rate of 8,666,000l. extra per annum, or 166,135l. per week; and, if matters went on as they appeared to be doing, the 4lb. loaf would be 8d. or 9d. This must evidently deprive the working classes of the power of buying manufactured goods for clothing, and thereby decrease our manufactures, and injure trade to a very great extent. We talked about the Income-tax; but this tax upon bread was ten times more oppressive than the Income-tax, because it fell upon a great multitude of those who were not able to bear it. Then look at the effect which it had upon the poor-rates. In 1837, when wheat averaged 41s. 9d. per quarter, the amount expended in poor rates in Lancashire was 183,790l. In 1840, when the average price of wheat had risen to 68s. 6d. per qr., the poor rates amounted to 239,491l., being an increase of 55,701l. In England, in 1837, when wheat was 49s. 9d. per qr., the amount expended in poor rates was 3,803,309l.; in 1840, with wheat at 68s. 6d. per quarter, the expenditure for the relief of the poor was 4,315,241l., being an increase of 511,935l. over the previous year. In 1836, when the average price of wheat was 40s. per quarter, the poor rates in Salford amounted to 52,000l.; but in 1840, when wheat was 68s. 6d. per quarter, their poor rates were 74,000l. This was a most serious and alarming increase. At that time a statement was given, showing that there had been a decrease in the receipts of 50 shopkeepers in Salford of 67,200l. per annum, as compared with the years of cheap food. This showed that the higher the price of corn the less was expended in manufactured goods. The receipts of all descriptions of shopkeepers fell off. The receipts of bakers, though bread was at a higher price, were less, because the people could not purchase the bread; they purchased in less quantities. In the same year, 1840, according to the Poor Law Commissioners' report, there were 28,350 able-bodied paupers receiving relief for want of work in this county. It was said that the Corn Laws were made to protect agriculturists and agricultural labourers. Let us see from the report of the Poor Law Commissioners what protection the agriculturists had under the Corn Laws, which were the greatest delusion, the greatest humbug, if he might use the word, that could be put before that body as a protection. The expenditure in poor rates in twelve agricultural counties in 1840, when corn was at a high price, was 74d. per head upon the population of those counties. At that time, though there was very great distress, the expenditure in poor rates in Salford only amounted to 4s. 1½d. per head upon the population. What protection, then, could there be for the agriculturists? They were suffering equally with ourselves, and no class was protected by the Corn Laws unless it were the landlords. In 1840, in twelve counties, there were 53,546 able-bodied paupers out of employment. Mark how pauperism increased as high prices and consequent distress increased. In 1841, the number of paupers out of employment in those 12 counties was 76,945, making an in-

crease in one year of 4505 paupers without work; and this was at a time when corn was at a high price. (Hear, hear.) Not only did dear corn increase the number of paupers and the expenditure in poor-rates, but it lessened our trade and commerce to a very great degree. All recollected the distress and want of employment which existed in this and the neighbouring towns. The cause was evident; for when the people had to pay so much more for their food it must prevent them from buying manufactured articles. It had been said by the advocates of the Corn Laws that the agricultural districts furnished the great mart for manufactures, but the consumption of manufactured goods in the agricultural districts was nothing compared with what it was here. Again, the Corn Laws had a most serious effect upon the morals of the people, for when corn increased so much in price there was a most rapid increase in the amount of crime. In 1835, when wheat was 39s. a quarter, there were in England 20,700 commitments; in 1841, when wheat was at 64s. per quarter, there were 27,700 commitments; making an increase of 7000 culprits. These were stubborn facts, and could not be refuted; and they were facts which called upon the council to set their shoulders to the wheel to endeavour to get those wicked laws removed. What he proposed was merely a memorial to open the ports, a step the necessity of which was apparent to all; but he was in hopes that if once the ports were opened, the benefits arising therefrom would be so obvious, that the Corn Laws would be done away with for ever. (Applause.)

Mr. Alderman HARVEY, in an able speech, seconded the proposition, which was carried unanimously, amidst great applause.

THE TOWN CLERK said, that in anticipation of the resolutions being passed, a memorial to the Lords of the Treasury had been prepared. It was an echo of the resolutions.

After the memorial had been read, a resolution was passed, approving of the memorial as read, and ordering that the same should be signed by the mayor, sealed with the common seal of the corporation, and transmitted to Sir R. Peel, the First Lord of the Treasury.

LEEDS.

LEEDS TOWN COUNCIL.—The first meeting of the Leeds Town Council, since the recent municipal elections, was held on Monday last, the Mayor (Darnton Lupton, Esq.) in the chair. The whole of the members were present except Aldermen Jackson, Gaunt, and Carbutt; Councillors Watson, Heaps, Horner, Weddell, Hobson, and Hainsworth. A considerable number of spectators had assembled in the gallery.

At the close of the other business of the Council, Mr. Barrett introduced a memorial to her Majesty's Government, praying for the immediate opening of the ports for the admission of all kinds of food. In the course of his remarks in support of the memorial, he said that it was a notorious fact that a large proportion of the produce of this country would be deficient, not only in grain but also in potatoes. Setting the deficiency in the potato crop aside, he had from the best statistical accounts he could lay his hands upon, estimated that the deficiency in grain of various kinds would be eight or nine million quarters. (Hear, hear.) This fact he showed from calculations founded upon the estimates of the annual yield and consumption of grain taken from McCulloch and other sources. The deficiency in the wheat crop alone (taking into account both its quality and quantity) as compared with 1844, he showed to be no less than 10 per cent. With so lamentably inadequate supply of food, he conceived that the people must be reduced to a state of famine, unless some means were resorted to to supply the deficiency. And the question arose, from what source an amount of food, equal to the deficiency in this country, was to be derived? Holland, Belgium, Germany, Turkey, and Russia, had likewise a deficiency in their produce. We could evidently not, therefore, look to Europe for a supply. Indeed, the probability was, that these our nearest and best markets, would rather seek to obtain corn from us, than be able to supply us with their own. (Cries of hear, hear.) We might next turn to Canada, but (considering the advanced season), the St. Lawrence might be closed by frost, before we could get our ships there. We might then go to the United States, which had a surplus of grain; but if we went there, we had no time to lose, inasmuch as various other countries were ready to compete with us in that market; and if we delayed, snatched from our hands the promised blessing. (Hear, hear.) Having impressed upon the Council the dire calamities that must ensue, if the deficiency of food were allowed to continue, he read the memorial, and called upon them to give a unanimous vote in its support. (Applause.)

Mr. NUNNERY seconded the adoption of the memorial. Mr. HEYWOOD complained of being taken by surprise, by a motion of so much importance being introduced without previous notice. He therefore proposed that the consideration of the question should be adjourned until Wednesday. Mr. BULMER, taking a similar view, seconded the adjournment. Some discussion ensued, in which several of the monopolist members expressed their opinion that there was not so much ground for alarm as Mr. Barrett had represented, and argued that the matter might be left in the hands of the Government, who were making every inquiry, with a view to be prepared to do whatever the circumstances of the country might require. On the question being put to the vote, an adjournment for half an hour was carried. On the council resuming, the monopolists, who had been in favour of the adjournment to Wednesday, were absent; though Mr. Heywood had threatened in *terrorem*, that (if they did not adjourn to another day) his first speech would occupy till midnight.

Mr. YEWDALE resumed the debate in a very able and eloquent speech. He was followed by Mr. Alderman GOODMAN and Mr. Alderman BATESON; after which, Mr. BARRETT replied, and eventually the memorial, with some modifications, was unanimously adopted.

The meeting then separated at 11 o'clock, having been assembled eleven hours.—*Leeds Times.*

SHEFFIELD.

SHEFFIELD.—The town council of Sheffield held a meeting on Monday, the 10th instant, for the purpose of memorialising her Majesty's Ministers to open the ports for the free admission of corn. The motion was proposed by Mr. ATKIN, and seconded by Mr. FISHER, jun. Mr. Alderman DUNN opposed the motion on some peculiar grounds of his own that are not very clearly stated in the report of his speech. He denounced the Corn Laws, however, most emphatically, but advocated a town's meeting.

A desultory discussion ensued; after which Mr. ATKIN, in reply, said Alderman Dunn had been very ingenious in

erecting a giant, for the purpose of knocking him down. In the outset of his remarks, he deprecated political discussion; and then he proceeded to make a speech which, had he been in the chair, he would not have allowed any gentleman to make unchecked. He knew that they were trenching on delicate ground, and therefore he had been the more guarded. The broad fact was, that famine was staring them in the face. Whether the ports could be again closed if they were open, better politicians than he must decide; but the general opinion was, that if once opened, no power on earth could shut them. But what was to become of Ireland, if the ports were to remain shut until they could be opened by Act of Parliament? When the two factions met again, there would be protracted discussions; and what were the people to do in the meantime? The question appeared to him to be one of such emergency, and so clearly a question of humanity, that he should have expected Alderman Dunn to have held up both hands in its favour. It was their duty to deliberate for the interests of the town, and he appealed to Alderman Dunn whether he did not find that as food became scarce, crime increased? If this were so, how would it be in a state of actual famine? It was their duty, as guardians of the town, to guard against crime; and that was a reason for the support of this motion. The discussion here would be a means of arousing the public mind, and preparing it for a public meeting, which was not always a very deliberative assembly. It was for them to pray, on the ground of humanity, that the ports might be opened to meet the emergency. It would be for a public meeting afterwards to discuss the question politically and morally.

The motion was then put to the vote, and carried by a large majority, four hands only being held up against it.

NOTTINGHAM.

NOTTINGHAM, Nov. 19.—At the meeting of the town council to-day, Mr. TAYLOR brought forward a motion on the subject of memorialising the Government to open the ports at this important crisis, to prevent difficulties which must arise, should they not be opened, from a scarcity of food arising from an insufficient crop of wheat and the disease amongst potatoes. He urged the necessity of the memorial to strengthen the hands of those in the Cabinet who might be favourable, and condemned the policy of deferring to do an act which all the nations of Europe had thought it right to pursue for the purpose of affording an ample supply of provisions to the inhabitants, and to prevent their being visited with the horrors of famine. He begged to move, that with the fearful prospect of distress occasioned by the deficiency of the late harvest, the council deem it expedient that a memorial in conformity with this resolution be prepared and transmitted to the Lords of the Treasury, and that the mayor do affix the common seal to such memorial.

Mr. J. BRADLEY seconded the motion, as he considered the present a very momentous crisis, and the subject one of vast importance to the country at large. At Manchester within the last few days they had memorialised the Government, and the mayor had called a town's meeting; and at Huddersfield and other places, the subject was attracting general attention. There being no time to be lost, he would urge the council to be prompt and decided, as the gaunt spectre of famine was on the threshold.

Mr. WAKEFIELD thought the alarm created had been greater than necessary; but he should vote for the memorial.

Sir T. H. SMITH did not feel there was so much cause for alarm as to be in such haste. He never knew greater plenty than at the present moment; and he thought potatoes were cheap, as a man came to his door and begged and prayed of him to buy some of him at 4s. a sack.

Mr. Alderman WILSON said it was undeniably true that the wheat crop was deficient, and the potato crop had failed at least one-third or one-fourth—he meant as to sound potatoes; and there was great fear that seed would not be found for the next planting. The people felt convinced that their potatoes would not keep, hence they begged and prayed for persons to buy at almost any price. He had bought 10 sacks for sound potatoes a very short time ago, and they had begun to decay, and he was obliged to return them as he had wanted them to send away. He therefore urged that a memorial be sent without delay.

Many members of the council spoke in favour of the motion, and it was carried unanimously, and a committee was appointed to draw up a memorial agreeing with the spirit of the resolution.

STOCKPORT.

STOCKPORT BOROUGH COUNCIL.—The annual meeting of the borough council was held in the Court House at noon on Monday last, the mayor in the chair. There were present besides, 10 aldermen, upwards of 30 councillors. The various committees having been appointed.

Mr. J. D. FERNLEY, after taking a glance at the present prospects of the country as regards the supply of food, proposed, “That a strong but respectful memorial should be addressed to Government by the council, in favour of the opening of the ports.”

Mr. J. J. MOODY seconded the motion. After some conversation, in which Mr. Alderman Marsland, M.P., and Alderman Nelstrop took part, the resolution was carried, and a memorial adopted.

OLDHAM.

OLDHAM.—A highly-spirited and numerous attended public meeting of the inhabitants of Oldham was held in the Town Hall on Monday last, to memorialise Ministers to open the ports. Many excellent speeches were made and most enthusiastically received by the meeting, and the resolutions and memorial passed unanimously.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

NEWCASTLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.—On Wednesday afternoon a large and influential meeting of the Chamber of Commerce was held in the Council Chamber, Guildhall, to consider the propriety of memorialising her Majesty's Government to open the ports of the United Kingdom for the free admission of corn under the present circumstances of the country. Alderman Wilson, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

Mr. E. H. POLLARD, without comment, moved the adoption of a memorial to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart.

Mr. W. ARMSTRONG, a member of the Town Council, and an extensive corn-merchant, opposed the memorial, on the ground that no cause existed to apprehend a deficient supply of wheat. He maintained that the opening of the ports would benefit none but the foreigner, or the English speculator.

Mr. C. RAYNE, also an extensive merchant, combated

the arguments advanced by the preceding speaker, showing that the sliding-scale cheated the consumer without benefiting the farmer; and, when as high as at present, produced the very fluctuations it professed to avoid. The necessity for open ports was urgent. The supply of wheat was deficient, as the market price proved, and the quality was greatly inferior to that of the produce of last year's harvest. The potato crop was notoriously a failure, and as Government would have to do something to preserve the Irish poor from starvation, it was indispensable that a supply of grain should be obtained before continental competitors had secured all that was to be had.

On a show of hands, the motion was carried nearly unanimously.

AYR.

AYR TOWN COUNCIL.—The council met for the first time after the annual election, on Friday morning, Provost Miller presiding. The attendance was full, including the newly elected councillors.

The Provost stated that although it was rather an unusual practice to transact any other business at the meeting immediately after the annual election, yet from the urgency of the case he felt himself justified in laying before them a memorial to Government craving for the opening of the ports for the admission of all kinds of grain free from duty. The failure of the potato crop called for some such step, and without entering into the question of the Corn Laws, he hoped all would unite with him in the prayer of the petition. The Provost then read the draft of a petition.

Mr. GEMMELL seconded the motion, and said he hoped the petition would be granted. He thought it would be cruel in any minister, and dangerous to the well-being of the country, to shut out grain from a peaceable and industrious people, in the prospect of something like famine during the approaching winter.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

MONTROSE.

MONTROSE TOWN COUNCIL.—The first meeting of the new Town Council took place on Friday forenoon, at 10 o'clock. All the members were present, with the exception of Mr. D. Low. After the routine business, the Council, on the motion of Mr. Watt, baker, resolved to present a memorial to the Lords of the Treasury, praying their lordships to throw open the ports throughout the kingdom for the importation of grain duty free.

BOLTON.—A requisition most numerously and respectfully signed, has been presented to the Mayor of Bolton, requesting him to convene a town's meeting to memorialise her Majesty's Ministers to open the ports. He has consented to call the meeting, which will be held in the course of next week.

OPENING OF THE PORTS.—A letter was read from Sir James Graham, merely acknowledging the receipt of the Council's memorial, praying Government to open the ports for the free admission of foreign corn.—*Scotsman*.

OPENING OF THE PORTS.—We are glad to be able to state that our friends in the neighbouring borough of Gateshead are acting on our advice. A requisition is in course of signature, requesting the mayor to call a public meeting to petition for opening the ports, and we shall doubtless have the pleasure of reporting the proceeding of this and similar meetings in our next. The Chamber of Commerce, it will be observed, meets to-day, to promote the same object.

GATESHEAD AND THE CORN LAWS.—Some years ago, when Mr. Alderman Brockett brought before the Town Council of Gateshead a motion for the repeal of the Corn Laws, it was negatived by that body. On Monday last, at the annual meeting, the standing orders were suspended, that the same gentleman might move, without previous notice, a memorial to Sir Robert Peel for the opening of the ports, and the memorial was unanimously adopted. And not only adopted *nem. con.*, but the show of hands in its favour was general, and not a whisper of dissent was heard. A similar memorial has also been adopted by the Newcastle Council.

CAMBRIDGE.—Mr. Falvey delivered an address on Free Trade and the present critical state of the country, in the large room of the White Bear Inn, Cambridge, on Monday evening last. Henry Staples Foster, Esq., was in the chair, the room was quite full with a very influential audience, many Conservatives and members of the University being among the number. Mr. Falvey pointed out the necessity of an immediate opening of the ports, and of keeping them open, in order that the people may be properly fed, and the prosperity of trade and commerce permanently maintained. Mr. Foster, the chairman, made a spirited and pointed speech, and suggested the propriety of getting up a memorial to Government in favour of opening the ports, which was unanimously agreed to. The meeting then broke up, with three hearty cheers in favour of Free Trade.

IMPORTATION OF CORN AND CATTLE.—A memorial to the Queen is now in course of signature in Exeter, praying her Majesty, by Order in Council, to give free importation to corn and cattle, and every description of food for "man and beast," and "the abolition of all taxes and dues, of whatever description, on the necessities of life."—*Devonport Telegraph*.

FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION.—An institution bearing the above noble title has recently been established in Wigan. The society, which has been only formed about a week, already numbers near 200 members, and 50 more have been proposed. Mr. W. F. Brand has been appointed president, and Mr. Joshua Coop vice-president. We understand that it is the intention of the committee to establish a news-room in connection with the association, as soon as convenient premises can be procured. We wish the undertaking every success, and trust that the Free Traders of the borough of Wigan will give it their hearty support. The terms of admission are very liberal, being within the reach of the most humble artisan.

ADMISSION OF INDIAN CORN.—The chairman of the American Chamber of Commerce, Liverpool, has received a letter from Lord Sandon, expressing his lordship's approval of the memorial to the Privy Council in favour of admitting Indian corn. His lordship thinks that such a course on the part of our Government would greatly strengthen in America the hands of those who advocate the relaxation of the tariff.

TRADE WITH CHINA.—We understand from Mr. Court, of the Underwriters' Rooms, that the letters received by the mail from China, on Saturday evening, announce the extraordinary arrival of no less than 21 vessels at Hong Kong, direct from Liverpool, since the sailing of the previous mail.—*Liverpool Albion*.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

THE Friends of FREE TRADE residing in the Northern or Midland Counties, desirous of purchasing Freeholds in any of the undermentioned Counties, are requested to apply to the Secretary of the League, Newall's Buildings, Manchester.

North Lancashire	North Derbyshire
South Lancashire	South Derbyshire
North Cheshire	North Durham
West Riding of York	East Cumberland
South Stafford	West Cumberland
North Stafford	South Northumberland.
South Cheshire	

Each applicant is requested to give his name and residence at full length.
By Order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

FREE TRADERS desirous of purchasing Freeholds for Middlesex, East Surrey, West Kent, South Essex, East Sussex, and South Hants, are requested to send their applications, with name and address in full, to the League Offices, 67, Fleet-street, London.

By Order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

CORN LAWS.—Just published, price 2s.,

AN ATTEMPT TO ESTIMATE THE EFFECTS OF PROTECTING DUTIES ON THE PROFITS OF AGRICULTURE, by JOHN MORTON, F.G.S., Author of "The Nature and Property of Soils," &c.; and JOSHUA TRIMMER, F.G.S., Author of "Practical Geology and Mineralogy," &c.
James Ridgway, Piccadilly, and all booksellers.

"On occasions of this kind I have generally said a few words as to the bearing of the Corn Laws on Agriculture, but that part of the subject has been taken out of my hands. A little pamphlet, published by Messrs. Trimmer and Morton, practical agriculturists, has quite superseded any observation I could make. They looked on the Corn Laws in a debtor and creditor point of view. They took different farms in different soils, and they showed what their owners gained by protection, and what they lost. The first time I received that book I was a little staggered by the facts which it adduced; but having read and considered it several times, I am quite satisfied that it underpins rather than overpays the real state of the case. Now, as I know a great many willing and anxious to see a repeal of the Corn Laws, and to secure full commercial freedom, who have some lingering doubts as to whether their agricultural friends may not suffer in some way or other from such an event, I recommend all such persons to lay out a couple of shillings in the purchase of the pamphlet, and to read it carefully through."—*From Earl Ducie's Speech at the Birmingham Meeting.*

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LEAGUE FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Nov. 19, 1845.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

*Browne, Henry Nibbs, 46, Baker-street, Portman-sq.	£21 0 0
*Eastington Mills Association, near Stroud, per Mr. Clarke	5 0 0
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*Prentice, W. J., Lowther Cottages, Liverpool-road	1 0 0
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*Kimber, Edward, 107, Shoe-lane	1 0 0
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*Smith, Charles, 2, Kenton-street, Brunswick-square	1 0 0
*Lloyd, Richard, 31, Baker-street, Lloyd-square	1 0 0

*Smart, B. H., 55, Connaught-terrace, Edgware-road	1 0 0
*Cumner, J., 153, High-street, Borough	1 0 0
*Tracy, L., 56, Wood-street, Cheapside	1 0 0
*Hayward, George, Queenhithe, City	1 0 0
*Mountcastle, Edward, 41, King William-street, City	1 0 0
Hawkins, Thomas, 26, Upper Thames-street	1 0 0
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Cleaver, F. S., 18, Red Lion-square, Holborn	1 0 0
Lambert, Wm., goldsmith, Bond-street, Brighton	0 2 6
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SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE BAZAAR.

Balance of Subscriptions to the Bazaar, from Preston per Charles Walker, Esq. 11 15 8

* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed subscriptions.

LETTERS ON THE CORN LAWS, No. L.

TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

At this critical period you are cast upon your own resources. You must think and act for your selves: there is no one to think and act for you. In the prospect of Irish famine and English scarcity, the people are quietly left to their own devices. Monarchy, aristocracy, and representation—Church and State—Privy Councillors and Cabinet Ministers—all are mute as the grave. The oracles are dumb. Prove yourselves, then, equal to the occasion. Show that you can think and act, and that you will. Be not paralysed by the abandonment. Look onwards, full in the face of whatever probable calamity is coming, and adopt your measures accordingly. There is in you, as I believe, a spirit of intelligence that will not fail, but rise to the emergency—unfettered by the desertion of those whose function is to watch over the public safety, which most assuredly would be perilled by any approach towards public starvation.

Exact knowledge of the existing supplies of food within your reach might at this time have been in your possession, had Parliament acceded to the desires of its Free Trade members. The parties who refused information now cant of exaggeration. They who have legislated for artificial scarcity will tell you there is no scarcity, until the competition of a hungry population wrings out famine prices for their profit. Suppose there is exaggeration; that fact only enhances the difficulty of your condition. Deficiency, a large deficiency, is certain. The dictate of wisdom is, to make as sure as possible that, whatever its extent, there shall be the means of counteraction. Who can put a great nation upon a workhouse dietary? Who shall say, thus far may consumption be economised, and the population kept just alive by the reduced and damaged rations in their stores? It may be that the self-appointed feeders of the community can so far supply its wants (at their own prices) as that not more than some few thousands need be actually famished. And it also may be, that even so much is beyond their power to accomplish; and they and Death will reap their harvest together. This is no time for such nice calculations. Those who have once been burned out, with life scarcely saved, will only sleep in peace, knowing a fire escape to be at hand. Let the people of England have their famine-escape in readiness.

While Cabinet Councils held daily consultations, you quietly awaited the result. There were few who doubted what that result would be; and the disappointment was as deep as the expectation was general. But there was no precipitancy on your

part. You did not assume before-hand the indecision of the Government, or its temporary indifference, or the ascendancy of class interest over a nation's rights and wants. No; you hoped and believed right willingly, until ministers ended their deliberations, and with no announced determination dispersed, and returned to their rural amusements. Then arose the feeling that if they would not act, you must.

If those who should take care that you be fed are silent, not so those who take care that your food be taxed. They, too, have deliberated, and their published resolve is for no relaxation. The banner of "Protection" is raised in alliance with that of scarcity. As the Somerset report says, "the present season promises to be more remunerative." Yes; it will remunerate the landlord, the gravedigger, and the hangman. It will augment rents and wretchedness. It will tell upon tithes and typhus. There must be ghastly want to realise this golden "remuneration."

The sliding-scale has attained the climax of self-falsification in its professed objects. With wholesome food verging on a famine price, it excludes supply. Bad corn must keep down the averages. Were not a wheat-ear grown in the country fit for grinding into flour, the stuff that but serves to thicken hogswash would regulate the averages, sustain the duties, and keep the ports closed. Such is the practical working of this nefarious contrivance. Will you hear with patience of trying this machinery again, with some further tinkering? Is there any one expedient which you ought to ask for, or accept, save that most simple and efficient one, of the immediate opening of our ports for the reception of food, from whatever region it can be obtained?

To claim that measure forthwith—not as a temporary arrangement, but a final policy—is your only prudent course of procedure. Meet throughout the country in your town-halls, and according to whatever corporate capacity may entitle your voice to be heard. Memorialise Sir Robert Peel, the responsible Prime Minister of the empire; say that to HIM the nation looks, not for good intentions but efficient action. Demand of him that he be the real as well as the nominal head of the Government, or give way to some man of moral courage better proportioned to the emergency. Tell him that all reasonable time for procrastination or compromise is gone; he must decide to be the despised tool of a selfish class, or the idolised leader of a grateful people. If to some "the present season promises to be remunerative," to him it threatens to be retributive. He is made or marred for ever as a statesman by his conduct now. Bid him defy class interests; he cannot fall with a nation at his back; nor can he long stand, if now unfaithful to its righteous claims for safeguards against the worst of public calamities.

And while you meet, and memorialise, and remonstrate, neglect not the continuance of that good work which chiefly gives power to your resolutions. It was an idle menace when petitions were described as coming from so many thousand men "capable of bearing arms." Let your memorials be from tens and hundreds of thousands capable of being registered. Let them be not only capable, but actually on the registry. They are appended to the death-warrant of monopoly.

The people are not less deeply responsible than the minister. He can only be strong for them as they are strong for themselves. Reliance on him is a self-betraying confidence. Silently trust him, and he is weak as water. Trust only to yourselves and your just cause. Show him that the hour is come, and the man will not be wanting. The hour will make its man. Only be the nation's will adequately expressed—no pretence afforded for delay by seeming apathy—and that will is certain of agents for its fulfilment. All depends on your duty being done well and promptly. Quiescence at the present moment is treachery and treason. It is now or never, for the people of England. Winter and want are on their way; and the cold shadows they cast before them begin to darken the land.

A NORWICH WEAVER BOY.

At the Southland municipal election, only three Tories were returned,—a strong proof, notwithstanding Mr. Hudson's election, of the liberal character of the town.

LETTERS FROM THE SOUTH OF ENGLAND.

TURNIPS, 'TATOES, AND PHILOSOPHERS.

During the last fortnight I have met at least twenty farmers who have spoken to this effect:—"The 'tatoes are going bad, and that is bad enough; but look at the turnips, see how they are going with the disease. What be us to do if the turnips go like the 'tatoes?"

Well, I have looked at the turnips, and there is unquestionably a disease of most formidable character in the Swedes—in that turnip of all others least liable to disease. Whether it has any relationship to the potato-trouble I am not learned enough in the science of conjecture to say; but that the only remedy for it is also the only remedy for the potato famine I venture to call myself learned enough to declare. "Give us bread instead of 'tatoes," as a Hampshire ploughman said to me the other day, "and you wunt see we bemoaning the 'tatoes long; let we ha' bread enough, and then there will be 'tatoes enough."

With a scarcity of bread in Europe, it may not by any administrative or legislative act of our government be possible to give the Hampshire ploughman enough of bread instead of his 'tatoes—"gone," as he says, "all to stink, till even a hog shakes his head at them. But across the sea, be it the German Ocean or the Atlantic, we must look for succour; there is none nearer."

Last year there was a scarcity of turnips, and also of hay, in the south of England, and the flockmasters felt the scarcity, and feel it yet, for their sheep starved and let their wool drop from their poor carcasses. It was a grievous thing to the farmers to have a scarcity of provender of their own growth; to have to pay 7l. per ton for hay; to have to borrow money—those who could borrow, or give away all their ready cash, those who had any, to get the very scarce and the very dear provender to keep their flocks and cattle from starvation, which, after all, were not more than kept alive; and the more grievous was it that they were compelled to do this in the face of an abundance of cheap and good provender, which only wanted the fetching from the other side of the sea, had there not been a legislative barrier in the way;—a barrier put up to keep every body out of their manger, and which kept them to their own and out of everybody else's when their own was empty.

If there be a scarcity of turnips this year the cause will not be the same as last year. Then they never grew. This year they have grown, and grown luxuriantly. But the remedy, so far as a remedy can be applied on so short a notice, will be the same which should have been applied last year when there was a long notice—a whole summer's notice—of winter scarcity of provender for cattle; to wit, open ports;—"ports opened, and the nation standing with its back against them never to let them be shut again," as was recently said, and said well.

I could fill column after column of the LEAGUE paper, from beginning to end, with the details of the potato disease where I have been lately travelling; but I will not do so. It is enough to say that in the south and west of England, where potatoes are the chief food of the working population, the disease is making universal havoc. No kind of potato; no variety of soil on which they were grown; no skill in treating them; no lesson of science from the philosophers; no exorcism from New Forest gypsies and witches; and, Heaven forbid that it be always so! no prayer to Almighty God has yet arrested the progress of this frightful calamity. I have been in seventy and odd different parishes within the last ten days, and each seems as I go along to be more deplorably famine-bitten than another.

Were it not a subject so melancholy, so fraught with awful consequences, so full of calamity to the eaters of every kind of food, from the parent of the family who looks at his 'tatoes and says, "they be so gone to stink they ben't fit for a hog, but, poor hearts! you boys and girls must eat 'em"—up to the parent of the Cabinet Council, who says, or should say, "the 'tatoes be so gone to stink that words like mine are words more fit for a devil than a prime minister, but, good people all, you must eat them, these stinking 'tatoes, or else go without;" I say, were the subject not so charged with calamity, so fraught with peril to personal and national well-being, some of the views which this potato famine presents would be grotesquely comic. As it is there are comic actors in it.

Professor Henslow, of Cambridge, was the first to put on a grave face and perpetrate a joke. But being the first, and being withal a grave, worthy, and well-meaning gentleman (excepting only his jokes upon a melancholy subject), some people thought him in earnest, and did not laugh. The professor recommended that the rich, whose tables are always well spread with substantial and luxuries, upon which potatoes are but an item in the bill of fare, should for one year dismiss

that item, that the potato market might be the better supplied for the potato eaters. In other words, that two millions of families who eat few potatoes, but a great deal of beef and bread, should stick to their beef and bread, that fourteen millions of families should have the benefit of their few potatoes in the market.

But the best joke is one by Professor Buckland, of Oxford, the eminent geologist. If I should be wrong, and the professor is not joking, then I shall presume to infer that the learned gentleman is better acquainted with the things under the earth than the things upon the face of the earth, with megatheriums than with men and women, with the strata of the rocks than the strata of society. In a letter to the *Times* the other day the doctor thus instructs the potato sufferers:—

"Steam or boil all potatoes in which the smallest speck of decay has appeared, and ram them down airtight in large jars or pans, covered over at the top with a layer of fat, to be left like potted meat for use during winter, and stored in a dry place."

Lord bless Dr. Buckland! where is the fat to come from? where the fuel to steam or boil the potatoes? where the jars and pans? And if the fat was there, would it keep out the air? would it not go to keep out something else?

"We ben't so bad in Botscombe parish, thank God, as they be in Idmiston, and most other parishes. There is some charity here. The clergyman gives some of the people a bit of dripping, or some lard, and they melt that and pour it on the 'tatoes, and that makes them eat better. Bacon, sir, or butter; oh no, nothing of that kind. . . . We only burn a fire when we cooks our 'tatoes, coals be so dear." (See reports of 'tatoe disease in morning papers of last week.)

Dr. Buckland, walk out of Oxford over to Mr. Pulman's estate, Deputy Usher of the Black Rod; take the road where a wild boar fell upon an Oxford student reading a book and devoured him. You know the road. There are no boars now to frighten students from that road. Go over it, and ask the labourers what they live on: you have only to walk three miles from Oxford.

ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH.

GALASHIELS ANTI-CORN-LAW ASSOCIATION.

We have much pleasure in giving a place in our columns to the following letter from the Right Hon. the Earl of Buchan, to the Galashiels Anti-Corn-Law Association. His lordship has ever been the able and consistent advocate of Free Trade.

"Ammundell, 28th October, 1845.

"Gentlemen,—It would ill become me, after the distinction conferred on me by having the honour of twice being requested to preside at your Free Trade meetings, were I not to express my regret at leaving you for a time; and of testifying my sincere conviction of the singleness and honesty of mind and opinion which actuated you all in this important national movement.

"I have lived long enough in this imperfect world to be upon my guard how far I allow prosperity, however flattering, to inspire me with much confidence in results; yet I cannot help congratulating myself and the supporters of Free Trade, that our prospects are as auspicious as ever.

"Clouds, since we met, have occasionally obscured our view; never, I trust, damped our ardour. The squall in Hudson's Bay, lately, might to the faint-hearted convey a pang of transient uneasiness. It was, however, but a puff, and will end in smoke—the natural accompaniment of a *Railway King*.

"Our cause and its promoters wish and have no 'tongue to rail'.

"The principles, gentlemen, of the Anti-Corn-Law League agitation, if steadily persevered in, will only terminate in accomplishing the great patriotic and national end for which it was at first gloriously established.—I remain, Gentlemen, most truly yours, BUCHAN."

THE REGISTRATION.

An abstract of the relative gain and loss of Free-Traders and Monopolists in the constituency of the borough of Southampton, Havant, by disqualifications, deaths, &c., and new votes, since the registration of 1841:—

Free-trade gain, 165	Free-trade loss, 109	Increase 56
Monopolist gain, 81	Monopolist loss, 116	Decrease 35

Balance in favour of Free-trade	91
Increase on new, unascertained, and doubtful votes, 179; of which, looking at the relative numbers in the several parishes, and the political characters of the respective parishes, we may fairly calculate on two-thirds being Free-traders	60

Total increase for Free-traders, real and estimated	151
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SIR JOHN FRANKLIN'S EXPEDITION.—The expedition to the North Pole, consisting of the *Erabus* and the *Terror*, Captain Crozier, under the command of Captain Sir John Franklin, was spoken by the *Enterprise*, Martin, master, arrived at Peterhead, lying at an iceberg, in lat. 73 12 N. lon. 62 W. on the 28th of July.

Not only did the three past years of cheapness cause a rise in wages, but innumerable benefits, right and left—cheap trains, pleasure trips, &c., all leaving a profit to tradesmen. For instance, in 1843 there were 15,000 visitors to the Isle of Man; in 1844 there were 21,000; while in the present year there were no fewer than 30,000. But what will be the case with wages and enjoyments next year, if we have not Free Trade?

COUNTIES REGISTRATION MOVEMENT.

HUDDERSFIELD.

On Tuesday night, one of the most enthusiastic meetings we have ever witnessed in the West Riding of Yorkshire, on the subject of Free Trade, was held in the Philosophical Hall, Huddersfield, on the occasion of meeting Messrs. Cobden and Bright on the question of the registration. The large hall and the gallery, calculated to hold upwards of 2000 persons, were crowded, and on the orchestra a large number of the most influential men of the town and neighbourhood were seated. Several ladies also were present. The enthusiasm exhibited was most animating, and the speakers' sentiments were cheered with a spirit which seemed to be felt by all. The ardency of desire for the accomplishment of the object sought, or of affection for the persons of the gentlemen who have from year to year so ably advocated the cause of the labouring man, did not appear to be in the least abated; on the contrary, it exhibited itself more strikingly than before. Among the gentlemen we observed W. Willans, Esq., Thomas Mallinson, Esq., T. P. Crosland, Esq., J. Wrigley, Esq., B. Robinson, Esq., T. Pitt, Esq., Joseph Butler, Esq., W. P. England, Esq., William Shaw, Esq., Joseph Shaw, Esq., John Sutcliffe, Esq., J. P., Rev. M. Trappes, T. C. Wrigley, Esq., Joseph Kaye, Esq., T. A. Heapes, Esq., W. Batley, Esq., W. Cooper, Esq., T. Webb, Esq., T. Robinson, Esq., Godfrey Binns, Esq., John Day, Esq., J. Bennet, Esq., Beaumont Taylor, Esq., T. Kilner, Esq., S. Kell, Esq., Sidney Moorhouse, Esq., Wm. Wrigley, Esq., Foster Shaw, Esq., G. D. Tomlinson, Esq., B. Shaw, Esq., Joseph Wrigley, Esq., Joseph Webb, Esq., Rev. John Cockin, R. G. Jackson, Esq., and many other gentlemen.

F. SCHWANN, Esq., was called to the chair, amidst great applause, and said:—Before obeying your call allow me to allude to the painful loss we have sustained by the death of our late president, Mr. Wm. Brook, of Gledbold, who from the commencement of our association was a firm supporter of Free Trade doctrines, and on all occasion stood manfully forward in defence of liberal principles, with more than an ordinary degree of talent and firmness. May Heaven grant strength to his bereft family to sustain their irreparable loss, and may this country never look in vain for men of our lamented friend's sterling qualities in times of danger! It needed not this mournful introduction to mark our proceedings this evening with a character of solemnity. The crowded numbers of our friends—their anxious and inquiring looks—sufficiently indicate how deep an interest they take in the object of our meeting. (Hear.) A whole week has the oracle in Downing-street been sitting to weigh with chemists' scales how small a portion of food might suffice to keep the people quiet. The oracle retires, disappears, and remains silent, leaving the people in the most anxious uncertainty about the future. What a glorious opportunity was here lost to place the aristocracy of the country into their true position, as the respected and beloved leaders of the people, conceding that with gracious kindness and affection which will shortly be demanded as an act of right and justice. So much seems agreed, that the ports are not to be opened at present—at a period when an early frost may suddenly cut us off from our best supplies. This is fearful gambling with the temper, patience, and lives of millions of beings apprehensive of famine, and reminds me of a passage from French history shortly before the revolution, when a Cabinet Minister, Foulon, under very similar circumstances, suggested—"The people might eat grass if they could not get bread." Shortly after, the same minister was seen paraded through the streets of Paris with a handful of grass protruding from his mouth! (Cheers.) After a short-lived prosperity we may, from present appearances, once more prepare to encounter all the sufferings of commercial distress—paralysed industry, scanty employment, lower wages, a pauperised and discontented working population, and all the miseries—physical, social, and moral—which are inseparable from a dear and scanty supply of food. (Hear, hear.) What a pity that a minister understanding the working of the Corn Law as well as Sir Robert, should have allowed things to arrive at this extremity! As he arrogated to himself and to his measures the merit of our transient prosperity, so he will have to be answerable now for the consequences of our reverses. (Cheers.) What we have to hope from the celebrated sliding-scale is proved by the fact, that the comparatively low price of the badly-housed, damp wheat of this year's growth so depresses its averages, that the sliding-scale at this critical moment refuses to act, the high import duty of 15s. and 16s. per quarter prohibiting foreign importation, at a time when good sound wheat is selling in this country at 74s. per quarter! Thus, the first time the sliding-scale is brought to the test it is found wanting; proving the folly—nay, the wickedness—of interfering with the benevolent laws of Him who, if he permits a partial failure of the crops in one locality, amply provides a corresponding surplus in another part of the globe, as an inducement for his children to cultivate feelings of kindness and love, to assist each other in their mutual necessities. (Cheers.) What a different aspect this country would now present if the advice of the League had been followed four or five years since! Our ports might by this time be the granaries of Europe, and after satisfying our own wants we might have assisted our suffering neighbours, instead of depriving them (as we shall have to do) of a portion of their own scanty supplies. But this is not a time for idle lamentation. (Hear and cheers.) We must continue our active exertion to shake off this degrading, humiliating bondage, the last remnant of serfdom. (Cheers.) We have no new measures to propose; we have only to persevere in what is so gloriously begun—qualify! qualify! qualify! (Cheers.) Sir Robert Peel is extremely sensitive to the influence of votes: he must be put in motion by a power from without. Like a mighty steam engine—without self-acting principle, without heart, without soul—if you fill him to the brim with Free Trade steam, he will swiftly glide along the Free Trade line, carrying with him the Buckinghams, Richmonds, Wellingtons, or upset them if they obstruct the way. (Cheers.) Let us, therefore, form a Free Trade line, the terminus of which shall be the uttermost end of the earth. (Laughter and cheers.) The price of shares to be from 30l. to 10l., and each shareholder to be entitled to a vote for the West Riding of Yorkshire. As soon as we have obtained our bill, we will establish extension lines to every branch of the human family, carrying to them peace and good will, knowledge and civilisation, and every blessing that freedom and industry can bestow. (Long continued cheering.)

The Chairman then called upon Mr. Cobden, who was received with long prolonged and rapturous applause, as was Mr. Bright, who followed him.

The tenor of these addresses was to urge in the most effective way the importance of continuing the efforts of last

year in the West Riding of Yorkshire to secure an overwhelming majority of Free Traders on the register.

At the conclusion of Mr. Bright's speech, a resolution was adopted, on the motion of Mr. Willans, seconded by Mr. Batley, pledging the meeting to spare no effort to place such a number of new voters on the register for the West Riding as would be decisive of the issue of the next election.

After a vote of thanks to Messrs. Cobden and Bright, the meeting separated.

BLACKBURN.

BLACKBURN.—On Wednesday evening Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright were present at a most numerous meeting in this town, held in the large school-room under the Independent Chapel. The meeting was held with a view to promote the Free-trade registration and qualification movement in North Lancashire. William Eccles, Esq., was unanimously called upon to preside, and the meeting was addressed by Mr. H. Ashworth, of Bolton, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and Mr. W. Hargreaves. The meeting was most enthusiastic and unanimous, employers and employed showing an intense interest in the question, heightened, doubtless, in some degree by the present very unfavourable aspect of trade. The Blackburn district has greatly improved its condition during the past year, but we believe by the exertions now about to be made much more may be done. One very gratifying fact was stated at the meeting—that, of the qualifications purchased last year, a large number were bought by working men, and from the spirit existing in the town we have hopes that a very numerous body of this class will become freeholders and county voters. It is rumoured that Mr. Wm. Hargreaves is likely to be brought forward as a candidate at the next election for the borough: his connexion with an influential and respected family in the neighbourhood, his known ability, and his firm adherence to the principles of Free Trade, shown by his activity in the cause, and his liberal subscriptions to the League fund, all point him out as a very desirable representative for an enlightened constituency.

BURNLEY.

BURNLEY.—On Monday last Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright visited this town, in pursuance of the resolution of the Council of the League to secure the representation of this division of the county to the Free Traders. A public meeting had been called for seven o'clock, and by that hour the Court House was crammed with the most numerous and influential assembly ever held in Burnley, not less than 1500 to 2000 persons being present, of whom a large majority consisted of working men, for whose convenience nearly every mill in the town had ceased working an hour earlier on that evening. William Hopwood, Esq., was called to the chair, and opened the meeting with a few impressive observations on the importance of the question about to be discussed. Mr. Cobden first, and afterwards Mr. Bright, addressed the meeting on the general question of the Corn Law; on the peculiar features of the present crisis; and on the necessity of taking the representation of the division out of the hands of the landed monopolists, and transferring it to the middle and industrious classes. Their speeches were received with great enthusiasm, and a determination was manifested from which much may be expected. Votes of thanks were passed to the speakers and to the chairman, and the meeting separated. It is a matter worthy of remark, that every manufacturer and spinner in Burnley is a Free-Trade and a subscriber to the League, and on this occasion almost every establishment was represented by its proprietors being on the platform or in the meeting. The Burnley polling district contains one-sixth of the North Lancashire constituency, and within its limits the Free Traders have a certain majority of more than two to one. With such a preponderance of opinion in favour of Free Trade as this indicates, we feel confident that much may be done, and will be done, by the Burnley district to rescue the division from the discredit of being represented in Parliament by two monopolists. North and South Lancashire must work together, and Free Trade must be their watchword.

MIDDLESEX.

MIDDLESEX AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTIES.—A series of meetings will be held during the next few weeks in all the principal polling districts of Middlesex, East Surrey, Herts, Essex, South Hants, West Kent, and East Sussex, for the purpose of urging upon the unregistered friends of Free Trade the importance of qualifying, by the purchase of 40s. freeholds—first for the county, or such division of these counties, in which they reside—and then for as many of the neighbouring counties as possible. The first of these meetings was held on Thursday night at Highgate, in the Assembly Rooms of the Gate-house Tavern, and was most numerous and respectfully attended. Mr. R. R. Moore addressed the meeting at very considerable length, and the speech was received with great acclamation throughout. The chair was taken by W. H. Ashurst, Esq. The second meeting took place at Hampstead on Friday evening. The meetings for each week will be regularly announced in the LEAGUE of the preceding Saturday, and we subjoin particulars of the arrangements already made for next week:—

Monday, Nov. 24th.—Enfield; Kings Head.

Tuesday, Nov. 25th.—Bridge House Hotel, Southwark.

Wednesday, Nov. 26th.—Rosemary Branch, Camberwell.

Thursday, Nov. 27th.—Horns Tavern, Kennington.

These meetings will be addressed by R. R. Moore, Esq.

REGISTRATION APPEALS.

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

THURSDAY, NOV. 13.—The Court sat at 10 o'clock, and heard the arguments in the two first cases, but took time to consider its judgment.

EASTERN DIVISION OF THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER.

PRUEN, APPELLANT: COX, RESPONDENT.—This was an appeal from the decision of the revising barrister upon the following case:

John Surman Cox objected to the name of Rayner Winterbottom being retained upon the list of voters for the parish of Cheltenham.

The notice of objection was duly given, and was in the proper form, but the objector described his place of abode as "No. 308, High street, Cheltenham," and "on the register

of voters for the parish of Cirencester." The name of the objector was on the list of voters for the parish of Cirencester, but the place of abode as described in that list was "Cheltenham" only.

Cheltenham is a parish within the said division of Gloucester; the No. 308, High-street, Cheltenham, is within the said parish of Cheltenham, and is the true place of abode of the objector. It was contended that the objector ought to have omitted "No. 308, High-street," the description of his place of abode, and described it generally "Cheltenham" only, as it appeared on the register of voters.

The revising barrister thought the description sufficient, and the voter being unable to prove the qualification, expunged the name.

If the Court should have been of opinion that the revising barrister was wrong, the name was to have been restored, together with the names of sixty other persons, otherwise it was to remain expunged.

Mr. Cockburn, Q.C., having finished his argument for the appellant, the Court, without calling on the learned counsel for the respondent, dismissed the appeal with costs.—Decision affirmed.

WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

ALEXANDER, APPELLANT: NEWMAN, RESPONDENT.—

The Court heard the arguments in this case, and took time to consider its judgment; when that is given, we shall give a report of the case.

CITY OF LITCHFIELD.

MONDAY, NOV. 17th.—BARTON, APPELLANT; ASHLEY, RESPONDENT.—Case.—At the Court of Revision, William Barton objected to the name of Thomas Ashley being retained on the list of persons entitled to vote as occupiers in respect of property within the parish of Saint Michael; and the notice of objection served on the overseers of that parish by the objector was in the following form:—"I hereby give you notice that I object to the name of Thomas Ashley being retained in the list of persons entitled to vote in the election of members for the city of Litchfield. Dated, &c." In the city of Litchfield it is the duty of the overseers of the several parishes to make out and publish two separate lists of persons entitled to vote in the election of members, one of persons entitled to vote in respect of the occupation of property; and the other, of persons, not being freemen, entitled to vote in respect of the rights reserved by the 33rd section of the 2nd Wm. IV. cap. 45. The name of Thomas Ashley only appeared in the first-mentioned list. It was objected on the part of Ashley that the notice of objection served on the overseers was insufficient, as it did not comply with the directions given in the note to schedule B., No. 10 of the Registration Act, 6 Vic. cap. 18. There being two lists of voters made out by the overseers of the parish of St. Michael, and the notice not specifying the particular list to which the objection referred, the revising barrister held the notice insufficient. The question, therefore, for the opinion of the court was, whether such notice was sufficient or not?

Judgment.—Tindal, C. J.: I think, upon reference to the note at the foot of the schedule, which is, "If more than one list of voters, the notice of objection should specify the list to which the objection refers," it is so clear and distinct, that I think there can be no doubt on the question, and affirm the decision of the revising barrister.

Maule, J.: I agree with the revising barrister that this notice was not to the form or to the effect. It is not necessary that a rigid compliance with the form given in the Act should be had, so long as the effect is adhered to. If the form had been complied with in the present case, the overseers would have been spared some trouble. The effect of the form is not accomplished if, upon looking at the notice of objection, the overseers could not immediately discover to which of the two lists the objection applied. It is true that the overseer, with some additional labour, might come to the same result, by an imperfect notice given them, as they would have come to if the effect of the notice was according to the form in the schedule A. In the same manner a particular part of a book might be pointed out to a person, without giving him the number of the page; and by reading through it, he might be able to obtain the particular information which he might have acquired at a glance, if the particular page had been given.

Erie, J.: It appears to me also that the revising barrister was right. The statute 6 Vic. cap. 18, gives a particular form, and that form has not been followed. It has been said that no inconvenience would follow from a relaxation of the general rule in the present case; but assuming no inconvenience to have been occasioned, much mischief might be prevented by a strict adherence to the form or its effect.

Mr. Sergeant Byles applied for costs, which were given.—Decision affirmed.

COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX.

WOOD, APPELLANT; OVERSEERS OF WILLESSEN, RESPONDENTS.—Case.—At a court duly holden by the barrister appointed to revise the lists of voters for the county of Middlesex, the name, place of abode, and qualification of Henry Hall, as a voter in respect of property situate within the parish of Willesden, were described in the register for the said county in the following words: "Hall, Henry, the Grove, Neasdon, in this parish, house and land, as occupier, Neasdon." This name was objected to by the appellant; and it was proved that the voter's place of abode was at the Grove, Neasdon, in the parish of Willesden, and that he occupied a house and land at Neasdon, for which he was *bond fide* liable to upwards of 50l. yearly rent; but it was contended by the appellant, first, that the voter's place of abode was not sufficiently described for the purpose of being identified, for that the words in the second column, namely, "The Grove, Neasdon, in this parish," did not specify any particular parish. The revising barrister was of opinion that the words, "in this parish," must mean in the parish of Willesden, and he overruled the objection.

In the register aforesaid, the list of voters in respect of property situate within the parish of Willesden is immediately preceded by a heading in the words "Parish of Willesden," and the same words, "Parish of Willesden," stand as a heading to every subsequent page in which voters in respect of property within that parish are described.

It was also contended by the appellant that the property in question was not sufficiently described for the purpose of being identified; and that the name either of the property or of the occupying tenant ought to have been given in the fourth column.

It was shown that Neasdon was not a street, lane, or like place; and that the property was not situate in any street, lane, or like place, but was known by the name of "The Grove, Neasdon."

The revising barrister was of opinion that the words "House and land, as occupier," in the third column, together with the word "Neasdon," in the fourth column, amounted to a sufficient description of the property; and

The revising barrister overruled the objection, and retained the name, with 20s. costs.

If the Court of Common Pleas should have been of opinion, either that the words "in this parish," in the second column of the register, do not necessarily mean "in the parish of Willesden," or that the property as above described was not sufficiently described for the purpose of being identified, then the name of the voter was to have been expunged; but if the Court of Common Pleas should agree with the revising barrister on both those points, then the name was to be retained.

Judgment.—Tindal, C. J.: It appears to me not to be a question of misdirection, but a question of fact: fact, for the determination of the revising barrister, whether upon the description on the face of this register there was sufficient to identify the property as that in respect to which the real qualification arose. This is not an objection, in the first place, to the claim put in by the party who claimed to be entitled to vote, neither is it an objection to the list made out by the overseers. In either of which cases there is a precise form both of the claim and the objection pointed out in the Registration Act Schedule A, Nos. 2 and 3, and in the fourth column, on which that objection would have arisen; and if we had been now to determine the sufficiency of the claim on the objection which was argued before us, because on that would have arisen the objection whether in the fourth and last column the word "Neasdon" alone was a sufficient claim by the heading of the column. What was the objection that arose before the revising barrister upon the register? When the revising barrister gives his judgment, he has to collect from the point brought before him so much of the old register as the clerk of the peace has made out and furnished to the overseers of the different parishes, in addition to which he has also the new claims in respect of new qualifications made out by the parties themselves and published by the overseers. Those are the two ingredients of judgment which are placed before him, and on which he has to decide. Now the objection that has been pointed out here was that which arises on the new claims so put in the new register, made out by the overseers; but in order to see what the barrister is to do in his court, we must look at the 40th section of the Registration Act and see whether the objection now made can be applied to the course which he took. Now in the clause which is at the beginning of the section, it points out that he may correct any mistake which shall have been proved to him to have been made in any list—that would have been, any light mistake—that at once suggests itself to his mind as a matter of mistake. Then it goes on to say he shall expunge the name of any person whose qualification as stated in the list shall be insufficient in law to entitle him to vote. That is the main and important objection in the inquiry before me; then it appears also that he shall expunge the name of every person who shall be proved to him to be dead. That would follow as a reasonable consequence that they should be removed from the list of those who ought to appear at the next election to vote; and it goes on, "And wherever the Christian name, or the place of abode, or the nature of the qualification, or the local or other description of the property of any person who shall be included in any such list, and the name of the occupying tenant thereof, shall be wholly omitted in any case where the same is by this Act directed to be specified therein, or if any person whose name is included in any such list, or his place of abode, or the nature or description of his qualification shall in the judgment of the revising barrister be insufficiently described for the purpose of being identified, such barrister shall expunge the name of every such person from such list." Leaving, therefore, as a question for the judgment of the barrister on this clause, whether these particulars of description are such as will not be sufficient to identify the property, but even then, he is not absolutely bound to expunge it, for it goes on to say, "unless the matter or matters so omitted or insufficiently described be supplied to the satisfaction of such barrister, before he shall have completed the revision of such list, in which case he shall then and there insert the same in such list." And after going on to state that no change is to be made of the qualification stated in the list, proceeds to say, that if an objector shall appear, the barrister shall require it to be proved that the person so objected to was entitled on the last day of July then next preceding to have his name inserted in the list of voters in respect of the qualification described in such list, and in case the same shall not be proved then to expunge it. That leaves it as a question of yea or no before him whether such description in the list so furnished is sufficient to identify the premises, whether they were described so as to have been made out to the satisfaction of the revising barrister, that is, whether from the fact of the enjoyment of the property, it was made out to his satisfaction? Now, on the present occasion, the objection taken is, that it was not sufficient to identify the property. It was considered by the revising barrister that the property in question was sufficiently described for the purpose of being identified. And he goes on to say, it was in my judgment sufficiently described for that purpose. I think that is a point made out before us, that he having so found it, and he not seeing any reason to say on the evidence before him, it was not sufficiently described, I think that the finding of the revising barrister must be affirmed.

Coltman, J.: It appears to me also that the decision of the revising barrister ought to be affirmed. I conceive what we are to look at and what we are to determine in this case is the law, as it affects the point reserved. Now the question before the barrister appears to have arisen in the 40th section in question—namely, whether, under the circumstances in question, he was justified in being of opinion that the property in question was sufficiently described for the purpose of being identified? I believe that is the only point that is placed before us to day. I do not speak of that as the only point, but the only substantial point in the case. The second point in the case is that which appears to have arisen distinctly on the question, whether he was justified in being of opinion that the property was sufficiently described for the purpose of being identified? Now the clause of the Act of Parliament is, that the barrister shall expunge the name in any case of any person whose name is included in any such list, or his place of abode, or the nature or description of his qualification, if it shall in the judgment of the revising barrister be insufficiently described for the purpose of being identified. Therefore the act itself infers that the barrister is to ascertain whether the matter is sufficiently described in his judgment. He has formed his judgment on it, and it appears to me the matter is conclusive; we are not to go further to determine whether it was sufficient to find that which is expressly given him to determine. He has determined it, and I do not think we are authorised to look further, or to see whether there might possibly be found some matter which would warrant us in interfering. I do

not see on the face of this anything that leads us necessarily to say that he did not or could not in his judgment come with propriety to the conclusion that the property was sufficiently described for the purpose of identification.

Maule, J.: I think also this is not a question of misdescription. The 42d section of the Act enables the party not satisfied with the decision of the revising barrister to appeal to this court: the question the revising barrister has decided is, that in his judgment the description was sufficient for the purpose of the property being identified. I do not think we can be justified in deciding a question of fact. The only way to put it as a question of law would be this, that it is impossible the property can be sufficiently described as being identified when it is described as "a house and land in Neasdon, in the parish of Willesden." Now, as to whether it was Neasdon, unless there is some evidence of the fact that it was Neasdon, it is impossible to say whether the identification is sufficient or not. Suppose a person stated the qualification was a house in Oxford-street, and it appears in evidence that Oxford-street is two miles long, and that there are some five or six hundred houses in it, or suppose the revising barrister stated the qualification was a house in Oxford court, and it turned out that Oxford court had only one house in it—I think that would be sufficient; in the other case it would not. But these are matters of fact in which it is fit there should be a decision. I do not think the Act contemplated any such thing as that this court should reserve decisions of fact. The Court of Westminster never give decisions to reverse or affirm any question of fact; they are properly matters for a jury to decide. In case of a new trial, the court may choose to send the case down to a jury to have the question of fact tried. No such favour is given in this case; and no doubt the legislature meant that the revising barrister should be a Judge without appeal as to what was in his judgment a sufficient description for the purpose of identification; consequently in this case the decision must be affirmed.

Erle, J.: It appears to me, also, the decision must be affirmed. I have observed the question arises as to the name of a voter as it appears in the old register; there is a requirement in the statute that the name shall be specified in the notice of claim; and there is, also, a requirement that the name of the property shall be specified in the list of claimants; but throughout the Act there is no specific requirement that the name of the property should appear in the old register. The register every year has been made out, and on the ground of the omission of the name of the property it cannot be said that any specific requirement of the Act has been contravened. I say that, because the question arises in the earlier part of the 42d section, which contemplated two classes of cases—first of all, as to matters of form, the revising barrister is to look down the lists, and either from his own head, or the suggestions of the overseers, to correct it. Upon the contest of any objection, he is to hold an inquiry into the matter of form; and when the list has been disposed of by striking out the names of parties not entitled, to give effect to one part of his office, which is to correct the list, then the barrister is to go into the question that exists as to the party entitled to the qualification. The question has arisen as to the earlier jurisdiction; and the statute as to that says, if the Christian name, or the place of abode, or the nature of the qualification, or the local or other description of the property of any person who shall be included in any such list, and the name of the occupying tenant thereof shall be wholly omitted in any case where the same is by this Act directed to be specified therein, that is one case which he is required to inquire into. In the notice of the claim, the Act requires the name of the property. There is another and a wider jurisdiction given to him, under which the present appellant contends he ought to come. "If any person whose name is included in any such list, or his place of abode, or the nature or description of his qualification, shall, in the judgment of the revising barrister, be insufficiently described for the purpose of being identified, such barrister shall expunge the name of every such person from such list, unless the matter or matters so omitted or insufficiently described be supplied to the satisfaction of such barrister." Now, under that hand of jurisdiction, the appellant says, "Henry Hall's property at Neasdon is not sufficiently described to be identified." In his judgment the revising barrister says it is sufficiently identified and described. He says, "It is so in my judgment." And on this statement of facts the question is submitted for our decision. It seems to me it is sufficient if it is identified in the judgment of the revising barrister. It is impossible after he has found the very issue in question in the affirmative, for this Court to find a negative; and under the circumstances of the case, I think that is a reasonable decision which he has come to, and it ought to be affirmed.

Mr. Arnold applied to the Court for costs.

Tindal, C. J.: There has been some difficulty in the case. We will not give costs.

WALKER, APPELLANT; PAYNE, RESPONDENT.—*Case.*—At a court duly holden by the barrister appointed to revise the list of voters for the county of Middlesex, the name, place of abode, and qualification of Wm. Gibbs, as a voter in respect of property situate within the hamlet of Mile End Old Town, were described in the register for the said county in the following words, that is to say: "Gibbs, William, travelling abroad, freehold house, 82, Heath-street."

This name was objected to by the appellant; and it was proved that the voter was and for several years had been travelling abroad, and had no fixed place of abode; but it was contended by the appellant that as no place of abode was given, the name ought to be expunged. The revising barrister was of opinion, that as the voter had no fixed place of abode, but was travelling abroad, he (the revising barrister) was not at liberty to expunge the voter's name, and he therefore retained it.

If the Court of Common Pleas should have been of opinion that a better description of the voter's place of abode, under the circumstances above stated, ought to have been required, the name was to be expunged, else to have been retained.

The Court, without calling upon the respondent, gave judgment as follows:

Judgment.—Tindal, C. J.: It appears to me by place of abode to mean, that if a party has a place of abode, that place of abode should be given. It never could have been intended that persons executing a public duty, which led them abroad, should from that very circumstance lose their votes.

Coltman, J.: It seems to me it cannot be said from the place of abode being omitted that the name is to be expunged, if he has no place of abode. There is nothing omitted which could be inserted; and I cannot think any objector can be put to any difficulty because, though he cannot serve him with a notice there, he might be permitted to make any objection, before he is called upon to prove his

notice; and after the preliminary matters are examined by the barrister, any one may suggest the irregularity; before the qualification is gone into, he is obliged to prove his notice, though not for the purpose of taking the objection in the first instance.

Maule, J.: I think the place of abode can only be stated where the party has a place of abode. The Act does not appear to disfranchise a person for not having a Christian name, or for not being a Christian.

Erle, J.: It appears to me that it is sufficient, and that the Act of Parliament seems to require certain particulars to identify the party claiming to vote; if he has a place of abode it must be specified: if he is a person without identification or profession, that appears to be a description, and as near a compliance with the statute as can be produced.

Mr. Phipson applied for costs, which were refused. Mr. Phipson said that he understood that where the respondent was not heard it had been laid down as a general rule to give costs.

Tindal, C. J.: We have heard you a little, and therefore cannot give costs. (Laughter.)

CITY OF LITCHFIELD.

THURSDAY, NOV. 20.—**HITCHINS, APPELLANT; BROWN, RESPONDENT.**—At the court held for the revision of the list of persons entitled to vote in the election of members for the city of Litchfield, William Upton appeared to have given due notice of his claim to have his name inserted in the list of persons entitled to vote in respect of property occupied within the parish of St. Peter at Arches, and described the situation of the property in the following terms—in the fourth column—"No. 5½, Muck Lane, St. Peter at Arches, Lincoln; and previously in the occupation of a house, No. 21, St. Mary's Street, in the parish of St. Mary le Wigford, Lincoln." He proved that he had occupied the two houses described in the fourth column of his claim, in immediate succession. The insertion of his name was duly objected to by the appellant on the ground that the nature of the claimant's qualification was insufficiently described for the purpose of being identified. On the part of the claimant it was contended, first, that the description was sufficient; and second, that if not, the barrister had power to correct the same. The revising barrister decided that it was sufficiently described, but by desire of the claimant altered the statement as follows: In the third column, "House occupied in immediate succession;" in the fourth column, "21, St. Mary Street, St. Mary le Wigford; and No. 5½, Muck Lane, St. Peter at Arches," and inserted his name with such alterations.

Judgment.—Tindal, C. J.: It appears to me that the decision was proper according to the statute, and that it complies with all the requisites of the Act. The decision depends on the construction of the 15th sect. of the 6th Victoria, cap. 18, and also upon the form which it set out in Schedule B, No. 6. Now, then, by the 15th sect. it is enacted, "that every person whose name shall have been omitted in any such list of voters for any city or borough, so to be made out as aforesaid, and who shall claim as having been entitled to have his name inserted therein; and every person desirous of being registered for a different qualification than that for which his name appears in the said list, shall on or from the 25th day of August in that year, give or cause to be given a notice of claim." And then it enacts, the claim shall be made out in the form, or to the effect that is given in No. 6. Now, then, on looking at that form, it appears to me to be quite clear that the third column, on which the argument has turned, is intended to point to a general nature of qualification; and that the 4th column that follows immediately, and is in a manner subjoined to it, is only a more particular exposition of the third column. That such is the case, appears, I think, from the heading in No. 6; for after the third column, stating the nature of the qualification, the heading of the fourth column is "street, lane, or other like place, in the parish where the property is situate, and No. of the house, if any;" to which these words are added in italics, "when the right depends upon property;" and evidently meaning, therefore, that the preceding column has called the attention of those who are to be objectors, or those who are to act upon it to this last column, in which the party claims to vote in respect of property. That is clear, for at the end of it you find the words "when the right depends upon property" in italics; evidently meaning that it is the same kind of rubric, or direction, and pointing out, as it seems to me, that which was necessary to the whole affirmation of this 4th column is where the general nature of the qualification is one depending on property, that is, upon the occupation of the "householder" or "profession;" it is in contradistinction to the other lists of voters, that the overseers are required to make out for any of the bygone rates still existing, and which of the parties enjoying them are still in full life. That being the case, I consider the third column to be satisfied by stating that this is a house qualification and the 4th column is quite correct by stating that this is a house qualification, and is not in respect of one single house, but of two houses that have been occupied in succession.—And one cannot suppose that the 3rd column was intended to be as precise as the 4th, for if that were so, where was the necessity of a 4th column, at all? It seems to me that the argument that has proceeded on the decision of this court, in the case of Bartlett and Gibbs, has not applied itself to the real ground on which that judgment rested, which was all the way through both put in argument at the bar and in the judgment of the court on the 4th column and not on the third; and in the 4th column, inasmuch as it described the house in East-street, whereas the right of the voter depended on the house in West-street, for six months preceding the house in East-street, so that the 4th column did not describe the real house of the voter, and therefore the revising barrister had no right to give him the power of voting, in respect of a qualification that could not be a qualification. That case was rightly decided, and we decide this case also rightly, by holding, that the description in the 3rd column is a sufficient compliance with the Act of Parliament. One must suppose, and one is bound in ordinary charity to suppose, the objector to be a man of ordinary intellect capable of walking about without assistance, and capable of reading, and if he look to the third and fourth columns, it is utterly impossible for him to misunderstand them.

The other judges concurred. Decision affirmed, with costs.

NORTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

ASHMORE, APPELLANT; LEES, RESPONDENT.—James Ashmore was an inmate of Shrewsbury Hospital, and claimed to be a voter for North Nottinghamshire, as being entitled, as such inmate, to an equitable life estate or interest in lands and corn rents in lieu of tithes arising from lands in the parish of Harworth and the adjoining town, Syston. There are now 20 male inmates of the hospital; they occupy and enjoy certain rooms in Sheffield, in the county of York; but they are not in the occupation of any property in Notts. The

governor receives the rents of the property belonging to the hospital; and pays out of those rents the sum of 2s. 6d. per week to each of the inmates (which sum has since been considerably increased); and also to give to every man a purple gown in every seven years for festival days, and a blue one every two years. The revenue of the hospital arises entirely from real property, which is partly in Yorkshire, and partly in Nottinghamshire; the Yorkshire property forms nearly two-thirds of the whole in value, and the remaining property is in Harworth and Styrup. The allowance of the pensioners is paid without any distinction as to the Yorkshire or Nottinghamshire property. The appellant was an inmate of the hospital, and as such inmate received a stipend of 10s. per week, and also the allowance of coals and clothing. If this weekly sum and the average annual value of his allowance for coals and clothing are added together, and are considered as arising from the whole of the real estates of the hospital, and apportioned between the two counties, according to the relative value of the estates in each, the amount of the proportion so considered as arising from Nottinghamshire would be of sufficient value to entitle him to vote, provided his interest were in other respects sufficient; but if the value of the coals and clothing was not to be taken into account, then the proportion of the money stipend alone would be insufficient. If the land and corn rents in Notts are not added together in estimating the total value of the Nottingham property, the value in no case is sufficient.

On the part of the objector it was contended, first, that James Ashmore had not a life interest in the emoluments he enjoyed by virtue of his appointment as an in-pensioner of the hospital; second, that if he had a life interest in such emoluments, it was not proved that he had any legal or equitable estate in lands or tenements in the county of Nottingham, as the whole real estates were in two different counties, and James Ashmore was not entitled to require payment of his stipend out of the Nottingham property in particular; third, that even if he had an equitable estate in the Nottingham property, yet as that property consisted partly of lands and partly of corn rents arising from lands not belonging to the hospital, these two different descriptions of property could not be joined to make up the requisite value for the franchise, each of them being singly insufficient for the purpose; fourth, that the mere right to receive, as an inmate of the hospital, the weekly stipend and allowance of coals and clothing, did not constitute a sufficient equitable estate or interest in the real property out of the rents and profits of which such allowances were made to entitle James Ashmore to be placed on the register; and that at all events the value of the allowances for coals and clothing could not be taken into account to make up the requisite value. The revising barrister decided in favour of the objector on the second and fourth grounds, and expunged the name.

This was a consolidated appeal, and 16 other names abided the decision of the Court in the above case.

Judgment.—Tindal, C. J.: It appears to me that the question is reduced to the single inquiry, whether the amount is sufficient on which the present claim to the right to vote is founded? But that will depend upon this: whether the claimants are entitled legally or equitably to a greater sum than the payment of 3s. 6d. per week; because it is contended, on the finding of the barrister, that if he is not entitled to more than 3s. 6d. per week, even if we took into account the amount of allowances for clothing, and also the coals in the proportion left for Nottinghamshire, it is not sufficient to put the claimants on the Nottinghamshire list. Now, on looking at the Act of Parliament under which the hospital has been founded, it appears perfectly clear there is no legal or equitable right to more than 3s. 6d. per week. It was originally a payment of 2s. 6d. per week, and it was afterwards increased to 3s. 6d. per week, and has been increased by dividing the surplus till it amounts to 10s. per week. The clause that directs the discretion of the trustees, is that which appears in the 25th page of the Act of George the Third, set out in the special case, in which it is enacted, "That out of the surplus of the yearly and other rents, issues, interests, monies, proceeds, revenues, and profits of the said trusts for the time being, shall by and under the directions of the said Edward Duke of Norfolk, during his life, and after his decease, and such person and persons as hereinafter is and are mentioned, weekly make answer and pay to and for the present members of the hospital and their successors, other than the governor of the said hospital, for the time being, such allowances, appointments, payments, and stipends, as that the said trustees for the time being under the same directions shall from the circumstances of the case or the exigencies of the time, having due regard to what the yearly income and revenues of the said hospital will provide from time to time, find requisite, with full power and authority to them the said trustees for the time being, and under the same directions, to lessen, increase, vary, change, and alter, such weekly allowances, payments, and stipends, as they shall also find requisite, so as the same allowances, payments, and stipends shall not at any time be reduced be low or under 3s. 6d. per week money to each of the said members (other than the said governor) respectively." When you couple that with the power formerly given by another section of the Act, (and, indeed, the direction from time to time to increase the number of pensioners is perfectly clear) that there can be nothing, and no fixed value which each separate pensioner is entitled to receive beyond that which is made a minimum in the Act—3s. 6d. a week—and, therefore, that is not sufficient to give a qualification. The other judges concurred. Decision affirmed, without costs.

THE CORN LAWS AND THE CULTIVATION OF LAND.—One of the reasons which used to be assigned for retaining the Corn Laws was, that they are necessary to enable farmers to cultivate their land properly, and that without them the land would be neglected. Yet for the last two or three years we have had landlords, stewards, agents, scientific professors, and even persons schooling and lecturing and exhorting the farmers because their land, is not, as it is alleged, half cultivated; that all they do is badly and slovenly done. So that, according to the showing of the monopolists themselves, the Corn Laws in respect to the cultivation of the land, have entirely failed. There is no doubt that the produce of the soil might be doubled at least; but in order to do this it is necessary that the farmers should occupy a more fixed position; that, by having a more secure tenure, they might expend their capital, skill, and labour with safety. Why do the landlords object to give them leases? We shall assign two reasons. 1st. Because their love of power over their tenants is too strong to yield to justice. 2nd. Because it would enable the farmer to exercise uncontrolled his elective franchise, and the monopolists would be unable to maintain their Parliamentary position.—*Brighton Herald*.

AGRICULTURE.

FARMERS ROBBING ONE ANOTHER.

Viewed in whatever aspect it may be, the system of "protection" is invariably found to be either a fraud or a delusion. This is especially the case with the agricultural view of the Corn Laws. Doubtless high prices are tempting, and those who, for a series of years, obtained high prices for their produce, through a combination of causes, are very apt to lend willing ears to promises of permanently high prices. This was the position of the farming body in 1815, when the Corn Law was enacted. But the great profits made in farming under the high prices which preceded 1815 were attributable to the fact that prices had for many years been constantly rising. The farmer obtained not only the price he had calculated upon, but something more; and though rents advanced with great rapidity, they scarcely overtook the rise of prices. This was a state of things impossible to last; for so much competition for farms had been induced, that rents were sure to rise beyond the rate prices would justify. Had the Corn Law, then, kept prices permanently high, the tenant farmer would have gained nothing, for competition would have compelled him to hand over to the landlord in the shape of rent all the gains derived from high prices. What has actually happened is, that rents have been fixed with reference to the high prices expected to be secured by means of the Corn Law, while the farmers have only received those high prices occasionally. This alone ought to make every tenant farmer an ardent Free Trader. But it seems that, after all, a somewhat higher average price of grain has been obtained in this country through the Corn Laws than would have been received under a Free Trade. We have often shown that the ill consequences of restriction, direct and indirect, to the farmer, which are necessarily incident to a restricted trade, far more than counterbalance the advantages of "protection" created high prices.

Now, one of the consequences of protection is to advance prices against as well as in favour of the farmer. Farmers are not simply producers. They are not merely gatherers of the spontaneous produce of the soil, as the protection theory implies; they must consume, and that largely, before they can produce; and it is only out of the surplus of their production beyond their consumption that they can derive a profit. This aspect of the protective system was first strongly insisted upon by Mr. Cobden, in his remarkable speech of last spring, when moving for a committee "to inquire into the effect of protective duties on the condition of tenant farmers and farm labourers." And though the House of Commons refused the inquiry, we are glad to find that the operation of protection upon farmers, as consumers, has been fully worked out by those eminent agriculturists, Mr. John Morton, and Mr. Joshua Trimmer. These gentlemen have communicated to the public the results of their inquiries in a tract, published by *Ridgway of Piccadilly*, entitled "An Attempt to Estimate the Effects of Protecting Duties on the Profits of Agriculture." This is a part of the question coming so home to the business of the farmer, that no man who thinks upon the Corn Law question—and there is no farmer who can avoid the consideration of it—should allow a week to elapse without perusing this pamphlet. Let the protectionist farmer above all others obtain it, consider its statements and calculations, apply them to his own business, and then, if he cannot displace their conclusions, let him tell his political leaders that their delusion of protection to British agriculture has lasted long enough. And it is to that test we would especially submit the calculations of the tract we refer to.

The writers avow that it was Mr. Cobden's assertion, that agricultural protection is a system of mutual plunder, which led them to work out the question in detail, and the result has proved surprising even to themselves. We shall give a summary of the results of their inquiries rather than by attempting to state them in detail, in a single article, run the risk of obscurity; but the book itself should be in the hands of every farmer.

They ascertain the amount of the actual extent to which prices in this country have been increased by protection, by the average duties paid on the importation of foreign wheat and other grain, for

home consumption, between 1828 and 1841; and they test that by a reference to the price of wheat in the Channel Islands, where the trade in grain is quite free. In this way they fix the extra price of wheat, caused by the Corn Laws, at 5s. 6d. a quarter; of oats, at 6s. 6d.; of barley, at 4s. 8d.; of peas, at 5s. 10d.; and on beans, at 6s. 11d. This is pretty nearly what the protectionists themselves state, when they would, as now in the days of their feebleness, extenuate their monopoly.

They first investigate the case of a light land farm in East Norfolk, of 400 acres; and as a preliminary they show that the high price of the hay, oats, &c., consumed by the farmers' horses and animals employed in the cultivation of his farm, can be of no benefit to him. It is only on the saleable produce that he gains by an enhanced price. And the same observation applies to the food of his labourers; subject, however, in the case of the labourers to this exception, "when the competition for employment enables him to pay them money wages, insufficient to purchase their fair share of the produce." And this may be said to be the constant state of the nine-tenths of the agricultural labourers of England. And the amount of which the labourers are thus robbed by protection, goes not into the farmer's pocket to remain; he is a cat's-paw only for the landlord.

In making their calculations, however, Messrs. Morton and Trimmer assume as true the monopoly fallacy, "that whatever the labourer pays in the shape of protecting duty on his food, he receives back again in the shape of higher wages; but they say truly that the fact is quite the reverse.

In East Norfolk the farmers sell no protected articles, produced by themselves, except barley and wheat. They buy bullocks; in most cases they buy sheep. They invariably purchase oats and beans for their horses, and much artificial food for feeding stock, as well as artificial manures. Upon this outlay the whole system of Norfolk agriculture is dependent. Without it they would neither pay their present rents nor make the struggles they have made against the difficulties and uncertainties of "protected" agriculture. Their seed corn is likewise enhanced in the same proportion as the corn they sell. Here we find some tolerably large items upon which the farmer, as a consumer, pays for "protection." If the East Norfolk farmer contrives to pillage the public of some shillings on every quarter of grain he sells, it is clear that he is himself plundered by somebody else on the above-named articles of his own consumption. The Fens of Lincolnshire, Scotland, and Ireland, pluck him in the price of his oats. He pays tribute to Cheshire, Derbyshire, Gloucestershire, Wilts, and Somersetshire, on his cheese. Kent and Essex supply him with "protected" clover seed at an artificial price. Kent and Surrey tax his hops. His lean stock cost so much that he has no profit from fattening them on "protected" grain. They are mere manure making machines, sometimes very expensive machines. The occupier of 400 acres of land in East Norfolk, will consume yearly 40 tons of oil-cake. Upon this alone the use of cheaper foreign grain would effect a yearly saving of 80*l*. The use of the linseed compound, introduced by Mr. Warnes, with peas and meal, has shown the Norfolk farmers what benefits they might derive from the free importation of oats, peas, beans, and maize.

The writers say—

"A large tenant farmer near Norwich informed us, that in 1843 the produce of 20 acres of peas, with the linseed from 8 acres of flax, fattened as much stock as he could have kept with purchased oil-cake to the value of 300*l*., and he also informed us that during the winter of that year the use of this kind of food reduced the price of cake by 2*l*. a ton. Other parties have assured us that this was a low estimate of the reduction of price thus occasioned. The general failure of the hay and turnip crops in 1844 caused oil-cake to advance again in price, notwithstanding the extended use of the compound of Mr. Warnes. We are therefore forming a very low estimate of the effect of an unrestricted importation of beans, maize, and oats, in reducing the price of oil-cake, by fixing the reduction at 2*l*. per ton."

And another way of making the calculation leads to the same result: "Seven quarters of oats weigh a ton, the protective duty on which at 6s. 6d. per quarter amounts to 2*l*. 5s. 6d.," and thus the free importation of oats and other grain fit to be used as substitutes for oil-cake may be fairly calculated as equal to a reduction of 2*l*. per ton in the price of oil-cake. We know practically, however, that the saving would be much more considerable. And

this estimate has regard only to the feeding cattle and sheep; but the gain from cheap beans, peas, and Indian corn for pig-feeding would be fully equal to that derived from cattle-food. We doubt whether so much manure could be made in so short a time and at so little cost as by feeding pigs, were it not for the great cost of their staple articles of food—beans and peas. There is assuredly no way of producing so large a quantity of meat in a short time as by pig-feeding; and what is of great social importance, it is the only kind of stock which is practically within the reach of the agricultural labourer.

To return from this digression. The present writers show that the demand for meat might be constantly augmenting were our labouring classes fully employed at good wages; for “two pounds of meat consumed weekly by each of the 200,000 mouths added annually to our population, would occasion an augmented demand, increasing annually at the rate of 74,000 oxen of six cwt. each; while increased wages, affording to five millions of our under-fed population the means of purchasing one pound of meat weekly, would cause a further annual demand of 386,000 oxen of the same weight, or an equivalent of mutton or pork.” The stimulus given to employment by the repeal of the Corn Laws would be certain to cause an increased consumption of meat far beyond the above estimate. One of the first objects in which an agricultural labourer expends his increased wages is animal food. That is to him the greatest luxury. It would soon become a necessary; and we say this from actual experience, for upon our own farm—where for our own profit we employ useful men only, and give them good wages—we find that after supplying themselves with decent clothing, they invariably become regular consumers of meat, and that in considerable quantities. For instance, we have two young single men lodging on the premises, boarding themselves, and who consequently have no expenses for rent; these men, who had previously thought themselves well off if they got a sufficient meal of bread, regularly use seven or eight pounds of meat per week. The market for meat, were the trade in grain free so that the farmer could produce it with profit at moderate cost, may be said to be without limit. The following is a recapitulation of the items on which the farmer pays the protective duties, contrasted with the objects of sale on which he receives a “protective” price:

“Amount paid by the cultivator of 400 acres of light land in East Norfolk in the shape of protecting duties on agricultural produce consumed by himself, his labourers, and cattle; and first for seed, as we have allowed the protective duties on the gross produce of the farm without deducting the seed, we must here charge the same duties on the corn sown.

Seed-corn	Bshls.	Acres		£	s.	d.
Wheat	2½ X 100	= 31½ quarters	at 5s. 6d	8	11	0
Barley	3½ X 100	= 43½ do.	at 4s. 8d.	10	0	8
Clover red 12 lbs.	X 100	= 1200 lbs.				
White	8 X 100	= 800				

Trefoil	8 lbs. X 100	= 800 say 7½ cwt at 5s.	1	15	9
Rye-grass, ½ bush.	X 100=50 bushls.	12½ cwt at 10s.	6	5	0

	£35	10	9
Horse-keep, (par. 48)	29	11	6
Oil-cake for sheep and cattle, (par. 45 to 47)	80	0	0
Tradesmen's bills, 10 per cent. on 100 <i>l.</i> (par. 60)	10	0	0
Sundries, (par. 62)	2	0	0
Labourers' food, (par. 50, 51, 52)	47	13	4
Labourers' beer, (par. 54, 55, 56)	4	13	2

£209 8 9

“Amount received from protecting duties on the produce which this farmer sells:

Wheat 4 qrs. X 100 acres	= 400 qrs. at 5s 6d	110	0	0
Barley 5 qrs. X 100 acres	= 500 ditto 4s 8d	116	13	4

£226 13 4

“Deducting the amount paid for protection from the amount received by it on the produce sold, we find that the occupier of this farm gains 17s. 4s. 7d. by the protective system.”

Thus, after paying the direct burden caused by protection on the mere cost of cultivating 400 acres of Norfolk land, the protected farmer gains apparently, and only apparently, 17l. 4s. 7d. by monopoly!!

But that gain is not real, for there remain to be estimated the effects of protection on the rent and the expenses of the tenant's family. His rent is 500l., fixed at that sum on the assumption that wheat will always sell for 56s. a quarter; but, in fact, the average does not range above 50s. a quarter. His rent is, therefore, too high by 54l.

There goes at once all the monopoly-profit, and

something more. And Messrs. Morton and Trimmer truly say, that when the protection delusion is at an end, the farmer would get either an actual reduction of rent, or he would obtain what would be quite equivalent, namely, “improved tenure, diminution of game, removal of useless fences, trees, &c., and power to convert poor pasture into arable.”

But, beyond the excessive rent occasioned by protection, a farmer occupying 400 acres of land could not save less than 40l. a-year upon his family consumption. Here, then, we find an addition of 94l. a year to the 209l. 8s. 9d., the increased cost of cultivation arising from protecting duties, which will amount together to 303l. 8s. 9d.; and, deducting from that sum 226l. 13s. 4d., the profits of protection, the tenant will be a loser of 76l. 15s. 5d. by protection. Farmers, make these calculations for yourselves, from the figures furnished by your own account-books and the facts of your own farms, and you will find that the practical farmers, from whom we have quoted, have far understated the farmers' case against the Corn Laws.

Great as it is, however, this is not the whole loss. “Besides the 40 tons of oil-cake, purchased to improve the manure of his farm, the tenant expends at least 200l. in the purchase of artificial manures, such as rape-cake, bones, and guano. If, by the removal of restrictions on the importation of corn, he were enabled to purchase oats, weighing 40lbs. a bushel, for 15s. the quarter, the 200l. now expended on artificial manures would buy 266 quarters of oats, which would enable the green crops to fatten 170 sheep and 17 beasts more than the farm carries at present. The manure produced by them would be more beneficial than the bones, rape-cake, or guano, which would be purchased for 200l.” Now, if these additional sheep and cattle only return their prime cost, and the cost of the corn they consume—and they ought to do more, and generally will—the whole expense now incurred in the purchase of artificial manure will be saved. This sum added to the previous sum of 76l. 15s. 5d., would give 276l. 15s. 5s. as the farmer's loss by protection: but as the farmer must employ an extra capital of say 400l., on which for interest and casualties he should be allowed 10 per cent. or 40l., the clear sum lost under the present system of artificial manure buying will be 160l., and the farmer's loss by protection, 236l. 15s. 5d.

But let us suppose a profit of only 3s. a head on the sheep, and 30s. a head on the beasts, to be made above their prime costs and the cost of their corn, a further sum of 51l. must be added, making the loss by the Corn Laws 287l. 15s. 5d.—equal to 14s. 4d. the acre on 400 acres!

This, then, is what every farmer who shouts and pays at “protection” meetings shouts and pays for. He neglects his business to assist in maintaining a law which mulets him of 14s. 4d. an acre. Of this his landlord may pocket some 5s. an acre; all the rest is a dead loss to everybody.

We have already exceeded our usual limits without having given more than one of the cases put by Messrs. Morton and Trimmer; but the subject is so important in itself—and is especially important now, when our rulers seem undecided whether to getrid of the delusion at once, or to keep it lingering over the fortunes of farmers for another year or two—that we shall next week recur to this tract, and notice some further illustrations it affords of the farmer's DIRECT LOSS THROUGH THE CORN LAWS

AGRICULTURAL CORRESPONDENCE.

We recommend to the perusal of our readers the following communication from Sir R. Musgrave, of Tourin Castle, Waterford:

MY DEAR SIR,—I have delayed writing to you in order that I might convey some information on the state of th potato crop. I am sorry to say the accounts I receive from different quarters are very alarming. Some friends of mine, who have travelled lately, state the crops in Antrim, Cavan, Louth, and Tipperary, to be very defective.

In the county of Waterford we are better off; although a portion of the crop has been lost in this county, still the greater part of it is as yet safe. But even here, it appears that the potatoes are of a worse quality than in other seasons they are more watery, and in numerous instances have shown the disease after being put into pits. It is highly probable that they will not keep in a sound state until the new crop comes in. The general food of the labouring class is a species of white potato, of an inferior description. Last May, on complaint being made by the paupers in the Lismore Union workhouse that the potatoes supplied to them were bad, I went into the Lismore market with the master of the

workhouse: and though several cartloads were exposed for sale, I could not procure any of an eatable description. If such was the case last year, the present crop will not be available in May as food for human beings.

It seems to me quite certain that an awful state of distress will prevail among the labouring class next summer. Great exertions have been made by boards of guardians as well as by private individuals, in order to ascertain the best mode of preserving the present crop, and to prevent the dreadful evil of famine. Many representations have been made to Government on the subject, but I think they have not gone far enough. To me it appears not sufficient to call on Government to provide employment as a remedy. The greatest evil is not want of employment—the calamity we have to dread most of all is an absolute deficiency of the necessities of life; and it appears to me we ought to import food from every part of the world offering to supply it. In England, but more especially in Ireland, restrictions on the importation of foreign grain have forced great part of the population to depend on potatoes for subsistence. Corn Laws have been at all times injurious; but to attempt to maintain them now, when famine is to be apprehended, and when we find that instead of bread, the staff of life, rotten potatoes are substituted, is really monstrous, and almost incredible. A bounty on importation would be more consistent with common sense and humanity. In case of a famine, there would hardly be security for life or property; and no class perhaps would suffer more than landlords from laws excluding a supply of food.

The labouring classes of Ireland are extremely patient under severe suffering; and I have frequently known labouring men to subsist during a considerable part of summer on one daily meal of dry potatoes; but we have now to dread something infinitely worse. Men will submit patiently to what they consider the dispensations of Providence, but they cannot be expected to endure patiently the effects of mischievous legislation. The effect of Corn Laws at present is to abstract from Ireland large quantities of grain for the support of the people of England, and to exclude the Americans and others who are willing to supply it. Next spring, when it is found that in this way little corn is left for the use of the people of Ireland, whose labour has raised it, the worst effects of popular indignation may justly be dreaded. It is more than probable that Ireland will afford a fearful illustration of the sound arguments so ably brought forward in the LEAGUE.—I am, my dear Sir,

Yours most truly, R. MUSGRAVE.

A correspondent sends us the following letter, which he received from Messrs. Sturge of Gloucester, and to which he adds the judicious comments contained in his own letter:

“Gloucester, 11 mo, 12.

“Mr. —, Cheltenham,—In reply to thy favour we should have been glad to have complied with thy request, but regret to say we have no oats of any description by us at present for any of our customers.—We are very respectfully,

“J. and C. STURGE, per T. M. STURGE,

“To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

“Cheltenham, Nov. 17, 1845.

“I send you a letter I have received from Messrs. Sturge, cornfactors, of Glo'ster; since which I have sent over my servant to Glo'ster, and the report is, ‘there are no oats in all Glo'ster. My own opinion is, that early next year the same reply will be made as to potatoes. It is really melancholy to see the state of the potato crop in this neighbourhood; one-half the crop is lost to the country. I usually ride out daily; and day after day I see potatoes piled up in the road near the potato field—wheeled out of the way—being too bad even for pigs. Potatoes advance but little in price, because the little farmers and market-gardeners hasten to sell what they can—as do what they will they rot on hand. From this I perceive clearly that after Christmas there will be potatoes only for the rich—the poor will not be able to purchase them. Are we then to have a subscription for the poor? Here lies the DIFFICULTY! To subscribe to relieve the poor, whilst the monopolists enjoy their protection, can be considered in no other light than a subscription to maintain the present (starving and famine-making) Corn Laws. In fact, it would be a subscription to assist the Richmonds, the Miles's, and such like, in their selfish pursuits of monopoly. At the last general election Mr. Wm. Miles declared on the hustings at Wells, ‘that the present Corn Laws,’ meaning the Corn Law of 1815, were the very best that could be devised ‘for landlord, for tenant, and for the labourer.’ Upon this very statement he was sent to Parliament to represent East Somerset. But what did he do? Why, listen: he voted for the present Corn Law. His brother, the Member for Bristol, did the very same thing. The latter, in bringing forward his famous Sugar Monopoly Bill, called upon members of both sides of the House to assist him, ‘for if you don't,’ says he, ‘you will ere long lose your protection on land.’ The Duke of Richmond, in his place in the House of Lords, after this election, declared, ‘We have turned out one Ministry because they proposed a fixed duty, and we will turn out another if they follow the same plan.’ I again ask, what is to be done? To resist contributing to the poor I am ashamed; but to give is clearly to give not to the poor, but to the monopolist. I will relate to you a fact which came to my knowledge about the year 1840 to 42. A merchant in Bristol speculated in corn; he was successful in his speculation, except on two or three cargoes, which arrived too late. On the arrival of these cargoes the price had fallen; but the duty had advanced. The wheat was consequently bonded; it remained in bond all the cheap years, and my friend did not know what to do with this wheat. He had kept it so long, the original price had nearly doubled itself in expenses of various kinds. He came to me one day and said, ‘What am I to do with my wheat? I have ceased to be at the expense of turning it, because when I go in a morning I find it has changed sides in the granary; the insects turn it regularly.’ I advised him to buy some pigs, and get rid of it in that way. His answer was, ‘I would do it if it were not for the duty; the duty being then about 8s. Here we parted. About 15 months after he said, ‘Do you want any money? I have unexpectedly got some to spare: more than usual.’ ‘How's that?’ ‘Why,’ he says, ‘to tell you the truth, I have sold all my wheat to a miller. I have at last cleared

myself in first cost, interest, expenses, &c.' 'But what is the miller going to do with this wheat?' 'He has got some good old English wheat, and he grinds them down together.' Such is the effect of the sliding scale, and I know this made him a convert to a small fixed duty. Would the Duke of Richmond eat the bread made of this wheat? No; but his poor labourers would, though they might perish in fever after. Suppose we go to a subscription, will the Dukes of Wellington and Richmond head the list with 10,000*l.* each, and the Miles's with their 5000*l.*? No; perhaps not one penny. Field Marshal the Duke will decline the meeting of a deputation as he did the Paisley affair; but the middle men who are the great sufferers, will be expected to subscribe. It is a landlord's question, and a landlord's only; and to the landlords I for one may leave it; and in the hour of death the pious Lord Ashley will procure their absolution, though it be at the expense of his Dorsetshire friends."

WILLITON AND DUNSTER AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION.

—The annual meeting and ploughing match took place on Thursday. The ploughing came off in a piece of ley, near the road leading to Minehead. Thirteen ploughs started, and the work was generally done in a very creditable manner. The dinner was provided at the "Luttrell Arms," and reflected great credit upon the worthy host for his liberality and good management. Bickham Escott, Esq., ably presided. The cloth having been removed, the honourable chairman gave the usual loyal toasts, prefacing each with apt and loyal remarks. On the health of the members of the county having been drunk, Mr. Acland returned thanks, on behalf of Mr. Dickinson and himself; and in conclusion proposed "the health of Mr. Escott." (Loud and long-continued cheering.) Mr. Escott, in returning thanks, said he always felt great pleasure in meeting a large party of friends such as he saw before him. That pleasure was greatly heightened when he remembered that the object of their meeting was one of unmixed good, and of great benefit to this part of the country. (Cheers.) He drew the attention of the meeting to the failure of the potato crop; and was interrupted, or rather attempts were made to correct the hon. genl.'s statements regarding the affliction. The Rev. Mr. Ralph questioned the assertion that one-half of the food of the poor consisted of potatoes. A farmer replied to the question, how much of the crop had been destroyed? he said that more than three-quarters had been rendered totally useless. Mr. Escott continued: he believed that in the whole case it would be found that four-fifths had been destroyed, rendered totally useless. (Hear, hear.) And were they (the agriculturists) in such a state as not to be able to tell the truth? Why, when the time came that bitter want pressed upon those who now chiefly lived upon potatoes, would those who suffered be satisfied to have the matter stifled. Would they be satisfied to hear that it was a visitation of Providence, and all that could be done was to endeavour to avert the consequences? He was not a reasonable man who endeavoured to stifle inquiry, and the fullest inquiry, into the cause. (Cheers.) He had asked what portion of food had been destroyed, and he was told three-fourths. If he himself stated that four-fifths were nearer the mark. How, then, he asked, were those to live who had been accustomed to use potatoes to the extent of one-half of their food, now that three-fourths of that crop had been destroyed? (Hear, hear.) He did not intend to say anything about politics; but he would say this. He knew what had been done in former times, in cases of similar emergency—he knew that in the case of the oldest nation of which we have any record, the inhabitants sent to the granaries of other countries for food. He knew, also, that whenever the people of this country had been distressed, one of the principal causes of that distress always was the high price of provisions in our great trading communities. (Hear, and cheers.) He advised those who heard him to consider these things; he advised those who were in the Government to consider them; he advised such men as his hon. friend (Mr. Acland), than whom there were few more able or more honest—he advised all to use the influence which rank and station, education and ability, and honesty gave them, to endeavour to ward off or to mitigate the evil that was impending. (Loud cheers.) Let them tell those who were in power, to beware how they tampered when such an imminent danger stared them in the face. (Enthusiastic cheering.) The last toast the chairman gave, was "Prosperity to the Williton and Dunster Agricultural Association." He said he gave that toast with feelings of satisfaction at all the proceedings which had taken place that day, without any exception whatever. The object for which the association had been established was a good one. He believed that benefit arose from such societies, though some persons were apt to exaggerate it. It is true that good might be obstructed if political questions were introduced; and for this reason, that so long as we in this country enjoy that freedom which we have inherited, and which he hoped we shall ever enjoy, we feel so much on political subjects that our feelings overcome our judgment—(hear and cheers.) He had listened to the whole of the remarks that had been made, and had endeavoured to watch every word that had fallen from his own lips; and, with one exception, no political question had been touched upon in that room. It was true that many of the questions adverted to might become subjects of political discussion, and excite party feeling in the councils of the nation. But he did maintain that they never ought to be allowed to do so. He maintained that the supply of food for the people least of all other questions should be made political. Col. Luttrell—I must go after this. The supply of food not a political question! Mr. Escott continued—His friend had said the supply of food was a political question. He (Mr. Escott) told the meeting, and it was well that it should be known, if such societies as these were to be of any use at all, the free expression of opinion was necessary to their usefulness.—(loud cheers.) The meeting then broke up.—*Somerset County Gazette.*

IRISH GOOD GOVERNMENT.—In a country of monopoly there can be no patriotism. There may be a party spirit; but public spirit there can be none. As to a spirit of liberty, still less can it exist, or anything like it. A liberty made up of poodles!—a liberty made up of ineptitudes!—a liberty made up of exclusion and proscription, continued for ages, of four-fifths, perhaps, of the inhabitants of all ranks and fortunes! In what does such liberty differ from the description of the most shocking kind of servitude? But it will be said, in that country some people are free—why, this is the very worst description of despotism. *Partial freedom is privilege and prerogative, and not liberty.* Liberty, such as deserves the name, is an honest, equitable, diffusive, and impartial principle. It is a great and enlarged virtue, and not a sordid, selfish, and illiberal vice. It is the portion of the mass of the citizens; and not the haughty license of some potent individual, or some predominant faction.

MAIZE, OR INDIAN CORN.

(From the New York Albion.)

We have great satisfaction in stating that Mr. B. Escott, Member of Parliament for Winchester, gave notice in the House of Commons, that he should, early in the next session, move that *Maize or Indian corn be admitted into the ports of Great Britain duty free.*

It would be affectation in us not to express the gratification we feel on reading this notice. The introduction and use of Indian corn into the British Isles, has long been a favourite object with us, and we have on various occasions advocated it in the columns of the *Albion*. In the year 1842, we addressed a letter to Lord Ashburton, then in this country, on the subject, and the letter we subsequently published in a pamphlet. This pamphlet has had a wide and general circulation, and, during the last year, has been the subject of much conversation in England among many of the leading statesmen and politicians of the country. We had, also, the pleasure of receiving a letter of thanks from Lord Aberdeen, for the information which it contained.

But an innovation of this kind, upon the protective laws of the kingdom has, and will meet with much opposition. The agricultural protectionists, already sufficiently annoyed with the inroads made on the corn tariff by Sir Robert Peel, will, of course, resist this new measure; but we are not without hopes—nay, indeed, we have the fullest confidence that when the merits of the case are fully known, and the question comes up in the House of Commons for discussion—that its advantages will appear so palpable as to disarm hostility. It should, therefore, be the business of Mr. Escott and those gentlemen who view the plan in a favourable light, to have its advantages laid before the public during the recess. That the scheme will stand the test of the fullest investigation, we do not for a moment doubt; and if prejudices can be conquered to any reasonable extent, we have no fears for the result.

That the people of England will voluntarily adopt Indian corn as an article of food, we do not suppose; prejudice indeed will in the first instance be a considerable obstacle in the way of its successful introduction; but we look forward to times of scarcity when the crops have failed, when bread is dear and money scarce; when the poor in the manufacturing towns are in a state of destitution; when soup houses are opened to feed starving thousands—then, when such a disastrous period does arrive, will the Indian corn be properly valued. In addition to *soup houses*, let *mush* and *pudding* houses be opened, and the plate of *mush* or slice of *pudding* be given to the hungry, who will certainly apply for it. Let it be borne in mind that the maize in either form is most nutritious and wholesome, and palatable too, when seasoned with a little sugar or molasses, or what would be preferable in England—*treacle*. In addition to these facts, let one other fact be also kept in view, namely, that the plate of *mush* or slice of *pudding*, with its concomitant sweetening, can, if the duty be repealed, be prepared at the cost of one half-penny, and be sufficient in quantity to satisfy the appetite of any moderate person. These facts with corresponding details were published in the pamphlet before adverted to.

But it is not as human food only that we would recommend the use of this article. It is well known to be admirably adapted for hogs and poultry; and for milch cows, the meal when mixed with green fodder, is pre-eminently useful. If introduced and used for these purposes in England, the land which is now employed for barley and oats could be appropriated to wheat, turnips, and the higher and the more valuable articles of agricultural production. Our theory indeed is simply this:—There is a want of superficial surface in the islands of Great Britain to provide food for their increasing population, it is therefore wise and expedient to use what land there is for the better class of productions, importing from foreign countries what may be considered the lower and cheaper articles of food.

The commercial considerations attached to this subject should not be overlooked. If there should be an annual demand for ten millions of bushels of maize in Great Britain and Ireland, that quantity at half a dollar a bushel would constitute an article of export from the United States, amounting to five millions of dollars. The returns for this would in all probability, be made in British goods of some sort, or in British capital for investment; and in either case the transaction would be highly conducive to the welfare of both countries. The Jersey, the Virginian, New York, Pennsylvanian, and Ohio farmer would feel the effect of this new demand for one of the great staple commodities of the soil; he would feel that he was raising a crop for a country that was able to pay for it; he would have assurance that his corn would not be cheapened down to 40 cents a bushel, but would command an encouraging and remunerating price. Such a consideration would tend to preserve the peace between the two countries, by showing the people how mutually usefully they are to each other.

THE FREE CHURCH AND THE CORN LAWS.

ANTI-FAMINE SERMON.—At the meeting of the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, of the Free Church, held in the Rev. Dr. Candlish's Church, Edinburgh, on Tuesday, the 14th inst., at which the *elite* of the Free Church ministers were present from all the neighbouring districts, the Rev. Mr. Mackenzie, of North Leith, preached a most eloquent and impressive sermon, much of which was directed against the unjust policy of our rulers in enacting laws to make the food of the industrious and honest scarce and dear, and their own luxuries abundant and cheap. He selected for the subject of his discourse part of the 6th chap. of Revelations; and in particular, the 5th and 6th verses:—"And I beheld, and lo, a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand. And I heard a voice in the midst of the four beasts say—a measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny; and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine." The rev. gentleman, towards the end of his discourse, referred to the destitution and suffering likely to be endured in this kingdom during the present season, as exemplifying the predictions contained in his text. He agreed with the majority of commentators in regarding "the black horse" as being an emblem of calamity and mourning; and "the balance" in the hands of the rider as indicating that there would be a great scarcity of provisions, and that men would have their food dealt out to them, *not in natural abundance*, but weighed and measured with the minute exactness required in a period of scarcity and famine. "The measure of wheat," he said, was no more than the ordinary daily allowance of bread to a slave, while the Roman "penny" (or sevenpence-halfpenny of our money) was the usual day's wages of a labourer. Thus, during the period referred to, the poor would be in a state of

great suffering, for a man could earn only bread for himself, and none for the other members of his family. The effect would be to drive many to the coarse and less nutritive articles of food which the "penny" would purchase in larger quantities. "Three measures of barley for a penny," in place of one measure of wheat, would be their first step in the downward course; and even then they would obtain only a bare subsistence of the least desirable kinds of food, and have nothing left for clothing or other necessities. The result would be a state of dreadful destitution and suffering on the part of the poor; but then the luxuries of the rich were not to be interfered with—"see thou hurt not the oil and the wine." This, he said, was a true picture of the state of matters in our own day and country. The aristocracy made and maintained laws in order to oppress the poor and benefit themselves. The result—which they appeared indisposed to avert—would probably be a famine in the land; and thus their unjust policy and legislation might perhaps be overruled by Providence, as a punishment for our sins as a nation. The rev. gentleman concluded a most able discourse, which was listened to throughout with intense interest, by an earnest appeal to the ministers of the Synod, individually and collectively, to be faithful shepherds over the flocks entrusted to their pastoral care.—*Scotsman*, Nov. 5.

PRESENTATION OF PLATE TO EDWARD HOLLINS, ESQ.

On Saturday the 8th, a soirée was given by the work-people of Edward Hollins, Esq., manufacturer, at Park Mills, Stockport, on the occasion of their presenting that gentleman with a service of plate, as a testimony of the attachment and regard, which he has won from them by his invariable efforts for the promotion of their comfort, and for the advancement of their intelligence and happiness. Upwards of eight hundred persons partook of an excellent entertainment in one of the upper rooms of the mill, which was tastefully decorated with evergreens, and festooned with pink and white drapery. Along the walls were hung various banners, bearing inscriptions, such as "The Rights of Industry," "The Town and Trade of Stockport;" and over the chair were the words, "Thus shall it be done unto the man whom the people delighteth to honour." Across the centre of the room, on two parallel beams, was erected a platform, or rather a gallery for the band, decorated with pink and white festoons, and rosettes. Such was the good spirit and hearty reciprocity of sentiment on the part of all who had met to do honour to one—

"Whose generous friendship no cold medium knows."

Burns with one love, with one resentment glows," with those who participated in them, and who were but "in the morning of their youth," he looked upon, through the vista of years, as a sort of land mark to guide them on in the path of well doing. After the tables were cleared, Mr. Hurst, one of the foremen of the establishment, was called to the chair. Mr. Johnson read over letters from Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., E. Davenport, Esq., Mr. and Mrs. Marsland, Mr. Hollins' father, and others, expressing their regret that they could not be present on the occasion, owing to prior engagements. After the usual loyal toasts had been given, the Chairman gave "The people, the producers of wealth." Mr. J. Allinson, a power-loom weaver, responded in an excellent speech of considerable length, for which we regret we cannot find space.

The plate was then brought into the room and placed on the table before the chairman, amidst the simultaneous and honest applause of the vast assemblage. The testimonial, valued at 100*l.*, consisted of an elegant silver tea and coffee pot, two sugar-basins, cream-jug, and toast-rack, of the newest style and pattern, and a massive silver salver, on which was engraved the following inscription:

"This salver, together with the silver tea-service, was presented to Edward Hollins, Esq., by the work-people in his employ, November 8th, 1845, in testimony of their gratitude for his unwearied exertions in the promotion of their comfort, intelligence, and general happiness."

The parties deputed to present Mr. Hollins with the plate were two of the oldest hands of the mill, namely, William Davies, who had served 42 years, and Joseph Robotham, who had served 36 years. The chairman then gave the health of Henry Coppock, Esq., and the other guests who had given them their company that evening. Mr. Coppock returned thanks. The chairman said that there was another pleasing proof of the attachment of the work-people of Park Mills, not only to their respected master, but to their manager also. The gentleman was well known to every one connected with the bleach-works—he meant Mr. James Nightingale. The work-people have purchased for him a piece of plate. Mr. Joseph G. M'ile, the Vice-president, said he had been by that gentleman deputed to say, that he sincerely thanked the bleachers and finishers for their kind consideration of him, but that he could not participate that evening in the festivities consequent upon the presentation of the testimonial to their worthy master, Mr. Hollins, and begged to decline accepting the mark of their esteem for him on the present occasion; at another time he should feel proud to receive it from their hands. As the object of that meeting was to do honour exclusively to their revered master, Mr. Nightingale had taken a right view of it, and did not wish to have the business for which they had met, interrupted, by appropriating any portion of their time to him. (Hear, hear.) The chairman proposed "The Ladies," which was responded to by Mr. P. Marsland. At nine o'clock the tables were removed, and dancing was kept up with great spirit until a late hour.

PRESENTATION TO MR. JAMES NIGHTINGALE.—On Monday evening, the crofters employed in connection with the same establishment presented Mr. James Nightingale, the manager of the Newbridge Lane Bleach Works, with a splendid silver cup, valued at 15 guineas, as a testimony of their regard and esteem for him. The ceremony took place at the Bull's Head, Market-place, and about 100 sat down to supper. The festivities were kept up until a late hour.

CORN LAWS.—We understand that R. Cobden, Esq., M.P., and J. Bright, Esq., M.P., will attend a meeting in Bristol on the subject of the Corn Laws, on Friday, the 5th December. Milner Gibson, Esq., M.P.; and Chas. Villiers, the hon. M.P.; are also expected to be present.—*Bath Journal*.

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETINGS.—Free trade meetings, which will be attended by Messrs. Cobden and Bright, are to be held at Sheffield on the 24th; at Leeds, the 25th, and at Bradford, the 26th instant. During the same week other meetings will also be held at Wakefield, Barnsley, and Doncaster.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

R. C. S., Grey Friars Gate.—A person qualified for a borough, and under more counties, may vote for each and every of them at a general election.

A Subscriber to the League, Leicester.—To entitle a person as a freeholder to be on the register, he must have in law or equity a freehold interest of 40s. clear. If the estate is mortgaged to the full extent, or over its value, and leaves no surplus, that property will not legally give a vote to the mortgagor, but the mortgagee might have a vote if he was in possession or in the receipt of the rents and profits. 2d question.—It is not of necessity that the house should be let at all times to confer the vote: it is sufficient if it is shown that it is of the yearly value of 40s.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, November 22, 1845

The country is aroused to a sense of the dangers impending over its prospects. The inhabitants of Manchester, Newcastle, Salford, and several other towns have met and joined in memorials to the Government for the immediate opening of the ports. It is now certain that recourse must finally be had to this measure; and delay only serves to impair its remedial efficiency. "The sliding scale," says the *Morning Herald*, "is efficient to keep corn out when it is not wanted, and to let it in freely when it is wanted." But the real question is, who are to be judges of the want? If the determination of this issue be referred to the monopolists, who have a direct interest in obtaining the artificial prices of scarcity, they will not recognise the existence of want until the pressure of famine became so intolerable as to menace the public safety. The eaters of bread would not import corn unless when wanted; and in a natural state of things their demands would exactly measure the deficiency, and procure the supply. But the law, and the Government which made that law, have arrogated to the Minister the power of determining the adequacy of the supply of the national food, and for the exercise of this power he is morally and constitutionally responsible. The meetings in Manchester, Newcastle, and elsewhere show that the danger is felt to be pressing; we trust that every town in England will similarly express its opinions on this perilous crisis, and thus throw upon the Government the entire responsibility of the consequences. The accounts from Ireland become worse every day; the Mansion-house committee, over which Lord Cloncurry presides, has published resolutions, declaring that more than one-third of the potato crop is already destroyed; that the pestilence is daily extending; that their information on the subject is positive and precise, being derived from persons of all political opinions, and from clergymen of all religious denominations in the various quarters of Ireland; and to this they add a resolution condemnatory of the Ministerial policy, which we subjoin:

"That the people of Ireland should particularly arraign the conduct of the present Ministry in shrinking from their duty to open the ports for the introduction of provisions by royal proclamation, whilst they have had the inhumanity to postpone the meeting of Parliament to next year."

The ministerial organs deny the existence of the want. Let the want then be proclaimed by those who feel it. Manchester proclaims that it is sensible of deficiency; its constituted authorities, its most important body of operatives, and the general mass of its inhabitants, convened in public meeting, declare to the premier that the supply of provisions is inadequate to the exigencies of the population, and they set in array a body of evidence which can only be resisted by the most wilful blindness and perversity. But the same signs of distress are becoming evident in every part of the country; the several boards of guardians in the metropolis find that parochial expenses increase, while the power of sustaining them is diminished. It is the duty of the people to prevent their rulers from continuing in the delusion which their semi-official organs labour to propagate. Every town in which the symptoms of approaching scarcity begin to show themselves, should at once place these evidences on record and lay them before the Cabinet. The cry of distress from Ireland is swelling; let it find an echo in England, that our rulers may know it has been heard. Let it be thoroughly understood that the nation requires something to be done, and then, if nothing is done, there can be no mistake as to where the accountability rests. The Government is playing a desperate game, when it denies that there is any deficiency. Its denial is thus answered by the Mansion House committee:

"We are unfortunately able to proclaim to all the inhabi-

tants of the British empire, and in the presence of an all-seeing Providence, that in Ireland famine of a most hideous description must be immediate and pressing, and that pestilence of the most frightful kind is certain, and not remote, unless immediately prevented."

Here is a solemn declaration set forth by men of different creeds and parties, supported by a long array of evidence, which cannot be overborne by the heartless speculations of the *Herald*, or the surmises of the *Standard*, aided though the guesses of both be by the inspiration of the Cabinet. It is the duty of every town in the empire to pronounce on the notorious inadequacy of our present stock of provisions, and to warn our rulers of the impending results. At such a crisis as that with which we are menaced, the nation must not be wanting to itself; the example given by the great towns of the North is an indication of the proper course to be adopted; there is yet time for the voice of warning and remonstrance to be heard; and, if that voice be unheeded, the people will at least have delivered their own souls.

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. Nov. 15	MON. Nov. 17	TUES. Nov. 18	WED. Nov. 19	THUR. Nov. 20	FRI. Nov. 21
Bank Stock	203	202.3	204.5	205.0	207	207.5
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	95½	95½	95	95	94½	94½
3 per Ct. Con. Ann.	96½	96½	96	96	95½	95½
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	97½	97½	97	97	96½	96½
Long. An. Ex. 1860	101	109.16	109.16	109.16	109.16	109.16
Cons. for Acct.	96½	96½	96	96	95½	95½
Exc. Bills, pm.	25	24.7	24.7	23.5	24.7	24.7
Ind. Bds. un. 1000/.	38	38	..	..	42	..
India Stock	264	263.4	..	..	..	..
Austrian	96	96	96.7	95½	95½	..
Belgian Bonds	81	82	82.3	..	80	..
Brazilian 5 per Ct.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Chilian	86	..	..	..	86½	..
Columb. ex. Venez.	60½	60½	60½	60	60½	59½
Dutch 4 per Cent.	94	94½	94½	94	94	94½
Dutch 2½ per Cent.	30½	30½	30½	30½	30½	30½
Mexican	38	35	..	..	..	..
Peruvian	58	57.8	..	..	..	..
Portug. conv.	113½	..	113	113	111.12	..
Russian 5 per Cent	..	29½	28½	28½	28½	28½
Spanish 5 per Ct.	38½	..	38½	37½	..	37.8
Do. 3 per Ct. ex. dv.	..	..	..	..	..	..

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MONDAY, NOV. 17.—There is only a small show of samples of Wheat from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk this morning. The supply of foreign is large. There is rather more disposition evinced to purchase both English and free foreign, and the former is readily taken off at the prices of this day week. In bonded there is little or nothing doing. The supply of Barley is good, and fine qualities are 1s. and inferior 2s. lower than last Monday. Beans about 1s. cheaper. In the value of White and Maple Peas no alteration. A very large fleet of vessels laden with Oats have arrived within the last few days; about 30 from Ireland, and as many from the near Continental ports. The effect has been completely to stagger the market, and prices have declined considerably. Oats are freely offered at 2s. less money than could be obtained last Monday, but even at this reduction purchasers are not numerous. There is, however, more demand than of late.

	BRITISH.	Per Imperial Quarter.
Wheat, Essex,	Red 52 to 64	White 60 to 70
Kent, & Suffolk	51	62
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire	49	56
Scotch .....	..	56
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feed .....	..	27
Ditto .....	..	29
Scotch Feed	31	Potato 36
Limerick .....	..	27
Ditto	Fine New 30	Old Fine none
Cork .....	..	..
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black .....	..	27
Sligo .....	..	27
Galway .....	..	28
Barley .....	..	32
Beans, Mazagan	New 40	Old 43
Harrow .....	..	48
Small .....	..	50
Peas, White .....	..	60
Grey	40. 41	Maple .. 42
Flour, Town-made	per sack of 280 lbs.	48
Norfolk and Suffolk .....	..	46

	FOREIGN.	FREE. IN BOND.
Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed .....	..	60 to 68
Rostock	58	62
Stettin	57	62
Hamburg	54	59
Odessa	48	52
Odessa Polish	52	58
Russian	soft ..	50
Ditto	hard ..	48
Spanish .....	..	57
Ditto	White ..	..
Australian .....	..	60
Barley, Grinding .....	..	27
Distilling .....	..	30
Oats, Archange .....	..	29
Danish .....	..	29
Swedish .....	..	28
Stralsund .....	..	28
Dutch Feed .....	..	27
Brew .....	..	28
Polands .....	..	32
Beans, Egyptian .....	..	41
Peas, White .....	..	56
Ditto Boilers .....	..	none
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 106 lbs.	..	34
United States .....	..	32
Dantzic .....	..	32
Australian, per sack of 280 lbs.	..	..

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from Nov. 10 to Nov. 15, 1845, both days inclusive.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas
English	3827	6343	1271	1636	2022
Scotch .....	..	300	781	..	..
Irish .....	..	..	12608	..	..
Foreign	19298	1659	25592	1604	811

Flour, 5574 sacks; 3516 barrels.

FRIDAY, NOV. 21.—Since Monday we have had a moderate supply of English Wheat, and a lot of 17,500 qrs. of Foreign. The trade is firm at Monday's prices, with a free sale for good qualities. A good supply of English Barley causes a reduction of 1s. per qr. Of Oats the arrivals this week are considerable—English, Irish, and Foreign near 60,000 qrs., but we have had a

large sale to-day at the prices of last Monday. Beans and Peas without attention. The duty on Barley fell 1s. yesterday.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	2180	..	3410
Barley	3530	..	1230
Oats	1790	4960	13570

Flour, 2920 sacks.

	Qrs.	Price.	Qrs.	Price.
Wheat	5018	63s. 3d.	62	38s. 7d.
Barley	5378	30s. 1d.	1171	43s. 2d.
Oats	18514	28s. 6d.	2137	50s. 1d.

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
11th Oct.	57	9. 31	3. 23	4. 34	2. 43	1. 44
18th "	58	2. 32	0. 23	5. 34	5. 44	5. 43
25th "	59	5. 33	0. 24	11. 34	5. 45	5. 44
1st Nov.	60	1. 34	3. 26	11. 34	2. 45	3. 43
8th "	59	7. 35	1. 25	2. 35	7. 45	1. 44
15th "	58	6. 35	0. 26	3. 38	2. 44	5. 45

Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks, Wheat, 58s. 11d.; Barley, 33s. 5d.; Oats, 24s. 10d.; Rye, 35s. 0d.; Beans, 44s. 8d.; Peas, 44s. 3d.

Duty. Wheat, 14s. 0d.; Barley, 5s. 0d.; Oats, 4s. 0d.; Rye, 7s. 6d.; Beans, 1s. 0d.; Peas, 1s. 0d.

Stock of Corn in Bond, Oct. 10, 1845.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
In London, 207874	10219	48929	..	3463	..	43213
Unit. King. 543666	58479	103130	..	6805	1656	421095

MEAT MARKET.

The supply was far from plentiful to-day, and advanced prices were obtained, although with much difficulty; the buyers were shy, and reluctant to make purchases for Saturday.

	PER STONE OF 8 LBS.	PER STONE OF 8 LBS.
Prime Beef, 3s 6d to 3s 8d	Middl. Mutton 3s 4d to 4s 0d	
Middling do. 3s 0d to 3s 2d	Veal from .. 4s 0d to 4s 8d	
Plain, or inf.	Small Pork .. 5s 0d to 5s 4d	
rior Beef, 2s 0d to 2s 6d	Large, or inf.	
Prime Mutton 4s 0d to 4s 4d	rior Pork .. 3s 8d to 4s 0d	

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, NOV. 14.

BANKRUPTS.

J. L. BOORMAN, Gravesend, silversmith. [Mr. Matthews, Arthur Street West, City.

J. SMITH, Crescent, Jewin Street, hardwareman. [Mr. Smith, Wilmington Square.

G. CLAYTON, Queen's Place, Holloway, builder. [Mr. Wilson, South Square, Gray's Inn.

D. FROESCHLEN and S. PRICE, Dover Street, Piccadilly, tailors. [Mr. Pike, Old Burlington Street.

W. H. BOND, Bow Lane, Cheapside, also merchant. [Messrs. Mallby and Co., Old Broad Street Buildings.

T. STANDEN, Maidstone, brewer. [Messrs. Bower and Son, Chancery Lane.

G. DAVIS, Southwark, saddler. [Mr. Buchanan, Basinghall Street.

J. JAMINS, Princes Road, Notting Hill, builder. [Messrs. Rhodes and Lane, Chancery Lane.

L. LANG, Charterhouse Square, lodging-housekeeper. [Messrs. Deme and Co., St. Swithin's Lane.

J. NEWBURN, Oxtou, Cheshire, builder. [Mr. Wilkins, Furnival's Inn.

R. BENTLEY, Liverpool, hosier. [Messrs. Cornthwaite and Co., Old Jewry.

H. LEWIS, Birkenhead, builder. [Messrs. Vincent and Co., Temple.

DIVIDENDS.

Dec. 5, J. Young, Bury St. Edmund's, tobaccoist.—D. Morton, Lower Thames Street, fishmonger.—A. Wright, Kettering, grocer.—W. Ramsdon, Stowmarket, corn merchant.—T. Bourne, Liverpool, corn factor.—P. Leicester, Longlight, Manchester, slate merchant.—Dec. 8, J. Gibbs, Ramsey, Huntingdonshire, grocer.—Dec. 15, J. Young, Newport, Monmouthshire, ship builder.—Dec. 16, S. Thomas, Cornhill, bullion merchant.—T. Lovell, Hen stridge Marsh, Somersetshire.

CERTIFICATES.

Dec. 5, W. Maton and J. Hudson, Fore Street, Cripplegate, leathersellers.—J. Law and E. Hudson, Ramsden Wood, Lancashire, cotton spinners.—J. Smith, Reading, grocer.—J. Marland, sen., Todmorden, roller maker.—R. Starbuck, Gravesend, shipwright.—T. Reeve, Hockley Road, victualler.—C. Jones, Adstock, Buckinghamshire, salesman.—C. W. Kesselmeier, Manchester, merchant.—R. Lewis, Ashford, carman.—T. C. Smith and R. Hayes, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, hotel keepers.—C. G. Webb, Long Lane, Bermondsey, woolstapler.

SCOTCH SEQUESTERATIONS.

A. Forrest, Kirkgate, Leith, tailor.

TUESDAY, NOV. 18.

BANKRUPTS.

J. CULIHORPE, Brick Hill Lane, Upper Thames Street, colourman. [Messrs. Robinson, Queen Street Place, Southwark Bridge Road.

W. VICKERS, Moorgate Street, bill broker. [Mr. Rodgers, King Street, Cheapside.

J. CRANE, Stamford Bridge, Fulham, maltster. [Mr. Randall, Birch Lane.

W. A. DARBY, Charles Street, Paddington, builder. [Mr. Robinson, Orchard Street, Portman Square.

B. PURNELL, Rupert Street, Whitechapel, vinegar dealer. [Mr. Henderson, Mansell Street, Goodman's Fields.

J. LOVEGROVE, Rotherhithe Street, barge builder. [Messrs. Freeman and Co., Coleman Street.

T. WILKINSON, Quadrant, ironmonger. [Messrs. Dod and Co., Great Marlborough Street.

B. WADE, Strand, tailor. [Mr. Lloyd, Milk Street, Cheapside.

H. P. PRICE, Holywell, Flintshire, linendraper. [Mr. Abbott, Charlotte Street, Bedford Square.

S. ABBOTT, Nether Stowey, Somersetshire, linendraper. [Mr. Reed, Friday Street, Cheapside.

T. BAILEY, Bedminster, Bristol, builder. [Mr. Hassell, Bristol.

T. SIMPSON, Stourbridge, stable-keeper. [Messrs. Hunt and Price, Stourbridge.

W. ASHTON, Pickering, Yorkshire, spirit merchant. [Messrs. Coverdale and Lee, Bedford Row.

C. ROBBINS and W. S. MARTIN, Birmingham, merchants. Messrs. Mottram and Knowles, Birmingham.

J. O. HARVEY, Newark, grocer. Messrs. James and Son, Ely Place, Holborn.

DIVIDENDS.

Dec. 9, T. and C. Lockhart, Cheapside, florists.—D. Low, Adam's Court, Old Broad Street, merchant.—J. Wilson, Jernyn Street, bootmaker.—J. Knowles and Co., Throgmorton Street, silk brokers.—Dec. 10, J. Backhouse, Liverpool, merchant.—R. Edwards, Aberdyffe, draper.—J. Milne, Liverpool, painter.—J. Ashbury, Holm Lacy, Herefordshire, farmer.—Dec. 11, F. Lorraine, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, bookseller.—P. Hanson, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, merchant.—J. J. Ayton, South Shields, draper.—W. Broomhead, Birmingham—Dec. 12, J. Law and E. Hudson, Ramsden Wood, Lancashire, cotton spinners.—J. Britain, sen., Birmingham, jeweller.—Dec. 16, W. Butterill, Sheffield, grocer.

CERTIFICATES.

H. Kolme, Lawrence Poultry Lane, stay manufacturer.—J. Thorn, New Broadford, paperhanger.—J. L. Cable, n. c. Birmingham, auctioneer.—C. Ridings, Manchester, cotton manufacturer.—W. Best, Southampton, printer.—J. Shorland, Bristol, grocer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTERATIONS.

J. Scott, Annan, coal merchant.—G. Kinloch, Kair, Kincardineshire, merchant.—T. Blue, Rothsay, baker.

1s. 6d., by post, 2s. 6d.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 114.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1845.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

OBSERVE!

Samples of good Wheat were sold in Mark Lane on Friday at 74s. per quarter.

The duty on Foreign Wheat is 14s. per qr.

The national expenditure for bread is NOW at the rate of 20 millions a-year, or FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND pounds weekly MORE than during the whole of last winter and spring.

THE COUNTIES!

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

Could we hope that the mere repetition of these words were of force to convey to our readers' minds and hearts the whole of what we mean by them, we might be well contented to write nothing else from now to the 30th of next January. There is nothing else we can write of half the importance. All our other labours are just now insignificant compared with those which have for their object to WIN COUNTIES.

Meetings for memorialising the Government, or petitioning the Queen to open the ports, are good. We cannot have too many of them. Everywhere they ought to be held. We rejoice to see that everywhere they are held. Yet the very fact that public meetings are necessary, indicates a deep-seated evil which no conceivable amount of public meetings can correct. With a representative government, we ought to have no occasion to agitate and hold public meetings for redress of grievances. Constitutionally, the House of Commons is the true public meeting. If the intent and spirit of the constitution, as settled in 1832, were realised in fact; if the government of the country were really where the constitution of the country means to place it—in the hands of the industrious classes;—there would be no need of all this begging and praying, by meeting, memorial, and petition. We should have a self-acting polity—needing popular intervention only once in seven years. Administration and legislation would be as promptly and as exactly responsive to the wants and wishes of the people, as they are now to the behests of the landed oligarchy.

All this meeting and memorialising is good, under the circumstances—because, under the circumstances, it is necessary. But the necessity is one of which we, the people of England, ought to be ashamed—and the circumstances which create

it are circumstances which we must forthwith put an end to. Our agitation for open ports and Free Trade is, at the best, but a lame and clumsy substitute for franchises that would supersede all need of agitation—franchises which the law and constitution of our country actually put within our reach on the easiest and cheapest of terms, but which we have hitherto supinely neglected to make our own. We agitate, because, as matters stand, we really can do nothing else; because we have let the power which "makes and unmakes" Parliaments and Cabinets pass into the hands of an oligarchy; because we live under a representative government, in which, through our own default, we are not represented—under a government which has just enough of popular representation to blunt the edge of individual and personal ministerial responsibility, but not enough to afford any effective popular control over ministerial acts. The dukes and squires, the Richmonds, Buckinghams and Tyrrells—they are represented, for they have the votes; they pull the wires; they have the power which "makes and unmakes" ministries. Ministries, of course, do their bidding. Responsibility waits on power. To them, and not to us, does the minister feel himself answerable—for to them, and not to us, does he own it that he is minister. If public meetings cannot mend this, the people might almost as well stay at home, and await with what patience they may the tedious process of ducal and squirearchical conversion;—it is because the public meetings of the past fortnight have given the most unmistakable and decisive signs that this state of things shall and will be altered and reversed, that we look with satisfaction and delight on the recent demonstrations of national opinion. After all, the essence and heart of the present movement for open ports is the county qualification movement, which is very generally identified with it.

We cannot repeat too often, or too earnestly, that the power which alone can repeal the Corn Law, is voting power. It is not "opinion" that will do it—but *qualified and registered opinion*. The only meetings the monopolists or the ministry care for are meetings of electors—or meetings which tend to and practically result in, the making those electors who before were non-electors. It is on votes—especially county votes—that monopoly stands: it is by votes, especially county votes, that monopoly must fall. Nothing else will do. We must not look to any miraculous or quasi-miraculous intervention to deliver us, even though "the stars in their courses do fight against Sisera;"—Sisera's destruction was not consummated by the stars. We must not trust to accident to help us—though accident, or an agency as distinct from our efforts and almost as inscrutable to our perceptions as what we call accident, has helped most wonderfully to bring our question to an early crisis. We must not look to any relenting of landlordism, under the pressure of national distress. How far national distress will go to move landlordism to justice and humanity, or sway the policy of the ministers who live on landlordism's suffrages, and do its work, the experience of former years has very sufficiently taught all men with memories. Potato panic will do little for us, even though it should open the ports. The ports have been open before, under the pressure of temporary casualties—open and shut again. The ports were open in 1826, and 1828 witnessed the enactment of the sliding-scale. We have nothing to trust to but VOTES. Votes have done the mischief—votes maintain it—votes must undo it. "Demonstrations" are nothing, if they do not demonstrate the result of the next general election. We must make our show in the registration courts, where alone shows are realities. We must arm ourselves with the franchise, that only

sufficient and all-sufficient weapon of offence and defence, which is breast-plate and buckler, sword and spear, all in one.

In this great work of winning counties, let no county be set down as altogether hopeless; let no Free Trader neglect taking out his title to a vote for his county, merely because he can see no reasonable likelihood of a Free Trade majority in that county. The likelihood may exist without his seeing it. In many and many a county of England, there are allies ready waiting for us, who will gladly accept our aid in the work of self-emancipation from the insolent oligarchical tyranny that treats English counties as if they were pocket boroughs. County electors—the present race of county electors are fast coming to a point at which they will "resolve that they won't stand it any longer." The present state of things in the counties cannot last; such elections as that which took place the other day in South Warwickshire, when a lordling, on his travels (we forget the lad's name), was made a legislator without knowing it, and the representation of a great county was quietly disposed of by private contract;—such daring exhibitions of landlord domination, of which Hertfordshire is about giving us another specimen in the mock election of somebody that nobody ever heard of before, must by and by become utterly intolerable to English farmers and freeholders. This thing will come to an end; the signs have latterly multiplied on us that the end is not far. There will be—there already is—a reaction towards self-respect and electoral independence. Be it ours to accelerate and give effect to such reactions. Even an inconsiderable Free Trade minority may prove the nucleus of a sturdy independent majority. Let no effort be neglected, for assuredly none will be lost.

Again and again we entreat our friends everywhere to accept the county franchise on those simple, cheap, and easy terms on which it is offered by the ancient constitution of the country. Let every man qualify who can, and for as many counties as he can. Let none consent to exclude himself from the pale of a constitution which bestows so liberally the rights of citizenship and the powers of sovereignty. The monopolist journals, we observe, have been talking of the "vast expenditure" that will be necessary to win a score or two of counties. Nothing can be more nonsensical. It is not "expenditure" at all that we urge. It is *investment*—that particular mode of investment to which the law of the land annexes a share in the government of the empire. The man who buys a qualification no more parts with his money than if he deposited it in the Savings' Bank. He can get it again when he will, and he has a fair interest for it in the mean while. *The vote costs him nothing.* It is the land that he buys; and the land is worth the money, without the vote. The vote is given him into the bargain. The CONSTITUTION throws it in GRATIS.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL, THE LEAGUE, AND THE COUNTRY.

"We are not yet so badly off in England but that we may find somebody willing and able to do the will of the country whenever it is unmistakably expressed."—Mr. COBDEN'S Speech at Birmingham, 13th November.

The past week will ever be a memorable one in the history of our struggle. It completes the seventh year of the League's history, and it has been signalled by an accession of strength to our cause, which brings us within sight of the termination of our labours. The powerful leader of a great party in the state, has finally cast in his lot with "us, the Queen's subjects," in our efforts for the emancipation of industry and commerce; and the best beloved and most popular of the aristocratic section of our statesmen has publicly tendered a

yet more formal and explicit adhesion to our organisation. LORD JOHN RUSSELL deems it "NO LONGER WORTH WHILE TO CONTEND FOR A FIXED DUTY,"—is "CONVINCED THAT WE OUGHT TO ABSTAIN FROM ALL INTERFERENCE WITH THE SUPPLY OF FOOD," and calls on the country for an "UNEQUIVOCAL EXPRESSION OF THE PUBLIC VOICE" against monopoly, in every shape and form. And LORD MORPETH casts off "all further doubt or reserve," and enrolls himself a member of the League, with the view "to record in the most emphatic way he can, his conviction THAT THE TIME IS COME FOR A FINAL REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS." Lord John Russell now gives compromise and fixed duty to the winds, and goes for entire and untrammelled commercial and industrial liberty.

We cannot sufficiently express our admiration of the moral courage and manliness with which, in his Letter to the Electors of the City of London, Lord John Russell acknowledges former errors of judgment, and avows the change which "observation and experience" have effected in his opinions. His Lordship says:—

"I confess that on the general subject my views have in the course of twenty years undergone a great alteration. I used to be of opinion that corn was an exception to the general rules of political economy; BUT OBSERVATION AND EXPERIENCE HAVE CONVINCED ME THAT WE OUGHT TO ABSTAIN FROM ALL INTERFERENCE WITH THE SUPPLY OF FOOD. Neither a Government nor a legislature can ever regulate the corn market with the beneficial effects which the ENTIRE FREEDOM OF SALE AND PURCHASE ARE SURE OF THEMSELVES TO PRODUCE."

A very simple confession to make, certainly. Yet how rarely, in great Parliamentary leaders, is this sort of simplicity to be met with! Public men will be infallible—and they call that "consistency." They dread, above all things, being thought wiser after twenty years' observation and experience, than they were before. They will keep up a make-believe of never learning anything new. They are haunted by the ghosts of their past selves. Their wisdom shrinks from being confronted with their ignorance. Their experience dreads comparison with their inexperience. They tremble at the mention of *Hansard*. They twist and torture *Hansard*, in all sorts of ways, to prevail on that witness to attest their possession of a virtue which is not a virtue, and which they do not possess. They forget that the true "consistency"—the only consistency worth an earnest man's thought—is a quality of character, rather than of opinion. It is not the identity of this year's opinions with the opinions of a dozen years ago, but the moral accordance of action and utterance with inward conviction. It is steadfastness of principle, force of purpose, fidelity to high and noble aims. There is no more manlike and statesmanlike consistency than consistency in progress.

The straightforward candour with which Lord John Russell confesses and retracts the mistakes of former periods of his political life, will at once commend itself to the admiration of Englishmen. It is plain dealing, and Englishmen really do like plain dealing in public men—especially just now. His Lordship is quite safe in not caring for *Hansard*. We have all had too much of *Hansard*. The *Hansard* argument will never be used against him—he has disposed of it by anticipation. "I thought so-and-so once, but I was mistaken, and I think so-and-so now," is a short answer to whole piles of *Hansardisms*. It is a safe prophecy, that Lord John Russell will never hear a word about *Hansard*.

As we have never hesitated to resist Lord John Russell, when called on so to do by our allegiance to principle; as we have freely criticised his lordship's errors, inconsistencies, and short-comings, repudiated his compromises, and rejected his devices for modification and adjustment; as we would have supported, energetically and enthusiastically supported, Sir Robert Peel if he had taken (as we really thought, a month ago, he would take) the position which he has now allowed his Parliamentary rival to occupy, as we did support Sir Robert Peel, in the face of much obloquy from the Whig press, on one oc-

casional, when we thought him nearer to the right than his great opponent; as we have invariably made our Free Trade principles paramount to all party or personal considerations whatever;—so do we now tender to Lord John Russell, as the exponent and representative of Free Trade principles, our earnest, hearty, unflattering, and undivided support. The statesman who, among all of his political rank and standing, has been the first to step forward and offer to embody our principles in an Act of Parliament, is the statesman to whom the industrious classes must look to achieve and seal their emancipation.

Not from the great towns alone, but from the remotest villages and hamlets, must the people of the United Kingdom send forth that "unequivocal expression of the public voice" which a statesman thoroughly cognizant of the nature of the work to be done, and the difficulties to be mastered, emphatically warns us is necessary to the nation's deliverance. There must be no idle hurraing. Monopoly is "doomed," indeed, beyond all question—but the doom is not self-executory. Let no one fondly fancy the work is done, or as good as done. It is yet ALL to do. Monopoly is, this moment, at its very worst. Actually the virus is more malignant and deadly now, than when we began. All these seven years that we have been working, we have really done nothing—we have only been getting ready. The hour for the last death-struggle is now come; and the signal is given "to unite to put an end to a system which has been proved to BE THE BLIGHT OF COMMERCE, THE BANE OF AGRICULTURE, THE SOURCE OF BITTER DIVISIONS AMONG CLASSES, THE CAUSE OF PENURY, FEVER, MORTALITY AND CRIME AMONG THE PEOPLE."

FREE TRADERS, LOOK AHEAD.

If Free Traders believe in their own principles, the time is arrived when it behoves them to look ahead. Some have vainly flattered themselves that the brief gleam of prosperity which we have experienced during the season of abundance and cheap bread would never come to an end, but such have not been readers of the "League," or have read it to little purpose. We could not, indeed, point to the year, or the month, when distress would overtake us; but we knew, as surely as the rising of the morning sun, that, so long as the Corn Laws exist, the cycle of disaster would return with the first deficient harvest, and that it would increase in intensity with every succeeding year of scarcity.

In the first number of the "League," (September 30th, 1843) we showed that the improvement in trade which was then beginning to be felt, was the result of returning abundance. A year later (October 12th, 1844), we discussed the question, "Will the improvement in trade be permanent?" and we said, "We answer decidedly, No. We have no more security for the continuance of prosperity, than there is for exemption from the eruptions of a volcano. The same elements which have produced disorder and distress before are still in existence, and, like the volcano, only await the operation of the same train of events to break forth again. Insufficient harvests will again bring with them all the derangement in the currency and in trade which we have before experienced, and its concomitant distress. There is, and there can be no security for the future, but in the total repeal of the mischievous and iniquitous Corn Laws." Our anticipations are unhappily realized, the Corn Laws are unrepealed, and we are again entering upon the same train of evils from which we have so recently escaped by the intervention of two or three abundant harvests.

The harvests of Europe, as well as our own, have this year proved deficient; in addition to which an alarming and mysterious disease in potatoes has extended its ravages not only on this but on the other side of the Atlantic, the consequences of which no man can foresee. Foreign governments have taken the most prompt measures to meet this calamity, by opening their ports to the free admission of food, and some have even offered a bounty on its importation, but in the face of these evidences of threatened famine, our own government has taken the daring step of risking the subsistence of 27 millions of people, by keeping the ports closed against foreign supplies of food!

With a stock on hand of almost every commodity in which we are permitted freely to trade, equal to from six to twelve months' consumption, we have only on hand of foreign corn (in which we are not permitted freely to trade) a few days' consumption. For the supply of this now indispensable article we are left to the tender mercies of the sliding scale; the consequences have already begun to manifest themselves—the value of money is increasing—the value of property is declining—and trade is paralyzed. The most experienced merchants and manufacturers declare that they have never before witnessed such a sudden and extensive stagnation of trade as since it has been ascertained that we shall need supplies of foreign corn. The terrible commercial distress and disasters of 1838 to 1842, arising from deficient harvests and the effects of our Corn Laws, have left an impression on the public mind never to be effaced during the present generation; and have taught our merchants and manufacturers what may be expected from a recurrence of scarcity. It is to this knowledge that we attribute the present anxiety and alarm, which is well expressed in the circular of Messrs. Gibson, Ord, and Co. of Manchester, of the 5th inst.:

"Since the 4th ultimo, the aspect of affairs in the manufacturing districts, and in the country generally, has undergone a serious change, not only threatening a stop to the progressive improvement which has been going on for the past two years, but furnishing, we fear, well-grounded apprehension that our prosperity must, for a time at least, be on the wane. During the first 11 days in last month we had a tolerably good demand in our market, when the announcement of an increased rate of interest by the Bank of England and a realization of the damage sustained by our potato crop acted like magic, and produced such a stagnation to business as we have never before witnessed. For the past fortnight we have literally no price for our staple productions, and until the question now being agitated as to the opening of the ports for the free admission of foreign grain is decided, we must remain in this state of inactivity. That this step will sooner or later have to be resorted to appears inevitable, and, although to be regretted as more immediately disturbing our monetary system, now peculiarly sensitive from the effect of railway speculation, and the amount to be extracted for the construction of such undertakings abroad, would do much to restore confidence in commercial affairs, and produce a calm in the minds of men generally, from the conviction that such a step would avert the horrors of famine and pestilence, now vivid in the minds of no small portion of the community. Our belief is, that if the ports be opened by an Order in Council, spreading over several months, that the drain of specie will be much less than is apprehended, by affording opportunity of returns being made in the productions of the country; and this will more particularly apply to the United States, whence we must look for a considerable amount of our supplies, and where, for the last 18 months, her own manufacturing production has been inadequate to the wants of her increasing population, and her imports from this country only restricted by her ability to make returns."

Since the date of the above circular, the alarm has considerably increased. A month ago scarcely a doubt existed that the ports would be open for twelve months at least, which would have enabled us to obtain supplies of food during that period from the most distant markets, and thus have mitigated the derangement in the currency which has always followed sudden importations of foreign corn; but the determination of the Cabinet to let the sliding scale take its course, renders a restriction in our currency inevitable—hence, the increased alarm and suspension of business. The manufacturers are at present in full employ, but from the impossibility of making sales, stocks are daily increasing. Such a state of things cannot long exist without forced sales and a decline in prices, which will result in serious losses.

In looking forward to the future, it may be well to recur to the past, and we find that in consequence of the failing harvest of 1838, the drain of gold on the Bank of England in 1839 was as follows:—

Jan. 8th, stock on hand	£ 9,336,000
Oct. 15th do.	only £ 2,525,000

The Bank was subsequently drained of all its remaining treasure, and obliged to borrow £2,000,000 of bullion from the Bank of France; and, in order to place itself in a position of safety, was also obliged to raise the rate of interest to 6 per cent. At the present moment the Bank has fortunately a larger stock of bullion on hand than in 1839; but it would be manifestly dangerous on that account to suppose that the most serious results would not follow a continued drain upon its treasure—that drain has already commenced, as will be seen from the following Gazette returns, viz.—

Stock on hand, Jan. 21st, 1845,	£16,639,315
ditto, Nov. 15th, 1845,	£13,570,086

and the Bank has therefore raised the rate of interest successively from 2½ to 3, and to 3½ per cent. It is impossible, however, in the present aspect of

things, that the rate can remain here. It must continue to rise as the bullion is abstracted and the currency restricted, and to what extent that will take place remains to be seen. Attempts will doubtless be made to shew that the advance in the rate of interest, and derangement of the currency, is the result, not of the effects of the Corn Laws, but of the recent railway speculations. There is, however, no novelty in the sudden decline of railway shares, in the face of a failing harvest. A similar decline took place in 1839 to 1842, owing to the restrictions of the currency which the Bank of England was obliged to adopt whilst the drain of bullion to pay for imports of corn continued. We find in the *Anti-Corn-Law Circular* of the 22nd October, 1840, the subject is referred to, and the following extract given from the circular of a respectable share broker:—"Our market continues in a very unsettled state. Towards the close of the week most descriptions of stock, and especially the leading lines of railway, experienced a sudden and material decline in price, attributable more to the measure adopted by the Bank of England for restricting the circulation than from any real pressure of stock for sale.

"We have to notice a fall in the following lines, viz.—London and Birmingham, old, £7 per share, thirds and quarters in proportion; Great Western, £3; North Union, £3; Grand Junction, £4 to £5; Bolton and Bury, £2; Midland Counties, £2; North Midland, £3; Manchester and Leeds, £4 to £5."

Mr. Cobden, from his experience of the past, took occasion at the Covent Garden meeting in June last, to warn capitalists of the danger of entering into large prospective engagements with the Corn Laws hanging over their heads. "Look (said he) at our capitalists spreading out their wings. They are contemplating railways all over the length and breadth of the land. What would be the effect of a bad harvest upon those men who have subscribed their thousands and tens of thousands to some new railway scheme, and have signed the parliamentary contract? It is all very fine and plain sailing now when every thing is at a premium, every thing is up; get shares to-day, sell them to-morrow, pay for them the next day, and get 20 per cent. (Laughter.) But these shares will be held by somebody; and if we have a failing harvest, whenever it comes, then the day of reckoning for the holders of these shares and scrips will arrive. I would advise every speculator in railway shares to keep a sharp eye on the barometer. He should take in two papers, a railway paper, and the *Mark Lane Express*; and when he has seen the price of shares, then let him go and observe the price of wheat in Mark Lane. *But if a bad harvest comes, and a rise in prices takes place, they are a class that will suffer; and not merely they and their families, but it will entail misery and disasters on every section of the community.*" We recommend this speech to the special attention of the Railway King. The harvest which promised abundance when it was delivered has turned out a failure. Have Mr. Cobden's predictions been verified? An answer may be found in the fact, that the shares of the Midland Counties, of which the Railway King is the Chairman, have since then fallen more than £50 per share!

The effects of our Corn Laws on the value of railway property must engage the attention of those interested in these important undertakings, and they cannot fail to see with how much greater security they may invest their capital when they are no longer exposed to violent and sudden derangements in the currency, arising out of the law which prohibits the trade in foreign corn except in seasons of scarcity. Mr. Cobden, however, does not stand alone in anticipating losses and suffering to the holders of railway shares in the event of a failing harvest. We notice that the extensive Share Brokers of Leeds, Messrs. R. B. Watson, Tootal, and Barff, in their circular of the 14th inst., observe:—

"The wet weather in July and August at first drew our attention to the almost certainty of a check being given to the railway fever, as it has not imply been called, anticipating, as we then did, a rise in the price of grain which, by a necessary consequence, would produce a fall in the price of shares. But who would have thought, three months ago, that a deficient crop of potatoes would produce a further decline in the price of shares? It is quite evident to us, that

high prices of grain in this country are incompatible with high prices of shares; therefore, all those who are interested in railway property, and their name is legion, must become (if they are not already so) corn-law repealers. So that out of the evil of a deficient harvest of grain, with a failure of potatoes, may arise (in fact, *must arise in time*) a total abolition of the corn laws."

Having warned Free Traders to look ahead, we may be asked what course ought they to pursue? We answer precisely that which a skilful pilot would adopt who foresees an approaching storm,—take in your sails—keep close to the wind—be on the constant watch; and then, although you may not altogether escape injury, you may perchance be preserved from shipwreck.

WORKING-MEN, WAGES, AND SCARCITY.

The memorials soliciting the opening of the ports, which have been addressed to the Government by the operatives of Lancashire, prove that the working-classes are alive to the dangers with which they are menaced by the apprehended scarcity of food. They have had recent and lamentable experience of the effect produced by dear provisions on the rate of wages; and they therefore view with just alarm the rapid rise in the price of bread. The process by which the rise in the cost of food brings accumulated agencies to press down and crush the working-man, though sufficiently obvious, cannot be too often placed before the public view. We find it stated that the cost of bread to an operative family in Bolton is greater by 2s. 6d. per week than it was at this time last year; this is, in fact, equivalent to a reduction of wages to the same amount; for it is the same thing to the operative, whether the half-crown is withheld from him by his employer, or wrested from him by the taxer of his bread. The annual subtraction from wages, by the increased price of the loaf, is £6 10s.; and the operative is deprived of this sum, which he might have expended in groceries, clothing, the education of his family, &c.; he is injured by the deprivation, and the shopkeepers with whom he would have dealt are injured by the withdrawal of his custom. We find Mr. Ashworth, whose name is a sufficient voucher for accuracy, stating that the sum thus abstracted from the wages of the operatives, and consequently from their power of consuming any articles beyond the absolute necessities of life, amounts to £3000 per week in the town of Bolton, or, in round numbers, £150,000 annually. This sum is equally abstracted from the wages of the operative, and from the consumption of manufactured goods. Had it not been grasped by the bread-taxers, it would have been to a great extent expended on manufactured articles, and would have sustained the demand for their continued production. The operative then is injured not only as a consumer, but as a producer; he has to meet at once a higher price for his bread, and a less demand for his labour.

The slackening of demand for labour, consequent on the diminished demand for manufactured goods, is slow in its operation, where machinery is extensively employed; for mill-owners will continue to work, even when stocks accumulate, rather than lose the interest of their invested capital; but the march of depression, though stealthy, is steady; the smaller capitalists begin to make sacrifices in order to effect sales; the larger capitalists are thus compelled to make a reduction of prices, and thus when bread is unnaturally dear, everything else becomes unnaturally cheap. The depression falls first on the profits of the manufacturer; but it is out of his profits that he pays wages to his work-people; consequently, when his profits fall, he must either pay less wages to his work-people, or he must employ fewer hands. The smaller capitalists are early forced to diminish the amount of employment; they cannot afford the advance necessary to support an accumulated stock; every man they discharge adds to the supply of labour, every diminution of their production is a diminution of the demand for labour. But the price of labour, like the price of every thing else, is regulated by the balance of supply and demand. "When two masters are looking for one man, labour will be dear; when two men are looking for one master, labour will be cheap." The fall in the price of manufactured goods thus necessarily and inevitably throws many out of work, and reduces the money-

rate of wages of those who continue to be employed.

This is a lesson not merely of political economy, but of recent notorious history; it was fearfully illustrated in the very town of Bolton, which we have selected as an example. But the progress of the evil is not yet fully described. As employment diminishes, the improvident are at once thrown upon the parish, and the provident on their savings. The poor-rates rise as the ability to pay them diminishes; the grocers, the butchers, the hucksters, and even the bakers find their customers daily diminishing in numbers and expenditure. Many of them soon shut up shop, and are added to the mass of compulsory idleness and enforced pauperism. During the late period of distress, we counted more than thirty such shops in one street of Stockport deserted and untenanted. The insolvency of this class of shopkeepers indicates a decreased consumption by the operative population and decreased means of payment. In short periods of depression, the small capitals of these industrious shopkeepers are stretched to the utmost; but if the pressure be severe, or of long continuance, their stocks are exhausted, and they sink into inevitable ruin.

Scarcity, then, brings to bear upon the operative the double calamity of a depreciated rate of wages and a diminished amount of employment. But under this double pressure, his physical condition becomes deteriorated; during six years of cheapness the number of persons relieved by the medical charities of Manchester was 154,000, but during six years of dearness the number amounted to 169,000, being an increase of more than 15 per cent.

The gradual sinking of a family of operatives into a family of paupers is one of the most heart-rending spectacles that can be contemplated. When first the head of the family is thrown out of work Hope whispers a prospect of better times; he is respected in his little neighbourhood, and his fair character has procured him credit among his neighbours. The pressure continues; articles of ornament are pawned, and articles of furniture are sold; old associations render the parting with these things painful, but stern necessity must be obeyed. The house is stripped; its walls are bare, the children pine and shiver, the father wanders about all day in search of work, and returns home to a famished household and empty hearth. In 1841, Bolton exhibited streets of such pictures, but Bolton vainly testified its experience to our rulers to prevent the recurrence of such calamities.

We write with sad and anxious hearts; we well remember the disregarded signs which heralded the advent of the mournful depression from 1837 to 1842; the same indications are now manifested around us, more aggravated in their form, more menacing in their approach. Then, as now, the cry of distress was answered by the subterfuge of exaggeration; then, as now, the monopolist, looking on his costly board groaning under the weight of luxuries, declared that he could discover no signs of distress; then, as now, speculators in scarcity boasted that they only obtained remunerating prices; then, as now the powers of human endurance were gauged by the sliding scale. The operatives of Lancashire have rightly read the signs of the times; it is a lesson that they have been taught by a severe and protracted course of instruction. They have raised the voice of warning, and proclaimed to our slumbering pilots that they see the signals of the coming tempest. We fear that the peril is more imminent than is generally suspected; there has been a sensible diminution of employment already, and the complaints of the small shopkeepers in the suburbs of London are loud and frequent. The bakers sell less bread, and the butchers sell less meat. The more this process of decadence is permitted to advance, the greater will be the difficulty of arresting its progress. Wages are everything to the operative, but the fund from which wages has to be paid is muled and diminished by the increased price of food. The question at issue is between the existence of the industrious and the luxuries of the idle; between "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work," and an unfair tax for the support of a mischievous monopoly; the question has been decided by the law of God and nature, and national calamity must be the inevitable result of assistance to their behests.

COUNTIES REGISTRATION MOVEMENT.

SOUTHWARK.

A meeting of the electors and other inhabitants of Southwark was held at the Bridge-house Tavern, last night, to consider the propriety of expressing an opinion on the present alarming state of the country. The large room of the hotel was crowded with respectable persons, who displayed the greatest enthusiasm.

On the motion of Mr. EML. COOPER, Sir Wm. Molesworth, Bart., M.P., was called to the chair by acclamation.

The Hon. BARONET on taking the chair said he rejoiced at being able to attend that meeting. He had just returned from the Continent, on his road to Cornwall, when he was informed that a meeting was to be held in this borough for the purpose of passing resolutions in favour of opening the ports for the free admission of food. As one of the representatives, he felt it his duty to be present, and to lend all the assistance in his power to that object. Some of them might remember that about a month ago he was present at a dinner in that room to celebrate the late victory. He then stated that the question of Free Trade, especially of free trade in food, was of great and all-absorbing importance. That the harvest had been damaged by the weather; that the corn crops were extremely deficient in quality; that the potato crops in England, and especially in Ireland, were excessively injured; that a large portion of the potatoes were certainly rotten, and that well-founded apprehensions were entertained for the soundness of the remainder. He had told them that the consequences would be that before the next harvest there would be a great increase in the price of food—that this would produce great distress amongst the labouring classes in this country, and perhaps famine amongst the wretched peasantry of Ireland. He had further told them that he could not contemplate the possibility of such events without great and serious alarm—that he trusted that his apprehensions were unfounded. But if they were, as he was afraid they were, but too well founded, we should soon have most painful experience of the impolicy of our Corn Laws. He alluded to a report that was in circulation that the ports were to be opened. He expressed his hope that the report was well founded, as it would be the only means of diminishing the impending evils. He had now to express his regret that those hopes had not been fulfilled, and that the ports had not been opened. The corn crop had been deficient in many parts of Europe—the consequence had been that corn bounded in this country has been re-exported to countries of which the ports have been wisely opened to the free importation of food. By this delay we had not only lost food which was ready at hand, but we had lost much valuable time, which should have been employed in procuring food from America; and he was assured that, at this season of the year, the evil was almost without remedy. He need hardly add, that he cordially agreed in the object of the meeting. He declared himself, as they knew, a Free Trader, and he expressed his firm belief that if the ports be once opened, they will never be permitted to be again shut. They all knew his sentiments; but it was for them, the inhabitants of this great and important borough, to express their sentiments in this alarming crisis, and set an example to the rest of the metropolitan boroughs. The honourable Baronet concluded by calling upon Mr. Wilson to move the first resolution (cheers).

Mr. WM. WILSON then briefly proposed as a resolution, "That this meeting views with feelings of alarm the deficiency of the late harvest, and the very general failure of the potato crop in Great Britain and Ireland, and deems it to be the imperative duty of her Majesty's ministers immediately to open the ports for the free admission of every description of human food."

Which, having been seconded by Mr. LEE STEVENS, was put and carried unanimously, amidst loud cheers.

Mr. R. R. MOORE, with his usual eloquence and practical illustration, then spoke at considerable length upon the propriety of the resolution previously passed, and urged every inhabitant of the borough who possessed the means, to obtain a vote for East Surrey. His address was listened to with the utmost attention, and was frequently interrupted by the plaudits of the meeting, and at its conclusion was most enthusiastically cheered.

Mr. RUSSELL then introduced the following resolution as a practical application of Mr. Moore's address:—"That this meeting has seen with much satisfaction the successful exertions of the League in increasing the number of Free Traders on the registers of Middlesex, South Lancashire, and other important counties; and this meeting, therefore, pledges itself to spare no effort to secure the return of Free Trade representatives for the eastern division of the county of Surrey, by adding to the number of Free Trade qualifications, if possible, before the 30th of January next."

Mr. LUKE EMBLETON seconded the motion, individually pledging himself to carry out its recommendation.

Mr. WILLIAM WILSON supported the resolution, and called attention to the establishing of a building society in the borough, for the purpose of extending the county franchise, which was put and carried with repeated cheers.

Mr. E. COOPER moved, and Mr. MOORE seconded thanks to the chairman, which was responded to by three times three, and astounding cheers.

LEEDS.

An extremely large and highly respectable meeting assembled on Tuesday evening last, in the Music-hall, Leeds, to "consider the result of last year's registration labours, the urgent importance of renewed exertions, and also the impending deficiency in the supply of the people's food." Long before the appointed hour, which was seven o'clock, the hall was filled to overflowing; upwards of two thousand persons were present; and we observed several ladies in the gallery behind the platform. Precisely at seven o'clock, the Mayor of the borough, J. D. LANCELOT, Esq., who was unanimously called to the chair, made his appearance, accompanied by Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., and John Bright, Esq., M.P., who were received with the most vehement cheers, and took their seats on either side of the chair.

On the platform we also observed Alderman Stansfield, Alderman Muclea, Alderman Birchall, Robert Jowitt, Esq., Edward Baines, Jun., Esq., Samuel J. Birchall, Esq., George Hyde, Esq., Obadiah Willans, Esq., John Marshall, Esq., Peter Willans, Esq., Joshua Wordsworth, Esq., Rev. Charles Wicksteed, Joseph Lupton, Esq., R. L. Ford, Esq., Charles Lupton, Esq., H. H. Stansfield, Esq., Thomas Plint, Esq., Walter Stead, Esq., John Wilkinson, Esq., J. C. Barrett, Esq., John Cliff, Esq., Henry Birchall, Esq., Frederick Baines, Esq., Wm. Bruce, Esq., W. B. Holdsworth, Esq., Richard Wilson, Esq., Wm. Fennell, Esq., Jonathan Dick-

inson, Esq., H. J. Marcus, Esq., John Heaton, Esq., J. Armistead, Esq., Liebreich, Esq., Sheppard, Esq., Thomas Holt, Esq., Wm. Kelshall, Esq., Charles Crompton, Esq., Mr. J. Kitson, Mr. Shackleton, Mr. John Whitehead, Mr. Yewdall, Mr. J. Brady, Mr. S. Shann, &c.

The MAYOR, in opening the proceedings of the evening, observed that the prosperity of the town and district was indissolubly connected with the cause in which they were engaged. They were once more called upon to consider this great question in public, by the appearance again amongst them of their esteemed friends Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright. They had happily succeeded, during the last year, in placing upon the register of this important riding no less than 2000 voters in favour of Free Trade. (Hear, hear.) Some time ago Mr. Cobden offered to induce Lancashire to come forward and assist the people of Leeds in securing the west riding in favour of the League. But he was sure that the West Riding could fight its own battles. It had done so heretofore, and would do so again. (Hear, hear.) He was certain that every one before him recognised the principles of the League as the principles of truth and justice, and the cause of the League as his own cause, inasmuch as his own best interests were closely bound up with it. He would not occupy the time of the meeting at this period of the proceedings, but would call at once upon Mr. Baines to propose the first resolution. (Hear, hear.)

EDWARD BAINES, Jun., Esq., on rising to propose the first resolution, was received with loud and reiterated cheers. He observed that liberty was the very life of commerce, and that the Mayor of the borough could find no better opportunity for furthering the interests of the town and district than that of presiding over such a meeting as the present (hear). The resolution which he was about to propose was as follows:—"That whilst this meeting is gratified at the success of the noble effort made last year by the Free Traders of the West Riding, to qualify as county electors, it considers that another and equally vigorous effort should now be made in preparation for the revision of 1846; and recognizing in the present alarming crisis of the national affairs a fresh and startling illustration of the mischievous and fatal operation of the Corn Laws, and a more urgent necessity that this important manufacturing section of the empire should return as its representatives to Parliament men of unquestionable Free Trade principles, pledges itself to spare no exertions in inducing Free Traders who may not be upon the register to qualify before the 30th of January next." He would now state, in a few words, the result of the effort made last year to improve the position of the Free Traders upon the register of the West Riding. The result of their operations last year, was to make no less than 3369 new claims in the West Riding. Out of these they succeeded in establishing no less than 2836 claims. (Cheers.) They succeeded also in striking off, upon valid objections, no less than 1242 of their opponents. (Hear, hear.) On the other hand, the Tories succeeded in sustaining 983 new claims, and struck off from the Free Traders 953. But the result of all this showed a most encouraging gain on the side of the Free Traders, for there remained a balance in their favour of no less than 2142. (Great cheering.) This, with their former gains, since the last election, converted Lord Morpeth's minority of 1194 into a majority of 1272. (Great cheering.) In regard to their own district, with which they were, of course, more immediately concerned, he could lay before them the following statement of facts:—"The Liberals had struck off 107 Tories, upon objections clearly sustained, and made, in their own favour, at the same time, 461 new claims, of which they succeeded in sustaining before the revising barrister no less than 323. (Cheers.) The Tories struck off 55 claims from the Liberals, and sustained in their own favour 114 new claims. There was, therefore, a balance left in favour of the Liberals and Free Traders of the district of no less than 263 new votes. (Cheers.) It was but justice to the committee of the League to say that, owing to their exertions, no less than 500 voters had been qualified in the district immediately around the borough of Leeds. (Hear, hear.) Of these 500, 138 did not make their appearance before the revising barrister in order to have their votes recorded, and he hoped that if any of these delinquents were present that evening, they would feel thoroughly ashamed of their conduct, and that they would retire from the meeting fully resolved to do better next year. (Hear, hear.) The remainder of the number were put upon the polling books of Bradford and other districts, making nearly 400 new votes, thus secured in their immediate vicinity through the instrumentality of the League committee. (Cheers.) They had much still of leeway to make up. In the manufacturing districts of the county of York the number of electors was not more, in proportion to their population, than one-half their number in the agricultural districts. In fifteen manufacturing polling districts, the population was close upon one million. In the ten agricultural polling districts the population amounted to about 200,000. In the fifteen manufacturing polling districts the number of electors was 24,449, while in the ten agricultural polling districts, the number of electors amounted to very nearly 10,000. They thus perceived that the agricultural polling districts were in population as 1 to 5, as compared with the manufacturing polling districts, whereas, in the number of electors they were as 1 to 2½. (Hear, hear.) There were, therefore, speaking in the proportion of their respective populations, in the agricultural districts, twice the number of electors that the manufacturing districts were possessed of. (Hear, hear.) The manufacturing districts were not possessed of the spirit for which he was ready to give them credit, should they any longer rest contented under such a state of things. (Hear, hear, hear.) The cause of Free Trade was the cause of all classes of society. The cause of the League had been designated the cause of humanity. (Hear, hear.) The humanity of the Corn Laws was observable in this, that they were established for the purpose—which they had answered but too well—of making the food of the people both scarce and dear. (Hear.) The operation of the sliding scale had been this year most singular. He found that the average price of wheat for the six weeks ending November 16, 1844, was 40s. 2d. During the same period of 1845, the average was 58s. 11d., making a difference in price between the two periods of 12s. 9d. per quarter. (Hear.) That was a great and serious advance in the price of corn. (Hear.) Again, let them observe that the price of the best wheat last year was 51s. per quarter, whereas the price of the best quality this year, was 74s. per quarter, thus making a difference of 20s. per quarter between the two periods alluded to. (Hear, hear.) Now the range of average prices last year was 40s. per quarter for the lowest quality of wheat, and 54s. for the highest; but this year the range had been 40s. for the lowest quality, and 74s. for the highest. (Hear, hear.) Last year the difference in the range was only 14s. per quarter between the highest and the lowest qualities of wheat, but this year

the difference amounted to 80s. (Hear, hear.) That showed conclusively that there was, at this moment, a great quantity of bad and low-priced wheat in the country. (Hear, hear.) The effect of which was to keep down the averages, and, by keeping them down, to keep up the duty which prevented the importation of foreign corn just at the time when it was most wanted. (Hear.) Seventy-four shillings per quarter was now given for the best wheat, and the duty on the importation of foreign wheat was 14s. per quarter. Now, according to the principle and promise of the minister, when corn was at 73s. per quarter, the duty should be but 1s. per quarter, whereas they now found, that although the best wheat was 74s. per quarter, owing to the bad wheat which told upon the averages, the duty was 14s. per quarter, instead of 1s., as it should be. (Hear, hear.) It was important for them to know these things. (Hear, hear.) They were quite sure of having corn both dear and scarce, until next harvest at least, and just in proportion as the price of corn was raised would the demand for their manufactured productions be diminished. (Hear, hear.) It now became his duty to state to the meeting a fact which would be received with the greatest interest and satisfaction, not only throughout the West-Riding, but throughout the whole kingdom. (Hear, hear.) It was a fact which was as yet unknown even to his friends Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, and by the committee at Leeds, and he would show why it had remained unknown. They all remembered that, about two years ago, a meeting was held at Wakefield, for the advancement of the principles of Free Trade, at which meeting Lord Morpeth, the noble lord who formerly represented so ably the West Riding, attended; and they all remembered the calm and high-minded moral courage with which the noble lord had avowed himself before that meeting of his friends and admirers a supporter of the principles of Free Trade, while he stated that he was not prepared to pledge himself that he would then go the length of advocating a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. (Hear, hear.) On that occasion Mr. Cobden stated that he had the highest opinion of Lord Morpeth's honour and integrity, and he had no doubt that if left to his own unbiassed judgment and right-minded feeling, he would undoubtedly become convinced of the propriety of lending his entire co-operation to the advocates of Free Trade principles. (Cheers.) He (Mr. Baines), had that morning had the honour of receiving a letter from Lord Morpeth, which he would read for the meeting, and which he was quite sure would afford to them the highest gratification. (Mr. Baines then read the letter, which will be found in another column.)

The reading of it was received with demonstrations of the most enthusiastic approbation by the meeting, Mr. Baines having been repeatedly interrupted whilst reading it by repeated bursts of acclamation.

Mr. BAINES continued: Those cheers would find an echo throughout every part of that great country. It would be re-echoed through the hills of Ireland; and it would be heard and cause heart yakings amongst her Majesty's counsels; for the best and wisest Chief Secretary that ever Ireland possessed could not lift up his voice against the Corn Laws without seriously aggravating the responsibility of the Government if they refused to open the ports. Mr. Baines concluded by proposing the resolution, which was seconded by Mr. H. H. Stansfield, and carried unanimously.

Mr. COBDEN then came forward, and was received by the meeting with a warmth of feeling which we have seldom seen equalled at any former meeting. The whole assemblage rose, and for several minutes continued to evince their admiration by repeated bursts of acclamation. As soon as the cheering had subsided,

Mr. COBDEN said—Mr. Mayor and gentlemen, the five pounds which we have just received are worth any five thousand which we have as yet obtained. (Loud cheers.) I was sure it would come to that. (Cheers.) I was quite certain when the meeting took place at Wakefield that Lord Morpeth, if left to his own unbiassed judgment, and the promptings of his own warm and sympathetic heart, would not fail to identify himself, sooner or later, with this great movement. (Renewed cheering.) Middling and working classes though we have been who have hitherto engaged in this work, I never doubted from the beginning that we should find some of the greatest and proudest of the nobility join us in seeking for Free Trade; for there never yet was a time when Englishmen did not find some of their nobility, better and wiser than the rest, join them to battle in favour of any cause which had truth and justice on its side. (Hear, hear.) It is somewhat remarkable that only forty-eight hours ago I was talking to my friend Mr. Bright with regard to our prospects, and I then remarked to him how sincerely I wished that Lord Morpeth was placed at the side of Earl Grey in the ranks of the Free Traders, and I remarked that in such a case, with two such young statesmen identified with us, whether the old politicians at one side or the other were opposed to us, we should be sure of men fit to occupy office whenever Government should give way on this question.—(Hear, hear, hear.)—and I now rejoice to find that Lord Morpeth has come forward with no inducement but the feelings of his own good heart—without balancing himself, and without mystification, wholly and heartily to join us in this great movement. (Loud cheers.) How, then, do we stand? What are the prospects of the country at present? It is too bad, that after bringing us down to partake of excellent diet, we should have the prospect of a large portion of the people being in such a condition next March, that they will be unable to obtain potatoes. (Hear, hear.) That is now the position of a great portion of our countrymen, and I believe these potatoes will be found to be the greatest difficulty that Sir Robert Peel has ever yet had to encounter. This is a melancholy picture; it is humiliating to think that bad potatoes are likely to do more than good arguments towards effecting a repeal of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) My friend Mr. Baines said, that the Government entertained an intention of opening the ports, but I think it was rather too much to say that, for, in my opinion, they do not know what they are going to do. (Cheers and laughter.) We have all seen that Prime Minister in the farce of Tom Thumb, who, when asked his opinion on grave matters of state, had one uniform answer—"As near as I can guess, I cannot tell." (Hear and laughter.) Well, Government is in that predicament, "as well as they can guess, they cannot tell what to do." (Much laughter.) And yet they had good precedents; and fond as we are of acting on precedent, they refused to follow the example of Russia, Belgium, Holland and Egypt, whose governments, when in the same position opened their ports at once, without even having recourse to a commission of inquiry. Why should not the Government follow that example, and relieve themselves at once from the doubt and difficulty of this "do-nothing position"? (Hear, hear, hear.) Now, to come to your county. I believe that at present Lord Morpeth has no intention of

standing for it, because he says so, and he never uttered a syllable that was not of transparent truth. But whether he has or not, you have a duty to perform. The West Riding of Yorkshire has now the privilege of having a noble scion of the house of Howard at its head. (Cheers.) Lord Morpeth now leads you, and you must be worthy of your leader; and that you cannot be if you suffer the West Riding again to fall into the hands of the monopolists. (Hear, hear.) You have it decidedly in your power to prevent such a catastrophe. (Hear, hear.) It is said by some that the majority of those who have qualified, are of the better portion of the middle classes. In other districts the working men have qualified themselves to a large extent; and there is now before me, and there is in the town of Leeds, and in the districts around it, an immense number of working men, who, being able to do so, should purchase the qualification. (Hear, hear.) I have lately read that Mr. Wilberforce was once told by an admirer of his, that it was his intention to purchase a qualification, in order to have the gratification of voting for so celebrated and good a man. Let the West Riding be but emulous of enjoying a similar pleasure in reference to another able and good man, and it can easily turn out no less than 2,000 new votes in favour of Lord Morpeth. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) You should proceed systematically and deliberately to the great work of purifying and extending the registry. In Manchester, they found it convenient to lay the town out into districts, from which districts reports are transmitted once or twice a week to a central committee, detailing the progress which had been made. The same plan may be adopted with the greatest ease in Leeds, and it is sure to lead to two most successful results. You are struggling for that which is well worthy your exertions to attain—you are fighting for plenty, for the comfort and welfare of the whole country, and for a principle which will afford you the best guarantee which you can possess, for the permanence of peace throughout the whole world. (The honourable gentleman, on resuming his seat, was greeted by repeated bursts of vehement and vociferous cheering, the whole audience rising *en masse*, and waving their hats, the ladies waving their handkerchiefs in the gallery for several minutes.) Order being once more restored,

The Mayor rose and called upon Mr. Bright to address the meeting.

Mr. BRIGHT then addressed the meeting in an admirable speech, which was heard throughout with the greatest attention and enthusiasm. Our limits prevent us from inserting it, and to abridge it is impossible.

Mr. YEWALL then rose and congratulated the meeting upon the noble accession to the ranks of Free Traders in the person of Lord Morpeth. The people of Yorkshire were somewhat slow in coming to a conclusion, but when they once took up the cause of justice and truth, they stuck to it with the most persevering adherence, and Lord Morpeth would, he had no doubt, be characterised by a similar perseverance in adhering to the cause which the dictates of his sound judgment had induced him to espouse. (Cheers.) Lord Ashley had already stated that the Corn Laws were doomed, and he had no doubt that after some time the Duke of Richmond would come round to a similar opinion. (Laughter.) The time was coming when the landed interest would see that there ought to be no class interest, but that all classes had identical interests. Their enemies had been completely put to flight. There was no one in that hall to oppose them for an instant. It was a matter of surprise to him, however, that on a great moral question of this kind, the ministers of the various denominations were not found amongst them. (Cheers.) Providence had supplied the wants of all, and knit mankind together, by making one part dependent on the other for an adequate supply of food. If this great question was once settled, it would settle most others which now engaged the attention of the country. Mr. Yewall concluded by proposing the appointment of a committee to watch the progress of the registration.

Mr. Alderman MARSHALL seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Alderman STANFIELD came forward amid loud cheers, and cries of "the member for Leeds," to move the 3rd resolution:—

"3. That this meeting has heard with the highest approbation and delight the declaration of Lord Morpeth, in favour of perfect freedom of trade and the total and immediate abolition of the Corn Laws; that it receives this declaration on the part of one of our wisest statesmen, and most beloved and influential public men, as an encouraging evidence of the progress of the Anti-Corn Law League in public opinion; as a strong additional motive for putting the west riding in a position to return uncompromising friends of Free Trade to the House of Commons." The declaration of Lord Morpeth that he was in favour of total repeal and a member of the League, came like music to his ears. Admired and beloved by all in that county, his identification with this great movement now secured his election beyond a doubt. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Alderman MACLEA seconded the resolution.

After a resolution of thanks to Messrs. Cobden and Bright, the meeting separated.

SHEFFIELD.

In the crowded state of our columns, it is impossible for us to give anything like a complete abstract of the important proceedings at the great and influential meeting of the Free-traders of the West Riding of Yorkshire, held in the Cutler's Hall in Sheffield, on Monday evening last.

At an early hour the door leading to the hall was besieged by crowds waiting for admittance; and although admission could only be procured by ticket, for which 1s. had to be paid, the large hall was filled almost to suffocation for some time before the commencement of proceedings. At seven o'clock, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright took their seats upon the platform, and were received with the most enthusiastic cheers.

Mr. Edward Smith, of Sheffield, was unanimously called to the chair; and besides him we observed Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P.; John Bright, Esq., M.P.; Dr. Thompson; Henry Wilkinson, Esq.; W. Fisher, Esq.; Richard Solley, Esq.; Thomas Jessop, Esq.; Aldermen Turton and N. Hoole; Charles Wilson, Esq.; P. Nailor, Esq.; T. Roebuck, Esq.; and Edward Vickers, Esq.

No inconsiderable portion of the audience consisted of ladies.

WILLIAM FISHER, Esq., proposed that Edward Smith, Esq., take the chair. (Loud cheers.)

HENRY WILKINSON, Esq., seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN—I hope the time is not far distant, when

every thinking man will look back with surprise and indignation at the fact, that there existed in this country, at any period, a law, the object of which was to stand between the people and the cheapest and best supply of food; (Cheers;) a law which seems to have been especially contrived to restrain and fetter commerce, while it acts in the most pernicious manner upon the agriculturist himself, for whose especial benefit it is said to have been enacted; a law which seems to have no purpose to serve but to enhance the incomes of the privileged class, whose gain is made at the cost of a loss a hundred-fold greater to the general community. Why, then, is such a law allowed to continue? Why is so gross an imposition still put upon the shoulders of the people of this country? How is it that, at the first whisper of famine, it is not swept from the statute-book? Are we to be for ever admitting principles in the abstract, yet refusing to be guided by them practically in our conduct? (Cheers.) Have we yet to learn that this law has produced the most direful effects on the community? Even now, "coming events cast their shadows before." The dread of scarcity has already deranged your monetary operations. Look at the panic which it has produced in the share market. (Hear, hear.) See how it is now operating in raising the rate of interest. You yourselves know by past experience what must follow. When the rate of interest rises, in due time the banks become more careful in respect to the accommodation they can give to their customers. A check is placed upon commerce, and all our prosperity vanishes like a dream. (Hear.) Have we yet to learn the bitter lesson, that dear food means low wages for the operatives, scanty employment, interrupted commerce, and general depreciation of property? (Hear.) Surely we have not learned these lessons in vain, and it cannot need another seven years of suffering to fix them on our minds. Vain are the fallacies which have been resorted to to cover these plain truths, so that the simplest understanding cannot fail to comprehend them. Every fallacy has been detected and exposed. (Cheers.)

Where is now the cry—Let us not be dependent on foreigners? We should be only too glad now to be dependent on foreigners, if we could find any on whom we might depend. Where now is the cry of the peculiar burdens on land, which were invisible when our Member in Parliament moved for an inquiry into them? (Cheers.) The peculiar burdens on land were pleaded by those who were unwilling to go into an investigation of them, which was to be accompanied by an inquiry into the peculiar exemptions of land. (Loud cheers.) We have now the admission that the Corn Law is bad—that it is doomed—that it must go. (Cheers.) But we are asked to give time to prepare. I should like to know what time it would take to put the farmers in a right position for repeal.

I have not observed any symptoms of improvement in their capacity to bear a reverse. This law was passed when I was young. I am now becoming grey, but I do not find that the farmers come less frequently into the *Gazette*, or that they are making such accumulations of property as to enable them to bear a reverse. No; the fallacies have now all disappeared. (Cheers.) A flood of light has been poured upon the question, but we have relied too much on people's knowing what is right, presuming that, when they knew, they would do it. (Cheers.) It was probably necessary that the whole course of this agitation should be gone through. It was needful to make our course clear as the day, before we could carry with us the judgment and energies of the people of this country, as we are now doing. At length, however, we have ceased to rely, to any considerable extent, on means for the diffusion of information. We have given over talking, and are beginning to act. (Cheers.)

I am very willing to go to the highest authority for rules of conduct, and I do not know that I can go to a higher authority than Sir Robert Peel, when he gives advice in honest simplicity. He says, "Register! Register!" and we say Register! Register! too. (Loud cheers.) We willingly bow to such an authority. We believe that the battle is to be fought in the registration courts. We believe that by perfectly constitutional means, we can break the fetters that are around us. By safe and pacific means we shall effect an alteration of the law, and successfully meet our adversaries, with those weapons which they themselves formerly wielded with so much success. (Cheers.) They are weapons which, I hope, our opponents have now used nearly as long as they can serve them. We have now taken them up, and we appeal to this year's registration, and ask them how they like our beginning? We have been only apprentices at the work. We had not, in the last registration, got our hands in. We intend to do better. (Cheers.) We hope to become more dexterous. We admit the imperfect and clumsy nature of the work which has added only 2000 to the West-Riding register this year, but we expect, by practice, to grow more adroit and skilful in the use of the weapons which our opponents have taught us to wield. (Cheers.) Our friends are here for the purpose of pressing this matter still more home upon us. They can give us very encouraging reports of what has been done in other places. They can point out to us the easy and certain road to success. When I say easy, I mean as easy as most things are in the face of determined resistance from those who have the whip hand over us at present. But a day of reckoning is not far distant. (Cheers.)

In due time, we shall have the dissolution of the present Parliament, and I rather think that many who are now occupying places, will receive notice to quit. (Cheers.) Well, then, to stir up our zeal, to tell what has been done elsewhere, to recommend a continuance in that course of exertion which we have begun, to give us the benefit of their hints and observations, our friends are now arrived. (Cheers.) I do trust that the men of Yorkshire will show still something of that courage that distinguished their ancestors when they resisted the Norman invaders. I trust there remains a little of that independence among the people of this district which placed Sheffield at the head of the polling districts of the West-Riding, at the last election. Sheffield then sent a larger majority in favour of liberal principles than any other polling district in the Riding. (Cheers.) Have you lost anything of your former spirit? Are your principles become less valuable? Are they less deeply fixed on your minds by the years of suffering you have passed through? Have not your exertions rather endeared these principles to you, and more firmly fixed in your minds the resolution to persevere until you have succeeded? And succeed you will, undoubtedly. (Cheers.) It is but a question of time, we have said before. And now we say it is a question of very short time. (Cheers.) They who thought the time was not come when we had abundant harvests, see that now the time is come when we must no longer tamper with the food question. Men of the greatest influence now come boldly forward to say that it is unsafe to keep the people in this unsettled state, that there is great danger in it, and that the time is arrived when the question must be settled, not merely by the opening of the ports temporarily to hulk the public into security, but settled for ever by getting rid of the Corn Law at once. (Cheers.) I will

not further trespass upon your time at present, but call on Richard Cobden to address you. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. COBDEN then addressed the meeting at great length.

In reference to the apprehension of war with America, he said it was, he was quite sure, a great deal better to go to our brother Jonathan for food, than to go to fight with him. (Cheers.) He (Mr. Cobden) did not like to hear of people's minds becoming familiarised with the idea of fighting, for he conceived that it would be a great deal better to trade with him, than to encourage the idea of going to war with him. (Cheers.) Those states which produced cotton and tobacco, the articles which we consumed, had no desire to go to war with us. (Hear, hear.) And it was only within a few days that he read an account of a dinner at Charleston, in South Carolina, at which the health of the Queen was proposed, and received in the most enthusiastic manner, for that was one of the portions of the United States which produced those articles which we took from America. (Hear, hear.) What were the portions of the states in which there was no desire to go to war with England? The Atlantic cities, the states of Pennsylvania and New England, those which were connected with England by trade and commerce; but in the states of the west, where wheat and Indian corn, and pork and beef, were produced, those articles in which we refused to trade with them, the warlike spirit towards this country was evinced. (Hear, hear.) If we, however, took a different course from that which we at present adopted—if we took from the states of the west their barrelled flour, and pork, and beef, and butter, they would like us as well as the southern states, inasmuch as people do not usually wish to cut the throats of their best customers. Having dwelt at some length on the danger of impending scarcity, and the apprehended famine in Ireland, and shown that the perils of both were aggravated by the Corn Laws, he proceeded to impress upon his hearers the importance of obtaining county qualifications. Your registry next year will be nearly double that of any other. It was a saying of Charles James Fox, that Yorkshire and Middlesex together made up all England. Now when we see Yorkshire, Middlesex, and Lancashire of one mind, I defy any minister to carry on the government in opposition to their principles. I see the *Standard* has been putting forward a boasting paragraph that we have won but four counties out of forty. Now, I tell the *Standard* that these counties are of more importance than all the others—that Yorkshire, Lancashire, Middlesex, and Cheshire, contribute infinitely more to the wealth and power, as well as to the intellectual and moral greatness of the country, than all the others put together, and that no government will ever be seen opposed in principle to the voice of those counties. (Hear, and cheers.) It has always been so. Mr. Wilberforce was, thirty years ago, member for Yorkshire. He always voted with the government. This county was considered of so much importance that I remember reading lately, in his life, that when Mr. Wilberforce went to hold a meeting in Yorkshire, at the close of the last century, and at a time of great excitement on the subject of the French war, so anxious was Mr. Pitt to get the adhesion of this county to his principles that he would not allow Mr. Wilberforce to wait until his carriage was ready for the journey, but sent him off in his own. Mr. Pitt sent an express with further directions to his supporters at Stamford, and begged that the result of the meeting should be communicated by express to London. When at the time of the Reform Bill, Yorkshire returned Henry Brougham, it was the signal of the downfall of the boroughmongers; and in 1841, when Mr. Wortley succeeded Lord Morpeth, the defeat of the Whigs was at once taken for granted. And when Yorkshire sends up her members to vote in support of Mr. Villiers for the total and immediate repeal of the corn laws, then, take my word for it, the corn laws will be found to be not only "doomed," but dead. (Cheers.)

Mr. BRIGHT was the next speaker: he illustrated the practical working of the Corn Laws by showing their injurious effect on the trade and industry of the country at every period of their history when their working has been practically felt. Of the present aspect of affairs, he gave the following description:—"My opinion is, that the present prospects of trade in this country are anything but encouraging, and that their being bad and gloomy is entirely traceable to the existing Corn Laws. (Hear, hear.) Six weeks ago, there was, generally speaking, a fair trade throughout the cotton districts, and in some parts the trade was exceedingly brisk, and more than ordinarily profitable. The demand was then constant, and suffered little or no check whatever, until after a long period of rainy and unfavourable weather, the harvest was found to be deficient, and prices gradually rose; and, in addition to this, an alarming rumour was spread abroad of the almost total failure of the potato crop. Now, there is no other cause whatever, to which the present depression of trade in the cotton districts can be attributed, except to this. All the old things which were formerly said are now no longer mentioned, as the causes contributing to this lamentable result. There are joint-stock banks now in Manchester, as there were four or five years ago, yet nobody now thinks of attributing the depression to them. There is at present, also, far more machinery in Manchester than there was then, yet nobody is now foolish or mad enough to trace the depression to the progress of machinery. There has also been a larger production of manufactured articles than before, but no man now saddles the depression on over-production. (Hear, hear.) The truth is, that there is now a great and general cessation from buying those productions, because the people are becoming impoverished as the price of food advances; and here lies the whole evil. (Hear, hear.) And, sooner or later, it is to be feared, we shall have a state of things to deplore, such as we had four or five years ago." In conclusion, he showed the great importance of the present registration movement. "The House of Commons in this country is held in shares. The people have a small interest in it, but somehow or other they never get into the provisional or acting committee. (Renewed cheers and laughter.) We come to the question, 'Are we to stand it any longer?' The *Standard* says we have gained four counties at three hundred thousand pounds, and that we have as many millions to win all the counties. Now, I say, the money would not deter us if we saw the prospect of such success. (Hear, and cheers.) But take the proportion Lancashire bears to the other counties:—

Cultivated area of England and Wales.....	Acres 28,749,000
Ditto, Lancashire.....	850,000 or 1-33d part.
Rental of Real property in England and Wales.....	£85,802,735
Ditto, Lancashire.....	7,756,228 or 1-11th part.
Rental of Dwelling-houses in England and Wales.....	35,556,390
Ditto, Lancashire.....	1,777,336 or 1-8th part.

I recollect perfectly well when Lancashire went over to the monopolists there was a cry of reaction throughout the kingdom. When free-trade members are returned for that and some other large counties, the rotten-borough members and the nominees of the Lords cannot keep a government in existence for a session. If one-fifth of the grown-up population of your town register, there is no fear of a contest in this county. And why should you not? You have a stake in the country as well as the landlords. Remember, every manufacturer is surrounded by a colony; and when we recollect how capital was wound up a short time ago, how distress and discontent spread, and as like causes produce like effects, we should dread a scarcity now, reflecting what we suffered from it then. (Hear, hear.) You should take up this question as one of life and death to yourselves and to the trade of Sheffield; and if you do as Halifax, Leeds and Huddersfield are prepared to do, and if the small towns will follow your example, as they inevitably will do, your voice—as it was formerly the signal of the downfall of the Whigs—will speak with a voice of thunder in favour of free trade, when you choose to take on yourselves the exercise of the franchise. (Loud and long-continued cheering.)

GORDON THOMPSON, Esq., M.D., next addressed the meeting, and was received with cheers. He said, "Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure I have great pleasure in rising to move the resolution which has been placed in my hands, although at the same time I regret the absence of the gentleman (our worthy Mayor) who was to have moved it; but as he has been called suddenly from town, that duty has devolved upon me. I do not appear before you here in any political character. I appear before you as a member of the League, (cheers,) a body that repudiates political partisanship. (Hear, hear.) It is not sectarian, notwithstanding what the *Times* may say. It is a body, therefore, that embraces within itself persons of all shades of political opinion. And this it may safely do, for, if I understand rightly the object of the League, it is to promote the comfort, the happiness, and the well-being of the people generally. (Cheers.) You have heard, and I am sure you understand the political economy of the subject. It is impossible, after the lessons we have had, that any person should be so ignorant as not to understand it. But if I do not too far trespass upon your patience, I should wish to say a word on other subjects immediately connected with this, and which have reference to the particular avocation which I myself exercise. (Go on, go on.) You have heard a great deal of famine. Now, I dare say, in reading of famine, you have also read of something else by which it is accompanied—I mean pestilence. (Hear.) There never has been a famine of any duration, that has not been accompanied by pestilence. All of you are sufficiently educated to know what famine is, and what are the effects upon the body of a want of food. It enfeebles the constitution, and deteriorates the strength of the body. Persons under these circumstances are not capable of following their employment as of yore. But when the scarcity is long-continued, then it is that the strength of the constitution becomes thoroughly undermined, for people are ready to have recourse to other things than good and wholesome food to allay the pangs of hunger, for the cravings of hunger must be satisfied; and when people cannot obtain a sufficiency of suitable food, they resort to various expedients to satisfy those cravings. (Hear.) There must be a certain quantity of substance within the body, and when proper food cannot be had, the people then resort to various expedients by mixing with their food or aliment various other things which are not nutritious, or very slightly so; and in this manner it is that the strength of the constitution becomes undermined, and the foundation is laid for diseases of various kinds. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) One person, for example, according to his constitution, may fall into a decline, and another into some chronic disease; and, as Mr. Bright has justly observed, numbers, in a time of scarcity, are thus carried prematurely to their graves. In the last season of distress in this neighbourhood, I have witnessed this repeatedly. But that is far from being all. If it should so happen, and happened it has now, that the seasons are not favourable for the growing of corn, and there is not only a deficiency in the quantity, but the corn is of bad quality, that is a matter which becomes extremely serious indeed. It is then, more particularly, that fevers of the worst description prevail amongst the people. (Hear, hear.) Scarcity of all kinds leads to this result ultimately, and I need not go very far back to show you in what an extremely precarious position we are at this very moment. (Hear.) It is hardly within the memory of man, but it is a matter of medical history, that little more than seventy years ago, (from 1768 to 1772,) for three or four years there was a remarkably great quantity of rain, so that the fields were covered with extensive inundations, and large quantities of land were thrown out of cultivation in various parts of Europe,—France and Germany, for example. The consequence was, that the excessive moisture affected vegetation; and you know how dependent we are upon the food provided by vegetation for subsistence. Not only were the crops deficient, but the quality of the corn became deteriorated. Then the people felt still more severely the scarcity. So severe was the famine that the people mixed roots, the bark of trees, or anything else they could procure, with their food. (Hear.) The flour chiefly used was that of rye, and the quality was so pernicious that putrid fevers appeared in their most malignant form. One was called the *famished or hunger-fever*, in which the poor creatures lay stretched on their straw, blanched and white, in a state of insensibility, resembling that of a corpse, though still alive. (Hear.) This extended throughout Germany. There was one particular form of disease throughout the same country, called the *prickling or creeping fever*, because it announced its attacks by a prickling or creeping sensation throughout the body. This was succeeded by a most violent and powerful contraction of the muscles. The features became contracted, and the body bent in various directions. So violent were these contractions, that in many cases, where persons recovered, they never again had the proper use of their limbs. These were the effects of bad food and scarcity. But that is not all by a great deal. These effects were seen in another, but not less awful form in France. (Hear.) The people were seized with excruciating pains in their limbs, in the feet, or fingers. Then, bit by bit, the very flesh rotted from their bones, and their limbs fell off piecemeal. In both cases, it was demonstrated beyond a doubt that the cause was the badness of the corn. (Hear.) This was produced by the excessively wet weather. It affected not only rye, but wheat, oats, and barley were subject to the same disease. We now have had excessive wetness, and it has caused a rot in the potatoes. It is impossible to foresee the extent to which this may go. We are doomed to eat them—millions are doomed to eat them, and it is impossible to say what effects they may produce. (Hear.) At the time I have alluded to, potatoes were not

cultivated to the extent that they now are. They were not then generally an article of food. We are yet strangers, therefore, to the consequences that may come upon us. But this let us remember, that all these diseases were preceded by an unusual epidemic among cattle. We have also had an epidemic prevailing among the cattle to a considerable extent. (Hear, hear.) We see too that the products of vegetation have been injured. Supposing a similar series of years to occur, with the Corn Law in its existing state, nothing can save us from famine and pestilence. (Hear, hear, hear.) You may say, perhaps, how is it that the people at the time I have referred to, could not get food from other countries? Was there no corn in Egypt? No, literally, for Egypt was in a state of famine. Was there no rice in India? No, famine was there. And of that famine I will say a few words, for it well illustrates the principle of monopoly. Wherever you find monopoly, it is the same in character. It is a thing with brazen face, with heart of stone, and hands of iron. (Loud cheers.) It so happened, that in India, in 1768, the rains of December failed. The rains failed again in August, 1769, and the scorching sun burnt up everything. The rice crop, on which the Hindoos chiefly depend, failed; and in the latter part of 1769, it became apparent that famine had invaded the lower classes. There was the East India Company, of which they had heard as a company of monopolists. What was the company about? I will tell you, though I blush to say it. The Company had forbidden the people to trade in rice. The Company monopolised the trade. They had it all in their own hands, and foreseeing the scarcity, they bought up all the stores in the country. The famine now became so grievous that there appeared to the majority of the Hindoos no alternative but to perish by hunger, or by their own hands. Rice soon rose to ten times its usual price, and it was out of the power of the poorer Hindoos to purchase. This was the state of things in 1773; and the rice which the Company had bought up, they sold to the people at any price they pleased, making a most enormous profit. In Bengal alone, one of the most fertile and fruitful countries the sun ever shone upon, three millions of people died of famine. (Hear.) Could not they obtain aid from neighbouring countries? They were in a similar state. In Egypt there was famine. At Chinsurah, parents bartered their children for rice; and mothers threw first their offspring, then themselves, into the Ganges. The banks of the river were covered with dead bodies, and the East India Company had hundreds of people employed in throwing dead bodies into the river, till the very water became pestiferous, and the fish were unfit to be eaten. These were the effects of monopoly, (cheers,) and I think these facts bear me out in designating it in the manner in which I have done. (Hear.) I wish to call your attention to these facts. Do you say it is impossible we can ever be in such a state? I tell you that which has occurred may occur again. (Hear.) We are dependent on the elements, and observe, that after a certain cycle of years the seasons recur again in similar series. If we have a certain number of wet seasons, and corn becomes diseased and scarce, it may happen under the present law that we shall neither be able to procure rice from India nor food from other places. What, then, must be the situation of this country, it would be too awful to contemplate. As I do not think I could have given you a better illustration of the effects of monopoly, I hope you approve of the resolution.—(Long-continued cheering.)

The resolution was seconded by Mr. E. VICARS, and carried with acclamation.

Mr. W. FISHER proposed the next resolution, which was to the effect that a Registration Committee should be appointed, to consist of the present committee of the Free Trade Association, with power to add to their number.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

On the motion of Alderman HOOLE, seconded by Alderman TUNTON, thanks were voted to Mr. R. Cobden, M. P., and Mr. J. Bright, M. P., for their unceasing exertions to promote the cause of Free Trade; after which the meeting separated.

PRESTON.

On Thursday evening a public meeting was held in the Corn Exchange rooms (the use of the theatre having been refused by the proprietors of that building) for the advocacy of the principles of Free Trade in the present "food crisis" and for promoting the "registration movement" in North Lancashire. In consequence of the announcement that Messrs. Cobden and Bright would address the meeting, an immense number of applications for tickets of admission was made; but owing to the comparative smallness of the rooms, many hundreds were disappointed. At eight o'clock the place was densely crowded with an audience of about 900, among whom, in addition to the operatives, were many tradesmen, cotton-spinners, and manufacturers of the town and neighbourhood. Of the two latter classes we noticed Messrs. T. Miller, H. Miller, J. German, J. Horrocks, W. Ainsworth, J. Postlethwaite, G. Smith, J. Hawkins, T. Naylor, — Worsley, J. Evans, and W. Eccles. A number of ladies were also in attendance. At a quarter to eight o'clock Messrs. Cobden and Bright entered the room, and were saluted on their way to the platform with loud cheering. Shortly afterwards Mr. Livesey proposed, and Mr. G. Smith seconded, the appointment of Mr. M. Satterthwaite as Chairman. The proposition was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN, after the cheering with which he was welcomed had subsided, briefly introduced Mr. Cobden, M. P., to the meeting.

Mr. Cobden was received with reiterated cheering, and proceeded to address the meeting at great length. We are unable, however, to give more than a few extracts from his speech:—

"I have had the pleasure of meeting you under many circumstances;—I have been with you when trade was good, and when trade was very depressed, and I have always had but one tale to tell you—that high-priced provisions—unnatural society—produce bad trade for masters and bad wages for men. I have told you that high-priced food means low wages, and low-priced food high wages. Since my first acquaintance with you, you have had two periods—one of high, and another of low prices. When I first became acquainted with you in 1839—40, the price of wheat was from 69s. to 70s. per quarter, and you had bad trade and were suffering greatly. Again, during the two years just elapsed you have had low-priced food and very good trade, and wages rising, with every body employed. Now that is just what I always told you would be the result. My predictions have proved true, and I am going to turn prophet again, and tell you what is to happen now; and if, after all the experience you have had during the last seven years, and will have in the next two years, you are not convinced, then you will not be convinced even though one were to rise from

the dead. (Applause.) The price of food has risen about 50 per cent. within the last six months—that is, flour for the same quantity of which you paid 1s. six months ago, you must now pay 1s. 6d. for, and meal in proportion. (Cries of hear, hear.) Well, you are going to have bad trade, and for no other reason than that you are going to pay unnatural prices for your food; and it has come on you more suddenly than I should have predicted, and I will tell you the reason. It is because every body knows now—for we have told them—what effects will follow from high-priced food; so that instead of the wholesale dealer buying your manufactures, and the retail dealer stocking his shop with your goods, directly there is a failure in the crops, and the prices of provisions go up, both of them, instead of buying on ignorantly till next spring, as they would have done seven years ago, stop their purchases at once, and the manufacturers find that within six weeks from the rise of provisions business is almost at a stand. (Applause.) This is what never happened before. Even the men who deny the truth of our principles are now acting upon them—the very men who won't admit that we are right, but hold that we are wrong, even they are taking all the precautions which others are taking who are thorough Anti-Corn-Law Leaguers. They are reefing in their sails, and preparing for a storm. What reason can be assigned for this, except that we have had a bad harvest and provisions are high? It cannot be the expense of production, for the price of cotton was never lower—machinery was never better—people never made better goods. There is no reason why trade should be bad (for you have no wars, and no foreign markets cut off), except that food is unnaturally scarce and dear. (Hear.)

You have had rising wages during two years when bread has been cheap, and as certainly as this has been the case, your wages will drop during the next two years if bread be dear. (Hear, hear.) I want this to be as clear as two and two make four; and let nobody persuade you that two and two make five. (Laughter and cheers.)

Is it not lamentable that a subject in which we are all so vitally interested should still be regarded by many as a party-political question? What is the cause of this? Is it mere party prejudice, or is it something else? Is it a bit of false pride (cheers)—a love of *caste*? Have you men among you who think they are better than their neighbours, and belong to a higher class than their own, if they can only put their knees under the mahogany of some squire of the third or fourth degree (cheers and laughter); and who will forego the principles and interest of their order if they can only be allowed to bask in the sunshine of some one idea'd fox-hunter? If there are some such, I can only say that they take a very mistaken view of the road to their own importance and dignity. There is no dignity and importance in playing second fiddle to anybody. (Laughter.) What is the use of being a second "chop" squire? Why, they only laugh at you if you go a hunting with them. (Laughter.) I will tell you a little incident which happened in North Cheshire. There is a cotton-spinner's son who spends 2000*l.* a year; and his mother boasts he is a credit to the family, "for he *does* keep such excellent company!" (Laughter.) He keeps half-a-dozen hunters, and his mother is delighted at the manner in which he rides in his red coat and top-boots. (Laughter.) Well, he was riding home after the hunt one day in company with a friend of mine who sometimes goes a hunting too (laughter), but keeps his principles with him. They were riding along the road, with a certain lord and a squire, when this young beau, who spends 2000*l.* a year for his mother, said "I think I will go steeple-chase style, over the fields, straight home," and with that put his horse's head through the hedge, and away he went. The lord immediately turned to the squire and said, "Who is that?" "Oh," was the reply of the squire who had helped to spend the 2000*l.* a-year, "it is one of those cotton chaps from the hills." (Great laughter.) Now, if any of your Preston cotton-spinners' sons think they are promoting themselves by going to hunt with, or meeting at parties any of your North Lancashire squires, why let them be quite assured that when their backs are turned, they are just as respectfully spoken of as the young North Cheshire cotton-spinner was. If anybody asks who he is, they won't condescend to know him, even though they have been drinking champagne at his expense, perhaps (laughter); but will say, "It is one of those cotton chaps out of Preston." (Great cheers and laughter.) Now, it is a great mistake for a man ever to attempt to set up for what he is not. (Hear, hear.) He may be somebody while he sticks to what he is; but he can be nothing when he is a sham. (Cheers and laughter.) A cotton-spinner or manufacturer, aye, and a calico-printer (loud cheers), may be *somebody*, if he stands by his order and does not repudiate himself. We may be somebody, all of us; we are an order, and there is rank and importance to be attached to the order, provided men have self-respect enough to deserve respectability. (Loud cheers.) Why, what is Manchester become? It has become great in the estimation of the world, and of immensely increased importance in the eyes of statesmen and philosophers, within the last 12 or 15 years. Why? Because, during that time Manchester men have set up for themselves. We have our magnificent institutions, our Athenæum, and others of a kindred kind, but they were not erected by the squires. The same men who started and sustained the Anti-Corn-Law League gave Manchester its Athenæum, and other institutions. It is the men who have set up for themselves who have made Manchester something in the eyes of the world; and Preston will be elevated in the eyes of the world, not by men who turn their backs on their order, and won't subscribe to the Anti-Corn-Law League because it is a vulgar body, but by those who stand out in defence of the principles of commercial freedom, and who are not ashamed to stand up for their order and defend it in any society in which they may be placed. (Loud cheers.)

I know it is the opinion of the Lancashire conservatives that Sir Robert Peel will repeal the Corn Laws, and therefore that they need not stir in the matter. Oh! but if I was only Sir Robert Peel, I should not like to have such a party to work for as he has in Lancashire. (Cheers and laughter.) They assume that he is at heart a Free Trader; a man of two views; one public and one private. He is obliged to talk a little of monopoly in public, but in private he is a good Free Trader. (Cheers.) Well, they say he can do it; but how? He has colleagues that won't let him do it. Do you suppose that the Duke of Wellington, the Duke of Buccleuch, Lord Stanley, and Sir Sidney Herbert, are all wanting to repeal the Corn Laws? I suppose the party that follow Sir Robert Peel consider he wants to do it because he will have all the glory; but his colleagues won't let him; they stick by their order; they are not sons of cotton-spinners, as Sir Robert is. How is he to do it? I will tell you. If the Conservative party in Lancashire had joined the League, and said, "We are Conservatives still, but on this question of

Free Trade we take a merchant's and manufacturer's view; it affects our interests, and we will go for Free Trade, and when that is carried we will be Conservatives still;" if they had said this, what would have been the effect? Why, Sir Robert Peel would have pointed his colleagues to what was going on in Lancashire, and said, "If we don't give them the repeal of the Corn Law, we shall have no party to support us at all in Lancashire; if you'll let me repeal that law, then I undertake that those men of principle and sturdy independence will be our supporters still; but if not, we can have no party in Lancashire or Yorkshire, and how can any Government go on that has no support in those two important counties?" That would have enabled Peel to dictate to his colleagues. (Loud cheers.) But at present his colleagues in the Cabinet may fairly meet him with the argument that the Conservatives of Lancashire are opposed to Free Trade, and that the League agitation is a movement confined to liberal politicians. If I were Prime Minister, defend me from the Conservatives in Lancashire, for they want Peel to do something, and they won't help him! (Cheers.) Now, if Sir Robert Peel fall by this question—and I predict he will fall by it; nay, he is falling now—if the Cabinet be dissolved, then might be inscribed over his political tomb, 'Died from the imbecility of his party in Lancashire and Yorkshire.' (Loud laughter.) The hon. gentleman resumed his seat amidst loud cheers.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. BRIGHT, who was received with prolonged cheering, which was very frequently renewed throughout the course of his speech. We have not space, however, for even an outline of his address; but must content ourselves with subjoining an extract or two illustrative of the severe pressure which has already begun its infliction of privations on the working man, and to produce threatening symptoms of speedy commercial stagnation. We find, he said, we are approaching a period of famine, and that there is a very remarkable sensitiveness in trade. The vast industry and commerce of this country, which at one time seemed firmly fixed on a rock, from which nothing could shake it, totters the very moment we approach a period of scarcity. Now, trade is the source of life in this district. Your town would be comparatively a wilderness if no more cotton were to come into it, and your river, about which you are taking so much trouble in order to make Preston a port, might as well be dried up for all purposes of navigation. You bring cotton from the East Indies and America; you work it up into a variety of articles, of which you export some, and some you sell to your countrymen at home. Now it is absolutely necessary that this trade should be extended, or else the prosperity of Preston can by no possibility be preserved. For instance, an increasing population should have an increasing trade, else it must deteriorate in condition. Now Preston has a population of 60,000, and every year there is added to that probably 1000 or 1200; so that the population of 60,000 would be increased twelve months' hence, if from no cause an unusual number leave the town, to 61,000. Of this, 900 at least belong to the class who live by their labour. You see now the necessity there is that between now and twelve months hence there should be such an extension of manufactures and trade as will give the requisite quantity of employment and remuneration to the additional 900. And if that extension do not take place, then those 900 new hands must compete with the population you already have; and the tendency of an increasing population, with an increasing demand for labour, must be to make labour less profitable, and of consequence, reduce wages. (Hear, hear.) How are we to increase it then? Your trade consists partly with your home customers, and partly with your foreign; but at this moment the former is every week being dried up by the Corn Law. There is not a man in Preston who, if he be not a stingy fellow, would not choose to have as good clothing on his back the next six months as during the past six; but at this moment there are thousands and millions in Great Britain and Ireland paying fewer visits to the clothing shops than they paid within the last twelve months. There are being now paid 400,000l. per week more for food than per week six months ago. 400,000l. per week make 20,000,000l. in a year—a sufficient sum to make 20 railroads, each 30 miles in length. (Hear, hear.) Last night I made inquiry at Blackburn, and was told by one person that whereas six months ago he got eight pounds of bread for one shilling, he now only gets five pounds and a quarter; and the quality is not so good, for the wheat this harvest is of inferior quality, and the Corn Law prevents good qualities from coming in to be mixed with it. This is just the same as if when a working man comes in to breakfast, dinner, or tea, and proceeds to cut some slices of bread for his family, he should find that out of three loaves somebody had walked off with one, or more than that, nearly one and a half. (Laughter.) This is not a figure of speech; it is matter of fact. The same party told me that 240 pounds of meal, worth 28s. 6d. or 29s. six months ago, are worth 42s. 6d. now. I don't know whether it would be of use making any argument after such a statement. I advise every working man here to look the first 10 minutes he has to spare through his expenditure, and see what he was paying six months ago and what he is paying now, and he will find that he is actually paying now by the plunder of this mis-called protection to his industry (hear), twice the sum he ever paid in his life per week for the education of his children. (Cheers.)

Mr. Bright then referred to the suffering amongst the working-classes, and the depreciation of property in this town between 1838 and 1842, and continued. In the recurrence to that state of things, it seems to me that Providence in his mercy is bringing before us again some of the awful pictures we lately saw in order to warn us of the risk we run while we thus deliberately violate the plainest law of nature! (Cheers.) During my 18 years' connection with the cotton trade of Lancashire, I have never known a reverse so sudden, and sad, and universal, as has taken place within the last six weeks. I believe there never was anything like it before—certainly nothing like it since the peace. There is no cause for this, I believe, but that which we have assigned, viz., a partial failure of the harvest, and a very serious and almost universal failure in the potato crop. Now how long, think you, will it be ere this stagnant eddy in the commercial world will be felt by the working man? The first effect of a reverse is felt by the hand-loom weavers. There are many such remaining at Burnley; and when there on Monday night, we made some inquiry into their condition, and were told that they are making not more than one-half of what they earned some time ago. (Hear, hear.) But the evil will not stop with them. It did not before; it went on attacking all classes till even the very richest felt themselves on the verge of ruin; and its progress was not staid till after two good harvests, and we had—what I believe we should always have with Free Trade—plenty of provisions at moderate prices. (Hear, and cheers.) Now we are met here not so much for

the purpose of denouncing the Corn Law as to devise means for its overthrow. (Cheers.) We have had Cabinet Councils lately to discuss what is to be done if we have famine, and yet what every man looks to is precisely what the Cabinet say they will not do. Possibly they may reconsider their decision. The consumption of potatoes, owing to the farmers being desirous to get rid of them at once lest they rot away altogether, is going on at more than the ordinary rate; and next March or April, probably, people will be wondering if they are to be got at any price. (Hear.) But if the potatoes be gone, are the potato-eaters to be starved? I think not. If the starvation process go on quietly—if one man starve quietly here, and another in Buckinghamshire—Government don't care; but when the people starve, that is a different matter; and he must be a man of harder nerve than Sir Robert Peel or the Duke of Wellington either, who can withstand the clamorous of a people reduced to starvation. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Bright, on concluding, was greeted with hearty cheering.

Mr. J. LIVESSEY, in proposing the following resolution, said that he was determined to devote all his energies for the next ten weeks to the task of wresting this division of the county from further upholding the Corn Law. It was the determination of the committee to change the register by 3000; they would put on 2000, and put off 1000 (loud cheering); and then they could with confidence go to the poll and return two Free Traders for North Lancashire. He moved "That this meeting, viewing the Corn Law as an act of injustice, is determined to assist, by acquiring county votes, and by every other means within its power, in obtaining its total and immediate repeal."

Mr. G. SMITH seconded the motion, which was then put from the chair, and unanimously carried.

R. SEGAR, Esq., then rose, and was received with cheers. He said—I rise to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright for the very admirable speeches they have made to us to-night, and, although it is not mentioned in the written motion, for the very great services they have rendered to the country during the last five or six years. I don't stand here as a cotton-spinner or manufacturer; my occupation, as a lawyer, consists in protecting honest people, or rather in taking care as far as I can that people behave honestly to each other. (Cheers.) And speaking as a lawyer, I must say that in my judgment the Corn Law is not an honest law. (Loud cheers.) It is no small pride to me, though coming in as I do at the death, to remember that I was one who started with the hounds at first. The repeal of the Corn Law was first proposed at one of our elections, when we had the honour of having that venerable supporter of its repeal, Colonel Thompson, as our candidate. Undoubtedly we have fought the battle here with worse and better success; at present we are triumphant; and triumphant for the borough, we will be triumphant for the county. (Enthusiastic cheers.) I am satisfied that that is a matter not so difficult to accomplish. When you have been told today by persons who have made it a matter of calculation, that Preston alone can win this division of the county to the cause of justice and humanity, is it to be said that Preston is to draw back? (Hear.) If you believe that what you have been told is true, why then a heavy responsibility rests upon you if you fail to discharge the duty. (Hear, hear.) No; Preston stands in a most important position with respect to agriculture, and owes a good deal to it; she gets good hands from the country, a great supply of food, and always near at hand; and certainly I should be the last to advocate this question if it were against the interests of agriculture. (Great cheering.) But it is because the Anti-Corn Law League have already done so much for agriculture that it is beginning to rise in favour with the farmers. (Hear, hear.) Does any man doubt that there would have been such a quantity of food at this moment, if the exertions of the League had not roused the squires to exertion? So far from thinking that the repeal of the Corn Laws will be injurious to the science of agriculture, I am quite satisfied that they are the most grievous bane it has ever had to contend against, and that, until people can turn their attention to what they can best do, and grow best, in the most scientific and abundant manner, it is impossible that it can ever make any progress. (Renewed cheers.) But is it against the landowners? God forbid that the landowners should be the cause of a small quantity of food among the people! (Cheers.) Who will deny that the happiness of the wealthy must be greatly increased by abundance of food, and consequent prosperity of the people? (Hear, hear.) When all can get a comfortable living, how many people will there not be devoted to the arts and all other luxuries and means which gratify the taste of the wealthy? (Hear, hear.) It is really no battle between the agriculturist and manufacturer, but a battle of sound principles against unsound ones—of intelligence, enlightenment, and experience, against prejudice and error—it is a battle, not of classes, but principles. (Loud cheering.)

The motion was seconded by Mr. W. AINSWORTH, and carried by a show of hands.

Mr. COBDEN rose to acknowledge the compliment, and was again hailed with the cheers of the meeting. He said—I cannot help referring to my friend Segar's eloquent speech, and I only wish we heard him oftener. (Cheers.) He has put into a small compass, I think, and in language as beautiful as convincing, the whole of our question, that this is a battle of intelligence against ignorance and prejudice. As regards agriculture, it is a curious fact, that all the best farmers are with us for repeal. I met Lord Ducie at the meeting at Birmingham last week, and he told me an amusing anecdote. His lordship has an annual sale of cattle; well, he had a bull designed for sale, and he says to the bailiff, "I'll call him 'Cobden, the Farmer's Friend.'" (Loud laughter.) And on the day of sale there the animal appeared, with a large label, "COBDEN, THE FARMER'S FRIEND." The bailiff, somewhat dismayed, expostulated. "My lord," said he, "if you sell him with that name, you won't get more than half his price." (Laughter.) "Never mind," replied his lordship, "I'll risk it." Well, the animal was sold, and he brought a capital price, a great deal more than he was worth. (Loud cheers and laughter.) I think, that is an indication at all events, that among intelligent farmers that horror of the Leaguers which they once felt, as if they were going to rush in, and carry off their cattle, is going away.

Mr. R. ASCROFT said—I rise to propose a vote of thanks to the mayor for the use of the rooms, which, on application, he granted at once.

Mr. LIVESSEY, in seconding the motion, said they had been denied the use of the theatre, and afterwards he considered insulted, by its being offered to them at ten guineas, though three guineas was the highest ever charged for other persons. They were determined to stand it no longer. (Cheers.) They never could get a place without asking it as a favour. Both

the last and the present mayor had acted with great liberality, but they could not depend upon all future mayors doing the same, and therefore they were determined to build a public hall, to be used for all legal purposes. (Great cheering.) It should be in shares of 5l. He was willing to take twenty shares (cheers), the chairman and others were also willing to take shares; and besides it being a great accommodation to the town, he thought it would not be a bad pecuniary speculation. He begged to second Mr. Ascroft's motion of thanks to the mayor.

Mr. BRIGHT stated that they had built a hall in Rochdale for about 2000l. in 5l. shares, and that it was scarcely a single day unoccupied, and fetched the average rate of interest.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. COBDEN then moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and added, we must have North Lancashire so safe as that we shall be able to return two Free Traders—the one a manufacturer and the other a landowner, provided you can find an honest and disinterested politician. For the former, I think you have got a man in Preston who ought to sit in Parliament when the register is finished. (Cheers.) With that hint I beg to conclude, and move a vote of thanks to your chairman. We will give him three cheers for Free Trade, and I'll be the fagman.

The motion was instantly agreed to, and three cheers given in addition for Messrs. Cobden and Bright.

The meeting then broke up.

MR. COBDEN AND THE SIECLE.

Mr. Cobden has addressed the following letter to the editor of the *Siecle*, in reply to the strictures made by the editor of that paper upon one of his speeches on the export of corn, &c.:

"You will permit me to rectify an error which has crept into one of your last numbers, relative to the views of the Anti-Corn-Law League upon a question of which the importance extends to all Europe, and is still further increased by the difficulties of the moment.

"The incorrectness of the report transmitted to you of one of my recent speeches, delivered in our Free Trade-hall, has influenced your remarks, and induced you to declare that I should accept, favourably, measures tending to restrict the exportation of corn. Nothing in the world is, or can be more repugnant to my opinions and my designs. My conviction, perfectly similar to that which you have yourself so ably expressed, is that the result of such a doctrine, if it was carried out, would be to give the *coup de grace* to all external trade. If you will allow me the favour, I will avail myself of the present occasion to expose the principles and the motives on which the League is based. The name of the 'Anti-Corn-Law League' seems at first to indicate an association exclusively directed against the landed monopoly. Such is not, however, the real aim of our agitation.

"The League is the apostle of commercial liberty in the vastest and most universal sense of the term. Under our principle are included all classes of produce, natural or manufactured, and we are the adversaries of the protection granted to the silk manufactures as well as the opponents of our laws relative to grain. But we have concentrated our attack upon those laws, because of all monopolies it is that which acts in the most effectual and oppressive manner, and because if we succeed in abolishing it, the landowners, roused by their personal interests, will themselves execute the remainder of the task. They will spare us the labour necessary to bring about the abolition of the other privileges. In a word, monopoly is an immense arch, of which the Corn Law is the key-stone. Detach that key-stone, and the monument will fall by its own weight. I venture to hope that your readers witness with some interest the struggle which we are carrying on, with the object of overthrowing all the barriers which are opposed to the free exchange of the produce of industry. I will here observe, that seven years ago all the members of the League united were scarcely sufficient to fill a very limited space; but that now our principles are supported by the majority of the middle classes, in England, and have found still more numerous defenders in intelligent and enlightened Scotland. I will observe, in conclusion, that our question at present remains suspended over the head of the Government as a problem, the solution of which masters and gods them. This rapid development of public opinion springs from the permanent agitation kept up by the League, and from the discussions of which it has been made the centre. It is too true that our efforts have but little awakened public anxiety abroad, and that because we have carefully kept our acts within the legitimate and strict limits of our internal management. We have done so, and we shall do so still, for we do not think it necessary to the success of our cause to see other nations following our progress step by step. On the contrary, the less nations apply themselves to the negotiation of treaties, and the less they endeavour to stipulate for a certain commercial reciprocity, the more shall we rejoice. The intervention of diplomatists or propagandists awakens susceptibilities and national jealousies, and from that very circumstance retards the spread of the principles of freedom. The true tactics of nations, as of individuals, should be to buy in the lowest and to sell in the dearest market, and that without caring what others may do. And our faith in the truth of our principles is so great, that in our eyes the prosperity which England will enjoy when she shall establish the system of free intercourse will suffice to drag the world in her wake, and to excite in the hearts of civilised nations a sort of rivalry in imitation."

THE SCARCITY IN HOLLAND.—THE HAGUE, Nov. 19.—In the sitting of the Second Chamber of the States General to-day, the project of law for encouraging the importation of provisions was adopted, after a long debate, by a majority of 17 to 5.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S LETTER

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF
LONDON.

GENTLEMEN.—The present state of the country, in regard to its supply of food, cannot be viewed without apprehension. Forethought and bold precaution may avert any serious evils—indecision and procrastination may produce a state of suffering which it is frightful to contemplate.

Three weeks ago it was generally expected that Parliament would be immediately called together. The announcement that Ministers were prepared at that time to advise the Crown to summon Parliament, and to propose on their first meeting a suspension of the import duties on corn, would have caused orders at once to be sent to various ports of Europe and America for the purchase and transmission of grain for the consumption of the United Kingdom. An Order in Council dispensing with the law was neither necessary nor desirable. No party in Parliament would have made itself responsible for the obstruction of a measure so urgent and so beneficial.

The Queen's Ministers have met, and separated, without affording us any promise of such seasonable relief.

It becomes us, therefore, the Queen's subjects, to consider how we can best avert, or at all events mitigate calamities of no ordinary magnitude.

Two evils require your consideration. One of these is the disease in the potatoes, affecting very seriously parts of England and Scotland, and committing fearful ravages in Ireland.

The extent of this evil has not yet been ascertained, and every week, indeed, tends either to reveal unexpected disease, or to abate in some districts the alarm previously entertained. But there is one misfortune peculiar to the failure in this particular crop. The effect of a bad corn harvest is, in the first place, to diminish the supply in the market, and to raise the price. Hence diminished consumption, and the privation of incipient scarcity by which the whole stock is more equally distributed over the year, and the ultimate pressure is greatly mitigated. But the fear of the breaking out of this unknown disease in the potatoes induces the holders to hurry into the market, and thus we have at one and the same time rapid consumption and impending deficiency—scarcity of the article and cheapness of price. The ultimate suffering must thereby be rendered far more severe than it otherwise would be. The evil to which I have adverted may be owing to an adverse season, to a mysterious disease in the potato, to want of science, or of care in propagating the plant. In any of these cases Government is no more subject to blame for the failure of the potato crop than it was entitled to credit for the plentiful corn harvest which we have lately enjoyed.

Another evil, however, under which we are suffering, is the fruit of Ministerial counsel and Parliamentary law. It is the direct consequence of an Act of Parliament, passed three years ago, on the recommendation of the present advisers of the Crown. By this law grain of all kinds has been made subject to very high duties on importation. These duties are so contrived that the worse the quality of the corn the higher is the duty; so that when good wheat rises to 70s. a quarter the average price of all wheat is 57s. or 58s., and the duty 15s. or 14s. a quarter. Thus the corn barometer points to fair, while the ship is bending under a storm.

This defect was pointed out many years ago by writers on the Corn Laws, and was urged upon the attention of the House of Commons when the present Act was under consideration.

But I confess that, on the general subject, my views have in the course of twenty years undergone a great alteration. I used to be of opinion that corn was an exception to the general rules of political economy; but observation and experience have convinced me that we ought to abstain from all interference with the supply of food. Neither a Government nor a legislature can ever regulate the corn markets with the beneficial effects which the entire freedom of sale and purchase are sure of themselves to produce.

I have for several years endeavoured to obtain a compromise on this subject. In 1839 I voted for a committee of the whole House, with the view of supporting the substitution of a moderate fixed duty for the sliding-scale. In 1841 I announced the intention of the then Government of proposing a fixed duty of 8s. a quarter. In the past session I proposed the imposition of some lower duty. These propositions were successively rejected. The present First Lord of the Treasury met them in 1839, 1840, and 1841, by eloquent panegyrics of the existing system—the plenty it had caused, the rural happiness it had diffused. He met the propositions for

diminished protection in the same way in which he had met the offer of securities for Protestant interests in 1817 and 1825—in the same way in which he met the proposal to allow Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham to send members to Parliament in 1830.

The result of resistance to qualified concession must be the same in the present instance as in those I have mentioned. It is no longer worth while to contend for a fixed duty. In 1841 the Free Trade party would have agreed to a duty of 8s. a quarter on wheat, and after a lapse of years this duty might have been further reduced, and ultimately abolished. But the imposition of any duty at present, without a provision for its extinction within a short period, would but prolong a contest already sufficiently fruitful of animosity and discontent. The struggle to make bread scarce and dear, when it is clear that part, at least, of the additional price goes to increase rent, is a struggle deeply injurious to an aristocracy which (this quarrel once removed) is strong in property, strong in the construction of our legislature, strong in opinion, strong in ancient associations, and the memory of immortal services.

Let us, then, unite to put an end to a system which has been proved to be the blight of commerce, the leave of agriculture, the source of bitter divisions among classes, the cause of penury, fever, mortality, and crime among the people.

But if this end is to be achieved, it must be gained by the unequivocal expression of the public voice. It is not to be denied that many elections for cities and towns in 1841, and some in 1845, appear to favour the assertion that Free Trade is not popular with the great mass of the community. The Government appear to be waiting for some excuse to give up the present Corn Law. Let the people, by petition, by address, by remonstrance, afford them the excuse they seek. Let the Ministry propose such a revision of the taxes as in their opinion may render the public burdens more just and more equal; let them add any other provisions which caution and even scrupulous forbearance may suggest; but let the removal of restrictions on the admission of the main articles of food and clothing used by the mass of the people be required, in plain terms, as useful to all great interests, and indispensable to the progress of the nation.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

Edinburgh, Nov. 22, 1845.

J. RUSSELL.

LORD MORPETH'S LETTER TO EDWARD BAINES, JUN.

Castle Howard, Nov. 24, 1845.

My dear Mr. Baines,—I perceive that you are about to have a meeting at Leeds to promote the qualification of electors, with a view to further the objects of the Anti-Corn-Law League.

You will probably remember being present upon an occasion when, amidst very strong surrounding inducement, I forebore from pledging myself to the entire extent of those objects. All that has since intervened, all especially that is now occurring, a fellow feeling with my old friends in the riding (although I less than ever anticipate any probable renewal of a political connection between us), and a sense of what has been effected by the Anti-Corn-Law League to advance their great end, alike combine to put an end to all further doubt or reserve on my own part, and I write this without concert or consultation with any one else. The contribution I enclose for your immediate purposes is of very trifling amount; it would not be easy to foresee what calls may not be made upon any of us in the course of the ensuing year; but I wish to record in the most emphatic way I can my conviction that the time is come for a final repeal of the Corn Laws, and my protest against the continued inaction of the state in the present emergency.

Believe me, dear Mr. Baines, yours very faithfully,

Edward Baines, jun., Esq.

MORPETH.

THE MANCHESTER DEPUTATION AND THE PREMIER.—On Monday last the deputation from the borough meeting of the preceding Thursday, consisting of W. B. Watkins, Esq. mayor of Manchester; Mark Phillips, Esq. M.P.; Joseph Brotherton, Esq. M.P.; R. H. Greg, Esq. and Mr. Alderman Kay, had an interview of half an hour's duration with Sir Robert Peel, who received them very courteously. The mayor read the memorial, to which the Premier seemed to pay great attention. Sir Robert Peel afterwards conversed with the deputation on the condition of the potato crop, the state of trade, &c. The right hon. baronet said that he hoped the deputation would excuse him expressing any opinion, but that he would communicate to his colleagues what had taken place. The interview then terminated.

FREEDOMERS' BUILDING SOCIETY.—Meetings to promote the objects of this society will be held in Failsworth next Wednesday; in Bury on Thursday; and in Farnworth on Friday. We are glad to see the spirit with which its operations are carried on, and have no doubt that it will speedily be recognised as a great fact.

OPENING OF THE PORTS.

MANCHESTER.

MEETING OF THE WORKING-CLASSES.—At a preliminary meeting of the working classes, held at the King Inn, Oldham-street, Manchester, yesterday evening, Nov. 21, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

"That it is the opinion of this meeting that, in consequence of the great distress which now prevails amongst the working-classes, owing to the failure of the crops and the still greater privations that are likely to occur, the working-classes are loudly called upon, and are in duty bound, to use all their efforts to make known their awful condition to her Majesty's ministers, that some measure may be adopted to relieve them.

"That, in the opinion of this meeting, some speedy mode of relief should be proposed to her Majesty's Government, and no method appears to us more practicable than that of opening the ports of Great Britain and Ireland to receive foreign corn free of duty.

"That this meeting pledges itself to use every legal effort in its power to call a public meeting for the purpose of forwarding to her Majesty's government the opinion entertained in the above resolutions."—*Manchester Times*.

BOLTON.

(Abridged from the Bolton Free Press.)

An adjourned meeting was held on Friday evening in the Temperance Hall, Little Bolton. Before eight o'clock the hall was completely filled, including the galleries, aisles, and every other available place, so that at least there would be upwards of 2000 persons present.

The MAYOR took the chair and said, on his way to the meeting a person had presented to him a note from Peter Ainsworth, Esq., M.P., and which, with their permission, he would read to them. The note was then read and it stated that, on his arrival at home from the meeting held in the forenoon, he found some friends from a considerable distance, and regretted he could not be present. He requested the Mayor, however, to state to the meeting that he fully concurred in the views of the requisitionists, and believed that, on account of the failure in the potato crop, and the deficiency in grain, her Majesty's Government ought, for the welfare of the nation, to open the ports. The Mayor then added that he should be glad to hear any remarks upon the subject, and hoped the speakers would confine themselves to the particular objects they were met to consider.

HENRY ASHWORTH, Esq., was received with loud and continued cheering. As soon as it had subsided, he proceeded to say that they had heard the object for which they were met, and he rose to propose a resolution in accordance with that object, namely—"That this meeting views with feelings of alarm the deficiency of the harvest, and the failure of the potato crops in many parts of Great Britain and Ireland, and which produce the greatest apprehension among all classes of the community, and imperatively require the consideration of her Majesty's Government." After some introductory remarks, Mr. Ashworth proceeded to show how the present state of the country was likely to affect the condition of the industrious working classes. It was obvious he said, that if the wishes and desires of the people were complied with, it must be through the pressure from without. With regard to the present question, as to a scarcity of wheat, it might be inferred from its present price. A short time ago it was 45s., and now it was 65s.; or in other words, bread that was 4½d. for the lb. loaf was now 6½d. (Hear, hear.) Oatmeal and other provisions had risen to a greater or less extent, and if these high prices continued, the pressure would increase and be unavoidably productive of distress and misery. Although they were supposed to live by the sweat of their brow, still seasons and times would overtake them when it would become their duty to exercise discretion, and adopt some plan whereby they could procure a sufficiency of food from other sources; and, he believed, the present was an occasion when they were called upon to do so. It was not only a duty they owed to those there, but to those living around them, and trusted they would give such a measure that support this evening which it really and truly merited. As a Christian duty they were called upon to support this measure; but he would not enter upon that point, as others would succeed him in speaking, who would, no doubt, dwell upon it in a more able manner; he would, however, address a few observations to them in a civil and social point of view. He had told them of the difference between the price of bread now and a short time ago. That morning he had had placed in his hands, by some of his workpeople, a statement of the difference between the cost of bread to their families now and a short time ago; and out of the number he had selected four families, which would be about an average. These four had about thirty-four members in their families, taking them together, and he found the increase amounted to from 5s. 6d. to 7s. 1½d. per week—or, in other words, rather more than an increase of a penny a day for each individual, young and old. Now, in the borough of Bolton there were about, he would say, at least 50,000 individuals, and taking the locality round about, there would be 50,000 more. Supposing them to be all as well fed as his own workpeople (which he trusted they were), 100,000 persons, at a penny a day of a sacrifice, in Bolton and its locality alone, would, from the present increase in the price of grain, amount to £3000 this week, as compared with its late price. (Hear.) This, he conceived, was entirely given away by the community here to persons with whom they had no direct interest—for the corn was not grown at our own doors. The shopkeepers might suppose that it did not affect them, but they were mistaken; for the money passed through the hands of the shopkeepers, and milliners, and provision dealers. The shopkeepers might fancy their condition improved by the large stream of money passing through their hands; but they would find out that, although the money did come in greater supply, they got no more by a loaf of flour sold at 6s. than one at 4s. (Hear, hear, hear.) And then, if more money was paid to the flour-dealer, of course the tailor, the grocer, and other tradesmen must necessarily receive less; for it was impossible that a man could pay his money twice over; if it was spent in food it could not go in clothing. This was the state of the question as regarded the shopkeepers. A short time ago there was a disposition amongst the assistants in shops to have their hours of labour shortened, and he was glad to witness that spirit, because it denoted that their labours were too great; but what would be the case if bread were dear? Their labours would be lightened—the shops would be kept open till a later hour—less assistance would be required, and probably one-half of them would be discharged. Then, if the shopkeepers cannot sell, they will not buy; the mer-

chants in Manchester will not buy of us, and the result will be, that there must either be less employment, or they must stock their warehouses with the goods. The revolution then would fall upon the operatives—buyers would cease, sellers would cease, and trade become as stagnant as it had been of old. The next question was, could a sufficient quantity of grain be imported? He had told them before that other countries were scraping together as much food as possible, and it would appear, therefore, that we were left to our own resources. But America was stored with grain, and if it was only a small amount that they imported it would tend to lessen the price. Instead of creating a rise, at all events, by opening the ports, they would have it at the common price of the world, and if so they would have no cause to murmur. (Applause.) He was happy to congratulate them on the willingness which had been manifested in various towns, by bodies corporate and other authorities, to obtain such a desirable object, and was glad that Bolton was likely to be as prominent as the rest. After alluding to the memorial of the spinners' association, which appeared in the *Guardian* of Wednesday last, he proceeded to say that it was an enlightened document, and reflected the highest credit upon them as a body of operatives. He then referred to the periods from 1838 to 1842, and compared it with the period from 1842 to 1845. In the former period, about 1000 houses were empty in the borough, in one year, and there was a scarcity of employment—machinery remaining idle; but in the latter period wages rose, and, instead of persons being idle, a sufficient number could not be procured—the town became prosperous—and what was a singular fact, during an entire year, in Little Bolton, no poor-rate was required. Food was cheap when wages were high, and dear during the period of depression; rates were also from two to threefold more, and soup kitchens and other plans had been resorted to to keep the people from actual starvation. It was a strange coincidence, but it was a fact, that good and bad times had always been according as food was dear or cheap. After alluding to the pain it caused him to see a person in the humiliating position of distress, and the awful effects it had in producing crime, he concluded by moving the resolution, amidst loud repeated cheering.

C. J. DARDISHIRE, Esq., was received with applause. He had great satisfaction in seconding the resolution proposed by Mr. Ashworth. He congratulated the meeting upon the numbers and earnestness with which they had assembled, to testify their sense of present responsibilities and the duties they imposed, and after explaining the absurdity and danger of delay in providing for such an awful emergency by immediately opening the ports, sat down amidst general applause.

The resolution was carried unanimously amidst much cheering.

THOMAS THOMASSON, Esq., rose to move the next resolution, which was as follows:—"That this meeting has, by painful experience, been taught that the prosperity of all classes depends mainly on the price of food; that an abundant and cheap supply of the necessaries of life has always been coincident with increased employment and a higher rate of wages, whilst dearth and scarcity have been attended with diminished demand for labour, and a reduction in the earnings of the working classes." He was much pleased in the morning of that day at the meeting at the police-office, to hear a working man, in offering reasons for adjourning the meeting, say, "This is our question more so than yours" (employers). Mr. Ashworth had clearly shown them that it was a working man's question; and without any reference whatever to Mr. Ashworth's statement of the case, he (Mr. Thomasson) had made a calculation as to the probable increase paid by inhabitants of Bolton for food, and he had come to the conclusion that at least 2500*l.* a week more was spent in food than was spent for the same purpose a few months ago. Now, they were all working as hard now as a few months since, and at the same rate of wages, but their food cost them more by that amount each week than at the period alluded to. If their employers had reduced their wages that much, they would have made a pretty noise. (Laughter, and hear, hear.) It would be a very useful subject to consider as to who pocketed the difference. He would have them not to depend on anybody's statement, but make due inquiry for themselves. Let them make calculations, and ask their wives at home how much more was paid for flour, oatmeal, &c., than was paid three or four months since? Now, that 2500*l.* was a mighty sum if it was properly examined. As an illustration he would give them an instance. In his new mill about 250*l.* a week were paid in wages. Now it would take ten such mills as that to pay in wages the amount which they now paid in food in addition to what they paid a few months since. Such was the effect produced by the late advance in the prices of food. It was tantamount to workpeople being employed at ten mills all the week for nothing. Now, as to the food, there was always enough in the world for the people, but sometimes it happened to be in one place and the mouths in another, and since they could not take the mouths to the food, it was requisite that the food be brought to the mouths. (Hear, hear.) He compared this country to a union workhouse, wherein there were 28,000,000 of persons—the landowners representing the board of guardians, and Sir Robert Peel the governor. The avowed object of Sir Robert Peel in introducing the present Corn Law—for, with all due reference to the opinions of others, he must say this was a Corn Law question—was, to provide such a supply of food for the inmates of the bastille, as should be indicated by 5*s.* to 58*s.* per quarter as the price of wheat. Then came the question—how far were they disposed to consent to that arrangement? Mr. Ashworth had shown them the distressed state of the country four years since, the great prosperity that had since taken place with low prices of grain, and the dangers that now threatened to meet them with high prices. Other countries were resorting to America for supplies of food, and it now seemed scarcely probable that we should get any were we to go for it; but at all events whether was it better to run the risk or not? The question why are the ports shut? might be very properly offered to any one inquiring, why should they be opened? He was very much amused the other day by the collective wisdom of this borough. It had been said all men were for themselves; that working men did all they could to secure to themselves good wages, and that bleachers had a combination for the upholding of prices. That was said to justify the landowners in keeping up the prices of food. But whoever heard of bleachers applying for an Act of Parliament to keep up the prices of bleaching? And when the hand-loom weavers applied to Parliament to have a fixed rate of wages, they were told, in a pitiable manner, that Government could not fix the rate of wages. Now, if they could not fix the rate of wages, why should they try to fix the price of food? It had been said that Corn Laws had been in existence for 300 years, and it appeared that because such was the case, it was

expected that we were to be troubled with them to the end of the chapter. (Laughter.) Now, supposing if, in going along the street, a person met with a fellow-townsmen rolling along in his carriage, but who unfortunately had a wooden leg, or one similarly circumstanced but blind of an eye, would he say what a fine thing it was to have a wooden leg, or that it was a capital thing to be blind of an eye? (Laughter.) Now, inasmuch as the persons alluded to had been prosperous through industry and perseverance, but had the misfortunes described, so it appeared were Englishmen to be saddled with Corn Laws hereafter, because they had, through an energetic application of their industry, prospered, notwithstanding these laws had existed for 300 years. But some seemed scarcely to think that there was anything amiss—that there was no scarcity at all. It was said that railways, to the amount of certain large sums, had been projected, and that over speculation was the cause of the stagnation now in the country. Now, admitting that persons had brought distress upon themselves by railway speculation, was that any reason why the working man who did not speculate, but who minded his business the whole of the day, should pay more than a natural price for his food? (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Thomasson), speaking of wages, said as an employer, he found profits greater, as well as the workman his wages higher, when the price of food was low—when the operatives were boldly asking for advanced wages, and the employers durst not refuse them, lest they might be stopped. But, on the other hand, when the prices of food were depriving the workman of gaining a comfortable livelihood, he was then humble indeed, expecting a reduction in his wages, and afterwards patiently submitting to the same. Then he could tell them that his (Mr. Thomasson's) profits, as an employer, had fallen off. There was no mistake about that; it was clear enough to him. (Hear, hear.) He should suppose they would not hear any more of cheap food meaning low wages, at all events. Now, there was the working man's short time agitation, in which he sympathised with them, though, perhaps, he did not agree with them as to the mode of gaining their object. That would be affected by the price of food. He thought agitation would be less when the hands began to work eight or six hours per day, and whatever opinions other men might have, these were their prospects now. His opinion was decided; for he did not think, if the ports were opened to-morrow, the evil would be fully overcome. Any man, who would take the pains to examine for himself, could not fail to be alarmed. But admitting, as some might suppose, that there was some doubt whether scarcity existed, why, they could not fill a bucket more than full of water, and if we did not want the food it would not come. That was all. There was no damage done. He did not wish to enter into the question as to whether the ports having been once opened, they would afterwards be shut, but let them once be opened, and who would try to shut them again? (Applause.)

MARTIN CUREY, a working mechanic, appeared on the platform, and said he felt a deep interest in the question of opening the ports. In 1842 he was out of employment by the bad times, and had to go from this to his native town of Knaresborough. Wheat was then selling in that market at 10*s.* a bushel, that was 80*s.* a quarter—a pretty price for a man out of work to pay. (Laughter and applause.) For his part, from his experience, he should always support "Free Trade and no Corn Laws." (Loud applause.) Three weeks since he had been obliged to be in the same neighbourhood again. He found when he got home here that something had been said in the town council of this borough about the Corn Law for the benefit of the farmer and the farm labourer. He would tell that councillor what he (the speaker) has found at Martin-le-Moor, in Yorkshire. He found a labouring man who had hired from Martinmas to Martinmas, as they call it, and what was that man's wages? Mind, the Corn Laws were passed to keep up that man's wages. His master gave him 9*l.* a year, or 3*s.* 5*d.* a week. That man was 22 or 23 years of age, he ploughed, he sowed, he mowed, he reaped, he reared, he thrashed, and he did all sorts of laborious work for those wages, and yet he was told he was a protected labourer. (Much laughter.) He was stating nothing but what he could prove, the man's master was a relation of his, being his wife's half-cousin. (Renewed laughter.) Well, they went to look round the farm, and then they came back. (Laughter.) Well, they must come back (laughter), and when they got back he found a man there who used to live at Bolton, but who had now an estate in that district, and they began to talk about the Corn Law and about the harvest. The farmer said, this year his sheaves yielded from one-third to one quarter less of wheat than they did last year. (Hear, hear, hear.) He helped them to thrash, and they must know that in thrashing they made the wheat into three sorts of grain for food, and the third was the commonest kind of all, and upon that the servants and labourers lived. They must recollect he had told them that the man's wages were only 3*s.* 5*d.* a week, and all his food came out of his master's stores; the man had neither tea nor coffee, and it would be quite sufficient to reckon the cost of his maintenance at 4*s.* 6*d.* a week. Now taking 3*s.* 6*d.* his wages, and 4*s.* 6*d.* the cost of his food, they found a strong labouring man receiving no more than 8*s.* a week in an agricultural district. And what was the first news he heard when he returned? A person reading a newspaper, in which a respectable man, a member of the Town Council, was set down as saying that the Corn Laws were passed for the benefit of the farmer and farm labourer. Having a knowledge of both parties, he would tell that man that he lied. (Much laughter and applause.) The Corn Law neither benefited the agricultural nor the manufacturing labourer. He expected to have seen Mr. Ainsworth there to night. "Mr. Ainsworth," said the speaker, "should have been her. (Much laughter.) We are on the eve of an election, and when it happens, I warrant he'll come to see me (laughter and cheers), and all I can say, he ought to have been here."

The Mayor: The motion was then put and carried.

Mr. P. R. ARROWSMITH rose, and was received with much cheering, to move the next resolution, as follows:—"That the recollection of the calamities which afflicted this borough and the whole country during the period of high prices of food from 1838 to 1842, renders it impossible to contemplate the recurrence of a similar state of suffering without intense anxiety and alarm, and, fearing a recurrence of those sufferings, this meeting considers it the duty of Government to open the ports for the free admission of all kinds of food; that this remedy, to be effectual must be applied immediately, and this urges the imperative necessity of doing it without delay, by means of an Order in Council, feeling assured that such a measure, dictated alike by prudence, justice, and humanity, would have the sanction of Parliament and the enthusiastic approval of the nation." He noticed the distressed condition of this town during the pe-

riod referred to in the resolution, and asked them whether they wished to see Bolton again in a state of siege, with the army of famine surrounding it—its 1,500 empty houses—its workshops and mills shut up, and the working people paupers and beggars in the streets—and a repetition of those riots, which, thanks to the local magistrates, had passed off without bloodshed. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Famine would be followed, as it always was, by plague and pestilence (Hear, hear.) They always marched together. Let them ask any medical man, and he would tell them they were inseparable companions. The last speaker had alluded to the state of pauperism in 1843. It would not be difficult to account for what seemed to him to be a contradiction. He contrasted the pauperism of 1839 and 1843. Now they would recollect that from 1838 to 1842 were years of scarcity, and the price of food was high. It would not so much appear in the first year as in the last. There was a spirit in Englishmen which led them to endure great privations before they would resort to the parish for relief; they would first sell their decorative articles of furniture, then articles of necessity, and next clothing, before they would apply for relief; and when such families were reduced to pauperism, it required a long time before they could recover the position from which they had been driven. Alluding to the working of the present sliding-scale, he showed that while the average price of wheat was about 63*s.*, really good wheat was fetching 80*s.* a quarter, while that which was unsound, and unfit for human food, was only selling for about 46*s.* a quarter, and this, keeping down the averages, maintained an excessive duty—being even now 14*s.* a quarter—and prevented the importation of foreign corn. Noticing some assertions made in the Town Council, with respect to the productions of the present harvest, he quoted the *Mark Lane Express*, the organ of the farmers and monopolists, which distinctly stated that the late harvest in this country was deficient both in quality and quantity. He concluded by a powerful description of the responsibilities of Sir Robert Peel and Government, under present circumstances, and said, that whether they considered the question as public men or private individuals, as Christians, as employers or employed, as working men or as capitalists, there was nothing but Free Trade that would place them in their right position, and give peace and plenty to the land. (Much applause.)

Mr. ROBERT BLINKHORN said that a tax on bread was the devil's tax, but he was not only for doing away with that tax, but for putting working men upon the land that they might earn their own bread. He agreed with what Mr. Arrowsmith had said about persons selling their furniture before they would become paupers. In the late bad times he had disposed of about £80 worth, and had not yet been able to be as comfortable as he was before. He said let them have Free Trade and the land, and then they could all shake hands together. (Laughter and cheers.)

Mr. EDMUND ASHWORTH rose to second the resolution amidst applause. He ably, and to the meeting, most satisfactorily replied to the land and foreign trade notions advanced by some of the speakers; but our space forbids us giving even an outline of his excellent address.

Carried unanimously. (Loud applause.)

Mr. JOHN DEAN moved—

"That a memorial, founded upon the above resolutions, be adopted by this meeting, signed by the chairman on behalf of the meeting, and forwarded forthwith for presentation."

Mr. JAMES MORRIS seconded the resolution.

Mr. JAMES PARKINSON moved an amendment to the effect that it was the opinion of the meeting that the arguments which applied to the opening of the ports temporarily, for the free admission of grain, proved the necessity and advantage of the total extinction of all restrictions upon the food of the people. (Cheers.)

The Mayor, after examining the amendment, said it did not come within the scope of the requisition, and he should request that it might not be pressed.

Mr. PARKINSON said, having asserted the principle, he would withdraw the amendment. (Much applause.)

The meeting after returning thanks to the Mayor broke up.

There was also a meeting of the Town Council of Bolton, on Wednesday, which is the more remarkable, as the bulk of the members are Conservatives, but so strong is the public feeling at Bolton, we are informed, that they felt themselves obliged, though reluctantly, to go with it. They adopted the memorial unanimously.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE.

In pursuance of a requisition, numerous and respectfully signed, a public meeting, convened by the Mayor of the borough, was held on Wednesday evening, at eight o'clock in the Town Hall of Ashton-under-Lyne, "to take into consideration the propriety of memorializing her Majesty's government in favour of opening the ports for the free admission of grain and all other kinds of provisions, to avert the calamities likely to arise from the scarcity of food, owing to the failure of the potatoe crop, and the defective quality of the wheat harvest." Every seat in the large hall was occupied for several minutes before the appointed hour, no less than 1,500 persons being present when the mayor, John Mellor, Esq., entered and took the chair.

On the platform we perceived, on either hand of the chairman, Abel Buckley, Esq., Samuel Higginbotham, Esq., James Lord, Esq., John Whittaker, Esq., Alfred Reyner, Esq., Nathan Lees, Esq., George Higginbotham, Esq., Frederick Reyner, Esq., Thomas Mason, Esq., Henry Lees, Esq., Ralph Kershaw, Esq., J. H. Southam, Esq., B. M. Kenworthy, Esq., Hugh Mason, Esq., Nathaniel Buckley, Esq., William Henry Sutcliffe, Esq., J. R. Coulthurst, Esq., Henry Gartside, Esq., Booth Mason, Esq., James S. Buckley, Esq., Samuel Earnshaw, Esq., Dr. Campbell, William Redfern, Esq., Joseph Fletcher, Esq., Edward Hyde, Esq. The meeting was not confined to party, the mayor and many of the gentlemen around him being of conservative politics, and supporters of the present government; and some of the resolutions which were adopted being proposed, and others seconded, by conservatives.

The CHAIRMAN, on opening the proceedings of the evening, observed that he was present on that occasion simply in his official capacity. He would therefore abstain from any expressions of his own opinion, and felt satisfied that those then assembled before him would give him during the evening's proceedings all proper support, and that each speaker would, in addressing him, confine himself to the specific business of the meeting. (Hear, hear.) He hoped, also, that they would maintain order in all their proceedings, and that harmony and regularity would prevail amongst them. (Hear, hear.) He would now call upon Mr. Buckley to move the first resolution.

Mr. ABEL BUCKLEY, on moving the resolution, observed that as there were others present who would address the

meeting at some length on the subject which had called them together, he would content himself by simply moving the resolution, which was as follows:—"That the deficiency of the harvest, and the failure of the potato crop in many parts of the United Kingdom, have produced the utmost apprehension among all classes of the community, and are circumstances imperatively requiring the immediate consideration of her Majesty's government."

Mr. ALFRED REYNER seconded the resolution. The country, he said, had arrived at a crisis of a most momentous character. A great advance had suddenly and universally taken place in the price of provisions, and there was no man before him, especially if he had a family to support, who had not already grievously experienced the ill consequences of this rise in prices. Within the last eight or ten weeks the price of food had risen on an average certainly not less than 50 per cent. (Hear.) This was assuredly a matter of the most serious consideration. The man who had before to lay out but 16s. a week for food for himself and family, had now no less than 24s. before he could procure the same amount as before of the necessities of life. (Hear, hear, hear.) The extra 8s. which it was now necessary for him to expend for provisions were formerly laid out in the purchase of clothing and other comforts, but as this weekly sum was now otherwise absorbed, the state of the cloth trade must necessarily suffer, and to an extent which they were not yet willing to anticipate. Within the last few weeks there had been a great diminution in the production of yarn and cloths, together with a very serious falling off in the prices of such as had been sold. (Hear, hear.) There was not a manufacturer in the district who did not suffer from this state of things, and it was impossible for the manufacturers to be seriously injured without the operatives suffering along with them. (Hear, hear.) In the concern with which he himself was connected, the falling off in prices would occasion a difference in their yearly receipts of about £8,000. This was but a single instance of the injury which the present rise in prices was effecting on all hands, and which would continue to increase until the price of food was lowered by the opening of the ports. (Hear, hear, hear.) Unless the ports were opened, the condition of the country during the coming winter would be such as it was perfectly frightful to contemplate. He now begged to second the resolution.

The resolution was then put from the chair, and unanimously carried.

Mr. JOHN WHITTAKER, on moving the second resolution, said that he was still, as he had long been, a strenuous opponent of the Corn Laws, belonging, as he did, to a party, though not a political party, which opposed, not only those laws, but all other laws which restricted the free importation of food. (Hear, hear.) He would now earnestly call upon the Government, considering the present gloomy state of the country, to suspend the Corn Laws at once, and to throw the ports immediately open, so as to admit into the country, during the coming scarcity, all kinds of food duty free. (Hear, hear.) It was a pleasure to him, on so important an occasion, to see gentlemen, differing from himself in political sentiments, coming forward to take an active part in the proceedings of the evening. (Hear, hear, hear.) Their so doing showed that the case was one of great necessity, and one involving the most important interests of the community. (Hear, hear.) He hoped that similar demonstrations, independent of all party considerations, would take place immediately throughout the country, certain as he was that if such were the case the eyes of the government would be speedily opened to the real nature of its duty, and to the extent of its present responsibility. The resolution which he was called upon to propose was as follows:—"That the recollection of the calamity which afflicted this district and the whole country during the period of high prices of food from 1838 to 1842, renders it impossible to contemplate the recurrence of a similar state of suffering without intense anxiety and alarm." During the period referred to in the resolution, they all knew that property had sunk in value 30, 40, and in some instances 50 per cent., and that, in many instances, the property of the tradesman, which he had accumulated by his labour, was brought to the hammer and sacrificed, because he was unable to bear up against the pressure. Working men, generally, perhaps, had no property to lose, but they had that to lose which to them was of as great value as was property to others,—their labour. (Hear, hear.) From 1838 to 1842, in Ashton-under-Lyne, and in all the towns around it, three or four days in the week was the utmost time for which the mills were at work. At that disastrous time there were hundreds in that very parish who had to part with their furniture, even with the most necessary portion of it, in order to procure the means by which to purchase the necessities of life. But why should he dwell upon the miseries of that period—miseries which were so generally shared, and which were yet so fresh in the recollection of every one before him? A recurrence of those miseries was now to be apprehended. It might be said that as yet the exigency was not so great as it was then, but they had every reason to fear that a storm was gathering on them, which, when it burst in all its fury, would reduce the country to greater straits than before. (Hear, hear.) They were already familiar with some of the indications of coming disaster. The price of provisions had greatly risen throughout the length and the breadth of the land. The wheat harvest was deficient, and the potato crop had almost perished. Potatoes, which could have been purchased in Manchester for five or six shillings a load a short time ago, could not now be procured for less than eight shillings, and even then about one-third of them turned out to be bad. (Hear, hear.) If this were the case now, what might they not expect after Christmas? What would be the result of all this upon the manufacturing industry of their country? (Hear, hear.) Even already had the employers of Bolton met to consider the propriety of going into short time, and if they should throw themselves upon short time at Bolton, it would not be long ere their example would be followed at Manchester, and it followed there, it would soon be felt and acted upon at Ashton, and in all the surrounding towns. (Hear, hear.) Under these circumstances, what should they do? They should do precisely what many other towns had done, and which he trusted every important town in the kingdom would speedily do—they should memorialize Sir R. Peel and her Majesty's government to throw the ports open at once; and if the people were firm and true to themselves during the approaching crisis, the day was certainly near at hand when plenty would again smile upon them, and when regularity in the supply of so important a commodity as the people's food, would succeed the precarious mode in which it was at present secured.

Mr. HUGH MASON, on seconding the resolution, congratulated the Mayor of the borough on his presiding over such a meeting as was then assembled, and more especially when he remembered that he was a Mayor of Conservative

politics, (hear, hear,) and also when he saw around their chief magistrate, as he then did, both on the platform and in the body of the meeting, many gentlemen of the same political creed as their chairman entertained. (Hear, hear.) It gladdened one's heart thus to see men casting aside all the trammels of party, and, at the call of their common humanity, and when the interests of their common country were at stake, coming forward to join heart and hand for the purpose of relieving the sufferings of the people. (Hear, hear, hear.) It could not be said that this was a question which only affected a class—it could not be said of it, as it had been said of other questions, that it was a manufacturers' question. (Hear, hear.) No, it was a question which equally affected the manufacturer and the operative—it was a question which came home to all—it was a bread-and-cheese question, a knife-and-fork question, and one which came home to the doors of all. (Hear, hear.) The Manchester operative spinners had already taken up the subject, and had sent forward a forcible representation of the prospects of the country, and a request to the Government that they would open the ports, in order to provide the people with a sufficient supply of food. (Hear, hear.) He had great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The resolution was then put, and carried unanimously.

Mr. S. HIGGINBOTHAM proposed the next resolution, which was, that the immediate opening of the ports, for the free admission of grain and all other kinds of provisions, is a measure obviously required to prevent a serious revulsion of trade, and consequent grievous suffering to the whole of our industrious population.

Mr. T. MASON seconded the resolution, which was carried with acclamation.

Mr. L. KERSHAW proposed the next resolution, which was, "That the meeting earnestly and respectfully called on her Majesty's ministers to suspend immediately all laws which restricted the admission of grain, and other provisions, into the ports of the empire."

Mr. F. REYNER seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. G. HIGGINBOTHAM moved the adoption of the memorial, and referred to a report which he and some others had drawn up, showing the wretched state of the inhabitants of that town during the years 1841 to 1842, and warned the Government against the danger of allowing a like state of things to arise again. *They had, he believed, heard a fact which would show in a most striking light the state of the manufacturing districts, namely, that a meeting of the cotton spinners of Bolton had recently taken place for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of working short time.* (Hear, hear.) To return to the subject of provisions, he should remark, that any one who was acquainted with the markets of Manchester five weeks ago, and had been absent during the intermediate time, could scarcely credit the change which had taken place in that period in the markets. The depreciation was so great, that a gentleman, upon whose word he placed the greatest reliance, assured him that cloth could be purchased in Manchester at the same price for which it was sold in 1842, and every one present who was acquainted with the state of Manchester could, he believed, bear out that statement. (Hear.) The manufacturing districts were threatened with a period of great difficulty, and there was no hope for them, unless in the repeal of the laws which increased the price of provisions. (Cheers.)—Since 1819, up to the present time, the changes from cheap to high prices of food occurred at intervals, and always produced the most serious depreciation of trade; and he was convinced, from his experience, that an alteration in the laws, which should enable the people to obtain cheap food, would be the salvation of the country. (Cheers.) He concluded by moving the adoption of the memorial by the meeting.

M. C. H. LEES seconded the resolution, which was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. B. MASON, the vice-president of the Conservative Association of Leeds, came forward to move the next resolution. He said that it afforded him the highest gratification to see men of every political opinion united at that meeting, and to see that it was altogether devoid of every party tinge. (Cheers.) At a period when they saw several millions of their fellow-countrymen in danger of starvation, they surely ought to forget all party squabbles, and do their duty to their fellow-countrymen, by expressing their opinion of the danger which was to be apprehended in the present state of things; to declare that, in consequence of the failure of the potato crop, and a deficiency in the harvest, there could not be enough of food in the country for the winter's consumption, whilst the government calmly contemplated the dilemma, without making any exertion to avert the threatened evil. (Hear, hear, hear.) It was time that they told the government a little independent truth; (cheers;) that they were the servants of the public; (cheers;) that the people of England paid them their wages for governing the country, (cheers,) and that they had now a noble opportunity of doing their duty. (Hear, hear, hear.) If Sir Robert Peel was too aristocratic for the consideration of such matters as potatoes, or the people, let him remember that his father was a cotton spinner, and that he owed his position as much to the wealth which his father acquired by his dealing in cotton as to his own abilities. He knew very well how galling it must be to the aristocracy to have for their master the son of a cotton-spinner, [hear, hear.] They were compelled to take him for their leader, and submit to his behests, because they could not find a man in their own ranks with capacity or experience enough either to form a cabinet, or to carry a bill through Parliament [hear, hear.] He believed that Sir R. Peel was anxious, if it were in his power, to do justice to the people of England. He believed that the Premier was only waiting for a demonstration of popular opinion on this question of food intelligible enough to convince even the Iron Duke, and powerful enough to relieve himself from individual responsibility. Let them, then, cordially unite, confident as they were that their co-operation in this great matter was only what the Premier required and was waiting for, in order to take those steps by which alone hunger and starvation could be driven from their homes during the gloom and desolation of winter. He would now move the resolution, which was as follows:—"That the following gentlemen be appointed a deputation to wait upon Sir Robert Peel, for the purpose of presenting the memorial this day adopted, namely, the Mayor, Abel Buckley, Esq., Samuel Heginbotham, Esq., and John Whittaker, Esq."

Mr. W. HIGGINBOTHAM seconded the resolution.

Mr. PRILLING (a Chartist), before the resolution was put, wished to say that it must be grateful to every one to witness gentlemen of all shades of political opinion coming forward with a view to help their poorer fellow subjects, and he hoped that on all occasions in which the interest of the peo-

ple required it, men of all parties would act together harmoniously, with the great common object of benefiting the public (hear, hear).

The Mayor having left the chair,

Mr. HENRY GARBIDE moved the thanks of the meeting to him. He was sure such a mark of approval would be received as it ought by the mayor, emanating as it did from a meeting composed of men of all opinions in politics (cheers). He took the present meeting as a proof that the old landmarks of party were about to be set aside, and the condition of the whole people consequently elevated.

The resolution having been seconded and passed with acclamation, the meeting separated.

STOCKPORT.

BOARD OF GUARDIANS.—At the usual weekly meeting of the board of guardians, held on Monday last, a memorial was adopted to the Government, praying for an immediate opening of the ports, for the free admission of foreign provisions. The motion was made by Mr. Alderman ORME, deputy-chairman, seconded by Mr. LITTLEWOOD, and was carried all but unanimously. The question of any great or sudden rise in the price of provisions, was admitted on all hands to be one of very serious import, as regards the position of the board, as well as the interests of the rate-payers.

A large meeting, convened by the Mayor, was held at the Court-house on Thursday evening last, Nov. 26, when a Memorial to Sir R. Peel, to open the ports, was carried with acclamation, without a dissentient voice.

LEICESTER.

In compliance with a requisition from 120 of the gentry, manufacturers and tradesmen, and another from 300 of the operatives, of Leicester, the Mayor, Edwd. Weston, Esq., called a public meeting, which took place on Thursday evening, in the New Hall.

The MAYOR having been called to the chair, and expressed his concurrence in the object of the meeting, read a letter from Isaac Hodgson, Esq., banker and county magistrate, expressing his cordial approval of the meeting.

Robt. BREWIN, Esq., of Birstall-house, (a magistrate and ex-mayor) moved the first resolution, declaring the deficiency of provisions, &c., and denouncing the apathy of the government.

J. MELLOR, Esq. (a magistrate and ex-mayor), seconded the resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

W. BIGGS, Esq., moved a similar resolution, and strongly condemned the government.

The Rev. C. BERRY seconded the resolution. His opinion for many years had been, that all laws which impeded industry were unjust; and, like all unjust things, injurious to the people. He had come to that meeting as a man, and as a citizen. But he had come there also as a Christian minister, for he thought it to be especially the duty of Christian ministers to advocate the cause of the poor and the oppressed. A system which produced an artificial scarcity was unchristian, cruel, and diabolical. (Cheers.) The Rev. Gent., after some further remarks upon the system, commended to the audience the line of truth and justice; and having warned the monopolists from the history of the past, concluded amidst loud applause.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

Dr. NOBLE, a magistrate, moved the third resolution, which affirmed the injustice and impolicy of commercial restrictions. He declared his belief that they were not only injurious to the operative, the manufacturer, and the merchant; but that they conferred no benefit upon the farmer, and were, in the long run, injurious even to the landlord. Having briefly enforced these opinions, he said that the people would be greatly to blame, if they permitted the present law to exist without such an expression of opinion as no statesman could disregard. He also expressed his opinion that the present was a most favourable time for such a course. He then observed that, if the poor could not live well, their power of resisting the influence of a variable climate like ours, would be diminished: famines were always followed by disease; great epidemics had been preceded by a diminution of the supply of food. The Doctor concluded by expressing a hope that the British Government would yet become wise, and avert the calamities which threaten the country.

RICHARD HARRIS, Esq., (a magistrate) seconded the motion.

Mr. HEALEY, a tenant-farmer, seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously. An address to the Queen, for total repeal, and opening the ports in the interval, was agreed to, and the meeting broke up without disagreement,—being the first time on this question for years.

DEVONPORT.

BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS.—This body met on Friday, the 21st instant, for the transaction of public business. Mr. JAMES moved a resolution to the effect that a memorial be presented to her Majesty's Government, praying the ports to be thrown open for the admission of corn into the country, with a view to the relief of the poor. Mr. HUNT seconded the resolution, and it was carried unanimously. The meeting then broke up.

CANTERBURY.

TOWN COUNCIL.—At the meeting of the council on Tuesday, Mr. MIETTE brought forward his motion to memorialise the Queen to open the ports; he said, the late harvest was deficient, and unless timely measures were resorted to for the free admission of grain, the consequences to the poor especially would be appalling. There were at least four millions of the population at starvation point. He glanced at the countries which had hitherto been exporters, but had become closed through the causes stated, and concluded with the following:—"That in consequence of the great failure of the potato crop, the staple food of a great portion of her Majesty's subjects, and the deficiency in the growth of wheat, he begged leave to move 'that a memorial be presented to the Queen, humbly beseeching her to open the ports with the least possible delay, for the free admission of corn and other provisions.'"

Mr. Alderman PLUMMER seconded the motion. In doing so, he adverted to the deficiency of the potato crop, which would necessarily lead to an increased consumption of wheat; to furnish which the ports ought to be opened, as the late harvest in this country was inadequate to meet the demand, and they had heard from good authority, and prior to the harvest, the quantity of corn in hand was very small. He

also pointed out the pressure which a restricted supply would have upon the lower classes.

Mr. SMITHSON did not dispute what had been urged, but after the generally understood determination of Government, thought the resolution too limited, and suggested the addition of a few words, leaving it optional to open the ports, "or to adopt such a measure as her Majesty might deem the best adapted for the general interest."

This suggestion not meeting with approval, the resolution was submitted, and carried *nem. dis.*—*Canterbury Journal.*

GLASGOW.

In terms of placards widely circulated throughout the city and suburbs, a public meeting of the inhabitants of Glasgow was held to-day on the public green, at three o'clock, for the purpose of considering the present alarming crisis in connection with the scarcity of potatoes in the country, and with the view of petitioning her Majesty to cause Parliament to assemble immediately, in order that means may be devised and measures adopted for providing food for the people under the present appalling crisis, and that they should do this by opening the ports. The meeting, which was got up and conducted entirely by the working-classes, was highly satisfactory.

On the motion of Mr. ANDREW RANKEW, Mr. David Allan was unanimously called to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN, after a few appropriate remarks as to the nature and tendency of the bread-tax, in connection with the present scarcity occasioned by the failure of the potato crop, and the probable effect of the same upon the condition of the country, concluded by reading the placard calling the meeting. He then called on

Mr. RANKEW, who, in a few pithy remarks on the condition of the people at the present time, moved the following resolution:—"That this assemblage of the operatives of Glasgow and neighbourhood, having been convened in consequence of the present alarming crisis, arising from the great and unlooked for calamity which has been occasioned by the failure in the crop of that food which is principally consumed by us, we hereby agree that immediate and energetic steps be taken to meet the present and future evil."

Mr. ADAMS seconded this motion, and it passed unanimously.

The next resolution, which pledged the meeting, in the terms of the placard calling them together, to petition her Majesty on the subject of the bread-tax and the scarcity of potatoes, was moved by Mr. D. Graham, seconded by Mr. John M Beth, and unanimously adopted.

Mr. HENRY VINCENT said, the necessities of the country required prompt and energetic measures to be taken to compel her Majesty's Ministers to do justice to a starving and oppressed people. His opinions were well known to them all. He had always held that no justice would be done to the people of England till all classes were represented in Parliament; but, at the same time, when he saw the pressing necessities of the country—when he saw the iniquitous tendency of the corn monopoly, when he found that it only benefited the aristocracy and the monopolists, that it was destroying our trade and commerce, embarrassing the working classes, lowering their wages, and raising the price of food; when, in the midst of this deplorable state of things, he witnessed a sudden dispensation of Providence which deprived them of a large proportion of their annual supply of food,—in the face of such facts, he must say the time was come to tell the Ministry to have done with their party cavillings, with their nonsense about the advantages of protection, and to tell them that the first and greatest duty of a Legislature was to protect the people from starvation.—(Cheers.) Let them remember that they not only felt at this moment that they were on the eve of a great crisis, from the fact that provisions were rising in all parts of the country, but also from the immense absorption of capital in railway and other pursuits. It was clear to every man's mind that they were placed in circumstances of the greatest peril, and unless the Government did something to relieve the pressure of their present necessities, he could see nothing before them but calamities of the most fearful kind. (Hear.) It was not only England that had a right to raise her voice in this emergency. Look at Ireland, so long borne down and oppressed by a base aristocracy—look at Ireland suffering under a calamity that could not be over-exaggerated, and ere long likely to produce actual starvation in the most populous districts of that country, unless the charity of a large proportion of the people should mercifully intervene. (Hear.) And why should they rest on charity for a supply of the commonest necessities of life? Why should the supply of food depend on the resources of one country when the world was so large, and when the Almighty had blessed it with the power of producing more food than was necessary for the sustentation of every man? (Cheers.) Why should they tolerate a monopoly, the only effect of which was to prop up the power of an aristocracy always opposed to the rights and privileges of Englishmen? (Cheers.) He felt persuaded that the occurrences of the present age were teaching the working population the value of those economical principles inherent in the great doctrine of Free Trade. They cried for Free Trade on several distinct grounds—First, that they might have a proper market for the industry of Britain, and might receive in return for the produce of that industry such commodities as other climates might produce; Secondly, they cried for Free Trade that they might teach the aristocracy of this country that they ought not to live out of the miseries of the people of England—that they were not to let them have a monopoly in the church, and in the army, and in Parliament, and then to let them enter into a little retail business in cheese, and butter, and grain, on their own account,—(cheers and laughter)—to teach them that they would not enable them to advance the price of their peculiar commodities by interfering with the commodities of others. They wished to teach them the same necessity as themselves, of living on their own property by their own labour, as honest people should—that they were not to be always putting their hands into the pockets of the widow and the fatherless, or entering the house of the poor Irishman; but to teach them another doctrine which, by the blessing of God, they might soon learn to learn—for he believed the Cabinet Council itself, which had been so often divided on this question during the last four or five weeks—he believed that the Council itself discerned the appearance of a little revolutionary cloud, not larger than a man's hand, beginning to overspread the political horizon; the prelude of that hurricane of a people's power which would throw down this monopoly for ever. (Great cheering.) In the third place, they wanted Free Trade to arm themselves with greater power to obtain for the people the right of the elective franchise. Mr. V. here proceeded to point out the strength of the legislative monopoly possessed by the aristocracy, and to show how all kinds of monopoly were so connected together as that each was formed to strengthen the other; and in conclusion exhorted the people to strenuous efforts in the great cause of Free Trade, and in the promotion of every other measure by which their rights and privileges could be extended and consolidated, and inculcating temperance as one of the most effectual means by which all that was desirable for the good of the people might be with greater ease accomplished. (Cheers.)

A long and able address, denouncing the bread-tax, calling for its abolition, and praying her Majesty to call her ministers and Parliament together to consider and adopt measures to meet the present distress, was moved by Mr. Charles M'Kay, seconded by Mr. John Adams, and carried unanimously.

The meeting quietly separated. — *Glasgow Saturday Post.*

DUMFRIES.

At a meeting of the seven incorporated trades of Dumfries, held on Monday last, a memorial was brought forward by Mr. WILLIAM RICHARDSON, convener, to be transmitted to Sir Robert Peel, and laid before her Majesty's Government, regarding the present prospect of an inadequate supply of provisions generally throughout the country; and urging the necessity of Government opening the ports for the admission of foreign grain duty free. The proposition was seconded by Deacon UNDERWOOD, and unanimously agreed to; and a vote of thanks was given to the convener, for bringing the measure before the meeting. Mr. Richardson has received a letter, acknowledging the memorial, from Mr. G. Arbuthnot, in the name of Sir R. Peel.

FREE IMPORTATION OF FOOD.—A requisition to the Lord Mayor is going round for signature for a meeting of the Common Council, and a meeting of the merchants and bankers is also about to take place, upon the subject of petitioning the Queen to open the ports. The following is a copy of the requisition to the Lord Mayor:—

"TO THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD MAYOR.

"We, the undersigned, members of the corporation, respectfully request your Lordship will call a special Court at your earliest convenience,

"To consider the propriety of petitioning Her Majesty to take all such means as she may constitutionally possess for throwing open the ports of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland for the free importation of food."

STIRLING.

On the evening of Friday last, 7 o'clock, a public meeting of the inhabitants of Stirling was held in the Court Room, for the purpose of memorialising the Ministry to open the ports of Great Britain and Ireland, for the free admission of foreign grain.

On the motion of Mr. RANKIN, Provost Galbraith was chosen chairman, and E. Gentleman, Esq., clerk to the meeting.

Provost GALBRAITH said that those present were doubtless acquainted with the object of the meeting. A numerous and respectfully signed requisition had been sent to him, desiring him to call a public meeting of the inhabitants to consider the present state of the country, and to solicit the Premier to open the ports for the free admission of foreign grain. He (the Provost) entirely agreed with the requisitionists in every point, and, therefore, he had no hesitation in calling the present meeting. There was every probability of a great scarcity of food in the country, owing to the failure of the potato crop, and every legitimate means should be employed to remedy the evil. He did not intend to make a speech on the subject of the Corn Laws, as there were gentlemen present who would do so, and who had considered them in all their bearings upon the mass of the population.

Baile SMITH, in proposing the second resolution, said he felt much pleasure in responding to it. The motion, however, was so complete in itself, that he deemed it quite unnecessary to make any speech in support of it. It was an expression of opinion, on the part of the meeting, on the state of the potato crop, and the consequences which were likely to follow, if, in this emergency, the country was left to its own resources. Every one present must be aware of the state of the potato crop, nor did the people of Scotland stand singular in this calamity; the disease had spread over every country where the potato was produced, and unless some other food was procured in their place, no doubt but great misery would be the consequence. He had no hesitation in saying, if no barrier was placed in the ways of Providence, a sufficient supply of wholesome and nutritious food could readily be procured to counterbalance the deficiency in the potato crop.

The motion was seconded by JAMES PRENTICE, Esq., and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. W. FORBES moved the third resolution. He spoke at considerable length, and concluded by expressing his conviction that they should shortly have to meet again, not so much to lament over the miseries of the people as to rejoice in the victory of justice and humanity over fraud, cruelty, and oppression.

Mr. JAMES HENDERSON, iron merchant in seconding the motion, said, that as long as the obnoxious, and injustice of man was permitted to thwart the ways of God's providence, so long would the judgments of God poured forth on the earth. There was also a striking resemblance between Sir Robert Peel and Rehoboam, of whom they had doubtless all read in the Bible. Rehoboam, when the people went to him with a petition to lessen their burdens, instead of listening to the advice of the old men, and complying with the people's request, gave ear to the counsels of the young men, and told the people that he would not only not lessen their burdens, but would increase them, and, in place of chastising them with whips, he would chastise them with scorpions. He would conclude with one word. Sir Robert, he doubted not, would just write them back, in answer to their memorial, that he would never mind them; for he has a heart like a stone—it would neither melt nor burn. Doubtless the people were all guilty in backsliding from the Lord, but the head of the House was far worse. It will be three months, even were the ports open, before they could get any supply, for the Baltic was now frozen. He would have them tell Peel, that every one who died of the famine, their blood would be required at his hand. The prophet of old threatened the people that they should have their bread by weight and their water by measure; but God never made a being but he allotted surface for its upbringing, but the evil ways of man had frustrated the designs of Providence; and, let men say what they like, they were now reaping the reward of their iniquity in the visible outpouring of the judgments of God.

Mr. E. JOHNSTONE, in moving the fourth resolution, traced the history of the potato disease from its first breaking out in the countries on the Continent—in Holland, Belgium, and France—and made some pertinent remarks upon the scepticism of the people, till conviction had forced itself upon them by the disease appearing among themselves, and increasing to such an extent as to induce the Government to appoint a commission to inquire into the nature of, and the best remedy for, the distemper. He earnestly trusted that the efforts now making here and elsewhere would be crowned with the desired success.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Peter Ferguson, and unanimously agreed to.

Baile STEEL moved the fifth resolution, but considered it unnecessary to say anything in its support. The iniquity of the Corn Laws was well known to every one present. The country, or rather, the unanimity of the people, had done many things as great as procuring the repeal of these iniquitous laws, and he doubted not, if the people would now stand true to themselves, they would also get their just demands in this. Many, many meetings had been held against these laws—not one had been held in their favour—which was proof positive that they were radically wrong.

Mr. THOMAS FERGUSON seconded the motion, which was also unanimously carried.

A vote of thanks was then passed to the Provost for his conduct in the chair, and the meeting separated.

DYSART.

On the evening of Thursday the 20th current, a public meeting of the inhabitants of the Parliamentary burgh of Dysart, called by the managers, was held in the Relief-church, to consider the propriety of memorialising the Queen respecting the necessity of a total and immediate abrogation of the Corn Laws.

The meeting was numerous and respectable; addresses were delivered enforcing the importance of taking every lawful measure to effect an abolition of the bread monopoly, that the evils of the crisis now evidently impending over the country may be averted, and a memorial to her Majesty to this effect was unanimously adopted.

STAR.

A public meeting of the inhabitants of this village was held in the school-room here, on the evening of Thursday last, when a memorial to her Majesty, praying for the free admission of corn and other provisions into the United Kingdom, was adopted. What has become of our neighbours of Markinch, that they are not moving in this important matter?—*Fife Herald.*

MR. BOUVERIE AT KILMARNOCK.

On Wednesday the 19th, Mr. Bouverie addressed his constituents in the Town-hall of Kilmarnock, to render an account of his stewardship. He described the various discussions of the last session in a caustic style, and in reference to the Corn Laws he said: They saw France, and Belgium, and Russia opening their ports to get food; while the laws of this country prevented us from seeking it. When a large portion of the crop of food was destroyed, and no one felt certain how much longer a great part of the rest would be preserved, was it not a question of life and death to millions of the population of the country? *The Government was like the doctor, who, at military flogging, holds the pulse of the wretched soldier to see how much punishment his tortured frame can bear.* Sir Robert Peel did the same, he was holding the pulse of the nation; he thought it could endure more flogging; that suffering enough had not been inflicted on it, and that the punishment should continue till all chance of preservation was at an end. He (Mr. Bouverie) must say, that the Minister who could do this—who could see all this going on—who, instead of seeking to avert the threatened calamities, could be amusing himself with a silver spade and mahogany wheel-barrow, in turning up the first sod of the Trent Valley Railway, is incurring an awful responsibility, and ought hereafter to be called to account for the way in which he had dealt with the interests of this great nation. A dinner was given to the hon. gentleman by his constituents in the evening, when the greatest enthusiasm was displayed for the success of Free Trade principles.

PURCHASE OF FREEHOLDS.—We learn with great satisfaction that several gentlemen of Dundee, who are resolved to omit no exertion to repeal the unnatural Corn Law, have transmitted their names to the League with an intimation that they wish to become freeholders in some English county, or counties, where their votes may be of service. They intimated, at the same time, we understand, their wish that some of the border counties, Northumberland, Cumberland, or Durham, might be fixed upon for the sake of greater proximity. We understand their excellent intentions are now being carried into effect, and it is expected this excellent example will in Scotland be followed up to a great extent. Several merchants in Glasgow, we hear, have already intimated their determination to become English freeholders, and it is believed the numbers of persons so resolved are likely to increase speedily. Mr. Liddell, the unwearied and worthy agent of the League here, is, we learn, about to visit Glasgow, and some other influential towns in Scotland, for the purpose of giving the requisite information as well as impressing upon the Free Traders of "Auld Scotland" the importance of this move being followed up with spirit. When once roused, the spirit of Scotchmen was never to be trifled with; and of this truth the vile hag, Monopoly, will now be made aware—to her cost!

VALUE OF HEALTH TO THE WORKING-MAN.—Health is the working-man's fortune, and he ought to watch over it more than the capitalist over his large investments. Health lightens the efforts of body and mind; it enables a man to crowd much work into a narrow compass. Were the mass of the community more enlightened on these points, they would apply their knowledge not only to their private habits, but would insist on municipal regulations favouring general health, and for prohibiting the erection or the letting of such buildings as must generate disease. With what face can the great cities of Europe and America boast of their civilisation, when within their limits thousands and tens of thousands perish for want of God's freest and most lavish gifts? We forbid by law the selling of putrid meat in the market: why do we not forbid the renting of rooms in which putrid, damp, and noisome vapours are working as sure destruction as the worst food? If people understand that they are as truly poisoned in such dens as by tainted meat and decaying vegetables, would they not appoint commissioners for houses, as truly as commissioners for markets?—*Dr. Channing.*

AGRICULTURE.

AGRICULTURAL DELUSIONS DISPERSING THE USES OF FARMERS' CLUBS.

It is curious as well as instructive to recur to the rise and progress of agricultural societies and farmers' clubs, as part of the history of the great struggle to free the industry of this country from the fetters of monopoly. Created, in the majority of instances, by the political landowners for their own objects—the chief of those objects being the conservancy of the Corn Laws, these meetings were speedily found to be convenient occasions for the discussion of topics not altogether agreeable to the politico-landlord mind. Thence came the rule to exclude politics; a rule invariably infringed by the landed leaders whenever the farmers were likely to be moved in support of monopoly. The absurdity of excluding political discussion in connection with agriculture, which has been nursed, and dandled, and well nigh smothered by political measures intended for its protection, was palpable; but so fragile was the system of "protection," so weak were the arguments by which it was supported, so numerous were the delusions it originated, that its supporters could not endure the slightest discussion of its principles. For a long time leases were deemed a political and consequently a prohibited topic; so that there was the constant spectacle of a squire lecturing the farmers on the necessity of improvements requiring great and permanent outlays of capital; while the farmers, by the rules of the society, were prohibited from stating the inseparable obstacle to such improvements occasioned by the want of leases. Through this absurd restriction, the *Harleston Farmers' Club* was one of the first, if not the first, to break. Its able discussions and sound resolutions upon leases formed some of the earliest illustrations of agricultural common-sense, as we pointed out to our readers.

Of late, however, leases have been generally voted to be non-political, and have been a good deal considered in most assemblies of agriculturists. Still the rule remained. Farmers might talk about leases, but if they attempt to go into the why and the wherefore of no leases or bad leases, they soon found themselves trespassing upon the forbidden ground. How can agriculture be discussed without reference to politics, and political measures? Take the ordinary case of a farmer showing a friend over his farm. The visitor remarks that there are some wet places on the land, some deficiency of accommodation in the farm buildings, or some other obvious want, which it would be plainly for the farmer's interests to supply; he suggests the improvement, hints that the cost would be repaid with ample interest in a few years, when he is stopped by the information that my Lord This or Sir John That, who owns the farm, is a great politician—requires the votes of his tenants, and does not choose to make them independent by giving them leases. Here, on the very threshold of the farmhouse, before a beast has been handled, or a growing crop inspected, the direct and lamentable dependence of agriculture upon politics has been illustrated. But the friend proceeds, he finds a few beasts, and only a few, being fattened; and perhaps a lot of hungry stores treading down the straw into what is to be by courtesy called manure.

Again, he suggests that the same straw cut up with oat, bean, or pea meal, or—he is a travelled man—Indian corn or rye, would be more profitably employed in feeding stock, with wonderful improvement to the manure. "No," says the farmer, "no; the cost of all kinds of food for fattening stock is so great, and my capital is not quite so large as it should be for the size of my farm, that I can't feed stock as I should like, but must do as well as I can with the store beasts." Here, then, the visitor must come plump into the Corn Law question, or be silent. And yet we were told we must exclude politics from discussions on agriculture. Why, we can't do so! Our lawgivers have said agriculture is a political question, and we can't walk round our own or our neighbours farm without feeling bitterly that it is so. Would that agriculture were divorced from politics, and that the farming interest could

be left unencumbered by the onerous protection of landed law-makers.

Such is becoming the general opinion amongst farmers. And here we have again to record good service rendered to agriculture by the *Harleston Farmers' Club*. We learn from the *Norwich Mercury* that at the annual meeting of the Club, beyond the ordinary or routine business, a motion for rescinding the eleventh rule of the Club was discussed and decided. That rule was—

"That all political subjects shall be totally excluded from the discussions of this Society."

Those who advocated the abolition of the rule justly said—

"That agriculture is in a different position to what it was 8 years since. However desirable then that practice, in which most are so deficient, and science, to which all are looking up, should form the sole questions of debate, it is maintained now that the constant recurrence of agricultural questions in the Legislature renders it necessary, not only that farmers should make themselves acquainted with these subjects, many of them of vital interest, but also that their opinions on them should be known. It cannot be denied that Farmers' Clubs have exerted a mighty influence in the great changes now going on in agriculture, whether scientific or political, and the most sanguine of their promoters could not have anticipated the benefits which have arisen from them.

"The men who find the capital, the skill, and the industry to cultivate the land, did not then occupy their true position, and although this had been long felt by many of this important class, yet the rare opportunities they possessed of meeting together, except for entirely different objects, had confined such reflections to individuals, and thus prevented their dissemination. The expression of such opinions at the first Farmers' Club found a ready response in the breast of every member; the establishment of other clubs proved how general was the feeling, and thus private became public opinion, which, in this as in every case, is all-powerful and will be obeyed. From this cause has sprung, on the part of the owners of land, the concessions now commencing, and which will soon be general, on leases, covenants, game, timber, &c.; concessions to the tenants from which not only they but the country will derive the greatest benefit."

It was also urged that questions connected with the Poor Law, the Law of Settlement, tithes, and the mode of obtaining the averages on which the amount of tithe rent charge depends, and "last, not least," the CORN LAW, are political subjects, which cannot be excluded from the consideration of any society having in view the promotion of agricultural improvement. Against these and similar arguments, nothing was urged but that "men could not keep their temper on these subjects;" and upon a vote, the rule was finally abrogated.

This is an example which we hope will be generally followed by agricultural societies and farmers' clubs.

Men who cannot keep their temper may keep away from the meetings of rational men. But we suspect that tempers will not only be kept, but greatly improved by regulated and temperate discussion of the politics of agriculture, or agricultural politics, at agricultural meetings. At present, when these topics are introduced, it is always done under the ban, and in spite of the opposition of the great men; and the sense of injustice and unfair opposition always tends to introduce into the observations of the mover more of heat than would happen if the discussion was prepared for and expected by the meeting. On these grounds we say the *Harleston Farmers Club* has again done good service to agriculture.

A WORD TO THE WISE.

Let any farmer who may again think of attending a "protection" meeting, recollect that by so doing he is throwing away his money, and losing both time and temper, for the maintenance of the Corn Laws has now become impossible. Their repeal is now a question of time only; their future existence must be calculated by months, perhaps by weeks, certainly not by years.

Another seed-time, and the farmer may have to compete with the whole world; and is he then in the meantime to bemuse himself with boozing and shouting for impossible things, instead of looking at his own affairs like a man of business, and calling for the removal of those burdens and restrictions which are imposed on him by the personal fiat of his own landlord?

It is one of the most unfailing symptoms of the failing condition of the protective system, that sensible, moderate men, who may be deemed the bystanders in the conflict which has been going on for some years between national industry and aris-

tocratic monopoly, are now universally declaring that the time has arrived when the restrictive system must come to an end.

Take, for instance, the following remarks by Mr. Justice Coleridge—a moderate and a sensible, and a thinking man, of a thinking family—who, at an agricultural meeting in Devonshire, thus referred to the Corn Laws. After stating he knew nothing of practical agriculture, he said:

"Still every man of common sense—every man who regards dispassionately what is passing in the world, must come to the conclusion that these are times when the agriculturists must exert themselves, and rely more upon their own efforts, if they hope to prosper. They must, like the manufacturers, look to the sciences for aid, and we all know that the application of science has already done much, and might, I am confident, do much more towards the advancement of agriculture."

And again—

"Holding the office that I do, I am anxious to steer clear of politics—a wise rule in these societies; but there is one point upon which, without infringing that rule, I may be permitted to offer one or two remarks. In the course of a not very long life, and with somewhat limited experience, I have observed that there has been scarcely any great public measure which has not been represented on the one hand as pregnant with more evil; and on the other hand, as being likely to produce more good than had been found upon experience to be really the case. This is owing possibly to the fact, that the effect of many public measures has been mistaken or over-rated. I do not pretend to be a prophet, but only speculating as other men do upon the probability of any material alteration in the Corn Laws, I am bound to say that I do not apprehend the harm would be so great, or the benefit so extensive, as some persons are disposed to anticipate, either the one way or the other. (Hear, hear.) I have said already that I am not a practical agriculturist, therefore my opinion may be little worth your attention; but I think that, with the blessing of God upon your industry and skill, good may work its way out of that which you now regard as evil; and that in a little time you would not find yourselves so much worse off as some of you may possibly anticipate. Let us never forget that there are in this country two mighty interests—agriculture and manufactures—both are essential to the well being of the State. It had, I regret to find, been too much the fashion to set the one against the other. It seems to my mind, that these should be co-existent, for they have a common interest. The greatest consumer is the friend of both. I must remind you also that our population is steadily increasing; and it is to the agriculturists that we must chiefly look for food to meet this growing demand. The population was already increasing at the rate of 300,000 per annum; should it continue to advance in the same proportion, we must have additional produce to feed the additional mouths. Under these circumstances, I feel confident that the British corn-grower will find customers at tolerably remunerative prices."

Nor can we omit the learned judge's concluding remark, which the western squirearchy would do well to attend to, rather than shouting for "protection," which is not unlike the errors of their forefathers, who attempted to "hedge in the cuckoo," and to "rake the moon from a pond."

Sir J. T. Coleridge said—

"Before I sit down, I would respectfully but earnestly beg to impress upon you the importance of improving the moral and social condition of the labouring class, with whose well-being your own interest is very closely identified. Many amongst them are wretchedly lodged. From my own experience as a judge, the painful conviction has been forced upon my mind, that very much of the crime which disgraces our country is mainly attributable to the mixture of sexes and of ages in the dwellings of the poor—a practice that debases and demoralises the human mind, and which, unless counteracted, must effectually neutralise every effort made towards the elevation or improvement of the people."

PERSECUTION OF LABOURERS IN WILTSHIRE.

Few Free Traders will forget the meetings of the Wiltshire labourers in support of Free Trade which occurred last winter. Nor will any help recollecting the contrast which the tone and temper of those meetings presented to the monopoly protection meetings, held by their masters, the landlords and farmers of the country. The following statements of two labourers, named Thomas Bullock, and William Pearce, of Beckhampton, near Marlborough, in Wiltshire, show under what peril some, at all events, of these men of Wiltshire have met to make known the evils they endure from the rent-protecting Corn Laws. These are the statements:

"STATEMENT OF THOMAS BULLOCK, OF BECKHAMPTON, IN THE PARISH OF AVEBURY, LABOURER.—In the month of July last, I attended an Anti-Corn Law lecture at Avebury. I was then, and had been for three years previously, in the employ of Mr. John Wentworth, of Beckhampton. I met Mr. Wentworth as I was going to the meeting. He said, 'I hope you are not going to this meeting (meaning the Anti-Corn Law meeting). I shan't go myself; and if you go, you will displease me—but you may please yourself about going.' I did go to the meeting. At the next pay-day Mr. Wentworth discharged me. He said I had pleased myself, and he should please himself: it was the last 14. 8s. I should receive of him. I have no doubt I was discharged in consequence of my attending the meeting. William Pearce also attended the meeting, and he was discharged also. I cannot get regular employment in the parish, although I have applied to nearly all the farmers. I am at present out of work, and have been so for the last fortnight; and ever since the meeting, I have had no regular employ, but have gone from place to place, and got a job where I could."

"Nov. 1845.

THOMAS BULLOCK."

"STATEMENT OF WILLIAM PEARCE, OF BECKHAMPTON, LABOURER.—I attended the Anti-Corn Law lecture at Avebury in July last. I was then in the employ of Mr. John Wentworth, of Beckhampton, and had been for six years previously. At the next pay-day, Mr. Wentworth expressed his displeasure at my attending the Anti-Corn Law meeting, and said he could do without me. Mr. W. told me, 'You may go and tell Mr. Falvey I have discharged you, and all that he will do will be to put my name in the paper, and I don't care about that.' I have no doubt I was discharged in consequence of my attending the lecture. I have not been in any regular employment since, but have got a job where I could. I am a married man, with one child dependent on me; and about five weeks ago my wife applied to Mrs. Wentworth for work for me, and told her she would tell Mr. Falvey how I had been served, and how she had suffered from want. Mrs. Wentworth then told my wife, if I would ask Mr. Wentworth for employ, he would put me on. I did apply to Mr. Wentworth, jun., and he gave me jobbing-work, at which I can earn about 6s. a week when in constant employ. I have suffered much from want of employment, and from travelling about the country in search of work.

"Nov. 1845.

WILLIAM PEARCE."

We do not remember to have met with a more wanton act of injustice than is disclosed by the cases of Bullock and Pearce. How Mr. Wentworth can, as a man and a Christian, reconcile it to his conscience thus to deal with his labourers, we will not inquire; and he perhaps has no fear of being served in the same way by his landlords for the free expression of his own opinions, because his mind is probably of so submissive a character never to have dared to think for itself. And what a service is this to lose? Bullock tells that Mr. Wentworth said, "it was the last 11. 8s. I should ever receive of him." *That was a month's wages!!!* 7s. a week, the regular Wiltshire wages. These are "protection" wages. Well may the Wiltshire labourers meet to petition against such "protection." And we gather another fact from the statement of Pearce, namely, that though wheat has risen 25s. a quarter, wages in Wiltshire have not risen; for poor Pearce has only earned at his recent "job" 6s. a-week. Now, though we do not know the particular farm occupied by Mr. Wentworth, we are well acquainted with Beckhampton and the surrounding district, and we do not hesitate to say that it is not half cultivated. If it were farmed as well, or nearly as well, as the *average*—not the best, farming of Norfolk—there would be no 6s. and 7s. a week wages for farm labourers; but there must be such an increased demand for labour as would double farm-wages at the least. Yet it is to "protect" and continue this system of half cultivation that the Corn Laws are to be continued. Until the Corn Laws are repealed, the condition of English agriculture and agricultural wages will be depressed and poverty-stricken. We cannot leave this matter without expressing a hope, that out of the many thousand intelligent, humane, and just employers of labour who read the LEAGUE, some one may be found who will put these poor men in the way of getting work. The gentleman from whom we received the statements says "the poor fellows would be glad to leave the neighbourhood, if they could get constant employment elsewhere; and it would produce a good moral effect, could this be done, on the conduct of other masters. I fear many of the labourers may now be deterred from attending any future meetings in the neighbourhood." Should any Free Traders be inclined to aid these victims of monopoly, or wish to make further inquiry about them, C. Day, Esq., of Marlborough, Wilts, will readily receive communications on their behalf.

GAME LAWS.—The following representation has been made to the Home Secretary, by a magistrate: "I. E. was convicted of night poaching (drawing nets over standing barley), on the 29th of August, 1844, under the 9th of Geo. IV., c. 69. Having been previously convicted, he came under the section of the Act which gives six months' imprisonment, and requires two sureties of 10*l.* each, besides his own, for his good behaviour for two years; in default, imprisonment for one year. After the expiration of the six months, unless the sureties are sooner found, the Secretary of State alone has the power of reducing this last imprisonment, by ordering the discharge of the prisoner on his own recognizances. Now, the cost of this 18 months' imprisonment is to the county 27*l.*; to the prisoner 1-28th part of his life of mainly labour, degradation, possibly bad health, certainly a vast amount of moral contamination. Our House of Correction, not being yet on the separate system, this prisoner would be in communication of — thieves, &c. &c.; for they are rarely sentenced to more than three months imprisonment. Among poachers it is generally the younger men who are taken, the instructors and leaders remaining in safety in the lanes, &c. This was so in I. E.'s case. The two old poachers, one of whom had been his instructor, let him remain in gaol for six months beyond his sentence, till the end of Aug., 1845, (within a few days of one year from his conviction.) During the summer they had no need of his services, but requiring them in September, they offered bail, and paid the fees for the recognizances. They would, no doubt, take him into their service to work out their debt. If convicted a third time of night poaching, this young man is subject to two years' imprisonment, or transportation for seven years. Being now fully instructed in the gaol school, he will find it far more advantageous, and not more dangerous, to engage in housebreaking. I respectfully submit that inquiry be made as to the number of men in the different gaols for want of sureties in the cases of poaching."

REVIEW.

The Potato Disease: a Letter to Sir Robert Peel, Bart. By a Naturalist. London. Baillière.

The subject of this pamphlet is one which now engages so largely and painfully the attention of the public that we cannot pass it over, though the writer has added little to the information which we already possessed on the subject. We agree with him that many of the scientific processes recommended to check the progress of the disease are worse than useless; they are too expensive for the poor; they require too much skill in manipulation for the ignorant. But we could have wished that the Naturalist had paid some attention to the history of the disease, for which valuable materials may be found in the report of the Commission of Patents in the United States, made to Congress in the beginning of this year. The Naturalist, addressing the Premier, says:

"It is not probable that, amid the many demands on your attention and thoughts, you can find time to sound all the depths of this question; and I have no faith in the sagacity and honesty of those to whose advice you must have recourse for directions in circumstances so full of peril. I have little doubt that, when the cry of exaggeration has been thoroughly disproved by the increase of the calamity, you will be told the mischief is a transient one, and that we may tide over the winter without much difficulty, or, at all events, with only a partial and temporary relaxation of the law till the return of the fine season of the year brings abundance with it again. It is to guard you against such deception, and show you this is no transitory misfortune, that I now take up my pen.

"If your counsellors tell you the truth, they must inform you that this malady in the potato began three or four years ago; that it has been gradually increasing in extent and malignancy; that it is not confined to any one country, or any particular climate; that it prevails equally in all soils and in all seasons; is quite as much known in light sands, in dry limestones, and in chalks, as in the heaviest clays and richest loams; that it is not more prevalent in wet summers than in dry, and has occasioned losses quite as great in Switzerland as in Scotland, in Holland as in France, in America as in Europe; yet, spite of these facts, which speak so plainly, we every day hear the malady attributed to the soil and to the season; to humidity and drought; to chalk, flint, and clay; to every source but the true one. It seems clear that there is a dread of the truth, and a great willingness to be deceived.

"It is quite certain that it is a malady inherent in the plant itself, and independent of external circumstances. Admitting this to be the case, you will naturally inquire how it happens that the same malady should affect the plants everywhere and in such a variety of circumstances?"

The American commissioners speak with much more precision:

"2. As to the time of its first appearance in this country, we find not less difficulty. The evil may have been partially known, but not have attracted much notice. The first distinct recognition in the public journals, so as to excite attention, was during the year 1843. It is said now, by one and another individual (as will be seen by reference to the papers in the appendix), to have been noticed, here and there, years ago. Very possibly, however, they may have mistaken something resembling it in its appearance as well as general results. It is likewise stated in a public journal, that the farmers of Nova Scotia have known it for years. We cannot decide on the truth of this assertion, nor whether or not it in all respects corresponds to certain evils affecting the potato crop in Great Britain and on the Continent, which it has been supposed entirely to resemble. As far as regards our own country, it seems to be comparatively (certainly it is so considered) as alarming an evil. The point of its original appearance is of some importance in enabling us to ascertain how far it may have been affected by meteorological phenomena, and, therefore, may be considered peculiar to the season; and thus merely temporary, or of a more permanent character. Further inquiry hereafter may elicit more ample information on this subject."

We find, from the Report, one striking resemblance between the American disease and the phase that the pestilence has assumed in Ireland. In both countries the presence of the disease has been first manifested at about the same period of the year:

"3. The particular period of the season in which the evil is first observed to operate is also another which it might be useful to determine. We have attended with some care to the comparison of the various accounts in reference to this point, and we cannot find any notice which extends forward further than to the month of August. In looking at the papers of July, as will be seen of our notices of the crops, we often find the crop of potatoes mentioned as promising; but in the course of a few weeks, first in the month of August, we notice the remark that the plant begins to exhibit signs of injury. We have noticed scarcely any of these intimations earlier than the latter half of August. They seem to be more frequent, however, in the month of September. It is quite probable that there has been considerable diversity in this respect, according to the climate and soil more or less adapted to forward the growth of the plant. As far as regards the evil to the potato while in the ground, the whole time of the development of the evil is limited, throughout the entire extent where it has prevailed, to three or four weeks, and probably still less. This fact is useful, as it may lead to means of prevention. It is true the cause may be hidden much further back; and this must be determined when the nature of the evil itself is fully understood, if it ever shall be."

With respect to the cause of the disease, four theories have been propounded, each of which has been supported by plausible arguments. The first is "the insect theory," which has found favour chiefly with the American Naturalists. They assert that a species of maggot, similar to the apple-worm, had worked its way into the stalks or vines, and had destroyed the albumen necessary to form

the perfect tuber. This theory, however, fails to account for the destruction of those potatoes which had been dug up in a state of apparent soundness, but which have subsequently rotted in store. The insects indeed appear to be the effect rather than the cause of the injury, for worms are soon generated in decaying plants and vegetables, and there is no evidence of their having been discovered until the disease had made considerable progress.

The weight of evidence and of authority preponderates in favour of the fungus theory, which is thus ably stated in the report of the Irish commissioners:

"It is a very general opinion, and one entertained by men whose extensive knowledge entitles it to respect, that parasitical fungi, similar in their nature to those which produce mildew and dryrot, are the real cause of the malady. It is stated that one of these plants belonging to the genus botrytis, and similar to that which some years since produced great mischief among the silkworms of France and Italy, has attacked the potato crop. It is described as entering the potato plant by the breathing pores of its leaves, and then passing down through the interior of the stem into the tubers, in which its mycelium or spawn fixes itself, traversing the cellular mass, separating the cells themselves, causing alteration in their chemical condition, and thus producing decay. In other cases, where the spawn is not apparently distinguishable in diseased portions of potatoes, even by the most practised observers, it is suggested that the juices of the plant may be vitiated by the parasite which destroyed the leaves, and that particles of it too obscure to be distinguished by the eye may be circulating with the juices and producing disease by irritation. The presence of the parasite is not to be detected by the naked eye, unless it make its appearance on the outside of the potato in the form of mouldy tufts; but its spawn may be detected in the diseased portions by the microscope, whether any external indications of its presence can be perceived or not; hence it is inferred that it is produced exclusively from within. It is, however, within our knowledge that when apparently sound potatoes are pitted in places where the mouldiness of a diseased potato is able to appear, that mouldiness rapidly establishes itself on the sound potatoes at every point where their surface has been wounded or bruised; and that, under such circumstances, the disease is immediately extended through the entire mass.

"That the spawn of fungi is present in a large quantity in diseased potatoes is undoubted; the evidence of the best microscopical observers would be with us conclusive on that point, even if we had not verified the fact by personal observation. We also regard it as well ascertained, that these parasites spread rapidly in warm and damp situations, producing infinite mischief under such circumstances, and that their advance is only to be successfully resisted by dryness. But it does not appear to us that their being the original cause of the disease has been well established; if it were so, it is difficult to conceive why fields of potatoes placed very near each other should be differently affected, or why certain varieties of this plant should be much less injured than others—the Irish apple potato for instance, which appears to have suffered more extensively than others. We are also unable to reconcile with the theory of the potato disease being caused by parasitical fungi, the remarkable fact that in its present form it is certainly of modern origin. That it may have always existed is possible, though of this we have no proof; but at least there can be no doubt that it has only manifested itself to any considerable degree within the last few years. We cannot suppose the botrytis, which observers find to be the kind of fungus that attacks the potato, to be a recent creation. We must assume it to have been co-existent with the potato itself; and, therefore, we must conclude that some recent causes have come into operation favourable to its increase to the present alarming degree.

"Without pretending to decide what the cause really was, we may state that it seems to be connected with the cold, cloudy, ungenial weather which has characterised the present year over the north of Europe; conditions highly unsuited to the constitution of a plant which, like the potato, is a native of a warm, dry, sunny country, and insufficient for the ripening of the tubers. Without adverting to solitary cases, which require to be examined with more care than we have the means of giving to them, we may state, that amidst the mass of conflicting evidence which we have obtained, the following facts appear to be established:

"1. That potatoes planted early in the season are more healthy than those planted later.

"2. That the crop has suffered less in dry, elevated, sandy districts, where the influence of the season was mitigated by slowness of growth, or compensated for by the natural warmth of the soil.

"3. That the late varieties of potatoes are more diseased than early ones.

"4. That the present disease seems to be confined to the northern parts of Europe and North America, and to be unknown in the countries to the southward."

Thus the Irish commissioners combine the fungus theory with the atmospheric theory so far as to assert that certain conditions of the atmosphere have a decided influence on the growth and propagation of the fungus. The German and Belgian commissioners have arrived at nearly the same conclusion; but they attribute less influence to atmospheric causes than the gentlemen employed by our Government. The Continental and American reports are at variance on the question of climate. The European inquirers generally agree that the warm temperatures of southern countries tend to secure healthy crops; while the Americans assert that the ravages of the disease are very marked in the southern states, and that no part of the new world has escaped so well as Canada.

Excess of growth in the stalks causing weakness in the tubers, has been assigned as a cause by some American writers, but this theory has been so fully contradicted by European experience that we need not enter upon its examination.

The author of the pamphlet before us, and many eminent naturalists both in Europe and America, believe that there has been a natural deterioration

of the plant itself. It is well known that in certain species of pears and other fruit, there is a tendency to wear themselves out by continued propagation, and they assert that this has been the case with the most common varieties of the potato. We may add that the reception of this theory does not exclude any of the others, for degenerate potatoes would by the mere fact of degeneracy become more liable to atmospheric influence, more inviting to destructive insects, and more favourable to the growth and propagation of pernicious fungi.

The questions which may be considered as undecided are of tremendous and fearful import. They are—Can means be found to check the progress of decay in the present crop?—Is the disease of such a nature as to menace the prospects of the next harvest?

We have before us an immense pile of letters, in answer to queries which we have sent to known correspondents in every part of the empire, and we find an almost unanimous opinion that though careful drying, the use of lime, and precautions for ventilation, have been useful as checks, they have nowhere been found perfect preventatives. We have ascertained that cargoes of potatoes sent to the London market, though in good condition when embarked, have been found so injured as not to be worth the freight when they reached their destination.

All our correspondents are alarmed at the anxiety to sell immediately evinced by the potato growers, which renders consumption more than naturally rapid at this period of the year, and therefore dangerously diminishes the stock on which the people will have to rely in the spring and summer. They aver that this consumption, even should the disease make no farther progress, has already made the supply disproportionate to the probable wants of the population.

The Irish commissioners dwell strongly on the necessity of using precautions to prevent any taint of the seed for the next crop. They manifestly believe that the spawn of the destructive fungus is widely spread; if, then, we should encounter a second failure next year, our present alarms will be renewed with double intensity. In fact, on potatoes we can no longer rely, and our only hope or chance of safety is the free admission of corn.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, November 29, 1845.

We have again to omit much of our usual matter, to make room for some account of the numerous and important meetings which have been held in various parts of the country, for the purpose of calling the attention of the Government to the calamities with which the country is menaced by the deficient supply of food. While Holland, Belgium, Russia, and Turkey, have thrown open their ports, restrictions are maintained in England in the face of impending famine; and the semi-official organs of Government declare that had the ports been opened, there would have been no additions made to our stock. The utter falsehood of such an excuse for the do-nothing policy of the Premier, is incontrovertibly proved by the returns of provisions imported into Antwerp since the restrictions on the importation of grain have been removed by the Belgian Government. BETWEEN THE 1ST OF OCTOBER, AND THE 17TH OF NOVEMBER, 212 VESSELS HAVE ENTERED THE PORT OF ANTWERP, bringing corn, grain, potatoes, and other articles of food. We find from a very careful analysis of these returns, which has appeared in the *Liverpool Times*, that a large amount of these provisions has been obtained from the bonded warehouses of England, so that the Corn Laws have not only prevented us from obtaining any additional supplies, but have led to the export of the food collected in the country. We have already called attention to this alarming circumstance; we have shown that our prohibitory duties not only prevented corn from coming in, but actually sent away the supply which we had in our possession, and that this was taking place at a time when the insufficiency of our stock was admitted on all hands. There are now about a million quarters of grain which might be admitted for consumption by an Order of Council, a great part of which will undoubtedly be lost to the country, if the tyranny of the sliding-scale be much longer maintained. The Ministerial twin-journal indeed declares that, if in spring the deficiency of supply should be severely felt, it will be in the power of Parliament to open the ports. But every day of delay transfers the available grain to those countries where a provident Government has adopted measures for averting scarcity. In England it

would seem to be the policy of the Government to invite famine, by persevering in a system which drives corn out of the country. We quote the returns of the Antwerp Custom-house for a single day:

"On the 24th September arrived the English vessel *Monarch*, from Hull, with 72 sacks of potatoes; the Norwegian vessel *Patria*, with 1875 tchetwerts of barley; the Austrian vessel *Carlo*, from Odessa, with 1356 tchetwerts of linseed; the Danish vessel *Peter*, from Poole, with 726 quarters of wheat; the Dutch vessel *Glasina Theodora*, from Marseilles, with 3100 hectolitres of wheat; the Danish vessel *Ceres*, from Hull, with a cargo of wheat; the Sicilian vessel *Mogul*, from Berdeanky, with 1567 tchetwerts of wheat; the Danish vessel *Concordia*, from London; with 1000 tons of barley; the Danish vessel *Comet*, from Samsoe, with 1200 tons of barley; the French vessel *Elbe*, from Havre, with 200 bags of rice."

This export of corn from England to Belgium adds another proof to the many that have been adduced, to show that the present prices of food are a very imperfect indication of the state of our supplies. Potatoes are sold at less than their natural price, because men are unwilling to keep a stock which a few weeks may convert into a heap of putridity. Our wheat is of such inferior quality that a large proportion of it cannot be ground unless mixed with old wheat; and hence the low price of this bad wheat keeps down the averages, and prevents the admission of good corn. But it is this prime wheat, the wheat that must be mixed with our inferior stuff to render it at all available for consumption, which the suicidal policy of the sliding scale is driving from England to the ports of Belgium and Holland. On looking to the Belgian returns, we find that corn has come to Antwerp from a great diversity of quarters; from Italy, from France, from America, from the Black Sea, from the Baltic, and as we have already said, from our own ports. There has been no derangement of the currency in consequence of these importations; trade being left to its natural course has spread itself so widely and equally, that the exchanges have balanced each other. The apprehensions of scarcity in the Netherlands have subsided, and the trade of the country has suffered no depression. It is melancholy to contemplate the contrast which our country presents; we have the official journals of the ministry conceding the possibility of our supply being short to the extent of a month's consumption, but telling us that no measures are to be taken to supply the deficiency until the last grain of our stock is consumed. We have good grain sent out of the country to keep up the price of inferior and bad stuff; we have the signs of an approaching crisis in the manufacturing districts continually increasing in their gloom and their intensity, and we have Cabinet Councils held with unusual frequency, and protracted to unusual length, without leading to the adoption of any practical measure which may alleviate present calamity, or avert future danger.

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. Nov. 25	MON. Nov. 24	TUES. Nov. 25	WED. Nov. 26	THUR. Nov. 27	FRI. Nov. 28
Bank Stock	205	204½	204½	203½	203	203
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	96½	94½	94½	94	93½	93½
3 per Ct. Gov. Ann.	95½	96½	94½	95	94½	94½
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	95½	96½	95½	95½	95	95½
Long An. Ex. 1860	101	101	101	10 9 16	10 9 16	10 9 16
Cons. for Acct.	95	95½	95½	95	95	95
Exc. Bills, pr. m.	26	25 8	26	25 7	26	26
Ind. Bds. an. 1000.	36	36	36	36	36	36
India Stock	264	264	264	261	261	261
Austrian	95½	95	95	95½	95	95
Belgian Bonds	82	80	80	80	80	80
Brazilian 5 per Ct.	16½	17	17	17	17	17
Chilian	86	86½	86 7	86	86	86
Columb. ex. Venez.	94	93½	93	92	92	93
Dutch 4 per Cent.	59½	59½	59	58½	58½	59
Dutch 2½ per Cent.	30	30	30	29 8	29	28½
Mexican	56 7	56 7	56 7	56 7	56 7	56 7
Peruvian	112	112	112	112½	112	112
Portug. conv.	28½	28½	28	28	28½	28½
Russian 5 per Cent.	38½	37½	37	37	37½	37½
Spanish 5 per Ct.						
Do. 3 per Ct. ex. dv.						

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MONDAY, NOV. 24.—There is a good supply of English Wheat at market this morning; samples of best quality offered fully 1s. per q. advance since this day week; inferior sorts meet a slower demand at late rates. The supply of Barley is moderate, and sells more freely at the prices of last Monday. Since Friday about 10,000 qrs. more Oats are reported, making a total arrival during last week of 70,000 qrs., but at the reduction in price of fully 3s. per q. submitted to last Monday and Wednesday; a considerable side was made on Friday, and to day there is a good demand at 6d. to 1s. per q. advance; at these prices a great clearance has been effected. Beans and Peas are in better supply, and are each 1s. per q. lower.

BRITISH.

	Red 52 to 61	White 60 to 70
Wheat, Essex	51	62
Kent & Suffolk	51	62
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire	40	56
Scotch	41	56

Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feed	25	27
Ditto	25	28
Scotch Feed	25	28
Lincolnshire	25	27
Ditto	25	28
Cork	25	27
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black	25	27
Sligo	25	27
Galway	25	27
Barley	25	27
Beans, Marazan	25	27
Now	25	27
Harrow	25	27
Small	25	27
Peas, White	25	27
Groy	25	27
Flour, Town made	25	27
Norfolk and Suffolk	25	27

FOREIGN.

	PRICE.	IN BOND.
Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed	60 to 68	46 52
Rostock	58	62 44 43
Stettin	57	62 43 46
Hamburgh	54	59 42 45
Odessa	48	52 40 42
Odessa Polish	52	58 40 43
Russian	50	59
Ditto	48	57
Spanish		
Ditto		
Australian	60	69
Barley, Grinding	27	30
Distilling	30	32
Oats, Archangel	27	28 23 24
Danish	27	28 23 24
Swedish	25	26 21 22
Stralsund		
Dutch Feed	23	25 19 21
Brew	28	29 24 26
Polands	30	26 28
Beans, Egyptian	41	42 40 41
Peas, White	56	
Ditto Boilers		none
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 196 lbs.	34	35
United States	32	35
Dantzic		
Australian, per sack of 280 lbs.		

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from Nov. 17 to Nov. 22, 1845, both days inclusive.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas.
English	6927	8348	6761	1640	1354
Scotch			1122		
Irish	330	386	47470		
Foreign	21299	3181	15181	6262	1290

FRIDAY, NOV. 28.—Since Monday we have been moderately supplied with English Wheat. To-day the trade is not brisk, but Monday's prices are fully supported. In Bonded Wheat the transactions are limited. About 10,000 qrs. of English Barley have arrived during the week; there is little doing in this branch of the trade, but prices are not lower. We are fairly supplied with all descriptions of Oats this week. On Wednesday there was an extensive sale at an advance of 6d. to 1s. from Monday. To-day rather higher prices are asked, which checks the trade, but a good deal of business might be done at the prices of Monday. There is no alteration in Beans and Peas. The duty on Oats fell to 3s. yesterday.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	3530		10970
Barley	10410	500	1390
Oats	8660	10190	4830

Flour, 6190 sacks.

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending Nov. 25, 1845.

	Qrs.	Price.	Qrs.	Price.
Wheat	5560	62s. 11d.	Rye	45 40s. 0d.
Barley	6909	36s. 9d.	Beans	1072 41s. 8d.
Oats	21026	27s. 2d.	Peas	1911 50s. 8d.

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
18th Oct.	58	2.32	0.23	5.34	5.44	5.43
25th "	59	5.33	0.24	11.34	5.45	5.44
1st Nov.	60	1.34	0.26	2.33	2.45	3.43
8th "	59	7.35	1.25	2.35	7.45	1.44
15th "	58	6.35	0.26	3.38	2.44	5.45
22d "	57	11.34	1.25	5.37	1.43	4.45

Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks. Wheat, 58s. 11d.; Barley, 33s. 11d.; Oats, 25s. 3d.; Rye, 35s. 6d.; Beans, 44s. 8d.; Peas, 44s. 5d.

Duty. Wheat, 14s. 0d.; Barley, 5s. 0d.; Oats, 3s. 0d.; Rye, 7s. 6d.; Beans, 1s. 0d.; Peas, 1s. 0d.

Stock of Corn in Bond, Oct. 18, 1845.

Wheat. Barley. Oats. Rye. Beans. Peas. Flour.

In London, 207874 10219 48329 .. 3463 .. 43273

Unit. King. 543666 58479 103130 .. 6805 1656 241095

MEAT MARKET.

FRIDAY, NOV. 28.—The supply of Mutton was larger to-day, and the milder weather had considerable influence on the demand. Pork trade maintained its steadiness, notwithstanding the variation of the weather, the supply being limited. Boxes of fresh beef arrived from Hamburg, and were sold very well.

PER STONE OF 8 LBS. PER STONE OF 14 LBS.

Prime Beef	3s 6d to 3s 8d	3d. Mutton 3s 6d to 3s 8d
Middling do.	3s 0d to 3s 2d	Veal, from .. 4s 0d to 5s 0d
Plain, or inferior	2s 6d to 3s 0d	Small Pork .. 4s 0d to 5s 0d
Pork	2s 2d to 2s 10d	Large, or inferior
Prime Mutton	3s 10d to 4s 2d	rior Pork .. 3s 8d to 4s 2d

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, NOV. 21.

BANKRUPTS.

J. BROWN, Hornsey-road, builder. [Mr. Follett, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-street.

C. BOWEN, Harp-lane, Tower-street, City, wine merchant [Mr. Green, Alderman.

G. PRATT and J. BODLE, Addison-road North, Notting-hill, builders. [Mr. Graham, Coleman-street.

J. HAMSHER, Vine-place, Tabernacle-square, Hoxton, Glove manufacturer. [Mr. Turquand, Old Jewry Chambers.

J. C. KENDALL, Islington, tavern-keeper. [Mr. Graham Coleman-street.

TUESDAY, NOV. 25.

BANKRUPTS.

J. WARREN, George-street, Hanover-square, surgeon dentist [Mr. Buchanan, Basinghall-street.

W. COOKE, White Lion Inn, Egham, Surrey, innkeeper. [Mr. Buchanan, Walbrook-buildings, City.

J. L. ROPER, Rochester, linendraper. [Messrs. Bedlam Houghton, and Co., Verulam-buildings, Gray's Inn.

J. WOODHAMS, High-street, Portland Town, plumber. [Mr. Chamberlayne, Great James-street, Bedford Row.

C. WADHAMS, Charlotte-street, Portland Place, New Road, carpenter. [Mr. Green, South Molton-street, Oxford-street.

G. LITTLE, Southampton Terrace, Camden Town, corn-chandler. [Mr. Hardman, Bowling-green-street, Kennington.

J. EVANS, High-street, Shoreditch, cheesemonger. [Mr. Johnson, Basinghall-street.

R. MOORE, Norwich, coal merchant. [Mr. Turquand, Old Jewry Chambers, London.

C. J. RUSSELL, Ludlow, Shropshire, scrivener. [Mr. Bittleston, Birmingham.

W. and W. LENDON, Exeter, carriers. [Mr. Hornaman, Exeter.

Printed and Published by Messrs. Richards' Printing Office, 10, Newgate Street, in the Parish of Whitechapel, in the City of London, by JOHN GAYNOR, printer, at Number 7, Ridgeway-place, Hampstead-road, in the County of Middlesex, at the Sign of the Number 4, Fairchild-place, Cheetham-hill road, in the parish of Manchester, in the County of Lancashire, and published at Number 67, Fleet street, in the parish of St. Dunstan-in the West, in the City of London, by ABRAHAM WATSON, Printer, of Number 67, Fleet-street aforesaid -- Saturday, November 20, 1841.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 115.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1845.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

*By order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.*

OBSERVE!

Samples of good Wheat were sold in Mark Lane on Friday at 70s. per quarter.

The duty on Foreign Wheat is 14s. per qr.

The national expenditure for bread is NOW at the rate of 20 millions a-year, or FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND pounds weekly MORE than during the whole of last winter and spring.

AGAIN, THE COUNTIES!

A NEW REASON FOR QUALIFYING.

In urging our friends, last week, to *set down no county as hopeless*—to neglect no effort on the mere ground of the seeming impossibility, or improbability, of obtaining a Free Trade majority—we laid much stress on the fact, that in many and many a county there are allies ready waiting for us, willing and able to help us if we put ourselves in a position to help them—independent-minded men impatient of landlord domination, and prepared to embrace any reasonably hopeful opportunity for throwing it off. Our Free Trade minority—in those counties in which a minority is all that we can just now effect—may very probably, in not a few cases, turn out a majority when the day of election arrives.

Recent events have greatly added to the force of this consideration. The adhesion of Lord John Russell to our cause, viewed in connection with its natural and certain consequences, has placed us on better ground than ever for contesting counties with the monopolist oligarchy. It will everywhere raise up for us friends and allies, considerable in numbers, far more so in social and political influence. In every county in England, there are influential landlords and farmers, connected by political sympathies with Lord John Russell and the party which recognises his lordship as its leader, who have heretofore held aloof from our cause. Adverse as they have been alike to the sliding-scale and to the principles of total and immediate repeal—neither hearty monopolists nor thorough-going Free Traders—at the same time, too few in numbers to occupy an independent position, and assert for themselves a distinct political existence in the Parliamentary representation,—they have, in recent electoral struggles, allowed themselves to be mere passive spectators of a contest which they were unable practically to influence. They have counted for nothing in the great public conflicts of the age.

All this is now, we must presume, at an end. These half friends will now be whole friends. The adhesion of Lord John Russell and his party to our principles will give us at the next general election, whenever that may be, the co-operation of those who look to his lordship as their political chief. The reasons which have acted on his mind will act likewise on their minds. As they are with him in seeking the reform of other great and acknowledged abuses, they will also be with him and us in our war against “the blight of commerce and the bane of agriculture.” We may regard it as beyond all doubt, that that class of politicians known by the designation of “Whig” aristocracy and gentry, will very generally be found at the next election in the ranks of the Free Traders.

None of our readers will, we trust, for a moment misunderstand us in this unavoidable mention of political party names. In speaking of “Whigs,” and the Whig “party,” and of the alliance and co-operation which we may in future expect to receive from that party, we do not recede by a hair's breadth from our great “no-party” principle. We merely indicate a fact that may serve to stimulate and strengthen our own independent exertions. It is not that *Free Traders are Whigs*, or stand in any sort of political relation to Whigs, as such—but that, after the recent declarations of the Whig leader, there is every reason, speaking generally, to regard *the Whigs as Free Traders*. It is, of course, only as Free Traders that we know them. We do not join them—they have, by their leader (presumptively) joined us. They may retain, as they doubtless will, their own party organisation for party political objects; with all that we have nothing in the world to do. We simply take the fact as we find it—the most gratifying and encouraging fact—that the great body of the political friends and followers of Lord John Russell are now Free Traders, and may count as such in all those calculations and labours which have reference to the period of the next general election.

Here, then, is a new incentive to us to exert ourselves to win counties—for here is a new element of strength and means of success. We are now more than ever entitled to say, *let no effort be neglected, for none will be lost*. We have now allies in every county of England—let us put ourselves, in every county, in a condition to make the alliance fruitful of Free Trade victories. In the most monopolist-ridden of English counties, in counties where the Leaguers have done actually nothing, a nucleus of a Free Trade party already exists to our hands—a minority which it is for us to turn into a majority. Our work is already begun in counties in which we have never set a foot. It is for us to spend the precious interval between now and the 30th of January, in putting ourselves in a position to seize this and all other advantages that time and events may bring. In every county in England let us do our very utmost. Majorities—sure, sweeping, overwhelming majorities—where we can; where we cannot, minorities—for there is no saying what may not turn up to make our minorities majorities. The chapter of accidents will do much for us—if we do not trust it for anything. Whether it be much or little that is in our power, let us do ALL we can. The “much” can never be too much—the “little” may very possibly in not a few of the most unpromising of counties, turn out to be enough.

THE MOVEMENT.

The country is doing its duty. That “unequivocal expression of the public voice,” called for by the Free Trade member for the City of London, in the noble and manly address which identifies him in this great struggle with “us, the Queen's sub-

jects,” is heard throughout the length and breadth of the land. The “excuse” for which, according to the generous, and perhaps just, suggestion of Lord John Russell, a vacillating Government “*appears to be waiting*,” is presented with a fulness and distinctness that savour less of “excuse” than of impeachment. “By petition, by address, and by remonstrance”—and, better still, by those silent preparations for next year's electoral registration, which, by investing petitioners, addressers, and remonstrants, with a prospective share in the Government of the empire, add immensely to the *momentum* of all other popular efforts—the nation is everywhere casting off all participation in that tremendous responsibility with which Sir Robert Peel has charged himself. From all parts of the country, and by all classes of the people except one, the judgment of the national mind is unmistakably pronounced on “*a system which has been proved to be THE BLIGHT OF COMMERCE, THE BANE OF AGRICULTURE, THE SOURCE OF BITTER DIVISIONS AMONG CLASSES, THE CAUSE OF PENURY, FEVER, MORTALITY, AND CRIME, AMONG THE PEOPLE.*”

We cannot here speak in any detail of the public meetings of the past few days. There is no keeping pace with them. Nor is it necessary to attempt it. These expressions of national feeling and opinion are, with variations of a merely local and circumstantial kind, of a substantial similarity—we might almost say, of a sameness—that renders it needless to notice them individually. The history of one is the history of all. Whether it be a “Conservative” town council memorial, as at Bolton, or a working-class open-air meeting, as at Glasgow, makes no difference. The premises and the conclusion, the *data* and the inference, the facts and the principles, are everywhere and always the same. Liverpool merchants, and Manchester operative cotton-spinners think the same thoughts, and speak the same language—entertain the same fear of coming calamity, and indicate the same means of deliverance and safety. From among the chimneys and smoke of the cotton and iron districts, and from beneath the shade of the cathedral towers of Gloucester and Bristol, the same demand goes forth, in the same tone of urgency. The country comprehends its peril, and has the strength and will to work out its own salvation.

The unanimity which the present movement evinces among classes whom monopolists have sought in by-gone years, and not altogether without success, to alienate from each other's sympathies, is a most cheering result and reward of our labours. We hear no more of a (real or pretended) working-class antagonism. We can now have *public meetings*—meetings that are public in the fullest sense of the word—meetings to which any man may come, and at which any man may speak; and there is no apprehension of riot or disturbance. Capital and labour perfectly understand one another—are clearly cognizant of their mutual relations and their common interests. There is an end of the old quarrel between profits and wages. It is understood on all hands—and, what is more, it is *felt*—that the profits of the capitalist and the wages of the labourers are, the one as much as the other, parts of the one great fund of industrial accumulation—that the proportion of the one to the other is not inverse, but direct—that both obey the same laws, and follow the same conditions that both rise and fall together. The anti-machinery delusion is exploded. The wages and food question is put, by experience and discussion, past all possibility of monopolist mystification and sophistication. The operation of the *new Income Tax* of FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS STERLING PER WEEK, in withdrawing custom from the shopkeeper, abridging the sales and profits of the manufacturer, and curtailing

the wages of the operative, at the very moment that it diminishes their exchangeable value and power of purchase, is comprehended with a distinctness that almost dispenses with any further iteration of the familiar and threadbare truth. In the great controversy of industry against monopoly, and of hunger against artificial famine, the working men of Great Britain are with us, as heartily as we are with them.

Such an agitation as that which now stirs this country is a novelty in the history of popular movements. The world has seen nothing like it before. An agitation on the basis of the truths of economic science; an agitation to arrest the progress of national calamity, in its first stages, by removing its primary cause; an agitation whose objects and principles command the respect both of philosophy and of statesmanship;—this is really a new fact, as it is also one in the highest degree honourable to the people by whom it is exhibited. In the present attitude and temper of the national mind, we feel ourselves amply rewarded for our exertions in creating and consolidating a sound public opinion on economical questions. Our expositions of the national experience of the past seven years are now deliberately accepted by the public mind, as giving the true solution of the phenomena of national prosperity and distress; our prognostications of the future are authenticated to the popular judgment by the recollection of the past. The British nation is now cognizant, as no nation ever was before, of the facts and laws determining its own social state; knows the sad and terrible significance of rising prices in the food market; instantly, almost instinctively, puts the true interpretation on the first symptoms of revulsion and collapse; realises already, by anticipation, those calamities which have made Paisley, Stockport, and Bolton, words of awful import to monopolist statesmen, and the mere remembrance of which, in the midst of the heyday of a brief prosperity, drew from a happy and exulting Premier, a fervent and solemn deprecation of their recurrence. We have the true key, at last, to the anomalies and vicissitudes of our economical condition. We can never again suffer ignorantly. We are now both acutely sensitive and profoundly attentive and self-conscious. Step by step, point by point, as the workings of monopoly develop themselves, we watch and mark them—we assign each effect to its true cause—and we fix the responsibility of the whole on its real author. To a Minister knowing, as Sir Robert Peel does, the character and tendency of his own monopolist policy—and knowing that the people know it—the endurance of all this must be like being stretched on the rack.

In the present temper of the public mind, it seems almost a work of supererogation to urge the necessity of unrelaxed energy and determination. Yet we cannot satisfy ourselves without again and again entreating the people to remember that *their fate is in their own hands*. Every week, as it passes, serves to point anew the moral of Lord John Russell's address: "IF OUR END IS TO BE ACHIEVED, IT MUST BE GAINED BY THE UNEQUIVOCAL EXPRESSION OF THE PUBLIC VOICE." Cabinet Councils meet, and separate, and leave nothing to show. Meanwhile, time hurries on. One precious week after another is irrecoverably lost. Rivals are forestalling us in the markets of the world—taking away, under cover of the Peel tax, which shuts us out from the universal competition, even the bonded corn in our own warehouses. The food of millions of our poor is rotten, or rotting—how fast or how slowly seems still an open question with the authorities—or it is being consumed with perilous haste and waste. Winter is at the door. Short time and falling wages already invade the comforts, and menace the subsistence, the morality, and the peace of our lately so prosperous manufacturing districts. Now is the time for the country to help and save itself. There is no help nor salvation for it but in itself and its own energies. Now is the time for so strenuous and resolute, so loud and earnest—so intolerably loud and earnest—an expression of its will, as shall compel the Premier to fling from

him all the Wellingtons, and Stanleys, and Richmonds, and Buckinghams, and acquit himself of individual and personal responsibilities by obedience to individual and personal convictions.

The above was written before the *Times* of Thursday morning had startled and delighted the world with the revelation, that Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues will begin the session of 1846 with introducing a Bill for the Total and Immediate Repeal of the Corn Laws. We leave it as it is. We have not a word to retract, correct, or alter. With the full impression of this most cheering announcement fresh on our mind, we can only say again, with tenfold emphasis, NOW IS THE TIME FOR ACTION;—Now, more than at any other moment since our work began. If, as would seem, our grand object really is within our grasp, seize it with strong and sure hand. If the wedge is fairly in, at last, DRIVE IT HOME. If Sir Robert Peel really is, after all, to be the Free Trade Minister, SUPPORT HIM—he will want all the support that a united and determined people can give him. If he really has made up his mind to avail himself of the "excuse" for doing right, make that excuse irresistibly and overwhelmingly complete. There is no knowing what may come yet, before Free Trade reaches the statute book. The faction is very strong, furiously angry, desperately unprincipled, and will most likely die hard. Be prepared for the very worst. TAKE NOTHING FOR GRANTED. No rest, no pause, no relaxation of effort, no lull of agitations, no hurraing—till the hour when the "Bill for repealing the Acts regulating the Importation for Foreign Grain," shall receive the assent of her Majesty, and take its place among the statutes of the realm.

THE MORALITY OF COMPROMISE.

Could we trust appearances, we might venture just now to drop a few of our old familiar topics, and in particular, we might regard the "compromise" question as very sufficiently and satisfactorily disposed of. But as we mean, in this matter, to trust to no appearance less authentic and decisive than that of an Act of the Imperial Parliament printed by her Majesty's printer, we cannot satisfy ourselves without bringing and keeping before the public eye the true character of those expedients by which trimming politicians and sham philanthropists would, if they could, spoil the settlement of a great question of national and human right, with some pitiful *juste milieu* between right and wrong.

When time-serving journalists and politicians talk, in the *Ashley* strain, of a "doom," or "destiny," of protection, which is to be qualified by what they call "terms"—of an "inevitable blow" of which they hope to "break the force"—what is it, in plain English, that they really mean? Simply, in plain English, that monopolists are to hit on some cunning and clever way of saving what they can of an enormous wrong, the whole of which, in its "integrity," the country pronounces utterly unbearable. Their language practically is—"We are found out, and must disgorge; we cannot keep quite all the plunder; let us drop a little—the less the better—and make a bargain to keep the rest, on the principle of 'no questions asked.' We cannot rob any longer on the large scale; let us try if a little moderate robbery will do. The good old practices of 'the road' are scarcely safe in these days of civilisation and new police, but there is always the resource of swindling and pocket-picking." Professing themselves the friends *par excellence* of the people, these men openly advocate expedients for tricking the people out of an elementary and palpable right; their high-flying protestations of a restless and exuberant philanthropy, all end in dexterous schemes for securing the perpetuity of an infamous wrong.

It is characteristic of such politicians, that they uniformly shirk the question of right and wrong altogether. They never deal with the matter on its merits. They do not pretend to have an opinion, one way or the other, as to the good or evil either of the system they are willing to surrender, or of that which they propose to substitute. They never tell us whether "protection" is a right thing, or a wrong

thing. They do not say why, if protection be right, the Corn Law of 1842 is wrong—or why, if protection be wrong, their own vaguely-hinted "terms" would be right. We say, if the principle of restricting the people's supply of food be a sound principle, by all means keep up a Corn Law which so efficiently and successfully embodies it; if the principle be false and vicious, away with it, and with all its false and vicious progeny. The Corn Law is either a model of wise and just legislation, an admirable improvement on the laws of nature and Providence—or it is an execrable wrong; and we ask, *which of these is it?* And we say, that speakers of speeches, and writers of letters and newspaper articles that blink this question, and propose a system of legislation which is based absolutely on no principle or pretence of a principle whatever, are utterly undeserving of public respect or trust.

The people are coming to understand these pretenders. The plain popular sense of right and wrong scouts this mawkish and unprincipled nonsense of meeting "destiny" half-way with "terms," without a question asked as to whether the "destiny" be good or evil, or the "terms" just or unjust. No public man can talk of "submitting to destiny," without forfeiting the political confidence and respect of Englishmen. The common sense and morality of the people scorn the man who shuffles off his responsibilities on the stars. Destiny, if evil, is to be combated. Destiny, if beneficent, is not to be merely submitted to because it is destiny, but frankly accepted and actively co-operated with, because it is beneficent. We know of nothing more certain to disgust the English people, than the talk of politicians who, in a great national and human question, leave principle out of the case—put "destiny" for duty, and "inevitable course of events" in place of intelligence and rectitude—recommend "terms" without a thought or care for their equity—and would tax the poor man's bread, without the pretence of a reason, just for the convenience of the thing.

LETTERS ON THE CORN LAWS, No. LII.

TO E. S. CAYLEY, ESQ., M.P.

SIR,—I have been occupying myself, not very profitably perhaps, in picking out the facts, real or alleged, in your letter to Lord John Russell. They are not so thick as plums in a Christmas pudding, nor so pleasantly imbedded. But as you affect to "argue for being guided by the practical, cautious lessons of history," (not its rash and impracticable lessons,) "rather than by the visions, however ingenious—by the conjectures, however specious, of speculation and the closet," I was curious to see the effect of having "no speculation in those eyes," by which vision is repudiated, and of studying lessons of history elsewhere than in "the closet."

Fact the first makes known the secrets of men's hearts, and declares their thoughts and motives in a manner rather startling from such a votary of the practical and cautious:

"It is only because the landlords and farmers of England, as a body, are convinced that the Corn Laws are for the public benefit, that those laws have always received, and still continue to receive their unabated support. If they had thought them injurious to the permanent welfare of the people, I cannot doubt that they would have been as ready to repeal them as yourself."

"Unabated support!" Do you never read a newspaper? Not even the leading articles of the *Morning Post*, so often dolorous over support abated, and changed into acquiescence in the repeal of the Corn Laws, if not into downright hostility? Have you not yet heard of Lord Ashley's Letter, or Mr. Escott's speeches? One so ill-informed of external facts should have hesitated to assume the attribute of Omniscience, and prate of motives as things known. You affirm too much, in this assertion of the absolute disinterestedness and self-oblivious patriotism of landlords and farmers. Repeat it to them, and not a few will laugh in your face.

Fact the second:

"It is notorious that, with perhaps the exception of Canada and the United States, and possibly Spain and Italy, there is as great a deficiency of wheat in the rest of the world as in England, if not a greater deficiency; and this does not appear to be a casual occurrence."

Be it so; what follows? That we should keep out of the market until scarcity and competition

have raised the price upon us, making us pay dearly for delay, and perhaps destroying our chance of supply altogether? It would be more "practical" and "cautious" to provide for ourselves in time. You counsel the certainty of waste in expenditure, and the probability of insufficiency of food. You know there is but little to be had, and would have us wait till that little shall be less. You would shun the foreign market like a pestilence, until the corn in it be scarcer and dearer; and when the sellers begin themselves to famish, then you would have us begin to bid and buy. For prudential care, anticipating the morrow, you would have a horde of hungry nations contending, like the Andover paupers, for the last bone with green grizzle on it. Timely application for an article that runs short, is the plainest lesson of common sense, let alone history.

Third fact :

"When, however, the dearth is general, we cannot be surprised that other countries and their rulers should prevent the exportation of corn to their neighbours, at a time when famine stares them in the face at home; nor need it astonish any one that France, Russia, and Naples, if I remember rightly (for I have the advantage of few or no documents to refer to), have all, on various occasions, taken the precaution of first supplying themselves in a time of scarcity—a precaution which the people of those, and I believe other countries, have on such occasions not unfrequently adopted in despite of their Governments, and forcibly prevented the exportation of food."

Of course the folly of France, Russia, and Naples, in "first supplying themselves in a time of scarcity" astonishes you; and you are naturally desirous that Great Britain should do nothing so preposterous. We are forewarned against the evil example. Incredible as it may seem, there is your letter advising us to wait quietly. Let the world help itself to its short commons, and we may come in at last for the nihility that remains. First, you would have us wait till the Governments of those countries refuse us; and, should they not, you still suggest that the people may forcibly prevent the exportation of the food we desire to buy. Great temptations to delay, are they not? "Do not buy food now; in a short time your neighbours will refuse to sell it, or popular violence will stop its transmission." Such is your advice coupled with this fact.

Fact the fourth :

"An immediate suspension of the import duties would produce, in all probability, an immediate letting out of bond of a million quarters of wheat; besides, before winter, causing another million quarters to be poured into the market, and thus possibly at once exhaust the foreign supply, to the great aggravation, if there be a scarcity (and if there be no scarcity, then there is still less necessity for the measure), of the deficiency before next harvest."

I will not stay to inquire whether more wheat can come out of bond than went into bond; let that pass. The peril which appals you is the possible addition of two million quarters of wheat to our present stock for consumption. This is your bugbear. It is the fearful "vision" of your closet speculation. Two million quarters! Less by half a million than we imported in 1841, and again in 1842. Only twice the average annual importation of the last thirty years, during which we have added seven million mouths to our numbers. Only one-fourth more than the importation of 1801, when (in Great Britain) we were only ten millions and a half instead of eighteen millions and a half. Awful must be your apprehension of our having too much to eat; and very "ingenious" are your "visions" of ruinous abundance just after assuring us that in other countries there is yet more scarcity, their governments meditating prohibitory duties, and their people ripe for anti-exportation riots.

Fact the fifth :

"Take any six weeks since harvest, when the reported scarcity (if no obstructive principle had been at work) would probably have produced a variation in prices from week to week of 5s. or 10s. per quarter, as reports vacillated of the prospects of supply, and what do you see?—scarcely a variation of 2d. a bushel; but, instead of it, a steady progression in price, approximating very gradually to that point where the duty virtually ceases, and free importation begins."

Yes, we do see "a steady progression in price." Good wheat has already passed "the point where the duty virtually ceases." The bad will scarcely get there. It approximates so "very gradually," that when it does, we may expect the straw to follow. And, together with this "steady progression in price," we also see the steady progression of privation and distress. When corn is up, crime is

up. The sufferings of the manufacturing operatives, and the difficulties of their employers, have commenced, Winter is coming, and work is failing. Some of the petitioners for a Ten Hours' Bill seem likely to have it sooner than they wish. There are those to whom an untimely recollection may occur of your admonition not to be astonished that foreign peasants, in despite of their government, laid violent hands on cargoes of provision. You look complacently on the "steady progression of price;" it is the relentless march of misery, disease, and death.

Your next fact is largely mixed with fiction :

"Putting the present Corn Law for a moment aside, turn to the effects of four deficient harvests under a more stringent Corn Law, that of 1828, of which the present is only a modification, with diminished duties, turn to the diminished harvests of 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, and see whether the anticipations of our insufficient supply—fourfold more likely under such repeated scarcity! to be fulfilled at that time than this—were then fulfilled. Rumour with her busy tongue—panic with its prostrate imbecility—were as rife then as now. And what was the result? In no four years in any period of English history, before or since, had we such large importations; a supply so commensurate with our wants, that those only who took a political interest in the question appear now to remember them; except, indeed, those poor farmers who cultivated what were then emphatically designated the wheat soils of England!—full a third of whom, in spite of the protective price afforded by the Corn Law, were so inadequately compensated for their deficient crops, that with this addition to the pressure of accumulated distress, from the great fall in prices subsequent to the Money Act of 1819, they sunk to the earth to rise no more; and had it not been for the protection thus afforded by those Corn Laws, the stoutest of those cultivators of the wheat soils of England must have been swept away from the face of the land. Thank God! we have still resolution enough to abide by the experience of the past, instead of the infatuation to run headlong into an unknown abyss of a new-fangled philosophy. If the higher duties of the Corn Law of 1828 did not, during four successive deficient harvests, prevent our obtaining a sufficient foreign supply, why should we so much dread the effects of a Corn Law, with lower duties, in preventing a foreign supply sufficient to meet the deficiency of only one year?"

As an incidental specimen of your accuracy, it may be mentioned that in the four subsequent years of 1839-42, the importation exceeded that of 1828-31 by a million quarters. But in neither case was the supply "commensurate with our wants." You seem to have a short memory for public distress; but you might have recollected the Protection Ministry being burned out of office. The calamities and consequent discontent of those years brought in the Whig Ministers and the Reform Bill. The Duke's Corn Law would not have outlived the change, had the question been half as well understood then as it is now. And yet with wheat averaging 66s. per qr., you say a third of the farmers were crushed "to rise no more." They had suffered "accumulated distress" from "the money law of 1819." Why, Spackman will tell you that from 1819 to 1827, inclusively, wheat had fetched on the average 60s. 8d. per quarter. From whatever cause the farmers suffered, high prices and protection could not save them. If you are clearheaded enough to be puzzled by the facts, perhaps Messrs. Morton and Trimmer may help you to a solution of the mystery. The moral to be deduced from what remains of truth in your statement is that what you call a deficiency of food for the people can scarcely occur under any circumstances whatever; you are content, for them, with what drives them to despair and madness; and think that wheat at only 66s. is very hard upon agriculture.

I should not, perhaps, reckon among your facts that the wheat crop "is yet believed to be little below the average of the last few years," since this belongs to "the almost invariable answers, with certain limitations," "so far as you have seen them," elicited by the circulation of ingenious queries. The public will appreciate your benevolence in adding that "the deficiency caused by the potato failure, will be in some measure compensated by the unusually large crops of oats, barley, and beans." We are obliged by your not including carrots and mangel wurzel. You might also have suggested sea-weed for Ireland, which the rough whistery weather will cast on shore abundantly. As you sagaciously observe, "to the Irish, open ports would not give the money to purchase corn."

Such are the facts on which you rely in your ludicrous endeavour to answer Lord John Russell. I have taken them without regard to the use you make of them. Your blundering sophistry in arguing, combined with your proved dishonesty in quotation, render you unworthy of admission into the arena of discussion. But although too deeply disgraced to be tolerated as a champion, you may

yet be worth a little cross-examination as a witness.

While I am writing, the announcement of the *Times* that the victory of Humanity is won, peals on the ear like a signal to cease firing. But I cannot spare you. Had you merely advocated to the last those pernicious and accursed Corn Laws, or, by honest mistake, any other system of wicked and pernicious policy, it might have been so. Your offence is heavier. Misstated facts, distorted quotations, and endeavours to act on the public mind, or that of a class, by representations too discordant to cohere in the writer's own mind, are not to be forgotten though the Corn Laws be repealed. Until the employment of such means shall bring its rightful measure of discredit upon public men, there is no hope of restoring the identification of politics and patriotism; or of rendering political controversy truthful and honest, though it may be earnest and impassioned.

A NORWICH WEAVER BOY.

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

We need hardly direct attention to the account we have given of the great meetings at Liverpool, Edinburgh, Manchester, and many other large towns; but we must mention that when all our available space was occupied, we received at the last moment the reports of three most important meetings held at Leeds, Huddersfield, and Bradford. The mayor of Leeds presided over the meeting in that town; and it was addressed by Messrs. J. G. and J. Marshall, Mr. Hamer Stansfield, Mr. E. Baines, jun., Mr. Plint, and the Rev. J. Ely. Some discussion was raised by two persons named Brook and Shaw, to whom Mr. J. Lees replied; after which a memorial for opening the ports was unanimously adopted, and the mayor, Mr. Aldam, M.P., Mr. J. G. Marshall, and Mr. Hamer Stansfield, were appointed a deputation to lay it before the Premier.

Mr. J. G. Sutcliffe took the chair at the meeting in Huddersfield, which was addressed by Mr. Stansfield, M.P., Mr. Batley, Mr. Wright Mellor, Mr. Schwann, Mr. H. Edwards, Mr. Willans, and Mr. Heaps. The resolutions in favour of Free Trade, and a memorial for opening the ports, were unanimously adopted.

At Bradford, the chair was taken by Mr. J. G. Clayton; and the meeting was addressed by Messrs. Cobden, Rand, and Bright. We regret that previous arrangements render it impossible for us to give a report of the very remarkable speech delivered by Mr. Rand, the report of which in the *Bradford Observer* did not reach us until too late for this week's publication. That gentleman is a leader of the Conservative party in the West Riding; and he ably maintained the consistency of Free Trade principles with Conservative doctrines. As a Conservative, he tendered his thanks to the League for having maintained their great principle free from party taint; and said that the country owed that body a debt of gratitude which could never be repaid.

THE STUDY OF HANSARD.—There is, we believe, no book which a leading member of either House of Parliament is forced to study with more painful assiduity, and with less advantage to himself or the country, than that formidable record of their own sayings, *Hansard's Debates*. When some question perhaps of great urgency and importance presents itself for consideration, he dares not look at the fact itself, or the circumstances by which it is surrounded, till he has first hunted up in Hansard every word he has ever said upon that or any analogous subject. Time passes—circumstances vary—men disappear—the constitution itself is altered—storm succeeds to calm—clouds to sunshine—danger to security—all the elements of opinion are changed and changing around him—but opinion itself must be immutable; and Hansard's inexorable register is consulted as if it were the Book of Fate, by which the present and the future are to be determined with the same invariable certainty as the past:

"And enterprises of great pith and moment,
With this regard their currents turn awry,
And lose the name of action."

We are not blind to the value of Hansard as an armoury or *argumenta ad hominem*, so effective in a popular government; and still less so to the importance of a high and intelligent principle of consistency in a constitution which, like ours, must be worked by the machinery of party; but we distinguish between a real and a nominal consistency—between "the letter that killeth and the spirit that quickeneth." The nominal consistency that ties itself to a stake is about as useful and meritorious as the courageous cowardice of the gentleman in Solebay fight, who had himself tied to the mast in the most exposed situation to prevent himself from running below. Such a mistaken consistency obviously defeats itself. He who stands still when every one else is in motion, alters his relative position just as effectually as he who moves when others are at rest, and will speedily find himself in very different, or perhaps we might say very indifferent, company.—*Quarterly Review*.

OPENING OF THE PORTS.

EDINBURGH.

On Tuesday a public meeting of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, convened by the Lord Provost, in compliance with a requisition very numerous and influentially signed, was held in the Music-hall, for the purpose of praying her Majesty that the ports might be immediately and permanently opened for the importation of corn and other food. Long before the hour of meeting (one o'clock), the hall, the largest in Edinburgh, or perhaps in Scotland, was crammed in every corner by a most respectable assemblage of the citizens. There could not be fewer than 2500 persons present, and many hundreds went away from the doors unable to gain admission. It is beyond denial that a more influential and enthusiastic meeting has not been held in Edinburgh on any national question since the height of the Reform Bill agitation.

Among those on the platform we observed:—Lord Dalmeny, M.P.; Sir James Gibson Craig, Bart.; Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Bart.; Sir Geo. M'Pherson Grant, of Ballindalloch; Sir Charles Napier, Bart., M.P.; T. B. Macaulay, Esq., M.P.; W. Gibson Craig, Esq., M.P.; Andrew Rutherford, Esq., M.P.; Thomas Maitland, Esq., of Dundrennan, M.P.; D. R. Ross, Esq., of Rosstrevor, M.P. for Belfast; Adam Black, Esq., Lord Provost of Edinburgh; James Lumsden, Esq., Lord Provost of Glasgow; Baillies Gray, Duncan, and Ritchie; Treasurer Thomson; Dean of Guild Thomson; Professor Napier; Wm. Murray, Esq., of Henderland; R. Thomson, Esq., advocate; Alex. Currie, Esq., advocate; R. Hunter, Esq., advocate; A. C. Dick, Esq., advocate; A. S. Logan, Esq., advocate; J. T. Gordon, Esq., advocate; Robt. Cadell, Esq., of Ratho; George Turnbull, Esq., of Abbey St. Bathans, W.S.; Walter Buchanan, Esq., Preses, and Alexander Graham, Esq., of Lancelfield, Vice-Preses of the Glasgow Anti-Corn-Law Association; James M'Laren, Esq., Master of the Merchant Company, Edinburgh; George Berry, Esq., Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Leith; John Wigham, Esq., President of the Anti-Corn-Law Association, Edinburgh; John Howison, Esq., Secretary, ditto; William Tait, Esq.; J. B. Gracie, Esq., W.S.; W. C. Aytton, Esq., of Glendovan; George Stone, Esq.; R. S. Grieve, Esq.; Andrew Millar, Esq.; Jas. Peddie, Esq., W.S.; Ralph Richardson, Esq.; G. W. Hope, Esq., farmer, Fenton Barns; the Rev. Dr. Henry Grey; Rev. Dr. William Peddie; Rev. Andrew Thomson; Rev. Andrew Elliot, of Ford; Dr. Beilby; Dr. MacLaggan; Dr. Smytman; Dr. Alexander, &c.

On the motion of Sir James Gibson-Craig, the Lord Provost was unanimously called to the chair.

The Lord Provost, on rising, was received with much applause. He said,—Before commencing the regular proceedings of the day, allow me to make some explanation regarding the present meeting. First, then, it may be asked why Edinburgh, which used to give the tone to other cities, has so long delayed on the present emergency. I may remind you that the Town Council, more than a month ago, petitioned her Majesty that the ports might be immediately and permanently opened for the admission of foreign grain free of duty; and such of you as think the reports of the proceedings of the Town Council worth looking at may have observed, that a fortnight ago a question was put to me why no public meeting had been called for this purpose. I then stated that I understood that a requisition was in course of signature, and that when I received it I would call the meeting. (Cheers.) From accidental circumstances, some delay took place in completing the requisition; but knowing that it was sure to appear, I immediately communicated with our excellent representative, Mr. Gibson-Craig, who at once said he would be happy to attend the meeting, and do what he could to promote its object. (Cheers.) I likewise wrote to Mr. Macaulay on the 20th of last month, who I am happy to see here, requesting his presence at the intended meeting, when he wrote me, that from the delicate state of his health, and other hindrances, he might not be able to come to Edinburgh; but, if he did not, he would send his views in a letter, which might be read to the meeting, as he was convinced that there was no safety but in complete free trade in articles of food. (Cheers.) I think it necessary to mention these facts, to show that this meeting was called from a conviction of the importance of the object, and independently of any other exciting cause. Before proceeding, I may likewise state that I have received, since I came into this room, a letter from one who is held in high estimation by all who know him—I refer to Dr. Chalmers. (Great cheering.) He writes as follows:—

“Morningside, Dec. 2, 1845.

“MY LORD,—I have just been honoured by the presentation of a platform ticket for the meeting of this day in the Music-hall. Had I been in the habit of attending public meetings, I should certainly have been present at the meeting of this day, and have lifted my feeble testimony in favour of its object. I hold it quite monstrous, that in the present fearful prospects of the country, the ports should remain shut for a single day against the admission of human food; and though I am not so sanguine as many of a great and permanent economic good to result from the abolition of the Corn Laws, yet on the ground that such a measure would remove a topic of agitation and conflict, and so tend to the restoration of a better understanding among the various classes of society, I should rejoice, not only if all restrictions were now taken off for the sake of the present emergency, but if from this time forward they were exclusively done away.—I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS CHALMERS.”

“The Right Hon. the Lord Provost of Edinburgh.”

(The reading of the letter was followed by great applause.) I may likewise state that I wrote to another in whose judgment and integrity the inhabitants of Edinburgh have the utmost reliance. I allude to Lord Dunfermline. (Cheers.) You testified your confidence in him on the first opportunity you had of electing your own representatives in Parliament, and during the period that he held that trust, your confidence in him continued unshaken. That relation between us has long ceased, but his anxiety for our welfare is unabated, and I know that your confidence in him remains undiminished. He could not conveniently attend, but has sent me the following letter, which, with your leave, I will now read:—

“Colinton, Dec. 1, 1845.

“DEAR LORD PROVOST,—My disinclination to attend public meetings is so well known to you and others, that I adhere to my purpose without any fear that my motives will be misconstrued by you, or by such of my old friends and former constituents as may have wished for my presence at the meeting over which you are to preside. If I had attended the meeting, I do not think that I should have had anything

to retract or explain. The early tendency of my opinions has been sufficiently indicated by my votes against the Corn Bill in 1815, and by the vote which I gave in 1833, as one of the members for Edinburgh, when Mr. Hume tested the opinion of the first Reform Parliament, by proposing a fixed duty on corn. I should not, therefore, have rested my opinion on the present apprehension of scarcity but on a firm conviction that Free Trade in corn is essential to the prosperity of the country. I should rejoice to see sectarian differences in politics and in religion merged in a combined effort to support and enforce the truths which have been diffused, by those who have devoted themselves with unexampled zeal and ability to the exposure of the evils of the Corn Laws. The power of acting as umpire between the contending parties in the state, has, by the change in the law, been conferred on the constituencies, if they choose to exercise it; and an appeal is now made to the public at a most critical conjuncture, and on a vital question. The alternatives are either to repeal the Corn Laws, or to prepare for a most arduous and perilous conflict. Such an appeal ought to be answered with firmness and deliberation, casting aside all party and personal feelings, and looking only to the public welfare and to the national safety.—I am, &c.

“DUNFERMLINE.”

(Great cheering.) I can add nothing to the sound and liberal sentiments of this enlightened statesman. I have been honoured with the enviable advantage of his friendship and counsel, and have had occasion to know that such have long been his views, and that his anticipations always were that the principles of Free Trade must triumph. (Cheers.) I congratulate you, that in surveying the battle-field, we now see the ranks of monopoly broken; many of their troops have already turned their backs—defeat, disunion, and disorder, have filled the rest with consternation, while we are encouraged by the prospect of victory, and strengthened by daily accessions of new allies, and a phalanx of invincibles. (Cheers.) Such is the power of truth. At first it may be launched by an obscure individual—then the few who adopt it are stigmatised as enthusiasts, fanatics, and dreaming theorists; still its converts increase, its encounters become more keen, its struggles more frequent and severe, till its final triumph is achieved. (Cheers.) How many arguments which they considered incontrovertible were brought forward by the men of the sliding-scale, and how long were they allowed to pass current, true as holy writ, among a prejudiced multitude! (Cheers.) It was confidently affirmed that Free Trade in corn would leave us at the mercy of our enemies. Issue was joined upon the question, and it was proved that so far from our being exposed to the dangers and calamities of war by Free Trade, Free Trade was the strongest bond of security for the maintenance of peace, and the true source of good-fellowship and national prosperity. (Great cheering.) Another shadow of an argument was conjured up in the shape of the national debt, it being affirmed that the burden was chiefly borne by the land; but when light was brought to bear on the subject, it was found that the burden fell, not on the land but chiefly on the landless, who thus had the double infliction of a heavy national debt, and the unnatural enhancement of the price of provisions. Again, it was glibly asserted that a larger share of the national taxation was laid upon the agriculturists than on the other classes; but when challenged to the proof, it was demonstrated that, so far from this being the case, the Legislature had exempted them from their fair share, which consequently increased the proportion that fell upon the other classes. (Cheers.) Then it was attempted to excite the jealousies of the working classes, by insinuating that the object of the Free Traders, in procuring cheap food, was to lower the rate of wages. A reference to experience, however, has shown that in this country high wages are more frequently found in connection with cheap food, and low wages with dear food. (Cheers.) There is no doubt that the Corn Laws were framed with the view of benefiting the landlords and agriculturists, but the vigorous intellect and logical reasoning of Mr. Cobden have proved, beyond dispute, that even here they have failed of their object, that under their operation the agricultural labourer has been ground to the dust, the farmer has been reduced to a wretched vassalage, and the landlord himself has been a sufferer in the end. (Cheers.) The God of all the families of the earth, by the wise and beneficent arrangements of His providence, designed that the ties of universal brotherhood should be maintained and strengthened by the wants of each rendering them dependent on all; for this purpose He has given a variety of climate, a variety of products, and a diversity of seasons, that all should be bound together in the circle of mutual commerce. Legislators vainly imagined that they could devise a better arrangement, but when man attempts to improve on the plan of his Creator, his wisdom is folly, his power impotence, and the result misery. Thoroughly have the monopolists been foiled in the field of argument, all the refuges of lies have been swept away, defence after defence has been abandoned, they have sullenly retreated to their citadel, their guns have been silenced, their ammunition spent, and their surrender is near. In the words of the noble statesman whose letter has diffused joy and hope in the midst of gloom and apprehensions, “Let us then unite to put an end to a system which has been proved to be the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter divisions among classes, the cause of penury, fever, mortality, and crime among the people.” (Great cheering.) Now that Lords John Russell, and Morpeth, and Earl Grey, join heart and hand with Villiers and Cobden, and the host of Free Traders, who can doubt that victory is at hand? (Cheers.) I have only further to state, that the different resolutions will be moved by gentlemen who have ever been ready to join in every good work. (Cheers.)

Mr. WIGHAM, who was received with loud cheers, said:—My Lord Provost, Ladies and Gentlemen—We meet to-day in one point of view under gloomy prospects for the United Kingdom—for surely so great a failure in the potato crop is calculated to create intense anxiety for the subsistence of a large portion of the people, between this time and the next harvest. This prospect is still more disheartening from the existing Corn Laws, which tend, at all times, to produce scarcity and high prices, inasmuch as they prevent our freely obtaining supplies of food from countries which have it to spare. These laws have been considered by I dare say most of us as very oppressive, and I must have met many of you at meetings in this city during the last six years with a view to hasten their abolition. Although it has been so clear to a large proportion of the nation, there has been a great difference of opinion among statesmen in regard to the effects of these laws. It will be in the recollection of many of you that a correspondence took place between the Edinburgh Anti-Corn Law Association, and the representatives of the city on this subject, which was published in the newspapers, and which did not terminate in the most satisfactory man-

ner as it regards one of these gentlemen, and I am inclined to allude to it now, not with any view afresh to open an old sore, but to suggest that it shall be closed and forgotten, and that for ever. (Hear, and cheers.) Mr. Wigham concluded by proposing the following motion:—“That in consequence of the alarming prospect of scarcity of food for the subsistence of the people of this country, a petition be presented to her Majesty, praying that her ministers be directed to give orders that the ports of the United Kingdom be immediately opened for the importation of foreign grain and provisions free of duty.”

Mr. WILLIAM GIBSON-CRAIG, M.P., rose amidst great cheering and said: My Lord Provost, I can assure you that I second this resolution with the most perfect cordiality. But, gentlemen, before proceeding to make any remarks upon the resolution itself, I must refer to a matter personal to myself, as some communication has been alluded to by my excellent friend who has just sat down, in which it was stated by him that the reply either of myself or of my honourable colleague did not give perfect satisfaction. I am so anxious to satisfy you that my course has been consistent, and that you should believe I am acting now from conscientious motives, that even at the risk of breaking up old sores for a moment, I beg very briefly and in few sentences to remind you of the opinions I have expressed on this important question, and of the course I have taken in Parliament upon it. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, when the Anti-Corn-Law Association was established in this city some years ago, I then declined to become a member, because at that moment my opinion was that the substitution of a low fixed duty for the existing law, would be the most beneficial arrangement for all the great interests of the country; but at the same time I stated that I should so infinitely prefer the abolition of all duty whatsoever to the existence of the sliding-scale, that I should vote upon every occasion for every motion which had for its object the repeal of the existing laws. (Loud cheers.) But, gentlemen, I reserved to myself the power of judging what were the circumstances under which any measure proposed should appear to me the most preferable arrangement. Under that reservation I have voted for several sessions past; I have voted for every motion, whether brought forward by Mr. Villiers or any other, for the total abolition of the Corn Laws. In reply to the last communication which was sent me from the Anti-Corn-Law League, I stated that I was aware of the progress of the question, that I was well aware the moment for compromise was passing away, and that if through the infatuation of the landed interest no arrangement were to be completed, the necessity of settling the question within a very short period was impressed so strongly upon my mind that I should abandon all idea of any compromise on the principle of a fixed duty. (Cries of hear, hear.) That is the progressive course which I have taken. The period I have alluded to has passed away; and the time is now come when I can cordially and entirely agree in the words of the noble lord the member for London, that it is no longer worth while contending for a fixed duty (hear);—nay, more, that the exigencies of the present period demand that the bold and decided course should be taken of opening the ports. (Cheers.) I believe one of the greatest crises that ever impended over this country is now at hand. I do not wish to magnify the evil, but God grant it may not come to us in all its horrors. I need not remind you of the loss of the potato crop. The evil is increasing, though the wheat crop certainly is not a failure. But no man can calculate on the quantity of grain required as a substitute for the immense quantity of food which has been destroyed. The pressure certainly is not yet felt, because the potatoes are not yet exhausted; and there is still full employment. But on the other hand, that employment and the high wages producing an extravagant consumption of produce cannot be reckoned upon; and already the high prices of food are beginning to affect the condition of the people, which may further be injured by a rise in the money market to an extent which is incalculable; and in the course of the ensuing season not only may we feel ourselves embarrassed by exorbitant prices for food, but too probably by inadequate subsistence for the people, and possibly by stagnation of trade. Is not this prospect enough to appal any man? The idea of famine and scarcity in a land such as this! Gentlemen, the evil does not rest even here. It is not possible to imagine that this state of things can last even for one year. The poorer classes another year may not have the means of obtaining seed for potatoes. Certainly the breadth planted will be much smaller in general; and there is no crop whatever on the scanty patches held by the poorer classes in England and Ireland, which can produce the same amount, even as this year. Then you will have millions of people to feed out of your supply; for another year's harvest may not be so good as this. We have again the prospect of a famine before us. What a spectacle is this for such a country! And shall it be that this country must go on trusting to accident for the support of its people, or are we not to do all in our power to enable them to procure the means of subsistence? (Loud cheers.) I can assure you—I am quite sure there is no man at this meeting who is actuated by a factious or party spirit—I can assure you that I have never swerved from the opinions I formerly maintained, even when adherence to them was attended with great unpopularity, and probably with the risk of no longer having the honour of being your representative. I therefore act only in consistency with my past professions and conduct, when I direct your earnest attention to the measures which the approach of a crisis seems to demand. No reasonable man at such a time as this, and in the present state of parties, would desire to see such a change in the Government as would only augment the difficulties which might attend the adoption of the measures rendered necessary by the exigencies of the country. I have given no factious opposition to the present Government. I have supported their measures where I have thought them right as firmly and unwaveringly as the measures of that Government whose views coincided with my own. But a crisis such as this demands from a Government foresight, energy, and decision; and all I would say is, that if the present Cabinet shall continue as it has hitherto, inactive spectators of the existing exigency, a storm must burst upon them from which they will have no refuge. The hon. gentleman then resumed his seat amidst loud and continued cheers.

Mr. MACAULAY was received with loud cheers, which continued for several minutes. As soon as it subsided he said: My Lord Provost and Gentlemen, you will well believe, I hope, that I am deeply sensible of the kindness with which you have received me; and I only beg that you will continue to extend that indulgence to me, if it should so happen that my voice should fail me in the attempt to address you. I have thought it my duty to be present here, though doubting whether I am equal to the exertion of addressing such a meeting, and though so situated that I can only pass a few

hours among you. But I conceived that this was not an ordinary meeting, or an ordinary crisis. (Cheers.) I conceived that a great era in our commercial policy had arrived (hear, hear); and I thought that in such a conjuncture you had a right to a frank and full explanation from one who has the honour to represent you in Parliament. (Loud cheers.) With respect to the past, gentlemen, I have perhaps a little to explain; but certainly nothing to regret or retract. My opinions, from the moment when I entered public life, up to the present day, have never varied. I have always considered the principle of protection to agriculture as a vicious principle. I thought that vicious principle took, in the laws of 1815, of 1828, and of 1842, a peculiarly vicious form. But my opinion has never varied as to this, that the principle in itself was vicious. This I declared 12 years ago, when I stood for Leeds; then I declared it in 1839, when first I presented myself before you; and when, a few months later, Lord Melbourne invited me to become a member of his Government, I distinctly stated to him that, in office or out of office, I must vote for the total repeal of the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) In the year 1841, a very peculiar crisis had arrived. There seemed to be reason to hope that it might be possible to obtain a compromise, which would not indeed remove the evil, but which would very greatly mitigate it; and there were some circumstances in the financial state of the country which led us to hope that we might be able to obtain that support for the proposition of a moderate fixed duty, which could not possibly be obtained if we had proposed to have an entirely Free Trade. On that occasion her Majesty appealed to the people. I presented myself before you; and I disguised nothing. I said, "I am for Free Trade in corn; but I think that in existing circumstances to make a compromise would be desirable. I am a party to that compromise; and it is for you to-day to determine whether you will approve of my conduct or not." (Applause.) You approved of it, and sent me back to Parliament as a party to that compromise. I thought, then, that my duty was this—not to vote against the principles of Free Trade, but until Parliament should decide whether they would accept that compromise or not, I must act with my former colleagues, and support and propose that compromise in Parliament. I did so. During the first year I declined to vote for the extreme proposal of Free Trade, although I declared myself in favour of it. I refused, at the same time, to vote against it. But as soon as Parliament rejected the compromise—as soon as it decided in favour of Sir Robert Peel's sliding-scale—I conceived that all my former engagements were at an end, and from that time I regularly voted in favour of every proposition for the perfect freedom of trade in corn. There has been, I am well aware, since that time, some difference of opinion, not as to the end, but rather as to the means, between me and my constituents; but the difference between us was not, at last, as to the question whether I would or would not support the Free Trade in corn, but whether I would or would not act cordially against the present system, in concurrence with many eminent and patriotic men, who were still attempting to effect the compromise of 1841. Valuing most highly other support, but feeling the immense strength of the party of monopoly, my wish was—not conceding my own opinion, not even withholding my own vote when the question of a free trade in corn was considered—nevertheless, to act in the most cordial feelings of friendship, and in the strictest union with such men as Lord John Russell, Lord Howick, and Lord Morpeth, who still, from whatever cause, felt themselves bound to adhere to something like the compromise of 1841. That was the only difference between us. I will not argue the question now. It has been set at rest in the best possible way. It is not necessary now to inquire how I should act towards the party who are in favour of a moderate fixed duty. That party has disappeared. (Great cheering.) Time, and reflection, and discussion, and recent experience, have produced the effect which, it was natural to think, it would produce in capacious reasoners and patriotic minds. No intermediate shades are now left. The light is divided from the darkness. There stand two parties, ranged right against each other. There is the standard of monopoly, and here is the standard of Free Trade; and, as your representative, I pledge myself to be faithful to the standard of Free Trade. (Immense cheering.) I have been relieved, in some degree, of a difficulty which, I believe, I should have felt in addressing you, by the resolution which has been put into my hands. I should have felt that I was unnecessarily intruding on your attention if I were to dilate on the whole of this vast subject, and yet I believe I should have felt a difficulty in selecting any one part of it. But the gentlemen who have taken charge of the proceedings have requested me to move a resolution, which dwells particularly upon one most important part of the case, and to which, therefore, I will particularly invite your attention. The resolution which I have to move states emphatically that the existing Corn Laws press with especial severity on the humbler classes. I believe, that to clear up this point—to make this point fully understood—is one of the greatest services which at the present time can possibly be rendered to the cause of Free Trade. There was a time—a time which some of us can well remember—when men were not ashamed to defend the Corn Laws purely as an aristocratical system of legislation—when men were not ashamed to say that it was necessary to keep up the price of bread, in order to keep up the rents of the landed aristocracy. On these topics, whatever the feeling may be, the expression is no longer heard. No person for some time past has ever ventured in Parliament, or, as far as I know, in any public assemblage in this country, to allege that there ought to be a law to compel ten thousand men to buy food dear when it can be had cheap, in order that one man may build palaces and buy picture galleries. (Cheers.) This ground has been dropped, but another has been taken up, less atrocious and more philanthropic in seeming, though not a whit less absurd. What we are now constantly told in every discussion about the Corn Laws, is, that it is a capitalist question—that the capitalist wants to take a part of the income of the landlord, and to make it his own—that the capitalist wants to thrive by the reduction of the price of food—and that a reduction of the price of food would be a reduction in the wages of the people—that the lower you bring the price of the necessities of life, the lower you bring the condition of the working man, and that the whole clamour about Free Trade was a clamour raised by the mill-owners and the money-changers. This I take to be the real strength of the arguments of the present party who support the Corn Laws; and you know with what effect it has been produced. This has not been heard merely from the landed aristocracy. We have not heard it only from the lips of those who are interested in keeping up rents. We have heard it also from demagogues—from a mischievous class of men—who wish to keep up the Corn Laws merely that the Corn Laws may make the people miserable, and that

their miseries may make the people riotous and disorderly. (Hear, hear.) You know well how constantly and repeatedly they have declared that this movement was a mere attempt of the mill-owners to grind the faces of the poor. I am not, I believe, incorrect in stating that, in this great and enlightened city, a meeting called against the Corn Laws, was put down and dispersed by an argument of that description. Now, for my part, whenever I hear one and the same cry set up by bigots who are opposed to all reform, and by demagogues who are bent on universal destruction, I am quite sure that some mischief is brewing. And this I believe to be, of all the cries that were ever set up, the most demonstrably unreasonable and absurd. In the first place, it should seem strange that the Conservative party—that persons who talk so much of the wisdom of their ancestors—should countenance an opinion as new, strange, and paradoxical as ever appeared from the beginning of the world down to the Corn Law contest of the nineteenth century, that it was misery to the labouring man to have cheap food. The doctrine, if true, is not at all events a self-evident one. It was no part of the wisdom of our ancestors—it is not one of those opinions which we find to have at once commanded the assent of all ages, of all peoples, and of all tongues. On the contrary, so far as my knowledge of the history of nations and of literature goes, if you begin with the most ancient works—I mean the Hebrew Scriptures—and come down to the Corn Laws of 1815, I should be much surprised if you were to find any evidence for this—that much of the happiness of the great body of the people depends on the dearthness of their food. One would think that some cogent argument would be brought forward to satisfy us of it. And what is the argument they bring forward? If there is any other argument than what I am going to state, I heartily wish any gentleman acquainted with that argument would rise up and state it. I know only one, and it is simply this—that there are some countries in the world where food is cheaper than in England, and where the people are more miserable than in England. Poland is a case to which they particularly refer. Whenever the question is asked, why should not we have corn as cheap as the people of Dantzic? The answer is, Do you want the English peasant to be reduced to the condition of the Polish peasant? For they seem to think, that as food is cheap, and the people miserable, on the banks of the Vistula, therefore, the cheapness of bread would make the condition of the people of this country as bad as that of the peasant on the banks of the Vistula. I have not the least intention of misrepresenting their argument; but if they have any other argument than this, I most solemnly declare that I do not know what it is, and that I never heard it. Why, this mode of reasoning on a political question is the strangest that was ever heard of; and see how easily it may be otherwise applied. The food in New York is cheaper than in England, while the wages of the labourers are higher; therefore, it follows demonstrably, according to this mode of reasoning, that the lower the price of food, the higher the wages will be. But, in truth, it is idle to look at the case, and to compare nations in this sort of way. It is not one single cause that makes either the prosperity or misery of nations. (Hear, hear.) None of us are idiots enough to say, for instance, that difference of religion, difference of Government, security of property, internal peace, or security against foreign invasion, has nothing whatever to do with the prosperity of nations; and that everything is to be resolved simply into the question of cheap bread. But these gentlemen take the most miserable country in the world; they take the case of unfortunate Poland—a country which had for ages, till the independence of their country was lost, the vilest of all Governments, mere anarchy above, mere weakness in the sovereign, and below a vast population in a state of absolute personal slavery. (Hear, hear.) Trade there had none, their capital was gone, and the whole of their commerce was in the hands of a few Jew pedlars; and then we come down to the time when the foreign invader pounced upon them, and when their country was partitioned, then re-partitioned; it was conquered and re-conquered; and it was utterly enslaved; and it is existing at the present moment under a Government of which I will not trust myself to speak, because I do not wish to say anything which it would be unbecoming an English public man to say regarding the proceedings of a foreign state. But they take this country—the most miserable and oppressed—they take a country in a condition of political slavery; and then they take another country, which for centuries, undoubtedly was the best governed of any country of Europe—a country where personal slavery has been unknown for ages—a country which has had the advantages of pure religion, a high state of morality, and an enormous capital—a country which is secured by sea against foreign invasion—a country which knows not what it is to see an enemy, for I believe the oldest man alive has never seen a foreign flag in this country, except as a trophy—(loud cheers)—and under these circumstances they parallel the two, and say that the inhabitant of Great Britain is better off than the serf of Poland; and what can this be owing to, but that the serf of Poland has cheap bread? (Laughter and applause.) Was there such a way of reasoning ever heard in the world? Is there a single blessing which, in this way, I could not prove to be the greatest curse, or a single curse which I could not prove to be a blessing? (Hear, hear.) Take lameness, for example. I could show you that lameness is a benefit; for is not many a lame man better off in the world than men with two legs? (Laughter.) In the same way I could prove blindness to be a benefit; for certainly we have all known many blind men whose condition on the whole was more enviable than the man who had two eyes. (Renewed laughter.) Absurd as this may appear, these men reason in this way. But the question is, would not the blind man be better off if he had two eyes? and whether the lame man would not be better off with his two legs? and whether the Englishman would not be better off if bread were as cheap in England as it is in Poland? (Applause.) I am glad to allow that the mass of the people of Great Britain are infinitely better off than the Poles; but I say they would be still better off if the bread were as cheap here as it is in Warsaw; and I say, that if the Poles had the same price to pay for their food as we sometimes have to pay, they would be a great deal more miserable; or rather, they would not be miserable long, for they would starve in millions, and perish. (Hear, hear.) The real way of deciding such a question is, by comparing the same community under a system of cheap bread and a system of dear bread; and this we have ample opportunity of doing. We have only to look over our history for the last ten years; and if that history do not teach us, we are past all teaching. Take the year 1835. Food was cheap then, and the capitalist prospered greatly; but was the labouring man in any degree more miserable than he is now? Is it not the fact that he was better employed, and that

wages were higher? Well, then, we come to that change when, like Pharaoh's dream, the thin ears devoured the full ears; when the lean kine devoured the fat kine; when the years of famine devoured the years of plenty—we come to the time when food was dear. The condition of the capitalist in 1841 was bad. He suffered; but will any person tell me he was the only sufferer, or the chief sufferer? Do we remember what the condition of the labouring population was in 1841? Was not their condition such that philanthropic men were unwilling to enter a manufacturing town for fear of seeing the squalid nakedness of the masses? Was not their condition such that politicians who never in their lives were alarmists, trembled for the very foundations of civil society? The pressure came on heavier; the mills were at first put on short time; the mills then ceased to work at all; and the people were thrown out of employment, and they went to pledge the little property they had. First they pledged their little luxuries; then their comforts; then their necessities; then their hovels were stripped, until they were as bare of furniture as the hut of the Dog-Rib Indian; while every shop with its three golden balls was literally crammed from the cellar to the garret with the clothing and Bibles of the poor. Don't we remember what a formidable symptom of another kind was produced? I recollect the strong effect which was produced in London that day, when, for the first time, huge pieces of cannon were seen rolling northward, not to encounter a foreign enemy, but to our manufacturing towns. Well, you have had cheap bread since that time. The capitalist has profited by it, I know, as certainly he ought to do; but has the condition of the labouring been getting worse? Have they not, on the contrary, been getting better and better? Have we not seen their goods coming back from the pawnbrokers—have we not seen in their houses, in their clothes—have we not seen in their very looks in the street, a difference between a time of cheap food and a time of dear food? Take their innocent pleasures, or not merely innocent, but salutary—take their pleasures of intellect. There is your own intelligent and useful citizen, Mr. Robert Chambers. Ask him what sale his works had in the year 1841, as compared with the year 1845. I believe that there is no exaggeration when I say, that on a careful calculation, which I know to have been made, it appeared that, within 20 miles of Manchester, in one particular week in 1845, the sum issued in wages was a million and a half sterling greater than in the corresponding week of 1841. (Great applause.) There has been undoubtedly a great improvement, and all must have seen it with heartfelt satisfaction. No party has gained by this so much as her Majesty's present Government—and no party deserves so little to gain by it. They have gained by this, as a Government will always gain when the people are prosperous. But I am convinced it was an improvement they did not bring about—it was an improvement which their policy directly tended to prevent. This prosperity was the effect of the cheapness of an article which our rulers have attempted to make dear. Under the pretence of making this country independent of foreign supply, they have given us a system which, instead of making us independent, makes us dependent in the worst possible form. As the Lord Provost has justly said, there is a natural dependence between nations which we ought not to forget. Providence has given different productions to different nations, for the due interchange of commodities, and in that manner to establish a beneficial commerce. But not only are different productions given to different climates; even in the same climate there are stages of civilisation which are favourable to particular states of production. There is a state of society which is best fitted for raising raw material, and in which it would not be proper for men to turn their attention from the cultivation of corn fields to the manufacture of stockings; and there is another state in which industry and capital take other forms, and in which they are in a condition to supply vast extents of country with manufactured products. (Hear, hear.) The intercourse between these countries is the most natural and healthful mode of dependence which can be conceived. There is no injury in that dependence—there is no degradation in it. There is thus a mutual dependence, and it is exactly as important to one side as the other. Even if there were any injury in it, we could not escape it. We must be dependent on other countries for our supply of food. That question was decided when England ceased to be an exporting country, and the question that remains is, How are we to be dependent? The question was answered by the Lord Provost. Go to Lancashire, and see those immense successions of cities, many of them so great as to be equal in size to the capitals of some European kingdoms—go in and see the warehouses, with their stocks of goods, and look at that machinery, so wonderfully exact and exquisite. Look at those great nurseries of human beings all employed in producing articles adapted for giving comfort to the people on the banks of the Colombia river—to the population of the Cape of Good Hope, or to that of Java and Chili. And then, amidst all this condensation of population, and ferment of industry, you will inquire, how are all these people to be fed? But go to the banks of the Ohio, and there you will see a change of scene. There you will see a new species of industry equally extensive and equally flourishing. There you will see the desert everywhere receding before the advancing tide of civilisation: there you will see the pioneers of civilisation raising their log-huts, and speedily surrounded by corn fields that are capable of supporting whole provinces; while in every field the black trunks of the forest are standing. And you cannot but think of the concourse of population at home, when you see such forests, which must soon be covered with corn sufficient to support our own multitudes. Is not this, then, a natural and healthful dependence? Shall we not expect men will avail themselves of this beneficial arrangement?—And can it be doubted that, in seasons of scarcity, it would be highly desirable to see the manufacturing labourer of our own country breaking his fast on a good loaf of Ohio bread, while, on the other hand, the inhabitant of the log-houses of America would exchange a portion of his produce for a coat of Leeds woollen for his winter wear, and a light Manchester cotton dress for his summer wear—or a Sheffield knife, or a Birmingham spoon. In this state of matters, in steps an absurd legislation and says that, in order to put a stop to this system of healthful dependence, we will compel the people on this side of the Atlantic to submit to a stinted supply of food, while at the same time, we shall compel the people on the other side of the Atlantic—whom nature has intended to be your purveyors and customers—to be your rivals, and force them to turn manufacturers; and then, when they impose a tariff of their own, in order to keep themselves manufacturers, our legislators stand up in Parliament, and write dispatches from the Foreign Office, marvelling at their ignorance of the principles of Free Trade. (Laughter and cheers.) These, however, I believe, are the merits of her Majesty's

present ministers, as respects the prosperity which the country has lately enjoyed. Good harvests have prevented bad Corn Laws from proving very bad. The Government has been saved in spite of these laws. (Cheers.) It has had a run of good luck; and those who have not observed them closely, have confounded that good luck with good laws. But good luck will not last for ever. (Cheers.) Providence will not send the rain and the sunshine just at the time and exactly in the quantity which will be necessary to save the reputation of short-sighted statesmen. I have reason to believe we are on the verge of very unprosperous times. I wish, however, to say nothing that can prejudice the minds of the public, or excite undue alarm. I observe that the defenders of the present Administration, such as they are, say there is no chance of any great rise in the price of grain, or in any other kinds of provisions; but that the Whigs and the Anti-Corn-Law League have been guilty of the vilest conduct in attempting to raise a panic. I, therefore, that I may secure myself against such imputations, shall use no language but what the Ministers themselves use. (Cheers.) I hold in my hand a letter from Sir Thomas Fremantle, Secretary to the Irish Government, desiring information in reference to the failure of the potato crop in that country. The view he gives of the prospects of the coming year in that part of the United Kingdom is worthy of attention. He says—"Her Majesty's Government, in seeking to learn the opinion of judges and well-informed persons in every part of Ireland regarding the possibility of the supply being sufficient for the maintenance of the people during the ensuing winter and spring, provided care be taken in preserving the stock, and economy used in its consumption." Now, observe in this letter it is not even suggested that there is a stock which, with care and economy, will last even throughout the winter and spring. Now, I ask you, when any Government can say this at a time when the duty on corn is 14s. (when that letter was written it was 17s.) is it necessary to say more about the merits of the present system? When that system was first brought before us, it was alleged to have that wonderful sliding faculty which would keep us from any risk of scarcity; but you see, just when it is required to fall it stands stiff. You have the Irish population crying famine, while the index of your Corn Law is pointed to plenty. It is possible that Sir Thomas Fremantle may be able to give some explanation of this in the House of Commons, but what that may be I confess I am at a loss to conceive. He proceeds to recommend certain measures for securing the crop, and thus they quietly leave the ports closed. But this brings me round again to my main argument. You see we are now again approaching a dear time—a time when food will be dear. Already, I believe, it is no exaggeration to say that the price which the labouring man pays for flour and oatmeal is half as much again as it was a few months ago. (Great cheering.) Now, here we can bring to the test the doctrines of those who say this is a capitalist's question, and one in which the labourer has no interest. The price of food has risen; are the wages of the labouring man rising? No, on the contrary, they are falling. In numerous districts the symptoms of coming distress have already begun to be observed. The manufacturers are working short time. Warned by the signs of the past year, they know well what is coming, and are looking forward with gloomy forebodings to the disappearance of the comforts which the working people have enjoyed, and the return of the distress of 1841. If this, then, does not make us wise, we are beyond all teaching. Twice in ten years we have seen the price of corn getting up, and twice the condition of the labouring classes has become so much the worse; twice in that period have we seen the price of food going down, and twice the condition of the labouring people rising. (Hear, hear, and applause.) If this calamity awaits us, however, there is at least one circumstance which affords some consolation. I am assured, that in the manufacturing districts the working-classes have come to understand this question; and there is now no danger that any person can persuade them that those who wish for cheap food wish to injure them; or, on the other hand, that those who wish for dear bread wish to raise their wages. We may now expect their co-operation to place the matter upon a proper footing. In some quarters we have to congratulate ourselves upon our union with those who are best fitted to lead us, as also on our union with a great population, whose support behind us will be of immense value. (Loud cheers.) A few years ago, when we had to discuss this question, the friends of Free Trade were divided amongst themselves, until a statesman of great reputation adopted the idea of compromising the matter by a fixed duty; and behind we were assailed by others who were disqualified by the efforts of designing men from forming a judgment upon the question. Now, I believe, there is a complete and harmonious union; and with the power of the aristocracy in our front, we shall have the best support of the labouring classes in our rear. So led, and so followed, we may look forward to the victory, if not in this, at all events in the next, Parliament. But how long soever it may be delayed, whether near or remote, I assure you, that while I enjoy your confidence, it shall be my constant endeavour, as respects this question, to prove myself your true representative. Mr. Macaulay concluded by proposing a resolution to the effect that the Corn Laws pressed with especial severity on the poorer classes. (The honourable member sat down amidst loud and protracted cheering.)

Mr. JAMES M'LAREN, Master of the Merchant Company, in seconding the motion, remarked that he would not detain the meeting, or in any way impair the effect of the very eloquent speech of the gentleman who had just addressed them. The impolicy of the Corn Laws had been clearly shown, and on this point he would simply advert to a circumstance which was stated in regard to the imports of the port of Antwerp. It appears that from the 1st of October to the 17th of November, 212 vessels had entered that port with corn, grain, potatoes, and other articles of food; and by a careful analysis of the returns, a large amount of these provisions had been obtained from the bonded warehouses of England. Could the impolicy of these laws be more strikingly exhibited? The reason why our merchants had availed themselves of that market was simply this, that owing to our laws they could not realise in this market so advantageously as at Antwerp. We were told by the Ministerial organs, that if scarcity did prevail, the ports could be opened in spring; then, indeed, this grain might possibly be brought back; but it would come back to meet the enhanced cost perhaps of some 20s. a quarter. The motion alluded to the severity of these laws on the humbler classes, and how they tended to aggravate poverty, crime, and immorality. He stated that, in proof of this, he would submit to the meeting some statistics showing the prevalence of emigration and commitments for crime in the United Kingdom. It would be seen that these

increased with the dearness of grain. Mr. M'Laren then read a statement in proof of this:—

Year.	Price of Wheat.	Emigration Returns.	Commitments.
1838 ..	64s. 4d. ..	33,222 ..	23,094
1839 ..	70s. 6d. ..	62,207 ..	24,443
1840 ..	66s. 4d. ..	90,473 ..	27,187
1841 ..	64s. 5d. ..	118,592 ..	27,760
1842 ..	57s. 5d. ..	128,344 ..	31,309
1843 ..	50s. 1d. ..	57,212 ..	29,591
1844 ..	51s. 5d. ..	.. ..	26,542

The meeting might not be able to carry these numbers in mind, he would therefore contrast two different periods. In 1834, the number of commitments was 22,400; wheat was then at 46s. per quarter. In 1835, the price fell to 39s. per quarter, and the number of commitments fell to 20,700. Again, contrast this year of 1835, when wheat was only 39s. per quarter, with 1841, when wheat rose to 64s. 5d. What was the number of commitments this year? why, just 27,760. In regard to statistics illustrative of the mortality attendant on high prices, he would state the mortality in nine districts in the county of Lancashire, in the years 1840, when wheat was 66s. 4d., and 1843, when wheat was 50s. 1d. In 1840, the mortality was 26,196; while in 1843, notwithstanding the increasing population of the country, but when the price was lower, the mortality was only 23,334, making a difference of 2862. Mr. M'Laren remarked that he was much gratified at hearing the statement of that venerable reformer, Lord Dunfermline, and which was echoed by the honourable gentleman, Mr. Gibson Craig, that this was not the cause of a party—it is the cause of the country—it is the cause of humanity—it is, he would speak it with reverence, in some respects the cause of God. When he found the all-merciful Creator, after he had made man, addressing him thus: "Behold I have given you every herb, bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth—to you it shall be for meat"—when he found such a grant, and that a class of men, either in their blind folly, presuming to improve the administration of the Most High—or in their daring rebellion fronting themselves in opposition to God, and contravening the laws of his gracious Providence, it was an act of justice to our fellow-countrymen—it was an act of benevolence to these infatuated men, to interpose and stop the continuance of a contest which can only terminate in their ruin and destruction. (Cheers.)

Mr. RUTHERFURD, M.P., said it was not without great hesitation that he ventured, on that occasion, to present himself to their attention; but he felt, at this same time, that he would not be justified in refusing to come forward at the present juncture, and to lend whatever assistance might be thought useful. He thought that no man of ordinary education and intelligence, but unquestionably no man who had been favoured by his countrymen by being placed in a situation of public trust and confidence, could say that he was not prepared to state what his sentiments were on such a question as this, at such an emergency as the present. (Cheers, and cries of hear, hear.) If Government did not put an end to this state of uncertainty—if Ministers did not speedily do their duty—as his friend Lord John Russell had said, it became then the Queen's subjects to do what they could to avert the approaching calamity. (Cheers.) They would carry their wishes and complaints as peaceably affected subjects to the foot of the Queen's throne, and ask her Majesty to do that which her Ministers delayed or refused to do. (Cheers.) Holding such views, he had much pleasure in moving that a memorial be sent to her Most Gracious Majesty. Mr. Rutherford concluded, amidst much cheering, by reading the memorial.

The Lord Provost announced that the petition would be seconded by the gallant Commodore; Sir Charles Napier.

Sir CHARLES NAPIER was received with several rounds of tremendous applause. He said—My Lord Provost, Ladies and Gentlemen—because till the present moment the ladies have been forgotten. (Cheers and laughter.) I have attended many public meetings; but I can safely say that I never in my life attended one with more pleasure and satisfaction, than this great meeting assembled in the capital of the land of my forefathers. (Cheers.) In this town I was bred and educated, and I now come back, happily, at a moment to assist the inhabitants of Edinburgh to use their best endeavours to force the Government to save the people from famine and starvation. (Great cheering.) If we apprehend dangers to England and to Scotland, what may we not apprehend in the case of Ireland, where three or four millions of people are almost entirely dependent on potatoes? (Hear, hear.) England and Scotland are luckily quiet; but let us look at the political position of Ireland, harassed by the fear of approaching famine. Independently of that, have we not other causes for fear? Have we not a dispute in hand with America?—do we know how it is to end? and if war be avoided, what may be the consequences?—and have we nothing to fear from other quarters? Is this a time, then, to keep the people of the United Kingdom—of England, Ireland, and Scotland—in a state of starvation? The closing of the ports of the Continent has been alluded to by my friend the member for Leith; but if this dispute comes to a serious point, may we not have the American ports closed against us also? (Hear, hear.) At such a moment I cannot understand how any Government, especially any Government composed of sensible men—(laughter)—because we must allow there are many men in our present Government who are so—(great laughter and cheers)—can be holding their Cabinet Councils—and I believe at the present moment they are holding their ninth meeting, to deliberate whether the people should have dear or cheap food. (Loud and continued cheers.) I have at various times been called on to pledge myself for total repeal of the Corn Laws; but until the present moment, though I have constantly voted for Mr. Villier's motion for repeal in preference to a sliding-scale, I have hitherto refrained from pledging myself unreservedly to total repeal. But the time has now come when all squabbling about fixed duties should entirely come to an end. (Loud and continued cheering.) Neither is it sufficient to open the ports for the present moment only; as Mr. Cobden truly says, we must put our backs against the door, and prevent its ever being shut again. (Great cheering.) My friend, the right hon. member for Edinburgh, showed most clearly that dear food does no good to the people; but what does it do for the farmer himself? The landlords in England tell their tenantry that it is a farmer's question. I have always looked on it as a landlord's question, and have always had a suspicion that all along the landlords have had in view more their own interests than those of the farmers or of the country. I have often wished that the landowners and farmers of England would come down to this country, and go over it as I have done, and see the full stack yards, much fuller than they have in England; let

them see the draining tiles extended over such a breadth of land, and the system of draining everywhere producing its effects—let them come down and learn the art of farming, and that will be the best protection it is possible for them to get. (Cheers.) I should like to know, too, what advantage the merchant has by the Corn Laws? It takes a clever and good merchant to make money at any time; but how is it possible for mercantile men to prosper under the operation of such a system as the sliding-scale, I cannot conceive. Neither can I conceive why the merchants in all our seaport towns have not come forward against the system in a more determined tone than they have yet done. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) I will not detain you any longer. The arguments of my friends the members for Edinburgh and Leith, were so conclusive as to have rendered it almost presumption in me to say a single word. (The gallant Admiral sat down amid loud cheers.)

Sir GEORGE MACPHERSON GRANT moved a vote of thanks to the Lord Provost for calling and presiding over the meeting—which was cordially responded to.

The meeting, which had continued undiminished in numbers and enthusiasm to the close, then broke up.—*Scotsman.*

LIVERPOOL.

(Abridged from the Morning Chronicle.)

We this day present our readers with an abridged report of the proceedings of the great Free Trade meeting, which took place on Friday evening last, in the Amphitheatre, at Liverpool.

Previously to the refusal of the Tory mayor of the borough to convene a public meeting of the inhabitants, in pursuance of a requisition signed by nearly 6000 of the most respectable and influential amongst them, to consider the steps necessary to be taken to remedy the evils anticipated from the apprehended scarcity of food for the coming year, especially in Ireland, the excitement throughout Liverpool was general and intense; and the feeling in favour of an immediate opening of the ports, and of Free Trade in its most extensive sense, was daily gaining ground. If anything were wanted to enhance that excitement, or to render that feeling stronger and more prevalent, it was amply supplied by the ill-advised position taken upon the subject by a chief magistrate, who either wilfully evaded his duty, or who failed to appreciate the exact nature of the obligations which were devolved upon him, in regard to his fellow-townsmen, by the honourable and important office to which he had been called. The mayor having refused to call the meeting demanded by about 6000 requisitionists, several of the most influential merchants and traders of Liverpool, with William Brown, Esq., at their head, signed a requisition, calling together a public meeting of the inhabitants, to consider the present position of the country with regard to the great question of national subsistence. The meeting thus summoned under other auspices than those of the constituted authorities of the borough, took place on Friday evening, in the Amphitheatre. Seven o'clock was the hour appointed for the commencement of proceedings. By six o'clock, however, hundreds had already collected round the doors through which the public were to obtain admittance; and by the time these were thrown open, the main approaches to the Amphitheatre were almost impassable. At half-past six the doors were opened, and the vast house, which to that hour contained but about half-a-dozen individuals, who were busy upon the stage making preparations for the meeting, in less than 10 minutes afterwards was filled to an overflowing by an immense assemblage of human beings, who occupied the stage, the pit, the boxes (public and private), and all the galleries. Thousands who had anticipated, by many minutes, the hour of meeting, had afterwards to go away, after making many fruitless but persevering attempts to effect an entrance into an already over-crowded house. The rush into the Amphitheatre as soon as admittance was given was tremendous, the competition for seats was eager, and every portion of the house was simultaneously inundated. Every point from which it was possible to hear what was going on was occupied at once; hundreds of faces peering out from the scenery, and many persons clinging far above to the intricate machinery of the stage. Between 4000 and 5000 persons must have been present before the meeting was organised. The excitement which pervaded this vast mass of human beings was evidently intense, and their impatience for the commencement of proceedings was next to uncontrollable. One after another, as the well-known and influential advocates of unrestricted commerce took their seats upon the stage, they were greeted with loud and enthusiastic cheers; but when Mr. Brown, accompanied by several of those who had signed the requisition, in pursuance of which the meeting had been convened, made their appearance, the audience rose to a man, hats and handkerchiefs were waved from the galleries to the remotest recesses of the stage, and for nearly 10 minutes the most vehement and deafening cheers interrupted the organisation of the meeting. Following Mr. Brown came a large cohort of the principal merchants of Liverpool, the boxes being already occupied by many of the same class, and by numbers of professional men, and the great body of the meeting being composed of the tradesmen of the borough. When silence was at length restored,

R. E. HARVEY, Esq., stepped forward to the front of the stage and said: Gentlemen, you are aware that this meeting is called together to take into consideration the present alarming state of the country, in consequence of the failure of the wheat, and the almost total rottenness of the potato crop (hear, hear), and to discuss the propriety of meeting the evils which are but too likely to arise from this disastrous state of things, by an immediate opening of all our ports for the free and unrestricted admission of foreign grain (cheers), and with this view to adopt and transmit a memorial, either to the Queen or to her ministers, to take this step or such other steps as she or they may deem the most proper to save the country from the calamities which menace it. (Hear, hear.) The mayor having declined to preside over your meeting, it is necessary that we should now, in constituting it without him, seek for a chairman amongst those who are present, and I therefore beg leave to propose that our valued and zealous friend, Mr. Brown, be called to the chair. (Long and loud cheering.)

JAMES MELLOR, Esq., said that it gave him pleasure to second the motion which had just been made, to call Mr. Brown to the chair, whom he hoped they would, at the next

election, have the pleasure of returning as the representative of South Lancashire. (Great cheering.)

The motion was carried by acclamation, and amid renewed bursts of the most vehement cheering, Mr. Brown took the chair.

In the immediate vicinity of the chair we noticed Thomas Thornely, Esq., M.P., W. Rathbone, Esq., Robert Ellison Harvey, Esq.; James Branker, Esq., Thomas Bolton, Esq., George Maxwell, Esq., Daniel Waterhouse, Esq., Sir Arnold Knight, Joseph King, Esq., James Molyneux, Esq., James Mellor, Esq., J. H. Macrea, Esq., David Wrigley, Esq., Richard Sheil, Esq., Lawrence Heyworth, Esq., John Holt, Esq., R. W. Ronald, Esq., Thomas Blackburn, Esq., Samuel Thornely, Esq., Daniel Mather, Esq., John Mather, Esq., — Romily, Esq., James Ryley, Esq., A. A. H. Wylie, Esq., W. Blain, Esq., R. V. Yates, Esq., Thomas Todd, Esq., Richard Rushton, Esq., Thomas Chalmer, Esq., Charles Holland, Esq., J. P. G. Smith, Esq., Thomas Bains, Esq., Vincent Higgins, Esq., Wm. Clare, Esq., Samuel Bulley, Esq., J. W. Molyneux, Esq., John Coward, Esq., John D. Thornely, Esq., C. J. Corbally, Esq., Wm. Preston, Esq., John T. Crook, Esq., Charles Robertson, Esq., Richard Johnson, Esq., John Priestley, Esq., Thomas Bulley, Esq., C. Rawlins, Esq., C. Rawlins, Jun., Esq., — Tomlinson, Esq., Wm. Walchew, Esq., James Stitt, Esq., John Finch, Jun., Esq., T. B. Robinson, Esq., James Jefferies, Esq., David McClelland, Esq., David Rowlands, Esq., Henry Danson, Esq., Thomas Urquhart, Esq., J. H. Green, Esq., Birkenhead, Charles Robertson, Esq., J. Irvine, Esq., Robert Mather, Esq., Joseph Heap, Esq., Victor Pontz, Esq., James Lewis, Esq., Christopher Rawdon, Esq., Joseph Mondel, Esq., E. Moss, Esq., Joseph Dawson, Esq., Henry Wood, Esq., James Crossfield, Esq., Nathaniel Reynier, Esq., William Porter, Esq., Wm. Duming, Esq., Thomas Harvey, Esq., James Harvey, Esq., George B. Lightfoot, Esq., James H. Smith, Esq., Edward Heath, Esq., James Perrin, Esq., Timothy Jevons, Esq., James Thomas, Esq., merchant, Norwich; J. Hicklin, Esq. (editor of the *Chester Courant*); George Coggill, Esq., of New York; Mr. James R. Jeffrey, Mr. Morrish; Thomas Brown Young, Esq., shipowner, Sunderland; Thomas Cooke, Esq., from America; — Temple, Esq., London; Captain Hudson; Captains Donald and Taylor, Aberdeen; Captain Thomas Gains, Sunderland; Captain Taylor, America; Drs. Cooper, Manifold, Jeffreys, Radley, Sunderland, Anderson, &c.

The CHAIRMAN rose amid renewed cheering, and spoke as follows: Fellow-townsmen, you have done me great honour in electing me to preside this evening over your deliberations. (Hear, hear.) In so doing, I do not anticipate that it will be necessary for me to exercise one of the more invidious duties of a chairman, that of calling any member of the meeting, or any speaker who may address it to order, as I am certain that you will all lend me your support in so conducting the proceedings, that every gentleman who is disposed to address you will be favoured with a patient and attentive hearing. (Loud cries of "hear, hear.") That you may the better appreciate the exact position in which your chief magistrate has chosen to place himself by his extraordinary conduct, it is proper that the meeting should be put in full possession of the respectful requisition which was presented to him, and the answer; and with a view to this, I deem it fitting that both these documents should be now read for your consideration. (Hear, hear, hear.) The mayor having declined to call us together, we at once determined to assemble independently of him, under the protection of the constitution, to express our sentiments fully and fairly, and to convey our desires at once to her Majesty's Government. (Cheers.)

Mr. I. B. COOK then read the requisition, signed by 5800 persons, and also the mayor's reply thereto. The reading of the latter was accompanied throughout with a perfect storm of hisses.

The CHAIRMAN then resumed: That the first requisition to the mayor, as well as the second to you, gentlemen, was signed, under no slight apprehension of alarm, I think we have abundant proof to show. (Hear, hear.) The first proof which I shall address to you, to show that our fears are well grounded, is the correspondence which lately took place between Lord Cloncurry and the Prime Minister. The Government were so sensible of the danger which threatened the country from famine, and the evils consequent upon it, that the minister assured his lordship that the whole subject was undergoing the most anxious consideration from her Majesty's Government. (Hear, hear.) The next witness which I shall bring before you is the *Mark Lane Express*, a paper which you all know to be the avowed organ of the British agricultural interest. By it we are informed, and the statement is reiterated from week to week, that many cargoes of potatoes have arrived in the Thames so far advanced in rotteness and decay that they had to be thrown overboard. (Hear, hear.) We are also led to believe by it that the accounts from all parts of the kingdom are by no means favourable to the preservation of the potato crop, for the sustenance throughout the winter of those who unfortunately have almost exclusively to rely for aliment on this species of food. (Hear, hear.) Every newspaper throughout the kingdom has, from time to time, reiterated similar accounts, and to say that we are not now in a state of distress, when we are paying 400,000*l.* a week more for provisions than we were paying this time last year, is a proposition to which few will be found ready to accede. (Hear, hear.) Permit me also to call your attention to the resolutions passed in Dublin, at a meeting at the Mansion House, over which Lord Cloncurry presided, and at which the Lord Mayor was present, in which my friend, Mr. Cook, will do me the favour of reading in my stead.

Mr. COOK then read the resolutions adopted at the meeting of the Mansion House committee, which, having already appeared in our columns, we need not here repeat.

The CHAIRMAN again resumed: The next point to which I beg leave to direct your attention is the rapid increase of the population of this country, an increase which, as a matter of course, renders the people daily more dependent for their subsistence upon foreign supplies. (Hear, hear.) As population advances in numbers, the demand for those supplies progressively increases. From the passing of the *Corn Laws* in 1828, down to the present time, our average annual import of wheat has been about 1,300,000 quarters. In 1842 and 1844, when alarm and anxiety did not prevail to the same extent as they do now, our imports taken out of bond for home consumption were pretty much the same in each year—about 8,200,000 quarters. But from the resources which we then possessed we are now, in a great measure, cut off; for those countries which then supplied us out of their abundance with the largest proportion of the food which we received are now our competitors

in other markets, where they are collecting the surplus which exists for the supply of their own deficiencies. (Hear, hear.) I understand that, so far as can be ascertained, the exports last year from the Black Sea were 2,250,000 quarters; but in the year of our greatest distress, in 1842, they could only furnish us from that quarter, after supplying all their other customers, with about 211,000 quarters. (Hear, hear.) Since 1841 our supplies from Canada have been gradually falling off. We received thence, last year, 226,000 quarters; whereas up to the 20th of September in the present year, our receipts from Canada did not exceed 96,000 quarters, 170,000 quarters having been received by the same period last year. (Hear, hear.) And furthermore, the Government of Canada has recently issued a proclamation, admitting potatoes free of duty into Lower Canada, for there, unhappily, a deficiency of food for the coming year is as imminent as with ourselves. (Hear, hear.) The United States remain as the chief source of our dependence for the supply of food to meet our deficiencies. (Hear, hear.) I find that in 1841, when we stimulated them to send us supplies, they were able to spare us 570,000 quarters of wheat. In 1840, when the price of food was nearly the same, the only supply which they could afford to England was 425,000 quarters. The precise amount imported from the United States in 1842 I have not been able to ascertain, but I have reason to believe that it did not exceed the amount of their supply in 1840. Now, if you add together these different amounts of supply, which were received from these different sources at a time when we gave them high prices, but not so high as at present, you find that in the aggregate they only amount to a little more than a million of quarters to balance a deficiency of about three millions. (Hear, hear.) How far we may now be able to induce the Americans, by giving them a high price for their Indian corn to let their pigs, of which they have twenty-six millions, and which they now feed upon this grain, run wild in the woods, I know not; but this I do know, that if we could prevail upon them to give us their supplies of Indian corn, which they have in such abundance, this would go far to relieve our present and anticipated distresses. (Hear, hear.) The growth of Indian corn in America last year was fifty-three millions of quarters—a crop nearly five times the value to them of their whole cotton crop. (Hear, hear.) The growth of wheat in that country during the same period was comparatively small, amounting only to twelve millions of quarters; but I have reason to believe that their crop of Indian corn is this year equal to that of last year, and that their wheat crop is a very good one. (Hear, hear.) But to induce the American farmers of the interior to send the surplus products of their fields down to the seaboard for transshipment to this country, we must freely open the ports to them. (Hear, hear.) For if they remain liable to encounter a possibly decreasing price, and a consequently rising scale, when they reach this country with their produce, it will require more nerve than prudent men connected with commercial matters generally possess, to induce them to run such a hazard in transporting their grain to this side of the Atlantic. (Hear, hear.) Our agricultural population were certainly greatly mistaken in their estimate of the effects which the Canadian Corn Bill was likely to have upon their interests, for it appears that from the 11th of October, 1843, down to the 5th July, 1845, the whole amount of American wheat which has entered the Canadian ports for transshipment to England has not exceeded 44,440 quarters, too inconsiderable a quantity to be worthy a moment's serious consideration. I shall not at present trouble you with any further observations, but will now conclude by calling upon our esteemed and zealous friend, Mr. Thornely, to move the first resolution. (The chairman here resumed his seat amid reiterated bursts of the most vehement and protracted cheering.)

T. THORNELY, Esq., M.P. for Wolverhampton, presented himself at the front of the stage, amid loud cheers, and said:—Gentlemen, there are many of us here present who have all our lives been Free Traders. (Hear, hear.) As to the rest of this great assemblage, if they have not already adopted Free Trade opinions, I earnestly beg that they will direct their attention to the present alarming crisis in our affairs, when they will, I am sure, agree with those who have long entertained the opinion that there should be an immediate end put to all laws which prohibit the free and unrestricted importation of food into the United Kingdom. (Cheers.) I have recently made inquiries in some of our corn markets as to the price of grain, both in May last and in the present month of November. As the result of these inquiries, I found that wheat of the old crop in Ireland was in May last selling at the rate of 6*s.* 3*d.* for 70 *lbs.*, whereas the price of the same wheat has now advanced to 9*s.* 3*d.* for the same quantity, thus showing a rise in price in that short space of time of no less than 50 per cent. (Hear, hear.) I found also that oats were selling last May at 3*s.* for 45 *lbs.*, whereas the same quantity is now selling for 4*s.* 2*d.* (hear, hear); and that oatmeal which in May was selling for 24*s.* 6*d.* for 240 *lbs.* cannot now be had in the same quantity under 34*s.* (Hear, hear.) I found further that flour, which was selling at the former period for 34*s.* for 280 *lbs.* is now, for the same quantity, commanding no less than 51*s.* (Hear, hear, hear.) Now it pleased the Government and legislature, as you all well recollect, to impose, some time ago, an Income-tax of something like 3 per cent. upon all those whose incomes exceeded 150*l.* a year, when a great outcry was raised throughout the country, and numerous petitions were presented against the tax; but here is a tax, or what is equivalent to a tax, an advance on the price of food between May and November, which has abstracted from the pockets of the poor man not simply three per cent., but an enormous per centage of his limited earnings—and a tax which will render it an extremely difficult matter for the labouring classes of this country, of whom I can never speak without respect (hear, hear), to supply themselves with necessary sustenance in a period of suffering and deficiency like the present—a suffering and a deficiency which I believe in my conscience is likely to increase. (Hear.) Several of the great towns of the country, seeing what is before us, have come forward and addressed the Prime Minister upon the all-absorbing topic of the approaching famine. The people of Manchester were called together by their mayor with this object, and so were the people of Salford. (Hear and cheers.) The people of Birmingham, of Sheffield, of Leeds, and of other great towns have also adopted the course of addressing the Prime Minister upon the present prospects of the country. (Hear.) The metropolis is also alive to the emergency in which we are placed, and we find that London is about to assemble for the same purpose. (Hear, hear, hear.) In an emergency like the present, what should have been done? Why, as soon as it became apparent to Sir Robert Peel that a large proportion of the potato crop would be destroyed, and that there would be a serious deficiency in the

yield of wheat, he should have called Parliament together, and stated to it his own convictions and those of his cabinet. He would then have had an excellent opportunity of retrieving his past errors, if he could only have divested himself of his prejudices in favour of sliding-scales, and stepped forward boldly and proclaimed that the time was come when the sliding-scale, which stunted the people in their food, should be for ever relinquished in this country. (Cheers.) It is quite true that the Queen, by the advice of her council, has the power to issue an order admitting foreign grain at a lower rate of duty than that demanded by the Act of Parliament. But, by proposing to set the law aside, even temporarily, such an order in council would be the strongest evidence which could, perhaps, be produced, that the law was utterly defective, and should be finally abolished. (Loud cheers.) The true way of preventing distress is to allow the ports to be opened, and thus afford to the merchants and the people an opportunity of securing that supply, which they would certainly do if left to themselves. (Loud cheers.) Before this meeting separates, you will, I understand, be called upon to agree to a memorial addressed to Sir Robert Peel, as First Lord of the Treasury, and expressive of your opinion as to the present state of the country with reference to the supply of food. You will state in your memorial that you entertain serious apprehensions of famine—and really, when I think of the condition of our fellow-subjects in Ireland, my heart bleeds within me at the idea of the misery which will inevitably be occasioned amongst a people whose only means of subsistence is dependent on the potato crop, which crop we are aware has altogether failed in Ireland this year. (Hear, hear.) I am, indeed, happy to perceive that great numbers of that most industrious and hard-working population find employment in our manufacturing and commercial towns in England at higher wages than they could obtain at home. I understand that there are no less than 50,000 natives of Ireland in Liverpool alone, and I sincerely rejoice that there is such a number here, for the Irish are a most industrious people, and eminently useful workmen at the docks, and, indeed, in labour generally. (Hear, hear.) It is a great advantage, and affords a most agreeable reflection, that the great towns in England open such resources to the Irish population. But that employment is not sufficient to avert the evils which now threaten Ireland, and which are of such a nature that they demand the utmost attention and care of ministers, who ought, without delay, to adopt every measure which can be calculated to avert them. (Hear, hear.) It is now, I believe, in our power, by a firm, an unqualified, and a conscientious expression of our opinions, which are embodied in the resolutions that will be proposed, to put an end, at once and for ever, to the abominable system of Corn Laws. I now beg to move—"That the alarming failure in the potato crop throughout the United Kingdom, confirmed in the case of Ireland by several reports from the commissioners specially appointed by her Majesty's Government to investigate the subject, and by other persons of unquestionable veracity, together with the injury done to the wheat crop, are calculated to excite the most serious apprehensions of impending famine." Mr. Thornely resumed his seat amidst loud plaudits.

LAWRENCE HEYWORTH, Esq., then came forward amidst loud applause, and said: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, many years ago I had the pleasure with others of standing here to vindicate our opinion, that all restrictions on commerce ought to be abandoned. I rejoice that this evening I can come before you with a more certain prospect of our object being soon attained. (Hear, hear.) The signs of the times are such as leave no doubt on the mind of any one who being observant pleases to read them, that the doom of the Corn Laws is fixed. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, though this is really the case, I mention it not that we should relax our efforts for a moment—(hear, hear)—but that we should take courage, and being assured that our principles are founded on eternal truth, that we should resolutely demonstrate our conviction by the resolutions of this evening; that those principles are for ever fixed in our minds, and that we are determined to labour until we see them carried into effect. (Much cheering.) Gentlemen, we are on the point of being cast from a state of national prosperity consequent on plenty into the abyss of disastrous scarcity. We are threatened with all the horrors of famine. What does famine mean? The destruction of your wives, your children, and yourselves. (Hear, hear.) What though this famine is not just now at our threshold: have we not every reason to believe that it is not many months distant from us? The potato crop has failed. We know in England that it has failed. It has certainly failed in Ireland; and my own experience tells me that it has failed in this country. I had two crops of about four acres; and of two of those acres, two-thirds of the produce are rotten. If this is the case in my own instance, why may it not be in that of my neighbours? The concurrent reports from all quarters of the empire is a sufficient ground for asserting that the potato crop has failed. Now the Irish population, unhappily, is compelled to feed on potatoes. If those fail—if the cheapest provisions which they can use are not procurable—whence and how are they to procure those which come next in the order of cheapness? I look upon this deficiency of food as a most awful and fearful danger which is hanging over us. How shall we prevent it? Shall we subscribe individually; or shall the Government rifle the public treasury, to which rich and poor have contributed, and send money to Ireland, wherewith to buy potatoes, when there is none to buy? Will that be of any use to them? No. Money will not be of any use to them; they cannot eat money. We have not potatoes to send, nor can we spare any wheat or oats. The high prices of these indicate that we have no surplus quantity. On the contrary, you are filching from Ireland all the oatmeal which can be collected together; it is being brought to this country to supply our own wants. What, then, must be done in this emergency. When famine threatened the people of Israel of old, the question was asked, "Is there not corn in Egypt?" The answer was, "Get you down to that country and buy it." And now, when we are threatened with famine in this country, we ask, "Is there not corn in America?" (Great cheering.) There is; but your restrictive laws say that you shall not have it unless you pay a penalty of fifteen shillings per quarter for leave to import it. Gentlemen, it is said of Governments that they are paternal. Who has affixed this hindrance to your receiving corn from America? Your paternal Government. (Laughter and cries of Hear, hear.) The paternal Government, which is constituted to take care of your interests and your wants, and to see that you are fed. But how have they shown their paternal care, now that gaunt famine is staring you in the face? Is their conduct that of a father to his children? (Hear, hear.) If the child asks for bread, does the father give it a stone? No. But what does your Government do when you ask for bread? It gives you nothing at all. (Loud applause.) Is it not high time, friends, that this paternal

Government should have its understanding a little enlightened—that it should be made known to them that it is a stigma of folly upon themselves as well as heinous criminal to the poor of the land, to obstruct the importation of food that should supply the people? (Cheers.) If the people are obstructed in obtaining a supply of food, what is the consequence? Why, the high prices of food oblige the people to cease from purchasing those manifold articles produced in manufacturing districts. Goods accumulate, trade and manufactures stand still. Labourers and operatives are discharged; and earning no wages, they can neither purchase the articles of which they were the producers, nor even the products of the broad acres, for which the aristocracy seek by criminal means to obtain high prices. The aristocracy ought to be told, for they must learn the lesson, that restrictions on commerce not only prevent the labourers from obtaining food and the comforts of life, but that they cut off the very sources of all their own wealth. Some of them are beginning to perceive this. I am glad to learn from Lord J. Russell that he entertains these views; that he has given in his adhesion to Free Trade principles, and that he is beginning to see that no harm can come to the aristocracy from the circumstance of merchants and manufacturers becoming wealthy, and the labouring poor obtaining more of the necessities and comforts of life. This is certainly a wonderful discovery to make! I wish that Lord John Russell had found it out many years ago. (Cheers.) Still I am glad that he has found it out now, and I hope that his compatriots will soon discover the same grand secret. (Applause.) It behoves us, at the present time, to be very earnest and zealous in what we are doing; and we have every encouragement in the good work, not only from the general intelligence of the people, but from the information and knowledge on the subject of commercial freedom which is enlightening the minds of our aristocracy and legislature. Not only in England is a knowledge of the principles of Free Trade forcing itself on the understandings of the people, but the same result is taking place in other countries. I read recently, in that excellent paper, the *Economist*, a letter written by General McDuffie on the Tariff of the United States, in which he expressed sentiments that do honour to him as a man and a Christian. He expresses his abhorrence of all protective laws, and his view of the demands of the manufacturers of the United States in the following terms:—"A customs' duty of 20 per cent. on the articles coming into the country, gave a clear bonus to the home manufacturers of such articles, and robbed the whole of the rest of the community to that extent. And what, under the circumstances, do they modestly demand of the federal Government and of a Free Trade democratic administration? Simply that the bounty of 20 per cent., resulting from a revenue duty, be raised to 50 by a protecting duty, swelling their clear and real income, derived from the system of federal taxation, from 8000 to 23,000 dollars! This plain statement literally exhibits the character not only of the protective duties upon sugar and iron, but of the whole system of protective monopoly; and I am sure no honest patriot can think of the unjust, iniquitous, and audacious demand made by those bloated and heartless plunderers, without feeling his blood boil in his veins with the warmest indignation." These are strong expressions that the General makes use of, but, in my opinion, not at all stronger than are warranted by the circumstances. Gentlemen, the same spirit which animates him, ought to animate us. Of these sentiments, which come to us across the wide Atlantic from the far west, I should say that we hail them with responsive delight—we rejoice to see that we have accessions to our principles, not only in England, but in other countries. And I am sure that the day will soon be when the abolition of all protective duties will be consummated with a shout of victory from the inhabitants of the whole globe. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I shall not detain you any longer. I hope that the resolutions which will be offered to your acceptance will be supported by you in a manner that will do credit to the great commercial town of Liverpool, and I shall conclude by seconding the motion which has been read. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN said—Gentlemen, before I put this resolution, I will call on my friend, Mr. Baines, who has taken a great deal of trouble to collect information from the most authentic sources, as to the real state of the potato crop, to read to you a report which he has prepared, as the result of his inquiries on that subject.

Mr. BAINES then read an elaborate report on the state of the potato crop, which we greatly regret our limits compel us to omit.

W. RATHBONE, Esq., came forward amidst great cheering to propose the next resolution. "That we have now assembled for the purpose of expressing our strong convictions of the responsibility which rests upon her Majesty's confidential advisers if they do not take immediate steps to avert, as far as possible, the awful consequences of a deficient supply of the necessities of life." Mr. Chairman, this resolution does not go far enough for me. (Cheers.) It removes in some degree, at least by inference, the responsibility which rests upon her Majesty's advisers for not having taken, in the month of September, prompt steps to avert the calamity with which we are likely to be overwhelmed. (Applause.) Gentlemen, England is considered the most Christian, the most intelligent nation in the world. (Hear, hear, hear.) She has, however, been behind Belgium, she has been behind Holland, she has been behind most of the European nations in taking precautions to provide against the famine which threatens the country; and there is this disgraceful fact before us, that whilst we have been doing more than the Bible requires of us—that is, loving our neighbours better than ourselves, we have been taking the bonded wheat out of our granaries, we have been exporting the potatoes of our own soil to feed the starving people of the Continent; and whilst we have been doing all this, our Premier has been filling a barrow with soil. (Great laughter and cheers.) Our Premier, I am told, shrinks from the responsibility of starving his countrymen. I am glad to learn that he has some feelings. I rather doubted it. I am glad to hear that the demon of famine has haunted him in his midnight dreams, and that he is beginning to feel that Englishmen have their rights to maintain, and that statesmen have their duties to perform. (Cheers.) What a contrast to the conduct of the Premier do we find in the course taken by Lord John Russell and Lord Morpeth! Lord John Russell at one time told us that there was to be a finality to further progress; but he has now displayed the moral courage of coming forward to state that his opinions with respect to the importation of food have changed, and he has, by the course he has taken, proved that he is a worthy descendant of that ancestor whose blood was shed on the altar of liberty. (Cheers.) Lord John Russell, when convinced of the error of his opinions, avowed at once his conviction, and I honour him for it. It gives me additional confidence in the leader of the people—henceforward the

leader of the League. (No, no, and cheers.) I am glad to find at the same time, and without any conference between these eminent statesmen, Lord Morpeth also came forward to express his conviction that the time was arrived when he feels it his duty to come forward as an advocate for the abolition of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) That opinion was formed without any communication between these noblemen, a fact which we have on the authority of Lord Morpeth, and which I would not have believed on the authority of any other man in the kingdom, it appears so incomprehensible; but it shows the coincidence which occurs in great minds. Much time has been lost. The calamity cannot be averted. It is wicked—it is unchristian, to shut our eyes to the fact that nearly three millions of our countrymen—of our brethren in Ireland, will probably be under the most dire of all calamities—the calamity of starvation, before next year is out. (Hear, hear, hear.) You can, therefore, only proceed to mitigation—to a mitigation of the evil, not by doling out to them a pittance of generosity, but by giving them that justice which they, as our countrymen, have a right to demand. (Cheers.) Sink a nation down to a nation of paupers and they soon become corrupt, degraded, and they ultimately disappear from the face of the earth. But it is the duty of our rulers to enable every man, by freedom of trade, independently and honestly to support himself, to support his wife and family, and to say, "I thank no one but the Almighty God, who gave me arms, hands, and labour to work out my own salvation and that of my family." (Cheers.) I will not take up your time, because I know that a gentleman well qualified to explain what I have advocated, for I have only dealt with principles—I allude to my friend Mr. Wylie—will second the motion. That gentleman is a partner in the house of Lizardi and Co., which is perhaps better known throughout the world than most houses in Liverpool, and let me say, one possessing a host of information. For my deficiencies, of which I am fully conscious, he will make ample amends. I propose this motion for your hearty concurrence. Take it home to your families. Read it there, and see where the responsibility rests—whether upon those who have been the determined advocates of the right of the people to sell their productions in the dearest market, and to buy their food in the cheapest, or whether at the doors of those who have been short-sighted enough to promote their own interests by trampling on the interests of others? Mr. Rathbone concluded amidst loud applause from every part of the house.

The resolution was seconded by

A. H. WYLIE, Esq., who said, I should have been astonished at the laudatory terms in which Mr. Rathbone has introduced me to your notice, were it not that I knew that he was one of those good men of whom we have too few in this world—one of those who speak good of all, and who has not a bad word for any one. I came down to this meeting fully impressed with the belief that a serious calamity was hanging over a large portion of her Majesty's subjects, but until I heard Mr. Baines's statements—statements that cannot be controverted, I had no idea that the impending calamity was so fearful, or our danger so imminent. All other evils we can guard against. (Cheers.) The evils which follow in the train of an insufficient supply of food equally defy all law and reason. It has been decreed that man should earn his subsistence by the sweat of his brow; but we, by a vain attempt at legislation to fix the price of food, interfere with the Divine command, which also implies a promise—we add to the original curse, and we declare that man's labour shall not suffice for man's subsistence. (Loud cheers.) Houses and land constitute a property over which the law watches most jealously, but there is no jealous law for the poor man's inheritance—his labour and his industry—in fact, the law fetters them down in this country, where there is a concentrated skill which exists nowhere else, and a capital ever ready to give effect to that skill. But the honest artisan or wealthy capitalist is alike debared from bartering his labour or his produce for that which is the primary article of subsistence. (Hear, hear.) Corn stands out the great exception in our commerce. I appeal to the gentlemen around me, some of them largely connected with the United States, and through whose hands every import from thence has passed, save and except that article which is in the greatest abundance there, but the want of which threatens such serious consequences here. (Hear, hear.) It is for all such consequences that we hold her Majesty's ministers responsible. We hold them responsible for all the penny that follows high prices; for the pestilence that accompanies a scarcity of food; and, worse than all, for all the crime that starvation provokes. (Great applause.) I will not trespass upon your patience, nor picture to you the consequences if they refuse. The evil that threatens us is great, and the remedy we ask must be complete; and we ask her Majesty's Government to cast off the trammels of party, and for ourselves, and tens of hundreds not here, we promise to hold them harmless. Here we are all practical men; we feel the pulsations of trade long before the general body is affected; and we are, therefore, the more anxious to avert the calamities which we see approaching. The symptoms of those evils are clearly perceptible. We have heard of meetings in a neighbouring town to consider the necessity of shortening the hours of labour; that course, if adopted, means a reduction of wages, and with a high price of provisions our prosperity vanishes under such circumstances. I acknowledge that much grain will not come to this country under any circumstances, for I regret to say, such is our selfish policy, that we refuse to partake of the abundance of other nations, but we rob them in the time of scarcity for the supply of our own wants. At Ancona, in Italy, the people recently rose to prevent the exportation of corn, but corn will, nevertheless, come to this country, although it cannot be of service to the poor, if sold at speculators' prices. We are all aware that we must expect large demands on our private charity during the ensuing winter, but however willing we may be to meet those demands, we must recollect that charity is impotent when the people are starving. No, real charity is to enable men to earn their subsistence by their own labour, and if the ministers refuse to do so, then the responsibility rests on them alone. (Great cheers.)

The resolution was then put and carried.

Dr. BLACKBURN rose to propose the next resolution, and was received with long-continued applause. When it had subsided, he read the following resolution: "That we find from daily experience that in all the articles we obtain from foreign nations, and which are left to the natural operations of commerce, there is always procurable an abundant supply for the wants of the community; that we therefore believe that it is owing to the restrictions imposed by the corn and provision laws that there is not every year a store of foreign grain ample enough to dispel the well-founded alarm which is inseparable from a failure in our own harvests; that the

operation of these laws is generally to impoverish the labouring classes, and to reduce them to the coarsest description of food on which existence can be supported; that we are firmly convinced that the failure of their only principal means of subsistence among that large and helpless portion of our fellow-subjects, unless in some degree remedied by the instant admission of all kinds of provisions duty free, will be productive of consequences too fearful to contemplate; that we therefore consider it the bounden duty of the Queen's responsible advisers to advise her Majesty immediately to summon the Parliament for the purpose of recommending the total and immediate abolition of a system which has been justly said to be 'the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter divisions among classes, and the cause of penury, fever, and crime among the people.'" He then said: This resolution contains a very important sentiment—one which we would do well to understand thoroughly in all its bearings, and with all its necessary limitations. It does not assert that our Corn Laws are the cause of a deficiency in the harvest, or that any other possible arrangement of law could prevent those casualties to which the crops of all countries are, in the very nature of things, and by the ordination of Providence, always exposed. Nor does it at all imply that a considerable failure in the produce of the soil is not a serious calamity in itself, calculated to entail great suffering on the humbler classes in whatever part of the world it may occur. (Hear.) I make these remarks, because I am not ignorant of the eagerness with which our opponents catch at any unguarded statements which may be advanced by the advocates of Free Trade. (Cheers.) It is part of their crooked policy to represent us as a sort of unreasoning fanatics, engrossed by one solitary idea, labouring under a monomania about Free Trade, which leads us to fancy that its adoption would banish misery and misfortune and want from the face of the earth. Such, however, is not our view. We do not forget that care and trouble are the lot of man, and that, with all his caution, and prudence, and foresight, he is compelled by experience often to adopt the language of one of Burns's beautiful little poems—

"The best laid schemes o' mice and men
Gang aft agley;
And leave us nought but grief and pain
For promised joy."

So far, indeed, are we from forming any such erroneous estimate of the state in which we are placed, as the fallen and guilty inhabitants of a world that lies under the frown of Heaven, in consequence of sin, that in that very fact we think there is found one of the strongest and most unanswerable arguments for a free commercial intercourse among all the nations of the earth. (Cheers.) Our condition as apostate creatures is necessarily one of sorrow and toil. "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread all thy days," is the divine sentence pronounced upon us. That sentence comprehends all mankind, and renders the existence of a large portion of the human race one ceaseless struggle with hunger and destitution. In whatever stage of society you find man, this is one of his invariable characteristics. It applies generally to all kindreds of men scattered over the surface of the earth. Now, surely, when we regard ourselves as partakers in a common misery—as sharers in a general calamity—nothing can be more monstrous and suicidal than that laws should be enacted to forbid our helping one another in every way in our power—to sustain and lighten the burden which is our sad inheritance, by a free interchange, for our mutual advantage, of all things calculated to promote the public good. (Cheers.) I should like to hear any man give a reason why the owners of land in these realms should be allowed to say, either to the rich or the poor, "We grow corn, and you shall not be permitted to purchase any except from us, unless, indeed, the supply we can furnish is so scanty as to endanger a famine." Yet this is in truth the plain meaning of the Corn Laws. They stand in direct and glaring contrariety to the manifest design of the Almighty, as clearly indicated in the works of creation, and the dealings of Providence. He must be blind indeed who cannot see in the original frame of things, as they exist around us, the obvious display of a settled purpose to place the inhabitants of the earth in such relation to each other as should necessitate a free interchange for the general good. In answer to the inquiry—"How would freedom of trade tend to reduce to its minimum the evils of a deficient harvest?" I may be permitted to remark, that the more extended the surface on which you depend for your supplies, the greater is the probability of your securing an average quantity in successive years. Let us suppose, for example, that the heptarchy were restored, and that England were again divided into seven distinct Governments, each relying for support on the produce of its own soil; who does not see that the risk of distress from deficiency would be greatly increased. Even in our own country it is well known that some seasons are more favourable to the fertility of the island and some to another, but a free interchange rectifies at once, and almost imperceptibly, these slight and casual variations. So that in years of average fecundity, upon the whole, they attract little attention, and produce no general suffering. Now, extend this illustration to a Continent; let the Free Trade system prevail throughout the nations of Europe, and the risk of misery and starvation in any one of those nations would be greatly reduced. Rarely does it happen that the seasons are equally propitious or unpropitious in every part of the Continent. Rarely does it happen that the bounty of an indulgent Providence is not lavished on one or more of the regions it includes. But why should we be limited to a Continent? The earth had God given to the children of man, and the course that nature with a thousand voices directs us to as right, and generous, and wise, is to include within our range the whole world; to give to all and to receive from all, whenever, wherever, and whatever it may be for our mutual advantage to exchange. (Cheers.) A remarkable illustration of the benefits that must accrue to all parties from such a policy is presented to our notice in the well-ascertained fact, that a failure in the productiveness of the earth is never universal. Whenever comparative sterility is visited upon one zone or region, it is uniformly compensated for by exuberant fertility in another. This appears to be a general law, to which Mr. McCulloch asserts there is no recorded exception in the past history of mankind. Is it possible to contemplate this most striking and instructive fact, without being forced to the conclusion that famine, whenever it occurs, is not to be ascribed to any want of goodness and mercy on the part of Him who opens his hand and supplies the wants of every living thing, but is rather the result of human ignorance and folly, which impudently dares to thwart the beneficial laws which divine wisdom has ordained for the government of the world? My resolution denounces the Corn Laws as cruel and wicked. That they are cruel in their effects has been already most

clearly proved. And will any man venture to say that they are not wicked? There are some advocates of those laws who are always talking about the Bible, and, indeed, seem disposed to add the monopoly of religion to their other monopolies. Now, I like to appeal to the Bible as well as they do. I believe it to be a storehouse of sound principles, from which we derive safe guidance in all the relations we sustain in life. Let me ask them, then, what they think of that solemn passage—"He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse." To withhold corn means, I apprehend, to render it difficult for the poor to obtain by enhancing the price. If that be not the meaning, I acknowledge myself incapable of attaching any meaning to it at all. Well, then, what is the avowed object of the sliding-scale? Is it not to keep up the price of corn? To adopt the gentle and courtly phrase of Sir Robert Peel—to secure to the corn grower a remunerating price—that is, a price which the landowner considers to be remunerating, because it enables him to get a large rental for his land. And what is meant by protection, but securing the British corn grower against the competition of the foreign corn grower—lest the article should be too abundant and cheap. (Hear, hear.) The great national evil which the Corn Laws are intended to protect us from is, in plain terms—a cheap and abundant supply of food—certainly the oddest kind of national evil that ever was heard of. (Cheers and laughter.) And we are not left to conjecture upon the subject, but are plainly told so by the monopolists themselves. When the Duke of Richmond said, "We don't grow glass, but we do grow timber," when Sir Edward Knatchbull waxed lachrymose about marriage settlements and daughters' portions—and when Mr. Miles, the acknowledged leader of the landowners' party, stood up in his place in the House of Commons, and rated the Premier in good set terms, because divers articles, such as butter, cheese, and bacon, had been too cheap, imputing it to Sir Robert Peel as a crime and a violation of an implied compact that he had not kept up prices as was expected by his supporters, the real purpose of the Corn Laws comes out. The more knowing ones of the party talk in a different style, and wrap up their statements in a sort of misty verbiage intended to deceive and delude, but these simpletons blab (cheers) the secret—and, as Mr. Escott said the other day, they damage their own cause most effectually. And is it indeed come to this? Are the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland to bow down their necks any longer beneath this yoke? Are we still to go on, year after year—constantly on the very verge of famine—dependent on the changes of the most variable climate in the world—whether our condition is safe and prosperous, or miserable and full of danger? What is it that we ask? What is it that we are contending for? We do not ask the legislature to feed the people. We know full well that it is not within their province, and not within their power to do that. What we ask is simply this, and nothing more—that the people may not be prohibited by Act of Parliament from feeding themselves. That is what it's all about. Now surely this is not an unreasonable request. And wherefore is it refused? Why, for no earthly reason but that a mere handful of people, who happen to be owners of land, may get large rents and live in splendour. (Hear and cheers.) Allow me, in conclusion, to state with all frankness my decided and deliberate conviction, that the continuance for a longer time of this monstrous and ruinous system is mainly to be attributed to the criminal ignorance and apathy of the middle classes. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) The Reform Bill, with all its defects, has placed the ascendancy in this country in the hands of the middle classes if they would be only faithful to themselves. (Hear.) It is for them to put forth the might which slumbers in their keeping, and the system is doomed. (Cheers.) Let them arouse themselves to the discharge of the duty they owe to their country. Let them adopt the constitutional means of making their opinions tell on the composition of the Legislature. Let them spurn the unmanly cowardice which has hitherto kept tens of thousands of them silent and inactive. Let them now speak out—promptly—clearly—loudly—in a voice that cannot be mistaken. Let them, in tones that shall reverberate through the halls of legislation, and ascend up to the palaces of the empire, tell those haughty oligarchs, who by their Corn Laws and their Game Laws now trample down the people like mire in the streets, that we will be their slaves no longer. (Great cheering.) In this way, and in this way only, will the victory of truth, and righteousness, and benevolence be secured. In this way, and in this way only, will the grim and gory dragon of monopoly be hurled from his throne, amid the joyous hallelujahs of emancipated millions. —Mr. Blackburn resumed his seat amid tremendous cheers.

Mr. JAMES BRANCKER seconded the resolution.

RICHARD SHEIL, Esq., then rose. He said: Gentlemen, at this late hour of the evening, and after the many able and most eloquent addresses which have already been delivered to you upon this topic, I shall not trespass long upon your time. I have to propose to you a memorial, to be forwarded and presented to Sir Robert Peel, as First Minister of the Crown, and as that official channel through which addresses of this nature are brought before her Majesty; and this memorial being nearly, if not altogether, a continuation of the resolutions which you have just passed, it will be unnecessary for me to dwell upon its contents. You already know them, and have approved of them, and it is superfluous for me to do more than make one or two observations on a subject in which, perhaps, I may be supposed to feel a little more interest than any of those gentlemen who have already addressed you—I mean the condition of Ireland. (Hear, hear.) I allude to the famine with which the country is, and with which it has for some time past been threatened; and I wish to press its condition upon your attention. The dread of famine in Ireland is shared in by all except her Majesty's ministers. (Hear.) I ask how it happens at this time of day, in this month of November, that her Majesty's ministers are still waiting for information whether or not there really is want in Ireland, and whether the great mass of the people in that country are, or are not, in the state described? (Cheers and hear, hear.) I have been told again and again, I have been told so in this very town, and that recently, that there is food enough in the country—that there is no want of provisions! There is no likelihood of there being a want of food, unquestionably, among her Majesty's ministers (hear, hear)—there will be no want of food for most persons on this platform; I hope there will be no want for any one of us; but there will be a want of food for those of whom I have spoken. (Hear, hear.) Can that people, who have been admitted to be living on potatoes, because they cannot get anything better—can that people be placed in a position to purchase a better and dearer description of food when their means are proved to have been reduced to even a lower standard than before? The condition of the labourers of Ireland is worse than the condition of the

labourers in any other country in the world. Lord Devon says, that they are lower than any other class in the world. We come here in great numbers; we are all anxious to relieve our fellow-creatures: desirous that iniquitous laws should be repealed, and that good laws should be made in their stead; and what we do so sincerely; but as for the value of all this, I will tell you the remark that I heard made by a late minister in answer to a deputation waiting on him to urge Free Trade measures, pointing out the distress which a neglect of Free Trade measures caused, and the inevitable arrival of a crisis, such as that in which we now ask—he said, after a while, "We don't deny the truth of what you say; we think Free Trade would be good; but, after all, gentlemen, after the long and fine speeches you have made, what do they come to? whom do you send to Parliament to assist us in passing these measures?" (Cheers and hear.) Now, it is all nonsense for us to come here, making fine speeches and fine declarations, and in cheering good sentiments—if we do not put our shoulders to the wheel, and have recourse to the only means by which we can make and carry out laws, which we all allow to be necessary. (Hear, hear.) I have only to say, in conclusion, that when you go home you must reflect on this, and on the advisableness of using those votes to more advantage than heretofore. (Much cheering.)

Mr. CROOKE then read the memorial.

The CHAIRMAN: I beg now to introduce the son of that distinguished philanthropist, Sir Samuel Romilly. (Cheers.) Mr. HENRY ROMILLY rose and said—After the admirable speech which you have heard from my friend Mr. Sheil, it is not my intention to trouble you at any length. I shall content myself, therefore, with seconding the resolution. I can only hope that the example set by you this evening will be followed by the people of all the great towns throughout England, for I am quite satisfied of this—that the ministers of the Crown will apply no remedy to the calamity with which we are threatened unless they are goaded to do it by a pressure from without. (Hear, hear, hear.) I trust that meetings will take place throughout the country, and that the tenour of them will be the same throughout. In that way alone, I am satisfied, Sir R. Peel may possibly take the steps which he ought to have taken two months ago, and open the ports to the admission of foreign corn. (Cheers.) It is perfectly clear that remedies have been talked of. This remedy has been suggested, and that remedy has been suggested; but it is perfectly clear to any man who has two grains of common sense, that the first remedy to be applied to a starving people is, to allow them to import corn and every description of food, from those neighbours who are willing and able to supply them. (Great cheering.)

The memorial was then agreed to. After which,

The CHAIRMAN congratulated the meeting on the unanimity which prevailed amongst them on this most important subject.

Mr. RATHBONE said that before they separated they would be addressed by Mr. Yates, a gentleman who had laid down 50,000*l.* for the purpose of forming parks for the recreation of the inhabitants of Liverpool.

R. V. YATES, Esq., who was loudly cheered, then said that they ought not to separate on that occasion without returning their warmest thanks to their able and respected friend who had presided over their meeting. (Hear, hear.) His excellent good sense and mercantile sagacity did not suffer him to look idly on in this critical state of affairs, and he looked forward to coming events, led on by his patriotism to endeavour to avert the evils which threatened Ireland, the country of which he was proud to be a native. (Cheers.) He (Mr. Yates) on his own part thanked him sincerely for coming forward as their leader; and he was sure the meeting would agree with the motion which he was about to propose, namely, "That their grateful thanks were due to Mr. Brown for coming forward to preside at their meeting." (Loud cheers.)

The motion was seconded by Mr. RAWDON, who put the question, and it was carried by acclamation.

Mr. BROWN returned thanks for the compliment which had been paid to him by his fellow-citizens, whose approbation of his conduct he so highly valued, and he begged to assure them that so long as the contest to procure for the people a better and more abundant supply of food was maintained they should never find him at his post.

The meeting then separated, after having given three cheers for Messrs. Cobden and Bright and the success of the principles of Free Trade.

MANCHESTER.

MEETING OF THE WORKING CLASSES.—A public meeting of the working-classes was held on Tuesday evening, in the Town Hall (the use of which was granted them by the mayor), for the purposes set forth in the following copy of the placards and advertisements convening the meeting:—

"FOOD OR FAMINE.—A public meeting of the working-classes will be held in the Town Hall, King-street, on Tuesday evening next, December 2, 1845, for the purpose of memorialising her Majesty's Government on the alarming condition of the country, and the absolute necessity of immediately opening the ports, to prevent the dreadful effects which scarcity of provisions will entail upon all classes of the community. The meeting will be addressed by Messrs. Abel Heywood, John Watts, F. Warren, J. Teer, E. Curran, and others. Chair to be taken at seven o'clock precisely."

Mr. Abel Heywood presided. Near him on the platform we observed Dr. John Watts, Messrs. Frederick Warren, John Teer, Edward Curran, Burton, Falvey, Wm. Shuttleworth, &c.

Mr. ABEL HEYWOOD, on taking the chair, said the meeting was for the purpose of giving the working-classes an opportunity to express their opinions—an opportunity, if they thought proper, to address Sir Robert Peel upon the question as stated in the advertisement—the question of "food or famine." It was a matter, therefore, to the working-classes the most important, because should a famine or a scarcity of provisions take place in this country the working-classes would be the first to feel it (hear, hear); and it was, in his opinion, a working-class question entirely. (Hear.) A question in which their dearest and best rights were involved—a question on which their future happiness and the happiness of their wives and families was dependent, and, therefore, it was a question entirely belonging to the working classes as a body. (Hear, hear.) Six weeks ago the four-pound loaf was 5*d.*; to-day the four-pound loaf was 8*d.* (Hear, hear.) This would make in a working man's family, at the end of the week, a material difference, even in the cost of bread. But bread was not the only article the price of which had been advanced within the last week or two. There was another article which the working classes were in the habit of consuming in large quantities, and that was the potato; a larger advance had taken place in this

article than in wheat. The average price of potatoes per score at this time last year was from 5*d.* to 6*d.*; last Saturday the best sorts were selling in the market at 1*s.*, making a difference against the working classes of 6*d.* in the score pounds. (Hear, hear.) Now, if we estimated the number of working-class families in Manchester at 40,000, and each family as being composed of five individuals, the loss to each of those families would be from 2*s.* to 2*s.* 3*d.* per week. If, then, they had to expend this much more, in order to obtain the comforts and necessities of life, they must give up purchasing some other articles, and those would generally be manufactures. The coats which the working classes had worn for a long period they would continue to wear a little longer, and the consequence of this would be that we should have a smaller consumption of manufactured goods. Of course, then, less would have to be made, and consequently the people would have to be employed for a shorter time; thus the consequences of the advance in prices would be a reduction of wages. It would be absolutely impossible for the manufacturers of this town and neighbourhood to keep their mills going, except by reducing the hours of labour. Yesterday he (Mr. Heywood) called upon a manufacturer in Ancoats-street, who assured him that during the last six weeks they had only sold one week's production. Now, if that were generally the case in Manchester and this neighbourhood, the manufacturers would be compelled to throw their hands upon short time. What the consequence might be he should be sorry to describe in all their distress and horror. It was necessary they should address the Government in terms not to be mistaken—(cheers)—and, therefore, in the application they asked for nothing less than the free opening of our ports, to give the people a sufficient supply of food. (Cheers.)

Dr. JOHN WATTS, in moving the first resolution, said the abolition of all restrictions on commerce would tend ultimately, and almost immediately, to benefit those who cry out the loudest against them. (Cheers.) In a few years the question will be, "Why should this man eat while I have no food? I am willing to work, and he does not work." It was said, "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat." (Hear, hear.) Our question, however, was one of to-day; whether we are to live or to starve. There was not food enough in the country to supply the wants of the people till food could be grown again. A fortnight ago he saw a "soothing syrup" speech at an agricultural meeting, alleging that there was food enough in the country. But either there was not food enough in the country, or there had been a precious deal of corn jollying to make it sell at its present price. If there was not corn enough in the country, then the ports should be opened to bring it in, to make the price of food on an equality with the working men's wages. His wages were only equal to 5*d.* for a 4*lb.* loaf, and now he was called upon to give 8*d.* for the 4*lb.* loaf. (Hear.) A man was called on to give 9*s.* per load for potatoes. (Voices: "10*s.*" "12*s.*") He called on Conservatives to join the people's cry of "open the ports," for those who wished to conserve the peace of the country must know and feel that that could not be done in the midst of food riots. (Cheers.) To the Whigs and bit-by-bit Reformers he would say with their leader, Lord John Russell, "The time is now come; the people must be fed." (Cheers.) The time had come when Corn Law repeal should take place, and the Whigs would be likely to be bound by Lord John Russell in this matter, for he was a keen statesman; he knew when to catch the proper nick of time, and he had hit upon a very good time for the present movement. Some people designated it as a humbug, and thought it would not do good, but he conceived it to be the duty of every one to work with his whole energy in the cause—if he would not do it for a starving, or likely to be starving, people—yet to do so for the purpose of removing a stumbling block in the way of obtaining other measures. (Great cheering.) He concluded by proposing the following resolution:—

"That in the opinion of this meeting the great deficiency in the quantity and quality of the working man's staple food (potatoes and wheat) in the late harvest, will, unless prompt measures be taken by her Majesty's Government, bring utter ruin upon thousands of the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, inasmuch as the increased and still increasing prices of provisions, instead of producing a corresponding rise in wages, is destroying trade, throwing workmen out of employment, and reducing the earnings of the employed."

Mr. GEO. JOHNSON seconded the motion, which passed unanimously, and with acclamation.

Mr. JOHN TEER came forward to move the second resolution, as follows:—

"That, as the best means to avert the dreadful calamity of famine, a memorial be presented to Sir Robert Peel, earnestly requesting her Majesty's Government to lose no time in removing all restrictions on the importation of food and provisions of all kinds."

(Great cheering.) They were called together to proclaim to the nations that the ports should be open, whoever might oppose it—(cheers)—and their decision that night, with those of other bodies in this and other towns, would make an impression on the mind of Sir Robert Peel which he trusted would be irresistible. (Hear.) The wealthy might endure through a temporary famine; but what had the workman treasured up against such a calamity? Public charity would be powerless as a child. If they refused food to the people, there was an end to all good government, and the people would be justified in taking the reins into their own hands. (Immense cheering.) It was said that the repeal of the Corn Laws would lower wages; but it had not been so in that country of cheap food, the United States. (Hear, hear.) If Government did not ere long repeal those laws, depend upon it the people would repeal them for them. (Cheers.) He did not suppose that opening the ports would do all that was wanted; but he would seek every object by constitutional, peaceable, and lawful means. (Cheers.) He wished to see the working people neither compelled to go into the workhouse, nor to submit to starvation. (Cheers.) He did not blame the government so much as the people themselves. If they expressed an enlightened public opinion emphatically, no Government could withstand it. (Cheers.) He trusted another meeting upon this subject would not be necessary, but that we should soon have the glorious intelligence that the Cabinet Council had ordered that the ports should be opened, and that Englishmen, who worked so hard, were going to be fed. (Great cheering.) He concluded by moving the resolution.

Mr. MICHAEL CONNAGHTON, on behalf of the body of operatives, with whom he was connected, as the representative of the coarse spinners and self-acting winders of Manchester, would second the motion. That body was determined never to relax in their exertions to prevent the recurrence of such a calamity as that of 1841—42.

Mr. FREDERICK WARREN moved the memorial mentioned in the preceding resolution. He said, if ever there was a

time in the history of this great country when it beheld the inhabitants to be firm, cautious, wise, and determined, he believed that that time was the present. (Hear, hear.) With a teeming population and a scarcity of food for them; with an absolute dependence upon our own intercourse with other parts of the world, it becomes us to act like firm, wise, and determined men, in making the rulers of our destinies perfectly understand what we want, and that what we want we ought to have, and that what we ought to have we will have. (Applause.) He was glad to see the temper and spirit of the meeting. He thought that temper and spirit would awaken those who had hitherto slumbered, in consequence of the people's differences, to the great fact that the people of England were beginning to arouse themselves to a full sense of their own wants and rights, and what they ought to have. It had been suggested if Sir Robert Peel refused to do an act of common justice in accordance with the prayer of the memorial, that some attempt should be made to induce the members of the House of Commons to vote for the stoppage of the supplies. But he trusted that such an arrangement would be unnecessary; that such a spirit would be shown from one end of the land to the other by the people who have felt the operation of these laws, as should make Sir Robert Peel see that he has only two courses open—the destruction of that aristocracy who have so long kept their iron grasp upon the people, or that justice shall be rendered to the millions who have suffered in consequence of their mal-administration. It had been a favourite saying, that there was a point beyond which human endurance ought not to go; and, if those who were most interested in this great question took it up throughout the country as they did here to-night—if the working-classes would bestir themselves—they would let the Premier and all the rest of them understand that there was a point of suffering beyond which human endurance would not go. (Applause.) He had been shelterless and homeless, but he could have borne all this; but he could not bear the drying up and parching of his very veins, caused by hunger. This he had felt; and doubtless if he had had the power, he should have committed some depredation that would have consigned him to some gaol. (Hear.) Others in the meeting could say the same, and let not these things be kept back. Let them say, "We are all willing to work for bread—to toil almost incessantly for the comforts we have a right to enjoy; but we will not stand by and see our children starve." (Great applause.) We want Government to know that we feel we are approaching our state in 1841-42; and had we common justice, we should not experience this state of things; that we remember the outbreaks of that period, and the feeling that then existed in the minds of the working people against the upper classes; that we had a large addition of population, hundreds of thousands, since then; and that we were determined, without bloodshed—for we understood our business better than that now—to obtain what we ought to possess. (Applause.) We wish the Government to understand, that if the food of the people begins to spoil, and the prices of provisions continue to rise, with the consequent reduction of wages, loss of trade, and all the miseries connected with it, we saw no prospect of the people being milder, but rather more clamorous, or of their desisting to do things in time to come that had been done in time past, and that they may be goaded to such desperation as would make them sweep away the existing state of things, and take into their own hands the reins of Government, seeing that those who now hold them, know not, or care not, how to hold them justly.

Mr. JAMES GEORGE CLARKE said, that after the speeches of Mr. Warren and Dr. Watts, he would only say, that having stood aloof from the Corn Law party up to this moment, he was induced to come forward from having seen the names of men of the middle-classes connected with it, and his wife also wished him to come and tell the effects of high-priced food upon their own family. Thousands were placed in the same miserable condition. He received about 15s. a-week twelve months ago, upon which nine people had to live. Unable to pay the taxes of the house he lived in, he was summoned before the magistrates, and they told him he must go into a smaller house. He was compelled to do so, and, with that large family, the house was indecently crowded. With what he had to lay out for provisions and fire, &c., he had nothing to lay out in clothes, and notwithstanding industry and teetotalism he could not keep the children comfortable. On Saturday night, a short time ago, he found that his children's clothes were pledged, and had to send his own to the pawnbroker's to relieve them, in order that the children might be able to go to the Sunday school. (Hear, hear.) It was very unpleasant to know that, not only was he himself enslaved, but that he should be actually breeding a race of slaves; but there was a rising spirit in the youth of the country which would remove all the obnoxious and unjust restrictions. Another class of people opposed Sir R. Peel's opening of the ports, because it would interfere with their daughters' dowries; but if our children were to be denied education, and to be physically debilitated on that account, then banish the dowries and ladies too, for we would not give dowries out of the sweat and groans of the people. (Hear, and cheers.) He concluded by seconding the resolution.

The proceedings then terminated at ten o'clock.—*Abridged from the Manchester Guardian of Wednesday*

WARRINGTON.

A numerous meeting of the inhabitants of this borough was held in the large Concert-room of the Red Lion Hotel, Bridge-street, on Tuesday evening, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of memorialising her Majesty's Government to open the ports for the free admission of grain.

The chair was occupied by Mr. William Alliard. Among the gentlemen on the platform were—J. Allen, Esq., N. Cook, Esq., J. G. McMinnies, Esq., J. Rylands, Esq., P. Cooke, Esq., G. Crossfield, Esq., J. Guest, Esq., R. Ainsworth, Esq., B. Mulenau, Esq., E. West, Esq., T. Squire, Esq., Wm. Gill, Esq., G. Artingstall, Esq., and many of the principal ratepayers and manufacturers of the town.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the business of the meeting, said they had not met there as men of any party, but to promote the cause of Free Trade. He urged the meeting to preserve order, and fairly to hear all parties.

Mr. J. ALLEN moved the first resolution, which referred to the failure of the crops as a state of things demanding the immediate attention of her Majesty's Government. He would state that if ever there was a time and good reason why the Government should interfere on behalf of the people, both presented themselves at that moment. In seven months the price of provisions had risen 50 per cent. What would have cost a family 10s. a week then would cost them 15s. now; and he put it on good authority that the difference in the price of food, within the same period in England,

was at least 400,000*l.* a week, or 20,000,000*l.* a year. After a few more observations, he concluded by proposing the resolution.

Mr. PETER RYLANDS seconded the resolution in a speech of some length, and contended that high prices in provisions were always accompanied by low wages and want of employment.

The meeting was subsequently addressed by Mr. E. Robinson, Mr. N. Cook, Mr. J. McMinnies, Mr. John Rylands, and one or two others.

The resolutions were all passed unanimously, and thanks having been voted to the chairman, the meeting separated about half-past 10 o'clock.

BURY.

On Thursday, the 27th ult., a very numerous meeting (in compliance with a requisition of 72 of the most influential ratepayers to the head constables) was held in the Sessions Room, near the New Market Place, Bury, to take into consideration the propriety of memorialising Her Majesty's Government in favour of the opening of the ports for the free admission of grain and all other kinds of provisions, to avert the calamities likely to arise from the scarcity of food, owing to the failure of the potato crop, and the defective quality of the wheat harvest. John Walker was unanimously appointed chairman, and the meeting was addressed by Edmund Grundy, Esq., of The Wild, John Grundy, Esq., magistrate, Rev. J. Nugent, Independent Minister, and Messrs. Matthew Fletcher, surgeon, John Parkinson, Lawrence Openshaw, &c. Resolutions in favour of the object for which the meeting was called were unanimously passed. A vote of thanks was given to the chairman, and the meeting separated about a quarter-past ten o'clock.

LEES.

A numerous and respectable public meeting, called by the principal inhabitants, was held on Wednesday evening, in a large and commodious school-room, at the populous village of Lees, near Oldham. Peter Seville, Esq., was called to the chair. Several resolutions, strongly condemnatory of the detestable Corn Laws were passed, and urging their immediate repeal, together with a memorial to Her Majesty's Government, calling on them to open the ports for the free admission of grain and other eatables, and that immediately. The speaking was of a soul-stirring character. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. W. Nicholson, James Greaves, John Andrew, William Halliwell, Joseph Shaw, Henry Atherton, &c.

NEWTON AND FALLSWORTH.

A public meeting of the inhabitants of Newton and Fallsworth, summoned by placard, was held in the Old School Room, Pool Lane, Fallsworth, on Wednesday evening, Henry Wamsley, Esq., of Fallsworth, in the chair. The following gentlemen were present, and took part in the proceedings: Messrs. Joseph Barratt, Jonathan and Andrew Kershaw, Thomas Chadderton, John Ashworth, Mellor, William Latham, T. Tetlow, R. Owen, W. Burton. Before the commencement of the business the room was completely filled. Resolutions were unanimously passed deploring the deficiency of the harvest and failure of the potato crop, and to avert the calamitous recurrence of 1838 to 1842, calling upon her Majesty's ministers to suspend the operation of the corn bill, and to take early measures for the abolition of all laws restricting the free importation of food. A memorial founded on the foregoing resolutions was agreed to and signed by the chairman on behalf of the meeting, and Mark Philips, Esq., and Thomas Milner Gibson, Esq., members for Manchester, were requested to present it to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., first Lord of the Treasury.

KENDAL.

In compliance with a requisition, numerous and influentially signed by the inhabitants of Kendal, a public meeting was held on Wednesday night, convened by the mayor, in the Odd Fellows' Hall, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of memorialising her Majesty in favour of opening the ports for the admission of grain and all other kinds of provisions, in order to avert the calamities which may arise from the scarcity likely to be caused by the failure of the potato crop. The room was crowded to excess in every part.

The MAYOR opened the proceedings by reading the requisition.

Alderman JOHN WHITWELL, on rising, was received with loud applause. He read the resolution as follows: "That the present alarming state of the potato crop in Great Britain and Ireland, and the prospect of scarcity and dearth of provisions, demand the prompt and efficient interference of her Majesty's ministers to prevent or mitigate the sufferings of the people."

The resolution, as were all the others, was carried unanimously.

A petition was forwarded for presentation to her Majesty, through the Right Hon. Sir James Graham, praying for an order for the free admission of all kinds of provisions into the ports of Great Britain and Ireland.

The proceedings were carried to the end with great spirit, and the several resolutions were supported by eloquent speeches.

LEEDS.

A large meeting of the inhabitants of Leeds was held in the court house on Wednesday, for the purpose of memorialising the Government to assemble Parliament together to consider the threatened destitution of the country, and to open the ports immediately, in order to meet the present necessities of the United Kingdom. The meeting had been called on a requisition presented to J. D. Luccock, Esq., the mayor, numerous signed by merchants, tradesmen, and operatives. The commodious court house was densely filled by all classes of the community. Nearly two thousand persons were present, all unanimous on the expediency of the measures to be considered, with the exception of a handful of Chartists, who, in the earlier part of the proceedings, offered a somewhat clamorous, but comparatively insignificant opposition. The mayor took the chair. The meeting was addressed by his worship, by J. G. Marshall, Esq., Hume Wansfield, Esq., the Rev. John Ely, Mr. Brooks, Mr. E. Baines, &c., at considerable length, and in eloquent and able speeches. All the resolutions were carried almost unanimously. The meeting lasted nearly five hours, and evinced the greatest interest in the humane and noble cause, to which the people of Leeds, in common with the bulk of the community, lend their earnest and hearty support. We regret that the pressure of other matters prevents us extending our report of this important meeting.

NOTTINGHAM.

A public meeting of the inhabitants of Nottingham took place on Monday, at eleven o'clock, in the Exchange Rooms, to memorialise the Government, in the present alarming state of affairs, to open the ports.

The room was crowded, and on the platform we observed Thomas Herbert, Esq., mayor, Rev. W. Mills, Rev. S. Jones, Rev. William Linwood, Rev. Joseph Gilbert, Rev. James Edwards, Rev. B. Carpenter, and Messrs. G. Gill, Felkin, Bean, Hill, Wilson, Rideout, Cripps, Cooper, Roberts, jun., J. Bradley, T. Knight, W. Enfield, Wm. Hollins (Pleasley Works), Ellis (Mansfield), Allen, Roper, Whitby, &c.

The MAYOR (Thomas Herbert, Esq.), on the motion of Mr. Bean, seconded by Mr. Felkin, was unanimously called to the chair, and expressed his hearty concurrence with the object for which the meeting had been convened. (Applause.) It was not only in reference to the present exigency arising from the failure of the potato crop, and a deficiency in the harvest that he wished the ports to be opened, but upon a general principle, and he hoped they would be opened, never to be closed again. (Applause.)

Mr. WHITBY moved the first resolution:—"That the deficiency of the harvest and the serious injury to the potato crops, have deservedly produced the utmost apprehension amongst all classes of the community, and that our circumstances require the instant free admission of corn and other articles of food into the ports of the United Kingdom."

With respect to the deficiency of the harvest it was allowed, even by the friends of monopoly, that the crop on the whole was not an average one. (Hear, hear.) Now an average crop was not sufficient for the kingdom. They must have, therefore, something more than an average crop to depend on. Now all he had to say was this, that last year bread was pretty reasonable, and all over England, with the single exception of Nottingham, which he regretted to say had not participated in the general amelioration, wages had risen. In conclusion, he remarked that he had great hopes of the success of their memorial. Their amiable Queen had been making her progresses up and down the country, and had seen the loyalty and devotion of the people, and when she heard of their grievances—if, indeed, they let her see the petition (a laugh), she would disregard the "Iron Duke," and the iron-hearted men, and say, "Let my people be fed." (Cheers.)

Mr. Alderman KNIGHT seconded the motion. He highly approved of the sentiments contained in the resolution, but he hoped the distress would not prove so great as had been anticipated. He had been in the country for the last several days, and he had made inquiries as to the extent of the potato disease, and he found in all places the crops were injured to a certain extent, and in many places parties have opened their stores, and had found their pits to contain only one mass of vegetable corruption, unfit food for either man or beast. (Hear, hear, hear.) With the second part of the resolution he also fully agreed, and had long been of opinion that to restrict human food and the necessities of life from entering into the country, was alike contrary to the laws of God and impolitic. (Hear.)

Mr. CRIPPS, merchant, in support of the motion, said it struck him that the question which brought them together lay in a small compass. The people of this great country have not got enough to eat, and yet the world produces enough. God in his kind providence has so ordered it, that if in one part of the world the harvest is deficient, compensation is made by superabundance in another part. The world produces from year to year a sufficient supply for man and beast, and yet the men of England have not enough to eat. Why is this? The resolution spoke about a deficient harvest, and about disease in the potato crop; but it is not because there is a deficient harvest, it is not because there is a disease in the potato crop, that an alarm is felt as to whether the people shall live or die; but it is because they had unwise, wicked, and cruel laws that stand in the way—that bar the people from having access to the superabundant food with which God has blessed the world. (Applause.) Whilst they were lamenting the deficiency of the supply of food arising from a bad harvest, he had been travelling, and if they had seen the abundance in that country where he had been, they would not have any occasion for alarm, if our laws did not stand in the way of their receiving it. He had been in the western parts of the United States of America, the Massachusetts, Ohio, Orleans, and Missouri. He went into no cottages where he found a superabundance of British manufactures for use, but he saw the very men who had a superabundance of bread corn, and wheat, and pork, what we want; these very men and their families are living destitute of the comforts which we manufacture in England. These people want crockery goods, clothing, bedding, stockings, and lace for their daughters. (Hear, hear.) Why is it that there is such a state of things that the people there want what we make, and they have what we require, and yet neither party can be supplied? Shall any man, or set of men, continue to say we shall not exchange? (Applause.) How long shall the happiness, the interests, and the welfare of this great country be subject to miserable party prejudice? If an argument was needed against the Corn Laws, he could tell them what influence it has directly and indirectly upon the people here and in other countries. He left England on the 9th of August last; the rain was pouring down in torrents, and great apprehensions were felt that the harvest would be a miserable failure. Immediately after his arrival in the United States, the influence this intelligence had upon the markets was to raise the price of wheat and flour, and the farmers thrashed all they could, expecting high prices would be obtained for their produce. In a fortnight afterwards another steam-boat arrived. I was then on the borders of Lake Erie, and the news reached them that there had been 10 days of fine weather in England, and there was a prospect that the harvest would be tolerably good. The farmers who had not brought their corn to market ceased their thrashings, prices were knocked down, and curses loud and deep were uttered against the sliding-scale. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Parties who had unfortunately made purchases, wore long faces, and the farmers, in a melancholy tone, cried out, "We shall have no market in England this year for our superabundant produce." Two or three weeks elapsed, and another steamer arrived, and brought the news that a great portion of the crops on the hills of Derbyshire and other parts of the country, could not be gathered, and the result was, that speculation was again at work, and as it was certain corn would be wanted, an advantage was taken to raise the price from 30 to 50 per cent., and as the canals and rivers were likely to be frozen, the freight was advanced 200 per cent.; so that a barrel of flour which should cost 2s., a demand of 6s. was made for conveying it here. (Hear, hear.) These were some effects of the sliding-scale. How

long is the system to be perpetuated which compelled them to go to the highest market, and to pay the highest price for the necessities of life, which they might have at a low rate in exchange for manufactures? Away with such a system. (Applause.) They had the opportunity now; the people had only to speak in decided language, and no man, or set of men, could possibly withstand them. (Applause.) Speak temperately, but be firm, decided, and united, and those laws, which have long been condemned by the whole world, and are now ten thousand times more than ever condemned, will be for ever removed from the statute book. (Loud applause.)

Mr. THOMAS KERRY, a mechanic, moved the following amendment, which he was quite willing to have embodied in the resolution, if the other gentlemen chose.

"That we, the people of Nottingham, in public meeting assembled, do earnestly request that your Majesty's Government will be pleased to take into your serious consideration the practicability of making a law, to place the working classes on the waste and commonable lands, as a means of producing more food, and to find natural employment for the unwilling made idlers." (Cries of "It won't do, Tom—down, down.")

A Voice: I second it.

The Rev. W. LINWOOD opposed the amendment.

Mr. W. FELKIN, merchant, supported the amendment, for which eight hands were held up. On the original motion being put, it was carried with loud applause and clapping of hands.

Mr. THOMAS ROPER (a working man) felt proud in coming forward to move that an address be presented to our gracious and beloved Queen. In his speech he referred to his recollections concerning the state of trade before the Corn Laws were enacted; the remonstrances that were made, and in which he took part at the time they were under consideration; and the circumstances of the Corn Laws being passed at the mouth of the cannon. At that time the President of America (Jefferson) wished that corn and provisions should be sent to this country, and in Congress it was said, if the Corn Laws were passed the people of America would manufacture for themselves. They have become manufacturers, and our rivals. He would conclude by moving the address.

The Rev. J. EDWARDS, seconded the resolution. He sincerely rejoiced that similar meetings were being held throughout the length and breadth of the land. He thought that if anything could move the *vis inertia*, the stand-still, do-nothing policy of the Government, it was the holding of public meetings of their countrymen. (Hear, hear.) It was a fact the mind shuddered at the contemplation of, that during the last commercial distress persons died from famine. (Hear.) He was convinced of it. (Hear, hear.) This would in all probability occur again (hear, hear); and then he recommended that on the first case of death, a coroner's inquest should be holden, and the jury, if they were honest men and did their duty, would return a verdict of manslaughter against the Ministers whose pertinacity had occasioned all this suffering. (Loud cheers.)

The memorial was unanimously adopted; and the meeting soon afterwards broke up, after returning thanks to the chairman.

GATESHEAD.

In compliance with a requisition signed by a large number of the inhabitants of Gateshead, the Mayor appointed a public meeting to be held in the Town-hall at twelve o'clock on Monday last.

The meeting assembled at that hour, but the feeling being unanimous in favour of an adjournment to the evening, in order to allow the working classes an opportunity of recording their opinions, a motion to that effect was proposed and carried without discussion. The meeting accordingly took place in the evening, and Mr. John Robson moved that G. Crawshaw, Esq., take the chair, which was at once agreed to.

Mr. CRAWSHAW said that though he had taken no part in convening the meeting, he highly approved of its object. He must add, however, that the course which the requisitionists had adopted was not precisely that which he should have proposed. As a member of the Anti-Corn-Law League, he was accustomed mainly to rely on that body to obtain the repeal of the Corn Law; and, after all, he feared that the only effect of a memorial addressed to Sir Robert Peel would be to draw from the right hon. baronet a polite acknowledgment of its receipt. Before the regular business of the meeting was proceeded with, he wished to address a few words to them upon the very peculiar and critical position of the Corn Law question at the present moment. He could not help alluding, in the first place, to the recent accession of strength which the Free Trade party had received from the unqualified adhesion of Lord John Russell and Lord Morpeth. (Cheers.) It was hardly possible to overrate the value of those accessions. From the beginning, the Anti-Corn-Law League had always honestly said, "We go for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Law, and will accept no compromise." On the other hand, the party having Lord J. Russell as their recognised leader, had a strong partiality for a fixed duty. This division of the Liberal party was a source of constant weakness and annoyance. Now, however, it had been removed by Lord J. Russell's manly declaration in favour of Free Trade. (Applause.) The Liberals of Gateshead had had sufficient evidence of the evils of disunion, but he trusted it would be known no longer, as he thought they might assume that not only the noble lord but all his party—all the members accustomed to vote with him in the House of Commons—would equally support him now that he had declared in favour of a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Law. He therefore pressed upon them the necessity of improving the present moment. Never was there so favourable a time. Let bygones be bygones. The Leaguers and the Whigs had quarrelled sufficiently. They were now united in principle. This general consolidation of the party might well be considered a triumph by the League, which had never for an instant forgotten the comprehensive demand with which it set out. (Cheers.) Another motive to immediate and decided action was the danger which was to be apprehended from the continuance of the Corn Law. Already the manufacturing districts of Lancashire felt a degree of depression; and when at Sheffield, the other day, Mr. Cobden told the iron manufacturers that the depression now felt in the cotton and woollen districts would reach them in six months. Mr. Cobden was a man of intelligence, and he told the people that if they did not feel distress now they would do so at the end of six months. He (Mr. Crawshaw) had no doubt it would be the same in Gateshead. Although wages were high, and they did not feel distress, yet if the evil was not removed every occupation must be reduced to the state of distress in which they were some years ago. He had re-

ceived a circular from the League, asking him to qualify as a county voter. He had already qualified for North Durham, South Northumberland, the West Riding of Yorkshire, and Westmoreland; and if it was possible he would get more votes, even half a dozen, or perhaps a still greater number. (Loud cheers.) This much was certain, that if the inhabitants of large towns would combine in securing qualifications, in a few years they would make the counties dependant on the towns, and not the towns on the counties. Mr. Daniel Liddell held meetings every week, and he was there for the purpose of extending the influence of the League, and procuring qualifications for all who required them. He would advise every man who had money to spare to get a qualification, and so enable himself to fight the battle of Free Trade at the next election. (Cheers.) Let them work the registry, and they would have an Anti-Corn-Law administration at the next election. (Cheers.) Mr. C. concluding by stating that the adhesion of the noblemen mentioned was important in another light in addition to the union it produced. A rich old gentleman told him that the theory of the Anti-Corn-Law repealers might be very fine, but the circumstances were peculiar and complicated, but when he saw the adhesion of Lord John Russell and Lord Morpeth, quiet men and not violent, he said he was ready to join the movement himself. That was a very common feeling, and a great number of persons advanced in years when they saw such men join the movement, would then see that what the League wanted was only simple justice. (Great cheering.)

Mr. JOHN ROBSON, without comment, proposed the first resolution:

"That the partial failure of the corn harvest, the prevalence of disease or rot in the potato crop, and the laws for regulating the importation of corn, are threatening the people of these islands with scarcity and famine; and that the ports ought to be thrown open forthwith, and Parliament convened for the repeal of the laws which restrict the importation of corn."

Ald. REVELEY seconded the motion, stating that it needed no argument from him or any other gentleman in the room to convince every person of the necessity of a repeal of the Corn Law. The question came home to every man's fire-side, and 99 out of every 100 were so disgusted with it remaining on the statute-book, that they refused to attend a meeting. They would sooner take up arms than attend a meeting to beg and pray for its repeal.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. FAWCETT proposed the adoption of a memorial soliciting the opening of the ports, which was seconded by Mr. J. F. BRETT, and carried unanimously.

On the motion of Mr. FAWCETT, seconded by Alderman REVELEY, it was agreed that the memorial be signed by the Chairman on behalf of the meeting.

After a few observations from Messrs. Blagburn and Larkin, thanks were voted to the Chairman, and the meeting separated.

NORWICH.

On Wednesday evening a meeting of the citizens of Norwich, convened the mayor, was held in Saint Andrew's Hall for the purpose of taking into consideration the most effectual means of averting the threatened famine, and to memorialise Sir Robert Peel to advise her Majesty to open the ports and allow the importation of corn free of duty. Shortly before one o'clock, the chair was taken by John Betts, Esq., the mayor, at which time the spacious hall, capable of containing 3000 persons, was filled, principally by the working-classes.

The CHAIRMAN opened the business of the meeting by stating, that in consequence of the failure of the potato crop and the partial failure of the harvest, a requisition had been presented to him, and he had felt it his duty to call the present meeting.

Mr. TOLLER moved the first resolution, and after reading a letter from Sir William Foster, regretting his absence on account of indisposition, and expressing the pleasure he would have derived from moving the first resolution, said, he had hoped that her Majesty's Ministers would have informed themselves before now of the present state of the country. If they were ignorant of the condition of the large bulk of the people, they were unfitted to hold the reins of the Government, and in justice to the country, if they would not remedy the evil, they ought to allow men to take office who would. (Hear, hear.) It was a matter of deep regret that something had not been done before now to alleviate the coming evil. (Hear, hear.) It was the duty of the Minister not to allow corn, which was so much wanted in this country, to be carried out of the warehouses by foreign powers. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Toller concluded by moving the following resolution: "That this meeting consider that, owing to the present scarcity of food, and believing that there is a great deficiency in the harvest and a large failure of the potato crop, urge upon her Majesty's Ministers the adoption of the most prompt and vigorous measure for the importation of provisions from abroad;" which was seconded by the Rev. Mr. Brock in an eloquent speech, and carried unanimously.

T. O. SPRINGFIELD, Esq., in a brief address, moved the second resolution, to the effect "that the meeting wished to impress upon her Majesty's ministers, who were vested with the power and the solemn responsibility of preventing any national calamity, to open the ports of the three kingdoms without delay, for the importation of all articles of food, and thereby prevent an increase of pauperism, pestilence, and crime." (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. T. CLOWSE, a minister of the Established Church, seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. R. CHAMBERLAIN moved, and Mr. PIGGOTT seconded, that a memorial, founded on the resolutions, be presented to Sir Robert Peel, praying him immediately to open the ports.

Mr. TILLET moved, and Mr. SELTZER seconded, the adoption of a petition to the House of Commons, praying for a repeal of the Corn Laws, which, as well as the memorial, was carried amid loud cheers.

Three cheers having been given to the mayor, and three for a repeal of the Corn Laws, the meeting separated.

LAMBETH.

A meeting of the inhabitants of Lambeth was held at the Vestry-hall, Church-street, on Tuesday last, to take into consideration the deficiency of the harvest and failure of the potato crop in many parts of the United Kingdom, particularly Ireland; and to come to such resolutions thereon as might be deemed expedient.

T. W. NIXON, Esq., churchwarden, took the chair, and opened the business by adverting to the present state of the

country with respect to food, and the necessity for some energetic measures for the relief of the people.

Mr. SEWELL moved the first resolution:—

"That the meeting views with feelings of alarm the deficiency of the last harvest, and general failure of the potato crop in Great Britain and Ireland, and therefore deem it to be the imperative duty of her Majesty's Government to open the ports immediately for the admission of human food exempt from all duties."

C. EVANS, Esq., said he did not think the resolution went far enough. He thought, if ever men deserved censure it was her Majesty's ministers, and it was the duty of the people to petition her Majesty for their removal, in order that some more honest men might take their places. He intended to move a resolution of a stronger character, but he did not object to second the proposition then before the meeting.

Mr. FALL said it was necessary that a resolution should be adopted, calling on her Majesty to dismiss her present ministers. Why did not Sir Robert Peel do his duty? The country was suffering under the Corn Laws. Men were taking corn out of bond in this country, and carrying it to foreign ports, where it was admitted without payment of duties. He did not doubt but some of the same grain would be again imported for the use of the people at an enormous price, when the demand for food became more pressing. The government, instead of opening the ports, had sent some scientific men to Ireland, who had reported that the potatoes were diseased. Then, by way of remedy, the people were told to get a tub, and scrape and rasp the potatoes. At last they got Professor Buckland to look after the thing, and that learned person found out with great sagacity, that beetroot and turnips were good enough for the poor, instead of potatoes. If the professor had said to the government—"Be good enough to throw in a leg of mutton with the turnips," the people might have thanked him.

Mr. C. EVANS then moved—"That this meeting is of opinion that her Majesty's ministers have neglected their public duty in not opening the ports for the admission of corn; that they have thereby lost the confidence of the country, and that a memorial be presented to her Majesty, praying that she will dismiss her present advisers, and call to her councils men who are prepared to act on the economic principles admitted by all parties, and by allowing all kinds of food to be imported free of duty, promote the welfare of the country."

Mr. WILSON seconded the resolution. At the present time starvation was staring the people in the face, and Sir Robert Peel, for reasons best known to himself, refused to carry out his own proposition. He did hope her Majesty would dismiss her present ministers, and take men with more honesty of purpose.

A committee was nominated to draw up the memorial, and the meeting separated.

WESTMINSTER.

On Tuesday night a highly influential meeting of the electors of Westminster, members of the Westminster Reform Society, was held at Stannard's Hotel, Charles-street, Covent-garden, "to take into consideration what measures shall be adopted by the society under the apprehended scarcity of food." There were gentlemen present from all the parishes.

Mr. PROUT having been called to the chair, said it was within their recollection that for a number of years the society had been endeavouring, in co-operation with the country at large, to get rid of the Corn Laws. It must be manifest that they had made rapid progress, and to such an immense extent had the principle of the repeal of the Corn Laws been supported, that there must be scarcely any doubt in the mind of disinterested persons, that both in justice and equity no such law ought to be in existence. (Hear, hear.) They have, more especially for the last thirty years, been a decided incubus on the country, on its productive labour, and a detriment to its general prosperity. (Hear, hear.) During that period these laws have been the cause of a sum being taken from the people more than double the extent of the national debt. (Hear.) The prospect they had before them was appalling, for they will find in a few months that while famine will be raging in the sister kingdom, the people of this country will be brought to a state of starvation. (Hear.) He, therefore, supposed that they would feel it their duty to assist by all the means in their power to compel the Government to know their duty, by yielding to the voice of public opinion upon such a question as that which refers to the food of the people, and at once to open the ports. (Hear, hear.) He had no doubt but that by the united efforts of the country they would be able to free themselves from the effects of the obnoxious impost upon corn. (Applause.) He would leave the subject to the meeting, to decide what steps they would be disposed to take upon this important question.

Mr. AUSTIN moved the following resolution:—"That in consequence of the failure of the recent crops of corn and potatoes, a public meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster be convened, to memorialise her Majesty to direct the immediate opening of the ports for the admission of foreign corn free of duty, and to adopt such measures as the present crisis may seem to require."

Mr. DAWSON, of St. Paul's, Covent-garden, seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

A committee of all the parishes was formed to carry out the object, it being left to them whether a requisition should be forwarded to the high bailiff.

Thanks were then voted to the chairman, and the meeting separated.

LEITH.

A public meeting, called by requisition, was held in Trinity House, Leith, on Monday afternoon. Provost Hutchison was called to the chair. He was supported by a great proportion of the magistrates and council—by several of the most influential inhabitants—and by the representative of the burgh, Andrew Rutherford, Esq.

The Provost stated that he had great pleasure in calling the meeting, and hoped that the expression of feeling which had been manifested so generally throughout the country would lead her Majesty's ministers to throw open the ports for the admission of foreign grain at this momentous crisis.

GEORGE BERRY, Esq., chairman of the Leith Chamber of Commerce, moved the first resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. Dr. Harper, of Leith, one of the professors of the United Secession Church, and carried unanimously.

A. RUTHERFORD, Esq., M.P., who was received with loud applause, proposed the following:—"That the existing Corn Laws are at all times productive of evil, but are peculiarly so in the present emergency of the country, by excluding the relief which could be obtained from abroad; and that

the continued apathy of the Government, under present circumstances, is highly reprehensible and full of danger to the people." (Applause.) I take it that the fate of the existing Corn Laws is doomed; and I take it further to be clear that with the present Corn Law, the whole system of Corn Laws will fall. (Cheers.) The arguments for a free trade in corn are now happily triumphant; they are in themselves so clear, that all except interested parties, or parties who are still interested in the maintenance of a fixed duty, are convinced of their truth. There is some plausibility in the argument for a fixed duty—not, I think, a sound argument however—but for the sliding-scale, all our experience goes to show its inutility and disadvantage. I profess that all the consideration I have been able to give the subject has only satisfied me—and I believe satisfied all who are open to conviction—that it is absolutely and entirely untenable. (Great applause.) I am not going into a long discussion of the subject, but I will in the first place observe, that one object with us should be to induce people abroad to grow corn for our market as well as their own, not being the least afraid that any demand that we shall make with reference to the supply of our necessities, either as regards this or any other article, will make the community of Great Britain dependent on foreigners. (Cheers.) But now the sliding-scale puts an end to all foreign growth for our market, and for any market, excepting for the immediate prospect of supply. If there were no Corn Laws, foreign growers would grow to supply you according to the average extent of your demand. * * * Mr. Berry has told you very emphatically that various applications have been made to the Government from Chambers of Commerce—the parties best acquainted with the state of trade—calling on them to act in the matter. You have heard the kind of cold indifferent answers that were returned. Government seemed to rely on information of their own; but I do not admit that Government can command better information than the whole body of the people. Government may be guided by the reports of agents who may be extremely apt to carry to high quarters that kind of information which they know they are most desirous for; but are we to be told that there is no danger from scarcity, when we read the accounts in every newspaper from Ireland; and when we see what is taking place among ourselves? There is an alarm in the country—there is something approaching to a panic. This alarm, I am afraid, is too justly founded. It is impossible to deny that there is a reality in this apprehended scarcity; and yet, in these circumstances, we have Government still deliberating on the subject—having information, and yet not communicating it to the country; not even communicating the grounds on which they abstain from acting. If Government were not in a condition to act in reference to the information they had received, they ought to come forward and assure the country that there was no ground for the alarm—that the reports from the different parts of the empire were greatly exaggerated. What could be more satisfactory than this? If it would do nothing else, it would at least tend to put down the alarm, given as the statement would be on official responsibility. (Loud cheers.) But if they have not that information which enables them, as a Government, to stop the progress of the alarm, by telling the people that it is groundless—if they have not that information which might justly entitle them to abstain from acting—then let them act; or, if they will not act, and fear the responsibility of acting without Parliament, let them call your representatives together, and see what they in their wisdom and prudence may recommend. (Great applause.) My learned friend, Dr. Harper, as well as Mr. Berry, referred to the opportunity which had already been lost. Here we are now in December, and if the ports of the Baltic are not already shut, they will be shut. Supplies are also no longer to be had from various other quarters. You have lost the chance of repeated despatches to America, a country from which you might have expected the best supplies, and thus have prepared the markets of that country for sending corn to Britain. (Hear, hear.) Other countries are opening their ports. They have actually been drawing from the bonded warehouses of this country a part of that supply which the Ministry will not allow us to take; they have been carrying away corn landed on your shores, and which only required the Custom-house lock and key to be turned in order to allow it to be entered for your subsistence. (Cheers.) The ports of Holland had also been opened; and yet, with those examples before their eyes, the Government of this country persisted in retaining the Corn Laws. This is a fearful consideration in reference to the inaction and want of resolution in the Government. Unless they are prepared to say there is no ground for those fears which are harassing the country from one end to the other, Government are bound to take measures that will enable this country to turn its immense resources to the legitimate purpose: their wealth to purchase food to meet the present impending famine in the country. I venture to think that you will all accord in the sentiments I have propounded; and therefore without detaining you further, I beg leave to propose the resolutions entrusted to me. (Cheers.)

JAMES MILLER, Esq., seconded the resolution.

ROBERT PHILIP, Esq., seconded by ARCH. YOUNG, Esq., moved, "That a memorial be sent to her Majesty's Ministers, calling on them to give immediate directions for opening the ports."

The meeting, which was most unanimous, then broke up, after a vote of thanks to the chairman.

PAISLEY.

On Wednesday a meeting of the inhabitants of Paisley was held in the Old Low Church, "for the purpose of taking into consideration the present alarming state of the country, and to memorialise her Majesty's Ministers to open the ports for the free admission of food." The church was filled in every part. On the motion of Mr. Melvin, seconded by Councillor Millar, Provost Murray was unanimously called to the chair.

The CHAIRMAN said, the object for which they were met was sufficiently explained in the bills and circulars; and he hoped they were all impressed with its necessity and its importance. After reading a letter of apology for unavoidable absence from the Rev. Patrick Brewster, he called upon the mover of the first resolution, when

The Rev. Mr. FRANCE came forward amidst the plaudits of the meeting, and delivered an eloquent address. The resolution was to the effect, "That it is the opinion of the meeting, that the stagnations which from time to time take place in trade, arise from the operation of laws which prohibit the free importation of provisions into this country."

Baillie COATS seconded the resolution, and it was carried unanimously.

JOHN HENDERSON, Esq., moved the second resolution:—"That provisions had risen to such a height as

to abridge the comforts of the poorer classes, and called for their immediate relief; and that to this end it was necessary that the ports should be opened." Mr. Henderson said it was unnecessary in such a meeting as this, in which almost every member of the audience was a purchaser, to inform them of the rise in the price of provisions. They all felt it, and felt it, too, seriously. He might mention the information which he got from one farmer in the neighbourhood, who had assured him that more than two-thirds of his potato crop was entirely useless; and in the present crowded state of the mills, he cannot even get them sold at 3s. 9d. per boll. He has at present 200 bolls, which are going to decay, and he is unable to do anything with them but just pack them up in straw, and preserve them in the best manner he can. Such a system of shutting out food from the inhabitants of a country was unknown to any other save this; and while they remained in this position the people ought to continue to use every lawful effort in their power to have the ports opened, and once opened to keep them open for ever, so that such a stigma on the British nation might be wiped off the statute book. (Cheers.) In the town of Paisley they had had abundant proof that high provisions entailed a scarcity of labour, while years of cheapness had set trade agoing. And not only was this the case here, but over the entire country.

Baillie HUTCHESON seconded the resolution, which was carried with acclamation.

The Rev. Mr. KENNEDY, of the Methodist church, said that the resolution entrusted to him was, "That the emergency in which the country is at present placed, calls for the immediate suspension of those laws which limit the supply of food, in order that the peace of the country may be preserved, and crime, the certain consequence of extreme misery, be averted;" which was seconded by Councillor MILLER, and unanimously agreed to.

The Rev. Mr. CAIRNS then moved the next resolution, to the effect that a memorial, founded on the resolutions already adopted, be drawn up and forwarded to her Majesty's Ministers.

Councillor McNAIR seconded the resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

The Rev. Dr. BAIRD proposed the next resolution, which being seconded by ANDREW NAIRN, Esq., passed unanimously.

The Rev. Mr. McDUGALL moved the adoption of a memorial founded on the resolutions, which was carried.

A vote of thanks was given to the chairman, and the meeting broke up.

CUPAR.

The Town Council met on Friday evening—Provost Nicol in the chair.

The Provost said that, in calling that meeting, he had thought it proper to bring the subject of the failure in the potato crop under their consideration. For his own part, he did not see much cause for alarm; and he did not think that, in this district, the failure had been so very extensive as in other parts of the country. All the crops, except the potatoes, had yielded a very fair return. It was, however, for gentlemen to express their sentiments.

Mr. THOMAS SMITH rose to move the adoption of an address to the Queen praying for the opening of the ports. No one could over estimate the importance of having the ports open at all times, but especially at the present juncture. The question had long been agitated, but they had now stronger grounds than ever for demanding a free and unrestricted commerce, and a cheap supply of food to the famished and starving. Instead of that, they saw that the people were forced to eat what the beasts only should subsist on. If there was a just and fair field for manufactures in the country, then they might expect some amelioration in the condition of the working classes; but till then they could do no good. It was quite manifest, and experience had testified to the truth of the fact, that the country was never in a state of prosperity when the wages of the working man were low; and it was true that their wages would continue below what they should be until the fetters were struck off from all branches of industry. He cordially moved the adoption of an address to her Majesty, praying for the immediate opening of the ports.

The Provost said he supposed it was unnecessary to ask whether it was carried unanimously. (A burst of applause testified that he was not wrong in his supposition.)

Mr. Smith, Treasurer Aitken, and Baillie Tullis were appointed a committee to draw up a memorial on the subject, to be forwarded for presentation to Sir James Graham.

ANNAN.

In this spirited little town, so much noted for its liberal views in politics, as well as in other matters, a public meeting of the magistrates, town council, and inhabitants at large, was convened and held on the 17th ult., for the purpose of memorialising her Majesty's ministers upon the propriety and necessity, in consequence of the strong ground for apprehension that the approaching season will, to the people of this country, be a season of unexampled famine and calamity, of immediately opening the ports of Great Britain for the admission of all kinds of provisions duty free. After suitable addresses from Provost Sawyer, the Rev. James Dobie, and other gentlemen, it was unanimously agreed to forward an address to Sir Robert Peel and the other members of her Majesty's ministry, suggesting to them, either by an order in Council or a vote of Parliament, called together for that purpose, the propriety of opening the ports for the purpose before mentioned, as a measure of the most ordinary prudence, at any rate, if not of the most absolute necessity.

DUNFERMLINE.

A requisition, numerously signed by the inhabitants, having been presented to Provost Ronaldson, requesting him on an early day to call a public meeting to consider the propriety of memorialising her Majesty's government to sanction the importation of all kinds of grain into this country free of duty: in compliance with the said requisition, a public meeting of the inhabitants, called by Provost Ronaldson, was held in the Independent Chapel on Friday last—George Birwell, Esq., late Provost of the burgh, in the chair. The meeting, which was numerously attended, was addressed by the Rev. Messrs. Young, Cuthbertson, McMichael, and McIntosh; Messrs. Dewar, Erskine, and Beveridge. Mr. Young said, that calamitous as the potato disease appeared to be, were it the cause of bringing about free trade in grain, it would be a blessing rather than a calamity, giving the poor classes, instead of the lowest species of food, the finest of wheat. A series of resolutions was unanimously agreed to, condemnatory of the policy of the present Corn Laws; also to memorialise her Majesty's

government to sanction the importation of all kinds of grain into this country free of duty. The memorial was read by Professor McMichael, and unanimously agreed to.—*Glasgow Argus*.

KILBARCHAN.

Last Saturday, a public meeting of the inhabitants of Kilbarchan took place, for the purpose of memorialising Government to open the ports during the present emergency. Mr. James Erskine was called to the chair, and a memorial which was read to the meeting, by Mr. John Peterson, unanimously approved of, and agreed to be transmitted to the proper quarter, with as little delay as possible. It was a pleasing feature attending this meeting of the inhabitants of Kilbarchan, that even the Chartists, many of whom were present (and who formerly were opposed to the Free Trade policy), gave in their concurrence to the movement, considering that Free Trade in corn is a measure absolutely necessary at the present time.—*Glasgow Saturday Post*.

PLYMOUTH, TUESDAY.—A requisition, several yards in length, more numerously signed than any that has been got up in Plymouth for some years past, has been presented to B. Barham, Esq., the mayor, requesting him to convene, at the earliest opportunity, a meeting of the inhabitants, to take into consideration the propriety of addressing her Majesty upon the present alarming state of the country, owing to the deficiency in the supply of food. The requisition has been signed by men of all parties, and comprises a vast number of the moderate men who do not usually take part in political affairs. His worship has fixed upon Friday week for the meeting, which will be held either at the Guildhall, or, for the public accommodation, at the larger room at the Royal Hotel. Our hon. member, Lord Ebrington, has written a noble letter expressive of his warm concurrence in the objects of the meeting, and of his determination to be present on any day that may be fixed upon. T. Gill, Esq., our other representative, has expressed a similar intention, and the meeting will undoubtedly be one worthy of the important object for which it is convened.

KENDAL.—The following reply has been received from Sir James Graham, by Mr. John Gill, chairman of the meeting of the working classes held last week in the Town-hall, for the purpose of memorialising her Majesty to open the ports by an order in Council, for the admission of foreign grain and other provisions free of duty:—

"Whitehall, Nov. 27th, 1845.

"Sir,—I am directed by Secretary Sir James Graham, to inform you, that he has not failed to lay before the Queen the address of the working classes of Kendal, praying that the Ports may be opened for the admission of foreign grain and other provisions free of duty.

"I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

"Mr. John Gill, Kendal. S. M. PHILLIPS."

BIRMINGHAM TOWN'S MEETING.—Not content with the demonstration which the Free Trade dinner afforded of the feeling of Birmingham on the Corn Laws, it will be seen from an advertisement in another column that a requisition to the Mayor to call a town's meeting on the subject is in course of signature, and will, doubtless, be most numerously and respectfully signed. But what is the town council about? Why is it that no member has given notice of a motion to memorialise the Government to open the ports? Almost every other town council in the kingdom has been moving in this matter, and we trust that it is not too late for Birmingham to follow where she ought to have led.—*Birmingham Pilot*.

PRESTON.

On Thursday noon a public meeting, convened by the Mayor of the Borough, in compliance with a requisition bearing about 700 signatures, was held in the Town Hall, Preston, for the purpose of memorialising Government for the immediate admission of foreign grain duty free. Among the gentlemen who were present we noticed the Revs. William Slate, T. Ashton, and J. Edwards; Mr. Alderman Haydock; W. Eccles, Esq., of Bamberbridge; W. Ainsworth, Esq.; S. T. Behrens, Esq., of Catterall; Joseph Bray, Esq.; R. Palmer and S. R. Grimshaw, Esqrs.; and Messrs. G. Smith, J. Hawkins, R. Threlfall, jun., F. Armstrong, Livesey, Ascroft, A. Leigh, Haslam, &c. &c.

The Town Clerk having read the requisition to the Mayor, and his worship's announcement calling the meeting, Mr. W. Ainsworth, seconded by Mr. Lawrence Spencer, moved that, in the absence of the Mayor, Mr. Alderman Haydock take the chair. Agreed to unanimously.

We regret that we can only give the most meagre announcement of this important meeting, as we only received the slips kindly forwarded to us from the *Preston Guardian* office just before going to press.

The CHAIRMAN opened the proceedings in a short speech; and then introduced the Rev. W. SLATE, who addressed the meeting in an earnest and impressive manner. He dwelt at considerable length upon the great injury inflicted upon the religious and moral habits of the people by privation and scarcity of food; and concluded by moving the first resolution.

MR. JOHN HAWKINS seconded the resolution in an excellent speech, and made some most important statements as to the serious failure of the potato crop in the immediate neighbourhood of Preston. The resolution was carried unanimously.

MR. LIVESLEY then proceeded to move the next resolution, in a long and able speech, of which we regret that we cannot give even a short abridgment.

MR. JAMES FRANKLAND seconded the motion, which, together with the memorial, was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN, having signed the memorial on behalf of the meeting, vacated the chair, which was taken by the Rev. Wm. Slate.

MR. R. ASCROFT then moved, that the thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. Alderman Haydock for the very satisfactory manner in which he had presided.

MR. SWAIN seconded the motion, which was cordially agreed to.

MR. HAYDOCK, in returning thanks, said: I hope you will not find it necessary to hold another meeting for the same purpose. (Cheers.) The time seems to have arrived for a great change, and this change, I hope, will be for the happiness and benefit of the country. The meeting is now at an end.

The meeting then broke up, having lasted an hour and a half.

MARYLEBONE.

A special meeting of the Vestry of St. Marylebone took

place on Thursday, for the purpose of taking into consideration the apprehended famine, and the propriety of memorialising the Queen, to use her prerogative in convening Parliament, and in throwing open the ports.

GEORGE DANIELL, Esq., churchwarden, was unanimously called to the chair, and read communications which had been received from the borough members, Sir B. Hall and Sir Charles Napier, regretting that circumstances prevented them attending the meeting.

JOHN BAGSHAW, Esq., proposed the first resolution, viz., "That the extensive failure of the crops imperatively demand that the most decisive and energetic measures should be taken, to insure a sufficient supply of food, and to guard the country from the dreadful evils which have ever followed in the train of scarcity, and which, in the present circumstances of the nation, would fall upon it with more than ordinary force."

JOSEPH HUME, Esq., M.P., in seconding the resolution, made a long and excellent speech. He strongly impressed upon the people the necessity of vigorous and united action—to stand firm by the broad principle of a perfectly free and unrestricted trade in food; and after warning ministers of their responsibility, and Sir Robert Peel personally, as the head and soul of the Administration, of the awful dangers that threatened the country, and the solemn duty thereby imposed upon him to avert whatever portion of the danger could be mitigated by legislative means, sat down amidst general cheers.

MR. W. W. WILLIAMS, M.P., had great pleasure in giving his support to this resolution, and he thought when it was considered that Marylebone had a population equal to one-half of the counties of the kingdom, and was superior in wealth to many others, that the opinions of the vestry, as the representatives of that wealth and population, would not be disregarded. (Hear.)

The resolution, on being put, was carried unanimously, amidst great applause.

MR. JOSEPH moved the second resolution, to the effect, "That a failure of the crops, at all times most disastrous, is most enormously aggravated by the laws which, under the false pretence of protecting the home grower and encouraging agriculture, prohibit the free importation of foreign corn, and thereby render the first necessary of life scarce and dear to a rapidly increasing and industrious population."

MR. JOHN WILLIAMS seconded this resolution.

This resolution having also been carried without a dissentient,

MR. SODEN moved, "That it is the bounden duty of her Majesty's responsible advisers to direct the ports to be immediately opened for the admission of articles of food from foreign ports free of duty, and to advise her Majesty to summon Parliament at the earliest opportunity in order at once and for ever to put an end to a system which has been proved to be the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter discussion amongst all classes, and the cause of penury, fever, mortality, and crime among the people."

The motion having been carried *nem. con.*,

MR. H. C. WILSON moved an address to the Queen founded on the resolutions.

LORD MONTFORT, amidst loud cheers, seconded the proposition.

The motion having been carried, Gen. EVANS and one or two other gentlemen addressed the meeting, and after thanks to the chairman, it separated.

FREEHOLDERS' BUILDING SOCIETY, MANCHESTER.—A meeting of the members of the above society was held on Wednesday evening last, when it was agreed to keep open the books for the taking up of new shares until January; after which, persons taking up new shares will have to pay arrears of subscriptions, as the second monthly payment will be made in February. Nearly 700 additional shares were taken up at the meeting, making a total of about 2900. Eighteen shares have already been sold for the purchasing of property, which will give the like number of votes. Seven working men came a distance of ten miles, each of whom purchased a share, having, as was understood, joined in a lot of property, which would give each of them a county vote. This is an example worthy of imitation. The directors feel confident that after the receipt of the second monthly subscription, in February, they will be in a situation to advance 2000*l.* per month for the purchasing of property. This, if disposed of in single shares, will create nearly 500 votes in the year 1846! Where will monopoly be when all our manufacturing districts follow this example? The advertisement of the society appears in our last page.

On Saturday the 15th inst., Messrs. Simpson, Thompson and Co., cotton spinners, &c., Manchester, gave the work-people in their employment at Crumpsall, an entertainment in celebration of the opening of their new mill. About 600 sat down to a substantial dinner of roast beef and plum pudding, which was provided by Mr. Handley, and was served up in excellent style. Mr. Thompson presided on the occasion, and after dinner delivered an opening address, in the course of which he briefly recapitulated the circumstances connected with the origin, progress, and completion of the new mill, and said he felt thankful to be able to state that during the whole course of its erection not a single accident of a serious nature had occurred to any of the workmen engaged upon it. He concluded by proposing, "success to the Clarence Mills," which sentiment was responded to with the greatest possible enthusiasm, the whole company rising and cheering for some time. Mr. Simpson then rose, and after acknowledging the good feeling manifested in the reception of the toast, proceeded to address the company at considerable length, and was followed by M. Ross, Esq., and other speakers. The company, which had increased to about 700, then adjourned to other rooms fitted up for the occasion, where various innocent amusements were carried on till half-past eleven, when the proceedings terminated. Refreshments were served during the evening, consisting of sandwiches, fruit, currant-bread and wine negus, and a universal feeling of gratification and enjoyment pervaded the whole proceedings. Davies's band was in attendance, and played a succession of popular airs. Concluding the whole with the national anthem, which was sung by the whole company.

CHORLEY.—REDUCTION OF WAGES.—Messrs. Smethurst, and Messrs. Wallbrook, cotton spinners, of this town, have given notice to their work-people in their respective mills, that it is their intention to reduce the wages of the weavers at the rate of one penny per cut, and the other hands in proportion, or run short time. The alternative, we believe, rests with the operatives; but, as yet, we have not heard what determination they have come to.

COUNTIES REGISTRATION MOVEMENT. COUNTY OF HERTS.

A meeting of Free Traders was held at the Bull Inn Hertford, on Wednesday the 26th instant, for the purpose of appointing a Committee to assist in attending to the Registration for the County, and more particularly for the Hertford Polling District. John Gripper, Esq., presided. The meeting was cordial and unanimous in its approval of the object for which it had been called. Mr. Bontems explained the plan of operation which the Anti-Corn Law League had followed in other counties, which gave great satisfaction to the meeting. C. H. Lattimore, Esq. of Wheathampstead, urged upon the meeting the importance of the object for which it had been assembled. Similar meetings are about to be held in all the principal towns of the county.

HACKNEY.

A meeting of the inhabitants of Hackney was held on Tuesday night at the Mermaid Tavern, for the purpose of advocating a total and speedy abolition of the Corn Laws. The Rev. Dr. Carlisle was called to the chair.

MR. MOORE having addressed the meeting, Mr. NEW moved the following resolution:—"That this meeting rejoices at the prospects which recent events have opened, of the speedy and entire abolition of the laws which impose restrictions on the importation of the articles of food; and would hereby express their earnest hope that the public will now express their opinion in favour of this measure, in terms so emphatic and unequivocal, as will induce the Government and legislature to abolish, by a legislative act, all laws which interfere with Free Trade between Great Britain and the nations of the world."

The resolution was seconded by Mr. CHARLES GREEN, and carried unanimously.

MR. DUNN moved, and Mr. J. JONES seconded a vote of thanks to Mr. Moore, and of congratulation to the council and members of the Anti-Corn-Law League, on the triumphant position in which their cause now stands.

Thanks were voted to the chairman, and the meeting, which was a crowded one, separated.

WAKEFIELD.

A meeting of the friends of Free Trade, which was attended by Messrs. Cobden and Bright, and the object of which was the furtherance of the West Riding registration, was held at Wakefield, in the saloon of the Corn Exchange, on Thursday evening last.

Notwithstanding that the first announcement of this meeting was only issued on the previous day, a vast number of persons assembled. Both Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright had a most enthusiastic reception, and the whole of the proceedings passed off with great spirit and perfect unanimity.

MR. THOMAS HAIGH was unanimously called to the chair, and briefly introduced the subject on which the meeting had assembled.

MR. CARTER moved the following resolution, in a brief but pertinent speech:—"That the signal success which has crowned our efforts during the past year, in adding Free Trade voters to the West Riding registry, encourages us to make renewed and increased exertions, in order that the return of two Free Traders to Parliament at the next election may be rendered absolutely certain." (Cheers.)

MR. W. P. BRADSHAW, of Woodthorp, briefly seconded the resolution.

MESSRS. COBDEN and BRIGHT then addressed the meeting in able and eloquent speeches, after which the Chairman put the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

JAMES MICKLETHWAITE, Esq., briefly addressed the meeting, and concluded by proposing the appointment of a committee to carry on the qualification movement in the town and neighbourhood of Wakefield.

This was seconded by JAMES BOSTON, Esq., and unanimously adopted.

MR. T. PLINT then addressed the meeting, and gave some statistical details as to the number of new county votes placed on the register by the Free Traders.

Thanks were then voted to Messrs. Cobden, Bright, and the Chairman, and the meeting separated.

MACCLESFIELD.

A public meeting of the friends of Free Trade was held last Tuesday evening, in Lord Street Sunday School, when Mr. Prentice, of the *Manchester Times*, and Mr. T. Falvey, attended as a deputation from the League, for the purpose of explaining their views and intentions with respect to the present state of the country, and especially with regard to the advancement of the qualification and registration questions. The proceedings commenced about half-past seven, when the large room was well filled, and, ultimately, there was about a thousand persons present, among whom there were a considerable number of manufacturers and other employers, though the bulk of the meeting was composed of the working classes.

MR. RICHARD HINE having been called to the chair, said he was glad to perceive indications that a change was at hand, and he hoped he should live to see the day when the bread of the people would be untaxed, and free as the wind that blows, and the rain that descends. He had a great desire that the aristocracy should stand well with the people, and that, instead of leaning on a law which gave them artificially high prices, they should endeavour to increase the amount of produce by improved cultivation, and thus lend a helping hand to all around them. (Cheers.) The Chairman concluded with some reference to the increase of the constituency by the purchase of property for qualifications. He wished they could turn the scale in favour of Free Trade. Not that he wished that men should be made the tool of any party, contrary to their own convictions of what was just and right; and as for intimidation or coercion, he would never countenance it. He would never be concerned in advising any individual to vote contrary to what he might suppose to be his interest. He could not give him bread if he lost his employment by following his advice, and, therefore he wished to leave every man to his own convictions. (Cheers.)

A letter from E. D. Davenport, Esq., was read, expressing his regret at his inability to attend the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN introduced Mr. Prentice, as the editor of the *Manchester Times*, a paper which he had long taken, and which he read with great pleasure.

MR. PRENTICE and Mr. Falvey addressed the meeting in eloquent speeches, and impressed upon the meeting the necessity of attending to the registration, and increasing their strength on the register, in order to wrest the representation of the Northern Division of Cheshire from the monopolists.

MR. SAMUEL JESPER said he would take the liberty of mentioning his own case, in illustration of what could be done in the way of obtaining qualifications at a small ex-

pence. He, along with two others, had purchased a small property in this county, for 80*l.*, which had given them three votes, and, in addition, they were receiving from 7½ to 8 per cent. interest for their money. (Cheers.)

A vote of thanks having been proposed to the deputation, Mr. Prentice said, in reply, that the most gratifying return they could receive was to see them acting on the advice which had been given in regard to the increase of qualifications.

MR. FALVEY proposed a vote of thanks to the trustees, for the use of the school.

MR. JESPER cordially seconded the motion.

A vote of thanks having been passed to the Chairman, and suitably acknowledged, the meeting broke up about half-past ten o'clock.

GLOUCESTER.

On Monday evening, one of the most numerous, enthusiastic, and orderly meetings that was ever held in the city of Gloucester, took place in the Shire-hall, to meet Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, and to adopt resolutions relative to the course to be adopted to bring about a total repeal of the corn and provision laws. The hall, which will accommodate 2000 persons, was densely filled; and the capacious orchestra appropriated to the ladies, presented an attractive appearance. A small platform was erected for the use of the speakers, and many of our most spirited and influential merchants and shippers were present.

On the platform we observed, J. W. Hughes, Esq.; the Mayor of Gloucester, Alderman Washbourne; T. M. Sturge, Esq.; Samuel Bowly, Esq.; A. H. Carter, Esq., barrister; Caleb Trotter, Esq., &c., &c.

Messrs Cobden and Bright on entering the hall were received with the most rapturous cheering.

The MAYOR (Mr. Hughes) was unanimously voted to the chair.

Letters were read from Captain M. F. F. Berkeley and Mr. Phillpotts, the members for the city, excusing their absence from the meeting on the ground of having pre-engage-ments, but at the same time expressing their desire to co-operate with their constituents and others in order to obtain the repeal of the Corn Laws.

MR. BOWLEY proposed the first resolution. He said, he moved the resolution with great pleasure, because he considered taxes upon food to be the worst of all taxes. (Hear, hear.) They were taxes which pressed most heavily upon those who were the least able to pay them. On examining his household expenses he found that they amounted to only one-fortieth part of his expenditure, while the hard-working people of this country paid one half or more of their small pittance in the shape of such taxation. So that they were, in fact, taxes upon the poor to fill the pockets of the rich. (Cheers.)

MR. T. M. STURGE in seconding the resolution, declared it to be his opinion that the present system of averages not only prevented the people from obtaining a proper supply of corn, but that it was also injurious to the farmers themselves.

MR. COBDEN and Mr. BRIGHT then addressed the dense assembly at great length, urging upon the Free Traders the paramount necessity of securing the representation of West Gloucestershire by the qualification of new 40*s.* freeholders. The speeches were received with great enthusiasm, but it is utterly impossible from the overwhelming pressure of reports of similar meetings throughout the country, that we can give even extracts from these telling addresses. At the conclusion of Mr. Bright's speech the resolution was put and carried amidst loud and long-continued cheering.

MR. CALEB TROTTER then moved the following resolution:—

"That this meeting has heard with the greatest satisfaction the declaration of Lord John Russell, and Lord Morpeth, in favour of the total abolition of the Corn Laws, which is a most decisive proof of the progress of Free Trade opinions, and affords great encouragement to endeavour to return two Free Trade members for this division of the county at the next election."

In the course of his address Mr. Trotter, who is connected with the Forest of Dean, mentioned that he had succeeded in placing 150 freeholders on the registration in that district. (Cheers.)

The resolution was seconded by Alderman WASHBOURNE, and carried with acclamation.

MR. J. P. HEINE then moved the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Phillpotts and Captain Berkeley, R.N., the two city members, for their consistent support of Mr. Villiers's motions, and the principles of Free Trade, and soliciting them to continue their exertions till the cause should completely triumph.

LIEUT. FRANCILLON, R.N., seconded the resolution, which was carried with acclamation.

The next resolution, which conferred a vote of thanks on Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, drew forth bursts of cheering.

MR. COBDEN returned thanks, and concluded by moving the thanks of the meeting to the mayor, which was suitably acknowledged, when the vast assemblage separated.

STROUD.

The inhabitants of the manufacturing borough of Stroud, and the surrounding districts, assembled on Wednesday evening, at the large Subscription Room, to bear a part in the all-engrossing agitation against the Corn and Provision Laws, and to give a hearty welcome to Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright. The room was filled in every part, and when it is mentioned that a charge was made for admission, and that not fewer than 1600 persons were present, an idea may be formed of the degree of interest which the object of the meeting had excited. The body of the room was chiefly, if not entirely, occupied by persons engaged in the operative department of the cloth manufacture; the side galleries were filled with females, many of them employed at the mills, all neatly attired; and the east gallery was allotted to those who paid the highest price, embracing most of the employers, with their ladies, and a number of clergymen. Amongst the speakers were Mr. Cobden, M.P., Mr. Bright, M.P., Mr. Parsons, the Rev. — Newman, and Mr. J. C. Symons. Resolutions calling for the repeal of the Corn Laws were passed with unanimity and enthusiasm.

DISTRESS OF THE CALICO PRINTERS.—A correspondent desires to draw public attention to the deplorable distress of the calico printers in the neighbourhood of Chorley. Those lately employed at the Cross Hall printworks, he informs us, have been eight or nine weeks out of work, nor are they likely to have any for some time. "Many families," he adds, "are completely starving for want of food, and in many cases are compelled to beg their bread."

GREAT LEAGUE MEETING IN COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE.—The COUNCIL of the NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE beg to announce that the AGGREGATE MEETINGS of the LEAGUE, in the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, will re-commence on WEDNESDAY EVENING NEXT, the 17th of December. George Wilson, Esq., in the Chair. Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., John Bright, Esq., M.P., and W. J. Fox, Esq., will address the meeting.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

THE Friends of FREE TRADE residing in the Northern or Midland Counties, desirous of purchasing Freeholds in any of the undermentioned Counties, are requested to apply to the Secretary of the League, Newall's Buildings Manchester.

North Lancashire	North Derbyshire
South Lancashire	South Derbyshire
North Cheshire	North Durham
West Riding of York	East Cumberland
South Stafford	West Cumberland
North Stafford	South Northumberland
South Cheshire	

Each applicant is requested to give his name and residence at full length. By Order of the Council, JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

FREE TRADERS desirous of purchasing Freeholds for Middlesex, East Surrey, West Kent, South Essex, East Sussex, and South Hants, are requested to send their applications, with name and address in full, to the League Offices, 67, Fleet-street, London.

By Order of the Council, JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

FREEHOLD QUALIFICATIONS FOR HERTS.

FREE TRADERS desirous of purchasing Freeholds in Hertfordshire are requested to send their applications to The League Offices, 67, Fleet-street, or to Mr. J. F. Bontems, Herts Registration Office, Hertford.

CORN LAWS.—Third Edition, Now ready, price 2s.,

AN ATTEMPT TO ESTIMATE THE EFFECTS of PROTECTING DUTIES on the PROFITS of AGRICULTURE, by JOHN MORTON, F.G.S., Author of "The Nature and Property of Soils," &c.; and JOSHUA TRIMMER, F.G.S., Author of "Practical Geology and Mineralogy," &c. Also The Nature and Property of Soils, and Repts and Profits of Agriculture, by J. Morton. 10s. 4th Edition. James Ridgway, Piccadilly, and all booksellers.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LEAGUE FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Dec. 3, 1845.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

Leatham, Mrs. Heath, near Wakefield	..	25	0	0
*Criswick and Leard, 6, New Compton-street, Soho	..	2	2	0
*Flanders, Wm., 2, Upper Woburn-pl., Tavistock-square	..	2	2	0
*Hoyland, Hanson, Wood-street, City	..	2	0	0
*Lloyd, Captain	..	1	1	0
*Allender, Geo., 6, Judd-place East, St. Pancras	..	1	1	0
*Hall, T. S., 17, Surrey-place, Old Kent Road	..	1	1	0
*Fitzpatrick, Daniel, 1, Gilbert-buildings, Lambeth	..	1	1	0
*Wright, Henry, 12, Great Turnstile, Holborn	..	1	1	0
*Mars, Wm., 22, Grange Walk, Bermondsey	..	1	1	0
*"Live and Let Live"	..	1	1	0
*Fenillade, G. R., Colonnade Hotel, Haymarket	..	1	1	0
*Deavin, R., St. Thomas's-place, Old Kent Road	..	1	1	0
*Norris, James, 207, Upper Thames-street	..	1	1	0
*Jones and Gausson, 47, Eastcheap	..	1	1	0
*Barlin, J. N., 15, Bayswater-terrace	..	1	1	0
*Homan, Francis, Stoke Newington	..	1	1	0
*Brettle, Miss, 4, Goldsmith-street, Cheapside	..	1	1	0
*Colman, John, 172, Regent-street	..	1	1	0
*Ingles, Wm., 75, St. Paul's Churchyard	..	1	1	0
*Keighley, James, 5, Foster-lane, City	..	1	1	0
*Pickering, J., Thames place, Limehouse Hole	..	1	1	0
*Shirley, John, M.D., Lanark	..	1	1	0
*Willis, J. W., 42, Rankellor-street, Edinburgh	..	1	1	0
*Paul, Wm. W., Grammar School House, Wigan	..	1	1	0
*Southall, Edward Pritchard, Leominster	..	1	1	0
*Norris, Edmund, Sutton, near Abingdon	..	1	1	0
*Wakeman, Geo., Thame, Oxon	..	1	1	0
*Dodgson, Jonathan, 127, Mill-street, Liverpool	..	1	1	0
*Collinson, Thomas, Fountain-street, Halifax	..	1	1	0
*Dickinson, Thos. S., 7, Cookridge-street, Leeds	..	1	1	0
*Abell, Martin, 34, High-street, Worcester	..	1	1	0
*Ashworth, B., Fold's Cottage, Bolton	..	1	1	0
*Atory, Mark, 212, Gilesgate, Durham	..	1	1	0
*Green, G. W., Surveyor, Darlaston, near Birmingham	..	1	1	0
*Richardby, James, Horton Road, Bradford, Yorkshire	..	1	1	0
*Shaw, Elias, Newcastle-under-Lyne	..	1	1	0
*Harrison, John, 15, Upper Green, ditto	..	1	1	0
*Squire, James, New Invention, near Willenhall	..	1	1	0
*Drinkwater, Wm., Deale-street, Salford	..	1	1	0
*Richardson, John, jun., Tanner, Cockermouth	..	1	1	0
*"A Cambridge Correspondent"	..	1	1	0
*Barnes, Nathaniel, Nottingham	..	1	1	0
*Briggs, Edward, Ashford Road, Maidstone	..	1	1	0
*Sharpe, W. jun., Swadincote, Ashby-de-la-Zouch	..	1	1	0
*Wickoff, Henry, New York, U.S.	..	1	1	0
*Gibbons, R. W., Calne, Wilts	..	1	1	0
*Moore, H. W., Caldecote, near Rockingham	..	1	1	0
*Jackson, J. and Co., merchants, Lyons, France	..	1	1	0
*Still, Robert, Liverpool	..	1	1	0
*Warwick, Charles, 16, Highbury-place, Islington	..	1	1	0
*Bulchin, James, Newington-road	..	1	1	0
*Rawlings, James, 2, Nassau-street, Marylebone	..	1	1	0
*Watts, Henry, 118, Bunhill-row	..	1	1	0
*Mewkill, William, 18, Great Maze Pond, Borough	..	1	1	0
*Edmunds, Geo., 19, St. Swinburn's-lane	..	1	1	0
*Juer, Henry, 413, Strand	..	1	1	0
*Jones, Stephen, Talbot-court, Gracechurch-street	..	1	1	0
*Dyke, Wm., 21, Grafton-street, London University	..	1	1	0
*Nettleton, Joshua, 4, Sloane-square, Chelsea	..	1	1	0
*Spearman, Thos., 20, Wilderness-street, Bermondsey	..	1	1	0
*Tarpole, John, 101, Old-street, St. Luke's	..	1	1	0
*Davies, H. P., Palace Wharf, Lambeth	..	1	1	0
*McCraight, Richard, 94, Goswell-street	..	1	1	0
*Baxter, John, 16, Norfolk-street, Middlesex Hospital	..	1	1	0
*Beale, S., 17, Rutland-street, Commercial-road East	..	1	1	0
*Taylor, Robert, 27, Brunswick Parade, Islington	..	1	1	0
*Rowney, George, jun., 51, Rathbone-place	..	1	1	0
*Russell, J., 54, Wood-street, City	..	1	1	0
*Smith, Thomas, ditto	..	1	1	0
*Wilkins, E., 57, St. John-street	..	1	1	0
*Bellingham and Son, 126, ditto	..	1	1	0
*Lea, Charles, Beauvoir Wharf, Kingsland	..	1	1	0
*Goulden, John, 12, Smith-street, Northampton-square	..	1	1	0
*Laker, Wm., 170, Fleet-street	..	1	1	0
*Terry, J. and Son, 5, Broad-street-hill	..	1	1	0
*Shillito, W. H., Langbourne Chambers, Fenchurch-st.	..	1	1	0
*Rooke, Messrs., Son, and Burgo, Hoxton	..	1	1	0
*Stokes, E., 170, Strand	..	1	1	0

*Ogden, H., M.D., Dunning-street	..	1	1	0
*Patterson, Thomas, Bridge-street	..	1	1	0
*Adamson, Thomas, near Smyrna Chapel	..	1	1	0
*Wilson, H.	..	1	1	0
*Wilson, John, Frederick-street	..	1	1	0
*French, Robert, ditto	..	1	1	0
*French, William, Tatham-street	..	1	1	0
*Mouncey, John, Fawcett-street	..	1	1	0
*Peacock, John, Murton-street	..	1	1	0
*Bowmaker, Edward, Cornhill-street	..	1	1	0
*Kerr and Wilson, manufacturers, Causeyside	..	1	1	0
*Harrow, McIntyre, and Co., printers, Colnelie	..	1	1	0
*Connal, John, baker, High-street	..	1	1	0
*Fulton, J. & W., bleachers, Glenfield	..	1	1	0
*Phillips, Wm., merchant, Forbes-st.	..	1	1	0
*Scott, Adam, manufacturer, Causeyside	..	1	1	0
*Coats, J. and P., thread manufacturers	..	1	1	0
*Coats, James, ditto	..	1	1	0
*Brown & Polson, bleachers, Thursraig	..	1	1	0
*Leckie, Archibald, dyer	..	1	1	0
*Walker, Alexander, baker, Town Head	..	1	1	0
*Wilson, Robert, town clerk	..	1	1	0
*Kerr, P. & Son, thread manufacturer, New-street	..	1	1	0
*Arthur, James, draper, High-street	..	1	1	0
*Millar, James, ditto ditto	..	1	1	0
*Kerr, Robert, Whitehaugh	..	1	1	0
*Ritchie, David, grocer	..	1	1	0
*Robertson, Thomas, Foxbar	..	1	1	0
*Houston, Geo., manufacturer, 115, Causeyside	..	1	1	0
*Taylor, Thomas, jun., ditto	..	1	1	0
Moss, Emanuel, 15, Lemon-street, Goodman's Fields	..	0	10	0
Eliza C.	..	0	5	0
Ayres, Wm., 13, Globe-road, Bethnal-green	..	0	5	0
Rowls, Wm., 33, Clifton-street, Finsbury	..	0	5	0
Woolmer, John, 73, Aldersgate-street	..	0	5	0
Harrell, Henry, 7, High-street, Whitechapel	..	0	5	0
Bouron, Wm., 94, Tottenham-court-road	..	0	2	6
Wilkinson, John, 4, East-street, Finsbury Market	..	0	2	6
Hull, John, 53, Bartholomew Close	..	0	2	6
Talbot, W. H., 71, Fore-street, Limehouse	..	0	2	6
"One of the Establishment"	..	0	2	6
Hart, James, 15, Haven-street, Whitechapel-road	..	0	3	0
"One of the Establishment"	..	0	2	6
Ditto	..	0	2	6
Hart, Wm., 6, New-sq., North-st., Whitechapel-road	..	0	2	6
Mahon, John, 5, North-street, Limehouse Fields	..	0	2	6
Jefferson, John, 12, Jerusalem-court, St. John's-square, Clerkenwell	..	0	2	6
Harper, James, 49, Singleton-street, Hoxton	..	0	2	6
Ratcliff, James	..	0	2	6
Small Sums	..	0	9	0
Contributions of the Workmen in the employ of Messrs. Jeffrey, Wise, and Co. Kent and Essex Yard, Whitechapel, per Wm. Mewkill	..	3	19	0
*Hanford, C. E., Woolas Hill, near Pershore, Worcester-shire	..	5	0	0
Osborne, the Hon. G. Godolphin, Skepleton House, Blandford, Dorset	..	2	2	0
*Bake, Thomas, 186, Oxford-road, Manchester	..	2	2	0
*Mills, David, Ardwick-place	..	1	1	0
*Rome, John, 39, Thomas-street	..	1	1	0
*Cunningham, W. A., 59, Mosley-street	..	1	1	0
*Baines, T. M., 112, Lloyd-street, Greenheys	..	1	1	0
*Golland, Smith, 23, George-street	..	1	1	0
*Johnson, T. F. & Crowther, 104, Market-st.	..	1	1	0
*Standing, Josh., Livesey-street	..	1	1	0
*Johnson, N. S., Cateaton-street	..	1	1	0
*Ladd, Chas. P., 1, Windsor-ter., Kingstown, Ireland	..	1	1	0
*Bangham, Thomas, Tenbury, Worcester	..	1	1	0
*Green, Geo., ditto	..	1	1	0
*Sheffield, Charles, Ratcliff, near Huddersfield	..	1	1	0
*Williamson, John, draper, Yorkshire-st., Rochdale	..	1	1	0
*Adamson, Geo., grocer, Cheetham-street, ditto	..	1	1	0
*Bastwood, Peter, Royal Hotel, Liverpool	..	1	1	0
*Johnson, William, Wigan	..	1	1	0
*Collison, Thomas, ditto	..	1	1	0
*Fairclough, James, Rodney-st., ditto	..	1	1	0
*Morris, E., Haigh Foundry, ditto	..	1	1	0
*Frost, Thomas, ditto ditto	..	1	1	0
*Harker, Thos., Market-place, Prescott	..	1	1	0
*Austin, Thomas, 45, Oxford-road, Manchester	..	1	1	0
*Binns, James, 162, Great Ancoats-st.	..	1	1	0
*McGill, Francis, Edward-st., Hanover-st.	..	1	1	0
*Brooklehurst, Charles, 2, Edge-street, ditto	..	1	1	0
*Wilkinson, T., London-road, ditto	..	1	1	0
*Bowker, Wm., 300, Deansgate, ditto	..	1	1	0
*Evans, Edward, 148, ditto	..	0	10	0
*O'Byler, Dr. C., 79, Mount Pleasant	..	1	1	0
*Mellor, Jas., 16, Exchange-alley north	..	1	1	0
*Allinson, John, 94, St. James's-street	..	1	1	0
*Hutton, John, Grafton-street	..	1	1	0
*Houlgrave, R. J. A., Box H 133, Post-office	..	1	1	0
*Houlgrave, Peter, ditto	..	1	1	0
*B.	..	1	1	0
*Poley, Thomas, 108, London-road	..	1	1	0
*Boul, Peter, 6, Clare-terrace, Edge-hill	..	1	1	0
*Waring, Thomas, 18, Stanhope-street	..	1	1	0

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE BAZAAR.

Balance of Sale at the Bazaar, per Mrs. Hall .. 2 0 0
Nantwich Subscription to the Bazaar, per Philip Barker 1 14 6
* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed subscriptions.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, December 6, 1845.

The announcement made by the *Times* is to some extent confirmed by the kind of contradiction it has received from the *Standard-Herald*; they merely express their own disbelief; but they at the same time avow that they have no authority whatever for a denial. The equivocating pretence that such authority could not be obtained without asking a Cabinet Minister to violate his oath of official secrecy is a patent subterfuge; the obligation to hide what has been done does not include silence respecting what has *not* been done; and when we consider the immense importance of the intelligence to the commercial interests of the country, we cannot believe that a Minister, who rests so much of his fame on his financial measures, would have allowed 24 hours to pass without contradicting a statement which, if false, would produce a most dangerous derangement of all the trading and monetary transactions of the empire. The beginning of the end is at hand; but we must not hide from ourselves that this is the most critical moment of our fortunes,

that it behoves us to be more watchful and more vigilant than at any previous crisis of our agitation. It will require our utmost watchfulness and our utmost work to obtain our rights in their integrity, and to prevent the great objects for which we have so long laboured from being tainted by any sacrifice to corrupt expediency. The *Times* declares:

"An announcement of such immeasurable importance, and to the larger portion of the community so unspeakably gratifying, almost precludes the possibility of comment. No pen can keep pace with the reflections which must spontaneously crowd upon every thoughtful and sensitive mind. They who have long desired this change, and have long traced its manifold bearings on the welfare and happiness of the world, will in one moment see the realisation of that fair prospect, and will hardly endure to be informed of what they already behold."

But the friends of Free Trade must not be satisfied with indulging in such prospective visions; *the end is not yet*; and we must not forget the homely proverb:

"There may be a slip
Twixt the cup and the lip."

Our cotemporary goes on to say—

"It is understood that until Parliament meets nothing is to be done. For the Legislature will be reserved the responsibility and the glory of opening the ports. We presume that none will quarrel with this brief appearance of delay, now that the resolution of the Cabinet is known. The moral certainty of an early opening will be equivalent in its operation to an immediate Order in Council. It is enough for the merchant and the capitalist to know that by the end of January at the latest, the produce of all countries will enter the British market on an absolute equality with our own, excepting only those disadvantages which Nature itself has made, and which man cannot entirely remove. Any unnecessary appearance of haste would only create alarm, and might thus defeat, for a time at least, the very object of the measure. Happily there is no occasion for haste, even if haste were not almost certain to interfere with speed."

Though nothing may be done by ministers between this time and the assembling of Parliament, much ought to be done and much must be done by the people. It is in the unguarded moments of expected triumph that cool and cunning men are able to employ those artifices which render victory itself little better than defeat. The work has been done by the people. The *Times* says—

"It is an unfortunate circumstance that so good a deed should literally go a-begging for an author. The nation has done it, but who is the instrument? It is in Sir ROBERT PEEL'S hand, but is it his property? Nor have the Whigs much more claim to it. They only proposed to give up the Corn Laws when it was evident the peril of the experiment would be the inheritance of their successors."

"Shall we, again, call the League the true hero of the crisis—the real SIMON PURE of Free Trade? Truth compels us to answer in the affirmative; but the idea is still somewhat distasteful, and human nature itself will cavil at a patriotism, the virtues of which were so closely allied with its interests."

We are too sensible of the magnitude of the concession to notice the paltry cavil by which it is qualified; the virtues of Free Trade are identified with the interests of the entire nation, and the League has become a powerful agency merely by giving such evidence of this truth as to win the general assent of the nation. The question of instrumentality is not worth a moment's consideration; every one must feel that it is the people's cause which has been brought to the verge of a triumphant issue by the people's own exertions, and that it is only by the people that success can be ensured and completed. Ministerial professions must not throw the nation off its guard; we may give credit to the Premier for sincerity, in his new faith and for ability to carry it into practice; but we must not carry confidence to an excess, and treat him as a plenipotentiary empowered to make terms between the people and the monopolists. The nation has not gone to him—it is he that has come to the nation; we receive him with thanks and welcome, but we

lost if we stop to inquire by whom it is to be accomplished. Whatever names may be written on the bill when it is introduced to the House, the authorship properly belongs to the people; and it is their duty, as well as their interest, to see that it is not falsified by the craft of the nominal editors.

We have alluded to the equivocating denial of the *Standard-Herald*; we cannot refuse to our readers the pleasure of reading the crushing reply of the *Times*:

"The surprise excited by the announcement in *The Times* of yesterday, on the subject of the Corn Laws, has been nowhere so intensely felt as in the offices of the "twin journals," which have been for some time under the delusion that they are the organs of the Government. It has been the monomania of these two melancholy prints to imagine that they possessed the confidence of the Treasury, and they have been babbling about the Corn Laws to the very last, under the erroneous impression that they would be the first to be apprised of any important resolution of the Cabinet. It was only yesterday that the morning half of these precious Gemini indulged in a dreary drivel to prove that the Corn Laws were "no failure," and that therefore the Premier ought not to be expected to abandon them. The aged gossip was not aware that the question on which she was exhausting her garrulity had been already virtually settled. Having been amused at the blundering ignorance of the Mrs. Gamp of the press, we looked with some curiosity to what she would say in the character of Mrs. Harris. The effect produced upon that female nobody is quite astounding. She 'don't believe a word of it,' for she has heard nothing about it from Mrs. Gamp, who is the only authority for the opinions of Mrs. Harris.

"There is something very ridiculous in the position of these two journals, which, after doing all they could to win the favour of the Government, are not permitted even to have the credit of being the first to publish its intentions. The fact is, that the Cabinet naturally shrinks from the ridicule to which it would be exposed by accepting the inefficient services which the venerable twins are capable of affording it. Humbly and obsequiously have they been grinding their organs under the windows of Downing-street, ready to play any tune that might be most pleasing to the Premier, but he has turned a deaf ear to their strains, and not even allowed his underlings an opportunity of throwing out an occasional morsel by way of encouragement. In vain have they looked imploringly up towards the garrets, or entreatingly down towards the kitchen; not even the congenial flunkies have been allowed to show compassion to these miserable mendicants. The vigilance of the master, or the fidelity of the servants, has baffled the efforts of the persevering pair. They have not succeeded in getting hold even of a scrap of truth that they could turn to profit.

"The reason is obvious. The repeal of the Corn Laws is a thing for statesmen to do, and not for old women to mander about."

The following announcement appears in the *Standard* of last night; we insert it with its original emphatic capitals. It will be seen that a loophole is still open for doubt. The Cabinet may not have come to a decision, but the opinions of its members may have been so far ascertained as to render it tolerably certain what the decision will be. We make no comment upon the intelligence; the cause of the people is safe in the people's hands.

"We are now, we rejoice to say, in a condition to give the most positive and direct contradiction to the statement of a proposed repeal of the Corn Laws, which appeared in yesterday's *Times*. The statement, it may be remembered, embraced three propositions—

"First, that Parliament is to meet in the first week in January.

"Second, that ministers have resolved upon a repeal of the Corn Laws.

"Third, that the projected repeal is to be announced in the opening Speech.

"EVERY ONE OF THESE THREE PROPOSITIONS IS FALSE.

"Parliament WILL NOT MEET IN THE FIRST WEEK OF JANUARY, or much, if at all, before the usual time of meeting. "THE CABINET HAS COME TO NO DECISION WHATSOEVER UPON THE SUBJECT OF THE CORN LAWS.

"It must be unnecessary to add, in the third place, that a resolution not formed can hardly have a place provided in the Queen's Speech. What follows, as our readers will perceive, was written before we had the perfect certainty that we now have, of the utter falsehood of the *Times*' statement. Upon what we have written above, we stake the character of this journal."

REGISTRATION MOVEMENT IN MIDDLESEX AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTIES.—Mr. Moore has this week addressed most enthusiastic and crowded meetings in all the localities announced in our last publication. Meetings will be held in the course of next week, according to the subjoined:

Monday, Dec. 7, Albion Hall, London Wall, at half-past Seven o'clock.

Tuesday, Dec. 8, British School Room, Kingsland, at half-past Seven o'clock.

Wednesday, Dec. 9, Brentford, British School Room, at half-past Seven o'clock.

Thursday, Dec. 10, Hammersmith, Albion Hall, at half-past Seven o'clock.

Friday, Dec. 11, Lower Tooting, Rising Sun, Assembly Rooms, at Seven o'clock.

RENTS.—The estate of East Barns, in Haddingtonshire, measuring 504 acres was lately purchased by Mr. Mitchell James, for £3,500. It was expected to yield a rent of £2,000, or at most £1,000; but though the repeal of the Corn Laws is now looked forward to as certain by the farmers, so little alarm does it excite, that the land was let yesterday for £2,500, thus yielding the proprietor 4½ per cent. on the purchase money.—*Scotsman*.

THE NORTH ROAD.—Within the last week, 500 coach-horses worked on the Great North Road have been sold, in consequence of a further opening of the Northern and Eastern Railway.

A NEW CITY.—The following animated description of one of the last wonders of our day, the new city now rising at Birkenhead, is from the pen of a noble diplomatist and will be read with interest: I have made a very agreeable trip to Birkenhead, which is a place rising, as if by enchantment, out of the desert, and bidding fair to rival, if not eclipse, the glories of Liverpool. Seven years ago there were not three houses on that side of the Mersey,—there are now about 20,000 inhabitants; and on the spot where within that time Sir W. Stanley's hounds killed a fox in the open field, now stands a square larger than Belgrave-square, every house of which is occupied. At Liverpool there are now ten acres of docks, the charges for which are enormous; at Birkenhead there will be 47 acres, with rates two-thirds lower, which will gradually diminish until (supposing trade to continue prosperous) they will almost disappear, and the docks become the property of the public at the end of thirty years. It would have been worth the trouble of the journey to make acquaintance with the projector and soul of this gigantic enterprise, a certain Mr. Jackson. With his desire to create a great commercial emporium proceeds, *pari passu*, that of improving and elevating the condition of the labouring classes there, and before his docks are even excavated he is building houses for 300 families of workpeople, each of which is to have three rooms and necessary conveniences to be free of all taxes, and plentifully supplied with water and gas, for 2s. 6d. a week for each family. These houses adjoin the warehouses and docks, where the people are to be employed, and thence is to run a railroad to the sea, and every man liking to bathe will be conveyed there for a penny. There are to be washhouses, where a woman will be able wash the linen of her family for 2d.; and 180 acres have been devoted to a park, which Paxton has laid out, and nothing at Chatsworth can be more beautiful. At least 20,000 people were congregated there last Sunday, all decently dressed orderly, and enjoying themselves. Chapels and churches and schools for every sect and denomination abound. Jackson says he is sure he shall create as vigorous a public opinion against the public house as is to be found in the highest classes.—*Times*.

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. Nov. 29	MON. Dec. 1	TUES. Dec. 2	WED. Dec. 3	THUR. Dec. 4	FRI. Dec. 5
Bank Stock	203½	203½	203½	203½	203½	203½
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	93½	93½	93½	93½	93½	93½
3 per Ct. Con. Ann.	94½	94½	94½	94½	94½	94½
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½
Long. An. Ex. 1860	10½	10½	10½	10½	10½	10½
Cons. for Acct.	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½
Exc. Bills, pm.	19	21	18.20	14	13	..
Ind. Bds. un. 1000.	33	38	..	..	..	..
India Stock	261	261½	262	262	..	..
Austrian	..	..	..	..	..	..
Belgian Bonds	..	95½	..	95½	..	..
Brazilian 5 per Ct.	..	79	79	..	..	..
Chilian	..	..	..	96	..	..
Columb. ex. Venez.	..	16	..	..	..	..
Danish	..	86½	87	86	..	..
Dutch 4 per Cent.	91	92½	91½	92½	93	93½
Dutch 2½ per Cent.	58	59	59½	59½	59½	59½
Mexican	29½	31	30½	30½	30½	30½
Peruvian	..	..	..	..	..	..
Portug. conv.	..	..	..	58	..	..
Russian 5 per Cent.	..	112½	..	..	..	..
Spanish 5 per Ct.	..	..	27½	..	27.8	27.8
Do. 3 per Ct. ex. dv.	36½	..	37½	..	38	37.8

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MONDAY, DEC. 1.—During the past week the arrivals of Wheat have been moderate, and of Barley and Oats considerable, the latter principally from Ireland. In addition to this, there is no great quantity of Wheat and Barley, but there are several cargoes of Irish Oats fresh up to this morning's market. There is not much animation in the Wheat trade; for superfine samples last Monday's prices are obtained, but for inferior descriptions barely as much money can be made; the condition of the new Wheat is tolerably dry. Bonded Wheat being difficult of disposal, holders are warehousing in expectation of a lower duty. Barley meets a dull sale for all descriptions; very fine Chevalier fetches 1s. less than this day week, and on other qualities the decline is greater. Beans and Peas are 1s. lower. The Oat trade partakes of the dullness in the Corn trade generally; the offers are for the most part 1s. under the prices made last Monday; and where ships are coming on demurrage, and for ill-conditioned Oats, of which the last arrival principally consists, the reduction is submitted to. For other sorts 6d. decline was taken, and towards the close of market a fair sale was effected.

S. H. LUCAS.

BRITISH.		Per Imperial Quarter.	
Wheat, Essex,	Red 52 to 64	White 60 to 70	
Kent, & Suffolk	51 62	56 66	
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire	49 56	56 64	
Scotch .....	..	..
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feed	25 27	..	
Ditto	Polands	New 26 28	
Scotch Feed	26 28	Potato 29 30	
Limerick .....	..	..	25 27
Ditto	Fine New 27 29	Old Fine none	
Cork .....	..	..
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black	23 25	..	
Sligo	24 26	..	
Galway	24 25	..	
Barley .....	..	..	32 39
Beans, Mazagan	New 38 40	Old 43 45	
Harrow	40 44	..	48 50
Small	42 46	..	50 53
Peas, White .....	..	Boilers	60 61
Grey	40. 41	Maple	42 44
Flour, Town-made	per sack of 280 lbs.	..	48 50
Norfolk and Suffolk .....	..	..	46 50

FOREIGN.

		FREE. IN BOND.	
Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed	50 to 68	46 52	
Rostock	58	62 44 48	
Stettin	57	62 43 46	
Hamburg	54	59 42 45	
Odesa	48	52 40 42	
Odesa Polish	52	58 40 43	
Russian	soft	50 59	
Ditto	hard	48 57	
Spanish .....	..	..
Ditto	White .....	..
Australian .....	..	60 69	
Barley, Grinding .....	..	27 30	
Distilling .....	..	30 32	
Oats, Archangel	27 28	24 25	
Danish	27 28	24 22	
Swedish	25 26	22 23	
Stralsund .....	..	..
Dutch Feed	23 25	20 22	
Brew	29 35	26 32	
Polands	30 32	28 32	
Beans, Egyptian	41 42	40 41	
Peas, White .....	..	..
Ditto Boilers .....	..	none	

Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 196 lbs.	34	35			
United States	32	35			
Dantzic					
Australian, per sack of 280 lbs.					
Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from Nov. 24 to Nov. 29, 1845, both days inclusive.					
	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas.
English.....	4511	10691	6083	1509	2999
Scotch.....	274	3647	2501	..	92
Irish.....		504	26508	..	..
Foreign.....	14541	2462	5774	1753	4653
Flour, 8154 sacks; 2819 barrels.					

FRIDAY, DEC. 5.—The announcement contained in the leading article of the *Times* of yesterday, together with the additional remarks of this morning with respect to the intention of Ministers to bring forward measures for an immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, have had the effect of completely stopping business, except to a very limited extent, with buyers who are absolutely compelled to purchase. Such business as is transacted is at about late rates; but generally offers are so low, that factors refuse to sell. The only alteration in the duties yesterday was a decline of 1s. on Barley.

S. H. LUCAS.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 28th of November to the 5th of December, both inclusive.			
	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	2510	..	3190
Barley	2660	200	..
Oats	820	9710	2500
Flour, 2790 sacks.			

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending Dec. 2, 1845.

Wheat	Barley	Oats	Rye	Beans	Peas	Flour
Qrs.	Price.	Qrs.	Price.	Qrs.	Price.	Qrs.
Wheat	8599 63s. 2d.	Rye	34 39s. 2d.			
Barley	6701 35s. 4d.	Beans	1378 41s. 11d.			
Oats	24966 26s. 3d.	Peas	1443 48s. 6d.			

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
25th Oct.	59	5. 33	0. 24	11. 34	5. 45	5. 44
1st Nov.	60	1. 34	3. 26	2. 33	2. 45	3. 43
8th "	59	7. 35	1. 25	2. 35	7. 45	1. 44
15th "	58	6. 35	0. 26	3. 38	2. 44	5. 45
22d "	57	11. 34	1. 25	5. 37	1. 43	4. 45
29th "	58	2. 33	2. 26	0. 35	4. 41	9. 45
Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks. Wheat, 58s. 11d.; Barley						
34s. 1d.; Oats, 25s. 6d.; Rye, 35s. 8d.; Beans, 44s. 3d.						
Peas, 44s. 11d.						

MEAT MARKET.

The favourable change of weather rather improved the trade. The demand was good; but advanced prices were given very reluctantly.—Some carcasses of Wether Mutton were received from Holland; the quality was highly promising, and they met ready and good sale, being in good condition.

PER STONE OF 8 LBS. BY THE CARCASE.

Prime Beef..	3s	4d to 3s	8d	Middl.Mutton	3s	4d to 3s	8d
Middling do.	3s	2d to 3s	4d	Veal, from ..	4s	0d to 4s	8d
Plain, or infe-				Small Pork ..	4s	8d to 5s	4d
rior Beef... 2s	4d to 2s	10d		Large, or infe-			
Prime Mutton	4s	0d to 4s	4d	rior Pork ..	3s	6d to 3s	10d

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, Nov. 28.

BANKRUPTS.

L. LONG and A. B. SMITH, Charthouse Square, boarding-housekeeper. [Messrs. Hindmarsh and Son, Jewin Street, Cripplegate.

T. M. FORRESTER, Gresham Street, City, woollen factor. [Messrs. Soles and Turner, Aldermanbury.

A. PALMER, Feltwell, Norfolk, druggist. [Messrs. Isaacson and Martyr, Norfolk Street, Strand.

H. ROBINSON, Copthall Chamber, Copthall Court, City, sharebroker. [Mr. Spiller, Camomile Street.

G. BOND, Epsom, licensed victualler. [Mr. Pile, Castle Street, Holborn.

V. ELLIS, Wisbech St. Peter's, Cambridge, bootmaker. [Messrs. Flagdale and Co., Essex Street, Strand.

M. COOKE, Denton, Manchester, builder. [Mr. Brooks, Ashton-under-Lyne.

G. ATKINS, Liverpool, brewer. [Messrs. Bridger and Blake, London Wall.

T. and G. SNAITH, Bishop Auckland, Durham, ironmongers. [Messrs. Crosby and Compton, Church Court, Old Jewry.

DIVIDENDS.

Dec. 19, H. D. Walker, Eaton Socon, Bedfordshire, innkeeper.—W. Poynter, Upper Holloway, warehouseman.—E. Knyvet, Great Stanmore, teacher of music.—M. Allen, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.—J. Peters, Godstone, innkeeper.—J. A. Hensman, Margate, bill broker.—W. Richardson, King Street, Covent Garden.—E. May, Aldgate High Street, draper.—Dec. 10, J. Ashbarry, Holm Lane, Herefordshire.—Dec. 22, W. Jackson, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, paperhanger.—C. Webb, Oxford, apothecary.—Dec. 23, E. M. Laughlin, Long Lane, Bermondsey.—W. R. Watts, Bath, chemist.—E. Barry, Bristol, victualler.—J. Haigh, Hogley, Yorkshire, clothier.—Dec. 30, W. Lowe, Bristol, turner.—Jan. 9, W. Turner, Manchester, cabinet maker.

CERTIFICATES.

Dec. 19, W. Mossman, Clark's Place, Islington, stationer.—J. Burrell, Thetford, Norfolk, ironfounder.—J. R. Leary, Mark Lane, wine merchant.—T. Sanderson, Liverpool, coal merchant.—T. Forsyth, Dinsdale Spa, Durham, hotel keeper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

W. Trellis Nimmo, Glasgow, gas manufacturer.—S. Fraser, Esq., Foyers—William Meikleham, Glasgow, writer.—J. McKenzie, Irvine, innkeeper.—W. Johnston, Castlehill, Muiravonside, farmer.

TUESDAY, Dec. 2.

BANKRUPTS.

J. CLARK, Crescent, Minorities, merchant. [Messrs. Marten and Co., Mincing Lane.

S. PHILLIPS, Kingston-upon-Hull, hatter. [Messrs. Capes and Stewart, Gray's Inn.

W. G. TAYLOR and E. GUY, Liverpool, hosiers. [Mr. Reed, Friday Street, Cheapside.

B. BALDWIN, Liverpool, warehouseman. [Messrs. Mardon and Pritchard, Christchurch Chambers, Newgate Street.

J. BROMILLY, Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire, manufacturer. [Mr. Sutton, Manchester.

E. REDWOOD, jun., Windmill Street, Lambeth. [Mr. Long, King Street, Cheapside.

J. MAYLARD, Fetter Lane, grocer. [Mr. Johnson, Walcot Square, Lambeth.

DIVIDENDS.

Dec. 23, J. T. Maund, Birmingham, laceman.—E. M. Marks, Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square, upholsterer.—T. W. Wells, Devonshire Street, Portland Place, merchant.—A. Bower, Manchester, banker.—J. Schofield, Greenacre's Moor, Lancashire.—J. Sugden, Huddersfield, cloth manufacturer.—H. Warburton, Manchester, Joiner.—Sir R. Graham, Bart., and Co, Manchester, merchants.

CERTIFICATES.

Dec. 23, J. Giles, Headless Brass, Worcestershire, publican.—R. Buckler, Portsea, grocer.—J. C. Kemp, Liverpool, merchant.—M. Murphy, Shrewsbury, haberdasher.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

A. Fraser, Inverness, grocer.—D. Young, Dunkeld, merchant.—J. C. Banks, Edinburgh, ironmonger.—T. Trunch, Edinburgh, wood merchant.

Price One Shilling; by post, One and Sixpence.
WHAT TO EAT, DRINK, AND AVOID. Addressed to the Nervous and Dyspeptic. By R. J. CUNNINGHAM, M.D., Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, &c. Sherwood, 23, Paternoster-row, and all Booksellers, or direct from the Author, 21, Arundel-street, Strand.

AMERICAN NOTES.—DR. DICKSON'S LECTURES on the Chrono-Thermal System of Medicine, with an Introduction and Notes by H. H. CUNNINGHAM, M.D., of New York. Price 2s. 6d. "The day is not distant when the Chrono-Thermal System will be universally received. The bones of Samuel Dickson may first be mouldering in the dust, and his spirit rest with God who gave it, but truth will at last triumph, and posterity will render to his memory the merit which is his due."—*New York Independent*.
 Simpkin & Co., Stationers-court; J. Oliver, Pall-mall. 13 Copies for 12s.

NEW CHRISTMAS BOOK BY MR. DICKENS.
 In December will be published, price 5s., small 8vo.,
THE CRICKET ON THE HEARTH.
 A FAIRY TALE OF HOME.
 By CHARLES DICKENS.

The Illustrations by Clarkson Stanfield, Esq., U.A.: Daniel Maclise, Esq., R.A.: John Leech, Esq.; and Richard Doyle, Esq.

Also, by the same Author, in prose. Being a Ghost Story of Christmas. Sixth Edition. Price Five Shillings.

THE CHIMES. A Goblin Story of some Hells that Rang an Old Year Out and a New Year In. Twelfth Edition. Price 7s. 6d. By Charles Kingsley, London: Printed and Published for the Author, by Bradbury and Evans, 90, Fleet-street, and Whitefriars.

NEW MORNING PAPER. to be commenced Early in the New Year.—**THE DAILY NEWS.** MORNING NEWSPAPER OF LONDON. By JOHN THORNTON, PROPRIETOR.

The leading features of the Paper may be briefly stated:—for the following heads:—
 Its CITY NEWS and COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE, collected from the highest sources, will be scrupulously impartial, and always strictly correct.
 Its FOREIGN and BUSINESS INFORMATION on every topic connected with RAILWAYS, whether in actual operation, in progress, or projected, will be found to be complete.

An extensive system of FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE in all parts of the world has been, for some time, in the course of organisation.
 Its PARLIAMENTARY REPORTS, its LAW REPORTS, and every other item of such matter, will be furnished by Gentlemen of the highest qualifications.

Among the writers of its LEADING ARTICLES, its CRITICISMS on BOOKS, the DRAMA, MUSIC, and the FINE ARTS, are some of the most distinguished names of this time.

The LITERARY DEPARTMENT OF THE DAILY NEWS will be under the direction of MR. CHARLES DICKENS.

The Counting-house, and Office for Advertisements intended for insertion in THE DAILY NEWS, will be at No. 90, FLEET STREET, LONDON; to which place any communications for the Editor should be addressed, until the Publishing Offices in WHITEFRIARS shall be completed.

THE CORN AND PROVISION TRADES.—The deficiency of the harvest, the failure of the Potato Crop, and the consequent serious effects upon commercial and monetary affairs, excite great apprehension. Under such circumstances, correct information as to the produce of the harvest, the extent of the failure of the potato crop, the state of the markets, the stock of grain on hand, on the continent of Europe, and in the United States, is of the highest importance. No trouble or expense is spared to furnish such information, which is brought down to the latest moment of going to press, in the MARK LANE EXPRESS, which has shewn for many years the authority in the Corn and Provision Trade of England and in foreign countries. Published every Monday in time for post, and may be had by order of all Booksellers, Newsmen, &c. Office, 24, Norfolk Street, Strand. Price 12s. 6d. per annum.

THE TENANT FARMERS' ADVOCATE.—It is abundantly manifest that the position of the Agricultural Interest as a class is undergoing and must undergo a great change. In such change the relative position of "LANDLORD AND TENANT" will form the most important feature, and the establishment of a sound system of "Tenants' Rights" will be a cardinal point for "Tenant Farmers." For fourteen years THE MARK LANE EXPRESS and AGRICULTURAL JOURNAL has been the zealous and uncompromising advocate of the Tenant's Rights, and the conviction that the interests of the Tenant are vitally involved in the question, the columns of this journal will be continuously devoted to its discussion and elucidation. Published every Monday in time for post. May be had by order of all Booksellers and Newsmen. Office, 24, Norfolk Street, Strand. London. Price 12s. 6d. per annum.

TO MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL, SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHERS, AND OTHERS.
 Reverend Sirs and Gentlemen,—On Saturday, November 1st, I commenced publishing in Weekly Penny Numbers, the most splendid edition ever printed of "MATTHEW HENRY'S COMMENTARY," complete. 35 subjects, as I have before said, is to be supplied to Commentaries to the poor man as well as to the rich, and through your help and your recommendations, ten of thousands will avail themselves of this glorious opportunity to possess one of the most valuable and useful of books. Numerous benevolent individuals must be known amongst you who will gladly pay their shilling a week to circulate amongst the deserving poor twelve copies of a valuable Commentary.

That eminent and learned man, the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D.D., says, in a letter to me respecting this Commentary and my general plan, "I approve highly of the object of your publication and wish it all success," and the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel also observes, "I heartily wish your work success."

Magazines of all denominations have universally come forward in praise of my scheme. It is impossible to extract the opinions expressed by their eminent editors. I will, therefore, content myself with quoting the "Christian Witness" of October, 1845. When speaking of the "Domestic Bible," published by me, it says:—"All the chief religious periodicals of the time, without exception, concert, or collusion, employed the most superlative expression that language admits, in praise of this work. Mr. Arnold is personally unknown to us," &c. &c.; and again, the "Christian Examiner," in October, 1845, says (perhaps with too much zeal in speaking my praise):—"We regard him as a benefactor of his race, and are sure we are that his labours as a publisher will command the admiration of the virtuous and wise."

Reverend Sirs and Gentlemen,—I rest myself entirely on your sympathy to spread these works. This perusal of the matter contained in the three-penny editions, and, moreover, it will be illustrated on the plan of the "Domestic Bible," with scenes and customs, and not with fanciful pictures; and again, it will be a reprint of the folio edition, and not a "cut and carved" edition, to suit the fancies and whims of the publisher's vanity. I remain, Reverend Sirs and Gentlemen, your faithful servant,
 THOMAS ARNOLD.

Part I., containing the four first Numbers, price 4d., will be ready on Dec. 1st.

P.S.—Sunday School Teachers, with their Minister's recommendations, appointed agents for the sale of my publications.
 Paternoster Row, London, 1845.

WILLIAM BROWN, Esq.—MR. AGNEW has the pleasure to inform the Subscribers to the Series of Portraits of the National Anti-Corn-Law League, that Mr. Du Val has just finished a PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM BROWN, Esq., which will be immediately engraved. The artist who will have a copy will please to forward their names to Mr. Agnew, Repository of Arts, Manchester; or his sole agent, Mr. Black, at the League Rooms, Market street; and Messrs. Ackermann and Co., Strand, London.

Autograph Proofs £1 10 6 each.
 India Proofs 1 1 0
 Lettered ditto 0 10 6
 Prints 0 10 6

Mr. Agnew has no connection with any other portrait of Mr. Brown, nor has any one any authority to canvass for him.

Several other portraits of Leaguers are in a forward state. As soon as the series is complete, an Historical Account of the National Anti-Corn-Law League, with a memoir of the individuals whose portraits have been engraved, will be printed.

The following portraits are now finished:—
 Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P. John Bright, Esq., M.P.
 Robert Peel, Esq., M.P. George Wilson, Esq.
 Milner Gibson, Esq., M.P. Brotherton, Esq., M.P.
 Hon. C. Villiers, M.P. Dr. Bowring, M.P.
 John Brooks, Esq. William Rawson, Esq.
 Henry Ashworth, Esq. Colonel Thompson.
 Sir Thomas Potter.

STANDARD TRAVELLING STATIONERY WAREHOUSE.—STATIONERY, Travelling Writing desks, Envelopes and Dressing-cases, Portfolios, and Blotting-books, Inkstands, Gold and Silver Ever-pointed Pencils, Cases, Pearl and Ivory Tablets, &c.; Bibles and Prayers, in plain and elegant bindings. Name-plate engraved for 2s. 6d.; 100 best cards, 2s. 6d.; superfine letter-paper, from 8s. the ream; note-paper, from 3s. the ream; with every article in stationery of the best quality and lowest prices.
 At LOMBARD ST., No. 443, Strand, facing Catherine-street. Envelopes, 6d., 10d., and 1s. the 100.

WRITING INK.
WHITAKERS' FRENCH JET WRITING INK.

This splendid freely-flowing Ink is adapted for either steel or quill-pens, and will be found the most desirable for all offices, and for all climates, with every article in stationery of the best quality and lowest prices.
 At LOMBARD ST., No. 443, Strand, facing Catherine-street. Envelopes, 6d., 10d., and 1s. the 100.

STOOPING OF THE SHOULDERS AND CONTRACTION OF THE CHEST are entirely prevented, and gently and effectually removed in Youth and Ladies and Gentlemen, by the occasional use of the Improved Elastic Chest Expander, which, by its gentle and steady pressure, gradually and uniformly expands the chest, and thus prevents the chest from stooping, and the shoulders from contracting, and the chest from becoming contracted, and the shoulders from stooping. Sent per post, by Mr. A. JENSON, Sole Manufacturer and Proprietor, 40, Tavistock-street, Covent Garden, London, or full particulars on receiving a postage stamp.

THE OXFORD AND SALISBURY DIRECT RAILWAY.

Chairman—Thomas Downes, Esq.
 Engineer-in-Chief—Samuel Charles Bress, Esq.
 Solicitors—Messrs. Elmslie and Preston, 47, Moorgate-street.

The Committee of Management have the pleasure to announce that the proper notices have been published in the London Gazette and provincial newspapers, and that the plans, sections, and books of reference have been deposited in the Parliamentary offices and with the Clerks of the Peace in the several counties through which the line is proposed to pass. The Committee are further desirous to state that testimonials in favour of the line have been most numerous signed by the landowners, tradesmen, farmers, and inhabitants of every town throughout the county proposed to be traversed; and that the engineer of the Company assures them that the construction of the intended railway will be completed at very much less expense than he originally contemplated.

By Order of the Board.
 Moorgate Chambers, Moorgate-street, Dec. 1, 1845. Z. HUBBARD, Sec.

VOTE FOR KENT.
KENT—LONG LEASEHOLD, at a Nominal Rent of 3s. a year, and Vote for the County—TO BE SOLD, with immediate possession, a comfortable and compact Cottage, in good repair, with coach-house, two-stall stable, and every requisite for a small and respectable private family. The house stands in about an acre of garden ground, and about 18 miles from town, and the surrounding land is most beautiful. Price 400 guineas, part of which may remain on mortgage if the purchaser wish. Apply to Messrs. Finch and Shephard, solicitors, 21, Old Jewry, London.

VOTES FOR WEST KENT.
TO BE SOLD, EIGHT NEW FREEHOLD BRICK-BUILT COTTAGES (hand-tax redeemed, in the town of Cranbrook (3½ miles from the Staplehurst station on the South-Eastern Railway) for 75 guineas each, paying about 7½ per cent. Also other freehold House and Cottage Property to be sold in small lots, equally remunerative, affording qualifications for at least 12 voters. For further particulars, inquire of Mr. Charles Ranger, druggist, Cranbrook, or Messrs. Willis and Co., solicitors, Cranbrook.

FREEHOLDERS' BUILDING SOCIETY, Manchester. Shares, £50. Subscription, 10s. per Month.

John Brooks, Esq., President. Alderman Ekanah Armitage.
 Alderman William Harvey. W. Rawson, Esq.
 Alderman Charles J. S. Walker. W. Evans, Esq.

BANKERS—Messrs. Cunliffe, Brooks, & Co., Market-street.

SECRETARY—Mr. William Jackson Kelghley, 9, Princess-street, Manchester.

The object of this Society is to assist the middle and industrious classes to obtain Freehold Dwelling-houses of their own, and more especially to create a spirit of independence in the latter, and to induce habits of economy in all who have a surplus of income beyond providing for their current requirements.

2880 Shares have now been taken up. It is evident this Society will be very large, so as not only to afford a good profit to those who have savings to invest, but to enable them to secure a wish to borrow money. From the present amount of Shares the Trustees will have to receive £140 every Calendar month, which according to the constitution of the Society has to be lent out to members of the Society on real or leasehold security, so that not only may small Shareholders be at once accommodated, but those circumstances render it desirable may take up £2000 or £3000 at once.

By another adjournment of the first meeting of the Society to the 7th of January, 1846, other members have an opportunity of entering by paying the first month's subscription only—namely, 10s. on each Share.

A Sale of Shares will take place on the 16th day of January, 1846.

Persons wishing to take up Shares will do well to make early application, as the above will be the last adjournment, after which the back subscriptions will be required.

The peculiar feature in this undertaking is the facility afforded to Building Members to obtain the County Franchise in the first year; as, on all purchased Shares for building with, the monthly subscription may be reduced to 2s. 6d., thus leaving a surplus of rent beyond the encumbrance on mortgage sufficient to give a qualification.

Applications for Shares may be made to the Secretary, Mr. W. J. Kelghley, 9, Princess-street; Mr. John Hewitt, Solicitor, 47, King-street; Mr. W. Burton, Oldham st.; Mr. A. Burgess, printer, Victoria Arcade; and Mr. R. Owen, 8, Moreton-street, Strangeways, Manchester; where Rules, price 6d. and Prospectuses may be had.

H. R. H. THE PRINCE OF WALES, by gracious permission of her Majesty, from a picture by Winterhalter, at Windsor Castle. The House of Brunswick at one view. George I., George II., George III., George IV., William IV., Queen Charlotte, Queen Caroline, Princess Charlotte, the Duke of York, the Duke of Clarence, and the Duke of Kent, &c. The Robes of George IV. restored. The British Orders of the Garter, Bath, Thistle, and St. Patrick. The National Group. Mr. Cobden and Bishop of Exeter. "This is one of the best exhibitions in the metropolis."—*The Times*. Open from Eleven to Ten. Admission, 1s.; Napoleon's Room, 6d. Madame Tussaud's and Sons, Bazaar, Baker-street.

GENTLEMEN'S WINTER DRESS.

BURCH and LUCAS, 22, King William Street, London Bridge, opposite the Statue of William IV. Waterproof Overcoats, of the newest designs and best materials, kept ready, and made to order in the most improved style, at the lowest prices for Cash. The workmanship of every garment may be relied on being well and elegantly finished, the whole being made under the immediate superintendence of the Proprietors, who, being tailors, are able to answer for its superiority over the work generally sold, and which is entirely excluded from this Establishment.

An extensive and fashionable assortment of Dress and Great Coats, Summer Overcoats, Cloaks, Waistcoats, and Trousers, kept ready made.

32, King William Street, London Bridge.

LUXURY IN SHAVING.
JOHN GOSNELL and CO.'S AMBROSIAL SHAVING CREAM (Patronised by Prince Albert). This inimitable Cream possesses all the good qualities of the Finest Naples Soap, without the disagreeable smell usually attendant on that article, and in its state, it is a very healthy appearance, produces a creamy lather, which will not dry on the face, and emits in use the delightful flavour of the almond.

In Pots, price 2s. 6d., 3s. 6d., &c.

Perfumers to her Majesty, 112, Three King Court, Lombard-street, London. Manufacturers of Combs and Brushes of the best quality, and on the most approved principles.

BRUSHES—NEW INVENTIONS.

THE TRIPLE HAIR BRUSH. One stroke of this is equal to the effect of one penetrating, five small-tooth combs, and one cut comb, to be had in four sizes, No. 7, 6s. 6d., No. 8, 7s. 6d., No. 9, 8s. 6d., No. 10, 11s. 6d.

THE DOUBLE ANTI-PRESSURE NAIL BRUSH, which does not divide the quick from the nail, no pressure being required, and thoroughly cleans and polishes the nails in a tenth part of the time of any other method. Price, in Bone, No. 1, 2s. 2s. 6d. No. 3, 3s. 6d. No. 4, 4s. 6d. and of all sizes, and in Ivory.

THE NEW TOOTH-PICK BRUSH, which entirely enters between the interstices of the closest teeth; marks, full size brushes, No. 1, hard. No. 2, less hard. No. 3, middling. No. 4, soft. The Narrower Brushes, No. 5, hard. No. 6, less hard. No. 7, middling. No. 8, soft, at 1s. each, or 10s. per dozen in Bone, and 2s. each, or 21s. per dozen in Ivory, the Hair warranted never to come out.

THE MEDIUM SHAVING BRUSH, between the usual Badger Hair and Bristle Brush, being a selection of the strongest Hair only from the Badger Skin, in a variety of sizes, both in Bone and Ivory.

The above articles are the Inventions of HOSKINS and SONS, 119 and 120, Bishopsgate-street, London, and being protected, any one imitating them will be proceeded against.

CAUTION.—All persons advertising Succedaneum for stopping decayed teeth, fraudulently attempt to imitate Mr. Clarke's original Succedaneum, and if any Succedaneum than Mr. Clarke's be purchased, it will be discovered useless. Mr. Clarke can say, without the slightest exaggeration, that he has sold 3000 bottles of Succedaneum within 16 months; and 2800 individuals have been able to use it successfully; and most of the other purchasers have been able to Mr. Clarke, at his residence, Lower Grosvenor-street, London, to have their teeth stopped, without any further charge than the original cost of the Succedaneum, price 3s. Sold wholesale to all the chemists in town and country, and none in genuine unless had through Messrs. Barclay and Sons, Medical and Medicines Warehouse, 65, Abchurch-lane; or Messrs. Edwards and Son, 67, St. Paul's Church-yard; or Messrs. G. & C. Oxford-street; or Messrs. 139, Upper Thames-street, London; and other respectable wholesale Medicine Warehouses; or Mr. Clarke can send it by post to any part of the United Kingdom, on receiving a Post-office Order.

FOR STOPPING DECAYED TEETH, however large the cavity.—Patronised by Her Majesty the Queen Dowager, her Royal Highness the Duchess of Gloucester, his Grace the Duke of Wellington, and the principal Nobility.—MR. CLARKE'S SUCCEDANEUM, for stopping decayed teeth, is far superior to anything ever used before, as it is placed in the tooth without any pressure or pain, becomes as hard as the enamel immediately after application, and remains firm in the tooth for years, and only requiring extraction in unusual cases, but also making it again useful for mastication. All persons can use Mr. CLARKE'S SUCCEDANEUM themselves with ease, as full directions are enclosed. Price 6s., and sold by all respectable Medicine Vendors in town and country; and can be sent by post, on receiving a Post-office Order. Prepared only by Mr. CLARKE, Surgeon, 61, Grosvenor-street, Golden-square, removed from 63, Harley-street, Cavendish-square. **LOSS OF TEETH.**—MR. CLARKE still continues to supply the loss of teeth, from one to a complete set, upon his beautiful system of Self-adhesion, which has procured him such universal recognition in all the thousands of testimonials, and in the numerous testimonials of the Medical Profession, as being the most ingenious system of supplying artificial teeth hitherto invented. They are so contrived as to adapt themselves over the most tender gums, or remaining in the mouth, and thus saving the least pain, and the least danger, and the extraction quite unnecessary, and in order that his system may be within the reach of the most economical, he will continue the same moderate charges. Mr. CLARKE, Surgeon-Dentist, No. 61, Grosvenor-street, Golden-square, London. At home from eleven till four.

NUMBER ONE, ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.

As new goodness is not helped by praise, nor injured by reproach, so the BLACK TEA, at 4s. 6d. per lb., sold by D. KIN and COMPANY, owes its popularity solely to its intrinsic excellence.

Orders from the country forwarded Carriage Free.

THE EIDER DOWN QUILT is the warmest, the lightest, and the most elegant, covering; it is adapted for either the bed, the couch, or the carriage. Also Gorse Down Quilts at half the price. Eider Down. List of prices sent free on application to HEAL and SON, Bedding Manufacturers, 190, opposite the Chapel, Tottenham-court-road.

CHRISTMAS PRESENTS.

LOTT'S NINTH ANNUAL GRAND DISTRIBUTION of Christmas Presents. Rich Cakes, Ornamented, &c. 1233 Prizes in 5000 Shares. One Shilling each. The Drawing commences at 2 o'clock on Monday, Dec. 15th, at Brunswick House, 11, Bridge-street, Lambeth. The Prizes are all of the best quality, with artistic decorations, and worthy of public inspection.

CAUTION.—W. BERDOE feels it due, both to the Public and himself, to state, that certain parties are dishonestly attaching his name, address, and label, to garments intended to pass as his; also to a professedly waterproof composition, neither of which are made by him; and to state that the parties travelling for the purpose, is, it is proved, producing both in London and the provinces, a great deal of business. Many have bought largely, under the idea of being "Sole Agents" for their respective towns. Berdoe's well known and really Waterproof OVEIT-COATS, &c., are made, and sold in London, only at 69, Cornhill (north side), where they are always to be seen, and inspected. It is Berdoe and Burton, 39, Oxford-street (corner of Newman-street). Established in Wells-street, 1820.

IVORY-HANDLED TABLE KNIVES, 10s. per dozen; Ivory-handled table knives, with high shoulders, 10s. per dozen, if to balance, is per dozen extra; dessert, 8s.; carvers, 3s. 6d. per pair, white bone table knives, 6s. per dozen; dessert, 4s.; carvers, 2s. per pair; black horn table knives, 6s. per dozen; dessert, 4s.; carvers, 2s. 6d.; table steels, 1s. each. Table knives, with handles of the celebrated substitute for silver, only by R. and B. (which cannot be distinguished from sterling silver except by the per dozen, 12s. 6d. per pair; carvers, 18s. carvers, per pair, 6s. 6d. All marked "RIPPOON and HURTON," and warranted.

Rippon and Burton's Stock of General Furnishing Ironmongery is literally the largest in the world. They regret they cannot employ any language which can convey an adequate impression of its variety and extent; they therefore invite visitors to call and inspect it.—Rippon and Burton, 39, Oxford-street (corner of Newman-street). Established in Wells-street, 1820.

PATENT PORTABLE SUSPENSION STOVES.

MORE THAN FOUR THOUSAND of these STOVES were sold during the last winter. They have the most unqualified recommendation of the first medical practitioners of the day; because, while they yield a most genial heat, they prevent any noxious gases from the atmosphere, and ventilate the apartment they warm. They are manufactured in various sizes, for chambers, libraries, and conservatories, from 18s. and upwards; and are also made with two, three, and four pipes, for churches, chapels, or halls, according to the dimensions of the building.

GEORGE and JOHN DEANE, opening to the Monument, 46, King William-street, London-bridge.

JONES'S £4. 4s. SILVER LEVER WATCHES

warranted not to vary more than half a minute per week, are selling at the Monument, 46, King William-street, opposite Somerset-house. They combine the truth of a mathematical instrument with the elegance of an ornament of taste. On receipt of a Post-office order for 1s. above the price, a Watch will be sent free to any part of the kingdom. Read Jones's "Sketch of Watch Work," sent free for a 2d. stamp.

THE most agreeable APERIENT is WATER, its operation being instantaneous, and without the slightest uneasiness; consequently, it is found to be a remedy preferable to every other for indigestion, costiveness, bile, &c. But those who desire to relieve effectually the stomach, and to restore its natural phlegm, and to resort to it without difficulty, must apply 4s. with Dr. Scott's Aperient Vase, which even invalids and ladies may use easily. Sold only by W. Price, 369, Strand, the third house from Exeter Hall. Also SONTIER'S, variable in power, so that a deaf person may magnify voices to whatever pitch enables him to hear best. Descriptions sent post free on receipt of two letter stamps.

ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL, for inducing an

exuberant growth of hair, and for imparting a permanent gloss, and a tendency to curl, remains unrivalled. Weakness, premature greyness, relapsing baldness, or hair falling out, being entirely prevented by this "invaluable" oil. Being universally preferred, its consequent great demand excites the cupid of unprincipled Shopkeepers, who vend the most spurious trash as "Macassar Oil." It is, therefore, imperative on Purchasers to see that the words

ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL

are engraved in two lines on the Vase, and on the back of the Wrapper nearly 1500 times, containing 25.02s. half-penny. Price 3s. 6d., 7s., family bottles (equal to 4 small), 10s. 6d., and double that size, 21s. per bottle. Sold by the Proprietors at 20, Hatton-garden, London, and by Chemists and Perfumers.

ANOTHER HIT AT THE CATTLE SHOW.

Two gentlemen, a day or two ago, Chatted together at the Cattle Show.

"What do you think," said one, "of what you've seen?"

"Dye think the animals are fat or lean?"

"To be frank, from all that you have noticed here, That prize has improved the present state of the prize?"

"Well," said the other, "I have noticed all, Nor am I disappointed with a stall."

The Cattle Show of Eighteen Forty-Five Is very good, and things appear to thrive.

But, still, the prizes did not please my mind So much as prizes of a different kind.

I went to MOSES' Mart the other day— And didn't I behold a fine display?

MOSES and SON'S superior prize attire Is such as every body must admire.

I went to see them with my own free will, Being attracted by a posting bill.

And though I only went to use my eye, Very soon my vision felt inclined to buy.

For in each price of MOSES I could find Economy and excellence combin'd.

Really, 'quoth he, "you ought to visit there; Ditto, I suppose we take a cab from Portman-square."

This was enough; the other on agreed, And off they set at tolerable speed.

Nor did they once regret what they had done, In honouring E. MOSES and his SON.

LIST OF PRICES.

READY MADE.

Beaver Tails £ 8 0

Cheshamfield or Coddingtons 0 6 0

Drury's, Athol's, Pembroke, and every description of winter coats 1 5 0

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THE LEAGUE.

No. 116.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1845.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 87, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

MINISTERIAL CRISIS.

The *Morning Herald* of Thursday announced the resignation of Sir Robert Peel and the whole Cabinet. These resignations were accepted by her Majesty. Lord John Russell was immediately summoned by her Majesty to Osborne House. He went down to Southampton by an early train on Thursday, and returned to town by the midday train, on Friday. Nothing authentic has transpired as to the constitution of the new Ministry.

WHATEVER HAPPENS, QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

At no period since the commencement of the County Qualification movement, have we written the above familiar words with a more intent and earnest solicitude that their import should be thoroughly understood, and universally acted upon, than at this present moment. As we come perceptibly nearer and nearer to the last crisis of our struggle—as every week, every day, visibly hastens the approach of the hour when the question will be palpably and formally that which it always has been virtually, one between the country and the oligarchy—we are increasingly anxious that it should find the people in the highest possible state of readiness for instant and decisive action.

The events of the past week have added tenfold weight and force to our great argument, that *the people, and the people only*—that is, the ELECTORS, who, in the eyes of politicians, are the people—*can repeal the Corn Law.* Again and again we say, no Minister can “give” us Free Trade. The statesman does not live who, in this matter, can be anything more than the executive agent and organ of the popular will, as expressed at the polling booths or on the registration list. If any one thought otherwise a week ago, he knows better now. Many persons had fancied that Sir Robert Peel could, of his own will, give Free Trade. It was imagined, that, with his extraordinarily complete ascendancy over a large, powerful, and obedient party—with an autocratic domination in the Cabinet and the Legislature, such as few British Ministers have ever wielded,—Sir Robert Peel might, under favour of the support tendered him by his political opponents, carry the repeal of the Corn Law with perfect certainty and tolerable facility. It was thought by some of us, that he had but to say “The thing must and shall be done”—

and the thing would be done, as a matter of course. All a mistake. It turns out that Sir Robert Peel can do nothing of the kind. He has tried and failed. Sir Robert Peel has said “The thing must and shall be done”—and the consequence is, Sir Robert Peel is no longer a Minister of the Crown. Even he cannot beard landlordism with impunity; and if he cannot, no one can. Nobody has ever dreamed that there was a second man among living English statesmen, with powers and resources adequate to this stupendous task. Free Trade by mere fiat of a Minister is now seen to be a flat impossibility. The first Minister who has attempted it—the only Minister who, from his peculiar political position and relations, possibly could have attempted, with the slightest chance of success, to carry the country easily through this great legislative revolution—has broken down at the very outset of the enterprise. In becoming a Free Trader, he ceases to be a Minister. The power which made him has unmade him. There is now no one between the country and the oligarchy—the question is left altogether in the people's hands.

That is to say—as we have repeatedly urged on our readers, and now urge again more emphatically than ever—the question is left in the hands of those who, in the view of politicians and party leaders, and according to the constitution of the country, are the people—the LEGALLY QUALIFIED AND REGISTERED VOTERS. No power on earth can decide this contest but the power of votes—the legal power of votes actually given at the polling-booth, or the moral power of votes duly registered, and ready to be given, when called for. It is this power, and only this, that can put and keep any Minister in a position to propose and carry the abolition of the landlords' Corn Law. It is this power, and only this, that can depose the Richmonds and Buckinghams from their oligarchical throne, and wrench the sceptre from the hands of the bread-taxers. This is the only power they fear. It is not Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell that they live in awe of, but the 40s. freeholders. Their ravings the other day at their grand Protection Society meeting, show how they feel the reality and potency of our qualification movement. They find themselves losing the political monopoly, which is the sole prop and cement of their food monopoly. *This is where they are hurt*—and their cry of pain and passion is a signal to *hit again, and hit hard.*

We rejoice to be able to report that the work, thus far, is going on admirably well. The seven meetings within 10 days which Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright have lately attended in different parts of the country, for the express purpose of stimulating and organising this county qualification movement, give cheering evidence of the intelligence and determination with which the matter is taken up by the Free Traders in not a few of our most important counties. In addition to all that had been previously done, since the last registration, in North Lancashire and the West Riding (where the Free Traders are qualifying by thousands), crowded and enthusiastic meetings have been held at Gloucester, Stroud, Bath, Bristol, Wootton-under-Edge, Nottingham, and Derby, which have resulted in the establishment of an active and efficient organisation for creating a Free Trade landed interest in the several counties belonging to those towns.

We trust, however, that all this is to be regarded only as the small beginning of that which will be done, before the 30th of January next shall close this year's qualification campaign. *Whatever happens, we must go on with the work of WINNING COUNTIES.* Nothing possibly can happen to supersede its necessity, or lessen its urgency. We are

the more anxious to impress this distinctly on our readers, as it is possible that the prospect of an early general election—which, of course, will be taken on the registration of 1845—may appear, to some, to diminish the importance of endeavouring to obtain titles to votes, which will not be then available. Let no such consideration operate for a moment to induce a relaxation of effort. There could not be a graver practical error. Qualifications taken out now will tell in and upon the next House of Commons, even though the votes to which such qualifications confer a title should have no actual share in its election. The moral effect and impression of those electoral triumphs of which we are already assured, under the recent registration, will be amazingly enhanced if it be known that they are but an inconsiderable fraction of those which another appeal to the constituencies, a few months later, would produce—that there is yet a vast *reserve fund* of organised voting powers behind, which one more registration will develop into full activity. The Free Trade members for South Lancashire and the West Riding will stand in a far more authoritative and commanding position, if it be distinctly understood that there are *more coming*—that they are the representatives of a NEW POWER which, instead of having exhausted itself in the effort necessary to achieve a few brilliant successes, is still GROWING, still striking deeper root and shooting out lustrier branches. The importance of three, four, or half a dozen counties, actually won under the registration of 1845, will be immensely increased by the fact that a dozen or a score more are virtually won by qualifications which only need the formal ratification of the revising barrister. In no case whatever let the efforts of our friends be suspended or relaxed for an instant, merely because an election is likely to take place before those efforts can meet with their full and visible reward.

And who can tell what contingencies may arise after the next appeal to the constituencies? What if the House of Lords throw out the Bill for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Law? What if a *second general election* should become necessary before all is settled? We only mention these things as possibilities; but the country must be prepared for ALL possibilities. There is no knowing what may happen before Free Trade reaches its destination in the statute-book. We only know that the faction is very strong, very angry, and daringly reckless and unscrupulous. They give us public warning that they are ripe for any madness. Their leader tells us, in their name, that they “*look still to the hereditary peerage of England.*” We must not expect to see this question carried without a tremendous struggle. We must arm ourselves with all the strength we can, present and prospective. Our only chance of an early and complete victory lies in making such an overwhelming demonstration of *voting power*, ready for whatever contingency may arise, as shall scare and paralyse the monopolists, and embolden the Free Trade Minister to resort unhesitatingly to ANY measures requisite for putting a prompt end to a system which threatens, as its death-hour approaches, to be, more than ever, “*the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter divisions among classes, THE CAUSE OF PENURY, FEVER, MORTALITY, AND CRIME AMONG THE PEOPLE.*”

With a full confidence in the energy, activity, and persevering steadiness of our countrymen, we commit this great issue to their hands. Whatever happens—let who may be “in,” or “out”—let there not be an instant's wavering of purpose, relaxation of effort, or loss of time. England and humanity have need now, not of eloquent talkers or enthusiastic and delighted listeners, but of EARNEST DOERS.

UNION OF THE MIDDLE AND WORKING CLASSES.

The excellent address of the Executive Committee of the Complete Suffrage Union to the working classes of Great Britain and Ireland, which we print in another column, will be read with lively satisfaction by all earnest Free Traders. We value it, not only as announcing the adhesion to our ranks of a gentleman of wide, public, and social influence, whose honesty and disinterestedness in any cause to which he devotes himself are above all question, but likewise as affording another proof, in addition to those which have of late so rapidly multiplied upon us, that the working classes of this country perfectly understand how deeply they are interested in the struggle against monopoly, and are fully determined to bear their part in it.

This is a most cheering feature—it is the most cheering feature—in the recent history of our agitation. Everywhere the working classes are with us, heart and hand. That, as Mr. Sturge says, *"It is certain that the working classes, above all others, will benefit by the destruction of the monopoly of food,"* is now the conviction of thousands and thousands of those who, in the earlier years of the Free Trade movement, were indifferent or hostile. The signs of this altered state of feeling and opinion, with which, for some weeks past, our columns have abounded, yield a gratifying confirmation of the faith which we have always felt, and on which we have steadily acted, in the intelligence of the working men of Great Britain, and in the power of experience and discussion to win their eventual adhesion to the cause of just and sound principles. Everywhere they participate in the public meetings through which the national voice is now so powerfully expressing itself, and form the majority of those crowded and enthusiastic gatherings which strike terror into the ranks of monopoly, and turn the trembling balance of Ministerial policy. In some instances—as at Manchester, Glasgow, Preston, Lancaster and Kendal—working men have had meetings of their own, and conducted them in a way which amply attests their intelligence of their rights, and their determination to assert them. In others—as at Bolton and Gateshead—working men have moved and carried adjournments of public meetings to the evening, that they might the better be able to join their voice with that of the middle classes in denouncing the common wrongs of both. At the meeting of the inhabitants of Southwark, when certain of the old monopolist fallacies unexpectedly made their appearance once more above ground, they were promptly consigned, by working-class speakers, to the place whence they were taken. And among the most perspicuous and impressive memorials to the Premier for the opening of the ports, was that which appeared in our columns three weeks ago, from the Operative Cotton Spinners of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire.

Everywhere, without a single exception, so far as we recollect, have the working-men of England joined us in this crisis of our struggle. They have learned by experience. They remember past years of distress and privation. They have traced effects to their causes; and they know that like effects will again follow, now and always, from like causes. They see through, and laugh to scorn, the despicable "wages" mystification with which monopolists have sought to bamboozle them. That hoax will not do again. They understand, once for all, that capital and labour have common rights, common interests, and common wrongs; that profits and wages are not antagonistic elements, but simply different portions of the one great fund of industrial accumulation—both subjected to the same natural laws, and dependent on the same conditions for their increase or diminution; and that the capitalist and the labourer alike—the worker by head, and the worker by hand—are, after all, members of one and the same community of industrial producers.

This union of classes would, of itself—even apart from those peculiar circumstances of the present season which have so powerfully and unexpectedly accelerated the action of the public mind, and shaken the nerves of a Protectionist Ministry—be decisive of the early and complete success of our struggle. United, the middle and working classes

must ever govern this country. As they make and keep the country, so do they, in the last resort, rule it. Never did they unite yet in a common course of national policy, without forcing that policy on the adoption of the Government. Nothing but their disunion can ever give even a temporary chance of ascendancy to any power, or combination of powers, adverse to their common rights and interests. It was the supineness of the middle classes that allowed of the enactment of the Corn Law of 1815—it has been, through a delusion of the working classes, that we are now in the eighth year of an Anti-Corn-Law agitation. The monopolists perfectly well understand this, and have accordingly, in former years, resorted to the most unscrupulous frauds and falsehoods to effect and perpetuate that disunion by which alone monopoly can subsist. All this is now for ever at an end. The trick is found out, and can never be tried again with the shadow of a chance of success. The working men of England have brought their sturdy will, and plain vigorous common-sense into the field against a bread-taxing oligarchy, and the fate of the Corn Law is as certain, and as near, as was the fate of Gatton and Old Sarum this time 14 years ago.

On every ground we rejoice in this union and fellowship of all the industrious classes in one common cause. It would have been a pity that the repeal of the Corn Law should have been carried without the aid of those who, "above all others, will benefit by the destruction of the monopoly of food." The victory would have lost half its moral and social value if achieved without their co-operation. We rejoice to triumph *with* and *by* them, and not merely *for* them. They would have been perfectly welcome to their natural and inevitable share of the fruits of our labours; but we like to see them take a share of the battle, too. It is *their* question, and we are delighted to see them adopt it as such. The working-men of England ought not to owe to the middle class, or to any other class, their fruition of the first of working-men's rights—the right to earn and eat.

The beneficial effects of this union of all ranks and orders of the industrial community, in the assertion and realisation of a common industrial right, will survive the attainment of its immediate object. Long after the Corn Law shall have ceased to exist, the moral results of a popular movement, which has brought together classes heretofore divided, will continue their benign operation. Men who have once worked together, and fought together, side by side—who have suffered under a common oppression, united in a common effort for self-deliverance, and won a common victory—are thenceforth linked by ties not lightly to be sundered. In the present union of the middle and working-classes of Great Britain—rather, of the different sections of the *one* class or community of British working-men—we have a tolerably sure pledge that class feelings, imaginary class interests, and sectional jealousies will not again resume their baneful influence.

TO THE WORKING CLASSES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN.—We are associated for the purpose of aiding you to obtain, by peaceable and Christian means an equal share in the choice of those who make the laws you are bound to obey; and though the right to civil, religious, and commercial freedom is based upon the same great principles, we have acted on the conviction that civil liberty should be first secured, inasmuch as religious and commercial freedom, obtained without it, would stand upon a precarious and uncertain foundation. Yet we deem it our duty at the present time to recommend a temporary deviation from this course.

By a dispensation of Providence, multitudes, especially in Ireland, are deprived of a large proportion of the food on which they chiefly depend for subsistence, and an obligation has thus been thrown upon every class to do all in its power to encourage a prompt and liberal import of provisions. This circumstance has also greatly increased the probability of a final and complete repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws, as many who were previously uninfluenced by the most cogent arguments are now, from the fear of the near approach of famine, ready to support such a measure.

Even if it were correct that the Anti-Corn-Law agitation has been a mere struggle between the manufacturing and landed aristocracy, it is certain that the working classes, above all others, will benefit by the destruction of the monopoly of food. And we are persuaded that among these benefits they may calculate upon one which has not hitherto had its full share of consideration—namely, the healing influence which this measure of justice will exercise in bringing many whose judgment is now blinded by their supposed interest in the existence of the Corn Laws, to see clearly the monstrous injustice of the present state of our representation, and to aid in the extinction of a system which gives to property and not to man, the elective franchise. It should never be forgotten that in former times some of the noblest sacrifices on behalf of the rights of the people have

been made by those who derived their sole revenue from the soil of England.

Such a result we should not anticipate from any mere modification of the Corn Laws, and it rests with you to come forward and see that no compromise be made, and to give your support to nothing short of their entire repeal.

In offering our advice at the present crisis, we act on our individual responsibility, and while we respectfully but earnestly appeal to you not to stand by indifferent spectators of the exertions now making for the overthrow of the monopoly in food, we would as strongly urge you not to relax from any legitimate effort, until you have obtained those civil and political rights to which you are alike entitled by Christian equity and by the British Constitution. We are persuaded that a conviction of the injustice of withholding these rights is rapidly though silently progressing amongst those who have the power to grant them, and that this conviction will be accelerated by giving your unanimous and cordial support to measures for averting a great and impending national calamity, and for the complete removal of an iniquitous and disgraceful system, which, while it has long tarnished the character of this country, has at the same time inflicted an incalculable amount of suffering upon an oppressed but industrious people.

Signed, on behalf of the acting members of the Executive Committee of the Complete Suffrage Union.

JOSEPH STURGE, Chairman.

Birmingham, 12th month (December) 4th, 1845.

RETROSPECT OF THE CORN LAWS.

The enactment of a law to raise the price of food for the purpose of sustaining high rents, will render the year 1815 a more marked period in history even than the battle of Waterloo. This law was based on certain resolutions proposed in the House of Commons by Mr. F. Robinson, (now Earl of Ripon) on the 17th of February, 1815. In reading the speech with which the resolutions were introduced, it is rather curious to find that the precedent of restrictions on the wool trade was the argument on which the mover principally relied, because that very trade now forms the most striking instance which analogy can afford of the inutility of restrictive laws to protective interests, and their detriment to all other classes. Among the opponents of the proposed law, we find Sir Robert Peel, the father of the present Premier, and we shall extract a portion of one of his speeches:

"He was anxious to correct a mistake which seemed to prevail in the House, that the interests of the landowner and manufacturer were conflicting and incompatible. They were in the view of enlightened policy the same, and the success or ruin of the one was the success or ruin of the other; inasmuch as the country generally had been enriched by the sale of our manufactures, the landholders had received their share of wealth and advantages. It had been the wise policy of former Governments to keep the price of the chief article of subsistence as low as possible. Upon this principle Mr. Pitt had acted with success, but the system now was about to be changed. It was undoubtedly true that the rent of land would be diminished by the unlimited importation of corn; but if the resolutions upon the table passed in their present shape, the manufactures of the towns would be destroyed, and the land must consequently be depreciated. Corn might be grown, but paupers would be the only customers for it. It was in truth impossible to separate the two interests. The value of land in some places had within memory increased three-fold, the owners had derived their benefit from the political state of things, and now they must suffer the depreciation produced by an alteration in that political state. With respect to our manufacturers it was allowed that during the war our triumphant situation on the sea had enabled us to force a trade without rivals; but now we were open to competition it would be madness in us to throw fresh obstacles in the way of those who had so many to contend against. In his opinion it might be fairly argued that the manufacturer had been the great benefactor of the landed interest. He did not say that his design was to serve the landowner. That had been the effect of the flourishing state of our manufactures, and in the difficulties now to be encountered the landowner ought to participate. By the measures now upon the table, the wise system pursued for years was about to be subverted, and the labourers prevented from putting the real wealth of the country into that marketable shape, by which this country had been hitherto made the envy of surrounding nations."

Subsequently he declared that "the more the measure became known, the more generally it was execrated and condemned." The feelings of the public on the subject were indeed sufficiently proved by the fact that the petition against the measure, from the city of London, received 40,571 signatures in less than ten hours; and that the civic petition to the Lords was signed by more than 80,000 persons. When, however, it became manifest that the patrons of famine-prices were resolved to pass a law to create artificial scarcity, the greatest excitement prevailed in the metropolis. On the evening of the 6th of March, crowds collected round the avenues of the House of Commons to deprecate the taxation of their bread. Those who were known to be favourable to raising a revenue for landlords by taxing the food of the labourers were hooted; and those who, like Mr. Baring (now Lord Ashburton), were opposed to the plunder of the industrious for the benefit of the idle, received some applause. The carriages of a few members were stopped to ascertain how they intended to vote; and this was made the pretext for ordering out a

military force, which acted so violently, that Mr. Lambton (the late Lord Durham) was nearly trampled down by a troop of horse. He rushed into the House of Commons, and interrupted the debate to protest against the unconstitutional display of an armed force to overawe the deliberations of Parliament. It was with some difficulty that the excitement within doors was calmed; but outside, notwithstanding the presence of the military, it continued to increase in violence. Several of the houses of the leading bread taxers were attacked; but wherever the inmates exhibited forbearance, very little damage was done. Lord Ellenborough came forward, and remonstrated with the multitude; and they were so pleased with his deportment, that he was loudly cheered.

Far different was the scene at the house of Mr. F. Robinson (now Lord Ripon), the original propounder of the bread tax; fire-arms were discharged from his parlour-windows, which proved fatal to two innocent persons, Mr. E. Vyse, a midshipman, and Mrs. Watson. It was consistent that a law to produce starvation should be baptized in blood. Wilful murder by the musket was a proper preliminary to wilful murder by famine. This is not our language; it is the verdict of the coroner's juries in both cases. The coroner's inquest on Mr. Vyse found "Wilful murder against some person or persons firing shot from and out of fire-arms from Mr. Robinson's windows;" that on Jane Watson returned a verdict of "Wilful murder against Mr. Robinson's butler and three soldiers." In Mr. Wilberforce's Life we find a letter to his son, giving a very graphic description of his situation; when in the hope of winning some votes on the Slavery question he gave his support to the iniquitous Corn Law.

"Were you to enter the dining-room at family prayer time, without having received some explanation of our appearance, you would probably think that we were expecting a visit from the ex-emperor and his friends at Kensington Gore, and had prepared a military force to repel his assault. For you would see four soldiers and a sergeant, together with another stranger (a peace-officer), who, as far as bodily strength would go, would play his part as well as any of them. The fact is that we had reason to apprehend some mischief for our house, in consequence of the part which I had judged it my duty to take on the Corn Bill; and, as your mother, &c., was advised to evacuate the place, I preferred the expedient which had been adopted by Mr. Bankes, and several other of my friends, that of having four or five soldiers in my house—the very knowledge of their being there rendering an attack improbable. But it was a curious instance of the rapid circulation of intelligence, that at Covent-garden market, early on Saturday morning, John Sharman, who sells garden-stuff, being there to purchase for the supply of his shop, was hooted after with, 'So your old master has spoken for the Corn Bill (I had only spoken the night before), but his house shall pay for it.' All, however, is hitherto quiet, and I trust will continue so."

It is well worth while to notice the precipitation with which the Corn Law was hurried through Parliament; it was first broached in the House of Commons on the 17th of February; it was passed in the House of Lords on the 20th of March. In the interval, the City of London prayed to be heard by counsel against a measure so pregnant with danger to the trade and commerce of the country; but this reasonable request was rejected with something like contumely. It must be added, that the ensuing harvest, which was unusually abundant, pacified the public mind by producing a great and rapid fall in the price of grain; and at the same time that the agricultural classes, who had trusted to the law to sustain prices, were doomed to endure the most bitter disappointment.

We shall return again to this period of our history, and show that the circumstances under which the Corn Laws originated furnish abundant reasons for their repeal.

SCARCITY AND WAGES.

In 1842, the great cry of the monopolists was, that cheap bread must necessarily lead to low wages. Events quickly refuted the fallacy, for in 1843 the price of bread fell, and the rate of wages was immediately raised in all the manufacturing districts; and now, in 1845, as bread has risen, the amount of employment has decreased, and the rate of wages has been proportionally diminished. The twin luminaries that reflect the light of the Cabinet, the *Standard* and the *Herald* admit the fact, and recommend the manufacturers to diminish their production. Now, it is curious that the authors of this precious advice do not pretend to know

that a diminution of production is identical with a diminution of employment and a decrease in the amount of wages; their advice to the manufacturers in plain English is, employ fewer hands, put those whom you do employ on short time, and thus save the amount of wages which you now expend on production, not likely to afford you remuneration. We can scarcely imagine men so ignorant as not to perceive that this is the obvious meaning and purport of their clamour about gluts and over-production. It is, however, worth while to enquire by what process the supposed "glut" could be effected; a glut is the result of supply exceeding demand, not the result of supply exceeding actual want. If the number of buyers be artificially diminished while supply continues in the same ratio, there must of course be an apparent glut, and we are prepared to show that this is the sole cause of the "over-production" which is so laboriously urged on us by the *Herald* and the *Standard*. The "glut" has arisen from cessation of demand; the real point of enquiry is fairly stated in the *Times*:

"What is the present price of corn, and what are its bearings on the actual prosperity of the nation? We will take our figures from the speakers at the Liverpool meeting. On the authority of Mr. THORNELEY, who had instituted inquiries for the purpose, we are told that Irish wheat of the old crop was at 6s. 3d. per 70lb. in May last, and is now at 9s. 3d.; oats were at 8s. per 45lb. in May, and are now at 4s. 2d.; oatmeal at 24s. 6d. per 240lb. then, 34s. now; flour at 34s. per 280lb. then, and 51s. now. According to these quotations, the "staff of life" is now half as dear again as it was last May. The operative and labourer have to give half as much again for their bread, their flour, or their porridge, as they did only seven months since; and if they were then obliged to take half their weekly receipts to the baker's shop, on the same wages they are obliged to take three-quarters now, and have consequently only half as much to spare for all the other necessities of existence, including clothes, fuel, and rent. If it be suggested that their wages are probably somewhat advanced, we all know that they are not advanced in proportion, and in the case of those branches of industry which depend on the foreign market, wages cannot be advanced at all without accumulating difficulties, which will one day involve all the parties concerned in a common calamity."

The same fact has been stated by Mr. Brown in another form; "we are now paying more for provisions by 400,000*l.* per week than we did at this time last year," consequently this sum is subtracted from the demand for manufactured goods, and therefore from the source out of which wages are to be paid. But this is not all; there are stores of corn in America which would be exchanged for our manufactures were not import prohibited by our restrictive laws. While the demand in the home market is lessened by 400,000*l.*, the Corn Laws cut off a foreign demand of at least the same amount; that is, they prevent an expenditure of more than 800,000*l.* weekly on the employment of the working-classes. It is no wonder that the *Herald* and *Standard* should discover "a glut," when such a sum is abstracted from effective demand.

The *Herald* admits the glut in manufactures, but denies the scarcity of food; we assert that the two facts are identical. The *Times* justly remarks,

"Scarcity is a comparative term. Bread may be scarce, more scarce, very scarce, intolerably scarce. It has always been scarce to the millions who cannot get it, and are obliged to satisfy their hunger with a coarser and more precarious food. It is by comparison scarce to the Englishman who got enough for himself and his family last year, but is obliged to stint them now. It is a penny a gallon scarcer, when it is a penny a gallon dearer. It is scarce by comparison with the means to procure it, and the commodities with which it may be exchanged. Compared with gold, wheat is as scarce now at 70s. a quarter, as it was at 90s. during the war. Compared with the price of clothing—that is, with those commodities which the Manchester operative has to offer in exchange for food—wheat is very much scarcer and dearer than it was in any year of the war. This scarcity is not a mere apprehension, not a bugbear, not an abstraction, but a practical, a domestic, and a personal fact. It comes home to the feelings of a labourer with a force and reality which no reasoning or eloquence can impart. He knows the scarcity because he feels it. He has less to eat. He has, therefore, no occasion to summon a Cabinet Council to canvass the question of impending scarcity. Seeing what a sober and sad reality scarcity is to millions of our fellow-subjects, we can regard it as nothing less than impious for statesmen to remove their eyes from the fact, and make it only a question of the future. Let them scoff at a panic if they please, but the hardest heart must learn to reverence the presence of actual want. The first thing for the Cabinet to consider is, how to deal with the existing amount of scarcity, which cannot be denied."

The gentlemen of the Ashton deputation placed in the hands of the Premier returns, furnished by the operatives themselves, of the increased expenditure of their families consequent on the advance in the price of food; it averages 8*d.* per head per week for each member of the family. This is subtracted from wages by the Corn Law as effectively as if the employer had made a reduction to the same amount, with the additional evil that, in

stead of being held as a fund to provide future employment, it is unproductively consumed and virtually annihilated. While, therefore, scarcity and the danger of famine are admitted, we are throwing away, or rather utterly destroying every week a fund sufficient for the maintenance of four millions of persons in comparative comfort; and a still larger number, if the amount had been devoted to remunerative production, yielding fair profit on capital.

We have often demonstrated that wages must fall when provisions become scarce; facts have borne decisive evidence to the truth of our reasonings. Never did trade receive so severe and sudden a check as that which has been experienced within the last few weeks; the demand for labour has fallen in the same proportion as the demand for goods, and the demand for goods has sunk with the ability of consumers to purchase manufactures when their resources are exhausted by the high price of food. The price of labour has fallen as that of bread has risen, and the distressed operatives exclaim with Hood,—

"O God! that bread should be so dear,
And flesh and blood so cheap!"

PUBLIC MEETINGS.

We again find it perfectly impossible to keep pace with the progress of the national demonstration against monopoly. Our columns this week, crowded as they are with reports of public meetings held in every part of the country, afford but imperfect and fragmentary specimens of that "unequivocal expression of the public voice," which is now thundering forth the death-doom of the landlords' bread tax. In addition to those which we have been able to report, wholly or in part, are very many others, no less important and influential, which we must content ourselves with merely naming. At Doncaster, on Wednesday, and at Exeter, on Thursday, public town's-meetings assembled to petition her Majesty, or memorialise ministers, to take prompt and decisive measures for affording a sufficient supply of food to the people. At the last-named meeting, Mr. Divett, who has hitherto supported a fixed duty, announced his conviction "that the time for compromise has passed." Sir John Duckworth had "business of much importance," and was unable to attend. We are not disposed to cavil at the honourable member's apology; his constituents will probably recognise its validity, and take the earliest opportunity of relieving the busy baronet of all public demands on his invaluable time. At Derby, a crowded, enthusiastic, and most successful meeting (the seventh within ten days) was held on Tuesday, and attended by Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, with the object of organising a Free Trade qualification movement in that populous district.

Perhaps the most important and gratifying demonstrations of the week have been those of the metropolis, and its boroughs, parishes, and suburbs. On Thursday, a special meeting of the Common Council of the City of London, held in the Guildhall under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, resolved, almost unanimously, on an address to her Majesty, attributing the present "great anxiety and distress," and "danger of famine" immediately consequent on the potato failure, "to erroneous legislation, which, by excluding the importation of food and restricting commerce, shuts out from the people the bounty and goodness of God." In the borough of Southwark, and the districts or parishes of St. Pancras, Farringdon Without, St. Luke's, the Liberty of the Rolls, St. Martin's in the Fields, and Clerkenwell, public meetings have been held within the last day or two; all numerously attended, and all hearty, unanimous, and enthusiastic in their denunciation of monopoly. The metropolis is nobly doing its duty. The old difficulty of moving London is a difficulty no longer. This gigantic mass of human intelligence, energy, and will, is thoroughly aroused to action.

Our friends at a distance may be scarcely aware of the important and influential character of those district or suburban demonstrations, which are this week enumerated in our columns. The true value of these metropolitan expressions of opinion will be understood when we state that the meeting of this evening will be the *seventeenth* held within a period of no more than three weeks; that the average attendance at each may be stated at not less than *one thousand*; that hundreds seeking admittance have been necessarily excluded from want of room; that they are *not League meetings*, but spontaneous expressions of the popular feeling and opinion of the localities in which they are held; and that they are, in no way whatever, *party meetings*, but are freely attended by men of all shades of political sentiment, Whig, Tory, and Radical. The old spirit of 1815 is again in full life and activity—with the difference only, that it seeks those wiser, safer, and immeasurably more efficient modes of utterance and action, taught by the eventful years of national experience that have intervened. London hates monopoly as heartily as in the days when hired spies went about sounding the probabilities of popular endurance, and fixed bayonets lined the avenues to the halls of legislation where landlords enacted their sordid and cruel famine law. The only difference is, that London and the empire have now found "a more excellent way" of resisting oligarchical oppression, and have learned the use and mastery of weapons against which all the agencies of fraud and force are alike impotent.

GREAT FREE TRADE DEMONSTRATION.

MANCHESTER.

A great and interesting meeting of the Anti-Corn-Law League was held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on Wednesday night, when Mr. Thomas Milner Gibson and Mr. W. J. Fox were present by invitation to deliver addresses, and Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright also attended. The greatest excitement prevailed for several days previously, on the part of the public, to get tickets of admission, and many persons came a distance of 20 or 30 miles to be present. When the usual supply of tickets was exhausted, every gentleman known to be connected with the Council was applied to for the exertion of his personal interest on behalf of applicants; and many gentlemen we know in this position denied themselves the gratification of being present, and gave up their own tickets. Under these circumstances, it is scarcely necessary to say that the Hall was crammed; the doors, in fact, had to be closed against the multitudes who besieged them nearly 10 minutes before the time announced for the proceedings to commence.

At 25 minutes after 7 o'clock, the Chairman, George Wilson, Esq., took his place on the platform, accompanied by Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P.; John Bright, Esq., M.P.; T. M. Gibson, Esq., M.P.; Jos. Brotherton, Esq., M.P.; W. J. Fox, Esq., and other gentlemen; and amongst upwards of 500 other persons of respectability and influence on the platform, we observed the Mayor of Salford, General Briggs, Alderman Walker, Mr. W. R. Callender, the President of the Chamber of Commerce (Mr. Bazley), Mr. W. Rawson, Mr. H. Rawson, Mr. Edward Grundy, of Park Hills, Bury; Mr. D. Ainsworth, Mr. W. Bickham, Mr. S. Lees, Mr. S. P. Robinson, Mr. W. Evans, Mr. Alderman Potter, Mr. T. B. Potter, Mr. Alderman Lockett, Mr. Thomas Bright, Mr. J. T. Crook, (Liverpool), Mr. J. B. Smith, Mr. S. Matley, Mr. Samuel Nicholls, Mr. B. Syddall, Mr. George Sale, of Atherton; Mr. O. S. Leavitt, of Louisville, U. S.; Mr. G. C. Crook, of New York; Mr. R. P. Livingston, Mr. Alderman Bird, Mr. Chadwick, Rev. Dr. Massie, and Mr. J. A. Royle.

The minutes of the last meeting having been read and confirmed,

The CHAIRMAN rose amidst great cheering, and when it had subsided, said: Ladies and gentlemen—in the course of an uphill agitation for seven years, we have frequently met here at periods of great excitement and encouragement, as well as during some of considerable doubt and anxiety. But I think you will agree with me, that often as we have met here with high hopes of ultimate success, it has never been our pleasure to assemble together when such bright prospects stood before us as now present themselves in the closing struggle now about to take place to decide the fate of these monopolies. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Our position is materially changed. We no longer see the question of the total repeal of the Corn Laws regarded as one which can be postponed. Parties in office, and parties out of office—monopolists, as well as others, are fast coming to the conclusion that this question cannot be postponed much longer without great peril to the community. (Cheers.) It is no part of our duty—it is unnecessary to repeat here what has been stated a thousand times before, that the League fights under no party banner for party victories—(hear, hear). We rejoice to see any accession of strength, from whatever quarter it may present itself; we rejoice to seek any alliance which can promote the unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws from any party who may present themselves with that view—(hear, hear); but I think you will agree with me, that the events which have recently occurred in reference to the change of opinion on the part of the noble lord, the member for the city of London, Lord John Russell,—(loud cheers)—and the public accession to our ranks of that distinguished nobleman who lately represented the West Riding of Yorkshire, are events not likely to be passed over in a meeting of the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Great cheers.) If ever party—if ever question required less of ancestral honours on the part of those who lead it, it is this; if ever question was better presented by our leaders than another, it is this. (Hear, hear.) No one can afford better than the League to put aside such alliances as these; but in stepping forward and writing that noble, and manly, and patriotic address to the electors of the City of London which Lord John Russell has done—in extending the right hand of fellowship from the electors of London—the representatives of London to the representatives of the commercial districts,—in shaking hands with them on this question, he has linked himself with a cause which will reflect more lasting honour on his name and character than any one with which it may have been his pride and privilege to have been connected. (Cheers.) If report also be true, we may expect alliances in other quarters than those to which I have referred. The *Times* says—and who shall deny it—(hear, hear), the *Times* says that these Corn Laws are destined to have no longer an existence; and that not to Mr. Villiers and others shall be delegated the pleasing task of putting them to death, but to Sir Robert Peel. (Cheers and laughter.) And he is to put them out of their misery at one single stroke. (Hear, hear.) Now the *Standard* and *Herald* deny that such is the case. I am not aware that these papers are regarded as the best authorities in this district; but if it be true, and I hope it is true—if Sir Robert Peel chooses at the eleventh hour to shake off the trammels of faction, and stand before his fellow countrymen with the charter of their industrial freedom in his hands, then no man will be hailed as a greater patriot in the meetings of the League than Sir Robert Peel. (Loud cheers.) If he will draw a bill for total repeal, the League will endorse it. (Hear, hear, from Mr. Cobden, and cheers.) But if, on the other hand, it is his intention to patch up the present measure, to continue a rag of monopoly—to continue either sliding-scale or fixed duty, or any duty at all, then he will be deceiving himself—he will be deceiving others. If he thinks, by any partial measure, that he can put an end to this agitation, he is deceiving himself. No more than he did in 1842 will he be able in 1846 to put an end to this movement, or prevent the reappraising of the last remnant of monopoly, that it may be scattered to the winds. (Cheers.) Our business, however, in this state of uncertainty, is not with the Cabinet, but with the country. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) And I rejoice to think, that if the monopolists have been perusing the reports of the meetings which have been held within the last three weeks, considerable light must have been thrown upon that quarter. There never yet, in the history of past agitations in this country, has been a period like it; it is not that Liverpool and Birmingham, and Bath, and Bristol, and Edinburgh have had their meetings—but look at the map of the country; take out the leading towns throughout it, and you will find, with but few exceptions, that every large town, or town

of any importance, has had its meeting; some have had two; and at none of these meetings have the resolutions been otherwise than unanimous in favour of this question. From one end of the kingdom to the other the cry has been ringing in the ears of her Majesty's ministers, "Open the ports, and let the corn in free!" (Cheers.) Coincident with these meetings, our friends, Messrs. Cobden and Bright, have been conducting the attacks of the League upon the counties. (Cheers.) I have, in my pocket, a list of the meetings these patriotic gentlemen have attended since we last assembled together in this Hall, and I will read it—Halifax, Huddersfield, Birmingham, Blackburn, Burnley, Leeds, Sheffield, Preston, Wakefield, Gloucester, Stroud, Bristol, Bath, Nottingham, Derby, and Wootton-under-Edge—in all, 16 meetings. (Loud cheers.) In addition to these meetings, more than 60 have been held in reference to the opening of the ports, and 17 in the metropolitan boroughs, attended by Mr. R. R. Moore, and others. We never should have advised this second attack upon the counties, unless, by past experience, we had felt justified in the policy of it; and in order that you may judge of the success of that policy, I shall detain you four or five minutes longer than you may know the results of our registration movements in the revision courts last October. The first county to which I shall refer, is one over which the monopolists have sung their songs in triumph, as having defeated the League therein—North Warwickshire. Owing to casualties over which we can have no control, certain unfavourable results in some portions of the county attended the efforts of the League. All that can be said is, that the monopolists have had a narrow escape. (Hear.) Our clear gain in that county on the registration is 100 votes, or two per cent. upon the whole number of voters. (Hear, hear.) We then threw a shell into Buckinghamshire. In that county we have obtained a gain of 328 votes, which is equal to $\frac{5}{8}$ per cent. upon the entire register. (Hear, hear.) We next proceeded to East Gloucester. We have had a gain in claims there of 22 votes; in objections, of 249; making a total of 271, or equal to 3 per cent. The monopolist majority was only 70; and if no change in parties has taken place, the county is redeemed, and we have a majority of 201. (Cheers.) The next county is East Somersetshire. We have had a gain in claims of 216, or two per cent. on the whole register; and in objections, of 358, or four per cent.—the total gain being 574, or five per cent. One of the representatives is Col. Gore Langton, a thorough repealer, and we hope next election to place another by his side. (Loud cheers.) We next come to South Cheshire. Our gain in claims was 220, or $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.; on objections 177, or $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.; the total gain being 397, or $\frac{5}{8}$ per cent. The monopolist majority in 1841 was 609; so that they are still in a majority, but which I trust will be wiped out before the end of this year. (Cheers.) The next county is East Surrey. Our gain is 186 in claims, or $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.; in objections 367, or 6 per cent.; the total gain being 553, or 9 per cent. on the old constituency. (Cheers.) The next is North Staffordshire. Our gain in claims is 242, or $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.; in objections 700, or 7 per cent.; the total gain being 942, or $\frac{9}{10}$ per cent. The next is South Staffordshire. The gain in claims is 494, or $\frac{6}{10}$ per cent.; the gain on objections is 442, or 5 per cent.; the total gain being 936, or 11 per cent. The monopolist majority at the last contest was 133; the majority for Free Trade at the present time is 803. (Loud cheers.) We next come to North Cheshire. The gain in claims in North Cheshire is 550, or $\frac{8}{10}$ per cent.; the gain on objections is 349, or $\frac{5}{8}$ per cent.; the total gain 899, or 900 within one, being 14 per cent. of the entire constituency. The monopolist majority in 1841 was 446; and up to the end of 1844 it had increased a little; but our gain this year leaves us in a good majority. (Cheers.) We next come to Middlesex, like South Lancashire, occupied our attention last year. We gained in 1843 and 1844 466, or $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.; this year we have gained 651 on claims, or $\frac{5}{8}$ per cent.; and on objections 869, or $\frac{6}{10}$ per cent.; the total gain being 1520 in this year, and 1986 in the two years, or 15 per cent. The monopolist majority was 202, so that the present Free Trade majority is 1784. (Loud cheers.) We next come to the West Riding of Yorkshire. Nothing can show more clearly the improved tactics of the League over those of former attempts to purge this register than this table. The gain from 1841 to 1844, inclusive, was only 263; but the gain this year in claims has been 2120, or $\frac{6}{10}$ per cent. upon the whole register; and on objections, of 22, making a total of 2405, or $\frac{7}{10}$ per cent. Mr. Wortley's majority in 1841 was 1134. The present Free Trade majority is 1271. (Great cheering.) We next come to North Lancashire and South Lancashire. To North Lancashire we have given attention for three years. In 1843, the gain was 957; in 1844, it was 533; this year we have gained 777, or $\frac{7}{10}$ per cent. in claims, and 715, or 7 per cent., on objections, making a total of 1492, or, added to the gain of the previous years, 2982—2984 per cent. (Cheers.) Of course, in the absence of any contest for North Lancashire, we are not in a position to say that it is won; but if the qualification movement go on in the same spirit this year as it did last, North Lancashire may be won by the 1st of January. (Hear, hear.) We next come to South Lancashire. Our gain in claims, in 1844, was 1295, or $\frac{7}{10}$ per cent.; in objections, 456, or $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. In the present year our gain has been 1831, being 1680 by claims, and 251 by objections. Total gain in this, the model county, 3682. From this deduct Mr. Entwistle's majority of 598, which leaves at present a Free Trade majority of 3084. (Enthusiastic cheers.) Now, as this is the county in which we reside, I shall give you the gain in each polling district. In the Ashton district, the gain is 84; in Bury, 67; Liverpool, 457; Oldham, 86; Ormskirk, 73; Rochdale, 37; St. Helen's, 70; Wigan, 62; and Manchester, 1160. (Cheers.) The monopolists have had a gain in the Bolton district of 123, which, it ought to be explained, has arisen from this circumstance, that last year the monopolist objections broke down. In Newton, the monopolists gained 31, in Stockport 11; leaving us altogether a net gain of 1931. Now, gentlemen, the Free Trade majority in the counties I have mentioned amounts to 16,446 votes, and it is equal to the aggregate majorities of the monopolists in 33 counties and divisions of counties: that is, if the same efforts had been directed to purge the register in 33 counties with the same success to these I have referred to, 65 seats would have been added to the Free Traders. The gross constituencies of the counties we have worked is 143,731; and they are greater in amount than those of 32 counties and divisions, which return 70 members to Parliament. (Cheers.) The total county constituency of England is 445,630; the numbers of those attacked are 143,731; so that we have dealt with nearly one-third of the entire county constituency of England. (Cheers.) These, then, are the labours which have occupied our attention during the last year; and I am persuaded that it is but a mere beginning. I believe it. The same effort—a corresponding effort

made in the various counties to that which has been made in South Lancashire—would clear off the entire of the monopolists from the representation of the remaining counties of England within the year. These are the results. We might have attacked the other counties first; but it was not till we had secured here, the seats of the great centre of manufacturing industry, that we could present ourselves before any constituency at a distance to ask their co-operation in favour of those efforts. (Great cheering.) I will now call upon one of your excellent representatives, Mr. Thomas Milner Gibson, to address the meeting. (Mr. Wilson resumed the chair amidst great and long-continued cheering.)

Mr. T. M. Gibson, M.P., was received with much applause. He said, It has perhaps not very frequently, yet occasionally, fallen to my lot to address assemblies in the Free Trade Hall; but never have I witnessed so splendid and imposing an assemblage as is collected within these walls this evening. (Hear.) Forgive me if I say, standing here upon this platform, and gazing upon this vast mass of human beings, this vast mass of intelligence, that I cannot do so without feelings of awe and astonishment. It was, indeed, a great prize that the reformers of olden times won from their rulers, when they achieved those victories of freedom of discussion, and liberty of the press; for here you are in virtue of those rights which Englishmen enjoy, of freely proclaiming the grievances under which they labour; here you are assembled within the walls of this spacious hall, once more to proclaim your continued sense of the injustice of the Corn Law monopoly, (applause,) and your determination never to cease your efforts until the total and unconditional repeal of that monopoly is accomplished. (Cheers.) Here you are, not seeking for privileges, favours, or exclusive advantages, but for the most simple and obvious of all human rights, the right to enjoy the fruits of your own industry. (Cheers.) What a remarkable spectacle it is, what a subject for reflection—that a body of persons to whom England is more indebted for her greatness than to any other—those who have been the inventors of her manufactures and the promoters of her extensive commerce, should be compelled, at great inconvenience, to assemble in this multitudinous meeting, to denounce the oppressions of those who live a pleasing, idle life, and whose incomes result entirely from the enterprise and industry of this vast district! (Cheers.) For what has enabled our landed gentry to enjoy the luxuries they possess? Nothing but the skill, enterprise, and diligence, of these districts. (Cheers.) Poland and Russia have fertile lands; there are broad acres in many parts of the world; but their possessors do not revel in the luxury of the owners of the broad acres of England, simply because, in those countries they have not such a body of intelligence, enterprise, and industry, the type of which we now see collected within these walls. (Cheers.) Perhaps we now meet under circumstances most auspicious; for undoubtedly there are signs and symptoms of an early accomplishment of our wishes. Unquestionably, no public movement has ever made such rapid advances as the movement for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and none has been led with greater intelligence than this movement by your excellent friends, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright. (Loud applause.) Though there are auspicious signs and symptoms of our approaching success, yet let us not forget that there are also threatenings of a depression in trade, of scarcity, of high prices, and of all those evils which have resulted from the same causes in times gone by. Let us not be led astray from steady, unwearied exertions by those auspicious symptoms which we collect from the newspaper press; let us not be diverted in the smallest degree from the direct course, but act as if these reports had never had any existence; that will be the only sure path to success. No great boon was ever given willingly by the rulers to the people; all great advances in civilization and freedom, like that we now seek, have been wrested from the unwilling hands of the rulers by the people themselves; and it is your exertions only that can gain this cause. (Applause.) Party politicians will not win it for you; they are seeking their own objects. They will grant repeal if they believe you are in earnest; but if they see you diverted from your endeavours by passing reports, and by speculations on party manoeuvres, depend on it they will take advantage of your digression, and you will not be in so good a position as you now are. But undoubtedly, there is great reason to suppose that the Government has mooted the total repeal of these laws. (Hear.) I find that very steady persons,—not credulous men, who will believe anything,—have come to the conclusion that Sir R. Peel has made up his mind to stand or fall by the repeal of the Corn Laws. (Loud applause.) That does not surprise me; having listened to his speeches in Parliament for some time past, I have observed a gradual approach to Free Trade. He became, some time since, what my hon. friend Mr. Cobden has called a Free Trader in the abstract, but the idea was that he would not become a Free Trader in practice. He was represented as being like one of those high-actioned horses that you see in the streets of London, that give you the idea of great speed, but which, with a sort of high cab action, in reality make no advance whatever. (Laughter.) He was represented as giving a sort of word of command to advance, but without gaining ground. (Hear, hear.) I did not attach much credit to those representations, because I had invariably observed that he never gave any assurance in the House to the Protection Societies, or to county members, that he would maintain the Corn Laws. I have more than once warned the county members in the House, in the presence of Sir Robert Peel, not to practise on the credulity of tenant farmers, by representing that the Corn Laws would be maintained. I have told them that whatever they might say in their market ordinaries and Conservative booths, Sir Robert had given no assurance whatever that he would maintain the Corn Laws; and that therefore they ought not to mislead their occupying farmers, and give rise to expectations and hopes which must end in disappointment. But for party purposes they would do it, and the day of retribution is now at hand. (Loud cheers.) How they will be able to explain themselves to their unfortunate tenants, who sent them to Parliament to maintain protection to agriculture, I am quite at a loss to conjecture; but I should very much regret if the Government of this great commercial country was to be decided by what country gentlemen and farmers may happen to have said in their Conservative booths, and at their market ordinaries, on the subject of political consistency, or what may be necessary for the benefit of the landed interest. (Hear.) Because some foolish persons have said that they supported Sir Robert Peel for the purpose of maintaining protection, is he therefore bound to neglect what he conceives the circumstances of the country require, and to sacrifice all the best interests of his fellow-countrymen to the foolish and absurd notions of these rustics? (Cheers.) These things have been gradually coming upon us within the last three months. First, the country gentlemen; but I will not say the country

gentlemen or the landed proprietors, for among them are some of our most intelligent supporters—(Cheers)—the monopolists were first made uneasy by the Potato Commission sent to Ireland to inquire whether there was likely to be a scarcity among the people. (Cheers.) The food of the people was a delicate subject; it had a dash of philosophy and political economy about it, which the thorough-paced monopolists did not at all relish, and it gave rise to considerable uneasiness. Then came the rumour about the opening of the ports. To my knowledge, many of the landed gentry were favourable to a temporary opening of the ports, thinking that the law itself would be placed in jeopardy, and that a temporary suspension might serve us for a permanency. (Cheers.) Therefore not much was said on the question of opening the ports. Then came Lord John Russell's letter, and what did they say? "Capital (said they); this is very good indeed; this is the very thing we have been all long desiring. Lord John Russell has declared himself; now our great man must speak out." The *Times* informs us this great man is going to speak out, but in a tone which they did not anticipate. (Cheers.) Nothing can exceed the dismay which prevails in London, whence I have come to-day, amongst a certain class of politicians; the Conservative Club in St. James's-street is like bedlam. (Loud Cheers.) They know not whom to believe, or whom to trust,—when it has come to this, that a Parliament returned in 1841, for the express purpose of maintaining protection to agriculture, should be the persons to grant, not a fixed duty, or an alteration of the law, but absolutely a total and immediate repeal. (Cheers.) It strikes them as scarcely possible, but still there are those who believe it; and I am persuaded that nothing but the strongest exertions of the people will enable Sir Robert Peel, or any other minister, to carry through this question with success. (Cheers.) The landed interest will make a great struggle; they will yield the Corn Law, if at all, with a sullen reluctance; as Mr. Cobden has said, "they will die hard." It will require all the skill and all the Parliamentary ability of Sir Robert Peel, as well as of the Whig leader, to manage the question in the House of Commons, but for myself, and my brother Free Traders, I can say that we shall be most happy to convoy the measure in safety, as far as in us lies, through the House, let whosoever bring it forward, provided it be an honest measure, and such a one as you are struggling for. (Cheers.) When it arrives in the other House, much will depend on the estimate which noble lords and the right reverend bench may form of the determination of the people. (Hear.) They will not be guided by the merits of the question, but by the consideration, whether its refusal will risk those courtly privileges and advantages which the constitution has hitherto afforded them. If they find that Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Liverpool, and all the great towns of the north, are determined to have commercial freedom, to "buy in the cheapest, and sell in the dearest market," and to enjoy the fruit of their own industry, without recognising the claim of others to a portion thereof—then their lordships will yield the question. (Cheers.) It was expected that, ere this, we should have some lordly thunderings as to the supposed intentions of ministers; it was said in London, yesterday, that the Duke of Richmond would deliver a very violent speech at Steyning, and that when the Central Society for the Protection of Agriculture, met at 17, Old Bond Street, it would shake society to its very centre. (Hear.) These meetings have taken place; we have had the ducal thunders; but after all it is of a very harmless character. It is the sort of thunder that you have with summer lightning; to use a somewhat vulgar expression, "they draw it extremely mild." (Laughter.) The Duke of Richmond says that if the ministers are so perfidious as to propose the repeal of the Corn Laws, he must look to hereditary wisdom, to the hereditary peerage, as his only safety. In 1839, I remember, his Grace said that if the Corn Laws were repealed, he would depart from England for ever, would leave his native soil, and wander remote and unfriended over the world (laughter)—that England would not be worth living in, if there were no laws to promote scarcity and dearth. However, it is not so bad with him now; he is for looking to "hereditary wisdom." Had he stuck to his determination to leave his native land, it would have been time now for packing up. (Laughter.) I for one am exceedingly glad that he did not take flight and leave the country, for his speeches have been of infinite service to the Anti-Corn-Law League; I know of no specimens of "hereditary wisdom" to which we are so much indebted as those of his grace the Duke of Richmond. (Cheers.) But another illustrious Duke has been distinguishing himself at those late meetings—the hereditary Earl Marshal of England, the Duke of Norfolk; he has found it necessary to make a speech on the apprehended scarcity, and the means of supplying the labouring classes with food. It was at the Steyning Agricultural Festival at which, we were informed, the Duke of Richmond was to deliver himself with so much violence; but his grace of Norfolk was the Chairman, and he confined his remarks to that tone which has been lately taken by certain philosophers who have been endeavouring to find out by chemical analysis, and various interesting modes of investigation, the minimum of food on which a human being can exist. (Hear.) But the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl Marshal of England, and the first of her Majesty's privy councillors, with the exception perhaps of the two archbishops, and the King of Hanover,—a man of fair, average intellect, and above the average in good nature,—made a speech, to which I will now call your attention, as showing the peculiar state of rustic innocence and pastoral simplicity in which these gentlemen are involved. It is from the *Times* of this day:—

"The Chairman said there was one toast they must not forget to drink before they parted, and that was the health of the industrious labourers, to whom they were so much indebted. Might he add, that in consequence of the badness of the potatoes, they should pay more attention to them this year than ordinarily. (Hear, hear.) There was one thing—the last time he mentioned it, he found that a portion of the press perverted what he said, and turned it into ridicule. That mattered little to him, because if he could add one comfort to any poor man he should be happy to do so. (Cheers.) It was suggested in a letter by a lady, the other day—a thing which certainly was very warm and comfortable to the stomachs of the people, if it could be had cheap. He endeavoured, the other day when he was in London, to buy it. He went to several places to inquire, and he bought a pound or two of it. But there was some difficulty attached to it, rather than otherwise. They had not been accustomed to it, and might not like the taste. He liked it, however, himself. In India it was to the people what potatoes were in Ireland. He meant curry powder. (Laughter.) It might be smiled at at first, but was a very warming thing for potatoes and things of that description. Now, if gentlemen would try it, as he had done, mere y

taking a pinch and putting it into hot water—he did not mean to say that would make a soup—a very good one; but when a man came home and took this, and had nothing better, it would make him warm at his stomach, and he could go to bed better and more comfortable. But if any gentleman there would try it, he would find that what was stated was true. He did not say that that could be given in great quantities, but among potatoes, with a little bacon, or any little thing of that kind they might happen to have, it was a pickle—the same as people took potatoes to eat to cold meat. Well, then, their food might not be so good, but one pinch of this would make it exceedingly palatable. He meant to try it himself with his labourers, and see if he could get them to eat it, and he was quite sure that it would add greatly to the comforts of the poor. He threw that out hoping it might do good. He might be ridiculed hereafter for what he was saying, but as he had said before, he did not care one rap. (Cheers and laughter.) He called it to their notice, and drunk their health with every respect and esteem, and he trusted they would do all that they could for the poor labourers."

As the old saying is,—“The London Tavern is open to all;” but where is the money to come from to buy this curry-powder? (Hear.) How absurd is this! It shews either a remarkable ignorance of present times and the present feelings, or a sad lack of sympathy, for these men to be talking of curry-powder, of starch, of gluten, and all those things by which human life may be possibly be supported, when we are threatened with a serious scarcity, and when we might alleviate that scarcity, and lessen the suffering by such a simple operation as letting in foreign corn. (Cheers.) Why, his grace the Duke of Richmond drops into a sort of Free-Trade, in spite of himself; for he says, if potatoes failed so very considerably, he understands there is a very large crop at Lisbon, and why not send there for some? (Hear, and cheers.) If you are to send to Lisbon for potatoes, why not open the ports to wheat and grain from all the world? (Cheers.) Really, to think that it should be necessary to enter into long and difficult arguments to prove that abundance is a blessing and that scarcity is a curse! But so bewildered have men's minds become with all this twaddle about protection, that they seem almost to doubt whether abundance is really a blessing. Protection is a soft and amiable phrase; it implies shelter to the defenceless, and the weak against the strong; but it is in reality the strong and the powerful appropriating to themselves the property of the weak and defenceless; it means the legislature departing from its true functions, by preventing one man and one class from encroaching on the rights of another, and authorising by the Corn Laws the plunder of the community for the benefit of a class. (Cheers.) I hope when the question is brought forward that the aristocracy will meet it as a necessity; for otherwise they will only be prolonging a contest in which ultimately they must be vanquished, and from which they can only retreat with disgrace. (Cheers.) It is most extraordinary that the aristocracy should not yield this righteous demand out of grateful recollection of past times. Who enabled them to wrest the privileges they now enjoy from former monarchs? Had they not been supported by the vast body of the people, they never could have extorted Magna Charta from King John. (Applause.) Let them, then, as they were assisted by the people in times gone by, now yield to the people those advantages which they have themselves obtained (hear.) They cannot, like the nobility of Russia, claim a property in the labouring class; what right then have they to dictate the conditions on which your calicoes shall be exchanged for the food of the Continent? If they supply none of the capital, ingenuity, or industry by which manufactures are produced, how can they substantiate a claim to control and regulate the conditions on which those manufactures shall be exchanged in the markets of the world, or to share in the profits derived therefrom? If you submit to this, and will not strike off the yoke now that it is in your power, you deserve to have it imposed on your shoulders. Vain and futile are the efforts of Members of Parliament in the House of Commons, vain indeed will be the most strenuous exertions of your representatives, unless they are backed by the untiring exertions of those without the walls of that house. (Cheers.) They regard us no more than the idle wind if it were not that we speak the sentiments of a large, determined, and influential body. That is what will alarm the maintainers of these monopolies; and therefore, however you may complain of members of Parliament, however you may regret that this step or the other is not taken in the House, depend upon it these things are of little moment. If they believe that a revolution has taken place in the minds of the people, and that they are set on the repeal of the Corn Laws, then the aristocracy will yield the question without the necessity of long debates and long speeches. Therefore, I say once more, now is the time when your sincerity and determination will be brought to the test. You must arm us with power to demand the settlement of this righteous cause, and to demand it in a voice that cannot be mistaken. (Cheers.) You must show the legislature that a revolution has taken place in the national mind on this question. I believe that amongst all parties there is a great change of opinion; I believe that an era in history is approaching which may be classed with the revolution; I believe that the discussion and the thought which this question has excited in different parts of the country have produced that revolution in the national mind which is the precursor of a revolution to be sanctioned by the Legislature. (Applause.) And how gratifying that we have been able to accomplish this great change in England, with an entire freedom from all violence! Nothing but the force of reason and plain hard intellect will have accomplished this great triumph. (Applause.) What an example to the rest of Europe! There, liberty, though frequently sought, has never been obtained, because there has been no moral preparation, because the changes that were asked for by a few have not been adopted by the minds of the many. But, in our case, I believe the day is approaching when there will scarcely be found a man who will not be ashamed of having supported this odious and unrighteous monopoly. (Applause.) For, whatever may be said about the church, tithes, rent-charges, and the income of the clergy, I will not believe it until I see it, that our clergy will come forward and support the Corn Law for increasing and maintaining their own incomes. (Applause.) Could they possibly reconcile such a course with the sacred writings that they teach? Whatever a few of the clergy may think of this question—and I dare say there are some that think deeply—depend upon it the archbishops, bishops, and clergy, will preserve a discreet silence. (Applause.) I will say, before I sit down, as I am addressing those whom I have the honour to represent in Parliament,—an honour that I have never deserved,—when I consider the immense importance of this great manufacturing district, I do feel that there is a heavy and serious

responsibility cast upon my shoulders, in representing it in Parliament. (Hear.) All I can say is this; as I promised when I first had the honour of presenting myself in this town, to co-operate cordially and earnestly with the leaders of this Free Trade movement, so will I continue to do to the last. (Applause.) I trust that when the last struggle comes on this great question I shall not be found wanting; that I shall not be tempted to deviate from the straight path by any proposals of compromise; but, as I stand here in the presence of this great community, I pledge myself to co-operate cordially, earnestly, and sincerely, to the utmost of my ability, with your known and tried friends, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright. (Loud applause.) And I believe that in doing so, whatever effect their conduct may produce upon party warfare, and however much it may also conduce to the honour and glory of themselves, which will be well deserved—(hear, hear)—I believe that they are promoting a course which tends to the happiness and prosperity of all classes of her Majesty's subjects. (Loud applause.)

Mr. W. J. Fox then rose, and was loudly cheered. He said—These stupendous meetings were altogether unprecedented in history; but they are not more unprecedented than the condition of the country which has called them forth and demands their repetition. We are, indeed, in a position not only peculiar, but absolutely singular. The pressure of coming scarcity is upon us; and yet, as a nation, we turn back food from our shores that has been purchased, stored, paid for, and was there awaiting our own consumption, and in readiness for the approaching season of exigency. Such conduct in an individual would be utter insanity; it would be so in a nation, if the nation and its government were thoroughly identical—if there were not a contrariety of interest, feeling, and purpose, real or supposed, betwixt the great masses of the people, and the classes that for a time have got possession of legislative power. They have enforced upon the country this absurdity; they have stained the national character; they are making, at this moment, our apparent conduct as a people as preposterous as that of the Frenchman in the well-known story of his failing grammar: his misplaced “will” and “shall.”—*I will be drowned—nobody shall help me; and so they make the nation say, by its practical condition,—“We will be starved, and nobody shall feed us.”* (Cheers and laughter.) And not only is the position of the country a curious one in the incongruities thus enforced upon its conduct, but also in the darkness in which we are kept, from day to day, as to the extent of the calamity, and the means which her Majesty's advisers, or the people's rulers, have to propose for the mitigation of that calamity. Her Majesty herself is said to have learned something of the intentions of her own servants from an opposition journal, which in a day or two is contradicted by a ministerial journal, leaving us only in the midst of perplexity and bewilderment, and that on the most important of all topics—the very means of existence for a great people through a trying period. (Cheers.) There is scarcely an object so remote, or a transaction so trifling,—nothing in the material world, or beyond the bounds of this world of ours,—nothing so peculiar and individual but what we can get more authentic information about it, than we can about our own supplies of provisions for the coming months. (Hear.) We have authentic information by my Lord Rosse's great telescope, of the number of stars that compose certain clusters hitherto regarded as nebulae. We have accurate information by Dr. Backland's scientific researches, of the *saurians* and *megatheria* of by-gone ages. We know what the fossil lizards, 40 feet long, used to feed upon in their time, many millions of years ago, but we know not what we ourselves are to feed upon next month. (Cheers.) Every fashionable arrival at Brighton, every dinner-party in May Fair, finds its place in accurate and authoritative statement; and even,—thanks to the diligence, and the far-sightedness, and the communicativeness of the gentleman who writes the *Court Circular*, we know less about the food on which the people shall feed in the month of February, than we know about the royal baby that will be born in the month of April. (Laughter.) The perplexity extends through all ranks of society, from the lowest to the highest. Not only is the willing mechanic and the poor labourer in this dense ignorance, but a royal duke tells the world, not that he knows anything of the scarcity; he does not come near that point,—not that he knows anything of the panic or alarm of that scarcity; he does not prove the matter so far as that,—but he “has heard something of a report of a panic of a scarcity,” and he has private information that that report is not altogether to be credited. (Hear.) These confessions of ignorance are ill-adapted to excite the confidence of the ignorant mass of the community in those who are raised to eminence by office or by rank. They may stand idle, but time moves on, and whatever of good or evil time has in reserve for us. (Cries of hear, hear.) The inexorable course of events is before us; and too much of bitter experience in past years has taught us what to think of the events that are on their way. Sir Robert Peel has said he will never forget Paisley; we will not forget it either. We take warning by the recollection of those years; and, being forewarned, by the exertion of whatever peaceful energy the people may have, will be forearmed, as well as forewarned, against the circumstances of the coming period. (Cheers.) And it seems we are to have a conflict for that very simple and obvious remedy which the necessities of the time dictate. Individual despotism has never hesitated as to its course; it at once says—“Let food come in from whatever quarter it may.” Other countries, not under despotism, but more assimilated with our own, have also set the example. Belgium threw open its ports at once, and from day to day, came arrivals of grain, from a great variety of countries, very many indeed from this country,—exhibiting the extraordinary spectacle of the foreign grain which we had in our own possession leaving our shores, much of it in foreign vessels, steering to a foreign port, to feed the subjects of a foreign country; and then we call all this the protection of native industry. (Cheers.) Why are not those, whose business it is to advise, up and doing? If they delay, it is for us to urge them on; and as to the hostility that is threatened, why, let monopoly, if it will, as it boasts, nail its colours to the mast; the only result will be, that the colours will go down with the mast and the vessel altogether. (Cheers.) And I would admonish them, too, to take some heed to the language they use. The honourable gentleman who just addressed you, adverted to that very unedifying god-son of mine—“the coroneted fishmonger.” I gave him “his name, and he answers to it; I have given him much good counsel,” and I wish he would attend to that also. He learns his catechism, I am afraid, much as did the tax-gatherer's boy. “My child, what is your duty to your neighbour?” Thinking of his father's avocation, the boy says:—“To surcharge him as often as you can.” (Laughter.) In this mode does he exercise his duties; and in the course of the hostility he now announces,

he has dared to brand with opprobrium the patriotic conduct of perhaps the most patriotic nobleman in this country. He accuses Lord Morpeth of giving his money to an association, meaning the League, for the purpose of creating fictitious votes, and libelling in the newspapers those who differ from him in opinion. (Hear, hear.) And yet, he says withal, that of the integrity, the honourableness, and the sincerity of that noble Lord's character there can be no doubt. From which what we gather is this, that in the Duke of Richmond's opinion, a very sincere, a very honourable, and a very upright man may, nevertheless, be a party to the creation of fictitious votes, and to the libelling in newspapers of those who differ from him in opinion. (Cheers.) It was not for a man, who, himself, for a considerable period of his life, if not now, was a pensioner on the public; for one whose naïve confession will not be forgotten when discriminating between timber and glass,—"We grow timber, but we do not grow glass,"—(Cheers)—a man who had amused even the House of Lords by his "tariff" lamentations, who confessed virtually that he had been pocketing 2000*l.* a year for his salmon more than it was worth; a Parliamentary created price, of which he grieved over the loss,—a man who quarters the younger branches of his family upon the public purse, instead of his own property,—It was not, I say, for such a man as this, to dare to raise his tongue against the purity or the consistency of Lord Morpeth; nor is he in a condition, with his own name appended to pamphlets, convicted of grossly falsifying quotations from works of authority, to talk of the falsehood or the libellousness of the press. (Cheers.) The League, I believe, has never libelled His Grace of Richmond; but it differs from him in opinion, according to his own dainty phraseology in this matter. The League is of opinion that wealthy proprietors have no business to abuse their legislative powers to private advantage. It differs from him in opinion and thinks that the wealthy man's hand ought not to be in the poor man's pocket, nor the wealthy man's knife to be slicing off a third from the poor man's loaf. I trust, however, the machinery is at work which will silence the Duke of Richmond. If matters go on as is conjectured in many quarters, he may about the time of the meeting of Parliament receive one of those pithy laconic notes, with the style of which the public have been pretty well familiarised from the specimens which have got into the papers, running something in this way: "Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington desires the Duke of Richmond to be quiet. (Laughter.) Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington is obliged either to part with the Corn Laws, or to part with Sir Robert Peel. Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington cannot govern the country without Sir Robert Peel; let the Corn Laws be abolished." (Cheers.) An interesting correspondence of this kind will no doubt beam light into the convictions of many of that venerable House, and help us over what otherwise might have been insurmountable difficulties. (Cheers.) But, however that may be, we look not to this or that leader—to this or that House, even; the country looks to you, who are marching in its van in this great advance—you, men of Manchester, who have hitherto braved the foe, and led on the struggle. Your grip is now firm upon the neck of the serpent: hold it there. (Cheers.) Hold it there; hold it hard; and however the venomous creature may writhe and wriggle, if you do persevere and keep as you are, with the same tenacity of purpose, at length its convulsions will be over, and the country delivered for ever from the poison and the sting of that mighty reptile. (Loud cheers.) Of all the impertinent advices which the present time has brought forth, I think the most so is one that is reiterated in sundry monopolist journals—that if there be a scarcity, we should still be submissive and content. (Hear, hear.) We are told (and this is the statement of the Protection Society themselves) that the crop is an average crop; they say nothing of quality; but they report that as to quantity. Now take their own statement—say that the wheat is up to the average of the harvest: do the people keep down to an average? Does not every year increase their numbers? Have we not been told, by authority, of 360,000 or 380,000 additions every year to the mouths that are to be fed? What is to become of these 380,000 if our supplies of food are to be kept down to the average of past years? and is it to be matter of conjecture that we have as much food now as we had when we were so many hundred thousands fewer in number? The people grow, and the supplies must grow, too; that agency must be employed which is capable of sustaining them. (Cheers.) Providence puts this power into our hands. I had almost said it was impious to tell the people they must submit to scarcity—go without food, or get what modicum they can at an exorbitant and monopoly price, and call all they are enduring a dispensation of Providence! (Hear, hear.) Why, Providence makes ports, stretches the bold curve of the bay, and rolls in the billows, so that they may bear in safety vessels bringing supplies of necessities and luxuries. Providence makes ports, Providence does not close ports. (Cheers.) It was Providence that grew the very corn, the foreign corn that had arrived in this country, that was in our possession; Providence placed it within our reach: the Corn Laws turn it back, and fly in the face of Providence. (Hear, hear.) Providence endows the banks of the Mississippi and the Missouri with their abundant fertility, capable of becoming the granaries of Europe, and of supplying the wants of our industrial myriads, who provide for the cultivators there the clothing which they need. Providence never sends universal scarcity; there is no such thing on record in all history; where one portion of the world fails in its crops, another succeeds, and there is a general superabundance. Providence gives for all; and the lesson from its conduct is, that all should feel their common interest, and administer to each other's common wants. (Hear.) Providence is accountable for none of these things. Providence lays no rate; Providence takes no tax; and Providence tares no butter. (Great applause and laughter.) Wicked, we might say blasphemous, teachers are they who would transfer their own iniquitous doings to the divine government, representing that as not less oppressive and tyrannical than themselves. Why, if it were as they tell us, if Providence indeed willed that a class should gain profits by a nation's sufferings, the only moral would be that of the tempter of old—to curse God and die. (Applause.) Such is the tendency of their teaching in the holy name, which they abuse, and in despite of the instructions of a book everywhere replete with admonitions, that we should relieve the poor and the needy, that "he who withholdeth corn the people shall curse him," and which, in the various illustrations of the connection of seemingly small events with great, gives us a better notion of Providence under present circumstances than all their teachers exhibit. It shows us the momentary interruption of our own supply tending to the prompt abolition of an enormous iniquity that parts us from the rest of the world; it shows us, in the failure of a crop of the lowest vegetable used for human food, the

occasion of the destruction of the mightiest monopoly that ever plundered humanity and revelled in the occasion of its sufferings; and, as it tells the tale of old, how the shepherd boy, with his sling, and with a smooth stone from the brook, brought down the Philistine giant, so it shows us now the more profane giant of monopoly laid prostrate by the blow of a rotten potato. (Applause and laughter.) If our condition is not rightly represented as an afflictive dispensation of Providence, to which we have nothing to do but submit unmurmuringly, so neither can it be fairly ascribed to the progress of manufactures, to the commercial system by which, in fact, the country has been aggrandised. This has been a favourite topic with monopolist advocates; they have spoken of our over-grown establishments for producing goods. They once ventured to suggest that the greater portion of London, Manchester, and Liverpool, might as well be razed to the ground, and the inhabitants distributed over the country, in parishes, on small allotments, each with a squire and a parson to take care of them. (Applause.) They are frequently reminding us that commerce is "more unfaithful than the southern gale," that she "may shift to other shores her sail." Now, what does all this mean? There may have been ages in history when the operations of commerce appeared to change their localities capriciously; but what was the commerce of ancient times? Merely the interchange of natural products. It is only in modern history that commerce has sprung up; it is one of the last results of civilization, and amongst the grandest. It has sprung up, not in consequence of caprices, but of wants; not for the interchange of merely natural products, but for the communication of art, and capital, and industry throughout the world; uniting the nations by the peculiar abilities of different people to contribute different results to the great common sum of good. It is a system that in its very nature implies advance; and I see no reason to imagine that any number of years which our figures can express will find it arrived at a point beyond which there is no progress. Commerce grows like the oak; it may seem a mere sapling which the passing breeze may level with the ground, but its roots strike this way and that, as if instinctively in search of their proper nutriment; its leaves unfold themselves to the air, to imbibe from it the nourishment it affords; and year after year adds to the rings that circle it, and denote its age, and show the steadiness and equality of its growth. As it strikes deep into the earth, so it extends high up into the air, it spreads abroad a grateful shade and shelter, and the birds of heaven sing among its branches. (Applause.) Commerce flows like the river; it may be confined for a time, when it is yet but small and feeble, by rocky barriers, but it goes on deepening, and widening, and fertilizing its banks on either side, and towns and cities arise upon its shores, and it bears upon its bosom the wealth of provinces, carrying it on with it to meet the ocean, where they are to find nature's broad highway to every region of the globe. (Applause.) And such is the growth, and such the natural flowing of the commercial power and principle. Why, at this very moment, when articles of cotton clothing seem to be among the prime necessities of life to so many civilized nations, of the 900 millions of the earth's inhabitants, not above 120 millions are provided with them. There are 7 to 1 that need your cotton manufacturers spread all over the surface of the earth, and all of them able to contribute or to do something or other from their regions, which, in return for what you furnish, shall enlarge your wealth, shall add to your enjoyments, shall provide for your multitudes, shall stimulate your arts and industry, and aggrandize the British name by linking it with the world's advancement, and the comfort and progress of its inhabitants. (Loud cheers.) See, how it advances with us, even here, in this little isle of ours, now intersected, or about to be intersected from end to end, and across its breadth, with those lines of locomotion that annihilate time and space. Throughout the land the barrier of distance is thrown down, and the galvanic telegraph lends its instantaneous communication. The spirit of commerce does all this. It seizes the elementary powers; it harnesses them; it makes their mighty energies minister to the production of human good, and the gratification of human wishes. It bridges the mighty ocean; it extends from our own country to all Europe; it is at work everywhere. This system of more rapid communication—and with it, eventually, however prejudices may obstruct—of free interchange, is extending throughout the whole length and breadth of Europe. Railroads will run ere long, transversing the course of every mighty stream; as the rivers flow in one direction, the iron lines will be laid down in another, until, throughout all the nations of Europe, there are the means of a rapid transit wherever their waters flow, or by whatever name they are called, from the Ebro to the Rhine, from the Rhine to the Danube, from the Danube to the Vistula, from the Vistula to the Volga. All along with these mighty natural arteries of Europe will the iron muscles be laid down, aiding and co-operating with the energy of the human frame, and augmenting the strength of all these nations for their mutual good, their mutual enjoyment. And not Europe merely; the New World and the Old are thus linked together; and even the ancient nation, so long secluded, whose inhabitants learnt their wisdom from Confucius, and who have kept aloof for ages from others, they are become one with us; the barriers of space and time, the barriers of superstition and prejudice, all are destined to succumb before the growing spirit of commerce. It puts its belt around the globe; and it is itself as firm and solid as that globe—a portion, too, of mighty nature—a part of the great providential scheme that formed worlds, and suns, and systems, and rolls them along in their harmonious motions. (Loud cheers.) The power that governs our country suffices not at the present moment to save it from the prospect of calamity; but this is owing to the accident, to the unnatural and preposterous circumstance, that those who enrich the country are not those who have a decisive voice in ruling the country. (Cheers.) A class interposes, and for a time throws doubt and suspicion even on the workings of Nature and of Providence. It is a momentary obscurity; and the League may warn the monopolists in the words of Gray's bard to the tyrant of his country,—

"Fond, impious man, think'st thou yon gloomy cloud,

Rais'd by thy breath, has quenched the orb of day?

To-morrow he repairs his golden flood,

And warns the nations with redoubled ray."

And such will be the gladdening sunlight of Free Trade, and its joy-giving force, after this temporary obscurity. (Cheers.) Other counsellors of the public say, "We have got through times of alarm before, and therefore let us hope we may get through again." We have got through them before; but how? In 1825, 26, and 27, the last three years of the former Corn Law, in every one of those years the Government was obliged to let foreign corn in bond out at a reduced and almost nominal duty; they also asked and obtained the power of admitting half a million quarters of foreign corn in

1828. In April of that year they declared (as some ministers and legislators have of late declared), that they had no such purpose,—the Cabinet had come to no decision on the Corn Laws; and on the 1st of May afterwards they came down to the House with their opposition, to throw open the warehouses, and to allow of that extent of importation. We got through in those years; but how? How in a later period? We got through with multiplied bankruptcies, with increased committals for crime, with want extending through the streets of our towns, with incendiary fires blazing all over the rural districts. (Hear.) We got through, but we did so at a fearful expense of privation and suffering, of disease, and of mortality. (Hear.) In the name of heaven, let us try to get through better the next time. (Cheers.) And there is something to encourage the hope; the question is better understood now than it was then; the ways of getting through which were then submitted to, will not now be endured. (Cheers.) In 1815 there was a sort of instinctive blind outbreak against the passing of these Corn Laws; there were riots; blood was shed in the streets; the people struggled, like blind Samson, and like blind Samson were sent back to toil in their prison-houses for the benefit of their taskmasters. (Cheers.) But the lancet of knowledge has couched blind Samson's eyes. (Cheering.) The physical power of the many, and the moral power, are now in unison, in an alliance that cannot be broken. There is wisdom to direct the guidance of that strength; and thus put forth, where is the power that shall stand before it? It is coming; we know it is coming; be you but firm, unrelaxing, unbending, in every exertion, every legal and peaceful exertion, that may promote this good cause. New allies are announced every day. Mr. Labouchere, in this morning's *Times*, adds his name to the converts from a fixed duty. (Applause.) They are all coming in; but it is somewhat misnamed to call this leading. Much has been made of Lord John Russell's name as the Liberal leader, because 20 years' consideration has led him to the point which the intelligence of the country had arrived at so long before. (Loud cheering.) We welcome him gladly. I believe he has come amongst us because the cry was so loud and strong. Being made a little louder and a little stronger, it may bring us another Liberal leader, in the person of Sir Robert Peel (cheers); and raise it to its loudest pitch, and we may have that great Liberal leader, the Duke of Wellington, in our ranks. (Applause, and loud laughter.) While we remember all this, let us never forget who they are that have done this, and who in the day of triumph should wear the laurels. There has been at times a practice of dealing with works of art, that I think ought not to be tolerated; that is, transforming their persons. Julius Cæsar is said to have been so pleased with the statue of Alexander the Great, by Aristippus, that he ordered the head to be taken off, and his own countenance to be put on its shoulders. (Laughter.) And I myself once lived in a cathedral town where there was a statue of St. Paul over the great western entrance of the church. The men at work in the repairs knocked St. Paul's head off; the dean and chapter, being too stingy to employ a sculptor, went to some old stone-mason's shop in the town, where they found a judge's head, with a long wig on; and there St. Paul stands, to this day, with a judge's wig and curls on his head! (Loud laughter.) Now, as preposterous a transformation as this would it be, when, in a coming time,—I hope in the new houses of Parliament,—the statues shall be erected to the founders of Free Trade, if on those statues should be placed the heads of Russell, Peel, and Wellington, instead of those of Cobden, Bright, and Villiers. (Cheers.) Great as may be the political advantage, the advantage in Parliamentary tactics, of these eminent names, that is all we can plead for them. The work has been done—the chariot of Free Trade has been driven within sight of the goal; and Russell, Peel, and Wellington, at best, are only yoked to it to drag it along the few remaining paces to its final destination. (Cheers.) It is an honour for them that they do that; and I hope they will put their shoulders to the yoke kindly, and not let it be a moment longer on the country than is absolutely necessary. (Cheers.) But trust them not. Lord John Russell may not have the power, the Duke of Wellington may not have the will, and Sir Robert Peel having played the monopolists a slippery trick one way, may play the Free Traders a slippery trick another way. (Cheers.) Trust in yourselves, under the guidance of that power which ever smiles propitiously on the true, the just, and the right. (Cheers.) There is a piece of advice which was given some time ago, with no very charitable intent, perhaps, to the Orangemen of Ireland: "Trust in Providence, and keep your powder dry." We don't use gunpowder. Our weapon is of a very different, and a much more potent description. Bayonets cannot pierce it—balls cannot level it. Opinion is a power which no form of physical force, multitudinous or military, can eventually prevail against. (Cheers.) But means must be employed; and I say to you, as was said to the Orangemen—Trust in Providence, and keep your names upon the registration. (Cheers, and laughter.) Trust in Providence, and multiply your 40s. freeholds; trust in Providence, and win cities and counties, and show Parliament and the world your unalterable determination that the shackles of trade and industry shall be knocked off for ever." (Cheers.) In that confidence you cannot be disappointed; the time is coming, it is clearly coming. "Powder dry!" No; our cause is not like a canon—it is more like a steam-engine. (Cheers.) It is preparing for its journey; the hour of starting is come; the bell rings, and it rings the death-knell of monopoly. (Cheers.) There is a steady hand (pointing to the Chairman) to steer the engine. (Cheers.) There are active stokers to keep up a bright fire (pointing to Messrs. Cobden and Bright.) (Cheers.) On it then moves. Out of the way calves and pigs! (laughter)—out of the way, or you're veal and pork in no time! (Great laughter.) Booted squires and sportsmen, clear the line, or down you go, horse and rider, in spite of all your game laws! (Cheers and laughter.) Such a train as that would dash through a house if it stood in the way, though it should be a house as old, and as strong for its age, as the House of Lords itself. (Great applause.) On it goes, brightened in the sun, careless of the storm, all good spirits in heaven and earth in sympathy with its progress; nor shall it rest until it reach its final destination, until we are home, in the people's home,—a home made happy by freedom, peace, plenty, and progress. (The speaker then sat down amidst the most vehement cheering.)

At the conclusion of Mr. Fox's eloquent address, there were loud calls for Mr. Cobden; and

The CHAIRMAN rose and said, Mr. Cobden will address the meeting. (Great cheering.)

Mr. COBDEN presented himself, and his appearance in front of the platform was the signal for renewed cheering. He said, Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen,—After these splendid orations I think I should only mar the effect of our

meeting by delaying you for a single moment longer. We meet here, I think, a larger meeting than I have ever had the pleasure of witnessing before, and I am sorry to say that many hundreds are outside storming the doors. We have had an invitation to go outside and address an Anti-Corn-Law Lecture to them in the street. (Cheers and laughter.) And, gentlemen, it is the same wherever we go. Within the last nine days my honourable friend, Mr. Bright, and I have addressed seven meetings. We have been in the cathedral city of Bath, and the mountains of Derbyshire. We have been in Gloucestershire. Wherever we have gone there is the same unanimous feeling that we find amongst our tall chimneys in Lancashire. (Cheers.) Every where the only complaint is, there is no place large enough to receive the Free Traders. Now, gentlemen, I felt some apprehension when I first heard the intention of Government lest we should sink into apathy in consequence of the hope—the fallacious hope—that somebody else was going to do our work. But I am happy to say that this morning's papers relieve me from all anxiety, for I see that His Grace the Duke of Richmond has met, along with 50 or 60 other gentlemen, at No. 17, Old Bond-street, and there they have thrown down the gauntlet, and declared that they will fight till the death for monopoly. (Laughter and cheers.) Now I find some relief in this. They are small in numbers, to be sure (laughter), humble in pretensions of every kind for a contest like this. (Hear, and laughter.) But still we have a foe left in the field, and while that is the case I am not afraid of the courage of Englishmen. (Laughter.) The Duke of Richmond leads not the hosts, but the handful of monopolists that still follow his banner. By reputation I know something of the Duke of Richmond. I was born within seven miles of him in Sussex. We were boys together almost; he is an amiable, respectable man in private life; a man that acquits himself in that decent, respectable sort of a way that you would expect a man to do to whom you gave 30s. a-week. (Cheers and laughter.) He is just an amiable, respectable man; but as a senator, as a statesman, I would find a thousand men in this room, with fustian jackets, that if you put a coronet on their heads would be able to take a far more comprehensive view of what is good for the nation. (Cheers.) Why, gentlemen, these men, the protectionist nobles and landlords, they do not know what the condition of the country is, at their own doors. I have always said that the worst enemy to the agriculturists was the aristocratical order. The danger lies at their own doors, and they don't know it. We had a meeting in an agricultural district, and we had a farmer present. He made a few hasty remarks, and then he threw himself into a chair; he said he durst not trust himself, for if he was to state what the feelings of the tenant farmers were he should be liable to be accused of entertaining feelings similar to those entertained at the time of the French revolution. (Hear, hear.) I ask these men who talk of fighting the question to call a meeting in any county, and give but a week's fair notice, and I will engage that the meeting shall be against them. They met, the other day, in Steyning, in Sussex. Now I would undertake to go to this place, the headquarters of these Dukes, almost within a stone's throw of both of them, and I would call a public meeting by public advertisement, and I would engage to pass a resolution in that village condemnatory of these laws—condemnatory of protection—denouncing it as being a fraud to the farmer and an injury to the working classes. They are in a nice predicament to meet us, are not they? (Cheers and laughter.) If my friend Mr. Bright and I were to go into the agricultural districts, and it was found out that we were coming, and the weather was fine, we should have a tail like a comet after us. I wish the fine weather to come. We must meet and show these bread taxers the unanimity of the people of this country by holding an open air meeting on Kersal Moor, a hundred thousand strong. (Cheers.) I want to see the hosts pouring in from Bury, Bolton, Rochdale, Oldham, Ashton, and Stockport; I want to see the male population of this country poured out; then let the Duke of Richmond come and take his place on the grand stand and witness that. (Cheers.) I say they are impervious to the signs of the times; they do not know a brick-wall till their heads knock against it. (Cheers and laughter.) They yield to nothing but fear; they don't want courage and don't see fear till it is brought home to them. The people are unanimous everywhere on this question. They told me at Nottingham that they had not had a unanimous meeting for a long time owing to the division of parties; but all parties are unanimous on this question. There is only one thing I want to see. The great metropolis is not easily moved; but the reason is, it is so gigantic in its proportions that it takes such a time to gather up its huge limbs; but London meets in the Guildhall next Monday, and I intend to claim my right as an elector to be there with them. (Cheers.) He trusted to see London join Yorkshire and Lancashire in this movement, and the question was settled. With reference to their late meetings in the south, they were purely business meetings—the promotion of the qualification scheme. The discovery of this scheme was like the discovery of a jewel in a casket. They did not know their power till it was found. And he had no doubt the aristocracy, if it went on, would feel that power; they would soon find themselves as powerless as the feather carried along in a strong north-wester. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P., was next loudly called for, and appeared amidst much cheering. He said: Although we have felt extremely pleased in beholding the respectability, and the enthusiasm, and the determination by which many meetings which we have recently attended have been distinguished, yet I confess there is no platform within the limits of this island that I would so soon stand upon as that of this Free Trade Hall. For in this town has been the cradle of the League; and from this town has gone forth a voice which has caused the awakening of the intelligence and the resolution which now distinguish the inhabitants of almost every town in the kingdom. (Cheers.) And it was well that the people of this, the greatest city of our manufacturing industry, should speak out first and loudest, and should lead in this great contest for the freedom of the industry of the great commercial and trading nations. And I am convinced, beyond all power to change the sentiments which I feel, that the triumph we have been looking for is not far off. (Loud cheers.) We have had powerful accessions to our ranks; and I would be the last man to say that we have not gained enormously by the adhesion of Lord Morpeth and Lord John Russell to the cause. Rely upon it that there have been thousands of willing and influential persons who have not dared to come out for so great and sudden a change, until they were assured by the countenance and support of men of high character and great integrity, in whom they have been accustomed almost to place implicit confidence. I am glad, however, it is so. But the monopolists are buckling themselves up for some fight. The *Morning*

Post has a long article in very large type, telling of the extraordinary things they were to do. And the *Standard*, true to its old principles, true to its anti-national character, is doing its very utmost to rouse the passions of the disappointed class to resist the calls which the almost universal people of England is making upon the Government, that these accursed Corn Laws should be abolished. We see how wicked is this law in its operation. You are recommended by the Duke of Norfolk to feed upon warm water and curry-powder, and as if this was not absurd enough, you are recommended by Dr. Buckland to try mangel-wurzel. (Laughter.) The gentlemen who have spoken before, have noticed these foolish propositions. I will only say that if we are to go on, and to win, we must work harder when the contest is coming to a close, than we did at first even; we must have before long two kinds of demonstrations, from which the monopolists may learn something. We must have a meeting, at which a large number of men will put down their names for large sums of money, by which they shall guarantee to the whole people of England, that whatever fund can be judiciously and honestly applied, shall not be wanting to the furtherance and completion of our great undertaking. (Cheers.) We have the best means of knowing that such a meeting, to be held within the next fortnight, would strike much terror into the monopolist camp, and enable her Majesty's Government to do much to decide this measure; and when, in addition, we have the hundred thousand people together Mr. Cobden spoke of, then you may rely upon it the men opposed to you will have to do, as bad men always do before men united and determined,—they will yield when they find that their system must fall. (Cheers.)

Mr. JOSEPH BROTHERTON, M.P. addressed the meeting for a few minutes, and a vote of thanks having been given to the gentlemen who had taken part in the proceedings, the vast assembly broke up.

OPENING OF THE PORTS.

SHEFFIELD.

A highly respectable and crowded public meeting was held on Thursday, the 4th inst., in the Town Hall, Sheffield, convened by the mayor, in compliance with a requisition signed by a considerable number of the most respectable inhabitants and tradesmen of the town. We have been favoured with an excellent report, occupying eight columns in the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, but we are unable to make any adequate room for even the most concise abridgment of the very able speeches that were made on the occasion. The speakers were the Mayor, Mr. Alderman Dunn, Mr. William Fisher, the Rev. T. Smith, Mr. Wm. Smith, Mr. Henry Atkin, Mr. Otley, Mr. Alderman Turton, Mr. Wm. Thompson, Mr. Wm. Jackson, and Mr. Warder. A series of resolutions were unanimously adopted, and a memorial agreed to, which was signed by the mayor on behalf of the meeting.

DERBY.

A meeting of the Town Council of the borough was held on Monday the 8th inst., for the purpose of considering a proposition to memorialize Government on the subject of taking measures for the admission of foreign corn and provisions duty free, and for the permanent abolition of the Corn Laws. There was a full attendance—his worship the mayor (W. Eaton Mousely, Esq.), in the chair.

His worship [stated that he had convened the meeting in accordance with a requisition signed by a majority of the Council, and he called upon the town clerk to read the same.]

Mr. Alderman STRUTT (M.P. for the borough) then rose amidst cheers. He said he had been requested to propose the memorial which the Council had been called together to consider. He did not think it would be necessary for him to trespass at any length on their time on this occasion, as they were already, as well as the inhabitants of Derby generally, well acquainted with the subject of the Corn Laws. There was no subject upon which the great majority of the Council and the inhabitants of the town were more agreed than on this. (Hear, hear.) He recollected attending a large meeting, about twenty years ago, which was held in Derby, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament against those laws. The great majority of the population were agreed then on the subject; and, notwithstanding the various modifications the Corn Laws had since that time undergone, they were still opposed to them, and had continued from time to time, through public meetings and through their representatives, to express their condemnation of those laws. (Hear, hear.) He would not, therefore, go into the general question of Corn Laws, but would say a few words on their application to the present state of the country. Mr. Strutt then proceeded to describe the prospects of the country from the almost universal failure in some degree of the potato crop, and concluded as follows:—Under these circumstances he said he did think it incumbent upon that Council to express the strong sense they feel of the awful responsibility which rests upon the Government, and to implore them that no means be spared for averting the calamity with which the country was threatened. (Cheers.) Whatever steps the Government might ultimately take, they ought not, in his opinion, to be of a temporary character—not simply the opening of the ports, but the entire abolition of those laws which were the origin of the evil, which raised prices artificially, restricted the supply of food, and impeded all the commerce of the country. (Cheers.) With respect to the existence of those laws, he entertained no doubt whatever that they could not be of long existence. (Cheers.) He believed that those laws were doomed. Reason and justice were against them. (Renewed cheers.) There never was a period in the history of this country when there was such a weight of authority in favour of any measure, and when there was a greater determination on the part of the people to get rid of a great wrong, than there was upon this question of Corn Law repeal. (Cheers.) One great party in the state was firmly united for the overthrow of protection, and the head and the leader of the other had admitted to the fullest extent the justice of the principle of Free Trade. The only question with them was as to the time and the manner of its adoption. (Hear, hear.) He trusted the present opportunity would be seized by the country generally to urge on the measure. On it depended our amicable relations with that great country across the Atlantic—for if this opportunity were suffered to pass by unimproved, the peace of the two countries might be broken, and perhaps the peace of the world. (Hear, hear.) They should not wait until Government and Parliament were driven to carry repeal into effect by commercial distress in this country and famine and distress in Ireland. Now

was the time to avert the dangers with which they were threatened; and he trusted they would avoid the dangers of longer delay. (Cheers.) Mr. Strutt concluded by moving the memorial, and resumed his seat amidst loud cheers.

Mr. W. EVANS, M.P., then rose and said, that since he came to the hall he had been requested to second the motion which Mr. Strutt had just so ably proposed. The reasons which Mr. Strutt urged in support of the proposition were so explicit and so satisfactory, that it was quite unnecessary for him (Mr. Evans) to occupy the time of the council by entering upon the important question which they were called together to consider in detail.

He had never been able to discover what benefit the Corn Laws were to this country. (Cheers.) That they impeded trade, occasioned distress and suffering to the people, and kept good corn out of the country at a time like the present, when it was urgently wanted to grind with our unsound corn, he was well persuaded. (Cheers.) The time was now come when no man who looked abroad, and saw what was the real state of the country, ought to hesitate one moment in using every exertion in his power towards accomplishing the complete abolition of those injurious laws. (Much applause.) To suspend them for a brief period only would be merely to effect a temporary good, to be followed, in all probability, by bad consequences. Foreign countries would look upon us with jealous feelings if we merely opened our ports at a time when famine threatened us, and the moment our turn was served we then shut them out again by re-imposing absurd restrictions. (Hear, hear.) But he thought that would be a matter not easy of accomplishment. He would like to see the Corn Laws immediately suspended; and that done, he was confident it would not be in the power of any Government to re-enact them. (Loud cheers.) No measure, in his opinion, would effect so much positive good, with so little possible evil, as a total repeal of the Corn Laws; which would cement the bonds of peace, propitiate friendly relations with foreign countries, extend commerce, and thus benefit the people. (Hear, hear.) * * * Mr. Evans concluded by seconding the adoption of the memorial, and resumed his seat amidst much applause.

His worship then put the memorial, which was carried unanimously, amidst great applause.

Mr. Alderman GAMBLE moved that the mayor be requested to sign the memorial on behalf of the council; that the corporation seal be affixed to the same; and that the mayor be requested to forward it to Sir Robert Peel.

Mr. Alderman JOHNSON seconded the motion in a brief speech, in support of a total repeal of the Corn Laws, which he said were totally indefensible. He was glad to find all parties becoming unanimous on the question. (Hear, hear.) The motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. MADELEY proposed a vote of thanks to the mayor, for the courtesy with which he received the requisition, and his ready compliance with its request, and for his impartial conduct in the chair. (Much applause.) This conduct was an earnest of what the town might expect from his worship, should it be found necessary to call a public meeting. (Applause.)

Mr. Alderman PEET had great pleasure in seconding the motion. As one of the deputation that waited upon the mayor, he could bear testimony to the great courtesy shown by his worship. (Applause.)

The vote carried was by acclamation.

His WORSHIP thanked the council for this expression of their kindness, and stated that the expression of opinion by memorial or petition was the birthright of Englishmen, and he would be sorry at any time to delay the one or impede the other. (Applause.)

The council then broke up.

DUDLEY.

On Monday night a town's meeting was held at Dudley for the purpose of taking into consideration the alarming state of the country, in consequence of the deficiency in the potato crop, and to address her Majesty as to the expediency of opening the ports. A requisition, numerous signed, had been presented to the mayor, Dr. Fisher; his worship, however, declined to call the meeting. In these circumstances the town's people assembled in the Lancasterian school, and appointed Mr. Thomas Leicester chairman.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly explained the objects of the meeting, the Rev. J. PALMER, Unitarian minister, rose, and in a long speech advocated the necessity of union and action amongst the middle and lower classes, in order to bring about a speedy repeal of the Corn Laws. He (Mr. Palmer) would like to see the man who had the hardihood to stand up and defend the Corn Laws on the ground that they benefited the nation at large; the monopolists had not a man who could screw up his courage to the sticking point. No, thanks to the exertions of the League, all their fallacies about protection had been scattered before the winds of heaven. (Cheers.) The reverend gentleman concluded a long and earnest speech by calling on the meeting to strengthen the hands of the League by passing resolutions condemnatory of the existing Corn Laws.

CHARLES TWAMLEY, Esq., said the working-classes are now better off than they had been for years; but they are not going to get off scot free. The time is coming when they will and must feel it. Even at the present time flour was 2s. 8d. per bushel dearer than it was last May; at that time it was 7s. 4d. per bushel, whereas now it is 10s., so that for the consumption of the town of Dudley alone there is a weekly expenditure for flour of upwards of 500l. more than there was some months ago. (Hear.) We, who are in want of wheat, are actually sending it out of the country to Belgium; and this, with the fact that various branches of trade (amongst others the cotton and silk) are considerably depressed. It was quite true that the iron trade was tolerably good; but could it be supposed that it would remain so, whilst all other branches of industry were suffering? In these circumstances, it behoved all parties to exert themselves to put an end to the present system. Mr. Twamley next read some statistical accounts, to show that the protective system was anything but advantageous to the farmer; and concluded by observing, that Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington were the most likely men in the State to repeal the Corn Laws. (Cheers.)

Several other gentlemen addressed the meeting, and resolutions were passed, praying the Queen to summon Parliament as soon as possible, for the purpose of devising means to remedy the evils to which the country is exposed in consequence of the deficiency in the corn crop, and the rottenness amongst the potatoes; deprecating also the sliding scale, and urging the necessity of an immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. After this the meeting broke up.

COVENTRY.

MEETING OF THE TOWN COUNCIL.—At a special meet-

ing of the town council, held on Tuesday, the 3rd inst., a memorial to Sir Robert Peel was proposed, urging him to issue an Order in Council for opening the ports at this juncture, describing the evils now pressing upon the community in consequence of the high price of flour, the potato disease, &c., and stating that great scarcity was already experienced in this city and neighbourhood, and that disease and death to many would be the result.

Alderman ELD rose and said, he entered his protest against the council taking up any such party or political subject; he had protested against such a course under the Melbourne Ministry—that protest he now renewed.

A warm discussion now ensued. Mr. WILMOT made rather a long speech upon what he termed the agricultural interest, and the protective system.

Mr. BUCKNEY showed the fallacy of Mr. Wilmot's reasoning, remarking that commercial freedom would cause a greater demand for labour, and thus increase wages. Mr. Wilmot had chosen America for an illustration, and it was the country above all others that would least serve his purpose; for it was a notorious fact, that in America bread was cheap, and labour was proportionably high. The inefficiency of the sliding scale had been tested, for every year about harvest time there was a great rise in the price of flour, and the greater part of the wheat imported was brought in about that time.

Mr. WHITTEM and Mr. BRAY showed the advantages of Free Trade, and the cramping of commerce which resulted from its restriction. Mr. Bray also urged the necessity of the ports being open at this time, because of the scarcity now felt in consequence of the potato disease.

After further discussion, Mr. BRAY proposed that a memorial be adopted.

Another discussion followed respecting the wording of the memorial, some thinking the words "scarcity," "disease and death," much too strong.

Mr. COPE thought there had not been much scarcity at present; for though the potatoes were bad, and the crop of wheat was not so heavy as could be desired, yet there had been plenty of peas, beans, and almost every other kind of vegetables. He thought the terms too strong.

Mr. BUCKNEY said it appeared to him that the council was shutting its eyes to the real condition of the working class; they had now to pay 2s. 6d. per stone for flour, when a few months ago it was but 1s. 10d.; in addition to this, but few good potatoes could be obtained, and other articles had increased in price, while there had been no increase in wages, and a great diminution of employment. Therefore great scarcity must be felt somewhere.

Mr. H. BROWETT referred to the depression of trade which was now experienced. Instead of receiving orders for goods, orders were being received to countermand what was about being sent off. Manufacturers were reducing their stock of goods, because they expected the scarcity which now prevailed, and which threatened still further calamity, would lessen the consumption.

At length the words "disease and death" were expunged, and the word "scarcity" retained.

The memorial was then adopted, and the corporate seal affixed to it.

The council broke up after more than two hours' sitting.

GREAT YARMOUTH.

A requisition, numerously signed by merchants, ship-owners, and tradesmen of this borough, was on Wednesday last presented to the Mayor, S. T. Palmer, Esq., requesting him to call a public meeting, to consider the course which the inhabitants should take with reference to the inadequate supply of wheat available for the consumption of the people; and his worship immediately appointed Thursday evening, at 7 o'clock, for a public meeting on the question. At the time appointed, the Town Hall was filled, and the Mayor took the chair and opened the business of the meeting in a short speech. Mr. Tolver, the town clerk, having read the requisition,

GEORGE DANBY PALMER, Esq., moved the first resolution. During the time Mr. Palmer was addressing the meeting, the hand-bill, from the office of the *Norfolk News*, containing an extract from *The Times* paper, stating the intention of the Government to repeal the Corn Law, was handed in, and having been read, created a considerable sensation. Mr. Palmer moved the following resolution:

"That this meeting views with feelings of alarm the deficiency of the late harvest, and the general failure of the potato crop, both in this country and in Ireland, and deems it the duty of her Majesty's ministers immediately to open our ports for the admission of every description of food, duty free."

This was seconded by Mr. THOMAS HAMMOND, and passed unanimously.

Mr. W. N. BURROUGHS moved the next resolution in an eloquent and impressive speech, which was warmly applauded. The unequivocal feeling of the meeting fully proved that the people of Yarmouth were alive to the importance of this great question. The following is the resolution:

"That a memorial founded on the foregoing resolution be signed by the Chairman on behalf of the meeting, and forwarded to the First Lord of the Treasury, Sir Robert Peel."

It was seconded by Mr. W. A. BURTON, and was passed unanimously.

Mr. J. BAYLEY next moved the adoption of the memorial: Mr. D. A. GOURLAY seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

The memorial was signed by the Mayor on behalf of the meeting.

The meeting was one of the largest and most unanimous ever known in this place.

A vote of thanks being moved to the Mayor by PHILIP PULYN, Esq., and unanimously accorded, the meeting broke up.

CHORLEY.

On Monday a public meeting, called on a requisition to Mr. James Whitfield, chief constable of Chorley, was held in the Wesleyan Chapel, Chorley. The meeting was called to take place in the Town Hall, but was so large that an adjournment had to take place.

Mr. WHITFIELD having taken the chair,

R. SMEDHURST, Esq., moved a resolution to the effect, that the deficient harvest, and failure in the potato crops, imperatively require the consideration of the government.

Seconded by E. MORRIS, Esq.

Mr. LAWRENCE, a working man, supported this resolution. It was the duty of the landlords, in making laws, to raise the price of food to a certain figure, to take care that the working man should have an equivalent return for his labour, and that they had not done. Who suffered first from an unnatural price of corn? Not the landlords; for the wealthy

can always obtain enough for their own wants—but the poor labouring man. And they know it now; experience has taught them that an enhanced price of corn does not enhance the value of their labour.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. R. ANYON moved the next resolution, that the prosperity of all classes depends mainly on a low price of food. Mr. Anyon went into a statistical argument to show that flour, the staff of life, has now risen 25 per cent., and meal 74 per cent. in value, and then described the depressing effects that must ensue from such a misfortune in every department of trade.

Rev. Mr. O'HANLON, in seconding the motion, demonstrated the fallacy so long prevalent in this country, that a high price of food is invariably and necessarily attended by high wages.

The motion was carried.

THOMAS WATTS, Esq., a landed proprietor, moved a resolution to the effect, that it is the duty of Government to open the ports for the free admission of all kinds of food, and that immediately, by means of an Order in Council. If the often repeated assertion, that a repeal of the Corn Laws must be disastrous to the landlords, be true, he would be among the sufferers. But he never believed that such a thing would occur. He denied, however, that the proprietors pocketed money through the operation of the Corn Laws. Though this meeting was meant only to memorialise for opening the ports, that was only a preparatory step to getting rid of the Corn Laws altogether.

Rev. Mr. CLARK seconded the motion in a humorous and excellent speech. The meeting had heard of young ladies being encased in tight stays in order to support them in their various visits; these young ladies fell ill, and became ready to faint, until the medical man was called in, and administered relief by freeing them of their stays. Well, our adored lady Britannia was in this case now: the Corn Laws are her tight stays; she is ready to faint; and if the high authorities would not step in to act the part of a medical man, the meeting would do a good old lady's part—help to uncase herself. Then would Britannia be able to stand upright, and walk alone. (Cheers.) The resolution was then carried unanimously.

JAMES WALLWORK, Esq., then moved the adoption of a memorial, in accordance with the foregoing resolutions.

Mr. HODGKINSON seconded the motion, which was agreed to with cheers.

After a vote of thanks to the chairman, the meeting separated.

CARLISLE.

The usual monthly meeting of the town council of this ancient borough was held on Tuesday last, the mayor (James Steel, Esq.) presiding. There was a full attendance of councillors. As soon as the local business had been concluded:

Mr. Alderman DIXON said: Mr. Mayor, constituted as our corporation is by royal charter, and representing, as we do, a large commercial community, it is incumbent upon us—indeed I should conceive we should be neglecting our duty if we were not to do so—in cases of great local and public difficulty to communicate with the Crown, and state what may come under our knowledge, and of which the Crown may not be so cognizant as ourselves. The present circumstances of the country are deeply interesting, nay deeply embarrassing, as appears from the repeated consultations of her Majesty's Cabinet; and I am sorry to say, from my own knowledge, that there are serious grounds for such deliberations. The difficulties under which we labour, as well as those which are approaching, are exceedingly serious. It is known to you all that there has been a deficiency in the wheat crop. From communications I have had from gentlemen acquainted with the results of the harvest in this locality, I learn that the crop, although good in bulk, is in quality inferior and deficient. The consequence is, that there is a demand for a superior kind of wheat, which cannot be obtained at home to the extent required; and we are prevented using foreign wheat, which would be useful for mixing with our own, its use being prohibited by existing laws. We have very high prices for certain kinds of wheat coincident with very low prices—the averages consequently do not rise to the pivot at which grain in bond becomes admissible at a low duty—and hence foreign grain is prohibited. (Hear.)

Add to this, it is notorious that the potato crop has failed to a considerable extent. You will have seen the accounts published from various places; and I fear that they are too true. Speaking from my own knowledge, I can state that the potatoes are affected to a very considerable extent. The crop was abundant, more than an average, but on examination they were found to be affected with the disease. I came in contact only yesterday with one of those poor men who are allowed to plant potatoes free of rent: he told me he had put by three cart loads, and on taking them up, at the end of eight weeks, he found that two-thirds of them were entirely destroyed, and that 20 pigs belonging to a farmer in the neighbourhood were hardly able to keep pace with those destroyed. (Hear, hear, hear.) The general impression is, that the potatoes will not keep, and that the seed will not be forthcoming. These are facts that have come under my observation in my own neighbourhood; and I think it is right, connected as I am with the commercial world, to name what has come under my own cognizance. Already, in consequence of these things, the price of provisions has risen 30, 40, and 50 per cent., and a serious stagnation of commerce has taken place, such as to make it a subject of deep regret to those engaged in the employment of the people, because they have invariably found, and they now find, that when the price of food rises the demand for goods ceases, because people having more money to spend in food, have not so much to spend in clothing. The embarrassments in Lancashire and other places are very considerable, at present, on this account: and it appears to me to be an awful responsibility for any body of men whatever to prohibit the importation of food from other countries under such circumstances. (Hear, hear.)

I should say, rather than put any let or hindrance on it, every facility should be given for the introduction of food from all parts of the world. (Hear, hear.) It is a matter of congratulation that wheat may be obtained, to a considerable extent, from America, where, fortunately, there is a surplus. It is a lamentable fact, however, on the other hand, that there is a deficiency in Continental countries, whose Governments have, in many instances, opened the ports, and are receiving, even from England, corn which we ought to be consuming at home. These, gentlemen, are facts for the serious consideration of every man, but especially of the Government; and I trust God may so order their minds as to induce them to do away with all restrictions on the produce of the earth, and hindrance to its importation into this country. This cannot be done too early, for too much time has

been lost already, and the emergency is pressing. It is quite in the way of our duty to lay before the Crown the circumstances in which we are placed; indeed we should be neglecting our duty by remaining silent. I should be sorry to take any of you by surprise, but that, indeed, is scarcely possible, as much of what I have stated must have been known to you for some time, and I apprehend there will be but one opinion on the subject. I shall, however, give the usual notice; and will on Monday next move the adoption of the memorial.

Not a dissentient voice was raised against the memorial, which, it is expected, will be passed unanimously at the next meeting of the council.

Mr. Dixon is the head of the firm of Messrs. Peter Dixon and Sons, on whom are dependent for employment about 10,000 persons.

GREENOCK.

On Saturday, a meeting of the inhabitants of Greenock was held in the Sheriff Court Hall, on requisition of the Provost, to take into consideration the expediency of adopting a memorial to her Majesty's ministers in favour of the immediate and permanent opening of the ports to the admission of grain and other articles of food from foreign countries, duty free.

On motion of ALEXANDER STUART, Esq., the younger, of Belreux, the Provost was called to the chair by acclamation.

JOHN K. GRAY, Esq., Town Clerk, at the request of the Provost, read the requisition calling the meeting.

The Provost said it was unnecessary for him to say much in stating the object of the meeting. The words of the requisition calling it were perfectly plain and explicit, stating that the object was to get rid of the Corn Laws immediately and permanently. It was astonishing what progress the principles of Free Trade had made among all classes within the last few years. The Whigs themselves had abandoned the fixed duty, and had declared themselves hostile to all duties whatever upon the articles of food of every description. Nay, if all was true that was said, the men in power were prepared to go quite as far, and were prepared to sacrifice the Corn Laws, the sliding scale, and every other thing about them. Whether that report was true or not, one thing was certain, and that was that their ultimate success was indisputable. He concluded by calling upon his friend, Mr. Baine, to move the first resolution.

The meeting was addressed in long and able speeches by Walter Baine, Esq., M.P., for Greenock, Robert Steele, Bailie Macfie, Duncan Ferguson, Esq., Councillor M'Ilvain, and Councillor Hunter. After the resolution had been unanimously passed, the Provost introduced the late representative of the borough (Mr. Wallace) to the meeting, who spoke for a considerable time, and urged the continuance of vigorous efforts, as the circumstances of the country justified the firm belief that with a last united and determined expression of public opinion the Corn Laws must inevitably fall. The report of this meeting occupies several columns in the *Greenock Advertiser*.

DUNDEE.

In consequence of a highly-respectable requisition to the Provost, numerously subscribed, a public meeting of the inhabitants was held in the Thistle Hall, Union-street, on Wednesday afternoon, the 3d inst., for the purpose of memorialising her Majesty's Government immediately to open the ports for the free admission of provisions of all descriptions, and to assemble Parliament without delay, to concert measures for the immediate and complete repeal of the laws restricting the free importation of corn and provisions. We noticed on the platform, the Right Honourable Lord Kinnaird; W. F. L. Carnegie, Esq., of Kinnlethmont; George Duncan, Esq., M.P. for the burgh; Provost Brown; Bailies Anderson, Sturrock, Moyes, and Hean; David Baxter, Esq.; Edward Baxter, Esq.; Thomas Neish, Esq.; J. G. Baxter, Esq.; Alexander Balfour, Esq.; John Peter, Esq.; Alexander Easson, Esq.; Alexander Low, Esq.; William Nairn, Esq.; Logiealmond; Dr. Gray, and others. Dean of Guild Thoms, and a great number of gentlemen connected with the public bodies of the town, were in the body of the Hall; which was filled to excess; the meeting being composed of the greater part of our leading merchants and manufacturers connected with our staple trade, shopkeepers, and a fair representation of the working classes.

Provost Brown, on taking the chair, was received with great applause. He had great pleasure in complying with the requisition, for he approved of its object. With respect to the failure of the potato crop, it was evident that great distress would prevail amongst the working classes during the ensuing winter and the early part of summer. But, if such a calamity were to overtake them, it would be attended with the alleviation that it would no doubt enable them to get rid of the obnoxious Corn Law. Their views were therefore brighter than ever. They had recently, too, had the accession of two leaders of a great political party—Lord John Russell and Lord Morpeth—(cheers) and he had no doubt but the accession of these noblemen would be the means of enabling them soon to attain their object. He was sure the meeting would agree to return their acknowledgments to Lord Kinnaird and Mr. Carnegie for their attendance. (Great cheering.) Both were deeply interested in agriculture, and yet they both lent their assistance to do away with the Corn Law. (Cheers.) Lord Kinnaird and Mr. Carnegie were not like certain dukes and lords—they afforded a fine contrast to the Dukes of Richmond and Buckingham, who exerted themselves to keep up laws for the benefit of their own order, at the expense of the people. There was another nobleman to whom the cause was also much indebted—Lord Duncan—(cheers)—who, in consequence of a previous engagement, was prevented from being present. A letter had also been received from a worthy neighbour, Sir John Ogilvy, who had been prevented from attending by previous engagements. He concluded by calling upon Lord Kinnaird to move the first resolution.

LORD KINNAIRD, on presenting himself, was received with great applause. He had often felt himself called upon, both in Parliament and at public meetings, to express his opinion on the baneful effects of the Corn Laws on all classes of the community. His was not an opinion of yesterday; and he could not express his conviction better than in the words of Lord John Russell: "They were a blight to commerce, and a bane to agriculture." (Cheers.) It was now 19 years since he came into possession of his property, and ever since he had paid great attention to agriculture, so he could speak with certainty. He considered these laws to be a great drawback to improvements in agriculture, on account of uncertainty of prices for the produce of the land. (Cheers.) Tenants were generally of the same opinion privately, but they did not like to go against their landlords. Apart from his own tenantry he had consulted with others, and on one

occasion he had discovered that a tenant under a Corn Law landlord had actually written and published letters anonymously against them. (Cheers.) He had attended many meetings on the subject, but he had never felt such gratification as on the present occasion. He hoped their object would be soon realised—much sooner than they expected. (Cheers.) He did not expect that the great leaders of the Whig party would have come forward so openly and manfully. (Cheers.) As a proof that the subject had not been studied by our legislators, his Lordship referred to a conversation he had had with the late lamented Lord Holland, who had expressed his belief that the Corn Law was quite right, declaring to him at the same time that he had never studied political economy, which had formed no part of the education of the aristocracy in his younger days; and he was therefore unable to discuss the subject with him. But, thanks to the Anti-Corn Law League, the science of political economy was now rendered as plain as A B C. What the Duke of Richmond and others had denounced as wild theories, were now found to be practical facts, and he would defy any statesman to govern the country without practically adopting such principles. With respect to the Corn Law, Lord John Russell had, he understood, been making inquiries, and now they witnessed the good result. (Hear.) As to Lord Morpeth, no one stood higher as an intellectual and straightforward politician. It was somewhat remarkable that the letters of these two noblemen had been written on the same day—a fact which augured well for the speedy success of their cause. (Cheers.) Although the Corn Law had now received its death-blow, yet they must all deplore the immediate cause of it. Since the appearance of the disease in potatoes he had turned his attention to the subject, but regretted to find that chemists could give no explanation of it. His impression was, that not one-third of the late crop of potatoes would be sound at the end of three months. Parties were pushing their stocks forward to market. Prices would therefore soon rise; but would they then get corn to supply the deficiency? Already potatoes to the value of 80,000*l.* had been shipped at Perth, besides cargoes from Newburgh and other ports of the Tay, and his belief was that in the course of a month not a good potato could be had. The deficiency of the crop in Fife and the Lothians was known to be great; and under all the circumstances, unless Government were forced—and they were formed of squeezable material—no relief could be obtained. (Cheers.) It was dreadful to think of the consequences to the labouring population if the Government should refuse redress within a few short weeks. (Cheers.) It was fortunate, however, that the League stood in a position such as he believed would soon enable them to carry the question; but they must be supported. The country owed a debt of gratitude to Cobden, Bright, and Wilson for the valuable time they had devoted to the good cause. (Great cheering.) It was understood that the iron duke, who had formerly declared that no reform in the burgh representation was necessary, was the only obstacle to Sir Robert Peel moving in the Corn Law question; but they should exclaim with Bright, "We won't bear it any longer." (Cheers.) His Lordship concluded by moving the following resolution:—

"That this meeting, looking forward with great alarm to the consequences which will inevitably result from the general failure of the potato crop and deficiency in the harvest throughout the United Kingdom, regard it as the imperative duty of her Majesty's Ministers to take special measures for the prevention of starvation and its concomitants—misery and crime."

His Lordship resumed his seat amidst loud cheering. W. F. L. CARRNAGY, Esq., of Kinblethmont, rose amidst great cheering, and said he had much pleasure in seconding the motion which had been so ably proposed by Lord Kinnaird. He concurred entirely in his Lordship's sentiments; and it would be superfluous in him to say much, after the eloquent, clear, and succinct speech just delivered by his Lordship. (Cheers.) There was not one individual amongst them, he believed, that did not concur in all that had been said. He stood in the same position as his Lordship, both as a landowner and a farmer, and it would be a serious thing to him if a repeal of the Corn Law were to injure landlords and tenants. He had long been persuaded that a repeal would be beneficial to both these classes as well as to other interests. (Cheers.) He could not under such circumstances accept compliments from the Provost for attending the meeting, for he had merely come there to advocate his own interest. (Cheers.) He recollected having attended an Anti-Corn Law meeting in London some years ago, when, even in that extensive city, the number did not exceed a fiftieth part of those present; but see what large meetings are held now. It had always been his opinion that the Corn Law as an injury to the landlord as to the farmer. (Cheers.) ad Lord Holland studied political economy he would have rived at the same result. He would congratulate the setting on the near acquisition of their object, for he considered that the Corn Law was the greatest mistake—the greatest national blunder that had ever been committed. (Cheers.) He believed that the disease amongst the potatoes was exaggerated; but let them only carry their object—the potatoes might rot as they pleased. They could then and the murrain amongst the potatoes as if it were amongst the cabbages, for the former was not proper food for the people, and should never be depended upon again. (Cheers.)

r. NAIN said—When we, who have all along advocated the Corn Law repeal, almost driven out of temper by the obstinacy of our opponents, have dared to say a word against the humanity, we have had applied to us every name but that of gentlemen. But I must now ask our defamers whether the shameful indifference of our rulers to the lives and even lives of our fellow-subjects, does not more than justify all that ever we said. We never ask anything from them, nor are we asking anything now, except that to which the Author of our being has given us an inalienable right. In man's changed circumstances he was that in the sweat of his brow he should eat his bread, and any one who knows human nature can see mercy mixed with the sentence; but our rulers have sucked out the mercy and casting humanity to the winds, they insultingly tell you must toil, you must sweat, but ye shall not eat. Were we asking a favour at their hand we would perhaps have right to complain, even although, like one of their supporters, they told us they would do what they would with their own; but we only ask them not to do what they like with ours—let them take all their own—we don't envy them of it—let them cease from taking ours. The document we are forward to her Majesty's Government is called a Memorandum, and so verily it is. It is a Memorial of the utter recklessness, of the despicable meanness, and cruel selfishness of men who set themselves up as the pink and paragon of society. Noble lords and honourable gentlemen, enriched by the sobs of the poor and needy,—enabled by blacken-

ing the fame of their patriotic forefathers, and honoured by trampling under foot all that is truly great and generous among men. We must vote and get others to vote for good and true men—genuine Free Traders. When the first election comes, and it will soon come, the trying question to all candidates for a seat in Parliament must be, Are you a Free Trader, and will you do all that an honest man can to destroy all monopolies? This is the only power before which the strongholds of Monopoly will fall; and the sooner they are down the better for Britain, the better for Europe, and the better for the world at large. (Cheers.)

Lord KINNAIRD's motion was then carried amidst great cheering.

Mr. DAVID BAXTER, in an able and eloquent address, proposed the following resolution.

"That the present circumstances in which this country is placed, especially demand the opening of the ports for the importation of foreign grain and provisions, and the final repeal of those laws which prevent the free circulation of the produce of the earth, and better the commerce of an industrious people."

Councillor EASSON then rose to second the adoption of Mr. Baxter's motion. He said the object of the Corn and Provision Laws was to compel the people to draw their supplies of food from a certain class, within certain bounds, till prices reached such a limit as to entail a heavy tax on the consumer. Such laws were unjust, and they were warranted in protesting against them and using every legitimate means in their power to get them abolished. (Cheers.) The League had taken a grasp of the principle to which he had alluded, and hence the present enlightenment of the community. (Cheers.) In whatever circumstances the people might be placed, let them never lose sight of this principle—to buy in the cheapest markets and sell in the dearest: laws to the contrary should not be tolerated in a free country. (Cheers.) The Anti-Corn Law League, through good report and bad report, had long shown what would be the result of a bad harvest and its effects on trade, as well as the impolicy and injustice of the laws complained of, amid such contemptuous epithets as he would be ashamed to repeat. These predictions had been fully verified, and the time was drawing near when they would attain their object. On taking a retrospect view of the question, they would clearly see the difficulties the League had had to encounter, and the great revolution that had taken place in public opinion, with its attendant effects. Some of the stoutest advocates of restrictions have given up their former principles altogether. Such conversions showed the great power of a body acting on principle instead of expediency,—all showing that the time was not far distant when they would get rid of these obnoxious laws altogether. (Cheers.)

Dr. GRAY then presented himself, and was received with his accustomed welcome. He said the country had arrived at a great and important crisis, and, whether that crisis should prove advantageous or otherwise, depended upon the Government. The serious misunderstanding which at present existed between Great Britain and the United States with regard to the Oregon territory, called loudly upon all the friends of peace and civilization to come forward manfully and proclaim aloud, that now was the time for the abrogation of all restrictions on trade—(cheers)—in order that the terrible storm which was brewing in the distant West might be averted, and all the horrors of war and desolation prevented. The extraordinary activity which was at present exhibited in our naval dockyards was significant of the future intentions of the Government. It was their bounden duty therefore to step in and point them out the way by which peace and civilization might not only be preserved, but also extended and ramified to the most distant nations of the earth; and the best plan which could be adopted for such a benevolent and philanthropic purpose was in the removal of all restrictions upon trade. (Cheers.) The repeal of the Corn Laws would be the signal for the amicable settlement of the dispute between this country and the United States, with respect to the territory beyond the Rocky Mountains, as the whole farmers of the Union would rise as one man and compel their Government to make concessions to Britain, in order that new markets might be opened for their agricultural productions, and which would render them rich, prosperous, and happy. (Cheers.)

The motion was then put and carried unanimously.

The Provost then introduced a gentleman for whom he had the highest respect—Mr. Duncan, Member for the Burgh.

Mr. DUNCAN was received with great cheering. He said the Premier had explained, in his bearing, the whole mystery of the Corn Law in a single sentence—Buy in the cheapest markets and sell in the dearest. What did the present meeting seek? Merely to reduce Sir Robert's theory to practice, yet he now denied it. They were not met to ask any favour at the hands of Government, but to demand their just rights as British subjects. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) If they knew the constitution of the House of Commons as well as he did, they would find that it was not there the battle would be fought with success, but out of doors. Without attending to that, Peel, backed by his monopolists in the House of Commons, would render all their memorials and petitions of less value than the paper upon which they were written. (Cheers.) There was the sugar monopoly, the corn monopoly, and another interest which the Minister had secured to himself—the railway monopoly. (Cries of hear, hear.) They had no idea of the influence of the railway interest, and Sir Robert had now become identified with it by becoming a railway maker himself. If they trusted their wishes and hopes to the present House of Commons they would trust to a bottomless vessel of which he would not like to be an under-writer. (A laugh.) They must continue the pressure from without, and demand their right to barter their goods for the produce of other countries. (Cheers.) There seemed to be a fatality about the actions of our Government in not allowing a supply of fruit to be brought in for the use of the inhabitants of this country. Look at what foreign Powers had done in a similar emergency—in Belgium, for example. Their ports have been thrown open, and no fewer than two hundred and twelve vessels loaded with provisions, had, within the last six weeks, discharged cargoes at Antwerp alone,—a number of these carrying off food from our own shores. Within that time seven or eight Cabinet Councils had been held to consider whether the ports should be opened or not. [Dr. Gray—"They were not all about the Corn Laws, but something about the far-distant West." Great laughter.] Whatever they might have done had not transpired, but, with famine staring the people in the face, they should have done something for relief. To attain their object, the people themselves must move and do their duty, if the Ministers refused to do theirs. (Cheers.) In his opinion, every town, village, and hamlet, should meet and petition; and, by plac-

ing these petitions in Sir Robert Peel's hands, he would be made aware of the opinion of the country respecting the conduct of Government. In the event of a general election, the course the electors ought to pursue should be to look out for men who would vote right irrespective of making fine speeches; for he could assure them that there was at present a host behind the Treasury benches ever ready to vote that black is white when required to do so. (Laughter.) They were aware that there was to be a new House for the accommodation of the Commons, but to make all right the people would require to return a new set of members. If God spared him, he would again vote on the question as he had hitherto done. The present Parliament had told them that they could not pass an Act to regulate wages; at the same time they had passed a law to regulate the price of food, thereby inflicting a great injustice on the people. Such a state of things could not last much longer. (Cheers.) Lord John Russell had not gone out with them previous to the last division in the House, and he had never heard that Peel had given in to a fixed duty. Lord John now says that the bread tax is unjust, and he gives it up. Perhaps Sir Robert, who had pertinaciously stuck to his sliding scale, might also be induced to throw it overboard. (Cheers.) Mr. Duncan concluded by reading the following resolution, and sat down amidst cheers.

"That this meeting, therefore, earnestly impress upon her Majesty's Ministers the necessity of immediately suspending the operation of the Corn Laws, and of calling Parliament together at an early day, in order to submit to it a measure for the total repeal of the duties restricting the supply of food."

At this stage of the proceedings, Lord Kinnaird left the meeting, amidst enthusiastic cheering.

Mr. NEISH seconded the adoption of Mr. Duncan's resolution. He referred to the potato disease, and expressed his conviction that so far from being exaggerated, its full extent was not yet known. In illustration of this, he mentioned the case of a cargo of potatoes sent by himself to Rotterdam, which, although they appeared sound on landing, were found, in a day or two, to be not worth the freight. He urged the necessity of trusting no longer to Sir Robert Peel in this question—they had trusted too long to that pretended reformer already, and had been made fools of for their pains. They must now act for themselves, and so determinedly as to oblige even the Iron Duke to give way. He did not trust in Sir Robert Peel; he considered him a false pretender; and, when they saw an honest, upright statesman frankly acknowledging his error, they must look to him as the future head and leader of the party. (Cheers.) They had a cunning fox to deal with, but they must hunt him out of his hole—they must compel him to do justice, or lay his resignation at her Majesty's feet. (Great cheering.) If he still attempted to thwart the just demands of the people in every way, they should appeal to the country. They had no faith in Peel, and it was their duty to tell him so. He had much pleasure in seconding Mr. Duncan's motion, and he only wished that all members of the Legislature did their duty as well as he. (Great cheering.)

The motion was then carried with great applause.

Mr. ALEXANDER LOW proposed the fourth resolution—

"That this meeting views with pleasure the progress of Free Trade principles in this country, and particularly rejoices in the declaration of Lord John Russell, 'That observation and experience have convinced him that the Legislature ought to abstain from all interference with the supply of food,' and likewise in the most emphatic announcement of Lord Morpeth, 'That the time is come for a final repeal of the Corn Laws.' That this meeting, encouraged by these events, pledge themselves to renewed efforts in the cause of Free Trade, and that they will never cease to use every constitutional means in their power for the purpose of abolishing those laws which make food scarce and dear, cripple the energies of the nation, and which are in their operation now threatening to overtake the country with a fearful calamity." The prospects as to the ultimate and complete triumph of that great Free Trade movement which was now occupying the minds of every class of the community, were at present very cheering. The roll of Free Traders in this town was much greater than at any previous period; and, as an evidence of that, he referred to the very numerous and respectfully-signed requisition to Provost Brown, to call this meeting, for the purpose, not only of memorialising her Majesty's ministers to suspend the Corn Laws, but to take measures for immediately and totally abolishing the Corn and Provision Laws. That requisition contained the names of benevolent gentlemen who take an active interest in promoting the religious, moral, intellectual, and physical improvement of the people, whose conscientious convictions were worthy of the greatest respect, and who have for the first time thus publicly declared that the Corn Laws ought no longer to be maintained. A number of the shipowners of Dundee, and others engaged in the trade of the town, were some time ago unfavourable to an unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws; they urged the plea of reciprocity; they considered that we ought not to admit the corn of other countries free of duty, unless they in return opened their ports to the free admission of the manufactures of this country. The plea was now seen to be a fallacy. It was just saying that, unless we can have two good things, we will refuse the one we may have; and now all the merchants and shipowners of Dundee were, with very few exceptions, prepared to vote for the total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) What had taken place here had also occurred in every town in the kingdom—one after another was subscribing to the justice of the cause, and the soundness of Free Trade opinions; the tide of public opinion in favour of Free Trade was advancing every day, and it would continue to swell until it swept away every oppressive power. (Cheers.)

Mr. JOHN PETER, in seconding Mr. Low's motion, remarked, that the conduct of the Government was insane in refusing to open the ports at a time of such urgent need. They had the example of foreign countries before them, who lost no time in admitting a supply of food for their people. (Cheers.) They should not however deceive themselves—all their exertions would still be required to crown their just cause with success. For himself, he could use no language sufficiently strong in condemnation of the infernal Corn Law. (Great applause.)

The motion was carried amidst hearty cheers.

Mr. EDWARD BAXTER then read a memorial founded on the preceding resolutions, addressed to Sir Robert Peel, First Lord of her Majesty's Treasury; and which, being moved by him for the adoption of the meeting, and seconded by Bailie MOYES, was carried by acclamation.

Votes of thanks were then severally proposed to Provost Brown, the Leaders of the League, and George Duncan, Esq., M. P., all of which were carried with rounds of cheering.

Just as the meeting was breaking up, Mr. WILLIAM CHRISTIE presented himself, and begged to ask a question of the worthy Provost. He was glad to see the Member for the Burgh present: Had the member for the county been invited to attend the meeting?

The Provost—Not that I am aware of.

Mr. NEISH inquired who he was? to which Mr. Christie replied—Lord Hallyburton.

Mr. Low explained, that he believed the hon. member was at present in Germany.

Mr. CHRISTIE said, he put the question as he had noticed that the honourable gentleman had voted against the repeal of the Corn Laws; and he therefore declared publicly, that, as a voter for the county—and there were many present—he would not again support him. Under present circumstances, he would recommend an organization of the Liberal electors of the county, for the purpose of attending to the registrations.

Mr. T. WIGHTON considered that the inhabitants of Dundee had a great interest in the county. The League had done much in England with respect to the registrations; and, were the influential gentlemen on the platform to take the matter up, much might be done in the county of Forfar.

Mr. CARNEGY expressed his belief that the honourable member was liberal in his opinions.

A VOICE—Perhaps he had been converted.

Mr. WIGHTON—It's only then since the last division on Mr. Villiers's motion in the House of Commons.

The large assembly then quietly separated.

QUEENSFERRY.

The Magistrates and Council of Queensferry have petitioned the Queen to assemble Parliament, or adopt other measures, with a view to open the ports for the free admission of food.

KILKENNY.

MEETING OF THE CORPORATION.—Tuesday, 9th December. The MAYOR in the Chair. Present—Alderman Hackett, Hart, Smithwick, Town Councillors Lanigan, Kelley, (Altamont), Rowan, Martin, Kelley (Irishtown), Mortan, Bateman, J. Potter, Burke, Cody, Hayland, R. Smithwick, O'Callaghan, Purcell, Kinchella.

Town Councillor LANIGAN's notice of motion for a memorial to the Queen in favour of opening the ports having been read, he said that—Agreeable to that notice he held a memorial in his hand which he would submit to them, and it would be for them to say if it corresponded with their sentiments; or whether it went far enough in the right direction—to release the foreign corn now in bond, and to allow a supply to come in from the countries which were blessed with a superabundant harvest to the relief of this kingdom where want was so imminent. It was but too true that, in this country, from the testimony of those most conversant with the subject, one half of the crop upon which the people depended may be supposed to have been destroyed, and it was impossible to form any opinion as to the safety of the rest; many persons, who from their position, were more experienced than he was, had arrived at the conclusion that it was doubtful if any part would remain safe. This being considered, seeing the danger of a want of food for the people, and how that danger was likely to increase, when the law says that no foreign supplies shall come in to their relief under a duty of fifteen or twenty shillings a quarter—a law which goes to frustrate the law of God that provision should not be withheld from the poor, he was sure that they would agree with him in a prayer for the release of foreign corn from those restrictions, and that he would receive the aid of many more competent than he was in his efforts. He believed that it was known to them all that a county meeting had been held with regard to the potato crop; and a committee formed in which many of the landed interest had enrolled themselves. After three weeks or a month a report was brought up by this committee, which certainly did not suppress the truth but told it plainly. It was reported that the question had been mooted in that committee to request of her Majesty to cause measures to be taken to open the ports. A resolution to that effect had been proposed by one gentleman; he did not know if it obtained a second, but, at all events, it was crushed. It was, therefore, their bounden duty, as the municipal representatives of the people of this city, to come forward and memorialise on the subject. One thing more, and he had done. The Cabinet had met more than once, but had done nothing: in that cabinet there were men who supported monopoly, and would, while they had the power, oppose every amelioration of the present system. Was he to be told that this was to continue, and that this law was to remain in existence

"Until ruin and riot sweep the land,
And powerless Statesmen trembling stand.
'Mid pillaged stores, 'mid trampled laws,
'Mid wretches shot in monopoly's cause,
'Mid the curse and groan of famished men,
Shall the bread-tax fall, and not till then?"

(The conclusion of Mr. Lanigan's address was followed by a unanimous burst of applause, and he then read, and moved the adoption of the memorial.)

Alderman SMITHWICK rose to second its adoption: he regretted that he had not been in time to hear the entire of Mr. Lanigan's able address. It was unnecessary for him to occupy much time. He thought it their duty to support the measures which were approved of by their constituents, and this was a question in which the people of Kilkenny were deeply interested, and in whose favour they were decided. As a farmer, he had himself no apprehension of any danger from the repeal of the corn laws. (Hear, hear.) Modern improvements in agriculture would enable them to meet any increased competition: long before the Corn Laws had existence, land in this neighbourhood bore as high a rent as it does now. But such considerations were trivial compared to that of providing for the necessities of the people. He had, therefore, great pleasure in seconding Mr. Lanigan's motion. (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

The MAYOR said that the Board had heard the memorial read; and also the able and argumentative speeches of the mover and seconder. There was no difference of opinion on the subject: such was the rapid spread of intelligence and public influence, that no minister could be found henceforward, who would be hardly enough to dare to class-legislate. As to the present question, he was happy to tell them that a large number of the landed gentry of this country were in favour of it. He alluded more particularly to this from a remark made by Mr. Lanigan. Having had the honour of being a member of the committee upon the potato crop, he had, with the concurrence of his friend, Mr. Smithwick, drawn up a resolution in favour of opening the ports. If that resolution had been submitted to the committee, so far from not obtaining a second, it would have been largely

supported; but a conversation having ensued as to whether this was the proper time to bring it forward, it was agreed that, as they were then only met to report progress, it would be better to postpone its adoption until a future day, when, he could assure the Board, it would be triumphantly carried. He trusted that the citizens at large would imitate the example of the Corporation, and memorialise; that they would be followed by the county, and that the spirit would be caught up by the land. The Mayor then put the question, and declared it to be carried unanimously. (Loud applause.)

On the motion of Alderman Hackett, seconded by Town-Councillor Martin, it was ordered that this memorial should be signed by all the members of the Corporation, as well as the Mayor.

The MAYOR was glad to hear them adopt Alderman Hackett's proposition, as it would be a test whether this memorial embodied the sentiments merely of a majority of the Corporation, or those of the entire board.

OPERATIVES' MEETINGS.

BLACKBURN.

MEETING OF COTTON-SPINNERS, SELF-ACTING MINDERS, ROVERS, &c.—On Thursday evening the 4th inst., a meeting of cotton-spinners and others was held in the large room of the Britannia Inn, Penny-street, in this town, for the purpose of considering a series of resolutions on the prospects of their trade; and, if deemed advisable, to adopt a memorial to her Majesty's Government for the opening of the ports for the free admission of all kinds of foreign corn and provisions. The meeting was summoned by a deputation from the Cotton Spinners' Central Committee, consisting of Mr. H. Turner. The summons was only issued in the course of the afternoon, but notwithstanding the insufficiency of the notice, a numerous attendance waited the opening of the proceedings.

THOMAS BISPIN having been appointed to the chair,

It was resolved, 1st, on the motion of THOMAS SHERIFF, seconded by RICHARD MEADOWS—That this meeting views with feelings of pain and deep regret the consequences which threaten to ensue from the general and almost unprecedented failure in the potato crops, and the deficiency in the late harvest in Great Britain and Ireland.

In proposing this resolution, Thomas Sheriff said, it was very clear they had "bad times" coming back again, and they all knew very well that dear food and bad trade came together. They were hindering their own interests if they did not do everything they could to bring more corn into the country. (Hear, hear.)

Resolved, 2dly, on the motion of THOMAS KAY, seconded by THOS. HOOLE—That having but recently been relieved from a period of 'great suffering and privation, a period when the price of food was high, wages extremely low, and employment most difficult to be met with; that at that period we suffered to a much greater extent than any other class of operatives; we cannot contemplate the recurrence of similar evils without feelings of extreme fear and alarm.—Thomas Kay, in proposing the resolution, said it was time for them to be up and doing, when everybody else was, and there was so much need for action. He believed they would all agree with this resolution. (Hear.)

Resolved 3dly, on the motion of JOSEPH MACNEYS, seconded by THOMAS HOLDEN.—That this meeting is of opinion that the present scarcity of food, leading as it must to a continued rise in prices, will, if not prevented, inevitably bring about calamities as great as those to which we have adverted; and we do therefore resolve to solicit her Majesty's Ministers to open the ports of this country, and let us have the surplus grain of other countries free of duty.—In proposing the above resolution, Joseph Macneys felt fully convinced that the time had come for them to be moving. They were called on, as they regarded their own welfare and the happiness of their families, to do what they could to keep off the suffering that was coming upon them. He thought they would all be agreed about this point, that wages were always lowest when food was dearest, and that at such a time work was always most difficult to be had. (Hear, hear.)

ROBERT WEST said they had met to consider if anything could be done to remove the calamities they were sure of suffering if corn continued to rise, or even maintain its price. They had hardly got out of their last sufferings from bad trade when they were again into it. And he had observed when these bad times came the cotton trade always suffered most. They all knew very well that they had the best wages when bread was cheapest. They remembered the years 1834, 35, and 36, when grain was cheap their wages were good. He considered corn should come in duty free, as well as machinery should go out duty free. Countries sent to us for machinery that they may make goods for themselves, because we would not take their corn for our manufactured goods. (Hear.) He thought the machinery and the corn should be both on the same footing in the way of duty, and if they were he thought more goods would go out than machinery, and more corn would come in. (Cheers.) If they had Free Trade he was sure they would never hear tell of short time. The Corn Laws were destroying their markets. Look to America, for instance in 1807, with its then population, we exported six millions worth of goods to America, while in 1842, we only exported three and a half millions worth. This was because we would not take the American corn for our goods, and they began to make for themselves.—Free Trade was what they all wanted. (Cheers.) A memorial, founded on the resolutions, was then read; and being duly seconded and put by the chairman, was adopted with great unanimity.—The 4th resolution was then proposed on the motion of ROBERT WEST, seconded by RICHARD REID. That a memorial, founded on the foregoing resolutions, be forwarded forthwith to Sir Robert Peel.

Mr. H. TURNER, the deputation from the central committee, was then introduced, and was received with great applause. He said he met them on this occasion under much less agreeable circumstances than when he last had the pleasure of meeting them. They were then prosperous, now they were menaced with adversity. They might ask if the central committee were doing what they could to avert the calamity which threatened them. He thought they were. The central committee were now considering in a more comprehensive spirit the causes that affected their wages; and they had unanimously ascribed an artificial scarcity of food as the chief cause of bad trade and low wages. He was sure there was no man here bold enough to assert that they were ever in danger of a reduction of wages when there was prosperous trade; nor would any man dare state that they had any chance of an advance of wages when employers were suffering from depressed trade. This then was the wage secret—scarcity of food brought bad trade and low wages, while abundant and cheap food

brought prosperous trade and good wages. This cause then must be the object of their consideration. All the unions in the world would not secure them good wages, unless these unions were employed to procure abundance of food. He shuddered to think of the periods of suffering they had lately gone through, in consequence of ruined trade by dear and scarce food,—those were times indeed to try men's souls. And were they again to pass through this bitter ordeal? They thought of 42 and 43 with horror. Those days of darkness passed away—44 and 45 came, and they had labour and bread, they had garnered hopes in their hearts that the evil day was gone for a long period; but now at the end of 45 they were again on the point of famine. They are again saddened and shocked with the vision of hungry wives and famishing children;—"coming events cast their shadows before,"—and the indications were, to his mind, clear that they had again entered on one of those periods of sorrow and suffering which they had experienced so frequently during the last 12 years. The speaker then glanced at the failure of the potato crop, &c., and quoted some interesting calculations, shewing the effect which the enhanced price of food would have on the shopkeeper—the merchant—the manufacturer—and the operative. The inhabitants of Blackburn were now paying 1200L a day, or 8400L a week more for their food than they were doing six months since. The country was paying 41 millions more for their food than in May last. They might easily imagine the effect this would have upon trade, when they considered that all this sum was taken out of the consumption of manufactured commodities, and who is the richer for it? Your masters are not, but poorer; so are the Manchester merchants, so are most of your townsmen, it goes from you. There is so much less money in circulation. You pay so much more for your food that you have just so much less to spend for your clothes; you will do without new clothes for six or twelve months; if so, your shopkeeper will not need to buy them of the Manchester merchant. He won't require goods from the manufacturer; your labour will not be required to make them. All this is produced by the Corn Laws, which inflict a two-fold injury on you in raising the price of your food and destroying your means to purchase it. We may expect this season of adversity to be even more severe than others. Short time will assuredly come sooner, and be more general. The masters have suffered too severely already to repeat the expedient of accumulating a large stock. They are determined not to do it, and I cannot blame them. They will commence running short time, and continue running it with a low stock. You make up your minds for this, if the Corn Law is not repealed. They will not again keep you working full time, filling foreign warehouses with goods that they will be compelled to sell as they did before, for less money than they sell for at home. What are we to do then; are we to look with indifference on the thickly gathering dark cloud, and wait for its bursting on our defenceless heads without an effort to dissipate it? Some say it is the will of Providence. I profess profound submission to Him,

"Who marks with equal eye, as God of all;

A hero perish, and a sparrow fall."

But this distress is of man's making. He has sent no more mouths than he has sent food to fill. There is corn in Egypt, and we must and will have it. (Great cheering.) If there is not corn in England, there is a superfluity in other lands. The law to feed the people in proportion to the quantity of food grown in this country is as absurd as iniquitous. In my time I said the Corn Law repealer meant no good, but I have seen my error. Is this law right or wrong? let us approve or condemn it on its merits. Suppose a family of four brothers, one is a pauper and another rich. The rich offers to assist the poor brother, and the other two step forward and say, No! we will not allow you; he may starve, but you shall not feed him. What would you think of the two brothers who acted in this way; would you not be indignant at such conduct? Yet such is exactly the conduct of our Corn Law towards us. We are poor and hungry. Another nation offers to help us, but the Corn Law will not allow it, though we starve. We would have had abundance of food in this country, but for the Corn Law. Where is the food going that we have? To Belgium, Holland, Russia, and Turkey. And is this to continue? If every man was of my mind, it would not. It is the working classes who permit the Corn Law to exist. You must arise from your apathy. Ruin is staring us in the face—the repeal of these laws will avert it—up then to the rescue, and God will speed the right. Mr. T. concluded his long and eloquent address amid loud and continued cheering.

An individual in the audience proposed that a general public meeting should be held in the town on an early evening for the purpose of eliciting a demonstration on this subject.—The resolution was carried unanimously with great cheering.

Votes of thanks having been carried to the chairman and the deputation, and responded to, the meeting adjourned about ten o'clock.

PRESTON.

On Friday evening, the 5th inst., a meeting of the operative spinners of this town was held at the Craven Hotel, North Road, for the purpose of memorialising Robert Peel to open the ports of this country for the admission of grain.

Mr. B. GREENOUGH took the chair.

The CHAIRMAN having read the circular convening meeting, said—In the present alarming crisis they were obliged to do something to better the condition of the per classes and the operatives, and they were fully justified in doing so. (Cheers.) The panic did not so much affect the rich, for they had something to fall back upon; but did press grievously on the operatives, who had no resource to depend upon but their hard-earned wages. (Hear.) He was never a professed Corn Law repealer before the panic arrived, but now the alarming consequences likely to result from it told him something must be done. (Hear, hear.) Trade some time since flourished, and the operatives had full work and good wages; now it had gone, and there was no chance for them of asking for or obtaining an advance of wages. If, however, the ports were opened for the admission of all foreign grain, a period would be put to their distress, and relief obtained. (Hear, hear.) As they were put on short time, they could do better to relieve their condition than by memorialising Sir Robert Peel to open the ports for the free admission of grain into the country. (Cheers.) He would now call on Mr. Amos Wilson to move the first resolution.

Mr. AMOS WILSON said they had not many reasons to pass—working-men indeed seldom had. Their object in meeting was to endeavour, as factory operatives, to better their condition. He was no Corn Law agitator, and

had seldom taken part in political discussions. The question to which he was wedded was that of short time; and though he had been at meetings where the Corn Law was sought to be introduced, he had always opposed its being discussed as forming no part of their object; but now he saw it was necessary for the working classes, as well as others, to take an interest in the question, and to do their best to put an end to the Corn Law. They had found that while food was cheap, trade had been good and wages good. They had obtained two advances, and the men and masters were all prosperous together; but now things were looking gloomy, and the first thing talked of was short time. The question, they were now convinced, was a bread and cheese question; and what the working class had to consider was, whether they would be content to starve in the midst of plenty. (Hear, hear.) He had seen in one of the newspapers a recommendation to peel their potatoes thinner, in consequence of the scarcity; and, if that should not be found to answer, they would next be told to eat the potatoes, peel and all. (Laughter and hear.) He concluded by moving the adoption of the following resolution and memorial: "That this meeting, knowing the great deficiency of the late harvest—seeing the present state of the potato crop, which they fear will be still further depreciated as the season advances—and having had previous experience of the dearth and scarcity of provisions, and the lamentable consequences that ensued therefrom, viz. intense suffering from want of employment, and low wages—and knowing that 'like causes produce like effects,' cannot but view with great alarm the present aspect of affairs, and therefore resolve that a memorial be immediately despatched to Sir Robert Peel."

The motion was seconded by Mr. THOS. COUPE.

Mr. H. TURNER (of Bolton) supported the resolution in a long and very able speech, of which we regret our inability to give more than the bare outline, on account of the proximity of the hour at which it was delivered to that of our going to press. He stated that he was an operative cotton spinner and a member of the Central Committee of that body, from whom the memorial just read had emanated. His interest, however, was identical with the interests of all other working men. The object of all classes ought at present to be, to avert the calamity with which they were now threatened in consequence of a scarcity and consequent dearth of food, which was already occasioning a depression of trade. The memorial which had been submitted to them had only been thought of last Sunday, and since then copies had been forwarded to a number of towns, where meetings had been held to adopt and sign them. He had already attended meetings at Bolton and Blackburn, where the operatives were unanimous in their condemnation of the Corn Law. He (the speaker) like the chairman of the meeting, was a Chartist, a backbone stickler for the six points; but he knew that while the grass grew the steed might starve, and he was not so short-sighted as to reject all other questions because he could not carry that which he desired. (Hear and cheers.) The years 1835, '36, and '37 were eminently prosperous, but they were followed by the bad years of '39, '40, and '41; and then, in consequence of the dearth of food, and the bad trade, their children were crying for bread, and they had none to give them. Many of their brethren had gone to other towns in search of work, but they might as well have gone in search of a gold mine. Then came the prosperous years of 1843, '44, and '45 when food was cheap, and trade being good, there was abundance of employment, and wages were raised. A cloud had now again appeared, to blight their prospects, and a storm seemed ready to burst over them—(hear, hear)—and they would again have to endure all the poverty and misery of 1842, unless the calamity should be averted by the removal of the Corn Laws, and the free importation of food from abroad. (Hear.) Four months ago bread was selling in Bolton at 6d. for the 4 lb. loaf; but now already it had advanced to 7d. and 7½d.; and potatoes, which were then selling at 7d. per score, were now selling at 1s. (Hear.) The difference in the cost of provisions within that brief space might be fairly estimated at one penny per head per day, or sevenpence for each per week; which, taking the population at twenty-seven millions, would amount to 787,500l. per week, or to the very large sum of 40,950,000l. per annum. This sum could not be deducted from the amount of food, but must be taken from the amount paid to the shopkeepers for clothing and other goods, which, in times of scarcity, must be dispensed with. The withdrawal of such an enormous amount from trade was sufficient in itself to account for the depression which had already taken place, and which must still extend further, unless means were taken to prevent it. (Hear.) He then entered into a number of statements and calculations, which showed the operation of dear food upon the wages and condition of families of the working-classes; absolving the manufacturers and masters from all blame, with respect to the reduction of wages and hours of work—they being losers to as great an extent, in consequence of the absence of demand when provisions were high, as the men themselves. He claimed for the working population the power to buy food wherever they could get it, not as a favour but as a right—a right which was contested by none but the owners of the soil, who acted in the same way as if they were to stand at the entrance of the Preston market, and request a per centage upon everything bought there, for permission to the buyers to select for themselves what they wanted; or, as if they were to insist upon a right to eat with the working man's family at his expense. (Hear and cheers.) After again forcibly urging the iniquitous operation of the Corn Law, and its result as exhibited at the present moment in diminishing employment and enhancing the price of provisions, by absolutely driving away the grain warehoused at Liverpool and other ports, to be sold in foreign countries, because the duty here was too exorbitant to permit it to be sold profitably at home, he earnestly exhorted the working men to combine on this home question, and by their union in the assertion of their rights, convince Sir Robert Peel and the landlords that they would no longer endure the tampering of the legislature with the means of their existence. (Cheers.) He concluded by recommending that if the working men should call another public meeting, not to hold it at dinner-time, when those employed in the mills were unable to attend, but at night, when they would be able to muster in numbers, and prove that they were ready to adopt the advice of Sir Robert Peel himself, by taking their affairs into their own hands, and sat down amid loud cheering.

The CHAIRMAN put the resolution to the meeting, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. A. WILSON stated that this meeting had originated entirely with the cotton-spinners, and was solely confined to them at present; but he hoped the matter would be taken up by others.

Mr. W. LIVERSEY suggested that a public meeting of workmen might be held in the Cock Pit.

Some discussion took place upon this suggestion, and a committee was ultimately appointed for carrying it into effect.

Mr. WM. HIBBERT moved that the chairman be requested to sign the memorial which had been adopted, and to forward the same to Sir Robert Peel.

Mr. T. BANKS having seconded the resolution, it was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. WILSON moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Turner, for his attendance, and the eloquent speech he had addressed to them.

This having been seconded by Mr. W. LIVERSEY, was carried by acclamation.

Mr. TURNER briefly returned thanks, again urging the working-men to do their duty in promoting the cause of Free Trade.

Mr. WILSON moved, and Mr. J. SHERLIKER seconded a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was carried with loud applause, and briefly responded to.

A vote of thanks was subsequently passed to the reporters of the *Preston Chronicle* and *Guardian* for their attendance; and the meeting broke up about ten o'clock.

LANCASTER.

A meeting of the operative cotton spinners and others was held in the Odd Fellows' Hall, on Saturday evening last, for the purpose of memorialising Sir Robert Peel to open the ports of this kingdom for the admission of foreign grain and provisions duty free. Though the placards convening the meeting had not been issued more than three hours previously, the spacious hall was well filled in every part.

MARK PARKINSON having been called to the chair by acclamation, commenced by observing that the effect of dear food on the working-classes was to abstract the money which would otherwise be expended in trade; for their wives, instead of having money to spend in clothes and other articles, had to spend it in housekeeping. Again, if the shopkeepers had not money, they could not buy of the manufacturers; and if the manufacturers could not sell their goods, there would be less demand for labour. Many of the large capitalists, it was true, could afford to lay their stocks by for a time, in hopes of a change for the better, and that was a benefit to the working-men. But the small manufacturers were obliged to come into the market, and sell at low prices; and consequently those manufacturers who had large stocks on hand were obliged to come down too, and bring their goods into the market. Then there was a reduction of wages, or short time, so that in either case, the poor man's loaf was diminished, and he was therefore out of pocket. (Hear, hear.) Labour, like everything else, must be governed by the supply and demand. When a master was looking out for two men, and could only get one, that man expected a good price for his labour, and got it. But if there were two or three men, and the master wanted only one, it was his interest to get him at as low a price as he could. (Hear.) In common with many other countries of Europe, we had been visited by a serious dispensation of Providence, in the failure of the potato crop. But there was abundance of food in America; and if our rulers would only suffer it to be brought here without taxing it, thousands of lives might yet be preserved. (Cheers.) They had been often told that if the Corn Laws were abolished, foreigners would stop their supplies, if there was any prospect of going to war with us. But did the Americans stop their supplies of cotton? No; it was to their interest to sell us their produce; and that consideration was the best means of preventing war, for no man would shoot his best customer? Calamities like that which had now befallen us, had been permitted from all time, to teach the mutual dependence of nations, and he hoped that the present lesson would not be lost upon Ministers; it was not the working-classes alone who would suffer if something was not speedily done to relieve their wants, but bakers, grocers, butchers, and even the landlords of the soil. (Cheers.)

JOSEPH WILDMAN was then called upon by the chairman to move the first resolution, "That this meeting, knowing the great deficiency of the late wheat harvest; seeing the present state of the potato crops, which they fear will be still further deteriorated as the season advances; and having had previous experience of the lamentable consequences which ensue from scarcity of provisions—namely, intense suffering from low wages and want of employment; and knowing, also, that like causes produce like effects, cannot but view with alarm the present aspect of affairs. Resolved, therefore, that a memorial be forwarded to the Prime Minister, urging the immediate opening of the ports." He thought this resolution was one which could not but meet with their acceptance; for a very great majority of them had been intense sufferers on former occasions, in consequence of a deficiency of food; and although the temporary opening of the ports would only be a temporary relief, yet it might be the means of saving the lives of tens of thousands of human beings who were perishing of want. (Applause.) Look at the influence of monopoly in India. He had read in the last number of THE LEAGUE newspaper that in the year 1769, when a famine broke out there in consequence of the rice crop failing, the East India Company bought up the whole of the rice that was grown in British India, and when they had done this, and forbidden other people to trade in it, they put their own price upon it, and the poor natives were forced to give it, or die of hunger. And when they had no more money to give in exchange, three millions of them died of famine in one year, and the numbers that threw themselves into the Ganges were so great that the river became pestiferous, so that the fish in it could not be eaten. (Great sensation.) These were the awful effects of monopoly; and just the same effects had been produced in this country, and would be again, if the ports were not opened before this time next year. (Hear, hear.) How many had suffered already, and how many would suffer before another spring, no one could tell, but there was no doubt that that suffering would be very great. (Hear, hear.) Poverty was one of the most demoralising things in the world. It kept a man in ignorance, by preventing him from having access to those sources of information which would enlighten his mind. It injured his moral feelings. His sensibilities were blunted, and he felt that it was better to be fed by any means, than to die of starvation. (Hear, hear.) Many had been led away, by this cause, from a life of usefulness, morality, and respectability, to a life of crime and degradation, closed by early death. Let them express in a becoming way their sentiments to the British Government. Let them demand what justice and humanity required—that those nations which were willing to bring their superabundant food for us, should have the ports thrown open to them. (Cheers.) If they had not money, they had the produce of labour to give in exchange for it, and labour was only another name for money. It was labour that gave it its bright and beautiful appearance, and it was labour that shaped the sovereign before it received the

impress of our gracious Queen. (Hear.) But under the present system, they were forbidden to exchange the produce of their labour for foreign corn. They were obliged to have it from the home-growers, who would only let them have what they liked, and at what price they pleased. Now this was not what an Englishman liked. He loved fair-play. (Hear.) He hoped the agitation now in progress throughout the kingdom would rouse the sleepy ministers from their shameful carelessness, and not only lead to the opening of the ports, but to the extinction of the immoral, irreligious, and unjust Corn Law, which had punished and hungered so many of them, and robbed them of scores of pounds. (Applause.)

GEORGE NEVATT had great pleasure in seconding the resolution. Carried unanimously.

Mr. T. JOHNSON said he had but one remark to make on the subject of the Corn Laws. He did not look at them in a commercial point of view. He regarded the question, and always had done so, as one of right and wrong. (Hear.) People had no more right to reason on the effects which a repeal of the Corn Laws would have on farmers and landlords than they had to find fault with the institution of the Sabbath or any other divine ordinance. (Cheers.) As a general rule he did not admire the practice of quoting Scripture at public meetings, as it was liable to abuse, but he could not, on that occasion, refrain from calling attention to a striking sentence in the first chapter of the Book of Genesis: at the 29th verse they would find these words:—"Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed, to you it shall be for meat." Now what could be plainer than this? It did not apply merely to the portion of food produced on our own island, but to that which was distributed over all the earth. (Hear.) Free Trade in bread was as much a divine injunction as the observance of the Sabbath, or any other injunction in the Sacred Volume. (Hear.) The corn was not to be cast into the Thames, or into the Mersey, or into the Bristol Channel, as thousands of quarters had been, but was given to man for meat. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN then put the next resolution:

"That a memorial be adopted, and that the Chairman be requested to sign and forward it."

JAMES SMITHIES, a flax-dresser, said he seconded the resolution in consequence of his own feelings. Want of employment had brought him there. He had worked in Ghent, where trade was free, and plenty of employment was to be got; but in England and Ireland there was no work to be had in his branch of the business. He believed, however, that if we had Free Trade, there would be plenty of work for him and everybody else in this country. (Cries of "We believe it.") Want of food had caused him to come there. (Sensation.)

HENRY TURNER, a deputation from the central committee at Bolton, supported the memorial in an eloquent and argumentative speech, which elicited repeated bursts of applause.

Thanks were then voted to Mr. Turner for his able and convincing address; and to the chairman for his kindness in presiding, after which the meeting terminated.

We understand that deputations have visited most of the manufacturing towns in the county for a similar purpose; and with equally gratifying results.

WIGAN.

On Thursday the 4th, a meeting of spinners and piecers was held at Mr. Grimes, Chapel-lane, Wigan, to take into consideration the propriety of memorialising Sir Robert Peel, at the present important crisis, to open the ports for the free admission of food from all parts of the world. A very numerous body of operatives were present, and the most perfect unanimity manifested itself on the subject, notwithstanding that there were present men from every mill in the town. At the conclusion of the proceedings, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

"That we view with painful feelings the consequences which threaten to ensue from the general failure in the potato crops, and the deficiency in the harvest in Great Britain and Ireland.

That, as the best means to avert the dreadful calamity of famine, a memorial be presented to Sir Robert Peel, earnestly requesting her Majesty's Government to lose no time in removing all restrictions on the importation of food and provisions of all kinds.

The memorial, we understand, was signed by upwards of 200 persons, including nearly all the operative spinners in Wigan.

MOSSLEY.

On Wednesday evening, the 3d instant, a meeting of the operative cotton-spinners, rovers, and self-acting minders was held at the George Inn, Mossley, to consider the propriety of memorialising her Majesty's Government to open the ports of Great Britain and Ireland, for the importation of all kinds of food duty free. Mr. John Winterbottom presided. Several resolutions, condemning the principles of monopoly, and approving of those of Free Trade, were submitted to the meeting, all of which were unanimously agreed to. The resolutions were supported by Messrs. George Andrews, John Mayal, Ephraim Moss, John Hyde, Benjamin Rhodes, and John Haigh. The meeting was addressed afterwards by Messrs. Bunde and Brewer, of Bolton. All present appeared to understand the question of "dear food and low wages," and a memorial embodying the resolution was unanimously adopted.

WARRINGTON.

A numerous meeting of the operative cotton spinners and self-acting minders was held on Wednesday, the 3d inst., at their usual meeting-house in the Market Place, "to consider the propriety of sending memorials to her Majesty's Government, praying them to open the ports of this country for the free admission of all kinds of grain." Mr. H. Ellison presided. A resolution, expressing the painful feelings of the meeting at the deficiency of the crops, was moved by James Shaw, seconded by W. Lawrenson, and carried unanimously. The second resolution, to the effect that a memorial should be forthwith sent to Sir Robert Peel, was moved by J. Stanley, and seconded by T. Massey. It was carried, and a memorial was also agreed to. Several persons addressed the meeting, which, after the business was transacted, separated.

CHORLEY.

The operative cotton-spinners of Chorley held a meeting on Wednesday evening, the 3d instant, at the Fazzackerley Arms Inn, which was numerously attended. A memorial to Sir Robert Peel, praying for the opening of the ports, was unanimously adopted.

COUNTIES REGISTRATION MOVEMENT.

BATH.

One of the most numerous and influential meetings ever assembled in the city of Bath, was held on Dec. the 4th, in the Banqueting-hall of that city, the use of which was kindly granted by the mayor. Between 1000 and 2000 persons were present.

Among those present were—the Mayor, Samuel Bachelor, Esq.; the ex Mayor, Admiral Gordon; Aldermen Edridge, Hancock, Williams, Gill, Hunt, and Spender; Town-councillors J. C. Archard, Samuel, Gore, Brown, Meredith, Passmore, and M. Harries; Wade Brown, Esq., Magistrate for the County; J. Pierrepont, Esq., T. Crisp, Esq., G. King, Esq., &c. &c.

The Mayor having taken the chair, briefly stated that he had always been against the Corn Laws, and the disinterestedness of his own views was proved by the fact that four-fifths of his property consisted of land. (Cheers.) His worship read a letter which he received from Colonel Gore Langton, M.P. for that division of Somersetshire, in which the gallant Colonel expressed his cordial acquiescence in the object of the meeting, and his deep regret at his inability to attend.

Mr. Alderman HUNT proposed the adoption of a memorial praying her Majesty to take steps for immediately opening the ports, and, in a speech of great ability, supported his views.

The Rev. J. MURCH, in a forcible speech, seconded the adoption of the memorial.

The CHAIRMAN then announced Mr. Cobden, when the whole audience rose *en masse*, and continued cheering and waving hats and handkerchiefs for a considerable period. Silence having been restored,

Mr. COBDEN then proceeded to address the audience in his usual forcible and eloquent manner. With reference to the present prospect of the Free Trade cause, the honourable gentleman said: It had been said that we were coming towards the triumph of the question. He had observed that day in the *Times* newspaper a statement that at the Cabinet meeting on the preceding day, the Government had decided to call Parliament together in the first week in January, then and there to suspend the Corn Law, with a view to its future abrogation. (Loud cheers.) Now he was most anxious that this should not be an occasion on which they should show themselves deficient in that forecast, resolution, and courage which he thought had been manifested in the previous part of the Anti-Corn Law agitation. He believed that the most perilous time to the cause in which they were embarked was that which was then approaching. (Cheers.) Unless they were on their guard, the hour which was coming, instead of being a time of triumph, would be one of disaster and defeat. (Hear, hear.) There had been long deliberation in the cabinet on the question. It was said that Sir J. Graham, Sir R. Peel, Lord Aberdeen, and others were for Free Trade, and that the Duke of Wellington, Lord Stanley, and others were against it. There had been a month's deliberation, and meeting after meeting. What had been the discussions during those deliberations? What had been said by the one party to reconcile the other party to the measure? It should be recollected that the protectionists represented the great bulk of the aristocracy. What had Sir Robert Peel said in order to bring over the Duke of Wellington and Lord Stanley to his views? Had he made them any promise? Were there to be any clogging enactments? What compensation was offered? (Hear, hear.) How had he managed to reconcile them to the measure? Had he been bartering away some of the people's just claims—the debt which was owing them for a long series of years of injustice and wrong? If he had, it was the people's business to say that this compact for bartering away any portion of their just rights should not be completed. (Cheers.) The League was founded on a principle which had been the rock of their salvation—the total, the immediate, and the unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws. (Loud cheering.) There was no middle point between its total repeal and the present system. If the Duke of Wellington, or Lord Stanley, could show them (for the country was sufficiently awake to require that it should be shown) that there was any justice, right, or reason—one fact or sound argument to warrant the imposition of a single shilling of duty on corn, a tax of any kind on wheat or bread, or the slightest restriction of the supply of food, then they would submit to the restriction being imposed; but, if they could not show that, then not one shilling, not one farthing of tax should they have. (Cheers.) He did not care for dukes or lords: the question was taken out of the hands of dukes and lords, and out of the hands of prime ministers, whether *in posse* or *in esse*; the question was in the hands of the people of the country. (Cheers.) * * * The country was prepared not to accept the abolition of the Corn Laws as a boon from any body; but they were determined to have it as an act of simple justice to themselves. (Cheers.) In saying this he did not speak vauntingly. If he had used such language five years ago, it might have been called shallow bombast; but he spoke now under different circumstances; the League had the whole country at its back. He had seen and tested public opinion on the subject for seven years; he had beheld it expressed during the last three weeks in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and now again in the south and west of England; and he found that the people of all classes were united in their opinion against the law. The working classes were to a man for total repeal, without one breath of dissent or one whisper of opposition: and having the whole country at their back, they would not be tricked by any Prime Minister. (Loud cheers.) He challenged the supporters of the Corn Law to call a public meeting in any town or city in the kingdom—he did not except Buckingham (laughter)—for the purpose of supporting a fraction of the bread-tax; and as public meetings might be supposed to act under the influence of excitement, he would challenge the Government to dissolve on the question. (Cheers.) * * * He was very anxious to impress on the meeting that this was not the time for throwing up the caps and fancying the victory was won. It was just the period when the real work was beginning. If the Corn Laws were abolished, it would be by the hands of the people, and not by means of any one else. He had no hesitation in saying that one of the strongest arguments, which applied with most force to the more long-headed portion of the aristocracy (for there were some of them who could see as far as anybody else) was, the result of the efforts made by the League in the qualification of freeholders. (Hear, hear.) "These men," it would be argued, "have got the large towns; they are raising 50,000, and 100,000, at a time; they have a large establishment at Manchester, with 30 or 40 clerks; and they are planting their agents in 30 or 40 counties; why, if we don't stop this

League by throwing overboard the Corn Laws, they will not be content by-and-bye with corn, but they will want something else." (Loud cheers.) The men who used that argument were wise in their generation. If the aristocracy wished to preserve their counties they had better put down the League; and there was but one way of doing it, and that was by abolishing totally and for ever the duties on bread and other provisions necessary for the subsistence of man. (Loud cheers.) Now he would make a bargain with them. It was a point of honour among the friends of the League that they would not abandon their organisation till their work was done. Their opponents might give way as much as they liked, or do as they pleased; the more they yielded, the greater confidence would be inspired in the minds of Free Traders as to their giving up the rest. Every step taken in retreat, they would be pressed upon by increased force and augmented numbers. He wanted them to understand that they had honest men to deal with; that they meant what they said, and had fully intended it from the beginning; and that they had amongst them those who would find the ways and means of perseverance. But this he would tell them, that if they would honestly and freely abolish the Corn Laws, and put an end to their system of wrong and injustice; if they would do it honestly and fairly, then the Anti-Corn Law League would melt away like the snow before the summer's sun; not a vestige would remain; and its archives might be placed in the British Museum, or made a boufrie in Palace-yard. (Cheers and laughter.) The delivery of the above portion of the hon. gentleman's address elicited the most enthusiastic applause, by which he was frequently prevented from proceeding. Mr. Cobden then proceeded to explain the registration movements of the League in the north and elsewhere, especially in the counties; showed the peculiar aptitude of Bath, and some of the neighbouring towns for carrying on such efforts, and finally urged them to take immediate measures for carrying on a step so essential to their political regeneration.

The memorial was then put to the meeting and unanimously adopted amidst the greatest enthusiasm.

Mr. Alderman EDIDGE then, in a powerful address, moved a resolution pledging the meeting to co operate in such efforts.

J. KEENE, Esq., having seconded the resolution.

JOHN BRIGHT, Esq., was introduced to the meeting, from whom he met with a most enthusiastic reception. He commenced by a refutation of the propositions contained in the *Bath Chronicle* of that day, that, because the city of Bath was not noted for any manufactures, it had, therefore, no interest in the prosperity of the industry of the country. It was most absurd to suppose that there could be any permanent prosperity, or any security for the prosperity of the richer classes, unless it were based on the comfort, the prosperity, and the general contentment of the great mass of the population. For a time rich men might appear to prosper, and great men might appear greater, even while the great mass of the people were sinking into a lower and lower state; but, judging from the condition of the country from all periods, when the bulk of the population had been in suffering, he should say that there was no class, however rich or powerful—there was no institution under which we lived, however time-hallowed, however venerable, which could long hope to stand secure, whilst the very foundations of the state, and the industry of the state, were undermined and destroyed. (Cheers.) After some remarks on the general subject, Mr. Bright said that the restriction of trade in corn was not only injurious to the home trade, but also to the trade which we carry on, or should carry on, with those whose commodities are useful to us, and who stand in need of the goods we export.

He loved the question of Free Trade, not only because it would feed our countrymen and clothe the Americans and other people, but because it had some great features which distinguished it from almost all previous popular movements. It was essentially the forerunner of peace throughout the world. He had never attended a public meeting where that view of the question had not been received with the greatest possible cordiality and enthusiasm. (Cheers.) It was unknown what the country had suffered from war; it never would be known until the great day of final account. But, for thousands of years war had desolated the earth; and there were passions in man, there were elements at work which would bring war again to this country and to the world. There was hope, however, that by the abolition of the Corn Laws, by the total repeal of all restrictive and protective duties, all nations would see that their true interest would be most advanced by the attainment of both those objects, and by acting on the principles which are evidently set before us by the law of nature for the regulation of our intercourse with all parts of the world. There were some men who held these opinions, a large number in America, who would make any sacrifices rather than go to war with Great Britain. They had their relations here—our relations were there; they were not only in theory, but actually in fact, bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh. (Cheers.) Why then should we go to war with them? Was it to please an ambitious president there, or a warlike minister here? Were there no interests connected with this country which affected the interest of both countries? And now when affairs had taken so critical a shape, it should be recollected that in the next session of American Congress, the question of their tariff would be discussed with a view to such a modification of it as should increase the trade of this country and that. Well, the English Parliament was about to assemble. Suppose that the next packet which went out after its meeting should bear the glad tidings that the English Corn Law was suspended, and would, moreover, be finally abolished? (Loud cheers.) Then, not only would the merchants of the Atlantic states, who lowered their flags to half mast when the American tariff was passed—not only would they be rejoiced at the prospect—not only would the people of the southern states know that no war was to be carried on with England, but the people of the western states would grow their corn more extensively at the prospect that henceforth the 28,000,000 of the people of Great Britain would be their customers and their suppliers also. All the people of that vast republic would feel they had an interest with the people of these lands, and then the ambition of men here or men there would go for nothing, and the little matters of dispute which now occur would be settled with the greatest possible ease, because the universal people of both kingdoms would have an undoubted interest in mutual peace. (Loud cheers.)

Several other gentlemen having addressed the meeting, and thanks having been voted to the Chairman, the meeting separated.

BRISTOL.

The Bristol Demonstration against the Corn Laws took

place on Friday the 5th instant, in the large public-room, Broadmead, when a meeting was held for the purpose of hearing from R. Cobden, Esq., M.P., John Bright, Esq., M.P., Milner Gibson, Esq., M.P., and other friends of the cause, an account of its present position and prospects.

No sooner was the announcement made by the committee of the intention to hold the meeting, than applications poured in for tickets from all quarters. By Wednesday night all were disposed of, and on Thursday and Friday a half-sovereign, and even a sovereign premium, might be obtained for them.

Before the hour fixed for the chair to be taken, the spacious room was crowded in every part by a highly respectable auditory, there being 1110 persons present. At six o'clock the Rev. J. Glanville asked a blessing on the proceedings of the evening, and the tea commenced, the arrangements being conducted in the same admirable manner as on former occasions. At half-past six the Hon. F. H. Berkeley, M.P., entered the room, accompanied by J. E. Lunell and G. E. Sanders, Esqrs., and took his seat upon the platform amid the most tumultuous cheering. At a quarter before seven o'clock the noble chairman, Earl Ducie, entered the room, accompanied by Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. G. Thomas, and other gentlemen. Their appearance was hailed with reiterated cheers, and immediately upon their taking their seats a transparency, which had been erected over the platform, was instantaneously illuminated. It bore the following inscription from Lord John Russell's famous letter:—"Let us, then, unite to put an end to a system which has been proved to be the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter divisions among classes, the cause of penury, fever, mortality, and crime among the people." The illumination of the device was the signal for such an outburst of feeling as we have not often met with.

Earl DUCIE, in opening the proceedings, observed that they had come there to hear Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright; to be told in what way they were to act so as to further the repeal of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) On the former occasion it was attempted to show the meeting that more trade—that is, Free Trade—would be a good thing for the port and city of Bristol; that more trade would be a good thing for the manufacturers of the country; that the well-being of the manufacturers of the country was a good thing for the agriculturist, as finding him the best market for the produce of his labour. It was also explained how the existing Corn Laws had been the primary cause of all those distresses which produced misery, starvation, and, he might say, pestilence. The meeting was also told on that occasion that, as like causes produced similar effects, so that, should high prices again recur, those circumstances would again ensue. Those circumstances had again occurred: the price of provisions had risen, and the wages of labour had fallen. (Hear.) It was then explained to them that the sliding scale might be a very pretty plaything in the hands of the landlords, but that it would be utterly inefficient in days of difficulty, in days of distress, and in days of scarcity. Their opponents—he did not know whether he might class Sir Robert Peel as an opponent now or not (loud cheers and laughter)—Sir Robert Peel had told them that a fixed duty was an impossibility; that no Government could keep that in operation in times of scarcity, in the face of the unequivocal demonstration of the wants of the people. Now, what he (Lord Ducie) wanted the meeting to do was this: he wanted them to let Sir Robert Peel have an unequivocal demonstration of their feelings, of their wants, and of their wishes; he wanted them to tell him that they would no longer submit to the sliding scale. He wanted them to tell Sir Robert Peel that they would be satisfied with nothing less than the immediate and total repeal of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) He wanted them to tell him that they would have no more to do with sliding scales dependent upon averages whose index now points to a moderate price whilst provisions are dear. He (Lord Ducie) knew nothing upon earth like this, except a man ringing his dinner-bell, when there was nothing in his fire-place. (Hear.) At the time they were last assembled in that place their opponents had not, as Mr. Cobden said, "spiked their guns." They had defeated them argument by argument, and they were no longer met, excepting, perhaps, such a chivalrous man came forward to break a lance with them as Mr. Cayley. He (Lord Ducie) thought the Protection Society had resolved not to allow him to write any more; but it seemed that the learned gentleman, notwithstanding his former failure, was determined to break another lance with Lord John Russell. He (Lord Ducie) did not know whether they had read the pamphlet of Mr. Cayley, but, for himself, he thought—he must beg pardon of the ladies—that it must have been written by an old lady, or an Irishman. (Laughter.) One reason alleged by that hon. gentleman, why the Corn Law could do no harm to any portion of her Majesty's subjects, was because it had been passed by the landlords and farmers, and that, had it been injurious, they would not have passed it. (Laughter.) Another reason upon which he based his statement, that the opening of the ports would do no harm, was, that if it were so, the landlords and farmers would repeal them. (Renewed laughter.) Really that was wonderful logic! Was not the writer of that pamphlet a Joe Miller in disguise? (Loud and continued laughter.) He really had been most facetious on the point, and his statements were so extremely rich that he could not help calling their attention to them. Speaking of opening the ports, he said that either they could get together a supply or not. Certainly nobody could doubt that fact. (Hear.) "But," he proceeded to say, "if you could not, then it would be exceedingly injurious to have a large quantity of corn thrown upon the market to lower the prices, and induce people to consume more largely." He (Lord Ducie) did not think that was the old woman, but the Irishman. (Laughter.) He went on further to say, that if they could not get it they had only to go across the Atlantic, or to Italy. With, however, the exception of such chivalrous wights as Mr. Cayley, the Free Traders were methy no semblance of arguments. In fact, the leaders of the two great political parties in this country admit freely that the repeal of the Corn Laws was only a question of time. What he (Lord D.) wanted the meeting to do was to declare the present was the time. (Loud cheers.) It was much to be feared, from the delay which had taken place, that it would be severely felt by the labouring classes. When they last assembled in that room, although the Anti-Corn Law League was considered a "great fact," which, no doubt, it was, yet it was an isolated fact. It was strong in the minds of men of all political opinions; in the truth and justice of its cause; in the support it had received, and the energy of its members, in which no one had been more conspicuous than his friend Mr. Cobden. (Loud cheers.) They were unconnected with any political party in the State; they had no one to look to as a leader but their friend Mr. Cobden, and a good leader he had proved himself to be. (Renewed cheering.)

Still the Anti-Corn-Law League continued to grow, increase, and flourish in the opinions and good sense of the people of England. But the case was very much altered. They were indeed prepared to receive the adhesion of the amiable Lord Morpeth—the talented and statesmanlike Morpeth too; (cheers;) a man who must be esteemed, whose character was so irreproachable, that no man even amongst the monopolists could put his finger upon any blot in his reputation. If, therefore, any man were to adopt towards him (Lord D.) the cant imputation of being a member of a democratic body, he would throw Lord Morpeth in their faces. (Cheers.) If he were charged with being a member of an unconstitutional association, he would throw Lord Morpeth in their teeth. If he were accused of affecting popularity, and seeking to set up one interest in the state against other interests, he would throw Lord Morpeth in their teeth. The adhesion of that noble lord to the Free Trade cause was at once a warrant that the League was both honourable and useful. (Cheers.) But, in addition to Lord Morpeth, they had also the adhesion of Lord John Russell (loud cheers)—a man so well known for political courage, that none would dare to say that he had done what he had from the influence of any popularity. That noble lord was purely a Conservative statesman, most unwilling to submit to any change unless he clearly saw his way that that change was beneficial. Lord John Russell had done himself the greatest honour in so openly, fearlessly, and politically admitting his former errors. (Hear.) It was as honourable to him as it was unusual among statesmen. He (Lord Ducie) could not but hope that that great political party, of which Lord John Russell had hitherto been the leader, would also see the necessity of following in his footsteps. (Hear.) As an individual, he (Lord D.) must confess that he felt great satisfaction in thinking that there was a probability that that great political party with whom he had always acted, and between whom and himself there had been an identity of political principle, except only upon the one question of the Corn Laws—that that party, as they ought to do according to their own political principles, would be the repealers of monopolist laws. As a member of the Anti-Corn-Law League, which was composed of individuals of all parties—as chairman of that meeting, composed, as he hoped, of men of every shade of political opinion, he felt he was not uttering a word that could be supposed to be an expression of anything like party opinion upon the question. It had been said that, in consequence of Lord John Russell's letter to his constituents, that, let Sir Robert Peel do what he might, the credit would not be his, but that of the noble lord. He trusted that the men and women of Bristol would do their duty—that they would throw aside all recollection of petty contests, lay aside all paltry political animosities in that city, and seek, heart and hand, to give his friend, Henry Berkeley—(Long-continued cheering.) They were so anxious to give his friend, Mr. Berkeley, a cheer, that they did not hear the conclusion of the sentence. They must not be satisfied with only returning him, but they must give him a Free Trader to sit alongside of him (loud cheers.) He hoped they would act like rational beings, and that they would use the franchise which was given to them for the benefit of their fellow-subjects. (Loud cheering.)

GEORGE THOMAS, Esq., then addressed the meeting, but we find it impossible to abridge his earnest and excellent address. He was succeeded by Mr. Cobden, who spoke for about an hour, with his usual vivacity and telling illustration of, and comments upon, passing events. The enthusiasm of the meeting was unbounded as the hon. gent. resumed his seat.

Mr. Cobden was followed by THOMAS MILNER GIBSON, Esq., M.P., at great length, after whom

JOHN BRIGHT, Esq., M.P., addressed the meeting, and as we are desirous of giving such room as we can command to the remarks of the member for the city, Mr. Berkeley, we find it impossible to attempt a report of his observations.

H. VISGER, Esq., briefly proposed a vote of thanks to the Hon. F. H. Berkeley, M.P., for the support which he had given in Parliament to every motion for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and to every measure of similar tendency.

The resolution having been adopted amid loud cheers, The Hon. F. BERKELEY rose and said—He had the honour to address them on an occasion most interesting to them and to himself. He knew of no occasion which brought so much self-gratulation, or which permitted so true an offering of congratulation to them, as the present state of affairs. To make this clear he would ask them to permit him to turn the eye of reflection backwards. At the time when he first had the honour of presenting himself, unknown to them, to be judged by the political sentiments which he should offer to their consideration, he stood in a different position. For at that time, when he proposed as his opinions—opinions on which he intended to act—that the Corn Law ought to be repealed, he did not stand supported by a Cobden, a Bright, or a Milner Gibson. He stood not then supported by the noble lord, their respected chairman, though he was aware that he had had his (Earl Ducie's) perfect coincidence in his views. But, let him attempt to realise what took place in 1837 (and there were too many familiar faces present to prevent his realising it.) At that time what he said against the Corn Laws created dissension among the the Whigs, and consternation amongst the Tories: he was looked upon as a kind of destructive, or visionary madman; and they were aware that they did not mince matters in that city—they were aware that he had got abused as well as he could desire: it was one of the many reasons for believing him a lunatic. Well, at that time, the League was scarcely born; it was in 1837 to which he was referring, and they had limited the age of the League to seven years; and, as had been stated, at that time it was hardly worth 5s. a year. It certainly was not then the giant which it had since grown. But he nailed his colours to the mast, and inscribed them with the word "Abolition." He had done his best to second the motions which Charles Villiers had made, time after time, and had never swerved from the same course. (Loud cheering.) Considering the great trust of representing a city like this, and standing on his original principles, he had some right to be proud when he saw their opponents yielding and adopting those principles which would in time become the foundation of the law of the land. Again, he said it was matter of self gratulation and congratulation to those who had stood by him, and who had given him fresh strength. Their approbation he looked upon as praise—praise which it had been his endeavour to win—which he had won, and which had cheered him on in his endeavours. (Cheers.) The hon. member went on to say that he should always be found at his post, ready in his efforts to crush monopoly of every kind; and concluded by returning thanks, and expressing a hope that, when next they met, the battle would be won.

Mr. GEORGE THOMAS rose to record the amount of a contribution which had been voluntarily sent in by the workmen

of Messrs. Tunstall and Co., 141. ls. 9d. It was a good example to those who had the means of securing the forty shilling qualification, and deserved a vote of thanks. (Carried unanimously.)

Rev. G. ARMSTRONG, in a long and eloquent address, proposed a vote of thanks to Messrs. Cobden, Bright, and Milner Gibson.

Earl DUCIE, in putting it to the assembly, said that he had also a petition from the working men of Bristol to Mr. Cobden, praying that a meeting on the subject of the repeal, at which they might all be present, should be convened to-morrow evening. This, from the engagements of Mr. Cobden, would be of course impracticable, but arrangements might probably be hereafter made to do so.

Mr. COBDEN returned thanks on behalf of himself and colleagues. He was not sure that their engagements did not extend over every day until Parliament met; however, if it could be so arranged, he should have much pleasure in attending an open meeting—and if arrangements were made they might depend upon his coming, either before or shortly after the opening of Parliament. The hon. gentleman then proceeded to propose a vote of thanks to the noble chairman, Earl Ducie, who always paid the penalty of attending such meetings by an illness consequent on exposure to the heat of the room and the night air. The motion was seconded by Mr. Berkeley. (Three times three.)

Earl DUCIE warmly acknowledged his reception, and the meeting then broke up, at past eleven o'clock.

WOOTTON-UNDER-EDGE.

On Saturday afternoon a very large Anti-Corn-Law meeting was held in the National School-room, and which was attended by nearly two thousand persons, among whom were many respectable farmers of the surrounding neighbourhood, and the principal inhabitants of Wootton-under-edge. A large number of ladies also attended.

The Right Honourable EARL DUCIE entered the room at three o'clock, accompanied by Mr. Cobden, M.P., the hon. F. H. Morton, Mr. Bright, M.P., Mr. Child, Mr. Austin, &c. &c., and having taken the chair, said it gave him great pleasure to find that the progress of this agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws had been such as to unite under its banners men of every political creed. He had, therefore, no doubt as to their success. (Hear, hear.) But it would be hopeless to attempt to carry such a question with a disunited people. They would have difficulties enough when united, having, as they had, to combat with prejudice and self-interest. (Hear, hear, hear.) They should, therefore, cast aside all minor differences, and join heart and hand for the attainment of this great object. They were told that Sir Robert Peel was about to remove the Corn Laws, and he had done so many extraordinary things, that he (Earl Ducie) should not wonder at any thing which the right hon. baronet might do. But they must not depend upon this, and consider that, because it was so said, that the question was carried—they must not relax in their efforts, for they should remember that Sir Robert Peel had a good deal of the eel in him, and was very slippery—and the farmers, he thought, had found him to be an electrical eel (loud laughter), for he had given them many a shock. There was no county or district which had suffered more from the Corn Laws than that in which they then were. Let them only look at their cloth-mills, which were standing still, the people that were unemployed, and the misery and distress that everywhere prevailed, and they would see whether they ought to support these baneful laws, which were useful to no one but the huge monopolist. Why, the very rivers of the county rose up in judgment against these laws, for they ran less blue than usual. He was glad to see so many farmers present, and his friend Mr. Cobden, who would presently address them, would, he was sure, convince them that a repeal of these laws would be no injury to them. He knew a good many of them who believed that if the Corn-Laws were abolished the country would be inundated with foreign corn, and that there would be nothing but corn in England; but this idea was as ridiculous as the one that prevailed among some of the young apprentices and servant maids, who having read the story of Whittington and his cat, believed in their simplicity that the streets of London were paved with gold. He could assure his brother farmers that they would have nothing to fear, for he verily believed that instead of reducing the home grown corn to the foreign standard, it would raise the foreign standard to their own, and, therefore, there was not the slightest reason to fear that the country would be inundated with corn. (Cheers.)

Mr. COBDEN then addressed the meeting, and was received and accompanied throughout with unbounded acclamation.

Mr. BRIGHT, M.P., followed, in an able and eloquent speech; and resolutions in favour of Free Trade, and thanks to Messrs. Cobden and Bright, having been carried unanimously, upon the motion of Mr. Austin, Mr. Child, and Mr. Bedie, the meeting separated.

NOTTINGHAM.

On Monday night a public meeting of the inhabitants of Nottingham was held in the spacious Exchange-rooms, for the purpose of taking measures to secure the return of Free Trade representatives in future for the county of Nottingham.

Long before the time announced the hall was crowded principally by operatives, while on the platform there were assembled many of the leading manufacturers and merchants of the place. Among those present we observed Mr. Herbert, the Mayor of Nottingham; Mr. Cripps, Mr. Enfield, the Town-clerk; Mr. Knight, Mr. Hill, Mr. Jonathan Dunn, Mr. Hovy, Mr. J. Herbert, Mr. J. Wilson, Mr. Heymen, Mr. Eddison, F. Melville, Esq., (a Conservative); Messrs. J. and G. Galloway, Mr. W. Taylor, Mr. S. Fox, Mr. Alderman Leamer, Mr. Enfield, Mr. J. Ellis, of Mansfield; Rev. B. Carpenter, Mr. Neighbourgh, Mr. Coroner Brown, Mr. Lomax, Mr. Frost, Mr. Cooke, Mr. Alderman Knight, Mr. C. Paget, one of the Magistrates of the county; Mr. Alderman Keane, Mr. Malban Hurst, the sheriff; the Rev. Mr. Linwood, &c.

Mr. Charles Paget took the chair. There never was, we may remark, a Free Trade meeting so numerous and so enthusiastic held in Nottingham, or one at which the working classes mustered in greater numbers, and with a more determined resolution to throw all their energies into the cause of Free Trade.

The Chairman opened the proceedings by a few introductory remarks, and Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright both spoke with telling effect. The report of these speeches occupies four columns in the *Morning Chronicle*, but we cannot possibly give any portion of them. At the conclusion of Mr. Bright's speech,

Mr. HAZEN, the mayor, moved the first resolution,

After passing a high eulogium upon Messrs. Cobden and Bright, he observed, with reference to the question in general, that the matter lay in a nut-shell. The question now was, whether or not certain artificial restrictions should be removed from the natural energies of a great people. (Loud cheers.) They had heard to-night something about the rapid increase of the population of England. Since last Monday upwards of 7000 living creatures had come into the world; 7000 living arguments had thus been added to their cause; 7000 living open-mouthed witnesses could be brought forward on their side of the question. (Cheers.) Who would dare to stand in the way between these helpless creatures and the food which Heaven in its bounty had provided for them? (Cheers.) He could not reflect without shuddering upon any human being plunged in such selfishness and ignorance as to attempt, by imposing artificial restrictions on food, to carry suffering and want to so many of his fellow-creatures. (Cheers.) But the system, its arguments, and its upholders, had been alike exposed. There did not seem any disposition to persevere in monopoly. Lord John Russell was deserting his fixed duty, as Sir Robert Peel was giving up his sliding-scale. (Hear, hear.) This was as it ought to be. No legislation could settle the fluctuations of the corn market with so much certainty as that market, left untouched by external influence, could in itself regulate the people's supply of food. (Hear, hear.) He had great pleasure in moving a resolution pledging the meeting to use their best endeavours for the return of Free Trade members for the county of Nottingham at the next election.

Mr. Alderman HEARD seconded the resolution, trusting that the Corn Laws had not only departed this life, but would be buried so deeply as to prevent even their ghost visiting the earth they had too long afflicted. (Cheers.)

The resolution was carried by acclamation. Mr. S. Fox moved a resolution with the view of carrying out practically, by the appointment of a committee, the purpose of the first resolution.

Mr. W. FELKIN seconded the proposition, which was carried *nem. con.*

Mr. Alderman BEAN then proposed vote of thanks to Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright.

Mr. HEALEY, a tenant farmer, seconded the proposition, taking occasion, in a vigorous address, to declare that the farmers of England were rapidly becoming converts to Free Trade, and repeating a picture he had drawn at a recent meeting at Leicester, of the sufferings of the agricultural labourers of Rutlandshire.

Mr. COBDEN having, in a word or two, acknowledged the compliment, thanks were voted to the chairman, three cheers given for Free Trade and the League, and the proceedings terminated.

HAMMERSMITH.

There was a great district meeting at Hammersmith on Thursday night, called by the League, Captain Cogan in the chair. The place of assembly was crowded to excess. The all-important speech of the evening was that of Mr. Villiers, which was received with great and enthusiastic cheering. The Chairman having introduced the honourable member, he spoke as follows:—

Mr. VILLIERS, M.P., who was received with enthusiastic applause, said, that owing to severe indisposition, and constant occupation, he had been unable to attend any meeting which had lately taken place on the Corn Laws, to which he had been invited; but his gallant friend in the chair, knowing that he (Mr. Villiers) passed this spot in going to his residence in this neighbourhood, had tempted him to enter that meeting. (Hear, hear.) He hardly knew, however, if his eloquence would have been sufficient, had he not felt, as he believed everybody had who had read the public journals of that day, that the moment had arrived (cheers) when those who regarded the Corn Laws as he did, were bound to waive their own convenience and to make some sacrifice to turn this most auspicious and critical moment in their cause to account. (Hear, hear.) During the 30 years that this law had existed, he believed that no time had been at all equal in importance to the present for their cause. (Cheers.) For 30 years the public had complained of this law—sometimes more and sometimes less; but during the last few years an association had been formed or leagued together. (Hear, hear)—the most important, influential, and intelligent that had ever existed in this country or any other (Hear, hear)—with the view of making manifest to the meanest understanding the bearing and mischiefs of this law, and that day they had seen one of the best results of better information, of more experience, and of the anticipation of the evils of the system, in the indisputable announcement, that the first minister has declared that he, no more than the leader of the Liberal party, will consent to meet Parliament, to hold the reins of power, or be in the service of the Crown, unless he has the power, the support, the encouragement requisite, totally and completely to repeal the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) Glorious announcement to every just and liberal mind—(Cheers)—for it now tells you that the two leaders of the two great parties to whom alone the Sovereign can refer—(Cheers)—are now agreed that they will not take office, that they will not give counsel to the Crown, that they will not pretend to rule this country, without having full power totally and entirely to abrogate the law which exists for the single, sole, and exclusive purpose of making scarce and dear the necessities of life. (Loud cheers.) What, then, they had there to-day to consider, and what the object of every other meeting that was taking place all over the country was, how they could turn that event to the best account. (Hear, hear.) They had nothing to do with the tardiness of their declaration; time lost could not be recovered. What they had done did not surprise him. Lord John Russell had voted for his (Mr. Villiers') motion last summer, and he believed that he had been long since impatient to make the declaration he had lately made; and as for Sir Robert Peel, he had invaded every small interest with the principles of Free Trade, and he would justly have deserved public scorn if he had shrunk upon such an emergency as the present from extending the same principle to the strong. (Cheers.) What he marvelled at was the meanness of those who were said to have deserted him upon this occasion simply because their own interests were affected, but who continued to enjoy the profits of office, and extend their blind confidence to him while he was each session more confidently propounding the doctrine of Free Trade, and fearlessly and unscrupulously applying it to every other interest but that with which the Cabinet was connected. (Loud cheers.) He for one honoured them that at the last moment the leaders of the two parties had preferred their duties as statesmen, as Christians, as citizens; had preferred the peace and prosperity of the country to the approval and support of men of their own station and order, and that they had not heeded the charge of inconsistency from reckless

and irresponsible men, when their consistency would have been in error, in wrong, and injustice to the people. (Hear.) However, the object was now to turn the occasion to account. Often had the people, upon this question, been near success, and as often had they been defeated. (Hear, hear.) It is now twenty years since Canning and Huskisson, fearing the evils of this accursed law, threatened to mitigate its severity, and nothing was left undone by the landed aristocracy to drive them from power, in which they succeeded. (Hear.) A few years since Lord Melbourne offered a compromise, leaving them 8s. fixed impediment to the supply of food, and he was, as you know, indignantly dismissed from power for having made this proposition; and now the question is, when the real thing—when the thing worth fighting for—when complete justice is offered, under the auspices of Peel and Russell—whether the people will allow themselves again to be disgracefully and disdainfully beaten? (Hear, hear, hear.) He ventured upon a confident prediction that they will not. (Loud cheers.) The people are, then, from this moment put upon their trial. (Hear, hear.) They are put upon their mettle (cheers), and he knew they would not, like slaves and cowards, give in. (Hear, hear, hear.) They will be true to their own interests, and they will not exhibit the melancholy spectacle of men complaining of a wrong and flinching at the moment when legitimate means are offered them for redress. (Cheers.) No man advised them to break the peace, or to violate the law. This would notoriously retard the progress of any cause. (hear, hear.) Let them proceed constitutionally, and for this purpose turn their eyes to the electors of this country—they are a small number with reference to the population (hear, hear)—they have, however, the destinies of this country in their hands (hear, hear)—the whole body are under a million. He said, let every man get a list of those who were entitled to the privilege of making a member of Parliament in his own district—let every village, parish, and district of the country be familiar with the names of the men who vote for a supporter of the Corn Laws, and without depriving him of freedom of opinion, let the people call upon those voters to give some account of the opinions they hold. (Hear.) Let them call upon these men to say why they differed from Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, and all the able, reflecting, experienced men of the country, who thought it was for the good of the country to remove all impediments to this vast population in the supply of their food. (Hear, hear.) This was a fair place to make the experiment in. No man of common understanding could explain why the county of Middlesex should return a man pledged to make food dear, and impede the commerce of this country with the rest of this world. (Hear, hear.) Why should they not require of the electors of this district to explain why they voted for such a man, and if they could give no honest reason for their vote, why let them be treated as men who vote for their own interest against the welfare of their country ought to be treated. (Cheers.) He could hardly believe that the electors of this country, as a body, could be as bad as they were represented to be. (Hear, hear.) He did not believe that any candidate, if the electors were free, could hope to gain influence by pledging himself simply to raise the price of food, and to do what he is able to prevent the necessities of life being cheap and plentiful; and yet in the book recording the pledges given by members, this appeared to be one by which a man secured his seat by promising to make the necessities of life dear. (Shame.) He could not think so ill of the electors as to suppose that they would freely choose those, who by the hour would complain of the cheapness and abundance of provisions, and withdraw his support from a Government whom he charged with having caused a fall in price of the articles on which the poor depended for subsistence. (Hear, hear, hear.) He believed that these members only represented their own breeches' pockets, and those of the squires who exerted themselves to secure their return at the time of election. (Loud cheers.) He would not yet believe that the electors called upon by that class of the community to do their duty would countenance such atrocities, if they were proposed to them. (Cheers.) They would hear no doubt that the farmers were the people who would be opposed to the policy now proposed by Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell. He disbelieved it entirely (Hear.) He heard many farmers speak on the subject, he had heard many a report of what had occurred at the farmers' meetings, and he found or had heard nothing that justified such a notion; and firmly believed that the malevolent landowners from one end of the country to the other would not dare to hold a public meeting, for the fear that some farmer would appear at that meeting, and there denounce the system of protection as fraudulent and delusive as regarded them, or, at least, would name things at that meeting which he claimed at the hands of the landlord, which he considered of far greater importance than Corn Laws to his interest. (Loud cheers.) The farmer, whenever he dared speak out, was ready to burst with his wrongs, which had nothing to do with Corn Laws and protection, and which it was entirely in the power of the landlord himself to redress. (Hear, hear.) What is uppermost in the mind of the farmer is the insecurity of his tenure, the want of a lease, the reduction of his rent, and the power to destroy the vermin on his farm (hear, hear); eye, and much more so than giving a value to land by a law which is artificially to raise the price of produce, for which higher rent is paid for land. (Hear, hear.) The farmers and the farm labourers were an interesting class, deserving of their sympathy; he should be sorry to think that they were injured by anything that was done, but he felt sure that they had no better chance of getting justice than by a system which would tax the wits of the landlord to make the most of his land. (Cheers.) His first step would be doing justice to a good tenant, and the last thing he would think of, if he was a good tenant, would be to run the risk of losing him by interfering with his independence. (Cheers.) He did not believe that the farmers had a strong interest in this question, from the fact that several farmers had volunteered to state their opinions in favour of Free Trade in the most public place in the kingdom—namely, Covent Garden theatre; and though they defied contradiction, from no quarter of the kingdom had they received any answer. Men, moreover, of undoubted character and respectability (hear); they state that their grievance is not the removal of the Corn Law, but that they cannot get justice from their landlords, owing to the great competition for land, and that they wish for Free Trade that the landlord might feel a deeper interest in them. It may answer the purpose of some titled landlord to talk of the farmers where they cannot be answered; but wherever their opinion could be fairly tested, he repeated, the landlord and the Corn-Law supporter were not among them. (Cheers.) Among the farmers the protectionists could find no sympathy; to the working men (whose ideas they had lately much confused), should they appeal, they will hear from them that

they regard protection, as it is called, as only protection from food, as protection from wages, as protection from commerce and industry, as a tax upon the prime necessities of life, by which they were made dearer and more scarce, and which compelled the working classes to toil like slaves and live like slaves to procure them. (Hear, hear.) No! Lord John Russell was right; it was, as he said, a law to raise rent, without regard to the many interests, and to the numerous beings that it might vitally affect. (Cheers.) Without detaining you further, then, gentlemen, I do say that the cause for which you have to contend is clear and obvious, and the parties to whom you are opposed equally so. You may, by procuring a repeal of this law, avert great evils from the community, and obtain great advantages for yourselves. You have an opportunity of doing so now, which you have not had before. You are in a position that you may not have again. (Hear.) Your victory will be short and complete if you will be true to yourselves. (Hear.) Gird up your loins for the fight; Richmond and Buckingham are opposed to you. Forego at present your other grievances—forget the offences of the past; and, in order that you may peacefully, speedily, and completely accomplish your object, oppose to them those leaders who have tendered your support, and place Russell and Peel in front of the fight.

On Mr. Villiers resuming his seat the cheering was enthusiastic.

Mr. R. R. Moore having also addressed the meeting, a resolution was agreed to adapted to the crisis, pledging the persons present to use all their exertions to secure the return of two Free Trade members for the county of Middlesex.

A committee was appointed to carry out the resolution, and the meeting separated.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

SIR,—In your report of a meeting held in this town last week, to memorialise the Government to open the ports, I am stated to have seconded an amendment for which eight hands were held up, praying that the manufacturing population might be relieved, by locating the factory hands upon waste and other lands, as a more advantageous and profitable sphere of labour. From my having more or less publicly these thirty years advocated the repeal of the Corn Laws, this statement has excited no small amount of surprise on the part of those to whom I am known. Allow me, therefore, through your columns to say, that what I advanced was in direct opposition to the amendment, and an endeavour to convince its mover and the meeting that an immediate and entire removal of these "accursed" laws was what we alone ought to seek; and of course that the motion ought not to be attempted to be got rid of by any such proposition as the one just offered. In this view the meeting, as you state, was nearly unanimous.

I may take this opportunity of observing, that the poor stocking-weavers (of whom, I believe, the person proposing the amendment to be one) are becoming much more alive to the importance of supporting the repeal of the Corn Laws. The addresses delivered at our registration meeting this week by Messrs. Cobden and Bright, have produced the happiest impressions on the minds of our working-classes in removing their deeply-rooted prejudices.

I am, yours respectfully,

W. FELKIN.

Nottingham, 11th Dec., 1845.

[We exceedingly regret that Mr. Felkin's name should have been associated with any show of support to such an amendment as that proposed at the Nottingham meeting; but as we copied our abridgment from a cotemporary, the misstatement was unavoidable.—ED. LEAGUE.]

REGISTRATION MOVEMENT IN MIDDLESEX AND PARTS SURROUNDING.—The meetings addressed by Mr. Robert R. Moore last week, as announced in THE LEAGUE of Saturday, the 6th inst., have been attended by crowded audiences, and the greatest excitement and enthusiasm manifested. The following is the list of meetings for the ensuing week:

Monday, Dec. 15th, Cowper-street, City Road, Finsbury, at half-past Seven o'clock.

Tuesday, Dec. 16th, the Theatre, Rochester, at half-past Seven o'clock.

Wednesday, Dec. 17th, Town Hall, Gravesend, at half-past Seven o'clock.

Thursday, Dec. 18th, Town Hall, Maidstone, at half-past Seven o'clock.

Friday, Dec. 19th, Lecture Hall, Greenwich, at Seven o'clock.

LORD GLENELG'S PROPHECY.—Mr. Charles Grant (Lord Glenelg) entreated the landed interest to reflect, "In times of pressure and difficulty, there might come a crisis in which there would be no longer an option as to the rate and manner of admitting foreign grain. There might come a time of extremity in which Government would find itself constrained to attend only to the interests of a starving population, when the pleas of humanity and justice would become all-powerful. They are also bound to consider, in settling a question of this important nature, the growing intelligence of the age, the enlightened mind of the community, and the power of the public press, and he was greatly mistaken if they would not find themselves before long under the necessity of viewing it in regard only to the real justice of the question.—Extract from the Morning Chronicle, Oct. 26, 1841.

The flax crop in Ireland this year is less by one-fourth than that of last year, owing to the failure of the Russian seed; but still the value of the flax and seed of the present year is not less than 1,750,000l.

CRIEFF—POTATOES.—At a potato mill lately erected in this neighbourhood, no fewer than 3000 bolls of diseased potatoes have been purchased from the farmers around, and 3000 bolls more are yet to come in. At a potato mill at Dunning, we are informed that nearly 4000 bolls of potatoes have been purchased, all of which are unfit for food. The accounts for nearly twenty miles round are most deplorable. This state of things calls aloud upon the Government to interfere, by opening the ports for the free admission of grain without delay.

NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

GREAT LEAGUE MEETING IN COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE.—The COUNCIL of the NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE begs to announce that the AGGREGATE MEETINGS of the LEAGUE, in the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, will re-commence on WEDNESDAY EVENING NEXT, 17th of December.

George Wilson, Esq., will take the Chair at Seven o'clock precisely.

The Meeting will be addressed by Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., John Bright, Esq., M.P., and W. J. Fox, Esq.

Tickets of admission to all parts of the House may be had as usual at 67, Fleet-street.

Seats will in future be reserved for all farmers who may make application at the Offices of the League, 67, Fleet-street, up to the hour of meeting; and their attendance, whether favourable or opposed to Free Trade, is especially requested.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

THE FRIENDS of FREE TRADE residing in the Northern or Midland Counties, desirous of purchasing Freeholds in any of the undermentioned Counties, are requested to apply to the Secretary of the League, Newall's Buildings Manchester.

North Lancashire	North Derbyshire
South Lancashire	South Derbyshire
North Cheshire	North Durham
West Riding of York	East Cumberland
South Stafford	West Cumberland
North Stafford	South Northumberland
South Cheshire	

Each applicant is requested to give his name and residence at full length.

By Order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

FREE TRADERS desirous of purchasing Freeholds for Middlesex, East Surrey, West Kent, South Essex, East Sussex, and South Hants, are requested to send their applications, with name and address in full, to the League Offices, 67, Fleet-street, London.

By Order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

FREEHOLD QUALIFICATIONS FOR HERTS.

FREE TRADERS desirous of purchasing Freeholds in Hertfordshire are requested to send their applications to The League Offices, 67, Fleet-street, or to Mr. J. F. Bontems, Herts Registration Office, Hertford.

NORTH LANCASHIRE.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

FREE-TRADERS desirous of purchasing Qualifications for North Lancashire, are informed that they can be obtained for 33l. and upwards each, yielding from 6½ to 7½ per cent.

Applications may be made to Mr. Moorhouse, League Rooms, 4, Cheapside, Preston.

CORN LAWS.—Third Edition, Now ready, price 2s.,

AN ATTEMPT TO ESTIMATE THE EFFECTS of PROTECTING DUTIES on the PROFITS of AGRICULTURE, by JOHN MORTON, F.G.S., Author of "The Nature and Property of Soils," &c.; and JOSHUA TRIMMER, F.G.S., Author of "Practical Geology and Mineralogy," &c. Also "The Nature and Property of Soils, and Rents and Profits of Agriculture," by J. Morton. 10s. 4th Edition. James Ridgway, Piccadilly, and all booksellers.

"On occasions of this kind I have generally said a few words as to the bearing of the Corn Laws on Agriculture, but that part of the subject has been taken out of my hands. A little pamphlet, published by Messrs. Trimmer and Morton, practical agriculturists, has quite superseded any observation I could make. They looked on the Corn Laws in a debtor and creditor point of view. They took different farms in different soils, and they showed what their owners gained by protection, and what they lost. The first time I received that book I was a little staggered by the facts which it adduced; but having read and considered it several times, I am quite satisfied that it underpins rather than overpans the real state of the case. Now, as I know a great many willing and anxious to see a repeal of the Corn Laws, and to secure full commercial freedom, who have some lingering doubts as to whether their agricultural friends may not suffer in some way or other from such an event, I recommend all such persons to lay out a couple of shillings in the purchase of the pamphlet, and to read it carefully through."—From Earl Ducie's Speech at the Birmingham Meeting.

TO PRINTERS, NEWSPAPER PROPRIETORS, &c.—New Perfecting Machines, of from 30 in. to 56 in. Cylinders, at J. GADSBY'S, Whitefriars Printing Office, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street.—MACHINING done at low charges, and in the best style. BOOK-WORK, and Railway and other Printing, expeditiously executed. All new Type.

. In consequence of the great pressure on our space, we are compelled to postpone the Subscription List until next week.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, December 13, 1845.

Ministers have resigned; the weight of the Corn Laws has broken down the strongest Cabinet formed in England within the memory of the existing generation. Peel refuses to take upon himself the responsibility of scarcity; and even Wellington shrinks from raising the standard of famine. "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." Men who set up their puny wisdom to rival the dispensations of Providence have found that "He who dwelleth in the heavens hath laughed them to scorn; the Lord hath had them in derision;" their bonds have been broken, and their cords shall soon be cast from us. With humble thankfulness we recognise the hand of Him who has declared, that "he heareth the desire of the poor, that the man of the earth be no more exalted against him." Under Providence the people are the authors of their own triumph; they must hold fast to the position they have taken, they must carry through the measure which they have proposed and brought to the threshold of accomplishment. Manchester must not sleep; the exertions of Birmingham must not be relaxed. Liverpool

must struggle for its redemption, and the boroughs of the manufacturing districts must be nerved to meet the decisive issue. We have suffered too much, and struggled too long, not to have learned the peril of being negligent at our posts. Our enemies have taken the field; contemptible as is their appearance, utterly ridiculous as are such weapons as curry-powder and mangel-wurzel, we cannot yet afford to despise them. They may bully statesmen, they may intrigue with ministers, they may cajole parliaments, but they cannot face an outraged nation. It is against the people that the sordid protectionists are banded; it is by the people that they must be encountered. The stake is too serious, the risk too great for us to trust to delegation. Parties are now the followers, not the leaders, of the people. Moreover, though there is much to do, the time allowed for the healthy action is brief. It was no great hardship to have the fate of rotten boroughs suspended while the servitor of the Marquis of Hertford, the Right Honourable (?) J. W. Croker, surprised the House by statistical discussions; hunger is impatient, and will no longer endure the parade of empty debates. The circumstances of the time require not talking, but acting; every day is of importance, not so much to the final issue, as to its attendant perils.

Of the probable composition of the new ministry it is not yet time to speak. Whoever may be its members, they have their first work cut out for them; they must set themselves to the task without hesitation or delay. Food for the people is our first object, and that we must have, from whomsoever may be the minister. Lord John Russell has solemnly and publicly pledged himself to total and immediate repeal of the laws which restrict our food, but he is likely to find himself surrounded and ear-wigged by those who may be anxious for compromise. The people must stand firmly by him, to keep his courage to the sticking point. We express no doubt of his perseverance, no want of reliance on his integrity; but he will want all the support which the united nation alone can give. The great measure is indeed made to his hands; he will be but the instrument of giving effect to the popular will; but that will must be so emphatically pronounced as to allow of no possibility of mistake or evasion. The blatant dukes that prate about famine, as if food was a luxury which the industrious should only enjoy at the discretion of their caprice, must be taught that the majesty of an insulted and injured people is not to be made the subject of trifling or sport. Increased vigilance, renewed exertions, united efforts, are the great requisites of the time. Let us meet the crisis fearless of the issue, for "the Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge!"

GREAT MEETING OF THE ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF LONDON IN THE GUILD HALL.

On Monday next, at twelve o'clock, a meeting of the electors of London will take place at the Guildhall, convened by the Lord Mayor, in compliance with a most influential and numerous signed requisition, to memorialise Ministers to open the Ports and repeal the Corn Laws. It will be seen in another part of our paper, that Mr. Cobden, at the Manchester meeting, declared his intention of being present on the occasion as an Elector of the City. We trust this will be an overwhelming demonstration of unanimity on the part of the electors of London, against the bread tax. The citizens of London were foremost in the struggle of 1815, against the imposition of this monopoly. Let them only put forth their energies—firmly and unanimously at this crisis—and they ensure its overthrow.

THE WEST RIDING MEETING.—The requisition has been signed by about 160,—a number which, if it had been needful, might have been multiplied almost indefinitely. The intention appears to have been to confine the signatures within certain limits, and to embrace those gentlemen who are more or less connected with land. Sir Wm. Cooke has, it is believed, appointed the meeting to take place at Wakefield on Wednesday next. In all probability the meeting will not only be extremely numerous, but most enthusiastic, and produce that impression in high quarters which has never yet failed to be the case on former occasions. We understand that special trains will be provided at all the stations on the Midland and the Leeds and Manchester line. We learn that the attendance from this town and neighbourhood will be large, and contribute to that manifestation of feeling on this momentous question which its immeasurable importance imperatively demands.—*Doncaster Gazette*.

Several cargoes of potatoes, which have been shipped at the Isle of Man for Liverpool, have become so much diseased that they are unsaleable, and, consequently, lost to the exporters.

THE PERSECUTED WILTSHIRE LABOURERS.

The following letter shows our expectation that the sympathy of Free Traders would be drawn towards the poor persecuted Wiltshire Labourers, *Bullock and Pearce*, has been realized. The money has been transmitted to C. Day, Esq., of Marlborough, for the benefit of the poor men.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

Sir,—I shall be obliged by your taking charge of the enclosed 1*l*. for the relief of Thomas Bullock and William Pearce, the two labourers of Beckhampton, near Marlborough, whose statements appeared in your paper of Saturday last, as having been discharged by Mr. John Wentworth of Beckhampton, for attending an Anti-Corn-Law meeting, and who are consequently suffering from want of employment.

I am, Sir, yours very obediently,

JOHN FINCH.

47, Cambridge Terrace, Hyde Park, London,
December 1st, 1845.

THE LEAGUE AND THE REGISTRATION.—Manchester, Dec. 10.—Last night the weekly meeting of the Registration Committee of the League was held in the Council-room, Newall's-buildings, Mr. George Wilson in the chair. Mr. Brindle read the list of applications for qualifications for votes, which were 235, sent in during the week, and 16 applications during the meeting of the Committee that evening, towards which they had obtained 131 qualifications. Mr. Owen applied, on behalf of the Freeholders' Building Society, to state that the Society was then in a condition to lend 1500*l*., and by the first week in January they would be ready to lend 3000*l*., and to guarantee a distinct residence and a house to his own qualification, for 45*l*. to each purchaser. This he thought of great importance to be known, because many people thought that if they purchased a freehold under the League they would be joined to some one else, and that they could not dispose of it when choice or necessity might point out such a course as expedient. He would guarantee, however, that all parties joining that society should have the choice of a ready and fair, and most probably a profitable sale of his shares, if he ever wished to dispose of them. The matter was ordered to stand over till next week.

We understand that at a meeting of masters of power-loom factories, held in Glasgow on Monday, the propriety of putting their establishments on short time during the month of January was taken into consideration. In the meantime, any definite arrangement in the matter has been delayed till a second meeting, which is to be held in the course of the present week.—*Glasgow Guardian*.

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. Dec. 6	MON. Dec. 8	TUES. Dec. 9	WED. Dec. 10	THUR. Dec. 11	FRI. Dec. 12
Bank Stock	202	200	201	201	201	201
3 per Ct. Red. Ann. ..	94	94	94	94	94	94
3 per Ct. Con. Ann. ..	94	94	94	94	94	94
3 per Ct. Red. Ann. ..	95	95	95	95	95	95
Long. An. Ex. 1860 ..	10	10	10	10	10	10
Cons. for Acct.	95	95	95	95	95	Shut
Exc. Bills, pm.	18-20	20	23	23-21	21	..
Ind. Bds. in 1000 <i>l</i> . ..	30	..	..	..	30	..
India Stock .....	..	261	260	Shut	..	..
Austrian .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Belgian Bonds	95	95	94	96	94	..
Brazilian 5 per Ct. ..	..	..	..	..	80	..
Chilian .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Colomb. ex. Venez. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Danish .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dutch 4 per Cent.	92	..	93	93	93	93
Dutch 2 per Cent.	59	59	59	60	59	59
Mexican	30	..	29	29	29	29
Peruvian .....	..	..	35	..	35	..
Portug. conv. ....	..	..	..	59	58	59
Russian 5 per Cent.	112	113	..	112	..	..
Spanish 5 per Ct.	28	27	26	28	..	28
Do. 3 per Ct. ex. dv. ..	..	37	37	38	38	38

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MONDAY, DEC. 8.—The uncertainty of what Ministers intend doing with respect to the Corn Laws continues; but the repeated assertions in the *Times* give greater credit to the report of Thursday last than many people were willing to acknowledge last market day. The consequence is, that though the arrivals of all grain during the past week, and to this morning's market are only moderate, the dullness in all branches of the trade is extreme. English Wheat is generally quoted *s. to 3*s*. cheaper* than last Monday, and inferior samples even lower. Foreign wheat meets a similar reduction. For Bonded Wheat little or no inquiry is made. The sales of Barley are quite insignificant, and quotations are merely nominal. The same may be said of Oats: this article is unsaleable except in very small retail parcels to needy buyers at *1*s*. lower* than this day week. Beans are not quoted cheaper. Peas are in pretty good supply, and worth 2*s*. less money. Even at the reductions noticed, there is but little business doing.

BRITISH.

	Per Imperial Quarter.
Wheat, Essex,	Red 50 to 60 White 53 to 68
Kent & Suffolk	49 58 56 64
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire ..	47 54 51 62
South. ....	.. ..
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire ..	25 27
Do.	26 28
Scotch Feed	26 28
Limerick	25 27
Do.	27 29
Cork .....	.. ..
Waterford, Yougal, & Cork Black ..	23 25
Sligo	24 26
Galway	24 25
Barley	32 39
Beans, Mazagan	New 32 34 Old 40 41
Harrow	38 42
Small	40 44
Peas, White	Boilers .. 54 56
Grey	36 48 Maple .. 38 40
Flour, Town-made	per sack of 280 lbs. 48 60
Norfolk and Suffolk .....	.. ..

FOREIGN.

	Per Imperial Quarter.
Wheat, Dantz, high mixed	58 to 66 46 52
Holbeck	56 60 44 48
Stettin	54 60 43 46
Humburg	52 57 42 45
Odessa	46 50 40 42
Russian Polish	50 56 40 43
Do. ....	.. ..
Do. ....	.. ..
Do. ....	.. ..
Do. ....	.. ..
Do. ....	.. ..
Australian	60 68

Barley, Grinding	27 30
Distilling	30 32
Oats, Archangel	27 28 24 25
Danish	27 28 24 22
Sveedish	25 26 22 23
Stralsund .....	.. ..
Dutch Feed	23 25 20 22
Brew	29 35 26 32
Poland	30 26 24
Beans, Egyptian	40 41 39 40
Peas, White	54
Ditto Boilers	none
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 166 lbs. ..	34 35
United States	32 35
Dantz .....	.. ..
Australian, per sack of 280 lbs. ....	.. ..

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from Dec. 1 to Dec. 6, 1845, both days inclusive.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas.
English	3269	4704	875	1280	2160
Scotch	15	1500	648	..	..
Irish .....	..	200	11908	..	..
Foreign	3190	320	3033	4	658

Flour, 4262 sacks; 5593 barrels.

FRIDAY, DEC. 12.—We can only repeat our reports of this day week and Monday last. There are no transactions of any importance whatever in any branch of the trade. Needy buyers purchase in very retail quantities, and when vessels are coming on demurrage lower prices are taken; but it is impossible to fix the value of the stock, while the present uncertainty lasts. On the whole, holders seem disinclined to yield to the present panic; and the consequence is, the stagnation before noticed. The duties remain the same for all grain this week.

S. H. LUCAS.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 5th of December to the 28th of December, both inclusive.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	8250	..	6990
Barley	7260	..	..
Oats	6460	3450	6710

Flour, 4940 sacks.

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending Dec. 9, 1845.

	Qrs.	Price.		Qrs.	Price.
Wheat	8715	66 <i>s</i> . 0 <i>d</i> .	Rye	87	40 <i>s</i> . 3 <i>d</i> .
Barley	6140	33 <i>s</i> . 7 <i>d</i> .	Beans	1658	30 <i>s</i> . 3 <i>d</i> .
Oats	2543	26 <i>s</i> . 0 <i>d</i> .	Peas	1443	46 <i>s</i> . 7 <i>d</i> .

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d.						
1st Nov.	60	1. 34	3. 26	2. 33	2. 45	3. 43
8th "	59	7. 35	1. 25	2. 35	7. 45	1. 44
15th "	58	6. 35	0. 26	3. 38	2. 44	5. 45
22d "	57	11. 34	1. 25	5. 37	1. 43	4. 45
29th "	58	2. 33	2. 25	0. 35	4. 41	9. 45
6th Dec.	59	0. 32	10. 24	7. 35	0. 41	8. 43

Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks. Wheat, 58*s*. 10*d*.; Barley, 34*s*. 1*d*.; Oats, 25*s*. 5*d*.; Rye, 35*s*. 9*d*.; Beans, 43*s*. 7*d*.; Peas, 44*s*. 9*d*.

Duty. Wheat, 14*s*. 0*d*.; Barley, 4*s*. 0*d*.; Oats, 3*s*. 0*d*.; Rye, 7*s*. 6*d*.; Beans, 1*s*. 0*d*.; Peas, 1*s*. 0*d*.

Stock of Corn in Bond, Nov. 5, 1845.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.	Flour
In London, 279040	10900	56942	..	799	570	55679	Cwts.
Unit. King. 667773	59477	107219	..	1678	2063	278683	

MEAT MARKET.

Trade, upon the whole, very heavy considering the fine weather.

PER STONE OF 8 LBS. BY THE CARCASE.

Prime Beef.	3 <i>s</i> 6 <i>d</i> to 3 <i>s</i> 10 <i>d</i>	Middle Mutton.	3 <i>s</i> 6 <i>d</i> to 3 <i>s</i> 8 <i>d</i>
Middleling do.	3 <i>s</i> 2 <i>d</i> to 3 <i>s</i> 4 <i>d</i>	Veal, from ..	4 <i>s</i> 0 <i>d</i> to 4 <i>s</i> 8 <i>d</i>
Plain, or inf. ....	.. ..	Small Pork ..	4 <i>s</i> 6 <i>d</i> to 5 <i>s</i> 0 <i>d</i>
rior Beef.	2 <i>s</i> 6 <i>d</i> to 2 <i>s</i> 10 <i>d</i>	Large, or inf. ....	.. ..
Prime Mutton 3 <i>s</i> ..	8 <i>d</i> to 4 <i>s</i> ..	rior Pork ..	3 <i>s</i> 6 <i>d</i> to 3 <i>s</i> 10 <i>d</i>

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, DEC. 5.

BANKRUPTS.

J. SPONG, Ockham, Surrey, coal and timber merchant. [Mr. J. Jordonson, St. Mary-at-Hill.

J. C. EDWARDS, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, bill broker. [Mr. Godden, John Street, Bedford Row.

J. McDermott, Gray's Inn Lane, victualler. [Mr. Hunt, Bernard's Inn.

E. LE ROY, Upper Norton Street, Portland Place, wine merchant. [Mr. Lewis, Wilmington Square.

J. ELLIOTT, Bristol, coal merchant. [Mr. Charles Hassell, St. Stephen's Avenue, Bristol.

J. MANN, Warwick, grocer. [Mr. Nicks, Warwick.

DIVIDENDS.

Dec. 29, C. G. Webb, Long Lane, Bermondsey, woolstapler.—J. Haycock, jun., Wells, Norfolk, corn factor.—Dec. 31, W. Monk, jun., Nottingham, currier.—Dec. 20, J. Ashbarry, Hereford, farmer.—Jan. 2, E. Hesketh, Hulme, Lancashire, victualler.—Jan. 6, J. Y. Betts, Cardiff, grocer.—T. Jenkins, Brecon, maltster.—Jan. 9, J. Whitlow, Manchester, laceman.

CERTIFICATES.

Dec. 26, N. G. Coombes, Craven Street, Strand, coal merchant.—G. E. Noone, East Street, Manchester Square, engineer.—T. Cotsworth, Reading, builder.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

J. Young, Macduff, Banffshire, wood merchant.

TUESDAY, DEC. 9.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

Dec. 5, S. Thomas, Cornhill, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

T. MORTIMER, East Street, Walworth, victualler. [Mr. Harpur, Kennington Cross.

J. D. WILLIAMS, Newcastle Street, Farringdon Street, blacking manufacturer. [Mr. Austin, St. Swinith's Lane.

T. MAGER, Holborn Hill, poultryer. [Messrs. Kiss and Son, Fenchurch Street.

R. G. SPEEDING, Bush Lane, Cannon Street, zinc manufacturer. [Mr. Taylor, North Buildings, Finsbury Circus.

R. W. SHEPPARD, Enslam, Oxon, innkeeper. [Messrs. Pownall and Cross, Staple's Inn.

C. K. LUCE, Southampton, mercer. [Mr. Combe, Staple's Inn.

H. GAMBLE, Gaimstone, Norfolk, grocer. [Messrs. Hill and Matthews, St. Mary-axe.

T. RATNETT, Cambridge, tailor. [Mr. Wilkins, Fumival's Inn.

J. POULTON, jun., Luton, straw hat manufacturer. [Messrs. Dynes, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

A. S. TUCKER, and G. M. BIDWELL, Melcombe Regis, grocers. [Messrs. Cook and Sanders, New Inn, Strand.

W. LEWIS, Barnsley, tobaccoist. [Messrs. Sudlow and Co., Chancery Lane.

F. STAMFORD, Manchester, woollen draper. [Mr. Reid, Bread Street.

C. ILES, Bristol, grocer. [Mr. Hudson, Bloomsbury Square.

J. POPE, Ashley Down, Gloucestershire, lime burner. [Mr. Hudson, Bloomsbury Square.

W. OCKLESTON, Liverpool, hide merchant. [Messrs. Norris, Allen, and Simpson, Bartlett's Buildings, Holborn.

T. FRIEDLANSKEY, Birmingham, chandler. [Mr. Corser, Birmingham.

DIVIDENDS.

Jan. 2, J. Bryan, Bristol, chemist.

CERTIFICATES.

Dec. 30, J. Breakenridge, Liverpool, tailor.—S. Davies, Bank-side, Southwark, coal merchant.—Jan. 8, T. Hodgson, Greta Bank, Yorkshire, brickmaker.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

W. Whyte and Co., Glasgow, cotton yarn merchant.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 117.—Vol. III.]

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1845.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

THE COUNTIES! GO ON QUALIFYING!

We have so often and so fully pressed on the Free Trade public the vital and paramount necessity, under ANY circumstances, of unremitting activity and energy in the great work of WINNING COUNTIES, that we might be disposed, in the present crowded state of our columns, to suspend, for one week at least, our somewhat monotonous appeal, but that it might possibly be imagined that we regarded the urgency of this movement as in some degree abated by the new prospects of early success which have recently opened upon us. We must not, however, even by the silence of a single week, make ourselves accessory to so grave and fatal an error. Again we would renew, with the utmost possible emphasis, our counsel of last Saturday, "WHATEVER HAPPENS, QUALIFY, QUALIFY, QUALIFY." Whatever happens, *nothing* CAN happen to abrogate the necessity, or lessen the importance, of our arming ourselves with the one only weapon which can really ensure our victory. Whatever happens, we must go on just as if nothing had happened.

We write, at this moment, in perfect ignorance as to how the "Ministerial crisis" may end—whether in a Free Trade Cabinet, with Lord John Russell at its head, or in a high Protectionist Richmond and Tyrrell Cabinet, or in a new and improved Peel Cabinet, or what not. We only say that, and how it will, it can make no sort of difference in our policy. The great fact remains, and will remain—that the people must do the work. After all, the real question is—and this will become more and more visibly the real question,—which is the strongest in voting power, the squirearchy or the country? Whether a Free Trade ministry be formed, or not; whether Sir Robert Peel and his adherents support such a Ministry, or not; whether Parliament be dissolved, or not; whether the present House of Commons or the next House of Commons pass the bill, or not;—in any and every case, we must go on, just the same, winning counties. The prospect of a general election under the registration of 1845 can make no manner of difference. Who knows but that a second general election may be necessary before all is over? And, without going to such extreme possibilities, who can calculate the effect which must be produced on any House of Commons—not to speak of the House of Lords—by the knowledge that the movement which the monopolists most dread is still going on, and that the registra-

tion of 1846 will give some dozen or score of counties into the hands of the Free Traders? The more counties we win, between now and the 30th of January next, the greater will be the power, and the fewer the difficulties of a Free Trade Minister and a Free Trade majority, or minority, in this Parliament or in the next. The more counties we win, the less will the monopolists be disposed to prolong a contest, the palpable tendency of which is to pluck up the very roots of oligarchical domination. The more counties we win, the better will our great and sacred cause be shielded from all risk of an attempt at compromise. The moral effect and power of a dozen or twenty counties won from landlordism between now and the 30th of January, in time for next year's registration, may be equivalent to a casting vote between delay and promptitude—between compromise and no compromise—between an obstinate resistance by the landlords' own House of Parliament, and a sullenly reluctant assent.

Were this a time for congratulating our friends on what they have done, and are doing—rather than for urging the necessity of sustained and increased exertions,—we should speak with lively satisfaction of the vigour with which this movement is now going forward in many of the most important counties of England. For the present, our business is to make progress, not to stop to amuse ourselves with measuring the progress already made. We may, however, notice, as one example out of many of business-like activity and organization, the way in which our friends of the Carlisle Anti-Corn-Law Association are working this matter: The council of that body has, we see, resolved itself into a committee for promoting the qualification and registration of Free Traders in East Cumberland, West Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and has placed itself in communication with the towns of each of these three electoral districts, with the view of inducing "the largest possible number of Free Traders to purchase freeholds previously to the 30th of January next." In other places, the same system of organized co-operation between adjoining counties is being extensively acted upon. Thus, the Nottingham Free Traders have challenged their South Derby friends to purchase fifty qualifications in their division, with a promise to repay the compliment in kind. The challenge is accepted, and the pledge of mutual help is in due course of fulfilment on each side.

Present electoral conflicts, no less than the great Ministerial crisis itself, offer incentives and stimulants to a vigorous prosecution of this movement. There is Hertfordshire, for instance—which, looking at the ease and rapidity of railway communication that brings it almost within omnibus distance of London, we may call one of the metropolitan counties. This county, which sends three members to the legislature, has now a vacancy; and that vacancy is going to be quietly filled up by somebody of whom nobody knows anything, except that a few squires think him likely to prove a steady monopolist voter. And this man will be sent by the said squires to London, to help to legislate against that commerce of the world, of which London is the centre. London, all the while is powerless to prevent it—Hertfordshire is powerless, too. The gentleman in question is so poorly off for popularity, in the very county which he is going to "represent," that he dare not submit his pretensions to the decision of a public meeting (a semi-public meeting has rejected him); yet he will "represent" Hertfordshire all the same. This might have been prevented, if Hertfordshire had, two years ago, or one year ago, been looked after by the Free Traders of the metropolis; for Hertfordshire has already—had even in 1841—a numerous

and powerful Free Trade minority. Now, will the Londoners not put their interdict on such humiliating exhibitions for the future? *Why not secure Hertfordshire now*—so that, in any election which may take place under the registration of 1846, the representatives of this metropolitan county shall represent metropolitan intelligence and national interests, not squirearchical nescience and rents? It is a tempting prize. England has none more so. London has none equally so. Hertfordshire is one of the few counties—the only county within easy reach of the metropolis—returning three members. A forty-shilling freeholder in Hertfordshire has, therefore, not one vote only, but three votes. Really, we do not see that political power could well be offered on more reasonable terms than those on which the English constitution makes this handsome overture to the men of London. We trust that hundreds and hundreds of them will have the spirit to close with it.

Once more, to all our friends in every county in England, we say, GO ON QUALIFYING! Make the landlords feel your power in the very heart and centre of their own. Nothing will more certainly and decisively cut short our struggle, than a vigorous and unsparing use of this good old constitutional weapon—the forty-shilling freehold franchise. The thirtieth of January approaches; let it find us with our work done—ready for whatever may happen.

THE CRISIS.

The present, or recent, "Ministerial crisis"—we know not, at this moment of writing, which of the two will be the appropriate word by the time our columns reach the public eye—has been sadly complicated by considerations and topics perfectly foreign to its real nature. Our great and simple question is just now in the hands of politicians; and certain classes of politicians are working hard, it would seem, to mystify and entangle it. Lord John Russell, we are given to understand, has found "difficulties" in the construction of his Cabinet;—difficulties arising, it is said, partly, from uncertainty as to the kind and degree of support, if any, which he is to calculate on receiving from Sir Robert Peel and those "Conservatives" whose course will be shaped by Sir Robert Peel's—and partly, from the doubts, fears, scruples, and hesitations, of some of his Lordship's own political friends among the "Whig" aristocracy. The nature of these difficulties may be inferred from the circumstance, that some of our extremely clever and knowing politicians have represented the noble Lord's "chief difficulty" to be his recent letter to the electors of the City of London. Actually, that frank and manly declaration of concurrence in national convictions—that timely and explicit recognition of national exigencies—which alone has made Lord John Russell anything at the present moment, is spoken of by some of these persons as a source of embarrassment and a subject for regret!

Yet, after all, the crisis is a very simple one. Nothing was ever simpler. A strong Minister breaks up a strong Cabinet, and abdicates the command of a strong party, because his Cabinet and his party would force him into antagonism to a power stronger than all of them together—the power of nature and the elements—recognised by the national intelligence, and acting, through that intelligence, on the national will. And Lord John Russell is "sent for," because he had just before made a public avowal of allegiance to the power of nature and the elements, and of participation in the national intelligence and will. Lord John Russell is sent for, to carry out the policy indicated in that avowal—to rectify the monstrous aberration of the

statute-book from justice and common-sense—to put the law of the land into harmony with the law of nature, and with the “unequivocal expression of the public voice.” Lord John Russell has nothing else to do than this;—nothing else than his predecessor's inability to do this is the cause of his being sent for. If Lord John Russell eventually decide on taking office, it will be because he is satisfied that he can do this. If he seriously doubt his power to do this, of course he will not take office. To take office, and not do this—to take office, and do less than this—to take office, and do something contrary to this,—we hold, with our opinion of Lord John Russell, to be a flat impossibility.

An overpowering national necessity, and a profound national conviction of that necessity, are, then, the elements of the present crisis. And Lord John Russell's letter to the electors of the city of London, recognising the one, and avowing participation in the other, is that which makes him the man of the crisis.

And this is all. There is nothing else. This is absolutely the whole of the case. It is not an affair of “politics.” For anything that “politics” have done to the contrary, Sir Robert Peel might be, at this moment, in office, with every prospect of another four years' term of possession. The “Tories” have nothing to do with it—the “Whigs” have nothing to do with it. The landlords have nothing to do with it, except in the way of obstruction and denial. The League have nothing to do with it, further than that they have educated the mind of the nation to put the true interpretation on the facts of national experience. The great question which has now assumed so vast a power and significance, owes nothing whatever to any political party—and no political party can claim a right to adopt it as their own, for the purpose of moulding it to suit their good pleasure and convenience. As a “Whig” or “Liberal” leader, Lord John Russell himself has no special concern with it whatever. He is sent for by his Sovereign, simply because, holding a position in the first rank of Parliamentary statesmen, he has written—as one of “us, the Queen's subjects”—a certain letter to his constituents, which letter expresses, with admirable force and truth, the wants and convictions of us the Queen's subjects. He is sent for that he may realise the expectations which that letter has excited—those expectations being, first, a Parliamentary “suspension of the import duties on corn”—a measure which the letter characterises as not only “beneficial,” but “URGENT,”—and next, a final legislative settlement of the whole matter of the trade in food, on the principle that “WE OUGHT TO ABSTAIN FROM ALL INTERFERENCE WITH THE SUPPLY OF FOOD.” To do this is Lord John Russell's mission.

All idea of compromise, or “adjustment,” to please the landlords, or to oblige and accommodate Lord John Russell's “Whig” friends, is thus precluded by the very nature of the case. We need not speak of the hopelessness of compromise; of the sheer impossibility, at the present national juncture, of offering any substantial “boon” to landlordism; or of the futility and mischievousness of tendering illusory concessions that could have no other effect than to retard all settlement. Nor is it necessary to insist on the obvious consideration, that all the old pleas for doing right partially and gradually are nullified by the present overwhelming national exigency—that we *must* have total repeal IMMEDIATELY, *de facto*, by suspension of the Corn Law—and that to do anything, after that, short of simple repeal, would be beginning again on the old “false and vicious” system. We simply say, nothing of this kind is in Lord John Russell's commission. This is no part of the business which the Queen and the country call on Lord John Russell to do. It does not signify how agreeable some little *addendum* of this sort might be to the “leading Whigs.” In this business the country knows nothing of “Whigs.” The country has nothing, just now, to say to Lord John Russell's “Whig” friends, nor to Lord John Russell himself, in their, or his “Whig” capacity. The

country knows, right well, the noble lord, the Free Trade Member of Parliament for the City of London; and it knows such Free Traders as Earl Grey and Lord Morpeth. Others of his lordship's friends the country will be very happy to know, as and when they make themselves known, in the character in which alone the country is, at this moment, at all interested in its public men. But “Whigs,” as “Whigs,” have nothing to do with a crisis which has nothing to do with Whiggism. The country's commission to Lord John Russell to work out the principles of his letter to the London Electors, in the shape of an Act of Parliament, is not a commission to Lord John Russell's friends to hinder and spoil the work.

We have only to add, that the promises of Lord John Russell, as of all other public men, are *conditional*; conditional on the sufficiency of the power placed at his disposal. That power it is for the people to supply, by unswerving fidelity and steadiness to the one grand and simple purpose to which Lord John Russell's acceptance of the Premiership would indicate his determination to accomplish; by taking and keeping such an attitude as shall convince all time-serving and trimming politicians, that the bold and simple course is also the easy and safe course.

RETROSPECT OF THE CORN LAWS.

A law passed by a packed Parliament of Members interested in the perpetration of injustice naturally provoked the indignation of the people; and its authors, as we mentioned last week, took measures to suppress the expression of public opinion by military violence. No sooner was the increasing extent of popular discontent known, than before anything like outrage was committed, preparations were made to occupy London with an overwhelming army, as if it had been a hostile capital. The following circular was addressed by the high constable of Brighton to the different innkeepers of that town and the surrounding district:

“In consequence of a requisition received by me from the Quartermaster-General, I have to request you will, on or before Monday next, furnish me with a correct return of the number of soldiers you can accommodate, in case of emergency, on their march through this town; also, what number of horses you can possibly make room for.”

This precious missive is dated March 4th, 1815, and there was not the slightest disturbance of the public peace before Monday, March 7th. The soldiers were stimulated to commit acts of violence. We have already mentioned the two murders committed at the house of the present Earl of Ripon. On the same evening, Mr. Henrick, of Cecil-street, Strand, who was quietly going down to the House of Commons on private business, was sabred by one of the Life Guards; and a person who was near him had his thigh broken. Two gentlemen who attempted to address the multitude in St. James's Park were very roughly handled by the soldiers, and would have suffered severe injury but for the interference of the peace-officers.

On the following days, London presented the appearance of a place in a state of siege. The King's Mews was formally garrisoned by the Life-Guards, and the leading bread taxers applied for and obtained detachments of soldiers to guard their houses. There was one honourable exception; Lord Darnley, deeply affected by the wanton sacrifice of life at Mr. Robinson's—now Lord Ripon's—house, insisted that the military should be removed from his mansion. On Wednesday, the 8th of March, the House of Commons, alarmed by a false report of the approach of the mob, hastily adjourned. The inquest on Mr. Vyse, shot from Mr. Robinson's house, adjourned for a very different reason. Mr. Baker, one of the police magistrates, interposed his authority, though manifestly contrary to law, to prevent Mr. Robinson's servants from being examined at the coroner's inquest. In most of the shops of the metropolis, written papers were posted, inscribed with “No Corn Laws”—“Cheap Bread and Good Trade.” The troops from Windsor were marched into London on the same day; and in consequence of the heavy rain, the 5th regiment of foot was brought a great part

of the way in waggons. The artillery was also brought up from Woolwich, and ball-cartridges were distributed to the troops.

The citizens of London were completely at the mercy of the army. Everywhere through the metropolis posts were formed to command the principal avenues; and a proclamation issued by the Prince Regent forbade them to assemble to protest against the iniquity of taxing their food. Lord Sidmouth addressed a circular to the different vestry clerks, requiring them to convene the several parochial authorities to take measures for preventing riots and tumults; and at the same time care was taken to suppress any mention of the acts of violence committed by the military.

At this crisis intelligence of the escape of Napoleon from Elba arrived, and the bread taxers took advantage of the diversion which this incident afforded to the public excitement to hasten the Corn Laws through the House of Lords with all the speed that the caravan of legislation can travel. The riots in the metropolis were not renewed, for the following harvest happened to be most abundant; and the Corn Laws were thus rendered virtually inoperative. Great distress, however, continued to prevail among the farmers; they were under leases and rents founded upon an extraordinary conjuncture of bad seasons with a state of war, and upon an Act which promised to keep up prices by excluding foreign grain, but which made no provision for the effects of a productive harvest. The strange complexity which ensued is shown in one of the resolutions moved by Mr. Huskisson in 1822. It asserted “That the excess of the supply above the demand must have arisen either from an extent of corn tillage more than commensurate to the general consumption of the country, or from a succession of abundant harvests upon the same extent of tillage, or from the coincident effect of both these causes.” In the crowded state of our columns we cannot complete this retrospect from 1815 to 1822 in our present Number; but we shall return to the subject.

THE MOVEMENT.

Though we have devoted all our available space to the record of the great public meetings which have been held throughout the empire, and have omitted most of our miscellaneous matter to find room for these interesting reports, we have to apologise to our friends for omitting many heart-stirring speeches, and but briefly noticing many interesting proceedings which mark the spirit of the people and the character of the crisis. Elsewhere will be found an account of the great meeting of the citizens of London in the Guildhall; never was there a more important, a more enthusiastic, or a more influential assemblage collected in the metropolis. The intense anxiety of the auditors, the solemn earnestness of the speakers, and the unanimity of all, produced an impression which those who witnessed it can never forget. Never, in the whole course of his career, was Mr. Cobden more warmly received, and never was he more successful in developing the great principles on which the prosperity of the community and its chances of escape from impending peril depend. The meeting was one of men thoroughly in earnest, who had resolved that their determinations should not be mistaken.

Of equal importance was the great meeting of the West Riding of Yorkshire, held in front of the Court-house of Wakefield, and attended by more than twenty thousand persons.

The meeting was called by the high sheriff, in obedience to a requisition signed by a great proportion of the most influential inhabitants of the West Riding, including many of the most extensive landed proprietors. The requisition was one for calling a meeting to memorialise her Majesty to call Parliament together with a view to the repeal of the Corn Laws.

From early dawn the town of Wakefield was all astir. The church bells rung merry peals, and the place looked as if a fair was on the point of opening. People came pouring in from all sides—all the surrounding towns and villages sent their representatives—bands in and out of uniform marched in,

playing merry tunes, coaches whirled along decorated with Free Trade banners, and clustered over with passengers, all crowding to the scene of action; while waggons, country carts, and gigs of every description came rattling in, many of them fluttering with banners inscribed with every species of Free Trade mottoes, set off by every species of gaudy emblazonry.

Besides this, special trains arrived in time for the meeting from Sheffield, Halifax, Rochdale, and the various places on the Leeds and Manchester Rail way, conveying thousands to Wakefield; while great walking processions—each of them many thousand strong—came in from Leeds, Huddersfield, and those towns from which special trains did not run. Many places, however, dispatched both their walking processions and their special trains, many of the most important factories in Leeds, Huddersfield, and Bradford having been closed, to enable the hands to participate in this most splendid demonstration.

Altogether the display was very imposing, and certainly one of the greatest that has occurred in the history of the Anti-Corn-Law agitation.

By the time the proceedings commenced, the open space in front of the hustings was, as we have already said, crowded by one dense mass of people, which extended many hundred yards down into Wood-street—thousands being congregated at points where a chance of hearing the speeches was quite out of the question. Besides this, all the avenues leading to the place of meeting, the smaller streets and lanes, were just as densely crowded, walls and windows, every spot, in fact, from which a glimpse of the hustings could be obtained, were alive with spectators.

The meeting was addressed by Mr. Fawkes, of Farnley Hall; Mr. J. Marshall, of Leeds; Mr. C. Wood, M. P.; Mr. Rand, a Conservative gentleman from Bradford; Mr. Wrightson, M. P.; Mr. Blea-then, and Mr. Dunn. Such was the earnestness of the people that, though rain began to fall, few of the immense multitude quitted the assembly until the proceedings were concluded.

At Birmingham a very splendid and a very gratifying Free Trade demonstration took place within the great Music Hall. The room, floor and galleries were crammed, the greater proportion of the audience consisting of operatives. There could not have been less than 8000 people present, and the decision of this noble assemblage, in favour of repealing the Corn Laws, at once and before any other political question should be opened up, was perfectly unanimous. An attempt was made to connect the question of the suffrage with that of Free Trade, but when the movers of the amendment found that the sense of the meeting was decidedly against them, they submitted to its decision, and joined their fellow-townsmen in the demand for Free Trade. The principal speakers at the Birmingham meeting, over which the Mayor presided, were, Mr. W. Scholefield; Rev. Mr. Melsom; Mr. J. Sturge; Alderman Weston; Mr. W. Blaxland; Mr. J. Edmunds; Mr. Muntz, M. P.; Mr. Spooner, M. P.; Mr. Dawson, M. A.; Mr. L. Chance, and the Rev. Mr. W. Swann.

At Perth, a meeting of the inhabitants was convened in the City Hall by the Provost, over which the Dean of Guild presided. In number, respectability, and intense earnestness for the attainment of its great object it surpassed any assembly that had ever been collected in that ancient city. The principal speakers were Dr. Young; the Right Hon. Fox Maule, M. P.; Mr. Duncan, M. P.; and Mr. Nairn, of Milnhaugh. Letters approving the object of the meeting, and regretting their inability to attend personally, were read from the Marquis of Breadalbane, Lord Kinnaird, and Lord Duncan.

A public meeting has been held at Bradford, surpassing any that ever assembled in that thriving town, in its manifestation of high resolve and inflexible demonstration. The chair was taken by E. C. L. Kaye, Esq., formerly member for the borough, and the proceedings were of the most exhilarating kind; the resolutions were carried not merely unanimously, but by acclamation—and the speakers were received with a cordial welcome, and retired with a hearty response. The "telling" speech of Mr. Beaumont particularly created quite a sensation; almost every sentence elicited marked

applause; and when he spoke of "the Giant Monopoly being prostrated by the sling and the stone of the Anti-Corn Law League," round after round of tumultuous cheering followed, rivalling, if not surpassing, the celebrated "Kentish fire" at Orange demonstrations. The other speakers were Mr. W. Rand; Mr. J. Russell; the Rev. J. H. Ryland; Mr. S. Smith; Mr. Ackroyd; the Rev. J. Arworth; Mr. Hepper, and Mr. W. Rawson.

Another Free Trade meeting, convened by the constable, was held at Little Horton, in the vicinity of Bradford, and was addressed by Mr. W. Rand; Mr. J. Rawson; Mr. E. Waud; Mr. J. Yates, and Mr. W. Biles. Similar meetings were held in the same vicinity of Birkenshaw, Farsley, and Idle.

We have next to notice the great Free Trade meeting in the Staffordshire Potteries, held in the Bethesda School-room at Hanley. The chair was taken by Mr. W. Ridgway, and the meeting was addressed by Mr. J. Ridgway, Mr. F. Wedgwood, Mr. L. J. Abington, Mr. J. L. Ricardo, M. P.; Mr. J. Bright, M. P., and several other gentlemen. Much amusement was excited by the reading of a letter from Alderman Copeland, one of the representatives (!) of the district, in which he described himself as a Free Trader, but under certain conditions, which he declared himself unable to describe, or even to understand.

The High Constable of Rochdale convened a meeting of the inhabitants, in the public hall of that town, pursuant to a requisition signed by 2300 of the inhabitants. The chair was taken by the High Constable, and the meeting was addressed by Mr. Kelsall, Mr. J. Wilkinson, Mr. J. Hayle, and Mr. J. Bright.

Hardly second in importance to any we have mentioned was the great Free Trade meeting in Hull, over which the Mayor presided. It was addressed by Mr. Alderman Thompson, the Rev. J. H. Bromley, Dr. Gordon, the Rev. J. Libree, the Rev. E. Higginson, Mr. Alderman Atkinson, Mr. Lissesson, Mr. Blundell, Mr. J. Jones, the late Mayor, Mr. E. T. Collins, and the Rev. Dr. Aspinall. The speech of the last-named gentleman was characterised by more than his usual force and eloquence. We deeply regret that our unparalleled press of matter prevents us from giving it insertion.

An important Free Trade meeting took place in the agricultural borough of Rye. Rye is situated in the centre of one of the best cultivated districts in England. The meeting was attended by several tenant farmers, and by the member for the borough, Mr. Herbert Curteis, who is a large proprietor in the neighbourhood. Mr. Curteis admitted that the present system of Corn Laws had been an utter failure; and expressed a hope that Lord John Russell would be enabled to put an end to a system which had proved itself to be the bane of agriculture. Mr. Selwes, an agriculturist of well-known celebrity, stated that he had long been of opinion that the Corn Laws must be repealed; and Mr. Jeremiah Smith, one of the largest farmers in England, stated that if he had freedom of trade, he dreaded no foreign competition.

The Town Council of the ancient borough of Congleton has addressed a memorial to her Majesty, praying that the ports should be opened for the admission of foreign grain. The meeting was addressed by Mr. Alderman Broadhurst, Mr. Lockitt, Mr. Alderman Waddington, and Mr. Alderman Hadfield. It was resolved that J. Pattison, Esq., one of the members for the City of London, who is a native of Congleton, should be requested to present the memorial.

Our space will only permit us to mention that the meetings which we announced that Mr. R. R. Moore would hold in the course of the current week have been attended by crowded and enthusiastic audiences. There were more than twelve hundred present at the Rochester meeting, including several influential farmers in the vicinity, and the resolutions in favour of Free Trade were carried by unanimous acclamation.

In addition to the series of important meetings above enumerated, the columns of the daily press are this day again crowded with the reports of other and no less forcible demonstrations of the popular will. Wolverhampton, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Bolton, Staley Bridge, the important metropolitan

parish of St. Pancras, and various other minor towns have all unequivocally testified their determination to meet this great crisis of our common movement with the requisite energy and firmness.

We deeply regret our inability to gratify our readers with a full report of the eloquent and stirring speech made by our Parliamentary champion, Mr. Villiers, before his constituents at Wolverhampton, on Tuesday evening. It was a speech replete with that earnest, logical humour, and forcible argument and eloquence, which is so characteristic of his best efforts.

DEATH OF LORD WHARNCLIFFE.

Lord Wharncliffe, Lord President of the Council, expired at his residence in Curson-street, at half-past ten on Friday morning. His Lordship had been ill for some days past, but no immediate danger had been apprehended.

His Lordship's son, the Hon. John Stuart Wortley, was with his noble parent at the time of his decease.

This will occasion a vacancy for the West Riding of Yorkshire, for which Lord Morpeth will be returned by acclamation.

The following circular, with the annexed resolution, has been addressed by the Council of the League to the principal merchants and manufacturers in and around Manchester:—

Manchester, Dec. 13th, 1845.

Sir,—We beg leave respectfully to refer you to the annexed Resolutions of the Council of the League, and urgently to request your attendance at a Meeting of Merchants, Bankers, Manufacturers, Traders, and others, to be held at the Town Hall, Manchester, on Tuesday, the 23rd December next, at eleven o'clock precisely, to consider the best means of aiding the operations of the National Anti-Corn-Law League in the present crisis.

We are, respectfully,

Richard Cobden, M.P.
John Bright, M.P.
Henry Marsland, M.P.
Richard Walker, M.P.
W. B. Watkins (Mayor)
James Kershaw, Alderman
C. J. S. Walker, Alderman
John Mayson, Alderman
John Burd, Alderman
E. Armitage, Alderman
John Potter, Alderman
William Harvey, Alderman
Thomas Bazley
John Brooks
Robert Munn
J. B. Smith
Alexander Henry
N. Buckley, Ashton
John Whittaker
Richard Matley
T. Thomasson
George Wilson
Robert Hyde Greg
Henry Ashworth
Edmund Ashworth
P. R. Arrowsmith
William Bickham
William Rawson
W. Evans
T. Whitehead
T. Taylor, Wigan
J. Wrigley, Bury
J. R. Barnes
— Barnes, jun.
J. Barratt

E. P. Thompson
Josh. Simpson
E. Hall
H. Bannerman
Josh. Acton, Wigan
W. R. Callender
Nathan Lees
J. Schofield
A. Prentice
John Harding
Thos. B. Potter
Thos. Woolley
R. A. Thicknesse, Wigan
J. Midgeley, Rochdale
W. Morris
C. Potter, Darwen
Jno. Graham
Samuel Lees
N. Heald
Thomas Bright
E. J. Kay, Whitworth
Robert Platt, Stalybridge
E. Grundy, near Bury
E. T. Grundy, Rusholme
W. Alcard, Warrington
Robert Stewart
Henry Rawson
T. Ashton
William Ross
Josh. Whitworth
John Gallemore
J. Cheetham
John Hoyle, Rochdale
Thomas Booth, Rochdale
John Petrie, Rochdale

At a Special General Meeting of the Council of the National Anti-Corn-Law League, held in Manchester, on Saturday, the 13th December, 1845,

It was moved by Henry Marsland, Esq., M. P., seconded by R. H. Greg, Esq.,

And resolved unanimously—"That from the altered position of parties in the House of Commons, in reference to the Repeal of the Corn Laws, it is desirable to rescind the existing resolution against petitioning this present Parliament, and that this meeting recommend that petitions be sent from every town and district in the kingdom, as numerous as possible, praying for the Total and Unconditional Abolition of the Corn and Provision Laws."

Moved by John Bright, Esq., M. P., seconded by Richard Walker, Esq., M. P.,

And resolved unanimously—"That a Subscription of a Quarter of a Million Sterling be immediately commenced to meet the present emergency. That a call of 20 per cent. thereon be forthwith made. That a Public Meeting be called in the Town Hall, Manchester, for Tuesday, the 23rd December instant, for the purpose of giving effect to the foregoing resolution."

GEORGE WILSON, Chairman.

Newall's Buildings, Dec. 13th, 1845.

THE CORN TRADE.—The number of grain laden vessels which passed the Sound and Belt for England, from the 3rd of December to the 9th of December, were ten wheat, three barley, two peas, and two linseed.—From *Body and Co's Circular*.

OPENING OF THE PORTS

CITY OF LONDON.

On Monday a most numerous meeting of the constituency of the City of London took place in the Guildhall, the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor in the chair.

Amongst the gentlemen who appeared upon the hustings we observed the following:—Mr. James Pattison, M.P.; Mr. Raikes Currie, M.P.; Dr. Bowring, M.P.; Mr. R. Cobden, M.P.; Mr. W. Williams, M.P.; Mr. T. Milner Gibson, M.P.; Mr. Archibald Hastie, M.P.; Mr. George Moffatt, M.P.; Mr. John Dillon; Mr. R. Ricardo; Alderman Sir John Key, Bart.; Mr. Alderman Wood; Mr. Sheriff Laurie; Mr. W. G. Prescott; Mr. J. Ingram Travers; Mr. D. W. Harvey; Mr. P. A. Taylor; Mr. Charles Perkins; Mr. W. Miller Christy; Mr. W. Wansley; Mr. W. D. Sault; Mr. William Nicholson; Mr. W. Hawes; Mr. R. R. Moore; Mr. S. B. Venning; Mr. M. Seward; Mr. C. Wordsworth (Temple); Mr. John Locke (City Pleader); Mr. R. Taylor; Mr. J. T. Norris; Mr. H. L. Keeling; Mr. W. H. Ashurst, &c.

The appearance of Mr. Cobden was hailed with tremendous applause; and several of the other members of the meeting were welcomed according to their advocacy of the popular measure, the abolition of the Corn Laws.

The LORD MAYOR came forward amidst applause and expressions of disapprobation. His Lordship said—Gentlemen, this meeting has been convened by me at the wish of a numerous signed requisition, to give you the opportunity of expressing your sentiments upon the subject contained in the paper which I now have the honour to present to you. I desire now only to observe, that whilst I advise that you enter upon the subject referred to in the requisition fairly and dispassionately, you should act with prudence and discretion, that the subject may be duly considered, and that order may be preserved in this assembly, I assure you that I will encourage a patient hearing of any sentiments that you may be disposed to offer upon the subject. (Cheers.)

The clerk then read the following requisition:—

"TO THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD MAYOR.

"We, the undersigned electors of the City of London, being desirous of holding a public meeting for the purpose of expressing our sentiments on the subject of the existing Corn Laws in connection with the prevailing apprehension of a scarcity, request that your Lordship will call a meeting of the electors in the Guildhall of this city, to be held at an early day, and that your Lordship will be pleased to preside at the same."

The LORD MAYOR then stated that he had received a letter from Lord John Russell, of which the following is a copy:—

"Chesham-place, Dec. 14.

"My Lord,—As I understand that your Lordship is to preside at a meeting of the livery to-morrow, on the subject of the Corn Laws, I request you will have the goodness to state that the peculiar circumstances of my position at this moment will prevent my attendance.

"I have the honour to be, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

"The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor."

Mr. DILLON stepped forward upon the platform amidst loud cheering, and said they were met to express an opinion on the existing Corn Laws, and he suggested that the conclusion they should come to was, that the Corn Laws should be repealed. (Loud cheers.) He would briefly give his reasons for that suggestion. In the first place, as conveyed in the resolution he was about to propose, the principle of protection was bad, false in theory, hurtful to the class protected, and injurious to the whole community; in the second place, it was a bad law in its general application, but more particularly so in the present state of this country; and in the third place, it operated in a partial and injurious manner at most times, but more decidedly so when famine stared the nation in the face, as it now did. Some four years ago a law was passed for a sliding scale, but what had been the result? Had it produced the wonders promised? (No, no.) Had it regulated the supply in a legitimate manner? (No, no.) Had it not turned out a total failure? (Cries of Yes, it has.) At that time many honest men—at least he believed them honest, and he was one of them—differed from the sliding scale, and advocated a fixed duty. That opinion was thought the best adapted then to the exigencies of the country. Circumstances had changed since then, and now he was an advocate for a fixed duty no longer, but for absolute Free Trade. (Loud cheers.) He could advocate such a view in the present state of the country. But in advocating the total repeal of the Corn Laws, they should do so not as a party question—not as a measure to benefit one class at the expense of another class, but as a measure well calculated to benefit the great body of the community. They sought not to benefit one class or party, but to benefit every class of society. A great difference of opinion prevailed in this country as to the comparative advantage of an agricultural or a manufacturing population. There were those amongst them who advocated the existence only of an agricultural population, and said it was greatly superior to a manufacturing population; but how absurd was it in this age to entertain such a view of society! How could they go back to an agricultural state of society? (Hear, hear.) It would be as easy for a man to return to the age of childhood as it would be for this country, advanced as it was in civilisation, to return to an agricultural state of society. But if they were to return to an agricultural state of society, what was to become of our manufactures? Were they to be destroyed? (Cries of No, no.) No, it was perfectly absurd; it was monstrous; it was perfectly ridiculous to hold such an argument in the present state of society. (Hear.) What was the question which agitated the country at this moment? It was, whether an agricultural or a manufacturing state of society was best; but let him remind those thousands who had started this question that there was a population more to be cared for and more to be feared than either an agricultural population or a manufacturing, and that was a starving population. (Cheers.) How were they to deal with them? Would gunpowder stop them? Would curry powder feed them? (Laughter and cries of No, no.) When first he heard of the noble duke's recipe he was amused at it, but upon more serious thought his indignation was moved, because he saw in it reason to believe that it was the intention of the noble duke to excite the stomachs of the labouring population for the purpose of making them contented and as quietly as possible submit to starvation. (Cheers.) What were the arguments in favour of the Corn Law? Why, first, it was said that agriculture was the base of society. Let them make the base as broad as they possibly could; let them extend it to other countries. It was asked what they would do in time

of war if they repealed the Corn Laws? Why, let them remain at peace, and let them make it for the interest of other nations to remain at peace with them. Let them buy corn from America when they could not produce enough in their own country, and then America would not go to war with them. (Cheers.) Now, let the meeting look at this for a moment. In the first place, he could never understand how the present system of policy was calculated to increase the resources of the country, or add to its prosperity. He thought the interest of the proprietors must increase with the prosperity of the country; for, if there was an increase in the supply of crops, it would be necessary for the landlords to improve their crops. Besides, when there was a great demand for a supply of food from abroad at hand, there was a tendency to increase the price of corn in those countries, and therefore to enable the growers of corn in this country to compete with the foreign growers. (Hear.) Food was necessary for all classes of the people, and therefore those who would tax it did a wrong, while they did not hesitate to try and cheapen their own luxuries. (Hear, hear.) It was the boast of Mr. Huskisson that he had expunged from the statute-book the word "prohibition." (Cheers.) Let it be the boast of the people of the present day that they had expunged from the statute-book the word "protection." (Cheers.) Let the Government pass laws for the repression and the prevention of crime, and let them too have taxes—as few as possible (laughter)—for the maintenance of the state; but let them have no taxes which would operate as a premium upon famine. (Cheers.) In the spirit of these observations he begged leave to move the first resolution:

"That the principle of protection in commerce is unsound, false in theory and in practice, injurious to the classes who seek protection, and to the community at large.

"That the great practical rule of leaving all commerce unfettered applies more peculiarly—and on still stronger grounds of justice as well as policy—to the trade in corn, and to all articles whatsoever which form the food of the people, than to any other trade." (Cheers.)

Mr. RICARDO came forward to second the resolution. He said that if it had been necessary to apply talent to the seconding of that resolution, he would not have come forward to do so; but the proposition it contained was so self-evident that it carried conviction with it, and therefore it would not be necessary for him to say a word in support of it; and indeed the eloquent gentleman who had proposed it had left him not a word to say in addition. He begged to second the resolution. (Cheers.)

Mr. WILKINSON said he wished to speak on the resolution before it was put. He was as determined an enemy to the Corn Laws as any of them; but he could not agree to the conclusions that many had come to in arguing the question. Had it not been for the violent language used by many of the advocates of Free Trade, the Corn Laws might have been repealed. (Uproar.) He repeated that such parties had materially arrested the progress of Free Trade. (Increased uproar.) Moreover, it had been said that at present there was a deficiency of food in the country. He did not believe that there was. (Great uproar.) He maintained there was no deficiency of food. (The speaker was here stopped by a tremendous burst of hissing and yelling, which lasted several minutes. He, after the exhaustion of the first volley of discordant shouts, attempted to go on; but after several attempts desisted.)

The LORD MAYOR came forward, and requested the meeting to give a patient hearing to Mr. Wilkinson.

Mr. WILKINSON again essayed to speak; but after the delivery of several sentences which were inaudible to those even immediately around him, on account of the hisses and shouts with which he was assailed, he stood still. Then retiring amidst loud and indignant cries of "Turn him out!" "Off, off!" "We have had enough of you," he again sat down.

The LORD MAYOR then took the sense of the meeting whether the speaker should proceed, when the negative was carried by an immense show of hands.

Mr. Wilkinson then retired, amidst loud and continued derisive shouts and cheers.

The LORD MAYOR having again put it to the vote whether the speaker should be heard, the question met with its former fate—namely, a negative.

Mr. Wilkinson having bowed to the wish of the meeting, the original resolution was put, and carried unanimously.

Mr. ROBERTSON said, however trite might be the remark, he felt himself bound to say, that he felt perfectly incompetent to do justice to the subject now under discussion. This was partly owing to natural inability, and partly to having been only that minute called on to propose a resolution touching the Corn Laws. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Now let them look to the consequences that were likely to result from persisting in these laws. On the 5th of January last there were only 300,000 quarters of corn in the market, while in the Baltic there was a superabundant supply; but from this they were unable to derive any benefit. He would conclude by moving:

"That the protective law, commonly called the Corn Law, has in this country wholly failed in either benefiting the agriculturists, or in providing for the wants and protecting the interests of the community; that it has engendered strife among classes at home, and provoked against us hostility and retaliation abroad; that it has neither secured the promised stability in price, nor regularity in supply; that it has neither made us independent of foreign supply, nor provided against the recurrence of scarcity and famine; that the sliding scale particularly has added the risks of chance and the spirit of gambling to the common irregularities of trade and the uncertainty of the seasons; that this law, whilst it has altogether failed in realising the advantages promised by its supporters, has brought upon us all, and more than all, the evils predicted by those who were opposed to its introduction."

Mr. CHRISTY seconded the resolution; but he delivered his observations in so low a tone that it was impossible to hear him. However, he was understood to say that he had great pleasure in seconding the resolution, which was put and carried amidst loud cheering.

Mr. C. PERKINS proposed the next resolution. He said that the resolution intrusted to him to propose contained matter for the grave and serious consideration of the meeting as well as of all persons in this country who were in any manner connected with the land. He proceeded to say he would ask the people to look at the present difficult and embarrassing position of the country by reason of the resignation of the Ministry. (Hear, hear.) The Ministry had looked about in every direction for an excuse or a means of escape, but they found they could not shrink from the responsibility they had incurred. (Hear.) This country was now looking forward with anxiety to the arrival of the speech of the President of the United States, which they might ex-

pect within the next ten days. That was a document which he knew the Government of this country did not like to face. (Hear, hear.) The United States of America were now somewhat more extensive than they were a few years ago; in fact, they had extended all over the continent. Such of these states as were situated inland or at a distance from any port wanted to dispose of their produce to the best advantage. (Hear, hear.) The states had now a majority in the Congress, and it might be relied upon that they never would meet this country upon terms of amicable feeling and mutual interest until they had free access to the markets of this country. (Hear, hear.) He had heard a great deal said about the protection of the landed interest, but he could assure that class that it would be infinitely more secure and satisfactory to them to have the Corn Laws repealed altogether and all artificial prices for food. (Cheers.) Until that were done, he would ask, how was the farmer to act? How was he to take a farm? What was he to bid for it? (Hear.) In fact, he knew not how to proceed while these Corn Laws existed, for all was now confusion (hear), and a confusion so great that the present Ministry did not dare to face it. (Hear, hear.) But it was for the electors of London to be now serious and determined in the good cause, and they might rest assured of success. (Cheers.) Mr. Perkins concluded by proposing the following resolution:—

"That, looking to the present political, commercial, and economical state of this country, it is indispensable (as part of a more liberal and enlightened system of policy) that the present Corn Law, and all laws which levy a tax upon the food of the great mass of the people, should be immediately repealed."

Mr. W. HAWES next came forward. He said he would not detain them many minutes in observing upon the resolution, for he was certain that it would meet with the unanimous approbation of the meeting. (Hear, hear.) He would just call the attention of the meeting to the fact, that the feelings of the country had now attained such a height in regard to the Corn Laws, that the Prime Minister himself had been convinced of the necessity for their total repeal. (Loud cheers.) It was but a few years back that they had met in this hall, and declared in a favour of a bill—the Reform Bill, and the Government of the day resolved to carry it; but even that was spoiled, not by those who had originated or introduced it, but it was spoiled in its progress through the legislature by a few interested persons, who introduced so many qualifications into it that it was rendered almost useless. (Hear.) But now that the people were resolved to have a repeal of the Corn Laws, that repeal must be without any qualification whatever. (Cheers.) They should have a total and effectual repeal of every tax upon food. (Cheers.) The meeting was aware that Mr. Cobden was present (cheers), and therefore he (Mr. Hawes) would not longer deprive them of the pleasure of hearing him. (Cheers.) He was a citizen of this county, and had been received everywhere with the greatest enthusiasm and honour, for he was, indeed, now regarded as the great leader of this movement. (Cheers.)

Mr. COBDEN then presented himself, and was received with loud cheering, which continued for several minutes. He said, that though he had been living almost in public meetings for the last fortnight, yet, until he came within that splendid hall and witnessed that magnificent gathering, he did not know the full strength of the movement in which they were engaged. (Hear, hear.) Hitherto they had been dealing with the extremities of the body politic. They had given a good lusty kick in Lancashire, and a blow had been struck by the right hand of Scotland in Edinburgh; but now the head was in motion. (Hear, hear.) He brought to the inhabitants of this vast metropolis a message from the men of the north. They looked to the inhabitants of the metropolis; they waited for them to take that position in this great cause which alone they could take with honour to themselves in the van and front of the movement. (Cheers.) For whom was this cause if not for them, the inhabitants of this city, the centre of the greatest commercial emporium ever known on the face of the earth, whose every pulsation was felt wherever civilisation extended? (Hear, hear.) Could there be a law, then, the object of which was to restrict trade, to convulse monetary operations, to starve the mass of the people, in which they in London were not more deeply interested than any other part of the community? (Cheers.) And who were the opponents with whom they had to deal on this occasion? Who were the men who ventured to tell them, the inhabitants of London, and the vast multitudes of the populous north, that they should not be allowed to exchange the fruits of their industry for food, which was offered open handed by every country on the globe? (Hear, hear.) Who were the men that stood up arrayed against this magnificent movement? They were to be found, forsooth, in Buckinghamshire and Essex! (Laughter.) Yes, in Essex! The great protectionist gathering which was to stop this mighty avalanche of opinion was to come from Chelmsford! (Renewed laughter.) Essex was fertile in wheat, and, as a gentleman below remarked, was also fruitful in calves. (Laughter.) He believed that all the wheat which the Essex people had to sell came to London. The people of London were the customers to the Essex growers. (Hear, hear.) They bought and paid for all the wheat which the Essex growers had to sell, and, he believed, gave a higher price for it than those growers could obtain in any other market in the world. (Hear, hear.) But the people said that they still wanted more wheat, and then Sir J. Tyrell called his protectionist squires together, to tell them, the citizens of London, that there was enough for them, and that they should not have any more. (Cheers and laughter.) That he thought was about a fair illustration of the case between the population of England and the landowners. (Applause.) The people told them that they would buy their wheat as they had already bought it, but at the same time they claimed the right, in addition, of buying as much more as they could get, pay for, and eat. (Hear, hear.) They were rather a bold set, these gentry in Essex, considering that the people of London were their customers. (Laughter.) He believed that it was usual in the city to behave civilly and politely to those by whose custom they were enabled to keep their shops open; but these Essex gentry seemed to set themselves up as something above their customers. (Laughter.) Now, he would tell them, that if they could do better with their wheat by sending it to Russia, Poland, Spain, or America, they might do so with welcome; but, if the people of London were to have it, they must have it on ordinary market terms, and the sellers must be civil into the bargain. (Cheers and laughter.) But, these gentry told the people that they had enough; and a gentleman who had spoken a short time since declared that there was no scarcity in the land. (Cries of shame.) Judging from the capacious spencer which the gentleman wore, and seeing how well it was filled (roars

of laughter), he had not the slightest doubt but that that gentleman did have enough. (Renewed laughter.) There certainly was no scarcity there. (Cheers and laughter.) Now, all he (Mr. Cobden) wished to stipulate for was this, that all those who had not got so good a spencer on, or quite so much to fill it, might be allowed to judge for themselves whether there was scarcity or not, and he had no doubt that many in Bethnal-green and Spitalfields would declare that they did not get a sufficiency of Essex bread. (Hear, hear.) Leave every man to be himself the judge whether he had plenty or not. If he had plenty he would not go 3000 miles to America to get more; (hear, hear)—and if he had not plenty, it was an unrighteous scheme—it was a scheme abhorred of every law, human and divine, to put barriers in the way of his obtaining a sufficient supply of food from any part of the world. (Loud cheers.) These protection societies, of which they had heard so much, were very careful to tell them that there were still sufficient potatoes and corn in the country. If that were so, he should like to know what then was the matter at head-quarters? (Cheers and laughter.) If there were no potato rot, he should like to know what that murrain was that had got into the Cabinet? (Laughter.) When the Parliament dispersed at the close of last session, to judge from the jaunty airs of Sir R. Peel, Sir J. Graham, and the rest, it would have seemed that they were revelling in the flattering notion that power and place were with them an affair of a lifetime. But lo! the Cabinet was now broken up and dispersed. (Hear, hear.) If there were an abundant crop and no scarcity, what was the matter? (Hear, hear.) He thought that there were very ominous signs in the sudden rupture of the Cabinet. Bad as had been some reports—bad as still were the reports from Ireland and some parts of England, he could not help suspecting and fearing that Sir R. Peel had still worse information than any which the public had yet obtained. (Hear, hear.) Since he had been in that hall, a gentleman had put into his hand a paper, giving an account of the number of sacks of potatoes delivered from ships in the port of London during the following periods, viz., the three months ending December, 1842, 1843, 1844, and 1845. During the first period the amount of sacks delivered from ship was 404,400; during the second, 315,800; during the third, 381,800; while during the fourth (the three months ending in December, 1845) the amount of sacks delivered from ship was only 195,400. The prices fluctuated in 1842, 1843, and 1844, from 40s. to 90s. per ton, while in the present season the price had varied from 10s. to 150s. per ton. To that same gentleman's knowledge there had been 12 cargoes of potatoes cleared out to the lightermen and given away, on condition that they would carry them off to be used as manure, and he knew of one instance where a cargo of potatoes cost 30l. of expenses, for they had to be dug up, and they were afterwards of no use to any one. (Hear, hear.) In almost every part of England, and he (Mr. Cobden) could speak with regard to accounts he had received, the potato crop corresponded with the return he had just laid before them. He believed that in many districts before next spring time there would not be a sound potato even for seed. What infatuation, then, it was in dukes and squires, who rose up in the morning, went out hunting or shooting, and afterwards came home to champagne and venison, to be maundering like old women, and telling the people, as a worthy gentleman had at that meeting, that there was no scarcity! (Cheers and laughter.) These men were ignorant of what was going on in the cottages on their own estates, and they were utterly unprepared for the evils impending over them. (Hear, hear.) He ventured to predict that before the fine weather in next spring there would be whole districts depending on charity. The consequence would be that the persons in distress would be flocking into the towns for the purpose of obtaining subsistence, and the people who had no land would be called on by the dukes and squires to subscribe their means to keep the peasantry from starvation. (Hear, hear.) And now, what state of things existed in this country at the present moment? As for an executive Government—there was none. (Hear, hear.) It turned out that Sir Robert Peel had taken flight at the first operation of his own sliding scale. (Laughter.) With a majority of 100 in the House of Commons, he had run away from his own handiwork. (Continued laughter.) Why, that was not very "plucky," gentlemen. (Cheers and laughter.) But there was something characteristic in his very retreat, for he had not told them what he had intended to do, or what he now intended to do, and he (Mr. Cobden) ventured to predict that Sir Robert Peel would veil in as much mystery his intentions towards the Free Traders as he did his intentions towards the agriculturists in respect to his tariff, in order that by-and-by he might deal with them as he pleased. (Hear, hear.) Nobody knew what Sir R. Peel intended to do for the country. All that they knew was that he had run away from office, and left the ship without a helmsman; and now was wanted that courageous little man whom they, the citizens of London, had had the honour of sending to Parliament. (Loud cheers.) They were interested—deeply interested, in the public career and honour of that statesman, and he (Mr. Cobden) said for himself, as an elector of London, that he wished Lord John Russell would advise her Majesty to send for the Duke of Richmond. (Loud laughter.) Then let that noble duke try to constitute his Cabinet, placing, no doubt, Sir J. Tyrell in the Home-office, and Col. Sibthorp probably at the Horse Guards. (Shouts of laughter.) Let a protectionist Government be tried, and let it be seen what they could do. (Hear, hear.) There was only one objection to the experiment, and that was, that it would kill them all with laughter, and even those venerable figures at the end of the hall (Gog and Magog) would scarcely be able to keep their sides from shaking at such a spectacle. (Laughter.) But if Lord John Russell undertook to carry on the government of this country with only 180 or 200 members in the House of Commons to vote with him in accordance with the sentiments contained in his late letter (cheers)—that, at all events, would be something different from the conduct of the Minister who ran away, though he had a majority of 90 behind his back. (Cheers.) Well, suppose Lord John Russell did undertake the government, and suppose he stood by the principles announced in his late letter—and he (Mr. Cobden) vouched that Lord John Russell would stand by them (loud cheers)—then, in case of an appeal to the country, what would they in the city of London do? They would send four good ones to Parliament, and no "shams." (Cheers, and a voice—"You shall be one.") Somebody cried out that he should be one, but he did not mean to leave Stockport until he went in for Buckinghamshire. (Cheers and laughter.) When an election arrived, it must be, with the electors of London, four or none. There must be none of those half-and-half renegades at another election, who voted two on one side and two on another, like firing, on going into action, one half of their guns against their own

friends. (Hear.) The electors must do as they did in America, have a ticket for four good free traders, and "go the whole ticket." (Cheers.) The electors of London had two good representatives already, but he wished them to have four good ones, because their election took place among the first, and their example was felt throughout the country. (Hear, hear.) He knew they could do it, for he knew more of the registration than probably almost any man in that hall; and it had been right well looked after during the last two years. But he really did not think that they would have any opposition in the city of London at the next election. (Cheers.) What, too, was the state of the case with regard to the metropolitan boroughs? Did they imagine there would be any "curry-powder" candidates? (Laughter.) No. The free traders would have every metropolitan member (cheers); Middlesex also (renewed cheers); and he promised them every large town in the North—Edinburgh, Glasgow, &c. Did they think that any person would stand up on the rotten potato system for Bristol or Newcastle? (Laughter.) No, they would not much like the very name of rotten potatoes there. (Hear, hear.) Let there be a general election, and the Free Traders would carry the total repeal of the Corn Laws in every large and free constituency. (Cheers.) Could the calf interest of Essex stand against the power and wealth of this united community? No. Let them, then, proclaim to Lord J. Russell that if he would be firm, as he (Mr. Cobden) was sure he would, to his principles, he would have the country at his back; and would also have the support of a disinterested organization, conducted not by men who sought for place or power (as that noble lord knew), but by men whose only object for coming into public life was to free industry—to emancipate the commercial, middle, and working classes from the thralldom of an injurious monopoly, and who would be fully satisfied with the accomplishment of that object. (Cheers.) He said, let Lord J. Russell be firm. The time was gone for tricksters and chicaners; the country wanted honesty and straightforwardness. (Cheers.) They wanted a man to avow boldly his opinion—to print it—to put his name to it, so that it might be brought against him at a future period, if necessary. That was the man they wanted, and they had now got him. (Cheers.) It had been said by one of the speakers that day, that four years ago the League would have been satisfied with a compromise. He (Mr. Cobden) could only say, for his part, that he would never have been any party to any compromise of this question. (Hear, hear.) He had never looked on the repeal of the Corn Laws as a matter of expediency or compromise. He looked at the question on the broad ground that their legislators had no right to tax the food of the people; to prevent the industrious man from living by the fruits of his industry; and if the pressure was but as a feather's weight, they were on principle bound to remove it, and by God's help they would remove it. (Cheers.) There was still some talk of compromise. He saw by the *Morning Herald* (loud laughter) that, according to that venerable authority (renewed laughter), if Sir Robert Peel had introduced a measure on the subject of the Corn Laws, he intended to have given compensation to the monopolists. (Cries of "Oh.") The paper to which he referred then went on to say, that the country which gave compensation to slave owners would never object to compensate the landlords. (Oh, and laughter.) Why, said the hon. gentleman, there is just this difference between the two cases—we are not slaves and we do not intend to be slaves. (Great cheering.) In his opinion, if the landowners had any compensation at all, it ought to be the compensation which one of the city police would give to a light fingered "gent," in whose possession he might find the property of an industrious artisan. The possessor of the stolen property might say, "I have been using this furniture—this chest of drawers—for 30 years; I have been making arrangements founded on my possession of it; and surely you won't take it from me without giving me compensation." (Laughter.) The artisan would step forward and say, I have been deprived of my property for 30 years, and you talk of compensation! Aye, away with them to the police office, and let him get compensation there." (Laughter.) There was one resolution to be submitted to their approval to day, which he (Mr. Cobden) regarded with very great satisfaction, and by which they requested and instructed their four representatives in the House of Commons to vote for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) That was language all electors should hold in communicating with their representatives on this subject. (Hear.) He hoped the example thus set by the city of London would be imitated by the electors throughout the country. They were evincing the same noble and courageous spirit which actuated their forefathers who met in that hall 70 years ago, when they had to contend with the power of a court, and the arrogant dictation of a haughty monarch. (Cheers.) That their forefathers did not quail before the frowns of a sovereign—that monument (pointing to Beckford's monument), recording an act of spirited citizenship on the part of a Lord Mayor in the presence of his King, was an honourable memorial. (Cheers.) But the struggle now was not between the people and our Most Gracious Queen. (Loud cheers.) Her Majesty had no interest in the starvation of her people. (Hear, and cheers.) She did not desire to be the sovereign of one class of her subjects only, and that a sordid and a selfish class; but her wish was to be the beloved Queen of a great, a happy, and an united people. (Loud cheers.) Their struggle was not against the Queen; it was with a section, not the most intelligent, (a laugh)—not the most disinterested (laughter)—not the most useful of their countrymen. (Hear, hear.) They were struggling against a large section of the landed aristocracy of this country, whose object was to prevent the people of England from exercising—beyond the narrowest limits—their skill and industry, and from obtaining those rewards to which they were fairly entitled. (Hear, hear.) It was the desire of that class rather to live great among a crushed and impoverished people, than to rise with the greatness, and to recognize the power of those who would raise them to a high and proud position if they would allow others to grow beneath them. (Hear, and cheers.) Their struggle was with the monopolist landowners of this country—a mere handful of men, who, compared with the great bulk of the people, were but as a cork on the cataract of Niagara. That class before the millions of this country would shrink into utter insignificance; their power, founded upon injustice, would be wrested from their hands. The object of this meeting was to show that class that they would no longer be allowed to legislate to the injury, instead of the benefit, of 28,000,000 of their fellow-countrymen. (Hear, hear.) He was convinced, by the cheering aspect of the present meeting, that the time had now come for putting an end to that odious system. (Cheers.) London was now just where it

was in 1815. "You compensate the landowners for their bread-tax (continued the hon. member.) They never had a right to that tax. They passed the law by which it was imposed in 1815, under protest from the people of London. (Hear, hear.) There are men here old enough to remember how crowds assembled round the Mansion House to sign the petitions against the tax—petitions praying not only that the tax might not be imposed, but that Parliament would allow time for considering its effects before the measure was pressed forward. Why, in one day 40,000 signatures were attached to that petition. London was moved to its very centre in opposition to this infamous law, and yet its supporters will talk to us of compensation and compromise. To such proposals we cannot listen; our motto is, "The total, immediate, and unqualified repeal of the Corn Laws." (The hon. gentleman resumed his seat amidst enthusiastic and prolonged cheering.)

The resolution was then put by the Lord Mayor, and was passed almost unanimously, only two or three hands being held up against it.

Mr. P. TAYLOR moved the following resolution:—

"That our four representatives be requested and instructed to support such repeal in the Commons' of House Parliament."

Whether their four representatives would all comply with this request he could not say; but he hoped that, if any of them declined doing so, they would follow the example of Sir R. Peel by resigning. (Laughter and cheers.) Mr. Cobden had told them that great pains had been taken in attending to the registration for the city of London during the last two years; and he (Mr. Taylor) was happy to inform them there was not the slightest doubt that, whenever an election took place, four thorough Free Traders would be returned for the city by a very large majority. (Loud cheers.)

Dr. BOWRING, M.P., in seconding the resolution, said he was delighted to find that the work of conversion was going on in that meeting. Only three individuals had courage to hold up their hands against the first resolution; two only had signified their dissent from the third; and he believed that no person would venture to oppose the resolution now before the meeting. (Hear, hear.) The city of London had to-day done its duty most nobly and honourably; and the object of the present resolution was to call upon those who professed to be their representatives to do their duty also. (Cheers.) He (Dr. Bowring) had been much gratified in witnessing the progress of this great cause. When his hon. friend (Mr. Cobden) first came forward, in a most disinterested and self-sacrificing spirit, to organise that body whose efforts had produced a visible effect in every part of the kingdom, he (Dr. Bowring) little anticipated that, in the city of London, his proposals would ever have been received with such perfect unanimity, or that the inhabitants of this metropolis would have declared, as with one voice, their conviction that the period had arrived when the corn laws must be repealed at once and for ever. (Loud cheering.) Why, who had they to convince of the necessity of repealing the corn law? From the Premier himself down to *Punch*, every body was with them. (Laughter.) The Premier had shown his adherence to their views by deserting his friends (a laugh); and they had now the satisfaction of knowing that no ministry could long exist whose name and reputation were not associated with the total overthrow of the corn law. (Cheers.) His hon. friend, Mr. Cobden, had alluded to the formation of a new Ministry. He, Dr. Bowring, believed that public opinion would not be satisfied unless a portfolio were offered to that hon. gentleman. (Loud cheering.) He should be made President of the Board of Trade. (Continued cheering.) He was the man to hold out the hand of peace and friendship to all other nations; to teach mankind generally, as he had taught his countrymen, that their interests was to maintain peace, to unshackle commerce, and to extend trade; and to give a new tone and character to the legislation of the kingdom. (Hear, and cheers.) Those whom he (Dr. Bowring) was now addressing, electors of this mighty empire, in whose hands the real power of government was vested, had a right to require, and should require, that their views and opinions should be fairly represented in the Legislature; and he trusted that Parliament, concurring in the views of the people, would adopt this motto, which would be echoed not only throughout England, but throughout the world—"Free trade; the overthrow of monopoly." Free trade for ever." (Great cheering.)

The resolution was then carried, with loud cheers.

Mr. PATTISON, M.P., said the letter which had been read from his noble colleague, Lord J. Russell, afforded a most satisfactory excuse for his absence from their meeting to day. (Hear, hear.) Why his other two colleagues were not here was best known to themselves. (A laugh.) He was not responsible for their acts. (Renewed laughter.) He could only say, that he (Mr. Pattison) trusted he required no instructions from his constituents as to his conduct on this question. (Hear, and cheers.) Since he had the honour of a seat in Parliament he had uniformly supported Mr. Villiers' annual motion for an inquiry on the subject of the Corn Laws. When he (Mr. Pattison) came forward recently, in consequence of the death of his friend, Sir M. Wood, as a candidate for the honour of representing them in Parliament, they were told that he had joined the Anti Corn-Law League. He took that step at a time when he did not contemplate the probability of becoming a candidate for their suffrages; and he gave in his adhesion to the League because he honestly believed the objects it proposed to accomplish would promote the best interests of the country. (Cheers.) They were now placed in a most singular position. Since 1841 the country had been ruled by one of the most powerful Governments that ever presided over the destinies of a nation. They had had fair weather up to a very recent period; but the moment a cloud appeared in the horizon they at once deserted their posts. (Hear, hear.) He would say, "Shame upon them." (Cheers.) And he really felt disgusted at the conduct of men who displayed such a lamentable lack of courage. They had, at present, no government; although it was reported that his noble colleague (Lord J. Russell) had been called to undertake the direction of public affairs. He could only say that if the noble lord did accept office, he (Mr. Pattison) would, to the utmost of his ability, assist him in carrying that great measure to which he had declared his adherence. (Cheers.) They might rest assured that if Lord J. Russell and his Government were supported by the people, no resistance on the part of royal and illustrious dukes, or of Essex and Buckinghamshire farmers, could prevent the repeal of the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) Even the Duke of Wellington, with 100 proxies in his pocket, would be utterly powerless before them. The hon. gentleman, after reiterating the assurance of his readiness at all times to support the repeal of the Corn Laws, concluded by proposing three cheers for

Lord John Russell—a call that was cordially responded to by the meeting.

Mr. WANSEY, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor, expressed his satisfaction at the feeling manifested in favour of a repeal of the Corn Laws by one of the most numerous attended common halls he had witnessed for 30 years. (Hear.) The Lord Mayor had entitled himself to their thanks by calling this hall, in compliance with their request, and thus disregarding his private and individual opinions in the discharge of his public duties. He moved, "That the cordial thanks of this meeting be given to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor for his kindness in calling this meeting, and for his ability and impartiality in presiding." (Cheers.)

Mr. DILLON, in seconding the resolution, eulogised the Lord Mayor, whose conduct, in convening this meeting, had been most manly and honourable.

The Lord Mayor briefly returned thanks, expressing his determination not to allow any party or private feeling to interfere with the discharge of his public duties. (Cheers.)

The meeting then separated.

GREAT OPEN AIR DEMONSTRATION IN THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

This most important meeting took place on Wednesday, before the Court-house at Wakefield, and whether considered as an enormous numerical gathering, or a most decided demonstration of one of the most important counties of England, it was of the most gratifying description. The time of the year was somewhat unfavourable to out-door meetings, but of course it was utterly impossible to find a building spacious enough to accommodate one tithe of the vast assemblage which gathered from all parts to Wakefield. A hustings was accordingly erected before the Court-house, and the large open space before it, as well as the street which stretches away opposite, were crowded long before the commencement of proceedings by a vast throng of people. It was a true Free Trade Monster Meeting, and by far the greatest which has been held at Wakefield since the days of the Reform Bill.

Upon the platform we observed, among hundreds of other influential gentlemen—Sir W. Cook, high sheriff; Lord Stourton, Mr. C. Wood, M.P., W. Aldham, M.P., Mr. Prothero, M.P., Mr. Busfield, M.P., Mr. J. Parker, M.P., Mr. Wrightson, M.P., Messrs. T. Starkie, Huddersfield; J. Marshall, Robert Bentley, Rotherham; T. Bengier, W. Fisher, Edward Smith, Sheffield; Thomas Dunn, the Mayor of Sheffield; T. W. Tottie, Leeds; W. Rand, Bradford; Fred. Shwann, Huddersfield; John Sutcliffe, Huddersfield; Jonathan Ackroyd, Halifax; Rawdon Briggs, H. Stansfeld, and—Lupton, Leeds; R. Milligan, Bradford.

The HIGH SHERIFF presided, and formally opened the business of the meeting by reading the requisition which had been addressed to him, with the advertisement calling the public meeting in pursuance of it. He urged upon the meeting the necessity of giving a fair hearing to all who addressed them—a necessity all the more urgent when they reflected upon the vital importance of the occasion which had drawn them together. (Cheers.)

Mr. FAUKES, of Farnley Hall, one of the most extensive landed proprietors of the county, then addressed the meeting. Before entering upon the business of the meeting I would express my great satisfaction in seeing before me so splendid a proof that the West Riding of Yorkshire has shaken off that four years subservience to an anti-national policy, has risen at last to a right understanding of its mighty interests, and has determined to stand forth in defence of the poor man's cause, and the rights of industry and trade, as in other days it struggled for the civil and religious liberties of the country. (Loud cheers.) But though the front we here assemble be a very good beginning—the acorn to the oak of your resolves—even such a demonstration as this cannot be the "be all and the end all" of your exertions in the cause you advocate. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) What the effects of this Corn Law have been upon trade and manufacturers I leave to others who have felt them, I fear too bitterly; but as to the influence which this law has had on agriculture, I, as a farmer, as a country squire, and as the president of an agricultural society, may be supposed to be able to form some opinion (cheers); and I do not think it fair to take as a criterion such a district as that I live in—a district bordering upon a manufacturing one; and one, too, in which any blow struck to trade is always felt immediately and acutely; but I have lived for two years in a purely agricultural country in the south of England; and I have observed the results of protection there; I have seen there the protected labourer, I have seen what is his condition. I have seen protected land, I know what is its condition. (Hear.) I declare to you that I never saw labourers or land in a more wretched or destitute plight than they are in Devonshire, part of Gloucestershire, the Isle of Wight, much of Devonshire and of Somersetshire. (Hear.) No doubt it is true that agriculture and agriculturists will undergo a great change when protection is taken from them; but what sort of change? (Hear.) When the bread tax ceases, the agriculturist can no longer afford to persist in those slothful, slovenly, wasteful habits, which are the bane of agriculture. (Cheers.) In their pasture lands they will no longer be able to afford to let the lands grow rushes instead of grass (cheers), in their arable lands more weeds than corn. They will not be able to afford to allow their teams to be obstructed, instead of expedited, by a perfectly unnecessary number of horses. They cannot afford, as they can and do now, to allow the essential part of the manure to run to waste, or serve no other purpose than to impede the free current of a farm's drainage. (Cheers.) They will be no longer able to afford to the population which they now rear that leisure which leads to vice, and that neglect which promotes retaliation, but to keep pace with the growth of a population, however scattered, always increasing. The agriculturists will have to divert their now unproductive contributions to the workhouse into the more remunerating channels of adequate wages for skilful work. (Loud cheers.) Now, with these feelings deeply impressed—with these sentiments I ask no more than this, that you will not stand stupidly gazing at each other, and contenting yourselves with inquiring how it is that an intelligent people are not governed by the dictates of what has been pronounced on the highest authority common sense—why the first commercial people of the world are not to be admitted to that privilege which ought to be common to all, of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest?—or why a superior and civilised race of people are not to be permitted the exercise of that degree of forethought granted by nature to the meanest insect under our feet that instinct which prompts them in the time of plenty to lay up a supply against the time of

scarcity? (Loud cheers.) This reminds me, gentlemen, that I have a resolution to propose, and after reading it I shall only have a few more words to say to you. It is to the following effect: "That the present alarming condition of the people, from a defective harvest and the calamitous loss of potatoes, especially in Ireland, the high price of corn of a good quality, the difficulty of obtaining a supply from abroad, arising not only from the dearth that prevails in some countries of Europe, but also from the operation of the sliding scale of duties, by which the inferior quality of the new wheat, depressing the legal average price, becomes the means of increasing the restrictions on the importation of foreign corn; and the severe distress which must be thus entailed on the labouring classes, demand the earnest and early attention of the legislature." Now, gentlemen, we owe, I think, our sanction to this resolution as a duty to our Sovereign. We owe it also to one who, at the hour of his country's need, has made more sacrifices than any other statesman of modern times. (Cheers.) This resolution will also furnish Sir Robert Peel and those who acted so nobly with him, the fullest apology for the inconsistency in which his public spirited conduct must inevitably involve him, and will also enable him to lay the credit of a perfect concession to public opinion, by the total, immediate, and unconditional abandonment of the Corn Laws, to his having been taught by a Power which no mortal can withstand, that these laws are too vicious in character, and too mischievous in tendency for any statesman, however powerful in Parliament, or influential without, to venture with credit to himself, or safety to the country, any longer to support. (Loud cheers for some time.)

JAMES MARSHALL, Esq., of Leeds, came forward amid loud cheers to second the resolution. Let us weigh well the motives that urge us to exertion. You are on the one hand threatened with scarcity and famine; on the other hand, if we exert ourselves, we have the prospect of securing now and for ever the triumph of the freedom of industry. (Hear.) We are threatened, I say, with scarcity and famine. Let us weigh for a moment the miseries conveyed by these words. We are not speaking of the awful dispensation of pestilence, or of the scourge of war, or of civil war, the most cruel part of that curse (as the Duke of Wellington has told us.) It is now high time that the people of England should tell that duke and those who support him in the hard denial of our claims, that not pestilence, nor war, nor civil war, in all its horrors, creates more wide-spread and heart-sickening misery than the slow death of long years of scarcity and famine. (Loud and continued cheering.) Let us welcome with all due honour the accession to the cause of Free Trade of the experienced and leading statesmen of the Liberal and Conservative party. It is to the mighty power of truth so nobly and ably advocated by Mr. Cobden and his associates (loud and vehement cheering)—it is to the complete understanding of this great question which these gentlemen have effected, that we are indebted for such an accession to our numbers. But a great work yet remains for us to do. Our opponents, though their dual wisdom does not shine very brightly (a laugh), are a vast and heavy body. That vast and heavy body must be moved, and their position overcome by the instantaneous, vigorous, and determined expression of the will of the people of this country—that they will be no longer satisfied either with a sliding scale or a fixed duty (Cries of Yes.) That result is your undeniable birth-right, and that you must have. We have, on the one hand, to urge us to instant exertion, motives as strong as life and death. Let us turn to another and a pleasanter side of the picture. We ask for Free Trade, especially in bread, the staff of life. We ask that there should be no shackles on industry, and that the whole land should be filled with an abundance of food. (Cheers.) If you would address a man starving with hunger on the national happiness and individual improvement, you would but add insult to his misery. But give him cheap food in exchange for his labour, and immediately his surplus fund will be exchanged for other things. We shall see how, step by step, he will proceed to ascend in society's scale. First, he will cover himself and family with warm and comfortable clothing, and thus give comfort and employment to those who make that clothing. Next, he will leave that cold cellar in which he has been living, for a clean cottage, its clock behind the door, its crockery on the shelves, and, best of all, the Bible on the table. He would be in a position to send his children to school, and he himself able to join a friendly society or mechanics' institute. He will improve and cultivate his mind and house, and feel himself a man. (Cheers.) He will then, most probably, aspire to become the owner of the freehold of his cottage, and enroll himself a full citizen of a free and powerful state. (Cheers.) Is that, then, an exaggerated picture? Have we any such men? Yes, thousands. Without them what would England be? They are the very life-blood of the community. And why should the natural course of God's providence, intended plainly for the reward of the industry of man, be cruelly interfered with? We have been told that one of the consequences of Free Trade in this, the richest, one of the most populous and industrious countries in the world, and to which every foreign supply of corn must be brought, at a distance of thousands of miles, and at a great expense, will be to make food here too cheap. We are told sometimes of Poland. God help the blundering brains of the bewildered men who talk thus. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) If we go to Poland, let us see if that country, like ours, is filled with the most industrious and skilful workmen. Let us see if it is covered with railways and canals, and that every sea that surrounds it is covered with ships; that that country is, in fact, one great hive of industry. Let them say this, and then draw their logical conclusion between this country and Poland. (Cheers.) I say the attempt to interfere in the great social arrangement of God's providence, by which the surplus of one country and one year is intended as the natural guarantee against famine in every country and in every year—I say the attempt to interfere in these matters, is an impious folly, as great as though we should attempt to regulate the seasons at our pleasure, and command, at our will, the sun to shine, or the rain to fall over the earth. (Cheers.) Let us, then, all unite, and devote heart and hand to the settling of this last great struggle. Let us approach it after the manner of Englishmen, not rashly and inconsiderately; but having well considered our cause, and measured the difficulty we have to encounter, let us go forward with calm determination to dare and to do all that is necessary to command success. (Loud and continued cheers.)

C. WOOD, Esq., M.P., then came forward amid loud cheers. I am about to call on you to express your opinion that not the Corn Laws merely, but that all laws that tend to enhance the price of food, are impolitic. I hope the West Riding will tell whatever Government is formed that it is their opinion the Corn Laws ought to be abolished. (Cheers.)

I suppose I must give some reason for so doing, although I confess that, after what you have so often heard upon the subject, you could easily dispense with my so doing. We have been told that the principles of Free Trade are the principles of common sense; and told that, upon an authority no less than the recognised organ of the Government; and we have to look to our opponents if we require to hear what may be said in the attempt to rebut the principles of common sense. (Hear.) What can be more clear than the principle of free commercial intercourse? Suppose, for example, that the meeting now before me was divided by an imaginary line, and that upon one side of that line were stationed half the number present, that half having abundance of corn but not more than half-clothed, and the other half of the meeting in possession of a large quantity of cloth, but with an insufficient supply of corn—I believe that in such a case even the president of the Protection Society himself would not defend such a monstrous proposition as preventing an interchange of cloth and corn between the two portions of the meeting, by which the abundance of one division might be given to supply the scantiness of another. (Laughter.) You naturally laugh at the very mention of such an absurd proposition; but let me ask what is the practical difference between an imaginary line—between two portions of this meeting and a boundary caused by the sea? Will any one say that it would not be as absurd to prevent us from giving from the abundance of our manufactured goods a portion of those goods for corn to the inhabitants of those countries which produced so much corn as to afford them more than they could consume, whilst they were in great want of our manufactured goods, and desirous to obtain a supply of them? There are numbers in this country, and those numbers are increasing, who look with horror upon the consequences which war produces, and I would ask, what could be so well calculated to prevent a recurrence of the horrors of war as a perfect and unrestricted mutual intercourse amongst nations? Nothing could more directly tend to put an end to bloodshed, and all its evils, than a constant intercourse between nations (hear, hear), for there is a great difference as regards the tendency to go to war when the nation which is affected is one with which we have little to do, as compared to a nation with which we are in constant and daily intercourse. (Hear, hear.) Can it be of small importance to the labouring man that he is obliged to expend more of his wages than ordinary in the purchase of bread for his family? It might happen that his income would be so small as to render his condition the very opposite of that which was described by my friend Mr. Marshall, and that he could afford to expend a comparatively small sum, in certain particulars, by giving his children a more cheap and deficient education, or by giving them less clothing, in consequence of lower wages; and it is quite clear, that any course which obliges him to give a higher price than usual for his food, lessens his capacity to discharge with success those other duties to his family. (Hear, hear.) It is therefore of the greatest advantage to the labourer to have the price of corn low, but it is also an equal advantage to the manufacturing interest, for the home market is materially affected by the amount of money which the working men are obliged to pay for food. When the working people are obliged to expend a more than usual sum in the purchase of food, they are the less capable of purchasing clothes and other articles, and thus the demand for manufactured produce becomes less in the home market. (Hear, hear.) In consequence of this diminished demand, the manufacturers sell less of their produce—numbers of their workmen are discharged, and thus the incomes of the working people are diminished at the very time when the food of the people is most high in price. (Hear, hear.) The labourer thus receives less money when his food is dearest. We have had a prosperous period in the country for some time back, but I am afraid that we may be near a turn, and I fear that the condition of the manufacturing districts, both as regards the demands for manufactures and the condition of the labourers, is not what it was, whilst the price of wheat greatly exceeds what it was twelve months ago, by about ten or twelve shillings a quarter. It is quite clear that the labouring population of the country must suffer by the price of their food being raised so much above the price at which it was at this time last year, whilst their means of purchasing corn are so much less. (Hear, hear.) Every one who is acquainted with the condition of the country knows the state in which some of the towns in the manufacturing districts were a few years ago. (Hear, hear.) You all remember the condition in which Stockport and Paisley were at that time, in a condition in which perhaps nearly all the West Riding participated to a greater or lesser degree. (Hear, hear.) There were fearful scenes witnessed at that time (hear, hear)—scenes which I hope we shall never again witness (hear, hear), for I hope we shall not at any future period see all the evils of manufacturing distress and want of employment aggravated by an accompanying high price of food. (Hear, hear.) I am myself an agriculturist, and nothing but an agriculturist, and I believe that my interest is bound up with yours; for I feel that nothing so much increases the demand for the articles which we sell as an increase of your means of purchasing those articles. (Cheers.) But if an additional price of food were calculated to give us comforts and luxuries, and that a reduction in the price of the food of the people would diminish those comforts and luxuries, I for one, and I am sure all the gentry of England would be ashamed of maintaining any comfort or luxury by such means. (Loud cheers.) It is only persons who are altogether ignorant of the effects of the Corn Laws who could think of putting forward the argument which is founded on the assumption of separate interests; but I am glad to be able to state that we see some of the most influential men in the country coming forward to show that they hold no opinions in common on this subject with those who are thus ignorant of the effect of the Corn Laws. (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

Mr. RAND, of Bradford, seconded the resolution. He said that it was unnecessary for him to allude at any length to the intelligence, the wealth, the industry, and the influence which was represented at that meeting of the West Riding of Yorkshire. (Hear, hear.) He need not point out to them the magnitude of the commercial enterprise and skill which were displayed in that district, and which made it one of the most important portions of the United Kingdom. (Hear, hear.) In no other portion of the Queen's dominions could there be found a more intelligent, moral, and religious population than in the West Riding of Yorkshire; and the expression of their opinion from such a body of men as compose its inhabitants, must have, as it always has had, the greatest influence upon the legislation of the country. The West Riding is a district which has always been looked upon as of the greatest importance (hear, hear), a fact which was borne out by the observation of

George III., that Yorkshire governed England. The unanimity which prevailed on this important subject in such a district of the West Riding must necessarily be of the greatest importance. (Cheers.) He had the pleasure of attending a meeting at Bradford on last Monday—it was a meeting convened by the proper authority, and attended by at least 2000 persons, and all of these came to an unanimous vote in favour of the abolition of the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) That was, in his opinion, a striking example of the influence of these principles in a town like Bradford, which was formerly the head-quarters of Conservatism. (Cheers.) He, Mr. Rand, had given much consideration to the subject, and all his experience and observation had gone to convince him that the Corn Laws were an unmitigated evil. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) He had not been always of that opinion; and he was willing to give credit to some of those who were their supporters and advocates of a desire to serve their country by their introduction (hear, hear); but experience had taught him that those who formed that opinion as to the effect of the Corn Laws were in error. (Hear, hear.) He would ask any country gentleman who was an advocate for these laws, why it was that he was desirous to maintain them? The answer of those who advocated the Corn Laws was, that those whose property was in land had exclusive burdens to bear; and the opponents of the Corn Laws, willing to test the accuracy of such an argument, had frequently expressed a desire for a Parliamentary committee, in order to ascertain what those exclusive burdens were; but the friends of protection would not agree to the appointment of a committee. They would not agree to such an inquiry; they shrunk from investigation. He had been told that we should be rendered by the Corn Laws independent of foreign supply; but that was an argument which would not have much weight in such a district as the West Riding of Yorkshire. (Hear, hear.) Suppose the inhabitants of the West Riding were told that they were made independent of supply from the agricultural districts of all countries, they would very soon find trade worse, and manufactures so much depressed, that they would desire to emigrate to some portion of the globe where no such law existed. It was said that the lands in England would go out of cultivation. That was an argument which had been also used with respect to wool, when five or six years ago it was proposed to reduce the duty on foreign wool from 6d. to 1d. It was then said that the wool growing in this country would cease if that law were carried into effect; but the law was carried into effect, and the wool growing of this country had increased, whilst the price of British wool had not diminished. The same argument had been used when Sir R. Peel proposed to make an alteration in the Tariff. It was prophesied that if a foreign bull were let into this country, the price of meat would fall to 4d. per lb., and the farmers were afraid lest that result should follow, but they had recovered from their fears, for the price of meat had not fallen. (Hear, hear.) Those arguments against the abolition of the law were not well founded, and they afforded no reason for maintaining a law which was most injurious in its effects on the commerce of the country, and which had the effect of making the food of the people scarce, whilst it diminished their means of obtaining it. The effect of this was obvious, for when the working people had less to expend in food, they were enabled to expend less in manufactures, and this acting as a depressing cause on the manufacturing interest, less work people would be employed by the manufacturers. It was a painful course for the manufacturers to adopt to discharge workmen when the demand for their produce became less; but they had no other course left at such periods of distress, in order to establish the proper proportion between supply and demand. The effect of a deficient supply of food was clear and palpable upon the state of the country—it was a cause which affected every man, woman, and child in the country—it was a cause, the operation of which could be distinctly traced upon the condition of the industry and commerce of the country; and from all their experience the deduction was clear that abundance produced prosperity, and that whatever law interfered with abundance interfered with prosperity. (Cheers.) He did not dwell on the responsibility of those who refused to accede to this measure of justice and humanity; but this he would say, that the man who stood between a people's famine and that people's food, stood in a situation which he did not think that any who there heard him would envy. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) Let the upholders of this iniquitous law declare that it should stand—an authority greater than theirs had decreed that it should fall (loud cheers)—an authority to which all others must consent to submit—the authority of public opinion. (Loud cheers.) No institution and no order could exist one moment after its continuance had ceased to coincide with public opinion. (Cheers.) Let those who opposed the demolition of the bread tax think of that. They had a great work before them to accomplish (hear, hear), but he had not the slightest fear for the result. (Cheers.) He had no doubt but that freedom of trade was destined to wave her banner over the grave of monopoly. (Loud cheers.) Now, in the engaging in this great work which lay before them, they were called upon to undertake and conscientiously to fulfil very grave and very solemn duties, and one of those duties was the total abandonment of all party spirit. (Hear, hear.) Without that they would do nothing; but with that aid which the blessing of a free press and free institutions conferred upon them, there was nothing which the people of England could not achieve, supposing it to be based upon the principles of justice and truth. (Cheers.) To give them a proof that he was willing to lay aside all party spirit, all party claims, he would have to tell them but one fact. Where he resided, and where he employed more than two thousand hands, he had always been regarded, and certainly he had always been what was termed a Conservative—an appellation the exact meaning of which by the way, he did not pretend to understand. (Loud laughter and cheering.) Well, there was a noble lord connected with the county of York—a noble lord who was an honour to the county, and to his order, and his country (hear, hear); a noble lord who had announced himself a total repealer—he meant Lord Morpeth. (Tremendous cheering.) He was glad to hear the heartiness of that greeting. Well, should Lord Morpeth, whose politics were known to them all, again stand for the West Riding, as he hoped, he would, he would support him, and not only support him by his individual vote, but canvass to obtain others. (Long continued cheering.) The honourable gentleman concluded by seconding the resolution.

The HIGH SHERIFF then put it, and it was carried amid deafening cheering, without a dissentient voice or hand.

The weather, which had been cold and cloudy all the morning, became still worse at this stage of the proceedings; rain began to fall, and the inclemency of the afternoon produced its natural effect of, in a considerable degree,

shortening the latter part of the business. Notwithstanding the rain, however, few or none of the crowd left the place of meeting.

Mr. WRIGHTSON, M.P., for Northallerton, then proceeded to move the next resolution. The country had, in his opinion, too long suffered from an unjust and impolitic Corn Law, while the system of tampering with the food of the people had been carried to a most extravagant length. The constant tinkering of the means whereby they got their bread was not only most injurious and most iniquitous, but it was also certainly ridiculous. (Hear, and cheers.) During the time allotted for man's life—during the last three score and ten years, they had suffered under no less than seven systems—distinct systems of corn duties. (Hear, hear.) Of these there was but one which had any worth, and it was a system which happened to be connected with that country. The first of the seven having been brought in and laid on the table of the house by Sir George Saville, then the member for Yorkshire. The honourable gentleman then entered into an elaborate history of the Corn Laws, comparing Sir George Saville's law with the present system, demonstrating the defects of the latter, under which it was our misfortune, or, as he would prefer saying, our fault, to live. Under the enactment of 1815, the corn trade was no trade, but to all intents and purposes a gambling speculation, just as much as was a race at Newmarket, or a throw with the dice in one of the hells of St. James's-street. (Cheers.) But if the business of the merchant was impeded in this way, what must be the condition of those workmen who laboured for the manufacturer who supplied the merchant? With the exception of the workman for the foreign trade, all of them must suffer. (Hear, hear.) The truth of it was, that it was not the ministers of state who were to blame for this condition of matters—it was that power behind Government which controlled Government itself. (Hear.) Both Pitt and Lord Grenville would have restored things to their proper state if they could. Canning attempted it, but failed. Huskisson did all he could, standing up before the monopolists and telling them to their faces that, between 1815 and 1826, they had shut their ears and their eyes to the distresses of their fellow-countrymen. (Hear.) Then, four years ago, Lord J. Russell wished to have given us a Free Trade, subject only to a duty which, whatever might have been its disadvantages, would have made that a trade, and a steady trade, which was only gambling before, and was likewise only gambling now—and finally it was only the other day that the strong Government of Sir R. Peel was broken up in consequence of his liberal views on the question. (Cheers.) Now, under these circumstances, and an enlarged review of the whole case, he would ask any conscientious advocate of the Corn Laws how it was they did not see that a large importation of foreign grain would take place and be paid for by the industry of the people, without interfering in the slightest degree with the culture of the soil. (Hear.) The resolution which he would propose was, "That the demands of the population, and the growing severity of the times, rendered the repeal of the Corn Laws essential to the interests, if not to the peace and safety of the kingdom."

Mr. BLEATHAM seconded the resolution. He was not going into any argument on the Corn Laws. But when he reflected on the degree of protection which some agriculturists demanded, he could not help thinking that they were like antiquated nursery-maids, who continued their attentions to their young master long after he was old enough to take care of himself. (Hear, and laughter.) He asked that assembly whether agriculture was not old enough to take care of itself? (Cries of "Yes, yes.") Their opponents maintained it was but in its infancy; and the old lady who had charge of it had great apprehensions that some *Blue Beard* from the Dardanelles, or *Brother Jonathan* from the United States should kidnap her darling. (Laughter.) There was another young gentleman, the twin brother to agriculture, who was the cause of the greatest uneasiness to his guardian. It was commerce, who said that he was able to take care of himself—"Oh!" sighed the old lady, who would restrain his spirit, "he is so enterprising that he wishes to cross every sea in his boat: he will buy corn from the red man, the black man, or the yellow man; and I fear if he once sets out we shall never see him again; but what he is most particular about are his meals, and the quantity and quality of his food—a thing the more to be wondered at, as he knows that I can only afford him the produce of his brother's kitchen garden." (Renewed laughter.) If there were not great evils attending the system we could not treat the arguments in defence of it with common gravity. Of all times the present was the best to do away with this law. The scarcity abroad and at home, and the threatened famine in Ireland; the voice of the great workshops in this country, cried aloud for the abolition of the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. W. MILNER said he had a resolution to propose, the effect of which was that they should pray her Majesty to advise the free importation of corn. The failure of the potato crop, and the insufficient yield of wheat, produced a state of things which called forcibly on the manufacturing and agricultural interests to come forward and exert themselves to afford timely supplies to those who might otherwise starve in thousands. It was a boon which the people deserved, and which would be peculiarly acceptable to them at this crisis. Mr. Milner concluded by proposing a resolution to the effect, that the meeting had the fullest confidence in her Majesty's desire to secure the welfare of her subjects, and praying her Majesty to call Parliament together speedily, and direct its attention to the total and immediate removal of all restrictions on the importation of foreign corn, and that in the meantime her Majesty might be graciously pleased to direct that measures should be taken to secure an adequate supply of food for the people of the United Kingdom.

Mr. DUNN, of Sheffield, seconded the resolution, which was passed unanimously.

A vote of thanks was then passed to the High Sheriff, after which the meeting separated.

KENDAL.

A meeting of the Council was held on Tuesday last. Present—The Mayor, Cornelius Nicolson, Esq.; Aldermen Bindloss, Machell, Whinery; Councillors C. L. Braithwaite, Busher, Compston, I. Edmonston, John Fisher, jun., Harrison, Jackson, Mashiter, Parker, Raine, Scott, J. Thompson, jun., and John Wilson, Town View. The Mayor in opening the proceedings read a memorial praying for the opening of the ports, and the abolition of the Corn Laws.—The memorial was adopted amid loud cheers.

PONTEFRAC.

A memorial is at present in course of signature by the inhabitants of Pontefract, to Sir Robert Peel, expressive of their opinion that Parliament should be called together at the earliest possible period, and that some effectual measures

ought immediately to be adopted for the purpose of securing the population of this country against the evils of a deficient supply of food.

KEIGHLEY.

A public meeting was held in the hall of the Mechanics' Institution, on Tuesday evening last, at which a memorial was adopted to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, Bart. M.P., praying her Majesty's Ministers immediately to assemble Parliament, that legislative measures may be passed for the abolition of all monopolies. The hall of the institution was crowded to its very utmost powers of accommodation, and many manufacturers and gentlemen of influence were upon the platform or attended the meeting, amongst whom were Samuel B. Clapham, Esq., of Airworth House; John Butterfield and Frederick Butterfield, Esqrs.; William Lund Esq.; T. B. Laycock, Esq.; J. Briggs, Esq., of Guard House; J. Town, Esq., of Mansion House; and many others. John Town, Esq., took the chair, and after a few pertinent remarks on the subject which called the vast assemblage together, spirit-stirring addresses on the evils of the protective system were made. After the adoption of the memorial, and a vote of thanks to the chairman had been carried, the meeting gave three hearty cheers for Free Trade, and then separated.

OTLEY.

A public meeting was held in the Court House, Otley, on Wednesday evening, in pursuance of a requisition signed by some of the most influential inhabitants, for the purpose of considering the propriety of memorialising the Government upon the immediate and absolute necessity of advising her Majesty to issue an Order in Council for the free importation of all kinds of grain. About eight o'clock a great number of persons had assembled; and we noticed on the platform W. Ackroyd, Esq., P. Garnett, Esq., Thos. Constable, Esq., Wm. Ackroyd, Esq., having been voted to the chair, read the requisition calling the meeting, and stated that the constable probably refused to call the meeting on account of his never having known want. P. Garnett, Esq., moved the first resolution. Mr. Ferguson seconded the resolution, which, as well as the others, was carried unanimously. Mr. M'Landsbro moved the next resolution. Mr. W. Walker proposed the adoption of the memorial to Sir Robert Peel. Thomas Constable, Esq., seconded the adoption of the memorial, and stated that he would have been glad if Mr. Shaw, the constable, or any representative of the agricultural interest, had attended, to state on what grounds they relied for protection. The cordial thanks of the meeting were voted to the chairman.

PLYMOUTH.

A highly respectable and most important town meeting was held in the Guildhall, Plymouth, at noon, on Friday, pursuant to public notice, to take into consideration the present state of the nation. The news of the dissolution of the Conservative ministry—the protective ministry—having arrived in the morning papers last night, and having been confirmed by the evening papers which arrived this morning, the feelings of anxiety and of interest in the progress of repeal, and of public affairs generally, were intense. The streets were sprinkled with knots of people discussing the event. Report was rife that Sir Robert Peel had quarrelled with the Iron Duke, who had grown irascible through having had the question of the Corn Laws so much thrust upon him of late. Some talked of a coalition ministry for the purpose of carrying Free Trade; and while they deprecated such an event, they gladly welcomed the present juncture, inasmuch as it is calculated to settle the movement in a way that must be satisfactory to the Free Trader.

Among the gentlemen present who took a part at this deeply interesting crisis was our old and highly-esteemed friend and late representative, Mr. Collier, who brought with him a valuable letter from his late colleague, Viscount Ebrington was also present, as was also our excellent representative, Mr. Gill, who came down from town yesterday, by express train, to attend this meeting.

JOHN COLLIER, Esq., begged to move that the mayor be requested to take the chair.

THOMAS CATER, Esq., seconded the motion, which was received with loud cheering.

The MAYOR then introduced the business by stating that a requisition, most respectfully signed by 1010 inhabitants of the borough, had been presented to him, and he had convened the meeting as a matter of duty in compliance with that requisition. The meeting was addressed at great length in a series of most able and spirited speeches by Mr. Collier, the late representative of Plymouth; G. W. Soltan, Esq., of Efford Lodge; John Bayly, Esq.; Admiral Phillips; T. Gill, Esq., M.P.; Lord Ebrington, M.P.; Isaac Nichols, Esq.; and the Rev. W. J. Odgers. The resolutions were carried unanimously, and the meeting was a most enthusiastic one.

GLASGOW.

On Thursday night, about 8 o'clock, one of the largest and most important public meetings ever held in Glasgow took place in the City Hall, "for the purpose of considering the propriety of petitioning Parliament to repeal the Corn and Provision Laws, and memorialising Sir Robert Peel to take immediate measures for obtaining an Order in Council for opening the ports for the admission of grain and other provisions free of duty." The hall on the occasion was filled in every part, and the proceedings throughout were of the most enthusiastic and cheering description. It is supposed that there were not less than 4000 to 5000 persons present. The meeting was called by the Lord Provost, in compliance with a requisition numerously signed by respectable merchants and other inhabitants. On the hustings we observed the members for the city, Messrs. James Oswald and John Dennistoun, the Lord Provost, Bailie Anderson, Bailie Whitehead, Bailie Brodie, Bailie McKinlay, and Bailie Stewart, Professor William Thompson, of the University of Glasgow, the Rev. Dr. McFarlane, of Erskine church, &c. &c. On the committee and requisitionists making their appearance on the platform, they were greeted with loud cheering.

Mr. ALEXANDER GRAHAM in a few complimentary remarks, moved that the Lord Provost take the chair, which was carried by acclamation.

The Lord Provost opened the proceedings in an excellent speech, and was followed by the Rev. D. King, Mr. Oswald, M.P., for Glasgow, Walter Buchanan, Esq., Mr. Dennistoun, M.P., Professor Wm. Thompson, of Glasgow College, Bailie Anderson, Mr. S. Higginbotham, and Mr. John Tennant. We cannot do justice to this most important meeting by affording any adequate space for a fair report of the very able speeches that were made by the above-named gentlemen. We must content ourselves with a mere record of the facts, and with congratulating the Free Traders of Glasgow on the powerful demonstration they have made in support of the great national movement against monopoly.

REPEAL OF THE COIN LAWS.—A Borough of LAMBETH Meeting will be held at the Horns Tavern, Kennington, on Tuesday Evening, 30th December.—The Members for the Borough will attend. The Committee will meet at the Elephant and Castle on Tuesday, the 23d inst., at Seven o'clock in the evening.

J. DONKIN, C.E., } Secretaries.
J. A. LYON, }

TO PRINTERS, NEWSPAPER PROPRIETORS,
&c.—New Perfecting Machines, of from 30 in. to 56 in. Cylinders, at J. GADSBY'S, Whitefriars Printing Office, Bouverie street, Fleet-street.—MACHINING done at low charges, and in the best style. BOOK-WORK, and Railway and other Printing, expeditiously executed. All new Type.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LEAGUE FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Dec. 10, 1845.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

Neild, William, Manchester	£100 0 0
Price, David, Union Club, Manchester, and Reform Club, London	10 10 0
*Robinson, George, Cannon-street, Manchester	2 2 0
*Atherton, Edward, Newall's-buildings, ditto	2 0 0
Owen, Miss, Breminning, Chesterfield	2 0 0
*Bass, Abraham, Burton-on-Trent	2 0 0
*Thomas, D., draper, Oswestry	2 0 0
*Macfarlane, John F., 17, North Bridge, Edinburgh	1 1 0
*Woolley, James, 69, Market-street, Manchester	1 1 0
*McKie, John, 5, Riga-street, ditto	1 1 0
*Pate, Whitaker, Parsonage, ditto	1 1 0
*Grimshaw, Chris., Sussex-street, ditto	1 1 0
*Ryder, John, Bradford-street, ditto	1 1 0
*Miller, David, Wood-street, Greenheys, ditto	1 1 0
*Wilson, G. and R., 31, Church-street, ditto	1 1 0
*Winterbotham, A., at H. Bannerman and Sons, York-street, Manchester	1 1 0
*Ormerod, J. S., Strawberry Hill, Pondleton, Manchester	1 1 0
*Lockett, W., Richmond Hill, Salford	1 1 0
*Sugden, Robert, 6, Broad-street, Manchester	1 1 0
*Townley, John, ditto	1 1 0
*Hunley, Wm., 434, Oldham-road, ditto	1 1 0
*Aspell, Robert, 432, ditto	1 1 0
*Winstanley, D., Argyle street, ditto	1 1 0
*Woodcock, Mrs., 61, Duke-street, Hulme, ditto	1 1 0
*Lawson, John, 70, King-street, ditto	1 1 0
*Davenport, H., 17, Welcomb-st., Hulme, ditto	1 1 0
*Bowker, Joseph, 3, Bailey's-court, ditto	1 1 0
*Duncan, R., 4, St. John's-place, Broughton, ditto	1 1 0
*Rigby, Thos., 33, North-street, Cheetham, ditto	1 1 0
*Bryden, J., 10, Byrom-street, ditto	1 1 0
*Lord, R., 58, Walmer-street, Hulme, ditto	1 1 0
*Jones, John, 43, Dale-street, ditto	1 1 0
*Mavor, R., 34, Booth-street, Mosley-street, ditto	1 1 0
*Dalrymple, P., 23, Dale-street, ditto	1 1 0
*Barrow, Corbyn, 1, Hill Side, Lancaster	1 1 0
*Jones, George, John's Town, Ystrad, Carmarthen	1 1 0
*Booth, Thomas, Rochdale	1 1 0
*Acton, William, Wigan	1 1 0
*Waddington, Robert, Black Horse, ditto	1 1 0
*Wall, Thomas, bookseller, ditto	1 1 0
*Straker, George, West-street, Gateshead	1 1 0
*Sharp, Isaac, Darlington	1 1 0
*Woodfenden, Thomas, Royston, near Oldham	1 1 0
"Penny Tribute" to Free Trade by Workmen at London near Swansea	0 10 0
Lee, Thomas, Chobwell, near Manchester	0 5 0
Gray, Wm., 39, Gray street, Ancoats, ditto	2 6 0
*Bell, Joseph W., 72, Bootle-lane	1 1 0
*Roberts, Jonathan, 8, Mill-street	1 1 0
*Nicholson, Mary J., 153, Richmond-rd	1 1 0
*W. A. H.	1 1 0
*McCrum, John, 70, Bootle-lane	1 1 0
"For the interment of the Corn Laws"	1 1 0
*Stanfield, Abraham Robert, Great Crosby, near	1 1 0
*J. H.	1 1 0
*Hutchinson, Henry, 13, Summer Gardens, Kirkdale	1 1 0
Breyer, L. F., 36, Spikefield Cottages, Wavertree-road	1 1 0
Gladstone, Ebenezer, 67, Islington	1 1 0
*Ekins, Admiral Sir Charles, 69, Cadogan-place	50 0 0
*Moses, Isaac, 154, Minories	5 0 0
*Ellis, Wm., Champion Hill	5 0 0
Bertram and Harvey, Holborn Hill	5 0 0
A Free Trader	2 2 0
*Gardner, H. W. & P., St. John's-street, Clerkenwell	2 2 0
*Young, J. Col., Ailsa Villas, Twickenham	2 0 0
*Wood, Samuel, 8, Hamilton-place, Brixton-road	1 1 0
*Mitchell, Richard, 94, Oxford-street	1 1 0
*Harrison, R. Tarrent, 2, Pump-court, Temple	1 1 0
*Tweedale, R. L., 56, Wood-street	1 1 0
Smith, Samuel, 1, High Holborn	1 1 0
*Lauder, R. S., 35, Upper Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-sq.	1 1 0
*Ferguson Daniel, 21, Giltspur-street	1 1 0
Johnstone, J. C., Bolton-street	1 1 0
Browne, Edmund, 157, New Bond-street	1 1 0
Fotherby, Charles, 54, Poland-street, Oxford-street	1 1 0
*Fooks, Henry Marshall, 3, Staple Inn, Holborn	1 1 0
*Swinstead, Charles, 15, Ludgate-hill	1 1 0
*Holmes, Wm., Alton	1 1 0
*Taylor, W. G., 11, Brunswick-street, Leamington	1 1 0
*Reed, Nicholas C., Fawcett-street, Sunderland	1 1 0
*Walker, James Robertson, Gilgarrow, Whitehaven	1 1 0
*Eaglesham, R. & S., Paisley	1 1 0
Fordham, Richard, East Peckham, Kent	1 1 0
*Hymers, James, Gateshead	1 1 0
*Cundell, J., Shalbourne, Hungerford	1 1 0
*Thicknesse, Mr., Beech Hill, Wigan	1 1 0
*Peavey, James, Fisherton, Salisbury	1 1 0
*Rice, Wm., Newport, Isle of Wight	1 1 0
*Armistead, E., Rectory, near Huddersfield	1 1 0
*Bram, Thomas, Park-lane, Leeds	1 1 0
*Black, Thomas, Ford Forge, near Coldstream	1 1 0
*Whyte, Mrs. Isabella, Holy Island	1 1 0
*Gatchell, Henry, Waterford	1 1 0
*Criswell, Henry, Huddersfield	1 1 0
*Scorer, John, Norfolk-street, Sunderland	1 1 0
*Johnston, Joseph, Gomersal, near Leeds	1 1 0
*Worsell, Thomas, 88, London-road, Brighton	1 1 0
*Farnell, R. W., Salisbury	1 1 0
*Coleman, John, Manor Farm, Effingham, Surrey	1 1 0
*Coleman, George, ditto ditto	1 1 0
*Harbord, John, 126, Bunhill-row	1 1 0
*Amies, Edward, 57, New Church-street, Paddington	1 1 0
*Haigh, John, 29, Park-place, Mile End-road	1 1 0
*Stone, Mr., 20, Chiswell-street, Finsbury	1 1 0
*Barron, W., 56, Aldermansbury, per James Pike	1 1 0
*Everett, Ebenezer, Lamb-ale, Bermondsey	1 1 0
*Brettell, Thomas, 25, Rupert-street, Haymarket	1 1 0
*Cooper, Francis, 17, Clapton-square, Hackney	1 1 0
*Wild, R., 15, Houndsditch	1 1 0
*Snow, W. E., Tredgar-square, Mile End	1 1 0
*Perival, Joseph, Green-street, Blackfriars-road	1 1 0
*Noble, Frederick, 8, Ouslow-place, Brompton	1 1 0

*Hutchinson, Henry Arthur, jun., 19, Little Pulteney-street, Golden-square	1 0 0
*Dowling, Thomas, 24, Pantton-street, Haymarket	1 0 0
*Runtz, John, 3, Dalston-road, Kingsland	1 0 0
*Bowman, David, 118, Wardour-street, Soho	1 0 0
*Ridge, George, 17, Wharton-street, Lloyd-square	1 0 0
*Johnson, Henry Wm., Green-terrace, Gloucester-street, Clerkenwell	1 0 0
*Smith, W., 113, Fleet-street	1 0 0
*Robertson, John, 115, Piccadilly	1 0 0
Folkard, A. L., 1, Upton-place, Commercial-road East	1 0 0
Newman, Charles, City Arms, Mill Wall, Poplar	1 0 0
Edgar, John, Stone House, Forrest-row, Dalston	1 0 0
*Beale, W. E., 12, Bolingbroke-row, Walworth	1 0 0
*Seamer, Mr., 5, Milk-st., Cheap-side	1 1 0
*Clarke, Mr. Claremont Cottage, Stoke Newington	1 0 0
*Dalton, J. ditto	1 0 0
*Drake, Mr., Down Cottage, Rectory-road, Shacklewell	1 0 0
*Rathbone, Wm., Kingsland	1 0 0
*Battley, J., ditto	1 0 0
*Crossley, Mr. Kingsland Green	1 0 0
*Sutton, G., Dalston	1 0 0
*Matson, J., Matson-terrace, Kingsland-road, West Hackney	1 0 0
*Wilden, Charles, 35, Cumming-street, Pentonville	1 0 0
*Dunn, G., Robinson-row, Kingsland	1 0 0
*Poulton, C., Shacklewell-lane	1 0 0
Engishish, Mr., Stoke Newington	0 5 0
Hughes, W. N., 4, Castle-street, Falcon-square	0 5 0
Hammon, James, 9, Northampton-square	0 5 0
Lickfold, W. E., 13, Fox-lane, Shadwell	0 2 6
Banbury, T. S., 35, Union-street, Somers Town	0 2 6
Miller, J., 49, Whittebury-street, Euston-square	0 2 6
Mingles, J., 20, Great Wild-street, Lincoln's Inn	0 2 6
Dunain, James, 32, Ashley Crescent, City Road	0 2 6
Sands, James, 3, Ratcliffe-terrace, Goswell-road	0 2 6
Johnson, Charles, 4, Palace-row, New-road	0 2 6
A Friend	0 2 6
Dennis, Wm., King's-road, Chelsea	0 2 6
*Dickinson, James	1 0 0
*Priestley, Edmund	1 0 0
*Wilde, James, Winding-road	1 0 0
*Morton, E. J.	1 0 0
*Marshall, H., Claypath	1 0 0
*Hutchinson, Wm., 78, Sailer-street	1 0 0
*Holmes, Joseph, Elvet Bridge	1 0 0
*Bardon, George, Claypath	1 0 0
*Blivh, Henry	2 0 0
*Sharp, John	1 0 0
*Patterson, James, of Haddon and Patterson	1 0 0
*Haddon, John, ditto	1 0 0
*Dunne, John, St. Andrew-street	1 0 0
*Moir, John, ditto	1 0 0
*Molwo, Herman, ditto	1 0 0
*Watson, Peter, ditto	1 0 0
*Guthrie, James, ditto	1 0 0
*Todd, James, Seagate-street	1 0 0
*Tweedale, Jacob, Henly Hall	1 1 0
*Tweedale, John, ditto	1 1 0
*Sharp, James, Griffin Inn	1 0 0
*Hyland, C., West-street	1 0 0
*Kelsall, Robert, Town Meadows	1 0 0

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Dec. 17, 1845.

Nelson, Knowles & Co., George street, Manchester	£ 50 0 0
*Oldham, G., 40 Bridge street, Sutton, Macclesfield	1 1 0
*Douglas, John, 14, Bedford Street, Glasgow	1 1 0
Lloyd, Roberts, Carmarvon	1 1 0
*Peacock, Michael, 3, St. Mary's Gate, Manchester	1 1 0
*Knowles, R., 7, Princes st., Market st., ditto	1 1 0
*Knowles, Thomas, ditto ditto	1 1 0
*Woodfall, John, Arkwick Green	1 1 0
*Dutton, John E., Clivetham	1 1 0
*Bird, Thomas, Dransgate	1 1 0
*Marshall, John, Downgate street	1 1 0
*Taylor, James, 86, Union street, Ardwick	1 1 0
*Mills, John, 151, Rochdale Road	1 1 0
*Samuel, J. & W., 14, Byrom-street, Liverpool	1 1 0
*Bond, N. C., Richmond Grove, Forton	1 1 0
*Estlin, T. R., 189, Great Howard-street	1 1 0
*Lloyd, T., 8, Chester-st., Toxteth Park	1 1 0
*McGeorge, Wm., 70, Lime-street	1 1 0
*Williams, Owen, 32, Plumbe-street	1 1 0
*Hughes, Joseph, 18, Gill-street	1 1 0
*Macintyre, L. H., 26, South John-street	1 1 0
*Gordon, John, 22, Water street	1 1 0
*Horsfall, James, Clifton Park, Birkenhead, Cheshire	1 1 0
*Ashworth, Thomas Poynton, Stockport	1 1 0
"A Free Trader, Fernworth, near Bolton	1 1 0
*Pickard, Matthew, 25, Broughton Road, Salford	1 1 0
*Lingard, Rev. John, D.D., Hornby, near Lancaster	1 1 0
*Metcalf, Henry, Todmorden	1 1 0
*Wild, Thomas, Roundfield Lane, ditto	1 1 0
*Stephens, S., Ebley Mills, Stroud, Gloucestershire	1 1 0
*Smith, Joseph, ditto ditto	1 1 0
*Chapman, John, ditto ditto	1 1 0
*Harris, Geo., ditto ditto	1 1 0
*Poulson, Wm., ditto ditto	1 1 0
*Simmonds, Wm., ditto ditto	1 1 0
*Fowler, Samuel, ditto ditto	1 1 0
*Latham, Joseph, ditto ditto	1 1 0
*Ranson, Richard, Standishgate, Wigan	1 1 0
*Cooke, Thomas, Market place	1 1 0
*Waddington, Wm., ditto	1 1 0
*Lea John, Chap-lane	1 1 0
*Atherton, Richard, Wallgate	1 1 0
*Pearson, Wm., Standishgate	1 1 0
*Scarf, J. W., Leeds	1 1 0
*Thistlethwaite, Chris., New Ea ley Mills, near Bolton	1 1 0
The Hand-loom Weavers in the King's Factory, Aytoun street, Glasgow, per James Russell	0 6 6
Amount of Collection at Messrs. Tunstall and Cash's Manufactory, Stroud	14 1 9
*Salway, Colonel, Guards, subscription for 1845	10 0 0
Ditto ditto for 1846	10 0 0
Morpeth, Lord	5 0 0
*Taylor, J., Buntingdale, near Market Drayton	5 0 0
*E. F. and Co.	5 0 0
*Cotton, Michael Geo., White Hart-lane, Tottenham	5 0 0
*Robinson, Thomas Maltby, 7, A. Portman-square	5 0 0
*Waterman, James, Brewery, Stoney-lane, Tooley-st.	5 0 0
*Wormum, R., 2, Camden-street, Camden Town	3 0 0
*Guthrie, Samuel, Charles-street, Westminster	2 2 0
*Darwin, Charles, 7, Park street, Grosvenor-square	2 0 0
A Subscriber from an Agricultural District	1 5 0
*Baker, T. W., 4, Roe-street, Liverpool	1 1 0
*Brook, Edward, Chatham	1 1 0
*Mayer, Joseph, Longport, Staffordshire Potteries	1 1 0
*Procter, Geo., the Hoo, Great Goddassen	1 1 0
*Rossa, Charles, B. akenny, Gloucestershire	1 1 0
*Jones, Edward, New-room, Portmadoc, N. Wales	1 1 0
*Mavillier, J. W., Leicester	1 1 0
*Gardner, John, Westbury, Wilts	1 1 0
*Wilkins, John, Hertford	1 1 0
*Salisbury, H., 13, Rook-street, Manchester	1 1 0
*Constable, Chas., Horley Mill, Crawley	1 1 0
*Crustons, Jos. ph., Henel Homsted	1 1 0
*Everest, Dr., 33, St. Ann's street, Liverpool	1 1 0
*Edwards, Mrs. Wm., 90, Aldersgate-street	1 1 0
*Cowie, Mrs., ditto	1 1 0
*Penny, Henry, 11, Old Bailey	1 1 0
*Udall, John, Winchmore Hill	1 1 0
*J. C.	1 1 0

Esdaile, Edward, City Saw Mills	1	1	0
Hayward, J., 17, Middleton-square, Pentonville	1	1	0
*Holste, Mr., 76, Besinghall-street	1	1	0
*Nyren, Henry, 70, Great George-street, Bermondsey	1	1	0
*Wratten, John, Queen's Head, Green Lane, Tottenham	1	1	0
*Diggins, Edward, 91, Wood-street	1	1	0
L. M.	1	1	0
Bradley, James, Harrow-street, Mint-street, Borough	1	1	0
*Walker, J. E., Grecian Chambers, Devereux-ct., Strand	1	1	0
*Hurry, S. W., 13, Montague-terrace, De Beauvoir Road, Kingsland	1	1	0
*Ball, John F., 53, St. Martin's-lane	1	1	0
Carr, Messrs., and Co., 10, Hatton Wall, Hatton Garden	1	1	0
Brunt, Geo., 3, Charlotte row, Pond st., Bermondsey	1	1	0
*Carpenter, H., Shad Thames Steam Mill, Dockhead	1	1	0
*Evans, John Edward, 4, Snowhill	1	1	0
*Vine, H., 48, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury	1	1	0
*Whitell, H. W., Staple-street, Long-lane, Bermondsey	1	1	0
*Wells, John, Baker's-row, Whitechapel	1	1	0
*Paget, R. G., 49, West Smithfield, 3d subscription	1	1	0
*Ewart, Wm., Jernym-street	1	1	0
Ross, A., 28, Singleton-street, East-road, Hoxton	1	1	0
Gillies, R. M., 17, Mark-lane	1	1	0
*Wilson, Robert, 32, Bistrew-place, Poplar	1	1	0
*Greenlees, R., 24, Friday-street, Cheapside	1	1	0
*Mills, S., 25, Seymour-place, Bryanston-square	1	1	0
*Coulso, T., Mortlake, Surrey	1	1	0
*Smith, W., 5, Canton-place, East India Road	1	1	0
*Shedlock, James F., 6, Johnson-street, Westminster	1	1	0
*Cheesman, Geo., Rye Lodge, Peckham Rye	1	1	0
*Daikers, John, 13, Prospect-place, Kingsland Road	1	1	0
*Russell, Alex., 2, Newman-street, Oxford-street	1	1	0
*Maddonell, P., 9, Shoe-lane, Holborn	1	1	0
*Buckler, N. P., Cold Harbour-Lane, Camberwell	1	1	0
*Nightingale, W., 64, Wardour-street	1	1	0
*Nightingale, C., ditto	1	1	0
*Rowlands, W., 33, Smith-street, Clerkenwell	1	1	0
Rowlands, C., 146, Regent-street	1	1	0
*White, John B., Milbank-street, Westminster	1	1	0
*Jenkin, Edward, 19, Tooley-street, Borough	1	1	0
*Campart, T. and J., 16 & 17, Burlington Arcade	1	1	0
Hill, W. M., 10, Charlton place, Islington	1	1	0
*Saul, W. D., 15, Aldersgate street	1	1	0
*Saul, W. D. L., ditto	1	1	0
*Howell, W., 53, Great Windmill street, Haymarket	1	1	0
*Bright, W., 16, Bury street, St. James's	1	1	0
*Higgins, Geo. R., Royston, Herts	1	1	0
*Radford, Isaiah C., Devonport	1	1	0
*Aldridge, W., Rochester	1	1	0
*Toomer, S. E., Preston Court, Wingham, Kent	1	1	0
Thompson, T., Darlston	1	1	0
*Parker, W., chemist, ditto	1	1	0
*Taylor, R., 28, Park-place, Monkgate, York	1	1	0
*Heaton, J., Heaton-pl., Beck-road, Everton, Liverpool	1	1	0
*Gray, John, 7, Earthen Mound, Edinburgh	1	1	0
*Thursfield, John, Newcastle-under-Lyne	1	1	0
*Menly, Richard, Ide, near Exeter	1	1	0
*A Free Trader, High street, Sunderland	1	1	0
*Moore, Chas., grocer, Darlston, near Birmingham	1	1	0
*Buzaglo, F. W., Nibley House, Blakeney, Gloucester	1	1	0
*Malcolm, G. & Son, merchants, Hull	1	1	0
*Nicholson, W. F., merchant, Whitehaven	1	1	0
*Peile, Geo., ditto	1	1	0
*Watson, W., jun., 33, Bridge street, Gateshead	1	1	0
*Ramsay, John, Dundee	1	1	0
*James, S. & J., Truro	1	1	0
*Cox, W. H. Rev., St. Mary Hall, Oxford	1	1	0
*Bernard, J., Spaldwick, Huntingdonshire	1	1	0
*Hudson, W., High street, Ramsgate	1	1	0
*Dignum, Edw., Northwich	1	1	0
*Critchell, John, Yeovil, Somerset	1	1	0
*Duke, Geo., Hemingfold, Battle	1	1	0
Sharp, Thomas, farmer, near Elham, Canterbury	1	1	0
*Ashdown, Robert, 2, Albion-terrace, Horsham, Sussex	1	1	0
*Rowlands, W., jun., Wellington, New Zealand	1	1	0
*Estill, Edward, 49, Pembroke-place, Liverpool	1	1	0
*Hall, W., Rose and Crown, Chippingham	1	1	0
*Walters, Joseph, Alfreton, Derbyshire	1	1	0
Denton, Thomas	1	1	0
*J. J. Jones, Wm.	1	1	0
*McClellan, W.	1	1	0
*Greaves, J., Luddenden Foot	1	1	0
*Wainhouse, Thomas	1	1	0
*Moorhouse, Thomas	1	1	0
*Crooke, Joseph, Winding Road	1	1	0
*Brooke, Robert	1	1	0
*Wrigglesworth, John	1	1	0
*Stancliffe, John, Woolshops	1	1	0
*Davies, Richard, 22, Broad street	1	1	0
*Pearson, Thomas	1	1	0
*Hartley, John, Bedford-street	1	1	0
*Milner, Wm.	1	1	0
*Horsfall, Geo., Pellon Place	1	1	0
*Jackson, John, Old Market	1	1	0
*Hebblethwaite, T., Green Mount	1	1	0
*Topham, John, Call lane	2	1	0
*Knight, Joseph, 120, North-street	1	1	0
*Andrews, C. H., Camp Road	1	1	0
*Croft, Samuel, & Son, Water-lane	1	1	0
*Wooler, Jonathan, Victoria Road	1	1	0
*Kershaw, John, 14, South Market	1	1	0
*Whitehead, Wm., Duncan street	1	1	0
*Atkinson, E., 12, Trafalgar-street	1	1	0
Hargrave, Joshua, Fleece-lane	0	10	0
*Haimes, Wm.	1	1	0
*Haimes, Thomas	1	1	0
*Earp, Mr., grocer	1	1	0
*Chandler, Hemsley	1	1	0
*Draper, Thomas	1	1	0
*Clemson, John	1	1	0
*Gutteridge, John	1	1	0
*Tagg, Joseph	1	1	0
*Salisbury, E.	1	1	0
*Pitt, Wm.	1	1	0
Newton, James, 48, Bankside, Borough	0	10	0
Friends to the Cause, per C. Ridge	0	10	0
Lipcomb, James, 93, Regent-street	0	10	0
A Few Free Traders in the employ of Messrs. Spring- weiller & Co. in the street, Little Britain	0	10	0
Nevill, J. F., 128, Fenchurch-street	0	5	0
Williams, Z., 5, Dean's-row, Walworth Road	0	5	0
Bright, R., 66, Long-acre	0	5	0
Pratt, N., cheesemonger, 6, Eccleston-street, Pimlico	0	5	0
Ashley John, Dispatch Office, Fleet-street	0	5	0
Wood, J. R., ditto ditto	0	5	0
Terratt, J. W., 9, Finsbury Pavement	0	5	0
Luffman, A., 7, Bell's buildings, Salisbury-square	0	5	0
Robbins, J., 4, Seabright-street, Bethnal Green	0	5	0
Tulley, Wm., 5, Mint-street, Borough	0	5	0
Carter, Isaac, 83, Church street, Bethnal Green	0	5	0
Young, Robert, 76, ditto	0	5	0
J. J. E.	0	2	0
Bradford, William, 43, Bethnal Green Road	0	2	0
Adams, Charles, Willingden, Sussex	0	2	0
A. B.	0	2	0
Gill, Thomas, 34, West Smithfield	0	2	0
Brook, Benjamin, 7, Farringdon-street	0	2	0
Cuister, John, ditto	0	2	0
North, Thomas, 234, Strand	0	2	0

* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed sub-
scriptions.

MEETING OF THE LEAGUE AT COVENT GARDEN.

In the present extreme excitement of the public mind on the question of Free Trade, it was of course anticipated that the first great meeting of the Anti-Corn-Law League, after the recent important adhesions to the cause, and pending the formation of a new administration, would be an unusually crowded one; but even the most sanguine could scarcely have imagined the scene which was presented about the doors, and in the avenues leading on all sides to the theatre, before the opening of the doors last evening. According to the advertisements, the public were to have been admitted at half-past 6 o'clock; but so anxious were persons to secure their places, that many took their stations outside the doors as early as before 5 o'clock. By 6 some thousands were closely packed together under the piazzas in Covent-garden and in Bow-street—the outsiders forming a dense semicircular phalanx, extending nearly to the centre of the street; whilst Hart-street was totally blocked up. By an arrangement which, however annoying it may have been to those who were excluded altogether without having had the satisfaction of a rush and a struggle, yet proved to be highly beneficial in preserving order and preventing personal injury, the persons nearest to the doors were admitted by degrees, until the theatre was completely filled in every part. So that at the hour appointed, instead of a scene of confusion, the house presented the most magnificent appearance it has exhibited since the dinner that was given in it to O'Connell after his celebrated "conviction." From floor to roof it was a living human pile, in which the fairer portion of creation held a large proportion. The open doors of the boxes giving vistas of anxious countenances, extending along the corridors, and an occasional murmur of distant struggling, evidencing the fact that there were crowds content to take their chance of catching the voices of the speakers from the distant passages and staircases.

At a quarter before 7 o'clock, Mr. Cobden entered the house, and his appearance upon the stage was the signal for a burst of cheering from the entire audience. He was followed shortly afterwards by Mr. Bright, who was obliged to struggle through the crowd into the orchestra, from whence he was assisted to the stage, where he received a similar greeting to that with which Mr. Cobden had been honoured. The stage had then become as densely crowded as any part of the house. Amongst those assembled upon it were the Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P., in the chair. Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., John Bright, Esq., M.P., T. C. Grainger, Esq., M.P., Henry Metcalf, Esq., M.P., Howard Elphinstone, Esq., M.P., Benjamin Smith, Esq., M.P., Thomas Milner Gibson, Esq., M.P., James Pattison, Esq., M.P., Arthur Pattison, Esq., W. J. Fox, Esq., Adam Smith, Esq., Captain Cogan, John McClode, Esq., W. A. Wilkinson, Esq., P. A. Taylor, Esq., Norman Wilkinson, Esq., Dr. Stoner, William Leaver, Esq., Colonel Gardner, Dr. Lobb, George Stephenson, Esq., N. Stone, Esq., H. Fowler, Esq., Henry Staples Foster, Esq., Cambridge; J. Phillips, Esq., Henry Lloyd Morgan, Esq., Rev. S. Luke, J. A. St. John, Esq., Boyle St. John, Esq., William Mortimer, Esq., William Pollard, Esq., Hertford; B. M. Roberts, Esq., J. Parrott, Esq., Somerset; J. Somers, Esq., Bridgewater; J. Calverley, Esq., Somerset; Alfred Levitond Middlezoy, Esq., Bridgewater; Sir William Baynes, Bart., T. M. Robinson, Esq., J. McCall, Esq., Manchester; Hugo Reid, Esq.,—Hills, Esq., Stilton; F. Scheer, Cherapanat, Siberia; Ralph Ricardo, Esq., James Brotherton, Esq., John Moss, Esq., Derby; P. Davy, Crediton; H. L. Keeling, Esq., Sylvanus Partridge, Esq., Robert Price, Esq., Summers Harford, Esq., Charles Lattimore, John Collett, Esq., M.P.

At 7 o'clock precisely the chair was taken by the Honourable CHARLES PELHAM VILLIERS, who, upon coming forward, was loudly cheered. He was, however, for some time unable to obtain a hearing, in consequence of the uproar raised outside by the enormous crowds who found themselves unable to make good their entrance. The chairman directed that all the doors of the boxes should be opened, so as to give the greatest accommodation possible to those outside; and after a little while order was restored.

Mr. VILLIERS then came forward and said: Ladies and Gentlemen, the only purpose for which I have to ask your attention for one moment is to explain to you the reason why I occupy the chair this evening. It was only a few minutes before I entered this theatre that I was informed by some of my friends around me that the gentleman who so frequently and efficiently presides as chairman of these meetings was seriously and suddenly indisposed; and the gentleman who applied to me stated that it would be convenient if I would supply the place of my friend, Mr. Wilson, for this evening. When the request was made to me to preside at this meeting, I had some impression that it was no easy duty to discharge, and at first declined to undertake it. Subsequently I did consent to occupy the chair. (Mr. Villiers was here prevented from proceeding owing to a slight disturbance from the over-crowded state of the theatre.) The little disturbance that has occurred has not proceeded from any want of respect either for the meeting or the purpose for which we assemble (hear, hear), but only from an excess of zeal on the part of our friends to get within hearing, and to occupy a place in this building. (Cheers.) As I have stated, it is no easy task to preside at a meeting of this kind; but I really did assent when the request was made to me for no other purpose than that for which I have for the last six or seven years had in view with respect to the Anti-Corn-Law League; namely, to cordially co-operate with them whenever my humble services could be rendered available. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I well remember the difficulty there was before the establishment of the Anti-Corn-Law League in advancing this question; and I have always been of opinion, and I continue to be so still, that if some such great and powerful and intelligent organisation as the Anti-Corn-Law League did not exist, there would not be the most distant hope or prospect of success. (Cheers.) And earnestly as I have desired to see the repeal of the Corn Laws, I have thought it my duty to place my very feeble services at their disposal whenever they might be required. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, notwithstanding the errors that are said to have been committed during the course of past years by some of this body—errors which have been most candidly admitted by many of the most leading members—I am of opinion now, that if our opinions should come to their senses, and concede the abolition of the Corn Laws before the day arrives—and arrive it will if these laws are maintained—when the people will be maddened by the privations which it is their natural consequence to produce—then this great triumph of reason and justice will be mainly the result of the intelligent and active means so energetically and continuously sustained by the

Anti-Corn-Law League. (Great cheers.) Gentlemen, one of the reasons that I so sincerely regret the absence of our friend, Mr. Wilson, on this occasion is, that it had been his intention to have detailed to you the extraordinary exertions that have been made recently by our enlightened friends, and by those who have represented the deputations from the League in the provinces; and to have afforded you satisfactory and clear proofs of the extent to which conversion and conviction upon this subject are going on; and I hope it will be satisfactory to you to hear that wherever they go, wherever their names are mentioned, their valuable and important services are fully and gratefully recognised. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, it probably would have been one part of the address that Mr. Wilson might have thought it right to make to you, to congratulate you, as I do myself, most cordially, upon the accession of strength which we have lately received in the conversion of some of the most eminent statesmen existing in this country, to the principles and views that have been propounded in this theatre. (Loud cheers.) We now know that these men—the only statesmen that could be referred to by the crown to form an administration to govern this country, have come to the conclusion that they will be no longer parties to withholding one of the most obvious and natural rights which the people of this, or of any other country, can claim or enjoy—namely the simple and plain one of feeding themselves. (Cheers.) We have now the only men who can, without exciting ridicule and contempt, be called to the councils of the crown, allowing themselves to be announced to the country and the world as opposed to that policy which we have been so long condemning. (Cheers.) Of Lord John Russell's opinions there can now be no doubt. (Great cheers.) He has in a bold, manly, clear, and intelligent way, made them manifest to the whole world. We have all read his recent address to the electors of the city; therefore about his views, and I trust also his intentions, there can be no doubt. It was with no surprise that I read that address, because I remembered that during the last session he did for the first time vote for the motion that I submitted to the house for the total repeal of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) By the speeches he made on several occasions during the last session, he exhibited himself perfectly alive to all the injury and mischief that the Corn Laws had produced on the working-classes of society; and he did distinctly predict that a time would arrive when we should be precluded from deciding this question with calmness and quietude. (Cheers.) He predicted the time when some great emergency would arrive—when a scarcity of food would be manifest, and that we should then be called suddenly and at once totally to repeal the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) I could not, therefore, read his address with surprise when that emergency had arisen. All men believe that that emergency either has occurred to the extent to which it was stated but a short time since, or that the people are about to be submitted to very considerable privations. He has therefore come forward in right season, and he has done so at a most opportune moment, to declare that he will be no party to placing any obstruction either to the supply of food to the people, or to the interchange of the products of their industry for the products of the industry of other nations. (Great cheering.) Gentlemen, it has been asserted, and not only not contradicted, but the statement has received confirmation by the resignation of Sir Robert Peel,—that he also has brought his great mind to the conclusion that the people ought to feed themselves. (Cheers.) In what way those conversions have been brought about, seems to me to be a matter of indifference to us. It may have been by the bad potatoes or the good arguments. (Laughter and cheers.) It has been announced to be the case, and it seems to me to be the business of those who assemble here, and of the people at large, to turn the circumstances to the best account. (Hear, hear.) Now this appears to be the great difficulty;—but I say that if these public men are true to you, if you are true to yourselves,—there cannot be much difficulty as to the course that shall be pursued. (Cheers.) If Lord John Russell is really convinced that the Corn Laws ought to be abolished, and has been summoned to the councils of her Majesty, if he has been given a commission to form a Government, let him declare that he will undertake that commission, and that he will form that Government upon the principle of abolishing the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) If Sir Robert Peel is properly represented, and if he has not been actuated by egregious folly in resigning his office without reason,—if he is really and honestly convinced that the Corn Laws ought to be abolished, let him come forward and strenuously and faithfully support Lord John Russell. (Repeated cheers.) If we can be thoroughly convinced that these two men, and these two parties, are really earnest and honest in this purpose of getting rid of this great and giant grievance, it becomes the duty, as it is the interest of this great, powerful, and influential association styled the Anti-Corn-Law League, to direct all their energy, intelligence, and activity, to the support of Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel. (Loud and continued cheering.) I do believe that if we can find the common ground of a total abolition of the Corn Laws for each of these three parties to stand upon, the month of February will not pass over without our relieving the statute book of one of the foulest blots that ever disgraced it. (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, if I might be allowed to offer one word of advice, it would be, that if the people of this country depend upon anything, rely upon any person or persons, with more confidence and reliance than they ought to do upon themselves, they run the greatest risk of being deceived and disappointed. (Hear, hear.) Now, I say the time is come; this is the moment. We have got these great parties in such a state of confusion—we have got these public men in such a fix—that if we only do justice to ourselves and the cause, I believe that nothing can prevent our success; and this is the moment—and it will be but a short one—when all men are required to make every effort and all sacrifices in order to convey to their rulers the unmistakable and distinct determination of this country no longer to submit to this iniquitous tax upon food. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, I beg to apologise to you for having thus intruded my own views briefly on your notice. (No, no; go on, go on.) I was not advertised for that purpose this evening, and I will not stand another moment in the way of all that eloquence and brilliancy of talent for which you were especially invited to attend this evening. I beg leave to call upon Richard Cobden, Esq.

Mr. COBDEN then came forward amidst the most enthusiastic and protracted cheering. Silence having at length been obtained, the hon. gentleman spoke as follows: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen, I think some of the protection societies would be glad to have our overflow to-night. (Loud cheers.) If this agitation continues, we shall have to build an edifice as large as St. Paul's to hold the Leaguers. (Hear and laughter.) I believe to-day we have had application for 30,000 tickets of admission; we have now many

hundreds round this building more than can be accommodated; and we have a great many more inside than can be comfortable. But I feel confidence in the disposition of all good Leaguers to accommodate each other; and I must say that I have seen in front of me every disposition to be quiet; but it is the same to-night as I have observed generally in my great experience at public meetings, that if there is any disturbance it is always amongst the aristocracy upon the platform. (Cheers and laughter.) Gentlemen, I think this meeting is a sufficient proof of the exciting circumstances under which we meet to-night. I need not say a word—(Mr. Cobden was here interrupted by a slight disturbance arising from the extremely crowded state of the stage.) Some gentlemen at the back of the stage wish to have my assurance that there is no room in front; I can assure them that there is not vacant space for a mouse. Gentlemen, I think the aspect of the meeting is a sufficient illustration of the present crisis of our great movement. The manner in which we are gathered together; the excited feeling which animates all present; all indicate that there is something peculiar in the present phase of our movement. Gentlemen, I do not know how it is, but if I see other people inclined to throw up their caps and become exceedingly excited, it always makes me feel and look grave; for I always think there is the most danger when people are the least on their guard in this wicked world. (Hear, hear.) Doubtless, gentlemen, we have brought our cause to a new position—we have got it into the hands of politicians. The "ins" and the "outs" are quarrelling over it. (Cheers.) But I am very anxious to impress upon you and our friends throughout the kingdom—for what we say here is read by hundreds and thousands elsewhere—that it is not our business to form Cabinets—to choose individuals who shall carry out our principles; we are not to trust to others to do our work; we are not to feel confident that the work will be done till it is done; and I will tell you when and when only I shall consider it done—when I see the sheet of the Act of Parliament wet from the printer's containing the total abolition of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I have always expected in the course of our agitation that we should knock a Government or two on the head before we succeeded. (Cheers.) The Government of 1841 can hardly be said to have been killed by the Corn Law; it took the Corn Law as a last desperate dose in order to cure it of a long and lingering disease—but it proved fatal to it. I think we may say, too, that the recent Government has died of the Corn Law; and our business must be, gentlemen, to try and make the fate of the last Government a warning to the next. (Cheers.) We do not certainly exactly know yet why Sir Robert Peel ran away from his own law; we have had no explanation. I have been in town for three or four days. I thought when I came from the country I might probably get a little behind the scenes, and learn something about it; but I am as much in the dark now as when I came from Lancashire. (Laughter.) I cannot learn why it was that Sir Robert Peel bolted. (Renewed laughter.) From what did he run? It was his own law, passed in 1842; it was deliberated upon about six months in 1841. It was not passed at the pressing solicitation of the people for any such law. I know that almost the whole of the people petitioned against it. It was his own handywork, done in defiance of the people; and now, in 1845, with still the same Parliament, with a majority of 90 to back him, the very men who passed the law being still at his back, he suddenly runs away and leaves his sliding scale as a legacy to his successors. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, if he had carried his own law with him, if he had only carried off his sliding scale to Tamworth, I do not think we should have made many inquiries about him. (Renewed cheering and laughter.) But he has left his law, and we do not know how he is going to deal with it in future. I suppose when we meet Parliament, which may be early next month—at all events, the sooner the better—the first thing I shall look to with some degree of interest will be an answer to the question, What is the reason of this sudden dissolution of the Cabinet? I shall await Sir Robert Peel's explanation with very great interest. He will doubtless be able to tell us whether the facts collected by his commissioners in Ireland as well as in England were of such a nature as to impress him with the idea that we are verging on a probable famine in one country, if not in both. If that be the case, I suppose he will also tell us that, so far as he was concerned, he was the advocate in his Cabinet for the suspension of his own handywork—the sliding scale. Well, that being the case, I presume, when Parliament meets, he will assist us to do that which he could not accomplish himself with his refractory Cabinet. (Cheers.) I expect—I do not know whether I may be rash in expecting it—from Sir Robert Peel straightforward conduct. There are people who tell us that this Corn Law must not be suspended suddenly, that it must not be dealt with rashly and precipitately, and that if we are to have the repeal of the Corn Law, it must be done gradually, step by step. Well, gentlemen, that might have been in the eyes of some very statesmanlike way of doing it six or seven years ago. Some people would have thought last year, when wheat was at forty-seven shillings a quarter, that if a law had been passed then providing for the extinction of the Corn Law in two or three years that that would have been no very bad measure to have been obtained; but who will propose now to pass a law imposing a fixed duty on corn next spring to go off 3s. or 4s. the spring after, and 3s. or 4s. the spring after that, till it comes to nothing? That would not suit the exigencies of the present movement. (Hear.) Our wise Legislature, our wise Conservative statesmen, would not deal with this question when they might have dealt with it with some advantage to their own policy. We were pressing on the Government to deal with the Corn Laws last year and the year before, when wheat was at 47s. a quarter, but we were told then we were rash men; that the Corn Law had not had a fair trial; that ours was not the way to deal with it; that we must wait to see how it worked. Well, now they are seeing how it has worked. (Laughter.) But there is no time for temporising now. Nature has stepped in; Providence has interfered, and has inflicted a famine upon the land, and set at naught all the contrivance, delay, and modifications of statesmen. (Great cheers.) They have but one way of dealing with this question. It is of no use asking us for a feather-bed to drop our aristocracy upon; they might have had a feather-bed, if there had been one to offer them; but there is no feather-bed for them now. (Loud cheers.) They must have the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws; not because the League has demanded it: not out of any deference to the Shibboleth of clubs like ours. No, we do not ask them to bow to any such dictation as that; we will not inflict any unnecessary humiliation upon our land-owners; but they have put off this good work so long, until nature has stepped in, and now they must bow to the law of nature without any delay. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, we meet Par-

liament next session—I take it for granted—with but one proposition before us,—that is the immediate and total abolition of the Corn Laws (cheers)—no minister can take office without proposing that measure, whether Sir Robert Peel or Lord J. Russell. I defy them to take office and come before Parliament without the Queen's Speech proposing that measure. (Cheers.) No; we will not exult over them; it is not our doing, after all; we have prepared the public in some degree to take advantage of a natural calamity, but we are not so well prepared as we should have been if they had given us a year or two more; the potato rot has tripped up the heels of Sir Robert Peel, but it has also stopped our registration agents a little. We should like to have had another year of qualification for counties. If we had had another year or two, we could have shown the monopolist landowners that we can transfer power in this country from the hands of a class totally into the hands of the middle and industrial classes of this country. (Cheers.) We shall go on with that movement, and I hope it will never stop (hear), but we shall have to deal with the crisis of the Corn Law question next session. The Queen's Speech, within a month of this time, must recommend the abolition of the Corn Laws. I want to get into the House of Commons again to have some talk about that question. Oh! it is very heavy work I assure you; it is heavier work every day to come into these enthusiastic meetings, and talk of this question, for we meet no opponents. I do not know how it is, but I have that quality of combativeness, as phrenologists call it, and unless I meet with some opposition I am as dull as ditch-water. (Cheers and laughter.) Well, there is no man to be found at large (laughter) out of the House of Commons who can be got in public to say a word in defence of the Corn Laws; that is, you cannot hear any attempted defence out of their own protection societies, and you know they are privileged people. (Cheers and laughter.) I am anxious to meet them in the House of Commons upon this subject; but it will be an odd scene when we assemble next session, for we shall not know where to sit. (Laughter.) There will be such greetings in the lobbies, one asking the other "On which side are you going to sit?" And then, the greatest curiosity of all, the greatest subject of interest will be to see where Sir R. Peel is to sit. (Renewed laughter.) I should not wonder if we shall have to find him a chair, and put him in the middle of the floor. (Cheers and laughter.) Now, I shall be somewhat interested in witnessing the arguments that will be used by the protectionists in defence of this Corn Law. Recollect the debate will come on with reference to the exigency of the moment. The Corn Law must be suspended instantly if Lord John Russell takes office (he will be a bold man if he does); but if he does, I suppose he will either suspend the law the next day by an Order in Council, or he will call us together; and he will throw down his proposition, either you must suspend that Corn Law at once, or I will not hold office a week. (Cheers.) Then the debate will turn as to the necessity of suspending this Corn Law; and we shall have gentlemen getting up from Dorsetshire and Essex (laughter) protesting that there is a great abundance of everything in the country, that there is no scarcity at all, no potato rot, and that there is a full average quantity and quality of wheat. (Cheers, and cries of "Plenty of curdy.") Then I should not wonder, gentlemen, if we were to hear some moral receipts for feeding the people. You know Dr. Buckland has lately been publishing a paper read at Oxford to the Ashmolean Society, I believe, and he has shown that people can live very well on peas, can get on tolerably well upon beans, and if there is nothing else to be had, they can live pretty well upon mangel wurzel; and he gives an instance of one good lady who lived, I do not know how many days, by sucking the starch out of her white pocket handkerchief. (Roars of laughter.) Now, mangel wurzel, starch, and beans, mixed with a little curdy-powder, would do very well. (Renewed laughter.) Well, gentlemen, we shall have a division as well as a debate. I should like to see the names of those good men in the House of Commons who will vote against opening the ports—that is, the men who will decree that we shall not be treated as well as the Prussians, the Turks, the Poles, and the Dutchmen; if they out-vote us upon that proposition, we shall have a general election. I should like to see some of those curdy powder candidates that go down to their constituents. I would advise you to get doses of the curdy powder water ready; a little hot water, and a pinch of curdy powder stirred up, makes a man very comfortable to go to bed with, they say. Try it upon some of the protectionist candidates. (Laughter.) Gentlemen, this is no laughing subject after all. (Hear, hear.) As my friend, Mr. Villiers, says, it is a question very much between Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell now. I have no reason, and I think you will all admit it, to feel any very great respect for Sir Robert Peel; he is the only man in the House of Commons that I can never speak a word to in private without forfeiting my own respect, and the respect of all those men who sit around me. But though I say that, and though I am justified in saying it, (Hear, hear,) yet this I will say, that so deeply have I this question of the Corn Laws at heart, that if Sir Robert Peel will take the same manly, straightforward part that Lord John Russell has taken, if he will avow an intelligible course of action—that is what I want, no mystification—if he will do that, I will as heartily co-operate with him as with any man in the House of Commons. (Cheers.) I should think now the time was come, when every statesman, of whatever party, who has a particle of intelligence and conscience, must be anxious to remove this question of supplying the food of the people out of the category of party politics; for see what a fearful state it places the Ministry in. They maintain a law for the purpose of regulating the supply of food to the people; if the food falls short, the people assail the Government as the cause of their scarcity of food; this is a responsibility that no Government or human power ought to assume to itself. (Hear.) It is a responsibility that we should never invest a Government with, if that Government did not assume to itself the functions of the Deity. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, why should we tax the Government with being the cause of our suffering when we are visited with a defective harvest? Why should a Government fly away? Why should a Prime Minister retire from office because there is a failure and rot in the potatoes? Suppose we had a devastating flood that swept away half our houses in a day, we should never think of charging the executive Government with being the cause of our calamities. The Government does not undertake to build houses, or to keep houses for us. Suppose half of our mercantile marine was swept away with a hurricane, and if the whole of it was submerged in the flood, we should never think of flying at the Government, and making them responsible for such a calamity. On the contrary, if we had such a dire event by flood or fire happening to the country, we should instinctively rally round the Government, one helping the other in order to mitigate the

horrors of such a calamity. And why should it be otherwise with supplying the food of the people? Why, because the Government of this country,—Ministers and Parliament in this land—have arrogated to themselves functions which belong not to man, but to nature—not to laws of Parliament, but to the laws of Providence—not to regulations of statesmen, but to regulations of the merchants of the world; it is because they have taken upon themselves superhuman functions that we make them responsible for divine inflictions. (Loud cheers.) Then, gentlemen, I hope that every intelligent statesman in this country will be anxious to get rid of this question of protection to agriculture. But there is another reason why our intelligent statesmen ought to wish to bury it so deep that even its ghost cannot haunt us again, this ragged and tattered banner of protection; and it is this, that if you leave a rag of it behind, these protectionist squires will hoist that ragged standard again. And my firm conviction is, that they will find farmers enough to rally round that old rag—they will have the same organisation, the same union in the counties between the protectionist squires and their dupes—the protectionist farmers, that would prove an hindrance to everything like an enlightened and rational Government on the part of any Administration. I say, then, whether it be Sir Robert Peel, or whether it be Lord John Russell, put an end to this protective principle; destroy it thoroughly; leave no part of it behind. And the only way you can do that is by proposing honestly totally to abolish the Corn Laws, and the rest of the system will abolish itself very soon afterwards. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, there are terms talked about; they talk of some terms; they talk of re-adjusting taxation. I am told Sir Robert Peel has got a scheme as long as my arm for mixing up a hundred other things with this Corn Law. I say we will have no such mystification of our plain rights. (Cheers.) We have had too much of his mystification before. In the north of England, where we are practical people, we have a prejudice in favour of doing one thing at a time. Now we will abolish the Corn and Provision Laws if you please—that shall be one thing we will do; and anything else they propose to do we will take it upon its merits as we take the Corn Law upon its demerits. (Cheers.) They propose a modification of taxation, and I am told that Sir Robert Peel has some such up in view to compensate the landowners. (Hisses.) He has not been a very safe guide hitherto to the landowners of this country; he has led them into a quagmire with his leadership. I predict that if Sir Robert Peel provokes a discussion upon the subject of taxation in this country, that he will prove as great an enemy to the landowners as he is likely to prove, according to their views of the question, in his advocacy of protection for them. I warn ministers, and I warn landowners, and the aristocracy of this country, against forcing upon the attention of the middle and industrious classes the subject of taxation. (Tremendous cheers.) For, great as I consider the grievance of the protective system; mighty as I consider the fraud and injustice of the Corn Laws, I verily believe, if you were to bring forward the history of taxation in this country for the last 150 years, you will find as black a record against the landowners as even in the Corn Law itself. (Hear, hear, hear.) I warn them from ripping up the subject of taxation. If they want another League, at the death of this one—(loud cheers)—if they want another organisation, and a motive—for you cannot have these organisations without a motive and principle—(hear, hear)—then let them force the middle and industrious classes of England to understand how they have been cheated, robbed, and bamboozled upon the subject of taxation; and the end will be—(now I predict it for the consolation of Sir Robert Peel and his friends)—if they force a discussion of this question of taxation; if they make it understood by the people of this country how the landowners here, 150 years ago, deprived the sovereign of his feudal rights over them; how the aristocracy retained their feudal rights over the minor copyholders; how they made a bargain with the King to give him 4s. in the pound upon their landed rentals, as a quit charge for having dispensed with these rights of feudal service from them; if the country understand as well as I think I understand, how afterwards this landed aristocracy passed a law to make the valuation of their rental final, the bargain originally being that they should pay 4s. in the pound of the yearly rateable value of their rental, as it was worth to let for, and then stopped the progress of the rent by a law, making the valuation final,—that the land has gone on increasing tenfold in many parts of Scotland, and fivefold in many parts of England, while the land-tax has remained the same as it was 150 years ago—if they force us to understand how they have managed to exempt themselves from the probate and legacy duty on real property, how they have managed, sweet innocents that tax themselves so heavily, to transmit their estates from sire to son without taxes or duties, while the tradesman who has accumulated by thrifty means his small modicum of fortune is subject at his death to taxes and stamps before his children can inherit his property; if they force us to understand how they have exempted their tenants' houses from taxes, their tenants' horses from taxes, their dogs from taxes, their draining-tiles from taxes, if they force these things to be understood, they will be making as rueful a bargain as they have already made by resisting the abolition of this Corn Law. (Cheers.) Do not let them tell me I am talking in a wild chimerical strain—they told me so seven years ago—about this Corn Law. I remember right well, when we came to London six years ago, in the spring of 1839, there were three of us in a small room at Brown's Hotel, Palace Yard, we were visited by a nobleman, one who had taken an active part in the advocacy of a modification of the Corn Laws, but not the total repeal,—he asked us, What is it that has brought you to town, and what do you come to seek? We said, "We come to seek the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws." The nobleman said, with a most emphatic shake of his head, "You will overturn the monarchy as soon as you will accomplish that." (Laughter.) Now, the very same energy, starting from our present vantage ground, having our opponents down as we have them now, the same energy—aye, half the energy, working for seven years, would enable a sufficient number of the middle and working classes of this country to qualify for the counties, and might transfer the power utterly and for ever from the landowners of this country to the middle and working classes, and they might tax the land, and tax the large proprietors and rich men of every kind, as they do in all the countries of Europe but England. (Cheers.) Again and again I warn Sir Robert Peel, I warn the aristocracy of this country, that on the settlement of this question, they do not force us into a discussion upon the peculiar burthens upon land. (Hear and cheers.) Well, they cannot meet us now with any modification of the law, because however it might have suited past years, to have let them down on a feather bed as they call it, to have given a

salve to their wounds, the crisis of the potato rot will not wait for it now; they dare not open the question of taxation. What will they attempt to do then? What can they do? Why, I would advise them as friends to do justice speedily and promptly; and if we take the repeal of the Corn Laws and ask no further questions; if we let bygones be bygones, they ought to be abundantly satisfied with the bargain. (Cheers.) I am disposed, gentlemen, to ask no questions, to let bygones be bygones. I want no triumph; I want no exaltation. I think no one will accuse us of having crowed over converts, or exulted over repentant sinners. We exist as an association, solely for the object of converting people. It would be a very bad piece of tactics if we ever offered the slightest impediment to an honest conversion to our ranks. We began in a minority of the intelligent people of England. I am willing to admit it, we had to inform the country and to arouse it; we live only to convert; and I am very glad indeed to congratulate you upon having converted some very important allies lately. (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, there are some who join our ranks who seem disposed to kick their schoolmaster when they come into our body. I observed the other day a letter from a gentleman, I have almost forgotten his name, I believe it was a Mr. Vernon Smith—this Mr. Vernon Smith, writes I believe to the electors of Northampton, and declares his adhesion to our principles; but in the concluding paragraph he says, "that he may be a little paradoxical perhaps; but he is of opinion that the progress of Free Trade opinions has been greatly accelerated by the arguments of the monopolists and retarded by the violence of the League." (Laughter.) Well, gentlemen, we do not boast of our converts even when they are worth converting, but when we are charged with violence, and charged by Mr. Vernon Smith, whom I have sometimes suffered the infliction of listening to in the House of Commons, why, considering that we are a kind of great national school, I think if we do sometimes fall a little out of temper, some allowance ought to be made for the kind of scholars we have to teach; and I must say that a duller scholar than Master Vernon Smith no schoolmaster ever dealt with. (Tremendous cheers and much laughter.) Gentlemen, I feel very great pleasure in noticing a statement which appears in to-day's paper in the news from Ireland. It is a report of a speech of Mr. O'Connell. Gentlemen, we of the Anti-Corn-Law League have every reason to feel indebted to Mr. O'Connell for the uniform and consistent course which he has taken in reference to the Corn Laws. (Hear.) From the beginning he has acted and co-operated with us both in our great meetings and in the House of Commons; but I have never considered him as acting here upon English ground. I have always regarded him as promoting a measure for the benefit of his own countrymen in Ireland when he has co-operated with us for the repeal of the Corn Law (hear, hear); because we have had the best possible proof in the continued misery and semi-starvation of the Irish people, that whatever good the Corn Law may have done to the landowner in England, it is quite certain that it has never been of any benefit to the people of Ireland, a large majority of whom never taste anything better than lumper potatoes. Then, gentlemen, both upon Irish and English grounds, I am glad we have an opportunity of co-operating with Mr. O'Connell. (Cheers.) I rejoice that upon this question, at all events, there cannot be a line of demarcation drawn between the two countries. Our interests are theirs, and theirs are ours. (Cheers.) They want more bread, God knows Ireland; and if we can help Mr. O'Connell to give it them they shall have it. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, I am not going to talk argumentatively to-night; and I have but to add, that the times that are coming are just those that will most require our vigilance and activity. Demonstrations now are comparatively valueless; we shall want you all next spring. There is a great struggle for that period. The Duke of Richmond has told us he shall trust to the hereditary legislators of the country. Well I might say—

"Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not." (Loud laughter.) I will back the "hereditary bondsmen" against the hereditary legislators upon this question. (Hear, hear.) But, no; we have not all the hereditary legislators opposed to us. I am glad of it; we have the best of them in our ranks (hear, hear); we always had the best of them with us. If they have not all joined our club we do not care about it so long as they adopt our principles. (hear, hear.) I have never been for making this a class question. I have preached from the first that we would have the co-operation of the best and most intelligent of all ranks in life—working, middle, and upper classes. No, no; we will have no war of classes in this country. (Cheers.) It is bad enough that in free and constitutional States you must have your parties; we cannot in our state of enlightenment manage our institutions without them; but it shall never be our fault if this question of the Corn Laws becomes a class question between the middle and working-classes on the one side, and the hereditary legislators on the other. No, no; we will save the Duke of Richmond's order from the Duke of Richmond. (Cheers.) We have got Lord Morpeth, and we have also Lords Radnor, Ducie, and Kinnaird, and a good many more; and among the rest Earl Grey, our earliest and most tried champion of the aristocracy. (Cheers.) This is one proof that ours is not a class question, and that we are not at war with the whole landed aristocracy; but if the Duke of Richmond sets up the Noodles and Doodles of the aristocracy, why before we have done with them they shall be as insignificant and more contemptible than the round-frocked peasantry upon his grace's estate. (Hear and laughter.) Gentlemen, this is a question that during the next three months will allow of no sleeping; we must be all watching. I have confidence in Lord J. Russell; I think if you have his word, you have his bond. (Hear, hear.) I do not know at this moment whether he will take office or not, but if he does, and has Lord Morpeth and Lord Grey associated with him, you are as safe with them as you are with Lord John Russell himself. I do not know who besides he may have. (A voice, "Yourself.") Most enthusiastic cheering and waving of hats and handkerchiefs. Yes, I will be the watchman so long as bad characters are abroad. But, Gentlemen, Lord John may have some difficulty, perhaps, in making up a Cabinet as willing to stick to the principles of Free Trade as himself; and he may not find them quite so willing to coerce those refractory legislators as he may wish. We must back him, gentlemen (cheers); we must show him the power we can give him to carry this question. (Tremendous cheers.) They talk of Lord John Russell having made a mistake in putting out that letter to the citizens of London. I have heard some mean and shabby people say, if he had not put out that letter, how much freer he would have been now. Why, Lord John Russell would have been nothing now without that letter. (Cheers.) The Queen would not have sent for him without

that letter. (Renewed cheering.) Lord John Russell would no more have commanded the people's confidence, or excited their hopes or enthusiasm without that letter, any more than Sir Robert Peel himself would have done. Gentlemen, it is a proof not only of the vitality of the principle, that without joining the League, he did not join us by the mere enunciation of a principle which the people quite understand and feel. Lord John Russell, as if by change of a magic lantern, became from the most obscure the most popular and prominent man of his day. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, ours is the only party that is now solid, growing, and consolidated in this country; all that is good of the Whig party have joined the Free Traders (hear, hear), the Whig party is nothing without the Free Trade party. The Tory or Conservative party, call them what you will, are broken to atoms by the disruption in the ranks of their leaders. (Cheers.) The League stands erect and aloft amidst the ruins of all factions. (Tremendous cheers.) Let us hold on to the principle which has made us as strong as we now find ourselves; let us hold on to it, not turning to the right, or to the left. (Great Cheers.) No man, or body of men, Ministers, or ex-ministers, have a right to expect it, nor shall they have it; we will not turn a hair's breadth to keep men in office, or put them out of office; and if we maintain this ground, aye, for another six months, then we shall be near that time which I so long for, when this League shall be dissolved into its primitive elements by the triumph of its principles. (The hon. gentleman concluded his speech amidst most enthusiastic applause, again and again renewed—the whole audience standing for some minutes waving their hats and handkerchiefs.)

Mr. BRIGHT, on presenting himself to the meeting, was received with much enthusiastic applause. He said: During the last month, as one of a deputation from the council of the League, I have visited many towns in this country. I have been present at meetings in Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Gloucestershire, Staffordshire, Somersetshire, and now in Middlesex; and I am forced to the conclusion that the agitation now in progress throughout this kingdom is one of no common or trivial character (hear, hear). Notwithstanding the hope that my friend who has just addressed you has expressed, that it may not become a strife of classes, I am not sure that it has not already become such, and I doubt whether it can have any other character. I believe this to be a movement of the commercial and industrious classes against the lords and great proprietors of the soil. (Hear, hear, hear.) Within the last fifty years trade has done much for the people of England. Our population has greatly increased; our villages have become towns, and our small towns large cities. The contemned class of manufacturers and traders have assumed another and a very different position, and the great proprietors of the soil now find that there are other men and interests to be consulted in this kingdom besides those of whom they have taken such great care through the legislation which they have managed. In the varying fortunes of this contest we have previously seen one somewhat feeble and attenuated administration overthrown, and now we see another, which every man thought powerful and robust, prostrate in the dust. (Cheers.) It is worth while that the people and statesmen should regard this result, and learn from it a lesson. What was it that brought the Whig Government down in 1841, and what is it that has brought down Sir Robert Peel now? (Hear, hear, hear.) Have not we good grounds for asserting that the Corn Law makes it impossible for any party longer to govern England during its continuance? (Hear, hear.) No statesman dare now take office upon the understanding that he is to maintain the system which the protectionists have asserted to be a fundamental principle of the constitution of the kingdom. (Cheers.) We have heard that the Whig Government left the country in great distress, and its financial affairs in much embarrassment. But no one has ever pointed out the particular acts of that Government which made the revenue deficient. (Hear, hear.) It was not the taking off of taxes injudiciously—it was not a more than ordinarily extravagant expenditure of the public funds which produced that effect; but it was the collapse of the national industry—it was the undermining of the sources of the prosperity of our trade, which arose from the deficient harvests that preceded their fall, those deficient harvests being destructive to our trade and industry, because the Corn Law denied to us the power of repairing the mischief by means of foreign supplies. Now landed proprietors may fancy that trade is of small importance; but of this we are at present assured, that no Government can maintain its popularity or keep up its power so long as we have deficient harvests and restriction on the importation of foreign food. (Hear, hear.) Under such a state of things, how is social order to be preserved? When prices are high the revenue invariably declines, and higher taxes must be imposed; general discontent prevails, because there is general suffering; and the Government, whatever be its party name, or whatever the number of its supporters in either House of Parliament, must, under these circumstances, first become unpopular, and then, finally, become extinct. We are now brought to this conclusion, that the continuous government of this country by any administration is totally incompatible with the maintenance of the Corn Laws. Lord John Russell acknowledges it, and Sir Robert Peel, by his sudden retirement from office, has given his testimony to the fact. (Hear, hear.) But there are men who deny it; such men, for example, as Sir John Tyrrell and Mr. Bramston, the latter celebrated, I believe, as the leader in the great land debate. (Laughter.) These men, down in Essex, speak of Sir Robert Peel in the most opprobrious language. They say they are glad that the "organised hypocrisy" is at an end—that they are delighted that "the reign of humbug is over;" that they are astounded at the perfidy and treachery of the men whom they lifted into office. It is neither perfidy nor treachery of which they have to complain. Sir Robert Peel cannot, any more than other men, do impossibilities; and it is an impossibility to govern this country with the Corn Law in existence. Sir John Tyrrell, and the like of him, do not shrink from the heavy responsibility of attempting this impossible task; but Sir R. Peel does shrink from it. Sir R. Peel is in a very different position from that which they occupy. The country has a hold upon him; he is responsible, and as Prime Minister he knows that he must be held responsible. But, further, he is responsible also to posterity, and no man more than Sir Robert Peel wishes to stand well upon the page of his country's history. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) But as for the squires, the country has no hold upon them; it expects nothing from them, and will make them responsible for nothing. The Tyrrells and the Bramstons are lost amid the herd of squires, and nobody can lay hold of them to make them atone for national calamities. (Hear, hear.) And if the country has no hold upon them, certainly posterity has

none. No man who records the history of this period will ever write long paragraphs about the Tyrrells and the Bramstons. (Loud cheers.) All that posterity will know of these, and of such as these, will be communicated to them upon a marble tablet in some obscure parish church. (Laughter.) This contest has now been waged for seven years; it was a serious one when commenced, but it is a far more serious one now. (Hear, hear.) Since the time when we first came to London to ask the attention of Parliament to the question of the Corn Law, two millions of human beings have been added to the population of the United Kingdom. (Hear, hear.) The table is here as before: the food is spread in about the same quantity as before; but two millions of fresh guests have arrived, and that circumstance makes the question a serious one, both for the Government and for us. These two millions are so many arguments for the Anti-Corn-Law League—so many emphatic condemnations of the policy of this iniquitous law. Why, I see them now in my mind's eye ranged before me, old men and young children, all looking to the Government for bread; some endeavouring to resist the stroke of famine, clamorous and turbulent, but still arguing with us; others dying mute and uncomplaining. Multitudes have died of hunger in the United Kingdom since we first asked the Government to repeal the Corn Law, and although the great and the powerful may not regard those who suffer mutely and die in silence, yet the recording angel will note down their patient endurance and the heavy guilt of those by whom they have been sacrificed. (Loud cheers.) We have had a succession of skirmishes; we now approach the final conflict. It may be worth while to inquire who and what are the combatants in this great battle? Looking in the columns of the newspapers, and attending, as I have attended, hundreds of meetings held to support the principles of Free Trade, we must conclude, that on the face of it the struggle is that of the many against the few. It is a struggle between the numbers, wealth, comforts, the all in fact, of the middle and industrious classes, and the wealth, the union, and sordidness of a large section of the aristocracy of this empire (cheers); and we have to decide, for it may be that this meeting itself may to no little extent be the arbiter in this great contest (hear, hear); we have to decide now in this great struggle, whether in this land in which we live, we will go on with the kind of legislation to which we have been subjected, or whether we will make one effort to right the vessel, to keep her in her true course, and, if possible, to bring her safely to a secure haven. (Cheers.) Our object, as the people, can only be, that we should have good and impartial government for every body. As the whole people, we can by no possibility have the smallest interest in any partial or unjust legislation: we do not wish to sacrifice any right of the richest or most powerful class, but we are resolved that that class shall not sacrifice the rights of a whole people. (Loud cheers.) We have had landlord rule longer, far longer than the life of the oldest man in this vast assembly, and I would ask you to look at the results of that rule, and then decide whether it be not necessary to interpose some check to the extravagance of such legislation. They have had unlimited sway in Parliament and in the provinces. Abroad, the history of our country is the history of war and rapine: at home, of debt, taxes, and rapine too. (Hear, hear.) In all the great contests in which we have been engaged we have found that this ruling class have taken all the honours, while the people have taken all the scars. (Applause and laughter.) No sooner was the country freed from the horrible contest which was so long carried on with the powers of Europe, than this law, by their partial legislation, was enacted—far more hostile to British interests than any combination of foreign powers has ever proved. (Cheers.) We find them legislating corruptly: going to the table of each house of Parliament, and making oath that in their legislation they would altogether discard all private ends and partial affections, and the very same day, it may be, sitting down to make a law for the purpose of extorting from all the consumers of food a higher price than it is worth, that that extra price may be placed in the pockets of the proprietors of land, they themselves being the very men by whom this infamous law was made. (Cheers.) In their other legislation we find great inequality. For example, they deal very leniently with high gaming on the turf, and very severely with chuck-farthing and pitch and toss. (Laughter.) We find them enacting a merciless code for the preservation of wild animals and vermin kept for their own sport; and, as if to make this law still more odious, we find them entrusting its administration, for the most part, to sporting gentlemen and game preservers. We find throughout England and Wales, the proportion of one in eleven of our whole population consists of paupers; and that in the south and south-western counties of England, where squiresdome has never been much interfered with, the pauperism is as one to seven of the whole population. (Hear, hear.) We find, moreover, that in Scotland there is an amount of suffering no less, perhaps, though not so accurately set down in figures. We find the cottages of the peasantry pulled down in thousands of cases, that the population on the landed estates may be thinned, the unfortunate wretches driven into the towns to procure a precarious support, or beyond the ocean, to find a refuge in a foreign land. (Cheers.) But in that country across the Channel, whence we now hear the wail of lamentation, where trade is almost unknown, where landowners are predominant and omnipotent, we find, not one in seven, but at least half the population reduced to a state which may be termed a condition of pauperism. (Hear, hear.) The men who write for protectionist newspapers sometimes heap their scorn and contumely upon the inhabitants of the American republic. New York is that state of the Union in which there is the most pauperism, for to that state the stream of emigration from this country and from Ireland flows; and yet in that state—the most pauperised in the whole republic, there is only one pauper to every 184 of the population. (Cheers.) It is true that they have not an hereditary peerage to trust to. (Laughter.) They know nothing there of a House of Lords, seventy or eighty members of which deposit their legislative power in the hands of one old man. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) It is not a wise thing for the hereditary peerage and the protectionist party to direct the attention of the people of this country to the condition of the American republic. We do not expect perfection either in the new world or in the old, all we ask is that when an abuse is pointed out, it may be fairly and openly inquired into, and if it be proved to be an abuse, honestly abated. I am always fearful of entering upon the question of the condition of that portion of our working population amongst whom these squires and lords principally live; but I find that those newspapers which stand in a very ambiguous character before the public, which sometimes are, and some-

times are not, the organs of the Government, but are always organs which play a tune that jars much upon the nerves of the people—I find those papers are now endeavouring to play the old game of raising hostile feelings in the manufacturing districts between the employers and the employed. (Hear, hear, hear, and loud cheers.) Let them write; bread has risen too much within the last six months, and within the last two months trade has suffered too sad a reverse for their writing to have any effect now. There is the most cordial, complete, and, I believe I may add, lasting union amongst all classes in the manufacturing districts in reference to this cause. (Cheers.) But how stands the case in the rural districts? Can the protectionists call a meeting in any town or village in the kingdom, giving a week's notice of their intention to call their tenants together, and imagine that they will have a vote in favour of protection? (Hear, hear, and cheers.) They sometimes think we are hard upon the aristocracy. They think that the vast population of Lancashire and Yorkshire are democratic and turbulent. Why there are no elements there, except that one of great numbers, which are to be compared in their dangerous character with the elements of disaffection and insubordination which exist round about the halls and castles of this proud and arrogant aristocracy. (Cheers.) You have seen in the papers, within the last fortnight, that the foul and frightful crime of incendiarism has again appeared. It always shows itself when we have had for some short time a high price of bread. The Corn Law is as great a robbery of the man who follows the plough as it is of him who minds the loom, with this difference, that the man who follows the plough is, of the two, nearest the earth, and it takes less pressure to press him into it. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Benett, one of the members for Wiltshire, at an agricultural meeting, held not long since, made a very long speech, in which he said some remarkable things—the most remarkable being, that if he had again to come into the world, and had the option of choosing the particular rank or class in society to which he would belong, after reviewing, I believe, a period of about 70 years, he confessed that he would choose to be an agricultural labourer. (Laughter and cheers.) Now, this sentiment is certainly of a very novel character; and it is one worth examining, coming, as it did, from a man who had at one time, I am told, a property of eight or ten thousand a year in land. Now, what is the condition of this agricultural labourer, for whom they tell us protection is necessary. He lives in a parish whose owner, it may be, has deeply mortgaged it. The estate is let to farmers without capital, whose land grows almost as much rushes as wheat. The bad cultivation of the land provides scarcely any employment for the labourers, who become more and more numerous in the parish; the competition which there is amongst these labourers for the little employment to be had, bringing down the wages to the very lowest point at which their lives can be kept in them. They are heart-broken, spirit-broken, despairing men. They have been accustomed to this from their youth, and they see nothing in the future which affords a single ray of hope. We have attended meetings in those districts, and have been received with the utmost enthusiasm by these round-frocked labourers. They would have carried us from the carriage which we had travelled in, to the hustings; and if a silly squire or a foolish farmer attempted any disturbance or improper interference, the round-frocked men were all around us in an instant, ready to defend us; and I have seen them hustle many a powerful man from the field in which the meeting was being held. (Cheers.) If there be one view of this question which more stimulates me to hard work in this cause than another, it is the fearful sufferings which I know to exist amongst the rural labourers in almost every part of this kingdom. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) How can they be men under the circumstances in which they live? During the period of their growing up to manhood, they are employed at odd jobs about the farm or the farm-yard, for wages which are merely those of little children in Lancashire. Every man who marries is considered an enemy to the parish; every child who is born into the world, instead of being a subject of rejoicing to its parents, and to the community, is considered as an intruder come to compete for the little work and the small quantity of food which is left to the population. (Cheers.) And then comes toil, year after year, long years of labour, with little remuneration; but perhaps at 60 or 70, a gift of 20s., and a coat, or of 2l. from the Agricultural Society, because they have brought up a large family, and have not committed that worst of all sins, taking money from the parochial rates. (Hear, hear.) One of their own poets has well expressed their condition:

"A blessed prospect—
To slave while there is strength—in age the workhouse,
A parish shell at last, and the little bell
Toll'd hastily for a pauper's funeral!"

But the crowning offence of the system of legislation under which we have been living is, that a law has been enacted, in which it is altogether unavoidable that these industrious and deserving men should be brought down to so helpless and despairing a condition. By withdrawing the stimulus of competition, the law prevents the good cultivation of the land of our country, and therefore diminishes the supply of food which we might derive from it. It prevents, at the same time, the importation of foreign food from abroad, and it also prevents the growth of supplies abroad, so that when we are forced to go there for them they are not to be found. The law is, in fact, a law of the most ingeniously malignant character. It is fenced about in every possible way. The most demoniacal ingenuity could not have invented a scheme more calculated to bring millions of the working-classes of this country to a state of pauperism, suffering, discontent, and insubordination than that Corn Law which we are now opposing. (Cheers.) And then a fat and sleek dean, a dignitary of the church and a great philosopher, recommends for the consumption of the people—he did not read a paper about the supplies that were to be had in the great valley of the Mississippi, but he said that there were Swede turnips and mangel wurzel; (great laughter)—and the Hereditary Earl Marshal of England, as if to out-herod Herod himself, recommends hot water and a pinch of curry-powder. (Renewed laughter and cheering.) I was rejoiced, not for the sake of the Duke of Norfolk, for I pitied him, but still I was in my heart rejoiced when I saw the speech which he had made in Sussex. The people of England have not, even under thirty years of Corn Law influence, been sunk so low as to submit tamely to this insult and wrong. (Cheers.) It is enough that a law should have been passed to make your toil valueless, to make your skill and labour unavailing to procure for you a fair supply of the common necessities of life—but when to this grievous iniquity they add the insult of telling you to go, like beasts that perish, to mangel wurzel, or to something which even the beasts themselves cannot eat, why then I believe the people

of England will rise, and with one voice proclaim the downfall of this odious system. (Cheers.) This law is the parent of those grievous fluctuations in trade under which so much suffering is created in this commercial kingdom. Now there is a period coming—it may be as bad or worse than the last—when many a man, now feeling himself independent and comfortable in his circumstances, will find himself swept away by the torrent, and his goodly ship made a complete wreck. Capital avails almost nothing; fluctuations in trade we have, such as no prudence can guard against. We are in despair one year, and in a state of great excitement in the next. At one time ruin stares us in the face, at another we fancy that we are getting rich in a moment. Not only is trade sacrificed, but the moral character of the country is injured by the violent fluctuations created by this law. (Hear, hear.) And now have we a scarcity coming or not? They say that to be forewarned is to be forearmed, and that a famine foretold never comes. And so this famine could not have come if the moment we saw it to be coming we had had power to relieve ourselves by supplies of food from abroad. The reason why a famine foretold never comes, is because when it is foreseen and foretold, men prepare for it, and thus it never comes. But here, though it has been both foreseen and foretold, there is a law passed by a paternal legislature, remaining on the statute-book, which says to 27 millions of people, "Scramble for what there is, and if the poorest and the weakest starve, foreign supplies shall not come in for fear some injury should arise to the mortgaged landowners." (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Well, if this class of whom I have spoken have maintained this law for thirty years—if they continued it from 1838 to 1842—be assured that no feeling of mercy, no relenting, no sympathy for the sufferings of the people, will weigh one atom in the scale in making them give up the law now. (Hear, hear.) They have no one to whom they can look for a promise to maintain it; but we have some one to whom to look for a promise to repeal it. (Cheers.) But the promises of Lord John Russell, or any other minister, are entirely conditional. He knows that he alone cannot repeal the Corn Law. I had almost said that the overturning of the monarchy would be a trifle compared with the touching of the pockets of the squires. Lord John Russell himself has said that it can only be done by the unequivocal expression of the public will. (Hear, hear.) How is this expression to be made? Why, by meetings such as this, and by the meetings which myself and others have seen in all parts of the kingdom; and also by preparations of the most active character of that general election which, in all human probability is near upon us. (Hear, hear.) I believe you have heard that we had a meeting in Manchester the other day, which was attended by more of the wealth and influence of that district than I have ever seen assembled at a meeting of the same numbers before. It was resolved on Tuesday to have a general meeting of all those who were wishful to support the League in this great and final struggle. It has been announced that the council of the League are calling upon their friends throughout the country to raise a fund of 250,000*l.* for the purpose of being ready, in any emergency, and for the sake of maintaining before the ranks of the Protectionists, at least, as bold and resolute a character as we have maintained for the past seven years. (Loud cheers.) Now, that money will be subscribed as it is required, and that large sum will be paid, and I can promise this meeting and the country that it will be honestly and judiciously applied to carry out the great national object for which the League has been established. (Tremendous cheers.) If the protectionists like to defer the settlement of this question till the warm weather comes, we will not trouble our friends to tear themselves half to pieces in getting within the walls of this theatre, but we will ask them to meet here, in Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow, Sheffield, Birmingham, and other towns, in numbers so great, unanimity so remarkable, and resolution so undaunted, that the aristocracy of this country, with all their pride of ancestry and their boasted valour, will quail before the demonstration that will then be made. (Loud cheers.) Two centuries ago the people of this country were engaged in a fearful conflict with the Crown. A despotic and treacherous monarch assumed to himself the right to levy taxes without the consent of Parliament and the people. That assumption was resisted. This fair island became a battle field, the kingdom was convulsed, and an ancient throne overturned. Well, if our forefathers 200 years ago resisted that attempt—if they refused to be the bondmen of a king, shall we be the born thralls of an aristocracy like ours? (Loud cheers and shouts of No, no, no.) Shall we, who struck the lion down, shall we pay the wolf homage? or shall we not, by a manly and united expression of public opinion, at once, and for ever, put an end to this giant wrong? (Loud cheers.) Our cause is at least as good as theirs. We stand on higher vantage ground; we have large numbers at our back; we have more of wealth, intelligence, union, and knowledge of the political rights and the true interests of the country; and, what is more than all this—we have a weapon, a power, and machinery, which is a thousand times better than that of force, were it employed—I refer to the registration, and especially to the 40*s.* freehold, for that is the great constitutional weapon which we intend to wield, and by means of which we are sure to conquer, our laurels being gained, not in bloody fields, but upon the hustings and in the registration courts. (Cheers.) Now, I do hope, that if this law be repealed within the next six months, and if it should then be necessary that this League should disperse, I do trust that the people of England will bear in mind how great a panic has been created among the monopolist rulers by this small weapon, which we have discovered hid in the Reform Act, and in the constitution of the country—I would implore the middle and working classes to regard it as the portal of their deliverance, as the strong and irresistible weapon before which the domination of this hereditary peerage must at length be laid in the dust. The hon. gentleman resumed his seat amid loud and prolonged cheering.

Mr. W. J. Fox upon advancing, was greeted with the loudest plaudits, which having subsided, he proceeded to speak as follows: I should rather have avoided speaking this evening had I not been previously announced, not from any indisposition to be in active sympathy with this magnificent meeting, but because of the unpleasantness of the present confused state of the political atmosphere—the uncertainty that hangs over our condition—our Parliament not at its post—one administration out, we scarcely know why, and another administration delaying to come in, we scarcely know where—friends and enemies confusedly mixed, so that we cannot discriminate the one from the other, and the whole political condition of the country a chaos, the darkness of which may be felt, but where nothing is seen—a fog in which one cannot breathe, and where one

longs for every coming day to bring some decisive information as to who are to be practically the rulers of the country, what difficulties our cause is next to struggle with, or to what triumphs our cause is about to advance. One longs for some certainty in which to rest; one wants this confusion to have a speedy termination, that we may not have to think and speak hypothetically, that our desires and wishes may not be contingent on something as yet unascertained; and our whole course like the old Castilian oath of allegiance, which was to obey the sovereign if he preserved their laws and privileges; but if not, not—the last negation being often much more important than the positive by which it was preceded. But there are circumstances on which to fall back; there are facts in the state of the country; there are truths in the principles we hold; there are assured hopes in the prospects opening before us, where we find something like solid footing; and it is to turn the mind away from the uncertainties of the passing day, and to fix it on these certainties that I would now endeavour to direct your attention. (Cheers.) Of these, some are sad and some are joyous; but still they furnish in their combination the elements and materials to which we have to look for the completion of the great work so long, honourably, and successfully carried on by the leaders of the League. The first certainty, I take it, that we can discern in looking around us is a dreary one; it is, that the country is short in its supply of food, and that its means are not in the best condition for making good the deficiency. At first this allegation was met, as so many truths have been met from the same quarter, by a brazen denial. We were told by the Protection Society in the first floors of No. 17, Bond-street (laughter), that it was an insidious and base delusion; that this outcry of coming scarcity was got up for selfish and interested purposes. We were told that nobody knew—they did not themselves know—what the harvest was; but they contradicted the assertion of scarcity by the assurance that they would write down to their local societies, and get back satisfactory information. The denial has now faded away; it was too daring, in the face of ascertained facts, to be any longer adhered to. (Hear, hear.) There is a deficiency of supply; there is peril of scarcity; and scarcity to a nation is famine and starvation to thousands of individuals. There is peril; or why these commissioners to inquire into the state of the potato crop in Ireland? There is scarcity; or why the rejoicing of the Somersetshire farmers, that this season promised to be more remunerative than the last; that is, the price of food would be higher in consequence of deficient quantity? There is danger; or why these suggestions of all sorts of preposterous substitutes for human food? Why learned disquisitions on the different roots that may be brought into play as food, or of the compounds of "peppers and that sort of thing," with which water may be made to comfort the human frame? There is something—there is truth in the apprehension, or why the breaking up of one Government, and the difficulties that exist as to the formation of another? Then where are we as to the supply that should come in readily, that the wealth of this country should set flowing in from all other countries, to stay even the apprehension, and to put down the fear of the most timorous as to such tremendous consequences? Why the sliding scale, with all its boasted operations, is rendered altogether useless; the bad wheat keeps down the price, and keeps up the duty; and with eatable corn at famine prices, we are turning back importation from our doors. We had a little stock of foreign corn in bond; but under the operation of the same law, that leaves our shores in the time of our own want, and amid all our apprehensions quits our land to seek the more provident, just, and careful regions that open their ports and invite supplies from other people the moment the danger appears above the verge of the horizon. (Cheers.) The fields that should supply us—the rich fertile fields, of which there are so many thousand square miles on the Continent of Europe and in the vast prairies of America—they have not borne the corn that might be sent for now to feed the population of these realms; they have not been tilled, because the restrictive system gave the cultivator no prospect of a market here, however much the food might be wanted. Monopoly here has laid on them in the distance the curse of sterility; it has arrested the arm of the cultivator, and robbed him of his profits and us of our provisions. (Cheers.) To this has that boasted system brought us which has been lauded as though it were the perfection of human wisdom. Here ends the sliding scale, smashed in the moment of trial, ridiculously inefficient to cope with the emergency that has occurred; showing that, from beginning to end, the system has been full of fallacy,—false in its profession of rendering the country independent of foreign supplies; false in its promises of promoting cultivation, so that it should be adequate to the demand; false in its promise of giving the farmers stimulating and remunerating prices; false in its declaration of utility to the labouring classes, the proportion of whose numbers employed in the cultivation of the land as a percentage of the whole population has been regularly diminishing; false in its promised connection with the stability of our means and the increase of our prices; from first to last one mass of falsehood, engendered by the sordid cupidity of a class, carried by interested majorities with indecent haste, under the protection of bayonets, in the face of popular commotion, supported by one administration after another, to curry favour with those who commanded votes in the House of Commons, and formed a great body of the House of Lords—prolonged, altered, and tinkered in various ways, in order to meet particular exigencies, but still retaining its original sin—fallacious at the end as it was at the beginning, and deserving to perish, as I trust it soon will, amid universal contempt and execration. (Cheers.) A time of trial and privation is before the people of these lands; they have borne such again and again; but there is something more formidable in the prospect now; it is more distinctly anticipated; its privation in many respects will be aggravated by the general knowledge of the cause from which those privations flow, and the means by which, with wiser and juster rulers, they might have been avoided. The horrors of past times will come back with aggravated force upon us and those great capitalists in the country who, while this matter was not understood, subjected themselves to severe losses—who struggled as they might through times of depressed trade and of heavy losses—who kept their works going by drains on their own resources, or what should have been their own reserved private fortunes, and thus formed some sort of employment, although for diminished time, and consequently diminished wages, to the great mass of operatives. Can we, therefore, expect that, now that every body knows that it is not Providence, but unjust laws—now that an exposed and exploded system is seen to be the origin and source of this—can we expect of them with any reasonableness that they should make themselves martyrs for the sake of the monopoly under which they suffer and groan,

that they shall ruin themselves in order to avert some few of the operations of a law which is still obstinately upheld by its authors, that they should interpose, as it were, between the dead and the living, and themselves perish in the strife, when they know that it is by the alteration of the law, and by that alone, that master and workman can hope to hold on his course, and get safe through this time of peril? (Cheers.) We have no right to expect any such conduct of them, nor can we look without apprehension at the mode in which, when there is a deficiency, the food in the country has to be distributed; for if there is not enough, do we not know that there are plenty of persons in the country that will be sure to have sufficient for themselves? Do we not know that the division of the deficient supply will be much for the wealthy and little for the poor; that there will be meat for these, and bones for those,—food for the one class, and garbage for the others; that there will be the same sort of division as between the lion and the jackal, when the prey seized is not enough for the stronger and more rapacious creature's appetite? Such will be the condition of the several classes; and let no man in comfortable circumstances wrap his warm cloak about him, and hug himself in the thought, that however it may fall with others, he shall get through this time; it will not retrench his table; he has a relish for potatoes, but he can do without them,—he will be furnished with his usual supply of dainties, and will live in his customary state of luxury. Let not any one, I say, be making himself comfortable in this way, for there is an atmosphere of evil that cannot be restrained. If you set up typhus fever in St. Giles, the effluvia will spread abroad, and press into the parlours of St. James's (cheers); if there be want, and hunger, and desperation in some classes, it will be felt by others; aye, the most easy and the most comfortable. They will have to look well to their doors at nights,—they will have to barricade their windows,—they will have to take care of their pockets when they walk the streets,—they will be wise to avoid lonely roads, especially if they are known to have money about them; there will be danger everywhere. Want and desperation are the sources of crime and violence; if we subject England to the privations of Ireland, we shall import the outrages of Ireland, and our comfortable man will find his slumbers broken, and he will scarcely sleep the better for having pistols near his pillow, or every night when he retires, feeling it expedient to call for his bed-candle and his blunderbuss. Throughout all the ranks and classes of society, the pressure that is set up too heavily for one portion to endure brings a reaction upon other portions of society. "No doubt we shall get through it;" that is to say, the British islands will not be swamped in the ocean; the race by which they are inhabited will not become extinct; we shall get through somehow; but with how many shattered fortunes and broken hearts? With how many families plunged into desolation who had before them the fairest prospects? With how many of the sturdy operative classes, their frames attenuated, until, as happened the last time that distress visited us, when there was work they found their muscular strength so gone, that their frames were unable to go through with it. We shall get along and survive it; the soil and people of the country will survive it; but what dreary monuments and recollections of it will be left! What sad testimonies will there be to the iniquity of this system in churchyards crowded with dead corruption, and gaols crowded with living corruption! (Loud cheers.) If I see dismal certainties in the condition of the country, and no appearance as yet of legislative interposition to ward off the danger, no Government at work, no administration in existence, I turn on the other hand and behold the people of this country in one of the truest and proudest positions they ever occupied. Come the danger when it may, be the suffering what it will, in the sight of heaven and earth it is not the fault of the people of this country, but of their rulers. (Hear, hear.) For years now have the great truths of political economy, throwing light on our state interests and duties, been, one may say, studied by the population of the country; they have been the subject of discussions. Topics that had been confined to the pages of philosophers and sages have been made familiar to public meetings; they have analysed and compared and deliberated. Opinion has gradually advanced, and has been declared again and again in its strength and clearness. Whilst there was a hope in petitioning Parliament, the people did petition; when that was turned from with disgust at the disregard with which it was treated, they then looked to themselves and their resources. Money was wanted, and it was subscribed; the registration was suggested, and they have registered, and will register by tens and twenties of thousands more. No state pilot sung out from the mast head that there were breakers; the warning of the danger was not given to the people by the Government; the people had to give it themselves, and the notion grew up amongst them, and was canvassed and found to have something in it: its truth was ascertained, but they were left to work all this out as they could. Information was denied by the last Parliament as to the progress of agricultural produce in this country, no official helps have been given now for comprehending our condition; the people have done it all themselves; they have seen the danger; they have sounded the alarm; they are demanding the remedy; they are prepared for the assertion of the only principles that can guide us through this difficulty. They began to assemble first in town councils, remonstrating quietly with Government upon opening the ports; then in chambers of commerce, and bodies of that description, still going on deliberately and gradually; then in larger meetings; and now multitudinous assemblages in every great town and city throughout the country, north, south, east, and west: they are raising their clamour for our deliverance from this impending storm, speaking in a voice of thunder: Whosoever duty is neglected they are doing theirs; and in their great peaceful decisive movement, in the firm step they take, in the onward ground by which they advance to the possession of it, we see what in other countries would be a convulsion and revolution, but which here is only the firm march of the people to the possession of justice and the enjoyment of their rights. (Loud cheers.) Where are those who should have taken this charge off the people's hands? Who should have done this for them? Who should have been foremost? Where is the suggestion of the remedy? Where is the great party that fought for and won the government of the country, and drove the Whigs from office,—that boasted of having gained the perpetual tenancy of the seats they held, and to have the wisdom and the power to render office subservient to the right government of the nation? Where are they—that mighty party so much talked of? It took 10 long years in its formation, and great were the toils and many the expedients that were employed to build it up to its towering grandeur. It welcomed comers from all quarters: there was not a discontent of whatever description throughout the country with which it did not

affect to sympathize in order to get its little modicum of support; its recruiting sergeants were everywhere offering high bounties: apostates from every principle, and professors of every principle were alike welcomed into its ranks. There was no principle but what some of its members professed to hold, no principle but what some of its members abjured. It sympathized with the proud aristocracy of Whiggism and with the fierce democracy of Chartism—it held out its fraternal hand alike to the Anti-Roman Catholic dissenter and to the Romanizing Puseyite; it professed to adhere to absolute monarchy on the one hand, while some of its orators were reminding Queen Victoria of the abdication of James II.; it thought every thing a bait that would catch a fish;—and thus collected its band together. The time of trial came; its proud majority of 90 was ascertained, and then the great party, with the great Premier at its head, marched triumphantly into office, drums beating and colours flying:—"See the conquering hero comes." There they were safely housed, thence to dispense law and justice to the world; in doing which they are now confessing the astounding truth that, for these four years they have been voting against their own consciences; and all at once, in their pride and plenitude of power, just as the architect was exclaiming, "The mighty structure stands complete:" "Is not this Great Babylon that I have built to the glory of my name?" his Babylon falls to pieces in a marvellous confusion of tongues; the whole vanishes away, and like the magician deserted by his demons, he is left forlorn. (Loud cheers and laughter.) There he is, left alone on the wide waste to endure the pelting of the pitiless storm—a more pitiless storm from all quarters than has ever been on any public man in my recollection. (Renewed cheers.) And perhaps it will one day be felt to be too pitiless. There is one thing, which all the world seems to have made up its mind not to believe in, and that is, the sincerity of Sir R. Peel. (Laughter.) I cannot profess my faith in it, but if it be true that he has broken up this great party that was banded at his back—that he has forfeited his own grasp of office and power from a sense that the condition of the country needed measures the reverse of what he had hitherto in some particulars supported—that the only remedy for their distress was that entire freedom of trade which his colleagues, or some one or more of them, would not co-operate with him in producing: if upon such grounds and for such reasons he has thrown himself out of his position, and is ready to co-operate with those who will promote the same great ends of securing the freedom of food for the people of this country, why then I do say, that if not confidence, he has gratitude; if we do not believe him for the future, we have reason to thank him for that one thing in the past; and nothing in his public life will have become him like the leaving it, and for that act let him have the full measure of the approval and thankfulness to which such a deed is most assuredly entitled. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) Well, then, there is the other party; those who are not in, although their opponents are out: who seem to take a pretty large time in considering whether they shall come in. Grateful as I am to Lord John Russell, as well as Sir Robert Peel, for the letter which is completely intelligible, as well as the resignation, which is not yet completely intelligible—I must nevertheless look with some anxiety to the restoration of the Whig Ministry to office. If they do come, in I trust—and I believe the people of the country join me in that hope—that it will be with the determination, at once to carry the repeal of the Corn Laws completely unshackled, and to admit of no compromise whatever. This we expect of them, and also that they should omit no means within their reach for the accomplishment of that object. (Hear, hear.) There must be no squeamishness; no deference to absurd and pernicious prejudices. If to carry this measure through the Commons a coalition with Sir Robert Peel be necessary, why then there should be a coalition with him. (Hear, hear.) We have had many coalitions for party purposes; the country would not find fault with one for patriotic purposes. (Cheers.) If a creation of Peers should be necessary to carry the measure through the other House, the country looks then to have it done. (Renewed cheers.) It wants no delaying, paltering, and temporising as there seemed to be at one time when the Reform Bill was in jeopardy from the Peers. And why should they not make Peers? Can they make any who will be worse than some who now sit in that House? (Hear, hear.) If such swamping hurts the dignity of the House of Lords, why all the good that the House of Lords does this country, as far as I know, is not for a moment to be compared with the mischief that the Corn Law does this country. (Hear, hear.) If a dissolution be necessary, they should dissolve Parliament; and, if needs be, dissolve it again. (Hear.) They should give the people the chance of the next registration as well as the last. They should let those who are qualifying themselves to speak out politically—who are buying the character of county voters—buying their emancipation at 50*l.* a piece or more—they should give them an opportunity of using a voice they thus purchase. Let them have fair play; let the registration reform, which has been commenced in the north, be carried on to the south: let it be extended to every county in the kingdom; and then take the voice of the people of England, and not till then can you get the voice of the people of England through the means of Parliamentary representation. If all this will not do, why let them throw up office again, and fight out this battle in the ranks of opposition, assured that if they failed to carry it in the one case they must succeed in the other. (Hear.) I would say further to this party, in coming in, "Identify yourselves with the people; sympathize more with them than you have been accustomed to do in this matter. (Loud cheers.) No doubt some of the noble members of that party are amongst the most illustrious-titled, or untitled, that the country now bears; but still for all that, for all one's gladness to see them there, the old familiar names, if not in every case the old familiar faces; still for all that, it does not accord with the tone and temper of the English people at this time,—it does not agree with the feeling and notions which this agitation has fostered and matured in their minds, that we should be altogether under the government of lords, though they be Whig lords, or that the business of the country should not have some men of business, trained in the ranks where alone they can best acquire the knowledge of such practical transactions. For some of these the country looks. I need not say in what direction; but it anticipates, and demands, that the Commons of England be represented in the Cabinet. (Loud cheers.) As they may not be so open to admonition when once they are snugly housed in Downing-street, I will go on a little further to say, that they will be wise to whip themselves up more closely to a level with public opinion, and that especially if they aspire again to be the leaders of this nation. Now, in this question before us, this principle of Free Trade, sixty years ago all the philosophical minds in this country came to an agreement upon the

matter. They saw that interference with the people's food was a nuisance, and a thing which no legislature ought to attempt. Thirty years ago, when the first Corn Law was passed, the first of this series of Corn Laws, the multitude of this metropolis had an inkling of the question, a sort of glimpse bursting into the darkness of their minds, and they offered what rough, rude obstruction they could to the passing of that monopoly act of the present system. Twenty years ago, the question expanded itself, and descended from the philosopher to the expositor, taught by reviewers and by journalists, by those whose office it is to stand between the profound thinkers and the enquiring many; they familiarised the minds of thousands with it, and brought it on another stage. Ten years after this, the manufacturers of Manchester found where the shoe was pinching: they traced the difficulties and struggles that they had to undergo to this preposterous and iniquitous system. They made up their minds, and they took their course; they entered on the course which they have ever since so nobly pursued. Five or six years ago we may say that the public generally of Great Britain became decided upon this question, and multitudinous meetings reiterated the intelligent expression of their determinations on an alteration of plans which had worked so mischievously. Two or three weeks ago, my Lord John Russell came in, having the advantage, by 18 days, of the resignation of Sir Robert Peel,—perhaps about 18 hours of the determination of that Right Hon. Baronet. These two great leading statesmen of the country thus following at the heels of the farmers,—of the meetings and multitudes, of the manufacturers,—of the expositors and philosophers that had gone before,—coming with all their leading power at the very end of the time, making it a most important point which of them should arrive first at the goal—having, after 20 years' hesitation, the two of them, to run as fast as magicians are said to run upon Hallowe'en, I believe it is called, when the devil has a right to take his own—(laughter)—they accomplished their race seemingly with all the speed arising from the principle of "the devil take the hindmost,"—and of those that should have been first, that should have gone at the head of the people,—of the mass of the manufacturers—we can only say as was said of a certain race-horse, "although he was behind before, he was first at last." (Laughter.) Now this will not do in carrying out the principles of Free Trade; there must be a struggle of a bolder spirit than is here shown. There must be real leading of the country—leading it on; and it will not do for them to sit like the gods of Epicurus, in the clouds, enjoying their own leisure and dignity, and looking down on mankind in their toils and struggles. If they would have us rest with confidence upon them as the men who are to work out the deliverance of the country, let them show themselves amongst us; let them give their active and decided countenance to what can only be achieved by a great movement of the industrial masses: let them come forth and help the power which they invite to back them, and strengthen them in office: let us see their subscriptions of thousands down towards the proposed quarter of a million, or another quarter of a million of their own, if they like, raised among the Whig aristocracy, to combine with that raised by the manufacturers and the commonalty. Let them do this, and there is no strength and confidence, there is no heartiness of co-operation, nay, there is no child-like sympathy and facility of guidance that they will not find in the people of this country, knowing whom they trust, as in such a case, with evidence of this sort, they may do confidently with their whole hearts and minds. Let them think over the matter; there is something worth their subscribing for. As manufacturers count the cost, as they look to the falling off of their orders—as they see how their trade is affected by the action of restrictive legislation—as they put down their subscriptions to the League in some sort as an insurance for the future—let the liberal aristocracy do the like; let it count the cost or the worth of its stars and garters, and subscribe accordingly; let it count the worth of its fertile fields and that security of improvement which they will derive from the establishment of Free Trade principles, and from their influence in enriching the country. Let them count if they can what a nation's confidence and gratitude are worth. These are all before them—safety, honour, and the noblest powers that man can exercise over his fellow man; and they surely deserve some demonstration of fellowship in this good cause, and fraternity in what they tell us shall be our common cause; and let it be manifest on their part, and they know very well there will be no lack of responsive demonstration on our parts. (Cheers.) There is a third party in the State of whom something is known in this matter—or rather, a man with a party in his pocket, which, considering his years, he carries with wonderful ease. (Laughter.) Sed is the anticipation expressed in so many quarters that European honour and a European name should be tarnished in the latter years of life by struggling against the rights of a country—their rights in that most important article, the free importation of their food at times of apprehended scarcity. Oh, could voice of remonstrance reach that old man's ears—for we may not yet say—

"Down Marlborough's cheeks the tears of dotage flow"—Could we reach his ears, our language would be something like this: Man, upon whose brows are the laurels of a hundred fights, and in whose pocket are the proxies of 60 peers,—True, you conquered Napoleon; you have his statue in your mansion—look at it well, and its marble lips may seem to speak to you and warn you of a deeper fall than his whom you hurled from his high eminence. (Cheers.) Though you were the conqueror of Napoleon, I would say, remember, there are certain differences and contrasts in your characters and histories. You won many a brilliant battle; won it with troops well trained, troops, the flower of the English people; while he had to invent the art of war to baffle the most accomplished generals of Europe with raw regiments, who had never before entered the battle field, nor knew aught but by report of the dangers they should face or the exertions they had to make; and yet with these he commenced that splendid series of victories of Lodi, Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena, which will beam and blaze so fearfully for ages upon the page of military history. You, Duke of Wellington, have won principalities and broad estates in many of the countries of Europe; but he did more, he won realms, kingdoms, crowns, and empires. You have been the servant of monarchs, and have rendered them good service, supporting for a while their tottering thrones; he made himself the master of sovereigns, and compelled them to wait like menials in his ante-room. (Cheers.) You, by Catholic emancipation, freed your fellow-subjects from civil disabilities; he throughout Europe opened a career for talents and showed them the path for energetic exertion, by which any one might rise from the lowest ranks to the highest, by the force of his ability. Such has been the difference of your courses. You have eques-

trian statues. But wander over Europe; bridges here and aqueducts there—open squares in one place and roads cut across mountains in others—these are the monumental records of Napoleon; identifying his name with the progress of art and the grandeur of any nation that has advanced high in civilisation. With all this difference, remember, that the date of the Berlin Decrees was that of the commencement of the fall of Napoleon. Powerful against armies, resistless by monarchs, he fought against the laws of trade, and they "crushed him like a weed." (Loud cheers.) From that moment hearts left him; the injury which he inflicted on every country to which his proscriptive system extended, alienated their feelings. When he raised fresh armies they were filled with traitors or thinned by deserters, until at last the tide of battle followed the tide of human feeling, and there followed his deposition, exile, imprisonment, and death at St. Helena. Duke of Wellington, take warning; remember, that if the Berlin Decrees brought on the downfall of Napoleon; so in all that is most precious to man, the Corn Laws may mark the downfall of the Duke of Wellington. (Tremendous cheering.) You would be more humbled in that than the man you vanquished; and with withered laurels, with a stained name—with reverence alienated that was long paid so readily—you will go to your grave coupled with him you defeated in this, that you both

"Leave a name, at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral and adorn a tale."

That moral is that no political ascendancy, no mere station, no strength of party—no antiquity of prestige—can successfully maintain battle against the laws of nature, of which the laws of trade, as Edmund Burke has taught us, are part and parcel. They are the laws of nature; a manifestation of the same Providence, characterized by the same universality and omnipotence. (Cheers.) And not only has trade its laws, but opinion—opinion in its progress according to the circumstances of modern civilisation. I believe that the advance of this agitation is referable to those same principles, and that we shall find in it an exhibition of the operation of those self-same laws. It has grown, this agitation, as the glacier grows on the mountain top. The snows descend silently and softly, like the progress of conviction in individual minds, penetrating and abiding, yet not attracting notice. Every passing cloud drops more and more, and one stratum accumulates upon another, and then the wild winds that rage and the biting frost in its severity do but knit it the firmer, and make it the stronger and more compact; and still as the seasons return, the winter which forbids the growth of vegetation, gives growth and nutriment to this same mass in its progress, and through years and ages it accumulates, and is bound together by the freezing atmosphere, firm and fast, like the opinion—the riveted opinion and principles of enlightened multitudes; and then by its very growth and magnitude the time for moving comes; by its own weight it is loosened—it rushes down, the avalanche, and bears all before it; and no trophy of military greatness; no senate house, however venerable; no palace, however splendid; no church, however towering, can stop its progress; down it rushes over all, turning even the ancient rivers from their courses, and thus sweeps away the monuments of man, proclaiming that nature's laws are like nature's God—are vested with omnipotence; and that they are resisted only to the destruction of their opposers. (Enthusiastic cheers.) In the determination which these meetings evince, in the growing power of popular opinion, in the certainty that whether we can or cannot rely upon Sir Robert Peel or Lord John Russell, we can rely upon ourselves—in that is our hope and our strength for the future. You have petitioned; you have resolved; you have remonstrated; many of you have registered; and many more will possess yourselves of the 40*s.* franchise. You will do this until it is achieved through the length and breadth of the land; and if that does not win the battle, you will do more than this—you will do whatever is necessary; and the means will be found—honourable, legal, and peaceable—for the accomplishment of your purpose. Towards that you are advancing in a march that nothing can resist, because your reliance is upon principles that are everlasting, and universal as truth itself. You have identified your cause with this power of truth; that must fail; the experience of ages must be reversed; the maxims of the wisest must be proved folly, before you can flinch in your course: and when once you have worked out this great and good achievement; when you have done what is to be done for grappling with and abating the pressure of temporary suffering; when beyond that, you have made this country pre-eminent in the world for the adoption of a liberal and generous policy; when the blessings of Free Trade are felt through the nations as averting wars, and keeping down the rage of hostile feeling and antagonistic passions; when experience has taught the most backward of them to acknowledge that at last you have rightly guided them in the course of peace, prosperity, and of social advancement; Oh, then, it will be the disposition of mankind at large to render honour in the records of historians to whom honour is due, and in that sort of pyramid which the world will pile in commemoration of this grand event, of this peaceful, just, and fraternal policy, there may be the names of political and party leaders at the base, but above them will be the names of philosophers, our Adam Smith, and other enlightened men, whose works made the subject understood, and prepared the way for those blessed changes; and above them will be the practical men, your Bright, and Cobden, and their fellow-labourers (cheers) the real abolishers of the Corn Law, so far as individuals are able—above them, and above all, will be the inscription of the world's gratitude to the people of England, for that they enforced the adoption of a Free Trade policy. (Vehement cheering.) Well is it that you should raise your voice for marshalling on this mighty and blessed change, now when the exigencies of the time render immediate action necessary; and I will add that you should do it now is not unfitting, at this particular season of the year; for if there be a cause—if there ever has been a cause—discussed in public meetings, intermixed with political antagonisms, which deserves the name of "holy, sacred, and Christian," it is this. And when you raise, as you do, your shouts of gratitude and acclamation for the abolition of restriction, and for the establishment of a brotherly policy inducing brotherly love among all varieties of the human species, you are, in fact, sending back the echo of earth to the song of angels of "Glory to God in the highest, with peace on earth and good will among men." It is almost impossible to describe the alternations of intense interest and enthusiastic applause which accompanied the delivery of the above most eloquent address, or the prolonged burst of applause which followed its close.

Mr. COBDEN then came forward and proposed three cheers for Free Trade, which was instantly complied with.

AGRICULTURE.

WHO WILL MARCH THROUGH COVENTRY?

Another attempt is to be made upon the gullibility of the farmers. The Corn Laws are given up as untenable by every public man with any pretension to talent or influence. The farmers themselves are anxiously desirous that the question should be settled, and that speedily, in the only way it can be settled, by a total and immediate repeal. The protectionist Ministers are, it is said, preparing to propose to the monopolist Parliament the complete abrogation of the Corn Laws—so strong, so irresistible, has become the public opinion of their impolicy. Yet, in spite of all these things, in utter disregard of the teachings of experience, that blind section of the landed oligarchy, of which the Duke of Richmond is the leader and the type, seeks again to arouse the farmers to bellow for the lost monopoly.

Now, before the British farmer consents to march through Coventry with the Duke of Richmond's (politically) ragged regiment, let him take a rational review of the backward movement of the "protectionist cause" during the past two years, and then let him say whether he can do anything except make himself ridiculous, by marching at the word of command from the room in Bond-street?

It was about this time two years that land-lordism, alarmed by the progress Free Trade opinions were making amongst the farmers, established the "protection societies," and got up for a moment a kind of galvanic agitation in support of monopoly. We then hailed that agitation as a valuable adjunct to our own efforts in favour of a Free Trade in corn. We well knew that monopoly could not open its mouth without speaking its own condemnation; and we were right glad to find the monopolist landocracy driven into the necessity of maintaining its wrong by argument, and the result has justified our expectations. Hundreds and hundreds of farmers who had not come within the influence of the direct arguments of the Free Traders, went home from "protection" meetings, disgusted with the rancorous spirit and unseemly violence of the protectionist landowners, to ponder over and soon to detect and despise their false assertions and fallacious reasoning. Then came the "lard and grease" defences of monopoly in the House of Commons, by Mr. Miles and his feeble clique, the Duke of Richmond's unblushing pleas in the House of Lords for his salmon and timber monopolies, and the growl of every "conservative" public man, who had a character for anything but stupidity, that "protection" could never survive such defences as had been made on its behalf. Then, the Corn Laws have been proved ineffectual to give the farmer the prices promised by Sir Robert Peel in 1842, while they have proved most efficient in converting a deficiency into present scarcity with a prospect of famine.

Then the League, which was to have been annihilated by the protection societies, has steadily grown in power and influence. It has drawn forth from the repertoires of the constitution the 40s. franchise, and has shown how the landed oligarchy may be met and conquered on its own ground. Two of the largest, most populous, most industrious, and most wealthy divisions of English counties have been won by the Free Traders. The metropolitan county, and several others, have been made too hot for monopolists at any future election. Some 10 or 12 other counties, or divisions of counties, are in the course of being converted from monopolist into Free Trade strongholds.

The monopolists have not a public man amongst them fit to undertake the lowest responsible office in the government of a country, much less to form an administration. The Duke of Richmond, their leader, is a shallow, vain, and selfish man, who moreover knows full well the utter prostration of the monopolists—is only half in earnest, and ready at any moment to swap the whole influence of the clique "in Bond street," for substantial favours to his kith and kin. But were the Duke of Richmond as politically honest as he is hollow, he could no more

form a ministry than he could create a world. For the maintenance of the restrictive system, then, there is no chance; and it behoves every farmer who regards the welfare of his class to come forward and declare that all this turmoil and uncertainty, bitterness and strife, shall have an end.

If more was required to prove the utter uselessness of any further effort to sustain the Corn Laws, it would be found in the statements and admissions of the melancholy remnant of the protectionist party which assembled at the room in Bond-street on Tuesday last. There the muster consisted of between "fifty and sixty" landowners and tenant farmers, the peerage being represented by the Duke of Richmond and the Marquis of Salisbury; the only members of the House of Commons present were Messrs. W. Miles, Stafford O'Brien, Newdegate, and Heathcote. This shows the low estate of the monopolist cause. And then the speeches and the report were more like funeral orations over the dead Corn Laws, than stirring appeals to their defenders.

The Duke of Richmond began by stating that since their last annual meeting "a certain number of individuals," who formerly called themselves "friends of the farmer," who stated boldly on the hustings their adherence to our opinions, and who said that they were willing to give protection to agriculture, had since changed their opinions." He then referred to the letter of Lord John Russell, at which he did not wonder, and the adhesion of Lord Morpeth to the League, at which he did wonder; gave his own word that the potato failure was a "delusion," and called upon the farmers "to agitate the country in favour of protection." He urged them to consent to no compromise; hoped there was no truth in the *Times* report that the Government is about to repeal the Corn Laws, promised to re-say in the House of Lords all the nonsense he had there and then uttered, and sat down.

Mr. Stafford O'Brien, chairman of the Publication Committee, then read a report, embodying statistical returns made by the branch societies, to show that the potato-crop *had not failed*, and other matters equally surprising and true!! But what cannot a publication committee prove, who contrived to make Adam Smith bear testimony in favour of monopoly?

Mr. Thomas, a tenant farmer, made the comfortable assurance to the meeting that "if the percentage of the diseased potatoes were taken away, there would remain *nearly* the same available amount of potatoes as in ordinary years!" We presume the salvo for Mr. Thomas's veracity is to be found in the indefinite meaning of the word "nearly."

Mr. Bennett, a farmer and auctioneer, of Bedfordshire, made this, to the monopolists, startling admission—"that the everlasting meddling with agriculture was its greatest bane. There was no security whatever. When they sowed, they did not know but some newfangled notion would be promulgated, and perhaps adopted, before their crop was secured. This awful insecurity of everything relating to the soil was calculated to drive a wise man mad. He confessed, if it were to come to a total repeal, *he said the sooner the better*." True, Mr. Bennett, most true, and a capital Free Trade argument.

Then followed Mr. Allnatt, of Berkshire, who seems to be just one of those imaginative gentlemen who suit protection meetings; for after sundry ideal statements, he said, "Supposing that League principles had been adopted, and that League predictions had been fulfilled, *that the poor soils would be thrown out of cultivation*," &c. &c. &c. Now, it so happens that the League prediction is, *not* that poor soils will be thrown out of cultivation, but that poor soils, and all soils in this country, will certainly be more highly cultivated than at present, as soon as the Corn Laws are repealed; that nothing can prevent such improvement but the blindest obstinacy on the part of the owners of such soils. However, as protectionist statements of fact rank amongst the wildest works of fiction of the day, it may be scarcely worth while to set Mr. Allnatt right. This gentleman ended with the discovery that "the

League had been nearly dead up to the time when the two noble lords, Russell and Morpeth, thought fit to join and resuscitate it." That might be a pleasant delusion for a gentleman to indulge in the seclusion of his farm in Berkshire, but those who have chanced to come into collision with the League have had pretty plain proof of its vitality. Thus, Mr. Wm. Miles, who has felt the force of the grip of the League leaders in the House of Commons, said:

"He would touch upon one point which Mr. Allnatt had mentioned. He said that the League would have been dead but for the support and assistance of Lord J. Russell and Lord Morpeth. Let the farmers of England not so deceive themselves. *The League was still using the most active exertions, and it would require all their energies to prevent those exertions from being successful.* From what he heard, he was afraid that so many Free Traders had been placed upon the registration in South Lancashire and in the West Riding of Yorkshire, that it was very doubtful whether they would not carry those elections."

He alluded to the possibility that his own seat might be endangered by the Bath and Bristol Leaguers, and he added:

"Now, though they could not, and would not, interfere in elections, as the League did, yet much was to be done by union—much by the friendly intercourse at market and at farmers' tables—much by energy, perseverance, and determination; and, if they were all united, let them remember the great force they carried along with them in their labourers, who were their 40s. Freeholders."

Does Mr. Miles mean to say the monopolists will qualify the agricultural labourers and 40s. freeholders? We wish they would try it.

Mr. Newdegate, whose seat in Warwickshire is likely to become a little too warm, was greatly irate with the League, but gave this (for a monopolist landowner) curious reason for the growing influence of the League:

"The recent support given to the League has arisen from the fact, that they stood in need of a diversion of attention. *Men's minds had become tired and disgusted with their old talk and their old practices*, and to this account might be attributed the new adherents they had gained."

Mr. Heathcote's speech was quite that of a Corn Law martyr. "Whatever changes had occurred in the opinions of others, his own were unaltered." Whereat the little band of despondents cheered vehemently. He added:

"He well knew that they had many difficulties to encounter in fighting this question. *Many eminent men on both sides in the House of Commons, he feared, were against them.* He feared that the recent declarations of the leaders of the Whigs showed that they were opposed to them; while speeches made last session by several of the Conservative leaders showed that they took far too low a tone—that they, in a great measure, gave up the principle for which the agriculturists were contending. He was aware that great odds were placed against them—that they had to contend with many highly talented men who were against them; but, in the midst of this gloom, there were still some rays of hope to which they could cling."

Now, this is not a very hopeful frame of mind wherein to march to the relief of monopoly, under such leadership as that of Richmond and Miles.

A Mr. Weale was very learned about malt as food for stock, and said:

"One fact had been alluded to of great importance to graziers—the feeding of cattle on malt. They were told that the importation of cattle under the tariff would do the British grazier no harm. Now it appeared that the first year there were 1100 cattle imported, in the next year there were 2900, and last year there were 11,000. *This was a fact of great importance.* Why did they find the Belgian and other foreign breeders going round the country and purchasing the best bulls and cows they could procure? Why, but because they had been in the markets of the metropolis, and saw the kind of cattle that were wanted there, and were now endeavouring to supply them. They were told that they might easily compete with foreigners in the breeding of cattle. But to show the meeting the disadvantages under which the British grazier laboured, it would be enough to state that they were prevented from converting their inferior barley into malt. *The foreigner was not prevented from doing so*; but in consequence of this prohibition, the British grazier was compelled to purchase oil-cake, which was the produce of another country. Look at the large quantity of barley in the market that was not fit for malting, *a large proportion of which might be usefully converted into malt for feeding cattle.*"

Poor Mr. Weale seems to be a simple chap, who has slept since the fancy of malt feeding was in being, now nearly two years ago, and forgot to mention—if he knew it—two other "important facts," that, notwithstanding the importation, stock is selling at very high prices, and that free import of grain would give British breeders and graziers an ample supply of grain at moderate prices. We estimate the farmer's gain from this alone at 20s. an acre. We must pass over many other gems of monopolist argumentation, and come to Mr. Stafford O'Brien, who thought the landlords "ought to come forward and state the *high grounds* upon which they advocated the continuance of agricultural protection." We think so too. The only "high ground" we have

ever heard of is the maintenance of "high" rents. Still Mr. O'Brien has his misgiving, for he said:—

"On the whole, their present meeting had been a satisfactory one. If they disbelieved the report of the *Times*, their position was still difficult. The report stated to them the minorities in which they had been left on questions affecting agricultural interests last session; but now, when they found the League not merely existing by a cry of clamour, but that it had cleared all neutral ground, and that it ranked amongst its supporters the leader of a great constitutional party, as well as many other noble lords, the position of the agricultural interest was a different one; and while they would not complain of the past, they might at least expect more resolute and determined conduct on their part for the future."

Then, after thanking the Duke as chairman, the meeting broke up. Now, can any farmer note the above wailings from the "room in Bond-street" without exclaiming, "Verily, the game of protection is up?"

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

THE Friends of FREE TRADE residing in the Northern or Midland Counties, desirous of purchasing Freeholds in any of the undermentioned Counties, are requested to apply to the Secretary of the League, Newall's Buildings Manchester.

North Lancashire	North Derbyshire
South Lancashire	South Derbyshire
North Cheshire	North Durham
West Riding of York	East Cumberland
South Stafford	West Cumberland
North Stafford	South Northumberland.
South Cheshire	

Each applicant is requested to give his name and residence at full length.

By Order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

FREE TRADERS desirous of purchasing Freeholds for Middlesex, East Surrey, West Kent, South Essex, East Sussex, and South Hants, are requested to send their applications, with name and address in full, to the League Offices, 67, Fleet-street, London.

By Order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

FREEHOLD QUALIFICATIONS FOR HERTS.

FREE TRADERS desirous of purchasing Freeholds in Hertfordshire are requested to send their applications to the League Offices, 67, Fleet-street, or to Mr. J. F. Bontems, Herts Registration Office, Hertford.

NORTH LANCASHIRE.
QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

FREE-TRADERS desirous of purchasing Qualifications for North Lancashire, are informed that they can be obtained for 33l. and upwards each, yielding from 6½ to 7½ per cent.

Applications may be made to Mr. Moorhouse, League Rooms, 4, Cheapside, Preston.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, December 20, 1845.

The "Ministerial crisis" is over, and the NATIONAL CRISIS has begun. We are now fairly entered on the last stage of our struggle for the untaxing of the people's food, and the enfranchisement of the the people's industry. THE FREE TRADE MEMBER FOR THE CITY OF LONDON IS THE FIRST MINISTER OF THE CROWN. The ever-memorable "Address to the Electors of the City of London" is the programme of ministerial policy, as of national expectation and demand. In this great controversy of right against wrong, light against darkness, a nation against an oligarchy, the Queen's Government is heartily, unreservedly, and altogether with "US, THE QUEEN'S SUBJECTS."

Our readers and constituents, the Free Trade public of the United Kingdom, will do us the justice to believe, that we should not make this profoundly interesting and momentous announcement in terms thus unqualified, were we not convinced that there is NOTHING—and will be nothing—to mar or dash the delighted satisfaction with which it will be unanimously hailed by the country. We are entirely persuaded, that Lord John Russell takes office with the one distinct and simple purpose of giving immediate statutory effect to the broad and plain principles laid down in that Address to the London Electors, which has made him the statesman of the crisis.

The delay which has intervened before his lordship's definitive acceptance of the responsibilities with which he has been charged by her Majesty, will be interpreted by the country as indicating that he is most seriously sensible of the magnitude of those responsibilities; that he has thoroughly measured the difficulties that lie in his path with the resources on which he may count for ensuring the success of his mighty enterprise; and that, come what will, nothing will be wanting on his part towards placing on the statute-book of the empire the Free Trade principles which he has deliberately

espoused, and with which he has, once for all, identified his name, fame, and power.

IT IS FOR THE PEOPLE TO DO THE REST. Lord John Russell is no more able now, than he was a week or a month ago, to give us Free Trade. He can be nothing more in this matter than the executive organ of national intelligence, the administrative agent of national will, the trusted and honoured depositary of national force. The country must find the power. Nothing but the same "unequivocal expression of the public voice" which has brought our cause thus far, can conduct it to its final glorious consummation. It is a long way yet to the statute-book. We entreat the public to regard EVERYTHING that we have written pending the solution of the late Ministerial crisis,—all our counsels to self-reliance and independent actions—as not in the slightest degree superseded by the cheering intelligence which we now communicate, but as receiving a new force and emphasis. Everything stands exactly as it did, with the only exception that every motive to popular exertion is inconceivably enhanced by the visibly increased nearness of the great and crowning victory. We see land, at last, and we have taken our pilot on board—that is all. The landing is yet to be effected, and for anything that appears at present, the landing will be more arduous and critical than all the rest of the voyage together.

Again we say to the people—and we say it now more earnestly and emphatically than ever—RELY ON NOTHING BUT YOURSELVES AND YOUR OWN EXERTIONS. Take nothing for granted. Go on agitating—and, above all, GO ON QUALIFYING—just as if nothing had happened. Prepare for a tremendous struggle: it is just possible—we are not at all sure that it is in any degree probable—that such preparation may prevent the struggle from being a tremendous one. Believe not that anything is done till ALL is done. Let there be no premature hurraing—no "throwing up of caps;" the time for that will be when the Bill—and this time we must take care that it really is "THE WHOLE BILL, and NOTHING BUT THE BILL"—receives her Majesty's most gracious Royal Assent.

TRALEE, DEC. 16.—Since the intentions of Ministers respecting the opening of the ports to foreign grain became a subject of discussion, the markets have shown symptoms of a decided tendency downwards. Wheat has fallen 10d. at least in the peck; oats came down yesterday to 9½d. for the best quality, and there is every prospect of a further fall. The farmers who have already sold out will probably have reason to rejoice. Barley was down to 9d.—*Kerry Examiner*.

THE FUNDS.						
	SAT. Dec.1	MON. Dec.15	TUES. Dec.16	WED. Dec.17	THUR. Dec.18	FRI. Dec.19
Bank Stock	200½	200½	200½	199½	199½	92½
3 per Ct. Red. Ann. 92½	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½	Shut
3 per Ct. Con. Ann. 94½	94½	94½	94½	94½	94½	94½
3 per Ct. Red. Ann. 94½	94½	94½	94½	94½	94½	94½
Long. An. Ex. 1860 10	10	10	10	10½	10½	92½
Cons. for Acct. 92½	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½
Exc. Bills, pm. 21-22	21-22	19	19-21	18-19-20	18-19-20	18-19-20
Ind. Bds. am. 1000l. 32	32	32	26½	32	32	32
India Stock .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Austrian .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Belgian Bonds .....	..	94½	95½	95	94½	..
Brazilian 5 per Ct. 79½	79½	..	..	..	..	..
Chilian .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Columb. ex. Venez. 16½	16½	16½	..	..	..	16½
Danish .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dutch 4 per Cent. 93	93	93	93	93½	93½	93½
Dutch 2½ per Cent. 59½	59½	60	60½	59½	60½	60½
Mexican	29	29½	29½	29½	..	30½
Peruvian	35½	..	..	..	..	..
Portug. conv. 60	60	60	60	60	60	60
Russian 5 per Cent. 27½	27½	28½	28½	28½	28½	29
Spanish 5 per Ct. 38	38	38½	38½	39	39½	39½
Do. 3 per Ct. ex. dv. 38	38	38½	38½	39	39½	39½

MARKETS.			
CORN MARKET.			
MONDAY, DEC. 15.—During the past week we have been well supplied with Wheat, Barley, and Oats, and moderately with Beans and Peas. This morning there are in addition a fair number of samples of all kinds of English grain except Oats, of which there is little fresh up. The trade remains much the same as last week as to the amount of business doing; prices are generally quoted 1s. to 2s. lower for Wheat both Free and Bonded. In Barley there is scarcely any business passing, and prices are nominal. The Oat trade is as dull as possible, and it is difficult to find buyers even at a considerable reduction; the business done is 1s. to 1s. 6d. lower than last Monday, but it is almost impossible to fix the exact value of any description. Scarcely a sale of Peas has been made, and Beans are 1s. lower.			
BRITISH.		S. H. LUCAS.	
	Per Imperial Quarter.		
Wheat, Essex,	Red 50 to 60	White 58 to 68	
Kent, & Suffolk	49 58	56 64	
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire	47 54	54 62	
Scotch .....	..	..	..
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feed	25	27	
Do. Ditto	26	28	
Scotch Feed	26	28	Potato 29
Limerick	25	27	30
Do. Ditto	27 29	Old Fine none	
Cork .....	..	..	..
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black	23	25	

Sligo		24	25
Galway		24	25
Barley		32	39
Beans, Mazagan	New 32 34	Old 40	44
Harrow	38 42		
Small	40 44		
Peas, White		Boilers	54 56
Grey	36 48	Maple	38 40
Flour, Town-made	per sack of 280 lbs.	45	57
Norfolk and Suffolk		43	46

FOREIGN.		FREE. IN BOND.	
		Per Imperial Quarter.	
Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed	58 to 66	46 52	
Rostock	56 60	44 48	
Stettin	54 60	43 46	
Hamburg	52 57	42 45	
Odessa	46 50	40 42	
Odessa Polish	50 56	40 43	
Russian	soft	48 57	
Ditto	hard	46 55	
Spanish .....	..	..	..
Ditto	White .....	..	..
Australian	60 69	..	..
Barley, Grinding	27 30	..	..
Distilling	30 32	..	..
Oats, Archangel	27 28	24 25	
Danish	27 28	21 22	
Swedish	25 26	22 23	
Stralsund .....	..	..	..
Dutch Feed	23 25	20 22	
Brew	28 35	26 32	
Polands	30 26	28 24	
Beans, Egyptian	40 41	39 40	
Peas, White	54	..	..
Ditto Boilers .....	..	none	..
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 196 lbs. ..	34 35	..	..
United States	32 35	..	..
Dantzic .....	..	..	..
Australian, per sack of 280 lbs. ....	..	..	..

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from Dec. 8 to Dec. 13, 1845, both days inclusive.					
	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas.
English	10790	12669	6928	1411	1953
Scotch .....	..	1660	3268	..	..
Irish .....	..	..	5077	..	..
Foreign	9021	766	10696	96	405

FRIDAY, DEC. 19.—Except a fair arrival of foreign Wheat, we have been shortly supplied with all grain since Monday. The same uncertainty with regard to the alteration of the Corn Laws that has paralysed the trade for the last fortnight, still prevails, and the prices of all Corn are consequently nominal. Though the tendency is slightly downwards, the business transacted is of such a trifling nature that we do not alter quotations of any article. The duty on Barley rose 1s. yesterday.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 12th of December to the 19th of December, both inclusive.					
	English.	Irish.	Foreign.		
Wheat	5450	..	12330		
Barley	9510	..	1570		
Oats	2701	7450	2910		

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending Dec. 16, 1845.					
	Qrs.	Price.	Qrs.	Price.	
Wheat	6180	64s. 4d.	Rye	1474	38s. 8d.
Barley	5342	34s. 0d.	Beans	1941	44s. 1d.
Oats	12120	25s. 4d.	Peas .....	..	..

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending											
Wheat. Barley. Oats. Rye. Beans. Peas.											
s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d.											
8th Nov.	59	7.35	1.25	2.35	7.45	1.44	5	..	..	..	..
15th	58	6.35	0.36	3.38	2.44	5.45	7	..	..	..	..
22d	57	11.34	1.25	5.37	1.43	4.45	4	..	..	..	..
29th	58	2.33	2.25	0.35	4.41	9.45	10	..	..	..	..
6th Dec.	59	0.32	10.24	7.35	0.41	8.43	4	..	..	..	..
13th	59	4.32	9.24	6.36	8.40	8.43	6	..	..	..	..
Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks. Wheat, 58s. 9d.; Barley, 33s. 10d.; Oats, 25s. 2d.; Rye, 36s. 4d.; Beans, 42s. 10d.; Peas, 44s. 9d.											
Duty. Wheat, 14s. 0d.; Barley, 5s. 0d.; Oats, 3s. 0 ; Rye, 6s. 6d.; Beans, 1s. 0d.; Peas, 1s. 0d.											
Stock of Corn in Bond, Nov. 5, 1845.											
Wheat. Barley. Oats. Rye. Beans. Peas. Flour											
In London, 279040	10900	56942	..	799	570	55679					
Unit. King. 667773	59477	107219	..	1678	2063	278683					

MEAT MARKET.											
The supply was limited, which with the damp weather, rendered Sales dull, and prices made with considerable difficulty, many buyers returned home without supplying themselves.											
PER STONE OF 8 LBS. BY THE CARCASE.											
Prime Beef	3s	6d to 3s	10d	Middl. Mutton	3s	6d to 3s	8d	..	..	..	..
Middling do.	3s	6d to 3s	4d	Veal, from ..	0s	0d to 0s	0d	..	..	..	..
Plain, or inf. ....	..	..	..	Small Pork ..	4s	8d to 5s	0d	..	..	..	..
rior Beef	2s	4d to 2s	8d	Large, or inf. ....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Prime Mutton	3s	10d to 4s	4d	rior Pork	3s	4d to 3s	8d	..	..	..	..

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, DEC. 12.

BANKRUPTS.

F. TAYLOR, Orange Street, Red Lion Square, tallow chandler. [Mr. May, Queen Square.

H. HARRIS, Leman Street, Goodman's Fields, teacher. [Mr. Watson, Winchester Buildings.

G. WATT, Old Jewry, cotton factor. [Messrs. Lawrance and Plews, Bucklersbury.

F. WHITWORTH, Shawforth, Lancashire, cotton manufacturer. [Messrs. Clarke and Co., Lincoln's Inn Fields.

R. BUCKLEY, Saddlesworth, woollen cloth manufacturer. [Mr. Spinks, Great James Street.

W. FAY, Bath, innkeeper. [Mr. Shattock, Bath.

J. ROTHCHILD, Bristol, watchmaker. [Mr. Hudson, Bloomshury Square.

H. ROWBOTHAM and R. J. KENWORTHY, Brinksway, Cheshire, calico printers. [Messrs. Gregory and Co., Bedford Row.

J. BUTTERWORTH, Manchester, plumber. [Messrs. Johnson and Co., Temple.

F. LINGARD, New Elvet, Durham, dealer in musical instruments. [Mr. Hartley, Southampton Street.

W. ELLARY, Kidderminster, iron founder. [Messrs. Bycott and Lucy, Kidderminster.

TUESDAY, DEC. 16.

BANKRUPTS.

W. KEARTON, Lamb Street, Spitalfields, cheesemonger [Mr. Hutchinson, Crown Court, Threadneedle Street.

M. JONES, Theobald's Road, grocer. [Mr. Miles, Brunswick Place, City Road.

T. POOL, Princes Road, Notting Hill, builder. [Mr. Wright, Lincoln's Inn.

W. GILL, Leadenhall Market, poulterer. [Mr. Tippets, Pancras Lane.

W. HUMPHRIES, Haymarket, hotelkeeper. [Mr. Lewis, Arundel Street.

F. CORDUROY, Liverpool, hatter. [Messrs. Vincent and Sherwood, Temple.

J. REYNOLDS, Fazakerley, Lancashire, cowkeeper. [Messrs. Bridger and Blake, London Wall.

J. HULME, Manchester, paper dealer. [Mr. Abbott, Charlotte Street.

T. I. HELLAWELL, J. NORTCLIFFE, and J. B. HELLAWELL, Ilkley, Yorkshire, dyers. [Mr. Taylor, Nicholas Lane,

THE WEEKLY CHRONICLE of this day contains:—
The Whig Corn and Peel Crisis—Mr. O'Connell's New Position—Cotton Twist to the Free Traders of the United Kingdom—Reports of all the Great Meetings, from the New South Wales Club to the Lord John—Grand Cabinet, Dukes A2, A4, A6, and A8—A Whipping Post for the Monopoli—The Dignity of Wantley, a Fair for Young England in 1945; with the Annual and other News of the Week. 357, Strand, and all News-men.

New and Revised Edition of **OLIVER TWIST**, in Ten Monthly Parts.
On the 1st of January, price 1s., uniform with "Pickwick," "Nicholas Nickleby," and "Martin Chuzzlewit," by Lord John.
OLIVER TWIST; OR, THE PARISH BOYS' PROGRESS.
By CHARLES DICKENS.
Illustrated by George Cruikshank.
London: Printed and Published for the Author, by Bradbury and Evans, 90, Fleet-street, and Whitefriars.

A HISTORY FOR YOUNG ENGLAND.—This striking Series of Papers, commencing from the Conquest, is carried on to the reign of Henry II. in the first Two Volumes of DOUGLAS JERROLD'S SHILLING MAGAZINE, and will be continued in the Third Volume, the first Number of which will be published on the 31st instant. The first Two Volumes, price 1s. each, are handsomely bound in cloth. London: Published at the PUNCH Office, 92, Fleet-street.

MR. CAUDLE'S BREAKFAST TABLE TALK forms a principal feature of PUNCH'S ALMANACK for 1846, which will be published on the 24th inst., with 12 ILLUSTRATIONS MISERIES by Leech, and other illustrations by Doyle. Price 3d., stamped, 4d. The ALMANACK is this year quite A DISTINCT PUBLICATION, and will not interfere with the week's Number, which will be published as usual, being the first of the year.
Vol. IX. will be ready for delivery at the same time, price 8s. London: PUNCH Office, 92, Fleet-street.

In a few days, fep. 8vo., with Steel Plates, and nearly 300 Woodcuts, **MANUAL OF NATURAL PHILOSOPHY:** with Recapitulatory Questions on each Chapter; and a Dictionary of Philosophical Terms. By JOHN L. COMSTOCK, M.D., and RICHARD D. HOBBS, A.M., Oxon. Author of a Dictionary of Terms used in Medicine and the Collateral Sciences, and Manuals of Chemistry and of the Steam Engine.
London: Adam Scott, Charterhouse-square.

A SPLENDID HOLIDAY PRESENT.
Complete in Three Volumes, handsomely bound in scarlet and gold, at 3s. each volume (containing, altogether, nearly Two Thousand Pages of closely printed matter).

THE LONDON ENTERTAINING MAGAZINE; or **LIBRARY OF ROMANCE.** Vols. 1 and 2 contain the celebrated masterpiece *NOVEL OF MATILDA*; or, *THE MEMOIRS OF A YOUNG WOMAN*, by EUGENE SCUL; also several other well-written Novels and Romances, besides a vast deal of amusing and useful information. It is the cheapest work ever printed in the English language. Those who want presents at this season of the year will do well to select this work as one of their gifts. Each volume may be had separate.
Published by B. D. Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn, London, and sold by all Booksellers.

Will be published in a few days, in the Catholic Series), **THE DESTINATION OF MAN.** By JOHANN GOTTLIEB FICHTER. Translated from the German, by Mrs. FERRY SINNITT.
London: Chapman (Brothers), 121, Newgate-street.

VENTILATION.—This day is published, by Messrs. MADDEN and MALCOLM, 8, Lendenhall-street, A REPLY to MISSTATEMENTS made by the TIMES and the ATHLETIC, in reference to Ships and Buildings ventilated by the Author, with a few remarks on the opposing demands in respect to Ventilation of different Constitutions. By D. H. REID, M.D., F.R.S.E.
Price One Shilling; by post, One and Sixpence.

WHAT TO EAT, DRINK, AND AVOID. Addressed to the Nervous and Dyspeptic. By R. J. GILCHRIST, M.D., Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in England, and Lecturer in Anatomy, and all Booksellers, or direct from the Author, 21, Arundel-street, Strand.

AMERICAN NOTES.—DR. DICKSON'S LECTURES on the Chrono-Thermal System of Medicine, with an Introduction and Notes by Dr. Turner, Health Commissioner of New York. Price 2s. 6d. "The day is not distant when the Chrono-Thermal System will be universally received. The times of Summer Diseases, in reference to the dust, and the air, with which we breathe, is not truth will at last triumph, and posterity will render to his memory the merit which is his due."—New York Inquirer.
Simpkin & Co., Stationers-court; 3, Oliver, Foul road. 13 Copies for 12s.

THE CORN AND PROVISION TRADES.—The deficiency of the Harvest, the failure of the Potato Crop, and the consequent serious effects upon commercial and monetary affairs, excite great apprehension. Under such circumstances, correct information as to the produce of the harvest, the extent of the failure of the potato crop, the state of the markets, the stock of grain on hand, on the continent of Europe, and in the United States, is of the highest importance. No trouble or expense is spared to furnish such information, which is brought down to the latest moment of going to press, in the MARK LANE EXPRESS, which has been for many years the authority in the Corn and Provision Trades of England and in foreign countries. Published every Monday in one far post, and may be had by order of all Booksellers, News-men, &c. Office, 24, Norfolk Street, Strand. Price 1s. 6d. per annum.

THE TENANT FARMERS' ADVOCATE.—It is abundantly manifest that the position of the Agricultural Interest as a class is undergoing and must undergo a great change. In such change the relative position of "LANDLORD AND TENANT" will form the most important feature, and the establishment of a sound system of "Tenants' Rights" will be a cardinal point for "Tenant Farmers." For fourteen years, THE MARK LANE EXPRESS and AGRICULTURAL JOURNAL has been the zealous and uncompromising advocate of the Tenant's Rights, and with the conviction that the interests of the Tenant are vitally involved in the question, the columns of this journal will be continued to devote to the defence of the Tenant's Rights, and every Monday in time for post. May be had by order of all Booksellers and News-men. Office, 24, Norfolk Street, Strand. London. Price 1s. 6d. per annum.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.—Parties residing in the country can be supplied with the London Newspapers at the following reduced price:—Times, 16s. per quarter; Morning Chronicle, 15s. per quarter; the Evening Sun or Globe, 13s. Orders prepaid to E. HALL, General News Agent, 23, Strand, London. Agent for all the Railway Papers, and every paper published in London.

THE Royal Family at Home, consisting of the Queen and Prince Albert caressing their Four lovely Children. The Grouping and Colouring by Madame Tussaud, the Models and Portraiture by Mr. F. C. BAZAAR, Baker-street, Portman-square.
"This is one of the best exhibitions in the metropolis."—Times.
Admission, 1s.; Napoleon Rooms, 6d. Open from 11 till 4; and from 7 till 10.

BETTS'S PATENT BRANDY, certified by the Faculty of England to be the purest spirit, and guaranteed by the Patent Metallic Capsules, embossed "Betts's Patent Brandy," 7, Smithfield-bars, is sold at 3s. 6d., bottle included, by the most respectable dealers, lists of whom may be obtained at the Distillery, where quantities of not less than two gallons, in bulk or bottles, are supplied. Address, 7, Smithfield-bars.

BRANDY AND CAPSULES.
MR. BETTS (the late firm of J. T. BETTS & Co.) Patent Brandy Distiller, 7, Smithfield Bars, feels it due to himself and the public to state, that the Manufacture of the Patent Brandy was not, nor ever has been known to any person except to himself and one of his sons. And that he was engaged in the business of the Distillery, 7, Smithfield Bars, by his sons, J. T. Betts, jun., and Co., on his settling there, in 1843.
Mr. Betts further states, that he is the sole Patentee, manufacturer, and vendor of the Patent Metallic Capsule (or metal covering for the mouths of bottles), that no other Brandy in England, except Betts's Patent Brandy, is thereby protected, the Patent Metallic Capsule if, therefore, applied to any other Brandy, must have been surreptitiously obtained.
Metallic Capsule Manufacture, 1, Wharf-road, City-road.

LUXURY IN SHAVING.
JOHN GOSNELL and **CO.'S AMBROSIAL SHAVING CREAM** (Patronised by Prince Albert). This inestimable Cream possesses all the good qualities of the Finest Naples Soap, without the disagreeable smell inseparable from that article in a genuine state. It is of a white pearly silvery appearance, produces a creamy lather, which will not dry on the face, and emits in use the delightful flavour of the almond.
In Pots, price 2s. 6d.; 3s. 6d.; 4s.
Perfumers to her Majesty, 12, Three King-court, Lombard-street, London. Manufacturers of Combs and Brushes of the best quality, and on the most approved principles.

JONES'S 24. 4s. SILVER LEVER WATCHES warranted not to vary more than half a minute per week, are selling at the Manufacture, 308, Strand, opposite Somerset House. They combine the truth of a mathematical instrument with the elegance of an ornament. On receipt of a Post office order for the above price, a Watch will be sent free to the limit of the London. Read Jones's "Sketch of Watch Work," sent free for a 2d. stamp.

THE OXFORD AND SALISBURY DIRECT RAILWAY.

The Committee of Management beg to announce that, in compliance with the applications and suggestions of several gentlemen of experience, they have instructed the several bankers named in their letters of allotment to continue to receive the preliminary deposits from this time until the 7th of January next, in order that those parties to whom Shares in this Company have been allotted, may be enabled to draw down the same, by paying the first deposit at the present time, or paying the whole deposit on or before the 7th of January next.

By Order of the Board, Z. HUBBERTS, Sec.
Moorgate Chambers, Moorgate-street, Dec. 9, 1845.

THE LONDON & SURREY BUILDING SOCIETY.
1000 Shares. Entrance Fee, 1s. 6d. Monthly Subscription, 3s. Shares, 200.

Thomas Booker, Esq., 59, Mark Lane.
John Tervan, Esq., Kennington Cross.
J. W. Mitchell, Esq., Hanover-square.
Subscription Rooms, South-west Literary Institution, Hanover Road.
Monthly Meetings, Second Monday in every Month.
Every man of full age should be enabled to vote in the choice of a Member of Parliament. To do this he must be in the Register. To be on the Register he must have a property qualification. To obtain a property qualification (without capital) he must join the London and Surrey Building Society. This Society is in a position at once to advance money. Applications for Shares, and for information, to be made to the Secretary, Mr. W. Millman, 70, Lower Thames-street.

FREE-TRADERS' QUALIFY FOR COUNTIES!
SOUTHWARK AND EAST SURREY FIRE-INSURANCE BUILDING SOCIETY. In 1000 Shares, of £120 each.
Under the management of Four Trustees, Twelve Directors, a Solicitor, Surveyor, and Secretary.
The Subscription of 1s. per Share, payable on the first Tuesday in each month, at the Literary Institution, Borough-road, Southwark. Entrance Fee, 2s. 6d.

With a view to the acquisition of the county franchise in the Eastern Division of Surrey, this Society is specially formed. But it will not be admitted to the franchise until it has secured the right of voting, by the payment of a small monthly subscription, the right of voting, thus enabling those who do not possess the qualification, and whose income is too limited, to acquire it by other means. For the express purpose of aiding the cause of Free Trade, this Society has been established, and to that measure every member will stand pledged.
The Officers of this Society consist of long-tried and well-known friends to that great object; while among the Directors are found some of the most respectable and influential names in the Borough of Southwark and its vicinity.

The first Meeting for payments will take place at the Literary Institution, Borough-road, on Tuesday, the 6th of January, 1846, from 12 till 2; and again at 7 o'clock in the evening.
The Directors will be prepared to offer Shares for sale to a large amount. Application for Shares to be made to the Secretary, Mr. Hearn, 7, Adam's-place, High-street, Southwark.

One-fifth of the Shares was taken at the first Preliminary Meeting, and the number remaining for disposal is daily diminishing.

FREEHOLDERS' BUILDING SOCIETY, Manchester. Shares, 60s. Subscription, 10s. per Month.

John Brooks, Esq., President.
Alderman William Harvey.
Alderman Charles J. S. Walker.
B. SKELLS—Messrs. Cunliffe, Brooks, and Co., Market-street.
SOLICITOR—Mr. John Hewitt, 47, King-street.
SECRETARY—Mr. William Jackson Kedgeley, 3, Princess-street, Manchester.
The object of this Society is to assist the middle and industrious classes to obtain Freehold Dwellings for their own use, and more especially to create a spirit of independence in the latter, and to induce habits of economy in all who have a surplus of income beyond providing for their current requirements.

By another arrangement of the first meeting of the Society to the 7th of January, 1846, other members have an opportunity of entering by paying the first month's subscription only—namely, 10s. on each share.
A Sale of Shares will take place on the 21st of January, 1846.
Persons wishing to take up Shares will do well to make early application, as the above will be the last adjournment, after which the back subscriptions will be required.

One peculiar feature in this undertaking is the facility afforded to Building Members to obtain the County Franchise in the first year; as, on all purchased Shares, for building with, the monthly subscription may be reduced to 2s. 6d. (which is sufficient beyond the minimum) "on request" sufficient to give a qualification.
Applications for Shares may be made to the Secretary, Mr. W. J. Keighley, 3, Princess-street, Mr. John Hewitt, Solicitor, 47, King-street; and Mr. R. Burton, Oldham-st. Mr. A. Burgess, printer, Victoria Arches; and Mr. E. Owen, Oldham-st. Street, Manchester, where Rules, price 6d. and Prospectuses may be had.

THE DISSENTERS AND GENERAL LIFE AND FIRE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

Empowered by Special Act of Parliament, 3 Vic. c. 20.
62, King William-street, London Bridge, London;
21, St. David-street, Edinburgh;
6, King-street, Queen's-square, Bristol.

Capital—One Million.
TRUSTEES AND DIRECTORS.
George Bousfield, Esq., Thomas Chubb, Esq., Ald. Jacob G. Cope, Esq., John Dixon, Esq., Peter Ellis, Esq., Joseph Fletcher, Esq., Richard Hollier, Esq., Charles Hindley, Esq., M.P. Thomas Piper, Esq., Thomas B. Simpson, Esq., John Wilson, Esq., Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P., John Wilks, Esq., Edward Wilson, Esq.

On the 1st of January last, the Directors, having received the reports of their friends and the public, that in the Fire Department they receive reports of all descriptions, including Churches, School rooms, Mills, Goods, and Shipping in Dock, Farming Stock, &c., at the same reduced rates as other respectable Companies, and make no charge for Fire Policies transferred from other offices.

In the Life Department they continue to transact all business relating to Life Assurances, Annuities, and Family Endowments, upon the most liberal terms consistent with sound principles and public security.
Loans also are granted on equitable terms to Life-assurers on life interests, or on satisfactory personal securities. The Agents and solicitors, surveyors, and auctioneers, liberal allowance will be made.

By Order of the Directors,
THOMAS PIPER, Secretary.

THE PERFECT SUBSTITUTE FOR SILVER.

The high estimate formed by the public during the ten years RIP-PON and BURTON'S chemically purified material has been before it (made into every useful and ornamental article usually made in silver, possessing, as it does, the characteristic purity and durability of silver, has called into existence the dealers in compounds of "copper and zinc," "brass and silver," and other so-called substitutes; they are at best but bad imitations of the genuine articles manufactured with the view of satisfying the purchaser, by Rippon and Burton, and sold only by them.

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NICKEL-ELECTRO-PLATED.—The REAL NICKEL SILVER introduced and made only by Rippon and Burton, when plated by the patent process of Messrs. Elkington and Co., is beyond all comparison the very best article, next to sterling silver, that can be employed as such either usefully or ornamentally. In the lengthened and increasing popularity of the material itself, and the high character of the method of plating the public have a guarantee that the articles sold by Rippon and Burton (and by them only) are, as it regards wear, immeasurably superior to what can be supplied at any other house, while by no possible test can they be distinguished from real silver.
By Order of the Directors,
THOMAS PIPER, Secretary.

Teaspoons, per dozen . . . 18s. . . . 32s. . . . 45s.
Desert Forks . . . 30s. . . . 40s. . . . 55s.
Desert Spoons . . . 30s. . . . 40s. . . . 55s.
Table Forks . . . 40s. . . . 50s. . . . 75s.
Table Spoons . . . 40s. . . . 50s. . . . 75s.

Ten and coffee sets, waiters, candlesticks, &c., at proportionate prices. All kinds of replating done by the patent process. Detailed catalogues, with engravings, as well as of every ironmongery article, sent (per post) free.

RIP-PON & BURTON'S Stock of General Furnishing Ironmongery is literally the largest in the world. They regret they cannot employ any language which will convey an adequate impression of its variety and extent: they therefore invite purchasers to call and inspect it—Rippon and Burton, 39, Oxford-street (corner of Newman-street). Established in Wells-street, 1820.

NUMBER ONE, ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.—As real goodness is not helped by praise, nor injured by reproach, so the popularity of a book is not increased by the praise of a book, and COMPANION, over its popularity solely to its intrinsic excellence.
Orders from the country forwarded Carriage Free.

WRITING INK.
WHITAKER'S FRENCH JET WRITING INK.
This splendid freely-flowing Ink is adapted for either steel or quill-pens, and will be found the most desirable for Records, and Office use, as time and the wear of the pen will be less, and the writing more brilliant. It is sold by the Proprietor, 69, Hatton-garden, London, and all respectable booksellers, stationers, and druggists.

THE EIDER DOWN QUILT is the warmest, the lightest, and the most elegant, covering; it is adapted for either the bed, the couch, or the carriage. Also Gown Quilt at half the price of Eider Down. Lists of prices sent free on application to HEAL and SON, Biddling Manufacturers, 196, opposite the Chapel, Tottenham-court-road.

STOOPING OF THE SHOULDERS AND CONTRACTION of the CHEST are entirely prevented, and gently and effectually removed, in Youth and Ladies and Gentlemen, by the occasional use of the Improved Elastic Chest Expander, which is light, simple, easily carried, outwardly or invisibly, without any uncomfortable restraint, or impediment to exercise. Sent per post, by Mr. A. BRYSON, Sole Manufacturer and Proprietor, 40, Tavistock-street, Covent Garden, London, or full particulars on receiving a postage stamp.

GENTLEMEN'S WINTER DRESS.
BURCH and LUCAS, Tailors, 52, King William Street, London Bridge, opposite the Statue of William IV. Waterproof Over Coats, of the newest designs and best materials, kept ready, and made to order in the most approved style, at the lowest possible price for cash. The construction of every garment may be relied on being well and elegantly finished, the whole being made under the immediate superintendence of the Proprietors, who, being Tailors, are able to answer for its superiority over the slopwork generally sold, and which is entirely excluded from this Establishment.
A large and fashionable assortment of Dress and Great Coats, Summer Over Coats, Cloaks, Waistcoats, and Trousers, kept ready made, 52 King William Street, London Bridge.

BERDOE'S WINTER WATERPROOF FROCKS, WRAPPERS, GREAT COATS, and Outside Garments of all kinds. Now complete for the present season, an extensive and first-rate assortment, embracing all that is new, approved, or superior, in either material, style, or quality, and guaranteed to exclude any rain water. Seven years' extensive trial of W. B.'s well-known garments having proved that, beyond all contradiction, General price of lighter kinds, from 48s. to 54s.; and of heavier kinds, from 54s. to 60s. and upwards. An inspection confidently invited. Waterproof Cloaks, Capes, &c. for Ladies. W. BERDOE, Tailor, Great-court-maker, and Waterproof, 69, Cornhill (North side). The public is cautioned against being imposed upon by purchasing either Garments, or a Composition (professedly waterproof), which, although having attached to them W. B.'s name and label, have not been made by him.

THE ATRAPALATORY, or LIQUID HAIR DYE: the only dye that really answers for all colours, and does not require re-dyeing but as the hair grows, as it never fades or acquires that unnatural red or purple tint common to all other dyes. ROSS and SONS can, with the greatest confidence, recommend the above dye as infallible, if done at their establishment. Six months' use of our golden rule, requiring it, is equivalent to a friend or servant with them, to see how it is used, and to enable them to do it afterwards without chance of failure. Several Private apartments devoted entirely to the above purpose, and, some of their establishments having used it, the effect produced can be at once seen. They think it necessary to add that, by attending strictly to the instructions given with each bottle of dye, numerous persons have succeeded equally well without coming to them.
Address ROSS and Sons, 119 and 120, Bishopsgate-street, the celebrated Peruvian, and Chemists, Haircutters, and Hairdressers. N.B. Parties attended at their own residences, whatever the distance.

ACCEPTABLE PRESENTS.—At a period when the social sympathies are most predominant, and the genial influence of "home" is felt in the highest degree—more especially by "My young master and mistress," now spending their vacation at the "Old Hall," the most appropriate and useful, and, at the same time, the most economical, and one which can afford no evidence of taste, while a present possessing no claims to utility, shows a want of judgment. To combine these requisites, a more fitting souvenir cannot be suggested than ROWLAND'S Toilet Articles, the

each of infallible attributes. In creating and sustaining luxuriant silken tresses, ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL is highly appreciated by Rank and Fashion, and patronised by all the Sovereigns of Europe. ROWLAND'S KALYDOR is a preparation of unparalleled efficacy in improving the hair, and restoring its natural colour, and ROWLAND'S DENTIFRICE, or PEARL DENTIFRICE, is invaluable for its preservative and beautifying effects on the Teeth and Gums, which infallibly tend to the augmentation of that imposing exterior, which Lord Chesterfield justly observes is "a great recommendation."
* * * * *
Beware of SPURIOUS IMITATIONS! Each genuine article has the word "ROWLAND'S" preceding the name on the Wrapper. All others are FRAUDULENT IMITATIONS. The genuine are sold by the Proprietors at 20, Hatton-garden, Lond. n., and by Chemists and Perfumers.

YEARLY ACCOUNTS.—The present year is very nearly ended, and folks begin to count what they've expended. Yes, e another year its course commences, It is a rule to calculate expenses, Then don't omit, when making up accounts, And noting down your several amounts, To number in the year, be sure it closes, The money sovereigns you have made by MOSES. Take pen in hand, and calculate nigh, And put your estimates in black and white! And, doubtless, you will find in the event You've saved enough to pay a quarter's rent. Remember what you've saved in spring attire And summer dresses, too, which all admire. Remember, too, your garments for the autumn, And don't forget your savings when you ought 'em. Remember what your winter dresses cost, And ditto Trousers, which you would have lost. Take all these various things into account, And highly pleased you'll be with the amount; And you'll determine that when this year closes, You'll deal another year with MR. MOSES.

LIST OF PRICES.
READY MADE.

Beaver Tails	£ 8. 4
Chesterfields or Cordonnets	0 10 6
Boys's Hats, all styles	1 5 0
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Woolskin	0 10 6
Dress Coats, edged	1 10 0
Roll collar Vests	1 5 0
Double breasted ditto	0 2 6
Boys's Hussar and Tunic Suits	0 18 6
Boys's winter Trousers	0 3 0
Boys's winter Vests	1 6

Woolen Coats in every style and shape, handsomely trimmed	1 5 0
Milled Coats Great Coats, velvet collar and cuffs	1 12 0
Tweed Wrappers	0 18 6
Winter Trousers, in all the new patterns	0 8 6
Doeskin Trousers	0 10 6
Best, or Dress Trousers	1 6 0
Dress Coats, best quality made	1 12 0
Frock Coats	1 10 0
Ditto, best quality made	3 3 0
Cashmere Vests	0 8 6
Satin, plain or fancy	0 12 0
Boys's Hussar and Tunic Suits	1 8 0
Boys's Great Coats	0 14 6

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT.
A new work, entitled "The Leviathan of Trade," with full directions for self-measurement, may be had on application, or forwarded post free. Moulding to any amount can be had at five minutes' notice, at the following prices:

Men's Suits, dress coat, vest, and trousers	from 118 0
Ditto, jacket, vest, and trousers	from 1 16 0
Important: Any article purchased or ordered, if not approved of, exchanged, or the money refunded.	

Observe: E. MOSES and SON, Tailors, Wholesale and Retail Woolen-drappers, Outfitters, and General Warehousemen, 151, Minories, and 86, Aldgate, City, opposite the Church.
Persons who are obliged to guard the public against imposition, having learned that the untrustworthy false goods being connected with them, or it's the same concern, has been resorted to in many instances, and for obvious reasons. They have no connexion whatever with a y other establishment in or out of London; and those who do desire well-made Clothings should to prevent disappointment, &c., call or send to 151, Minories, or 86, Aldgate, opposite the Church.
N.B. No business transacted at this Establishment from sunset on Friday to sunset on Saturday, when business is resumed till twelve o'clock.

Printed at the Whitefriars Printing-office, Bouverie street, in the precinct of Whitefriars, in the City of London, by JAMES GANN, printer of Number 7, Rutland-place, Hampstead road, in the County of Middlesex, and at the Press of J. G. B. TAYLOR, at No. 13, Fleet-street, in the parish of Manchester, in the County of Lancaster, and published at Number 67, Fleet-street, in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, in the City of London, by ABRAHAM WATER, Printer, of Number 67, Fleet-street, printed and published, Saturday, December 20, 1845.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 118.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1845.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

FIRST FRUITS OF THE QUALIFICATION MOVEMENT!

THE COMING VICTORY IN THE WEST RIDING!

When, on the 24th of August, 1841, the *coup de grace* was to be given to the Melbourne Administration, in the shape of an amendment to the Address, declaratory of "want of confidence," the gentleman put forward by Sir Robert Peel to move such amendment was, it will be remembered, Mr. Stuart Wortley, the then newly-elected representative of the West Riding of Yorkshire. In discharging the task confided to him, Mr. Wortley adverted, with a natural and well-grounded exultation, to the position which he occupied in the House, as justifying the expectant Premier's selection of him, and his own acceptance of so prominent and dignified a post. "It is not long," said the honourable member, in the commencement of his speech, "since her Majesty put a question to the country, and asked them to return an answer that might serve as some guidance to her in the future conduct of her Government; now I appear here as the bearer of a portion of that answer, and I hope that, without presumption, I may say I appear as the bearer of NOT THE LEAST SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF THAT ANSWER."

Mr. Stuart Wortley was right. Certainly, there is no "presumption" whatever, in the representative of West Yorkshire claiming to be the bearer of "not the least significant portion" of the English people's answer to any question that royalty may put to them. The claim has both conventional prescription and reality on its side. The representatives of YORKSHIRE—of which the West Riding includes a full three-fourths, by the test of population alone, irrespectively of its far more decisive preponderance in wealth and intelligence—have long wielded, simply as representatives of Yorkshire, a moral power in the Legislature, exceeding that of the mere numerical votes of the representatives of half a score of ordinary counties. For the past half-century and more, the voice of Yorkshire has been regarded as possessing an especial potency and significance;—it has decided the policy, and even the fate, of Cabinets. Our statesmen and our people alike have ever been accustomed to look to Yorkshire as the great arbiter of national questions, and to its representatives as the most authentic and authoritative exponents of the national will; and some curious facts are on record, showing the eager and anxious interest with which even the strongest of Governments—Go-

vernments so strong, that a dozen or two of mere votes more or less could be no great object—have awaited the verdict of Yorkshire on their supporters or their opponents. In the person of Wilberforce, Yorkshire embodied the national protest against the slave trade. By the lips of Henry Brougham Yorkshire pronounced the nation's judgment against the boroughmongers. And Mr. Stuart Wortley, in passing sentence, in the name of Yorkshire and England, on the late Whig Cabinet, quoted, by way of precedent, the example of his predecessor, Lord Morpeth, who had performed the same office on the Peel Cabinet, in 1835. We might almost lay it down, as a general rule in English politics, that changes in the Parliamentary representation of Yorkshire are uniformly introductory to, and prophetic of, corresponding changes in national policy.

The elements of this extraordinary ascendancy of Yorkshire, in our politics, are not for us to seek. It is quite a legitimate and rightful ascendancy. Yorkshire—or the West Riding, which has succeeded to the political *prestige* formerly possessed by the entire county—counts for more, in the Government and Legislature of England, than whole batches of counties returning ten times its number of representatives, simply because it has more of England in it than whole batches of ordinary counties—more of everything that makes England what it is—more of intelligence, energy, industry, capital, and labour. A few comparisons will make this sufficiently intelligible. This district of West Yorkshire exceeds in population the aggregate of Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Herefordshire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Monmouthshire, Oxfordshire, Rutland, and Westmoreland—ten counties, returning twenty-five members to Parliament. It contains within its borders, according to the last census, a quarter of a million of human beings more than the whole of Wales together. Its registered constituency exceeds the aggregate constituencies of twenty-two Irish counties that might be named, or of twenty-eight Scottish counties—and is more numerous, by one-half, than the constituency of London, or of South Lancashire. The representative of the West Riding—the man who can stand up in Parliament, and say, "I am here with a message from the THIRTY THOUSAND registered voters of West Yorkshire"—may well claim to speak on the great questions of public and imperial policy, as one having authority.

It is now a little more than a year ago, that (on the 16th of November, 1844), we appealed to the men of the West Riding, to clear themselves, by one vigorous and resolute effort, of the disgrace and self-stultifying reproach of a monopolist representation of their division. We adduced the significant and striking facts above noticed. We showed them their "proud pre-eminence" among the constituencies of the empire, and urged the duties and responsibilities which that pre-eminence implies. We warned them that monopoly would keep its ground so long as they sent monopolists to bear their messages, and report their opinions to the legislature. We told them, that "no Minister will ever dare to propose the total repeal of the Corn Law, unless he can reckon among his supporters, both the members for the West Riding of Yorkshire." We pointed the way to self-deliverance from landlordism, by means of the forty-shilling freehold franchise. We displayed to them the amplitude of their immense and unrivalled resources for a qualification campaign, and indicated the best mode of using them. The West Riding of Yorkshire had one of our very first lessons on "How to win counties."

The result of our appeal has long been before the world on paper;—it is now about to appear in the

more decisive and universally-intelligible shape of a FREE TRADE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE WEST RIDING. The Free Traders of West Yorkshire are now masters of their own county, and are about to seal at the polling-booths the well-fought victory which their two thousand new forty-shilling freeholders have won in the registration courts.

We do not happen to know whether the monopolists will think it for their advantage to contest the coming election for this head and chief of English counties—nor are we at all solicitous to pry into a secret which does not particularly concern us. But, whether with or without a contest, a total and immediate repealer of the Corn Law will presently "appear" in the Imperial Parliament, "as the bearer of not the least significant portion of the answer" of the English people to the first question of the age. This august tribunal, to which statesmen are wont to listen for the decrees that seal the fate of Cabinets, and mark the courses of national policy—whose verdicts have uniformly preceded and presaged those great political and legislative changes which constitutes dates in our history—is now about to pass judgment on monopoly, and to vote the nation's "want of confidence" in any minister who shall dare to face Parliament with credentials less authentic than those of a Bill for the total, immediate, and unqualified repeal of the Corn Law. How long it may be safe, or possible, to govern this country by mere majorities, made up from pocket boroughs and pocket counties, in defiance of the voice of such constituencies as those of the West Riding, and South Lancashire, and the City of London, is a question which there is no occasion for us to put to the present Prime Minister of Great Britain.

Men of the West Riding! We thank you! England, Scotland, and Ireland—the empire, and humanity—thank you. We asked you for "a sign of our deliverance"—and you have given us one most authentic and indubitable. May your triumph be as fruitful of incitement to the people, as it will, beyond all question, be of counsel and instruction to their rulers! In the "great fact" by which you are about to convey a wholesome warning to statesmen, and to impress a salutary fear on the squirearchy, may Englishmen everywhere find suggestion and impulse to win like victories, by a like vigorous and energetic use of the same all-efficient constitutional weapon!

THE BEGINNING OF THE END. THE QUARTER OF A MILLION LEAGUE FUND.

The meeting held in the Town Hall of Manchester on Tuesday last—a meeting, the like of which, we may most safely say, the world never saw before, may, or may not, be immediately and visibly efficacious in enlightening that "ignorance of the country" which, just now, dominates over legislation and Government; but we have no fear that its significance will be mistaken or under-rated, either by our statesmen, or by that intelligence of the country which is rapidly getting the upper hand of the said dominant "ignorance." The stupendous and perfectly unheard-of result which attended that magnificent gathering of the intellect and wealth of the industrial metropolis of England and the world—SIXTY THOUSAND POUNDS, and upwards, subscribed in the course of one morning—will convey a most impressive warning to our public men, and carry hope and gladness into the hearts of the industrious millions, whose rights, as earners and eaters of bread, the gigantic effort thus commenced is destined to realise in our statute book. To each and all, the language of this most irrefragable "great fact" is, that the indus-

trious classes are thoroughly and intensely in earnest; that there is a power in the country adequate to meet any demands that time and occasion may make; that, however obstinate and prolonged may be the resistance of the monopolists to the righteous claims of industry—to whatever length of time this controversy may be spun out—still the movement of the national mind will hold on its course, accumulating new force and *momentum* from the very obstructions and delays that temporarily retard its triumph; that, at whatever cost of labour, time, and treasure, monopoly MUST, SHALL, and WILL be swept clean out of the statute-book of Great Britain.

From our hearts we thank and congratulate the men of Manchester. They have, in a way worthy of themselves taken the initial step in that great crowning effort which is to seal the enfranchisement of the industry they represent. Their unswerving steadfastness, indomitable determination, unwearied activity, and munificent sacrifices in this vast national work, will be repaid to them, ten, twenty, and a hundredfold, in the social prosperity and contentment that will hereafter claim for them a nation's gratitude.

Of course, Manchester cannot do every thing. Even if Manchester could and would do every thing, the spirit of Englishmen would not permit it. The country will not allow any such monopoly of effort and sacrifice in a public cause. The work is a national work, and the nation must do it. The cause of industrial freedom is the cause of ALL, and all must contribute to its triumph. The splendid meeting of Tuesday is but a beginning, which the country must complete—an example which the country must follow—a proffer of help and service, to which the country must respond by a prompt and hearty co-operation. That co-operation will, we have not a moment's doubt, be most freely given. It has been given heretofore with a zeal and efficiency which justify the confident anticipation that there will be no slackness now. *One quarter* of the new League Fund of 250,000*l.* will, we presume, be generally regarded as a very sufficient *quota* for the town of Manchester. The United Kingdom, *minus* the town of Manchester, will probably find no serious difficulty in providing the remaining three-fourths.

Good and noble deeds are ever in season, and genuine beneficence, like the agency of Deity in nature, works perennially, without pause or break. Yet we cannot but feel that this good work has an especial and peculiar fitness at the present season. The ideas, memories, and hopes proper to Christmas time, have a natural affinity to a spirit of active exertion and open-handed munificence in an enterprise that has for its object to give hunger an untaxed loaf, and secure to industry the full real worth of its earnings. If ever there was a work which commends itself to the feelings and sympathies appropriate to the anniversary commemoration of the birth-time of the Founder of Christianity, such a work is ours. The legislative enfranchisement of labour is most distinctly Christian benevolence, though under another name—benevolence on the very largest scale—benevolence embracing all who earn and eat, or who would earn and eat if they could—benevolence working by means as sure as its ends are vast and comprehensive—a benevolence not exhausting its own resources in the process of distribution, but perpetually reproducing them with increase. No benevolence so certain of its resources and aims—so permanent and self-diffusive in its results—or so universally operative on the moral as well as the material well-being of its recipients,—as that which would render labour valuable, bring the labourer into request, and give him the full and unrestricted disposal of his earnings in the great market of the world. No benevolence can achieve a grander result than that afforded by the prosperous and well-remunerated industry of a whole people.

We know not of any better ingredients in Christmas merriment and New Year's happiness than conscious co-operation in the cause of industrial freedom. Those who work in it with a

true heart have indeed a right to their merry Christmas and happy New Year. By breaking down the wrongs which class has inflicted on class, and levelling the barrier which a pernicious code has interposed between nation and nation, they are most fitly and worthily commemorating the advent of Him whose mission was "peace on earth and goodwill among men." The toils and sacrifices of this struggle, fraught, as they are, with cheerful memories of past successes, and bright hopes of an early crowning triumph, are really a Christmas of themselves—while they scatter the seeds that will bear, through many and many a New Year, the rich harvest of a wide futurity of Christmas blessings. Nor need the well-known household symbols of Christmas-time be absent from these festive labours. Even now, in the very heat and thick of our conflict, may we regard as our own the laurels of victories that are within grasp, and the evergreens typical of the gladness which realises, as already present, the triumphs of eternal truth and right.

FREE TRADE VERSUS WAR.—THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

On that which is generally regarded by our contemporaries of the press as the main topic of Mr Polk's message to Congress—the state and prospects of the Oregon question—we have nothing to say in these columns. With the right or wrong of the claim, either of Great Britain or of the United States, to the whole or to parts of an unpeopled wilderness, we have here no concern whatever. Nor are we solicitous to criticise or counteract the supposed bellicose tendencies of certain parts of the above-named important document. The "antidote" is given us in so close a juxtaposition to the "bane," as to relieve us of all painful anxiety with respect to the eventual result of this frivolous and vexatious quarrel. The Free Trade paragraphs make us tolerably easy about the Oregon paragraphs. It is clear that the difficulties of a harassing and angry diplomacy will be solved, and its dangers averted, by the necessities and interests of commerce. The Americans are so resolutely bent on trading with us, and on adjusting their fiscal legislation by the true laws of trade, that we positively refuse to believe in their alleged intention to fight us. On the whole, despite a few angry words, we cannot look on this President's message in any other light than as a "message of peace."

We never read any public document of this class with more satisfaction—both on account of the sound principles which it enunciates, and the prospect which it affords of a peaceful solution of a difficult international controversy—than that which we have derived from those portions of Mr. Polk's recent message to Congress, which treat of the question of fiscal reform. Mr. Polk lays down, in the broadest and strongest manner (qualified only by a salvo in favour of what he calls "incidental protection," a fallacy which we need not at present stop to discuss), that great and simple doctrine of fiscal legislation for which we have always contended—that *the object of imposing duties on imports should be TO RAISE REVENUE TO PAY THE NECESSARY EXPENSES OF GOVERNMENT.* He exposes, in the clearest and most effective way, the fallacy lurking in the phrase "*protection to domestic industry*," by showing that ALL the industry of a country, whether agricultural, commercial, or manufacturing, is "domestic" industry—that "*the joint labours of ALL these classes constitute the aggregate of the domestic industry of the nation, and ARE EQUALLY ENTITLED TO THE NATION'S PROTECTION.*" "The Government," he adds, "in theory knows NO DISTINCTION OF PERSONS OR CLASSES, and should not bestow upon some favours and privileges, which all others may not enjoy." The whole system of prohibitory, protective, and differential duties, for preventing, restricting, or regulating the importation of commodities in subserviency to the interests of particular classes of producers; the system of levying taxes on the people, not for the uses of the public treasury, but for the benefit of private individuals—is here exploded and denounced officially, by the

chief magistrate of a great and powerful State. In the United States President, we, Free Traders, have an able and learned expositor of the great truth for which we have been contending so many years; that the Custom-House is, by right, wholly and solely an instrument of revenue to the State, not of profit to private individuals at the State's cost.

This is most cheering, especially as coming from a man who is known to speak the sentiments of the dominant party in the American republic, and whose words are indicative and prophetic of approaching legislative changes. There can now be no doubt, whatever, that the Anti-Commercial United States tariff of 1842 will, in the present session of Congress, undergo extensive and important alterations; and it is equally certain, that, whatever may be the fate of the Oregon negotiations, this tariff reform will, in conjunction with Free Trade legislation on our side, produce commercial relations and mutual commercial dependence between the two countries that will render war, for the Oregon or anything else, a moral impossibility. Each country is about to bind itself over to keep the peace—to give security for finding some pacific and amicable mode of adjusting diplomatic quarrels.

It is indeed a goodly spectacle which America and England now exhibit to the world—two countries of first-class power and importance running a race of good principles—each ambitious to be foremost in the correction of error and the legislative realisation of truth. Although we cannot grudge our American brethren triumphs of which we shall be admitted to share the spoils, we would not willingly resign to them the palm of victory in this contest. We have sufficient national pride in us to dislike extremely the idea of being distanced. On the whole, however, our sense of national honour will be tolerably well satisfied if both parties reach the winning-post simultaneously—*i. e.* provided that the simultaneous triumph be total and immediate.

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN AND THE CORN LAWS.

The monopolist journals make frequent reference to the *Manchester Guardian* as "an organ of the League," because it occasionally exposes their folly and nonsense on subjects connected with Free Trade. Whilst we acknowledge the ability of some of its articles on these subjects, it is with regret we are obliged to say that the opinions of the *Guardian* are too unstable to find a response in THE LEAGUE.

Few honest-minded men, knowing the character of Lord John Russell, could read his able and candid address to the electors of London, exposing the evils and impolicy of the Corn Laws, without arriving at the conclusion, that if he possessed the power he would put an immediate end to these "baneful" laws. His lordship was most unexpectedly called upon by the Queen to form a Ministry; and the *Manchester Guardian*, in announcing the fact on the 20th inst., takes occasion to point out to him a passage in his address, which leaves him "at perfect liberty, if he should think it desirable, to cheat the people" "by proposing a fixed duty, gradually diminishing to zero."

"What may be Lord John Russell's present intentions on this point (says the *Guardian*), we have no means of judging. Probably he would much prefer a total and immediate repeal; but, if he finds that the success of his measure would be secured by a moderate concession of the nature that we have alluded to, he is perfectly at liberty to make it; and we are confident that by so doing he would give general satisfaction to the country."

Lord John Russell's interpretation of his address was precisely that which the public put upon it; he declared the time was gone by for fixed duties, and he consented to take office only on the express condition of bringing forward a measure for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Law, and to this course there was not, we are happy to say, a single dissident amongst those whom he invited to form his administration. The confidence expressed by the *Guardian* that its fixed duty scheme, or any other compromise, "would give great satisfaction to the country," was put to the test at the meeting, at the Manchester Town Hall, on Tuesday last, (designated by the *Guardian* as "unexampled in the

history of our country") and unanimously and enthusiastically scouted. With these facts before it, the *Guardian*, on the following day, in announcing the return of Sir Robert Peel, and speculating upon what sort of measure he will propose for adjusting the Corn Law, counsels him also to compromise, by throwing upon the public "the taxes of which the agriculturists complain."

"It is stated in the *Morning Post* of yesterday," (says the *Guardian*.) "that he (Sir R. Peel) will probably offer a fixed duty of 10s. per quarter, to be diminished to a permanent duty of 5s. by reductions of 1s. per annum. We hope however, that if Sir Robert Peel finds himself compelled to submit to concessions for the sake of diminishing opposition, he will rather offer equivalents in some modification of those taxes of which agriculturists complain, than clog his great measure with a permanent duty, which would certainly cause great dissatisfaction among the manufacturing classes."

The *Guardian* appears to overlook the principle of justice involved in this question. It was well observed by Mr. Brotherton, at the Manchester meeting on Tuesday last, in reference to Mr. Heywood's recommendation to a compromise, "He had always opposed the Corn Laws because they were unjust; and what they believed to be unjust could not be compromised."

The monopolist press, who are pleased to call the *Guardian* "an organ of the League," will probably eagerly quote the sentiments it has expressed, and gladly attribute them to the *League*. We have thought it necessary, therefore, lest those at a distance from Manchester should suppose that that journal speaks the sentiments of the Free Traders, to refer them to the proceedings of the meeting, held in the Town Hall, inserted in today's *League*, which leave no doubt that the Free Traders of Manchester are no more disposed to compromise injustice than they are to compound a felony; and this feeling we are persuaded is responded to by every Leaguer throughout the country.

PROGRESS OF THE MOVEMENT.

In addition to the unparalleled meeting held at Manchester on Tuesday last, to which we have more particularly directed attention elsewhere, the following important gatherings have been held since the publication of our last Number.

A Free Trade meeting has been held at the town of Stockton-upon-Tees, over which the mayor presided. It was addressed by Messrs. Sanders, Pease, Ainsworth, Dixon, Berington, Clephan, and the Rev. Messrs. McDowall and Long. The greatest unanimity prevailed; and as this town is in the centre of an agricultural district, such a demonstration affords proof that the agriculturists are beginning to discover the nature of the fraud by which they have been hitherto deluded.

At Bridgetown, in Scotland, Mr. William Johnston, Provost, occupied the chair. The meeting was addressed by Messrs. Nimmo, Wilson, Malcolm, Keeler, Barclay, Jack, McPhail, and by Mr. T. Gillespie, late Secretary to the Glasgow Chartist Association. The resolutions for the immediate opening of the ports, and for the repeal of the Corn Laws were adopted without a dissentient voice.

A similar meeting was held in the Gorbals, presided over by the chief magistrate of that district. It was addressed by Messrs. Mitchell, Pearson, Cameron, Brodie, and Anderson. An amendment, moved by a person named Wilkinson, fell to the ground for want of a seconder; and this was the only interruption to the harmony and unanimity of the meeting.

Similar meetings, marked by no striking event, were held at the close of last week in Alnwick, Maidstone, Greenwich, and the parish of St. Clement Danes.

A very important meeting was held in Devonport, in consequence of a requisition presented to the mayor, signed by 1200 persons. The chief magistrate took the chair; and the assembly was addressed by T. Woolcombe, Esq., the Rev. J. Fyer, C. Trype, Esq., the Rev. Mr. Gillson, J. Norman, Esq., and several other gentlemen. Great enthusiasm prevailed, and the resolutions in favour of Free Trade were unanimously adopted.

At Portsmouth, the mayor took the chair; and after the first resolution had been moved by Mr. Carter, the meeting was addressed by Sir George Staunton, the respected member for the borough,

in a speech of great power and earnestness, in which he scouted the very notion of compromise; by Mr. Sergeant Gazelee, the Rev. G. Arnott, and Sir C. Napier, M.P., who came forward as a practical Hampshire farmer to proclaim that Free Trade would be advantageous to the agricultural interest.

At Maryborough, in Ireland, at a dinner given to the tenantry of the Marquis of Lansdowne, the principle of protection was eloquently denounced by J. R. Price, Esq., the agent to that nobleman. He declared that a repeal of the Corn Laws would lead to a great improvement of the relations between landlord and tenant, because under the present fluctuating system there was no inducement to execute a lease, as there was no security for steady prices.

At St. Andrew's, Holborn, there was a Free Trade meeting on Tuesday evening, when Mr. G. Taylor took the chair. A letter was read from Mr. T. S. Duncombe, M.P., apologising for his unavoidable absence, but warmly supporting the repeal of those laws which restrict the admission of food. Messrs. Tidmarsh, Milne, Puris, Humphreys, and others, including Mr. Cramp, a Chartist, advocated the several resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

Aberdeen has had a meeting, which for numbers and respectability of attendance, and for firmness and enthusiasm in the assertion of opinion, has had no parallel in the history of that town. The Lord Provost took the chair, and the meeting was addressed by Mr. Bannerman, M.P., the Rev. Mr. Kennedy, Captain Fordyce, Mr. Adam, Bailie Forbes, Mr. Neil Smith, and Mr. G. Thompson, Jun.

A meeting has been held at Wigan, where the chair was taken by R. Thicknesse, Esq. The resolutions were advocated by the Rev. Mr. Roafe, Mr. T. Cooke, Mr. Nevan, &c., and a memorial to Sir R. Peel was adopted, calling his attention to the rapid depreciation of manufactures, and the consequent dangers that impend over the operative population.

A public meeting has been held at Bradford, in Wilts, to procure an immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. The chair was taken by Mr. Edward Wilton; and the crowded assembly was addressed by Mr. Wilkins, the Rev. Mr. Hawkins, the Rev. Mr. Waddy, Mr. Cox, Mr. Neale, Mr. Sidwell, Mr. Eddridge, and Mr. Falvey. The resolutions were adopted with enthusiastic unanimity; and the strongest determination was manifested to rescue North Wilts from the hands of the monopolists.

Mr. Moore also has addressed public meetings at Taunton, Plymouth, and Exeter. The meeting at Taunton was on Monday called by the bailiff, in answer to a requisition from the inhabitants. The bailiff presided; numbers attended who had not before been present at such meetings; and the Court-house was crowded to excess. A Mr. Hayman did make a protection speech, and was listened to; but could find no supporters, so entirely, even in a purely agricultural district, is the old protection system given up. Sir Thomas Colebrook, M.P. for Taunton, attended, and was received and heard with the utmost enthusiasm. The meeting was also addressed by Wm. Beadon, and other gentlemen; and a memorial unanimously agreed to for the immediate opening of the ports and total repeal of the Corn Laws. Mr. Moore dwelt upon the practicability and importance of winning *West Somerset*, and a resolution was carried by acclamation to form a committee for the purpose of canvassing to increase the number of 40s. freeholders before the 30th of January, so as to make the county safe.

The meeting at Plymouth on Tuesday was held in the Mechanics' Institute, and presided over by Mr. Calmarly, a large landowner in the neighbourhood. The room, which will hold from eight to nine hundred persons, was crowded in every part, and hundreds went away, unable to gain admission. The earnest attention of the audience, and their evident understanding of the Free Trade question in all its bearings, gave proof how well the members of the local Free Trade Association have done their work. Both members for the borough have now given up all idea of a fixed duty or compromise of any kind. A vote of thanks to the League, and of congratulation on the counties won, and the

spirit and progress of the freehold movement was carried, by the whole audience rising and cheering for several minutes, and by the promise of help to win North Devon and West Somerset.

On Wednesday, a meeting was held in the Royal Subscription Rooms, Exeter, Samuel Maunder, the indefatigable president of the Free Trade Association, in the chair. Although it was Christmas eve, the room was crowded; the most earnest interest was expressed in the present position of the cause, and the resolution, that now more than at any former period of the agitation there was need for the utmost exertion was carried with unanimous enthusiasm. The audience seemed resolved to find another local Free Trader to contest the city along with Mr. Divett at the next election, and the committee have undertaken to aid the 40s. freehold movement in North Devon and West Somerset.

YE PEASANTRY OF ENGLAND.

DEDICATED TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

Ye peasantry of England,
Who till our fertile leas,
How little do ye think a man
May live on, if he please?
Your weekly wages, it is plain,
As far again would go,
And keep you so cheap,
(For Norfolk's Duke says so)
If, when hunger rages fierce and strong,
To curry you would go.

This powder, hungry fathers,
From all expense will save;
For if your children eat thereof,
No other food they'll crave;
And any time that wages fall,
(As oft they fall, you know,)
'Twill come cheap a pinch to sleep
In water—a pint or so;
And when hunger rages fierce and strong,
To your curry powder go.

Our labourers need no dainties,
But something strong and cheap;
No steak from off the rump they crave,
No chop from off the sheep:
With curry powder, thrice a week,
Warm into bed they'll stow,
Nor ever roar out for more—
Their place so well they know;
But when hunger rages fierce and strong,
To the curry powder go.

The 'tato crops of England
May all to gangrene turn,
While Norfolk's Duke about your lot
His wise head shall concern.
Meanwhile, ye hardy labourers,
Your song of thanks should flow
To the fame of his name
Who the powder made you know;
Which, when hunger rages fierce and strong,
Will set you in a glow.

GREAT MEETING AT ACCRINGTON.—On Tuesday evening an Anti-Corn-Law meeting was held at Accrington, in the "hill country" of Lancashire, which had the peculiar distinction of being attended by nearly the whole male adults of the place, the population being 10,000, and the number present being upwards of 2500. It was held in a very large new weaving shed, affording room to seat comfortably nearly all the audience. Amongst the gentlemen on the platform were William Hargreaves, Esq., a subscriber of 250*l.* to the great League Fund; Frederick Steiner, Esq., a subscriber of 1000*l.*; James Simpson, jun., Esq., of Fox-Hill Bank; the Rev. Mr. Bailey, Mr. Smith, and a number of manufacturers of the town and neighbourhood. Mr. Hargreaves being called to the chair, declared his conviction that nothing short of immediate and unconditional repeal would satisfy the people, and his determination to support the cause of Free Trade to the extent of his ability. Mr. Prentice, of Manchester, then addressed the meeting in a short but energetic speech, warning his hearers against a too great reliance on any ministry that might be formed, whether Whig or Tory, and urging the necessity of continuing the agitation which had already staggered the ruling powers, and would ere long compel them to yield to the demand for complete justice. Mr. Brotherton, M.P. for Salford, followed, and in a speech of an hour's duration, gave a number of familiar illustrations of the working of the Corn Laws, which were listened to with deep attention. Mr. Livesey, publisher of the *Preston Guardian*, and of *The Struggle*, a useful periodical, which has greatly served the cause of Free Trade, then addressed the meeting, and completely riveted its attention by his plain and simple, but at the same time very able and convincing arguments; He strongly urged the purchase of forty-shilling freeholds, as a means of meeting and overpowering the landed influence. A memorial to the Queen was agreed to unanimously. After a vote of thanks to the chairman, and three hearty cheers for the League, the great and orderly assemblage broke up soon after ten o'clock.

BATLEY.—A public meeting of the inhabitants of Batley, convened by the constable, in accordance with a respectfully signed requisition, was held in the New Connection School room on Wednesday evening last, to consider the propriety of memorialising her Majesty's Government in favour of the opening of the ports for the free admission of all kinds of grain. John Nussy, Esq., the chairman, having in a brief speech, opened the proceedings of the meeting, called upon the Rev. John Allison, Baptist minister, to move the first resolution. The meeting was subsequently addressed by Messrs. S. Jubb, M. Spedding, J. Burnley, J. Jubb, W. Bailey, J. Taylor, S. Burnley, M. Butterworth, jun., and B. Senior. A memorial founded on the resolutions previously agreed to, was unanimously adopted. The thanks of the meeting having been accorded to the chairman, three cheers were given for Lord Morpeth.

GREAT LEAGUE MEETING AT MANCHESTER.

On Tuesday last, Dec. 23rd, a meeting of merchants, bankers, manufacturers, traders, and others, was held at the Town-hall, to consider the best means of aiding the operations of the National Anti-Corn-Law League in the present crisis.

The meeting was held in pursuance of a requisition signed by the following gentlemen:—Mr. Cobden, M.P., Mr. Bright, M.P., Mr. Marsland, M.P., Mr. Walker, M.P., Mr. Watkins, mayor; Aldermen Kershaw, Walker, Mayson, Boyd, Armistage, Potter, and Harvey; Messrs. Bazley, Brooks, Munro, J. B. Smith, Henry, Brickley, Whittaker, Matley, T. Thompson, George Wilson, R. H. Greg, Henry Ashworth, E. Ashworth, P. R. Arrowsmith, W. Bickham, W. Rawson, W. Evans, T. Whitehead, T. Taylor, J. Wrigley, J. R. Barnes, — Barnes, jun., E. J. Barratt, E. P. Thompson, J. Simpson, E. Hall, H. Bannerman, J. Acton, W. R. Callender, Nathan Lees, J. Scholefield, A. Prentice, John Harding, T. B. Potter, T. Woolley, R. A. Thicknesse, Wigan; J. Midgeley, Rochdale; W. Morris, C. Potter, Darwen; J. Graham, S. Lees, N. Heald, T. Bright, E. J. Kay, Whitworth; R. Platt, Staleybridge; E. Grundy, Rusholme; W. Alcard, Warrington; R. Stuart, H. Rawson, T. Ashton, W. Ross, J. Whitworth, J. Gallimore, J. Cheetham, J. Hoyle, Rochdale; T. Booth, Rochdale; J. Petrie, Rochdale.

The meeting, which comprised many of the leading merchants and manufacturers of Manchester and the surrounding towns, though held at the early hour of 11 o'clock precisely, was most numerously attended, the spacious hall being densely crowded from the very commencement of the proceedings.

On the motion of Mr. G. Wilson, Chairman of the Council, seconded by Mr. Bright, M.P.,

Mr. ROBERT HYDE GREG took the chair, and read the minutes of a special general meeting of the Council of the National Anti-Corn-Law League, held at Manchester on Saturday, the 13th of December, when it was moved by Mr. Marsland, M.P., and seconded by Mr. R. H. Greg, and unanimously resolved, "That from the altered position of parties in the House of Commons in reference to the repeal of the Corn Laws, it is desirable to rescind the existing resolution against petitioning the present Parliament, and that this meeting recommend that petitions be sent from every town and district in the kingdom as numerous as possible, praying for the total and unconditional abolition of the Corn and Provision Laws;" and on the motion of Mr. Bright, M.P., seconded by Mr. R. Walker, M.A., resolved unanimously, "That a subscription of a quarter of million sterling be immediately commenced, to meet the present emergency; that a call of 20 per cent. thereon be forthwith made, and that a public meeting be called in the Town Hall, Manchester, for Tuesday, the 23d of December inst., for the purpose of giving effect to the foregoing resolution." The chairman then spoke as follows:—If gentlemen, my own feelings meet with any echo in your breasts, as I am convinced they will, you will think with me that we are met here to-day on this most interesting, anxious, and unprecedented crisis of affairs, rather to back the resolutions of the League, which I have just read, by our deeds, than by discussing them in words. (Cheers.) And as we have on former occasions cashed the cheques which the League have drawn upon us, first for 6000*l.*, then for 10,000*l.*, afterwards 50,000*l.*, and two years ago, in this very room, for 100,000*l.*, so now that they think fit to draw upon us for 250,000*l.* in the confidence that we will honour their draft, and that it will be paid when at maturity, we will not withdraw from them that confidence and support we have shown them on former occasions. (Cheers.) When we think of the very great service which the League have rendered, their unwearying struggle through seven long years against every possible difficulty, with the prejudices and open violence of the operatives, with the coldness and neglect of the master manufacturers and merchants, and the constant hostility of the landed interest, we must be filled with admiration and astonishment that they are now about to see their efforts crowned, there can be little doubt, with complete success. (Cheers.) And if from the great body of the League we turn for an instant to its leaders, we must feel that their sacrifice of time, of health, of every comfort in life—sacrifices which, though they never allude to themselves, the country will never forget (loud cheers); if we think of the unwearied perseverance, the consummate skill, the brilliant talents they have displayed from the beginning of this contest, we must be filled, not with admiration only, but with the deepest gratitude, and every disposition will be felt to listen to their advice and adopt any recommendation that may come from them. What is money, gentlemen, compared with the sacrifices they have made, although in pecuniary sacrifices, too, they have ever been among the first? (Cheers.) This is the last time when such an appeal will be made to you, and I trust it will be answered as it ought to be. If we only show at the present crisis the same determination and spirit we have manifested on so many former occasions, there can be no doubt the next time we meet will be to celebrate our triumph. (Cheers.) But till that triumph be perfectly secured we must not be caught napping—we must not lie upon our oars—we must not forsake the helm, as some other pilots did on a late occasion. (Hear.) It is clear that the successful termination of our struggle cannot long be delayed. (Cheers.) If any one doubts this, let the proceedings of this day put an end to his scepticism. The mischiefs of the uncertainty that prevails should alone make everybody call for a speedy settlement. Not to dwell upon the crippled state of our mercantile and manufacturing concerns, the state of the money-market, the panic in railway affairs, the scarcity acknowledged to exist here and the famine impending over the sister island, if not in this, with the duty on the importation of food, actually rising, and the ports becoming more closely shut the more the necessity of the case calls for their being opened, the very farmers themselves and the landed interests are suffering under the present uncertainty, the price of their produce actually declining while that produce was known to be deficient in amount for the consumption of the country. (Cheers.) Let us then stick to our standard, continue our exertions, in the confident belief that every interest and class in the country will rally around us and call in one universal voice for an immediate repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws. (Loud cheers.) I will now call on Mr. Wilson, the Chairman of the Council, to read an abstract of the finances. (Cheers.)

Mr. Wilson came forward amidst loud cheers, and said he had been instructed by the Treasurer to present his accounts; and as it was desirable, before gentlemen committed themselves to a new subscription, they should know what had been done with the money already paid, he would

request the patient attention of the meeting while he read the statement put in his hand. He then read the two statements following:

LEAGUE FUND, 100,000 <i>l.</i>			
Dr.	£	s.	d.
January 1, 1845. To balance on hand.....	26,675	19	9
December 6. Subscriptions and Bazaar receipts to this date	35,678	8	10
To discount and interest received this year ..	820	4	11
	£63,174	13	6

Cr.	£	s.	d.
By distribution of tracts, including expenses of distributors, carriage, &c.	840	1	7
By expenses of furniture and fixtures	218	19	0
By deputation expenses, including travelling expenses to attend meetings and Parliamentary elections in various parts of the United Kingdom	462	12	4
By grants to local Free Trade Committees ..	1000	17	0
By general salaries of office-staff, including all employed in London and Manchester on the general business of the League, weekly wages, &c. &c.	1836	14	6
By postage-stamps and postages, sundry office expenses, petty cash, and incidental expenses, including repairs and alterations, coats, cleaning, &c.	1528	1	5
By expenses of meetings, including hire of rooms, erecting hustings, and all other expenses connected with public meetings ..	1069	16	6
By salaries and expenses of lecturers, including travelling expenses, &c.	2320	4	9
By rents, taxes, and gas, including rent of Covent-garden Theatre, house and offices, London and Manchester	3992	1	8
By stamped publications, printing, and stationery, reporting, &c. &c.	6854	9	2
By bazaar expenses, including wages of persons employed during the bazaar, fitting up Covent-garden Theatre, and general expenditure in advertising, printing, travelling expenses, &c. &c.	5712	13	4
By expenses of League newspaper, including salaries of conductors, editor, and contributors, stamps, paper, and printing,	11,388	13	4
Deduct receipts for casual sale	1,227	6	3
	*10,161	7	1

By registration expenses, including salaries, travelling, and other expenses of registration agents, legal expenses wages of clerks, printing and stationery, expenses in registration courts, and general expenses on registration business	15,534	4	1
Balance on hand	12,033	11	1
	£63,174	13	6

WILLIAM BICKHAM } Members of the Finance
SAMUEL LEES } Committee.

W. RAWSON, Treasurer.

Examined and found correct.

WILLIAM EVANS, Member of the Council.

This, as he had stated before, was the remainder of the 100,000*l.* fund; but the following sheet would give the whole of the receipts and disbursements, and the balance on that account up to the 6th instant. He then read the following balance sheet:

Dr.			
January 1.	To amount of receipts as statement rendered	£	s. d.
		86,009	7 3
December 6.	To amount of subscriptions and bazaar receipts from Jan. 1 to this date	35,678	8 10
December 6.	To discount and interest received this year	820	4 11
		<hr/>	
		£122,508	1 0
December 6.	To balance in hand	12,033	11 1
Cr.		£	s. d.
January 1.	By amount of expenditure, as per statement	59,333	7 0
December 6.	By amount of expenditure to this date as per statement	51,141	2 5
	Balance	12,033	11 1
		<hr/>	
		£122,508	1 0

WILLIAM BICKHAM } Members of the Finance
SAMUEL LEES } Committee.

WILLIAM RAWSON, Treasurer.

Examined and found to be correct.

WILLIAM EVANS, Member of the Council.

The report was received with loud applause.

Mr. CALLENDER.—I rise to move "That the account of the receipts and expenditure now presented is highly satisfactory, and that it be and is hereby approved." I am sure it will not require ten words from me to bring you to agree to this resolution. Having been connected—and I consider it a great honour to have been connected—with the Anti-Corn Law League from the very commencement of its operations until the present time, I can assure you that, with the exception of the petty cash items, no sum was ever expended without a vote of the Council, which met every morning for the purpose; and I know of no establishment, however punctual in their payments, and in the examination of their accounts, that could be more exact in seeing that they got good value for every farthing expended. (Cheers.) Indeed, if we look to the amount of outlay, and the estimated advantage that has been obtained, I am sure you will agree with me in thinking that the sum expended has been amply repaid (cheers); and when we look at the accomplishment of the great object we have in view—for I trust we are within sight of its accomplishment—I shall be greatly mistaken if it fail to contribute largely to the happiness and

[* The Standard says, referring to this item, that the LEAGUE newspaper constitutes a dead loss of 10,000*l.* a year to the funds of the League.—and thereupon hangs sundry maudlin ejaculations about the death of the League—which she has so often buried before. The venerable twins of the Standard-Herald would greatly rejoice their proprietors, if they could demonstrate on their balance-sheet a similar loss in the shape of upwards of 15,000*l.* bona fide subscribers—all of whom pay their subscriptions twelve months beforehand. As all subscribers of 1*l.* and upwards are entitled to a weekly copy of the LEAGUE, it follows, of course, that the whole expenses of the LEAGUE newspaper are charged as disbursements in the general account.—ED. LEAGUE.]

contentment of this country, and promote the interests of peace throughout the world (cheers), at once giving honourable occupation to millions, not only in our own country, but to millions in other countries; thus uniting all nations in the bonds of brotherhood, for the true promotion of the great objects of philanthropy and true godliness throughout the world. (Cheers.)

Mr. L. HEYWORTH, of Liverpool, in seconding the resolution said, As far as I have been able to judge, from reading the statement you have just heard regarding the manner in which the accounts of this society are kept, I can bear testimony to its truth. In undertaking a great measure like this—one to remedy a great mischief to mankind—it is a gratifying thing to behold so many, from all quarters, ranging themselves in our support, and eager to promote our object; and it is still more gratifying to find, by such a testimony as that we have now received, that the money which we have advanced as subscriptions the more speedily to gain our end, has been legitimately applied to those objects for which it was originally intended. (Hear, hear.) Some six or seven years ago I appeared before a Manchester public, and so thoroughly was I then convinced that it was for the advantage of every member of the human family that all protective duties should be abolished, that I did not hesitate to declare that I would be one among 50 other individuals to guarantee a subscription of 1000*l.* each. Many parties afterwards came forward, and we ourselves have since expended considerably more than that sum. (Hear, hear.) Do any of us regret having done this? Did we ever expend money more fruitful of results, more capable of attaining the end we had in view? It was in the first instance proposed that the money so raised should be laid out in endeavouring to enlighten the minds of the people, as to the true bearings of commercial freedom, and most strictly has that object been pursued. We have distributed tracts far and wide; we have, ourselves, travelled in every direction to communicate information to various bodies of our countrymen; we have engaged intelligent lecturers to repeat those lessons; and the result has been that the country is enlightened. (Hear.) We have not only roused an apathetic people to consider and reflect on those laws, but we have gained converts and listeners among those who originally were directly opposed to us, and now we can boast that the multitude of the people from every class have joined our ranks. (Cheers.) Shall we now desist from our undertaking—shall we now draw back when at the very point of achieving a victory? It would be unbecoming our character as Englishmen to contemplate such a proceeding. We have enlightened the people, we have educated them, we have taught them to know and understand the principle on which we proposed to act; and are we now to stand still, to desert them, and to leave them without the means of carrying those principles into action? We must not do this. If we send our sons to school, if we impart to them knowledge and information, we do not, when they are educated, leave them there; we bring them forward in the world and give that further instruction which may teach them to take an active and responsible part in the business of life. The people have been at school, they must now turn their acquirements to account, and it is for us to lead them to that position on which they must stand with effect, and from which the declarations of their opinions may come with superadded force. (Hear, hear, hear.) We have come here to-day not merely to raise funds, and to expend contributions, but for the purpose also of giving to the masses of the people the right of participating in the franchise, that they may, conscious of their own interests, choose those individuals to represent them in Parliament, who, in their estimation, will best advance their interests; and having intelligence, there is little doubt that they will make choice of Free Traders. (Cheers.) It is when we have accomplished this, and then only, that we can throw up our hats and declare that we have gained a victory. Our first step must be in regard to the registration, so as to secure a steady footing in all the counties, from one end of the kingdom to the other. (Cheers.) I beseech you, gentlemen, that you will reflect on the necessity for exertions to day, and that you will be steady in your determination to act in proportion to the extent of that necessity. We cannot do without funds, and we must now, in support of our great undertaking, come forward with our subscriptions in a liberal and generous manner. It is true that some persons may suppose that this is merely a patriotic movement, and that, as it is patriotic, it is unprofitable. But all of you know that if we succeed we cannot fail to bring profit to every individual, be he who he may, in this room; that the entire nation will feel the blessing, and that even the landed proprietor, the aristocrat, who opposes it because he sees in it no gain to himself, must inevitably be enriched and advantaged in every possible manner. If there are any men who, notwithstanding these declarations, will still adhere to the opinion that our cause is solely patriotic, merely the result of warm and eager feelings, I would refer them to the effects, of which all can judge, of cheap bread upon your trade during the last twelve months. Has it not during this time been good beyond precedent,—flourished beyond the experience of all the world? And why? because bread was cheap (hear, hear); and if you find that, under circumstances which are necessarily fluctuating and temporary, you derive so many advantages and so great a good, should we not seek, by every means, to render these circumstances, through the operation of wise and national laws, fixed and permanent? (Hear, loud cheers.) This we can do by compelling the universal adoption of Free Trade, for though I am aware it is an argument against us, that even if we do become a nation of Free Traders we shall have no imitators, and shall therefore only suffer by our generosity, it must be apparent to every man who reflects, that when the world observes us becoming richer and richer, when it is known that our prosperity has been increased, and our commerce extended by means of Free Trade, other countries will be but too desirous to walk in the same path, and imitate the example we will have set, in order that they may enjoy and flourish by the same advantages. (Loud cheers.) We concluded by seconding the resolution.

The resolution was then put by the CHAIRMAN, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Alderman NEILD said, I rise to move the following resolution:—

"That we the merchants, manufacturers, traders, and others, inhabitants of Manchester and its vicinity, do hereby repeat our solemn protest against the laws which prohibit the free importation of foreign grain and provisions, believing them to be most oppressive to the great mass of the people, and destructive alike to the great national interests of agriculture and commerce; and, relying upon the justice of our cause, and upon the intelligence and honesty of our countrymen, we do declare most emphatically our determi-

nation not to relax in our exertions until those laws be entirely abolished."

(Loud and continued cheering.) Gentlemen, as my townsmen know, I am not in the habit of making long speeches, and fortunately for me on the present occasion, the resolution you have heard contains the essence of the subject. It is fortunate, too, that the principles alluded to in the resolution have been before, again and again, fully discussed, thanks to the operations of the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Hear, hear.) We have also to thank them that the persons who differ from us in opinion are now by far the minority, and not, as formerly, the great majority, of the inhabitants of this country. (Cheers.) It is a most gratifying circumstance, and must be so felt by the members of the League, that after their seven years of constant agitation, they have succeeded in obtaining—at least, they are on the point of obtaining—one of the most complete moral victories ever achieved perhaps in our time. (Hear, hear.) I think I am justified in asserting, that if these laws had been abolished within six or twelve months by a mere numerical vote of the House of Commons, it would have been no victory at all in comparison with that which we have now to glory in. If our battle had been so gained, parties differing with us might still oppose, though beaten; feeling that an exclusive good had been taken from them, they might continue the struggle to resume their position; but now, when the Corn Laws are abolished, every man in this country must know and feel that they are abolished for ever. (Cheers.) After so complete, so utter a victory, every man, whose opinion is worth regarding, must admit that everything in the shape of argument against us has gone. All know and confess that the days of the Corn Laws are numbered; and all will rejoice when those laws are destroyed; at the present moment, as you, Sir, very clearly stated in your opening address, every interest, whether commercial or agricultural, in the kingdom, is completely unsettled; we know the cause of this evil, and we all agree that the sooner it is removed the better for every interest. (Hear, hear.) You stated, Sir, and stated very truly, the numerous obligations which the community are under to the Anti-Corn-Law League. I have sometimes found fault, but I freely admit the extent of those obligations. With respect to our sympathies, we must not forget that which is the most sensitive organ we possess; we are composed of various organs, but there is not one of them so sensitive as the pocket (cheers), and it is to that we now appeal for sympathy. Let this meeting show that they acknowledge and will repay the services rendered to those of whom it is composed and to the community at large, by the Anti-Corn Law League. There are some who will object to this, or who, if they will accede to it, will say, when called upon, on other occasions, that they have given already so large a sum to the League that they can give no more in charity. This is a mistake; the money given to the Anti-Corn-Law League is not charity at all. (Hear, hear.) Will any man in this room, a merchant or trader, deny that if our case is clearly made out, he will not save a large annual expenditure and make increased profits? Or will any man, who has already expended large sums of money in support of the Anti-Corn-Law League, large as those sums may have been, assert that the abominable scheme of the sliding scale has not abstracted from his pocket many times the amount? (Cheers.) I know the value of time to the gentlemen assembled here. I knew that they would not be here, densely crowding this hall, in the midst of the business and the engagements of a market-day, if they did not strongly feel that it is of more importance, even on this day, that they should be here than attending to their commercial avocations. (Hear, hear.) I, therefore, knowing this, will not trespass on the meeting. Before the conclusion we will show that in making these sacrifices we are in earnest; that whatever the losses were, the men of Manchester are in earnest on this momentous question. (Great cheering.)

Mr. R. ASHTON.—I agreed, on coming into this room, to second the resolution which has just been read on condition that along speech would not be necessary. I said, if any one expected a long harangue from me they would be disappointed, on which my friend Bright observed that there was something more important, necessary, and efficacious than long speeches,—large subscriptions (cheers), and for this purpose especially this meeting has been assembled. I believe all the arguments which can be used have been used, and it is unnecessary for me to repeat them. For my own part, I would rather pay than work. (Cheers.) I always pay what the League demands. (Cheers.) I only wish that others who expect to benefit as much by their operations as I do would act in the same manner. (Cheers.) There must surely be a quarter of a million of Corn Law repealers, and if the sum now required were equally distributed over them, it could be easily raised and easily collected. (Cheers.) The time certainly has come when a big shot must be fired. (Cheers.) We must double-shot our guns (cheers), for although the Corn Laws cannot last much longer, we have something to do yet, and it must and shall be done. (Cheers.) The Duke of Wellington once said, "We cannot have a little war;" and the League must have no little subscription; and if it should be necessary another time, although I hope it may not be necessary, that they should ask for a million sterling, they shall have my support at any rate. (Loud and continued cheering.)

The resolution was passed with acclamation.

Mr. H. ASHWORTH said, he rose to propose a resolution which he believed was the most extraordinary and important resolution ever submitted to any assembly in the world. He proceeded to read the resolution.

"That this meeting hereby expresses its high sense of the invaluable services which the National Anti-Corn Law League has rendered to the cause of Free Trade; and, in order to enable the Council to make renewed and increased exertions for the repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws, a subscription, in aid of the great fund of 250,000*l.*, be now commenced, and that the following gentlemen be appointed a committee to canvass for subscriptions in Manchester and the surrounding districts: R. H. Greg, George Wilson, Richard Cobden, John Bright, John Brooks, William Rawson, W. B. Watkins (mayor), C. J. S. Walker, James Kershaw, John Mayson, Thomas Harbottle, John Burd, E. Armitage, John Foster, William Harvey, Thomas Bayley, Watkin Lees, Robert Munn, W. R. Callender, John Whitaker, Thos. Thomasson, Edward Hall, Wm. McCartney, Henry Ashworth, Richard Matley, J. B. Smith, Henry Rawson, William Bickham, Thos. B. Potter, Thomas Woolley, Samuel Lees, William Evans, Joseph Simpson, J. B. Scott, with power to add to their number."

In considering the momentous subject before him, he could not overlook the character of the assembly he was addressing, and he would venture to say that on no former occasion was there ever so influential and powerful a body gathered in any one room. He beheld before him those on

whom depended the important interests of the cotton trade, a trade which in less than 70 years had become the largest organisation of industry the world ever saw. It was for the purpose of securing to that industry the just rights to which it was entitled that they were come together. It was well known that at the age of threescore years and ten the human frame exhibited marks of decay; but with the institutions of commerce that period was only the first progressive step towards the development of its power. (Cheers.) They had now to consider whether that industry should proceed to its full measure of strength, or be permitted to decay, like the human frame of which he had spoken. The League had undertaken the subject, and it appeared obvious that the commerce of our country should not die of monopoly. (Cheers.) The sum he had proposed to raise might appear large; it was not large when measured by the magnitude of the object to be gained. By way of comparison, he would remind them that there were many persons in that room who had subscribed to the railway called the "London Direct." They had put down about 12,000,000*l.* to save an hour in travelling to London. They all knew that time was money; and if an hour in business was worth that large sum, surely the business itself was worth saving at the cost of a quarter of a million. It was proposed to raise 250,000*l.*, and how was this to be expended? Not in corrupting the minds of the people, but in advancing their intelligence, and their social and moral position. The League had already so fully instructed the people in the principles of Free Trade, that there did not require much effort in teaching them the knowledge of their rights. It was, however, necessary to acquaint them with the uses and importance of the electoral power they could command, and in inducing them to become freeholders. (Cheers.) In this matter, let it not be supposed that they were calling upon persons of frugal habits to expend money in that which would not pay them fair interest. He believed that freeholds which they had recently seen purchased had paid 5 or 6 per cent., and therefore the outlay involved no sacrifice. (Cheers.) He would also observe that it had always happened amongst working men that the possession of a freehold tended to make a man walk upright, and to carry himself with a greater amount of independence and self-respect, than if he had the money it cost in the savings-bank. (Cheers.) Let them not suppose that the Corn Laws were going to be repealed suddenly; there would yet be some severe struggling, and perhaps an election or two before the repeal was carried. But there was an urgency in the present crisis which it became them to take advantage of—namely, the failure of the potato crop. This calamity had placed the Ministry in an awkward dilemma; they had been called upon to open the ports, and they had allowed the ports to be opened, not for the admission of foreign corn, but in order that the corn in our possession might be carried away to other countries. (Cheers.) Ministers had done something besides: they had sent out learned doctors and chemists to discover whether they could derive either gluten or food out of rotten potatoes, and he need not say that they had not succeeded. However, it appeared that the work which chemistry failed to do had been handed over to political alchemy. Lord John Russell had taken up the question, and, having examined the caldron of mischief and misfortune, he had put in his stirring stick, pronounced a political oration, and raised an odour at once refreshing to Free Trade and noxious to monopoly—so noxious that in less than a week it had expelled from the council-chamber the strongest Conservative Ministry of modern times. (Cheers.) Out of these events it became the League to consider how the famine of potatoes could be converted into the blessing of Free Trade. The commotion thus created, the existing ferment of society, and the intelligence of the people, afforded to the League the brightest hopes of success. Out of these elements there had arisen a trade-wind of excitement, which was the best harbinger of their hopes. The Free Trade ship was now moving gloriously on; plenty was her ensign; the captain, the pilot, and a goodly crew were at their posts of duty, and millions of their countrymen on shore were anxiously waiting to give the exulting shout of victory. (Cheers.) He hoped the resolution he had the honour to propose would meet their concurrence and approbation.

Mr. Alderman KERSHAW rose with the greatest pleasure to second the resolution. The invaluable services which the National Anti-Corn Law League had rendered to the cause of Free Trade were well known, and need not be engaged upon by him. He had been connected with the League from its commencement. He saw it when it was no bigger than a man's hand. He had watched its operations steadily through the whole period of its existence, and he was prepared to say that there never was an institution of such magnitude conducted upon such prudent, and yet such energetic principles. (Hear, hear, and applause.) It was impossible to reflect upon what the Anti-Corn-Law League had done but with feelings of admiration and astonishment. (Hear, hear.) The meeting to day testified the interest which the public of Manchester and the surrounding neighbourhood took in the League. (Hear, hear.) On no former occasion, in reference to the funds of this institution, had there been such a meeting as this. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) He rejoiced to see his fellow-townsmen, and gentlemen from the neighbourhood of Manchester, thus assemble for the purpose once more—and once for all as he trusted—of testifying their disapprobation and disgust of those laws which tended to cramp industry, which depressed the people, deprived the poor man of a proper measure of bread, and injured to an extent which he believed it was impossible to calculate the interests of trade and commerce generally. (Hear, hear.) He felt that this was a most important meeting, and trusted that the subscriptions about to be commenced would be begun and carried on with spirit. (Hear, hear.) It was not too much to say, that the whole country was looking to their proceedings at that hour. He was sure the Government of the country, if there was one—(hear, hear, and laughter),—was looking to them. He presumed that the course which the Government would take would be in some considerable degree determined by the efforts which the League was now about to make. (Hear, hear.) That, he believed, would be the last time that they would be called upon to subscribe to the funds of the League. (Hear, hear.) Could any man doubt that those laws were not to be forthwith put down? (Hear, hear.) There would be a struggle; the monopolists would die hard; but the Free Traders had victory in prospect, and let them that day inflict the last blow upon the head of monopoly. (Loud cheers.) He would not dwell upon the injustice of those laws. The men who supported them, if they were men of intelligence, must know that they were doing what was unrighteous and unchristian—(hear, hear)—in supporting laws which, it had been proved, tended to

the starvation of the people. (Hear, hear.) He never in his life gave money with greater pleasure and satisfaction than he did to the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Cheers.) He looked upon it as a species of insurance for his benefit, and as the best investment which he could make. He calculated upon receiving great interest from what he had expended in this way; and depend upon it, that as soon as the Corn and Provision Laws were repealed, every one who had subscribed to this fund would feel a high satisfaction, and those who had not would deeply regret it. (Hear, hear.) The League must be supported. The men at the helm deserved their most cordial support. (Cheers.) None else had made half the sacrifices which those gentlemen had made in this great cause. They must be sustained, cheered on in their exertions. They had to meet a band of monopolists in the House of Commons, and they must be backed out of doors by the people. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) They must be backed in the best possible way by the voice of the people; that voice must be made distinct and loud; and they must, as they were able to do, in a constitutional manner, abrogate those laws. Register, gentlemen (said Mr. Kershaw). Promote as far as possible the extension of the franchise; especially look to the registration in the counties; and depend upon it that the fate of those ruinous, iniquitous laws is for ever sealed. (Loud cheers.) He had only further to add, that he came there as a merchant and manufacturer, and as the employer of a considerable number of his fellow-men, and in his own name and in theirs to protest against those laws which were depriving him of the proper remuneration for his capital, and depriving them of bread. (Cheers.) The resolution then passed unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN said there was now an end to the resolutions, and he should be glad to see them back their words by their deeds. Two years ago, when he presided at the meeting for the 100,000*l.* subscription, they had not one-sixth of the number of gentlemen present on this occasion: they did not then more than half fill the small room now cut off on the other side of the pillars (the Cross Street end of the hall), and then 14,000*l.* were subscribed in the room; and as there were now six times the number they ought to produce six times the amount. Perhaps he ought to say what he intended to do himself; he did not wish to deter others who might choose to give larger amounts, but as his brothers and himself then gave 500*l.*, they would put down their names on this occasion for 1000*l.* (Great cheering.) He invited gentlemen present to state what amount they or friends who had commissioned them to do so, would subscribe; and then announced that their excellent friend, Mr. Chadwick, of Eccles, who could not be present through indisposition, had sent in a note for 1000*l.* (Cheers.)

Mr. LAWRENCE HEYWORTH, of Liverpool, said, as there was a League in Liverpool he would give 500*l.* for Liverpool, and 500*l.* likewise for Manchester, which together will be 1000*l.* (Applause.)

The Chairman then announced the following subscriptions:—

Samuel Greg and Sons, Manchester ..	1000
James Chadwick, Eccles, near Manchester ..	1000
Thomas Thomasson, Bolton ..	1000
Kershaw, Leese, and Co. Manchester ..	1000
Thomas Hoyle and Sons, ditto ..	1000
Lawrence Heyworth, Liverpool ..	500
Mr. COBDEN said their friend John Brooks had commissioned him to say he would not be "second chop" to anybody, and therefore if any one gave more than 1000 <i>l.</i> , Mr. Brooks would give the same amount, whatever it might be; otherwise he must be put down at 1000 <i>l.</i> (Cheers.)	
John Brooks ..	1000
Robert Ashton, of Hyde ..	1000
William Bailey & Brothers, Stalybridge ..	1000
Robert Platt, Stalybridge ..	1000
Robert Lees & Sons, Dukinfield ..	1000
John Whitaker & Sons, Hurst ..	1000
John Bright & Brothers, Rochdale ..	1000
(The cheering at this last amount was most enthusiastic.)	
Samuel Ashton, Pole Bank ..	1000
James Ashton & Brothers, Pole Bank ..	1000
Thomas Ashton & Sons, Hyde ..	1000
James King & Sons, Rochdale ..	1000
From one family in Rochdale ..	1000
[Viz., Thomas Booth, John Hoyle, James Hoyle, and Thomas Hoyle.]	
P. Dixon & Sons, Manchester & Carlisle ..	1000
Joseph Eccles, Mill Hill, near Blackburn ..	1000
Eccles Shorrocks & Co., Darwen ..	1000
Henry and Edmund Ashworth, Torton ..	1000
Pilkington, Brothers & Co., Blackburn ..	1000
A. and S. Henry & Co., Manchester ..	1000
A. and F. Reynier, Ashton ..	1000
James Buckley, Ashton ..	500
John Buckley & Brothers, Mossley ..	500
N. Buckley & Son, Carr Hill, Saddleworth ..	500
One family in Liverpool ..	700
[Viz., Miss Mather, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, Miss Jane Mather, Messrs. John, Robert, and Daniel Mather, £100 each; and Mr. Thomas Mather, of Glyn Abbot, Holywell, £200.]	
J. B. Smith, Manchester ..	500
John Cheetham, Stalybridge ..	500
Richard Matley, Manchester ..	500
Gardner and Bazley, ditto ..	500
John Ashton, Hyde ..	500
Callender, Bickham, and Co., Manchester ..	500
James Heywood, ditto ..	500
J. Fenton, Crimble, (late MP. for Rochdale) ..	500
McConnell and Co., Manchester ..	500
John and Thomas Potter, ditto ..	500
Henry Bannerman and Sons, ditto ..	500
Richard Cobden, ditto ..	500
[Immense cheering, long-continued; the assemblage rising simultaneously, and waving their hats; and the Chairman observed that it went against his conscience to take that sum.]	
Elkanah Armitage and Sons ..	500
F. Steiner ..	500
A. Friend, per John Bright ..	500
Samuel Fletcher, Son, & Co., Manchester ..	500
The CHAIRMAN said he received this with great pleasure: it was the first time that house had come forward to join the League, to whose Council it had been a matter of regret every year, that they did not join it.	
George Forster, Sadden ..	500
William Ross, Manchester ..	500
Hyde, Sons, and Sowerby, Dukinfield ..	500
Thompson, Brothers and Sons, Manchester ..	400
Wells, Cooke, and Potter, Manchester ..	250
William Morris, Salford ..	200
William Rawson, Treasurer £200 <i>l.</i> ..	400
Hall and Rawson, Manchester ..	200
John Mayson and Co. ..	250
R. A. Thicknesse, Wigan ..	250
James Curton, Manchester ..	250
A. Friend, per George Wilson ..	250
William Hargreaves ..	200
Taylor, Brothers, Wigan ..	300
A. and G. Murray, Manchester ..	100
Robert Stuart, Ardwick ..	300
Mr. PRINCE said when the Manchester Anti-Corn-Law	

Association was formed, and collecting subscriptions of 5s., Mr. Robert Stuart was the first to give his name for the then large amount of 10l.

Hindley and Sutcliffe, Ashton	250
W. N. Christie and Son, Fairfield	250
Thomas Whitehead and Brothers	500
W. McCall, ditto	100
John McCall, ditto	100
Mrs. and Miss McCall	100
Robert Johnston, Manchester	500
Evans and Nicholson, Manchester	200
Simpson, Thompson, and Co., ditto	250
Binyons and Hunter, Manchester	250
John Petrie and Co., Rochdale	200
Wm. Alcock, Warrington	250

The CHAIRMAN said this gentleman was to be the Free Trade representative of that borough, and the League cordially wished him success.

John and R. Allen, ditto	250
J. and B. Scholesfield, Littleborough	250
Samuel Brewis and Co., Manchester	250
Robt. Crewdson, Manchester	50

Mr. CALLENDER said this amount was from a young man just commencing business, who said, if his circumstances warranted, he would give 50l. a year for five years.

Binns, Dean, and Co., Dukinfield	150
Thomas Mason and Sons, Ashton	300
J. Marler and Brothers, Newton Moor	100
James Tweedale, Rochdale	100
Henry Crossfield, Liverpool	100
Charles Howard, Hyde	500
Samuel Lucas	150
An Admirer of Sir Robert Peel	100
George Wilson, Chairman of Council	200

[Great cheering.]

Benjamin Smith and Sons	150
Parr, Curtis, and Muleley, Manchester	150
Henry Johnston, jun., Stalybridge	100
Henry Bazley, Manchester	100
Andrew Melly, Liverpool	100
Thomas Harvey, Liverpool	100
W. B. Watkins, Mayor of Manchester	200

["Three cheers for the Mayor" were called for, and three times three were given.]

Smith, Phillips, Robinson, Manchester	100
James Knott and Sons, Ashton	200
Heald and Wilson, Manchester	200
Stanley and Chadwick, Ashton	150
Thomas Ogden, Dukinfield	100
Thomas Hunter	100
F. R. Atkinson, Norfolk-street, Manchester	100
Edmund Potter and Co., ditto	100
Richard Holroyd and Co., ditto	100
Benjamin Sykall, ditto	100
Thomas Woolley, ditto	100
W. Edwards (Bowden & Edwards), Manchester	100
Charles Potter, Darwen	100
Harold Potter	100
Edwin Potter	100
Henry Lees, Glossop	100
Nicholson and Evans, ditto	200
Walker, Smith, and Co., Bury	300
R. Walker, M.P., Bury	250
John Grundy, ditto	250
R. Ashton, ditto	250
Thomas and James Wrigley, ditto	250
John and Edmund Grundy, ditto	250
Thomas, A., and J. Grundy, Bury	150
John Walker, Bury	100
Edmund Grundy, Park Hills, ditto	100
James Wrigley, jun., Bury	50
R. A. Openshaw, ditto	50

The CHAIRMAN said this was a very handsome list for Bury.

Edw. Evans, Wigan	50
J. Riley, ditto	50
Firth and Howarth, Todmorden	250
Wm. Hellawell	250
Abraham Ormerod and Brothers	250
J. and A. Stansfield, Todmorden	100
John and W. Barker	100
Randall, Hibbert, and Sons, Godley	200
D. Clarke and Sons	100
Messrs. Procter, Rochdale	100
Thomas Chadwick, ditto	100
Samuel Taylor, ditto	100
James Chadwick, jun., ditto	100
Henry Kelsall, ditto	100
Robert Kelsall, ditto	100
Robert Heap, ditto	100
Robert Schofield, ditto	100
George Howarth, ditto	100

The CHAIRMAN: Come, I think we must give three cheers for Rochdale.

Mr. BRIGHT: Oh, we have not done yet.	
Joseph Crook, Bolton	250
P. R. Arrowsmith, ditto	250
J. Whitworth and Co., Manchester	150
Henry Walmsley, Falsworth	100
J. Barratt, Sons, and Darbyshire	100
F. J. Pettit and Sons, Manchester	200
E. and J. Jackson, ditto	150
James Mingley, Rochdale	100
Jacob Tweedale and Sons, Rochdale	200
"Curry Powder," per Geo. Wilson	100

The CHAIRMAN said this sort of curry powder would go a long way to send the labouring man comfortably to bed.

J. Fenton, Rochdale	100
Thomas Shaw, Rochdale	50
Benj. Heap and Co., ditto	50
Pagan, Ogden, and Co., ditto	50
John and James Bancroft, Ashton	50
John Turner, Godley	50
Prentice and Catbrell, Manchester	50
Petty, Ernst, and Co., ditto	50

The CHAIRMAN called attention to the next as novel in its character

[Great cheering.] And the CHAIRMAN said it was time for the monopolists to be looking about them, when a working man subscribed 25l. for the repeal of the Corn Laws.

J. and J. Platt, Oldham	100
Harvey, Tysoe, and Co., Manchester	200
G. Higginbottom, Ashton	100
W. Richardson and Sons, Stand	200
J. C. Dyer, Barnage, near Manchester	50
Thomas Roberts, ditto	100
Fred. Schwann, Huddersfield	400

Mr. BRIGHT stated that a meeting had been held at Huddersfield, where 1200l. or 1300l. had been subscribed immediately; and every one was doubling his subscription. From Huddersfield at least 5000l. would be sent.

Crosfield, Brors, and Co., St. Helens	50
O. and W. Ormerod, Rochdale	50
A Friend per J. G. Mc Minnies, Warrington	50
Rylands, Brothers, ditto	50
J. Acton, Wigan	100
W. Johnson and Co., Wigan	300
J. Dixon Fenley, Stockport	100
Reece Evans, Wigan	50

The CHAIRMAN then rapidly read a list of smaller contributions from Wigan, and said that the total thence, including a subscription advanced from 100l. to 200l., was about 1200l.

J. Chadwick and Bro., Eccles, nr. Manchest. 50

Dixon and Galloway	50
Langworthy, Brothers and Co., Salford	250
Professor Newman, ditto	30

Mr. COBDEN said that a nobleman whose advocacy of the cause had done great service, requested him to put his name down for 50l., to be doubled if necessary. (Cheers.)

Earl Ducie	100
A Free Trader, Stockport	50
Joseph Brotherton, M.P., Manchester	50
Wm. Sagar, Todmorden	50

[A number of smaller subscriptions from Todmorden were rapidly read.]

J. E. Royle, Manchester	50
John Standing, ditto	50
Thomas Lea, Kidderminster	50
Peter Walker, Eccles, near Manchester	50
J. Colbrooke Gaskell, Patricroft, near ditto	50
J. and J. Vevers, Todmorden	50
George Mallinson and Sons, Huddersfield	200
Schunck, Souhay, & Co., Manchester	500
J. R. Barnes & Son, Farnworth, near Bolton	500
S. Schwabe and Co., Manchester	250
John Slater, Bolton	250
John Harding, Salford	250
A. W. Thorneley, Godley	200
John Burd and Sons, ditto	200
R. and J. Kershaw, Ashton	150
Wm. Ackroyd, Otley	125
Samuel Lees, Manchester	100
B. Nicholls, Manchester	100

Mr. JOHN MARSHALL, of Horseforth Hall, near Leeds, said that he had contributed (when mayor of Norwich) 40l. to the 100,000l. fund, and as the League now wanted 2½ times as much, he would give 100l.

The CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Hamer Stansfield wrote that the Leeds subscriptions would be doubled.

Mr. COBDEN, M.P., then came forward, and was received with tremendous cheering. He said, that two years ago, when they held a meeting in the small room adjoining, and when 14,000l. were subscribed to the great League fund, an influential London paper, in its graphic mode, designated the League "a great fact." Now the subscription to day already amounted to upwards of 50,000l.—(applause)—and that, he supposed, might be designated a still greater fact. He believed he might say, without the slightest exaggeration, that this meeting, in the middle of a market day, in Manchester, was unprecedented in the number and influential character of the individuals assembled. (Hear, hear.) No one would dispute that the amount subscribed far surpassed any subscription ever entered into in one room for any public object whatever. (Hear.) He was glad to witness the tone of the meeting altogether; there had not been the slightest reference to the changes that had been going on at Government head quarters almost as rapidly as the exits and entrances in a pantomime upon the stage; they had not lost the time by speculating what this or that administration was going to do, but they had resorted to the much safer mode of depending only upon themselves. (Applause.) This meeting would afford to any administration the best possible support in carrying out their principles. If Sir Robert Peel had an intelligible and straightforward course to pursue; if he would promulgate plainly and candidly that he purposed fully to carry out the principles of Free Trade, if he would only avow his determination to practise what he preached, then he would see that there was strength enough in the country to support him; and he (Mr. Cobden) would not be speaking the sentiments of the meeting if he did not say, that if Sir Robert Peel took the straightforward, honest, course, he would have the support of the League and the country as fully and cordially as any other Prime Minister. (Applause.) This subscription had been entered into by all present without a full explanation of the mode to be adopted in collecting it, or how they intended to apply it; and he was glad the money had thus been put down, inasmuch as it showed that the meeting was determined, that whatever came, money should not be wanting to fight the battle. But as what passed here would be read by their friends throughout the country, and with interest throughout the world, it was quite necessary to explain the plan they had in view in calling for this large sum. The League were not bankrupt yet, as they had already heard: there was a sum of money in hand; but the executive of the League wished to have an assurance from their friends in the country, that, however long this battle might be prolonged, however obstinate might be the resistance offered to their just demand—there was a determination in the country to back the exertions of the League with adequate funds, to whatever period the controversy might be prolonged. (Applause.) He (Mr. Cobden) knew the League would have their support; he never doubted it; he would not have given one per cent. to any one who would have guaranteed the quarter of a million when they applied for it. (Applause.) The plan proposed was this: To call for an instalment of 20 per cent. on these subscriptions; the rest to be called for when necessary. The meeting were as well able to judge as himself whether this contest was likely to be prolonged beyond another session. For his own part, he thought their opponents could not with any prudence or policy, with respect to their own interests alone, carry out this contest beyond the next session. He did not believe they would find men of sufficient intellect to lead them, to take the power of Government, and maintain this system. (Hear, hear.) It was quite evident that the queen had been in want of servants, simply because no servants could be found who would serve the queen, and do the work of the Duke of Richmond. We were governed in this country not by enlightened men like Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, or Sir James Graham, or by men who were fit to take office and serve the country, but we were governed by the ignorance of the country. There was an inert mass of landlord political power to deal with—impervious to reason, inaccessible to argument, unconscious of defeat in argument, or they would not have resisted the League so long as they had done. (Hear, hear.) The monopolist landowners of this country recognised but one power, the power of force; they would yield to nothing but power, and that power the League had been armed with by the subscriptions recorded. (Applause.) He had said he thought it would be wise in the monopolists to yield the next session; but let us tell them what we were prepared to do if they did not yield honestly. Allusion had been made instinctively by all the speakers, as if they felt it was the business of this meeting, to the necessity of increasing the exertions in the county registrations. (Hear.) The county qualification was a leverage by which the ignorant authority of these monopolist landlords could be overturned. Thus the power could be transferred from the Duke of Richmond and the Duke of Norfolk to the intelligent middle and industrious classes of the towns of this country; and he had no hesitation in telling those noblemen (and they would now believe what he said when it was backed by a demonstration like this), that if they resisted the settlement of this question, if the next session did not bring it to a just settlement, they would plant

registration agents in every county in the kingdom, and he (Mr. Cobden) pledged himself, from a long study and wide investigation on the subject, that in less than three years from this time, backed by the funds now at their disposal, they could unseat 100 county monopolist members (immense cheering), and place in their stead men who would vote in accordance with the interests of the great body of the people, instead of the interests of an ignorant class. The monopolists knew what he was telling them to be true. (Hear, hear.) They had felt it; and he had no hesitation in saying that the speedy settlement of this question would be brought about more by the demonstrations already made in the counties, and the success which had attended their efforts in four or five of the most influential counties, than anything else than had been attempted. As they were now speaking to their friends all over the country, he wished to add a remark as to the mode in which the subscription must be raised. Many friends elsewhere might suppose that his friend, Mr. Bright, and himself were in a position to pay them a succession of visits, as they did two years ago, all through the country, to all the large towns, and hold meetings to aid them in collecting the subscriptions. He wished those friends to understand that that would be impossible; for Mr. Bright and himself could nowhere be more serviceable during the next six months than in the House of Commons. (Hear, hear.) However, he felt confident that when other places saw what Manchester had raised at one meeting—nearly one-fourth of the whole amount asked for—seeing that he had no doubt that the other places would, by their own spontaneous exertions, make up the remainder of the fund. He might say that he had not canvassed a single individual for a farthing of this subscription; and he mentioned this that their friends elsewhere might know the spirit which animated the men of Manchester, and act accordingly. It was the opinion of many sanguine minds that this question would now be settled within two or three months without difficulty. He was not so sanguine as that; he could not see how they could tide over another session; but the League must be prepared for all accidents. Some individuals asked, "Shall we be liable to pay down all this money if the Corn Laws are abolished? Now, their object in associating together was to procure the abolition of the Corn and Provision Laws, of which there was but one candid interpretation,—that they meant corn, beef, butter, cheese, in fact, all the elements of human subsistence grown upon the soil. (Hear, hear.) But they considered it was not necessary to have a League to put down the sugar or coffee monopoly, because the landowners themselves, stimulated by a sense of their own interest, would do that. (Hear, hear.) Therefore it should be well understood that the fair and honest settlement of the Corn and Provision Laws, that is, their total abrogation, would at once dissolve this League, and exonerate any gentleman from further claims to contribute to its funds. It might be useful to some of their more candid opponents that they should know this. It has been represented that this was a body seeking anarchical objects, that they wanted to do away with promiscuity, &c.; but he defied any one to find in the House of Lords itself a body of men so deeply interested in public order, so identified with the maintenance of our institutions, as the body of capitalists he addressed on that occasion. They had no such objects as had been stated: their object was *bona fide*; they were united for one object, and they were like a rope of sand on any other question. He had no doubt, but that his friends, Messrs. Bright and Wilson and himself would differ on a dozen other questions; they were united on this one only. If the monopolist landowners, who were frightened at what the League was doing in the counties, found that this might go on to something more than corn, and that the votes they were now procuring might be given on other questions, they might stop and dissolve it by the total abolition of the Corn and Provision Laws. But if they wanted to keep alive this association, if they wanted some of those gentlemen who had ulterior objects (and he did not doubt there were some present,) if they wanted to give them the power of keeping their bond of union intact, then they must keep on some wretched rag of this system of monopoly. If Sir Robert Peel wanted to root out his friends in the counties more than they were, he must come to the House of Commons with some new dodge at the opening of the session. But whilst they said this, they also said most distinctly that they would have no conditions. (Hear, hear, and great cheering, the meeting rising simultaneously.) If the monopolists asked us to buy the abolition of the Corn Laws by giving them a grant of money, by transferring their taxes to our shoulders (if they could find any that they exclusively pay), the Free Traders would say, "You have been challenged to show your peculiar burdens, and you have uniformly run away;" they asked the monopolists to show one tax they paid that the people did not pay, and they would show five taxes from which the monopolist landowners were exempt themselves, and which the people paid. (Hear, hear.) They had abolished the duty on yarn. By far the largest industry of the manufacturing population was the spinning of cotton yarn, the 10 per cent. duty on which was swept away by Sir Robert Peel. They might say "The 10 per cent. duty was no protection to you;" and we said in return, "That is the very reason why we will not allow you to have any protection at our expense. You can't protect us; you never have protected us, nor will we allow you to protect yourselves at our expense." They therefore said, "No conditions; no qualifications: let this matter be settled fairly and justly, without terms or compromise, and the League is abolished." (Hear, hear, and applause.) For if they talked of compromise or concession, they would admit that these Corn Laws had been a benefit to the parties who maintained them. Now, he (Mr. Cobden) denied that; and he had challenged them to prove it twice in the House of Commons; for he could have proved from the mouths of the best farmers in the country that the Corn Laws were never of any benefit to the farmers or the landlords. They did not go upon the basis that this question merely affected the manufacturing interest; for anything that promoted the wealth and industry must add to the value of the land. (Hear, hear.) He could not say how proud he felt at being surrounded by a body of men who were prepared to make such magnanimous sacrifices in this cause. The meeting had complimented himself and one or two gentlemen near him as to their exertions, but they would have been nothing without the support they had received from those around him. He could not help feeling gratified that this movement had taught the men of this country their power, and he hoped it would tend to bring them to a different social position to what they had previously held. They had not been promoting a narrow interest; the cause was that of the whole kingdom—of the whole world; and in carrying out Free Trade from this, the birth-place, the cradle of their principles, Manchester would become identified to all ages with the cause of Free Trade. As Jerusa-

lem was with the origin of our faith; just as Mecca was in the eyes of the Mahometans, so would Manchester, in the eyes of the historian, be identified as the birth-place, the centre, of the greatest movement since the invention of printing,—one which would have the greatest effect in the world's history of any struggle that ever took place in the annals of civilisation. (Great cheering.)

The Chairman said they had all heard Mr. Cobden's explanation of what it was intended to do with the large sum to be subscribed; so that the timid might now come forward, and any gentlemen better satisfied with that statement might, if disposed, increase their subscriptions.

(Mr. Cobden said, if before the meeting terminated 69,000*l.* could be announced as subscribed, that would settle the end of monopoly, not only in this country but in many others.)

JOHN BRIGHT, Esq., M.P., then rose at the call of the meeting, and was received with enthusiastic cheering. He said he could not command words to express the delight he felt at the event which had that morning taken place. He was surrounded by gentlemen, some of whom had attended meetings in Manchester for the last 30 or 40 years, but they had never met in their experience with any circumstance of a public character in this town at all to be compared with that to which they had just been witness. No man would now say that there was anything unsubstantial, anything insincere in the character of the great movement with which they were connected. The past meetings had demonstrated that the supporters of the League were in earnest; but this meeting, if any confirmation were wanting, furnished that confirmation; and he was confident that this subscription would have a most powerful effect upon public opinion, and also upon the decision at which the now forming cabinet must speedily arrive. (Hear, hear, and applause.) They had told the world that the trade of this district was resolved no longer to work in fetters, that they were determined to emancipate their industry and themselves. (Hear, hear.) They had been held to be valuable as creators of wealth, and especially valuable by the most powerful class in this kingdom, so long as they would create wealth for that class to enjoy, (hear, hear); but the moment they raised themselves, and endeavoured to look up from the circumstances of suffering and oppression in which they had been placed, then that class and its organs in the press heaped slander and obloquy upon every person connected with the manufactures of this part of the country. (Hear, hear.) He had in his hand two extracts, which he would read to the meeting, to show what were the feelings with which they were regarded by that class with whom they were now coming into this serious conflict. On the 16th inst. there was published in a paper, assuming to be to some extent the organ of the late ministry, and hoping, he presumed, to be the organ of the present Government, this paragraph:—

"It may be, however, that Sir Robert Peel meditates the accompaniment of a modification of the Corn Laws by a repeal of the malt and hop duties, an assignment of county rates to the consolidated fund, and a more just and equal distribution of poor rates between the agriculturists who produce and mature the labouring poor, and the manufacturers who kill them or convert them into helpless paupers; changes that ought to be made without any reference to change in the Corn Laws."

On the 20th of this month, the same paper has this paragraph. After speaking of the effects of the repeal of the Corn Laws in stimulating manufactures, it said:

"This would, of course, stimulate the manufacturing system; but we are not afraid or ashamed to avow, that we should regard any important increase of our present manufacturing system with serious suspicion and alarm. We cannot believe that any good man would wish to see such a system aggravated. It is a system full of danger to the State. We are aware of its vital importance as the creator of wealth; but we also know how very easily such a system is thrown into disturbance; how very much our manufacturing population is already out of all proportion to the population and extent of the entire country. Neither can we leave out of the account those moral and religious considerations which do indeed present an awful and tremendous idea to the mind of every pious and honest man."

(Laughter.) These were two paragraphs out of several others of a similar character, which had been published in the *Morning Herald* during the present month. Now it came simply to this, that the people in these districts were a very good sort of people so long as they worked, got money, paid taxes, and bought the Duke of Richmond's dear corn. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) So long as they did all that without grumbling, they were a class to be cherished and thought well of; but the moment they looked up, and said that justice should be done to those who obeyed the laws as well as to that class by whom those laws were made, then there was no form of speech, no foul slander, which was too bad to be heaped upon the industrious and honourable population of this country. The monopolists had hated us all along, and had oppressed us; they would hate us still; but the result of this resolution enabled him (Mr. Bright) to promise that at any rate they should not oppress us much longer. Some persons thought this 250,000*l.* subscription a large sum, and compared with previous subscriptions it was a large sum, but every person in the room acquainted with the trade of Lancashire, knew that since the harvest was declared deficient, and since the potato failure became known, the cotton district alone had lost many times over 250,000*l.* by the depression in trade. (Hear, hear.) He was making a calculation the other day which would put this matter in a clear light. A gentleman connected with the manufacture of printing cloth told him that a certain description of printing cloth was selling at 6*s.* 6*d.* per piece three or four months ago. Wheat at that time was selling at 4*s.* 6*d.* a quarter, and it then required seven pieces of cloth to make up the price of one quarter of wheat; but when the Corn Law kept out foreign supplies, the price of wheat rose to 8*s.* and the price of a piece of this printing cloth fell to 5*s.* 6*d.* (Hear, hear.) Thus, if the manufacturer wanted to exchange his cloth for a quarter of wheat, instead of giving seven pieces, which he would have had to give four or five months ago, he must give not less than twelve pieces—(hear, hear); and if the manufacturer must do this, his profit of course would be swept away, together with the wages of those whom he employed; for if the manufacturer was compelled to give twelve pieces of cloth for the same quantity of food which he could before purchase for seven pieces, the operative would be compelled to give twelve days' labour for the same quantity of food which he could formerly obtain for seven days' labour. (Hear, hear.) If they had not been wrong from the beginning of this agitation, the gloom now hanging over this district could only be rendered temporary by one of two things, either by the abolition of the Corn Law in the coming

session of Parliament, or by that which was an entire accident,—a very extraordinary harvest in 1846. (Hear, hear.) If the next harvest should be no better than the last (and we know that two or three good and two or three bad harvests generally come together), he had no doubt that the latter end of 1846 would be far worse for his district than the latter end of 1845; and we might look for an aggravation of all the horrors in which this district was wrapped some four or five years ago; but from what was seen throughout the country, from the terror which had been struck into the monopolist camp, from the dislocated position of political parties, from this glorious, this unequalled meeting, he came to the conclusion that they saw land, at last, after the stormy and tempestuous passage of the League; and he believed that in the coming Session of Parliament, if the men who now surrounded them would do their duty, and if their fellow-countrymen in other districts would do theirs as their friends here were doing, that were the prime minister more necessary to his party than he was, and were his party more powerful and were they united without one particle of discordant element amongst them—nay, were both Houses of Parliament on their bended knees to swear that this Corn Law should be maintained, he would yet stake heavy odds that the cause of justice would prevail. (Great applause.) Bear in mind, that in this district there was no discordancy now. (Hear.) Capital was assembled in that room to an amount never before equalled in this kingdom. (Hear, hear.) The natural representatives and leaders of an enlightened and industrious population were there gathered together; that room would not hold them; no room would hold them all; and if this question should remain unsettled, if this monopoly should be continued, he did not say too much when he said that nine-tenths of the capitalists of this country would be glad to unite with those whom they employed, and in some space beneath the wide canopy of heaven they would declare in the face of the country and of the world that this most odious oppression should be at once and for ever abolished. (Great applause.)

JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., said, he believed there was a more friendly spirit in the agricultural districts than Mr. Bright represented. He found the country gentlemen manifesting a friendly interest in the success of our trade, and inquiring always how trade was here. His own opinion was, that by a concession to the agricultural interest—(No, no.) It was a question of time, and if some moderate concession were made (no, no, and some hisses); he believed the question might be settled this year or the next, instead of being prolonged for many years to come. (No compromise.) He believed they were all of the same mind, that the Corn Law ought to be totally and immediately abolished. (No compromise.) A gentleman said "no compromise." Did he think that the landlords did not gain by the present system? (No.) Would the country gentlemen of England band themselves as they did, to gain nothing at all? He asked a gentleman whom he met last winter on the Rhine, "Do you think it would be a good thing for the landowners of Germany, if the Corn Laws were repealed?" His reply was:—"Indeed, I do not know. When the sliding scale allows corn to enter your ports from Germany, our profits are so large, that it is very likely just as advantageous for us as if we had a regular trade in corn." He (Mr. Heywood) believed that the same thing would equally apply to the English country gentlemen. The Duke of Northumberland, and many other large landowners, did gain by the present system; and he believed many of the aristocracy would lose money by it if it were altered, and it seemed to him that in firmness some concession should be made. (Disapprobation, and loud cries of No, no.) It was, he thought, quite right to take high ground, as they had done this morning, by raising 60,000*l.*; and with that high ground they could afford to the generous. (No, no.) He would say, be just and generous. The concessions he had heard talked of were a reduction of the malt duty, a reduction of the duty of French wines (laughter), and some arrangement with respect to the county rates. (Laughter.) He believed all those matters would be brought before Parliament in the coming session, and that their valued friends, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, would have to discuss them night after night; and as to saying they would not consider them, they must consider them. He looked on it as so good a point to abolish the Corn Laws as speedily as possible, that he was desirous to effect that object; and in his opinion it would be accomplished much more speedily by some moderate consideration of other people's interests. (No, no.)

MR. COBDEN was quite sure they would be disposed to hear with very great forbearance any little remarks made by their friend who had just put his name down for the very liberal sum of 500*l.* to abolish the Corn Laws, and he was sure Mr. Heywood's view of the case arose from the extreme generosity and kindness of his nature; but when he talked of making concessions to the landowners, we might say in reply, what Sir James Graham said in an unhappy moment (what he afterwards recalled) in reference to Ireland, that "concession had reached its utmost limits." (Hear and cheers.) Their good friend had asked whether they did not admit that the Corn Laws had put money into the pockets of the landowners? He (Mr. Cobden) did admit it; but he thought they might have put money into their pockets by a more honourable process. (Hear, hear.) There were two ways of growing rich—by honest industry, and by appropriating to yourself what belongs to others. (Hear and cheers.) He thought after having handed in the subscription of Lord Ducie, one of the most enthusiastic farmers he knew, the Anti-Corn Law League might fairly be exempted from entertaining any wish to injure the landowners. His friend had quoted the Duke of Northumberland, and could not have named a worse case; for his land was badly farmed and badly managed. Lord Ducie's land was much better managed. Lord Grey's land, in the neighbourhood of the Duke of Northumberland's, was well managed: his were good leases, the best in the kingdom; and the contrast between the lands of the two was so striking, as to be seen in passing along the road outside a coach. (Hear, hear.) We say to the Duke of Northumberland, "Do as Lord Ducie does, and as Lord Grey does, and you will be as rich without the Corn Laws as you are with them." (Hear, and cheers.) He (Mr. Cobden) lately went over Lord Ducie's farm with him; and his lordship showed him one cow worth 230*l.*, and one calf valued at 100 guineas; and he said to his lordship, "Why you ought to have been a manufacturer; for you treat your cattle and your land precisely as we do our manufactures; and that is the way to make farming profitable." (Cheers.) As regards the malt-tax, and the duty on French wines, we pay the taxes in towns on both beer and French wines; but if Sir Robert Peel could show that by abolishing the malt-tax, and putting that amount of taxation equitably upon all classes instead, he (Mr. Cobden) had no particular affection for the malt-tax; and as to French wines, why,

it would be a very good thing to get them cheaper than they now are. (Laughter and cheers.)

MR. BROTHERTON, M.P., said that this meeting would inspire hope in the heart of every real Free Trader, and produce dismay amongst the monopolists, showing that they were not Free Traders, in the abstract, but that they were in earnest, that they were determined to carry out their principles, and certainly they would succeed. (Cheers.) He had always opposed the Corn Laws because they were unjust; and what they believed to be unjust, could not be compromised. (Hear, hear.) If it were a matter of bargain a negotiation might be entered into; but here the act was believed to be unjust, and it was their duty to repeal it if possible, and he had no doubt that with the united energy of the people it would be accomplished. The landowners had misconceived their own interests in supporting the Corn Laws, for the prosperity of their customers was identified with their own interests. With respect to what Mr. Heywood had said as to the urbanity and kindness of the agricultural interest, the landlords had often come to him in the House of Commons inquiring how matters were going on in Manchester, and expressed their delight to find trade was good. But this was only that the manufacturing districts might bear the burden—(hear, hear);—for if things were not in a prosperous state they knew the treasury must suffer. He (Mr. Brotherton) was not able to contribute so munificently as some individuals, but his heart was with them. (Cheers.) This meeting had given a support to the League which would never be forgotten; it had strengthened the hands of Members of Parliament, and they might be assured that no compromise would be consented to, but that this most unjust, inhuman, and oppressive of laws should be for ever removed from the statute book. (Great applause.)

MR. WYLIE, of Liverpool, being called on by the chairman, briefly addressed the meeting. It would be a curious calculation to inquire how much property in this district had deteriorated within a few weeks. Last Tuesday on 'Change here, a gentleman, when asked what was doing, replied, "Literally nothing;"—a reply which had not been out of his head since; a very serious reply, as respected the labour market of Lancashire. In the money market we found destruction; in Mining-lane we found loss; and in Mark-lane there was nothing doing; all was stagnation. It might be said that wild and reckless speculations had produced this; but what had produced that speculation but the mischievous working of those laws which took that trade, on which depends all others, out of the hands of merchants and gave it to speculators. (Hear.) He felt sanguine that Sir R. Peel, who, he presumed, was now again at the head of affairs, would do something greatly to further the trade of the country; for it was utterly impossible that a man, who for the last two years had enunciated so clearly and distinctly the principles of Free Trade, could stop there. His success in the experiments he had already made in the tariff, must produce conviction, and conviction and experience must urge him on. Why had we been looking with such eagerness for the president's message, received that morning? Why, instead of receiving such a message as might be expected from a country whose people were identified with us in origin and language, had we received what was at least an angry message? Because the political affairs between the two countries were not in a satisfactory state. Why? Because commerce between them was not in a satisfactory state. If any one would look at our imports from the United States, they would see how very small a proportion of the produce of that country came here in any other shape than that of tobacco and cotton, or he might say cotton alone, for 85 per cent. of the exports of the United States to this country were in cotton alone. It was utterly impossible to conceive the feelings of the enormous western states, but yesterday lying idle, and now peopled by eight millions of inhabitants, where corn was in such plenty as to be at no price, and where a late writer said that he had seen a half-naked American with two bushels of corn on his head, and that he had seen here a starving Englishman with two coats on his back. (Hear.) He (Mr. Wylie) was sanguine in his hope of a better state of things: the demonstration of that day had, in his opinion, decided the question, which indeed was pretty nearly decided before. The president closed his message with some valuable paragraphs, laying down a strong distinction between revenue and protection; for he recommended strongly to the consideration of congress the adoption of a *minimum* tariff for revenue, and absolutely scouted the idea of protection. He (Mr. Wylie) did not mean to say that Sir R. Peel's Free Trade measures in this country had produced a corresponding feeling in the United States; but he would say that they had not been without their effect in doing so. But he would not give to Sir R. Peel all the praise; but give it much more to the League and the Free Traders, for it is not only the feeling in but out of Parliament that was important; for it was the conviction in America that there was here the disposition to reciprocate or even to take the lead, and that they must now follow. He concluded by exhorting every one who had a vote, to regard the disposal of that vote as important a duty as if he were giving it in either House of Parliament; for that vote belonged to his country, and must not be given lightly. (Hear, and applause.)

He said it was only due to his brother-in-law, Mr. Mark Philips, M.P. to state that he was, with his brother, in Paris; and he (the chairman) had written to him, but not having yet received any answer, he believed he was on his way home. But they might depend that Mr. Munn and the house of Philips and Co. would do their duty. (Applause.) He then announced the total amount that had been received as fifty-nine thousand one hundred and sixty-five pounds—(great cheering),—so that with the two names he had mentioned, he might say that the subscriptions amounted to 60,000*l.* (Cheers.)

W. B. WATKINS, Esq. (the mayor), then took the chair, and Mr. Wm. RAWSON proposed a vote of thanks to R. H. Greg, Esq., for his conduct in the chair, saying he was always at his post on any occasion of emergency. Mr. JOHN WHITAKER, of Hurst, seconded the resolution, which was then put from the chair, and carried by acclamation. Mr. GREG, in returning thanks, said he was sure no chairman had ever been so supported. The proceedings then terminated, a few minutes before three o'clock.

Since the meeting, a number of additional subscriptions have been sent, by letter and otherwise, to the offices of the League, viz.,

Edmund Howard, ditto	100
J. Marshall, Horsforth Hall, near Leeds	100
Matthew Burton, Pool Fold, ditto	100
R. Heywood, Bolton	100
Peter Martin, ditto	100
Josh. Kaye, Huddersfield	100
T. P. Crosland, ditto	100

J. A. and T. Simpson, Manchester	100
John Keighley and Brors, High-st., ditto	100
S. D. Darbishire, Manchester	100
J. Pender and Co.	100
Yates and Williams	100
John Gully, Aokworth Park, Pontefract	100
John Stagg, Manchester	100
Wm. Collier and Co.	100
Wm. Williams, Huddersfield	60
Benj. Goodfellow, Hyde	50
Ellis Cumfelle, ditto	50
Henry Hollins, jun., Bolton	50
A Friend per Geo. Senior of Bury	50
A Friend per Mr. Crofton, Mosley-st., Manstr.	50
J. A. Heape, Huddersfield	50
Foster Shaw, ditto	50
C. H. Jones, ditto	50
Thomas Cooke and Sons, Ashton	50
J. and B. Pearson, Manchester	50
W. White, jun., London	50
John Chadwick and Son, Manchester	50
Vernon, Marchant, and Edge, Manchester	50
Neil Banmatyue	50
John Kershaw, Glossop	50
Robt. Herve and Co., Manchester	50
R. R. Moore	50
Abm. Lees, Blackfriars, Manchester	50
John Openshaw, Bolton-street, Bury	50
J. L. per Mr. Roberts	50
Hadfield and Rumney, Ardwick, Manchestr.	40
Robt. Welsh, Huddersfield	40
R. Dewhurst, ditto	40
Henry Bullock, Wigan	40
Workpeople at Haigh Foundry, nr. Manchestr.	33
Jonah Andrew, Medlock Vale, Manchester	30
James Kershaw, ditto	30
Evan Leigh, Ashton	30
George Branson, Manchester	30
W. Williamson, Stockport	25
J. and E. Waters, Manchester	25
Wm. Mc Cartney, ditto	25
Jas. Smith, Timber Merchant, Liverpool	25
Silas Leigh, Worsley, near Manchester	25
Lord, Brothers, Todmorden	25
L. Wilson, ditto	25
C. J. Darbishire, Bolton	25
Josh. Crosland, ditto	25
Charles Littlewood, Rochdale	25
R. Taylor, Heap, near Rochdale	25
John Cropp, London	25
John Aspinall, Wigan	25
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Making with other sums, which we are this week compelled to omit, a grand total, subscribed during a few hours on Tuesday, of nearly SIXTY-TWO THOUSAND POUNDS!

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LEAGUE FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Dec. 24, 1845.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

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* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed subscriptions.

ERATUM.—In LEAGUE, No. 117, for Richard Ransom, Wigan, £1 0 0, read £1 1 0.

LETTERS ON THE CORN LAWS, No. LIX.

TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

If there was occasion to say to you, a month ago, "rely on yourselves," not less occasion is there now to repeat and urge that admonition.

Whatever else may have been the occupation of those who govern, or who might, could, or should govern the country, they have hitherto done nothing for you. The precious weeks of preparation for encountering the coming evil have been wasted in squabbles, of which we know little more than the nothingness of their result. We have had two Prime Ministers *in posse*, and not one *in esse*. Between the party leaders and their adherents, there have been many "interviews," but neither has faced the perils of the country. One day we have been told of the obstinacy of this great man, and the next of the crotchettiness of that great man; and still the ports remain closed, and the Parliament not assembled. People of England, you are trifled with; egregiously trifled with! Your public servants have been playing tricks with each other, when they should have been securing your interests. You might have been helped, and you are not helped. All the explanations in the world cannot explain away that fact. Time is lost, and the work of the time is not done. Nor is it yet to be done. Parliament was to have met on Tuesday, and is prolonged for three weeks longer. Within those three weeks, the Corn Laws might have become a non-entity. The strength of your determination is not yet recognised. You must speak out, plainer and louder.

The delay gives time for monopoly to rally its forces. Landlords are calling to the tenantry they have cajoled, and whom they can coerce as the power of cajolery passes away. You have now to do with men who have outlived argument, and who are simply in the field for a sordid interest, which they are resolved to defend to the last.

There is no mistake. Reasonings, sufferings, impending calamity, move them not. They will have their bond—"the law allows it;" though the knife cut "nearest the heart" of industry and poverty. Economists argue in vain; prudence warns in vain; wretchedness weeps in vain; and statesmen remonstrate in vain. They defy all power but yours. They have braved that hitherto with insolence, real or affected. We must fight out this challenge.

Lord John Russell declines to be your Minister for the Governmental proposition of Corn Law repeal. He will support it; we may, after his letter safely rely upon him for that. His inducements to stop at that point will be judged when they are authentically known. Thus much is plain: the outburst of enthusiastic confidence which hailed his understood acceptance of office as the Free Trade Minister was not a sufficient power in his estimation to overbear the obstacles in his way. That ready and prospective popularity was not enough; not, though backed by all the electoral advantages recently obtained in the registration. The full significance of this insufficiency (to his perception) remains to be ascertained. Prejudice nothing. Only take this inference to yourselves; the steam is not so up as to carry the train to its destination. What is it that politicians would have the people do? When will they be satisfied with your demonstrations? Must they have monster meetings? Must they have millions subscribed? Must they—all will come in time; but it were well to supersede the necessity.

You are again waiting the mysterious budget of Sir Robert Peel. He avoids now, as formerly, subjecting his measures to previous discussion. Surprise is his delight; and in matters that require deliberation, surprise is usually sought for the purpose of delusion. "Open your mouth, and shut your eyes" may do for times of sport, but not for times of scarcity. All mankind agree that Sir Robert Peel is not to be trusted. The monopolists felt that long ago, but were content that he should play the rogue for them, so that he did not play the rogue, or worse, with them. You require to be served straightforwardly. The choice is with himself. We cannot hope much, or he would not only have made it, but made it known. Perhaps he will produce some concatenation of measure—a Chinese puzzle-box instead of a loaf. Be prepared for any trick,

and stick to your demand of repeal—simple, total, and immediate.

An extraordinary suggestion is abroad, of giving something to the class which has mulcted you so long under the name of "Compensation." Your freedom from bread tax to be purchased of the landowners, like negro emancipation of the slaveowners, by public money! This would be distinctly treating you as slaves, whose industry is the property of the landed aristocracy. A fee-simple in your food is substantially the same thing as a fee-simple in your bones and muscles. You are the parties to be compensated. Past robbery is a bad pretext for future spoliation.

Whether a brief and fierce struggle, or a protracted agitation, is before us, cannot yet be told. For either, Manchester has given the signal of preparation. The meeting at which 60,000% was subscribed towards the quarter of a million fund, indignantly scouted the notion of compromise. We must have repeal, total repeal, and nothing but repeal. No Siamese twins, one holding a loaf for the poor, and the other a tax-paper for the advantage of the wealthy! No more of Peel's mixtures, mutually neutralising measures! making a compound which is neither food nor physic. Untax our provisions; that is the single act which Parliament has to accomplish, and for which agitation will wax stronger and stronger until it be accomplished. We rely on no statesman or partizans. There is a power to which that of Peel and Russell, of statesmen and nobles, of wealthy classes and legislation houses, is but as the dust of the earth; and that *Power* helps those that help themselves.

A NORWICH WEAVER BOY.

A WEEK IN THE WEST.

REMARKS ON THE HINDRANCES OF AGRICULTURE.

I found the following in an old parish record in the county of Hereford a few days ago :

"It hath been ye custom from time immemorial, now gone in part into disuse, to take ye boys in need of ye flogging to ye boundaries of ye parochial on perambulation day, Holy Thursday, and flog them as ye procession went round ye bounds, that it might so be in after-time to come, ye boys being men, would remember ye marches of ye parish."

It appears also, that in these perambulations certain mystic services were performed at the boundaries of farms and estates, "for the good of the harvest." Probably this was the agricultural protection of those days; and doubtless the farmers paid for it as they do now. Now-a-days, the boys are emancipated from the infliction of the rod at the parish boundaries; and there is no reason to suppose that they forget or neglect to care for the good of the parish because they are emancipated. They live in an age that rejoices to call itself civilised, when, to carry staves in procession round the parish would not be deemed a protection to the harvest against "the enemy;" when a flogging, as the procession walked along, would not be necessary to make wayward boys mend their ways and be good parishioners.

But if the boys have been emancipated from such hard management, many of the men have not, civilised though this age is called. There are certain things to be done "for the good of the harvest" with as little reason to justify them, and as much hardship in them as there was in the old perambulations and the flogging of the boys.

In the same parish where I saw the old record, and to which it refers—namely, the parish of Ross, in the county of Hereford, the following case occurred within the last two years. It only needs to be put into words a little antiquated to make it appear a specimen of the times of the flogging of boys round the parish to make them in after-time remember the marches.

There hath lived in this parish, in all grace and honesty, a worthy man, for many years, by name Joseph Cross; and he hath one farm of 200 acres, and more, and payeth ye rent thereof to his landlord, the Lord Alexander Baring, of Ashburton; who, being careful for the good of the harvest, doth perambulate ye acres, and mark out ye bounds which ye tenants must walk on, and no other; for if they walk not unto ye marks laid down to them by ye said Lord Alexander Baring, of Ashburton, and other noble lords and gentlemen, they will be punished, and made to remember it in after times to come. And it so fell out that Mr. Joseph Cross did plant of potatoes one half acre of land less in the year 1843 than he was in power to do by permission of ye said Lord Alexander Baring. And also, it fell out that in ye year 1844, ye said Joseph Cross did plant one half acre of potatoes more than ye said Lord permitted to be done, thinking thereby to

make even with ye time when he did not plant so much. But ye said Lord did hear thereof, and did say that his tenant must pay 800 shillings for not abiding within ye rules laid down at ye time of marking ye boundaries by which he was to walk; at which time also ye said Lord Alexander Baring did say all his care was for ye tenant-farmers, and all his services were for their protection. And ye said Mr. Joseph Cross did take out of his pocket forty pounds, being 800 shillings, and did count it over to ye said Lord Alexander, who put it in his own breeches' pocket, did button ye same and walk away.

And Mr. Joseph Cross did suffer this punishment when ye parish was perambulated for protection to ye farmers, and for good of ye harvest, inasmuch as that he did first walk within and next without ye lord's boundary.

It is not necessary to adduce new arguments in this paper to prove, that wherever there is the worst cultivation, the poorest farmers, and the worst conditioned labourers, there we shall find the most stringent covenants existing between tenant and landlord.

I was lately on the estate of a gentleman not unknown to fame in the proceedings of agricultural protection societies—Sir Alexander Hood. This landowner is a great stickler for the Corn Law, for the sake of the tenant farmers, and especially the labourers. As to the labourers, it may be enough to say that their wages in full employment, including harvest, does not average over 7s. 6d. a-week; that 1s. and 1s. 6d. a-week is paid for house rent; and that for years past their daily diet is potatoes for breakfast, dinner, and supper, and potatoes only. This year they are not living on potatoes, because they have none. In the county of Somerset, everywhere the potatoes are lost, with few left for seed. In the neighbourhood of Glastonbury, Sir Alexander Hood's country, they are utterly lost—seed and all; and the wretched farm workers are now existing on half diet, made of barley meal, turnips, cabbages, and such small allowance of bread as small wages will procure. No advance of wages has accompanied the advance in the price of bread. So much for Alexander Hood's labourers, and the benefit they derive from protection to agriculture. And it should be added also, that there is only wages paid at the rate of one man at 7s. 6d., and one boy at 3s., to each hundred acres of land. A great deal of the land lies in grass; it all wants draining.

And now for the tenant farmers. One of them taking a lead among the rest, the rest intending to follow, or promising to follow, made an attempt to drain and cultivate a portion of his farm, only a few acres out of several hundreds, so that he might grow some more winter feeding for his cattle, employ two or three more men, and thus lessen the parish rates. But he was proceeded against for penalties; was forced into litigation; was sold up, expelled the farm, beggared, and made an example of to deter others from daring to attempt to cultivate their land as they might think best.

Not long ago Sir Alexander Hood was at Wells. He was making a speech about protection being requisite to save the farmers from ruin. "Look at this man," cried some daring citizen of Wells, who taking the ruined farmer by the hand, presented him in front of the platform. Sir Alexander had the virtue of being ashamed; he turned and addressed that part of the meeting on his right. But, in a few minutes, the remnant of his ruined tenant, led by the daring citizen, appeared there; and again the latter said, "Look at this man!" Sir Alexander turned to the left, and spoke, with his face in that direction, of his advocacy of protection for the benefit of labourers and tenant farmers. But again there came before him the same couple of tormentors, the one the picture of ruin, staring him in the face, and the other calling, "Look at this man!" He drew his speech to an abrupt conclusion and retired.

The worst part of all this mismanagement of land by landlords is, that many good men do so conscientiously. Sir Alexander Hood is less of a fool and more of a—something else than most men of his country. But in his country are many excellent men who cling to this illusory shadow of protection, believing that such cultivation as they have on their soils of middling quality (much of Somerset is of that character) would cease. The bugbear that inferior lands would go out of cultivation by the abolition of the Corn Laws is constantly frightening them. I saw an excellent letter in the *Times* the other day, written by Lord Kinnaid, showing that the inferior soils now in cultivation would not be abandoned, but that Free Trade would improve them. To this I add my humble but emphatic testimony of affirmation.

The first practical operation of Free Trade on the middling and inferior qualities of soil now under cultivation would be to increase their fertility and productiveness. It is an expensive and profitless way to fertilise such soils by the purchase of guano, and other

manures not made on them. But it is a cheap way to fertilise them by purchasing low-priced oats, beans, linseed, maize, and barley, to feed cattle and sheep, mingled with the straw and chaff, and the root produce, turnips, carrots, clover, &c., grown at home. The cattle and sheep will pay for their provender, and the best of all manures will be on the farms free of price. More acres must then be under turnips and other root crops than now on each farm, which increase will be practicable because of the increase of manure. This will augment labour. Fewer acres on each farm will be in wheat, but superior fertility will give a larger crop of wheat. The cost of its production will be less than now; the amount of its produce more than now.

The first principles of successful agriculture are security of tenure, regularity of price, and cheap fertility. The first of these might co-exist with a Corn Law; it does not. The other two cannot exist with a Corn Law, and never will come into operation until agriculture is free.

At this period of our crisis, when matter crowds upon the printer, I must be brief, and not wasteful of space. But, perhaps, one other extract from the antiquities of Herefordshire will be pardoned; it is also from Lord Ashburton's parish, and is a continuation of the history of the perambulation day, when the boys were flogged to make them remember the parish boundaries; and when the people carried staves and crosses, and made use of mystic words "for ye good of ye harvest." The records go on to say that after the perambulators returned, the backs of the boys still smarting, I suppose,

"They did all of them go into ye church after dinner, and there being a figure of ye devil made of wood, it was placed upon ye altar. They did then, with a rope upon its neck, lift it up clean out of sight; wherefore they did let the rope slip, and ye devil made of wood fell down, and was broken in many pieces by ye boys falling upon it with shouting and joy and much loud noise."

It is not recorded of the boys whether they were so delighted with breaking this wooden devil to pieces "after dinner" as to forget the smarting of the forenoon floggings. Nor is it quite clear whether the chastised tenantry of the Sir Alexander Hood and the Lord Ashburton, who, after dinner, at agricultural meetings, shout and knock to pieces the made-up images of the evening, forget their previous chastisements, or have no fear for the next perambulation day. But it may be assumed, that the joy of demolishing a wooden devil would evaporate when the boys coolly reflected that the real devil was not dead, and felt the stripes of perambulation day upon their backs. So also, I presume, will those grown-up men, who in this age of civilisation are treated as the boys used to be in the half barbarous ages; they will feel their stripes, and have an unhappy certainty that the real enemy of agriculture is alive, even though they shouted and demolished some bogle made up for the purpose at a protection society's dinner.

ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH.

P.S. Those who are curious about the ancient customs here referred to, and have the opportunity, may consult "Popular Antiquities of Hereford," "Popular Superstitions," "The Lansdown Manuscripts," "A Guide to the Wye," &c. &c. The modern customs to which they may be compared will be found in the *Hereford Journal*, *Sherborne Mercury*, *Morning Post*, *Herald*, &c. &c. But to understand the modern custom of wooden devil killing, as reported in these papers of record, you must go on the ground, and witness the perambulations of the landlords, and the punishments of the tenants. The records of the agriculturists are not so careful to relate all they know as are the records of the antiquarians.

THE POTATO DISEASE.—Our grain markets continue to decline under the combined operation of the ministerial crisis and the limitation of discounts by the banks. The prices of pigs and potatoes are also lower; but nevertheless, the reports of the state of the potato crop in most districts are still very unfavourable. As the winter advances, the remnant of the crop is rapidly lessening, from the effects of the blight. No doubt a considerable proportion of the crop continues comparatively sound, but so much has been lost already, with the disease still existing, that a scarcity of food for millions of our population must be inevitable early in the spring unless effectual measures shall be adopted to prevent such a calamity.—*Correspondent of the Morning Chronicle*.

THE FEVER QUESTION.—In consequence of a communication from the Lords of her Majesty's Council, the Custom authorities have directed the form of Bill of Fale to be amended by the insertion of the words, "An in hoc regno," after the words "in hac dicta civitate," in der that it may be certified that no infectious disease existeth in the port from which the vessel sails, or in this kingdom, and a notice to that effect has been forwarded to several ports throughout the kingdom for the information and government of all parties concerned. This alteration has been made in consequence, it is presumed, of the incovenience which was recently experienced by the shipping interest in the instance of vessels proceeding on voyages to South of Europe and other parts, and which were subject to quarantine for fear of fever existing in this country and was, therefore, under the circumstances deemed requisite to prevent a recurrence of the same.

AGRICULTURE.

THE HERTFORDSHIRE MONOPOLISTS.

The landed magnates of this county, who tax the poor man's bread to increase their own rents, have drawn from his native obscurity a juvenile 'squire of the name of Halsey, as "curry-powder" candidate for the vacant representation of the county. Whether the state of the registration may be such as to induce the Free Traders to permit this gentleman to walk over the course, we know not; but we think the farmers and tradesmen of the county must be heartily ashamed of such a member. Questioned by Mr. Lattimore, at Hemel-Hempstead, he shuffled and equivocated with all the tortuousness, but with none of the ingenuity of a Peel. At Stortford, having been informed that Mr. Ward, the member for Sheffield, had come prepared to ask him a few plain questions, *he declined to make any public address whatever!!* At Hertford, however, Mr. Ward was more successful in drawing out this retiring aspirant of the rotten potato interest; for Mr. Halsey made a long speech—if his jumble of unconnected sentences deserves that name—and pledged himself to maintain bad farming and high rents at all hazards. That this pledge is not altogether satisfactory to the game-ridden tenantry of Hertfordshire, is clear from the fact that Mr. Ward proposed and *carried* the following resolution: "That, in the opinion of this meeting, it is the interest of the tenant-farmer, the labourer, and the landlord, that the Corn Law question should be promptly and permanently settled, the experience of the last thirty years having proved that protection drives capital from land, narrows the home market by crippling foreign trade, and injures all classes periodically by ruinous fluctuations."

The chairman, Sir Minto Farquhar, tried to shirk a division; and another monopolist insisted that the question should be determined by electors only. The votes of the electors present were alone taken, and the Free Trade resolution was carried by thirty-eight against thirty-six votes, in a meeting called by Mr. Halsey and his patrons.

WHAT ARE OUR COLOURS?

At an agricultural dinner at Lewes, in Sussex, which took place last week, a somewhat ludicrous exhibition of protectionist weakness occurred. The Earl of Chichester presided. The Duke of Richmond supported him, and a goodly complement of landed baronets and squires graced the cross table. So long as the big-wigs tarried, the meeting was dull and decorous. The only speakers were the grandees; and they talked about oxen and sheep, themselves, their gratitude, and their services. There were literally "no politics." The nearest approach was that of the Duke of Richmond, who talked of the "principle of our great constitution—a principle which I hope the theories of modern days will never shake." Nobody could have suspected that a "Ministerial crisis" existed; much less could it have been guessed that an Administration had been brokered up upon the question of Free Trade, from anything that fell from the self-styled "farmers' friends." After the loud, though vague, alarms of ruin to farmers, lately uttered by the Duke of Richmond and his brother monopolists, it might have been expected that he would not have missed such an opportunity of arousing a party of farmers to a sense of the situation. But the Duke of Richmond is both "valorous and sage." He can talk big and bluster at the "room in Bond-street," where he knows he has a packed audience of monopolists; but he is shy of encountering a mixed assembly, even of farmers! He knows that there is much difference of opinion on the Corn Law question in the rural districts; and he does not forget the proposition made last year at an agricultural meeting in Sussex, to toast the labourers in cold water as the only appropriate beverage. And yet, are these agricultural meetings not political? The Lewes Fat Stock show was admitted to be at low water, for most of the speakers bewailed the paucity of stock exhibited, and the "sad want of the sinews of war."

This marks the character of the gathering. In fact, there is scarcely one in twenty of these societies which are genuine cattle shows. They are kept up by the landocracy, as convenient means of dosing the "agricultural mind," whenever some purpose of landlordism is to be served. The only real agricultural societies are those which extend over a very wide district, as the Highland, the Yorkshire, and so forth, and those in which the tenant farmers obtain the upper hand.

So was it at Lewes. No sooner had the duke, earl, baronet, and major squires departed, than Mr. John Ellman, who is a sort of political "little John" of the duke's in Sussex let loose, talked of the "momentous crisis," and proposed as a toast, "May the Sussex farmers stick to their colours." Whereupon Mr. Hallett, who stated he was the occupier of 500 acres of land, inquired "what was the particular crisis referred to; and what the colours were to which the Sussex farmers were called upon to stick?" Mr. Hallett, like a rational man, wished to know those colours when he saw them. From that moment a scene of confusion ensued which baffles description; but inasmuch as Mr. Hallett continued to maintain the ascendancy in the palaver, it is obvious his question was a very interesting one to many farmers present. Moreover, it was not a little puzzling to the duke's lieutenant. What Mr. Ellman really meant by asking the Sussex farmers to stick to their colours, was to stick to the Duke of Richmond; to vote through thick and thin for his nominees. But it would not do to say so. Even the Sussex farmers are got beyond that. Loyalty to a lord won't do, even for bad farmers, at this day. There must be some pretence raised of advantage to themselves and their class to keep them to landlord's standard. Their loyalty to landlordism must be sought under cover of some subterfuge or falsehood.

Accordingly, we find Mr. Ellman, in answer to the question, saying, "I consider those colours to be those opinions which Sir Robert Peel entertained when we placed him in Parliament with a majority of one hundred at his back;" which is a paraphrase for "the Richmond livery." He then "denounced Sir Robert Peel as a renegade and deserter from their cause." Now this Mr. Ellman's patron, the Duke of Richmond, did in 1842, and has since, quietly quartered his poor relations on the public through Sir Robert Peel's influence. Perhaps the Duke's deputy is seeking to do a small stroke of business in the same way on his own account. Then Mr. Ellman proceeded—hazardous task for a monopolist—to prophesy, saying, he believed Lord John Russell would not form an administration, and that a Government as favourable to protection as that of 1842 would be formed; and he referred—don't laugh, reader—to Mr. Sidney Herbert as the "firm and eloquent" champion of protection, who was to lead for the curry-powder interest in the House of Commons!!

All this passed in a perfect hubbub; yet in the midst of it he was asked, with considerable applause, whether "We can't compete with foreign countries in the progress of agriculture, *if we have a fair field?*" And he finally pinned Mr. Ellman to a more precise answer to the question of "What are our colours?" but he only succeeded in obtaining this Bond-street formula, "We will maintain the protection at present existing to agriculture."

Now, let every farmer ask himself, soberly and calmly, the question propounded at Lewes, "What are our colours?" Suppose him to be still labouring under the delusion that "protection" is a benefit to agriculture, and he desires to maintain the existing Corn Laws, for whom will he vote at the coming election? Look amongst the politicians; the Whigs and Liberals have abandoned utterly and for ever Sir Robert Peel; and the rational Conservatives are entirely convinced that "protection" is no longer tenable. Amongst the great body of merchants, manufacturers, and capitalists of the country, there is not one in fifty who is not anxious, upon both public and personal grounds, for the abolition of the Corn Laws; and the middle and working-classes, with the exception of the farmers, are almost unanimous for Free Trade.

Against this overwhelming force of action and intelligent public opinion, what is there opposed? Out of doors there is an inert body of farmers, who entertain vague and undefined fear that Free Trade may lower prices, and place them, even more than at present, in the power of their landlords. But they have no faith in their opinion, if opinion such unsettled notions can be called; and they feel bitterly that protection has not made them prosperous or independent. They imagine that the Free Traders must have some objects exclusive and selfish in agitating the question, because the farmers are well aware that *their* agitators, the landowners, are actuated solely by the desire to keep up rents; and then they know that in struggling to maintain the Corn Laws, they are struggling also to maintain game and the Game Laws, yearly tenancies, and the rest of the feudal burthens of landlordism. Does any one imagine that any active energetic efforts can come from such a body? The Free Traders throughout the country are volunteers, actuated by sound principles, animated by constantly-increased success, led on by the best talent and intellect of the day; the farmers on the other hand, are conscripts, pressed men, distrusting or despising their leaders, and who have seen all the loud promises to uphold protection end in disgraceful surrender, or more discreditable and fruitless opposition. Then what figure do the monopolists make in Parliament? The lords are privileged men; and their effusions are not much regarded by the active public men of the country. Then, in the Commons, who are the protectionist leaders? Tyrrell, Miles, Bankes, Bramston, and men of that sort—men who have not sense or sensitiveness enough to know when they are ridiculous—form the material of which a Richmond Administration must be composed. And let it not be forgotten, that in order to maintain "the protection at present existing," the protectionists must bring into power a Richmond Administration. Now, so wild a scheme has never entered into the head of the most rabid monopolist. Even the *Morning Post*, which has done so much service to the Free Trade cause, by reducing protectionist arguments to absurdities, has never ventured to advise such a sublime burlesque. In the words of one worthy of all honour, an attempt to form a Richmond and Buckingham Administration, "would place the aristocracy in a situation at once pitiable and perilous." What, then, should be the farmer's colours? He has, as a rational man, the only alternative of going for the Free Trade candidate, or giving no vote.

MONOPOLY NOT PROFITABLE.

When a vicious system is profitable, its abrogation is always difficult. Thus the great nay, the only obstacle to the abolition of the slave trade, arises from the circumstance that the profits of that horrid traffic are enormous. Now, this cannot be said of the Corn Laws. The monopoly of food in this country has certainly not been profitable to the growers of corn, for whose benefit it was professedly established. Farmers, as a class, have not thriven under legislative protection; and they form the only capitalists in this country to whom the merest tyro can say without contradiction, "You have not made half as much of your capital as you might have done." Neither have landowners gained much by the Corn Laws. At all events, their property has not been permanently enhanced in value by monopoly. What they have gained in one way, they have lost in another. They have got high rents—rents high, when compared with the actual state of their land—out of their tenant's capital, but the punctual payment of those rents has been made dependent upon scarcity and the access of national distress. And with the exception of the very ignorant of the landed interest, the lard and grease section of the monopolists, these facts are not unknown to protectionist landlords. Why, then, do they struggle so desperately to uphold the Corn Laws? Why do the Wellington and the Stanleys, the impersonations of oligarchy, risk the very existence of their Ministry, rather than grant unrestricted trade to a commercial people? A writer in the *Morning Post* supplies the answer; and to farmers in particular, that answer is most instructive. The writer, who is obviously one of the establishment, his lucubrations always appearing in the largest type, sometimes signs himself "Anti-Leaguer," but now, "Anti-Peel." Under the latter signature on Tuesday se'night, he roundly rated the landowners for their submissive fol-

lowing of Sir Robert Peel in a partial relaxation of the restrictive system, and said :

"A third class of Parliamentary landowners dream of an indefinite rise in the exchangeable value of land, as soon as "scientific farming" shall be brought fully into play. These men believe, that if deep draining and guano shall lead, in a few years, to a duplication of the crops now raised from the soil of England, a duplication of rent must follow as a matter of course. Nor do they boggle now, so much as they were wont to do, at the mention of long leases; for they begin to recollect that, in Scotland, where long leases prevail, rents are, proportionally, far higher than in England."

And somewhat sensible "dreamers" they must be, for their "dreams" have a very practical and business-like aspect.

"The long-lease system, however, you, Sir, know well, is not designed for the present race of occupiers. No; they are regarded by the League, and by the League-tainted landowners, as men devoid equally of science, of energy, and of capital. The long-lease system is designed to be brought into play for the benefit of a new class of cultivators—for the benefit of a race of men who, possessing large pecuniary resources, shall require security for the safe investment of these in land the property of others. It is assumed by Leaguers, and by avaricious landowners, that such a race of men will be found, willing to cultivate the soil of England under a system of Free Trade in corn, and willing, moreover, to pay high rents while they receive low prices for their produce."

"The long-lease system to which capitalists are assumed to be parties, as occupiers, would involve, as a matter of course, the utter extinction of that political influence which has for ages attached to the territorial aristocracy of England. Landowners might, under such a system of long leases, remain masters of their own votes, but over the votes of the occupiers of their land they would retain not the slightest measure of control."

Here, then, we have a distinct avowal that scientific farming, the application of capital to land, and long leases, are not to be thought of by the landocracy, because, though landlordism may advance its rents, it will lose the power of controlling the votes of tenant-farmers. Hear this, ye shouters at protectionist societies! Hear this, ye followers of Miles, Bankes, Richmond, and Co., of 17, Bond-street!! There is one error of fact made by the too ingenuous monopolist writer—who really ought not to have blurted out so plainly the private notions of his employers—when he says, the present race of farmers must be superseded. Nothing is further from the truth. In nine cases out of ten, the present race of average farmers, with fair leases and freedom from the special burdens of landlordism, would be able to obtain and use all the capital necessary for improved farming. Why, a long lease in the hands of an industrious farmer is at once a security for a loan, whether he can actually transfer his interest in the lease or not. But when landlords ask the farmers to uphold the Corn Laws, can they say farming under the protective system has been a profitable business? On the contrary, all are agreed, that for the last 30 years there is no other occupation which has been so generally unprofitable. And wherever farmers have made reasonable profits, it has been by pursuing a system contrary to that the Corn Laws dictate. And farmers need only analyse their own outlay, and examine the facts presented by their own business, to comprehend perfectly why their monopoly has proved so unprofitable. We have before referred to the admirable and conclusive tract of Messrs. Morton and Trimmer; and we have stated the substance of their demonstration, that an average Norfolk farmer is a considerable loser by protection. We shall again and again recur to that work, strongly recommending, however, every farmer to possess himself of a copy to test its statements and calculations by his own expenditure and receipts.

This has been done by Mr. C. H. Lattimore, who has stated the result in a letter addressed to the editor of the *Mark Lane Express*. Upon his own farm the direct loss by protection has amounted to 15s. 8d. per acre; or, as he says, "nearly double the rent paid for the same land 55 years ago." His statement is so conclusive, and will be so generally interesting to our agricultural readers, that we make no apology for inserting it at length :

Account of Corn Crops grown upon, and sold off Wheat-hamstead Farm, in 1844—consisting of 250 acres arable, and 21 acres of grass land. Total, 271 acres.

	£	s.	d.
Wheat, 181 qrs. 6 bush. (average price, 2l. 11s. per qr.)	461	0	6
Barley, 200 qrs. 6 bush. (average price, 1l. 11s. 2d. per qr.)	343	15	0
Peas, 38 qrs. 6 bush., consumed on the farm	—	—	—
Hay, &c., consumed on the farm	—	—	—
Turnips, consumed on the farm	—	—	—

Total amount of produce sold .. 804 15 6

Amount received from protecting duties on the sale of the above-named produce.

Wheat, 181 qrs. 6 bush., at 5s. 6d. per qr.	49	19	4½
Barley, 200 qrs. 6 bush., at 4s. 8d. per qr.	46	16	10
Peas, &c., consumed	—	—	—
Wool, no duty	—	—	—

96 16 2½

Amount of linseed, cakes, beans, peas, bran, pollard, malt-dust, &c., purchased for stock, &c., on the above farm—from 1st of August, 1844, to 1st of August, 1845.

	£	s.	d.
Linseed cakes, 26 tons 10 cwt. (average price 8l. 13s. per ton)	229	18	9
Old beans, 74 qrs. 3 bush. (average price, 2l. 2s. per qr.)	156	3	9
Peas, 64 qrs. (average price, 2l. per qr.)	128	0	0
Barley, 47 qrs., ground for pigs, at 1l. 10s. per qr.	70	10	0
Oats, 83 qrs. 4 bush., ground for sheep and lambs, at 1l. 4s. per qr.	100	4	0
Do., 102 qrs. 3 bush. 7 pecks weekly, for nine farm horses, at 1l. 4s. per qr.	122	14	0
Grains, 300 qrs. per annum, at 2s. per qr.	30	0	0
Seed wheat, 16 qrs. 4 bush., sown at 2l. 11s. per qr.	39	19	6
Seed barley, 25 qrs., sown at 1l. 14s. per qr.	42	10	0
Seed peas, 6 qrs., sown at 2l. per qr.	12	0	0
Malt, 10 qrs., for use of labourers, at 3l. per qr.	30	0	0
Hops (say) 1 cwt., for use of labourers, at 8l. per cwt.	8	0	0
Clover seed, 4 cwt., averaged at 3l. per cwt.	12	0	0
Paid bills for pollard, bran, and malt-dust	66	0	0
Paid bills for hay, turnips, and grass	67	10	6

Total amount of produce purchased .. 1115 1 6

It will appear that the amount of produce purchased is equal to 138 per cent. upon the total sale of grain of that year. The extra cost of protecting duties upon the above stock-food will stand thus for one year:—

	£	s.	d.
Linseed cakes, 26 tons 10 cwt., at 2l. per ton	53	0	0
Old beans, 74 qrs. 3 bush., at 6s. 11d. per qr.	25	14	5
Peas, 64 qrs., at 5s. 10d. per qr.	18	13	4
Barley, 47 qrs., at 4s. 8d. per qr.	10	19	4
Oats, 83 qrs. 4 bush., at 6s. 6d. per qr.	27	2	9
Oats, 102 qrs. 3 bush., at 6s. 6d. per qr.	33	5	6
Grains, 300 qrs., at 10 per cent.	3	0	0
Seed wheat, 16 qrs. 4 bush., at 5s. 6d. per qr.	4	5	3
Seed barley, 25 qrs., at 4s. 8d. per qr.	5	16	8
Seed peas, 6 qrs., at 5s. 10d. per qr.	1	15	0
Malt, 10 qrs., at 4s. 8d. per qr.	2	6	8
Hops, 1 cwt., at 3l. 11s. 4d. per cwt.	3	11	4
Clover seeds, 4 cwt., averaged at 10s. per cwt.	2	0	0
Say 10 per cent. on pollard, bran, &c.	6	12	0
Do. 10 per cent. on hay, turnips, &c.	6	15	0

Cost of protective duties on cattle-food for one year .. 204 17 8

RECAPITULATION.

Taking the mean estimate of the consumption of the Norfolk labourer (par. 53), which gives the extra cost of protection upon his food at 2l. 7s. 8d. per annum, it will amount to:—

	£	s.	d.
For 18 labourers, not boarded, at 2l. 7s. 8d.	42	18	0
Allow 2 labourers extra for harvest work, at 2l. 7s. 8d.	4	15	4
Do. 10 per cent. on tradesmen's bills (65l.)	6	10	0
Do. 10 per cent. on household expenses (say 300l.)	30	0	0
Do. for rent, tithes, and rates, increased by protection, say	20	0	0
Cost of protective duties on cattle-food, brought forward	204	17	3

Total cost of protective duties .. 309 0 7
Deduct enhanced value of ditto .. 96 16 2½

Amount of loss from protection .. 212 4 4½

Thus, it appears that the loss upon 271 acres of land in one year from protection amounted to the sum of 212l. 4s. 4½d., or 15s. 8d. per acre, or nearly double the rent paid for that description of soil 55 years ago. I anticipate that it will be said to show an unusual consumption of cattle food upon 271 acres of land; that the drought of 1844 seriously affected the corn and other crops upon all gravelly soils, and cannot be taken as a fair average of the produce—both which objections are frankly admitted: still it is a correct statement of facts; and upon the system of stock-feeding pursued upon this farm, the purchases for stock and cattle-food, taking an average of years, have considerably exceeded the amount realised from the sales of corn produced from the farm.

And Mr. Lattimore adds, "That the worst farmers buy the least and sell the largest amount in proportion to their agricultural produce; and consequently the loudest clamour for protection is raised by this description of farmer." It is plain that the Corn Laws are protective of British indolence, not of British agriculture; and that the Central Protection Society ought to inscribe over the door of their room at 17, Bond-street, "Let bad farming be perpetual."

THE PERSECUTED WILTSHIRE LABOURERS.

The case of these poor men still continues to attract the sympathy of Free Traders, as will appear by the following letter. The money has been forwarded to Mr. Day on behalf of Bullock and Pearce.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

Kennington Street, Dec. 13, 1845.

"Sir,—Fearing lest those unlucky labourers of Beckhampton, in Wiltshire, Bullock and Pearce, may not have wherewithal to buy a pinch of 'curry powder' for the warm water, I beg you will be good enough to send them the enclosed sovereign."

"I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,

T. W. THORNTON."

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

Maribro', 19th Dec. 1845.

"Dear Sir,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant, enclosing 1l. for the benefit of Bullock and Pearce: this is the third 1l. I have received for them."

"I am pleased to inform you that Messrs. Hodgson & Co. of Toxteth dock, Liverpool, have kindly offered the poor fellows employment at 16s. per week, which they have gladly accepted. The farmers in the parish have all de-

clined to employ them; and they had nothing but the union house in prospect for the winter months. They will leave Beckhampton for Liverpool in a few days.

"An unknown friend, with the signature 'Edinburgenses' has also forwarded to me five dozen penny postage stamps, and requests me to give half-a-crown to each of the persecuted Wiltshire labourers, Bullock and Pearce. Will you say, through the LEAGUE, that they have been received, and that my correspondent's request shall be complied with?"

"In haste, yours truly,
"CHRIS. DAY."

AGRICULTURAL CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

Cotfield House, Battle, 18th Dec. 1845.

Sir,—The claims upon your columns for the insertion of more important matter at this critical juncture, are urgent and numerous, and may not permit of your giving place to this communication in your early Numbers, and therefore, I leave it entirely at your disposal, having no further wish than to impart the information at a convenient opportunity.

Adverting to my former letters on the subject of growing wheat alternately with green crops, and the use of guano, I submit to my brother agriculturists, with much confidence, one of my last experiments in this system of cropping.

A field of nine acres yielded 4 quarters and 2 bushels per acre in the summer of 1844. The field was drilled with 2 bushels of seed per acre in the preceding October, and 3 hundred weight of guano per acre were distributed broadcast, and harrowed in with the seed.

The land was ploughed in May; and on the 12th and 13th of the month, the field was drilled with purple-top Swede turnip-seed, at 18 inches between the rows, and 6 cwt. of guano, at 7s. 6d. per cwt., were distributed, broadcast, and harrowed in with the seed. The plants came up in a week, and grew vigorously. They were hoed and kept clean as long as the work could be done without injuring the leaves; there was no failure of plant, and no injury from fly or worm. The crop has been taken off, topped, and tailed, and laid up in ridges. The turnips were pulled up by the bushel, and an accurate account kept by my bailiff, who weighed different parcels, from which a result was obtained of 15 tons, 9 cwt., 4 qr., 14lbs. per acre. The roots command freely 20s. per ton.

The above produce is very little inferior to the best yield produced from bones dissolved in sulphuric acid, (costs 1l. 19s. per acre) deposited in the rows with the seed; but the land is more equally enriched by the broadcast distribution of the manure, and of course in better condition to receive the following corn crop.

The field has been again ploughed, and will be sown with wheat before Christmas, weather permitting; and if not, early in spring, receiving a sprinkling of guano.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,
S. H. WILLIAMS, Colonel, &c. &c. &c.

DISTRIBUTION OF BEDS TO AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

SIR,—I, William Ferguson, minister of the congregational church, Bicester, Oxfordshire, do hereby certify that I have forwarded to you for publication 36 pictures of human misery, such as neither the *Times* commissioner nor *Punch's* pencil can excel. Publish them, and let the world read them and judge for itself.

The following are the families who have received the beds, &c., forwarded to me for distribution by the "Council of the National Anti-Corn-Law League."

BICESTER, OXFORDSHIRE.—1. John Ormsby has a wife and a number of children dependent upon him, and upon begging together, for support. His wages are 6s. per week; house rent, 1s. 6d. There was not a single bed in the house when I examined it. The wretched family, eight in number, including his daughter's child, all slept in one room, upon some old sacking filled with straw. They have no potatoes; and when they buy any coals, they pay, this season of the year, at the rate of 1s. 8d. per cwt. for them. There is not a single pane of glass in any of the windows. This is the man (and this is his cottage) who was engaged to act, and who did act, the fool, for the Duke of Buckingham, when the Marquis of Chandos became of age. Why did not the Duke present this wretched family with a bed?

2. John Miller has a wife and 6 children. Wages: father, 8s. per week; son, 2s. 6d.; house-rent, 1s. 2d.; coals, 1s. 8d. per cwt; no potatoes. Eight sleep in one room, in two wretched beds.

3. John Coxil has a wife and four children. Father has no work; son earns 3s. per week; rent, 1s. per week. Two poor beds, made up of many rags and patches. All sleep in one room.

4. George Blencowe has a wife and nine children. No employment. Two boys in work; one earns 5s.; the other 2s. 6d. per week; one girl makes a little lace. Rent, 1s. 3d. per week. Three ragged and torn beds in one small room in which 11 sleep.

5. John Berry has a wife and four children. Wages, 9s. per week, when in work; rent 1s. 3d. Two wretched beds, one straw and one chaff, in one small room.

6. Thomas Birt has a wife and four children. No employment. Two boys at work; one earns 2s. 6d., the other 3s. per week. Rent 1s. 6d. Three wretched huts, one of which is chaff.

7. John Aris has a wife and five children; no employment. Rent 1s. 6d. Son earns 2s. per week. Only one wretched bed for seven.

8. George Trender has a wife and five children; being ill, is kept by the parish; allowed 6s. per week, and seven loaves. Rent 1s. 3d. No potatoes.

9. Thomas Barrel has a wife and four children; one straw bed. The children sleep on two old sacks in the same room. Wages 8s. per week. House-rent, 1s. 3d.

10. John Grace has a wife and six children. Wages 9s. per week. Rent 1s. 9d. per week. Coals 1s. 8d. per cwt. No potatoes. Eight sleep in one room on two beds of straw.

11. Joseph Baldwin has a wife and six children. Wages, 9s. a week. Boy earns 1s. 6d. Rent 1s. Wife very near her confinement. They have one chaff bed, and another made up of rags and flocks. I have never seen such beds before in either England or Scotland. No potatoes. Coals 1s. 8d. per cwt.

12. W. Westbury, widower, has three sons, who bring him in 8s. per week, but has no employment for himself.

Rent 1s. per week. Potatoes rotten, and nearly all gone. One straw bed, on which the father and three grown-up sons sleep, two at the head and two at the foot of the bed.

13. John Adams, a poor shoemaker, who, in consequence of the poverty of the working-classes, has next to no employment at his trade. He has a wife and two children at home. They have but one straw bed for the family. No potatoes, and are in great distress.

BRILL, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.—14. Thomas Goddard. Wages 8s. per week; scarcely any beds or bedding. Several children at home, and all dependent.

15. Joseph Harris has a wife and six children, all at home and dependent. Works on the roads. Wages 8s. per week. Rent 9d. per week for a miserable hovel; coals 22s. per cwt. "How they can manage to live," says the dissenting minister of Brill, "I cannot tell." They have no potatoes, and they are badly off for beds and bedding. The woman is a clever and contriving person, but her husband is a victim to the Game Laws.

16. J. Mapping has a wife and six children all dependent upon him for support. He has to go five miles to his work. Wages, 8s. per week. Rent, 1s. 2d. per week. Eldest boy, aged 14 years, is ill, and is allowed five loaves per week; very badly off for bedding, and no potatoes. Though he wishes to attend a place of worship he cannot for want of clothes.

17. Charles Smith has a wife and eight children all dependent upon him for support; one girl makes a little lace. Total income, 11s. per week. Very badly off for clothes; their stock of potatoes, between 30 and 40 bushels, all spoiled. Having so large a family, he can hardly contrive to find anything for some of them in the shape of beds or bedding. The mother, in order to get necessities, is obliged to neglect her family; she works at the lace pillow.

18. William Verney, day labourer, has a wife and six young children, who suffered much in the summer while he was away seeking work. He earns 10s. per week at the stone pit; pays 1s. per week rent, and 1s. 10d. per cwt. for coals. Very badly off for beds and bedding. His wife is an industrious woman, and has to deprive herself of necessities to keep her club paid up for a few clothes.

19. Joseph Watson, a shoemaker, has a wife and three children; cannot get any work at his trade, the number in it in the neighbourhood being so great, and the people too poor to employ them. As he follows a trade, no one will employ him; no, not the road surveyors. His eldest son earns 2s. per week, one of which goes to pay house-rent for a miserable hovel, having only two rooms, one above and one below, about seven feet square. They have two wretchedly poor beds, one of which is made of straw and nearly all to pieces. They all sleep in the same room. They have no potatoes. "How they live," writes the dissenting minister of Brill, "I cannot say; but with all they prefer home to the union."

LAUNTON OXON.—20. James Jones has a wife and five children dependent upon him for support. Earns 7s. per week at the stone pits; rent, 1s. per week; coals, 1s. 6d. per cwt.; one girl earns about 1s. 3d. per week at the lace pillow; one very poor flock bed and some straw in old sack; seven sleep in one small room.

21. John Butler has a wife and four children dependent upon him for support. Rent, 1s. per week; earns 7s. per week at the stone pit; beds and bedding very bad; seven sleep in one small room.

22. John Cartwright has a wife and seven children. Wages 9s. per week. Boy earns 2s. per week. Rent, 1s. per week; coals 1s. 6d. per cwt. Three wretched beds in one small room, in which nine persons sleep.

23. Thomas Smith has a wife and six children. Wages, 8s. Boy, 2s. per week. Two bedsteads (but I cannot say anything about the beds) on the same damp floor on which the family live and starve.

24. Thomas Sansom has a wife and seven children. Wages, 8s. per week. Two very poor beds. Potatoes destroyed.

25. Ann Evans has a son 18 years of age. Wages, 4s. per week. She is allowed 2s. and a loaf weekly by the parish, out of which she has to support a grand-child. Neither her hovel nor her beds can be described.

UPPER ARNCOTT, OXON.—26. Richard Savage has a wife and five children. No work. About five acres of land. Two miserable beds: seven sleep in one room. One boy at work for 2s. per week. Coals, 1s. 6d. per cwt.

27. W. Massey has a wife and three children. No employment at present. No potatoes, except a few saved for seed. Two wretched beds in one room.

28. Richard Cole has a wife and two children. One poor bed. Wages, 9s. per week.

29. W. Hejcroft has a wife and five children at home. Wages, 9s. per week. Two poor beds in one room.

BLACKTHORNE, OXON.—30. William Penn has a wife and five children. Wages, 8s. per week. No potatoes; coals, 1s. per cwt. Two poor beds, one flock and one chaff, in one room.

31. John Mumford has a wife and five children. Wages, 8s. per week; boy, 2s. 6d. The beds are made up of chaff and rags. All sleep in one room. No potatoes.

32. Thomas Eustace has a wife and seven children; is out of health; and has 4s. and nine loaves per week allowed him by the parish. Has a few potatoes. Has one flock bed and one bed and one chaff; all nine sleep in one small room.

33. W. Walker has a wife and five children. No potatoes; is out of health; has seven loaves and 5s. per week from the parish; has two miserably poor beds.

MARSH GIBBON, BUCKS.—34. W. White has a wife and four children. No potatoes. Has two chaff beds; only one room in the hovel. Wages, 9s. per week; rent, 2l. per ann.

35. John Roberts has a wife and four children. Total income, 10s. per week. Rent, 2l. per annum. Two beds, one of which is a chaff bed. All sleep in one room.

36. Gabriel Allen has a wife and five children; they are poor and wretched.

Sir,—The above facts are more than sufficient to demonstrate the extent to which the peasantry of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire have been reduced and degraded by Corn and Provision Laws, yearly tenancy, and low wages. Your readers may fully rely on the accuracy of the whole of my statements. 27 of the families who have received the beds have been examined by myself, and the other nine have been examined, at my request, by the dissenting minister at Brill, and a respectable inhabitant of Marsh Gibbon. I can assure both you and your readers that my task has been an arduous and trying one. It has been trying to both body and mind. I have had to walk from house to house, from village to village, for several days, under a pelting rain, up to the ankles in mud and water, and wet through from head

to foot, searching out the most needy and deserving objects of charity. The nakedness, afflictions, and poverty which I have witnessed during my investigation of the present state of so many of my fellow-men in the neighbourhood of Bicester, have been such as I cannot describe. At this moment there are many of the peasantry in our province living upon Swedes, and a scanty share of THAT BREAD for which they have toiled and laboured. There they are, huddled together, male and female, in numbers from five to ten, or even eleven, in one small room over the damp and fireless room in which they suffer, pine, and die! No intelligent person can wonder that too many of the field-labourers are immoral, dishonest, and ruined. O that some wealthy and benevolent person who may happen to read my statistics would put it into my power to purchase 40 or 50 smock-frocks, of different sizes, for the most naked and degraded of the peasantry in our neighbourhood. A good smock frock would be a handsome New Year's gift to a poor field labourer. If I had the money I could buy the frocks in Bicester. I have not thrown out this hint to others until I have, for the time being, beggared myself. I am still at work searching for the most wretched of the labouring classes of our own locality, and thus distributing the beds which I have in hand. I am very anxious to have the whole of the beds promised to me; and hope you will forward them as soon as convenient, that I may dispose of them at once. I shall not trouble you, sir, with any additional facts for publication. Not, however, because I have no more particulars of a soul-harrowing nature to communicate, but because the state of things which I have now made known to the public is more than enough to convince the most hardened and sceptical lord of the soil that the peasantry are a degraded and ruined race. I wish it to be distinctly understood that *only five* of the beds which I have distributed have been given away among the poor of my own congregation. The parties who have received the greater number of the beds are members of the Established Church, and a few of them are Wesleyans. I have described some of the peasantry's beds as flock beds, but strictly speaking, they are not flock beds, but something in the shape of beds made up of pieces of old mops, old carpets, old cloth, and rotten rags; and their bed ticks are a bundle of old patches. In one hovel I found only one bed for seven persons, including husband, wife, and children!! In another hovel, in Upper Arncott, I saw the corpse of a child laid out on a small table at the fire-side. It was laid there because there was no room for it in the place in which the wretched family sleep!! Three men, who have received each a bed, walked five miles to thank me, and to thank the Council of the League for the beds. These men and their families can now rest on comfortable beds, and consequently they will be better able to cultivate that portion of land in Buckinghamshire on which they toil and starve.

Praying for the prosperity of the League, and with many heartfelt thanks to all those who have put it into my power to show so great an act of kindness to the poor in the land, I am, Sir, yours very respectfully, WILLIAM FERGUSON. King's End, 23d Dec., 1845.

(From a Correspondent.)

The following is an account of some of the cases in Gillingham and its neighbourhood, who were supplied with beds through the instrumentality of the Anti-Corn-Law League:—

GILLINGHAM.—John Fricker and his wife, elderly persons, destitute of bed and bedding; had slept for some time on the floor of their dwelling. They had stuffed an old sack as a substitute for a bed, and used as covering a tattered great coat, and part of an old sheet.

A widow, named Read, and four children. I visited one of the daughters of this woman in dying circumstances; in the early part of her illness she had no bed, and was laid on the floor.

Another family named Read, consisting of a man, his wife, and four children, only possessing one bed.

There were other families in this place miserably supplied with bedding.—The men being labourers earning 6s. or 7s. per week, were unable, as the family increased, to provide an additional bed.

In the hamlet of Langham, three miles from Gillingham, four families have been assisted. In one case, the family, consisting of a man, his wife, and five children, depended on earnings of 7s. per week; the father a sickly man, not always able to work. There was also another family relieved where there were eight or nine children.

EAST STOUR, and ON STOUR COMMON.—A very cleanly hard working family, named Steel, much distressed from the failure of their potato crop. Rent of land, purchase of seed, potato, and labour, had cost this industrious family six pounds, but their crop had so far failed, that they had only six sacks of good potatoes, and it is doubtful whether these will be preserved. They were much distressed for want of bedding; and the grant was received with much gratitude.

A family named Francis, a man, his wife, with several children living in a hut without a glass window, the door continually open to admit the light; this family had one bed; on this the eldest daughter was lying dangerously ill, so that the father, mother, and the poor children appeared to have nothing but a little straw to lie on. On my first visit to them after they had received the bed and bedding, the afflicted daughter (who appears to be a hopefully serious young person) was laid on the clean new bed, and I can hardly describe the thankfulness of this poor creature for so great a comfort in what seemed likely to be her last sickness.

A labourer and his wife, named Maidment, with I think three children—the man at home, afflicted with rheumatism—living in a hut with a floor of earth, and covered with old thatch, ready to fall in on their heads. They had one wretched bed. This family seemed to esteem the gift of a bed as a greater blessing than some persons would have esteemed a gift of a thousand pounds.

I shall only mention one case more, that of a family in the hamlet of Matson, named Hull. The wife was the daughter of a respectable farmer, and they had seen better days; but were now reduced, they had ten children, and

only one bed. I felt much for this poor man; his scanty earnings were very inadequate to support his family, or to procure anything for himself.

I can only unite with these poor people in praying for you that you may never need comfort. God has said "Blessed is he that considereth the poor; the Lord shall bless him in the time of trouble."

We rejoice indeed to find that God is crowning your great and persevering efforts for the abrogation of the Corn Laws with success.

(From another Correspondent.)

Joseph Russell, carter to Richard Holman, Esq., has 7s. 6d. per week, the eldest boy of six children has 2s. per week, being 9s. 6d. per week to support man, wife, and six children; a steady, honest, and industrious man.

Charles Vincent works for the Hon. and Rev. George Neville Grenville; has a wife and four small children, has 8s. per week, has but one bed and scarcely any furniture in the house; a steady and industrious man.

Charles Blacher works for the above G. N. Grenville; has a wife and two children, daily expecting another; has 8s. per week; a steady and industrious man.

James Oldis works for the above G. N. Grenville; has an unhealthy wife and family; his labour is getting done; has 7s. per week; a steady and industrious man.

James Lye works for Mrs. Welmont; has a wife and three small children, buried two, wages 8s. per week; a steady and industrious man.

George Craft works for Mr. Cades, has a wife and very unhealthy family, three dependent on his labour; wages 8s. per week; a steady and industrious man.

Robert Stride works for Mr. Harbridge; has a wife and four children to support with 8s. per week.

William Higgins works for Mr. Bartlett; has a wife and six children, three of them dependent on his labour; has had 8s. per week, but is to have only 7s. the remaining part of the winter.

The Hon. and Rev. George Neville Grenville, a country magistrate, and rector of the village of Butleigh, is owner of nearly all the property in the village, except the land owned and occupied by Richard Holman, Esq., who is a violent opponent to the Repeal of the Corn Laws. G. N. Grenville has very extensive game preserves in the parish, and sells by far the greater part of it to the dealers in Bath, &c., consequently two of his farms are in hand, and another of his largest tenants is leaving in the spring, because, as they say, they cannot afford to pay him the rent of land which he stocks with game.

On the 13th November, on the occasion of his eldest son, the Hon. Ralph Grenville, the member for Windsor, bringing home his bride, he was met by a number of the peasantry about a mile from Butleigh-house, the horses taken from his carriage, and he was drawn by them to the house; where to reward them and all others who chose to partake, two or three hogsheds of beer were taken into the park, and it was given away to any who could find a vessel of any sort to drink it from: the consequence, as might be expected, was one of the most disgraceful scenes of drunkenness with which any neighbourhood can be cursed. Numbers of men, women, and children were rolling about in a helpless state of drunkenness in the park, and one of the sons of the rev. gentleman, assisted by some of the work people, wheeled them in wheelbarrows into the stable, and littered them up in the straw for the night. A week or so before, the same rev. gentleman, in his capacity as magistrate, fined a poor man 18s. including costs, for being drunk and making some little disturbance.

If any further particulars are required of the state of the poor in this neighbourhood, I shall be glad to furnish them.

(From another Correspondent.)

Joseph King, four children, the man and his wife, with only one bed, and a small dust bed; works for George Fry, 7s. a-week.

Joseph Richards, a wife with four children and one bed; works principally on the highways, 7s. per week.

John Godfrey and wife; seven children; only two beds; works for Thomas Bath.

John Baker and wife; eight children; three very poor beds. Works for Joseph Gould; 7s. per week; and the wife expecting to be confined with their eleventh child.

George Baker and wife; five children; only one bed, and a small dust one. Works for Joseph White, at 7s. a-week; the wife afflicted with the evil.

Henry Marsh and wife; five children, and only dust beds to lie on. Works for Thos. Vogue for 7s. a-week.

All in the parish of Street, in the county of Somersetshire.

What is the cry of "No surrender?" The state of the country is becoming critical. Trade is falling off; manufactures are stopping; artisans are thrown out of employment, and the poor are lacking food;—and "No surrender" means no yielding to the clamours of a hungry people. Children may cry for food; parents, tempted by poverty, may put forth their hands to steal; gaols and workhouses may swarm;—and "No surrender" means, no pity, no bowels of compassion, no relaxation in the grasp of monopoly to mitigate or remove the sufferings of the people.—*Derby Reporter.*

NENAGH, DEC. 16.—From personal observation throughout a wide district of country, during the present week, we regret greatly having to announce that the ravages of the potato disease have given serious cause for well grounded alarm in certain districts. We do not mean to say that the disease is at present progressing; but where it has appeared in some places, ruin and devastation and impending famine are dreaded. Some instances of suffering have been imparted to us which are really heart-rending.—*Tipperary Vindicator.*

CASTLEBAR, DEC. 16.—We have, since our last publication, heard gentlemen who are as well qualified as any others in the country to give an accurate opinion on the subject, say that vast numbers of the people will not have a potato to eat in a month or six weeks, though, but for the disease, they would have enough till the coming of the next crop. This is a frightful prospect. There has been a fall in the grain markets in this country, during the last seven or eight days, owing, we believe, to the rumour that the Corn Laws would be repealed, or the ports thrown open by an order in council. Oats have fallen to 6s. 6d. per cwt., from 8s. Potatoes have also come down. They were sold on Saturday last at 2d. a stone. It is said that the country people are bringing them into the market, to get rid of them at any price, as the disease is progressing in them, and threatens to render them totally unfit for food.—*Mayo Constitution.*

REVIEW.

Rambles in the United States and Canada during the Summer of 1845, by Rubio. London: Clarke.

One great merit of this work is its brevity; the author has been more anxious to convey information than to make a book; he gives the impressions derived from a hasty visit just as they were suggested to his mind by surrounding circumstances. His observations are more distinguished for graphic liveliness than philosophic depth; he writes like a practical man of business, not much accustomed to habits of literary composition. His judgment of the Americans is rather unfavourable; he speaks in very disparaging terms of the climate, the soil, and the people; but, from some incidental hints scattered through the volume, we should be disposed to infer that some disappointments of a pecuniary nature led him to take a more gloomy view of society than he would have done under more favourable circumstances. Rubio is a thorough Free Trader; and the existence of a protective tariff in a land claiming for itself the exclusive possession of liberty is an intolerable and disgraceful anomaly. But though not destitute of prejudices, Rubio is not slow in conceding praise to what he finds really valuable in America; his account of the New York pilots is very gratifying:

"A pretty little schooner, having a large painted distinguishing mark in her sails, came very near to us in a rough and stormy sea, and we backed the head-sails whilst the pilot came on board in a little cockle-shell of a dingy, that you could almost carry under your arm. We were very glad to get him on board; and, after admiring the elegant and fairy-like proportions of his watery home, the schooner shoved off, and we began to ask the news. The pilot service of the port of New York may be considered as nearly perfect; it consists of thirteen schooners, of about sixty, seventy, up to ninety tons burthen, and costing six and seven thousand dollars each.

"There are seventy pilots, all middle-aged men, and none are eligible except total abstinence men; therefore vessels are never lost owing to drunken pilots; this is impossible. The English might here borrow a leaf out of the American book. It frequently happens, on arriving in the English channel, that the pilot who boards you is a man of seventy years of age, and I have known him hoisted up with a tackle, because he was too infirm for climbing up the side-ladder; but an important service like that of pilots should be limited to the ages between thirty and sixty. And, moreover, the first thing an English pilot asks for, is a glass of grog; whilst the New York pilot who boarded us, a hundred miles from the port, in common with the other sixty-nine of the fraternity, are pledged to drink nothing stronger than tea or coffee, or they would be refused a license.

"We were very much amused with the variety of fresh newspapers which the pilot kept pulling out of his pockets, large and close-printed, the size of the 'Morning Advertiser' in London, and published at a halfpenny each! True they were on inferior paper, badly printed, with worn-out type, with violent language, personalities, and party politics, for the stock in trade of the editor. 'Ah,' said the pilot, 'it is party that is killing our country!'

Removals in New York are of such a singular nature, that we must extract the description:

"One need not walk through many streets in New York without witnessing in one of them a removal or lifting up of a house; this is almost peculiar to American mechanics, and I was never tired of looking at it. The practice has contributed very much to the straightness and uniformity of the streets, and so perfectly at home are they at it, that if an advertisement were to appear in the 'Sun,' the 'Herald,' or the 'Tribune,' to remove the London Mansion House to Hampstead Heath, there would be several offers for the job. As for the north side of Middle-row, they would think nothing of removing it bodily at once to the Model Prison at Clerkenwell, without any of the young misses of the family being in the slightest degree interrupted in their usual avocations. As for the everlasting and dangerous nuisance of Holborn Hill, which I have been looking at more in sorrow than in anger for these forty years, in New York it would be levelled in a week. A worthy tradesman in the city of Brooklyn, opposite New York, wanted to convert his two parlour windows into a shop-front; 'No, no,' said the builder, 'don't throw away your parlour, I will lift the house up, and build you a much better, loftier, and more spacious shop, where the parlour now stands. The screws and timbers were accordingly brought, and I saw the two-story brick house go up slowly and imperceptibly, whilst the daughters were looking out of window, as if nothing was going on more than usual. I watched the alteration every time I crossed the ferry to Brooklyn, and in the course of two or three weeks the tradesman was occupying his new and handsome store, as the shops are called."

His remarks on the prohibitory, or virtually prohibitory duties in the American tariff, display sound sense and practical knowledge:

"I could not spare the time to go over to Lowell, alike celebrated for its factory girls and their parasols. This is no doubt a very desirable state of things, but I am afraid it is merely accidental and temporary, and rather an episode in the history of the manufactures of the New England States, than to be regarded as the natural superiority of the American factories over those of Lancashire. The day is coming when the workers of cotton in Lowell will be no better off than the workers in shoes in Lynn, or the cunning in clocks. The parasols will have to be furled and left at home. The unnatural propping up of the manufacturing system through the silly tariff of 1842 has made many fortunes, especially in the New England States; but the repeal of said act, which is certain, sooner or later, and perhaps the very session now commencing, will make as many bankrupts. The cotton-trade will be as good after the repeal of the tariff as it is now, but those who have been leaning on the support of those prohibitory duties will find, as soon as such support is withdrawn, that they must become insolvent, unless they evince the energy of humber manufacturers in other departments, and are determined to undersell the world; for, with un-

limited water-power, the raw material at their door, and bread and meat for next to nothing, who can beat a Bostonian at making calico? So that, after all, we see that these Lowell parasols have been paid for by the agricultural states, by the gallants of the southern and western country, without their knowing it, and without acknowledgement on the part of the young ladies of the factories. But all that must be changed; it is absurd to suppose that the planters of New Orleans and Mobile should have to contribute in every article they require at the store to the already overgrown fortunes of the New England manufacturers, who have been boasting, the last three years and upwards, that they have been clearing twenty-five per cent. profit on their capitals employed, whilst all the articles produced by the planters, particularly cotton, have been gradually getting lower and lower in price; and even yet, cotton has not seen its lowest. So that it will be one good thing done by southern preponderance in the national councils of the Union, that the tariff is to be reduced to a revenue standard.

"The American legislators should observe, that every session the Parliament of Great Britain is advancing in the Free Trade principle by removing duties on imports; and they should recollect that it is now well established, that it is an unchangeable law of human nature that the real interests of all nations are identical. No manufacturing country wants paupers for customers: but, on the contrary, all nations find it for their advantage that all the others should flourish—all derive benefit from unrestricted intercourse, free exchange, peace, and justice."

But while the monopolies of the United States are condemned, Rubio feels that England set the evil example of the protective system, which he very forcibly exposes:

"Before leaving the immense valley of the Mississippi, where the cheapness and abundance of bread and meat is truly astonishing, one cannot help casting a thought across the Atlantic, to that dear island of Great Britain, where the people are so much in want of both, but who, through mistaken views of policy, have passed laws to exclude them.

"I inquired how it was possible for the farmers to sell their wheat at two shillings per bushel, and their maize, rye, barley, and oats, at eightpence? 'Why, sir, my friend—', in Indiana, has got this year 2000 acres of wheat in one patch, which, at twenty-five bushels to the acre, amounts to 50,000 bushels. The thrashing by our simple machines, and the cradling at harvest-time, enables him to get through the work much quicker than is done in Europe, and in this poor country 25,000 dollars is a large sum to receive in a heap for his crop of wheat; and as carriage is nothing on our rivers, or next to nothing, there are few deductions. There is always sufficient solar heat to insure good crops, the only danger being from drought, but there has never been a failure since I have been in the country. Now you see how we can grow wheat to pay us at two shillings per bushel, or, as you say in England, sixteen shillings per quarter, and it is never likely to be dearer!'

"The entire removal of the duty on bread-corn, imported in British ships, leaving the manufactured articles of flour, biscuit, &c., as they stand, or at a fixed duty, would be better than going to war respecting Oregon, and filling up the channel of the great river between the Belize and St. Felipe, and would induce the American Government to lower their duties on some staple articles of British manufacture.

"The articles of beef and pork are not of so much consequence. Englishmen have a very natural repugnance for salted meat; and therefore, although the entire duty were removed from those articles, they would not enter very largely into the consumption of the English people; but surely the expenses and risk of shipping live cattle, freight, fodder, water, and attendance during the voyage, are sufficiently heavy to protect the English graziers; and the twenty-shilling duty on foreign oxen ought to be repealed, and the duty on foreign butter and cheese reduced one-half. A tariff, according to Mr. Polk, to be just and equitable, should have no reference to any sectional interests, but merely look to revenue; and if the English Chancellor of the Exchequer cannot afford to forego these various items, let him make good the loss by laying an additional shilling duty on malt, and raise the annual licence for first-class gin-palaces to 50*l.*, and for the second-classes, 30*l.*; which is the exact tax of our Australian colonies. To transfer the tax from bread to poison, ought to displease nobody."

A large proportion of this little volume is devoted to an account of the disputed Oregon territory; and it tends to show that a more worthless possession was never made the subject of diplomatic controversy between two nations. We doubt the sincerity of the newspaper clamour that has been raised on the subject in America. We believe that our brethren of the States are not disposed to indulge in the madness and wickedness of war for the sake of a territory not worth the expenses of a week of hostilities. For our own countrymen we can answer with confidence; there is no popular feeling adverse to America in this country. On the contrary, most Englishmen of every party are anxious that the bonds of brotherhood derived from a common origin should be strengthened and drawn tighter by the mutuality of interest which increased commercial intercourse would create. The farmers of the Far West are able to supply us with the food of which we are in need, and to receive our manufactures in payment. An exchange founded on mutual wants must be productive of mutual advantages, and thus afford the most perfect security for the continuance of amity.

YEADON.—A meeting of the parishioners of Guisely was held at Yeaddon, on Wednesday evening last, in the British School Room. The place of meeting was crowded to excess, there not being less probably than 1000 persons present. The chair was occupied by Mr. Joseph Dawson, woolstapler. The characteristic features of the meeting were its great spirit and enthusiasm. The movers and seconders of the resolutions were Mr. G. Kenion, Mr. Forbes, of Summerhill; Mr. Yewdall, of Leeds; Mr. Hatton Stanfield, of Leeds; Mr. Samuel Clapham, of Esholt; Mr. Byles, of Bradford; and Mr. Plint, of Leeds. A spirited memorial to the Government was adopted, and signed by the chairman, and after the usual vote of thanks to the chairman the meeting dispersed.

MERE PARTY CRIES WILL NOT DO NOW.

Time was when elections were contested not on the merits of rival candidates, nor on the truthfulness or otherwise of antagonistic principles, and when a rallying cry would serve in the place of well defined opinions and enlarged and statesmanlike views. A candidate who could vociferate "Church and King" was regarded as the personification of all that was loyal towards the monarch, and dutiful to Mother Church; whilst at the same time, through ignorance or sheer stupidity, he might entertain sentiments inimical to the just prerogative of the Crown, and injurious to the best interests of the ecclesiastical system he might desire to uphold. How many elections have been won by the utterance of the talismanic phrase, "Protection to agriculture!" These magic words have been the "Open sesame" which has gained admittance to many a farmer's heart; and yet those who have been foremost to use this cry, have held principles destructive to the class who were tickled by its sound. But this state of things is fast passing away. Candidates that now present themselves before constituencies must have something better to recommend them than unmeaning phrases. The understandings as well as the ears of electors must now be appealed to, and constituencies will require that those who present themselves as candidates before them should possess sound and definite views on all subjects upon which they are to legislate.

The inquiring spirit of the age, which has so successfully penetrated the arcana of science, and converted the elements of nature into the means of advancing the social condition of man, has now turned its prying eye to politics and legislation. Commercial crises and periods of national distress are now discovered to be the result of irrational human laws, and not the effect of inefficiency in the Divine legislation. Human laws proceed from human law makers. If the constituencies of this country return to Parliament men of comprehensive views and holding definite and sound principles, they may expect to reap their reward in the blessings of wise statutes and consequent prosperity; but on the contrary, if they choose men to make their laws who from either ignorance or selfishness hold false principles, or who have no settled principles at all, they may expect in return a plentiful crop of bad legislation, fatal to the true interests of the country. We cannot gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles.—*Derby Reporter.*

TO THE FREE TRADERS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Some time ago, a project was set on foot which had for its aim the diffusion, in foreign countries, of information on subjects connected with the science of Political Economy, and the means made choice of for this purpose was the gratuitous circulation abroad of the *Economist* Newspaper, to such public News Rooms, Reading Societies, Editors of influential Journals, leading Statesmen, &c., as might be thought suitable.

Through the aid of friends to the undertaking, it has been so far put into execution that a circulation on the above plan is now in operation to the extent of 230 copies weekly in Europe and America; a circulation which it is highly desirable to maintain and extend. With this view, therefore, an appeal is now made to all those who think it important that Free Trade principles should prevail in the commercial world, for support to a means of spreading information, which, there is every reason to believe, has had already considerable effect in softening prejudice, and inculcating right commercial views.

The appeal is made at the present time with more confidence of its being liberally responded to from these circumstances:

That, owing to the unwise commercial regulations of most of the European countries, which, by interfering with the natural operations of trade in the articles of human food, have prevented that prudent provision against seasons of scarcity, which those operations (in all cases where they are left unshackled) so beneficially secure, the British, and many of the Continental nations, are, on occasion of a very general failure of their crops, threatened with an almost certain prospect of having to endure all the horrors of famine until another harvest shall again give plenty; and men are, therefore, at this time, peculiarly well prepared to listen to the teachings of a science which professes to point out the best methods of avoiding, or, at least, greatly mitigating the pressure of such evils.

That there never was a time when the economical arrangements of all civilised countries were receiving more attention, when, in many of those countries, false commercial principles were becoming more generally acted upon, and their advocates more active in their propagation than is the case at present; and when, therefore, it was more incumbent on those who feel conscious of the possession of sounder principles, to strive to procure for those principles their proper influence; and

That the present position of the Tariff question, in the United States, (a country which has the special attention of the undertaking,) is such as to call for every possible effort, in order to strengthen the hands of that party, in their national councils, who would liberalise their commercial system, in opposition to those who would uphold the present highly restrictive regulations; and, as the issue of the struggle, which will take place between these two parties in the next session of congress, will probably decide on which principle their Tariff will for some years, at least, be based, it becomes of the greatest importance that the cause of freedom there should be furnished with every weapon of reason and argument that can be placed in its hands; and it will be certainly admitted that the articles which appear, from time to time, in the pages of the *Economist*, bearing directly on the point in question, are eminently calculated by the good spirit and talent which distinguish them to answer that purpose.

We should also not lose sight of the fact as an encouragement to exertion in the manner proposed, that in combating the restrictive systems of most foreign countries, we have not the sinister interests of the governing classes to contend against, as is unhappily the case in our own country, and that, consequently, as soon as the great body of consumers become aware of the real effects of monopolies and restric-

tions, and call upon their Governments to abolish them, this obstacle so formidable to us will not stand in the way.

That the practical triumph of Free Trade principles in this country appears, comparatively, near at hand, is a motive rather to increase than to diminish our exertions to persuade other nations to follow in our footsteps, for our tariff is already so far improved, that we can take from them almost as much as they are willing to take from us, which, even under perfect freedom, must always be the limit of our transactions, so that to induce them to relax their restrictions, is directly to increase our own power both of export and import.

It will, however, be urged that, as soon as foreign nations shall see us prospering under a perfectly free system, they will follow our example, which assertion is nevertheless directly at variance with everything that history and our own experience tell us of the tenacity with which the vested interests of monopolists have ever been clung to, when they have once got the ear of the ruling power; and as for the lessons of example and experience, their value depends entirely on their being rightly understood, of which we need not look far for a striking instance; for we do not find in this country farmers and farm labourers enough now, after 30 years' bitter experience of the delusive working of the protective system, still clamouring for the sliding scale among the rocks and shoals of which they have so often had to hoist the signal of distress, and it may safely be affirmed, that they have learned more in a few years, under the schoolmaster-ship of the League, than a century of unexplained experience and example merely would have taught them.

From these considerations, therefore, it is hoped that the project here advocated will meet with the support of which it stands in need.

The following gentlemen have undertaken to receive contributions:

John Biggs, Esq.	Leicester
William Blackburn, Esq.	Glasgow
William Fisher and Sons	Sheffield
Robert Gardner, Esq.	Manchester
Charles Geach, Esq.	Birmingham
Laurence Heyworth, Esq.	Liverpool
Secretary of Free Trade Club	London
Joseph Jones, Esq.	Hull
James McLaren, Esq.	Edinburgh
F. Schwann, Esq.	Huddersfield
Hamer Stansfeld, Esq.	Leeds

The following subscriptions have been received:—

	£	s.	d.
The Right Hon. Earl Radnor	10	0	0
A Friend of Earl Radnor	10	0	0
James Garth Marshall, Esq.	10	10	0
Laurence Heyworth, Esq.	10	0	0
Joseph Travis Clay, Esq.	10	0	0
George Moffat, Esq., M.P. (annually)	6	5	0
Sir John J. Guest, Bart., M.P.	5	0	0
W. R. C. Stansfeld, Esq., M.P.	5	0	0
Walter Fletcher, Esq., Brighton	1	0	0
John Wilkinson, Esq., Leeds	1	0	0
F. Schwann, Esq., Huddersfield	5	5	0
S. C. Kell, Huddersfield (annually)	5	5	0

Huddersfield, December, 1845. S. C. Kell, Sec.

CORN LAW DIVISIONS.

(From the Glasgow Constitutional.)

In the belief that, at a moment like this, when the Corn Laws are the all-engrossing topic of political interest, a sketch of the recent history of the legislative discussion of the question will not be without interest to our readers—we have compiled the following chronological summary of the chief divisions which have taken place upon the subject in either House of Parliament during the last twelve years. We begin with the Parliament of 1833 as being the first which was elected under the provisions of the Reform Act.

1833.

May 14.—Earl Fitzwilliam's resolutions for the revision of the Corn Laws, with a view to their repeal, were negatived, *seriatim*, without a division.

May 17.—Mr. Whitmore's motion for an alteration in the principle of the Corn Laws, to one of a moderate fixed duty, was negatived by 305 to 106; majority 199.

June 17.—Mr. Fryer's motion for leave to bring in a bill to alter the Corn Act of 1828, with a view of admitting colonial grain free of duty, was negatived by 72 to 47; majority 25.

1834.

February 4.—Lord Grey's ministry announced, through Lord Althorp, that it was not their intention to bring forward any measure for the alteration of the Corn Laws, nor to support such a measure if introduced by others.

March 5.—Mr. Hume's motion for a Committee to consider the propriety of a moderate fixed duty was rejected by 311 to 155; majority 157. All the members of Lord Grey's cabinet who were in the House of Commons, spoke and voted in the majority.

1835.

The subject does not seem to have come before either House.

1836.

No trace of the question having been moved appears in the votes of either the Lords or Commons.

1837.

March 16.—Mr. Clay's motion for a Committee to consider the propriety of a fixed duty on the importation of foreign corn was negatived by 223 to 89; majority 134.

May 3.—Mr. Robinson's resolution against the tendency of the Corn Laws was rejected by 108 to 42; majority, 66.

1838.

March 15.—Mr. Villier's motion for a Committee to consider the operation of the Corn Act of 1828 was rejected by 300 to 95; majority, 205.

1839.

February 18.—Lord Brougham's motion, that evidence against the Corn Laws be heard at the bar, was opposed by Lord Melbourne, and rejected without a division.

February 18.—Mr. Villier's motion to the same effect, in the House of Commons, was opposed by Lord John Russell, Lord Howick, Sir Robert Peel, and others, and negatived by 361 to 172; majority, 189.

March 11.—Mr. Villier's motion for a Committee to consider the operation of the Corn Act of 1828 was rejected, after a five days' debate, by 342 to 195; majority, 147.

March 14.—Lord Fitzwilliam's motion, condemning the operation of the Corn Laws, was opposed by Lord Melbourne, and negatived by 224 to 20; majority, 304.

1840.

April 1-3.—Mr. Villier's motion for a committee to consider the operation of the Corn Act of 1828 was adjourned *sine die*, by 227 to 131; majority 86.

May 26.—Mr. Villier's motion for a committee to consider the operation of the Corn Act of 1838 was rejected by 300 to 177; majority 123.

June 11.—Earl Fitzwilliam's resolution, that it is expedient to consider the laws relating to the importation of foreign corn, was rejected by 142 to 42; majority 100.

1841.

May 17-18.—The budget of Lord Melbourne's ministry embracing a proposal to substitute a fixed duty of 8s. a quarter on foreign wheat (with corresponding rates on other kinds of grain), in place of the then existing Corn Law, was rejected by 317 to 281; majority 36.

A dissolution of the Parliament soon after ensued; and, in the months of June and July the present House of Commons was elected.

August 24.—An amendment on the ministerial address, in answer to the Queen's speech (which recommended a revision of the Corn Laws), was carried in the House of Lords by 168 to 95; majority 72.

August 24.—A similar amendment in the House of Commons was carried by 360 to 269; majority 91.

1842.

February 6.—Lord John Russell's resolution against the alteration in the Corn Laws proposed by Sir Robert Peel, as not being calculated to remove the evils of the former law, was rejected by 349 to 226; majority 123.

Feb. 24.—Mr. Villier's motion for a total repeal of the Corn Laws was rejected by 303 to 90; majority 213.

Feb. 25.—Mr. Christopher's amendment for increasing the duties proposed in Sir Robert Peel's new Corn Law Bill was rejected by 306 to 103; majority 203.

April 18.—Earl Stanhope's motion that the new Corn Law Bill proposed by Ministers should be read a second time that day six months, was rejected by 119 to 17; majority 102. Lord Brougham's amendment to Lord Stanhope's motion, that no duty shall be imposed on foreign grain, was negatived by 109 to 5; majority 104.

April 19.—Lord Melbourne's amendment in favour of a fixed duty was rejected by 117 to 49; majority 68. Lord Brougham's resolutions against all duties on foreign grain, were rejected by 87 to 6; majority 81.

May 29.—Mr. Miles's amendment, for increasing the new tariff duties on the importation of foreign cattle, was rejected by 380 to 113; majority 267.

May 24.—Mr. Villier's motion, that the duty should be reduced to 1s. a head, was negatived by 209 to 44; majority, 165.

July 11.—Mr. Villier's motion for a committee to consider the operation of the Corn Laws, was rejected by 231 to 117; majority 114.

1843.

February 3.—Sir Robert Peel stated that his experience of the present Corn Law had not been such as to induce him to propose further change at present. He had heard nothing to induce him to prefer a fixed duty to a sliding scale.

February 17.—Lord Howick's motion for a committee on the commercial policy of the country was negatived by 306 to 191; majority 115. In the course of the debate, Sir James Graham said that there was not much difference of opinion about the principles of Free Trade; and England being no longer an agricultural country, the field of our commerce must be enlarged for the benefit of the agricultural as well as of the commercial body; and these, he added, were opinions now recognised by every man of common sense. But then, he argued, there was the danger of injuring agriculture in the attempt to relieve manufactures. Mr. Gladstone (then a Cabinet Minister) admitted that exports would be increased in a degree corresponding to the relaxation of restrictions on imports; that if an increased importation of foreign corn took place, and if that importation of foreign corn were to be paid for in British goods, it would be taking a most shortsighted and false view of the interests of British agriculture to view that importation of foreign corn as so much displacement of British agricultural commerce.

March 14.—Lord Montague's motion for a committee to inquire into the operation of the existing Corn Laws, was negatived by 250 to 78; majority, 172.

May 15.—Mr. Villier's motion for an immediate and total repeal of the Corn Laws, was rejected by 381 to 125; majority, 256.

May 19.—Resolutions to serve as a basis for the Canadian Corn Bill, were carried by 344 to 156; majority, 188.

June 2.—The Canadian Corn Bill was read a second time, by 209 to 109; majority, 100.

June 13.—Lord John Russell's motion for a Committee to consider the propriety of a moderate fixed duty on foreign grain was rejected by 244 to 145; majority, 99. In the course of the debate, Sir R. Peel said that the Corn Law of 1842 was a compromise, assented to by the agriculturists, on the understanding that it was to be maintained. Under it, prices had been steady, and he declared his determination of abiding by the existing law.

1844.

March 12.—Mr. Cobden's motion for a Committee on the effects of the corn laws was negatived by 224 to 133; majority, 91.

March 26.—Mr. Hutt's motion for a committee to consider the propriety of admitting corn the produce of British possessions in South Africa, India, and Australasia, at the same rate of duty as that levied on Canadian grain, was rejected by 119 to 49; majority, 70. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Stanley opposed the motion, as having a tendency to produce, with more or less reason, an agricultural panic.

June 26.—Mr. Villier's resolution for a repeal of the Corn Law, was rejected by 328 to 124; majority, 204. In the course of the debate, Lord John Russell wished that a compromise might be effected, and expressed his apprehension that a sudden repeal of the corn laws would affect the employment of capital in agriculture, and that a greater importation would take place than was consistent with the profits of the importing merchant, or the security of the home cultivator. Lord Howick proclaimed himself ready to vote for a total repeal.

1845.

March 13.—Mr. Cobden's motion for a committee on the effects of the Corn Laws was negatived by 213 to 121; majority, 92.

May 8.—Mr. Hutt's motion for admitting wheat from Aus-

tralia on the same terms as from Canada, was negatived by 147 to 93; majority, 54.

May 28.—Lord John Russell's resolutions, embracing a proposal for remodelling the Corn Laws, by substituting a fixed duty of from 4s. to 6s., were rejected by 182 to 104; majority, 78.

June 10.—Mr. Villier's annual motion for the immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, was negatived by 254 to 122; majority, 132. The measure was opposed by Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham, in speeches of which Lord Howick remarked, that both would have been unanswerable in favour of the motion had that been for a gradual repeal of the existing laws.

In the House of Lords, the highest number of votes that have been recorded in favour of a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws is no more than 6. The proposition even to entertain the question of a moderate fixed duty has never received more than 96 votes; and this was on an occasion which involved at the same time the very existence of the Whig administration.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

THE Friends of FREE TRADE residing in the Northern or Midland Counties, desirous of purchasing Freeholds in any of the undermentioned Counties, are requested to apply to the Secretary of the League, Newall's Buildings Manchester.

North Lancashire	North Derbyshire
South Lancashire	South Derbyshire
North Cheshire	North Durham
West Riding of York	East Cumberland
South Stafford	West Cumberland
North Stafford	South Northumberland
South Cheshire	

Each applicant is requested to give his name and residence at full length.

By Order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

FREE TRADERS desirous of purchasing Freeholds for Middlesex, East Surrey, West Kent, South Essex, East Sussex, and South Hants, are requested to send their applications, with name and address in full, to the League Offices, 67, Fleet-street, London.

By Order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

BOROUGH OF LAMBETH.—REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS.—A PUBLIC MEETING will be held on Tuesday Evening, Dec. 30, 1845, at the Horns Tavern, Kennington. The Members for the Borough, the Right Hon. Tennyson D'Eyncourt, and Benjamin Hawes, Esq., will attend. The Chair to be taken at Seven o'clock precisely.

J. DONKIN, C.E., Old Kent Road,

J. A. LYON, ditto,

Secretaries for the Meeting.

THE SOUTH LONDON NEWS AND SURREY COUNTY ADVERTISER.

On Saturday, 3d January, 1846, will be published, the first Number of THE SOUTH LONDON NEWS AND SURREY COUNTY ADVERTISER. Its columns will evince an untiring advocacy of all Local Improvements, and the firmest opposition to every Local Abuse; the most ample and faithful reports of the Commercial Markets, of general and parochial Public Meetings, of the Police Courts, of the transactions of Poor Law Guardians, and of all other Local Boards; regular analysis of Literary, Scientific, and other Instructive and Entertaining subjects, delivered in the neighbourhood; with the usual Reviews, Notices of Public Amusements, and other miscellaneous information; and the propagation and maintenance of Liberal Political Principles, in their fullest sense, inclusive of Free Trade in its most extensive signification. So that, whilst this journal will be sufficiently competitive with its metropolitan contemporaries, in the publication of events of general interest, it will be more prominently devoted to what is locally important. It will be the paper of Southwark, Lambeth, and their Vicinities—their record of news—their public exponent—their advertising medium—it will be, in every sense, of them and for them.

THE SOUTH LONDON NEWS AND SURREY COUNTY ADVERTISER, will be printed on a large double sheet, and published every Saturday, precisely at 2 o'clock, price Fivepence.

Advertisements will be received at the office, and by all Advertising and News Agents, (to whom a liberal commission will be allowed,) at a charge of Five Shillings for the first five lines, and Sixpence per line beyond that number; subject to a reduction of 10 per cent. upon at least six insertions. Notices of persons seeking employment, in whatever capacity, at half-price.

Communications to be addressed to the Editor, and any further information to be obtained from the Publisher, at the Office of the "South London News and Surrey County Advertiser" Office, 3, King-street, Borough.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, December 27, 1845.

Christmas has been from time immemorial the season of pantomime; but the changes and transformations effected by Harlequin's magical sword have scarcely been more rapid, and certainly not more surprising, than the ministerial vicissitudes with which the political world has been amazed, if not amused, within the last few days. Even now it is very doubtful whether the last experiment in cabinet-patching will lead to any permanent result. The sponsor for the Corn Laws, he who in 1815 as Mr. F. Robinson promised and vowed so many things in their name, which they, even at the mature age of thirty, have not been held bound to perform,—he against whose household two verdicts of wilful murder were registered, because it was part of the ministerial policy of that day to exhibit bullets as a substitute for bread, and to show that gunpowder was more efficient than curry-powder, in stilling the demands of hunger; he, the head and front of the old starvation-phalanx, has resumed his place and his power without its being known whether Ripon has succumbed to Peel, or Peel to Ripon. The present arrangements have every appearance of being purely pro-

visional; the showman has taken back his old puppets, but apparently only for the time necessary to prepare a new set for the wires. But to the real issue before the country, the Cabinet pantomime and the ministerial fantoccini are not of one whit greater importance than the performances at Drury Lane, or the antiquated jokes of Punch and Judy. The real issue is not between ministers, or between parties, but between a selfish class, and an outraged nation. Whoever may stand as minister before the Parliament, it is the people that will appear in the presence of the Legislature. Lords and squires may fawn or may bully; dukes may threaten to form or to dissolve ministries; the Carlton Club may bluster at one hour, and lick the dust at another; but it is with the nation that the minister must reckon—it is to the people that the Premier will be responsible for his course in this perilous crisis.

The comparative apathy with which the recent changes have been viewed by the great body of the people, and the utter disregard with which the structure of the existing cabinet is viewed, clearly proves that the people look more to the work that is to be done than to the persons by whom it is to be accomplished. This is the right spirit, and it is the duty of Free Traders to keep it animated to its highest intensity. The repeal of the Corn Laws can only be accomplished by the people. In every great crisis there will be found a large party similar to the "waiters on Providence" in the days of the Commonwealth, ready to bring large contingents to the party which has the greatest appearance of strength and determination. The strength unquestionably rests with the people, but the resolute energies necessary to give that strength practical efficiency must not be wanting, and, still more, must not be latent. Every weapon which the constitutional armoury supplies to the nation must be brought into active service; qualification and registration must be employed with increased vigour; meetings must be held in every parish, in every wardmote, in every electoral district, and in every municipality. The glorious example of Manchester in its magnificent contributions to the League fund must be emulated through the length and breadth of the land; the proceedings of our adversaries must be closely watched, their frauds exposed, their delusions manifested, and their artifices detected. No ministerial soothing—no whispers of the benevolent intentions of a Premier, or the increasing wisdom of an aged statesman, must be permitted to abate our vigilance, or to diminish our exertions. The battle is for the people, and it must be fought by the people. In such a conflict our best security is to "Trust ourselves alone." Delegates may prove false to their trust—champions may be cloven down—mercenaries may be false or faint-hearted—but destiny never yet proved false to a nation until that nation proved false to its own destiny.

It is only now that the monopolists have begun to discover that a serious contest is impending; Rigby has furnished up all the shattered sophistry of the last thirty years, for a characteristic article in the *Quarterly Review*. Mrs. Harris and Mrs. Gamp have taken new draughts from the classic fountains of Billingsgate, and produced articles of such idiotic fury, that they seem to have been written under the strongest inspiration of gin; the *Morning Post* has gone beyond the delicate anger of the "waiting gentlewoman," and taken up the tone of a seold in the servants' hall; and all have put together a mass of contradictions and inconsistencies which could only be the result of a complete and perplexing panic. We only refer to these disorganised organs of monopolist opinion to show the confusion which the presence of the nation, approaching in all the might and majesty of united strength and firm determination, has produced in the hostile camp. So long as the people stand firm in presence, there will be no rallying for the craven plunderers of the poor. But if our efforts are relaxed for a moment, if our zeal should seem to wax cold, and our high resolution to waver, sordid instincts will work after their kind, and suggest new efforts to secure the continuance of the profits of rapacity.

We stop not to discuss the paltry, peddling, and quibbling respecting the amount of our present supplies. A Peel may guage stomachs, a Gladstone may measure appetites, and a Goulburn calculate

to what extent the infliction of starvation may be consistent with the professions of piety. We take our stand on the admitted facts, that scarcity is felt now, and that we have no security against what all will admit to be the probable chances of famine. There is no statesman whose word can be taken in such a contingency, for there is no one who could ensure us from a second bad harvest. A people demands to be confided to the care of Providence; the resistance to such a demand is an act of monstrous impiety as well as of monstrous injustice. At this solemn season the services appropriated to the festival are full of suggestions as to the course which we ought to pursue; for "Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon His shoulders, and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace." It is to restore this holy government, to vindicate this divine administration from the unhallowed interference of human artifice, that the English people now stands erect in the presence of its rulers, trusting in that Providence which promised food when it enjoined labour, firm in its resolve not to recede a step, not to withdraw for an instant until the idols set up by monopoly be shivered to dust, until Dagon be prostrated before the Ark of the Covenant, until perfect freedom of trade prepares and secures the rule of "Peace upon earth, goodwill towards men."

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. Dec. 20	MON. Dec. 22	TUES. Dec. 23	WED. Dec. 24	THUR. Dec. 25	FRI. Dec. 26
Bank Stock	200	202	201½	204	..	..
3 per Ct. Red. Ann. ..	92½	93½	94½	94½	..	94
3 per Ct. Con. Ann. ..	94	95½	96½	97	..	97
3 per Ct. Red. Ann. ..	103	10	10½	10½	..	..
Long. An. Ex. 1860 ..	92½	93½	94	94½	..	95½
Cons. for Acct.	18	18.21	20.22	21.25	35	..
Exc. Bills, pm. ....	..	..	33	35	..	..
Ind. Bds. un. 1000l. ..	..	263	..	..	..	..
India Stock .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Austrian .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Belgian Bonds	79½	..	79	..	..	..
Brazilian 5 per Ct. ..	52½	..	..	53½	..	..
Chilian .....	..	..	..	..	17½	..
Columb. ex. Venez. ..	93	94	94	94½	..	94
Danish	60½	61	61	61½	..	61½
Dutch 4 per Cent. ..	30	30½	..	31½	..	..
Dutch 2½ per Cent. ..	41	42	..	41	..	..
Mexican .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Peruvian	113	113½	..	..	..	..
Portug. conv.	28½	28½	..	30	..	29½
Russian 5 per Cent. ..	..	39½	..	40½	..	40½
Spanish 5 per Ct. ....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. 3 per Ct. ex. dv. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MONDAY, DEC. 22.—The supplies of wheat and barley have been moderate, and of oats considerable, during the past week. To-day the show of wheat samples fresh up is very scanty, and of barley and oats fair; the former were cleared off early, at about 1s. over last Monday's price. Free Foreign and Bonded remain the same as on that day. Barley excites little attention. The oat trade is rather firmer than on Friday, but the sales made are on barely so good terms as on this day week. On the whole there seems to be rather a better feeling in the trade; and though the demand for every kind of corn is still limited, holders appear determined not to make a further sacrifice. In beans and peas there is no alteration to notice. We refer you to the current prices of this day.

S. H. LUCAS.

BRITISH.		Per Imperial Quarter.	
Wheat, Essex,	Red 50 to 60	White 58 to 68	
Kent, & Suffolk	49	58	56 64
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire ..	47	54	54 62
Scotch .....	..	..	..
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feed ..	..	..	23 25
Ditto	Polands	New 24	26
Scotch Feed	25	26	Potato 28 29
Limerick .....	..	..	23 25
Ditto	Fine New 26	28	Old Fine none
Cork .....	..	..	..
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black ..	..	..	21 23
Sligo .....	..	..	22 24
Galway .....	..	..	21 23
Barley, Mazon	New 32	34	..
Beans, Mazagan	38	42	Old 40 44
Harrow	40	44	..
Small .....	..	..	..
Peas, White .....	..	Boilers	54 56
Grey	34, 48	Maple	38 40
Flour, Town-made	per sack of 280 lbs.	..	45 57
Norfolk and Suffolk .....	..	..	43 46

FOREIGN.		FREE. IN BOND.	
Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed .....	..	Per Imperial Quarter.	..
Rostock	58 to 66	46	52
Stettin	56	60	44
Hamburg	54	60	43
Hamburg	52	57	42
Odesa	46	50	40
Odesa Polish	48	56	40
Russian	48	57	..
Ditto	soft .....	..	..
Spanish	hard	46	55
Ditto .....	..	..	..
Australian	White	60	69
Barley, Grinding .....	..	27	30
Distilling .....	..	30	32
Oats, Archangel .....	..	25	26
Danish .....	..	26	22
Swedish .....	..	24	25
Stralsund .....	..	22	23
Dutch Feed .....	..	25	28
Brew .....	..	23	25
Polands .....	..	29	26
Beans, Egyptian .....	..	40	41
Peas, White .....	..	41	39
Ditto Boilers .....	..	..	..
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 199 lbs.	..	34	35

United States	32	35			
Dantzic					
Australian, per sack of 280 lbs.					
Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from Dec. 15 to Dec. 20, 1845, both days inclusive.					
	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas
English.....	7221	9203	3352	1091	1539
Scotch.....	17	2721	656	20	..
Irish.....			19819		..
Foreign.....	26725	2870	5565	1306	1201
Flour, 6687 sacks; 6594 barrels.					

FRIDAY, DEC. 26.—There are very few fresh arrivals of any consequence since Monday, except a large supply of Irish oats. This, with what are still left unsold from the late considerable supplies, makes a plentiful show of samples of this article. The wheat trade is 1s. dearer than Monday, for all descriptions. The new barley comes in bad condition, and prices tend rather downwards. In beans and peas, we have no alteration to notice. Notwithstanding the quantity of Oats on sale, mentioned above, the trade is firm, and Monday's prices are fully maintained. The amount of business transacted here to-day, as usual at this season of the year, is extremely limited. The duties rose 1s. on Oats and 6d. on Beans yesterday.

S. H. LUCAS.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 19th of December to the 26th of December, both inclusive.			
Wheat	English	Irish	Foreign
Barley	540	..	5280
Oats	1830	900	740
..	1410	24870	3550
Flour, 2830 sacks.	..	..	..

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending Dec. 23, 1845.			
Wheat	Qrs.	Price.	Qrs.
Barley	6378	61s. 4d.	Rye
Oats	4340	33s. 6d.	Beans
..	13805	25s. 4d.	Peas

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending			
Wheat	Barley	Oats	Beans
..
15th Nov.	58	6.35	0.26
22d "	57	11.34	1.25
29th "	58	2.33	2.25
6th Dec.	59	0.32	10.24
13th "	59	4.32	9.24
20th "	57	11.32	7.23
Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks. Wheat, 58s. 6d.; Barley, 33s. 5d.; Oats, 24s. 10d.; Rye, 36s. 1d.; Beans, 41s. 11d.; Peas, 44s. 4d.			

Duty. Wheat, 14s. 0d.; Barley, 5s. 0d.; Oats, 4s. 0d.; Rye, 6s. 6d.; Beans, 1s. 6d.; Peas, 1s. 0d.

Stock of Corn in Bond, Nov. 5, 1845.			
Wheat	Barley	Oats	Beans
..
In London, 279040	10900	56942	..
Unit. King. 667773	59477	107219	..

MEAT MARKET.

The trade was remarkably dull, as might be expected at this time, the day after Christmas Day.
PER STONE OF 8 LBS. BY THE CARCASE.
Prime Beef .. 3s 6d to 3s 8d
Middling do. 3s 2d to 3s 4d
Plain, or inferior Beef .. 2s 4d to 2s 8d
Prime Mutton 4s 0d to 4s 2d
Mutton 3s 6d to 3s 8d
Veal, from .. 4s 0d to 4s 8d
Small Pork .. 4s 6d to 5s 0d
Large, or inferior Pork .. 3s 4d to 3s 8d

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, DEC. 19.

BANKRUPTS.

J. JESSUP, Notting Hill, and W. JOHNSON, Holloway, builders. [Mr. T. D. Keighley, Basinghall-street.
G. GRAHAM, T. ADAMS, and M. B. MACFARLANE, Cheap-side, calico-printers. [Mr. Brace, Surrey Street, Strand.
G. CRAFT, Hitchin, Hertfordshire, baker. [Mr. Chappell, Quality Court.
J. LEADBEATER, Manchester, merchant. [Mr. Abbott, Charlotte Street, Bedford Square.
H. CHARLES, Manchester, commission-agent. [Mr. Fearnhead, Clifford's Inn.
J. KELSEY, Manchester, joiner. [Mr. Fearnhead, Clifford's Inn.
J. COLLINS, Salford, Lancashire, common-brewer. [Messrs. Gregory, Faulkner, Gregory, and Skirrow, Bedford Row.
T. FINDLEY, Manchester, plasterer. [Mr. Fearnhead, Clifford's Inn.
J. HOWE, West Bromwich, Staffordshire, linen-draper. [Mr. Lloyd, Milk Street, Cheapside.
J. LEWIS, Tipton, Staffordshire, grocer. [Messrs. Motteram and Knowles, Birmingham.

TUESDAY, DEC. 23.

BANKRUPTS.

T. WINSTON, Copthall Buildings, merchant. [Messrs. Crowder and Maynard, Coleman Street.
E. and T. ROLPH, Shepherd's Court, Grosvenor Square, builders. [Mr. Huson, Ironmonger Lane.
F. HERPERT, Sherrard Street, Golden Square, warehouseman. [Mr. Raw, Furnival's Inn.
J. H. RAND, Westminster Bridge Road, glass-dealer. [Mr. Buchanan, Basinghall Street.
J. MILLER, Southampton, cordwainer. [Messrs. Overton and Hughes, Old Jewry.
T. BROWN, Connaught Terrace, Edgeware Road, bootmaker. [Mr. Buchanan, Basinghall Street.
S. C. FRY, Margate, stationer. [Mr. Fisher, Verulam Buildings, Gray's Inn.
E. SMITH, Southwell, Nottinghamshire, innkeeper. [Messrs. Shilton and Son, Nottingham.
C. HYDE, Loughborough, apothecary. [Mr. Inglesant, Loughborough.
W. BROWN, Atherstone, Warwickshire, ironmonger. [Messrs. Chilton and Co., Chancery Lane.
J. SIER, Cheltenham, baker. [Messrs. Oliver and Co., Moor-gate-street.
G. SMITH, Manchester, bill-broker. [Mr. Fox, Finsbury Circus.
J. CHATTERTON, Pendleton, Lancashire, licensed victualler [Messrs. Johnson, Son, and Weatherall, Temple.
W. WINGFIELD, Rotherham, Yorkshire, common brewer. [Mr. Hudson, Bucklersbury.
J. COLLINSON, Bradford, Yorkshire, worsted-spinner. [Mr. Scargill, Threadneedle Street.

FREE TRADE INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION.

DIRECTORS.
A. W. Paulton, Esq., 67, Fleet-street.
George Thompson, Esq., 6, Waterloo-place.
Wm. Leaver, Esq., 5, Park-street, Islington.
Josh. Ivimey, Esq., 26, Chancery-lane.
Wm. Wilson, Esq., 122, Long-lane, Bermondsey.
G. T. Kemp, Esq., 35, Spital-square.
John Gadsby, Esq., Boniverie-street, Fleet-street.
A. L. Saul, Esq., 67, Fleet-street.
John Lowe, Esq., 66, Fleet-street.
Frederick Farraud, Esq., Bermondsey.
In consequence of earnest and repeated applications made to some of the gentlemen whose names appear in the above directory, an Investment Association is about to be formed. Its object will be principally to afford to persons of limited means, facilities for purchasing freeholds, &c. In addition, it will serve all the purposes of a general Investment Society, and will be established on the most approved plan. A prospectus, with full particulars, will be published shortly.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 119.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, JANUARY 3, 1846.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

THE QUALIFICATION MOVEMENT.—HOW TO WORK IT.

After all that we have written, week by week, for the last two months, we have little or nothing further to say to our readers, by way of urging the paramount importance and necessity of WINNING COUNTIES. We are satisfied that this is both understood and felt. Those labours of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, on which we have supplied a weekly commentary, have borne their fruit, so far as regards their intended effect on the public mind. People are by this time really and heartily interested in the matter. There is no lack either of intelligence or of zeal. What we are anxious for now, is to see this intelligence and zeal organise and shape themselves into ACTION. We want to see the subject everywhere dealt with as a matter of business.

It is a matter of business, and must be done in a business-like way—with the promptitude, alacrity, and exact attention to details, which constitute the business habits and character of Englishmen. Our qualification movement is not self-acting. Like all other public movements, it depends on individuals—on individual activity, energy, and devotedness. Public business does not work itself, any more than private business. "Everybody's business" is proverbially ill done, unless everybody does his share of it. The labours of public bodies require, for their efficiency and success, exactly the same sort of careful and active management as the affairs of private persons. As a public, general question, this of qualifying for counties is very sufficiently understood; but it remains for local and individual exertions to educe practical results. We now offer a few suggestions as to the mode of proceeding, which we would most earnestly press on the immediate attention of the Free Traders of every county in England.

The first thing to be done, in every instance, is to form, in each town or district, a QUALIFICATION COMMITTEE of real working Leaguers—men able and willing to find, or make, time for giving the matter that sort of practical, business-like attention which they give to the concerns of their farms, factories, or shops. This committee should sit daily, from now till the thirtieth of this month of January, at a stated time and place, to which the utmost possible publicity ought to be given, by advertisements in the local Free Trade newspapers, and by placards and handbills. They should have a regular qualification office, and a secretary ready waiting at his post, at all hours, to receive and give information.

The duty of this Qualification Committee will be, first of all, to make an active and thorough canvass of their town or district, for the purpose of inviting and urging people individually to arm themselves with the franchise by the purchase of freeholds. It will likewise be their business to collect and bring to a focus as much information as possible with respect to all freehold property in the neighbourhood that may be for sale, or on which the proprietors may be disposed to grant rent charges. They will thus bring sellers into immediate contact with buyers, and save the latter an expense of time and trouble which very few persons are at once able and willing to incur in a public cause. This is a point of the utmost importance. For one man, who will, or can, put himself to the pains of originating and managing the affair for himself, there are at least a dozen who will most gladly assent to its being managed for them, and who will accept the franchise with delight, if they have nothing to do but say "yes" to a canvassing Committee, and hand over the money when the conveyance is executed.

The co-operation of Free Trade lawyers should everywhere be sought. Solicitors have the best opportunities of knowing when and where freehold property is for sale; and, if interested in the object, will render the most valuable aid in facilitating, expediting, and cheapening the transfer of it to purchasers. In a case in which dispatch and economy are so essential, no lawyer should be employed who is not earnestly and heartily devoted to the cause.

We have recommended publicity. We would say, the whole thing should be made in every way as public as possible. Some persons, we are aware, are a little uneasy on this point. They are apprehensive, lest publicity should stimulate rivalry, and induce the monopolists to imitate our example, and get up a qualification movement of their own. An idler apprehension there could not be. Rivalry is a thing entirely out of the question. Monopolists cannot "qualify, qualify, qualify." They are all qualified long ago. By the aid of the Chandos clause of the Reform Act, and fictitious splitting of farm tenancies, they have already done their worst in the counties, and won them. They are powerless in this work, for lack of materials to work with—unless, indeed, they think fit to give freeholds to their labourers. Nothing is to be feared from publicity. The more publicity, the better. We should like that every town in the kingdom should have an office in the most conspicuous part of its best street, with an inscription in large letters over the door—"OFFICE OF THE COUNTY FREE TRADE QUALIFICATION COMMITTEE."

We entreat our friends to remember that the time is short. Four weeks more—and the books are closed for this year. Yet it is long enough for doing a work that will make the rashest of monopolists tremble, and decide the doubts of the most equivocal and hesitating of Free Trade politicians. Our opponents themselves point the way, and invite us to walk in it. The extreme soreness they betray, at all their protectionist gatherings, against the "unconstitutional" proceeding of a systematic and organised attempt to acquire the oldest of constitutional franchises, shows us where they are hurt. They "cannot contemplate with indifference," as they told us the other day in Hertfordshire, such an "attack upon our most valued institutions," as is implied in this endeavour to turn the fiction of popular representation in counties into a great fact. They are perfectly right. This good old 40s. freehold franchise really is, as they say, a "tremendous engine." WORK IT WELL. Protectionists themselves are giving us the broadest hints to go on, and

QUALIFY, QUALIFY, QUALIFY.

THE PROTECTIONIST "DEMONSTRATIONS."

The "agricultural mind" is all on the fret just now. There is a wonderful stir and ferment among the protection societies. Morning after morning, the *Herald* and *Post* deluge our breakfast tables with oceans of passionate landlord eloquence—poured forth to "numerous and respectable" agricultural auditories, in the "large rooms" of respectable country-town inns. What with Peel, and Poland, and the League, and the forty-shilling freeholders, landlordism is perfectly beside itself with wrath and terror. The only thing which it seems to take coolly is the "famine panic," which is universally voted "false and fraudulent"—a thing "got up" for selfish and party purposes.

If interminable columns of printed talk could make an "agitation," we should certainly feel constrained to confess, that, however open the landlord logic and rhetoric may be to criticism, here is an agitation of a rather formidable character. We should be disposed even to share the apprehensions of those timid folks who contemplate "collision and violence" as a possible result of so fervid and furious an antagonism. We may, however, venture to assure our friends and the public in general, that nothing of the sort is to be feared. The peace of the country is perfectly safe. Never was there a more harmless agitation. The hubbub is in no way menacing to law and order. There will be no collision, for the elements of a collision do not exist. The people cannot fight, for want of a visible enemy. This protectionist agitation exists only on paper. It is a thing we read of—those of us who have a great deal of spare time—but we neither see nor hear it. The *Herald's* and *Post's* own leaders could not be more devoid of mischief than are the columns and pages of angry oratorical drivelling with which they daily amuse the idle portion of the public. The whole thing goes on quite quietly within doors.

This is really a significant feature of the present protectionist commotion. The affair is purely factitious. The monopolists are literally without one particle of popular support. Everywhere they keep themselves to themselves, and let the public alone. They hire rooms, and talk, and let reporters take down their talk and get it printed—and that is all. They have nothing to say to the people, nor the people to them. With one solitary exception—and that of a kind which will probably be regarded as proving and justifying the rule of privacy—they have not dared to submit their case to a public meeting in any town in the kingdom.

The exception is worthy of attention. In one memorable instance, landlordism has tried the experiment of a real public meeting. It was in the little town of Bury St. Edmund's, in the heart of the purely agricultural district of West Suffolk. On Friday, the 26th inst., in pursuance of a requisition signed almost exclusively by protectionists, the Mayor of this agricultural town convened a meeting of the inhabitants, in the Guildhall, to take into consideration, "the present question of a Free Trade in corn, more especially as it affects this agricultural district." The question was considered; and after a very full discussion, the result of such consideration was, that a FREE TRADE AMENDMENT, affirming "that the experience of the last thirty years has proved that protection drives capital from the land, narrows the home market by crippling the foreign trade, and is INJURIOUS TO ALL CLASSES," was carried by "a majority of at least TWENTY TO ONE." We shall add, that the League had nothing to do with this meeting. It was simply and exclusively an expression of local feeling and opinion.

We have no other triumph of this kind to record;

nor do we expect another. The experiment will scarcely be repeated elsewhere. Landlordism will let well, or ill, alone, and prefer the safe, though inglorious, unanimity of special general meetings of district protection societies to the hazards of popular debate and discussion. As it cannot have the people, it will do as well as it can without the people.

This complete destitution of popular support is almost a novelty in the history of political movements in this country. The boroughmongers, in the days of "the Bill," kept pretty clear of calling public meetings, so far as we recollect; but with that exception, there have usually been two sides to great national questions. The cause of Catholic emancipation, for example, had to contend, to the very last, with a strong popular opposition; and political "Protestantism" could hold its public meetings, and, in many cases, pass its resolutions with triumphant success. Everybody remembers the great Penenden Heath meeting, at which Mr. Sheil was refused even a hearing when he sought to plead the claims of his brother religionists and fellow-countrymen. Monopoly ventures on nothing of that sort. Monopoly has no fancy for open-air meetings in general, or Penenden Heath meetings in particular. It is not forgotten, that on this same Penenden Heath, Mr. Cobden carried, but a year ago, in the midst of thousands of Kentish men, a resolution for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws.

We take this careful avoidance of public meetings—and the country will so take it—to be perfectly conclusive of the utter feebleness, helplessness, and hollowness of the protectionist cause. All the recent landlord "demonstrations" demonstrate nothing but that landlordism is friendless and forlorn. The more they try to agitate, the more they show the world what a pitiful make-believe of an agitation it is. They talk largely about "the public" and "the country," and, wherever they go, freely credit themselves with the support of "the inhabitants;" but they never venture to ask the said inhabitants to speak for themselves. At the late meeting, for instance, of the Essex Protection Society, at Colchester, Mr. Wotton, the mayor, took it upon him to say, that "a very great proportion of the inhabitants of Colchester were decidedly of opinion that agriculture should continue to receive its present amount of protection." Then why not ask the inhabitants? Why keep out of the way of the inhabitants? Why not have a public meeting of the inhabitants in the Town Hall, and verify this easy and agreeable faith? The vote of one town's meeting, in favour of protection, would be worth more to the cause than cart-loads of ranting oratory, and thousands of hole-and-corner gatherings like that at which the mayor of Colchester thus libelled the intelligence of his townsmen. If Mr. Wotton declines this experiment on the opinions of the inhabitants of Colchester, suppose the League send down a lecturer on a commission of inquiry?

At the East Lothian Agricultural Protection Society's Meeting, a Mr. Aitchison was very bold on the subject of "the voice of the country:"—

"Let us buckle on our armour, and meet the enemy with undaunted firmness, but above all with active energy. (Loud cheers.) The battle has still to be fought—the victory is yet to be won. *The voice of the country is in our favour.* (Hear, hear.)"

Big words these, for a snug, private party of squires, and squires' dupes and dependents! But suppose Mr. Aitchison were first to ask the country for its "voice," instead of taking it for granted. It would be a very simple business. Mr. Aitchison was speaking in Haddington, the county town of the purely agricultural district of East Lothian. Now, if Mr. Aitchison would only get up a requisition for a public meeting of the inhabitants of Haddington, to be held in some place large enough to accommodate all comers, with a week's previous notice of the day and hour, he would learn the "voice" of one important part of the country with extreme facility and precision. We will subscribe a thousand pounds to the funds of the East Lothian Protection Society, if the voice of Haddington, given under such conditions, go "in favour" of the bread-taxers.

Mr. Scot Skirving, too, at the same meeting (the "Lion-of-England" gentleman), was very strong on this point. "I am convinced," he exclaimed, "in spite of all the noise they have made, that we outnumber the Free Trade party." We only say, Try it, Mr. Skirving. Try it in Haddington. Outnumber us there! Come out of your holes and corners, where your bluster is simply ridiculous. Tell the people of Haddington this to their faces—and then count heads, and let the rules of arithmetic decide.

We are not more certain that we hold a pen, than we are that Mr. Scot Skirving—though his "Lion-of-England" burst does seem to indicate a little hot-headedness—is too prudent a man at bottom to try any experiment of the sort. A secret instinct warns him that it won't do. The whole of this vain and silly agitation is, after all, but skin-deep. The thing is a pretty bubble enough—but not made for handling.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AT HOME.

We had not intended—space and time being valuable—to notice any of the recent protectionist demonstrations very minutely; but, since writing the foregoing, we have had the pleasure of perusing the report of the proceedings of the Sussex Agricultural Protection Society at Chichester, on Wednesday last, which are too deliciously absurd to be passed over in silence, or lumped together with the mass of more ordinary stupidities that we have above disposed of in the gross. The affair was in all respects unique, and deserves to stand by itself. It was not a public meeting, for it was "convened by circular;" nor was it exactly a private meeting, for there were some 2000 persons present—not all of one way of thinking. It cannot be called a landlords' meeting, for a considerable portion of the auditory were "agricultural labourers;"—a circumstance which rather puzzled us, till we came to the Duke of Richmond's satisfactory explanation, that they were prize labourers—"his own friends, whom he had often had the pleasure of meeting at dinner, and to many of whom he had had the pleasure of presenting prizes for their honest and meritorious conduct." There was great variety in the day's business. There was prose by the duke, and original poetry by Lord William Lennox. It began with "thunder and lightning," by the Rev. L. V. Harcourt, and ended in a blaze. The whole was agreeably interspersed with a running commentary of interlocutory and interjectional criticism by the audience, which carry the reader pleasantly on, and completely relieve the affair from all imputation of dullness.

We cannot undertake to reduce these very anomalous and chaotic elements to anything like order; but a few of the more salient beauties of the Richmond and Sussex eloquence, taken as they come, may not be unwelcome to our readers. We may begin with the following description of landlordism, and rationale of protection, from the lips of the Rev. L. V. Harcourt, who presided on the occasion:—

"It was well known that landed proprietors were not, generally speaking, accumulators of wealth; that, for the most part, they live nearly, if not quite, up to their incomes. They could scarcely maintain their station in society on their present incomes. How were they to maintain them when one-fifth part was taken away? He would appeal to professional men, and those who were familiar with the management of landed estates, whether they were not burdened with numerous incumbrances, with mortgages, annuities, life assurances, jointures, and he knew not what, which made it extremely difficult for the owners to maintain their station in society? What then, were they to do? Some people would say, 'Let them retrench their superfluities, abandon their luxuries, adopt a more frugal and economical mode of life.' Suppose they were all such conscientious, self-denying men as to agree at once to make this great sacrifice, what would be the consequence to all the tradesmen whom they had been accustomed to employ—for instance, the silversmith, the watchmaker, the haberdasher, the draper, the coachmaker, the painter, the music-seller, to all who had been accustomed to administer to the luxuries which they enjoyed, or to the arts which they protected? The whole would suffer from the privations of the landowner."

Was there ever anything so cruel as the kindness of this landlord's friend? So the "maintain our station in society" theory of protection is the real thing, after all. The landlords of England are, "generally speaking," a sort of spendthrifts, who produce nothing, and consume all they can lay their hands upon. They are at once desperately lazy, and outrageously ambitious. They aspire to a "station in society" which their income does not justify—and the nation must pay the expense of

gratifying their preposterous pretensions. They mortgage their acres to make a show beyond their means,—and then come on us for the interest. They would like to economise, but common humanity forbids it—for what would become of "all the tradesmen?" They do it all for patriotism, and "protection of the arts." They are philanthropically self-indulgent—luxurious and extravagant in principle—and positively make a conscience of spending more than they have got.

This plain, old-fashioned view of "protection," as specially designed for the relief and solace of mortgaged and encumbered landlords, was incidentally confirmed by a Captain Pilkington, who was clearly of opinion that protection is, at all events, not a farmer's question. The farmers have had protection these 30 years past, and not a man of them ever made a penny by it yet. The captain would just like to see a farmer who has made money, as he would like to see a unicorn or a griffin:—"Could they show him a farmer who had made his fortune? No; he was an animal unknown. Were there such a one, Dr. Buckland would soon be down and geologise him, see what stratum he was made of, and send him up to the British Museum in a glass case." The captain is quite sure such relics are not to be found in the protection "formation."

When the great duke rose to speak, he was greeted by salutations, more vivacious and hearty than complimentary, having immediate reference to his well-known commercial eminence in the fish line. An irresistible inclination for "salmon" seemed suddenly to seize and pervade the audience. His grace did not enter at large into this topic; but proceeded, in a brief though suggestive speech, to the more immediate business of the day. The most characteristic portion of his address was the following anecdotal illustration of the "fact" that cheap food is the poor man's bane:

"An Irish labourer who had only recently been transported to London from the Sister Isle, went into a shop in St. Giles's to purchase some eggs. He had only one coin in his possession—sixpence, and for that sum the shopkeeper gave him four eggs. The Irishman complained bitterly of their extravagant price, as he called it, and said that in his own county of Mayo he could purchase two dozen for the same money. The shopkeeper rejoined, 'Then why did you not stay in Mayo?' 'Arrah! by St. Patrick,' said the Irishman; 'I could not get the sixpence to buy the eggs with there.'"

The Hibernicism greatly tickled some sharp-witted wags of the assemblage, who instantly started the puzzling query, "Where did he get the sixpence then?" We could wish that his grace had gone seriously into this question, which has a significance quite irrespective of the mere verbal "bull" which suggested it. Of course the ducal meaning was, that the Irishman came by his sixpence after his arrival in London, though the ducal language fails of conveying that important particular of the story. Well, but why could not the Irishman have earned a sixpence in his own country? What makes the difference between Mayo and Middlesex, that sixpences are easier to be got here than there? Is there less "protection" in Mayo than in Middlesex? And again, why do agriculturists get a better price for their eggs in Middlesex, than in Mayo—the "protection" being identical in both? Perhaps, if the duke had followed up this line of inquiry, he might have lighted on the truth, that labouring men's sixpences are most plentiful, and prices of agricultural produce most "remunerative," in the vicinity of busy and prosperous trade, and of an industrious and thriving town population.

The grand speech of the day was, however, not the duke's, but that of his noble kinsman, Lord William Lennox. His lordship was particularly lively, and gives us at least a dozen absurdities for every one of his grace's. He charged the League with a design "to produce anarchy and confusion"—and immediately went to signalize his own respect for the Queen's peace, by declaring how much "he would like" to see a thousand Sussex labourers "annihilate double their number from the manufacturing districts." He then branched off to potatoes, and administered to the said labourers the somewhat equivocal consolation, that by and by, in the spring, perhaps, "provisions will be cheap"—the head of the House having just before shown that cheap food is about the worst thing that can befall the labourers. From economics, his lordship passed on to politics—described the Premier as a "political ogre"—wondered on which side of the

House the ogre would sit in the next session—and recommended that he should “take his seat on the floor, upon an empty English corn sack, supported by two others well filled with American and Polish wheat,”—which irresistibly suggests the idea, that “protection” means having one sack of corn where we might have two. From politics, the transition was easy to poetry; and the noble lord favoured the company, with an elegant extract from a distinguished poet of the last generation, and with some original verses of his own composing:

“In conclusion, I will read to you some lines written by a late president of an agricultural society, Sir John Sinclair, with which I was somewhat amused the other day. They run as follows:

‘Let this be held the farmer’s creed,
For stock seek out the choicest breed,
In peace and plenty let them feed;
Your land sow with the choicest seed;
Let it not dung or dressing need;
Inclose and drain it with all speed;
And you will soon be rich indeed.’

“Now, I have taken the liberty of adding a few lines which I will also read to you. They run thus:

‘Turn out Sir Robert with all speed,
(His Cabinet from Free Trade weed)
Don’t trust to him—a broken reed—
Who’s faithless, both in word and deed,
Protection seek, and thus agreed,
The farmer may be rich indeed.’”

We regret to add that the uncourtly auditory subjected his poetical lordship’s versification to a very short and sharp extemporaneous criticism. One voice ejaculated:

“The worst of verses I ever zeed;”

and another:

“The worst of readers I ever heard read.”

The whole drollery was characteristically wound up with a rather startling practical joke, the particulars of which are thus detailed by the *Times* reporter:

“Two of the lowest ruffians in Chichester, one of them known at Petworth, had been employed by one of the Duke’s political dirty-work men, the aforesaid Pasco, to bring in and parade before the hustings, just as the proceedings were about to end, a copy of the *Times* newspaper, at which the Duke’s toadies on the platform looked with ill-disguised astonishment, and cried “Take it away! Down with it!” The display of the broadsheet would have been little understood by the majority of the multitude had it not been for some strips of paper pasted thereon, upon which strips was printed its title, the *Times*, in large capitals. Upon the name being generally recognised, so many complimentary cheers were given that the chawbatches who surrounded the framework to which it was fastened, looked inquiringly at their fagmen and paymasters on the hustings for the signal which should direct the next part of the performance. This was soon telegraphed, and the paper was instantaneously set on fire and consumed, the noble Duke and his friends feasting their eyes in silence on the flames which spared the framework or gallows, as it was termed, to which the paper had been affixed; a ghastly symbol of the fate which may attend those who follow up this public and authoritative lesson in incendiarism. The landowners and occupiers, one would think, had already experienced enough of the consequence of their labourers learning the use of pocket lucifer-matches without the further instruction and encouragement afforded to them by this glaring act of folly. I have good authority for stating that the majority of the citizens of Chichester regard this as a most contemptible proceeding, and the meeting itself as an insult, as the Duke of Richmond and his friends well know that they do not agree with their opinions on the Corn Laws, but particularly because a large number of agricultural labourers were hired to attend the meeting, and to cheer and hawl at command. Some of them were allowed the full holiday and their day’s pay, and others an extra shilling.”

The discretion and taste of this need no comment. We must, however, do the principal personage of the day the justice of stating, that, “according to one report of the proceedings, although “the joke of course caused much amusement on the platform, the Duke of Richmond appeared somewhat alarmed at the temerity of those engaged in it.” Whether the alarm was taken at the possible moral results of the “public and authoritative lesson in incendiarism,” or whether his grace thought it hardly judicious, in these times, to provoke a gratuitous quarrel with a powerful organ of the press, we are not informed. Either cause of alarm would be perfectly legitimate. Landlordism has no reason to look pleasantly on lucifer matches in labouring men’s hands, and cannot afford just now to insult a journal having the circulation and influence of the *Times*. That in which the real “temerity” of the proceeding mainly consists, we do not suppose the Duke of Richmond is capable of appreciating. We do not imagine that it once occurred to the ducal mind, that the whole business of the day, from first to last—the prose and the poetry—the “facts” and the logic—the blundering jokes, and the ludicrous solemnity—the drivelling stupidity and the canting philosophy, together with the concluding outrage on common propriety;—are all infinitely better calculated to bring landlordism into contempt, than a

whole season of Covent Garden meetings, and only serve to hasten the day when these gentry must either learn to “maintain their station in society,” by behaving themselves like rational and educated men, or else expect to be served with short notice to quit.

THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

Since the meeting, held at Manchester on Tuesday the 23d ult., the following subscriptions have been handed in:—

Wm. Brown, Liverpool	£1000
J. and N. Phillips and Co., Manchester	1000
Rd. Pennington, Hindley Lodge, near Wigan	£300
John Pennington, ditto	1000
Alfred Pennington, ditto	200
W. Walker, Southport	500
G. Andrew and Son, Compstall Bridge, near Stockport	500
John Leech, Stalybridge	500
Alfred Orrell, Stockport	500
Winkworth and Proctors, Manchester	400
T. and R. Barnes, ditto	300
Sale and Worthington, ditto	250
John Gallimore, ditto	250
R. Benson, 6, Sussex-square, London	200
P. and E. Seville, Lees	200
T. M. Gibson, M.P., London	200
Du Fay and Co., Manchester	150
H. I. Merck and Co., ditto	150
S. and A. Butterworth, ditto	105
R. Potter, St. John’s Wood, London	100
E. D. Davenport, Capesthorpe, Chester	100
Dimmack and Thompson, Manchester	100
F. and G. Wilkinson, Stockport	100
T. Dodgson and Nephews, Manchester	100
Henry Waterhouse, ditto	100
R. Benson, Fairfield	100
J. and S. Alcock, Manchester	100
W. Ackroyd, Altrincham	100
G. Crawshaw, Gateshead	100
J. Rawson, Manchester	100
A. Morse, Swaffham	100
M. Bins, Manchester	100
J. Shawcross, ditto	100
A. Friend per J. Gadsby, ditto	100
D. Ainsworth, ditto	100
J. Walker, Stand, near Manchester	100
W. T. and E. Platt, Hadfield Lodge, near Glossop	50
J. Fawcass, Newcastle-on-Tyne	50
G. M. Ainsworth, Manchester	50
J. Thompson, ditto	50
The Earl of Radnor, Coleshill, Berks	50
R. Bowring, M.P., London	50
J. H. Southam, Ashton-under-Lyne	50
S. Kershaw and Co., Glossop	50
R. Charlton and Sons, Manchester	50
A. Warkin, ditto	50
C. F. Willert, ditto	50
P. F. Henderson, ditto	50
S. C. Kell, Huddersfield	50
J. Kay, Esq., Mayor of Salford	50
J. Richmond, Manchester	25
T. Bateman, ditto	25
W. A. Cunningham, ditto	25
Hugh C. Armstrong, Newcastle-on-Tyne	25
P. Thomson, Manchester	25
E. Shawcross, ditto	25
E. Watkin, Manchester	25
B. E. S. per W. McCartney, ditto	25
T. Molinoux, ditto	25
R. Johnson and Brothers, ditto	25
A. Meatha, ditto	25
H. P. Roe, ditto	25
A. Cairns, ditto	25
R. P. Livingstone, ditto	25
A. Weatherall, ditto	25
A. Friend per Wm. Harvey, ditto	25
John Shield, jun., Newcastle-on-Tyne	21
Thos. Bottomley, ditto	20
John Lacy, ditto	20
Thomas Ainsworth, Eccles, near Manchester	20
Charles Hilton, ditto	20
Josh. Pollock, Barrister, Manchester	20
John Howard	20
Richd. Ranson, Wigan	20
Josh. Yates, Ardwick, Manchester	20
Henry Milnes, 5, Piccadilly, ditto	20
A. Norton and Co., Newton, nr Manchester	20
Benj. Whitworth, ditto	15
W. and C. Chambers, Todmorden	15
Wm. Battye, Audenshaw, near Manchester	10 10
James Thompson, Wray, near Lancaster	10 10
John Bardsley, 28, Mill st., Manchester	10
Gavin Peacock, Hollin’s Vale, Bury	10
Edward West, Warrington	10
James Charlton, Albert-street, Manchester	10
James Nuttall, Todmorden	10
James Stansfield, ditto	10
Edmund Whittaker, ditto	10
David Lacy, ditto	10
Uttley, Brothers, ditto	10
Robt. Waddington, Wigan	10
A. Friend to the Cause, J. B.	10
Rev. J. J. Taylor, Manchester	10
J. Grimston, Neswick, near Driffield	10
J. Watson, Manchester	10
R. Bligh, Ilfracombe	10
Bunyan and Gardner, Market-pl., Manchestr.	5
Edw. Wrigley, 2, Cross-st., ditto	5
James Whiteley, Medlock-st., Hulme, ditto	5
Wm. Tomlinson, Hodge, Mottram	5
J. Oliver, Todmorden	5
A. Friend, ditto	5
John Marshall, ditto	5
Josh. Firth, ditto	5
Richd. Chambers, ditto	5
Wm. Brook, ditto	5
Mr. Sugden, Rochdale	5
Thomas Wall, Wigan	5
Wm. Worthington, ditto	5
Wm. Ramsear, ditto	5
James Fairclough, ditto	5
W. F. Brand, ditto	5
R. C. Brand, ditto	5
James Wood, Southport	5
R. Johnson, Halsall, near Ormskirk	5
Wm. Ashcroft, ditto	5
J. Holmes, 5, Piccadilly, Manchester	5
J. G. Saunders, ditto	5
John Wilson, George Inn, ditto	5
James Aspell, Waggon and Horses, ditto	5
John Armstrong, 5, Piccadilly, ditto	5
— Lamb, Plymouth Grove, Manchester	5
W. I. Bonall, ditto	5
Jas. Dick, Soap Works, Louth	5
E. S. Holmes, Manchester	5
C. Wainwright, ditto	5
F. Booth, ditto	5
— Vickers, ditto	5
Mr. Youill, ditto	5
Sums under 5l. each	42 11

FREE TRADE MEETINGS.

LAMBETH.

On Tuesday evening a meeting of the electors of Lambeth took place at the Horns Tavern, Kennington, for the purpose of taking measures to petition Parliament for the total repeal of the Corn Laws. The large room of the Horns was completely filled. Among the gentlemen on the platform we observed Mr. Hawes, M.P., Mr. T. D’Eyncourt, M.P., Mr. Moffat, M.P., Mr. Wilson, Mr. Watkinson, Mr. Poulter, Mr. J. A. Lyon, Mr. R. S. Dixon, Mr. Cash, Mr. Bone, Mr. Byron, Mr. Renton, Mr. B. Baker, &c. &c.

Mr. RICHARD POPE took the chair and opened the business of the meeting. He appeared before them as what the world called a Conservative, but he could not help taking a part in the Anti-Corn-Law struggle, considering the question to be whether this country was or was not to be starved? (Hear, hear.) He avowed that he had only recently become a Free Trader. (Hear, hear.) He had been much struck by the arguments which he had heard adduced at a recent Anti-Corn-Law meeting in the borough of Lambeth, and a speech of that great man, Mr. Cobden (cheers), which he had had an opportunity of listening to lately at Wakefield, had decided him never, on any future election, to support any but a Free Trader. (Cheers.) The hon. gentleman then proceeded to advert to the failure of the potato crop, and to inquire whether the League did not seem to be in earnest in its proceedings, when they considered the commencement which had been made the other day of the subscription for the gigantic fund which the League had determined to raise. (Cheers.)

Mr. CASH moved the first resolution, to the effect that the deficiency in the harvest, as well as the diseased state of the potato crop, rendered some such measure as the repeal of the Corn Laws absolutely necessary. (Cheers.) He referred to the misery generally existing amid the agricultural population themselves, and on that ground urged the necessity of opening the ports. If the ministry did not repeal the bread-tax of their own good will, they would be forced to do it by the power of the constituencies of the kingdom. (Hear, hear.) Let the people be but true to themselves. If they wished for cheap bread, they could have it. (Cheers.)

Mr. DIXON seconded the resolution, observing that when they reflected upon their isolated situation, and the confined space which they could appropriate to agricultural pursuits, it was evident that they could only exist as a political body by being a great manufacturing and commercial nation. Let them look at our increasing population, and let them say whether it was probable that, supposing the population to go on increasing as it had done, they could be found food by the supplies afforded by this country. From the constitution of Sir Robert Peel’s Government, they had reason to expect that some half-and-half Corn Law measure would be propounded by it. (Hear.) But they would be satisfied with no such attempted settlement of the question. It must be finally and for ever settled by a total repeal of those unjust enactments which taxed a people for the sake of the aristocracy. (Hear.) In Belgium and other Continental nations, everything possible had been done to avert the consequences of the scarcity which threatened Europe. This country alone was apathetic; and he thought that it was high time that they should arise from their mesmeric slumbers, and be up and doing in the great cause of Free Trade. The hon. gentleman concluded by seconding the resolution.

Mr. HAWES, M.P., then came forward amidst loud cheering, and said he felt great pleasure in having the opportunity of meeting the electors of the borough of Lambeth on that occasion. He rejoiced at that opportunity, not from a desire to ascertain their opinion upon the question of the Corn Laws, for he was well aware that they were favourable to the principles of Free Trade, nor from any desire to express his own opinions to them upon that important subject, for the great majority of the electors of Lambeth being Free Traders themselves, well knew that since he had obtained a vote in the House of Commons that vote had always been given in favour of the principles of Free Trade (cheers); but he rejoiced at seeing that meeting assembled on that occasion, as it would enable himself and his honourable colleague to go to Parliament and say that they had been sent there by a constituency who were unanimous as to the expediency of removing the monopoly of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) For his part, he had seen nothing to change the opinion which he had long before formed, namely, that they had an injurious and mischievous tendency. If there was any individual at the meeting of the inhabitants of the borough who was an advocate of the Corn Laws, he sincerely desired that the individual who held those opinions would come forward and allege some reasons for maintaining his views, for there was nothing so tiresome or tedious as slaying twice and thrice the giant monopoly of the Corn Laws. (Hear.) He had no desire in speaking of that question to appeal to the passions of those around him, or to set one class against another. (Cheers.) No; he would confine himself to reason and argument, in proof of the opinions which he entertained, and which he would show were founded upon just and correct principles. (Cheers.) There were three courses open to her Majesty’s ministers with respect to the Corn Laws. They might either propose to maintain the existing law—but he conceived that to uphold it longer would be impossible; or they might in some shape or form diminish a portion of the protection to agriculture, and in some mysterious manner endeavour to persuade the public that every thing was done which could be done in order to properly arrange the question. If it were proposed, in order to effect that object, that there should be some sort of fixed duty, he for one would take that opportunity of raising his voice against a fixed duty. (Hear, hear.) Now, when it was considered that corn was a prime necessary of life, and when they had been told, upon the authority of ministers of the crown, that at periods when there was an abundance of food there was less crime in the country, and greater prosperity than at other periods, he maintained that it formed a strong argument in favour of putting an end to any legislation which could have the effect of rendering food scarce and dear. He said he was opposed to fixed duty, and he recollected that Sir Robert Peel had expressed himself as opposed to a fixed duty—not that it would form any very potent argument in favour of his always maintaining that opinion. (Laughter and cheers.) He (Mr. Hawes) would maintain that the abolition of the Corn Laws would be of the greatest service to the country, for whatever injured trade would equally affect the landed interest in time, and he believed that a cheap and abundant supply of corn would make the population more happy and contented, and by giving a better field for their industry enable them to be better customers of that which the farmers produce, and thus he would be a partaker of the general prosperity. (Hear, hear.) The land-

owners, indeed, said that one claim which they had for a peculiar protection to their interest was based upon the fact they had peculiar burdens to sustain, and, in answer to that argument, he (Mr. Hawes) called upon them to prove their case. He invited them to prove before a committee of the House of Commons that they were subjected to peculiar burdens; but until they had proved that fact, he would continue to deny that they had any peculiar burdens to sustain, and consequently to deny the argument in favour of the Corn Laws which was based upon that supposition. Let them prove their case before a committee—let them satisfy the public that they bore an unjust share of the public burdens, and then they might fairly ask for an equivalent, or for the removal of that portion of the taxation of the country which pressed upon them exclusively, and he was sure the public would in such a case cheerfully share in the common burden. (Cheers.) He conceived that the existing law might be looked upon as having been given up, for those who introduced it were now about to relinquish it, although the public had been to the last hour told that it had worked well. (Laughter.) It was now condemned by its own authors, and no argument was required on his part to show that it had not been useful or beneficial to the country. They had now viewed the two courses of maintaining a fixed duty or the present scale, and they next came to the consideration of a duty-free trade in corn. They would, in looking at that question, naturally ask, was a duty-free trade in corn calculated to produce the effect which some of the friends of the Corn Law asserted it would, namely, would it throw the land in this country out of cultivation, and bring ruin upon the agriculturists? It was most important to have that portion of the subject fully understood, and that question perfectly answered, and he (Mr. Hawes) was ready to assign the sound reasons which convinced him that no such effect could follow the abolition of the Corn Laws. What benefit had the agricultural interest received from the Corn Laws? There were about 120 statutes on the statute book, the object of every one of which was to give protection in some shape to agriculture, and every one of those statutes had failed in its avowed object—(hear, hear), and every one which was intended to regulate the supply of corn had been altered or repealed from time to time. In 1773 a law was passed which approached more nearly to Free Trade than any of the others, and it happened singularly enough that the statute of 1773 remained longest upon the statute book. (Cheers.) That law allowed corn to come into our markets at a nominal duty when the price in this country was over 48s., and he could show from excellent authority that 20 years after it passed the condition of the farmers was better than it had since been with a higher protection. (Hear, hear.) A merchant of London, in a publication upon the subject of the currency, published, in 1708 or 1709, charged the country bankers with doing injury by lending money to the farmers to enable them to hold over their stocks of corn; and in reply to that charge, a distinguished man, Sir Francis Baring, made a statement which threw great light upon the condition of the farmers at that period. He said that the general mass of the bankers in the country, instead of lending money to the farmers, looked to them for deposits and support, and that it was rare for the farmers to want to borrow money, whilst the instances were not rare where they even accommodated the landlords with loans. (Cries of hear, hear.) Could that be said in 20 years after the enactment of any of the other laws for the protection of agriculture? (Cries of No, no.) During the French war—partly from the effect of monopoly, partly from the expenses of importation, and partly from bad seasons—prices rose higher, and additional land was put into cultivation; and in 1815, when the peace took place, a law was introduced in order to uphold those high prices and high rents which had been produced during the progress of the war. (Hear, hear, hear.) He was in a condition to prove that the law of 1815 was passed in order to uphold rents and the war prices. (Hear, hear.) The price at which the duty was to be nominal was then fixed at 80s., as it was alleged to meet the increased expenses of agriculture and to give remuneration to the grower. The monopoly was then established by the law of the land; but in 1816 corn was down to 52s. in this country, when it should have been at 80s., if that were to be the remunerating price for the agriculturists. Then there were bad seasons, and prices rose; and then there were committees to inquire into the cause of agricultural distress and manufacturing distress. (Hear, hear.) When the corn was cheap the farmers complained of being distressed for want of remunerating prices, and when corn was high then manufacturers and artisans were distressed. The law of 1815 was found to be too stringent in its character, and in 1822 a new law was proposed and carried; but it was never in operation, for it was enacted that it should not come into operation until corn reached 80s., and as corn never reached 80s. whilst that law was in existence, it never came into operation. (Hear, hear.) From 1822 to 1828, there was a continual shifting and patching of the Corn Law, and at last the bill of 1828 was introduced. In 1815 the growers of corn were to be secured at 80s., but that law failed, and in 1828 the friends of agriculture only asked 64s. In 1830, the King's speech prominently put forth agricultural distress as one of its topics; and in 1833 a committee was appointed to inquire into the cause of that agricultural distress. In 1836 there was another committee to inquire into agricultural distress; so it was apparent that those laws for the protection of agriculture had failed in their object, and were but a delusion, holding out promises to the farmer which they did not realise. (Hear, hear.) The author of the report of the committee of 1836 himself an enlightened agriculturist, called the Corn Law a delusive protection, and stated that the farmers had been for some years sinking under it, and paying their rents out of their capital. The writer to whom he alluded was the right honourable gentleman who now fills the chair of the House of Commons, and who, as he before remarked, was an enlightened agriculturist himself. They next came to the law of 1842, but he would not say anything of that law, as the minister who proposed it was about to give it up, and as it was now, in fact, but the ghost of a Corn Law. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) He believed that he had said enough to show the meeting that these laws for the protection of agriculture had been a delusion, and he, therefore, thought he was right in saying that the best course to pursue would be to do away with protection altogether. (Cheers.) He was, therefore, in favour of the repeal of the Corn Laws, and for a perfect Free Trade in that article. (Cheers.) He was sure that every approach of Free Trade had been opposed by some persons as the signal of the approaching ruin of the agricultural interest, and most of these persons had the colloquy with which Mr. Huskisson was introduced. He had proposed an introduction of the

principles of Free Trade. At that time all the interests which were connected with iron, silk, and shipping would be ruined; but what was the fact? Now in 1845, twenty years after Mr. Huskisson brought forward those propositions, those interests which he touched were in a more flourishing state than before. The iron trade and the shipping trade had greatly increased, and experience had shown that the predictions, as regarded those interests, by those who were opposed to the principles of Free Trade, had utterly failed. What had the world and what had they not lost, by not long ago following out those principles? (Cheers.) All the great authorities of the world had been Free Traders. Mr. Pitt was a Free Trader—Lord Grenville declared in his famous protest, that monopoly was the parent of dearth, scarcity, and want. (Cheers.) Then they had Adam Smith, Ricardo, McCulloch, ranged upon their side—a mighty array, in short, of statesmen—of theoretical and practical authorities, all declaring their solemn conviction that the doctrines of Free Trade were those of justice and truth. (Hear.) What had they lost by monopoly? He need not remind them that their North American colonies were sacrificed to its demands, and now they found every nation in Europe copying their bad example—while this country was suffering from the evil precedents which it itself had set. (Hear.) Then look to France, it was a country full of all they most required. But let them remember what an insignificant trade existed between us and our neighbours on the other side of the Channel. (Hear.) Why was it so? why, when our Government pressed for a liberal treaty of commerce they were continually met by taunting allusions to our own monopolist enactments. (Hear.) Again, let them look to the state of America. By opening our markets to the produce of the United States, they would be tending more than by any other means to restore and promote peaceful relations between England and her old colonies (hear); relations, the surest and broadest basis of which must ever be Free Trade. (Cheers.) Free Trade in fact was a kind of hostage for the peace of the world, and it would be well if the people of the different countries of Europe would take a large and enlightened view of their interests—a view which could bring them to no conclusion other than that Free Trade was the best and greatest security for the peace, the civilisation, and the progress of the world. (Cheers.) These were his principles, and he confessed that he should feel fortified in them, and in giving expression to them in the House of Commons, by the general concurrence which they had met with from that large and respectable meeting of his constituents, the inhabitants of the borough of Lambeth. The hon. gentleman resumed his seat amid much loud applause.

Mr. BYRON proposed the next resolution, to the effect that the meeting pledged itself only to support that Government which would propose the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws.

Mr. CHRISTIE seconded the resolution, congratulating the meeting upon the conversion to Free Trade principles of their chairman. (Cheers.)

T. D'EYNCOURT, Esq., M.P., then shortly addressed the meeting. He stood in a distinct position from his honourable colleague who had just addressed them. He was a landowner. He enjoyed the signal distinction of being entrusted with their confidence—a confidence which he would ever attempt to merit by being ready, when the time came, to take that course which the public interest indicated. (Hear, hear.) He assured them that he was heart and soul with them and with his honourable colleague (hear, hear), agreeing as he did with him in all the sentiments which he had expressed, and which he perceived they were so eager favourably to entertain. (Cheers.) He had at a former period voted for a fixed duty, to replace the Corn Laws. Let it not be supposed from that moment that he was an advocate of a fixed duty. But he thought that a moderate fixed duty would have had—just as well as Corn Law repeal—the effect of opening the markets of the world; the great desideratum they had to complain of—the great object they had to struggle for. (Hear, hear.) At all events, a fixed duty would have been infinitely better than the present sliding scale. He had often been challenged upon this subject. He had frequently been asked whether he was for a total repeal of the Corn Laws? His reply had always been as it now was. The production of corn was a manufacture—he was a manufacturer of corn. Let them repeal protective duties upon all articles of manufacture, and he would be happy in that case to repeal that upon corn also with the rest. (Hear, hear.) The great apostles of Free Trade seemed now to be agreed upon that point. Let them, then, be agreed as to the repeal of all protecting duties—let them be just to all. He should be satisfied with such an arrangement; and if the landed interest generally were not, they ought to be. (Cheers.) He did not mean to say that this great change could be effected without some mischief to those engaged in agriculture. It was impossible to pursue a fallacious system for a long course of years without some injury accruing from an alteration in it. But this was no reason why such a system should be persevered in; on the contrary, if the interest of the nation required that they should repeal laws which had the effect of benefiting a particular class of the community, they had a right to insist upon such repeal, however influential and however important that class might be. (Hear.) He trusted that such mischief as he had hinted at would only be temporary. He trusted that such a measure as the repeal of the Corn Laws would, in the impulse which it was calculated to give to manufactures, react upon the agricultural interest of the country; but even if these hopes were vain, still he would be bound as their representative, and as an honest man, to take that course which he believed to be beneficial to the country. There might be some poor land thrown out of cultivation by Corn Law repeal. Well, so be it; he was ready to endure it. He would glory in enduring it; trusting that the people of England, who would derive the benefit, would be ready, in case of any revision of the taxes being afterwards considered necessary, cheerfully to take their share in bearing any burden which it might be found equitable and reasonable that all should equally contribute to. (Hear, hear.) He entreated them to remember that a revision of taxation was necessary. Take the Property-tax for example. (Cheers.) That tax was beneficial to the landed interest, and prejudicial to the interest of commerce and industry. (Cheers.) Let them take this view of the case—let them co-operate with him as just, fair, and honest men, in endeavouring to adjust as equitably as possible the balance of the public burdens. Reference had been made as to the course which Sir Robert Peel would probably adopt. He thought it a vain imagination to suppose that the Premier would go for unconditional Free Trade. He thought he would rather take the course which his honourable colleague had hinted at, and would propose some half and half measure. (Cries of "No, no. No half and half measure.") His own disposition distinctly was to op-

pose any such measure; and then if there should be concluded, as he trusted there would be, a union between the liberals and many gentlemen sitting on the opposite side of the house, which might have the effect, at no distant day, of again ejecting the Tory ministry from office; then there would be an appeal to the people, and he trusted that they would be well prepared for it. (Cheers.)

Mr. WILSON had listened attentively to the speech of their representative, Mr. D'Eyncourt, and he wished to have a more explicit statement from that hon. gentleman as to the course which he intended to take with respect to the Corn Law question in the House of Commons. He was desirous to be informed if the hon. member was prepared to vote for a total and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws, at the meeting of Parliament. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. D'EYNCOURT said that since he first entered public life, nearly half a century ago, it had been his universal practice never to give a pledge upon any subject. (Cries of hear, hear, mingled with marks of disapprobation.) He had always candidly and fully expressed his opinions, and he had acted consistently and honestly in Parliament, and with regard to pledges, he was confident that his honourable colleague would give the same answer which he had given. He had, on three occasions, brought forward a motion for the reduction of the duration of Parliaments, and yet, if he were asked to pledge himself on any particular vote with respect to that question, he would refuse to give such pledge. His duty, as their representative, was not to give pledges at the call of any individual who chose to jump up and ask him to do so. (Disappointment, mingled with cries of hear.) He repeated, he had given his opinions clearly to them on the subject of the Corn Laws, and he did not see how any individual could misunderstand his views.

Mr. WILSON said he would have put the question to Mr. Hawes, but that his speech was clear and distinct as regarded the subject. He thought it the duty of the meeting plainly to put the question to either of their members, whether he would or would not vote for an abolition of the Corn Laws. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) If the honourable member, having been so many years in the House of Commons, had not made up his mind as yet on the subject of the Corn Laws, it was time for the electors to look for some one who could make up his mind on the subject. A deputation from the constituency of Lambeth, men who co-operated with the League, had waited on the honourable member (Mr. D'Eyncourt) on the subject, and never could get a direct answer from him with respect to it. He was of opinion, that from the position which he held, the honourable member ought to be prepared not only to vote for an abolition of the Corn Law, but to exert himself strenuously to effect that object. (Cheers.) Having put the question to the honourable member, he thought it but fair to adopt a similar course towards his colleague, and he would now ask Mr. Hawes if he was prepared to vote for an entire and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws in the ensuing Parliament.

Mr. HAWES said he had spoken clearly and at length on the subject, and in the most distinct and unequivocal terms. If they asked him after that declaration of his opinion to go into Parliament, bound hand and foot, under all circumstances, and at all times bound to vote for any particular question, he would sooner fling his seat to the winds than consent to be so bound. Neither his colleague or himself were to be brow-beaten. He had always been the advocate of Free Trade in Parliament, but he would not go to Parliament bound hand and foot. When a man went to the House of Commons in a deliberative character, he ought to listen to argument; but if he went there and said that nothing which he could hear would change his opinion, he must necessarily lose dignity and self-respect.

The CHAIRMAN said that he had pledged himself to vote for no one but a man who would vote for an abolition of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.)

Mr. D'EYNCOURT said that he had repeatedly stated that he considered the repeal of the Corn Laws necessary and beneficial; he had voted repeatedly for Mr. Villiers's motion, but he looked upon a pledge as an unconstitutional proceeding.

The resolution was then unanimously agreed to.

Mr. WILDE proposed a resolution, to the effect that a petition should be adopted, embodying the resolutions, and entrusted to Mr. D'Eyncourt and Mr. Hawes for presentation.

The resolution having been seconded, was unanimously agreed to.

The REV. HENRY RICHARD, in rising to move a vote of thanks to the Council of the League, said—It was not without considerable reluctance that I consented to bear part in the proceedings of this evening; not because I had any doubt as to the justice of the cause we are assembled to promote, nor because I acquiesce at any time in the truth of the maxim which some are very fond of inculcating, that the ministers of religion have no right to interfere in civil or political matters at all. I repudiate the application of that principle to myself. I did not feel, when I assumed the functions of a religious teacher, that I bound myself to be less interested in whatever concerned the social and political well-being of my fellow-men—that I absolved myself from the obligations, or divested myself of the rights and privileges which belong to me as the free citizen of a free state. (Cheers.) But knowing the value of the principle of division of labour, and feeling that there were others who from character and position, from habits and pursuits, were far more competent to discuss such matters than I was, I have hitherto abstained from bearing part publicly in this most righteous agitation. But now, sir, that a crisis has arrived in the social history of our country, now that we can behold the prospect, and that at no very distant day, of scarcity staring us in the face; now that we can already begin to hear the wailing voice of suffering and distress ascending up to heaven from the habitations of the poor; now that by the light of past experience we can discern the inevitable consequences which must ensue from such a state of things, unless a timely remedy is applied, in demoralising the national character, multiplying the temptations to our increasing the amount of crime, and effectually obstructing all efforts that may be made for the moral and religious improvement of a great portion of the community,—seeing all this, I feel that I am bound, not merely as a man, having an interest in whatever affects my fellow-man; not merely as an Englishman, having some stake, however small, in the prosperity of my country—but in my special and distinctive character as a minister of religion, to lift up my voice, in unison with the myriad voices of my countrymen, now indignantly resounding through the land, to demand, that this nefarious system, which can be productive of such consequences as these, should be brought to a speedy and perpetual end. (Loud cheers.) That I am not exaggerating in predicting the approach of such calamities, I have, unhappily, the means of proving. By a singular

coincidence, I received this very morning the paper which I hold in my hand. It is a circular from the secretary of one of the religious societies in this metropolis. The object of that society is to send the means of religious instruction to the most neglected parts of our own country, especially the agricultural districts. But the humble and self-denying men who are engaged in this work, feel, of course, great sympathy for the temporal wants and woes of their poor flocks. And this circular contains extracts from the heart-rending accounts which these missionaries have sent of the sufferings and privations which the poor around them are already beginning to endure. (Hear, hear, and cries of "read.") I will read a few extracts from this paper. One of them says—(without further preliminaries, allow me to give you a few cases):

"G. T. is a poor thatcher, an industrious man, and a member of our congregation at O—. He has a family of six children, and very little employment in the winter season. This year he planted an acre and a-half of potatoes, and for the rent of which he has to pay the farmer 13*l.* 10*s.* A fair average crop would have produced about seventy-four sacks, which would have enabled him to sell a sufficient quantity to pay his rent, and the remaining part would have supplied his family through the winter, instead of which he has not more than thirty sacks at all fit for use, and these are fast decaying. How the poor fellow will pay his rent, and support his family, I really do not know." "W. T. is a field labourer. He says he has been obliged to throw large quantities into the river; besides which, he has had 50 sacks not worth more than 6*d.* per sack, (at which price he has sold quantities of them), that would, if fit for use, have been worth 6*s.*" Another says, "What will become of the poor this winter, the Lord only knows. The universal failure of the potato crop is the greatest temporal calamity ever remembered in this country. As in Ireland, so it is here; the poor subsist chiefly on potatoes. In many instances the crop is not worth digging. In the autumn the labourers have been accustomed to have from thirty to forty bags; this season, not more than six or eight; and the quality is such, they are hardly fit for human food. There has not been even a single peck for sale at this market for the last six weeks; and what will render the distress more appalling, bread-corn has advanced full 25 per cent." Another says, "Three sheets would not suffice to tell your committee of the facts illustrative of the present, but much more of the coming distress. I have one poor member of my congregation whose expected crop was sixty bags. He toiled late and early in the field for their proper growth; and when he fully, and at a low calculation, expected 60 bags (of 160*lbs.* weight each) he has now not five bags. I saw all this myself." After mentioning several others, equally distressing, he adds, "These cases are not worse than scores of others I might mention."

Now, sir, if such be the state of things now, what will they be four months hence? (Cheers.) We are told by the poet, that "coming events cast their shadows before." And what grim and hideous figures are these, which are already casting their shadows over the habitations and hearts of the industrious poor of England! Are they not famine, disease, crime, and death? (Loud cheers.) And is it to be borne that a system should be maintained for the aggrandisement of a small class (for I say that the class for whose sake these laws are kept up is small, compared with the great bulk of the community), which keeps out of the country the bread that would feed these poor people that are already on the verge of starvation? (Cries of no, no, and cheers.) And these cases, sir, are from the agricultural districts. Sometimes the landowners have professed themselves greatly scandalised, because they have been charged with selfishness in maintaining these restrictive laws. They assure us that it is nothing of the kind; but pure, simple, disinterested benevolence. It is all for the sake of the agricultural labourer. They uphold these laws, not to increase their own already enormous rents, not to pay the interest of their mortgaged estates, not to enable them to make a provision for their younger sons, or pay large dowries with their daughters. Oh! not at all. But all this cumbrous and complicated machinery, so costly to the country, and so troublesome to the Legislature, is kept up in order to enable them to pay six shillings a week to the agricultural labourer. (Loud laughter and cheers.) Sir, I arraign this law before the bar of public opinion in the name of common sense and common justice. I arraign it for its impious folly, committing as it does a suicide on our national prosperity. I arraign it for its gross injustice, wronging and afflicting myriads of the population for the benefit of a class. I arraign it for its deep immorality, corrupting the character of the people and fostering the growth of crime. I arraign it for its monstrous impiety; for it not only invades the rights of man, but seeks to nullify and repeal the eternal laws of God. (Loud cheers.) But, sir, I must not forget that the resolution I have to move refers to the League. (Cheers.) Some time ago, Lord John Russell said in the House of Commons, that the Government of this country must for the future be a Government of public opinion. I hailed such a distinct recognition and announcement of this great principle on the part of one of our leading statesmen! (Cheers.) The Government of court favour, the Government of political corruption, and the Government of party clique, have been tried long enough in this country; and it is well that we have come to a point, where our statesmen can see that the people must be consulted as to their own Government. It is an omen full of the happiest augury. (Cheers.) And the League is the fullest embodiment and illustration of this sentiment which we have yet seen. What has brought the question of the Corn Laws to the present crisis? The League has done it all. (Loud cheers.) All honour, then, to the men of the League (cheers) for the consummate skill, the practical wisdom, the unswerving firmness, the undaunted perseverance, and, I may add, the triumphant success to which they have conducted this great agitation. (Cheers.) I rejoice in the success which attended their efforts, scarcely more for the prospect it affords of the speedy abatement and abolition of the great nuisance against which they have waged war, than I do for the practical proof which it furnishes of the power which the people of England possess when it is wisely, firmly, manfully, perseveringly employed to make their own will the law of the land. (Cheers.) After what the League has achieved, let no man who has confidence in the truth of his principles despair of success. The legislature may for a while condemn public opinion, as we have had some memorable examples of late (hear, hear, hear); but it will return again and again, and knock at the door of the House of Commons so loudly and significantly, that they must at length yield whether with a good grace or no. (Laughter and tremendous cheers.) Sir, I consider that the men who occupy the proudest position in this country at this moment, are Richard Cobden

and John Bright. (Immense cheering.) And it is our unspeakable satisfaction to know, that they are the men of the people, who have sprung from the people, and who by their keen logic, and their admirable common sense, have scattered to the four winds of heaven the whole tribe of miserable sophisms, with which hereditary aristocrats were wont to defend their selfish monopolies. (Loud cheers.) It is meet then, that from you as from any liberal constituency they and their associates should receive the thanks to which they are so well entitled. (Cheers.) And now Sir, there must be no compromise. (Great cheering.) There are some men who have the audacity to talk about compensation to the landlords. The impudence of this claim can be only equalled by its injustice. Why, sir, what did Mr. Deacon Hume prove before the committee of 1840?—that the people of this country are paying to the landlords, in consequence of the increased price in bread and butcher's meat and other agricultural produce, occasioned by these protection laws, no less a sum than thirty-six millions of pounds sterling annually. And after being for years pocketing this enormous plunder, now that they are found out, and the people of England refuse to submit to it any longer, they have the impudence to come round and ask for compensation. (Loud cheering.) I wish before I close, to say a few words on the misunderstanding which has arisen this evening between us and our representatives. I confess that the difficulty which these honourable gentlemen have made (holding the opinion they profess to do) to give the required promise to vote for the immediate and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws, is a little puzzle to me. It reminds me of a little incident that once happened in a society to which I belonged, which were accustomed to meet for the discussion of literary subjects. Being all of us young men, we sometimes used to play off some foolish tricks upon each other. On one occasion, when something of this sort had been done, the cry was raised of "confess"—that is, each one was required to say whether he had done it or no; so that by this means we hoped to find out the delinquent. But a young Irishman started up and said, "I object to that on principle, just as our members have been saying to-night, 'We object on principle to pledge ourselves.'" (Loud laughter and cheering.) We began to suspect from his vehemence that he really was the delinquent. (Continued laughter and cheering.) But my worthy friend being an Irishman, and not seeing exactly the relation of one thought to another, after eloquently protesting upon principle against confessing, added, very innocently, "Not that I did it." (Loud laughter.) Just so, as it appears to me, have our honourable members been acting to-night. Mr. Hawes, in his opening speech, which was really able and masterly, declared his conviction that the Corn Law was utterly indefensible, and his full intention to vote for its final and unconditional repeal. But when Mr. Wilson, as I thought, rather superfluously, asked him, "Will you promise to do so?" The honourable gentleman said, "No, I won't." (Loud laughter and cheers.) I object on principle to promise to do what I have told you I mean to do. (Continued laughter.) And what was his objection? Why, he thought he might hear arguments in the House of Commons, which might change his opinion; that is to say, on a question, which has been discussed with so much frequency and ability for the last ten years, both in the House and out of it,—a question on which, as Mr. Hawes has acknowledged, there is a perfect unanimity of judgment among all the great writers on political economy, from Adam Smith downwards; a question which has received the deliberate sanction of such practical men of business as Mr. Macgregor, and Mr. Deacon Hume, and Mr. Porter; a question to which, willingly or reluctantly, the suffrage of every man entitled to the name of statesman in both parties, have been added; and a question in which the honourable gentleman has told us, his own mind has been made up for years; with all this enormous mass of argument and authority in its favour, Mr. Hawes is afraid to promise to vote for it, lest he should be hereafter convinced, by the severe logic of Sir Edward Knatchbull, or the brilliant eloquence of Col. Sibthorpe. (Long-continued laughter and cheering.) Now really if Mr. Hawes's reservation means nothing more than this; if it is made only to protect himself from this all but impossible contingency (and I am bound to believe him as an honest man, and do believe him), why then, gentlemen, I think we may say safely and confidently, let him go. (Loud laughter and enthusiastic and long-continued cheers.)

The vote of thanks was then passed to the Council of the League amidst uproarious cheering which lasted for several minutes, after which the meeting separated. It is worthy of remark, as an evidence of the earnest feeling of this meeting, that on passing out of the Horns Tavern, upwards of 1000 persons signed a petition for total repeal, that lay for signature at the doors.

BERMONDSEY.

On Wednesday a public meeting of rate-payers and inhabitants generally was held in the church of St. Mary Magdalene, Bermondsey, to petition her Majesty to issue an order in council for opening the ports for the free admission of all kinds of grain, and also to summon the Parliament forthwith to meet and pass an act for repealing the Corn Laws. Mr. Churchwarden Christie was called to the chair.

Mr. DREW, vestry clerk, having read the notice convening the meeting,

Mr. WILSON rose and said, that if he had been aware of the changes that were contemplated when he gave notice of the motions that would be submitted to them, and which changes had taken place, the wording of his notice would have been very different. (Hear, hear.) They all agreed that the principles involved in that notice were essentially necessary to the welfare of the country. The motion which he had prepared for their adoption stated that the present as well as all previous Corn Laws, failed in attaining the object intended—that they were injurious to the community, and bad in principle, and that they ought to be repealed. (Hear, hear.) They had twenty different kinds of Corn Laws. In 1815, and at the conclusion of a long war, when all the nations of the earth were powerful competitors in commerce and trade, the great change in the Corn Laws took place, to enable, as it was stated, the tenants to pay their high rents. But Providence so ordered it, that at that time the country was blessed with a good and plentiful crop. Few then, and he regretted that even not many now, studied political economy, and hence those who advocated the Corn Laws, imagined that by so doing they were advancing the happiness and prosperity of their country. Many good and many wise men were mistaken, and thus the bill was carried against the sense of the country, and the price of wheat was left to take the range of 80*s.* In

1822 a new bill was passed, limiting it to 64*s.*; but that bill was never put in operation. In 1841, Sir Robert Peel declared a fixed duty to be so monstrous a proposition, that he would not entertain it, and adopted the sliding scale, because he imagined that it would protect the landed proprietors, and benefit the agricultural labourers, but which completely failed in its object. (Hear, hear.) Sir Robert Peel declared that if it did not work well, that he would rather go for their total repeal than for anything else. (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Wilson) wanted the Conservatives to unite and go with them to Sir Robert Peel, demanding a total repeal of the Corn Laws. The late Mr. Pitt, a man of consummate wisdom, and of the first order of talent, declared that the Corn Laws would be injurious to trade. The then Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, a clever and a high Conservative, signed the protest against them. Sir Robert Peel, father of the Premier, also a high Conservative, spoke like a prophet, and foretold that the Corn Laws would be the ruin of the country. (Hear, hear.) They were told that the present Government would repeal the Corn Laws, or do something like it. (A voice, "Modify.") It was therefore the duty of every county, city, town, parish, and hamlet to strengthen the hands of Government, by petitioning the Queen and Parliament for a repeal. (Hear, hear.) Sir R. Peel was with them; Lord John Russell had made his declaration; and it was therefore for the people to try whether they had the power of converting those large majorities, who last session registered their votes in favour of monopoly. (Hear, hear.) No doubt they had that power if they wished to exercise it. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. CHADWICK moved a resolution, to the effect that the present and all Corn Laws failed in effecting the object intended, and that all such laws were bad in principle, injurious in their operations upon the whole community, and that therefore they ought to be immediately repealed. (Cheers.)

Mr. GEORGE DORRIS, a magistrate of the county, seconded the resolution. He could bear evidence that the Corn Laws were the greatest curse that could be inflicted upon the country. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ELKINGTON supported the resolution, and said that he greatly regretted that measures had not been long since adopted to equalize the taxation of the country; so that every man should contribute towards it in proportion to his means. He fully concurred with that part of the President's message which said, "The terms 'protection to domestic industry' are of popular import, but they should apply under a just system to all the various branches of industry in our country. The farmer and planter who toil yearly on their fields are engaged in 'domestic industry,' and so are much entitled to have their labour 'protected' as the manufacturer, the man of commerce, the navigator, or the mechanic who are engaged also in 'domestic industry' in their different pursuits. The joint labourers of all these classes constitute the aggregate of 'domestic industry' in the nation, and they are equally entitled to the nation's 'protection.' No one of them can justly claim to be the exclusive recipients of 'protection,' which can only be afforded by increasing burdens on the 'domestic industry' of the others." (Cheers.) How different was it in this country? In the reign of some sovereign the landed proprietors had the land tax fixed at 4*s.*, according to the price that the land then averaged, with a protection against its being raised in proportion as the land increased, and hence it never exceeded 2,000,000*l.* It was subsequently proposed that probate and legacy duties should be imposed upon real and personal property, but the influence of the landed interest had the duty confined to the personal property. (Hear, hear.) He could not see why industry should be so taxed, whilst the Marquis of Westminster, possessing half a million yearly, and others equally wealthy, escaped free of the impost. (Hear, hear.) The Anti-Corn-Law League proved that union was strength, and he trusted that after the League had succeeded in their object, that another League would rise up for the equalisation of all taxes. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. VOUSLEY said that he felt so strongly upon the subject, that he deemed himself in justice bound to express his opinions regarding the Corn Laws, which he deemed to be most unjust and oppressive. It was quite absurd to suppose that the people should be left to starve whilst they were surrounded with countries ready to provide them with the necessities of life. The back settlers of America wanted more clothes for their children, which they would take from us if this country in return took their corn, and they would then grow more corn than their land at present produced, but they exclaimed there was no use in their so doing, as they could find no market for it. (Cries of hear, hear.) There was no proportion in this country between the increase of population and that of cultivation. But even if the land did not increase in proportion to the population, they could, by affording an opportunity for increased trade, secure a supply of food sufficient for that population. (Cries of hear.) Large tracts of land, scarcely inhabited, would soon grow corn, if facility for its sale was afforded. It was therefore stupid—nay, it was unchristian and uncharitable—to impose the Corn Laws, which were only supported for the benefit of the aristocracy. (Hear, hear.) It was said that the Corn Laws were for the benefit of the agricultural labourers. Could that be the fact, when their wages only averaged 8*s.* a week? (Hear.) While the Corn Laws existed, could those labourers or the manufacturers support themselves? If not, why in the name of common sense were they upheld, unless it was to maintain the aristocracy, who hedge in their interests by laws that rendered 500*l.* a necessary qualification for a county, and 300*l.* for a borough member? (Hear, hear.) The Corn Laws were so monstrous, and so opposed to common sense, and their common interests, that it only required a temperate, but firm, determined agitation, to get rid of them. They should attend to measures, and not men. If they did so, they could not fail of success. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JOHN KIDNER said that the Corn Law supporters argued that the repeal of those laws would diminish the consumption of animal food, whereas facts proved the contrary. The importation of cattle in 1845, as compared with 1843, exceeded the latter by 20,300 cattle, and he found by his own stock-book, that instead of that increase lessening the price of mutton and beef, that of the latter brought 10*d.* a stone more than in 1843. (Hear, hear.) In his opinion, and according to incontestable facts, the repeal of the Corn Laws would cause a regular and steady supply, and an increased consumption. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JONES said that he was favourable to a repeal of the Corn Laws, but thought that they could not be immediately abolished as the interests of the landlord and tenant should be first consulted before it was achieved.

Mr. VOUSLEY reminded the last speaker that when any great national reform was contemplated, private interests

were never considered if they interfered with the public weal.

The resolution was then put and carried *nem. con.*

Messrs. Kimmsley, Hart, Phillips, and other gentlemen, having addressed the meeting in condemnation of the Corn Laws,

Mr. Wilson moved an adoption of a memorial praying her Majesty to issue an Order in Council for opening the ports, and also that her Majesty be pleased to summon the Parliament instant to meet, that an act may be immediately passed repealing the Corn Laws. (Cheers.)

The motion was carried amidst applause; and thanks having been moved to the chairman, the meeting broke up.

Meetings also addressed by Mr. Moore, were held in London, at the Temperance Hall, Portman Market, on Thursday, and on Friday at the Assembly Rooms, Kentish Town; at both places the audiences were crowded and enthusiastic, and resolved to support the freehold movement in Middlesex and East Surrey.

LEWES.

On Tuesday evening, a public meeting was held in the Theatre of the Mechanics' Institute, Lewes. The theatre will accommodate from three to four hundred persons, and was completely filled. The chair was taken by Mr. H. Brown, a constantly zealous worker in the Free Trade cause. The meeting acquired additional interest from the fact that the first meeting of the Sussex Protectionists had been held at Lewes in the course of the day. The protection meeting was not attended by more than about seventy persons, and excited so little interest that the whole string of resolutions had to be moved by Mr. John Elman, and seconded by Mr. John King. Mr. King was present at the Free Trade meeting in the evening, and was a most attentive listener,—so attentive, indeed, that we cannot but believe he will shortly become a thorough Free Trader. Opponents, or those who had any doubts, were urged to put questions, or to speak in opposition to Free Trade. It was market-day, and several farmers were present, but there was neither questioner nor objector. The meeting throughout was attentive and enthusiastic; and a resolution of thanks to the League for the attention given to the registration generally, of congratulation for the counties won upon the register, and of promise to work the 40s. freehold movement in that district of East Sussex, was carried unanimously. Mr. Moore dwelt upon the old corrupt system of elections at Lewes, and urged them at the next election to redeem themselves from such disgrace, and to make a new name for honesty and independence by returning two Free Traders. This proposal was received with acclamation, and we do hope that the spirit shown at the meeting will be kept alive, and acted upon when the time comes. The meeting broke up with three hearty cheers for the chairman, the League, the borough, and the county.

BRIGHTON.

On Wednesday evening a public meeting was held in the Town Hall, Brighton. The night was unusually wet and stormy; however, the hall was well filled, not fewer than 1000 persons being present. The meeting was presided over by Mr. John Hilton, whose efforts have been incessant to put an end to the one and one system at Brighton, and to have the borough honestly represented by two Liberal Free Traders. There has not before been held so numerous and enthusiastic a meeting in Brighton. The following resolution, moved by Mr. Bass, and seconded by Mr. Wallis, was carried, not merely without one dissentient hand, but with long continued cheers: "That this meeting feels grateful to the council of the League for the attention they have given to the registry throughout the country, cordially congratulate them on the success they have achieved, and pledges itself to use its exertions to qualify freeholders for East Sussex county." It was also resolved,—“That a requisition, signed by the inhabitants of the borough, be presented to the High Constable, to call a meeting to consider the propriety of petitioning Parliament for the entire repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws.” The meeting separated with three cheers for the chairman, and for the counties won, and to be won.

HEREFORD.

We have just received, before going to press, a long report of a public meeting at Hereford on Wednesday last, which we regret we shall not be able to notice at any length this week. The proceedings appear to have been of a most interesting description. Two farmers endeavoured to support the cause of monopoly, and, judging from the report, with much more ability than the titled “farmer's friends” usually display on similar occasions. Mr. Falvey was present on the occasion, in compliance with a requisition signed by several hundred of the inhabitants of Hereford, and replied most ably and effectively to the defenders of the landlords' monopoly. The resolutions were carried by overwhelming majorities; and the meeting separated with several rounds of cheering for Free Trade and the League.

GLOSSOP DALE, DERBYSHIRE.

On Wednesday evening, the 17th ult., a public meeting of the inhabitants of Glossop Dale was held in the Town Hall, to take into consideration the present alarming condition of the country. Mr. John Kershaw, of the Hurst, was in the chair. The meeting was chiefly composed of the working classes, and was ably addressed by Mr. Edmund Potter, of Dinting Vale; the Reverend Thomas Atkin, of Littlemoor; and by Mr. Hartley Hargreaves, of Glossop, and Mr. Turner, from Bolton, both working men. The following resolutions were unanimously passed: 1st. That it is the opinion of this meeting that owing to the deficiency of the harvest and the failure of the potato crop the prospects of this country are very alarming, and that the most speedy and energetic measures ought to be immediately adopted to procure a supply of food from abroad. 2d. That a memorial be sent to the Queen, praying her Majesty to call such men to her counsels as will propose to Parliament the total and immediate abolition of all duties on the importation of foreign corn and provisions into this country.

A memorial in accordance with the above was read and adopted by the meeting, and signed by the Chairman, which was immediately transmitted to Sir James Graham for presentation to her Majesty.

It is very evident, from this meeting, that the working men of Glossop Dale are no longer to be gulled with the fallacy that cheap bread means low wages. Experience has taught them just the reverse.

DEFEAT OF THE PROTECTIONISTS AT BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

A meeting was held at the Guildhall, Bury St. Edmunds, on Friday last, convened by the Mayor (J. Deck, Esq.), in compliance with the following requisition, signed by 60 inhabitants:

“We, the undersigned inhabitants of the town of Bury St. Edmunds, feeling impressed with the importance of the present question of Free Trade in corn, more especially as it affects this agricultural district, hereby request you will, at an early day, convene a public meeting of the inhabitants, to afford them an opportunity of expressing their sentiments where their trade and prosperity are so materially concerned.”

“To John Deck, Esq., Mayor.”

It being known that nearly all of the signatures were those of protectionists, the Free Trade party on Wednesday put out the following handbill:

“Fellow townsmen—The advocates of monopoly and starvation purpose holding a meeting on Friday next, at noon, in the Guildhall, with a view to assist in perpetuating the existence of the present bread tax.

“Those of you who are of opinion that this cruel monopoly ought to cease—that the industry of the country should be free and unrestricted—that the people of England ought no longer to be dictated to by a selfish minority where they shall buy the necessities of life, or dispose of the fruits of their industry—that the poor man ought no longer to be cheated out of a cheap loaf, and compelled to buy a dear one—attend that meeting, and let it be seen that the public mind of this town is in favour of Free Trade, and a cheap and plentiful supply of bread to the poor.

“December 24, 1845.”

At the hour appointed for meeting, the hall was crowded by tradesmen and mechanics, and several of the agriculturists in the surrounding neighbourhood were also present at the proceedings.

The Mayor having taken the chair, the following resolution was proposed by Captain Heigham (a landowner, cultivating his own farm), and seconded by John Worledge, Esq., (an owner and tenant):

“That, in the opinion of this meeting, the adequate protection of British agriculture from foreign competition is essential not only to the prosperity of the classes more intimately connected with it, but to the welfare of the whole population; and this meeting, therefore, most earnestly deprecates any diminution of the protection now enjoyed.”

Upon which Captain Hubbard, R.N., and Mr T. G. Williams, draper, in very argumentative addresses, proposed the following amendment:—

“That, in the opinion of this meeting, it is to the interest of the tenant-farmer, the labourer, and the landlord, that the Corn Law question should be permanently settled, the experience of the last thirty years having proved that protection drives capital from the land, narrows the home market by crippling the foreign trade, and is injurious to all classes.”

R. Bevan, Esq., (banker), having spoken in support of the original motion, he was replied to by a mechanic named Punshon, in most truthful terms.

The question was then put by the Mayor, and the amendment was carried by a majority of at least twenty to one.

Bury St. Edmunds being the centre of the agricultural district of West Suffolk, this demonstration against “protection” speaks volumes.

PROTECTION AND ITS CHAMPIONS.

(From the Times.)

It is impossible not to admire the spirit with which the agriculturists are addressing themselves to this trying emergency. What most demands our respect is the energy and presence of mind with which they can hold meetings, make lengthy orations, rally their scattered forces, and pass the word for victory or death, when there is absolutely nothing to be done. To the outward eye their case is not promising. They have neither the multitude nor the minister on their side. Their cause is one sadly in need of such adventitious help as talent alone can afford. But talent they have none. There is absolutely not one decent headpiece among them—not a man who can speak a word worth listening to for a good cause, much less for a bad one. The protectionist chiefs for whose return thousands of freeholders have repeatedly shed their money, and on whose staunchness and ability the farmer has been taught to repose with the most childlike simplicity, have all turned out helpless idols. The fight is over, the day is lost. Power, credit, and protection are gone. So now the discomfited host assembles here and there, and comforts itself with the gaudy simulation of a martial array. Mighty confabulations are held to discuss the past, and make more suitable comments on historical characters and events. It is unfortunate for such persons that opportunities will not keep, and the world will go on. One morning Charles XII. left his army, rode into Dresden, and made his way into the bed-room of Augustus. He was no particular favourite with that monarch, but was allowed to depart in peace. The next morning Augustus held an extraordinary council. “You see,” said General Renschild, “they are deliberating upon what they should have done yesterday.” Such is the retrospective character of agricultural wisdom. If they had to begin the world again, we cannot doubt they would do a good deal better; but unfortunately they are not allowed the privilege of a second experiment.

When, in the course of events, the “Life and Times of Sir Robert Peel” shall be announced for publication, we recommend the author to apply to Lord Barrington, to Mr. Newdegate, and Sir John Tyrell. Very rich are they in Parliamentary reminiscences and psychological observations. They have made Sir Robert Peel their study. They sit upon his measures and his speeches with as much gravity and inquisitiveness as if they were a college of augurs interpreting the croaking of a raven, or a band of haruspices poring over a dubious lot of entrails. Lord Barrington is perfectly serious. He has every reason to be so, for he considers that “the principle of protection is as important a principle as any man could possibly enunciate.” He has turned his ears this way and that way, and opened them as wide as possible, and appears at odd times to have heard a thing or two which he could not quite make out. So now we have the benefit of his recollections, as far as they go:

“He had certainly heard language fall from Sir Robert Peel's lips in the House of Commons in support of the principle of protection; and although he probably never did pledge himself to all the details of the sliding scale that existed before he became Prime Minister, yet unless his (Lord Barrington's) ears misinformed him, Sir Robert Peel had frequently stated that he did think agriculture entitled to protection.”

If this is all he has heard, we are afraid that, though one of his lordship's organs of hearing is excellent, the other is not quite so perfect. He informs us that he will not believe that Sir Robert has abandoned this most important of principles, “unless he hears it from Sir Robert's own lips.” He intends therefore to listen very hard next session. We would further suggest that he had better try the other ear; his friends will be impatient to learn the result.

Lord Barrington, however, we are concerned to discover, is, after all, not so staunch to his principle as he might be. He has set a very bad example. “Some members of the League had told him—for he was acquainted with some of them, he was sorry to say—that the first people in this country who would look for a repeal of the Corn Laws would be the tenant-farmers.” Lord Barrington should remember betimes the danger of evil communications. His League acquaintance will do him no good. This time next year we shall have him transferring to the League the valuable assistance he now renders to the Berkshire Protection Society—i.e., unless the League has expired for want of an object. He reminds us of a certain divine, now an Archbishop, who, in the course of an Oxford sermon, once started his hearers with—“A friend of mine—an unbeliever—once observed to me, that,” &c. Lord Barrington may perhaps be sure of himself; but he ought to be more careful of the morals of his hearers.

Sir John Tyrell is decided, a prophet of ill omen. He takes the gloomy side of the subject:—

“Since he last had the honour of addressing them at Chelmsford, he must say, that, politically, they were more in the dark, and that the confusion was doubly confounded.”

So he attempts an augury—one from the flight of a bird: “There was a strong circumstance connected with the Government, which he thought would tell the policy that was likely to be pursued—he alluded to the retirement of Lord Stanley.”

We are surprised, however, that Sir John could find heart to congratulate himself on what we should think a rather dreary omen. Not one of Sir Robert Peel's sworn supporters was present.

“It gave him great pleasure to see so much unanimity pervading that meeting. The hon. baronet here alluded to that class of Conservatives who would shrink from doing their duty in support of the Corn Laws merely for the sake of the Minister, but he did not believe there was any of that class in the room.”

But in spite of himself Sir John became more and more gloomy. Images of weakness and defection crowd upon his mind. The poor agriculturists of Sussex were only able to subscribe 250*l.* against the 250,000*l.* of the League, he says. See how poor we are!

“Then, if the Corn Laws must be abolished,” he continues, “why abuse us so hard? He regretted to see *but one clergyman* there that day, which gave a colour for *The Times* saying that the clergy were opposed to a continuance of the Corn Laws; but, on the other hand, if they had attended, they would have been called, by the same paper, ‘the black-coated cormorants of the Church.’”

We should think the Rev. John Smythers will be obliged to the worthy baronet for that suggestion. The direst preface of all remains for the climax of these melancholy forebodings. The gaunt form of the new Tariff rises up before Sir John with all its surrounding horrors:

“He perfectly agreed, that if they had Free Trade in corn, they must have Free Trade in everything else. What was the result of the new Tariff? 1200 females, who got their livelihoods by making ladies' shoes, were thrown upon the shirt-market—(laughter); and had to make shirts for five farthings each.”

Alas! for Sir John, not to perceive the pitfall of argument his prophetic soul had stumbled into! You agree, that if we have Free Trade in corn, we must have it in everything else. “What is sauce for a goose,” Sir John—you know the rest. The 1200 females driven to make shirts at five farthings each, whose commercial vicissitudes appear so to excite the agricultural sensibility, will perfectly agree with you, that if we are to have Free Trade in shoemaking, we must have it in corn also.

But Mr. Newdegate goes most to the heart of the matter, and founds his predictions on the most irrefragable arguments. We have not a word to reply. He is undoubtedly right, and we can only congratulate him on having got over the cruel suspense which is consuming the heart and marrow of his agricultural friends. “There was great danger,” he said, “that Sir Robert Peel intended to undermine ‘the protective system.’” Perhaps this is rather too moderately stated, but Mr. Newdegate shows a dawning intelligence:

“When he heard Sir R. Peel and Sir J. Graham last session, he was convinced that both those Ministers entertained Free Trade tendencies. There had been a rupture in the Cabinet. Government had, for a time been thrown into the hands of Lord J. Russell. It had again been replaced in the hands of Sir R. Peel. *Would any man see those facts, and tell him there was no danger?*”

Certainly the man who should be capable of offering Mr. Newdegate so false a consolation, must either be desperately blind or desperately impudent. We are truly sorry to say that it is not in our power to give this assurance. The Corn Laws will go. If we wanted a proof of it we need not go farther than these agricultural meetings, and see gentlemen of rank and education moping, moaning, doting, and drivelling about Sir Robert Peel, and protection, and the new tariff, and “a determined opposition,” and a “strong front,” and defaulters, and symptoms, and fears, and suspicions, and a lot of other miscellaneous trash worked up into a speech, which merely proves that nothing whatever can be done, and the time is past. If the agriculturists really wished to fight it out, why did they not send to Parliament more sensible and more able representatives?

A STEAMER RUN DOWN IN SEA REACH.—The wind on Tuesday blew a strong gale, veering round occasionally from W.N.W. to W.S.W., and blowing occasionally with terrific fury. The Monkey Government steam-tug, which arrived at Woolwich on Tuesday afternoon, after a tremendous passage from Ostend, brought intelligence of the loss of the Robert Hawkes steam-tug, belonging to the Ship Owner's Towing Company, which was run down in the lower part of Sea Reach by a large bark. The Robert Hawkes was lying at anchor at the time; and was struck twice by the bark, and shortly afterwards sunk in deep water. The Monkey was about to put back to her assistance; but there was a hatch-bout near, which succeeded in saving the crew of the tug. Some blame is said to be attributable to the bark, which might have avoided the collision by backing her foresail. She was outward bound at the time.—*Globe*.

THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE OF THE EAST SURREY FREE TRADE QUALIFICATION AND REGISTRATION SOCIETY,

TO THE FREE TRADERS OF THE CITIES OF LONDON AND WESTMINSTER AND THE METROPOLITAN BOROUGHS

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,—We Free Traders in East Surrey want your assistance to drive monopoly out of our division of the county. You gentlemen in the cities and boroughs are too much in the habit of fancying that you have nothing to do with the representation of the counties, and you cannot easily make a more fatal mistake. You are deeply interested in the representation of the metropolitan counties, whose very existence may almost be said to depend on your exertions and your prosperity. You make no secret that you are going to return all Free Traders; but of what avail is it that you do so, if you allow the neighbouring counties to send monopolists into the House of Commons to outnumber and overpower your representatives. You have to do with our representation, and we call upon you to help us to fight the monopolists on their own ground.

At the last contested election (in 1840) we were beaten by 1200 votes. Since then we have tried to better our condition on the register, and have gained about 800 votes, besides what may have resulted from change of opinion during the last five years.

From the day of our defeat we have never lost sight of the register; but we never saw the real strength of our position till we beheld the splendid example of our friends in South Lancashire, which induced us to inquire whether it was unavoidable that East Surrey should continue any longer to be represented by monopolists. We satisfied ourselves that such a degradation need not be endured, and we resolved that it should not outlive the present Parliament. But our friends in the north were not satisfied with victory; they thought they could be better employed than in constantly battling with an opponent whose annihilation could be purchased by a little additional exertion; they set to work to increase their majority to such an extent as to insure them against the expense and annoyance of a contest—and they have made it certain that for years to come Free Traders will walk the course of South Lancashire. The same has been done with North Cheshire, West Yorkshire, and Middlesex, and is being done in many other counties; and with your assistance the same shall be done in East Surrey.

If a general election were to take place immediately, it is believed that two Free Traders would contest East Surrey with a fair prospect of success; but if another registration be given to us before the election, and if you help us, as we expect you will, we shall have done much to induce our opponents not to waste their time and money in contending for a position irretrievably lost to them. But to accomplish this we must do what our opponents throughout the empire have been doing for 10 years, and what our friends in the north did so effectually last year. We must first make votes and then register them; and there is no reason why we should not do so twice as fast as our opponents did. *Theirs* was a difficult task, for they have never had the people with them. *Ours* will be easier work, by reason that the great majority of thinking men are now heartily with us, and anxious to help us in our just and humane cause. Look at our position. Just consider for a moment the extent of the means at our disposal. Manchester and a few other towns have won South Lancashire;—Leeds, Wakefield, and some neighbouring towns have put the West Riding of Yorkshire out of danger; and London and Westminster with the metropolitan boroughs have (we hope) secured Middlesex. Is East Surrey then less fortunately situated? Cannot London and Westminster, cannot Marylebone, Finsbury, and the Tower Hamlets, cannot Southwark, Lambeth, and Greenwich;—nay, cannot Middlesex, West Kent, and West Surrey, send as many Free Traders into East Surrey as they now send monopolists? We have no doubt they can and will send twice as many.

But this must be done immediately—now. We have only a few days to complete qualifications in time for the next register, upon which (if not upon the present) the election will certainly take place. There is not a day to spare: every qualification which is not purchased before the last day of this month will be too late for this year's register. We therefore implore you to get freehold qualifications for East Surrey without an hour's unavoidable delay; and let no man content himself with getting his own vote, but let him endeavour to persuade his friends and neighbours to follow his example.

The whole cost of the best sort of qualification (best, because the most secure and least troublesome) is 56*l.*, including all expenses. This is the 40*s.* ground-rent or rent-charge on a freehold estate. Other estates of sufficient value to confer the qualification may frequently be obtained for less; and you can get full information on all points connected with the business by applying to Mr. Paulton, at the offices of the League, 67, Fleet-street, or to Mr. Russell, at the offices of this Society, 82, High-street, Southwark.

In conclusion, we again implore you immediately to attend to this important business. True it is that our cause is espoused by all whose support is worth asking for; but still our greatest work remains to be done. The question, which, as far as opinion goes, is once and for all settled, remains to be decided by the ultimate court of appeal—a general election; and although opinion occupies the judgment seat in that court, it is only qualified and registered opinion that takes part in the decision. Unqualified, or unregistered opinion, goes for nothing there. Can there be a plainer or more imperative duty than that which is imposed upon those who do perceive the injustice and inhumanity of the Corn Laws, now, to make the necessary effort to secure their final abolition? No; the course for every Free Trader who has it in his power to qualify himself to express an opinion at the next general election is clear and unmistakable. He must have his 40*s.* freehold on or before the 30th of this month:—the 31st will be too late.

Signed, by order and on behalf of the Business Committee,
ROBERT RUSSELL, Secretary.
82, High-street, Southwark, 1st Jan., 1846.

A COUNTY MEMBER'S SPEECH.—A SIGN OF THE TIMES.

(From the Times.)
On Saturday last a meeting of the Bedfordshire Agricultural Protection Society was held at the Swan Inn, Bedford. The two county members, Lord Alford and Mr. Astell, were present. After the usual motion, and a *quantum suffi.* of the customary speechifying in which farmers and their landlords indulge on such occasions, a motion was proposed

calling upon the members to state to "the meeting" what they were prepared to do if Sir Robert should propose to repeal or alter the Corn Laws. The seconder of this motion was Mr. W. Bennett, a tenant farmer, who, in the course of his speech, put some very close questions to the hon. members. At the close of his remarks,

Lord ALFORD said, he had great pleasure in meeting so respectable a body of his constituents. He was not, however, quite prepared for Mr. Bennett's question. (A laugh.) With regard to the malt-tax, he begged to say that he never voted, as alleged by Mr. Bennett, for a repeal of the malt-tax. (A cry, "You did, though, for a repeal of half the tax.") It was true he voted for a repeal of half the tax, and at the last election he pledged himself that if the Minister said he could do without the malt-tax, he (Lord Alford) would vote for the repeal. (Loud laughter.) He (Lord Alford) found much difference of opinion, however, even among agriculturists, about its repeal. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the general subject of protection, he felt much flattered by their marks of confidence, by not binding him with a pledge. He thought they had a right to protection, and he confessed that he had been astonished and bewildered, and made angry, by some of the measures of Sir Robert Peel. (Laughter and cheers.) Though he would not go to Parliament bound by a pledge, he thought there ought to be such protection as would prevent the poor lands from going out of cultivation—a diminution of the profits of the farmer—(cheers)—a lessening of the wages of the labourer—(cheers); and, as to the landlord (continued the noble lord), he must take care of himself. (Loud laughter and cheers.) After all, they must look at the crisis of public affairs. Sir Robert Peel had resigned, Lord John Russell had attempted to form an administration and had failed. And now Sir Robert was again in power, surrounded by all those men who from position and education have been able to give this important subject the closest consideration. And did they suppose that the object of these men in any contemplated change was merely to gain some private ends, or was it not right rather to conclude that there were some extraordinary circumstances with which they who were not in power were unacquainted, but which might justify the change? He (Lord Alford) thought, however, that no circumstances would justify Sir Robert Peel in proposing to repeal the Corn Laws. (Cries of hear, hear.) (Here some one in the room called out, "But will you support him if he should?") To this his lordship replied, that he was proud to be their representative; but he would never go into Parliament so pledged that his intended votes might as well be written over the door of the House. (Hear, hear.) The fact was, they were like people who wished to travel by the rail at a rate of 30 miles by the hour; but the engineer had got the steam up to the rate of 60 (loud laughter), and though it was too fast travelling to be comfortable, they could not change their engineer, because he was the only man that could work the engine. (Loud derisive laughter.) Now what he (Lord Alford) complained of was, that the engineer ought not to keep them in the dark, but ought to tell them that the reason was that he was afraid of the train that was coming after them at the rate of 150 miles an hour. (Cheers and loud laughter, amidst which his lordship sat down.) Here some one cried out, "We know no more now than we did before."

MR. ASTELL made a few remarks, pledging himself not to vote for a repeal of the Corn Laws, and the meeting separated.

PROTECTIVE DUTIES VERSUS FREE TRADE.

The following extract, from the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the finances of the United States Government, demonstrates the advantages of low duties, and their effects upon the agricultural and commercial interests:

"Soil, climate, and other causes vary very much in different countries; the pursuits which are most profitable in each, and the prosperity of all of them will be best promoted by leaving them, unrestricted by legislation, to exchange with each other those fabrics and products which they severally raise most cheaply. This is clearly illustrated by the perfect Free Trade which exists among all the states of the Union, and by the acknowledged fact that any one of these States would be injured by imposing duties upon the products of the others. It is generally conceded that reciprocal Free Trade among nations would best advance the interest of all. But it is contended that we must meet the tariffs of other nations by countervailing restrictions. That duties upon our exports by foreign nations are prejudicial to us, is conceded; but whilst this injury is slightly felt by the manufacturers, its weight falls most exclusively upon agriculture, commerce, and navigation. If those interests which sustain the loss do not ask countervailing restrictions, it should not be demanded by the manufacturers, who do not feel the injury, and whose fabrics, in fact, are not excluded by the foreign legislation of which they complain. That agriculture, commerce, and navigation are injured by foreign restrictions, constitutes no reason why they should be subjected to still severer treatment, by additional restrictions and countervailing tariffs enacted at home. Commerce, agriculture, and navigation, harassed as they may be by foreign restrictions, diminishing the amount of exchangeable products which they could otherwise purchase abroad, are burdened with heavier impositions at home. Nor will augmented duties here lead to a reduction of foreign tariffs, but the reverse, by furnishing the protected classes there with the identical argument used by the protected classes here against reduction. By countervailing restrictions, we injure our own fellow-citizens much more than the foreign nation at whom we purpose to aim their force; and, in the conflict of opposing tariffs, we sacrifice our own commerce, agriculture, and navigation. As well might we impose monarchical or aristocratic restrictions on our Government or people, because that is the course of foreign legislation. Let our commerce be as free as our political institutions. Let us, with revenue duties only, open our ports to all the world, and nation after nation will soon follow our example. If we reduce our tariff, the party opposed to the Corn Laws of England would soon prevail, and admit all our agricultural products at all times freely into her ports, in exchange for her exports. And if England would now repeal her duties upon our wheat, flour, Indian corn, and other agricultural products, our own restrictive system would certainly be doomed to overthrow. If the question is asked, who shall begin this work of reciprocal reduction, it is answered by the fact, that England has already abated her duties upon most of our exports. She has repealed the duty upon cotton, and greatly reduced the tariff upon our bread-stuffs, provisions, and other articles—

and her present bad harvest, accompanied by a reduction of our tariff, would lead to the repeal of her Corn Laws, and the unrestricted admission, at all times, of our agricultural products.

"The true question is, whether the farmer and planter shall, to a great extent, supply our people with cheap manufactures, purchased abroad with their agricultural products, or whether this exchange shall be forbidden by high duties on such manufactures, and their supply thrown, as a monopoly, at large prices, by high tariffs, into the hands of our own manufacturers. The number of manufacturing capitalists, who derive benefit from the heavy taxes extracted by the tariff from twenty millions of people, does not exceed ten thousand. The whole number (including the working classes engaged in our manufactures) deriving any benefit from the tariff, does not exceed 400,000, of whom not more than 40,000 have been brought into this pursuit by the last tariff. But this small number of 40,000 would still have been in the country, consuming our agricultural products; and in the attempt to secure them as purchasers, so small in number, and not consuming one half the supply of many counties, the farmer and planter are asked to sacrifice the markets of the world, containing a population of eight hundred millions, disabled from purchasing our products by our high duties on all they would sell in exchange. The farmer and planter would have the home market without a tariff; and they would have the foreign market also to a much greater extent, but for the total or partial prohibition of the last tariff.

"We have more fertile lands than any other nation, can raise a greater variety of products, and it may be said, could feed and clothe the people of nearly all the world. The home market, of itself, is wholly inadequate for such products. They must have the foreign market, or a large surplus, accompanied by great depression in price, must be the result. The States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, if cultivated to their fullest extent, could of themselves raise more than sufficient food to supply the entire home market. Missouri or Kentucky could more than supply it with hemp; already the State of Mississippi raises more cotton than is sufficient for all the home market; Louisiana is rapidly approaching the same point as to sugar: and there are lands enough adapted to that product in Louisiana, Texas, and Florida, to supply with sugar and molasses nearly all the markets of the world. If cotton is depressed in price by the tariff, the consequence must be a comparative diminution of the product, and the raising in its place, to a great extent, hemp, wheat, corn, stock, and provisions, which otherwise would be supplied by the teeming products of the west. The growing west in a series of years, must be the greatest sufferers by the tariff, in depriving them of the foreign market, and of that of the cotton growing States. We demand, in fact, for our agricultural products, specie from nearly all the world, by heavy taxes upon all their manufactures; and their purchases from us must therefore be limited, as well as their sales to us enhanced in price. Such a demand for specie, which we know in advance cannot be complied with, is nearly equivalent to a decree excluding most of our agricultural products from the foreign markets. Such is the rigour of our restrictions, that nothing short of a famine opens freely the ports of Europe for our bread-stuffs. Agriculture is our chief employment; it is best adapted to our situation; and if not depressed by the tariff, would be the most profitable. We can raise a larger surplus of agricultural products, and a greater variety, than almost any other nation, and at cheaper rates. Remove, then, from agriculture all our restrictions, and, by its own unfettered power, it will break down all foreign restrictions; and, our own being removed, would feed the hungry and clothe the poor of our fellow men throughout all the densely-peopled nations of the world. But now we will take nothing in exchange of these products but specie, except at very high duties; and nothing but a famine breaks down all foreign restrictions, and opens for a time the ports of Europe to our bread-stuffs. If, on a reduction of our duties, England repeals her Corn Laws, nearly all Europe must follow her example, or give to her manufacturers advantages which cannot be successfully encountered in most of the markets of the world. The tariff did not raise the price of our bread-stuffs; but a bad harvest in England does—giving us for the time that foreign market which we would soon have at all times, by that repeal of the Corn Laws which must follow the reduction of our duties. But whilst bread-stuffs rise with a bad harvest in England, cotton almost invariably falls; because the increased sum which, in that event, England must pay for our bread-stuffs, we will take, not in manufactures, but only in specie; and, not having it to spare, she brings down, even to a greater extent, the price of our cotton. Hence the result, that a bad harvest in England reduces the aggregate price of our exports, often turns the exchanges against us, carrying our specie abroad, and inflicting a serious blow on our prosperity. Foreign nations cannot for a series of years import more than they export; and, if we close our markets against their imports by high duties, they must buy less of our imports, or give a lower price, or both."

NOBLE RESOLUTIONS.

(From Punch.)

At a select meeting of British landholders, the following propositions were unanimously agreed to:

1. That the appetite for food and drink, unfortunately implanted by Nature in the agricultural labourers, is the great cause of their distress and discontent.
2. That for the security and quiet of the landowner, it is expedient that some measures should be taken for allaying this craving for sustenance.
3. That for the better attainment of this object it is advisable to excite competition by the encouragement of ingenuity; and accordingly that prizes, varying in amount, should be awarded by the aristocracy to the inventors of the best succedaneum for bread, beef, bacon, potatoes, beer, and other eatables and drinkables.
4. That rewards should further be offered for contrivances for superseding fire and clothing, the deficiency of which, no less than that of food, is productive of dissatisfaction amongst the labourers.
5. That thanks are due to his Grace the Duke of Norfolk for his suggestion of curry powder as a sedative to the stomach.

SOMETHING IN A NAME.—The second title of the Norfolk family is that of Earl of Surrey. We understand the present head of the illustrious race intends to change Surrey into Curry; for he insists that the latter was the original title, of which the former is merely a corruption.—Punch.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

THE Friends of FREE TRADE residing in the Northern or Midland Counties, desirous of purchasing Freeholds in any of the undermentioned Counties, are requested to apply to the Secretary of the League, Newall's Buildings Manchester.

North Lancashire	North Derbyshire
South Lancashire	South Derbyshire
North Cheshire	North Durham
West Riding of York	East Cumberland
South Stafford	West Cumberland
South Stafford	South Northumberland.
South Cheshire	

Each applicant is requested to give his name and residence at full length.

By Order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

FREE TRADERS desirous of purchasing Freeholds for Middlesex, East Surrey, West Kent, South Essex, East Sussex, and South Hants, are requested to send their applications, with name and address in full, to the League Offices, 67, Fleet-street, London.

By Order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

FREEHOLD QUALIFICATIONS FOR HERTS.

FREE TRADERS desirous of purchasing Freeholds in Hertfordshire are requested to send their applications to The League Offices, 67, Fleet-street, or to Mr. J. F. Bontems, Herts Registration Office, Hertford.

NORTH LANCASHIRE.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

FREE-TRADERS desirous of purchasing Qualifications for North Lancashire, are informed that they can be obtained for 33s. and upwards each, yielding from 6½ to 7½ per cent.

Applications may be made to Mr. Moorhouse, League Rooms, 4, Cheapside, Preston.

VOTES FOR THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

THE WAKEFIELD FREE TRADE COMMITTEE can secure, for Parties desirous of possessing a qualification for the West Riding, FREEHOLDS, to pay from Six to Seven per Cent., at sums varying from 30s. to 40s. each, including expenses.

Apply to Mr. Joseph Rhodes, sen., of Wakefield, the Secretary, or to the Committee, care of Messrs. Nichols and Sons, Printers, Wakefield.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Dec. 31, 1845.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

*Radnor, Lord, Coleshill House, Berkshire	50	0	0
Dimmack and Thompson, Manchester	20	0	0
*Binns, M., Great Ancoats, ditto	20	0	0
*Lees, A., Blackfriars ditto	10	0	0
Watkin, Absalom ditto	10	0	0
*Grimston, John, Newick, near Driffield, Yorkshire	10	0	0
Crawford, Wm. Sharman, M.P., Crawfordsburn, near Belfast, Ireland	10	0	0
Bowring, Dr. M.P., London	10	0	0
*Haworth, John, Milton-terrace, Stretford New Road, Manchester	5	0	0
*Johnson, R. and Brothers, Dale-street, ditto	5	0	0
*Hervey, Wm., Parker-street, Derby	1	0	0
*Farrar, Joshua, Marsden, near Huddersfield	1	0	0
*Spry, Geo., Rodney-street, Wigan	1	0	0
*Smith, Richard, Market-street, ditto	1	0	0
*Savage, Charles ditto	1	0	0
*Dawber, James, grocer ditto	1	0	0
Liddell, John, and Brothers, Huddersfield	1	0	0
*Kirkpatrick, John, Mill-street, Macclesfield	1	0	0
*Billington, Wm., High-street, Sandbach	1	0	0
Husband, R., 26, Old Haymarket, Liverpool	1	0	0
Aster, Wm., Barnstable	1	0	0
*Richardson, John, chemist, Harrowgate	1	0	0
*Dick, James, Soap Works, Leith	1	0	0
*Hodgson, James, Wilderspool, near Warrington	1	0	0
*Igham, J., White Hall Mills, Chapel-en-le-Frith	1	0	0
*Ellis, Edward, Bank, Tewkesbury	1	0	0
*Airey, Thomas, Park Green, Macclesfield	1	0	0
*Taylor, Ralph, Mount Pleasant, Todmorden	1	0	0
*Bowman, Wm., Bolton-street, Bury, Lancashire	1	0	0
*Walker, N., Shipley, Bradford, Yorkshire	1	0	0
*Hales, Ralph, Unicorn, Church-street, Manchester	1	0	0
*Holland, F. W., 86, Grosvenor-st., C on M ditto	1	0	0
*Massie, John, 1, New Cannon-street ditto	1	0	0
*Middleton, S., Roger-st., Red Bank ditto	1	0	0
*Whitelock, Jas., Medlock-street, Hulme ditto	1	0	0
*Bamford, R., 108, Duke-street, Hulme ditto	1	0	0
*Duesbery, Wm., Stretford New Road ditto	1	0	0
Molinueux, Miss E., 2, Marshall-st., Rochdale-rd., ditto	1	0	0
*Greenhalgh, J., 3, Gore-street, Piccadilly ditto	1	0	0
*Summers, Geo., 31, Bold-street	1	0	0
*Allender, Geo., 6, Canterbury-street	1	0	0
Mander, Jas., Deane-street, Fairfield	1	0	0
R. G.	1	0	0
*Pentland, James, 32, Eldon-place	1	0	0
*Wilkinson, W. A., Camberwell	20	0	0
*Wilkinson, Horace, North-terrace, ditto	20	0	0
*Wedgewood, H. A., Hermitage, Woking, Surrey	10	0	0
Mowatt, Francis, Devonshire-place	10	0	0
*Mendham, W. H., Bishopsgate, near Englefield Green	5	0	0
*Hunter, Jameson, 110, Fenchurch-street	5	0	0
*Huggins, W., Caledon, Ireland	3	0	0
*Dixon, Charles, Chichester	2	12	6
Sutton, T. P., 64, Friday-street, Cheapside	2	0	0
*Jaqes, G. H., 2, Dartmouth Villas, Sydenham	2	0	0
*Drybrough, A., 6, Basing-lane, City	2	0	0
*Miller, Geo., 12, Fenchurch-street	2	0	0
*Norman, T., 1, Temple-street, Dalston	2	0	0
*The Workmen in the employ of Messrs. Bass, 66, Goswell-street	1	2	0
Ramsey, Wm., 13, Bermondsey Wall	1	0	0
Elkington, Henry, Russell-street, Bermondsey	1	0	0
*Dyke, Henry, 2, Hawe Court, Temple	1	0	0
Adam, James, 11, Pudding-lane, Lower Thames-street	1	0	0
Trow, Wm., Wilson-street, Finsbury-square	1	0	0
*Carr, G. B., 10, Lawrence Pulteney Hill	1	0	0
*Smith, Benjamin, 1, High Holborn	1	0	0
*Sallows, James, 1, Davis-place, Battersea Bridge	1	0	0
Davis, R. W., 17, Union-row, New Kent Road	1	0	0
Davis, John, 138, Tottenham Court Road	1	0	0
Cole, Joseph, 15, Seymour-street, Euston-square	1	0	0
Thornley, John, 1, Polygon, Somers Town	1	0	0
*Wyatt, James, 5, New Bridge-street, Blackfriars	1	0	0
*R. S., 8, St. John's-street Road	1	0	0
Crocker, J., George Hotel, Aldermanbury	1	0	0
*Cobon, J., Millfield Lodge, Tanners End, Middlesex	1	0	0
Sharp, Joseph, 14, Paragon, New Kent Road	1	0	0
*Armitage, R., 290, Strand	1	0	0

*Lees, R., Galashiels	1	0	0
*Withall, Geo., Beconsfield, Bucks	1	0	0
*Dickie, Thomas, 26, Broomfields, Deptford	1	0	0
*Wyatt, F. G., 11, Queen-street, Oxford	1	0	0
"A Tenant Farmer of Surrey"	1	0	0
*Wilkinson, John, Shakspeare-st., Newcastle-on-Tyne	1	0	0
*Palmer, Capt. E. D., Wye-terrace, Ross, Herefordshire	1	0	0
*Barnett, T., jun., farmer, Glenstone, near Ross, do	1	0	0
*Ryder, W., Mill-lane, Macclesfield	1	0	0
*Nicholson, Thomas, Lydney, Gloucestershire	1	0	0
*Froggatt, W., Cressbrook, near Bakewell	1	0	0
*Sim, Joshua and Sons, Braithwaite Mills, Keswick	1	0	0
*Bowes, Joseph, King's Arms, ditto	1	0	0
*Mellor, A., Bridge Mill, Holmfirth, near Huddersfield	1	0	0
*Mellor, Joseph, jun., Thongs Bridge, near ditto	1	0	0
McClellan, J. } Newtown, Holmfirth, near ditto	1	0	0
*Batty, R. }	1	0	0
*Webb, S., Bridge End, Westgate-street, Gloucester	1	0	0
*Kinross, John, Alloway Place, Ayr	1	0	0
*McHutcheson, Adam ditto	1	0	0
*Gibson, H. H., 10, Strand-street, Liverpool	1	0	0
*Weild, Nath., 50, Percy-street ditto	1	0	0
*Mason, Rev. W., Melbourne, Derbyshire	1	0	0
*Jones, J., 17, Rosamond-place, C on M, Manchester	1	0	0
*Bruce, John, Abbot's meadow, Melrose	1	0	0
*Stuart, J. A., Carnock, Dunfermline	1	0	0
*Holland, Mrs. A., Knutsford, Cheshire	1	0	0
*Challinor, Wm., City Road, Derby	1	0	0
*Williams, H., Newham, Truro	1	0	0
*Wilson, E. L., Poste restante, Orleans	1	0	0
*Dale, Dent, Balby, near Doncaster	1	0	0
*Baker, H. M., Dartmouth	1	0	0
*Baber, W., Woodborough, near Wells	1	0	0
*Buckland, John, Newton Abbot, Devon	1	0	0
*Morton, J. C., Whitfield Farm, Wootton-under-Edge	1	0	0
*Westrope, W. G., Burford, Oxon	1	0	0
Gerrard, Joseph, Derby-street, Bolton	1	0	0
Clark, David, 151, High-street, Bishopwearmouth	1	0	0
*A Cheshire Farmer, Middlewich	1	0	0
*Slee, John, Loughborough	1	0	0
*Jackson, Jane, Millgate, Wigan	1	0	0
*Knowles, Joseph, Tedmorden	1	0	0
*Ashby, Charles, Staines, Middlesex	1	0	0
Ashby, Morris, ditto	1	0	0
*Saville, J. and Son, Barnsley	1	0	0
*Daw, James and Son, North Berwick	1	0	0
*Jewsbury, F. C., 6, Threaplace, Gloucester	1	0	0
*Downs, J. H., Grays, Essex	1	0	0
*Cooper, John, Masons Hill Farm, Bromley, Kent	1	0	0
Blair, James, Dudley	1	0	0
*Fletcher, D., High-street, Macclesfield	1	0	0
*Crewe, Wm., Duke-street, ditto	1	0	0
*Stevens, C., Greenfield, Holywell, Flintshire	1	0	0
*Shaw, David, Cheapside, Leicester	1	0	0
*Rahu, A. Godfrey, Bishopwearmouth	1	0	0
*Steel, J., 5, Fitchet-court, City	1	0	0
Tobin, Edw., 226, Bermondsey-street	1	0	0
Sharwood, T. R., 160, Aldersgate-street	1	0	0
Webb, Joseph, 23, Roman Road, Old Ford	1	0	0
*Carr and Robertson, 130, Wood-street, City	1	0	0
*Fellows, John, King's Head, Museum-street	1	0	0
*Stoddart, Robert, 13, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell	1	0	0
*Cowper, Edw., 6, Camden Hill Villa, Kensington	1	0	0
*Marley, H. M., 15, Grove-road, North Brixton	1	0	0
*Wright, W., 6, Belvidere, Cambridge Road	1	0	0
Garnett, Thomas, 27, Portman-place, Marylebone	0	5	0
Barnett, H., 59, Upper North Place, Gray's Inn Road	0	5	0
Todd, B. B., St. Thomas's-square, Hackney	0	5	0
Wisdell, J. C., 7, Long-lane, Smithfield	0	2	6
Perry, Robert, Hammersmith	0	2	0
*Gregory, Professor, Inverleith Row	2	0	0
*Horsburgh, John, 18, Buccleuch Place	1	0	0
*White, Thomas, & Co., 225, Canongate	1	0	0
*Adam, Alex. & Son, Bonnington	1	0	0
*Mackenzie, W., 29, Charlotte-square	1	0	0
*Simpson, Jas., 33, Northumberland-st.	1	0	0
*Dunlop, John, of Brockloch, 7, Randolph Cliff	1	0	0
*Falkner, Counsellor, 63, South Bridge	1	0	0
*Sheppard, Counsellor, 68, George-st.	1	0	0
*Slinch, Alex., Slott, Gundry	1	0	0
*Livett, G., 15, Regent-street	1	0	0
*Newby, Charles, 55, ditto	1	0	0
Coomer, C. H.	1	0	0
Smith, Wm., Hermitage	1	0	0
*Neisk, James	1	0	0
*Sturrock, J., jun., writer, Park-place	1	0	0
*Sturrock, John ditto	1	0	0
*Graham, Miss Stirling, Dunsburn	1	0	0
*Land, John, 152, Briggate	1	0	0
*Garlick, S., 38, Park-square	1	0	0
*Noddings, J., Commercial-road, Holbeck	1	0	0
*Bilbrough A., Gildersome, near	1	0	0
*Watson, John, Holbeck Lodge	1	0	0
*Nettleton, T. and W., 84, Basinghall-st.	1	0	0
*Mason, Sam., 20, Queen-square	1	0	0
*Topham, Sam., 5, West Bar	1	0	0
*Bilbrough, James, Gildersome, near	1	0	0
*Blackburn, Enoch, Hunslet	1	0	0
*Smith, James, 110, Meadow-lane	1	0	0
*Kidd, James	1	0	0
*Simpson, T., Broad-street	1	0	0
*Waterhouse, Thos. P., 4, Greenhill-ter	1	0	0

* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed subscriptions.

ERRATA.—In LEAGUE, No. 117, for Amount of Collection at Messrs. Tunstall and Cash's Manufactory, Stroud, read Great Gardens, Bristol. In No. 118, for Samuel Grey and Co., Manchester, 2351, read Samuel Grey and Co.

We have also to mention that the following gentlemen have sent in their names for the subscriptions as below:—
W. A. Wilkinson, Camberwell £100
Horace Wilkinson, ditto 100
H. A. Wedgewood, Hermitage, Woking 50
T. Prout, East Hill, Wandsworth 50
G. W. Walker, Grecian Chambers, Devereux-court, Strand 5

Mr. Scrope, M.P., has announced his intention to subscribe, through the Stroud Free Trade Association, £100 to the League Fund.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

Manchester, Dec. 31, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—In your Manchester Subscription List of last Saturday, there was an error in entering to the credit of James Wrigley, junior, 50s.; it should have been James Wrigley, senior; my subscription being in the amount of 250s., by Thomas and James Wrigley. Your correcting the above will oblige your obedient servant,

JAMES WRIGLEY, JUN.

SUSSEX LAW.—A labourer, named James Bishop, was charged before the Lewes bench of magistrates on the 21st ult., with being on the Downs for the purpose of taking game (rabbits). It did not appear whether the defendant had work or not, but it did appear that he had not taken any game. Defendant pleaded "guilty," and the Bench observed that it was a "serious offence to which defendant had pleaded guilty," and he was sentenced to ten days' hard labour, and at the end of that term to find securities to keep the peace (towards the rabbits?) for one year, himself in 3s., and two securities in 3s. each.—*The Times*.

LETTERS ON THE CORN LAWS, No. LIV.

TO B. HAWES, ESQ., M.P.

SIR,—Your speech to the electors of Lambeth, at the meeting on Tuesday evening, is a masterly summary of the arguments against the food monopoly. The declaration that you are determined "cordially and faithfully" to support the "unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws" is an appropriate pendant to such a speech. That declaration amounts, in my apprehension, to a distinct "pledge" upon the question. You cannot recede from it without dishonouring yourself, unless at the same time you place your seat afresh at the disposal of your constituents.

According to the report, you were thus understood at the meeting. The elector who questioned your colleague at first avoided any similar appeal to yourself, on the ground that you had rendered it unnecessary; and when afterwards he adopted a different course, it was apparently only to avoid making any invidious distinction between the two representatives for the borough.

I cannot imagine that you consider a promise less binding when it is given unasked for, than it is if given after being asked for. "I WILL support the unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws." That is what, by the report, you *did* say, of your own accord; and that is also what, by the report, you *refused* to say, when a constituent inquired whether you would do so. Not having been present, I cannot say whether the questioner's manner was respectful. Nor can that much signify. It was as the voice of the meeting that he put the question; and it was not to him individually, but to the meeting, that your answer was required. Thoroughly acquitting you of any mental reservation in your declared purposes, relying on you as firmly as if you had sworn to Corn Law repeal upon the holy Gospels, I cannot but think that you have drawn a distinction unmeaning in your own case, but not without both meaning and mischief in the case of many others who may follow your example.

The Reform Bill was carried by a pledged Parliament. Its triumph would have been much less secure had the electors been satisfied by candidates promising that they would deliberate, and inquire, and exercise their discretion. They were sent to pass the Bill. Just so, at the next election, must they be sent to repeal the Corn Laws. The Free Trade constituencies will stultify themselves egregiously if they return members of whose conduct any doubt can exist. In such a prospect, it would well become those who, like yourself, may claim confidence in their consistency, to set the example of cheerfully coming under obligations which as to others are far from being always unnecessary. You deprive them of excuse for equivocation. You help to insure the identification between the elected and the electors. If such as you are ready to pledge yourselves, who can demur?

There was a disposition, in the elections immediately after the Reform Act, ridiculously to multiply pledges. The absurdity cured itself. A representative legislator must have a large discretion to be of service to the country; not because he is often likely to hear, in the House of Commons, what will change his opinions—how many such conversions do you remember?—but because the representative has often to deal with unforeseen circumstances; and the application to those circumstances of the principles he holds, may require deliberation. But there are certain specific and paramount questions about which no such reservation need exist. Such was Parliamentary reform. Such is Corn Law repeal.

It is beside the mark to talk of going to the House of Commons "in a deliberate character," and of hearing arguments, and of the landlords refusing to discuss with you if you are pledged, (they not being qualmish themselves about pledges,) after telling the world so plainly, as you have done, of your fixed determination. Your mind is made up. Nobody doubts it. After your speech, it would be an insult to suppose that any landlord can persuade you to vote for prolonging the food monopoly. Were it

possible for you to profess such a conversion, who would believe you sincere? Not yourself even.

Your free-born indignation is misplaced. You bind yourself as much as, on your own account, any body wants to bind you. But let us take the question somewhat more broadly.

It is not a party question. The co-operation of all parties is honestly invited and cheerfully accepted. Had Lord John Russell succeeded in forming an administration, the Free Traders, as such, would not have been committed to the support of his Government an inch further than is implied in the repeal of the Corn Laws. So far they are ready to support Sir Robert Peel's Government, whenever it will go so far. They are not a section of the Whig Opposition. They do not aim at "ejecting the Tories from office;" at least, so long as a Free Trade administration (which might be either Whig, Tory, or both) appears impracticable. The chairman of your electoral meeting was a Free Trade Tory. There are many such. The union for this object is honourable and patriotic; but it destroys the security which party ties give the electors for the consistency of the elected. Whig electors, and Tory electors too, have a right to demand that they be not made party tools of. They go up to the hustings to poll, not for Whigism or Toryism, but for Free Trade. They have a bond which is paramount to party; and that is what they desire of those whom they elect. They require that there should be no reservation in favour of the Parliamentary tactics or interests of either political party. How are Free Traders to secure this paramount consideration for the question which they deem paramount? Your chairman gives the plain answer. "I have pledged myself to vote for no one but a man who will vote for an abolition of the Corn Laws." Well said, honest Tory; and let every honest Whig say the same. That is the spirit which will carry the elections. The object can only be worked out by pledging the candidates. Dishonest men, no doubt, will take pledges; let dishonest men take them also; and then the electors will only have to choose between honesty and dishonesty. But let a candidate be in ever so high a repute for integrity, if he refuse this simple test of his purpose, the very integrity breeds suspicion of his not exactly intending to do what is wanted. It is subordinate, in his mind, to some other consideration. The constituencies should leave no such uncertainty. There is "ample room and verge enough" for discretion on other matters. On the repeal of the Corn Laws, they should be "lound hand and foot;" and let the candidates say, if they like, that "it was of no use talking to them." We want members to whom it is of no use either for landlords or party lords to talk. We want, in short, the thing done; and the simplest way is to send to Parliament those, and those only, so far as we can, who will undertake to do it.

Whether the "leaders of the League" would or would not have approved what passed at the meeting, I am incompetent to say. But I misunderstand them very much unless they approve the determination of electors, whether Whig or Tory, to make their votes contingent on the candidate's going for the immediate, total, and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws.

A NORWICH WEAVER BOY.

We are much gratified to learn that Messrs. Cobden and Bright are to visit Newcastle on Monday, and to address the people on the great struggle which is now going on. We need hardly add that we fully and confidently trust their reception will be not only such as their own great talents and popular claims deserve, but as one worthy of the great cause which they have so ably and successfully advocated.—*Tyne Mercury*.

REPRESENTATION OF WAKEFIELD.—Mr. D. Gaskell, the former representative of the borough, has promised to become a candidate upon Free Trade principles, whenever an election may take place.

DEATH FROM THE FALLING OF A CHIMNEY.—A melancholy occurrence took place on Tuesday evening, at the Ballast Hills, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, from the falling of the chimney of a dwelling-house during a gale of wind. The chimney broke through the roof of the house into an upper apartment, where a female was lying ill in bed; two children were playing on the floor, and an infant, eight months old, was asleep in the cradle. Some of the bricks and rubbish fell into the cradle, and killed the child, but the others escaped with comparatively slight injury.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Coleshill House, Dec. 27, 1845.

DEAR SIR,—I congratulate you, myself, the whole country, and the world in general, at the admirable success of the meeting held at the Town Hall, Manchester, on the 23rd; and I herewith send my 50*l.* as promised. I do not give it as the first instalment (20 per cent.) of an undertaking to give you 250*l.*; but if the contest is protracted for five years, and I should so long live, and a further contribution should in a less time be wanted, I shall ever be ready to attend to your call to the extent of my means.

I am, yours faithfully,

G. Wilson, Esq.

RADNOR.

Hall Barn Park, Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire,
26th December, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am sorry that I was not able to be with you on the 23d inst., when you made so noble a demonstration in favour of carrying out the cause in which the League has embarked. I have read Mr. Cobden's speech in the *Times* of the 24th inst. with much pleasure; it is a clear exposition of my views; nothing could be better timed than his declaration of our intentions, for our opponents have attributed to us all kinds of motives but the right one. They have now clearly before them a simple and intelligible mode of dissolving the League by a total and immediate revocation of our corn and provision laws, but without any *rider* whatever that would render the repeal less acceptable to the country. This measure of justice has been too long delayed. I hope our opponents by this time see that public opinion, honestly, firmly, and constitutionally expressed, when founded in justice, is irresistible. No administration can now stand and support laws that inflict permanent scarcity on the country; but we must not relax our exertions until every vestige of them is repealed. Pray add my name to your list for one thousand pounds, and believe me to be ever yours, truly and respectfully,

WM. BROWNE, of Richmond Hill.

George Wilson, Esq., Chairman of the
Anti-Corn-Law League.

Crawfordsburn, Bangor, Ireland, Dec. 27, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—I think that a period of the Anti-Corn Law agitation has arrived when every man, who at any former time professed an attachment to that cause, is bound to renew the evidences of his adhesion. Circumstances which now exist indicate the probability that the struggle is approaching to a successful issue; but the more nearly the termination approaches, and the more numerous the defaulters from the ranks of the monopolists, the more desperate will be the efforts of those who remain; and success cannot be insured except by energy and, above all, by uncompromising determination. I use the word *uncompromising* emphatically, because I have no doubt that when open resistance becomes hopeless, compromises will be offered, and every stratagem adopted to disunite the supporters of your cause by offers of this nature; but I confidently anticipate that the League will stand by its avowed principles without swerving, and that no assent will be given by your body to any arrangement which does not honestly carry out the object of *total and immediate* repeal of the duties on food; and that no relaxation of your agitation will be tolerated till every law imposing such duties shall be erased from the statute book.

Under these impressions I send you the enclosed as a token of my humble co-operation with your efforts in so noble a cause; and however anxious I may be to press for the removal of other monopolies, I think that in the present position of this question, the advancement of free institutions of all kinds can be best promoted by concentrating the moral power of this great country on the undivided object of the destruction of the food monopoly, which has been justly termed the basis on which every other monopoly rests as its chief support. And I also feel that those who entertain the opinions I do, and are connected with the landed interest, have a double duty to perform, because, whilst I do not apprehend any permanent evil from the repeal of the Corn Laws, I think that danger the most imminent, the most certain, and the most fatal will arise to that interest from its assuming on that question an insulated position of hostility to the feelings and interests of all the other classes of the community.

Having ventured to express these views, permit me to subscribe myself, with the most unfeigned respect and esteem, my dear Sir, yours faithfully,

WM. SHARMAN CRAWFORD.

Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P.

Ilfracombe, Dec. 25, 1845.

SIR,—It seems to be the order of the day to publish recipes by which Englishmen may be taught how to keep life in the body in the time of famine with the least possible amount of nourishment. I can help you to one that may be placed in juxtaposition with the *Buck* wheat, *alias* *Buckland's* beans, and Norfolk punch.

A highly respectable shoemaker of this town, the son of an agricultural labourer, assures me that a neighbouring labourer (to his father) with his wife and family, existed for six weeks upon potatoes, washed without being skinned, and grated into water, and the pulp boiled up; they had great difficulty in procuring the small quantity of potatoes they did obtain, and the grating system was adopted in order to stretch the potato porridge to its utmost limit.

I have no doubt this will be found to be a most valuable discovery, for hitherto the water in which potatoes have been boiled has been looked upon as poisonous, and on that account is not at present given to the pigs; but since it can be proved that a whole family has existed for six weeks on the porridge I have named, perhaps at some of the Protection dinners we shall find that cottagers will be advised not to throw away the water in which potatoes have been boiled, but to use it as a substitute for the strong ale with which the husbandman, in years, alas! gone by, used to be treated.

I sincerely congratulate the League on the splendid commencement of the Quarter of a Million Fund.

I have always said that the delegates and lecturers of the League were only missionaries to teach; but when full meetings could be obtained, by townsmen coming forward to hear townsmen talk to them, then would the accomplishment of their desires not be very far off. We had an instance of a town's meeting here last night, and a splendid one it was; the addresses would not have disgraced a Covent Garden meeting.

I am, Sir, yours very sincerely,

Richard Cobden, Esq.

9, Bruce-street, Dunfermline, 27th Dec., 1845.

RESPECTED SIR,—The annexed resolution was unanimously adopted last night, at a meeting in the Town Hall. For your information I may state, that immediately on receipt of intelligence of the resignation of the Peel ministry, a copy of the *Times* was ordered by a few of the most zealous of the operative Free Traders, and was every night read publicly, on the arrival of the post. The interest exhibited was only equalled by that at the passing of the Reform Bill. A great majority of the audiences were of the working class, with a sprinkling of shopkeepers and manufacturers; and it was delightful to witness the unanimity and enthusiasm which prevailed. Tories, Whigs, and Chartists were present; and all of them declared their willingness to forego for a time their opinions on other questions, and unite on the one, repeal of the Corn Laws. The choppings and changings in the ministry appeared to them of much less consequence than the course the League, and you, Sir, in particular, would adopt in the present singular and eventful crisis. They hoped that you would have been ready to lead the masses in an immediate and simultaneous attack on "that mass of ignorance and selfishness, the landed interest;" and they were quite prepared to give their quota of "the force" necessary to effect the object. With these hopes and feelings, imagine the disappointment and regret—I ought rather to say dismay—with which that part of your speech at Manchester was received where you evidently made up your mind for a lengthened contest, fall back on your old plan of vanquishing the British aristocracy by the purchase of 40*s.* freeholds, and to allow the present fortunate and unlooked-for state of public opinion to pass unimproved—at least, so far as respects an attempt to organise "the people" against the monopolists, is concerned. After the reading of the papers, a discussion ensued on the position of the Free Trade question, which resulted in the unanimous adoption of the resolution I have the honour to forward you by desire of the meeting. With admiration for your talent, and gratitude for your exertions in the cause of Free Trade, and with a lively hope that you will before long see it your duty to put yourself at the head of the people to achieve your object, of which there will then be no doubt,—I remain, Sir, yours respectfully,

Richard Cobden, Esq.

THOMAS MORRISON.

"COPY OF RESOLUTION.

"That this meeting observes with deep regret that Mr. Cobden, in his speech at Manchester, anticipates a lengthened agitation to obtain a repeal of the Corn Laws, which he hopes to effect by swamping the landed interest in the counties by the purchase of 40*s.* freeholds. That in our opinion the present time is most favourable for a decisive attack on the monopolists, and for that purpose we respectfully suggest to the League the propriety of their recommending a national organisation of the working classes, or such other plan they might approve, as best calculated to obtain a total and immediate repeal of those obnoxious laws. Also, that this resolution, with an explanatory letter, be sent to Mr. Cobden."

19, Little Pulteney-street, Golden-square, Jan. 1st, 1846.

DEAR SIR,—With much pleasure I forward you the enclosed 10*l.* as my contribution to the 250,000*l.* fund, being double my former one, and ready to double again should 500,000*l.* be wanted. I cordially agree with every effort that has been made, during this arduous struggle, for the emancipation of our just and sacred rights; but, above all, the last and great movement in the County Registration Courts, which, I believe, will prove the most powerful and decisive, and, without doubt, a truly constitutional weapon, that can be brought into action, to curb the selfish and destructive policy of our assuming, hereditary, legislators. I can hardly presume to offer any remarks after the brilliant efforts that have been made to awaken the minds of the industrious middle and working classes to the vast and paramount importance of the 40*s.* freehold qualification. I would earnestly remind all true Leaguers, and every friend to enlightened legislation, not to let one day pass without placing themselves in a position by this simple, but effective means, of rendering their country most important service; for we know not at this eventful crisis what a day may bring forth. That we must be called on before long, is certain, to exercise the noble privilege of choosing our law-makers; and into whose hands we trust the destinies of millions of our skilled and toiling fellow countrymen will be placed.

I remain, Dear Sir, Yours faithfully,

A. W. Paulton, Esq.

J. W. HUTCHINSON.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

ROXBURGHSHIRE, DEC. 22.—SIR, I have received your communication recommending me to acquire freehold qualifications in certain English counties, with the view of promoting the great cause of Free Trade. I shall make particular inquiry, and do what is right in the matter. In the meantime, there are one or two remarks which I would humbly venture to submit to your consideration bearing upon this important subject. Before doing so, however, I may first state what we have been doing on this side of the border since the Reform Bill became law. In the year 1832, the constituency of this county numbered nearly 1300; that number is now 2100; thus showing an increase of 800 during the last twelve years. Allowing 700 of these freeholds to have cost 150*l.* each, you have thus a sum of not less than 105,000*l.* expended in the purchase of freeholds; and when it is considered that the county contains only 45,000 inhabitants, it will be allowed that there has been no apathy here, at least in the matter of the franchise.

Having said this much as my warrant for what is to follow, I would remark that the franchise in Scotland is a 10*l.* franchise, while the English is only 2*l.*; that the population of England is 16,000,000, of Scotland only 2,500,000; that the property-tax renchises 5,000,000*l.*, of which Scotland contributes only 350,000*l.*, or one-fourteenth part; and that England returns 500 members to Parliament, Scotland only 53—the result of all which is, $5 \times 6 \times 14 \times 10 = 4200$; that is, in this question of the franchise England possesses capabilities no less than 4200 times greater than Scotland. But, indeed, this is understating the case, since there exists another vast power of extending it in England not known here. This arises from the Freeman clause, which I understand extends to all the old burghs, without exception; and although it may be difficult to calculate its precise value in figures, yet it must be very great. These calculations show how much more political power the English people possess than the Scotch. But, alas! how do they exercise that power? While Ireland and Scotland, far poorer countries, have always returned a majority of liberal representatives, these are altogether swamped by the great preponderance of the English Tory members—the exertions of the Irish and Scotch being rendered unavailing through the apathy, ignorance, and venality of the great body of the English electors

These may appear strong terms, but are they not borne out by notorious facts? Is it not so, that at elections votes are given not out of regard to the candidate's principles, but the colour of his favours, or the family of which he happens to be a member or relative? There is indeed another method, worse than either of these, and that is, the acceptance of even the most trifling sum of money as a bribe. Nor is this vile system of bribery confined to the humbler classes. I remember seeing it stated some years ago, that in the Burgh of Stafford, voters, persons of condition, actually came in their carriages to receive these wages of sin. I observed also, within the last twelve or eighteen months, a contest in Yorkshire for the keepership of a county record, the electors being owners of 100*l.* sterling in land; yet even with this constituency of gentlemen (qualified by property to be placed in the commission of the peace) the expenses incurred by the two candidates amounted to 6000*l.*; and although none of this might be given in money, it must have been for their travelling expenses and refreshments, both of which ought to have been beneath their acceptance. It was oppressive treatment to the candidates, and a bad example set to their poorer countrymen. I am proud to say that in Scotland, electors in the middle rank of society will rarely accept payment of their travelling expenses in going to the poll.

What I would, therefore, humbly suggest, is the necessity of your unceasingly impressing on your countrymen the propriety of

1st. Considering that the franchise is nothing more than a trust placed by the constitution in their hands, and that the perversion of this trust, by exercising it without reflection, or for venal considerations, is an act of open treachery and wickedness, and in cases where the bribery oath is tendered also, of perjury.

2nd. To urge them not only to refuse reward for their votes, but to defray their travelling charges out of their own pockets in all cases where they are able to do so, besides assisting their poorer brethren. Were this rule acted upon in the approaching contest for Yorkshire, for instance, perhaps 50,000*l.* would be saved, and the successful candidate would be under no obligation to any elector in particular: whereas, if his expenses are defrayed by fifty or a hundred noblemen and gentlemen, he is laid under a deep obligation to the parties, and thus does not hold the proper independent position in Parliament of representing equally all his constituents.

3rd. As it is for the reasons above stated only in England the Free Trade battle can be won, this fact ought to be constantly impressed on them, as well in connection with the acquirement of freeholds as of entering as freemen in boroughs, and in all cases at their own sole expense.

By such means as these, and by such only, can the English nation secure freedom of trade, and relieve themselves of the debt of gratitude they owe to their Irish and Scottish brethren.

I am yours, &c.,
A SCOTTISH ELECTOR.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

The Edge, near Sheffield, Dec. 30, 1845.

SIR,—I herewith enclose 10*l.* from a friend and myself towards purchase of smock frocks for some of the labourers alluded to by Mr. Ferguson in last week's LEAGUE. You will much oblige me by placing it at the disposal of that gentleman in due course. I also beg to say that my subscription to the League fund will be this year 3*l.*; my last year's was 1*l.* I will pay it to the local agents when called upon. I am, very truly, &c.

EDW. HOYLAND.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

Retford, Nottinghamshire, Dec. 30, 1845.

SIR,—On reading the statement by Mr. Ferguson in THE LEAGUE, respecting the poor labourers in Bicester, Oxfordshire, I forward 1*l.* to be appropriated for smock frocks, that some of the poor may have the comfort of going to the house of God.

WM. SHREWSBURY, SEN.

We have received the following from a friend in Manchester, to whom it was addressed:—

Liverpool, 18th November, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—I hand you a statement of the domestic cotton goods exported from the port of Boston in the months of September and October, which you will please forward to the LEAGUE; showing that their supplanting our manufactures is only a question of time, if the price of food in this country continues under the present restrictions on importation.—Your's truly,

W. WATSON.

BOSTON.

DOMESTIC COTTON GOODS TRADE.

The export of Domestic Cotton Goods from the port of Boston, for the month ending September 30, has been as follows:—

To Valparaiso.....	bales and cases	2256
Hong Kong.....		490
Rio Janeiro.....		150
Sumatra.....		75
California.....		26
Jamaica.....		33
Buenos Ayres.....		70
Smayna.....		94
Hobart Town.....		49
Laguana and Porto Cabello.....		38
St. Domingo.....		15
St. Peters.....		6
San Juan.....		4
New Orleans.....		449
Mobile.....		20
Charleston.....		980
Baltimore.....		504
Philadelphia.....		2372
New York.....		5253

Total for September.....	12,884
August.....	4263
July.....	4637
June.....	2375

Total for four months.....	24,359
Same time last year.....	33,154
Exported to Foreign ports this year.....	10,975
Same time last year.....	7390

Increase.....	3385
Export to Domestic ports this year.....	13,384
Same time last year.....	29,764
Decrease.....	12,380

The export of Domestic Cotton Goods from the port of Boston, for the month ending October 31, has been as follows:—

To Hong Kong.....	bales and cases	169
Manilla.....		245
East Indies.....		230
Rio Janeiro.....		397
Buenos Ayres.....		25
South America, via Richmond.....		164
St. Thomas.....		93

West Indies.....	25
Campeachy.....	25
Cape Haytien.....	13
Mansanilla and Peru.....	51
Puyal.....	11
St. Peters, Miq.....	25
St. Domingo.....	50
Pernambuco.....	1
Nova Scotia.....	4
New Orleans.....	313
Mobile.....	93
Charleston.....	1160
New York.....	4638
Baltimore.....	1800
Philadelphia.....	2352
Richmond.....	104
Apalachicola.....	95
Salem.....	50
Pattersonville.....	5
Calais, Me.....	4
Thomaston, Me.....	6
Belfast.....	6
Castine.....	4
Portland.....	1

Total for October.....	12,114
Previous four months.....	24,359

Total for five months.....	36,473
Same time last year.....	40,134

Exported to Foreign ports this year.....	12,459
Same time last year.....	9571

Increase.....	2887
Exported to Domestic ports this year.....	24,015
Same time last year.....	30,563

Decrease.....	6548
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THE SHADOW AND THE PANIC.

A WITCH STORY FOR THE NEW YEAR.

CHAPTER I.

Some account of where and under what circumstances.

How long it is ago can hardly yet be told. It may be known before we are done.

The time of the year was December. There were mistletoe about and holly; there were carcasses of prize cattle, which told of Christmas; but the weather did not belong to Christmas. It was not weather to rejoice the well-fed of the world; the butchers did not like it. It was not weather to rejoice the firesides of the very poor, for benevolent coal clubs did not open their hearts because it was not a *hard* winter. It was foggy, muggy, muddy, chilly, shivery, drizzly, windy, cold, and wet weather; that is what it was.

It was like as if December had not taken his natural rest, and had not risen from his bed the sound-headed, hard-footed Christmas-faced, dancing December which he used to be. It was as if he had turned his days, short as they were, into nights, and had been spending them with November in carousals of heavy-wettedness; coming home to the performance of his own business dozing and winking; bespattered from head to foot; refusing to be brushed and look respectable; storming and blustering; driving poor people about who were obliged to carry loads on their heads; wetting every body all over; tearing the soles from bad shoes, and the shoes from wayworn feet; spoiling the prize beef and mutton, and the geese and turkeys, and threatening to do the same with the mince-pies, and make Christmas like himself, sour and unhappy. Such was that December in which occurred the events of our legend.

I do not know that our legend belongs exclusively to any one place. I have reason to believe it does not. We often find different towns in possession of the same legends. For instance, 20 villages in England, and nearly as many in Scotland, contend with half as many towns for the distinction of having buried a lady who was only in a trance, and of having had a sexton who opened the grave at night, and cut her fingers off to get her rings; who thus broke her trance, and enabled her to get up and tap at her own door for admittance, within which the bereaved husband was heard to declare that if his wife was not dead and buried, he would say that she was at the door!

Some towns dispute as to which burned the last witch; some dispute as to which of them gave birth to the man who sold himself to —, no matter whom; and others contend for the distinction of having had a ravine dug out, a bridge built, or a road made by that remarkable old "navvy," who bought the man who sold himself. It has even been disputed to which parish some ghost belonged, which made its appearance in several, as if it had been a parish ghost seeking a settlement.

There is no doubt but the events of our present story have occurred in more places than one. I believe there is scarcely a town distinguished enough to have a corn-market in it, in which they have not occurred. But I adhere to a West of England version, as it happened in the county town of a shire which has the Bristol Channel on one side and South Wales on the other. This town stands on the banks of the river Doubleyou, near to its confluence with the Emm, and they were both in high flood. It is a genteel river, the Doubleyou, but had then been getting in its first winter contributions, a kind of water rental from the plebeian working streams, and it looked familiar with them, and was not so genteel and reserved as it had been. It was of a fustian-jacket-like colour, but not so black as its vassal the

Emm, which issued from the womb of the Welsh mountains, deep into which the human ants—worms, if you will—had penetrated for coal and iron to make wealth and strength for England. The Emm was a working river, embrowned with its coaly toil and with the iron rocks in the deep caves, and with the red earth which seemed to yield its very blood to give England treasure. A hundred humble streams of its own industrious order joined with it, and were swallowed up by the genteeler Doubleyou, which, in its turn, was gobbled by the Severn, he rolling along like a tax-gatherer to the ocean to feed the great monopolist of all; where the dyed waters from the Welsh hills bore no more evidence of having once been the water of working streams than do any three halfpence paid for a pennyworth of bread bear evidence of having been once a working-man's halfpence when they are in the treasury of a duke—the fractional part of an ocean of guineas.

The Emm rushed down in full flood, as if it could not spare a moment from business to linger anywhere. Its neighbours, larger and less, were all alike. The very springlets, by far too young as yet to do any work, imitated their elders, put their little feet in their father's shoes, put his hat on, which fell over their eyes, rambled about knowing not where they went, and raised their voices as if they bade all England bear witness that they had now grown big.

But it was a dreary day to such men and beasts as were obliged to be out in it. How the shepherd who had been twenty years in that one service, having his choice between the shelter of the hedge where the ground was wettest, or the windy side of the hedge where the ground was driest, longed to see ten other Decembers over his head that he might then perchance get a "premium of a sovereign and a great coat, with the society's buttons on it, for long service!" How strongly did he feel a conviction that stall and shed feeding for turnip eating sheep was the best! and when he saw his flock knee deep in earthy mortar, their food as deep in the mud as their feet; and how the cattle in the wet meadows shivered, and felt what it was to be on farms which had not plenty of straw for them and winter food; how they would have understood the operation of a Corn Law, which their owners did not understand, had they been farmers as well as beasts; how they would have said, bring oats and beans for us to eat and be fat with, and we will make the farm rich to grow wheat and plenty of warm straw to be on, and much provender to be added by you to our oats and beans!

But shepherds and sheep, and meadow cattle, shivered and were drenched, and nobody seemed to think they ought to be warm and dry. What between the ploughmen sinking in the undrained land when they ventured on it in the day time, and sinking in their potato burrows when they put their feet on them at night, unconscious that their stores of winter food had been transformed into heaps of rottenness; what between their master seeing the wheat which was sown for next year's crop rotting in the ground, because the land was undrained and the weather so continuously wet; what between his knowing that he had no money to drain it, and not much chance of getting the profit if he had money and did drain it; what between having his hay spoiled in the summer by a month of rain, and the flooding of the rivers upon meadows where his rheumatic sheep now stood—rheumatic because they were in the wet, in the wet because they must pick up scanty grass, there being little hay, no corn to eat, and little straw to lie upon; what between all these things, the continued gloom of the weather, and a gloomy foreboding of something which was once far off, but which was now coming near and nearer, and which such friends as they ever took pleasure in listening to, said was to be a terrible calamity; what between all these things, they were every one, both masters and men, as low in spirits as the weather-glass in the parlour, or as the cattle that hung their heads in the meadows.

But amid all this dreariness of man and beast, of earth and air, there was, at least in one place, a spot of joy—a focus of happiness, where the light spirits of youth, released from school for the Christmas holidays had assembled. A young tradition says it was in the town which stands at the mouth of the Emm, or rather where the Doubleyou snatches up the Emm in its mouth, that these light spirits, heroes and heroines of our tale, were assembled.

CHAPTER II.

An account of the Giant Child and his Grandmother.

In that town indicated in the last chapter lived a fortune-teller, one Sally Morgan. It was often a subject of dispute with the townspeople, whether old Sally really believed in her power of telling fortunes, or only professed to do so for the pence which the practice brought to her. If she did not believe, she simulated belief with wonderful fidelity. My own opinion is that she believed. The fact that out of hundreds of prophecies there was hardly one instance known of her being

correct, only proves that her system of fortune-telling was false ; it does not prove that she did not believe in it.

She was grandmother to one Benjamin Morgan, a man of large stature and weak mind, who walked on crutches, and did not look straight with his eyes. He was old enough to be a man, but hardly wise enough to be a boy. He passed his time as a boy ; as a small boy ; as a boy petted and made much of—even unto spoiling.

There might be some excuse for this, inasmuch as he, being of weak mind, and of feeble health, and being entirely under the charge of his grandmother, she had a tenderness of regard for him, increased by his helplessness. But this tenderness of regard led her to confine him entirely within doors, suffering him not to go out either for the increase of health or strength, or to assist in adding something to the family income. Indeed, on the last point, it was sometimes alleged that old Sally made more money through the pretence of having a poor helpless, fatherless and motherless "innocent" to look after, than she would have done had he worked for and looked after himself. And there is no question at all that her practice of fortune-telling was far more profitable to her than a more honest course of life would have been. And there was something in the appearance of the gigantic child in her house, always there and never out of doors, save when he peeped out at lonely hours, and instantly drew in again if he saw himself observed,—there was something in this giant whom she "protected" that deepened the mystery of her own life, and thus added value to her prophecies ; for prophecies must be planted in deep mystery to take root and grow, and be rank, and rear themselves up with dark shadows, and look terrible. If there is no mystery at their roots, there is no life in them ; they are seen, and they perish. The world's eye withers them up.

The giant was not an unhappy creature ; though, by a kind of "whining" noise he made whenever a stranger came within hearing, that stranger would have thought him greatly distressed. He begged halfpence from all who came to his grandmother to get their fortunes told, and it was her custom to foretell an indifferent fortune to those who in the least hesitated to give him halfpence. To those who refused, she prophesied disasters not much short of ending their days upon the gallows.

The gigantic Benjamin, by the halfpence thus obtained, and by other means, to be explained presently, provided himself with toys for his amusement ; rather, it should be said, for his employment, for he had no employment but his amusements. He had a box of earth in the front window, and another in the back window, and in these he would plant a bean or two, and half a dozen grains of wheat. The hearthstone was his farmyard ; and he had not only wheeled waggons and ploughs upon it, but horses on wheels. He had cows which lay down because they could not stand—not for fat, but for the want of feet to their wooden pegs. The floor was always in confusion. It was bestrewn with wooden hounds, foxes, and hunters, which stood still, save when he moved them ; and when he was tired of moving them, and tired of play, he grumbled to his grandmother, who comforted him with the assurance that somebody would soon be coming to get their fortunes told, of whom he could beg a few more halfpence to get a few more toys. And when they came, this he did accordingly.

It was a pitiable sight to see a creature, and that creature human, bearing the name, nature, stature, and years of a man, thus growing into mature life, year after year, with no higher enjoyment, and no higher purpose, than the play of a child. Pity suggests that we should hide such a helpless being, so humiliating to human nature, in obscurity for ever ; but duty says, that he who could learn nothing himself must be made a lesson of instruction to others. The giant Ben had certain propensities and habits, and did certain acts which led some people to doubt if he was as harmless and weak-minded as he outwardly seemed to be. He was not altogether an innocent ; he was not free of guile : but that I attribute to weakness of intellect, and the teaching of his grandmother, rather than to any inherent propensity to do mischief. He was taught to live by his helplessness, as has been already told ; how he acted up to that tuition we shall now in part discover.

It was in grandmother Morgan's house that the holiday children, who had escaped from school, were assembled to have sport with one another and with Ben. The old woman had this peculiarity about children coming to her house, that she did not hate them, else she would not have permitted them to come ; but she only loved them for what they brought with them. They brought their holiday half-pence ; and their fathers and mothers gave them liberty to take presents to her, that she might not cast an evil eye on them in after life. She also contrived to be friendly with the parents, and she was friendly with them because she foretold the good fortune that was to happen to the

children, to such children at least as shared their cakes with her gigantic grandson, Big Ben. The children were also excellent listeners to her stories about witches, ghosts, fairies, and enchantments ; and as she loved to hear herself talk, she loved listeners. Thus far, and thus far only, did she love the children.

They, on the other hand, thought it such prime sport to see Big Ben, larger than any of their fathers, playing with toys, and they allowed to mingle their toys with his, that nearly every one, whose parents would permit, and who had a toy, or a box of toys to bring with them, were there in the play led on to the sport by the great man-child. And they put all the oddest looking toys and the most expensive together, and made a show of them. Their cows and bulls that ran upon wheels, and their pigs that had not a leg to carry them, they put them altogether, and clapped their hands and laughed ; Big Ben clapping his hands first, and laughing loudest. They called this their Christmas cattle show ; and then the little ones clapped their hands louder and louder, because Big Ben continued to clap his hands.

The world has many pleasant things in it ; things at once happy and beautiful. It has months called May and June, and they have fruit-trees and blossoms in them, and flower-gardens. The world has weddings. It has also first-born babies, and young mothers nursing them. Christmas belongs to the world, and boxing day ; and so do many happy things that belong to Christmas and to boxing day. The assemblies of happy little children belong to both ; and the world has no lovelier sight than an assembly of little children, entertaining one another with their own cakes and fruit ; with their own miniature table spread and surrounded by themselves, making their own mirth, singing their own songs, dancing their own dances, laughing their own laughter. They are fairies at such a time ; but, like the fairies of the summer groves, you must be good friends with them, and approach them discreetly, to be admitted into their society without spoiling it. They have come too recently from fairy-land, have advanced but too short a way into the mortal world, to have their joys fully understood, or partaken of by mortals who cease to be mirthful as they grow into the world, and think they grow wiser as they cease to be mirthful.

There was not a happier assembly of young spirits within the regions of Christmas mirth than that which met at Sally Morgan's ; there might be a few, perhaps a good many, who had some distrust of both Sally and her grandson, but they got such a warm welcome, and were so caressed by the old lady, and so assured of friendship that would never vary by the very large and silly gentleman, Mr. Benjamin, that they were speedily relieved of all distrust ; and they proceeded with their show of toys, and their play as farmers and farmers' wives, led on by Big Ben himself, most gloriously and uproariously.

So long as the cakes and halfpence they brought with them lasted, and the apples, nuts, and oranges which the halfpence were sent out to purchase lasted, Big Ben was the best of friends. It has since been alleged that when he could get no more halfpence, cakes, apples, nuts, or oranges, from them, he began to help himself to their toys ; and his avarice growing by what it fed on, as a prize pig does, he, in conjunction with his grandmother, who told them such ghost stories as nearly frightened them out of their senses, and who raised ghosts, or who made them shut their eyes that they might not see the ghosts which she said were there—his avarice growing by what it fed on, to wit, friendship for children's halfpence, and cakes, and toys, aided by his grandmother, who told him it was quite right that they should make dupes of those who would be duped, he proceeded to take from them things which they never intended to part with, and which they never knew how they lost.

But in saying this I am perhaps speaking too fast ; too fast in respect of time and place, if not in respect of act and fact. We shall see.

CHAPTER III.

The Shadow and the Witch and the Panic.

The gigantic child led on the play, by telling every one what they were to do. They were to play at farmers ; and, as they were all in his house, he was to be landlord, and they were only to do what he bade them. And they all clapped their hands, and said they would only do what he bade them. And it was comical to see the large creature, with the body of a giant and the mind of a baby, directing their play ; telling them how he would teach them to make nine pretty farms all over the floor and on the hearth ; how he would tell them the best way to put out their toys to be like a real farm, while he had never seen a real farm in his life, and knew nothing of one but what his grandmother told him ; and she, old woman, had been short-sighted, very, all her days.

His own eyes not serving him perfectly in estimating the number of children in the room, who contended for space to spread out their toys, and less perfectly in estimating the space of floor proper to each, according to the toys each had to put upon it, he gave some a great deal too much, and left none to others. Mat White was one who had not many toys, but who was to have all the room between the arm-chair at the fireside and the table at the front window. John Button, who had a great many toys, and no room to make a farm, seeing how much space Mat White had got, looked on in silence for awhile, and at last said he did not care about playing at farms ; he would make a shop. And others, who had been looking on, like him, and for the same reason, cried with delight at the discovery of this resource, that they would keep shops, too.

"I won't have no shops," said Big Ben. "What do we want with shops ? We be a playing at farmers. You are all farmers, and I am your landlord. I won't have no shops, now, I tell you. And I tell you what it is, Button ; if you don't do like the rest, you shan't play at all."

"But I can't do like the rest," replied Button. "There is Mat White making his meadows all under his grandmother's arm-chair, and over half the floor, just for his own few sheep and cows ; and see how he is just getting anything, pieces of stick and cinder, and calling them bulls and cows ! There is no room for me. I should keep a shop, and they as have farms should come to market and sell butter, and cheese, and corn, and buy things at my shop. And I should pay rent to you for my shop, as well as they do for their farms."

Upon which Mat White said pettishly, "Now Button, you are always for something new, and spoiling the play. I'm sure Mr. Benjamin knows better how we should play than you do ; and he says we are to play at farms, and have no shops. What do we want with shops ? Aint it genteeler to have farms than shops ? (whispering) I'll let you have part of mine for one of your seed cakes."

And thus the first attempt was made at the middle-man system and sub-letting. But in this case it was prevented. Big Ben had the merit of seeing his own interest in this instance. He saw the seed cakes in Button's pocket, and heard some jingling of halfpence, so he gave him and several others who had seed cakes and halfpence in their pockets leave to play at shops. He, however, impressed on them, or tried to do so, the fact that it was a great favour to let them play at shops ; and though the space required was small, they must give him much more seed cake for that than any one gave for the same room who played at farms. Button said he did not mind giving one of his seed cakes and another halfpenny, only he did not think it was fair to make him pay for just half the top of the smallest stool in the house, while Mat White had all the room from the arm-chair to the table for a seed cake and two halfpennies. He asked in addition, how could they play at farms if there was not somebody to pay them for what they brought to market ; and to sell that again, and to get the implements for them to work with, and the clothes for them to wear that played at farms ?

At which Big Ben only laughed, and said, "Ah, Button, you don't know how to play ; what has a farm to do with a shop ? You mind your shop, that is all you have to do. Now all of you as have shops, put your things in them."

And the little shopkeepers clapped their hands, and said how nice it was to keep shops ; and they called to Mat White, and all the little boys that had farms, and to the little maids that called themselves farmers' wives and dairymen, to be quick, and make their butter and cheese, and fetch it to the shops ; and to be quick and sow their corn, and get it reaped, and threshed, and winnowed, and measured, and bagged, and carried to market. And all their little voices shouted, and called out, "Let us get butter, and cheese, and corn to carry to the market."

And so they went on as busy as little bees, and as noisy ; and some never stopped, no, not for an instant, until long after they had seen Mat White stop and sit down on his farm, and let his cows fall down flat on their sides that had no feet to their wooden pegs. He was listening, and then they all listened, to a tale which old Sally was telling of a witch that was to come across the Bristol Channel to the shores of Monmouth in a ship ; and the witch was to take hold of all little children, and open their mouths, and put food down their throats until they burst ; and was also to fill all their fathers and mothers until they burst ; and all their big brothers and sisters until they burst ; and all the parsons, and doctors, and lawyers until they burst ; all the lords and ladies of the land until they burst ; and all the cats, and dogs, and pigs, and fowls, and horses, and cattle, farm-labourers, and all ; paupers, too, in the workhouses ; every beast, and bird, and fish, and living thing was to be filled with food by the

witch until everything bursted! And everything with itself bursted, was to live and never eat another morsel of food, nor move from the spot upon which it was rent asunder by the fullness of the one great burst of food which the witch was to give it. All green things were to wither and die; nothing was to live to see the desolation but the creatures that had bursted with fullness of food. They were to live for punishment if they allowed the witch ever to set foot on dry land in Monmouthshire.

Mat White was so frightened, that he was almost running away from his farm, but he was as near to old Sally's arm-chair as he could get; so he held on where he was, and crept under her arm, and never looked over his shoulder to see if his toys were all safe. It was said that Big Ben took advantage of this diversion, and got hold of both cakes and nuts and pence and toys. But, if it was true, it was only Button that saw it. There was such a panic among the little creatures, they could do nothing but hold on by one another, and cry in terror, "Oh, if the witch should come, and fill us all till we burst!" and look at old Sally earnestly in the face, to see if there was hope of her being able to save them from the witch.

And old Sally understood their looks, and said there was only one way to be safe from the witch; they must each of them give Benjamin a halfpenny and a nut to crack, and not forget herself with something that was soft to her old teeth; if they did that, she and Benjamin would keep the witch away, and they would not be filled till they bursted.

Button murmured, though in a very low voice, "This is not playing at farms and shops, listening to a story about a witch. If you be all at work, as you should be, the witch will never catch you to fill you till you burst."

However, Button paid his halfpenny and his nut to Big Ben, along with the rest, and gave a sugar-plum to Ben's grandmother; "For," said he, "if I don't, Ben will take more out of my shop." And then he called to Mat White and the rest, saying, "Come, now; get on and fetch your things to market, and let us buy them; and then you will get what you want out of our shops."

And Big Ben cried, "Yes, come; let every one come and be at the market selling their corn. Now you are all on the road to market. Now you are all in the market. Now you are to be all ready to sell your corn; but you are not to begin until I tell you; you are to do nothing until I tell you. Button, what are you about, buying and selling before I bid you begin? Grandmother, look at Button; he won't wait till I give the word; he will buy and sell; make him leave off, grandmother."

Whereupon old Mrs. Morgan said something, and did something, and moved forward and then backward, and again said something, and once again did what she did before, and a black shadow was seen rising upon Button. And all of the little graziers and corn-growers, and the little maids that acted as if they were their wives, with butter and cheese to sell, saw the black shadow upon Button, and they started back and would not sell anything, nor exchange anything, nor do anything, neither with him nor with one another. They would not move; they could not. Their little hearts smote within them, and they trembled; for it was a real black shadow.

After it was gone, Button professed not to care for it, and said there was no use being frightened at shadows; and he told Mat White that he never would do anything on that part of the floor between Old Sally's arm chair and the table, if he was to be frightened at shadows, for there were always shadows there,—her shadow, and Big Ben's. Indeed, he thought that when they were all frightened at the black shadow which Old Sally made, he had seen Ben's hand, his real hand, not a shadow of it, on more of the farms than Mat White's, and on that among the rest.

And so two or three of them suspected. Mat White found that some of the cows which he had left lying for want of feet to their wooden pegs, were missing, and the remaining halfpence which he had been persuaded to deposit behind the arm-chair, on that part of the floor called his farm, and close to Big Ben's seat, were all gone.

He did not hide his loss. He grumbled loudly. At first, Ben and his grandmother frowned upon him for complaining. But when he blamed Button, or some of those who played at shops, for having taken his halfpence when the black shadow was in the room, they joined in the complaint, and said it was a shame to have taken Mat White's halfpence; and Button or some one who was not friendly to Mat, must have done it.

Button denied that he had done it, and said that it was done when the shadow came, and when, as they all knew, he was trying to find out what the shadow was, for he did not believe it was anything but a trick; and perhaps it was not hard to guess who made the shadow and who stole the halfpence.

Whereupon, old Sally called him a little unbelieving cheating rogue, who would go to a bad place when he died. And all the children who believed old Sally, and all who were afraid of her, though they did not believe her, called Button an unbelieving rogue, who would go to a bad place when he died.

But Button persevered in the truth, and asserted that it was not he that had robbed Mat White, nor was it any of the others who played at shops. He knew who it was, and he would tell plainly who it was. It was Big Ben. And he could prove to them all that more had been taken out of the shops when the witch story was told, and when the black shadow was in the room, even than from the farms.

Children as they were, and frightened as they were of Big Ben, lest he should be angry, they looked as if they believed Button rather than Ben and his grandmother. Seeing which, old Sally told them she would let the witch come upon them all, and fill them till they bursted. "There is the witch at the door!" she cried; "The witch will be here directly. Here she comes!"

Whether it was a witch, or goblin, or ghost, or shadow, or fancy, may not be told. But there, before the wild imagination and the disordered senses stood a mysterious something, with bags all hung round her, or his, or its body, and all the bags stuffed with penny rolls; and the hands of the thing were also full of cakes. And the thing advanced and laid hands on Button, and opened his mouth, and held it open, and stuffed cakes and penny rolls into him until he nearly bursted.

And as they saw this, and saw the thing putting out its hands to stuff them and make them burst, they all ran, some leaping out at the window and breaking, or nearly breaking, their limbs; some escaping by the door, and so getting away; but the greater part running one another down in the dark passage.

Pen cannot write, tongue cannot tell, the height and depth, length and breadth, the intensity, enormity, and disaster of that panic raised by Ben Morgan's grandmother. One thing only did not happen; not one child, not even Button, was filled until he bursted. But the victims of it who survived lost their toys. Some, alas, were never more seen. Mat White was one of them. Whether Big Ben devoured him up bodily, as some have said, or whether in his haste to escape the flooded river swept him away, is not yet known. Some were bruised, and some broken; all were stripped. Button asserts that Big Ben and his grandmother did it; and they say that the children waylaid and plundered, and misused by the witch, got no evil treatment from them; that in their house they received nothing but "protection." And strange to say, the children themselves believe it, or say they believe it. Such is the influence of Big Ben and his grandmother. They can bring together, alarm, disarm, and strip their little victims with impunity. Button says he knows better, and one day all the world will know better.

ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH.

A PRIZE PEASANT SHOW.

(From Punch.)

The custom of stuffing cattle to an unnatural degree is, we are told, desirable, for the purpose of improving the character of stock, and we should be very glad to see the experiment tried of improving the characters of peasants and agricultural labourers by feeding them. We should very much like to have an annual show of prize poor got up in the numerous districts where the "friends of the working man" are so very busy in cramming cattle with all kinds of herbaceous luxuries. If a good quantity of fat stock is a sign of their owner being a good farmer, surely a good quantity of plump portly-looking labourers would be a testimonial to the goodness of their employer.

We fear, however, there is no chance for any experiment being made which would involve the necessity of generous dieting. There is a much greater probability of a competition between the Norfolk and Buckland principles by a show of rival peasants, fed respectively on peas, starch, and mangel wurzel, or the celebrated promoter of warmth lately introduced to the notice of the poor in the shape of curry powder. We can fancy what a capital catalogue could be made up from the materials of such an exhibition.

No. 1. A short-legged Norfolk labourer. Fed on boiling water and curry powder. Walked thirty miles to the exhibition. Bred in the Norwich workhouse. 1st prize.

No. 2. A Hampshire labourer. Supported entirely on starch. Brought in a cab half-a-mile to the exhibition, by Dr. Buckland. 2d prize.

No. 3. An old bankrupt thimble-rig proprietor, who since the abolition of gambling at races has been living entirely on his remaining stock of peas, with a slice of mangel wurzel twice a week, and a little starch on Sundays. 3d prize.

We think that in order to make the rivalry complete, the Union workhouses should be allowed to send in a limited number of paupers for competition.

The Suspension Bridge joining St. Gilles to Croix-de-Vie (Vendée), constructed about ten years back, fell down on the 18th inst., under the weight of a heavy waggon passing over it.

A young girl, of 16 years of age, a few days back, at Laudvennee (Finistère) cut in pieces, with a sickle, a little boy aged twelve, with whom she used to play.

AGRICULTURE.

THE LANDOWNERS' BLACK-MAIL.

When the Highland chiefs owed a large portion of their revenues to the cattle they "lifted" in the lowlands, the only mode by which the industrious breeder of cattle could escape such exactions was to pay a composition or "black-mail" for immunity from pillage. And there is a rumour that Sir Robert Peel intends, upon the meeting of Parliament, to propose that the British people shall pay a "black-mail" to the landed oligarchy for immunity from the roundabout system of plunder established in the Corn Laws. If the nation have a voice in the matter, it requires no prophet to predict that such a wrong will not be submitted to.

But there is reason to apprehend that the present monopolist majority in the House of Commons may combine to perpetuate some monstrous job. Now, whatever form such a job may take, be it a direct grant of money, or the removal of rates and local taxes from the shoulders of the landowners to those of the nation, the farmers cannot partake of the unrighteous gains of such an operation. The whole profit will go into the pockets of the owners of land within twelve months after the enactment of the measure. These rates and taxes always form a deduction from rent; and if they are removed, the rent will be speedily advanced in precisely the same proportion, while the farmers, as part of the tax paying community, will have to bear their share of the additional burthens imposed on the national income.

In the contest now going on between industry and feudalism, the natural place of the farmers is on the side of industry. To none are the landowners so directly and immediately antagonistic as to the farmers; for when the restrictive scheme of the landocracy proves successful, rents are enhanced out of the profits of the industrious employers of capital and the wages of labour, including farmers and their labourers; and if the scheme break down—as it does in plentiful seasons—the high rents are still received by the landlords, but out of the substance and capital of the deluded tenant-farmers. The tenant-farmers, therefore, have an interest, in common with the rest of the industrious classes, to resist to the uttermost all attempts to offer the landlords a sop for consenting to the now inevitable repeal of the Corn Law.

In the select columns of the *Morning Post* we find records of numerous meetings of provincial "Protection Societies," and a great show of bustle in support of monopoly is got up. But the whole thing is a sham. Doubtless there are a few farmers in most rural districts who entertain a wild and vague apprehension of Free Trade in corn, and who really believe the false statistics which it has pleased the "Central Society" to issue, and the squires to circulate; but there is no real intention amongst the squires to sacrifice party politics to protection. They excite the farmers' fears, and pander to their prejudices, when they want to use the farmers, but they have no notion of being used by the affrighted farmers in return. When it was believed Lord John Russell was coming into office, nothing could exceed the vehemence with which the political squires vowed to "nail the flag of protection to the mast," a phrase meaning neither more nor less than that the said squires would oppose the popular minister by all means, fair or foul. But since the re-establishment of Sir Robert Peel, these gentlemen have wonderfully cooled down. Already ambiguous sayings are scattered about at "Protection meetings," which show, that if Sir Robert be inclined to repeal the Corn Laws, he will meet with no great obduracy amongst the main body of his parliamentary adherents. Most of them are obviously won before they have been wooed by a Conservative Free Trade minister, and are only hoping for the largest possible sop—compensation is the genteel word—for the public cost. Doubtless there is a little band of monopolist martyrs who will divide against the minister on some occasion, when they are quite sure he can do without them. These "farmers' friends," whose fame stands on an imperishable monument of tarred butter and

taxed lard, will again expose themselves to the sharp ridicule of opponents, and the more contemptuous sneers of political friends; but none know better than they that the whole thing is a sham, a cheat got up to bamboozle the farmers.

Scarcely a public meeting occurs in which the protectionist members of Parliament do not betray the direction the current is setting. Amidst plentiful abuse of the League, now no longer dead or dying, but a thing of stupendous and dreaded power, Sir Robert Peel's friends are, as a farmer said in Devonshire, "leaving many loopholes to creep out of." Thus, in Devonshire, Sir J. Y. Buller knew nothing of the Premier's intentions, but could not suppose it possible that he would alter his own law of 1842; talked of "not consenting to any further diminution of protection until a fair equivalent was pointed out;" and would only pledge himself "to do the best he could for his constituents, according to the best of his judgment, and the circumstances in which he might happen to be placed." And a very safe pledge that is; it leaves something more than a "loophole" for contingencies. So Lord Courtenay said he "must decline to pledge himself, aye or no, in a measure of which he knew nothing;" and "to any measure which should withdraw protection from the agricultural interest without being accompanied by that which he, *when the best consideration he might be able to give to the matter*, should deem a fair equivalent, he should give his most strenuous opposition." It is proverbial, that when a woman hesitates, she is lost; and not less certainly is the monopolist politician, who gives his "*best consideration*" to propositions of change, a lost sheep from the fold of monopoly.

So, in Wiltshire, we find Mr. Heneage, one of the monopolist members for Devizes, telling his constituents:

"That the situation of Conservative members in the ensuing session would be one of great doubt and difficulty. It must be clear to everybody that there was one question—a paramount question—which would certainly be agitated during the session; or, if such a state of things should arise, at a dissolution. It was a question of which, unfortunately, they had already heard too much; it was generally termed the question of *Protection*. One word he would say with respect to it. He always thought that to attempt to bring one interest alone under the principle of Free Trade was unfair and unjust."

Now, if Mr. Heneage only wants the principle of Free Trade to be applied universally, in order to assent to Free Trade in corn, a Free Trade Minister will have no difficulty with him. Indeed, we are not sure that the following passage does not entitle Mr. Heneage to be an honorary member of the League;

"Should, however, the time arrive when a minister should be bold enough to say to the country—I intend to repeal the Corn Laws, but I intend at the same time to make your silks, your sugar, your timber, and other necessities cheaper, and to alter the system of taxation so that the change shall not be felt; if a minister should be found sagacious enough to say, When I do this I will provide for the great deficiency which will be produced in the revenue without any increase of taxation on the industry of the country;—then would be the grand time for the agricultural interest, for all interests, to consider what plan would be most advantageous to adopt. All we know is that such a plan has never yet been proposed."

And his colleague, Mr. Bruges, said,

"That in the present state of affairs the situation of a Member of Parliament was one of some difficulty. But as he had been returned by the electors unfettered by any pledge, so he trusted to be able to discharge his duty, as he hoped he had hitherto done, in such a manner as to deserve their confidence."

And Mr. Sotheron, member for North Wilts, who has been regarded as a sort of pilot balloon on the subject of Free Trade, remarked that,

"With regard to his political course, he would only say in plain terms, that his constituents might depend on it that to the best of his judgment and conscience, he would stand up for that which he believed to be for the interests of the whole kingdom. He would never consent to injustice being inflicted on any body, but he would legislate as far as his humble voice went on fair and equal terms to all."

This savours strongly of surrender of the long cherished monopoly of the people's food; and multitudes of similar passages might be selected from the speeches of other monopolist members. We shall content ourselves with two others. Lord Alford, in Bedfordshire, gave the following specimen of his high talent and great capacity for legislation:

"He did not, however, think any combination of circum-

stances could warrant Sir Robert Peel placing the Corn Laws in this state. (Cries of 'Will you support him?') He would not give any pledge—he would not consent to go into the House of Commons bound to a certain course. Sir Robert Peel was not justified in the precise course he took, but they were in the position of people who engaged to go by a train of thirty miles an hour, and the man puts on the steam and takes them at the rate of 100; but however angry they might be, they would admit he was the only person to take them in safety; and his excuse would be that there was another train coming after them at the rate of 150 miles an hour, and by Jove that was the only plan of getting out of the way. (*Great confusion.*) Still he admitted that Sir Robert Peel had no right to make children of them as he had done."

It has been well remarked, that even so his monopolist lordship won't escape a collision at last. Fast as he supposes the minister to be, his pace, by Lord Alford's metaphor, is still too slow.

Again, Mr. Pakington in Worcestershire said: "If the Government propose to make any alteration in the existing Corn Laws, I shall expect a statement of the reasons which have led to these alterations. I shall then reserve to myself the right to consider these arguments, and shall give every consideration to the plan which may be proposed by the Government. If, upon mature consideration the arguments advanced in support of the alteration should convince my judgment, of course I shall support their views; but if, on the contrary, I am not convinced, no high-sounding name shall induce me to give support to a proposition which I may think can be anywise injurious to the true interests of our country."

The honourable member is recorded to have resumed his seat amidst the cheers of the "protection society;" yet is Mr. Pakington a lost monopolist. And the more rational writers of the monopolist press have arrived at the conclusion that the game of monopoly is up; for, in the leading article of last Monday's *Mark Lane Express*, are these remarks:

"Sir Robert Peel will make such alteration in the Corn Laws as he may deem expedient, unless resisted by the mass of agriculturists through the representatives now in Parliament. He will not appeal to the country, because the struggle would be doubtful. He will, as he did before, coerce the House of Commons to agree to his terms, and leave the members to fight the battle with their constituents in 1847. Mr. Miles will, we have no doubt, rally a section under his banner; but the Minister has a sufficient margin to allow him a few more than in 1842; we do not, however, believe he will reach the number he mustered in opposition to the tariff. Our friend 'Rusticus,' an experienced practical farmer, in a letter in another part of this paper, accounts for the little effect our appeals to the farmers to arouse themselves have had, by stating that, from his experience, he finds farmers becoming advocates for repeal of the Corn Laws, but no Anti-Corn-Law advocates becoming protectionists; in fact, that public opinion is going in one direction."

Our own experience, and all we hear of the opinions of farmers in various parts of the country, confirms the explanation of "Rusticus."

Now, the mere attendance of farmers at protection meetings must not be taken as any evidence of their opinions, for they are not free agents. Three-fourths of those present are obliged to attend, as they are compelled to vote at elections for their landlords' nominee. But the prevailing sentiment amongst farmers is a desire to have the question settled; and large and increasing numbers of them know that the only settlement will be total repeal.

MONOPOLIST ARGUMENTS AND STATISTICS.

It is curious to note the grounds on which the monopolists defend the Corn Laws, and to observe how entirely self-dependent, how completely independent of facts and experience their arguments are. Take for instance the following, from the *Mark Lane Express* review of the corn trade:

"The object of a sliding scale of duties is to afford an adequate protection to farmers in years of plenty, when sufficient grain is grown at home for the consumption of the country; and in adverse seasons, to diminish the impost in proportion to our necessities."

How can a sliding scale, or any scale of duties, afford adequate or any protection to farmers, when "sufficient grain" is grown at home for the consumption of the country?

Is not the whole scheme of Corn Laws founded upon the assumption that enough corn is not grown at home for the consumption of the country? Why is it that, when years of plenty occur, farmers are invariably in distress? They calculate on a scarcity which does not happen, or is less intense than they expect, and then with monopolist burdens and engagements they have to encounter natural prices arising from home abundance. Then as to the diminution of the impost "in proportion to our necessities," in adverse seasons, we leave the

bakers' bills, the reduced wages, and the *Express's* own remarks on the corn trade of the present season, to answer that statement. Again, in Worcestershire, we find Mr. Woodward, a farming land-agent, who has several times been put forward to give evidence before Agricultural Distress Committees, saying, "he would fearlessly express his belief that there was at the present moment abundance of food in this country for the maintenance of the population till next Michaelmas, without the necessity of importing a single bushel of foreign grain."

Now, such men as Mr. Woodward, whose fears are probably centred in the idea of displeasing the squires, may rush on where statesmen fear to tread; but if food is abundant, why, as he immediately said, is "the agitation which had been raised at this juncture for a repeal of the Corn Laws begun at a most critical juncture?"

We will tell Mr. Woodward and his co-monopolists why the juncture is critical: the landlords have been caught in the fact of filching the people's food; their hand has been found in the public meal sack, and they have no better excuses to offer for the awkwardness of their situation than such as are given by the minor prigs, who appear at the Old Bailey. And this same Mr. Woodward called "upon the peasantry of Worcestershire to assist in repelling their (the monopolists') assailants; for it depended upon their united exertions whether they should in future receive 7s. a bushel for their wheat, or 4s. or 4s. 6d. per bushel." The gentleman seems to have forgotten that the "peasantry" buy bread, and don't sell wheat; so that, on the authority of the Duke of Richmond, they would naturally abstain from interfering to avert such a benefit to themselves and their families as a fall in the price of wheat to 4s. or 4s. 6d. a quarter.

Let us also see how these advocates of artificial scarcity deal with statistical facts. Mr. Curtler at the same Worcestershire meeting said:

"He showed the documents issued and arguments propounded by the League, with the object of depreciating the home cotton trade, to have been founded on false premises; and, after entering into some particulars with reference to the manufacture of cotton abroad, and its effect upon the English market, he proceeded to combat the arguments made use of by the League, that Free Trade in Corn would certainly bring increase of trade in manufactures. For this purpose Mr. Curtler showed that, from 1836 to 1841, we had large importations of corn into England from abroad. In 1838, the ports were thrown open from the operation of the old Corn Laws, and a deluge of foreign corn was the result. But what was going on in the manufacturing districts all this while? Where was the promised activity in trade and manufactures? Why, the fact was, that at this very time there was great commercial depression. Numbers of cotton mills were shut up, the manufacturing population sought refuge in the workhouses, and trade was almost entirely suspended. And this commercial depression actually took place at the very time when (the ports being open) the Leaguers now assert that foreigners would exchange their corn for our manufactures. Foreigners had, in fact, so improved their own manufactures as not to require ours in the proportion alleged by the Free Traders, and it seemed impossible that we could find a market for our manufactures much extended beyond our present production."

Now it would be difficult to find a more complete specimen of perverse and wrong-headed ingenuity. The importations alluded to took place under the operation of the Corn Law, after the artificial scarcity created by that law had been so long continued that the trade of the country had become so fearfully depressed, as to lead many to despair of its recovery. Yet it did recover when food again became plentiful; and let such obtuse men as Mr. Curtler remark, that trade is again languishing under the influence of returning artificial scarcity, which he and his fellows are banded together to perpetuate.

THE SPIRIT OF LANDLORDISM.

It is a common observation that more is known of the estimation in which one is held in an individual family, from the behaviour of the children and servants, than from that of the head of the house; so is it with the landocracy; its weaker members and its dependents betray, in the most striking and offensive forms, the spirit of landlordism. Thus at the Worcester meeting of monopolists, Mr. Curtler, an attorney, said:

"With reference to the resolution which he held in his hand, that it was necessary to take means to secure the adoption of a well regulated mode of action throughout the country, in order to defeat all future attacks on the agricultural interest, he perfectly coincided with the hon. member for Droitwich, that they had to contend with an enemy of no mean character, and that they must guide their own conduct by the course which that enemy pursued. He apprehended that, although hitherto the agriculturists, as a body, had not been in the habit of meddling with the business of other people, they would soon arrive at the time when they would be driven to that expediency. He would impress upon all present that the question at issue, as it affected the interests of the agriculturists, was not one of Whig or Tory. The agriculturists should unite together, and taking the lists of voters in their hands, should make use of what arguments they had in their favour with those voters over whom they might be supposed to have any control."

We do not remember to have met with a more unblushing avowal of the use of coercion and intimidation than is contained in the last sentence.

AGRICULTURE IN SURREY.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

London, Dec. 27, 1845.

SIR,—The advocates of "Protection" assert that the landowners are entitled to the exclusive supply of the home markets of Great Britain with grain, until it reaches a certain price. Such a claim leads us to inquire if, by an economical mode of farming, and by bringing into cultivation all land capable of producing food, the supply has been increased and the prices thereby reduced?

If we cross the wide tracts of heath to the south-west of Farnham, in Surrey, what progress do we see made towards reclaiming them?

Wherever industry has been at work, near the cottage of the labourer, we see patches of the heath under cultivation—but where the land is held by some large proprietor, or by the church, no attempt at improvement is visible.

In the journal of the Royal Agricultural Society, vol. 6, part 1, various modes are pointed out for reclaiming waste land; do we see any of these adopted to an extent deserving notice?

If we travel from Kelso to Edinburgh, on a side of the Tweed where indifference, or more frequently hostility, to the present Corn Laws prevails amongst the farmers, we may see land of very inferior quality, and far higher above the level of the sea than any of the Surrey hills, raising excellent green crop, on which large flocks of sheep are fed, and to which succeeds good pasture—affording evidence that, by capital and industry, many acres now unprofitable may yield a fair return to the grower, while by augmenting the supply the consumer is also benefited.

But the protectionists would fain have also the monopoly of the supply of provisions and live stock. Had you been present, as I was, at the late Cattle Show, at Farnham, on the 15th current, you might well question the propriety of such a claim. So little attention was paid to purity of breed, or the aptitude of particular kinds to fatten readily, that animals of any or no definite breed, and of any age from two to six years' old, were allowed to compete in the same "classes;" so that the same encouragement may be given to inferior animals, which in other districts is awarded to those only which remunerate the rearer, and can be brought to market at prices more favourable to the consumer.

The premium bestowed on a lot of particularly fine two tooth (i.e. two year old) wethers, a cross between the South and Hampshire Downs, and which were far superior to any other lot exhibited, might have served to convince the farmer that it was his interest to rear such kinds of stock as would early yield a return for the outlay upon their keep.

Is it then just that we shall be compelled to submit to a system which, from the absence of competition, induces the farmer to continue an unimproved mode of agriculture, which prevents the people of this country from obtaining supplies at all times from other markets, and which tends to effectually narrow the field for, and limit the extension of, our commerce?

In my next I shall endeavour to give you some account of the rents paid for land, and the rate of labourers' wages in the district.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

A PROPRIETOR OF LAND IN SCOTLAND,
On a Visit in Surrey.

DISTRIBUTION OF BEDS TO AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

SIR,—In my long communication published in your last, there are one or two mistakes, which you will please to rectify. Case 6. For three "wretched huts," read three wretched beds. Case 9. For "Thomas Barrel," read Thomas Barratt. Case 15. For "coals 22s. per cwt.," read coals 1s. 10d. per cwt. Case 16. For "J. Mapping," read J. Napping. Case 29. For "Heperoff," read Hopcroft; for "coals 1s. per cwt.," read coals 1s. 5d. per cwt. Case 32. For "one flock bed, and one bed, and one chaff," read one flock bed and one chaff.

As I have published through your kindness an account of the starving and naked condition of some shoemakers, as well as of some field-labourers, you will I doubt not give insertion to the following, in relation to the sufferings and miseries of poor tailors. John Walduck is a tailor; he has a wife and two children. Their only bed is neither a flock nor a chaff bed, but a thing made up of pieces of old cloth and rags. Walduck is a very sober man; but as he is one of those tailors who used to be more frequently employed by the poor than by the rich, and as the peasantry have now seldom any money with which to buy either cloth or cotton, the poor tailors, like the poor shoemakers, are greatly reduced, and some of them ruined. I asked a number of poor persons, the other day, why they left off sending their children to our British School? Their answer was, Yours is a good school, and 1d. per week is a small sum to pay for the education of each child; but if you could educate our children for nothing, we could not send them; they are starving, and we send the strongest of them out to beg! What an honour and glory it must be to a certain party to support a system by which so many of the rising generation are being trained up in the arts of begging and starving upon Swedes, rotten potatoes, and a short allowance of dear bread! Allow me, sir, to add, that my door is thronged daily with persons (many of them deserving, and in great distress) begging for beds, bread, and clothes. God help the poor! for too many of them cannot help themselves.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

W. FERGUSON.

Bicester, King's End, Dec. 30, 1845.

LORD MORPETH AND THE WEST RIDING.

Since our last, the requisition to Lord Morpeth, soliciting him to stand for the representation of the West Riding, and which we stated was in the course of signature, has been accepted by his lordship. True to the principle laid down in his former communication to Mr. Baines, he comes out uncompromisingly for a total, immediate, and final repeal of the Corn Laws. This at once fixes the point on which the election will turn, offering both to Free Traders and monopolists a fair test for solving the question of the progress of their respective opinions. No other candidate has yet appeared in the field, though there are many whisperings and hints that an active opposition is being organised. Some of the quidnuncs murmur sagacious prophecies touching Mr. Charles Wortley; while others hang their hopes on Mr. Edwin Lascelles, brother to the Earl of Harewood. But we think that the bump of cautiousness is too largely developed in both these gentlemen for either the one or the other to encounter the moving accidents

of a West Riding contest in the present state of the constituency; and if in these quarters there be a shrinking from the trial by battle, we cannot think that a scion of any other noble house, or a deputy from any clique or club, will be found valorous enough to essay a passage at arms with a man of such unbounded popularity as Lord Morpeth. No: however humiliating to the "agricultural mind" will be a transfer of the West Riding to the friends of industry, that important event is on the eve of being realised—and that, too, without any tangible opposition. Lord Morpeth, we have little doubt, will walk the course—another bitter fact, which monopoly, "dying and making no sign," must even swallow with what appetite it may.

Our opinion is founded on the ground, first, of the exceeding popularity of the candidate. Why, even with many of those who contributed to prevent Lord Morpeth's return at the last election, it was an expressed wish that he had stood alone, when they would not have regretted his return as colleague to Mr. John Wortley. This friendly feeling towards his lordship still exists, and will make sundry active Tories neutral, as well as induce men, formerly neutral, to record their suffrages in favour of Morpeth and unrestricted commerce. Secondly, on the education of farmers in the principles of Free Trade, who were formerly cheated or frightened into the opinion that, without a sliding scale, their labour would be valueless, their capital swallowed up and lost for ever, and their families plunged into ruin. But many of the burly-brained yeomanry of Yorkshire have, since the last election, examined the question of Free Trade, and found that it was not such a bugbear after all; and so far as they are "protected"—not by a sliding scale, which mocks them—but by a lease, which gives them a sort of independence of action as well as of thought,—many of these, we say, formerly opponents, will now be found among the supporters of Lord Morpeth. Thirdly,—The altered state of the registry; for whereas, at the last election, the majority was on the side of restriction, now, by the noble exertions of the League, the majority is on the side of Free Trade. It is true that the number of signatures attached to the requisition did not amount to more than one-fourth of the qualified electors; but then it ought to be remembered that the canvass did not continue over a day and a half, and, of course, in its result, gives no idea whatever of the numbers who will be prepared to rally round the yellow banner on the day of election. It is true, also, that the Free Trade registration movement was not commenced so early in the West Riding as in South Lancashire; but such a number of votes have, nevertheless, been placed upon the lists as not to leave any monopolist candidate the shadow of a chance. A result like this, however, will be entirely dependent on the activity of the Free Traders. They have spoken clearly and ably, but now is the time for vigorous action. Victory will not perch on their helms if they lazily fold their hands, and lay aside their weapons: their arms must be kept continually furnished, their ranks mustered, without leaving the name of a man out of the roll-call, when the very show of such a force with such appointments would compel the enemy to lay down their arms. But if it should come to a pitched battle, why, let it come. The Free Traders can, if they will, be prepared even for this; and with their hosts in a compact body, will cleave their way to a conquest which will be memorable in the annals of commercial reform. Contest or no contest, nothing can snatch success from the Free Traders, if they only be true to their principles. Let the registers be thoroughly examined; let officers be appointed to every district in the Riding, and every district thoroughly canvassed; let the result of the canvass be scrutinized every evening, and all possible influences brought to bear wherever there may be a hesitancy, or coldness, or want of conviction on the part of any elector as to the soundness of the principles of Free Trade. "Yorkshire governs England," is an old saying; and we think the result of the coming election will govern the minister. Free Traders! let it then be a government which may not prostrate, but emancipate industry—that will not induce famine and social misery, but spread peace and plenty throughout the land. All is in your own hands: work with a will: "Let this be but well fixed in your minds," as Hannibal said to his veterans, "and once again, we say you are conquerors."—*Sheffield Iris*.

The requisition calling upon Lord Morpeth to come forward as a candidate for the representation of the West Riding of Yorkshire, was presented to his lordship at Castle Howard, on Friday, 26th ult., by a deputation consisting of Messrs. F. H. Fawkes, Charles Wood, M.P., Hamer Stansfeld, and Edward Baines, jun., when he consented to be put in nomination. The feeling in favour of his lordship throughout the Riding is most decided, and far beyond what even his warmest admirers could have anticipated. As a proof of this we need only mention the fact, that within twenty-four hours the requisition to his lordship received the signatures of no less than 8,500 West Riding electors. This marked display of feeling has thrown the utmost dismay into the Conservative ranks, and even the bitterest opponents of his lordship hesitate not to predict his success, and to discourage, as altogether futile, any attempts at opposition by the monopolist party to his return. The only rumour of opposition that has yet been current is that the Hon. Edwin Lascelles, brother to Lord Harewood, will be brought out by the Tories. We believe, however, that by the Tories no steps whatever have been taken to contest the Riding, and we believe also that few of them are so short-sighted and injudicious as to venture upon a struggle which must result in inevitable mortification and defeat.

The following is the address which has been issued by Lord Morpeth:

"TO THE ELECTORS OF THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE."

"GENTLEMEN,—I am deeply penetrated by the gratifying import of the invitation which has just been conveyed to me. More than one reason might have induced me not to resume a Parliamentary life at present; but if the electors of the West Riding shall determine to persevere in the prompt and generous movement they have made in my favour, I cannot hesitate, in such a crisis of public affairs as the present, to put myself at their disposal. I appreciate the kindness of the suggestion for dispensing with a winter canvass; and I should feel it invidious to visit some of the polling districts and omit others. I will therefore present myself on the day of nomination at Wakefield, and there submit the issue to the decision of this great constituency. The inhabitants of the West Riding are already acquainted with the principles by which my public conduct, in and out of office, has been guided. I still adhere to them in all essential points; but if I am sent to the House of Commons at the present juncture, I should deem it the main object of my mission to insist upon an immediate and final repeal of the Corn Laws. I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, "Castle Howard, Dec. 26,"

"MORPETH."

NEW WEEKLY NEWSPAPER, conducted by an association of literary gentlemen. The *UNIVERSE*, 20,000 copies of this new journal will be published on Tuesday next. It will be a newspaper of the first class, similar in size, form, paper, and type, to the *double Times*. It will be the uncompromising advocate of freedom in commerce and in politics; it will be the uncompromising advocate of the rights of principles, not parties, measures, not men. It will avoid petty personalities and denominational strifes. A religious influence will pervade each department. Some of the first writers of the age are engaged as contributors. Advertisers should make immediate application, as nearly all the advertising columns are engaged. Office, 11, Whitefriars-street, Fleet-street, London.

NEW SERIES OF THE NONCONFORMIST

On Wednesday, January 7, 1846, will be presented to the public the first number of a new series of the *Nonconformist*,—enlarged, remodelled, and, it is confidently trusted, greatly improved.

The principles of the *Nonconformist* will remain, of course, unchanged. It will continue as earnestly as ever for justice as the basis of our political institutions, unrestricted liberty as the soul of commerce, and entire independence of magistracy support and control as essential to the purity and extension of the Christian church.

The spirit in which these great objects will be pursued, will be the same as in the high appreciation of the ends and independent means, and an earnest desire to compass them by peaceful and legitimate means. The prevailing tone, however, of the paper, it is proposed to modify. The *Nonconformist* has established its character both for integrity and for power—and the circumstances under which this has been accomplished, imposed upon it the necessity of taking an antagonistic attitude. It has had to do battle for its present position of strength—but that position having been made good, it can henceforth wield gentleness with effect. Recognised as having a right to speak, and a claim to be listened to, it will speak in the accents of faithful friendship.

The new series will be distinguished by a greater variety of literary talent. Arrangements are in progress for securing valuable assistance from several able hands, and the superiority of the *Nonconformist* will, it is hoped, be enhanced, by making its editorial articles the reflection of more than one mind, and its correspondence from abroad, direct, frequent, and instructive.

The news department of the paper will be entirely remodelled. It is determined to make it an interesting family journal, as well as an influential organ for the diffusion of sound political and ecclesiastical views. Ampler space for this will be commanded, without enlarging our sheet, by slightly widening and lengthening each column, and by some what more economical distribution of type. By this arrangement, it is calculated, about two pages will be gained.

Solidity and strength have been, hitherto, the characteristic features of the *Nonconformist* newspaper. Without impairing these, it will, in the forthcoming series, combine with them ornament and grace. Its mission is to all classes—and for all classes it will seek to provide entertainment as well as instruction.

Published every Wednesday afternoon, at No. 3, Whitefriars-street, Fleet-street, London. Price Sixpence.

THE MANCHESTER TIMES.

The *MANCHESTER TIMES*, commenced in 1825, was established less as a business speculation than as a means of promoting civil, religious, and commercial liberty; and every great political and social reform, during a period of unusual excitement and conflict of opinion, has received its zealous assistance.

It was the first paper in this part of the country which removed from what was then called the ultra liberal press, the imputation of infidelity; and by its reports of meetings which had previously been utterly neglected by the Manchester papers, was at first shown that Lancashire possessed a religious press.

It supported Catholic Emancipation, not from indifference to the value of Protestantism, but on the ground that men should not be excluded from civil rights on account of their religious opinions.

Its exposure of the inequality and deficiency of the old representative system previous to the proposal of the Reform Bill were of acknowledged utility; and, since the passing of that great but still imperfect measure, it has not ceased to advocate a fuller and more complete representation of the people, with full protection to the voter from the exercise of undue influences.

It was the only paper in Manchester which devoted its space to the proceedings of the Anti-slavery Society; and the editorial articles which appeared from time to time to show that man could not justly hold property in man, were not only of great utility in forming public opinion which effected the emancipation of the negroes in our colonies.

It took the lead of all the provincial papers in opposition to Church Rates, either as a direct impost, or, as the Whig administration proposed, a permanent charge on the Consolidated Fund; and it is now the only paper in Manchester which avowed that the religion of the people is not a proper subject for state legislation.

Recognizing the advantages of Education, in the establishment of new and the reform of old Educational Institutions, it has been eminently useful; and it was the only paper published in Manchester which opposed the measure of Church rate assents, and in some instances, treble the price at which, in consequence of the destruction of the monopoly in Scotland, it is now published.

It has unceasingly been the earnest advocate of perfect freedom of trade, not only for its direct benefits, but as a means of promoting Universal Peace; and it is not too much to say that the peace which Manchester has taken in the present great movement against the landowners' monopoly, in a considerable degree, be attributed to the effect produced upon the public mind by its constantly-repeated expositions of the mischiefs inflicted by the Corn Laws.

Such was the course pursued when the proprietors were in advance of public opinion, and when they had to struggle with difficulties which would have overwhelmed men of less attachment to principle and less determination to carry out the views which they were pledged to maintain. That such a course has been pursued, under such circumstances, is no slight guarantee, that now, notwithstanding the temptations to expediency offered by the example of public men hitherto enjoying much of the public confidence, Civil, Religious, and Commercial Liberty will continue to be promoted with unabated zeal and energy.

Ducie-place, Manchester, Dec. 31st, 1845.

THE FREE TRADE INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION.

DIRECTORS.

A. W. Paulton, Esq., 67, Fleet-street.
George Thompson, Esq., 3, Waterloo-place.
Dr. Thomas Price, 7, Highbury-terrace.
Wm. Leaver, Esq., 5, Park-street, Islington.
Josh. Ivimey, Esq., 26, Chancery-lane.
Wm. Wilson, Esq., 123, Long-lane, Bermondsey.
G. T. Kemp, Esq., 35, Spital-square.
John Gadsby, Esq., Bouverie-street, Fleet-street.
A. L. Saul, Esq., 67, Fleet-street.
Richard Taylor, Esq., Red Lion-court.
John Lowe, Esq., 88, Fleet-street.
John Burnet, Esq., Covent Garden.
Frederick Farrand, Esq., Priory Villa, Peckham.

In consequence of earnest and repeated applications made to some of the gentlemen whose names appear in the above directory, an Investment Association is about to be formed.

Its object will be principally to afford to persons of limited means, facilities for purchasing freeholds, &c.

In addition, it will serve all the purposes of a general Investment Society, and will be established on the most approved plan.

A prospectus, with full particulars, will be published shortly.

QUARTER OF A MILLION LEAGUE FUND.

THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE begs to announce that arrangements have been made for commencing the METROPOLITAN SUBSCRIPTIONS to the QUARTER OF A MILLION LEAGUE FUND, and respectfully requests that all parties desirous of contributing thereto will be kind enough to send in their names and addresses, together with the first instalment of 20 per cent. on the aggregate amount, as early as possible, to George Wilson, Esq., Offices of the League, 67, Fleet-street.
Jan. 1st, 1846.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, January 3, 1846.

We have derived much amusement from the reports of the recent protectionist meetings, and have enjoyed the strange gambols and freaks by which noble dukes have contributed their share to the festivities of the Christmas season. It is, therefore,

very pleasant to find a proposition emanating from some of those meetings, in which we not only heartily concur, but are anxious to ensure its complete success. In Staffordshire, Suffolk, and some other places, it has been resolved to convene open county meetings, to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning in favour of protection. This is a bold appeal to public opinion, and if it be offered in a spirit of fairness, we gladly accept the challenge. County meetings are among the valuable relics of our good old Saxon-institutions; they give to every free man an equal voice on all the public questions submitted to their consideration. In the show of hands, the hard palm of the labourer counts for as much as the hand that has never felt the roughness of toil. Every man in the country has an equal right to be present, and an equal right to express his opinion, either by speech or by vote. Such a meeting cannot be packed, unless by gross fraud, too monstrous to escape detection, or by the gross negligence of those whose opinion such a meeting purposes to represent. The decision of a county meeting is generally, and not unjustly, assumed to be the decision of the majority of the inhabitants of that county; and it is therefore not only the right, but the duty of every man holding an opinion on the question at issue, to be present, and to give, at least, his vote. Let Free Traders cheerfully append their names to every requisition for a county meeting; they want nothing more than free discussion to establish the justice of their cause, and free discussion cannot be refused at a public meeting of free men. When the meeting is convened, let every Free Trader, whatever may be his grade or position in society, make it a point to be present; let the labourer come to say whether his loaf should be taxed and his food stinted; let the operative come to say whether his wages should be lowered by the restriction of employment; let the artisan come to decide whether his skilled labour shall bring him comfortable support or be wasted in cold obstruction; let the really independent farmer come to declare whether uncertainty of tenure, and uncertainty of price, shall continue to blight his industry; let the manufacturer come to determine between open markets and limited demand; let all come to decide, in the face of their country, between cheap bread and dear bread—between scarcity and abundance—between increasing commerce and declining trade—between justice to all classes, and selfish advantages claimed by a handful of monopolists.

Let the leading Free Traders of the county be present at their posts on the platform, prepared to move a Free Trade amendment to the monopolist resolutions. Let the wording of the amendment be a simple statement of facts, with their obvious inferences; let there be no ambiguity in the terms of the proposition. The Free Trade amendment must in the most unequivocal manner protest against any and every tax upon the food of the people. We have no fears for the result. We are persuaded that the doom of monopoly has been pronounced by the voice of the nation, and that every county meeting will repeat and register the national sentence.

We have assumed that the proposed county meetings will be what they profess, fair, open, and public. If any attempt at packing or intimidation be made, the Free Traders must be present to expose it. The crisis of our great struggle has arrived; we must all in our several localities, and in our several and social capacities, be up and doing. We have carried the outworks, but monopoly is concentrating all its forces round the citadel. The great and decisive effort is yet to be made; let us therefore press forward with fresh courage, new zeal, and more vigorous exertion. No opportunity must be lost, no occasion neglected, no point of attack left unassailed, no point of defence exposed unguarded. Each must strive as if success depended on his own individual exertions; each must work for all, that all may work for each. The new year must be marked by new resolution, and then the toil of 1846 will ensure the prosperity of the remainder of the century.

THE FUNDS.						
	SAT. Dec. 27	MON. Dec. 29	TUES. Dec. 30	WED. Dec. 31	THUR. Jan. 1	FRI. Jan. 2
Bank Stock	205	204½	204	204	204	204
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
3 per Ct. Con. Ann.	103	103	103	103	103	103
Long. An. Ex. 1860	95	95½	94½	95	94½	94½
Cons. for Act.	24	27½	28½	26-28	26-29	26-29
Exc. Bills, fm.	38	38	38	33	33	33
Ind. Bds. un. 1000. ....	..	..	..	..	..	..
India Stock .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Austrian .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Belgian 4½ per Ct.	96	95½	..	96½	96½	..
Brazilian 5 per Ct.	82	81	..	..	81½	..
Chilian .....	..	..	100	98	..	..
Columb. ex. Venez.	16½	..	..	..	..	17
Danish	86	87	..	87½	..	..
Dutch 4 per Cent.	93½	93½	94½	94½	94½	94½
Dutch 2½ per Cent.	61½	61½	61	60	60½	60½
Mexican	31½	31½	31½	31½	32½	31½
Peruvian .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Portug. conv.	59½	..	..	..	..	..
Russian 5 per Cent.	113½	112½	..	112½	..	..
Spanish 5 per Ct.	30	..	..	29½	29½	29½
Do. 3 per Ct. ex. dv. ....	..	..	40	40	39½	39

MARKETS.		
CORN MARKET.		
MONDAY, DEC. 29.—In the course of last week after Monday the deliveries of Wheat, Barley, and English Oats were scanty, but considerable of Irish Oats. To-day the samples of Wheat and Barley fresh up, both coastwise, and by land carriage, are few in number. There are scarcely any new arrivals of Oats. English Wheat is in rather better demand than has been the case lately, and for fine parcels is more money is obtained than last week. Other qualities meet a fair sale at late rates. Free Foreign and Bonded Wheat are no dearer, and the transactions in them are not numerous. Barley fetches last Monday's prices, though the trade is not brisk. The supplies of Beans and Peas are not large, and there is no alteration to notice in the value of either. Notwithstanding the continued plentiful supplies of Oats during the last few weeks, the advancing prices in Ireland, and the certainty that the quantity now on the way to our market from that country is limited, induces holders to remain firm at the present rates. The amount of business done to-day is not very extensive, but the tendency of prices is upward. S. H. LUCAS.		
BRITISH.		
Wheat, Essex,	Red 50 to 60	White 58 to 68
Kent, & Suffolk	49 58	56 64
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire	47 54	54 62
Scotch .....	..	..
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feed .....	..	23 25
Scotch .....	..	24 26
Scotch Feed	25 26	Potato 28 29
Limerick .....	..	23 25
Ditto	Fine New 26 28	Old Fine none
Cork .....	..	..
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black .....	..	21 23
Sligo .....	..	22 24
Galway .....	..	21 23
Barley .....	..	32 38
Beans, Mazagan	New 32 34	Old 40 44
Harrow	38 42	..
Small	40 44	..
Peas, White .....	..	54 56
Grey	30 48	Maple 38 40
Flour, Town made .....	..	per sack of 280 lbs. 45 57
Norfolk and Suffolk .....	..	43 46
FOREIGN.		
Wheat, Danzig, high mixed	58 to 66	46 52
Rostock	56 60	44 48
Stettin	54 60	43 46
Hamburg	52 57	42 45
Odesa	46 50	40 42
Odesa Polish	50 56	40 43
Russian	soft ..	48 57
Ditto	hard ..	46 55
Spanish .....	..	..
Ditto	White ..	..
Australian	60 69	..
Barley, Grinding	27 30	..
Distilling	30 32	..
Oats, Archangel	25 26	22 26
Danish	25 26	22 26
Swedish	24 25	21 22
Stralsund .....	..	..
Dutch Feed	22 23	19 20
Brew	25 28	23 25
Polands	28 29	25 26
Beans, Egyptian	40 41	39 40
Peas, White	54	..
Ditto Boilers .....	..	none
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 196 lbs.	34 35	..
United States	35 36	..
Danzig .....	..	..
Australian, per sack of 280 lbs. ....	..	..

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from Dec. 22 to Dec. 26, 1845, both days inclusive.					
	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas
English	2888	4608	935	742	1137
Scotch .....	..	2830	1737	..	..
Irish .....	..	905	25476	..	..
Foreign	10097	4081	6251	3015	4241
Flour, 8431 sacks; 3110 barrels.					

FRIDAY, JAN. 2.—English Wheat and Barley, and English and Irish Oats, are in very short supply this week. There are a few cargoes of foreign Oats in the report; and this forms the amount of arrivals since Monday. Fully late rates are asked for English Wheat, which meets a limited sale at these prices. There is some demand for bonded Wheat for Belgium and the North of France, and prices remain the same as for the last fortnight. —Oats are held at rather more money than on Monday; but buyers being unwilling to comply, not much business is done; a fair sale may be made at the prices of that day. No change in the value of Barley, Beans, or Peas. The duties on Wheat, Barley, and Beans rose one step yesterday. S. H. LUCAS.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 29th of December to the 2nd of January, both inclusive					
	English.	Irish.	Foreign.		
Wheat	650	..	..	4290	..
Barley	1510	..	..	3600	..
Oats	140	1240	..	5100	..
Flour, 760 sacks.					

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending Dec. 30, 1845.					
	Qrs.	Price.	Qrs.	Price.	
Wheat	5340	58s. 8d.	..	..	0s. 0d.
Barley	4306	32s. 5d.	..	..	1374 57s. 10d.
Oats	18627	23s. 1d.	..	..	895 42s. 0d.

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending					
	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.
e. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d.					
22d Nov.	57 11. 34	1. 25	5. 37	1. 43	4. 45
29th "	58 2. 33	2. 25	0. 35	4. 41	9. 45
6th Dec.	59 0. 32	10. 24	7. 35	0. 41	8. 43
13th "	59 4. 32	9. 24	6. 36	8. 40	8. 43
20th "	57 11. 32	7. 23	4. 34	5. 39	6. 42
27th "	55 4. 32	5. 23	0. 32	8. 38	6. 39

Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks. Wheat, 57s. 11d.; Barley, 33s. 0d.; Oats, 24s. 4d.; Rye, 35s. 2d.; Beans, 40s. 11d.; Peas, 43s. 4d.
Duty. Wheat, 15s. 0d.; Barley, 5s. 0d.; Oats, 4s. 0d.; Rye 7s. 6d.; Beans, 3s. 6d.; Peas, 1s. 0d.
Stock of Corn in Bond, Dec. 5, 1845.
Wheat. Barley. Oats. Rye. Beans. Peas. Flour
In London, 322869 8421 63791 .. 803 959 57362
Unit. King. 794252 67574 108596 .. 803 959 405457

MEAT MARKET.
The demand was slow to-day; otherwise, with the very limited supply, prices would have advanced. Good Veal was remarkably scarce.
PER STONE OF 8 lbs. BY THE CARCASE.
Prime Beef .. 3s 6d to 3s 8d Middl. Mutton 3s 6d to 3s 8d
Middling do. 3s 2d to 3s 4d Veal, from .. 4s 4d to 5s 0d
Plain, or infe- Small Pork .. 4s 8d to 5s 0d
rior Beef .. 2s 8d to 3s 0d Large, or infe-
Prime Mutton 3s 10d to 4s 0d rior Pork .. 3s 4d to 3s 8d

THE LONDON GAZETTE.
FRIDAY, DEC. 26.
BANKRUPTS.
C. W. TOULMIN, South Island Place, Clapham Road, livery stable keeper. [Mr. Buchanan, Basinghall Street.
F. DIXON, Long Lane, Bermondsey, currier. [Mr. Fry, Cheapside.
F. ROBINSON, Princess Street, Chelsea, cowkeeper. [Mr. Wansey, Moorgate Street.
J. LANKSHEAR, Seymour Row, Little Chelsea, surgeon. [Mr. Thompson, Bucklersbury.
G. A. ABSALOM, Portsea, victualler. [Messrs. G. R. and C. C. Corner, Dean Street, Tooley Street.
C. WILLIAMSON, Great Portland Street, Marylebone, wine merchant. [Messrs. Bristow and Tarrant, Bond Court, Wallbrook.
E. STREETER, Bristol, builder. [Mr. John Hopkins.
W. WAILES, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, grocer. [Messrs. Bennett and Co., Scott's Yard, Cannon Street.
P. PHILIPS, Birmingham, steel pen maker. [Mr. George Jabett, Birmingham.
DIVIDENDS.
Jan. 16, W. F. Mills, Hart Street, Mark Lane, and High Holborn, merchant—Jan. 23, J. Pegrum, North Brixton, carpenter—Jan. 23, A. Hindes and J. Thompson, Leeds, stock-brokers—J. and J. Thompson, Leeds, stockbrokers.

CERTIFICATES.
Jan. 16, J. Mortimer, Adelaide Street, West Strand, bookseller—R. Hutchinson, Jewry Street, Aldgate, leatherseller—J. Gibson, Motcomb Street, Belgrave Square, oilman—C. Couper, West Boldon, and South Shields, cinder burner—H. Blunt, Woolton, Lancashire, victualler—H. and W. Kimber, Old Trinity House, Water Lane, wine merchants—R. Reynolds, Manchester, cabinet maker—T. Hall, Thetford, ironmonger—H. Mallinson, Almondsbury, manufacturer of fancy worsted goods—Jan. 17, W. R. Lejeune, Southampton, corn merchant—G. Staigh, Skinner Street, Snow Hill, dealer—T. Arnold, Shrewsbury, veterinary surgeon—J. O. Harvey, Newark, Nottinghamshire, grocer—Jan. 19, A. Featherstounhaugh, Great Bolton, butcher—J. Isherwood, Bolton, innkeeper—Jan. 20, R. Warr, Beaumont, Dorsetshire, auctioneer—Jan. 21, S. and J. Burton, Kingston-upon-Hull, chemists—J. Rawthorne, Manchester, general agent—Jan. 23, J. H. Walter, Camberwell, ironmonger—Jan. 26, J. and D. Woodhead, Netherton, Yorkshire, woollen cloth manufacturers—Jan. 31, W. Bickerton, Kingston-upon-Hull, timber merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.
W. Allan, Glasgow, oil merchant—S. Davidson, Bairdston, Lanarkshire—D. McGilvray, Edinburgh, tailor—D. Morrison, Glasgow, merchant.

TUESDAY, DEC. 30.
BANKRUPTS.
J. BROOKE, Gooderstone, Norfolk, miller. [Mr. Nettlefold, Vine Street House, Milbank.
B. JONES, City Road, draper. [Messrs. Soles and Turner.
R. MORE and B. W. BLAKE, Norwich, coal merchants. [Mr. Jay, for Mr. Bailey, Norwich.
G. J. WORRMAN, Great Mitchell Street, St. Luke's, engineer. [Mr. Buchanan, Basinghall Street.
T. PHILLIPS, Shrewsbury, hop merchant. [Mr. Bartlett, Birmingham.
B. WOOD, jun., Leeds, wine merchant. [Messrs. Few, Hamilton, and Few, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.
J. COUSEN and L. COUSEN, Bingley, York, and J. R. COUSEN, Bradford, York, worsted spinners. [Messrs. Hawkins and Co., Boswell Court.
SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.
F. Clerihew, Aberdeen, wright—J. S. Robertson, Edinburgh, banker.

APPROPRIATE GIFTS FOR CHRISTMAS & NEW YEAR'S DAY.
Published by GEORGE VIRTUE, 26, Ivy-lane, London.

BERNARD BARTON'S New Volume of Poems.
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Published Monthly, with an Illustration on Steel by Leech.
DOUGLASS' JERROLD'S SHILLING MAGAZINE.
Contents of No. XIII.
The History of St. Giles and St. James. By the Editor. Chapter XXII.
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Vols. I. and II., neatly bound in cloth, price 7s. each, are now ready.
London: Published at the PUNCH OFFICE, 92, Fleet-street.

On the 1st of January was published, price 6d., with Illustrations, the
ALMANACK OF THE MONTH,
A REVIEW OF EVERYTHING AND EVERYBODY.
Edited by GILBERT ABBOT, a BUCKET.
Amongst the Contents are the following:—
Some Account of January—The Great Event of the Month: The Ministerial Crisis—The Exhibition of the Month: The Smithfield Club Cattle Show—The Abuse of the Month—The Ballet of the Month: The Devil to Pay—The Absurdity of the Month—The Books of the Month—Hetting of the Month—The Music of the Month—List of Books received during the Month—The Talk of the Month—Chronology of the Month—Calendar of the Month.
London: Published at the PUNCH OFFICE, 92, Fleet-street.

New and Revised Edition of "OLIVER TWIST," in Ten Monthly Parts.
On the 1st of January was published, price One Shilling, with Two Illustrations on Steel (uniform with the "Pickwick Papers"), Part I. of
OLIVER TWIST. By CHARLES DICKENS.
Illustrated by George Cruikshank.
This Edition has been carefully corrected by the Author throughout, and it will contain the whole of the original illustrations.
London: Published by Bradbury and Evans, 90, Fleet-street.

TAIT'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE FOR JANUARY,
(the commencement of a Volume), Price One Shilling, will contain—
Visit to Mr. O'Connell at Derrynane; by William Howitt—Children—
Fairies and Hailroads—Naples in 1843; by Madame Wolfsoberg—
Lines on Gifford's Gallery of Literary Portraits; by Thomas De Quincey, No. III. Shelley—Love, Jealousy, and Vengeance; a Highland Tale, by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder—Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches—
How is Parliament to get through its Railway Business?—Literary Register—Poetry of the Month.
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Weekly Numbers One Penny.
Monthly Parts (with a Supplement) Sixpence.
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"THE PENNY MAGAZINE" has now been in the course of publication for fourteen years, and during the whole period the duties of Editor have been discharged by Mr. Knight, "under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge." The time has arrived when that "superintendence" has merged in the individual responsibility of the Editor.

The circulation of "The Penny Magazine" is very large; its reputation is unimpaired. But fourteen volumes having been completed in accordance with the original intention of the work, which was to combine miscellaneous information with expensive pictorial embellishment, circumstances now point to the necessity of some essential modification of plan. Left to his individual responsibility in the conduct of the work, the Editor deems it his public duty to take a new position, to enable him to carry out his views of what should now be the character of a widely circulated and eminently cheap Miscellany. Such a Periodical Work may command as high and as various literary talent as the most lofty of its contemporaries; and the best talents and acquirements may now be fully employed in the service of the people, instead of addressing themselves only to readers of wealth and leisure. "Knight's Penny Magazine" is intended to be for the people of 1846 what "The Penny Magazine" of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge was for the people of 1832.

Without any change in the objects for which "The Penny Magazine" was established—to enlarge the range of observation, to add to the store of facts, to awaken the reason, and to lead the imagination into agreeable and innocent trains of thought. It is now, however, to be able to do more, and to do it with a more varied character. It will henceforth be chiefly a Magazine of Reading. Woodcuts will no longer continue to be the prominent feature of the work; but will be frequently used as necessary illustrations and as specimens of art. As compared with "The Penny Magazine," the work now in preparation will be a larger sheet, but a smaller paper. It will consist of sixteen pages instead of eight; and will contain a much greater amount of reading. It will be printed in the best style, in a very clear type; and the form being that of a handsome portable book, it will find in convenient volumes for times a year, so as to constitute an important addition to a "Library for all Readers."

"KNIGHT'S PENNY MAGAZINE" will be published, as previously indicated, in a Weekly Sheet, a Monthly Part, and a Quarterly Volume; and in all these forms it may hope to become a Fireside and a Travelling Companion, as universally sought as in the most "fashionable" days of "The Penny Magazine" of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

Number I. will be published on Saturday, January 3, 1846; Part I. on the 31st January; Volume I. on the 31st March.
London: Charles Knight and Co., Ludgate-street.

NEW MORNING PAPER.—On Wednesday, January 21, will be published, No. 1. of
THE DAILY NEWS.

A MORNING NEWSPAPER OF LIBERAL POLITICS AND THOROUGH INDEPENDENCE.
The leading features of the Paper may be briefly stated under the following heads:—

Its **CITY NEWS** and **COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE**, collected from the highest sources, will be scrupulously impartial, and always early.
Its **SCIENTIFIC AND BUSINESS INFORMATION** on every topic connected with **RAILWAYS**, whether in actual operation, in progress, or projected, will be found to be complete.

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Its **PARLIAMENTARY REPORTS**, its **Law Reports**, and every other item of such matter, will be furnished by Gentlemen of the highest qualifications.

Among the writers of its **LEADING ARTICLES**, its Criticisms on Books, the **DRAMA**, **MUSIC**, and the **FINE ARTS**, are some of the most distinguished names of this time.

The **J. F. DEPARTMENT OF THE DAILY NEWS** will be under the direction of Mr. CHARLES DICKENS.

As a Journal addressing itself to Men of Business in all parts of the world, particular attention will be paid to the arrangement of its Advertisements.
The Office for Advertisements intended for insertion in **THE DAILY NEWS**, will be at No. 90, FLEET STREET, LONDON. All communications for the Editor should be addressed to the Publishing Office, WHITEHALL.

FREEHOLDERS' BUILDING SOCIETY,
Manchester. Shares, £20. Subscription, 10s. per Month.

John Brooks, Esq., President. Alderman Elkannah Armistead.
Alderman William Harvey. W. Rawson, Esq.
Alderman Charles J. S. Walker. W. Evans, Esq.

BANKERS.—Messrs. Cunliffe, Brooks, and Co., Market-street.
SOLICITORS.—Mr. John Howitt, 47, King-street.

SECRETARY.—Mr. William Jackson Keighley, 9, Princess-street, Manchester.
The object of this Society is to assist the middle and industrious classes to obtain Freehold Dwelling houses of their own, and more especially to create a spirit of independence in the latter, and to induce habits of economy in all who have a surplus of income beyond providing for their current necessities.

2899 shares have now been taken up. It is evident this Society will be very large, so as not only to afford a good profit to those who have savings to invest, but to supply ample funds to such as wish to borrow money. From the present amount of Shares the Trustees will receive £2140 every Calendar month, in addition to the £1000 which the Society has to be lent out to members of the Society on real or leasehold security, so that not only may small Shareholders be at once accommodated, but those whose circumstances render it desirable may take up £2000 or £3000 at once.

In another adjournment of the first meeting of the Society to the 7th of January, 1846, other members have an opportunity of entering by paying the first month's subscription only—namely, 10s. on each Share.

A sale of Shares will take place on the said 7th of January, 1846. Persons wishing to take up Shares will do well to make early application, as the above will be the last adjournment, after which the back subscriptions will be required.

One peculiar feature in this undertaking is the facility afforded to Building Members to obtain the County Freehold in the first instance, on all purchased Shares, for building with, the monthly subscription may be reduced to 2s. 6d., thus leaving a surplus of rent beyond the encumbrance on mortgage sufficient to give a qualification.

Applications for Shares may be made to the Secretary, Mr. W. J. Keighley, 9, Princess-street, Manchester; or to Mr. H. Rolleston, 47, King-street; Mr. W. Burton, Oldham-st.; Mr. A. Burgess, printer, Victoria Arches; and Mr. T. Owen, 8, Moreton-street, Strangeways, Manchester; where Rules, price 6d. and Prospectuses may be had.

ENLARGEMENT OF THE ATHENÆUM.—On and from January 3, THE ATHENÆUM will be Permanently Enlarged to Twenty-four Large Quarto Pages. Price Fourpence.

OUR BANKING LAWS, VERSUS THE CORN LAWS.
THE BANKER'S MAGAZINE for January, price 1s. 6d., contains an article on this subject showing the impossibility of maintaining the present Corn Law in conjunction with the New Banking Laws; also various articles connected with Banking, Investment of Capital; Savings Banks; Railways; the Money Markets, &c.
London: R. Groombridge and Sons, 5, Paternoster-row.

This day is published (in the Catholic Series) price 3s. 6d., bound in cloth,
THE DESTINATION OF MAN.
Translated from the German, by Mrs. PRISCY SINNITT.
"This is the most popular exposition of Fichte's Philosophy which exists."—Memoir of Fichte, by W. Smith.
London: Chapman (Brothers), 121, Newgate-street.

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London: David Rogers, Edinburgh; John Menzies; Glasgow: David Robertson, and all Booksellers.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.—"Since the era of the Waverley Novels, Mr. Cross's tale is equal if not superior to anything we have seen, as a masterly delineation of common Scottish life."—*Edinburgh Mercury*. "Apart from its interest as a new tale, it claims high merit from its healthy tone, its fidelity to real life, and for several passages of rich and genuine humour."—*Scotsman*. "We have seldom read a tale which gave us more genuine satisfaction. The style is lucid and sparkling, abounding with idioms and phrases, which shows the author to be a master of English composition."—*Glasgow Examiner*.

EDUCATION.—The MISSES WICKHAM beg to call the attention of Parents and Guardians to their Establishment for Young Ladies, situated in a healthy part, a short distance from town. Terms from £20 to £25 per annum, according to age, including all extras. A vacancy for an Articled Pupil. Application at 2, Belle Vue Terrace, Ball's Pond Road, Kingsland. An Assistant Wanted.

THE OXFORD AND SALISBURY DIRECT RAILWAY.

The Committee of Management have the satisfaction to announce that the requisite notices have been served on the landowners and occupiers, and that the plans, sections, and books of reference have been regularly deposited in the District Office and the Hill Office, and with the clerks of the several parishes throughout the line. The whole of the standing orders of both Houses of Parliament have thus been fully complied with, and the Committee are proceeding with all the necessary preparations to enable them to present their bill in the ensuing session. By Order of the Board, Z. HUBBENSTY, Sec.
Moorgate Chambers, Moorgate-street, Jan. 1, 1846.

THE OXFORD AND SALISBURY DIRECT RAILWAY.

The whole of the standing orders of Parliament having been duly fulfilled up to the present time, the Committee of Management consider it expedient to inform their shareholders and allottees, as well as the public at large, that, in order to ensure, as far as possible, the patronage to which the projected line of railway is justly entitled, they have resolved upon a further extension of the time for payment of deposits on shares in this Company until the 21st inst. The Subscribers' Agreement and Parliamentary Contract Lie for signature at the Office of the Company. By Order of the Board, Z. HUBBENSTY, Sec.
Moorgate Chambers, Moorgate-street, Jan. 1, 1846.

JONES'S £4. 4s. SILVER LEVER WATCHES
warranted not to vary more than half a minute per week, are selling at the Manufactory, 388, Strand, opposite Somerset-house. They combine the truth of a mathematical instrument with the elegance of an ornament of taste. On receipt of a Post-office order for as above the price, a Watch will be sent free to any part of the Kingdom. Read Jones's "Sketch of Watch Work," sent free for 2d. stamp.

BOTANIC WATER AND BEAR'S GREASE.—When the hair is becoming thin and falling off, the only effectual remedy, besides shaving the head, is the use of the two above named articles, applied alternately—the botanic water to cleanse the roots from scurf, and as a stimulant, and the bear's grease as a nourisher. If any further evidence was required of the virtue of bear's grease for renovating and preserving the hair, Mr. Catlin's account of the quantity used, and the length of hair obtained by some of the North American Indians, would be a sufficient answer.—ROSS and SONS, 119 and 120 Bishopsgate-street, who first introduced the use of bear's grease into this country, and who fit and kill the animals, recommend the public to purchase none other but with their names and address printed on the pot, or the chances are they are obtaining a spurious article. All vegetable oils applied to the hair are worse than useless.

LONDON AND PROVINCIAL BUILDING AND INVESTMENT SOCIETY.

(To be Enrolled pursuant to Act of Parliament, 6 & 7 Wm. IV., ch. 32.)
Shares, £120. Monthly Subscription, 12s. per Share. Entrance Fee, 2s. 6d. per Share.

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Monthly Subscriptions payable at Radley's Hotel, New Bridge Street, Blackfriars, on the Third Wednesday in each Month.

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The projectors of this Society, availing themselves of the experience furnished by the history of Building Societies, have matured a plan which not only embraces all the advantages of those societies, and avoids the inconveniences incident to them, but secures peculiar benefits to the shareholders, and opens its doors to parties hitherto altogether overlooked. Sanctioned by ministers and laymen, whose names are a sufficient guarantee for the integrity and spirit by which all the operations of the London and Provincial Building and Investment Society will be governed, the Society is now ready to receive applications from persons desirous to join a Society through which (as will be presently shown) they may be assisted in their efforts to promote the cause of religion, and the education of the young.

The objects generally contemplated by Building Societies are—To enable the shareholders to build or purchase household property. To give those shareholders who do not wish to build or purchase, a higher rate of interest for their money than they could obtain the Public Funds or the Savings Banks. Some Societies also advance money to enable shareholders to redeem mortgaged property.

The objects of the present Society are the following:—
1. To enable persons to build dwelling-houses, or to purchase freehold or leasehold property, on the most advantageous terms.
2. To afford assistance to congregations wishing to erect chapels or school-rooms, and to enable them to purchase land, and erect buildings, and prevent the possibility of foreclosure in cases where buildings are mortgaged.
3. To give to monthly depositors a higher rate of interest than is yielded by the ordinary modes of investment.

4. To give to persons advancing money by way of loan to this Society interest at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum.
5. To advance money to shareholders upon freehold or leasehold property, and upon reversions or other kinds of real security, subject to the approval of the Directors; and to enable mortgagors to redeem their mortgages.

Applications for Shares may be made, in the undermentioned form, to Mr. Hull Terrell, 30, Basinghall-street; Mr. Joseph Bagster, 3, Sise-lane, Bucklersbury; Mr. Charles Burs, jun., 15, New Bridge-street, Blackfriars; and of Mr. William Lawley, 6, Red Lion-street, Borough, from whom also Prospectuses may be obtained.

Prospectuses may also be obtained at Radley's Hotel, Bridge-street, and John Morris, Esq., 58, Fenchurch-street, or 4, Trinity-terrace, Poplar.

THE DIRECTORS OF THE LONDON AND PROVINCIAL BUILDING AND INVESTMENT SOCIETY.
I request you will send me a Member of the London and Provincial Building and Investment Society for Shares, and enclose £ s. d. being the Entrance Fee of 2s. 6d., and the first Monthly Subscription of 12s. upon each of such Shares.

Name in full _____
Residence _____
Profession or Trade _____
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All Post Office Orders must be made payable at the Office, St. Martin's Lane.

For the further accommodation of applicants for Shares, attendance will be given at Radley's Hotel, New Bridge Street, Blackfriars, on Tuesday and Friday in each week, from six to nine o'clock, (to hold Shares, and answer inquiries.

NUMBER ONE, ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.—As real goodness is not helped by praise, nor injured by reproach, so the BLACK TIE, at 4s. 6d. per lb., sold by DAKIN and COMPANY, owes its popularity solely to its intrinsic excellence.
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THE Royal Family at Home, consisting of the Queen and Prince Albert caressing their Four lovely children. The Grouping and Colouring by Madame Tussaud, the Models and Portraiture by Mr. F. Tussaud, the Costumes by Mrs. F. Tussaud, is now added to the Collection.
—W. A. K. Illustrations, 10, Northampton-square.
"This is one of the best exhibitions in the metropolis."—*Times*.
Admittance, 1s.; Napoleon Rooms, 6d. Open from 11 till 4; and from 7 till 10.

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MR. BETTS (the late firm of J. T. BETTS & Co.) Patent Brandy Distiller, 7, Smithfield Bars, feels it due to himself and the public to state, that the Manufacture of the Patent Brandy was not, nor ever was, carried on by any person except to himself and one of his sons. And that he succeeded in the business of the Distillery, 7, Smithfield Bars, by his sons, J. T. Betts, jun., and Co., on his retiring therefrom, in 1843.

Mr. Betts further states, that he is the sole Patent manufacturer, and vendor of the Metallic Capsule (or solid metal covering for the mouths of bottles), that no other Brandy in England, except Betts's Patent Brandy, is thereby protected; the Patent Metallic Capsule if, therefore, applied to any other Brandy, must have been surreptitiously obtained.
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JOHN GOSNELL and CO.'S AMBROSIAL SHAVING CREAM (Patronised by Prince Albert). This inestimable Cream possesses all the good qualities of the Finest Naples Soap, without the disagreeable smell inseparable from that article in a genuine state. It is of a white pearly very agreeable, produces a creamy lather, which will not dry on the face, and emits in use the delightful flavour of the almond.
In Pots, price 2s. 6d., 3s. 6d., &c.
Perfumes to her Majesty, 12, Three Kings-court, Lombard-street, London. Manufacturers of Combs and Brushes of the best quality, and on the most approved principles.

ACCEPTABLE PRESENTS.—At a period when the social sympathies are most predominant, and the genial influence of "HOME" is felt in the highest degree—more especially by "My young master and mistress," now spending their vacation at the "Old Hall," the most appropriate present becomes the first subject of consideration; a merely useful one can afford no evidence of taste, while a present possessing no claims to utility, shows a want of judgment. To combine these requisites, a more fitting souvenir cannot be suggested than ROWLAND'S Toilet Articles, the "MACASSAR," "KALYDOR," and "ODONTO."

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THE NEW YEAR 1846.

The subject upon which we fix is Eighteen Hundred and Forty-Six. This year will prove while it discloses, A memorable year with MOSES. New styles in dress will be displayed, And new advantages in trade. Additions and imitations in trade. Will constantly be brought to view: MOSES and SON, with greater care, Will bring economy to bear. And thus this era, when it closes, Will tell a merry tale of MOSES. Before we end the present year The grand new dress-mart will appear, And in the City be displayed A novel-mart, where all are glad. And shall not new supporters come To this renowned Emporium? Yes—new supporters will appear Throughout this memorable year. Increase your patronage in trade At MOSES' Mart will be displayed; And thus this era, when it closes, Will prove a noted year with MOSES.

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Dress Coats, edged	1 0 0	
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Ditto Trousers	0 8 6
Winter Trousers, in all the new patterns	0 12 0
Doekins Trousers	0 10 6
Best, or Dress Trousers	1 0 0
Dress Coats	1 10 0
Ditto, best quality made	1 10 0
Frock Coats	1 10 0
Ditto, best quality made	0 3 0
Cashmere Vests	0 8 6
Satin, plush or fancy	0 6 0
Boy's Hussar and Tunic Suits	1 0 0
Boy's Great Coats	1 0 6

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Men's Suits, dress coat, vest, and trousers	from 1 16 0
Ditto, jacket, vest, and trousers	from 18 0

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT.
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CAUTION. E. MOSES and SON are obliged to guard the public against imposition, having learned that the untradesmanlike falsehood of being connected with them, or it's the same concern, has been resorted to in many instances, and for obvious reasons. They have no connection with any establishment in or out of London; and those who do desire genuine Cheap Clothing should (to prevent disappointment, &c.) call or send to 154, Minorities, or 88, Aldgate, opposite the Church.

N.B. No business transacted at this Establishment from sunset on Friday to sunset on Saturday, when business is resumed till twelve o'clock.

Printed at the Whitefriars Printing-office, Bouvierie street, in the precinct of Whitefriars, in the City of London, by JOHN GOSNELL, printer, at Number 7, Ridgeway-street, near the County Gaol, in the County of Middlesex, and also of Number 4, Fairfield place, Chesham-hill-road, in the parish of Manchester, in the County of Lancaster, and published at Number 67, Fleet street, in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, in the City of London, by ABRAHAM WALTER PACTON, of Number 67, Fleet-street, on Saturday, January 3, 1846.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 120.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, JANUARY 10, 1846.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

THE COUNTIES! THE COUNTIES!

REMEMBER THE 30TH OF JANUARY!

Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright have now completed, for this season, their tour of agitation for the county qualification movement, and left this vital and all-essential work in the hands of the Free Trade public. Their visits have ranged over some dozen of the counties of England; from Somersetshire in the south, to the borders of Scotland in the north. They have spoken face to face with the men of Gloucestershire, Staffordshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Somersetshire, Warwickshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. In all these counties, the business is in course of active and vigorous prosecution. In all of them, qualification committees are hard at work—enrolling and arming the hosts of forty-shilling freeholders, who, at the next registration, will receive from the lips of the revising barristers their commission, made out in due form, to depose landlordism from the power it has so insolently usurped and so audaciously abused.

We dare say our friends are all too busy to trouble or amuse themselves much with reading tedious reports of silly and stupid harangues made at hotel-and-corner protectionist meetings. But if ever they do happen to take the *Post* or *Herald* in their hands, they will find abundant encouragement and stimulus to go on working this movement with a most unsparing vigour. The monopolists feel it, and roar out lustily. They can bear a potato panic admirably,—but this is a panic that upsets all their philosophy. They are now, for the first time, *really hurt*, and their cries of distress are most unmistakeably genuine. The thing is “unconstitutional,” an “attempt at intimidation,” an “attack on the independence of Parliament,” a “violation of the rights of British subjects,” and everything else that is horrible. Actually, one gentleman (at a Waltham meeting) discovers that “it will be very un-English to be governed by forty-shilling freeholders”—un-English to be governed according to the most ancient of English constitutional franchises! All which, of course, simply means, that the landlords feel their ill-used power to be slipping through their hands, and know that they will never, while England is England, get it back again. At the Hertfordshire protectionist meeting, the most noble Marquis of Salisbury thus plaintively gave vent to the emotions of the perturbed landlord mind:

“They were alarmed at the proceedings of an association which made fearful encroachments on the free exercise of their rights as British subjects. It will doubtless be the

duty of Government, under these circumstances, to put a stop to the proceedings of the body calling itself the Anti-Corn-Law League. But I shall not make this a subject of discussion, although I am ready to say that I shall be among the first to petition Parliament to put a stop to practices calculated to be so subversive of all good government. You are aware that the proposed measures of the Anti-Corn-Law League are in the last degree subversive of your interests.”

Poor silly marquis! For an hereditary legislator, this is coming down. “Among the first to petition Parliament to put a stop to practices,” &c. Why not bring in a bill, most noble marquis, and advertise our movement for us, by a debate and division? We fear your petition will only be “laid on the table,” or, at best, “ordered to be printed”—for the benefit of the trunkmakers.

As we have given the marquis's text, we must not withhold Mr. Cobden's very suggestive commentary. At the great Newcastle meeting of last Monday, after edifying his auditory with a quotation of the above outburst of the frightened and angry lord of Salisbury, Mr. Cobden added, for a wider circle of hearers:

“Now, I'll tell you what I did directly I had read the speech of the Marquis of Salisbury. I wrote to a friend in Hertford immediately, and said, ‘Buy me a 40s. freehold in Hertfordshire.’ I'll be on the list for Hertfordshire next year, and I will beg and entreat all my friends, all good Leaguers, in the metropolis and the neighbourhood (where they are within half an hour's ride of the polling place for that county), to follow my example and qualify for it. We'll very soon show the Marquis of Salisbury how easy it is to send him back to his privacy, and just leave him as much power over the representation of Hertfordshire as any man wearing a round frock upon his estate.”

Most heartily do we join in Mr. Cobden's hope and entreaty, that all good Leaguers will go and do likewise. This county of Herts is among the prizes most easily to be won, and best worth winning. It is within reach of London. It is one of the comparatively few counties in which, at the last general election, opinion was so far independent as to render a contest not absolutely desperate; and it returns *three members* to Parliament,—that is to say, one annual forty shillings worth of freehold property in Hertfordshire gives *three votes*—three shares in the sovereignty of the empire. We tell the Londoners, *they must make Hertfordshire their own* BETWEEN NOW AND THE THIRTIETH OF THIS MONTH OF JANUARY.

Again and again, with an earnestness deepened, by the rapid flight of time, into almost importunate anxiety, we say—THE COUNTIES! THE COUNTIES! QUALIFY, QUALIFY, QUALIFY! Whatever else you do, or leave undone, do *this*—do this NOW. Sow the seed now, with unsparing profusion,—that seed which the coming summer will mature into available franchise. Let nothing divert your attention for an instant from this movement. It is of incomparably more importance than anything and everything beside. Neglect anything and everything rather than this. Petitions to Parliament, subscriptions to the League Fund, great demonstrations by public meetings—all these, however important, sink into insignificance before the transcendent and paramount necessity of obtaining the legal and constitutional powers of self-government. Only let us have the votes, and we shall not want the petitions, the subscriptions, and the meetings. *The votes are ALL IN ALL.* Give us the votes, and we have the Legislature, the Cabinet, the empire, all for our own, by a title as secure as that of our freeholders themselves. Stand fast on the votes, and the three estates of the realm will come round to us without more words.

THE QUARTER OF A MILLION LEAGUE FUND.

We suppose it will be pretty generally allowed, that Manchester has, by this time, about done its part. The resources even of Manchester are finite; and if they have not yet absolutely found their limits, the subscription of 74,000*l.* will at least

be considered a very sufficient beginning. It is now for the country to go on, and do the rest. We appeal to the zeal and spirit of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to carry on and complete that which Manchester has so nobly begun.

There will be no waiting, we hope, for visits from Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, or deputations from the League. Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright cannot at this period of the year—within a few days of the assembling of Parliament—make visits to one-tenth of those towns on which we naturally rely for the completion of our fund. We must look to local exertion, local spirit, and local self-acting zeal. We must trust—and do trust—to the spontaneous energy and activity of our friends in distant parts of the country. Every considerable town must have its own meeting, its own canvass for subscriptions, its own subscription committee. The League can just now undertake nothing more than to receive the resources placed at its disposal by national zeal and devotedness, and organise and work them for the national cause.

We may say a word on the meaning and significance of this Quarter of a Million Fund, by way of showing the vast importance of *making it up at once*. It is second in importance only to the qualification movement—of which, in fact, it may be regarded as a branch. The two are parts of one whole—the fund guarantees the extension and continuance of the struggle for the franchise. The Quarter of a Million will show Sir Robert Peel and the landlords *what is coming*. It will give the promise of another year of the qualification movement, should another year be wanted. It will put the option distinctly and tangibly before them—*total, immediate, and unconditional repeal this next session*, OR A QUALIFICATION AND REGISTRATION AGENT OF THE LEAGUE PLANTED IN EVERY COUNTY IN ENGLAND. The progress of this fund will, to the mind of politicians, be a measure of the force and earnestness of public determination—a coarse and imperfect measure, perhaps, but a singularly intelligible one. It will make the whole affair level to the meanest capacity. We will venture to say, Sir John Tyrrell himself will understand it. If we would give the Ministry and the monopolists a perfectly clear idea of what we intend and they may expect, nothing will answer the purpose better than the facts and figures of a subscription-list for rooting out such landlordism from its Parliamentary preserves.

Now is the time to strike home—now, *before the 22d of this month*. Sir Robert Peel has not yet committed himself—he doubtless is glad to wait to the last. His “plan” is yet a secret to the world—possibly, a secret to himself. The questions of compromise or no compromise is still, for anything that is known, an open question in the Minister's mind. We have no particular reason for supposing that his mind is closed absolutely against *every* kind of argument. Perhaps he is still “waiting for an excuse.” At all events, let him not have *this* excuse for further paltering with the nation's demands, and tampering with the nation's life—that he does not exactly know the nation's mind. The Quarter of a Million Fund will make it all very clear to him. It will tell him—and will tell those who, with all their bluster and fanfaronnade of “independence,” will do pretty much as he may bid them—that, if this question be not *settled* now, landlordism, as a political power, will be extinguished within the year.

A CANDID “SPECTATOR.”

“There is a hypocrisy of candour which injures the cause of justice.”—*Spectator*, February 27, 1844.

So wrote our contemporary in the days when there was a “Whig” Ministry to be schooled, and

scolded, and snubbed for "so often querulously remonstrating against the recognition of general principles;" and when the "leaders of the Anti-Corn-Law agitation" needed, in the estimation of this sharp-scented moral critic, to be spirited up to the advocacy and championship of "*Free Trade in the most unrestricted sense of the word.*" The then so zealous and uncompromising Cato of Free Trade and virtue has since lived to furnish an illustration of his own aphorism, such as could scarcely have been anticipated from so stern a censor of the vices of the age.

We are pretty well seasoned by this time to the disagreeable emotions consequent on witnessing the self-degradation of the press into subserviency to the piques and spites of those who wield its powers. Yet we have seldom felt a more lively disgust and contempt than in perusing an article in which the *Spectator*, on Saturday last, lectures the League for what it is pleased to call—with a happy unconsciousness of the recoil of its own phrase—the "*spiteful antagonism*" that insists on the whole of a just demand, and refuses to fritter away a righteous principle in compromise. In order completely to show the true character of the ill-tempered and worse principled effusion to which we allude, we may first of all refresh the public memory a little, on the former professions and conduct of this rigid moral and political purist.

If any of our readers happen to have at hand the volume of the *Spectator* for the year 1841, they will find, on turning to the date of the 6th of March, an article entitled, "*TOTAL AND IMMEDIATE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS.*" The occasion of that article was the refusal of a portion of the constituency of Forfar to vote for a candidate who declined pledging himself to total and immediate repeal—the candidate in question being a gentleman who "would not fetter himself, in the exercise of his vote on the Corn Laws, by any pledge which might risk the speedy attainment of a wholesome modification of those laws." From this the *Spectator* took occasion to discuss at length the question of "*the wisdom of the Anti-Corn-Law agitators taking up the ground of 'total and immediate repeal.'*" The inquiry was prefaced as follows:

"In the reiteration of the brief formula, there is necessarily at times an appearance of dogmatism—of the substitution of passionate will for reason. We propose, therefore, to recapitulate, in a condensed form, the reasons upon which we understand the Anti-Corn-Law League to have taken up the ground of total and immediate repeal, for the purpose of ascertaining whether it be the deliberate resolve of dispassionate inquiry, or merely an expression of strong self-will."

After an elaborate examination of both branches of the "total and immediate" formula of League faith—in which he particularly insisted on the superior safety and advantage, to the agricultural interest itself, of the immediateness of repeal—our contemporary concluded thus:

"These, as we are given to understand, are the grounds upon which the Anti-Corn-Law League rest their recommendations that the repeal of the Corn Law should be both total and immediate. After a dispassionate review, we can see NO FLAW IN THE CHAIN OF REASONING, NO GROUND WHY THEY SHOULD MODIFY THEIR DEMAND. And, entertaining these views, we cannot see how the members of the League, as honest men, could do otherwise than recommend to all electors to exert themselves to return to Parliament such members only as agree with them in opinion. . . . This being the case, they are quite right in insisting upon precise and explicit declarations of opinion on this subject from all Parliamentary candidates. . . . In stating, however, this *unqualified approbation of the position taken up by the League*, we must be allowed to suggest, that its members ought to embrace every occasion of stating the process of reasoning by which they support their laconic confession of faith."

Now, will it be believed, that, for having stood firm to this "laconic confession of faith," through seven years of hard, up-hill working and fighting—and for pertinaciously continuing the "reiteration of this brief formula" at a moment when it is all ripe and ready for legislative recognition,—this candid and impartial "*Spectator*" of men and things attacks us, of the League, with the charge of "*spiteful antagonism*,"—of a "*habit of desperate warfare*," for warfare's sake, that "*continues to operate after victory*"—of a cowardly "*love to beat a prostrate foe*," and "*wish to trample*" on opponents "*after getting them down*"—and of a vindictive "*rejoicing in the prospective misery of farmers and labourers*, because it will "*serve them right*." It is, of course, superfluous to add, that the *Spectator*

has not a word to say now for the "laconic confession" of Free Trade faith.

In its article of Saturday last, entitled, drolly enough, "*How to FACILITATE CORN LAW REPEAL*," the "hypocrisy of candour" endeavours to "facilitate" the advent of Free Trade, first by vilifying its advocates—next, by darkly suggesting the most dire possibilities of evil as incident to its realisation—and lastly, by proposing to make its attainment conditional on the antecedent or concurrent adoption of a complicated and costly appendage, in the shape of a grand scheme of colonisation, to be devised by the *Spectator* and executed by the State. Hypocrisy of candour begins in this fashion:

"There is a class of politicians whom the gaining of their object does not satisfy. They cannot be happy unless they gain it by a sort of violence upon their opponents, whom they also take delight in punishing for having opposed them. Of such is the agitator, in whom the habit of desperate warfare continues to operate after victory. He loves to beat the prostrate foe."

On which we have only to say, that we have not got our "victory," and never should get it if we took counsel with hypocrisy of candour. The foe is not "prostrate," but paramount in both Houses of Parliament.

Candour proceeds:

"His (Mr. Cobden's) League has recently given some indications of a wish to trample on the agriculturists after getting them down. It would seem that the more active of the Anti-Corn Law party (or some of them at least) want more than a total repeal of the Corn Laws. In order to please them wholly, the repeal must be instantaneously sudden as well as entire. If the suddenness of so great a change should lead to panic amongst the farmers, and this panic should throw great numbers of labourers out of employment, and vastly increase the poor-rate, 'why, it will serve the monopolists right,' say some of the League, 'for their opposition to Free Trade.'"

Will Candour please be so good as to say when and where "some of the League" have ever said anything of the sort? Also, what it means by the League's "wish to trample on the agriculturists?" Have the League ever proposed to do, or indicated a wish to do, anything which, in Candour's opinion, would be an INJUSTICE to the agriculturists—which "trampling" means, if it means anything?

Candour resumes:—

"He (the Leaguer) insists on 'no delay,' 'no compromise,' 'no letting down easy.' He scorns to facilitate, he will only force, the accomplishment of his own purpose. He has but one notion of means to his end—spiteful antagonism. It never occurs to him, that as all things have their season, so now, when success is clearly within his reach, the time has come for avoiding risks and employing facilities—for helping on by every conceivable aid that conclusion which nothing can prevent, nor anything long delay save the desperation of the party which are yielding. There are Leaguers who appear bent on making the agriculturists desperate."

Our contemporary has certainly an odd judgment in "seasons." On the 8th of May, 1841—which was decidedly no season for very big and boastful words—he wrote, "If there be among the Free Trade agitators any men who know what they would be at, and possess courage and energy to put it in act, they may say of our legislators, as Cromwell said of the Scots at Dunbar, 'The Lord hath delivered them into our hands.'" But now, when "success" really is "clearly within reach," he is all timidity and compliance. Perhaps, as "all things have their seasons," the *Spectator's* principles are an affair of the seasons. Our contemporary's virtue thrived wonderfully in the "Whig" days—we have not seen so much of it under the Peel régime.

Notwithstanding that success is within reach, and the victory, in fact, already won, Candour sees a great "difficulty"—a difficulty which "Free Traders wholly overlook," but happily "which it may be in the power of the Government to mitigate." The difficulty is certainly original—of Candour's own composing. Candour apprehended that "the rural clergy of England and Scotland, though they have for the most part abstained from defending the Corn Laws, are generally impressed with a belief that the poorest class of their parishioners will, at least for a time, suffer grievously from the admission of foreign grain free of duty—suffer to the extent even of 'famine and pestilence;'" and consequently, the said rural clergy have (quite irrespectively of tithes, which, in fact, have nothing in the world to do with it) a "strong dislike to a measure from which they expect results so disastrous to the class who are their

especial care." Yet there is, fortunately, a way out of the difficulty. For, by a felicitous coincidence, "it likewise happens that this body, speaking generally, has for some years been desirous of seeing the Government adopt a particular means of affording relief from superfluous numbers in the rural districts—*emigration, or rather colonization, managed by the State*; and that such a measure is peculiarly applicable to the emergency dreaded from the repeal of the Corn Laws." Can anything be luckier? Let the Government only get up a grand scheme of "emigration, or rather colonization"—and a cause of one of the most formidable obstacles to Free Trade will be removed." The rural clergy's general, but inoperative, "fears" of "famine and pestilence" will be laid to rest, and clergymen will, "to a considerable extent, at least, be reconciled to that freedom of the Corn Trade which they now dread." As colonization is a difficult question, which the Government does not at all understand, the *Spectator* promises to go to work at once on a plan for Mr. Gladstone's consideration; and then, if Mr. Gladstone understands and approves the *Spectator's* plan—and if the Cabinet agree with Mr. Gladstone—and if the two Houses of Parliament agree with the Cabinet—then we shall be ripe, at last, for entertaining the question of Free Trade. And this is "*How to facilitate Corn Law Repeal*"—and to be of any other way of thinking is "spiteful antagonism."

If our readers have not, by this time, a perfectly clear idea of what is meant by "HYPOCRISY OF CANDOUR," we can only say, it is neither the *Spectator's* fault, nor ours.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Rigby has once more tried his hand at a "slashing article," and has put the author of Coningsby to the blush, by surpassing, in sober reality, the wildest extravagance of caricature. His peculiar tact in marshalling circumstantial evidence, so as to contradict the plainest fact, has been indulged to such an excess, that he has saved his adversaries some trouble in refutation by committing himself to two contradictory propositions; he has laboured to prove that Lord John Russell adopted Free Trade principles only in consequence of the report of Sir R. Peel's resignation, and in the same breath he asserts that Lord John Russell has been a Free Trader ever since 1841. The *Times* has sufficiently exposed the blustering frenzy which such short-sighted inconsistency exhibits; but there are some other examples of irate senility in the article which must not be passed over without notice, however painful may be the task of meddling with the drivellings of angry dotage.

In criticising Lord John Russell's letter, Rigby first assails the assertion that early in November last there was a general expectation that ministers would relax the restrictions on the importation of food, either by an Order in Council, or by an immediate assembling of Parliament, to suspend or repeal the Corn Laws. Against this Rigby marshals the circumstance that Lord John Russell went at this period to Edinburgh—as if railroads had not brought Edinburgh into such close proximity with London, that little more than a day would be lost if the noble lord found it necessary to communicate with his colleagues. A second circumstance adduced to show the improbability of any such expectation existing is, that there was a large stock of corn in bond; but the additional circumstance is omitted, that the stock of bonded corn had been diminished in the month of October by the exportation of provisions from British ports to Belgium. We shall only adduce one evidence for the existence of this general expectation, the *Standard* newspaper, which declared that Sir Robert Peel was not only ready to open the ports, but, if necessary, to grant a bounty on the importation of foreign corn.

Rigby next attributes inconsistency to Lord John Russell in demanding the free importation of food, and at the same time condemning all Government interference with the supply of provisions. The restrictions, as every child knows, are the interference, and it is the merest quibble to represent the removal of these restrictions as an additional interference. Such logic belongs to the philosophic school, in which the moralities of a marquis and his mistress vary as they are placed in a dining-room or in a carriage.

We have next a very oracular decision on the points at issue between the *Times* and *Standard* respecting the causes that led to the disruption of Sir Robert Peel's Cabinet. Rigby thinks that "the statement of the *Times* was unfortunately nearer to

the truth;" but he forthwith adds, that he cannot believe our sagacious Premier would repeal a law "which, instead of alternate gluts and famines, and corresponding fluctuations of work and wages, is calculated, as far as human laws can operate, to correct the vicissitudes of the seasons, and to preserve a steady supply and moderate prices."

Before we proceed to examine this poetic description of the results of the Corn Laws, we should like to know what is the precise nature of the *correspondence* between the "fluctuations in work and wages, and gluts and famines." If abundance and consequent cheapness of food produces greater employment and larger wages, then what Rigby calls "a glut" is a national blessing; and that such is the case has been proved by the experience of this very year in the manufacturing districts, where food is dearer and wages lower than they were at this period last year. A glut of food,—that is, a supply too large for the wants of the consumers—has not occurred in England within the memory of man; but scarcity verging on famine has visited us periodically ever since the enactment of the Corn Laws; and the fluctuations of price since 1815, as extraordinary as they were unexpected, have amounted to 199½ per cent. So much for the boasted steadiness of supply and moderate prices!

Rigby next revives the exploded sophism of "dependence on foreigners;" he conveniently forgets that we are already dependent on foreigners for the staple of our principal manufactures, yet he has never been troubled with a vision of the United States laying an embargo on the export of cotton, or Spain and Saxony withholding their wool. The very reason why corn is exposed to such a danger, is the uncertainty and irregularity of the trade; foreigners prohibit exports at one time, because we have prohibited imports at another. He says, with truth, that "starving millions cannot await the slow oscillations by which, after the lapse of time, the pent-up corn may flow in on us." But who first established these oscillations, under the pressure of which we are now suffering? Clearly the authors of the sliding scale, whose graduations of scarcity at this moment keep corn pent up in our bonded warehouses; and the slowness of the oscillations belongs peculiarly to the present Premier, whose system of taking the averages has gauged our powers of endurance by the price of the inferior grain, while the nutritive wheat has run up beyond the average of free importation.

Rigby next asserts that a free importation of foreign corn would throw English land out of cultivation. We appeal to the facts and figures collected by Messrs. Morton and Trimmer, in their unanswered and unanswerable pamphlet, to show that the Corn Laws are actually an impediment to the cultivation of the land in England. But we have the fact proved by the admission of the monopolists themselves. When Mr. Cobden, in the last session of Parliament, challenged them to an enquiry into the effect of protection on agriculture, they shrunk from the investigation, and thus tacitly acknowledged that agriculture derives no benefit from protection. Every practical farmer knows that the free admission of inferior grain, by enabling him to feed cattle, and thus obtain an abundant supply of fertilising manures would lead to a great extension of the cultivation of the best varieties of wheat, now greatly neglected on account of the vast increase of the cost of production resulting from the Corn Laws.

Rigby next refers to the case of Ireland, and insists that the Corn Laws have no relation whatever to the potato disease. Of course, he can show that they have no close connection in the way of cause and effect; but the question now is about remedy, and we humbly conceive that bread will save a man from starving when he has not a sufficient supply of potatoes. It is true that a poor peasant cannot buy enough of dear bread to satisfy his wants; but lower the price, and he may perhaps be able to obtain a portion. Rigby tells us that the great want of the Irish is money; and in order that this limited supply of money should go as far as possible, he insists on keeping up to the highest point to which it can be screwed the price of necessary provision!

Rigby next proceeds to the protection of manufactures, and quotes as his strongest case the prohibition of foreign reprints of our books. The law of copyright, the question of property in the creations of the mind, is so utterly unconnected with all questions of exchange, that long as we have been familiar with Rigby's hardihood in practised sophistry, we felt more than astonished at his hazardous such an illustration. It is, however, sometimes convenient to confound free booting with Free Trading. Rigby has not even the merit of originality; he took the idea from that very sagacious legislator, Mr. Ferrand, who vented some similar nonsense when discussing the question of copyright in design. The prohibition of foreign reprints is not a protection to British industry in any sense of the word; it is a protection to private property, a property which no legislature can con-

fer, and of which it never does more than recognise the existence.

Rigby's next case is the protection accorded to British spirits. He omits from their case that they are subjected to the duties of the excise, and we have no doubt that they would willingly resign protection in exchange for a total remission of the special taxation to which they are subjected. We know of no excise levied on corn; and those who resisted Mr. Ward's motion ought in very shame to be silent about the special burthens on land.

Rigby next deprecates Free Trade in labour. He forgets that it already exists, except in so far as it is affected by protective duties, all of which, by limiting the range of employment, and thereby diminishing the demand, lower the rate of wages. Parliament has over and over confessed that it is impossible to fix the amount of wages by statute; and this very confession enhances both the iniquity and absurdity of fixing, or rather attempting to fix, the rate of the provisions which wages have to purchase.

"O God! that food should be so dear,
And flesh and blood so cheap."

As a matter of course, the League comes in for a very large share of vituperation. The tone of abuse is, however, moderated since the Gregorian era, when Rigby accused the Free Traders of plotting to revive the horrors of the French revolution; and paraded garbled extracts from the farrago of reports industriously collected by Mr. Gregory in Manchester, while hunting for proofs of imaginary conspiracy. Rigby has, however, revealed the sore point with his patrons—the determination of the League to rescue the counties from the degraded condition of pocket boroughs, which he facetiously denominates "*corrupting the constituencies*." He may rest assured that the progress of this good work will not be interrupted unless speedy justice be obtained; and that the power of vassalage and serfdom will be humbled before a race of freeholders.

"Who know their rights;
And knowing, dare maintain."

To the string of questions respecting manufactured goods with which Rigby concludes his frenzied ravings, we have a very short answer. Our textile fabrics need no protection; for as they compete, at least on equal terms, with foreigners in neutral markets, they can fear no competition at home. Excisable articles have a claim for compensation, and are therefore indifferent to the issue; and the remaining items would be compensated for the loss of protection by the increased consumption consequent on freedom of trade.

With more than usual folly and audacity, Rigby enters upon the questions of compensation and taxation, taking as his text that the land of England is mortgaged for the payment of eight hundred millions of national debt. He was not very prudent in reminding the tax-payers, that though this debt was contracted for the land, its interest has been paid by the industry of the country. He should have hesitated before he reminded us of the fraud practised in the levying of the land-tax, by which the owners of estates, violating their own stipulated tenure, have abstracted from the revenue a sum more than sufficient to pay the whole amount of the national debt; he seems to have forgotten such special exemptions as fire insurances and legacy duties. Nothing but the most crass ignorance or downright insanity could excuse the advocate of the lords of acres for venturing on this perilous ground. Let the cry of compensation be once raised on their side, and a louder and more equitable demand for compensation of a different kind will be made by the other. The arrears of the land-tax would be a formidable item in the settlement of accounts, and the monopolists may be assured that it will not be forgotten if they call upon the nation to compare the respective schedules and strike a fair balance.

Some threats of agrarian resistance are insinuated, rather than expressed, by the antiquated reviewer. Such threats are the hackneyed resource of a bully, to frighten away fear; and while he uses them, his craven terror is too strong to be concealed. They appear, however, to be designed more for the Premier than the people. He is menaced with the fate of Actæon—that of being destroyed by his own hounds. Whether such a euthanasia be probable, may be for the future to determine; but no coin in the realm is sufficiently small to show the low amount of premium for which we should insure him from the old toothless cur that now barks at his heels.

At the very earnest solicitation of the Free Trade party, backed by a most numerously signed requisition, Daniel Gaskell, Esq., of Lupset-hall, has finally determined to become a candidate for the representation of Wakefield, in the event of a dissolution of the present Parliament.

At Bradford, the requisition to Mr. Busfield and Col. Thompson has already received about 500 signatures.

Of the gentlemen returned as representatives of the 25 wards in the London court of common council, the great majority are advocates of Free Trade.

FREE TRADE MEETINGS.

IMPORTANT MEETING OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS IN NORTH WILTS.

(From the Times.)

WOOTTON-BASSETT, JAN. 6.—A meeting of a very remarkable and important character at the present crisis was held last night at a village, six miles beyond this town, called Goatcree, a small place, with an agricultural population scarcely exceeding 200 persons, but surrounded at various distances by several similar villages or hamlets. The chairman was a labourer; the speakers, with the exception of two, were labourers; and the object in view was to call public attention to the present condition of the labouring population in this part of the country, and to petition Her Majesty and the Legislature to take decisive steps for the speedy relief of their extreme distress. The meeting was to have been held in a large booth erected in a field, but the great expense of providing such accommodation was beyond the combined contributions which these poor people could spare from their very scanty means; and therefore they were compelled to assemble together in the cross-road of the village, and to endure the inclemency of a winter night while they talked over their common sufferings. The whole of the arrangements and proceedings were strikingly characteristic of the occasion. A hurdle supported by four stakes, driven into the ground beneath a hedge on the road side, formed a narrow and unsteady platform, capable of supporting only the chairman and one speaker at a time. Below this rustic erection were placed a small deal table and some rushbottom chairs, borrowed from a neighbouring cottage, for the accommodation of reporters. Four or five candles, some in lanterns, and others sheltered from the wind by the hands that held them, threw a dim and flickering light upon the groups on this spot, before and around which were gathered nearly 1000 of the peasantry of Wiltshire, some of them accompanied by their wives and their children, who, thus collected, presented a wild and painful appearance. In the shadows of the night the distinctive garb of their class was everywhere discernible, but when the fitting clouds permitted the moon to shine brightly in their faces, in them might be seen written, in strong and unmistakable lines, anxiety, supplication, want, hunger, ever responsive in expression to the sentiments and statements delivered by speakers, who merely described in plain unvarnished language the miseries of their rural auditors. The style of the more important speeches, and the nature of the disclosures made in them, demand an exact report of them, which will be found below, abating the provincial accentuation of words.

DAVID KELL, a man of rather advanced age, was formally called upon to preside, and opened the proceedings by reading a printed copy of the following notice:—

"Anti-Corn Law Meeting at Goatcree.—At a meeting of the committee of the Goatcree Reform Society, held at the committee-room, Goatcree, on Tuesday, December 8th, the following resolutions were unanimously carried:—Resolved, 1. That, in the opinion of the committee, the distress of the labouring people, caused by the failure in the potato crop, and the high price of bread, is such as to justify the holding a public meeting for the purpose of petitioning the Queen for a total repeal of the Corn Laws, inasmuch as wheat has risen 25 per cent., while the wages of the farm labourers have not risen 5 per cent. 2. That a public meeting be held at Goatcree on Monday, the 8th of January, 1846, for the purpose named in the first resolution. In pursuance of the above resolution, notice is hereby given that a public meeting will be held in a large booth at Goatcree, on Monday, the 8th January, 1846, at half-past 6 o'clock in the evening, for the purpose of petitioning the Queen for a total repeal of the Corn Laws.—Joseph Brewer, Chairman of the Committee. N.B. It is earnestly hoped that all who are suffering from distress will attend, that their distress may be made known."

The CHAIRMAN then said: To all who are here present, and to my poor fellow-labourers in particular, I call your attention to a subject of the utmost importance—a subject which demands very serious consideration. You know by painful experience that we are suffering under distress and poverty; and we are met here this evening on purpose to make known that distress to her Majesty and to her Ministers, to pray them to open the ports and to repeal the unjust Corn Laws, so that we and our families may enjoy the bounties of Providence. (Hear, hear.) As it respects my own distress, and the calamities and miseries I have undergone and undergone, I have spoken of them before at the Ramsbury meeting. But the case is not altered now. I have only 6s. a week for keeping myself, a wife, and two small children. I cannot earn half enough to keep us. 6l. 10s. must go to pay house and garden rent, and no potatoes got. (Hear.) I say, then, let us unite together to advocate the cause of Free Trade. (Cheers.) Free Trade for ever! (Repeated cheers.) What was it we were sent into the world for? Is it not for the benefit of society? Hath God not committed to us a talent, and will He not require the use of it at our hands? (Hear, hear.) There are classes of people in this world, but perhaps they are unknown to many of you, that think that, because God brings all things to pass according to His unalterable decrees, they may sit down and rest contented, and never think of doing anything at all, except it is to usurp the authority of God. They may look into His sacred word; but with His revealed will they will have nothing to do. Dost thou not know, O man! that thou wast endowed with a mind, and will, and faculties, which God works upon as His instruments to bring about His all-wise purposes? He looked upon His people in Egypt, and He saw their affliction, and raised up Moses to be their deliverer. Again, He raised up Gideon to deliver them out of the hands of the Midianites. And Cyrus again to deliver them from Babylon, when they were in captivity; and to come nearer our own times, He raised up Oliver Cromwell and many others to do what was to be done. And in the present day, is there not a Cobden, a Bright, and a Radnor? It is not for us to inquire whether these men are good men or not. It is sufficient for us to know that they are doing a good moral work in our nation. (Cheers.) But there is another class of characters which I would speak to, for perhaps there are some of them amongst you; poor dear souls, they are to be pitied, for they are fearing where no fear ought to be. They are afraid they shall be turned out of their labour, and out of their houses; and they are fearing this great man, and that great man, and the other great man. They are fearing every day because of the fury of the oppressor. And "where is the fury of the oppressor?" There is no cause at all to fear him, my poor fellow-labourers. For says God, "Behold, I have created the smith that bloweth the coals in

the fire, and that bringeth forth an instrument for his work; and I have created the waster to destroy. No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper; and every tongue that riseth against thee in judgment thou shalt condemn." Let us stand up, my fellow-labourers, for good laws, for freedom, for equality. (Cheers.) I envy not the rich man for his riches; but is it not unreasonable and arbitrary that the rich should be endowed with the full and sole power to send members to Parliament to legislate? (Hear, hear.) The laws press upon the poor, who never had any hand in making them. (Hear, hear.) But I do think the time will come when every labouring householder will have the privilege of sending members to Parliament. (Cheers.) When every man comes under the power of every law that is made, ought not every man to have a voice in making that law? (Hear, hear.) And now a word or two for the protectionists. I would ask, where is the utility of the protectionist contending for the Corn Law, since it has been proved again and again, by invincible argument, that the Corn Law is no benefit to him? But he is led on by the Duke of Buckingham and others, just as the Italian leads a bear through the streets, and when he has made as much money of him as he can, he turns upon the poor creature, and cuts him up to make bear's grease. (Laughter.) So it is with the poor farmer, and so the poor labourer is brought down to misery and ruin. (Hear, hear.)

WILLIAM BURCHELL then came forward to move the adoption of the following resolution, or rather declaration:

"We, the labourers of Goatsacre and its neighbourhood, in public meeting assembled, do solemnly protest against the Corn Laws, which were enacted on the plea of being beneficial to our interest, but have been, on the contrary, injurious, inasmuch as they prevent the employment of capital in the improvement of the soil, and thereby diminish labour, and raise the price of the first necessities of life. And we labourers declare that we are lingering out a miserable existence under the idea of being protected." (Hear, hear.)

He considered that this was the best resolution that the meeting could carry. (Burchell finding a little difficulty at first in expressing himself, one of his fellow-labourers in the crowd called out, "Never mind about a word or two; hungry men can understand what you mean.") The remark was re-echoed by many voices.) He was one of the poor Wiltshire labourers who were suffering under a pretended Corn Law protection. It had been many times stated that this Corn Law protection was for the benefit of the labouring classes, but he maintained that at the present time it was an injury to them. (Hear, hear.) He, therefore, hoped that they would unite in petitioning for the speedy removal of that protection, and the establishment of Free Trade for the nation. (Loud cheers.) God Almighty in his providence caused the earth to produce abundance of provisions for man, and what one nation could not produce another could; therefore everything should be so managed as to have free commerce throughout the world. (Hear, hear.) The labouring classes were in a most distressed condition at the present time—worse than last year, when he said at Wootton Bassett that every man with five or six children went to bed more in debt than he was the night before. His condition was worse than it was that time twelvemonth. If wages had risen within the last few years 1s. a week, the price of bread had risen 2s., so that the difference was against himself and his family. (A voice—"True, we be always going back.") He hoped the Legislature would take into consideration their distressed state, and find a speedy rescue for the oppressed poor. (Hear, hear.) He could maintain the truth of all that the chairman had stated about their distress. He believed that there were at the present time many who had not a bit of bread to eat. He did not know whether the man was in that congregation or not, but one man of Lyneham parish had told him that many a night he had gone to bed hungry. (Cries of "Ah, he is not the only one"—"No, not by many.") Those who were in distress should come forward and manfully make their distress known; that would show the necessity for Free Trade, which he believed to be the only remedy. (A voice—"It can't make us worse.") 20 or 30 years ago, the labourers of Wiltshire used to go up into the hills and make a good harvest; but since trade had failed it was no use for them to go looking for reaping, for many thousands of "scribblers" and weavers out of employment went and cut down the wheat at low wages. But he believed that if every scribbler had work at his mill, and every weaver employment at his loom, they would not rob the poor agricultural labourer of his day's work. (Hear.) Many persons said that Free Trade would make things worse for them; he did not believe that to be possible, and all he wanted was, that the experiment should be tried. (Hear, hear.) He had heard that in centuries past labouring men had for food bread, and butter, and cheese, and beef, and pork, and beer; but now it was bad potatoes and salt. He was often thankful that the streams and rivulets were so bountifully spread around their neighbourhood, and that taxation could not be written on their bosoms. (Hear, hear.) But it was distressing for a man to get up early and go to work having little or no victuals, and to return to dinner upon a few potatoes, and then be afraid sometimes to eat what he had. (A voice, "Cause you would not have any for to-morrow.") He had heard it said that there was no market for meat. Why was that? Because the people had not the means of purchasing meat, therefore the consumption was not bigger. He was past 40 years of age, and he could say that he never purchased a pound of good slaughtered beef fit to be carried into market. As to mutton, he had purchased a little of that, but never as much as would average a pound a year in the 40 years. He knew what veal was, but he had never had any at all. He believed that the only way to improve the meat market and increase the home consumption, was to establish Free Trade; and he would conclude by calling on them to unite in petitioning for Free Trade. (Cheers.) Free Trade for ever! (Renewed cheers.)

CHARLES VINES, in seconding the resolution, said,—Friends, I wish the moon was a little brighter just now, that I could see better who is here; but I see enough to find that here is a good many people, and almost all of 'em wear smock-frocks and poor old hats as I do. Some of us heard from a pulpit a short time ago, that the mind of man is like to be dissatisfied. I believe it. Dissatisfied minds have brought all these men here to-night. (A woman's voice, "Ay, and women, too.") I believe, fellow-labourers, that if you and your families had full bellies, you would now have been at home, after being working hard all day, comfortable with your wives and families. ("Ay, that's true.") I am sure I should not have walked all the way up here from Christian-Malford, through lanes and paths full of mud and dirt, if it hadn't been for that. I don't come here to talk politics, I don't know nothing of 'em. But I don't know much of the Corn Laws, only that they ha'n't done

we labourers much good. (Cries of hear, hear.) Everybody knows that. (A voice, "I've had 'em staring me in the face ever since 1817.") Yes, the Corn Laws exist, and every one of us feels that the sooner they be abolished the better. (Cheers.) I don't know whether many of you read newspapers; but I must tell you that in the *Wiltshire Independent*, not long ago, there was this statement made by a labourer of Christian-Malford to the Editor,—“As Mr. Benett, M.P. for South Wiltshire, lately stated at an agricultural meeting that the poor of Wiltshire were always employed regularly at the rate of 8s. and 9s. per week, and that they were well fed and well clothed, and as I know by experience that that statement is false, I will, if you will be so kind as to allow me to occupy a small space in your valuable paper, prove that it is so; and I will tell what I earned for 39 weeks ending the 10th of June, 1844, to maintain as large a family as almost any poor man has. The number of my family is eight; all of those 39 weeks we wanted 7s. a-week for bread, not having any potatoes a third part of the time; so that, if I had not been receiving 8s. a-week during all that time, it would not have been enough to buy bread and firing. And now, sir, I will tell what was the exact amount of what I did earn during those 39 weeks; it was 5l. 19s. 8d., which is not quite 3s. 1d. a-week. This report is almost enough to make you stagger to believe it, but it is no less strange than true; and I can say, for a truth, that if it had not been for a little land which I rent of the Hon. Earl of Carnarvon and the Rev. Mr. Law, and a few good friends amongst my neighbours, my family and myself must have died from starvation; it was not much better as it was. Now I will ask the hon. gentleman if he thinks he is justified in stating such things at public meetings? I could say a great deal more on the subject, but I will leave these remarks for Mr. Benett's present perusal, and say a word or two at some future period, and I sincerely hope and trust that these remarks will open the said Mr. Benett's eyes a little, so that he may see that the poor are in distress; and I sincerely hope he will make speeches and try to adopt measures for the bettering the condition of us poor labourers; and I don't doubt but that it will redound to his praise; and I think he, in so doing, will glorify God, who alone knows the hearts of all, and the distress which we, as a nation, are labouring under, for there has been an increasing distress for years past. Many in this parish are now suffering greatly for want of work.” (Cries of, “Ah, that is true, all true.”) This case, so stated in that paper, was the case of the man who stands before you. (Hear, hear.) And now, my friends, the purpose of my being here to-night is to prove to you the accurate sum that I earned from September 16, 1843, till November 23, 1844, which is about 62 weeks, together with the amount of money earned by me down to the 31st of December, 1845, which, if I reckon right, is about 119 weeks and three days. Together with relief when ill, and 20 weeks for a boy, 12 years old, who was allowed 3d. a day, the whole sum amounted to 42l. 5s. 5d., that is exactly 7s. 14d. a-week, or thereabouts. Now, I will ask any labourer with a wife and six children, to step forward and, if he can, tell me in what I am to spend this money, so as to pay every man I deal with 20s. in the pound? (“Why, thee can't.”) If he can, I shall be glad to take a lesson in economy of him. I can only say that my wife and myself have made it our study for the last 14 years and more. She says she can't make the money do it, and yet I am proud to say she is as good a wife as any man has got. (Cheers.) I would remark here that there are other necessities besides food. There is house rent. I pay 4l. a year, as a good many in this meeting know. Now, 119 weeks, which go a good way towards two and a half years, will take away 9l., leaving 33l. 5s. 9d. Then I reckon shoes a necessary. (“You can't do without them.”) I take what a pair cost me two years ago; I haven't had any since, nor my family, and I suppose we never shall any more. I paid 12s. for a pair of water-tights; and if there is any shoemaker here who will make me another pair at that price, I shall want at least six months' credit. (A laugh.) If he wants them he shall have two bondsmen farmers, and I will be bound to say that they must pay him, for I don't see that I ever can. (Laughter.) Then there is a pair for my wife, 6s. 3d.; for my oldest daughter (14 years) 5s. 6d.; for my oldest son (11 years) 6s. 6d.; for my next son (9 years) 5s. 6d.; for my next daughter (7 years) 4s. 6d.; for my next (4 years) 3s.; for the youngest child (2 years) 1s. 6d. All that amounts to 24.4s. 9d., leaving a surplus of 31l. 0s. 9d. to buy food for 119 weeks, being 5s. 2½d. per week for eight in a family. I will leave all the world to judge if that sum is sufficient to keep a family, eight in number, in food. (“No, it can't be done.”) I am sure I often don't know how to make both ends meet. My bread bill, since last July, cost me from 7s. 7d. to 8s. 8d. a-week. Then you'll say, “You can't pay for your bread.” (“No, that you can't.”) That's true, for some I've paid for, and some I ha'n't, and don't see any way to pay for it for the future; neither do I know how I'm to pay for what will be wanted in future, for I have no good potatoes, hardly one fit for a pig to eat; for I don't rent a bit of land now, half an acre, and there is not a good potato in it. I've got here one I had boiled for my dinner to day; I brought it for a specimen. (The potato was handed down and examined under the lanterns; it was black with the prevailing disease.) Yet this is what I am to feed upon when I get up to work at 4 o'clock in the morning, if there's no bread in the house. It is a long time till July next before we get new potatoes; and unless something turns up for we poor creatures, starvation stares us in the face on both hands. But I sincerely hope “long looked-for” will come before July next. (Hear, hear.) To obtain our rights effectually, we must all, with one heart, lift up our cry and petition Her Majesty to remove the restrictions upon trade and commerce, so that the poor labourers may have bread and cheese and good table beer, to enable them to do the work which their present scanty food never can. (Hear, hear.) May that cry meet with a reply from our gracious Queen. God save the Queen! (Cheers, and responses of “Amen.”) Friends, every man who is born and bred a labourer has for his birthright a living from the soil, to be obtained without being restricted by any laws— unjust laws I might call 'em—enforced by our Legislature. (Cheers.) I will now read a few lines which I have collected together with something of my own, showing the right of an English labourer:—

“My own claim is this,
“With labour stiff and stark,
“By lawful turn, my bread to earn,
“Between the light and dark.
“My daily bread, and nightly bed;
“My bread and cheese and beer;
“But all from the hand that holds the land,
“And none from the Overseer.

(Loud cheers, and cries of “No overseers for we.”)

“No parish money, nor parish loaf,
“No pauper badge for me;
“I'm a son of the soil, by rightful toil,
“Entitled to my fee.”
“No alms I ask, give me my task,
“For will, or arm, or leg;
“I'm strong and bold, and to this I'll hold—
“To work and not to beg.”—(Loud cheering.)

WILLIAM PARRY, of Charlton said, I have come a distance of 20 miles to tell my tale of distress. I have six children, a wife, and myself to maintain on 8s. per week, bread being 15d. per gallon. The farmers tell us that our wages go according to the price of bread; but last spring I had 7s. a-week, and could buy bread at 9d. a gallon. Now it is 6d. more; and a gallon a day, being one pound to each, is what we want in my family. Then there is clothing and firing wanted, and house-rent to pay; but there is nothing to pay for any of these things. I told the relieving-officer that I could not keep my family on my wages. He said he would bring my case forward at the board of guardians. Well, he sent me an order for one of my children to go into the workhouse. Now, fellow-labourers, is not one child as dear to you as another? (Hear, hear.) Well, I did not know which to send. I could not part with ne'er a one. I said to my oldest girl, “You are to go into the workhouse.” She did not like to go, and I spoke to others, and there I had the cries of my poor children, which were piercing to my heart, “Don't send me, father! don't send me!” Was not that enough to try a man, without the pressure of starvation? I spoke to master about it. “Oh,” he says, “if you cannot maintain them you had better send one into the workhouse; I shall not allow you any more wages.” I said, what benefit is it to send this child into the workhouse and banish it from its home? It will do the rest no good, nor that one either. Besides, I should have it always upon my mind, for no man would like to part from his children in such a way. (Hear.) I spoke a few words at a meeting at Upavon, and master told me I had done myself a great deal of hurt by it. I know I only told the truth. He said the farmers might have done me some good but for that. I wanted some better potato land, but master wanted 8l. an acre for it. I told him I could not pay that. If I could get three acres at the same price that the farmers get it—2l. an acre, I could provide for myself and family. (A voice—“Ay, the labourers would not let the land go out of cultivation.”) But the farmers say it will, if we have Free Trade. (Cries of “No, no.”) Where I come from, there are fields and fields full of nothing but thistles. Why? Because there are no farmers enow to cultivate the land. Some of the land our people reaped produced two thistles to one wheat ear. (Cries of “Shame, shame.”) I was at home emptying this wheat, and master came into the yard. I said, “Look at this.” The thistle down was flying off like a snow storm. I said, “You had better have had more labourers to cut the thistles out; the land will never be cultivated while this goes on.” He said, “But I have kept all the sixpences in my pocket.” (Murmurs.) I wish the farmers would have public open meetings to discuss these subjects. (Hear, hear.) There was a meeting in Devizes, where Mr. Bethel made a grand speech, and said that the labouring men were all in a flourishing state and well satisfied. (Cries of “He's a liar.”) Mr. Bethel was in a warm room—had, perhaps, had a bottle of wine, and was himself in a flourishing state when he said that; while at the same time his poor labourers were starving. (Hear, hear.) If it was not for potatoes, starved we must be. (Hear, hear.) How does the poor man get clothes? He lives upon potatoes and salt, and saves a little to buy two or three rags, or else he would be positively naked. We could better ourselves if we were permitted. I told master that if he would let me have three or four acres at 2l. an acre, I could keep my wife and family without coming upon him or going into the workhouse. But they won't agree to it. They say if the land is let in that kind of way it will go out of cultivation; but that is the very way to bring it into cultivation. Fellow-labourers, there is one thing that we are very wrong in. We go to work at mowing, cutting and slashing away, without asking master what we are going to have for doing it before we begin. But I know very well that when a man asks a fair price, the farmers say, “Go along—I don't want thee. I can do without thee.” The man who speaks fairly, and asks a fair price for his labour is sure to be persecuted. But we should unite together, and know before-hand what we are going to have for doing the work. (Hear, hear.) After some further remarks upon the low wages paid to agricultural labourers, which had reduced them to a miserable condition, worse than that of transports, the speaker said—there was nothing left for them now but starvation or Free Trade. He believed that Free Trade would give them good beef and bread to eat, instead of potatoes and no meat or bread. Bad living had made the agricultural labourers physically weaker; he hoped also that it would now have the effect of making them wiser. It had made them wise enough to attend that meeting. They must speak out their distresses, or they could not expect relief. His master had told him that he thought himself a fool for not turning him away from attending the meeting at Upavon. The fact was, the farmers wanted to keep the labourers in the dark. The farmers and landlords held their meetings in private, and would prevent the labourers from having any meetings at all. The labourers must be persecuted for meeting together; but farmers and landowners might meet and devise how to starve the poor labourers, and that was all right. (A voice—“Never mind, it won't last long.”) He hoped not. His master (Mr. Wansborough) said, that Free Trade would starve them. (Cries of “Let's try it; why we be starving now.”) He said, “You won't have any money if you have Free Trade.” How many in that meeting had money? He would venture to say none. (A labourer—“I have been five weeks without a farthing in my pocket; I have never seed any money all that time.”) He saw no hope for them but in Free Trade. There was plenty of bread and meat waiting to come into this country, but the Corn Laws would not let it come in. Their cry, then, must be, “Free Trade, Free Trade for ever!” (Cheers.) They were told that if corn became cheap, their wages would be reduced. But were their wages now according to the price of bread? (Cries of “No, no.”) When corn sank in price 2s. or 3s. a sack, the farmers took off 1s. or 2s. from the labourers' wages. But when corn went up again the labourer was left in the lurch, for his wages were not raised. (Hear, hear.) He should like every labourer to come forward to tell his grievances. (A voice—“Then the meeting would last till the 31st December next.”) No, not if they got Free Trade before next summer. (Cheers.) They must not be afraid to tell the truth. His master told him that if he had not gone to a meeting he would have done a great many things for him. (A labourer—“Why did not he do 'em before?”) It appeared that he never thought before

of doing anything for him. Although this meeting was large, he knew there were hundreds who were kept away through fear of offending their masters. His master told him that if he went to another meeting he would turn him off. But when engaged in a right cause they must not fear man, who at the most could only destroy the body. Let them fear God and trust in him, and they would succeed. (Cheers.)

WILLIAM TAYLOR stated that he had a wife and four children, and expected soon to have five; and was at present out of employment. For the last seven weeks he was in work he got 6s. 6d. per week. For many days he had been without a bit of bread to eat.

A person in the crowd.—But you are one of the protected Wiltshire labourers. Were you discharged from your employment because you were so weak you could not work?

TAYLOR.—Yes, I could not work because I was not strong enough; I could not get victuals to make me so; and my master, Mr. Styles, of Whitcomb, discharged me. I have no work now, and not a sixpence.

A voice.—“Go to the Duke of Richmond at 17, Bond-street. (Cries of Hear, hear.)

Another voice.—Did ever any of your fellow-labourers give you bread when you were starving?

TAYLOR.—Yes, several times; I can't had any to-day but what that man gave me (pointing to a labourer in the crowd, who replied, “Yes, I gave him some to-day.”) May God Almighty soon send Free Trade.

[This poor man need not have called himself a starving man, his emaciated appearance spoke in stronger terms than his voice could utter.]

JAMES PEGLER complained that he had been “hunted down” under the Poor Laws, having been, with his wife and family, forced into the workhouse, and separated from them for 11 months. (Cries of “Shame.”) At last he was turned out to get work; and, because he went out of the district to find work, he was taken before the magistrates, and charged with desertion, for which he was sent to prison for a month. It was no use for him to grumble; he was served so again after that. “God bless my heart and life! (exclaimed this man) I never seed such a go to be sure as how I was served. I knows enough of starvation and misery to make me say, ‘God send us Free Trade!’” (Cheers.)

The resolution was then put, and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. COLE said that he had no idea until he got on the platform that there were half so many persons present, neither could he have believed that in a district where there were comparatively few houses, so large a number would congregate together after the toils of the day, many of them coming from a considerable distance. But it went to prove that hunger, the cause of a dissatisfied mind, would drive people to do many unusual things, and make them submit to serious inconveniences. (Hear, hear.) He believed the time had nearly arrived when the atrocious Corn Laws would be blotted out of the statute-book. (Cheers.) Lord J. Russell, a nobleman who enjoyed the confidence of his sovereign, had declared that those laws were not only the blight of commerce, and the bane of agriculture, but the cause of penury, death, and crime among the people. (Hear, hear.) Could such laws, then, be permitted to remain in a country like this? (Cries of No, no.) They were morally repealed already. (Cheers.) He was satisfied that Sir Robert Peel or Lord J. Russell must repeal the Corn Laws. Would the protectionists move for a committee of inquiry into the truth of Lord John Russell's assertion? No. They refused the self-same thing last session. (Hear.) Meetings like the present were strictly constitutional; and he thought this one would be gratifying to Lord John Russell, and even to Sir R. Peel, who was waiting for the people of this country to press him on to repeal, for he knew, as well as any man, the bad effects the Corn Laws were producing. The resolution he had to propose was, that petitions, founded on the resolutions already adopted, should be prepared, and circulated throughout the district for signature, and then be presented to the House of Commons. He was satisfied that a great moral and intellectual improvement had been produced among the working classes, by the exertions of those gentlemen who had agitated this question, and diffused information upon it. Who would have supposed that such a meeting as this could have been collected, and would, as he had no doubt, quietly disperse? The League had taught the people that every thing was to be gained, not by physical, but by moral force. (Hear, hear.) They now knew where their strength lay. (Hear.) He hoped the young men present would devote their leisure hours to self-improvement, and read and reflect upon the history and laws of their country; in that way they would learn what were their rights, and how properly to secure them. He did not believe that the farmers were to be blamed for low wages; much depended on the demand for, and supply of, labour. Neither did he believe that any one would suffer from the repeal of the Corn Laws. Instead of land going out of cultivation, he thought that the reverse would be the case. There would not be so large a stock of rabbits and hares kept on the land. A protectionist, not 10 miles from that spot, had so many hares on his land, that they actually consumed more of the wheat crop than the whole of the families of farmers and labourers. (Hear, hear.) There was some talk of having a county meeting. Should one take place, let the labourers go, and show the protectionists that they were really desirous that those laws, which had produced so much mischief and misery, should be repealed. (Cheers.)

Mr. EDWARDS, in seconding the motion, said he believed that Sir Robert Peel was inclined to do justice to the working people of this country; but it mattered not to them, as working people, whether a Whig or Tory held the reins of Government, so long as they were well fed and clothed. (A Voice.—“And no curry powder.”) And no curry powder. (Laughter and cheers.)

The motion was then agreed to, as also one of thanks to the public press—that portion of it which advocated the rights of the people.

The CHAIRMAN: In closing this meeting, my fellow-labourers, I wish you to take notice of two things. First, you have heard these poor labourers state their distress; but we don't wish to insinuate to you that you are to rebel against the law that is now in existence. (Hear, hear.) In the next place, we don't wish to insinuate to you that you are to neglect your employment. (Cries of No, no.) You are to follow your work with honesty, integrity, and uprightness. (Hear, hear.) You will do all you can to please your masters, and live up to the law that is now in existence as far as you can, and do it for conscience sake. (Hear, hear.) For you may depend upon it that the very moment you break the law, the very moment you neglect your master's employment, you put a weapon into their hands with which to wound yourselves. (Hear, hear.) Recollect that a few years ago the mob rose in Rumsbury and other places, and took the wrong step. They destroyed

people's property, and demanded their money, instead of acting legally and petitioning the Sovereign and the Government. Had they done so, no doubt they would have been heard. But not doing so, they put a weapon into the hands of the monopolists, and the monopolists rode about the country, and hauled them away to prison, and rejoiced that they had got them just where they would have them. (Hear, hear, and cries of, “We know better now.”)

Three cheers were then given for Free Trade, and for Cobden and Bright, after which the meeting quietly dispersed, breaking into as many separate parties as there were roads, some of them had long journeys to make before they could reach home.

Some letters from labourers were forwarded to the chairman, amongst which were the following, which we give *verbatim et literatim* :—

“Sir,—I take the liberty of addressing myself to you, as it is not convenient for me to attend your meeting, nearly to inform of my distress, which is very Great. I assure you I have four children to maintain and not a potato for my use, my house rent very high, which makes it impossible to get bread enough half my time for them. I am the Father of six Children, one died A natural death, and one burnt to death A Month Ago. in all these troubles and afflictions I have not had the least assistance from any one. My Children are all so young that my Wife cannot earn anything, therefore I will leave you to Judge my case. I will further add there is but few that would not attend your meeting, if they dare, the poor are under that Bondage which makes them afraid to make their distress known, if they did they would be discharged from their work and turned out of doors. God grant that these Petitions might be heard.

“your Afflicted and humbel Servent”

“December 31, 1845.”

“Gentlemen, as it is not convenient for me to attend your meeting, I dress myself to your notice in the following remarks of the distress of the farm labourers are in the present time; in the first place I will state the Case of the men that have a wife and two Children only, as most people say, that these men cannot be bad off, but see the case, all the people knows that the wages in Wiltshire are 8s. per week, and when the Master have taken 4s. per month for rent, there is but 7s. per week for two, provide food for the four people, and there is 7 days in the week that is 1s. a day, that 3d. each person, and as all have a little food 3 times a day, that is 1d. for each meal, and now we see what can be bought for the 1s. We give 7d. for a four pound loaf, and so we see that there is 6 pound of Bread and 3 half penny for butter for the four, that is a pound and half each a day. And now, if I go where there is 4 children that brings it two one pound of bread a day for each person, and one farthing for each for butter, and if we go where there is 6 Children, that brings it two 3 quarters of a pound of bread a day for each, and three half penny for butter for 8 people; and now if this was stated before the masters of the labourers, they would ask me what I should do with the Exter Earnings in the summer a mowing and hoving, and reaping, my answer two this is, that the fire-place takes 1s. per week, that is £2 12s. a year, and from 30 years Experience, I well know two keep the house in sope, candles, thred, and wosted, needles, and pins, Bruns a bruis two keep the house clean, that takes 1s. per week more, that is 2l. 12 more, and the man have a pair of shoes a year, that is 12s., and the wife a pair, that is 8s. more, and two children a pair each, at 5s. each, that is 10s. more, and we rent a leetle Land of our masters at 8 pence per pool, and we have about 30 poles, and takes a pound more a year all kinds of twols in repair—that takes 10s. a year more. So now two sum up all the

household arteckles, that is the firing	£	s.	d.
Candles, sope, and the other arteckles	2	12	0
The four pair of shoes, that is	1	10	0
All kinds of tools, that is	0	10	0
30 pole of Land, at 8d. pole, that is	1	0	0

£8 4 0

and there is no more than 4 month two Earn this sum in, and where is the man that takes 2l. 9s. 6d. a month for 4 month. I Dont know the Man. And the failure in the potato crop makes it a great deal worse than it was 12 months ago, and the deffarence in the price of bread makes in the above named famely 2s. a week and have but one shelen to pay it with, and I cannot add no more at present,

“Your humbel servant,

“A LABORER.”

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

TUESDAY.—It having been announced that Mr. Cobden, M.P., and Mr. Bright, M.P., a deputation from the National Anti-Corn-Law League, would visit this town, and deliver addresses on the bread tax and the registration of voters, extensive arrangements were made for their reception, and for the accommodation of those desirous of attending. The Guildhall, affording more space than any other public building where meetings of the inhabitants are usually held, was selected for a public meeting on this occasion, and an announcement made to that effect; but it was found, notwithstanding its ample dimensions, altogether inadequate to contain the immense number that might be expected to be present; and in consequence it was subsequently determined to fit up the Corn-market, in St. Nicholas-square, which is capable of holding upwards of 6000 persons; and, it must be admitted, a more appropriate place could not have been fixed upon for such a purpose.

The building forms an immense parallelogram lighted from the roof, with open sides, which, on this occasion, were enclosed, leaving separate entrances to the reserved seats and places not reserved, the separation being effected by means of a strong wooden barrier thrown across the market, nearly in the centre. At the south end spacious hustings were erected for the speakers and the principal members of the League, with a convenient enclosure in front for the accommodation of the press. Flags were suspended from the pendants of the roof, which is supported by a double row of metal pillars, and in front of the hustings were painted in large characters on red calico the words—“Monopoly injures Trade;” “The League demands Justice;” “The Bread Tax is cruel, odious, and unjust.”

As Messrs. Cobden and Bright could not visit any of the neighbouring towns, owing to their numerous engagements, special trains were arranged to leave for North and South Shields, Sunderland, Durham, and the intermediate places, soon after the proceedings terminated.

During the course of yesterday a great degree of interest was manifested by the public in the progress of the works in the interior of the market, which was visited by some hundreds of persons, and the “merrie bells” of St. Nicholas did honour to the occasion. The meeting was appointed to be

held at seven o'clock last night, by which hour the spacious building was nearly filled. A large proportion of ladies occupied the reserved seats, and some of the principal merchants of this and the neighbouring towns were on the hustings and among the general company. Sixpence was charged for admission to the reserved seats; but subscribers of 1l. and upwards to the League fund, and contributors to the bazaar, were admitted by free tickets, the general public being also admitted without charge “below the bar.”

Shortly after seven o'clock, Mr. Bright, accompanied by Sir John Fife, Mr. Crawshaw, of Gateshead, and a number of other gentlemen, entered the meeting, which was now densely crowded, and having ascended the hustings they were received with loud cheering.

Sir JOHN FIFE, on the motion of Mr. Crawshaw, was called upon to preside. He congratulated the meeting on the near approach of the consummation of their exertions in the cause of Free Trade, and concluded a short but animated speech by introducing Mr. Bright.

Mr. BRIGHT, on presenting himself, was received with loud and continued cheering. When it had subsided, he spoke as follows: Every person who amuses or instructs himself by looking into the public newspapers must be convinced that there is at this moment some great question which is exciting the mind of almost the whole population of the kingdom; and I take it, this great question which now agitates the kingdom is one of no small interest to the inhabitants of the town of Newcastle. Within this building there are assembled, I should think, not less than 4000 grown up inhabitants of this town, and we could not have assembled them here to-night unless it were on some question which they believed to be of vital interest. (Cheers.) At this meeting we advocate the principles of Free Trade. What we mean by Free Trade is very easily expressed—that every man should be at liberty to employ his industry and his skill freely, and that when he has produced anything as the result of that industry or skill, or a combination of both, he should be at liberty to sell it to any customer that will buy it (cheers), and that he should be at liberty to receive in payment anything which his customer offers him, and that he should trade freely with all the markets of the world without let or hindrance by the law. And these principles we hope to apply to every man, and every class of men. We, as manufacturers, do not seek for Free Trade in Lancashire, or Yorkshire, or Newcastle only, but everywhere. We seek for it for the landowner, the farmer, the farm labourer, and every class of the community. We seek to keep no protection for ourselves or for our own branch of trade. (Loud cheers.) Now, on the other hand, the protectionists offer very different principles. They propose that there shall be upon the statute-book special laws, having for their object to raise the price of certain articles of produce—to give to certain producers a better and more highly remunerative market than they would have if those laws did not exist. Now, there are two reasons why we object to those principles of theirs. One is, that it is utterly impossible to protect everybody; and the other is, that if it were possible to protect everybody it would be injurious to everybody. The landowners make a law to raise the price of corn, the effect of which is to shut out foreign supplies. When the population is going on increasing at the rate of 400,000 persons in the year, they do not allow food to be brought in from abroad to continue the supply of this continually increasing population. They hope by that means to set everybody scrambling for it, that so they may get a higher price for their grain than it is worth in the world's market. (Loud cheers.) It is quite clear if the landowner has a right to such a law, everybody else has. I am a manufacturer of cotton goods, and, as you all know, the cotton is the largest manufacture in the kingdom. It exports nearly one-half of all the goods exported from this to foreign countries, and those sending goods to all the markets in the world could calculate the quantity if there were no laws to raise the price of the elements of production. We send goods to China, the East Indies, and the Mediterranean, and there they have to compete with goods of the same kind from other countries. I have seen goods of my manufacture lying upon the stool of the merchant in Smyrna side by side with pieces of the same quality from the United States of America, and unless my piece can be sold as cheap as that from America, the American will take the market from me. (Hear, hear.) The cotton trade has no protection, and the coal trade has no protection. (Cheers.) A little time ago you had something very opposite to protection in the coal trade—you had a tax. (Hear, hear.) The protective system, then, is not applied to everybody; and, more than that, you know it cannot be applied to those trades which export any portion of their produce. But it is an injustice to every manufacturer and every workman who has to purchase his food at a price raised by law, while the produce of his labour remains at the natural level. Do I exchange my goods with the farmer for his grain? If the law raises the price of his grain, and does not raise the price of my goods which I give him in exchange, I must give him a larger quantity than I should be obliged to give him if the law were not in existence. (Loud cheers.) I should like to see any one in Newcastle who wishes trade to be protected as a compensation for the protection given to land. (Hear, hear.) There is only one class that expects such compensation, and that is the shipowners' class. I do not wish to speak disrespectfully of the shipowners, especially the shipowners of Newcastle; but as far as their interest goes they are a very obtuse class of people. (Cheers.) Wooden ships are going somewhat out of fashion, and in some parts of the world they talk of building iron ones. I don't know whether it may ever be the case or not that wooden ships go out of fashion, but if they do, I hope wooden heads will be no longer found among shipowners. (Laughter and cheers.) Our ships are competed with all over the world, and at this moment the owners of those vessels are acting in opposition to their own interest in claiming protection against foreign competition, that interest being a conditional one, that trade should be free in all branches of industry, in order that a large quantity of every description of goods and passengers should cross the ocean, so that there may be abundant cargoes for ships, at a rate of charge such as will pay them for their trouble. (Cheers.)

If the principle of protection could be applied in every case it would nevertheless be most unjust. We should simply be robbing each other in order to charge each other by law all round, so that no person would get more in the end than if such a law were not in existence. There was a senator in the council of King Gotham who proposed that everybody should be taxed, and that the profit of the tax should be put into everybody's pocket. (Laughter and cheers.) Just such a law would that be by which everybody was allowed to overcharge his customer, in order that everybody should become richer by the process. (Cheers.)

Why, then, the principles of Free Trade must be admitted. They have been long admitted by many who oppose us. (Cheers.) The scarcity, which is the effect of the Corn Laws is not a scarcity which affects the very rich, but is a scarcity which affects the poorest. The Corn Laws never work as the landlords wish them to work. Their effect is to starve somebody, but not the men who come upon platforms. (Hear, hear.) No; the rich are comfortably enough off; but those suffer first and most severely who are at the bottom of the scale of comforts. Within the last three or four months, at any rate within the last six months, the price of bread has risen considerably. The potatoes have failed. I had a letter from a gentleman in Suffolk the other day, and he tells me the labourers there are eating onions and Swede turnips. (Hear.) The classes who of all others should have the necessities of life at a cheap rate are those at this moment suffering from the effects of scarcity. (Hear, hear.) If you have read the newspapers within the last fortnight you will have seen long reports of protection meetings—meetings for the protection of native agriculture—which, put in plain language, means meetings for the creation of scarcity and the general extension of famine among the poor. The squires meet, and the farmers who depend upon them meet with them, and the substance of their speeches is this—one-half consists of denunciations of Sir Robert Peel. They denounce him as a most perfidious statesman. Now, these men assert at the same time that they are the most powerful party in the kingdom, and everybody knows they are a most suspicious party as regards their own interest. Now, if they are a very powerful party, and a very suspicious party—that is, a party that is wide awake—I cannot tell how they come to be so treated. They say they are the paramount interest in the State—that there is no one worthy of carrying on the Government but the owners and representatives of the soil. That paramount interest, however, is terribly afraid lest some of the miserable serfs of Russia or Poland should send so much wheat here that the stout farmers of England should be entirely driven out of the market. (Loud cheers.) They have said over and over again at these meetings that if the Corn Laws were repealed we should be inundated with foreign corn. They have an idea that somewhere—they don't know much of geography—somewhere across the water—there is an inexhaustible supply of grain, all in sacks, marked and ticketed for exportation to this country (laughter); and that the moment the duties are taken off so much corn would come in from abroad that the English farmer would not be able to sell a single quarter. (Cheers.) I never heard of a country being inundated with foreign corn. We are never inundated with cotton, though it comes in free. The Northernland farmers could tell you that we are not inundated with sheep's wool since the duty was taken off. The duty was taken off lard after a fight in the House of Commons; but there has been no inundation of lard. A large quantity comes in and finds customers. Some one gets lard that did not get any before. (Cheers.) And there can be no doubt whatever that if the Corn Laws were abolished, everybody who now eats bread, would eat bread still; and those who now eat potatoes would come in for some of the wheat received from abroad. (Cheers.) I find that at those agricultural protection meetings the speakers are under great alarm of a foreign war. They don't want a large price for their produce—they don't want to starve us—they only want to prevent foreigners starving us. (Laughter.) They say, only look—suppose we should have a universal war? Suppose, we might reply, the sky were to fall (laughter), men would catch larks. (Cheers.) Well, suppose there was a universal war, we should not be able, they say, to get food from abroad, and we should be pent up in this island, and we should starve. I don't know that it is worth while we should go on partially starving now—a great many, I fear, are on the verge of starvation—in order that we may not be starved at some future time that cannot be named. (Hear, hear.) The *Times* put it very well in one of its leading articles on the Corn Laws. The writer said, some day or other a comet might strike the earth; but he did not think it advisable to go to any expense, as the danger was not very imminent, in providing buffers, the same as they have between locomotive carriages. (Cheers and laughter.) But on this question of war I have a word or two to say. What part of the world is it upon which the cry of war arises? The United States of America. From what part of the States particularly? From the western and north-western States—the great agricultural and corn-growing districts of the country. The southern States do not wish to go to war, especially with England, with whom they carry on a trade in cotton. The Atlantic States of America do not wish to go to war with England, because the flags of their vessels are constantly passing over the Atlantic, to and from this kingdom. The western States are growers of Indian corn, wheat, cheese, and butter; but they don't look for a trade to us, because our Corn Law prevents it. No doubt, if they could be imported free, like cotton, immense quantities of these would come here. The duty on tobacco is entirely a revenue duty. It does not keep the tobacco out, and therefore we do a large trade in that article. (Hear.) But the object of the Corn Law is not to raise a revenue from American grain, but to prohibit the arrival of American grain in the ports of this kingdom. Mr. Polk is a leading man, and speaks the sentiments of the western States. But if we trade with the western States as we do with the southern we should secure them with the same bond, and a war with the United States of America would be the most unlikely thing we could think of. (Cheers.)

Mr. Bright resumed his seat amidst loud and long-continued cheering.

Mr. COBURN was called upon by the chairman, and after some introductory remarks he proceeded to say—I observe that at these protection meetings they have rather changed their tune in one particular. They now say, "Don't let us call this a Corn Law question." One wise man in Wiltshire said, "I don't like the word Corn Law," and well he might say so: "Let us," he said, "call our cause the protection of native industry." And I observe that Mr. Stafford O'Brien—(who is a young man of talent; nay, I believe, if he had a good cause, he would display brilliant talents, but he has got into the wrong groove, as he will find out before the next session is over)—Well this young statesman said in Northamptonshire the other day, "We must change the name of our society, from 'a society for the protection of agriculture,' and we must call it 'a society for the protection of native industry.'" That is, they want to protect you and to protect everybody else. Now my friend Mr. Bright has alluded briefly to the fact that manufacturers are not, and cannot be, protected. A very large portion of our manufactures are sold abroad, and goods sold abroad can have no protection from our Act of Parliament. The very fact that we send

goods abroad is a proof that we have more made than we can sell at home; and our manufactures, therefore, cannot be protected. Well, then, all the great manufacturing interests of the kingdom are altogether unprotected, and incapable of being protected, and I would ask Mr. O'Brien if it is likely that the vast body of the industrious classes engaged in these manufactures will ever submit to any small portion of the community being protected at our expense. (Loud cheering.) I am glad the protectionists have been brought to this. They cannot sustain their cause whilst they talk only of protecting themselves; they dare not face us in Parliament again on that ground—they have been too soundly drubbed for that; and they have taken up a new position, which is more untenable still. (Hear, hear.) It has become a matter of fact. We can prove that they have not protected—that they cannot protect—the most important portions of the community; and that being proved, the whole system must disappear as a mere fraud, delusion, and injustice. (Cheers.) Well, but let us go a little further, and ask, are the people that are protected by their laws better off than those that are left to their unaided energy, and who have to find a market for their produce in the open world? Who are the people in this country that are receiving the lowest wages? Precisely that portion of the community for whose benefit these protection societies pretend to exist—the agricultural labourers, who are getting 7s., 8s., or 9s. a week—aye, in Herefordshire, and parts of Somersetshire, 6s. a week. The unskilled labourers in the manufacturing districts, who are working for Russians, Poles, Americans, and Chinese, are as a rule, without exception, getting 50 per cent. more wages than those who are at work for these protected interests. (Applause.) Aye, and whilst these men are pretending to maintain this protection for the benefit of the peasantry, the peasantry are running away from their protection, and coming to manufacturing districts, seeking better wages, and better employment from the hands of those who have no protection, and who are working for the open markets of the world. But these protection societies not merely attack the League, they seem to have very great doubts about their own champions. Really the maundering—the rapid maundering—of these societies when they talk of Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham, is sickening. It is sickening to find men, and Englishmen too, talking such insensate twaddle about the intentions of these ministers, whom they profess all the while to govern and control. One man says he can't believe that Sir Robert Peel intends to repeal the Corn Law; another says he has just come from the clubs in London, and he cannot gather a single hint as to what Sir Robert Peel intends to do; another says he hopes Sir R. Peel will stick to his promise to maintain protection. Why, gentlemen, if you could imagine a flock of sheep suddenly endowed with the power of speech, and if you could suppose that flock of sheep speculating as to what their shepherd is going to do with them, just such a conversation, I'll be bound to say, would take place amongst them as that which takes place at protectionist meetings. (Laughter.) One old solemn-looking wether would say, "Well, do you think the shepherd and his dog will take us to that wet cold hill-side to-morrow, or do you think we shall be down in the valley, where we shall have the protection of the hedge?" Then up would come another very dismal looking ewe, and she would say, "I wonder when the shearers are likely to come? I wonder when we shall be fleeced?" (Loud cheers and laughter.) And another probably would be speculating whether the butcher was coming to put an end to their lives. (Roars of laughter.) Now this is a pretty kind of argument for the aristocracy of this country, isn't it? They are speculating upon what the son of a cotton spinner is going to do with them. Why are they as helpless as a flock of sheep? Simply because they cannot find a bell-wether amongst themselves to lead them. (Continued cheering.) There is not a mutton amongst them to keep them out of the mire, and so they are in the hands of Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Gladstone, the son of a Liverpool merchant, and Sir James Graham. Well, gentlemen, it is a pitiable exhibition. But it will have much more grave consequences to our landed aristocracy than the repeal of the Corn Law, if they do not take care. (Hear, hear.) If they could have held their tongues—if our landed aristocracy could have only contrived to have wrapped themselves up in a mantle of exclusiveness, and maintained that taciturnity, which may pass for wisdom—in the absence of it; why, such is the veneration of the English people for rank—we are such a lord-loving people—that they might have gone on for generations, ruling us by a kind of prescriptive right, and the middle and industrious classes would not have inquired into their right or competency to govern us, provided they had governed us with anything like fairness and decency. But they have committed a great wrong, and they have been silly enough to come forward in public, and try to justify that wrong by argument; and then we find what idols of clay we have been worshipping! The oracle has spoken, and instead of its being the pure and precious metal we have been dreaming of, it has turned into dross before us. I do not profess to be particularly democratic. I should have no objection to changes going on in this or any other country gradually; but, positively, I begin to fear that these men by their folly—their absolute silliness and stupidity—will precipitate changes faster than any man who likes ordinary movement would wish. Men are not prepared to leave their counting-houses and warehouses, and carry on the affairs of State instead of them. We have plenty that are able to do it. We have tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of men in our workshops, in our warehouses, in our counting-houses, ready, and fit, and willing to do the nation's work better than these maundering silly people do it, but then they have other engagements on hand, and cannot do it at an hour's notice. (Laughter and applause.) And if these men go on as they are now going, why they will precipitate some sort of revolution in this country before the country is prepared for it. What I should like to see would be a movement amongst the wiser part of the aristocracy to save the rest. I would begin with the dukes, for the dukes seem to be the most infatuated class. There are the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Cleveland, the Duke of Newcastle, and the Duke of Buckingham, why these five dukes are enough to ruin the aristocracy! (Much laughter.) If you had five ship-owners in Newcastle so infatuated, so silly, so positively incapable as these five dukes are, why the shipping trade would leave your port. Cannot the Duke of Sutherland, the Duke of Bedford, and another or two of our dukes, lay hold of these five dukes, and manage to put them in strait waistcoats? (Renewed laughter.) And then the marquises—the next in rank—seem to be just next in folly. There are the Marquis of Londonderry and the Marquis of Salisbury. I observe that the Marquis of Salisbury has been having a meeting in Hertfordshire, at which he talked about

the League being a great unconstitutional body, which, if allowed to go on, would deprive them of all their rights, and liberties, and franchises; and he wound up a magniloquent tirade by declaring that he'll sign a petition in order to put the League down. (Laughter.) That was in Hertfordshire; and all this scolding is simply because the League recommend the middle and industrious classes to possess themselves of 40s. freeholds in the counties, in order to prevent such men as the Marquis of Salisbury and the Marquis of Londonderry disposing of the representation of counties in the way they had done. Hertfordshire sends three members to Parliament: it is one of those counties which they call a unicorn county, driving three, and the Marquis has hitherto been the driver. Now, I'll tell you what I did directly I had read the speech of the Marquis of Salisbury. I wrote to a friend in Hertfordshire immediately, and said, buy me a 40s. freehold in Hertfordshire. I'll be on the list for Hertfordshire next year, and I will beg and entreat all my friends, all good Leaguers, in the metropolis and the neighbourhood (where they are within half an hour's ride of the polling place for that county) to follow my example and qualify for it.

I have been a year and a half working this question, and I am convinced that this county qualification movement is a leverage by which we can transfer the power of the monopolist landlords utterly and for ever into the hands of the middle and industrious classes of this country. I should despair of ever succeeding in this question by anything short of a physical force revolution unless I saw in this 40s. freehold qualification the means of doing it. I believe that all argument is useless. I believe that appeals to reason and conscience are utterly useless in the House of Commons. They yield to but one influence, and that is fear. It is base passion to govern any body of men; but I believe that neither the House of Commons nor the House of Lords will yield to anything else. They don't care for your arguments. They won't yield to your logic. But show them that you have the power of transferring their majority into a minority, and you will then move them. (Loud cheers.) At this moment, when Sir Robert Peel is in deep and intimate communication with the leading men of the aristocracy, trying to persuade them to allow him to settle this question, and to put down the League in the only way in which it can be put down—by doing justice on this question of corn, (Applause,) in these secret conferences, I have no doubt that the most cogent argument that Sir R. Peel has to use with the more long-headed of the aristocracy is this, "See what the League are doing: they have taught the middle and industrious classes of the towns the use of the power that has long been latent, and if you force them by resistance to go on, year after year, the counties will be torn from you, and you, the great landed proprietors, the lord-lieutenants, and the magistrates, will have no more power in your own counties than so many labouring men. If you resist this body, you will not only lose the power to maintain the Corn Law, but the men who are getting votes to put down the bread tax are of a class that will very likely put you down." (Loud cheers.) That is the argument we are furnishing to Sir R. Peel. If these men yield next session—as I predict they will yield—it will be because they know we have the power to force them to yield, if they attempt to procrastinate the settlement of this question. I say I have no doubt that they will yield next session. I do not know that we shall get what we want through Sir Robert Peel. I don't care who it comes from. Get it we will. (Deafening applause.) They may force Mr. Bright and myself to endure another three or four years' domestic martyrdom, sacrificing our health, and getting more grey hairs and more wrinkles by this laborious agitation—(The vast assembly here rose as one man, and cheered for some seconds, following this by loud clapping of hands)—but the cheering reception you have given us at this meeting, and our fund of 250,000*l.*, makes me confident that we shall force them to submit. It is possible they may yield to Sir R. Peel. It is possible he may yield to them. If he bring forward any half-and-half scheme, then we have a power in the opposition to bring against him which we have never had before. We were never a united opposition before. I declare to you most solemnly, that up to within the last six months I have been more afraid of the Whigs than of the Tories. I have looked with fear and trembling at a division in the House of Commons which might possibly throw Sir Robert Peel into a minority, because I was afraid that, if the Whigs came into power without recorded pledges to carry out our principles, we should have been worse off than in the hands of the Tories. Not that I think worse of those who are nearer to us on some points than of those who are further off. I was afraid of the Whigs for this reason. They have still some popularity in the country, and I was afraid that if they proposed a compromise there would be a disposition in many parts to coincide with them, in order to keep them in power. But all that is past. We go to Parliament this next session, a united opposition. If Sir R. Peel does not go straight, then the sooner we find him in a minority the better. If he does not go straight, I shall not care with whom I vote, if by any honourable vote I can throw him into a minority. If he does not bring forward a full measure, he'll not live through the session. With 200 men opposed to him in a compact body, and—leaving myself out of the question—comprising nine-tenths of the talent of the House, it is utterly impossible for his Government to stand through the next session, unless he takes a course which will secure to him the support of the country on this question. If Sir Robert Peel proposes to abolish the Corn and Provision Laws, I'll cling to him as faithfully until he has done his work as I would to Lord J. Russell or any one else. (Cheers.)

Mr. CRAWSHAY proposed the following resolution:—
"That this meeting having heard the addresses of Messrs. Cobden and Bright, heartily thank them for their attendance here this evening, and pledges itself to carry their recommendations into effect by every means in its power."

After advocating the general principles of Free Trade, he announced a meeting for the purpose of raising funds for the League, and for placing votes on the register.

Mr. W. L. HARRIS seconded the resolution in an animated address, in which he particularly alluded to the representation of the town, and stated that if Mr. Hinde did not come round to them, they would have to use every exertion to send a fitting condutor with Mr. Ord.

Mr. J. RAYNE, extensively engaged in shipping, at the request of the chairman, addressed the meeting, stating it as his belief that an unrestricted trade would be most advantageous to the shipping interest, and hoped that the ship-owners would soon become unanimous on that subject.

The resolution was then put and carried with acclamation. Mr. COBURN returned thanks for himself and Mr. Bright, and concluded by proposing a vote of thanks to Sir John

Fife, which was seconded by Mr. Bright, and carried with cheering.

Sir JOHN FIFE acknowledged the compliment, after which the meeting gave three cheers for the deputation, and three for the League and Free Trade.

Meetings also have been held at Carlisle and Kendall, the reports of which have not yet reached us; but they have been most spirited and enthusiastic.

DINNER TO THE MAYOR OF NORTHAMPTON.

A most gratifying demonstration of public opinion took place, on Tuesday evening, at Northampton, on the occasion of a public dinner to the Mayor, John Groom, Esq. It was a most important instance of the great advance of Free Trade principles, and deserves additional notice, coming, as it does, so quickly after the occurrence of an "Agricultural Protection" meeting at Northampton, collected together by all the influence which could be brought to bear on the agriculturists of the neighbourhood, whilst the meeting of Tuesday night was an exhibition of the independent and unbiassed feelings of the enlightened inhabitants of Northampton, who are subject to no such influences, and whose judgment is left unfettered and free. The most perfect unanimity pervaded the assembly as to the necessity of emancipating the industry of the country, and encouraging the full development of its great manufacturing and commercial capacity by removing all restrictions upon the import of the prime necessary of life.

At five o'clock the chair was taken by Vernon Smith, Esq., M.P., John Stanton and Joseph Wykes, Esqs., acting as vice presidents.

The dinner, which took place at the Peacock, was admirably provided, and reflected much credit on the proprietor of that hotel.

Amongst those present we noticed Raikes Currie, Esq., M.P., Rev. J. Sargeant, rector of Stanwich, Rev. T. C. Wilson, rector of Boneat, Rev. Mr. Bennett, Aldermen Porter, Willis, Walke, and Hollis, Town Councilors Denis, Wykes, Lloyd, Haggie, Marshall, Roe, Edens, &c.; J. Hensman, Esq., town clerk, G. Cooke, Esq., clerk of the peace, W. Stevenson, W. Turner.

The usual preliminary loyal toasts having been disposed of, the Chairman proposed the health of the Mayor which was drunk with acclamation.

After the mayor had briefly replied to the toast, the Town Clerk proposed the health of the members for the borough.

Mr. VERNON SMITH, M.P., addressed the meeting in a long speech, declaring his determination to support the total repeal of the Corn Laws; and commenting on the late Ministerial crisis, and the present position of Sir Robert Peel and the protectionist section of the Conservative party.

Mr. V. Smith was followed by Mr. RAIKES CURRIE, M.P. for the borough, who made a long and eloquent speech, which we regret our space will not allow us fully to report. He paid a short but well merited tribute to the late lamented Earl Spencer; and made some humorous and telling comments on recent events and future prospects by the following reference to pending rumours as to the part taken by Earl Grey in the late attempt to form a Liberal Administration: Lord John Russell embraced the cause of total and immediate repeal with unreserved frankness, and with a decision which inspires confidence. I believe that he attempted the formation of a Government most reluctantly, and solely from a sense of public duty; but this we have the happiness to know, that he undertook it on the basis of carrying out boldly, loyally, and completely the great truth he had avowed; and gave the best pledge of his sincerity and earnestness by the offer of office to the ablest and most successful advocate of this, or indeed of any other movement. (Cheers.) It boots not to inquire why Lord John Russell failed to form a Government. Mr. Macaulay, perhaps rather prematurely, tells us that the failure is solely attributable to Lord Grey. I will only say, speaking of public men from the calm distance-ground of private life, whence, however, I have, I hope impartially and certainly with care, observed them, that I hold the strong opinion that any Liberal Government formed on Free Trade principles, in which Lord Grey did not occupy a prominent station and fill an important post, would be in a most false position. (Hear, hear.) The depth and soundness of his economical opinions, his able and fearless advocacy of them, his bold and statesman-like views on the vexata questio of the Irish church, his complete mastery of colonial subjects, his indefatigable industry, and his thorough honesty and courage, have impressed this on every independent man. It is the fashion to call him "crotchety," which, being interpreted out of party language, means often conscientious; to consider him "impracticable," which in like manner may be, that he forms and maintains his opinions with sincerity and boldness. I wait for the 22d of the month. I shall not attempt to read the riddle of the great political sphynx, which is very like a Christmas conundrum, to be handed round among the bewildered country gentlemen, who paw it and mumble it, and then fairly "give it up." (Laughter and cheers.) Mr. Raikes Currie then proceeded in a most earnest and eloquent manner to expose the fallacies which the landlords were now so ludicrously attempting to give currency to in the counties, and terminated a long and able speech with the following most effective passage:—In the observations I have made I have assumed, as the protectionists (who vilify the minister) assume, that at last, awakened to the responsibilities of his position, Sir Robert Peel has determined to repeal the Corn Laws. I do earnestly hope, that for his own future fame—for the sake of the agriculturists themselves—above all; for the peace and security of this country—this may indeed be so. (Loud cheers.) But, to quote one line of truth from a tissue of brazen sophistry which appears in the last *Quarterly Review* upon this subject: "The fate of the people of England does not depend on the will of any Cabinet: it depends upon themselves."

"Let peers and premiers fly which way they will, We are ourselves, and our own masters still." (Cheers.) If justice be denied, if the struggle be continued, a combination, already fearful, will become "a solemn league and covenant," such as the world has never seen. Victory, never doubtful, cannot be long delayed; but in the passions of protracted strife, in the achieved possession of electoral power, in the inevitable intemperance of triumphs, what institutions shall be safe? I turn from the fearful picture! This must be no class triumph, no death-feud of rival interests, but a common effort for a common good. I see this great nation at length awakening through the length and breadth of the island, to declare that trade shall be free (tremendous cheering), and, from the chaos in which the old party combinations are mingling to their dissolution, I see evolving a gigantic power, the party of the people. (Cheers.) If a statesman could be found worthy

to grasp and combine the elements which are heaving with momentous changes, to lead and moderate and direct the inevitable movement—to do this in a spirit of faith, sincerity, and wisdom—what a glorious destiny awaits him! He yet might reconcile order with progress—he yet perchance might say, "I will stand by the old institutions of the country, by our limited monarchy, by an endowed church, by an hereditary peerage; but, then, I will achieve entire justice for the people." (Repeated cheers.) May He with whom are the issues of national as of individual life control the acts of men—may they who have the apparent power see the things which belong to their peace—and may we, who have the real power, use it with the forbearance of conscious strength, with perfect firmness of purpose—but calmly, legally, without unnecessary offence, and in the hour of victory abstain from triumph! (The honourable gentlemen resumed his seat amidst the most enthusiastic cheering.)

The CHAIRMAN having proposed the health of the Rev. Mr. Sargeant, and the liberal clergy of the county of Northamptonshire.

The Rev. Mr. SARGEANT rose amid much applause to return thanks. He said, I have always claimed for the ministers of religion a full right to entertain an opinion upon public affairs, and to express that opinion whenever they think proper so to do. Gentlemen, I am not going to claim this right merely as a free-born Briton in its full extent to-day, but I stand here as a clergyman, and as a clergyman only; for I maintain that if ever there was a question which might and ought to call forth the opinion of the clergy, it is that question which now agitates the public mind—the question whether the field of labour shall or shall not be extended; whether the population of this country shall be fed, and have a regular supply of food at equitable prices; not in my opinion—for in that I entirely agree with what Mr. Currie has said—not at prices which shall be ruinous to the farmer, but at the same time at prices which shall not be ruinous to the consumer, and therefore ruinous to every class of the community. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, if I had not been for many years a friend to Free Trade, I could not now refuse my consent to it. If I had been what is called a "Conservative,"—an opponent of Free Trade, and supporter of prohibition—still I think by the present crisis I must have been very much shaken in my opinion. When we see so many great and good men making declarations of their convictions that Free Trade must come—when we remember—I do not know that I dare allude to the presence of that noble lord among us (referring to Lord Spencer) on a former occasion, so deep are my feelings of reverence and respectful love for his memory, (hear,)—when we remember his many declarations in favour of Free Trade—those declarations coming from a man so pure, and whose heart we all know beat in sympathy with others' woes,—a man who always employed the energies of his great and enlightened mind, not for himself, but for his country's good,—I say, looking to all this, if I had not before been in favour of Free Trade, I think these facts must have very much shaken me. But we have also an instance of a noble lord coming forward and declaring his conviction that he was formerly wrong. All honour be to Lord John Russell for that candid declaration. (Cheers.) I care not whether the change in his mind has been gradual or sudden. I honour him for avowing that change. He once opposed Free Trade in corn; but he, that great statesman—the greatest perhaps of the age in which we live—now comes forward and declares that Free Trade is necessary for the interests of this great commercial country. I am arguing, you know, as if I had been a Conservative clergyman and a protectionist; and if I could not be moved by the example of noble lords such as I have mentioned—because, as a Conservative clergyman they would have been opposed to me in politics—still shall I be able to hold my opinions when I find the very chief whom the protectionists chose for themselves—the very pink of protection, Sir Robert Peel—also in favour of Free Trade principles. (Hear.) Gentlemen, it is no great stretch of imagination for us to picture to ourselves certain county members going upon some cloudy day in last December to the Treasury, big with great thoughts for their country, their constituency, and themselves; one, perhaps, to hint that he had a son brought up in the diplomatic line, and that it would be for the good of his country if he was removed to some more important court than that at which he might have been so long languishing. Another, gratefully to thank his friend the Premier for having attended to his prayerful petition in having put a meritorious brother into a very nice situation of some 1500*l.* per annum; or, perhaps, for having given at his earnest request the adjutant of his invulnerable yeomanry—involuntarily no doubt if they have an enemy to fight—for having given him a snug situation in the maligned penny-post. (Laughter.) Only think of the consternation which would come over such persons, and others going to pay their homage at the shrine of their idol, to find him fallen from his pedestal, to behold the Dagon of expediency prostrate in the dust before the great principles of Free Trade. Mr. Sargeant having referred to the altered tone of the farmers with respect to Free Trade, and their universal indifference as to the abandonment of protection, proceeded as follows: But when I look at the manufacturing districts, what do I see there? I see the great captain of the League going into all our country towns, and challenging his opponents to dispute the point with him. (Hear, hear.) But they have very wisely abstained from the contest; or, if in a few places they have dared to show themselves, I think you will agree with me, that they have been very miserably worsted in argument. But without wishing to take away from the merit of Mr. Cobden, for I think him a brave, great, and good man (hear), he may have his faults; violence and abuse certainly never do any cause good; but still I contend, making due allowance for the position in which Mr. Cobden is placed, that he is a great and good man. (Loud cheers.) But yet after all, gentlemen, I ask you what Mr. Cobden is but an emanation of the public mind? He is forced into his present prominence by the masses: they are pressing him behind. Gentlemen, I have a higher opinion of the people of this country—for remember that the schoolmaster is abroad—than to suppose that they would go on agitating in any cause for a length of time, unless that was a right and righteous cause. Further, I would look to the state of the question in regard to the present time in which we live. We have been told that there is a likelihood of great scarcity before the next harvest. Now, even if, as we have heard from some, these accounts are greatly exaggerated, still I ask whether we are to wait before our ports are opened till the people are actually perishing for want in the streets, or until they are pining upon beds of sickness and death? (Hear.) No, gentlemen. But besides that, I must believe that there is some reality in the apprehension of scarcity when I find great men—philoso-

phers and philanthropists—going out of their way and racking their brains to find out cheap substitutes for human food (hear), not wholesome Norfolk dumplings (laughter), but an indescribable stimulant, made of curry powder—not the gluten, starch, and farina of that invaluable compound of the GREAT CHEMIST, bread corn, but the starch of a lady's white pocket handkerchief; and peas—

"Peas pudding hot,
Peas pudding cold;
Peas pudding in the pot
Nine days old."

(Loud cheers and laughter.) A great philosopher has also made a statement at which I am rather surprised, namely, that bones are very nutritive. Why, gentlemen, that great philosopher—and a very learned man he undoubtedly is—probably has a museum of his own. Now, only imagine a furnished multitude going to that haunt of his, and breaking into his museum. Think you that if they found the bones of any animal—the ichthyosauri, for instance—that they would eat them? (Hear and laughter.) But, not to travel so far, there is a reverend baronet, who was once one of us, whom I have been in the habit of meeting at places like this,—at meetings composed of such men as you and I are, such "wicked men" as we are; I find he was to have been at the opposition meeting last week at the George Hotel, but was prevented by ill health, for which we are all very sorry; for although we do not agree in the change, we all must acknowledge that he is a warm-hearted, benevolent man; but he wrote a long letter not long ago in the *Northampton Mercury*, and pointed out certain succedanea for bad potatoes, such as small white turnips, and other esculent roots, which we are in the habit of giving to our sheep and pigs! (Laughter.) These points have been made ludicrous by these gentlemen themselves—these great and learned gentlemen; but, after all, they are but as the comic scenes introduced into the deepest tragedies, to make the contrast stand forth more boldly. It becomes a matter of sad, serious, and sober consideration. They are an evidence, to me at least, that there are beyond doubt some apprehensions of scarcity before the coming harvest. I say then, that if I were a Conservative, the veriest "monopolist," "protectionist," or whatever you please, that ever existed, I should pause under all these circumstances before I should decide upon continuing in these principles. Finding the nature of the question, that it is not a political or party question, not a question even whether this or that class shall predominate in the Government; but, seeing so many great and good men declaring that Free Trade must be carried (cheers), some of them new converts to the doctrines,—knowing the state of the public mind on the subject, and that that public mind is resolved that Free Trade shall be—(renewed cheers,) knowing also that there is an apprehension of scarcity; I say, gentlemen, under all these circumstances, had I been a Conservative clergyman, and opposed to Free Trade, for the sake of that church wherein I am a humble minister, but whose doctrines I revere, I dare not stand between the people and their bread. (Enthusiastic cheering.)

The Chairman read several letters from country gentlemen, regretting their absence, but heartily agreeing in the principles of Free Trade. One was from Mr. Watson, high sheriff of the county, who declined to attend solely because he considered he ought not to be present at any political meeting, except in his official capacity. Mr. Watson possessed one of the finest estates in the country; and that gentleman desired to take that opportunity of publicly stating, that he, as a landowner, was favourable to the total repeal of the Corn Laws, as he thought their present state of uncertainty would, ere long, be most injurious to the farmers. (Enthusiastic cheers.)

The health of Edward Bouverie, Esq. was then drunk with great applause.

"The dissenting clergy of Northamptonshire" was then proposed; but the toasts having been altered from the programme by the Chairman, the rev. gentleman who was to have replied to it had left the meeting, and it was responded to by the Rev. Mr. Phillips.

Mr. VERNON SMITH having left the chair, the Mayor was called upon to preside.

Mr. STANTON, (one of the Vice-Presidents,) strongly censured the conduct of Mr. Smith in having refused both upon the present and last occasions, to propose the fourth toast in the printed programme, "The people—the legitimate source of power." He strongly denounced such conduct as wholly unjustifiable in the Chairman. A long and angry discussion ensued upon the point.

The Mayor hoped, for the sake of the harmony of the meeting, that the objection would not be pressed.

The omitted toast was then drunk. The healths of Messrs. Cobden and Bright, and several other toasts were subsequently drunk, and the meeting separated at a late hour.

LANCASTER.

On Monday last, a public meeting, convened by requisition, was held in the Town Hall, to petition Government for the immediate removal of all restrictions on the importation of foreign grain and provisions. Shortly after 12 o'clock the spacious edifice was filled almost to suffocation, the audience comprising persons diametrically opposed to each other in general politics, but unanimous in feeling as regarded the object which had brought them together. Among other gentlemen on the platform, we noticed T. H. Bateman, Esq., of Halton Park; John Armstrong, Esq., of Acrelands; T. H. Higgin, Esq., of Greenfield; James Johnson, Esq., M.D., Bare; Enoch Broster, Esq., of Vale Cottage; W. Satterthwaite, Esq., of the Greaves; John Greg, Esq., of Escow Beck; George Burrow, W. Jackson, and Thomas Dewhurst, Esqrs.

Mr. T. H. HIGGIN, in a speech enthusiastically cheered, moved the following resolution:—"That this meeting views with anxiety and alarm the present condition and future prospects of the labouring population of this country, arising in a great measure from the failure of the potato crop and a deficient wheat harvest, entailing upon them greatly enhanced prices for every description of agricultural produce, and as a consequence a great depression in trade and want of employment."

Mr. W. SATTERTHWAITE seconded the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN then put the resolution to the meeting, and it was carried by acclamation.

Mr. HIGGIN said that upon so important a decision he must call on them to give three hearty cheers, and he himself would give the "hip." This call was immediately responded to with the greatest enthusiasm.

Mr. BATEMAN then rose, and was loudly cheered, and moved the following resolution:

"That it is the opinion of this meeting that petitions be presented to both Houses of Parliament, praying for a repeal

of the present impolitic and mischievous restrictions on the importation of grain, pulse, and provisions, and that the people of these realms be henceforth allowed to purchase food wherever the same can be bought, and to import the same into this country duty free."

The resolution was seconded by Dr. JAMES JOHNSON.

Mr. GREG moved the adoption of a petition based on the resolutions that had been passed.

Mr. BURROW seconded the motion.

The CHAIRMAN then read the petition to the meeting, and its adoption was affirmed unanimously, every hand in the densely-crowded Hall, with the exception of the reporters, being held up in its favour.

Mr. HIGGIN proposed three cheers for the success of the petition in Parliament, and the appeal was enthusiastically responded to.

Thanks were voted to the Chairman, on the motion of Mr. Greg, and the meeting then broke up.

ILFRACOMBE.

This spirited place has been the first among the towns of north Devon, to join in the movement—now so general as almost to claim to be called "national"—in favour of a repeal of the Corn Laws. In compliance with a requisition, numerous signed, the worthy Portreeve, Robert William Dickinson, Esq., convened a public meeting on the subject on Wednesday evening last. The meeting was very well attended, and the proceedings were in the highest degree enthusiastic.

Mr. DICKINSON was called to the chair, and after an introductory speech called upon

RICHARD BLIGH, Esq., who moved, "That the present circumstances in which this country is placed especially demand the total repeal of those laws which prevent the free circulation of the produce of the earth, and impede the commerce of an industrious people."

The Rev. BENJAMIN PRICE, minister of the Episcopal Free Church, in an eloquent address seconded the resolution, which was adopted with acclamation.

JOHN JONES, Esq., moved the second resolution:—"That a memorial be presented to her Majesty in Council, drawing her attention to the anticipated famine, and praying her Majesty that she will be graciously pleased to direct the attention of Parliament to the present Corn Laws, with a view to their immediate repeal."

Mr. HILLMAN seconded the resolution.

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON next addressed the meeting, and having, in terms of the most eloquent eulogium, described the obligations which the nation was under to Mr. Cobden and the Anti-Corn-Law League, concluded by proposing an address to her most gracious Majesty, "Lumbly praying that her Majesty would be graciously pleased, at the opening of the ensuing session, to press upon the attention of both Houses of Parliament the indispensable necessity of considering the effect of protecting taxes upon articles of food, with a view to their immediate and total repeal."

The Rev. G. SMITH seconded the adoption of the memorial, which was carried by acclamation.

On the motion of Mr. BLIGH, seconded by Mr. THOMPSON, the Portreeve was requested to sign the memorial in behalf of the meeting.

Three cheers were given and repeated for the early and total repeal of the Corn Laws; and the assembly broke up, after one of the most unanimous and energetic meetings ever held in Ilfracombe.

MUSSELBURGH.

On Monday evening a large and respectable meeting of the inhabitants of Musselburgh was held in the Town Hall, for the purpose of memorialising her Majesty, and petitioning the Legislature, for the immediate and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws and all protective duties on food. James Bridges, Esq., of Williamscraig, was called to the chair, who, after an introductory speech, called on

Mr. A. MILLER, a baker, who submitted for the adoption of the meeting a memorial to be transmitted to her Majesty, praying for the abolition of the Corn Laws.

The Rev. Mr. MANN seconded the adoption of the memorial in an able speech, for which we regret we cannot find room.

This motion was carried with acclamation, so also were the others which were submitted to the meeting.

Baillie SMART said he had much pleasure in proposing the following motion:

"That a petition be presented to both Houses of Parliament founded on the memorial that had been submitted, and unanimously agreed to; and that the petition to the House of Commons be intrusted for presentation to our honourable friend, Mr. Rutherford; and the one to the Lords to Lord Clarendon." (Applause.)

The Rev. Mr. LIVINGSTON seconded the motion.

Dr. WILSON had much pleasure in proposing the following resolution:

"That the meeting do return their grateful thanks to their respected member, Mr. Rutherford, for his kindness in appearing here this evening; and that all present do express their continued and perfect confidence in him as member for the burgh." (Cheers.)

Mr. P. WILKIE seconded the motion.

Mr. RUTHERFURD, M.P., who was received with great applause, after eloquently entering into the argument of the Corn Laws, said, We are entitled to ask Sir Robert why he dissolved the Government? If it was about the Corn Laws, we are further entitled to ask him what he intends to do in reference to this question? He will to a certain extent disoblige some of his former friends, if he intends to make an alteration in the Corn Laws. They will naturally leave him; and he must, of course, look for support from the Liberal party in the House; and that support, I have no hesitation in saying, he will get. (Cheers.) But if Sir Robert Peel's Government wish our support for any measure touching the Corn Laws, it must be for a measure that shall at once and for ever settle that question. (Renewed applause.) It must be a measure which shall set at rest those accursed discussions between the aristocracy and the lower ranks, between one great class of her Majesty's subjects and another class, more numerous and not less important, not less influential, and one whose happiness is unquestionably not less sacred in the eyes of the constitution. (Loud cheers.) It must be a complete settlement of the question; and I do not see how any settlement can be so, which does not amount to an absolute repeal of the Corn Laws. (Great applause.)

A vote of thanks having been proposed to the chairman by the Rev. James Robertson, and agreed to, the meeting separated at ten o'clock.

On entering his carriage for Edinburgh, Mr. Rutherford was greeted with three cheers by the crowd which had assembled.

HASTINGS.

On Friday evening last a very numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Hastings and St. Leonard's was held in the Town hall, convened by the mayor, in pursuance of a requisition to him, "for the purpose of taking into consideration the present alarming state of the country as respects the prospects of a supply of food for its inhabitants; and to petition her Majesty to open the ports of this kingdom for the admission of all sorts of grain free of duty."

The Mayor, John Hornby Maw, Esq., was in the chair.

BENJ. SMITH, Esq., M.P. for Norwich, read a letter, accounting for the absence of Mr. Holland, one of the members for the borough, he being abroad. Having contended that the amount of wages in no way depended on the price of corn, and that the country demanded an immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, he concluded by moving the following resolution:—"That this meeting views, with painful anxiety, the fact, that in consequence of the blight which has fallen upon potatoes, a great part of their fellow subjects in England and Scotland, and a still larger number in Ireland, are subject to great distress and to the danger of famine."

Mr. KELLAND seconded the motion.

J. F. STANFORD, Esq. (a gentleman visiting the town, and who has offered himself as a candidate at the next election), then entered into an elaborate view of the question, contending that the ports must be thrown open without delay to meet the wants of the country.

HOWARD ELPHINSTONE, Esq., M.P. for Lewes, next addressed the meeting; and having recapitulated a few of the arguments in favour of a repeal of the Corn Laws, said it was the bounden duty of Mr. Bisco, one of their members, to have attended the meeting, as he lived on the spot; Mr. Holland could not, he being in Italy; but he would be found at his post at the proper time, ready to fight the battle of Free Trade.

The first resolution was then put by the MAYOR, and carried unanimously, amidst acclamation.

Mr. JOLLY next moved, "That we have now assembled to express our conviction that the suffering of the poor is mainly attributable to erroneous legislation in restricting commerce, which excludes the importation of food, and so intercepts from the people the bounties of Providence."

This motion was seconded by Mr. WOMERSLEY, and carried amidst much cheering.

The Rev. Mr. PRAVELL (a dissenting minister) proposed the next resolution, "That this meeting do send a humble address to the Queen, praying that her Majesty will use all such means as her Majesty constitutionally possesses for throwing open the ports of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland for the free importation of food."

The preceding resolution was seconded by Mr. H. THWAITES, and carried unanimously.

Mr. EDWARDS proposed, and Mr. POOLE seconded, "That a petition be sent to both Houses of Parliament, praying for an immediate, total, and unconditional abolition of the Corn and Provision Laws, as the only step which is most likely permanently to avert the awful consequences of a deficient supply of food." This resolution, like the preceding ones, was carried amidst most vociferous cheering.

A vote of thanks having been passed to the mayor with much applause, the meeting separated, after having given three cheers, and one cheer more, for a total repeal of the Corn Laws.

CITY OF LONDON.

We rejoice to see that the Ward of Cripplegate Within is setting an excellent example to the other Wards of the metropolis. The rejection of the Conservative candidate, Mr. Wilson, whose only disqualification was his undecided opinion upon the Free Trade question, and the election of a thorough Free Trader in the person of Mr. Bennoch, has already produced important results. The following resolution was unanimously passed at the Wardmote:

"That being deeply impressed with the idea that most of our present difficulties abroad, and all our threatened distress at home, is attributable to the pernicious operation of the present Corn Law, which in principle is most unsound, in operation most injurious; alike unjust to the manufacturer, deceptive to the agriculturist, and oppressive to the poor; this meeting pledges itself to use every legitimate means to have it immediately abrogated."

The Alderman, Mr. Challis, appointed Monday last for the discussion of the question, when a large number of the influential warehousemen of the Ward attended, and passed unanimously the following resolution, THOMAS CHALLIS, Esq., Alderman of the Ward, in the chair:

Moved by Mr. CASH, seconded by Mr. BENNOCH, and resolved:—"That this meeting views with deep concern the unsettled state of the country, arising chiefly (as it believes) from the pernicious operation of the present Corn Law, which holds out delusive hopes to the agriculturist, cripples commercial enterprise, introduces a system of gambling into the ordinary business of life, which is alike destructive to morals and legitimate trade, induces a precarious supply, enhances the price of food, and is not only oppressive to the poor, but also subversive of the best interests of the vast majority of the population."

Moved by Mr. DEWAR, seconded by Mr. STROUD, jun., and carried unanimously:—"That the direful effects of the present Corn Law, set forth in the foregoing resolution, render its immediate and unconditional repeal essential to the prosperity of the people and the peace and safety of the kingdom."

Moved by Mr. HOOLE, seconded by Mr. LART, and carried unanimously:—"That petitions to the Houses of Lords and Commons be prepared, founded on the foregoing resolutions—that Lord Radnor be requested to present the petition to the Lords, and Lord John Russell that to the Commons; and that the other representatives of the City of London be desired to support the prayer of the petitions."

Moved by Mr. B. BROWN, seconded by Mr. BARNARD, and carried unanimously:—"That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. James Crocker, for generously granting the use of the George Hall, free of expense."

Moved by Mr. SAMUEL MOBLEY, seconded by Mr. DEPUTY SMITH, and carried unanimously:—"That the best thanks of the meeting are entirely due, and are hereby given, to our worthy Alderman, for his ready acquiescence in and quick response to the wishes of the inhabitants of the Ward in calling this meeting, and for his able and impartial conduct in the chair."

The petitions are now prepared, and will be signed by nine-tenths of the inhabitants of this wealthy and influential ward. This is as it should be.

UXBRIDGE.

A Free Trade meeting was held on Wednesday evening, in the Public Rooms, Uxbridge; Henry Hull, Esq., in the chair. Several farmers and agricultural labourers were present.

The CHAIRMAN having opened the meeting in an appropriate speech, called on R. R. Moore, Esq., who delivered an impressive address, taking as his text the several meetings of the protectionists, and contrasting them with the meeting of labourers held in the open air by moonlight, at Goatacre, in North Wiltshire. The latter meeting Mr. Moore designated as most remarkable in its character, and pointed to it as far more important than all the meetings of the protectionists that had been or could be called together. He then drew a powerful comparison between the speeches made at protection meetings by great landlords, which contained, he said, matter only to be laughed at, and the plain, earnest, and heartfelt expressions of suffering poured forth by the poor labourers of Goatacre. The vivid picture of the meeting of these unfortunate victims of oppression, given by Mr. Moore, seemed to impress the assembled crowd with feelings of the deepest commiseration. A profound silence evinced the deep interest with which extracts from, and commentaries on, their speeches were received.

Mr. Moore having concluded, the Chairman called on Mr. Edward Davy, of Crediton, in Devonshire, whom Mr. Moore introduced as a warm friend to Free Trade; and had prevailed on to accompany him from town and to attend their meeting.

Mr. DAVY bore his testimony as a manufacturer and a landowner to the baneful effects of the Corn Laws, and dwelt forcibly on the advantages to be derived from Free Trade. He warmly applauded the efforts of the League, and expressed confident hopes that North Devonshire would soon experience the benefit of the 10s. freehold movement. Resolutions condemning the Corn Laws, congratulating the League on the county movement, and promising to carry it forward in Middlesex and East Surrey, were adopted unanimously, and with the utmost enthusiasm; and a petition praying for the total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws, was also unanimously carried, and was signed by a large number in the meeting.

On the motion of Mr. DAVY, seconded by Mr. MOORE, thanks were voted to the Chairman, and carried with three cheers for the county registration movement, after which the meeting separated.

THE MANCHESTER REGISTRATION COMMITTEE.—This committee still continues its activity, notwithstanding that some of its members are also at work on the Quarter of a Million Fund Committee. At the weekly meeting of the committee, held at the League Rooms on Tuesday evening last, a number of new names were handed in of gentlemen who were desirous of purchasing qualifications. One member of the committee (Mr. S. P. Robinson) gave in six names for North Lancashire, two for the West Riding of Yorkshire, and one for North Cheshire. Mr. J. Gadsby stated that he had just returned from Preston, where he had been to purchase qualifications for himself and three others, and that he had there met a gentleman from Halifax, who had been purchasing qualifications for between 40 and 50 of the "good men and true" of that town. It will be remembered, that at the late meeting at Preston, at which Mr. Cobden was present, Mr. Livesey, of Preston, stated that the Register for North Lancashire would be altered by 3000. A few more exertions, a few more Halifax men, added to those already sent and to be sent from Bolton, Manchester, &c. &c., and this will literally be done.

LEAGUE MOVEMENTS OF THE WEEK.—On Monday evening last, there was a great meeting at Newcastle-on-Tyne, chiefly with a view to promote the registration, and the purchase of county qualifications by Free Traders. It was attended by Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, who addressed the assemblage. Last evening, the same gentlemen were to attend and address a public meeting for similar purposes at Carlisle; and this (Wednesday) evening, we believe, they are to be present at another similar meeting at Kendal, for the same objects. On Friday next, they are to attend and address a large Free Trade meeting in Liverpool, the object of which is to commence the contributions of that town to the great Quarter of a Million Fund. Next week, besides several smaller meetings in various places, there are to be two large and important assemblages; one in the metropolis of Yorkshire and the woollen manufacture, and the other in the great metropolis of the cotton manufacture. The great West Riding dinner, we believe, is to take place at Leeds, on Wednesday next, the 11th instant; Messrs. Cobden and Bright are invited to attend, and will, in all probability, be present; and at this dinner the subscriptions of the West Riding to the Quarter of a Million Fund are to be commenced. From what we hear, the men of Yorkshire are determined on this occasion to show their Free Trade zeal and liberality, by the amount of their subscriptions—and it is expected to be a very interesting meeting. Last in this brief notice—though certainly by no means least, either in numbers, interest, or importance, there is to be, as usual, a vast gathering of Free Traders in their Free Trade Hall, on Thursday in next week, the 15th instant; and it is expected that the principal speakers on the occasion will be Messrs. Cobden, Bright, and W. J. Fox.—*Manchester Guardian*.

MORE CONVERTS TO FREE TRADE IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.—On Thursday evening, the 1st of January, Mr. John Gibbs, of Aylesbury, delivered a lecture in the British School Room, at Chesham, on the present political position and political duties of dissenters, in the course of which he dwelt largely on the Corn Laws. John Garrett, Esq., a very considerable landed proprietor, was, with many other gentlemen, on the platform. As soon as the lecture was over, a Mr. Geary, also a landlord, who was in the body of the room, called upon Mr. Garrett to give his opinions upon the Corn Laws. The chairman, (Charles Payne, Esq.) said Mr. Geary was out of order. Mr. Garrett was there as a hearer, and was not obliged to reply. Mr. Garrett stepped forward, and said he had no objection to answer the question. (Cheers.) He admitted that up to a recent date he had been an advocate for a moderate fixed duty on corn, but that the strong arguments used, with other recent events, had convinced him that a total repeal, followed up with other Free Trade measures, would be the best thing for the country, and for which he should now contend. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Gibbs thanked Mr. Geary for the result of the question, although he was out of order.

The best potatoes are now selling in the Lancaster market at 7d. per stone. Last year, at this time, they might have been purchased for 3d. per stone.

MEETING AT COVENT GARDEN THEATRE.
THE NEXT AGGREGATE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE will be held on **WEDNESDAY EVENING** next, the 14th of January, in the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden.
George Wilson, Esq., will take the Chair at Seven o'clock precisely.
The Meeting will be addressed by the Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P., Thomas M. Gibson, Esq., M.P., and Thomas Gisborne, Esq., M.P.
The Tickets of Admission will be issued on Monday and the following days.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!
THE Friends of **FREE TRADE** residing in the Northern or Midland Counties, desirous of purchasing Freeholds in any of the undermentioned Counties, are requested to apply to the Secretary of the League, Newall's Buildings Manchester.
North Lancashire
South Lancashire
North Cheshire
West Riding of York
South Stafford
North Stafford
South Cheshire
North Derbyshire
South Derbyshire
North Durham
East Cumberland
West Cumberland
South Northumberland.
Each applicant is requested to give his name and residence at full length.
By Order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!
FREE TRADERS desirous of purchasing Freeholds for Middlesex, East Surrey, West Kent, South Essex, East Sussex, and South Hants, are requested to send their applications, with name and address in full, to the League Offices, 67, Fleet-street, London.
By Order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!
AS only three weeks now remain for Qualifying, so as to be on the next Register, the Friends of Free Trade are respectfully urged to purchase Freeholds without delay.
Freehold Property, giving a Qualification, can be purchased, in North Lancashire, at from 30% to 35%, yielding about 7 per cent.
Every information may be had from Mr. Moorhouse, League Rooms, 4, Cheapside, Preston.

FREEHOLD QUALIFICATIONS FOR HERTS.
FREE TRADERS desirous of purchasing Freeholds in Hertfordshire are requested to send their applications to the League Offices, 67, Fleet-street, or to Mr. J. F. Bontems, Herts Registration Office, Hertford.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Jan. 7 1846.
N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

	£	s.	d.
Lees, R. & Sons, Manchester and Dukinfield	200	0	0
A Friend, W. M.	100	0	0
A Friend, per John Bright, Esq.	100	0	0
Robinson, S. P., Spring Gardens, Manchester	20	0	0
Worsworth, G. M., 13, George-street, ditto	10	0	0
Kell, S. C., Huddersfield	10	0	0
High, R., Hfracombe	10	0	0
Baile, Walter, M.P., Gretnock, N.B.	10	0	0
Kershaw, R., solicitor, Manchester	5	0	0
Tov, Thomas, 133, York-street, Cheetham, ditto	5	0	0
Leech, Thomas, Urnston, near ditto	5	0	0
Thorp & Statham, Collyhurst, ditto	4	0	0
Rees, Chas., Lancashire-avenue, Leamington	4	0	0
Hewley, Edw., 28, Pinner-street, Manchester	2	2	0
Newton, M., Mount-street, Great Ancoats-st., ditto	2	2	0
Waddell, Andrew, Town Hall Buildings, ditto	2	2	0
Mahert, John, St. George's Road, Little Bolton	2	2	0
Hanson, J. N., Burton-on-Trent	2	0	0
Hodgson, John, Litchford, near Warrington	2	0	0
Wilson, J. & Co., Hunt-st., Garratt-rd., Manchester	2	0	0
Bell, John, Strangeways, ditto	2	0	0
Clay, Wm., 21, Ducie-street, ditto	2	0	0
New on, W. G., 1, Lonax-st., Gt. Ancoats st., ditto	2	0	0
Beswick, J., 9, Kennedy-st., near King-st., ditto	1	2	6
Shapley, J., 2, Cross-street, London Road, ditto	1	1	0
Broadhead, Geo., 37, London Road, ditto	1	1	0
Higginson, Thomas, Birmingham street, ditto	1	1	0
Reade, H., 18, Acton-street, London Road, ditto	1	1	0
Edwards, R., Beswick Pottery, Holt Town, ditto	1	1	0
Jackson, J. J., 1, Princess-street, ditto	1	1	0
Simmons, Isaac, 9, St. Ann's-square, ditto	1	1	0
Warburton, J., 10, Swan-street, ditto	1	1	0
Blore, Isaac, 21, ditto	1	1	0
Jackson, Thomas, 1, Grosvenor-st., G on M, ditto	1	1	0
Ogden, A., Mount-st., Gt. Ancoats-st., ditto	1	1	0
Ladd, Chas., H.M.P. Zephyr, Holyhead	1	1	0
Forster, Wm. F., Bolton, near Bradford, Yorkshire	1	1	0
Benson, S. Chivers, Cross Inn, near Llandilo, S. Wales	1	1	0
Gibson, Thomas, 80, Bedford-street, North Shields	1	1	0
Brady, H., High-street, Gateshead	1	1	0
Littlewood, Nathan, Holmfirth, near Huddersfield	1	1	0
The Workmen at Britannia Mills, Birstall, near Leeds	1	1	0
Waddington, Jonathan, Willgate, Wigan	1	1	0
Harriacn, H., ditto ditto	1	1	0
Potter, Miss, Market-place, ditto	1	1	0
Wild, J., King-street, Oldham	1	1	0
Walker, A., Walker-terrace, Southport	1	1	0
Phillip, David, Ossett, near Wakefield	1	1	0
Pearson, E., ditto ditto	1	1	0
Katwistle, Thomas, Church, near Acerrington	1	1	0
Milner, John Crossland, Thirlstone, near Barnsley	1	1	0
Croce, Andrew, Dumbane, per John Graham	1	1	0
Dewhurst, Mrs. C., Whitehaven Cottage, Oswestry	1	1	0
Barton, Mrs. Catherine, Chester	1	1	0
Weston, Thomas, Birmingham	1	1	0
Hall, James, Hall Place, Knutsford, Cheshire	1	1	0
Shaw, Geo., Dodworth Green, near Barnsley	1	1	0
Palley, Thomas, Halesow, Lancashire	1	1	0
Bennett, John, 57, Lord-street, Liverpool	1	1	0
Priestman, Miss, Summer Hill, Newcastle-on-Tyne	1	1	0
Hunter, John, Eldon-street, ditto	1	1	0
Riley, W., Bridgeholme Green, near Charnock-le-Feith	1	1	0
Peel, Henry, Fleet-street, Bury, Lancashire	1	1	0
Warrington, Wm., Deansgate, Great Bolton	1	1	0
Hawood, R., ditto ditto	1	1	0
Hawood, Thomas, High-street, Little Bolton	1	1	0
Pontons, R., 28, Penn-street, Salford	1	1	0
Gornall, Joseph, Newton Heath, Manchester	1	1	0
Anson, Geo., Chester-street, C on M ditto	1	1	0
Aspinall, John, Great-street, Hulme ditto	1	1	0
Adams, John, 25, Deansgate ditto	1	1	0
Wilson, J. & A., 178, Great Ancoats-street, ditto	1	1	0

*Graves, Charles, David-street	ditto	1	0	0
*Muir, Wm., 59, Oxford-street	ditto	1	0	0
Blyth, J. C., 24, Charlotte-street	ditto	1	0	0
*Gibson, Wm., 22, Tame-street, Ancoats	ditto	1	0	0
*Cutcliffe, Geo., 47, Thomas-street	ditto	1	0	0
*Smith, Peter, 3, Francis-st., Strangeways	ditto	1	0	0
A Friend, per John Bell	ditto	1	0	0
The Six Children of T. Leach, Urnston, near ditto	ditto	1	0	0
*Ward, A., 51, Deansgate	ditto	1	0	0
Hodgson, J., 85, Oldham-street	ditto	1	0	0
*Hampson James, 161, Great Ancoats-st.	ditto	1	0	0
*Slack, John, 29, Brook-street, C on M	ditto	1	0	0
*Howe, Thomas, 17, Smithy Door	ditto	1	0	0
Whitatt, John, Swan-street	ditto	1	0	0
Booth, Wm., Urnston, near ditto	ditto	1	0	0
*Lee, John, 1, Mount-st., Gt. Ancoats-st.	ditto	1	0	0
*Wadsworth, H., 24, Higher Temple-st., C on M, ditto	ditto	1	0	0
Nuttall, Jesse, 61, Great Mount-street	ditto	0	8	0
Nuttall, James, New Church, Rossendale	ditto	0	5	0
Pixton, G., Duke-street, Liverpool	ditto	5	0	0
Lees, J., Engine Bridge, Huddersfield	ditto	5	0	0
Per G. P.	ditto	2	0	0
*Holt, T. J., 20, Aldermanbury, London	ditto	2	0	0
Kenworthy, Anderson, F., Dawson-st., Manchester	ditto	2	0	0
Manchester.	ditto	1	0	0
Walton, Joseph, 89, Liverpool-road, do.	ditto	1	0	0
*Holt, Jas., 20, Aldermanbury, London	ditto	1	0	0
Anderson, Thomas, Rochdale	ditto	1	0	0
Sundry Persons in sums under 20s. each	ditto	25	1	6
*Collett, John, M.P., 7, Upper Belgrave-street	ditto	10	10	0
*Hutchinson, J. W., 19, Little Pultney-st., Golden-sq.	ditto	10	0	0
*Austin, Anthony, jun., 15, Stamford Villa, Fulham	ditto	10	0	0
*Hawkes, Wm., Eagle Foundry, Birmingham	ditto	10	0	0
*Surridge, Mr., Newgate-street	ditto	5	5	0
Davis, W. H., Amphill-place, Vassal Road, Brixton	ditto	5	0	0
*Thornton, T. W., Kennington-street, Walworth	ditto	5	0	0
*Parsons, J. M., 6, Raymond's-buildings, Gray's Inn	ditto	5	0	0
Wedgwood, H., 42, Chester-street, Regent's Park	ditto	5	0	0
*Baynes, Sir W., Bart., 25, Portland-place	ditto	5	0	0
Hawes, Benjamin, sen., Brunswick-square	ditto	5	0	0
*Wright, C., Sydenham, Kent	ditto	5	0	0
*Bickers, Henry, 8, Paradise row, Chelsea	ditto	5	0	0
*Dorville, H., Alphington, near Exeter	ditto	3	0	0
*Massey, T. H. M., 3, Oxford-square	ditto	2	10	0
*Massey, R. M., ditto	ditto	2	10	0
*Massey, E., 50, Cambridge-terrace, Hyde Park	ditto	2	10	0
*Massey, J., ditto	ditto	2	10	0
*The Three Crowns Association, East Road, City Road	ditto	2	10	0
*Kearsey, John, 24, Euston-square	ditto	2	2	0
*Leader, W., Leek Parsonage, near Kirby Lonsdale	ditto	2	2	0
*Tripp, G., Tavistock-place, Tavistock-square	ditto	2	2	0
*Tittford, W. & R., Leadenhall-street	ditto	2	2	0
*Tindale, Ebenezer, Broad-street, Ratcliff	ditto	2	0	0
*Barclay, J. Col., Balerno Lodge, near Edinburgh	ditto	2	0	0
*Jennings, G., The Shrubbery, Buckland, Dover	ditto	2	0	0
*Cheape, Capt. J., Gergenti, Irvine	ditto	2	0	0
*Bush, R. J., Brecknock Cottage, Camden New Town	ditto	2	0	0
*Robertson, David, 7, Pilgrimage-street, Edinburgh	ditto	1	1	0
Woodcock, Matthew, 228, High-street, Lincoln	ditto	1	1	0
Goss, C., Wargrave, near Henley-on-Thames	ditto	1	1	0
Brackston, R., 2, Elm place, Bath	ditto	1	1	0
*Price, Geo., Portsea	ditto	1	1	0
*Garratt, Joseph, Braintree, Essex	ditto	1	1	0
*Richardson, Wm., Shepton Mallett	ditto	1	1	0
*Morgan, Arthur, New Bridge-street	ditto	1	1	0
*Poulton, C. & G., 67, Blackfriars-road	ditto	1	1	0
*Humphrys, James, Wandsworth-road	ditto	1	1	0
*Dyte, John & C., 106, Strand	ditto	1	1	0
*Baker, J. E., 51, Burton Crescent	ditto	1	1	0
*Tittford, W., Leadenhall-street	ditto	1	1	0
*Webber, J., 1, Brewer-street, Golden-square	ditto	1	1	0
*Matthews, Geo., 11, Phoenix-street, Soho	ditto	1	1	0
*Shuter, R., jun., 66, St. Martin's-lane	ditto	1	1	0
*Brackstone, R. H., 124, Wood-street	ditto	1	1	0
Thompson, Andrew, 4, Grove terrace, Notting Hill	ditto	1	1	0
Wylde, Charles, 17, Chiswell-street, Finsbury	ditto	1	1	0
*Thornborough, W., 34, Trinity-square, Southwark	ditto	1	1	0
*Stupart, James, 6, Bridgewater-square, Barbican	ditto	1	1	0
*Gregory, Mr., 11, Glasshouse-street	ditto	1	1	0
*Cowley, W., 7, Osborne-street, Whitechapel	ditto	1	1	0
*Kettleford, Edw., 54, High Holborn	ditto	1	1	0
*Turner, W., 50, South Molton-street, Hanover-square	ditto	1	1	0
*Down, W., St. Saviour's Churchyard, Southwark	ditto	1	1	0
*Jackson, Edw., Hope Cottage, Deptford Lower Road	ditto	1	1	0
*Rodd, H., Red Lion Wharf, Upper Thames-street	ditto	1	1	0
*Sim, Wm., 8, King's Bench Walk, Temple	ditto	1	1	0
*Watson, James, 167, Fleet-street	ditto	1	1	0
*Shyam, John F., 121, Shore-ditch	ditto	1	1	0
*Hugh, James, 24, Down-street, May Fair	ditto	1	1	0
*Shoen, S., 9, Victoria-square, Piccadilly	ditto	1	1	0
*St. John, H., 27, Clerkenwell Green	ditto	1	1	0
*Williams, Col., 52, Connaught-square	ditto	1	1	0
*Sykes, Edw., 1, Fleet-street, Westminster	ditto	1	1	0
*Crossley, Henry, Church-street, Deptford	ditto	1	1	0
*Mason, Mr., 30, Charles-street, Middlesex Hospital	ditto	1	1	0
*Llewellyn, Thos., Forest House, Dalston	ditto	1	1	0
*Pamphilon, James, 27, Brydges-street, Covent Garden, near Mr. Bailey	ditto	1	1	0
Hill, Wm., builder, Blackheath Road	ditto	1	1	0
*Troup, J., 36, Hutton Garden	ditto	1	1	0
*Overbury, John, 4, Frederick-place, Old Jewry	ditto	1	1	0
*Matthews, Wm., 91, Wood-street, City	ditto	1	1	0
*Birch, C., 12, Downham Road, Islington	ditto	1	1	0
Mair, Wm., 46, Notting Hill-square	ditto	1	1	0
*Allingham, John, 8, Grange-road, Brompton	ditto	1	1	0
The Workmen in the employ of Messrs. Allingham and Son, Upper Russell-street, Brompton	ditto	1	1	0
Harris, F., 11, Mary's-pl., Park-rd., Old Kent Road	ditto	1	1	0
*Geesin, Wm., 34, Golden-square, St. James's	ditto	1	1	0
Murray, John, G., 22, ditto	ditto	1	1	0
Ward, G. D., 59, Shore-ditch	ditto	1	1	0
*Loosely, G., 10, Long-acre, Finsbury Circus	ditto	1	1	0
*Miller, G., 12, Fenchurch-street	ditto	1	1	0
*Cherry, James, Breutford	ditto	1	1	0
Romains, R., Hale Lodge, near Edgware	ditto	1	1	0
Cox, E., 6, Elm Tree Road, St. John's Wood	ditto	1	1	0
*Fraser, S., 133, High-street, Borough	ditto	1	1	0
Wood, John, 8, Little Newport-street, Leicester-sq.	ditto	1	1	0
Laycock, H. S., 42, Jernyn-street, St. James's	ditto	1	1	0
*Watts, Wm., Albion-place, Barnsbury Park	ditto	1	1	0
Patrick, W. B., 11, Church-street, Limehouse	ditto	1	1	0
Hinkle, Fred., 103, Great Portland-street, Portland-pl.	ditto	1	1	0
*Stewart, H., 1, A Weymouth-street	ditto	1	1	0
*Rotherham, J., 84, Shore-ditch	ditto	1	1	0
*Taverner, Josh., 140, Old-street, St. Luke's	ditto	1	1	0
*Watson, A., Deansgate, Bolton	ditto	1	1	0
*Burgess, W. H., Battle, Sussex	ditto	1	1	0
Des Essars, Jules, Paris	ditto	1	1	0
*Crosswell, Rd. L., Lonsdale-place, near Whitehaven	ditto	1	1	0
*Shapley, Mark, High-street, Macclesfield	ditto	1	1	0
*Beresford, Joseph, Bosley, near ditto	ditto	1	1	0
*Acton, Joseph, Broken Cross, near ditto	ditto	1	1	0
*Marson, James, Bewsey-street, Warrington	ditto	1	1	0
Lee, J. C., Charnomth, Dorset	ditto	1	1	0
Turner, J., Hartill Farm, St. Bridwell, near Coleford	ditto	1	1	0
*Froster, T. B., Coleford	ditto	1	1	0
*Miffield, S. & J., Westgate Hill, Bradford, Wilts	ditto	1	1	0
Wiglam, R., Haymarket, Norwich	ditto	1	1	0
*Speedy, G., sunder, Athol-street, Perth	ditto	1	1	0
*Evans, John, Dundee	ditto	1	1	0
*Wilson, Alex., Pilot, Holy Island	ditto	1	1	0
*Starl, Wm., 48, London-street, Edinburgh	ditto	1	1	0
*Artherton, Nathan, Kingston, near Chippenham	ditto	1	1	0
*Bond, Wm., 57, Bridge-street, Cambridge	ditto	1	1	0
*Grainger, Edw., Dudley	ditto	1	1	0
*Hector, Gray, Northampton	ditto	1	1	0
*Wyles, R., Court-street, Liversham	ditto	1	1	0
*Cross, Wm., Smallbridge, near Rochdale	ditto	1	1	0
*Costar, R., Benson, Oxon	ditto	1	1	0
*Mills, F., All Saints Green, Norwich	ditto	1	1	0
*Spratt, Mr., Hinton, near Yorkford, Suffolk	ditto	1	1	0
*Anderson, John, 47, Albany-street, Edinburgh	ditto	1	1	0
*Blyth, Sam., Park-lane, Langham Green, Colchester	ditto	1	1	0
*Clapp, Jerome, Rev., Odun House, Appledon, Devon	ditto	1	1	0

Cobb, C., Strood, Kent	1	0	0
*Taylor, John, Preston Brook, Cheshire	1	0	0
*Crossley, John, Brighouse, Halifax	1	0	0
*Graham, Edw., 25, Whitechapel, Liverpool	1	0	0
*McMillan, Wm., 2, Surrey-street, ditto	1	0	0
*Reynolds, F. K., Lynn, Norfolk	1	0	0
*Hull, H., Northampton	1	0	0
*Burton, R., Smallwood Manor, near Uttoxeter, Staffordshire	1	0	0
Walker, Thomas, 152, Perth-road, Dundee	1	0	0
*Hanson, S., Todmorden	1	0	0
Barratt, E., St. Austell, Cornwall	1	0	0
Marcom, A., Charleston, ditto	1	0	0
*Hawkes, W. R., Parsonage, Bishop Stortford	1	0	0
*Nash, F. S., ditto	1	0	0
*Barling, James, Fisherton, Salisbury	1	0	0
Grassam, John, Driffield	1	0	0
*Baynes, Geo., High-street, Dunbar	1	0	0
*Greaves, Wm. T., Hobden Bridge	1	0	0
*Broadhead, Joseph, Wooddale, Huddersfield	1	0	0
*Robuck, J., Wooddale Town-end, near ditto	1	0	0
Dickson, Arch., Dunbar	1	0	0
*Macintyre, J. J., Mid Calder, Mid Lothian	1	0	0
*McLellan, Thomas, Burnhead, near Glasgow	1	0	0
Beatonson, Wm., Rotham	1	0	0
*Armshy, G., Irthingboro, near Higham Ferrers	1	0	0
Roberts, Thomas, 126 A, St. John-street, Clerkenwell	0	10	0
R. D.	0	5	0
Mansfield, John, 1, Leicester-square	0	5	0
Bone, T., Mountcharles, St. Austell, Cornwall	0	5	0
{Bass, Isaac	2	2	0
Brighton. {Burgess, Henry, Meeting House-lane	1	1	0
{Patchell, R., Duke-street	1	1	0
{Brown, F., Black Lion-street	1	1	0
{Miall, John, Union-street	0	2	6
{*Rowlett, W. & Son, 3, Canning-place	1	0	0
{*Berry, Mrs., Narboro' Road	1	0	0
Leicester. {Evans, Geo., Talbot Inn	1	0	0
{Gillespie, R. W.	1	0	0
{*Crossley, James, High-street	1	0	0
{*Rodgers, T., Southfield Cottage	1	0	0

to wear of a warfare upon the landed aristocracy. The value of land cannot fail of being eventually enhanced by the influence of Free Trade. So taught the great masters of political economy; so urged the first movers in this agitation, and with no lack of sincerity or of argument. Proof has been given of the fact abundantly sufficient to convince the *bonâ fide* proprietor, would he but listen to you, rather than to the nominal landlord of mortgaged acres. He might then see the absurdity of compensation for a benefit; of asking to be bribed to the reception of an advantage; and of mixing his case up with that of the spendthrift, who may fairly be sent to seek his compensation in the wisdom taught by baffled fraud and self-created difficulties.

Should this question of "compensation" be mooted, a preliminary inquiry must be insisted upon into the incidence of taxation upon different classes. The burdens upon the landowners must be calculated, and the burdens upon other people, especially upon those who labour. The legacy and stamp duties must be investigated; the modes of assessing to the Income Tax; the immunities as to dogs, horses, bricks, and tiles, and 50 other items; and above all, the pressure of the whole system of indirect taxation upon the poor millions rather than the wealthy thousands. Before stirring such a topic, let the landlords calculate what can compensate them for the exposures of this investigation. Its avoidance would be a cheap bargain at the cost of all they are ever likely to gain by the Corn Laws.

A marvellous degree of effrontery is implied in the suggestion of "compensation." The monopolists have for 30 years abused the sacred powers of legislation, turning to their private advantage functions only allowed to exist for public good; and they ask for compensation. They have deprived industry of its right to expend its own earnings, turning back from our ports the food it craved to purchase; and they ask for compensation. They have interrupted and thwarted the progress of national prosperity, aggravated the fluctuations of trade, reduced honest employments to gambling speculations; and they ask for compensation. They have upheld their law-created scarcity in the face of an increasing population and a suffering population; they are answerable before God and man for the stimulus thus given to disease and crime; and they talk of compensation. It is for them to render compensation, were that possible, not to receive it; and be thankful that you require not at their hands such equivalent for the past as justice would award.

There are persons whose intellect, or whose *morale*, is of such a calibre that the notion is not yet driven out of their heads of this being merely a squabble of classes whose interests are capable of adjustment and pecuniary compromise. The League, they tell you, consists of certain Manchester cotton-spinners, who want to get rid of their stock. These cotton-spinners, they opine, hire lecturers and writers to abuse the landowners, on the speculation, by Corn Law repeal, of selling calico enough to realise a balance in cash, with which to purchase some of the land their tricks have cheapened. The notion of "compensation" fits in well with these theories of noodledom. "What will you give us (of the public money) to let you have a market for your surplus bales?" Such is their implied overture to the supposed cotton-spinners. They know not what a national policy is; unless it be the policy of getting all they can out of the nation. They think there is only a civil action against them for damages, instead of an indictment for the abstraction of property, the corruption of manners, and the destruction of human life. They fail to perceive that no cotton-spinning interest could have laid hold of the public mind, could have stimulated the pulsation of the common human heart, could have called forth exertions so laborious and contributions so munificent, could have pervaded all classes from the peer to the peasant, and have commenced the creation of a political power that overrides all party organization and demarcation, unless allied with elementary principles of truth, right, sympathy, and humanity. And so they twaddle of compensation and conditions. It is something too much, that you, in your consciousness of the growth of this cause, in your own minds and around you; in your familiarity with the lucid arguments and accumulated facts that have matured your conviction, and

in your recollection of the fearful scenes of want and misery that have harrowed your sympathies and confirmed your determination, should be invited to accept so pitiful a version of your efforts, and to act upon it by compromise and compensation. Some of these persons trace their pedigrees to the time of the signing of Magna Charta; tell them that the demand of the Barons of England then was that justice should not be denied, delayed, or sold; and such is now the demand of the Commons of England.

A NORWICH WEAVER BOY.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DISTRESS IN OXFORDSHIRE.—WHO ARE NOW THE POOR MAN'S FRIENDS?

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

SIR,—It is as much my privilege as it is my duty to inform your many and benevolent readers that I have this week supplied some of the necessary wants of between sixty and seventy families,—some with bread, some with cotton sheets and blankets, some with beds, some with smock-frocks, and not a few with coals. Many thanks to those "Free Traders" and "Anti-Monopolists" who have put it into my power to help those who cannot help themselves. If the blessing of the poor be a blessing indeed, the members of the League and other Free Traders have their share of it. I walked fourteen miles this week to see and examine for myself, the novel and indescribable *hole*, or rather *grave*, in which a family of six persons are now spending their fourth winter. I say, *grave*, for the hole is more like a *grave* than any thing else to which I can compare it. I wish I could send you a drawing of it, but I cannot. The exact length of it is three yards and a half; the width of it is five feet ten inches and a half, and the height of it, from the bottom to the boughs and reeds which cover it, is five feet two inches. The place in which the poor labourer, his wife, and four children, live, stand, and sit, and taking off the part on which the bed and straw are placed, is just three feet and a half in length!!! What a house for a family of six to live in!! I challenge any man, in any country, in either England, Ireland, or Scotland, to point out another place inhabited by six human beings, equal in wretchedness to that of which I have spoken in this my letter. The very sight of it is a standing disgrace to the parish of Heyford, and to the county of Oxford. It is but doing justice to the poor man's wife to say, that I found the few things they have, clean, and in their place. The poor man works on the roads; wages, 6s. a-week; and one boy, in his sixteenth year, earns 2s. 6d. a-week. They have no potatoes. I promised them a bed as soon as they can get into a cottage. Were I to give them a bed now, it would soon be rotten and destroyed in their damp hole. A kind gentleman, who is a Free Trader, and his kind lady, pay for the education of two of the children at the village school; and another kind lady in the parish pays for the education of another of the children. The present system of monopoly has converted too many of the peasantry into unclean persons and thieves. And if the death of monopoly should not be effected soon, it will soon—very soon—seal the death of hundreds, if not of thousands, of our field labourers. The dread of being separated from their wives and children is not the only reason why so many of the peasantry would rather starve than enter the union house. There is another reason, of which very few persons are aware, why the poor field labourers will not go to the union; and that is, the dread of being deprived of their cottages. The number of cottages in many of the villages is rather on the decrease than on the increase, consequently many of the poor have to leave their own parishes, and to take shelter where they can find it. There is in Bicester a great number of cottages, which are the property of many different persons, and therefore the distressed poor are always afraid to enter the union house and thus give up their cottages, because, on leaving them for a time, the owner would instantly let them to others, if he could. I have just had three persons at my house from Charlton-Otmoor, Oxon, to whom I have given each a bed. I will trouble your readers with two of these cases:

Sarah Mobly, a widow, has eight children, only one of whom is at work, and earns 1s. 6d. a-week. She receives eight loaves and 2s. weekly from the parish. She has two straw beds, on which nine persons sleep, in one room. Eight loaves and 3s. 6d. in money! What a total for a mother and her eight children to live upon for seven days; and out of which she has to pay 9d. a week house-rent, and to find shoes, clothes, and coals!!! She has no potatoes.

George Trisby has a wife and eight children. Wages, 8s. a week. The whole of the children are at home without employment. They have one poor bed and some straw. All sleep in one room. No potatoes.

What a state of things in Oxfordshire! Here is a hard-working man who has to find bread, potatoes, shoes, and clothes for ten persons out of 10s. a week!!

I have thus, Sir, given both you and your readers, including the statements contained in my former letter published by you, an account of the *real* state and wretchedness of the peasantry in six villages and one market town. As my former letter has been published in our local papers, and at my request, I hope that the same editors will do me the kindness to copy this letter from your paper into their own. I am anxious that those who live in our own locality should see and know what I have to say in relation to the sufferings and miseries of the peasantry in Oxfordshire, and Buckinghamshire. I am, Sir, yours very faithfully,

W. FERGUSON,

Minister of the Congregational Church, Bicester, Oxon.

P.S.—The price of these brown loaves is 6d. each. I met a poor woman last night, whose husband is out of work, and consequently she had to *pawn* the clothes from off her child's back to get a loaf of bread. I gave her two loaves, and sent her back to get her child's garments. I know the family; they are industrious, but they cannot live upon air.—W. F.

[Mr. Ferguson, minister of the congregational church, Bicester, Oxon, begs to inform "Anti-Monopolist" that he has received the half of a five pound note safe and sound. Many thanks to "Anti-Monopolist." The money shall be laid out cautiously, prudently, and seasonably. Mr. Ferguson also begs, through the medium of THE LEAGUE, to

thank "C. E." London, for a parcel of very seasonable and useful cast-off clothes forwarded to Mr. F. for the poor of his neighbourhood. (Let others go and do likewise.) Many heartfelt thanks are also due, and now tendered by Mr. Ferguson to "E.W., and friends," in Hereford, for a post-office order, value £5.]

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

8, Powis Place, Jan. 7, 1846.

DEAR SIR,—Not the least important object of the League I believe to be to protect agriculture (not landlordism) from *protection*. Surely so powerful a confederation should also do what in it lies to protect the tillers of the soil from *persecution* incurred in aiding the cause of Free Trade. I beg to call the attention of your readers to the meeting of agricultural labourers, held at Goatacre, North Wilts, the day before yesterday, reported in this day's *Times*, and then let them say if something should not be done for these men. I venture to say, a more touching, a more heart-rending, yet, vital, a more hopeful spectacle, has seldom met men's eyes. It is one of those startling occurrences that seem to take one's mind from the "ignorant present," as too large and unreal for its common places, and to loom upon us as through the mists of a far off time. It seems to say, by this picture, shall we of the 19th century be made known to posterity; and when the philosophical historian writes of England in 1840-6, it will be as thus presented, with our hideous social anomalies, as the land of the wealthiest aristocracy, and the poorest peasantry,—of the most princely domains, and the largest union houses,—of starvation laws, maintained for the benefit of the starving, and of thousands perishing under the pressure of "protection."

The meeting was held at nightfall, at the cross road of the little village of Goatacre; and thereto came one thousand peasants, some with their wives and families, to state their sufferings, and to petition the Queen for a removal of those laws which stand between the toiling, and the hungry, and their food. Many more would have come, but the threats of their masters had deterred them. There was but too much sameness in their simple stories,—*none* could earn sufficient bread and potatoes to satisfy the cravings of hunger; and some had neither work nor food, and only lived to bear about gaunt evidence of famine, by the charity of those, one step higher in condition than themselves; and yet the tone of all was moderate, dignified, and forbearing. With hunger gnawing at their vitals, they taught the lesson of peace, law, and order; and in rags, and standing by their ragged wives and children, they calmly spoke of their duties to man and of their trust in God. Leaguers! what can we do for these people? They have helped our cause in a critical moment; they will probably suffer for it. Even if the Corn Laws be repealed in a month, spite, or panic, may lay them in their graves before another harvest ripens in the fields. The monopolists raised 200*l.* in Sussex the other day to uphold starvation. What can we do to beat it down when it attacks such men as these. *In our numbers we are strong; let us save them.* I will with pleasure add my mite, 5*l.*, for such an object.—I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

P. A. TAYLOR, jun.

Pickering Farm, Bucks, 4th Jan.

DEAR SIR,—I have been on the Continent for the last two months, and on my return the other day I was glad to see the exertions making by the League to procure further contributions to the fund.

Will you have the goodness to add my name to the list as a subscriber of 100*l.*?—I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

J. C. EWART, of Liverpool.

G. Wilson, Esq.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

MONSIEUR,—Le hasard ayant fait tomber entre mes mains un des numéros du journal, *The League*, j'ai été ainsi conduit à étudier les progrès de l'association formée dans le royaume uni de la Grande Bretagne pour obtenir le rappel des lois sur les bleds, et la liberté du commerce. J'ai lu avec admiration les discours de vos principaux orateurs, et j'ai vu avec surprise que les travaux de la Ligue étaient presque entièrement inconnus en France. L'organisation de la Ligue, ses travaux, ses développemens et sa puissance me paraissent cependant constituer l'un des événements historiques les plus intéressans et les plus remarquables de cette époque, non seulement pour l'Angleterre, mais même pour le monde entier. J'ai pensé, Monsieur, que vous ne refuseriez pas d'accueillir le faible hommage de la sympathie et de l'admiration d'un étranger, et j'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer le montant de ma souscription, en vous priant de me faire parvenir votre journal, que je lirai avec l'intérêt le plus soutenu, et auquel je consacrerai quelques articles dans une des publications périodiques de ce pays. Heureux si je puis contribuer ainsi quelque peu, et dans la mesure de mes forces, au succès de la noble cause que défendent avec tant de talent et de supériorité les hommes d'état et les publicistes qui dirigent la Ligue, et qui ont si puissamment concouru à répandre et à faire prévaloir dans l'opinion publique, les vrais principes de l'économie politique et du droit international.

Aggréé, Monsieur, toutes les assurances de ma considération la plus distinguée.

JULES DES ESSARS,

Membre du Conseil d'Arrondissement de Coulommier (Seine-et-Marne).
Paris, Rue Thiroux, No. 7, Chaussée d'Antin.

The following letter was read at the Watford Free Trade meeting:

Kytes, near Watford, Jan. 6th, 1845.

GENTLEMEN,—I am sorry to be absent from your meeting this evening, but not being previously aware of it, I am unable to attend. I beg to enclose five pounds, more as an earnest of opinion, relative to Free Trade, which I have held from my earliest age, than from the idea that such a trifle can be of avail to a cause, so amply, I am happy to see, supplied with the sinews of war. It is, I am sure, needless for me to write or say anything more, to urge upon persons, unbiassed by personal considerations, or I should rather say mistaken prejudices and short-sighted views, that the principles we advocate must be conducive to the general interests of the country.

WILLIAM CAPEL, JUN.

The new tariff is producing some rare imports. For instance, there were put up at a public sale, in London, thirty baskets of China vegetable or tree tallow, and thirty bales of China hemp, just received from Shanghai.

FREE TRADE AND THE REVENUE.

(From the Economist.)

It must be admitted that one of the most obvious and direct consequences of a repeal of the Corn Laws will be a repeal of all other protective and differential duties. Sound policy and justice to all classes of the community will equally demand these reforms in our fiscal laws; and we are not surprised at the effort which it is already evident will be made on the part of those whose whole object is to obstruct the necessary reforms which the Government has in view, by endeavouring to excite the fears of the country on the subject of revenue and taxation. It was under the pretext of raising revenue to the State that protective duties were first introduced, and it cannot, therefore, excite surprise if there should be an attempt to create a prejudice in the public mind against their abolition, on the ground of endangering public credit, or, at least, of leading to the imposition of other new taxes. In the present advanced stage of the Free Trade discussion, it may appear to some an unnecessary task, that we should dwell upon the difference between duties imposed for the purposes of protection, and those imposed for the objects of revenue. But we are so much struck by the numerous evidences which we at present discover, both private and public, of the efforts that will be used in the coming struggle to confuse these two distinct classes of duties, and to prejudice the cause of Free Trade, that we are induced to examine how far the revenue is dependent upon that part of the present customs' duties which operate as "protective," and which, as such, are objected to by the advocates of Free Trade.

Exclusive of corn, the customs' duties in 1844 amounted to £2,741,734; and further deducting the amount received from cotton and sheep's wool, raw silk, flax, and hemp, the duties upon which were abolished in the last session, there would be left the sum of £2,196,489, as derived from all other articles. To contribute this amount of revenue, no fewer than eight hundred and eight articles were chargeable with customs' duties; but of that large number, ten articles only yielded no less than £20,319,491, leaving a sum of only £1,641,998, as the produce of the whole remaining seven hundred and ninety-eight articles. This classification of the customs' revenue of 1844 may be thus more clearly stated:

Amount of customs' duties, independent of corn, cotton, wool, silk, flax, and hemp, ..	£21,969,489
of which,—	
Coffee produced	£ 682,218
Sugar	5,216,569
Molasses	290,888
Tea	4,524,613
Spirits	2,211,243
Wine	1,981,686
Tobacco	3,977,037
Fruits	509,241
Timber	916,606
.. .. .	20,319,491

Produced by the remaining 798 articles £1,649,998
of the seven hundred and ninety-eight articles producing the sum of £1,649,998.—

Four hundred and sixty-seven produce less than 100l. each	
One hundred and sixty-seven produce more than 100l. but less than 500l. each	
Fifty produce between 500l. and 1000l. each	
One hundred and nine produce between 1000l. and 10,000l. each	
Twenty-five produce between 10,000l. and 50,000l. each	
Five produce between 50,000l. and 100,000l. each	
Five produce more than 100,000l.	

of the ten articles which thus constitute more than ninety per cent. of the customs' revenue, the chief articles which are subject to protective or differential duties are coffee, sugar, and timber; while tea, wines, tobacco, and fruits may be considered strictly as revenue duties. An inquiry into the effect which the differential duties upon coffee and sugar exercise upon the public interests and upon the revenue, will suffice to show the general tendency of all such laws.

COFFEE DUTIES.

The duty chargeable upon coffee of colonial growth is fourpence per pound, or 37s. 4d. per cwt., while that chargeable upon coffee of foreign growth is sixpence per pound, or 56s. per cwt. In 1844, the quantity of coffee taken for consumption was 280,314 cwt., of which, 174,688 cwt. was of colonial growth, and 105,626 cwt. of foreign growth, subject to the respective duties of 37s. 4d. and 56s. per cwt. It must be plain to those least accustomed to these subjects that the price at which foreign coffee, with the addition of the higher rate of duty, could be furnished to the consumer must determine the price which can be obtained for colonial coffee; and that the latter commanding the same price from the consumer, but being subjected to a lower duty, the difference must operate as so much additional price to the producer without any corresponding benefit to the revenue. Thus, for example, foreign coffee of a good quality is now worth 61s. 4d. per cwt. in bond, before any duty is paid; if to that price we add the duty of 56s. to which it is subject, the price to the consumer is then increased to 117s. 4d. per cwt., and colonial coffee of the same quality will be equally worth the same price, but being subject only to a duty of 37s. 4d. in place of 56s., it will command a price of 80s. per cwt. without the duty, while the foreign coffee of the same quality sells only at 61s. 4d. The consumer pays the same price for both, while in the one case 56s. of that price goes to the revenue, and in the other only 37s. 4d., the difference of 18s. 8d. being retained to the sole benefit of the favoured producer, and operating as a protective tax equally paid by the consumer, but adding nothing to the public exchequer. It may be an instructive inquiry to see how these respective duties affected the interests of the revenue and the consumer on the quantities of coffee consumed last year.

The cost to the public of the coffee consumed in 1844 may be thus stated:

£	
174,688 of colonial, at a price in bond of 80s. 0d. for duty	117s. 4d. £326,752
105,626 of foreign, at a price in bond of 61s. 4d. for duty	117s. 4d. £323,919
280,314 total, at 117s. 4d. per cwt.	£ 1,644,506

Of this sum, £21,985, represents duties, and 1,622,521, the price paid to the importer. Now, looking to this statement, it must be apparent that if the duties were equalised the prices in bond must also be equalised; that if the duty upon colonial coffee were raised to the same rate as that charged on foreign coffee, the price to the consumer would still be the same, while the revenue would be enriched by all the difference; or if the duty on foreign coffee were reduced to the same rate as that chargeable upon colonial coffee, the price to the consumer would be reduced upon the whole quantity by all the difference, while the revenue would only suffer a

reduction on the portion of foreign coffee on which the higher rate of duty is now paid; and in all probability the additional quantity consumed at the lower price would make up for the reduction of the rate of duty.

It is essential that the exact operation of these duties should be made as clear as possible. Let us suppose the rates of duty equalised, and that now chargeable on foreign coffee reduced to 37s. 4d. per cwt., the same as is chargeable upon colonial coffee; the effect would be that in place of 117s. 4d., the present cost to the consumer, it would be reduced to 61s. 4d., plus the duty of 37s. 4d., or 98s. 8d. per cwt. Now then, suppose that the consumption continued only at the same rate, the gain to the public by the reduction of the differential duty would be thus:

Present cost of 280,314 cwt., at 117s. 4d.	£ 1,644,506
Reduced	1,362,891

Public gain 261,625
Against this gain, however, we must set off the loss which the revenue would derive from the reduction; thus:

Present revenue—Colonial coffee—174,688 cwt. at 37s. 4d. ..	£ 326,083
Foreign coffee—105,626 cwt. at 56s.	295,752
280,314	621,835
Reduced revenue at an equal duty, 280,314 cwt. at 37s. 4d. ..	493,819
Loss to the revenue	128,016

So that, while the revenue would lose 128,016l., by equalising the duties to the lowest rate, the country would gain 261,625l. by a reduction of price. But experience gives us evidence, and in no article more than in coffee, that the consumption even increases in a greater proportion than the price is diminished. But even supposing the same sum of money only should still be expended in coffee at the reduced price as now is at the high price, then we should find the following results on the interests of the consumer and the revenue. The sum of 1,644,506l., which is expended in the whole consumption of coffee at the present price, would, if the price were reduced to 98s. 8d. per cwt., give a consumption of 333,316 cwt. instead of 280,314, or an addition of 53,032 cwt. The account would then stand thus:

Cost to the consumer at the present price of 280,314 cwt., at 117s. 4d.	£ 1,644,506
Cost to the consumer at the reduced price of 333,316 cwt., at 98s. 8d.	1,644,506

Revenue derived, at present rate of 37s. 4d. and 56s. per cwt., as stated on 280,314 cwt. 621,835
Revenue derived, all at the lower rate of 37s. 4d., on the increased quantity of 333,316 cwt. 622,244

Gain to the revenue 419

Thus, in this view of the case, by the reduction of the protective duty to the lowest rate, the public, at the same cost, have the advantage of an additional supply of coffee of no less than 53,032 cwt., and the revenue gains, besides, the small sum of 419l.

But suppose the duties are equalised by raising the rate charged on colonial coffee to that charged on foreign coffee, then the price would still remain at 117s. 4d., and no material increase of consumption could be expected; still only 280,314 cwt. would be consumed at the present cost to the country. But, in that case, what would be the effect on the revenue? In place of the present amount, at the respective duties of 37s. 4d. and 56s., we should have a revenue derived from the same quantity, all at the higher rate of 56s. thus:

Revenue on 280,314 cwt., at 56s.	£ 781,878
Present revenue at 37s. 4d. and 56s.	621,835
Gain to the revenue	163,043

Thus, by the equalisation of the coffee duties and the abolition of the protective principle, one of the three following results must take place:

1st. If the duties were equalised to the lowest rate, and the same quantity of coffee were still only consumed, the country would gain in reduced price the sum of 261,625l., while it would lose by reduction of revenue 128,016l., leaving a balance in its favour of 133,609l.

2d. If the duties were equalised to the lower rate, and the same sum of money expended in the article as at present, the reduced cost would furnish an additional quantity of no less than 53,032 cwt., at the same cost, and the revenue would at the reduced duty gain 419l.; while the dealers, merchants, and shipowners, would have the advantage of, and additional profit on, that increased amount of business.

3d. If the duties were equalised by raising the lower to the higher rate, then the cost and consumption of coffee would remain stationary at the present rate, but the revenue would derive a clear gain of no less than 163,043l.

SUGAR DUTIES AND THE REVENUE.

But the injury to the consumer, and the loss to the revenue, consequent upon a system of differential duties, are even more clearly shown in the case of the sugar duties. For the purpose of examining the operation of these duties, we will consider them under the great modifications of last session. By the law of last session the duties were reduced to 14s. per cwt. on colonial sugar, and to 23s. 4d. per cwt. on foreign free labour sugar. Under these reduced duties, the consumption has rapidly increased, but still it has been very evident, during the whole year, that the quantity has been materially lessened by the operation of the protective duty of 23s. 4d.

By the Board of Trade official tables of imports, published in our last supplement, it appears that the consumption of the year up to the 5th of November, had been 4,174,270 cwt. of colonial sugars, and 53,843 cwt. of foreign sugar. The cost of this quantity of sugar to the consumer may be thus stated:

Cwts.	£
4,174,270 colonial sugars, at 40s. per cwt., in bond, is ..	8,348,540
Duty on ditto, at 14s.	2,921,989
53,843 foreign sugar, of equal quality, at 30s. 8d. ..	11,270,529
per cwt., in bond	82,558
Duty on ditto, at 23s. 4d.	62,816
4,228,113 Total, at 54s. per cwt.	11,415,903

In this case, as in that of coffee, it must be plain that as long as both duties are operative, the higher rate added to the price of sugars in the open markets of the world must retribute the cost of all sugar to the consumer. As long as foreign sugar at 30s. 8d. per cwt., in bond, pays the duty of 23s. 4d., the price to the consumer cannot be less than 54s. per cwt.; and sugar of the same quality, of colonial growth, will command the same price, but being subject only to a duty of 14s., the importer will receive at the rate of 40s. per cwt. for colonial sugar, while foreign sugar, of the same quality, sells only for 30s. 8d.

The same reasoning applies in the case of sugar, as we have already used in that of coffee; and we will, therefore, without again repeating it, merely examine what would be the effect of an equalisation of the present modified duties. If these duties were equalised by reducing the highest to the lowest rate, then foreign sugar worth 30s. 8d. in bond, would be sold at 44s. 8d. to the consumer, including the duty, and colonial sugar of the same quality would only command the same price. A reduction of 9s. 4d. per cwt., (the amount of the existing difference of the duties,) would thus take place in the entire quantity of sugar consumed in the kingdom. For the ten months ending the 5th of November, that quantity was 4,228,113 cwt., and the effect of that reduction of price may, therefore, be thus stated:—

Cwts.	£
Present cost of 4,228,113 sugar, at 54s.	11,415,903
Reduced cost of ditto at 44s. 8d.	9,442,746

Gain to the consumer 1,973,117
But against this must be placed the loss to the revenue consequent on a reduction of the highest to the lowest rate of duty; which may be thus stated:

Cwts.	£
Present duty 4,174,270 sugar, at 14s., is 2,921,989	
53,843 — at 23s. 4d. is 62,816	
4,228,113	2,984,805

Reduced and equalised duty 4,228,113 sugar, at 14s. .. 2,959,678

Loss to the revenue 25,127

Thus while this reduction of duty would sacrifice only 25,127l. of revenue the public would gain by a reduction of price no less than 1,973,117l. But, as in the case of coffee, there can be no question that this reduction of price would promote a greatly increased consumption, and more than equivalent to the reduction of duty. But suppose that only the same sum was continued to be expended on the article at the lower price, that is now at the present price, then the consumption in place of being 4,228,113 cwt., would be 5,112,344 cwt.; being an addition to the present quantity of no less than 884,231 cwt., in which case the result of the equalisation of duty may be thus stated:

Cwts.	£
Cost to the consumer 4,228,113 at 54s. 0d. ..	11,415,903
5,112,344 44s. 8d.	11,415,903

Cwts.	£
Revenue at the present rates of duty of 14s. and 23s. 4d. on	4,228,113 2,984,805
Revenue at the reduced and equal rate of duty of 14s. on	5,112,344 3,578,640

Gain to the revenue 593,835

Thus, by an equalisation of duty and a reduction of price, assuming that the public would still expend the same sum on sugar as they do at present, they would obtain a quantity greater by 884,231 cwt. at the same cost, while the revenue would be benefited by the sum of 593,835l. But suppose the duties were equalised by raising the lower rate of 14s. to the higher rate of 23s. 4d.; in that case the cost would not be reduced to the consumer, but would remain as it now is, limited by the addition of the foreign duty to the price of foreign sugar in bond; and no material increase of consumption could be looked for. Still only 4,228,113 cwt. would be consumed at the price of 54s. per cwt. as at this time. But what would be the effect on the revenue?

Cwts.	£
The revenue at the present rates of duty on 4,228,113 is 2,984,805	
The same at the higher ratio of 23s. 4d. would be	4,932,797

Gain to the revenue 1,947,992

So that again in this case, one of the three following effects would result from an equalisation of the sugar duties: 1st. If the duties were equalised by a reduction of the higher to the lower rate, and the quantity consumed continued only the same as at present, then the public would gain, by a reduction of price, a sum equal to 1,947,992l., while the revenue could only lose 25,127l.

2d. If the duties were equalised by a reduction of the higher to the lower rate, and the public expended only the same sum on sugar which they do at present, they would obtain for that sum an additional quantity equal to 884,231 cwt., while the revenue would gain no less than 593,835l.

And 3d. If the duties were equalised by raising the lower to the higher rates, the price of sugar and the amount of consumption would continue as at present; but the revenue would gain the enormous sum of 1,947,992l.

These two cases may be considered as fair examples of the operation of all protective and differential duties. They tax the consumer without enriching the State; they raise the price of the commodity without adding to the amount of the public revenue. So far from Free Trade, which seeks only to abolish protection and equalise differential duties, being inimical to the revenue, we have seen that in the case of coffee and sugar alone a sum equal to 2,111,035l. might be added to the public income, or otherwise given to the public in the advantages of a reduction of price, or of an increased supply at the present cost, by the equalisation of these duties; a sum, too, it may be remarked, larger than the entire amount produced from the whole remaining seven hundred and ninety-eight articles which, in addition to the ten enumerated, make up the number of articles on which the revenue of 1844 was charged.

There is, however, an exceedingly interesting branch of this inquiry connected with the numerous minor articles included in our tariff, to which protective duties less or more apply as to their effect upon the revenue, on the general industry of the country, and on the interests of those immediately engaged therein, to which our attention shall be directed on an early occasion.

INVITATION TO MR. COBDEN.—The *Belfast Northern Whig* says, "A strong desire has long prevailed in Belfast to have the honour and benefit of a visit from Mr. Cobden, the great apostle of Free Trade; and a number of the leading merchants, manufacturers, and others have resolved to invite him to a public dinner in this town, on some day before the meeting of Parliament. They are aware of the great demands on him elsewhere; but it is hoped that he will find time to pay us the requested visit. His presence in Ireland, just now, could not fail to be of the utmost public advantage. He would come upon no party errand, and would be received in no party spirit. Free Trade is not a question of Whig or Tory, Catholic or Protestant; it is a question of public justice and universal good; and it is in this spirit that he is invited, and in this spirit he would come, as come we trust he will."

HERTS COUNTY REGISTRATION.

On Monday last a public meeting of the members and friends of the Anti-Corn-Law League was held in the Town Hall, St. Alban's, for the purpose of hearing addresses from Mr. Falvey and Mr. Bontem, the active registration agent of the League. In consequence of the existence of a magisterial standing order against evening meetings, the meeting could not be held in the spacious Court House; and as the room in which it was held is not capable of containing more than about 500 persons, several hundred persons were disappointed in their desire to be present. Among the gentlemen present we observed Mr. E. Langridge, Mr. T. U. Blagg, Mr. Thos. Richardson, Mr. Joseph Bennett, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Syrett, Rev. N. Upton, and J. Champion, Mr. Buckingham, Mr. E. Harris, Mr. R. Gibbs, Mr. Hulk, &c. &c. The chair was occupied by Mr. C. H. Lattimore, of Wicenthamstead. At about half past seven Mr. Falvey entered the room, and was greeted with several rounds of hearty and enthusiastic applause. The chairman, in opening the business, observed that it afforded him much pleasure to preside at so influential a meeting. Its objects were of the most constitutional nature and of the greatest importance to the industrious and trading portion of the community. The Anti-Corn-Law League had patriotically determined to assist in extending the county franchise, and thus enable the electors to return three Free Traders to Parliament at the next election. At the conclusion of an effective speech he introduced Mr. Falvey, who was received with the most vehement applause. Mr. Falvey addressed the assembly in a most energetic manner for nearly two hours, and if the cheering, by which his voice was frequently silenced, can be taken as a criterion of the sentiments entertained by the large number of persons assembled, they were to a man persuaded of the truth and importance of the doctrines he enumerated. Mr. Falvey's allusions to the late protection meeting were most happy, and his facetious mode of exposing the cant and hypocrisy of the protectionists was acknowledged by the most unequivocal demonstration of delight. At the conclusion of his address Mr. Thos. Richardson rose for the purpose of moving the following resolution:—"That this meeting highly approves of the Anti Corn-Law League to increase the constituency of the county, and pledges itself to assist to the utmost in promoting that object." This was seconded by Mr. Joseph Bennett, and carried unanimously. Mr. Bontem then explained the plan which the League was pursuing in connection with the county registration, and in alluding to the charge made of faggot-vote making brought against the League by Lord Salisbury, he observed that on looking over the county register he found that the names of four sons of the late Earl of Verulam were on it, by virtue of a rent-charge granted to them out of a farm called "Bottom House." He explained that the League did not purchase property for the purpose of qualifying individuals. It merely endeavoured to bring the purchaser and seller together, and to induce all Free Traders to obtain the right of voting for the county. The population of the county was 157,000; there were 77,000 male inhabitants, and a constituency of only 5000! Mr. Bontem, also, mentioned that Mr. Halsey, the candidate for the vacant county seat, and a wholesale abuser of faggot-vote creators, was actually upon the register for a rent charge issuing out of the Gaddesden estate!! He also met the charge made by the Marquis of Salisbury, that the League made unfounded objections to county voters, and convinced the meeting that that body was infinitely more scrupulous than their immaculate opponents. Mr. Bontem concluded a brief but able address amidst loud cheers. Mr. Falvey then proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman, who briefly acknowledged the compliment; and after three cheers for Free Trade, the meeting quietly dispersed.

The address of Mr. Falvey has created a great sensation here; and as an evidence of the good resulting from the zealous advocacy of a good cause, we may mention that several of the electors who entered the room as decided enemies to the League and its doctrines, left it expressing their determination to become members of the local society.

THE COMMITTEE OF THE EAST SURREY FREE TRADE QUALIFICATION AND REGISTRATION SOCIETY, TO THE FREE TRADERS OF LONDON AND WESTMINSTER AND THE METROPOLITAN BOROUGHES.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,—We, Free Traders in East Surrey, want you to help us to drive monopoly out of our division of the county. You make no secret that you are going to return all Free Traders for your cities and boroughs, but that will be of little use if you allow the metropolitan counties to return monopolists. As the law stands you have as much right, and it is as much your duty, to qualify for counties as for boroughs; and, unless you do so, you might almost as well have done nothing. We, in East Surrey, are just in that position when individual aid is most valuable. Every additional vote is now of immense importance, for it stands a fair chance of being a casting vote. We are so nearly even with our opponents that, with an election on the present register, we should either just win or just lose; but as to the next register, the matter is in your hands. Look at the splendid example given to us by our friends in the north: Manchester and a few other towns have won South Lancashire; Leeds, Wakefield, and some neighbouring towns have put the West Riding of Yorkshire out of danger; and London and Westminster, with the metropolitan boroughs, have secured Middlesex. Is East Surrey, then, less fortunately situated? Cannot London and Westminster—cannot Marylebone, Finsbury, and the Tower Hamlets—cannot Southwark, Lambeth, and Greenwich—nay, cannot Middlesex, West Kent, and West Surrey, send as many Free Traders in East Surrey as they now send monopolists? If they will only send half as many, East Surrey will be as safe to win on the next register as Middlesex is on this.

But this must be done immediately—now. Every Free Trader who wishes to express an opinion at the next general election must have his 40s. freehold by the 30th of this month; the 31st will be too late. The whole cost of the best sort of qualification chest, because most secure and least troublesome, is 50s., including all expenses. This is the freehold ground rent, or rent charge. We don't (as the *Herald* says) we do, give people their qualifications; but we spare no expense of time or money in rendering every facility to those who wish to procure qualifications, and are ready to pay for them; and such persons can obtain full information on all points connected with the business by applying to Mr. Faulton, at the offices of the League, 67, Fleet Street; or to Mr. Russell, at the offices of this society, 82, High Street, Southwark. By order of the Business Committee,

ROBERT RUSSELL, Secretary.

AGRICULTURE.

FARMERS, LET THERE BE NO COMPROMISE.

It may suit the purpose of party politicians to promote some juggle which they term a compromise of the Corn Law question. Mortgaged landowners who fear to look at their real position may desire some compromise; and the owners of land who wish to retain a dependent tenantry may still seek to perpetuate the delusions of the Corn Laws under some new form of alleged compromise. But has the tenant farmer any community of interest with such men? Has he not rather been too long the victim of the uncertainty caused by their narrow and selfish legislation? Does he not above all things desire a speedy and final settlement of the question? Go wheresoever we may amongst farmers, we find this one sentiment prevalent. "Be it for good or ill, let us have the question settled," is the exclamation re-echoed at every market table in the kingdom. Now, there can be no other settlement of the question but a total repeal of all laws which restrict the free importation of grain. Compromise will be no settlement. The League will prevent that. The Leaguers have never deceived the farmers. They have told them from the first that if the Corn Laws did them all the service the monopolists pretended, yet those laws could not be retained because they were unjust, and injured the rest of the community. And the League did more: its speakers and writers invited the farmers' attention to the circumstances of their own business under a system of protection, and asked them whether farmers had not been injured rather than benefited by the Corn Laws? We have not flattered them, or pandered to their prejudices; we have not toasted them, as the "lion-hearted yeomanry," but, on the contrary, we have told them wholesome, though perhaps at times unwelcome truths. Let the tenant farmers contrast this with what they have heard from their protectionist landlords. Has not every effort and every promise, and every scheme of the monopolist landowners failed? And are the half frantic, half childish ravings, the threats and the promises, which now form the staple of monopolist speeches, more satisfactory to the tenant farmers than that which they have before heard from the same quarter? Now, we tell the farmers there can be, there shall be no settlement of the question but absolute, unconditional Free Trade.

In 1841, a majority of one hundred was elected to sit in the House of Commons, expressly to uphold the then Corn Law; and one of the very first acts of that majority was to modify the protective system, and remodel the Corn Laws. That was intended by Sir Robert Peel as a compromise. Did it settle the question? Not at all. From that moment the agitation of the League has been gathering strength; the facts have become more and more widely understood, until a public opinion has been created sufficiently powerful to overbear the power of the landed oligarchy, and to compel both the aristocratic parties of the State to give in their adhesion to Free Trade. Is this, then, the time when the question can be settled by compromise? Three years ago the League, representing the middle classes,—or rather, a section, though a large one, of the middle classes,—said, the compromise of 1842 shall be no settlement; and it was none. The League is now identified in principle with every statesman and every class of politicians who seek to influence the reason of the community. There is nothing opposed to us but the brute force of landlordism, and the passive resistance of a portion, and a daily diminishing portion, of the yeomanry of England.

We say now as we said in 1842, no compromise shall be a settlement. What chance is there of the League failing to upset any compromise which may be now attempted? For, let it be remembered, the League will be no party to any compromise. The monopolist majority in the Houses of Parliament may pass a statute intended as a compromise, but how long will it remain unaltered? Why, by the year 1847, at least one-third of the county seats in the House of Commons will be in the hands of the Free Traders. Let every farmer, then, who wants a settlement of the Corn Law question, oppose all compromise to the uttermost, for a compromise will be no settlement.

Of the few rational men who still linger in the protectionist ranks, there is not one who does not scout the idea of a compromise. Hear what Lord Worsley said in Lincolnshire on this subject:

"Something had been said about compromise. About a year ago he thought something like compromise might have been effected, but that day had gone by. There was at present only one ground for compromise, and that was a final settlement of the question, whereby agitation would be forever stopped. It was agitation on this subject that was doing all the injury, and the stopping of that was the only compromise that could be for a moment entertained. Some had supposed that it was the intention of Sir Robert Peel to propose a fixed duty with a descending scale, to go down gradually until it vanished altogether. That would not stop

agitation. It would go on as violently as ever until the last shilling of duty was removed. It was also said that Sir Robert Peel intended to pay out of the consolidated fund the highway, county, and other rates, thus placing the manufacturers and farmers on an equality, as the former would not be relieved from the payment. He had never advocated this on the ground of the peculiar burdens on land, because if relieved of those it would not at all affect the Corn Laws."

Now this is very different from the vague and nonsensical jargon farmers commonly hear from protectionist landowners. Lord Worsley tells them there can be no compromise, and he urges them to resist any alteration of the present Corn Laws. But what hope does he give them of the success of such resistance? The following account of the break up and reconstruction of Sir Robert Peel's ministry, given by Lord Worsley, a political opponent of the Minister, proves that the chance of successful resistance to any change in the Corn Law is small indeed:

"A rumour had prevailed that it was the intention of the Government to open the ports for six months; that intention, it appeared, had been abandoned. There was no doubt, he thought, that the subject that broke up the administration was the Corn Laws. The common rumour was, that some of the members of the Cabinet would not agree to their repeal; 24 hours, it was said, were given to the Premier to reconsider his determination, but he was inflexible. Then Lord John Russell came in, and from circumstances which had already been fully before the public, failed in forming a ministry. Sir Robert Peel carried his point; those who opposed him came round to his views, finding that he would never give up his opinions, having arrived at them after due deliberation. He believed that Sir Robert Peel seriously thought that the course he had adopted was for the benefit of the country. He had a majority of 90 in the House of Commons at his back, with the House of Lords at his call, and he would not, therefore, have broken up his Government on slight grounds, nor would he have again accepted the reins of power without being fully convinced that he would be enabled to carry his views into effect."

Mr. Christopher, Lord Worsley's colleague, was less explicit, and "could not imagine what could prompt a Government to come forward and propose either a modification or repeal of the laws relating to corn." Now, considering Mr. Christopher was Sir Robert Peel's pilot balloon on the occasion of his last "modification," this assertion implies a wilful blindness to all that has been passing around him.

The farmers, too, are speaking out on the subject of compromise in many places. Thus, at the meeting of the Wiltshire "Protection Society," held at Devizes last week, where the squires indulged in their now usual ambiguities, Mr. Ferris, a tenant farmer, said the "question was now one of protection or no protection;" deprecated the pretence of not prejudging the intention of the Prime Minister with respect to an alteration of the Corn Laws, and urged the meeting to support the present law. He then added:

"He was in the habit of riding a great deal about the country, and he found that the general feeling which prevailed was, that the farmers would rather have a Free Trade at once than that Sir Robert Peel should go on frittering away their protection till they had not a shilling left."

And Mr. Stratton, another farmer, spoke to the same effect, saying:

"I think that, although Sir Robert Peel has said nothing, he has done a great deal which is calculated to excite alarm for our interests, by resigning the Government without stating any cause; and I think I state the sentiments of the majority of the agriculturists when I say, we would rather be without a protection altogether than have a constant succession of 'let-downs,' which are ultimately to end in Free Trade. (Hear, hear.) If we are to have Free Trade, let us have it at once. At all events, let us know upon what we are to depend."

And these gentlemen are quite right, as farmers, in saying, "If we are to have a Free Trade in corn, let us have it at once,—let us know upon what we are to depend."

And that we shall have a Free Trade in corn, no man in his right senses can doubt. And the same sentiments are expressed wherever the real tenant farmers take part in the proceedings of Protection Societies. But in most of such meetings the only actors are landlords, and their agents and bailiffs, clergymen, and the hangers-on of the aristocracy, while the farmers present are passive and not unfrequently disgusted spectators.

A HARD BARGAIN.

We don't profess to be in the secrets of the cabinet, or of the Duke of Richmond; but judging of the present from the past, and putting "two and two together," we think that the late Chichester meeting proves that the Duke of Richmond is seeking to force his last remaining brother—the too notorious Lord William Lennox, he of the "worst verses over zeed"—into the service of the country; that Sir Robert Peel deems this a hard bargain, a very hard bargain; and that all the artificial steam, which is merely smoke, of 17, Bond Street, is got up to induce the Premier, for the sake of a quiet life, to submit to this extreme and humiliating acknowledgment of Richmond power. However, we are the more convinced that some great Lennox movement is contemplated from the following passage in a leading article of the *Morning Post*, wherein the threat, the awful threat,

to unmake the ministry, which the Duke of Richmond uttered just before he got the last place for a brother, is again shadowed forth editorially. These are the fearful words—the Richmond denunciation; hear it, Sir Robert, and tremble:

"It is really too bad—utterly scandalous and disgusting, in our opinion, that Sir Robert Peel, knowing the rumours which are afloat, and the opinions which are generally received, as to the projects which his Government has in view, should yet do nothing whatever towards the satisfaction of his Parliamentary supporters, but treat them as though they were a set of half-witted persons, or children, whose only concern with Government measures was to assent to them when proposed. *Our sense of the insolent contemptuousness of such a mode of Government is lost in our anxiety for the consequences to which such folly must lead.* For after all, Sir Robert Peel is the Government only because his supporters suffer the thing so to be. If he will offensively persevere in forcing upon general attention that he aspires to be the Government in right of his own superiority, and to make use of his supporters as an absolute sovereign does of his servants, of course the end must be a revolt. *He must be taught to know his true position, and to learn that, though he may have all Manchester with its high intellect and its polished manners to back him, he can do nothing in the political government of this country except by and with the consent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled.*"

Probably nobody knows better than Sir Robert Peel the price at which the consent of Lords and Commons—that is, the monopolist portion of the Lords and Commons—can be obtained. That he has found the Duke of Richmond's bargain one of the hardest and most unprofitable one he has had to make, will be readily believed.

THE CHICHESTER PROTECTION MEETING.

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

SIR,—Your report, which I read this morning, astonished me. It must have been furnished by one of the duke's agents. There were not at any time, during the two hours the meeting continued, so far as I could judge, more than 1,100 persons present, 800 of whom were farm labourers. Nor is it true that the platform was crowded by a host of influential gentlemen or yeomanry of the county, for, with the exception of Mr. Hasler and Mr. Prime, there was scarcely a man of mark among them. The rich farmers, men who could afford to have an opinion of their own, were not there.

Nor is it true the meeting had been announced only a few days before it was held. The note of preparation had been long and long. Handbills informed the public a fortnight ago that the meeting would be held in the Council House of the Corporation. Afterwards other bills were issued, changing the place of meeting to the Corn Exchange. It is not, therefore, a "great fact," but a great falsehood on the part of your correspondent to say the meeting had only been advertised from the preceding Saturday.

But, why, at the eleventh hour, was the place of meeting altered? More reasons than one might be assigned. But let one suffice,—to prevent opposition. The Corn Exchange is private property, and men can do as they like with their own. The platform was so constructed that it could be gained by a private entrance at the back, and in the space below there was neither stool nor chair, nor anything to be seen by which a person might elevate himself so as to be either seen or heard by the meeting. Most effectually did the duke and his tail protect themselves. They evidently understood the principle of protection.

Nor is it true that many of the inhabitants of the city were present. Mr. Freeland, the duke's legal adviser, with a few other gentlemen, and a number of clergymen, were on the platform; but at no one time did the meeting, I believe, contain 100 Chichester men. There was nothing to attract them in the character of the meeting; and the 800 farm-labourers in front of the platform prevented the citizens who were there from hearing, had they been disposed to listen to the trash of the landed orators—for such were the speakers with but one or two exceptions. They were not tenant farmers. Such was the noisy and confused state of the meeting, that though I was near the centre of the hall for a considerable time, listening to the chairman and other speakers, not one sentence reached my ear, and frequently not even the sound of their voice. Such dumb show I never before saw; and such a farce of a meeting was never before played within the city walls.

The 800 farm-labourers had presented a fine audience for an Anti-Corn-Law Leaguer to address, had it not been for the system adopted to prevent any one being heard but those of the duke's party. The labourers themselves would have been delighted with an address from a member of the League. When I found it impossible to hear anything from the platform, I amused myself by talking with the labourers; learning from their own lips that they would like to see the Corn Laws repealed, though they dare not say so to their employers; and that they were paid for being present at the meeting.

That you may have some notice of the packed character of this protection meeting, observe an incident or two which happened there. A poor fellow of the name of James Constant, employed to distribute bills in the meeting to the labourers, was kicked out of it by a constable of the name of Robert Pasco, whom the *Times* designates as "the man who does the Duke of Richmond's dirty work." Another individual, not able to suppress his indignant feelings, called aloud for Free Trade, was ordered to hold his tongue by the same Mr. Pasco, on pain of being turned out; and when the honest fellow was not to be intimidated, six or seven of the labourers were summoned to put him down by the united strength of their lungs. Then came the conflagration of the *Times*, which you have already noticed. Such was the wretched character of the meeting. At its close I was anxious to see how the duke would be received by the people outside. Not a hat was raised to him, nor a cheer given. He looked pale and bad. His carriage was at the gate, and he was quickly on his way to Goodwood. Thus ended the protection meeting, which was protected by a body of labourers eight hundred strong, under the command of Mr. Pasco.

Should you think the above worth publication it is at your service; and I am, sir, your constant reader,

WILLIAM MALDON.

East-street, Chichester, opposite the
Corn Exchange, Jan. 3, 1846.

THE REVENUE.

The usual quarterly statement of the Public Revenue has been looked for with more than usual anxiety, in consequence of the reports of improvement which had previously been set afloat. Inasmuch as there is a large surplus, the state of the public finances must be regarded as satisfactory; and it will enable the Prime Minister to meet Parliament with the blindest expression of complacency. As compared with the corresponding quarter or 1845, however, the only improvement is under Excise, Stamps, and Post-office,—an increase amounting altogether to about 350,000*l.* We are afraid that the apparent activity of business indicated by the latter two items must be ascribed chiefly to the reckless expenditure during the railway-shares mania. The decrease under Customs amounts to more than half a million, but is not greater than might reasonably have been calculated upon as the consequence of the remission of duties and the changes in the Tariff. The increase under Miscellaneous, of 360,281*l.*, is derived chiefly from (we believe) the last instalment of the Chinese ransom or indemnity. But for this windfall, instead of having a net increase upon the quarter of 95,105*l.* there would have been a considerable net decrease upon the quarter, and a still larger net decrease upon the year. The diminution under the head of Customs, on the year, amounts to nearly two millions and a quarter; to set against which, there is an increase under Stamps and Miscellaneous, amounting to rather more than a million. Under Excise, there is a very slight improvement,—only 17,000*l.* on the year.

(From the Liverpool Albion.)

We are happy to find that, at length, a day has been finally arranged for holding a meeting, in Liverpool, to give the merchants and traders of this great community an opportunity of uniting with the sister town of Manchester in a tangible expression of their opinions of the impolicy and iniquity of the corn and provision laws. It was at first intended that the meeting in aid of the great League Fund of a Quarter of a Million should be held on Wednesday next; but, as the numerous engagements of Messrs. Cobden, Bright, and Wilson prevented them from accepting the invitation sent to them to be present on that day, the meeting was deferred till Friday, that their presence might be secured. We do not apprehend that there exists any necessity now for an exposition of the principles of Free Trade, or the adduction of any arguments to prove the injurious tendency of commercial restrictions, and this is not the object which these great leaders of the cause now have in view in attending the "Quarter of a Million Fund" meetings in various parts of the kingdom. Free Trade has ceased, in nearly all the boroughs of the empire, to be a question for discussion. It is, rather, a great admitted principle to be wrought out. Men do not now require (commercial men, at least) to be convinced of its importance, but to be stimulated and excited to make a great effort for its immediate triumph. The danger of failure comes now from an opposite quarter to that in which it was once to be apprehended. Some years ago the difficulty was, to move the mercantile classes, who were convinced of the importance of a change in our commercial policy, to make any effort to bring it about because of the apparent hopelessness of the achievement; now the thing to be feared is a supineness which excuses itself by the plea that the work is done, that Sir Robert Peel is sure to propose and carry the repeal, and that further exertion is useless expenditure of time and money. This feeling, which we are afraid exists to a considerable extent, is the principal thing which the Free Trade party have now to fear. Men are so apt to form their views of the state of every question from the feeling which prevails upon it in their own locality, that they forget that they form, after all, but a section, and it may be, an insignificant section, of the whole community. The mercantile classes may be, and we believe are, all but unanimous on the subject of Free Trade; but among the agricultural and landed interest there is still a vast majority stupidly and blindly bent on the maintenance of the present restrictive system, apparently incapable, from habit and education, of comprehending the ruinous influence it has produced, and is still producing, on themselves as well as others. This party, though insignificant, nay, even contemptible, in point of talent, and which, according to the poetical and antiquated axiom, ought long ago to have been defunct, for as the dramatist says,

"Time was,

That when the brains were out the man would die"

is still so formidable in numbers, rank, and influence that, should a strong, decided, and resolute demonstration not be made by the people generally, and by the mercantile and monied classes in particular, they will be able to retard the settlement of the question, and so to modify the measure of the Minister as to make it fall very far short of what will alone satisfy the country, namely, the total and unconditional repeal.

It becomes, then, the duty of the merchants of Liverpool, whose weight with the legislature is second to that of no other commercial body, as a matter of policy and ultimate economy, to give to the present movement all the impetus which can be given by a subscription commensurate with the importance of the question, and such as will not disgrace them by contrast with that from any other part of the empire. While, however, we would urge the duty of liberality upon all whose means permit them to aid the movement, we would have them to remember that they are giving a double blow to monopoly by attending to the not less important duty of qualifying as county electors. They are thus providing beforehand for ultimate success, should Sir R. Peel now disappoint them; and if, before they have the opportunity of exercising the power thus obtained, the question should be settled, they will not have occasion to regret the possession of a voice in the county elections, since Free Trade is not the only good thing the people are in need of from the Government.

The funeral of the late Amos Swaisland, Esq., (well known for his Free Trade principles,) whose untimely death, which occurred on the 1st inst., spread a gloom over the inhabitants of Crayford and the surrounding villages, took place at Crayford, on Wednesday, the 7th instant, amid evidences of the sincerest grief of the whole population; many of the most respectable inhabitants of the place, the whole of the numerous operatives of all kinds, and many from the adjoining print-works, amounting to upwards of 300, habited in deep mourning, accompanying the mourners to the place of interment, to pay a tribute of their esteem for the many public and private virtues which adorned, in so eminent a degree, the short life of the lamented gentleman.

REGISTRATION APPEALS. COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

EASTERN DIVISION OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—BISHOP, Appellant, Cox, Respondent.—*Case*.—At a court held for the revision of the lists of voters for the above county, the appellant objected to the name of George Woolford being retained on the list of voters under the following circumstances:

The objector, who resided at Cheltenham, delivered a notice of objection in the proper form to the voter and overseer of the parish, which notice bore the Manchester post-mark of the 24th August, 1845. It was proved that in the ordinary course of post these notices could have been delivered at their destination some time on the following day. The notices were not delivered until the 27th August. It was objected, on the part of the voter, that the objector had not given "the notices" required by the statute 6 Vic. cap. 18, s. 7, in due time, either to the voter or to the overseers. The revising barrister retained the names upon the list, together with 19 others. The question for the opinion of the court was, whether, under the provisions of the 6 Vic., cap. 18, s. 7, the notices were given in due time? If they were of that opinion the names were to be expunged; otherwise, to be retained.

Judgment.—Dec. 23.—(CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL, now delivered the judgment of the court as follows:—In this case, which was an appeal from the decision of the revising barrister for the eastern division of the county of Gloucester, the question reserved by him for the opinion of the court was, whether the notices of objection to the party claiming the right to vote, and to the overseers, were sent in due time? The notices were properly addressed in point of form, and duly delivered to the postmaster in such time as by the ordinary course of the post they would have been delivered at the places to which they were respectively addressed some time in the day of the 25th of August; but in point of fact they were not delivered at such places until after that day, so that the question is limited to the sufficiency of the notices in point of time. Two questions are raised on the case before us, one with respect to the notice to the party objected to, and the other with respect to the notice to the overseers. We first consider the case of the notice to the party objected to. The Act 6 Vic. c. 18, by the 7th section requires the notices of objection to be delivered on or before the 25th of August; and in the 100th section it is enacted in the case of notice to the person objected to, that it shall be sufficient if the notice shall be sent by post, free of postage, directed to the person, to whom the same shall be sent at the place of abode described in the list of voters; and whenever any person shall be desirous of sending such notice of objection by the post, he shall deliver the same, duly directed, open, and in duplicate, to the postmaster of any post-office where money orders are received or paid, within such hours as shall have been previously given notice of under such regulations, with respect to the registration of such letters as shall be made by the postmaster-general. The Act then directs that the postmaster shall be paid a fee for registration, that he is to compare the notice and the duplicate, to forward the one, and to return the other to the party; and it provides that the production of the stamped duplicate by the party who posted such notice shall be evidence of the notice having been given to the person mentioned in the duplicate on the day on which the notice would by the ordinary course of post have been delivered at such place. It was argued on the part of the respondent, that the true construction of this section was that it should be sufficient if the notice was effectually sent, that it should be delivered; and there is no doubt this would be sufficient, if it meant at the same time what is necessary under this provision, which is a very special one, in order to make such a delivery sufficient, for there is no doubt that any sending and delivery by a servant or clerk in which the notice came to the voter would be sufficient by the 7th section. It is, therefore, evident the same proviso is not to be compared with section 100 as the mode of dealing with the notice, which is so carefully provided for. The notice must be posted, with a correct description, and sent within certain hours; the postage must be paid; it must be registered, and a fee for the registration paid; it must be delivered to the postmaster, open and in duplicate, compared and stamped, and the duplicate returned; and we think the meaning of the Act is this—when all these conditions are complied with, such a sending shall be a sufficient substitute for what the 7th section required to be done, that is, for giving the notice to the person objected to or leaving it at his place of abode. It was probably considered that the public convenience would be promoted by the present provision, that the advantage would greatly outweigh the inconvenience in some few cases which might arise from it. Indeed, in the case of leaving notices at places of abode, it may happen without any fault of the party objected to, that the notice may be lost or destroyed, or not delivered through the negligence of servants, and so never come to his knowledge. Yet, no doubt, this would have been a sufficient delivery; and perhaps a miscarriage under section 7 would be as probable an occurrence as the notice posted under the 100 section of the Act. If this is the true construction of that section, it follows that the objector has done all the Act requires him to do in order to enable him to call on the voter to prove his right whether the notice arrived or not, and whether it was prevented from arriving by the insufficient description of the place of abode, or by default of the post office; so that, supposing it was insisted with respect to the evidence of the stamped duplicate, that that was not conclusive, that was answered by proof to the contrary, as it was here. It makes no difference as to the right of the objector; and the fact, if disproved, is not material as to his right. The stamp on the duplicate was clear evidence of the posting on the 24th, and there was no contradiction as to the fact; so that whatever might be the consequence, if it had been shown in evidence that the notice was not properly posted on the 24th, and proved, still all the facts constituting a sufficient sending are proved without contradiction. It was objected, secondly, with respect to the notice to the overseers, that it did not come within section 100, that officers only serve the notices to persons objected to; and that section 101 did not help it, as that section says nothing of the duplicate being evidence; so that as there was no proof of notice to the overseers except the stamped duplicate, no notice was in effect proved. But it appears to us the clause in section 101, which provides that whenever by this Act notice is required to be given or sent to any person or persons whatsoever, or public officer, it shall be sufficient if such notice shall be sent by post in the manner and subject to the regulations hereinbefore provided with respect to sending notices by post, with a sufficient direction addressed to the person to whom the same ought to be sent, at his usual place of abode—affords us a sufficient answer to the objection. For it seems that the clause applies to most of the

provisions in clause 100, as to notices to persons objected to, and includes the provision that requires the notice to be delivered open and in duplicate to the postmaster, and the postmaster to return the same, and the necessary consequence arises that the stamped duplicate shall be evidence of the time of the delivery; and as nothing appears, and no question is made respecting the address of the notice to the overseers, we think the notice to them falls within the same rule as the notice given to the party objected to. It appears therefore to us that each of the notices of objection were sent in due time, and consequently the decision of the revising barrister must be reversed.

BISHOP v. PHELPS.—Tindal, C.J.—This case turned upon precisely the same point, and consequently we give the same judgment.

FREE TRADE AND THE PUBLIC PRESS.

(From the Morning Advertiser.)

Mr. Cobden, and the chief speakers at the great Manchester meeting, have been summing up the vast machinery and increased power they possess, by their princely subscriptions, towards effecting the repeal of the Corn Laws. Let us see if there be not another power, perhaps equally great, moving to the same end, but not by the same machinery. The newspaper press of the kingdom is the public organ as well as the public instructor. The masses support those journals generally that mirror their own minds, hence the press may be said to reflect rather than create public opinion. Such being the case, it is an important, as well as a curious, inquiry, how far the press indicates public opinion upon the tremendous question to be brought before Parliament; or, in other words, what are the relative numbers of newspaper readers for or against the repeal of the Corn Laws, as proved by the last return to the House of Commons of the stamps issued to each. We may premise that, in adopting this "last return," which extended to the 31st of December, 1848, we are adopting a test of public opinion very far below that which a return made at this moment would furnish, if, as we consider, very likely, other Liberal journals have increased in circulation in a similar proportion to the *Morning Advertiser*. Taking the circulation, therefore, as it was just two years ago, we find the following results:—In the metropolis there are five morning papers, classed in the Parliamentary return as follows,—*Advertiser*, *Chronicle*, *Herald*, *Post*, *Times*. Now, three of those journals, viz., the *Advertiser*, *Chronicle*, and *Times*, are for repeal, and two of them, the *Herald* and *Post*, against it. The circulation was as follows:—

The three Free Trade morning journals per day	30,561
The two monopolist morning journals per day	8,327

Exhibiting a majority of nearly four to one of the readers of the Free Trade morning journals above the readers of the monopolist morning journals.

There are four evening journals, classed as follows:—*Globe*, *Shipping Gazette*, *Standard*, *Sun*. Three of these, the *Globe*, *Sun*, and *Shipping Gazette*, are for Free Trade; the *Standard* for monopoly. The following are the comparative numbers:—

The three Free Trade evening journals per day	7,416
The one monopolist evening journal	2,940

Exhibiting a majority of Free Trade readers of considerably more than two to one.

Of the weekly metropolitan papers, chiefly published on Saturday and Sunday, we find the following results:

Fifteen Free Trade weekly journals, per week (casting aside the units)	214,000
Five monopolist journals (casting aside the units) per week	20,000

Exhibiting a majority of Free Trade readers of more than seven to one!

This last list does not include *Punch*, which, notwithstanding its drollery, has rendered great and good service to the cause of the people, or *THE LEAGUE* and *Economist*,* which being the organs of *THE LEAGUE* itself, may be said to come within its machinery, rather than that of the separate and independent body of the metropolitan press, sustained by the public voice.

We find now this grand result:

The morning journals, circulated chiefly in London, though largely in the country, more than three to one in favour of Free Trade.

The evening papers, circulated chiefly in the country, though largely in town, more than two to one in favour of Free Trade.

The weekly journals, circulated about equally in town and country, more than seven to one in favour of Free Trade.

Of the provincial papers there appears to be nearly a similar result.

We have taken all which are at, or above, the circulation of the lowest London morning paper, viz., the *Post*.

There are eleven provincial papers, the circulation of which equalled, or exceeded that of the *Morning Post*, daily, viz.:—the *Bristol Mercury*, the *Hampshire Telegraph*, the *Leeds Mercury*, the *Leeds Intelligencer*, the *Leeds Times*, the *Leeds and Stamford Mercury*, the *Liverpool Mercury*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Manchester Courier*, the *Manchester Times*, the *Newcastle Courant*, and the *Staffordshire Advertiser*. The whole of these journals, save the *Leeds Intelligencer* and the *Manchester Courier* are for Free Trade. The result stands thus:

The nine provincial journals above the circulation of the <i>Morning Post</i> , for Free Trade, circulated weekly	49,749
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The only two provincial journals above the circulation of the <i>Morning Post</i> , that are AGAINST Free Trade, circulated weekly	11,347
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Exhibiting more than four to one of newspaper readers in the provinces, in favour of Free Trade.

We trust that these newspaper statistics will prove that the mind of the nation is working to the same result as the money and machinery of the League, and is, thank God, fully as encouraging.

* The *Advertiser* is here in error. The *Economist*, though a powerful exponent of Free Trade principles, is not connected with the League body.—ED. LEAGUE.

A meeting of the Free Trade Association was held at the Public Office on Tuesday last, when resolutions were adopted expressive of the necessity to attend to the registrations, approving of the effort of the League to raise the 250,000l. fund, and recommending that measures should be speedily adopted to procure subscriptions in this town and neighbourhood in aid of the fund.—*Birmingham Gazette*.

REVIEW.

Courrier de Marseilles, 17th Dec.—19th Dec. Marseilles: St. Ferreal. London: Parratt and Quin.

We have recently had occasion to notice the great progress which Free Trade opinions have made in France; and to praise the ability with which sound doctrines on commercial subjects have been advocated by some of the leading journals of Paris. We have now to direct attention to similar proofs of progress in the provincial press; and to call the attention of our readers to the exposure of the injurious effects of Corn Laws on the commerce and industry of France which has just appeared in that very able and influential paper, the *Courrier de Marseilles*. France has both a distinctive scale and a sliding scale; the frontiers of France are divided into four classes, and the duties on the importation of food vary according to the frontier at which it is received, and also according to the averages of certain selected markets. The highest rate of duties is levied on the coasts of the Mediterranean, and the lowest on the Belgian frontier; and the regulating markets are specially assigned to the several frontiers; those, for instance, that regulate the Mediterranean import are the markets of Toulouse, Marseilles, Lyons, and Gray. We shall not enter into any examination of the objections to the details of these restrictive laws; but shall rather extract some account of the evils which have resulted from the adoption of the pernicious protective principle.

The mean price which it was the object of the French Corn Laws to secure to the agriculturists (their "promised 56s. per quarter") is 21f. 6c. per hectolitre; but the mean price since 1830 has been 17f. 80c., and this has been found fully remunerative. Improvements in the means of communication and transport have so lowered the cost of production as to make the lesser modern price more remunerative than the higher rate of former time; and the consumers, at whose cost such improvements have been mainly effected, justly complain that the producers of corn have arrogated to themselves all the profits.

"But this high average for the pivot point (says the Editor of the *Courrier*) is injurious to the farmers themselves; the high price of corn drives French agriculture to look exclusively to the production of grain, and to neglect more natural and suitable cultivation. This exclusive pre-occupation in tillage compels France to expend sixty millions in the import of cattle, and thirty millions in the import of silk. If corn was allowed to fall to its natural price, the French cultivator would be obliged to pay more attention to his flocks and herds, or to the cultivation of silk, which would be a great advantage to the country."

"Commerce would derive great advantages from such a change. So soon as the import of provisions for home consumption would be permitted, Marseilles would become a vast granary, always abundantly stored. Thither would come all nations who had need of corn. Now there is no trade more lucrative, more productive, or more advantageous to a nation than the corn trade. In the first place, it rests on an immense basis; and besides, grain being a cumbersome article, it would give vast employment to a mercantile marine. Moreover, the manipulations it requires would greatly increase the amount of wages, and finally free import here would open large commercial marts for our manufactures in the corn-growing countries. Those from whom France purchased corn would take from France her wines, her cloths, her silks, and her soaps. No branch of commerce ever walked alone; it necessarily and inevitably terminates in reciprocity."

The intelligent writer from whom we have made this extract, has added many other arguments, which, however cogent, are too specially directed to the circumstances of France, to have any interest for English readers. There is one fact which he has omitted, but it is of some importance: French agriculture is at its lowest ebb in the provinces where protection is greatest, that is, on the shores of the Mediterranean; and has reached its highest perfection where protection is weakest, viz. on the Belgian frontier. We are glad that the Free Traders on the other side of the Channel are bestirring themselves; they have our best wishes for their success, and our best thanks for the aid they afford in the struggle against monopoly.

The Oxford and Cambridge Review. No. VII. London. Pickering.

This journal, the recognised organ of the Young England party, has put forth an able article temperately advocating the repeal of the Corn Laws, which report attributes to the pen of Lord John Manners. It is not customary to offer much criticism on what professes to be itself criticism; and we shall therefore only extract a few passages, which are indeed so forcibly expressed as to need no comment. The present condition of the protection question is thus stated:

"Is there, among the protection party generally, any desire to carry out their grand principle, or does the cry of 'protection to English industry' mean, in nine cases out of ten, anything more than a retention of the present sliding scale? And is not, therefore, the enterprise to maintain the Corn Laws an attempt to keep one portion, great and important no doubt, but still one portion, of an otherwise abandoned system, and that portion the one which, from the necessity of the case, is most exposed to the exciting abuse of demagogues, and the unreasoning enmity of mobs? No one could, or did complain, of the protection afforded to the cork-

cutters of London, or the straw-plait makers of Hertford; a cry of 'cheap corks from Spain,' or 'cheap bonnets from Tuscany,' would never have aroused the passions or excited the hopes of any class of Englishmen—and yet, hardly with a struggle, their protection was destroyed; so likewise it fared with nearly all the other products of English industry, until the industry of agriculture remains well nigh the only one of English industries that is adequately protected against foreign competition. We do not say that this is wrong, or even practically unjust; but we assert that the fact being so, places the Corn Laws on an eminence, as it were, by themselves, exposed to the darts of an infuriated enemy, and unguarded and undefended by the other numerous smaller protective duties that heretofore were auxiliary to them. This, we think, is a very important consideration, and one that should not be lost sight of by the leaders of the aristocracy at this crisis."

The state of parties on the question and the chances of success are thus contrasted:

"We see the ranks of the opponents of the Corn Law increasing every day in number and influence; prime ministers, past, present, and to come, either openly joining that array, or desisting from opposing it; we hear of many converts to, of none, as we said before, from its ranks; and we behold an organised agitation at work throughout the length and breadth of the land to carry out its object, fraught with the gravest moral evils to the peace and stability of the empire. That is the picture on one side of the shield. Reverse it; what do we behold? Confidence? Unity of thought and action? A well-founded hope of an ultimate and lasting triumph to be followed by internal repose and harmony restored? Alas! none of these; but angry recriminations, just suspicions, the led mistrusting their leaders, the leaders deserting their followers, while no one ventures to say what no one is foolish enough to think—that permanent victory and tranquillity can result from a further protraction of the contest."

The abandonment of the Corn Laws is thus canvassed:

"This course, we believe, has found recommenders at protection head-quarters, and has the merit of settling the question for ever. It is either a bold and wise resolve, or a cowardly and stupid concession. Believing, as we do with the late Lord Spencer, with Lord Lyttelton, with Judge Coleridge, and Dr. Chalmers, that the land of England would not cease to be profitably cultivated, although individual cases of distress and hardship might occur, were the Corn Laws to be repealed—we shall not upbraid the leaders of the country party with treason or cowardice, if they adopt this course. Great dangers require great ventures, and the moral effect of the gentlemen of England coming forward, and doing of themselves what neither Russell, nor Peel, nor Cobden, could do without them, could not fail to be immense and salutary. But this step, if taken, must be taken with unblanched cheek and gallant bearing. It is the brave venture of men who, uncompelled, for their country's sake, leap, Curtius-like, into the gulf: there must be no murmuring, no complaining, no voting against the first reading of a bill, staying away on the second, and voting for the third: no unnecessary abuse of others, no petulant attempts to render the sacrifice, if it be one, as little gracious as may be."

Having shown that the compromise of a fixed duty is now unattainable, the writer proceeds to examine the efficacy of protectionist opposition:

"Should the aristocracy call upon the yeomanry and the rural population at large to maintain at all risks, and through all possible convulsions, the present Corn Laws, and govern the country on that basis? For this we apprehend to be the true statement of this alternative. A simply obstructive maintenance of the Corn Laws is no longer possible; it must be active, administrative. To turn one administration out after another, and not to find an efficient substitute for it, is not patriotism, but faction; inviting the attacks of foreign foes, and fostering the machinations of insincere allies. If Sir Robert Peel's Government proposes such an alteration in the Corn Laws as necessitates, according to the convictions of the country party, the overthrow by them of that administration, they must be prepared to step into the vacant seat of the stricken Peleton, and conduct the car of government through all the dangers and obstacles of the way. An obstructive policy, we beg Lord Stanley's pardon for reminding him of it, seldom benefits the country, nor redounds to the credit of those who pursue it, under any the most favourable circumstances. But applied to such a question as the Corn Laws, it is little short of insanity; and whatever truth there might be in the Duke of Richmond's famous boast, 'As we have made this government, so can we unmake it,' we are too secure of that nobleman's patriotism to fear he would act upon it, except under the above condition."

We earnestly recommend attention to this article. Though we dissent from some of the author's principles, and doubt the validity of several of his conclusions, he writes in too fair and noble a spirit to allow of our engaging in controversy on minor points of difference, when we are agreed on the practical result.

CORKE'S PATENT FIRING.—This admirable invention is an immense improvement on what may well be termed one of our greatest comforts of domestic happiness—a blazing fire. It is made up in squares of various sizes, perfectly clean to the touch, susceptible of being stowed away with impunity, and perfectly free from spontaneous combustion. It ignites immediately on being touched with a lighted match or piece of paper, thus superseding entirely the use of wood. It burns with a brilliant steady flame, and reminds us more of a flame given off from a log of pine, but is considerably more lasting. One block is sufficient to boil a kettle containing four quarts of water, or perform any office of cookery for which a bright blaze is required. An excellent fire, at a small cost, may at all times be kept up by adding a block or two of Corke's patent fuel to either cinders, small coal, or coke, which for heat and brilliancy cannot be surpassed. For the sick chamber, a desideratum important and essential will, for the purpose of kindling a fire, become the real servant's friend.

A requisition to John Wilson, Esq., of Dundee, is at present in course of receiving signatures, requesting him to stand at the next election, as representative of the Falkirk district of burghs, on Free Trade principles.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 121.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 1846.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

THE COUNTIES! MIND HERTFORDSHIRE!

The Hertfordshire election of last week is a most seasonable refresher—not that we are aware of anything of the kind being especially needed—for the zeal and activity of Free Traders, in rescuing the counties in general, and this of Herts in particular, from landlord domination. The thing could not have been better timed, or better in any respect, if the League itself had had the arranging of it. Had the Herts constituency, painfully conscious of its degenerate and humiliating condition, actually solicited us for an infusion of new blood, the request could scarcely have been preferred in more intelligible and moving language. The exposure which Hertfordshire has made of itself is a powerful, though silent, supplication to all true Leaguers and true men, to come and help it to independence and self-respect.

The utter prostration of everything like public spirit, evinced in the quiet and unopposed return—by the electors of a county containing a population of 157,000 Englishmen—of a young gentleman, of whom nobody knows anything except that he is the protégé of a little knot of squires, is perhaps the least striking part of the affair. It is not the nominee, so much as the nominor, that interests the public attention and excites the public wonder. The worst part of the humiliation which landlordism has inflicted on Hertfordshire, is the being compelled to accept a representative for itself, and to give a legislator to the empire, on the recommendation of a person of Mr. Delme Radcliffe's order of mind. We will not do Mr. Halsey the injustice of concluding, in the absence of evidence, that this individual's mode of introducing him to the electors was agreeable to his feeling; nor will we assume that it was any gratification to him to learn that he came up to Mr. Delme Radcliffe's standard of "a fit and proper person." But there can be no difficulty in knowing what to think of the intellect, the good taste, and the sense of propriety of those who judged Mr. Delme Radcliffe a fit and proper person to be their spokesman and representative on a grave and important public occasion. And we are equally well able to pronounce on the serf-like debasement of a constituency which could tamely tolerate such scandalous violations of common sense and decorum, as those committed by the delegate of Hertfordshire landlordism. That a man who cannot utter two consecutive sentences without a blunder, and whose notions of public decency permit him to compare Lord J. Russell to "Lucifer," and to call his political opponents "infernal," "unprincipled band of conspira-

tors," men "devoted to the arch-enemy of mankind," and the like; that the author of that mad jumble of "monsters," "hideous heads," "giant strides," "hearths and homes," "railway trains," "dew-drops," "scum," "British lion," and "Jim Crow," should have been the person selected by the landlords of Hertfordshire to introduce their candidate to the constituency, is as audacious an insult to the people of Herts, and to the public of the United Kingdom, as could well be imagined. A county "election," may be a farce, in the judgment of the Herts squires; but it is neither decorous nor wise to make the buffoonery so very prominent.

It is now for the Free Traders of Hertfordshire, and of the metropolis—to which, by commercial dependence and local proximity, Hertfordshire naturally belongs—to determine that so degrading a spectacle shall never be exhibited in their county again; that there shall be an end of scandals so disgraceful to the people and their institutions; that the next time this important metropolitan county chooses a representative, the business shall be conducted with some attention to the rules of propriety and decency; and that the power of nominating lawgivers shall be wrested for ever from those who can put forward a person of Mr. Delme Radcliffe's style of mind and manners to represent them on a public occasion of weight and moment. We are glad to say, the work is already far advanced, and still goes bravely on—as may, indeed, be sufficiently inferred from the scurrilities of the Radcliffe eloquence. At this moment, by Free Trade qualifications purchased within the past few weeks, Herts is almost, if not altogether, our own. ONE EFFORT MORE—prompt, energetic, and united—during the few days yet left us, before the 30th of January shall close the year's campaign,—and the lords and gentlemen, who carry constituencies in the pockets, turn English counties into Gattons, choose our representatives for us over their wine and walnuts, and think a crazy mountebank a fit and proper person to nominate a lawgiver, may consider themselves relieved from all further concern with the election of members of Parliament for the county of Herts.

"FIGHTING THE LEAGUE WITH ITS OWN WEAPONS."

That portion of the public which interests itself in the affairs of the Central Society for the Protection of Agriculture, is probably aware, that the nobility and gentry of No. 17, Old Bond-street have just been rescinding that rule of their association which prohibited *interfering in elections*; and they have instructed their committee to appoint a sub-committee, for the purpose of devising the ways and means of interfering in elections with effect. Whether *peers of the realm* will be allowed to sit on the said sub-committee of interference, or to co-operate in the general object, we are not positively informed; but we should conclude, from the way in which the Duke of Richmond speaks of his snug little Old Sarum of West Sussex, that his Grace will insist on helping to look after his own property. No particular plan of interference has yet been advertised; but, judging of the intent of the new regulation from the language of protectionist orators, it seems quite fixed that landlordism is going to imitate the League, and get up a Qualification and Registration movement, the very *fac simile* of our own.

Now, is not this rich? Could the force of absurdity and self-contradiction further go? So then, after all they have been saying and shouting, day by day, for this many a long week, about the League's "unconstitutional machinations"—the League's "fictitious," "fraudulent," "fabricated,"

"false," and "faggot" votes—the League's "tampering with the elective franchise," "interfering with the independencies of Parliament," "invading the hearths and homes" of constituencies, and setting the "British Lion" quite beside himself with rage—these men are actually going to do the identical thing themselves, which, when done by the League, so outrages every constitutional and moral sensibility of Britons. It is some comfort, at any rate, to think the world has heard the last of all this trashy abuse of the League and its "machinations." The thing was getting stale.

Well then, gentlemen—if you will have it so, you shall have it so. No objection. Raise your Four Million Fund, promised by that funny person, Mr. Delme Radcliffe—who will start the thing for you with a donation of 1000*l.* (or of "half his fortune," if you prefer it)—and go to work. Qualify, qualify, qualify—register, register, register. Quite fair. The same law, the same constitution—the same registration courts, the same revising barriers, for both of us. You put the question in a very proper shape:—which of us two has the most men, the most zeal, the most money, and the most brains at command? Whether can you, or we, find the greatest number of unregistered Englishmen able and willing to invest 30*l.*, 40*l.*, or 50*l.* in land—and likely to keep in the same mind about protection, from now till the next general election? Which ever of us two can do this, wins the day. We are quite in love with the simplicity and equitableness of the test. Really, we never gave you credit before for being friends of universal suffrage. Nor had we the least idea, that when you talked of an "allotment system" for the poor, you meant fee-simple allotments and the franchise. We are delighted with the arrangement. It must be all *legal*, you understand. You will be strict with us—we will be strict with you. You will have your lawyers—we will have ours. You will keep off our fictitious and faggot votes—we will keep off yours. Thank you, gentlemen. Much obliged. We were doing well before; but this little stimulus will be a wonderful help. You know we always say, "Competition is the life of industry."

THE HONOURABLE W. F. COWPER'S "ON CONNECTION WITH THE LEAGUE."

At the recent Herts election, the above-named honourable gentleman, in the course of a speech intended as a "defence" of the League against the onslaught of Mr. Delme Radcliffe,

"Wished it to be understood that he had no connection with the League; and he candidly admitted that he disapproved of many of the acts of that body. He disapproved of their levying money for the avowed purpose of influencing elections, and he likewise disapproved of the presumptuous and foolish manner in which Mr. Cobden, and some other members of the League, spoke of the landed aristocracy of the country. While he entered his protest against these proceedings on the part of the League, he did not think they deserved what was said of them by Mr. Radcliffe. It was said that the League had an intention of attacking the church and throne; but he must say that he had never heard anything fall from any member of it showing that tendency, and he merely considered them as a club formed for a particular class."

So handsome and generous a defence seems to call for some return; and we feel that we cannot do less than gratify the honourable member's wishes, by giving to the important fact which he is so solicitous to have "understood," all the publicity within the power of our columns to command. We advertise the thing for him free of charge. Be it understood, then, by all Hertfordshire and all England, that the Honourable W. F. Cowper has "no connection with the League," and "candidly admits" that many of the League's sayings and doings are presumptuous and foolish, and such as he cannot but disapprove. At the same time, he thinks it only fair to add, that he has no

idea that the League means mischief either to the Church or the Throne, or deserves the epithet of 'infernal.'

The notion of this Whig, or Whigling M. P., taking the pains to disclaim all connection with the League, by way of putting or keeping himself right with the public, reminds one of a pleasant little anecdote which we have seen somewhere. A young dandy of an ensign one day lounged into the shop of Hoby, the famous bootmaker; and after intimating his decided disapproval of the last pair of dress boots with which that accomplished artist had supplied him, called for his bill, and declared that all connection between him and Hoby was thenceforth at an end. Hoby of course had nothing left for it but to shut up shop, and immediately gave instructions to his foreman to that effect—"for Ensign So-and-so has withdrawn his patronage." We protest we feel this cut very much in the same way as the prince of bootmakers felt the loss of his patron. Our forlorn and repudiated selves are as nearly as possible in the case of the great but unappreciated Hoby. What will the League do without its Cowper? The League owes so much to the Honourable W. F. Cowper! The League expected so much from the Honourable W. F. Cowper! The League had been so accustomed to identify the Honourable W. F. Cowper's name with all its recollections of the past, and all its anticipations of futurity! The League has known the Honourable W. F. Cowper so long! This ensign (unattached) in the Whig camp has fought and won so many battles for the League! It is hard. At such a pinch, too—when the League positively does not know where to look for a friend!

In thus advertising our own humiliation, our sole comfort is that things do sometimes take strange turns in this world of mutation. And, as the young ensign (according to the most authentic edition of the story) eventually came back, under the compulsion of corns, to the disavowed and repudiated Hoby, and begged the man of boots to patronise him, we cannot finally despair of our Honourable W. F. Cowper. Possibly a time may come when the gentleman's "wish to have it understood that he has no connection with the League" may lose somewhat of its present importunateness. "Connection with the League" has been found, or fancied, of late, rather an advantage than otherwise to statesmen whose political standing is scarcely inferior to that of the gentleman who represents, under favour of a couple of peers, the populous and influential borough of Hertford. The League cannot certainly hold out any offers of direct service to tempt back, into a connection from which his refined taste shrinks, a statesman so completely independent of all popular support;—but we can at least undertake—if that will be any satisfaction to him—that the honourable gentleman shall not, at the next Herts election, undergo the mortification of having to "explain" why the popular party deem a contest inadvisable. Perhaps it may then be agreeable, as a matter of feeling, to the honourable W. F. Cowper, to find himself standing in the relation of patron to a party commanding the representation of his county. He well knows how to make the patron's office a sinecure.

THE PANIC AMONG THE PROTECTIONISTS.

This is genuine, at any rate. If the potato and famine panic must be confessed to have been a thing altogether "got up" by Sir Robert Peel, and the League, and the Whigs, and the newspapers, for "selfish and party purposes," there can, at all events, be no mistaking the entire sincerity and reality of the panic, that now agitates and bewilders the agricultural mind. Never was there such a constellation of horrors as that which now looms above the horizon of the "interest." Neither history nor fiction can match that depth, intensity, and complication of woes which, to the mazed and afflicted agricultural imagination, the treason of Peel and the machinations of the League are at

present preparing for the wretched sons of the soil. No wonder that they kick. Even the gentle dullness of a Cleveland is all of a "quake and tremble." Although the Cleveland eyes are "dimmed with a veil," and are, we should apprehend, none of the clearest at the best of times, yet they can discern, in the present awful juncture of affairs, the elements of an unparalleled and well-nigh desperate peril, in which there is "*much to fear, and little to hope.*" Better eyes, of course, see more; and the vivid fancies of some of our keener agricultural friends supply us with pictures of the calamities inevitably consequent on everybody getting a little more to eat, which cannot be surpassed for boldness of design, liveliness, and breadth of colouring. A loss is about to be inflicted on the "landed interest," which, according to the best calculations that Mr. Christopher is able to make, even the amazing and perfectly unheard-of sum of "TWO OR THREE HUNDRED MILLIONS OF MONEY" would inadequately compensate; and, as the gentleman plaintively inquires, "*What Government could give the landed interest such a sum?*" "Tens of thousands of farmers and landed proprietors, and millions of agricultural labourers are," as an Exeter orator observes, "ENTIRELY DEPENDENT ON THE PRESENT CORN LAW for that maintenance which they now derive from the soil"—the soil of England being, as is well known, absolutely worthless, in itself considered; and consequently, when the present Corn Law goes, they, the tens of thousands and the millions, will all go too, down into a fathomless ruin and an infinite despair.

It is needless talking of the fate of the institutions of the country, when, in fact, there will really, as one may say, be no country left. Yet the quick and fertile agricultural imagination cannot rest without going into all particulars. If no Corn Law, then no county-rate, no poor-rates, no fundholders, no taxes, no church, no aristocracy, no monopoly, no trial by jury even—it being a well-ascertained fact, that King Alfred was a staunch protectionist, and that trial by jury and the sliding scale are institutions of coeval date. As for the agitation against the Corn Law, it is a mere pretext for getting at the crown and constitution. The fact is, as was ably shown by a Mr. Haynes, at Dorchester, it is a REPUBLIC the League want, with "MR. COBDEN AS LORD HIGH PROTECTOR"—"*they must make up their mind to that.*" Mr. Allix takes entirely the same view. "*The question is not,*" says the honourable member for Cambridgeshire, "*whether Sir Robert or Lord John shall rule the destinies of this mighty empire, but whether we shall have PROTECTION OR DESTRUCTION, A MONARCHY OR A REPUBLIC—for that is what it is come to now.*" There must be no mincing the matter. That's what it is, gentlemen, and so take your choice.

Of course, one cannot expect much in the way either of sense or manners from the victims of so passionate and uncontrollable a terror; We must make allowances. A panic like this cannot stand on ceremony. It struck us as rather hard of the chairman at Cambridge to be so strict about the behaviour of the poor creatures. What right had he to have "*hoped that decent conduct would be preserved,*" and be "*sorry to find himself mistaken?*" This was being much too particular. How can men be expected to mind the proprieties in the presence of a representative, who as good as tells them to their faces that he means to give his vote for Peel and a republic? A reverend gentleman at Lichfield is more liberal, and postpones even the "moral virtues" to the exigencies of the monarchy and the constitution. The moral virtues are all very well in their time and place; but, says the Rev. C. Lander, "*their moral virtues would be no good at all to them upon political occasions.*"

That all perceptions of the logical congruities should vanish in the presence of so astounding and paralysing a terror, is quite in the natural course of things. All colours agree in the dark; and the panic-struck and exasperated agricultural mind cannot, just now, discriminate the broadest and grossest of contradictions. It

really would seem that, at these protectionist meetings, it does not signify what a man says on the economies of protection; one doctrine is as good as another; every speaker may flatly contradict, and be flatly contradicted by every other speaker, on the most vital and fundamental points of the protectionist theory—but it all goes down—the tolerant and oblivious auditors have their "cheers" ready for all and for all alike. At the special general meeting of the Old Bond Street people, on Monday last, this utter abeyance of the intellectual faculty produced some rather odd results. The Duke of Richmond was cheered for denying that the landlords "*ever asked for protection to themselves from any selfish motives;*"—and Mr. Christopher was cheered for the suggestion that protection is worth, to the "landed interest," at least "*two or three hundred millions of money*"—with a distant hint, that possibly the landed interest might not have objected to sell their protection at some such figure, only that they don't see who is to pay the money. Lord Beaumont was cheered for averring that the intent of the Corn Law is not "*to enhance the price of corn and to diminish the supply of food,*" but rather to furnish the farmer with an inducement to "*HELP THE PRICES DOWN as much as possible;*"—and every speaker was likewise cheered, who said, or suggested, that low prices mean low wages, and are the poor man's greatest curse. The same noble lord was cheered when he derisively asked, "*Where is the corn to come from?*" in the event of the monopoly restrictions being abolished: and Messrs. Miles and Baker were cheered, too, when they answered, Why, from America, to be sure, where supplies are "*prodigious,*" and "*really without limit,*" and are actually at this moment shipped, "*ready to sail for England.*" The company cheered his lordship again, when he said, that "*so far as it was possible to COUNTERACT NATURAL CAUSES, it was done by the operations of the sliding scale,*" which was especially intended to prevent, or moderate "*variations of price;*"—and positively they cheered again, when a Mr. Ball expressed his sense of the impiety of such attempts at counter-acting nature, by declaring that "*it was impossible, UNLESS THE CREATURE COULD BECOME THE CREATOR, to make any law that could prevent fluctuations in the price of corn.*" The agricultural wits are clearly in a conglomeration just now.

They will come right, however, after a while. We do not by any means give up the case of the agricultural mind for lost. There is still a glimmering of light athwart all this intellectual darkness. Even at the very height of their panic paroxysm, our landlords exhibit a few lingering, or incipient, indications of the good sense which their fever-fit has put in temporary abeyance. They keep clear of the public. They abstain from taking the sense of a public meeting on their nonsense. They know how they stand for intellect in the greatest of public meetings—they sorrowfully confess how "*very little debating power*" they have "*to back their cause in the House of Commons.*" Better still; they scout trimmers, and half-way men and measures, and will hear nothing of "compromise" or "compensation;"—for, as Mr. Bankes well puts it, "*Who will secure us of the permanency of that compensation or that compromise, when the security which was formerly given to us, as we thought, is about to be destroyed in little more than three years?*" And, best of all, they are for FREE TRADE IN ALL THINGS, IF IN FOOD. They expressly vote, at their central meeting, that the "*removal or diminution of the protection now afforded to the agricultural classes will be followed by the removal or diminution of every protective duty imposed for the benefit of the home or colonial producers.*"

This is hopeful. Mr. Cobden was right. Take away the key stone, and down comes the arch. By and by, they will be Free Traders all. What short work they will make with the sugar, and the coffee, and the silk, and all the other "interests," great and small! We confess we are impatient. We long for the consummation of the alliance thus prospectively and hypothetically tendered. With the Mileses and Tyrrells fighting in our ranks, and

the great Richmond himself at our head, we shall make a clean sweep of the enemy in no time. We promise that nothing shall be wanting on our part to realise that preliminary condition, on which the Richmond overture of a Free Trade alliance is based.

NEW GROUNDS OF PROTECTION.

The Emperor who offered a reward for the invention of a new pleasure could not have been more sated with ordinary indulgences than we have been by the stale and oft-refuted sophisms which form the staple of the speeches at agricultural meetings, and the stock of materials for the maundering invectives of Mrs. Harris and Mrs. Gamp. It was, therefore, with feelings akin to pleasure that we saw the *Morning Post* announcing its discovery of "three great general grounds upon which the protectionist may take his stand." We hastened to master the three propositions, and were not a little gratified, though by no means surprised, to discover that, so far from supporting the principle of protection, they furnish the strongest arguments in favour of Free Trade. Let us examine them *seriatim*, quoting each in the exact words of our cotemporary:

"First—The healthful employment of the able-bodied labourers of the kingdom, which in manufacturing industry, as at present carried on, is plainly and notoriously impossible."

To decide this question, we must first inquire whether protected agriculture *does* afford healthful employment to the able-bodied labourers? Sustenance is an important element of health; clothing is another; a comfortable dwelling another. Before such a question can be answered in the affirmative, we must know something of the condition of the agricultural labourers in relation to food, clothing, and habitation. The Parliamentary reports, the letters of the Hon. and Rev. S. G. Osborne, and the speeches of the Wiltshire labourers themselves, at Goatsacre, afford abundant proof that in food the agricultural labourers are reduced to the starvation point; that their clothes are rags, and their dwellings scarce fit for the habitation of cattle. One of the worst results of the Corn Laws has been to discourage the application of capital, and consequently of labour to land. Our soil is not half cultivated; were its sources methodically developed, tillage would employ at least half as many more as are engaged in it at present. Reliance on protection has checked the spirit of farming enterprise and improvement; it has led to a system of cultivation which has entailed positive loss on the country, and which in the long run has not proved lucrative to those engaged in it. Free Trade would not throw any land out of cultivation, but it would enforce a change in the system of cultivation; it would compel the farmer to employ more capital, more cattle, and more labour. This has been so frequently demonstrated, that we need not enter into the examination of the relative capabilities of manufacturing and agricultural industry. Under the present system, agriculture does not afford employment to the labourers; and the remuneration it affords is too scanty to allow of the fulfilment of the conditions of health. Free Trade in agricultural produce is desired that the stimulus of competition may lead to the employment of more labour and a consequent advance to a fair rate of wages. The land of England has undeveloped sources which an artificial system has rendered unavailing. The *Post* speaks, or rather, it accuses Sir Robert Peel of having spoken of agriculture *receding* before manufactures. The Premier never uttered any such nonsense; a manufacturing population opens such a market for consumption, that the agricultural production for miles round is stimulated to meet the demand. The dairy farms of Lancashire, North Cheshire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire have assuredly not receded before mills and print-works; on the contrary, they have marvellously increased both in number and in the return of profits.

The *Post* is alarmed at the prospect of "cheap foreign corn, raised by cheap foreign labour, from cheap foreign land." Our cotemporary may banish such chimerical fears. Large production of any kind requires large outlay of capital; and there can be no accumulation of capital where land and labour are cheap. Dearthness of the instruments of

production is quite consistent with cheapness of the article produced. If the English labourer be higher paid than the Polish serf, the value of his day's work to the farmer will be found to exceed that of the serf in nearly the same proportion. Skill is apparently dear when measured by its cost; but it will be found cheap when estimated by the quantity and quality of its results.

The next proposition is thus stated:

"Secondly—The greater security for subsistence which a country must have which grows the whole, or nearly the whole, of the food necessary for its population from its own soil, than a country which considerably depends for food upon foreign commerce, and supplies from foreign kingdoms."

Have the Corn Laws produced this security? Has London received anything like the same regular supplies, at the same steady prices, which used to be poured into Amsterdam, when Holland permitted Free Trade in corn? We seek in vain for evidence of this security. It is not to be found in bounties at one time and restrictions at another; in the ports thrown open in a moment of panic, and closed in a moment of confidence; in a variation of prices extending to the enormous range of 199 per cent.; in a crisis that compelled the Bank of England to become a borrower from the Bank of France; in the recurrence of a commercial, monetary and manufacturing crisis with periodical regularity every five or six years; in the constant shiftings of the balance between exports and imports; or in the alarm which spread over the country when the failure of the potato crop was announced. So far are the Corn Laws from affording security, that they render us dependent on the vicissitudes of the weather, and substitute for certainty the varying chances of the most variable of climates.

The *Post* dreads the appearance of a hostile navy intercepting our supplies of food. We might, according to the writer, be thus starved into submission, just as we might catch larks if the sky fell. Every reader of history must be aware that, in the heat of the late war with France, when national animosities were at the highest, we imported supplies of provision from that country, thereby affording the most signal proof of the unconquerable tendency of commerce to be regulated by its own natural laws of demand and supply.

The third and last proposition is thus stated:

"Thirdly—The means afforded by agricultural improvement for securing and nationalising capital, which might otherwise be wasted in unprofitable extravagance, or frantic speculation, or be carried away to foreign countries in the hope of profitable investment."

But the system which the *Post* advocates has prevented the application of capital to land; it has fostered the insecurity of tenure, which prevents the farmer from making any outlay save that which will produce an immediate return. It has led him to adopt exhausting systems of crops,—to make unprofitable outlay in one direction, and to abstain from judicious investment in another. "Protection" has been "the bane of agriculture;" it has induced capitalists to seek profitable investments anywhere and everywhere rather than in the improvement of the British soil and the development of its powers of production. Protection has rendered the growth of corn a gambling speculation, and each successive harvest a lottery, into which no prudent man dares to venture too largely. We seek the repeal of the Corn Laws in order that British land should be emancipated for the exercise of British industry, the investment of British capital, and the sustenance and profit of the British people.

We have now examined the three propositions set forward by the *Morning Post*; but we must be excused from following the writer in his tirade against political economists. It only furnishes an additional proof of the old maxim, that "men set themselves against reason so soon as they find that reason is set against them."

QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

LOCAL TREASURERS.

The Council have now been occupied some time in preparing for the collection of the above fund; and as one of the preliminary arrangements, they have to announce that the following gentlemen have undertaken to receive contributions in their respective neighbourhoods. The list will be continued from week to week until completed, and the Council earnestly hope that such of their corre-

spondents as have not yet replied to their circular, relative to the appointment of the above-named officers, will do so immediately.

Andover—James Baker, Esq., Prospect House.
Ashton-under-Lyne—Thomas Mason, Esq.
Aylesbury—J. P. B. Payne, Esq.
Alnwick—Thos. Duncan, Esq.
Beaminster—Mr. Jos. Tite, Clenham Mill.
Bath—Admiral Gordon, R.N., Nelson-place, Norfolk-crecent.
Barnsley—J. S. Parkinson, Esq., Linen manufacturer.
Belper—Mr. J. W. Hancock.
Bromsgrove—W. A. Greening, Esq.
Bridgewater—William Browne, Esq.
Burton-on-Trent—J. N. Hanson, Esq.
Bristol—George Thomas, Esq., Great George-street, Park-street.
Barnley—Geo. Holgate, Esq., jun.
Bridport—J. P. Stephens, Esq.
Cleckheaton—Geo. Anderton, Esq.
Cambridge—Chas. Newby, Esq., 55, Regent-street.
Crediton, Devon—Edward Davy, Esq.
Crayford, Kent—Henry Gould, Esq.
Devonport—Samuel Raw, Esq., Market-street.
Dundee—Edward Baxter, Esq.
Doncaster—Mr. Thomas Milner.
Dunbar—James Wilson, Esq., Belhaven.
Dartmouth—Noah Clift, Esq.
Edinburgh—Messrs. Arch. Thomson and Co., 255, High-street.
Falkirk—John Smith, Esq., Writer.
Forfar—Mr. Wm. Sturrock.
Gateshead—Geo. Crawshaw, Esq.
Garstang—Dr. Bell, Chapel-street.
Glossop—John Kershawe, Esq.
Horsham—James Agate, Esq., North Parade.
Halifax—Mr. Thomas Denton, Old Market.
Hinckley—Mr. Thos. Payne.
Holywell—Thos. Mather, Esq., Glyn Abbot.
Idle, near Bradford, Yorkshire—Mr. Wm. Russell.
Inverness—Donald Frazer, Esq., jun.
Jedburgh—Geo. Hilson, Esq., Manufacturer.
Kendal—Geo. Charnley, Esq.
Kelso—Mr. Alexander Dodds, Grocer.
Knaresborough—Mr. Thos. Addynan, High-street.
London—A. W. Paulton, Esq., at the offices of the League 67, Fleet street.
Luton—James Waller, Esq., merchant.
Leek—Thos. Birch, Esq.
Lancaster—George Jackson, Esq.
Leicester—J. D. Harris, Esq.
Leighton Buzzard—Thomas Price, Esq., Newtown.
Leominster—Mr. J. V. Chilcott.
Maesteg, near Bridgend, Glamorganshire—Mr. Jos. Crayne.
Manchester—Mr. James Jones, at the offices of the League, 5, Newall's-buildings, Market-street.
Maidenhead—Mr. Thomas Woodcock, draper.
Maidstone—Richard Nelves, Esq., 109, Week street.
Maldon—G. W. Digby, Esq.
Middleton, near Manchester—Mr. Daniel Burton.
Newcastle-upon-Tyne—George Crawshaw, Esq., and Mr. Daniel Liddell, Carlisle-street.
Nantwich—Mr. Philip Barker.
Newcastle-under-Lyne—Mr. Elias Shaw.
New Mills—John Yates, Esq.
Oldham—John Platt, Esq., Hartford Ironworks.
Ossett, near Wakefield—Mr. Frank Fearnside.
Pontefract—Mr. W. Kidd, news-agent.
Potters, The—Francis Wedgwood, Esq.
Poole—G. R. Penney, Esq.
Reigate—Mr. Thomas Dann.
Ramsgate—Mr. Henry Scott, 57, Queen-street.
St. Columb—Mr. W. Brown, 3, Fair-street.
Scarborough—Isaac Stickney, Esq.
Sheffield—William Hargreaves, Esq., Merchant.
Skipton—J. B. Dewhurst, Esq.
Southport—Richard Johnson, Esq.
Stockport—Mr. J. Heginbotham, Millgate.
Sirlow, Monmouthshire—Rev. Richard Jones.
South Shields—Mr. James Bell.
Stourbridge—Mr. E. Baylie.
Swaffham and West Norfolk—Arthur Morse, Esq., Swaffham.
Swansea—Mr. Joseph Rutter.
Stroud—Mr. T. Parsons.
Tadmorden—W. Haworth, Esq., North View.
Tewkesbury—Mr. Benjamin Harris.
Wednesbury—Benjamin Round, Esq.
Wareham—J. Pike, Esq., Merchant.
Westbury—N. Overbury, Esq.
Wigan—Thomas Taylor, Esq., Spinner, and Mr. Thomas Wall, Bookseller.
Wirksworth—Mr. B. Street, White Lion Inn.
Wakefield—Charles Morton, Esq., Whitwood Colliery.
Whitechurch—Mr. Richard Thomas.
Weymouth—Mr. Charles Pope.
Westbromwich—J. Spittle, Esq.
York—Thomas Swales, Esq., Lawrence-street.

"AGRICULTURAL PROTECTION."—IMPORTANT MEETING AT FROME.—On Wednesday last, being the "Monthly Market Day," when a greater number of agriculturists than usual generally attend, a meeting for "agricultural protection" was held at the George Inn, for the purpose of adopting a petition to Parliament. At the appointed time W. F. Knatchbull, Esq., of Babbington House, arrived with a petition and resolutions, ready prepared to propose to the meeting for their adoption; ONE tenant farmer attended, who with the hon. gentleman waited about half an hour, when there being no increase of numbers, the waiter was dispatched to seek the attendance of others, and after some time had elapsed two other tenant farmers were induced to join them. No other farmers or "farmers' friends" attending, and patience being exhausted, this important meeting was soon broken up, but whether the resolutions were proposed or the petition adopted the public are not informed.—*Wiltshire Independent*.

STANRAE.—On Monday last a meeting of the inhabitants was convened by the Provost, in compliance with a requisition presented to him, numerously subscribed. The meeting was accordingly held in the Town Hall, on the above day, at two o'clock. On the motion of the Rev. Mr. McGregor, which was carried by acclamation, Bailie McDouall was called to the chair. Several resolutions were proposed in favour of the objects of the meeting.

THE GREAT "CENTRAL," No. 17, OLD BOND STREET.

(From the Times.)

The self-constituted champions of the agricultural interest, who are meeting here and there to defy the nation and Sir Robert Peel, are rather touchy gentlemen. Not a day passes but they make some complaint about sneers and abuse. Yet they persist in a course which they see to be ridiculous. They remind us of the half-witted creatures to be found unfortunately in almost every town and village, who never cease to go about with some grotesqueness of costume, or absurdity of gesture, sure to bring about them a swarm of juvenile tormentors; and who yet never learn to behave like other people. As regularly as twelve o'clock comes there is "Daft Charley," with his coat turned inside out, or his hat without crown, meandering and maundering about the town, talking to himself, and every now and then turning round to inflict a Partisan shower of impotent maledictions on the merciless crowd of pursuers, which gathers fresh numbers from every school and every factory he passes. He appeals for protection to the man of authority he meets on the road. "Why do you make yourself so ridiculous?" he replies. The poor simpleton either refuses to see his folly, or disowns his allegiance to the rules of common sense. The next day the same scene is acted over again; and again the humane passengers are pained with the spectacle of obstinate and therefore irremediable absurdity.

In the face of the greatest unanimity, the deepest determination, and the most imperious necessity of circumstances which the country ever saw, two or three noblemen and gentlemen are still holding out for their exploded bobby. This, too, they contrive to do with superfluous singularity. On Monday they held what they call "a special general meeting" at Willis's Rooms. The muster was imposing,—not less than 200 or 300; about as many as may be collected any day in the Strand, in less than fifteen seconds, by the downfall of a cab, or the overthrow of a truckload of groceries. Such was the convocation. The orators were in keeping with it. One duke, one lord, three M.P.'s, and three somebody-elses, all of the feeblest and stalest description, who have said the whole of their say fifty times over within the twelvemonth, and never had anything to say of their own worth listening to. Such is the staff of the army which undertakes to hold England in servile subjection. In vain does one look over their harangues for one solid point, one fragrant thought, one fresh allusion. One might as well look for pine apples in a turnip field, granite in the fens of Lincolnshire, or sugar canes in the parade behind the Horse Guards. Everything is dry, shrivelled, rank, and rotten. It is a bad store, and a worse show,—a bankrupt tradesman without the sense to conceal the barrenness of his resources.

"Meagre were his looks,

Sharp misery had worn him to the bones;
And in his needy shop a tortoise hung,
An alligator stuffed, and other skins
Of ill-staged fishes; and about his shelves
A beggarly account of empty boxes,
Green earthen pots, bladders, and musty seeds,
Remnants of packthread, and old cakes of roses."

They don't even make the most of themselves. The Duke of Richmond is made not only the first fiddle, but the only fiddle of his rank. The Duke of Buckingham is there, and sits very contentedly under his brother duke, hearing him develop himself to the fifteenth power of nothingness. Yet he has not a word to say for himself. We are not even informed that he had a cold. The reporters say nothing of a comforter round his neck. He does not say so much as "good bye." He allows the Duke of Richmond an absolute monopoly of ducal eloquence, and ducal politeness. The latter "was requested," he said, by the Duke of Buckingham, to say, "that he was obliged to leave that meeting at an early hour through important business calling him to the country; but that he cordially acquiesced in every one of the resolutions, and was determined to stand to the last to the flag of 'protection' (cheers); the Duke of Buckingham had desired this to be mentioned; but was there a farmer in England who would not have felt certain that the Duke of Buckingham would not abandon his position? (Loud cheers.)" So there was something that suggested suspicion, else why this magnificent appeal? The "200 or 300 delegates" cheer the second-hand declaration as lustily as their failing hearts will allow; but they must be hard put to for a cheer when they lavish it on a man who dares not speak a word, and who can't even stay out to the end of the meeting. "Important business" had called him away at an early hour. Something else therefore was more important than the salvation of his country at this awful crisis;—perhaps, the fortnightly meeting of magistrates at Buckingham, when a lad was to be brought up for catching a rabbit, or an old man for breaking the workhouse windows;—perhaps, an engagement with his steward, or the transplanting of some evergreens;—perhaps, the erection of his own bust in the Temple of Fame in the gardens at Stowe;—or, perhaps, a dinner party. If the last, we cannot wonder at his grace's taste; but we must say it was leaving the 200 or 300 cheerless and hungry delegates rather in the lurch.

Lord Beaumont was the only speaking peer. Yet we are told the House of Lords and the whole aristocracy are staked on the question. So says the Chairman:—"The gentlemen of the League began by assailing the Corn Laws; their next step would be to assail every species of protection, and to establish Free Trade in the most unlimited sense of the word"—so far not at all improbable, we should think—"the ultimate end being to create a democratic ascendancy in every part of England. They knew very well that the yeomanry and farmers of this country constituted the strongest bulwark of our ancient institutions. They knew that they must destroy the landed interest before they overturned the constitution." The House of Lords, then, is based on the very substantial foundation of a continual legislative dearth. Every child gives a slice of its "daily bread" for the preservation of hereditary wisdom. So also of the other "ancient institutions." The man who wishes to cheapen bread is *ipso facto* excommunicate, for he seeks to subvert the church. So saith the 17th canon of Goodwood. The throne also rests on scarcity. The artisan who wishes to make a cotton gownpiece for the settler's wife in Arkansas, that he may receive in return three days' bread for his family, is a foul traitor. He knows he must do this before he can "overturn the constitution." So declareth Richmond. The difference between bread at three-halfpence and bread at twopence a pound is serious. It involves the difference between a mixed Government and a pure democracy—between Parliament and a convention. In that brief margin are written the royal and the episcopal palaces, cathedrals and churches, statute, common, and every other kind

of law. Once let everybody in England get his mouthful of bread, and there is an end of our glorious constitution, which it now appears was framed with the express purpose of preventing so horrid a consummation. The exclusive guardians of our numerous national blessings are "the yeomanry and farmers," who constitute "the strongest bulwark of our ancient institutions." We suppose everybody remembers, for, as it happens, we don't, how often this patriotic, intelligent, and powerful body has come forward within our time to stand in the gap, and saved us from revolutionary, irreligious, and infidel change. We have felt ourselves under some obligations to "the farmers and yeomanry," but cannot just now call to mind when they have proved a very efficient bulwark to the most important of our ancient institutions. On the contrary, they have latterly shown themselves ready to give up a good deal for an additional 10s. a quarter for their corn.

However, it shall not be said the 200 or 300 did nothing. They did something. Let us see what it was. The Chairman somewhat precipitately ushers in the important proposition:

"By one of the rules of the Agricultural Society, that association was disabled from interfering, in any respect, with the business of the registration courts; looking, then, at the condition of the country and the conduct of the League, he took upon himself fearlessly to ask that meeting whether they were not prepared to rescind a regulation which disabled them from meeting their adversaries upon equal terms? (Loud and continued cheering.) He would ask them if they did not think the time had at length arrived when it became their duty to enter the registration courts with as bold a front as their enemies?"

To Mr. BAKER was assigned the honour of moving the resolution itself:

"The time, however, had now arrived when they must seek to accomplish their objects by the means which the gentlemen of the League adopted, or at least by some portion of the instruments which that redoubtable body were in the habit of using. The time had arrived, and a protection society would be false to itself and to its country if it continued to abstain from facing its enemies in the registration courts. He concluded by moving the following resolution:

"That the following words be expunged from the fourth rule of the society, viz.:—And that the Society shall on no account interfere in any election for a member to serve in Parliament."

"The announcement of this resolution was received with loud cheers."

Now there is a wisdom in doing a thing; and a wisdom in not doing it. If it cannot be done to any effectual purpose, it is better not to do it, and take to oneself as much credit for that forbearance as the circumstance will allow. The greatest possible mess that a bungler can fall into is not to take an objectionable or less dignified course till it is too late, and then just to do enough to deprive himself of the boast, and to stop his mouth as to the less scrupulous proceedings of other parties. That is exactly the stupid mess into which these titled blunderers and *faineants* are dragging the wretched dregs of their party. Now, of course, they have not a word to say against the League. It is now the avowed principle of both parties to interfere with elections. As to the morality of the proceedings they all row in one boat now. Otherwise they might have worked that topic against the Leaguers with some rhetorical effect. But, after all, it is selling their souls for nothing. They won't raise a fund—hardly as many pennies as their foes raise pounds. They won't turn one election which was not already in their grasp. The chairman makes a silly boast about Sussex. Of course, "every cock on his own dunghill," and if the duke gets the flats he was speaking to pay a portion of his family's next election bills, it will be so much in his pocket. But they will neither raise money nor spend it. Whatever money they do raise they will have to borrow for the purpose, and the most honest use of that money that we can imagine will be some jugglery by which it finds its way back to the lenders. This, then, is all the Grand Central Agricultural Protection Society of the British Empire has done. It has just met to sanction the proceedings of its antagonists, and no more.

THAT CLASS OF PERSONS CALLED "DUKES."

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

The transactions at Newark and Woodstock, to which we referred yesterday, will probably have the effect of directing increased attention to that class of persons called "dukes." Though a small, they are a remarkable class; and their proceedings have of late brought them a good deal before the public. The dukes have been saying and doing a good deal. What they have said and done has certainly had the effect of attracting attention; the talk of the country has been running on dukes. People have been forced to speculate on whether the duke of this or that has or could have done this or that thing. Then they have asked, What could induce the duke to do or say such a thing? and so the public mind has been insensibly led on to speculating on the nature of dukes, and investigating what manner of beings they must be who can say or do such things as they say and do.

Undoubtedly the tendency of all these investigations and discussions has not been to raise this little class of men in public estimation. Their moral and intellectual magnitude has amazingly diminished since it has been seen in clear daylight. An unpleasant change has taken place in the mode of speaking about them. People who do not speak Scotch, like the witness in the Porteous riots, are beginning to class "dukes" with other "fools." Mr. Cobden (we say it with pain) has set the example of speaking of them in a most unchristian fashion; and dislike is beginning to mingle very largely with the contempt with which they are regarded.

This is not right. Great allowances should be made for dukes. The notion that they are naturally worse than their neighbours is as unphilosophical as their own notion that they are born better. Their character results from the mode in which they are brought up; and when we consider what that up-bringing is, the wonder is, not that you have Newcastles, and Marlboroughs, and Buckinghams among them, but that you should find a man of such real good sense and good human feeling as are possessed by the Duke of Bedford.

Before you condemn them too cruelly, think what it is to be a duke. Put aside the outward shows of honour and power that surround them—view the man without his coronet, and garter, and fine house, and vast park, and huge estate—and consider what must be his moral existence. It must be very cold and comfortless to find one's-self an un-

reality, a two legged solecism, in a world of real men and things.

These poor dukes never have a fair chance from the outset. In the first infancy of their reason, their perceptions are obscured by a cloud of flattery and falsehood. The evil influence of the low and parasite nurse is succeeded by that of the low and parasite tutor commencing the subserviencies that are to lead him to a bishopric. The very public school, which really does some good to the rest of our aristocracy, does not in general contribute to the future duke his due proportion of wholesome licking and flogging. The institutions of our Universities seem devised for the very purpose of thoroughly corrupting our nobility. Distinctions of dress, which in after life are not tolerated by our manners, mark them out from other gentlemen. They are exempted from religious observances, and attendance on lectures; they obtain a degree without study or examination; and during the period of their nominal education, instead of learning a generous equality of youthful friendships, they are surrounded by different forms and classes of sycophants, of whom the most disgusting are the truly plebeian persons to whose control they are nominally subjected. Then our duke comes into the world, hunts, shoots, and gambles; living with disreputable women and disreputable men, till some intriguing mamma succeeds in booking him for life to her daughter; and then, from the competing toadyism of the world, he is, to a certain degree, hedged up in the snug toadyism of his family and connections.

Such a man as this, without reading, without experience of life, without equal intercourse with sincere friends, what can he know of the world in which he lives? Alas! when he turns the feeble horny eyes of his soul on outward things, he must have a very dim, distorted perception of all that is going on about him. His perplexities of course fill him with alarm. He feels want of money, and a great craving for all manner of obsequiousness and reverence. The working-folks—labourers, farmers, tradesmen, men of business—he learns to suspect of wishing to defraud him of some portion of that work which he imagines them created to do for his benefit. His wealthier neighbours he regards as wishing to encroach upon that pre-eminence which he believes to be his right. His notion of the use of political power is, that it is given him primarily to enable him to maintain his own rights and consideration, and those of his order; and after that to do what can be done for the common people.

In the chaos of such a mind as this, in what light must the nation's demand for cheap bread be regarded? With what feelings must the expressions of the national desires be viewed? The whole appears a great wrong, which vulgar people meditate doing to him. The League, the press, the Ministry, the Opposition, appear to him one great breach of decorum and propriety—a collection of injustices—a monster vulgarity. His strange notions of justice are outraged by the demand for mere justice. He proposes to resent the first of an apprehended series of wrongs. He issues forth, and, unaware of the unseemly indecency of his intellectual nakedness, unfolds what, to his dim reason, appears the simplicity of truth—invests sordid injustice with the garb of indignant morality—and, fancying he has arrayed himself in a very panoply of reason and right, defies Peel, Russell, and Cobden, burns the *Times*, and raises the cry of "No surrender."

All this is very pitiable, but very natural; and we shall not rectify it by abusing these poor dukes, and wishing, like Mr. Cobden, that the sane dukes would catch the insane dukes, and put them in strait waistcoats. The present arrangements of society do not admit of these things; and it may possibly be long before they will admit of our doing without dukes, or even of putting them on a materially different footing. We must make the best of them. The League are doing the right thing in taking measures to transfer political powers from the dukes to more sensible people. This will prevent their doing much harm. In the long run, it will probably improve them, and make them useful members of society. When they see themselves deprived of the brute influence which their property now gives them in politics, they will find the necessity of getting information, feeling like human beings, and acting rationally. This will be the moral guano by which we shall raise a crop of something useful out of the hopeless field of dukedom.

To improve our kind is always a worthier occupation than to rail at it; and while the evil lasts we are none of us without blame. By our carelessness, our lacquetry spirit, our toleration of injustice, we have brought the dukes to what they are. We owe it to them as well as ourselves to repair this wrong. Their deplorable state cries to Heaven against the country which tolerates its existence.

FREE TRADE.

(From the Star—Guernsey Paper.)

The "Quarterly Review," in its last number, in an article on the recent resignation of the Ministry, puts forth, in an embodied form, the arguments which the protectionists now chiefly rely on in their opposition to the repeal of the duties on corn. It is not our intention to embark in the discussion of this subject, but we think it is in our power to furnish an item of information which, if duly weighed, may tend to set at rest one of the questions in dispute. The writer in the "Quarterly" contends, in the first instance, against the abrogation of the protecting duties, alleging that such abrogation would have a ruinous effect on the landed interests; but he goes on to argue that if the principles of Free Trade be applied to corn, it ought to be extended to all other commodities; and, from this, proceeds to the assumption that all trades would be ruined, if exposed without any protective duty to the competition of foreigners. The writer then asks—"Are we to have not only Polish wheat, but German linens, woollens, and cutlery—Saxon hosiery and muslins—Belgian cottons and cloths, and fire-arms—Dutch spirits—Swiss watches—American reprints—French china, gloves, shoes, silks, and paper, besides an infinite variety of small articles which support a multitude of poor artisans, all of whom would be undersold by the foreigner?" In this interrogative form the writer advances a proposition which, plausible as it may appear, is founded on speculation only. He declares what he thinks *might* and *would* be under particular circumstances. We can state what actually is the case under the existence of those very circumstances. We can place fact against conjecture. The perfect freedom of trade which the *Quarterly Review* contemplates actually exists in the Channel Islands, the population of which is nearly 90,000 persons, possessing great wealth which it expends chiefly on the productions of other countries. Now, although these islands are in constant communication with France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, and other manufacturing nations, as enumerated by the reviewer, and, although they

have unrestricted liberty to receive from thence, without a farthing of duty, all the goods referred to by him, scarcely any of them are introduced. Foreign woollens, cottons, linens, hosiery, and cutlery, are nearly unknown in the islands, English articles of this description being almost invariably preferred as being cheaper and better. French silks, gloves, shoes, &c., and Swiss watches, are not more used here than in England. French china has but a limited demand, and that only in ornamental articles; and Belgian fire arms are entirely unknown. The people of these islands having the whole world to choose from, find that British manufactures of every description, although rendered dearer than they otherwise would be by the taxation to which their materials are subject in England, are still cheaper and better than the manufactures of other countries, and hence the shops of the islands contain quite as few foreign goods as those of London itself. A stronger practical proof of the ability of the British manufacturer to compete with the foreigner, if left at liberty to do so, cannot, we think, be given. Here the goods of foreign nations are admitted duty free, and yet those of England supersede them.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!
THE Friends of FREE TRADE residing in the Northern or Midland Counties, desirous of purchasing Freeholds in any of the undermentioned Counties, are requested to apply to the Secretary of the League, Newall's Buildings Manchester.

North Lancashire	North Derbyshire
South Lancashire	South Derbyshire
North Cheshire	North Durham
West Riding of York	East Cumberland
South Stafford	West Cumberland
North Stafford	South Northumberland.
South Cheshire	

Each applicant is requested to give his name and residence at full length.
By Order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!
FREE TRADERS desirous of purchasing Freeholds for Middlesex, East Surrey, West Kent, South Essex, East Sussex, and South Hants, are requested to send their applications, with name and address in full, to the League Offices, 67, Fleet-street, London.
By Order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

NORTH LANCASHIRE.
QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!
AS only three weeks now remain for Qualifying, so as to be on the next Register, the Friends of Free Trade are respectfully urged to Purchase Freeholds without delay.
Freehold Property, giving a Qualification, can be purchased, in North Lancashire, at from 30*l*. to 35*l*., yielding about 7 per cent.
Every information may be had from Mr. Moorhouse, League Rooms, 4, Cheapside, Preston.

FREEHOLD QUALIFICATIONS FOR HERTS.
FREE TRADERS desirous of purchasing Freeholds in Hertfordshire are requested to send their applications to The League Offices, 67, Fleet-street, or to Mr. J. F. Bontems, Herts Registration Office, Hertford.

CORN LAWS.—A PUBLIC MEETING of the Inhabitants of WESTMINSTER will be held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, on Tuesday, January the 20th, 1846, to Petition Parliament for the Total and Immediate Repeal of the Corn Laws. The Chair will be taken by Howard Elphinstone, Esq., M.P., at Six or Seven o'clock in the Evening.
GEORGE HUGGETT, Secretary.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Jan. 14, 1846.
N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

	£	s.	d.
*Dixon, P and Sons, Carlisle and Manchester	200	0	0
*Heywood, James, banker ditto	100	0	0
*Walker, Richard, M.P., Bury, Lancashire	50	0	0
*Simpson, J A and Thos, 5, Piccadilly, Manchester	20	0	0
*McCall, Wm, 69, Spring Gardens ditto	20	0	0
*McCall, John, 76, Upper Brook-street ditto	20	0	0
*McCall, Mrs. and Miss, ditto ditto	20	0	0
Thomson, E., Pied Bull, Chester	30	0	0
Holroyd, R., Mill-street, Ancoats, Manchester	20	0	0
*Green, Richard, Luton	10	0	0
*Green, Joseph, Hanging Ditch, Manchester	10	0	0
*Oliver and Co, Spring Gardens ditto	10	0	0
W S Durham	5	0	0
*Goadby, Thomas, Albert-place, Manchester	5	0	0
*Diggle, T, 141, York-st, Ckeetham ditto	5	0	0
*Oram, R, Broughton ditto	5	0	0
*E G, per Mr. McCall ditto	5	0	0
"A Friend," per Wm McCall ditto	5	0	0
"A Friend," per W Harey, Salford	5	0	0
*Moorhouse, Edwin, Ashton-under-Line	5	0	0
Miller, Henry, at Messrs. Simpsons, 5, Piccadilly, Manchester	4	0	0
*Hilton, Richard, Dole Field, Manchester	3	3	0
*Chapman, W, 9, Green-street, Ardwick ditto	2	0	0
Clark, W and Co, Beith, Ayrshire	1	10	0
*Dwyer, John, Brunel y, near Leeds	1	5	0
Banks, Henry, Wodnesbury	1	1	0
Brookhurst, P P, Macclesfield	1	1	0
*Holland, Wm, Roebuck Inn, Rochdale	1	1	0
*Liebreich, J, Leeds	1	1	0
*Andrew, Stephen, Ashton-under-Line	1	1	0
*Andrew, Aaron, ditto	1	1	0
Lister, John, Darwin, near Blackburn	1	1	0
*Eyre, Samuel, Derby	1	1	0
*Brown, Geo, 30, Canal-street, Ancoats, Manchester	1	1	0
Hesketh, Geo, 30, Bridge-street ditto	1	1	0
McKinnell, J H, Box 371, Post Office	1	1	0
Giles, R, 19, George-street ditto	1	1	0
Ward, J, 22, King-street ditto	1	1	0
A Lady, per Wm McCall ditto	1	1	0
Illahy, Mrs, Market-street ditto	1	1	0
*Hulme, Wm, 25, Market-street ditto	1	1	0
Stanley, Joseph, 11, Cross-street ditto	1	1	0
*Barrow, James, 31, Great Ancoats-street ditto	1	1	0
*Lacey, J, Hemp Bridge, near Bury, Lancashire	1	0	0
*Whitworth, James, Water Mills, near Bury	1	0	0
*Greenwood, James, Keresley, near Bolton	1	0	0

*Mason, John, Drake-street, Rochdale	1	0	0
*Wrigley, John, Wardworth Broom, ditto	1	0	0
*Crump, Thomas, Friargate, Derby	1	0	0
*Lurkin, G J, Warrington	1	0	0
*Blinston, Joseph, The Ackers, near ditto	1	0	0
*Wyth, John, Litchford, near ditto	1	0	0
Whitehouse, Thomas, Wetherby Yorkshire	1	0	0
*Bigwood, T Cook, Queen-street, Portsea	1	0	0
*Newlyn, John, 95, St. Thomas's-street, Portsmouth	1	0	0
*Sutherland, Andrew, Aberdeen	1	0	0
*Heap, J, Tons, Sandy Lane, ditto	1	0	0
*Kear, J, Tons, Sandy Lane, ditto	1	0	0
*Buckroy, Joseph, Bury, Lancashire	1	0	0
*Hobbs, J, Ely Clough Mill, Royton, near Oldham	1	0	0
*Holden, John, Highlands ditto	1	0	0
*Chadwick, Thomas ditto	1	0	0
*Shepherd, Thomas ditto	1	0	0
*Ashworth, James ditto	1	0	0
*Cooper, Richard, Sandbach, Cheshire	1	0	0
*Robinson, James, Yew Tree Place, Prescott	1	0	0
*Moss, W Surgeon, Lancaster	1	0	0
*Knight, John, Ashby de la Zouch	1	0	0
Harwood, John, St. Helens	1	0	0
*Duke and Bennett, Manchester	1	0	0
*Hopkinson, J, 2, Mangle-street ditto	1	0	0
*Nelson, David, Prestwich, near ditto	1	0	0
Turner, Joseph, Victoria Bridge, near ditto	1	0	0
*Marsden, Wm., St. Mary's-street ditto	1	0	0
*Warhurst, S, Globe, Medlock-st, Hulme, ditto	1	0	0
*Rawes, Gerard, Rawtenstall, near ditto	1	0	0
*Andrew, J, 6, Creswell-st, C on M ditto	1	0	0
*Gidney, E, dentist, Piccadilly ditto	1	0	0
Bonsell, W F, 4, Cooper-street ditto	1	0	0
*Duncan, R, 4, St. John's-place, Broughton, ditto	1	0	0
*Wilkinson, Samuel, Eccles, near ditto	1	0	0
*Brindle, T, 7, Brindle-street, C on M ditto	1	0	0
Lang, Benj, Victoria Bridge ditto	1	0	0
Phillips, M, Shakespear Inn, York-st, Holme, ditto	1	0	0
*Booth, Jas, 10, Bradshaw-st, Shudehill, ditto	1	0	0
*Phillips, Wm, Rusholme ditto	1	0	0
*Windsor, John, 65, Piccadilly ditto	1	0	0
*Davy, James, Murray-st, Oldham-road ditto	1	0	0
Phillips, John, 47, Portland-street ditto	1	0	0
*Smith, Jeffery, 2, Manor-street, Ardwick, ditto	1	0	0
*Naylor, James, Bristol-street, Hulme ditto	1	0	0
Lees, I, 1, Higher Temple-st, C on M ditto	1	0	0
*Welch, John, Ancoats Grove ditto	1	0	0
Atkinson, E, 31, Oxford road ditto	1	0	0
*Burke, Wm, 44, Sidney-street, C on M ditto	1	0	0
*Robinson, John, 1, Stanley-st, Red Bank, ditto	1	0	0
*Bentham, Geo, Market-place ditto	1	0	0
*Atkinson J, 23, Exmouth-ter, Stretford-New-rd, ditto	1	0	0
*Naylor, John, 113, Piccadilly ditto	1	0	0
Hampson, D., Stock-street, Cheetham ditto	1	0	0
*Grundy, C S, 16, Devonshire-st, Hulme ditto	1	0	0
*Bury, G, 24, Great George-street ditto	1	0	0
Duncan, D, jun., 4, St. John's-place ditto	1	0	0
Skinner, Wm, ditto ditto	1	0	0
Hall, John, 48, Swan-street ditto	1	0	0
*Howden, S and R, 23, Oxford-road ditto	1	0	0
*Foster and Duncan, 43, ditto ditto	1	0	0
*Watkin, Messrs., and Son, Exchange Arcade, ditto	1	0	0
*Garry, J, and Friends, Hen & Chickens, Deansgate..	1	0	0
*Andrew, James, Gee Cross, near ditto	1	0	0
*Armstrong, J, at Messrs. Simpson's, Piccadilly, ditto	1	0	0
*Holmes, James, ditto ditto	1	0	0
*Holmes, Edward Sykes ditto	1	0	0
*Sanders, Jonathan George ditto	1	0	0
*Ford, Edward ditto	1	0	0
Simpson, Edwin ditto	0	10	0
Booth, John, 52, London Road ditto	0	10	0
A Pinch of Curry Powder, Chichester	0	10	0
Overall, J, 36, Bridge-street, Manchester	0	5	0
Conner, Wm, 32, ditto ditto	0	5	0
Irving, M, 18, Maskell-street, C on M, ditto	0	5	0
J P, 30, Market-street, ditto	0	5	0
Cavanah, Thomas, 33, Spinning Field, ditto	0	5	0
Smith, Richard, 64, Hardman-street, ditto	0	5	0
Stuart Robert, Ramotham, near Bury, Lancashire	0	2	6
Horne, Robert, Adelaide-st, Hulme, Manchester	0	2	0
Liverpool—			
*Wilson, C, Elm Farm, West Derby, near	60	0	0
*Crosfield, Henry, 4, Temple-place	50	0	0
*Crosfield, J, jun, Chatham-place, Edge Hill	20	0	0
*Macrae, James H, and partner, 2, Tithebarn-street	20	0	0
*Blackburn, T, 6, Camden-st.	20	0	0
*Ainsworth, John, 29, Pleasant-st.	10	10	0
*Law, G, Exchange Chambers, Tithebarn-st.	10	10	0
*Smith, J P G, 6, Old Hall-st.	10	10	0
*Richardson, John, 2, Temple-lane	10	10	0
*Evans, W, Farmer, Ince, Blundell, near	5	0	0
*Heath, E, Commerce Court, Lord-st.	5	0	0
A Friend per F Pennington	5	0	0
*Lamb, D, 8, Union-st.	5	0	0
Meade, King, and Co, Messrs, 13, Redcross-st.	5	0	0
A Gentleman at Public Meeting per J P G Smith	5	0	0
Ricaby and Harding, 26, South John-st.	3	0	0
*Holden, G, 7, Blackburn-st.	2	0	0
*Welfare, H, 5, Mason-st, Edge Hill	2	0	0
*Higgins, W, 29, Sackville-st.	2	0	0
*A Shipowner, Park Hill Road	2	0	0
*Everest, Dr. G J, St Anne-st.	2	0	0
*Johnson, J, Exchange-st East	2	0	0
*Mullens, G A, 26, Catherine-st	2	0	0
*Miller, J, 13, Hotham-st.	1	1	0
*McGeorge, T, 3, Lord Nelson-st.	1	1	0
Luya, S C, 22, Warwick-st, Toxteth Park	1	1	0
*Barbie John, 83, Lord Nelson-st.	1	1	0
*Taylor, J D, 28, Whitechapel	1	1	0
Ternan, Matthew, 7, Islington	1	1	0
Fernie, W J, 19, Windsor-st	1	1	0
*Danson, H, Myrtle-st South	1	1	0
*Cuff, T, 49, Byrom-st.	1	1	0
*Eccles, E, 101, Islington	1	1	0
*Proctor, J, 8, Cambridge-st.	1	1	0
*Mills, G A, 85, London-road	1	1	0
Ward, S P, Church-st, Birkenhead	1	1	0
A Friend, London Road	1	1	0
*Hutcheson, Alex, Atherton-st, Everton	1	1	0
*Somerville, W, Wellington-st, Chester	1	1	0
Morris, R, 32, Exchange-st East	1	1	0
Ashcroft, M, Bank Hall Farm, Kirkdale, near	1	1	0
*Eastwood, Peter, 2, Moorfields	1	1	0
Richardson, S, 100, Falkner-st	1	1	0
*Owen, J, 10, Boundary-st	1	1	0
*Owen, R, Field View, Bootle Lane	1	1	0
*Burgess, James, Sir Thomas's Buildings	1	1	0
Anderson, T, High-st	1	1	0
A Newly-qualified Elector for South Lancashire	1	1	0
C M	1	1	0
May, J, 144, Mill-st	0	12	6
Thompson, J, 20, Alfred-st	0	10	0
Cavanagh, Pat., 54, Lumber-st	0	5	0
Wabston, Isaac, Trannmere, Cheshire	0	5	0
Sankey, S, 51, South Castle-st	0	5	0
A Friend at Public Meeting	0	5	0
Cash at Public Meeting	0	5	0
Richardson, Mrs S, 100, Falkner-st	0	5	0
Cauntlett, Capt. Geo., of Brig, Dorothy, of Sunderland	0	5	0
Weldon, John, 39, Harrington-st, Castle-st	0	5	0
Bardham, T, 38, Rupert-st	0	5	0
A Friend, 24, Melville-place	0	4	0
Eastwood, Mrs, 2, Moorfields	0	4	0
S S, South Castle-st	0	4	0
May the cause prosper	0	2	6
Trumble, W, 1, Vulcan-st	0	2	6
McFie, W, ditto	0	2	6
An Old Sawyer	0	2	6
Allen, G, 19, Cropper-st	0	1	6
Sewart, James, 2, Crown Vault Yard, Fleet-st	0	1	0
A stranger	0	1	0

Gorman, J, Naylor-st	0	0	6
*Hamilton, John J, Liverpool	100	0	0
*Larking and Son, 13, Whitechapel	12	12	0
*Larking, Mrs., ditto	4	4	0
*Larking, Miss ditto	4	4	0
*Browne, Henry Nibbs, 13, John-street, Minories	20	0	0
*Crowley, A C S and H, Alton	20	0	0
*Crowley, C S, Croydon	20	0	0
*Crowley, H, ditto	20	0	0
*Colvin, James, 71, Old Bailey	10	0	0
*Roscaw, Samuel, Edmonton	5	0	0
*Forlani, James, 27, Upper Bedford-place	5	0	0
*Thackray, Martin, Gloucester-place, Portman-square	5	0	0
*Pocock, T P, Upton Lovell, Heytesbury	5	0	0
*Darwin, Chas, Down, Bromley, Kent	5	0	0
*Wood, John, 17, Cumming-street, Pentonville	5	0	0
*Davies, George, Scarborough	4	0	0
A Big Loaf, and plenty of them—H—O—O—d	3	3	0
*Landells, John S, Honey-lane Market, Cheapside	3	3	0
*Corbett, Alex, 7, Montrose-street, Glasgow	3	0	0
*Wontner, Joseph, Hereford	2	2	0
*Hawkins, Geo, 88, Bishopsgate-street	2	2	0
Sedgeley, Fred, 2, Allen-terrace, Kensington	2	2	0
*Foskett, Henry, Tunbridge Wells	2	0	0
*Maw, J H, West Hill, Hastings	2	0	0
*Verity, John, 46, Salisbury-square	2	0	0
*Cr ik, Chas, 33, Great Winchester-street	2	0	0
Bell, John, London	2	0	0
*Mead, Joseph, Luton	2	0	0
*Pitt, Robert, Newark Foundry, Bath	2	0	0
*Corbett, John, 7, Montrose-st, Glasgow	2	0	0
"Of Free Trade Principles," Essex	1	10	0
*Clarke, W J, 7, Beaufort, West Bath	1	1	0
*Jee, John, Abingdon-street, Northampton	1	1	0
Welford, John, Ware, Herts	1	1	0
*Stephens, Wm H, Eton	1	1	0
Williams, Hugh, Kidwelly, Carmarthenshire	1	1	0
W D, per Henry Sallows	1	1	0
*Palmer, James, Old-street, Ashton-under-Line	1	1	0
*Brown, F, ironmonger, Luton	1	1	0
*Brown, D, ditto ditto	1	1	0
*Ramsd n, D, Bradford, Yorkshire	1	1	0
*Marshall, W, Ladyburn, near Port Glasgow	1	1	0
*Medes, Wm, Chertsey	1	1	0
Dormer, Cottrell, Housham, near Woodstock	1	1	0
*Rawnsley, John, New street, Bradford, Yorkshire	1	1	0
Williams, James, Usk, Monmouth	1	1	0
Postans, W G, Birmingham	1	1	0
Staley, James, 4, Sun-row, Lower-road, Islington	1	1	0
Vincent, Isaac, Little St, Thomas the Apostle, City	1	1	0
*Kimm, A, 274, High-street, Wapping	1	1	0
*Lawrence, Edw, 76, Leadenhall-street	1	1	0
*Miller, J, 8, Darlington-place, Harleyford-rd, Vauxhall	1	1	0
*Chapman, Thomas, 18, Edward-terrace, Pentonville..	1	1	0
*Hume, Walter, Feltham, near Hounslow	1	1	0
*Blackett, John, Brixton Hill	1	1	0
*Cockings, Thomas, 145, Long Acre	1	1	0
*Monk, Wm, Little North-street, Whitechapel	1	1	0
*Skegg, R, 2, St. Martin's-place, Trafalgar-square	1	1	0
*Leech, J, 64, Moorgate-street	1	1	0
*Levinson, V, 46, Bedford-street, Strand	1	1	0
Levinson, M, ditto ditto	1	1	0
*Frewer, S E, 91, Wood-street, City	1	1	0
"A Free Trader," Minories	1	1	0
*Hockin, Wm, 22, St. Paul's Churchyard	1	1	0
*Macfarlan, J and A, 10, Old Bailey	1	1	0
Shirley, John, 46, Windsor-terrace, City Road	1	1	0
Tapsell, Edw, Croydon Common, Surrey	1	0	0
*Williams, James, St. Martin's-court, St. Martin's-lane	1	0	0
Vigers, E, jun, Surrey Saw Mills, Clapham Road	1	0	0
*Downing, G W, 21, Guilford-place, Wilmington-sq.	1	0	0
*Viesseux, Mr., 62, George-street, Euston-square	1	0	0
*Pryce, E, 54, Baker-street, Portman-square	1	0	0
*Chandler, Dennis, 68, Mark-lane	1	0	0
Beurle, L, Royal Oak Hotel, 14, Spencer-st, Clerkenwell	1	0	0
Pike, J, Gloucester Villa, Park-road, New Peckham	1	0	0
*Cockman, Mrs., 74, George-street, Portland-square	1	0	0
Henderson, T, 51, Marsham-street, Westminster	1	0	0
*Cook, Wm, Lisson Grove	1	0	0
Hayward, Thomas, Post Office, Homerton	1	0	0
*Coulson, A H, 4, St. Peter's-terrace, Walworth	1	0	0
*Froggatt, B, 27, Bridge-house Pl, Newington Causeway	1	0	0
*Porter, W A, 10, Clifford's Inn	1	0	0
Duncan, Chas, 4, Liverpool-terrace, Islington	1	0	0
*Hill, James, 254, Blackfriars-road	1	0	0
*Collier, F, 15, New Broad-street, City	1	0	0
*Stokes, Francis, 175, Strand	1	0	0
*Faithful, Fred, 22, St. Paul's Churchyard	1	0	0
*Cook, John, Goodman's Yard, Minories	1	0	0
*Hearder, J, 18, Skinner-street, Snow Hill	1	0	0
*Wilcox, R, 25, Argyle-street, Regent-street	1	0	0
*Chirney, C, 40, Friday-street	1	0	0
*Sherman, J W, Surry Parsonage	1	0	0
*Alexander, Wm, Great Yarmouth	1	0	0
*Brock, Geo, M.D., Wellington, Somerset	1	0	0
"A Friend from Somerset"	1	0	0
*Mackintosh, R J, West Stratton, Hants	1	0	0
Silverlock, E, Newport, Isle of Wight	1	0	0
"A Friend," Suffolk	1	0	0
Monod, Mons, A Vieuxseux, Rue Louis le Grand, Paris	1	0	0
*Fletcher, Caleb, Clementhorp, near York	1	0	0
*Nodings, R H, 6, Mount Parade	1	0	0
*Boarer, R W, Folkstone, Kent	1	0	0
*Clark, S P, Princes Risborough	1	0	0
*Badger, Wm, Cooper-street, Sheffield	1	0	0
*Green, John B, Hayle Mill, near Maidstone	1	0	0
*Hilson, G, manufacturer, Canonage, Jedburgh, N B.	1	0	0
*Hilson, James, ditto ditto	1	0	0
*Oliver, Wm, Langrave, near Havick	1	0	0
Southern, David, Boxley Road, Maidstone	1	0	0
*Tannahill, James, Truro	1	0	0
*Ormston, J, Cumberland Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne	1	0	0
*Davies, T, Nabb, near Oakington, Wellington, Salop.	1	0	0
*Dews, D, manufacturer, Osssett Green, near Wakefield	1	0	0
*Robinson, John, Coalbrookdale	1	0	0
*Allen, Simeon, Coseley, near Bilston	1	0	0
*Hastie, John, Doncaster	1	0	0
*Webb, J H, Dublin	1	0	0
*Wallis, T, Quorndon, near Loughborough	1	0	0
*Kirk, John, 118, Meadow Lane, Leeds	1	0	0
*Murray, J, Kennel Park, St. Asaph, N.W.	1	0	0
Cave, Wm, Stonygate, York	1	0	0
*Thistlethwaite, A, Kestor Cottage, Mill Hill, Bolton	1	0	0
*Selkirk, John, High-st, Jedburgh	1	0	0
*Barnesfather, Mr., Letham, by Forfar	1	0	0
*Crowling, S, Rough House, Headingley, near Leeds	1	0	0
*Grease, J B, Bongate Woolen Mills, Jedburgh	1	0	0
*Bisley, Miss, Airedale	1	0	0
*Miller, James, Newhouse, North Berwick	1	0	0
*Cooper, W M, 1 St. Mary's Gate, Derby	1	0	0
*Wood, R, New-street, Doncaster	1	0	0
*Sharman, Wm, Bitteswell, near Lutterworth	1	0	0
*Ford, C D, Morecombe Lodge, Yealand Conyers, near Lancaster	1	0	0
*Parratt, E H, Broadstones, Bradford, Yorkshire	1	0	0
*Tee, Wm, Barnsley	1	0	0
*Newton, Henry, Ashton-under-Line	1	0	0
Day, Edward, Silver-st., Durham	1	0	0
*Cresswell, Thomas, Pinfold-st., Darlaston	1	0	0
*Whiteley, S, Linthwaite, near Huddersfield	1	0	0
*Brookes, E L, Peck Lane, Nottingham	1	0	0
*Paterson, James, 3, Denburn-terrace, Aberdeen	1	0	0
*Dundersdale, Richard, Deansgate, Bolton	1	0	0
Rawsthorn, Davies, ditto	1	0	0
*Bell, Wm, Ford House, near	1	0	0
*Bell, Wm T, High-street	1	0	0
*Armstrong, Henry, Union Bank	1	0	0
Robson, Thomas, Cumberland-terrace	1	0	0
*Danson, Ralph, High-street	1	0	0
Hardcastle, Geo, Norfolk-street	1	0	0
"A Friend," Monkwearmouth	1	0	0
Sunderland.			

Edinburgh.	*Hume, R. 3, East Register-street ..	3	0	0
	*Hill, John, 60, Broughton-street ..	2	0	0
	*Snowden, J. and W. 63, Grassmarket ..	1	0	0
	*Russell, R. Canon Mills ..	1	0	0
	*Marshall, Wm, W. 18, Albany-street ..	1	0	0
	*Dick, Mary, Veterinary College ..	1	0	0
	*Houlden, Thomas, 9, Nicolson-street ..	1	0	0
	*Bladworth, Jonathan, 129, Grassmarket ..	1	0	0
	*Robertson, Jas, at Mr. Henderson's, 3, Castle-street ..	1	0	0
	*Anderson, C. 5, North Charlotte-street ..	1	0	0
Greenock.	*Waddell, Wm, 50, Melville-street ..	1	0	0
	*S. S. Perthhead Ford, by ..	1	0	0
	*A. Z. ..	1	0	0
	*X. Y. ..	1	0	0
	*Jessamine, John, at Messrs. Campbell, Anderson, and Co. ..	1	0	0
Halifax.	*Anderson, Andrew ..	1	0	0
	*Bannatyne, James, Brougham-st ..	1	0	0
	*Whitehead, Thos, 28, Upper Crib Lane ..	1	0	0
	*Sykes, James, Market Place ..	1	0	0
	*Stocks, Joseph, Light Cliffe, near ..	1	0	0
Leicester.	*Ackroyd, John, Saville-row ..	1	0	0
	*Whitehead, Joseph, King's Head ..	1	0	0
	*Beale, C. Regent-street, Welford-road ..	1	0	0
	*Palmer, J. W. Chemist, Market-street ..	1	0	0
	*Roberts, J. grocer, Hotel st ..	1	0	0
Nottingham.	*Scott, T. tailor, Market-street ..	1	0	0
	*Latham, Wm, Gallowtree Gate ..	1	0	0
	*Edlison, Booth, surgeon, High Pavement ..	1	0	0
	*Mosley and Son, 10, Lion Square ..	1	0	0
	*Holbrook, Wm, New Sneinton ..	1	0	0
	*Ward, Frank, Plough and Harrow ..	1	0	0
	*Watts, Wm, jun., Ang-l-row ..	1	0	0
	*Cripps, Wm, Park-terrace ..	1	0	0
	*Hidout, H. G. Houndgate ..	1	0	0
	*Carver, T. Mount-street ..	1	0	0
Butler, Richard, 15, Pickering-place, Paddington ..	0	10	0	0
	Sharlani, Thomas, Bishopgate within ..	0	10	0
	Ashford, R. H. 41, Bethnal Green Road ..	0	5	0
	Bickers, Henry, 8, Paradise-row, Chelsea ..	0	5	0
	Grethen, Thomas, 4, King's-terrace North, Clerkenwell ..	0	4	0
	Grethen, Thomas, J. ditto ..	0	4	0
	Bentley, John, 9, Southampton-street, Pentonville ..	0	4	0
	Mansfield, John, 8, Ardwick-street, Clerkenwell ..	0	4	0
	Craddock, Charles, 52, Barbican ..	0	4	0
	Potter, Robert, 18, Clarendon-square ..	0	4	0
Bannister, Wm, 5, Newcastle-street, Clerkenwell ..	0	2	6	0
	Bennett, R. 22, Shoemaker row ..	0	2	6
	Wilson, Charles, 41, Upper York-street, Marylebone ..	0	2	6
	Swiney, Mr., 4, Bret's Buildings, Hoxton ..	0	2	6
	*Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed subscriptions.			

ERRATA.—In LEAGUE, No. 119, for John Fellowes, King's Head, Museum-street, £1, read the Bloomsbury Auxiliary Association, held at the King's Head, Museum-street.

GREAT LEAGUE MEETING AT MANCHESTER.

A meeting was held at the Free Trade Hall, on Thursday night, which, however great the previous assemblages of Free Traders there may have been, was unexampled both in numbers, influence, and enthusiasm—in everything, in fact, which can give interest and moral weight to the great movement in which the League are embarked, and which there is now every reason to believe they will speedily carry, despite opposition in every shape, to a final and glorious issue. It was evident at an early period of the week that the assemblage would be unusually great; for on Tuesday, the first day on which tickets could be had, the application for them was so rapid and pressing, that the extraordinary number of eight thousand tickets was disposed of in three hours and a half; and the demand continued to be unabated. Under these circumstances, it became a question whether the audience should be limited to something like that number, or whether an arrangement could not be made, by economising the space within the hall, to prevent the extent of disappointment amongst the public, which must otherwise be felt. The result was, that a large portion of the seats were removed from the platform and from the body of the hall, so as to increase the extent of the standing room. By these means it was calculated that room for an extra thousand was gained; and on the strength of this, and in anticipation of the number who might not be able to attend, although they had obtained tickets, or who, in the event of being too late for seats would retire, the Council of the League determined upon the issue of three thousand extra tickets. Even this additional issue did not meet the demand: there was not so much as a ticket to be had to the reserved seats and platform after three o'clock on Wednesday; and neither influence nor favour could secure to those who had not made an earlier application the magic password which should confer upon them the honour of becoming a unit in this large and most magnificent assembly. At least 5000 persons who applied after this hour had to take a denial. Even large contributors to the League Fund had to submit to the disappointment. It is almost needless to say that the hall was filled; the rush at the doors was almost overwhelming, and at a considerable time before the hour of business arrived every sitting and standing place in the vast building was occupied.

There was a great number of well-dressed ladies present; and the appearance of the building, filled with such an audience, was magnificent beyond description. Since the last meeting the artist has been busy in the work of renovation. We stated in a former notice that the interior of the building was undergoing a thorough alteration; and that under the superintendence of Mr. T. Grieve, the celebrated scenic artist of the London theatres, it was to be transformed into a kind of Tudor Hall. We may now add, this transformation had so far advanced at the time of the meeting as to have a most imposing and beautiful effect. The following more minute description of those alterations appeared in a contemporary:

"The blue draperies on the platform wall, being found to have a very injurious visual effect, have been replaced by crimson, as contributing to a better general effect. The end wall and gallery walls have a white ground, but the greatest portion of their surface is covered with crimson panels. The ceilings are white, with crimson ornaments; the gallery balconies are in a fanciful trellis work, with central panels having groups of figures in them; and the walls below the galleries are, as it were, tapestried with blue draperies. Over each of the central iron columns is a shield, from behind which springs the Caryatides. The front of the platform has been repainted. The walls of the platform and the galleries are covered by a series of large crimson panels, each flanked by narrow lateral panels, on a white ground. The panels have in their centres circular shields bearing devices, and beneath each a white scroll, having usually a

single word, or legend, or motto, in Old English letters, of a crimson colour. In those panels of the platform wall, to the right of the chair, are the following devices and mottoes: The mariner's compass, motto Navigation; the Bible, Faith; three stalks of wheat in ear, Perseverance. In those to the left of the chair:—A pelican feeding her young by opening her breast, Affection; an anchor, Hope; three stalks of wheat in ear, Perseverance. The panels of the gallery will doubtless contain other devices and mottoes, but, as we have said, they are incomplete. All three compartments of the ceiling are panelled with crimson octagonal shields, bordered with gold. In the centre of each octagon is a circle of bright green, in the centre of which again is a rose of gold. To fill up the white spaces between these octagonal panels, are gilded garter and tongue ornaments. A sort of chain border, of various colours, is carried round each compartment of the ceiling. The effect of this style of ornament, while it adds to the richness of the hall, gives semblance of greater loftiness to the roof, and thus in appearance lessens the great defect in the edifice. The gallery balconies have a very pleasing appearance, being composed of a sort of trellis-work of white scrolls, with gold borders, on a crimson ground. In the centre of each compartment of the balcony—that is, between every two pillars—is a panel with some classic group of figures, on a blue ground. These groups are chiefly composed of female figures and children, or, to speak classically, of nymphs and cupids, engaged in various pursuits of science, the fine arts, or the useful arts. In one group, cupids are reaping, and in a second, gleaming; in others, a nymph is seen with palette in hand, or bending over a lyre, or pondering over a sphere; or with The Book, raising her eyes of faith to heaven. The pillars that support the gallery have been cased, so as to take a symmetrical form, as square pillars. They terminate at the top in open-work scroll ornaments, with pendants or drops in the style of the Tudor period of English art. The walls under the galleries are, as we have said, painted so as to appear covered with blue curtains or draperies; these are divided into compartments by painted pillars, parallel to and corresponding with those supporting the galleries. On the centre of each compartment is a crimson shield bordered with gold, containing a device, and beneath each shield is a scroll and legend. Of these there are seven on each side the hall. The general effect of the decorations we have endeavoured to describe, and which leave no part of it, ceiling, walls, or balconies, unornamented, is greatly to enrich its *tout ensemble*, as an apartment; to give it tone of greater warmth, an air of more comfort and splendour; and at the same time to add to its apparent loftiness."

Taking the spirit and enthusiasm of the assemblage into account, together with its magnitude—and the splendour of the decorations and scenic effect brought to bear upon it by the artist—the meeting was certainly like no ordinary gathering. The spectator might have imagined rather that it was some extraordinary pageant in imitation of those with which imperial greatness was wont to be honoured; and that the great leaders of the League movement, fresh from new and yet more successful campaigns than any which they have heretofore achieved, had been met by their grateful fellow-citizens to be honoured with a "triumph." Undoubtedly such a meeting, look upon it in whatever light we may, is a triumph, and a great moral triumph too. The speakers announced for the evening were Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P.; John Bright, Esq., M.P., and W. J. Fox, Esq.; and these gentlemen, accompanied by George Wilson, Esq., the chairman (who had just returned from London, where, on the previous evening, he had presided over a meeting in Covent Garden Theatre), and several influential members of the Council of the Anti-Corn-Law League, entered the hall at half-past seven o'clock precisely. Their appearance on the platform was the signal for a spontaneous burst of enthusiasm, which was renewed and prolonged, again and again. Out of a body of nearly seven hundred gentlemen assembled on the platform, it is hardly possible to give a list of all whose names are deserving of record, as evincing, by the respectability of such an enumeration of names, the estimation in which the Free Trade movement is held. We must, therefore, necessarily confine our notice to the mention of gentlemen who, from the prominent situation in which they were placed, came more immediately under our eye. We observed—

Col. Thompson, J. Brotherton, Esq., M.P., the Mayor of Manchester, Alderman Walker, Alderman Potter, Alderman Kay, (the ex-mayor), Alderman Shuttleworth, Alderman Mayson, Alderman Armitage, Alderman Harvey, W. Rawson, Esq., W. Bickham, Esq., J. Whittaker, Esq., Ashton; J. Cheetham, Esq., Ashton; C. Mann, Esq., Leamington; James Brotherton, Esq., barrister; H. Rawson, Esq., T. Barnes, Esq., Halshaw Moor; J. B. Scott, Esq., Samuel Fletcher, jun. Esq., H. Ashworth, Esq., Turton; S. Lees, Esq., T. Bazley, jun. Esq., J. B. Smith Esq., J. Simpson, Esq., J. G. M'Ninness, Esq., Warrington; I. Wild, Esq., Oldham; J. Fletcher, J. Howard, and J. Earnshaw, Esqrs., Oldham; J. Baxter, Esq., Hollinwood; G. Crossfield, Esq., Warrington; J. T. Crook, Esq., Liverpool; J. Crook, Esq., Bolton; W. Morris, Esq., J. Harding, Esq., T. Bright, Esq., T. H. Williams, Esq., Rev. Mr. Fox, Leeds; J. D. Fernley, Esq., Stockport; T. Woolley, Esq., W. M'Call, Esq., W. Shuttleworth, Esq., J. Rawson, Esq., C. Cobden, Esq., S. P. Robinson, Esq., J. E. Royle, Esq., and W. Evans, Esq.

The Chairman, on rising to open the proceedings, was loudly cheered. He said—Ladies and Gentlemen, there have been meetings held in this room which have filled the spectators, [on previous occasions, with considerable astonishment, but I confess I never in my life saw a meeting where the people were "potted"—more completely.—[Here the Chairman was interrupted by a slight disturbance arising from the over crowded state of the meeting. He continued:] I must beg of the meeting to make every allowance for the inconvenience to which it will be subjected to night (hear, hear); and I also must call on the gentlemen who are placed in inconvenient situations, to preserve as much order as they can under the circumstances (hear, hear.) Since we last met, perhaps the meetings in support of the abolition of the Corn-Laws have not been quite so many as those called in support of protection, but I will venture to say that they have been of a character that has done more to riddle the old bulk of monopoly than any that have previously taken place (loud cheers.) I find, on looking over the minutes this evening, that immediately after the last meeting held in this room, a month ago, Mr. Bright and Mr. Villiers attended a meeting at Wolverhampton, and also a meeting in the Potteries. At the same time, Mr. Cobden was addressing the citizens of London—his fellow-citizens—in the Guildhall, at the largest meeting ever known to have been held in that place. We next find them assembled at Covent Gard-

Theatre; and it is said, and I believe with truth, that upwards of 30,000 tickets were applied for to that meeting. Now I am here to-night to apologise on behalf of the Committee for that which they believe must be, to some extent, regarded as an offence committed by them in refusing tickets to thousands who have applied at the League during to-day and yesterday. I myself was offered, immediately on my return from London, a donation of 5*l.* to the League Fund on condition of securing a gentleman a ticket to this meeting. Of course I declined it, and I merely mention the circumstance to show, if any friends have been disappointed, the difficulty we have had to contend with, and they may judge for themselves how far the Committee are answerable for that disappointment. Well, after the meeting at Covent Garden, another meeting was held in Manchester—that meeting was to originate the Quarter of a Million,—the Great League Fund (loud cheers). And I believe that nothing the League has ever done has so completely silenced, destroyed, the hopes of the monopolists of being able to keep up the game of protection at that step and the success which has attended it (loud cheers). For what has been the result? We find that with the few meetings that have been called for the purpose—only three—a considerable portion of the amount has been raised. At one held in the Town-hall, Manchester, and presided over by Mr. Gregg, 60,000*l.* was put down in the room—(loud cheers)—which has since been increased by other amounts—deducting the sums given by gentlemen at Liverpool to that meeting—to 75,601*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* (loud cheers). Then, our friends proceeded to Liverpool, and there, last Friday, a meeting was called in the Amphitheatre, at which 12,000*l.* was subscribed in the room, to which may be added the subscriptions announced at the Manchester meeting from Liverpool, and those since received in Liverpool, amounting altogether to 16,000*l.* (renewed cheers.) Well, there has been another meeting—a meeting at Leeds, last night, when there was a dinner. Three hundred delegates, from the principal towns in the West Riding, met together in the Music Hall. They were presided over by the Mayor. One of the members for Leeds, Mr. Cobden, and Mr. Bright, addressed the meeting; also our gallant friend Col. Thompson (cheers); and there was subscribed in the room 34,000*l.* (great cheering). There also has been a meeting at Dundee, for the purpose of raising subscriptions; and our friends the Baxters, five of them, put down their names for 150*l.* each (cheers), making a commencement of 750*l.* from one family; and the subscription at Dundee, which is still going on, amounts to 2000*l.* (cheers.) I will not name the Glasgow and Edinburgh subscriptions in progress, because their meetings have to be held this week, and the result is not known. I only know from the correspondence which has taken place that they intend to do justice to this Fund, as they did to the last (hear, hear, and cheers). The only other meeting which has been held on behalf of the Fund, was one at Stroud, in Gloucestershire; and at Stroud, where no deputation from the League could attend, 1300*l.* has been raised (great cheering). Now then, putting the whole of these subscriptions together—including those of many large towns which are only in progress—we find the total amount to be 128,801*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* (immense cheering.) The other meetings which have been held, and which I have omitted mentioning, have been in furtherance of the qualification movement. One of these has been held at Newcastle, where, as here, after erecting a temporary building for the purpose of immense size, as many people had to be excluded, or pretty nearly so, as those who were able to obtain admission (hear, hear). The only remedy for this state of things that I have heard suggested, is one from our gallant friend the Colonel, on our way to this meeting, that we should pull down our barns and build greater (cheers and laughter). From Newcastle, our friends journeyed to Carlisle, and thence again to Kendal, at which towns they held qualification meetings; and here they are to-night (cheers)! I shall begin the real business of the meeting by calling on Mr. Cobden (cheers).

Mr. Cobden rose amidst the most rapturous applause from all parts of the vast hall. He said—I shall begin the few remarks which I have to offer to this meeting by proposing, contrary to my usual custom, a resolution; and it is, "That the merchants, manufacturers, and other members of the National Anti-Corn-Law League claim no protection whatever for the manufactured products of this country, and desire to see obliterated for ever the few nominally protective duties against foreign manufactures, which still remain upon our statute books" (Cheers). Gentlemen, if any of you have taken the pains to wade through the reports of the protectionist meetings, as they are called, which have been held lately, you would see that our opponents, at the end of seven years of our agitation, have found out their mistake, and are abandoning the Corn Laws; and now, like unskilful blunderers as they are, they want to take up a new position, just as we are going to achieve the victory. (Cheers). Then they have been telling something very like fibs, when they claimed the corn laws as compensation for peculiar burdens. They say now that they want merely protection in common with all other interests, and they now call themselves the advocates of protection to native industry in all its branches; and by way of making the appeal to the less informed portion of the community, they say that the Anti-Corn-Law League are merely the advocates of free trade in corn, but that we want to preserve a monopoly in manufactures. Now, gentlemen, the resolution which I have to submit to you, and which we will put to this meeting to-night—the largest by far that I ever saw in this room, and comprising men of every class and of every calling in this district—let that resolution decide, once and for ever, whether our opponents can with truth lay that to our charge henceforth. There is nothing new in this proposition, for at the very beginning of this agitation—at the meeting of the Chamber of Commerce—when that faint voice was raised in that small room in King-street, in December, 1838, for the total and immediate repeal of the corn laws—when that ball was set in motion which has been accumulating in strength and velocity ever since, why, the petition stated fairly that this commu-

nity wanted no protection for its own industry. (Hear, hear.) I will read the conclusion of that admirable petition; it is as follows:—"Holding one of the principles of eternal justice to be the inalienable right of every man freely to exchange the result of his labour for the productions of other people, and maintaining the practice of protecting one part of the community at the expense of all other classes to be unsound and unjustifiable, your petitioners earnestly implore your honourable house to repeal all laws relating to the importation of foreign corn and other foreign articles of subsistence, and to carry out to the fullest extent, both as affects agriculture and manufactures, the true and peaceful principles of free trade, by removing all existing obstacles to the unrestricted employment of industry and capital." (Cheers.) Now, we have passed similar resolutions at all our great aggregate meetings of delegates in London ever since that was issued. Gentlemen, I don't put this resolution as an argument or as an appeal to meet the appeals made in the protection societies meetings. I believe that the men who now, in this seventh year of our discussion, can come forth before their country, and talk as those men have done—I believe that you might as well preach to the deaf adder. (Hear, hear.) You cannot convince them. I doubt whether they have not been living in their shells, like oysters; I doubt whether they know that such a thing is in existence as a railroad, or a penny postage, or even as a heir to the throne. (Great laughter and cheering.) They are in profound ignorance of every thing, and incapable of being taught. We don't appeal to them, but to a very large portion of this community, who don't take a very prominent part in this discussion—who may be considered as important lookers-on. Many have been misled by the reiterated assertions of our opponents; and it is at this eleventh hour to convince these men, and to give them an opportunity of joining our ranks, as they will do, that I offer this proof of disinterestedness and the fairness of our proposals. I don't intend to go into an argument to convince any man here that protection to all must be protection to none. If it takes from one man's pocket, and allows him to compensate himself by taking an equivalent from another man's pocket, and if that goes on in a circle through the whole community, it is only a clumsy process of robbing all to enrich none; and simply has this effect, that it ties up the hands of industry in all directions. I need not offer one word to convince you of that. The only motive that I have to say a word is, that what I say here may convince others elsewhere—the men who meet in protection societies. But the arguments I should adduce to an intelligent audience like this, would be spoken in vain to the members of parliament who are now the advocates of protection. I shall meet them in less than a week, in London, and there I will teach them the A, B, C of this protection. (Immense cheering.) It is of no use trying to teach children words of five syllables, when they have not got out of the alphabet. (Applause.) Well, gentlemen, what exhibitions these protectionists have been making of themselves! Judging from the length of their speeches, as you see them reported, you might fancy the whole community was in motion. Unfortunately for us, and for the reputation of our countrymen, the men who can utter the drivelling nonsense which we have had exhibited to the world lately, and the men who can listen to it, are very few in number. I doubt exceedingly whether all the men who have attended all the protection meetings, during the last month, might not very comfortably be put into this hall. (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, these protection societies have not only changed their principles, but it seems they have resolved to change their tactics. They have now, at the eleventh hour, again resolved that they will make their body political, and look after the registration. (Laughter.) Why, what simpletons they must have been to have thought that they could do any good without that. So they have resolved that their societies shall spend their money in precisely the same way that the League have been expending theirs. Why, they have hitherto been telling us, in all their meetings, and in all their newspapers, that the League is an unconstitutional body; that it is an infernal club which aims at corrupting, at vitiating, and at swamping the registrations; and now, forsooth, when no good can possibly come of it—when they most certainly have wisely abstained from imitating it, since they cannot do any good, and have kept up the strain they formerly had, of calling the League an unconstitutional body; they resolve to rescind their resolution, and to follow his Grace the Duke of Portland's advice, and fight us with our own weapons. Now, I presume, we are a constitutional body. (Much cheering.) Eh, it is a fortunate thing that we have not great dukes to lead us (laughter). But, now, of what force is this resolution? Like everything they do, it is farcical—it is unreal. The protection societies, from the beginning, have been nothing but phantoms. They are not realities; and what is their resolution—what does it amount to? They resolve that they will look after the registration. Why, we all know that they have done their worst in that way already. We all know that these landlords may really make their acres a kind of electioneering property. We know right well that their land agents are their electioneering agents. We know that their rent-rolls have been made their muster-rolls for fighting the battle of protection. These poor drivelling people say that we buy qualifications and present them to our friends; that we bind them down to vote as we please. We have never bought a vote, and we never intend to buy a vote or to give one (cheers). Should we not be blockheads to buy votes and give them, when we have ten thousand persons ready to buy them at our request (applause). But I suspect that our protectionist friends have a notion that there is some plan—some secret, sinister plan,—by which they can put fictitious votes on the register (Hear, hear). Now I beg to tell them that the League is not more powerful to create votes than it is to detect the flaws in the bad votes of our opponents; and they may depend on it, if they attempt to put fictitious votes on the register, that we have our ferrets in every county—(laughter and cheers)—and that they will find out the flaws; and when the registration time comes, we'll have an objection registered against every one of their fictitious qualifications, and make them produce their title-deeds, and show that they have paid for them.—

(Cheers.) Well, gentlemen, we have our protectionist opponents; but how we may congratulate ourselves on the position which they have given to this question by the discussion that has been raised everywhere during the last few months! We cannot enter a steamboat or a railway carriage—nay, we cannot even go into an omnibus, but the first thing that any man does, almost before he has deposited his umbrella, is to ask, "Well, what is the last news about the Corn-Laws?" (Cheers.) Now, we, who remember how difficult it was, at the beginning of our agitation, to bring men's minds to the discussion of this question, when we think that every newspaper is now full of it—the same broad sheet containing, perhaps, a report of this meeting, and of the miserable drivelling of some hole-and-corner agricultural gathering—and when we think that the whole community is engaged in reading the discussion, and pondering on the several arguments, we can desire no more. The League might close its doors to-morrow, and its work might be considered as done, the moment it compels or induces people to discuss the question. But the feeling I have alluded to is spreading beyond our own country. I am glad to hear that in Ireland the question is attracting attention. You have probably heard that my friend Mr. Bright and I have received a requisition, signed by merchants and manufacturers of every grade and party in Belfast, soliciting us to go there and address them, and I deeply regret that we cannot put our feet on Irish ground, to advocate this question. (Applause.) To-day I have received a copy of a requisition to the mayor of Drogheda, calling a meeting for next Monday, to petition for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn-Laws, (cheers)—and I am glad to notice at the head of that requisition the name of the Catholic Primate, Dr. Crolly, a man eminent for learning, piety, and moderation, and that it is also headed by the rest of the Catholic clergy of that borough. (Loud applause.) I hope that these examples will not be without their due effect in another quarter. We have, I believe, the majority of every religious denomination with us—I mean the dissenting denominations; we have them almost *en masse*, both ministers and laymen, and I believe the only body, the only religious body, which we may not say we have with us as a body, are the members of the Church of England. (Cries of "Hear, hear!" and "Shame on them!") On this point I will just offer this remark: the clergy of the Church of England have been placed in a most invidious, and, I think, an unfortunate position, by the mode in which their tithe commutation charge was fixed some years ago. My friend Col. Thompson will recollect it, for he was in Parliament at the time, and protested against the way in which the tithe commutation rent-charge was fixed. He said, with the great foresight he had always shown in the struggle for the repeal of the Corn-Laws, that it would make the clergy of the Church of England parties to the present Corn-Law by fixing their tithe at a fixed quantity of wheat, fluctuating according to the price of the last seven years. Let it be borne in mind that every other class of the community may be directly compensated for the repeal of the Corn-Laws—I mean every class connected with agriculture—except the clergy. The landlords may be compensated, if prices fall, by an increased quantity of produce, so also may the farmer and the labourer; but the clergy of the Church of England receive a given number of quarters of wheat for their tithe, whatever the price may be. I think however we may draw a favourable conclusion, under all the circumstances, from the fact that I believe there has not been one clergyman of the Church of England at all eminent for rank, piety, or learning, who has come out, notwithstanding the strong temptation of personal interest, to advocate the existing Corn-Law (hear, hear). I think that we may take this as a proof of the very strong appeal to justice which this question makes, and perhaps augur also that there is a very strong feeling amongst the great body of the members of the Church of England in favour of free trade in corn (hear, hear, and cheers). Well, gentlemen, there is one other quarter in which we have seen the progress of sound principles—I allude to America. We have received the American President's Message; we have had also the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, and both President Polk and Mr. Secretary Walker have been taking my friend Col. Thompson's task out of his hands, and lecturing the people of America on the subject of free trade (cheers). I have never read a better digest of the arguments in favour of free trade than that put forth by Mr. Secretary Walker, and addressed to the Congress of that country. I augur from all these things that our question is making rapid progress throughout the world, and that we are coming to the consummation of our labours (cheers). We are verging now towards the session of Parliament, and I predict that the question will either receive its *quietus*, or that it will lead to the dissolution of this parliament; and then the next will certainly relieve us from our burden. (Cheers.) Now gentlemen, many people are found who speculate on what Sir Robert Peel may do in the approaching session of parliament. It is a very hazardous thing, considering that in one week only you will be as wise as I shall, to venture to make a prediction on this subject. (A cry of "We are very anxious.") You are very anxious, no doubt. Well, let us see if we can speculate a little on futurity, and relieve our anxiety. (Cheers.) There are three courses open to Sir Robert Peel. He may keep the law as it is; he may totally repeal it; or he may do something between the two, by tinkering his scale again, or giving us a fixed duty. Now, I predict that Sir Robert Peel will either keep the law as it is, or he will propose totally to abolish it. And I ground my prediction on this, because these are the only two things that anybody in the country wants him to do. There are some who want to keep protection as it is; others want to get rid of it; but nobody wants anything between the two. He has his choice to make, and I have this opinion of his sagacity, that, if he changes at all, he will change for total repeal. (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, the question is, "Will he propose total and immediate repeal?" (Loud cries of Hear, hear.) Now, there, if you please, I will forbear to offer a prediction. But I will venture to give you a reason or two why I think he ought to take total and immediate repeal. I don't think that any class is so much

interested in having the Corn-Laws totally and immediately repealed as the farming class. I believe that it is of more importance to the farmers to have the repeal instantaneous, instead of gradual, than to any other class of the community. In fact, I observe, in the report of a recent Oxfordshire protection meeting, given in to-day's paper, that when Lord Norreys was alluding to the probability of Sir Robert Peel abolishing the Corn-Laws gradually, a farmer of the name of Gillatt cried out, "We had better be drowned outright than ducked to death." (Great laughter and cheering.) Gentlemen, I used to employ another simile—a very humble one, I admit. I used to say that an old farmer had told me that if he was going to cut off his sheep-dog's tail, it would be far more humane to cut it off all at once than a piece every day in the week. But now I think that the farmer's simile in Oxford is the newest and the best that we can use. Nothing could be more easy than to demonstrate that it is the true interest of the farmers, if the Corn-Law is to be abolished, to have it abolished instantly. If the Corn-Law were abolished to-morrow, my firm belief is, that instead of wheat falling, it would have a tendency to rise. That is my firm belief, because speculation has already anticipated Sir Robert Peel, and wheat has fallen in consequence of that apprehension. I believe that, owing to the scarcity everywhere—I mean in all parts of Europe—you could not, if you prayed for it, if you had your own wishing cap on, and could make your own time and circumstances—I believe, I say, that you could never find such an opportunity for abolishing the Corn-Laws totally and immediately as if it were done next week (loud cheers); for it so happens that the very countries from which, in ordinary times, we have been supplied, have been afflicted, like ourselves, with scarcity—that the countries of Europe are competing with us for the very small surplus existing in America. They have, in fact, anticipated us in that market, and they have left the world's markets so bare of corn, that whatever your necessities may be, I defy you to have other than high prices of corn during the next twelve months, though the Corn-Law was abolished to-morrow (hear, hear). European countries are suffering as we are from the same evil. They are suffering from scarcity now, owing to their absurd legislation respecting the article of corn. Europe altogether has been corrupted by the vicious example of England in her commercial legislation. There they are, throughout the continent of Europe, with a population increasing at the rate of four or five millions a year, yet they make it their business, like ourselves, to put barriers in the way of a sufficiency of food to meet the demand of an increasing population. I believe that if you abolish the Corn-Law honestly, and adopt free-trade in its simplicity, there will not be a tariff in Europe that will not be changed in less than five years, to follow your example (cheers). Well, gentlemen, suppose the Corn-Law be not abolished immediately, but that Sir Robert Peel brings in a measure giving you a duty of 5s. 6s. or 7s., and going down 1s. a year, for four or five years, till the whole duty is abolished, what would be the effect of that on foreign countries? They will then exaggerate the importance of this market when the duty is wholly off. They will go on raising supplies, calculating that, when the duty is wholly off, they will have a market for their produce, and high prices to remunerate them; and if, as is very likely and consistent with our experience, we should have a return to abundant seasons, these vast importations would be poured upon our markets, probably just at the time when our prices are low; and they would come here, because they would have no other market, to swamp our markets and deprive the farmer of the sale of his produce at a remunerating price. But, on the contrary, let the Corn Law be abolished instantly; let foreigners see what the English market is in its natural state, and then they will be able to judge from year to year and from season to season what will be the future demand from this country for foreign corn. There will be no extravagant estimate of what we want—no contingency of bad harvests to speculate upon. The supply will be regulated by the demand, and will reach that state which will be the best security against both gluts and famine (cheers). Therefore, for the farmers' sakes, I plead for the immediate abolition of this law. A farmer never can have a fair and equitable understanding or adjustment with his landlord, whether as respects rent, tenure, or game, until this law is wholly removed out of his way. Let the repeal be gradual, and the landlord will say to the farmer, through the land agent, "Oh, the duty will be 7s. next year; you have not had more than twelve months' experience of the working of the system yet;" and the farmer goes away without any settlement having been come to. Another year passes over, and when the farmer presents himself, he is told, "Oh, the duty will be 5s. this year; I cannot yet tell what the effect will be; you must stop awhile." The next year the same thing is repeated, and the end is, that there is no adjustment of any kind between the landlord and tenant. But put it at once on a natural footing, abolish all restrictions, and the landlord and tenant will be brought to a prompt settlement; they will be placed precisely on the same footing as you are in your manufactures (cheers). Well, gentlemen, I have now spoken on what may be done. I have told you, too, what I should advocate; but I must say, that whatever is proposed by Sir Robert Peel, we, as free traders, have but one course to pursue. If he proposes a total and immediate and unconditional repeal, we shall throw up four caps for Sir Robert Peel (tremendous cheering). If he proposes anything else, then Mr. Villiers will be ready, as he has been on former occasions—(renewed applause)—to move his amendment for a total and immediate repeal of the Corn-Laws (applause). We are not responsible for what ministers may do; we are but responsible for the performance of our duty. We don't offer to do impossibilities; but we will do our utmost to carry out our principles (cheers). But, gentlemen, I tell you honestly, I think less of what this Parliament may do, I care less for their opinions, less for the intentions of the prime minister and the cabinet, than what may be the opinion of a meeting like this and of the people out of doors. This question will not be carried by ministers or by the present Parliament; it will be carried, when it is carried, by the will of the nation (much applause). We will do nothing that can remove us

a hair's breadth from that rock which we have stood upon with so much safety for the last seven years. All other parties have been on a quicksand, and floated about by every wave, by every tide, and by every wind—some floating to us, others, like fragments scattered over the ocean, without rudder or compass; whilst we are upon solid ground, and no temptation, whether of parties or of ministers, shall ever make us swerve a hair's breadth (vehement and protracted cheering). I am anxious to hear now, at the last meeting before we go to Parliament—before we enter that arena to which all men's minds will be turned during the next week; I am anxious, not merely that we should all of us understand each other on this question, but that we should be considered as occupying an independent and isolated position as we did at the first moment of the formation of this League (cheers). We have nothing to do with Whigs or Tories; we are stronger than either of them; and if we stick to our principles, we can, if necessary, beat both (applause). And I hope we perfectly understand now, that we have not, in the advocacy of this great question, a single object in view but that which we have honestly avowed from the beginning. Our opponents may charge us with designs to do other things. No, gentlemen, I have never encouraged that. Some of my friends have said, "When this work is done, you will have some influence in the country; you must do so and so." I said then, as I say now, "Every new political principle must have its special advocates, just as every new faith has its martyrs" (hear, hear and cheers). It is a mistake to suppose that this organization can be turned to other purposes. It is a mistake to suppose that men, prominent in the advocacy of the principle of free trade, can with the same force and effect identify themselves with any other principle hereafter. It will be enough if the League accomplishes the triumph of the principle we have before us. I have never taken a limited view of the object or scope of this great principle. I have advocated this question probably very much as a trader. But I have been accused of looking too much to material interests. Nevertheless I can say that I have taken as large and great a view of the effects of this mighty principle as ever did any man who dreamt over it in his own study. (Hear, hear.) I believe that the physical gain will be the smallest gain to humanity from the success of this principle. I look further; I see in the free trade principle that which shall act on the moral world as the principle of gravitation in the universe,—drawing men together, thrusting aside the antagonism of race, and creed, and language, and uniting us in the bonds of eternal peace (loud applause). I have looked even farther. I have speculated, and probably dreamt, in the dim future—ay, a thousand years hence—I have speculated on what the effect of the triumph of this principle may be. I believe that the effect will be to change the face of the world, so as to introduce—a system of government entirely distinct from that which now prevails. I believe that the desire and the motive for large and mighty empires; for gigantic armies and great navies—for those materials which are used for the destruction of life and the desolation of the rewards of labour—will die away; I believe that such things will cease to be necessary or to be used when man becomes one family, and freely exchanges the fruits of his labour with his brother man. I believe that, if we could be allowed to reappear on this sublimary scene, we should see, at a far distant period, the governing system of this world revert to something like the municipal system; and I believe that the speculative philosopher of a thousand years hence will date the greatest revolution that ever happened in the world's history from the triumph of the principle which we have met here to advocate. I believe these things; but, whatever may have been my dreams and speculations, I have never obtruded them upon others; I have never acted upon personal or interested motives in this question; I seek no alliance with parties or favour from parties, and I will take none—(bursts of enthusiastic applause)—but, having the feeling I have of the sacredness of the principle, I say that I can never agree to tamper with it. I, at least, will never be suspected of doing otherwise than pursuing it disinterestedly, honestly, and resolutely. (Tremendous and long-continued applause.)

Mr. BRIGGS, M.P., was next called upon, and came forward to second the motion. He was received with the most enthusiastic applause. He said—There is an old adage which says that "practice makes perfect," and after the many occasions on which we have had to address public meetings on this question, it might be thought that it was a very easy matter to speak to-night. But I confess that it appears to me that the more nearly this great question approaches to its final settlement, the more onerous is the responsibility which attaches to those engaged in it, and especially of those connected with it who have been prominent in carrying out its proceedings (hear, hear). Looking back to the long years of arduous labour we have devoted to this cause, I am, however, cheered by the belief that the great success which has attended us heretofore, will not now forsake us until the end (cheers). A distinguished writer has said that "empire would be eternal, if the energy and the wisdom displayed in building it up were employed for its conservation," and I believe that if the single-mindedness, the resolution, the determination, with which we have carried on this movement until now, be continued for a little time longer, we shall see a complete and a glorious reward for all the labours which any of us may have bestowed upon this cause (hear, hear, and cheers). Everything indicates that the controversy is waxing hotter and hotter; but there is one peculiar feature to be observed in the newspaper press at this time, which is deserving of attention,—that although the *Times*, the *Morning Chronicle*, and other papers which advocate the total abolition of the Corn-Law, give fairly, openly, and at full length, the reports of all the "protection" meetings that are of the slightest importance, yet the *Morning Herald*, and the *Standard*, and the *Post*, leave altogether out of their columns any report of such unparalleled assemblages as we have been holding for the last few days (hear, hear). I take it that this proves that our cause is felt to be the stronger (hear, hear), and that our arguments would not do to lay alongside the arguments of the protectionists (cheers and laughter). But these newspapers have always taken this course. The protectionist newspapers have for years

past offered support and security to the farmer as the result of this law. When this present Corn-Law was passed, the *Standard* declared, with the most positive asseveration, that there was no power on earth could change the Corn-Law for at least ten years to come (a laugh). Now, if their readers had believed them in this assurance, does any man believe that the aristocracy and squirearchy would be found coming out of their halls to make such ridiculous spectacles of themselves as we have seen during the last few days, and that we should have heard them charging Sir Robert Peel with treason of the blackest character? Why, every man who has carefully watched his proceedings and heard what he has said—every man who has heard the disquisitions upon his speeches at our meetings—must have known and been assured that Sir Robert Peel was on the direct high road to the not distant abrogation of the Corn-Law (hear, hear). But what have these newspapers been saying? They have fed their deluded readers—if readers they have (a laugh)—with the belief that the people of Lancashire have been more than doubling their capital within the last twelve months; and the *Standard* has been labouring hard to persuade the monopolists that the League was nothing after all, and that if people would not make a noise about it, it would never be heard of (laughter). Now, there have been many speculations as to the late disruption and overthrow of Sir Robert Peel's Cabinet; and if we did not know that it has been brought about and has been the result of that discussion of the Corn-Law, to which the League has been instrumental, I should say that that Cabinet was destroyed by the patronage of those newspapers which have professed to be its organs (laughter). For there is no newspaper published in this kingdom which is so notorious for execrable writing, and still worse argument, than is that morning paper which has tried hard to become the organ of Sir Robert Peel's government (cheers). And if no other cause had been assigned for the decease of that administration—if a coroner's inquest had been held upon Sir Robert Peel's late government, to find out the cause of its death, I am certain that the verdict of the jury must have been that it died of the advocacy of the *Morning Herald* and *Standard* (loud cheers and laughter). Allusion has already been made to the meetings of the lords and squires. Why, this is the time of year, I believe, when Merry-Andrew exhibitions are numerous at the various Christmas fairs throughout the country (laughter); but these Merry-Andrew exhibitions are of this peculiar character, that there is nothing merry about them. If there is anything justifiable in this system of protection, which the agriculturists claim a right to, then I think those who get up the Christmas pantomimes have a clear ground for protection against these agricultural societies. (Hear and laughter.) The great Central Agricultural Association has met, and the extraordinary number of from 200 to 300 persons assembled. (Laughter.) The Duke of Richmond was, as usual, prime mover and chairman, the Duke of Buckingham not coming prominently forward. The sayings of this Duke are worthy of remark; not for their wisdom, but I believe it is possible often to learn something from a fool. (Cheers and much laughter.) He says that we have attacked the agricultural interest, because we know that that great and powerful interest stands between us and the carrying out of our dangerous and democratic views. Now where did he learn that we had any democratic views? It is not in our writings or in our speeches. (Hear, hear.) We have done nothing that is likely to prove half so dangerous and disastrous for the aristocracy of England as the aristocracy is doing for itself. (Cheers.) Why, all the harsh words and all the arguments you could bring against the reasonableness or unreasonableness of maintaining an aristocracy—could not be half so damning as the fact that the aristocracy are at issue with twenty-seven millions of people on the vital and important question as to whether these people should be allowed to feed themselves. (Great cheering.) There are people who have ulterior objects. It would be a pitiable condition the people would be reduced to if they were all at one mark—if some were not moving on faster than others; but I may tell the Duke of Richmond and his co-labourers in the cause of monopoly, that they themselves are holding out the most pressing invitations man can hold out to the great mass of the people, to go on with that which we have begun, and to wrest from them the power they have exercised to the great injury, and I would say to the ruin of many thousands of the people of Great Britain. But this Duke of Richmond declares—and the force of impudence could not farther go—that they have never sought protection for themselves, but for the good of all their countrymen. (Laughter.) Now I ask for whose interest except his own, he sought protection for the salmon fishery in the river Spey? (Cheers.) I believe that in the days of our grandfathers, when salmon was more plentiful, it was common to put a clause in articles of apprenticeship, that boys should not be compelled to eat salmon more than four days a week, (laughter); but I cannot conceive how people were to be benefited by laws which shut out all salmon from the north of Europe, and compelled us to go to the drag-nets of the Duke of Richmond for this delicious fish. (Hear, hear.) Yet this Duke comes before a meeting and says—and allows the reporters to send it all through the country, that he has no interest in this question beyond what the whole of the people have in it! (Laughter.) There was, besides the illustrious duke, a Lord Beaumont at the meeting, who made a long speech, and who made, perhaps, as much of these protection laws as it was in the power of any lord to do. One of the passages in his speech was, that—"If he thought that the effect of the operation of the Corn Laws was to enhance the value of corn by diminishing the supply of the food of the people, he would avail himself of that occasion to say to the meeting, that it was an unhallowed cause in which they were engaged, and that the sooner they abandoned it the better. (Cheers.)" And this was received with cheers. Now there is besides this passage another immediately after, which is worth while reading along with it—"The principle which had been adopted in the Corn Law was to encourage the importation of corn when the prices were such as do indicate a scarcity—(hear, hear); and be it remembered that prices were the only indication of scarcity which could be adopted

—an indication which must be correct if the averages of the country were struck correctly, and managed honestly—(hear, hear). Those were the true indications of a want of abundance of food." Now this is precisely what we say. We say, if he believed the corn law was intended to raise the price of corn by making corn scarce, that he would say it was an unhallowed work in which they were engaged. And then he admits that we are to find out whether there is an indication of scarcity by the variations in the price of corn. Well, now, how is it that corn is at a high price now? Is it because there is more corn in the country than is wanted, or less? Why is it that in abundant harvests prices are low and in scarce ones high? Why because deficient harvests necessarily lead in some degree to scarcity, and that scarcity rises in some degree the price. This corn law is intended to raise the price. The only fear the protectionists have of its abolition is lest the price of corn should as a consequence go down. Then if this be the fact, if this law be intended to create an advance in the price of corn, I do not see how Lord Beaumont can escape from the conclusion that this corn law is calculated to have the effect of making the supply of corn smaller than it would be, and that in accordance with his own statement at Willis's Room he, and those with him engaged in an "unhallowed work" (cheers). But Lord Beaumont says, and says truly, that every one must be aware that if the Corn-Law goes, every other protection must go with it. And I ask him why? We in the manufacturing district are not protected, but yet I should say that his argument may not be good. It may be that the sugar protection is very necessary, although the Corn-Law may be found not to be so; and assuredly if the abolition of the corn monopoly would hurt the landowners and farmers, it may be fairly presumed that the abolition of all other monopolies would only add to the evil and calamity with which the country has been visited (hear, hear). Mr. Christopher spoke at this meeting—(the man who was called the "pilot balloon in 1842, though no man on earth could look more unlike a pilot balloon)—he made a remark, which men of the West India interest will take to heart. He said:—"It had been truly said by his noble friend that if they removed from agriculture that protection to which it was undoubtedly entitled, they must also remove protection from all the manufacturing and colonial industry of the country. With respect to colonial industry, no one would regret more than he (Mr. Christopher) the removal of protection from it. (Hear, hear). But a large and ample protection was given to the colonies at a considerable expense to the agricultural interest." Well, then, I want him to tell us at whose expense protection is given to the agricultural interest! (Hear, hear.) Lord Beaumont followed it up by saying that the Northampton shoemakers would be in a terrible plight, and that the watchmakers of Coventry would be in the same condition if protection were removed. Now we have had meetings at both places, and resolutions carried in favour of free-trade by large majorities! As to the watchmakers of Coventry, why does not every one know that not a man goes abroad now-a-days, but he comes back with a Geneva watch in his pocket; and I dare say a large portion of the gold watches in this room are of that manufacture; therefore, the law affords no protection to the watchmakers. But Lord Beaumont warns them with the intimation that the shoemakers and watchmakers will have to suffer the same fate if the landowners' monopoly goes. The witty editor of the *Examiner* tells us of a cock which, when strutting about the stable, reminded the horses that they should tread very softly for fear of injuring each other. (Great laughter, and cheers.) But Lord Beaumont went farther than this. He adverted to labour simply, and he said protection and labour must not be withdrawn or it could not be said where the evil would end. He said:—"But carry out the principle of free trade, as applied to labour—take away the protection afforded to labour by the operation of the Poor-Law, and what would become of that class? (Hear, hear.) God forbid that should ever come to pass. God forbid anything should be done to aggravate the sufferings of that class: but if this race of free trade were once begun it could not stop at landlord and tenant—(hear, hear)—but it must run through all the various ranks of society until it reached these poor deluded men" (laughter). I presume all the men who met at Goatcote, in the parish of Lyncham, the other day, are included in this warning. He talks of the protection of the Poor-Law. The Poor-Law is no more a protection to the weaver and labourer than it is to the House of Peers (applause). The one has as much right to its protection as the other, and Lord Beaumont has as much protection from it as any labourer has; and he has no right to base upon it this additional one, that he will have the privilege of selling his produce at an additional price. (Cheers.) But what does this law which he says gives protection to the labourer say? Does it not say that it shall be made harsh? Its object is to drive men from parochial assistance and to make them fall back upon "their own resources." We ask Lord Beaumont and his peers to do that which they say the poor man should do, that they may not live upon the industry of others (cheers)—that they shall not feed us and shut us out from the world's market, and take the high places of the land, and by their authority pass laws which trample upon the poor for the sake of adding to the riches of the already most powerful and richest class in the kingdom (cheers). What dreadful things are to happen if bread is made plentiful enough for all the people! Why such calamities have never befallen any country as we are threatened with if the people take to eating beef and wheaten bread instead of potatoes (much laughter)! We shall begin by-and-bye to associate the idea of potatoes with peers, and of coronets with curry-powder (cheers and laughter)—and I was going to say, but for what we have heard in some degree as an excuse for the church, of mitres with mangel-wurzel (renewed cheers and laughter). Now, what are these terrible evils? That land will be thrown out of cultivation; that people will, many of them, be thrown out of employment; that the aristocracy will not be able to keep their position in society; that the church will be overthrown and Christianity along with it; and that the monarch, now so beloved and respected through the kingdom, will no longer be thought worthy to wear a crown (cheers and deri-

live laughter). Now, the consequences will be very different—they will be very simple. I admit that they will not be such as Lord Beaumont or the Duke of Richmond would like. I recollect a statement made by a man who was brought up before a magistrate charged by a lady with asking for relief, and when she declined to give, the ruffian came very near her and looked very fiercely, and said: "You had better give me some money, or else——" Well, the magistrate thought it a very serious case, and shook his head, and looked very like a magistrate (laughter), and after hearing the charge fully made, he put it to this ruffian what he meant, "Why," he said, "all I meant was, she must give me some money, or else——I should have to work for it" (cheers and laughter). Why, this is precisely what will happen to the aristocracy and squirearchy when the great mass of the people have enough bread to eat (cheers). It's not a very awful calamity if it should happen (laughter). I do not pretend to understand exactly what our constitution is made of; whether it stands upon a point or pivot so nicely balanced that it may be easily overturned; but I have no idea that it is of a construction so fragile that it will be overturned because we have plenty to eat (applause and laughter). Now the plain meaning of all this is, that these Dukes must turn to honest courses. They must come to understand their own position in the country—and a great and glorious position it is, if they did but understand it. Look to their broad acres! Some of them—I was going to say you might travel an hour by railway through some of their estates—and what they might but accomplish if they were men (cheers). See the manner in which they might stimulate the industry and provide for the moral comforts of the people around them! See how they might be leaders of counties and towns, instead of being, as now, mere contemptible tyrants, and jealous of every man who asks his countrymen to look them in the face (cheers)! But what a delusion it is about this protection. I think it was the late Professor Porson who had a great objection to sea-bathing, and who said he supposed the only reason why it was in any repute at all, was because some few persons had been known to survive it! That is the only reason given for continuing protections. Some few trades have lived—they have not gone stark out, although they have had this protection; and it would seem on that account these ignorant men cling to this protection, as if there was something good and really salutary about it (applause and laughter). There's a new—not exactly a new dodge, but one that is brought up again and made a little more prominent, of protecting industry generally throughout the country, seems to me the most officious thing in the world. We don't want any protection here; and yet I think considerable portion of the industry of the country will be seen within the borders of these two counties of York and Lancaster. I can conceive it like nothing but taking some one on a very hot sultry day, and offering him protection, and loading him with coat upon coat till you almost sweat him to death. And you find that wherever they have been the mourning-fathers of trades it has not answered; the child of protection has always been a starved child and decrepid, and has never attained to maturity and manhood (applause). And why then should they thus cling to it? Why, they cling to it for reasons stated by a clergyman who is the relation of a dignitary of the church; for he bears the name of the family of the Archbishop of York. I speak of a speech of the Rev. Vernon Harcourt, delivered at the Chichester meeting. I like to see these men come out, because they, like innocent children, in their simplicity, if there is a secret, let out the truth; and then we find what protection is for. He says:—"It was well known that landed proprietors were not, generally speaking, accumulators of wealth; that, for the most part, they live nearly, if not quite, up to their incomes. They could scarcely maintain their station in society on their present incomes. How were they to maintain them when one-fifth part was taken away? He would appeal to professional men, and those who were familiar with the management of landed estates, whether they were not buttressed with numerous incumbrances, with mortgages, annuities, life insurances, jointures, and he knew not what, which made it extremely difficult for the owners to maintain their station in society? What then, were they to do? Some people would say, 'Let them retrench their superfluities, abandon their luxuries, adopt a more frugal and economical mode of life.' Suppose they were all such conscientious, self-denying men as to agree at once to make this great sacrifice, what would be the consequence to all the tradesmen whom they had been accustomed to employ—for instance, the silversmith, the watchmaker, the haberdasher, the draper, the coachmaker, the painter, the music-seller, to all who had been accustomed to administer to the luxuries which they enjoyed, or to the arts which they protected? The whole would suffer from the privations of the landowner" (laughter). Now we will suppose what he here states to be the case; but suppose I take out the agriculturist here and put in "manufacturer" or "labourer" instead. I could point out manufacturers who are not "accumulators of wealth," and who live nearly or quite up to their incomes, or up to what their business makes them (hear, and laughter); and I could tell of them that had not quite sufficient to keep up their station in society as they could wish (laughter). And then I could come to the weavers, who have a portion of their property at the pawnshop (loud laughter), and who had perhaps no property even there that was nominally theirs (hear, hear); why, I could point to men in every class of the community who might be maintained at the expense of other men, and on whose behalf we might quite as reasonably stand up and defend a law which should devote some of the landed estates to make up a manufacturer's income or support the distressed family of a weaver (hear, hear). I dare say this man is a man of kind heart, and generous, but in all probability he has read no newspaper but the *Standard*, and is quite ignorant of what has been going on for the last seven years. (Laughter). You have heard how the clergy are interested in this question. I think they have another fear, and a greater fear than any they have to apprehend from a fall in the price of corn. I never yet met a monopolist farmer or landowner who did not, when driven

to admit that the Corn-Laws could not be maintained, cast sheep's eye at the Church or at the funds. (Laughter.) One of them is for equitable adjustment or a diminution of the interest of the fund-holders to a large extent; and the other is for getting hold of the title. (Laughter.) Now my opinion is that for Ed many generations the landowners of this country, from sire to son, have cultivated the instinct whereby the men look to live upon the profits of other people's labour, rather than upon their own property; that if this Corn-Law be abolished, and it speedily will be abolished, these landed proprietors, such is their tendency to lay hold of that which belongs to others, that even of the sacredness of the church, which they have intimated upon the people, will not be sufficient to retain its property in the hands of that institution; but these landowners will try by every means to transfer a portion of the whole of the title to the rent-roll of their landed property, instead of its now going, as it does, to the clerical incumbent of the parish. (Applause.) Now about this time last year, just before the meeting of parliament, I had the pleasure to address a meeting in this hall; and I recollect on that occasion taking up your time for a few moments by a slight recapitulation of what this League had done. I stated then, and it will not be without its use to state it again,—that there was a beginning, and that the great sum (for it was then thought great) of 5000*l.* was subscribed to testify the strength of feeling in this town of Manchester; that in succeeding years seven or eight thousand were gathered; that in the year after that, the Manchester Bazaar made a return of 10,000*l.*; that in the year 1843 the fund of 50,000*l.* was proposed, amidst the derision of the monopolists; that twelve months after that the Council of the League asked their supporters throughout the country to double that sum and to give them 100,000*l.* The laugh was not quite so general then, for they had had the experience of the 50,000*l.* (Hear, hear.) In 1845, in the spring, came out the very extraordinary exhibition—the Bazaar that was held in London, producing a sum somewhere between 29,000*l.* and 30,000*l.* (Loud cheers). In 1845 or 1846, within about a month, the project has been opened of raising 250,000*l.* for the service of the Anti-Corn-Law League. There has not been the least disposition to laugh at all at this announcement; the merriment seems to have subsided; the expression is now one of amazement (applause); and they are afraid of opening the morning papers for fear there should be some 10,000*l.*, or 20,000*l.*, or 30,000*l.* added to this gathering fund (applause and laughter). But this is not all, nor near all. Since the project of restoring the county registers has been propounded, and it is not yet two years ago—from a calculation which I am sure is below the mark, a sum of from 500,000*l.* to 600,000*l.* has been expended by the supporters of the League, principally in the northern counties and in Middlesex, for the purpose of wresting the power of legislation from the hands of the class who have so long wielded it (cheers). Now there are men who won't learn anything. We have it from very old authority, "that if you bray a fool in a mortar, he is a fool still" (cheers and laughter). Is it possible that the government and the governing class in this country can shut their eyes to facts like these? Why there is not a country on the face of the earth that can show an agitation of this character carried on for so many years that did not succeed. (Cheers.) The lesson you ought to learn from this movement is this, that we, the thousands, the millions of free-traders in Great Britain and Ireland, believe this principle for which we contend to be as sacred as any principle ever promulgated to man; and more than that, having come to this conviction, we have discovered another thing, that this principle may be carried out; and now we have the firmest faith that this League is destined to carry it out to its fullest extent in the legislation of the British empire. Sir Robert Peel sees this as plainly as any of us see it. He was not born in Lancashire for nothing. His father, that most sagacious of men, did not bring him up in his youth to be the fool in his riper age, not to see to what this great movement is tending; and I confess that notwithstanding the past, and that we have had occasion now and then to spur Sir Robert Peel, sometimes to speak harshly of him, yet I have a lingering wish—a wish, I think, that every day becomes stronger—that, as he sprang from cotton, was born in Lancashire, traces his origin to the mighty industry for which this district is distinguished, he should be the statesman that should confer on industry that freedom and that entire emancipation which we now so unanimously ask at his hands (much applause). Let him do right by the people, and the people will do honestly by him (hear, hear). Let him come out with a measure in accordance with his often avowed sentiments, and this League, with all its influence, wherever it may be, shall be up as one man to second the effort he is making (applause). But, whilst we hope, whilst we look to him for something worthy of his origin, let us bear in mind that we must rely on that power which until now has worked out our success—that is, the power of our own firm resolve (cheers)—and of our own compact and ever-growing organisation (enthusiastic applause). It is not mountain barriers, it is not ocean boundaries, which protect the liberties of a country. It is something amongst the people, something in the heart of a people; it is a self-respect and self-reliant feeling; it is to that you must trust to preserve your liberties from foreign foe or from internal enemies. These monopolists are the enemies of England; they are the enemies of man everywhere. They are in your own border, in your own camp, sapping the foundations of your national strength, and dooming your population to a more humiliating condition than the worst of foreign conquerors would ever have thought of imposing on the people of this nation (applause). We ask for what is very simple. We say that surely as much food as a man can buy, with as much wages as a man can get, for as much work as a man can do, is not more than the natural, inalienable birth-right of every man whom God has created with strength to labour and with hands to work. Now, that is the question; that is the petition; that is the simple demand which now arises from this great meeting, and from the millions who are represented here. We ask of the houses of parliament; we ask of the prime minister; we ask of all

who can say a word in favour of that demand; that it shall be granted in all its entirety—that it shall be granted unconditionally; and as we are committed to this work, and have laboured for years, and have had your confidence, and now have the promise of your continued support, and are here this night, cheered by the presence of some ten thousand of the population of this town, we are prepared to say that come what may come—this League shall last as long as there shall be one shroet of duty on the importation of foreign corn. (The honourable gentleman concluded amidst a rapturous burst of general applause.)

Mr. W. J. Fox, of London, was the next speaker, and was received with much cheering. He spoke as follows:—The little month which has elapsed since I last stood upon this platform, has been rendered memorable by a proceeding which will long influence the course of events in this country, and eventually in other countries; I mean that bold challenge which you, the men of Manchester, have thrown down to monopoly for a five years' conflict, if they dare that conflict, and after that is done, with a spirit that shows your readiness for five years' more, should still think it necessary, for the accomplishment of your purpose. (Applause.) Oh, you have not been idle; you have not only been making cotton, but you have been making history. (Applause.) You have been providing material, and not raw material, for the future annals of our country. (Applause.) Elsewhere there has been change; here there has been progress. Elsewhere there has been shifting and turning out, and turning in again (laughter), showing that modern history, like old houses, may have long passages that lead to nothing (laughter). But you have shown here a short passage that leads to something, presenting a great and tangible object at once attained, and that attainment a prelude and security for a yet greater and more magnificent and enduring result to be realised through its agency. It indicates a spirit before which all opposition must quail. It shows that you have taken up this cause as those who remonstrate against slavery, for white slavery it is, as much as ever the treatment of the negroes was black slavery; the lords of food are the lords of persons all the world over (hear, hear); and these who control what you eat have their fetters and their brand upon you as much as if you were their serfs and vassals (loud applause). They know this; their own statements show a perception of such a truth. There has been already so masterly a handling of the late Protection Society meeting, that I am almost ashamed to draw back your attention to it; but although the harvest has been reaped, a few gleanings are left, of which I may avail myself, and one is, the illustration of the assertion I have just made by an hypothesis of my Lord Beaumont. He says, that "such a state of things may happen as that there shall be scarcity in Europe, and a misunderstanding with America; what then would be our condition? There might be in America abundance of corn; but there might be, at the same time, a disputed territory. At the moment when we were praying for a morsel of food, a military man in the American Congress might be moving a resolution hostile to England. What, then, would be the instruction of our Cabinet to the British Minister at Washington? A stern necessity would compel them to instruct the Queen's Ambassador to say nothing about the disputed territory; or, if the subject were forced upon him by a hostile President, to say that England was prepared to make any concessions. The British Ambassador, instead of contending for the rights of this great nation would be obliged to bend in lowly guise at the feet of the President, and beg of him to spare the English a bit of bread. Well, now, this supposition of scarcity all over Europe, and of hostility with America, is about as likely as that some comet should run foul of the earth, and should dash into chaos all the fertile fields of Europe, and cause the Atlantic and Pacific to meet over what once was American land. An approach of it is conceivable; but there is a much closer approximation in the present condition of the landowners of the country. They, so far as our interests are concerned, blight the fields of Europe with artificial scarcity; they stimulate America into unnatural hostility; and they want to see us, where Lord Beaumont says the British nation would be as to America—they want to see us at their feet, forgetting all disputed territories, having no "Oregon" to quarrel about with them, and only begging humbly that all rights may be compromised, and that we may be allowed a morsel of bread on such terms as our pockets can afford. (Applause.) We are not going to be so submissive as he supposes the British Ambassador would be at Washington. No; we will tell them that we will have the food and the right together; we will compromise nothing in respect to the position which they occupy; we stand on the universal claim of humanity—honest, toiling humanity—to the subsistence which it earns; and if we cannot have it any other way, we will work it out by the extension of those political rights which ancient statutes and usage confirm to the people of this country; thus at once beating back their insolence, gaining the supply of our own necessities, and teaching them that they should not keep people too hungry, nor trifle too long with their wants. Let the recoil should be so strong as to sweep their own ill-obtained and long-abused political predominance away. You have given the world a gauge of your perseverance in this cause. It is one which, once begun, can never be abandoned; one which, once begun, has no termination but its victorious termination, in the abolition of monopoly; one which you have already sustained through prosperous times and disastrous times; through evil report and good report; and let them hold out yet a while, let them drag us through more change, let them again expose the country to yet more vicissitude, let them again multiply bankruptcies and disasters, let them stimulate the howl of want through our villages and our towns,—let them get up any political diversity or bluster of war, to turn attention,—still it will be all unavailing. Through every device, through all change, you will hold on in the course you have begun, and that course can only result in absolute and unconditional success. (Applause.) And they see the symptoms of your success. They let out many facts illustrative of the condition into which they themselves have got. A Mr. Ball, a speaker at this meeting, said "the time had now arrived when concession must cease, when every member of Parliament who was elected by a county population, or by a borough dependent on rural support, must feel that his duty was to support the agricultural interest." And again he tells them, "if the county members were only true to the peasantry, the tenantry, and the farmers, the latter class would be faithful to

them." The county members, and the little boroughs dependent on rural support! There all their hopes centre; they give up the towns; they have lost the towns; and how much is implied in that abandonment? (Hear, hear, hear.) To lose the towns in a question of this sort, is to lose the very centres of intelligence and light. (Applause.) It is to lose those bodies who have made the House of Commons what it is; it is to lose the power which has stimulated agriculture, for you have no such thing as skilled agriculture but where there are large towns; it is to lose the power which has made their land worth what they are; it is to lose the riches that their gain would use; it is to lose the power which has worked out every great question that the political history of this country knows; it is to lose the asylums for the hunter and starved serfs, who fly thither from the country. (Loud applause.) It is to lose whatever most plainly speaks the opinions of a great nation; and a confession of the loss is a confession of their own hostility to the common sense of mankind,—aye, of the right, the truth, the justice, of the cause which they hold in contest. (Applause.) Well, they have done with the towns; we've begun with the counties. (Applause.) We are following them up in their own regions. Their concession leaves only this field on which to fight out the remainder of this great battle, and there the struggle is about to be made. It is only a beginning yet, but it is a beginning; which, woe to them, if they abide the termination. (Cheers.) The commencement indeed is a splendid one; but which speaks first of the counties? The West Riding of Yorkshire. (Loud applause.) The foreman of the county jury of Great Britain in the county comes forward to pronounce a verdict of condemnation on this most iniquitous system. (Applause.) The example will be followed; it will go from one to another, and not exactly as the Duke of Richmond says, by fabricated votes. Fabricated, in one sense, indeed they are, as the savings of honest industry in gaining a freehold—a fabric which is an honourable memorial of the industry and patriotism of the individual, as well as a direct service to the country. (Applause.) But the votes are not fabricated in the sense of their faggot votes—are not fabricated in the sense of those mere nominal holdings by which their stewards and servants have been sent up to the poll. The votes are not fabricated in the sense in which many of their arguments are fabricated (laughter)—are not fabricated in the same sense as their quotations from Adam Smith. (Hear, hear.) And if we come to that, what is the Duke of Richmond himself, his title and his lineage? What are the Richmonds but a fabrication of Stewart lasciviousness, and of Stewart lavishness, at the expense of the nation's purse? (Applause.) Well, but they tell us now they are going to fight this out in good earnest; and should they revoke a portion of their own constitution; and their constitution won't work; they demolish it after only two years' experience. They rescind the declaration that their sovereignty shall on no account interfere with the election of members to serve in Parliament; that is, by that rescinding, they adopt the positive, and declare that that sovereignty shall interfere in the election of Members of Parliament. That sovereignty of ducal and other titled members now declares, not that they shall go to the registration courts merely, not that they will pay a lawyer, not that they will sanction votes; but they, with the Dukes of Richmond and Buckingham at their head, solemnly declare to the country that they have changed their minds, and will interfere with election of Members of Parliament. This is in the very teeth of all that has been called constitutional. (Hear.) Their determination not to interfere was either right or wrong: if right, why do they alter it? if wrong, why have they been abusing the League all this time for taking a different course? They have had their whole run of accusations; there has not been a meeting at which they have not talked of the unconstitutional proceedings of the League. There has not been an electoral contest in which they have not endeavoured to bring this notion to bear upon the minds of the electors; they have made the country ring with the cry of "Strangers from Lancashire—aliens interfering with the process of election for members of Parliament. They have taken to themselves the credit of constitutional purity and abstinence; their hands, forsooth, were clean; and they were perfectly horror-struck at the sight of these enormities. They deliberated whether they should not be put down by fresh enactments more stringent on behalf of the right of free and independent election; and now they come forward when there is a prospect of an election at hand; they came forward on the first occasion, when they could do anything, by altering all this, and throwing overboard their own resolution of abstinence; they now will interfere, and that with all their might, in order to emulate the League in the use of its own weapons. Why, who does not know they have been interfering all their lives? (Hear.) Where is there a county throughout the whole length and breadth of the land in which they have not sold off their voters according to their estates, and in which the issue of elections have not been coloured with the maps of the property of that county? They have reckoned this as a part and parcel of their inheritance. They have grown voters by a more rapid process, and with greater care for their culture, than they have grown any kind of corn; and now, in the face of all this, with one of the most daring acts of hypocrisy, at the present time (they confess their hypocrisy in the past time) they assure us that they are indeed right whichever course they pursue—the League being equally wrong whatever may be the measure which it shall adopt. In the discussions that took place on his rescinding of their original constitution, Sir Robert Peel, as usual, was roughly handled; but their moral code is a remarkable one, for I believe few people would pick out as the most intolerable vices those which they have selected for their distinguished reprobation. This same Mr. Ball says of him, that he was alarmed at the prospect of famine. "Sir Robert Peel became alarmed about famine; he quailed before the public press." Sir Robert Peel cannot return the compliment. (Applause.) They are not alarmed about famine: they can face it, so that it but put cash into their pockets. (Applause.) They are not quailing before the public press; they bear a heavier load of exposure, odium, and scorn, than any class of men has ever hitherto been found able to make head against. (Applause and laughter.) His vices, such as they esteem them, are not found in themselves; they are free from both. They have the hardihood to bear a country's anathema, so that they can but continue to reap that country's plunder. (Applause, and hear, hear.) But they are determined to be active; they will be up and doing; and it is astonishing what they are going to do. One cannot quite pierce through the whole cloud of metaphor in which it is enveloped; but something very portentous is obviously signified. They are going to rouse the British lion; they will make him roar and shake his mane (laughter); in fact they seem disposed to deal with him like a showman who stirs up the beast with a

long pole that he may exhibit his fierceness. (Great laughter.) Moreover, they have hoisted their banner—they will stick to their colours—they have raised their flag to the mast; the Duke of Buckingham helped to nail the flag to the mast, and then left the meeting without speaking, to go home to dinner—the flag remaining, flying I suppose till he came back. (Laughter.) They will have "no surrender;" they will raise the cry of "no compromise." They will make Lord William Lennox poet laureate; they will distribute over the country the worst verses anybody ever saw; they will burn the *Times*. (Great laughter.) Don Quixote only rode a tilt against wind-mills; the Duke of Richmond will ride a tilt against cotton mills. (Cheers.) He apologises for his speaking, on the excuse of a bullet in his lungs: there must have been a mistake, I imagine, in the locality. (Laughter.) The absorbing process of the system must by this time have changed its place; instead of lead in the lungs, it is a bullet in the brain, and very ill does it perform the functions of a brain. (Cheers and laughter.) It serves him, however, to threaten with; he accumulates horror upon horror; although no conjuror he seems to adopt the imprecations of the witch in *Macbeth*—

"Like a rat without a tail,
I'll do—I'll do—I'll do."

(Great laughter.) Well, and let them do. (Laughter.) The men of monopoly have already, even now, an organization that can feel no disinclination, if a struggle must come, to fight it out with his class. It is for them to consider, and to measure their forces; they are but the few against the many. Three hundred of them though there might be, they were not Spartans,—no, not with all their love of *Greece*. (Laughter.) Willis's Rooms in St. James's is no Thermopylae, that they can long defend it against the myriads arrayed against them, who are not barbarian myriads, but champions of the nation's civilisation. (Loud cheers.) But they claim to be the majority. "The agricultural interest (says one speaker) is the majority of the nation." How do they make that out? I should like to know. Why, to do that, they take some statistical tables, in which they find put down, perhaps exclusively the number of those engaged in some one sort of mills; and they say, "There are only so many in the country; why, then, all the rest are agriculturists, and there's a majority." (Cheers and laughter.) Well, then, there are millions who have been, with an unhappy facetiousness, said "to rejoice in potatoes;" they put all these down, and reckon them in their majority. (Applause.) There are thousands and tens of thousands that are continually obliged to seek a refuge from their forlorn condition under these lords of protection, that have to fly into the manufacturing districts for something wherewithal to get a bit of bread; or have to take that forlorn asylum, the union workhouse; or, worse than that, perhaps are driven to crime and the gaol; and they reckon them, too, in their majority. (Applause.) There are those pale-faced men that met by the light of the moon at Goutacre, to tell their affecting tales, their simple record of their griefs and grievances,—a record enough to make the nerves thrill, and the tears flow from every one who is formed of penetrable stuff; and they reckon them, too, as agricultural labourers, into their majority. (Applause.) There are some of a different class, that do not meet by moon light to tell their grievances, who prefer the dark night to the light of the moon, and who then steal forth to kindle up an unhalloved glare of their own creating; the men who light up their ricks and their barns; and these go into the majority; they reckon them, too. And last of all, there is Sir R. Peel himself, (laughter,) with all his faults, and shortcomings, and uncertainties; he is not a manufacturer; put him down as in the majority; and thus they make up their majority. Curious mode this of balancing accounts—precious statistics these! Why, there were 200 delegates. They will not allow delegates on all occasions from their fellow countrymen; but there were delegates from local societies to a central society: the very thing for which these men or their predecessors sought to hang Horne Tooke, Thomas Hardy, Thelwall, and their followers; and the very thing for which they did consign to a lingering existence, that was in fact a barbarian murder, in a penal settlement, Muir, Palmer, Skirving, and Margerot from Scotland. (Applause.) Now they can meet by delegation, to resolve that they will interfere with the election of members of Parliament; and then they talk of their majority. Why, if those who are already heart and soul in this cause, if those throughout our populous towns, and over all the rural districts too, were but to show themselves in their multitude and strength, they could sweep the whole clique of them from the face of the earth, and they would never be missed; the world would know nothing of their loss. (Hear, hear.) England, as a nation, would be England still, as wise and great, as free and glorious, as ever England was while Richmonds as yet had no existence on the face of the earth. (Loud applause.) Not only are they the few against the many, but their cause is that of assumption against experience, and the lessons of experience embodied in economical philosophy. They go on with the same account from time to time, of independence of foreign countries, as if it was not also independence of foreign countries upon us. They go on with that often-repeated story of low prices and low wages, and heed not the events that are passing before their eyes from year to year. When has the test of experience been appealed to,—when or where, if not on this topic? Why, Mr. Cobden has stood up in Covent Garden Theatre from year to year, and told how the system would work,—told how, if harvests were abundant, it would affect this question,—how, if harvests were deficient, the country would feel it; shown the connection of the price of food with the prosperity of trade; and no prediction has been so punctually verified, as the circling seasons have gone their round; and they witnessing all this, yet cannot learn from year to year and from month to month. (Hear, hear, hear.) Every man of philosophical mind that has written—every statistician that has accumulated his facts and arranged them in tables—all come to the same conclusion. There is no exception amongst them all. The light of knowledge, the testimony of experience—these are with us. It is against these that they wage a warfare that must be as unsuccessful in its results as it is preposterous in its characteristics. (Cheers.) To take another view of the struggle, their cause is that of ignorance against intelligence, and I say this advisedly. (Cheers.) Wherever they may have been taught—whatsoever school, college, or university may have reared them—nay, though some of them may have gone to two Universities (like the calf that sucked two cows, and became the greater calf)—whatever their training, they have shown the most deplorable ignorance—they confess it—and want of talent in the matter. (Cheers.) They say of this meeting that the debating talent of the House of Commons is altogether against them. (Hear, hear.) They were complaining a little while ago the talent of the press was

against them. (Hear.) They wonder how they should be; and they talk of going into the market for talent. (Laughter.) The *Morning Post* was advising them to send some clever young men to the House of Commons, to plead the cause of poor, dumb agriculture. (Great laughter.) They don't see this truth, that intelligence has a natural alliance with, and a tendency towards, sound views of a nation's economy and interests—(applause)—that you cannot bribe mind to be wholly false to itself. They may purchase a word-grinding; they may set up a rhetorical manufactory; they cannot give that which gold can never buy,—that earnestness of conviction, that lucidness of view, that forcibleness of appeal, which belong alone to the consciousness of truth, and the desire of promoting the nation's advance. (Applause.) Survey the literature of our country; look at it in all its phases. There are some indulging in the remotest speculations of philosophy, and yet blending them with the vivid realisation of the scenes of past history,—like Thomas Carlyle. (Hear.) There are some crowning her melodious songs in solitude, pouring forth the poet's soliloquy, like Tennyson. (Hear.) There are some illustrations known principally working out in the details of imaginary facts, the operation of real causes,—like Harriet Martineau. (Applause.) There are hards of various kinds,—our Leigh Hunts, and Hoares, and Brownings, and Landons,—each in their way rendering song the eloquence of truth. There are some, like Foster, writing lives of statesmen of the commonwealth, and by the history of ancient patriotism, keeping alive the flame of modern patriotism. There are some that show what truth and beauty may be in humble life, what passions may agitate the bosom of the labourer, of the "carrier," of any toil-worn man; and, while dealing with homely things perhaps lending them the likeness of a fairy tale, penetrating to the profoundest truths of human nature, like Charles Dickens. (Applause.) There are some, the light and feathery quality of whose wit attracts the world's gaze, but which, however light and feathery, serves as the wind to the arrow, and sends it home to the heart of corruption,—like Douglas Jerrold. (Loud applause.) And I say, go the whole round of literature, they are ours—all ours. (Loud applause.) Ours, from the graceful fancies of Thomas Moore (hear, hear) to the stern denunciations of Ebenezer Elliott. (Applause.) They are ours, not by undetected tendency in their own writings; they are ours by explicit declarations. They are ours, all of them, more or less, by what they have written to further this great and good cause. (Applause.) They are ours by a common pledge, common pledge of a mutual bond, in which we read the worth of intellect, of talent, of genius to a country; and render to that genius grateful homage, a nobler homage than patriotism of peers ever rendered to hireling songs and strains of luxury. (Applause.) They are ours, I say, and would be ours, did contest assume a darker and more fearful character. The bard of old was warrior as well as bard,—knew how to work deeds of heroism which he knew to sing; and such is ever the tendency of genius. When it comes to the last resort, to the direct appeal, where is the poet? (Hear, hear.) Where?

"The minstrel boy to battle is gone,
In the ranks of death you'll find him;
My father's harp he has girded on,
And his wild harp is slung behind him."

(Cheers.) Oh, they are at war with the intelligence of the country, now marking a most propitious era, but every day more and more identifying itself with the wants, the rights, and the exertions of the country at large. It is a new phase in literature,—a new and glorious one,—and the herald of better times than the world has yet seen. Why, even their own sycophants, those of them who have any mind, and who may for a while have been bribed to prostitute that intellect, will say, as Thersites says of those Homeric herds drawn by Shakespeare,—the hordes who carried their brains in their bellies, and their bowels in their head—(laughter)—they will say, as Thersites says of Ajax and Achilles,—"I will go away; I will go where some wit is stirring, and leave this faction of fools." (Laughter.) They war not only against the intellect of their own land, but against the common sympathies of our nature, against the intellect of all other countries, and against the great, the mighty stream of tendency in human affairs, which, as Dr. Channing said prophetically, and, I believe, the last address he ever delivered, "sets on toward free trade whenever intellect is cultivated, as well as wherever trade is pursued, throughout the world." What is the world's petition on this question? Why, amongst those petitions which the king of Prussia disposed of so cavalierly the other day from the representations laid before him,—amongst those even we find a plea, a prayer, to be delivered from some of the nuisances of their custom houses. They want to be less imprisoned than they are by the restrictions that bind them. In France, your proceedings are reported; histories exist there already of the League, recording its past exertions, and prepared for the supplement that is to record its final triumph. (Applause.) In America, some of the best works on political economy, some of the amplest and noblest illustrations of free trade, have been produced by trans-Atlantic writers. It was predicted, 16 years ago, by Judge Cooper, in his lectures on political economy, that the corn laws of England would be abolished whenever the different classes, trading, professional, and those of limited income, should see their common interest, and unite against the corn on oppression. (Applause.) The time has come, and the prophecy is about to be fulfilled. (Applause.) The last presidential election in America, shows the way in which things are tending there. It shows us that we are at one with the world, and that they are aliens from, and in hostility with the world. What, would these dukes, and their little clique of retainers isolate Great Britain from the nations of the earth. Would they shut out the resources of other countries ready to be exchanged with ours? Would they reduce us to live, first, on the corn which they grow, and that consumed, I suppose to feed upon one another? (Laughter.) Would they bring us back to a savage state, and reduce her Majesty Queen Victoria, from being the empress of the greatest state in the world, to be—only, Queen of the Cannibal Islands? (Great laughter.)—They are struggling with interest and ineradicable sympathies. Man must feel for sorrow; it is wrought into his frame; it is a portion, one might say, of his physical constitution. The nerves will thrill at the exhibition of pain and agony. It is sad to see nobles shorn of their dignities, bereft of their estates, sent abroad, exiles over the world, to pick up a scanty subsistence as the old nobility of France was sent. It is sad to see a nobility thus reduced, although perhaps there are some of whom a jury might be disposed to say, as was once said in a case of manslaughter—"We find, saved 'em right." (Laughter.) It is sad to behold talent and industry buffetted their way through the storms of life, hardly able to make head amongst

the trials and oppositions that beset them. It is sad to witness the bereavements and afflictions that come to the homes of all in their kind and their produce weeping and wailing. But the saddest of all sights is that of a multitude of people without a sufficiency of food. (Hear, hear.) That is what wrings the soul; and the sympathy reacts, strengthening the indignation with which we see that this is not the disposition of Providence, but the abuse of property, with its influence over legislative enactment. They make head against this. The common feelings of our nature cry out against them, and it is our right for which we stand (applause)—an inherent, natural, universal right. Burke, the eloquent and philosophical, calls it a natural right, even when his own feelings were excited to the highest degree of antagonism, in his endeavour to put down what were then called "the rights of man," when he sometimes went the length of denying altogether that there were such things as natural rights; but food wrought the admission from him, and he said it was most unwise and unjust to tamper with a nation's food. (Applause.) It is for this right you stand; for this you throw down the gauntlet in the face of the proud aristocracy. You dare them to the conflict which they provoke, in the registration courts, at the hustings, in the future House of Parliament; you will fight it out; and if God defend the right,—the old prayer in duels,—we know what will become of those who are only champions for the wrong,—for their own sordid gains. (Applause.) They have yet to learn the power of principle. That is something out of their calculation; their politics, for a long time, have gone on without it; and they have done much towards eradicating it from the people's minds and hearts. It has been one of the greatest blessings of the League to have revived the sense of this power of principle, to have taught us again the omnipotence of truth, to assure us that a good cause cannot be finally baffled; and in this strength we feel that we are banded together as by a holy League; the tie is as solemn as if confirmed by the oath of an angel, raising his arm to Him who liveth for ever and ever. It is a tie which every soul acknowledges. It is a principle not only of politics, but of morality, of religion, to which lives are devoted in the support of missionaries and of martyrs; and who or what are dukes and earls, that they should think it is for them to stay this tide, and to roll back these irresistible billows which are moving on to the fulfilment of the purposes to which they were ordained of God and nature? (Loud cheers.) It is coming—the end of this struggle—its auspicious end. It is coming; and come when it will, the heartfelt testimony will be borne, not here only, but all over the country, that you, men of Manchester, you have done it. (Applause.) All else has been subsidiary. Philosophers have laid down the principles; statesmen have collected the facts and arranged the results. Politicians are but the machinery by which these results are to be reduced to legislative practice. Voters, constituencies are only the intermediate powers to connect public opinion with a representative legislature. Queen, Lords, and Commons, will be but formal agents to give solemn record and authenticity to that which, wherever and however accomplished, originated with you, the men of Manchester. (Applause.) It will not be unremembered. The old man, as his daily strength reminds him of the termination of his course; as the bending body shows its inclination to the grave, and the world begins to fade away from his sight,—the old man will go to his rest, the more contented that his children will not have his hardships to struggle with,—that an easier and a blissful course is before them; and he will die with blessings on the men of Manchester. (Applause.) The future child will learn to lisp its history. It will be early taught the events that have brought the world into the condition in which its own eyes were first opened; and as it traces those pages, its sight cannot but rest on one, the brightest amongst them all, which tells of the good that in this great struggle was wrought out by you, the men of Manchester. (Applause.) You will all of you face your own last great change with stouter hearts, in the consciousness, that whatever else may have been your short comings, in this great matter you leave the world better than you found it. (Applause.) And in future times, when there is more of enjoyment on the face of the earth, and the people, leading their glad some lives, compare them with the past, to stimulate their thankfulness; or when the struggles of those times come on—for struggles in this imperfect condition of humanity there ever will and must be—those who enjoy, and those who struggle, will, for gratitude the one, and for encouragement the other; look back to the history of this agitation, and to its triumph; and in their thankfulness, and in their invigorated strength, they, too, will accumulate their blessings on the heads of you, men of Manchester. (Prolonged cheers.)

Col. THOMPSON and Mr. BROTHERTON, M.P., were loudly called for. Their speeches are in type; but we are compelled to omit them.

Mr. HENRY ASHWORTH moved (seconded by Mr. THOMAS BAZLEY) that the best thanks of the meeting should be given to the gentlemen who had addressed them. This was carried with three cheers, and the proceedings terminated at twenty minutes before eleven.

NORTH WILTS.

An enthusiastic demonstration, in favour of the repeal of the Corn Laws, took place at Malmesbury, on the 29th ult., when a numerous meeting, called on the requisition of many of the most respectable inhabitants, was held in the large room, at the King's Arms Inn, in that town.

S. U. SALTER, Esq., deputy high steward, presided; (Joseph Neeld, Esq., M.P., being the high steward of the borough.)

HENRY GALE, Esq., of Milborne House, proposed the first resolution, "That the laws interfering with the free importation of corn and other provisions, are alike injurious to agriculture and commerce, by diminishing the application of capital to industry, and are the source of poverty and crime." After alluding to the remarkable circumstances under which they were met, Mr. Gale proceeded, in a long and masterly address, to show the origin of the Corn Laws, the injustice which characterized their imposition, and the opposition which was then raised against them. He described the injury they had inflicted on the farming interest among others; and pointed, as a proof of their unjust and evil operation, to the fact that no less than four commissions had been appointed to inquire into their effect on various classes. That the question would not bear investigation was evident from the circumstance of the refusal of Committees of Inquiry moved for by Mr. Cobden, &c. He spoke of the Duke of Wellington as, probably, the chief hindrance at the present time to the repeal of the Corn Laws, and pointed to his conduct with regard to the Test and Corporation Acts, Catholic Emancipation, and the Reform Bill,

as reasons why he, of all other men, should not now be allowed to stand between the people and their rights. He then showed the fallacy of the "peculiar burden" argument, and gave many instances of "peculiar exemptions" which the land enjoyed. The wages question was next entered into, and it was proved that wages never had risen with the price of food; the value of labour depending, like that of all other things, on the demand for it. It was also shown that with a low price of wheat the farmer might, and did, obtain a better profit from his farm than when it was at a high price; because, when corn was at, say 41s. a quarter, the labourer and mechanic had more money to spend in meat, butter, cheese, and other articles of farm produce, which consequently brought higher prices. Mr. Gale then made some able remarks on Lord John Russell's Letter to the Electors of London, and he asked the supporters of the Corn Laws, whether they were prepared to take on themselves the responsibility of causing the evils which Lord J. Russell said flowed from their operation, namely, penury, poverty, crime, fever, and mortality. He concluded by calling on his fellow-townsmen to come forward, and with one voice petition for the repeal of these odious laws.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. R. KAYNS, a tenant farmer, and carried unanimously.

Mr. E. PRITCHARD, of Easton Grey, also a tenant farmer and a landowner, moved the second resolution:—"That these laws are taxes imposed on the consumers of food by the owners of the soil for their own intended benefit, and not for public revenue; and one therefore unjust, and ought to be repealed."

Mr. REYNOLDS, of Malmesbury, seconded the resolution in a speech replete with convincing facts and arguments in favour of the repeal of the Corn Laws. He showed the uncertainty of price and of tenure which they gave rise to, and the check to the employment of capital, and consequent slovenly cultivation which followed. To make up for this, the farmer took another farm, and thus a monopoly of land was created, and a large amount of labour displaced. One large farmer often displaced several small ones and their labourers, and the shopkeeper was thus involved in the common distress by the loss of his customers. The political bondage in which the farmer is placed by the present system was next alluded to, and proof adduced from the monopolist organ—the *Morning Post*. The folly of the unchristian cry—"Don't be dependent on foreigners," was exposed; and it was shown that in no way would the blessings of peace be so universally diffused as by the extension of commerce among all the nations of the world. After touching on some other points, Mr. REYNOLDS concluded by seconding the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

3rd.—That a petition to the House of Commons, founded on the foregoing resolutions, be submitted to the Hon. J. K. Howard, M.P., for presentation," was moved by Mr. W. PANTING,—seconded by Mr. LLOYD, and carried unanimously. After which thanks were voted to the chairman, and several hearty rounds of cheering were given for Mr. Cobden and the League.

Throughout the proceedings the greatest interest was manifested, and much determination shown to get rid of the impolitic and unjust Corn Laws.

The meeting was a spontaneous movement on the part of the people of Malmesbury, no agent from the League having in any way taken part in the proceedings. The petition which was adopted at the meeting is, we hear, receiving numerous signatures.

BRIGHTON.

Aristocratic and agricultural Brighton, by its inhabitants in public meeting assembled, has pronounced emphatically its condemnation of monopoly. Brighton is the capital of Sussex. The Duke of Richmond is Lord Lieutenant of the county; and at a public meeting convened and presided over by the High Constable, the protectionists were signally defeated. The speakers on the side of monopoly were Mr. Bridgen and Mr. Cobb, while commercial freedom was ably supported by Mr. Hilton, Mr. Abraham, Mr. Wallis, Mr. Bass, the Rev. J. N. Goulty, Captain Pechell, M.P., and Mr. Shelley, late candidate for East Sussex, and a convert from a fixed duty to total repeal, Lord A. Harvey, M.P., Sheffield. The following resolutions and petition were carried by acclamation. And in a room crowded to excess, and capable of holding 2000 persons, there were not more than a dozen dissentients. Honour to Brighton for having thus nobly done its duty.

"That in the opinion of this meeting, all laws tending to prevent the free interchange between nations of the necessities of life, are unjust in principle, oppressive in their operation, and injurious to the best interests of the community, and ought to be forthwith repealed."

"That this meeting deeply sympathizes with that large portion of the labouring population who are mainly dependent on potatoes for subsistence; views with alarm the deficiency of the wheat harvest, and the blight in the potato crop—a deficiency which the laws restricting the importation of food prevent the people from supplying. This meeting, therefore, pledges itself to use its utmost exertions to procure the total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws."

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The humble Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants of the Borough of Brighton, agreed to at a Public Meeting, held in the Town Hall, Brighton, on the 13th day of January, 1846.

Sheweth, That your petitioners are deeply impressed with the oppressive and injurious tendency of all laws preventing the free importation of corn and other articles of food. And that they view with feelings of alarm the results inevitable upon the deficiency of the wheat harvest, and the disease which has so rapidly and extensively spread throughout the potatoes, an esculent on which your petitioners regret to say, a large portion of the labouring population are compelled to subsist, owing to restrictive commercial enactments. Your petitioners are further of opinion that the removal of all such restrictions would mainly tend to alleviate the sufferings of the labourer, give confidence and energy to the farmer, extend trade, manufactures and commerce, and whilst thus increasing the happiness and prosperity of our own countrymen, would secure the continuance of a friendly alliance with foreign powers, so conducive to the best interests of nations.

Your petitioners would therefore respectfully, but earnestly intreat your Honourable House at once to adopt such measures as shall have for their object the immediate, total, and unconditional repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

GREAT MEETING AT LEEDS.

THE WEST RIDING DINNER.

This great event, which has for some days been looked forward to with intense interest throughout this county, and with some degree of interest throughout the entire country, took place in the Music-Hall, Leeds, on Wednesday evening last.

About 400 sat down to dinner in the saloon of the building. The tickets for dinner, exclusive of wine, were sold at the very high rate of 10s. 6d. each. Many of them were reserved for delegates from different localities. They were not, therefore, advertised for sale in the usual manner; but, nevertheless, there was a demand for them, quite equal to the limits of that part of the Hall in which the dinner took place. The only parts of the Hall unreservedly thrown open to the public, were the orchestra and the gallery, which were both filled, though for admission to the former (both being exclusive of dinner,) 5s. was charged, and to the latter 2s. 6d.

Its greatness as an event did not consist so much in its numerical strength, as in the powerful display of attachment to the great objects of that mighty body, the sinews of whose warfare it was its chief end to supply. In the aggregate amount of its subscriptions, the growth of Free Trade principles in this district was so marked and decisive that it must indicate to all unprejudiced minds that the West Riding has taken leave of monopoly. The increased confirmation of the truth and justice of those principles on individual minds was also exhibited in a substantial manner; for while in some instances we observed individuals subscribing double and treble the amount of their former contributions, and others not having previously subscribed occupying prominent positions on the list, it is but reasonable to infer that such liberality was dictated by a corresponding conviction of the importance of the great object of Corn Law repeal—an object which we believe the League is not only designed but destined to accomplish.

One fact, it is said, is worth a thousand arguments. The progress of the League has been a gradual series of facts. It has now gone on through all the degrees of comparison. Its 50,000*l.* subscription was a great fact; its 100,000*l.* a greater fact; and its Quarter of a Million fund (more than half realised in the course of one month) is its greatest fact. This is, indeed, a superlative argument, which it would be idle to place in comparison with the position of the monopolist cause. In the West Riding it is certain Free Trade is now the grand actuating principle of a large majority of the constituency. The revision courts have proved this; a West Riding out-door meeting has recently added its confirmation by its unanimous testimony; and now the Riding nobly backs up its former resolve—adding the "oak to the acorn"—by a subscription of 33,440*l.*, with a prospect of a probable increase to 40,000*l.*, or upwards.

Amongst the gentlemen present were—John Darnton Ancock, Esq. (Mayor); Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., John Bright, Esq., M.P., William Aldam, Esq., M.P., Colonel Thompson, Hamer Stansfield, Esq., Edward Baines, jun., Esq., Peter Fairbairn, Esq., J. G. Marshall, Esq., John Wilkinson, Esq., J. S. Birchall, Esq., John Marshall, Esq., (Horsforth Hall), Wm. Kelsall, Esq., Councillor Banett; Mr. Benjamin Marshall and W. Harvey, Esq., of Barnsley; George Anderton, Cleckheaton; Wm. Rand, Esq., of Bradford; Wm. Chadwick, of Arksey; Edw. Akroyd, Esq., and Wm. Morris, Esq., of Halifax; John Hallowell, Esq., of Hebden Bridge; F. Schwann, Esq., Wm. Willans, Esq., Thos. Mallinson, and R. Welsh, Esq., of Huddersfield; Jos. Craven, of Keighley; Wm. Akroyd, Esq., of Otley; Robert Bentley, of Rotherham; — Wilkinson, Esq., and — Solly, Esq., of Sheffield; John Nettleton, Esq., of Wakefield.

The dinner (which was of a very excellent kind) took place at five o'clock; and the speaking commenced at about half-past six o'clock. The Mayor presided. After the more substantial edibles had been removed, and the tables laden with a rich dessert,

The CHAIRMAN rose and said, that as the health of her Majesty had been desired, there was never greater reason to desire it than at present, for recent events had shown her Majesty to be a true friend to the oppressed manufacturers, and to the starving poor of every clime. He proposed, the health of her Majesty the Queen.

"God save the Queen," and three times three.

The CHAIRMAN said, though himself a bachelor, he highly approved and honoured the matrimonial state. (Loud cheers.) He, therefore, would not longer delay to propose the Royal Consort.

"Prince Albert, and the rest of the Royal family," with three times three.

The CHAIRMAN said, he had now the honour to propose the members of the House of Commons who had supported Mr. Villiers's motion. (Cheers.) He knew not in what words to express himself on this toast. The chief of those members were seated on his right hand and his left. (Loud cheers.) Men who had been rendered only more formidable by defeat, and passing through the length and breadth of the land not as vanquished foes, but as conquering heroes. (Cheers.) Associated with them was a gentleman, who sat on his left; whom it had rejoiced them in Leeds and the West Riding to see associated with this chosen band. (Cheers.) Long might he thus be associated with them, to fight their battles, and to reap with them the reward. He gave, "The Members of the House of Commons who have supported Mr. Villiers's motion. (Loud cheers.)"

Mr. ALDAM (loud cheers): He must be allowed, in the first place, to express his extreme regret, that of the many able men who had supported Mr. Villiers in his motions for the repeal of the Corn Law, it devolved upon one so little able as himself to return thanks.

There were present men who had borne the brunt and heat of the battle (cheers) throughout the movement for the abolition of the laws so hostile to their interests, and who were well able to supply any deficiency of his. They might congratulate themselves that they had now present both those distinguished members, whose unwearied efforts had principally brought the question to its now triumphant position; so that now, at last, we were prepared for a great step in advance, and, he trusted, to a final settlement. (Cheers.) If the ministry of Sir Robert Peel were true to the principles he had professed; if Sir Robert Peel would act on the principles to which he gave in his adhesion in the House of Commons; of buying in the cheapest, and selling in the dearest market; if Sir J. Graham would act on his declaration that the principles of Free Trade were the maxims of common sense; if Mr. Gladstone would act in consistency with the able and humorous speeches which he made as President of the Board of Trade; if these three most able members of the Government would act out their principles, then the measure of the Government would be a complete settlement of the question. (Cheers.) He could not believe that the Cabinet, after the very severe lessons they had had, would bring forward any measure that would not be final. He could not believe that after the distress the country suffered previous to the last two or three years, in the frightful era of 1842, after the truth of those narratives which were then repeatedly made in the House of Commons had been completely established, the reports of manufacturing establishments out of employment, of workmen without work, and wives and families destitute, foot-roads crowded and increasing, and of the working classes sinking lower and lower in misery—he could not think that the Government would run the risk of the recurrence of scenes, owing to a similar depression. And what guarantee had they that such a state of things might not come, from a similar recurrence of disastrous seasons. They had already had a warning. One of our great staples, forming the chief subsistence of too large a portion of the people, had failed to a great extent, and potatoes were now at a price which, as compared with ordinary seasons, was exorbitant. The history of the last quarter of a century showed that good trade followed abundant harvests, and that scantiness of food always produced distress; and often the extreme of misery. Was our prosperity for ever to rest on so fragile a basis? (Hear, hear.) Was the activity of the trade of the country to depend on the mere accident of good or bad harvests within the narrow limits of this island? Are we not now to be allowed to supply our wants upon the best terms, and without shackles, from any part of the world where the supply can be had most advantageously? Let us no longer be subject to the contingency of a bad harvest in a particular country, but be free to supply ourselves from any country. The aggregate produce of the world was always sufficient, and Free Trade would allow the country, where there was abundance, to furnish those where there was a deficiency. The countries around us were making great progress in manufactures. France, according to the report of her minister of commerce, was making a progress far beyond that of former years. The advance of the United States was still more rapid, and it was to be remembered that in a quarter of a century the United States would have a population equal to ours, and in half a century would nearly double it. Our country was one of contracted limits, with a soil not the most fertile; and if they allowed their industry to be restricted by limiting the subsistence of the people to what was produced at home, how was it possible for England to maintain her place among the nations. Let the corn trade be thrown open, and our corn fleets cover the sea, as they would do in a few years, and we need not fear that anything could interfere with the regularity of the supply. We were now dependent on foreign commerce, and its interruption for a single month would produce the most fatal results. (Cheers.) We were already so far dependent that it was necessary to become more so, until it should be so obvious that the least threat of interference might at once rouse the country to the most strenuous effort to resist it. The example of this country in regard to Free Trade was beginning to be followed in other countries. We have not yet gone far enough to induce a very decided imitation, but it was obvious that more decided measures on our part would be readily followed. In France there were symptoms that the protective system was giving way. In Spain, which had hitherto been bound up by the protective system, there was a large and increasing party endeavouring to throw aside the shackles of the protective system. In America, the party opposed to the protective tariff, was making every effort, and he believed they would succeed. We must advance in our onward course, and when the greatest commercial nation thus decides the example, it would be unhesitatingly followed by others. (Cheers.) He must be allowed to say one word as to his attendance here. When first invited, as he had an important engagement, his intention was to decline, but believing that some might think that if the member for Leeds did not attend, it might indicate a lack of earnestness in the cause, and therefore, though at great personal inconvenience, he resolved to be present. (Cheers.) They were assembled to follow up a great fact by a still greater fact, and one that would have considerable influence in deciding the result. (Cheers.) The purpose to which these funds were to be applied, tended more directly than ever to the great object, and that by means unobjectionable in themselves. Their first object had been the diffusion of information on Free Trade by public meetings, by discussions, and by pamphlets, explaining the case in all its bearings. They had now a right to say that the subject required no further enlightenment. Now a new course had been struck out. Whatever might be their opinions on the suffrage, whether they were for complete suffrage, or for finality, or for any intermediate step, what-

ever their opinions, they must rejoice in the extension of the franchise by the means which had been devised by the League. This was a movement that must effect its object. He would no longer detain them from the business of the meeting, but in the name of himself and the other members who had supported Mr. Villier's motion, he returned thanks. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. G. MARSHALL then rose and said:—The toast he had to propose was the mighty League, of which they were all members, but which was more particularly represented on this occasion by the distinguished persons whom he had the pleasure of seeing on each side of the chairman. (Loud cheers.) He hoped they were prepared to greet them, as their guests, with a welcome such as they would value most, and with substantial proof that the men of the West Riding had given hearty response to the practical appeal made to them by the noble example of the men of Manchester. (Applause.) If, indeed, they needed confirmation of the conviction—and he was convinced it was one which they all must value—that their great cause was identified with truth and justice, and deeply fixed in the hearts of the people, it would be found in the wonderful way in which, in any great emergency, when existing means appeared to be deficient, the League, as if by an electric shock, by an inspiration of power, instantly became possessed of new faculties, new powers, and redoubled strength. (Cheers.) And I hope I may honestly say that which is still higher praise, still higher evidence of the elevation and purity of that principle,—that power which the public had confided to them, and for which he trusted they felt deeply responsible, had, without any, not the slightest, abatement incident to human failings; been conscientiously and constitutionally wielded. (Applause.) They were now approaching the last, he might say, the final struggle. (Hear, hear.) Though their opponents were now divided and dismayed, by their progress, they must yet expect to meet with much resistance. Still more they had to fear some attempt at a fatal evasion of the great principle; an attempt at some compromise which would leave everything unsettled, and the discord which dwells among the various classes of this great community unallayed. (Hear, hear.) It was, therefore, more especially their duty now to declare distinctly their resolve not to accept anything short of an entire and final repeal of the Corn Laws. (Applause.) Indeed, the firmest adhesion to their great principle was admitted by their opponents to be the only consistent and manly course they could take. They even now heard the intelligent protectionist farmers saying, "By all means let this question be settled; if the principle of protection be right, maintain the present Corn Laws; if not, let them be boldly and manfully done away with." (Cheers.) Whilst they rejected all compromise of their principles, they would greatly err, they would injure their cause, if they did not, now in the time of their increasing strength, take additional care that in the manner in which they urged their claims, they acted in any other than a temperate and conciliatory spirit towards their opponents. Many among them they might hope are unconsciously biased by self-interest, and might by such a course on the part of the League be brought to support their cause, and thereby greatly add to their many triumphs. (Cheers.) But he (Mr. Marshall) would not content himself with speaking of their cause simply as one in a state of progression. They were now entitled to look to an approaching final, and he hoped triumphant result. It was upon some of the results of such an event that he wished to say a few words. By some of the honest, but perhaps timid, supporters of their cause, there was an objection that the moment of their triumph might be followed by some disappointment and failure of their highly-excited hopes. "You have promised too much," they say, "from this measure. The labouring man has been led to expect that immediately on the repeal of the Corn Laws he will find cheap and abundant food for the supply of his family; an expectation which, under the present circumstances of disappointed harvests, or harvests deficient throughout Europe, could not be realised." This impression might no doubt, to a considerable extent, be entertained. They could well afford to admit a drawback on the immediate benefits of their measure, but any such disappointment would be but small, and they knew it would be but temporary. Let them take care that the permanent hopes the people entertained of the results of this measure be well founded; and such hopes they were prepared to hold out to no narrow or poor extent. They did not put forth the repeal of the Corn Laws as an isolated measure, which by itself alone would advance the condition of the people to the highest state in the social condition that they could hope for. What they said was, that this was the first great indispensable step. It was the root from which thousands of other social benefits must spring. Having secured to the population of this country in the supply of the main necessary of life, the command of the markets of the world, though the variations of the seasons and of trade would occur, they would not be attended with those fearful convulsions so recently witnessed. Stability, as great as human means could secure, would then have been given to the progress of human industry; and could it be supposed that those who had given their hundreds and thousands for the carrying out of this great measure, which would secure the physical and moral comforts of the people, would not open their hearts and their hands to contribute as much, or even more, if necessary, to carry out those other great measures to which they should, as soon as this was settled, turn and direct their energies? (Loud applause.) Having secured freedom to the commercial and industrial classes—freedom as their necessary basis—they might then hope to see it prove, what it would be if well directed,—a great measure of peace and reconciliation among all classes of the community. The cause of all our discords would

then be removed. An inestimable opportunity would be given for the development of the great spirit of improvement among the more intelligent part of the working classes; and there would arise an increase of union among the people of every nation, and an enlightened benevolence on the part of the wealthy classes, urging them to the improvement of the condition of their humbler brethren, which would be hailed as the brightest omen of happiness for the future. (Applause.) Then they might hope to see the landowner and the manufacturer, the employer and the employed, ceasing to regard each other with jealous selfishness, and emulous only to see which shall be foremost in the race of improvement. (Cheers.) Having offered these remarks, he would no longer detain them, anxious as they all must be to hear his hon. friend near him (Mr. Cobden). He was sure, too, they must be anxious to offer to him and his colleagues, by the hearty welcome with which they would be received, and which it would be difficult to express in words, their light and grateful sense of the indomitable perseverance, the high moral character, talent, and energy, which had characterised their conduct. He proposed, "The League, and may its entire object be immediately and unconditionally attained." (Loud and continued applause.)

Mr. COBDEN was received with deafening shouts of welcome, which continued for some time, when he rose to address the meeting. As soon as he could make himself heard he said: Mr. Mayor and gentlemen, the League this night has been well received, and well spoken of, which is somewhat rare in these times, for we are certainly the best abused body in England. (Laughter.) Probably it may as well devolve upon me, as upon any one person, to speak to the subject of the League, having been in at the birth, as I hope I shall be in at the death of it. (Cheers.) And, certainly, if any excuse be required on behalf of the League, I am as proper a person to offer those excuses as any member of it, inasmuch as, if the League, as a body, has suffered from the indiscretions of its members, I have certainly been placed in a position to fear the risk of committing those indiscretions as much as any man in it. I am not so egotistical as to stand here and claim immunity from the frailties of our human nature (hear), and it would be egotism indeed in me to pretend that during our seven years' apprenticeship to this agitation—for we are only just beginning to be journey-men (laughter)—pursuing, as we did, an altogether untrod course, without precedent to guide us, to pretend that we have not, and that I myself have not, committed many mistakes. Why, gentlemen, I have no hesitation in saying, that if we had to run our career over again, we would beat the monopolists in half the time it has now taken us. (Loud cheers and laughter.) One half of our time has been employed in learning how to do our work; and not a little of it has been employed in undoing that part of it which we had done badly. But here we are, gentlemen, after a seven years' agitation, and I may safely say, at all events, that whatever mistakes we may have made in our mode of operation, we have never changed our principles one hair's breadth, from the moment we commenced our agitation. And I would ask any man, with intelligence enough to fill the position of a statesman in this country, whether it would not have averted great evils, and removed dangers at this moment pending over us, if, seven years ago, our principles had been adopted, as they will now ultimately be compelled to adopt them. Well, gentlemen, if ours be the only remedy for the national dangers, and if the measure we propose was as just seven years ago as it is now, then, I ask, if our opponents and the Government of the country have resisted this measure for seven years, are we the only parties to be charged with indiscretion and error? (Applause.) Is there not something to be laid at the door of those who have resisted this righteous measure, and have put us to the toil and labour of compelling them to do justice to the country? (Loud cheering.) And I not only charge upon the monopolists the necessity for all this labour and expense, which we have incurred, but I charge upon them also all the indiscretions and errors we have fallen into; for had they done justice to the country, there would have been no necessity at all for our Anti-Corn Law League. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Then we have been tried beyond the patience of any human being that ever set up school before. (Laughter.) Why, what a set have we had to teach! (Laughter.) Here we have been seven years lecturing the community; we have brought round the whole of the working classes, for you do not find a man in the labouring classes who is now opposed to us; and yet these educated men—your peers, your clergymen, your members of Parliament, your squires, your men of college education—these men come out at the end of the seventh year of our agitation, and you hear them in all corners of the kingdom, in their little cliques and coteries, actually uttering the self-same nonsense which they were dealing in seven years ago. (Laughter.) Why, is it not enough to tire the patience of the most patient pedagogue that ever set up school? I would forgive these men for never learning anything, but they never forget anything. (Renewed laughter.) Here they are dealing in precisely the same ridiculous fallacies they were seven years ago. (Hear.) Nor do they seem to know that other people have learned something in the meantime. They seem literally to know nothing of the present state of society. They might have been buried, or frozen up in ice, or bottled up in some museum, with their ears closed and their eyes sealed, so as to have neither seen nor heard any thing for the last seven years; for they had neither progressed in knowledge themselves, nor were they conscious that they were being laughed at by the whole community. (Laughter.) Now is not this enough to tire the patience of any man? Have we not been the most prudent and forbearing of human beings? for while these blockheads have been abusing us in all directions,

yet, I declare, we have hardly ever turned again upon them. Sometimes, indeed, we tap them on the knuckles—(laughter)—but, comparatively, we are the meekest and most long-suffering body on the face of the earth. (Laughter.) Now the most serious part of the matter is, that these very men have been the government of the country; that these very men and their class, have been astride the shoulders of the Prime Minister, and of the eminent statesmen who have governed this country for the last fifty years. (Hear, hear.) You laugh when you read the speeches of a Lord Southampton, and a Sir Charles Knightley; but they are the type of the men who have been governing you and your forefathers; and it is fearful to contemplate what this country has had to endure under the guidance of such men. Guidance! nay, the country has not been exactly guided by them. We have always had Prime ministers in this country who have contrived in some degree to evade them. We have had men who—like Sir Robert Peel, for instance, in his Canadian Corn Bill—have concocted some measure to relieve the country a little from the misgovernment of these boobies. (Great laughter and cheers.) They speculate on their ignorance of geography for instance. (Immense laughter.) They see that these men are resolved to starve us; they see that it is no use arguing with them on political economy, so they open a back door through Canada, knowing that these men do not know the St. Lawrence from the Mississippi. (Loud laughter.) I am not merely joking. I am acquainted with the fact, that that idea originated in the Board of Trade, and with a man who chuckled to the day of his death, that he had been the party who first suggested the means of evading these squires. Well, but these are the classes who, in their blind ignorance, have ruled the destinies of this country; and how it is that the country has ever managed to survive that rule, that the Anglo-Saxon people have put forth such mighty energies, in spite of this incubus on their industry, is one of the most marvellous things that the historian will have to deal with. (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, when they tell you that England has grown great, and prosperous, and happy, under this rule, I deny it. Looking at the advantages of this country, the great masses of the people are in the most degraded state that ever characterised a nation; in a condition scarcely superior to so many savages. (Hear, hear.) Look at the state of the population of Ireland, of the agricultural labourers of England, and of a vast number of the unskilled manufacturing operatives. A vast mass of the rural population have been sinking, deplorably sinking, as a class, for the last thirty years. I was born on a farm myself, in the South of England, and I know, of mine own knowledge, that the great bulk of the labouring population in the rural districts have been declining and deteriorating for the last thirty years. (Hear, hear.) I believe the same rule applies for the last 60 or 80 years. We are taught to understand that the condition of the agricultural peasant is not an unhappy one. Whence is the origin of all our beautiful poems, teaching us that the peasantry were a dancing merry set, meeting on the village green, and enjoying their rustic games? Whence is the origin of our performances on the stage, which always represent the labourer on the farm, as a man ever happy, cheerful, and enjoying himself in the sunshine, with a rough hilarity? Why such a state of things exists now only in the imagination, or in romance. (Cheers.) Well, these are the people who have been placed especially under the charge of the landowners of this country. (Hear, hear.) Look at their condition—hopeless, depressed, and without the chance of rising from their condition; for, though in the manufacturing districts you may have a prize sometimes amongst the multitude of blanks, they are all blanks in the agricultural districts. (Hear, hear.) Well, then, I say that the multitude are not in a proud position for the country; and I charge again and again, upon the monopolist landowners, who have had the destinies of this empire under their control, the social condition of the mass of the labourers of this country. (Loud applause.) Now, gentlemen, without wishing to say harsher things than needful of them we will content ourselves with declaring that we will take the government of this country out of the hands of these people. (Tremendous and prolonged cheering.) If there be anybody who considers this principle seditious or revolutionary, I say I will not submit to be governed by this class of landlordism; I say I owe no allegiance to the squires of this country; I do not know that they have any right divine to govern us, whatever they may think themselves; and I say that if there is a means by which the power of the state can be transferred from so ignorant a class, into the hands of a more intelligent body, better capable of wielding it,—then, I say, I should be a benefactor to my country if I could aid in making such a transfer. (Loud applause.) And I believe, gentlemen, the process is going on—going on rapidly. (Cheers.) I believe our opponents have done more to advance our cause by their own conduct during the last twelve months especially, than we could have done in twenty years, by attacking them, even if they had been silent. (Loud applause.) We are going to assert the right of the great mass of the middle and industrious population to the influence which they are entitled to in the government of the country; and I say, no government, henceforth, can be carried on in this country, unless it recognises for its basis the wishes, and the will, and the decision of the population—in Lancashire and Yorkshire—(immense cheering)—because Lancashire and Yorkshire are the basis of the commercial and manufacturing energies of the country. You are, in fact, the shoulders of the empire, and upon your shoulders are laid the country—upon your shoulders rests the destiny of the empire. (Applause.) Now, I think Sir Robert Peel understands this as well as I do, for I am told, upon better authority than the newspapers, that Sir Robert Peel intends, at the meeting of Parliament, that the

address shall be moved by Lord Francis Egerton, and seconded by Mr. Becket Denison. Now that is rather clever. (Laughter.) It at once indicates to the squires that Sir Robert Peel will govern through Lancashire and Yorkshire, or he will not govern at all. (Hear, hear.) And it is ingenious, because he can bring two men to his aid, both, I believe, well disposed to aid him, and both able to say that they cannot be returned again for Lancashire and Yorkshire. (Shouts of applause.) Well, now, next to being able to bring two members from Lancashire and Yorkshire to say they have been sent to advocate Free Trade, is to be able to bring two members from Lancashire and Yorkshire, who can say that their constituents have altered their minds since they sent them to oppose it. (Renewed laughter.) 35,000, I believe, is the number of your constituency of West Yorkshire; 24,000, I believe, is the number they raise in South Lancashire. Now I call the members for these two counties trump cards in any man's hands. (Laughter and cheers.) And it is quite clear that Sir Robert Peel knows when and how to play them. (Laughter.) I can imagine Lord Francis Egerton, our noble member, making his speech, in which he can say, that owing to ill health, or other causes, he has no intention of again offering himself; and I can imagine him offering his disinterested and impartial testimony to the fact that nobody can succeed him in the representation of South Lancashire unless he advocate the total, and the immediate, and the unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws. (Great cheers.) And I can imagine Mr. Becket Denison—(laughter)—rising in his place in the House of Commons, and pointing to the fact, that in the course of a fortnight from that time, a fresh message would be sent up from the West-Riding of Yorkshire (cheers)—and that the message would be brought by a messenger whose proud distinction it is to be sent on a mission to claim for this country the final, and the total, and the immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) After this Mr. Denison may spare any explanation of the present state of the constituency of West Yorkshire. But, gentlemen, all this argues that we are in a new era, that we are not henceforth to be governed by the ignorance of the country, but that the intelligence and the numbers and the wealth of this country will have their due weight in the legislature and the state. (Hear, hear.) I can imagine that Sir Robert Peel, if he takes the course that we are taught to expect he will, can offer a very good excuse to his agricultural hearers for the measures which he is likely to propose. He can remind them of past times, when he has told them that he was a Free Trader in the abstract. (Hear.) He can remind them that he has often boasted that he was of manufacturing origin; and that he has often told them that he considers the prosperity of manufacturers of more importance to land than any law that can be passed for its protection. (Hear.) He has much of this general profession of faith to fall back upon. But I can imagine that he would be prepared to say, "Gentlemen, I did expect to be allowed a little longer time in—letting you down. (Laughter.) I expected this year to have sat as I did the last, and enjoyed the pummelling which the protectionists got from the Free Traders on the back benches (laughter), but circumstances have occurred that have compelled me to do otherwise. We have had a failure of the potato crop; Lord John Russell and the great party of the Opposition have joined the League; these things have forced me to a decision earlier than usual (laughter), and I am obliged to declare for the immediate and final repeal of the Corn Laws a little sooner than I expected." (Loud laughter and cheers.) Gentlemen, he will have a very good plea for this, and if he does not use it in public, he will in private. He may say also: "My advice to the landowners of this country is, to yield on this question of the Corn Laws, and yield as promptly as possible; for the seven years' resistance to the demand for their repeal has done so much to elevate the middle classes of the towns, has done so much to raise the superior portion of the operative classes, has taught them so much self-respect, by having the opportunity of seeing how little respect many of you deserve at their hands,—that it has taught them a power by which they can possess the absolute control of the Government of the country. The power lies embedded in the Reform Act, our constitutional franchise, the 40s. freehold; and if you force the middle class by a prolonged conflict, to resort to that weapon, ambitious men will spring up—not mere political economists, like Cobden, Bright, and the rest of them—(laughter)—ambitious men will rise up, who will use this weapon of the 40s. freehold, and marshal the middle and working-classes against you, the landed aristocracy, as a class. (Hear, hear.) And if they do this, and if you keep on this grievance to spur them that way, they may in 10 years effect as complete a Parliamentary revolution against you the landlords, as in 1688 you, the landlords, did against an imbecile king." Now these arguments I am giving to Sir Robert Peel, and charging him nothing for them. (Laughter.) Gentlemen, I beg to thank you for the toast of the League, on behalf of myself and my friends who are engaged in it. But I arrogate to myself, as an individual, nothing in connection with the movement of the League; it is the work primarily of the manufacturers of Lancashire and Yorkshire, co-operatives with, and most ably backed, by the manufacturers in Scotland, and different parts of England, and by the middle classes generally, and now by the working classes as a mass. It is your work, gentlemen. You have begun it nobly. We are but the humble instruments—but the sharp point of the coultter that is turning up the soil; you are the power, the butt-end, and it is you who must do the work. Now you have met to day, I am sure, to acquit yourselves nobly, in this cause, by putting down the names of your towns, with the sums they will each contribute; and making up a total amount, which to-morrow, in London, will amazingly help Sir Robert Peel in framing the Queen's

speech. (Laughter and applause.) I will not delay, so far as I am concerned, the most important part of the business of the evening—the handing in of subscriptions—but thank you for the way in which you have noticed us. I thank you for the kindness with which we have always been received here in the West Riding. I am glad to be a bond of union between Lancashire and Yorkshire, coming through the tunnel of the hills that separate them; and so long as the white and the red rose remain entwined in the same chaplet, depend upon it monopoly cannot stand. (Enthusiastic and protracted cheering.)

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the delegates, in alphabetical order, to announce the subscriptions of their respective districts.

Mr. MARSHALL, of Barnsley, showed the total of the subscriptions received in the Barnsley district amounted to 625*l*. The amount contributed to the last League Fund was only 262*l*.

Mr. GEORGE ANDERTON, of Birstall, showed there were thirteen townships in his district, but returns had only been received from five. The total amount received, of which he had an account, was 1041*l*. 10*s*. He expected it would come up to 1500*l*. The last contribution, after very great exertion, had only been 360*l*. He had received donations from three gentlemen who, two years ago, had thought it madness to ask for a repeal of the Corn-Laws, but now they were convinced of its absolute necessity (applause).

Mr. WM. RAND, of Bradford, appeared with the return of subscriptions from that town; but, before reading it, addressed some observations to the assembly on the progress which their principles had made. He complimented Messrs. Cobden and Bright on the consummate skill, unexampled perseverance, and extraordinary success which had attended their labours; and said that, whenever this question should be settled, be the minister who he might, a grateful country would award to those illustrious men the honour of the achievement (applause). He took the opportunity of stating that, if he believed this great movement would not be as beneficial to the agricultural interest as it would be to the manufacturing interest, he would not have lent himself for one moment to the advancement of the question (hear, hear). He also took occasion to answer some communications which had been forwarded to him, by stating that concurrently with the repeal of the Corn-Laws, he would advocate the remission of all duties for the protection of manufactures (hear, hear). He denied emphatically that it was the object of the Anti-Corn-Law League to ruin the agricultural interest, and reduce labourers' wages to the lowest point of existence. Alluding to the operations of the two parties contending this question, he said he had read nearly all the speeches delivered at protectionist meetings, but he had been unable to discover one solid argument in defence of their system. While they were in this condition, he thought they could not adopt a more foolish policy than publishing their proceedings (laughter). The only arguments which had the least pretension to any worth, were those on protection to native industry, and the dependency of the nation upon foreigners. As for the first, the fact that the protectionists asserted it in the privacy of their closed meetings, without venturing to bring the question under the consideration of the working-classes themselves, showed that it was a mere pretext. Then the second involved the most absurd idea that ever entered into the imagination of man. He ridiculed the notion that free trade would detract from the strength and security of the nation, and urged that intercourse with all the countries of the earth was essential to the continued prosperity of this. He reviewed the present position of the free trade question with high satisfaction. The time was come when its adherents must speak out plainly. The public of Bradford had almost to a man lifted up their voices against the continuation of a restrictive policy. It was not the working classes alone who insisted on this. It was the appeal of the great majority of the electors of that borough, and they were as resolute a body as any in the empire. He expected a considerable addition would be made to the funds already received in Bradford. The efforts already made there were nothing to what the inhabitants were prepared to make if the settlement of this was postponed. He trusted the West Riding would nobly respond to the call made upon it, and it was satisfactory to know that in a few days they were intending to pay to the League the highest and best subscription which they could avail themselves of—the gift of Lord MORPETH, as their representative, to the League ranks in the House of Commons. (Loud applause.) He hoped the fall of the corn laws would not be long delayed. Though bodies like the Anti-Corn-Law League were necessary, yet they were not desirable. He trusted the League would live to achieve the great work for which it had been called into existence—that it would lay hold of the pillars which sustain the temple of monopoly, and hurl the buildings to the ground, and like Sampson of old bury itself in the ruins. (Loud applause.) In conclusion he maintained that Sir R. PEEL would act with perfect consistency in proposing the repeal of the corn laws, and he expressed an ardent hope that the serious evils which must follow from a much longer continuance of monopoly might be averted by just and timely legislation. (Applause.) Mr. RAND then announced that the total amount of subscriptions in the Bradford district was 4426*l*. The amount last year was only 2,300*l*. (Loud applause.)

Mr. WILLIAM CHADWICK then rose to announce the subscription for Doncaster. He said that he was sorry to say they had so much of "free trade in the abstract" in this district, that he brought them the miserable pittance of 250*l*. (laughter and cheers). Last year they canvassed the neighbourhood, and their secretary, who was a Scotchman, and held like a bull dog (laughter), wrote again and again to parties for subscriptions, and last year they had one answer, and that was from Mr. WRIGHTSON, Member of Parliament,—but there was no money (laughter). This year they had answers. He kept some of them in his pocket as a sort of curiosity (laughter), and some of them where "How do you do; have you got your hay in?" (great laughter). We have an ulterior object in view. We are looking all these members of Parliament to take care that not a man of them

should be smuggled in for any part of the West Riding, without their opposition (laughter and cheers). He advised that they should send none to the House of Commons but those who had subscribed to the League Fund, and hand-somely too (cheers). They must have no compromise. They must not be deluded by men who asked them once in seven years: "How they got their hay in" (laughter). They might depend upon it that if a man was afraid of his caste—if he had daughters to take to Parliament with him (laughter) who talked about "Pa's vulgarity" (laughter), and who said "that this Bishop's lady, and that Bishop's lady would be very polite to Pa, if it were not for the vulgarity of Pa's connection with Cobden, and Bright, and those fellows" (loud laughter)—They might depend upon it that such a man, though he might talk about Free Trade, would contrive to be troubled with a sore throat, when the division came on (laughter and cheers).

MR. EDWARD ACKROYD, of Halifax, came forward to announce the subscriptions from that district. He said that Halifax had really done its duty on this occasion. He believed the importance of this demonstration could not be exaggerated. There was, perhaps, this peculiarity in the West Riding of Yorkshire; it contained an epitome of all classes of the community (hear, hear). They had gentlemen on this occasion, more particularly, perhaps, of the manufacturing and commercial classes of the district; but they had also a worthy representative of another important class, in the person of Mr. Chadwick (cheers and laughter). They had also, he was happy to say, the name of a nobleman who graced the aristocracy, and who was one redeeming point to save his order, he (Mr. Ackroyd) believed, from destruction (hear, hear). It was fortunate for some portion of the aristocracy, that they were brought into communication with the manufacturing classes of this district. It was fortunate or the aristocracy of Yorkshire, that they were mixed up with this class; that they learnt from observation the sentiments which prevail among the manufacturing classes, and that by mixing amongst them they were carried along with the tide of information of the day (hear, hear). He did not say that they were to take as a specimen of the aristocracy, the opinions which they saw in the south of England from the noble dukes (hear, hear and laughter). He did not mean to say, that there is now displayed ignorance as great as that of the French noblesse before the French revolution (hear, hear). He referred to the different stages of the League movement, and defended the character of the class of persons who are seeking to be on the county registers. The character of the movement must not be disguised: it was neither more nor less than a moral revolution. The operatives were now having the dust removed from their eyes, and becoming fully alive to the deceptive fallacies of monopolist advocates. As a manufacturing community, they disclaimed all protection for themselves, and, therefore, they might fairly demand that protection should not be given to the agriculturist (hear, hear). He, in conclusion, announced the subscriptions of the Halifax district to amount to 4,500*l.* (loud applause).

MR. JOHN HELLERWELL produced the Hebden Bridge list. The total was 1428*l.*, with an expectation of receiving 200*l.* more. Last year 410*l.* was the contribution.

MR. FREDERICK SCHWAM, of Huddersfield, was next called on. He said his friends had trusted more to the eloquence of their figures than the talent of their delegate. (Applause.) There was power of argument in those figures far more convincing than anything he could say—powerful and convincing both to free traders and monopolists. (Loud applause.) There must be a deep conviction to induce those large and liberal sacrifices. The Huddersfield list amounted to 6338*l.*, and they had strong hopes of increasing that amount to 7000*l.*, which was seven times more than had been before described. (Applause.) Now, they knew the value of money well in Huddersfield; they did not throw it away; but they knew they were laying it out in this cause for the best purpose. (Applause.) He would not then argue the question of free trade at any length. The time had gone by when it was necessary to do so. Let them look to the future, and to what they had yet to do. He believed their duty was clear and well defined. Only persevere in their demands. Persevere with the registration, persevere in securing counties, unceasingly, unweariedly, unhesitatingly, and they would ensure success. (Loud applause.) Since Luther's reformation, since the great struggle which ensured to Englishmen the proud privileges of freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, and personal freedom, no reformation had been conceived involving higher and nobler interests of mankind, than the one in which they were then engaged. (Applause.) Personal liberty, freedom of conscience, freedom of speech were blessings, perhaps more highly appreciated by one not born in England than any native of this country. (Applause.) But there is one thing still needed to constitute man a free agent, and give him power to fulfil his highest destiny, and that one thing is freedom of industry. (Applause.) Their forefathers struggled thirty years for religious liberty, sacrificing, in many cases, their fortunes, homes, and lives, for the cause of truth and justice; and should they, in the present day, shrink from making new sacrifices of time and money for a cause scarcely less noble. (Applause.) No, never. The means for another agitation of five years would soon be completed, if they did their duty; and if there were to be an agitation for ten years longer, the means would be granted to their leaders. (Hear, hear.) And the humbler workmen would renew their exertions and double their efforts, and never rest satisfied until the cause was gained. He (Mr. Schwam) knew this was the feeling of that noble knot of friends with whom he was prepared to co-operate, and whom he then had the honour to represent. After some other remarks, recommendatory of union and decision, he concluded by reading his subscription list.

MR. JONATHAN CRAVEN communicated that the amount of the Keighley subscription was 500*l.*; last year 210*l.*

MR. HAMER STANSFELD next rose, to state the amount of the Leeds subscriptions, and was received with loud cheers. He said that the time for argument on this question, in the West Riding, was gone by; and he looked to the visit of their friends, the leaders of the League, as that of generals

coming to inspect their Yorkshire forces. They were on the eve of a great fight, and they wished to know if they could rely upon them; to know if they were ready for carrying on this most righteous of all actions. On the part of Leeds he said they were. They had been on permanent duty for the last six weeks, since their friends were there, and pretty well drilled they had been. (Laughter.) They attended in the first place to the registration movement. They did some service there, and they were intended to do more before the 30th of January. (Applause.) Leeds then held its town's meeting to memorialise the prime minister for the opening of the ports and a repeal of the Corn-Laws, and sent a deputation up to London. They then took their part in calling the West Riding meeting; and more recently they had been engaged in promoting the present object of the League, by furnishing their quota to the fund; and as soon as that was done, they should renew their efforts to promote the qualification movement, the most important political duty of the present time. (Loud applause.) Where were their antagonists now? At their meeting there was not even the shadow of a protectionist. At the West Riding meeting of 25,000 there was not the ghost of one to be seen. (Laughter.) The vacancy in the West Riding occurred as if by a decree of heaven, but not a monopolist candidate was to be found in the West Riding. (Hear, hear.) "My kingdom for a horse," cried Richard on Bosworth Field; and a kingdom would Buckingham give if he had one, for a monopolist candidate for Yorkshire.—(Laughter.) What a glorious triumph was this as contrasted with the last election for the West Riding! (Applause.) The battle of truth seemed then to be lost—but it never was lost. (Applause.) Truth gained in every conflict, and if the friends of truth persevered, the battle would be theirs ultimately, as the West Riding was now. (Applause.) No protectionist would ever offer himself again for the West Riding, or for any borough in it, unless some man without his senses should offer for Knaresborough. (Laughter.) He begged to express on the part of Leeds, their perfect confidence in the guidance of their leaders, and a request that they would persevere and exact to the utmost the principle they had laid down—of total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the Corn-Laws. (Loud applause.) It was marvellous with what readiness the money had been given. (Hear, hear.) People seemed to think it a debt due to the League, and so it was, and a just one. He expressed a hope that the protectionists would see the error of their ways. In the words of Channing, "The principle of free trade is the plain interest and the plain duty of the human race. To level all barriers to free exchange; to cut up root and branch the system of restriction; to open every Port of the earth to every product—this is the office of enlightened humanity." (Applause.) It was their interest to do this: Religion and Morality, their duty to God and man demanded it of them. He concluded by announcing the Leeds subscriptions to amount to 3607*l.* (Loud applause). The last subscription amounted only to 3156*l.* (Loud applause).

MR. GEORGE METCALFE, of Pateley Bridge, announced 100*l.* as subscribed in his district.

From Otley, 125*l.* was returned by Mr. W. Ackroyd. From Rotherham, 188*l.*; last year 23*l.* Mr. R. BENTLEY said he had used a great deal of exertion to obtain more, but the shopkeepers were principally dependent on farmers, and they were blind to their own interests.

At Skipton, a letter written by Mr. DEWHURST, stated that 250*l.* had been contributed there.

The Sheffield delegate was Mr. H. WILKINSON, and he returned the subscription from that place at 3769*l.* Last year it was only about 1300*l.*

The Wakefield subscription Mr. PLINT stated was expected to be 500*l.*, but it was not completed. Including Dewsbury and Ossett in that district, it would likely amount to 1053*l.*

MR. E. BAINES, JUNR., proposed the next toast. He said if it were not for the advanced hour of the evening, he could not have resisted the temptation to trespass for a very few minutes on the meeting in introducing this toast. But when he knew that one of the distinguished gentlemen, who would have to reply to the toast, one of their distinguished visitors had not yet spoken, and must be impatiently expected, and that another very distinguished gentleman and veteran—(loud applause)—a veteran among all the pedagogues who had been teaching the country for the last thirty years—that he too had yet to address the meeting, he was sure the meeting's sense of propriety would go with his, when he only added one or two words to the toast which he was about to give to them. That toast, indeed, less than almost any other toast which it was possible in this country needed even a single word to be said in recommendation of it. It was—"Thanks to Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., and John Bright, Esq., M.P., and he would add Colonel Perronet Thompson—(loud cheers)—for their unwearied exertions in the cause of Free Trade" (cheers. He (Mr. Baines) had witnessed the labours of these gentlemen during the whole course of that apprenticeship of which Mr. Cobden had spoken, and he took upon him to say, that he never, in any cause or in any men, witnessed a greater singleness of object, and greater firmness and perseverance, and more entire devotedness to the object which they had taken up, more distinguished talent in the pursuit, and he would say more glorious success in the result of their labours, than in that of those gentlemen whose names he had mentioned. [The toast was given with three times three cheers.]

The CHAIRMAN then announced that the total amount of the subscriptions handed in was 33,440*l.* (loud cheers).

The following Subscriptions were announced from the under-mentioned districts:—

	1844.	1845.
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Barnsley	262 0 6	625 3 3
Birstal	224 5 0	1041 10 0
Bradford	2266 8 4	4426 0 0
Bromcaster	102 11 0	250 0 0
Halifax	1927 5 10	4308 16 0
Hebden Bridge	431 2 4	1428 0 0
Huddersfield	2167 0 6	6337 5 0
Keighley	210 13 8	500 0 0
Leeds	3156 13 6	8612 11 0
Otley	265 3 4	450 0 0

Pateley	20 13 0	100 0 0
Rotherham	14 0 0	188 0 0
Sheffield	1314 19 11	3769 12 0
Skipton	126 10 0	350 0 0
Wakefield	550 13 3	1053 5 0

£13,040 0 2 £33,440 2 3

Marshall and Co., Leeds ..	1000
J. Akroyd and Sons, Halifax ..	1000
Milligan, Forbes, and Co., Bradford ..	500
Titus Salt, ditto ..	500
Edward Smith, Firsale, Sheffield ..	500
Starkey, Brothers, Huddersfield ..	500
Fred. Schwam, ditto ..	500
George Marrison and Sons, ditto ..	500
Geo. Crossland and Sons, ditto ..	500
Geo. Senior and Son, Dalton, near ditto ..	500
Hammer Stansfield, Leeds ..	500
Edwin Birchall and Sons, ditto ..	300
Wilkinson and Co., flax spinners, ditto ..	300
Peter Fairbairn, ditto ..	300
Wm. Hand, Bradford ..	300
C.H. Dawson, Royds Hall, ditto ..	300
John Crossley and Son, Halifax ..	300
Henry Ambler, Ovenden ..	300
Arthur Lupton, Leeds ..	250
Firth and Howarth, Hebden Bridge ..	250
Rennie, Tetley, and Co., Bradford ..	250
Henry Leah, ditto ..	250
Edward Ripley and Son, ditto ..	250
Naylor, Vickers, and Co., Sheffield ..	250
Samuel Butcher, ditto ..	250
Thomas Fenton and Sons, ditto ..	250
Wm Jessop and Sons, ditto ..	250
Butterworth and Son, Huddersfield ..	250
J.T. Clay, Rastrick, near ditto ..	250
Maclea and March, Leeds ..	200
John and Wm Whitworth, Halifax ..	200
Joseph Stocks and Co., ditto ..	200
Thomas Taylor and Son, Ovenden ..	200
Henry Wilkinson, Sheffield ..	200
John Wilson and Son, £175 } ditto ..	200
J.H. Hawksworth 25 } ..	200
Beverley and Simpson, Leeds ..	150
Robert Walker, ditto ..	150
E. Baines and Son ..	150
John Riley and Sons, Hebden Bridge ..	150
John Crossley and Son, ditto ..	150
D. Salt and Son, Bradford ..	150
Swaine and Webb, Huddersfield ..	150
J.W. and H. Shaw, ditto ..	150
John Dewhurst and Sons, Skipton ..	150
J. Marshall, Horsforth Hall, near Leeds ..	100
Stansfield and Wise, ditto ..	100
Wm. Brown, Roundhay, near Leeds ..	100
Geo. Hammond and Son, ditto ..	100
Joseph and Wm Walker, ditto ..	100
Benjamin Walker, ditto ..	100
Bateson and Co., ditto ..	100
S.J. Birchall and Co., ditto ..	100
Robert Jowitt and Sons, ditto ..	100
Lucecock, Lupton, and Co., ditto ..	100
George Goodman, ditto ..	100
Thomas George and Sons, ditto ..	100
John Haigh, ditto ..	100
Taylor and Wordsworth, ditto ..	100
W.B. Holdsworth and Co., ditto ..	100
Whitehead and Botterill, ditto ..	100
Emmanuel Briggs and Co., ditto ..	100
John Sykes, ditto ..	100
Ripley and Ogle, ditto ..	100
Robert Bentley, Rotherham ..	100
J. and A. Stansfield, Hebden Bridge ..	100
John and Wm Barker, ditto ..	100
Wm Russell, Bradford ..	100
Wm Holdsworth, ditto ..	100
George Oxley, ditto ..	100
John Wade and Sons, ditto ..	100
George Rogers, ditto ..	100
James Garrett, ditto ..	100
Craven and Harrop, Thornton, near ditto ..	100
Samuel Smith, ditto ..	100
T.G. Clayton, Bierly Hall, near ditto ..	100
Daniel Bateman and Son, ditto ..	100
Harvey and Co., Barnsley ..	100
R. Travis Clay, Rastrick, near Halifax ..	100
Lister and Morris, ditto ..	100
John Baldwin, ditto ..	100
R. Kershaw Lamb, ditto ..	100
A. Friend, per J. Crossley ..	100
J. Foster and Son, Northowram, near ditto ..	100
W. Aldam, jun., M.P., Leeds ..	100
W. Fisher and Sons, Sheffield ..	100
Marshes and Shepherd, ditto ..	100
A. Friend to the League, per J. Smith, do. ..	100
Joseph Kaye, Huddersfield ..	100
C.H. Jones, ditto ..	100
W. Willans, ditto ..	100
Wm Livingstone, ditto ..	100
Sir C. Tempest, Broughton Hall, nr Skipton ..	100
Ripley and Ogle, Leeds ..	100
John Holmes and Brothers, Hebden Bridge ..	90
Kitson, Thompson, and Hewitson, Leeds ..	75
— Hinchcliffe, Hebden ..	75
Alex. Dixon and Son, Cleckheaton ..	60
W. Atkinson and Son, ditto ..	60
Geo. Anderton and Sons, ditto ..	60
R. and C. Goldthorpe, ditto ..	60
Walter Stead, Leeds ..	50
Thomas Hemmant, ditto ..	50
Joseph Cliff, ditto ..	50
F. Lupton, ditto ..	50
Joshua Bower, ditto ..	50
David Crowther, Churwell, near ditto ..	50
Wm Kellsall, ditto ..	50
Francis Carbutt, ditto ..	50
James Lobley and Co., ditto ..	50
Gill and Bishop, ditto ..	50
John Wilson, Hunslet-lane, ditto ..	50
Joseph Austin, ditto ..	50
T. Walker, Springfield Mount, ditto ..	50
T. and S. Witham, ditto ..	50
John Broadhead, ditto ..	50
Wm Firth, ditto ..	50
Croysdale, Brothers, ditto ..	50
Newman Cash, ditto ..	50
Abraham Webster, ditto ..	50
Joseph Rowling, ditto ..	50
Sand J. Holland, Stead House, nr Halifax ..	50
J. Ormerod and Sons, Brighouse, nr ditto ..	50
T. Sugden and Son, ditto ..	50
J.S. Broadbent, Cleckheaton ..	50
J. Akeed and Sons, Hebden Bridge ..	50
J. and J. Vickers, ditto ..	50
W. Hargreaves, Sheffield ..	50
Dr. Thompson, ditto ..	50
Thomas Dunn, ditto ..	50
Thomas Birks, ditto ..	50
R. and J. Solly, ditto ..	50
Anti-Curry, ditto ..	50
Cowley and Pierson, ditto ..	50
Drabble and Sanderson, ditto ..	50
Francis Noble ..	50
Samuel Penker and Son, ditto ..	50
Robert Welsh, Huddersfield ..	50
Foster Shaw, ditto ..	50
T. A. Heaps, ditto ..	50
S. C. Kell, ditto ..	50
Jackson and Beckitt, ditto ..	50

J and T C Wrigley, ditto	50
J and A Bennett, ditto	50
Bentley Shaw, ditto	50
Wm Leadbeater and Co., ditto ..	50
Schofield, Cookson, and Co., ditto	50
J and G Mallinson, ditto	50
John Wrigley and Sons, ditto ..	50
D Haigh and Brothers, Lindley, near ditto	50
Charlotte Sykes and Sons, ditto ..	50
Joseph Walker and Sons, ditto ..	50
John Robinson, Hensley	50
Wm Douglas, Bradford	50
James Laws, ditto	50
James Ellis, ditto (paid)	50
John Priestman, ditto (paid) ..	50
Benjamin Harrison, ditto	50
Henry Brown, ditto	50
Free Trader, ditto	50
John Rawson, ditto	50
D Illingworth, ditto	50
Geo Armitage and Co., ditto	50
G Norton, Clayton West, near Barnsley	50
Robert Eastburn, Halifax	50
Barney Walton, ditto	50
A Friend, per J Crossley, ditto ..	50
J W Gregory and Co., ditto	50
E D Protheroe, M.P., ditto	50
J and J Farrar, ditto	50
Royston, Son, and Co., ditto	50
Geo Naylor, ditto	50
S Wood, Sowerby Bridge, near ditto	50
Moses Morley, ditto	50
James Fielding	50
Eli Bates, ditto	50
A Friend, per W. Morris, ditto ..	50
A Friend, per J Crossley, ditto ..	50
J Smith, ditto	50

Mr. BRIGHT, on rising to acknowledge the toast, was loudly cheered. He said,—Mr. Mayor and gentlemen, I need not say how great is the delight which my colleagues and myself have felt in attending this highly-respectable meeting. For myself, I always feel somewhat exhilarated when I get into Yorkshire. For several years back, it has been my fortune, as one of a deputation from the League, to visit this district of the kingdom; and every year I become more enamoured of the spirit which actuates the population of this district, and more convinced than ever that the time has come when you here, and we in Lancashire, united together, shall exercise a far more powerful influence upon the Government and destinies of this country than we have done, or than our forefathers have done hitherto. (Applause.) You have thanked us for the arduous labours in which we have been engaged in in this cause. We are repaid, if it were only that we have made the acquaintance of, and formed friendship with, hundreds, I might almost say thousands, of the choice spirits of this day, and of this country—of the men who are, I am sure, destined to keep the vessel of the State in less tempestuous waters than it has for some time past been sailing in, and of men with whom I trust, long after this battle shall have terminated, we shall be able to keep up a friendship and a sympathy which will only terminate with existence. (Loud cheering.) We have had hard labours true enough, but we have been cheered by your approbation, and not less by the glorious prospect which ever increasing success offers to our view; for now more than ever are we convinced that we have not been following a shadow, but that in the pursuit of industrial freedom we have had before us, perhaps, the greatest, the best, the most important of all kinds of freedom to which any lover of his kind or country could possibly aspire. We have believed that we were working not at any petty, unimportant question, for the exaltation of any man or class of men, but for an object important to our own country, and to our own age, and momentous to the world at large, and to the population of all succeeding ages. (Cheers.) And now we are entitled, I think, to speak with some authority upon this great question, and with some authority too, with respect to the opinions which our countrymen have formed upon it. (Cheers.) The great titled men who are now meeting day after day, say, they will have no surrender; and we are not about to retract the declaration that we have emphatically made for years past, that so far as our share in this great battle is concerned, we have also rallied under a flag upon which the term No Surrender is inscribed. (Cheers.) We have learnt much since we began this contest. We have learnt that it is a great and more sacred contest than we thought it at first. And we have learnt also, that although the battle may be hard—the hill may be steep to climb—yet, that there is power enough, and intelligence, and that we now have organisation enough, by which we can carry this great contest to a successful, to a most triumphant issue. (Loud continued cheering.) The people of this country are to be hoodwinked no longer. It was madness to maintain the Corn Law, when its character was once found out. (Hear, hear.) One of the most philosophical writers of this age has said that he could not write a chapter about the Corn Law, for it made the very air hot. (Hear, hear.) Dr. Chalmers has said, “There has been no one thing which our Government could do, which would so sweeten the breath of English society, as the abolition of this Corn Law. (Loud cheers.) When an intelligent population like that of which you form so important a part have once found out the features of this Corn Law, which are so hideous; when, in opposition to public opinion, the landed proprietors, who are the governors of the country, stake their power, as it were, upon the maintenance of this law, what is our position? Does not an opposition to the Corn Law, in fact, become a direct opposition to the governing power; and, if we are to be successful in overthrowing this law, so long as they say they are for no surrender, what does it involve but this: the overthrow of those parties who have hitherto governed this country, and who now pledge themselves to the maintenance of this system? (Cheers.) Why, look at what has taken place lately. Cast your eye at the meeting at Manchester, with its subscription of upwards of 60,000*l*. (Cheers.) Follow us then to another town, within an hour’s travel of it, and you find there subscriptions put down to the

amount of 15,000*l*., in a town where monopoly has more power, and where the old West India and the old slaveholding vices and prejudices have probably more hold than in almost any other town in the kingdom; and then we come here, about two hours ride eastward from Manchester, and we find a gathering like this, with subscriptions already put down for upwards of 33,000*l*. (Loud cheers.) Why, we ask for a quarter of a million—and they would have laughed at us had they not recollected the previous 100,000*l*. and the 50,000*l*. before it,—and now within a short month more than one half of the Quarter of a Million is already subscribed and ready to be forthcoming. (Cheers.) Here we are to-vast night, not a vast number, but a number representing vast masses beyond these walls, and influence, and intelligence, and votes. (Loud cheers.) This night, at this moment, whilst I am addressing you, the great theatre at Covent Garden, is filled to overflowing, and the streets around it have been crowded by thousands who have not been able to obtain admittance there. To-morrow night at this time, the Free Trade Hall, at Manchester, will have its 7000 or 8000 within its walls at least. Yesterday was the first day of issuing tickets, and 10,000 persons applied for them. (Cheers.) Well, these are demonstrations such as have never taken place in this country before on any political question whatever. (Hear, hear.) That man is mad, or at least knows nothing of the constitution of this country, knows nothing of the people of England—knows nothing of the power of a great and holy principle to win men’s hearts and stir them to action, who thinks that the monopolists can for one short session retain their hold of the life of the people by the maintenance of the Corn laws. (Cheers.) True, your election, your unanimous election, your election at which even the squeak of a monopolist is not heard—(cheers)—your election is, I hope, to realise again what has before times so frequently been shown, that at a time of any great and momentous change in the policy of the English Government, Yorkshire speaks, and its behest is obeyed. (Loud cheers.) I have had put into my hand a card, which refers to a subject which I would wish to make one observation upon. It says: “I think much has been lost to the League fund, because subscriptions to it are not promoted amongst the operatives. We only named it yesterday among our men, and 10 guineas were subscribed at once.” (Cheers.) This is from Messrs. Brook and Co., of the Albion Foundry. I do believe that if the idea were once started among the workshops, there would be collections of larger or smaller amounts in scores, perhaps from hundreds of mills and workshops for the purpose of contributing to this great final movement, by which the industry of these operatives shall be enabled to obtain its just reward. (Loud cheering.) I am delighted with this meeting beyond expression. I believe there is one more meeting, for which my name is set down, before this, what people facetiously call the Parliamentary recess, is over. (Hear.) I shall be at Manchester to-morrow, and at Oldham on Monday. My colleague, Mr. Cobden, goes to Norwich on Tuesday; and then, on Thursday, I suppose we shall have a chance of learning something of the great secret. The political atmosphere has been foggy for a long time. We find it clearing away a little now. I met a Conservative member yesterday by accident, and really it seemed as if we had been fellow-labourers in the Free Trade cause all our lives. There is no shyness now. In fact, I am not certain we shall know which side of the House to sit on when we get there on Thursday next. (Cheers and laughter.) Of this you may rest assured, that as for seven years we have kept this great principle before us, and as for seven years you have given us your continuous and increasing confidence, let the proposition of the Minister be what it may, or the conduct of other men what it may, we will never deviate one hair’s breadth from the principle upon which we have so long acted, and for our firm maintenance of which we have received so much of the confidence and the co-operation of the intelligent population of this country. I have now only to tender the acknowledgements of myself and colleagues for the vote of thanks you have given us; and as we have before-time been borne up by your cheering co-operation, we shall go from this meeting to night conscious that we have a cause worthy of all the energies that we can bring to bear upon it, and that we have supporters in this district who are worthy of all the labour which we can possibly bestow upon this cause. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN now called upon Col. Thompson to address the meeting, and propose a toast. The announcement was received with reiterated cheers, and the cry of three cheers for the veteran was heartily responded to. Col. THOMPSON. (Loud cheers.) I am to demonstrate the sense of the obligations you have conferred upon us, by giving a toast. And what toast should I give that could so directly bear upon this subject, as to ask you to drink Success to the trade of Leeds, and of the West Riding? (Hear, hear.) If your enemies are satisfied with any of the movements of this meeting, and it is very hard, in general, to satisfy our enemies entirely. I am sure they could not find fault with the discretion which has fixed upon me to make the present motion, so far as regards the good will implied in it. I will not speak now of the private reasons for the interest I feel in it; but I will speak of the commercial power which has obtained the success of our great effort on the part of our country, and of all countries. When our friend (Mr. Schwann) addressed you with enough of the foreigner in his accent to remind you that you have friends in other countries than our own, (cheers,) it struck me that we might hail him not merely as the representative of Huddersfield, but of all mankind, urging us for their sakes also, to leave no stone unturned for the speedy and effectual removal of this great stumbling-block to all men’s happiness, for it affects men in every clime, whom God intended to be happy, and whom we design to render happy, by making them free. (Cheers.) I, too, have visited the country of our friend, and have read there the lesson which I am sure was implanted on his youth. I saw there the remnants offered at castles towering

on the pinnacles of the mountains, where they were built under the idea that they would for ever remain secure against the efforts of honest men. But there grew up commercial communities in their vicinity, whose power at length was able to cope with the robbers of the mountains. (Cheers.) They fought in army that struggle which we fight otherwise, because it is best, and they succeeded, as we shall succeed, in bringing their enemies to terms. I wish not for the same terms, for they stopped not short of the ruin of their opponents. The remains of their strongholds tell us that their end was destruction. I wish not the ruin of any, but we must have a cessation of that pride which makes men say they will persist in living on the ruin of honest industry, on the destruction of your wealth and mine. (Cheers.) Is not my wealth such as I have implicated with yours, though I weave not neither do I spin? (Cheers.) There have been those before me—those who collected by their exertions that which I now enjoy, as their successor—and I hope you do not disapprove of that dispensation of Providence, which has left to a man’s son the working out of the good intentions of his his father, which I, as far as in me lay, have completed or carried forward. I now partake with you your triumph—the world’s triumph—and I would impress upon you the importance of not yielding at this most critical of all moments. You are going to win. (Cheers.) No horse ever broke down when so near the goal as you. (Cheers.) Three strides more, and you go in by a length. (Cheers.) I do think that in the recent movement throughout the country the Ministers have seen such reasons for pitching their proposal to the proper length as they will not be able to resist. I give them credit for intelligence as men who have passed their lives in the study of human affairs: and I believe they never knew an instance of a people showing such signs of determination as are here manifested, where the popular success was not secured. There is another secret. They are afraid of popular success afterward. They have found out that if they make this agitation go further than wise men wish, it may go further than any men, whether wise or not, can stop. (Cheers.) If they have the good sense of those who are born in this sagacious county they will remember—“Better to stop timely than go further and fare worse.” We are all united now. None of those cries which formerly produced division are heard in our now peaceful meetings. The rich and the poor lean together as they ought, and I hope always will, feeling that the true interest of each is the interest of the other. It is clear to the poor man that without capital he cannot carry his industry to a successful point; while it is clear to the rich, that without the labour of the poor, his wealth must be useless. If, then, the poor man thinks he has not a reasonable share in the management of affairs, hear him kindly, attend to him as a friend. (Hear, hear.) Let him not find you opposed without a consideration of his reasons. Put yourselves in his place, (loud cheers,) and ask whether, if you were he, and he were you, you might not find the means to come to some terms of reconciliation. Put away from you those dreams of danger which have troubled the heads of well-meaning persons among us. Having spoken of public affairs, I will now refer to the private reasons which make me rejoice to have been made the organ of giving the toast. Am I not sprung from the industry of your country? If I am here, is it not because those before me made me what I am? May I not speak of those most immediate instructors and models of every man—his parents? May I not speak of a great man, born in this town, an honour to learning and to his country; the ablest man, with whom, in the course of a long and somewhat active life, I was ever intimate? I mean Dr. Milner, late dean of Carlisle, born in a part of Leeds not very aristocratic, called Mudgegate. To that able man, I am proud to say, I owe whatever may have enabled me to be of any service. And, if ever I have shown any man the difference between right and wrong, true and false, to his labour it is due. (Cheers.) But there are other reasons. Did I not, one fine morning—and perhaps you will not thank me for it—carry off the pick of your county? (Laughter and cheering.) That it was a long time ago, you may be assured, from the fact that one of the fruits of that day’s adventure is now a heavy dragoon, joining his regiment in Ireland. Yet still that connection forms a bond between us which a man may not easily forget, for such things do not occur very often in one’s lifetime. Doubt not, then, that I am thoroughly engaged in your interests. I rejoice to see the victory which commercial men are on the point of obtaining, because I think they will use it better than those which preceded it. Do not rest with any half-victory, or one that is not to be followed up hereafter. What you have gained you must keep. Look to your children, and see that you make of them men able to hold their own; and women to bring up those who are worthy assistants in such a work. There is a great revolution taking place. Power is passing into hands which had it not before. Wiser men I trust, better men I feel certain, are now arriving at the direction of the power which a free constitution has given to this country. You are giving a remarkable proof of this. Go on and secure for Yorkshire in this contest the place which it has held in former national contests, and I trust ever will hold whenever any honest purpose is to be gained, and a dishonest one defeated. I conclude by requesting you to drink the health of the Mayor. (Cheers.)

The health of the Mayor was drunk with three times three cheers. His worship then acknowledged the toast and the meeting broke up at half-past ten.

REQUISITION FROM THE ELECTORS OF BRADFORD TO COL. THOMPSON.—The number of signatures to the requisition to Mr. Busfield and Colonel Thompson exceeds 750

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETING IN DROGHEDA.—The *Drogheda Argus* contains the following:—“The inhabitants of Drogheda are about to give a most important demonstration of their opinions, relative to the unnatural tax upon food. A requisition bearing the signature of his grace the Catholic Primate of Ireland, all the Catholic clergy of the parish, nearly all the members of the corporation, besides merchants, traders, and mechanics of the town, has been presented to Patrick Boylan, Esq., our mayor, praying him to convene a public meeting, on the earliest day possible, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. We believe every member of the corporation would have signed the requisition if there had been time to call on the few whose names are not appended, before the document was presented to the mayor. His worship has fixed on Monday, the 19th instant, as the day upon which the meeting is to be held.”

Mr. Moore addressed a meeting at Queen’s Square Assembly Rooms, Theobald’s Road, on Friday evening. There, as everywhere, the Wiltshire Labourers’ meeting at Gouacres excited the deepest sympathy and interest.

THE WEEKLY CHRONICLE.—

The Proprietors and Editors of this Paper are desirous, on the eve of the

MEETING OF A PARLIAMENT.

So important to the Principles of FREE TRADE, To call the attention of their Subscribers and of the Public to the claims of the WEEKLY CHRONICLE as the advocate of an enlightened policy, on all questions which relate to our industrial economy, and to the political progress and social happiness of the People.

The Weekly Chronicle has, from the period at which it came into the hands of its present Proprietors and Conductors, faithfully and firmly supported these principles—seeking at once to carry them out without violence or personal rancour, and to establish itself in the respect, not only of its readers, but even of its political antagonists, by a strict regard for truth and fair play, on which grounds alone, as its Editors feel confident, can any well-intending party be adequately and successfully supported.

As a Newspaper, the Weekly Chronicle will be found to contain a larger quantity of carefully compiled and well-digested reading matter than any of its contemporaries, and it has ever given, and will continue to give, the fullest digests of the proceedings in Parliament, consistent with its limits, which are of the largest size recognised by law.

The importance of this in the coming session must be evident: whilst in early intelligence of political movements, the Weekly Chronicle will maintain its lead, possessing, as it does, peculiar and exclusive sources of information, which its entire independence from personal influence and party trammels, enable it to give without mystification or reserve.

One of the features of the Weekly Chronicle are the popular Letters of

principally devoted to questions of Free Trade and Industrial Economy, and of which a Third Series were commenced with, and will be continued from week to week throughout, the present year.

Sold by all News-men in Town and Country, price 6d.; or sent by post (if prepaid), at 6s. 6d. per quarter, 12s. the half year, and 25s. per annum.

Office, 337, Strand, London.

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In consequence of earnest and repeated applications made to some of the gentlemen whose names appear in the above directory, an Investment Association is about to be formed.

Its object will be principally to afford to persons of limited means facilities for purchasing freeholds, &c.

In addition, it will serve all the purposes of a general Investment Society, and will be established on the most approved plan.

The Rules are being certified, and with the Prospectus will be published in a few days.

A Public Meeting, to be addressed by

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., and DR. THOMAS PRICE, will be held before the termination of the present month, of which due notice will be given in the public journals.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, January 17, 1846.

The good cause makes rapid progress; the people of this great country feel that their destiny is in their own hands, and that these hands must execute their own work. There is no waiting for the doubtful determination of statesmen, or the timid movements of party. The aid of all who tender assistance is thankfully accepted; but the national cause is not entrusted to the discretion of any great leader, or the head of any great party. Lord John Russell has honourably taken his post in the van, but the direction of the march is independent of his guidance. Already, more than half of the Quarter of a Million Fund has been raised; Liverpool has nobly responded to the call of Manchester; the West Riding of Yorkshire emulates the exertions of South Lancashire. The manufacturing districts of Scotland have begun to put forth their energies, and the notes of zealous preparation are heard in the West of England. The crisis is one which admits of no delay. The towns must not wait to be invited to hold meetings; they must in Scotland exhibit the organisation of spontaneous action. A day now is of more importance than a week at any other period of our agitation. The fate of the country trembles in the balance, and the weight of public opinion must turn the scale.

In reply to the address of Mr. Gladstone, the Duke of Richmond has taken an opportunity of declaring his willingness to form an administration, should the protectionists drive Sir Robert Peel from power. He has wrought up his courage to act on his celebrated declaration, "We (the monopolists) made Sir Robert Peel Minister, and we can unmake him, should he play us false!" It was once declared an insoluble problem, to determine "how many acres make a wiseacre;" but the Duke of Richmond avows his readiness to attempt the solution, and sets himself forward as a specimen of land and wisdom combined in the due proportion. Let us, however, thank his grace for having uttered the only sentence to the purpose which has been spoken at any of the recent agricultural meetings. The question before the country has been marvellously simplified by his candid declaration; it is fairly in issue whether we shall have a Government of monopoly, or a Government of freedom; and the answer must come from the British nation.

Our double Number of this week contains the answer to this question given by the most important towns of the empire. Let their example be imitated by every town which has not yet announced its de-

cision. Subscriptions to the League fund are unequivocal evidences of determination and perseverance. The purchase of freeholds in counties affords proof of the spirit to act, while it furnishes the means to execute. This is not a time when our friends should hold their forces in reserve; they must appear in the field equipped for active service.

Lord John Manners, in the very remarkable article which we quoted last week from the *Oxford and Cambridge Review*, and which we have reason to know expresses the sentiments of an influential though not a large section of the aristocracy, fairly states the absurdity of the monopolists in opposing the Ministers, unless they are ready to form a Cabinet of their own; and then, with more caustic irony than we should have supposed consistent with his amiable disposition, points out their incapacity to form an administration by examining the list to which their selection would be restricted. As the Duke of Richmond had the opportunity afforded him of reading this article in the proofs, previous to its publication, it may be that the reviewer has to answer for this sudden explosion of readiness for office in the "dukery."

But this declaration is not so unimportant as the preceding menaces of the lord of Goodwood; it has a distinct meaning and preposse purpose; it is intended as a warning to Sir Robert Peel, but it is really a threat to the nation. The duke clearly implies that the attempt to form a monopoly ministry will be made. It is our business to show that such an attempt is just as hopeless as would be the effort to manufacture ropes from the sands on the sea shore. If the League meditated any of the ulterior objects with which it is charged, nothing would be more favourable to its projects than the formation of a Richmond ministry. But too much would be risked by such an experiment, and it will not be hazarded in the teeth of a strong expression of public opinion.

Our columns record magnificent demonstrations of the resolute spirit which animates Free Traders in different parts of the country; the same spirit exists, as we know, in many localities where it has not been so significantly manifested. We exhort the inhabitants of such towns to lose no time in following the bright examples before them. Victory indeed is certain, but the interests of the country require that the struggle should not be protracted. Let us then at once display such a force in the field as will convince our adversaries that resistance is useless.

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MONDAY, JAN. 12.—The quantities of Wheat, Barley, and Oats arrived up to Friday are not large, and to this day's market there is only a moderate addition of Wheat and Barley and trifling of Oats. The Wheat trade is without activity, and 2s lower than last Monday; there were a good many samples unsold at the close of market. Bonded Wheat is not inquired for. There is a limited sale for Barley, and last week's prices are barely maintained. We have a dull trade for Oats, and though the supplies are short, it is difficult to obtain better prices than this day week; there is a freer sale than on that day, and in some instances rather more money is paid, but this is only to a limited extent. New Beans and Peas are each a trifle lower.

S. H. LUCAS.

BRITISH.		Per Imperial Quarter.	
Wheat, Essex,	Red 50 to 60	White 56 to 68	
Kent, & Suffolk	49 58	56 64	
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire	47 54	54 62	
Scotch .....	.. ..	.. ..
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feed	23 25		
Ditto	Ditto ..	Polands ..	New 24 26
Scotch Feed	25 26	Potato ..	28 29
Limerick .....	.. ..	.. ..	23 25
Ditto	Fine New 26 28	Old Fine ..	none
Cork .....	.. ..	.. ..	21 23
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black .....	.. ..	.. ..	22 24
Sligo .....	.. ..	.. ..	21 23
Galway .....	.. ..	.. ..	32 34
Barley .....	.. ..	.. ..	32 34
Beans, Mazagan	New 32 34	Old 40 44	
Harrow	38 42	.. ..
Small	40 44	.. ..
Peas, White .....	.. ..	Boilers ..	54 56
Grey	36 40	Maple ..	38 40
Flour, Town-made	per sack of 280 lbs.	.. ..	45 67
Norfolk and Suffolk .....	.. ..	.. ..	43 46

FOREIGN.		FREE. IN BOND.	
		Per Imperial Quarter.	
Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed .....	.. ..	58 to 66	46 52
Rostock .....	.. ..	56 60	44 48
Stettin .....	.. ..	54 60	43 46
Hamburg .....	.. ..	52 57	42 45
Odessa .....	.. ..	46 50	40 42
Odessa Polish .....	.. ..	50 56	40 43
Russian	soft ..	48 57	
Ditto	hard ..	40 55	
Spanish .....	.. ..	.. ..
Ditto	White ..	.. ..
Australian .....	.. ..	60 69	
Barley, Grinding .....	.. ..	27 30	
Distilling .....	.. ..	30 32	
Oats, Archange .....	.. ..	25 26	22 26
Danish .....	.. ..	25 26	22 26
Swedish .....	.. ..	24 25	21 22
Stralsund .....	.. ..	.. ..
Dutch Feed .....	.. ..	23 29	19 20

Brew	25 28 23 25		
Polands	28 29 25 26		
Beans, Egyptian	40 41 39 40		
Peas, White	54		
Ditto Boilers	none		
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 196 lbs.	36 37		
United States	35 36		
Dantzic .....	.. ..	
Australian, per sack of 280 lbs.	.. ..	

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from Jan. 5 to Jan. 10, 1846, both days inclusive.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas.
English	6449	11666	3902	1166	1375
Scotch	200	937	1680	..	..
Irish .....	..	..	2970	..	..
Foreign	8994	3025	2603	203	1857

Flour, 8648 sacks; 5474 barrels.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 12th of January to the 16th of January, both inclusive.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	3810	..	6920
Barley	4990	..	..
Oats	3650	..	9440

Flour, 5020 sacks.

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending Jan. 13, 1846.			
Qrs.	Price.	Qrs.	Price.
Wheat	4628 63s. 4d.	Rye	5 38s. 0d.
Barley	6399 32s. 10d.	Beans	944 37s. 2d.
Oats	19002 23s. 9d.	Peas	966 43s. 4d.

20th	"	....57	11.32	7.23	4.34	5.39	6.42	5
27th	"	....55	4.32	5.23	0.32	8.38	6.30	10
3d	Jan.	....55	1.31	11.22	3.33	6.37	9.39	1
10th	Jan.	....56	3.31	10.21	9.33	11.36	8.38	11

Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks. Wheat, 57s. 2d.; Barley, 32s. 5d.; Oats, 23s. 3d.; Rye, 24s. 4d.; Beans, 39s. 1d.; Peas, 41s. 3d.

Duty. Wheat, 15s. 0d.; Barley, 6s. 0d.; Oats, 5s. 0d.; Rye 8s. 6d.; Beans, 3s. 6d.; Peas, 1s. 6d.

Stock of Corn in Bond, Dec. 5, 1845.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.	Flour.
In London, 322469	8421	63791	..	..	603	950	57362
Unit. King. 794252	67574	108596	..	..	..	..	405457

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, JAN. 9.

CROWN OFFICE, JAN. 9.

MEMBER RETURNED TO SERVE IN THIS PRESENT PARLIAMENT.

County of Hertford—Thomas Plumer Halsey, of the Hall, Great Berkhamstead, Esq., in the room of the Hon. James Walter Grimston, commonly called Viscount Grimston, now Earl of Verulam, called up to House of Lords.

BANKRUPTS.

S. M. CROSS, Greenwich, corn merchant. [Messrs. Laurence and Plews, Bucklersbury.

W. URLWIN, Watford, fellmonger. [Mr. Sanger, Essex Court, Temple.

J. MARTIN, Wood Street, Cheapside, fringe manufacturer. [Mr. Reed, Friday Street.

M. BUTTERFIELD, and T. A. BUTTERFIELD, Royston, linendrapers. [Messrs. Laurence and Plews, Bucklersbury.

G. OSBORN, Exeter, whipmaker. [Messrs. Keddie and Co. Lime Street.

H. J. ANDREWS, Plymouth, apothecary. [Messrs. Clowes and Co., Temple.

J. PICKLES, Preston, cotton spinner. [Messrs. Gregory and Co., Bedford Row.

R. PICKLES, Barnsley, linen manufacturer. [Messrs. Jones and Co., Bedford Row.

W. WILKS, Leeds, builder. [Messrs. Wiglesworth and Co., Gray's Inn.

WM. BROADBENT, Delch, Yorkshire, cloth merchant. [Messrs. Sudlow and Co., Chancery Lane.

D. STANTON, Bristol, grocer. [Messrs. Clark and Co., Lincoln's Inn Fields.

T. WREN, Preston, share broker. [Messrs. Gregory and Co., Bedford Row.

R. GASCOYNE, Little Bytham, Lincolnshire, cattle dealer. [Mr. Harding, Birmingham.

T. B. DAFT, Birmingham, button maker. [Mr. Chaplin, Gray's Inn.

DIVIDENDS.

Jan. 30, J. Baker, Romsey, Hants, grocer—S. Smith, Garboldisham, Norfolk, grocer—Jan. 31, G. F. Cobham and W. B. Wright, Camberwell and Gravesend, builders—C. Carter, Saddington, Leicestershire, miller—Feb. 3, T. Sims, Whitechapel Road, victualler—J. Levett, Soham, Cambridgeshire, carpenter—Feb. 4, T. Todd, Manchester, dealer in cotton goods.

CERTIFICATES.

Jan. 30, J. Gadd, Camden Town, baker—B. Wade, Strand, tailor—E. Turner, Princes Street, Soho, chemist—Feb. 2, J. Russell, Ludlow, scrivener—Feb. 3, J. C. Kendall, Islington, tavern keeper—J. Hamsher, Hoxton, glove manufacturer—T. Bailey, Bristol, builder—W. H. Turnham, Leicester, innkeeper—R. Shanklin, Salford, druggist—T. D. Taylor, Brook Street, Holborn, oilman.

TUESDAY, JAN. 13.

BANKRUPTS.

C. BARTLETT, Southampton, merchant. [Messrs. Tilman and Squance, Coleman Street.

H. MUGGERIDGE, St. John Street, Smithfield, wire drawer. [Mr. Low, Chancery Lane.

M. GUY and H. SMITH, Farringdon Street, linendrapers. [Messrs. Reed and Langford, Friday Street.

J. STEVENS, Clement's Inn, builder. [Mr. Ashurst, Cheapside.

M. MACLEAN, Basinghall Street, cloth factor. [Messrs. Vallance and Beloe, Old Jewry Chambers.

T. EDWARDS, Montgomeryshire, surgeon. [Messrs. Dean and Sons, Essex Street, Strand.

J. REID, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, ship broker. [Mr. Plumptre, Temple.

H. LEVY, Plymouth, tobacconist. [Messrs. Surr and Gribble, Lombard Street.

J. G. GORE, Cheltenham, innkeeper. [Mr. Hill, Cheltenham.

T. W. PIERCE and G. HOMAN, Manchester, merchants. [Mr. Abbott, Bedford Square.

J. WILKINSON, Haslingden, Lancashire, builder. [Messrs. Humphreys and Co., Chancery Lane.

T. WILKERS, Burton-upon-Trent, Staffordshire, brewer. [Messrs. Everet and Co., Hatton Garden.

DIVIDENDS.

Jan. 30, J. Mott, Loughborough, wine merchant—Feb. W. H. Sheldrake, Ipswich, bootmaker—Feb. 5, J. Chamberlain, Liason Grove North, glass merchant—J. W. Collyer, Newgate Street, victualler—B. B. Cross, Woodstock, glover—E. Meredith, Liverpool, linendraper—J. Adamson, Stockport, grocer—W. Doford, Bishopwearmouth, shipbuilder—Feb. 6, G. Hardy, St. Ives, innkeeper—Feb. 10, J. Breakenridge, Liverpool, tailor—J. B. Bucklee, Kidderminster, mercer.

Printed at the Whitefriars Printing-office, Boueverie-street, in the precinct of Whitefriars, in the City of London, by JOHN GADSBY, printer, of Number 7, Ridgmount-place, Hampstead-road, in the County of Middlesex, and also of Number 4, Fairfield-place, Chesham-hill-road, in the parish of Manchester, in the county of Lancashire, and published at Number 67, Fleet-street, in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, in the city of London, by ABRAHAM WALTER PAULSON, of Number 67, Fleet-street, aforesaid—Saturday, January 17, 1846.

For remainder of News see SUPPLEMENT.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LEAGUE.

No. 121.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 1846.

[GRATIS.

FREE TRADE MEETINGS.

MEETING OF THE LEAGUE AT COVENT GARDEN.

The second of the resumed aggregate meetings of the League was held at Covent Garden Theatre on Wednesday evening last. G. Wilson, Esq., in the chair. The speakers announced were the Hon. C. P. Villiers, Esq., M.P., T. M. Gibson, Esq., M.P., and T. Gisborne, Esq., M.P.; but owing to the illness of the latter gentleman his place was filled by Robt. R. Moore, Esq. In addition to the above gentlemen, the meeting was addressed by Mr. Houghton, of Berkshire, who has a great extent of land under his charge upon his own account, and is steward to some of the first noblemen and greatest landowners of the day, and who, it will be recollected, made a public declaration last year of his conversion to Free Trade principles. Notwithstanding the numerous district meetings which have been held for some time past in and about the metropolis, the theatre was completely filled in every part; the mere overflow would in all probability have more than sufficed to fill Willis's Rooms twice over, while the audience within the theatre would have furnished at least fifty of those "great protection demonstrations" with which the columns of the London journals are now daily filled. The Chairman of the Council, accompanied by the speakers, entered the platform at seven o'clock, and their appearance was the signal for great applause. The spirit evinced by the meeting was evidently that which pervades the great bulk of the population at the present moment—a determination to rest satisfied with nothing short of abolition, entire abolition, and nothing but abolition. Among the distinguished personages present, were the Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P., T. M. Gibson, Esq., M.P., J. Hume, Esq., M.P., J. Collett, Esq., M.P.; Sir W. Baynes, Bart., G. Thompson, Esq., John Houghton, Esq., Broom Hall; Robt. Mather, Esq., Liverpool; Major-General Briggs, Dr. Cooke Taylor, W. A. Wilkinson, Esq., P. A. Taylor, Esq., H. Ashurst, Esq., Norman Wilkinson, Esq., Mr. Thos. Hodgkin, Mr. David Dowar, Mr. Thorne, Mr. Rawlins, Mr. J. B. Evans, Mr. Edwd. Lucas, Mr. Francis Place, Mr. Maurice Power, Mr. Edward Brownley, Mr. Grant, Mr. Robt. R. Moore, Mr. W. B. Wedgwood, New York; Mr. John Poulter, Mr. H. Brittain, Walthamstow; Mr. C. Constable, Surrey; Mr. Arthur Pattison, Mr. J. C. Hutchinson, U.S.; Mr. T. S. Pridoux, Mr. T. Allendine, Mr. Richard Ware Cole, Mr. Frank Eastwood, &c. &c.

The CHAIRMAN then came forward, amid loud cheers. Silence having been obtained, he spoke as follows:—Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sure it is a subject of great congratulation to find that, after an uphill fight of seven years, this subject loses none of its wonted interest. I take it for granted that there are few at least, at the present time, so benighted as to think it requisite to ask of 6000 people met in Covent Garden Theatre, in the 8th year of the League's campaign, what is the precise and definite object of that great organization of which this vast meeting is but a small fractional part. (Cheers.) Seven years have brought great and sweeping changes with them; many a good old fallacy has been gathered to its fathers, and many a good Free Trader, who commenced with us this agitation, has been laid in the silent grave. (Hear.) But here we are. Other opinions may change. Within that time cabinets have been formed and re-constructed, power has been transferred from one administration to another; but the principles of the League have undergone no change. (Cheers.) Nothing has stopped us; we are here, in the beginning of the year 1846, pledged to the same principles with which we commenced the campaign in 1838—the total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws (Loud cheers.) It is in vain to deny that this is a most thrilling and interesting period of this agitation. All parties are agreed that the crisis of protection is now approaching; the intermediate ground has altogether been abandoned; the fixed duty party are gone for ever; and it now becomes every man fairly to consider whether he will make his election to stand or fall with that great party who seek the total abolition of the Corn Laws, or with that narrowing and diminishing section who are for restriction and scarcity. Next week Sir Robert Peel will explain to Parliament the course which it shall please him to adopt. I take it for granted he is already better acquainted than any man in the kingdom with the threatened scarcity of provisions, more especially in Ireland. (Hear, hear.) It has been shown over and over again, that the rate of mortality increases and diminishes with the price of provisions, and a fearful responsibility rests upon that man who at the present time shall hesitate as to the course which shall be pursued. (Cheers.) The first subject which, as you aware, we have in hand, is the qualification movement. It may be asked, what can the making of votes, which can only be used in October, have to do with the settlement of a question which may be finally disposed of in February, March, or April? I will tell you. If you wish to have that question fairly settled in February, March, or April, it will be because your rulers know the votes are in store for October (cheers); and to be in store—to have a great magazine of them prepared for October, the qualification must be acquired before the 31st of January next. Now what has been the success which has attended this qualification movement? The Council would incur a fearful responsibility if it invited their best friends to expend, as they are doing this year, some half a million of money in the purchase of qualifications, unless the Council had given to the subject its best consideration before advising such a course. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) It is well known that last year we dealt with registers containing 144,000 votes, or one third of the whole county constituency of England, and upon that revision we had a clear gain of 16,446 votes in the aggregate. Now, I do not come here to tell you what seats have been won, or what gains have been made by that revision, but we will take from the mouths of the mono-

polists themselves, we will gather from the events which are now occurring, the proof of the extraordinary progress which the League has made in that direction. You all know South Lancashire, one of the greatest counties and most populous districts in England. At the last election, the monopolist beat the Free Trader; how does the case stand now? Why, Lord Francis Egerton—and here I will say, that if we selected a monopolist for our representative, a more agreeable man, one more desirable for a member than another, more amiable in all the relations of private life, cannot be found than Lord Francis Egerton—the member selected to move the address in the House of Commons by Sir Robert Peel—well, what says that noble lord? "I will fight no more. Look out for another candidate. I have had enough." (Cheers.) And, at the next election, our friends, Mr. Villiers and Mr. Brown, will walk over the course unopposed. (Cries of hear, hear, and cheers.) Then, there is South Cheshire, which has been represented by Mr. Tatton Egerton ever since the Reform Bill. He owns eleven or twelve miles of land; he can ride over an estate of that extent of land; and yet, adopting their phraseology in that part of the country, when describing a man, I will say this of Mr. Tatton Egerton, that they have not a man of equal *pluck* amongst them. Well, what says Mr. Tatton Egerton? "Look out for another man: I have fought a hard battle here: I have won the country. I have been returned at the head of the poll; but you must get somebody else now; I shall retire at the next election." (Cheers.) Look again to the West Riding of Yorkshire. (Loud cheers.) That great county, with its population of 1,000,000, its 32,000 votes on the register, and its 300 monopolist majority at the last election,—what is taking place in the West Riding? Lord Morpeth has been in the field a fortnight, inviting a contest, and not a single man can be found to fight the county. (Cheers.) These are a few of the results taken from them. We know of a great many others who are prepared to follow the example of these honourable members at the first convenient opportunity; and as assuredly as we have the slightest ground of excuse for continuing this agitation another year—as assuredly as they leave one single rag of protection existing to keep the League in existence—so assuredly will we give the signal to the men of Scotland to cross the borders and join hands with the men of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham, till they meet the men of Lancashire and Yorkshire, who again join hands, and pass on through Cheshire and Staffordshire, to Birmingham and the Midland Counties, until the men of Birmingham shall be enabled to join hands with the men of London, who will go out on all sides—purifying the counties, knocking down one member after another (laughter), or, if there be some refractory county left, such as Buckingham, why then we will crowd sail upon it from all quarters, and take it completely out of the possession of the Duke. I next come to speak of the Great League Fund, the Quarter of a Million. It was agreed to in Manchester some months ago, and there are gentlemen whom I now see upon this platform who can tell you that the discussion in the Council-room did not take five minutes; and in a week after that a meeting was called in Manchester—such a meeting as I never saw before, or expect to see again, when, at the rate of 500l. per minute for two hours, 60,000l. was raised towards that League fund, which large amount has since been increased in that district to 77,000l. (Cheers.) Well, another meeting took place at Liverpool last week in furtherance of that fund. Our excellent friend, Mr. Brown, presided (cheers), heading the list with 1000l. (Loud cheering.) There is another gentleman now present from Liverpool, Mr. Mather, who followed him with another 1000l. (loud cheers); and they raised between 12,000l. and 13,000l. in that town. I have letters from all parts of the kingdom, stating that preparations are made, and great expectations formed of the ease with which this fund will be raised in different parts of the country. I received a letter this morning from our excellent friend, Mr. Baxter, at Dundee, at the other end of Scotland, where, at a meeting of 20 minutes' duration, 1600l. was raised for the League fund. To-night there is a public dinner of the delegates from the West Riding of Yorkshire, which is to be attended by Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright; and I have no doubt somewhere from 20,000l. to 25,000l. will be subscribed at that meeting. Now we will discard the small subscriptions altogether; we will take the more than 100,000l., which the meetings at Liverpool, Manchester, and Leeds, produced, in two counties; and we will challenge the Duke of Buckingham, the Duke of Richmond, and the Duke of Norfolk, (laughter and cries of "curry," and the whole of them, with all the squirearchy of England at their back, to call three meetings in any two counties they choose, and put down one half the sum in favour of that protection of which they are such strenuous advocates. (Cheers.) But this has not been all; these movements have never intercepted for one moment the general and ordinary operations of the League. Why, I had the curiosity to reckon how many meetings have taken place since the commencement of October last; and I find that our indefatigable and patriotic leader, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, our excellent friend Mr. Moore, and a few others, have attended 62 meetings in that time. (Cheers.) I find also that our esteemed friends in almost every town throughout the kingdom have held their meetings, either on the subject of opening the ports, the total repeal of the Corn Laws, or for both, amounting in number to somewhere between 100 and 120. We have heard of meetings on the other side—"great meetings." (Laughter.) I have had a little information respecting some of them. I know that at some of them not more than 60 or 70 persons attended—a decent committee meeting for a lady's charity, or something of that sort. (Laughter.) One of their speakers at Lincoln, the other day, said that a cat might be seen in any part of the room, it was so crowded; and yet the chairman said that it was the largest meeting of that society he had ever seen. But we will admit that they have lately displayed more than their wonted activity; we will admit that at some of the largest meetings—at Clichester, and one or two other places for instance—they have had perhaps a quarter of the number here present at their meetings; we will give them the

benefit of the whole of it; and we will admit that with a good deal of abuse of the League, Sir Robert Peel, Lord J. Russell, Lord Morpeth; of men who did not come there, and men who did come, and did not please them when they came—(laughter)—and of others who did not advise them according to their own notions, they made up an interesting report. But what does it all prove? That there is still in existence—which nobody denied,—a number of men in this country, who will never yield until the Minister shall himself, or the people, decide that they shall be brought to book. (Cheers.) Let them meet, let them abuse the League as much as they like; let them threaten to turn that fabulous animal, the British lion, upon us as often as they like; we will catch him and bring him to Covent Garden Theatre. (Laughter.) Let them threaten, as they are doing, to meet us in the qualification movement. The League know well enough that they have exhausted themselves in that direction, whilst we were asleep—(hear); and whatever they do in future, we will beat them ten to one in that direction, in any county they may select. (Loud cheers.) But there has been another meeting, not called by the Protection Society, nor yet by the League; not presided over by his grace the Duke of Richmond; furnished with no speakers from Willis's rooms; but a meeting which, thanks to the *Times*, has been reported throughout the length and breadth of the land. (Loud cheers.) I refer to the meeting at Goatsacre (enthusiastic cheering; a voice—"Three cheers for the labourers." The call having been heartily responded to, the chairman proceeded). There, upon a winter's night, 1000 agricultural labourers met together—for what? To abuse the League! No. To support agricultural protection? No. But to ask the Government to look at their pale and haggard features; and as they were actuated by the feelings of humanity and justice, to open the ports and grant to these protected men Free Trade. (Cheers.) We will not put in the scale at all the preponderating influence of the meetings of the League over the protection meetings; we will take away all the meetings that have been held for League funds or qualification, or for any other movement connected with our operations, and we will put in evidence against them that single meeting at Goatsacre as an answer to the whole of the gatherings held under the auspices of the Protection Society of Old Bond Street; and when they can dispose of the opinions of the working men at that meeting, they may meet at 17, Old Bond Street, and issue a thousand addresses to Englishmen if they like, announcing that the agricultural labourers of this country are in favour of the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, you will be addressed this evening by our excellent friend, Mr. Villiers (cheers), and by Sir Robert Peel. (Cheers.) Mr. Gisborne, I regret to say, is seriously indisposed in the Isle of Wight, but his place will be supplied by Mr. Moore (cheers); and our excellent friend Mr. Houghton, the largest farmer in the United Kingdom, is anxious to say a few words. (Cheers.) I have now, therefore, great pleasure in calling upon Mr. Villiers.

Mr. VILLIERS, upon advancing to the table, was greeted with most enthusiastic applause. The hon. gentleman addressed the meeting as follows:—Ladies and Gentlemen, I think we are come to that point in the progress of our cause when every person is anxious to know what prospect there is of our success, and what is going to be done. The last time we met in this theatre our spirits were much elated at the prospect which our cause then presented, owing to the position of political parties. Several events have occurred since that time extremely interesting to our cause. These have been viewed variously by politicians of different parties; but when we assemble in this theatre we profess to have nothing to do with party politics; persons of all creeds and opinions assemble together here; and we may, therefore, be excused in considering these events, as they bear upon our question alone. In that view, I venture to express an opinion that nothing has occurred since we last met at all calculated to discourage or weaken those hopes which we entertained upon that occasion. The moral of all that has occurred since that time seems to be that our good cause of Free Trade is in the ascendant, and that we are approaching, and our struggle is approaching, a speedy and successful issue. At our last meeting, Lord John Russell had received the commission of the Crown to form a Government, after having placed on record his identity of opinion with ourselves. (Cheers.) We have had the satisfaction to learn since that the colleagues whom he proposed to call to his assistance were entirely agreed in opinion with himself, and consequently with us. (Cheers.) And we have further reason to believe that if he had succeeded in forming a Government, he would have received the cordial support of Sir Robert Peel and such friends as he could influence. (Cheers.) We have also the satisfaction of knowing that he did not fail to complete his arrangements for forming that Government from any cause whatever connected with any difference of opinion upon our question. (Hear, hear.) And though it would have given the personal friends of Lord John Russell great satisfaction to have seen him in that post to which he was called, and which I believe he would have worthily filled, and which, I believe, notwithstanding what has been suggested by our friend, *Punch*, he would have had strength to maintain (a laugh); I do believe that the force which will now be presented in favour of our question in the House of Commons is greater than it would have been under any other circumstances. Sir R. Peel has returned to power; his dissentient colleagues have apparently returned to reason, and nothing has transpired which would make us believe that any of them have returned to their former opinions in favour of the Corn Laws; and though certainly it is difficult to confide in the course of any public man in this day, yet I cannot but find it difficult to believe that Sir Robt. Peel has returned to power for the purpose of convulsing this country with disappointment, and drawing upon himself the universal odium of the nation. (Cheers.) If his will is not wanting, he is in a position to advance this cause more successfully than he could before. Recalled to power, as a matter of necessity, he is at once relieved from all former party considerations. He has not only now all the patronage of Government at command, but he has that also of the Opposition, who are, for the first time that I have known

them, united and decided, determined to extend to him earnest, cordial, and zealous support, if his measure is honest and complete (cheers); and equally determined, if he should fail or falter, to resort to any and every means by which they can procure that measure of justice for the people. (Cheers.) Under these circumstances I do feel sanguine of success. I cannot think that this year will pass without some satisfactory settlement of this question. I have almost faith in our rulers that they will not disregard the voice of common sense which is now so generally and unequivocally expressed in the country. The time is come when the question must be settled; but whatever they may choose to do, I think the period has arrived when all trifling with this question is past. There has always been a reality in it which time and circumstances were sure to aid; every thing has combined of late to show the real character of this enactment; and it now stands before this country stamped with the character of being a law against the food, the work, and the trade of the people. (Cheers.) We have now reached that point in our progress when it seems that no minister will undertake the administration of the country if he is to be held responsible for the continuance of this law. (Hear, hear, hear.) It was only the other day that we learned from the letter which Mr. Gladstone wrote to his constituents, that the party who are now pledging themselves in every portion of the country not to surrender one atom of the Corn Law, have been tested as to whether they will undertake the administration of the Government conditional on the continuance of the Corn Law. It seems by that letter that they have shrunk from the task. They wish the laws to be supported, in order that they may enjoy all the advantages, when it can be maintained quietly, and to escape all the risk when there is any danger in continuing it. (Hear.) I think if we look at their speeches, we shall see that it has been from no modesty or diffidence on their part that they have refused this offer, if it has been made to them; for in perusing their addresses to each other on the subject, they seem in the first place to claim superior integrity, a majority in both Houses of the Legislature, and seven-ninths of the population on their side. Now, it seems difficult to conceive—if they believe what they say, that they have this amount of public spirit, and they believed that this Corn Law was as necessary as they pretended—why they would not undertake to form a Government. It seemed, however, that they turned from this duty, and they content themselves now with exhausting the language in the most scurrilous abuse towards all those who are opposed to them, or who are in authority over them. But this brings us to a point to which it is well to draw the attention of the country—that we are now arrived at that period in the history of this monopoly when no man will undertake, and the strongest Ministry will not retain, the power of administering the Government of England, if he is to maintain also the responsibility of supporting this law. (Hear, hear.) That is the result of this measure after 30 years experience,—a 30 years experiment to impede the supply of food to 28 millions of people: and yet we are told we are not safe; that we are not yet out of danger;—that this party who are determining to uphold every part and every iota of this law, are yet so formidable that they may yet defeat any minister who may undertake the government for the purpose of abolishing it. I cannot conceive there can be much danger when I consider who the parties are, how they are managing the defence of the system, and what movements which are taking place in various directions in this country against them. We are told that they are about to follow closely in the steps of the League; that they are about to raise a large sum of money for the purpose of meeting them in everything they may attempt; that if the League should raise a quarter of a million, they are about to raise half a million. And we are informed, that in the opinion of Mr. Newdegate, the member for Warwickshire, that if it comes to the display of physical force, they can bring against the people who are for Free Trade, who are in favour of unrestricted commerce in this country, a force which we have no idea of at present. (Laughter.) I think there was something of this kind stated two years ago, when these Protection Societies first appeared; and though it is very seldom safe to prophecy, I remember that I then ventured to predict concerning them in this place, considering what their cause was, and knowing their advocates, that they would speedily disagree, and soon after disappear. It seems I was not very much out in my calculation, for I observe that Mr. Miles, at a meeting on Monday, said he was glad to see his friends again, because he had been asked in the summer what had become of the Central Protection Society. (Laughter.) I remember hearing the question asked, and answered by a member of that society—that they were doing nothing. (Loud laughter.) He was then asked what the local societies were about, and he said that they were under the direction of the Central Society. (Renewed laughter.) As to their disagreement, I think we have already had some specimen. It seems that even the dukes cannot agree—that if the Duke of Norfolk speaks, the Duke of Richmond is ready to sink into the earth, (laughter); and that I take to be very much the feeling of the whole peerage at some of the Duke of Richmond's proceedings. If one had to judge between the two, the Duke of Norfolk's nostrum is more innocent than the Duke of Richmond's. The Duke of Norfolk at this crisis only prescribes the labourers to burn their own insides; the Duke of Richmond recommends them to burn the *Times* newspaper. (Prolonged laughter.) But it appears to me that that logic is less innocent than the Duke of Norfolk's; for it seems to amount to this—that if they differ in opinion with any person, they then are to resort to fire to assert their views; a lesson which, I think, is very likely not to be forgotten by the labourers whom they instructed, and perhaps a hint which few had heard something of before. (Hear.) I have done what few persons probably have done besides, namely, looked through the speeches of these protection gentlemen—(laughter); and it seems to me that if a moiety of their half-million is to be devoted to the circulation of their speeches, the League ought to claim that as a contribution to their fund. I can conceive nothing more advantageous to our cause than the circulation, gratis, of the speeches of these protective gentlemen. In looking through them, I find that one half, at least, of all their speeches seem to contain a complete admission of the case and charge which we bring against them. Why, our case against this protection party is, that they maintain a law by which food is made difficult of access to the poor; that they diminish its quantity; and that the effect of the measure is to make that dear and scarce, which would otherwise be plentiful and abundant. In looking at their speeches, we find that that is what they are labouring to show. They say, "If the Corn Law is repealed, see how low the price of food would fall; and, if the trade were free, see in what abundance that food would come in." There are

vicious calculations made, to show how much more wholesome and nutritious food might be introduced, if the Corn Law was repealed; and they pretend to an accuracy which they have not the slightest ground for, as to the great fall in prices if this Corn Law were repealed. Mr. Miles, at the meeting the day before yesterday, quoted a statement, which he considered to be authentic, to show what a prosperous trade would follow between this country and America. One can hardly really believe that people exist who are using these arguments not as the rest of mankind would, as the very strongest arguments for the adoption of that very measure by which they might be brought about; but in order to state something which is conclusive on them to uphold the law, to uphold the impediment by which the people should be precluded from the advantage. What a position it is for the gentry of this country to be actually associated together, to be arrayed for the great and noble purpose of preventing abundance, and preventing plenty of wholesome food coming into this country during the year! What a glorious attitude it is to assume, in face of the Sovereign of the country, who has just pronounced her grief, in answer to an address, that one great article of subsistence of her people has failed this year, and that she is ready to give her assent immediately to any measure of relief! (Loud cheers.) What a position that is for the gentry of the country, not only to be standing between the benevolence and good will of the Sovereign and the sufferings of the people, but betwixt that abundance which God has provided on the earth and the necessities of that portion of his creatures who dwell on this island! There they are pledging each other, arraying themselves together, subscribing their half million of money, and professing that they would succeed (ironical cheers)—all for what? Not to prevent the invasion of an enemy; not to avert misfortune coming upon the country; but simply to arrest the progress of the attempt to bring health and comfort—by bringing food, which is deficient, into this country! What a position it is for the aristocracy of a country, whose pride and power have been so much talked of in the world! Now declaring themselves as mere dealers in flesh, and fish, and other food, and invoking each other in the name of their order that they should stand firm to the prices which they fixed in 1841; and in order to cheer each other to their duty, the president quotes the line of the poet who has celebrated their constancy. How little idea the poor poet had that he was celebrating the constancy they were about to show! In the heat of his imagination he never supposed that the British aristocracy were in 1846 to prove their constancy to nothing but the sliding scale and scarcity, constancy in making food difficult of attainment to the poor, when the labourers are proclaiming to the country that for 40 years they have never been able to taste meat; that they know it by sight, but have never been able yet to afford the means of tasting it. (Hear.) That was the declaration made, which has not been disputed, by one of those unfortunate peasants at Goutacre. That is the condition of numbers in many parts of the country at this moment, where these great lords and gentry are about arraying themselves for the purpose of preventing that food coming into this country, by which these labourers might taste that which they have only seen these 40 years. Let them only be constant in this cause, and perhaps they may live to see another set of peasants arise, who will talk of bread as these peasants do of meat; they will know a loaf by sight, but the price will place it beyond their reach. I have a right to say that this is the effect of the course they pursue, because they never condescend to allude to any of those great considerations which we have so often brought under their attention—the effect of a scarcity of food in producing poverty among the people,—the means it affords for oppression, and all the ills which affect human life among the labouring classes. They have never disputed that the population of this country is increasing annually at a most enormous rate; they never pretend that any provision is made to meet the wants of that population; nor do they pretend that any provision is made to prevent those periods of deficiency which have sent thousands, and tens of thousands, to the jails, the grave, the streets, and the unions, simply through their poverty. (Loud cheers.) There is not one word mentioned at these protection meetings which would not equally apply if that famine had occurred which most men expected only three months since, and which most men are yet in doubt whether it may not occur in the middle of this year. They contend that they are entitled to make food dear; they claim simply to uphold the principle of protection: they do not look to the consequences; and if we were in the midst of a famine, there is not the slightest reason why they should not hold exactly the same language that they do at present. Wherever the potato has failed from disease in other countries (and the disease was known in other places before it arrived here), it has been found that the failure of the crop has been greater the next year than it was in the first, and greater the year after than it was in the second. Is it anything but wisdom to provide against a recurrence of this misfortune? And yet to what do these gentlemen pledge themselves all over the country? That not one iota of this protection shall be abated—that there shall not be any diminution of the obstructions now imposed to the introduction of food. No, they say, "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof." We have had these famines before; and when they do occur, we call them "visitations of Heaven;" we offer up prayers in the churches that they may cease; and we request the archbishop to urge on their Christian flocks to be liberal in their charity to provide for the people. These things have occurred before; and as far as their humanity or their prudence goes, they will occur again: and it seems that if any Minister venture to provide for the responsibility of these misfortunes occurring, he is charged with cowardice and treachery. As far as I can collect from their addresses, they are charging the present Minister with cowardice in not having faced the famine. He ought not to have changed his opinion on the subject of this anti-food law because of the apprehension of famine. He ought to have met that boldly like a man; he should have made no provision for it. If there is anything to be drawn from their speeches, it amounts to this, that they charge him with cowardice and treachery. Treachery to whom? No treason to the State, no treason to the poor, no treachery to the great source of our power and greatness in this country; but treason to the hereditary proprietors of the soil. In an apology which was made for them, (I question whether it was by a very friendly hand) in the *Morning Chronicle* yesterday, the writer is very anxious we should be very careful in our allusion to them; that we should deal tenderly with them, because, he said, from the cradle to the grave these persons are placed under circumstances so unfavourable to the development of their minds (laughter), to the knowledge of men and to the management of their own affairs, that they may be as well excused if

they commit great blunders in the management of the affairs of the country. (Renewed laughter.) A great consolation to those who live under their rule, and who are governed by them! (Cheers.) But I think that if this is their condition, we might teach them to be a little more modest in their mode of dealing with other men. They charge the present Minister with treachery; they say they gave him his present position; they seem to imply that he wears their livery still, and that he has no business to engage in another service. This claim of theirs to name the ministry of the country seems to me something very like an insult and offence to the whole nation. (Hear, hear.) How is it that they have acquired this power? They tell you by the county representatives; they say they have the counties in their hands—how have they got them in their hands? Lord Stanley has told us: he says that a few families meet previously to the return of a member, and then decide which of the members or retainers of their family shall represent the county. I do not think it is very wonderful, under those circumstances, that we see so much anger and indignation at what has been recommended by the League,—that their friends should seek to appropriate some of the property in this country to give them the privilege of having a voice in the representation. They call that "oppression," "tyranny," and "uncalled for innovation." (Hear, hear, and cheers.) It appears to me that if one ground can be urged stronger than another, for every friend of Free Trade, for every advocate of liberty, for every hater of tyranny and oppression, coming forward to invest his property in that legitimate and constitutional manner, it is this arrogant assumption, first, to name the members for the counties, and then the ministers of the State. (Cheers.) I remember, a short time after Parliament met, after the general election, the most arrogant assumption was made by some of these magnates with respect to the present Minister. They said they had made him, and they would unmake him, if he did not do their bidding; that they had given him his place, and they had bound him by a bargain that he should attend exclusively to their interests. Well, I must say, for the credit of the people who are yet disposed to expect some good from his Ministry, believing he understands the interests of the country, and has shown some inclination to support them—I must say he did at the time repudiate with proper spirit any such obligation to them, or any such inclination to do the service. And I would here quote his words, to show that he entered into an obligation then not to serve this sordid section of the community, but to do his duty by the nation at large. On some independent member calling upon him to say whether a statement was founded in fact which had been made in some place, to the effect that he had bound himself in this manner to them to do their bidding, he replied:

"It is my intention to act upon a sense of public duty—to propose those measures alone which my conviction of what is requisite for the public make me think desirable. It is right there should be an understanding as to this. What can be my inducement to take office and make the sacrifices the acceptance of it enjoins? I want to serve my country; I want to acquire an honourable fame. Would I go through the labour which is daily imposed on me if I could not claim for myself the liberty of promoting those measures which I believe to be conducive to the public weal. (Loud and continued cheering.) I will claim that liberty and propose those measures; and I will assure this House, and the country, that no consideration of political support will induce me to fill such an office as that which I fill by a servile tenure, and nothing would compel me to be the instrument of carrying other men's opinions into effect. It is not valuable from patronage or distinction; it is only worthy of my holding for an hour on account of the opportunity it gives me of serving my country; and the moment I feel convinced the power of doing that is denied to me, I tell every man in the country he has conferred no obligation on me, (hear, hear,) but free as the wind, I reserve to myself the power of retiring from the discharge of those duties which no longer could be filled with satisfaction to myself or advantage to my country." (Loud cheers.) (A gentleman in the boxes here called for "three cheers for Peel." Several voices replied, "Wait till the next meeting.") I think that precaution is very proper. (Cheers.) I have referred to those sentiments, which I heard uttered myself by Sir R. Peel, to show that these men had no claim on him, that he was not bound to them, but was bound to do his duty by the community at large. He has pledged himself to do so. I believe now that he is in a position, and that he has the power to do so; and I only refer to it to justify the expectation of many liberal-minded men that he does intend, and that he will, perform his duty by the public. I must say, in justification of his consistency, that from the time he uttered those sentiments, he has been constantly assailing that very system of protection and favoritism to particular interests during the whole of the time he has been in power. He has been assailing it in every way in the face of these very parties who claim him to be their humble servant. I think one has had experience enough of public men to have no particular faith in any one; but when any interest and duty are obviously combined, one is led to expect that a man will not shrink from doing that which it would be his interest to do. These gentlemen, who during the last four years have been making such a noise in the country, have been ready to support the Minister, notwithstanding his declaration on this occasion, and notwithstanding he has pursued the course which seems to be by their present declarations most opposed to their opinions. They have acted as supporters and friends of the Government; and I have no doubt that, as friends of the Government are apt to do, they have shared in the favour and patronage which Government is able to bestow upon them; and therefore they come rather late with the charge, that they are taken by surprise, which charge they intend to make the ground of opposing any measure which is proposed for the satisfaction of the country. These gentlemen are, in my opinion, quite out of court in their present position. There are only two grounds on which they could have supported their monopoly with any grace—they ought to have extended protection to all; or they ought not to have allowed it to be withdrawn from any; and they ought to be able to point to the results of their protection as justifying their being made an exception to the rest. But they have been active parties in carrying out the policy and applying it to every protected interest. All these interests have been attacked; protection has been removed from many altogether; and the weakest and most defenceless have been attacked without the least scruple, and they have been active and willing supporters in carrying out that policy. They have been constantly told that their turn must come next; they have been reminded that the same hand that attacked the other interests would assail them, and they were perfectly prepared for it,

They have on every occasion in Parliament, sanctioned the directly opposite principle to that for which they are now contending, when it did not affect themselves; they have sanctioned the principle of competition in everything else. There have been persons come before them alleging word for word that they state in defence of their own interests at present; they have pleaded also for the poor they employ, and have claimed the investment of their capital on the faith that they should not be disturbed. There are whole towns, great districts, and individual properties which have been greatly deteriorated and almost destroyed in value by the new railroads which have been sanctioned by Act of Parliament; and all those parties and proprietors have claimed from Parliament that very protection which these same proprietors are now claiming. They have prayed and petitioned against the improvements which were about to be made; but these proprietors, these protectionists have always disregarded their claims with the greatest philosophy and coolness. They have invariably resisted their claim to protection, and have on all occasions sanctioned the principle of competition. The thousands of the working classes of this country who are constantly thrown out of employment by the introduction of machinery, or some improvement which supersedes their labour, they have also come to Parliament and prayed for some protection which should continue them in employment against the use of machinery. They have constantly met them with the soundest views of political economy, and told them how erroneous their claims were; nothing which they have prayed for has been granted to them. They have in every case been told that their particular interests must be yielded to the public good; they have never obtained what they wanted, whenever competition has been put forth in any interest that has been consented to by the majority of the two Houses. And then people may readily ask, why these hereditary proprietors, these proprietors of the soil, whose property nobody disputes, whom everybody is willing to leave in the enjoyment of it to the fullest—but, who by no sacrifice, industry, or intelligence, of their own acquired their fortunes, are to be protected, and are not to be exposed to the principle of competition, when that principle would be of such advantage to the community? (Cheers.) But are they able to point to any result of this protective system which should justify any such exemption. Where is it they will take us to see the results of this system, either in the happy condition of their people or in the fulfilment of their engagement with the public? Will they take us into the county of Wilts to show us the happiness and comfort which it brings on the labourers they employ? We have had allusions this evening to the meeting which was held at a village in the county of Wilts; will they take us there by moonlight to see the happy condition of their peasantry. But what these unfortunate people in that village proclaimed, is no novelty to any person who has studied their case. I venture to say, that for 23 years out of the 30 during which this protection to the landed proprietors has existed, for that period you will find public documents recording precisely that condition of the labouring classes in the agricultural districts which was proclaimed by the peasantry at Goatacre. There was an inquiry in the House of Commons in 1824 into the wages of the labourer, and in the pages of the report of that committee will be found, word for word, what was proclaimed on this occasion by the peasantry—that they cannot be in a worse condition; come what will, let there be any change, they believed it would be for their improvement. There were witnesses then who stated that it was simply owing to the smallness of the remuneration they received that they were hurried into the commission of crimes; that they were as degraded and demoralised as any people that could be found. Why, it is conformable with every inquiry which has been made into the agricultural districts, that these unfortunate people are almost at the bottom of the scale of society. A few years ago, the Commissioners of the Crown drew up a scale, marking the condition of the different classes in this country; and the agricultural labourers were literally placed at the bottom, lower even than the felon or the pauper. (Hear.) Nothing was found more depressed in the social scale than the agricultural labourer. I ask then, with these evidences, which are accumulated, which are so notorious, if it is not testing the temper of the country rather highly, to say that these protective laws, and this protection to agriculture, exists for the benefit of these unfortunate people? It was, I think, about twelve years since, that a member for Bedford, a Conservative in politics, made personal inquiry of these labourers themselves, who were confined in the gaols in great numbers in those agricultural counties. They had been charged with many offences, at a time when there were great riots and incendiarism; and this gentleman, who, from his politics, was not disposed to lay too much stress upon those things, being a Conservative; but he declared that he had collected from these unfortunate peasants in the gaol, that they had been tempted and led into these offences, simply from the low rate of wages they were receiving from their employers. How can these people, then, be brought up as evidence in favour of this system? (Hear.) Why, these poor men, at that village meeting in Wiltshire, at once refuted the two leading fallacies, upon which protectionists have been trading for some years past. The monopolists say, if food is dear, wages are high; that, if you have a Free Trade in food, land will go out of cultivation; but, what say these labourers themselves? They say, "We will tell you, from 40 years' experience, that whenever the price of food rises, the wages of labourers do not rise in proportion. With respect to land going out of cultivation, we would undertake that: do not fear; it shall not return to waste. Give up your land," said they, "and we can cultivate it." (Hear.) But, if they cannot point to these unfortunate people as any proof in favour of their system, how is it they can answer for the manner in which they have fulfilled the condition of their great monopoly? Have they adequately supplied the people with food? (Cries of No.) Is it not notorious, that every four or five years we have these deficiencies, which derange the whole business of the country? We are constantly exposed to these periodical famines; and what is it they tell us? They cannot deny the fact; but they say this country could produce enough to support the people. Our answer, then, is, why do you not produce what is sufficient? (Cries of hear.) They bring scientific men down to their agricultural meetings who tell the farmer what he could, should, would, or might do if he would adopt this or that improvement. What is the invariable answer to all these lectures given to the only people who can make these improvements. They reply, "All that you say is very true; but we do not hold the land under circumstances which would enable us to make these improvements. We want greater security of tenure before we will invest our capital in your land." What said Lord Stanley only a year since, speaking at an agricultural meeting? He said, "Great improvements are required in the agriculture

of this country, but no man has a right to expect that his tenant will improve his land unless he gives him the security of a lease, and the extent of that lease will vary with the duration of the term." Now I ask whether there is the slightest prospect of leases being more generally given than they have been hitherto. Look at the meeting of the Protection Society held last Monday; what is it they say? "We must increase our influence in the counties in order to meet the efforts of the League." Do you then believe that they would in reality increase that influence by giving their tenants leases, and rendering them independent? (Cries of No, no.) The tenantry-at-will system has been very much increased of late, simply for the purpose of acquiring influence in these counties. They want now more and more influence; and therefore there is less and less prospect of agricultural improvement. This is the reason why they will never give us a committee of inquiry in the House of Commons. Mr. Cobden has asked them for it for three years running, and they have never ventured to go into inquiry over and over again, to learn what good these Corn Laws do to the farmer. They will not grant a committee for inquiry, because they know that the farmers would come up upon any such occasion and give evidence which would be very prejudicial to their cause. (Hear.) The farmers have their Goatacre meetings as well as the labourers, where they talk of things in a manner widely different from the way in which they are discussed at their Parliamentary protection meetings. (Hear, hear.) They have their grievances; and, in my opinion, they are not frightened at the consequences of Free Trade, as the landlords and his dependants are. I happened recently to communicate with one of the most respectable land-agents in this country, a man who acts for twelve or fourteen different landowners in the country, and all of them peers of the realm. I asked him the other day whether he shared in the fears which were professed respecting the results of Free Trade by the landed interest? He told me far from it; that among the whole agricultural party no one could be found a more staunch and earnest advocate for Free Trade than he was; and none more perfectly convinced of the gross delusion of the statement that Free Trade would injure the landed interest. I asked him in what way he thought Free Trade would benefit the agriculturist? He replied, that one of the first things would be a better cultivation of the land, a greater employment of labourers, and a great decrease of odium incurred by the aristocracy, and which is now being daily heaped upon their heads. I then asked him whether the farmers placed much confidence in the statements made against Free Trade? and whether he believed they would sustain much loss by the repeal of the Corn Laws? He said he had just been letting some farms of a nobleman to his tenants; that he had asked every one of them whether they would wish to have a clause inserted in the lease providing that if the Corn Laws were repealed they should have their leases cancelled. He proposed that each party—landlord and tenant—should, six months after the Corn Laws have been repealed, have the option of cancelling the lease. All these tenants of this nobleman took time to consider of the proposition; but every one of them came back after reflection, and refused to have the clause inserted. (Hear, hear.) They said there was so much doubt among themselves as to whether the repeal of the Corn Laws would be beneficial, or prejudicial, as some people said, that they would not run the risk of the landlord cancelling the lease. (Loud cheering.) Then we are told by these protectionist gentlemen, that we shall do great injury to agriculture, threatening that most important class, the tenant farmers of this country with utter ruin. I say they have no ground for making any such statement. I have just quoted the opinion of this land agent; a man who would come to the bar of the House of Commons, whose respectability would be undoubted, and would give evidence to the same effect, before the face of Parliament, if he was invited so to do; and every man must admit the authority which his experience and character would give to what he said. But I will just call your attention to what was said in the presence of 20,000 people about three weeks ago by a gentleman who is president of an agricultural society, who is high sheriff of the county of York, much esteemed by all his class, and by the county in which he dwells, with respect to the prospect of the evil or advantage likely to result from the adoption of this system of Free Trade. I will read you this passage in a speech with respect to the expected effects by our agriculturist of the adoption of Free Trade. He says,

"What the effects of this Corn Law have been upon trade and manufactures, I leave to others who have felt them, I fear too bitterly; but as to the influence which this law has had on agriculture, I, as a farmer, as a country squire, and as the president of an agricultural society, may be supposed to be able to form some opinion; and I do not think it fair to take as a criterion such a district as that I live in—a district bordering upon a manufacturing one; and one, too, in which any blow struck to trade is always felt immediately and acutely. But I have lived for two years in a purely agricultural county in the south of England; and I have observed the results of protection there; I have seen there the protected labourer, I have seen what is his condition. I declare to you that I never saw labourers or land in a more wretched or destitute plight than they are in Devonshire, part of Gloucestershire, the Isle of Wight, much of Dorsetshire, and of Somersetshire."

Gentlemen, I think that that is a very important testimony in favour of the justice of the cause which we are advocating with so much earnestness; because it is not an indifferent thing to be charged with reckless proceedings in favour of our own interest, or the views we entertain, without any regard to the interests and well being of any other portion of our fellow subjects. I say we do rightly in exposing what would be the effect upon the interests which are supposed to be peculiarly concerned in the change we call for. When we find persons who possess the greatest means of information, whose interests are deeply involved in the change, and who tender us their opinions on the result, I think we do right in considering it. I say that it gives us confidence to hear these opinions expressed by such persons. I know nothing that is calculated to give us much more confidence, unless it be to read the speeches at some of the protection meetings, for they cannot evidently agree upon their own question. There was a great meeting in Hertfordshire the other day, at which Lord Salisbury was present. He made a violent speech in favour of protection. He said he would not bate a tittle of it; that they had not near enough of it, and that nothing should induce him to surrender any portion of that which was now possessed. At that very meeting Lord Essex was present, and he said he could not at all go that length; that there were a great number of protected things—which I presume he did not grow himself—and which, therefore, ought to be allowed to come into this country duty free. He asserted that all the inferior grains are now protected, and that it would be a most

enormous advantage if we were to let them in without paying duty. For thirty years they have been upholding this system of protection, and all this time they have been finding out this, which they say would be a great boon to agriculture. They allege that if all these things were to come into this country free, it would be an enormous advantage to those who have to feed their cattle. (Hear.) Thus Lord Essex did not object to all the duty continuing upon the food for the people. He grew wheat, but not these inferior grains; and therefore, he said that the duty upon the latter articles was a positive evil to the agriculturists, and that you could not confer a greater boon upon agriculture than by withdrawing all the protection from this food for cattle. (Hear.) Then, with respect to the peculiar burdens, I defy any person to read their speeches and find two of them agreed upon the matter. They have been called upon, again and again, to bring in their bill and account, and to let us see what the amount of it is, in order that we may see whether we can arrange it with them, but they never will do so; they never will allow any inquiry to be made into the matter, because they believe that the examination would go farther than they wish, and extend to exemptions as well as burdens; and they have a strong suspicion that the exemptions preponderate. (Cheers.) Looking at all these inconsistencies, and marking the experience we have had of the mischief of this law; looking to the little intelligence they have brought to the defence of the system, and the invariable success which has attended Free Trade, how can any minister, who is convinced of the dangers and mischiefs of the law, give any weight and influence of authority to such a party? How can he regard the opinion of a party who have been wrong ever since they have been known, as the chiefs who take part in protection meetings have been? (Hear.) They are men who are eternally predicting woe on all that is conceded to the public wants and wishes. They are always supposing that what is given to the public is taken from them; that the last abuse which has been abandoned is the thing most essential to the greatness of this country; and they have been proved to be wrong in every prediction and opinion they have uttered; and, though there may be among them some of liberal politics, yet they have not been more right in their views on this subject. (Hear, hear.) Upon every commercial reform during the last four years they predicted some dire calamity to this country; and what is now the ground which they assume against any further change? It is that the country is now in a most unparalleled state of prosperity (cries of Oh, oh); and therefore it would be very unwise and dangerous in them to make any further reform. Look at all these opinions uttered during the last four years; look at the tariff reform; at all the changes in the custom-duties proposed and effected—all of which it was stated would ruin the country; that ruin and misfortune to all must result from it. And now again they come forward and say, "Do not touch corn; do not touch our protected counties, for they are more prosperous than they ever have been. Leave well alone; we cannot do better." (Hear, hear.) I cannot conceive, then, that these people, notwithstanding we are told that they are making a great display, can have any authority in this country, or over any Minister, from any sagacity they have shown, or from any disinterestedness one can give them credit for, or any talent they have evinced in the vindication of their systems. But, gentlemen, it is of no use disguising from you the truth, that they may, as the legislature is now constituted, obtain a numerical advantage if any honest and good measure is proposed; and therefore I should wish you to be prepared for the event. (Hear, hear.) I believe that a great effort will be made; and the more honest the measure is, the more full and satisfactory, the more likely are they to resist it, and the more effort will they make to defeat it. I only trust that you will be prepared for the event, and that you will leave nothing untried or undone, both in justice to yourselves and for the good of this country, to prevent yourselves being trampled upon and triumphed over by the most interested and unworthy party that ever arrayed itself against a people. The hon. gentleman was loudly cheered at the conclusion of his speech.

The Chairman then said—Ladies and Gentlemen, Mr. Houghton will now address you.

Mr. HOUGHTON came forward amid considerable applause, and spoke as follows.—Ladies and Gentlemen, I rise under circumstances of peculiar embarrassment to address you this evening. When I consider the great cause in which the country is engaged, and the position which I hold as an agriculturist in this country, and when I further take into consideration the eloquence with which you have been addressed by parties from the place where I stand, I can scarcely expect that I shall be able to keep your attention while I state to you the reasons I had for leaving the society, and the opinions I formerly espoused. Gentlemen, I say to you that unless I have a sufficient reason to state to you this evening to have influenced my mind in coming to that change, I ought to be denounced as a reverend gentleman in Staffordshire, who attended a protection meeting in that county last week, denounced Sir Robert Peel, as "a traitor to his religion and his principles." (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I should be a traitor, and worse than a traitor, because for 25 years of my life I have been engaged in agriculture, and expending every shilling of which I am possessed in that pursuit; not only have I done that, but I have advised other individuals who have estates under my charge to do the best to improve theirs also. If I considered this measure to be detrimental either to their interests or my own, I should be a traitor indeed. But I believe neither the one nor the other. I am satisfied that this measure would be of the greatest consequence to the community at large. I shall inquire to-night what protection has done for the landlord, the tenant, and the farm labourer. Upon this point I shall beg your attention for a short time, and I promise you shall be as brief as possible. I will tell you in the commencement what I think of protection. I consider it to be the parent of idleness (cheers), and I defy any man where protection has been applied to show me that that interest where it has been so applied has ever prospered. Now I will look at it if you please with respect to the article of silk. I recollect the time when the mercers in this country thought, when the duty upon that article was about to be attacked, that it would be the ruin of their trade. No such consequence has taken place. We were afraid of coming into competition with the rest of the world; and now I believe that of English silk it may almost be said that the flag floats upon the breeze in India itself. (Hear, hear.) Now with respect to wool, I am myself a large wool-grower. I recollect once expressing the strongest opinion I ever stated to a nobleman, whose name I cannot express with sufficient reverence and awe: he is gone, but a more worthy man never lived; I refer to the late Lord Spencer. (Hear, hear.) I recollect telling him that

he had ruined us by the opening of the trade in wool, and that we should never be able to sell that article again. Why, gentlemen, the answer he made me was this: he said, "Now let me assure you, that the same answer I have given to the silk-weaver I give to you. You may depend upon it, you have no cause to fear competition in wool; that article will sell as dear as you have ever sold it before." That prediction has been verified since that period, and I have been selling my wool at a higher rate than I ever sold it previously. Then again, with respect to the tariff. I, amongst others certainly, when Sir R. Peel introduced that measure into the legislature, greatly feared that such a sweeping measure would ruin us; and I almost doubted whether we should not have come to pass what people told me, (mind I never stated it myself,) but I was told that pigs would never be worth any thing any more; that bacon might be had for nothing; that in America there were thousands of fat pigs always ready to kill; that there was nothing to do but to go out and slaughter them; that they were always fattened, and as soon as you had killed them you might bring them over here. All that was a fallacy, and we now see that after some years experience bacon is as dear as it ever was. We want all the fat pigs that we can get, and if the Americans have any more to send, so much the better; for we shall be very glad of them. Then, with respect to beef, in some countries they said they have cattle always fit to be killed; you had nothing to do but to go and kill the beast and bring them over here, as fat oxen as you ever saw. Why, gentlemen, we want all the oxen which they can send to us; therefore, I say, the very measures they were afraid of, has proved not at all injurious. What has been the result? Bacon and beef have been as dear as ever, and it is evident that our fears at that time were all groundless. So it is with respect to wool. Wool is no cheaper since we have had a Free Trade in that article. If protection is good, we must have been going backwards ever since the days of Mr. Huskisson, because every movement we have made, as sure as day follows night, has been in the direction of Free Trade. The very hat which I wear upon my head is of French manufacture; and therefore, I say, the manufacturer of that hat has as much right to come forward and ask for protection, as a hatter, as I have to ask for it in my business. Gentlemen, these are my opinions with regard to protection; we have had the Corn Laws for thirty years, and they are not by any means new acquaintances of ours. I had to give evidence before a committee of the House of Commons at a period when distress was very great, in the year 1822, when the Corn Law was the most stringent that we ever had. I will just read you one line of a meeting that took place in Kent. This is a petition to the House of Commons.—"Sheweth, that the unexampled distress with which your petitioners are now afflicted is of the most alarming kind." Gentlemen, this is when they were in the very height of protection; they could not by possibility have better, because this was the law of 1815, and yet they had sufferings as great as they ever had. (Cries of hear, hear.) The Corn Law has not had the effect which it was intended to have, because the grand object of the Corn Laws was to produce, as near as possible, a certainty of price. Has it answered that professed purpose? In the years 1835 and 1836, wheat was 35s. and 36s.; in the years 1841 and 1842 it was 74s.; therefore, the conclusion to which I arrive at is this, that when we have bountiful seasons, corn will be cheap; and when unfavourable seasons, we shall be very glad to have it from any country that can send it us. Now, I shall also inquire whether these Corn Laws have actually and in reality served the parties for whom they were professedly intended. For instance, much less has been said about their repeal. It has been said, that if you abolish the Corn Laws, it will ruin the church. (Laughter.) In that I differ from the supporters of the Corn Laws, for I love the church; and I will tell you another reason why I differ from them. I think the abolition of the Corn Laws will be holding out the hand of fellowship in the bond of peace; for surely it never can be good for religion, or the community at large, that people should be congregated together with a determination to carry this measure, one party being set against another. Therefore I say, in the unity of the spirit and the bond of peace, it is good for all parties; and I am sure those who are true members of the church will not object to any measure that will be for the benefit of the great bulk of the people. Again, it is said that the repeal of the Corn Laws will ruin the aristocracy. I, for one, have the greatest respect and reverence for that body. I do not hold violent opinions. I think that an alteration of these laws will do more to raise that body in the opinion, the good sense, and good will of the people than any other measure that can possibly be devised. I, for one, cannot agree with statements I hear, not only here, but at other meetings of this description, namely, that we are a privileged class. I do not wish to be a privileged class; I have no sort of objection to throw down the gauntlet, and to cultivate the land against any man, let him come from where he will. (Loud cheers.) All I ask is a free stage and fair play. I agree with what Mr. Villiers has said to-night; I say if there are burdens upon the land, the only way to settle that question is to bring in the Bill, to prove their burdens, and let them be settled. That is the plain and straightforward way. Something else has been said with respect to leases. I hold, as has been previously stated, the greatest quantity of land of any man in the kingdom; but I hold those farms upon leases, all of them. I say I should be a traitor; and I will tell you, more than that, if I was not prepared with an opinion, which I now espouse, to come forward as I am to offer to take a lease for as many years as my landlord chooses to grant at the same rent that I am now paying for them. I must be allowed to state, that the fears upon this head in my opinion are all groundless. And then another question is with respect to land going out of cultivation. I once remember saying to that lamented nobleman to whom I have before referred, that with a repeal of the Corn Laws the corn would be worth nothing. He answered, "If that is the case, we shall all be kept; if there is this land abroad, and corn is sent over in such abundance that you will find it at the corner of every street, we shall be all very well kept; but they will find us a very large family, therefore they will very soon get tired of keeping us. They would find it necessary to procure labour for us, or else they would be keeping us for nothing." With respect to land going out of cultivation, I do not believe any thing of the kind; but, on the contrary, I think Free Trade will be the means of increasing cultivation. Now, I must say, that we have had much said with respect to the landlords. If I look back for the last 30 years, I ask myself this question, what is the state of the landed interest? If I am to judge by the immense properties which have changed hands, has it been beneficial to the particular class where it was intended? If I look to the immense change which has taken place with respect to ten-

nants, and look at the petitions which have been presented to the legislature by them, I see that protection has not been profitable. But then I come to another class, which I wish to draw your attention to particularly, and that is the labourers. I do not think the Corn Law has been beneficial to the labourers, but I do believe that there requires a change in the whole system; and if you will allow me this evening, I will tell you what I think should be done, and lay before you a plan which, if adopted, would lead to a better state of things. In the first place, I consider that every labourer should have land. (Cheers.) I consider that greater attention should be paid to his dwelling, and that every man should be educated. (Loud cheers.) That I believe to be necessary, and if you will only let him have land he will be able to cultivate that land,—he will be thrown upon his own resources, and he will be able to live in those seasons which have occurred, and always will occur when labour is more plentiful than demand,—he will have something to fall back upon, and something to do. (Cheers.) I also think that that land ought to be at exactly the same price as the rest of the land in the parish is let at; and that it should be as near to the town as possible. That, I think, would be the means of benefiting the labourer. (Cheers.) With respect to the tenant, he should have a security of tenure. I say a security of tenure, because I have the very best landlords that a man can possibly have. No better exist; none superior are to be found in the world: but I ask a security of tenure, because there is an uncertainty in life. The reason that I ask that is, because I have property, and large sums to invest upon that land; and, unless I had security of tenure, I should not have it in my power, and should not like to do it. If a man commences a farm, which requires large sums to be expended upon it, a man looks very hard in his face before he will assist him with any money, because he has no security of tenure. (Hear, hear.) Now, look at the security of tenure of farms in Scotland. Why, there it has had the most beneficial effect: if you apply it here, you will see the same effect will arise. (Cries of hear, hear.) Then, gentlemen, with respect to the lands, the landlord will see his lands improved; and he will also see to his tenant, and his labourer, because it is the landlord's duty to see the plan that he has adopted with respect to the labourer, having land and cottage, carried into effect; and that being done, he will find his state will be improved; and his tenant, who has a security of tenure, will still keep on improving. That is my opinion with respect to that measure. I do not think that these laws have been beneficial to Ireland; but I believe this, that bad legislation has been the cause of a great many evils that have afflicted that unhappy land. I demand for them what I ask for myself, and that is, that an alteration should take place; and I now to-night, before this country, and in your presence, as Englishmen, call upon you to lose no time, and to leave no stone unturned until you see justice done to that unfortunate country. (Loud cheers.) These Irish farmers do not think so much of the Corn Laws as that they ought to have fair play. That is the statement I have to make with respect to that country. I want to effect an alteration for them as well as for myself. I am sorry, gentlemen, for having trespassed so long upon your time (cries of "Go on"); but when I know, as I do, that things require to be altered, there as well as here. I will tell you exactly, if they are really in earnest in legislating for Ireland, what the House of Commons would do. In Ireland, the landlords have but little money, and the tenants less; and they have not the means of improving the land; and all I ask of the Government is this, to bring in a measure to enable the heirs of entail to raise money upon their estates for that purpose at 4 per cent. (Hear, hear.) Mark you, for this particular thing. If you will only do as you do in other cases, insist on a man who sends out a vessel to America, that he shall have enough room, and shall carry sufficient water; why should not the Government interfere, and say, "These human beings shall not live in places unfit to contain them!" In every instance, first, second, third, fourth, and fifth-class houses should be erected in proportion to the rent; and Government itself should be allowed to have proper men, to see that carried into effect. They should have the power to charge that estate with 4 per cent., then what would be the consequence? There would be a security for every man; and we should all have the satisfaction of knowing that men would live in houses fit to contain them, and not in hovels which are unfit for the residence of human beings. It would be the means of bestowing the greatest benefit to the trade of that country, because it would put men in employment, and no injury could be done. We should not interfere with private property at all, but there is a question in that country as well as here with respect to the church. I once visited a place that I shall never forget. What do you think was the answer given to a question proposed by me? I wanted to bring to the notice of Sir Robert Peel a bill that would enable certain parties to have some land, but it was church property. The owner of that property said, "I am perfectly willing that it should be so." I asked one of the county members a question on the same subject, and the answer that he made me was that he never could consent to that, because it would be an attack on the Established Church. I cannot for the life of me see what the one has to do with the other. I think if the repeal of those laws was effected, and we then went to work in a good spirit for the legislation of that unhappy country, we should soon have less of agitation and more of cultivation; less of agitation and more of education. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN then came forward, and said—Ladies and gentlemen, I have now the pleasure of introducing to you Mr. Milner Gibson.

Mr. M. GIBSON, (who, on presenting himself at the table, was received with loud applause), addressed the meeting as follows: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—After the excellent speech of Mr. Villiers, and the very practical and useful address of our friend, Mr. Houghton, an extensive agriculturist, it would perhaps ill become me to trespass long upon your time. But, this I will remark, that it seems from the vast assemblage collected here this evening, that you have not thought it wise at present to consider the measure of the repeal of the Corn Laws entirely carried. It has, I dare say, occurred to many of you, as it has been remarked by some in my hearing, that it is hardly worth while to attend a meeting upon the Corn Laws, now that the leaders of the two great parties, Sir R. Peel and Lord J. Russell, had taken the question into their care. Let me beg you to remember, that the question is still in your hands. (Cheers.) From the fatal mistake of considering that a question not carried is not still in the hands of the people, there have been many disappointments to the cause of liberty. The liberties of a nation were never yielded as a free gift by rulers to a people; they have always been wrung

from the Government by the steady perseverance and unshaken exertions of the people themselves. (Loud cheers.) Who knows that Sir Robert Peel has yet decided what question he shall submit to the legislature, and who knows but that this very assemblage this evening may give him a power to dictate better terms to the Cabinet Council? Who knows that this assemblage may not have great weight with the ministers, and enable them to find courage to propose a bold and good measure? We are in the position of persons standing by the bedside of some worthy matron; we do not know yet whether it is to be a boy or a girl. (Laughter.) We do not know what it is to be; and therefore I say it becomes us not to desert our duty, but to watch and to be satisfied with nothing but a perfect and a healthy child. (Renewed laughter.) Our worthy chairman named that child; it is the total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) What a contrast is this assemblage with those poor and pitiful meetings of our opponents? Why our chairman mentioned that at some protection meeting a cat might be discovered as it wandered amongst the listeners; but here I will venture to assert that if the whole Central Society for the Protection of British Agriculture which assemble in the parlour of No. 17, Old Bond Street, were to be put into this theatre, you would not know that they were here at all. (Cheers.) Perhaps some of them are here. (Hear, hear.) I wish they may be. (Hear, hear.) They are going it seems to fight the League with its own weapons in the Registration Courts; they are about to try the "manufacturing of votes," as it is called. Though they have condemned such a course as highly immoral and unconstitutional, yet it turns out that they are going to adopt it themselves. These persons, we find, though favourable to unrelaxed protection, have no very great objection to relaxed morals; and as they are going to use all the weapons of the League, perhaps we may live to see a rival house,—not Drury Lane; let me advise them not to be so aspiring at first,—try a small house, "The Strand," or some other little theatre—and I am quite sure our excellent friend, the chairman, if they are unwilling at the outset to engage a theatre upon their own account, would let a portion of the boxes for some of the principal members of "The Central Society for the Protection of British Agriculture," where they might attend and speak for themselves. We would give them a patient hearing, and would reply fairly and dispassionately to their arguments; and if we did not convince those of them that are capable of being convinced, that our cause is one of justice, humanity, and right, then I can only say, I should despair of the triumph of the cause that we are advocating. What an extraordinary thing it is that we should have this mighty opposition to the proposal we make. For what is it? We are endeavouring to take off a tax. If we were assembled here in great numbers to impose a tax upon the people, we could perfectly understand that there might be meetings of persons who would be unwilling to bear this additional burthen; but our object is nothing of the kind. Our desire is to remove a tax; and what a strange notion, what a singular perversion of the very idea of taxation!—that when there is a proposition to remove it you should have great numbers of persons coming forward and saying, "That tax is a bounty to us; it puts money into our pockets, and therefore do not relieve the nation from the burthen." Does it not strike every one that a tax ought to be a general burthen, and ought only to be levied for the purpose of the State; and that it is impossible that a rightful tax can be a bounty to any portion of her Majesty's subjects? But this is a tax that is at once a burthen to the nation; and, according to their own showing, a bounty to the landlords: therefore I say the very opposition to the removal of this tax is in itself a proof that there must be something dishonest in its operation, something at variance with the true principle of taxation, and that it must strike every man that it cannot be right that a burthen to some should be a bounty to others. We have never made this Corn Law question a question of mere price, nor have we confined it to or made it altogether a question of feeding the people; but the high ground which we have taken is this—that we have a right to freedom of exchange. We demand of the legislature, or the landed proprietors who have been from time immemorial the ruling party in that legislature, to desist from obstructing the corn trade. We say that trade in foreign corn is a legitimate pursuit; we contend that an Englishman has a right to invest his capital in the purchase of corn; that he has a right to buy foreign corn and bring it into this country and sell it at a profit if it suits his interest and convenience to do so; and we say, moreover, that he is not to be obstructed in so doing to suit the private and pecuniary interests of any class of his fellow-subjects. (Loud cheers.) We do not put it on the mere ground of price. Freedom of exchange is the most obvious of human rights; and we say if there is to be any obstacle thrown in the way of the foreign corn trade, by imposing a duty on the importation of corn, let the same be thrown in the way of the home corn grower; let him have the same tax which the foreign merchants and importers have to bear, and then there will be something like justice between them. Not that we admit that corn is a fit subject for taxation: nothing of the kind. We think the food of the people is of all things the most unfit for a tax. I was anxious to dwell upon that point, because so much had been said by our opponents as to certain alleged inconsistencies in the statements of the Free Traders, with reference to what would be the price of food after the repeal of the Corn Laws. Our argument and demand rests not upon price. What has been said of price is mere speculation. Whatever be the price, we contend for freedom in the corn trade. The speculation as to price is a curious speculation and an interesting one, and undoubtedly bears upon the question; but it does not and cannot form the basis upon which this just and righteous demand is made. Now, with regard to price, we have the evidence of our excellent friend, Mr. Houghton, who does not anticipate a fall of price from the repeal of the Corn Laws. There may be no diminution of price, and yet there may be a very greatly increased consumption of food. The imported food may not be a substitute, either, for what is grown; it may be additional: customers may increase as fast as imported grain; and without any diminution of price, there may be a great increase of the comforts of the great masses of this country. Undoubtedly the smallest duty upon foreign corn must have a tendency to limit the quantity that can be brought into this market; there always will be, when a certain number of quarters of corn have been imported into the country, and sold at a profit a quantity that might have come in, if this small duty which I am supposing had not prevented it. (Hear, hear.) This additional quantity, that might have been imported, however small, might have been sold at a profit but for this small duty; therefore, it is a fallacy, and a mistake to talk of a low fixed duty being paid by the foreigners, and making no difference to prices and quan-

tity in this country. The smallest imaginary fixed duty must have a tendency to lessen the whole quantity which can be imported, and which would come into competition with our home-grown corn for the benefit of the consumers of this country. But the protection party seem to me to be doing all they can to depreciate the value of their landed property. It seems of all things in the world strange for them to be exerting themselves hard in telling their tenants that when the Corn Laws are repealed, the land will not yield any rent. Why, they must not wonder if many of these tenants come forward when they are repealed, and ask to have their land rent free. (Hear, hear.) We have never circulated such reports, or created such panics; and I should like to know what there is in the public events of the day that can justify any man in saying, that the repeal of the Corn Laws is to be the ruin of the landed proprietors of this country. Why, have not estates been lately selling in the public market by auction, and have not those estates been purchased by persons for mere investment solely as a security for money and for the interest which they will yield? And I ask if those estates have sold in the market for one year's, or one day's, less purchase than they would some time since, when the agitation against the Corn Law was not near so rife as it is now? Why, the capitalist is generally a very sensitive person. Can there be any answer to that fact the farms are selling by public auction for as many years' purchase as they have ever sold; aye, and even for a greater number of years' purchase? I know several farms that were sold the other day in the south of England, that were purchased for mere investment, and that brought two years' more purchase than the same farms had brought in 1839; and can it be doubted for a moment that the Corn Law is nearer its repeal now than it was in 1839? We all know there is a well-founded rumour that a very great change is near in the Corn Laws, and that it must before long be totally repealed. I say that if there had been a sincere belief in the mind of the public—in the breast of the capitalist—that the abolition of the Corn Law would ruin landed property, we should not have seen these farms selling at such high rates; we should have believed that similar effects would have been produced on the value of that land as would have been effected in the value of all other securities. (Hear, hear.) I put it to this meeting, if there was a well-founded rumour, or even a shadow of suspicion, that the dividends would not be forthcoming on the 5th of January on the account of consols, whether the consols would sell at their usual price? (Cheers.) Do railway shares bring the same value in the market when there is a talk of a competing line, which is seriously to diminish their profits? Nothing of the kind. We find that all securities are affected by these rumours, and very justly, when those rumours are well founded; and what possible exception can there be to the case of land? I can also confirm, from my own knowledge, a statement that has been made by my honourable friend, Mr. Houghton. I know a case in Suffolk where four tenants were concerned during the Ministerial "interregnum," as it was called. During that interval of time, when Lord John Russell was about to undertake the Government upon the principle of total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, those four tenants were engaged at that particular interval in negotiating new leases with their landlords; and not one of them mentioned to his landlord the subject of the Corn Law; but every one was willing to renew his lease for 7 or 14 years, as his landlord wished; and two or three out of those four tenants volunteered of their own accord to give an increase of rent. (Hear.) It is no part of our business as advocates for the cause of Free Trade, to be endeavouring to console persons whose property it is stated is about to be injured. But all I say is this—how strange it is that dukes, noble lords, and landed proprietors, should be endeavouring all they can to create a panic, and depreciate the value of their own property! The dukes—I do not wish to make any sweeping censure, because all sweeping censures are unjust, but when I speak of dukes, I speak of that description of dukes who have a propensity for delivering themselves of Corn Law speeches.—I say, I must consider that they are not the wisest of mankind. (Hear.) They seem to me to be persons, to judge from the speeches that have been lately delivered, of very homely wits. It is difficult to single out any one speech more foolish than another, and in this respect these worthies remind me of an old story of a French duke, who applied at court for a place for his friend. He said that he was under the greatest obligation to that gentleman; and when asked what those obligations were, he replied, "Why, if it had not been for him I should have been the ugliest man in France." Now I say that these dukes are under the greatest obligations to each other, for you cannot single out any one who has made the most foolish speech of the lot; they have left each other in remarkably good countenance. (Laughter.) But I do not despair even of any of these. That distinguished personage, the Duke of Norfolk, notwithstanding that celebrated curry-powder speech of his (hear), it is said that after all he is going to vote for a repeal of the Corn Laws. I cannot vouch for it, but that is the common report; and it is said that when he said "curry" he meant "rice"; it was a confusion in his mind. The curry and the rice are mixed together in India, and he made a mistake in putting the curry in the place of rice. But, however, we will forgive him the curry-powder speech if he will vote for a repeal of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) We have another duke who has come forward with a very violent speech; he says that the Anti-Corn-Law meetings must be treated with the contempt,—or something of that sort,—which they deserve. It is a duke well known to the Anti-Corn-Law League, for he was once engaged in a remarkable correspondence with the chairman of that body; and he is rather an ungrateful person, for there is no one, I will venture to say, for whose education in this question the League have shown a greater anxiety. (Cries of "Name, name.") It is the Duke of Cleveland I refer to, whose speech appears in this day's Times. He says the country has been convulsed upon this question. (Hear, hear, hear.) I agree with him the country has been "convulsed," but it has been with laughter at the nonsense that has been uttered by noble dukes and marquises at protection meetings. But, if I might be allowed, as I alluded to the correspondence which took place between the noble Duke of Cleveland and the Anti-Corn-Law League, and as I have got a copy of the letters in my pocket, I would take the liberty, with the permission of this meeting, to read them. (Hear, hear.) They are very interesting documents in the progress of this agitation, showing that no steps have been neglected, to inform those who were thought to lack sound instruction upon the question of Free Trade. You must know that the Duke of Cleveland once before delivered himself of one of these speeches in favour of protection at Raby Castle, which speech was printed in the *Mark Lane Express*, and other

newspapers; and Mr. George Wilson, our worthy chairman, by order of the Council of the League, wrote the following letter to the duke:

"My Lord Duke—In an account of a meeting of your grace's tenants, you are reported in the *Mark Lane Express* to have warned your tenants against the doctrines of the League, and that they (the tenants) could not compete with the foreign growers. As Chairman of the League, I believe you have made these statements in ignorance, and I forward you some tracts of the League that will give you information on the subject, which will show you that the land does not bear those burdens that you have asserted; and that it is not so heavily taxed; and that income derived from land is a small compensation; and I trust that you will take the earliest opportunity of correcting your error.—I am, &c.,

GEORGE WILSON,
Chairman of the National Anti-Corn-Law League."

Well, then comes the duke's answer:

"Sir—I have received a letter which has followed me to the Highlands of Scotland, and has filled me with astonishment. The writer signs himself 'Chairman of the League.' However despicable that faction has become in the consideration of the country, I could not conceive that any one of its members should have the boldness to lecture me on what I have thought fit to say at a private party, at which no member of the press was present. I know nothing about the *Mark Lane Express*, and treat your observations with the contempt they deserve."

Now, this is an unfortunate mistake, into which many of our men of rank fall; men who are hereditary legislators. They tell us that we have no business with their private opinions. But I say we have business with their opinions. (Cheers.) They make laws for us; they sit, in virtue of their descent, in the House of Lords; they pass laws which are to rule us, and therefore I contend we have business with the opinions of these hereditary legislators. (Renewed cheering.) I further contend that it was quite right and fitting for our chairman, Mr. George Wilson, if he thought the Duke of Cleveland under a misapprehension, and that he required instruction upon the question of Free Trade, as was proved by a certain speech he made, reported publicly in the newspapers; I say he did quite right to indite this letter to the Duke of Cleveland; and I further contend that the letter is indited in those courteous and proper terms that ought not to have called back a letter containing such charges as those of "falsehood," "sedition," and so forth. The duke says—and that is the fallacy which he adheres to now—that the land is more taxed than other interests in the country. Now, I will venture to say that if this account which has been so much talked of this evening was sent in, that we should see that, during the time the landed interest have had possession of the legislature of this country, that they had, to use a common expression, helped themselves with a bucket and dealt out to others with a tea spoon. (Hear.) I will venture to say that if we were to look through the list of taxes that have been taken off since the year 1815, we should find that the landed interest had allowed scarcely one year to pass without repealing some tax that peculiarly pressed upon agriculture. I say nearly all possible "taxes" that press peculiarly upon agriculture, because local rates are not taxes that press upon agriculture; they are only portions of rent intercepted by the receiver of local taxes, and which, but for him, would find their way into the pocket of the landlord. But I speak of taxes such as those upon husbandry, horses, taxed carts, fire insurance on farming stock, windows in farm houses, and various things of that kind, all of which have, from time to time, been repealed; and I believe it was shown in the speech delivered in 1836 by Mr. Hume, on Lord Chandos's motion for inquiry into agricultural distress, that the repeal of taxes, pressing peculiarly upon agriculture, amounted to something like a million a year; and up to the time at which he spoke had those taxes been received, they would have yielded something like twenty millions to the Exchequer. Is it not also in the recollection of every one that when the Central Society for the protection of agriculture waited upon Sir Robert Peel at the commencement of last session, there was not one of the party who could name a tax which pressed peculiarly on agriculture, when Sir R. Peel asked him to do so? The question was put—What is the relief you ask? What are the burdens that press upon you?—and there was not one of the party who could make any reply. (Laughter.) Talk of an account! I will venture to say, that if a debtor and creditor one was made out between the landed interest and the people of England, the balance-sheet would exhibit an awful deficit against the landed interest. I am myself, to some extent, connected with landed property, and I must say I should rather dread this account being called for on my behalf; for if the land is to pay up all the exemptions it has enjoyed from the state, if there is to be a fair balancing of accounts, I know not how we should meet the immense demand which the people of England would have a right to make on the proprietors of land in this country. (Cheers.) Is it probable on the very face of it that these men have been sitting in Parliament to do nothing but tax themselves, and taking all the burdens of the state on their own shoulders? The thing on the very face of it is an absurdity; and even if it were shown (which it cannot be) that there was an excess of poor-rate, or an excess of any particular tax pressing on the landed interest, I should say it is no business whatever of the Free Traders. We deny that the Corn Law is a fit compensation for any excess of burdens borne by any class of the community; we deny that you can compensate the landed interest by such a fiction and absurdity as your Corn Law scheme. We say if there be undue burdens, if the landed interest bear more of the taxes than falls justly to their share, we are ready to equalise those burdens; we are quite ready to distribute the public burdens with the utmost fairness and equity; but we contend that we are now entitled to freedom of trade, and that the mere alleging that there are special burdens, cannot be a ground for delaying one day the yielding this just and righteous demand. My Lord Beaumont, at the meeting the other day, spoke of these special burdens. He said that real property bore eight millions of local taxation, and, therefore, real property ought to be protected by the Corn Law. Eight millions of taxation, he said, in one scale, and the Corn Law in the other; ought not every one to be satisfied? (Laughter.) Now really it is hardly worth while to reply to such arguments as these; but does the noble lord imagine that real property is all arable land? Does he not recollect that houses are real property? Does he not recollect that railways are real property? Does he not recollect that quarries are real property? And that if this real property bear this amount of local taxation, a pretty compensation it is to the owner of the houses, or of the quarries, or the mines, or of the railroad shares, to tell him there is a Corn Law in the other balance, and that he ought to be satisfied? Then comes the argument that great mischief will result if we let in corn from foreign countries—from Poland,

it is said, or from Russia, but Poland they especially dwell upon. Poland they are very fond of; they always tell you about Polish labourers and black bread. If we eat Polish bread, they say we shall become like Poles; our labourers will be like Polish labourers. (Laughter.) I wonder—to use an expression of a very distinguished veteran in this cause, one to whom the cause is, perhaps, more indebted than any man living—I mean Colonel Thompson—(Cheers)—I wonder they don't say that if the labourers eat Polish corn they will speak Polish (laughter), for they might as well say so. All these circumstances connected with the kingdom of Poland arise from different causes; there is a variety of causes connected with the condition of that country which has no application to the condition of this; and if it happens that the Polish labourer eats black bread, or that the Pole suffers under peculiar disabilities, those things are attributable to the unfortunate circumstances of the country, and are not at all applicable to Great Britain. Of all arguments it seems the most absurd—let in the food of Poles, and we shall at once sink to the condition of the Pole—forgetting our capital, our enterprise, our energy, the great natural advantages which England possesses, and the long period during which our country has been increasing, our manufacturers have been thriving, and our capital has been accumulating. No; the letting in of the corn will make Englishmen sensible at any rate, that they have accomplished the last step towards the abolition of the feudal principle. (Cheers.) The real question after all is, as I believe from my conscience, not a pecuniary question. I think our aristocracy and landed proprietors are, some way or other, jealous of the advance of the great mercantile community of this country. (Cheers.) They do not like to have their heels trodden upon by those whom they have been cradled and taught to look down upon as a secondary class; they do not like the idea of sharing with them in equal rivalry the political power of the country—they wish to elevate themselves by depressing the mercantile community. I believe this is one of the moving powers that inspires this opposition to the Corn Law repeal. It cannot be a merely pecuniary motive; it is a motive far higher than that: it is the love of power—it is the love of ascendancy—it is the love of aristocratic privilege—it is the desire to depress and keep down the middle classes of this country. (Cheers.) Now that this question has been thoroughly sifted and understood, now that it appears as if you had but to put out your hand and take it, now that it appears as if the fruit was within your reach if you would but stretch out your hand to grasp it—I say Englishmen will deserve to be branded as slaves if they do not throw off the ignominious yoke which a proud landed aristocracy has imposed upon them. (Cheers.) And when we consider the greatness and universality of the cause we are advocating, if the mercantile community of England throw off this yoke, it will be felt throughout the whole civilised world. England will not accomplish Free Trade for herself without her example being followed through the different civilised countries of Europe. It may not be to-morrow, it may not be next year; but the example will be followed. (Hear, hear.) Then, as trade becomes free, those ties of a mutual dependence, and the common interest which binds nations together in friendly alliance, will acquire increased strength, and become more closely interwoven. Commercial freedom is the parent of peace upon earth and goodwill amongst men (loud cheers); and the first step to this commercial freedom which is to unite the nations of the earth in the bonds of friendship and peaceable alliance, is the abolition of the British Corn Law. We look to that as the first great step in the cause of Free Trade. It is not true, as has been asserted by our opponents, that we seek for protection for certain branches of trade and manufactures, though we are unwilling to yield it to agriculturists. Having the honour of standing in this theatre the representative of Manchester in Parliament—(cheers)—that great seat of our manufactures—I say distinctly, that it is not true that the men who seek to remove protection from agriculture are desirous of retaining any protection for themselves. The resolutions which have emanated from the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester have all prayed that protection may be removed from corn, that the corn trade may become free, and at the same time that there may be a complete abolition of all protective duties. (Cheers.) A gentleman of the name of Stuart, who is about to become a candidate for the constituency of Newark, and to represent the Duke of Newcastle in the House of Commons, has undertaken to assert that those who are making this demand for Free Trade are in reality seeking some protection for themselves. He says so deliberately in his address to the electors of Newark. Now I must take the liberty of telling that honourable gentleman that it is not to be submitted to in these days—after the repeated assertions that we advocate the repeal of the Corn Laws on the broad principle of freedom of trade—of the abolition of protection altogether—that he is to write a letter, which has the authority of his name, asserting that we are seeking some protection to ourselves. The honourable gentleman is a Chancery barrister, I believe, of some reputation; but I can tell him that this is rather sharp practice (cheers and laughter); and I must tell him still further, that the brief which he has received, be it from whom it may, does not contain proper instructions. I hope when he goes to Newark he will take the opportunity of correcting the error into which he has fallen. Mr. Gladstone has left Newark; where he is going to I know not; but if report speaks true that Sir Robert Peel is about to propose a bold and conclusive measure regarding the Corn Law, why, perhaps, after all, the League may have to find a seat for Mr. Gladstone. (Laughter.) That would indeed be a most extraordinary position to be filled; but more extraordinary things than that have happened in the world. I believe Mr. Gladstone to be the best Free Trader of the lot; and I believe also that he has been tutored in the cause of Free Trade by that best of all teachers, experience. He has seen that every measure that has been adopted for the relaxation of our tariff and our commercial code, has been attended with success, and therefore I conceive that he is in the Cabinet Councils at this time one of the best supporters of our cause. But, after all, I must not detain you on that topic, for it signifies little what Sir Robert Peel is doing, what Mr. Gladstone is doing, or what Cabinet Councils are considering. I must repeat again, as I stated at the commencement of my address, that it is you, and you alone, assisted by the great body of the people, the intelligent community of this country, who must carry this question. That you will succeed I have no doubt, but I am equally sure that you would not succeed, and I believe you would not succeed even at the present moment, if there were suspected to be the slightest flagging on your part (hear); if it were supposed that, success appearing within reach, you had allowed yourselves to be lulled into false security—

(hear, hear.)—if such an idea entered into the minds of our party leaders, I fear the League would have many years still of arduous exertion. But that the day will come is most certain; because, when I consider what is the nature of the contest,—and if I may read the future by the record of the past, I know that you must triumph,—because I know that the contest is between justice and tyranny, between freedom and oppression, between equality and privilege; and therefore I know that, at a future day, you must succeed; and I believe that you will succeed in the present year also, from the circumstance of the parties between whom the contest lies. What is the condition of the two parties? On the side of protection there is division; on our side there is none. On our side there is mutual confidence; there distrust and suspicion. Here we have firmness; there there is nothing but passion. Here we have the spirit of intellect, of philosophy, of experience; there they are supported by none except those who have long distinguished themselves by advocating every feudal barbarism and every abuse which has disgraced the statute book of England. (Cheers.) Consider the parties, and I say that our distinguished leaders in this great movement have conducted it with prudence, with unshaken zeal, and with fidelity. Comparing, therefore, the position of these two parties in the contest, I say it is impossible but that these efforts must be crowned with a great and enduring triumph. (Loud cheering.)

The CHAIRMAN then said, Gentlemen, Mr. Moore will now address the meeting. (Cheers.)

Mr. R. R. R. MOORE then came forward amidst loud applause, and addressed the meeting as follows:—I had much rather our chairman had allowed the meeting to have broken up at the close of Mr. Gibson's speech. (Cries of "No, no.") I really have nothing whatever to add to what has been said to-night upon the subject. (Cries of "Go on, go on.") The only point that I would venture to occupy your time for a moment upon, is to urge upon you increased activity in adding to the number of 40s. freeholders in the counties of Middlesex, East Surrey, and Hertfordshire. I do not believe that there has been before the people of the counties eight more memorable days than those which will intervene between the present time and the meeting of Parliament. I do not think you have had a period when there was more in your own power than there is now between this and the close of the present month. We are now virtually contesting the election—not in Middlesex, that is won; you have gained there a majority of upwards of 1700, sufficient to return two Free Traders; but we are virtually now contesting the election in East Surrey and Hertfordshire. It is in your power, by the purchase of 40s. freeholds between this and the close of the month, to win both these counties—East Surrey for two Free Traders, and Hertfordshire for three. (Cheers.) You see what the Protection Society's last move is. It recently met at 17, Old Bond Street, to rescind its fourth resolution, so as to make itself ready for competing with us in the registration courts with success; in fact, to put itself in a position to follow our lead. They say we are attending to the registration; so will they—we are making 40s. freeholders; so will they. They assert that our proceedings are unconstitutional, that we have no right to take these measures with reference to the registration of the country. We beg to remind the noble duke who took the chair at that meeting, that his proceeding is really unconstitutional, and that, on the other hand, we are the real defenders of the constitution; the theory of that constitution being that we should have a House of Commons free from being tampered with by the House of Lords (cheers); and yet in reality we have no such House of Commons. (Renewed cheers.) We say, "we have rather more to do, please your grace, than to attend to the purging of registers of counties and boroughs, and increasing the number of independent 40s. freeholders; we will have a committee of inquiry into the unjust and unconstitutional interference of members of the peerage with the election of commoners." I find that every session there is a standing order of the House of Commons against the interference of peers in the election of commoners. Annually is that standing order renewed. At nearly every election that occurs; certainly at every general election, is that order openly, flagrantly, and unconstitutionally violated. (Hear.) Why, I have here a list of places that return members by the direct and avowed influence of peers? Does not Lord Salisbury return the member for Hertford? Does not the Duke of Richmond return those for Chichester, and in the county of Sussex? Has he not been boasting of his interest in West Sussex, and defying the League to come into that county, telling us that he can drive so many farmers up to the poll, that we cannot possibly have any power to win that county? Does not Lord Londonderry dare to dictate to the city of Durham, and to the southern division of that county who shall be their representatives? Has he not been holding a correspondence lately with the Conservative Association there, respecting a requisition, calling upon Lord Dunsannon to come forward at the next election? Then, is there not the Duke of Marlborough returning three representatives, within the last three years, for Woodstock—two of them his own sons. (Hear, hear.) Is there not the Duke of Newcastle, returning members for Newark, and having such influence, that Mr. Gladstone cannot get in there again? Many of the constituency of Newark are in favour of Free Trade, and they have been in correspondence with Mr. Gladstone, with a view to his return as their member; but that right honourable gentleman knows better; he is well aware that the Duke of Newcastle has such influence in that borough as would completely prevent his return if he were he to attempt it. Then there is Lord Lincoln, does he not dictate for Nottingham; the Duke of Buckingham for Buckingham; ditto for Winchester; ditto for Aylesbury; Lord Egmont for Midhurst; Lord Exeter for Stamford; Lord Bathurst for Cirencester; Lord Shaftesbury for Dorchester; Lord Sandwich for Huntingdon? and so on through a whole list of them with which I will not trouble you; you may have read it yourselves in the papers. I say there is in this list abundant proof of unconstitutional interference with elections, contrary to the standing orders of the House of Commons, which it is the duty of members of that House to endeavour to put a stop to; and if there is no other way of stopping it, then let the boroughs under such influence be disfranchised. (Hear.) We will teach these men what unconstitutional interference with elections is. Then they call our registration proceeding unconstitutional. The Duke of Richmond says—and I wish you to remember this—"The gentlemen of the Corn Law League boasted openly that they were determined to carry the county elections of England by fabricated votes. This threat, he doubted not, they would endeavour to execute to the utmost extent of the means at their disposal." I have not the slightest doubt of it. I believe gentlemen of "the Corn Law League"—that is, the Protection

League—the League of which the Dukes of Buckingham, Richmond, Norfolk, and Sir Edward Knatchbull, are at the head; the League that meets at No. 17, Old Bond-street; I know their intention is to carry their question by the abstraction of votes; it is the very means by which they have already succeeded. Our proceedings have been to purge the registers of their fabricated votes; and the very way in which we have made such gain upon the registers, has been not merely by adding 40s. freeholds to the list, but by getting rid of the fabricated votes of the protection party. (Loud cheers.) "Gentlemen of the Corn Law League" are the fabricators of votes; they are the men who unconstitutionally interfere in elections in this country; but we of "the Anti-Corn-Law League," what have we done? We have taken hold of the register as it stands, looked over it, and found it was not such as was required by law. We had a shrewd suspicion that there were men upon it who had no right whatever to be there. (Hear, hear.) There was a case which recently occurred at Highgate where a man claimed for a 40s. freehold, and when asked where it was, replied it was in the churchyard. (Laughter.) There it was—a grave. Who was the occupying tenant paying him 40s. a year rent—(laughter)? As he could not tell who the occupying tenant was, he was struck off the register. There were persons in East Surrey who claimed for 40s. freeholds, every one of them, and what was it for? 40s. a year, 10s. a quarter, for preaching a quarterly sermon in a certain church in that county, which was paid out of some land-rent or other, and thereupon they called themselves "40s. freeholders." (Laughter.) They were of course struck off. I give you these instances merely by way of enlivening the matter as we go on. One might readily produce scores of such cases. When these protectionists speak of our tampering with the register, and say that we make wholesale multitudes of votes to swamp elections, one would imagine that we could steal in at night and write down upon the register the names of Free Traders and rub out the names of those who are opposed to us, and make a register just such as we please. Why, do not you know that, with reference to the register, if we object to any man from the 1st of August to the 25th of that month, a list of the objections in good large legible print is nailed up to the church door, and stuck up in public places for all comers to go and look at, and see whether those objections are good or bad? Do they not know that those objections must not be merely nailed up to the church door, but notice thereof must be sent to the party objected to, and that there must be legal proof given that they have had actual notice of such objection? Do they not know that from the 11th of September to the 31st of October, an open court is held, where a barrister sits on the bench, called the revising barrister's court, where all these objections are gone into in the presence of the parties objected to, who have an opportunity of defending their votes if they are defensible, retaining them on the register if it is right they should be, and striking them off if they have no right to be on. It is in that way we have purged the register throughout the country—it is in that manner we have proceeded throughout England. They have notice of objections served upon them, and an account of every cause why they are sought to be removed from the register. The objections are dealt with in the way I tell you, and they are only struck off after argument has been gone into in open court, and the decision of the barrister, in the presence of the party objected to, and clear proof given that they had no right to be upon the right, clearing the register from the unfair parties opposing us. And then, how have we got on with our claims—those claims that we have added to the register? Have not all our claims to be sent in by the 20th of July? Is there not some three weeks allowed to object to them? Did not our opponents object to every name put on the register by us in the county of Middlesex? There was not one name which they did not object to. (Hear.) Not only have we a right to object, but if the objection be held to be invalid, the electors have a claim to a fine or compensation for loss of service, and for the expenses which they have incurred in being brought up there improperly to defend their votes. And yet, with all the objections that were made by us against monopolists in the county of Middlesex, but 21. was awarded against the League upon this ground, proving that in almost every case we were right. We have established our claims in the same way in open court. It is impossible to attach too much importance to these 40s. freeholds. I sincerely trust that between this and the 30th of January the applications at 67, Fleet-street, will increase daily. There you may obtain the whole of the particulars you may require for the purpose of enabling you to become freeholders of Middlesex, East Surrey, Hertford, or any other county in which you may desire to become possessed of the franchise. For 50l. you may be put in possession of a 40s. freehold, yielding you 4 per cent for your money. Having these freehold votes you will then be ready when the election comes. (Hear.) You will then have no occasion to run about hither and thither when the day of election actually comes, in all the dread and anxiety whether you shall or shall not win. If you want to win in the counties you must win now. (Hear, hear.) If you want to rescue East Surrey from the hands of the monopolists, it will not be by canvassing and speeches merely at the time of election, but by now purchasing 40s. freehold votes from the counties. This is the franchise which these monopolist speakers call unconstitutional, a franchise settled by the 6 and 7 Henry VIII., by which this important right was conferred. They call it unconstitutional to make 40s. freeholders. They speak as if we, Leaguers, spent our 100,000l. last year, and our 50,000l. the year before that, and intended to spend our 250,000l. this year in purchasing these freeholds and making them presents to the people. (Laughter.) We have done nothing of the kind. We have expended our funds in spreading such information as has induced the people to purchase for themselves, and by creating such an organization throughout the country as is necessary to effect this registration movement. Now what have you to do between this time and the meeting of Parliament? What, above all things, is it necessary for you to be ready for? You have already been told by Mr. Villiers and Mr. Milner Gibson, to take care that there shall be no compromise; nothing short of entire justice, if offered, shall be accepted. I cannot find any language sufficient to express the importance which I attach to the people of this country being in perfect readiness for whatever proposal may be brought forward by Sir Robert Peel. (Hear, hear.) Your meeting to-night will have a strong influence upon him. It is more than ever necessary for you to be unequivocal in the message which you will send to Parliament, being called on now to make a final stand against this falsely called protection. It is your duty, and the duty of every constituency, to memorialise its representatives, calling upon them to vote for

the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, and nothing short of their total and immediate repeal. (Cheers.) There has been some talk—the most lamentable nonsense, in my opinion, which has been uttered at protection meetings—about compensation. Mr. Newdegate spoke upon this subject at the meeting recently held at No. 17, Old Bond-street. "Compensation!" it is said, "what compensation could be awarded them in lieu of the duty on food?"—Another says, "Talk of compensation! Why, putting the whole burdens of the land upon the consolidated fund would not compensate us. We cannot be compensated." I say we will not talk of compensation; do not be afraid of it; we have not the slightest intention of any such absurdity. If there is any party to be compensated, it must in justice be those who have been plundered. (Hear.) The *Quarterly Review* says, that for the last thirty years the Corn Law upon an average has raised the price of wheat 15s. a quarter, that is 15,000,000l. a year. (Hear.) If they talk about compensation, we will beg them to repay us all that vast sum. (Hear, hear.) Compensation indeed! Compensation to those who enacted that law thirty-one years ago in defiance of the country, who hurried the bill through the House with such haste that the country had no time to meet, petition, and express its opinion against it! (Hear.) Compensation to those who, in spite of a petition signed by the citizens of London in one day to the amount of 41,000, enacted that law! Compensation to the men who rode down the poor people assembled at Peterloo in 1819 to petition for the repeal of this law! Compensation to those who have oppressed industry for thirty-one years! Was there ever such an instance of audacity heard of before? Do you imagine that any men will be found to stand up in the House of Commons and ask for compensation? That there can be any serious idea of putting in such a claim? Do they come forward and say, "You gave twenty millions to the slave holders to take their grasp off their fellow-creatures, give us something to let their bread be free," we reply, do you want to stand in the same category with the slave-holder? We have reviewed our verdict as to that grant. We say that twenty millions should have been given to the slave. (Loud cheers.) It should have been taken not from our purses to be given to the slave-holder, but from the pockets of the slave-holders to be given to the men whom they had wronged. These protectionists talk of compensation: we will tell them to be content; that we ask for nothing but forgetfulness of the past, and the total and immediate abolition of the law. If they speak of compensation, we will tell them to go over to our penal colonies, and see if they cannot find some men there whom poverty and hunger, the result of the scarcity of food made by those laws, tempted in the beginning of that criminal course which ended in their transportation to a penal colony. We ask if they can compensate them—if they can bring them home, and restore them to the situation they held, before want drove them into a course that ended so lamentably? We will ask them to go and look at our *Gazette* for the last thirty years, since they enacted this law, and trace the history of those merchants, shopkeepers, manufacturers, and others whose names are inserted there, and find out which of them has been broken down struggling for independence in spite of the most heroic endurance, perseverance, and industry by the crippling of trade, the result of these laws. Who can compensate them? (Cheers.) We will tell them to go into our orphan asylums, and try if they cannot find some children there whose parents were worn out before their time by want, from endeavouring to work when they had not food enough to sustain them in their anxiety for the support of their families, and let them try if they can compensate those children for the loss of their parents. (Cheers.) We will tell them to go into our union workhouses and endeavour to find old men and women there scarcely knowing whether they have a friend on earth left to protect them, left without home in their old age, notwithstanding they had worked hard in their youth to earn an honest independence, who had a right to expect it from their work in their old days. (Hear, hear, hear.) We ask them to look if there are no young persons in those workhouses brought down to that by the perpetually crushing effect of these Corn Laws, and we will tell them to compensate them. When they have done all that, let them go out over the broad land into those counties where they keep their agents ever busy at work on the register; let them go out into the neighbourhood of the boroughs which these noble lords influence—into the counties of Dorset, Devon, Norfolk, Suffolk, to Essex, Hants, and Wilts, and tell us if there are not whole sets of farmers who have been swept off farm after farm, having agreed to give high rents, believing that the Corn Law would enable them to realise such prices as would enable them to pay those rents by pressing the whole population down; and let them tell us if these parties can be compensated? Then let them take the climax of the whole—let them go out amongst their own agricultural labourers—"a bold peasantry, their country's pride"—the labourers whose health they drink—the labourers to whom they give prizes for rearing their families upon the least possible amount of provisions—the labourers that they are for ever talking of as if they were their especial favourites—to go into their wretched hovels that do not keep the wind and rain out, and let them go amongst the five hundred or six hundred labourers amongst whom the beds were distributed, which were subscribed for by the Free Traders in Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Oxfordshire, and elsewhere—let them go out into the cabins of their own peasantry, and see how they live—let them recollect that much of the anxiety felt at the present moment, is on account of the rot amongst the potato crop. It is proved that five millions of agricultural labourers, four millions in Ireland, and one in this country, live upon potatoes, and are likely to starve in consequence of the failure of the crop. How do they propose to compensate these labourers? Can they compensate men who have grown old before their time, working while it was daylight from year's end to year's end, and living, after all, on nothing better than pig's food—potatoes. (Cheers.) Can these protectionists compensate these injured men? Let them not talk of compensation! There is a dark and heavy account of responsibility lying at the doors of those who maintain the Corn Law. If they speak of compensation—if they retard the repeal by one day's debate for compensation, I tell you what must be done. The labourers of Wiltshire must again meet at Goatacre after their day's work, and not only have their speeches reported, but choose delegates to their class in other agricultural counties—the 12 or 13 counties in which the Rev. Sidney Godolphin Osborne, at the Hanover Rooms, said were in the same condition. We must have delegates from the labourers in every one of these counties, marching up to London claiming audience of Sir R. Peel, and appearing before him to refute the assertion that the Corn Law has been for their benefit. It is the first time a depu-

tation of agricultural labourers in Downing-street will be seen coming to ask their own, demanding from the Prime Minister that, living upon God's bountiful and blessed earth, they should have as much of its bountiful production as their own strong arms, hard hands, and willing minds could earn for them. (Cheers.) I caution these protectionists; let them not talk about compensation. Why, between the present time and the meeting of Parliament—between this and the end of this month—you have a great responsibility thrown on you to protect the interest of these labourers. It rests with you to stand by them. The duty may be thrown more closely on you. It may be that Sir Robert Peel cannot carry his measure, or that he is attempting some measure short of the whole, and that he shall be defeated. I trust in that case that his country is ready for the awful responsibility which will be cast upon it. (Hear, hear.) I believe that London is ready to return four Free Traders, and Middlesex two. I cannot but believe that by the 31st of January the registers of East Surrey and Hertford will be in such a position as that those two places between them will be ready to return five Free Traders. I do believe that this new year will be the brightest and happiest that England has had for a long time. 31 or 32 years ago about this time of the year, there was breathless anxiety respecting the war then raging in Europe, and great interest as to the names of battles and victories. The whole country was ready in a moment to ring its bells, light up its windows, and go to its churches to return thanks because their side had killed more of "the enemy," as they called them than were destroyed in their own ranks. But none of you have a subject that you might so well meet for with breathless anxiety, one of infinitely more importance to you, and the question is, shall the great skill and industry of England, its mighty capital, its power, its trade be made as strong and as powerful for good as they have a right to be? The question is, shall this great England feed itself, shall it be let out of the hands of Parliament? Shall it continue to be dandled, nursed, and spoon-fed by Lords and Commons? Shall it be allowed to go abroad into the world and provide for itself? Has it not grown strong enough for its own maintenance? You cannot watch the coming events with too much interest: it is of vital importance to this great country; our whole position takes a change from the moment we have obtained freedom of trade. From that time we look forward to every man getting his fair share of the produce of the world; we say we will be contented with nothing short of a total, immediate, unconditional and uncompensated repeal of the Corn Laws, (Cheers.) There is one class here to whom I have a word to say, and then I have done. There are many men here who have worked for 31 years, who felt indignant when this was enacted in spite of the remonstrance of the country; there are many present who, long after the time which seems to be so near at hand, have been sneered at and pointed at as impracticable, for believing that this Free Trade question would ever be carried. I feel a wish to shake hands, and congratulate every one of them now; and ask them if they do not feel somewhat of the warmth of youth again at the near triumph of that for which they have toiled so long. I believe you have never too earnestly wished for it. If you could have seen the anxiety of the people in the manufacturing districts when they found food rising and heard the bad accounts of the weekly markets in Manchester and the other towns in Lancashire and Yorkshire; if you could have witnessed the delight of the people, their joyous greetings, the glad faces in the market on the Saturday night when they read that announcement in the *Times* a few weeks ago, believing that their long-felt anxiety at a time of distress, the shadow of which was before them was about to be got rid of, and the cause of it to be swept away for ever; if you could have seen their joy when they believed that Lord John Russell was about to form a Government, whose great principle was based upon the repeal of the Corn Laws; if you could have beheld the variations from gladness to despondency, from doubt and hesitancy to anxiety and fear; to have felt that the law was likely to be discontinued or repealed; if you knew the reason of that anxiety, if you had witnessed the bitter sufferings they have had to endure when the law pressed upon them, and when they wanted food and were willing to labour, but there was no work to be done, and no wages to be had; and men who love independence, who spurn the very idea of pauperism, who would have walked the country over to get work, yet had to go and stand in the yard of the parish relieving officer, waiting their turn for the miserable pittance of relief; I say, if you knew the joy of the recent revival of trade, the getting home of furniture again, the getting into better lodgings again, the getting on of better clothes again, the sending children to school again, the returning looks of health and strength of men, women, and children again; and if you could have seen on all our lines of railway the crowded trains of pleasure trips upon the Saturday half day, and at other holiday times, the very last clingers to protection would say, "We are ashamed to have stood by this law so long; we blush to have wronged these people for such a length of time! Compensation to us! We stand before the whole land and acknowledge that we have been in error, acknowledging that we have wronged them; we ask only this, that instead of giving compensation, they will forgive us, and believe that we are their friends for the future." The learned gentleman resumed his seat amidst enthusiastic applause.

The CHAIRMAN then came forward, and said, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have only to thank you for the very great order which has marked the whole of these proceedings, and to inform you that the meetings will be held here more frequently in future than they have hitherto been; and in all probability, the next meeting will be this day fortnight. (Three cheers were then given for the League, and the meeting separated at a few minutes to eleven.)

GREAT MEETING AT LIVERPOOL.

13,000. SUBSCRIBED TO THE LEAGUE FUND.

A magnificent gathering was obtained at Liverpool on the 9th, in the Amphitheatre, to give another impulse to the Great "Emergency" Fund now raising by the Anti-Corn-Law League. The meeting was called by a requisition bearing the signatures of some of the first merchants in Liverpool, the hour fixed upon being one o'clock. At that time the vast building—stage, circus, pit, dress circle, boxes, gallery—every part of the house, from the ground floor to the very roof, was crowded, and appeared instinct with life and animation. The boxes were filled with well-dressed ladies; and as they rose to wave their handkerchiefs, and join in the general expression of enthusiasm, which frequently burst forth during the proceedings, the *coup-d'œil* presented

by the house at such times was past all description. If the money-amount collected at the meeting was less than that obtained at the Manchester meeting, no one who witnessed the proceedings can deny that the people of Liverpool are as heartily with the League in this great movement as it is possible for a people to be. The stage was crowded with merchants and the *élite* of the commercial classes of Liverpool; and above their heads, at the back of the stage, was erected their motto, inscribed in legible characters:

"RESOLVED, WE WON'T STAND IT ANY LONGER!"

The chair, on the motion of Mr. Holland, was taken by W. Brown, Esq., the candidate for the representation of South Lancashire at the late election. At his side were Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., John Bright, Esq., M.P., the energetic and untiring champions of the cause, Thomas Thornley, Esq., M.P., Col. Thompson, William Rathbone, Esq., Lawrence Heyworth, Esq., J. Brander, Esq., &c. &c. The requisition convening the meeting having been read by Mr. Rawlins, the honorary secretary to the Liverpool Anti-Corn-Law Association,

The CHAIRMAN said:—Gentlemen, you are aware that we are met on this occasion to co-operate with, to sustain and strengthen, our friends of the Anti-Corn Law League—(loud cheering)—who have, for the long period of seven years, fought the Free Trade battle. (Continued cheering.) Gentlemen, we must not let the present occasion pass with a simple note of approbation, but we must be ready to furnish them with a large, and I hope a glorious subscription to enable them to carry out those objects for which they have so long and so nobly contended. (Loud cheers.) We cannot estimate—it is impossible to estimate—the services done for us by our enlightened friends Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright—(a great burst of cheering, the whole company rising)—and other gentlemen of the League, who have not only contributed a large portion of the pecuniary resources which were necessary to carry on this great struggle, but devoted an important portion of their time in endeavouring to get that justice done to you which we are entitled to, by the revocation of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) You have the example before you of Manchester, whose merchants have raised an amount towards this object unprecedented on any former occasion—(loud cheers)—and I have no doubt, gentlemen, that both you and the country at large will respond to the call in a similarly liberal spirit. We meet here this day not to make long speeches, but what is better, to do some substantial good, and I hope and trust that the cards distributed through this vast assembly, on which to write your subscriptions, will be sent up to the platform with no meagre amounts upon them. (Cheers.) We meet here with hearts determined, and with our purses in hand, to show the country that we are in earnest—that we will not be satisfied with any half measure now that the settling day is come: we must have a "clean bill of health" for all her Majesty's subjects. (Loud cheers.) We are now arrived at a crisis—this measure it is now evident must be settled—and it depends upon you, and upon our friends united upon this question, whether we shall have a full measure of redress or a compromise. (Cries of "No compromise.") No, I think our opponents may rest assured that you will be satisfied with no compromise, and I think we may also rest assured that our friends who have led this movement, and have the command, will never surrender the ship till they have brought it into port. (Loud cheers.) We have hoisted the white flag of Free Trade; it must be our endeavour to preserve it pure. We have been told that as England has relaxed her tariffs, other countries have made theirs more stringent. This is not a time to go over the whole of 22 treaties to answer this fallacy; but I may say that many of the countries with which we have those treaties have Free Trade already; that others only are waiting for us to set the example; there is only one solitary blot upon the escutcheon, and that is in the case of France. But once let us have the white flag of Free Trade hoisted, and no country will make war upon it without losing their places and standing as commercial nations. Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer, but call upon our distinguished friends, who will place before you, in a stronger point of view than I can, the importance of this question, and the necessity of now bringing to their assistance both our hearts and our purses. (Loud cheers.) I will now call upon Mr. Rathbone to move the first resolution.

WILLIAM RATHBONE, Esq., said he rose to move—"That we the inhabitants of Liverpool do hereby repeat our solemn protest against the laws which prohibit the free importation of foreign grain and provisions, or interfere in any way with the natural operations of commerce, believing them to be most oppressive to the great mass of the people, and destructive alike to the agricultural and manufacturing interests of the country. That, relying upon the justice of our cause, and upon the intelligence and honesty of our countrymen, we do declare most emphatically our firm determination not to relax in our exertions until those laws be totally repealed. That we hereby express our high sense of the invaluable services which the National Anti-Corn-Law League has rendered to the cause of Free Trade; and in order to enable its Council to make renewed and increased exertions, a subscription be now entered into in aid of the great fund of a Quarter of a Million (20 per cent. to be paid up immediately); and that the following gentlemen be appointed a committee, with power to add to their number, to canvass for further subscriptions in this town and neighbourhood." (Here followed the list of names.) In moving this resolution, Mr. Rathbone said, 50 years back, in Williamson-square, William Roscoe, Edward Rushton, and William Rathbone, my father, and many others were stoned for taking part against that atrocious war with France which I firmly believe was the cause of our having this day to unite with heart and purse to struggle for the removal of this law. (Hear, hear.) I hope that no recording angel's tear will ever blot out the record of this fact, but that it will be remembered and pointed out to every statesman, what is the retribution which follows such unjust and iniquitous interferences. (Loud cheers.) We had the "life and property" men coming forward, and saying they would give their last shilling in support of "Church and State" (laughter); and it was a glorious victory which they achieved: it ended in 1815, but how did the "life and property" men redeem the pledge they made as to their last shilling? Fortunately the rivers of blood that were shed did not flow upon our own shores; but millions and millions of debt were thrown upon the country; and when in 1816 the war terminated, how did these men redeem it?—by passing a law for you to pay it! (Great cheering.) Gentlemen, as we hope to be forgiven, we will forgive them only if at this, the eleventh hour, they will come and free us from this unjust burden (cheers); but we will have justice. (Renewed cheering.) There is "justice for Ireland" and "justice for England," and as there is a God in heaven we

will have it. (Tremendous cheering.) Gentlemen, we will support Sir Robert Peel, if, for once, he will be honest. (Cheers.) He knows that the so called liberal party—(and it is a liberal party) may be relied upon; he relies upon their honesty to carry those measures, which, when out of power, he advocates. (Applause.) He knows that he can rely upon them only to carry these measures. He knows where honesty is, and by that honesty, and by the exertions of the people, will these measures be carried. (Cheers.) I hope, gentlemen, you will carry this resolution, and that you will not only carry it with your voices, but that you will put your hands into your pockets at the same time. (Cheers.)

LAWRENCE HEYWORTH, Esq., who seconded the motion, said—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, when we commenced the agitation for the removal of the restrictions on commerce, we adopted a system which we considered to be most legitimate. Our first design was to expose the fallacies of that financial system which has hitherto governed the legislature of this country. Our first effort was to enlighten the minds of the people, and to show that protection laws and legislative monopolies were destructive to the interests of every part of the community. Ladies and gentlemen, we have been successful in this our first endeavour; and we now consider, because we have ample proof and testimony of the fact from every part of the country, that the public mind is well enlightened on this subject. (Cheers.) They now see clearly that monopoly laws and protection laws serve only to cripple our trade, to diminish the employment of our labourers, and to bring scarcity and famine; whereas, we ought to have, as a commercial population, abundance of employment, and an abundance of that which is to constitute, in the final result, the essential pay and reward of the labourer. Having arrived at this stage of our proceedings, it is necessary to take another step onwards. It is by the representatives of the people in Parliament that our laws are made; and we now consider that if the people had their wills in this respect (their minds being now enlightened) they would indubitably send up to proclaim legislators who would give us freedom of commerce. (Cheers.) Our object now is to extend the franchise of the country. (Loud applause.) Our design is to place within the reach of the labouring classes (he means of more readily acquiring the 40s. freehold than they have ever previously been able to do. Thus to extend the franchise is consistent with the constitution of the country; it is every way consistent with the rights of Englishmen (cheers); and we do hope that we shall succeed ultimately in gaining the representation of the counties—a right which has hitherto been most surreptitiously and wrongfully taken from Englishmen. (Loud cheers.) We do hope that we shall in this succeed with all the counties in England, as we have already succeeded in South Lancashire, West Yorkshire, and North Cheshire, and as I am told also we have now succeeded in North Lancashire. (Cheers.) Now we are quite certain when we have succeeded in this great step, we shall accomplish effectually the object we have in view. (Loud cheers.) But in order to take this step, we must have the necessary means; we must have money; and you must come forward liberally to subscribe the funds necessary to assist us in that object. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) I perceive before me a vast number of my fellow-townsmen. It is true that this subscription has been, so far, mainly entered into by the wealthy among the mercantile and manufacturing classes of this country, but I am persuaded that if the labouring classes will come forward with such small means as they can afford, it will give an amazing accession to the power of the League for accomplishing their object. (Hear, hear.) Ladies and gentlemen, we look forward with great confidence to the system and the means which we have adopted for accomplishing the direct object we have in view; but at the same time we warn the aristocracy that the influence which we shall create, the power we shall wield, will be such as shall raise the middle classes and operatives of this country to a state of manly independence. (Loud cheers.) And be assured as this power advances the aristocracy must look to it, or all their exclusive rights and privileges will be utterly destroyed. (Cheers.) It is for them to cogitate upon this revolution; we leave them to think it over, wisely and well. But if they will adopt the principles we are now striving to carry out, if they will give us freedom of commerce, the result will be such universal prosperity throughout the country, as may allow for a length of time, perhaps for a generation, those other agitations to which I have directed attention. If the people be happy and comfortable—if they have abundance of employment, cheap food, and every thing else cheap, the nominal rate of their wages will be advanced; and not only so, but, articles of consumption being cheapened, their wages will represent an amount double what they do now. Though I look forward with pleasure to this position and state of things, and though I know this will in some measure allay the other desires that the people have felt for a length of time, I do not deprecate their energies being put forth to obtain for themselves those privileges to which they have every just right. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, I trust that the observations which have been made, and the long acquaintance which you have had with this vital subject, which interests every town in England, will induce you to come forward liberally on this occasion to aid the League in the great and glorious object which they have in view. It is not an object which belongs to this country or to its inhabitants alone. It is an object which affects the welfare of the whole human family; and I am happy to see, as our worthy chairman has observed, that the various nations of the world are opening their eyes to the importance of this struggle. The last time I addressed you in this place I mentioned that an eminent individual, General Macduff, in America, had proclaimed, with whole soul and mind, his utter abhorrence of all protective duties. Now we have these sentiments promulgated on authority from the American Government itself. Mr. Walker, a member of the Government of America, and an officer of the treasury in finance, expresses his sentiments in these words: "Let our commerce be as free as our political institutions—[we said Mr. Heyworth] wish our commerce to be freer than our political institutions—let us, with revenue duties only, open our ports to all the world, and nation after nation will follow our example. If we reduce our tariff, the party opposed to the Corn Laws of England would soon prevail, and admit all our agricultural produce at all times freely into her ports, in exchange for her exports; and if England would now repeal her duties upon our wheat, flour, Indian corn, and other agricultural products, our restrictive system would certainly be doomed to overthrow." (Loud cheers.) Thus you see, my friends, that the battle we are fighting here in England is not a battle for the community of England only; it is a battle for the community of the whole world. (Cheers.) Here is a noble object to aim at accomplishing; here is an object worthy of every man, whether as a patriot, a Christian, or simply as a man. It is

worthy of every man to aid in carrying out this laudable enterprise; and I trust that every one present will feel ready to contribute most heartily to the attainment of this great object. (Loud cheers.)

The resolution having been put and carried, the chairman called upon Mr. Bright, M.P., the mention of whose name was received with unbounded enthusiasm.

Mr. JOHN BRIGHT then rose, and was received with renewed expressions of applause. He said, Mr. President and Gentlemen,—At this moment I cannot help looking back to the period when I first formed one of a deputation from the Anti-Corn Law League to visit the town and port of Liverpool to invite its large and enterprising and intelligent population to assist us in the great contest upon which we were then entering. I recollect, that although there was then a large audience to greet us, yet that it was felt by every body that in your town, amongst many very influential persons, there was extreme apathy to the object we had in view. We have found, however, that here, as elsewhere, by persevering labour, by honest devotion to the great question, and one good principle, we have gradually stimulated our friends to renewed and increased exertions, and have diminished to a very large extent the opposition with which we were met by those who did not coincide with us. At present we have, I believe, almost the whole kingdom in favour of the principles which we have expounded. (Hear, hear.) It may be said without any hesitation, that the vast overwhelming majority of all those engaged in the manufactures of this kingdom are at this moment earnestly in favour of Free Trade. (Applause.) And it may as truly be said that amongst the artisan class—those by whose labour and ingenuity all our exports are prepared, that there is a unanimous feeling of approval of the course that we have pursued—(applause and shouts of "bravo")—with reference to this great question now before us. The town population, as a rule, is in favour of the emancipation of the industry of the people. Intelligent landowners we have had some from the beginning, and we find every year that the number of such as unite with us and approve of our question is increasing. Intelligent farmers too we have had from the beginning, but we find that farmers now, who are not the foremost in their class for intelligence and general knowledge, are receiving willingly the principles which we have offered to them, and are beginning to doubt or altogether disbelieve the advantages which their landlords have asserted they would gain from a continuance of the protective system. (Cheers.) But of the vast body of farm labourers throughout the kingdom, I believe we may say that they are with us as unanimously as are the labourers in the manufactories of Lancashire and Yorkshire. (Hear, hear.) We have succeeded, if not in converting, at least in changing, two ministers since the agitation begun—(loud cheering,)—and we have rendered it impossible that any party should undertake office, who is in favour of maintaining, or who will pledge themselves to attempt to maintain the Corn Law, as it now exists, or, in fact, any Corn Law at all. (Cheers.) But there is a class of our opponents that are still unchanged. I mean that class represented by the dukes and high aristocracy and squirearchy, whose speeches have recently occupied so much space in the *Morning Post*. (Great applause and laughter.) I have been charged with endeavouring to bring the aristocracy into public contempt. I have said harsh things of them, for I have felt harshly towards them. (Hear, hear.) No man can see what I have seen in connexion with this question, and hold the opinions which I entertain, and know that this Corn Law is supported by that class, without feeling his blood, at times, boil within him—(hear, hear;—and feelings, not the most Christian, I admit, may rise when looking at the conduct of a class which has, systematically for a generation at least, sacrificed the great interests of the people to the selfish and miserable interests of a class. (Loud cheers.) But I defy any man living to point to any speech made by any member of the Anti-Corn Law League which deals such fatal blows to the permanence and the supremacy of the aristocratic element in the British constitution as the speeches which have been made within the last month by men who are so fond of that element, and so devoted to that supremacy, that they would willingly sacrifice the people to maintain them. (Hear, hear.) Most of you have heard what has been said by the duke, and lord, and squire within the last month. Now I ask you, as representatives of a great commercial community, is it your opinion that those men are qualified by intelligence, or by their sympathy with right, and with the people, to rule over and to regulate trade and the vast mercantile affairs of this greatest of all commercial empires? (No, no.) Are you willing to sit still in Liverpool, and that other towns should sit still elsewhere, and that you should work as you can and earn what you can, and live just as you can, and all this merely permissively; that you should be here, calling yourselves citizens of this country, having the power, if the law did not interfere with you, to gather to yourselves the riches of the whole earth (hear), and to add, ever and ever, to the comfort and well-being of your population. (Cheers.) I ask, are you willing any longer that these men, who have proved their ignorance and their incompetency so that every man must see it, shall rule over and legislate for the commerce of this kingdom? (Applause, and cries of "No, no; we'll stand it no longer.") I said that that class of our opponents had made no change! There is another thing connected with this question which has suffered no change; and it is the great and sacred principle by which we are bound together as, I would say, a political association. We said from the beginning, and all experience has confirmed the opinion then expressed, that the Corn Law did good to no human being, unless it starved some human being (hear, hear); that it is a law which cannot enrich those who made it, unless it starves some of those who are bound to obey it. (Cheers.) And I will ask you to refer to the report of a recent meeting held in Wiltshire, at which a thousand labourers assembled by the light of the moon to discuss the grievances they suffer. Talk of the reign of terror in another country! What sort of a reign is it in this country, when those thousand labourers come out from their hovels almost at the dead of night, there to discuss the tyranny under which they believe themselves to labour, and there to proclaim to the world that the magnanimous aristocracy who rule this country let them cultivate their lands for 5s., 6s., and 7s. a week, and then in the Parliament of Great Britain, and before the world, avow that they have for 30 years been passing laws ostensibly to protect these very labourers. (Cheers.) And whilst this law is thus dealing out suffering and ruin to the labourers of Wiltshire, it is practically dealing out ruin and distress even to many influential capitalists engaged in trade. (Hear, hear.) I won't go back and speak of past years. We know what has happened before; we know where we are now; and we know

that if that law be long maintained, the future will only reveal greater calamities than we can speak of as concerning the past. (Hear, hear.) This, then, is the critical time. Mr. Heyworth has spoken of the United States, and has read to you a paragraph from the report of Mr. Secretary Walker—a report which ought to be published in every newspaper in the kingdom—a report which ought to be read by every man in Great Britain and Ireland—a report which is justly regarded as an extending of the friendly hand from the American Government to this country, and asking us to forget bygones, and to be brethren, as we ought for ever to be. (Loud cheers.) The great reduction of the American tariff must follow the abolition of our Corn Laws; the abolition of our Corn Law will for ever destroy all chance of war between this country and the United States. (Loud cheers.) Now, is there a man here with a spirit of benevolence, or Christian feeling, who does not see that at this moment he is bound to come forward, and to urge on this great question to a final settlement? (Renewed cheering.) You may not think political agitation good; you may think that we may have committed some blunders in the course of this warfare in which we have been engaged. All this may be true; but here is a point of time arrived at where there is some danger; many people here thought the great danger that two of the greatest and most civilised nations in the world will be brought, not only into opposition, but into war. Repeat the Corn Law this session, and the chance is that war will for ever be postponed. (Cheers.) And you must recollect that the Prime Minister of England is in a position of extraordinary difficulty, a position which no Prime Minister has occupied, perhaps, within the memory of any man now present. He is the leader of a party who change not,—whose obtuseness, whose infatuation, must eventually be their ruin. (Loud cheers.) He is much wiser than they. He sees that Parliamentary majorities go for nothing against the necessities of a united people. (Loud cheers.) At this moment, in all human probability, he is balancing in his own mind what shall be the precise measure he will submit to Parliament the week after next. Shall it be total and immediate repeal—(cries of Yes, yes)—or shall it be total and not immediate—or shall it be neither immediate nor total, but some compromise that will leave this question unsettled? (Loud cries of "That will not do.") These are the questions which are passing through the mind of the Prime Minister; and they are questions which he must weigh, however well he may be disposed to do that which is really right and just. How then is he to come to the decision to which we wish to invite him? Why how! Not by his own individual strength; he knows that argument does nothing with Christian men whose champion he has been in former years; he knows that all persuasion with them is unavailing. He knows that they saw the trade of the country sink, aye, and their fellow-countrymen die of hunger inflicted by the land, and yet they did not quail and give in; and therefore he turns to other power, he seeks other support, he invites other co-operation, and calls as loudly as Prime Minister could call; and he called the other day, through the answer put into the mouth of the Queen to the addresses of the corporations of London and Dublin—(cheers);—he calls to you and to the whole kingdom to help him to give you redemption from the intolerable burden under which you groan. (Cheers.) Now we do not come to this meeting—we are not here to ask you to make any great effort in which we are not willing to take our share. (Hear, hear.) We were present at that ever memorable meeting which was held in Manchester a fortnight ago—a meeting which has no equal in the past—I trust the future may never demand such another effort from the people of this town. (Cheers.) Here we are assembled to-day to strike another blow; and there are not many days left for the blows which are to be struck before the ministerial scheme is propounded to the country. On Wednesday next we go to Leeds, to be present at a meeting which is to be held there for the purpose of raising a subscription for the Anti-Corn Law League. Now we want this money—we must have it—(cheers and laughter);—and if you are not disposed to pay it, we must go somewhere else, where the people are disposed to pay it. (Cheers and laughter.) In the expenditure of the large sums with which we have been placed in trust, I need say no more than that our proceedings have been public before the world. The newspapers that advocate our views, and those whose principal object it is to slander and calumniate us—these newspapers, alike, have published these statements more or less to the world. The labourers the League has undertaken are before you; and no man can look around him without confessing that—in the vast change which has taken place in public opinion in this kingdom, in the proud position which the question of Free Trade now occupies—if the expenditure had been ten times what it is, and if the labour that had been bestowed had been ten times what we have given, all would have been cheap to have purchased the glorious consummation which, we believe, awaits us. (Loud cheers.) Every man here, who ever gave a farthing to the League, should just consider the position in which he and the League are now placed. If the principle was right to begin with—worth fighting for at all—it is right now, and it is worth fighting for till the end. (Cheers.) If this great struggle, which has taken the best part almost of a life-time, was worth commencing, it is worth carrying out to a final and successful issue. (Applause.) If you wish the money you have already invested in this great national emancipation to bring you and the country and the world its fruits, well, then, add something to it now; and when you find the foe faltering—when you find his ranks giving way—then join in once again with a more unanimous, a more determined charge, and this foe to the nation's industry and to individual happiness will be driven entirely from the field. (Cheers.) This Liverpool has had no great reputation heretofore as connected with this great question, but there are men in this town who have done as much for Free Trade as any men within the limits of the kingdom with the means they had at their disposal. (Cheers.) Hitherto you have sent to Parliament, and now send men, who do not represent the true interests of this commercial community. (True.) I am happy to be able to believe with confidence, that whenever another occasion shall come—and come in all probability it will before the summer's sun shall shine upon us, that all past disgrace of this kind will be wiped away, that Liverpool will take its own position in the front of this great battle. (Cheers.) You acknowledge by the motto of your town—"Deus nobis hæc otia fecit;" God has bestowed upon you great gifts and great obligations. (Cheers.) You are here at the mouth of this noble river, the finest seaport, the greatest in the kingdom—(cheers)—you are backed by a population more numerous and more industrious than any in any part of the world on the same space of ground. Your town is increasing at an enormous

rate. Fifteen thousand houses have been built in Liverpool since the League began its struggle. (Applause.) You have a population every day increasing. All that you have done in the past is as nothing to the greatness and the renown which await your future. May I then entreat you that you will look to this question as a question of life and death for Liverpool, for its trade, and for the country; and that, to-day, by your resolutions, by your acts, by your subscriptions, you will give one other (I trust it may be one of the last) of the blows that may be needed to drive this hideous system of monopoly entirely from the earth. (Great cheering.)

Mr. RAWLINS then announced the subscriptions, amongst which were the following:

	£	s.	d.
Wm. Brown, Richmond Hill	1000	0	0
Messrs. Mathers	1000	0	0
Lawrence Heyworth	500	0	0
J. J. Hamilton	500	0	0
Tenants, Clow, and Co.	500	0	0
James Mellor	500	0	0
Chris. and Jas. Rawdon	400	0	0
Thomas Thornley, M.P.	300	0	0
Chas. Wilson, Elm Farm	300	0	0
Rathbone, Brothers, and Co.	300	0	0
Jevons, Sons, and Co.	200	0	0
Darby and Sands	200	0	0
Higgins, Brothers	200	0	0
Chas. Holland	200	0	0
C. Rawlins, jun.	150	0	0
C. E. Rawlins	150	0	0
James Stitt, Son, and Co.	250	0	0
John Finch and Sons	250	0	0
Vincent Higgins and Son	250	0	0
James Ryder	250	0	0
Sir Joshua Walsley	250	0	0
James Branker	250	0	0
James Mullyneux	250	0	0
Jos. Dawson	250	0	0
H. Crossfield and Co., amended from £100 to	250	0	0
James Harvey	150	0	0
J. B. Cooke, Birkenhead	150	0	0
James Crossfield, jun.	150	0	0
James Dennistoun Wood	100	0	0
Thomas Orrell	100	0	0
Joseph C. Ewart	100	0	0
Wm. Stewart	100	0	0
Geo. Maxwell	100	0	0
Joseph Heap	100	0	0
Victor Pootz	100	0	0
Richard Sheil and Co.	100	0	0
Robert E. Harvey	100	0	0
James H. McCrea and Co.	100	0	0
S. P. Hobson	100	0	0
Frederick Pennington	100	0	0
D. Pritchett and Co.	100	0	0
Thomas Blackburn	100	0	0
Sam. Blackburn and Co.	100	0	0
A. Friend to total repeal	100	0	0
Andrew Melly	100	0	0
W. Maxwell	100	0	0
F. Boulton	100	0	0
D. Cannon	100	0	0
James Ryley	100	0	0
Wm. Blain	100	0	0
J. D. Thornely	100	0	0
John Carmichael	100	0	0
Thomas Harvey	100	0	0
Richard Johnson	100	0	0
Richard Sharpe	50	0	0
Wm. Crossfield	50	0	0
Grote, Tomkinson, and Co.	50	0	0
Henry Wood	50	0	0
J. P. G. Smith	50	0	0
Henry Martindale	50	0	0
Wm. Reynolds	50	0	0
Nathaniel Weeld	50	0	0
John Taylor Crook	50	0	0
Joshua Heap	50	0	0
Robert Abbott	50	0	0
George P. Leigh, Kidderminster	50	0	0
Philip Quirk	50	0	0
A. H. Wylie	50	0	0
Eyre Evans	50	0	0
Jeffrey, Maurish, and Co.	50	0	0
James Hodson and Co.	50	0	0
D. Macvicar	50	0	0
Samuel Johnson	50	0	0
Thomas Addison	50	0	0
Samuel Thornely	50	0	0
W. R. Manifold	50	0	0
Edward Lane	50	0	0
John Butler	50	0	0
John Ewart	40	0	0
J. H. and R. C. Rawlins	30	0	0
Thomas Baines	30	0	0
Mr. J. Whitty	25	0	0
Edward Evans and Co.	25	0	0
Joseph Mondle	25	0	0
James Smith	25	0	0
Thomas Bolton	25	0	0
Andrew Kirk	25	0	0
Edward Heap	25	0	0
Wm. Evans, farmer	25	0	0
Taylor and Brothers	25	0	0
M. Leland and Co.	25	0	0
Howard Worsley	25	0	0
D. King and Co.	25	0	0
Thomas Dilwall	25	0	0
Thomas Hibbert, Water-street	20	0	0
Lloyd Reynier	20	0	0
J. S. Hyers	20	0	0
P. E. Webber and Co.	20	0	0
Conservative Free Trader	20	0	0
Alex. Hallam	20	0	0
Francis Hollins	20	0	0
J. H. Tongue, Hope Field	20	0	0
Hughes and Ronald	20	0	0
George J. Everest	10	0	0
Joseph Fernyhough	10	0	0
A Shipowner	10	0	0
Thomas Johnson	10	0	0
Richard Rathbone, jun.	10	0	0
John Holmes	10	0	0
Miss Mellor	10	0	0
John Travis	10	0	0
John Graves	10	0	0

J. Dauber, 34 3s.; R. Turner, 5s.; E. Hampson, 1s.; S. Boyle, 5s.; A. Friend, 5s.; E. Graham, 1s.; W. Hooker, 5s.; W. Somerville, 1s. He says, should it be wanted, he will reckon this 20 per cent. D. Raw, 5s.; and his workmen, 1s. 18s.; J. Hulton, 5s.; E. Moss, 5s. 6d.; E. Clotley, 1s.; P. Eastwood, 5s.; T. Carter, 10s.; W. Atkinson, 10s.; J. W. Lloyd, 1s.; T. Morcroft, 2s. 6d.; T. Fisher, 1s.; W. Cotter, 5s.; J. Binyon, Park-road, 10s.; J. J. Jackson, 5s.; D. Muldrow, 5s.; Perdon Hardy, 1s.; R. McGuire, 2s.; T. Morley, 5s.; T. Esbridge, 5s.; M. Clarke, 1s.; Mrs. Leighton, 2s.; J. P. Jackson, 1s.; W. Stewart, 2s.; J. and W. Samuel, 2s.; B. Hobson, 2s.; P. R. Esklyn, 5s.; J. Laurie, 5s.; L. Keizer, 2s. 2s.; F. S. Pyrer, 5s.; W. McMillan and Co., 5s.; Dr. Baylis and Mrs. Baylis, sen., 5s.; J. Owen, 2s.; W. H. Thomas, 5s. 6d.; S. Leach, 1s.; T. Hill, 1s.; John Bennett, 1s.; J. Gibbons, 3s. 3s.; S. Seaward, 5s. 6d.; J. and J. Birkett, 5s. 6d.; W. Roberts, 1s. 6d.; G. Francis, 2s.; C. Field, 1s.; T. Harris, 5s.; H. Hanson, 5s.; W. Sayer, 1s.; Thomas Smith, 3s. 3s.; George Oldham, 10s. 6d.; R. Oldfield, 5s.; Thomas Cuff, 5s.; Cabel Tate, 5s.; Thomas Roberts, 2s. 2s.; James Taylor, 2s.; Joseph Harrison, 2s.; John Brigg, 2s.; Benjamin Fowler, 2s.; F. Room, Wapping, 1s.; John Miller, 1s. 1s.; R. Husband, 1s. 1s.; Sig. Levi Anconi, 5s.; John Syers, 5s.; H. Welford, 2s.

[A vast number of small subscriptions, owing to the

rapidity with which they were read, escaped the reporter's pen; but as a full list of them will be advertised, our Liverpool friends will probably not blame us for this unavoidable omission.]

Whilst the subscription was yet going forward, RICHARD COBDEN, Esq., M.P., was called upon, and was received with overwhelming bursts of applause. He said: I feel that I can say nothing that will have half so much effect upon the public and upon the Government as those manifestations of your zeal and determination which have just been handed in so liberally. (Cheers.) Nor is it necessary that I should appear here in the quality of a beggar: I am not a very good hand at that kind of work, and fortunately I have a colleague in Mr. Bright, who has the best face for a beggar that I know of. (Cheers and laughter.) For he has impressed himself with this belief, that in persuading others to give as generously as he has always given in this cause, he is conferring upon them a great favour, and giving them the satisfaction in future life of reflecting that they have aided in the accomplishment of one of the greatest reforms that the history of the world has witnessed. (Cheers.) There is but one point in connection with this subscription to which I think it necessary to refer, and it is to remove some misapprehension which has got abroad as to the disposal of a portion of this fund. Some of our opponents have deluded themselves with the idea that we are raising this 250,000*l.* in order by some ingenious necromancy to manufacture county votes with it. (Hear, hear.) Now, if our opponents would really think but for a moment before they swallow these raw jokes of their leaders, they would understand at once that a fund of 250,000*l.*, one-fifth of it called up, would go but a very short way indeed in qualifying people to wrest the counties from the monopolists. The whole of the 250,000*l.* would not make more than 5000 votes. (Hear, hear.) We don't propose to buy votes for people; we don't propose to pay a farthing, even for the legal conveyance of the qualifications. All the League proposes to do by its organisation is, to establish a machinery, to pay for secretaries and the expenses of printing and advertising, and the expenses of qualified agents, both legal and others, in order that, if our opponents put us to the necessity, we may be in a position to do in the other counties of the kingdom what has been done in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire. (Cheers.) And I really am so much in love with the 40*s.* freehold movement, that I have become almost fanatic on the point. (Laughter.) I am sure that if we obtain our end it will be by that instrument; and I want to bring before your attention the necessity of working that instrument in a neighbouring county. You have nothing more to do here in South Lancashire; but on the other side of the river is a county where you may work with great advantage; and I wish our friends here to consider that Liverpool and Birkenhead have it in charge to make South Cheshire as safe as we have made North Cheshire. I must say that I think the subscription which has advanced so far in Liverpool does you great honour, for, bear in mind, you are differently circumstanced to us in Manchester. In the first place we have no monopoly interest at Manchester; we never had a monopoly interest; we have had no rich West Indian merchants, nor Canadian merchants of olden time giving a fashionable tone to society; and by their wealth influencing public opinion in favour of protection. We have been simply and solely an unprotected cotton trade. (Hear, hear.) But besides that, in justice to you, and that you may not elsewhere be considered to have fallen short of Manchester, I wish it to be understood that in Manchester we have a large number of tributary towns; and those satellite towns on these great occasions always come forward most prominently and liberally with their subscriptions; and thus they swell the nominal amount of Manchester subscriptions, though they are not all contributed by Manchester houses. Liverpool, on the other hand, stands alone, a divided interest with many rich people in the ranks of your opponents, and having no tributary towns; and under these disadvantageous circumstances, I think that your demonstration to-day, will be considered by the country as wholly equal to what we did a fortnight ago in Manchester. (Loud cheers.) And I here beg to offer my tribute to those gentlemen in Liverpool who, in adverse times, have laboured for this good cause. (Hear, hear.) Here are gentlemen near me, one whose name I need but mention (alluding to Mr. Brown), who has grown grey in the service of the public—(enthusiastic cheers); a man who has always been ready to lead the forlorn hope in attacking every abuse, and who has not waited till the great battalion of reserve were coming up to his assistance. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, what you have done here encourages me to hope that what you are about to do soon will be decisive of this question. You cannot exaggerate the importance of the representation of Liverpool on this question. I agree with my friend Mr. Bright, that we shall have a dissolution on this question before it is settled. I have no doubt Parliament will be dissolved before next Midsummer. When that event occurs, nothing will be looked to with so much anxiety as the return of members for Liverpool. (Hear and applause.) I hear it everywhere asked, they say wherever I go—"You tell us South Lancashire is won—the West Riding is won—but what will they do in Liverpool in case of an election?" (Cheers.) Now I am anxious that this question should be put on the fairest possible footing, so as to give every man in this borough the opportunity of recording a Free Trade vote at the next election. This is not a party question; we have never treated it as a political party question; and I am glad to think that this question, by its force and justice, is destined to break up every old political party. You will be placed in a very different position in Liverpool on this question within a fortnight's time from this hour to what you have ever been in before. This day fortnight you'll know the intentions of the present Government. Now we have signs enough to prove to us—signs in the conduct of such men as Mr. Christopher, who, on the former changes of the tariff, was considered the pilot balloon of Sir Robert Peel—we have evidence now, in his declaration, that he is opposed to Government—we have in the fact that the Duke of Newcastle, who owns Newark, you know, having declared that Mr. Gladstone, who has taken office with Sir R. Peel, shall not go back from Newark again to sit in Parliament—(hear, hear); we have evidence enough in these facts to show us that Sir Robert Peel is going to propose a measure which will separate him from the protectionist party in Parliament. (Cheers.) Well, a rupture in the ranks of the leader in the House of Commons will have its consequence in the ranks of their followers in Liverpool. This day fortnight, and the great Conservative party in Liverpool will be scattered to the winds. (Loud cheers.) You'll not know, next Friday week, when you meet your fellow-townsmen on your Exchange what to call them. (Laughter.) You have,

I suppose in this town, two sections of what may be called Tories: there are the Peelites, or the moderate section; there are the ultras, whom, if you please, we'll call the Buckingham or Richmondites. (Cheers and laughter.) Well, I take it that three-fourths, nay, four-fifths of the Conservatives of Liverpool are Peelites. Sir Robert Peel will then have ventured the fortunes on the Free Trade cause (hear, hear, hear), and his followers here will be Free Traders,—not, probably, exactly Leaguers; we may have been a little too violent for them in times past: we don't ask them to join our clubs; but, gentlemen, they will be relieved from their party ties, and will become free men to consider our question on its own merits. (Loud cheers.) I am anxious, gentlemen, that everywhere we should open the door to a fair and impartial consideration of this question. Let us have no taunts against those who have for a long time been either adverse or doubtful. They have stood aloof because they look to their party. We have had Whigs who have done the same, as well as Tories (hear, hear, hear), and, mind you, there are worse qualities in a man than that determined resolution which makes him adhere to a party-colour when he has adopted it. We don't like renegades any more than the Tories; and we all know how much moral courage it requires to advocate a principle before party leaders have made up their minds to adopt that principle. (Applause.) Well, gentlemen, this day fortnight you'll have some of the best men in this town altogether released from their party ties and prejudices; then they'll begin to consider this question, and to see how it affects the interests of this good town of Liverpool. Merchants who would not hitherto look at it immediately will begin to see that Free Trade means more trade, and that more trade means more imports, and a fair exchange for the commodities of this district with all the countries of the globe. They will begin to see that our chief difficulty in carrying on a prosperous trade is in getting ample returns for our exports; there is no limit to the productive skill of this country, but our difficulty is in finding returns which, in this market, will pay a profit to the importing merchant. They will say, "Here is a principle which knocks down every barrier erected for the purpose of restraining and restricting imports;" and they will see, instinctively, as we have seen, that Free Trade will be for them a measure of unmixed good. (Hear.) Your brokers, who have sometimes been accused of being somewhat venal, who follow the merchant rather selfishly, will be released from their party ties, and from that restraint which their customers are sometimes apt to impose upon them. (Hear, hear.) Your brokers in Liverpool will see that more imports will lead to more sales on the Liverpool Exchange; and more sales must give more business to the brokers. Why the brokers' clerks, even, and all who want to be brokers' clerks, will see that this is a question pregnant with more employment for them,—better salaries for them, and a better prospect for them of becoming brokers in due time as well as their employers. (Hear, hear.) The ship-owners and builders will see that Free Trade will crowd your port with more vessels—that more vessels will be required to bring back the increased traffic of the world, and that more ships will come here to be repaired, and that more must be built here also. They will see at once that an increase of freights will bring improved charges for freights; and the profits of the shipowner will be as completely identified with this principle as that of either the merchant or the broker. (Hear, hear.) Well, then, gentlemen, the labourers, whether ship-carpenters or others—those men who have been accustomed to vote with their party regardless of the claims of this question, will see that more ship-building and more ship repairing will bring more employment to the ship-carpenter, the caulker, the anchor-smith, and every other business employed about the vessels. (Loud cheers.) And it will give increased employment not only to these labourers, but to your porters and all other men engaged in manual labour. This will enrich the town, the benefits will flow into shops, whether they sell cloth, or groceries, or provisions of any other kind. And you will thus find that every man capable of reasoning,—every man with an honest and conscientious desire to come at the truth, will be at once relieved from this bond of party, and become as sound a Free Trader as any man in this room. (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, let us have no impediment in the way of this conversion; let us abandon our old party colours if you please, till this food crisis is got over. Let us have none of your old colours: do in Liverpool as they have done in the West Riding; throw aside your old colours, and adopt the pure white as the fitting emblem of your principles. (Cheers.) I don't know what your colours are here. One faction have called themselves, I believe, scarlet: well it's a bloody colour—(cheers and laughter)—I'd throw it aside, and have nothing to do with it. And I believe the other parties have called themselves blue; why, they'll never hoist that colour the next time, surely; it's the colour of the cholera in the potatoes. (Laughter.) Throw aside your scarlet and your blue, and adopt white; it's the emblem of peace, the flag of truce held out to your political opponents; and I'll engage for it at the next election—(and here I venture to utter a prophecy)—if a dissolution takes place upon this great question, I'll venture to say it will be here as it was at the Reform Bill crisis, when General Gascoyne came down here and could not get through his canvass—dared not even show himself in Liverpool. Just so will it be at the next election; a monopolist, a pro-corn-law, a curry-powder man will not dare to show himself in town. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, that which you are to do in Liverpool, I hope will be done throughout the kingdom. I hope that we shall teach our friends everywhere to use this wise forbearance towards their old political opponents. I shall not be satisfied with the settlement of this question, unless it leaves us wholly, as a people, satisfied with the settlement of it,—satisfied that it has been formed in justice, and that it will ultimately prove a benefit to every class in the community. (Cheers.) I shall not be satisfied with it, if it does not bring into our ranks the farmers, those of them at least who are intelligent enough to see their own interest. (Cheers.) I shall not be satisfied unless the landowners, in my day, at least, whilst I am living to witness it—admit that we, the Free Traders, who are accused of being their greatest enemies, have, in the end, in the issue, proved to be their greatest benefactors. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

Colonel THOMPSON was received with great cheering. He said: Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—Something like a premium has been held out for speeches; and you shall see if I don't win. (Cheers and laughter.) I shall be glad to take the opportunity of the few moments that I may detain you, to take the chance of making at least some suggestions that may be useful when delivered, as they will be, before what may be considered as the *élite* of our commercial community. I need not recall to your recollection the position which Liverpool holds, or has ever held, amongst the com-

mercial portions of our country. 'Tis true we have heard you are not all agreed upon this great question; but you who are agreed, I suspect, understand it as well as any men who can be pointed out within this realm. Now you have heard before, the time is pressing and most valuable; 13 days from to-day, one fortnight from yesterday, and much will be done that cannot be undone, and that cannot be done over again, I suspect. (Cheers and laughter.) One thing is most certain, that what you hear announced, *there* will be the limit to what you will get. You will have no chance to get anything more—that is an impossible thing; you might get less; and therefore I would employ this time in urging you to consider what your dangers are now, and what you can by possibility do towards providing against and diminishing them. One danger that strikes me is, you'll hear something of a compensation; I heard a million named. I dare say the report has come before you in that shape. (Hear, hear.) If not in that naked sense, you may hear of it in another—the removal of taxation—taxation to be removed from those who ought to pay it, and put upon you and everybody else. (Cheers.) Now, then, will it not be wisdom to attempt to guard against these dangers; and is there not a way of doing it? Supposing Ministers should turn round upon you, and say, "Has any person in Liverpool an objection to compensation?"—has any person an objection to the removal of taxation from the landed interest? Oh, dear; if they had thought so, why did they not say so?" Now cannot you take time by the forelock, and in some way or other—not perhaps in the direct course of this meeting; but at some opportunity within these 13 days—cannot you contrive that the Minister shall know you consider every attempt of this nature as unjust, and therefore, you hope, dangerous; and you trust, also, impracticable? (Loud cheers.) Let him know what you think of it. Don't give him the chance of saying he was taken by surprise. Don't you see you must take time by the forelock? Use it while you can. Employ precaution against possible danger. (Cheers.) Don't let him have to say to you—"If I'd known you would have made a great objection, I might have altered my proceedings." Do you, or do you not, consider that both those expedients would be unjust? (Cries of Yes.) If you do, let Liverpool as a town contrive to say so. (Cheers.) Do not let it be held among things doubtful whether you intend to submit to anything of that kind or not. (Cheers, and "We won't.") And don't wait till the thing has been proposed, but endeavour to take measures which shall prevent its ever being talked of in the place where it will be dangerous. (Cheers.) One more peril I have thought of. Perhaps you'll say it is not a great peril; but I think it is bigger than it looks. There'll be some attempt to saddle you, it may be, with some pitiful remnant of a duty, which you'll be told is nothing because it is small. Now if any of you were riding a race, how many pounds and ounces would you allow to be put into your pockets to weight you with? If you were chasing, or being chased, would you allow so much as a pocket handkerchief to be towed astern? (Cheers.) Do I know enough of commerce to think that every commercial man is chasing and being chased? Has he not always somebody running against him?—somebody he would overtake if he could, and somebody that will overtake him if he allows them to do it? (Loud cheers.) Weigh, then, and consider the effect which the smallest of the small, in the way of duties, left upon you as a badge of servitude, would have upon your future prospects. It is not the quantity of the thing, but the effect that it is to have, the ways it is to lay you under an inferiority, and to give the superiority into the hands of your superior rival. Gentlemen, I am afraid I am incurring some danger of losing the sort of bet I made to you at the beginning, therefore I'll sit down. (Loud cheers, and cries of "Go on.") The calls continuing, the gallant Colonel again rose and said as follows:—Gentlemen, if you insist on having two speeches (laughter) I must go on, and endeavour to lay before you the many inducements there are why, at this moment, you should stretch every nerve for the obtaining of your honest purpose—I'll say more honest purposes. Now I'm not a man who wants to embarrass one great question with tacking others to it which are not so near to their completion. I trust I have lived long enough to be aware of the evil of this; but there is no harm in saying, I believe there is scarcely one of us who has not some honest object in view which he trusts will be benefited by the removal of this great and crying evil which weighs upon us all. Why, I was present but yesterday at an assemblage of eminent men, and I came to this conclusion, that every one of them had something that he hoped to see prosper, but nobody could agree upon which should prosper first. Well, then, let us endeavour to carry out this great object of ours, nothing doubting that we shall see it made the beginning of a course of prosperity to our country, which in the end will come to all of us. I can recollect things in this town representing a very different aspect to what we see now. I remember when the working-classes in this town were not advised well enough as they are at this present moment to see their interest in aiding in the promotion of this cause. Their conduct was and everywhere is evidence how rapidly they have improved. It is not the working classes that are the ignoramuses now (cheers and laughter); not a word from them of curry powder. (Applause.) Do you all know what curry powder is? (Great laughter.) Many of you have been in India, perchance, or where it is used. Why, curry powder is pepper—curry powder is mustard—curry powder is turmeric and coriander seed. (Applause and laughter.) You may feed a man with curry powder as much as he can swallow; and if he lives 12 hours longer for the dose, I give him leave to live for ever. (Laughter and cheers.) Now you must not blame me if I should fall back upon the question which I have heard asked here,—Is such knowledge as is there shown fit to the concerns of a commercial community like this our England? (No, no.) Let them keep to things within their knowledge. Cookery, it seems they know something of; let them be quiet there; let them be disciples of Mrs. Glasse, but let them not tell Liverpool "gentry" or Manchester "men" either, how they shall regulate those concerns on which depend a country's bread and a country's happiness. (Cheers.) Twelvemonth hence, I trust, we shall come round to congratulate you and one another upon the success of this over-honest cause. Never one promised better; never one was more sure, by the assistance of you, and our eastern men like you, everywhere speedily to find success. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

THOMAS THORNELEY, Esq. M.P. moved "That the grateful thanks of this meeting are due to Richard Cobden, Esq. M.P., and the leading members of the National Anti-Corn Law League, for their untiring exertions in behalf of Free Trade;—services, the noble disinterestedness of which is only equalled by the importance of the cause to which they are rendered."

Mr. CHARLES HOLLAND seconded the motion, which passed by acclamation.

Mr. RAWLINS then announced the result of the subscription as follows:—The total amount subscribed to day in this building is 12,080*l.* (Immense cheering.) There were previously announced from gentlemen resident in Liverpool, at the Manchester meeting, at which 60,000*l.* were collected,—the amount of 1500*l.*, which makes a grand total from Liverpool of Thirteen Thousand Five Hundred and Eighty Pounds. This is by no means all we intend to get from Liverpool; and I am quite sure that if every man who leaves this building gets his friend to subscribe, we shall raise as much more. (Great applause.)

Mr. COBDEN: You have done nobly to-day. Our services would be of no avail here were they not so nobly, so magnificently backed by our fellow-countrymen here and everywhere. This demonstration will do more than ten thousand speeches to convince our opponents that the spirit is elevated, after seven years' conflict, to carry this battle to a successful issue, cost what it may, in time, labour, or money. I have only to say again—Don't forget 40*s.* freeholds for South Cheshire.

The hon. gentlemen then moved a vote of thanks to the chairman.

Mr. BRIGHT seconded the resolution.

Mr. COBDEN then proposed it should be given with three cheers, coupling with the chairman "Free Trade." The vote of thanks was then carried with three times three, and the meeting broke up about ten minutes to four o'clock.

CARLISLE.

A meeting of the friends of Free Trade was held in the Carlisle Athenæum on Tuesday evening last.

At seven o'clock, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, accompanied by Colonel P. Thompson, made their appearance in the Lecture-room, and were received with the most enthusiastic cheering. The Lord Mayor (Mr. J. Steel) took the chair, and prefaced the business of the meeting with a brief speech.

Mr. COBDEN was loudly cheered on coming forward. He said: Mr. Mayor, and Gentlemen,—This is, I believe, the first time I have had the pleasure of meeting with an audience in this city; and I am glad to find, from the language of your worthy mayor, that this meeting has been more crowded than any that has been held in this city before. (Applause.) Why, it is so everywhere. Wherever we go there is but one difficulty, and that is to find space enough for our friends who are anxious to come and meet us on this question. (Great cheering.) Well, gentlemen, how different is the position of our opponents. The Protectionists meet together, it is true, but, somehow, their meetings are very select and snug little family parties, (laughter), in which the public are not called upon to take a part, and they seem to be only too afraid to have anybody to listen to them and take part in their proceedings. (Hear, hear.) Now, gentlemen, if their case is a good case, surely it will find friends in any part of our good country. There was never yet an abuse that had not a good few staunch supporters. Why the burning of witches was supported by a good body of staunch people. (Laughter.) Catholic emancipation raised a vast amount of prejudice against it. Now, although every abuse that has ever yet had to be put down has had some supporters, this bread tax is utterly and completely without friends anywhere. Gentlemen, I believe there is a right honourable baronet in your neighbourhood (laughter), the Home Secretary; and if any one may be supposed to have an interest in the Corn Laws, surely it is Sir James Graham, who has a very wide estate. Nobody doubts that he is a sagacious man. He is far-seeing; he knows which way the wind is blowing (laughter), and is as good a judge of a falling house as any one I know. I am glad, therefore, we have demonstrable proof that Sir James Graham, with all his talents, is as good a Free Trader as I am. (Cheers.) He has brought forward proof that crime, pauperism, disease, and death are increased by the high price of food. Sir James Graham and Sir Robert Peel know it is impossible to face us next session, and say the Corn Law is to last; they know they cannot face the people and say so. (Cheers.) Now, when we meet Parliament, gentlemen, we will find great chances there also. We will have a very great rout and rupture of parties. Sir Robert Peel will leave the protectionists. Mr. Miles, Sir John Tyrrell, Mr. Christopher, and the rest will settle down on the side of the Duke of Buckingham, and will dissolve partnership with Peel, Gladstone, and Company. (Cheers and laughter.) They will either swear by the Duke of Richmond or Sir Robert Peel; and I should say there will be three-fourths Peelites, and one-fourth Richmondsites. (Cheers.) People will then say to each other, "Which side are you walking now? do you go with Richmond or Peel?" Three-fourths will say, "We are Peelites and Free Traders." And in less than 12 months we shall all be Free Traders, with the exception of a few, who will be curious as a sort of antediluvian remains, to show that such persons have been. (Laughter and cheers.)

I know some people have come here who are severely logical, and who are already bending their brows on me and saying to themselves, "This has not much to do with the Corn Laws; there is not much argument in this. Indeed, gentlemen, I think the time has almost gone by for argument. (Cheers.) We understand this question pretty well. I meet with no argument I can't refute. What account do the farmers' friends themselves give of protection? "Show me a farmer," said Captain Pilkington, at an agricultural meeting, "Show me a farmer who ever made a fortune: he will be a curiosity for Dr. Buckland to preserve." (Hear and laughter.) Then where is the use of protection? The truth is, gentlemen, that neither farmer nor labourer gets any good by it; and I might go further, and show that the landlords never get good by it. And what is there in Free Trade to be afraid of? (Hear.) You have had every form of Corn Law. During the last 100 years you have had Corn Laws innumerable, and they have not stood three years on an average. You have tried fixed duties and sliding scales; you have had duties for exportation and duties for importation; you have your present tinkered system of a scale, and you are going to make another change. I say, away with it. God, in his providence, has afforded every guarantee against a famine, by having a standing harvest over the world throughout the year, and if you follow the laws of Providence, and avail yourselves of the laws of nature, you can never suffer from scarcity. (Loud cheering.) The question is getting more and more into the hands of politicians, and they are trying all they can to make a market of us; but they shan't. (Cheers.) I expect you will hear, when Parliament meets, a great profession by Sir Robert Peel of his anxiety to do what he can "under the circumstances of the case," and "under all

the difficulties of his position," and of his determination "to do the best he can to satisfy all parties." (Laughter.) Now, the best thing Sir Robert Peel can do, if he will only do it, will be to do what Lord John Russell has done—leave his party, give up the protectionists, say he will not help them to save half their plunder—and then I shall be very much obliged to him for doing all I ask from him. (Cheers.) We won't have him keeping up his party by dexterity, and securing them half the spoil. If he does not approve of protection, let him abandon his party and leave us to make what we like of them; and depend upon it we will make short work of them. (Protracted cheering.) When he brought out, in 1842, his tariff, I taunted him with not putting his Corn Law in it. I said, "You have left out corn;" and said he, "I intend to treat corn as a distinct article; it has always been so treated, and I intend to adhere to the custom." And now, if you please, we will keep him to his text. (Cheers.) Mr. Cobden then entered into a detail of the forms necessary for obtaining qualification under the 40*s.* clause of the Reform Act, which he recommended his hearers to adopt in his usual style of eloquent firmness, and then concluded amidst a storm of applause which lasted for several minutes.

Colonel PERRONET THOMSON: I know not how I can more usefully employ the time given to me to address you than by attempting to impress on you the importance of the time present, and of using every day, every hour of it, while it is permitted to you, for the furtherance of our cause. (Cheers.) Do you see that in 16 days—16 exactly, calculate it as I have done—the Prime Minister of England will come forward to announce to an expectant country what he is prepared to do on this question? (Hear, hear.) During these 16 days you must consider the Prime Minister of England as looking abroad with all his eyes—and keen ones I apprehend he has (great laughter)—watching every indication of public feeling—saying, "these people care nothing about the question, let it go for nothing"—and if, turning to another quarter, he sees demonstrations of earnest feeling, then he will go with them, and say, "these men are not to be trifled with." (Tremendous cheering.) He had better not think of trifling with them. Let us see what he will do; ay, not only that, but let us do everything we can to make him pitch his mark a little further than he would do without it. (Cheers.) What will he be prepared to offer? A compromise? Shall we hear of a compensation, or of a great shuffling of taxes from the protectionists to you? (Cheers.) Would you like either of these things? It were folly to wait for an answer. Then give mouth—if I may be allowed such an expression—to the abhorrence with which you view such a conclusion to the struggle. (Cheers.) I wish I could produce that perfect union of parties which would bring a more lively interest in behalf of our great cause from one portion of the community, who, whether they know it or not, will finally benefit by this great act of justice. (Cheers.) If they feel themselves oppressed or trampled upon, what can be more gratifying than to see the pulling down of a vast fabric of oppression which their arms are not strong enough to remove, but which other arms will take away, opening the way to the improvement of their lot, which must be the necessary consequence. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Is not every man who feels himself injured, and not in the position he ought to be, bursting with hope that the injury shall be removed? (Hear, hear.) Does not every man who feels that he is under an inequality, which he knows to be indefensible, trust to the attainment of his rights? (Renewed cheering.) Would I could induce them to apply their strong heads and tough intellects to the dispersion of their knowledge of the injustice which comes round to them in the shape of affliction, in order that they may have a share in that victory which is just now impending over our heads. (Cheers.) Who would keep aloof at such a period? If it were a cause involving a long struggle, and painful or doubtful exertions, then apathy could not be a matter of wonder; but every man sees that not many months—certainly not many years—must elapse before the evil complained of is removed. (Hear, and much applause.) Who would not try to be in at such a death, to enrol his name among his countrymen, and the class to which he belongs, who have contributed as much as in them lay to being partakers in these glorious efforts? Let me hope that you will employ well the time that intervenes between this and the meeting of Parliament—that your wise heads and intellect will bring forward a something that shall give demonstration to the feelings that possess you, that the House of Commons may see their universality, and shall reckon on your sending two members to vote for the removal of this evil. (Cheers.)

Mr. BRIGHT then addressed the meeting at great length, giving a graphic comparison of the condition and arguments of the Free Trade and protectionist parties, and expatiating upon the fallacy of the often asserted statements relative to the "peculiar burdens" upon the land. After which,

J. DIXON, Esq., of Knells, proposed the first resolution as follows:—"That this meeting being convinced that the Corn Law is injurious to all the great interests of the country, and being satisfied that the proceedings of the League, in urging the friends of Free Trade to purchase county qualifications are constitutional, hereby pledges itself to the use of every legal endeavour to further that object."

T. S. SPEDDING, Esq., of Greta Bank, was next introduced to the meeting by the chairman, as a landed proprietor. He said, I have great satisfaction in seconding the resolution moved by Mr. Dixon. It has been put into my hands, I suppose, for the reason alluded to by the Mayor, because I belong to a class supposed to have personal interest in the Corn Laws, and because every cause derives benefit when it obtains support from those whose personal interests are supposed to be in another direction. (Applause.) If the land is ruined, I shall be ruined; but I do not believe the land or anything else will be injured by the repeal of the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) I am as much as any one can be for a total repeal of the Corn Laws. (Hear, and cheers.) I have not come to it of late, but ever since I reflected on it I have believed it to be impolitic and unjust, and contrary to the laws of nature and providence. (Loud cheers.) It has never done any good, but it has done much mischief; and if it were repealed to-morrow, and harm were to rise, it would be, not in consequence of its repeal, but in consequence of the law itself. (Loud cheers.) I am for a total repeal to-morrow, if it can be carried, and if not to-morrow, then by a general qualification; a legal and constitutional mode of increasing the landed interest, and which will be attended with happy results. (Loud cheers.)

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

Mr. J. D. CARR then moved, "That the thanks of this meeting be given to the League for the zeal, judgment, and perseverance with which they have conducted the movement

for repeal of the Corn Law; and also to the gentlemen who have been deputed by the League to this meeting, for their kindness in attending, and for the valuable and interesting information they have supplied."

It was also carried unanimously.

Colonel THOMPSON and Mr. COBDEN briefly returned thanks; and the latter proposed three cheers for the chairman, which were given with due fervour, and the meeting separated.

STROUD.

On Thursday evening a Free Trade soiree was held in the subscription room here. The soiree was announced by advertisement for six o'clock, and at that hour a large and most respectable company were assembled. The price of the tickets was one shilling, until the day of the soiree, when it was raised to two shillings. Stroud, though not one of the largest towns in the kingdom, has always been foremost in the cause of Free Trade, and the result of this meeting is in every way creditable to the Free Traders of the borough. It will be seen that the subscriptions to the Quarter of a Million Fund reached, and will exceed a thousand pounds. Tea was provided, and the ladies officiated at the numerous tables in the room. The first part of the business having been concluded,

CHARLES STAUNTON, Esq., the chairman, rose and said, that as the meeting had done him the honour of electing him president of the meeting, he thought the thanks of the meeting should be given to the ladies for the very efficient manner in which they had provided and supplied the company with the "cup that cheers but not inebriates." (Hear, hear.) As regarded the Corn Laws, any argument upon them must be trite and common-place, unless he were gifted with the eloquence of a Cobden or a Bright; and he did not consider it would be good taste to occupy the time of the meeting with many observations on them. Next to security for life and property, it was the duty of all Governments to provide an abundant supply of food for the people. When, in 1815, the monopolists framed their bill, they said, "It is with these views that we want a Corn Law, to stimulate industry, to give low prices, to create abundance." The question has been tested and tried, and met by results in every possible way. We will see how the arguments failed. We had a few successive years of abundance; in 1823-4 prices were moderate; in 1828 they were very high; then we had three or four years of very high prices. For the last fifteen years prices have varied from high to low, the importations varying from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 quarters. Why is corn imported at all (continued Mr. Staunton)? Because there is not enough grown in England for consumption. If the Corn Law arguments were good in that day, that the people could be abundantly supplied with home-grown corn, there must be a time when this could not be done, for this reason, that we go on increasing nearly half a million annually; the argument falls to the ground, then, that we could supply sufficient corn of home growth. That "protection" is merely to denote scarcity, is quite clear. On that point, too, we may consider the argument entirely closed. In the first place, the Corn Laws are entirely a labourers' question. He (Mr. Staunton) did not mean to say that the capitalist, or himself as a manufacturer, would not derive benefit; but he looked to the good of others—not to his own individual interest. There is another point. I mean protection to the cloth manufacturers. I hear (said Mr. Staunton) that at a meeting of Conservatives, held under this room on the day of the Free Trade Meeting, some of them found a mare's nest—they discovered that we were protected 20 per cent. There is, I believe, something of the sort; why it was given us I really do not know. I suppose that the landlords did it because they had given themselves a little protection. (Hear, hear, hear.) Our prosperity depends on our being an exporting country, and when we cease to be one, we must go down from that moment. If we can export cloths and can compete in any open ports, say Russia or France, with foreign manufactures, we have no protection there, and therefore it is quite clear we do not require any. Fifteen years ago, when we met for the purpose of getting a repeal of the Corn Laws, we said, "We are ready to give up our protection if the Corn Laws are repealed. We have no right to ask for the repeal of the Corn Laws to the injury of the landholder, if we will not agree to protection being taken away from our cloth." The Germans (continued Mr. Staunton), the Belgians, the French, have raw material close to their factories. They pay wages, say two-thirds lower than we do; we go to Germany for our wools, we pay all expenses of transit, we bring it here to our factories, and the cloth (made, perhaps, from part of the very same fleece which we may meet with in the shape of cloth at Trieste) we can sell lower than the foreigner. See how we produce against odds, and yet the landed interest cannot produce corn with a protection of 12*s.* a quarter. The sacrifice, if any, will fall on the landlords, not on the farmer. Has a farmer ever made any money? The labourer cannot be injured. Look at their condition under this infernal protection law. No doubt some of the company saw the report of the meeting of labourers at Wootton Bassett by moonlight. I think with one of the speakers of that meeting, that they cannot be worse off under any system. Now (said Mr. Staunton) for the registration. The League, before Cobden hit upon this lucky thought, was in a very delicate condition; it could not go on agitating with old arguments for ever, and it was a lucky hit when Cobden showed us how the middle classes could command a majority in the House of Commons if we would but do our duty to ourselves and country. I wish I could determine how many county freeholders are here. Let the freeholders hold up their hands. (Cries of "I intend to be.") Now, let the ladies look at those who hold up their hands, and see how many there are who have done their duty. Gentlemen (continued Mr. Staunton) there is no sacrifice required; it is a far better investment than scrip. You can secure seven and a half per cent. Why it is equal to our profit. (Laughter.) I do not mean to say we do not do better in better times. Do (Mr. Staunton continued) take this to heart. See what we owe to Cobden. "This is my scheme to squeeze Sir Robert Peel; he is made of squeezable materials, and we will squeeze him." For heaven's sake do register. There is one other point: there are expenses incurred by the League; they do not aid in the purchase of freeholds, but they will work the registration courts, and put you on the list. The League are not creating votes, they are not lowering the franchise to the voter, but elevating the voter to the franchise. The objects of the League are, that all products of the earth shall have protection remitted in toto. No fixed duty; the days for that have long since gone by. (Mr. Staunton sat down amid loud cheers.)

J. PARTRIDGE, Esq., said there was one thing he must notice, protection. We support Government—we support royalty (and we do all this with a great deal of pleasure), and we ought to have protection. He (Mr. Partridge) did not mean protection which made a man pay sixpence for a threepenny loaf—not protection which caused the poor labourer to be crushed in every possible way, and which made him the miserable wretch he now was. The affectionate and finer feelings of the labouring man must inevitably suffer under the pains of horrible distress. Young hopes were crushed—the young lass dare not enjoy the luxury of a lover, and he (Mr. Partridge) hoped no young lass would allow a lover to enjoy the luxury of a kiss until he had bought a franchise. (Hear and laughter.)

Mr. STAUNTON resumed, and said it was now time to commence the important business of the funds. It was the intention of the League to raise a quarter of a million, for the purpose of carrying on the registration courts; not that all the money will be required; 20 per cent will be all that will be required first, and he hoped that 20 per cent. would be the whole amount they would require at all. [The subscription papers were now sent round to the company.]

The Rev. HENRY FOX NEWMAN commenced by saying that it would have been better, perhaps, if some influential manufacturer had taken upon himself the duty of advising the meeting to subscribe, by attaching his name to the subscription list for 250*l.* or 500*l.* (Cheers.) Mr. Cobden had, on a previous occasion, complimented the people of Stroud on the liberality of their subscriptions to the League fund. He (Mr. Newman) was glad of this, for he had apprehended otherwise. Mr. Cobden considered that Stroud had contributed, comparatively, quite as liberally as other provincial towns in the district. (Cheers.) Let there (continued the reverend gentleman) be no diminution in public spirit. Let the subscription on this occasion quadruple—nay, be tenfold more than before. On the very eve of the late crisis (continued Mr. Newman) we held a splendid meeting in this room, and before we were aware of the dissolution of the Peel Cabinet. We were anxiously forwarding this cause, when a signal and glorious triumph had been achieved. One Government had succumbed before the just principles of public opinion, embodying as it does the permanent and substantial happiness of mankind. He (Mr. Newman) felt that they were in such a position that no power could discomfit them; and with hands and hearts prepared, success was certain. This was a question upon which no power on earth had a right to interpose its dictum. If a gracious Providence showered down plenty, why should man, with an impious hand, seek to prevent its fulfilment? God sendeth plenty for all his creatures, and I do feel (continued Mr. Newman) annoyed that rank, power, or any government should attempt to subvert the ordinations of Providence. It has been shown, over and over again, and with abundant proof, that the world has the power of producing sufficient and ample food for its population. According to the protectionist argument, and by the same rule, a law might be established for obliging a man to purchase any article he required in the same street in which he resided. This description of argument on the part of the protectionists was contrary to all reason. God intended that the world should be a highway to industry, and not a barren waste, so that our fraternal interests should be reciprocated. What sufferings are engendered (continued the reverend gentleman) by the obnoxious Corn Laws! What undeserved misery is experienced by the deserving poor! What a multitude of powers are rendered wretched! Would it not be better were the landlords of this country to act in a more liberal spirit? Instead of grasping every farthing of the tenants' hard earnings for the purpose of adding to their possessions, would it not be better if they were to say, "We will reduce our rents one-fourth, and then we shall see a happy and contented yeomanry and peasantry, instead of, as at present, a wretched and miserable class?" So long (continued Mr. Newman) as commerce is restricted, so long as trade is shackled, so long shall we be unable to prevent the ravages of war. Mr. Newman concluded by saying—We are not all equally endowed with the same modicum of influence; still the cause we are advocating is one of justice, humanity, and for the benefit and prosperity of mankind; and "he that withholdeth bread from the people shall be cursed." (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN here read a list of subscriptions, contributing himself 150*l.* Several other gentlemen subscribed very liberally—for instance, C. Hooper, Esq., 130*l.*; N. S. Marling, Esq., 100*l.*; C. E. Scooper, Esq., M.P., 100*l.*; Samuel Marling, Esq., 100*l.*, &c. &c.

CARTWRIGHT CARTWRIGHT, Esq., addressed the meeting at some length, with the view of proving that the manufacturers did not require a protection duty. (Cheers.)

Mr. FERRAHEE said it was all very well for the manufacturers to subscribe liberally, but for his own part he would rather see the operatives contributing a shilling each. Sir James Graham (continued Mr. Ferrabee) told us how to carry the Reform Bill, and why not carry the Corn Laws by the same rule? (Cheers.)

Mr. PARSONS, the secretary to the association, entered into a statement as to the finances of the Stroud Association, by which it appeared that from the commencement of the society a gradual increase in the receipts had taken place.

N. S. MARLING, Esq., shortly addressed the meeting, calling upon the Free Traders to register, and subscribe liberally to the fund now in course of collection.

CHARLES HOOPER, Esq., said he could not be silent in so good a cause. He said that the agricultural body, especially the farmers and labourers, would be materially benefited by the repeal of the Corn Laws. Stroud had not experienced the ill effects of the Corn Laws so much as other manufacturing districts, therefore it could not be said that they were agitating the question from an interested motive. (Cheers.) It was well known that Stroud was the principal manufactory for cloth of the very finest description, and the aristocracy could not do without this article. He (Mr. Hooper) was satisfied that the abrogation of the Corn Laws would benefit all classes of the community. (Hear.)

MARCUS MEEBWEATHER TURNER, Esq., at the request of some individual in the assembly, proceeded to address the meeting. He (Mr. Turner) had intended to have addressed him from so doing. He had the pleasure of witnessing the unanimity of feeling existing in every part of the room—feelings and sentiments he hoped on some future day to represent in Parliament. He fully coincided in the opinions expressed by previous speakers as to the horrible and detestable effect of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) It was said that were the Corn Laws repealed, a vast extent of land would be thrown out of cultivation. That was out of the question. A hundred and fifty years since, this country exported large quantities of grain. Within the last 50 years,

however, the population of this country had nearly doubled. A great benefit would accrue to the operatives from the abolition of the existing laws, because the price of the article would not vary to any great extent; therefore he would be enabled to expend more in the purchase of food for the support of his family. A great deal was said by the farmers upon the introduction of foreign cattle and other agricultural produce. We do not, however, find more produce, and meat is probably as dear now as it was then; and so it will be with corn. The advantages of repeal would be gradual, and the prices would be unvarying. [Mr. Turner was here seized with spasms, and was consequently obliged to close his remarks.]

Several of the previous speakers again addressed the meeting, enforcing upon it the necessity of contributing liberally to the League fund now in the course of collection. The call was responded to, for before the close of the meeting the chairman intimated that upwards of 1000*l.* had been subscribed in the room, amidst enthusiastic applause. After which,

JOSEPH PARTRIDGE, Esq., in a highly complimentary speech, proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman.

CHARLES HOOPER, Esq., seconded the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN briefly returned thanks, after which the assemblage immediately dispersed.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL IN GLASGOW.

(From the Scottish Guardian of Tuesday.)

According to previous arrangement, this distinguished statesman arrived in Glasgow yesterday, for the purpose of receiving the freedom of the city, and likewise of being present at a Free Trade demonstration, to be held in the Tontine Hotel in the evening, in honour of his lordship. The noble lord, we understand, left Edinburgh by the half-past eight train, and reached Glasgow precisely at ten o'clock. His lordship was accompanied by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, of Grange; Andrew Rutherford, Esq., M.P.; Mr. Gibson Craig; and Mr. Dick Lauder, jr., of Grange. The Lord Provost was at the terminus of the railway, to receive the party, and conducted them, in his lordship's carriage, to Carrick's Royal Hotel, George Square, where having breakfasted, they proceeded to the Normal Seminars, connected with the Established and Free Churches, and Mr. Napier's works at Finnieston, returning to the hotel about one o'clock. At two o'clock, Lord John proceeded to the City Hall, to receive the freedom of the city. After the proceedings there were over, the noble lord and his friends paid a visit to the Royal Exchange.

Yesterday, agreeably to a unanimous resolution of the Town Council, the Right Hon. Lord John Russell was presented with the freedom of the city of Glasgow, in presence of upwards of three thousand individuals, including many ladies, assembled in the City Hall. The presentation took place at two o'clock, previous to which the spacious hall was densely crowded. The magistrates and members of the town council were seated on the platform, in front of which were elevated seats for Lord John Russell and the Lord Provost, and where also were seated the Earl of Stair, the Earl of Camperdown, Lord Belhaven, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Mr. Lauder, jr., of Grange, Andrew Rutherford, Esq., M.P.; the Hon. Fox Maule, M.P.; the Hon. North Dalrymple, of Clelland; and Mr. Alexander Dunlop, advocate, Edinburgh.

The Lord Provost having taken the chair,

The resolution, conferring the freedom of the city upon Lord John Russell, was read by Arthur Forbes, Esq., town clerk, which resolution is inscribed upon the Burgess Ticket, and is as follows:

"At Glasgow, the twelfth day of January, eighteen hundred and forty-six.

"The Magistrates and Council assembled, in testimony of the high sense they entertain of his splendid talents as a statesman; of his elegant accomplishments as a scholar and historian; of his zealous attachment to the principles of our free constitution; of his energetic exertions in the cause of civil and religious liberty; and of his eminent services in promoting commercial freedom, unanimously and by acclamation admit the Right Honourable Lord John Russell a freeman citizen of Glasgow, with all the liberties, privileges, and immunities belonging to an honorary burgess and guild brother of the said city.

"Extracted from the minutes of Council by

"ARTHUR FORBES, Town Clerk."

The LORD PROVOST, who was received with much applause, then addressed his lordship as follows:—My Lord, in conformity with the resolution of a previous meeting of Council, which has just been read, I have now, in the name of the Municipal Corporation of Glasgow, and in presence of this great assembly, the honour of presenting to your lordship the freedom of this ancient city. (Applause.) Your lordship's connection with the illustrious house of Russell—a house which has rendered such memorable services to the cause of civil and religious liberty—though well calculated to produce in the minds of all lovers of freedom a strong prepossession in your favour, is but the least of the claims possessed by your lordship on the esteem of this community. To the historical claims of your family upon the regard of the British nation, your lordship adds personal claims of the highest order. From the day of your first entrance into public life until the present time, you have been distinguished as the firm and consistent advocate of every liberal principle of government. Every constitutional reform for which this age has been distinguished, has received your cordial and enlightened support. That just and wise legislative measure, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, was greatly promoted by your zeal and eloquence. (Cheers.) With equal zeal and eloquence, and with untiring energy, your lordship supported the Reform Bill—that great measure from which, notwithstanding the efforts that have been made, by intimidation and corruption, to render it fruitless, the nation is in the course of reaping the highest benefits. (Renewed cheers.) For those benefits, as they shall successively develop themselves, the gratitude of future times will be pre-eminently due to your lordship, to Lords Grey and Althorp, and

the other illustrious statesman with whom it was your privilege to co-operate in conducting that great measure through the many perils with which it was surrounded. The abolition of slavery in our West India colonies is another measure of justice and philanthropy in which your lordship largely participated. (Cheers.)

The cause of commercial freedom owes no less to your lordship than that of civil and religious liberty; and, in this city, the opening up of the trade with India and China, measures originating with the government of which your lordship was a distinguished member, has given an impulse to manufacture and commerce, the importance of which it is impossible to over-estimate. (Cheers.) This corporation, therefore, only echoes the general voice of the country when it expresses its deep sense of the powerful support which the principles of Free Trade have uniformly received from your lordship. Within the last few weeks, by the expression of your wise, statesmanlike, and patriotic sentiments upon the all-engrossing question which now occupies the minds of the people—(great applause)—your lordship has furnished a strong additional claim to the many you formerly possessed upon the public gratitude. (Renewed applause.) And I feel no little pride and pleasure in having been deputed by my fellow-citizens to offer you the only tribute by which they have it in their power to manifest their entire confidence in your public character, and their esteem for your private virtues. I hope, in their name and my own, that your lordship will be pleased to accept the freedom of the city of Glasgow thus offered; and that we may have the gratification to enrol so illustrious a name as that of Lord John Russell among the number of our citizens. (Loud cheers.)

His lordship concluded by presenting the document, inclosed in a very elegant box, silver-gilt.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL then rose, and was received with enthusiastic and prolonged applause. When the cheering had subsided, the noble lord said: My Lord Provost and Gentlemen,—The honour that your lordship has done me in the name of the Council and of the citizens of Glasgow cannot but inspire me with the deepest gratitude. In any ordinary circumstances, I should have felt it a matter of interest and gratification to have visited this great city. I could not but have admired your extensive manufactures, the noble port which has been created by the wealth and commerce of this, one of the most remarkable cities of the United Kingdom. I could not have failed to reflect with interest that here it was that science had enabled art and manufacture to attain some of their greatest triumphs. I could not but have recollected that it was here that Black made some of his most interesting experiments. I could not but have remembered that Watt here, as it were, almost recreated the steam-engine, the source of so many advantages and such wonderful inventions which have since succeeded. And likewise at this time, above all, it could not fail to be a matter of the deepest interest to visit your city, where Adam Smith in his lectures had laid the foundation of that knowledge which we have since attained respecting the economy of nations—where he in his lectures gave the outlines of that immortal work which he afterwards published to the world. These, I say, gentlemen, would be to any casual stranger matters of interest and gratification; but in my visit to this city you have added sentiments of pride to those of gratification; for I cannot but be proud that you have deemed me worthy to be enrolled among your citizens. I will not deny that, although I think it my duty in public life to pursue that course which in my conscience I deemed the best fitted for the public welfare, yet I do feel depressed when the approbation of my fellow-countrymen does not follow that conduct; and I feel proportionably proud and gratified when I receive the marks of that approbation. Your lordship has alluded to some of the measures in which I have been engaged since my entrance into public life. One of these measures was the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. The Protestant dissenters did me the honour to entrust that cause to my feeble hands. I had at least this claim to their regard, that I heartily sympathised in their opinions and their feelings with respect to these laws. I considered these laws to be unjust and inexpedient. I considered them unjust, because they inflicted penalties, disqualifications, and punishments upon the free exercise of conscience—because they attempted to interfere with those sacred rights which every man has to form and avow his opinions with respect to his religious duties. I considered them inexpedient—most inexpedient—because they fixed a brand upon a body of men who, for a hundred and forty years, had been zealously attached to the throne and constitution of these realms, because they had not happened to be entirely satisfied with the religion and politics of Charles II. (laughter and cheers.) Gentlemen, when I brought forward the proposal for the repeal of these Acts, I was opposed by the Government of the day; but the House of Commons gave me a majority—a majority, I think, of upwards of forty in favour of the first steps towards that repeal. The ministry of the day then thought it might be wise to propose a suspension of these laws, but I would not listen to any proposal for their suspension. I said there must be a repeal—that it was a question of right and justice, and nothing less than the repeal would satisfy me. Why, gentlemen, upon that the repeal was granted. A declaration indeed was added, to which I acceded, because I thought it very harmless in itself, but perhaps the history of that declaration may show how much danger there is at times in admitting conditions and qualifications to that which is a plain claim of justice. For in the House of Lords they added certain words which, when the law came into operation, were found to bear an exclusion from corporations of persons who by their religious profession were Jews. It was then that those who were the friends of persecu-

tion thought it was unsafe any longer to attempt persecution against Protestant dissenters—they were a body too numerous and powerful. It was not safe to continue persecution against the Roman Catholics, for they formed a great portion of the population of Ireland; they were too powerful, and could enforce their claims. But merely to indulge themselves with a little persecution, in the statute-book they added certain words excluding from the corporations those who professed the Jewish religion. Why, this little remnant, so far as the corporations were concerned, was done away last year. It was one of the measures I supported as a minister, but which I had the misfortune to see rejected in the House of Lords—one of those measures similar to others which, under the present Government, have been approved of by the House of Lords and carried by great majorities in the Commons, including some of those who made the strongest speeches against the admission of those persons to any corporate right. (Laughter and cheers.) Gentlemen, his lordship has alluded to the reform of Parliament—a vast subject, into which I will hardly enter; but I must refer to what, when I first knew it, was the state of Scotland and Scottish representation. The Scottish representation was a very close matter, nothing like popular election. Some three thousand persons in all Scotland had the right to send representatives to the Commons House of Parliament. The corporations were exceedingly close; the public voice was checked and repressed; the press itself hardly daring to utter those sentiments of free discussion which are now widely expressed over the land. I feel happy to say, that during the time I have lived since I was a student at the College of Edinburgh, I have seen a great change with respect to this matter. (Loud cheers.) I am happy to say that I myself have borne a part in some of the measures by which it has been accomplished. I remember the time, indeed, when a late lamented friend of mine, and a neighbour of yours, Lord Archd. Hamilton, supported by the present Lord Dunfermline, and many others, complained of the state of Scottish representation, but they were defeated by a great majority. I am happy to say now that at last the city of Edinburgh and this city have obtained the right of sending representatives to Parliament; and the Scottish representation does convey an image of the sense, intelligence, and wishes of the Scottish people. (Cheers.) So also with regard to the Scottish corporations. I was one of the ministry which proposed the measure that was afterwards carried for opening these corporations, and establishing popular election as the principle by which these corporations were to be formed. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, let me now say, with respect to these measures—with respect to any measure in which I have been engaged, that the view I took when I first entered upon the public life of this country was this—that there were many abuses—that there were many unjust restrictions—that there were many corruptions in our institutions; but that there were none which could not by patience, by investigation, by measures proposed to Parliament, by the influence of public opinion, be corrected and altered, and that above all things it was desirable to look to the possible conflict of opinion in order to obtain those changes which were to be desired. (Cheers.) And I say, then, with regard to any measures which are past, with regard to any measures which are to come, that the whole fabric of society in this country, with its extensive commerce, manufactures, and its various interests pervading every part of the country, and connected with other interests in every part of the world—that this fabric of society ought to be preserved entire, and that there would be the greatest danger if for one year or six months public confidence was lost, and there was anything like—I will not say a civil war—but distrust among us as to what was to happen in the next few months. But gentlemen, I am confident, with regard to measures to come, as well as those which are past, that the expression of the public voice known to the constitution of England, acting upon the constitutional powers of England, will obtain all that is to be desired. (Cheers.) My lord, your lordship has done me the honour to refer to other measures with which I was connected, but only as a member of the Government to which I belonged—the abolition of slavery, the opening of the East India and China trade. I will not detain you by touching on these measures; but I must refer to two questions in which I have taken a great interest, and upon which I have met with great opposition, but with respect to which, I expect, as with regard to others, to see public opinion firmly and decidedly pronounced in their favour. The one was, that as Scotsmen ought to have the privileges of Englishmen, so Irishmen ought to have the privileges of Englishmen and of Scotsmen. I consider that the union was but a parchment, an unsubstantial union, not to be trusted to in the hour of difficulty and distress, unless you showed Irishmen that you were prepared to allow them to participate in all our rights and privileges, and to treat them exactly as if they were the inhabitants of the same island. (Cheers.) I therefore could never listen to the assertion that they were to be considered as “aliens” (cheers)—nor could I consent to any laws, or to the absence of any laws, which were founded on that unjust presumption; and yet the endeavour to obtain these privileges, with respect to corporations for instance, the simple power of Irishmen being allowed to govern their own municipal matters, to regulate their own local affairs, even that privilege cost us session after session of endeavour to enforce. I am happy to say that at this time of day the principle appears to be generally allowed, and the question in dispute is only how it is to be carried into effect. For my own part I must say, that I thought I could do no greater benefit to the country than to endeavour to cement Ireland to Great Britain in affection, both in peace and in war. Far, however, from having obtained any strength from this effort, it has been a source of re-

peated calumnies—calumnies which you all have heard, which at the time I despised, but which were felt materially to impede the public usefulness which might have existed in other circumstances. I proceed now to the other question to which I have referred, namely, commercial freedom. (Hear, hear.) It is not the place to argue whether the general principles which Adam Smith has laid down on this subject are the true principles. I believe men who belong, whether to the present Cabinet or to the late Cabinet, or who have been thought worthy from their eminence in either House of Parliament of attempting to rule this country, are generally agreed on that subject—that legislation cannot do so well as the free intelligence, the free skill, the free industry, of the inhabitants of this United Kingdom. But Mr. Adam Smith, Mr. Ricardo, and others who have written on this subject, have all said that if a vicious system of monopoly or protection has been long embedded in the legislation of a country, that it required caution, that it required deliberation to consider in what manner such restrictions could be removed. Upon such principles, and upon such advice, was founded the general outline of the measures, which were proposed by the Ministry which lost office in consequence of this proposition in 1841. You all know that part of this proposition was that there should be an admission of foreign sugar with a differential duty of 12s. It was another part that the differential duty on colonial timber should be diminished; it was another part of the scheme that the duties on corn, instead of proceeding on what is called the sliding scale, should be regulated according to a uniform fixed duty of 8s., subject only to suspension by an order in Council in case of necessity, of which her Majesty's advisers were to be the judges. Now, gentlemen, in consequence of that proposition, the government of that day were assailed as being the most violent enemies of the landed and agricultural interest. I was held up myself to all the farmers as an enemy of the agriculturists of the United Kingdom. They rejected my proposition, and it was prevented from being carried in Parliament. The friends of protection—the friends of monopoly as I may call them—thought they had obtained a great triumph in defeating that government, and returning another more favourable to their views. Do they now rejoice that the 8s. duty was rejected? (Loud cheers.) Are they now prepared to say that the eight shilling duty, which would have prevented much of the misery and mitigated many of the evils of our manufacturing towns in the years 1841, 1842, and 1843, would not have been a compromise most favourable to the views of those who were calling for protection? (Loud cheering.) I was represented as an enemy to the landed interest, and to the farmer. Upon my word, upon reflecting upon my conduct, the only doubt I have is, whether that duty having been rejected, peremptorily rejected, with every mark of indignation and contumely, I ought not at once to have said that I would make no further proposition of the kind. But I proceed; I still said I thought it would be wise on their part to seek for a fixed duty. I went on, and when there was a surplus in the revenue, I said that if they would prove that there were taxes that pressed on them, then was the time to ask for an equality of taxation, along with the abolition of the Corn Laws; but I was again treated with indignation, and as an enemy to the landed interest. But let us consider what has been the effect of the rejection of these terms. Is there any man now, who, as a member of Parliament—as a Minister to his Sovereign, would propose terms equally favourable to these advocates of protection as those which I proposed in 1841? I believe not (cheers); and for my part, when I saw this obstinate and continued rejection, I reflected that that confined proposition of mine, while it was not accepted by the landed interest, was really an obstacle in the way of those who asked for the complete freedom of trade on the subject of corn; and rather than put that obstacle in the way, and believing that the present Corn Laws are, as I have stated, injurious to agriculture as well as to commerce, I withdrew that proposition, and declared my opinion in a letter to the electors of the city of London, whom I have the honour of representing, that these Corn Laws ought to be totally repealed. (Loud and protracted cheering.) Gentlemen, it is not for me in this place to refer to occurrences of which you must all be aware, and of which the day of explanation will arrive as soon as Parliament meets; but this I will say, that when that day of explanation arrives, I trust that you will find that I did not shrink from the assertion of the principles contained in that letter to the electors of the City of London. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, the question of the proposition with regard to the Corn Laws is now in the hands of Sir Robert Peel. I know no more than yourselves what his proposition may be, or how he has agreed with the remaining colleagues from whom he had differed, and who have again consented to serve under him; but of this I am fully convinced, that if Sir Robert Peel wishes his measure to be safe—safe to propose and safe to carry—it must be founded upon broad and extensive principles. (Cheers.) I am persuaded that unless it contains total repeal, the friends of monopoly and protection will rejoice at the proposal of a measure which will not satisfy the country, and that they will not take heart to defeat that which otherwise they will not have the means of opposing—I say they will not have the means of opposing. (Hear, hear.) Not that I do not believe but that they can make some struggle if they choose on behalf of protection—not but that I believe that if they stand on the ground of protection, and we stand on the ground of freedom, there may not be a formidable opposition to the measure of the Government in the House of Commons—not but that it is within the range of possibility that there may at first be a defeat of that measure; but if

it is such a measure as I should wish it to be, I feel confident that defeat will be a temporary and not a final one (cheers); that that defeat will only be the commencement of a struggle which I should indeed regret to see, but which I should infinitely prefer to the carrying of a measure which would not settle this question (cheers)—which would not at once, for ever and ever, settle the question, and leave the people of this country that which they ought to possess, the power and the privilege to obtain their food as cheap and as good as it is possible for them to obtain it. (Cheers.) I believe that now the people of this country, to whom these questions were presented some time ago in a shape difficult for them altogether to see the bearing of them—I believe they now stand in such a shape that the people of this country will give their support to no measure which does not entirely rid them of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) Some time ago, in the year 1841, it was said by those who advocated protection, that the interests of the labouring classes would be injured, that their wages would be lowered, if the price of corn was diminished by free importation. It was said likewise that we should be exposed to scarcity from time to time were the restrictions removed from the importation of foreign corn. This is another of those assertions which now obtain no belief. Sir Robert Peel said in the House of Commons that he did not give his assent to the proposition that the labouring classes would be injured by the low price of food; and every intelligent man who can think on the subject is now of the same opinion. (Hear.) And with regard to the opinion of those who maintain that we should be exposed to periods of scarcity by removing the restrictions on the importation of foreign corn, I think the principle is well stated by Adam Smith, that if the kingdoms of a Continent have free communication with each other with regard to food, the prices will be more equal in all of them than if each kingdom were governed by separate laws upon that subject. This principle, therefore, if applicable to Continental countries, is equally applicable to a free communication with the whole world. If we cannot get a sufficient supply of corn from Dantzic or from Poland, we may obtain it from Odessa or the Black Sea; or if not, we may obtain it from the United States of America. (Cheers.) So that the free importation of food is sure to lead to a more general equality of prices, and a general provision for the people of this country, in a better mode than any law can afford—(cheers)—I say, than any law can afford; for we have tried what some of the wisest men in this country have invented as artificial schemes by which the country might be more equally supplied with food. We have tried the scheme of 1815, of which Lord Ripon was the proposer. We have tried the scheme of 1828, of which Lord Liverpool and Mr. Huskisson were the originators and promoters; and we have had the scheme of 1842, of which Sir Robert Peel was the author, after having given the utmost attention to the subject. We do not say that the proposers of these schemes were unskilful or unwise in the invention of artificial schemes; but we do say that no artificial scheme whatever will so well supply the people of this country with food, as leaving it free and unfettered, to pursue its natural course as an important branch of the commerce and trade of the country. (Great applause.) If I am right in believing that the people of this country, that the working men of this country, take this view of the question, I should like any one to tell me whether he thinks, that out of the public men of this country a Government could be formed that can resist that wish? (Continued cheering.) The people of this country are used to toil—their labour is often protracted—frequently it is of the most skilful nature. The curse that was pronounced, that man should earn his bread by the sweat of his brow is submitted to; and whether in the country in agricultural occupations, or whether in the town in mechanical and manufacturing operations, you see men, not from sunrise till sunset, but for far longer hours, giving all the strength of their sinews to labour, to hard labour, with the view of obtaining their daily bread. They submit manfully—they submit with courage to that toil, in the hope of keeping themselves and their families in sustenance, if not in comfort; and if they wish that their bread should not be farther stinted—that man should not make that more difficult by legislation which the eternal doom of the Almighty has already made difficult in regard to the natural course of things—where, I would wish to know, is the House of Commons, elected by the people, which will long resist such a wish? (Immense cheering.) Gentlemen, there is another advantage which I think will accrue from the abolition of the duties on the importation of grain—I think it will bind us more closely in relations of peace and amity with foreign States, and more especially with one—I mean the United States of America. (Cheers.) I think nothing of the questions which may be now in dispute—questions of territory, in which, as they now stand, the honour of neither nation is engaged, and upon which calm men, representing the Government of her Majesty, and representing the Government of the United States, may, as I believe, by calm and fair discussion, come to an amicable agreement. I see no prospect of war arising out of this difference, if we on this side are determined that with regard to the importation of the produce of the United States, and if the Government of the United States is determined with regard to the manufactures of this United Kingdom, that there shall be free intercourse; that they shall be permitted to feed us, and we shall be permitted to clothe them—(loud cheers)—I believe that if no unhalloved and partial legislation should stand in the way of such exchange, that these two nations—they being of the same race and the same language as ourselves—are formed to continue for centuries together in the bonds of amity, united in a family compact, not such a compact as that between France and Spain, arising from the mere relationship of the reigning families and their

courts, but a compact arising from feeling ourselves to be of the same blood, and admirers of each other's institutions; they respecting the freedom of our monarchy, and we admiring the order of their republic. I believe such a union may for centuries endure for the lasting happiness of the world. (Applause.) I have now to thank you not only for the honour you have conferred upon me, but for the indulgence with which you have listened to the expression of my political opinions. It will be my duty before long, in the House of Commons, to declare my opinions upon some of the most important questions that were ever agitated in that community. I fear not the discussion. I should have little fear of the opposition or the arguments of the men to whom I may be opposed; even though they should think, as a gentleman who was lately proposed as a member of the House of Commons did, that the fittest comparison of me was that of Satan. (Laughter.) I say, I shall be very little afraid even of so brilliant a comparison as that, if the gentlemen of the House of Commons, who represent protection, will only employ such arguments as they adopted last year. (Laughter.) You will hear Sir Robert Peel accused of treachery to the landed interest. I will not enter upon that question; but I would here just say, that he was very unkind to the landed interest, for he allowed them to speak for themselves, and make out their own cause. (Much laughter.) And such an exhibition as it was—such a melancholy show of bad argument, and worse declamation, I have never heard. One day we had a gentleman for an hour and a half, with a number of statistical documents, to show that beef would be one penny and mutton a halfpenny a pound cheaper, all of which he attributed to the tariff; and asked, how can you possibly support any law so disastrous in its results? There is no saying how cheap beef, and mutton, and lamb may become if you go on in this ruinous policy of Free Trade! (Great laughter.) Another day the Minister proposed that a number of articles should be free—he proposed, not indeed corn, or oats, or maize, but a number of unpalatable articles, such as rhubarb and senna, and all those drugs whose names themselves are very nauseous. (Much laughter.) But these protection gentlemen were still afraid. Though assured that these laws really allowed nothing of human food to be admitted free, they were always on the look-out, and alarmed lest some food should come in. And when they came to the article of grease, they were under great apprehension. They said—Is not grease butter? and may not some persons import this grease for the purpose of eating it? (Laughter.) And Sir George Clerk, Vice-President of the Board of Trade, was obliged to get up with great solemnity—for he does most of these things with great solemnity—and assure these gentlemen, all the county members, and a vast phalanx at the lower end of the House, that this grease meant butter spoiled for human food by tar (great laughter); and he confidently assured them that no human being would attempt to eat it. (Renewed laughter.) Now, if they will but use such arguments as these, which, as I say, Sir R. Peel most unkindly allowed them to use for themselves, and did not stand forth in their behalf, they may call me by any terms they please. I do not know they can call me worse than the devil—(laughter)—but if they use such ridiculous arguments as these, I shall be sure of a triumph over them. (Cheers.) I hope I may be entitled to say, having received this honour from you, and being the representative of the City of London, that the great cities of England and Scotland are determined that this monopoly shall last no longer, and that commerce shall be free. (Immense cheering.) The noble lord on sitting down was greeted with three tremendous rounds of applause.

The meeting then separated; and his lordship, on leaving the hall, was loudly cheered by the immense multitude assembled outside.

KENSINGTON.

On Monday evening, the 4th inst., a public meeting was held in the Theatre, Kensington. The chair was taken by William D. Christie, Esq., M.P. for Weymouth. The theatre will accommodate from 700 to 800 persons, and was crowded in every part. There has not been in that district on any former occasion so numerous and influential a meeting. The neighbourhood stands very much in need of a room sufficiently large for the public meetings of the population. Many went away unable to gain admission to the theatre.

Mr. CHRISTIE opened the proceedings by referring to the present position of the Free Trade cause, which was now all but triumphant, and needed only the honest expression of public opinion to ensure its triumph. Conversations were numerous now. In the present ministry, and the late ministry, in Parliament, and out of Parliament, men had come over, and were coming over to Free Trade. Evidence of strength, and the near approach of victory, were always attractive and powerful to convince doubters and waverers. He was not one of the new converts; he was not an old member of the House, having been first returned at the last general election; but from the first he had been an advocate of the total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws.

Mr. MOORE then addressed the meeting, replying to the speeches of the Marquis of Salisbury and Lord Essex at the St. Alban's meeting, reported in that day's *Times*. He gave details of the progress of the county freehold movement, and urged the importance of continued effort to increase the number of 40s. Free Trade holders in Middlesex and East Surrey. The latter county was not yet safe, but it was getting to the safe side; and he believed would be safe by the 31st of January. Middlesex was safe, but had yet more to do. With such an immense population, equal to that of fifteen counties sending 26 members to Parliament, and having but two members, it should be safe to return those two without a contest. I believe the register has been well worked during the last year. Encouraged by the progress made, they should work on until East Surrey and every county near the metropolis were won on the register. Let them be safe there, and

they would be spared all anxiety when the contest came. Let the cottagers do their duty, and the castles could no longer cripple trade.

Mr. HANSOM, who has hitherto been a most active protectionist, working the register for the monopolists in that polling district, and indefatigable on their committee and canvass at elections, then came forward to move a vote of thanks to the chairman and the League. He avowed himself a convert to Free Trade; and he promised his best assistance to return two total and immediate repealers at the next election for Middlesex; no others should for the future have a vote or help from him. He proposed also that a requisition should be got up to the sheriffs to call a county meeting.

The vote of thanks was seconded by JOHN T. LOCKHART, Esq., who contested the borough of Aylesbury in 1841. He gave an amusing account of the protectionists who attended the late meeting at Aylesbury, of their little land, their many embarrassments, and their tricks to get up meetings, and have petitions signed.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

A gentleman then came forward to urge the importance of measures being taken to form a borough of Chelsea, Kensington, Fulham, and Hammersmith, a district with a population of upwards of a hundred thousand unrepresented.

The CHAIRMAN agreed with him that the district had a just claim to have two representatives, and he should have pleasure in giving the claim his best support. The two members taken from disfranchised Sudbury should be given to the populous district in which they were then meeting.

The meeting then broke up, with three cheers for the county movement.

REIGATE.

On Tuesday, the 5th inst a public meeting was held at the White Hart, Reigate. The chair was taken by Thomas Alcock, Esq., who, as a Free Trade landowner, contested East Surrey at the last general election, and has promised to do so again at the next election. Tuesday was the monthly market day, and the meeting was almost entirely attended by landowners, land agents, farmers, and labourers.

The CHAIRMAN spoke of the rapid progress that opinion had made of late, and of the circumstances of the country, imperatively demanding a repeal of the Corn Laws,—a repeal that, as a landowner, whose whole property was in land, he wished to be total, immediate, and unconditional. He promised the most perfect freedom of discussion,—and Mr. MOORE, on coming forward, requested all parties to put whatever questions might occur to them, and he would not consider it discourteous, however much they might interrupt him. He proceeded to point out the importance of Free Trade to farmers, as the only means of securing them independent cultivation of the land, at a profit secured not by deceptive Acts of Parliament, but by the prosperity of the whole people, their customers. He answered the statements made at protectionist meetings against repeal of the Corn Laws, and argued that, with labourers on the land brought down to live on potatoes, and in danger of being starved by the potato rot, in this the 31st year of their pretended protection by Parliament, it was impossible that the law should be maintained. The people had had enough of being fed by Parliament, and were for the future determined to feed themselves. For more than three hours a running commentary of questions was kept up. They were all answered, and the meeting broke up with three cheers, all but unanimous, for the chairman and the League.

HERTFORD.

On Thursday last, a public meeting was held in the large room at the Dimsdale Arms, for the purpose of hearing addresses from Mr. Falvey, and other gentlemen, on the subject of the Corn Laws, and the League Registration movement. At seven o'clock, the hour named for the meeting, the room was literally crammed to suffocation; indeed, so great was the inconvenience felt, that it was contemplated by the promoters of the meeting to adjourn, and call a meeting on a future day; but silence and attention having been obtained, the proceedings commenced. Mr. GARDENER proposed, and Mr. MANSEY seconded, a motion, that Mr. William Pollard take the chair, which was carried by acclamation. Having taken his place, Mr. POLLARD proceeded to open the business of the evening. He commenced by stating that endeavours had been made by himself and others, to procure the use of the Town Hall for the meeting, but the county magistrates and the Mayor had refused them, and hence the inconvenience and misery they were then enduring. He thought it most unfair to refuse the use of a public room to the public, but they had no remedy; and as this was the largest room they could procure, they would attempt to get through the business. After some further observations, he introduced to the meeting Mr. Falvey, who, on coming forward was received with much cheering. He commenced by stating that he had been engaged each day during the week addressing meetings in the county, at each of which he had been gratified by finding the utmost unanimity on the subject of Free Trade. He regretted the want of sufficient accommodation for the vast number present, and alluded to the absurd conduct of the authorities in refusing the use of the public room for fair discussion. He then addressed himself to the immediate object of the meeting, and most forcibly and eloquently stated the views and sentiments of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and urged the meeting to co-operate with them in obtaining an immediate settlement of the disputed question. Mr. Falvey was repeatedly cheered during his address, which he concluded by challenging the protectionists to call a public meeting for discussing the question. We regret that we cannot give a report of Mr. Falvey's appeal to our fellow-townsmen in consequence of the large space devoted to our report of the election, but we understand we shall shortly have an opportunity of supplying the deficiency, as it is proposed to make another attempt to induce the magistrates to grant the use of the County Hall for a similar meeting. The meeting was also addressed by Mr. Lattimore, Mr. J. J. Gripper, and Mr. Bontems, who stated distinctly that the League did not purchase votes, nor did they extort pledges from those whom they assisted by their advice in obtaining county qualifications. Their course was simply to exhort, advise, and assist the people in purchasing for themselves a right to vote, and they adopted no unconstitutional means for doing so. What they did was openly and fairly done. The following resolution was then put, and carried unanimously, amidst acclamations:—"That this meeting highly approves of the efforts of the Anti-Corn-Law League to increase the constituency of this county, and pledges itself to assist to the utmost of its power in carrying out that im-

portant object." Mr. Falvey then addressed a few words to the meeting on the absurdity of talking about our manufactures being protected, which he likened to the face of a protecting duty upon coals carried to Newcastle; and concluded by saying that Free Traders are anxious for the removal of all protection. Thanks were voted to the chairman, and the meeting dispersed.—*Herts Reformer*.

WATFORD.

A public meeting in connection with the Free Trade registration movement, was held at the Spread Eagle Inn, in this town, on Tuesday last; and although the notice was short, the large room was crowded with a most respectable auditory. On the motion of Mr. George Healey, seconded by Mr. Cooper, Mr. J. F. Bontems was called to the chair. After the chairman had explained the wishes and intentions of the "League," as to the registration, he read to the meeting a letter from Mr. Capel, cousin to the Earl of Essex. (The letter appeared in THE LEAGUE of last week.)

The CHAIRMAN stated that he should hand the five pounds to Mr. Lattimore, who is raising a Hertfordshire fund in aid of the Quarter of a Million proposed to be collected by the League.

Mr. FALVEY was then introduced to the meeting, and delivered an address on the subject of Free Trade with his usual eloquence and effect. At the close of the meeting, a resolution was carried by acclamation, approving of the proceedings of the League, and three cheers were given for Free Trade.—*Herts Reformer*.

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD.

A large and influential meeting of the friends of the League was held in this town on Wednesday last. William Howard, Esq., presided, and was surrounded by the leading friends of Free Trade residing in the neighbourhood. The speakers were Mr. C. H. Lattimore, Mr. Bontems, Mr. Falvey, Mr. James Price, and Mr. Crabstone. The two last-named gentlemen moved and seconded a resolution approving the conduct of the League, and pledging the meeting to assist, to the utmost in its power, in carrying out its objects. This resolution was carried unanimously, amidst the plaudits of the meeting. The opponents of Free Trade were invited to ask questions and to state their objections, but they abstained from so doing.—*Herts Reformer*.

ROYSTON.

A public meeting was held in Royston on Wednesday evening. Mr. Falvey and Mr. Bontems attended as a deputation from the League. The meeting was originally announced to be held in the large room of the Crown Inn, but a few of the monopolist farmers attending the market on Wednesday, declared that if the League meeting was held there, they would never attend the house again. Under these circumstances, the innkeepers, two orphan sisters, became quite alarmed, and expressed their fear of being ruined in consequence of the threats held out against them by the liberal friends of protection. Mr. T. Titchmarsh having learned how matters stood, at once undertook to relieve the young women from their fears of such petty and intolerable tyranny, and at the same time provide for the meeting by granting the use of a malthouse or granary for the occasion.

At seven o'clock the room began to fill; and on the motion of Mr. Titchmarsh, J. G. FORDHAM, Esq., banker and county magistrate, was called to the chair. He opened the proceedings by stating that though he differed in opinion from the gentlemen who were to address them, he hoped they would give every one an attentive hearing. He then introduced Mr. Falvey to the meeting, who had not concluded a sentence before a few neighbouring monopolists began to make the most hideous noises, and that, too, in opposition to the great body of the meeting, who were desirous of listening attentively. The chief disturbers were Mr. King, of Tadlow, and his son; Mr. Meyers of Harrington; Mr. Miekley, of Abington, and a few others who had threatened the innkeepers with their vengeance in the course of the day, and prevented them from making the most of their room. It was quite clear to all present, that the monopolists had made themselves drunk, in order to get their drooping spirits up. Mr. Falvey, however, persevered, and shewed the failure of every Corn Law since 1815, in affording protection to the farmers and farm labourers of Great Britain and Ireland. He invited any of his opponents to discuss the question with him; but they refused to do so, and continued their opposition to the sending forth of the most inhuman sounds. The Chairman repeatedly expressed his disgust at the conduct of the small knot of drunken monopolists, and said he intended to have said a few words in opposition to the views of the speaker; but he refrained from doing so in consequence of their un-English-like conduct. Mr. Falvey, at the close of his address, proposed the following resolution: "That, in the opinion of this meeting, it is the interest of the tenant farmer, the labourer, and the landlord, that the Corn Law question should be promptly and permanently settled, by a total, immediate, and unconditional repeal; the experience of the last 30 years having proved that protection drives capital from land, narrows the home market, by crippling foreign trade, and injures all classes periodically by ruinous fluctuations."

The CHAIRMAN moved an amendment in the form of two resolutions; one deprecating the total and immediate repeal, and the other condemning the present system of Corn Laws, and expressing a hope that in the approaching session of Parliament such a measure may be proposed as will finally settle the question. He then put both to the meeting, when he declared Mr. Falvey's Free Trade resolution to be carried.

Three cheers were then given for Free Trade, three for the League, and, at the suggestion of Mr. Falvey, three for the chairman; and the meeting broke up, the Free Traders in high glee, and the monopolists evidently chop-fallen. Many of the townspeople requested to have a second meeting as soon as possible, and Mr. Falvey promised that their request should be complied with as soon as the qualification business for the present year was brought to a close.

CALTON.

On Wednesday evening, at eight o'clock, a public meeting of the inhabitants of the populous district of Calton and Mile-end, containing a population of upwards of 750,000, principally weavers and factory operatives, was held in the Relief Church, Kirk Street, convened on a requisition presented to Provost Bankier, most numerous and respectfully signed, to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning for a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. The meeting, which was a very full one, was presided over by

Provost Bankier, who was supported by many leading gentlemen of the district.

The CHAIRMAN opened the proceedings by congratulating the meeting on the better understanding that now existed between the middle and working classes, which afforded a prospect of the interests of all being most materially advanced. With this union of interests, it was impossible that the abolition of the odious and unjust laws against the free importation of corn could longer be denied to them. There was a moral certainty that they must be speedily repealed. The honourable gentleman then went on to glance at the unsatisfactory state of the harvest, and the prospects of distress which resulted from it, and concluded by calling on the meeting to leave no exertion untied to secure the triumph of Free Trade principles.

Resolutions were then unanimously agreed to, deploring the partial failure of the harvest, particularly the potato crop, and urgently calling upon Sir Robert Peel to advise her Majesty, by an order in council, to throw open the ports immediately. A resolution was also passed, utterly repudiating the idea of granting any compensation to the landed proprietors upon the abolition of the existing protective duties.

The meeting then separated.

The following letter appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* of Tuesday, in reply to the one signed an "M.P., and a Member of the League" published on the previous Friday in the same Journal.

To the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*.

SIR,—In your journal of Friday last is a letter signed "M.P., a Member of the League," on which I am anxious to make a few observations. Your correspondent evidently has a lingering, if not a strong, attachment to the principle of protection; and he is willing to preserve it by means of a fixed duty or a sliding scale. That he is not a Free Trader is clear, from the belief he avows in not a few of the arguments upon which the monopolists have chiefly relied. First, we are told that some revenue might be had from a fixed duty on corn, which is not denied by any one, although most persons who have examined the question are of opinion that revenue gained by any contrivance by which the supply of food is restricted is gained at the expense of a loss, from the injury inflicted upon the great mass of consumers. Next we learn that a fixed duty of 5s. per quarter would not enhance prices in the country at all, but that it would keep them somewhat lower in the producing country, by which the old and almost forgotten fallacy is attempted to be resuscitated, that a duty on imported corn would be paid by the foreigner. That a 5s. duty would to some extent limit the circle from which supplies would be drawn is too obvious to need proof, and no reason can be given why the foreigner would pay a duty of 5s., which would not be equally conclusive as to the probability of his also paying a duty of 10s. if such were imposed. But your correspondent attempts to justify a Corn Law on the old ground of special taxes paid by the land; or if he does not, he would at least endeavour to conciliate the landowners by taking half the county-poor and poor-rates on the Consolidated Fund. He is "certain that land pays more than its just share, as compared with other property, towards the maintenance of the poor," and says that "land pays on its improved value," and then he instances a cotton-mill, employing 1000 hands, paying, perhaps, on a value of 1000*l.* a-year, (which I may observe is, from ignorance or design, stated at less than half the real amount) while land employing 1000 hands would pay on a value of 30,000*l.*, or in some cases of 40,000*l.* a-year. The landowners in Parliament have been asked to go into an inquiry as to their special burdens, and they have invariably refused. They never "tell their griefs," and the unavoidable conclusion is that they are too imaginary for the covetry of a Parliamentary Committee. If by "conciliating" them is meant that we are advised to give, and they would be willing to exchange one wrong for another, I suspect they have played that game too long already, and that the country is too much alive to the question to submit to a mere shifting of the burden. But it appears a new idea has struck your correspondent; he has found out that "land pays on its improved value." And do not cotton mills pay on their improved value? Certainly they do; and any man at all fit to give an opinion on such a point must know it perfectly well. Perhaps the strangest notion which "M.P." has propounded, is to be found in his statement as to the inequality of poor-rate paid by a mill employing 1000 hands, and a number of farms employing an equal number of labourers. I have yet to learn that the value of any particular property is to be fixed by the number of workmen employed upon it. The trade of pin-making employs a large number of persons, but no one until now ever thought of charging the manufacturers engaged in that trade with poor-rate in proportion to the number of hands they employ. If the land pays upon 30,000*l.* a-year, it does so because it is worth a yearly rental of that amount, and if the mill pays only on 1000*l.*, it is because the yearly value of it is no more. The moveable machinery in a mill does not pay poor-rate, nor does the cotton in process of manufacture; but to balance this, the agricultural implements on a farm, the crops growing, or in the stack or barn, the manure in the farm-yard, the horses, cows, sheep, &c., are all likewise exempt. In fact the capital of the tenant or cultivator pays no poor-rate whatever, unless it be incorporated with the land when sunk in permanent improvements. Of the hands engaged in mills it may be said that they are almost universally contributors to the poor rate, and very rarely become chargeable upon it; and I can point to mills employing fewer than 1000 hands which have paid a tax to the state on the bricks alone with which they are built of not less than 1500*l.*

Your correspondent is anxious to retain something of the corn monopoly, that he may get rid of the "embarrassing question" of the removal of all protecting duties.

Now the Free Traders and the League are anxious not to leave a remnant of the Corn Law, because to the extent of what is left will mischief be done; and further, that no shadow of excuse may exist for the continuance of any other protecting duty.

It is a miserable quibble to talk of the duties on tea or wine being a protection to the grower of barley or the brewer of beer; and your correspondent may rest assured that the use of such an argument, if argument it can be called, will be taken by all who read it as a proof that, like his brother monopolists throughout the country, he is at his wit's end for an excuse for a great public wrong. But possibly his having recourse to such a quibble may proceed from a total ignorance or a total disregard of the principles of political economy; for I observe that a little farther on it is proposed to pass an act to convert rents under existing contracts into a corn rent charge, in case the Corn Law be repealed, until fresh agreements can be made. Is it love for the tenant, or the fear of the landlords which suggests this idea? I suspect the latter, with the view of magnifying the apprehended dangers of repeal, and thus stimulating the tenantry to a greater resistance to the change with which they are threatened. When wool was admitted free of duty, no breaking of contracts took place; and when cattle were admitted from abroad, graziers' leases were not cancelled by law; and corn will, before long, come in free, and Parliament will not interfere to overthrow existing arrangements with respect to the tenure of land. I may remark, however, that wherever a landowner has been a party to the fraud practised upon the tenants by the Corn Law, he would but act a just part if he offered to cancel the leases of such of his tenants who might wish to be freed from engagements contracted under the impression of a continuance of high prices secured by the law.

My chief reason for noticing this singular letter is not because the positions advanced in it appear to me untenable, but because the writer signs himself, "M.P., a Member of the League," the M.P., I presume, meaning member of Parliament, and your note at the foot of the letter assures me that I am correct in this supposition. Now, if "M.P." be a member of the League, he must have joined that body under false pretences. He knows what are the principles of the League; and he has joined it for some other object than that of endeavouring to carry out those principles. If he be a member of it because he has subscribed to its funds, I may remind him that, about two years ago, when the 100,000*l.* fund was proposed, Mr. Cobden distinctly stated in public, I believe in Covent Garden Theatre, that the League wanted no money from any man who could not go with it to the full extent in the assertion of its principles; and he hinted that any assistance from any such person would be dearly gained if it enabled him, by seeming co-operation with the League for a time, to injure it at any future period by the betrayal of its cause. Your correspondent is not, and, with his present opinions, cannot be a member of the League in an honest sense; he does not hold the views and principles of the League, and he has no right to publish a letter in favour of monopoly with the signature he has assumed, that he may convey the false impression that members of the League would be content with, or would approve the policy he suggests. I know nothing of the authorship of the letter; but if I were forced to make a guess, I should say the writer of it has some interest in some petty production of his own, either at home or in colonial produce; or, being a member of Parliament, he is a representative who has conformed to Free Trade unwillingly, and through a salutary fear of those who sent him to Parliament. To test this, I hope when next he writes as a Free Trader defending a Corn Law, he will publish his name, and then his constituents and the public will know who and what he is; and it will be a bolder and more manly course to oppose the League openly, than to assume its colours with the intention to betray it.

I am respectfully yours,

A LEAGUER.

[The writer of this letter, like the correspondent to whom he replies, is an "M.P., and a Member of the League," and one whose opinions are also deserving of every consideration.]

THE "PROTECTIONISTS" IN KENT.—The East and West Kent Agricultural Protection Societies have held their meetings—the former so secretly that no report of the meeting exists. Sir Edward Knatchbull was present, but rumour states that he did not encourage an agitation against Sir Robert Peel. A petition was agreed on in favour of the present monopoly—and that was all. We did not hear that so much as sixty thousand farthings were subscribed to counteract the pounds sterling of the Leaguers.—*Kent Herald*.

FREE TRADE.—We are happy to learn that the working-classes of this town are making arrangements for holding a public meeting to raise their voice in favour of Free Trade. Certainly, no one is so deeply interested in the abolition of a tax which makes bread dear and employment scarce as the man who lives on weekly wages. The monstrous delusion that cheap corn produces low wages may be imposed on herds and ploughmen in mihrand parishes, but will be scouted by the better-informed artisans and working-men of our towns.—*Scotsman*.

QUESTIONS FOR CANDIDATES.—Will you, if elected, in Parliament, vote for the following measures, whenever and by whomsoever brought forward?—1st. For the total immediate, and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws.—2nd. For the total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of all customs' duties on the import of the flesh of all animals fit for human food, whether living or dead, whether salt or fresh; also on lard, butter, cheese, or eggs.—3rd. For the repeal of so much of all customs' duties as give a preference to the produce of one country over that of another; whether the produce come from a British possession or a foreign country.

We hear, from a friend in the enemy's camp, that Lord A. Hervey will certainly support Sir Robert Peel in his anticipated alterations in the Corn Laws.—*Brighton Gazette*.

REVIEW.

Forest and Game Law Tales. By H. Martineau. Vols. I. and II. London. Moxon.

Miss Martineau has never been found absent from her post as a zealous advocate of philanthropic improvement, whenever any great question, involving the social happiness of the people, has been mooted. The proved evils arising from the laws for the preservation of game having been established before a committee of the House of Commons, it is more than probable that these laws will be subjected to a thorough revision; and in order that such a revision may lead to a great amelioration, this benevolent lady has illustrated the principal evils resulting from a system of game-preserving by a series of sketches, which should be called pictures from life, rather than tales. The sketches in the first volume are antiquarian and historical. She commences before the Conquest with a description of rural life in England as it existed under Canute, when farmers who refused to furnish the best of their substance for the entertainment of the king's commissioners were obliged to collect a certain number of wolves' tongues as a fine. But this punishment, politic and lenient as it may seem, reduced the offender to the degrading condition of a felon. His social existence ceased to be recognised, while his wife and children were liable to be sold as slaves. Though these rude old times are far removed from our sympathies, Miss Martineau has given such a reality and truth to her description, that it is impossible to avoid feeling a deep interest in the fate of all the personages she has introduced.

The second tale, "The Manor and the Eyrie," refers to the period after the Norman conquest, when cultivated lands were deliberately laid waste to be turned into forests and chases for the royal deer. We deem this the best tale in the first volume; and the following extract abundantly proves that "Life in a Sick Room" has not weakened the writer's power of vivid delineation either in scenery or character:

"The royal City of Winchester lay fair to the eye amidst its chase and its woodland 800 years ago, when its cathedral, three monasteries, and the king's palace rose above the meaner dwellings hidden within its massive walls. Its castle was not yet built; and the afforesting of the district round was only half carried through: so that while in some parts green lawns, young copse, and clumps of old oaks and elms approached the walls, on another side, a manor-house and its village, and a convent surrounded by its orchards and pastures, might be seen within a short distance; and further off, a farmstead here and there, amidst its fallows and young crops. Such was the aspect of the district one early spring morning, when all was stillness on the side of the budding woodland, where the dragon-fly came forth unnoticed from the rushes of the pools, and the birds twittered and fluttered, unheeded by the fowler; and even the deer crossed the glades unwatched by the king's regards. Fowlers, foresters, their children, and even their dogs, were engaged on the other side of the city walls, aiding or viewing the spectacle which there distinguished the day. On that side, there was no stillness. The sounds were not those of an ordinary working-day. From the village, nothing was heard of the builder's mallet, or the carpenter's saw; from the fields, no ploughman's whistle, or herdsman's call. There was the toll of the convent bell, and the clang of that of the manor-house, till both ceased in the same moment,—evidently stopped by command, and, to judge by the murmur which arose, by some unacceptable command. The murmur was hushed by such a burst of foresters' horns and clamour of dogs as brought to the city walls the few inhabitants who were not already there to look abroad. And O! what a sight did they throng to see! The Benedictines came forth from their convent, in a procession whose order could not easily be preserved from the impatience of the royal dogs, and the press of the weeping poor, who were never more to receive the supply of their needs at the convent gate. Whenever there was confusion, the Superior stopped, and waited till order was restored; and then the train resumed its slow progress to one of the city gates. When the indignation of the gazers became so strong as to require some concession, the royal officers made an ostentatious show of mustering round the bearers of the convent plate and other valuables, as if to guard them from robbery. Before the monks were within the walls, another spectacle fixed the attention of all who were near enough to see. The gates of the manor-house enclosure were—not opened—but thrown down; and forth came another train. A rush was made to the spot; but there was a something encountered which made many shrink, and some look another way. The lord of the domain came first; and on the same horse was a veiled lady, whom all knew to be his eldest daughter. The other daughter, whose attitude showed extreme timidity, though her face could not be seen, rode next,—her horse led by an old serving man. No one dared to speak to the lord. His restless eye and bloodless lips made him terrible. But several neighbours accosted Dudda, the old servant, in a low voice, all eager to know where the family were going. 'To the convent first, with her and her, pointing to the young ladies; and to leave those things as an offering for their support.' Chests of precious goods came next,—of gold and silver cups and ornaments, and the embroidered hangings of the apartments left behind. 'And where is my lord going?' 'Heaven knows!' 'But where this day, till his goods are carried?' 'Heaven knows! But I believe we shall carry no more than you see. The king allows no time.' 'If my lord asked, perhaps—' 'He did ask,—and more for your sakes than our own. He asked for time, for you of the village; and he asked for a vessel for his family and goods, that they might pass over to the Island, for a short refuge.' 'They are going to the Island, then?' 'No. The answer was that the domain was wanted, without the loss of a day, for the spring breeding of the game; and the king's vessels are gone across to Normandy, to bring beasts to stock the new chase.' 'Norman knights in our mansions!' muttered the inquirer: 'and now Norman beasts in our folds and barns, and our

very cottages!" "No," replied old Dudda; "no cottages and no folds will be left. They are all to be razed. It is all to be a waste where our village stands."

The "Staunch and their Work" is dated from the reign of King John, and is more illustrative of the history of Magna Charta than of the Game Laws. There is, however, great spirit in some of the historical pictures, particularly of the closing scene at Runnymede. We are less pleased with "Old Landmarks and Old Laws," and are disposed to regard the character of old Parr as a failure; the delineation is too indistinct to be effective.

The second volume opens with the admirable tale of "The Bishop's Flock and the Bishop's Herd." It describes the pranks of the deer-poachers in Waltham Forest, who were frequently instigated and joined by wild young men of fashion. A sad accident on the night destined to be the last of the frolic led to fatal consequences. Let us glance at a farm-house, whose inmates act a leading part in the story, as the shades of the unhappy evening began to close:

"Polly was this evening salting her new butter, thinking the while somewhat soberly of the strange disorder which had entered their household. She was persuaded that her father was uneasy under it. He had spoken sharply to Asher about his wildness, though the lad had done nothing wild till his father led the way; and the farmer had told her, three times over, without the subject being in any way led to, that in a few days he should have received compensation for the expense he had been put to by the deer, and then they must settle down, and have no more irregular doings this winter. Polly well knew that this expected money was from the sale of the venison which had now for three nights been sent off in large quantities to London; and she hoped full as earnestly as her father, that the Blacks would now soon disband for this time, and leave the district in peace. This night's poaching, she believed, was to be the last; and there seemed to be some doubt whether they would not to-night be met by some force which would render it advisable for them to close their enterprise. She wished that morning was come. While so thinking, the door opened, and she started.

"Don't be frightened, Miss Polly," said the man who entered turning up the black crape which covered his face.

"Oh, Mr. Bob, what brings you here?"

"Only that I am pretty well tired of my post, and thought I should be better amused here. Your quiet neighbour gives us no sport at all—never tries to let fly so much as a little bird with his message to my dad and the rest. Not a thing have we seen more amusing than an old butler, or a frightened housemaid, peeping out of an attic window, to learn whether we were still there. However, all is safe; and we are likely to have our night's sport undisturbed."

Mr. Bob was a law student, the son of a game-preserving magistrate in the neighbourhood, who had joined the party of poachers called "the Waltham Blacks" for the mere sake of fun and excitement. His sport was soon changed to sadness:

"Mr. Bob was really about to propose her searching for some kind of whistle or pipe, and going out deer shooting with him, as a little snug private venture, which might be made a joke of in case of their being overtaken by any keeper who might have courage to follow up the shot, when the attention of both was caught by the appearance of fire, not very far off.

"Mr. Bob muttered an oath, ran into the house, put on his crape and hat, and was gone.

"Polly could not stay long behind. The fire presently flared less; but it became a redder and steadier burning. Where to seek her father and brother she knew not; and there was not a neighbour to whom she dared to own this, except such as she had reason to suppose were with the Blacks. The suspense was soon unendurable. She locked the door, and ran at full speed, guided by the light of the fire, and soon by the shouts of a crowd, mingled with the roar of flames.

"O, thank God! it is only the furze!" cried she, stopping at the turn of the lane, and laying both her hands on her throbbing heart.

"It was a beautiful sight to her, relieved in mind as she now was. The flames seemed to flit and dance, like spirits, over the space of common in front of her; to flit and then alight, and shoot up, and crackle and spread, and then make another leap. Polly's heart leaped with them, and she could not help calling out to an acquaintance who was running past,

"A pretty fright I have had; and you too, I dare say; and all because some silly boy has set the furze on fire. I might have guessed what it was. Well! I shall not be so easily scared next time."

"Why, come on, mistress," cried the man, beckoning as he ran. "It's catching Squire Isherwood's house, they say."

"Again Polly flew at her utmost speed. She found enough to be alarmed at when she came in full view of the scene.

"The spread of the fire was terrible, leaping as it did from the furze on the common to the fence of Mr. Isherwood's kitchen garden; from the fence to the wood pile; from the wood pile to the doors and roofs of the offices; and thence to point after point of the main building, till it was clear that the whole must go. It was also fearful to see how the country people came rushing down to the scene of the fire, while the Waltham Blacks were still in considerable numbers on the spot, though many had stolen away, more careful of their own safety than of Mr. Isherwood's property. It was fearful to see her father, wholly forgetting his blackened face and the risks he ran, toiling away to put out the fire, and get his neighbours to help him. He made them form a line from the pond to the fire, and pass from hand to hand such buckets as they had been able to obtain: and there he stood, a Waltham Black confessed, in the row of his yellow-faced neighbours, as the fire shone equally upon them all. Yet more fearful was it to see, through smoke and the darkness of the night, fitfully lighted up by fire, rank beyond rank of horsemen approaching rapidly.

"Polly did not stop for a second glance. She rushed down among the crowd, and forced her way with the strength of vehemence to where her father stood. He either would not attend to her prayers that he would come home, or go somewhere out of sight, or he could not hear her amidst the hubbub,—the din of shouts, screams, and roaring of flames. But she distinctly heard him say, as he pointed to the house-keeper, which she still held in her hand,

"Go you home, child! You are wanted there. Mr. Bob is hurt, and gone there. Go you home, I say."

"She saw there was nothing else to be done; and half frantic, home she ran.

"When she burst into the house, she found it already entered from the back. Mr. Bob was lying along the settle by the hearth, and a labourer's wife whom Asher had brought in from the neighbourhood, had taken off his coat, and was cutting open his waistcoat and shirt, to save him pain. A falling beam had struck him on the shoulder, and bruised him severely; but it did not appear that any bones were broken, though the patient declared his belief that they all were. Asher gave no help, till reproached by his sister for his standing in a corner, as if asleep. When he came forward to the light, such was his expression of countenance, and his paleness, that his sister left her patient for a moment, threw her arms about his neck, and gave him a kiss which brought him to salutary tears."

The catastrophe is impressively told:

"Mr. Bob was conveyed away, in the course of two or three nights, in safety; but at a cost of anxiety and terror which turned his mother's hair white, and furrowed her face, so as to excite the wonder of her neighbours, and cause mysterious whispers at a time when every one had enough of news to tell aloud to all he met. Mr. Bob became a capital lawyer; but he lost all his fine spirits, and turned out by no means the genial character which everybody had expected from the sprightliness of his youth. His father stood in great awe of him, and grew less severe in his magisterial decisions, and less peremptory in the manner of giving them, even in game cases, and when his son was not at his elbow than he had ever been before Mr. Bob was a lawyer.

"Mr. Bob escaped. But all else connected with the transactions of our story was as black and dreary as the law which ordered the catastrophe. Legal vengeance had full play, in retribution for the deeds of that brief season. It was the extreme severity of the law which caused the organisation of so formidable a band—it was the extent and force of this band and its organisation which caused the magistrates to be passive, and the officers of justice supine in their function. And now that the band was broken up, the reaction was violent, and a cruel law was enforced in a vindictive spirit. Every magistrate who delighted in game was eager to see poachers punished. Every constable who had seen pass him in the streets culprits against whom he had warrants in his pocket which he dared not execute, was consoled when he saw them and their comrades in irons or at the bar. The Waltham Blacks were a fallen foe—or at first supposed to be so; and those of them who were caught had no mercy to expect. As they passed through the streets of Winchester in companies—passed from the jail to the gallows—they could only hope that their comrades yet at large would take warning, and let the game alone.

"It might have been thought that the warning was abundant; for the law was sufficiently preached and expounded by the spectacle of the hangings. It was pretty well known henceforward that 'to appear armed in any inclosed forest or place where deer are usually kept, or in any warren for hares and conies, or in any high road, open heath, common or down, by day or by night, with faces blacked or otherwise disguised, or (being so disguised) to hunt, wound, kill, or steal any deer, to rob a warren, or to steal fish, or to procure by gift or promise of reward any person to join them in such unlawful act, is felony without benefit of clergy.' That such was the law, all were reminded who passed Farmer Rasbrooke's place, during the years that it stood vacant, and who sighed to think that that man, though not wise, should have died on the gallows—that his spirited boy should have disappeared, and his gay daughter Polly should never have been seen to smile since the night of the fire at Mr. Isherwood's. Instead of the merry laugh which might formerly be heard from the farm at any hour of the day, there was now only the ominous cry of the owl from the roof-tree. Instead of busy figures which used to trip from kitchen to dairy, and from dairy to poultry-yard, there was now a blank solitude, unless those told the truth who said that Farmer Rasbrooke's ghost trailed about the premises at night, groaning bitter groans, and appearing to be searching for his children. These things were enough to prevent any one taking the farm; and one would have thought they would be sufficient to deter men from following the deer; but they were not. The poaching in the forest went on till there were no deer left to make it worth while.

"Some of the neighbouring gentry were, on their part, no less slow to learn. When Bishop Hoadley was translated to Winchester, he was urged to restock the forest.

"No," said he, "I think we have had mischief enough already from the Waltham deer."

"Heathendom in Christendom" is a powerful but very painful tale of legal oppression and rustic revenge. We pass it over to come to the very affecting portraiture of an honest industrious farmer reduced to poverty by the ravages of the game in his landlord's preserves. The story is called "Four years in Maude Chapel Farm." In these four years a young landlord has for the first time established strict preserves in the neighbourhood, and the social evils resulting from the system are exhibited with equal fidelity to truth and nature. Let us take one of the earliest incidents:

"Much dismay was caused one Sunday morning by such an event as had never been witnessed or heard of before by the oldest inhabitant. Some children, the oldest not above fifteen, the youngest nine, went out bird-nesting. Four of them got into the wood, saying that people always used to go there, and there was nothing but a gate to hinder them now. The others remained outside, being afraid of the keepers, and having some sense that it was wrong to go over locked gates. Their companions were bringing them a linnet's nest, and a miscellany of eggs in a handkerchief, when the halloo of a keeper was heard, and Tucker appeared. The boys scampered, and all but one had cleared the gate when Tucker came up; and that one was on the top bar. Tucker knocked him off, inside the gate, and struck him with a stick. As the man swore and threatened, and did not enjoy the good opinion of the neighbourhood, the children were afraid he would murder their comrade. They pelted him with stones which lay about. He did not stand this long, but retreated through the wood, shaking his stick at the intruders. They went homewards, sufficiently instructed against trespassing, and some two or three of the more timid doubting whether they had heard the last of it.

"A very speedy certainty succeeded to this doubt. Before they reached the nearest of their homes, they were overtaken

by the constable and the two under keepers, and carried off to the house of a magistrate. Of course they did not appear at home in time for church; and their families went without them. It was in church that the report spread that several children were to be carried off to Norwich Castle, for an assault on Mr. Neville's keeper. All that day and the next, the parents tried in vain to obtain access to the boys, or to the magistrate. They were merely told through the medium of the butler, that the case would come on on Wednesday morning, when they might attend. On Tuesday afternoon, however, they heard that the case had been heard that morning, the children fined ten pounds for an assault on the keeper, and, being unable to pay, were sent for a fortnight to the nearest House of Correction."

Another evil consequence soon follows:

"The autumn was far from being the cheerful season that it ought to be in ordinary years, when the fruits of the earth are gathered in under a genial sun. The sun of this harvest was genial. All the influences of nature were as favourable as in any former year: but the widow herself could not but admit that never had she found it less easy to be merry at the harvest-home. The deficiency in the crops was so great, from the ravages of the rabbits and game, that she could not say that Henry ought to marry this Christmas, if he himself thought that he should not. Fanny King had been used to every comfort that persons in their rank are wont to enjoy; and it had been Henry's hope and thought of pride that he should bring her to a home which might compare favourably with that she had left. If he could not this year accomplish this ambition, his mother felt that she could say nothing against his waiting. Never at a loss for hope, however, the widow trusted that Fanny King would find means to intimate to her revering lover that she meant to marry him for himself, and had rather share his lowered fortunes than wait to be endowed with such as were good.

"Do take out a certificate, and shoot down all you can: and I wish I could help you," she said to her son, in her restlessness to be doing something, when they were estimating their losses after harvest. "And as for the rabbits, cannot we defend ourselves better against them?"

"Our men are wiring and trapping, morning and evening;—have been for months past, and must be, more and more, for the turnips' sake, as the year gets on: but it seems all of little use. If the keeper chooses to let them increase, we cannot keep them down."

"Suppose you write to Mr. Neville about it."

"He answers no letters of that kind, or not to any purpose. But I will see him when he comes down to shoot."

"Do, my dear. And tell him we could get seven or eight sacks of wheat to the acre, (though the land is none of the best,) but for the game. Tell him we did, before this year; and that this year we have under six."

"I will. And I must show him how the farm will suffer, if we cannot do more than turn ourselves round in it."

"That's right. And I dare say you will find him reasonable enough. He will compensate you, I dare say."

"Henry shook his head.

"What do you do that for, Henry? Why should not he make it up to us, when he sees he has injured us?"

"He must excuse our whole rent, and more, to make it up to us; and no landlord thinks of doing that for such a reason."

"But cannot you give him a hint,—just drop a gentle hint, you know, about an action for damages?—I mean, if you find he won't listen to you without."

"No, because he knows that I could not bring an action. I have all the law can give me now, in having the right to kill on my own farm."

"Then there ought to be a better law," said the widow. "I've no notion of a law that pretends to protect us, and then lets us be eaten out of house and home."

"Well, that time is not come yet," observed Dinah. "We have a home, dear mother."

"Yes, thank God, we have, my dears; and a very happy one, I'm sure,—for all a few losses now and then. We'll make it up next year, Henry, depend upon it."

"Henry did not reply; for he did not see how, with above 150*l.* deficient, which he had hoped to put into the land, he could expect to prosper better. He could not see how he could help falling back, unless he could induce some great change in Mr. Neville's proceedings."

We need not follow every step in the decline and fall of the once prosperous farmer. Ruin came upon him with more rapid strides every successive year; he bore up against misfortune with the sturdy spirit of an English yeoman, but all his efforts were vain, and he sunk to the condition of a day labourer.

We shall wait for the appearance of the concluding volume to discuss the social and economic questions of grievances and their remedies which Miss Martineau has undertaken to illustrate. But looking upon this work as simply that of a novelist laying open life, we feel that it is one in which intelligence of the highest order is employed to excite sympathies of the purest and noblest character.

SIGN OF THE TIMES.—At a meeting of the Gloucestershire magistrates, held in the grand jury room, Gloucester, on Tuesday, the 6th inst., on the propriety of erecting additional lodgings for the judges, the following hint was thrown out as regards the Corn Laws. The Hon. C. F. Berkeley said he agreed that this was a question of time, but he thought the present was a very bad time for incurring such an expense. The country was on the eve of a very great change with regard to the agricultural interest, and they were bound to defer expending such a sum (7000*l.*), until they knew what course would be taken, and he should raise his voice against laying out any sum for judges' lodgings at the present time. Earl Fitzhardinge said there was much that was worthy of consideration in the remarks made by the Hon. Craven Berkeley. That court was not a place for political discussions, but they could not shut their eyes to the fact that some great change would take place which would affect the agriculturists very much indeed. Before the next quarter sessions they should know what it was proposed to do.

A public meeting of the inhabitants of Edinburgh has been announced to take place on Thursday next for the purpose of adopting means to raise a subscription in aid of the League Fund.

LIST OF PRICES.		
	READY MADE.	£ s. d.
Beaver Tazellonis		0 7 4
Chesterfields or Codringtons		0 10 0
Gray's, Ashola, Penmore, and every description of winter coats	from	1 5 0
Boy's winter coats in every style		0 8 0
Wulter trousers, lined		0 4 0
Doeskin		0 10 6
Dress Coats, edged		1 0 0
Frock ditto		1 5 0
Roll collar Vests		0 1 9
Double-breasted ditto		0 2 6
Boy's Hussar and Tunic Suits		0 18 6
Boy's winter Trousers		0 3 0
Boy's winter Vests		1 6 0
MADE TO MEASURE.		
Winter Coats in every style and shape, handsomely trimmed		1 5 0
Milled Cloth Great Coats, velvet collar and cuffs		1 12 0
Tweed Wrappers		0 8 6
Ditto Trousers		0 8 6
Winter Trousers, in all the new patterns		1 12 0
Doeskin Trousers		0 10 6
Rest, or Dress Trousers		1 6 0
Dress Coats		1 12 0
Ditto, best quality made		2 15 0
Frock Coats		1 12 0
Ditto, best quality made		3 3 0
Cashmere Vests		0 8 6
Satin, plain or fancy		0 12 0
Boy's Hussar and Tunic Suits		1 6 0
Boy's Great Coats		0 14 0

THE LEAGUE.

No. 122.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, JANUARY 24, 1846.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

THE COUNTIES! THE COUNTIES! ONLY SIX DAYS MORE!

We are come now to the last time of asking. THE THIRTIETH OF JANUARY IS AT HAND. Another week, and it will be too late. When we next address the public, the campaign will be over, and the watchword of struggle and victory—"QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!"—will have lost its meaning and power, for this season. FRIDAY NEXT, the thirtieth instant, is the LATEST DAY up to which county qualifications can be purchased in time for the registration of the year 1846. A week hence, and the books will be closed. Whoever is unqualified then, will be too late for the church-door lists in July, and the revising barristers' courts in September—too late to bear a part in any general election that may take place between the 1st of December, 1846, and the 1st of December, 1847.

We entreat our hitherto unqualified friends to lose not an hour that now remains to them, for arming themselves with the only one weapon that can avail in this warfare of right against might, and of a nation against an oligarchy. We trust that no Free Trader, possessed of the means of entering himself on the muster roll, will subject himself to the bitter mortification of being self-doomed to stand by a passive and powerless spectator of the closing struggle. Let nobody dream that this question either will or can be settled without an APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE—i. e., an appeal to those of the people who have got votes. Never mind about Sir Robert Peel and his "plan"—be that plan what it may. The assumption that Sir Robert Peel can carry the total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the Corn Law through the two Houses of Parliament, without an intervening general election, is one of the wildest of hallucinations. The PEOPLE have done it all, thus far—and rely on it, the People will have to do it all, at last. The total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the Corn Law will, almost certainly, be the work of the next House of Commons;—and the next House of Commons will, almost certainly (should the present one live long enough) be elected under the registration of 1846.

The time is short—yet much may still be done in this short time. In the precious six days that now remain, there is time for thousands and thousands of the unenfranchised to pay money, receive their conveyances, and take out their title to a freehold interest in the soil of their country, and a share in its government. In those counties, more particularly, in which most work has been already done,

these few days may be invaluable. Where much has been accomplished, and the victory is all but won, a little more may make all the difference between a minority and a majority—or between a mere majority, and a majority so decisive and commanding, as to preclude all possibility of defeat, or even of contest.

Once more, then, with all the earnestness and emphasis prompted by the conviction, that the time, though short, is yet long enough for great successes—that victory is within our grasp, if we will but grasp it—and that the exertions of the next six days may have much to do with making the Parliament that is to make England free for ever from landlordism and artificial famine—we reiterate our fervent exhortation and entreaty to the Free Traders of every county in England, to

QUALIFY, QUALIFY, QUALIFY.

MR. COWPER AND THE BOROUGH OF HERTFORD.

We are glad to learn, by the subjoined letter which we have received from a highly respectable elector of Hertford, that we were mistaken in supposing that the Honourable W. F. Cowper represents that borough by aristocratic nomination, rather than by popular election. The passage in last week's number of THE LEAGUE to which our correspondent demurs—to the effect that Mr. Cowper's connexion with the Hertford constituency is based on the "favour of a couple of peers"—was written on the authority of Dodd's *Parliamentary Companion*, which states that "the Marquis of Salisbury has considerable influence in this borough, as has also EARL COWPER." From this we inferred, that a relative of Earl Cowper's, sitting in Parliament for this borough of Hertford, was the representative, not so much of the electors, as of that "considerable influence" which, in the vast majority of boroughs thus under influence, overrides all choice and judgment on the part of the constituencies, and makes the form of popular election a mere farce and sham. Our correspondent will, we are sure, allow that the inference was natural;—we most willingly and gladly give him the use of our columns, to tell the world that it was erroneous. His letter is as follows:—

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

Hertford, 20th of 1st month, 1846.

"ESTEEMED FRIEND,—I will not comment on any part of your remarks upon the speech of the Hon. W. F. Cowper at the late election of a member for this county, as far as regards what is personal to that hon. gentleman; but, as an elector of the Borough of Hertford, I ask you to remove from the Liberal electors the stigma cast on them in that article, which states, that the Hon. W. F. Cowper 'represents, under favour of a couple of peers, the populous and influential Borough of Hertford.' Now, so far from his being the nominee of any peer or couple of peers, it is well known that he came forward at the earnest request of the electors, as signified by requisition, numerously signed, just in the same way as Lord Morpeth had been invited, and has agreed to stand for the West Riding: and to the honour of the Cowper family be it stated, they have never improperly interfered in our elections.

"Whilst admitting, as I most cheerfully do, the great service rendered to the public by the exertions of the League, I regret its organ should do injustice to any party; and I have no doubt they will have pleasure in correcting it in their next Number.

"I am, sincerely, thy friend,
"WILLIAM POLLARD."

Our correspondent does us no more than justice. We feel real pleasure in giving publicity to the above—not merely as a simple act of fairness to Mr. Cowper and the Hertford electors, but because it expresses an honourable sense of independence on the part of the Hertford constituency, and intimates an equally honourable respect for that independence, on the part of the Cowper family, both of which are, we fear, extremely uncommon in boroughs where "considerable influence" exists. It is creditable to the spirit of the Hertford electors, that they resent, as a "stigma," the implied imputation

of subserviency to a couple of peers; and it is creditable to the Cowper family, that they do not, like so many others of their order under similar circumstances, practise that oppressive and unconstitutional dictation which has reduced a large number of our Parliamentary boroughs to the condition of so many Gattons and Old Sarums. We should be most happy to be informed, on authority as trustworthy as that of our correspondent, that Hertford is not, in these respects, a most rare exception from the general rule of the class of boroughs (some fifty or sixty) to which it belongs.

THE LAST OF THE PROTECTION SOCIETY MEETINGS.

We suppose society may now congratulate itself on having come to the end of these exhibitions of fatuous imbecility and drivelling rant. The spokesmen of the agricultural mind will, for some time to come, be safely housed, "attending to their Parliamentary duties," in a place where they do not speak; and the sated world will hear little more of its Tyrrells, and Mileses, and Newdigates, and Knightleys. The thoughts and words of statesmen will now occupy those columns which have latterly teemed with a brainless twaddle, that might have been held to qualify its authors for the interior of an asylum, did it not also afford satisfactory evidence that the poor creatures were thoroughly harmless.

We are glad of it. The thing was coming to be too tiresome. It was very well at first. We have had our laugh, like other people; and when the drollery grew flat, and one felt rather the humiliation of witnessing such awful self-exposures on the part of educated English gentlemen with decent coats on their backs, still there was the satisfaction that the affair was doing a salutary public work, by revealing the otherwise unconceivable mental pauperism of the protectionist cause. But the work is done, and no further revelations from that quarter are needed. All mankind have known for this many a week past, that monopolist landlordism has not an idea in its head—nor a reasonable, or reasonable-seeming, word to say for itself; that the party has scarcely a man in its ranks capable of making a decent figure at a tenth-rate spouting-club; and that "protection meeting" is but a short phrase for a certain amount of bungling and falsified statistics, exploded fallacies, ridiculous self-contradictions, and coarse and stupid virulence, uttered at small private parties in the large rooms of small country-town inns. Another hundred of them would add nothing to an already redundant demonstration. Latterly, the whole affair has only been a thing to yawn at. Curry-powder had lost its savour. Salmon was stale. The British lion was tame. The joke of "fighting the League with its own weapons" was dull. The Lennox poetry had gone the round of the critics. The dukes seemed to have exhausted themselves. Even the Norwich "shindy" turned out a failure. There was no shindy at all—so far, at least, as we can learn what a shindy is, or ought to be—but only one of Mr. Cobden's very best and most powerful speeches on the effects of protection on agriculture, rapturously applauded by five thousand people, in the capital of a great agricultural district. If there were one or two other incidents on the occasion, it is but common charity not to speak of them.

Never, surely, was a party so utterly, helplessly, and hopelessly prostrate as is this "country party"—as we believe it calls itself. Without a man of average Parliamentary talent to lead it in the House of Commons; snubbed most cruelly by the Premier, whom it made, but cannot unmake; the scoff and byword of the country; incapable of opening its

mouth, without letting out the most desperate inanities and stupidities; without brains even to give a decent show of verisimilitude to its own fallacies; unable to call a public meeting in the most purely agricultural of country towns or villages, without a moral certainty of disastrous defect; insanely boastful and bullying, yet abjectly fearful; trembling all over, both with rage and terror; afraid of Peel, afraid of the farmers, afraid of its own representatives, afraid of the League, afraid of mountains of best foreign wheat, which labourers who get no wages grow on farms that pay no taxes;—was there ever anything in this world in so dismal a case as our British landlordism?

We bear these men no manner of ill will. Their day for mischief is over. They have still their Parliamentary majority (perhaps); but if they had twice their majority, they could do the country no great harm. They DARE NOT do anything with their majority. A few of the crazier ones may indulge in the antics of a sham resistance to a necessity known to be inevitable—but practically, the thing is over. We may look for some kicking and sprawling—but the hook is in the jaw of this big Leviathan of a "landed interest," and the creature will be safely hauled to shore.

LORD BROUGHAM IN A TAKING ABOUT THE LEAGUE.

We do not know that we are quite right in calling the attention of the public to the late Parliamentary display of this eccentric person. The precise nature and extent of Lord Brougham's responsibility for his words is, we believe, still an open question with the psychologists; and though we are not aware that he is entitled to the full benefit of the legal plea for an uncontrolled license of speech, we feel that the case demands every equitable consideration. It must be owned that Lord Brougham has received the most deadly provocation. The League have done without his lordship, and mean to do without him. The League never asked his lordship's opinion—never took his lordship's advice—never sought or acknowledged the favour of his lordship's advocacy of Free Trade in the abstract—never deprecated his lordship's censure—never recognised his lordship's existence, save on one or two occasions, the memory of which it would be cruel to revive. From first to last, his lordship has never been consulted about the League. And now the League are triumphing without his lordship. The grandest political drama of this age is being played out, with the part of *Brougham* (except in the capacity of candle-snuffer) omitted by everybody's desire. Actually, not a human creature cares—we are sure a vast number do not know—which side Lord Brougham is of. Could there be a graver offence—a more exasperating and inexpiable provocation?

As it is out of the question seriously to resent anything from a man whose inordinate and mortified vanity, disappointed ambition, soured temper, and constitutional recklessness of tongue, seem to deprive him of all power of self-restraint; and, as it is needless to controvert the nonsense, or turn aside the censures, of a man who has played the spendthrift with his talents and character, and muddled away the last remnant of the moral force, weight, and influence once attached to his name;—we are, on the whole, contented to leave Lord Brougham to be his own tormentor. We think it quite punishment enough, simply to put on record the Brougham opinions, as they stand. Be it known, then, to all whom it may concern, that Lord Brougham "*must be allowed to express his disapprobation of the manner in which his opinions*"—that is, his Free Trade opinions—"important as he deems them, and sincerely as he holds them, have formerly, but chiefly of late, been supported." And Lord Brougham "*would rather put his right hand into the fire till it was consumed, than put it to a document which pretended that the Corn Law was the cause of crime, of famine, of disease, and of death.*" And Lord Brougham thinks the proceedings of the League, though "*perfectly lawful*," most particularly "*unconstitutional*," and rules that "*those who enter into voluntary contributions without the consent of Parliament, must be*

prepared to abandon the constitution." And if Lord Brougham "*were asked, was he one of the League, or one of the followers of the League, or one of the allies, or one of the accomplices of the League?—or if he were asked, 'Are their means your means?' then he would unhesitatingly answer, 'God forbid.'*" And Lord Brougham "*cannot bring himself to think favourably 'of constant political agitation,' and greatly deprecates 'ferment' and public 'excitement,' and 'would have' the legislature 'wholly uninfluenced by the pressure of the multitude from without'*" (as it was in the days of his Lordship's Reform Bill)—it being well known that all our great reforms for the last thirty years have been carried by Parliament being left to do exactly as it pleased. The "*abolition of the slave trade*," in particular, is felicitously instanced by his lordship as a measure which was carried "*WITHOUT AGITATION!!!*"

Has Lord Brougham no friends? They should be on the alert. Trying times are coming. The exasperating and unbearable fact of his lordship's moral and political nullity is about to be more palpably manifested than ever. The greatest national struggle of this generation has been begun and carried on, and will now be finished without him. Why *must* he put the world in mind of himself? The world is good-natured—quite willing to forget, and pass on.

We pass to a far more agreeable duty in calling our readers' attention to the able and triumphant vindication of the League by our noble champion, Earl Radnor, which will appear in another part of our columns.

THE BEEF, BACON, BUTTER, AND CHEESE MONOPOLIES.

Previously to the formation of the League, no foreign cows, oxen, bulls, calves, sheep, lambs, or swine were permitted to enter this country to be slaughtered for food. Foreign beef, veal, mutton, lamb, and pork, were alike forbidden *by law* to be eaten by the people. It is pretended by the monopolists that these iniquitous laws were passed for the protection and benefit of the farmers, and their labourers; and that if they were abolished, both would be involved in ruin.

Few of our readers have probably read without emotion the extraordinary proceedings of the meeting of the starving Wiltshire labourers, in our last Number. What an affecting and unanswerable refutation do they present to the monopolist fallacies! Thirty years of protection have ended in yielding these poor labourers the magnificent wages of 6s. to 8s. per week! William Burchell, one of these protected labourers, told the meeting that

"He was past forty years of age, and he could say that he never purchased a pound of good slaughtered beef fit to be carried into market. As to mutton, he had purchased a little of that; but never as much as would average a pound a year in the forty years. He knew what veal was, but he had never had any at all."

Well may these poor creatures cry out when told by their masters that "Free Trade would starve them," "Let us try it, we can't be worse off!" Things have assumed a serious aspect in Wiltshire. Truly it is high time to try Free Trade; and by the help of God we will never cease our labours until it be tried; for, be it remembered, that the League was founded to obtain not only the total and unconditional repeal of the infamous Corn Laws, but also the total repeal of the no less infamous *provision* laws.

The time is at hand when these laws must again be brought under the consideration of the legislature. Sir Robert Peel's tariff of 1842 removed the prohibition of foreign cattle and meat, but in its stead imposed such heavy protective duties as to render their admission more nominal than real. All the foreign meat imported in a whole year is scarcely sufficient for a single day's consumption of the metropolis. Of the butter imported, a considerable quantity has been mixed with tar, to save the duty, and then sold as grease! In the last session of Parliament, when Mr. Ewart moved for the repeal of the butter and cheese duties, Sir Robert Peel did not attempt the defence of these monopolies; he opposed the proposal on the ground that these duties involved a financial question, and that he had then disposed of all the surplus revenue in the remission

of sundry other taxes. That the Government cannot spare the amount of revenue produced by the taxes on provisions is an idle pretence, as we shall presently show. We do not ask for one farthing of the existing revenue to be given up for this object. We are prepared to prove that not only the provision taxes, but taxes to *eight times* the amount they produce, may be remitted without imposing one shilling of additional burthen upon the people.

The duties levied on the following foreign provisions in the year 1844, the latest official account published, were as follows:

Bacon and Hams	3,538 cwt., at 14s. 0d.	£ 2,476
Beef, salted	5,204 "	8s. 0d. 2,081
Pork, salted	1,311 "	8s. 0d. 524
Butter	180,601 "	20s. 0d. 180,601
Cheese	210,480 "	10s. 6d. 110,502
Total		296,184

The total repeal of the above provision monopolies would create a loss of revenue amounting to 300,000*l.* How then can this deficiency be made up? Simply by the abolition of another monopoly. Sugar, imported from our own colonies, pays a duty of 14s. per cwt., whilst foreign sugar pays 23s. 4d. per cwt. The consequence of this difference in the rate of duty is a corresponding difference in the market price. Suppose the price of sugar duty paid be 54s. per cwt., colonial sugar without duty will sell in the market at 9s. 4d. per cwt. *more* than the same quality of foreign sugar, because the duty on colonial sugar is 9s. 4d. per cwt. *less* than on foreign sugar; thus:

FOREIGN.	COLONIAL.
Sugar in bond 30s. 8d. per cwt.	Sugar in bond 10s.
Duty 23s. 4d.	Duty 14s.
54s. 0d.	54s.

There cannot be two prices in the market for an article of the same quality, paying the same rate of duty. If therefore the duties on foreign and colonial sugar were alike, the price in bond (that is to say, without duty) would be also alike. Now foreign sugar in bond is selling at 30s. 8d. per cwt. of the same quality as colonial sugar which sells at 54s. per cwt., duty paid. The elements of the price of this sugar are therefore as follows:

	s.	d.
Real value of sugar in bond	30	8 per cwt.
Tax paid to the Queen	11	0
Tax paid to the sugar monopolist	9	4
	54	0

To meet the loss of revenue by the repeal of the taxes on provisions, we propose to transfer that portion of the tax on sugar at present paid to the sugar monopolists to its only legitimate claimant, the Queen's Exchequer. Estimating the consumption of colonial sugar at 4,800,000 cwt. per annum, at 9s. 4d. per cwt., the Queen would gain an additional revenue of no less than 2,200,000*l.* per annum. Add to this 2d. per lb. tax at present paid to the coffee monopolists on 20,000,000 lbs. of coffee, amounting to 170,000*l.*, which we propose also to transfer to the Queen's Exchequer, there would be from these two sources a revenue amounting to 2,370,000*l.* per annum, and the people would continue to pay precisely the same prices for their sugar and coffee which they do now.

It is sufficient for us to show that there are no real grounds for the pretence of maintaining the beef, bacon, butter, and cheese monopolies on the plea that the revenue derived from these articles cannot be spared. We shall not now enter into the discussion in what manner the surplus of more than 2,000,000*l.*, which would remain, after providing for the loss of revenue, in the abolition of the provision taxes, could be best appropriated, because we may hereafter enter upon this question in discussing the sugar duties; but we trust our friends in Parliament will now be prepared to meet a repetition of the arguments of last session against the repeal of the provision laws; and if they find themselves outvoted on our view of the question, we venture to suggest another plan of meeting the loss of revenue or provisions, viz. by extending the probate and legacy duties to *real* property. A case came recently under our notice, of a poor washerwoman, who, by 40 years of wearisome toil and rigid economy, had accumulated a few hundred pounds to leave to her children; but, before one farthing of this hard-earned store could be divided amongst them, a portion had to be taken from it to pay the

probate and legacy duties. We could not avoid the reflection that, if this poor woman's property was taxed, it seemed but an act of justice that the lands and houses of the Duke of Richmond, and our other hereditary legislators, should be taxed in like manner; and yet, strange to say, their lands have descended to their heirs from generation to generation ever since the tax was laid, without having contributed one shilling of probate and legacy duty !!

IMPORTANT DECLARATION OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IN FAVOUR OF FREE TRADE.

We have been delighted and cheered by the response to our labours from our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic more than we can express. The able and enlightened report of Mr. Walker, the Secretary of the Treasury, on the finances of the United States, on which President Polk's message to Congress is founded, has given us unmixed pleasure. The doctrines laid down in this most important document, relating to trade and the principles of taxation, are suited to all times and to all countries; and it comes most opportunely on the eve of a session of Parliament, in which those questions will absorb almost exclusive attention.

The Secretary acknowledges in a frank and candid spirit the improvements made during the last three or four years in the British tariff, and urges them as reasons for similar improvements in the tariff of the United States.

To meet the repeal of the cotton duty, and the reduction on American grain and provisions, the Secretary recommends that the duty on salt should be repealed; that on iron reduced from 60 per cent. *ad valorem* to 20; and all other duties reduced to the lowest point compatible with raising the necessary amount of public revenue. This recommendation ought to stop the mouths of those English protectionists who are continually declaring that foreign nations will not reciprocate our concessions, as effectually as the facts on which it is founded will close the mouths of the American manufacturers.

The following extracts from the report will be read with great pleasure by the friends of Free Trade, and may be read with great profit by its opponents.

The Secretary ably refutes the reciprocity fallacy, and declares that the repeal of our Corn Laws would result in the overthrow of the protective system in the United States.

"Soil, climate, and other causes (he says,) vary very much, in different countries, the pursuits which are most profitable in each; and the prosperity of all of them will be best promoted by leaving them, unrestricted by legislation, to exchange with each other those fabrics and products which they severally raise most cheaply. This is clearly illustrated by the perfect Free Trade which exists among all the States of the Union, and by the acknowledged fact that any one of these States would be injured by imposing duties upon the products of others. It is generally conceded that reciprocal Free Trade among nations would best advance the interest of all. But it is contended that we must meet the tariffs of other nations by countervailing restrictions. That duties upon our exports by foreign nations are prejudicial to us, is conceded; but whilst this injury is lightly felt by the manufacturers, its weight falls almost exclusively upon agriculture, commerce, and navigation. If those interests which sustain the loss do not ask countervailing restrictions, it should not be demanded by the manufacturers, who do not feel the injury, and whose fabrics, in fact, are not excluded by the foreign legislation of which they complain. That agriculture, commerce, and navigation are injured by foreign restrictions, constitutes no reason why they should be subjected to still severer treatment, by additional restrictions, and countervailing tariffs enacted at home. Commerce, agriculture, and navigation, harassed as they may be by foreign restrictions, diminishing the amount of exchangeable products which they could otherwise purchase abroad, are burdened with heavier impositions at home. Nor will augmented duties here lead to a reduction of foreign tariffs; but the reverse, by furnishing the protected classes there with the identical argument used by the protected classes here against reduction. By countervailing restrictions, we injure our own fellow-citizens much more than the foreign nation at whom we purpose to aim their force; and, in the conflict of opposing tariffs, we sacrifice our own commerce, agriculture, and navigation. As well might we impose monarchical or aristocratic restrictions on our government or people, because that is the course of foreign legislation. Let our commerce be as free as our political institutions. Let us, with revenue duties only, open our ports to all the world, and nation after nation will soon follow our example. If we reduce our tariff, the party opposed to the Corn Laws of England would soon prevail, and admit all our agricultural products at all times freely into her ports, in exchange for her exports. And if England would now repeal her duties upon our wheat, flour, Indian corn, and other agricultural products, our own restrictive system would certainly be doomed to overthrow. If the question is asked, who shall begin this work of reciprocal reduction? it is answered by the fact, that England has already abated her duties upon most of our exports. She has repealed the duty upon cotton, and greatly reduced the tariff upon our broadstuffs, pro-

visions, and other articles; and her present bad harvest, accompanied by a reduction of our tariff, would lead to the repeal of her Corn Laws, and the unrestricted admission, at all times, of our agricultural products."

Commerce is the exchange of the products of one country for those of another. The report shows that when nations pass laws which interfere with this natural exchange, and force exports of specie, trade must be necessarily restricted. Our Corn Laws have afforded too many instances of the truth of this fact. Having no regular trade with foreign countries for corn in exchange for our manufactures, whenever we need foreign supplies of corn we are obliged to pay for it in specie; and hence the disturbance of our currency, the diminished demand for our manufactures, the decline in prices, the want of employment, and the long train of evils which follow.

"The growing West, in a series of years, must be the greatest sufferers by the tariff, in depriving them of the foreign market, and of that of the cotton-growing states. We demand, in fact, for our agricultural products, specie from nearly all the world, by heavy taxes upon all their manufactures; and their purchases from us must therefore be limited, as well as their sales to us enhanced in price. Such a demand for specie, which we know in advance cannot be complied with, is nearly equivalent to a decree excluding most of our agricultural products from the foreign markets. Such is the rigour of our restrictions, that nothing short of a famine opens freely the ports of Europe for our broadstuffs. Agriculture is our chief employment; it is best adapted to our situation, and, if not depressed by the tariff, would be the most profitable. We can raise a larger surplus of agricultural products, and a greater variety, than almost any other nation, and at cheaper rates. Remove, then, from agriculture all our restrictions, and, by its own unfettered power, it will break down all foreign restrictions, and, our own being removed, would feed the hungry and clothe the poor of our fellow-men throughout all the densely peopled nations of the world. But now we will take nothing in exchange for these products but specie, except at very high duties; and nothing but a famine breaks down all foreign restrictions, and opens for a time the ports of Europe to our broadstuffs. If, on a reduction of our duties, England repeals her Corn Laws, nearly all Europe must follow her example, or give to her manufacturers advantages which cannot be successfully encountered in most of the markets of the world. The tariff did not raise the price of our broadstuffs, but a bad harvest in England does—giving us for the time that foreign market which we would soon have at all times, by that repeal of the Corn Law which must follow the reduction of our duties. But while broadstuffs rise with a bad harvest in England, cotton almost invariably falls; because the increased sum which, in that event, England must pay for our broadstuffs we will take, not in manufactures, but only in specie; and, not having it to spare, she brings down, even to a greater extent, the price of our cotton. Hence the result, that a bad harvest in England reduces the aggregate price of our exports, often turns the exchanges against us, carrying our specie abroad, and inflicting a serious blow on our prosperity. Foreign nations cannot for a series of years import more than they export; and if we close our markets against their imports by high duties, they must buy less of our exports, or give a lower price, or both."

"Coal, iron, sugar, and molasses, articles of great bulk and weight, yielded last year six millions of revenue, at an average rate of duty exceeding 60 per cent. *ad valorem*. These duties are far too high for revenue upon all these articles, and ought to be reduced to the revenue standard."

"The duty on cotton-bagging is equivalent to 55 20 per cent. *ad valorem* on the Scotch bagging, and to 123 11 per cent. on the gunny bag; and yet the whole revenue from these duties has fallen to 60,064.50 dollars. Nearly the entire amount, therefore, of this enormous tax makes no addition to the revenue, but passes to the benefit of about thirty manufacturers. As five-sixths of the cotton crop is exported abroad, the same proportion of the bagging around the bale is exported, and sold abroad at a heavy loss, growing out of a deduction for tare. Now, as duties are designed to operate only on the domestic consumption, there ought to be a drawback of the whole duty on cotton-bagging re-exported around the bale, on the same principles on which drawbacks are allowed in other cases. The cotton planting is the great exporting interest, and suffers from the tariff in the double capacity of consumer and exporter. Cotton is the great basis of our foreign exchange, furnishing most of the means to purchase imports and supply the revenue. It is thus the source of two thirds of the revenue, and of our foreign freight and commerce, upholding our commercial marine, and maritime power. It is also a bond of peace with foreign nations, constructing a stronger preventive of war than armies or navies, forts or armaments. At present prices, our cotton crop will yield an annual product of 72,000,000 dollars, and the manufactured fabric 504,000,000 dollars, furnishing profits abroad to thousands of capitalists, and wages to hundreds of thousands of the working classes—all of whom would be deeply injured by any disturbances, growing out of a state of war, to the direct and adequate supply of the raw material. If our manufacturers consume 400,000 bales, it would cost them 12,000,000 dollars, whilst selling the manufactured fabric for 84,000,000 dollars; and they should be the last to unite in imposing heavy taxes upon that great interest which supplies them with the raw material out of which they realise such immense profits. Accompanying the drawback of the duty on cotton-bagging should be the repeal of the duty on foreign cotton, which is inoperative and delusive, and not desired by the domestic producer."

Our corn monopolists tell the agricultural labourers that the Corn Laws were passed for their benefit, and that if they be repealed wages will fall. This impudent assertion was answered the other day at the meeting of the poor Wiltshire labourers, by the declaration that they only earned 6s. to 8s. per week! The American monopolists tell their dupes the same story, and, as appears from the Secretary's report, with about the same degree of truth:

"An appeal has been made to the poor by the friends of protection, on the ground that it augments the wages of labour. In reply, it is contended that the wages of labour have not augmented since the tariff of 1842, and that in some cases they have diminished."

"Where the number of manufactories is not great, the power of the system to regulate the wages of labour is inconsiderable; but, as the profit of capital invested in manufactures is augmented by the protective tariff, there is a corresponding increase of power, until the control of such capital over the wages of labour becomes irresistible. As this power is exercised from time to time, we find it resisted by combinations amongst the working classes—by turning out for higher wages, or for shorter time, by trades' union; and in some countries, unfortunately, by violence and bloodshed. But the Government, by protective duties, arrais itself on the side of the manufacturing system, and, by thus augmenting its wealth and power, soon terminates in its favour the struggle between man and money—between capital and labour. When the tariff of 1842 was enacted, the maximum duty was 20 per cent. By that act, the average of duties on the protected article was more than doubled. But the wages of labour did not increase in a corresponding ratio, or in any ratio whatever. On the contrary, whilst wages in some cases have diminished, the prices of many articles used by the working classes have greatly appreciated."

"A protective tariff is a question regarding the enhancement of the profits of capital. That is its object, and not to augment the wages of labour, which would reduce those profits. It is a question of per centage, and is to decide whether money vested in our manufactures shall, by special legislation, yield a profit of ten, twenty, or thirty per cent., or whether it shall remain satisfied with a dividend equal to that accruing from the same capital, when invested in agriculture, commerce, or navigation."

"It discriminates in favour of the manufacturer, and against the mechanic, by many higher duties upon the manufacture, than upon the article made out of it by the mechanic. It discriminates in favour of the manufacturer, and against the merchant, by injurious restrictions upon trade and commerce; and against the ship building and navigating interest, by heavy duties on almost every article used in building or navigating vessels. It discriminates in favour of manufactures, and against exports, which are as truly the product of American industry as manufactures. It discriminates in favour of the rich, against the poor, by high duties upon nearly all the necessities of life, and by minimums and specific duties, rendering the tax upon the real value much higher on the cheaper than upon the finer article."

It was proved by the evidence of Deacon Humm and Mr. Macgregor, both Secretaries of the Board of Trade, and therefore the highest authority, that the effects of our Corn Laws were to impose a burthen upon the people greater than the amount of all the State taxes, including the interest on the national debt. The Secretary tells us, that the American monopoly taxes the people to the extent of 81,000,000 dols., but that of this sum only 27,000,000 dols. reaches the State treasury; and moreover, that 20 millions of people are thus taxed for the benefit of the small fraction of 10,000 capitalists. In like manner our Corn Laws tax the people to the amount of 50 to 60,000,000l. per annum for the presumed benefit of a few thousand owners of land:

"At least two-thirds of the taxes imposed by the present tariff are paid, not into the treasury, but to the protected classes. The revenue from imports last year exceeded 27 millions of dollars. This, in itself, is a heavy tax; but the whole tax imposed upon the people by the present tariff is not less than 81 millions of dollars, of which 27 millions are paid to the Government upon the imports, and 54 millions to the protected classes, in enhanced prices of similar domestic articles."

"This estimate is based upon the position that the duty is added to the price of the import, and also of its domestic rival. If the import is enhanced in price by the duty, so must be the domestic rival; for, being like articles, their price must be the same in the same market. The merchant advances in cash the duty on the import, and adds the duty, with a profit upon it, and other charges, to the price, which must therefore be enhanced to that extent, unless the foreign producer had first deducted the duty from the price. But this is impossible; for such now is, and long has been, the superabundance of capital and active competition in Europe, that a profit of six per cent. in any business is sufficient to produce large investments of money in that business; and if, by a tariff, a duty of four per cent. be exacted on the products of such business, and the foreign producer deducts that duty from his previous price, he must sustain a heavy loss. This loss would also soon extend beyond the sales for our consumption to the sales of our merchants of articles to be re-exported by them from our ports with a drawback of duty, which would bring down their price throughout the markets of the world. But this the foreign producer cannot afford. The duty, therefore, must be added to the price, and paid by the consumer; the duty constituting as much a part of the price as the cost of production."

"If it be true that, when a duty of 40 per cent. is imposed by our tariff, the foreign producer first deducts the duty from the previous price on the sale to our merchant, it must be equally true with a duty of 100 per cent., which is exactly equal to the previous price, and, when deducted, would reduce the price to nothing."

"In suggesting improvements in the revenue laws, the following principles have been adopted:

"1. That no more money should be collected than is necessary for the wants of the Government economically administered."

"2. That no duty be imposed on any article above the lowest rate which will yield the largest amount of revenue."

"3. That below such rate, discrimination may be made, descending in the scale of duties; or, for imperative reasons, the article may be placed in the list of those free from all duty."

"4. That the maximum revenue duty should be imposed on luxuries."

"5. That all minimums, and all specific duties, should

be abolished, and *ad valorem* duties substituted in their place—care being taken to guard against fraudulent invoices and under-valuation, and to assess the duty upon the actual market value.

"6. That the duties should be so imposed as to operate as equally as possible throughout the union, discriminating neither for nor against any class or section.

"Thus, by the tariff of 1842, a duty of 30 per cent. *ad valorem* is levied on all manufactures of cotton; but the law further provides that cotton goods, 'not dyed, coloured, printed, or stained, not exceeding in value 20 cents per square yard, shall be valued at 20 cents per square yard.' If, then, the real value of the cheapest cotton goods is but 4 cents a square yard, it is placed by the false value of 20 cents per square yard, and the duty levied on the fictitious value—raising it five times higher on the cheap article consumed by the poor—than upon the fine article purchased by the more wealthy. Indeed, by House document, No. 306 of the first session of the 28th Congress, this difference, by actual importation, was 65 per cent. between the cheaper and the finer article of the 20 per cent. minimum, 131 per cent. on the 30 per cent. minimum, 48½ per cent. on the 35 per cent. minimum, 84 per cent. on the 60 per cent. minimum, and 84 per cent. on the 75 per cent. minimum. This difference is founded on actual importation, and shows an average discrimination against the poor on cotton imports of 82 per cent. beyond what the tax would be if assessed upon the actual value. The operation of the specific duty presents a similar discrimination against the poor and in favour of the rich. Thus, upon salt, the duty is not upon the value, but it is eight cents a bushel, whether the article be coarse or fine, showing, by the same document, from actual importation, a discrimination of 64 per cent. against the cheap, and in favour of the finer article; and this, to a greater or less extent, is the effect of all specific duties. When we consider that 2,892,631 74 dollars of the revenue last year was collected by minimum duties, and 13,311,085 46 dol. by specific duties, the discrimination against the cheaper article must amount, by estimates founded on the same document, to a tax of 5,108,422 dollars, exacted by minimums and specific duties annually from the poorer classes, by raising thus the duties on the cheaper article above what they would be if duty were assessed upon the actual value. If direct taxes were made specific, they would be intolerable. Thus, if an annual tax of thirty dollars were assessed on all houses, without respect to their actual value, making the owner of the humble tenement or cabin pay a tax of 30 dollars, and the owner of the costly mansion a tax of but 30 dollars on their respective houses—it would differ in degree, but not in principle, from the same unvarying specific duty on cheap as on fine articles. If any discrimination should be made, it should be the reverse of the specific duty, and of the minimum principle, by establishing a maximum standard, above which value the duty on the finer articles should be higher, and below which they should be lower on the cheaper article. The tax upon the actual value is the most equal, and can only be accomplished by *ad valorem* duties. As to fraudulent invoices and under-valuation, these dangers are believed to be arrested effectually by the stringent provisions and severe penalty of the 17th section of the tariff of 1842; and now one-half of the revenue is collected from *ad valorem* duties.

"From improved machinery, diminished prices of the raw material, or other causes, prices may fall even after a tariff, but they would in such cases have fallen much more but for a tariff. The truest comparison is between the present price of the same article at home and abroad; and to the extent that the price is lower in the foreign market than in our own, the duty, if equal to that difference, must to that extent enhance the price, and in the same rate with the lower duty. The difference in price at home and abroad is generally about equal to the difference in the cost of production, and presents, in a series of years, the surest measures of the effect of the duty—the enhancement in price being equal to that difference if the duty be higher than that difference, or equal to it, or if the duty be lower, then the enhancement is equal to the duty; and if the article is produced, like cotton, more cheaply here than abroad, the duty is inoperative. The great argument for the tariff is, that, foreign labour being cheaper than our own, the cost of foreign production, it is said, is lessened to that extent; and that we must make up this difference by an equivalent duty, and a corresponding enhancement in price, in our own market, both of the foreign article and of its rival domestic product—thus rendering the duty a tax on all consumers, for the benefit of the protected classes. If the marshal were sent by the federal government to collect a direct tax upon the whole people, to be paid over to manufacturing capitalists to them to sustain their business, or realise a larger profit, it would be the same in effect as the protective duty, which, when analysed in its simplest elements, and reduced to actual results, is a mere subtraction of so much money from the people, to increase the revenues of the protected classes. Legislation for classes is against the doctrine of equal rights, and repugnant to the spirit of our free institutions, and, it is apprehended by many, may become but another form for privileged orders—indicated here not by rank or title, but by profits, and dividends, extracted from the many, by taxes upon them, for the benefit of the few. No prejudice is felt by the Secretary of the Treasury against manufacturers. His opposition is to the protective system, and not to classes or individuals. He doubts not that the manufacturers are sincerely persuaded that the system which is a source of so much profit to them, is beneficial also to the country. He entertains a contrary opinion, and claims for the opponents of the system a settled conviction of its injurious effects. Whilst a due regard to the just and equal rights of all classes forbids a discrimination in favour of the manufacturers, by duties above the lowest revenue limit, no disposition is felt to discriminate against them by reducing such duties as operate in their favour below that standard. Under revenue duties, it is believed, they would still receive a reasonable profit, equal to that realised by those engaged in other pursuits; and it is thought they should desire no more, at least through the agency of governmental power. Equal rights and profits, so far as laws are made, best conform to the principles upon which the constitution was founded, and with an undeviating regard to which all its functions should be exercised—looking to the whole country, and not to classes or sections.

It seems strange, that while the profit of agriculture varies from one to eight per cent., that of manufacturers is more than double. The reason is, that whilst the high duties secure nearly a monopoly of the home market to the manufacturer, the farmer and planter are deprived to a great extent of the foreign market by these duties. The farmer and planter are, to a great extent, forbidden to buy in the foreign market, and confined to the domestic articles en-

hanced in price by the duties. The tariff is thus a double benefit to the manufacturer, and a double loss to the farmer and planter—a benefit to the former, in nearly a monopoly of the home market, and in enhanced prices of their fabrics, and a loss to the latter in the payment of those high prices, and in total or partial exclusion from the foreign market. The true question is, whether the farmer and planter shall, to a great extent, supply our people with cheap manufactures, purchased abroad with their agricultural products, or whether this exchange shall be forbidden by high duties on such manufactures, and their supply thrown, as a monopoly, at large prices, by high tariffs, into the hands of our own manufacturers? The number of manufacturing capitalists who derive the benefit from the heavy taxes extracted by the tariff from twenty millions of people does not exceed ten thousand. The whole number (including the working classes engaged in our manufactures) deriving any benefit from the tariff, does not exceed 400,000, of whom not more than 40,000 have been brought into this pursuit by the last tariff. But this small number of 40,000 would still have been in the country, consuming our agricultural products; and in the attempt to secure them as purchasers, so small in number, and not consuming one-half the supply of many countries, the farmer and planter are asked to sacrifice the markets of the world, containing a population of 800 millions, disabled from purchasing our products by our high duties on all they would sell in exchange. The farmer and planter would have the home market without a tariff, and they would have the foreign market, also, to a much greater extent, but for the total or partial prohibition of the late tariff."

Monopoly in the United States will not long survive the Secretary's very able exposure of its injustice and thoroughly anti-republican character. The American people are too shrewd not to see that their truest policy consists in commerce free as their political institutions. We may be excused if we exult in the pleasing idea that our seven years' labours have not been in vain. The President of the United States has declared in favour of Free Trade. We doubt not a message of a similar character will shortly be delivered to our assembled Parliament. When the two freest nations of the world shall have hoisted the banner of Free Trade, it will be the signal for other nations also to hoist the white emblem of "peace on earth, good will to men." "This will (in the language of Mr. Calhoun) indeed be a victory—THE HARBINGER OF A NEW AND BRIGHTER AND HIGHER CIVILIZATION."

The Council of the League some time ago presented to Mr. Calhoun and General McDuffie, the Free Trade leaders in America, splendidly bound copies of the League, as a mark of its esteem and sympathy, and of the sense it entertained of their able and indefatigable advocacy of Free Trade principles. We are happy to learn that the Council has ordered similar tokens to be prepared for presentation to President Polk, and to the Hon. Mr. Walker, the Secretary of the United States' Treasury.

THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

We re-publish from last week's *League*, with considerable additions, the list of LOCAL TREASURERS, and once more urge upon all those who have not yet replied to the Circular of the Council relative to their appointment, to do so without delay.

The Council, we believe, are anxious to announce, not only in the columns of this journal, but also in the local papers, the name of some gentleman in every considerable town in the country, to whom subscriptions may be paid, and by whom they will be transmitted to Manchester. This is a very important preliminary arrangement, and will, we trust, receive the prompt attention of those who have been corresponded with on the subject.

The gentlemen named below will, as we have already implied, receive contributions in their several neighbourhoods.

Immediate exertion is not only important—it is imperatively necessary. The present is the moment for action; and if it is allowed to pass away unimproved, we may look in vain for the recurrence of another opportunity of acting so influentially, or with such probabilities of success.

The Subscription Cards and Books are now ready, and will be supplied either direct from the offices of the League, in Manchester, or by the Local Treasurers.

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New Mills—John Yates, Esq.
Oldham—John Platt, Esq., Hartford Ironworks.
Ossett, near Wakefield—Mr. Frank Fearnside.
Potteries, The—Francis Wedgwood, Esq.
Poole—G. R. Penney, Esq.
Pontefract—Mr. W. Kidd, news agent.
Pateley Bridge—Mr. R. Harker.
Plymouth—Jno. Symons, Esq., Kinterburg-st.
Reigate—Mr. Thomas Dann.
Ramsgate—Mr. Henry Scott, 57, Queen-street.
Salisbury—Jno. Lambert, Esq.
Sevenoaks, Kent—John Clark, Esq.
St. Columb—Mr. W. Brown, 3, Fair-street.
Scarborough—Isaac Stickney, Esq.
Sheffield—William Hargreaves, Esq., Merchant.
Skipton—J. B. Dewhurst, Esq.
Southport—Richard Johnson, Esq.
Stockport—Mr. J. Heginbotham, Millgate.
Sihowry, Monmouthshire—Rev. Richard Jones.
South Shields—Mr. James Bell.
Stourbridge—Mr. E. Baylie.
Stroud—Mr. John S. Cobb.
Swaffham and West Norfolk—Arthur Morse, Esq., Swaffham.
Swansea—Mr. Joseph Rutter.
Stroud—Mr. T. Parsons.
Stirling, Robert Smith, Esq.
Sunderland—Mr. Edward C. Robson, Frederic-street, Bishopwearmouth.
Shepton Mallett—W. Richardson, Esq., Woodbourne Cottage.
Staleybridge—Henry Bayley, Esq.
Todmorden—W. Haworth, Esq., North View.
Tewkesbury—Mr. Benjamin Harris.
Thetford—Mr. Henry Brown.
Warminster—Mr. H. Bastings.
Widnesbury—Benjamin Round, Esq.
Wareham—J. Pike, Esq., Merchant.
Westbury—N. Overbury, Esq.
Wigan—Thomas Taylor, Esq., Spinner, and Mr. Thomas Wall, Bookseller.
Wirksworth—Mr. B. Street, White Lion Inn.
Wakefield—Charles Morton, Esq., Whitwood Colliery.
Whitchurch—Mr. Richard Thomas.
Weymouth—Mr. Charles Pope.
Westhrovich—J. Spittle, Esq.
York—Thomas Swales, Esq., Lawrence-street.
Yarmouth—Mr. Jno. Fish, Denes.

MARQUIS WELLESLEY'S MEMOIRS.—At this moment the opinions of the Marquis Wellesley on the great question of Free Trade, and the unrestricted importation of food for the people, are peculiarly interesting. In the "Memoirs of the Marquis Wellesley," just published, there is an account of the origin of the Corn Laws, and an ably drawn up protest expressing his lordship's objections against the whole principle of the baneful measure of 1815.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION OF 1846.

First Week, ending Saturday, January 24.

The session of Parliament for 1846 has opened at an earlier period than usual, and under circumstances the most remarkable which have occurred in the entire history of Free Trade agitation.

After a night of storm and rain—a night in which the elements seemed let loose, as if to illustrate what would be the condition of Great Britain if it were abandoned to the anarchic sway of the monopolists—the sun, about the middle of the day, on Thursday, the 22d January, peeped forth, and threw a cheerful aspect over the royal procession. The crowds on the streets assembled to greet her Majesty were greater than usual; while the House of Lords contained a more splendid array of rank and fashion than we recollect on any similar occasion for several years past.

The usual ceremonials having been gone through, her Majesty delivered the following "Most Gracious Speech:"

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

It gives me great satisfaction again to meet you in Parliament, and to have the opportunity of recurring to your assistance and advice.

I continue to receive from my Allies, and from all other Foreign Powers, the strongest assurances of their desire to cultivate the most friendly relations with this country.

I rejoice that in concert with the Emperor of Russia, and through the success of our joint mediation, I have been enabled to adjust the differences which had long prevailed between the Ottoman Porte and the King of Persia, and had seriously endangered the tranquillity of the East.

For several years a desolating and sanguinary warfare has afflicted the States of the Rio de la Plata. The Commerce of all nations has been interrupted, and acts of barbarity have been committed unknown to the practice of civilised people. In conjunction with the King of the French I am endeavouring to effect the pacification of those States.

The convention concluded with France in the course of the last year, for the more effectual suppression of the Slave Trade, is about to be carried into immediate execution by the active co-operation of the two Powers on the Coast of Africa.

It is my desire that the present union and the good understanding which so happily exists between us may always be employed to promote the interests of humanity, and to secure the peace of the world.

I regret that the conflicting claims of Great Britain and the United States in respect to the territory on the North Western Coast of America, although they have been made the subject of repeated negotiation, still remain unsettled.

You may be assured that no effort, consistent with national honour, shall be wanting on my part to bring this question to an early and peaceful termination.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

The Estimates for the year will be laid before you at an early period.

Although I am deeply sensible of the importance of enforcing economy in all branches of the expenditure, yet I have been compelled, by a due regard to the exigencies of the public service and to the state of our naval and military establishments, to propose some increase in the Estimates which provide for their efficiency.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

I have observed with deep regret the very frequent instances in which the crime of deliberate assassination has been of late committed in Ireland. It will be your duty to consider whether any measures can be devised calculated to give increased protection to life, and to bring to justice the perpetrators of so dreadful a crime.

I have to lament that, in consequence of a failure of the potato-crop in several parts of the United Kingdom, there will be a deficient supply of an article of food which forms the chief subsistence of great numbers of my people. The disease by which the plant has been affected has prevailed to the greatest extent in Ireland.

I have adopted all such precautions as it was in my power to adopt for the purpose of alleviating the sufferings which may be caused by this calamity, and I shall confidently rely on your co-operation in devising such other means for effecting the same benevolent purpose as may require the sanction of the Legislature.

I have had great satisfaction in giving my assent to the measures which you have presented to me from time to time, calculated to extend commerce, and to stimulate domestic skill and industry, by the repeal of prohibitory and the relaxation of protective duties.

The prosperous state of the revenue, the increased demand for labour, and the general improvement which has taken place in the internal condition of the country, are strong testimonies in favour of the course you have pursued.

I recommend you to take into your early consideration, whether the principles on which you have acted may not, with advantage, be yet more extensively applied, and whether it may not be in your power, after a careful review of the existing duties upon many articles, the produce or manufacture of other countries, to make such further reductions and remissions as may tend to ensure the continuance of the great benefits to which I have adverted, and, by enlarging our commercial intercourse, to strengthen the bonds of amity with Foreign Powers.

Any measures which you may adopt for effecting these great objects will, I am convinced, be accompanied by such precautions as shall prevent permanent loss to the revenue, or injurious results to any of the great interests of the country.

I have full reliance on your just and dispassionate consideration of matters so deeply affecting the public welfare.

It is my earnest prayer that, with the blessing of Divine Providence on your councils, you may be enabled to promote friendly feelings between different classes of my subjects, provide additional security for the continuance of peace, and to maintain contentment and happiness at home, by increasing the comforts and bettering the condition of the great body of my people.

In the House of Lords, the debate on the Address

was tame and brief. The Duke of Richmond angrily demanded explanation; the Duke of Wellington sheltered himself behind a Privy Councilor's oath; and Lord Stanley, who stated that he had received the Queen's permission to disclose everything connected with his resignation declined doing so on that occasion, as he would thereby be driven into a premature discussion of Sir Robert Peel's plans. But he intimated, distinctly enough, that he had retired because of his dissatisfaction with the attempt to diminish or abolish "protection to native industry." A few other peers took part in the discussion; and Lord Brougham made a rambling and really contemptible attack on the Anti-Corn Law League, for which its members had very ample satisfaction in the fact, that at the very same moment Sir Robert Peel was stating their case with all his force and ability, and giving in his unqualified adhesion to their views. The Earl of Radnor took Lord Brougham to task, telling the House of Lords that the whole intellect and enthusiasm of the country were in favour of the Anti-Corn Law League; that there was nothing unconstitutional in its proceedings; and, with a touch of sarcasm, reminding their lordships, that "the League did not traffic in votes; that they did not take advantage of the 50l. clause in the Reform Act, nor did they split up property to manufacture votes." Some grumblings followed from the Earl of Hardwicke, and other peers; and then the Duke of Richmond (who had shown his pre-eminent capacity for the office of Premier, and the combined nobleness and grandeur of his character, by pettishly asking the Government why they did not make Mr. COBDEN a PEER, and place him on the Treasury Bench in the House of Lords!) put off his interrogations until next week.

In the House of Commons the scene was animating. The House was crowded; expectation stood on tiptoe. Sir Robert Peel gave notice that on Tuesday he will bring under consideration the commercial policy of the country, and the subject of the Corn Laws. Several other notices were given; one by Lord Ashley, of his intention to introduce a "Ten Hours' bill." Then came on the business of the night.

LORD FRANCIS EGERTON rose to move the Address, in answer to the Royal Speech. He reminded the House that, TWENTY YEARS AGO, he had, under the auspices of Mr. Canning, occupied a similar position; and this reminiscence led him to his chief topic—that his opinions on the CORN LAW have undergone an ENTIRE ALTERATION. A burst of cheering from the crowded Opposition benches was not re-echoed from the Ministerial side of the House; the "great party" received so important an intimation in blank and solemn silence. Then the noble lord went on to advocate the views of the Anti-Corn Law League—emphatically intimating, that if he did not concur, *without qualification*, in the recommendation contained in the Royal Speech, to re-consider the Corn Laws, he would not occupy his present position. He gave also to Mr. CROKER, in the last *Quarterly Review*, a most unceremonious contradiction. It may be recollected that the "ancient mariner," in the last *Quarterly*, rolled up his eyes in terror at the awful position in which this country would be placed, if, with Free Trade, we had also foreign war. In that case, the aged white-headed man, who affirmed that Tenterden steeple was the cause of Goodwin Sands, was resuscitated in the person of Mr. Croker, who solemnly affirmed, in the last "Quarterly," that if we had FREE TRADE, the French, during the next war, need not fit out a frigate, or fire a shot; all they had to do, was to "close their ports," sit down on the sea-shore, telescope in hand, and, looking across the Channel, with an exclamation of "*mort aux rats*," watch poor entrapped Englishmen dropping on their fields for want of food, leaving their skeletons to bleach for manure! Lord Francis Egerton laughed at the ludicrous fancy. He pointed to the year 1810, when even from France, we received the largest supply of Continental corn at the very time when we needed it; and he closed his remarkable speech by imploring the House to bring about a "FULL, SATISFACTORY, and FINAL SETTLEMENT of the Corn Law question!"

Mr. Becket Denison seconded the Address; and gave in his adhesion, though in a more guarded manner, to Free Trade views. Experience had driven him to his present convictions; and, looking to the results of the financial policy of Government during the last three years, he had the fullest confidence in her Majesty's Government, that any further measures they would undertake would be for the benefit of all classes, without injury to any.

Sir ROBERT PEEL now rose, and the full gaze and attention of the crowded House were concentrated upon him. His speech was the most remarkable thing that has occurred in the history of Free Trade debate, not for its novelty, but its speciality. The accounts which the newspapers furnished last year of the causes which had

rendered so many Cabinet meetings necessary, have turned out from Sir Robert Peel's own account, to have been substantially correct. The mysterious and universal blight in the potatoes was the immediate and proximate cause of all those Cabinet consultations. But Sir Robert Peel said that it would be unfair to make that cause occupy the prominent place. The laws which regulate the IMPORTATION OF FOOD were the primary, the grand subject of the deliberations of a reluctant Cabinet. On the question of the CORN LAW his opinion had undergone a complete change! This announcement was received with triumphant cheering from the Opposition benches, with profound silence from the Ministerial. Then the Prime Minister proceeded, with great ability, to show that all the grounds on which "Protection to Native Industry" was advocated, had been proved to be wholly untenable. Deliberately adopting the speeches of Mr. VILLIERS as his model, he went on, as if he were about to conclude with a motion for the immediate and total abolition of the Corn Law. Protection was not a labourer's question; for during the last three years, prices had been low, and food abundant; and during that period the working classes had been better off than during the preceding three years. High prices did not produce high wages nor vice versa. In the last three years, with low prices and abundance of food, wages were comparatively high, and labour was in demand; in the three years preceding, with high prices and scarcity, wages were low and employment was scarce. Experience thus proved that wages were ruled by abundance of capital and demand for labour, and did not vary with the price of provisions. Again, increased freedom of trade was favourable to the prosperity of our commerce. In three scarce and dear years, namely from 1839 to 1841, our foreign exports fell off from fifty-three millions in value to forty-seven millions. But in three years of reduction of duties and low prices, namely, from 1842 to 1844, the value of our exports rose from forty-seven millions to fifty-eight millions. Even deducting the amount of the China trade, a similar result was shown. Nor was the reduction in the Customs' duties unfavourable to the revenue. In 1842 there was an estimated loss of a million and a half; in 1843, a smaller one of two hundred and seventy-three thousand pounds; but in 1845 there was a reduction, at an estimated loss to the revenue, of no less than two millions and a half. The total amount of the various reductions effected in three years exceeded four millions sterling; and many of the duties were totally abolished; the loss, therefore, not being compensated by any increased consumption. Had four millions been lost to the revenue? He believed that on the 5th of April next the revenue would be found to be more buoyant than ever. But there was a higher test. Criminal statistics showed a connection between increase and decrease of crime, and a declining or prosperous state of the country. In 1843, there had been a decrease of crime to the extent of five and a half per cent.; in 1844, of no less than ten per cent.; in 1845, of five and a half per cent.; and the decrease last year was especially marked in all the great manufacturing districts. Thus, during the time that they have been engaged in reducing Protective duties—in other words, gradually destroying protection to native industry—the interests of the labouring classes, of commerce and of morality had been promoted; and it was impossible to resist the inevitable conclusion that relaxation of protection was favourable to all the social relations and concerns of the country. Nor was relaxation unfavourable to native industry, however much it might hitherto have relied on protection. Flax was a striking instance in point. Foreign flax was now freely imported; yet, in the face of a rapidly increasing amount of foreign importation, the price of flax was higher. Foreign cattle was another instance. They all remembered the predictions of ruin in 1842, when prohibition was removed, and foreign cattle were admitted at a small fixed duty—predictions which created an unfounded though temporary panic. What was the case now? In the face of a rapidly augmenting importation of foreign cattle, sheep, and swine, prices had not been affected, and the contracts for the supply of provisions were now nearly double what they were even in 1844. Nay, on the subject of *lard*, about which there was so much alarm last year (loud laughter), with an importation running up from a nominal amount to eighty thousand hundred weight, prices had risen from 48s. to 62s. Another example was afforded by wool. The total abolition of the duty has been followed by a largely augmented importation, and a rapidly increasing price; as he showed by giving the quotations for several years. In the face of all these facts—the advancement of the comforts of the working classes, the diminution of crime, the improvement even of the public health, increase of trade, and an advance in price concurrent with an increase in importation, he felt he could no longer stand up in the House of Commons as the

advocate of protection. (Hear, hear.) It would be impossible for him, with these convictions on his mind, any longer to meet the annual motion of Mr. Villiers with a direct negative. The change in his views had been brought about by observation and experience; and he now frankly stated to his usual supporters that he could no longer defend the Corn Laws. He could have wished that the settlement of the question had been deferred to another Parliament; but the sudden and mysterious blight in the potatoes—the food in Ireland of four million people—rendered necessary immediate action. Sir R. Peel then read copious extracts from the mass of communications which had been forwarded to the Government on the subject; mentioned the appointment of the Government commission of inquiry; and detailed the proceedings of the Cabinet meetings assembled from time to time to consider the subject. His own wish was either at once to open the ports by an Order in Council, of which he was ready to take the responsibility, or else to call Parliament together. But at the same time he felt that though a temporary opening of the ports was not essentially connected with a consideration of the Corn Law, yet that it must, on the present occasion, be necessarily involved. His propositions were opposed by his colleagues in the Cabinet; Lord Stanley especially, considering that there was much exaggeration in the alleged failure of the potato and grain crops. Meantime, agitation increased; and though he might have evaded responsibility, under the fact of his colleagues having overruled his opinions, he felt it impossible to continue at the head of the Government with the strong convictions he entertained of an impending danger, and the necessity for meeting it. His position also was changed by the publication of Lord John Russell's letter. Any movement after it would be misinterpreted; and feeling that he could not bring the matter to a successful issue without the support of a united Cabinet, he determined to place his resignation in the hands of her Majesty. Lord John Russell was sent for; and he (Sir Robert Peel) promised that, in his private capacity, he would give the noble lord all the aid in his power to effect a settlement of the question. The noble lord having failed in his endeavour to form an administration, the Queen asked him if he persisted in his resignation? He replied, no; as the noble lord had not succeeded, he would resume the Government, and endeavour to bring his colleagues into his views. He had given notice of his intention to bring the subject generally before the House, and would not therefore anticipate discussion. But he trusted that he had shown that his motives were honourable. He was charged with "treason" to agriculture. It would indeed be "treason" to agriculture to suffer it to incur the odium of so great a calamity as a failure in the sustenance of the people, to call upon the House to vote money to purchase oats, and refuse to ask them to make any relaxation in the laws which restricted supply. He would not touch the existing law on any slight pretence, as, for instance, the introduction of Indian corn, which was urged as a boon to the agriculturists. It was urged over and over again that he was under some personal obligation to the agriculturists, and he was told that the power which had placed him in his present position could remove him. But he did not feel himself under any obligation to any man or body of men for submitting to the sacrifices of office. He did not undervalue the distinction, but the value of power did not consist in the invidious office of selection for the distribution of patronage. He had now served four sovereigns; under three he had held high office; but the highest reward he had ever asked was the assurance of his having been a faithful and loyal subject. His power he had never used for unworthy purposes; he had tried to use it for the advancement of national interests, and as a Conservative leader, or a Conservative minister, he had thought it consistent with high Conservative policy to reconcile an ancient monarchy and a proud aristocracy to a reformed House of Commons. The burden of office was far above his physical and mental powers; relief would be a favour, not a penalty. But he would not retain office with shackled power and mutilated authority; the helm he would not hold, especially in such stormy nights as he had seen in the House of Commons, unless it had liberty to traverse. If minister of England, he must be unshackled in his efforts to provide for the public safety.

Sir Robert Peel concluded this triumphant Free Trade speech with a kind of defiance to the aristocracy and the landed interest. Had this been delivered at any Free Trade meeting, there would not be wanting foolish feeble people to talk about vulgarity and intemperance. But Sir Robert Peel plainly told the monopolist rulers of the country, that he was their best friend, now, as hitherto, in his attempts to reconcile "an ancient monarchy and a proud aristocracy" to the action of a Reformed House of Commons, and the necessity of

moving with the times. Contemptuously did he talk of the boasted Richmond power of making and unmaking Premiers. Removal from office, the toils of which were above his physical and mental powers, would be a relief, not a penalty. But while he was Minister of England, it would not be with shackled power and mutilated authority. *He would not hold office on a servile tenure.* Nor would he touch the Corn Law for any trivial and temporary purpose, such as the free introduction of Indian corn. If he changed it at all, the change, he intimated, must be a comprehensive one. If he held the helm, especially in stormy times, that helm must "have liberty to traverse!" The Minister of England, if he held the office, must have unshackled liberty to take such measures as he considered necessary to provide for the public safety!

Such is an abstract of this remarkable speech; which was followed by one no less remarkable from Lord JOHN RUSSELL. The noble lord mainly occupied himself in giving those details respecting his recent attempt to form an administration, with which the public are familiar. But the speech was marked by the emphatic declaration of the noble lord, that the great principle on which he intended to form an administration was *FREE TRADE in its integrity and power.* Lord J. Russell went further than Sir R. Peel, for the noble lord repudiated any attempt at compromise, by any offer to *COMPENSATE*, or, in other words, to *BRIBE* the landed interest. But on one great point both Lord John Russell and Sir R. Peel are agreed—the principles of Free Trade are not merely the principles of common sense, but the principles of imperious public safety. Here is "Mene, mene, tekell, tekell upharsin," written on the walls of the House of Commons. The hand-writing was interpreted to the mortified monopolists by the two leading men of what used to be the two great parties. On Thursday night they were told that "their kingdom was departed from them;" and silence, more expressive than words, proclaimed the depth of their despair, the choking aggravation of their rage. The "dumb creatures" did at last find vent for hurricane-like explosion; and Mr. MILES, in a voice so agitated by internal passion, that he could scarcely articulate, warned the apostate Prime Minister that the agriculturists were preparing for him swift vengeance. Poor Colonel Sibthorp, also, uttered tokens of deep anguish. Once he thought Sir Robert Peel the only man to save the country; now he considered him the only individual capable of ruining it! But all this was mere *brutum fulmen*, so far as voting the address was concerned; though vigorous opposition is threatened when Sir Robert Peel's measures are brought in.

The only other speech of the evening was that by Mr. D'Israeli. But with this, as Free Traders, we have no sympathy. We have but one single object in view, that of the accomplishment of Free Trade; and whether it be achieved by Sir Robert Peel or Lord John Russell, we equally rejoice in the progress and the triumph of truth and reason. Sir R. Peel has as much right to change his opinions on the subject of protection as has Lord John Russell. Besides, Mr. D'Israeli is hardly the man to rate a Prime Minister for inconsistency. The member for Shrewsbury has himself boxed the political compass; he has veered in his short career from ultra-democratic to ultra-Tory views. In 1842, he elaborately patronised Sir R. Peel, when he introduced the New Tariff, and proved, much to his own satisfaction, that Free Trade was no heir-loom of the Whigs, for Pitt and the Tories adopted it before them. Whatever may be his motives, he has now taken to the *dissecting* line, his favorite victim being the Prime Minister; and with cool cruelty he performs his operations. Those who enjoy political anatomy may read the speech of Mr. D'Israeli on Thursday night. It is painful to see and to hear an assembly of *Christians and gentlemen* enjoying so keenly the process of skinning a living frog: but possibly it may teach future aspirants to office better to define their principles, and to study the map of their future course, before they commit themselves irrevocably to questions, on which, like a weathercock, they may have to turn completely round!

For remainder of Parliamentary News see Supplement.

THE NEXT COVENT GARDEN MEETING.—As Sir Robert Peel has announced his intention of bringing forward his Free Trade measures on Tuesday night next, and as the debate will probably continue through several nights, the Aggregate League Meeting in Covent Garden Theatre, announced for Wednesday next, will be postponed until further notice.

EAST SUSSEX REGISTRATION.—The county registration movement for East Sussex is going on with vigour. The Free Trade friends at Brighton are putting forth all their energies in the full confidence of success. Mr. Falvey will lecture in this division of Sussex during next week; at Eastbourne, on Monday; Hailsham, on Wednesday; and Uckfield, on Friday.

FREE TRADE MEETINGS.

NORWICH.

TRIUMPH OF MR. COBDEN OVER THE NORFOLK MONOPOLISTS.

Among the various meetings which have lately been held throughout the country upon the subject of the repeal of the Corn Laws, it is perhaps difficult to select any one as possessing pre-eminent importance. An intense interest in the question, and a firm and abiding determination to pursue it to a successful issue is the spirit which pervades every part of the kingdom. But the meeting at Norwich on Tuesday last, whether viewed in reference to its intrinsic importance, or to the extrinsic circumstances by which it was attended, certainly possessed features which gave it a high degree of interest, at least in Norfolk and the whole of the eastern counties, if not to the country at large. The intrinsic value of the meeting lies in a strong and unequivocal expression by the citizens of Norwich at the largest public meeting ever held there, of entire concurrence with the principles of the League, and a determination to assist in their realisation, notwithstanding the seductive blandishments, the corruption and intimidation employed by the monopolists of the district to procure a different result. The chief peculiar circumstances which marked the proceedings were the appearance of a gentleman—acknowledged to be the very *beau ideal* of a "county member"—at such public meeting to discuss the question of the justice or expediency of Free Trade principles, at a period when the whole question has long been given up by the leaders of his own and every other party. It is somewhat singular that Norwich should have been lately distinguished for the resuscitation of ancient superstitions and exploded fallacies, whose existence, even in the most rural districts, had become a matter of doubt. A few weeks ago, John Bell, of Norwich, gravely preferred a charge of witchcraft against a respectable old lady of that city. The magistrate listened patiently to the recital of the bodily ills which the complainant alleged he was labouring under, but as the poor fellow had come to a firm determination that they all did and must result from the baleful influence exercised over him by the aforesaid old lady, it was in vain to urge upon him the necessity of availing himself of the aid of medical science, the protection of the law being the only thing which in his bewildered judgment would meet the necessities of his case. The magistrates smiled and dismissed the case. The Hon. Edward Wodehouse, the prototype of John Bell, appeared on Wednesday last before 5000 of the inhabitants of Norwich—to whom, by-the-by, he facetiously introduced himself as "your representative,"—and in the face of that vast assembly propounded fallacies which have long since been abandoned by the protectionists themselves. The hon. gentleman, in a most piteous manner, detailed the evils under which he and his order were struggling, arising from the witchery exercised over the nation by the League, and the inevitable ruin that must ensue to the agriculturists of the country, if the Free Trade spell, now in operation, were not counteracted by the charm of an Act of Parliament. The fate of Mr. Wodehouse's appeal was similar to that of John Bell—the Norwichians laughed at the delusion and dismissed the case. It had for some time been known that Mr. Cobden had accepted an invitation given to him by the inhabitants of Norwich, to be present at a meeting in favour of a repeal of the Corn Laws; and a requisition having been presented to the Mayor, calling upon him to convene a meeting for that purpose in St. Andrew's Hall, and that requisition having been cheerfully complied with, the greatest interest was excited with respect to the forthcoming meeting, but that interest was subsequently vastly augmented when it became known that a challenge had been sent by Mr. Wodehouse to Mr. Cobden, and accepted by that gentleman, to discuss the question of the influence of agricultural protection. It appears to be one of the arrangements of Providence that some of the most important advances made in great principles should result from the folly of their opponents. This was eminently the case in the Free Trade cause, in regard to the celebrated speech of Lord Mountcashel, and that more recently of the Duke of Norfolk. The determination of the rabid portion of the Norfolk monopolists to oppose Mr. Cobden, adds another memorable instance to the list, exposing as it does in the most signal manner the miserable weakness and futility of arguments of men who are deemed fit to hold the highest position in the ranks of the monopolists. But, perhaps it may be said that the only circumstance in which any thing like prudence was exhibited by the protectionists on this occasion was in the selection of their champions. The hon. member for East Norfolk, it is known, can sustain little damage in reputation for wisdom, and the Norfolk monopolists were so far safe in putting him forward. To apply the words of Mr. Cobden, with reference to the county representation, the stakes being all in the hands of their opponents, they could not by possibility lose much by a defeat. One of the parties by whom Mr. Wodehouse was seconded, was Mr. Hamond, a gentleman who, like his principal, is much respected in the county for his kindness and amiability, but who was most cruelly treated by his friends in their not preventing him from the rash attempt of defending the Corn Laws at a public meeting. Perhaps one of the most interesting features in the evening's proceedings was the manner in which the protectionist fallacies were all disposed of by the pithy remarks made by the working men in the body of the hall, clearly proving the success and value of those instructions which the League have disseminated throughout the country. The third protectionist champion was Mr. Bowles, of Cambridge. It was, indeed, strongly rumoured that Mr. George Game Day was coming over to aid and assist, but those who know that gentleman's character for prudence, were satisfied that the report was unfounded. Upon his first appearance upon the platform, Mr. Bowles assumed a very determined attitude; having arranged his papers, he paced the platform to and fro with a fierceness of manner and dignity of demeanour similar to that formerly exhibited in Smithfield by the tragic heroes outside of Richardson's Theatre. This gentleman has an exceedingly happy knack of addressing an audience, giving the pro-Corn Law fallacy in one paragraph and its refutation in the next, thereby taking upon himself the task of answering his own statements, and saving his opponent the trouble. A meeting of weavers was attempted to be got up at one o'clock on the day of meeting, when it was expected they would have been addressed by Mr. Warnes, a gentleman who has become notorious for that extraordinary panacea for the evils of the Corn Laws, namely, less bread and more flax. Indeed, it is stated that strenuous efforts have lately been made by the Norfolk monopolists to enlist the Norwich weavers as an auxiliary monopolist

corps, through the medium of the old fallacy of "cheap bread and low wages;" but this effort has failed. George Lynes, to whom "The Norwich Weaver Boy" recently addressed one of his admirable letters in *THE LEAGUE*, was in attendance, and it was probably owing to that circumstance, and the ascertained unfavourable temper of the operatives, which induced Mr. Warnes not to appear, and the assembly broke up without holding any meeting. Strenuous efforts had also been made to rouse the farmers' clubs, and the local protection societies, but this attempt likewise proved an abortion; the only result being the attendance at the meeting of, at the most, some score of disorderly landlords and agents, and the subsequent presence at an hotel of an equally disorderly party—who, in consoling themselves for the miserable defeat of their champion, gave an infinity of trouble during the night to the servants of the establishment. The modern agricultural Cocker, the Marquis of Hastings, was upon the platform, in company with Mr. Warnes, but neither the one nor the other ventured to address the meeting, although every opportunity was afforded for so doing. Mr. Cobden was accompanied by Colonel Thompson, and both gentlemen were received with loud cheers upon presenting themselves upon the platform.

St. Andrew's Hall was crowded to suffocation. The vast cathedral-like aisle was filled by an immense assemblage, probably numbering five thousand, including people of every class in society, young and old, manufacturing and agricultural. The farmers from the neighbourhood flocked in early, their top boots and leathers shining almost like the party colours of monopoly. The town party of course consisted of the more intelligent ranks of Free Trade. Throughout the evening the feeling of the meeting was almost unanimous; it was that of a thorough Free Trade assemblage, and the triumph of the League was splendid.

Among the gentlemen present we observed Mr. Cobden, M.P.; Mr. Wodehouse, M.P.; Colonel Thompson, Rev. Mr. Brock, Messrs. Hamond, Willett, Younge, Sultzer, Tillet, Bateman, Prout, Martin, Blackburn Chamberlayne, Betts, Towler, Freeman, Butcher, Baker, Copeman, Finch, Thomson, Dr. Richardson, Brightwell, Banks, Bayne, Alexander, Gellheart, Stark, J. Richies, Harman, Bardwell, Pump, Jarrold, Mr. Sheriff Colman, Bacon, &c., &c.

JOHN BETTS Esq., the Mayor of Norwich, took the chair, and in opening the business of the meeting, requested them to hear all—friends and foes. He did not profess to know which party was in the right or wrong on the Free Trade question. He hoped they would hear both sides and then judge for themselves, and concluded by introducing to the meeting

Mr. COBDEN, who was received with tumultuous applause, at its partial subsidence, he addressed himself to the great subject of the evening, and after expressing the peculiar pleasure which he experienced from the presence of a gentleman, "a distinguished leader of the protectionist party in the House of Commons," he proceeded to define the term *agriculturist*, stating his conviction that farmers and labourers alone were entitled to be so called—not mere landowners—men who, perhaps, never had an acre of land in their own hands to cultivate. Mr. Cobden then delivered a long address, in which he expounded to the meeting what he himself terms the A B C of the Free Trade question. With reference to the present position of that question, the hon. gentleman said, I think, after all, that both landlords and tenants here must feel indebted to me and to the League for coming here, and telling them so much about their own business. (Laughter.) I tell them we are going to abolish the Corn Law. We will do it. (Tremendous cheers.) You see the old edifice shaking now, but you will see it tottering and crumbling before another six weeks are over. (Prolonged cheering.) Now I want this to be done without exciting the alarm of any of the parties concerned. I have gone into the country from end of it to the other. In almost every county, from Dorsetshire to Aberdeenshire, I have attended meetings, most of them, or many of them in the open air. Two years ago, we of the League spent 10,000*l.* in enlightening the farmers upon this corn question, in making speeches, in delivering lectures, in distributing tracts. (Loud cheers.) Wherever we went we took a reporter with us, and we distributed copies of the speeches that were delivered. And what has ever been the burden of my song? It has been always the same. I have always said that the Corn Laws might be repealed without injury to any one (hear, hear, hear); that the landowner would get as good rent as now if he attended properly to his business, and let his land on mercantile principles; that the farmer would get as good profit as now, provided he invested more capital, which he could if he had a secure lease; and that when the farmer applied more capital, labour could not fail to be more employed and to find better wages. This is the language I have ever held, and yet no sooner is my back turned, than up get these people in the protection societies, and cry out, "Don't mind what that Cobden says to you; it's all nonsense. You can't compete in your business with those Russians and Poles. Come to us; we will pass a law for your protection; if you don't trust to us you will all be ruined." And what a precious mess they have landed you in! They are going to have the Corn Law repealed, and they know it. They all know it; they know it just as well as I do. (Cheers.) Why, then, all this fuss and galvanised movement is nothing but a few landlords—and those, I can tell you, not the most intelligent of their class (hear, hear)—sending out their agents and whipping up the farmers, getting together meetings of not more than some 80 or 90, and getting up long reports of long speeches, which are put in the *Post* or *Herald* (great laughter), and then they call all this a great national demonstration. (Cheers.) Well, we meet in Parliament on Thursday (hear), and what is to become of this great protection party? Their own Prime Minister, the man they made Prime Minister to uphold them, has run away. (Cheers and laughter.) That reminds me of an anecdote I heard of a gentleman in the North who was betting upon a race-course, and it was proposed that the stakes should be deposited in the hands of a certain major to hold. "Aye, aye," said the gentleman, "but who is to hold the major?" (Great laughter.) Now the protectionists in 1841 put the stakes in Peel's hands, and now they want somebody to hold Sir Robert. (Laughter.) Now, that there may be no delusion on that point, I ask your honourable representative to speak out candidly to-night what his real opinion is as to the prospect of protection (hear, and vociferous cheering); for I think he will agree with me, at all events in this, that if protection be likely to be abolished, nothing can be so mischievous, nothing so much to be deprecated as the farmers of this county and of the kingdom at large being longer deluded with the idea that protection is to be maintained."

Mr. GEARY having moved a Free Trade resolution, it was seconded by

Col. ANGERSTEIN, a large landowner of the county.

Mr. WODEHOUSE, M.P., for the eastern division of the county, then came forward, and was well received by a small section of the meeting. He said: I have addressed a letter to the electors of Norfolk, saying that though we did believe that the predictions of a famine, if not groundless, had been grossly exaggerated; (noises, and cries of No, no, from all parts of the meeting); yet we did feel that the anticipation of scarcity, under all circumstances, and in all times, ought to be a matter of paramount importance. (Cheers.) Now, I ask you, and I appeal to every man present, whether it is not something like unblushing effrontery on the part of Mr. Cobden, that he has not in any way alluded to that scarcity, which a few weeks ago he said was so much to be apprehended and dreaded. (Cheers, Oh, oh, and a voice, "We want corn, and not potatoes.") I will read my resolution. It is as follows: "That this meeting, while it is duly sensible of the inestimable blessings derived from the enjoyment of commercial liberty, is still impressed with the belief that what is called 'Free Trade,' to use the words of Mr. Clay, formerly President of the United States, is nothing more than a beautiful vision, existing only in the imagination of philosophers and theorists, and practically repudiated by all nations; since an indispensable condition to the adoption of it by one nation is its adoption by all." (A laugh.) And that amendment I am prepared to move on the resolution which has been proposed. The resolution says: "That the Corn Laws and all other laws designed to restrict trade under pretence of protecting particular classes, are unjust in principle and injurious in operation, and ought to be forthwith abolished." (Slight uproar.) I know not whether by the forms of this meeting I am to be prevented from further discussion (no, no); but I am perfectly satisfied to sit down with this declaration. (Oh, go on, go on.) I am perfectly satisfied, I say, to assert that the resolution which has been proposed to you involving the sugar duties, the spirit duties, the malt and beer, and the tobacco duties; involving, in fact, a sweeping annihilation of everything—(Hisses, laughter, and considerable confusion.) Am I to be permitted to go on. ("Yes, to be sure, tell us the good of protection.") I was about to say that I do most cordially rejoice to see my friend Mr. Cobden here to-night. (Hear, hear.) I say so very sincerely, and I may add that I much regret the absence of another gentleman, Mr. Bright. (Cheers.) I am sorry that he is not here, because he has been taking so leading a part in this matter that I should have felt it my duty, had he been present, to have adverted to his conduct and expressions elsewhere. With the leave of the mayor, I will do so now. (Cheers, and cries of "Answer Cobden, never mind Bright; he isn't here to answer for himself;" followed by some confusion.) I was about to say that every man must view with indignation the excessive bitterness with which Mr. Bright expresses himself upon every occasion. (Uproar, cries of "Question," and "Why don't you answer Cobden?") I see I shall be obliged to sit down. The meeting here became impatient, and after a few more sentences Mr. Wodehouse resumed his seat.

Mr. HAMOND then came forward and seconded the resolution. He contended that both the agricultural and manufacturing labourer would be injuriously affected by Free Trade in corn. Mr. Cobden had said (alluding to his enormous size) that he (Mr. Hamond) had too much protection, but he was ready to prove that he had too little. He defended the landlords from the attacks which had been made upon them; and, in conclusion, he advised them to take the registration movement out of the hands of the League, and appoint their own agents for that purpose.

Mr. BOWLES, of Cambridge, then came forward to support the amendment. He denied that the Corn Law was passed to secure any particular price, or equality of prices. The distress of 1822 arose from the over abundance of the harvest of 1820; the growth in that year being 4,000,000 quarters above an average crop, and 1,000,000 more having been imported from Ireland. Wheat was, in 1815, lying in heaps upon the shores of the Baltic, and ready to be imported here at 1*l.* a quarter. America grew this year 15,000,000 quarters of wheat, and 80,000,000 of Indian corn; but the first effect of the introduction of American corn would be to ruin the entire milling property of this county, in which more capital was employed than in all the mills in the country. (Cries of Oh, oh.) The Americans would send us not corn but flour. But then the receipt of corn from America would be interrupted, for though America could grow corn cheap, it could be grown cheaper on the shores of the Baltic, in Odessa, in Moldavia, and in Wallachia; and instead of purchasing from America, we should go with our money in our pockets and buy on the Baltic, so that the reciprocity between England and America, expected to result from Free Trade, must not be looked forward to. (Cheers, and cries of "Oh.") Every quarter of foreign wheat imported displaced so much of English labour. (No, no, and cheering.) What a disadvantageous bargain, to have Free Trade with all the world! Was America so calm, and quiet, and contented, that when Great Britain became a beggar to her for wheat, she could be relied upon? What would she say?—that we had no right to the Canadas; that if we would give her Canada she would let us have food. (Oh, oh, and groans.) Mr. Bowles went on to contend, as well as we could understand, that Free Trade would produce poverty in the villages, and from them to the towns, where the shopkeepers would be ruined; and he contended that Mr. Cobden's speech, however amusing, had been utterly barren in argument, and that he had appealed to the passions, not the understandings of his hearers. (Indescribable uproar.)

Mr. COBDEN then came forward to reply, and was hailed with a renewal of the plaudits which had welcomed his first appearance. When I came here I expected, from the announcement made by the honourable member near me (Mr. Wodehouse)—made in London trumpet-tongued, that we were to have a great shindy here to-night. I expected that we should be treated with a great speech from the honourable gentleman. But he has said nothing in reply to my arguments. (Uproar.) He was very ready to answer Mr. Bright, who is not here (hear, hear, hear); and if I had not been here, he would have been very ready to reply to me. (Cheers.) But though Mr. Wodehouse has not given us a speech, he has sent forward a substitute (laughter), a volunteer in this cause. You have heard his speech, and whatever you may think of the quality of it, I assure you it is quite as good as I generally hear on that side of the question. (Hear.) But the third speaker displayed more ability. He told us that the agricultural distress of 1822 arose from the plenty of 1820, from the arable land of this country having exceeded by four millions of quarters its average yield. Now, let us see what all this amounts to? Why, it amounts to this, that the farmers were ruined by

the abundance of nature. (Cheers.) I repeat, if there be anything in that argument, it is that the farmers will be the most prosperous when they have the worst crops. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, is there not something foully unnatural in such a proposition? (Loud cheers.) Does it require any argument from me to convince your judgments that there must be something fundamentally wrong in the trade of the farmer, if such pleas be started in his defence? (Cheers.) Your natural feelings—your moral, your religious feelings—will rise in rebellion against such arguments. (Cheers.) The blessings of abundance ruin the farmer! Why, does not the church offer up its prayers and thanks for abundant harvests? (Cheers.) But I will tell you why the farmer is ruined by favourable seasons. His rent was fixed when he believed that he was to sell his wheat at 80*s.* per quarter. (Hear, hear.) I think I hear an honourable gentleman say that the law held out no such prospect. Now, I put it to any candid farmer, whether it has not been the prevailing delusion, from 1815 to the present day, that Parliament can regulate the prices at which he is to sell his wheat? (Hear, hear.) Have I not heard it announced at half your protection meetings, that Peel proposed to give the farmer a protection of from 5*l.* to 5*l.* 6*s.* per quarter? (Cheers.)

Mr. COBDEN having in the most masterly manner replied to the statements of the speakers, in his usual conclusive style,

The MAYOR put the amendment of Mr. Wodehouse, for which about 20 hands were held up, while for the original Free Trade resolution a perfect forest of hands was immediately raised. The resolution was carried amidst loud cheers.

Mr. WILLETT then moved a resolution of confidence in the League, and co-operation in the registration movement.

Mr. Sheriff COLMAN (Sheriff of Norwich), seconded the resolution.

Mr. WODEHOUSE then moved an amendment affirming the impolicy of Free Trade principles.

Mr. HAMOND having seconded the amendment.

Col. THOMPSON then amid loud cheers briefly addressed the meeting in support of the resolution.

The MAYOR put the amendment and resolution with the same result as the first, amidst most enthusiastic cheers.

Mr. WODEHOUSE then moved, and Mr. COBDEN seconded, a vote of thanks to the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN briefly returned thanks.

Mr. BOLINGBROKE, Secretary of the Anti-Corn-Law Association, then read the following letters from gentlemen, apologising for their absence—

Thorpe, Jan. 19, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR,—I regret to say that I have been confined to my room for the last ten days by severe indisposition. I am better to-day, but Dalrymple will not let me stir, and there is not consequently the smallest chance of my being able to attend the Free Trade meeting to-morrow-night.

Yours truly, WM. FOSTER.

Hastings, Jan. 18, 1846.

DEAR SIR,—The near approach of the important contest on the Corn Laws makes me anxious to avoid the risk of a journey at this season of the year, which in my weak state of health might probably prevent my attending in Parliament, when every vote will be wanted. It is, I trust, scarcely necessary for one who from the first has been a supporter of the repeal of these odious laws, to express his firm determination to hold the same course to the end, in the full confidence that so just a cause must be finally successful.

I am, dear Sir, yours most faithfully,
To C. N. Bolingbroke, Esq. B. SMITH.

47, Russell Square, Jan. 19th, 1846.

SIR,—I have received the invitation of your Committee to attend the Free Trade meeting which they are about to hold in St. Andrew's Hall. I am rejoiced that so important a city as Norwich is coming forward a second time to give expression to its sympathy with the national movement against the Corn Laws. The sooner they are unconditionally and absolutely done away with the better for all parties. Persuaded of this, I would gladly have complied with the request to attend your meeting had it been in my power. Engagements in a distant county for Tuesday render it impossible, and I can only hope you will give Mr. Cobden such a greeting as shall convince him of your determination to support the League in their truly patriotic efforts to secure for the country the inestimable advantages of Free Trade; as a proof of my interest in your proceedings I enclose my cheque for 100*l.*

I remain, Sir, yours very faithfully,
C. N. Bolingbroke, Esq. S. MORTON PETO.

Lexham Hall, Swaffham, Jan. 19.

SIR,—I have only received your letter of the 17th inst. this morning, containing the request of the Norwich Anti-Corn Law Association to attend the meeting to-morrow evening. I regret that an engagement will prevent my doing so. However, I do not want to hear any arguments to convince me of the absolute necessity for abolishing the Corn Laws, as I have never yet read or heard of any that have been written or spoken in their favour, which a sensible boy in the upper part of Eton or any of our public schools would not be ashamed to make use of. I have long been a repealer, and wish all success to Mr. Cobden in his arduous undertaking.

The landlords and farmers rejected Lord John Russell's excellent proposition for a fixed duty upon corn, and must take the consequences, for every one is well aware that a repeal of the Corn Laws is inevitable—that shortly a minister might as soon attempt to stop the world from going round, as to attempt to prevent a repeal of the Corn Law. I only trust the abominable cant of measures not men will be also abolished, and that the people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland will see that it is absolutely necessary to have an honest minister to govern this country—not a quack doctor, who must have his fee paid before he gives his prescription. Honesty is the best policy, and I much regret that I have lived to hear any other doctrine advocated.

Yours obediently,
To C. N. Bolingbroke, Esq., &c., &c. F. W. KEPEL.

WESTMINSTER.

A large and most respectable meeting of the electors and inhabitants was held at the Crown and Anchor on Tuesday evening, to petition against the Corn Laws. The feeling against all compromise was loudly expressed; and no passages in the speeches were so loudly cheered as those which threatened the landholders with a demand for more sweeping changes, if the total and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws were not at once granted. There was a large number

of members of Parliament present. Amongst them were Dr. Bowring, Hon. Mr. Bouverie, Mr. M. Gibson, and Sir C. Napier.

The Chairman (Mr. ELPHINSTONE, M.P.), read letters of apology for non-attendance from Mr. Leader and Captain Rous. They were both badly received, though there were some cheers for Mr. Leader, inasmuch as he pledged himself to vote, as he had often done before, for a total repeal of the Corn Laws. Letters had also been received from Lord R. Grosvenor, Mr. Ewart, Mr. B. Hawes, Sir W. Clay, and Colonel Thompson, all expressing a regret that they could not attend.

The CHAIRMAN then amid loud cheering proceeded to address the meeting:—I must say, that when I look at the crowded state of this meeting, and when we know that equally important meetings have been held in almost all the important towns in every part of the United Kingdom, we, who for some time past have been Free Traders, have a right to congratulate ourselves on the progress which has been made in public opinion on this question. Every man who reads the signs of the times must be of opinion that the days of the present Corn Laws are numbered, and that the time has arrived when a final settlement of this question must take place. (Loud cheers.) I think the great mass of the people, in spite of the opinion of certain dukes and protectionists, have come to the conclusion that they ought to have the right of paying for their food in whatever markets they deem best and cheapest and most expedient for that purpose; and I believe the people fully understand the principles of Free Trade, that when duties are imposed, they should be solely for the purpose of revenue, and not for the sake of protecting any particular interest; and with that impression on their minds, they consider that all the money received by means of these duties ought to find its way into her Majesty's treasury, and not into the pockets of private and particular individuals. (Cheers.) In point of fact, it must be clear to every one, that if there be an article, a large proportion of which is produced at home, and a small portion imported, that you raise the price of that which is produced at home in the proportion of the tax imposed on that which is imported. Take the case of wheat. If of the 20 million quarters consumed, 18 are produced here and two imported; and if on that which is brought from abroad you lay a tax of 6s., you, in point of fact, for the half million that goes to the Treasury, make a present of 5,000,000. to the landlords. We Free Traders have long known that a fixed tax on the bread of the people is a fixed injustice. I wish to say, if there is any protectionist present, very respectfully, but firmly and emphatically, that the time has gone by for any compromise in this matter. (Loud and long-continued cheers.) I think the people of England have a full right to ask, and they should be satisfied with no less than the total and immediate repeal of those laws which press so heavily on the industry of the people. (Vehement cheering.) There can be no doubt we are now arrived at a great political crisis, the consequences of which on the future destinies of this country it is impossible to foresee. But having the fullest confidence in the good sense of the people of England, I do not fear for the result; and if Sir Robert Peel brings forward a really good measure, he may calculate on the unanimous and warm support of the Liberal party in Parliament; but in saying this, I trust there will be no compromise, (loud cheers, and cries of, "We'll hear of none;" no clipping and mutilation of a great principle; and I trust that if Sir Robert Peel should think it right to consult the people, he will not give them the half of what they demand, but the whole of what they are entitled to. (Cheers.) I am satisfied at all events that we may calculate with the utmost confidence on the near approach of the day when these bad laws will be swept from the statute book. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. M. GIBSON, M.P., came forward amid loud cheers to move the first resolution:—It has been with much satisfaction that I have come to this meeting, the more so as I appear not a stranger amongst you, but as a resident of Westminster, and an elector of this borough. The resolution is to this effect:—"That it is proved by undoubted evidence that several millions of the agricultural population of Great Britain and Ireland are fed on potatoes, and that there are a thousand individuals born daily, for whose future support provision must be made; and that the Corn Laws, though they professed to be enacted for the protection of industry, have wholly failed in that object." The resolution insists on certain facts, some of which are not disputed even by ultra-protectionists. Every one knows that a large portion of the population of the United Kingdom subsists on potatoes. We did not want the authority of Dr. Marsham for that fact; nor does it require any argument or reasoning to show that the population is increasing, for this simple reason—that it has been counted at successive intervals of ten years, and that at the end of each there has been found an increase of something like a thousand a day. I dare say, if the census had not been taken, some of our opponents would dispute the fact as to any increase of population; and (it can hardly be credited,) a writer of authority on such subjects in his day wrote a book to satisfy the country that the population had not increased. But fortunately we have taken the means, by counting the people, to set at rest that question; and from various commissions of inquiry into the state of the agricultural population, we know that in Ireland, and in many parts of this country, their subsistence is reduced to the lowest point at which human beings can be kept alive. (Hear, hear.) We who advocate the cause of Free Trade believe that the Corn Law is instrumental in reducing the labouring population to the melancholy condition in which they are now placed. We do not say that there are not other causes that have not had an effect, and a considerable effect, on the condition of the people; but we think that whatever other causes may have been at work, the Corn Laws have tended to aggravate the evils under which the people suffered, and were in themselves calculated to straiten the means of the great bulk of the industrious population, and gradually reduce the labouring people to a worse condition than they would have been in had they the means of procuring a fair reward for their own industry. But we require not, in advocating Free Trade, any arguments to prove that the condition of the agricultural labourers has deteriorated. We deny the right of any portion of our fellow-countrymen to dictate to the remainder the condition on which their industry shall be carried on. We deny to any portion of our countrymen the privilege of measuring out employment and trade to the rest of their fellow-subjects. (Cheers.) We say the loom is as essential to the country as the plough, and that the people of the country have as good a right to food, through the operations of the loom, as through those of the plough. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) We say further, that if any body of persons, combined together in Parliament for their own pecuniary interest, restrict one of the most sacred and ob-

vious rights of Englishmen, it is a gross and odious tyranny, and a matter of congratulation that the people have at last determined to throw off the odious yoke, and to proclaim to the world that trade and industry shall be free. (Cheers.) Who are the parties to the conflict? On the one side the landed proprietors, and on the other the people of England. It is true the generality of landed proprietors advocate monopoly, but we have many distinguished and able supporters in that body; and we know as a fact that the most distinguished advocates of Free Trade have also been remarkable for the improvements they introduce into agriculture, and the ability which they displayed in promoting the improvements of the soil. I need only refer to such names as Lords Spencer and Leicester amongst those who have passed away, and Lords Ducie, Fitzwilliam, and Radnor, amongst those still with us. Our enemies—the most bitter of them—are the mortgaged landlords (cheers); the men who fear even a small reduction of their rents, because there is but a narrow margin between the limits of their entire rental, and the interest of their mortgages. (Loud cheers.) Those are the men who are our most bitter opponents; but let it be remembered, that if the estates of those men have been mortgaged, they have, or have had, the money which was raised on these lands. (Cheers.) They have sold their property—they have received the money for it—and they cannot now call on the legislature to restrict the comfort of the great body of their countrymen, in order to maintain the arbitrary position in which they chose to place themselves. (Hear, hear.) It is true that we do not hear much of their mortgaged lands now. Sir Edward Knatchbull (hear, hear, and laughter) once ventured on that dangerous ground in the House of Commons, and I remember that a friend of mine said on that occasion, that it was a very dangerous speech for his party. The gentleman whom I mentioned is a member of Parliament, and I remember his saying of Sir Edward Knatchbull—"His speeches are always perilous (laughter), but his explanations are fatal" (loud laughter); for you must know that the worthy baronet thought it necessary to enter into an elaborate explanation, which left the matter worse than he found it. (Cheers and renewed laughter.) Instead of that topic, we now hear of special burdens on the land—of peculiar taxes and imposts—which are supposed to press heavily upon the agricultural interest. (Hear, hear.) And we are told that it is necessary that the effect of those taxes should be counterbalanced by some duty on the admission of foreign corn, &c. (Cries of hear, hear.) After referring to all the Parliamentary documents on the subject, and listening to all the most able speeches of the supporters of the agricultural interest and their views, I must say I never recollect to have heard a single case of peculiar taxation on land at all proved; but I have heard that there are peculiar exemptions from taxation, (loud cheers,) and I know that it is a very common thing to hear of the House of Commons being employed for much of its time in procuring and maintaining those peculiar exemptions. (Hear, hear.) That indeed is not to be wondered at, considering the large majority which the landed interest possesses in Parliament—it is not to be wondered at, if under the circumstances much of their time is spent in devising measures for the protection of their own interest; and if they have a chance by a little bamboozling (laughter), and by having such a leader as Sir Robert Peel, of doing so, that they should take every opportunity of benefiting themselves, and of removing the consequences of their own acts from their own shoulders. (Hear.) I wonder that at some of those agricultural protection meetings they do not call upon the speaker to explain what and why those peculiar exemptions are. I should like to know why a farmer is not to pay window tax, whilst the shopkeeper is called on to do so? (Loud cheers.) Can his grace the Duke of Richmond, can the Duke of Buckingham, or the whole collective wisdom of 17, Old Bond-street (roars of laughter) explain that? (Laughter and cheers.) Can they give an intelligible reason why a farmhouse should not pay that duty as well as a shop, or why farming stock and implements of husbandry should be exempt from the fire insurance duty, whilst those of the shopkeeper are not? (Cheers.) Can they explain the reason why it is that very few farmers, as it now appears, pay any income-tax at all? (Cheers.) The farmer's profit is taken as being equal to one-half of his rent, and it is now ascertained that the great majority of farmers pay rents under 300*l.* a year; those who do not pay more than 300*l.* are exempt from the income-tax (cheers), for it is presumed by the legislature that he only makes 150*l.* a year, as they choose to take one-half of his rent as his profit. (Cheers.) I want to know why the shopkeeper, making 3*l.* a week, should pay the income-tax, and the farmer who may happen to pay a rent of 299*l.* 19*s.* 11½*d.* be exempt from it? (Cheers.) A man paying 300*l.* a year may be making more than 150*l.*, but the legislature supposes he does not, though it is well known that the farmer's profit depends on the capital applied to his land, and he may be making a very much larger profit than the equivalent to one-half of his rent. (Cheers.) There is gross favoritism in the way in which the income-tax is applied to the agricultural and manufacturing classes. (Hear, hear.) Look at the odious inquisition into the private affairs of the shopkeeper, from which the farmer escapes. (Cheers.) He is not compelled to show his books, the profits of his trade, or the state of his stock. (Hear, hear.) The rent he pays is the only question, and half of that is at once taken as the amount of his profit. Here, again, I say, it appears to be gross favoritism to the landed interest. (Hear, hear.) But the chairman has more than once called the attention of the House to other instances of a similar nature, such as the exemption enjoyed by land from the legacy and probate duties. (Cheers.) Will those men of 17, Old Bond-street, explain the reason why a tradesman should pay heavy taxes and be subject to deductions from his family, whilst the estates of the Duke of Buckingham or of the Duke of Richmond pass from son to son without any diminution? (Hear, hear.) I say that a grosser case of plunder, a more flagrant instance of unequal legislation is not to be found in the annals of history than the treatment which the people of this country have received at the hands of their legislators. (Loud cheers.) No doubt the freedom of taxation may be advantageous to the landed interest, but it is not very much to the benefit of the farmer, for—as they almost begin to find out—the whole advantage derived from protection finds its way into their landlords' pockets. How seldom does he get even the remission of a local rate—the amount of it is only added to his rent. (Hear, hear.) I believe the farmers are now making their calculations, and are beginning to discover that the Corn Law is not so beneficial to them as capitalists and men engaged in the cultivation of the land; and I can state that the more readily, because I have just returned from a part of the country where I know that farmers are taking land under the full impression that the

Corn Laws are gone. (Loud cheers.) I could name cases, were I at liberty to do so, where they have even taken leases under that impression—where they have ignored the Corn Laws, and considered them as repealed (cheers); and yet they have calculated on being able to cultivate them profitably, without relying on the broken reed of protection. The landed interest has been the spoiled child of the legislature, and, like too many other spoiled children, has been frequently indulged to its own disadvantage. (Hear, hear.) I believe the Corn Law is one of those instances, for I think the farmers would have been in a far better position if those laws never had been passed (hear, hear), and that their workings have been most prejudicial to the interests of the farmers. I have spoken to many of that class, and their answers have led me to believe that some such thoughts have passed through their minds too. (Hear, hear.) You have heard of the large numbers that have assembled at various protection meetings throughout the country (hear, hear); but you must remember that those are not county meetings—that they are packed in small rooms, and that no strangers are admissible, and that in many the reporters of the *Morning Post* and other papers form a considerable part of the audience. (Hear, hear.) The farmers attend them from habit—they go there to hear the news—they are there informed that my Lord This and Squire That will make a speech—and for them they are told that there will be a very good dinner, with a bottle of blackstrap at the inn afterwards. (Laughter.) All these were inducements from which if you separated the farmer, he would tell you three times out of five that the Corn Laws had done him no good. (Hear, hear.) But, as the *Morning Post* has admitted, the landed interest see in this question something more than mere money—(hear)—they see in it a question affecting landed supremacy—(hear)—they see that it is a struggle between the privileged classes and the people, and they see that success inspires further hopes, and that the repeal of the Corn Laws will be but a step towards the complete destruction of every thing which can be considered to war against just and righteous legislation. (Loud applause.) As we are approaching so near the day on which it is supposed Sir R. Peel is to make his revelation, there seems to be vast dismay among the supporters of the right honourable gentleman. I am told that the usual ministerial dinners are put off; that, in fact, the usual supporters of Government are "off their feed." (Roars of laughter.) Let us hope that the people of England will get a better supply for themselves from their loss of appetite. (Laughter.) Seeing the determination of the country on this subject, I cannot think that Sir R. Peel will propose anything short of a complete measure, which will satisfy the country and the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Cheers.) It must be complete, it must satisfy the north of England. I believe the men who have supported that League are men determined to carry this question. (Loud cheers.) Those men have not brought this forward as a mere party question, as a means of displacing this ministry, or reinstating that; they have not made it what political questions in this country have been many times made,—a mere watchword to bind a party together. (Hear.) They are determined to carry it; they mean never to desist till commerce, trade, and industry are set free. (Cheers.) I believe—and I have some reason to believe so, if we may read the future from the past—that Westminster (cheers) has a constituency of firm and determined purpose not to rest till this great question is carried successfully. (Loud cheering.) I believe the glories of old Westminster will be renewed (cheers), and that the day will come, and that soon, when the heart of Westminster will be what it once was—the heart of the nation (great applause), at every throbbing of which the whole empire was driven into action. (Cheers.) What was more natural than that the most wealthy, if not the most populous, of the metropolitan boroughs should be in the van of this great movement? (Applause.) The metropolis aiding the north will make our triumph certain. They might have been successful through their individual efforts, but the union of all the determination, wealth, and enterprise, and stability of the metropolis must carry this great movement to a successful issue. [The hon. member resumed his seat amid loud applause.]

Sir DE LACY EVANS, in coming forward to propose the next resolution, begged to express the pleasure he felt at seeing so many well-known faces, and in assisting at one of the most important meetings in which that great constituency had ever been engaged. The preceding speeches left him only the task of stating a few additional facts in confirmation of their views. Mr. Gibson had reminded them that scarcely a session passed without some measure being carried for the benefit of the landed interest. (Hear, hear.) About two years ago there was a most painful sensation produced by a number of persons being seen in the streets of the metropolis in great distress, who were agricultural labourers out of employ. (Hear, hear.) It was declared that it would be inhuman not to prevent them dying of famine. The consequence was, that last session an Act was passed, requiring every parish to provide asylums for the casual poor, although they had ample accommodation for the maintenance of their own paupers. (Hear, hear.) That Act was clearly passed for the purpose of relieving the agricultural interest from the relief of their own poor. (Hear, hear.) The resolution which he had to propose asserted that the Corn Laws had failed to accomplish their professed object of affording protection to industry. It was impossible to imagine in what way industry could be supported by placing a price on the means of subsistence. (Hear, hear.) Another of these evil consequences of the Corn Laws, to which he would allude, was the number of absentee families on the Continent. There were living abroad about 100,000 families, with average incomes of 300*l.* a year each, which amounted to 30,000,000*l.* spent out of the country, without paying any proportion of taxes (hear, hear); and that was all, no doubt, attributable to the high prices of corn here, which causes high prices in everything else. They were told that the Corn Laws were intended for the benefit of all classes; tenant farmers, as well as agricultural labourers. It had been in existence thirty years, and yet it was well known that the condition of the latter class had been declining instead of advancing. It was equally clear that these laws produced crime, and a variety of proofs had been brought before the House and elsewhere to that effect; but the landed proprietors had friends in Parliament, and the proofs dropped on their ears and produced no result. The petition stated that the great portion of the British population were reduced to subsist on the potato; that 4,000,000 in Ireland, and 1,000,000 in England used it as their only food. That was another consequence of the additional price of bread; and the consumption of the potato in place of corn would increase as it was progressing, instead of being lessened. They were all aware of the dangerous position in which Ireland was placed with respect to the potato crop. It had been ascertained that already one-third of the

crop was injured, and no one knew to what extent the disease might go for the next three months. What had the Government done? In France, Belgium, and other Continental nations, the ports had been thrown open at once; but here not one measure had been resorted to by Government to remedy the evils that were likely to ensue. He thought they might expect a better measure of Corn Law repeal from Sir R. Peel than from the Whigs, who were but recent converts to the great principle of the League. For the last 15 or 20 years he had attended meetings in that room, in which great triumphs were obtained for political and religious liberty; and if he rightly interpreted their enthusiasm on the present occasion, he anticipated a speedy triumph for the cause of Free Trade, from the manner in which the principles had been advocated there that night.

Dr. BOWRING seconded the resolution. They asked no more and would accept no less than a total, absolute, and irrevocable repeal of the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.) There were but two principles that Premiers had to choose between: there was no room now left for the narrow, shifting sliding plank between monopoly and Free Trade. (Loud and vehement cheering.) He recollected Sir Robert Peel's declaration as to posthumous fame; and there was no position more deserving of a great man's ambition than the martyrdom which that right hon. gentleman was subjected to for having abandoned principles which he discovered to be false, and for giving effect to principles which he knew to be true. (Cheers.) He hoped they might find Sir Robert Peel had greatness enough for this. He could not conciliate those whom he had abandoned, for he had done enough to incur their unmitigated hatred. Why not, then, at once entitle himself to the affection and goodwill of the people of England, and record his name in the page of history as favourable to a measure which, he ventured to say, would have more effect in destroying human misery and creating human happiness than any other which could be submitted to Parliament. (Loud cheers.) He had watched the birth, education, strength, and now the omnipotence of the Anti-Corn-Law League. In its early progress it was said to be contemptible. Again and again its depression and death were announced and rejoiced over: and now we see it making and unmaking Ministers, creating and overthrowing Governments, knowing that while it was supported by men like those whom he addressed no Government could exist, should exist, or would be tolerated, which was not founded on the principles of the Anti-Corn-Law League. (Cheers.) The people had set their heart on a settlement of this question; and it could only be settled one way. Compromise was too late. (Cries of Yes, and cheers.) The monopolists had better deal with them in their present temper. There was a willingness to forgive them for all the wrongs and robberies they had committed. They should be allowed to button up all the ill-gotten gains they had amassed under that wicked, inhuman, and oppressive legislation. But he was not sure the people would be so good humoured by-and-by. We should have no sharp reckonings now; but we entreated them to shut the books of accounts, as the balance was everywhere against them. (Hear, hear.) We are willing to give them an honest discharge; but on this condition, that the Corn Laws were unconditionally repealed, now and for ever. (Loud cheers.) The time had gone by for argument as to the operation of the Corn Laws. Public opinion was unanimous on the subject. (Cheers.) The Corn Laws made war on all that was true, honest, and religious. Their overthrow was connected with peace, commerce, and human felicity. In the name, then, of all the interests that unite us, in the name of our country and of mankind, he demanded the immediate and total repeal of these laws. (Loud cheers.)

Sir C. NAPIER was received with enthusiastic cheering. I feel perfectly oppressed (said he) by the manner in which you have received me. This is the second time I have had the honour of appearing at the Crown and Anchor, the first being to support my gallant friend, Colonel Evans, when he stood for this borough; and I must say, though I have a great respect for my gallant fellow-officer (Captain Rous), who, it must always be remembered, was the first to sound the downfall of the monopolists, I should like to see my gallant friend near me in his place, and I hope he will attain that high honour at the next election. (Cries of Yes, and cheers; and a cry of "We don't mean to have Leader again.") I am almost unworthy to address you on the subject of Free Trade; for it is only lately I have become a total repealer of the Corn Laws in preference to the sliding scale; but I thought, and perhaps wrongly, that a fixed duty would be the fairest arrangement for all parties. Lord John Russell's letter has thrown a fixed duty overboard; and all liberal men are now united that nothing but a total repeal can satisfy this country. We owe a great deal to the League. But next to them we owe most to the protectionists. Let us take an analysis of a few speeches. We'll go first to Chichester. There Lord March presided, the son of the Duke of Richmond, the protector-general of abuses. He was not able to attend the meeting; but a letter was read from him, in which he said there was a failure of the potatoes, but a greater breadth of crop than usual, and that two millions of quarters were ready to come in. Yes, when the prices were so high, that the people must be in a starving condition. (Cheers.) Then comes the Duke of Rutland. He says he has a relish for potatoes. So have I; but the poor are able to relish them too, though unfortunately they may not be always able to get them. (Hear, hear.) Then comes another duke, who told us what I never heard before, and that was, that it was a good cure for hunger to give a man a pinch of curry and some hot water. (Laughter.) Now, I have been a long time at sea, and seen many stormy nights; but I never learned that curry powder was a protection against cold and hunger. (Renewed laughter.) My friend (Mr. Gibson) did not give the whole of Sir Edward Knatchbull's explanation. That right honourable gentleman asked, in the event of the Corn Law being repealed, what were they to do for the jointures of widows and the portions of younger children? (Hear.) So that the modest request is, that the working-men of England should pay the bread tax, that Lady Knatchbull, when her husband may die, should have a jointure and her younger daughters and sons portions. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) A gentleman at Chichester asked, "If you abolish the Corn Laws, how are the country gentlemen possibly to keep up their station?" And what did that mean? Magnificent castles in the country, mansions in town, preservation of game, and trips to Newmarket, during which thousands were expended in gambling. All must be abandoned if the Corn Laws are repealed. I went to the castle of the Duke of Northumberland the other day, and it took me a day to go over his preserves and demesne. I quite agree that he, like his brother peers, has a right "to do what he likes with his own;" but he has no right to force the people of this country to

defray such expenses out of the price of their food. (Cheers.) There is another class to whom we also owe much, and who have only lately spoken out—I mean the agricultural labourers. I believe the meeting at Goatacre will be followed throughout the length and breadth of the land if Sir Robert Peel has the magnanimity to throw himself on the liberal part of the community, instead of sticking to his old friends the protectionists. I am a farmer myself. I purchased forty acres of forest land, which were constantly overflowed with water, and which farmer after farmer gave up. I divided the lands into six fields. I knew no more of agriculture than a child; and though I tried to get some ploughmen to do my work, I found them bent on the old usages, and so little intelligent, that the horse seemed to go before the ploughman because he had the instinct to know that some guide was necessary. (A laugh.) Having found myself 200*l.* out of pocket the first year, I lighted upon a man who, for his intelligence deserves to have his name mentioned. It was John Sparkes; and he, having six acres of land of the same description as mine, completely redeemed it without any other assistance than his own industry, one poney, and a wife. (Much laughter.) The gallant officer then proceeded to give a detail of the various agricultural operations performed at the suggestion of his assistant on his farm. The land was too wet; he drained it by degrees, and got excellent crops off it; and now, said Sir Charles, I'll engage there's not better land in all Hampshire. (Cheers and laughter.) My loss at first was 100*l.*, next year it was reduced to 30*l.*, the fourth year it was nothing, and this year I have 100*l.* in my pocket. (Loud cheers and laughter—"I hope you've got a long lease.") The gallant member next enlarged on the superiority of the Scotch agricultural system, which made land, naturally much less fertile, produce better crops than the English farms. So much had the Scotch improved their land that good farmers did not care one straw about the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) Why did they not do the same in England? Why did not landlords, instead of making long speeches to their tenants, give them long leases, (great laughter and applause,) give them draining tiles, and charge a reasonable amount for them, and he would answer for it that this country, instead of being an importing, would be an exporting country. (Cheers.) In 1841, Lord J. Russell, like a clever statesman, saw that it was impossible that the Corn Laws could continue as they were, and recommended an 8*s.* fixed duty, as sufficient protection to the landlords. They refused to accept it, and turned him out of office. They had now been struggling for five years to maintain protection; their last year was come, and they now deserved no protection at all. He hoped and trusted that he would this session see a repeal of the Corn Laws, without having any taxes clapped on them to reimburse the landlords for what they had been robbing the country of for forty-five years. (Cheers.) Let them suffer a little—it would make them cultivate their land properly, and cause the country to be the example instead of being the disgrace of the world in respect to agriculture. (Loud cheers.)

The Hon. Mr. BOUVERIE said, that after the expression of opinion which the meeting had given, there could be no doubt but that they would all agree to the resolution he had to propose, which was, that they should petition Parliament for a total repeal of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) Parliament was now about to meet again. The two questions which had been so lately agitating the public would speedily receive a solution—the one was unimportant but as it was considered in connection with the other. It would then appear why all Sir Robert Peel's government, strong in the ordinary sense of the word, in one day fell to pieces like a house of cards. He thought any reasonable man could make a good guess as to the cause. For himself he thought the reason was, that the cabinet was founded on a great falsehood—that the Corn Laws could be maintained in free discussion, and that the working people of this country would get under that system a greater portion of the produce of the earth than under the beneficent dispensations of God. (Cheers.) The cabinet so founded deservedly fell to the ground when the day came. The question was now, will the Corn Laws be repealed or not? With the exception of one gentleman, who appeared to have disappeared, (laughter,) they were all unanimous with respect to those laws. (Hear, hear.) He could not conceive the existence of two opinions on the subject in an unprejudiced mind. There was no use in arguing with those who had no ears, and would not understand. (Hear, hear.) Let them suppose there was a statute, which enacted that every year 1000 persons should be put into the Thames and drowned, 5000 hanged, 10,000 inoculated with the typhus, and 30,000 sent to the workhouse. (Hear.) Why, it could not exist in this country for ten minutes. But he said the Corn Laws did more and worse than that. (Loud cheers.) Death—the greatest evil which human nature is subject to—is not less terrible from hunger, than by the halter or the knife. (Applause.) There was evidence the Corn Law had done this; it had been admitted by a leading member of the cabinet that the Corn Laws caused crime, and multiplied disease, hastened death, and perpetuated all those evils which the light of returning prosperity would be unable to dissipate. (Cheers.) He thought he might assume that they were all agreed as to what ought to be done with the Corn Laws, and believed that nothing but a mind biassed by prejudice or supposed regard to its own interests, could differ from them. He rather wondered that a gentleman of the gallant officer's (Sir C. Napier's) intelligence and ability could have been at any time in favour of the Corn Laws. (Sir C. Napier intimated his dissent—he was for a fixed duty; but it appeared that he was only so till he became a farmer. (Hear, hear.) Let them mark, that the instant he became a good farmer he disregarded the Corn Laws altogether. (Cheers and laughter.) Such a farmer cared nothing about those laws, but the farmer who did not hunt about on his pony for his neighbour's assistance (laughter) looked to the rotten reed of protection, and imagined that the law should give him those advantages which his own intelligence and industry ought to afford him. (Cheers.) He could not help hoping that Sir Robert Peel would propose a total repeal. What less could he do with any hope of success? If he proposed a reduction of the duty he would meet the same difficulty from his quondam friends as if he proposed the total repeal. He knew—he must know—that the total repeal must come sooner or later—that if the public once made up their minds they were sure to triumph. (Loud cheers.) It seemed that an attempt to propose any relaxation or reduction would merely be taking a bite at a pill, (laughter)—the whole of it would do him and the country good (laughter), but the half of it would be exceedingly nasty, and would not produce half the good effects that the whole would if swallowed at once. (Loud laughter.) The mono-

polists were strong—not in numbers, it was true, nor station, or intelligence, but in the state of things which they had themselves created, and which they were banded together to maintain. At the time of the Reformation, the college of the Sorbonne declared that there was an end to the Christian religion if the study of Greek and Latin were continued. In the same way the Duke of Newcastle believed that the monarchy would be at an end if the Corn Laws were repealed. (Cheers and laughter.) Let them observe the close resemblance. A nation's Christianity had not suffered for the study of Greek and Latin, neither would the condition of this country be injured by the repeal of those laws. Nations would be linked more closely together; peace receive more homage; and every condition receive greater reverence.—The honourable member concluded by moving the resolution.

Mr. HEALEY seconded the resolution in an eloquent speech. The secret of Sir Robert Peel's resignation might be explained thus:—"There are such incapable legislators in the Houses of Lords and Commons that I can't govern the country as it ought to be through them, and I therefore must resign." He warned the landlords that if this just demand was refused, the people would soon ask why birth alone was a qualification for Government, and why the Commons House did not somewhat better support their name? (Cheers.)

Mr. DEASY moved the adoption of a petition founded on the foregoing resolutions.

Mr. WALKER seconded the motion, and referred to a number of returns to show that the landlords, by the position of this country, had a natural protection of 8*s.* or 9*s.* per quarter.

Mr. G. THOMPSON addressed the meeting at great length in support of the resolution.

The usual vote of thanks having been passed to the chairman, the meeting broke up.

MARYLEBONE.

A numerous and important meeting of the members of the Anti-Corn-Law League and other friends of Free Trade resident in the parish of St. Marylebone, was held on Tuesday evening at Hall's Riding School, Albany-street, Regent's-park, for the purpose of considering the present position of the Corn Laws, and also of adopting measures to ensure the registration of Free Trade voters in the borough. A large platform was erected immediately in front of the gallery at the upper end of the room, and was thronged with some of the more influential parishioners, while the remainder of the spacious building was densely crowded by the public. The gallery and a reserved space in front of the platform was filled with ladies. At half-past seven o'clock,

Mr. HUME, M.P., took the chair, amidst loud and general acclamation. When the cheering had subsided, he proceeded to address the meeting as follows. He said, in order that their discussion should proceed effectively, he had to request that they would, as far as possible, maintain quietness and silence. It was of the utmost importance that in that, as in every other assemblage where Englishmen were met together, a fair hearing should be extended to all who wished to address them. They had the privilege which the inhabitants of many other countries did not possess, of meeting and expressing their opinions on any subject that might interest the public welfare, or even their own particular interests. It was, beyond all others, the privilege of Englishmen to differ in their opinions, and it was on that ground that he would call upon them—should any individuals who differed from him, and from others who had called that meeting, wish to address them—to give such individuals a full and a fair hearing. (Hear.) Their cause was a sacred one. They had no want of confidence in the goodness of their cause. They only wished to hear what arguments could be urged against it, and the meeting might rest assured that to these arguments, should they be brought forward, there would be ample, prompt, and effective answers returned. Before proceeding to the consideration of the resolutions that would be offered for their approval, it was his anxious wish to be allowed to offer a few remarks on the great and important object for which they were assembled. There could be no doubt whatever but that the Government of this country was constituted with a view of passing laws that should affect equally all classes of the community, and no matter from what cause these laws may be enacted, whenever they became partial and oppressive on any portion of the people, it was their duty as honest men to endeavour to effect the correction of these abuses, and see justice done to all. (Hear, hear.) He could speak from many years' experience. He did not come before them as a tyro about to commence his public advocacy. Four-and-thirty years had passed away since he first entered Parliament, and he could boast that the opinions which he publicly professed in the first year of his Parliamentary life remained to that hour unchanged, or rather, they had become stronger and stronger throughout all the intervening time. (Cheers.) The only difference which he could trace was, that the prospect which was now as it were within his grasp, he had then but slight hope of ever seeing realised. Great progress had since then been made in the advance of public opinion. The feeling against injustice in the laws towards any portion of the community had become most powerful, and with the public voice so united as it now was, he hoped and trusted that those who governed the nation would think it their duty to yield to prudence what they might even not be ready to grant to justice, and would act in a manner calculated to satisfy the public mind. The meeting of that evening had two objects in view. One was to express their feelings with regard to the partial laws, and the old restrictions and trammels that pressed upon all classes of the community. He was one of those who had always held, and who still held, and who was capable of proving the fact, that the Corn and Provision Laws had injured the great mass of the community, while they had failed to benefit those for whose advantage they had been intended. They wanted no concessions from any portion of the community. They required no favour, no partiality. They sought only for justice; and it was to demand that justice that they had assembled there that night. (Hear, hear.) He wished, in addressing his fellow-parishioners, to remind them that they personally had much to effect in their populous and most important borough. Their object was to repeal all laws that were unjust and oppressive, and they desired to effect that object in the constitutional mode allowed them, peaceably, quietly, but effectively. They possessed a representative Government; and he for one would wish to see the representation more effective. He had lived to see the power of making laws taken from a few boroughmongers, and put into the hands of the middle classes. The representation was now in the hands of the middle classes, and if they only acted as they ought, if every man would invest him-

self with the power which the State gave him of having a vote, and if he then exercised that power on the soundest principles of justice to his fellow-men, they might be certain of success. (Hear, hear.) They had, therefore, a double object in meeting that night: first, to pass an opinion, which he hoped would be an unanimous one, of the destructive tendency and injustice of the Corn Laws; and secondly, to join with those who were so ably and actively engaged in obtaining for as many as possible the power of voting, and thus giving an effect to their wishes by a gradual and perfect change in the selection of those whom they sent to represent them in Parliament, and who would be thus taught to act honestly and justly. Could it be supposed that if Great Britain—enlightened as it was—were freely represented in the House of Commons, such laws as those against which they were now met to protest would have been allowed to remain on the statute-book? (Cheers.) With these general views he would conclude with the hope that this question would receive the warmest consideration from the meeting, particularly at a period at which they were within almost eight and forty hours of the assembling of Parliament, when they expected to hear from her Majesty's ministers the course that they were prepared to adopt. Should the public be disappointed at the announcement that would then be made, it would become their duty to buckle to, as men conscious of being injured and determined to be free. (Cheers.) After some further remarks the hon. gentleman resumed his seat amidst loud cheers.

Professor KEY moved the first resolution. He said he would not have undertaken to perform the duty of moving a resolution at that meeting had he followed his own personal inclinations, because he felt himself utterly incompetent, as well as inexperienced, to take a part in a great public discussion. The meeting would, however, be better pleased at having only a short address from him, when he informed them that he would be followed by a most eloquent orator—Mr. Moore. (Hear, hear.) Though he had not, like their chairman, a public life of thirty-four years to refer back to, he could say, that since he had arrived at any maturity of mind, he had entertained but one opinion on the subject of protection laws. He had the pleasure of forming the acquaintance of Mr. Charles Villiers at the University of Cambridge. They both came to London about the same time, and they shortly after joined with three other friends for the purpose of studying the question of Free Trade. Their little party consisted of five individuals. Three of these had entered Parliament, and had distinguished themselves there for being most zealous advocates for a repeal of the Corn Laws. Mr. Charles Villiers was the first to move in the House of Commons for the total repeal of this law; and, after his various unsuccessful efforts there, it was gratifying to think that it was no longer in the power of any minister to resist the public will. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) The resolution was as follows:—"That this meeting enters its solemn protest against the Corn Laws, as impolitic and unjust, and urges their total, immediate, and unconditional repeal."

Mr. GEORGE FODDO seconded the resolution. He referred briefly to the progress which public opinion had made latterly in favour of the abolition of the Corn Laws, and expressed his opinion that if a portion of the malt duty, to the amount of two millions annually, were repealed as a relief to the agriculturists, the loss to the revenue ought to be made good by an extension of the legacy duty to landed property. In a case that came under his own knowledge, a poor blind girl had been left an annuity of 20*l.* a-year by some benevolent individual, but out of this sum no less than 2*l.* a-year was taken away by Government, while the landed interests were allowed to bequeath estates worth 50,000*l.* a-year to their relatives or others, without the payment of any duty whatever.

Mr. ROBERT R. R. MOORE addressed the meeting in support of the resolution. He said the man would have been a bold prophet who, when they met there two years ago, would have ventured to foretell that they would at the present time meet under such altered circumstances. At the time of the former meeting the League was comparatively a small body, while he never witnessed such a scene of riot, uproar, and confusion, as in that room (cries of "Whose fault was it?") and some slight confusion in the body of the meeting.) At present they were all but unanimous. That was the forty-second meeting that he had attended since the 25th of November last, in London and the metropolitan counties; and though they had been all public meetings—open to all who wished to attend them—still they each unanimously expressed a condemnation of the Corn Laws. They had then neither the Whig nor the Tory party with them. They had a majority of a hundred and upwards opposed to them in the House of Commons. Everything looked dark and gloomy; but now there was no party in the State willing to take office and govern on the principles of protection. (Cheers.) Lord John Russell had come nobly forward, and in the manner that he liked to see a man come forward in. He did not say that he had always been with them, but he boldly admitted that for twenty years he had been in error; that for that period he had thought protection was right, but that he now admitted it to be a delusion. That he felt it had been the blight of commerce and the bane of agriculture. The landlords have been latterly particularly busy. They boasted of having the farmers and the agricultural labourers with them; but if the fact were so, why were their meetings held in inn-rooms, instead of being great county meetings as they ought to be? He would like to see the Duke of Richmond presiding at a second labourers' meeting at Gosnate, to revise and correct the mischief they had done by the first. (Hear, hear.) He denied that the manufacturers were anxious for protection, or that they would continue the import duty on French silks, and Swiss watches, and Belgian fire-arms. (Hear, hear.) The protectionists could bring forward no proof that such was the fact. On the contrary, the first resolutions adopted at every Free Trade meeting were against all protection whatever, and the Manchester Chamber of Commerce adopted a resolution to that effect as long ago as 1822. (Hear, hear.) He had been in Derby about a year ago canvassing for articles for the Free Trade bazaar, and he could tell them what occurred there. Derby, as they all knew, was the great centre of the silk trade, and when the repeal of the duty of 6*l.* on foreign silk was spoken of, a single manufacturer there held a meeting of himself to provide against the change. (A laugh.) He got two friends to move and second a resolution in favour of the protecting duty, while he occupied the chair himself, and then went up to London to present his memorial to Sir R. Peel. But what did the other silk throwers of Derby do? As soon as they heard of what he had done, they held a meeting. They refused to allow his expenses in going to London, and drew up a counter memorial, praying Sir Robert Peel to

take off the 6*l.* duty, and declaring that they were ready to meet the competition of the world; that they did not believe they would suffer at all by the removal of the duty; and that even if they should be injured, they would prefer bearing the injury rather than have the duty continued as a peg on which to hang some shred of an argument for the continuance of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) It was also said that if the protection duty was repealed on Swiss watches, the English watchmakers' trade would be destroyed. While in Coventry last year he called on every watchmaker there, and got contributions from all for the Free Trade Bazaar. He spoke to them on this subject, and their reply to him was, that every one hundred pounds' worth of Geneva watches imported into this country paid, up to a few months' previously, 30*l.* in duty, but that since the duty had been reduced to 10*l.*, the watchmaking trade in this country, which had been previously in a most miserable condition, began at once to revive.

A VOICE—That is the fact. (Hear.) Mr. MOORE continued—He did not mean that the alteration of duty was the instantaneous cause of that improvement in the trade; but what the watchmakers said was, that their trade with America would become three times as great as it now was if American corn could be received in return; and the fact must be so, for English watches were admittedly the best in the world. (Hear.) Another proof of the sincerity of the manufacturers was afforded by the fact, that though the superiority of English goods was mainly to be attributed to the pre-eminence of English machinery, they did not oppose, but, on the contrary, actually petitioned in favour of the repeal of the law prohibiting the exportation of machinery. (Hear.) He then referred to the necessity of exertion in the registries. By attention to the registration, they sought to have men instead of acres represented. (Cheers.) At the next election he trusted they would exert themselves. (Hear.) Let them go to their office in Fleet-street; they would get every information on the subject. They must not go away from that meeting and say, that the fate of the Corn Laws was settled. They did not know that the Lords would go with him. They did not know but that they would have dissolution upon dissolution of Parliament. It was nothing but the public voice that would enable Sir Robert Peel to carry repeal, even if so inclined. The progress of events had assisted him. The 40*s.* freeholders must prop him up on one side, and Lord John Russell, with his motion for total repeal, must prop him up on the other. He did not know but that their exertions must be redoubled; he did not know but that a compromise might be suggested. That they must denounce. He trusted that this year would be memorable in the annals of England, and that it would be the first year in which they would have industry free and unfettered. (Cheers.) They must be earnest, zealous, and unanimous in their opinion, and there could be no doubt of final success. The learned gentleman resumed his seat amidst enthusiastic and reiterated applause.

The CHAIRMAN then put the resolution, first inviting observations from any gentleman present.

Mr. LANGHAM coincided in the views of the previous speaker with respect to the impolicy of a duty on corn, but dissented from him on some other points which he was proceeding to specify, when he was encountered by a storm of opposition, amidst loud cries of "No protection," and "Down, down," which compelled him to resume his seat.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

Mr. BRADSHAW moved the next resolution, urging the meeting strenuously to carry it out, and beat the protectionists with their own weapons. It was to the following effect:—"That this meeting tenders its most cordial thanks to the Council of the National Anti-Corn-Law League for the attention given to the registration of electors; congratulates them on the progress of the 40*s.* freehold movement in the counties, and pledges its support to win the counties of East Surrey and Hertford, and other metropolitan counties." He impressed upon them that after all, votes in the House of Commons must carry this measure for repeal, and votes in the House of Commons must be got by votes out of doors. (Hear, hear.) They must seal the fate of the Corn Laws for ever. (Cheers.) It was their duty one and all to assist in this momentous crisis. (Cries of "We will.") Though they might have to struggle on one or two occasions more yet, they might be assured their exertions would be crowned with victory. (Cheers.) They owed their present position on this measure to the League, to whom they owed their cordial thanks. There were hundreds and thousands of persons in Marylebone who were not on the register. He begged those gentlemen to take the hint. They must make this question their own. They had now 16,000 votes on the register, and he trusted that by their next meeting it would be increased to 20,000. (Cheers.)

Mr. ROBERT BAGSHAW seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously amidst great cheering.

Mr. HUME, M.P., further stimulated the assemblage to exertion by a characteristic speech on the weakness of the landed interest in this country, which he affirmed few persons were aware of. He would give evidence of this which no one would deny. His statement was grounded upon the returns of the income-tax in the Parliamentary papers which were laid on the table of the House of Commons in 1843. The whole amount of the income-tax of the United Kingdom was 5,384,124*l.* Now, what was the fact? The entire land of England was only assessed at about one-sixth of the whole. (Hear.) The total amount of property in all the schedules upon which the assessment was made was 190,606,535*l.*, which, from the report on the table of the House of Commons, appeared to be composed of the following items: houses, wharfs, factories, docks, and shipping, 41,063,292*l.*; tenant farmers, 20,486,606*l.*; public funds, 27,873,691*l.*; profits of trade, 50,296,645*l.*; public offices, 8,936,891*l.*; Scotland in all its schedules, 9,384,383*l.*; land in England and Wales 32,655,137*l.* The honourable member, after entering into some further calculations, concluded by observing that out of the 190,000,000*l.* of capital, the capital of the great interest in land which kept them all in bondage, was only about 32,000,000*l.* (Hear, hear.) He had been at pains to draw up these figures, to open the eyes of the people at large to the real facts, and to show the imprudence of those agriculturists who set down the other classes as mere shopkeepers, and who would not be received at a mere country ball. He pressed upon them these details not simply for the purpose of obtaining a repeal of the Corn Laws, but to show them the possibility of attaining in a constitutional manner their rights and liberties to the fullest extent. In furtherance of this view he would tell them another story. The number of members in the House of Commons was 658. Now, every county in England, Scotland, and Ireland, together with the six members of the universities, made 358. They had to meet that, if the ten-pounders would be honest in the cities

and boroughs, 302 members, which, adding that portion of the landed interest voting with them, gave them a clear majority of 147 votes. There was no man without a vote who was not a slave—he was completely governed by others. There was not a Free Trader who possessed 50*l.* who ought not to lay it out immediately in the purchase of a county freehold wherever it could be had. Nay, there was no tradesman or artisan who could not by economy save 50*l.*; and why should he not? He might then stand at the poll as independent as any duke in the land. (Cheers.) If the middle and working classes would carry out this principle, they would have the remedy for the evils of which they complained in their own hands. At this hour the power of the State was in the hands of the middle classes. He assisted in carrying the Reform Bill, and he was now anxious that the people should exercise the privileges they possessed, and free themselves from the shackles in which the aristocracy wished to bind them. The middle classes were too sordid—they had the means to attain political power. The working classes had the means, and if they did not use them, let him never hear more of cruelty and oppression. He had laid before them plain, simple, and consistent views, which every man ought to carry out if he did his duty. (Cheers.)

Mr. R. R. MOORE proposed, in very handsome terms, a vote of thanks to the chairman, which was carried with all the honours.

The meeting then broke up.

EDINBURGH.

On Thursday evening, a public meeting of the inhabitants was held in the Music Hall, for the purpose of promoting the immediate and unconditional abolition of the Corn and Provision Laws; and of taking means to raise a subscription in aid of the National Anti-Corn-Law League Fund of a Quarter of a Million. The hall was crowded. Among those on the platform we observed the following:

The Lord Provost; Baines Gray, Duncan, and Ritchie; Councillors P. Wilson, Drummond, Russell, and Robertson; Alex. Dunlop, Esq., advocate; Rev. Mr. M'Kenzie; Rev. Mr. Robertson; James Mencliff, Esq., advocate; John Wigham, jun., Esq.; Robert Hunter, Esq., advocate; Duncan McLaren, Esq.; George Stone, Esq.; William M'Kenzie, Esq., of Muirton; Professor Gregory; George Macallum, Esq.; Robert Cox, Esq.; Ralph Richardson, Esq.; John Howison, Esq., Secretary to the Anti-Corn-Law Association; Rev. Mr. French; Wm. Tait, Esq.; J. H. Burton, Esq., advocate; Andrew Smith, Esq.; Archibald Thompson, Esq.; John Dunlop, Esq., of Brockloch; R. S. Grieve, Esq.; John Gray, Esq.; James Richardson, Esq.; Captain Willis; Chas. Morton, Esq., S.S.C.; D. Laidlaw, Esq.; John Lees, Esq.; Robert Richardson, Esq.; Dr. William Peddie; Dr. Renton, &c.

On the motion of Bailie DUNCAN, the Lord Provost was called to the chair.

The LORD PROVOST said, that before commencing the other proceedings, there were one or two letters he wished to read. The first was from Mr. Murray, of Henderland, a landed proprietor. Mr. Murray's letter, after regretting his unavoidable absence, went on:

"I have long been convinced that the repeal of the Corn Laws will not injure the landed or agricultural interests, whilst the establishment of Free Trade will afford the best security for a regular and steady supply of food for the people at a fair price, notwithstanding the vicissitudes of the seasons, to which all countries are liable. But this is not the only good it will produce. The derangements of the monetary system, occasioned by the export of bullion in times of scarcity, which have frequently done so much mischief to the country, will no longer occur. The working-classes, by increased demand for the produce of their labour, will obtain larger means of procuring the necessities of life, and be better able to compete with foreigners in their own markets."

"It is also no small recommendation of the measure in my opinion, that it would at once put an end to the prevailing impression that one class is disposed to oppose the others for its own particular advantage, and that it would thus restore that harmony and kindly feeling which ought to exist among all classes of the community."

"Whilst the repeal of the Corn Laws will thus increase our internal prosperity, it will at the same time strengthen and cement our relations with foreign countries, by the mutual advantages of commercial intercourse, the best and surest bond of peace and friendship between rival nations."

"I am, &c.—WM. MURRAY."

The LORD PROVOST afterwards read letters from Mr. George Hope, of Fenton Barns, and Sir G. S. Mackenzie, Bart., Rosebank, Roslin, approving of the meeting, and the latter intimating a subscription of 20*l.* His lordship afterwards addressed the meeting at considerable length. He concluded by saying that he had no doubt, notwithstanding all the opposition which certain gentlemen about Edinburgh had made at present, they would all succumb when Sir R. Peel brought forward his measure.

Mr. ALEXANDER DUNLOP, Advocate, delivered a long address in proposing the first resolution, and concluded as follows:—"When we see the working classes obliged to toil much longer every day, in consequence of the increased price of food—when we see them broken down by premature old age—when we see their children stunted for food, and, instead of the joyous smile, the glad laugh, and the springy vigour of youth, have presented to us the pallid countenance, the sunken eye, and the emaciated form—when we see this, I think it impossible for any man to behold it without indignation, when he considers that the cause of it is the stinting of the daily meal of the poor child, in order that the great aristocrats may be enabled to have additional equipage, and to keep up the luxuries they enjoy. Feeling this, I cannot but feel indignant, not so much at their oppression, though that is great—not so much at their selfishness, though that is intense—but at what I cannot but call the unutterable meanness of taking the children's bread. (Applause.) Mr. Dunlop, after a few other remarks, said, that the conclusion of all this was, and this was his opinion, as he was sure it was that of the meeting, that these laws should be immediately and unconditionally abolished."

J. GRAY, Esq., seconded the motion, which was unanimously agreed to, as were all the others proposed.

The Rev. Mr. MACKENZIE, of Leith, in a spirited speech, moved the second resolution:—"That, in the opinion of this meeting, Free Trade would be fraught with many blessings—would open up new markets for our manufactures; give a fresh impulse to our commerce; compel other states to reciprocate our liberal policy; extend and perpetuate the blessings of peace among the nations, by promoting friendly intercourse, and making it the interest of all to maintain peace;—that it would compensate the reduction, if any, on the incomes from land, and, in effect, improve other incomes,

by the greater amount of necessaries, comforts, and luxuries which they would purchase; ameliorate the condition of the poorer food; lessen the temptations to immorality, vice, and crime, by employing the idle and supplying the necessities of the destitute; facilitate the progress of education; and by these means greatly promote the happiness of the people at large.

The Rev. Mr. ROBERTSON, of Portsburgh, seconded the motion, which was unanimously approved of.

Mr. JAMES MONCREIFF, Advocate, proposed the next resolution, pledging the meeting to support the League Fund.

Mr. JOHN WHIGHAM, jun., in seconding the resolution, said, he had much pleasure in announcing the state of the subscriptions; and, in doing so, he had to state that, along with Mr. Stone, he had been requested by the committee to call on a few friends of mark to begin the subscription; and he was happy to say that they had been received in the kindest manner, and that the sum of 2000*l.* had been already obtained. (Loud cheers.) There had been some very liberal sums indeed put down. One individual had subscribed 250*l.*; one firm, 300*l.*; five individuals, 100*l.* each; seven individuals, 50*l.* each; one firm, 50*l.*; one individual, 30*l.*; and a great many for 20*l.*—making altogether 2000*l.* (Loud cheers.) Mr. Whigham then explained the way in which the League proposed to call up the subscriptions, and concluded by expressing an earnest hope that the people of Edinburgh would be as liberal as they had been on former occasions. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. ROBERT HUNTER, Advocate, said—The bare mention of the resolution which has been entrusted to me will be sufficient to command the general and cordial approbation of this meeting. It is—"That this meeting express its highest sense of the invaluable services to the cause of Free Trade which have been rendered by the National Anti-Corn Law League; and tenders its warmest thanks to Messrs. Cobden, Bright, and Wilson, and the other members of the Council of the League, for their unwearied labours in the cause." (Loud cheers.)

The motion was seconded by Mr. DUNCAN M'LAREN, and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. STONE proposed that the cordial thanks of this meeting should be given to the Right Hon. the Lord Provost, for his conduct in the chair. (Cheers.)

The following are the subscriptions above 10*l.*—

	£	s.	d.
Richardsons Brothers	300	0	0
G Stone	250	0	0
J Jamieson, 18, Rutland-square	100	0	0
R Grievie, Noble House	100	0	0
Duncan M'Laren, 13, Frederick-street	100	0	0
W Somerville, sen, Dalmore	100	0	0
W Somerville, jun, Dalmore	100	0	0
A Annandale, Polton	100	0	0
J Cowan, 17, Princes-street	100	0	0
W Murray, 11, Great Stuart-street	50	0	0
J Wigham, jun, 10, Salisbury-street	50	0	0
Wm Chambers, 13, Manor Place	50	0	0
R Laidlaw and Son, Simon Square	50	0	0
Wm Dick, Clyde-street	50	0	0
J and W Howison, 2, Drummond-street	50	0	0
G M'Callum, 42, India-street	50	0	0
W M'Murray, Stead's Place, Leith Walk	50	0	0
H Girdle, 125, High-street	30	0	0
Messrs J and P Boag, 3, Waterloo Place	25	0	0
G Hope, Fenton Barns	25	0	0
Dailie Ritchie	25	0	0
J Dunlop, Randolph Place	25	0	0
J Veitch, of Woodside, Leith	25	0	0
A and C Black, 27, North Bridge	25	0	0
J Wigham, Tertius, 52, Nicolson-street	25	0	0
Wm Wemyss, Salisbury-road	25	0	0
Jno Gray, Craigie Terrace	25	0	0
Jas Leishman, Corstophin House	25	0	0
Sir G M'Kenzie, Coull	20	0	0
G K M'Callum, jun.	20	0	0
J M'Murray, Stead's Place, Leith Walk	20	0	0
J M'Laren and Son, Blacket Place	10	0	0
A Friend to the Cause	10	0	0
G Mercer and Son, 17, Nicolson-street	10	0	0
Wm Darling, 94, South Bridge	10	0	0
Wm Renton, Buccleuch Place	10	0	0
Wm Renton, 14, Princes-street	10	0	0
G Smith, 30, Niddry-street	10	0	0
Peter Wilson, Regent Arch	10	0	0
John Lees, 3, Brown Square	10	0	0
Baillie Duncan, Heriot Row	10	0	0
M Johnstone, 4, Park-street	10	0	0
John M'Intosh, Nicolson-street	10	0	0
W B Campbell, 13, Nicolson-street	10	0	0
Jno Kidd, 5, Arncliffe-place	10	0	0
R Cox, 25, Rutland-street	10	0	0
A Smith, Palace Yard	10	0	0
Wm Tait, 107, Princes-street	10	0	0
Captain Willis	10	0	0

GLASGOW.

Last night a great public meeting was held in the City Hall, at eight o'clock, for the purpose of considering the present position of the question of Free Trade, and the steps which ought to be adopted to ensure the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. The Hall, which can accommodate about 6000 persons, was completely filled, and on the platform we observed Baillies Anderson and Whitehead; Councillors Bankier, Chapman, R. Orr, Allan, Stirling, Small, D. M'Phail, Wylie, Turner, Hamilton, Dregburn; Rev. G. Jeffrey, Walter Buchanan, Esq., Alex. Graham, Esq., S. Higginbotham, Esq., James M'Clelland, Esq., W. P. Paton, Esq.; Messrs. Mitchell, P. B. Henderson, Davidson, &c. &c.

Mr. W. BUCHANAN, as President of the Glasgow Anti-Corn Law Association, took the chair.

The CHAIRMAN on rising said, You are aware that this is a meeting of the Anti Corn Law Association; and, as President of that association, I have ventured, without being moved to the chair, to preside over the meeting. (Applause.) The object for which we are assembled is to endeavour, as far as we possibly can, to support the views of the Anti-Corn Law League, and to subscribe in aid of the 250,000*l.* fund which they have announced. The centre of the agitation against the present Corn Laws is in Manchester. For more than seven years the gentlemen there have been engaged in this agitation, and have exhibited a degree of energy and enthusiasm in the cause of Free Trade, which has drawn forth the admiration of the whole island. (Applause.) But not only have they shown a great deal of zeal, and devoted a great deal of time in this good cause; they have been equally liberal with their money. You, no doubt, will recollect, that about two years ago they called upon the Free Traders of Great Britain and Ireland to subscribe the sum of 100,000*l.* That was looked upon by many as an idea altogether chimerical, and it was believed that the amount would not be collected. Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Wilson, and the liberal spirits associated with them, entertained a different opinion. They were satisfied that the Free Traders of Great Britain would cheerfully respond to the call made

upon them. You are all aware of the result. The sum subscribed greatly exceeded 100,000*l.*; it amounted to 120,000*l.*; and the disbursement of that large sum has also been explained to you. I believe no argument can be employed more likely to influence the most ignorant and the most apathetic than this great, palpable, and undeniable appeal to the sympathies of the British people. It may be from our mercantile character, or from whatever other cause I cannot explain, but so it is, that John Bull never argues with more effect than when he comes down with a sum to back his opinion. (Applause.) This was the logic addressed to the community by the Anti-Corn Law League at Manchester, and I believe the sagacity and knowledge of mankind, so eminently conspicuous from first to last in that body, was never more shown than in this appeal. They said, rally round us—give us positive proof of your sympathy, and we may defy the monopolists to resist our efforts. The consequence of this appeal was just what was expected—the 100,000*l.* was more than subscribed. From the moment this was commenced, our opponents trembled in their strong places. Having gained strength and confidence from experience—having seen the enemy beginning to tremble—we are resolved to re-double our strokes, and, finally, to conquer in this cause. (Great applause.) They appeal, now, for a quarter of a million; and, gentlemen, I am happy to see that those bold and liberal hearts who recommend this great plan are not at all slack or loath to follow up their advice by a good example. They have up to this day already subscribed the sum of upwards of 70,000*l.* (Applause.) In Liverpool they have subscribed upwards of 15,000*l.*, and various of the minor towns throughout Yorkshire and Lancashire have announced large subscriptions; and I am happy to observe that our good neighbours in Dundee have had a meeting, and subscribed upwards of 2000*l.* to the same object. (Cheers.) I am sure we all feel, therefore, that Glasgow would be disgraced if it did not come forward liberally on this occasion; and I hope before we separate that the good and true men of Glasgow will not prove unfaithful, but, according to their abilities, will come forward liberally and willingly with their subscriptions in aid of the great cause. (Cheers.) The business of the evening, you will perceive, is not of the same exciting kind as upon some former occasions, being more one of pounds, shillings, and pence, than of speechmaking; but I have no doubt but that the gentlemen who will address you will throw interest even on those dry details. (Cheers.) Without further preface, I beg to introduce to you Mr. Alexander Graham. (Great cheering.)

ALEXANDER GRAHAM, Esq., of Lanefield, said—In consequence of the absence of a reverend and learned gentleman who was to have moved the resolution on this occasion, the task had devolved on him at very short notice. He had, however, put together a few notes, and in so far as time had not permitted him to give them that premeditation and digestion which was necessary in order to luminous expression and clear method, he begged to throw himself on the indulgence of the meeting. He was sure they would be at all times indulgent to one who had never been absent from his post as an advocate of the principles of Free Trade. (Cheers.) Mr. Graham here read the resolution, which is as follows:

Resolved,—“That we, the merchants, manufacturers, and others, of Glasgow, do hereby repeat our solemn protest against the laws which prohibit the free importation of foreign grain and provisions, believing them to be most oppressive to the great mass of the people, and destructive alike of the true interests of agriculture and commerce; and relying upon the intelligence and honesty of our countrymen, we declare most emphatically our determination not to relax in our exertions until those laws are entirely abolished. Farther, that this meeting hereby expresses its high sense of the invaluable services which the National Anti-Corn Law League has rendered to the cause of Free Trade; and in order to enable the Council to make renewed and increased exertions for the repeal of the corn and provision laws, a subscription in aid of the Great Fund of 250,000*l.* be now commenced, and that the Directors of the Glasgow Anti-Corn Law Association be appointed a committee to canvass for subscriptions in Glasgow and the neighbourhood, with power to add to their number.”

This resolution, he continued, in its terms is as broad as the vast question of Free Trade itself, and it would be absurd for him at the present time to attempt to follow it out in all its details. He would, therefore, content himself with calling their attention to one point of the question, on which he conceived latter events had thrown peculiar light, namely, the connection betwixt commercial and manufacturing prosperity, both as it concerns the manufacturing capitalist and the labourer, and its operation in the lowering of the price of food. Within the last few years there had been made several new discoveries in political economy, by which the truth had at last been brought forth to bear on the public mind, and been demonstrated before the public eye with a strength and clearness which had never before been attained. The facts which proved this principle lay within a small compass. If they went back for 13 years, it would be found that from the year 1833 to 1837, we had good harvests and low prices, high wages, and commercial prosperity. From the year 1837 to 1842 we had five bad seasons, and wheat rose from the previous range of 40*s.* to 45*s.* up to 60*s.* and 70*s.*; and it would be in the recollection of those who now heard him the state of prostration under which the manufacturing interest of this country suffered at that period; and more particularly when he looked to the vast mass of operatives now present, the friends of Free Trade could appeal to them for proof as to the distress that was then suffered by all the labouring classes. (Cheers.) It has been stated that the manufacturing classes sunk one hundred millions of money at that time, and he believed it. Now, such being the case, he should like to get at something like a philosophical analysis of the cause of this fact; and in order to get at this he begged leave to press on their attention this fact, the whole annual value of the produce of this country, not agricultural, but manufacturing and mineral, amounts to 250 millions. This is the value of the produce of this country, exclusive of the agricultural produce of the United Kingdom. Now, let it be observed, that of this amount of produce all that is exported is 50 millions, leaving 200 millions, or four-fifths, to be consumed at home. It was evident, therefore, that the home market is the sphere of consumption for this vast amount of produce, and according to the healthy state of the home market, would be the state of prosperity of the manufacturing capitalist, and the operative by whom he is employed. The next question was, seeing that so vast an amount of our manufactures are consumed at home, is it the upper classes or the operatives who are the best customers? He believed the whole Parliamentary constituency of this country was not above 24 or 3 per cent. of the population; therefore 97 per cent. of the people of this country lived in houses under a 10*l.* rental. Another fact he might mention, namely, that it was ascertained by the census taken in the year 1841, that there are only 3 per cent. of the population who live in independence; all the rest of the people of this

country are living by means of their own industry, in one form or another. Now, what did these facts demonstrate? Did they not plainly tell us that the portion of wealthy consumers is very small, and that the vast mass of the consumers consists of the industrious classes?

He held in his hand a statement of the stocks on hand in the year 1844, which he would read. It is as follows:

Cotton, a stock equal to 40 weeks' consumption.	
Cotton,	40 do.
Rum,	40 do.
Saltpetre,	40 do.
Rice,	35 do.
Tea,	50 do.
Sago,	50 do.
Indigo,	60 do.
Coffee,	50 do.

and all spices 100 weeks' consumption. But at this time what a striking contrast to the above do the stocks of monopolies present:

Of corn, stock equal to 8 weeks' consumption,	
Colonial sugar	10 do.
Foreign sugar (prohibited)	13 do. in bond.

Under Free Trade in corn they would have in place of eight weeks one hundred weeks' consumption. But look at the working of the same principle on sugar. Of colonial sugar we had ten weeks consumption; and of foreign sugar, which is prohibited from consumption by these restrictive laws, we had thirteen weeks' consumption. He believed that if we had Free Trade in corn a remarkable change would be seen in the commerce of this country; and, great as would be the advantages to commerce, those which would accrue to the grain trade would surmount them all. Great Britain would then become the emporium of grain. England would become the money pivot of the world, affording, as she could, the greatest facilities and accommodation for receiving stocks of all kinds in consignment; and he was persuaded that, with Free Trade in corn, this country would become the granary of Europe—a second Egypt.

They were next told that other nations would not act towards them on a system of reciprocity, but he believed the exclusion of manufactures from other countries arose entirely from the system pursued by this nation. (Hear, hear.) Other nations saw Great Britain prosperous, and it was very natural to suppose that it was by this exclusive policy that she rose to this eminence. Now it was in spite of this policy that it had prospered. It was well known that in their negotiations with Germany the Corn Laws had been the principal barrier in the way of reciprocity, and that the German League would never likely have been formed if Great Britain had opened its ports to their timber and corn. The same opinion was entertained in America, and was well expressed in the following extract from a report by Mr. Walker, the secretary of the treasury. This official document says:—(Mr. Walker then read an extract and continued.) But what was this bugbear of reciprocity? He would venture to say that it was as clear as any axiom in mathematics, that for any kind of produce they receive from foreign countries they have something to pay for it. Nothing was clearer than that if they saw stuff of any kind coming into this country, there would be something exported to pay for it, either of their own production, or of some other thing they had previously got for the products of their industry. The services of the League in enlightening public opinion had been of the greatest consequence to the cause in which they were engaged, as public opinion was the lever of power by which they hoped to achieve their final triumph. Let them observe the tribute paid by Lord John Russell, on the occasion of his addressing them in that hall the other day, to the leaders of the League. They could not suppose that he viewed the League in its first progress with opposition, but with that magnanimity for which his lordship was so conspicuous, he declared “that it would not be consistent with fairness, if he did not say that the progress this question has made, is very much owing to the persevering exertions, the instructive statements, and the lucid arguments employed by the members of what is called the Anti-Corn Law League. (Cheers.) In 1842, at the meeting at which the League fund of 50,000*l.* was first spoken of, Mr. Cobden merely hinted at it, saying that their friend in the chair had got a project to announce by which they would be startled when they told them of it. He meant, he added, to subsidise the country of fifty thousand pounds. Since public opinion had gone on expanding, and they had raised a further sum of 100,000*l.* this had increased their boldness, and they were now bent on obtaining 250,000*l.* (Cheers.) In fact the money was realised. Manchester had given nearly 80,000*l.*; and he believed, if it were necessary, that such was the extending influence of this question, such the influence acquired by the League, that they could realise half a million for the same purpose. He could conceive no means so effective to enlarge it to that amount as the threats of some of their opponents; for if these were carried into effect—if it were attempted, by the arm of the law, to put down the League, or to punish its leaders as violators of the law—he was quite sure if a finger was laid upon a member of that body, a spirit would be raised in the country which would show a willingness of surrender of property far more than anything yet accomplished. (Applause.) He was no admirer of Sir Robert Peel's politics, but he was satisfied he was possessed of more sense and caution than to countenance the landlords in hinting at such a thing; and the monopolists only showed their own weakness and impotence, when they talked in this way. Let them look to the opinions of the League extracted from the ministers of the Crown. (Loud cheering.) Sir Robert had declared that we should buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest. Another minister had declared that the principles of Free Trade are the principles of common sense. And a third minister had written articles in favour of Free Trade. (Hear.) Now, all that had been extorted by the League. (Hear, hear.) Look at what the League had done by converting all the fixed duty men, and bringing them into their ranks. They were thus united and going forward in a phalanx which would prove to be irresistible. The League had dissolved and re-constructed the Peel Ministry, and he hoped for the purpose of carrying the Corn Law question. There was something said about compensation, but in his opinion the less the landlords said about compensation the better. If the landlords were to bring an action for compensation, then the people must bring on a counter-action against them. (Hear.) It would be a curious inquiry to enter upon, in endeavouring to ascertain the amount of unjust burdens the landlords had thrown from their own shoulders on the rest of the community. (Cheers.) It could be shown that, in order to supply the place of that portion of the land-tax of which they shook themselves free, they threw the burden of taxation upon consumption, and thus upon the great mass of the people. If compensation

was to be given at all, he was afraid it would be found that the balance would preponderate against the landlords. (Hear.) After a few further observations, Mr. Graham resumed his seat amidst loud cheers.

BAILIE WHITEHEAD said—I rise with great pleasure to second the resolution. As I see, by manifestations of your impatience, that you came here to night more to show your deeds in aversion to these accursed laws than to listen to speeches on the subject, I say no more.

Mr. DAVID MURRAY, Secretary, then read the following subscriptions:—

	£	s.	d.
Charles Tennant & Co.	500	0	0
J & A Dennistoun	500	0	0
Samuel Higginbotham	500	0	0
Wm Dixon	500	0	0
John Wilson	500	0	0
Buchanan, Hamilton, & Co.	500	0	0
Wilson & Co.	500	0	0
Colin Dunlop & Co.	250	0	0
James Scott	250	0	0
The Lord Provost	250	0	0
Dun M'Phail	250	0	0
Neale Thompson	200	0	0
Robert Dalglish	200	0	0
James Merry	200	0	0
A Friend, per J and W C	150	0	0
Wm Stirling & Sons	150	0	0
Alex Graham	150	0	0
Johnston, Galbraith, & Co	150	0	0
Wm Gemmill	150	0	0
A Friend	150	0	0
Wm & James Murray	100	0	0
Chas Gray	100	0	0
A Friend (J Y)	100	0	0
Robert Hutchison	100	0	0
Samuel R & T Brown	100	0	0
Chas Dunlop	100	0	0
Robert Stewart	100	0	0
Alex Smyth	100	0	0
Robert Bartholomew	100	0	0
J & A Anderson	100	0	0
Robert Hastie & Co	100	0	0
Geo Smith & Sons	100	0	0
Francis Orr & Sons	100	0	0
J J Robertson	100	0	0
Wm Gibson	100	0	0
John Anderson	60	0	0
A & D J Bannatyne	52	10	0
Wm Stirling	50	0	0
Geo Stirling	50	0	0
Alex Couper	50	0	0
James M'Clelland	50	0	0
John Loudoun	50	0	0
Geo Robson	50	0	0
W G Mitchell	50	0	0
W P Paton	50	0	0
David Chapman	50	0	0
Arch McConnel	50	0	0
Geo Anderson & Co	50	0	0
John Whitehead	50	0	0
John Kerr	50	0	0
James Couper	50	0	0
D & J Anderson	50	0	0
Thomas Mitchell	50	0	0
James Laurie	50	0	0
Robert Bryson	50	0	0
Wm Stevenson & Sons	50	0	0
J & D Wilson	50	0	0
Fleming, Watson, & Nairn	50	0	0
Ewing, Paul, & Co	50	0	0
R Orr	50	0	0
James Broom	50	0	0
Lewis Potter	50	0	0
John Stirling	50	0	0
James Donaldson & Co	50	0	0
A Friend, per W Buchanan	60	0	0
Robert Wilson	30	0	0
Drysdale & Wilson	30	0	0
W Paterson	30	0	0
A Friend, per A Couper	30	0	0
James Mitchell	30	0	0
James Davidson, jun	30	0	0
Robert Ker	25	0	0
Geo Mitchell	25	0	0
A Friend, per A Smyth	25	0	0
James Tweedie	25	0	0
David Dregburn	25	0	0
Wylie & Lochhead	25	0	0
Paterson, Brothers, & Co	25	0	0
Wm Hay & Co	25	0	0
R G Finlay and Brothers	25	0	0
Miller & Caldwell	21	0	0
James Paterson	20	0	0
Thomas Brown, jun	20	0	0
John Brown, jun	20	0	0
Wm M'Laren	20	0	0
Wm Brodie	20	0	0
J & C Risk	20	0	0
Laird & Thomson	20	0	0
Wm Service & Sons	20	0	0
Alex Tennant	20	0	0
A Friend, per W Hamilton	20	0	0
Fulton, Laird, & Co	20	0	0
James & T Brown & Co	15	0	0
Geo Lancaster	15	0	0
John Hamilton	15	0	0
John Small	15	0	0
Wm Yule & Son	15	0	0
Thomas Richard	10	10	0
A & J M'Nab	10	10	0
Malcolm Kerr	10	10	0
Geo Gamiss	10	0	0
Geo Ord	10	0	0
Wm Bankier	10	0	0
Wm Blackwood	10	0	0
Alex Allan	10	0	0
Service & Workman	10	0	0
Robert M'Kay	10	0	0
Geo Young	10	0	0
W W Mitchell	10	0	0
W White	10	0	0
John Cairns	5	5	0
Peter B Henderson	5	5	0
Geo Caird	5	5	0
Harper, Macfarlane, & Glen	5	0	0
John Finlay	5	0	0
Hilliard & Chapman	5	0	0
J S Aked	5	0	0
James Turner	3	0	0
John Ure	3	0	0

£10,060 10 0

[The announcement of the various large subscriptions called forth the most rapturous applause; and during the time the lists were being handed in, the Chairman took an opportunity of apologising for the absence of the Lord Provost.]

SAMUEL HIGGINBOTHAM, Esq., then rose and said: Gentlemen,—The Chairman has just whispered into my ear that I am to tell you that there is still something to be done. And as we came from the ante-room he gave me the first certain indication I had, that I should be expected to address you this evening; and he gave me that indication in these rather familiar terms: "You must tell the people they ought to fill up the cards they have received." (Hear, hear.) Now, gentlemen, I trust you have all obtained cards, and that you will do your duty—for, in this great cause, England

expects every man who has an interest in the country, in himself, and in his labour, to do his duty. (Cheers.)

I wish you to show your adherence to this cause by deeds not simply by words. (Cheers.) I see a gentleman not far from me who said to me some time ago, in reference to the repeal of the Corn Laws: "I know the importance of this question, and I will not, according to my means and abilities, be behind any one in the city of Glasgow in the endeavour to obtain a repeal." (Hear, hear.) This gentleman, I am happy to say, belongs to a religious party in this country, for whom I have always entertained the highest respect and esteem. (Hear.) And as a proof of the great interest he feels in the cause which has brought us together, he has not only come himself to the meeting to-night, but has likewise brought with him some female friends—and almost the only female friends in the Hall. (Loud cheers.) This friend, I am sure, will commence the subscription which it is expected will be made by those present: he will, I feel assured, manfully do his duty. (Cheers.) This gentleman belongs to a class of men who are at once intelligent, shrewd, and able, and who are well acquainted with the bearings of this great question upon the interests of all classes of the people of this country. He, too, is well acquainted with the subject; and according to his means will, I am sure, not be behind any of us in this subscription. I need not say that the gentleman to whom I allude is our respected friend, Mr. White. (Loud cheers.) I hope he will pardon me for the allusions I have made; but I could not help calling to mind the language he used when speaking to me on this subject some years ago. (Hear, hear.) Like my friend who lately addressed you (Mr. Graham), I have a few notes—but I have no written speech—and I hope you will excuse the somewhat irregular manner in which I address you. (Cheers.) I think, gentlemen, that the contest in which we are now and have for some time been engaged—the contest of Free Trade against monopoly—is fast drawing to a close; and that the principles which this association has all along advocated are about to receive a most signal triumph. (Hear, hear.) And why should not this be the case? (Cheers.) Those principles are the principles of truth, the principles of common sense, the principles of justice, and therefore they must ultimately triumph. (Cheers.) If we look abroad on the political world, everywhere we see indications and proofs of the truth of what I say—that this great contest is drawing to a close. (Hear, hear.) But I think the most striking, the most conclusive proof we have received of this, is the acknowledgment of that most distinguished statesman who has recently visited our city, that the question of commercial freedom was about to receive its solution; and in the solution of that question our contest is at an end, and the principles that have been advocated so ably, so clearly, and so distinctly, by the leaders of the association are triumphant. For, gentlemen, that question can only be solved in one way, an immediate and unconditional repeal of the provision laws. (Cheers.) When that question shall be solved, the contest in which we are now engaged will have come to an end; and our principles, I say, will then be triumphant. (Applause.) Now, if this be the case, what is it that has placed this question in so favourable a light, in so favourable a position, at the present moment? (Hear, hear.) Without any wish to disparage statesmen, eminent and celebrated men, who have taken an interest in this question—either those who promulgated the doctrines of Free Trade years and years ago, or those statesmen who now come forward and wish to bring those principles of Free Trade into practical operation in the policy of this country—without wishing, I say, to disparage those men, you must all admit, I think, that the Anti-Corn Law League has the great merit of having brought this question to its present most favourable position. Without the exertions of the League, in all probability we should have been years and years more in obtaining the point at which we have now arrived. (Cheers.) Now, if this be the case, has not the League a claim upon every man's exertions? has it not a claim upon every man's purse, in proportion to the means he possesses, and is able to give? (Hear, hear.) Yes, gentlemen, we must say, without disparagement to any of those eminent statesmen for whose services we are grateful, that the League, by its unceasing exertions, and by the liberal support which it has received from the people of this country, has in a great measure accomplished the object it had in view, in causing the question to attain that position in which it now stands (cheers); and I claim your support to the League on that ground. It matters nothing what names our opponents may call us. They may call this meeting an incendiary meeting, an unconstitutional meeting, or anything else they please; but it is by means of these discussions, and by means of our public meetings, that the question has assumed its present most favourable aspect. (Cheers.)

In contrast with the splendid, the lucid and conclusive arguments of that well-meaning publication, the *Herald*—(loud laughter)—I'll give you the simple reasoning of two piers in our own mill. The conversation I am about to refer to was overheard by one of the overseers. I shall relate the incident in half English and half Scotch, for, you know, I am only a Scotchman by adoption. (Hear.) One of the boys said to the other, "The ports will soon be open now." "Weel," says the other, "muckle gill will the openin' o' the ports dae us." Says the other—"Is that a' ye ken o' the subject? Didn't auld Gourlay gie us our breakfast for twopence formerly, an' noo he charges us twopence-halfpenny; but if the ports were open there would be mair meal i' the country, and auld Gourlay would gie us our breakfast for twopence again." (Much cheering.) Here, gentlemen, is much finer reasoning—this is, indeed, common sense. (Applause.) And just contrast the reasoning of the little boy with the duke of Curry-powder notoriety. (Hear.) Why, in contrast with such dukes, the boy puts them as much in the back-ground as Voltaire was put in the back-ground by Cowper the poet, when he drew a contrast between the contented cottager and the wily philosopher. (Cheers.) There is much more in the conversation between the two boys than may at first sight be apparent. Until I began to reflect upon that conversation I did not see all its bearings. The boy said he had to pay a halfpenny more for his breakfast in consequence of the rise in the price of provisions. The boy in this way spent twopence per day or one shilling per week more than formerly for his food. Now, if you extend this increase to the twenty-six millions of the people of this country—say a shilling per week to each for fifty-two weeks—the increase in the price of provisions will be found to amount very nearly to the enormous sum of seventy millions sterling. (Loud cries of Hear, hear.) You will, therefore, see that it is consistent even with economy to subscribe to the fund now being raised by the League. Indeed, I am of opinion that if they had to subscribe ten millions—if that were necessary—it would be policy on our parts to come for-

ward and subscribe to the utmost of our means—(great cheering)—aye, and beyond our means, in order to effect the object we have in view, the repeal of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) Now, gentlemen, I hope you will all hand in your cards, and testify, by the amount of your subscriptions, your determination that these laws shall be finally, totally, and for ever repealed. (Great cheering.)

Mr. BURFUM, a gentleman from the United States, having been requested by the Chairman to address the meeting, he said he was much interested in the cause of Free Trade, and trusted that, by venturing to express his sentiments on the subject, it would not be considered in the light of foreign interference. He had been present at the late meeting held in Manchester by the Anti-Corn-Law League, and was not more impressed by the eloquence and sound judgment which Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright brought to bear on this great subject, than with the intelligence of the audience assembled on that occasion. He had argued upon the question of Free Trade with many persons since he came to this country, but he had never found one who, although disagreeing with him to a certain extent, did not admit that the question was right in itself. He referred to the question of Oregon, and stated it as his opinion, that the fire and bluster of General Cass's late speech in Congress would soon give way before the sound arguments of Mr. Webster, and that peace would prevail. He then went on at considerable length to refer to the peculiar advantages of the two countries, the one from its minerals and other natural facilities to supply America with articles of manufacture, and the other from its great extent and fruitful soil to supply this country with food; and concluded by saying that the best and most effectual plan to maintain peace betwixt nations, was to abolish all restrictive laws.

On the motion of PROVOST BANKIER, a vote of thanks was given to the Chairman, and the meeting dispersed.

MEETING OF THE GLASGOW INCORPORATION OF WEAVERS.

In terms of previous intimation, a special meeting of the members of this old and highly respectable incorporation of Glasgow freemen, was held on Friday in the Trades' Hall, Glassford-street, for the purpose of taking into consideration a motion, "That her Majesty's Ministers be memorialised, and petitions presented to both Houses of Parliament, praying for the abolition of the existing restrictions on the importation of grain and provisions from foreign countries. John Bartholomew, Esq., was unanimously called to the chair. In addition to the chairman, we observed among the gentlemen present, Baines Anderson, Whitehead, Brodie, and Mackinlay; Provost Bankier, of Calton; Councillors Orr, Smith, and M'Nee; Thomas Waddell, Esq., from Montreal, &c. After the reading of the advertisement upon which the meeting was convened, the chairman made a few introductory observations. He then called upon

Baillie BRODIE, who, on rising to move the first resolution, said—In accordance with the object for which this meeting has been called, a resolution has been put into my hands which I have much pleasure in proposing. It is not my intention, neither is it necessary that I should occupy your time in discussing this question, because the arguments which go to prove the injury inflicted upon all classes by the operation of the Corn Laws are so numerous, so unanswerable, that every person of the meanest capacity must see the necessity for their total and immediate repeal. It is gratifying to me, as it must be to all, that we can now approach the discussion of this subject without reference to politics—(cheers)—men of every shade of political sentiment agreeing that these laws, so obnoxious, so destructive to the interests of the community at large, can not be much longer maintained in consistency with the prosperity of the kingdom at large. Among the few who still advocate a restriction in the supply of food, are some who hold up the agricultural and manufacturing classes as the enemies of each other. But this position he would meet with a simple denial, as an assertion utterly destitute of truth. While Free Traders express their determination to persevere until they get these unjust laws repealed, they did so under the solemn and deep conviction, that the proper application of capital and skill to the cultivation of the soil would do more than promote the prosperity of agriculture than all the laws which a short-sighted policy has or can enact for its protection. Agriculture and commerce are nearly allied to, and mutually dependent upon, each other—the one cannot suffer without the other partaking in it. The one cannot prosper without the other partaking in the prosperity; so that, in every point of view, the mercantile is the best friend of the agricultural interest. (Applause.)

Councillor M'Nee, in seconding the resolution, remarked, that from a conversation he had that day with a surgeon, a marked increase in mortality had taken place among the poorer classes since November last.

Mr. W. ORR rose to move the appointment of a committee to carry out the object of the previous resolution. He entirely coincided with Baillie Brodie in the opinion that the interest of the manufacturer and agriculturist were perfectly identical. He would ask, how would the agriculturist be protected, if manufactures were driven from the country? They would have a people who could not want bread, yet must have it, and yet have nothing to give for it. He had always viewed the Corn Laws as founded on injustice, and supported in misconception. And so far from being a benefit, a protection to the agricultural classes, every day's report from the agricultural districts, and the oft-current appointment of Parliamentary committees, to examine into the cause of agricultural distress, betokened that the system of protection did not even effect the objects for which it was said to be retained. But a better proof lay in the fact, that in 1831 the agricultural population was to the manufacturing as 28 to 42, while in 1842 they bore the relationship of 22 to 46. (Hear.) Now, if these Corn Laws were of benefit to the agricultural interest as a whole, would this change have taken place? Few people left a better position for a worse; but in almost all possible cases they did so from a worse to a better. (Great applause.) The agriculturists tell us that they are our best customers, but he thought they were more dependent upon the mercantile community than the latter. They point to splendid mansions of our merchants, and to the poor dwellings of the agricultural labourer, in proof that protection is necessary to preserve the small remaining comfort which the poor peasant possesses. But this only proves one fact, viz. that their so-called protection, however it may tingle sweetly in the ear of the ignorant, is a farce, a nonentity as far as regards either the farmer or labourer. (Cheers.)

Mr. GOVAN, in seconding the resolution, hoped the memorial would tell as it should upon the legislature of the country.

The motion being agreed to, a vote of thanks was passed

to the chairman, and the meeting broke up.—*Glasgow Argus.*

DEMONSTRATION OF THE WORKING MEN OF LIVERPOOL.

One of the most important demonstrations which have been made in favour of Free Trade was made last night by the working classes. The meeting was called by a placard, of which the following is a copy:

"Working Men of Liverpool,—You are hereby invited to attend a public meeting of ourselves, to be held in Clayton-square, on Thursday evening next, January 15, 1846, at half-past seven o'clock, to give expression to your sentiments in reference to the present high price of all sorts of provisions, and the demand for labour in connection with the maintenance of the present Corn Laws, and their total, immediate, and unconditional repeal. A journeyman shipwright is expected to take the chair, and several other working men only will address the meeting. It is hoped that the best of order will be preserved, and a fair estimate of our opinions obtained on this question.—Signed at the request, and on behalf of, a number of working men, originating and intending to conduct the said meeting.—R. BIRKETT, 67, Jordan street, Queen's Dock."

Long before the hour appointed for holding the meeting, throngs of the industrious classes crowded the square, and before the chair was taken there could not have been fewer than 5000 persons present. There would no doubt have been a much larger number assembled, but the meeting was summoned at two days' notice, and it was, comparatively speaking, unknown. The arrangements were quite of a characteristic nature. A four-wheeled lorry was stationed on the east side of the square, and upon the vehicle two or three chairs and two small tables for the reporters were placed. The only light was the glimmering of a neighbouring gas-lamp, the rays of which enabled the reporters to take but very imperfect notes of the proceedings. To see so many thousand faces, not yet washed after the labours of the day, gazing intently at the speakers, was most gratifying. It bespoke a determined and earnest desire on their part to promote the progress of the cause which now agitates the country. The devout attention they paid to the speakers, and their hearty responses to the liberal sentiments uttered, also marked their devotion to the principles of Free Trade. Upon the motion of Mr. Hinde, seconded by Mr. William Simmonds, Mr. John Price, a journeyman millwright, was unanimously called on to preside.

The Chairman opened the proceedings by expressing a hope that they would do all they could to conduct matters in a quiet and peaceable manner.

The assembly was then addressed by Mr. Simmonds, who moved the following resolution:

"Resolved,—That we, the working men of Liverpool, in public meeting assembled, having no other means of procuring a sufficiency of food and other necessities of life for ourselves, our wives, and our children, except through the profitable sale of our labour, and the receipt of 'a fair day's pay for a fair day's work,' do enter our solemn protest against the continuance of the Corn Laws, which at this inclement season of the year, with a prospect of scarcity, by closing our ports to the admission of food from abroad, and thus limiting the quantity, enhances the price, and restricts to a great extent the demand for our labour, by which alone, as free-born British subjects, we wish honestly to live. May God protect the poor."

Mr. Simmonds concluded by quoting passages of Scripture which proved that the Free Trade cause was sanctioned by the Bible. He was followed by William Hinde, a rope-maker, and by one or two others, in speeches of some length, which were frequently applauded; and the resolution, being put by the chairman, was carried unanimously. Another meeting will be held in a short time.

KENDAL.

On Wednesday night, a meeting was held at the Odd-Fellows' Hotel, to meet Messrs. Cobden and Bright, and Col. Thompson, as a deputation from the League, to promote the increase of Free Trade qualifications in counties, and especially in the county of Westmoreland.

The hall was crowded by men of the first influence in the county. The orchestra was filled with ladies.

Mr. J. J. Wilson said he had great pleasure in proposing that Mr. W. Whitwell take the chair.

Mr. J. THOMPSON, jun. said he had great pleasure in seconding the nomination.

Mr. J. J. WILSON, before the business of the evening commenced, read a letter from Mr. Crackanthorpe, expressing that gentleman's regret at not being able to attend.

Mr. COBDEN, on rising, was greeted with the most enthusiastic acclamations. He spoke at very great length, commenting argumentatively and humorously upon passing events. In the course of his speech he made the following allusion to the representation of Westmoreland:

The Free Traders have won South Lancashire, and by the end of the present month North Lancashire will be equally safe. But then we want to go forward. Westmoreland comes next, and you stop the way. We want Westmoreland next, and we intend to have it next. (A voice, "You shall have it next.") Now, I will undertake, if necessary, to find, in less than twelve months, a thousand men who shall qualify in Westmoreland, and wrest it out of the hands of the Lowthers. (Immense cheering.) If there is any reporter present, who reports for the paper that is read at Lowther Castle, I hope he will take down these few words. I tell Lord Londale, if he upholds these laws for another two years, we, the Free Traders of England, will as surely have Westmoreland in our power, as we have now South Lancashire and Yorkshire. If he maintains the monstrous injustice of taxing the people's bread—(A voice, "Whether he does that or not?")—I speak, continued Mr. Cobden, as a Free Trader; if he had not meddled with the food of the people, we should not now have come forward to interfere with him; if, I say, he persists in the monstrous injustice of taxing the bread of the people, for the mean and paltry object of filling the pockets of his own order, I do not say his own pocket, for whatever he may think, he does not really put anything into his own pocket, we will as surely wrest the representation out of his hands, as we have won the other counties that have been alluded to, and he shall be as little consulted in the choice of members as any hard working man that wears a fustian jacket. (Most rapturous applause, that continued for some time.) Now, you will say this is bold language for a humble individual like myself to use towards a man whose family has been accustomed to dictate terms to the Prime Minister, and to compel him to give them the Lord Lieu-

tenancy of two counties, lest they should withhold from him that large parliamentary influence which they possessed. But how is it that I am enabled to use this language? It is that he has made me strong by attempting to maintain a great injustice against the people of this country. I should be nothing in this country, if he would only do justice to the people. (Loud applause.) I pledge my honour here this night to find a thousand men, and if a thousand is not sufficient, then I engage to find two thousand to take up the franchise for Westmoreland. (Cheers.) Now, you must remember they cannot play the old trick over again which they practised when Henry Brougham fought the battle with them. In those times the poll lasted fourteen days, and finding themselves on one occasion in a minority, they took the advantage of a Sunday intervening, and the lawyers were set to work, and fictitious votes were created, which were polled on the Monday. (Cries of "That is all true.") "We know all about that." This trick cannot be repeated; the names must now be on the register 12 months; they must be hung up on the church and chapel doors, where every body that passes by may examine them; they must go through the revision court, and stand the test of the closest legal scrutiny, and we will take care there shall not be a vote on the register that has not been honestly paid for. (Cheers.) They cannot play tricks with us. I throw down the gauntlet in the name of the Free Traders of England, and I declare that if he maintain these laws, he shall not retain the representation of Westmoreland. (Loud and continued cheering.) He will believe us when he sees what we have done; and, if he wants a character, we will refer him to Mr. Wilson Patten and Mr. Talbot Clifton, in the adjoining county of North Lancashire. (Laughter.) Why, Westmoreland is nothing to North Lancashire. In that last-mentioned county, by the end of this month, we shall have gained 5000 upon the register; here, in Westmoreland, we want only 1000, which is but a work that can be done before breakfast. (Laughter and cheers.)

Mr. Cobden resumed his seat amidst the most enthusiastic cheering. The meeting was subsequently addressed in a most effective manner by Colonel Thompson, and Mr. Bright, M.P., who were followed by Mr. J. J. Wilson, and Mr. J. Holme.—Mr. John Gill, on behalf of the working classes, made an excellent speech; and after a vote of thanks proposed by the Mayor to Mr. Cobden, and Mr. Bright, the meeting separated in a high state of enthusiasm.

SUNDERLAND.

Even with a Supplement we are compelled to omit detailed reports of several important meetings which have been held in various parts of the country. At Sunderland, the mayor, in pursuance of a requisition, held a meeting which was attended by the most influential merchants and ship-owners of the borough, including several who withheld their votes from Col. Thompson at the last election. The principal speakers were the Mayor, who is one of the largest ship-owners in the town, Dr. J. Browne, Mr. A. J. Moore, Mr. J. Wilson, Mr. Dickinson, (better known as the Manchester Parker, and a leader of the Chartists), Mr. A. White, Mr. J. Thompson, Mr. G. Horncastle, Col. Beckwith, and Mr. Curling. On the Tuesday following, at a meeting of the Anti-Corn Law Association of the same town, resolutions were adopted to canvass for the Great League Fund, and nearly 2000 were subscribed in the room.

On Wednesday evening, the 7th inst., a meeting was held at the Clarendon Hotel, Grainger-street, for the purpose of carrying into operation the recommendations of Mr. Cobden, at the Corn Exchange, on the previous Monday evening. Mr. Crawshaw was in the chair. The meeting was principally occupied in receiving subscriptions to the League Fund, and the names of those who wished to qualify themselves as county voters. About 30 gentlemen applied for qualifications, principally in North Durham; and the names of a great many who were likely to qualify were taken down. The following gentlemen have subscribed to the League Fund:—Mr. Geo. Crawshaw, 100*l.*; Messrs. Pow and Fawcus, 50*l.*; Messrs. John Lee and Co., 50*l.*; Mr. Robert Ormston, 50*l.*; Messrs. Bell, Brothers, 30*l.*; Mr. H. C. Armstrong, 25*l.*; Mr. John Shield, 21*l.*; Mr. James Shield, 20*l.*; Mr. W. Armstrong, Town's Chamber, 10*l.* 10*s.*; Mr. Joseph Watson, 10*l.*; Mr. T. A. Cook, 10*l.*; Mr. F. Staniford, 10*l.*; Messrs. T. Burnett and Son, Dunstan, 10*l.*; Captain Weatherley, 15*l.*; Mr. T. Burnett, 5*l.*; Mr. R. H. Yea, 5*l.*; Mr. W. Proctor, 5*l.*; Mr. W. H. Brockett, 5*l.*; Mr. Thomas Dewar, 5*l.*; Mr. Joshua Watson, jun., 5*l.*; Mr. Jacob Grey, Gateshead, 5*l.*; Mr. Timothy Oliver, 5*l.*; a Gateshead Friend to Fair-play, 5*l.*; Mr. John Blakey, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Mr. Jas. Clephan, 1*l.*; Mr. Samuel Dixon, 1*l.*; Mr. John Fawcett, 1*l.*; Mr. Joseph Clephan, 1*l.*

DUNDEE.

A meeting of the Friends of Free Trade in Dundee, convened by the League Fund Committee, was held in the Guild-hall on Saturday last, for the purpose of considering the best means of immediately raising a subscription in aid of the Great League Fund of 250,000*l.* On the motion of George Duncan, Esq., member for the burgh, Provost Brown was called to the chair; and, on the solicitation of the Provost, George Duncan, Esq., took his seat on his right, and Edward Baxter, Esq., on his left. Several spirited resolutions were adopted, and a sum of 1,461*l.* 11*s.* was subscribed in the space of a few minutes; the total subscription in Dundee being nearly 2000*l.*

OXFORD.

On Thursday, a meeting convened by the Mayor was held in the Town-hall of Oxford, which was completely filled by citizens of all ranks, forming a striking contrast to the "hole and corner" meeting of protectionists held in that city during the preceding week. The speakers were Mr. Grub, Mr. Toole, Mr. Hemming, Mr. Faulkner, the Rev. Mr. Godwin, Mr. Wane, and Mr. Langstone, M.P. We greatly regret being obliged to omit Mr. Langstone's speech. He showed that the landlords would profit by the repeal of the Corn Law in common with the rest of the community, and that they were actually losers by maintaining the present exclusive privileges.

ST. AUSTELL.

On Friday evening, the 9th inst., a public meeting was held in the Market-house, at St. Austell, when petitions to both Houses of the legislature, praying the removal of every restriction on trade that is compatible with the raising of a sufficient revenue, especially the removal of those that bear upon necessary articles of food were moved. The chair was filled by Mr. John Hosking, a member of the Society of Friends, who made a few pertinent observations on opening

the business. He was followed by Mr. Barlow and Mr. Boyle. Mr. J. S. Trelawney, M.P. for Tavistock, made a powerful and argumentative speech in supporting the petition, which was listened to with marked attention. Mr. Jacob Prior and Mr. Morcom briefly addressed the meeting, and C. J. W. Ellis, Esq., who is well known as an earnest and zealous reformer, and a considerable landowner in this county, spoke with telling effect, and concluded by saying, "Though there was a calm for the moment, the period might not be far distant when the people ought to be prepared to stand up for those gentlemen who would really and disinterestedly support the bread-and-cheese question, which affected the whole community. (Cheers.) And surely that county which boasted of a Davy and a Paris in science, and a Molesworth and Trelawney in politics, should not be behind the rest of the kingdom in this great Free Trade movement. (Cheers.)"—*Cornish Herald.*

HERTFORD.

A Free Trade meeting was held at the Shire Hall, Hertford, on Monday evening, Jan. 19, which was fully attended, and great interest was excited. The Hon. Wm. Cowper, M.P., and many gentlemen from the town and neighbourhood, were present. Mr. Wm. POLLARD was called to the chair, who briefly explained the objects of the meeting, and introduced Mr. Falvey. Mr. FALVEY replied to the fallacies and mis-statements uttered at the late election for this county (by a Mr. Woodley, a grocer, from Cambridgeshire, and Sir M. Farquhar) at great length, and with considerable force and eloquence, and completely demolished them.

Mr. J. J. GRIPPER then proposed a petition to Parliament for the immediate and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws. This was seconded by Wm. Manser, Esq., and carried unanimously. It was proposed that the Hon. W. Cowper, M.P., for the borough, be requested to present such petition to the House of Commons, and to support its prayer. The hon. member then addressed the meeting at great length, pledging himself to support the principles advocated by their petition to the utmost of his power, and stating his conviction of the speedy and inevitable abolition of the Corn Laws. (Loud cheers.)

The Chairman having called upon Mr. LATTIMORE, he said, that he should have been happy to have remained a passive listener to the able and argumentative speeches delivered that evening, so great was the delight he derived from witnessing the rapid and wide-spread progress of the important principle of commercial freedom, which he had long and conscientiously laboured to support. (Cheers.) Every part of the ground had been preoccupied that evening, and he would therefore occupy but little of their time at that late hour, as they must be exhausted by listening to the lengthened addresses delivered that night. (No, no.) Mr. Lattimore stated his entire concurrence in the advantages derived by the staple manufacturers of the country from the remission of duties upon the raw materials used thereby, as cotton, wool, and silk, to which allusion has been made, and commented with great force upon the singular anomaly that such duties were now solely retained upon the raw materials used by the farmers and graziers in the manufacture of beef, mutton, and pork; such as oats, beans, peas, &c., which he considered as a proof of the consciousness of the injustice of the Corn Laws. And Hertfordshire, he said, had been lately distinguished—first, by the great protection meeting at St. Albans, at which the Marquis of Salisbury, being chairman, actually came out as an advocate of the purity of election! Now, many strange conversions were daily taking place, but the most surprising of them all was that of the noble marquis becoming a political Magdalene! (Cheers.) They had all heard of the conjuror who invited the public to see him get into a quart bottle; but even such a feat was scarcely inferior to that of the noble marquis becoming an advocate of electoral independence. Then the Earl of Essex announced himself as a partial Free Trader in some minor articles, as lentils, Indian corn; and secondly, by the recent election for this county. When he read the account of the meeting for that purpose (at which he was not present) the long and malignant tissue of abuse uttered at that meeting, the saturnalia of diabolical images presented to the public, it forcibly recalled to his mind that passage in holy writ, where the arch-enemy of man is described as having come down to earth, with great wrath, knowing that he hath but a short time. (Cheers.) He thought that passing events were daily declaring to these intemperate persons, in language as conspicuous as the handwriting upon the wall—

"O man, thy kingdom is departing from thee, And while it lasts is emptier than thy shade." (Loud cheers.) But the staple of all their speeches consisted solely of indiscriminate abuse, and unjustifiable imputations of the League, which he believed arose from an entire ignorance of the motives and feelings which animated the members of that great national body. (Cheers.) They required no defence from any one, being well able to defend themselves from these malignant aspersions; but he should be ashamed of himself if he failed to speak, from his own personal knowledge, to the great worth of, and high national objects supported by, the champions of that body. (Cheers.) He sincerely believed that more pure, honourable, or patriotic-minded men than the leading members of the Council of the League did not exist in this country. (Loud cheers.) He believed they were actuated by the conviction that the great principle of commercial freedom they sought to establish was calculated to produce immense advantages to all classes of the people of this country, and universal good to the world at large. (Cheers.) He had also witnessed the cordiality and good feeling prevalent between the working people and their employers, having lately been through many of the large factories and dwellings of the mechanics in the neighbourhood of Manchester. They had heard the most harrowing tales of the miseries and sufferings of the work-people in manufacturing districts, and he sincerely wished they could have witnessed what he had recently seen, and then such statements would be scouted for ever. He was requested by the masters to put any questions to the working people about their earnings, comforts, or privations, that might occur to him. More cheerful, happy, and contented people, he never saw. The earnings of the men, which he took from their own lips, were 16*s.* to 40*s.*; girls, 9*s.* to 11*s.*; women, 11*s.* to 18*s.*; then their dwellings were neat and comfortable; and he could safely say that the better class of mechanics enjoy more of the comforts, decencies, and elegancies of life than many of the small farmers of this country. (Cheers.) He assured them that he felt the degradation, upon comparing the different rate of wages paid by manufacturers, and that by agriculturists; and yet, Mr. Bigg stated at the late election, on seconding Mr. Halsey, that he supported the Corn Laws, in order to maintain wages and employment. (Cheers.) He would state that he had seen

the extensive and admirably managed factories of Mr. H. Ashworth, of Turton; Mr. E. Ashworth, of Egerton; Messrs. Gardner and Barely, of Halliwell; Mr. J. Whitaker, of Ashton; and Messrs. Bright, of Rochdale; at the whole of which the machinery was beautiful; the most perfect order prevailed; and the appearance of the working people cheerful and happy. (Cheers and cries of Hear.) And he would state before that meeting, and before the world, that he felt indignant at the aspersions which had been thrown upon the manufacturers, and was proud to be able to call such men his countrymen. (Loud cheers.) These gentlemen had invited all persons to come and examine for themselves, and they would be happy to show them their mills, and to give them every information they required; and he recommended those present at that meeting to avail themselves of an early opportunity of doing so, and he felt assured they would derive a similar satisfaction to that he had done, and thus enable them to refute the ignorant calumnies asserted at various meetings, against this most valuable class of our countrymen. (Cheers.) Great attention was now paid to the moral welfare of the mechanics; schools, assembly rooms, and chapels, were springing up on all sides. The working people employed at Mr. J. Whitaker's factory, at Ashton, have subscribed (from their earnings 400l. towards the erection of a chapel at Ashton. (Cheers.) I trust the speakers upon this subject will feel it to be their duty to become acquainted with the truth, before they venture again to asperse and calumniate the members of the League. (Loud cheers.) He said, then, all honour to the citizens of Manchester, who have set their countrymen so glorious an example, and exerted themselves so nobly to establish the moral, industrial, and political independence of all classes of the community. (Loud cheers.) In conclusion, he begged to propose the best thanks of the meeting to their respected chairman, for his able and impartial conduct in the chair; seconded by Mr. Bontems, and carried by acclamation. Three cheers being given for Free Trade, the meeting quietly dispersed.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

THE Friends of FREE TRADE residing in the Northern or Midland Counties, desirous of purchasing Freeholds in any of the undermentioned Counties, are requested to apply to the Secretary of the League, Newall's Buildings Manchester.

North Lancashire	North Derbyshire
South Lancashire	South Derbyshire
North Cheshire	North Durham
West Riding of York	East Cumberland
South Stafford	West Cumberland
North Stafford	South Northumberland
South Cheshire	

Each applicant is requested to give his name and residence at full length. By Order of the Council, JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

FREE TRADERS desirous of purchasing Freeholds for Middlesex, East Surrey, West Kent, South Essex, East Sussex, and South Hants, are requested to send their applications, with name and address in full, to the League Offices, 67, Fleet-street, London.

By Order of the Council, JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

NORTH LANCASHIRE.

QUALIFY! QUALIFY! QUALIFY!

AS but few days now remain for Qualifying, so as to be on the next Register, the Friends of Free Trade are respectfully urged to Purchase Freeholds without delay.

Freehold Property, giving a Qualification, can be purchased, in North Lancashire, at from 30% to 35%, yielding about 7 per cent.

Every information may be had from Mr. Moorhouse, League Rooms, 4, Cheapside, Preston.

FREEHOLD QUALIFICATIONS FOR HERTS.

FREE TRADERS desirous of purchasing Freeholds in Hertfordshire are requested to send their applications to The League Offices, 67, Fleet-street, or to Mr. J. F. Bontems, Herts Registration Office, Hertford.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

While we congratulate our readers on the progress of the subscriptions to the Quarter of a Million Fund, and on the effect that they have obviously produced without and within the walls of Parliament, we must impress upon them the necessity of not relaxing in their exertions, now that the crisis of our great struggle has arrived. The victory is not yet won; all the resources, and all the energies of the League, will be required, before complete success can be achieved. A dissolution of Parliament appears to be imminent; and the battle of Free Trade will have to be fought inch by inch on the hustings. We are anxious to urge on our friends the importance, not only of subscribing freely, but of subscribing early. The manifestation of strength will often decide the course of the wavering and the doubtful; but, above all, our subscriptions are the best proof that we are thoroughly in earnest, and that we shall not cease to labour until every link of the fetters imposed on British industry is struck off, and every restriction on the supply of food to the people completely annihilated.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Jan. 21, 1846.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

As the regulations of the Post Office require that the Christian Name of the party to whom Post Office Orders are sent should be given in full, subscribers are respectfully requested to procure their Orders in future for **GEORGE WILSON, League Offices, Manchester, or ABRAHAM WALTER PAULTON, 67, Fleet-street, London.**

	£	s.	d.
*Ashton, R. Hyde, near Manchester	200	0	0
*Henry, A & S, Co ditto	200	0	0
Pennington, John, R. & A. Hindley, nr Wigan	200	0	0
Walker, Wm, Southport	100	0	0
*Andrew, G & Son, Compstall, near Stockport	100	0	0
*Buckley, A & Son, Ashton-under-Lyne	100	0	0
*Buckley, A ditto	100	0	0
*Foster, G, Salden, Lancashire	100	0	0
Johnston, B, Park House, Broughton, Manchester	50	0	0
*Arrowsmith, P. R, Bolton	50	0	0
*Schofield, J. B, Littleborough, near Rochdale	50	0	0
*Watkins, W. B, Manchester	40	0	0
*Pettigrew, Messrs, 70, Fountain-street, ditto	40	0	0
*Whitworth, J & Co, Chorlton-st ditto	30	0	0
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Wilkinson, James & Son, Stockport	20	0	0
Laird, Wm, Birkenhead, near Liverpool	20	0	0
Laird, Macgregor, ditto ditto	20	0	0
*Benson, R. jun, Fairfield, near Manchester	20	0	0
Potter, R. 3, Up Hamilton-ter, St John's Wood, London	20	0	0
Openshaw, J. E & R, 34, George-street, Manchester	20	0	0
*Harvey, Tyso, & Co ditto	40	0	0
*Atkinson, F. R, 3, Norfolk-street ditto	20	0	0
*Andrew, J. & M, Brookbottom, Saddleworth nr Morley	20	0	0
*Rawson, J, Ardwick, Manchester	20	0	0
*Clark, R & Son, 30, Spring Gardens, ditto	20	0	0
Ainsworth, G, Holland-street, Rochdale	20	0	0
*Lees H. & Sons, Ashton-under-Lyne	20	0	0
Pender, J. & Co, 29, Dale-street, Manchester	20	0	0
*Ainsworth, D, 13, George-street ditto	20	0	0
*Dodgshon, T. & Nephew, Swann-ct, ditto	20	0	0
*Haworth, Geo, Rochdale	20	0	0
*Wilson, James, Belhaven, Dunbar	20	0	0
*Standing, J, 28, Fountain-street, Manchester	10	0	0
Burton, J. & J, 6, Faulkner-street ditto	10	0	0
Fletcher, C, 3, Princess-street ditto	10	0	0
Lane, J. E, York-street ditto	10	0	0
*Dixon & Galloway ditto	10	0	0
*Pearson, J. & B, Marsden Square, ditto	10	0	0
Brotherton, J. M. P., Salford	10	0	0
*Goodfellow, Benj, Hyde, near Manchester	10	0	0
Andrew, J, Medlock Vale ditto	6	0	0
Yates, Aspell, & Fildes, Lower King-st ditto	6	0	0
Cummingham, W. A. 59, Morely-street ditto	5	0	0
Slater, N, Withington-street ditto	5	0	0
A Friend per Abm. Lees	5	0	0
Osborn, Geo, Newport Pagnel	5	0	0
Milne, J, York-place, Oxford-road, Manchester	5	0	0
Slove, A, Bank Parade, Salford	5	0	0
*Sidebotham, Wm, Hyde, near Manchester	5	0	0
*Horsley, Messrs & Co, 8, Charlotte-st, ditto	5	0	0
Williamson, Wm, Stockport	5	0	0
Higgin, J, Tenenill-street, Broughton, ditto	5	0	0
*Gordon, Admiral Henry, Bath	5	0	0
*Peacock, H. B. St Ann's-square, Manchester	4	0	0
*Gamble, J. C & Son, St Helens	4	0	0
*Cockshot, Wm & J Shipley, Yorkshire	3	0	0
*Spier, A, 96, Deansgate, Manchester	2	10	0
A Friend per A. Lees,	2	2	0
Batty, Wm, Andenshaw, near Manchester	2	0	0
Turtle, T, Regent-road ditto	2	0	0
*Kendal, Geo, 18, Market-street ditto	2	0	0
*Jewsbury, J. & F, King-street ditto	2	0	0
Dale, T, Angel-yard, Market-place, ditto	2	0	0
*Naylor, Wm, Smithydoor ditto	2	0	0
*Robson, Isaac, grocer, Huddersfield	2	0	0
Twallon, Wm, jun, Commercial-street, ditto	2	0	0
*Robinson, M. J, surgeon, Bank House, Bolton	2	0	0
*Saithwaite, T, 127, Chapel-street, Salford	2	0	0
*Hilton, C, solicitor, Wigan	2	0	0
Lowndes, James, 118, Deansgate, Manchester	2	0	0
*Hockton, J, 26, Oxford-road, ditto	1	10	0
Grundy, Wm, G, Summers-place, Broughton-lane, ditto	1	10	0
*Hargreaves, J, 2, London-road ditto	1	10	0
*Hully, Dr, St John street ditto	1	10	0
*Fox, Sam, 187, Deansgate ditto	1	10	0
*Preston, J, 2, Albert Bridge ditto	1	10	0
*Taylor, J, 3, Princess-street ditto	1	10	0
*Taylor, Sam, ditto	1	10	0
*Barker and Packey, 65, King-street ditto	1	10	0
*Webster, J, 3, Worcester-street, Hulme ditto	1	10	0
*Rogers, R, Oxford-street ditto	1	10	0
*Warburton, T, Broad-street, Pendleton ditto	1	10	0
*Hosstott, Wm, 44, Thomas-street ditto	1	10	0
*Tennant, H. B, Oth Barn, near ditto	1	10	0
*Twiss, James, 3, Oxford-road ditto	1	10	0
*Wolstencroft, G, Blakely Mill, near ditto	1	10	0
*Scholes, P, Stand-lane, near ditto	1	10	0
*Robinson, E, 23, Whitby Grove ditto	1	10	0
*Hampson, Benj, 22, Foyntain-street ditto	1	10	0
*Walker, A, Stand-lane, Pilkington, near ditto	1	10	0
*Leck, R, 12, Downham-street ditto	1	10	0
*Whittaker, J, Great Ancoot-street ditto	1	10	0
*Bland, J, 28, Bridge-street ditto	1	10	0
*Watts, J, 66, Deansgate ditto	1	10	0
*Mills, W. 18, Bridge-street ditto	1	10	0
*Wakefield, J, Blackfriars ditto	1	10	0
*Horton, R, Nantwich ditto	1	10	0
*Barge, G, 41, Grosvenor-street, Corn Market ditto	1	10	0
*Wood, T, 91, Millgate ditto	1	10	0
*Atherton, Wm, St Mary's Gate ditto	1	10	0
*Paterson, Mr, Market-place ditto	1	10	0
Hopkinson, T, Bury, Lancashire	1	10	0
*Allanson, J, Union-street, Bury, ditto	1	10	0
*Grundy, R. J, Bury, ditto	1	10	0
Robinson, Wm, Brookbottom, Bury, ditto	1	10	0
*Heap, J, Rev, Lydgate, near Huddersfield	1	10	0
Burdon, Benj, Westgate ditto	1	10	0
*Robinson, T, King street ditto	1	10	0
Wormald, J ditto	1	10	0
Rowley, T, MD, Lichfield ditto	1	10	0
Bond, E ditto	1	10	0
*Taylor, G, St George's-road, Little Bolton	1	10	0
*Cottrill, J, Market-street, Bolton	1	10	0
*Cottrill, Joseph, Fairfield, Buxton	1	10	0
*Darker, R, Co-tessey, near Norwich	1	10	0
Murriott, J, Wellingborough	1	10	0
*Ragland, J, Rev, Hindley, near Wigan	1	10	0
*Bates, J, Aores-lane, Staleybridge	1	10	0
Hall, R, per R Ashton	1	10	0
*Hamer, S, Newport-street, Great Bolton	1	10	0
*Stott, J, Edge-lane, Royton, near Oldham	1	10	0
Jackson, E, 7, Deighton-street, Bristol	1	10	0
A Working Man, London-road, Gloucester	1	10	0
Elliot, G, Bromsgrove	1	10	0
Bertie, D, Greengate, Salford	1	10	0
Broad, R, King street	1	10	0
*Coffee, Wm, 26, Hick-street, Newcastle-under-line	1	10	0
*Hall, J, Shipley, Yorkshire	1	10	0
*Whitehead, J, Mill Gate, in Smallbridge, Rochdale	1	10	0
*Smith, T. H, Hill-Marsden, near Burnley	1	10	0
Evans, L, Ashburton, Devon	1	10	0
Smith, J, Kearsy, NB	1	10	0
Horton, R, Nantwich	1	10	0
Pittfield, Chas, Great Moor-street, Bolton	1	10	0
Morris, D, Mill-street, Little Bolton	1	10	0
Taylor, Wm, Croft Head, Royton, near Oldham	1	10	0

Bleasdale, R, Derby-st, Bury, Lancashire	1	0	0
Cropper, Benj, Whitehead Bridge, ditto ditto	1	0	0
Jolley, T, Wallgate, Wigan	1	0	0
*Gaskell, N, Upholland, ditto	1	0	0
West, E, Amansham, Liverpool	0	10	0
"A Denbighshire Freeholder"	0	10	0
Robinson, J, Cross Church-street, Huddersfield	0	10	0
Sanderson, J, Dock-street ditto	0	5	0
A Friend, Salford	0	5	0
Edward, A, 10, Halford-place, Richmond, Surrey	0	5	0
A Friend, per ditto	0	2	6
Holmes, T, 68, Deansgate, Manchester	0	5	0
Jones, Wm, Smithy-door ditto	0	5	0
Brown, T, 20, Bridge-street ditto	0	3	0
Liverpool:—			
*Heyworth, Lawrence, Rumford-place	100	0	0
*Rawdon, G and J, Old Hall	80	0	0
*Rathbone, Brothers, South Castle-street	60	0	0
*Thornley, T. M. P., Mount-street	60	0	0
*Mulleneux, James, Mount Vernon	50	0	0
*Walsley, Sir J, 12, Dale-street	50	0	0
*Ryder, James, Falkner-square	50	0	0
*Kitt, James, Messrs, Sons, and Co, Water-street	50	0	0
*Branker, James, Dorans-lane	50	0	0
*Mather, T, Glyn Abbot, Holywell	40	0	0
*Mather, J, 58, Mount Pleasant, Holywell	40	0	0
*Mather, R ditto ditto	40	0	0
*Mather, D ditto ditto	40	0	0
*Cooke, Isaac B, 1, Exchange Buildings	30	0	0
*Pontz, V, Duke-street, Edge Hill	20	0	0
*Wood, James D, 15, Old Hall-street	20	0	0
*Pennington, F, 22, Exchange Chambers	20	0	0
*Harvey, T, Hamilton Hall, Waverton	20	0	0
*Brocklebank, T, Rumford	20	0	0
*Heyworth, P. G and J, ditto	20	0	0
*Mather, Miss, 58, Mount Pleasant, Holywell	20	0	0
*Mather, Jane, Miss ditto ditto	20	0	0
*Sheil, R. and Co, Fenwick Chambers	20	0	0
*Johnson, R, King-street	20	0	0
*Stuart, W, Rumford-place	20	0	0
*Heap, Joseph, Matthew-street	20	0	0
*Hobson, Sam T, 65, Catherine-street	20	0	0
*McAndrew, Fletcher, and Co, 7, North John-street	20	0	0
*Irlam, T, Royal Bank Buildings	20	0	0
*Maxwell, W, 30, King-street	20	0	0
*Maxwell, Geo, ditto	20	0	0
*Carmichael, J, 10, Trafford Chambers	20	0	0
*Quirk, P, Court House, Bombr	20	0	0
*Lane, E, 7, Chapel Walks	10	10	0
*Thornley, Sam, 22, Claremont-street	10	0	0
*Kennedy, P, 7, Everton-road	10	0	0
*Johnson, Sam, King-street	10	0	0
*Heap, J, Matthew-street	10	0	0
*Doshud, J, Atherton Buildings	10	0	0
*Schwabe, G, 16, Exchange Buildings	10	0	0
*Sharpe, R. and Son, 18, Temple-court	10	0	0
*Reynolds, W. M. D., Allerton	10	0	0
*Mulleneux, J. W, 9, Moss-street	10	0	0
*Eyre, Evans, 36, Chapel-street	10	0	0
*Brocklebank, Ralph, Rumford	10	0	0
*Martindale, H, Lyceum-place	10	0	0
*Muir, J, 8, Leveson-street	8	0	0
*King, Joseph, and Sons, Exchange Buildings	6	0	0
*Evans, E, and Co, 65, Church-street	5	5	0
*Dod, Wm, 15, Everton-crescent	5	0	0
*Knrk, A, Bootle	5	0	0
*Bright, R, 72, Bole-street	5	0	0
*Bolton, T, Great George-street	5	0	0
*Taylor, Brothers, 16, Temple-court	5	0	0
*Matthews, Mrs, Waverin	5	0	0
*McClellan and Lee, 5, Princes-street	5	0	0
*Cannon, D, 52, South Castle-street	5	0	0
*Seward, Sam, 42, Upper Stanhope-street	5	0	0
*Ward, S. P, Church-street, Woodside	4	0	0
*Winn, Wm, Springfield House, Bootle	2	2	0
*West, Chas E, 13, Whitechapel	2	2	0
*Cliff, Wm, jun, Exchange Chambers	2	0	0
*Rathbone, R. R, Woodcroft	2	0	0
*McMurdoo, Jas, Sefton-street	2	0	0
*Robberds, Rev J, 2, High Park-street	2	0	0
*Waylie, R, 2, India Bridge	2	0	0
*Crossley, R, 40, Sonning-road	2	0	0
*Jones, M, 140, Mill street	2	0	0
*Sharp, Alex, 119, Richmond-row	2	0	0
*Welch, E. T, 50, Paradise-street	1	1	0
*Banbury, J, 18, Park-lane	1	1	0
*Jones, J, 29, St Domingo Road	1	1	0
*Drummond, Wm, 38, Stanley-street	1	1	0
*Hooker, Wm, 65, Dale-street	1	1	0
*Rathbone, B, Woodcroft	1	1	0
*Bleazard, R, Boole Brewery	1	1	0
*G, West Derby	1	1	0
*Sergeeson, J, Roe-street	1	1	0
*Butler, James, 62, Dale-street	1	1	0
*Estlin, T. R, 188, Great Howard-street	1	1	0
*Hunt, Geo, 31, Irvine-street, Edge Hill	1	1	0
*Cortier, Wm, 90, Chatham-place	1	1	0
*Godber, Geo, 10, South Castle-street	1	1	0
*Slack and Howden, 87, Park-lane	1	1	0
*Dodgson, J, 25, Hanover-street	1	1	0
*C. H. D. per J. Dodgson	1	1	0
*Barlow, R, 14, Devon-street	1	1	0
*Fortune, J, 38, Great George-street	1	1	0
*Parley, T, 108, London-road	1	1	0
*Birkett, J and G, 213, Great Howard-st	1	1	0
*Francis, Geo, 100, St James-street	1	1	0
*Byron, F. G, Pythian-street	1	1	0
*Myers, J, 166, Dale-street	1	1	0
*Matthews, Edw, 14, Edgware	1	1	0
*McMuldrow, P, 5, Himter	1	1	0
*Lane, J, Vauxhall-road	1	1	0
*Harris, T, 2, Stanhope-street	1	1	0
*Bradburn, J, 91, Bradburn-street	1	1	0
Tate, C. A, 17, Great George-place	0	13	0
McAllister, T, 37, Knight-street	0	10	6
Roberts, T, 87, Dale-street	0	10	6
Copley, J, 36, Addington-street	0	10	0
Plant, G. H, 31, Chapel Walks	0	10	0
A Friend, per J. C. B.	0	10	0
Gamp, Mrs	0	10	0
Harris, Mrs	0	10	0
Fisher, T, 157, Dale-street	0	8	0
Rigg, J, Ranehagh-place	0	8	0
Stephenson, James, Paddington-place, Edge Hill	0	5	3
Tinson, Wm, 77, Hunter-place	0	5	3
Hindford, T, 16, Cheapside	0	5	3
Evans, E, and Co, 65, Church-street	0	5	5
Morris, C. J, 25, Richmond-row	0	5	5
A Friend	0	5	0
Lettman, J, 8, Tirbock-street	0	5	0
Mundy, E, 132, Mount Pleasant	0	5	0
Padmore, J, 19, Egerton-place	0	5	0
J. H.	0	5	0
Carter, T, 4, Temple Boss	0	5	0
Shoon, Alex, 27, Hunter-street	0	5	0
Field, Chas, 61, Upper Hill-street	0	4	0
Smeathorn, Wm, 40, South Castle-street	0	2	4
Wall, Wm, Fairclough-street	0	3	0
Archdeacon, Geo, 10, Sawney-pope-street	0	2	6
Small Sums	0	2	0
Sayer, R. R. R. N.	1	0	0
Griffiths, J, Crow Inn	0	5	0
Jones, E, baker	0	5	0
Collins, Sam, Burford	0	5	0
Wade, R, saddler	0	5	0
Broom, Wm, butcher	0	2	6
Green, E, watchmaker	0	2	6
Jenkins, T, glazier	0	2	6
Pound, B, saddler	0	2	6
Page, J, saddler	0	2	6
Small Sums	0	2	0
Tenbury, Worcester-shire.			

Harrison, Wm	5	0	0	*Beardmore, G A, Pilchergate, Nottingham	1	0	0
*Price, Wm, Park-row	2	2	0	*Jennison, Levi, Hove, near Battle	1	0	0
*Hay, Wm, Park-square	1	1	0	*Smith, James, Brough-street, Woodbridge	1	0	0
*Tilney, N, West-street	1	1	0	Walton, E, Woolstapler, Faversham	1	0	0
*Pool, L, Sweet-street, Holbeck, near	1	1	0	*Pigg, Joseph, Colegate, Norwich	1	0	0
*Walker, Mr, innkeeper, Wellington-st.	1	1	0	Donaldson, A C, manufacturer, Buckie, N.B.	1	0	0
*Harrison, H, Keathley-lane, Hunslet	1	1	0	*Jany, 19, Gilterson, James, Carlisle	1	0	0
*Mann, A, Cloth Hall-street	1	1	0	*Jinks, R, Station, Northamptonshire	1	0	0
*Hutton, Sam, Meadow-lane	1	1	0	*Gadsby, Mr, Post Office, Brigstock, ditto	1	0	0
*Glew, Matthew, Marshall-street	1	1	0	Braines, Mr, shoe factor, Kettering, ditto	1	0	0
*Wharton, J, Park-lane	1	1	0	*Pugh, Wm, Hay, Breconshire	1	0	0
*Sanderson, H S, Rose and Crown	1	1	0	*Peace, Sam, Medhurst-street, Sheffield	1	0	0
*Walker, J, Millshaw Beeston, near	1	1	0	*Fowler, J D, Haslingden, near Manchester	1	0	0
*Richardson, Wm, Roundhey-road, near	1	1	0	*Temperley, J P, Newport-place, Bolton	1	0	0
*Leeds.				*Harrison, J P, Carlisle	1	0	0
*Alderson, Union Place, Holbeck, near	1	0	0	*Ralph, Geo, draper, Scotch-street, ditto	1	0	0
*Galloway, T, Boor-lane	1	0	0	*Heron, R and Co, 5, Pottery, Kirkcaldy	1	0	0
*Watson, J, Holbeck Lodge, Holbeck	1	0	0	*Gilbert, Thomas, Bank, Shifnal	1	0	0
*Parker, E, Bowling Green, ditto	0	10	0	*Vallack, J, solicitor, Derby	1	0	0
*Palfreman, G, Hardwick-yd, Briggate	0	10	0	*Renton, Rev H, Secession Manse, Kelso	1	0	0
*Harrison, Geo, ditto	0	5	0	*Archer, Wm, Bridgend, Perth	1	0	0
*Walker, J, Meadow-lane, Briggate	0	2	6	*Darley, Chas E, Coalbrookdale	1	0	0
Russell, G, Charlotte-st, Meadow-lane	0	2	6	*Sawers, Simeon, Dunbar	1	0	0
*Pearson, T, Holbeck, near	0	2	6	*Tosh, R, Dock-street, Dundee	1	0	0
*Rhode, T, ditto	0	2	6	*Haigh, T, grocer, Westgate, Wakefield	1	0	0
*Oliver, G, ditto	0	2	6	*Hooley, J, Chestergate, Macclesfield	1	0	0
*Evley, J, ditto	0	2	6	*Workmen of Mr T Thredfall, Bingley, Nottingham	1	0	0
*Barnclough, T, ditto	0	2	6	Four Workmen in the Employ of Messrs S Courtald & Co., crape manufacturers, Braintree, Essex	1	0	0
*Littlewood, Wm, ditto	0	2	6	Harbord, R C, 21, Ocean-place, Hull	1	0	0
*Parker, Wm, ditto	0	2	0	Denton, Samuel, Halifax	1	0	0
Broughton, M A, ditto	0	2	0	Greaves, H, Smithy Stake, ditto	1	0	0
*Oakes, B, and Sons, manufacturers, Storr's Mill	4	0	0	*Ward, John, Park-lane, Madeley, Salop	1	0	0
*Mitchell, J, and Son, manufacturer	3	0	0	*Paine, J, farmer, St Neot's, Huntingdonshire	1	0	0
*Younger, J, Mitchell, ditto	2	0	0	*Forsyth, J & T, Perth	1	0	0
*Smith, James, M.D.	1	0	0	*Coulthard, J, Croft House, Brampton, Cumberland	1	0	0
*Mitchell, J, sen, manufacturer	1	0	0	*Simpson, A, Bridge-street, Derby	1	0	0
*Glover, J, and Sons, ditto	1	0	0	*Martin, J, Chamberlain, Greenock	1	0	0
*Mitchell, J, jun, ditto	1	0	0	*Paterson, R, Galashiels	1	0	0
*Speight, J, ditto	1	0	0	*Molyneux, John, Milton, Northwich	1	0	0
*Earnshaw, Jno, mill owner	1	0	0	*Shirreff, P, Langewydd, Bridgend, Glamorganshire	1	0	0
*Mitchell, T, sen, manufacturer	1	0	0	*Storr, J, Oustwick Roos, Hull	1	0	0
*Wilby, J, ditto	1	0	0	*Warwick, R, Wyddington, Cheltenham	1	0	0
*Smith, J and D	1	0	0	Watt, John H, Irvine	1	0	0
*Phillip, T, sen, mill owner	1	0	0	Ogle, Rev S, Dorfield Rectory, Barnsley	1	0	0
*Wilby, R, manufacturer, Green	1	0	0	Payne, Philip, Aylesbury	1	0	0
Ossett, near Wakefield.				*Young, T, Bramley Farm, East Acton, Middlesex	1	0	0
*Archer, A, jun, manufacturer	1	0	0	*Acton, R J, Acton, ditto	1	0	0
*Harrap, Geo, ditto	1	0	0	Steel, Joseph, grocer, Mordlake, Surrey	1	0	0
*Radley, Geo, ditto	1	0	0	*Moore, G, St James's Cottage, Northampton	1	0	0
*Ellis, David, sen, ditto	1	0	0	*Eden, Joel, St Mary-street, ditto	1	0	0
*Ellis, J, sen, ditto	1	0	0	*Angas, J & J W, Hays, near Bromley	1	0	0
*Ellis, S, sen, ditto	1	0	0	Woodbridge, John, 19, Bath-place, New-road	1	0	0
*Ellis, S, jun, ditto	1	0	0	A B, Bishops-gate-street	1	0	0
*Emmerson, J, ditto	1	0	0	*Preston, W T, 2, Figue-street, Temple	1	0	0
*Harrap, Wm, ditto	1	0	0	*Seymour, Wm, 24, Lime-street	1	0	0
*Gunsion, B, ditto	1	0	0	1323, Register, East Surrey	1	0	0
*Mitchell, T, jun, ditto	1	0	0	Louis, Wm J, 27, Gerard-street, Soho-square	1	0	0
*Mitchell, J, jun, ditto	1	0	0	*Kendall, Edw, 105, Pall Mall	1	0	0
*Mitchell, F, ditto	1	0	0	Harper, Mr, 20, Cold Bath Square	1	0	0
*Lawrence, J, ditto	1	0	0	*Vieuzeux, T, 62, George-street, Euston-square	1	0	0
*Gartside, J and W, dyers	1	0	0	*Taylor, P A, jun, 8, Powis-place, Queen-square	1	0	0
*Mitchell, Geo, manufacturer	1	0	0	*Allen, Wm, 62, Warren-street	1	0	0
*Mitchell, T, Tinner	1	0	0	*Revell, Major, 2, Albert-terrace, Paddington	1	0	0
*Cooper, E A	5	0	0	Barker, J, 42, Wynate-street, Goswell-road	1	0	0
*Henderson	3	0	0	*Birch, W J, 20, Park-road, Regent's Park	1	0	0
*Boby, J W	1	0	0	*Char-ton, Geo, 21, Beaufoy-terrace, Edgware-road	1	0	0
*Hanson, C A	1	0	0	*Jones, Wm, 242, Wapping	1	0	0
*Vaughan, W	1	0	0	*Brooks, J, Grove-lane, Camberwell	1	0	0
*Cockrane, J	1	0	0	*Fairfoot, H S, 25, Lloyd-square	1	0	0
*Clarke, Chas	1	0	0	*Wright, E, 8, Grove-road, St John's Wood	1	0	0
*Griffiths, J	1	0	0	*Parr, Henry, 3, East-street, Greenwich	1	0	0
*Fox, Wm	1	0	0	*Sykes, C & Sons, Lindley, near	10	0	0
*Taylor, R	1	0	0	*Brook, John, Marsh, near	5	0	0
*Eckstein, G P	1	0	0	*Haigh, Thomas, Roys Hall, near	5	0	0
*Groom, T	1	0	0	Waterhouse, E J W, Lindley, near	5	0	0
*Tandy, W	1	0	0	*Robson, Isaac, grocer	2	0	0
*Neirson, H and T	1	0	0	*Swallow, Wm, jun, Commercial-street	2	0	0
Pennyfeather, James	0	10	0	Wilson, John, jun	1	0	0
Strong, J	0	5	0	*Lord, Wm	1	0	0
Remmitt, W H	0	5	0	*Sykes, Wm, sen	1	0	0
Smith, J	0	5	0	*Hall, John	1	0	0
Brookhouse, J	0	3	0	*Hall, A	1	0	0
Liddell, Geo	0	2	6	*Burdon, Benj, Westgate	1	0	0
*Houghton, P A	1	0	0	*Robson, T, King street	1	0	0
*Fogg, Chas	1	0	0	*Wormald, John, saddler, King-street	1	0	0
Procter, Sam, Eccles-st.	1	0	0	*Jossop, Joseph, Lepton	1	0	0
*Bowron, J	1	0	0	*Cliffe, Joseph, Bay Hall	1	0	0
*Mercer, Wm	1	0	0	Robinson, T, Cross Church-street	0	13	0
*Smith, John, writer	2	2	0	Sanderson, T, Dock-street	0	5	0
Dobbie, Wm	1	1	0	Jessop, T, Lepton	0	4	0
*Wyse, Wm	1	1	0	*Varvill, M, sen, Micklegate	1	0	0
Wyse, James	1	1	0	*Varvill, Summers, Ebor Works	1	0	0
*Gartshore, J	1	1	0	*Calvert, E	1	0	0
*Adam, R	1	1	0	*Cropper, Wm, Dringhouse, near	1	0	0
Gillespie, Wm	1	1	0	*Epworth, Chas, Precinctors Court	1	0	0
*Hosie, James	1	0	0	*Buchanan, A, Blairbeth, near	2	0	0
*Seymour, W D, 32, Fenchurch-street	10	0	0	*McKindley, Neil, St Rollox	1	0	0
*Howard, Luke, Bruce Grove, Tottenham	10	0	0	*Faulds, R, jun, Townhead	1	0	0
*Wilkinson, Thomas, Alnmothy, by Alnwick	5	0	0	*Finlay, J, 16, Dixon-street	1	0	0
*Chapman, Rev E, Guildford	5	0	0	*Ross, A, 110, George-street	1	0	0
*Miller, R, 34, Tower-street, Tower Hill	5	0	0	McLean, Wm, St Rollox Works	1	0	0
*A Friend to the Agricultural Labourer	5	0	0	*Boyd, C & Son, 72, Clyde-st, Anderston	1	0	0
*Shorter, Wm, Longthorpe Lodge, Hammersmith	5	0	0	*Stewart, J, M D, 4, Albany-street	1	0	0
*Holt, R L, 55, Old Broad-street	5	0	0	*Berry, L, 3, Greenside-row	1	0	0
*Stuart, Wm, 17, Cateaton-street	5	0	0	*Rennie, James, 51, Hanover-street	1	0	0
Hollier, R, Winchester-street	2	2	0	*D J R	1	0	0
Edwards, Ann, Beddington Corner	2	2	0	*Smith, J L, 1, Antiqua-street	1	0	0
*Park, Wm, Seafeld, near Greenock	2	2	0	*Willis, G W, 42, Rankellor-street	1	0	0
*Purchase, Wm, Landport, Portsmouth	2	2	0	*Tod, James B, 5, Fife-place	1	0	0
*Wimble, John, Court House Street, Hastings	1	10	0	*"The Son of a Fine Merchant"	1	0	0
*Brewster, J, 92, East-street, Manchester-square	1	10	0	*McKinley, F, 11, Leith-street	1	0	0
*"The Workmen of East Mill," Brechin, per A L Forsyth	1	7	6	*Cunliffe, R, 50, Great King-street	1	0	0
Thatcher, R T, Albion Coffee-house, 13, John-st, Oxford-st	1	1	0	*Robertson, Wm, Summerhall Brewery	1	0	0
Richards, J, Maize Hill, Greenwich	1	1	0	*A Friend, No. 17	1	0	0
Devonporte, J, 28, Wood-street, City	1	1	0	*Hargreaves, J, Wotley, near	1	0	0
*Anderson, Chas, 130, Ch'apside	1	1	0	A Clergyman	1	0	0
*White, G P, 39, Vauxhall Bridge-road	1	1	0	*Vickers, J, Tuton Hill, Holbeck, near	1	0	0
*H P	1	1	0	*Sandford, Wm, Green Mount-ter, ditto	1	0	0
*Murray, D, 7, Hays-place, St Marylebone	1	1	0	*Robinson, Wm, Neville-street	1	0	0
*Ross, Thomas, 5, Brunswick-place, Brixton Hill	1	1	0	*Wass, W, 14, Marlborough-street	1	0	0
*Long, John, Orms Green, Harrow Road	1	1	0	*Mowbray, Wm, Navigation-street	1	0	0
*Ruston, Wm, Upper Tulse Hill, Camberwell	1	1	0	*Collins, Thomas, Belgrave Gate	1	0	0
*Gregory, Chas, 212, Reg nt-street	1	1	0	*Clephan, E, at Messrs Paget & Kirly	1	0	0
*Hunter, Alex, Dunmurry, near Lisburne, Ireland	1	1	0	*Westfall, S C	1	0	0
*Ashford, Wm, Birmingham	1	1	0	*Blakesley, John, Free-lane	1	0	0
*Holditch, Benj, Lynn	1	1	0	*Palmer, R	1	0	0
*Wrightson, R, High-street, Sunderland	1	1	0	Bell, Chas, baker, Station, Northamptonshire	0	10	0
*Pratt, Thomas, Union-street, ditto	1	1	0	Cazaly, J, 43, Tottenham-court-road	0	10	0
*Butlin, Eliz, George Inn, Luton	1	1	0	Friend	0	5	0
*Price, Chas, Salford, Warwick	1	1	0	Moss, T, Gainsford-terrace, Islington	0	5	0
*Bell, Chris, Whitefriargate, Hull	1	1	0	Harrison, R L, 89, High-street, Portland Town	0	5	0
*Emery, James, surgeon, King-street, South Shields	1	1	0	Harvey, Wm, 8, Castle-street, Falcon square	0	5	0
*Walker, Geo, 2, Kirkgate, Leith	1	1	0	Banks, Mr, George Inn, Weldon	0	5	0
*Sefton, R, Post Vale Wharf, Longport	1	1	0	Bradshaw, Mr, butcher, Corby	0	5	0
*Hodgson, R W, Quay, Newcastle-on-Tyne	1	1	0	Edwards, John, 29, Frederick-street, Hampstead-road	0	4	0
*Nelson, H, Frederick-street, ditto	1	1	0	Kimber, Wm, 127, St John-street, Smithfield	0	3	0
Dann, Thomas, Reigate	1	1	0	Marriot, Joseph, 5, John-street, London-fields, Hackney	0	2	6
*Mansell, John, Bolton-street, Bury, Lancashire	1	1	0	Cook, Wm, 2, Redcross-square, Cripplegate	0	2	6
*Lathwaite, J, ditto	1	1	0	V C M	0	2	6
*Joyner, H S, John, Grays, Essex	1	1	0	Fincham, John, 40, Crescent-street, Euston-square	0	2	6
*Welch, A, Luton, Beds	1	1	0	Parry, G F, 15, London-road	0	2	6
*Brown, R M, Crown-mill, near Walingford	1	1	0				
*Hughes, R, Wycomb, Bucks	1	1	0				
*Johnson, J W, Troy, Londonderry	1	1	0				
*Meikle, David, Merchant, Tarrillon	1	1	0				
*Wilde, Wm, Butte-street, Luton	1	1	0				
*Chandler, R E, Boham Arms Inn, Hastings	1	1	0				
*Grubb, Geo, Ball Inn, Duke-street, Park, Sheffield	1	1	0				
*Duke, Geo, Gainsby Fold, Battle	1	1	0				
*Bennett, M, Greenfield Paper Mill, Holywell, Flintshire	1	1	0				
*Bartlett, T, Week-street, Maidstone	1	1	0				

THE FREE TRADE INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION.—

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Samuel Harrison, Esq., 45, Queens-road, Regent-water.
Josh. Lacey, Esq., 26, Chancery-lane.
Wm. Wilson, Esq., 122, Long-lane, Bermondsey.
R. G. Welford, Esq., barrister at law, 6, Chancery-lane.
Richard Smith, Esq., East Temple Chambers.
Richard Taylor, Esq., F.R.S., 10, Red Lion-court.
Dr. James Cardie, Hackney.
John Gadsby, Esq., Bouverie street, Fleet-street.
A. L. Saul, Esq., 67, Fleet-street.
H. Hull, Esq., Exbridge.
Rich. Bunnet, Esq., Covent Garden.
Frederick Farrand, Esq., Priory Villa, Peckham.
Joseph Matson, Esq., Matson's-terrace, Hackney.

In consequence of earnest and repeated applications made to some of the gentlemen whose names appear in the above directory, an Investment Association is about to be formed.

Its object will be principally to afford to persons of limited means facilities for purchasing Freeholds, &c.

In addition, it will serve all the purposes of a general Investment Society, and will be established on the most approved plan. Prospective members may be obtained on application to Mr. J. V. Vinyers, Esq., 26, Chancery-lane, or at the Offices of the Association, East Temple Chambers, Whitefriars-street, Fleet-street.

THE FREE TRADE INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION.—

A PUBLIC MEETING of this Association will be held on Thursday Evening next, the 24th inst., at the London Mechanics' Institution, Southampton-buildings, Holborn, when the principles of the society will be explained, and addresses delivered by

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq.,

and

COL. T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

The Chair to be taken at seven o'clock precisely.

Admission without ticket. A few reserved seats for ladies, for which tickets will be required, to be obtained at East Temple Chambers, Whitefriars-street, Fleet-street.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, January 24, 1846.

We have published, in a Supplement, the speeches of Lord F. Egerton, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord John Russell, delivered during the debate on the Address,—a debate that is likely to make the first night of this session one of the most memorable in the annals of England. But, gratified as all Free Traders must be by the frank and honourable acknowledgement of the soundness of their principles, volunteered by the Premier, and by his manly declaration of a change of opinion upon the Corn Laws, it would be dangerous for them to fold their arms and remit their exertion in assured certainty of approaching triumph. The tug of war has yet to come; there were mutterings from the back benches in the lower House; there were blustering threats from the corresponding locality in the upper, which indicate that monopoly has not abandoned all intentions of resistance—perhaps not all hopes of success. Sir Robert Peel's measure is not yet before the country, and we cannot therefore determine whether all its details will be consistent with its professed principles. Even supposing it to be as perfect as the most enthusiastic hope, there can be no doubt that attempts at compromise, and at a frittering away of its efficiency by pretended amendments, will be made during its progress through Parliament. Fresh vigilance and renewed activity are necessary to secure the full measure of our just rights. The harvest is most exposed to danger when the ears are fast ripening—the ship is in most peril when land is declared to be in sight—the great struggle of the race is when the runners come near the goal—and the interests of the nation are exposed to most hazard when a great question is about to be settled. Sir Robert Peel has effectually demolished the fallacies so often repeated at agricultural meetings, and has hurled back defiance to the menaces of disappointed protectionists, but he has not yet brought into issue the great question of his commercial policy—and, what is more important

Printed at the Whitefriars Printing-office, Bouverie-street, in the precinct of Whitefriars, in the City of London, by JOHN GADSBY, printer, of Number 7, Ridgmount-place, Hampstead-road, in the County of Middlesex, and also of Number 4, Fairfield-place, Cheetham-hill-road, in the parish of Manchester, in the county of Lancaster. and published at Number

THE LEAGUE.

No. 122.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, JANUARY 24, 1846.

[GRATIS.]

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The great national importance of the debate on the address has induced us, at the last hour, to determine on publishing a supplement, containing full reports of the speeches of Lord Francis Egerton, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord John Russell. Independent of their merits, the disclosures they make, and the principles they enunciate, must secure them a permanent place as historical documents in the annals of the country. Even if we had time and space at our command, the explicitness of the speeches would preclude the necessity of comment; there is no need of recommending them to attentive perusal, but we hope that our readers will preserve them for future reference.

THE ADDRESS.

Lord F. EGERTON said,—In rising, Sir, on this occasion to address the House, for the purpose of proposing an Address to her Majesty in reply to the speech we have just heard read, it is my misfortune that I cannot prefer the same grounds for asking your indulgence which many hon. gentlemen who have undertaken a similar duty have had in their power to plead. A reference to *Hansard*, and this is the only reference I intend to make to that authority in the course of my observations, testifies, I regret to say, to the fact, that precisely 20 years have elapsed since, under the auspices of Mr. Canning, I stood in a similar situation to that I now occupy. I can truly say, however, that the intervening years have taught me any other Parliamentary lesson rather than that of confidence in my own discretion, or reliance on any powers I possess, as entitling me to claim the indulgence or command the sympathies of this House. I hope, therefore, that on other grounds—on the ground of the importance of the juncture which calls us together, of the difficulty which even the masters of debate in this place must feel in rising to a level with the importance of these circumstances, the House will extend to me that consideration and indulgence which, in 1826, I perhaps had a better claim to ask, but certainly had no greater need to receive. (Hear, hear.) I think it will be for the convenience of the House, that, in the brief review it will be my duty to take of the topics adverted to in her Majesty's Speech, I should, in the first place, shortly refer to the earlier topics of that speech, which I have little apprehension will be regarded with feelings other than those of unanimous concurrence. I have little apprehension that this House, or the country at large, will receive with any other feeling than that of unanimous concurrence and satisfaction, the observations in her Majesty's Speech as to the state of our relations with France. (Hear, hear.) Believing, as I do, that the peace and happiness of Europe, and, more than that—the progress of civilisation and good government throughout the world, depends upon no single circumstance which human sagacity could conceive more directly than on the continuance of amicable relations between those two countries which, I am proud to think, are heading the march of civilisation—believing that any coldness in those relations would chill and retard, and that any positive rupture would throw that progress back in its course, I receive with unalloyed satisfaction that paragraph in her Majesty's speech to which I now allude. (Cheers.) Rejoicing as I do in such a guarantee for the peace and happiness of the world, I must undoubtedly look with proportionate distress and anxiety to any other quarter with respect to which I find myself compelled to speak with less entire confidence as to the maintenance of peaceful relations. I cannot fail to perceive, with deep anxiety and regret the possibility that England may be called upon to maintain her honour, and to assert her right to protect her loyal subjects in every part of the world, however distant, by any other arguments than those of patient, temperate, and friendly discussion. But most especially must I regret the possibility that any difference or difficulty should exist between ourselves and those with whom a community of blood and language forms an union not less binding than those strong ties of mutual requirements and friendly intercourse which have grown up between us to the advantage of both (cheers), and which the results of human skill and invention have so largely, in later years, facilitated and matured. (Renewed cheers.) My only consolation is, that I believe neither the present Government, nor any Government which in the course of political events could hold its place in the councils of this country, could look at any such possible differences with other feelings than an ardent desire to maintain by every means consistent with the honour and the just rights of both nations the most cordial terms of amity and friendship with that great confederation, the United States. (Loud cheers.) Apart from all these considerations, and utterly independent of them, there is no portion of her Majesty's Speech that will, I am convinced, receive more deliberate concurrence on your part than that which suggests for the consideration of this House some extension of our means of national defence. (Hear, hear, hear.) On this subject I will only say for myself individually, that if all allusion to the necessity of that extension had been omitted from the speech, I should have doubted the wisdom and precaution of those who had advised such a course. I pass, however, to other topics which engross more deeply public attention, and with respect to which I should be insincere in saying that I anticipated they would be regarded in this House with the same unanimity which will, I trust, be manifested with reference to those subjects to which I have just referred. I cannot dissemble to myself that I am addressing the House at a juncture when, at the instance of the respon-

sible advisers of the Crown, topics of more than ordinary magnitude, and of more than temporary interest, are suggested for its future and early consideration. I cannot doubt that the intent and bearing of that invitation, coming, as it does, upon a train of political events fresh in the recollection of hon. members, and consequent on those events,—I cannot doubt that that invitation to consider the whole state of those laws which have hitherto regulated the importation of various foreign commodities into this country, will be received without surprise by this House or the country, but with an interest which no length of expectation could have diminished. If I did not concur in the propriety and necessity of that invitation, I could not consistently have undertaken the duty I am now endeavouring to discharge. (Cheers.) [We may here observe that the frequent cheers with which the noble lord's observations on this question were received proceeded almost exclusively from the opposition benches.] That concurrence is, on my own part, unqualified. (Renewed cheers.) But if I had been unable to appear in the situation I now occupy,—if my opinions had been such as would have prevented me from undertaking this office, still I should have hesitated before I incurred the responsibility of pronouncing, by any vote of mine in this House, that those subjects did not deserve that serious and early consideration to which the House is invited in her Majesty's Speech. I have heard many royal speeches read, Sir, by yourself and your predecessors in that chair, and I have heard many addresses in reply moved and discussed in this House, but certainly it was never my fortune to hear any speech which was altogether palatable to all parties in this House. I have, however, frequently seen all parties in the House agree with unanimity to the address in reply to the royal Speech, by the uniform assertion of the principle that no man giving his assent to the address on such an occasion was thereby bound to any subsequent course of action. I hold that even the mover of the address is not more restricted or fettered than any other hon. members as to his future course of action in this House with respect to any questions that may be propounded for its consideration. Upon that principle I might, upon this occasion, deal largely in generalities; but, if the House does not consider it a departure from the strict discharge of the functions I have undertaken, I am anxious to take this opportunity of avowing that, with respect to the important subject so soon to be brought under the consideration of the House, my individual opinions have undergone a considerable change. (Loud cheering.) I am aware my opinions have not that influence or authority with others which would entitle me to inflict upon the House a long explanation or defence of any change or modification which has taken place in them. Still, I feel nothing but that insignificance could shelter those opinions from the inquiry which public opinion claims a right to institute as to the motives of those who, with regard to any matters of great public concern, avow a change in their views and sentiments; and I, for one, should be sorry, even on this occasion, to shrink in any respect from that investigation. (Cheers.) This much, at least, I will say, that no defence of mine would rest upon the example of others, or on any change or modification of opinions which may have been at any former period avowed by those whose eminence in public estimation makes their reputation a matter of consequence to the country at large, while mine is only of importance to myself. The vindication of any modification my opinions have undergone should rest alone upon my observation of events, and a consideration of the state and prospects of the country. (Hear, and cheers.) I have feared and hesitated to interfere with that system of restriction upon imports which I found interwoven with the whole state of our commercial relations. I have, on the best consideration I could give to the state and interests of the country, arrived at the conclusion that the time has arrived when you should take the opportunity—and take it now (cheers)—to reconsider the whole system of those laws which regulate our commercial intercourse (hear, and cheers), with a view of ultimately departing from a principle you have hitherto maintained—a principle which endeavours, by the exclusion, or prohibition, or restrictive admission of foreign commodities, to encourage your home manufacture. (Cheers.) When I use the term "home manufacture," let me not be misunderstood. I consider the products of the earth, as prepared for the food of man, as much a manufacture as any other. (Renewed cheers.) I regard the earth as a machine, and the largest landowners in this country as master manufacturers, and nothing else. (Hear, hear.) Holding these views, I consider that, whether you apply the principle of protection to your system of government, or whether you withhold it, it should be applied or withheld impartially (Cries of hear, hear, and cheers) with regard to all the various departments of the industry of the country. (Renewed cries of hear, hear.) It is my hope and belief, without being acquainted with the details of the measures which may be proposed to Parliament by her Majesty's Government, that when they are propounded to the House I may be able to give them my support. I hope they will be such as, in dealing with this important question, will be compatible with the broad principles I have laid down (hear, hear); and that they will embrace, with a comprehensive and statesmanlike grasp, the various departments of the industry of the country which could come within the terms of my proposition. I have, I freely acknowledge, opposed the proposition of the noble lord (J. Russell) opposite for a fixed duty on the importation of corn, when that measure was intended, as I believed, to be permanently embodied in the statute-book. I have now arrived at the conclusion that restrictions, permanently applied to the introduction of foreign commodities, should no longer be adopted by the Legislature of this country. (Loud cheers.) When the noble lord (Lord J. Russell) brought forward his proposition, I expressed the opinion, which I still maintain, that if you are to apply restrictions to the importation of foreign corn with the object of fixing a certain standard of remuneration for the British cultivator, or creating that steadiness of price which has been anticipated from such legislation, the "sliding scale," as it is called, is the better machinery for that purpose. I have seen reason, as I have already stated, to change my

opinions on the policy of these restrictive laws, but I have not departed from the opinion I have always entertained as to the comparative advantage of a fixed duty and the sliding scale. You have felt your way largely in this matter, with respect to the articles of wool, cattle, and timber. (Hear, hear.) I am not going, on this occasion, to trouble the House with figures and statistical returns, but I will venture to say this, that when the great accounts of the country come before you, and you have an opportunity of investigating rigidly the effects of those alterations, you will find that in every important instance the results have been such as to justify the hopes entertained by the success of those changes. I myself have been compelled to be a somewhat close observer of the connection between the prices of provisions and the employment and happiness of the population. (Hear, hear.) Accident has cast my lot in the midst of a dense population, with respect to a large portion of which this accident has made me a distributor of working wages, and I have seen the operation of what I believe to be the connexion between the prices of provisions and the happiness and employment of the people in various conditions. Among the population to which I have alluded when there arose, from natural causes I believe, though protracted beyond their natural limits by derangements in the commercial intercourse with the United States, any difficulty in the state of the labour market for men to find employment at their regular occupations, I, as well as others, have endeavoured at such times to find temporary employment for those who could not obtain regular work. It had happened that, in the course of my endeavours, prices have fallen again, a reaction has taken place, and provisions have become cheap; and but for that I have felt how vain would have been all our exertions to effect that which we had in view. (Hear, hear.) Changes have since taken place, and I, as well as others, have had to struggle with a difficulty of a far less ordinary character—the difficulty of finding labourers for the work we desired to be performed. In the turn of these more prosperous days, I trace again the connection between abundance and employment. (Loud cheers.) However, in the midst of this general tide of prosperity an interruption very recently occurred, and I believe that I can give some history of the occurrence in words better than my own, by referring to a circular which I received by post from Manchester a day or two ago, and which by accident I read, for it is not always that one reads printed circulars. In this circular it is stated that "the elements of permanent advantages were everywhere visible in the year 1844, and that the expectations formed with respect to the year 1845 were realised in the better half of the year; trade was going on, wages rising, &c. (Hear, hear.) Notwithstanding the drawbacks that had to be contended against in the last quarter of 1845, trade was satisfactory on the whole, for profits were realised by our spinners and some of our manufacturers in the first nine months of the year. (Hear.) Those who attribute all the mischief to the late reaction and the exorbitant railway schemes, take a one-sided view of the case, and mistake the effect for the cause. The railway schemes, no doubt, aggravated the evil; but the main cause originated in the deficiency of the harvest, and the failure of the potato crop, at a time when a similar catastrophe occurred on the Continent of Europe, and rendered an immediate supply of provisions almost impossible." (Hear, hear.) I ask any gentleman connected with the manufactures of Lancashire—one who is acquainted with the situation of Manchester, Bolton, or Ashton, whether the period to which this circular alludes did not cause the memory involuntarily to recur to those times in 1841 and 1842, which I do hope will never again occur in this country? (Hear, hear.) I ask whether men's hearts did not fail them for fear of the prospect of anything like high prices occurring again in those manufacturing districts? (Hear, hear.) But I may be told, and fairly told, that the abundance of which I have spoken, and which has contended against the evils which have threatened us, has been co-existent with those restrictive laws which I propose to consider. Others will go further, and say that the abundance is even the consequence of those restrictive laws, and that it may cease and determine with their abolition, or material reduction. Whatever change of opinion I may have undergone, I certainly have no right to question the sense, sagacity, or still less, the sincerity of those who continue to entertain those ideas. The time has been when with equal sincerity I have entertained them myself; but my observation has led me to believe that if you, as a Government, undertake to control and regulate the supply of the means of subsistence to the community, you will find that it is difficult, nay, impossible for you, spread the public table with what profusion you may, to satisfy those who would still retire from the feast with appetites not altogether pleased, that they have had sufficient for their health, and that all that remains for them is to pray that they may be truly thankful. This abundance, which you call sufficient, but which no man can call excessive, is after all but matter of comparison. (Hear.)

"Claudite jam rivos, pueri: sat prata biberunt;" this, indeed, would be a dangerous principle for a Minister to act upon. With regard to the objection, that this country might be made to depend on foreign countries for a supply of food, I do not, when I consider the general state and condition of our relations for the supply of the commodity of food—I do not see in that objection anything which can cause me long to hesitate in any course which, on other grounds, I may think it desirable to adopt. (Hear, hear.) It has been supposed that some vast confederacy of foreign nations might be formed against us, which, at some critical moment, might reduce this country to a state of utter dependence on foreign nations. I do not think the occurrence of this general confederacy at all likely. (Hear, hear.) I do not think that this general raising of bucklers against this country is a danger which ought to enter seriously into our calculation. (Hear, hear.) History would teach us another lesson, if I looked back at the situation of this country when it stood alone against the world in arms. (Hear, hear.) Was England then altogether independent of foreign nations for her supply of food? I think that history will tell us that in the plenitude of Napoleon's power, when he had connected

with Austria by marriage, when his influence prevailed in Prussia, when the dreadful example of his victories was hanging over the Northern Powers, and when Europe was at his command, the iron frame of his Continental system still yielded to the strenuous and irresistible pressure of mutual wants. (Hear, hear.) I take the case of 1810. Then there was scarcity, or apprehension of scarcity; and in 1810 our importation of corn from foreign countries was 1,292,000 quarters, of which not less than 581,000 quarters came from France and Flanders; and the men whom Napoleon had raised to the rank of marshals in his successful army were among the parties who ventured on this operation of supplying us with corn. (Hear, hear.) From a passage, too, which I lately read in "Napier's History of the Peninsular War," I find that when the Duke of Wellington planted the English standard, for the first time for many centuries, on French ground—a circumstance one would think likely to raise the resentment of the French against the invaders of their soil—yet at Bayonne they offered their services for the express purpose of virtually the invading army. (Hear.) That some sacrifices may be necessary in making such changes in legislation as would follow the adoption of the principles I advocate, I wish I could deny or dispute, but you must pay some penalty for having maintained and persevered in a contrary system; but I am consoled by the feeling that there never has been a period in the history of this country, and I doubt whether one such will ever occur, in which from temporary causes you would find so many opportunities of absorbing the temporary and local superfluity of labour by the means of the great public works in progress in this country at present. (Hear.) If I look, again, to the extension of our foreign relations, there has seldom been a period which presented, in my opinion, a greater prospect of largely extending our intercourse with foreign countries, promoting thereby peace and good-will, and preventing the effects of mutual animosities between this and other countries. The progress of these great public works in this country will, no doubt, be, in the first instance, beneficial to the labouring population, whose interests and welfare it is our duty to watch over; but I believe that there is no class of the community who will reap greater advantages from a just and proper settlement of this agitated question than that higher class of manufacturers who bear the name of the landed interest. (Cheers.) Whatever might be the circumstances attending the process of the settlement—whatever the throes which might accompany this adjustment—their remuneration would be ample in the removal of a state of intestine dissension, which I cannot contemplate without apprehension. (Hear, hear, hear.) This brings me to a part of my subject which it is difficult for me to approach without, perhaps, under the peculiar circumstances, incurring the suspicion of being influenced by personal considerations. This reason alone would be sufficient to induce me to refrain from originating in this House any topic which could generate any angry discussion on the present occasion. Fortunately, it is not necessary for me to do so; but I may assume, for argument's sake, that there have been proceedings in this country as dangerous and as unconstitutional as the warmest advocates of protection could imagine. Then, I ask, what have you to expect from counter-irritation at such proceedings, with all the instruments and improvements which ingenuity and experience can suggest? A war of bribery and chicanery—a war of the Roses in the reign of Victoria, which, in my opinion, could but terminate in one way, but which, when terminated, would leave this country torn by intestine divisions, and so exhausted as to attract the notice of foreign nations and the enemies of our common country to the spectacle of that exhaustion. (Cheers.) These, in my opinion, are reflections well worthy the attention of Parliament and this House, and I am glad to believe that you will give them that full, deliberate, and dispassionate consideration which is not in the nature of things to be hoped for elsewhere. (Hear, hear.) I believe that elsewhere these questions have been discussed too long in a spirit which makes it difficult to eliminate the truth from the passion and prejudice which surround it. (Hear, hear.) My apprehensions are not confined to the fate of those who, I believe, would be the more immediate sufferers from the continuance of the contests I allude to—the landed interest—but I look further. If I could regard with any unbecoming feeling the great body of manufacturers in this country, by many of whom I am surrounded, and for the value of whose opinion I have never betrayed indifference—if I could consider that the men were unfit for a share in the administration of the government of this country who exhibit great industry, sagacity, and intelligence—if such were my feelings towards the manufacturers, I could wish them no more fatal gift than the monopoly of power in the State by questionable means—by some revolutionary, however bloodless, a convulsion, and by weapons likely to be used in the contest I now contemplate. I see special danger to them, though it is not unlikely that danger would affect other classes. There is something tenuous of life and enduring in land. The storms of popular commotion may sweep over our ancient landmarks, and the tide of popular convulsion may submerge them for a season; but the waters will retire, the mountain waves roll back, and the old limits and landmarks will re-appear, and the fertility of prosperous seasons replace the ravages of disastrous years. I doubt whether it would be so with your abodes of peaceful industry. There is a difference between your machinery and that which comes fresh from the hands of the great Creator of the universe. The latter is less destructible. The trade of agitation is no mystery of difficult acquirement. I can imagine no better pupil in that school than some man of liberal education, of ruined means and no principle, who, goaded by a sense, real or imaginary, of wrongs, and the recollection of fallen fortunes, might be led to become a leader of agitation in the manufacturing districts. *Exoritur aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.* Such a man, with opportunity, might make those chimneys and storied edifices, which I hope may long endure in the manufacturing districts, tremble to their bases. I dread such a system of agitation, which I think may exist if Parliament does not interfere to make a satisfactory, just, and final settlement of this question. (Loud cheers.) There are dark spots and weak places in various parts of our social system: let us not be blind to them, or neglect the duty of exposing them, with the view of mending and improving them. Let us not fling in one another's teeth difficulties, remedial or irremedial, for the sole purpose of party or of faction. Let us not fling in the face of one class a Wiltshire labourer, or a manufacturing labourer in the face of another. To meet the cases of both—to give them in the first instance food—(cheers)—to give them other luxuries which many of them still need—air, water, drainage—to give them all the physical and moral advantages possible; let that be our employment and our duty, and let us endeavour to perform that office by ridding the country of those subjects of angry dis-

cussion to which I have referred. (Loud cheers.) With this explanation I express my concurrence in the statement contained in Her Majesty's Speech, and in performing my task I fear I have transgressed too far on your patience. The remaining topics of the speech are not such as I believe will involve any serious differences of opinion in this House, and I think that I shall now best evince my sense of the indulgence and forbearance of the House, by proceeding to move the Address in answer to Her Majesty's speech. The noble lord concluded by moving the Address, which was, as usual, merely an echo of the Queen's speech.

Mr. E. B. DENISON seconded the address.

The Address having been read from the chair,

Sir R. PEEL rose and spoke as follows:—Sir, I would fain hope, that although the course which I take is an unusual one, yet I am acting in conformity with the general wish of the house, by availing myself of the very earliest opportunity of giving that explanation which at no remote period the house would require from me. (Hear, hear.) I would fain hope that I am not obstructing the course of this discussion upon the Address by giving that explanation at this period. But, if no consideration of public advantage could justify this course, yet to the generous feeling of the house it will seem but natural that I should desire that not a moment should elapse before I explain to the house the motives on which I have acted, and the principles which have governed my conduct. (Cheers.) I may feel hurt at having been the object of much accusation upon vague surmise; I may think it unjust to have been condemned without a hearing (hear); I say nothing upon that head. If any momentary feelings of indignation were aroused, the recollection of frequent indulgence, of great confidence, was quite sufficient to efface those temporary feelings. I make, therefore, no reference to particular expressions, or particular accusations. But this I do ask, even while I do not require the reversal of the sentence, I ask for the opportunity, after condemnation, of explaining the motives of my conduct. (Hear, hear.) I ask you to listen at least with patience and indulgence to those facts and that evidence which I shall this night adduce, and which will form the materials on which other tribunals, judging under less excitement, will ultimately pronounce upon the motives and the conduct of men charged with deep responsibility in critical times. (Hear, hear.) I wish to explain what were the grounds which led me, and those with whom I acted, humbly to tender to a gracious Sovereign the resignation of the trust which was committed to us. I wish also to explain what were the circumstances under which that trust was re-assumed, and under which I now appear as the Minister of this empire. (Hear, hear.) Sir, the immediate cause which led to the dissolution of the Government in the early part of last December was that great and mysterious calamity which caused a lamentable failure in an article of food on which great numbers of the people in this part of the United Kingdom, and still larger numbers in the sister kingdom, depend mainly for their subsistence. That was the immediate and proximate cause, no doubt, which led to the dissolution of the Government. But it would be unfair and uncandid on my part, if I attached undue importance to that particular cause. That particular cause appeared to me to preclude further delay, and to require immediate decision—decision not only upon the measures which it was necessary at the time to adopt, but as to the course to be ultimately taken with regard to the laws which govern the importation of grain. (Hear, hear.) I will not assign to that cause too much weight. I will not withhold the homage which is due to the progress of reason and to truth, by denying that my opinions on the subject of protection have undergone a change. (Cheers from the Opposition.) Whether holding a private station, or a public one, I will assert the privilege of yielding to the force of argument and conviction, and acting upon the results of enlarged experience. (Cheers.) It may be supposed that there is something humiliating in making such admissions. Sir, I feel no such humiliation. (Loud cheers.) I should feel humiliation, if, having modified or changed my opinions, I declined to acknowledge the change for fear of incurring the imputation of inconsistency. (Cheers.) The question is whether the facts are sufficient to account for the change, and the motives for it are pure and disinterested. Nothing could be more base on the part of a public man than to protect himself from danger by pretending a change; on the other hand, nothing could be more inconsistent with the duty he owes to his Sovereign and country than if, seeing reason to alter his course, he is precluded from that alteration by the fear of being taunted with it. (Cheers.) Sir, those who contend for the removal of impediments upon the import of a great article of subsistence, such as corn, start with an immense advantage in the argument. The natural presumption is in favour of free and unrestricted importation. It may be possible to combat that presumption, to meet the advocates of free import in the field of argument, by showing that there are other and greater advantages in a system of protection than in a system of unrestricted importation. We all admit that the argument in favour of high protection or prohibition on the ground that it is for the benefit of a particular class is untenable. The most strenuous advocates for protection have abandoned that argument; they rest, and wisely rest, the defence of protective duties upon higher principles. They have alleged, as I have myself allowed, that there were public reasons for retaining this protection. Sir, it became absolutely necessary for me, occupying the public station I do, and seeing the part that must unavoidably devolve on me in the present contest,—it became absolutely necessary for me maturely to consider whether the grounds on which an alteration of the Corn Laws can be resisted are tenable. The arguments in favour of protection must be either that protection to domestic industry is in itself a sound principle, and that, therefore, agriculture, being a branch of domestic industry, is entitled to share in that protection; or, that in a

country like ours, encumbered with an enormous debt, and subject to great taxation, it is necessary that domestic industry should be protected from competition with foreigners; or, again, that the interests of the great body of the community—the laborious classes, are not committed in this question, that the rate of wages varies with the price of provisions, that high prices implies high wages, and that low wages are the concomitants of low prices. Again, it may be said, that the land is entitled to protection on account of peculiar burdens to which it is subject. But that is a question of justice rather than of policy. It may be, I have always felt it was so; but you have the power of weakening the force of that argument by the removal of the burden. The first three objections to the removal of protection are objections founded on considerations of public policy. Now, I want to deprive those who, arguing *a priori*, without the benefit of experience, have come to the conclusion that protection is objectionable in principle—I want to deprive them of none of the credit which is fairly their due. Reason, unaided by experience, brought conviction to their minds. My opinions have been modified by the result of the experience of the last three years. I have had the opportunity of comparing the results which have followed during the last three years from the principle upon which you have been acting for some years past—namely, the gradual removal of protection on domestic industry. I have had the opportunity of comparing the periods of abundance and comparatively low prices with periods of scarcity and high prices (cheers); and I am led to the conclusion that the main grounds of public policy on which protection has been defended are not tenable; at least I cannot maintain them. (Cheers.) I do not believe, after the experience of the last three years, that the rate of wages varies with the price of food. I do not believe, that with high prices, wages will necessarily rise in the same ratio. I do not believe that a low price of food necessarily implies a low rate of wages. (Cheers.) Neither can I maintain that protection to domestic industry is a necessary good. I said last year that I thought these protective duties were evils in themselves. I thought they ought not to be lightly abolished; that the system of protected industry had grown up, and must be tenderly and cautiously dealt with; but it is utterly impossible for any men who have made the changes we have made in the tariff during the last four years, to contend that protection to industry is in itself and abstractedly a public good. Then, as to the other argument, which makes great impression on its first statement—that because we have a heavy debt and a high rate of taxation, we must be protected from competition with foreign industry,—that argument has also been submitted to the test of the last three years, and, so far as the experience of that period can supply an argument, it is this—that a large debt and heavy taxation are best encountered by abundance and cheapness of provisions; that they rather alleviate than add to the weight of taxation. Let us take the result of the experience of the last three years. The result of constantly diminished protection—on wages—on trade and on revenue. First, as to wages. Who can deny the fact that during the three years that preceded the month of October last prices were comparatively low? There was comparative cheapness and plenty, and yet at no period were the wages of labour higher than during that period. (Cheers.) If you take the three preceding years, you will find high prices, and co-existent with high prices you will find low wages. (Cheers.) Well, then, I have six years; I have during the first three years high prices and low wages; I have during the last three years low prices and high wages (cheers); and I cannot resist the conclusion that wages do not vary with the price of provisions. (Loud cheers.) They do vary with the increase of capital, with the prosperity of the country, with the increased power to employ labour; but there is no immediate relation between wages and provisions—or if there be a relation, it is in an inverse ratio. (Cheers.) Now as to trade; as I said, during the last four or five years we have been acting on the admitted principle of removing prohibitions—reducing duties, that is, destroying protection to native industry. (Loud cheers.) That has been the principle, whether right or wrong, on which we have acted—the removal of protection to native industry. Now, what has been the result? I will give you the total amount of exports since the year 1839. The total value of British produce and manufactures exported from the United Kingdom was, in 1839, 53,000,000*l.*; in 1840, 51,000,000*l.*; in 1841, 51,000,000*l.*; in 1842, 47,000,000*l.*; in 1843, 52,000,000*l.*; in 1844, 58,000,000*l.*; that is, the rise from the year when the great invasion upon the protection of domestic industry was made by Parliament was from 47,381,000*l.*, in 1842, to 58,500,000*l.*, in 1844. (Loud cheers.) But it may be said, the China trade made all the difference. Now let us deduct the whole of that trade. In 1842, our exports to all the countries, except China, amounted to 46,411,000*l.*; and in 1844 they increased by 10,000,000*l.*, amounting to 56,000,000*l.* For the last year we can only have the account for 11 months preceding December. In 1843, the exports of our principal articles of manufacture to all parts of the world, including China, amounted to 41,011,000*l.*; in 1844, to 47,312,000*l.*; and during the first 11 months of 1845, to 47,764,000*l.* (Loud cheers.) Such is the state of our foreign exports under this system of continued removal of protection. (Cheers.) Now let me take the revenue (Hear, hear.)—the results of the revenue as bearing on this question—Ought there to be high protection in a country encumbered with an immense public debt and heavy taxation? (Hear.) In 1842, I proposed a reduction in the Customs to the amount of 1,438,000*l.*; in 1844, I proposed a further reduction in the Customs' duties to the amount of 273,000*l.*; in 1845 to that of 2,418,000*l.* I estimated the total loss from these reductions at 4,129,000*l.* How have these expectations been realized? Have 4,000,000*l.* been lost?

The total amount of the loss has been 1,500,000*l.* (Loud cheers.) In the Excise last year there was a reduction of a million in duties; the whole of the glass duties, the whole of the auction duty was taken off. The loss on that occasion was estimated at 1,000,000*l.* Observe, that was no mere reduction of duties; there was no expectation, therefore, of recovering the revenue by increased consumption. I felt confident, that although the glass and auction duties were abolished, still, by vivifying other branches of industry I should derive some compensation. (Cheers.) What will be the fact on the 5th of April? I believe, that notwithstanding the total reduction, the absolute loss of a million—my firm belief is the Excise will this year be more prosperous than ever. (Loud cheers.) Notwithstanding these reductions there has been a salient spring of prosperity which has supplied the void you caused by the remission of taxation. (Cheers.) Well, then, with that evidence before me, could I contend that on account of high taxation or great debt you must necessarily continue high protective duties? I have shown you that my estimates as to loss in the Customs have been already falsified, that the Customs this year amount to nearly 20,000,000*l.*; that, comparing the Customs' revenue of 1845 with the Customs' revenue of 1842, after that diminution of taxation to the extent of 4,000,000*l.*, the Customs of this year, excluding from both years the revenue from foreign corn, are better by 100,000*l.* than in the former year. (Cheers.) But I will take more important considerations than those either of trade or revenue; I take the state of crime in the country. My right hon. friend at the head of the Home Department stated that reductions had taken place in the number of commitments in the year 1842; in 1843 there was also a decrease; and the decrease in the commitments remarkable in 1843 and 1844 continued in 1845. The total number of commitments in 1845 was 24,350, that is 2,237 less than in the lowest preceding year, 1842—a decrease of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the crimes of the preceding year. In 1843 there was a decrease of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; in 1844 a decrease of 10 3-10 per cent.; in 1845 a decrease of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and all this in an increasing population. This decrease of crime in the last year has taken place in all the chief manufacturing districts, and not only in all the chief manufacturing districts, but, with the exception of five, there has been a corresponding and almost equal decrease in all the chief agricultural districts. What is the state of Wales? In Wales the decrease of commitments is more remarkable than in almost any other part of the kingdom. So much for actual crime. With respect to crimes connected with sedition, discontent, and disaffection to the Government,—why, in the last two years the office of the Attorney-General has been a sinecure. There has been no prosecution for seditious libel during the whole of the last year. Government has no right to take credit for lenity; it is because the crime of sedition did not exist. In 1840-1-2-3,—listen to this, and seriously consider it,—there were 1257 persons committed on charges of seditions and riotous offences. In 1843-4-5, only 124 persons were committed so charged, instead of 1257; while, in the last year, I believe there was not one. (Cheers.) In 1845 there were 422 persons sentenced to transportation less than in 1842. In the last three years there were 1701 persons sentenced to transportation less than in the three preceding years. (Cheers.) This has been during a period of comparative abundance, and low prices. Is it possible to resist the inference that employment, low prices, comparative abundance, contribute to the diminution of crime? (Loud cheers.) Now, these are great social advantages; I will not say they have been promoted by,—I say only they have been concurrent with, the diminution of protection to domestic industry—concurrent with comparative abundance. Well, have these advantages been purchased by any serious detriment to that great interest whose welfare ought to be one of the first objects of our concern,—the agricultural interest? Protection has been diminished. I have been the object of repeated accusation and attack for diminishing it, and deeply should I regret if those great social advantages to which I have referred had been accompanied, in consequence of that diminution of protection, with any serious injury to agriculture. (Cheers.) Let us take the four great articles in respect of which there has been a diminution of protection. Foreign flax has, for many years, been admitted at a very low duty into this country. What duty remained we remitted last year. There is now, therefore, a perfectly unrestricted import of foreign flax. In 1824 the duty on flax was 10*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* per ton. It is now absolutely nothing. The reduction having taken place, what was the effect on the price of flax? The price of fine flax in Belfast market in 1843 was 65*s.* to 70*s.*; in 1844 it was 63*s.* to 68*s.*; in 1845 from 65*s.* to 68*s.*; and in January, 1846, from 70*s.* to 80*s.* (Hear.) There was no reduction then made that caused so much alarm, and which it was prophesied would do so much injury as the removal of the absolute prohibition on the importation of foreign cattle. (Hear, hear.) The permission to import at a very low rate foreign cattle, foreign sheep, and foreign swine, was accompanied with many predictions (hear, hear, hear)—predictions that serious loss and injury would be inflicted on the agricultural interest, and it was said that we should deeply regret the day those changes were made and the panic that would arise. (Hear.) Now, has serious injury been sustained by that reduction? There was before that absolute prohibition, and there is now the admission of foreign cattle at a very low rate; and I must on this question, first of all, admit that there has been a gradual increase in the importation; (hear, hear;) I want at the same time to show that concurrently with increase in importation there has been increase in the price of the domestic articles. (Cries of "hear, hear.") In 1844 there were imported 2,500 oxen and cows, and in eleven months of the year 1845 there were not less than

15,000 imported, showing a very great increase; (hear;) have prices in this country been affected either in a corresponding degree or in any by this large importation? In 1844 the contract price for the victualling stores in the navy for salt beef was 3*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*; the contract price entered into for the navy in December 1845, was, I regret to say, 6*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*; (hear, hear;) the salt pork that was contracted for in 1844 was 3*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.* a tierce, and in 1845 it was 6*l.* 12*s.*; (hear, hear;) the contract price for fresh beef for the navy in 1844 was 1*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.*; the contract price for 1845 was 2*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.*; (hear;) now, all this increase in price was attended with increased importation; one prophecy, if I recollect rightly, was, that there would be an importation into this country of 3,500,000 pigs, and that the price of salt pork would be immensely reduced; (hear;) there was no article last year that caused so much alarm as lard. (Great laughter.) In 1840 there were 97 cwt. of foreign lard imported into this country. In 1842 the duty was reduced from 8*s.* to 2*s.* a cwt., and there were then imported 48,312 cwt.; in 1844, 76,000 cwt. were imported; and in 1845 the importation had reached above 80,000 cwt. And what has been the price of domestic lard at Belfast during that period? In 1844 it was 48*s.* a cwt.; in 1845 it was 67*s.*; and in January of the present year, notwithstanding the increase caused by this importation, the price has risen from 48*s.* in 1844, to 62*s.* (cries of hear.) Another article of great importance was that of wool. We proposed in 1844 that the duty on foreign wool should be altogether done away with, and we were again met with the argument that wool would suffer from the reduction. But here again there has been a wholly different result. In 1842 there were 45,880,000*lb.* of foreign wool imported; in 1844 there were 65,079,000*lb.*; and in ten months of the last year it amounted to 65,216,000*lb.*—all in consequence of the reduction of the duty. Now, what had been the price of wool? In 1842 the price of South Down wool was 11*d.* per pound; long wool was 10*d.* per pound. In 1843 South Down wool was 11*d.*; in 1844, it was 1*s.* 2*d.*; long wool was also 1*s.* 2*d.*; and in December, 1845, 18 months after the reduction, the price of South Down wool rose to 1*s.* 4*d.* per pound, and the price of common wool was 1*s.* 2*d.* per pound, (hear, hear.) Such has been the effect of those reductions that were made in 1842 and 1844, and which were regarded as a protection to domestic industry. So far as we have experience of the last three years, then, I have shown that, under the removal of protection to domestic industry, the great social interests of the country have been promoted, crime has been less, morality has been improved, and I could also bring conclusive proofs that the public health has been promoted, (cheers.) Our national trade has increased, and our exports have been greater than before; and these we have succeeded in effecting, not only without doing serious injury to those interests from which protection has been withdrawn, but I have shown that the change has been concurrent with an increase in the price of the articles, (hear, hear.) Now, it is right I should state that, notwithstanding the conviction which this experience has brought home to my mind, yet my decided impression was, that on other grounds the charge of considering a change in the present Corn Law ought not to have devolved upon me. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) This I was firmly resolved upon, that I could not this session, on the motion of the hon. gentleman for the consideration of the Corn Laws,—I could not with these convictions which, say as you will, I cannot withhold, have met that motion with a direct negative. (Cries of hear, hear.) I claim no credit whatever for these arguments. My conviction has been brought about by the results of observation and experience. Those who have the merit of having formed their deductions from argument and reason are entitled to all credit on that account; but I claim no title to having made an impression by arguments drawn from any other source than that of experience and observation. If I could not have undertaken the defence of the Corn Laws either upon the public ground of this country being highly taxed, and protection therefore necessary, or on the ground that it was for the interest of the labouring classes that high prices should continue as the guarantee for high wages, so I could not have undertaken it upon the ground that interference with domestic industry must necessarily be to paralyze our commerce. (Hear, hear.) I wish most ardently to have the opportunity of stating to those friends who have honoured me on so many occasions with their confidence, that I can continue this conflict no longer (loud cheers from the opposition benches); that I must devolve it upon other persons more convinced of the strength of their arguments. (Hear.) I question whether, if it had to be defended in another Parliament, it would not have been my duty to commit the defence of protection to other hands, more able to maintain the struggle. I should also have wished that another Parliament should have had the opportunity of considering this question; but there did occur that, during the course of the last autumn, which precluded me from taking that step—that great calamity, the limits of which it was difficult to find, and the consequence of which it was, and I believe still is, difficult to foresee—that great visitation of Providence, the failure to a large extent of the potato-crop in Ireland, and in many parts of England, which made it a great and pressing question with the Government what course it was our duty to pursue in such an emergency towards our Sovereign and the country (hear, hear); whether it was advisable, from the pressure of the circumstances to take immediate measures for meeting the threatened evil? (hear, hear.) It was impossible, with the convictions we entertained, to abstain from adopting some course, if we did not pretend apprehensions of scarcity for the purpose of making an alteration in the Corn Laws, than which nothing could be more base or dishonourable. (Hear.) But you will now have the opportunity of judging and

determining in what way I came to that conclusion, seeing that I was induced to advise the unusual course of obtaining that information in the way which shall now be laid before you. I now approach an explanation of the circumstances in which, early in November, the Government was temporarily dissolved, and in which it was re-constituted in the month of December. There are two important periods in giving that information to which I shall refer;—first, the period which elapsed between the 1st of November and the 6th of November, and then the period between the 25th of November and the 6th of December. I propose to read the correspondence by which information was received from different parties in this country and on the Continent, and which appeared to me to justify the conclusions to which I came. The disease which affected the potato crop of this country was also felt in other parts of the world, and in several parts of Europe there were apprehensions of scarcity; for example, in Poland, from which the resident agent for the Government, writing on the 22d of October, said,—“The cost of articles of food is stated to be higher than it has been since 1813 and 1814. The unfavourable results of the harvests, in Podolia, Lithuania, Galicia, and the German Baltic provinces, preclude the hope of foreign aid. No alleviation of the general distress is expected before next autumn.” In a letter dated the 14th of December, Colonel Wynford says,—“The supply of rye and rye flour sent from St. Petersburg is sufficient for the relief of the Livonians, and discontent prevails.” From Prussia, on the 10th of November, the Minister of the Interior informed Lord Westmorland that the potato disease had been observed in almost every part of the Prussian monarchy. From Belgium, dated the 24th of September, the Chambers sanctioned the proposal of the Government to prohibit export and permit import. Egypt, on the 22d of October, 1845, prohibited exportation of all corn arriving at Alexandria after that day. Turkey prohibited the export of all grain from the ports of Anatolia and her Asiatic provinces from the 27th of August, 1845, to harvest time in 1846. Sweden prohibited the export of potatoes from the 15th of October until the next harvest. There was, indeed, at this period a general apprehension of scarcity of provisions extending from Sweden to Egypt, and from Riga to Turkey, and measures were taken to stop their exportation, (hear.) Now, in respect to England and Scotland, this is a part of the information which I have in great abundance. Here is a letter, addressed by a great salesman in London, engaged in the retail trade. I should first state that the earliest account I received of the disease in the potato crop was from the Isle of Wight, where the crop had materially suffered. The gentleman to whom I have referred wrote, on the 11th of August, as follows:—

“Being myself a large grower some years to the extent of 300 acres, in Kent, where I farm, am also a salesman in London, and have been engaged largely in the retail part of the business, I can give you an opinion.

“I received a letter on the 1st inst. from my agent at Ash, near Sandwich, stating the crops were blighted in that neighbourhood, the same as in October last year (it was then only partial in East Kent). On Tuesday last I went down by the Dover 8 o'clock train. On my arrival there I immediately drove all round the neighbourhood of Sandwich, Ash, Wingham, and its neighbourhood, and found the whole of the crop, early and late, not excepting the cottager's gardens, was being entirely destroyed. On my return I could trace it by the side of the whole line to Tunbridge. Have since looked over the tops that come as covering on that article to the different markets, and find that they are all affected. On Thursday last I paid a visit to my farm at Maidstone, and found it had made fearful destruction there, and returned by way of Gravesend. All were alike affected. The same evening I went to East and West Ham, in Essex. Amongst the large growths found it was just appearing. Friday I went to Leytonstone and neighbourhood. All are alike.”

The next letter was in reference to the state of Lancashire, and was from the Rev. Mr. Clay, chaplain to the House of Correction at Preston, dated the 23d of October—

“It is too certain that the potato crop in this part of the country will be a serious failure. I have obtained information from the districts extending as far as Radford and Croston on the south, the Fylde country and Blackpool on the west, and Lancaster on the north, and from all quarters the accounts speak of great injury to the crops, though they vary as to the extent of it. My information, verbal and written, has come from scientific agriculturists, from practical farmers, and from dealers.

“Those among the first-named, who have paid much attention to the facts, estimate the loss, as it exists now, at more than two-fifths. But the progress of the disease is so rapid and its presence so universal, that it is impossible to conjecture what may be the amount of the defalcation by Christmas.”

The next letter is from Mr. Wood, of Yorkshire, and is dated the 2d of October; he says—

“You will regret to hear that the potato disease has now manifested itself in the most extensive manner in this district. Potatoes were selling 10 days since at 2*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a bushel of 70*lb.* in York. Yesterday the same weight sold at 1*s.* 2*d.*, owing to the farmers bringing an extra quantity to market.

“I have consequently had several pits opened on this estate, and I fear that before Christmas we shall not have a sound one; what the poor are to live on I cannot guess. I know you will be anxious to have accurate information, and therefore have ventured to give you this account.”

To turn now to Scotland. I received a letter from the hon. member for Dumfriesshire, which was as unfavourable as any I had previously received. Mr. Hope Johnstone, in a letter dated the 22d of November, says—

“I am sorry to say, that in so far as my own observation has gone, the disease appears to be progressing. I have today examined a large quantity of potatoes grown on some of the best and driest soils in this neighbourhood, and have not found one potato in twenty untainted, while three-fourths are quite unfit for human food. These have been carefully housed, and have never been exposed to damp since they were taken out of the ground. In Dumfriesshire also the decay is going on rapidly.”

These were some of the accounts received in the months

of October and December as to the state of the crop in Britain, and I will now direct your attention to Ireland, where so large a proportion of the people subsist upon potatoes. (Hear.) Here is a report made to the Government by Mr. Lucas, Sir R. Routh, and Professor Kane, stating that the numerical proportion of the Irish population that may be considered practically to live exclusively upon potatoes, include certainly 4,000,000. (Hear.) And, I would ask, would the Government be justified in acting carelessly in reference to a calamity which threatened the existence of 4,000,000 of people? (Hear, hear.) The first of these letters which I shall read is from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He had been sending us almost day by day accounts from the whole of the constabulary force, who are spread over the whole of Ireland. It was the duty of my right hon. friend and myself to devote our days and nights to the reading of these accounts, for the purpose of finding what was the real state of Ireland. I shall not enter into details; they were nearly all concurrent; it will not, therefore, be necessary for me to enter into details; but I will state the impression made upon the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and I will state the communications which he made to her Majesty's Government here. On the 17th of October Lord Heytesbury writes to the Secretary of State—"Even if the crops should turn out to be as bad as is now apprehended, it is not thought that there will be any immediate pressure in the market. There will be enough saved for immediate consumption. The evil will probably not be felt in all its intensity till towards the month of February or the beginning of spring. I am assured that there is no stock whatever of last year's potatoes in the country." And so deep on him, who is chiefly responsible as Lord-Lieutenant for the tranquillity of Ireland, was his impression of alarm, that not a day scarcely passed that he did not reiterate the warnings he had already given. I now state these things that they may be placed on record, in order that if you say now "there is no danger," you may be enabled to judge of the reasons which operated upon me. On the 17th of October the Lord-Lieutenant wrote that letter that on the 20th was followed by this—"Our accounts continue to be of the most discouraging nature. They are regularly transmitted to Sir James Graham's office. One of the most embarrassing circumstances attending the disease is, that potatoes dug up to all appearance perfectly sound, after a short time begin to decay, and very soon rot altogether. Under such circumstances it is impossible to form any decisive opinion as to the amount of the calamity. This was on the 20th. On the 24th he writes—"From the accounts which reach us I should be inclined to say that the progress of the disease has in some localities been checked, but I dare not lay too great a stress upon this, for we constantly receive satisfactory reports of the state of the potatoes when dug, and learn a few days after that they have all rotted in the pits. It is this insecurity that forms our greatest difficulty. We do not know, and cannot know the extent of this evil." On the 27th he says—"We are most anxious for the result of the deliberations of the Cabinet upon the state of the potato crops in Ireland; the reports from various country gentlemen and public bodies continue to be of so alarming a nature that it seems desirable that something should be done, if it be only to tranquillise the public mind, and diminish the panic. Everything is rising rapidly in price, and the people begin to show symptoms of discontent, which may ripen into something more. (Hear, hear.) Should we be authorised in issuing a proclamation prohibiting distillation in grain? This is demanded on all sides." In reply to this, we stated to the Lord-Lieutenant that in his answer to the address of the city of Dublin, read to him by the Lord Mayor, he had expressed his opinion that there was no immediate pressure in the market, and we stated that this was apparently at variance with the statements contained in the letters I have just read. He answered, on the 8th of November—"It is perfectly true that I did, in my answer to the Lord Mayor, say that there was no immediate pressure in the market; but you must not give too wide a meaning to that observation, which had reference merely to his demand, that the exportation of grain should be prohibited, and the ports immediately thrown open. My meaning was, that there was nothing so pressing as to require us to act without waiting for the decision of the responsible advisers of the Crown. But the danger may be upon us before we are aware of its being near, for, as I said in a former letter, the sudden decay of the potatoes dug up in an apparently sound state, sets all calculation at defiance. Some precautionary measures must be adopted, and adopted promptly—for there is danger in delay. As the digging of the potatoes advances, we see it more clearly; and I regret to say that Professor Lindley, when he took leave of me yesterday, told me that he doubted very much whether the potatoes would keep through the winter." On the 11th of November the Lord Lieutenant says—"The accounts we receive of the progress of the potato harvest from the constabulary are still very unsatisfactory, but those from the resident magistrates are rather less unfavourable." But then, in a postscript to this letter, he says—"Since this letter was written, later reports have been submitted to me, in which even the resident magistrates now appear to be of opinion that the disease is extending, and the evil much greater than they had imagined it to be. The heavy rains of the last few days have done infinite mischief." The last of these letters of the Lord Lieutenant, which I shall read, is one dated the 17th of November—"The disease progresses apparently unchecked by any of the precautions adopted, and the ill-intentioned leave nothing undone to irritate and exasperate the people. A very bad spirit prevails in many of the provinces. If we had to do only with a short crop, we might calculate with some degree of certainty upon the time when the pressure would be felt; but how rely upon any calculation when the potatoes are perishing in the pits? When the evil day of scarcity does come, it will probably come with fearful rapidity. We must not allow ourselves to be taken by surprise." Such being the state of our information with respect to the state of the disease in Ireland, I do hope that those who may have been disposed precipitately to condemn will make allowance for those who were charged with the duty of watching the effect of this calamitous visitation, and of considering what were the prospects before them for the future. It may be said these are official reports, and therefore less to be relied on. Let us, then, take the communications we derived from other quarters, from gentlemen unconnected with the Government. These must be unobjectionable. The secretary of the Royal Agricultural Improvement Society of Ireland made a communication to the Government, and he says—"I beg leave to send you an extract from a Dublin morning paper, which will give you a correct account of the measures which the council of the society have adopted respecting the prevailing disease in the potato crop. I beg leave also to state that when I issued a circular about a month since to the secre-

aries of about 120 local societies in connexion with the central one, I got several answers from persons stating that the disease was not then apparent in their immediate neighbourhood, but I have since received letters from most of them, stating, that upon digging the crops, they found the disease in almost every quarter; and I may safely say at present that there is not a county in Ireland that is not more or less affected by it. I shall barely add, Sir, that the greatest panic appears to exist in all parts of the community, and those who know the country best, are most puzzled how to act. One thing, however, I think is certain, that enough has already transpired to justify the most prompt and energetic measures on the part of the public and the Government." This is the language of the secretary of the Royal Agricultural Improvement Society of Ireland, and he had very ample means of forming an opinion. Now I will read the communications we received from others: Lord Montague writes—"Take it, however, at the least, I do not recollect any former example of a calamitous failure being anything near so great and so alarming as the present. Generally, we have seen the means of carrying our people forward at least till summer approaches, and till we were within two or three months of the new crop. The case is very different now, and in some places I know not how the peasantry will get through the winter in very many cases. On the 31st of October, the Duke of Leinster presided at a meeting in Dublin, where the following resolutions were passed:—"That the committee do respectfully represent to the Lord-Lieutenant, that it has now been ascertained beyond a doubt, that famine, and consequent pestilence, are immediately imminent, unless the Government shall, without hesitation or delay, take the most prompt measures to provide food for the people, and to organize means for the distribution of support in each locality throughout the land. That we respectfully call upon his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant forthwith to order the ports of Ireland to be opened for the importation of Indian corn, rice, and other articles suited for human food;" and, on the 5th of November, I had a communication from Lord Clare, that gives an account to the same effect. Now, at the first appearance of this disorder, we thought it advisable to appoint two gentlemen, Professor Lindley, and Dr. Lyon Playfair, to investigate the matter. They were entirely unconnected with Ireland, and they were to give their own account of what they should observe, and their impression with respect to the state of the disease. They went to Ireland and travelled through several counties, and on their return my right hon. friend had an interview with Professor Lindley, the result of which was so alarming, that we decided that Professor Lindley and Dr. Playfair should place upon record their opinions; and, accordingly, on the 5th of November, they wrote a letter, in which they state—"During our stay in Ireland we carefully examined such official papers as were transmitted to us from the Castle. We consulted persons acquainted with the facts of the disease. We visited the district lying between Dublin and Drogheda, and inspected various potato fields and stores in the counties of Dublin, Louth, Meath, Westmeath, and a part of Kildare. Judging from the evidence thus collected, and from what we have seen of the progress of the disease in England, we can come to no other conclusion than that one-half of the actual potato crop of Ireland is either destroyed or remains in a state unfit for the food of man. We, moreover, feel it our duty to apprise you that we feel this to be a low estimate. We would now add, melancholy as this picture is, that in all probability the late rainy weather has rendered the mischief yet greater. It is also necessary to direct your attention to the quantity of seed potatoes which must be reserved for the coming year, if the cultivation of this plant is to be persevered in. We can state that on an average one-eighth of a crop is required for planting the same quantity of ground, so that in fact only three-eighths of the crop can, in our view, be at this moment assumed to be available as food." The remaining five-eighths had been destroyed, or been reserved for seed. I must remind the House that there are two periods, one reaching from the 1st to the 6th of November; the other from the 25th of November to the 6th of December; and, in justice to those who dissented from my opinions, I must say that on any advice I gave, no information derived from letters received since the 6th of December has or could have any bearing. These letters, many of them, explain that the state of the crop continues the same, and relate also to England. Now, many Cabinets were held between the 31st October and the 6th of December. On the 1st of November, there was no agitation, no petitions had been presented, but it appeared to me that these reports from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the example of foreign countries, the example of Belgium, whose merchants had cleared the market at Liverpool of rice, almost in a day, justified the Government in taking measures before it was too late, either by closing the ports by an Order in Council, or by calling Parliament together in a fortnight, to obviate the impending evil. That was the advice I gave on the 1st of November. There would have been an advantage in the plan of taking the responsibility of issuing an Order in Council, and trusting to obtain an indemnity from Parliament afterwards, and I was prepared to take that responsibility; but I did not insist on that course; but I stated that I was prepared to call Parliament together immediately, and advise Parliament that for a limited period the restrictions on importation should be suspended. (Hear, hear.) I did not anticipate that this would compel a reconsideration of the tariff; but I considered that the effect of calling Parliament together during the period of the suspension of the duties, would compel the reconsideration of this question. My advice at that period was not taken. Only three of my colleagues concurred with me, and we separated on the 6th of November, I reserving to myself the power of calling the Cabinet together, with the hope of convincing them, that if my alarm was confirmed by subsequent events, my advice ought to be taken at a late period. So far as I was concerned, that was the time for me to have tendered my resignation. I can truly say, that if I did not do so, it was upon public consideration that I acted. (Cheers.) I felt that it was my duty to adhere to my post when there was a possibility of my advice being acceded to. I felt it was a positive duty not to evade the difficulty. I might have said, that overruled by the great majority of my colleagues, I cannot take the responsibility of continuing in office, but I determined not to abandon my post. I determined to remain, that if there was a probability of an adjustment of this question I might bear my part; I determined, therefore, to remain. The Cabinet re-assembled on the 25th of November. The evidence I received in the interval did not in the slightest degree diminish my apprehensions. We had during the interval, with the unanimous consent of the Cabinet, taken extraordinary measures for acquiring certain information; we had issued a commission for that purpose, and on the 25th of November

it became necessary to consider what instructions should be issued to that commission. Those instructions were determined on. I stated at that time that it appeared to me that the issuing of these instructions was inconsistent with a determination to maintain the present Corn Laws, and that I could not consent to the issuing of these instructions to the commission, without reserving on my own part the power to propose to Parliament some measure of immediate relief. The instructions were issued, and again I brought under the consideration of the Cabinet what I had pressed on them on the 1st of November, namely, the suspension of the restrictions upon importation, either by means of Orders in Council or by calling Parliament together. But at that period my own position, I admit, was entirely changed. The lapse of time, the increase of agitation, and other circumstances had occurred materially affecting my own position. I had been overruled in the Cabinet. The noble lord opposite had in the interval written his letter (a laugh); and, giving him credit for the best intentions, I must say it was a letter which, after what had occurred in the Cabinet, did most materially affect my position. (The right hon. baronet was here very indistinctly heard for about a minute.) He then proceeded as follows:—"We were taking, as it appeared to me, a natural and reasonable provision, not merely against a great disaster, but against the possibility of a great calamity, and it was impossible for me, or those who gave advice to me that the potatoes would fail, to avoid taking such precautions as would justify us in the eyes of the country. I felt, therefore, on the 26th of November, that nothing but the support of an united Government—after the letter of the noble lord (hear, hear)—would give a chance to me to pass such a measure as I thought advisable. After that letter I should appear to be adopting the proposition of the noble lord. On the 22nd of November his letter appeared, and that act of mine on the 26th November, would have appeared to be a servile acquiescence in his views. I would not have abandoned the post of danger if I had been supported by an unanimous Government; but that was not the result of our deliberations. One of my colleagues, one for whom I feel the sincerest regard, for whose public qualities I felt, and now feel, the highest respect; he took from the first the most entirely opposite views. His views were most sincere, I am sure, and adopted, after great deliberation, and he was convinced that the danger had been greatly magnified, and that no sufficient reasons had been brought forward for having recourse to Orders in Council. I thought that the adoption of extraordinary measures would compel the reconsideration of this question. That was my opinion. In these circumstances, my noble friend would have felt it his duty, and he was not the only member of the Government who would have felt it his duty, to resign; and believing, as I did, that their resignation would be followed by that of others, and thinking, too, that it was highly probable that, in the attempt to settle this question, I should fail, and that, after vehement contests, and the new combinations that would be formed, probably worse terms would be made than if some other person were to undertake the settlement of the question, I felt it my duty humbly to tender my resignation. (Hear, hear.) That resignation was accepted by her Majesty, and her Majesty of her own choice immediately sent for the noble lord the member for London. The noble lord undertook the task of forming an Administration. I believed that I was then in the situation of a private Member of Parliament—that I was reduced once more to the ranks; that I was at liberty to act as I thought right; and I don't hesitate to say that in that capacity I would have done all that I could to promote the settlement of this question. (Loud cries of "Hear.") There appeared every probability of the duty of adjusting this question falling upon the noble lord, and in my capacity of a private member of Parliament I would have done all I could to facilitate its final settlement. On Thursday, December 18, it was intimated to me that the noble lord had undertaken the duty of forming an Administration; and on the 19th I received from her gracious Majesty a communication stating, that as my relation to her Majesty was about to terminate, she desired again to see me for the purpose of taking a final farewell. I went to Windsor Castle, on the 20th of December, for that purpose. Before waiting on her Majesty I was apprized by the noble lord that his efforts to form a Government had failed. Her Majesty informed me that so far from taking farewell of me, she was obliged to require me to continue my services. (Hear, hear.) The colleagues who differed from me not having advised the formation of a Government on the principles of protection, and the noble lord (from causes to which I think it unnecessary to refer) having signified to her Majesty that he had failed, her Majesty asked me whether I intended to persist in tendering my resignation? I don't hesitate to say that I informed her Majesty on the instant that I should return as her minister, and that I should withdraw my resignation. I accordingly did return to London as her Majesty's minister, and did resolve upon meeting Parliament prepared to submit those measures which I thought necessary in the emergency which had occurred. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear.") Having reason to expect that the noble lord to whom I formerly referred would be precluded from lending his assistance to the Government as reconstructed, I felt it my painful duty to accept his resignation. My other colleagues felt it their duty to assist me in the arduous task I had undertaken. (Hear, hear.) I have given notice that on the earliest day it is my intention to submit to the House of Commons some measures of the greatest importance connected with commerce. It is my firm determination not to anticipate the discussion of these measures, though I am aware that my explanation will be incomplete without them. I must ask you still to suspend your judgment, but I have been desirous to disconnect as far as possible a great political question from mere personal and party explanations. (Hear, hear.) I do hope, after having referred to the evidence in possession of the house, that although many may think that the conclusions to which I and others have come respecting the danger may have been erroneous, they will not be too confident. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear.") I advise them to recollect that we have yet seven months to pass before there will be any new supply of food. Better accounts may be coming in from some quarters, but I ask them not to form too precipitate an opinion. Some persons had suggested the introduction of Indian corn as a remedy; this was impossible. At the present moment the duty on Indian corn is regulated by the duty on British barley. This might seem very odd, but such was the law. Suppose that on the meeting of Parliament a proposition had been made to admit Indian corn duty free, what would have been the consequence, supposing such a state of things to arise in Ireland which I anticipate as possible? What would be the effect upon the great agricultural interest, supposing we had agreed to touch the present

Corn Laws on some slight point like Indian corn, and refuse to admit the slightest relaxation in regard to that nobler species of grain, namely, corn? (Hear, hear.) For my own part, I would rather keep the present system intact, and refuse to touch Indian corn, and fight the battle of protection with respect to other grain. (Hear, hear.) As I said before, that even after the severe labour of last session almost every hour of my time since has been devoted to watching chances and reading evidence night and day, so as to be able to guard against a heavy national calamity. I confess it does seem hard to find myself the object of accusations—(loud cries of hear, hear)—of accusations of being unfaithful to the interests of the community in general, or to any special or peculiar interests. (Hear, hear.) I have over and over again attempted to define the relation in which I think I stand towards parties, towards the community, and towards this House; and yet I have observed it stated over and over again that I am under some kind of personal obligation to a certain party for having placed me in the office I now hold. I see it over and over repeated that the same power which elevated me is powerful enough to displace me; and I am constantly menaced with the threat, that they will remove me from power. (Hear.) Now, I do affirm that there is a material mistake, both as to the extent of the obligation and the severity of the penalty. I owe no personal obligation to any man, or to any body of men, for being compelled to submit to the toil, and to make the sacrifices which official duty gives me. (Hear, hear.) I by no means undervalue the distinction of my position; but let there be a distinct understanding as to what is the real notion of the obligation which I owe for being placed in power. Its value, allow me to say, does not consist in the power of distributing honours. That is inseparable from the office of Prime Minister, and cannot be diverted from it; but believe me, that the possession of the power of advising the Sovereign as to the highest rewards and the highest offices is ill compensated by the invidious duty of selection, and the disappointments which every selection unavoidably occasions. I value not power for the privilege it confers of distributing patronage. (Hear, hear.) As to personal objects, let me say it without arrogance, I have none. I have served four Sovereigns—George III. and his three successors. In the reign of George III. my office was of so subordinate a character, that it was impossible for me to attract the notice of my Sovereign; but during the reign of his three successors, George IV., first as Regent, and then as King, William IV., and Victoria, it has been my fate to hold some of the highest offices in the state. I have served them in critical times, and under difficult circumstances. They have each taken far too favourable a view of any services I have rendered; but to each of those Sovereigns I have said, with every feeling of dutiful and grateful acknowledgment, that there was but one favour—one distinction—one reward they had it in their power to confer,—the simple assurance that I had been a loyal and faithful servant. (Hear, hear.) If power have any value, it is because it gives increased opportunities for rendering public service. It is this which constitutes the real value of official power, and I think I can say with truth that in intention, at least, I have not abused it. (Hear, hear.) I and those with whom I act have tried to use it for the promotion of the public interest and the advancement of the common good. We cannot charge ourselves with having acted at variance with true principles. Of Conservative policy. We cannot think that it was at variance with Conservative policy that we attempted to repair the disasters of Cabul, and to restore in the Indian army a spirit which had been checked by the misfortunes of Afghanistan. (Hear, hear.) We cannot think it inconsistent with Conservative policy that we laboured to assuage the animosities which have so long prevailed between this country and our powerful neighbour. In the speech, which was read to-day from the throne, her Majesty expresses her desire that the cordial understanding which so happily exists between this country and France may always be made conducive to the promotion of the interests of humanity, and to secure the peace of the world. It surely is not inconsistent with true Conservative policy that we were enabled to insert that paragraph (hear, hear;) that we have tried not to efface the recollection—the glorious recollection, of military exploits and great achievements—but to extract from those glorious recollections everything that can provoke international enmity; that we have tried to engage in a rivalry, not on the field of blood, but on the field of honourable competition for the advancement of commerce and the improvement of the social condition of mankind. (Hear, hear.) It surely is not inconsistent with Conservative policy that we have laboured to increase the foreign trade of the country by removing prohibitory duties,—that we have reduced taxation and yet have increased revenue. (Cries of hear, hear.) Is it inconsistent with a true Conservative policy that we have discouraged agitation and extinguished sedition,—not by coercive laws, but by creating an impression on the part of the great body of the people that we, the rich and powerful, are ready to take our full share of the public burdens, and relieve them of oppressive taxation? (Hear, hear.) The conduct of Government is an arduous and a difficult undertaking. I may, without irreverence, be permitted to say, that, like our physical frame, our ancient constitution is "fearfully and wonderfully made," that it is no easy task to insure the harmonious and united action of monarchy, aristocracy, and a reformed House of Commons. These are the objects which we have attempted to accomplish, and I cannot think they are inconsistent with a pure and enlarged Conservatism. (Hear, hear.) Power for such objects is really valuable; but for my own part I can say with perfect truth that, even for these objects, I do not covet it. (Hear, hear.) It is a burden far above my physical, infinitely above my intellectual strength. The relief from it with honour would be a favour, and not a punishment. (Cheers.) But while honour and a sense of public duty require it, I do not shrink from office. I am ready to incur its responsibilities, to bear its sacrifices, to confront its honourable perils; but I will not retain it with mutilated power and shackled authority. (Cheers.) I will not stand at the helm during the tempestuous night, if that helm is not allowed freely to traverse. I will not undertake to direct the course of the vessel by observations taken in the year 1842. (Loud cheers.) I will reserve to myself the unfettered power of judging what will be for the public interest. I do not desire to be the Minister of England; but while I am Minister of England I will hold office by no servile tenure (loud cheers); I will hold office unshackled by any other obligation than that of consulting the public interests, and providing for the public safety. (The right hon. gentleman sat down amidst loud and continued cheering.)

Lord J. Russell.—I think it necessary to rise at an

early period of this debate in explanation of my own conduct during the recent negotiations. For that purpose I applied to the right hon. gentleman to lay before her Majesty my humble application that I might state in my place in Parliament the circumstances which attended the late attempt to form an Administration. I stated, at the same time, that if it were more convenient to the public service, and conducive to the purposes of the right hon. baronet as to any measures he might have to bring forward, that I should postpone that explanation to any later day, I should be ready to comply with the right hon. gentleman's inclination on that subject. The right hon. gentleman not only informed me that her Majesty was graciously pleased to comply with my application, but that it would perfectly accord with his own convenience that I should make that explanation at the commencement of the session. I now, therefore, proceed, having that understanding, and trusting, if I do now make that explanation, and if I should find it necessary to refer to some measures which are now pending, I shall stand excused in the eyes of the right hon. gentleman, in consideration of the willingness I expressed to postpone it if he should so wish it. But before I make that explanation I think it necessary to refer to a letter which he has mentioned in the course of his statement of the circumstances which led to his resignation of office. I feel it necessary to refer to it, not only because the right hon. gentleman has said that it caused him some embarrassment in his proceedings, (a laugh,) but also because it was by some supposed to have been written for a very different purpose. (Hear.) Sir, it happened to me, in consequence of private affairs, to go to Edinburgh at the latter end of October last. Early in November, the Lord Provost and corporation of Edinburgh did me the honour to confer on me the freedom of that city, and invited me to a public meeting to receive it. I addressed those who conferred on me that honour, and at the same time I took especial care not to refer in my speech to any measures that might at the time be under consideration. The Lord Provost expressed to me immediately afterwards his regret that I had not expressed my opinions on the subject of the Corn Laws, and he added, that it was the wish of a number of the citizens of Edinburgh to give a public dinner, to which I should be invited to attend. I told him I was unwilling to receive that honour, and that, among other reasons, having formed a very strong opinion as to the course which ought to be pursued as to the Corn Laws, I could neither be silent in justice to my own opinion, nor could I declare fully and freely that opinion without some risk of embarrassing the public councils of my Sovereign. (Hear, hear.) But I found, by the public prints, and by the *London Gazette*, that her Majesty's servants had met; that they had been in consultation for many days; that no result appeared; that it was confidently reported that no proposition had been adopted, or even made; and there was also the regular announcement in the *Gazette* of the further prorogation of Parliament. Under these circumstances, I did think that the ministers were not performing their duty to their Sovereign and to their country. It was my opinion that it was advisable to call Parliament together to consider the state of the Corn Laws, having seen—for it was not confined to the Government—many statements of the failure of the potato crop, and more especially the uncertainty in which Ireland was on that subject, (Hear, hear.) The right hon. gentleman stated to night that the commissioners appointed by the Government found, that as regarded the kind of food which is the sustenance of four millions of the people, four-eighths of the crop were supposed to be seriously injured, that one-eighth of it was necessary for seed, and that there remained only three-eighths of the crop of the year for the food of the people. I did consider such a state of things most alarming. It now appears that I was not alone in that opinion, but that at the time when I was refraining from a public expression of it, the right hon. gentleman himself had formed an opinion at least equally strong, and, in conjunction with three of his colleagues, had expressed that opinion in the Cabinet Councils. (Hear, hear.) Sir, it was not for me to know that such an opinion had been expressed. I could only gather from the consequences of the decision of the Cabinet—that is to say, from its inaction—that no decision had been come to. It was in that state of things that the letter I allude to was published. It was published on the 26th of November, and it did state very strongly my opinion on the subject of the Corn Law, and it also expressed my opinion, that as the Government seemed to be inactive, it would be necessary for the public to express their opinion in a constitutional manner, in order that they might obtain the remedies which seemed necessary. If the facts and opinions of the right hon. gentleman were correct, I cannot but think that I was justified in so stating my opinion to the public. (Hear, hear.) I know that some persons of low minds have supposed that I had intended, as it was called, to advertise for office by expressing that opinion; but nothing was further from my thoughts than that intention. (Hear, hear.) But I did wish that there should be such an expression of opinion that the Government should be compelled, by its constitutional expression of it, to yield to that opinion, and save the country from very serious evils. It appears that on the 26th of November the right hon. gentleman himself urged that the ports should be opened for the admission of grain, and that the Corn Laws themselves should be considered. Sir, unfortunately (for I think it was a misfortune), the Cabinet did not agree to that opinion, and there was a difference, the extent of which he did not explain to-night, but which was to such an extent that the right hon. gentleman thought he could not usefully carry on the government of this country. On the 6th of December the Minister resigned. On the 8th, at night, I received from her Majesty a command to wait on her at Osborne-house, in the Isle of Wight. I arrived in Lon-

don on the 10th, and on the 11th I proceeded to the Isle of Wight. Now, of course it could not but appear to me that her Majesty had received the resignation of her Ministers, and that she wished to consult me as to the formation of an Administration. I felt that in any ordinary circumstances the only thing I could usefully do would have been to decline that commission. The party to which I belong were in a minority of from 90 to 100 in the House of Commons. I could not think that it would be for the public service to expose her Majesty to the chance of an arrangement which must very soon lead to another change. (Hear.) I do not wish to enter into the causes why in the present Parliament the numbers of those who generally agree with me in opinion are inferior to those who follow the right hon. gentleman; but I must state, because it is my opinion, and I cannot conceal it, that during the time we were in the Administration our motives never received a fair construction (hear), and our measures never received an impartial consideration (hear) from those who are our political opponents. (Hear, hear.) But be that, Sir, as it may, the result being that we were in a minority, I could not consider that it would be for the public service that we should form a Government. Sir, I was no sooner admitted to an audience of Her Majesty, than she informed me she had sent for me to undertake the formation of a new Administration. I at once stated to her what I now state, that those I acted with were in a minority. Her Majesty replied by putting into my hand a paper, which she said the right hon. gentleman had given to her just before, the day before I believe, stating generally the reasons why he had resigned, and stating also that he would be ready in his private capacity to give every assistance and support to whatever new ministry her Majesty might choose for the settlement of the question of the Corn Laws. (Cheers.) Sir, I immediately stated to her Majesty that the perusal of that paper altered the state of the question, and that if her Majesty would permit me I would consult those I was in the habit of acting with, and ascertain from them what their sentiments were as to our duty to her Majesty. I immediately came back to London, where I consulted a few persons who were within reach, and who were of opinion that it was very desirable, if possible, to know exactly the nature of the measure which the right hon. gentleman had in contemplation. The right hon. gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department was good enough to call on me, and to inform me generally of the state of this country and of Ireland, and to give me all the information it was desirable for me to know. I stated to him the wish of my colleagues. He next day stated to me that the right hon. baronet now at the head of the Government did not think it would be convenient for the public service that he should state the details of the measures he proposed on the subject of the Corn Laws. I then again called together those with whom I am in the habit of acting, and stated that I would endeavour to frame an outline of a measure on the Corn Laws, and communicate it to the right hon. gentleman, in order to ascertain whether it was a measure which would meet with his support. Now, I may be asked, and therefore I will state it at once, what prospect I can have of carrying any measure of the kind? I have already stated that my opinion was that it was not advisable for me to attempt to form an Administration, but when there was a prospect of a settlement of the Corn Laws, which the right hon. gentleman thought with his Administration he was not likely to effect, I did consider that such a settlement would be so great an advantage to the country,—that to obtain it would put an end to so much of discontent, while it would be the source of so much future good, that I should be justified in encountering great risks for the attainment of such an object. But there was another and a further question. Suppose I were to have proposed a settlement of the corn question, should I attempt it without endeavouring to get such a majority of this House as would influence the House of Lords, or should I propose to her Majesty to dissolve Parliament and obtain the triumph over their opinions by public opinion expressed at the elections? (Hear, hear.) Sir, I confess it appeared to me that if it were possible to obtain a settlement of the Corn Laws without having recourse to a general election, without putting in strife the various interests, commercial and manufacturing, against the landed and agricultural, that would be the course most for the benefit of the country. But it was impossible that I could obtain much concurrence in this House unless I had not only the support of those who agree with me, and of those who support the cause of absolute Free Trade, but also that of the right hon. gentleman and a considerable number of those who usually support his measures. The right hon. gentleman, in a letter which her Majesty showed me (and which I would read if the right hon. gentleman wished me), said for reasons which I think cogent, that it was not, in his opinion, desirable that a person out of the service of the Crown should be consulted on the details of a measure which would be submitted on the responsibility of the Government. I had then to consider what was the kind of measure which, if I formed a Government, it would be our duty to propose. I thought it necessary to hold a consultation with those with whom I was accustomed to act; in the first place, because the letter to which I have already alluded was written from a strong feeling of public duty, and an apprehension of public danger, and when only two persons with whom I happened to be in immediate relation were cognisant of my intention. I thought it necessary therefore to consult with those who usually act with me, and who were dispersed in different parts of the country, as to how far they were agreed on the question, before I undertook so arduous a duty as the settlement of the Corn Laws, that I might avoid the risk of forming a Government, and putting the country to great inconvenience, when there was a chance of the measure not

being assented to by my colleagues. Sir, the grounds on which, in the letter to which the right hon. baronet has referred, I stated my opinion that the Corn Laws ought to be settled, were, first, that the proposal of any duty at present, without a provision for its extinction in a short period, would only prolong a contest, already sufficiently fruitful of animosity and discontent. (Hear.) I stated also that neither the Government nor the Legislature could ever regulate the corn markets with the benefit that would result from entire Free Trade; but I also said, let the Ministers propose such a revision of taxation as would in their opinions render the public burdens more just and equal, and let them add any other regulation which a cautious and scrupulous forbearance might suggest. Those were the general principles on which I proposed the consideration of the question as to the Corn Laws. Perhaps I can best explain my views by reading a letter which I addressed to Her Majesty, a part of which was referred to by the right hon. gentleman. I cannot read it without referring to some measures which the right hon. gentleman is stated to have in contemplation. I should state that I repeat them from memory, because of the first letter of the right hon. gentleman, which was shown me by her Majesty, I never had a copy. This is the letter which I sent to her Majesty:—

“Chesham place, Dec. 16, 1845.

“Lord John Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has the honour to submit to your Majesty the following considerations:

“Sir Robert Peel's letter to your Majesty, communicated to Lord John Russell at Osborne House, offers the support of Sir Robert Peel to his successors, provided their measures should be founded on certain principles, which are there explained, and framed in a spirit of caution and forbearance towards the interest to be affected.

“The measures which Sir Robert Peel had in contemplation appear to have been the present suspension of the duties on corn—a repeal of the Corn Laws at no remote period, preceded by a diminution of duties; relief to the occupiers of land from burdens by which they are peculiarly affected, as far as it may be practicable.

“Upon full consideration of these proposals, Lord John Russell is prepared to assent to the opening of the ports, and to the fiscal relief which it was intended to afford.

“But upon maturely weighing the second proposal, that by which duties would, after a suspension, or temporary repeal, namely, be re-imposed and again diminished, there appears to him to be grave objections to such a measure.

“The advantage given thereby to the land appears to him more apparent than real; the uncertainty of prices in future years will be aggravated, and the prospect of a complete Free Trade would be still kept in the distance; the prospect alarming the farmer, and the distance irritating the merchants and manufacturers.

“In this view he finds that many persons deeply engaged to the maintenance and support of the agricultural class entirely participate.

“So great an object as the settlement of this question might indeed have been held sufficient to justify the support of Sir R. Peel's Administration, had they proposed such a measure. But, as Lord J. Russell is placed at present, he could not himself propose a measure against which the weight of argument, as well as public opinion, appears to him to preponderate.

“Had the harvest been plentiful, and corn cheap, it might have been very advisable to have diminished the duties gradually, but the restoration of a duty after suspension has all the appearance of the re-enactment of a protective law.

“Lord John Russell humbly submits to your Majesty that should the proposal of an immediate repeal, instead of immediate suspension and ultimate repeal of the Corn Law, preclude Sir Robert Peel from affording that support to the new Government which he so spontaneously and handsomely offered in his letter of the 10th of December, Lord John Russell must humbly decline the task so graciously confided to him by your Majesty.

“Lord John Russell concurs with the reasoning of Sir Robert Peel, which shows the inexpediency of pledging him to the outline of a series of measures.

“The measures for fiscal purposes, therefore, would have to be considered in detail by those alone who may be in your Majesty's service.

“Lord John Russell trusts that your Majesty will attribute the reluctance which he feels to undertake the Government without a previous knowledge of the opinion of Sir Robert Peel to his very deep sense of the injury the country may sustain from the rejection of a measure of such vital importance, and not to a desire to obtain a security for those who may be in power.”

Her Majesty was graciously pleased to answer my letter the same evening, informing me that she had sent to Sir R. Peel, and that she understood the motives by which I was guided in endeavouring to procure support for the great measure which I had undertaken to propose. All I shall say in this place is, that those rumours which were circulated, that I was unable to bring those I consulted to an agreement on the subject of the Corn Laws, were utterly unfounded. (Hear, hear.) Those I consulted—all, with the exception of my brother, the Duke of Bedford, persons who had belonged to her Majesty's Privy Council, and had been in the Cabinet during either the present or the former reign—entirely concurred with me in the sentiments expressed in my letter. Her Majesty next day desired I would attend her at Windsor Castle; and when I then explained the difficulty which I felt, she put into my hands a letter from the right hon. baronet, which, if he has no objection, I will read.

SIR R. PEEL.—I have no objection.

LORD J. RUSSELL then read the following letter from Sir Robert Peel to her Majesty:—

“Whitehall, Dec. 17, 1845.

“Sir Robert Peel presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and takes the earliest opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your Majesty's letter of yesterday, which reached him at a late hour last night.

“Sir Robert Peel feels assured that your Majesty will permit him humbly to refer to the communications he has addressed to your Majesty since his tender of resignation, as an evidence of his earnest desire to co-operate in a private capacity in the adjustment of the question of the corn laws.

“In the letter of Lord John Russell to your Majesty, he expresses his concurrence in the reasoning of Sir Robert Peel, which shows the inexpediency of pledging Sir Robert

Peel to the outline of a series of measures connected with the settlement of that question.

“Lord John Russell requires, at the same time, that Sir Robert Peel should give assurances which amount substantially to a pledge, that he will support one of those measures, namely, the immediate and total repeal of the corn laws.

“Sir Robert Peel humbly expresses to your Majesty his regret that he does not feel it to be consistent with his duty to enter upon the consideration of this important question in Parliament, being fettered by a previous engagement of the nature of that required from him.”

Now, Sir, (continued the noble lord), I think the right hon. gentleman has somewhat misunderstood the letter which I addressed to her Majesty. What I wanted was, not a previous pledge on the part of the right hon. gentleman; but what I thought was, that the right hon. gentleman having stated the general nature of the measure he proposed—if we afterwards proposed a measure going beyond what he was prepared to bring forward—if he should then find himself precluded from supporting it, we should incur the same evil I have already alluded to. What I wished from the right hon. gentleman was, that he should not feel himself precluded from taking the measure into consideration when brought into Parliament. The letter I have just read, though it proceeds on a misunderstanding of my letter, seems to amount substantially to this—that the right hon. gentleman was quite ready to consider, and did not regard himself as precluded from supporting such a measure, if brought before Parliament by her Majesty's ministers. On considering that letter, those with whom I consulted, as well as myself, were of opinion, that though the task was one subject to great risk, though it was full of danger and hazard; yet, placed as we were, we should run that peril, and assure her Majesty that we would undertake the task.

When I came to that determination, I was by no means blind to the very heavy responsibility which lay upon me. I have already said that I wished the question of the Corn Laws settled; but I wish that settlement to be effected, if possible, without a violent struggle between different interests in the country, by the full and deliberate consent of Parliament. I was aware—I hardly know how I should express that opinion—but I was aware that many politicians, and many who care little about politics, parties connected with the great manufacturing towns, and interested in the question, as well as men who sit on this side of the House, who are of the Liberal party, whatever their various denominations, had declared, when the question was put to them whether they were disposed to support a measure brought forward by Sir R. Peel for the repeal of the Corn Laws, that they should not hesitate to do so, having more at heart the success of the measure than the advancement of the interests of any political party (hear); while, on the other hand, I was also aware that there were men who followed Sir R. Peel, who would follow him and give him their confidence so as to maintain him in power, but who would not vote for any measure founded on the same principle. (Cheers.) Now, I must state this, because it is a fact, that the opinions to which I refer in favour of such a measure were conveyed to me, not only by many persons who were personally known to me, but by many others whose names I had never heard—persons connected with Manchester and other places, who were especially anxious for a settlement of the question. (Hear, hear, hear.) I thought it would be incurring great hazard and risk to take upon myself to act upon a different opinion. (Hear, hear.) But I certainly thought that while the right hon. gentleman and his colleagues who supported him in the Cabinet would promote a settlement of the Corn Laws, there were many others, such as the noble lord who moved the Address to-night, that would give me their support if they thought the measure suited to the circumstances of the country, though I was not the person who possessed their political confidence. But we felt we had a great risk to encounter, and that if we should fail in our attempt, if we proposed a measure only to give rise to a long protracted struggle, or some new Administration should be formed to begin a new settlement of the question, and propose a new measure, I knew that on us would fall the blame of having attempted what we could not accomplish. While, then, having this difficult task before me, I felt it was necessary that all those with whom I consulted should be ready and willing to take part in an Administration, to bear the risk and encounter the opposition to which they would be exposed, and to give their co-operation and advice as official Ministers of the Crown—I must say that the disposition of those with whom I consulted in general—I must bear this testimony that they looked only to public objects, that they did not consider whether it was for the advantage of their party or of themselves that an Administration should be formed, but that they did consider above all, and over all, the great questions which they were called upon to decide. I, therefore, told her Majesty on the 18th of December, that I was ready to undertake the formation of an Administration; but on the following morning, after I had endeavoured to make my arrangements, I found that one of those with whom I had consulted, had objections which it was impossible to overcome, and that I should lose his assistance in the Administration which I proposed to form. I do not think it necessary to enter on the grounds of those objections, it is quite enough to say that they had power to deprive me of the assistance of his services. His name has been frequently mentioned, and I see not why I should not state that I refer to Lord Grey. With the highest respect for Lord Grey, for his great talents, for his courage and his honesty, I should nevertheless not have thought, on an ordinary occasion that the loss of a person, even of his importance, should have prevented me from undertaking the formation of a Government. But when I take in view the risk which was to be encountered, and the necessity which existed that we should all go together on this great question—when I considered that my noble friend was among the first of those acting with me in Parliament, who declared that he regarded no other measure but complete free trade in corn adequate to meet the exigencies of the country—when I put all those things together, I did think that the task of forming a Government, leaving out my noble friend, was a task which I was not justified in attempting. I could not but consider, that if my noble friend was absent from that Ministry, all kinds of interpretations would be put upon his absence and the Ministry be weakened at its very commencement. Considering, therefore, the absolute necessity, as I thought there was, for complete agreement, considering the importance of the person who could not take a part in the Administration, I came to the conclusion that it was necessary for me to give up the task which Her Majesty had graciously confided to me. Some may say the attempt might have been made to remedy that difference. But I had to

consider that for more than eight days the country had been kept in expectation—that that the want of a Government was a very serious evil—and that if I could not succeed in forming an Administration, the right hon. gentleman would in all probability think it his duty to attempt effecting a settlement of the question. It was in this mind, therefore, that I waited upon Her Majesty on the morning of the 20th of December, and made the following communication to Her Majesty:—

“Chesham-place, Dec. 20, 1845.

“Lord John Russell presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has the honour to state that he has found it impossible to form an Administration.

“Lord John Russell was aware from the first moment when your Majesty was pleased to propose to him this commission, that there were very great difficulties in the way, which it required the most cordial co-operation on the part of his friends, and the firm support of a large portion of those who followed Sir Robert Peel, to surmount.

“Lord John Russell has had solely in view the settlement of the question of the Corn Laws, by which the country is so much agitated.

“Those who have served your Majesty and your royal predecessor in Cabinet offices during the administrations of Lord Grey and Lord Melbourne, who were now in political connection with Lord John Russell, were consulted by him. They agreed on the principles by which they would be guided in framing a measure for the repeal of the Corn Laws. Thus one great difficulty was surmounted. But, as the party which acts with Lord John Russell is in a minority in both Houses of Parliament, it was necessary to ascertain how far they were likely to obtain the support of Sir Robert Peel.

“Your Majesty is acquainted with all that has passed on this subject. Lord John Russell is quite ready to admit that Sir Robert Peel has been willing from the commencement to the end to diminish the difficulties in the course of a new Government prepared to attempt the settlement of the corn laws. But Sir Robert Peel could not, of course, rely on the support of his political friends, should the proposed measure be in their eyes dangerous and unwise.

“In this uncertainty of obtaining a majority in the House of Commons, it was absolutely necessary that all those who were prominent in the political party to which Lord John Russell is attached should give their zealous aid, and act in concert in the new Administration.

“Lord John Russell has, in one instance, been unable to obtain this concert, and he must now consider that task as hopeless, which has been from the beginning hazardous.

“Lord John Russell is deeply sensible of the embarrassment caused by the present state of public affairs. He will be ready, therefore, to do all in his power, as a member of Parliament, to promote the settlement of that question which in present circumstances, is the source of so much danger, especially to the welfare and peace of Ireland.

“Lord John Russell would have formed his Ministry on the basis of a complete Free Trade in corn, to be established at once without gradation or delay. He would have accompanied that proposal with measures of relief to a considerable extent of the occupiers of land from the burdens to which they are subjected. But he will be little disposed to insist, as a member of Parliament, on what may seem to your Majesty's advisers an impracticable course. The country requires, above all things, an early and peaceable settlement of a question which, if not settled, may in an adverse state of affairs cause a fearful convulsion.”

I owe a debt of the deepest gratitude to her Majesty for the gracious manner in which she entrusted me with the task of forming an administration, and for the facilities which she was always ready to afford with the view of lessening the difficulties of the task I had undertaken. Her Majesty has imposed upon me a burden of obligation which I cannot sufficiently acknowledge. I would say, in reference to the right hon. gentleman's offer of assistance, that it was entirely spontaneous; and as to his subsequent communications, there was nothing that tended to make my task more difficult. (Hear, hear, hear.) With regard to my noble friend Lord Grey, I am exceedingly sorry that I was not able to overcome his objections; but, in justice to him, I should certainly state that they did not arise from any objects of a personal nature, but that they were of a public nature, and were stated by him in what he felt to be the discharge of a public duty. (Hear, hear.) As to the question now in agitation with regard to the Corn Laws, I do hope we may be able to come to such an agreement as may afford the country the hope of its peaceable settlement at the present time. (Cheers.) At agricultural meetings I have with no inconsiderable surprise seen it alleged that the danger had been exaggerated, and therefore that the protecting laws should be left as at present. But do the gentlemen who use such language never carry their thoughts forward? Do they never consider that, if it has pleased Providence to visit us with an affliction lighter than was at one time dreaded, such may not always be their consolation; that there may come a time when scarcity will be undoubted—when it will come home to the eyes, the understandings, and the feelings of every man—when the prospect of famine may be too real and too near not to appal the stoutest hearted amongst us? And do they wish to wait for such a time? (Hear, hear.) Do they think it desirable that a settlement of the Corn Laws should be delayed till a season shall come when we shall have no power of choice, no discretion left to be exercised as to the nature of the measure, but when the multitude will imperiously demand the instant abrogation of the laws which limit the supplies of food. Is there any one who has watched events that will say the law of 1842 is sufficient to provide for the food of the people, and that a measure for the free admission of foreign corn not is required? The House has heard what the author of the law has said to-night. The House has heard what the right hon. gentleman has stated as the result of his observations and experience. He, with his natural talents; he, with his acquired experience; he, placed at the head of affairs, with that heavy responsibility weighing upon him which he has so truly described, which involves the highest honour and trust to which a subject can attain, but which is at the same time the most grave if not the most alarming of responsibilities. (Cries of hear, hear.) I do trust, therefore, we are about to see a settlement of this question. When the right hon. gentleman brings forward his measure, I shall perhaps have some observations to make, both as regards the nature of the measure itself, as to the provisions which may accompany it, and as to the inexpediency of waiting, even to the present time, before the repeal of the law of 1842 was proposed. For the present I refrain from all such topics. I must, however, refer to another subject which is always in my mind whenever I think of public affairs—I mean the subject of Ireland. I will

not deny that I feel I should have been enabled to place the government of that country in the hands of persons who, by conciliation and firmness, would have tempered and allayed many of the evils which weigh on that unhappy country. I did think, if I did succeed in carrying a bill for taking off restrictive duties on corn and various manufactures that I might have been able to propose a large and comprehensive scheme on the subject of Ireland, which would have been the foundation of future peace. (Hear, hear.) I did certainly indulge in such dreams. I cannot assent to any opinions in favour of the wisdom of the Government's conduct as to Ireland from the time they came into office till the present day. (Hear, hear.) I see now, according to the Queen's Speech, that dreadful acts of premeditated assassination call for some new law. I shall be ready to support measures calculated to suppress such crimes. But there are in Ireland adverse associations—one asking for that dangerous, and I think fatal measure, the repeal of the Union; the other issuing addresses, from which it appears they consider partiality should still be the rule, and that their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects are not entitled to the same favour from the Legislature as the Protestants. I am sorry to say I do not think anything has been done or been doing to establish that peace, or procure for this country that affection, which are so earnestly to be desired. I shall not enter further on that subject. I have stated the transactions which took place when her Majesty was pleased to call on me to form a Government—the reason why I was unable to do so—my views of the policy which has been pursued in Ireland. I have now only to say, that whether in office or out of office, I shall be ready to give my hearty assent to measures which I think are for the benefit of the country in whatever quarter they are proposed. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. D'Israeli followed Lord John Russell in a speech replete with bitterness and satire, and after a short speech from Mr. Miles, and one or two agricultural members, the address was voted without opposition, and the house broke up about half-past ten.

LORD RADNOR'S REPLY TO LORD BROUGHAM IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

The Earl of RADNOR confessed that he was somewhat surprised and indeed startled by the energetic and unqualified terms in which his noble and learned friend, who had addressed the house at such length (Lord Brougham), had reprobated the notion that a government should adopt measures in deference to "pressure from without." He was a little surprised that such an objection should come from such a source. (Loud cries of "hear, hear.") However, he was far from expressing his dissent from much that his noble and learned friend had said upon this point. He concurred with his friend in thinking that it was a deplorable thing that a government should never take a wise, a judicious, or a salutary step, unless under the coercion of pressure from without. (Hear, hear, hear.) It was indeed very much to be lamented, but how could it be helped? This state of things could not be avoided so long as there was a government in this country which would not or could not lead the public mind (loud cries of "hear, hear")—a government which did not address itself to the common sense and sound judgment of the community, and which never thought of enforcing its measures by reason and argument. Such a government must always yield to "the pressure from without." (Hear, hear, hear.) He admitted with sorrow and shame, that for many years back it had been too much the practice of Governments in this country to introduce salutary measures only under the compulsion of that description of influence which his noble friend had designated "the pressure from without;" (hear, hear;) it was a lamentable fact, but not the less a fact. He would be glad to know by what means had all those great measures been carried through Parliament which his noble and learned friend had supported so powerfully by his eloquence in by-gone days? Was it not by the pressure from without? (hear, hear;) how had the Reform Bill been carried, he should like to know? (hear, hear;) how, but by the pressure from without? (hear, hear;) how had the abolition of slavery been accomplished? (hear, hear;) how, but by the pressure from without? And was it not notoriously true that it was by the like means that the repeal of the orders of council had been effected, and that the Catholic Emancipation Bill, after encountering for many successive years the most desperate opposition, at length obtained the sanction of the Legislature? He would wish to ask his noble and learned friend before he left his place, to what circumstance he attributed the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts? Would his noble friend hesitate to reply, "To the pressure from without" (loud cries of "hear, hear")? He (the Earl of Radnor) lamented that the fact should be so, for it was a fact by no means honourable to our rulers; but it must of necessity occur in every country where the people outstripped in intelligence the government which was in possession of the helm of the state (loud cheers.) He must be pardoned if he took leave to observe, that in his opinion nothing could be more unfair or more unjustifiable than the attack which his noble friend had made upon the leading members of the Anti-Corn-Law League (hear, hear, hear.) He had denounced the raising of voluntary contributions; but, in so doing, he had very wisely and properly made a reservation in favour of collections for charitable purposes. Amongst such collections he (Lord Radnor) hesitated not to class the collection which was made by the League (hear, hear, hear.) Of all things in the world, the raising of money with a view to the demolition of the detestable Corn Laws was, in his opinion, the most charitable (hear, hear, and loud cheers.) But nothing could be more absurd (under favour be it spoken) than his noble friend's doctrine with respect to the levying of contributions. (Hear, hear.) If that doctrine were to hold good, a contribution of money for the purpose of constructing a railway would be unconstitutional; (hear, hear;) so too would the subscription which was now on foot for the purpose of improving the dwellings of the metropolitan poor;

(hear, hear;) so too would a collection for the erection of a church or public edifice of any kind; in a word, there was no conceivable purpose for which men, in the exercise of their own discretion, might think fit to subscribe their own money, which would not be absolutely and scandalously unconstitutional, if the doctrine of his noble and learned friend were to pass current. (Loud cries of Hear, hear, and cheers.) His noble friend had peremptorily asserted that it was unconstitutional to subscribe to the Anti-Corn-Law League; but, with all possible respect for his noble friend, he would take the liberty of denying this assertion. (Hear, hear.) He (Lord Radnor) was himself a subscriber to the Anti-Corn-Law League (hear, hear), and so far from thinking that he had done anything in the least unconstitutional, he was decidedly of opinion that he could not have done anything more consistent with Christian charity than to have subscribed (hear, hear, hear.) He considered that every penny was given in charity which was given to get rid of these detestable Corn Laws (hear, hear, and cheers.) This was his deliberate opinion, and he was prepared to justify it. It was not the fact that the leaders of the League were collecting money for the purpose of buying votes. They had no such intention. They bought no votes. They were engaged in a great national movement, and the object of collecting this money was to carry on a profound and wisely-devised project of agitation for five years longer if necessary; but they traded not in votes nor in rent-charges (hear, hear, and cheers.) They used their influence and their powers of persuasion to induce the people to purchase what would entitle them to votes (hear, hear, hear.)—They exhorted them to lay out their money in a manner which would enable them to give expression to their opinions, and that too in a way which would have influence with the Legislature; and what could there be more legitimate—what more constitutional than this? (Hear, hear.) Was he to be told there was anything unconstitutional or illegitimate in a man's endeavouring to give weight, currency, and circulation to an opinion which he had conscientiously conceived, and which in his heart he believed to be founded on truth and justice? (Hear, hear, and cheers.) It was monstrous to say so. The League did not traffic in votes, they did not buy and sell them (hear); they did not take advantage of the 50*l.* clause in the Reform Act, nor did they split up property to make votes, (Hear, hear.) There was nothing unconstitutional in their proceedings. It was unconstitutional to say to the contrary (hear, hear, and cheers.) He begged leave to ask his noble and learned friend whether he considered it unconstitutional to agitate (hear, hear)? His noble friend should be the last in the world to say so. (Hear, hear, hear.) Had not his noble friend agitated—zealously and powerfully agitated—for the abolition of the slave trade (hear, hear)? Was he not the prominent man in that agitation (hear, hear)? Was he not the great leader in it (hear, hear)? And when it was at length carried, who was there who rejoiced more cordially at the success of the measure than he (hear, hear)? His noble friend had insinuated that the leaders of the League were actuated by base and mercenary motives—that, in fact, they only consulted their own profit and aggrandisement. It was no such thing. (Loud cries of "hear.") To their own great loss and inconvenience, to the great peril and insecurity of their business, which they were obliged to neglect, they, with vast expenditure of time, money, and labour, with singular disinterestedness, and remarkable honesty of purpose, devoted themselves to the Anti Corn Law movement, simply because they were convinced that the repeal of that hateful code would be of the utmost benefit to the public in general. It was a little too hard that the motives of such men should be misinterpreted, their characters calumniated, and their intentions misrepresented. The League was first instituted in the year 1839, and originally consisted of seven Manchester gentlemen. Since then it had made gigantic progress in the favour of the people, and had already attained an eminence which commanded an enforced respect. And wherefore was this? because the people saw that the cause which it advocated was the cause of justice, honesty, and wisdom (hear, hear.) He (Lord Radnor) for one was resolved to support the League to the utmost of his ability. (Hear, hear.) He was sorry that the Government should be led and coerced in this way; but as long as their Government was one which did not yield to argument and the dictates of reason, so long must it of necessity submit to the influence of the pressure from without. (Hear, hear, hear.) His noble friend was somewhat contradictory in his speech, for fierce though the attack was which he made upon the League, he actually commenced his address by expressing his gratification that there was a prospect of the country's enjoying the blessings of Free Trade. ("Hear," and cheers.) How long would it have been before the country would have enjoyed those blessings were it not for the exertions of the League? (Loud cries of "Hear, hear, hear.") Were it not for those exertions his noble friend would have been obliged to delight the House with his eloquent speeches in favour of Free Trade night after night for many a weary session in vain. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) But through the influence of the League, the "pressure from without" had been brought to bear on the Government, and the Government must yield to that pressure, or woe to them and woe to the country. (Hear, hear.) The majority of the people were in favour of the League, and he (Lord Radnor) rejoiced in the contemplation of the measures which the Government, no doubt, intended ere long to bring forward. In conclusion, he would again declare his conviction that the Anti-Corn-Law League were actuated by no unworthy—no mercenary views—that they did not mean to do anything unconstitutional; but that they agitated because they knew that agitation was absolutely necessary; and there was a time when his noble friend was of the same opinion too. (Hear, and cheers.)

"The Rev. Mr. Spencer, a clergyman of the Church of England, is lecturing on Temperance and the Corn Laws of Great Britain. We should think he had better be employed in preaching the Gospel and administering the sacraments, to which he has been set apart by the Holy Ghost." We find the above in the *Calendar*, the Episcopal paper published in this city. Isn't it "rich?" What has the Gospel to do with the vulgar work of saving the drunkard and feeding the starving?—*The Liberator*, (N.Y.) Dec. 19.

KIRKALDY.—A movement towards a subscription in aid of the League Fund has been commenced here to-day, and already a sum of upwards of 1500*l.* has been collected.

THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

We have heard many good friends to the cause in Southampton express an anxiety to do something in aid of this great movement. We would advise them to call an early preliminary meeting—let all who attend resolve themselves into a committee, appoint one of their members treasurer to receive and forward subscriptions, put down their own names immediately for what they purpose to give themselves, and then set about canvassing their friends out of doors for assistance. Subsequently a soirée might be held similar to that held two years ago in aid of the former fund, at which some gentlemen actively connected with the League would no doubt attend, and then the subscription might be extended. Other necessary details the committee would of course be able to arrange, but unless the Southampton subscription amount to at least 1000*l.*, (of which, be it understood, only 200*l.* would have to be paid down), we shall say that our fellow-townsmen will not have done their share in the work of emancipating British industry from landlordly and dealer thralldom, and will have no title to participate in the glory of the coming triumph.—*Hampshire Independent*.

We are happy to announce that the friends of Free Trade in this town, have set about in good earnest to get up subscriptions for the purpose of emancipating British Industry. Two gentlemen commenced canvassing on the afternoon of Tuesday last, and before evening a sum was entered on the subscription list which justifies the conclusion that Whitehaven will not, in proportion to its size, be a whit behind our neighbours. We shall be able to advance something more definite on the subject in our next number.—*Whitehaven Herald*, Jan. 17.

It will be seen that the amount subscribed in Dundee was (to last night) nearly 2500*l.* We are happy to learn that at least 500*l.* more is expected. Limited, however, as the friends of Free Trade here have been, we are informed that those in Kirkcaldy have been still more so, which is another noble example for other places to imitate. At a private and preparatory meeting held in Kirkcaldy on Wednesday evening, 1000*l.* was subscribed in a few minutes, Mr. Fergus giving 400*l.* of it; and yesterday forenoon the subscriptions amounted to 1700*l.*, and much more is expected. From such an example, we hope that those in Dundee who have not yet come forward and declared their subscriptions will now do so.—*Dundee Advertiser*, Jan. 16.

Up to this about 18,000*l.* has been subscribed in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dundee; and the Fund may now be stated altogether at 150,000*l.* It is pretty evident, therefore, that the towns and districts which do not make their subscriptions, soon will be deprived of the honour of assisting, in so far as the raising of the 250,000*l.* is concerned, in giving this last blow to the stronghold of monopoly.—*Glasgow Argus*, Jan. 19.

ABERDEEN.—We understand that subscriptions are about to be opened in this place, in aid of the Quarter of a Million Fund, now being raised throughout the country, for giving the *coup de grace* to that most iniquitous of all legislative abominations, the tax on bread.—*Montrose Review*, Jan. 16.

FORFAR.—The Anti-Corn Law Association here is again roused from its usual state of quiescence, by the news received from head-quarters. The committee have resolved upon convening a public meeting, getting up a subscription for the general fund, and otherwise making "a strong pull," in the hope that it will be the last.

William Marshall, Esq., M.P., for this city, has directed his name to be entered in the Carlisle subscription list to the Anti-Corn Law League Fund of a Quarter of a Million, for the sum of 300*l.*

ST. ANDREWS.—MR. ELLICE, M.P.—Mr. Ellice met his constituents here in our Town Hall, on the evening of Friday last. The Hall was crowded to excess, and our member, by his manly and straightforward conduct, pleased all. On the motion of Bailie Brown, seconded by Dean of Guild Sims, Bailie Wright took the chair, and having expressed in a neat Free Trade speech the object of the meeting, Mr. Ellice at great length entered upon the all-engrossing topic of Free Trade, particularly in the staff of life. He also explained the part he had taken and votes given by him in the last session of Parliament, in the manner he had done the previous evening at Cupar. Mr. Ellice, in conclusion, stated that he had neither the wish nor the intention to change his connexion with our burghs, whatever rumour might say to the contrary, so long as his constituents were satisfied with his Parliamentary conduct, which should be, as in time past, that of a free and independent member, anxious to legislate, not "for the few," but "for the many."—*Fife Herald*, Jan. 15*th*.

SHEFFIELD.—MR. WARD'S ADDRESS.—On Thursday, the 15*th* inst., Mr. Ward paid his seventh annual visit to his Sheffield constituents, and addressed a crowded meeting at the Town Hall, giving an account of his political stewardship, and of the various public questions which had been agitated during last session. He declared that his policy was progressive, and that he considered the great question in which the country was now engaged as much a struggle against monopoly in votes as against monopoly in food. "You will recollect," said Mr. Ward, "That I am now speaking as a man connected with land. Everything I have in the world depends upon it. If I take a wrong view, I am destroying the comfort of my life, and the fortunes of my children. I have every reason to weigh the thing nicely and accurately; and I say conscientiously and honestly, that I have not the least apprehension as to the issue. I believe that we shall do better with Free Trade. I believe that you will do better, and we shall do better because you do better. The thing acts and re-acts. What we want are wealthy, well-employed customers. (Cheers.)" A motion was put from the chair, and carried by a universal show of hands, expressing the thanks of the meeting to the honourable gentleman for his annual visit, and respectfully requesting him to support, to the utmost of his power, any measure which may be proposed in the approaching session, for a total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws.

THE QUALIFICATION MOVEMENT.—We understand that the committee of the Anti-Corn-Law League, in this city, expects that fully 100 freeholds will be purchased in East Cumberland, in time to admit their owners upon the Register for next year. A great number have also been taken up for West Cumberland.—*Carlisle Journal*, Jan. 17.

At Bradford, the election of two Free Traders appears secure. The requisition to Mr. Busfield and Col. Thompson has nearly 550 signatures, besides 250 promises that have not signed; the total on the register being 1800, and less than five-sixths usually voting. Meanwhile the process of addition is going on.

CORRESPONDENCE.

RENT OF LAND IN SURREY.
To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

London, January 15, 1846.

SIR,—It is a favourite assertion of the "protectionists" that the Corn Laws are for the benefit of the tenant farmers and labourers.

Having frequently heard eminent practical farmers in Scotland maintain that the only gainers by the Corn Laws are the corn factors, the wish to ascertain the correctness of the assertion led me to make a few inquiries.

The first answers I received were so favourable to a change, and the wish so earnestly expressed that a ministry should come into power with a Free Trade measure in their hand, that I was disposed to deny the allegation altogether. My informant was an owner as well as tenant of land, the value of which he had increased by draining and other improvements.

The next replies I received were of an opposite kind. A farmer who holds land which in Scotland would readily yield a rent of 50s. to 3*l*. per acre, for which he pays 27s. per acre, declaimed loudly against any chance of a reduction in the price of wheat by the advent of Free Trade. With very ordinary cultivation, his land has upon it fine Swedes and good wheat; and from seven acres of hop land he sold hops enough last year (the crop elsewhere being very deficient) to pay two-thirds of two years rent of the whole farm. In very many farms in this part of the country, the land is either not at all, or most insufficiently drained; even where the soil is deep and of a productive nature, they never subsoil-plough it. In a large number of the farm yards, placed on sloping ground, at the lower side you may see an open pond, into which all the valuable liquid manure is allowed to run; thus "wasting their sweetness on the desert air." By an intelligent gentleman, resident in the county, I am informed that the average rent of land in Surrey does not exceed 17s. per acre, the rates which fall on the tenant being under 2s. 6d. per pound of rent. Even admitting that the lighter soils will only yield 30 bushels of wheat to the acre, is not a tenant with inadequate capital incapable of doing justice to his land and to derive as large a return as he ought, while the proprietor is a loser by receiving from him a rent below the value of his land? In many cases it is not capital, but industry, which is wanting; and in these the Corn Laws are a boon as a protection to native idleness.

Not to occupy too much of your space, in my next I shall advert to the case of the labourers, the other supporters claimed by protectionists for the Corn Laws.

I shall conclude in the eloquent words of Mr. Rutherford, M.P. for Leith, in a late address to his constituents at Musselburgh, that "deep and large as are the other benefits that will result from the total repeal of the Corn Laws, we may look upon the putting down of that which separates one great class of the community from the other classes, and which will unite them in the bonds of common brotherhood, as one of the most important blessings which can be conferred on this country."

I remain, Sir, yours &c.,
A PROPRIETOR OF LAND IN SCOTLAND,
On a Visit in Surrey.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF SHEETS, BLANKETS,
AND SMOCK-FROCKS, TO MANY OF THE
STARVING PEASANTRY OF OXFORDSHIRE
AND BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

SIR,—Those Free Traders whose favours I have had the honour to acknowledge, through the medium of your "great fact" paper, will, I doubt not, be pleased to hear that ten deserving and needy labourers on the Duke of Buckingham's estate, have each been supplied this week, by me, with a good linen frock, and others have been supplied with sheets and blankets. I assure your many readers that I have not spared myself, but have gone from hovel to hovel, day after day, to see and examine for myself, the untold and unreasonable sufferings of the Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire peasantry. I shall just describe the real condition of three or four families in the village of Oakley, near Brill, Bucks.

1st. George Hepburn has a wife and three children; wages six shillings a week on the roads; pays poor's rates and highway rates!!!

2nd. William Winter has a very sickly wife and two children; they live in a hovel, in the wall of which there is a large hole, but not an inch of glass; the starving and wretched family live, sleep, and perish on the same damp floor!! This poor man pays poor's rates and highway rates out of 6s. or 7s. a week. He works on the roads, but as I had to write in the dark at the door, and was compelled to use my hat for a writing table, I cannot tell whether my figure is 6s. or 7s., but I believe the poor man's wages are only 6s. per week.

3rd. Samuel Tebby has a wife and three children; works on the roads; wages 7s. a week, out of which he pays 1s. 6d. a week for rent!! There is, therefore, remaining only 5s. 6d. a week, out of which the poor man has to support himself, his wife, and three children this winter.

4th. John Hubbock has a wife and three children; works on the roads; wages 6s. a week, out of which he pays 2*l*. 10s. a year house rent, and about 8s. a year rates and taxes!! Brethren! Free Traders! friends of the poor! read this case, and sigh for your brother! Angel of mercy, weep over this Buckinghamshire labourer! If we deduct house rent and taxes, and allow 3d. per week for soap, and 3d. for candles, we shall find that this man, with his wife and three children, have 1d. per head per day to live on, and 1d. per week over!

What a blessing it is that he has a few potatoes for his poor wife, who has just been confined with her third child.

I understand that some of the duke's faithful servants are greatly disturbed by the seasonable gift of beds, smock-frocks, sheets, and blankets, which have been distributed by me to the poor of Brill and its neighbourhood. I have many touching applications for beds, &c., from places in Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire every day.

I find that cheap as the Bible is now, many of the poor peasantry in the villages are not able to pay for a small copy of the Word of Life, and consequently I have resolved to give a small pocket Bible to such of the poor creatures as I may meet with, and find unable to pay for, but able and willing to read that best of books.

Thanks to those benevolent Free Traders who have put it into my power to add this delightful work of faith to my many and various other refreshing though arduous labours in the cause of the poor peasantry.

Thirty-five cwts. of coals, and a number of sheets, blan-

kets, and smock-frocks have been distributed by me this week in the village of Launton, Oxon.

I am, Sir, yours very faithfully,

WM. FERGUSON,
Minister of the Independent Congregational
Church, Bicester, Oxon.

Jan. 14, 1846.
[The Rev. Wm. Ferguson, minister of the Dissenting church, Bicester, Oxon, begs to inform the poor man's real friends that he has received "Tom Thumb's" letter, and another letter, containing 5*l*. from "J. S. P." and other friends, at West Bromwich, and a third letter containing a post-office order, to the amount of 1*l*. 9s. 6d., from H. Young, Esq., and other Free Traders; also a parcel containing 17 smock frocks (and more promised) from friends in town. Mr. Ferguson begs to tender his grateful thanks to his friends for their seasonable and benevolent gifts to the poor and starving peasantry in parts of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, and assures them that the peasantry of every denomination in his neighbourhood shall be looked after by him. His grateful thanks are also hereby tendered to Mrs. Darwin, Bromley; J. Finch, Esq., London; J. Keighley, Esq., London; W. Shrewsbury, sen., Esq., Redford, Notts; and to Luke Grimson, Esq., Loughborough, Leicestershire, for their kind gifts to the poor in the neighbourhood of Bicester, Oxon.—Jan. 19, 1846.]

[We are requested to correct a mistake in publishing the letter of Mr. Hoyland in our paper of the 3d inst.; for 10*l*. read 10s.]

CLOTHING FOR THE POOR AGRICUL-
TURAL LABOURERS.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

SIR,—It is the conviction of my own mind that there can be no person who, having read the statements in THE LEAGUE, giving such a sorrowful account of the awful destitution and truly miserable condition of the poor agricultural labourers in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, made by that most amiable and charitable of men, the Rev. Wm. Ferguson, of Bicester, Oxon, without having at once enlisted their sympathies with him, in his benevolent exertions, or without feeling an anxious desire to place it in his power "to help those who cannot help themselves," and to aid him in his efforts to obtain for them some clothing, to protect them from the inclemency of the season.

When I suggested, in a former communication, the plan for making up and distributing flock beds to the wretched agricultural labourers, I was conscious they would prove very acceptable; and I hope the present communication may meet with your approbation.

Now, Sir, I believe that there is not a single subscriber to the League Fund, but what has some good old clothes thrown aside, which the would gladly give to those miserably clad labourers, if proper means were adopted to convey them. I have mentioned this to several of my friends who gave flocks for the beds, and they cordially approve of the suggestion, and promise to assist in carrying it into effect. The plan that I propose for collecting and conveying the clothes is this, viz, that one of the ante-rooms, in the Free Trade Hall, Peter-street, Manchester, should be opened, and a man be engaged there to receive the parcels that might be sent in by any benevolent persons; and for him to see to the immediate forwarding of them to the address of the Rev. Wm. Ferguson, of Bicester, Oxon, or any other known friends, who would see to a proper distribution of the same. And I think the ladies, who are generally first and foremost in relieving distress, might abundantly manifest their charity on this occasion, by sending articles, or clothing of any description, which would add to the comfort of these miserable creatures.

That important meeting of agricultural labourers which took place at Goatacre last week must upset the flimsy arguments of the protectionists, who contend that the Corn Laws are for the especial benefit of agricultural labourers. I assure you I feel glad to see that the thousand men who attended that meeting are moving in the right direction.—I am, Sir, yours

ALEXANDER TAYLOR,
Greenacre's Moor, near Oldham, Jan. 14, 1846.

P.S. You will greatly oblige me by forwarding the enclosed half sovereign to poor Wm. Parry, of Charlton, who had to walk twenty miles to the meeting to tell his heart-rending tale of distress, and which ought to be read with the greatest attention.

GOATACRE LABOURERS' FUND.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

8, Powis-place, Jan. 15th, 1846.

DEAR SIR,—It may be that many of your readers may desire to do something in behalf of the brave men of Goatacre, but may have no means of forwarding their assistance to them. I beg to say that I shall be happy to add any funds that may be entrusted to me for that purpose to others which I have received. I would they were more. I have put myself in communication with the chairman of the Goatacre meeting, David Kell, as to the best mode of applying whatever may be raised, and shall be happy to render an account of my stewardship to all who like to subscribe through me.—I am dear Sir, yours truly,

P. A. TAYLOR, Jun.

Coalbrookdale, Jan. 21, 1846.

SIR,—I have much pleasure in forwarding to you the result of subscriptions in aid of the Quarter of a Million Fund from this neighbourhood, so far as we at present know the amount.

The members of the Free Trade Committee, and others, met in Coalbrookdale last evening, and the subscriptions in the room amounted to 205*l*. 15s. I will furnish particulars when the proceeds of a canvass of the district shall have been brought in.—I am, yours respectfully,

G. Wilson, Esq.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

Otley, near Leeds, Yorkshire.

SIR,—Our noble-minded and philanthropic neighbour, Francis Hawksworth Fawkes, Esq., of Farnley Hall, has, since the Leeds meeting, directed his name to be placed upon the subscription list for the place towards the Anti-Corn-Law League Fund for 100*l*.

This patriotic gentleman is one of the largest landowners, and greatest of land improvers, in Yorkshire.—I am, Sir, yours obediently,

EDWARD BARRET,
20th January, 1846.

Brechtin, January 17th, 1846.

SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your circular of the 19th ult., reminding me that my yearly subscription was again due. I submitted it to the consideration of my fellow

workmen, when, without hesitation, they agreed to add their mite to the Quarter of a Million League Fund.

Enclosed is the amount of their subscription, which, although comparatively small, will testify their belief in the noble principles so ably advocated by THE LEAGUE. I am also instructed to give you and the other champions of Free Trade their best thanks for the able refutations you have given to the arguments of the monopolists about dear bread and high wages, and to congratulate you on the great success you have already obtained, particularly in the 40s. free-hold movement, a movement so well adapted to make monopolists quake and tremble.—I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

A. L. FORSYTH.

By order of the workmen of East Mill, Brechin.

George Wilson, Esq., Chairman of the
National Anti-Corn-Law League.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

Glastonbury, 19th Jan. 1846.

DEAR SIR,—You will much oblige by inserting in the next LEAGUE, that the nine beds were duly received by me, and distributed. They were very thankfully received; and we have had many applications for more. Should there be eight or ten more that could be sent, they would be very acceptable. The labourers here are as bad off as they are in Wiltshire. I sincerely thank the League on behalf of those who received the beds; and remain your obedient servant,

THOS. RALLS.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

Paisley, 12th January, 1846.

DEAR SIR,—I see the "Norwich Weaver Boy," and other writers, have stated that the monopolists want compensation before they will give up the Corn Laws. Will you be kind enough to present the following account, and urge payment before they receive a single farthing? In doing so, you will oblige

A PAISLEY WEAVER CALLANT.

Messrs. the Dukes Wellington, Richmond, and Co., Drs.
to England, Ireland, and Scotland.

To 30 years' plunder at 36,000,000*l*. per annum,
1,080,000,000*l*.

REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS.

The publication of a manifesto by Mr. James Adam Gordon, one of the largest landowners in the county of Somerset, in favour of a repeal of the Corn Laws, has spread dismay throughout the Protectionist camp in that county, and must by its natural and legitimate influence upon society tend very much to diminish, if not entirely to neutralise, the attempts which Mr. William Miles and the bread tax party are making to stir up a feeling against the Anti-Corn-Law movement. A few years since Mr. Gordon was an avowed advocate of protection, and was then triumphantly pointed to by those holding consonant opinions as one of the pillars of their strength in Somersetshire, and the western counties. What can they say now? Mr. Gordon is as wealthy, as talented, and as powerful as he was in 1841. He is still the lord of very many thousand acres of land, still holds the manorial rights of Abbots Leigh, Portbury, St. George, Portishead, and North Western, and still moves in the same influential circle. This manifesto is regarded by the friends of repeal as one of the most important signs of the times that has yet appeared; and its influence upon the election for East Somerset—come when it may—can scarcely be over-valued. It is in the shape of a letter to the Earl of Waldegrave, who had invited Mr. Gordon to join the protection movement, and is subjoined:

"TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE, EAST
HARPTREE COURT, &c.

"My Lord,—I have the honour to acknowledge your lordship's invitation to become a member of the Somerset Protection Society. More than a year ago I declined a similar invitation from Mr. Miles and Sir Alexander Hood, and I have many more reasons for doing so now. In 1841, I was a strenuous protectionist; under the circumstances of that time I am persuaded I acted rightly. Those of 1846 are widely different, and I am as well satisfied with the reasons which compel me to advocate a repeal of the Corn Laws as any one can be for retaining his former opinions against it.

"I have ever placed the utmost reliance on Sir Robert Peel, and see no grounds for departing from it now. In his hands I have no fear whatever of the result, and even when farmers have not gone very deep into the subject, I daily find them admitting that any state is better than that, of the uncertainty and agitation of which all parties are now the victims.

"I believe, with Sir Thomas Lethbridge, in his letter to the Duke of Richmond, that 'protection is a thing gone by,' and I hope your lordship will pardon my suggesting a doubt of the policy of protectionist landlords putting arguments and weapons into their tenants' hands to use against themselves, for the reduction of their rents, when the inevitable repeal shall have taken place.

"I have the honour to be, my lord, your obedient servant,
"JAMES ADAM GORDON.

"Naish, Bristol, Jan. 8, 1846.

REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS.—A petition, of which the following is a copy, is now lying for signature at the Guildhall, in Tiverton:—

"To the honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled. The humble Petition of the undersigned inhabitants of the Borough of Tiverton, in the County of Devon: Sheweth, that in the opinion of your petitioners, the laws which prohibit the free importation of foreign grain and provisions, are most oppressive to the great mass of the people, and destructive alike to the true interests of agriculture and commerce; they, therefore, earnestly petition for their total, unconditional, and immediate repeal."

—Devonshire Chronicle, Jan. 20.

Printed at the Whitefriars Printing-office, Bouvierie-street, in the precincts of Whitefriars, in the City of London, by JOHN GADSBY, printer, of Number 7, Ridgmount-place, Hampstead-road, in the County of Middlesex; and also of Number 4, Fairfield-place, Cheetham-hill-road, in the parish of Manchester, in the County of Lancaster, and published at Number 67, Fleet-street, in the parish of St. Dunston-in-the-West, in the City of London, by ABRAHAM WALTER PALTON, of Number 67, Fleet-street aforesaid.—Saturday, January 24, 1846.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 123.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, JANUARY 31, 1846.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 87, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

PETITION! PETITION! PETITION!

At a numerously attended meeting of the Council of the League, held on Thursday morning last, Mr. Wilson in the chair, the proposed measures of Sir Robert Peel were discussed at some length. Congratulations were exchanged at the progress which the great question has made in the minds of the most distinguished statesmen of all parties. With respect to the measure itself, several parts of it elicited expressions of satisfaction; but the feeling of regret at the re-enactment of the sliding-scale was universal. The meeting was addressed, among others, by Messrs. R. H. Greg, Alderman Kershaw, J. B. Smith, A. Prentice, J. Heywood, H. Rawson, J. Whitaker, W. Bickham, T. Woolley, &c. All were of opinion that the League and its friends should stand firm to the principle of immediate and total repeal; and the following resolution, recommending universal petitioning, was unanimously passed:

"Resolved,—That the announcement of a new Corn Law renders it desirable that the friends of Free Trade throughout the kingdom should originate petitions for the total and immediate abolition of all laws imposing duties on foreign corn and provisions."

THE MINISTERIAL MEASURE.—IMMEDIATE REPEAL BEST FOR THE AGRICULTURIST.

Before entering on a criticism, the necessity for which we would most gladly have been spared, of the details of the great measure now before Parliament and the country, our first words must be of congratulation. It is a triumph indeed! The night of Tuesday, the 27th January, will ever be memorable in the annals of the English people, as the date of a grand popular success. The principle of monopoly is finally and for ever surrendered. The principle of perfect and absolute Free Trade is broadly announced, as the basis and canon of all British legislation, present and future. And this, not "in the abstract," but in act and fact. Free Trade—entire Free Trade—is to go at once on the statute-book. The First Minister of the Crown, with the delighted and enthusiastic concurrence of his usual opponents, and with the aid of a sufficient number of his political supporters to leave no doubt as to the eventual result, stakes his Ministerial existence on getting "Total Repeal of the Corn Law" written in an Act of Parliament. Again we say, this is a triumph indeed; and most earnestly and heartily do we congratulate those whose intelligence, union, patient waiting, and indefatigable

working have won it—THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE. THEY HAVE DONE IT ALL. Unaided by aristocratic countenance or patronage, or by the co-operation of political parties and Parliamentary politicians, they have leagued themselves together in the hands of a common allegiance to true and just principle—they have extorted from a once hostile Government, one concession after another—and now, all the outworks having been long since carried, the inner citadel itself is thrown open, on terms of capitulation which, however unsatisfactory in some essential points, have the merit of explicitly recognising the totality of the national demand.

We regret deeply being unable to offer an unrestrained support to a measure, of whose intent and spirit we cannot but speak in terms of warm approval, and which, as an immediate practical relief to the commerce and industry, the poverty and hunger of the country, is of the very greatest value. As regards the first necessities of human life—the only items of the Ministerial plan of which we have now to speak—the measure introduced by Sir Robert Peel on Tuesday night is large, comprehensive, and bold. If the execution is whimsical, arbitrary, and self-contradictory, the design is admirable for its breadth and daring. On the all-important articles Indian corn, or maize, colonial corn, meat (salted and fresh), and cattle, we have total and immediate repeal of protective duties. On foreign corn we have total repeal, not immediate. Our rights are guaranteed us in reversion; *in presenti*, we are asked to content ourselves with a rather large instalment. A certain filmy and shadowy-looking "protection" is still to linger among us, for three years longer, in the shape of a new Corn Law, which seems as if it were intended to give us a parting taste of the thing in all its various modes and forms. The combination is ingenious. A little of everything. In name and nature, a "sliding scale"—in practical present operation, a 4s. "fixed duty"—in eventual result, a "vanishing scale." We have not had so mild and innocent a Corn Law these 50 years, as in this variegated miscellany of every species of the Corn Law genus. If we cannot praise it, we have no difficulty in saying, that we are sure it means no harm.

This new Corn Law of Sir Robert Peel's does, however—with all its seeming mildness and innocence—contain most serious and even fearful powers of mischief; and we cannot but hope, even yet, that the author of the largest, boldest, and most sweeping measure of commercial freedom ever proposed by a British statesman, will see reason, before all is over, for giving to this really grand reform that completeness and self-consistency which, as we now proceed to show, are essential securities for its practical well-working.

We approach this most important question of the IMMEDIATENESS of that total Free Trade which the Ministerial plan promises in no spirit of hostility either to the Government or the landlords. Nor is it for the mere sake of theoretical and logical consistency, nor from any fanatical zeal for the literality of our own well-known shibboleth, that we now urge this matter on the most grave consideration of the Ministry, the legislature, and the country. It is not even on the score of justice to the bread-eating public, that we now earnestly and anxiously deprecate this last attempt at a Parliamentary Corn Law. We rest our argument solely and exclusively on the interests of those agricultural classes for whose benefit this device is especially intended, and on the national safety and well-being as involved in the prosperity of the cultivators of the soil. That the rights of the consumer are identical with the policy which we urge on grounds

altogether independent of them, is but one illustration the more of the unvarying coincidence of strict justice with true expediency.

We contend that the proposed postponement of a Free Trade in food until the 1st of February, 1849, is perfectly needless to the agriculturist—certainly injurious, to a greater or less extent—and fraught with the most disastrous contingent possibilities, or probabilities, of evil, both to the agriculturists and to the country.

The thing is needless. The farmer does not want this three years' "interval of preparation." Granting that an interval of preparation is desirable in such cases—granting that sudden legislative changes in the conditions under which any branch of industry or trade is carried on are injurious to those engaged in it—still we say, it is needless. The farmer has actually got his interval of preparation—and Parliament need not trouble itself. Under the peculiar circumstances of the present season, the change cannot be sudden—if Parliament will only let it alone. There is not the slightest possibility of any sudden change, injurious to the farmer, taking place for the next six or eight months. If the Corn Law were totally repealed to-morrow, and our merchants instantly began sweeping the markets of the world bare of their surplus wheat—still there would be no sudden change for the farmer. No perceptible shock would, or could, be given to prices. The best informed men in the corn trade are confident that in any case prices will, on the whole, keep rising from now until after next harvest. They must. There is not the corn at this moment in the world that could hurt the English farmer. Over the greater part of Europe, scarcity has been officially proclaimed for some months past. America has a surplus, but it is only a chance surplus, bearing no sort of proportion to our needs. America did not know that we were coming, and has therefore made no preparation for us. For such surplus as there happens to be, we shall have our European neighbours competing with us as purchasers;—they have already (under favour of the sliding scale) outbid us at our own doors for the foreign corn in our bonded warehouses. Make the change now—and the farmer will not feel it. Actually he would not know it, if the newspapers did not tell him. Were it possible to legislate with closed doors and "in confidence"—if the Corn Law could only be scored out of the statute-book *sub silentio*—the farmers would not encounter anything in his market day experience that could lead him to suspect, or imagine, that any change whatever had taken place. Why, if Sir Robert Peel had the creating of the circumstances under which he would legislate for the instant and total abolition of protection, he could not improve on the circumstances that are ready made to his hands. Repeal the Corn Laws, totally and for ever, in February—and the very worst that can happen is a panic that will be over before the end of March. The farmer may be dull at abstract principles, but he knows a fact when he sees it. He will soon come right when he finds that he has actually got the dreaded Free Trade, and that, after all, it makes no such great difference.

We turn to the other side of the picture.

Suppose that Sir Robert Peel's measure becomes law, in its present shape—i. e., suppose the enactment, for six months certain, and an indefinite period afterwards, of a four-shilling fixed duty. Suppose the first angry and ignorant panic which this change will produce—and which will be every whit as violent as any total-and-immediate-repeal panic—to be fairly over, and the farmer to have experimentally discovered the baselessness of his terrors. There is another panic yet to come. A fatal day is yet before him, in the not very remote future—a

day which the legislature itself will have taught him, by the elaborate ingenuity of its precautions, to regard with anxious apprehension. On the 1st of February, 1849, all protection will suddenly cease, and he will be turned finally adrift. On the 1st of February, 1849, the dreaded competition with the "untaxed foreigner" will really begin—that competition which the English farmer will have been expressly taught, by the very Legislature that ordains it, to anticipate with all manner of doubts and fears—and which the foreign agriculturist will have been encouraged, on the same authority, to look forward to with eager and triumphant confidence.

Well, the 1st of February, 1849, arrives; the ports are open, and the competition of British and foreign farmers begins. Very possibly there may be no great harm done; the day may go off well. There may have been a season of rather scarce supplies, or extraordinarily active demand; prices may have been at or above 53s.—the duty consequently at four shillings—and importations large and regular. In that case, there will be no very violent or alarming change. The 1st of February, 1849, may be a not very extraordinary day, after all.

But it is at least equally possible that the 1st of February, 1849, may be the commencement of a period of unexampled distress and ruin for the whole class of farmers—a distress and ruin reacting, in the most fearful way, on the entire community. For that 1st of February, 1849, be it remembered, the foreign agriculturist will have been making his preparations; an "interval of preparation" for the British farmer will also have been an interval of preparation for his rival. The untaxed foreigner's preparations will moreover, beyond all doubt, be made on the very largest scale that a poverty-stricken and unscientific agriculture will allow. Europe and America will strain every nerve to be ready to reap golden harvests in the El Dorado of the British corn market. Now, suppose that the years 1847 and 1848 should be years of abundant harvests in Great Britain—i. e. years of moderate prices—i. e. years of the *maximum* ten-shilling duty. Europe and America, in that case, will keep their corn at home. They will wait for the 1st of February, 1849. They will have large stores ready to come in at the death of the sliding scale. And then they will pour in upon us their hoarded and accumulated supplies—supplies provided expressly for us, but artificially excluded by our ten shilling duty—pour them in just when we do not want them, and when our own farmers are struggling with heavy stocks and low prices. Then there really will be a panic—a panic almost realising the gloomiest bodings of the landlord imagination—a panic covering the agriculture of the world. The foreigner will be grievously disappointed and disheartened—and will think twice before trying the lottery of the English market again. He will be deterred from sowing and growing on such an uncertainty. The English farmer will be frightened and exasperated beyond measure. He will of course throw it all on "Free Trade"—and the supposed cause of his distress being a permanent one, i. e. will presume on the permanence of the effect. He will withdraw the remnant, if any, of his wasted and dwindling capital from a pursuit which, he will say, Parliament has decreed shall never be remunerative again. Both at home and abroad, agriculture will be grievously discouraged. Both at home and abroad, cultivation will diminish. And the end will be, that, in the years 1850 and 1851, we may be suffering a frightful crisis of scarcity and distress, commercial embarrassment, and fiscal collapse;—the whole of which will be charged by the agriculturists on "*Peel and Free Trade*"—while the real cause will be that Sir Robert Peel wanted faith in Free Trade, and was over-cautious and timid in the application of its sound and enlightened principles.

All this gloomy array of possible, or probable, calamities may be for ever made impossible, if Sir Robert Peel will do the right thing *now*. Perfect faith in just and true principles will be perfect safety. Give the English farmer no "interval

of preparation" beyond that which nature has given him already, in the fact of European scarcity—and the foreign farmer will have no interval of preparation for deluging us with the possible accumulations of a couple of overflowing harvests. Let Europe and America see at once what the English market really is, in its natural state. Let them try their experiments, season by season, and year by year, and feel their way as they go on. There will then be no hoarding for a given day—no extravagant agricultural speculations, reacting in agricultural distress and public scarcity. If Sir Robert Peel will only believe, with a full assurance of faith, that he is *RIGHT*—thoroughly and altogether right—in his Free Trade principles, it will save a world of mischief.

Most fervently do we trust that the agriculturists and the country may yet be saved from that fatal legacy of peril and possible disaster, which an expiring protection threatens to bequeath to both. It is a great satisfaction to us to be able to feel assured that this most important argument will be stated, with all possible force and clearness, in the House of Commons. Our friend, Mr. Villiers, will doubtless be at his post when the time comes, to press his well-tryed, and now all but successful motion—never again to be met with a "direct negative"—for the total and immediate repeal. We cannot but believe, that, thus grounded and supported, it will be found irresistible. Sir Robert Peel has the same end in view with ourselves. He has the deepest imaginable interest in the success and credit of his Free Trade legislation. Even the purpose and intention of his new sliding scale—to make the change gradual and easy to the farmer—is one that we approve and concur in. The only difference is about the means. We think his new sliding scale is perfectly needless for its object, and will grievously frustrate, instead of furthering it. We do believe he will think so too, when the argument is fairly brought before him in the House of Commons. We feel a strong hope that, even now, we are on the verge of that full and final success which will at once close and crown our labours, and dissolve our League.

The question, How ought the people to deal with the Ministerial scheme? is a most grave and important one; but it may be answered in the fewest words. The people will pursue precisely the same course which they have followed with so signal a success for the last seven years. They will talk of nothing, petition for nothing, think of nothing, but total and immediate repeal. They will be everywhere in readiness for a dissolution of Parliament, and a general election, should their lordships of the Upper House think the experiment desirable. They will be watchful, active, and self-relying;—remembering that, as everything that has been done has been done by them, so they will have—directly by the franchise, or indirectly by opinion—to do every thing at last.

THE "COMPENSATION."

Sir Robert Peel has certainly managed this matter very cleverly. It was his "chief difficulty," and he has put forth his best skill in its solution. By carefully and repeatedly protesting that his measures of "compensation to the agricultural interest" are not meant to be compensatory (except incidentally, and, as it were, by accident), but to promote certain objects of "general social utility"—as, for example, to induce a more economical and profitable management of local business, to "do justice to the labouring man," to facilitate "improvement in the criminal law," and to mend the quality of education in the Union workhouses—he at once forecloses all inquiry as to the adequacy of the compensation, on the one hand, and the right to compensation on the other. In fact, he does not, strictly speaking, raise the question of compensation at all. All the incidentally, or accidentally, compensatory arrangements which he proposes, are (with, perhaps, one exception) to be discussed on their own merits, as so many independent legislative topics; each of them to stand or fall, according to its independent fitness or unfitness for its professed purpose of

special public utility. The Free Trader may vote for, or against, any or all of them, on grounds unconnected with the Free Trade question. Some of the proposed arrangements are manifestly good, and will probably be adopted by all parties with tolerable unanimity. On others, there may very likely be a difference of opinion—as on the law of settlement, which is one of the most difficult problems in legislation. Of course, we cannot, on a subject like this, attempt to anticipate, or suggest, the line to be taken by our friends. Every just and humane mind will be anxious to amend the law, if practicable, so as to render its operations more beneficial to the working man, and more equitable between the town and rural districts. It is not, however, a League question, and we abstain from discussing it. On these matters we willingly adopt Sir Robert Peel's judicious suggestion. We leave them to be dealt with separately, on grounds independent of the large national question with which they are casually associated.

We have hinted the existence of one exception from this safe and prudent rule. One of these quasi-compensatory provisions—the proposed loans for draining and agricultural improvement—seems to stand in more than a merely casual relation to the Free Trade question. The avowed object of this loan system—that of "*enabling the agriculturist and the labouring man to meet the competition which will be raised up against them*"—distinctly brings it within the scope of our criticism. As the "competition will be the League's doing, the League is bound in honour to give the country fair warning of any attempt, actual, or possible, to put a price on the competition. Really it is somewhat alarming to hear of treasury loans to the landlord. This exchequer-bill affair has, on the face of it, a decidedly ugly look. We don't at all like the idea of the landlords getting their fingers into the public purse. Loans to meet competition strike one, on first sight, as bearing a strong family likeness to *protection against competition*. On general grounds, we have quite a horror at State loans to private individuals. Loans of this description are marvellously apt to be metamorphosed, when the public is not looking, into *gifts*. The generous and confiding country never sees its cash again. Of all creditors, the State is the unluckiest. There was the Irish church, and its loan of a million—never paid from that day to this. There was the West India interest, and its loan of 15 millions—which the State good-humouredly changed by a stroke of the pen into a free gift of 20 millions. Seriously we don't like the notion of State loans to the landlords—especially as our statesmen (so the Duke of Wellington reminded us the other day) are landlords themselves, with a fellow-feeling for the order.

The thing reads well enough, no doubt. "Good security," "sufficient" security, "ample" security—the best arrangements for annual payment of interest, with "instalments of the principal"—"*no loss*," at least, no "*ultimate*" loss, "*to fall on the public*." Still, we don't like it. If the security is good, they may get the money any morning in Lombard Street, at 3½ per cent. Not the least occasion for coming to Downing Street. The worthy British public never yet made a good thing of the money-lending business.

We are well satisfied to know that the people understand this sort of thing infinitely better now than they did some years ago, and that no very serious mischief is likely to be done by a Legislature and Government which are fast learning the respect due to popular intelligence. We doubt, in fact, whether any mischief is really intended. The Premier is a shrewd financier, and likes dearly, as a First Lord of the Treasury should, to take care of the people's money for them. Still, the bare intimation of such a scheme ought to excite the utmost vigilance and jealousy on the part of our representatives in Parliament; and it should furnish the middle and industrious classes with an additional incentive to persevere in qualifying themselves for an active share in the Government of their country.

PROTECTION TO MANUFACTURES.

The League, from the very commencement of its career, has proclaimed its hostility to every form of protection, whether manufacturing or agricultural; and there is no member of our body that is not ready to support the Premier in the abolition of all such duties. As applied to the staple branches of industry, fabrics of flax, wool, and cotton, protection was not only nugatory, but delusive. How could we be protected against the competition of foreigners in our home markets, when we were able to undersell them in their own? The abolition of such a mockery can only be regarded as a tardy tribute to common sense; and we should scarcely have deemed it worthy of comment had not the Premier so shaped his proposition as to leave room for misapprehension, or perhaps dangerous error. In giving up their claims to protection, the manufacturers literally abandon nothing. Experience has shown them that protection is not only unjust to consumers, but injurious to producers. Like the hug of the bear, it destroys the object that it seems to fondle. Whatever a former race of manufacturers may have thought, the present generation has discovered that the protection was useless when inoperative, and mischievous when brought into action. In most branches of our national industry, we may say of Sir Robert's concession of Free Trade in linen, cotton, and woollen fabrics, as was said of Pope Gregory's reformation of the calendar, "He has found out an evil that does nobody any harm, and devised a remedy that will do nobody any good." Articles of clothing cannot be rendered cheaper by his measures; for, with some very trifling exceptions, articles of clothing are cheaper at this moment in England than they are in any part of the world. Were this not the case, we should be unable to export them.

In minor branches of industry, designated by Lord Ashley as "the small interests," it is probable that any sudden change of system may produce some derangement of capital and employment; but this can only be temporary, and it will be more than compensated by the increased demand for labour which must follow from the establishment of a natural and healthy system of trade. In the case of the bootmakers, to which Sir Robert Peel alluded, protection has acted as a check and discouragement to ingenuity and economy. The author of the "Shoemaker," in Knight's industrial series, has stated that the reliance of the London bootmakers on protection has induced them to neglect several improvements adopted by their brethren in Paris, which save material and ensure a better fit. Taking durability into account as well as fashion, we much doubt whether the feet could be covered more cheaply in Paris than in London; and, so far as our experience has gone, the reverse is the case.

The case of the coachmakers appears to have been misunderstood by the Premier. If English coaches are dearer than Continental, it must be added that they are much better, as those who have gone through the misery of French and German posting can abundantly testify. In fact, as English coaches are notoriously exported, it is clear that the superiority of their quality must be deemed more than an equivalent for a higher rate of price. At the late Free Trade meeting in Southampton, Mr. Andrews, one of the most extensive coach-builders in England, expressed his regret, not because Sir Robert Peel had diminished protection, but because he had not abolished it altogether.

The branches of industry connected with fashionable life in London are abnormal. Those who pay are taxed for the deficiencies of those who do not pay; a sufficient amount of insurance to cover risk from bad debts must form an element of the price charged by most tradesmen in the metropolis. Free Trade cannot remedy this anomaly; it belongs to a very different branch of economics, the relations between credit and cash payments.

Sir Robert Peel appears to have misled some of the agriculturists, by dwelling on the sacrifice of protection to be exacted from the manufacturers. They at once jumped to the conclusion, that they could find among the manufacturing and operative classes some parties to whom protection was, or appeared to be, valuable, and that they could count

on these as new allies. But the Premier gave them a little additional information, which ought to have corrected the mistake into which his earlier statements might have led the protectionists. He told them that Free Trade in corn would not diminish the wages of labour; and he appealed, as we have done, to the experience of the last three years, to prove that cheapness of provisions had produced a rise, and not a fall, in the money-rate of wages.

But the great fact is, that labour, as measured by results, is cheaper in England than in any part of the world. If an English artisan gets more for his week's work than a German or a Frenchman, he adds more value to raw material than any other European could give to it in double the time. Englishmen, in free competition, cannot be reduced to the Continental rate of wages until their skill is reduced to the Continental level of skill. While they continue ahead in enterprise, knowledge, and ingenuity, they must necessarily have the superiority in earnings; and one of the worst evils of protections and restrictions consisted in their depriving English artisans of this fair and adequate remuneration.

It is only justice to the manufacturers to say, that they anticipated Sir Robert Peel in repudiating the protection of which he proposes to deprive them; and it is only fair to the squires to inform them, that a crusade, in favour of protection, undertaken in the manufacturing districts would be more hopeless than an attempt to revive the claims of the House of Stuart. The delusion is not merely antiquated—it is utterly forgotten; the very tradition has perished. The operatives have learned by bitter experience that the meaning of monopoly is starvation; and of protection, famine. They will not listen to the voice of the charmer who comes to tell them that looms ought to stand idle, and that spindles should cease their revolutions. They cannot be indoctrinated with the belief that diminished employment will raise the rate of wages, and we warn the aristocratic lecturers that they will not find audiences so patient of nonsense as those which assemble in Steyning, or are packed in Chichester. The operatives are a reasoning class; they have courage to pronounce their opinions—if indeed there be any yet really ignorant of their recorded sentiments in favour of Free Trade.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION OF 1846.

Second Week, ending Saturday, January 31.

The Parliamentary week opened, on Monday, with an exceedingly characteristic speech from the Duke of Wellington. It was promised that ministerial revelations would be made on that evening; and all the world (*i.e.* the political world of London) were eagerly anxious to hear the illustrious Duke state his own share in the transactions which led to the resignation and the resumption of office by Sir Robert Peel. His grace's speech is so pithy, so *illogical*, so absurd, and yet so straightforward, that we insert it here, and recommend it to the perusal of our readers:

The Duke of WELLINGTON: My lords, I rise to give an answer to my noble friend's question. (The Duke of Richmond.) But, my lords, in doing so, although I can answer positively only for myself and for my own motives, yet I must, in order to state them clearly to the house, state generally what passed in her Majesty's councils; and I may therefore be under the necessity of detaining your lordships upon the subject, but your lordships may rely upon it I will detain you for as short a time as possible. My lords, when the accounts were received from Ireland and from different parts of Great Britain of the state of the potato crops, in the course of last autumn, and of the inconvenience likely to result from that state in different parts of the country, my right honourable friend at the head of her Majesty's Government considered it his duty to call together his colleagues, in order to consider the reports which were sent to him. Accordingly he did so; he laid these reports before his colleagues, and made to them certain propositions for the adoption of measures which he considered it necessary that her Majesty's Government should adopt, either to avoid or to limit the evils likely, in his opinion, to occur in consequence of those misfortunes. One of the measures suggested by my right hon. friend was, that her Majesty's servants should recommend to her Majesty an Order in Council to suspend the operation of the existing Corn Law, so as to open the ports for the admission of corn duty free. My lords, it is not necessary that I should discuss the motives stated, or the grounds upon which this recommendation was founded; but, however, I was one of those who considered this measure not necessary to be adopted at that time. I considered that the misfortune that had occurred, and which undoubtedly had the effect of depriving millions, I may say, of a large part of the provision made for their food for the year—that the misfortune was not exactly a deficiency of food. Millions, it is true, had been deprived of their food, but still there was no deficiency of food according to all accounts—no deficiency of food in

the country. That which was required, in my opinion, was, that arrangements should be made, as had been made therefore, for finding the means of employment (hear, hear), and for finding the means of rewarding them for their employment, and giving them food (hear, hear). My lords, besides, it appeared to me that in the provisions of the existing Corn Law, if it was desirable that the ports should be opened, the provisions of that law itself would provide for that measure (hear, hear, from the Duke of Richmond). As soon as ever the price of any particular article of grain should rise and reach to such an amount as it would appear there was not sufficient for the wants of the country, the law has provided that such grain should be admitted at a nominal duty. Under these circumstances, it appeared to me to be unnecessary to suspend the law; and upon that ground I was one of those who certainly objected to that proposition. At the same time, and I was most anxious for it, the Government unanimously proceeded to adopt all the measures to form a commission in Ireland, and to instruct that commission with regard to the measures to be adopted for giving employment to the people, for procuring food for them in ordinary payment of that employment, and all those measures which upon former occasions had been found so beneficial and so effectual. My lords, I believe that all these measures have been adopted. They are not new to the public servants of this country; they have been effectually adopted; and it is to be hoped that the great inconvenience apprehended as the result of this misfortune will be avoided. My lords, in the course of the discussions upon this measure, it was certainly intimated that the suspension of the Corn Law must render the renewal of it very difficult; and it was certainly intimated that it might be necessary to make an essential alteration of it. Subsequently, my lords, when the instructions were agreed upon to be given to these commissions established in Ireland, as I before stated to your lordships, my right hon. friend intimated his opinion of the absolute necessity of making an essential alteration in the Corn Law. I believe everybody admitted that some alteration was necessary—that an alteration upon certain points was necessary. I think there is no doubt about that. That was admitted by all (hear, hear). But in the opinion of my right hon. friend it was necessary to make an essential alteration in the existing Corn Law. Many members of the Cabinet objected to the suggested alterations, and there was a strong difference of opinion upon the subject. As for my part, my lords, I certainly was of opinion that it was desirable to avoid making any alteration—any essential alteration—in the Corn Law; but, my lords, I confess that in my individual position, I considered a union of opinion in the Cabinet as essential, upon account of the safety of the Government itself. Having served England now for above fifty years, in high public stations, I consider it my duty, upon all occasions, to endeavour to promote its service; and I did every thing in my power to reconcile the differences of opinion among my colleagues, and to preserve in union a Government which enjoyed the confidence of the Sovereign, of the public, which has served the public so steadily, and enjoyed the confidence of both Houses of Parliament. I considered it my duty to make every effort to preserve union in the Cabinet, to reconcile differences of opinion, as the best service I could render to the Government in the circumstances in which I was placed, and in which the Cabinet was placed upon this subject. My lords, unfortunately in these efforts I did not succeed; and the result was a determination upon the part of my right honourable friend that he would submit to her Majesty the resignation of his office, and that he would recommend to her Majesty to endeavour to form another Government. My lords, this course was adopted after a discussion whether it was most advisable that he should come down to Parliament and make his proposition for an alteration in the Corn Law, having a divided Cabinet, in which the majority were against the proposition, or whether it was not best, and most for the interest and convenience of her Majesty, that he should proceed at once and intimate to her the position in which he stood, and express his desire that her Majesty would permit him to resign his office, and that her Majesty would form another Government. That course was discussed. I certainly was one who thought it was desirable he should resign his office before going to Parliament with a divided Cabinet. I believe that all the members of the Cabinet were of the same opinion. I was of that opinion, and I know others were; and accordingly my right honourable friend took that course; he waited upon her Majesty, informed her of the situation in which he found himself, and recommended to her Majesty to form another administration. Her Majesty sent for a noble lord, and that noble lord, I understand—indeed I know did make an endeavour to form an administration. That endeavour did not succeed. Her Majesty then thought proper to write to my right hon. friend, to desire him to resume his situation, which he still held, until another administration was formed. My right hon. friend wrote to me—I was in the country at the time—and informed me he had been sent for, and that her Majesty having desired him to resume his situation, he had determined, happen what might, if alone, he would enable her Majesty, as her Minister, to meet her Parliament. My lords, I highly applauded the course taken by my right hon. friend on that occasion; and I determined that I, for one, would stand by him (hear, hear, and laughter). I did so because I felt it to be my duty to the Crown to endeavour to be of service; and I did think the formation of a Government, in which her Majesty would have confidence, was of infinitely greater importance than any opinion of any individual on the Corn Law or any other law (laughter). My lords, that moment my right hon. friend wrote to me, and desired me to attend a meeting of the Cabinet that evening, which I did. I applauded the conduct of my right honourable friend. I was delighted with it. It was precisely the course which I would have followed myself under similar circumstances, and I accordingly determined that I would stand by him. My lords, at the same time that I did this I knew well the position in which my right honourable friend stood in relation to the Corn Law. I knew well, that in consequence of his having resigned his office into her Majesty's hands, because he could not prevail upon his Cabinet to support him in the material alteration of the Corn Law which he considered necessary, those who were employed to form a Government must have had a knowledge of the particular circumstances under which my right honourable friend had resumed his office, and, my lords, how could my right honourable friend, under these circumstances, go into the House of Commons and again defend the Corn Laws, as he had done only in the preceding July (loud cries of hear, hear, from the cross benches)? How could he go into Parliament and defend the Corn Law against those gentlemen who were informed that his opinions on the subject had been altered, and who,

of course, would have reproached him with a fresh alteration of opinion in going down to support the existing law? I knew well, therefore, that when I told my right honourable friend that, I would stand by him in the resumption of his Government, that in doing so I must be a party in the proposition for the material alteration of the Corn Law. It could not be otherwise. I knew it. When I did it I knew it (hear). Thus, my lords, so far I have accounted for my own conduct. And, my lords, I wish your lordships would have so far confidence in the position in which I stand, as to rest assured for this evening that the proposition of my right honourable friend, although it will involve a material alteration of the Corn Law, will be a proposition satisfactory to the country, satisfactory to the friends of my right honourable friend, and one which will give such advantages to the landed interests, as the landed interests have a right to expect in the general arrangements of the country (hear, hear). My lords, my right hon. friend is himself a great landed proprietor. His pursuits are those of agriculture; he is related in friendship and in association with many of your lordships, and it cannot be supposed that under such circumstances he would betray the interests of a body with which he is so united, and which possesses so great a stake in this country (hear). No, my lords, I venture to predict that your lordships will be deceived when you hear what the proposition is which my right hon. friend has to bring forward, and which will be made known in the course of a very few days, and your lordships will then see whether or not he has betrayed his duty in recommending such a measure to you. But, at all events, whatever that information may be, I say that, situated as I am in this country, rewarded as I have been by the Sovereign and people of England, I could not refuse to serve her Majesty in assisting to form a Government when I was called upon, to enable her Majesty to meet her Parliament, in order to carry on the business of the country. On that ground, as it appears from my statement now to you, I claim from your lordships an acquiescence in the principle which I lay down, namely, that I positively could not refuse serving my Sovereign when called upon to do so (hear, hear). My lords, I have no doubt when these measures come to be laid before you that they will give satisfaction to your lordships, neither have I any doubt but that they will meet with general approbation from the country (hear, hear).

On the Duke of Buckingham expressing his regret that the Duke of Wellington should have become a member of a Free Trade Government, the noble Duke exclaimed, that he did not know what a Free Trade Government meant! The Earl of Radnor thus criticised the conduct of the Government:

The Earl of RADNOR could not help observing that there was one question which he was surprised had not been asked by any person during the present explanations. The question he alluded to was, what measures and precautions had been taken to avoid or obviate the calamity alluded to by the noble duke (hear, hear). The noble duke, in the course of his speech, said that many millions would be deprived of their food in consequence of the disease of the potato crop. They all knew that the alarm on the subject was so great, that it was known that the First Lord of the Treasury, so far back as the end of October, made a proposition to the Cabinet to issue an order in council for the opening of the ports. Divers Cabinet meetings were held to consider this subject, as was known to the public, for it was so stated in another place; and all these Cabinet meetings separated without coming to any other determination than to issue a commission to inquire into the state of the potato crop in Ireland. All, therefore, that was done tended to excite alarm throughout the country. It did excite such alarm and apprehension. The Cabinet separated on the 6th of November, and did not come together again until the 25th. This appeared to him to be rather an extraordinary proceeding at a period when the country was under a well-grounded apprehension of famine. Was it not, he would ask, extraordinary that the Government should, at such a period, separate without doing anything to relieve the apprehensions of the country, or to obviate the danger which threatened? The Cabinet met again on the 25th of November. After some meetings it came to no determination, and they were told that this arose from the circumstance that the noble lord, the member for the City of London, had published a letter, in which he said that he thought that something should at once be done. The majority of the Cabinet then declared that they would not do anything, however they had been told that they ought to do something. This did not appear to him to be a rational proceeding (hear, hear). It looked very like the act of a spoiled child, who said, "Oh, you tell me that I should do such and such a thing; I therefore will not do it." He wanted to know what they had really been about. The apprehension of the effect of the failure of the potato crop existed on Oct. 31, and it was still felt at the present moment, according to the statements in the papers. Something had been said in ridicule of the failure of the potato crop, but the right hon. gentleman at the head of the Government, only on Friday last, said, do not talk in a tone of ridicule about rotten potatoes, for you will find it to be no joke if you wait two months. From October, however, they had waited three months; and from everything that had fallen from the noble duke, it appeared that nothing had been done, although every alarm had been excited. It appeared that the cabinet met again and again, came to no determination, quarrelled amongst themselves, and separated, leaving everything alone. The noble duke had told them that millions were deprived of a large portion of their customary food; now every one knew that potatoes constituted a large proportion of the food of the people of Ireland. As for the proposed alteration in the Corn Laws, he feared much, after what had fallen from the noble duke, that it would not be of such a nature as he could approve of. With respect to an observation made by his noble friend the noble marquis, he (the Earl of Radnor), for one, did not know and could not understand what were the burdens that fell peculiarly on the landed interest, and for which compensation should be made to them. He trusted that nothing of this kind would be acceded to without the strictest inquiry, and if this was instituted he doubted very much whether any case could be made out.

The measures which, according to the Duke of Wellington, were to give satisfaction to both the House of Lords and the country, were stated by Sir Robert Peel on Tuesday evening.

On that afternoon, the scene outside the House of Commons, and within its walls, was animating and ex-

citing. The House was crowded, both by members and strangers. Amongst the latter were a large number of peers, all anxious to hear the statement of the Prime Minister; but the most remarkable visitant was his Royal Highness PRINCE ALBERT. The Prince was accompanied by the Earl of Jersey, who is Master of the Horse, and whose eldest son, Lord Villiers, member for Cirencester, is married to Sir Robert Peel's eldest daughter. His Royal Highness, the Duke of Cambridge, uncle of the Queen, sat beside the Prince; and the party remained during the three hours and a half which were occupied by Sir R. Peel's speech; they paid great attention to its statements, and left the House the moment the First Lord of the Treasury sat down. There was nothing, however, in the entry or the presence of the Prince which marked out the attendance of his Royal Highness as different from that of any private gentleman who might desire to witness the debates of the House of Commons. So far, therefore, this was constitutionally correct; and it is against constitutional etiquette to allude to the opinions of the Sovereign on any matter under the deliberation of Parliament. Still, when it is considered that the rights of the people are opposed by a wealthy and powerful aristocracy, it is gratifying to know that the QUEEN is, from a careful study of the writings and publications of the advocates of Free Trade, a most decided advocate of commercial freedom; and so far as she is concerned, the cause will receive her energetic, anxious, and earnest support, consistently with that decorum which it is necessary for the Crown to observe.

Sir Robert Peel's speech occupied, as we have stated, nearly three hours and a half in delivering. Throughout, scarcely a cheer hailed it from what used to be the Ministerial benches. All the support he received, in the way of applause, came from the ranks of the Opposition. Though his plan is disfigured by many small blemishes, it was still great enough to stagger the agriculturists; even Mr. Becket Denison, who seconded the address, is stated to have muttered that it was too large for him. The crowning defect of the plan is, that though it provides for the ultimate total repeal of the Corn Law, yet it protracts it for a period of three years, keeping up a subsidiary sliding scale, for which the agriculturists do not care a rush, and which checks the support of the advocates of Free Trade. Stripping Sir Robert Peel's statements of all their rhetoric, and reducing them to naked propositions, the following is what he now proposes to effect:

He proposes the repeal, or the material reduction of all protective duties on manufactured articles; and he calls on the manufacturers cheerfully to submit to this on these grounds—first, that Adam Smith, and other great authorities attribute the origin of the restrictive system to the commercial classes, and they should now show their sincerity in wishing for its removal; and secondly, that by the new tariff, all duties on raw materials have been abolished or mitigated, with the exception of tallow and timber, which are to be added to the list. The duty on Russian tallow is to be reduced from 3s. 2d. to 1s. 6d., but the reduction on timber is to be a gradual one, the nature of which is not to be stated for a few days, as information is still incomplete.

The duty on the coarser fabrics of linen, cotton, and woollen is to be altogether abolished; on the finer, to be reduced from 20 to 10 per cent. The duty on silk manufactures is hereafter not to exceed the *maximum* of 15 per cent.; on ornamental paper hangings, to be reduced from one shilling to twopence the square yard; on foreign carriages, from 20 to 10 per cent.; on foreign candles and soap the reduction is one half; on boot fronts from 3s. 6d. to 1s. 9d., on boots from 1l. 8s. to 14s., on shoes from 14s. to 7s. per dozen pairs, and on straw plait from 7s. 6d. to 5s.

French brandy, Geneva, and other foreign spirits: the duty to be reduced from 22s. 10d. per gallon to 15s.

Retaining his objection to the introduction of slave-grown sugar, Sir Robert Peel proposes to strike off 3s. 6d. from the differential duty on foreign free grown, believing that our colonies can bear increased competition. Thus, foreign free-grown Muscovado will be reduced from 9s. 4d. to 5s. 10d., and clayed from 11s. 10d. to 8s.

Agriculture: Indian corn and buckwheat to be admitted duty free. This is a boon to the agriculturists, Sir Robert Peel pointing out that beautiful dispensation of Providence, by which manure is rendered the fertiliser of the soil; while the rising price of rape and linseed justify the free introduction of nutritious food for fattening cattle.

Butter and Cheese: the duties to be reduced by one-half; thus, on butter from 1l. to 10s., and on cheese from 10s. to 5s. The duty on foreign hops, which, by the tariff of 1842, was reduced to 4l. 10s., is to be still further reduced to 2l. 10s. Provisions, as fresh and salted meat, pork, and vegetables, duty free.

The duty on live animals, fixed by the new tariff, is to be abolished, and foreign cattle are to come in duty free.

CORN: in lieu of the present sliding scale, the following to be substituted:

When the average price of wheat is 48s., the duty to be 10s., the duty falling by one shilling with every shilling of rise in price, till on reaching 53s., the duty is to be a fixed one of 4s.

This mitigated scale is to last for three years; and, by a

positive enactment, to disappear on the 1st of February, 1849, leaving for the future only a nominal rate of duty.

By this new scale, foreign wheat, which at present prices pays a duty of 16s., will only pay 4s.; and keeping the ratio between wheat and other grain, oats, barley, &c., will be admitted at a nominal rate.

All British colonial wheat and flour to be forthwith admitted at a nominal rate of duty.

As a compensation, or rather alleviation for this great change, some local burdens are to be revised, with a view to their economical collection and application.

The highway rates, which are now under the control of 16,000 local functionaries, are to be placed, by union of parishes, &c., under the management of 600; and their applicants more effectually supervised.

The law of settlement to be altered, so as to give every resident of five years in towns a status, and thus save rural districts from a flood of pauperism, thrown upon them in times of commercial and manufacturing revulsion.

Various other charges to be taken off county rates, and placed on the consolidated fund, as expenses of convicted prisoners, of prosecutions, &c., which are to be wholly or partly borne by the State.

The State to encourage agriculture by lending money, at a moderate rate of interest, on adequate security, for the drainage and other improvement of estates. The newly-constituted board for the inclosure of commons, and the Exchequer bill commissioners, to be the machinery for this purpose.

In the speech in which Sir Robert Peel made these propositions, he illustrated his object in various ways, and enforced it by different arguments.

We have, however, given the fullest report of his speech in the Supplement to THE LEAGUE; and must, therefore, refer our readers to that portion of the paper for these particulars.

A debate of some length ensued after Sir Robert Peel sat down; and it was arranged, chiefly on the suggestion of Mr. Stafford O'Brien, who asked for time, that the debate on Sir Robert Peel's propositions should be postponed till Monday, the 9th of February. But the more ardent agriculturists were not to be balked. Mr. LIDDELL, one of the members for North Durham, and son of Lord Ravensworth, got up, and, though he has hitherto shown himself a tolerably pliable Ministerialist, broke out in denunciation of Sir Robert Peel. The House, however, paid little attention to a speech evidently prepared before the orator heard the plans of the Prime Minister. Honourable members were eagerly engaged in conversation, and the voice of Mr. Liddell was heard with difficulty above the hubbub. Still, his opposition is indicative of the degree and extent of opposition which Sir Robert Peel will encounter from those who were once his political friends and supporters.

The Earl of March, eldest son of the Duke of Richmond, spoke out in a more rabid spirit. He assured Sir Robert Peel that his measures would receive his "most strenuous, violent, and unceasing opposition!" The word "violent" caused a loud burst of laughter. But this scion of the house of Lennox was not satisfied with this. He demanded from Mr. Sydney Herbert, the Secretary of War, and a member of the Cabinet, why he had abandoned the cause of protection, and how he could explain his conduct to his constituents of South Wiltshire.

Mr. Sydney Herbert instantly rose; and, it must be admitted, that in personal appearance, style, and *favour* with the House, he has a great advantage over the Earl of March. He is young, tall, handsome; his style of address and of speaking have an easy, natural, unaffected grace, which conveys the impression, not of great intellectual power, but of that true gentlemanly spirit and feeling which possess such fascination for every Englishman, no matter what may be his politics. Then Mr. Sydney Herbert is half brother and heir apparent to the Earl of Pembroke; in his own right he has large landed property, and is, withal, a generous holder of the powers which Nature and Providence have placed in his hands. So, when he assured the House that, at the proper time, he would be able amply to vindicate his "disinterestedness," his honour, and his faith, in giving a hearty and honest support to Sir Robert Peel's measures, a burst of cheering from both sides of the House indicated the spirit in which his defence was received.

But, grave as was the occasion; deep as *ought* to have been the interest felt; the night did not pass without an exhibition of buffoonery, as if to convince the House that the despairing agriculturists could afford to die in a fit of laughter. The redoubtable Colonel Sibthorp rose, and, with stolid gravity, informed the House that he had received a letter, marked "private and confidential," but which, nevertheless, he would read *pro bono publico*. This letter was one purporting to come from the Anti-Corn-Law League, inviting him, as a FREE TRADER, to secure a freehold qualification for Surrey! The horror of the gallant Colonel was ludicrously rich. But a more startling, striking, and amusing incident occurred.

All of a sudden, Sir John Tyrrell appeared at the table, opposite to Sir Robert Peel, as if he had installed himself leader of her Majesty's Opposition. The effect of the apparition was magical. Roars of laughter welcomed the droll, sturdy, consistent champion and representative of the "agricultural mind," who proceeded gravely to tell the Prime Minister that "he felt much as a soldier might have been imagined to feel in the Peninsular war, if the Duke of Wellington and a great part of his staff had gone over to Marshal Soult (great laughter). The right honourable baronet in his speech from the throne (laughter)—he meant the Royal Speech—and when he spoke of the Royal Speech he was reminded of what a farmer said to him yesterday, when he

was out hunting (laughter). He said that Sir Robert Peel would only pull in front; he would neither go in the shafts nor in the middle; and if the country was not prepared to receive his dictum, he would do his best to force his measures. His (Sir J. Tyrrell's) complaint was that the right honourable baronet had not, by an appeal to the country, placed those who followed him in the same position they were in before. He then called the Government "the Potato Peel Government," and accused the Prime Minister of compromising, not with the agriculturists, but with the Anti-Corn Law League.

Ultimately, the debate was adjourned till Monday, the 9th of February.

On Thursday night, a rambling debate was originated by the Duke of Richmond, in the House of Lords. He accused the Anti-Corn Law League of systematic bribery and interference with elections; to which accusations Lord Kinnaird replied with much spirit, owning himself a member of the League. The noble lord, while defending the League, said he would not, of course, make himself responsible for the language of every individual member of the League; and presumed that the Duke of Richmond would not make himself responsible for every sentiment uttered at Protection meetings. But the Duke of Richmond,—who is certainly not a coward, if he be not a wise man, and who is in the habit of constantly reminding people that at Waterloo he received a bullet through some part of his body—bravely and chivalrously declared that he would take upon himself the responsibility of every sentiment uttered at every meeting of every Protectionist Society! On this Lord Kinnaird reminded the very gallant Duke that, in that case, he must make himself responsible for much that was utterly unchristian, unkind, and absurd.

This short debate, however, was rendered remarkable by a declaration of opinion from Earl Grey on the Ministerial policy. The noble earl, as Lord Howick, constantly gave a bold, unhesitating support, in the House of Commons, to the motions of Mr. Villiers and Mr. Cobden; and now, as a peer of Parliament, he is as unhesitating as ever. As a landowner, he said, the only portion of the Ministerial measure of which he was afraid, was the three years of transition. This modified temporary sliding scale was a mere mockery of protection. He was not afraid of competition in agriculture; and he wished to be exposed to it at once. But the transition state would render nugatory all satisfactory arrangements between landlord and tenant; while, instead of at once opening the ports, at a time when all foreign stocks were low, they were building up an obstructing dyke which, for three years, would more or less exclude foreign importation; and then, after a three years' preparation, suddenly let it in as a flood. He also ridiculed the "compensating" portion of the Ministerial scheme, as utterly unworthy of association with so great an experiment as the removal of all protection.

Lord Ashburton admitted that the doctrines of Free Trade were the doctrines of common sense; but thought the country was in too artificial a state to bear the application of common sense! Lord Ashburton's mind possesses a very peculiar quality of "judicial imbecility." Throughout his long life he would never have made himself up on any public question, had it not been for the external weight of his "breeches pocket." When he was Mr. Baring, a member of the House of Commons, and the head of one of the greatest mercantile firms in the world, the weight of his breeches pocket inclined him to Free Trade: and accordingly, in 1815, he presented the well-known petition of the merchants of London, in which the doctrines of Free Trade are laid down in the most lucid manner. But now that he is a peer and a landowner, he doubts, and doubts, and doubts, if this country can bear the application of the principle of common sense!

In the House of Commons, the debate of Thursday night turned on the Ten Hours' Bill; which Lord Ashley has once more got leave to introduce. Sir James Graham, in assenting to its introduction, expressed himself doubtful whether or not capital and labour could bear any farther interference; and hoped that the noble lord would not ask for a decision on its merits, until the higher and more important question of the laws which regulate the importation of food had been disposed of. After some discussion, leave was given to bring in the bill.

IMPORTANT DECISION IN THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, IN FAVOUR OF THE LEGALITY OF THE NEW QUALIFICATION VOTES.

On Thursday, Lord Chief Justice Tindal delivered judgment in those cases bearing upon 7 and 8 of William III., commonly called the Splitting Act. The opinion of the Court was, where the conveyances were *bona fide*, the votes were valid and good. His lordship said he saw nothing improper in this mode of enfranchisement, but it appeared to him a VERY LAUDABLE ACT ON THE PART OF THE PEOPLE OF A FREE COUNTRY. The judgment was read, and occupied more than an hour in the delivery. We regret that we cannot this week give a full report of this important judgment, but shall do so in our next number.

REJOICINGS.—The Conservatives of Preston did not ring the bells on the receipt of the Queen's speech. How is this?—*Preston Guardian*.

SIR ROBERT PEELE AND FREE TRADE.

(From The Times.)

The chief characteristic of the Premier's plan is its elaborate attempt at equalisation. It embraces every class, and touches every article. That, of course, is a circumstance which ought to be taken into account previous to any positive judgment on the plan; for we ought always to know what is intended. Sir Robert Peel intends to deal equal justice and equal protection to all parties, town and country, great and small. He has himself been the centre of universal solicitation, and now every one of his fellow-countrymen, not to say every member of the whole human family, may feel himself the object of special solicitude. So careful and expansive a work is likely to run into minutiae, and betray an unostentatious equilibrium. Such is undoubtedly the case with Sir Robert Peel's third new tariff. The balance is excessive. As in old-fashioned gardens, tower answers to tower, walk to walk, tree to tree, urn to urn, so in this scheme every interest shows a parallel series of modifications. It is a diminished protection pervading all ranks and conditions of men. We are all let down a peg lower. Everybody must console himself for the diminution of his own status by looking at every man and thing in the universe—i. e., in Sir Robert Peel's tariff. He will see that they are let down as well as himself, and though he has suffered an absolute curtailment, yet comparatively he is much where he was before, and so much the better for the general reduction. To construct so vast and complicated a system is no small proof of courage; but it demands equal courage to criticise. We must count up the sum of a hundred protections before we venture to pronounce our own insufficient. Some people would have preferred a simpler fabric; but simplicity was not the Premier's object, any more than it is the object of those old cathedral clocks on the Continent, which tell not only the time of the day, but the time of earth, sea, and sky, sun, moon, and stars, the time of human affairs, and of everything that goes, or can be imagined to go. The Premier's scheme is a microcosm of commerce and finance. Like as in a Gothic building, its multiplicity of parts and exactness of proportion are as much its merits as the greatness of the whole.

The first fear that suggests itself is, that so vast and minute an adjustment is above the powers of mortal man. It is really impossible to apprehend all the conditions necessary to the perfect unanimity of the change. One of the Bridgewater treatises enumerated, we think, twenty-two conditions of the inanimate universe, which, arbitrary as they might be, were yet all necessary to the actual constitution of man. He could not have been other than what he is without a change in the whole. Now, it would require an unusual degree of presumption to specify all the changes necessary to make man, for example, ten times as big and as strong as he is. Yet that attempt is not so very unlike Sir Robert Peel's "equitable adjustment."

The agriculturist expects a dreadful downfall in the price of his corn, or that if he has a short crop he will not now enjoy the natural compensation of a high price. Let us see the multifarious equivalent which the watchful Premier has provided for him. He is to save ten or fifteen per cent. in the material of the clothes worn by himself, his family, his servants, and his labourers. If he has not a dairy of his own, he will gain by the reduction on butter and cheese. He will pay a trifle less for his sugar, his rice, his brandy, his soap and candles, and 50 other little things. If he does not get a cheap gig from Brussels, or a drawing-room paper from Paris, he may still combine economy and taste in a French tea-tray and tea-service. Whether the labourer is likely to benefit by these latter reductions, we will leave his patron, the landowner, to decide. The farmer, then, is to get his clover seed and his rape seed and his oil cake a good deal cheaper; and he has the option of cheap Indian corn, "rice feed," and we know not what other nutritious delicacies for his "beasts" or his pigs. If he has a family, his daughters will get their millinery from Paris without the alternative of ruin or smuggling. His roads are to be better and cheaper. When the disorderlies of his parish steal his poultry, or rob his potato bed, they will be prosecuted wholly at the national charge, their twelve-months' keep in prison will be no addition to the rates. The nation will help to pay the doctor's bill for the parish, and the schoolmaster's salary for the union children, besides some other small matters. What is more important than all, the farmer need not be under daily apprehension of such and such a man and his family falling back on his parish. They've been five years in the town, and are safe. Nor is it necessary to explain how this comfortable security may be made the object of prospective arrangements.

All this is on the farmer's own supposition. We think that neither his loss nor his equivalents will be considerable. The more probable result is, that the whole scale of prices will be tolerably sustained; and as for the local taxation, after all, prosecutions and gaols and outcast paupers are not a very large item of agricultural expense. Still the farmer must feel that he is in careful hands. He is the tender object of a thousand anxious cares and delicate attentions. He is propped up on every side that he shall not fall, and shielded on every side that the blasts of Heaven shall not blow upon him. We have frequently assured him that his fears are visionary; that the avalanche of corn which is to overwhelm him is not yet housed, or grown, or in the earliest stage of preparation. But if the catastrophe should come, then he will have his consolations. "If the sky should fall," then, as the ancient proverb says, "he will catch larks."

Nor is it likely that any interest, either great or small, to adopt a new distinction, will suffer more than the farmer by the new tariff. The manufacturers want no protection for those articles of general use which it seems the special vocation of the Anglo-Saxon race to make for the world, and which are the great basis of our national wealth and power. In the more common fabrics, whether of cotton, linen, wool, or silk, we beat our neighbours, far and near, in every open market, and *ad fortiori* in our own. As for the higher productions of taste and skill, we shall never compete effectually till we have learnt to compete in the school of fair and close competition. English art and enterprise will not receive any permanent injury from the importation of foreign and more elegant fabrics and patterns, and the consequent spread of fashion and refinement of taste.

The "small" interests, the thousand and one male and female handicrafts, may safely rely on their present amount of prosperity, such as it is. The danger of foreign competition is balanced by the reduced cost of materials. The shoemaker and the glove-maker compete with the foreigner on more equal terms. The very "small" interests, however, the hand-loom weavers, the stockings, the seamstresses, and such other helpless people, cannot be relieved by special

laws, and are the very last persons to benefit by protection. It is a mistake to treat them as substantial and integral classes. They are rather the unfortunate, the incapable, the unskilled, and perhaps the intractable portions of society, such as society always will contain, and always will deposit in the depth of wretchedness and toil. To "protect" them by legislative enactments is to protect, to multiply, to perpetuate misery. Their only chance is to be absorbed in higher and more productive occupations; and the best aid the State can render them is to give those higher and more productive occupations a securer footing and an ampler scope. Indeed, whatever common cause some deluded agriculturists may attempt to make with other classes in favour of protection, they will not easily persuade them that the present measure is not an immense and universal relief.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

We are glad to be able to state that the opinions which we expressed of Sir Robert Peel's plan, immediately upon its being propounded, are identical with those which, upon communication, are found to prevail amongst the members of the Liberal party. Those defects of the scheme to which we adverted are fully felt, and it will be perfectly right to take any opportunity that may present itself of getting rid of them, provided that the attempt to do so involves no danger to the great measure of abolition itself. We are strongly convinced that it would have been wiser and better, and in a merely political point of view quite as safe, for Sir Robert Peel to have proposed at once the establishment of a Free Trade in corn, without the petty clogs and conditions which he has chosen to attach to it; and as discussion develops antagonist opinions, we think it may yet become manifest, even to himself, that he has only marred the gracious aspect of a noble reform, by contrivances which will be either wholly inoperative, or be very slightly felt, and which in any case neither will be, nor deserve to be, much valued by anybody. But whatever success may attend efforts to amend the plan, and whatever shape its details may assume when the time comes for the final struggle, there can be but one opinion amongst Free Traders as to the importance of combining and putting forth their whole strength to ensure the success of a measure which virtually establishes a Free Trade in corn at once, and provides for the speedy removal of every, even nominal, restriction, of which the temporary existence may be suffered.

With regard to the immediate proceedings of the House of Commons, though the country can badly afford to wait for the legislative realisation of principles which public opinion, the unanimous convictions of all our leading statesmen, and pressing national exigencies demand to have placed on the statute-book with the least possible loss of time, we are not disposed to find fault with the Premier's concession to the application for postponement made on Tuesday night. We can only express our wish that the interval thus given will be wisely employed. We trust that our landlords will avail themselves of this period of leisure, to take a calm and prudent survey of their position, resources, responsibilities, and permanent interests. They will not, we hope, merely look to their own powers, real or supposed, of temporary obstruction, but to the consequences of a possibly successful exercise of those powers. They must not imagine that the great question now before Parliament and the country can, by any conceivable amount of violence of protectionist agitation, be put back to where it was, one year, one month, or one week ago. The whole collective statesmanship of the empire has now, once for all, committed itself in this struggle—has definitively sanctioned and legitimated the national demand for commercial freedom—and the only possible consequence of resistance can be an extremely brief postponement of an inevitable result, purchased at the cost of an exasperating and disorganising war of classes.

We are sure that all prudent and sober-minded protectionists must see this. We trust that no timidity, indolence, or false shame will prevent them from strenuously using their influence to counteract the suggestions of the more hasty and passionate members of their party. It must be quite superfluous for us to tell such of the landlords as are capable of watching the signs of opinion, that the adjustment now proposed by Sir Robert Peel is the most favourable to their pretensions that any statesman could venture to offer with the slightest prospect of its being accepted by the country. It falls short of the measures of public demands and expectations. It is not exactly what the country looked for. It will, we cannot doubt, be very generally regarded as, on the whole and under all circumstances, a satisfactory settlement; but it will only be so regarded because it is a settlement, offered by a Minister who is presumed to have the power of giving immediate effect to his purposes. We are not at all sure that the popular feeling on the matter will go much beyond contented and pleased acquiescence. The satisfaction will, we should hope, be nearly universal; but we are afraid that any enthusiasm on the subject will be very partial. Let any serious doubt be thrown on Sir Robert Peel's power to give immediate legislative reality to the scheme of adjustment proposed last night, and we may look for a sudden and vast accession, both of force and of bitterness, to the best organised and most formidable popular movement that this country has ever seen. To say that the defeat of Sir Robert Peel's measure would involve the certain loss of that temporary and qualified protection which it offers to the agriculturists, would be little to the purpose; for we believe all agricultural interests would be the better without this apparent boon. But it would involve evils in the presence of which all the gains of protection, as estimated by the most imaginative agricultural arithmetic, become utterly insignificant. We could then look only for an indefinite extension and continuance of agitation which, under the influence of such an irritant, would merge its merely commercial and industrial character in an organised effort to alter the present distribution of political and social power.

All good men must deprecate such a result; all thoughtful men must see it to be inevitable under the circumstances we have supposed. We trust we do not presume too far on the prudence and patriotism of English landlords, in expressing the hope that a large and influential portion of them will use their utmost exertions to avert the disasters consequent on a re-opening of this question now. The present interval for consideration and reflection will, we fervently hope, be spent, by very many of those to whom the agricultural community look for counsel and guidance, not in fanning the flame of a hopeless agitation, but in smoothing and facilitating a settlement which will terminate an anxious political question; close a harassing social controversy; heal an exasperating social quarrel; and enable the country to meet, as calmly and hopefully as may be, a grave public calamity that has long been rapidly approaching, and may soon be present with us in all its strength and bitterness.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

While we congratulate our readers on the progress of the subscriptions to the Quarter of a Million Fund, and on the effect that they have obviously produced without and within the walls of Parliament, we must impress upon them the necessity of not relaxing in their exertions, now that the crisis of our great struggle has arrived. The victory is not yet won; all the resources, and all the energies of the League, will be required, before complete success can be achieved. A dissolution of Parliament appears to be imminent; and the battle of Free Trade will have to be fought inch by inch on the hustings. We are anxious to urge on our friends the importance, not only of subscribing freely, but of subscribing early. The manifestation of strength will often decide the course of the wavering and the doubtful; but, above all, our subscriptions are the best proof that we are thoroughly in earnest, and that we shall not cease to labour until every link of the fetters imposed on British industry is struck off, and every restriction on the supply of food to the people completely annihilated.

PRESTON.

From an announcement in another column, it will be seen that the subscription in aid of the League fund has been commenced in this town, in a very spirited manner.—*Preston Chronicle*, Jan. 24.

In the column referred to, the following liberal subscriptions are recorded, and others solicited:

	£	s.	d.
Thomas Miller	500	0	0
George Smith	225	0	0
John Hawkins	250	0	0
William Eccles, Bamber Bridge	250	0	0
Henry Miller	200	0	0
Thomas Ainsworth	200	0	0
J W Dall and Son, Samesbury	100	0	0
John Evans, Chipping	50	0	0
Livesey & Son, <i>Preston Guardian</i>	50	0	0
Robert Ascroft	50	0	0
Michael Satterthwaite	50	0	0
Richard Dixon	50	0	0
G H	50	0	0
J R	50	0	0
John Heaton	50	0	0
Napier and Goodair	50	0	0
Charles Wilson	25	0	0
— Fletcher, Leyland	25	0	0
Joseph Haslam and Sons	25	0	0
Y Z	20	0	0

DURHAM AND NORTHUMBERLAND.

The Jarro Chemical Company have subscribed 50l. to the Quarter of a Million League Fund; H. E. F. (per Mr. D. Liddell), 10l. 10s.; Mr. L. Hedley, Villa-place, Mr. Stephen Lowrey, Mr. John Hewitson, Mr. William Wilson, Mr. James Stephen, Mr. Pringle, jun., and Mr. John Potts, (Gateshead) 5l. each.—*Gateshead Observer*, Jan. 24th.

Mr. John Ormston, of Newcastle, has renewed his subscription of 1l. to the League; also the following Free Traders in Sunderland.—William Bell, Esq., Ford House, Mr. W. T. Bell, High-street, Mr. Henry Armstrong, Union Bank, Mr. Thomas Robson, Cumberland-terrace, Mr. Ralph Dauson, High-street, Mr. George Hardcastle, Norfolk-street, and 'A Friend,' Monkwearmouth. Capt. Ganlet, of the brig Dorothy, Sunderland, has subscribed 5s.—*Ibid.* Jan. 24th.

WHITEHAVEN.

Whitehaven—a town which presents a striking instance of the disastrous effects of monopoly—is showing signs of laudable activity in the movement for emancipating trade from the unwholesome operation of prohibitory laws. A meeting is in contemplation in aid of the League Quarter of a Million Fund, and it is expected that the services of Mr. Falvey will be secured for the occasion. As a proof that the inhabitants are by no means deficient in the spirit which has been so nobly displayed in Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, and Glasgow, we may mention that two gentlemen connected with the Anti-Monopoly Association of Whitehaven, collected, in one afternoon's canvass, last week, no less than 200l. With such evidence of the progress of sound principles as this, may we not hope that, assisted by that ancient constitutional weapon, whose efficacy has been so recently discovered, (the creation of 40s. freeholds) our brethren in the west will be at no distant day enabled to throw off the yoke of the domineering house of Lowther?—*Carlisle Journal*, Jan. 24.

DUNDEE.

We have much pleasure in reporting the continued progress of the League Fund subscriptions here. Since our last paper, sums amounting to nearly 500l. have been subscribed. The following is the list:

	Reported in our last,	£2242	12	0
John Brown, merchant	100	0	0	
Kinnmond, Hutton, & Steele, engineers	25	0	0	
A Friend	25	0	0	
Peter Duncan, merchant	20	0	0	
James McGavin, merchant	20	0	0	
W Kirkland and Son, wood merchants	20	0	0	
A Free Trader	10	0	0	
J Paton, jun, merchant	10	0	0	
C Guthrie, Tivbank	10	0	0	
Anti-Monopolist	10	0	0	
— and Muir, farmer	10	0	0	
James Brothers, merchants	10	0	0	
James Russell	10	0	0	
James Houston, merchant	10	0	0	
James Brown, merchant	10	0	0	
Wilson and Aberdeen, machine-makers	10	0	0	

Haddon and Patterson, merchants	20	0	0
John Duncan	10	0	0
W Martin, jun	10	0	0
R A Miller, merchant	10	0	0
W Halley, merchant	10	0	0
C Smith, wright	10	0	0
Edmond Baxter, writer	10	0	0
James Fenwick, shipowner	5	0	0
A Friend (F)	5	0	0
Dr Gray	5	0	0
W Shaw and Son	5	0	0
W Bett	5	0	0
A Shipowner	5	0	0
Baillie Moyes	5	0	0
John Stevenson, dyer	5	0	0
James Miln, merchant	5	0	0
A Free Trader (B)	5	0	0
James Dundas, merchant	5	0	0
James Spankie and Co, merchants	5	0	0
A M'Walter, Reform-street	5	5	0
A Free Trader (I)	5	0	0
James Miller, Bullion	5	0	0
John Cooper, baker	5	0	0
A Friend (I)	5	0	0
A Manufacturer	5	0	0

£2712 17 0

—*Northern Warder*, Jan. 22.

ARBROATH.

The subscriptions in this place to this giant fund have commenced on a scale corresponding to the vast amount required. One gentleman, we believe, of this place, has given 100l., and his example is being followed by others in sums proportionally large. Arbroath is Free Trade to the core; and we doubt not in proportion to its size, that its sum total will not stand lowest on the list.—*Northern Warder*, Jan. 22.

CARLISLE.

W. Marshall, Esq. M.P. for this city, has directed his name to be entered in the Carlisle subscription to the Anti-Corn-Law League Fund of a Quarter of a Million, for the sum of 300l.—*Carlisle Journal*.

LIVERPOOL.

The Liverpool contribution to the Corn Law League, now amounts to nearly 17,000l.: and it is expected that it will exceed 20,000l.

HORSHAM.

A subscription of nearly fifty pounds has already been raised by the friends of Free Trade, towards the above fund.—*Sussex Advertiser*.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "SHEFFIELD INDEPENDENT."

SIR,—A friend of the Anti-Corn-Law League received, on Monday last, a circular, requesting his aid and assistance to the Anti-Corn-Law League Fund. Accordingly he, with another friend, canvassed the little neighbourhood of Loxley, when, in a few hours, they got the sum of 22l. 10s., every shilling of it from working men; one man contributed 2l., and eleven men 1l. each, and the remainder in 10s. and 5s. each. I feel confident that if the country was canvassed in a similar way, there would be many thousand pounds got, that perhaps will not be got if neglected.

Yours respectfully, A FREE TRADER.

Loxley, Jan. 14. P.S. We have not done yet

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Jan. 28, 1846.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

As the regulations of the Post Office require that the Christian Name of the party to whom Post Office Orders are sent should be given in full, subscribers are respectfully requested to procure their Orders in future for GEORGE WILSON, League Offices, Manchester, or ABRAHAM WALTER PAULTON, 67, Fleet-street, London.

*Kershaw, Leese, and Co, High-street, Manchester	200	0	0
*Chadwick, James, Eccles, near do	200	0	0
*Pilkington, Brothers, and Co, Blackburn	200	0	0
*Buckley N and Sons, Carr Hill, near Moseley, Saddle-			
word	100	0	0
*Steiner, F, Hyndham House, near Accrington	100	0	0
*Hyde, Sons, & Sowerby, Dukinfield, nr Manchester	60	0	0
*Mason, Thos and Sons, Ashton-under-Lyne	60	0	0
*Thicknesse, Ralph, Wigan	50	0	0
*Grundy, J and E, Manchester	50	0	0
*Brewis, Sam and Co, 40, Spring Gardens, do	50	0	0
*Langworth, Browne, & Co, Salford	50	0	0
*Hargreaves, Wm, Grange, 199, Shaw-st, Liverpool	40	0	0
*Richardson, Wand Son, 4, Meal-street do	40	0	0
*Johnson, W and Co, Wigan	40	0	0
*Petrie, J and Co, Rochdale	40	0	0
*Smith, B and Sons, Manchester	30	0	0
*Jackson, E and J do	30	0	0
*Walker, John, Stand, near do	20	0	0
*Johnson, H, jun, Staleybridge	20	0	0
Hunter, Thos, Chapel Walks, Manchester	20	0	0
*Hampson, J, solicitor, Norfolk-street, do	20	0	0
*Benson, G and Co, Staleybridge	20	0	0
*Ackroyd, Wm, Altringham, near Manchester	20	0	0
*Potter, J and T, Wigan	20	0	0
Chadwick, James, Rochdale	20	0	0
*Chadwick, Thomas, do	20	0	0
*Darbishire, S D, Brown-street, Manchester	20	0	0
Scarr, Petty, and Co, St Ann's-square, do	20	0	0
Devonport, E D, Capesthorn, near Macclesfield	20	0	0
Dyson, John Fernley, Stockport	20	0	0
*Midgley, James, Rochdale	20	0	0
*Dutton, John, Hull	12	10	0
*Cunliffe, Ellis, 10, Princess-street, Manchester	10	0	0
*Walker, P, Patricroft, near do	10	0	0
*Mason, J, Charlton-pl, Oxford-rd do	10	0	0
*Gill, T and Son, 10, Cross-street do	10	0	0
Turner, J, Godley, near do	10	0	0
Chadwick, J and Co, Rochdale	10	0	0
*Kershaw, J, Glossop, Derbyshire	10	0	0
Gaskell, Holbrook, Patricroft, near Manchester	10	0	0
Grafton, Smith, J do	10	0	0
*Pagnu, Ogden, & Co, ditto	10	0	0
*Openshaw, John, Hope-street, Bury	10	0	0
Peacock, G, Holm's Vale, near Bury	5	0	0
*Wetherall, Aaron, Bank-parade, Salford	5	0	0
*Leigh, Silas, Worsley, near do	5	0	0
Barr and Turnbull, Mill-street, Ancoats, do	5	0	0
*J O, do	5	0	0
*Molnereux, Thos, Kirby-street do	5	0	0
*Webb, T do	5	0	0
*Seel, Sam, Quick, Saddleworth	5	0	0
Pixton, J S, 209, Chester-road, Hulme, Manchester	4	0	0
*Percival, D, King-street do	4	0	0
*Ryder, Wm, Brighton-place, Oxford-road do	4	0	0
Norton, A and Co, Oldham-road do	4	0	0
*King, Jno, Chepstow-street do	2	2	0
*Pollard, J, Quay Side, Newcastle-on-Tyne	2	2	0
*Thompson, James, Wray, near Lancaster	2	2	0
*Pickering, Wm, 37, George-street, Con M, Manchester	2	0	0
*Latham, Wm, Warden House, Newton Heath, do	2	0	0
*Hordern, D, 3, Walton Buildings do	2	0	0
*Taylor, J J, Rev, York-place, Oxford-road do	2	0	0
*H E F, Newcastle-on-tyne do	2	0	0
*Watson, J, 87, Moss-lane, Hulme do	2	0	0
*Blackwell, M, 136, Gt Ormound-st, Hulme, Manchester	2	0	0
*Whitehead, T, Walk, Rochdale	2	0	0
*Cornall, J, Stanley-street, Bury, Lancashire	2	0	0
Cooper, G, Delph, Saddleworth	2	0	0
*J S, Manchester	2	0	0
*Watson, R, 179, Deansgate, Manchester	2	0	0
*Hollis, Wm, Northampton	2	0	0
*Bamber, Thomas, Blackburn	2	0	0
*Hampson, R, Manchester	2	0	0
*Priston, Wm, Atherton-st, Prescott	2	0	0
*Trotter, T, Lydney, Gloucestershire	2	0	0
*Trotter, J, Blakeney, near Newnham, ditto	2	0	0
*Wood, J, 69, Church-street, Huddersfield	2	0	0
*Sneyd, T, Belmont, near Leek, Staffordshire	2	0	0
Gee, J, Melbourne-terrace, Adelphi-street, Salford	2	0	0
Kinross, T, farmer, Dunblane, N.B.	2	0	0
*Jones, E, High-street, Whitchurch, Salop	2	0	0
Marsh, Peter, 6, Scotland-place	2	0	0
Johnson, J B, 67, Scotland-road	2	0	0
*Thomas, Richard, Whitechurch, Salop	2	0	0
*Kershaw, J, Pymrose Hill, Greenacres Moor, nr Oldham	2	0	0
*Hadfield, J, Ashton, near Warrington	2	0	0
*Brook, Wm, Pavement, Todmorden	2	0	0
Brand, W F, Wigan	2	0	0
Brand, R C, do	2	0	0
*Haslam, Roger, St George's-street, Bolton	2	0	0
Towers, T, Greengate, Salford	2	0	0
*Fingle, J, 38, Gull-street, Sheffield	2	0	0
*Shaw, Wm, Dukinfield, near Ashton-under-lyne	2	0	0
*Potts, J, High-street, Gateshead	2	0	0
*Holmes, Wm, Rye Hill, Newcastle-on-Tyne	2	0	0
*Hedley, R, Villa-place do	2	0	0
*Watson, Joshua, jun do	2	0	0
*Hewitson, J, Side do	2	0	0
*Pringle, W S, Collingwood do	2	0	0
Barrow, P, Prescott	2	0	0
*Kilvington, J, Wilton, near Hull	2	0	0
*Harrison, Asa, Drake-street, Rochdale	2	0	0
*Tweddle, Saml do	2	0	0
Cox, S, Birmingham-street, Walsall	2	0	0
Mackinson, Hugh, Knowley-street, Great Bolton	2	0	0
Harwood, John, Deansgate do	2	0	0
Dean, John, Silverwell House do	2	0	0
*Blinkhorn, B, 39, Worcester-st, Hulme, Manchester	2	0	0
*Hampson, R, Chester-street do	2	0	0
*Fox, Richd do do	2	0	0
*Lee, John, King-street do	2	0	0
*Hood, D, 29, Brazen-nose-street do	2	0	0
*Higgin, R, Teneriffe-street, Broughton do	2	0	0
*Woodward, A, 33, Mill-street do	2	0	0
*Jones, Mr, 135, Oxford-road, Con M do	2	0	0
*Wells, Wm, Fountain-street do	2	0	0
*Clegg, W and I, 23, Oxford-street do	2	0	0
*Gray, J, Chester-street, Hulme do	2	0	0
*Young, G, 21, Bloom-street do	2	0	0
*Whitely, James, Medlock-street, Hulme do	2	0	0
*Baker, John, Downing-street do	2	0	0
*Wright, Isaac, 4, Upper Brook-street do	2	0	0
*Wignall, Wm, John-street, Hulme do	2	0	0
*Schofield, J, 42, Moss-lane do	2	0	0
*Dixon, R, Mather-street do	2	0	0
*Castle, James, Dukinfield, near do	2	0	0
*Brook, Mr, 2, Upper Brook-street do	2	0	0
*Francis, Wm, Tatbury-street, Every-street do	2	0	0
*Askew, Wm, Victoria-place, Bury New-road do	2	0	0
*Murray, J, nr Chain Bridge, Low Broughton, do	2	0	0
*Evans, J, 99, Market-street do	2	0	0
*Boden, J, Hilton-street do	2	0	0
*Boden, J, Rowland Hill, Oldham-street do	2	0	0
*Newton, Isaac, 45, Hilton-street do	2	0	0
*Hay, Nish, and M'Kean, Oxford-street do	2	0	0
*Cryer, Hugh, 6, Miller-street do	2	0	0
*Howarth, James, 17, Oxford-street do	2	0	0
*Oldstock, James, 40, Moss-lane, Hulme do	2	0	0
*Yardley, J, Gloucester-place, Hulme do	2	0	0
*Peattie, J, Cryer's-buildings, Butler-street do	2	0	0
*Holland, J, Middleton, near do	2	0	0
*Bowers, T, Post Office, Hollinwood, near do	2	0	0
*Wolstencroft, R, 1, Tirol-place, Cornbrook-			
park, Stretford-road do	2	1	0
Wilcock, Ann, Downing-street do	2	0	10
Middleton, M, Burlington-street do	2	0	10
A Friend, Downing-street do	2	0	5
McMillan, S, 28, do do	2	0	5
Ashurst, J, 20, do do	2	0	5
Hurst, Wm, 10, Oxford-street do	2	0	5
Blackley, D, 29, Clarindon-street do	2	0	5
Sykes, J, 69, Booth-street West do	2	0	5
Sumner, E, Hulme do	2	0	5
Fielden and Whitaker, 78, Gt Jackson-street do	2	0	5
Parkinson, H, 16, Medlock-street do	2	0	5
Kay, Mr, Brook-street do	2	0	5
Chapman, T, Chester-street, Hulme do	2	0	5
Hardy, J do do	2	0	5
Unsworth, J, 9, Chester-road do	2	0	5
Caldwell, J, 95, do do	2	0	5
Fielden, Wm, 183, do do	2	0	5
Hinchcliffe, J, 60, Worcester-street do	2	0	5
Acton, J, 12, Stretford New Road do	2	0	5
Sherrick, Peter, 178, Dean's-gate do	2	0	5
Fenton, J, London Works, Smethwick, near Birmingham	2	0	5
Williamson, J, St Ann's Square do	2	0	4
Cubitt, Wm, Rushmore-road do	2	0	4
Plews, Mrs, Downing-street do	2	0	2
Bunting, Wm do do	2	0	2
Thier, Mr do do	2	0	2
Wilde, Wm, 63, Moss-lane do	2	0	2
Wylde, J R, Brook-street do	2	0	2
Cavannah, J, Hulme, near do	2	0	2
Holt, J, 98, Medlock-street do	2	0	2
Leyden, John, 81, do do	2	0	2
Hulme, Mrs, 178, do do	2	0	2
Walker, W, 171, do do	2	0	2
Walker, Wm, 131, do do	2	0	2
Smith, S, 137, do do	2	0	2
Pitt, T, Dukinfield, near do	2	0	2
Appleyard, Mr, Brooke-street do	2	0	2
Bowden, J, 23, Clarendon-street do	2	0	2

Mellor, G. Chester-street, Hulme, ..	do	0	2	6
Flatcher, Mr ..	do	0	2	6
Goodison, Mr ..	do	0	2	6
Mesham, Mr ..	do	0	2	6
Henton, T. Hardman-street ..	do	0	2	6
Ogden, Mr, 95, Chester-road, Hulme ..	do	0	2	6
Pettries, Miss, 187, ..	do	0	2	6
Cooper, Mr. Chester-street, Hulme ..	do	0	2	6
Spier, J, 168, Medlock-st., ditto ..	do	0	2	6
Goodall, F.T, 20, Medlock-street ..	do	0	2	6
Silverwood, C, 111, ..	do	0	2	6
Owen H, 103, ..	do	0	2	6
Stringfellow, J, 49, ..	do	0	2	6
Sundry Small Sums ..	do	1	16	0

Burton, Daniel and Co. ..	do	20	0	0
*Stone and Kemp ..	do	10	0	0
Chadwick, John Hebuss ..	do	5	0	0
*Mellalieu, Samuel ..	do	2	10	0
Ashworth, John, jun ..	do	2	0	0
Boardman, Robert ..	do	2	0	0
*Hughes, John ..	do	2	0	0
*Thorneley, John, draper ..	do	1	1	0
Lees, W S ..	do	1	0	0
*Brown, E K ..	do	1	0	0
Rushton, John ..	do	1	0	0
Kemp, Clement ..	do	1	0	0
*Wolstencroft, Geo, Blackley ..	do	1	0	0
*Mellalieu, H ..	do	1	0	0
*Harrison, James, jun ..	do	1	0	0
Butterworth, Geo ..	do	1	0	0
*Wolstencroft, J, corn dealer ..	do	1	0	0
Heywood, Wm ..	do	1	0	0
*Lancashire, John, Long-street ..	do	1	0	0
Whitehead, John ..	do	1	0	0
Wolstencroft, Samuel ..	do	0	10	0
Mellalieu, R ..	do	0	10	0
Lawton, Wm ..	do	0	10	0
"A Friend" ..	do	0	10	0
Booth, John ..	do	0	5	0
Longworth, Wm ..	do	0	5	0
Ridings, Wm ..	do	0	5	0
Hill, T ..	do	0	2	6
Whitaker, T ..	do	0	1	0

*Brown, Wm, Chapel-street ..	do	200	0	0
*Thorneley, J D, Brunswick-street ..	do	20	0	0
Wood, Miss E G, Suddbrook Hill ..	do	20	0	0
*Lea, G B & Co, Kidderminster ..	do	12	10	0
*Workmen in the employ of Messrs J and B Walker, Hamilton-lane, Price-street, Birkenhead, Cheshire ..	do	11	9	0
*Cooke, Isaac, 1, Exchange-buildings ..	do	10	0	0
*A Friend to the Anti-Corn-Law League ..	do	10	0	0
Wood, H, Goree, Toxteth Park ..	do	10	0	0
*Hughes and Ronald, 33, Dale-street ..	do	7	10	0
*Gillham, Chas, 101, Lord-street ..	do	5	0	0
*Smith, James, 51, Hope-street ..	do	5	0	0
*Maxwell, J, Much Woolton, near ..	do	5	0	0
*Z ..	do	5	0	0
*Bretherton, E, South John street ..	do	5	0	0
*Seel, James, 31, Frederick-street ..	do	2	2	0
*Crichtley and Deverill, 140, Park-lane ..	do	2	0	0
*Mellor, Miss, 99, Shaw-street ..	do	2	0	0
*McIntyre, P, Dr, 25, Slater-street ..	do	1	1	0
*Barstow, Thomas, 43, Fleet-street ..	do	1	1	0
*Roberts, Wm, 44, Mill-street ..	do	1	1	0
*Tinker, E, 5, Scotland-road ..	do	1	1	0
*Reynier, J, 29, Exchange-alley North ..	do	1	1	0
*Johnson, W, Apothecaries Hall, Birkenhead ..	do	1	1	0

*Shepherd, J, 132, Scotland-road ..	do	1	1	0
*Hutton, J, 39, Grafton-street ..	do	1	0	0
*Rees and Jefferys, 14, Prices-street ..	do	1	0	0
*Barlow, C, 1, Cleveland-square ..	do	1	0	0
Eastwood, E, 5, South-street ..	do	1	0	0
*Seddon, James, 5, Daulby street ..	do	1	0	0
*Hornblower, Francis ..	do	1	0	0
*Edwards, Jos, Duke street ..	do	1	0	0
*Cooban, J, 104, Scotland-road ..	do	1	0	0
*Baylis, Dr, 79, Mount Pleasant ..	do	1	0	0
*Baker, T W, 4, Roe-street ..	do	1	0	0
*Hutchinson, G, 2, Nelson-place, Duke-street, Edge Hill ..	do	1	0	0
*Graham, W H, architect, Birkenhead Cheshire ..	do	1	0	0
*Swann, Wm, 27, Norton street ..	do	1	0	0
*Reid, James, 61, Bold-street ..	do	1	0	0
*Wright, T, 16, Gloucester-street ..	do	1	0	0
*Oldfield, R H, 24, Pleasant-street ..	do	1	0	0
*Kenny, T, 97, Whitechapel ..	do	0	10	0
*Fleming, R, 22, Lime-street ..	do	0	10	0
*Stewart, W, 35, Moorfields ..	do	0	8	0
*Barker and Dobson, 75, Paradise-street ..	do	0	8	0
*Archer, J, 78, Dale-street ..	do	0	5	0
*Baylis, Mrs, 79, Mount Pleasant ..	do	0	5	0
*Clayton, Wm, 71, Whitechapel ..	do	0	4	0
*Perks, Chas, 143, London-road ..	do	0	4	0

Knowles, T ..	do	0	10	0
Webster, P ..	do	0	10	0
Leddra, G ..	do	0	5	0
Johnston, Wm ..	do	0	5	0
Bartley, J ..	do	0	5	0
Whitfield, Janet, Mrs ..	do	0	5	0
Lowe, James ..	do	0	5	0
Hector, P ..	do	0	4	0
Bartley, Geo ..	do	0	2	6
Brownbill, D ..	do	0	2	6
McCarrow, Barnabas ..	do	0	2	6
Reeves, Benjamin ..	do	0	2	6
Robinson, Chas ..	do	0	2	6
Gannon, Edward ..	do	0	2	6
Owen, S ..	do	0	2	6
Glover, Wm ..	do	0	2	6
Roscow, Wm ..	do	0	2	6
*Small Sums subscribed ..	do	0	18	6

Leigh, Ralph, Standish Gate ..	do	5	0	0
Aspinall, Joseph ..	do	5	0	0
Aspinall, John, Wigan Lane ..	do	5	0	0
Park, Wm and Co, Ironforge ..	do	5	0	0
*Alexander, James, Queen-street ..	do	2	0	0
Waddington, R ..	do	2	0	0
*Brown, Michael, Dog and Partridge Inn ..	do	1	0	0
*Fairclough, James, Rodney-street ..	do	1	0	0
*Wall, Thomas, bookseller ..	do	1	0	0
Raniers, Wm ..	do	1	0	0
*Collison, T, pawnbroker ..	do	1	0	0
*Leadbitter, E, Rodney ..	do	1	0	0
*B R ..	do	1	0	0
Acton, Wm, Standishgate ..	do	0	10	0
*Greenwood, Wm, jun, Oxenhope ..	do	4	0	0
*Greenwood, Wm, sen ..	do	1	0	0
*Greenwood, James, Woodlands ..	do	1	0	0
*Pickles, R and Son, Oxenhope ..	do	1	0	0
*Kershaw, Brothers, Leeming ..	do	1	0	0
*Aykroyd, John O, Throstle-st ..	do	0	8	0

*Hays, R, Hazel Grove, near ..	do	10	0	0
*Hays, W H, near ..	do	1	0	0
*Wharmby, Timothy, near ..	do	1	0	0
Hallworth, T, near ..	do	1	0	0
*A Friend ..	do	1	0	0
*Goulden, W T O, Windmill-street ..	do	1	0	0
*Wood, James, jun, Hazel Grove, near ..	do	1	0	0
*Smith, J, sen, Bosden Fold, do ..	do	1	0	0
*Burrows, John, Stockport Moor, do ..	do	1	0	0
*Bottoms, Wm do do ..	do	1	0	0
Gosling, Josiah ..	do	0	10	0
Watkinson, John ..	do	0	5	0
Healey, Rev S ..	do	0	4	0

Barnsley District

*Harvey and Co ..	do	30	0	0
*Kaye, Wm and Son, Clayton West, near ..	do	6	0	0
Huddersfield ..	do	4	0	0
*Russell, James, Nether Holand, near ..	do	4	0	0
*Shepherd, Wm ..	do	4	0	0
*Clark, J, Kersforth Hall ..	do	4	0	0
*Taylor, Wm and Sons, Rodbrook, near ..	do	4	0	0
*Parkinson, J S ..	do	4	0	0
*Canter, J ..	do	4	0	0
*Allatson, Geo ..	do	2	0	0
*Taylor and Park ..	do	2	0	0
*Newman, Edw ..	do	2	0	0
*Shaw, J, Foundry ..	do	2	0	0
*Parker, E, Stairfoot, Commercial News Room ..	do	2	0	0
Parker, Chas, Stairfoot ..	do	2	0	0
*Jackson and Holdham ..	do	2	0	0
*Carmley, J, manufacturer ..	do	2	0	0
*Pigott and Newton, ditto ..	do	2	0	0
*Richardson, T, ditto, Loncar House ..	do	2	0	0
Marshall, Benjamin ..	do	1	0	0
*Brady, Edw ..	do	1	0	0
*Smith, G, linen manufacturer ..	do	1	0	0
A Friend, per G Smith ..	do	1	0	0
*Craik, R ..	do	1	0	0
*Bromley, Edw ..	do	1	0	0
*Allatson, G, jun ..	do	1	0	0
*Carter, J, at Mr Naylor's ..	do	1	0	0
*Matthewman, J ..	do	1	0	0
*Rycroft, J ..	do	1	0	0
Morley, T ..	do	1	0	0
*Fridd, James, Bank ..	do	1	0	0
*Guest, T ..	do	1	0	0
Riddsdale, Wm ..	do	1	0	0
*Brown, A, reed maker ..	do	1	0	0
*Goodworth, Wm, and Brothers ..	do	1	0	0
*Elliott, J ..	do	1	0	0
*Hill, Benjamin ..	do	1	0	0
*Dale, T ..	do	1	0	0
*Pepper, T, Monk Bretton, near ..	do	1	0	0
*Smith and Davies, dyers ..	do	1	0	0
*Taylor, James, druggist ..	do	1	0	0
*Royston, Wm, iron warehouse ..	do	1	0	0
*Harrison, Chas ..	do	1	0	0
Smofitt, Mr, grocer ..	do	1	0	0
*Gelder, J ..	do	1	0	0
*Jackson, G ..	do	1	0	0
*Walker, Mark, Monk Bretton, near ..	do	1	0	0
Byrd, David ..	do	1	0	0
*Bickers, Sykes ..	do	1	0	0
Traviss, Geo ..	do	1	0	0
Dennis, Joseph ..	do	1	0	0
*Steele, James ..	do	1	0	0
*Fridd, Wm, linendraper ..	do	1	0	0
*Wood and Perkes, Worsbro' Dale ..	do	1	0	0
*Ostcliffe, John, near ..	do	1	0	0
*Raywood, R R ..	do	1	0	0
*Spencer, H J ..	do	1	0	0
*Porter, J, St George's-place ..	do	1	0	0
Russell, Geo, Nether Heyland, near ..	do	1	0	0
*Russell, Ward and Co, Old Mill ..	do	1	0	0
*Parkinson, W R ..	do	1	0	0
*Milner, J C, Thurlstone, near ..	do	1	0	0
*Aked, T, Clayton West, nr Huddersfield ..	do	1	0	0
Moorhouse, Wm, jun, Thurlstone, near ..	do	1	0	0
*Buckley, James ..	do	0	10	0
*Saville J and Son ..	do	0	10	0
Workmen at Wood and Perkes ..	do	0	3	3

Subscriptions received from Friends to the cause, sitting in a small room called the Snug, Fleur-de-Lis Inn, T Robinson, Angel-street ..	do	3	9	0
*Workmen frequenting Robert Daff's, Boot and Shoe Inn, Pinstone-street ..	do	3	1	6
*Greaves, Wm, South-street, Park ..	do	2	0	0
Subscriptions from the Milton's Head Inn, Allen-st, J Morewood, landlord ..	do	1	12	0
Persons frequenting the Ball Inn, Green Lane, James Eyre, landlord ..	do	1	2	6
Seven Workmen in the Edge-tool trade at Sheaf Works ..	do	1	0	0
*Pitt, John, Waingate ..	do	1	0	0
*Outram, J, Black Swan, Snig Hill ..	do	1	0	0
Fordham, John, Castle-street ..	do	1	0	0
*Osborne, J, Sussex-street ..	do	1	0	0
Atkin, Geo, Barber Nook ..	do	1	0	0
*Gray, Geo, Phillips-road ..	do	1	0	0
Morton, James, Cornhill ..	do	1	0	0
*Hanger, Chas H, 18, Union-street ..	do	1	0	0
*Russell, John, Clarence-street ..	do	1	0	0
*Jackson, Wm, ditto ..	do	1	0	0
*Shortland, G, 70, Carver-street ..	do	1	0	0
*Hughes, James, Russell-street ..	do	1	0	0
*Yates, J, Howard-street ..	do	1	0	0
Harrop, J, West-street ..	do	1	0	0
Sellers, J, Sussex-street ..	do	1	0	0
Ritchie, James, Spring-lane ..	do	1	0	0
*Unwin, Chas, West Bar ..	do	1	0	0
*Hoyland, E, The Edge ..	do	1	0	0
Heathcote, G, Manor Castle Inn, New Edward-street ..	do	1	0	0
*Moorhouse, J, 127, Devonshire-street ..	do	1	0	0
Rhodes, H G, Fulwood ..	do	1	0	0
*White, Samuel, 11, Regent-street ..	do	1	0	0
Hill, Abraham ..	do	0	10	0
Harrison, Wm, Townhead-street ..	do	0	10	0
Foster, G, West-street ..	do	0	10	0
Wild, T, Fargate ..	do	0	10	0
Hague, S, Eldon-street ..	do	0	8	0
Hughes, J, 12, Russell-street ..	do	0	8	0
Ellis, James, George street ..	do	0	8	0
X Y Z ..	do	0	5	0
Whitworth, W R S ..	do	0	5	0
Millar, T, 82, Scotland-street ..	do	0	4	0

Sheffield.

Graham, Messrs, and Co, Milton Iron Works, near Sheffield ..	do	2	6	0
*Jubb, J, and others, do ..	do	1	0	0
*Graham, W do ..	do	1	0	0
*Fletcher, John do ..	do	1	0	0
*Deighton, J do ..	do	1	0	0
Smith, A do ..	do	1	0	0
*Mitchell, Wm do ..	do	1	0	0
Powell, J do ..	do	1	0	0
*Allott, J do ..	do	1	0	0
Balmforth, M do ..	do	1	0	0
*Smithson, T do ..	do	1	0	0
Parker, J do ..	do	1	0	0
Brown, J K, Hayland ..	do	1	0	0
Wood, Wm do ..	do	1	0	0
Pepper, R, Stubbins, do ..	do	1	0	0
Knowles, W, Hayland ..	do	1	0	0
Vickers, J do ..	do	1	0	0
Sundry Persons, Milton Iron Works ..	do	0	11	2

	Graham, Messrs, and Co, Milton Iron Works, near Sheffield	2	0	0
	*Jubb, J, and others, do	1	0	0
	*Graham, W, do	1	0	0
	*Fletcher, John, do	1	0	0
	*Deighton, J, do	1	0	0
	Smith, A, do	1	0	0
	Mitchell, Wm, do	1	0	0
	Powell, J, do	1	0	0
	Allott, J, do	1	0	0
	Balmforth, M, do	1	0	0
	Smithson, T, do	1	0	0
	Parker, J, do	1	0	0
	Brown, J K, Hayland	1	0	0
	Wood, Wm, do	1	0	0
	Pepper, R, Stubbins, do	1	0	0
	Knowles, W, Hayland	1	0	0
	Vickers, J, do	1	0	0
	Sundry Persons, Milton Iron Works	0	11	2

Collected by
Jos. Parker.

Greenock	*Graham, John, merchant, Grey-place	1	1	0
	*Black, Archibald, Shaw-place	1	1	0
	*Lindsey, Andrew, merchant	1	1	0
	*Reid, James, worsted spinner	1	0	0
	*Arbuckle, Jas, farmer, Carlsburn-st	1	0	0
	*McFarlane, M Thos, farmer, do	1	0	0
	*Aitken, R, tallow chandler, Charles-st	1	0	0
	*Hunter, John, fish merchant, do	1	0	0
	*Houston, W L	1	1	0
	Stewart, Archibald, Garthand-st	1	1	0
Paisley	*Russell, William, dyer, Bladda	1	0	0
	*Thomson, Andrew, manufacturer	1	0	0
	*Rule, Robt, Causeyside	1	0	0
	*Park, Allen, farmer, Gockstone	1	0	0
	*Kirkland, J, manufacturer, 13, Canal-st	1	0	0
	*Pinkerton, Alex, Muslin-st	1	0	0
	*Martin, W, manufacturer, Causeyside	1	0	0
	*Lang, Alex, jun, manufact, George-st	1	0	0
	*The Workmen of S. Frost, Broad-Lane Iron Works	1	5	0
	*Eadon, George, Fargate	1	1	0
Sheffield	*Cutts, Joseph, 25, Hermitage-st	1	0	0
	Stamforth, S, Queen's Head, Sheaf-street, Park	1	0	0
	*Sheldon, T, and Son, Trafalgar-place	1	0	0
	*Sheffield, Mr. Dentist	1	1	0
	*Robinson, G, Draper	1	1	0
	*Gillbanks and Co, grocers	1	1	0
	*Bowman, E, surgeon	1	0	0
	*Johnston, Thos, at Messrs Dixons	1	0	0
	*Blenkinsop, William, Dalston Low Green, near	1	0	0
	*Rutherford, J, land agent, Lambton nr	2	0	0
Carlisle	*Murray, Thos, iron founder	2	0	0
	*Murray, Geo, chemist	1	0	0
	*Murray, Geo, jun	1	0	0
	*Burn, Thos, innkeeper	1	0	0
	Walton, Ralph, butcher, Lumley, near	1	0	0
	*Cawthorne, Jno, builder do	1	0	0
	Crawford, Robt, farmer, Fleets, near	1	0	0
	Sowerby, G, coal owner, Walridge, nr	1	0	0
	Murray, Thos, artisan	0	5	0
	Smith, James	0	5	0
Kelso	Harrison, Clement	0	2	6
	*Wilson, W C, sen, Bridge-street	1	0	0
	*Wilson, W C, jun, do	1	0	0
	*Wilson, James, Earlstoun	1	0	0
	Wilson, John, Jun, Lindley, near Huddersfield	5	0	0
	Lord, William do	5	0	0
	Sykes, William, Sen do	5	0	0
	Hall, John do	5	0	0
	Hall, Abraham do	5	0	0
	Renton, Henry, Rev, Secession Manse, Kelso	5	0	0

* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed subscriptions.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THE WILTSHIRE LABOURERS.				
Taylor, A., Greenacre Moor, near Oldham, for Wm.				
Perry, of Charlton	0	10	0	0
Duke, Geo., Battle	0	5	0	0
Harris, James, Clapham	0	2	6	0

BEDS FOR AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.				
Stovin, Mr, South Western Railway, Vauxhall	0	5	0	0
Duke, Geo., Battle	0	5	0	0
Rieshall, J	0	5	0	0

The following names in our last week's Subscription List were either erroneously spelt, or appeared with misdescriptions in the addresses. As given below they are correct:—In LEAGUE, No. 122, for J. Mather, R. Mather, and D. Mather, 58, Mount Pleasant, Hollywell, read John Mather, Richard Mather, and Daniel Mather, 58, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool; for Miss Mather, and Miss Jane Mather, 58, Mount Pleasant, Hollywell, read 58, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool; for G. and J. Rawdon, Old Hall, read Christopher and James Rawdon, Old Hall-street; for Messrs. James Kitt, Sons, and Co., read Messrs. James Still, Sons, and Co.; for F. Pennington, Exchange Chambers, read Exchange-street, East; for J. Harvey, Hamilton Hall, Waverton, read Wavertree; for A. Kurk, Bootle, read Andrew Kurtz; for P. Quirk, Court House, Brombo, read Brombo, Cheshire; for Peter M'Muldron, 5, Heintier, read 5, Hunter-street; for J. Bradburn, 91, Bradburn-street, read 91, Dale-street; for T. Brocklebank, Rufford, read Rufford-street; for Ralph Brocklebank, Rufford, read Rufford-street; for S. Thornley, 22, Claremont-street, read Clarence-street; for Mrs. Matthews, Waverton, read Wavertree; for McClellan and Lee, Princess-street, read Prices-street; for R. Waylie, 2, India-bridge, read India-buildings; for P. G. and J. Heyworth, Rufford, read Rufford-street; for E. T. Welch, 59, Paradise-street, read E. and T. Welch; for R. Bright, 72, Bole-street, read Bold-street; for T. Carter, 4, Temple Boss, read Temple-buildings; for E. Jackson, 7, Deighton-street, Bristol, read Ebenezer Harris.

In the Birmingham list of Subscriptions it should have been stated, "From the Clerks and Foremen of London Works, Smethwick, near Birmingham."

The following gentlemen have sent in their names to 67, Fleet-street, as Subscribers to the Quarter of a Million Fund:—

	£	s.	d.
Strutt, Edward, M P,	350		
Strutt, Anthony R	350	1050	0 0
Strutt, John	350		
Brown, Henry, Esq, 13, John-street, Minorities	100	0 0	
Crowley, A C S, and H, Alton	100	0 0	
Crowley, C S, Croydon	100	0 0	
Crowley, H do	100	0 0	
Ashton, Yates	100	0 0	
Acton, Joseph, Wigan	100	0 0	
Colvin, James, Esq	50	0 0	
Seymour, William Digby, 32, Fenchurch-street	50	0 0	
Sykes, C, and Sons, Lindley, near Huddersfield	50	0 0	
Wood, John, 17, Cumming-street, Pentonville	25	0 0	
Pocock, J P, Upon Lavell, Heytesbury	25	0 0	
Darwin, Chas, Dawn Bromley, Kent	25	0 0	
Waterhouse, Ed J W, Lindley, near Huddersfield	25	0 0	
Miller, Robert, Tower-street, Tower-hill	25	0 0	
A Friend to the Agricultural Labourer	25	0 0	
Hold, Robt L, 55, Old Broad street	25	0 0	
Stuart, Win, 17, Cateaton-street	25	0 0	
Swinburne, E, Tranbeck Bridge, Kendall	20	0 0	
James, Walter, Luton	20	0 0	
Landles, Jno P, Honey Lane Market, Cheapside	10	10	0
Hawkins, J, 68, Bishopsgate-street	10	10	0
Bell, John, 35, Old Broad-street	10	0 0	
Pitt, Robt, Newerk Foundry, Bath	10	0 0	
Bass, Abraham, Burton-on-Trent	10	0 0	
Baker, G B, Dunster	10	0 0	
Green, Charles, Darlaston	10	0 0	
MacIntosh, R J, West Stratton, Hants	5	0 0	
Downing, G W, 21, Guildford place, Wilming-ton-square	5	0 0	
A Z, Edinburgh	5	0 0	
X Y do	5	0 0	
Boarer, R W, Folkestone	5	0 0	
Willie, William, Bude-street, Luton	5	0 0	

Wilson, John, Jun, Lindley, near Huddersfield	5	0	0
Lord, William do	5	0	0
Sykes, William, Sen do	5	0	0
Hall, John do	5	0	0
Hall, Abraham do	5	0	0
Renton, Henry, Rev, Secession Manse, Kelso	5	0	0
Chandler, Dennis, 68, Mark-lane	5	0	0
1323 Register, East Surrey	5	0	0
Taylor, P A, Jun, 8, Power's-place, Queen-square	5	0	0
Allen, William, 62, Warren-street	5	0	0
Brown, Richard, M, Crowmarsh-hill, near Walling-ford	5	0	0
Chatterton, G, 21, Beaufoy-terrace, Edgward-road	5	0	0
Fairford, H, S, 25, Lloyd's-square	5	0	0
Agnes, J, and J, W, Hays, near Bromley	5	0	0
Rickwood, W, Horsham	5	0	0
Agate, James, do	5	0	0
Agate, Mrs, do	5	0	0
Stanford, J, Mrs, do	5	0	0
Mitchell, Henry do	5	0	0
Pollard, William do	5	0	0
Lintott, William do	5	0	0
Thornley, R, Wrexham	5	0	0
Yewdall, David, Eccleshill	5	0	0
Darby, William, Lyndhurst-road, Peckham	5	0	0
Butler, R, 15, Pickering-place, Paddington	2	10	0
Hutton, William, Eccles-hill	2	0	0
Thornton, Samuel, do	1	0	0
Fenton, William do	1	0	0
Honywood, Drew, Horsham	2	0	0
Ashdown R, Rev do	1	10	0
Vans, Joseph do	1	10	0
Potter, Benjamin do	1	0	0
Pollard, Richard do	1	0	0
Potter, Rowland do	1	0	0
Gretton, Thomas	1	0	0
Gretton, T, J,	1	0	0
Bentley, J,	1	0	0
Mansfield, J,	1	0	0
Craddock, J,	1	0	0
Potter, Robert	1	0	0

LETTER FROM MR. COBDEN TO THE TENANT FARMERS OF ENGLAND.

TO THE FARMING TENANTRY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

GENTLEMEN,—The question for you now to determine is, Shall the repeal of the Corn Law be gradual or immediate? Deny it who may, this is the only question that deserves a moment's consideration at your hands. Public opinion has decreed that protection to both agriculture and manufactures shall be abolished; and Ministers and statesmen have at last reluctantly bowed to a power from which there is no appeal. Let no designing or obtuse politicians delude you with the cry that the House of Lords, or a dissolution of Parliament, can prevent the repeal of the Corn Law. All men of average sagacity are now agreed that Free Trade in corn and manufactures is inevitable. How, then, shall we apply this new principle?—timidly and gradually, like children; or boldly and at once, as becomes men and Englishmen? Upon this point, I wish to submit to your consideration a few remarks which I believe to be of the utmost importance to your interests; they are offered in good faith by one who has sprung from your own ranks, and who, although deemed by some to be your enemy, will, I hope, live to be regarded as a promoter of the independence and prosperity of the farming tenantry of the kingdom.

The Government measure proposes to abolish the Corn Law in February, 1849, putting on for the three intervening years, a new scale of duties, sliding from 10s. to 4s. The moment this law is passed, the duty will drop from 15s. to 4s. Here will be change the first, fright the first, and with many, I fear, panic the first. But there will be no settlement. You will not be able to foretell whether the duty during the years 1847 and 1848 will be 4s. or 10s. It is quite probable that, in February, 1849, the duty will be 10s.; if so, on the 1st of that month, it will drop again suddenly, from 10s. to 1s. Here will be change the second, fright the second, and, possibly, panic the second. The fall of duty in these two changes would have amounted to, first, from 15s. to 4s.; next, from 10s. to 1s.; making, together, 20s.; but, mark, if the duty were immediately reduced, from 15s. to 1s., the fall would be only 14s. So that by this clumsy contrivance, you are not only to be kept for three years in a state of suspense and embarrassment, and exposed to double panics, but are liable to a drop of 20s., instead of 14s., duty; you are actually subjected to the shock of the withdrawal of 6s. more of protection!

But this is only a small part of the danger to which you will be exposed by the delay. From the moment that the new Corn Law is passed foreign-

ers and corn importers will begin to make preparations for the day of its extinction; they dread a sliding scale in any shape, owing to former losses, and will keep their eyes steadily fixed upon the 1st of February, 1849.

What a precious policy is this which advertises for three years to all the landowners and speculators of the entire world, offering them a premium to hold back their supplies, and then to pour upon our markets, in one day, a quantity of corn which, but for this contrivance, might have been spread over 12 or 18 months! And what may your fate be under these probable circumstances? Supposing the crop of 1848 to be abundant in this country, you will be liable, in the spring of 1849, to the sudden and unnatural influx of the corn accumulated by foreigners for this market, which must be sold here, having no other market; thus beating down prices artificially, to the loss of all parties, but more especially of the British farmer.

How different would be the operations of an immediate repeal of the Corn Law. There would then be no stock of foreign corn waiting for the opening of our ports. Nobody expected last year in Poland or America that the English Corn Law would be repealed—nobody prepared for it; not a bushel of grain was raised upon the chance of such an unlooked-for contingency. Is there an intelligent farmer in the kingdom that will not at once exclaim, "If we are to have a repeal of the Corn Law, give us it this spring, when the foreigner is unprepared for it, and when not a single quarter of corn sown after the news reaches him can be brought to this market in less than 18 months."

But the present is, beyond all comparison, the most favourable moment ever known for abolishing the Corn Law. If ever it could be repealed without even temporary inconvenience to the farmer, this is the time. There is a scarcity at present over nearly all the Continent. One half of Europe is competing for the scanty surplus stock of grain in America. Millions of our countrymen are deprived of their ordinary subsistence by the disease of the potato, and they must be sustained at the public expense upon a superior food. Do what we will, we cannot, during the present year, secure low prices. Abolish the Corn Law to-morrow, and still wheat must rise during the spring and summer. If the farmers had the power of ordering time and circumstances, they could not contrive a juncture more favourable to them than the present for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Law. Nay, I believe that if the Corn Law could be abolished by a secret edict to-morrow, the farmers would never make the discovery of open ports by any injurious effect produced upon their interests.

I cannot believe that Sir Robert Peel is favorable to the gradual repeal; he supported it by no other argument in his speech than the fear of panic amongst the farmers; but he has told us again and again, in proposing his former alterations in the tariff, that he believes all such changes are less injurious, if suddenly made, than when spread over a period of years. I have the strongest conviction, derived from his own past changes in the tariff, that he is right. Why then should you, in deference to unfounded fears, be deprived of the benefits of experience? If you speak out in favour of an immediate settlement, who will oppose your wishes?—Not the Government: they are anxious, so far as public opinion and the exigencies of the moment will allow, to conciliate your favour: Not the great landed proprietors, whose interests and yours are in this respect identical, who desire also, on political grounds, to put a period to an agitation, the prolonged duration of which they believe to be injurious, and who would willingly take any step which shall at once consult your interests and dissolve the League.

Let me entreat you to take this subject into your instant and earnest consideration. Do me the justice to believe that I have no other object in view in writing this letter but to serve your interests. If you should be induced to concur in its views, you will avoid the only danger to which, in my opinion, the farmers were ever exposed from the

repeal of the Corn Law—that of the transition state. From the first I have always entertained and expressed the conviction that Free Trade, far from permanently injuring the farmers, would ultimately tend to their prosperity and independence. I never disguised from myself, however, the temporary evils to which they might be exposed in the change. But let us unite in seizing the present opportunity, and the triumph of sound principles may be achieved without the bitter ingredient of one particle of injury to any class or individual. From the most exalted personage in the realm down to the humblest peasant, all may witness, with unalloyed pleasure, one of the greatest victories ever achieved over past prejudice and ignorance, whilst each class may derive peculiar gratification, at the close of our long domestic struggle. The Sovereign may glory that her reign was reserved for the era of a commercial reformation, more pregnant in its beneficial consequences to the destinies of mankind than all the wars of her illustrious ancestors; the landed aristocracy will see in the consummation of our labours, an opening for the resumption of their social influence based upon the only sure foundation—the respect and confidence of the people; whilst to the middle and industrious classes will be presented a constantly widening field for the employment of their peaceful energies, together with greater means and more leisure for that moral amelioration which, I trust, will accompany their improved physical condition.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your obedient Servant,
 RICHARD COEDEN.
 London, 30th January, 1846.

FREE TRADE MEETINGS.

SECOND FREE TRADE DEMONSTRATION OF THE WORKING MEN OF LIVERPOOL.

At the meeting held in Clayton-square yesterday evening week, it was stated that, in consequence of the shortness of the notice given for convening that meeting, another would be held, for the purpose of allowing a still larger number of the labouring classes an opportunity of publicly expressing their opinions upon the great question of Free Trade. Accordingly, the second meeting was announced for Wednesday evening last, in Williamson-square; and the publicity given to the proceedings of Thursday having excited considerable interest, preparations were made for one of the most numerous assemblages ever witnessed in this town.

A drizzling rain had fallen during the greater portion of the day; and at seven o'clock, when the square began to fill, the wet had increased considerably. Nothing daunted, however, the poor men kept their places—the bands came up, bringing with them thousands of people, and at half past seven o'clock the immense square was at the very least two thirds filled. The rain, by this time came down almost in torrents, the wind extinguished some of the gas lights, and the atmospheric appearances were altogether so unfavourable to proceeding, that the committee deemed it prudent to put it to the assembled thousands whether they should go on, or adjourn to the first fine evening. Several insisted that they should proceed "if it rained cats and dogs"—a sally which was received with loud laughter; but the necessity was imperative, and the crowd quietly dispersed.—*Liverpool Mercury*, Jan. 23.

ADJOURNED MEETING.

The adjourned meeting was held on the evening of Thursday, the 23d, when the elements were scarcely less unfavourable than on the previous evening, a notice of which is reported above. The arrangements were much the same as before noticed, with the addition of a canvass covering to the platform, which protected the chairman, speakers, and reporters from the rain. The bands from the north and south ends again brought up thousands of the working-classes, whose ardour seemed in no degree abated. The enthusiasm which prevailed was of the most exciting nature, and the immense concourse who thronged the square conducted themselves with the most perfect good humour—like men in earnest in the good work in which they were engaged.

Mr. HAMILTON MCGREGOR said: Workmen of Liverpool, this is rare weather for umbrella-makers. I hope they will have plenty of trade and profit by it. Her Majesty assembles Parliament to-day to consider what is necessary for the good of the nation, and we have assembled to-night for the purpose of telling them that the measures which we think they should adopt, must be adopted, and quickly (cheers). I therefore propose that the chairman of last night, Mr. John Wainwright, a shipwright, of Liverpool, and a right good fellow, take the chair.

Mr. JOHN PRICE seconded the motion; and it was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. John Simmons to read the placard announcing the meeting, which was as follows:

"The aristocracy want all: they have the Colonies, the Army, the Navy, the Law, and the Church, and yet they demand a share of the poor man's loaf. 'Notice.—A second open air meeting of the working-classes will be held on Wednesday evening next, Jan. 31, 1846, at half past seven o'clock, in Williamson-square, to take into consideration the best means of securing the total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws. Two bands of music will be engaged, one of which will leave St. James's Market-place, and the other the north end of Scotland-road, at seven o'clock precisely, to accompany thousands of the working-men of Liverpool to the place of meeting. A journeyman shipwright is expected to preside, and a number of working-men will

address the meeting, when it is hoped the most perfect order will prevail, as on the occasion of our last meeting. God save the Queen! The committee of the working-men meet every evening, except Sunday, at No. 25, Tarleton-street, near Williamson-square, where all communications may be addressed to the committee. Signed, on behalf of the committee of the working-men, William Simmons, secretary."

The CHAIRMAN then proceeded. It gives me great pleasure in seeing such a number of my fellow working men assembled together on such a grand occasion as the present one. Never, in all my life, had I so great an honour conferred upon me as in presiding over so vast an assemblage of my fellow working men. I hope and trust, gentlemen, that none of you will disgrace this meeting by any kind of disorderly conduct (hear, and no, no). I hope that, as men of Liverpool, none of you will forget your character as men. I hope that none of you will disgrace the town wherein you live by letting it go forth to the world, through the means of the public press, that the working men of Liverpool could not hold a meeting on such a glorious occasion as this without being annoyed by any portion of the working classes (hear). Gentlemen, I will not fill up your time by making any further remarks, and I hope and trust the greatest order will be maintained by you, and I pledge myself to do my endeavours towards keeping that which is so requisite on the present occasion (cheers).

Mr. JAMES BROWN, a journeyman tailor, was next introduced to the meeting. He said, "Gentlemen, the resolution which I have the honour of proposing is as follows:

"That the working men of Liverpool in open air assembled do hereby declare that our earnest desire is to be permitted the free exercise of our skill and exertions for the support of our families. That thousands of our fellow men, in all parts of the country, who have neither sufficient work nor food, though willing and anxious to work, have our deepest sympathy. We, therefore, join in the demand now making in every part of the kingdom for the total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws, believing and asserting most emphatically our opinion, that the Corn Laws tend only to demoralise the people and intercept the blessings of a kind Providence as the reward of honest and persevering industry."

Gentlemen, continued the speaker, at this time last night the Duke of Wellington was giving his Parliamentary dinner, and I hope they were considering the best means of giving to the poor cheap bread; but if not, we'll oblige them to do so (cheers). The placard calling this meeting has informed you that we are met here to take into consideration the best means of seeking a total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws; therefore, no matter what may be the result of to-day's proceedings, you must persevere in agitating until you erase for ever from the statute book the iniquitous and damnable laws that cramp the commerce, the bane of industry, and the curse of this country, and create more misery and poverty than any hell-born minister could ever imagine (great cheering). Persevere, peaceably and energetically, until every restriction, every prohibition on the food of man shall be removed for ever; and in the name of this great meeting—in the name of the suffering thousands of our fellow-countrymen—in the name of the Goatsacre agricultural labourers of this kingdom—and in the name of the half employed and half-fed operatives of this and other large towns, I call on Sir Robert Peel to let the people enjoy what he has asserted we have a right to, that which we now demand as our right—the privilege of buying in the cheapest, and selling in the dearest market (cheers). I call on him to knock the fetters off our commerce, to give a fresh impetus to industry—to let the people of this country prosper if it can only be done by a repeal of the Corn Laws (cheers). At a meeting lately held in Brighton, over which the Duke of Richmond presided, he quoted an extract from a speech delivered by Sir James Graham in 1838. It was to this effect:—"If you repeal the Corn Laws you make England the workshop of the world, but you become dependent on foreigners." The Duke of Richmond acquiesced with Sir James Graham, and I acquiesce with the Duke of Richmond in one thing. We want exactly to make England the workshop of the world, for nature has designed her to be so, and we have every power to make her so. But the Duke goes further, and says—"Do not be dependent upon foreigners. Where does he get his tea and coffee, and things of that sort? Where does he get his principal supply of beef, pork, and butter from? Let him ask Lord Lyndhurst, and perhaps he will say it is the alien Irish that supplies it—a nation under the parental care of our Government—an integral portion of Great Britain—and one which, according to Lord Denman, contains upwards of four millions of people in a state of starvation—a nation, as Karl, a German traveller, said, whose inhabitants are worse clad and fed than any other people. On that very ground I for one am one that will not claim for myself what I would not give to another; and I call on Sir Robert Peel to adopt prompt, early, and energetic measures to improve the international condition of Ireland (hear). I call on him to adopt such measures as will prevent famine and disease from striding through the land; for, if not, individual as I am, I will be amongst that crowd that will raise their voice, and call "Ireland for the Irish" (vehement cheering). Many will say this is irrelevant to the question, but I maintain it is not; for are not the Irish people sending their representatives over to help us in achieving this great question?—consequently, we ought to extend our sympathies towards them (great cheering). The Duke of Richmond said the friends of the League dare not call an open air meeting. I think you will all admit the Duke of Richmond is a perverter of truth, and on this platform, and on the authority of this meeting, I call the Duke of Richmond a liar (loud cheers). The Duke of Richmond, moreover, said to his dupes, that if the Corn Laws were repealed, they would be transplanted into Manchester, to be placed into those scenes of iniquity and vice, the manufactories of Manchester and Leeds. But I would tell him there is, perhaps, as much morality, and more, about the factories of Manchester than about Goodwood and its neighbourhood. He had an automaton in strings there, a person named Fruen, to say there was no deficiency in the wheat crop, and that the potato disease was greatly exaggerated. I will put another name to him, and call him "Premeditating Ruin"—(roars of laughter)—and ask if he intended to give the curry powder of the Duke of Norfolk to feed the Irish with till next March? Mr. Miles, at the same meeting, said—"O, the cry of cheap bread is low wages;" but that is a fallacy. I come now to a much more homely person, the editor of the *Standard*. He called the meeting we held in Clayton-square a farce. (It's a lie). Why? Because one of our speakers said he had enough and to spare; but if that is the sympathy, the philanthropy, and the charity of the editor of the *Standard*, I will have none of it. A little further on he said this meeting was

only composed of 500. Now I wonder how many he will say is here to-night. (Is he here?) No matter what he says; I care not a pin for the vile slanders of the lying editor of the lying *Standard* (loud and continued cheering.) The speaker concluded by reading the following lines:

What do we want? Our daily bread;
 Leave to earn it by our skill:
 Leave to labour freely for it,
 Leave to buy it where we will.
 For 'tis hard upon the many,
 Hard—unpity'd by the few,
 To starve and die for want of work,
 Or live, half-starved, with work to do.
 What do we want? Our daily bread;
 Fair reward for labour done;
 Daily bread for wives and children;
 All our wants are merged in one.
 When the fierce fiend Hunger grips us,
 Evil fancies clog our brains,
 Vengeance settles on our hearts,
 And Frenzy gallops through our veins.
 What do we want? Our daily bread—
 Sole release from thoughts so dire;
 To rise at morn with cheerful faces,
 And sit at evening round the fire;
 To teach our babes the words of blessing,
 Instead of curses, deep though mute;
 And tell them England is a land
 Where man is happier than a brate.
 What do we want? Our daily bread:
 Give us that; all else will come:
 Self-respect and self-denial,
 And the happiness of home;
 Kindly feelings, education,
 Liberty for act and thought;
 And surety that, whatever befall,
 Our children shall be fed and taught.
 What do we want? Our daily bread;
 Give us that for willing toil:
 Make us sharers in the plenty
 God has showered upon the soil;
 And we'll nurse our better nature
 With bold hearts, and judgment strong,
 To do as much as men can do,
 To keep the world from going wrong.
 What do we want? Our daily bread,
 And trade untrammell'd as the wind;
 And from our ranks shall spirits start,
 To aid the progress of mankind.
 Sages, poets, mechanicians,
 Mighty thinkers shall arise,
 To take their share of loftier work,
 And teach, exalt, and civilise.
 And so we want our daily bread;—
 Grant it;—make our efforts free;
 Let us work and let us prosper;
 You shall prosper more than we.
 And the humblest homes of England
 Shall, in proper time, give birth
 To better men than we have been,
 To live upon a better earth.

HAMILTON MCGREGOR, a printer, in seconding the resolution, said he felt great pleasure in having the opportunity of addressing them, being acquainted with them, and their interests being mixed up with his own. He would just refer to what his predecessor had alluded, some remarks in the *Standard*,—and read from that paper the following quotation:—"You may farcify anything—even the evidence of misery;—and the open air meeting got up by the operatives of Liverpool—got up on Thursday evening, in Clayton-square, has farcified even the telling meeting of the labourers of Wiltshire. The speakers at the latter place were men whose startling details of their suffering and neglected condition, we could be amazed and grieved at; the speakers at the former exhibit nothing like reality of suffering, by which the poor agriculturists were prompted to plead their case before mankind." Now, my fellow-operatives, these men, like ourselves, met under the canopy of heaven, but they were not so well clad as we! When they are, we may rejoice with them. If the editor of the *Standard* calls the meeting of Thursday last a farce, will he call this an interlude or a tragedy? Speaking of the Wiltshire men, the editor says,—"The one was the prompting of those real and truthful feelings of wretchedness, the expression of which is ever eloquent; the other was the maudlin raving of simulated suffering." Now, if we are mad, continued the speaker, certainly there are a great number of madmen here to-night. He perhaps expected us to come like Falstaff's regiment, all clad in rags, and not unlike the Wiltshire men! I should like to know what the editor of the *Standard* means by 'superiors'—cut-throats, I suppose. If so, he did well to say we had our superiors in that respect. He talks of Religion and the Church, now I was a listener at the meeting last week, and did not hear either mentioned. Our religion is a cheap loaf and a good one. This same gentleman endeavoured to abuse us, and dealt most uncharitably with us. We shall exercise charity towards him, and pity him. Long may he live an editorial life, and live in peace; we wish him every happiness this world can confer, and may the printer's devil inscribe to his memory on the tombstone, "Here lies the martyr of curry powder!" The speaker continued—We have met here to say that justice ought to be done to the working men of Liverpool and England. We wish no longer to see the widow's tears flow in greater channels. We wish no longer to see the poor man's child cry for bread, and the little ones in nakedness. Our cause is a common one, and a good cause. He would call their attention to a circumstance which occurred in Liverpool two years ago. The Cheshire cow-keepers finding that the cowkeepers of Liverpool could not supply the town with milk, sent over large quantities, but the people of Liverpool did not say "You must sell your milk at 5d. per quart instead of 4d." Oh no. It was just the same with respect to bread bought in the cheapest market, and sold in the dearest. "I expect," concluded the speaker, "the people of England, from the Land's End, in Cornwall, to John O'Groats, in Scotland, will cry, Down with the Corn Laws, and no surrender."

ROBERT JONES, a labouring man, then came forward, and spoke as follows:—Fellow workmen, I recollect about seven years ago when this question was first agitated in Liverpool, what small meetings we got, and I feel that the cause has progressed rapidly, as shown by the numbers I see around me on the present occasion. Working men at that time knew very little of these things. It shall, however, be my duty this evening to show you some of the evils of the existing Corn Laws so far as to know that it is necessary we

should seek for their repeal (cries of hear, hear). Fifty years ago we had all England in a state of commotion, in consequence of a war. The landlords of England, seeing the great stake they themselves had in the country,—for what have we to fight for?—what has the working man to fight for?—he has no stake—well, the landholders of England, having seen the aristocracy swept away in France, said, “We will maintain the war, and bear the expense of it.” How did they fulfil their word? They expended 800 millions of hard-earned money of the sons of toil, and sacrificed millions of the lives of human beings, and then, instead of bearing the expense themselves, threw it on the shoulders of the working-men (hear, hear). In 1815 the war was at an end, happily for us, and we concluded we were to have peace and plenty; for I recollect, as I was a big lad at the time, that millions were half-famished. At that time I fetched potatoes for my mother at a distance of three miles, costing 7s. 6d. per measure, and flour was only two pounds for a shilling. As I said, we expected peace and plenty. During the war millions of money were expended, the landholders were in want of money, and a property-tax was put on to help to maintain that war (hear, hear). They were right in doing so. But then at the end of the war what was the first Act that was carried? Why, it was the repeal of the property-tax. They took the burden off their own shoulders, and threw it on the backs of the working-men (hear). Thirty millions of pounds sterling, of which the landholders had spent the capital, was thrown on the working-men of England (hear, hear). The landlords had also raised the rents to three times what they were when the war began. The Corn Law was then passed; and I ask you whether you think that was a just law to the working-classes?—and, as sure as God’s in heaven, that law has been productive of more misery, wretchedness, want, wickedness, crime, and everything that was bad, than any law that had ever emanated from the mind of man (cheers). The effect of that law was to make food scarce; and I should say to any man that has a voice in the Legislature, that it is one of the most wicked things that can be conceived of to make food scarce. There is no way of making an article dear but by making it scarce. I know it to my sorrow, as I have a family of 13 children. The Legislature have made food scarce, and it behoves us to come forward and try to repeal those laws which have made food scarce and dear (loud cheers). It has been told us over and over again—and as ignorant, simple working-men, sorry am I to say we have been led to believe it—that the price of food regulated our wages (hear). Every man of 40 must be aware that every four, five, or six years there has been a scarcity of food, and with it a scarcity of work, and then wages have gone down; and the consequence has been, that we have not had work even at low wages. A Quaker gentleman at Carlisle had heard this repeated so often that he was determined to ascertain whether it was true or not, and in 1836, 37, and 38, he went to a certain number of shops in the city of Carlisle, and the result was, that in 1836, when wheat was 40s. per quarter, the amount of the wages paid was 151,000*l.*; in 1837, when wheat was 60s., it fell to 92,000*l.*; and in 1838, when wheat was 70s., it came down to 51,000*l.* So you see this showed the fallacy of such an argument—(hear, hear)—only one-third of the amount being paid when food was dear to what it was when food was cheap (cheers). We must be convinced, if we look at these things, that they are all false from the beginning to the end. Another thing was, that when food was dear a great portion of the poor man’s earnings were expended for that alone, and clothes and other necessities could not be had, causing a decreased demand for manufactured goods. What are we contending for from early morn till late at night? Simply for food, and shelter, and raiment. And why should we not then raise our voices against the laws which prevent us from selling our labour to the best advantage? To show the amount paid when food is dear, we need only state that there are in this country five millions of families, and if each had to pay two shillings per week more, then it would come to 25,000,000*l.* more for food alone in one year (hear, hear). There is this 25,000,000*l.* taken from the labour market, that ought to go for clothing and other things that we stand in need of (hear, hear). Another proof of the benefits of Free Trade is, that during the last year, owing to cheap food, 14,000 houses had been built in this town, thus employing builders, joiners, plasterers, and workmen of every description, (cheers,) all getting good wages. It had been said that a repeal of the Corn Laws would bring down the price of grain to almost nothing, which, however, would not be the case, as in a short time all things would find their level, and it would realize a steady price. As to scarcity in a case of war, that was preposterous. They need only look at the means taken by Napoleon during the war to stop supplies coming into this country, and how signally he failed; even his own soldiers were clothed with manufactures from this country, and we had plenty of corn from all parts. Only let us have Free Trade, and make the world a nation of shopkeepers, and you may bid defiance to war for ever, and all nations would be happy and prosperous. He concluded by exhorting them not to cease agitating till the odious Corn Laws were swept from the statute book. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN then read the motion, and put it to the meeting, when it was carried amidst the loudest cheering.

Mr. SIMMONS came forward to propose a memorial to her Majesty. He said that it had been his intention to have entered more fully into the subject this evening, but he had been prevented by not having had an opportunity of speaking sooner. He spoke for some time, and concluded by reading the following memorial:—

“The memorial of the working men of Liverpool to her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, of Great Britain and Ireland:—We, your Majesty’s most humble, most loyal, and affectionate subjects, being confident that your Majesty entertains the greatest sympathy for the suffering poor of this country, beg to express our most sanguine hopes that your Majesty’s attention has been drawn to the present high prices of all kinds of provisions arising from the failure of the corn and potato crops, and to express our humble opinion to your Majesty that the Corn Laws act most injuriously on the interests of your memorialists, who have no means of providing for our families but through our earnings, that our request is most simple, and we beg most respectfully to say that surely ‘as much food as man can buy with as much wages as a man can get, for as much work as a man can do, is not more than the natural and inalienable birthright of every man whom God has created with strength to labour and with hands to work.’

“Praying that your Majesty may espouse the cause of the poor in the proper exercise of your royal prerogative, and that the choicest temporal and spiritual blessings may ever rest on the person of our beloved Queen, that your Majesty may long live in the warmest affections of the people of this great empire.” &c., &c.

Mr. HINDS seconded the adoption of the memorial; and after a vote of thanks being passed to the chairman, the meeting broke up about half past nine o’clock. Before separating, however, three cheers were given for Cobden and Bright, three for Russell and Palmerston, three for Villiers and Ewart, and three for the Queen.

DROGHEDA.

Monday last, pursuant to requisition, a meeting of the inhabitants of Drogheda and its vicinity, convened by the Mayor, was held in the Tholsel to “Petition Parliament for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws.” Long before the hour of meeting, the Tholsel was crowded almost to suffocation.

Amongst those present were, Sir Wm. M. Somerville, Bart., M.P.; Patrick Boylan, Esq., Mayor; Wm. Campbell, Esq.; T. C., (ex-Mayor); Rev. Mr. O’Farrell, O.S.F.; Rev. Mr. Connolly, O.S.A.; Daniel Brady, T.C.; Stephen Drew, T.C.; John Connolly, T.C.; Patrick Conway, T.C.; Patrick Kelly, T.C.; John Magee, Esq., solicitor; Alderman Rogers; Anthony Keapock, T.C.; Patrick Byrne, T.C.; John Collins, T.C.; David Morton, Esq.; Robert Skelly, &c.

Mr. CAMPBELL came forward and said,—It gives me great pleasure to move that our respected and esteemed Mayor be called upon to preside over this numerous and respectable meeting (loud cheers).

Mr. MAGEE having seconded the proposition, it was carried with acclamation.

The MAYOR, on taking the chair, said—Fellow-townsmen, I return you thanks for the position you have placed me in—at the head of this respectable meeting (hear, hear). About ten days since I received a requisition, signed by the Roman Catholic Primate, several clergymen, gentlemen, merchants, and other inhabitants of the town, requesting me to call this meeting. I felt it to be my duty at once to comply, and named as early a day as was convenient (cheers.) I am glad to see so large an attendance, and I shall be happy to listen to any remarks, or put any resolution which may be moved and seconded. The question of the Corn Laws is a very important one, and one which at the present time is exciting a great deal of attention. I shall not occupy your time by pointing out the necessity there is, as expressed in the requisition, for the “total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws”—(hear, and cheers.) This will be done by the speakers, who will address the meeting: I will merely say that I entirely concur in the object for which you are assembled (cheers.) I hope that the speakers will confine themselves strictly to the object for which the meeting was called. The Mayor sat down loudly cheered.

Mr. BRADY, T.C., moved, and Mr. DREW, T.C., seconded, that Mr. Marron, Editor of the *Argus*, be appointed to act as Secretary.—Carried with loud cheers.

Mr. MARRON returned thanks, and expressed his fullest concurrence in the object of the meeting. He stated that Sir Wm. Somerville, who had been invited by the committee of arrangements, would attend; and read the following letter which he had received from Mr. Cobden:

“National Anti-Corn Law League,
Manchester, 15th January, 1846.

“DEAR SIR,—I feel much obliged to you for your letter with the enclosed requisition calling the meeting in Drogheda against the Corn Law; and it is especially gratifying to see the names of your Catholic primate and clergy amongst the requisitionists. I shall take the opportunity of alluding to it at our great meeting in the Free Trade Hall this evening, in hopes that it may not be without its effect in the way of example in other quarters, and remain, dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

“Patrick Marron, Esq.” RICHARD COBDEN.

Mr. HUGH CARRAHER (an operative weaver), rose to address the meeting. He said—It has fallen to my lot to move the first resolution at this meeting. I will read it first, and say a few words on it afterwards. [Mr. Carragher here read the resolution and proceeded.] It requires no eloquence on my part to enforce the necessity of adopting this resolution. This, we all know, is no ordinary year. The potato crop, which formed the staple food of the people of this country, has been a total failure. Men of all parties and of all politics, in the country, admit this to be the case. Where, then, are the people to find food? (cries of hear, hear). It is notorious that the Irish people are the worst fed people in the British dominions. It is not because of the soil not being productive (cries of No). It is because of the poverty of the people. How can we provide good food when the price of it is beyond our reach, and this is caused by the laws we are assembled here to-day to have repealed (hear, hear). Some say that the Corn Laws benefit the farmer, but this I do not believe. I know farmers holding 20 and 30 acres of land who never taste meat from year to year in their houses. Are these Corn Laws then of service to them. Do they add to their comforts? (cries of No, no). In my own locality, on account of the want of employment, the people have suffered from distress and sickness—the latter brought on by eating bad potatoes, for they could not get good ones for want of money. I know of one or two having died through this means (hear, hear, and sensation). Those persons possessing means in the locality contributed as far as in them lay to relieve the sufferers’ wants, but this was still of little avail when so many stood in need. If the Government want proof of the wretchedness in which the people are placed at the present time I would direct attention to the fact that the Poor Law Guardians of the Drogheda Union, to prevent the spread of disease, had to open a fever hospital. And when the matter stands so bad at the commencement of the year, what must be the state of things in summer?

A Voice—Potatoes are not to be got.

Mr. CARRAHER—Look to every county in Ireland, and see how the people are suffering. It is no use for the Government to coerce the people; if they want to preserve peace the way to do it is to give the people food. [A noise of persons rushing in prevented the speaker from going on for a short time. Mr. Richard Shiel, of Ardeath, was one of those who entered now.] Mr. Carragher in continuation: Mr. Chairman, I am particularly glad of the interruption. I felt that I was not thoroughly aware of all the evil effects of the Corn Laws upon the farmers, and I am glad to see so influential a gentleman as Mr. Shiel enter the meeting (cheers). In Ireland, the people look for bread by agricultural employment—in England and Scotland they do not to such an extent, they have manufactures; the price paid for labour in Ireland is consequently much less than is paid in England; indeed, the hire paid an agricultural labourer is, in the best seasons, not more than adequate to keep him in potatoes. What must be his condition now with his potatoes rotten, and very little employment to provide money to replace them. If the Corn Laws were repealed, his situation would not be so bad; for besides lowering the price of provisions it would

encourage more work in the country (hear, hear). He (the speaker) felt the injurious effects of the Corn Laws, for from his earnings he was not able to provide good food for his family and himself. He hoped Sir Robert Peel would manfully support the repeal of these injurious laws. (Here Sir Wm. Somerville entered, and was enthusiastically cheered.) Mr. Carragher continued: Sir William, on behalf of the furnishing people of Drogheda, I thank you for attending here to-day (cheers). It is an earnest of what you will do in your place in the House of Commons—

Sir Wm. SOMERVILLE: Allow me to say one word before the business of the meeting goes further (hear, hear). I thank you most gratefully for the reception I have met with on my coming in to the meeting. I felt it to be my duty to be here to-day, to ascertain from you what your opinions were with respect to the Corn Laws, that I should know how to act, as your representative, when the subject came before the house (hear, hear). I will listen to what you have to say, and at the close I shall offer a few observations of my own. Sir William sat down loudly cheered.

Mr. CARRAHER again resumed—It is fearful to contemplate the condition of the country. The people cannot get food—they can’t get employment. It was said some time ago that railways would furnish ample employment; I grant they will give some employment, but the employment they will afford will not be sufficient to engage millions. We shall have the poor-houses crammed. No fewer than fifty-five persons applied for admission into the poor-house of the Drogheda Union last week on one day. Nothing but the greatest distress could force those persons to seek relief there. The Irish people would almost sooner starve than enter these poor-houses, conducted upon the principles they are. Here all the social ties are broken—trampled down. The ties of wedlock which are holy—the ties of parentage—yes, all the better feelings of our nature abused (cheers). If the people have employment they will not enter the poor-house. If the Corn Laws are repealed it will be easier for the poor to live. If the Government think they will sustain a loss by repealing the Corn Laws, let them tax the luxuries of the rich, and leave bread, the luxury of the poor, within their reach. By doing this they will increase the loyalty and affection of the people to the throne, and confer a blessing on the land. Mr. Carragher now proposed the adoption of the first resolution, and withdrew amid loud cheering.

Mr. P. HENRY (manufacturer) rose and said:—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I beg leave to second this resolution, proposed by our esteemed townsman Mr. Carragher. I rejoice that it fell into so good hands; I am glad of having so able a colleague, for he has left me nothing to say (hear, hear, and laughter). I honestly and fearlessly say that from the wages paid, and the price of provisions, the humbler classes cannot support their families—a man can scarcely maintain himself. I know it for certain—I have men employed myself. They are not supported as they ought to be; it is impossible for them to live under the present circumstances. (Hear, hear.) I would say in the present state of things that men of influence who labour to support the laws which raise the price of bread are murderers of their fellow men. I would say this if I were at the cannon’s mouth. (Loud cheers.) I say that when fifty six persons are found in one day to seek admission into our poor house, it is lamentable. I am poor-law warden since the poor house was opened, and I ought to know something of the circumstances of those who go into the poor-house. I have known persons to work for 4d. and 5d. a day, breaking stones, sooner than go there. Not a few, who were in a starving condition, I had to induce by persuasion to seek the shelter which this roof affords. Mr. Carragher has told you truly that the people would sooner work for the smallest sum by which they could live than go into such an unnatural prison. (Cries of hear, and cheers). Repeal the Corn Laws and the poor houses will soon be empty. There was no doubt the Corn Laws would be repealed if the working people assisted, as they ought, such men as Cobden and O’Connell. In doing this it was not necessary to resort to violence; peaceable means were those to be adopted. The course was to petition—a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether, and I defy all the power in England to resist you. Mr. Heeny concluded by saying that he felt much pleasure in seconding the resolution. (Cheers.)

The resolution was now put from the chair, and unanimously carried.

Mr. CAMPBELL came forward to propose the next resolution, and was loudly cheered. He said—Mr. Mayor, and fellow-townsmen, I have the honour of being entrusted with the second resolution, which I will read to this meeting. (Mr. Campbell read the resolution and proceeded.) Gentlemen, with the language of that resolution I fully concur. I do think that if ever the time has arrived that the Corn Laws should be repealed that time has come (loud cheers). There can be no doubt now of the failure of the potato crop in Ireland, nor that all classes of her Majesty’s subjects must be seriously affected by the increased price of provisions, and there is just reason to fear that the poor may by this failure be reduced to absolute starvation, and that the concomitant evil of pestilence and riot may overrun the land unless the corn and provision laws are immediately repealed—(hear, hear, and cheers). It is not my intention to go into any lengthened detail as to the baneful effects produced by the Corn Laws upon all classes of the people. The speakers who preceded me have pointed out, I think, very forcibly and plainly, that these laws were passed to the detriment of the bulk of the people (cheers). In times of distress I have often visited the cabins in the outlets of this town I have often seen a man with his wife and family gathered round what is commonly called a *schuddle*, a wicker basket, upon which were placed some potatoes with salt for kitchen. This was the meal for breakfast, dinner, and supper. I felt at the time, as I do still, that the sooner this state of things was remedied the better, and it could not take place too soon (cheers). But this consummation so devoutly to be wished can never be brought about so long as the Corn Laws remain unrepealed. If the people have but patience, and bide their time, I venture to predict there are good days in store for them.

A VOICE: They’re long a coming.

Mr. CAMPBELL: I am delighted to see your excellent member come amongst you to-day, as he has done, and to see you greet him with warm hearts; such a reception he is entitled to at your hands. Next to Mr. O’Connell, Ireland does not possess a better representative in the Imperial Parliament. He will convey to the House of Commons the sentiments expressed here to-day by his constituents (hear, hear, and cheers). I know I speak the feelings of the people of Drogheda when I say, they are thankful to him for attending, at much inconvenience and upon this inclement day, at this important meeting (cries of hear). In the House of Commons he will be under the guidance of my

Lord John Russell, and encouraged by that excellent nobleman Lord Morpeth, who has ever been an upright, straightforward public man; and last, though not least, he will be backed by that invincible champion of Ireland, O'Connell (loud and continued cheering)—and depend upon it, before six months go by, the Corn Laws will be numbered with the things that were—

A VOICE: Say six weeks.

Mr. CAMPBELL: It will not be the fault of Sir William Somerville, or the fault of the people's friends, if it be not sooner. Mr. Campbell concluded by saying, that he felt much pleasure in proposing the resolution he held in his hands (cheers).

Mr. KELLY, T.C., having seconded the resolution, it was put and carried unanimously.

Rev. Mr. O'FERRALL next came forward, and was greeted with loud applause. He said: Mr. Mayor and gentlemen, a resolution has been put into my hand, which I feel great pleasure in moving for the adoption of this meeting. [The reverend gentleman here read the resolution, and proceeded.] Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen: I did not come here to make a speech. It is not more than half an hour since I made up my mind to attend; I am not, then, prepared to speak at any length. I have considered it to be my duty to be present, having signed my name to the requisition, which was presented to our worthy chief magistrate to convene this assembly, as also to express my fullest detestation of those laws, which, by preventing Free Trade in corn and provisions, are particularly injurious to Ireland; because, in the words of the resolution, "they promote that violent competition for land which leads to so many murders and various other crimes." Let us look to the source of the commission of these crimes in Ireland—Is not land the cause? Do not the tyrant-landlords throw their tenantry out of their houses in order to make more money of the land by the encouragement of the Corn Laws (hear, hear, hear, and cheers). I have very little to add to what has been already said. Every one in Ireland knows that it is unjust and contrary to the law of God to withhold or keep food from the people. If I were prepared, or had time, I could adduce various proofs from the sacred Scriptures in support of this. For the present I would refer you to the book of Ecclesiasticus, xxxiv. 25. "The bread of the needy is the life of the poor: he that defraudeth them thereof, is a man of blood" (hear). Then, my good people, may we not consider those who maintain the Corn Laws as defrauding the poor of bread, and therefore, "men of blood" (loud cries of hear, hear, and applause). I am rejoiced to think that those laws must be soon abolished. Every ministry that is formed in England must yield to the wishes and demands of the people, when made in a constitutional manner (renewed cries of hear). I consider you, presiding over this meeting, Mr. Mayor, a happy circumstance. It is the first public meeting, since your coming into office, in which you were in the chair; and called for the purpose this meeting is, namely, that of charity and justice, I doubt not but your year of office will be regulated by conduct which, while it increases your popularity, will be no less pleasing in the sight of Heaven (loud cheers). There is another feature in this meeting which must be regarded with pleasure by the people—I allude to the attendance of Sir William Somerville, who has been ranked next to the Liberator himself as the advocate of Ireland in the Imperial senate. Not unfrequently has his voice re-echoed through the halls of St. Stephen's, demanding justice for this country (loud cheers). He will go, as has been remarked, from this meeting, carrying with him the feelings and the wishes expressed here to-day. Notwithstanding that he has a large interest in the support of the Corn Laws, from his being an extensive land proprietor, he has come amongst you determined to cast every selfish interest aside, and to be your representative in reality—to tell Peel and Russell, no matter which of them is at the head of affairs, that we must necessarily have the Corn Laws repealed (cheering for some time). I was not prepared, as I told you, to make a speech—take the will for the deed—and allow me to withdraw by saying I feel great pleasure in proposing the resolution which I have read (loud and continued cheers).

Mr. HUGH O'NEILL (an operative shoemaker) rose to second the resolution. He said—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, in seconding this resolution it will be perhaps expected that I should give a history of the Corn Law, and its evil effects upon society. I will endeavour to do so as briefly as possible (hear, hear). I believe it had its origin about the year 1815, and was intended as a sort of remuneration to the owners of land and the farmers for the taxes they were called on to pay in order to support an expensive war which was carried on by the then Government against France. But instead of being a boon to the small farmer, it has proved a very great evil, for it has driven him from the land to the bog and the roadsides, and made paupers of his family, in too many instances (hear, hear). The painful accounts furnished by the different commissions, instituted from time to time by the Government, demonstrate very clearly that instead of the condition of the labouring population having been bettered by the protection afforded to agriculture, it has grown worse. Every day the calamities of the people are becoming greater. We wait in suspense for the Government to do something to ameliorate our condition. We were promised employment for the labouring classes from extensive works of drainage, and from the formation of railways; but we have not seen these things yet. The Lord of the universe ordained that man should earn his bread by the sweat of his brow; but many of the poor starving people of this country cannot get employment or bread (hear, hear). The condition of the people of this country has been at the lowest for years—their food such as is given to swine. Well did that great political writer, Cobbett, remark that a failure in the potato crop would be ruinous to the United Kingdom. We have melancholy proof of the truth of this at present. But can it be thought that the people will starve, and tamely yield to death? Forbid it justice—forbid it Heaven (loud cheers). I know of my own knowledge a man in this town (and who is at present at this meeting, I believe) with a wife and two children to be obliged to subsist for nearly two days upon one pound of oatmeal made into gruel or thin stirabout (sensation). I regret that I do not see in attendance the Poor Law guardians; there are a few of them present; but the greater number of them have thought fit to absent themselves. A great many of them in my mind, and to all appearance, guard the law, and not the poor (loud cheering and laughter). See how the guardians at Edenderry have acted; they passed a resolution in favour of the ports being opened; no such resolution was resolved on by the guardians of the Drogheda union (cries of shame). I also regret that the J. P.'s, whose duty it is to quiet the people, and teach them to respect the laws, have kept aloof from this meeting too; but more than all I am astonished to see the absence of

some of our Liberal Corporation—gentlemen who will be coming into town to-morrow or next day to seek for Aldermanic gowns (cheers).

The Mayor said he begged to interrupt the speaker for a moment. There was upon that day an important meeting of the steam packet company, at which many gentlemen who would attend at their meeting were obliged to be—

A VOICE: It is here they ought to be.

Mr. O'NEILL in continuation: To return to my subject. I regret that I have gone so far; but I must unburthen myself of the load I have (cheers and laughter). In the state in which we are placed at present it is small consequence to us who is Prime Minister—whether Peel or Russell—who can first repeal the Corn Laws is the Premier we want (cries of hear, hear). It is said that the Duke and Peel are at handy-cuffs (at least so the newspapers tell us)—if this turns out to be true there must be a delay, or Peel go out of office. The Duke of Norfolk, however, with great keenness and foresight, has hit upon a plan to quiet the people till the Ministry can agree. He has discovered a patent invention, this is it—He says a little cayenne pepper and salt thrown upon water will keep the stomach warm (laughter and shouts of disapprobation). I know I would wish to see the Duke amongst those by whom I am surrounded, working with a spade and fed at meal times on bad potatoes and curries (loud laughter). I am sorry, said Mr. O'Neill, that "the blood of all the Howards" has descended so low—but the working classes are not so simple as to prefer the Duke of Norfolk's curries to bread. Mr. O'Neill after apologising for occupying the time of the meeting so long, and stating his full concurrence in the resolution proposed, sat down, loudly cheered.

Mr. CONNOLLY, T.C., moved that a petition founded on the resolutions proposed be forwarded to both Houses of Parliament.

This resolution was seconded by Mr. CONWAY, T.C., and carried unanimously.

Mr. MARROW (the secretary), now read the following draft of a petition:—

"To the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled: the petition of the inhabitants of Drogheda and its vicinity

"Most respectfully sheweth—

"That it has been officially declared by the report of her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the law and practice in respect to the occupation of land in Ireland, that an immense mass of the people of Ireland, in ordinary years, suffer under the deepest state of destitution—potatoes, their food—water, their drink—and to whom a blanket is a luxury; your petitioners, therefore, humbly suggest that a tax, whereby the price of food is enhanced to such a people, is cruel, impolitic, and unjust.

"That your petitioners, from the testimony of trustworthy persons, clergymen of every creed, magistrates and poor law guardians, and from their own knowledge, believe that an extraordinary disease has destroyed a very large proportion of the potato crop, which the persons so described had as their only food; and they must, therefore, be reduced to famine this year; and it is feared that pestilence may thereby ensue, and starvation riots take place. And further, that in consequence of the said disease in the potatoes, all classes of her Majesty's subjects in Ireland may be seriously affected by greatly enhanced prices for every species of provision, unless the Corn Law duties are immediately and entirely repealed.

"Your petitioners further believe that the laws preventing a Free Trade in corn and provisions are peculiarly injurious to Ireland, inasmuch as they foster and promote a ruinous competition for the possession of land, by which many murders and various other crimes have occurred, and are like to occur; and that this eagerness for land indirectly, but with certain effect, diminishes the employment of agricultural labour—because farmers grasp at large quantities of land, which they have not capital to till, instead of employing labour to cultivate a lesser quantity in a better manner.

"Your petitioners, therefore, respectfully beseech your honourable house to give relief in the premises, by immediately and completely repealing all laws imposing a tax upon corn and provisions—and your petitioners will ever pray."

Mr. DREW, T.C., moved that the foregoing petition now read be adopted, which was seconded by Mr. HAND, and unanimously carried.

Mr. MAGEE (solicitor) rose and said—I beg leave to move that this petition be entrusted to our representative Sir Wm. Somerville for presentation in the House of Commons, and to the Earl of Radnor for a like purpose in the House of Lords (hear). Of the manner in which Sir William has executed the trust reposed in him, it is unnecessary for me to speak, as you all know it perfectly. He has represented you faithfully and honestly; indeed, a more highly independent, honourable, or talented gentleman you could not select for your representative in the British dominions. Sir William's first connection with the electors of Drogheda was as creditable to them as it was honourable for him; he did not canvass them, or seek their suffrages; they invited him. I had the honour of being one of the deputation nominated to wait on him for that purpose. We were instructed to put various questions to him; and to show Sir William's manly, straightforward independence of mind, and integrity of purpose, I will just mention that one of these questions was, whether he would vote for a repeal of the Corn Laws (hear, hear). He said he would not pledge himself to vote for their repeal, but would reserve to himself the right to consider the question when brought before the house; now, how did Sir William act with regard to this question? Notwithstanding that he is a large landed proprietor, he voted with those who were for the total abolition of those laws (hear, hear). In conclusion I have only to add, that he was always found at his post when the interest of his constituents required it, and particularly when his vote or his interest was required to obtain full and ample justice for Ireland (cheers).

Mr. BRADY, T.C., having seconded the resolution, it was put and carried unanimously.

Sir Wm. SOMERVILLE, Bart., M.P., now came forward, and was received with loud and protracted cheers. He said: I came here not to obtrude my sentiments on the question which you have met to consider, but to hear what were yours. I have listened with attention to the resolutions as they have been put forward; and, if I may judge from the manner in which they have been received, the Corn Laws are no favourites of yours (loud cheers, and hear). Mr. Magee has told you that when I had the honour to be requested to stand for the borough of Drogheda, the deputation that waited on me wished to know my sentiments on the Corn Law. I did not at that time pledge myself, because I thought I had not given the subject that consideration which it required—not that I was in love with the Corn Laws, but I wished calmly to consider the question

before I gave my decision on it (hear, hear). I went to the House of Commons, and from the arguments I heard there, I came to the conclusion that those laws were contrary to the great principles of truth and justice, and my resolution was formed never to give any vote contrary to these principles (cheers). Such would be my determination whether I was a landlord or not—such was the resolution which I thought it my duty to come to—and I trust that my course has not been such as to displease me to the possession of your esteem (loud cheers). I will continue to consider it, not as a landlord (though being one), but as to its effects upon the mechanic and the trader and the great bulk of the people. You are aware of the course this question run not long since. There was a proposition made to have a fixed duty; when that proposition was made I voted for it, not because I thought it as good a measure as I wished for, but because I believed it an improvement on the previous system (hear). The proposition was, however, scouted by the Tories—they defeated the party who introduced it, and they brought Sir Robert Peel into power; but in doing so, I believe you will agree with me in saying, "they cut a rod to whip themselves" (cheers and laughter). If I read the signs of the times aright, he will propose a very extensive change indeed—in fact, if he does not he cannot hold the office of Prime Minister of England in six months (loud cheers). For myself I will say that if you declare for the repeal of the Corn Law—if you instruct me that they are injurious to the people of Drogheda, the measure for their removal shall have my support (cheers). I have always given my best attention to every request emanating from the people, and I may add that under our complicated system of representative Government, I considered it my duty particularly to attend to the wishes of the humbler and the poor classes from the fact that they have not votes (cheers). Some persons might perhaps say, "This man has no vote—no influence—why should you take any trouble to oblige him?" I have always thought that because he had not this privilege or this influence he the more required protection and assistance (loud cheers). On the first occasion upon which the question of a change in the Corn Law was proposed after I entered Parliament, I voted in favour of the measure, and as I was an Irish landed proprietor, my remarks were taken up by the press and commented on. I even received an anonymous letter, the writer of which paid me the compliment of very seriously asking me, was I mad?—I—an Irish landlord, to vote against the Corn Laws? (Laughter and cheers.) I heard the arguments in the House of Commons on both sides of the question; and I will say that the opponents of the Corn Laws had the best of it. There is no man who could for a moment stand up to oppose the reasoning of Mr. Cobden on the question (cheers); next to the great leader of Ireland—there is no man of higher reasoning powers—no man of more indomitable energy, and his influence in England is only second to the influence possessed in Ireland by the leader of the Irish people (loud cheers for Mr. O'Connell). With the influence and energy of Mr. Cobden, backed by the leader of Ireland and many of the Irish people, the fate of the Corn Laws is sealed (cheers). It is unfortunately too true that when the Corn Laws were carried in Parliament at the point of the bayonet, the system was made the basis of many of our commercial and monetary arrangements, so that it might appear dangerous to shift the basement lest the whole fabric should fall (hear, hear). But I feel satisfied that, after all, it is better to make the change; the entire social system will be made more firm—more secure. The change will, I have no doubt, be ultimately for the benefit of all classes—but especially for the mechanic. (Hear, hear.) You have done me the honour to entrust your petition to me for presentation. I see your meeting is composed of men of high respectability, and of the mechanics and working classes, who have so deep an interest in the question. I will present that petition, and I have no doubt it will have much effect, as every petition coming from Ireland on this subject must. (Hear, hear.) I do not anticipate that the landlords shall suffer so much as they seem to fear, nor do I suppose it will have that injurious effect upon the farmers which they seem to dread; as to the agricultural labourer, his condition is already so bad that we might suppose that no change could make it worse. (Hear, hear.) There can be no doubt that the political barometer just now points to change—there are some threatening indications of storm, but I trust that they shall speedily pass away, and that the ultimate result will be such as none will have reason to complain of. (Cheers.) I have before me full evidence of your opinion on these laws; but even if you were favourable to their continuance, I would think it my duty to come in here to warn you that the change must come. I would consider it but an honest part to come here and tell such of you as might advocate these laws, that they must fall—they are doomed, and I again repeat my belief that no interest will suffer so much as is feared. It would indeed be a gratification to me to support the law if it could be proved to me that they are not contrary to justice, that they are beneficial to all classes of society; but until some conjuror comes forward in the House of Commons and proves that beyond dispute, I feel bound to vote for their removal. I now beg leave to return my best thanks to you, Mr. Mayor, and to the several gentlemen around me—to Mr. Campbell, Rev. Mr. O'Ferrall, Mr. Magee, and to the meeting generally for the very kind manner in which I have been received here to-day. I return to you all my best thanks for the forbearance you evinced towards me when I was unable to attend in my place in Parliament (cheers). I can only assure you that that forbearance shall spur me on to do everything that may be in my power to advance the interests of Drogheda and its inhabitants. To all my constituents I must return my warmest thanks—they have treated me not merely as their representative, but as their personal friend. I can only reciprocate those feelings, and assure you, one and all, that the confidence, forbearance, and friendship which I have received at your hands shall never be forgotten by me. The hon. baronet resumed his seat amid the most enthusiastic applause.

The Mayor having now vacated the chair, Mr. Campbell was called thereto.

Rev. Mr. CONNOLLY came forward to propose the next resolution, and was greeted with loud and continued cheering. He said—I sincerely thank you for this warm reception. A resolution has just been given me which I feel great pleasure in moving; it is to the effect that the marked thanks of this meeting are due, and deserve to be given, to Patrick Boylan, Esq., Mayor of Drogheda, for his dignified conduct in the chair, and his anxiety on all occasions to promote those measures which have for their object the amelioration of the condition of the poor (hear, hear, and cheers). Gentlemen, our worthy Mayor is well known to you. It is not the first time for him to be engaged in the works of charity—his services during the time of cholera are well known to

and appreciated by the inhabitants, and the part he has taken in the meeting of this day, adds to his many claims upon the gratitude and esteem of the people (hear, hear, and cheers). It has pleased Providence this year to afflict you by the failure of the potato crop—you have only to be directed by such men as your mayor, and your excellent representative. Wait with patience—do nothing rash—place your confidence in Heaven, and everything will yet be to your wishes (hear, hear). Gentlemen, I again thank you for the enthusiastic manner in which you received me, and in conclusion, let me ask of you one favour, that is—to give three hearty cheers for that excellent gentleman, the Mayor, your chairman (loud cheering for several minutes).

Sir WILLIAM SOMERVILLE begged permission to second a vote of thanks to their worthy and excellent Mayor. The people of Drogheda were alive to his intrinsic merits, and conferred upon him the situation of honour to which he is so well entitled. I have the honour of his friendship, and it is with the greatest pleasure I second the resolution (cheers).

The MAYOR, in handsome terms, returned thanks to Sir William Somerville, Rev. Mr. Connolly, and the meeting, for the vote of thanks passed to him.

Mr. MAJOR: Before this highly respectable meeting separates, I beg to move that the marked thanks of this meeting are due, and hereby given to our representative, Sir William Somerville, for his attendance here this day, and his former services in Parliament.

Mr. DANIEL BRADY claimed the privilege of seconding this resolution, which was put and carried by acclamation. The meeting then separated in good order.

GREAT MEETING OF THE COUNTY OF LANARK.

(From the *Glasgow Argus*.)

A meeting of the county of Lanark, convened by his grace, the Duke of Hamilton, lord-lieutenant, in compliance with a requisition numerously signed, was held in the County Hall, Hamilton, on Monday, at 12 o'clock. The meeting was well attended, and amongst those present we observed the following noblemen and gentlemen:

Lord Belhaven; Sir J. E. Colebrooke, Bart.; Sir W. C. Anstruther, Bart.; Sir Norman M. Lockhart, Bart.; Sir Henry S. Stewart, Bart.; Hon. Major Cochrane; William Lockhart, of Milton Lockhart, M.P. for the county; James Lumsden, Lord Provost of Glasgow; Messrs. Farie, of Fairlie; Greenshields, of Kerse; Campbell Douglass, Glasgow; John Fife, merchant, Glasgow; David Mackinlay, Glasgow; Robert Stewart, of Omoa ironworks; Geo. Wilson, of Dalmarnock; John Wilson, of Auchineden; Wm. Mills, merchant, Glasgow; John Mure, of Provan; James Dunlop, of Clyde ironworks; Colin R. Dunlop, ditto; Charles Stirling, merchant, Glasgow; Robert Bartholomew, ditto; James Couper, ditto; J. P. Reid, ditto; W. P. Pitt, ditto; Andrew Galbraith, ditto; Alexander Couper, ditto; J. S. Blythe, ditto; Wm. Brown, writer, Glasgow; James Davidson, of Ruchill; Robert Finlay, of Easterhill; James McCall, of Duldowie; Walter Black, Provost of Hamilton; Duncan Swin, Hamilton; Wm. Paterson, Hamilton; H. Houldsworth, of Coltness; Andrew Jackson, of Park; John Whitehead, one of the magistrates of Glasgow; David Chapman, merchant, Glasgow; Wm. Bankier, Provost of Calton; John Robertson, merchant, Glasgow; George Ord, ditto; William McLean, of Plantation; William G. Mitchell, of Carwood; Thos. R. Scott, Castlemaids; Wm. Murray, of Monkland; John Wilson, of Dundyan; John Wilson, jun., of Dundyan; George Crawford, writer, Glasgow; North Dalrymple, of Cleland; Patrick Graham, of Limekilns; Wm. Clark, of Easter Moffat; John Tennant, of St. Rollox; Wm. Gebbie, of Halburn; Alexander Graham, of Capilly; John Webster, Woodhall; John Hamilton, of Fairholm; Henry McCall, Jr., of Daldowie; James Barr, of Almeida Hill; Geo. Stirling, merchant, Glasgow; Walter Buchanan, ditto; John Clark, of Kirkland Park; John Marshall, of Machan; D. O. Marienski, member of the town council, Hamilton; Wm. Moubray, ditto; John Davidson, Airdrie; and a number of the inhabitants of the county of Lanark.

Lord BELHAVEN said, in consequence of a letter which had been received, he believed that they need not expect the attendance of his Grace the Duke of Hamilton; he therefore begged leave to propose that the Hon. North Dalrymple, of Cleland, be requested to take the chair.

The motion was seconded by Sir EDWARD COLEBROOKE, and unanimously agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Mr. MARR to read a letter from his Grace the Duke of Hamilton.

Sir NORMAN McDONALD LOCKHART said, before the business commenced, he would beg leave to propose that the Clerk be requested to read the sedentary.

Mr. MARR then read a list of the names of the Justices of the Peace, Commissioners of Supply, &c., present.

Mr. ALEX. GRAHAM said, might he be permitted to take the liberty of asking, if they were going to take down the names of all the persons present? He observed that this was a meeting called to take place in this county—it was taking place—and he presumed that every person here had a right to take part in the deliberations, and in any vote which might be come to (cheers). He thought it a work of supererogation, therefore, taking down the names of each individual, for on coming to any division, it would be the sheep going to the right, and the goats to the left.

Mr. JAMES DAVIDSON said the question seemed to be, whether they were to have universal suffrage or not.

Mr. GEBBIE, of Strathaven, suggested that the requisition calling the meeting should be read, in order to settle the point as to who should be present and take a share in the proceedings.

Mr. MARR then read the following:—

"County of Lanark, 8th Jan., 1846.

"My LORD DUKE,—We, who have signed this requisition to your Grace, feel anxious that an opportunity should be given to this county of expressing its opinion on the present state of public affairs. When we consider the many and varied interests of this great county, and the duty which we owe to the industrious and rapidly increasing population employed in agriculture, in commerce, and in manufactures, all of whom are suffering from an erroneous and pernicious system of monopoly and protection, destructive alike of the real interests of the county, and the welfare of our people, we are desirous of expressing our sentiments on this important question, and for this purpose request your Grace will call a general meeting of the county, to be held at Hamilton, on an early day."

The notice was in these terms:

"In consequence of the above requisition, I hereby call a general meeting of the county of Lanark, to be held at Hamilton, on the 19th of January, at 12 o'clock.

"HAMILTON & BRANDON, Lieut.

"Hamilton Palace, Jan. 9, 1846."

The Chairman said from the terms of the requisition he supposed every one present would have a right to vote. It was a general meeting of the county.

Mr. BROWN, writer, Glasgow, maintained that it could not be a meeting of the county of Lanark unless a sederunt was taken down of the persons who had a right to be present. Unless this were done, individuals might come here from Kilmarnock, Kirkintilloch, Pollockshaws, and other places not in the county, and swamp the meeting, who did not belong to the county at all. In that case, it might be a meeting in the county of Lanark, but not of the county of Lanark.

Mr. A. GRAHAM said, it was a general meeting of the county of Lanark, and he did not believe any gentleman would take part in the proceedings, except he had an interest in the county.

Mr. McCALL said, if it was a general meeting of the county, he considered it as poor a turn out as ever he saw in his life. The hall, he considered, would not hold above 1000 persons, and if it had been meant for a general meeting of the county, some suitable place of meeting should have been provided.

After considerable discussion, it seemed to be understood that every one present had a right to take part in the deliberations, and to vote in any division that might be come to by the meeting.

Lord BELHAVEN rose to move a resolution in accordance with the object for which the meeting had been called, and in doing so said: Mr. Chairmen and Gentlemen, This point being now settled, I rise to bring before your attention the object for which this meeting has been called, and I will be as brief as possible in explaining my views on the subject, which I have no hesitation in saying, is of the highest importance of any that a county meeting could be called to deliberate upon. You have already heard the letter of the Duke of Hamilton, in which he declares that he entertains the same principles of Free Trade as he held 30 years ago, when he signed the celebrated protest drawn up by Lord Grenville in the House of Peers (cheers). In asking you, then, to turn your attention to this question, I may begin by stating that we are now arrived in this country at a state of matters in which to stand still is impossible (cheers). If we know anything at all of the opinion of public men on this question, we know this, that men of all sides and of every shade of politics have arrived at the conclusion that the Corn Laws cannot last (cheers). We can arrive at but one conclusion, and that is, that the Corn Laws cannot be continued any longer. Whether their repeal is to be accompanied by the general adoption of Free Trade is another question; but it is a question upon which we ought to deliberate and decide, by declaring it as our opinion that Free Trade as a general principle ought to be adopted by the politicians of this country (cheers). If we consider the vast interests involved in this country (in connection with the object of our meeting), of the first importance as regards merchandise and manufactures—interests which in a few years have raised this country to a pitch of prosperity which I may almost say is unequalled in any other county in Scotland—and which no county of similar extent can have any pretensions to; if we look to that great branch of industry which has risen within the last 20 years—if we consider the immense value of it, not only to the districts where it is in operation, but to the whole country—I (I mean the iron trade of this county)—if we look to the individuals who, I may say, have created that trade—if we consider the ability, industry, and talent brought to bear upon it, so as to raise it from utter insignificance to be one of the staple trades of this country, we must come to the conclusion that we owe a debt of gratitude to those men for their energy and enterprise—and that we are not entitled to stand in the way of the means by which that and every other description of manufacture in the country may be improved and increased (cheers). In considering this question, then, as far as relates to Free Trade in corn, is there any proprietor of land—is there any occupant of land, who will say that there is any benefit either to the one receiving or to the other paying his rent, apart from the general prosperity of the country—or is there any one who does not acknowledge that the one receives his rent best, and the other is best able to pay his rent, when trade is in the most flourishing condition (hear, hear)? And does not that prove that agriculture, and commerce, and manufactures, can only thrive by the encouragement of these reciprocal interests which exist among them? We, then, of the agricultural classes have as great an interest in supporting everything that benefits commerce and manufactures as in supporting that which benefits ourselves. Let us ask, then, what advantages we have gained from these Corn Laws? Will any man take the trouble to look back to the year 1815, when the agriculturists declared that it was impossible for them to get on unless wheat was maintained at 80s. a quarter; and considering the fact that since that time, even with the Corn Law protection, it has been at prices varying from 70s. to 60s., and almost down as far as 50s. a quarter, still we continue to grow wheat, and a larger proportion of it than we ever did. Whence, then, is the advantage we have derived from this protection? At one time we have abundance, at another a scarcity. We have no trust or confidence in any settlement that can be made of this question but one. We have seen the duties vary four or five times, the law having been changed so many times, till at last, as I believe, the time is now nearly arrived when they will be totally repealed (cheers). I should take the liberty, then, of urging on the agricultural interest the propriety of considering well whether or not it would be for their own benefit that they come forward willingly and cheerfully, and desire to see protective duties taken off, not only corn, but every other article of impost (hear, hear). Let the great principles of Free Trade be adopted as the only principles on which trade can flourish. I hope, and trust, and believe, that the agricultural interests will suffer in no way because they are afforded less protection, provided the same measures are meted out to the manufacturing and commercial interest (hear, hear). Lord Belhaven then read the resolution. His Lordship reserved to himself the liberty of reply to any observations which might afterwards be made.

WALTER BUCHANAN, Esq., merchant, Glasgow, said he had great pleasure in seconding the motion. He and his friends from Glasgow, who were now present, had long laboured in the cause of Free Trade, and to them it was a matter of great gratification to attend this meeting, to see gentlemen of such standing in the county as their honourable chairman and the noble convener of the county now coming forward, and adopting the same views. He and his friends, therefore, looked on the present meeting with deep interest, as it showed the time had now come when all classes felt it their duty to unite in order that the triumph of the great cause might no longer be postponed. For some years the repeal of the Corn Laws and the cause of Free Trade generally had been looked upon as a political question. This was no longer the case. It was notorious that the Conser-

vative Cabinet of Sir Robert Peel had been broken upon the question of Free Trade; and the Premier, with those enlightened opinions which he has often expressed, and that prescience of which he has shown so many remarkable examples, seems now to be satisfied that the question of Free Trade in corn can no longer be delayed. There could be no doubt that this was still made a leading question in the newly-formed Cabinet, though perhaps not to the full extent; and it was therefore the duty of all classes to let Sir Robert Peel and the Legislature know their opinion on the question; as, if supported by the country, they might still hope for his persevering in the measures he had originally devised. It was important that Glasgow should co-operate with the county of Lanark, as from its importance as a manufacturing and commercial county, it must produce an important influence on the county at large. If the landlords of this country would examine their rent rolls for one hundred years back, they would find that the improvement they now exhibited was consequent on the extension of the manufactures of the country, and particularly on the progress of the iron trade. After alluding to the benefits which railways were conferring on the country, he said that these, as tending to promote the prosperity of trade in general, were joined in by all political parties, and he could not see why the question of Free Trade should be an exception. The railways were intended to increase our trade, and if a prostration of trade should occur, railways would suffer as they had done in 1841 and 1842. He would refer to Mr. Wilson, Mr. Baird, Mr. Dixon, or any other of the great iron manufacturers, if it were possible to carry out, under any system, the manufacturing capabilities of the country, except under that of complete freedom of trade (cheers). While such was the state of the case as regards capitalists, was there no reason why Free Trade should not be adopted so far as the working classes were concerned? The increase of wealth in the country was not more evident than the increase of population. Look for instance at the Airdrie district, the chiefest of the iron manufacture—look at the seats of the cotton manufactures, and see the extent of the increase of the population of late years, without a corresponding increase in the extent of cultivated soil on which the people must depend for food, and it would be impossible for any one to affirm that the country was independent in regard to a supply of corn. The question then was, would they continue to expose the country to those periodical prostrations of trade which produced so much misery in this manufacturing country? Being satisfied that Free Trade alone would meet evils of which they had so much reason to complain, he cordially seconded the motion. (Cheers.)

Mr. LOCKHART, M.P. said, he felt it his duty to attend on this occasion, in order to make a few explanations. He wished to state to the requisitionists, very few of whom he knew, and most of whom never took any part in the business of the county before, that the question which had called forth this meeting had already been decided by the county of Lanark. He presumed he had been sent to Parliament as member for this county because he was friendly to the employment of their own people, and was opposed to placing this country in dependence upon those who were their friends to day, but might be their mortal enemies to-morrow. Very recently a meeting of the county was held in the county town, and a petition was agreed upon in favour of the existing protection to agriculture, which was presented to the House of Lords by his grace the Duke of Hamilton, and he (Mr. L.) had the same honour in the House of Commons; and he would venture to say that that petition was as respectfully signed as any petition which ever emanated from this country, and showed that the intelligence, the wealth, and the industry of this county were all opposed to the wild principles of Free Trade (hear, hear, and disapprobation). No circumstances had arisen in the meantime to induce him to change his opinion. It might be that this meeting had been got up for the purpose of forwarding the views of those connected with the League. The time at which the requisition was first handed about, and the mysterious and obscure terms in which it was couched, seemed to favour this idea; but he would venture to say, that the county of Lanark would never submit to be dragged at the tail of the Anti-Corn-Law League (hear, hear, and hissing). He said, the county of Lanark would never submit to be dragged at the tail of the Anti-Corn-Law League (great disapprobation). The requisition stated, that this country was suffering from an erroneous and pernicious system of monopoly and protection. Now, he would appeal to all present, whether in their experience the country was ever in a more prosperous state. That this was ascribable to various causes, he did not deny; but still he would appeal to them if the country was ever in a more prosperous condition. It was partly attributable, he believed, to the railway speculations, but partly it was the consequence, that during the three successive years past they had been blessed with abundant harvests. The repeal of the Corn Laws would destroy this prosperity for the future, for it would throw all the inferior lands of this country out of cultivation, and would throw hundreds of thousands of agricultural labourers out of employment. He was surprised the noble Lord had not entered a little upon that point when he made the proposal he did. He saw a gentleman from Strathaven in the meeting, where the farms were improved at so much expense and trouble; and were the Corn Laws repealed, the ground would be converted into its original moor, and the whole country would return to what it was a hundred years ago (laughter and disapprobation).

The CHAIRMAN insisted on the meeting being more orderly, and allowing the honourable gentleman to proceed with his observations.

Mr. LOCKHART said he was much obliged to the Chairman, but he could assure them he was not at all offended at what had taken place. He was perfectly ready to take his share of any ridicule which might be cast upon him in consequence of the views which he entertained, for he was perfectly satisfied that he had the cause of truth and the cause of the working-classes at heart in everything which he did, and he believed all who knew him would give him credit for this being the case. Mr. Buchanan had stated truly that agriculture derived a great deal of support from manufactures, but did not manufactures derive benefit from agriculture? He appeared to forget that three-fourths of the manufactures of this country were consumed at home, and if they knocked down the agricultural interest they would diminish the means of the landlord, throw the labourers of the country out of employment, and seriously injure their home demand, to enable them to grasp the phantom of Free Trade. It might be said that they could send their goods abroad, but it was not in their power to command other nations. All the nations of the earth differed in almost everything. They differed in their laws, and they differed in the mode of collecting their revenue, but they all

agreed in this—to give protection to the industry of their own people. It was a principle with them, and with all the enlightened statesmen of Europe, to give employment to their own people in preference to employing the inhabitants of other countries. Could they expect, therefore, that other countries would abandon this principle because Great Britain abandoned it? He had heard it said that if they declared for Free Trade the whole world would follow their example; but what was the fact? He would ask the noble lord (Belhaven) in what manner the adoption of this principle was met in 1842? That year they made extensive alterations in their tariff. The duties on corn, said to be prohibitory, were greatly modified, and various other prohibitory duties were abolished or diminished. The whole system was altered, and greatly in favour of foreign nations. Now, in what manner were these approaches to Free Trade met? Why by no less than six hostile tariffs. The nations of Europe and America all took the alarm, and instead of coming forward in the manner expected, drew more closely the bonds of protection around their own people; and various attempts made since to induce them to relax their system of prohibitory duties had signally failed. An impression was abroad, from the speeches delivered elsewhere, that agriculture was the only protected interest; but there was no man in this room who did not derive benefit from protection. Take the case of the silk weaver. He joined in the cry of cheap bread, but when he did so he did not recollect that his master had a protection of 25 or 30 per cent. on his goods, which enabled him to pay workmen double the wages paid in France. He observed two watchmakers amongst the requisitionists, and he would like to ask if they were aware that there was a protecting duty of 20 per cent. on watches, and 10 per cent. on clocks? Shoemakers were likewise protected; and he recollected that some of the very men who now clamoured for the Corn Laws being abolished, were quite alarmed at the proposal to reduce the duty on foreign shoes. The Strathaven shoemakers wished their own trade protected; but they had no hesitation to take away protection from the cheese and butter of the Strathaven lairds, to whom he owed his custom. Were this system of Free Trade adopted, he would strongly recommend those gentlemen to get their boots and shoes from France—they would get them better made, probably—and their Strathaven friends might be reduced to the position of cobblers, and only get old boots to mend. Mr. L. went on to show that the effect of doing away with agricultural protection would be to lower the wages of the working-classes in this country to the same level as those paid upon the Continent; for he maintained it would be impossible for the landowner in this country to pay his labourers 10s. a week, while the foreigner only paid 4s., if the parties were to be called upon to compete on equal terms. America, he granted, was an exception; but there they had the command of unexhausted land, and pastures of boundless extent. After referring to the condition of Ireland from the failure of the potato crop, and to the fact that during all the 10 years the Whigs were in power, they never proposed any reduction of the import duties, or any repeal of the Corn Laws, he concluded by making an analysis of the requisition, for the purpose of showing that few of the gentlemen whose names were upon that paper had any great interest in the county. Amongst 336, only 13 were commissioners of supply, and only 51 electors.

Sir E. COLEBROOKE, M.P. for Taunton, in rising to move the next resolution, which, he said, was merely a sequel to the one which had been proposed by Lord Belhaven, said the remarks which fell from the hon. member for the county in regard to Lord John Russell having changed his opinions on the subject of the Corn Laws, came with a bad grace from a supporter of Sir R. Peel's Government, seeing that that hon. gentleman, who had been carried into office by the protectionists, had made the greatest advances of any party in power in the direction of Free Trade principles. If the opinions of Lord John Russell, therefore, were open to taunt, certainly those of other parties were not less so. He did not think, however, that the present was the time in which they should use party taunts. He believed that he spoke the opinion of all who are favourable to the principle of Free Trade, that they are anxious to join any party favourable to these views, and nothing would give him greater pleasure, in his place in Parliament, than to support Sir R. Peel in carrying this measure. It was the opinion of the requisitionists, that in submitting resolutions to a country in which are united so many various interests, mining, manufacturing, commercial, and agricultural, that no class should be called upon to give up protection when all were prepared to do the same. If the principles of Free Trade were good, they ought to be extended to every article of import; and in conformity with this opinion, he had to submit the resolution which he would propose for the adoption of the meeting. The hon. gentleman proceeded to refer at some length to the doings of Sir R. Peel's Government during the past three years, whereby important reforms had been introduced into the laws affecting importation. He well remembered the representations made by various parties who considered that they would be affected by these alterations from being exposed to foreign competition. The fears of these parties, however, had been dissipated. Notwithstanding the difference of wages paid by the manufacturers of this country compared to those on the Continent—notwithstanding the heavy burdens of taxation, and the operation of hostile tariffs to which the hon. member for the county had alluded, the manufacturers of this country carried more than fifty millions of their manufactures to various parts of the world. The agriculturists were still desirous to lean in sloth and indolence on the state-protection, and still holding out the idle threat that unless the soil is protected, and corn kept at a dear rate, their millions of acres will be thrown out of cultivation. (Hear, hear.) It became the agriculturists to take their position along with the other great interests of the country, and not stand out for any exclusive privilege. He saw no room for a middle course with regard to this matter. Nothing would be satisfactory but a repeal of the Corn Laws. Three years ago the case was different. There then existed a strong party, not merely among the agriculturists, but among the commercial classes, who would have been favourable to a middle course, and would willingly have adopted it, but after the last three years' discussion they had been shown the rottenness of that cause that relied on protection. He knew, if they might judge from what was passing at the present time in many of the agricultural districts of this country, that there were many members of the Conservative party who would gladly do anything that would enable them to support the Government in compromising this question, and anything that would prevent their supporting the views of the gentlemen of the Anti-Corn Law League. But he submitted to the meeting where was the possibility of supporting any modification of these laws? (cheers.) He thought the fate of the

measures introduced three or four years ago by the present Government must satisfy them that no fixed duty, and no mere modifications of the sliding scale would command the smallest confidence of the people of this country—would be regarded by any interest, whether commercial or agricultural, in any other light than as a stepping stone to a final repeal (loud cheers). Now, if a total repeal was to be carried he must take that opportunity of saying, in the presence of manufacturers as well as agriculturists, that in his own opinion, the sooner it was carried the better (continued cheers). He had come slowly into these views, he willingly admitted. He admitted there was much to startle persons in so great a change as that proposed, for which the agricultural mind was not prepared. But he thought this with regard to its bearing upon the agricultural interest. He thought that the past experience of the Corn Laws, constantly changing, never giving any prospect of permanency to the farmers, must make them sick of patching up this system by any modification or gradual reduction (loud cheers). He thought the tenant farmer had suffered deeply under this system, for when high wages were obtained, the higher average, whatever it might be, had gone in the shape of higher rent to the landlord (hear, hear). He did feel that the effects they had already experienced from the patching up of prices, and thus interfering with the natural course of trade in these matters, must convince them of the danger of attempting now to patch up the present system (cheers). But, if a change was to be brought about, he thought it should be done in such a way as that the tenant farmer should at once see what the result of it would be (hear). He did not himself apprehend that the repeal of these laws would produce so great a fall of prices as was apprehended (hear). He believed that Free Trade in the end would not disappoint the expectations of its promoters (cheers). He believed it would lead to a fairer and fuller supply of the great necessities of life; but he was bound to say that he believed it would not produce so violent a change as to place any person in the smallest difficulty in competing with foreign nations (hear, hear). He thought the production of corn in this country, the great article of food, would always fall behind the increase of our population. Look at what took place in regard to the introduction of foreign cattle under the new tariff. It was only four years since the alteration took place; but it was only within the last year the change had produced any perceptible effect; 25,000 head of cattle, or thereabouts, had been introduced. But we have a million more mouths to fill since the introduction of the new tariff (hear). Looking at that case, he was justified, he thought, in assuming that, while our population increases at the rate of 1000 a day, the productions of this country would always lag behind the increase of the population (cheers). If any great evil was to take place, he did say that they ought to be allowed to know the result at once. The position of the tenant farmer would then be known; he would know the nature of the change; he would at once be able to go to his landlord, and call upon him for a modification of the engagements on which he has entered. Public opinion would support the demand, and he did not think there existed the landlord that would venture to resist the demand. But if the tenant farmer falls from the proposal for a gradual repeal, there would never be any change in any one year—never be a reduction of the scale in any one year, that would enable the tenant to go to his landlord and attribute it to the alteration in the law. He did say, therefore, that it was the clearest interest of the tenantry throughout the whole country, that if a change is to be introduced in this law, it should be done at once—that there should be no attempt to patch up the protective system—that the principles of Free Trade should be carried out at once, and that the tenant farmer should have an opportunity of going at once to his landlord. (The hon. member was loudly applauded on resuming his seat.)

The Hon. JAMES LUMSDEN, Lord Provost of Glasgow, said: He had not intended to take any part in the proceedings of this meeting, and the more especially as it appeared to be rather an unpleasant circumstance to the county gentlemen, that persons from Glasgow should mix with them in endeavouring to express the public opinion of the county. In this instance, however, he felt that he should be privileged to be a partaker in the promotion of a meeting for the advancement of a cause that would prove so beneficial to manufactures, commerce, and agriculture. At the same time, he was proud to know that his grace, the Duke of Hamilton, in addition to giving them an opportunity of meeting together so near to the city of Glasgow, had also expressed his own adherence to those principles of Free Trade for which he had contended in more youthful years. The worthy member for the county (Mr. Lockhart) had referred to a meeting held lately in Lanark, at which certain resolutions had been come to on this subject. Now, that meeting might be all very well in its own way, when held in a small town at a distance from the great mining, manufacturing, and agricultural districts of Lanarkshire; but it was quite another matter here (cheers). Concurring as he did in the object of this meeting, and in the clear and satisfactory arguments of Sir E. Colebrooke in favour of Corn Law repeal, he begged leave to second the resolution of the hon. baronet, and while he did so, to express the hope that the next time his grace of Hamilton called a county meeting, it would be in a locality such as this town, at which the inhabitants of Glasgow and the surrounding districts might conveniently appear and express their sentiments (cheers). He begged further to inform the hon. member for the county, that even were another meeting to be held at Lanark, the proceedings, so far as the county gentlemen were concerned, would not be allowed to be so unanimous as they had been.

The Hon. Major COCHRANE said, I regret that Sir E. Colebrooke did not advert more at length to the results that would take place in the event of a total repeal of protection on all articles. My impression is, that that part of his speech was merely given as a scape-goat, in order to attract the attention of parties from the manner in which the League has been supported at this meeting to-day (disapprobation). If all the duties on imports were repealed, the whole of the articles of the world would come into this country—food and products of every kind (hear, hear). Now, the being possessed of a general system of cheap articles in a country does not necessarily imply the prosperity of that country. I have seen many countries where almost all articles are remarkably cheap, but much misery was prevalent in those countries, notwithstanding that they were free from an immense pressure of debt, and of the interest payable upon it. Now, I would ask any gentleman, or any person in this room, if every article, not only of consumption but of luxury, including every implement of material employed in art or otherwise, be so cheap, would not a small quantity of circulating medium be sufficient to supply the wants of this country (hear, hear, from the protectionists)? If, therefore, there was but a small circulating medium required, how is the Go-

vernment to raise the 52 millions of taxes? I contend the thing is utterly impossible. I also contend that the price of land and the value of its produce are the standard of value in this country. Reduce the value of land and of its produce, and every other thing must come down to a level. It is human hands that produce articles of every description. These hands must be supported—and food to man is the chief article of expense to him and his family. If that food is dear, of course every article which he manufactures must be proportionally high; and his employers must give him a very considerable wage out of that high-priced article. But if food is cheap, and the man's body is supported by that food, he can afford to labour for a lower rate of wages. Therefore he can manufacture articles cheaper, and the whole system will come to this, as I said before, that the circulating medium will be reduced to a very limited sum—the Government will thus be unable to raise taxes for its supplies, and the consequence will be a national bankruptcy (laughter and disapprobation). With respect to the duty on corn, it may be supposed that the ten or fifteen shillings average is entirely lost, because the Government gets it. But I can tell you it is not lost to the country because the Government gets it. For it is quite obvious if the Government were to give up these fifteen shillings, the farmer must give up fifteen shillings of the price of his quarter of wheat. On that ground it may be said the manufacturers and other parts of the population would gain. But what will they gain? Not the thirty shillings which the Government and the farmer lose—they'll gain the half of it, what the farmer loses. Therefore, they would be robbing Peter to pay Paul, and they would lose the fifteen shillings to pay the foreigner. A repeal of the Corn Laws would ruin the farmer and the agricultural interest, and deprive the Government of a revenue which it stands most in need of. The fifteen shillings Government gets are not thrown away, and the labourer, with the wages he receives in this country, can afford to purchase food when corn is at 15s. a quarter. But look at the condition of the Irish squatters, who, if the bread loaf was at a farthing, could not purchase it. Then, I say, let the meeting address the Government to keep on the Corn Laws (disapprobation)—let them say to the Government there is a duty on corn at present of 15s. a quarter—let that remain; but send any quantity to Ireland, so that its inhabitants may be supplied with food, with which they cannot supply themselves. Remember that if you deprive the Government of the 15s. tax, a tax must be put on to support them. Then you deprive the farmer of his fifteen shillings, and come upon him for his proportion of the tax to feed the people. Now, is that a rational position? I say it is the very reverse. After arguing that the most injurious consequences would arise were we dependent for a supply of food upon foreigners, who, he contended, would hoard up the corn in order to get high prices for it, the hon. gentleman continued: It would have been much better if we had created no alarm on this subject at all (a laugh). It is a fallacy to suppose that we are to have cheap bread and the farmers not be injured. It is very well to say the landlord must bring down his rents, and that it is not a farmer's question. But look at the condition of the landlords, particularly in Scotland, where many title deeds are locked up in Edinburgh (loud laughter). The very first step after this would be that the whole of their property would be put into the market, and the manufacturers, who are coming forward just now, purse-proud with their thousands and tens of thousands, would buy up their estates (hear, and loud laughter). Is that just? Is that what any Englishman or Scotchman with a heart would wish to see? The members of the League are endeavouring to carry this question by their thousands and hundreds of thousands. What next? The next thing you will hear of will probably be that the House of Lords will throw out any bill sanctioning the free importation of corn, and the League will then raise another quarter of a million with the view of obtaining a victory over the Lords. I say the League is a revolutionary body (hisses and hooting). The League will not rest (hisses)—the League will not rest until [the remainder of the sentence was lost in the hissing which followed]. That is my opinion, and with the expression of it I sit down.

Sir HENRY STEWART denied that the agriculturists had been idle—doing nothing for the last few years. By means of societies they had done much for the improvement of agriculture, and not less than 1½ millions had been invested in guano to increase the productiveness of the soil, in order to keep pace with the population. It was, in fact, well known to all, that produce had increased in proportion to the population. If by any means they reduced agricultural produce here, they would do incalculable injury, not only to the landlords, but to the working classes, and throw their destinies into the hands of foreigners.

Mr. JAMES MCCALL, of Daldowie, said: The question was, whether the people of this country were to be protected against foreign invasion in regard to their corn and their manufactures? It was impossible that this country—with its large debt, its high taxes, and its paper currency, which so much reduced the value of money, and made them believe they paid higher prices for their food—could compete with foreigners if there was a Free Trade. Let them take away the paper and substitute gold, and corn would then be cheaper even than it was in France (hear, hear). For the last two years there had been vast improvements in agriculture; and greater quantities of provisions were now raised in proportion to the population than at any former period; and more manufactures were now exported than ever were before. They never had such a flourishing home trade as at this moment. If so, would they attempt a theoretical experiment which had never been heard of in any other country? They ought to pause before they passed any resolution opening up the country, not only to the importation of corn, but to every other article which gave employment to the industrious classes of the community. He would ask the industrious classes if they were not at present getting more wages, and were not better now than they had been accustomed to? (No, no.) If they were not getting better wages (no, no, less wages). Well, then, if you are not getting higher wages at present, your masters are not doing their duty (hear, hear, and cheers). When the country was in such a state of prosperity as it was, the masters ought to give higher wages, and if they did not, with such an extent of railways going on, the working classes might not only get employment, but such wages as they chose to ask (hear, hear). The national debt was a great burden on the country, and to meet the interest, they required a great national currency; and because they paid in a depreciated currency, people imagined they paid higher than in other places. Sir Robert Peel wished to put an end to small notes, but they would not allow him; but if they had the Free Trade they wanted, they would not only lose their small notes, but their large notes along with them.

The CHAIRMAN then put the question, by a show of hands on the first resolution, the hands in favour consisting of nearly the whole meeting, those against not exceeding 15 or 20. This having been declared carried,

The question was put in the same way on the 2d resolution, and not more than half-a-dozen hands were held up against it. Both resolutions were then declared carried.

Mr. PATRICK GRAHAM, of Limekilns, moved that a petition, founded on the resolutions, should be forwarded, through his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, to the House of Lords, and another, by Sir E. Colebrooke, to the House of Commons.

Mr. JOHN WILSON of Dundee said, it must be gratifying to the noble Duke, as well as those of the county opposed to monopoly, to find that his Grace, thirty years ago, entered his protest against the pernicious Corn Laws. He is now the only surviving peer who signed that celebrated protest—it was at a time, too, when those opposed to protection were but few in number—when, among the Members sent from Scotland to the House of Commons, there could only be found two, viz. Lord Archibald Hamilton, and Lord Panmure. With regard to the object of this meeting—the taking into consideration the pernicious consequences of monopoly and protection—the resolutions which have just been moved, and the able arguments which have been adduced in support of them, render it unnecessary for me to trouble you with any observations of mine (hear, hear, hear). There is one point, however, which has not been very clearly brought out, namely, the difference between protective and other import duties. Many of those who formerly upheld the Corn Laws, now say—“If you take off the tax on corn, which is our protection, you must take off the tax on other articles of import as well; you must take off the tax on the articles which I buy—the tax on sugar, on tea, on wine,” &c. Now, the principles of Free Trade is—take off these taxes by all means, but none of these is so obnoxious as that on corn. The tax on corn goes to protect the corn growers of this country, and goes but a small way in aiding revenue, while the taxes on tea, sugar, and wine, are not protections, because neither of these articles are produced in this country; these taxes, therefore, go to make up the revenue, but the tax on corn, as I have already stated, goes but a small way in this, as is easily illustrated, viz.—Take the duty on corn at ten shillings per quarter, before it comes into this country, there requiring to be added to the price it cost at Dantzic or Odessa the freight and this ten shillings duty—that is the net amount of what goes into the pockets of the landlords, and does not benefit the revenue. Not so the taxes on tea, sugar, and wine. These go directly towards making up the revenue, and are alike to all. The tax on corn is paid into the pockets of the landlords out of the pockets of the manufacturing and industrious classes. It is a class tax, for it benefits the few at the expense of the many. It benefits the protectionists, who have monopolised the seats around this table, at the expense of the manufacturing and industrious classes, who are obliged to stand behind their chairs. (Laughter and cheers.) To make it an equal tax, the same duty should be levied on home-grown corn as on that which is imported. But let us take a more general and Free Trade view of the evil effects of the existing Corn Law on this country (cheers, and cries of “Hear, hear.”) Great Britain, from its geographical position in relation to the different nations of the world, is particularly well situated for exchanging the productions of the different climates. The very shape of the island is in its favour, being longer than it is broad, with navigable rivers on each side, penetrating to near its centre—added to which are her commanding harbours—and united to all these advantages she possesses the element of manufacture in a greater degree than any other nation in the world, (the principal of which are its coal and iron,) without which, no nation can be great, and with which and good laws, limits can scarcely be set to a nation's advancement. (Cheers.) Allusion has been made by the mover and seconder of the first resolution to the iron trade, and to its prosperous condition; but were it not for the railways which have so recently sprung up in this country, the iron trade would probably have been at this moment in a languishing condition, in consequence of the import duties, which prevent its finding its way into foreign countries. With the exception of Holland, no foreign country will now admit our iron duty free—in France and Spain, the duty is now more than the cost of production in this country, which amounts also to a prohibition. In America the import duty on pig iron is above 40s. per ton; and the Germans, who were the last to lay on a protecting tax, last year imposed an import duty of 20s. per ton. Now, I believe, all these import duties have been laid on in consequence of the import duties we lay on the produce of these countries, and particularly on their corn. The result is, that in consequence of our refusing to admit their corn, they refuse to admit our manufactures, and thus both countries are injured. From the iron district around us, there was exported in 1843 above 60,000 tons of pig iron to Germany, but during the last year, I believe, there has not been 1000 tons exported to these states, and that in consequence of the “Zollverein” laying on a 20s. duty. Another evil that may arise from the maintaining of these laws, is the inimical feeling they engender in those countries with whom we are most likely to go to war, France and America. We tax the wines and brandies of our nearest neighbours, the French, their silks, and their corn, so as to make them retaliate on us by taxing our iron, our coals, and our cottons. On the produce of America we lay an import tax likewise, while they, in return, lay a high tariff on our manufactures; and an occasion has now arisen which may form a pretext for a most sanguinary war, that of the disputed territory of the Oregon. I cannot contemplate such a war without horror; I have no fears for the issue, even though France were to join them—but what scenes of bloodshed would such a war lead to—for in proportion to our advancement in civilisation, we have at the same time advanced in our power to destroy our enemies. I hope and trust matters will not come to this—but the best way to prevent it is by abrogating the Corn Laws, and thus paving the way to a general reconciliation (cheers).

Mr. A. GRAHAM, of Capillie, said that they must have observed that the hon. member for the county had met with two disappointments on this occasion—the one, that the present meeting was not constituted like his favourite one at Lanark, so as to enable him to carry resolutions, however stringent, for maintaining the fullest agricultural protection—and the other, that nobody had dared to reply to his question, “How could a farmer, paying 10s. a week of wages to an agricultural labourer compete with one paying 4s.?” As to the first he should have thought it a great gratification for him (Mr. L.) to meet the people of Lanarkshire of every rank and occupation (hear, hear)—and he was astonished that one,

who had informed them that some years ago he was elected the member for the county, should not consider himself the representative of all classes, instead of only some of those called the gentlemen of this county (hear, hear). As to the question of competition in the case of different rates of wages which he had at first put so pointedly to him (Mr. A. G.) and which he had just repeated with an air of such assured triumph, he might presume that the hon. member had heard of a country not very far distant, commonly called Ireland (laughter), where an agricultural labourer receives 5d. a-day, which, multiplied by 6, makes 30 pence, or, in other words, 2s. 6d., which is 1s. 6d. less than 4s. (cheers). And who ever heard that a Scottish farmer dreaded to enter the great corn market of Britain, and compete with an Irish farmer? And what is there about an Irishman less dreadful than a Pole? (hear, hear.) But as it has been with cattle so shall it be with corn. When the tariff came out it was the cry of the Highlands that cattle could no longer be properly bred. Cattle bought in at markets before the tariff were sold at Whitsunday, after its commencement, at 10s. to 20s. a head of diminished price, with the loss of keep to boot; and how fared it at this moment with home-bred cattle after so short an interval, and with a rapidly increasing introduction of foreign stock? Too many could not now be bred, and prices never were higher (loud cheers). His excellent friend, Sir H. Stewart, plumed himself on the fact, that farming societies improved agriculture, but he would ask why had the landholders of England at length imitated the Highland society of Scotland? Was it to benefit the public, by increasing and cheapening their food (hear)? Or, was it even for the pleasure of beholding better cultivated fields? No, it was because that, wise in their generation, the landlords inwardly say and confessed to themselves what they dared not publicly avow, that the Corn Laws were doomed (cheers), and that it was requisite for rents of future years that the tenantry should be taught to combine science with art, and so make up for protection (cheers). His young friend mentioned, as a proof of agricultural improvement, the large purchases of guano. He thanked him for the word (hear, hear). Was he (Sir H. S.) aware that on the introduction of guano the public dung of Edinburgh brought 1500l. less than the year before? And had any sliding scale been adopted for dung, so as to protect this home product of Edinburgh from competition with the foreign guano product of distant rocks in the sea (cheers and laughter)? If justice is to rule the legislation of this country, either a protective import duty should have been put on guano, or the citizens of Edinburgh should have been relieved of 1500l. of the corn tax (hear, hear). He utterly scouted the idea that the abolition of the Corn Laws would make agriculture cease (hear, hear). 80s. was thought the lowest price at which wheat could be grown; it fell to 60s., and still wheat was grown; it fell to 50s., and still the farmer grew it; it fell to 40s.; yes, to 38s., and wheat was still grown; and the lower the price fell, the greater breadth was sown (hear). He thoroughly believed that the abolition of protection would not ruin, but increase and improve agriculture (hear). The necessity, whether real or believed, for increased exertion, would force on more and better drainage; the plough would not be beat down and converted into some manufacturing instrument, but it and every other implement, with all their adjuncts, would be improved; and the only competition a Scottish farmer would have to fear would be the farmer of the south, when the abolition of protection opened the eyes of the English landlord to the expediency, propriety, and justice of granting him a lease—(hear)—and of assisting him in improvement (cheers). He would say, that if any tax were to be imposed on corn, under whatever name and of whatever amount, it must be for revenue, which was for the good of the State, and not for rent, which was for the good of the landlords—one of whom he happened to be (much cheering).

Major COCHRANE and other gentlemen again addressed the meeting, amidst considerable manifestations of impatience.

Lord BELHAVEN said,—Before the meeting closes, I should wish to say a few words, chiefly in explanation of some part of what I stated before, which I think has not been altogether understood. Before I allude to that, however, I must say one word with respect to what fell from my honourable friend, the member for Lanarkshire. I certainly did regret to hear the statement made by him, because I think of all men here, that statement with respect to this meeting came from him with the worst possible grace (loud cheers). I am sure my honourable friend could not mean—and yet it is difficult for me to construe it otherwise—I hope he did not mean, that because there happened to be but 13 Commissioners of Supply who signed the requisition calling this meeting, that the meeting is an unimportant one. The requisition, said the honourable member, was signed by only 13 Commissioners of Supply; he then stated what these Commissioners of Supply were; that, in fact, only nine of them possessed any property. Now, I think I am not saying too much, when I state that in this county we have a right to consider, that as my honourable friend is the member for the county, he is the representative of all. I am sure we all wish to pay him respect as such, although many of us may differ from him in matters of politics. And I am sure if any of us wished to have any business done in Parliament, he would be as ready to do it as any individual would be (cheers). But there was another observation which the hon. gentleman made, which I was also sorry to hear from him; and I must at the same time say, when I allude to these observations, it delights me to think they were not echoed back by any person here (cheers). The observations to which I refer are contained in the statement of the hon. member, that we are desirous of dragging the county of Lanark at the tail of the Anti-Corn-Law League (hear, hear). To that statement, gentlemen, I make no reply. I stand here, and I hope that we, as the county of Lanark, stand here upon our own principles, alike independent of the Anti-Corn-Law League and of the present Government—(loud cheering); and yet I might throw out the taunt that my hon. friend (Mr. Lockhart), who was elected to support the protection to agriculture then existing, did support a measure which did take away part and parcel of that protection (hear, hear). Now, what is it we ask him to do? We ask him to co-operate in any measure that may be proposed for taking away the whole of that protection—(cheers)—and I think we have some right to expect that he will do it, because he has so far set the example of voting for a portion of it.

The resolution was agreed to.

Sir E. COLEBROOKE then moved a vote of thanks to the chairman, which was carried by acclamation.

Three cheers having been given for Lord Belhaven, the meeting broke up.

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Persons desirous to join the Society are requested to make application immediately. The Society's Offices will be open for receiving subscriptions and the general transaction of business, every Tuesday and Friday evenings, from 6 to 9 o'clock.

Owing to the pressure on our space, we have been compelled to omit our Correspondence and several other articles until next week.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, January 31, 1846.

His Grace the Duke of Richmond deserves credit for boldness; he has declared himself ready to become responsible for every thing that has been said or done at protection meetings, including the comparison of the Premier to Satan, and the holocaust of the *Times* newspaper. Men have taken strange means of immortalising their names at different periods; Empedocles threw himself into a volcano, and Erostratus fired the temple of Ephesus; the Duke of Richmond's plunge is only into mire, and his highest feat of arson is the burning of a morning journal. While seeking historic fame for himself, he revives the memory of the circumstances in which the Richmond peerage originated; it was a reward to a French courtesan, for inducing a profligate monarch to betray the honour of England; and it would seem as if the implied condition of its maintenance had been hostility to the interests of the English people. With him the Corn Laws are as sacred as the tyranny of Louis the Fourteenth, which La Quenouille was sent from Paris to support; artificial scarcity is to him what Le Grand Monarque was to her, a cause to be maintained at all hazards, in which doubt was blasphemy, and wavering, impiety. The parallel even goes further, for a part of the policy which La Quenouille bequeathed to her descendants was to insist on a dissolution of Parliament. Representatives he deems bound to consult their constituencies on every great question, but more especially when such a constituency happens to be a

“Great body corporate of one,
Important omnes solus.”

The duke himself happens to be one of those “plural units,” and under this general recommendation he hides a delicate hint to the dual representative that a vacating of his place would not be undesirable.

The rambling abusive speech to which we have referred, of course repeats the groundless calumnies against the League which have been a thousand times refuted. The absurd charge of spending the League Funds in bribery at elections, was properly and promptly demolished by Lord Kinnaird; but the duke had not the manliness to retract his charge, or acknowledge his error.

We should scarcely have noticed this display of imbecile fury had not the reference made to the number of petitions in favour of protection shown the importance of the recommendation of the Council published in the first page of our paper. We must take every constitutional means of evincing the national determination to get rid of those laws which are the bane of agricultural, not less than of manufacturing industry. The policy of La Quenouille was shattered into atoms by an indignant people in 1688; and the policy of her descendants must meet a like fate in 1846.

We regret to find in the report of the same debate a speech attributed to Lord Ashburton, who led the van in opposing the Corn Laws in 1814. He is not the only example of a statesman sacrificing as a peer the honours he won as a commoner. Chesterfield said of Pulteney, when he became Earl of Bath, “he was sent into the Lords, that great hospital of incurables, and sunk into insignificance and an earldom;” and Pulteney was but a melancholy type of a Baring and a Brougham.

One lesson which may be deduced from this debate is the necessity for continued, and even increased, vigilance and exertion on the part of the Free Traders. A dissolution is menaced; let us be prepared for the event. Ducal monads may send up their butlers, their stewards, or their land agents, to announce their will to the House of Commons, but the people have sufficient power to defeat these uninvited servants if they firmly resolve to stand by the cause of justice and freedom. We know that such is the determination of Free Traders, and all that is required is the energy of their action.

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NUMBER ONE, ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.—

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RIENT SUGAR PLUMS, avoiding all nausea or unpleasantness, can only be had in London of Mr. Hewitt, Confectioner, 188, Regent-street, price One Shilling per box. If sent by post a penny stamp must be forwarded in addition.

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warranted not to vary more than half a minute per week, are selling at the Manufactory, 338, Strand, opposite Somerset-house. They combine the truth of a mathematical instrument with the elegance of an ornament of each article of the "Post-office order" for 1s. above the price, a Watch will be sent free for any part of the kingdom. Read Jones's "Sketch of Watch Work," sent free for a 2d. stamp.

THE ATRAPILATORY, or LIQUID HAIR DYE;

the only dye that really answers for all colours, and does not require re-dyeing but as the hair grows, as it never fades or acquires that unnatural red or purple tint common to all other dyes. ROSS and SONS can, with the greatest confidence, recommend the above dye as infallible, if done at their establishment; and ladies or gentlemen requiring it are requested to bring a full or servant with them, to see how it is used, which will enable them to do it afterwards without chance of failure. Several private apartments devoted entirely to the above purpose, and some of their establishment having used it, the effect produced can be at once seen. They think it necessary to add that, by attending strictly to the instructions given with each bottle of dye, numerous persons have succeeded equally well without coming to them.

Address Ross and Sons, 119 and 120, Bishopsgate-street, the celebrated Perruquiers, Perfumers, Haircutters, and Hairdriers. N.B. Parties attended at their own residences, whatever the distance.

STOOPING OF THE SHOULDERS and CONTRACTION

OF THE CHEST are entirely prevented, and gently and effectually removed, in Youth and Ladies and Gentlemen, by the occasional use of the Improved Plastic Chest Expander, which is light, simple, easily employed, and free of revivification, without any uncomfortable restraint, or impediment to exercise. Sent per post, by Mr. A. BRYSON, Sole Manufacturer and Proprietor, 40, Tavistock-street, Covent Garden, London, or full particulars receiving a postage stamp.

SELLING OFF CARPETS.

LUCK, KENT, and CUMMING, beg to inform the Nobility and Gentry, as well as their friends and the public, that they have removed their Business from Carpenter's Hall, London Wall, to their new and improved premises, 4, KILNCRATE STREET, WATERLOO PLACE, opposite Howell and James, and to 29, HATTON GARDEN, HOLBORN, where they trust that Patronage will be continued which they have enjoyed for upwards of a century. A considerable portion of their large stock of CARPETS, KIDDERMINSTER, and other Carpets, to be sold at a Great Reduction. In addition to Carpets, they have at their West End Establishment, a large Stock of Chintzes, Damasks, Tabourets, &c. &c., well worthy of attention.

ACCEPTABLE PRESENTS.—At a period when the

social sympathies are most predominant, and the genial influence of "home" is felt in the highest degree—more especially by "My young master and mistress" spending their vacation at the "Old Hall," the most appropriate present becomes the first subject of consideration, a merely useful one can afford no evidence of taste, while a present possessing no claims to utility, shows a want of judgment. To combine these requisites, a more fitting souvenir cannot be suggested than ROWLAND'S Toilet Articles, the

"MACASSAR," "KALYDOR," and "ODONTO," each of infallible attributes. In creating and sustaining luxuriant silken tresses, ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL is highly appreciated by Rank and Fashion, and patronised by all the Sovereigns of Europe. ROWLAND'S KALYDOR is a preparation of a powerful and efficacious in improving and beautifying the Skin and Complexion; and ROWLAND'S ODONTO, or PEARL DENTIFRICE, is invaluable for its preservative and beautifying effects on the Teeth and Gums, which infallibly tend to the augmentation of that imposing exterior, which Lord Chesterfield justly observes is "a card of recommendation."

Beware of SPURIOUS IMITATIONS! Each genuine article has the word "ROWLAND'S" preceding the name on the Wrapper. All others are FRAUDULENT IMITATIONS. The genuine are sold by the Proprietors at 20, Hatton-garden, London, and by Chemists and Perfumers.

PROTECTION TO THE FARMERS!

GOOD NEWS FOR THE AGRICULTURISTS.

In choosing a subject bettering the times, We think that "Protection" demands a few rhymes. This selection is made, as a suitable one, By the two great "Protectionists," MOSES and SON. Then listen, ye farmers! "Ye friends to 'Protection!' While briefly we throw out a hint for reflection, At a time like the present, you all will require "Protection" from winter—that turbulent rain, And for safety and shelter, you all ought to run. To the two great "Protectionists," MOSES and SON. These tailors have coats in the highest perfection, Whose purpose and special design is "Protection." Should winter prove rather too "free," in his "trade," They'll protect you with "protection," you'll find them at hand. They'll "protect" you from cold, and "protect" you from rain, And their high reputation will ever sustain. They'll "protect" you from snow, and "protect" you from hail, When you travel by coach—when you travel by rail. They'll "protect" you from night, and "protect" you by night, And "protect" you till winter has taken his flight. And thus with abundance of credit be done To the two great "Protectionists"—MOSES and SON.

LIST OF PRICES.

READY MADE.	£	s.	d.
Beaver Taglioni	1	0	6
Chesterfields or Cordingtons	0	7	6
D'Orsay, Athol's, Penbrooke, and every description of winter coats	1	0	0
Boy's winter coats in every style	from	0	8
Winter trousers, lined	0	4	6
Boys' winter trousers	0	1	0
Dress coats, edged	0	10	0
Frock ditto	1	0	0
Roll collar Vests	0	1	0
Double-breasted ditto	0	2	0
Boy's Hussar and Tunic Suits	0	18	0
Boy's winter Trousers	0	1	0
Boy's winter Vests	0	1	0

MADE TO MEASURE.

Winter Coats in every style and shape, handsomely trimmed	£	s.	d.
Milled Coats, Great Coats, velvet collar and cuffs	1	5	0
Tweed Wrappers	0	12	0
Ditto Trousers	0	8	0
Winter Trousers, in all the new patterns	0	12	0
Dress Trousers	0	10	0
Dress Coats	1	12	0
Ditto, best quality made	2	15	0
Frock Coats	1	13	0
Ditto, best quality made	0	8	0
Casual Vests	0	8	0
Satin, plain or fancy	0	12	0
Boy's Hussar and Tunic Suits	1	5	0
Boy's Great Coats	0	14	0

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT.

A new work, entitled "Habilitation Hall," with full directions for self-instruction, may be had on application, or forwarded post free.

Mourning to any amount can be had at five minutes' notice, at the following prices:

Men's Suits, dress coat, vest, and trousers from 1 10 0

Ditto, Jacket, vest, and trousers from 0 18 0

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LEAGUE.

No. 123.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, JANUARY 31, 1846.

[GRATIS.]

SIR ROBERT PEEL'S SPEECH ON THE COMMERCIAL POLICY OF THE COUNTRY.

Never was interest more intense than that which was manifested in the metropolis on Tuesday evening to learn the development of Sir R. Peel's promised proposals on the subject of the commercial policy of this country. The strangers' gallery was crowded at an early hour; multitudes who had been successful in procuring tickets were unable to obtain admittance; and, externally, the passages and the very streets were so crowded, that the police, who attended in considerable force, had no little difficulty in keeping a passage clear for the members. In the house itself there were not less than 400 members present at half-past four. The seats below the bar, usually reserved for strangers, were filled with peers, and other distinguished visitors; and most prominent of those, in the front seats, were seated His Royal Highness Prince Albert, His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, and the Earl of Jersey. This, we believe, was the first visit made by the Prince to the House while sitting.

The Speaker took the chair at the usual hour, and various petitions were presented connected with the Corn Law and other subjects—one from Manchester, by Mr. Philips, which had received the signatures of 52,579 inhabitants of Manchester in two hours, praying that all restrictions on the sale of human food might be abolished. At 20 minutes to five o'clock Sir R. Peel moved that the order of the day be read for the House resolving itself into a committee of the whole House on the customs and corn importation acts; and having stated, in reply to a question from Mr. Miles, that he did not intend to ask for the opinion of the House that night upon any portion of his financial statement, and the speaker having left the chair, and Mr. Greene read a portion of her Majesty's Speech,

Sir ROBERT PEEL then rose and said: Sir, whatever opinion may be ultimately formed with regard to the merits of the proposal which I am about, on the part of her Majesty's Government, to submit this night to the consideration of the house, I am convinced that the extreme difficulty of the task which it devolves upon me to perform, and a consideration of the magnitude and extent of the interests involved in the questions with which I have to deal, will insure for me from the house that patient and intelligent attention without which it would be wholly out of my power, either with satisfaction to myself or utility to the public interests, to discharge my duty (hear, hear). I am about, in pursuance of the recommendations contained in her Majesty's speech, and which recommendations were advised by her responsible servants—I am about to review the duties which apply to many articles the produce and manufacture of other countries. I am about to proceed on the assumption adopted in the speech from the throne, that the repeal of prohibitory and the relaxation of protective duties is in itself a wise course to be pursued (loud cries of hear, hear, from the Opposition benches); and I am about to proceed upon the assumption that protective duties, abstractedly and in principle, are open to objection (hear, hear); that the policy of maintaining them may be defended, but that there must be shown to be special considerations either of policy or justice for their continuance. I am about to act upon the assumption that, during the last three years, there has been in this country an increased productiveness of revenue, notwithstanding that there has been a remission of heavy taxation (cheers); that there has been an increased demand for labour; that there has been increased commercial activity; and that there has been an increase of comfort, happiness, and contentment in this country (loud cheers, chiefly from the Opposition benches.) I do not say that these great blessings have necessarily been caused by any particular policy which you may have adopted, but this I say, that the enjoyment of these inestimable blessings has been concurrent with your legislation, with the plan and policy, I mean, of repealing prohibitory and reducing protective duties. I am not now, therefore, by praising that plan and policy, about to call upon the House of Commons to recede from any portion of a course which has been sanctioned by the House. It will be for the House to consider whether this course has been productive of public good; and, if so, it will be but consistent to persevere in it. Sir, I am at the same time, in advising a continued application of those principles, not about to discard those other recommendations contained in her Majesty's Speech, namely, that in the adoption of new principles we should be careful

of the public credit, taking care not to endanger it, and not to cause any loss in the permanent revenue. Neither, Sir, have I lost sight of another recommendation, that in the application of sound principles, we should act with so much precaution and forbearance as that we should not prejudice any of the great interests of the country. This will be, I hope, scarcely rendered necessary, for the great interests will not be prejudiced by the proposal I am about to make. Above all, I trust that the recommendation of her Majesty will be attended to, and that this subject will receive the patient and dispassionate consideration of the house. I have already stated, in answer to the question put to me by an hon. gentleman, that I do not intend asking the House of Commons to pronounce any opinion to-night upon the entire or any part of the proposals I am about to submit to their consideration. It is on the contrary, the wish of her Majesty's Government, that the whole of those proposals may be dispassionately and deliberately considered and weighed. I am about to touch so many interests in those proposals, that some honourable gentlemen may be induced to dissent from them, and to consider me rash and improvident. If that should be the prevailing impression of those who are unwilling to relinquish the principle of protection, nothing can be more easy than upon the night when it will be my duty to ask the house to pronounce an opinion upon the question, for them to place upon record their protest against it. At the outset the proposal will be some such resolution as this. Not that protection to any branch of industry is advisable, but this comprehensive one—that protection to native industry is not in itself good (hear); it may be on the other hand that, considering all the great difficulties of this question—considering the variety of opinion upon it, and the nature of the contest which has been so long waged, and which I fear will long continue unless there be an early and satisfactory adjustment of it—it may be that those who dissent from parts of the scheme I am about to propose may be disposed to accept it as a settlement, and that the voice of the country may pronounce upon it as a whole, "This is not an unequitable or unwise adjustment, and, rather than continue a perpetual conflict, we will receive it." If that be the conclusion of the reasonable and intelligent of all classes of the community, I shall have confidence of ultimate success. If, on the contrary, I touch so many interests by the application of the great principle that protective duties are not in themselves abstractedly good, and ought to be relinquished, another fate will await my proposition, and the sooner it is disposed of the better for the public good. Sir, in the relaxation of protective duties, I am not about to select any one particular interest. I am not about to select the great interest connected with the agriculture of the country, and call upon them to relinquish their protection, whilst forbearing to call upon other interests to relinquish theirs (loud cheers). Mine is no separate, isolated proposal. Convinced that the proposal I am about to make is a just and wise one, I will ask all to make the sacrifice, if it be a sacrifice, of their protective privileges (loud cheers from both sides of the house, but chiefly from the Opposition seats). Sir, the house is aware that during the last three years what is called the tariff has been amended; and that in so doing, the whole scheme of customs' duties has been submitted to the review and consideration of the house. In 1842 it was my duty, as the organ of the Government, to propose great changes in the then existing system of customs' duties. The general principle of the plan on which I then acted, was to remove the duties upon articles of raw material constituting the elements of manufacturing industry. The principle of that plan also was, the subjecting generally the manufactured articles, the effect of the labour of other countries, to duties not exceeding 20 per cent. Not only in 1842, but at a subsequent period, the house adopted the principle upon which I had acted in 1842. Notwithstanding the apprehension of a failing revenue, we selected articles being raw materials for the remission of taxation. In 1844 we reduced altogether the duty upon wool. In 1845 we reduced altogether the duty upon cotton. There hardly remains a raw material imported from other countries the duty upon which has not been diminished or removed. The manufacturers of this country, therefore, have at present an advantage which they never before possessed. They have free access to the raw material which constitutes the fabric of their articles of manufacture, and I consider that I am entitled, therefore, to call upon the manufacturers to relinquish the advantages which they now derive from protection (loud cheers from both sides). The manufacturer has now advantages which he never before possessed. It might have been feared that a diminution of revenue would have ensued from the import of cotton wool free of the duty which existed in 1814. But the house was sensible that to the continuance of it there were objections, in consequence of the formidable competition which was arising in other places. The house disregarded the revenue derivable from it, and removed the 600,000*l.* or 700,000*l.* of duty which it annually paid. They wished to establish the stability of the manufacture of articles from sheep and cotton wool, and to place them upon a stable and sure foundation. They, therefore, remitted an amount of duty so easily levied and so little complained of that it scarcely excited the

complaint of any great body of the people. Both with regard to the removal of duty from sheep's wool and cotton wool, this house subjected its members and the country to the imposition of an income-tax, out of consideration to the manufacturing interests, and thus it was that they removed the duty upon those articles. Sir, I mean in the first instance, in taking that review of duties still existing to which we are invited by her Majesty, to continue to act on this principle. I propose to take the articles of raw material first. I shall begin with them in order to still further justify myself in calling upon the manufacturers to relinquish the amount of protection which they still possess. Sir, I hardly know any article of raw material still liable to duty except tallow and timber (hear, hear). Sir, with respect to tallow, which is in the nature of a raw material from its being a staple largely used in manufactures of great importance, being used in the making of soap and candles, and in the dressing of leather, I propose to begin by reducing the duty which is still left upon it. Russia is the country from which chiefly the importation of tallow is made. Some also comes from the United States, and there is at present a duty upon it of 3*s.* 2*d.* per cwt. This subject was adverted to in the course of the last session, mainly with a view to our own interest, but partly also for the purpose of encouraging Russia to make some advance in the extension of commerce, of which I trust she has given some indications. I propose without any stipulation (hear, hear)—I propose that England should set the example of relaxation of those heavy duties (loud cheers). I propose it in the confidence that that example will ultimately be followed; and that our example, even if we do not purchase any immediate reciprocal benefit, will yet be productive of infinite good. By these reductions we shall improve our own manufactures; I therefore propose to reduce the duty on tallow from 3*s.* 2*d.* per cwt. to 1*s.* 6*d.* In taking those articles which are of the nature of raw materials first, I come to that of timber. With respect to timber I do not mean to exempt it. We have admitted timber from our colonial possessions at a nominal duty; but with respect to that from foreign countries it is subject to impost. Now timber is the only article on which I must ask time to consider the course I shall pursue. I shall be prepared to make a definite proposal with regard to every other article; but I am most anxious to make such alteration as shall give the benefit of the reduction to the consumer. My intention is to effect a gradual reduction of the duty on timber, the reduction being so proportioned, if possible, as to prevent any derangement of the trade, by parties withholding in order to reap the benefit of the change. As the importation from the Baltic partakes something of the nature of monopoly, I wish to make the reduction so that the consumer may have the benefit. Upon a very early day it is the intention of her Majesty's Government to make known their intentions with regard to the timber duties. The subject is a very complicated one. It is a very difficult one to gain reliable information upon, for it is extremely difficult to obtain information when you have to keep your intentions in seeking for it secret. I trust the house will be satisfied with my promise to make a gradual reduction in the duty, to be spread over a number of years, until it be entirely reduced. But it will be three or four days before the precise nature of those reductions can be laid before the house. Now, with these exceptions, I hardly know a raw material with respect to which, in this country, there is any duty. We have the advantage of a free command of foreign articles, so far as regards imposts upon raw materials. I call, therefore, upon the manufacturers of the three great articles which enter into the consumption of the great body of the people—I ask them to give that proof, which I am sure they will freely give, of the sincerity of their convictions with regard to the impolicy of protecting duties. (Loud cheers from both sides of the house.) The three great branches of manufacturing industry of which I speak are those of linen, of woollen, and of cotton (hear, hear, hear)—I ask them at once to set the example to others, by relinquishing cheerfully the protection afforded them. (Cheers.) An honourable friend of mine, the member for Dorsetshire—and I will call him, if he allow me, my honourable friend; for it shall not be my fault if these unfortunate political differences be allowed to interfere with private friendship and regard—expressed a hope, being jealous of an expression which occurred in her Majesty's speech, that the small interests of the country would not be overlooked. I promise him that those interests shall meet especial attention. I promise that on the revival of the tariff I mean to affect the great interests; and therefore I hope to meet the views of my honourable friend, and to gratify his expectations that the small interests shall be attended to. Now I shall call upon the manufacturers of cotton—I shall call upon the manufacturers of the great articles of cotton, linen, and woollen, to relinquish the protection which they now enjoy. Those articles that affect particularly the labouring classes I shall endeavour to treat with more forbearance. In the first instance, I will refer to the cotton manufacture. The great mass of the cotton manufacture, consisting of calicoes, prints, &c., is subject to a duty of ten per cent.; cotton goods made up, such as shirts and stockings, brought from abroad, are subject

to a duty of twenty per cent., but generally, cotton manufactures are liable only to a duty of 10 per cent. I propose that all now imported at a duty of 10 per cent. should in future be brought in duty free, and that the duty of 20 per cent., which applies to certain articles manufactured abroad from cotton, and therefore in a certain advanced state, shall hereafter be liable to a duty of only 10 per cent. Articles of the ordinary cotton manufacture shall be imported free of all duty, while shirts, stockings, &c. shall pay 10 per cent., instead of 20 per cent., as at present (some confusion). The only favour I ask of the house is this—that I may be permitted to state the whole of my plan (hear, hear), without any inferences being drawn at once respecting a particular part of it (cheers). I may have to recommend precautions in the first part of my proposal which may give rise to erroneous conclusions as to the rest, and I therefore have to request that honourable members will for the present suspend their judgments (cheers). I do not ask you to suspend your judgments even to a future day, but merely until I have concluded my observations (hear, hear). I am the more anxious to call upon the manufacturers to set the example in relinquishing protective duties, because, according to a very high authority, it was not the agriculturist but the manufacturer who called upon the legislature, in the first instance, to adopt the protective system. The mercantile and manufacturing interests set the example in requiring protection, and it is but right, therefore, that they should set the example, as I doubt not they will do cheerfully, in now relinquishing protection. Nothing can be more marked than the observations made upon this part of the subject, by one who had no prejudices in favour of the agriculturists; I mean Adam Smith. Speaking historically he says—"Country gentlemen and farmers, to their great honour, are of all persons the last who are subject to the wretched spirit of monopoly" (cheers, and much laughter). We are adverting now to the origin of the system, and Adam Smith must be quoted as a most impartial authority, having no leaning or bias any way; he is speaking as a historian, and I shall beg leave to repeat what I was reading when I broke off, in consequence of interruption. He tells us that "country gentlemen and farmers, to their great honour, are of all persons the last who are subject to the wretched spirit of monopoly" (loud laughter). "Country gentlemen and farmers, dispersed in different parts of the country, cannot so easily combine as merchants and manufacturers, who, being collected into towns, and accustomed to that exclusive corporation spirit which prevails in them, naturally endeavour to obtain, against all their countrymen, the same exclusive privilege which they generally possess against the inhabitants of their respective towns. They accordingly seem to have been the original inventors of those restraints upon the importation of foreign goods, which secure to them the monopoly of the home-market. It was probably in imitation of them, and to put themselves upon a level with those who, they found, were disposed to oppress them, that the country gentlemen and farmers of Great Britain so far forgot the generosity which is natural to their station, as to demand the exclusive privilege of supplying their countrymen with corn and butcher's meat. They did not perhaps take time to consider how much less their interest could be affected by the freedom of trade than that of the people whose example they followed." That extract may excite laughter from some honourable gentlemen on the other side of the house, but my belief is that the statement made in it is perfectly correct. Protection was first pressed upon the legislature by the mercantile and manufacturing interests, and it was afterwards extended almost as a necessary consequence to the landed interest. I have, therefore, invited cotton, in the first instance, to relinquish protection. I propose to call on the manufacturers of cotton, wool, and flax, the three great articles concerned in clothing, to relinquish protection as applied to them, and as regards the coarser articles they produce: I believe they can do it without injury (cheers), although there will be some loss to the revenue. It is my opinion that the importation of some articles of the kind will stimulate their exertions, and with the skill, ingenuity, and enterprise that exists in this country, I do not doubt that we shall beat not only the French but the Saxon manufacturer (cheers). At present, in the case of woollen goods, when made up they are subject, under the tariff of 1842, to a duty of 20 per cent. In woollen goods, as in cotton, I propose to reduce that duty from 20 to 10 per cent. The house will observe that in the cotton and woollen trade we have given the manufacturer unrestricted power to import the raw material (hear, hear, hear). The same rule will apply to linens. Flax, on its importation, is free from any duty. As I said the other night, there is no impost whatever, and there has been none for many years, on foreign flax. Therefore, in the case of linens, as in woollens and cottons, it is proposed that the coarser articles of manufacture, in which the great mass of the people is interested, should come into this country duty free. Some linen articles, it is true, are very fine—they are not of general consumption, but of luxury; but with regard to these I do not propose that we should retain the present amount of duty. Among these, cambrics and some other fabrics may be included, and upon these the duties vary according to the article, but my proposition is (the right honourable baronet here dropped his voice, and we cannot be answerable for the precise words of the conclusion of the sentence), that the duty on made-up linen goods should be reduced one-half. So much with respect to these three great fabrics; and I now approach another manufacture, which does not fall exactly within the principle applied to cottons, woollens, and linens, but with respect to which it seems of great importance to make a great reduction in the present duty—I mean silks (cheers). It may be supposed that the existing duty on silks operates as a protection to the

domestic manufacture. You have a duty which you call 30 per cent., but as regards many articles it is a great deal higher, and a false reliance is placed upon it as a protection to domestic manufacture. It is no such thing. There are many houses in Paris and on the coast who will guarantee the delivery of goods in London for half the amount of the duty (hear, hear). The duty, therefore, is a decided encouragement to smuggling, and it is a delusion on the part of the manufacturer and the labouring class employed in the silk trade to suppose that they are enjoying protection, while they are, in fact, robbed by the smuggler and by the dishonest consumer. I conceive, therefore, that some new arrangement of the silk duties, by a reduction of the amount levied upon foreign goods, would not interfere with the prospect of the domestic interest (hear, hear). Such a course would stimulate skill and industry among us, and at the same time diminish the profits of the smuggler, while it encouraged a lawful and innocent trade to the destruction of one that is unlawful and immoral (loud cheers). The general impression, as I have said, is that there is a general duty of 30 per cent. upon silk; but I hold in my hand an account of the duties paid upon silk at present; and although as to some the duty may not exceed 30 per cent., as to others it is less than 30 per cent.; and as to many it is much higher. Crape, for instance, pays a duty of not less than from 43 to 50 per cent., and velvet from 34 to 50 per cent.; fancy silk net, called tulle, is charged a duty of from 36 to 78 per cent., and manufactured silk bonnets not less than 145 per cent.; turbans and caps pay at least as much. Does any man believe, however, that any French turbans or caps really pay a duty of 145 per cent.? No such thing. The article, I believe, is in common use among us, but it is introduced by the smuggler (hear, hear). I propose, then, a new arrangement; but respecting this and other points I must not enter into much detail. Of course my proposals will be in the hands of members to-morrow-morning, and my suggestion is, that a new principle should be established as regards the silk duties, in which the general rule shall be, enumerating every article, that a duty shall be imposed of so much per pound. I would give an option to the Custom-house officer; but if taken *ad valorem*, the duty shall not exceed 15*l.* upon every 100*l.* value. The general rule would be the adoption of a duty of 15 per cent., instead of the varying and capricious duties now called 30 per cent., but less upon some articles, and vastly more upon others. We shall then have a qualified admission of the article, which will stimulate competition and do no injury to the home manufacturer. It seems to me much more likely that it will excite him to greater exertions than that it will at all reduce the amount of his business. I will now speak of paper, I mean paperhangings, upon which there is a duty, when brought into this country, of 1*s.* per square yard, and it is paid indiscriminately upon all kinds. I believe it possible to sell for a single farthing a square yard of some descriptions of paper; but upon the finest, that which has gold embroidery, as well as upon the coarsest, the duty is 1*s.* per square yard. As the excise duty is, I believe, only a farthing a yard, the duty of 1*s.* a yard seems exorbitant, and I propose to reduce that duty from 1*s.* to 2*d.* (hear, hear). I now approach those manufactures that are connected with metals (some laughter and confusion). It is impossible for me to guess what may or may not excite the risibility of some honourable members, but if I could avoid such points I would willingly do it, in order that I might be able to explain myself without interruption (loud cheers). I will enter into no more details than are absolutely necessary; and with respect to metals, I would observe that we have reduced the duty on foreign ores; if, therefore, there are any domestic manufacturers who ought to be able to compete with foreigners, it is the manufacturers of metals. Manufacturers of metals, generally speaking, are protected by a duty of 15 per cent. *ad valorem*. I propose that with respect to these, and other articles I do not specifically mention, the general rule for the future should be a duty not exceeding 10 per cent.; that shall be the maximum upon articles I do not enumerate. Of course it is impossible to apply that rule to such an article as paper hangings; and I mentioned it as an exception to the general rule of 10 per cent.; but wherever at present the duty upon any article is 20 per cent., my recommendation is, that it should be reduced in future to 10 per cent., and that is to be the maximum. Within the rule of 10 per cent. will fall brocade, earthenware, and some others, as well as all manufactures of hair. At present the duty is 20 per cent. upon foreign carriages, and I think I am only giving a proper advantage to the consumers in this country by making a reduction. I will venture to say that there is no article so extravagant in price as carriages in London. Compare the price of an Edinburgh carriage with one built in London, and the difference is most exorbitant (cheers). When we have timber, metal, leather, skill, and capital, there seems no reason why carriages built abroad should be so much cheaper, or why our own should be protected by a duty of 20 per cent. I propose, therefore, partly in order to promote competition in the manufacture of carriages in this country, and partly in order to encourage the introduction of foreign carriages, that the duty should be reduced to 10 per cent. There is another manufacture with regard to which I shall suggest the propriety of a reduction of duty: I allude to candles. We have lowered the duty on wax and spermaceti, and now I propose a reduction of the duty on candles to the extent of half per cent. I recommend, likewise, that the duty on soap shall be thus reduced: hard soap is now subject to a duty of 30 per cent.; but in future it ought, I think, to be lowered to 20 per cent.; the duty on soft soap ought to be reduced from 20*s.* to 14*s.*, and upon Naples soap from 5*s.* to 16*s.* [as the right hon. baronet dropped his voice we are not sure of the last figures].

These may be thought by some minute matters, but it is of great importance that I should give as full an explanation as I can, and I pass over other articles of minor moment. There are many upon which the duty is comparatively trifling, and those I omit. Notwithstanding the great simplification of the tariff in the year 1842, I propose to carry that simplification still farther. There were, I think, nearly 1100 articles in the tariff, and for the convenience of alphabetical arrangement to the custom-house officers, 500 articles on which the duty has been abolished are retained in it. I wish to carry that abolition farther, and to admit, duty free, many articles yet remaining in the tariff. There are some manufactures with which I must deal specially, and others regarding which I cannot now state precisely the amount of duty, but it may not be advisable to apply to them the general rule of 10 per cent. In respect to all articles connected with the manufacture of leather, we have made great reductions, and I now come to an important article of clothing—boots and shoes. You have remitted the duty on raw hides; they are now introduced duty free. You have remitted also the duty on almost every article connected with the tanning process, and I propose to abolish the duty on one article which partakes more of the character of a raw material than of a manufacture—dressed hides, with a view to lower the price of an article of clothing of great and increasing importance to the lower classes. For the sake of making boots and shoes cheaper, I propose to extinguish the present duty on dressed hides; and when that is done there will not be a single raw material which we cannot command for the purposes of manufacture without the payment of duty (cheers). Having proceeded so far I shall recommend to diminish the duty on foreign boots and shoes, in order to reduce what I consider the present rather unreasonable price of them in this country. They are most important to the comfort of the working classes; and my suggestion is, that we should lower the duty on what are called boot-fronts from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 9*d.* per dozen, and upon the larger boot-fronts from 5*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 9*d.* per dozen. The duty on manufactured boots I would reduce from 1*l.* 8*s.* to 14*s.* per dozen, and on shoes from 14*s.* to 7*s.* per dozen. I propose also to lower the duty on hats; and to carry now into effect a reduction postponed in the year 1842—I am afraid not wisely—upon straw-plait; at present it is 7*s.* 6*d.* per lb., and I wish to reduce it to 5*s.* per lb.; the duty on straw hats I would make 5*s.* per dozen, instead of 8*s.* 6*d.* I have already urged a reduction of the duty upon silk manufacture, and I propose also to reduce the duty on what I consider rather a raw material than a manufactured article connected with our silk manufacture, I mean dyed thrown silk. I hope I am convincing the house that I am disposed to act fairly and impartially in the application of my principle, and I believe I have now exhausted every article that can be called an article of manufacture, as the word "manufacture" is now generally used. Upon all articles of clothing, use, and consumption, I have stated the general principle I would apply; and I come now to an item of great importance, which, though a manufacture in common parlance, does not strictly fall within that denomination, and with regard to which I apprehend a reduction ought to be made. I propose to reduce the duty on brandy and foreign spirits (cheers). At present, the duty on brandy is not less than 22*s.* 10*d.*, and, if I am rightly informed, the consumption of French brandy at this moment is not so great, or, at all events, not greater than it was in the latter end of the 17th century. This fact, I apprehend, is mainly to be attributed to the exorbitant amount of duty as compared with the value of the article itself. Now brandy, like silk, is an article in respect to which appearances are delusive: there is no article, unless it be silk, in which smuggling so much prevails as in brandy (cheers). The diminution of duty, therefore, is no necessary diminution of protection to the maker of domestic spirits. We are bound to prevent smuggling, and if we can, to convert an unlawful into a lawful traffic, and I propose that the present duty on brandy, Geneva, and foreign spirits generally, shall be reduced from 22*s.* 10*d.* to 15*s.* There remains one article to which I shall advert with respect to which an arrangement was made only as recently as last year, but the duty on which I also propose now to reduce. I allude to sugar (much cheering from the Opposition benches.) It is quite impossible with reference to this article, which must necessarily become the subject of prolonged discussions, that I should enter into details; and, avoiding details, I shall on the present occasion submit to the house the intentions of her Majesty's Government. I am afraid the proposal I have to make will not at all meet with the approbation of those who cheered the mention of sugar by me (hear, hear), but on the present occasion I shall not argue the matter, but state our proposal. Last year I estimated the probable amount of the increased consumption of sugar at not less than 50,000 tons, but that increased consumption did not exceed 38,000 tons. I have no doubt that that consumption will go on increasing hereafter, but it is not perhaps possible to calculate the ratio at which it will proceed, or to tell the amount of free labour sugar that will be brought into competition with British colonial sugar. I supposed that the increase in the quantity of free labour sugar would be 25,000 tons, but the amount actually brought into consumption has fallen far short of that calculation. I believe the defalcation may be accounted for by the total failure of the crop in Cuba, and by the augmented price of sugar on the Continent of Europe: the supplies we might have received were, therefore, diverted to other parts of the world. I think it can be shown that these two causes will account, in a great degree, for our diminished supply. I feel myself still bound to say, that British colonial sugar can bear additional competition with sugar the produce of free labour; and I may take this opportunity of stating, that I am not prepared to make any relaxation with regard to countries pro-

dancing sugar by slave labour (hear, hear, hear). I must still contend for that; but as to sugar the produce of free labour, and while the competition shall be limited to sugar so produced, her Majesty's Government have not thought it right to exempt sugar from the general application of the principle (cheers). Assuming, therefore, that the competition is to be confined to sugar the produce of free labour, we propose to deduct 3s. 6d. from the amount of the present differential duty. In the case of Muscovado sugar, the amount of differential duty is 9s. 4d.; in the case of clayed sugar, it is 11s. 9d.; and in both we propose to reduce the amount of differential duty by 3s. 6d., making it 5s. 10d. on Muscovado sugar, and 8s. 3d. on clayed sugar. In concluding this review of the different articles, I might say nearly all articles on which import duties are levied, I come to those which are connected with agriculture. (Considerable anxiety was here evinced by all parts of the house, and a general murmur and whisper were heard.) There are many articles of this kind of first-rate importance, on which heavy duties are imposed, but on which those heavy duties do not operate as a protection, and I may take as an instance tobacco. In making the extensive changes which, on the part of her Majesty's government, I am now proposing, I hope that considerations of revenue will be allowed to have their due weight. I admit that the arguments may be most cogent as to particular items, but the house ought to bear in mind the importance of not breaking down a large source of public income. The demand this year on account of these reductions must be great, and considerations of public interest and of national defence will leave us no alternative but to make that demand. Revenue, therefore, must be duly regarded where interests of such great public magnitude are involved, and the house must not fail to remember that the reductions I am suggesting will necessarily occasion a considerable defalcation. On the other hand, it becomes our duty, not with any hostile intention, but with a view to a provident regard for our defences, to recommend a considerable increase of our naval and military establishments (hear). Those who may think that there are still duties extravagantly high, must exercise such a degree of forbearance as not to recommend simultaneous reductions (hear). I will first refer to those articles of agricultural produce, which are immediately connected with the food of the people. I will, in the first instance, take seeds—grass and other seeds; and I have a deep conviction that a reduction of duty upon them, so far from being a removal of protection to agriculture, will be conferring a benefit upon it. Let us look at the article of clover; it is surely impossible to maintain that the heavy duty for some years applied to clover operated as a protection to agriculture. Upon many parts of the country the duty on clover seed was, in fact, a heavy burden. In 1823, if I recollect rightly, you levied a duty upon clover seed of not less than 144,000*l.*; but how small a portion of the agricultural districts was benefited by it. Clover seed was necessary when farming was best conducted, for it was most importantly conducive to the improved system of husbandry. Some few counties of England were producers of clover seed; but speaking generally, the duty on clover seed was not a protection but a burden upon agriculture; and with respect to all seeds of the kind, to repeal the duty will not be to remove a protection. It is stated that the duty levied on clover last year produced 75,000*l.*, whereas in former years, before the reduction, it amounted to nearly 150,000*l.* For the sake chiefly of simplifying, the house will recollect that I have reduced foreign manufactures generally to a uniform duty of 10 per cent., and as relates to seeds, my proposition is that in no case the duty shall exceed 5s. per cwt. In some cases, leek and onion seed for instance, the present duty is not less than 20s. per cwt., but my suggestion is, that as to all the maximum duty should be 5s. per cwt. I have already adverted incidentally to that most valuable department of agriculture, the fattening of cattle. I believe it is impossible to over-estimate the importance of fattening cattle as instrumental in the improved system of agriculture. The increase of the fertility of the soil, by means of manure, is one of the most beautiful of the dispensations of Providence; and I believe there is no manure, let it come from where it will, that, with respect to its fertilising power, can enter into competition with that derived from the cattle fed on the soil itself. You cannot conduce more to the improvement of inferior soils than by encouraging the feeding and fattening of cattle, and promoting the application of their manure to increasing fertility. I propose therefore that an article of grain which I believe might be applied to the fattening of cattle shall hereafter be imported duty free (cheers). It is an article of immense importance—maize, or Indian corn (cheers). I propose that the duty upon it shall be hereafter and immediately nominal (hear, hear). I do not consider that by the removal of the duty on maize I am depriving agriculture of any protection. I understand that in the United States maize is used partly as human food; and that in this country its utility as human food is too much disregarded. In some parts of the Continent it is held to make excellent food, and it might be advantageously applied in the same way in Great Britain. To promote the free import of maize it seems to me, that so far from doing agriculture a disservice, it will be doing it a benefit, by promoting the nourishment and fattening of cattle. For nearly the same reasons, I suggest that buckwheat should be subjected to the same rule, namely, that the duty should be made merely nominal. I propose, likewise, that meal should be introduced upon the same terms as grain. If any honourable gentleman can ascertain the enormous sums now paid by our best farmers in the purchase of linseed cake and rape cake, I think they will agree with me, that to give increased facilities to the introduction of such articles will be doing no disservice to agriculture. The demand for this cake is so great, that

the price is gradually rising, and the consumption on some farms is daily increasing; on some farms, linseed and rape cake chiefly provide the manure for the better cultivation of the soil. The following is a comparative statement of the price of linseed and rape cake at various recent periods:—

Price of Linseed Cakes per 1000, in the month of				
January, 1840....	49	0	0	to £10 0 0
— 1841....	10	0	0	to 10 0 0
— 1846....	12	0	0	to 12 5 0
Price of Rape Cake per ton.				
January, 1843....	25	5	0	
— 1844....	5	5	0	to £5 10 0
December, 1844....	4	5	0	to 4 10 0
January, 1846....	5	17	0	to 6 0 0

I hold in my hand a letter from a merchant, strongly recommending, as a source of great advantage to the agricultural interest, the import of another article, much employed in the feeding and fattening of cattle in the United States; it is there called rice-feed, and it is the refuse of rice which is ground up and given to beasts, which are said to thrive better upon it than on linseed cake. It seems that this material is at present excluded, on the ground that it comes under the description of meal, but I believe that the admission of it would enable us better to enter into competition with the foreign breeder, and would so far be an advantage to agriculture. I come now to the consideration of those articles of agricultural produce which are immediately connected with the food of man (renewed murmurs). On this great question, on which of course I anticipate much difference of opinion, I have to meet those on the one hand who contend for no delay and no qualification (cheers); and on the other, those who insist that there shall be no relaxation of the present amount of protection (cheers). My object will be, if possible, to make some adjustment of this question in which both sides may concur (hear, hear): I know that neither will approve of it (cheers and laughter). I know, I say, that neither will approve of it (renewed cheers). I know that I must meet the disapprobation, possibly the opposition, of those who usually sit on this side of the house (ministerial cheers). Probably I may have to encounter equal resistance from the honourable gentlemen opposite (cheers from the Opposition side). But on the part of her Majesty's Government I beg to say that our desire is, without favour or undue partiality, to suggest that which we believe to be just, and calculated to terminate that conflict, the continuance of which all must lament. I trust to be able to remove those causes of jealousy and dissension between different classes of her Majesty's subjects, so as not injuriously to affect any one class, and yet to promote the general interest of all (cheers). I consider it for the public advantage at least to lay the foundation of a final settlement (much cheering). I am not about to propose the immediate repeal of the duties imposed upon grain, and what I shall propose will be an earnest of the principle on which we shall act. I am induced to recommend the immediate reduction of duty on some articles of primary importance in contributing to the food of man. I will first state the articles with respect to which I propose that there shall be either reduction or repeal; as to all I shall recommend an immediate reduction, but I will first advert to those on which I propose an immediate and total repeal. Speaking of articles of consumption, I propose an extensive review of the duties on all articles included in the tariff which enter into the consumption of the people. As I stated, I propose to make an immediate reduction upon the whole, though not the repeal of the whole. On the part of her Majesty's Government I recommend that the duty should be immediately reduced to one-half: upon butter from 1*l.* to 10s., cheese from 10s. to 5s., hops from 4*l.* 10s., to 2*l.* 5s. The duty on cured fish I would reduce to 1s. per cwt. These are the articles of agricultural produce on which I propose the immediate repeal. I propose also the immediate repeal of the duty on all articles which constitute meat food. I propose that the repeal of the duty on bacon shall be absolute and immediate. On fresh beef, on salt beef, on salt pork, on fresh pork, on potatoes, and vegetables of all kinds, the duty shall be forthwith and immediately abolished (hear). Everything then which enters into the vegetable kingdom, and everything of animal food, shall be admitted at once duty free (cheers). I believe that the agriculturist need fear no foreign competition in consequence of this; for, in dealing with him as with the manufacturer, I conceive that I have given to the agriculturist increased facilities in meeting competition, by removing the duty from oil cake, rape cake, and linseed cake, with which he feeds his cattle. Then I propose, having reduced the duty on what may be considered the manufactured articles of food, at once to remove the duty on the importation of animals. I propose, with respect to all animals imported from foreign countries, as a general rule, that they should come in duty free. There is no necessity for retaining the duty on asses, still less on many other animals mentioned in the tariff (a laugh); but with respect to all animals, I propose, as a proof of our adherence to the principles which I have laid down, I propose that they, as well as meat, should be free from duty (hear, hear). It has been represented to me, that it is not fair to levy an equal amount of duty on cattle fattened abroad, and on lean animals imported from abroad; and it has been said that there would be an advantage to the agriculturist in getting access to the lean animal, whilst there would be none in admitting the fattened animal; at any rate my proposition will redress that inequality (hear, and a laugh); and I must say that I trust the increased means of fattening cattle which will be afforded, coupled with the great facility of getting lean cattle, and the ready means of converting them into valuable food for the people of this country, will be considered as some compensation for the removal of the duty from the fattened animal (hear). I hope, also, that those connected with agriculture will bear in mind, whilst I am proposing these reductions, that I have already proposed the removal of protection from some of

the great articles of manufacture (hear, hear)—that I have not directed their attention to the removal of protection from the landed interest only; but that I have called, as I always do call, on the manufacturer to set the first example of the relinquishment of protection. They will bear in mind that the farm-servant can command a cheaper supply of clothing than he could before, and I trust, therefore, that they will not be indisposed to follow the example of those whom I have called on first to relinquish their claims to protection (hear). Sir, I now will state, with the permission of the house, the proposal which I intend to make on the subject of the Corn Laws (sensation). I have already said that I exempt some articles of grain from duty altogether. I have said that maize and buckwheat will be admitted duty free (hear). Now, on the one hand, though I do not propose the immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, I am yet in the hope of making a final adjustment of the question, whilst undue apprehension is prevented, and time is given for the adjustment of agriculture to the new state of circumstances (hear, hear). Though I propose a temporary continuance of protection (hear, hear), I do propose that the bill shall contain a distinct enactment that after the lapse of a certain time, foreign grain shall be imported into this country duty free (loud cheers). I am deeply convinced that any intermediate proposition would be of no avail (renewed cheers). It would have been out of my power, as I explained to the house on a former occasion, to have suggested any modification of the existing Corn Law with a guarantee to have continued that modification (hear, hear). That, I say, would have been out of my power. I feel that the choice is between the maintenance intact of the existing amount of protection in every branch, and the laying of the foundation for an ultimate settlement by means of a total repeal of the Corn Law (cheers). I propose therefore that there shall be a considerable reduction in the amount of protection on corn, and I propose that the continuance of the duty so reduced shall be limited to a period of three years (cheers). This act, if it shall meet the sanction of this house, will contain a provision that at that period of the year when I believe there will be the least inconvenience from the termination of protection, viz., on the 1st of February, 1849, oats, barley, and wheat, shall be subjected only to that nominal rate of duty which I propose to apply now at once to maize and buckwheat (hear, hear). The next point which we had to determine was as to what the intermediate state of the law should be during the continuance of protection. My opinion, I am bound to say, as to the policy of providing immediately for a great reduction of the duty on corn remains unchanged (hear, hear). I cannot admit that I took an erroneous estimate—I regret that it is so—I wish I had—but I cannot admit, I say, that I have over-stated the amount of pressure which before the arrival of next harvest may be felt in many parts of the country. I think, not only looking to the prospects of next spring, but looking to the consequence of a deficiency of food, that it is of the greatest importance to take precautions, as far as the Legislature can take precautions, against the evil day (hear, hear). It is possible that the results of that deficiency may be more extensive and permanent than we think of. I am sure I wish it were possible to take advantage of this calamity in one view; and to extract benefit from it, by introducing amongst the people of Ireland a desire for better food than potatoes afford (cheers), and thus to diminish the chance, to which they will possibly be liable, of a recurrence of this great visitation by which the food of millions of our fellow-subjects is rendered uncertain (hear, hear). We have yet to consider what provision is to be made for them—what substitute is to be provided for all the unsound potatoes which, had they been sound, would have formed the food of a majority of the people of Ireland. It is impossible to provide an immediate substitute which would prove satisfactory. You may think that the potato is a most insufficient article of subsistence; but you can't for two or three years to come, do what you will, dispense with the reliance on potatoes. In such a position, the most provident arrangement which can be come to must be suggested. I am not about to propose now what I proposed on the 1st Nov., the immediate suspension of the duty on wheat by an order in council; but I think it is of importance to make such reductions in the present amount of duties as shall realise a great part of the advantage which might have been derived from opening the ports. I wish to have but one law enduring for the limited period to which I have referred; but I wish in that law to take every necessary precaution against impending danger (hear, hear). I propose, therefore, that there shall be for the present, and immediately, a great reduction in the duty on wheat, and that that amount so reduced shall endure only for a limited period, there being a guarantee, by express enactment in the bill, that on the arrival of that period the then existing duty shall be converted into a mere nominal duty. What then shall be the nature of the law which is to endure for a limited period? My colleagues and myself have approached this question wholly unprejudiced, and with no other object in view than the general advancement and prosperity of the country. Our desire has been to propose a law, temporary in its relations, which appears to us, on the whole, best suited to meet the exigencies of the present case, and best calculated to provide for the wants of the country during the period for which it is intended. The rate of duty under the existing law, on other descriptions of grain, has been regulated by the rate of duty on wheat. We propose, therefore, that the rates of duty on barley, oats, peas, beans, and rye shall be governed as nearly as possible, during the continuance of this law, if it meet with the sanction of Parliament, by the principles which will apply to wheat; that is, that there shall be a reduction of a corresponding amount applied to all. But I propose that immediately from the passing of this act, all grain, the pro-

duce of British colonial possessions out of bond, shall be admitted at a nominal duty (hear, hear). I propose that in all cases those restrictions which apply to meal, the produce of grain, shall be removed. I presume that they were established for the protection of the milling interest of this country—I believe them, however, to be wholly unnecessary. They are not applied to flour, the produce of wheat; I see no reason why they should be applied to meal, the produce of barley, or any other grain. Now, on the one hand, I offer to those who insist on the immediate and unqualified removal of those laws, the unrestricted importation—at least, the importation at a nominal duty—of all kinds of grain, and all kinds of meal, the produce of British colonial possessions, out of bond. One great article, also the produce of the United States—the article of maize—to the free produce of which the United States attaches the utmost importance, we propose should be admitted duty free, and at once. I now come to the provisions with respect to other descriptions of grain, which we propose to adopt during the period whilst foreign grain is to be subjected to duty. We have attempted to meet some of the objections which have been made to varying the rate of duty; at the same time, to have fixed any duty which would be considered valuable in the shape of protection would not have answered the purpose which we desired to attain—of making an immediate reduction in the price of foreign grain, on account of the temporary exigencies of the country (hear, hear). We propose, therefore, that the enactment to endure for three years shall be to this effect, "That until the 1st day of February, 1849, the following duties shall be levied on wheat if imported from any foreign country. Whenever the average price of wheat made up and published in the manner required by law shall be for every quarter under

48s. the duty shall be.....	10s.
over 48s. and under 49s.....	9s.
49s.	8s.
50s.	7s.
51s.	6s.
52s.	5s.
53s.	4s.

and that whenever the price of grain made up and published in the manner required by law shall exceed 53s., there shall then be an invariable duty of 4s. per quarter." That is to say, that there shall be no temptation to hold grain when the price shall exceed 54s., for the purpose of securing the shilling of extra duty (hear, hear). The enactments which we shall propose with respect to all other descriptions of grain will precisely follow the scale which we have adopted with regard to wheat. It would, however, perhaps be more convenient for the house, considering the time I have already occupied, that I should rather refer them to the details which will be printed to-morrow morning, than go through the whole now as regards oats and barley (hear, hear). It may be sufficient for the present purpose to state that the same general rule will be adopted in all (hear, hear). There would now, therefore, be levied on wheat, instead of a duty of 16s., one of 4s.; and every other grain at the present prices taken out of bond for consumption in the home market, would be subject to a merely nominal duty (hear, hear). That is the arrangement for the adjustment of this great question which her Majesty's Government are induced to offer for the consideration of Parliament. We propose to accompany that arrangement with other provisions calculated—I will not say to give compensation—but calculated, in my firm belief, materially to advance the interests of that portion of the community which, after the lapse of three years, will be called on to relinquish their protection. I believe it is possible to suggest arrangements not affecting the interests of other portions of the community, yet materially benefiting theirs, by introducing reforms in the levying of duties, and in the application of the burdens which are to be raised. I thank them for having permitted me without interruption to state all those portions of my proposal which might appear to be bearing heavily on them. I am obliged to them for the forbearance with which they have permitted me to go through that part of my proposed measure (hear, hear). I will now state what are the measures with which we propose to accompany this great present reduction, and the ultimate extinction of protection—measures which, I believe, will prove greatly to the advantage of that interest in whose welfare this country is deeply interested (hear, hear). Let us review some of the burdens which do fall immediately on land; but burdens which are, in my opinion, some of them at least, capable of alleviation, not by their transfer to other parties, but by the introduction of reforms into the mode of their levy. Now, first, let me take the existing arrangement with respect to one great source of expenditure—to one great burden which is constantly and justly complained of by the agriculturists—I mean the amount of rate which is levied for highways (hear, hear). Is it not quite possible, without subjecting other parties to the expense of maintaining the highways, to introduce reforms into the mode of raising the highway rate which might be advantageous to the agriculturists? I believe it is possible (hear, hear). What is the law at present with respect to highways? There are at least 16,000 local authorities, each of which has charge of the highways. As railways advance, whilst turnpike roads are in many cases becoming of little importance, highways, which have hitherto been of little advantage to the public, are becoming of increased importance. But where a highway is a continuous channel of communication passing through different parishes, that same highway is under the control of every parish through which it passes, and as I have before said, the total number of parish authorities is not less than 16,000. The practice of keeping up the repair of the roads is to have a nominal appointment of a paid surveyor in each parish, who absolutely knows nothing whatever of the construction of roads (hear, hear); or even if they did—if they had double the ability which they do possess, the existence of different surveyors on one highway is necessarily a de-

fective arrangement. That each portion of the highway should be subject to a parochial authority, distinct from the other portions in other parishes, and that the highway should be thus subjected to numerous local authorities, must evidently tend to increased outlay, to great abuse, and generally to a laxity of expenditure, and a bad system of repair, which it is desirable should be avoided in future (hear, hear). There is at present in existence an act of Parliament which permits the voluntary union of parishes into local districts, for the purpose of the most effectual superintendence and repair of the roads; but as the union of the parishes for that purpose is required under the act to be voluntary, there is hardly any instance in which that union has taken place, in which the voluntary power of forming such a district has been exercised. What I propose is this—and in proposing, I do not bring it forward as a relief to agriculture from any burden, but as a means of benefiting the agricultural interests, by greatly improving the communication by highways throughout the country (hear, hear). I propose, therefore, that what is now a power of voluntary union on the part of the parishes should be made compulsory (cheers). If we adopt the same extent of district for those local unions as that which is selected for the poor law unions, it will be 600 local authorities throughout the country; and I propose to compel the parishes in those districts to form such unions for the purpose of the superintendence and repair of the roads (hear, hear). I also propose that such union, when so formed, should have the power of appointing a surveyor of the roads for that particular district; the surveyor so appointed to be a properly qualified professional man, who is to have the entire charge of the roads in his district. Some cases of the voluntary union of parishes do exist at present, as I have before stated; and I wish to remind the house, before I proceed further, of the effects which have been produced by the adoption of these unions, and the substitution, for a parochial management, of a central management under the direction of a surveyor (hear, hear). I hold in my hand a return relating to a district in the north, in which parochial management has been superseded, and a district of seventy miles in extent formed for the purpose of carrying into effect a better mode than that which prevailed under parochial management, of repairing and superintending the roads under the direction of a county surveyor. The result of the improved system of central management is thus described:—[Here the right hon. baronet read a return from the parishes within the district of seventy miles, from which it appeared that under the old system the cost of repairing and surveying the roads was from 6d. to 9d. in the pound, whilst the money at the same time was thrown away; whereas, under the centralised system this expense was no more than from 1½d. to 3d. in the pound, and the work done in the best manner. In nine adjoining parishes which had not adopted the system of voluntary union, the expense of repairing, &c. &c., was from 4½d. to 5d. in the pound]. That is not a transfer of any burden, whilst it will go a great way in improving the channels of communication, and thus so far tend to the benefit of the agricultural interest, and relieve them to a certain extent of a burden which they bear. That is, therefore, one system by which I propose to relieve the agricultural interest, and it can be effected without transferring it to others, but by a better arrangement of our existing institutions. I will now direct the attention of the house to a law which has been greatly complained of by the agricultural interest—I mean the present law of settlement (hear, hear, from the agricultural representatives.) It happens, under the present law of settlement, that a large portion of the population of rural districts are induced, in times of great manufacturing prosperity, to move into the manufacturing districts, and it happens frequently that the power, the labour, and the best part of a man's life, who so removes, are consumed in that manufacturing district, and thus all the advantage of his strength, and good conduct, and industry are derived by the manufacturing district during the period of his residence (hear, hear). A revulsion then comes in trade; the manufacturing districts are not prosperous, and what course is taken with respect to the man who moved in more prosperous times from the rural to the manufacturing districts? The man with his wife and family is sent back to the rural districts (hear, hear); and the individual who spent the best part of his life as a manufacturing operative, and who perhaps was not very provident during the time of his best labour, is returned to the rural district from which he originally came—returned unfit for an agricultural occupation (hear, hear). Under these circumstances the man is sent against his will to a new home, at a period when all his communications with that district have been interrupted, and with no means of earning an honest livelihood, a proceeding which must shock the feelings of every man who witnesses it (hear, hear). In proposing an alteration of the system under which these circumstances take place, I am not merely doing an act of justice, but also preventing an act of injustice to the labouring man. The proposal is not, therefore, merely that an industrial residence of five years should give a settlement, but that the power of removability should be taken away in the case of that man (loud cheers). We propose that after an industrial residence of five years, after a man has laboured for a period of five years in a district, his settlement shall not be in the place where he had originally a settlement, but in the district to which his industry and labour had been given during those five years (cheers). The house may recollect what passed in 1842. In 1842 great distress prevailed in the manufacturing districts, and the practice adopted in consequence of this distress was, that the men who had originally a settlement in agricultural districts were returned to them, after having laboured in the manufacturing districts. Now I conceive that what we propose is a great moral improvement in

the law of settlement (hear, hear, and cheers), and an improvement which will prove a just relief to the rural districts, but the great advantage of which will be the avoidance of an act of injustice to the labouring man (hear, hear, and cheers). I propose, on the part of the Government, that from the passing of the measure which we shall introduce with reference to this subject no person who has resided five years in a parish shall be removed from that parish, and no residence in a prison, or a barrack, or lunatic asylum, or an hospital in that parish, or no period during which the individual was receiving public relief, shall be reckoned in those five years, or, on the other hand, be an interruption (hear, hear). I propose that there shall not only be no power to remove that man, but that there shall be no power to remove his wife or his children, legitimate or illegitimate, under sixteen years of age—that those children shall be permitted to reside with the father and mother, for there is to be no power to remove them when the removal of the man himself is prevented (hear, hear). There is to be no separation of the children from the parent in this case (great cheering), or of the man so situated from his family (cheers). The man who labours for five years in a district of which he is not a native, is thus not to be sent to the place of his original settlement. Under the present system, immediately on the death of a labouring man in a manufacturing district, of which he happens not to be a native, his widow can be removed to the parish in which she had her settlement; but we propose that no widow can be removable, for 12 months after the death of her husband, from the parish in which he resided at the time of his death (hear, hear, and cheers). At present, when a man situated as the individual I have described begins to fail in a manufacturing district—perhaps from having undergone extreme labour—an apprehension begins to be entertained that he may become a permanent incumbrance on the parish, and means are accordingly taken for an early removal of that man to his original settlement; now, I propose that he shall not be removable after five years' labour on the grounds of sickness or accident; that no such ground as sickness or accident shall be alleged as the cause of the removal of such a man or his family from a manufacturing to an agricultural district (hear, hear). This alteration in the law of settlement which I propose will be found to be a great social advantage, whilst it will relieve the agricultural interest of a burden which at present it is subject to. In proposing this alteration, I am doing only what is just to the place of the man's original settlement, and preventing an injustice from being done to the man who for a long time employed his labour in a manufacturing district (hear, hear). The next measure I am prepared on the part of her Majesty's Government to advise is one that, without loss to any party in the community, will confer great advantage on others. There is a dread—a natural dread—of competition with our agriculture on the cessation of the present Corn Law, and I must add it is impossible to deny that agricultural science is as yet in its infancy in this country, and that opportunities are afforded for effecting immense improvements in that department, and thus affording the means of meeting competition (hear): there are opportunities of enabling the British farmer, by the skill, capital, and industry of this country, to meet any competition which might be entered into by other countries (great cheering). Now, we recommend that the State should encourage improvements in agricultural science, and we propose that for this purpose the State should give facilities for carrying on such improvements in agriculture (hear, hear). Look at the committee of last year, at which the Duke of Richmond presided—look at the evidence before that committee with respect to the improvement of estates; that evidence shows that great opportunities of improvement exist where the means were afforded, and that large and extensive districts of the country are in a state to afford a wide and profitable field for the application of those improvements. I believe that those facilities exist—I believe that draining would greatly increase the produce of this country (hear, hear). Difficulties are no doubt to be met, and those difficulties are alluded to in the report of the committee which I have just mentioned—but there have been also proposed various schemes for effecting the necessary improvements in agriculture, and amongst them are some which have been brought forward by my honourable friend the member for Berkshire. Amongst the principal difficulties to be encountered was the necessary intervention of the Court of Chancery in many cases, and the difficulty of raising sufficient sums of money, and obtaining satisfactory security for its repayment, as well as the interest, in case of failure. Now, we recommend that the public credit of the state should be lent for the purpose of encouraging improvements, but we intend that it shall be done in a manner which will not subject the public to any loss, whilst money can be thus afforded on certain terms which we will name for the purpose of affording every facility for agricultural improvement. I see a great deal of advantage likely to arise from that recommendation, and I will now lay before the house the manner in which we propose to effect it. At present we advance Exchequer bill loans on sufficient security; now I would advise the application of the public credit to the encouragement of agriculture in such a manner as perfectly to guard the public against any loss. We propose that the Exchequer bill commissioners should lend a sufficient sum of money to effect agricultural improvements, on due securities, and we will take advantage of another board already in existence—the board of enclosures—for the purpose of facilitating those improvements. We recommend that a landed proprietor, wishing to effect improvements, should make an application to the enclosure commissioners, to inquire into the nature and extent of the improvements proposed, and we recommend that the preliminary survey should be made at the expense of the proprietor so applying, in

order to prevent all frivolous applications. After a full investigation on the part of the enclosure commissioners, a certificate is to be issued by those commissioners, warranting the Exchequer bill loan commissioners to advance a certain sum, such as may be required for the improvement so approved, providing by the terms of the advance an annual payment of a moderate rate of interest, and a repayment of the principal by annual instalments, the rent charge thus created to be taken as prior to all other charges, except any other party having a prior claim to the land should object to it. I believe, however, that there will be few cases in which an objection will be made by such a party to the effecting of the improvement on the terms which I have described, as those improvements would be the best guarantee for new charges on the estate (hear, hear). We propose that parties who have a prior claim on the land shall only be prior to the rent charge thus created, and that in case they shall object to the advance, it may not be done without the consent of the Court of Chancery. We believe that we shall thus be enabled to remove the objection which at present applies with respect to the difficulty that exists as regards improvements of entailed estates, and that we shall be enabled to obviate the great expense attending appeal to the Court of Chancery in such cases, thus removing the difficulties which now prevent advances on the part of private companies, and that thus great advantages will be conferred. I believe that a spirit of improvement will take place, and that the landlords, under scientific direction, will be enabled to improve their estates, and that the stimulation and emulation thus excited will lead to a general spirit of agricultural improvement (hear, hear). Well, that's another mode by which we propose to enable the landed interest to meet the competition to which they will be exposed at the termination of the present Corn Laws. With respect to direct local burdens her Majesty's Government have devoted serious consideration to that subject, and I must say that I cannot advise any material alteration of the present system of assessment. There is now raised an immense sum of money by this assessment, which is partly applied to the sustenance and relief of the poor, and partly for other objects. It is said, and said with apparent justice, that this charge bears on the agricultural interest, that it ought to be relaxed, and that there ought to be an alteration in the manner of levying it. Now, in point of fact, it is not a charge on the land; the opposition is not between the country and the manufacturing districts—not between land and houses—but between real and personal property (hear, hear); for whether real property is in houses or manufactures, where industry is employed it is subjected to the assessment for poor rates. If this were a general charge—if the Government undertook the general support of the poor, it might be advantageous to make personal property subject to the support of the poor. But this assessment to which I refer—this charge for the support of the poor—is a local charge, and not a general one (hear, hear). The land would have no advantage if the personal property of Manchester were all made to contribute to the poor rates. It would be no advantage to the land of the north of England, if the inhabitants of Halifax, Stockport, Macclesfield were rated in this manner, for this charge. You may say, subject personal as well as real property to the assessment. If you do this, you must subject it to the assessment in the rural as well as in the manufacturing districts. If you did so, how, I ask, would you levy so small a charge upon personal property as this would be in many cases? It might be possible to do so with great sums, and on urgent occasions; but when you come to levy sums for the relief of the poor on personal property in rural districts, you would find that the attempt would not be so successful (hear, hear). To raise minute sums by any inquisition on the part of local authorities would prove a great burden on land in the rural districts (hear). There are districts, partly agricultural and partly manufacturing, and there you may say this mode of assessment is unjust; but whether or no, I am not prepared to suggest such a remedy as this inquisition into personal property for the purpose of assessment. I do not think that it would be an advantage to the land that there should be an inquisition by local authorities, in order to levy this tax on personal property. If an inquiry were made into the profits of trade for the purpose of this assessment, an inquiry should take place into the profits of the farmer. You had an inquiry into personal property before, under another act, but you abandoned it because you found it impossible. If you established it in this case, I see no advantage that would arise to the agricultural interest; and I am sure that if the state took upon itself the maintenance of the poor it would be an arrangement open to the greatest objections; and as the charge is at present not a general but a local one, I do not believe that the landed interest would be benefited by this assessment of personal property for the poor rates. I have not, therefore, proposed any material alteration as to the principle on which the rates are at present levied. I always thought that the agricultural interest had a fair claim to direct relief from some local burdens, and looking at those which affect the land exclusively, we propose to take some of them off. I cannot mention this as a direct compensation, but I believe it will be found to lay the foundation of great social improvement if the public take upon them some of these charges. The hon. member for Somersetshire brought some of those burdens under the consideration of the house last year. I then said that while we retained protection I would not advise the agricultural interest to seek the relief then sought, as that relief would be comparatively small. But when we remove protection from the agricultural interest, I think it is in our power to relieve the land to a certain extent, and effect further social improvement. You have already taken upon

yourselves half the expense of maintaining prisoners while in gaol before trial, and also half the expense of lunatic asylums. You already bear a portion of the charge of maintaining convicts while in prison, and of removing convicts under sentence of transportation. We propose to relieve the country from these expenses altogether, and to throw the charge entirely upon the consolidated fund. When I say the consolidated fund, I do not mean to say that these expenses shall be paid without inquiry; and therefore I propose, in order that there may be a constant and vigilant check upon the expenditure of the country, that the necessary amount shall be provided for by an annual vote. With respect to the expenses of prosecutions in England, one-half of that charge is already paid out of the public purse, the other half by the county in which the prosecution takes place. In Scotland, the charge is paid altogether by the country; in Ireland a portion of the charge still remains imposed upon the land. We propose that in the case of England and Ireland, that portion of the expenses of prosecutions which is now defrayed by the county out of the local rates shall be borne by the country at large. The relief will not be great, but it will at the same time afford you the means of establishing some control over prosecutions (hear, hear), and thus, in a social point of view, the country will be amply repaid for the addition made to the public burdens. In Scotland, a good system of checking prosecutions by means of a public prosecutor has for some time existed (hear). In Ireland you have a control of the same kind, by requiring that in all prosecutions there shall be the consent of a public officer before the prosecution can be instituted. With a view, therefore, partly to the relief which the land will receive, and partly to the means of supervision which will be thereby afforded, I propose that the whole charge of prosecutions shall be taken from the land and placed upon the consolidated fund. The expense which this will occasion will be 17,000*l.* for Ireland, but in England it will not be less than 100,000*l.* When I speak of Ireland, let it not be forgotten that if there be any part of the United Kingdom which will suffer from the withdrawal of protection to agriculture, that part of the United Kingdom will be a loser by the course which we have recommended. Its capital and its enterprise are almost exclusively directed to agricultural pursuits. If, therefore, there should appear at first any undue favour shown to Ireland, let it be borne in mind that Ireland has not the means which other parts of the United Kingdom possess of employing labour in manufactures. It must also be recollected at the same time that we propose no relief from burdens which is not accompanied with some great social benefit to the whole of the community. At present there is a large police force established in Ireland. The expense of maintaining that force falls partly on the county, and partly on the public at large. This seems to me, I confess, an anomalous system (hear, hear). I think that it would be a great advantage to place that force under the control of the executive government, and to make it as perfect a system as you can, excluding all power of local nomination and local interference. This course was strongly recommended by the commission over which Lord Devon presided, without any reference to the withdrawal of protection from agriculture; and, therefore, her Majesty's Government are disposed to recommend that the charge of maintaining the police force in Ireland shall be wholly borne by the public treasury. There is another charge borne by the land in this country, which, with a view to the social advantages which will result from the change, we propose to transfer to the consolidated fund. I allude to medical relief (hear, hear). There is no part of the administration of the Poor Laws which gives more dissatisfaction than the administration of medical relief (hear, hear). There has been often great unwillingness on the part of the guardians to provide proper means for visiting and relieving the sick poor; and I am sorry to say, there has been frequently just grounds of complaint with respect to medical attendance. The state of medical relief in Scotland also has frequently attracted the attention of the house during the last session of Parliament. For the sake, therefore, of gradually introducing an amended system of medical relief to the poor, we propose that the public shall pay half the charge of medical officers. I estimate that the amount of relief which the land will receive by this plan will, in England, amount to not less than 100,000*l.*, and will amount to about 15,000*l.* in Scotland. Ireland stands in a different position in this respect, and the circumstances in which it is placed will shortly occupy the attention of the other house of Parliament. There is a separate charge which falls on the land in Scotland, from which, I think, it is entitled to be relieved. The charge of the model prison, Pentonville, is borne by the country generally, and Scotland objects that the expense of maintaining the prison at Perth ought not to fall upon her exclusively. It is but a very small amount, but Scotland wishes to be relieved from it, more, perhaps, as a matter of feeling, than on account of the burden which it casts upon the people of that country, who see the prison at Pentonville and the establishment at Parkhurst, in the Isle of Wight, supported at the public expense. There is only one other item of expenditure which I propose to take off from the land, but on which I think I shall have the general acquiescence of the house. I believe that in many parish workhouses there is great ground of complaint on account of the inadequate provision made for education (hear, hear, hear). In many workhouses persons who are perfectly unfit to be trusted with the education of youth have been appointed schoolmasters. We propose not to interfere with the right of the guardians to appoint these persons, as we do not wish to raise any question about their religious tenets. The right of appointment, therefore, shall remain with the guardians; but the Government will be ready to bear the expense. We shall require the right of examination,

of inspection, and of dismissal; but we are ready to provide a competent and decent salary for those who are to perform the task of instruction. We propose that a sum of 30,000*l.* a year shall be devoted to the purpose of providing competent salaries for schoolmasters and schoolmistresses for the children of the destitute poor, taking at the same time upon ourselves so much of control as shall not amount to interference with the right of election, but requiring that the person appointed shall be competent to discharge the duties of the situation. I propose also that the salaries of auditors of Poor Law unions shall be paid out of the public treasury, upon the same ground as those upon which the Poor Law commissioners are paid from the same source. If this general scheme shall meet with the approbation of the house, observe what it does for the great body of the people in this country. At a very early period all legislative restrictions on food will be entirely removed. Many of those restrictions will be removed immediately. With regard to clothing, the purchaser may at once go into the cheapest market. A great improvement will be introduced in respect to medical attendance. Before this measure be rejected, I do hope that both parties in this house, though their immediate views may not be consulted, will consider that, in respect to many articles of food, there will be an immediate removal of restrictions, and that with respect to all there will be a free importation at an early period. I trust, however, that the whole measure may be fairly and temperately considered, and that on each side you will reflect on the consequences of an immediate rejection of this scheme (hear, hear). I ask for no expression of opinion upon it this evening. I hope that after an interval of some days we shall approach the consideration of the final result in the same temper of mind in which, on both sides of the house, you have listened to my explanation of the views of the Government (hear, hear). Now, let me conclude with two observations, one connected with our foreign policy and the interests of our commercial intercourse with other countries, the other having reference to our own domestic prosperity. I fairly avow to you that in making this great reduction on the imports of articles which are the produce of other countries, I have no guarantee that other countries will follow our example (hear, hear). I give you the advantage of the admission that her Majesty's Government, worn out with long-continued efforts to make other countries give us a fair equivalent, have determined to pursue their own course, and that we, on the behalf of this country, have resolved to consult our own interest, and not to punish both other countries and ourselves by encouraging high duties, and with high duties a contraband trade (cheers). We have had no communication with any other Government on this subject. I cannot promise you that France will give us an equivalent for the reductions made on articles which are the produce of that country; nor that Russia will evince her gratitude for the policy of reducing the duty on tallow; you may therefore say to me, "You are giving away all these duties, and you get nothing in return." I may be told, and with truth, that many foreign countries which have benefited by the reductions which we have already made have not followed our example, but have actually applied to British goods higher rates of duty than were imposed upon them before (cries of hear, hear). I give you the whole benefit of that argument. I rely on that fact as a conclusive proof of the policy of the course which we have pursued. It is undoubtedly the fact that they have not followed our example. But look at the state of our export trade. You have defied the regulations of other countries, and your foreign trade has greatly increased. This is owing partly, perhaps, to the smuggler, whose daring and ingenuity have penetrated the triple cordon which was established to exclude your manufactures; and partly, perhaps, to the circumstance that the inhabitants of the countries to which I refer have not the advantages which enable you to enter into competition with them. But your exports, whatever the traffic of other countries may be, are a clear indication that the trade of this country with foreign countries is increasing. You have defied your competitors in the market, and notwithstanding hostile tariffs, the declared value of the exports of this country has increased to the extent of 10,000,000*l.* during the period since the reductions in our tariff have been made. I say, therefore, that you may depend upon it that the example which you have set will ultimately be followed. When your example could be quoted in favour of restrictions upon commerce, it was quoted and acted upon, and you may rely upon it that when your example can be quoted in favour of relaxation of restriction, it will not be without its effect. It may not act at first upon foreign governments or boards of trade, but ultimately the true interests of commerce will prevail; and in spite of the desire of foreign governments and boards of trade to raise revenue, the voice of reason will at last be heard. I see some symptoms already of an adherence to the principles by which we have been guided. Look at the report of the secretary of the treasury of the United States, Mr. Walker. That shows that your example has not been unavailing. The report made by him, containing many enlarged views on the subject of commerce, speaks thus on the question of foreign trade:—"By countervailing restrictions we injure our own fellow-citizens much more than the foreign nation at whom we purpose to aim their force, and in the conflict of opposing tariffs we sacrifice our own commerce, agriculture, and navigation. As well might we impose monarchical or aristocratic restrictions on our government or people, because that is the course of foreign legislation. Let our commerce be as free as our political institutions. Let us with revenue duties only open our ports to all the world, and nation after nation will soon follow our example." He says also, "If the question is asked, who shall begin the work of reciprocal reduction?—it is answered by the fact that England has already abated her duties upon most of our exports. She has repealed the duty upon most of our exports. She has repealed the duty upon cotton, and greatly reduced the tariff upon the breadstuffs, provisions, and other articles; and her present bad harvest, accompanied by a reduction of our tariff, would lead to the repeal of her Corn Laws, and the unrestricted admission at all times of our agricultural products." Here is a direct homage to the course which you have already pursued. Here is an admission that without any preliminary stipulation you reduced the duty on cotton, and the United States has now admitted that the time is come when she must follow your example. In other parts of Europe, where the form of Government is totally different from that of the United States, I could give you proof that your example is producing a considerable effect. I could quote the instance of a State, as different from the United States as can be, where your commercial principles are growing into favour. In Naples, liberal views on commercial subjects are beginning to prevail (hear, hear). I must say, in justice to the Sovereign who now rules over that country, and who takes a

personal part in the administration of that branch of affairs, that I have seen documents on commercial subjects from his pen, in which the principles of commercial intercourse are enunciated with as much correctness as if he had been a professor of political economy. That Sovereign is constantly urging upon his ministers the relaxation of duties; and I am convinced that at an early period we may look for a reduction of the duties levied upon articles of our manufacture. I see reason to think that the same course will at no remote period be followed both in Sweden and Norway. Austria has shown some disposition at least not to follow the example set her by neighbouring countries; and Hanover, also, has taken her own course in commercial legislation. I do not despair, therefore, that the time will arrive when your example will act upon other countries. I trust that the improved intercourse which will ensue from it will constitute a new bond of peace. I do hope that the lovers and friends of peace between all nations will derive material strength from the example which I advise to be followed, by the removal of impediments to commercial intercourse. But, observe, that the continuance of peace will expose us to greater competition. The greater the certainty of the continuance of peace, the greater will be the efforts which you must make to maintain your commercial position. During the last war we commanded the means of supplying every nation, but peace has produced not only new consumers but also formidable manufacturing rivals. It is of great importance to us to maintain the position to which we have reached. Now, I do firmly think that the abundance and cheapness of provisions is one of the constituents by which the continuance of commercial pre-eminence may be maintained. You may say that the object of these alterations is to foster the love of gain, and to minister to the desire of accumulating money. I advise these measures on no such grounds. I believe that the accumulation of wealth, that is to say, the increase of capital, is a main element, is one of the means by which we can maintain the pre-eminence position which we have long held. But I have attempted to show that the abundance of provisions and the security—which is a main guarantee for the continuance of that abundance—not only contribute to the accumulation of wealth, but that they are directly conducive to the alleviation of public burdens by the increase of revenue—to the alleviation of local burdens by diminishing the pressure of local claims; but, above all, that they are conducive to the spread of morality, by diminishing those temptations to crime which arise from poverty and distress (hear). I ask you, therefore, to give your consent to these measures, not on any narrow view or principle connected with the accumulation of wealth, but I ask you to give your consent to them on far higher grounds—far higher principles. Encumbered as you are by heavy burdens, solicitous as you are to provide for the public credit, depend upon it the true source of increased revenue is increased comfort and increased taste for luxury. Thus, I say, are the interests of the revenue promoted by that unseen and voluntary taxation which arises from the enlarged consumption of articles of general use. I ask you to consent to the scheme you have just heard, on the proof which I have adduced, that abundance and cheapness lead to diminished crime and to increased morality (loud cheers). These are the usual, nay, the almost necessary effects of that cheapness and that abundance. I could bring before you many examples. "But why?" I hear it asked, "if there be no actual scarcity, and no danger of scarcity, why interfere?" (Tory cheers). Now what is scarcity? It is a relative term (hear, hear, from the Opposition). That which is not scarcity to us may be scarcity to others. But scarcity is a relative term in respect of times as well as persons. Remember this, that the lapse of three years of plenty brings us to an important era in a nation's history. The late abundance of provisions, and consequent comparative cheapness, have altered the character and the feelings of the people (hear, hear). That which was not scarcity in the hard winter of 1842 would be scarcity now (hear, hear); that which would not have been then a denial of comforts almost equal to the necessities of life would be severely felt now (hear, hear). There would be much more real suffering sustained in 1843, after the enjoyment of three years of comparative abundance, by the people now being put upon anything like a short allowance of food, than there would have been under similar circumstances in 1843. Now, I advise that we do not check the genial current of prosperity which has so long prevailed. We have had three abundant harvests. Now, do not mistake me. I am not insensible to the advantages of plenty arising from the abundance of home produce, which the bounty of Providence may favour us with. I do not say that any importation of corn from foreign countries can supply or compensate for the advantages we derive from abundant harvests of our own. But I ask you to consider whether or not such a consideration forms a reason why, if there be danger of a deficient supply at home, we should not remedy the evil as well as we can, by permitting importation from abroad (cheers)? I was told the other day that, in the instance of a battalion of the Guards, quartered here, a great increase in the number of applications for the furlough granted to private soldiers had taken place within the last three years. I inquired what was the reason. The house may think the anecdote trifling, but I confess it made a great impression upon my mind. I was told, I say, that the reason for the rapid increase in the number of applications for furlough—in fact, for twice the number of soldiers applying in 1845 for the privilege than had sought for it in previous years—and the number of applicants is still on the increase—I was told, I say, sir, that the reason was this—that the friends of these soldiers were at present in such comfortable circumstances, that the men were constantly receiving invitations to pass some time in the country with their relatives, and that it was in this manner that the increase was to be accounted for (hear, hear, and some laughter). Sir, honourable members may think the matter trifling, but it seems to me a striking instance of the moral advantages produced by the command of an abundant supply of food. We see abundance here facilitating the intercourse of kindly affection. We see it permitting those who are divided in periods of difficulty and distress—permitting the soldier to revisit his home, and then to return, I hope, imbued with feelings which would qualify him for the still better performance of his duty than those with which he had for a time left it (cheers and laughter). Now I was asked the other night why I am disposed to disturb the state of prosperity to which I allude (Tory cheering). I was told the other night that I had admitted that during a period of three years there had been comparative abundance and comparative prosperity—that that abundance and prosperity had co-existed with the Corn Law of 1842, and where then was the necessity for disturbing the arrangement then made (Tory cheering)? Sir, my answer is this—that up to the month of October last the indications of the prosperity in question did exist; but that

during that month, and for the two or three which have elapsed since, there has been an apparent sympathy between the prosperity of the manufacturing districts and the price of wheat (hear, hear). One of the circulars issued from Manchester, containing an account of the state of trade in that town, and dated the 22d of the present January, contains the following passage:—"The anticipations which we ventured to make in our last annual circular, as to the prospects of the year we had just then entered upon, were fully realised for the first nine months, during which we enjoyed not only a continuance of the prosperity of 1844, but it had reached to a degree unexampled in our manufacturing history—extending to every branch, and acting powerfully on the social condition of our teeming population. The causes which combined to produce this state of things were, as in the former year, steadiness of prices, with a demand constantly keeping pace with the supply; low rates for the raw material, abundance of money at a moderate rate of interest, with a discriminating and careful management of our banking institutions; regular and full employment for all classes of our operatives, with cheap and abundant food, and the absence of any political event threatening either our domestic peace or foreign relations, to which may be added, the wise and comprehensive fiscal measures of the last session of Parliament. Unhappily, we have latterly experienced a reverse in several of these elements of prosperity, which, acting on each other, led to a state of embarrassment under which we laboured for the last three months of the year, and are still labouring, though in a mitigated form. Our home trade demand, up to the end of September, was on an unprecedentedly large scale, but from the causes above mentioned, an almost total suspension occurred for the two succeeding months, which has been followed since by a moderate business only." We are not, therefore, to conclude that up to the time at which I am speaking these indications of prosperity continue unabated. The events which have passed since the month of October, 1845, have certainly constituted one of the grounds on which I have come to the conclusion which I have arrived at (hear, hear). And now, Mr. Greene, these are the proposals which, upon the part of her Majesty's government, I offer for the adjustment—for the ultimate adjustment—of this great question. I cannot appeal to any ungenerous feelings of fear—to anything which can unduly sway your minds—as a reason for your listening with patience to my propositions. There may be agitation, but it is not agitation which has reached the great mass of the labouring community. There has been a total absence of all popular excitement. I admit, therefore, that it is possible, without danger to the public peace, to continue the existing law; I cannot therefore, appeal to your fears. But I tell you that there has occurred a great change in the opinion of a vast proportion of the community on the subject of the Corn Laws (loud Opposition cheering); that there exists between the master manufacturers and the operative classes a common conviction, which did not prevail in 1842, or in any previous year, that it is for the public advantage that these laws should be altered (loud cheers); but I believe that although there undoubtedly does prevail that union of sentiment on the subject, I cannot say that there is co-existent with it anything but general contentment, general loyalty, and a deep-seated confidence in the justice and wisdom of the decisions of this house. So far as I can judge, the example which you have set in taking on yourselves great pecuniary burdens, in order that you might relieve the labouring classes from the taxation to which they were subject, has produced the deepest impression and the most beneficial effect. I repeat that I believe there exists a perfect confidence in your judgment and your wisdom. But although this is a time of peace and plenty—although there prevails a perfect calm, excepting so far as agitation among the principal manufacturers may interrupt it—(hear, and a laugh)—although you are now not subject to any coercion, I entreat you to bear in mind that the aspect of affairs may be changed—that we may have to contend with worse harvests than that which we have lately gathered, and that it may be wise to avail ourselves of the present time for effecting an adjustment—an adjustment which, I believe, must ultimately take place, and which cannot be long protracted without engendering deep feelings of animosity between different classes of her Majesty's subjects (cheers). From the sincere belief which I entertain that that settlement must be brought about—from the sincere hope which I feel that, coupled with the precautionary measures to which I have referred, it will not inflict injury on the agricultural interest—from these convictions, and with these feelings, I should deeply lament, on public grounds exclusively, the failure of the measures which, on the part of her Majesty's government, I have on the present occasion recommended to your calm and dispassionate consideration; and recommended, mind, with no feeling, with no interest in the ultimate issue, other than that it may prove, in the words of the Royal Speech, conducive to the maintenance of friendly feeling between the different classes of the community, a security for the permanence of peace, and an assurance for the contentment and loyalty of all classes, of all ranks of her Majesty's subjects, by increasing the comforts and bettering the condition of the great body of the people. The right hon. baronet resumed his seat amid considerable Opposition cheering. His speech occupied three hours and twenty-five minutes in the delivery.

The resolutions brought in by the right honourable baronet were then read *pro forma*, as follows:—

"That in lieu of the duties now payable on the importation of corn, grain, meal, or flour, there shall be paid until the 1st day of February, 1849, the following duties, viz.:

If imported from any foreign country—		WHEAT.	
Whenever the average price of wheat, made up and published in the manner required by law, shall be for every quarter		s. d.	
Under 48s.	the duty shall be for every qr.	10	0
48s. — 49s.	.....	9	0
49s. — 50s.	.....	8	0
50s. — 51s.	.....	7	0
51s. — 52s.	.....	6	0
52s. — 53s.	.....	5	0
53s. and upwards	.....	4	0
BARLEY, BEAR OR BIGGS.			
Whenever the average, &c.,		Under 26s. the duty shall be for every qr.	
26s. — 27s.	.....	5	0
27s. — 28s.	.....	4	0
28s. — 29s.	.....	3	0
29s. — 30s.	.....	3	0
30s. — 31s.	.....	2	0
31s. and upwards	.....	2	0
OATS.			
Whenever the average, &c.,		Under 18s. the duty shall be for every qr.	
18s. — 19s.	.....	4	0
19s. — 20s.	.....	3	0
20s. — 21s.	.....	2	0

21s. — 22s. 2 0
22s. and upwards 1 6
From and after the 1st of February, 1849, there shall be paid the following duties:—Wheat, barley, bear or biggs, &c., 1s.; wheat-meal, barley-meal, oatmeal, &c., for every cwt. 4½d."

After the reading of the resolutions, a discussion took place as to the most appropriate time for resuming the subject. Mr. Miles and Mr. S. O. Brien recommended delay; and notwithstanding Mr. Hume's remonstrances, it was ultimately fixed that the subject should not be resumed till Monday week, to allow due time for deliberation, and for ascertaining the opinion of all parties. The right honourable baronet stated that, so far as Government was concerned, he should then feel it to be his duty to proceed *de die in diem*. Several members then addressed the House, but, of course, their speeches are comparatively uninteresting in present circumstances. Mr. Liddell dissented *toto coelo* from the course which the right honourable baronet had thought fit to adopt. Captain Rous promised his cordial support to the measures which had that night been proposed. Mr. S. O'Brien was of opinion that before coming to a decision on so momentous a question, the country should be consulted. Colonel Sibthorpe read a letter, expressed in the most courteous language, which he had that morning received from the Council of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and intimated at the same time that the letter was private and confidential. The eccentric Colonel succeeded, as usual, in contributing to the amusement of the House. The other members who gave utterance to their sentiments, in the shape of questions and remarks, were—Lord March, Lord Ingestre, Mr. F. Scott, Lord G. Bentinck, Sir J. Tyrell, Mr. S. Herbert, Mr. P. Howard, Mr. Wodehouse, Mr. Wakley, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Aglionby, and others. In conclusion, Mr. Greene, the chairman of the committee, reported progress, and it was moved and agreed to that the House resolve again into the same committee on Monday, the 9th of February.

The other orders on the paper were then disposed of, and the House adjourned at 12 o'clock.

MONTEFIORE.—The following is a copy of a letter, addressed by Joseph Hume, M.P., to Provost Jamieson, of this place, in acknowledging the receipt of a memorial from Montefiore, for the repeal of the Corn Laws:

"Bryanston-square, January 3, 1846.
"MY DEAR SIR,—I am quite aware that Sir Robert Peel has been considered a *slippery hand* by his own supporters, because he has become an unwilling convert to the *enlarged principles of Free Trade*; and at the risk of offending his supporters, he has not only assumed those principles, but has carried them out to a greater extent than under all the existing influences I could have expected. As the Whigs refused until the eleventh hour to acknowledge those principles, as expounded in my report on *Import Duties* in 1840, you will excuse my placing some confidence in Sir Robert's doing as much as he can in the right direction. I am satisfied, when he frightened his colleagues, and made them all resign, that he then intended a large measure; but no person has hinted at its extent now; and we may be at a loss to guess even what he will propose on the 22nd. But of this I am satisfied, that he will not stultify himself with a milk and water measure. I recommend that 1000 of the entries in the *British Tariff* should be abolished out of 1150, and those articles admitted free. Sir Robert himself, in 1841, abused me in the House as an *Utopian and visionary*, to think of, or to recommend such a clean sweep of the tariff as I had done; but he was not one year in office before he had adopted every one of my principles, and, up to the end of the session, had actually struck out of our tariff 500 articles and entries. After that, all in my way, you must allow I have good grounds for hopes of something large. I send you his answer to your address; and every such paper will tend to strengthen his hand against the protectionists.

"JOSEPH HUME."

EFFECT OF THE CORN LAW REPEAL ON THE VALUE OF LAND.—With respect to the real value of land as a marketable commodity, indeed, a measure to determine the relative worth of all realised property, there can be no doubt that any legislative enactment which would remove the shackles from trade, and thus give an impetus to the reaction of wealth, must greatly benefit the landed proprietor. He would be a richer man, because he held what an increasing number of rich men would be anxious to purchase from him. In other words, he would find a better market for the commodity he had to sell, and would thus receive his full proportion of the developed resources of the country. How happens it that the possession of two or three thousand acres of land in England makes a man a potent squire, while in Russia or Germany a similar extent, though superior in its productive qualities, is altogether insufficient to meet the wants of their lowest standard of nobility? The answer is plain enough. England is a rich country,—made rich by her commerce, and the land and its owners participate to the full in the wealth which every wind of heaven is daily wafting to her shores. We have no fear, then, that a repeal of the Corn Laws will seriously affect the country gentlemen. Come what may, the great landowner may still be, as he is now, the centre of moral and political influence in his neighbourhood,—foremost among the aristocracy of the empire,—the friend, the example, the support of those who have harder fight to win their bread from earth's bosom than himself. Realising, to its full extent, the principle that "property has its duties as well as its rights," he will not shrink from giving his assent to a measure which the admitted exigency of the times demands, simply because that measure involves the bare possibility of pecuniary loss to himself. He will assist in developing that commercial greatness which has already benefited him so much, not doubting but that trade and agriculture, when left to themselves, will be found sharing in the same prosperity.—*The Balance*.

The Anti-Corn-Law League, that great, intelligent, and truly national confederacy—so much misunderstood by many, and therefore so much maligned—has at length triumphed. The discovery has at length been made in high quarters, that it is not merely a handful of "cotton lords," but the nation, which is up in arms against the food monopoly, and that it would be folly to resist any longer the demand for its abolition.—*Macclesfield Chronicle*.

AGRICULTURE.

FACTS AND FIGURES FOR FARMERS.

Farmers have long been told by the monopolist landowners that the object of the Corn Laws was to keep up the price of corn. The unlimited supply of grain with which this country was to be "inundated" from abroad, formed a standing topic with protectionist orators, from Lord Stanley downwards. But it seems now that this was all a mistake. Landlords think nothing of rents—not they. They have no intention of advancing the price of grain by means of the Corn Laws; they never had any such intent; they only meant to provide food on easy terms to the consumers, and to "protect the manufacturers of the country" against foreign competition. Thus, at the meeting of the "Central Agricultural Protection Society," at Willis's rooms, on Monday last, the Duke of Richmond said, "We never asked for protection to ourselves from any selfish motives;" and Lord Beaumont wished it to be "distinctly understood" that, "if the Corn Laws were intended, or if their operation had only been, to enhance the price of corn, and to diminish the supply of food, it was a most unhallowed cause in which they were engaged." It is true that these landed monopolists have only just discovered—or, at all events, disclosed—these *disinterested* intentions. Yet they may be real, for all that. Now, whether the cause in which Lord Beaumont and his co-monopolists are engaged be or be not an "unhallowed" one, we shall, for the present, leave the bread taxers to settle with the consumers, for whom so much tender, though latent, regard has been entertained. But, in the name of common sense, let us ask, why have the farmers been so earnestly called upon to stand by the Corn Laws, if those laws be not "intended to enhance the price of corn?" It may be unwise for farmers to love 60s. and upwards a quarter for their wheat; it may be that in relying upon high prices they are grasping at the shadow and losing the substance of profit; it may be—we believe it is—best for them to grow agricultural produce for a well-fed population; but farmers needed no "Central Protection Society" to tell them that. On the contrary, it is because farmers feared Free Trade in corn would "pull down" the price of corn, that they have been induced or seduced to support the monopolist landocracy.

Why was Sir Robert Peel so roundly abused by farmers in 1842, but because his Corn Law and Tariff of that year were supposed, rightly or wrongly, to have lowered the prices of grain and meat? In fact, if protection does not mean the enhancement of prices, then all the agitation, on paper, of the monopolist landowners, is much ado about nothing; or it has some other objects which cannot be conveniently avowed to the farmers.

Now, though the bread taxing landowners are trying to cover their own injustice by the plea that there are other classes equally unjust, and by pretending that they only desire to protect all domestic articles against foreign competition, the artifice is too shallow to deceive any one. The public know that the object of the Corn Law is to "enhance prices;" and the farmers know that it is only under the belief that such would be the "operation" of the law, that the yeomen of England have struggled to retain it.

It is certain that many farmers have lately become very indifferent, or adverse, to the continuance of the Corn Laws, because they have observed that when they do "enhance prices" the benefit goes to the landlord, and when they do not the loss falls on the tenant. This is contrived by calculating the rent according to the Act of Parliament price—that is, the price the Corn Laws affect to secure; and when prices are lower by making some eleemosynary and inadequate reduction of rent, to be put on again the moment prices reach the Corn Law level. The following instance of this is recorded in the *Chelmsford Chronicle* of last week, where it is said:

"We understand that at the rent audit of Lord Maynard, on Tuesday last, his lordship raised the rents of his tenantry 10 per cent., being the amount of a reduction made at a previous audit."

Here we have at once an illustration of the instantaneous appropriation to the landlord of the benefit of high prices, and of the "unselfish" character of the landowner's demand for protection. Let Farmers in every district contrast the sayings at protection meetings of the landowners they know, with their doings at home, and the patriotism of landlordism will become wonderfully like selfishness, and that of the meanest sort.

Whilst penning these lines, we have had brought before us a practical instance of the interest the "farmers' friends" have in high prices, and the way in which they have screwed up their rents by means of the competition, the unnatural competition, produced by the Corn Laws.

Doubtless our readers are aware that there is a gentleman of the name of Chetwynd, member for Newcastle-under-Lyne, who has figured at protection meetings in Staffordshire as a protectionist of the first water, and a flaming "farmer's friend." That gentleman is, we believe, the son of Sir George Chetwynd. On the estate of Sir George Chetwynd, there was, in the year 1805, a tenant farmer named Thomas Henney, holding a farm upon lease, at the yearly rent of 130*l*. The following is a verbatim copy of the receipt for his half-year's rent in that year:

"Received the 12th of January, 1805, of Mr. Thos. Henney, the sum of sixty-five pounds for half a year's rent due to Sir George Chetwynd, Baronet, at Old Michaelmas last.

Rent	£65	0	0
Deduct a year's Property tax	6	10	0
	£58	10	0

JOHN COLLINS."

In 1812, Thomas Henney's lease expired. Probably he had made some money, for prices had been high, far higher than either landlord or tenant anticipated at the commencement of the lease. Then came the competition screw, and Henney's rent was advanced from 130*l*. to 210*l*. per annum. And lest the landlord should not clutch *all* the advantage of rising prices, there was no renewal of the lease; but Henney went on as a yearly tenant. This is his receipt for rent in the following year:

"Received the 3d of July, 1813, of Mr. Thomas Henney, the sum of one hundred and five pounds, for half a year's rent due to Sir George Chetwynd, Baronet, at Lady Day last.

£105	0	0
10	10	0

Property tax.

£94	10	0
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Cash received. JOHN COLLINS."

As the landlord expected, prices did rise in 1813, and Thomas Henney experienced the advantage—to the landlord—of a yearly or "mutual confidence" holding; for by Michaelmas, 1813, we find him standing at the enhanced rate of 312*l*. a year.

Here is the evidence under the hand of the landlord's own agent:

"Received the 15th day of January, 1814, of Thomas Henney, the sum of one hundred and fifty-six pounds for half a year's rent, due to Sir George Chetwynd, Baronet, at Michaelmas last.

£156	0	0
10	10	0

One-half Property tax.

£145	10	0
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JOHN COLLINS."

The reader will remark a slight but significant alteration in the terms of this last receipt, which marks the degradation of the tenant-farmer into a kind of political retainer of the landlord's, which was then just commencing. In the two former receipts the tenant was designated "Mr. Thomas Henney," now plain "Thomas Henney" was deemed the proper designation of the yearly tenant vassal. Shortly after this time the tenant died, and his son succeeded to his farm at the still further "enhanced" rent of 345*l*.

This is one of his receipts.

"Received this 7th day of December, 1825, from Mr. Thomas Henney, the sum of one hundred and seventy-two pounds ten shillings, being half a year's rent, due at Michaelmas last, to Sir George Chetwynd, Baronet.

£172	10	s.
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"ROBERT HOARE, Jun."

This last advance was made upon the strength of the Corn Law of 1815, and the price of 80s. a quarter for wheat thereby promised.

The failure of such promise was fearfully felt by the tenant, who found the capital his father had accumulated under his lease rapidly undergoing absorption by the landlord, and with due humility he remonstrated with Sir George. Whereupon Sir

George said, "I must maintain my station in society: I have a large family, and must get the highest rents I can from my tenants." To this Henney replied, "Then, Sir George, to keep up your station, I am to be ruined." Whereupon Sir George rejoined, "If you don't like to continue your farm, your next neighbour will take it at the same rent." To this application of the screw the tenant could offer no resistance; and, having had his capital squeezed out of him by the landlord, gave up the farm to his next neighbour, and sought to obtain a livelihood as an eating-house keeper, in the new palace yard.

Let farmers read and mark this history, one far more true than any thing they will hear at "17, Bond Street," or at the "Protection Societies" of the provinces.

It forms, too, evidence of the "unselfish" character of the landowner's demand for artificially high prices. Is there a single landowner amongst those who assembled at the "Central Society's meeting" on Monday, whose acts would not furnish similar evidence?

Let those who know them at home answer.

A MONOPOLIST WITNESS.

A humorous and eccentric monopolist clergyman of Dorsetshire, Mr. Huxtable, thus bears testimony against monopoly. At the *Sturminster Agricultural Association* he said:

"I am more and more convinced, that of all mistakes that can be committed, that of growing hay is the greatest. (*Loud laughter and applause.*) Well, now hear me out. Pasture land is let in this country of a poor kind; I am not speaking of watering meadows, or of those rich meadows watered by Stour, and let at 2*l*. or 3*l*. an acre; but, speaking of the average of lands, I say that a greater robbery never was committed on a nation than that of keeping these lands in pasture. An acre will cut one and a half ton of hay; now what will three acres do? They will keep a cow summer and winter. I am prepared to say that two and a half acres keep a cow, but then the cows are kept in the straw yard for three months, and to produce the food for them during this time I allot the other half acre. *Let it be broken up.* First of all it is thoroughly drained, and then if you have Swedes, *he must be a bungler who cannot grow 25 tons an acre;* and what is the worth of Swedes an acre? Let that be reserved for the present, and be pleased now to allow me to suppose that they are worth 15s. a ton, exclusive of the dung. (*MORE, MORE.*) Now you have got 25 tons at 15s.; exclusive of this come the tops. If a cow gets hold of the tops the butter will taste, but the great quantity of phosphates they produce will tender milk abundant. You have got then the first year 25 tons of Swedes, the gross proceeds of which will be 18*l*. I presume that you eat off this; then you will produce out of that five or six tons of manure fully equal to manure that land. Then the next year you grow wheat. You will grow at least on that land nine sacks of wheat per acre; or you will grow 15 tons of green clover an acre, and in the next year nine quarters of oats. *I pledge my word that you can grow these crops, because I have done it myself.* Now look at the nation's benefit from this. You have grown nine sacks of wheat an acre, 25 tons of Swedes, and nine quarters of oats. And now I ask you, what has the cow been doing? She has made 200*lbs*. of butter, and 212*lbs*. of cheese; and the nation can feed from the arable land 240 more mouths than the cow can feed. *I say it will not do to depend upon protection to keep foreign corn out.* We ought to come before the country and say, 'We are doing all we can to feed you; but we cannot give you English corn at foreign prices, with English burthens.' (*Loud cheers.*) *But are we doing that? Do we come with clean hands to ask for protection?*"

And after giving a very graphic account of growing Swedes upon some very poor land, giving a return of 300 per cent, he said:

"You see I want you to be enthusiastic. *If you will only be as enthusiastic as I am, you may laugh at these Free Traders.*"

Now, in sober seriousness, it may be said that there is in the land a latent power of increased production, far more than sufficient to enable the farmer to "laugh at Free Trade;" and the only "lion in the path" is the semi-feudal system on which landed property is managed.

THANKFULNESS FOR SMALL MERCIES.

What good easy people some of the agitating protectionists are! they seem to be extremely thankful for any exhibition of sympathy for their cause, though the manner of exhibiting it be ever so damaging to that cause. For instance, at a protection meeting at Malton, in Yorkshire:

"It was also resolved, that the unanimous thanks of the meeting be given to E. S. Cayley, Esq., M.P., for the two able letters he had lately addressed to Lord John Russell on the subject of the Corn Laws, and for the universal support he had given for the maintenance and protection of the interests of the agriculturists."

Well done, Maltonians! We wonder you did not by the same vote thank Mr. Cayley for his literary intemperance in falsifying Adam Smith. Again, at some other place a formal vote of thanks was passed to the *Morning Post*, for its strenuous advocacy of protection!!

Fancy that, Free Trade readers! Why, the League would not have had all its power of exposing the evils of the Corn Laws, but for the aid of the *Morning Post* in reducing protectionist theories to absurdity. If the League did employ any "secret service money," which it does not, the editor of the *Post* might have been fairly suspected of having largely participated.

REJECTING THE PLEDGE.

It is a sign of the times which farmers should note as significant, that protectionist members, in all parts of the country, make it a point of honour to refuse to "pledge" themselves to vote for the maintenance of the present Corn Laws. Mr. Sotheron, and his colleague in North Wilts, talk against all change in the law, yet they won't "pledge" themselves to oppose, that is to vote against such a change. Mr. Kemble, in East Surrey, won't "pledge," and monopolist members, who are adherents of the Government, in all directions echo the cuckoo cry, "we won't pledge." "Pledges are unconstitutional," which means, we suppose, that they are uncomfortable to pledge-breakers. Now, after the speeches these non-pledging members make, such refusals seem to us, as they do to the farmers, to be intimations of intention to shirk from implied pledges if the Minister wants a majority. Lord Worsley, at the Horncastle meeting, put this matter on the right ground:

"He (Lord Worsley) would repeat that he would give no pledges, although he contended that when a public man made a declaration he was bound to carry out his views as he described them, or if he saw grounds for altering them, then either to explain to his constituents his reasons, or resign his trust into their hands. Upon some subjects new circumstances might arise, and a doubt would exist as to the policy of refusing a change; but upon a matter like the Corn Laws there could be no doubt of the opinions entertained by the representative on the one hand, or the constituents on the other. His (Lord Worsley's) constituents could never be in ignorance of his opinions on these matters, nor could he be unmindful of theirs. If then he went into the House of Commons and voted for any alterations in the Corn Laws, even though he had given no positive pledge on the subject, he would not be acting the part of an honourable man. (Cheers.)"

FIGURES OF FANCY VERSUS FACTS.

Nothing can exceed the fervent vehemence with which the monopolists everywhere declare that there was no deficiency of crops last harvest, and that an average, and more than an average produce was obtained. Such are the figures of fancy wherewith the overgrown schoolboys of the squirearchy imagine they can gull the intelligent men of business of Great Britain. Hear however, what those who write for the information of real men say on the subject. The following is from the last *Mark Lane Express*:

"There has been a buoyancy about the trade in grain, indicative of a rise in prices; and, from present appearances, we certainly incline to the opinion that, in whichever way the Corn Law question may be settled, the settlement will be immediately followed by an active demand for bread stuffs. The late fall in prices of wheat was (as we have on former occasions remarked) caused wholly by political events, and not by any alteration in public opinion respecting the result of the harvest. The crop, though certainly not so bad as represented by those connected with the League for party purposes, must nevertheless be considered as decidedly below that of average years. That there really is a deficiency in the yield, is admitted on all hands; but so variously is it estimated, as to render it almost impossible to determine with any degree of accuracy to what extent. Coupled, however, with the falling off in the quantity of food, in consequence of the disease by which the produce of potatoes has been so greatly decreased, quite sufficient grounds are afforded to conclude that wheat cannot long remain at present rates."

REVIEW.

STUDIES OF ENGLISH LIFE—(*Etudes de l'Angleterre.*) By M. LEON FAUCHER. Paris: Guillemin; London: Dulau.

"To see ourselves as others see us" is not less advantageous to nations than individuals; the revelations of England contain full as much of novelty and of exciting interest for Englishmen as the revelations of Russia; for in this country, above all others, men are so absorbed in their individual pursuits, and so engrossed by their special occupations, that each knows almost as little of the social life in spheres or classes remote from his own as he does of Siberia or Kamschatka. During the last ten years, commissioners appointed to investigate the conditions of existence in the lower grades of the population, have brought to light grave evils and dangers which society had long neglected, but which had reached to a fearful intensity that menaced perilous consequences. But the information thus accumulated is entombed in Blue Books, and would have been almost unknown to the mass of readers had not D'Israeli collected some of the most striking characteristics, and interwoven them into the brilliant romance of *Sybil*. The sketches of M. Leon Faucher derive no aid from the graces of fiction; they are as minutely true to life as the pictures of Teniers; and, like them, not unfrequently exhibit revolting and painful portraiture. But as the phy-

sical anatomist must conquer the disgust of the dissecting room, so the moral anatomist, who searches into the causes of social disease, must not shrink from the investigation of its types, even under their worst aspect.

M. Leon Faucher is a decided Free Trader; he is in consequence an advocate for peace, and anxious to have the bonds of amity between England and France drawn closer together by mutual interest and mutual respect. Faithfulness of delineation has been his first object, and this he has generally attained. There are, however, peculiar phases of English polity and social life which have not a little perplexed him, as they have all other foreigners. The complicated details of our local administrations were not viewed with unprejudiced eyes by an observer trained to centralization; and the peculiarities of dissenting bodies appeared often trivial or repulsive to one who had come from a land where what is properly called sectarianism is utterly unknown. His investigation of our crowded cities and towns, London, Liverpool, Manchester, and Leeds, were pursued with the zeal of a philanthropist and the skill of a philosopher. His descriptions are as vivid as those of a novelist; and his reflections, even when a little erroneous, are characterised by good feeling and sound sense. We shall take a sketch of a part of London as little known to the inhabitants of the West End, and even of the City, as the interior of New Holland:

"In Whitechapel, were it not for the perpetual fog of this climate, one might imagine himself in some town of the south. The countenances you observe have no characteristics of the English type. The habits of life are those that you find in the street of Toledo at Naples, in the quarter of St. John at Marseilles, or in the Rue Mouffetard at Paris. Englishmen live secluded in their houses, which they deem the castles of private life; but the gypsy population of this district lives in the open street. Merry women sit at their thresholds, or work at their open windows, to have a better view of the crowd. Venders of eatables exhibit their cooking apparatus in the open air. The smell of vegetables and fish frying on the pan infects the lanes and alleys. Apple-women and old clothesmen stop the passengers. The cries of the various traffickers, the noise of conversation across the pavement or from window to window, the quarrels of children, the songs heard from the gin-palaces, make an aggregate of sounds, the southern gaiety of which bewilders the spectator to such a degree that he cannot believe himself within two steps of the Tower, and on the very verge of the City."

"To judge of this population when employed, it is necessary to visit 'Rag fair.' The custom existed of old, and the place was well known 150 years ago, for it is there that Daniel de Foe describes the arrest of Colonel Jack, one of his heroes, by the police. In fact, the scenes which pass there seem far removed from the civilisation of our age. The market is held in a space cribbed from heaps of rubbish, to which two narrow lanes give access. A covered shed occupies the centre, but the crowd besieging it is so great, that the greater number of bargains is effected in a flying camp. About 4 o'clock in the evening Rag-fair begins to be animated. Three or four thousand Jews cover the place, by turns buyers and sellers of the same objects. Without seeing them, it is impossible to form any notion of the serious air and pompous terms in which they puff their miserable merchandise. 'Here is an excellent coat, of superfine quality!' cries one, exhibiting a coat, worn at all its seams, and which has passed from master to servant, before falling into the hands of the old clothesman. 'A splendid bonnet, a beautiful gown,' says another, exhibiting a faded silk, which has already done service for three generations. Prices are obtained for these rags, everything finds a purchaser, and such merchandise is deemed worthy of being stored in the cellars of the neighbouring houses, which serve as magazines. Rag-fair has its alternatives of rise and fall, like those of the Stock Exchange. There as elsewhere, price depends on the proportion of supply to demand; the purveyors for the market arrive every moment, bending under their loads; the amount of disposable stock varies at every moment. Trickery is not much practised; the Jews who frequent the fair are too well acquainted with each other to attempt cheating."

The descriptions which M. Faucher has given of Liverpool and Manchester have been very copiously extracted into the English journals, and need not, therefore, be here repeated. We must, however, bestow some notice on his account of the agricultural classes of England, in which he has fallen into very serious mistakes. In opposition to Messrs. Baines and Hickson, M. Faucher earnestly contends that agricultural districts must be more moral than manufacturing districts. This is not a question to be decided by the mere statistics of criminal returns; there are two other elements to be taken into consideration—the amount of temptation, and the vigilance of police; and both these circumstances tend to swell the returns of criminals from towns and manufacturing districts. M. Faucher triumphantly states, that in the department of the Isere, there is only one arrest annually to every thirteen thousand of the population; but, before admitting this fact to be decisive, we should determine what are the temptations and opportunities in the locality. It would puzzle a confined thief to find any means of gratifying his propensities in the department. Petty thefts of fruit and vegetables, &c. are rarely prosecuted by agriculturists; they endure the loss rather than have the trouble or annoyance of law. A boxing match in the fields is rarely brought under magisterial cognizance; the drunken man in a hamlet has every chance of escaping the station-house; in fact, there are many rural depredations and acts of violence which are passed over by a kind of general consent; while acts of the same

kind are never allowed to escape in a town population. Towns and manufacturing districts are subject to the perturbing influence of an immigrant population; the rejected of the country fly to the city to hide themselves in the crowd. An analysis of the criminal returns of Manchester would give abundant proof that the county of Lancashire has been made responsible for a vast amount of crime which is not properly its own.

Two chapters are devoted to the history of the Corn Laws and of the League formed for procuring their abolition. Having glanced at the history of the Corn Laws, he says:

"When we have studied with attention the arguments of the two parties in this debate, we remain convinced that if the landed proprietors wished seriously to devote time and capital to the amelioration of their estates, they would have no need of the precarious assistance of laws to preserve or augment their income. The nobleman best versed in agriculture, Lords Spencer, Ducie, Fitzwilliam, and Radnor, hold on this point the same language as Cobden, Ashworth, or Villiers. But the question presents a political element of which we must not lose sight, and which tends to complicate the solution. The landed proprietors wish to have high rents, but they are at least equally anxious to have their farmers so dependent on them as to find them willing instruments at the time of an election. Rich and skilful farmers would not suit them; for these, before investing large capitals in the cultivation of the soil, would demand leases as a security; but farmers who had thus placed themselves beyond the reach of any abuse of power would be found independent electors. . . . Farmers who consent to till the ground without a lease cannot expect to realise much profit; it is, therefore, necessary to offer them the illusions of a protective system. Thus the maintenance of the Corn Laws is not for the aristocracy so much a question of money as of political influence, and hence arises the difficulty of obtaining any concession."

We shall now extract the conclusion of this chapter, because it states the causes which render the doom of the Corn Laws inevitable; even if the harvest had proved favourable, and potatoes had escaped the murrain:

"The condemnation of the Corn Laws is written in every page of commercial legislation. The more they are discussed, the more apparent does the weakness of their supporters become. The mediating party which proposed a fixed duty as a compromise has disappeared; and the Government refuses to pledge itself to the maintenance of the last modification of protection which it accorded."

But since M. Faucher wrote, the advent of the repeal of the Corn Laws has been greatly accelerated by the conduct of the leading protectionists; their booby bluster has done more to disgust the thinking part of the nation with monopoly than could have been effected by the most eloquent denunciations of the Free Traders. No cause could stand the advocacy of the dukery; or, as it has been irreverently termed, "the donkery." M. Faucher could not have anticipated the lamentable farces enacted at agricultural meetings within the last few weeks. In his estimate of the strength of the English aristocracy, he has omitted to make a set-off for the negative elements of weakness which dukes and squires have taken such pains to develop. Dogberry was grieved that he could find no one "to write him down as an ass;" the Richmonds, and the Cleverlands, and the Norfolks have taken care that their asinine qualities should be faithfully chronicled. The country has not been slow in forming its judgment. The verdict pronounced out of doors must ere long be ratified by Parliament.

The great success of this work on the Continent is among the many gratifying proofs we daily receive of the progress of Free Trade opinion in Europe. It is everywhere felt that our struggle for commercial freedom in England involves the cause of progress in liberty and civilisation throughout the world.

BRADFORD.—As regards the borough election, all is safe. During the week, fifty names have been added to the requisition to Mr. Busfield and Colonel Thompson, making the number of good men and true attached to that document seven hundred and fifty! This is the guarantee of a signal triumph; but a triumph in which the vanquished will be equal gainers with the victors.—*Bradford Observer*.

REV. THOMAS SPENCER.—We notice that this gentleman has been lecturing in this city and in New England, on temperance and the Corn Laws. He is well and widely known in Great Britain as the active and devoted friend of all reform—Anti-Corn-Law, universal suffrage, reform of the Church, &c. How far he has ever identified himself there with the anti-slavery party, we cannot say, though we have always understood him to belong to it; but we cannot hear that he makes the slightest allusion to slavery in any of his addresses here, or manifests yet any wish to acquaint himself with the great anti-slavery movement in any of its forms. We trust that his hitherto honoured name will not come to be added to the list of those Englishmen whose anti-slavery zeal has been quenched by a voyage across the Atlantic—who have been flattered into silence by the conservative class among whom they chance at first to fall—or whose reformatory courage and faith have quailed in the deadlier struggle which marks our day and country, and our cause here most especially.—*New York Anti-Slavery Standard*.

Printed at the Whitefriars Printing-office, Bouvier-street, in the precincts of Whitefriars, in the City of London, by JOHN GADSBY, printer, of Number 7, Ridgmount-place, Hampstead-road, in the County of Middlesex, and also of Number 4, Farringdon-place, Chesham-hill-road, in the parish of St. Dunstons, in the County of Lancaster, and published at Number 67, Fleet-street, in the parish of St. Dunstons-in-the-West, in the City of London, by ABRAHAM WALTER PAULTON, of Number 67, Fleet-street aforesaid.—Saturday, January 31, 1846.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 124.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1846.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

PETITION! PETITION! PETITION!

At a numerously attended meeting of the Council of the League, held on Thursday, the 29th ult., Mr. Wilson in the chair, the proposed measures of Sir Robert Peel were discussed at some length. Congratulations were exchanged at the progress which the great question has made in the minds of the most distinguished statesmen of all parties. With respect to the measure itself, several parts of it elicited expressions of satisfaction; but the feeling of regret at the re-enactment of the sliding scale was universal. The meeting was addressed, among others, by Messrs. R. H. Greg, Alderman Ker-shaw, J. B. Smith, A. Prentice, J. Heywood, H. Rawson, J. Whitaker, W. Bickham, T. Woolley, &c. All were of opinion that the League and its friends should stand firm to the principle of immediate and total repeal; and the following resolution, recommending universal petitioning, was unanimously passed:

"Resolved,—That the announcement of a new Corn Law renders it desirable that the friends of Free Trade throughout the kingdom should originate petitions for the total and immediate abolition of all laws imposing duties on foreign corn and provisions."

We have received numerous applications from different parts of the country requesting to know to what members petitions to Parliament should be forwarded for presentation. As it is impossible to reply specially to each particular case, we beg to announce that all petitions emanating from boroughs should be forwarded to the members thereof, with a note, requesting them to support the prayer of the petition. In all other cases, they may be sent per post, open at the ends, and marked "Petition," to any well-known Free Trade member of the House of Commons. The only address necessary in such cases will be the name of the member, House of Commons, London.

WHAT WILL THE LEAGUE DO IN PARLIAMENT?

As we believe our protectionist friends are rather curious on this interesting question, and are in some danger of answering it very mistakenly, it seems but fair to remove any doubts and errors that may prevail. What will the League do? We reply, the League—that is, those members of the League who are also members of the House of Commons—will do nothing that can, directly or indirectly, strengthen the hands of the monopolists—nothing that can impede or delay the passing of any legislative measure calculated to give greater freedom to commerce, and to increase the remunera-

tative employment and exchangeable value of labour. The Leaguers will take excellent care, so far as they are concerned, that the country shall be put in possession, on the earliest possible day, of at least that very large amount of commercial freedom which is comprised within the scope of Sir Robert Peel's plan of commercial reform.

We beg the protectionists particularly to understand this. The error as to the views and intentions of the League, which, we know, exists to some extent in protectionist quarters, and which is, perhaps, more widely diffused than we are aware of, may as well be at once corrected. It may save these gentlemen a good deal of trouble, and some disappointment, if they clearly comprehend that, however strongly the Free Traders object to certain portions of the Ministerial scheme, the objection will not take any form that can be made available for the uses of landlordism. No opening will be given for the concurrence of monopolists and Free Traders in a joint anti-Ministerial vote. There will be no playing the enemy's game; no cross of parties; no unnatural or ill-assorted alliance of antagonist extremes. The League will offer no factious or fanatical opposition to Sir Robert Peel's measure—or to any other measure for liberating commerce from even a portion of its fetters, and bringing the trade in food nearer to the laws of nature and the principles of common sense.

At the proper time, Mr. Villiers will, we doubt not, press for the sense of the House on the question of the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Law,—and no effort will be spared to reinforce the old, familiar motion, not only with the old, familiar arguments, but with those special considerations suggested by the present state of the Free Trade question, and the obvious interests of the class now more particularly concerned in a total and immediate settlement. Everything will be done that can be done to convince Sir Robert Peel—or rather (for we are sure Sir Robt. Peel is sufficiently convinced already) to convince the landlords themselves—that the proffered concession to agricultural alarms, prejudices, or supposed convenience, is absolutely needless—and not merely needless, but injurious and deeply dangerous to all agricultural interests. Should these efforts be successful in carrying conviction to the landlord mind, so as to elicit declarations of landlord opinion that will make it easy to Sir Robert Peel to give full effect to his and our principles, we shall most heartily rejoice, as we are confident Sir Robert Peel will rejoice too. But, again we say, nothing will be done that can for a moment put in hazard the vast substantial benefits which the Ministerial proposal offers to the country. The motion for total and immediate repeal will be so shaped, as to place it utterly out of the power of any man to vote in the same division with its supporters who does not really desire total and immediate repeal. Sir Robert Peel's bill, or a better bill, with Sir Robert Peel's approval (of which we see no reason whatever for despairing), must and shall become law, with the least possible loss of time.

There will be no "compromise." The League cannot compromise the question, even if it would. The League has parted with its free agency in this matter—or rather, it never had any. "No compromise" is the very essence of the League's organisation, the fundamental principle of its constitution, the source and condition of its power. The question of compromise—whatever be the shape which it may practically assume—was finally disposed of, so far as the League is concerned, seven years and some months ago. The Parliamentary Leaguers will do with corn, in 1846, exactly that which they did with sugar, in 1841. They will move and divide the

House, in assertion of their own sound and broad principles; and, should they fail of obtaining a majority, they will then give their united support, in all subsequent divisions, to any measure which proximately realises their principles. Sir Robert Peel's measure is not the League's measure. If the League could throw it out, and replace it with their own, they unquestionably would. But so much of Free Trade as there is in Sir Robert Peel's measure, the League will support, with heart and soul, against a monopolist opposition.

We trust, meanwhile, that our friends out of doors will firmly and vigorously maintain, without waver, ing or abatement, the great and plain principle for which we have all struggled through so many painful toilsome years, and our adherence to which, in all its integrity and simplicity, has placed our question in its present strong and hopeful position. Free Traders have nothing to do with agitating or petitioning for anything less than Free Trade—total, immediate, and unconditional. There must be no relaxation of effort and watchfulness—no distraction of aim—no division of strength. And there need be no fear of "embarrassing Sir Robert Peel" by any possible amount or number of "total and immediate" petitions or petitioners. Sir Robert Peel will not be embarrassed, but relieved of an embarrassment, by such a demonstration of earnest national opinion as shall enable him to give full and instant effect to his own convictions of justice and sound policy. The matter cannot be put too strongly. The more firmly and decidedly opinion expresses itself, both in and out of Parliament, in favour of the immediate and unqualified legislative adoption of Free Trade principles to their fullest extent, the greater will be the probability that the Ministerial measure may eventually pass in a shape thoroughly acceptable to the country—the stronger will the Premier feel himself against the landlord opposition—the more hopelessly chimerical will be the notion of any effective protectionist resistance, even in the protectionists' own House of Parliament—and the more palpably certain will it become, that an "appeal to the people," should their lordships be sufficiently chivalrous to bring it to this, would end in the instant, total, root-and-branch destruction of monopoly. We emphatically repeat our last week's counsel—PETITION, PETITION, PETITION! Petition, not in opposition to the Government, but in opposition to the vicious principle and power with which the Government is now engaged in mortal conflict. Petition, not that Sir Robert Peel's bill may not pass, but that it may pass in a shape more completely satisfactory to the country—more exactly consistent with Sir Robert Peel's own views and principles—and more conducive to the real and permanent welfare of that class which is the most deeply interested in the abandonment of its objectionable provisions.

A LORD CHIEF JUSTICE'S VIEW OF THE COUNTY QUALIFICATION MOVEMENT.

"To seek to acquire and secure a vote is not against the law—it is not against morality—it is not against sound public policy—it is neither a *malum in se* nor a *malum prohibitum*. On the contrary, it is held by many high authorities, that it is highly beneficial to the constitution that there should be an extension of the elective franchise; and certainly the avowed and real object of the reform act was to increase, as a thing expedient, the number of electors throughout the country."—LORD CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL.

The judgment of the Court of Common Pleas, in the case of ALEXANDER versus NEWMAN, which we briefly adverted to last week, and of which our readers will find a full report in another column, is a most important event in the history, not only of the League movement, but of Englishmen's constitutional liberties. It explicitly and once for all ratifies, in the amplest terms, the legality of all

bona fide purchases of freehold property, whether made jointly or individually, although the express and avowed object of the purchase be the acquisition of the franchise incident to that description of property. Only let the pecuniary consideration be *bona fide* and real, and the law is satisfied. Nay, more—the law is pleased. The law not merely confirms the transaction as legal, but gives it a passing word of eulogy as laudable and meritorious, useful, moral, and constitutional. Law and constitution, morality and public policy,—all are here agreed—all ratify the acts, and applaud the purposes of the League. The “extension of the elective franchise,” in the mode adopted by the League, is both indisputably legal, and “a thing expedient,” “HIGHLY BENEFICIAL TO THE CONSTITUTION.”

We suppose we now really have heard the last of “the unconstitutional machinations of the League.” Sir Nicholas Tindal is, we have always understood, deemed by the profession to be every way as sound and “constitutional” a lawyer as Henry, Lord Brougham; and we dare say the learned (by courtesy) ex-Chancellor himself will not be over-anxious to recall public attention to his recent extrajudicial and very injudicious escapade. The remarkably ingenious distinction between “legal” and “constitutional,” will, we think we may venture to predict, not be again presented for public ridicule. Our friends in all parts of the country may now work away quite freely, and “Qualify qualify, qualify,” to their hearts’ content. Not a tongue will dare to wag against him, from ex-Chancellor Brougham’s down to that of the humblest protectionist attorney in the registration courts. The highest registration tribunal in the empire has formally—and more than formally—sanctioned and legitimated the League’s reading of the law and constitution.

As the protectionists talk, or did talk a little while ago—we dare say, however, they have forgotten it—of “fighting the League with its own weapons,” we may take leave to recommend them very carefully to study the whole of the Lord Chief Justice’s judgment in this case of *ALEXANDER versus NEWMAN*, that they may know precisely what the League’s weapons are, and receive a caution—which, it may be feared, they much need—against the use of another description of weapons, with which, we apprehend, some of them are rather more familiar. The same high authority, they will please to observe, which affirms the legality, constitutionality, expediency, policy, and morality of the League’s mode of extending the elective franchise, is equally clear and decided in condemning certain other modes of extending the elective franchise. As the judicial disputation on electoral law is not very tempting reading for our protectionist friends, and they may possibly be inclined to skim, we may do well to call their especial attention to a few of the more choice and significant *dicta*. There must be “no fraud or covin,” says the Lord Chief Justice. “*The law hates covin.*” The law sets its face very strongly against “*fraudulent, and fictitious, and colourable conveyances—things that are nothing more than matters of form without substance—things in which the only real matters are the parchment and seal.*” The law positively “*abhors those conveyances professing one thing, but made with a secret intention and design to carry out another.*” It is only a *bona fide* interest in the soil, with an actual pecuniary consideration, passing from vendee to vendor, to which the law and constitution annex the franchise. We trust that when (if ever) the monopolists really begin “fighting the League with its own weapons” they will particularly bear this in mind. Should they be so unfortunate as to forget it, they will find themselves most disagreeably reminded that “*THE LAW HATES COVIN.*”

We cannot leave this subject without expressing the lively and earnest satisfaction with which we shall ever review that portion of our labours which has had for its immediate object the extension of the suffrage among the trading and industrious classes. We have no desire to trespass, in these columns, on what, by the fundamental constitution

of the League, its organ is bound to respect as neutral ground; but we are sure that we may, without jarring on the political feelings of a single Leaguer, advert with heartfelt pleasure to the circumstance, that the struggle for one popular right has incidentally strengthened the basis of all the rest—revived from practical desuetude the oldest, simplest, and most easily accessible of all the constitutional franchises of Englishmen—and laid the foundations, wide and deep, on which the people may hereafter erect the superstructure of just and good Government. The League will one day pass away, and be dissolved into its original elements; but this precious fruit of its existence and its labours will remain—a renovation of forgotten popular rights and powers—a new reading of old electoral laws—constitutional franchises made easy to the humblest capacity—enlarged, purified, and emancipated constituencies.

IRELAND AND THE CORN LAWS.

No part of the empire has suffered more than Ireland from the operation of the Corn Laws. They have enabled the landlords of that country to grind their tenants to the dust, and to reduce the food of the agricultural population to the lowest point at which existence can be maintained. But for these laws, Ireland could not so often have exhibited to the world the melancholy spectacle of a country exporting provisions, when its own population was perishing from famine. An artificial stimulus was given to production, but the benefit of it never came to the producers, for the wheat grown, the cattle fattened, and the pigs reared, were exported to be sold in the English markets to pay the rents of proprietors, of whom a large proportion were absentees. The peasant was allowed to rejoice, or to pine, on potatoes; the corn which he raised entered not into his home consumption. There was a forced export of that which was most wanted in the place where it grew, and there was a forced production which prevented any attempt at agricultural improvement. The advantages of a country, under any commercial system, must be measured by its imports and not by its exports; just as the wealth of a tradesman is determined, not by the amount of goods sold, but by the amount of money received. It is idle to tell us of the number of bushels of corn, or head of cattle, which were sent from Ireland to English markets; the real question is, what did the Irish producers get back in return? Let the answer be sought in the tenant’s farm and in the labourer’s shed. Let us look for it in the clothing, food, and dwellings, of the corn and cattle producers of the sister kingdom. This is the true test of the advantages that the Irish have derived from the Corn Laws; and what does it exhibit—rags, starvation, and misery.

The price of protected corn in the English market stimulated the production of corn on the Irish soil. What then? We want to know how it remunerated the producers? It raised rents, it facilitated mortgages, it enabled proprietors to employ agents instead of personally superintending their estates, it encouraged absenteeism, it offered a premium on bad management; but it ruined the farmer and the labourer. An artificial system affords opportunities for unfairness and oppression in contracts which could not be obtained under a natural system. The prædial disturbances in Ireland would long ago have righted themselves had not the Corn Laws denaturalised the markets, and prevented home consumption from becoming the measure of domestic prices.

There are some Irishmen who call themselves patriots, and yet advocate the maintenance of the Corn Laws: it is all but possible to credit their sincerity. They demand that exportation of provisions from Ireland should be artificially stimulated, at a time when they declare that Irishmen are starving for want of provisions. With the sad proof before them that potatoes are the most uncertain of crops on which a population can depend for food, they insist that corn should be sent out of the country, and that potatoes alone should be retained for home consumption. Ever prating about the evils of absenteeism, they require that the most stringent means should be adopted to ensure the payment of absentee rents;

ever declaiming against the abuse of the landlord power, they resist the emancipation of industry from the trammels with which it is fettered by landlord-made law.

We only do justice to Mr. O’Connell when we gladly declare that he is not to be ranked in the class of these pseudonymous patriots. In the present crisis of the question, he has come over to plead the cause of the Irish producers, and to demand that the profits of their toil should no longer be intercepted by legislative artifice. There are people who reason as if industry were its own reward, and argue that labour should be sought simply for its own sake. We care not to refute such palpable nonsense. Industry must be rewarded from its results; labour must be paid from its productions. How are the Irish labourers rewarded and paid? This is the question which Mr. W. Smith O’Brien is bound to answer satisfactorily before he can reconcile his loud professions of patriotism with his silent support of the Corn Laws. It is in different to the issue to tell us how many quarters of corn are exported annually from Limerick, unless accompanied by an account of the proportion of purchase money of that corn which finds its way back to remunerate the producers. Do the Irish peasants profit by the Irish exports? Just about as much as the bees smothered in winter profit by the honey that has been stored in the hives—not so much as the slaves in Brazil profit by the diamonds which they raise from the mud of the streams. Never were the natives of the Moluccas so miserable as when the greatest quantities of spice were exported from those islands, for the profits went to the few proprietors of plantations, and their factors or middlemen, while the actual collectors of the spice received the most miserable pittance, scarcely adequate for the mere support of life. Such is now the condition of the Irish peasant, and such it is the anxiety of Mr. W. S. O’Brien that the condition of the Irish peasant should continue. We, on the contrary, are anxious that the Irish producer should benefit by his produce, that the Irish farmer should retain a fair share of his crop, and that the Irish labourer should be adequately remunerated for his toil. We know that this cannot be done when labour is artificially fostered, and import artificially prevented; between both lies a fraudulent balance, a part of which is shared as spoil by the protectionists, and for the sake of this part they are not unwilling that the rest should be abstracted from the farmers and the farm labourers of Ireland.

PROTECTION THE BANE OF MANUFACTURES.

We are not surprised that the members of the Trades’ Union in Old Bond-street should fraternise with the members of the Trades’ Unions in Spitalfields; both are combinations, formed to secure unjust profits at the expense of the rest of the community, and both have wrought immense damage to the classes which they affect to protect. The unionists of Spitalfields, by their combinations to fix a high tariff of wages, have driven a large portion of the silk trade from their locality to the northern districts, and have rendered the Spitalfields weavers one of the most distressed classes in the metropolis; the competition by which they are crushed is not with Lyons and Paris, but with Manchester and Macclesfield; their meeting on Wednesday night was directed against manufacturers at home, rather than producers abroad, and the speeches for the most part were levelled against capitalists.

The protectionists of Old Bond-street have entered into a combination to raise the price of food; the system of protection which they have established has proved as injurious to the farmers as the silk protection to the Spitalfields weavers; but they look to the rents which delusive pretences enable them to extort from agriculturists, as the leaders of trade-unions do to the subscriptions which they raise from their deluded dupes.

England now exports silk goods; but no export took place previous to the reduction of protection effected by Mr. Huskisson. There has been a large increase in the production of British silks, and more steady employment for the operatives engaged in the trade since their protection has been abated.

The worst distress in Spitalfields was in the year 1816, when protection was at its highest. There is distress indeed now in Spitalfields; but it is caused by the perseverance of the operatives in an artificial system, which places them at a sad disadvantage in competing with the productions of the North of England. It is one of the illustrations of Colonel Thompson's aphorism, that "all protection means robbing somebody else." The real complaint is not against the competition of foreigners, but of their own countrymen.

Have the Spitalfield weavers flourished under the system of protection? The records of distress in the metropolis abundantly prove that they have not. The very petition adopted by these dupes of the protectionists on Wednesday night declares that their wages are decreasing, and the rental of their miserable hovels increasing.

We have so often exposed the miserable absurdity of connecting cheap bread with low wages, that we fear to weary the patience of our readers by returning to the subject. But we should like to ask some of the Spitalfield orators whether the amount of silk goods consumed in years of abundance does not vastly exceed the amount consumed in years of scarcity? The reason is obvious; the more that families have to spend in the purchase of necessary food, the less they will have to spare in the purchase of necessary clothing. Neither cheap food nor dear food arms master-manufacturers with the powers of oppression, nor with any powers whatever; the relations between the employers and employed are determined by the proportions between demand and supply in the labour market. "When two masters are looking for one man wages will be high,—when two men are looking for one master wages will be low." The only way in which operatives can obtain an increase of wages is by the extension of trade and the consequent increase of a demand for labour. In protected trades there is generally found a hopeless and perverse system of endeavouring to maintain a high rate of wages by limiting the supply of labour and dictating to the manufacturers the conditions of employment.

If the proposed reductions of the tariff were likely to be injurious to the silk trade generally, we should find the manufacturers foremost in resisting the change; they have most capital vested in the trade, and they have, therefore, the deepest interest in its conservation. There is something suspicious in a demand for protection coming exclusively from those who have the least staked on the issue. But without dwelling on the circumstances of suspicion which attach to the meeting, we think that a very little reflection will convince the weavers themselves that the protection on silk has been the bane of their industrial pursuits. They have not prospered under the system; they have not kept up the rate of wages to which they laid claim; their trade is uncertain, fluctuating, and precarious, and they would not be better if a yard of foreign silk never came into the English market.

It is impossible to protect a trade. If foreign competition be prohibited, domestic competition is invited. If the manufacturers realise high profits, they will soon find themselves surrounded by rivals in a land where means of investment are so eagerly sought for redundant capital, as in England. If weavers obtain unnaturally high wages for a brief period, they run the risk of having them brought unnaturally low by the number of new hands enticed into the weaving trade. They cannot prevent this result by sticks, strikes, and combinations.

There is no law, and there could be no law, to confine the silk trade to any particular locality. If combinations intercept the fair gains of the capitalist on the banks of the Thames, there is nothing to prevent him forming an establishment on the banks of the Mersey or the Shannon. This is the precise error into which the Spitalfield protectionists have fallen; to prevent foreign competition, which they have no reason to dread, they are trying to encourage domestic competition which they are utterly unable to resist.

THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

The Council have, we believe, determined upon advertising upon a somewhat extensive scale the promised subscriptions to the League Fund, and to continue the same at intervals, in order to show the progress of the fund towards completion. To do this effectually, they seek the assistance of the local committees and treasurers, who have been requested to send a list of all the subscribers up to the present period, and to continue the same from time to time till all have appeared.

These lists, it may be well to state, are to contain only the gross amounts promised, and have no reference whatever to the instalments, which should be forwarded separately.

A few additions to the list of treasurers have been made since last we published it, which we subjoin:

Andover—James Baker, Esq., Prospect House.
 Ashton-under-Lyne—Thomas Mason, Esq.
 Aylesbury—J. P. R. Payne, Esq.
 Alnwick—Thos. Duncan, Esq.
 Ayr—J. Kinross, Esq.
 Annan—Alex. Dounie, Esq.
 Amersham—E. West, Esq.
 Beamister—Mr. Jos. Tite, Clenham Mill.
 Bath—Admiral Gordon, R.N., Nelson-place, Norfolk-cre-cent.
 Barnsley—J. S. Parkinson, Esq., Linen manufacturer.
 Belper—Mr. J. W. Hancock.
 Bromsgrove—W. A. Greening, Esq.
 Bridgewater—William Browne, Esq.
 Burton-on-Trent—J. N. Hanson, Esq.
 Bristol—George Thomas, Esq., Great George-street, street.
 Burnley—Geo. Holgate, Esq., jun.
 Bridport—J. P. Stephens, Esq.
 Barnard Castle—Mr. Wm. Raine, Horse Market.
 Brighton—Isaac Gray Bass, Esq.
 Bury—James Kay, Esq., woollen manufacturer.
 Boston—Mr. Robert Stevenson.
 Cleckheaton—Geo. Anderton, Esq.
 Cambridge—Chas. Newby, Esq., 55, Regent-street.
 Crediton, Devon—Edward Davy, Esq.
 Crayford, Kent—Henry Gould, Esq.
 Carlisle—J. Forster, Esq., Caldewgate.
 Colne—Mr. T. T. England.
 Chorley—Mr. James Wallwork.
 Carmarthen—Henry Norton, Esq.
 Chapel-en-le-Frith—J. Carrington, Esq.
 Congleton—J. Broadhurst, Esq.
 Carnarvon—William Turner, Esq., jun.
 Devonport—Samuel Oram, Esq., Market-street.
 Dundee—Edward Baxter, Esq.
 Doncaster—Mr. Robert Milner.
 Dunbar—James Wilson, Esq., Belhaven.
 Dartmouth—Noah Clift, Esq.
 Darlaston—Charles Green, Esq.
 Dunfermline—Mr. R. Robertson, Draper.
 Edinburgh—Messrs. Arch. Thomson and Co., 265, High-street.
 Exeter—Mr. Samuel Maunder.
 Eynsford, Kent—Mr. H. Rogers.
 Falkirk—John Smith, Esq., Writer.
 Forfar—Mr. Wm. Sturrock.
 Gateshead—Geo. Crawshaw, Esq.
 Garstang—Dr. Bell, Chapel-street.
 Glossop—John Kershaw, Esq.
 Gloucester—Samuel Bowly, Esq.
 Horsham—James Agate, Esq., North Parade.
 Halifax—Mr. Thomas Denton, Old Market.
 Hinkley—Mr. Thos. Payne.
 Holywell—Thos. Mather, Esq., Glyn Abbot.
 Hastings—Mr. Thos. Ross, Jun.
 Hazel Grove—Mr. T. Wharmby.
 Huddersfield—Foster Shaw, Esq.
 Hawick, N.B.—Mr. George Easton.
 Idle, near Bradford, Yorkshire—Mr. Wm. Russell.
 Inverness—Donald Frazer, Esq., jun.
 Jedburgh—Geo. Hilson, Esq., Manufacturer.
 Kendal—Geo. Charnley, Esq.
 Kelso—Mr. Alexander Dodds, Grocer.
 Knaresborough—Mr. Thos. Addyman, High-street.
 Keighley—J. Craven, Esq., worsted spinner.
 Kirkaldy—Mr. Robt. Bryson.
 Knutsford—Henry Long, Esq.
 London—A. W. Faulton, Esq., at the offices of the League 67, Fleet street.
 Luton—James Waller, Esq., merchant.
 Leek—Thos. Birch, Esq.
 Lancaster—George Jackson, Esq.
 Leicester—J. D. Harris, Esq.
 Leighton Buzzard—Thomas Price, Esq., Newtown.
 Leominster—Mr. J. V. Chilcott.
 Landport, &c.—Mr. Thos. Ross.
 Lichfield—Dr. Rowley, M.D.
 Liverpool—Jas. Mullineux, Esq., John Taylor Crook, Esq.
 Leeds—Samuel Birchall, Esq., woolstapler.
 Maesteg, near Bridgend, Glamorganshire—Mr. Jos. Crayne.
 Manchester—Mr. James Jones, at the offices of the League, 5, Newall's-buildings, Market-street.
 Maidenhead—Mr. Thomas Woodcock, draper.
 Maidstone—Richard Nemes, Esq., 109, Week street.
 Maldon—G. W. Digby, Esq.
 Middleton, near Manchester—Mr. Daniel Burton.
 Mottram—Mr. Saml. Oldham.
 Newcastle-upon-Tyne—George Crawshaw, Esq., and Mr. Daniel Liddell, Carlisle-street.
 Nantwich—Mr. Philip Barker.
 Newcastle-under-Lyne—Mr. Elias Shaw.
 New Mills—John Yates, Esq.
 Oldham—John Platt, Esq., Hartford Ironworks.
 Ossett, near Wakefield—Mr. Frank Fearnside.
 Potteries, The—Francis Wedgwood, Esq.
 Poole—G. R. Penney, Esq.
 Pontefract—Mr. W. Kidd, news agent.
 Pateley Bridge—Mr. R. Harker.
 Plymouth—Jno. Symons, Esq., Kinterburg-st.
 Reigate—Mr. Thomas Dann.
 Ramsgate—Mr. Henry Scott, 57, Queen-street.

Salisbury—Jno. Lambert, Esq.
 Sevenoaks, Kent—John Clark, Esq.
 St. Columb—Mr. W. Brown, 3, Fair-street.
 Scarborough—Isaac Stickney, Esq.
 Sheffield—William Hargreaves, Esq., Merchant.
 Skipton—J. B. Dewhurst, Esq.
 Southport—Richard Johnson, Esq.
 Stockport—Mr. J. Heginbotham, Millgate.
 Sirhowy, Monmouthshire—Rev. Richard Jones.
 South Shields—Mr. James Bell.
 Stourbridge—Mr. E. Baylie.
 Strood—Mr. John S. Cobb.
 Swaffham and West Norfolk—Arthur Morse, Esq., Swaffham.
 Swansea—Mr. Joseph Rutter.
 Stroud—Mr. T. Parsons.
 Stirling, Robert Smith, Esq.
 Sunderland—Mr. Edward C. Robson, Frederic-street, Bishopwearmouth.
 Shepton Mallett—W. Richardson, Esq., Woodbourne Cottage.
 Staleybridge—Henry Bayley, Esq.
 Sudbury—Colonel Addison.
 St. Austell—The Rev. Jas. Cope.
 Todmorden—W. Haworth, Esq., North View.
 Tewkesbury—Mr. Benjamin Harris.
 Thetford—Mr. Henry Brown.
 Warminster—Mr. H. Bastings.
 Wednesbury—Benjamin Round, Esq.
 Wareham—J. Pike, Esq., Merchant.
 Westbury—N. Overbury, Esq.
 Wigan—Thomas Taylor, Esq., Spinner, and Mr. Thomas Wall, Bookseller.
 Wirsworth—Mr. B. Street, White Lion Inn.
 Wakefield—Charles Morton, Esq., Whitwood Colliery.
 Whitechurch—Mr. Richard Thomas.
 Weymouth—Mr. Charles Pope.
 Westbromwich—J. Spittle, Esq.
 Wolverhampton—Henry Walker, Esq.
 York—Thomas Swales, Esq., Lawrence-street.
 Yarmouth—Mr. Jno. Fish, Denes.

[The following address has been sent to the Chairman of the League by the Economic Society of Paris, a body which includes many of the leading philosophers and philanthropists of France. We may well be proud of the sympathy and approbation of such a body, and we may also form well grounded hopes that its labours will precipitate the downfall of Continental monopolies.]

THE ECONOMICAL SOCIETY OF PARIS TO THE PRESIDENT AND ORATORS OF THE ENGLISH LEAGUE FOR THE GENERAL FREEDOM OF TRADE.

GENTLEMEN,—The Economic Society, which shares the truly social sentiments by which your League has shown itself to be animated, which has several times manifested a lively and legitimate interest in your labours, and which watches with eager and ardent attention all the phases of the great struggle in which you have engaged, deems it right to address to you directly, through the medium of its President and principal leaders, its thanks, its congratulations, and its well-grounded encouragements.

Our society, gentlemen, believes that it forms a just appreciation of the end proposed by the League,—the means it employs to obtain its objects,—and the results that may reasonably be expected from success when it regards that end, those means, and those results, as equally worthy of the warmest approbation.

There is not in your agitation, as you have often explained, the struggle of one envious and avaricious branch of industry against another branch of industry. You began by abandoning for yourselves all participation in the iniquitous system of that monopoly, the abolition of which you sought. You directed your attack against the protection accorded to the landed interest, because the chief strength lies there, it being the bond which unites and conserves all other monopolies; and because you hope, by destroying the key-stone of the system, that the rest of the edifice will crumble to ruin of its own accord. You desire perfect freedom of trade; you begin by offering it to all, and demanding it from none. You propose to set the example. You do so, doubtless, with the hope that you will be imitated, but without demanding or waiting for reciprocity. May God inspire and aid you in your enterprise; may His providence guide you to a prosperous termination! You must in a fast-approaching future obtain the gratitude both of your fellow-citizens and of the civilised world. You will have accomplished what nothing else has been able to effect, free commercial relations between all the nations of the earth; and the mutual interests thus created will annihilate the last vestiges of those international jealousies and animosities which religion and philosophy have hitherto failed to destroy.

The measures you have adopted for obtaining this object appear to us not less worthy of approbation than the object itself. You have adopted the course that should always be adopted in effecting great changes when it is desirable that they should be permanent. You have abstained from all violence of passion, and from all puerile impatience. You have won your way by fair discussion, and have advanced in proportion to the progress that your arguments have made in the public mind. In asking your Government to realise the great reform that you contemplate, you have not pressed it to grant its indispensable concurrence until you had secured for it the support of public opinion, which is always the stronger in proportion to the care bestowed upon instruction, and the discretion with which conviction is ripened. Such a course assuredly holds out an illustrious

SIR R. PEELE'S COMMERCIAL SCHEME.—As was expected, there was an intense desire to know Sir R. Peel's new commercial scheme; the measure is not looked upon with so much favour now as it was during the first day.—*Bolton Free Press.*

example, calculated to ensure a happy futurity, and to which it seems to us very difficult to refuse homage.

Finally, gentlemen, we have a deep sense of the results which a course of conduct so firm and so prudent must render inevitable. We believe with you, that in proportion as the principles of freedom enter more deeply into the relations of foreign commerce, it will produce among nations a division of labour more and more intelligent, and more *Normal*—that is to say, more and more in accordance with the special conditions of each; that capital will be distributed by its natural laws; that production will be more fruitful because it will be better organised; that increased production will lead to increased consumption; that the distribution of the products of industry will be more equitable; and the peace of the world infinitely better secured.

We are anxious to communicate to you, gentlemen, the lively sympathy which the operations of the League have begun to produce in France, and our society cannot longer delay in transmitting to you, with the warmest expression of its sentiments towards you, its immovable adhesion to the economic doctrines which you continue to diffuse with a perseverance so rare, an activity so astonishing, and a generosity so well calculated to excite the gratitude of every other nation.

We entreat you, gentlemen, to accept the homage of our sentiments, and the assurance of our high and affectionate consideration.

Signed, on behalf of the Society,
CHARLES DUNOYER, Member of the
Institute, and Acting President;
HORACE SAY,
JOSEPH GARNIER.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE
SESSION OF 1846.

Third Week, ending Saturday, February 7.

Repose has been the characteristic of the past week in Parliament. There was an adjournment of both Houses from Thursday week till Monday; and on Monday each House disposed of its business briefly. In the House of Lords Lord Montague asked the Government if they were willing to produce a copy of the report on the tariff of the United States, and on fiscal regulation generally, by Mr. Walker, the Secretary of the United States' Treasury. The Earl of Aberdeen said that the request was an unusual one, but that, as a copy of the document in question had been furnished to them, and as it was a very remarkable one, well deserving the attention of their lordships, it would be laid on the table of the House. [The attention of the readers of THE LEAGUE has been already called to this document.]

On Monday, in the House of Commons, Mr. Bright, without observation, moved for, and obtained, the re-appointment of the select committee on the game laws.

Sir Robert Peel, on Tuesday, stated the nature of the reduction which is proposed to be effected in the Timber Duties—a statement which he had postponed, when he made his speech on Tuesday week, expounding the general plans of the Government. The following is the Government proposition:

SIR ROBERT PEEL.—We propose, sir, to make, ultimately, a reduction in the differential duties upon foreign timber, so that the duty shall remain, after the reduction has been effected, at 15s. instead of the present amount. On hewn timber the duty is at present 25s. We propose to reduce it to 15s. But with the view of insuring to the consumer as much benefit as possible from the proposed reduction, we shall effect it in the manner I am about to explain. With regard to timber from the Baltic—in consequence of the very great demand for it, we do not propose that the reduction shall be immediate. We propose that it shall commence on the 5th of April, 1847, considering that period as one most suitable. We propose that on the 5th April, 1847, the duty shall be reduced to 6s. and on the 5th April, 1848, we propose to reduce it by another 5s. Sawm timber we propose to reduce by 6s. on the 5th of April, 1847, and by 6s. on the 5th of April, 1848. With respect to the small timber, such as laths, spars, and other sorts, we propose to make a proportionate reduction; but whether or not the reduction, having regard to the interest of the consumer, should be immediate, is a subject for consideration. Whether it should be effected without any more gradual reduction, we should wish to reserve for further opinions, as it may be a question whether the reduction might not be absolutely made on the 5th April, 1846.

On the same evening, Tuesday, the subjects of monopoly, Free Trade, tariffs, and other topics, were revived by Mr. WODEHOUSE, well known as a not inactive member on the protectionist side, but latterly made a little famous by announcing to the "House of Richmond," at 17, Bond Street, that he would meet and defeat Mr. Cobden, at Norwich, and then, on the appointed day, coming to the field, but declining the contest. Mr. Wodehouse has the air of a respectable country gentleman, and certainly, in manners, address, and style of speaking, is far superior to the mere *Squire Western* of the House. Yet one was puzzled to see the precise drift of his aimless motion of Tuesday night. It was a mere piece of very foolish absurdity. There is a gentleman of the name of Chapman, a member of the

legal profession, a man of ability, who was one of the assistant commissioners appointed to enquire into the condition of the hand-loom weavers in 1838, and who, in 1843, was appointed by Lord Stanley Chief Judge of the Supreme Court at Wellington, New Zealand. In his reports on the condition of the hand-loom weavers, Mr. Chapman adduced some striking illustrations of the effects of restrictive laws on the condition of the humble and most depressed portions of the working classes. Mr. Wodehouse read extracts from Mr. Chapman's reports, and, seeing that about three years ago the assistant commissioner had been made a colonial judge, he gravely drew the conclusion "that the Government of this country had deliberately entered into a league with the League. (Laughter and cheers.) He repeated it advisedly, that the Government appeared to have formed a league with the League—(great laughter)—in a manner as if they were indifferent to the future prospects of the land."

This silly nonsense was the reason assigned by Mr. Wodehouse for the production of a copy of the warrant under which Mr. Chapman had been appointed to his office. But this was not enough. Mr. Wodehouse passed on from Free Trade, tariffs, and so forth, to as paltry a personal allusion to Dr. Bowring as can well be imagined. Here is a portion of a Parliamentary speech by an intelligent agricultural member! Alluding to Dr. Bowring, Mr. Wodehouse said:

"That hon. gentleman had played a distinguished part in Egypt; but he (Mr. Wodehouse) had received information upon that subject, as to the appearance of the honourable gentleman when there. The interpreter could hardly keep from laughing. He (Mr. Wodehouse) had the information from a source on which he could implicitly rely. It was from a friend—from a particular friend—a person on whom reliance could be placed. The friend was a lady (laughter)—a married lady (roars of laughter)—a lady whom he was in the habit of—(the conclusion of the sentence was drowned in the torrent of laughter which it brought down). She was not an actual eye-witness (great laughter), but there could be no doubt of the authenticity of the information; and she assured him (Mr. Wodehouse) that those who saw the learned gentleman now in every-day life beheld him shorn of his beams. (Laughter.) If honourable gentlemen had only seen him as she saw him (shouts of laughter), with a large straw hat, nearly as big as the clerk's table, a full flowing beard and moustaches (laughter), and, for the best was yet to come, with a pair of wide Circassian trousers"—(great laughter, which again prevented the conclusion of the sentence from being heard).

If this be the style in which protection is to be defended next week, we may say of the protectionists, as the bragging Frenchman, in Henry the Fifth, says of the English at Agincourt, before the battle had begun—"Foolish curs! that run winking into the mouth of a Russian bear, and have their heads crushed like rotten apples; you may as well say, that's a valiant flea that dare eat his breakfast on the lip of a lion."

Dr. Bowring was not in the least disturbed by the personal allusion of the protector of home-grown barley. He replied, not only good-humouredly, but sensibly, in the following way:

Dr. BOWRING might perhaps be allowed to say a few words, as the honourable member had done him the honour to make a direct personal allusion to him. In the first place he would inform the honourable member that the lady he had mentioned had practised greatly on his credulity; she had been very desirous to try the effect of an Oriental tale upon him, and, as ladies usually do, had perfectly succeeded. (Hear, hear.) The honourable member had swallowed the whole of her narrative without the slightest difficulty or hesitation. He (Dr. Bowring), when in Egypt, had been honoured with several interviews by the Pacha, and had had a long controversy with him on the subject of the Corn Laws, the Pacha arguing with rather more power and sagacity than even the honourable member. He fancied that he could provide food for his people by Corn Laws, but, as in this country, they had exposed his Government to great inconvenience. While at Cairo as commercial commissioner, he (Dr. Bowring) had received communications from various parties who wished him to use his influence with the Pacha, who had issued a decree against selling corn at more than a certain price. In the course of the friendly intercourse with which he had been honoured, he had represented to the Pacha the impolicy of this decree, and had told him that it was likely to produce extensive and enduring distress. His decree was against selling wheat and beans at above a fixed price in the bazaars, and against selling bread at above a certain price in the shops. The consequence was that the producers of wheat refused to bring it to market, and the bakers refused to make or sell bread. Thus the inhabitants of Cairo were exposed to the danger of famine; but he (Dr. Bowring) had had the good fortune to convince the Pacha that his system was injurious and untenable, and he therefore issued a counter-decree, declaring that the export and import of grain should be free. (Cheers.) The effects in Egypt had been what they would be in England, and he (Dr. Bowring) received thanks for the advice he had given. The honourable member had also referred to his (Dr. Bowring's) reports, and he had no doubt that if then his recommendations could have been adopted, and the Corn Laws repealed, as they were now sure to be, patronised as the cause was, the result would have been the opening of a new and wide field for British manufactures in the north of Europe. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) He had been commissioned to ascertain the disposition of northern states, but Government had then no power to diminish restriction on the free importation of corn. (Hear, hear, hear.) Had they been able to relax the system our commercial relations would have been at this moment on a much more satisfactory footing. He had heartily rejoiced a few nights ago to hear the right honourable baronet say that he was weary of making appeals to other nations, and that it now became Great Britain to lead the way and set the example,

leaving others to follow it. When abroad, urging this principle, he had been met by the statement that Great Britain ought to heal her own diseases before she called upon others to heal theirs—she ought to reform her own tariff before she called upon other nations to reform their tariffs. This argument he had not then been able to answer; but by the measures adopted by the right honourable baronet an interest would be created throughout the world in favour of British manufactures, of which we should soon feel the benefit. (Cheers.) He begged to tender to the right hon. baronet his most grateful thanks; it was impossible to value the amount of advantage Great Britain would derive from the removal of prohibitions and the repeal of restrictions. She was now taking the position she ought to hold in the eyes of the world—that of a teacher; and she would soon find numerous and willing pupils. (Cheers.)

No farther discussion took place; and the House agreed to give Mr. Wodehouse the documents he asked for.

Some remarkable changes have taken place in the House of Commons, and the "Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds" has been in great request. Protectionist members converted to Sir Robert Peel's Free Trade views, and yet, feeling the restraint of their monopolist pledges, have been busy resigning their seats. Of course, the reader is aware that a member cannot directly resign the trust of a representative. If he wishes to retire, he must accept some place of honour under the crown; and, for this purpose, the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds is retained in the gift of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the purpose of facilitating the disburdenment of Parliamentary obligation.

Sir Thomas Fremantle, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, has resigned for Buckingham. Lord Arthur Lennox, brother of the Duke of Richmond, and a Lord of the Treasury, has resigned for Chichester. Lord Jocelyn, the eldest son of the Earl of Roden, and Secretary to the Board of Control, has resigned for Lynn. Mr. Gladstone, the Secretary for the Colonies, has not yet got a seat in lieu of Newark, and Lord John Manners offers his resignation, as does Mr. Mainwaring, for Denbigh. Lord Lincoln, the eldest son of the Duke of Newcastle, and Chief of the Woods and Forests, *refuses* to resign for Nottinghamshire. Lord Ashley has asked for a re-election, or a dismissal from his constituents in Dorsetshire; and the Hon. Francis Charteris, who moved the Address at the commencement of 1845, has made a similar appeal to his constituency of East Gloucestershire. All these are CONVERTS; it remains to be seen what progress has been made in the conversion of constituencies. The Hon. Mr. Dawney has retired from Rutland, and a protectionist takes his place.

THE PUBLIC PRESS AND THE MINISTERIAL MEASURES.

Had our limits permitted, we should have added considerably to the following series of extracts, taken indiscriminately from the liberal and leading portion of the public press, as we think it of supreme importance, in a crisis like this, to exhibit to our readers, at one view, the general tendency and tone of the various local representatives of the public mind; those, however, which we have given will suffice to manifest the sense of the nation on Sir R. Peel's measure.

(From the Leeds Mercury.)

The Free Trade plant, grafted on a foreign stock, has shot forth such a growth, that we may almost characterise it by the sublime description of the tree in Nebuchadnezzar's vision—"The tree grew, and was strong; and the height thereof reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth; the leaves thereof were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all; the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it." So comprehensive and far-reaching, so beautiful and beneficent, so sheltering and fruitful, do we deem those principles of Free Trade which Sir Robert Peel has seized upon, and which, "with ambitious aim," to immortalise himself, he has here carried out to an unparalleled extent.

(From the Lancaster Guardian.)

"Protection" is becoming "small by degrees and beautifully less" in the hands of Sir Robert Peel. Arguing the necessity of amputating this diseased member of the body fiscal, he lacks nerve to remove it at once. To use Mr. Bright's apt and amusing illustration, he prefers cutting off the dog's tail by inches.

Let us not be misunderstood. We accept Sir Robert's measure as a magnificent instalment of the demands of the Free Traders. But while there is a chance of obtaining payment in full, we hold it an act of superlative folly to discard it. We hope, therefore, that the friends and supporters of the good cause, both in and out of Parliament, will redouble their efforts for immediate repeal. If the Premier should prove obdurate, they will still have the alternative which he now proffers, and may then embrace it with a clear conscience.

(From the Newcastle Advertiser.)

Shall this repeal of the Corn Law be gradual or immediate? This is a question which just now demands the most serious consideration. The Corn Law is given up even by the Premier. But what he is unable to defend as a permanent law, he yet proposes shall be continued for three years. It is not pretended that the country requires this delay. It is not supposed that immediate repeal is in all cases bad, for in other articles than corn protection is to be

abolished without any preparatory measures. The Premier's object is, then, to conciliate the landed interest. This the delay has failed to do. The Duke of Richmond declares that immediate abolition would be less mischievous than the ministerial scheme. Yet if it was meant to please anybody, the Duke must have been the man. Again, the Free Traders agree in regarding the delay as the only thing which the country has to fear. Mr. Cobden puts the matter in a very clear light as regards the farmer, in the admirable letter we insert in another column; and the hon. gentleman's view has been taken by Earl Grey, Lord Kinnaird, and Lord Montagu, and by the friends of Free Trade generally. Neither the protectionists nor the League being satisfied with this part of the plan, it is just possible that the Premier may be induced to abandon it for a more final step. This no doubt depends upon the extent to which the people respond to the League's call for petitions.

(From the Bradford Observer.)

The above is an outline of Sir Robert Peel's great measure. We repeat, it is greater than could reasonably have been expected from him, though short of what has been demanded, and justly, by the League. It will in all probability be furiously opposed by the protectionists, and therefore we trust it will receive the cordial support of the Free Trader as a great instalment of their demands. The fact that it embraces total repeal is its best recommendation; and though we should far rather have had that repeal immediately than three years hence, yet the difference in point of time is more apparent than real: years in a nation's affairs are less than days in those of an individual. Far rather would we have a repeal of the Corn Laws at the end of three years even with no abatement of the present duty, than the imposition of a fixed duty of but half-a-crown at present, with the prospect of its being a fixture. And in mercy to the fallen protectionists, let us give them these odd pence for the three years. We shall soon be quit of them. As the *Times* remarks, "For this short remainder England will be fit for dukes to live in, and they will have time to arrange their affairs before they set out on their long and melancholy exile from the land of cursed abundance."

(From the Preston Guardian.)

To show the great difference between the proposed scale of duties and the one now in operation, we subjoin the following tabular comparison, as respects wheat:

Average Price.	Present Duty.	Proposed Duty.
48s.	20s.	10s.
49s.	20s.	9s.
50s.	20s.	8s.
51s.	19s.	7s.
52s.	18s.	6s.
53s.	18s.	5s.
54s.	18s.	4s.

The reader will at once perceive the great diminution of taxation upon the nation's food which the new measure will effect; and when he considers also that in three years from the present time, even this diminished taxation must disappear before the pledged and total repeal of the Corn Laws, we feel certain that he will sympathize with us in our congratulations upon the present approximation to, and prospective consummation of Free Trade principles.

It may here be asked whether Sir Robert's new scheme will anticipate the necessity for further agitation on the part of the League. We think not. That body has yet a duty to perform, to which it stands pledged before the world. It must yet see that perfectly Free Trade is attained for the people—if not before the expiration of the three years during which the new scale is to continue, at least immediately upon the expiration of that term. We know that the Income Tax was imposed for three years only, and yet we now find it renewed for another period, with the probability of a permanent imposition. The pledge of the Premier is but as a promissory note to the nation, which he may or may not take up when it falls due, and the nation must now see to it that the engagement is scrupulously and unreservedly honoured.

(From the Carlisle Journal.)

Sir Robert Peel has lost little time in announcing his measures to the country. He has commenced the work like a man in earnest, and we doubt not he will carry his labours to a successful close. The proposition he laid before Parliament on Tuesday night is of a "mingled yarn," varying in its colours, but good in its general effect. There is a mixture of boldness and timidity in it; a dash of the desperado, and a whine of the sneak, that are at least curious to behold. He deals boldly with principles; presents correct views, but fails to act up to what are evidently his own notions of right. He shows what should be done, but admits he has not the heart to do it.

While we say this, however, of the general bearing of his plan, we must admit that a bolder, or a more sweeping measure, one more clearly founded in justice, or better calculated to meet the wants of the times, has rarely been broached by any minister in this country. It is a declaration of rights, marred only by timidity and want of self-reliance.

The great object of the measure is a total and immediate repeal of the present Corn Law. But here the timidity of which we have spoken is most conspicuously displayed. For the present law a new sliding scale is to be substituted, to last for three years; and that again is to be superseded by a total repeal of all duty whatever!—except such nominal sum as may serve to record quantities at the Custom House. This is the blot on the measure. The repeal is to be total—it ought to have been immediate; for more injury will accrue to the farmer by the uncertainty which this three years' probation will produce, by the fears and alarms it will create, by the false rumours of an inundation of foreign corn and consequent ruin, to which the interested will give currency, than if repeal had come without notice at all. The worst would then have been known at once; and it would soon have been found, as in the case of cattle, that "the worst" was by no means so terrible a thing as the imagination had depicted it.

(From the Cheltenham Free Press.)

Well, we will not quarrel with him as to the mode in which he has introduced the measure. Suffice it for us to know that the Conservative Government of this country has proposed to Parliament and determined to carry out the abolition of the restrictive system and the adoption of Free Trade principles in its future commercial policy. "Although I propose a temporary continuance of protection," said Sir

Robert, "yet I do propose that the bill shall include a distinct enactment that after the lapse of a certain time, foreign grain shall be admitted duty free."

Oh! words of fear—

Displeasing to a landlord's ear!

And is this the end of all the Tory boasting at the advent of Sir Robert Peel to power when Lord John Russell proposed an eight shilling fixed duty and failed to carry it. The work was only delayed that it might be done the more effectually—that the public mind might be more fully matured upon the subject. For this abandonment of "protection," the landlord class, headed by the duke of Richmond, brand Peel as a "traitor" and talk of turning him out of power. Why, if they could succeed in such an attempt, it would be the worst day's work they ever accomplished. Do they imagine that if this mode of settling the question is refused, the people of England will be induced to rest satisfied with anything short of a total and immediate repeal? If they do, they must be infatuated indeed. It is all very well for the landowners to attribute the popular feeling against the Corn Laws to the "machinations" of the League, but they cannot get rid of the fact that a popular and enlightened feeling against the Corn Laws does exist throughout the masses of the country.

(From the Economist.)

The speech of Sir Robert Peel has not disappointed us. The Right Hon. Bart. has frankly avowed an entire change of opinion. He remains at the helm of the State, but refuses to navigate it by "observations taken in 1842." He defers to the new light which argument and, above all, experience have thrown around these subjects; and that is not the least gratifying part of the Minister's speech, in which he enters into a recital of his own observations of passing events, and the facts connected with our social, commercial, and economical condition, on which his new convictions have been formed. Whatever be the precise measure proposed by Sir Robert Peel on Tuesday next, we are now certain that it will at least contemplate the entire ultimate repeal of the protective laws. The old principle of protection is for ever abandoned; the new principle of free competition is embraced as the basis of all future legislation. It is, however, essential that the country should not underestimate the difficulties which will be encountered before the intentions of the Minister can be hoped to be realised. By the concluding paragraph of Lord John Russell's letter addressed to her Majesty, we are led to infer that his support will be given to such a measure as Sir Robert Peel intended originally to propose, though in one respect it differed from that which the noble lord would himself have proposed. In respect to the difference in question, whether the measure should be "immediate" or "gradual," we have already fully expressed our opinions. But suppose that it be so good a measure, that while the Free Trade party record their votes for an immediate repeal of the law, they will still support the plan of the government, then we take it for granted that it will pass the House of Commons by a considerable majority. But then comes its difficulty—a difficulty which, we regret to say, our observation during the last few days has rather tended to magnify than diminish. Our fears that such a measure as the House of Commons will pass, will not be accepted by the House of Lords, have rather increased than diminished. And, moreover, the grounds on which the determination of the Lords appear to be based, are such as are not likely to be removed should even a greater majority of the House of Commons support the measure than is at present expected. It is contended, that it would be a dangerous and unwise course for the House of Lords to place themselves in opposition to a large majority of the House of Commons. This is admitted—admitted frankly by many of the noble lords, who are nevertheless determined to oppose this measure. For, say they, this House of Commons does not represent the country; it was elected five years ago, on principles directly the opposite of those on which it now seeks to act. It might be impolitic—it might be unwise for us to oppose a large majority of the nation; but we deny that such a decision of the present Parliament can be taken as the true exponent of public opinion. Dissolve the Parliament; let the people declare their opinion; and if a new Parliament shall confirm the decision of the Government, it will only then be just to expect us to yield our own opinions and views, and adopt the decision of the House of Commons.

(From the Dublin Pilot.)

There is evidence of a change of feeling in England on these measures. The *Chronicle* regards them with less favour, and the cry is becoming louder for a total and immediate repeal. A very remarkable letter has been published by Mr. Cobden, in which he exhibits the mischievous tendency of the sliding principle still adhered to by the Premier. * * * * On the whole we think the Premier's position is becoming more critical. There does not appear as great a probability of a decided majority as there was, and if the majority be not decided there can be little doubt that the Lords will resist, and force on a dissolution of Parliament. Our letters assert that the expectation of a dissolution was stronger in London on Saturday than previously.

(From the Hull Advertiser.)

In the earnest hope that the landlords will see the importance of giving up the Corn Laws, now that their doom is irrevocable, and that the shred of remaining protection can be of no real benefit to them, we unhesitatingly approve of the Premier's grand and comprehensive scheme; and we trust that meetings will generally be held to support the policy of the Government. Sir Robert Peel has consigned to the tomb of "all the Capulets," to know no future resurrection, the time-honoured and respectable fallacy of reciprocity. In fact, during the last seven years, the League has had no more zealous disciple than the Right Hon. Baronet. Well; we predicted that it would be so. At the last public meeting in the Town Hall of Hull, we stated then our solitary, but not the less our firm, conviction that Sir Robert Peel would repeal the Corn Laws, and that there was not a more decided Free Trader in the House of Commons. It is no longer doubtful that we neither deceived ourselves nor the public. Free Trade, not only in corn, but in all the products of the earth, and of human industry, is now the policy of the Peel administration. It is for the country to ratify by its cordial approval, as we have no doubt it will do, the excellent scheme of Free Trade policy, so ably, so completely, and so distinctly propounded by the Right Hon. the First Lord of the Treasury.

(From the Maidstone Gazette.)

The question now comes, whether the scheme may not be amended, so as to suit the interests of both parties better than

at present? The Free Traders complain that the question will still remain unsettled for three years; and a letter of most sound, and, as it seems to us, conclusive reasoning (which appears in another column,) has been addressed by Mr. Cobden to the tenant farmers of England; in which that gentleman contends that Free Trade at once would be better for the farmer himself, than Sir Robert's scheme of three years' longer vexatious and anxious procrastination.

We feel convinced that Mr. Cobden is right, and we do hope that our agriculturists will not allow their feelings of common sense to be blinded to the force of the reasons which Mr. Cobden adduces in support of that conclusion. For three years longer the farmer is to be kept in a state of paralysing apprehension. With total repeal at once, he would have a chance of making some improved arrangement, wherever such ought to be made, with his landlord. He will be still in doubt during these three years as to what he ought to do, or ought not to do. He will be able to lay down no plan, because he cannot possibly know what difficulty he may have to deal with in three years. Now, he knows what he has to contend with, and what calculations will enable him to meet it. He knows that, from this time, whatever change takes place must come on gradually, the foreign grower being altogether unprepared to take advantage of the chance.

(From the Glasgow Examiner.)

The blow is struck, and the death-knell of monopoly reverberates throughout the strongholds of the protectionists! The Premier has declared himself a Free Trader in principle, and he anticipates the certain and speedy triumph of that principle.

It is the easiest thing possible to find fault with a measure such as Sir Robert proposes—a measure which entirely revolutionises the whole political and commercial interests of the nation—but censurers should be aware that, compared with his knowledge of men and measures, theirs must, from their inferior facilities, be sufficiently scanty. We are far from supposing the ministerial scheme perfect. Formed chiefly by one who believes only in what he sees and individually experiences, the marvel is, not that it displays so much weakness, but so much strength. We deny not but the measure had been bolder had the Premier proposed immediate abolition, without aught of his paltry compensation; but the state of the country, and its present position relative to foreign powers, make caution more meritorious than daring. Those saying most regarding the paltriness of the compensation, seem not aware that the more paltry so much the better, if it prove a bait to greedy protectionists—a bait which, while they are swallowing, Sir Robert drags them to land, and leaves them to splutter on unprotected soil.

(From the Sussex Advertiser.)

It is undoubtedly a large scheme, but it just falls short of being a great one; and the more one contemplates its varied provisions, the more one reflects on the power of those convictions which have wrought so wonderful a change in the views of the Premier, the more one is constrained to admit, that the mischievous symptoms of expediency, which here and there mar the beauty and brightness of the conception, are just those which show Sir Robert to be essentially one of the "video, meliora proboque, deteriora sequor" school.

The blot on the scutcheon is the miserable attempt to preserve an emasculated and attenuated sliding scale, too contemptible to be accepted by the protectionists as a boon, but fully mischievous enough to be rejected by the Free Traders. It has not even the doubtful merit of permanency. In every probability, under the circumstances which do and which must prevail for many months to come, this scale, as a sliding scale, will not even come into operation—it will, on the contrary, simply involve a fixed duty of 4s. per quarter. Viewing the present position of surrounding countries there is no prospect, nay, hardly a possibility of any importation of foreign corn which could influence the English markets till after next October, and Peel's nursing, or as it might more truly be termed his starveling, would not come to life for months, even if it ever contrive to struggle into existence. For any good purpose it is powerless, but for bad it may prove all powerful.

(From the Norwich Mercury.)

In another part of our Journal, we have given both in summary and in detail, the entire plan; it is impossible not to admit that it is drawn with consummate skill, and with all that tact of which Sir Robert Peel is so perfect a master. But although we are ready to admit that upon the whole there is every appearance of a desire to do the agriculturist justice in the transfer of the local and other burthens we have noticed, and the reduction of the duties on various articles, we still look upon the continuance of the sliding scale, even for a short period, as the perpetuation of the delusion to which the farmers have so long been a prey. It is a system which rests upon what Lord John Russell has called "a vicious basis," and in retaining this evil principle of the Corn Laws, Sir Robert has retained a portion, whose inefficiency, and worse than inefficiency, has been exhibited throughout all the phases of the Corn Law. Now, looking at the new scale proposed by Sir R. Peel, will any one believe that it can be of use as a protection to the agriculturist. Nay, does not Sir Robert Peel himself indicate throughout his entire speech, that the tenant must look to increased production from highly improved cultivation of waste lands, and the labourer for increased employment rather than from any continuation of or even a probability of high prices. Why, then, except it were for an absurd wish to appear consistent, continue a system of delusion "more honoured in the breach than in the observance"—a delusion which must be injurious to the occupier, and is calculated to render the arrangements between landlord and tenant a matter of greater difficulty. Far better would it have been, in our humble opinion, to have proposed immediate repeal.

As a whole, however, the measure is one of an enlarged character; and although there be, in the compensating portions, evidence of a great love for small expedients, and a too nice balancing of advantages, it is still worthy the calm consideration of the nation, whose fiat will in the course of the next few days determine its doom. To all it is a matter of the deepest moment, and however differences may arise on some points, it is still a scheme which ought neither to be lightly, hastily, or inconsiderately opposed.

(From the Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald.)

We are not, however, without fears. Let us not be misunderstood. We have no fear for Lord John Russell. His superiority to mere party rivalry has been often and magnani-

mously shown: nor should we fear much the dereliction to the enemies' camp of any of the Reform members, if it were not for the madness of presumed class and trade interests in some of their constituents. They must, we fear, make up their minds to stand not a little fire upon the occasion of their adhesion to the new tariff. The tariff touches upon too many interests to be received all at once, as it deserves. There are many men who cannot for the soul of them recognise a principle when made to apply to their own case. There are thousands of men who, in one and the same breath, recognise the right of a Free Trade in corn, and every branch of trade—except the very branch in which they themselves have been taught that there is some latent interest and benefit in protection. It is in vain to reason with such men, for nothing is so blind as the selfishness of ignorance. Time, in this case, is the only teacher; but the present crisis does not permit much time on the matter. Our Parliamentary members will soon be called upon to act; and we adjure them, one and all, to remember that their votes will be recorded on the page of history for ever, in eulogy or in reprobation.

(From the Monmouthshire Merlin.)

The commencement of the present Session has been looked for with deeper interest among the millions than that of any for several years past, in consequence of there being better ground for expecting substantial changes in the commercial legislature of the country. Nor has this expectation been disappointed in the main; for, whatever deficiency may appear in the ministerial measures as compared with the various and, in many cases, unfounded anticipations which have prevailed, there is obviously set forth a more glorious amount of sterling good, as well as of promise for the future, in the opening of the present campaign, than has been offered to the people of this kingdom for many years past. The Premier has boldly declared that all the grounds upon which protection to native industry had been advocated, are untenable; and in his comprehensive and gratifying exposition, has declared the final obliteration from the Statute Book, of the Corn Law, in three years.

(From the Oxford Chronicle.)

Our columns this week will excite no common interest in the minds of those of our readers who have not had access to the metropolitan journals. There can be no class which has not felt some degree of anxiety as to what would be the measure proposed by Sir Robert Peel to meet the present crisis: a crisis which he had felt to be of so alarming and pressing a nature as to have induced him to surrender the high credentials with which he had been entrusted, into the hands of the Queen in December last. We are persuaded that there are many who will say that in the plan which the Premier has laid before Parliament and the country, he has not gone far enough; while a numerous party will say that he has gone too far. Taking the measure as a whole, perhaps it will not be denied that it is bold and discriminating, and a step in advance towards the great object for which the country has been agitating for the last seven years.

(From the Dover Chronicle.)

We have thus stated the impression to our readers which Sir R. Peel's new plan has made on us; and, in doing so, have somewhat entrenched on the usual space to which we in general circumscribe ourselves for a leading article. This the importance of the subject excuses. Although we are inclined, at present, to think favourably of the proposals submitted to the House on Tuesday night, we would call upon the League not to relax in their exertions as it regards the registration. It is not likely that "protection" can possibly be re-enacted, if the present measure pass; but the attempt may be made in the Parliament which, in the course of two years, must succeed the present one. For such an attempt the League must be prepared. The progress of their registration must not be checked till the arrival of the time when the food of the community shall be as free and bountiful as Providence will vouchsafe.

(From the Whitehaven Herald.)

In the absence of information respecting the intentions of the great National Anti-Corn Law League we seriously, earnestly, and solemnly call upon the Free Traders of our country to keep upon their watch tower—not to trust a vanquished foe till he is beyond the power of doing harm. If agitation ceases the measure will as surely be buried in its passage through the house, or have a rider stuck upon it, which would have the same effect, as ever it was proposed. We would urge upon the Liberal readers of our columns to lose no time in petitioning Parliament for not only a total, but an immediate repeal of the Corn Laws.

(From the Guernsey Comet.)

The anxiously looked-for announcement of the intention of Government, respecting the changes in the commercial policy of England, took place on Tuesday evening. The alterations proposed are great and important, and may be said to be the first great step towards the abandonment of protective duties. They have been received, generally speaking, with satisfaction.

(From the Norfolk News.)

Whatever may be thought of the Premier's new project; whatever of hope or of fear may be excited by its vast design and its almost innumerable details—one thing is certain, Sir R. Peel is still himself. He has fulfilled in this respect the expectations, however much he may come short of the wishes of the country. Consistent in inconsistency, steadfast in revolving, resolute in shirking principle, he adheres to the last to his wonted obliquities. Crab-like, he cannot go straight. He has an eel's alacrity in wriggling; or, to use a more noble simile, his progress is as rotatory as that of storms.

If Free Trade is so good a thing to the country; if it is to advance the progress of manufactures and the prosperity of agriculture; if it is to unite rival nations in the bond of brotherhood and peace; and all this Sir Robert Peel affirms, why should we for three long years be deprived of any part of such glorious results? If, as Sir Robert Peel declares, the present sliding scale be a failure, and a fixed duty be an intolerable nuisance, why are we for three years to be saddled with a wretched impost, which—as for the very purpose of uniting in itself the opposite mischiefs of a fixed duty, and of a sliding scale—is fixed at 10s. whenever the quarter of corn is worth less than 48s., and at 4s. whenever the quarter is worth more than 53s., and which slides all the way between? If the quantity of food is fearfully scanty, as Sir Robert Peel professes to believe, on what pretence are we called on to submit to any limit to an immediate supply?

(From the Wiltshire Independent.)

Well, the murder is out; Peel's new plan is before the public, and the farmers now know what they are to expect from their "friend." In three years the Corn Laws are to be entirely repealed; in the meantime the beloved sliding-scale is to be maintained, but the slide itself is to be cut so short that it will only serve to annoy the public who may happen to step upon it, while it will fail to afford those for whose use it was designed that advantage which they fancy is their right. Whether the Premier will be able to carry his proposition this session, is questionable; that he, or some one else, will carry it, ere the year expire, we have no doubt. So far as it goes we approve of the plan; it is a bold move, and whoever may be disappointed we are not of the number. We expected less, therefore we cannot but be pleased with what is offered, however short it may fall of what we demand. But will it satisfy either party? We think not. It gives the protectionist little more than a shadow, affording him scarcely any real advantage, while it annoys and harasses the Free Trader, who will still continue his agitation to get rid of the nuisance before its now appointed time shall arrive. Better far to have settled the business at once than to prolong an agitation which the protectionists themselves admit is worse to them than ought else that can happen.

(From the Liverpool Albion.)

The measures which Sir Robert Peel has proposed for the adoption of Parliament have taken the nation somewhat by surprise by their bold and comprehensive character, and certainly entitle him to the thanks of all who desire to see the commerce of the country free and unrestricted. This gratitude, however, which arises rather from the feeling that the measures are brought forward by one all of whose previous career has been in an opposite direction, and from whose prejudices and aristocratic predilections little was to be expected, must not blind us to the fact that, after all, practically, they are rather a recognition of the principles of Free Trade than a full and fair application of them. It is believed by all who have been actively engaged in the struggle that the minister has taken as bold a course as his view of the circumstances warranted, while, at the same time, the feeling is generally prevalent that he has sacrificed his own convictions of the desirableness of an immediate adoption of a thoroughly Free Trade policy, in the hope of thereby conciliating the protectionist party. Under these circumstances the leaders of the League and their adherents are placed in a position of considerable difficulty. They are fully sensible of the importance of something being done at once to relieve the pressing necessities of that large portion of the people whom the Premier has himself stated to be in imminent danger of starvation, but they are not prepared to abate their claim for a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. For that they have pledged themselves to contend until every vestige of monopoly of the people's food is removed, and that pledge they will redeem. They do not wish to defeat Sir R. Peel's measures: they only require him to carry out his convictions without delay. In doing this they cannot fairly be charged with being men of extreme measures. They are only asking now for what they have been agitating for seven years back. If it were right two months ago to demand a total and immediate repeal, nothing has occurred within that period to make such a demand wrong at the present time. We know that it is urged by some that such a course of proceeding is impolitic, that it would embarrass the Minister, and endanger all that is good in the measure which he has proposed. This we do not believe. If it were so, we should be extremely reluctant to encourage any such step. We are convinced that an agitation for a total and immediate repeal now, so far from weakening, will strengthen the hands of the Minister. It will be to him an intimation that the country will give him a hearty and enthusiastic support in carrying out his own convictions in opposition to those whom he has vainly hoped to conciliate by retaining the "mockery of protection," as the Duke of Richmond has called it, and who will, we firmly believe, offer as strenuous an opposition to the present measure as they would do to a complete and final settlement of the question.

(From the Glasgow Argus.)

The measure of Sir Robert Peel is before the country. Long before this it has been studied, and studied again, by all the great interests of this great nation; and public opinion, at first agreeably startled by its vastness, has had time to form itself, and consider it in all its proportions. Though it is the most splendid movement in a right direction ever made by any man who has held the reins of power in this country; though if carried in its integrity, as the Minister has proposed it, results the most beneficial to our power and happiness as a nation must ensue; and though Sir R. Peel by his courage and his wisdom in bringing it forward has earned for himself a high place in the list of public benefactors, still it is impossible not to object to it as an instalment of a just debt, instead of a full satisfaction. It is but 17s. in the pound, when he could have paid us the full 20s. To abolish the Corn Laws at the end of three years, when they ought on every principle of right, as well as expediency, to be abolished now, is a shortcoming—which, though to be expected of a man in the position of Sir Robert Peel—is not to be approved of by those who have fought this battle, while he opposed it. Neither can the great Free Trade party accept, with thorough enthusiasm, a scheme which does so little for our neighbours of France. The French have abundance of wines, almost excluded from our markets by high duties, but which might be brought within the reach of our middle classes, to the great benefit of trade, and thereby of the poorer classes, if the duties had been reduced.

With every desire to aid and not thwart Sir R. Peel, the League can take no other course than the one it has taken. It cannot dissolve itself till the Corn Law is abolished; its machinery must be continued, and its energies must be brought into play as long as there is a sliding scale, or any other form of Corn Law to operate against. Is the perpetuation of such a conflict desirable? Strange as have been the events of the last few months, we are not without strong hope that an event still stranger is about to happen, and that Sir R. Peel will act upon the sensible views taken by Mr. Cobden. If he do, there is every probability that the protectionists themselves will ultimately consent to it with less obstruction and ill-feeling than they have already exhibited to his three years' scheme, so kindly meant, but so likely to be mischievous.

Extracts embodying precisely the same sentiments might have been multiplied indefinitely from the public

press, and we regret that we have not space enough to insert a variety of excellent articles, conceived in the same spirit, from the following, and from many other papers which have passed through our hands:—*The Manchester Guardian, The Manchester Times, The Manchester Examiner, Scotsman, Liverpool Mercury, Dundee Advertiser, Dumfries Standard, Bolton Free Press, Devonshire Chronicle, Bristol Mercury, Strathmore Journal, Northampton Mercury, Liverpool Times, Ipswich Express, Blackburn Mercury, Reformer's Gazette, Guernsey Star, Worcester Chronicle, Brighton Guardian, Tyne Mercury, Bristol Gazette, Dublin Evening Post, Kilkenny Journal, Cheltenham Examiner, Cambridge Advertiser, &c. &c. &c.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

PETITION! PETITION! PETITION!

Belper, Feb. 3d, 1846.

DEAR SIR,—We are setting to work with petitions for immediate and total repeal.

We shall try to get a separate petition from the tenant farmers, and recommend this course to your consideration for general adoption.—I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

J. W. HANCOCK.

George Wilson, Esq., Anti-Corn-Law League, Manchester.

Yealand, 2 mo., 2, 46.

RESPECTED FRIEND,—Thy letter of the 29th inst., requesting petitions to be sent off to London, desiring immediate repeal of the Corn Laws (as per form given) was duly received.

Three petitions were forthwith put in motion in the several townships of Burton and Holme, Warton and Yealand, Preston, Patrick, and Stenton, in one of which there are already 300 signatures.

We shall forward them as soon as completed to Henry Warburton, M.P., and Thomas Green, M.P.

There are the names of many tenant farmers on the petition.—Am very respectfully,

R. WATMAN.

George Wilson, Anti-Corn-Law League, Manchester.

Thongsbridge House, near Holmfirth,

February 2d, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter, urging upon us to petition Parliament, without delay, for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws; and although we are rather busy making preparations for a contest, in the event of an opposition to Lord Morpeth, yet you may rest assured that not a single township in this polling district shall be without its petition.—I am, yours very truly,

GEO. ROBINSON.

George Wilson, Esq., Anti-Corn-Law League, Manchester.

Nottingham, 2nd February, 1846.

DEAR SIR,—In reply to your favour received yesterday, I beg to inform you that a requisition is going round to-day to beg the Mayor of this place to call a public meeting, with a view to promote the object named in your letter, viz.—to petition Parliament to immediately adopt measures abolishing all restrictions upon the importation of food of all kinds.

G. Wilson, Esq.

Yours respectfully,

JOHN PLACE.

Mallon, Feb. 2nd, 1846

DEAR FRIEND,—I have received the circular from the Council of the League, dated, January 29th, and in reply, am happy to say that, we have a petition in the course of signing, which shall be forwarded for presentation as early as possible.

Pray get Cobden's Letter to the Farmers circulated as extensively as possible. If you are intending to print it, please to let us have a thousand or two.—Truly,

G. Wilson, Esq.

JNO. HOPKINS.

High Wray, 2nd Month, 2nd, 1846.

RESPECTED FRIEND,—The committee of the North Lonsdale Free Trade Association have originated within the district three petitions;—for Nolestone and vicinity—Conistone and ditto—Hawthhead and ditto, which will be forwarded with all dispatch possible. We presume a similar course will be adopted with the House of Lords when the bill is introduced there. Any suggestions from the League will be acceptable.—I am, very respectfully,

Geo. Wilson, Esq.

WILLIAM WILSON.

Cheadle, Feb. 2, 1846.

DEAR SIR,—We have little chance of aiding the great cause of repeal by petition in our parish, being in the midst of the strongholds of the mis-called protectors of the native agricultural labourers, whose wages have been reduced since the passing of the Corn Law, in 1835, more than one-third; during which time, in some instances, the land has doubled its rent, and the whole has (with very few exceptions) considerably advanced throughout the parish; so that it is easy to calculate who has had the advantage of protection. If it were not for the trade employing a part of the families of the agricultural labourers of this parish, and thereby increasing their means of subsistence, the whole of such labourers having three children or upwards (with very few exceptions) would become inhabitants of the workhouse; and as the guardians do not take into the workhouse a part of a man's family without compelling himself and his wife to go also, our present capacious union workhouse would not hold one-fourth of the people that would be under the humiliating necessity of being reduced to paupers, and of submitting to the heart-rending feelings of leaving their own small but neat cottage and neighbourhood, with all its social enjoyments, in order to herd together in the workhouse, leaving their natural employment for that of the profitless one of breaking stones, and imbibing those principles of pauperism which would never hereafter forsake them, but at the same time of course enjoying the glorious protection which the landowners boast is the sole reason for their wishing a continuation of the Corn Laws. We will get petitions signed by such persons as believe a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws would be at the present

time, and for ever hereafter, of the greatest possible benefit and advantage to the nation at large.

I am, Sir, your obedt. servant,
To George Wilson, Esq. JOSEPH HIGHAM.

Dimple Matlock, Feb. 2, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 29th inst. came duly to hand this morning, and I beg to assure you that immediate steps shall be taken to get a petition signed as numerous as possible in the course of this week.

I may just observe that a petition in favour of the present Corn Law, headed by the clergyman of Matlock, has been hawked about four days, and received the astonishing number, not of 8000, but of eight signatures. How we, the working-men, shall outstrip them in number, will be seen by the end of the week. I doubt not 1000 signatures in two days. Excuse my scribble, and believe yours faithfully,
To Geo. Wilson. WM. SMITH.

Wakefield, Feb. 1846.

DEAR SIR,—Previous to the receipt of your circular, urging upon us the necessity for petitioning for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, we had convened a meeting of the inhabitants of our borough, and agreed upon a petition something very similar to the one you suggested, and it is now being signed.

Dear Sir, yours truly, JOHN NETTLETON.
To Geo. Wilson.

Westbury, 31st Jan., 1846.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have just received your letter; but we had already taken almost precisely the steps you recommend. We have this day presented to our mayor a requisition very respectfully signed to call a meeting early next week to pass an opinion on the measures submitted to Parliament by her Majesty's Ministers; at that meeting we intend proposing resolutions for immediate repeal. As we shall have the support not only of the Free Traders here, but of the largest and most intelligent farmer in the parish, we have little doubt of carrying them. We have also a petition signed exclusively by the woollen manufacturers, praying not only for the repeal of the Corn Laws, but for the removal of protection on the articles of their manufacture. Most of the farmers see that the game is up, and are anxious for immediate repeal, unless the law can be kept as it now is.

I remain, very dear Sir, yours truly,
To Geo. Wilson. N. OVERBURY.

Annan, 2nd Feb., 1846.

MY DEAR SIR,—In reply to your favour of the 29th ult., accompanied by a plan of the petition, I beg to inform you that the necessary steps for procuring petitions from the magistrates, town council, and inhabitants at large of this town, to both Houses of Parliament, will be taken without delay; and also to inform you that you may rely on their further co-operation in forwarding the measures of Free Trade.

I am, my dear Sir, yours very truly,
To Geo. Wilson. JOHN SAWYER, Provost.

LABOURERS' WAGES IN SURREY.

London, 21st January, 1846.

SIR,—The other class of supporters claimed by the protectionists for the Corn Laws, are the agricultural labourers. Let us inquire in what respect their interests are identified with the maintenance of these laws?

In the part of Surrey bordering on Hampshire, the wages given by some proprietors and the wealthier class of farmers is 10s. to 11s. per week; but the average wages to labourers is 9s. per week.

It is a favourite assertion that wages rise and fall with the price of wheat.

A labourer informs me that "on one occasion when wheat fell to 10l. per load (or 40s. per quarter), he knew wages as low as 8s. per week; but that, for the last four years, he has seen no change made by the principal farmers." We all know how much, within the same period, the price of wheat has fluctuated. The uniform reply I have had from labourers in this quarter is, that when the price of corn falls considerably, farmers are apt to lower the wages from 1s. to 2s., according to the rate given, but that when the price of corn rises, it is long before wages tend upwards—and then only 1s. a week more is allowed to meet, as at present, a rise of 4d. per gallon on bread. The universal reply is, "We are always best off when corn is low. With bread at 10d. per gallon, more of our earnings is expended on bread than when 1s. per gallon; and the additional 1s. a week does not make up the difference. The statement made to me by two labourers, receiving 8s. per week from the parish, for working on the road, both with families depending upon them, was "some days we come to work with a bit of bread in our pocket—some days with none. In the winter season the farmers turn off a great many hands till the work in the hop-grounds (to which they devote much attention, often to the neglect of other crops) begins. If any of us want a piece of land, they won't give it us under 4l. or 5l. the acre, though few of them pay above 20s. for it." It is worthy of observation what variety of crops and abundant produce these small patches of land yield in the labourers' hands—affording evidence that by stirring the soil to a greater depth, and by more manure, the land will yield a larger return than it now does under the system at present pursued by the farmers of this country. It also leads us to infer that more labour could be employed upon the land with a profit to the farmer.

The labourers look with hopefulness to a change of system, by which an impetus shall be given to various branches of trade. They know full well when trade is brisk, young and unmarried men find employment elsewhere, and thus lessen the competition for agricultural labour.

The bishop of the diocese of Winchester was lately much commended, because he employed a number of hands in trenching some waste land; but, as he thereby reduced the rates, part of which fell to his share to pay, and got land hitherto valueless redeemed at a cost of 4l. 13s. 4d. per acre, we may question if he is entitled to high praise. It is alleged that the land ought to have been "taken in 100 years ago." May we not infer that some proprietors, seeing the leading-strings of protection slipping from under their arms, are using increased exertions to make their land yield a return, and thus reply to the declaration of many admirers of the Corn Laws, that poor land will go out of cultivation?

A great evil of the present Corn Laws, to which I have seen no allusion made, is, that they bring the interests of the labourers into direct collision with that of the farmers. They see the farmers struggling to maintain a law which raises the price of their bread, without increasing the demand for, and therefore, the value of, their labour. They know, as above stated, the ransom exacted for land, when they wish to take any themselves. Can the labourer but feel indignant,

when these very farmers defend the Corn Laws as a "labourers' question?" Ask a labourer who holds the franchise, whether he would vote for a Free Trade candidate; his answer is, "We would; but we should be turned off from our work." Will such an interference with his rights as a British subject repair the breach already made? Let us, then, hope that Government may be led, or, if not, may be urged, by the voice of the country, to abolish "protection," that "bane of agriculture," and thus, in the simple but beautiful language of Dr. Chalmers, "sweeten the breath of society."—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
A PROPRIETOR OF LAND IN SCOTLAND, ON A VISIT IN SURREY.

AGRICULTURE IN NORFOLK.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

London, 5th February, 1846.

SIR,—Had Sir Robert Peel, either personally, or by deputy, visited Norfolk since the promulgation of his measure, he would have found that the most intelligent farmers there would much prefer an immediate repeal to the continuance of the graduated duty for three years longer.

One of these gentlemen, who occupies a farm of 1,000 acres, and manages another of equal size, informed us that he dreaded the effects upon the market of the Government measure as now proposed—that dealers, millers, and maltsters would avoid purchasing, except only for present necessities—looking for no such impetus to trade, as will cause a rapidly increasing demand—that thus the grain markets will be in a state of comparative stagnation, and that the farmer will be disheartened. On the other hand, this gentleman's opinion is, that if the ports are opened at once, no quantity of grain large enough seriously to affect our markets can, for many months to come, be imported—that dealers in grain, anticipating a greater activity in trade, will be ready to purchase—that then the prices will have a tendency to keep up, and that by the time any foreign grain can be brought into the country, the increased and increasing demand will absorb all that can be brought in, without causing a glut in the home market, and thus suddenly depress the prices; and that thus the real demand and supply will be the cause of the markets being affected, and prices either lowered or raised, instead of a sudden and injurious change by the transactions of speculators, who will wait till the expiry of the duty before they enter the market.

Our informant himself expends on labour on one farm of 1000 acres the sum of 28s. per acre, and his system of cultivation, and the appearance of his stock, shew that he hopes for a good return, not from prices maintained by Act of Parliament, but from farming. An observation made by this gentleman shews that he is above the ignorant prejudice often existing against machinery. Speaking of the mode of threshing their grain in East Lothian, where he had lately been, he remarked "that instead of thereby employing less manual labour, the farmer was enabled to employ, in other channels, a greater amount of labour, and was also ready with a sufficient quantity of grain whenever the market was favourable, instead of having hardly enough to supply his cattle with fodder and litter, as constantly happens by the present mode of threshing the corn." The example shewn to the tenantry by the Earl of Leicester's present bailiff, in a most improved system of cultivation, is such as to stimulate their industry; and as long as such manure heaps and tanks for collecting all the liquid manure, are to be seen on a farm, as may be seen on the home farm at Holkham, the agriculturist of this country need not fear competition with the starving Poles, or other producers of foreign grain.

—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
A PROPRIETOR OF LAND IN SCOTLAND ON A VISIT IN NORFOLK.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

Darlington, Jan. 26th, 1846.

SIR,—At the commencement of your formation of the League pack, I entered, with my poor abilities and trifling subscription; and now we have, under your admirable instruction and guidance, hunted the vermin Monopoly through all his windings, stopped all his earthen, and driven him into a corner, till he is fairly at bay, I feel anxious to be "in at the death." For that purpose I beg to subscribe 10l. to the Quarter of a Million Fund, and forward you the first instalment of 20 per cent. Although a small tenant farmer, paying a high rent for my land, and to my labourers double the wages paid in Dorsetshire and Wiltshire, I believe I shall be as well able to pay that rent and those wages when the Corn Laws are repealed as I am now; for I feel convinced that, through their repeal our manufacturers will have a constant and steady good trade, and that consequently there will be such an incalculable increase in the consumption of farming produce as must keep it at a fair price. I cannot hide from myself, that upon the manufacturers and artisans of the country, farmers are principally dependent; they are the great, the ruling consumers of our products; without them, we—all her Majesty's subjects (and the number would be but small in comparison with the present population)—we should be as poverty-stricken and miserable as the inhabitants of Russia or Poland; as ignorant and uncultivated as the Ojibbewa Indians; as, independent of their being our best customers, of their finding employment for our surplus population, which we cannot possibly do without them, every inhabitant of our island would be compelled to rudely cultivate the soil for his subsistence—would be utterly unable to procure one single foreign production, for we should have nothing to give in exchange to foreigners, except that which foreigners have already more than enough of. If farmers and landlords would calmly and dispassionately reflect on these facts, they would soon properly estimate the paramount value and importance of trade to the well-being and prosperity of every individual and class in the empire, and give up at once the nonsensical clap-net of "independence of foreigners." Are we not now to all intents and purposes irremediably dependent upon foreigners for every luxury, nay, every comfort (above those of savage life) which we enjoy?

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
CHARLES GREEN.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

"I was naked, and ye clothed me."

Jan. 27, 1846.

SIR,—I am requested to say, that I have received the second and last parcel of smock-frocks from friends in town. Yes, Sir, I have received in all 36 good frocks for the use of the poor and more than half-naked peasantry. I have given thirty frocks to the needy already; and I am now prepared to clothe forty more labourers in a few days with good smock-frocks. A thousand thanks to those Free Traders who continue to respond so nobly and liberally to my appeals. I declare solemnly, earnestly, and emphatically,

that were it not for the steps which I have taken from time to time to defend, feed, and clothe the insulted and cruelly oppressed peasantry in my own neighbourhood, some of them would have been consigned to the silent tomb before now. And I do not hesitate to assert that there are those in the country who would like to see the patient sons and daughters of toil thinned by the withering blast of death. It was stated by one of our county magistrates, while sitting on the bench, and in my hearing, this week, that there are a hundred men in the neighbourhood of Biester, Oxon, who would be glad of a day's work but cannot get one? My dear wife and myself are kept hard at work during twelve or fourteen hours every day, with the exception of Sunday, attending to our wretched and degraded neighbours. Of all the sufferers I meet with, single young men are the greatest sufferers; many of them cannot get a day's work, and they seem resolved to die rather than enter the union workhouse. Depend upon it, Mr. Editor, it is not an enviable task to stand between the living and well fed and the starving and half-fed, to stay the plague which "protectionists" feed and keep alive. Here are young men, 25 years of age, able and willing to work for 8d. a-day; but, alas! for them, no man will hire them! Sir, I fearlessly assert that this, our land of boasted prosperity and of Evangelical faith, is guilty of oppressive cruelty to such an extent as to arm against us the hand of God and the hand of man. And if those who care not to know the real state of the country will but persevere a little longer in their stern opposition to those men, and to their measures, who are endeavouring to bring about a better state of things, they must all look for a terrible retribution.—I am, Sir, yours very faithfully,
W. FERGUSON.
Minister of the Congregational Church, Biester, Oxon.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE VERSUS GOATACRE.

To the Editor of THE Times.

SIR,—I beg to send you the following facts relative to the wages earned by the operative classes of our town, which our landowners may compare, if they like, with the wages of the Goatacre and Dorsetshire labourers. If the statement does not remove the prejudices which they entertain towards the Lancashire cotton lords, it perhaps may shame them into an alleviation of the sufferings of their serfs:

	Wages per week.	
	s. d.	s. d.
Little piecers, 13 years old	6	6 to 7
Big piecers	9	6—10
Young women, as winders, weavers, or tenters	9	6—12
Spinners (men)	25	0—35

Most of the cottages of mill hands are exceedingly well furnished, with mahogany four-post bedsteads, chests of drawers, and clocks, panelled oak-back couches, &c. Many of them have their rooms handsomely papered. At a recent public dinner here several of the operatives sat with pint decanters of wine before them, and drank to the various toasts with all the nonchalance of gentlemen. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
Ashton, Jan. 12. A COTTON LORD.

10, Woodbridge Street, Clerkenwell, Jan. 28, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR,—Seeing by the reports of the various protection meetings that that party are endeavouring to alarm the manufacturers of protected articles with the removal of their individual protection, I beg to state for myself, as an individual whose sole means of subsistence are derived from the manufacture of one of the protected articles chiefly alluded to, namely, watches, that I have long felt the utter absurdity of any reliance upon such a rotten staff; and as the best evidence I can offer of the sincerity of my views, I beg to hand you the inclosed 5l. in furtherance of the great object you have in view, the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, and with them of all protective duties.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,
To GEORGE WILSON, Esq. JOHN JACKSON.

SCARBOROUGH, JAN. 31.—The particulars of the Free Trade measure were not generally known in this town until Thursday, when it was resolved, by some of the more active parties in the liberal interest, to have a meeting to consider what steps should be adopted in reference to it. A meeting of electors, including several members of the corporation, was accordingly held yesterday (Friday), at the Temperance Hotel, at which a petition to the House of Commons was agreed upon, and a committee appointed to put it in course of signature. The petition recognises the measure proposed by Sir Robert Peel as an important approximation to the carrying out of the great principle of commercial freedom, upon which the social and moral welfare of this nation, as well as the peace and happiness of the world, so essentially depend; but it expresses regret at that part of it which proposes to postpone the total repeal of the Corn Law for a period of three years, as incompatible with the principle on which the measure professes to be based, and as highly injurious to the interest of the tenant farmers. It, therefore, prays for the immediate as well as total repeal of the Corn Law. It is confidently expected that this petition will receive the signatures, not only of a majority of the electors of the borough, but of many of the neighbouring farmers, and a large number of the inhabitants. When signed, it is to be placed in the hands of Mr Cobden for presentation.

SHETLAND.—Letters dated Lerwick, January 21, announce that a petition to the House of Commons, praying for the immediate and total repeal of the Corn Law, was in active course of signature in Shetland; that the petition states, that those islands cannot produce corn sufficient for the adequate subsistence of more than half of the population—that the only means the inhabitants have of procuring a further supply is by exchanging for it the produce of their fisheries—that this produce is chiefly exported to foreign countries from whence the islanders could obtain cheap bread or corn in exchange for it, but that the Corn Law prevents that exchange, and compels them to purchase their bread from the home corn growers at a greatly enhanced price. And they further offer to produce proof, that in this manner the Corn Law has, for a period of thirty years, unjustly deprived the inhabitants of those islands of half their means of supporting existence. This petition, it was calculated, would be signed by nearly the whole of the electors, and by several thousands of the inhabitants.

PROGRESS OF THE POTATO DISEASE.—With the deepest sorrow we are compelled to state that the potato disease is spreading its ravages most fearfully, and that fever is making its dread appearance in every locality affected by the blight of the people's food.—Cork Examiner.

COBDEEN'S SPEECH.
THE SPEECHES OF R. COBDEEN, ESQ., M.P.,
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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

While we congratulate our readers on the progress of the subscriptions to the Quarter of a Million Fund, and on the effect that they have obviously produced without and within the walls of Parliament, we must impress upon them the necessity of not relaxing in their exertions, now that the crisis of our great struggle has arrived. The victory is not yet won; all the resources, and all the energies of the League, will be required, before complete success can be achieved. A dissolution of Parliament appears to be imminent; and the battle of Free Trade will have to be fought inch by inch on the hustings. We are anxious to urge on our friends the importance, not only of subscribing freely, but of subscribing early. The manifestation of strength will often decide the course of the wavering and the doubtful; but, above all, our subscriptions are the best proof that we are thoroughly in earnest, and that we shall not cease to labour until every link of the fetters imposed on British industry is struck off, and every restriction on the supply of food to the people completely annihilated.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Feb. 4, 1846.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

As the regulations of the Post Office require that the Christian Name of the party to whom Post Office Orders are sent should be given in full, subscribers are respectfully requested to procure their Orders in future for GEORGE WILSON, League Offices, Manchester, or ABRAHAM WALTER PAULTON, 67, Fleet-street, London.

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*Reyner, A & F, Ashton under-lyne	200	0	0
*Booth, Thomas, Rochdale			
*Hoyle, John do	200	0	0
*Hoyle, James do			
*Hoyle, Thomas do			
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*Buckley, James Smith, Ashton-under-Lyne	100	0	0
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*Renshaw, William, Salford	20	0	0
*Higginbotham, George, Ashton-under-Lyne	20	0	0
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*Hollins, Henry, Bolton	10	0	0
*Ormerod, O and W, Rochdale	10	0	0
*Acton, Mr, cotton-spinner, Wigan	10	0	0
*Moore, Robert R R, Manchester	10	0	0
*Crosland, Joseph, Bolton	10	0	0
*Farrar, James & Brothers, 8, New Brown-street, Manchester	10	0	0
*Kershaw, Samuel, Glossop	10	0	0
*Andrew, Jerry and Frank, Moseley, near Ashton-under-Lyne	10	0	0
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*Haddfield, John, Glossop	5	0	0
*McCartney, William, Rumford st., Manchester	5	0	0
*Phillips, Thomas Wm Didsbury, near do	5	0	0
*Simpson, W M. Ducie place, do	5	0	0
*Wilson, Lawrence, Cornholme Mill, near Todmorden	5	0	0
*Chapman, J., solicitor, Fountain-st., Manchester	5	0	0
*Booth, James, 74, Grosvenor-street, C on M, do	5	0	0
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*Whitaker, Edmund, Sandholm, Todmorden	2	0	0
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*Holland, James, 70, St Stephen's-street, Salford	2	0	0
*Charlton, James, Albert-street, Manchester	2	0	0
*Holmes, Josh, Market-street, do	2	0	0
*Lee, John, painter, Wigan	2	0	0
*Cookin, Joseph & James, 36, Market-street, Manchester	2	2	0
*Barlow, James, Blakeley-street, do	2	2	0
*Woodward, William, 3, Greenwood-st, do	2	2	0
*Horsfall, Js, 5, Renshaw-st, New Stretford-rd do	1	1	0
*Philip, R, 18, Cooper-street, do	1	1	0
*Irving, Wm, accountant, 168, Medlock-street, Hulme, do	1	1	0
*Roberts, Wm, 50, Stretford New road, Hulme, do	1	1	0

*Sinclair, Martin, 1, Worcester-street, Hulme, do	1	1	0
*Peate, Henry, 9, St. James's square do	1	1	0
*Goodwin, Geo, 16, Swan street, Manchester	1	1	0
*Warburton, Jno, and Sons, Withly Grove, do	1	1	0
*Southam, Jno, Leech-street, do	1	1	0
*Stanley, Thos, 11, Cross-street, do	1	1	0
*Adams, Jno, 265, Deansgate, do	1	1	0
*Broadfield John, Cateaton-street, do	1	1	0
*Goodwin, Josh, Heaton Norris, Stockport	1	1	0
*Hobson, Abel, Wharf-street, Portwood, do	1	1	0
*Hailwood, Josh, 52, Spear-street, Manchester	1	1	0
*Kershaw, Jas, 40, Stretford New-road, do	1	1	0
*Kershaw, Thos, Butler-lane, Oldham-road, Manchester	1	0	0
*A Friend, do	1	0	0
*Kershaw, John, junr, Sladen Mill, Littleborough, nr Rochdale	1	0	0
*A. M. F., Falkirk, N. B.	1	0	0
*Atkin, Henry, Sheffield	1	0	0
*Evans, Thomas, Stretford New-road, Hulme, Manchester	1	0	0
*Wedderburn, Jno, Belhaven, Dunbar, N. B.	1	0	0
*Lamb, Samuel, 12, Fennel-street, Manchester	1	0	0
*Holland, Jno, Sandy Well, Salford	1	0	0
*Edge, Mr, 60, Bridge-street, Manchester	1	0	0
*Bardsley, Jno, 43, Ridgway-street, do	1	0	0
*Lowry, Jacob, 3, Bond-street do	1	0	0
*Slater, Moses, Carbrook, near Staleybridge	1	0	0
*Day, Edward, 172, Deansgate, Manchester	1	0	0
*Booth, Edward, 79, Union-street, Ardwick, do	1	0	0
*Hill, Wm, Hollingworth, near Mottram	1	0	0
*Owen, Thomas, Mrs, Medlock-street, Manchester	1	0	0
*Ridmayne, Matthew, 113, Medlock-street, do	1	0	0
*Bardsley, Jno, 43, Ridgway-street, do	1	0	0
*Beadsley, W. and J., Pomona Gardens, Manchester	1	0	0
*Salt, Jno, 72, London-road do	1	0	0
*Taylor, Alexander, Hume-street, Arbroath	1	0	0
*Fairweather, Jno, King-st, Hulme, Manchester	1	0	0
*Orr, Matthew, Greenock N.B.	1	0	0
*Cranstone, G, Ware, Herts	1	0	0
*Marshall, J, 30, Broughton-pl, Edinburgh	1	0	0
*Saxon, Benjamin, 133, Chester-road, Hulme, Manchester	1	0	0
*Dearden, Abraham, 51, Wilcomb street, do do	1	0	0
*Duesbury, W, Stretford New road do do	1	0	0
*Drewry, Benjamin, Stamford Terrace do do	1	0	0
*Bradley, Joseph, Bamford-arms, Stockport	1	0	0
*Lampard, G, Longbridge Deverill, nr Warminster	1	0	0
*Sowter, George, Kedleston rd, Derby	1	0	0
*Cooper, Thomas, Brook-st, do	1	0	0
*Bakewell, Mrs, Medlock-st, Hulme, Manchester	0	10	0
*Gretton, J, 8, Rosamond-place, do	0	10	0
*Litherland, Wm, Dock-yard, Hulme, do	0	10	0
*Boardman, Jas, 56, Bloom-st, do	0	5	0
*Rothwell, Thomas, 96, Worcester-st, Hulme, do	0	5	0
*Haywood, Jno, 170, Deansgate, do	0	5	0
*Pascall, Wm, 164, do do	0	5	0
*Machin, Jno, 244, do do	0	5	0
*Poole, Edward, 67, Medlock-st, do	0	5	0
*Fielden, David, 84, Gt Jackson-st, Hulme, do	0	5	0
*Two Friends	0	4	0
*Douglas, Daniel, 91, Medlock-st, Manchester	0	3	0
*Sharples, Henry, 158, Medlock-st, Hulme, do	0	2	6
*Travis, Mrs, 44, Stretford New-road, Hulme, do	0	2	6
*Keal, John, 48, do do	0	2	6
*Barlow, Samuel, 21, do do	0	2	6
*Fletcher, Richd, 45, River-st, Hulme, Manchester	0	2	6
*Bromley, Wm, 46, Medlock-st, do	0	2	6
*Birkbeck, Jno, 160, Deansgate, do	0	2	6
*Lees, W, 8, Gt Jackson-st, do	0	2	0
*Williamson, Mrs, 52, Gt Jackson-st, do	0	2	6
*Hays, T, 17, Stanley-st, Hulme, do	0	2	6
*Small Subscriptions	0	7	0
*Long, Henry, Knutsford	12	0	0
*Swinburne, Joseph, do	1	0	0
*Alcock, Wm do	1	0	0
*A Friend do	0	12	0
*Gre n, H do	0	8	0
*Turner, J, Rev do	0	8	0
*Holland, Mrs A do	0	8	0
*A Friend do	0	5	0
*Gannon, Mrs S do	0	4	0
*Payne, John do	0	4	0
*A Friend do	0	4	0
*Clarke, Edw do	0	2	6
*Marron, Mr do	0	2	6
*Lawrence, Thomas do	0	2	6
*Small Sums	1	0	0
*Chaloner, Edw, Oak Hill, Old Swan	10	0	0
*Cochran, W, 2, South John-street	4	0	0
*Ashton, Neale, and Co, 91, St Ann-st	4	0	0
*Jones, W B, 47, Dale-street	2	0	0
*Stansfield, Sam, Field Head Lodge, Hawkshend	2	0	0
*Gibbons, John, 12, Beckwith-street	1	1	0
*Graham, R, 1, Gt Nelson-street, North	1	1	0
*Richards, Wm, 14, Bath-street	1	0	0
*Bennett, John, Lord-street	1	0	0
*Appleby, Joseph Windsor View Lodge-lane	1	0	0
*Hayward, T B, 50, Bold-street	1	0	0
*Shepherd, Wm, 13, Clayton-square	1	0	0
*Franklin, Wm, Upper Parliament-street	1	0	0
*McAlister, John, 19, Renshaw-street	1	0	0
*McMillen, Wm and Co, 2, Surrey-street	1	0	0
*Hodgins, R E, Ludlow, Salop	1	0	0
*Harding, Vernon, 16, Byron-street	1	0	0
Joiners in the employ of Messrs. Walker, Birkenhead, in addition to £11 9s previously subscribed	0	14	0
*Adams, Henry, Much Woolton	0	10	0
*Cosmopolite	0	10	0
*Haylock, H M, 15, Mons-street	0	5	3
*Cudde, Geo, 34, Paradise-street	0	5	0
*Lawson, Thomas, Puri-street	0	5	0
*Statham, Wm, 13, Chesterfield-street	0	5	0
*Greaves, Peter, 53, Ashton-street	0	4	0
*Protheroe, Edward Davis, M.P.	50	0	0
*Bottomley, Moses, Shelf, near	10	0	0
*Milnor, Wm	2	0	0
*Smith and Hargreaves	2	0	0
*Metcalfe, Wm Aked	2	0	0
*Trustees of Oddfellows Hall	2	0	0
*Ingham John, Waterhouse-street	1	0	0
*Wilson, John, Ovenden, near	1	0	0
*Simpson, John, Woodshops	1	0	0
*Wild, James, Winding-road	0	8	0
Sundry Subscriptions, per T. Bairstow, Bridge-street	1	1	6
Do Do J Walker, Bedford-street	1	2	6
Do Do R Whiteley, Crib-lane	1	0	6
Do Do WBakewell, at J Akroyd & Son	1	0	6
Do Do T Smith, Branswick-street	1	0	0

Bradford, Yorkshire.	*Cochrane, James	10	0	0
	*Bateman, James, Low Moor	4	0	0
	*Billingsley, Tankard, and Co	4	0	0
	*Thistlethwaite, J, Cheapside, woolstapler	1	1	0
	*Woodhead, W. H, Westgate	1	1	0
	*Wilson, Thos, Sun Bridge	1	1	0
	*Tankard, Benjamin, Bowling	1	0	0
	*Dale, John, bookseller	1	0	0
	*Watson, W, Kirkgate	1	0	0
	*Wright, John, Wibsey	1	0	0
	*Bottomley, Jonathan, Calledonian Mill	1	0	0
Barnsley District	*Norton, Geo, Clayton West, near Hud- dersfield	10	0	0
	*Norton, J, Clayton West, near	4	0	0
	*Hyde, Wm, Barnsley	2	0	0
	*Shaws, Messrs, Dodworth Green, near Barnsley	1	0	0
	*Sykes, Matthew, do	1	0	0
	*A Friend, per Mr. Harvey do	1	0	0
	Ellison, Thomas do	0	10	0
	*Box, Mr, Clayton West, nr Huddersfield	0	10	0
	*Smith, G H, Barnsley	0	10	0
Kille, near Bradford, Yorkshire.	*Ward, James, Green	1	1	0
	*Rider, Thomas	1	1	0
	*Craven, Wm, Buck Mill	1	1	0
	*Dibb, Christopher	1	1	0
	*Walker, Thomas, Albion Mill	1	1	0
	*Russell, Wm	1	0	0
	*Rushforth, John	0	12	0
	*Audsley, Francis	0	12	0
	*Rycroft, Benjamin	0	12	0
	*Stringer, J, Rev	0	12	0
	*Vint, G and Brothers	0	12	0
	*Oldfield, Geo	0	10	0
	*Rawson, John	0	10	0
	*Rushforth, James	0	10	0
	*Craven, Wm, Buck Mill	0	10	0
	Booth, Wm, Eller Carr	0	6	0
	Hutton, Edwin	0	5	0
	Exley, Benjamin	0	5	0
	Standlid, Geo	0	5	0
	Hargreaves, John	0	5	0
	Smith, Wm	0	5	0
	Wilson, James	0	5	0
	Wright, James, Park Hill	0	5	0
	Upton, C	0	5	0
	Pawson, H	0	5	0
	Knowles, John	0	5	0
	Sandbrooke, Geo	0	5	0
	Smith, Thomas	0	5	0
	Cowell, John	0	5	0
	Alred, Geo	0	5	0
	Sowden, Wm	0	5	0
	Booth, Wm	0	5	0
	Mitchell, John, Eccleshill	0	5	0
	Bland, Benjamin	0	5	0
	Nott, John	0	5	0
	Ward, John and James, Simpson Green	0	4	3
	Stone, John	0	4	0
	Rastrick, Joseph	0	4	0
	Lee, John	0	4	0
	Clark, Thomas	0	4	0
	Banister, Thomas	0	4	0
	Booth, James	0	4	0
	Kitson, John	0	4	0
	Jowett, Nathan	0	4	0
	Watson, John	0	4	0
	Ackroyd, Wm	0	4	0
	Walker, Wm	0	4	0
	Amicus	0	2	6
	Parkinson, R	0	2	6
	Green, R	0	2	6
North, Benjamin	0	2	6	
Booth, David	0	2	6	
Small Sums	1	14	0	
Dewsbury	*Hale, Matthew	5	0	0
	*Tong, Thomas, Earlsheaton, near	4	0	0
	*Hall, Geo and Son	4	0	0
	*Todd, Thomas	2	0	0
	*Rhodes, Wm, Earlsheaton	2	0	0
	*France, John	2	0	0
	*Brensey, Geo	2	0	0
	*Brady, Wm	2	0	0
	*Walker, Joshua, Bank	2	0	0
	*Clay, Joseph and James	2	0	0
	*Blakey, Robt and Geo	2	0	0
	Whitworth, J and Sons, Earlsheaton, nr	2	0	0
	*Clay, James and Son	2	0	0
	*North, Wm, dyer	1	0	0
	*Crawshaw, Simon	1	0	0
	*Hemingway, James, Dawgreen, near	1	0	0
	*Oldroyd, M	1	0	0
	*York, Henry	1	0	0
	*Ward, R & Sons	1	0	0
	*Mines, Matthew, Battley Carr, near	1	0	0
	*Hirst, M, Meadow Cottage	1	0	0
	*Oates, Sam	1	0	0
	*Porritt, Oates, Battley Carr, near	1	0	0
	*Greenwood, John do	1	0	0
	*Fox, John, carpet manufacturer	1	0	0
	*Gloyne, Thomas H	1	0	0
	*Weeks, E H, Rev	1	0	0
	*Fearnley and Hinchliffe	1	0	0
	*Hemingway, Joseph, Earlsheaton, nr	1	0	0
	*Rhodes, Daniel do	1	0	0
	Spence, F	0	12	0
	Horsfield, John, Dawgreen, near	0	10	0
	*Willan, John	0	10	0
	*Thornton, David	0	10	0
	*Dyson, John, and Squire	0	10	0
	*Ridgway, M	0	10	0
	*Eastwood, Wm	0	10	0
	*Ward, Thomas, innkeeper	0	10	0
	*Senior, John do	0	10	0
	*Shepherd, Lewis A	0	10	0
*Johnson, Chas	0	10	0	
*Rhodes, J and H, Earlsheaton, near	0	10	0	
*Oates, John	0	10	0	
*Bedford, John	0	10	0	
*Robshaw, Joseph	0	5	0	
*Oates, Brooke	0	5	0	
*Blakeley, Thos, Battley Carr, near	0	4	0	
Walker, R	0	4	0	
*Fryer, A T	0	3	0	
*Bedford, R	0	2	6	
*A Friend	0	2	6	
*Halliday, Geo	0	2	6	
Hudders- field District	*Schwann, Fred	100	0	0
	*Mallinson, G and Son, Huddersfield	100	0	0
	*Leadbeater, Wm and Son	10	0	0
	*Shaw, Foster	10	0	0
	*Tetley, Brothers	5	0	0
	*Batley, Joseph, Armitage Fold, near	4	0	0
	*Day, John and Son, Daiton, near	4	0	0
	*Moore, Wm, juu	2	2	0
	Prith, Thomas, John-street	2	2	0
	*Armitage, S and J, Shelley	1	8	0
	*Holm, Wm, Rastrick	1	10	0
	*Wilson, Benjamin, Mirfield	1	10	0
	Broughton, John, Rastrick	1	10	0
	*Marshall, J and R, Rastrick, near	1	10	0
	*Ainley, John, sen, Galscar, near	1	10	0
	*Wood, Ephraim, Slaithwaite, near	0	10	0
	Brook, Jaber, Spring-street	0	10	0
	Gurside, J, Liffit	0	10	0
	Bower, J, Slaithwaite	0	10	0
	Hope, John, Bradford, Rastrick	0	8	0
*Armitage, Phineas	0	8	0	
*Sheffield, Charles, do	0	8	0	
A Poor Operative, Mold Green	0	2	6	

Hall.	*Meggett, T. George-yard	1	0	0	*Hayward, Elisha, Melkesham	1	0	0	Battley.	*Sheard, Messrs Michael and Son	3	0	0			
	*Meggett, John, Poplar-street, Drypool	1	0	0	*Steele, John, Bridgend Perth	1	0	0		*Jubb, John	3	0	0			
	*Thorpe, R. grocer, Market-place	1	0	0	*Low, Andrew, Park place, Dundee	1	0	0		*Jubb, Joseph, jun	1	10	0			
	*Brady, E. Caroline place	1	0	0	*Kearsey, George, Bongate green, Ripon	1	0	0		*Sheard, Benjamin	1	0	0			
	*Thorpe, E. White Hart, Silver street	1	0	0	Gaden, R. S. corn-merchaut, Pool	1	0	0		*Newsome, R	1	0	0			
	*Anderson, W N, Lister-street	1	0	0	*Perry, J. B. High-street, Hereford	1	0	0		*Shackleton, R	0	10	0			
	*Todd, C S, Bowl-alley-lane	1	0	0	*Cobbett, James, Deptford-bridge	1	0	0		Lee, Isaac	0	10	0			
	*Young, James, Waltham-street	1	0	0	*Clark, William, High-street, Doncaster	1	0	0		*Purdy, Joseph	0	10	0			
	*Thompson, E. Whitefriar-gate	1	0	0	*Ball, James, The Britton, Devizes	1	0	0		Kay, Matthew	0	8	0			
	*Noble, Wm. Market-place	1	0	0	*Booth and Taylor, Pilcher Gate, Nottingham	1	0	0		Akeroyd, John	0	5	0			
	*Sotheran, W S, Junction street	1	0	0	*Brandon, Major, 6, Pittville Villas, Cheltenham	1	0	0		Akeroyd, Wm	0	5	0			
	*Collinson, W 32, Prospect-street	1	0	0	*Hargreaves, John, Long Preston, near Skipton	1	0	0		Parker, Matthew	0	4	0			
	*Musgrave, B, Princes-st, Mason-st	1	0	0	*Buchanan, J, C, Merchant, Greenock	1	0	0	South Shields.	*Jarow Chemical Company	10	0	0			
Rotherham.	Bentley, Robert	20	0	0	*Dalgleish, George	1	0	0		*Bell, T, Don Alkali Works	3	0	0			
	Jackson, John and Sons, Canklow, nr.	5	0	0	*Hercus, Jno, do	1	0	0		*Bell, J, Barrington-street	2	0	0			
	Yates, James, Carr House, near Badger, Thomas	2	0	0	*Halliburton, Thomas, Tushilaw, by Selkirk	1	0	0		*Allon, Wm, Albion-terrace	1	0	0			
	Lloyd, Thomas, Masbrough, near Grant and Lilley	1	0	0	*Watson, T, surgeon, 54, West Nile-st, Glasgow	1	0	0		*Mays, R J J, Market place	1	0	0			
	Knowles and Brown	1	0	0	*Mullinson, A, Cirencester	1	0	0		*Coward, Wm, Dean-street	1	0	0			
	Sandford, Charles R	1	0	0	*Taylor, John, Jasmine Cottage, Hollingwood	1	0	0		Briggs, H, King-street	1	0	0			
	Oxley, W H and Co, Parkgate	1	0	0	Subscriptions at the Fox public-house, Russell-st, Bedford-sq. (per Thos Robinson, chairman)	1	3	0		James, Wm do	1	0	0			
	Dyson, Henry, Finsley, near Taylor, Geo	1	0	0	*Aston, Thos, 12, Regent-place, Birmingham	1	1	0		*Kennedy, J F do	1	0	0			
	Nightingale, Charles	1	0	0	*Richardson, W, bookseller, 100, Kirkgate, Leith	1	1	0		Hodge, J, Wapping-street	1	0	0			
	Tasker, Thomas	1	0	0	*Darby, Abraham, Coalbrookdale	1	1	0		*Jackson, J, Ocean-street	1	0	0			
	Hobson, Geo	1	0	0	*Callender, David, Lochend-road, Leith	1	1	0		Alexander, Wm do	1	0	0			
	Pullin, Henry	1	0	0	*Johnson, B. Henry, Holdgate-crescent, York	1	1	0		*Oyston, Mr, Westoe	1	0	0			
Sheffield.	A Friend, per R Bentley	1	0	0	*Montgomery, James, Brentford	1	1	0		Best, J, Thirft-street	1	0	0			
	A Friend do	1	0	0	*Henderson, C J, 15, Windsor-st, Edinburgh	1	1	0		Hall, J L do	1	0	0			
	Owen, Wm	1	0	0	*Barker, Edw, 23, Landgreave-st, Birmingham	1	1	0		*Imeary, R, Lake Alkali Works	1	0	0			
	Flockton, Wm, Masbrough	0	5	0	*Middleton, S S, 7, Charles street, Sheffield	1	1	0		Hewison, H, Thirft-street	1	0	0			
	*Table Blade Grinders Union	20	0	0	*Boulton, Joseph, Wellington-terrace, Clifton-park, Birkenhead	1	1	0		*Harper, Wm, Lawe-buildings	1	0	0			
	*Saw Grinders Union	5	0	0	*Burgess, Jas & Son, 3, Hunter's-sq, Edinburgh	1	1	0		*Scott, J, Albion-terrace	1	0	0			
	*Thompson, Wm, Upper Thorpe	4	0	0	Alexander, John, 96, Laureston-place, ditto	1	1	0		*Aisbitt, Matthew, Thirft-street	1	0	0			
	*Hoyland, Wm, Church-street	2	0	0	*Beacon, G, 11, Mount-row, New Kent-road	1	1	0		Eden, T, Shadwell-street	1	0	0			
	*Persons frequenting the Spread Eagle	1	5	0	*Cox, Geo James, Elizabeth-terrace, Islington	1	1	0		Hutchinson, Matthew, Long-row	0	10	0			
	*Workmen at J Rodgers and Sons, Norfolk-street	10	11	0	*Laidlaw, Thos, 13, South-row, New-road	1	1	0		Robertson, Wm, King-street	0	10	0			
	*Wardlaw, C and Son, Malinda-street	1	0	0	*Wallace, Andrew, 162, Devonshire-place, Edge-ware-road	1	1	0		Chapman, R, do	0	5	0			
	*Roper, R, Broad-st, Park	1	0	0	Webb, George, 111, High-street, Whitechapel	1	1	0		Raw, Geo, East Holborn	0	5	0			
	*Martin, Wm, 42, Eyre-street	1	0	0	*Walker, Mr, 10, Southampton-street, Strand	1	1	0		Holmes, Mr, Mill Dam Glass Works	0	5	0			
*Hutchinson, Geo, 50, Milton-street	1	0	0	*Kingsbury, John, 9, New-street, Borough	1	1	0	Douglas, Geo, Shadwell-street	0	2	6					
Farsley, near Leeds.	*Smith, Thomas, Westfield-terrace	1	0	0	*Ross, James, and Sons, Glasgow	1	1	0	"On bended knee I beseech you to pass"					0	10	0
	*Champion, A do	1	0	0	*Lewis, Henry, Ebley, near Stroud	1	0	0	A Working Man, King's Cross					0	10	0
	*Travis, Wm do	1	0	0	*Dobbing, Mrs E, 1 Malvern-terrace, Islington	1	0	0	Taylor, Thos, Archway Road, Upper Holloway					0	10	0
	*Workmen frequenting the Rock Tavern	1	0	0	*Dobbing, Mr, do	1	0	0	G W, Newcastle-on-Tyne					0	7	6
	*Briggs, H, Hanover-street	1	0	0	Edis, D G, 115, St John-street, Clerkenwell	1	0	0	Lewis, Richard, 28, New Milman-st, Foundling					0	5	0
	*Arnold, J, Wellington-place	1	0	0	Manchester	1	0	0	Haynes, Sam, 9, Hanover Row, Hanover Square					0	5	0
	*Wragge, John, Solly-street	1	0	0	*Burton, John, Basford, near Nottingham	1	0	0	Hatch, Richd, 16, New Union-st, Finsbury					0	5	0
	*Gledhill, James, do	1	0	0	*Southam, Hy, Lansdowne Crescent, Worcester	1	0	0	Lowe, William, 16, Bury-st, Bloomsbury					0	2	6
	*Homan, R, Edward-street	1	0	0	Causar, Wm, Tything, do	1	0	0	Osler, William do do					0	2	6
	Trickett, G, Loxley	0	8	0	*Clark, Thomas, 83, South Portland-st, Glasgow	1	0	0	Robinson, C, 4, Smart's Buildings, High Holborn					0	2	6
	Wilde, Thomas, Wisewood, near Wilde, A W, do	0	4	0	Lees, Robert, 65, South Bridge, Edinburgh	1	0	0	A Lady					0	2	6
	Parkin, Thomas do	0	4	0	*Kennedy, Robt, 59, Stockwell-st, Glasgow	1	0	0	"From a Poor Sussex Fishmonger"					0	2	6
	Wilde, Joshua, Loxley	0	4	0	*Fletcher, Thos, John-st, Sunderland	1	0	0								
Denton, Edwin, Storr's Bridge	0	4	0	*Kinross, John, merchant, Ayr	1	0	0	ERRATA.								
Ashby, W, Stacey Bank, Loxley, near Brown Henry do	0	4	0	Connolly, Edward, M D, Hanwell, Middlesex	1	0	0	In LEAGUE No. 121.—In the list of Subscriptions at the great meeting at Leeds, for Francis Noble, 50L, read, Francis Hoole.								
Hall, John do	0	4	0	*White, Thomas, dyer, Tolbooth Wynd, Leith	1	0	0	In LEAGUE No. 122.—For G. Ainsworth, Holland-street, Rochdale, 20L, read George Ashworth. In LEAGUE, No. 123.—For Henry Wood, Gorce Tosteth Park, read Gorce Piazas, Liverpool.								
Revit, Jonathan do	0	4	0	*Hamlin, Mr, George Square, Greenock	1	0	0	SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THE WILTSHIRE LABOURERS.								
Ashforth, Thos do	0	4	0	*Sutherland, James, 44, Constitution-st, Leith	1	0	0	"The Opinion of Labour"					1	1	0	
Lee, Thomas do	0	4	0	*Biggart, Thos, Bridgend Mills, Dalry, Ayrshire	1	0	0									
Marsh, Michael do	0	4	0	*More, John, Cross Shore-st, Greenock	1	0	0									
Hensoll, J, Division-street	0	4	0	*Hinscliffe, James, Lightcliffe, near Halifax	1	0	0									
Norton, Wm, Solly-street	0	4	0	Griffen, Harriett, 23, Lansdown Parade, Cheltenham	1	0	0									
Free Trader	0	3	0	*F T, Kendall	1	0	0									
Small Sums Subscribed	2	3	0	*Hills, Wm, Faversham, Kent	1	0	0									
*Andrews, Geo, grocer	2	8	0	Hills, Vincent, Abbey-st, Faversham, do	1	0	0									
Farsley, near Leeds.	*Hainsworth, John, clothier	2	8	0	*Ashley, Paul, Waterloo Tavern, Watson's Walk, Sheffield	1	0	0	LETTERS ON THE CORN LAWS, No. LVI.							
	*Hainsworth, Dan do	2	0	0	*Heugh, Rev, Dr, Glasgow	1	0	0	TO RICHARD COBDEN ESQ., M.P.							
	*Hainsworth, Peter do	2	0	0	*Merryweather, Chas, Calne, Wilts	1	0	0	SIR,—The end of your mission of agitation is in sight. When Sir Robert Peel named the 1st of February, 1849, he fixed a date which the Corn Law will not survive. The period of its existence may be diminished, cannot be extended. He may amend his own scheme, or others may amend it for him. The ensuing debates may issue in various changes of measures or of men. We may witness, in the interval, new Parliaments and new administrations. The political world is entering a temporary chaos, and who can foretell the exact point at which it will emerge? But when, for a doomed law, the day of execution has been thus named, the hypothesis of its prolongation becomes in the highest degree improbable. Not to die by that time will be to live for ever; and this, for the Corn Law, is an impossible alternative.							
	*Varley, R, clothier, Staningley	2	0	0	*Jepson, Samuel and Martin, Swindles, Bankway Bank, Stockport	1	0	0	At latest, then, on the 1st Feb., 1849, your foot will be on the corpse of the monster which you have fought as manfully as St. George did the dragon. Perhaps much sooner. The keenness of your eye is not abated, nor the vigour of your arm; and if home thrusts, wisely directed and ceaselessly repeated, can more promptly rid us of the desolating nuisance, it will not live out its little span. You will stay the contortions of its dying agonies. We shall behold you foremost in the struggle of principle, which will precede that of political expediency; and you will prove to the Legislature, as you have proved to the farmer, that not only justice and humanity, but prudence and policy, call for the immediate, rather than the protracted, abolition of the Corn Laws. In the approaching and final conflict men's eyes are on you, in the assured reliance that you will neither compromise any sound principle nor forgo any public advantage.							
	*Varley, Wm do	2	0	0	*Watson, Thos, 6, Fargate, Sheffield	1	0	0	You have brought us to the beginning of the end. The confessed impossibility of a protectionist Ministry; the adoption of total and immediate repeal by the Whig party; and the stammering petition for only three years' delay, by the (now) Conservative repealers; these facts are decisive of your success; nor can all the dust raised by ducal bluster obscure their significance. Your car of triumph may							
	*Peckover, Dan, Woodhall	2	0	0	*Clark, Joseph, Jun, Southampton	1	0	0								
	*Woolsorters at John Varley's Mill	1	11	6	*Neave, Samuel, Totton, near do	1	0	0								
	*Taylor, Charles, Staningley	1	1	0	*J.W., York	1	0	0								
	*Vickers, John do	1	1	0	*Bayne, Thos, 30, George-square, Glasgow	1	0	0								
	*Hollings, Samuel, grocer	1	1	0	*Lowther, Phineas, 5, Saville-street, Hull	1	0	0								
	*Varley, Samuel, Staningley	1	1	0	*Brodie, Alfred, Shore Dues Office, Kirkcaldy	1	0	0								
	*Harrison, John do	1	0	0	*Field, Wm, Brighouse, near Huddersfield	1	0	0								
	*Fifehead, Mr do	1	0	0	*Armstrong, Wm, Tea Dealer, Northampton	1	0	0								
Farsley, near Leeds.	*Overlookers at John Varley's Mill, Staningley	1	0	0	Hertfordshire Farmers and others desirous of testifying their sympathy with the Anti-Corn-Law League at the present crisis:—											
	*Woolen Spinners at ditto	1	0	0	Capel, W, Watford	5	0	0								
	*Cockshott, John, butcher	1	0	0	*Lattimore, C H, Wheathampstead	1	1	0								
	*Whitaker, Joseph	1	0	0	*Manser, Wm, Hertford	1	0	0								
	*Fairbank, Joseph	1	0	0	*Lattimore, Wm, Wheathampstead	1	0	0								
	*Fairbank, Joshua	1	0	0	*Bruton, Edw, sen do	1	0	0								
	*Hainsworth, R, grocer	1	0	0	*Hewson, Francis do	1	0	0								
	*Parkinson, R, clothier	1	0	0	*Gregory, John do	1	0	0								
	*Wade, Benj, clothier, Beckbottom	1	0	0	Batten, A, Welwyn	1	0	0								
	*Hainsworth, Chas	1	0	0	Cannon, J, do	1	0	0								
	*Busfield, John, listing maker	1	0	0	*Dixon, J, Hertford-Heath	1	0	0								
	*Hainsworth, A	1	0	0	*Phillips, Wm, grocer	1	0	0								
	*Walton, Martin	1	0	0	*Hanson, T, mule spinner	1	0	0								
*Smith, John, miller	1	0	0	*Wilby, J, bookkeeper	1	0	0									
*Smith, David	1	0	0	*Scott, Sam, manufacturer	1	0	0									
*Hainsworth, R, jun	1	0	0	*Ellis, James and Sons, Little Town End	1	0	0									
*Hainsworth, Benjamin	1	0	0	Per CH Lattimore.												
*Naylor, Jeremiah, butcher	1	0	0	*Hutchinson, John, Sunderland-street	6	0	0									
*Duffield, Richard	1	0	0	*Rahu, A G, South-street	4	0	0									
*Gaunt, Reuben, clothier	1	0	0	*Moore, A J, Bridge-street	4	0	0									
*Gunn, Isaac do	1	0	0	*Vint, R, Herald Office	4	0	0									
*Turner, John do	1	0	0	*Wilson, J, Frederick street	4	0	0									
*Strickland, Joseph do	1	0	0	*Thompson, T, Villiers-street	4	0	0									
*Waite, Benj, jun do	1	0	0	*Wilson, Henry, Tavistock-place	4	0	0									
*Fairbank, Matthew do	1	0	0	*Robson, Thomas, Cumberland-terrace	3	0	0									
Rowland, Charles	0	5	0	*Mounsey, E, West Hendon, near	2	0	0									
Farsley, near Leeds.	*Pront, Thomas, East Hill, Wandsworth	10	0	0	*Donkin, J, Bridge Hotel	2	0	0								
	*Darwin, E, 7, Park-st, Grosvenor-square	10	0	0	*Ogden, H, MD, Dumnyer-street	2	0	0								
	*Leavers, William, 5, Park-st, Islington	10	0	0	*Robson, E C, Frederick-street	2	0	0								
	*Lawrence, C, John, Rue de Madame Faubey, St. Germain, Paris	10	0	0	*Nesbit, G, Lawrence-street	1	0	0								
	*Harker, J W, 21, Upper Bamsbury-st, do	5	0	0	*Bowmaker, E, Coronation-street	1	0	0								
	*Adey, G, 10, Manchester terrace, Liverpool-road, Islington	5	0	0	*Thompson, W, Cousin-street	1	0	0								
	*Twigg, Joseph, and Brothers, Newhill, Potteries	3	0	0	*A Free Trader	1	0	0								
	*Workmen employed at Messrs Shearls, Spelding and Co, Hick-lane Mill, Batley	2	10	0	*Peacock, J, Merton-street	1	0	0								
	*Saddington, Samuel, 129, St John's-st, Smithfield	2	2	0	*Tousdale, John, Tatham-street	1	0	0								
	*Roberts, Walston, 2, Darwin-terrace, Derby	2	0	0	*Hills, J, High-street	1	0	0								
	Gifford, Juliana, Myrtle-cottage, 12, Lausir, Jersey	2	0	0	*Young, J, do	1	0	0								
	*Doubleday, William, Hamburgh	2	0	0	*Joplin, J, do	1	0	0								
	*Balston, George, manufacturer, Poole	2	0	0	*Cranston, H	1	0	0								

be prepared. The laurels will not have time to lose their freshness.

Readily will the confidence you have inspired respond to any call the occasion may require for public co-operation. Petitions for hastening, and bringing on at once, the termination of the evil, so long and loudly protested against, are daily receiving their multitudes of signatures. In the observance of your part of the work, we have guidance and motive to the fulfilment of our own. Seeing you so watchful, we cannot sleep; seeing you so active, we cannot be inert. By whatever co-operation is desired now, we earn our title hereafter to express the just appreciation of your services.

Those services have been rendered by the sacrifice of all that constitutes life to many; by the large invasion, and at times, the entire absorption of your hours of profitable occupation and domestic enjoyment; by exertions in which both the physical fatigue and the mental activity seem beyond the ordinary standard of human endurance; and by the yet higher qualities of extended sympathies, conciliating sympathy; of calmness indomitable by the roughest and rudest assaults; and of a beneficence of spirit ever in harmony with the beneficent principles you advocate. And there is attached to them a yet more important value. The moral of your success deserves the people's study. You have purchased no party aid by compromise. You have fawned for no titled patronage. You have stooped to no popular delusions. By no sinister arts have you sought to aggrandize a power that might be wielded for your own purposes. Faith in the might of knowledge and of truth has been your talisman, unpolluted by foreign admixtures. Hence the influence which you, heretofore an obscure tradesman of Manchester, superciliously assailed on your entrance into public life, given over for crushed and annihilated by the devotees of party connection—hence the influence which you have exercised towards achieving a revolution in the commercial policy of the country, a bloodless and blessed change, alike resplendent either in comparison or in contrast with all recorded revolutions.

Let the trading and middle classes of England revolve that lesson in their inmost souls. It is a revelation to them of their own capabilities. It bids them "venerate themselves" and deserve their own veneration. Servility, inertness, and sordidness; the juggle of care for a family into neglect of the community; the keeping a conscience for private use, and not for public duty; the waiting for Providence in the shape of aristocratic guidance or popular sanction; the faith in great men rather than great principles; and all the thousand sophistications by which people become their own degraders, and reconcile themselves to degradation and uselessness, are for ever shamed by your example in this agitation. All such may learn now how to do something, and to be something, worth being and doing in the world.

Enough may still remain of the strife with monopoly to bring these qualities into exercise. The means of maturing them, even in the quietest times, can never be wanting. Whatever sustains them is the "daily bread" of intellectual and moral life. In the final efforts to be now made, and for many a long year after, they will not fail to be invigorated by the study of this agitation; and eminently by your share of its conduct and its triumph. Posterity will have the means of blending the moral lesson with the material benefits. Your name is safe for history.

A NORWICH WEAVER BOY.

BICESTER.—FREE TRADE SYMPATHY WITH AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.—On Thursday evening, a public meeting was held in the Congregational Chapel, in this town, at which a large body of agricultural labourers and others attended. Many of the toiling sons of labour were relieved through the members of the Chapel and the liberality of Free traders, who had sent sums of money or snook frocks to be distributed amongst them. The Rev. W. Ferguson, the minister of the Chapel, who has taken so much interest in the sufferings of the poor in this locality, addressed the assembly on the benefits to be anticipated from a Free Trade, and was listened to with deep attention.—*Oxford Chronicle*.

DEPRESSION OF TENANT FARMERS.—At a meeting of the Magistrates, held in this town, on the 17th inst. Mr. Abraham Coates, the overseer of Chalgrove, solicited the Bench to issue warrants of distress against two farmers in his parish, for arrears of poor rates—the one amounting to 13*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.*, the other to 6*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.* Poverty was the excuse, which the overseer said he believed was the cause.—Warrants granted.

THE NEW ERA.

A WORD OF CAUTION TO FARMERS.

The decree has gone forth. The principle of protection is from henceforth repudiated by the British Government. The Minister has proposed a total, though not an immediate, repeal of the Corn Laws, an absolute but not unconditional Free Trade. Whether he has gained friends for his measure amongst the monopolists by the complications which so mar its completeness and detract from its usefulness, remains to be seen. With that more general view of Sir Robert Peel's plan we do not here propose to deal. Sufficient for our purpose is it to consider it with reference to our own class—the tenant farmers. Well, then, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom has proposed a measure, which, with more or less of drawback and compromise, will make trade free; will ultimately enable the industrious of these realms to carry their industry to the best market. Will the monopolists dare to stand between the British people and their food? Will the oligarchs venture, for their own sordid gain, or for the maintenance of their own sinister influence, to reject that measure?

Of themselves, they dare not; and their only hope of resistance lies in the chance of exciting the farmers by imaginary fears. We farmers know how little heart and reality there is in a protectionist meeting, where the real farmers look on, whilst lords, squires, law agents, and bailiffs bellow forth the silliest and most incoherent absurdities. Of these absurdities the Cabinet has disposed for ever. They will scarcely be again produced at the monopolist meetings which will be got up during the next fortnight. Now, let us offer a word of caution to the farmers. Let them abstain from attending such meetings altogether, or else let some one of their body, in the name of the tenant farmers of the Kingdom, declare, that they want to see an end of this strife, and that the only petitions they sanction will be for immediate as well as the total repeal of the Corn Laws. We, the tenant farmers, are, above all classes, interested in immediate repeal. Some of us may have hoped for, some of us may have feared, some of us may have doubted the policy of Free Trade in corn; but hopes, fears, and doubts, are now vain: the thing is inevitable. For good or for ill, protected agriculture—most of us feelingly know that, at all events, it is trammelled and unprofitable agriculture—is at end. A new era has commenced; and, like it or like it not, we, the farmers of Britain, have to show whether we are so inferior in intelligence, skill, and industry, that with the best market, the best labourers, and the most abundant supply of capital in the world, we cannot compete and compete successfully with the world's husbandmen. Free us from landlord-imposed burdens; let the "peculiar burdens" half defunct feudalism has left on us be removed, and we laugh to scorn the puling nonsense of lords and squires. And this brings us to the point of a practical consideration of Sir Robert Peel's plan as it affects agriculture. In the announcement of the principles which guide him there is little to be desired; he says—as we have ever said:

"I have already spoken of that most important department of agriculture, namely, the fattening of cattle. Now, I believe it is impossible to over-estimate the importance of promoting the fattening of cattle, as instrumental to an improved system of agriculture. The restoration of fertility to the soil by means of manure is one of the most beautiful of the dispensations of Providence; and I believe that there is no manure, bring it from where you will, which, in respect to its fertilising qualities, can enter into competition with that which has been directly derived in this way from the soil. I believe that you cannot conduce more to the improvement of inferior soils than by encouraging the feeding and fattening of cattle, and thus promoting the application of the manure to the increased fertility of the soil. I propose, therefore, that an article of grain, which I believe will be mainly applied to the fattening of cattle, shall hereafter be admitted duty free. It is an article, however, of immense importance—I mean the maize, or Indian corn. Now, I don't consider that by removing the duty upon maize I am depriving agriculture of any protection. Maize is generally used, I believe, in the United States; it is certainly there used partly as human food: and I believe that even its utility as human food is very much disregarded in this country. But I do believe that, by promoting the free import of maize, so far from doing any disservice to agriculture, it will promote the feeding of cattle, and that advantage to agriculture, rather than disadvantage, will be connected therewith. I propose also that an article called buckwheat should be subject to the same rule to which I propose to subject maize, namely, that maize and buckwheat, and the flour of maize and buckwheat, shall be admitted duty free. And I propose also that the meal shall be admitted on an equally favoured footing with the grain. And

if any gentleman will ascertain the enormous sums which are now paid by many of the best farmers in the country for the purpose, or in the purchase of linseed-cake and rape-cake, I think they will agree with me that increased facilities for the import of articles that may be used for the fattening of cattle will be of no small service to the agricultural interest. The demand for this linseed-cake is so great, that it is rising in the market, and the consumption is immense. On some farms I believe that the chief object of consumption is to provide manure for the better cultivation of the soil. The price of linseed-cake per thousand in the year 1843 was from 9*l.* to 10*l.*; in 1844, it was 10*l.* to 10 guineas; and in 1846, the price has risen from 12*l.* to 12*l.* 5*s.* In the case of rape-cake, the price per ton in 1843 was 5*l.* 5*s.*; in 1844, it was 4*l.* 5*s.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*; in 1845, from 5*l.* 5*s.* to 5*l.* 10*s.*; and in January, 1846, the price had risen from 4*l.* 5*s.*, in 1844, to 5*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*, or 6*l.*"

No farmer in this country, who deserves the name, will gainsay a word of that. And in a latter part of his speech, in reference to a part of the plan for advancing loans to landowners for draining their estates, he said:

"I do not limit the progress of that improvement to the outlay of the actual advance from the national resources. I look to the spirit which would be engendered throughout the agricultural community. I believe that the neighbours of him who improves his property would be stimulated by his example; that they would desire to improve their estates also; that they would commence works of a similar character; and that the consequence would be a general improvement of the land, and a great onward progress among the agriculturists."

Now, this is just what we say of the farmers. Where is the farmer who cannot "by spirit" and activity, when he stands on the firm ground of Free Trade, largely increase the produce of his farm?

In fact, the free access to the markets of the world for all his cattle food will, by itself, turn the balance of many a farmer's book from the wrong to the right side.

What we, as farmers, complain of in Sir R. Peel's measure is, the postponement of the hour of freedom. We are to be subject for three years to a sliding scale of duties on our wheats, our barleys, oats, and so forth, which may, and probably will, sometimes be in practice prohibitory, and must at all times disturb the natural state of the market, and prevent the farmer from making safe calculations and permanent arrangements. For instance, agreements for long leases must be put off till the years 1849 and 1850 shall have disclosed to us what is the natural price of grain in this market; and who can tell what may happen in the meantime? Who will give us a guarantee that we shall have no frantic Richmonds and foolish Mileses deluding sections of the farmers with expectations of the re-establishment of "protection?" Then all the wheat growers of this world will be making an exaggerated estimate of the capacity of our market after the transition period of three years, and they may, perhaps, then send in quantities so large as to produce a depression of prices, and go far to realise some of the evils the monopolists have foretold. But were the trade at once made free, there would be no mistake about it. The capacity of our grain market would be felt load by load, and quarter by quarter, so that instead of a temporary glut we should have a gradual and natural supply. This would be the condition of the market most favourable to us farmers. We farmers seldom get the profits of the ups, though we commonly have to bear the losses of the downs of our trade. A regular steady trade is the grand thing for the farmer.

Then, again, without undervaluing the immediately free importation of Indian corn, which we know to be an immense boon to tenant farmers, why are oats, rye, beans, and peas to be excluded—for, recollect, the new sliding scale will be practically exclusion—for three years? The same argument, used so forcibly by Sir Robert Peel with reference to maize, is strictly applicable to pulse, oats, and rye. Even upon the principles he has laid down as governing his reductions, namely, that where he admits the manufactured article duty free, he will also admit the raw material used by our home manufacturers of the same article. Now, he has admitted pork and bacon of all sorts free, whilst he only allows us pig breeders and pig feeders the single raw material maize. That admission is a benefit, and we are grateful for it; but every farmer knows that in rearing and fattening pigs, beans, and peas form the staple, and, from their peculiar qualities, the cheapest food. Let us farmers, then, loudly demand immediate, as well as total, repeal of all duties on all grain; and, if we can't get that, let us require, as an act of common fairness, on Sir Robert Peel's own showing, that oats, rye, beans, and peas shall be at once admitted duty free.

WEST RIDING ELECTION.

NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF LORD MORPETH.

On Wednesday Lord Morpeth was elected for the West Riding of Yorkshire. He walked the course. Mr. Ferrand, after all his incendiary harangues and blustering demonstrations, was not visible on the hustings. There was nothing to excite the feelings or to attract multitudes but the tranquil dignity of the triumph of a great national cause. And yet the crowd was immense. The number present was estimated at fully 30,000, and Wakefield was a scene of unparalleled gaiety and bustle as the multitudes poured from all quarters to the point where the hustings were erected. Cheap trains, coaches, waggons, carts—in short, every species of vehicle, and all means of locomotion, were in requisition. Many of the leading manufacturers in Leeds and other places had given their people a holiday; and seldom has Wakefield witnessed such a vast concourse of people. The animated scene was still further enlivened by the ringing of bells, and the marching of processions gay with colours and devices, and each preceded by its own band of music.

Shortly after 10 o'clock, Lord Morpeth appeared in a court dress. His Lordship was, of course, enthusiastically received. After the usual formalities, Mr. W. H. Fawkes, of Farnley Hall, proposed his lordship in an eloquent address of considerable length, which was loudly cheered. J. H. Marshall, Esq., seconded the nomination.

The Under-Sheriff then came forward and said—Has any other elector any other candidate to propose? if so, let him come forward, and he shall be heard. (Cheers and great laughter.)

No response having been made to this appeal,

LORD MORPETH stood forward and was received with loud and reiterated bursts of enthusiastic cheering. When silence was partially restored, he said: Gentlemen—electors of the West Riding, and let me add old friends (reiterated cheers)—it is not, it could not be, without varied and very deep emotion, that I find myself here again before you. (Cheers.) Yes, even here in Wakefield, before a constituency of the West Riding do I, the beaten and rejected candidate of 1841, now come forward in 1846, without having offered myself, without having canvassed, and, as it now seems, without being opposed. (Loud cheers.) Not that we have not had some rumours and some demonstrations of opposition. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) There has been plenty of blowing of trumpets; at least, there has been plenty of braying. (Loud laughter.) We first heard of the pretensions of Mr. Archer Gurney, from Rock Vale, in the county of Devon. (Laughter.) That sounds very picturesque; but I believe that this gentle stranger has returned to his sequestered home. (Laughter.) I am told that he appointed a meeting in Wakefield, and that he was met there by four protectionists and seven reporters. (Loud laughter.) All I hope is, that he did not convert the reporters, because I rate their intelligence sufficiently high to be persuaded that, whatever their employers may be, they at least are on the side of Free Trade. (Cheers.) Well, next to Mr. Archer Gurney, came (A Voice in the crowd: The Bingley Bull!)—(Loud laughter)—next to Mr. Gurney, I say, we had a gentleman who, as I am reminded, spoke in somewhat harsher accents. He was not so much a candidate himself as the godfather of candidates. (Laughter;) only, indeed, his godchildren did turn rather rusty. He first hit on two gentlemen, both bearing names—long highly respected in the West Riding. (Cheers.) But the first object of his affections chose to go and fight the battle of native industry in the particularly independent and self-directing borough of Ripon. (Laughter.) Now that seemed somewhat cruel in him to his godfather. (Laughter;) but I think that Mr. Ferrand himself it was who exercised the cruelty endured by the next candidate, because, if I am rightly informed, he has sent a certificate to state that he is not well enough to perform the duties of high sheriff. High and onerous, however, as these duties may be, I dare, from personal experience, to assert that those of a representative of the West Riding are still more trying to the health—(Hear, hear, and laughter.) The result however is, that this day, when the question has been put to you, no opponent has come forward to dispute your choice. (Hear.) And how is it that this has come to pass? Will you, for a moment, in my anxiety to account for the phenomenon—will you let me refer to the last occasion of my meeting you in this town, and then take some credit to myself for having exhibited something of the spirit of prophecy in the remarks which I then ventured to make? (Cheers.) I said on that occasion "that the opinions and the measures of which I am the advocate are now moving in their onward though unseen track, and hastening to their accomplishment;" and I added, "if there be one subject more than another in which a nation is most likely ultimately to see itself righted, it is on that which concerns its food." (Cheers.) And it is on the question of food—that question which has stirred the mind of England to its inmost depths—that I now come again to ask for, and as I believe to receive, the recovered suffrages of the West Riding. (Loud cheers.) But I further said, on the last occasion of our meeting, the "the triumph of our opponents is the most signal and decisive which has yet been attached to the car of Conservative reaction." May I not, then, now say with equal truth that my return this day—my unsolicited, uncanvassed, unopposed return, will lay the corner stone of a great electoral reaction, on which other constituencies first, and finally Parliament itself, with the sanction and sympathy of—the highest of all—the Sovereign herself (cheers)—will erect the finished temple of perfect Free Trade? (Loud cheers.) For I do feel, gentlemen, that often as we have met, and fully as we have sympathised already, there never has yet been an occasion on which our opinions and our hopes have been so much in unison as at present. (Cheers.) I do flatter myself that the great mass which I see around me consists of men boasting honest and simple hearts, wound up to one common aim; and I put it to you, what object can come so closely home to your interests, to your bosoms, to your every day life, as those laws which profess to regulate the admission of corn, and which do in fact regulate your daily meals—(hear)—which concern every class and condition among you—which concern every man whom I address; and not only that, but every one of your wives whom you have left beside the kitchen oven, and every one of your children, who, though they may not be able to ask for food, yet can very well cry for it? (Cheers.) I have already referred to the past; and while I certainly shall think it my duty to address myself mainly to the great question now at issue before the nation, I hope you will not think that I unduly dwell upon any topic merely relating to myself; for, gentlemen, when a candidate comes to present himself to

the choice of a constituency, some degree of egotism is almost rendered necessary by the circumstances of his position. (Hear, hear.) In addition, then, to what I have already quoted from former sayings of mine, you may remember, when I was last before you, that I also stated that I did not think I could reconcile it to myself, for the present, to occupy any other seat, or represent any other men, than the seat and the men of the West Riding. (Loud cheers.) Now, it is true that a great number of the inhabitants of this Riding, in an address which they were good enough to present to me, absolved me from all that could be considered binding in that engagement, and although it is true that the time had come when I might have considered it my duty again to embark in the struggles of public life—yet, gentlemen, how I do rejoice now that I have not entered into any other service (cheers), that I have called no other men my masters (loud cheers), that I have reserved myself for this cause and for this hour (tremendous cheering), and that, should you shortly confirm my election, I shall go into the House of Commons as the member for the West Riding, to vote for—(An enthusiastic burst of cheering drowned Lord Morpeth's voice. When it subsided, he exclaimed)—I think you must be aware that the sentence was intended to have concluded with "the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws"—(Repeated cheering.) You will bear in mind that this was the main point on which I sustained defeat, and the Liberal party in the Riding sustained defeat with me, at the last general election. I was then opposed, and then beaten (cries of "shame") by the exertions of the great body of the landed interest (cries of "by bribery"), and by other friends of monopoly, because they said I had adopted a very violent and revolutionary course in recommending a fixed duty of 8s. per quarter. (Laughter.) I think they would be slightly obliged to me now if I could secure them the rejected 8s. duty. (Cheers.) But that scrip has gone down in the market, and no efforts can get it up again. (Laughter.) However, the revolutionary Whigs were got rid of; but, in the meanwhile, a youthful League had sprouted up. Oh, but they did not mind that—not they. On the contrary, they brought in an amended Corn Law of their own, which preserved most of the machinery of the old sliding scale, with some additional features, which they termed "rests." (Laughter.) "Rests!"—most delusive word! Whatever may be the beatitudes of the Corn Law now-a-days, rest is not an element in which it seems destined to breathe. (Cheers and laughter.) However, there were two or three good harvests in succession, and matters went on with comparative smoothness for a year or two. But then came the events of the last autumn, with which most of you must be sufficiently familiar. The average price of the quarter of wheat was thirteen or fourteen shillings higher than it was the year before. The price of the best wheat in the market was fully 20s. higher, and in addition to this the potato crop was afflicted with certainly a considerable and still unknown and mysterious degree of pestilence, in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Under these circumstances, all we know of the movements of Government was, that several Cabinet Councils had met, and broken up, and made no sign. Now, in this state of things the League came down to dine at Leeds, and I wrote them a letter there. (Hear, hear.) I am aware that I have some fastidious friends who told me, and still tell me, that it was all very well to express myself as warmly as I pleased in favour of the repeal of the Corn Laws, but that I had no business to give my money to the League. (Laughter, in the midst of which a voice cried out, "It is that 54, note which has secured your election" renewed laughter.) His lordship continued: Well, if that was the case, at any rate I have bought it cheaply. (Cheers and laughter.) At all events I feel that any connection I have formed with the League will not be looked upon as a very grave offence in your eyes (no, no); and I need hardly trouble myself with any lengthened apology on that score. (Hear, hear.) But as on an occasion like this there is no objection on the part of any portion of my well-wishers which I should not wish to meet, I will say this, in the first place, the very little bit of money which has been mentioned was given to promote the local registration of the West Riding, and as a poll taken on the former list of electors turned me out, I can't be held much to blame if I co-operate with others to rectify what, in my opinion, was a mistaken judgment, and to enlighten future constituencies. (Cheers and laughter.) But further than that, with reference to the League generally, I could not look back to the events of the last few years, and at the same time dissemble from myself that, although many members of the League may have said things in which I could not agree, and although the League may have done things to which I could not subscribe, yet that the question of the repeal of the Corn Laws owes its present position mainly to the League (cheers), to its unmeasured exertions, and to the energy and ability of its leaders. (Loud cheers.) (A voice here exclaimed, "Three cheers for Cobden," which were given heartily.) His lordship resumed: And besides, I confess I do not like the notion of reaping the fruit of other men's labour, without assigning the reward which is due to the work. I think that it would be reversing, and not following the parable, if it was the labourer who came in at the eleventh hour who was to be the party making objections to the wages assigned to him who had worked from the first. And although I do not think large self-constituted bodies, whether you call them Leagues or associations, are desirable modes of, or machinery for, working out legislative measures and changes, yet there are objects of such importance as to necessitate even objectionable modes of overcoming the obstinacy of the resistance with which they are opposed. Knowing, then, how powerful and multiplied are the interests combined—I may say leagued—against a repeal of the Corn Laws—feeling this, and viewing the Corn Laws as we all do toppling to their fall, I could not—such were the sentiments in my bosom—I could not withhold that without which good wishes are but hypocrisy, and what Sir John Tyrrell (laughter) would call "humbug," my acknowledged and avowed support. (Cheers.) Next in order came all the Ministerial changes and the changing and crashing of Cabinets. That, gentlemen, has now become rather an old story, with which we have not much concern. You will remember that Sir Robert Peel, though at the head of large majorities in both Houses of Parliament, felt it his duty to resign the Government, and Lord John Russell was honoured by a commission to form an administration in its stead. Now, all with which I have to concern myself is this: I consented to accept office in a Government every member of which had unanimously agreed to the proposition for a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. (Immense applause.) Well, that endeavour—that glory-giving endeavour was not even made. It was interrupted by causes wholly independent of that question. They do not concern us now, and I will not enter on their consideration,

though I have a strong opinion about them; and I never will conceal my wish that my pure and high-minded friend, Lord John Russell—the statesman who had proposed the abolition of the Corporation and Test Act—the statesman who had introduced into Parliament the Reform Bill—should also have been the person to have proposed to the legislature of his country the final abolition of the Corn Laws. (Enthusiastic applause.) However, I certainly myself should feel, and I am sure that he would feel, any individual or any party disappointment as compensated, and more than compensated, if it should turn out that this great question itself—a question of Free Trade—had more chance of being brought to a satisfactory and triumphant issue with the Government in the hands of Sir Robert Peel rather than in his own. (Loud cheers.) And more, gentlemen, I think that the dispersion of the Whig leaders would have merited still greater reprehension. I think their hesitation would have degenerated into cowardice, and their caution into treason, if they had not felt that they had reason to believe that a Government of which Sir Robert Peel was at the head was prepared to do great things for Free Trade. (Loud cheers.) That expectation has been borne out. (Cheers.) I think none of us will deny that in the recent proposals submitted to Parliament Sir Robert Peel has done great things for Free Trade. (Cheers.) I reserve for myself the consideration of the precise details; but I may say that I cordially approve of the great feature of that measure. I rejoice in the instant admission, free of all duty, of colonial corn, of Indian corn, of meat salt and fresh, and live cattle. I am not sure, though I know that therein I differ from many of my friends, and from many ardent Free Traders in general—I am not sure, I say, that I shall feel myself called upon to dissent from the differences which he still wishes to retain between the admission of slave grown and free-grown sugar. (Cheers.) My doubt is, whether he can in practice realise that difference. But if he can, great as are the lengths I would always go in behalf of Free Trade, I must ever disconnect from all fellowship with that glorious cause the blood-red flag of the slave trade. But, with respect to his measures. I wish above all to avoid the three years' delay before we arrive at the totally free admission of corn. (Cheers.) I object to it as much with reference to agriculture as to any other interest. I am not sure whether it would not in the end tell more prejudicially on them than any other class of the community, and in any amendment or motion which may be brought forward I shall be ready to vote that that which he wishes to take place three years hence shall be immediate and at once. (Loud and protracted cheering.) Gentlemen, if you send me to Parliament, I shall then, as I have explained, be on the whole prepared to give my cordial assent to the measures just submitted to the legislature. (Applause.) And in this state of things, whilst this great proposal has been just launched into the House of Commons, whilst the whole mind of the country is intent on the reception it is there to meet with, it happens that, by the will of Providence, and by the sudden and unexpected death of Lord Wharncliffe, to whom and to whose race I have been ever opposed during my whole public career, but to whom no one of his most determined opponents could refuse the just praise of being an upright, high-minded, and most useful public servant—it happens that by the vacancy occasioned by his death, the consideration of the proposal of the Prime Minister is just at this important and critical moment submitted to this constituency, which is not only the largest in the kingdom, but which, in company perhaps with one other, has a greater interest in having it solved than any other in the realm. (Loud cheers.) Yes, gentlemen, the West Riding of Yorkshire, comprising Leeds with its woollens, and Bradford with its worsteds, and Huddersfield with its fancy goods, and Halifax with its piece goods, and Sheffield with its cutlery, and Rotherham with its iron, and Barnsley with its linens, besides the far and fair domain of agricultural enterprise—this riding has reason to say "aye" or "no," shall there be a total repeal of the Corn Laws; (loud and enthusiastic applause); for that, gentlemen, is the banner which we have planted in our van, and which we engage to support against all assailants. (Cheers.) I cannot be sorry, though Free Traders, as such, recognise no party, and though they are glad to enlist supporters from every party in the state, yet I cannot be sorry to see before me so prevailing a complexion of our own old colour. (Cheers.) I remember in one of our former contests having christened it the "sun's own colour." (Loud cheers.) To day we will call it "the colour of the golden wheat-sheaf," which the same sun is now ripening on a thousand shores, but which the legislation of man has hitherto kept from our ports and markets. (Vociferous applause.) They may talk of a black cloud in the west, but the harvest sun has a ray warm enough to scatter it. (Renewed and enthusiastic cheering.) I know that on the other side of the Atlantic they are uttering big words about Oregon, and we hear that the inhabitants of the western states of the American republic talk particularly loud on that subject, and that they are anxious to have a brush with us; whilst it seems that the inhabitants of the eastern states are more pacific in their disposition. Why is this, gentlemen? It is not in the natural order of things that men should grow more warlike as they live further west. No—it is because the inhabitants of the eastern states have a long sea-bound coast, large manufacturing towns, and ships, and harbours, and commerce. They do not like to risk those things, and therefore they say, naturally and very laudably, they are inclined for peace (hear, hear). But it is different with the western states. In the first place, they cannot be very easily got at; in the next place they produce nothing but agricultural produce, and they know that if besides living 5,000 or 6,000 miles away from us, the quarter of wheat which they might be inclined to send over shall have to pay a duty of 20s. when it arrives, they would not be able to get rid of a single bushel of it, and therefore they cling up their caps for war (Loud cheers). But give them the same motives for peace which the inhabitants of the eastern states have, and being sprung from the same stock as their brethren of Boston, and New York, and Philadelphia, being the sons of pious and broadbrims themselves, they will be actuated by the same motives as their more sedate and sober fellow-citizens, and instead of wishing themselves to go a thousand miles further, where they would meet more new tribes of Red Indians to contend against than draughts of water by the way; and when they arrived there to go to war with us for a number of uninhabited pine swamps, they might think it more desirable to bestow a little more skill on their own rich clay cottons, if you would only give them the means of taking your cottons, your woollens, your worsteds, your hardware in exchange for what they can send us, whether it be wheat or Indian corn—a food hitherto but little known amongst us, but which, from experience, I can safely recommend to you whenever you can get hold of it. You will

find that some of their cakes, which they call Johnny cakes, go hard to rival some of our far-famed Yorkshire cakes. (Cheers.) What I have said of the present state of America applies still more strongly to those parts of the American republic which have more intercourse with us, and still more to the countries of Europe in proportion to their proximity; and I rejoice to think that in extending and encouraging universal commerce, we take the best means of extending and encouraging universal peace. (Loud cheers.) I was much struck a year or two ago on conversing with a neighbouring farmer of ours over in an adjacent county, as to the prospects of agriculture, when he said to me, "Ay, there never was a friend to the farmer like —" Now, like whom do you suppose? Like the Duke of Richmond, or the Duke of Buckingham, or Mr. Hudson, the railway king? No; but like Napoleon Bonaparte. "There never was," said he, "such a friend to the farmer as old Bonaparte." (A laugh.) I thought I had never heard put in such close but unconscious connection the genius of monopoly and the genius of war. (Cheers.) What was the state of the world then with wheat at 136s. a quarter, as it was in 1812, the quarter loaf 1s. 6½d.; war all over the world, and at home nothing but Orders in Council, as our Saddleworth friends will well remember? (Loud cheers.) Give me then, I say, the commerce—not the conquest of the world—overflowing garners, and not an empty laurel—open ports, and free produce, not a decrease of intercourse and the substitution of an embargo—a dependence—I will even use that obnoxious word—a dependence on foreign countries, instead of independence and an isolation from them. (Loud cheers.) Dependence on foreigners! Why that is the favourite bugbear with which the sleek soft-tongued monopolist tries to bamboozle his gaping crowd of rustic auditors. (Loud cheers.) Why, I ask him, how he would do himself without dependence on foreigners? I need not ask whether his wife and daughters do not rustle along in the silks of France, the velvets of Italy, and the lace of Florence? but I would ask himself whether he does not procure his tea from China, and his coffee from Brazil—whether he does not wear the fleeces of Saxony, ay, and perhaps smoke the cigars of Havannah? (Loud cheers.) And if he does that, ask him in your turn why you may not have wheat from the Elbe and bacon from the Ohio? (Loud cheers.) I believe that it is not in diminishing, but in increasing our dependence on foreigners, that we shall best follow out the laws of nature and the will of Providence, and thus enter into the strongest recognizances for the harmony, the peace, the civilisation, and the prosperity of the world. (Hear, hear.) For let me put it to you, what is the case with those manufacturers of which the mistaken friends of the landed interest sometimes present us with so unreasonable and unfounded a jealousy? (Loud cheers.) What are all the manufactures turned out, whether woollen, worsted, or silk, but so much work to sell? Where there is work, there must be hands, and where there are hands there must be mouths, and those mouths are filled with the beef and mutton and beer and bread which are raised from the soil by the landlords and farmers of England. But they say I want to transfer that supply from the native to the foreign grower; and I have just talked of wheat from the Elbe, and bacon from the Ohio; well, but the foreigner will not give his bread and bacon for nothing. He may have a very good opinion of the manufactures of Yorkshire and of England generally; he may have a better opinion of you than Mr. Busfield Ferrand has. (A laugh, and a voice, "He has as good an opinion of huz as we have o' him.") But still, though he may think them very fine fellows, he will not be likely to supply them gratis. He will ask a fair, and what he considers a remunerative price for his corn; because if he does not get that he will not send his corn, and there is an end to all the alarm about the transfer of supply. But I hope he will send a large quantity, and that he will receive a fair price for it, which he must receive either directly in your manufactures, or else in money, for which you will previously have exchanged your work. (Cheers.) Well, to turn out fresh work you must have fresh hands. Fresh hands again, bring fresh mouths, and the fresh corn which the foreigner sends over will be available for additional food, and I believe the additional hands will pretty nearly absorb the additional food; consequently, the demand on our native rural soil will be very nearly the same as at present, and any fall in price would, I flatter myself, be compensated by the demand for the different kinds of produce, and for the food which is produced on our native soil, and it would be compensated further by the withdrawal of the superfluous hands from the old rural districts into the new and improving fields of manufacturing industry. (Cheers and hear.) What I am tempted to look forward to as the result of an entire repeal of the Corn Laws would be much the same in effect as a perpetual succession of good harvests. There would be more to eat in the land, and when there is that, you may depend upon it there will be plenty of mouths to take it. (Loud and long-continued applause.) I cannot but suspect the motives, or, rather, I will say I cannot but object to the reasoning which shrinks from abundance. (Cheers.) The blessing of heaven cannot be the bane of man. (Cheers.) It is not so much to me the absolute diminution of the price of corn which I look to as the result of the operation in the law, but it is to the uninterrupted steadiness of trade—to increased supply following increased demand—more to do and more to eat. (Cheers.) Such are the unblest consequences of the Corn Laws. Why, supposing, as a mere matter of fancy, that some foreigners were to be so violently smitten with love for us, as to send over every year large cargoes of provisions gratis, as a mere token of their respectful regard and consideration for the British people, are we to say, "Oh, no, not by any means; we are much obliged, but really we have plenty, we would rather be excused?" Why, as I have tried to prove, this extravagant supposition, is not much more in favour of the British corn grower than the present state of things. Of course foreign corn growers will have money's worth. They must be paid in manufactures, and more manufactures will produce a demand for more home and foreign grown food. And now let me ask you, gentlemen, whether these are all crude and unsupported theories—will they stand the test of facts? Why, our more recent experience sufficiently shows, that in saying what I have said I am only speaking the words of truth and soberness. We have recently had periods of dear and cheap years. This point was very fully stated in the House of Commons by Sir Jas. Graham—it has been demonstrated also by Sir Robert Peel, and nowhere more fully or more ably than in our excellent weekly instructor the *Leeds Mercury*. (Loud cheers.) Well, if you remember, there were two periods of commerce; diminished home trade, diminished wages, diminished revenue, with an increased amount of poor rates, turbulence, and crime; while the cheap years have as uniformly and regularly exhibited an increase in wages and

employment in every branch of industry: they have recruited the public revenue, and, comparatively speaking, set open the doors of the workhouse and prison. (Loud cheers.) In the summer of 1842, which closed the last period of dear years, who does not remember the state of affairs? Every manufacturing town invaded, every mill barricaded; while last summer, which for the present, but I hope not ultimately, has closed the period of cheap years, what spectacle did it exhibit? Why, every man, from the Premier to the navvy, turning up the sod for new railways, while the great difficulty was that of preserving people from throwing away their good money too fast. (Cheers.) Now, I wish to observe that we have been charged with reckless, almost with revolutionary conduct in suddenly proposing to subvert long-established protection, and to upset deeply-rooted habits of industry. Well, with respect to the suddenness of the proceeding, I think that the events of last autumn will sufficiently acquit us. I have told you of the rise in the averages of wheat, and in fact the prices of wheat have varied in the same market from 36s. to 72s. For a practical view of the results of such variations, let me refer to an agricultural paper, the *Mark Lane Express*. That journal stated last autumn that "the very inferior quality of a large proportion of the wheat of this year's growth has hitherto prevented the duty from receding more than a step or two; and from present appearances it is questionable whether the article will be for some time admissible below twelve shillings per quarter." And again, "Had the quality of the new produce been only tolerably good, the duty would undoubtedly ere now have fallen to ten shillings per quarter, or even lower, in the regular course of things, the finer sorts of red having been for some time selling at 70s. and upwards, while choice samples of white have realised as much as 80s. per quarter at several of the principal consuming markets. It may be conceived, therefore, how bad must be the quality of the common runs to have kept the general average below 60s. per quarter, such, however, having been the case, the last weekly return for the kingdom being only 59s. 2d. per quarter. (Hear, hear.) So you see the rates of duty founded on the averages are no indications of the real quality of wheat in the market. (Hear, hear.) Then we had the failure of the potato crop, respecting which I may as well read one of the resolutions of the Mansion-house Committee, which sat in Dublin to investigate this melancholy subject—"We are, unfortunately, able to proclaim to the inhabitants of the empire, and in the presence of an all-seeing Providence, that in Ireland famine of a most hideous description must be immediate and pressing, and that pestilence of the most frightful kind is certain and not remote, unless immediately prevented." (Hear, hear.) Now, however Protectionist societies may declaim and protest, I appeal to you whether a Prime Minister could lay his head on his pillow, had he not first taken every means in his power to augment the stock of the nation's food, without the risk of being awakened from his sleep by the sharp cry of a nation's famine. (Hear, hear.) With respect to the more prominent and general charge that there is anything revolutionary in our proceedings, I say, that whilst there are many things in the constitution of this country, in the modes of thought and habits of feeling interwoven with the framework of society, which I should wish to be enduring and eternal, (hear, hear,) yet there is one feature, one painful and pervading feature of our condition, which any one who, like myself, has visited the younger world across the waters—at the same time that he saw many things which he might not wish to copy, would earnestly desire to see removed—an abiding plague spot which he would be ready almost to give up the wealth of both nations to wipe away (hear, hear); what I allude to, is the striking and painful inequality between the two extremes of society—the extreme of wealth and the extreme of poverty. (Hear.) Do not mistake me, I am not declaiming against wealth; wealth we must have to feed our millions; neither am I trying to stir up your minds to repine against poverty. While such numbers continue to cover such space, poverty we must have. But I confess I should not much lament any change which would have a tendency to reduce the extreme inequality of the balance. For what is it I see among my countrymen—what is it I see among the inhabitants of the West Riding, who, in the wonderful multiplicity of their employment, are a very apt and complete representation of the community at large. (Hear, hear.) Why, I see industry without limit and without parallel—lining the valleys, swarming up the hills—plying on the rivers, choking even the railways—an extent and variety of active production calculated to warm, to clothe, to arm, to defend the whole world if they could but be our customers. But what is it that in this boiling, swarming, struggling mass of life and energy alone seems wanting? Why, more to eat (cheers)—a large loaf, a fuller meal. (Cheers again.) Why, I sometimes feel that the very strength of our case constitutes my weakness. I sometimes feel I could willingly shrink from putting it in its full outline before you. (Hear, hear.) I almost wish I had made a mistake in reckoning the extent of the injury which I conceive has been brought about by restrictive and exclusive laws. (Hear, hear.) But is it not so? Taking our whole population together, can it be said that we have all of us enough to live on? (Cries of "No.") And is there, then, not reason to believe that by the removal of restriction—by the admission of foreign corn—by the downfall of monopoly—we can get much more to live on. (Loud cries of "Yes," and cheers.) I know that it always bears the appearance of invidiousness to quote or rely on any religious grounds as the means of enforcing a political question, and I quite agree that it is most invidious and objectionable if we assume that we are more guided by conscientious and religious motives than our opponents. (Hear, hear.) But still I think the person who discards all the religious considerations which can be brought in favour of our view of this question of Free Trade, shows himself strangely wanting in his estimate of the real importance and urgency of the healing measure which we would propose. And though I will not dwell or insist on any such ground, I cannot, before closing these remarks, refrain from asking why, in the face of such evils as we have experienced, and in the face of such advantages as we may hope to realise—why may not human legislators sometimes endeavour to act in the spirit of that blessing which the national church repeats on every Christmas morning—"I will bless her victuals with increase, and will satisfy her poor with bread." (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) And if I am asked whether the chosen people of old, in reference to whom these words are used, were confined to the limits of their own rocky and barren Judea, I would quote again in reference to the foreign supplies which might be poured in upon them—"The kings of Tarshish and the isles shall bring presents; the kings of Arabia and Saba shall bring

gifts. There shall be heaps of corn on the earth, and high on the hills" (cheers). I may be told that those words refer to a still higher fulfilment. They may so; but I contend that the highest and most sacred ministry of faith and of prophecy may be faithfully copied and adopted in every act of disinterested benevolence, in every exercise of comprehensive charity, in the cup of cold water, and in the crust of dry bread to the meanest disciple (loud cheers). I will not venture to recommend the great cause we have in hand to any meaner consideration; I will not let my argument stoop from the height to which it may fairly be raised; but I commend this whole question—the question of free corn, of free food, and of Free Trade—I commend it to the reason, to the feeling, and to the consciences of mankind. (The noble lord sat down amidst the most overwhelming applause.)

Mr. R. WALKER (of Bradford) said, that as an elector of the West Riding, and as a person employing a vast number of operatives, he wished to put a question, which he regarded as one of the greatest importance to the noble lord. (Oh, oh, and cheers.) His lordship having participated in the views of those who had stated that they could not consent to a ten hours' factory bill whilst restrictions continued to be imposed on corn, he wished to ask the noble lord whether, now that those restrictions were likely to be removed, he would support that humane measure for limiting the hours of factory labour to ten in a day for all young persons between 13 and 21 years of age?

LORD MORPETH said: I think that, in accordance with words of my own which have been quoted, the repeal of the Corn Laws will give an opportunity for a fresh consideration, and I hope for satisfactory adjustment of the question of the hours of labour. I ardently wish that the question could be settled by agreement and adjustment, between the employers and the employed. (Cheers, and a voice "No one else has ought to do it.") If it cannot be so settled, I shall be willing to be a party to some legislative enactment. I consider that in the subject I may very likely go against the opinion of some of the masters—against some of the men; but I will leave myself at liberty with respect to both as I think the circumstances of the time and the real interests of both shall at the time require. (Loud cheers, and cries of "We'll trust you with it.")

Mr. WALKER having thanked the noble lord for the courtesy with which he had answered the question.

The UNDER-SHERIFF came forward and said—Has any other elector any other candidate to propose? If there be any such elector let him come forward and he shall be heard. (Cheers.)

No other candidate having been proposed, The UNDER-SHERIFF said: Those freeholders and other electors who are in favour of Lord Morpeth, hold up your hands.

In an instant a dense forest of hands was exultingly displayed.

The UNDER-SHERIFF continued: Those freeholders and other electors who are against the election of Lord Morpeth, let them hold up their hands.

We could only distinguish seven hands held up against the noble lord.

The UNDER-SHERIFF then said: The electors present being unanimously in favour of the election of Lord Morpeth, I do declare that George William Frederick Howard, commonly called Lord Viscount Morpeth is duly elected to serve in Parliament for the West Riding of Yorkshire. [Vociferous applause and waving of hats and handkerchiefs. The example was set by those in the immediate vicinity of the hustings, and was immediately taken up by the vast crowd extending the whole length of Wood Street. The enthusiasm and unanimity which prevailed rendered the scene strikingly imposing.]

LORD MORPETH, M.P., then presented himself and said, Gentlemen, I may now again say, constituents, ("hurrah!") not for the first time. This is, indeed, like the old times. (Cheers.) This recalls many stirring memories. We have, gentlemen, as I remember Sir Robert Peel to have said (and we are now able to quote Sir Robt. Peel) (cheers)—as that right honourable gentleman said, in talking of our last victories in India coming after reverses, "We have effaced the memory of our shame on the field of our previous disaster." (Loud cheers.) The West Riding, I am told, has its own again. (Cheers.) There is no title in the gift of the monarch, the minister, or the people, which I should be so proud of as "The West Riding's Own." (Loud and continued cheers.) And, gentlemen, it is no selfish or personal victory that we have won to-day. Broad as this Riding is, multiplied as its interests are, the effects of our struggle and of our triumph cannot be confined to any local boundary—it cannot be confined to any single county in its ultimate effects—I hope that it cannot be confined to any single nation, or any quarter even of the round globe we live on; but I hope that the shout of our triumph will go over the broad fields of England—that it will find an echo within the walls of the Imperial Legislature, and that it will be stamped, and ratified, and blessed to all future times, in the confirmed intercourse and the increased plenty of nations. (Loud and continued cheers.) You see, gentlemen, I do not lightly estimate the efforts you have made, the front you have shown, the good will with which you have silenced at once the hiss of monopoly, the firm tread with which you have planted the glorious banner of Free Trade; and I hope whenever we meet again, it will be to congratulate each other on our consummated triumph. (Loud cheers.) I have now, gentlemen, after the singular patience and indulgence with which you have heard me, no longer to trespass on your kind attention—that attention to which I never yet appealed in vain—that kindness which did not fail me in the moment of defeat, and which I rejoice to see to-day renewed and accumulated in the glorious shout of our finished victory. (Immense applause in the midst of which Lord Morpeth resumed his seat.)

Three cheers were then given for the League, for Lord Morpeth, and for the Queen.

Mr. CHARLES WOOD, M.P., moved a vote of thanks to the Under-sheriff, and after it had been carried by acclamation, the proceedings terminated, and the crowd slowly dispersed.

The friends of Lord Morpeth, to the number of nearly 500, afterwards sat down to an excellent lunch in the Corn Exchange Rooms. His lordship was himself present. The afternoon was spent very pleasantly.

LEICESTER.—The Committee of the local Anti-Corn-Law Society met on Monday, and, after mature deliberation, determined to petition for immediate repeal, and petitions are now in course of signature. The subscription to the Quarter of a Million Fund has been commenced by the two principal manufacturing firms, Messrs Biggs & Sons, and Messrs Harris & Sons, promising 500l. each.

GREAT MEETING AT LIVERPOOL, TO PETITION FOR THE IMMEDIATE AND TOTAL REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS.

(From the Liverpool Times.)

A public meeting of the friends of Free Trade was held last night in the Concert Hall, Lord Nelson Street, to support a petition to the House of Commons, now in course of signature throughout the county, praying that the repeal of the Corn Laws, proposed by Sir Robert Peel, should be total and immediate, instead of prospective, in its operation. An extremely limited notice of the intention to hold this meeting had been given; but, notwithstanding this circumstance, the room was well filled in about a quarter of an hour after the time fixed for the commencement of the proceedings—namely, half past seven o'clock. Amongst the gentlemen present we noticed the following:—William Brown, Esq., William Rathbone, Esq., Eyre Evans, Esq., James Mulleneux, Esq., Alexander Brown, Esq., Richard Sheil, Esq., Robert Mather, Esq., Charles Holland, Esq., Lawrence Heyworth, Esq., Thomas Blackburn, jun., Esq., Samuel Bulley, Esq., Isaac B. Cooke, Esq., James Harvey, Esq., Samuel Seward, Esq., Charles Robertson, Esq., John Taylor Crook, Esq., Joseph Dawson, Esq., C. E. Rawlins, jun., Esq., Samuel Thornley, Esq., James Cooper, Esq., John Mather, Esq., P. E. Weber, Esq., Samuel Stitt, Esq., John Finch, jun., Esq., Jas. Mellor, Esq., Daniel Mather, Esq., James Ryder, Esq., Samuel Tomkinson, Esq., J. W. Mulleneux, Esq., F. Boulton, Esq., &c.

Wm. Brown, Esq., whose entrance, with the leading gentlemen above named, was hailed with very warm applause, was called to the chair by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN expressed his regret that the notice which had been given of the meeting had been so short, and that the Amphitheatre could not be obtained, so as to afford more ample accommodation. Having glanced at the important events of the past month, he proceeded to say that when the Free Traders of Liverpool last met, they were gratified by the letters of Lord John Russell and Lord Morpeth, giving in their adhesion to Free Trade; but they were now gratified by the fact of the Prime Minister of England having announced to the whole world that he also and his cabinet had adopted the same views. (Cheers.) For this Sir R. Peel was entitled to their thanks; but at the same time, they could not but express their regret that he had not gone a little further (Hear, hear, and cheers.) They had been the advocates of total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, and they must conscientiously and faithfully stick to their principles. No doubt the Prime Minister was in his heart as good a Free Trader as any person in that room; but he had in some measure been obliged to succumb to the Opposition. (Hear, hear.) He (the chairman) hoped, however, that when the measure about to be brought forward came before the House of Commons, very little difficulty would be experienced in amending that part of it which they considered defective. (Hear, hear.) The fact was, that the rabid protectionists were such perfect gluttons that they did not seem to know when they were beaten in argument. (Laughter and cheers.) They travelled in a circle, round and round and round, and the Free Traders must follow them till they made them fairly bolt. (Applause.) And when this came to pass, the protectionists would find, that, though they had lost some wind in the race, they had not been very materially damaged, and that the Free Traders had won the contest. The country had yet a very hard battle to fight; for, though the Commons might support the Premier, there was some doubt whether his measure would succeed in the Lords, and therefore it was necessary to take every opportunity of supporting him, and of demolishing the stereotype fallacies which the protectionists placed before the country from time to time. Were he not afraid of occupying too much of the time of the meeting, he would briefly run over some of those fallacies, and show upon what slight grounds they rested. (Cries of "go on.") Well, they spoke of a one-sided trade; they spoke of the great injury that the country would sustain by the loss of its gold; they spoke of our being overwhelmed with Polish corn; they said that we should derive no advantage from reciprocity treaties; that by admitting foreign corn we should make ourselves dependent on other nations; and they told us that we should be making very great sacrifices, and receive no corresponding benefits. Now, he thought he could prove that every one of those assertions was a perfectly groundless fallacy. With respect to the loss of our gold, he could easily despatch that. Whence did we draw our gold? Did we not get it from the mines of Peru and Chili? And did not the Peruvians and Chilians receive from us, in exchange for it, what in their estimation was more valuable than gold? We sent to them the products of our industry, what we considered less valuable than gold, and they gave us in exchange their gold, which they considered less valuable than our products. (Cheers.) Having got that gold, what were we to do with it? Were we to accumulate it in England? No; it was only valuable to us as a means of obtaining the comforts, conveniences, and necessities of life. No man wished to keep 100 guineas in his pocket, if he could get something more valuable for it, either in his own country, or from abroad. It was exchanged for an equivalent—gold for merchandise, or merchandise for gold; each party got something which he considered more valuable than that which he parted with, and that was the only kind of trade carried on in the world. (Cheers.) There was no one-sided trade. No one gave anything, not even gold, without receiving an equivalent. (Renewed cheering.) Mr. Alison had told them that if the ports were opened, we should be overwhelmed with corn from Russia, Poland, and America. The Chairman proceeded at some length to show that this assertion was also unfounded, and that the mistake arose from looking only at the cost price of corn in the interior of those countries, without taking into account the cost of transit over difficult roads to the ports, and then of conveying it hither. His fear was, not that we should have too much corn, but that we should have too little. Another of the fallacies put forth at the protection meetings, and by the writers on that side of the question, was, that England had already made very great sacrifices without having received any reciprocity or advantageous concessions from other countries—that, in fact, they had become more stringent as we had gone on relaxing our commercial policy. Now, what was the fact? Norway, in consequence of our measures, had given us a Free Trade tariff, and had enabled us to double our exports. Sweden had neither moved one way nor the other, and her exports had remained the same. The trade with Russia (on whose hemp and flax we had made some little reduction, although we had not given the concessions or relaxations which we ought to have given) had increased from 1,700,000*l.* in 1835 to 2,100,000*l.* in 1844; and if we were to admit her corn and tallow on easy terms, she was prepared to give us a relaxation of her tariff.

(Cheers.) The trade with Prussia told precisely the same story. Owing to the slight relaxations we had made in her favour, dating from the last ten years, our exports thither had trebled. (Hear, hear.) Then look at the German Confederation, where our Government had sent Mr. McGregor to confer with the Zollverein. Their answer, as laid before the House of Commons in 1839, was, "Don't talk to us of commercial treaties, so long as you remain what you are. Take off your corn and timber duties, and we are prepared to negotiate with you. Yet, notwithstanding this unsatisfactory state of our relations, our exports to Germany, had increased from 4,400,000*l.* in 1835 to 6,100,000*l.* in 1844. As to Lubeck, Hamburg, and Bremen, we had nothing to complain of—their duties fluctuated from one to 11½ per cent. Holland had a Free Trade tariff. Belgium had been slightly inoculated by France, and had laid extra duties on some of our goods; but we had nevertheless made considerable progress in our exports to that country. We had increased from 800,000*l.* in 1835 to 1,400,000*l.* in 1844. Then as to France: by having reduced the duty on her wines, we had more than doubled the consumption in England, and increased very much the revenue. In addition to that, our exports, which in 1835 were 1,500,000*l.* in the face of a restrictive tariff had reached 2,000,000*l.* in 1844. In the north of Europe the tariffs were more restrictive than in any other parts of the world. In 1835, our exports amounted to 10,000,000*l.*, and now they had increased to 14,300,000*l.* This demonstrated, without the possibility of contradiction, that every relaxation which we had made had given additional employment to the industry of the country, and added to the wealth, the comforts, and the luxuries of the people. (Hear, and cheers.) We were also told that we had no evidence of the advantages of Free Trade. In disproof of this assertion he would point to the Channel Islands, where land was higher than in England. The chairman next referred to Spain and Portugal. Spain, he said, was prepared to meet us with a Free Trade tariff if we would take her colonial sugar, her fruits and her wines. (Cheers.) He had always considered that Spain had been treated with injustice; and he trusted that although the Prime Minister had not said much relative to sugar in his budget, that he had something in view so as to make an advantageous arrangement with Spain. Portugal held the same language as Spain. She was prepared to admit the products of our industry, if we would admit her wines and fruits at something less than the present rates. Gibraltar was a barren rock. Our exports thither amounted in 1835 to 700,000*l.*; in 1844 they were 1,000,000*l.*; and yet that was a spot possessing no earthly advantage except Free Trade. Sardinia had as free a tariff as she could have. Genoa was a free port; in Tuscany the duties were very light. In the Papal States, the duties had been lowered very greatly, so as to admit the cottons and woollens of this country; and the King of the Two Sicilies had given a very liberal and encouraging tariff, so as to continue and extend our commerce with his dominions. Venice was a free port. Austria, to meet our reductions, had since 1838 gradually reduced her tariff; and she says that if we will go on and reduce our duties on the import of corn, she will make still further reductions. Greece, when raised into a kingdom, adopted in the first instance a very liberal tariff. It had since been raised somewhat; but owing to the cupidity of the officers, the tariff had been made rather higher than it ought to be for a revenue tariff. (Hear.) The duties probably amounted to about 20 per cent. Turkey was as free as could be desired. Egypt was the same. Persia was in a very peculiar situation. Its Government, as was well known, was despotic. Its custom-houses were let to farmers, to make as much as they could. Yet those farmers were sagacious enough to see that it was not wise to lay on heavy duties, and those imposed probably did not amount to more than five per cent. He wished that the same sagacity was exhibited here. In Arabia, the import duties were five per cent, including all charges. China had a very good tariff. There merchants paid five per cent, including transit duties. But, owing to our inability to take a sufficient quantity of tea from China, we had only been able, in the course of the last ten years, to increase our exports to that country from 1,300,000*l.* to 2,300,000*l.*, and this, notwithstanding it contained 800,000,000 of people, whose powers of consumption were illimitable, if they had only the means of payment. In Chili and Peru, the tariff fluctuated from 10 to 25 per cent; in Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, it was about the same, but the probability was that the duties there did not, in fact, bear on us at a higher rate than from 10 to 15 per cent. He had the pleasure of informing the meeting that a new tariff had just arrived from Mexico, and that a most liberal reduction had been made in it. As respected Brazil, however, he was sorry to say that we were placed in a very different position, owing to our exclusion of her sugars; our exports had been reduced from 3,000,000*l.* in 1835 to 2,400,000*l.* in 1844. To the United States, unfortunately, our exports had been reduced from 12,000,000*l.* in 1835 to 8,000,000*l.* in 1844. But if we relaxed our tariff, they would reduce theirs. Mr. Walker, the present Secretary of the Treasury, was disposed to act in a way highly advantageous to the trade of this country, and he (the chairman) hoped that the cessation of our Corn Laws would enable him to carry out the views expressed by him. (Loud cheers.) This would not only have the effect of increasing the commerce between the two countries, but he had no doubt that it would have the still further happy effect of preserving peace. The extent of the trade between England and the United States might be almost boundless, provided we remained in harmony and peace with one another, and both countries liberalised their tariffs. (Loud cheers.) He would now take a glance of the effects of what had been done to protect the colonies of British North America and the West Indies. In 1835, our exports amounted to 9,400,000*l.*; in 1844, they were 8,800,000*l.* Ceylon and the East Indies had made up for this decrease; our exports thither had increased from 4,200,000*l.* in 1835 to 7,500,000*l.* in 1844. He had now carried his audience round the globe, and he had no place to allude to but the little island of St. Thomas's, which was flourishing and prosperous because it was a Free Trade port. The chairman then proceeded to show, by reference to the measures adopted in Antioch in the time of the Emperor Julian, and in Bombay only recently, that the natural and free operations of trade were the best reliance for a country in a time of scarcity. He concluded by stating that the principal object for which the meeting had been convened was to submit to its consideration a petition to Parliament, approving, of course, of what Sir Robert Peel proposed to do, but expressing regret that he had not thoroughly adopted Free Trade principles. Mr. Rathbone would move the first resolution. (The Chairman concluded amidst general and warm applause.)

Wm. Rathbone, Esq., then proposed the first reso-

lution, as follows:—"That we have seen with considerable satisfaction that Her Majesty's Ministers have proposed to introduce into the House of Commons a bill to reduce and repeal the duties on various articles imported into this country, by which greater liberty will be given to commerce and manufactures. At the same time we regret that the proposition with respect to the chief articles of human food is not such as at once to give that freedom to their importation which the necessities of the country require, and which is imperatively necessary in the present alarming condition of the people of Ireland, owing to the failure of the potato crop."

Mr. R. addressed the meeting in support of the resolution, which was seconded by James Mulleneux, Esq., and the motion being put was carried unanimously.

CHARLES HOLLAND, Esq., then proposed a second resolution, to the effect that "the meeting were strongly of opinion that now, more than ever, any duty on the importation of grain was undesirable, and alike unjust to farmers, labourers, and every other class of the people; and that they, therefore, were anxious to sign a county petition to the House of Commons that trade should be free." Mr. H. was succeeded by CHARLES ROBERTSON, Esq., who expressed his cordial approval of Sir Robert Peel's measure; but while he was willing to regard it as a very large instalment, he desired the meeting not to forget that it was neither total nor immediate.

C. E. RAWLINS, Esq., next read a copy of the county petition, which he strongly urged every Free Trader to sign; and after Mr. Lynch, an operative, had addressed the meeting, and a vote of thanks had been passed to the chairman, the assembly, which was very enthusiastic throughout the whole of the proceedings, separated at 10 o'clock.

ANTI-CORN-LAW MEETING AT EDINBURGH.—DEFEAT OF THE CHARTISTS.

On the evening of Thursday, the 29th ult., a meeting of the working classes of Edinburgh was held in the United Secession Church, Cowgate, to consider the propriety of petitioning Parliament for the immediate and total repeal of the Corn Laws. The meeting originated at an assemblage of delegates, representing forty of the principal workshops in the city. The church, which is one of the largest in Edinburgh, was crowded to excess.

Mr. Charles Ross, an operative, was called to the chair. He introduced the subject in a very excellent speech, expressing his conviction that Sir R. Peel's measure, however satisfactory as a great step in advance, was by no means calculated, as a whole, to meet the exigencies of the country. Mr. Sargent, journeyman hatter, proposed the first resolution in an admirable, able, and pointed speech. He began by denying that the repeal of the Corn Law was a party-question, and in the course of his speech he noticed some of the absurd statements made at the agricultural meetings in England. He referred first to Lord Ingestre's advice to the farmers of Lichfield "to keep their powder dry," next to the Duke of Norfolk's famous "curry powder" recipe—and last of all to the threat of the Duke of Richmond to leave the country if the Corn Laws were repealed. There was something truly amazing in the very supposition of this beautiful trio emigrating from the country, with the farmers of Lichfield arrayed in procession under the hereditary Grand Marshal of England, the Duke of Richmond's piper playing the "Rogue's March," with a banner bearing the well-known couplet—

"True patriots we; for be it understood
We leave our country for our country's good."

(Great laughter and applause.) But he would warn the aristocracy to beware. Let them remember that one of the first causes of the French Revolution was the scarcity and dearth of provisions.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Buchanan, when a serious interruption was attempted by some Chartists, one of whom denounced the League as a blasphemous combination to thwart the designs of Providence as manifested in that mysterious visitation—the potato-blight. Amidst hisses, groans, laughter, and confusion, the leaders of the Anti-Corn-Law League were declared by one of these intelligent Chartists to be "a set of deep, designing, money-mongering rogues." One of them maintained and reiterated with imperturbable gravity, that the League itself was a *fendish caper*,—a cunning device of the evil one, to multiply bread in the wilderness, and to work mischief.

The Chartist orators were ultimately pushed off the platform in the heat and climax of their eloquence, and the great mass of this large and intelligent assemblage, were unanimous and enthusiastic in support of the Free Trade resolutions. The meeting broke up about half-past eleven o'clock.

FREE TRADE TRIUMPHANT.—On Friday evening, Jan. 30th, a large and respectable meeting of the working classes of this town and vicinity took place in the Flowery-Field School Room, for the purpose of adopting a memorial to her most gracious Majesty, praying for a total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the present corn and provision laws. The first resolution, which contained the opinion of the meeting, "That all restrictions on the free importation of corn is unwise, unjust, and a grievance," was proposed by an Irishman, and seconded by an Englishman (which shows the unity that exists between all classes on the present subject), and was ably supported in a speech of great length by a Mr. Brewer, from Bolton, who declared himself a repealer since the days of Peterloo, and showed how the system of protection and the Corn Law acted on the farm labourer, and eulogised the conduct of Messrs. Cobden and Bright for their exertions, and sat down amidst loud applause. The resolution was put from the chair, and passed unanimously. The next resolution for the adoption of the memorial was moved and seconded, and passed unanimously. Several working men addressed the meeting, after which a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Thomas Ashton, manufacturer, for his kindness in lending the use of the school room, another to the chair, and the meeting quietly dispersed.

The Rev. W. Ferguson, dissenting minister of Bicester, Oxon, begs to inform his friends, through the medium of THE LEAGUE, that he has received the following sums and gifts, for the poor peasantry and starving mechanics in his neighbourhood:—From J. Bell, Esq., Wandsworth, 10*l.*; a Friend in Hackney, 10*s.*; J. Bunting, Esq., and others, 19 smock-frocks; W. 6*l.*; L. of Yarmouth, for J. Hubbock, of Okeley Bucks, 10*s.*; A. Muirhead, of Falkirk, 10*s.*

REGISTRATION APPEALS.

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

DECISION ON THE "SPLITTING ACT," WEST RIDING OF YORK.

ALEXANDER V. NEWMAN.—The case was heard last Michaelmas Term.

CASE.—At a court held to revise the list of voters for the parish of Lockwood, Joseph Bottomley, and thirty-four other persons, claimed to have their names inserted in the register of voters, as owners, each respectively of one undivided thirty-fifth part of freehold land and buildings at Lockwood. The facts of the case are as follows:—Joseph Bottomley being desirous of obtaining a qualification to vote in the election of members for the West Riding of the county of York, some time in the month of January, 1845, called upon an agent of a political association, in the town of Huddersfield, and requested him to obtain a vote for him. Joseph Bottomley wished to obtain a qualification as cheaply as he could, but did not care about the nature or situation of the property, provided it would confer the right of voting, and did not occasion an outlay of money beyond what would give a qualification, the same time securing the ordinary rate of interest. His motive in applying to the agent was not, however, for the investment of money in land or buildings, but only to acquire the right of voting. Some time in the month of January, Messrs C * * *, manufacturers in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield, authorised the said agent to sell for them certain lands and cottages for the sum of £1400., their only object being to increase the number of voters for the West Riding of York. They were not in want of money, and would not sell any portion of their real estate, but it was only for the reason before mentioned. The agent then Messrs C. employed in this transaction was not their general attorney, but was only the agent of the before mentioned Association; he had publicly caused advertisements to be placed in the newspapers inviting parties either to sell or purchase small freeholds for the purpose of qualifying themselves, and referring to himself as an agent, in consequence of such authority from Messrs. C.; and from instructions received from Joseph Bottomley and many other persons similarly disposed, he arranged the purchase and sale of the said lands and cottages to Joseph Bottomley and thirty-four other persons, as tenants in common, for the sum of £1400. The conveyance was accordingly prepared by the agent, and duly executed by Joseph Bottomley, on the 22nd day of January last, on which occasion he paid his portion of the purchase money, viz., 40l., to the agent, on behalf of Messrs. C., and 1l. towards the agent's bill of costs: on the same day a lease of the land and cottages was executed by Bottomley and thirty-four other tenants in common, to the vendors, Messrs. C., for the period of fifteen years, at an annual rent of 70l., which rent had since been duly paid. The land and cottages are within a very short distance of Messrs. C.'s mill, and were before, and at the time of the purchase, and are still in the occupation of persons employed at their own mill. The conveyance was *bona fide*, and the purchase money was the money of Joseph Bottomley, and the several other purchasers. There was no secret trust or reservation in favour of the sellers, nor any agreement as to the mode in which the elective franchise should be exercised by the 35 purchasers, or any of them; nor had any of them any communication with Messrs. C. They, and the 35 purchasers entertained the same public opinion: and though there was no immediate consent between them, the only objects of the transactions on both sides was to multiply voices in the election of members of Parliament, for the West Riding of York. Upon these facts, the claim of Joseph Bottomley, to have his name inserted in the list of voters, was opposed on the ground that the case came within the statute 7th and 8th Wm. III., chap. 25, commonly called the "Splitting Act" as being a conveyance made in order to multiply voices, or to split and divide, the interest in houses, or land, among several persons to enable them to vote at elections, and therefore were void, and of none effect. The revising barrister decided that the statute did not apply to this case, and that the claimants were entitled to have their names retained on the list.

This was a consolidated appeal, and nine other names were to abide the decision of the court in the foregoing case.

JUDGMENT.—CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL.—This appeal against the decision of the revising barrister for the West Riding of the county of York, raises the distinct question whether a conveyance to a body of purchasers as tenants in common is void under the 7th section of the statute 7th and 8th of Wm. III., chap. 25, such conveyance being made on the part of the vendor and the vendees, with the avowed and only object of multiplying voices at elections, and gain the franchise; it being at the same time a *bona fide* conveyance, made on a contract of sale, where the purchase money had been paid and possession of the land really taken, and kept under the conveyance, and where there was no search, trust, or reservation in favour of the seller, nor any stipulation as to the way in which the elective should be exercised? The question is undoubtedly one of considerable importance, not only as it involves the general principle of election law, but as it applies to a large number of the cases reserved for our determination. It has been argued before us, both on the present and other reserved cases that will depend upon a proper construction of the statute above referred to, taking into consideration at the same time the statutes subsequently passed and relating to the same subject matter, that if the conveyance in question was not a void conveyance then that the several persons claiming the right to vote under it were entitled to have their names retained on the list of voters for the West Riding of the county of York. Even if the statutes 7 and 8 Will. III. were the only statutes passed upon the subject, and if that passage were to be construed strictly by the very letter, we think its provisions cannot be held to extend to the case of any conveyance made on a really *bona fide* contract for the sale and purchase of land, but that the statute was intended to apply to fictitious conveyances that had nothing more than the form and appearance of a conveyance, the parchment and the seal only—the parties thereto having lawfully agreed and intended that no interest should actually pass thereby. The first observation that arises upon the statute of William III. as to the provision now under discussion is that the clause is declaratory simply of the common law. The first branch of that section creates a new law. It is thereby enacted, "That no person shall have a vote at elections by reason of any trust, estate, or mortgage, unless such trustee or mortgagee be in actual possession or in receipt of the rents and profits of the same estate; but that the mortgagee or cestuique trust in possession shall and may vote for the same estate;" but the second branch of the section, which is not now under discussion, is framed very differently, and by this latter branch, "all conveyances, in order to multiply voices and split and divide the interest in any

houses and lands among several persons, to enable them to vote at elections of members to serve in Parliament are hereby declared to be void and of none effect." This important distinction proves incontestably that the latter fact was intended only to declare the law as it stood, giving to it the greater weight and sanction of a legislative declaration. The first question, therefore, is, what conveyances made in order to multiply voices at elections would be void at common law? The right of voting for knights of the shire, given by the common law, is acquired by the two statutes, the 8th & 10th of Henry VI., being given to such people dwelling and resident in each shire, whereof every man shall have freehold in the same county to the value of 40s. by the year, at least, clear of all charges, and there was no restriction or prohibition by the common law against any man's purchasing freeholds within the counties of a sufficient amount to qualify him to vote, nor on the other hand against any man's selling the same to one or any number of purchasers, although the object of the seller and purchaser might be that the purchaser would acquire a vote; and, consequently, that the number of votes should be thereby increased. By the common law, therefore, no conveyance really and honestly made for the purpose of carrying such contract into effect was void. But by the common law, from the earliest times, a conveyance, however perfect in point of form, notwithstanding that it had been originally intended by a secret act or understanding between the parties never to have any legal effect, as a conveyance, was always held to be void, whatever the secret object and purpose of the parties in making such conveyance might be. The old text writers have laid it down as an axiom, that "the law abhors covin, and any coviner's act shall be void;" and it is on that principle unquestionably that a conveyance, made in order, or for the purpose of giving a qualification to vote at elections, or for any other purpose, if made with the secret intention and design that it should fail to be evidence of any contract between the parties themselves, shall pass no interest and have no effect, would be fraudulent, and void at common law. Lord Somers, and it is impossible to name an authority of greater weight on a subject of the nature of the present, is express to this point in an observation made by him on the trial of the case of Onslow v. the Bailiff of Haslemere, for misconduct, as the returning officer, on which occasion it was proved that many of the voters claimed, under conveyances, of very many insignificant parts of burghage land that had been lately made, and fraudulently contrived to make votes against the election. He lays it down thus—"this case should be a caution to places having rights of election against making votes, by splitting burgess freeholds by such fraudulent conveyances, all such fraudulent conveyances as are not clearly made *bona fide*, a good consideration being in that case held to be void by the common law."—(See Lord Somers's Tracts.) He thus draws a very marked distinction between conveyances made to give qualifications where they are really honest, and where they are fraudulent and fictitious, making the latter only void at common law; and as this trial took place only about fifteen years before the passing of the statute of William the Third, the language of Lord Somers affords strong evidence of how the common law stood at the time of passing that act. Again, the very language of the statute of William seems to point to the necessary conclusion that real and *bona fide* conveyances were not intended to be abolished, although the motive and purpose of the parties might be that of multiplying voices at elections, but such conveyances only made for that purpose, were fraudulent and fictitious. The statute says, "All conveyances in order to multiply voices" are declared to be void: it names a "conveyance" only, and makes no reference whatever to any contract for sale on which a real conveyance was grounded, nor seeks to deal in any manner with the estate and interest on the land affected by the contract of sale, nor provides for the reverting of the land which passed into the possession of the purchaser under a consideration, nor for the repayment of the purchase money to the purchaser: all which provisions might well be expected if the conveyance on a real *bona fide* contract of sale is not a fictitious conveyance, only was intended to be avoided on account of the motive on which it was entered into. And this is the more striking, as in the very same section provision is made as to the estate of trustees and mortgagees, so that the mind of the legislature must have been awakened to the distinction between pretended conveyances which conveyed no estate, and one which was the completion of a real contract between the seller and purchaser. According to the distinction laid down by Lord Thurlow, that if the *jus disponendum* remains in any other person it is no longer in the person who conveys a right to transfer an estate that remains in another; and if the words of the statute do not in their strict and necessary construction compel us to hold a conveyance made for the completion of a *bona fide* contract of sale to be bad on the ground that the object of the parties was to multiply voices at an election, there is no general principle on which those words ought to be extended. The object of increasing the number of freeholders at a county election is not an object in itself against the law, or morality, or sound policy; there is nothing injurious to the community in one man saying to another, "Buy that land for the direct purpose of giving or acquiring a qualification. The object to be effected is neither *malum in se*, nor *malum prohibitum*; on the contrary, increasing the number of persons enjoying the elective franchise has been held by many to be beneficial to the constitution; and it certainly appears to have been the essential object of the legislature, in passing the late Act for the registration of the people of England and Wales. What ground can therefore exist for extending to real and honest proceedings the words of the statute, which may be fully satisfied by giving them the force of avoiding public conveyances only. It is further to be observed, that holding the statute of William to extend to a conveyance made, or real sale, would be productive of much inconvenience and injury to all claiming under the purchaser. The object and purpose which this is intended to effect, cannot be displayed on the face of the conveyance bill, is altogether concealed in the breasts of the parties themselves, so that by the larger construction of the statute contended for on the part of the appellant at any future time, and between other parties than those to the original conveyance, this illegal motive, if brought to light by accident or otherwise, might destroy the title to an estate in whose hands it might be, for a sum really paid, or where there were two purchasers; or it may be perhaps even the conveyance of part of the sellers land to one other person, if the object was that above mentioned, must be held to be void on such a construction of the Act as this. A landlord of an estate could not sell any part of it *bona fide*, and for a full consideration in money, to two different purchasers, or perhaps to one only, if the object of such sale was to give the

purchaser a vote for the county, for the creation of two, or perhaps one only, is equally within the principle, though not in an equal degree of multiplication of views at one election, and splitting and dividing the interest in houses and lands amongst several persons. Taking, therefore, the literal construction of the words of the statute of William, to make only *bona fide* conveyances absolutely void, would very much fetter the full and free enjoyment of landed property, and create insecurity in the sale of estates. Upon these various grounds, and for these considerations, we think the sounder construction of the statute of William, taken by itself, is, that by conveyances made in order to multiply voices which are thereby declared to be void, are intended, such conveyances only as at the time of the passing of the act would have been held to be void by the common law; that is, conveyances intended by the parties not to transfer any real interest in the land, but made for the purpose of multiplying voices at elections, and for that purpose solely. And as to the observation made in the course of the argument, that if they would be void by the common law, there was no necessity for making them so by the statute, it may be a sufficient answer that it was thought desirable when such baneful practices as those described by Lord Thurlow, were in daily practice, to promulgate this doctrine of common law to sheriffs and other officers, upon whom the duty of conducting an election was cast, and to give to it the additional weight and solemnity of a legislative declaration. If, however, any doubt existed on the construction of the statute of Wm. III. when considered by itself, such doubt will be removed when the subsequent statutes made upon the same subject to effectuate more fully the same object are taken into consideration. The next statute to which reference is made is the 10th of Anne, c. 28, which is not so wide in its operation as the statute of William; for whilst the former statute by its general terms extends to all elections where the right of voting depended on the ownership of lands in counties or boroughs, the statute of Anne is confined exclusively to multiply votes in the election of knights of the shire. This statute is entitled an act for the more effectually preventing fraudulent conveyances, in order to multiply votes for electing knights of shires to serve in Parliament, the very title of the Act leading to the inference that it is directed not against all conveyances for all purposes, but against fraudulent conveyances only. The Act then begins by reciting the 7th section of the 7th & 8th William III., in which this question arises, and it then further recites, "That many fraudulent practices have been used of late to create and multiply votes." The recital, therefore, is more as a title, not pointing out the distinction in the creation of votes by fraudulent and fictitious means, and the making real votes, the latter of which could not be considered, in the language of the recital, to be injurious to those persons who had just rights to elect; and the 1st section goes on to enact that, "all estates and conveyances whatever made to any persons in any fraudulent or collusive manner or purpose to qualify him to give his or their votes at such elections of knights of the shire (subject, nevertheless, to conditions or agreements to defeat or determine such estate or to recover the same), shall be deemed and taken against those persons who executed the same as free and absolute, and be holden and enjoyed by all and every such persons to whom such conveyance shall be made, as aforesaid, freely and absolutely acquitted, exonerated, and discharged of and from all manner of trusts, conditions, clauses of re-entry, powers of revocation, provisos of redemption, &c., and all devises whatsoever shall be null and void; and the act then goes on to enact that the securities given for the performance of such trusts shall be void, and it imposes a penalty of 40l. on every person executing such conveyances or writings under him. And we consider this latter statute to be a legislative exposition of the clause of the statute of William therein set forth. The avoiding conveyances, made in order to multiply voices at elections, was meant by the other statute to be confined to such conveyances only as were fraudulent and fictitious—to conveyances which are such in form only, and never intended to pass, or except such as were accompanied by some secret trust for the benefit of the grantor; and not to extend to *bona fide* conveyances made in completion of an actual contract of sale and purchase of land; for the statute of Anne is expressly limited to fraudulent conveyances, and it cannot be understood that a statute passed to render the former statute of William more efficacious as to the county elections, should be less comprehensive in its provisions than the former statute, or that the former should comprise within its provisions *bona fide* conveyances, and the latter be restricted to fraudulent conveyances only. The statute of Anne meets the evil intended to be met, though by a very different provision to that contained in the statute of William; for, whilst the statute of William is contented, by simply declaring the fraudulent conveyance void, thus leaving the grantor and grantee as if the conveyance had never been made, the statute of Anne, on the contrary, provides that a fraudulent conveyance made to give a qualification, shall be deemed and taken against those persons who executed the same, as free and absolute, and be holden and enjoyed by all and every such person, or persons, to whom such conveyance shall be made, as aforesaid, freely and absolutely discharged from any manner of trusts or conditions, for the benefit of the grantor; at the same time, it precludes the grantee from putting it in force, by making him liable to a penalty of £40 to the common informer; the legislature, probably thinking the practice of granting fraudulent and collusive conveyances would be effectually checked by making them good against the grantor, and frustrating the object of the grantee. But this provision never could, in reason and sense, be meant to apply to a conveyance on a real sale of land where the seller already had received the purchase money, and consequently had always intended the grant to be good against himself. The statute of Anne appears conclusive as to the distinction between fraudulent and real conveyances to create votes. The next statute that touches the question is the 18th of Geo. II., chap. 18, sec. 5. The enactment contained therein makes a distinction so often adverted to. The statute enacts that no person shall vote in respect of any right of any freehold estate which was made or granted fraudulently for the purpose of qualifying him to give a vote. Therefore there is the statute of Anne prohibiting and voiding, not in every case where the estate is conveyed for the object of enabling him to vote, but in such case only where it is fraudulently made to him for the purpose; that is, where the grantee of an estate, although he appears on the face of the grant to take under it, does in reality as between the parties themselves take none, where it is accompanied by a secret trust for the benefit of the grantee. In the course of one of the arguments before us, some stress was laid by the counsel contending for their legality as by the statute 58 Geo. III., chap. 40; but that which was passed to explain and amend

the statute of William III., and after reciting that doubts had been entertained whether devises by will, made in such cases and for such purposes as those mentioned in the former statute were within the true intent and meaning of that act, the statute then enacts that all devises by will made in such cases and for such purposes, as by the act of William are described, are and shall be taken to be conveyances within the true intent and meaning of the said act, as if the same had been therein specially mentioned." In the agreement it was thought somewhat singular that the 53rd of George III. should refer to the statute of William and not to the statute of Anne, unless the statute of William was in full operation, notwithstanding the statute of Anne; but to this it may be answered, that a reference may well have been made to the statute of William because the intention of the Legislature was that a devise to give a fraudulent qualification should be altogether void; whereas, if reference had been made to the statute of Anne, it would have been good against the devisor or the heirs of the deviser. The object of the statute was to write the word "devises" with the statute of William, and devises are to be dealt with in the same manner as the law is applied to conveyances. If the devise was fraudulent, and never intended to pass the land by means of the secret contract of the devisor, nor left so that the heirs of the devisee could not take or convey, the statute of George the Third would hold that devise in the same predicament as a conveyance; but if by will a father devised to his son an estate of 40s. a year, intending to qualify him to vote for the county, and the son entered and took possession of the land without any secret understanding or reservation on his part, that devise would be in the same predicament as a conveyance for that purpose, and would be good. Therefore, on the whole state of the case, considering the statute of William by itself, and with reference also to the latter acts, we think a conveyance made in completion of a bona fide contract of sale, where the money passes from the buyer to the seller, and the possession also from the seller to the buyer, and where there is no secret reservation or trust on the part of the seller, is not avoided by reason of the object or motive of the purchaser and seller being to multiply voices of an election, and as the revising barrister has by his finding brought the present case within that distinction, we think the decision by which he retains the names of the purchasers on the list of voters was right, and ought to be affirmed.

RILEY, APPELLANT, v. CROSSLEY, RESPONDENT.—CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL.—This case turns upon the same point in reference to that which we have just decided on the appeal from the West Riding of the county of York, in which *Alexander* was the appellant, and *Newman* the respondent. The facts differ in some particulars, but they do in substance bring this case within the same principle as that which we there laid down, namely, a conveyance made to carry into effect a bona fide contract of sale, when the purchase money is paid, and the possession taken without any secret reservation or trust whatsoever, by the purchaser or seller, is not such a conveyance as is intended to be made void by the statute of William the Third or the subsequent Acts, notwithstanding it has been made an order and for the purpose of multiplying voices at an election, or splitting and dividing the interest, but that the statute intended to avoid such conveyances only made for the purpose, as were in themselves fraudulent and collusive; so that as in this case the revising barrister has found no fraud in fact, but has held the conveyance to be in other respects good, and only void because made in order to multiply voices at elections, and has therefore struck out the names of the 25 claimants entered in the case from the list of voters. We think the decision wrong, and that the same must be reversed, and the claimants restored to the list.

Decision reversed.
CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL.—As to the five remaining decisions of the revising barristers that stood over to await the determination of the case of *Alexander v. Newman*, in all of which, it was stated by the learned counsel engaged, that they were not distinguishable in any main point from that, it becomes unnecessary to say more than that we think the case of

BESWICK, APPELLANT, v. ASHURCH, RESPONDENT.—We think the same was properly decided that the names of the respondents should have remained on the lists, and we affirm the decision accordingly.

In the case of
BESWICK, APPELLANT, v. AKED, RESPONDENT, we think the decision of the revising barrister, by which the names of the respondent and thirty-one others, claimants, have been retained on the list, is right, and the decision should be affirmed.

In the case of
THORNLEY, APPELLANT, v. ASPLAND, RESPONDENT, the decision of the revising barrister that the names of the nine claimants should be retained on the list of voters, was right, and affirm the same.

In the case of
NEWTON, APPELLANT, v. HARGREAVES, RESPONDENT.—We think the decision of the revising barrister, that the names mentioned in the case should be retained on the register is a right decision, and we affirm the same. This case is so far distinguishable from all the former ones, that this transaction is not a purchase or sale for the consideration of money, but this is a conveyance by a father to his two sons, in consideration of natural love, and effectual; inasmuch, however, as the law acknowledges the consideration of natural love, and affection, in the case of father and son, to be as good a consideration to raise a use, as a pecuniary consideration, between strangers, and as there is no fraud in fact found by the barrister, and we are not to infer it from any circumstances stated in the case; and the question reserved, being, whether conveyance is void by reason of the statute? we do, on this point, think the decision of the revising barrister should be affirmed.

But in the case of
RAWLINS, APPELLANT, v. BREMNER, RESPONDENT, in which, the revising barrister held the conveyance made under circumstances substantially the same as the last case, to be void by reason of the statute of Wm. III., we think the decision wrong, and reverse the same accordingly.

POWERFUL POLITICAL PREJUDICE AGAINST POTATO-PEELS.—A Conservative, of the very first water, in Ipswich, has given the strictest orders to his cook not to send the potatoes on to the table in future with the peels on; although he prefers them in that state as far his palate is concerned, yet the sight of potato-peels was so inseparably associated with the name of Sir Robert Peel, that he could not look upon them without thinking of the agriculturists who would all be ruined by the Free Trade principles advocated by the Premier.—*Ipswich Express*.

TO THE LANDLORDS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

GENTLEMEN,—Ought you to adopt immediate or delayed repeal of the Corn Laws?

In determining this question, you will be influenced by two considerations:—

What is your duty? and
What is your interest?

I will confine my remarks to your duty to yourselves, and those dependent upon you, and your joint interests.
It has been repeatedly stated by "farmers' friends" that the change produced by a repeal of the Corn Law will be so great, that no reduction of rent, not even its total abandonment, will enable the farmer to carry on his business with a fair profit. On the other hand, some who found their opinion upon actual prices in different parts of the world and actual expenses of farming in England, think that a reduction of 25 per cent. upon the rent of arable land, and a still smaller reduction upon that of meadow and pasture, will enable the farmer to carry on a more profitable business than he has done for the last 20 years.

Others, again, believe that if liberal leases are granted, or the landlord performs his part in removing all obstructions to good farming, the tenant may continue to pay his rent under a Free Trade with more ease than he has been able to do under the absurd restrictions and heavy drawbacks which have accompanied monopoly.

Which of these is the correct view, is a question of immense importance to your tenants and yourselves.

To those of you who believe that the whole rent must be abandoned, and that the farmer will still be unable to subsist, I can only recommend a careful analysis of the farmer's expenses to show how unfounded are your fears.

To those of you who think that some rent will still be fairly paid by the land—but whether one-half, three-fourths, or the whole of the present rent, you consider doubtful—I would urge, how important it is that this problem should as soon as possible be solved by experience.

You are the father of a family, having land which now affords a rental of 5000*l.* a year, which you will leave to your heir, with a provision for your widow and younger children secured upon it. Let me ask you, how can you make this arrangement without the probability of doing great injustice, when you do not know whether the rental of your estate is to be 5000*l.*, 3000*l.*, or 2000*l.* a year? You know the uncertainty of human life—will you, for the sake of a larger income for the next three years, risk the great probability of doing an injustice, which will be felt for generations, by making an unequal will?

How important is it that you should know with what expectations and for what station in life you should educate your children! It is not very material to your and their happiness whether you possess 2000*l.* or 5000*l.* a year, but it is of immense importance that they should not be unfitted for the enjoyment of the smaller income by being educated and prepared only for the larger one.

Then consider your tenants. How are their minds racked and harassed by suspense!—uncertain whether they shall be able to continue the occupation of that dwelling and of those fields to which they are attached by so many ties, or whether these inevitable changes must drive them utterly ruined from their home!

You know that these fears are groundless. Come forward, then, and at the risk of sacrificing some present income, learn as soon as possible what will be a fair rent by learning what will be the price of corn when you have thrown open the markets of the world—then make your arrangement with your tenant, and allay his exaggerated, but most distressing fears.

The consideration of the question, How will delay affect your own and your tenants' interests? will at once show your duty to the labourer; the state of transition will be one of deep distress to him, because it will be a state of suspended demand for labour.

Now, is not an immediate repeal your true interest? What will be the nature of the preparations for a change to take place in 1849? Your tenants will have the strongest inducements to obtain the largest possible produce from the land with the least outlay—to scourge the soil with exhausting crops, and to do as little as possible to enrich it, or keep it clean—and why? Because he knows that at the end of three years a fresh arrangement must be entered into with his landlord—that the fertility and cleanliness of the soil will be the measure of its value and of the rent he must give; and that although this exhaustion of the land will be a heavy loss to his landlord, it will be some small gain to him. I know the tenantry well. Some, with professional pride, will withstand these inducements, and rely, as they have hitherto relied, upon their landlord's fairness; but others, after a severe struggle with their feelings as farmers, will yield to a sense of duty to their families; and the preparation for competition with the world will be, roads gone to ruin—fences dilapidated and uncared for—drains obstructed and ineffective—and the soil choked with filth, and exhausted.

In cleaning land, a little timely care saves great subsequent expense; and your tenant's saving, by this process of deterioration, will not amount to the title of your loss.

Believe, then, one who is deeply interested in agriculture—one who has devoted 20 years of his life to its active pursuit, that your own interest, your duty to the tenants and labourers on your estates, and your affectionate care for those dearest to you, all plead with a powerful voice for an immediate repeal of the Corn Law.

I am, gentlemen, your obdt. servant,
Ruddington Grange, Nottinghamshire. C. PAGET.

To the Editor of the Western Times.
Barnstaple, Jan. 14, 1846.

SIR,—Knowing that your columns are always open for the benefit of mankind in general, I hope you will pardon me for informing you and the readers of your valuable and widely-circulating paper of the helpless condition of an agricultural labourer, his wife, and family (named Gregory), in the employment of —, of Sticklepath Farm, about a mile from this town.

His wages are 7*s.* per week, and every pay night he has to allow 1*s.* for rent; leaving 6*s.* for the maintenance and support of himself, wife, six children, and daily expecting the seventh. His two eldest are stone deaf, for which they receive two small loaves from the parish. Certainly this family must have

Half-cwt. of coals, of the value of	0	8
Candles and soap	0	6
Bedding and clothes	2	0
Total	3	3

Then there is only 2*s.* 9*d.* left for eight individuals to live on for seven days, or not one farthing a meal for each. I would ask you, Sir, were the Corn Laws to be repealed to-morrow (however had the protectionists say it would be), if this family could fare much worse? Were the Duke of Richmond or any of the party to see and hear their distress, it would make the tears fall from their cheeks, and I should hope to hear them alter their tone, and stand up for the repeal of the Corn Laws. I would advise individuals to petition! petition! or else their fellow-creatures will be found dying in heaps. Hoping that when Parliament meets, the members will turn their thoughts towards ameliorating the condition of the poorer classes of this kingdom; and relying on their humane dispositions, I am, yours respectfully,

THE POOR MAN'S FRIEND, AND AN ENEMY TO THE CORN LAWS.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE WANTS OF THE PEOPLE.—The Poem with this title, read at the Free Trade meeting of the working-men of Liverpool, on the 23d of January, and inserted in our last, appeared originally in the first number of the *Daily News*; and is the production of Mr. C. Mackay, already well known to all lovers of poetry. The whole of the poems in the same Journal, under the title of "Voices from the Crowd," are, we understand, the production of the same author.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, February 7, 1846.

WEST RIDING ELECTION.

No moral victory achieved in our generation transcends, either in significance or importance, the unopposed return of Lord Morpeth for the West Riding of Yorkshire. It is a triumph in which the cause is worthy of the man, and the man worthy of the cause. Justice, tardy justice, has been rendered to a noble principle and a noble character. The largest and most varied constituency in the British Empire has retrieved with unanimity what was lost by a considerable majority. Free Trade has triumphed, and the glory of success is enhanced by the importance of the field on which the battle was won, and the virtues of the hero who is hailed as victor. In 1841 Lord Morpeth was defeated; he acknowledged himself vanquished in terms of sorrow for the present failure, but expressed confidence in his good cause, which drew tears from those who had been most active in his rejection. He withdrew from public life with that firm reliance on the ultimate triumph of sound principle which characterizes the Christian philosopher, and with that unchanged affection for his former constituency, which had been too pure and too ardent to be chilled by repulse. Five years are a long interval in the life of a public man; but his retirement for that space of time did not efface the memory of Lord Morpeth's virtues and talents in the heart and mind of the nation. As the evils of the protection to which he had been sacrificed became more and more apparent, the regrets of the Yorkshire electors for having caused so painful a parting, became deeper and keener—to him they came back with all the fervour of a return to first love; during the period of separation, their hearts, which had not gone with their votes—

Still to their Morpeth turned with ceaseless pain,
And dragged at each remove a lengthening chain.

He, who rose superior from defeat, has stood equally unmoved by the contingencies which have produced sudden victory. On both occasions he manifested a noble oblivion of self, and a firm assertion of principle. He has not shrunk from avowing the obligations of all Free Traders, himself included, to the exertions of the League, nor shall we shrink from acknowledging the importance of the adhesion to our cause of one who, as a statesman and philanthropist, has won not merely the approbation, but the affection of every enlightened friend of humanity at each side of the Atlantic.

The West Riding of Yorkshire is the constituency which most fully and fairly represents public opinion in England. It is the most numerous, the most varied, and one of the most wealthy. Historical associations have connected the representation of Yorkshire with the greatest political and moral revolutions of our age. Yorkshire returned Wilberforce to destroy slavery, and Brougham to win Reform. It now sends Morpeth as the herald and pledge of success in an equally glorious cause; and there is not among all our public men one whose advent on such an occasion would be more acceptable to the British Empire. In England admired, in Scotland respected, and in Ireland beloved, his re-appearance in public life satisfies a universal desire, and gratifies a national craving. It is rarely that the choice of an electoral body affords equal satisfaction to the reason and the feelings; but Lord Morpeth is one of the few statesmen whose career has obtained the suffrage of conscience and the tribute of affection.

NEW MUSIC.—New Editions of the FREE TRADE QUADRILLES and WALTZES, dedicated by permission to R. Golden, Esq., and Earl of Radnor, to be performed at all Free-Trade meetings and balls, now ready in the PIANIST'S, No. 46, price 1s. by post, eighteen stamps. Mr. Cobden's autograph permission has been received, and may be seen at the Pianista Office, 67, Old-street, one door from Cheapside; where may be had No. 39 Pianista, containing the whole opera of Sonnambula, for 2s. and No. 37, Pina Divo, 1s. 6d.

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Oh dear, what shall I do?

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THE LEAGUE.

No. 125.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1846.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

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N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

THE DEBATE.

We cannot say that the interest of the Parliamentary discussion of the past week has been commensurate with the transcendent importance of its subject-matter. On the whole, we are constrained to confess, the affair has gone off rather heavily. Nor could it well have been otherwise. The best intellect of the House is all on one side—on the other, there is little beyond a gentle (or angry) dullness, relieved only by occasional digressions into the realms of absurdity and paradox, or by outbreaks of personal and party spleen. The interest of novelty, and that of curiosity, are both wanting. All the arguments, or pretences of argument, are of the stalest—and the result of the whole business is already foreknown. The bill will pass; nothing remains to be ascertained, except by how large or how small a majority, and in what particular week of this or the ensuing month. There is really little or nothing to be said, at this time of day, except on the mere personal or party questions, whether this or that set of public men have the best "moral right" to do right, and whether Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues were sincere, or insincere, last year, or four, five, or seven years ago—questions which nobody is just now particularly anxious to hear answered. The whole care of the protectionist defendants is narrowed into "abuse of the plaintiff's attorney." And the world is so much in the habit of hearing plaintiff's attorney abused, and so little inclined to join in the abuse, considering that plaintiff's attorney is in the very act of rendering the world an invaluable service, that the abuse might just as well be spared, and the defendant's counsel would lose nothing by reserving their vituperative resources for a fitter occasion. On the whole, we scarcely recollect a Parliamentary debate, on any subject of first-class moment, that presents, comparatively speaking, so few salient points of public interest.

The personal and party recriminations which have filled hitherto so large a space in this discussion, have certainly not been devoid of cleverness. They have only the fault of being utterly beside and beneath the occasion. Lord Worsley, it cannot be denied, was great, in a small way, and pressed the old familiar *Hansard* argument with a good deal of dexterity and point. But then, it so happens, that the *Hansard* argument is not, just at present, of the smallest interest to any human creature out of the House of Commons. The *Hansard* argument would be all very well in its proper place and time. If the questions were, whether the Mi-

nisters hold exactly the same opinions now that they did some years ago, and whether they can fairly lay claim to the character of consistent politicians, the *Hansard* reports would be really invaluable. But, as it happens, this is not the question. Ministers "frankly avow" that they have "changed their opinions"—that their present opinions are most decidedly inconsistent with the old *Hansard* opinions—and that their own Corn Law has failed—"signally failed," as was manfully said by one of them, and elaborately shown by another. They tell us they are inconsistent—and there is an end of the matter. They do not pretend to hold the *Hansard* opinions—they maintain that the *Hansard* opinions are all false together; and with this one broad and plain avowal, they "dispose of" the whole of that logic and rhetoric which have been so superfluously lavished on this particularly uninteresting and insignificant topic.

The only question is, Are Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues right now?—not, Were they right, four, five, or seven years ago? The question now is, How are the people to be fed? How is Irish famine to be averted, or mitigated? How are commerce and manufactures to be saved from the revulsion which experience has shown to be invariably consequent on scarcity and dearth of food? How are agricultural interests and relations to be placed on a sound and stable footing? How are the scenes of 1842—the miseries and horrors of Stockport and Paisley—to be prevented from recurring, when the causes that produced them have already commenced their operations? How is the great wages-fund to be kept up? How are distress, pauperism, crime, and mortality to be kept down? How are we to maintain that diminution of 18 per cent. on the criminal commitments which, as our Home Secretary tells us, has resulted from low prices of food and high wages? How shall we take security against the return of those days, when combinations, strikes, political discontent, turbulence, and midnight burnings, alarmed and terrified the responsible guardians of the public peace, and when regiments were hurried off to Manchester, by railway, to suppress anticipated commotion in the manufacturing districts? The question is, How shall "the greatest error ever committed by legislation" be repaired—HOW SHALL THE COUNTRY BE GOVERNED? To inquire, with one of our protectionist orators, "Upon what principles parties in this country are to be kept together," is a piece of trifling for which the public are not at present in the mood.

We must do Ministers the justice to say, that they bear themselves well and worthily in this matter. They rise to the height of their great argument. They give the go-by to all secondary and non-essential matters, and keep their own and the public attention steadily fixed on the one great question of questions, of which they have undertaken the solution. Nothing can be better, in tone and spirit, than the speeches of Mr. Sidney Herbert and Sir J. Graham. The speakers, it is plain, are in earnest—thoroughly and intensely in earnest. They know they are right. They speak like men irresistibly forced upon an unwelcome and highly inconvenient conclusion, which they cannot and dare not blink—urged by a necessity which they must and will obey. They speak with a strength, a clearness, a cogency, a self-consistency, which we have not observed in ministerial oratory for this many a day. Their language is, in effect, "Think of us as you please, say of us what you please—but pass our bill, for the empire needs it; never mind whether we were right or wrong, some years ago—we are right now, and you know it—PASS THE BILL."

To the political opponents of the ministry, we must likewise render the justice of saying, that they

have been true to the exigencies of this great occasion, and to the public interests entrusted to their charge. By a generous oblivion of party, and a wise avoidance of all irritating party topics, they have given moral weight and force to their enunciation of those broad principles of public policy and justice with which they are identified. All vulgar political considerations are merged and lost in an all-absorbing anxiety for the success of a great public measure; great, both in its immediate results of practical amelioration, and in its prospective assertion and realisation of sound principles. The speech in which Lord John Russell, while emphatically warning the Government of the evils and dangers inherent in their three years' sliding scale, avowed his determination to throw no obstruction in the way of a measure presenting so many and so large substantial advantages to the country, adds much to the claims which the Free Trade representation of the City of London had already established for himself, on public honour and confidence. And the powerful and earnest manner in which, on Thursday night, Lord Morpeth addressed himself to those higher social aspects of the question, which he so felicitously and impressively exhibited in the light thrown on them by his recent observations of other social institutions and modes of life than our own; the warning to Protectionist lords and landlords, that no aristocracy is safe which "props itself on special interests" at variance with those of the great mass of the community, and that, if aristocratic institutions are to keep their ground, they must be "administered and worked out in rather more of a democratic spirit than heretofore"—in the spirit of sympathy with the people, and respect for the people;—this is a fitting recommencement of the Parliamentary life of the man whom the foremost of English constituencies have judged worthy of their confidence. The Free Traders of the West Riding are rewarded.

One other feature of the week's debate calls for notice. We allude to the strong and steady undercurrent of Free Trade doctrine which runs through the whole of the protectionist argument and oratory. Either by direct assertion, or by incidental and unconscious admission, nearly every speaker on the monopolist side has affirmed some one or more of the leading and fundamental maxims of the Free Traders. The mover of the amendment ascribed the extraordinary prosperity of the last three years to "a succession of good harvests"—which is precisely what we have always said;—and his seconder, with a happy obliviousness of the great first dogma of landlordism, boasted, that "the provisions of the people have been cheap and regular, in proportion to the protection afforded to the growth of corn;" that is to say, cheapness of bread is a national good, worthy of being expressly and carefully legislated for—cheap bread does not mean low wages—it is all nonsense about the "Polish serfs," and "Pomeranian peasants." Another speaker, on the same side, "believed, from the bottom of his soul, that the agricultural art was at present only in its infancy"—which is also exactly what we have always said. The "agricultural art is at present only in its infancy;" and in its infancy it will infallibly remain so long as agriculturists are treated like infants—swaddled all round with protection, and not suffered to run alone. Mr. Stafford O'Brien clinches our argument for us with an illustration, to which we can only do justice by quoting the honourable member's words:

"He wished to apply the system of the new philosophy to the tenant farmers. A tenant farmer came to his landlord, and said, 'Sir, I hope you will allow me an abatement of my rent. I may not understand draining quite as well as my neighbour. I may not have all the new patent implements; but my family has long held under your family—I have wor-

your colours, and I should be very sorry to go anywhere else.' The landlord might reply—'My good fellow, I am sorry for you; you invested your capital, and so did I, on the faith of former legislation; but we are told now that we must buy at the cheapest and sell at the dearest market, and there is a gentleman from a manufacturing district with abundance of money, who is ready to spend it upon my land. I must look to the interest of my family; and as to your talk about feudal times, and wearing my colours, that is all exploded, and under the new system there is no true blue now.' So that unless the landlord acted with better faith and kinder feeling than the legislature, the tenant farmer must go, a new and rich tenant must be put in possession, and the land might, by improvements in agriculture, be made to bear five quarters per acre instead of three."

So, according to this zealous and eloquent protectionist champion, the "new philosophy" is, after all, a perfectly true philosophy. Landlords will get higher rents under the Free Trade régime than under protection—more capital will be invested in the cultivation of the soil—and more produce will be extracted from the soil. Free Trade crops will bear to protection crops the proportion of five to three. There will be two-fifths more of corn grown under Free Trade, than is grown under protection by Act of Parliament.

We have nothing more to say. What more could we say? This is our case. Mr. Stafford O'Brien perfectly understands the whole question—and he puts it so well, that all the world can understand it, too. The landlord's Corn Law is a law against the growth of corn—against the fertility of the soil—against agricultural improvement—against the application of capital, skill, science, and labour to agriculture. It is a law for growing three quarters of wheat where there might be five. It is well for the interests of truth, when so much force and justness of thought are combined with so happy a vivacity of expression as nature has allotted to Mr. Stafford O'Brien.

PROTECTION TO MANUFACTURES

There has been no response to the appeal made by the protectors of agriculture to the operative classes, save from their natural allies, the fanatics of Trades' Unions. Indeed, the absurdity of protecting manufactures which defy competition in foreign markets, is so potent and so palpable, that we are surprised how ever county members could expect to excite sympathy on the subject. There is, however, another fallacy, which has been recently put forward in Spitalfields—the great importance of the home trade to the manufacturers of that district, and the comparative unimportance of the export trade. As there is a considerable export of silks from this country, we can see no reason why the manufacturers of Spitalfields should not have as large a share in it as the manufacturers of Lancashire; if they have not, it must be their own fault. If they are unable to compete with Manchester, the sooner they change their system the better. But, taking their special view, we are ready to show that the home market will afford them greater remuneration under a system of Free Trade than under a system of protection. They must either compete with the fair trader, or the smuggler. In the world of fashion, articles excluded by a system of protection acquire an artificial value from their being difficult of attainment. French silks, independent of all comparison of pattern, and material, are more sought after than English silks, because they show, or are deemed to show, a higher rank in the wearer. Without at all detracting from the merits of the Spitalfields manufacturers, we state a fact which they themselves will readily acknowledge, that until within the last few years these patterns, both in design and execution, were decidedly inferior to those of Paris and Lyons. They have recently made great improvements in both respects, and have reaped some rewards from their ingenuity; but still these fabrics have not won the sanction of fashion. The protectionists advise them to ask for more stringent laws against smuggling, but they forget that even without smuggling large quantities of French silks must continue to be brought over by the multitudinous British families that visit the Continent. We can state with certainty that in every large silk-warehouse of Paris it has been found necessary to employ English clerks in order to satisfy the curiosity of English visitors forming in all cases a large proportion, and in many the majority, of

their customers. Now, under Free Trade, French silks would lose their factitious and fashionable value; English producers would compete with French producers on equal terms. Had English silks been unprotected, a public opinion would never have been formed against them; but the fact of their being protected is the main source of the general belief that French silks are cheaper and better.

Protected trades are always those of least progress and greatest complaint. We believe that the weaver of Spitalfields can compete with the weaver of Lyons; if he cannot, neither can he compete with the weaver of Manchester, who does not hesitate to meet French producers in foreign markets. If he cannot, it is a proof that the system of Spitalfields is bad, and that we are asked to continue one evil for the sake of perpetuating another.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION OF 1846.

Fourth Week, ending Saturday, February 14.

The Parliamentary week opened with an anticipated yet significant event. On Monday, after the Speaker had taken the chair, Lord MORPETH was introduced, and at the table of the house took the usual oaths as representative for the West Riding of Yorkshire. His appearance was marked by cheering, which was again renewed, when, during the time for the presentation of petitions (of which there was a large number, though not at all so great as have been exhibited on other stirring occasions) the noble lord rose to present several from the West Riding. Mr. Ferrand thought proper to manifest himself after his usual fashion. He rose to ask a question—"Were the signatures to these petitions the free and unbiassed acts of the parties themselves? because he had been informed that—" Here the SPEAKER interposed. The honourable member might ask a question relative to the petition, but could not, according to the rules of the house, make a speech. The discomfited Ferrand sat down; and Lord Morpeth quickly answered, by saying, that "to the best of his belief and the entireness of his conviction," the signatures were really the free and unbiassed acts of the parties themselves.

The petitions, as we have said, though considerable in number, presented no such formidable array as might have been witnessed on some former occasions of interest. Still, there were some remarkable ones, as those presented by Mr. Mark Philips from Manchester, and by other members from other places. Those in favour of Free Trade, and of total and immediate repeal, preponderated very considerably, both in number and in character, over those which the protectionists had to present.

The house was crowded: but before the debate commenced, Sir Robert Peel made a somewhat important statement. He had, on a former evening, in reply to Lord John Russell, informed the house and the country that the Government intended that the remission of the duties on the articles contemplated, including those on corn, should take place from the day that the resolution, affirming the reduction, had been confirmed by the reception of the report on it. This is a preliminary stage in the proceedings. When duties are to be altered, either imposed, increased, or reduced, the first step is the proposition of a resolution, or a series of resolutions, in a committee of the whole house. If this passes, the resolution, on a subsequent day, is "reported" to the SPEAKER, by the chairman of committees; and then leave is given to bring in a bill, which must go through all its subsequent stages. Of course, when duties are remitted from the day that a "resolution" is affirmed, the Government take precaution that the importers shall give security for the payment of the higher duties, in case the bill should not ultimately become law. Sir Robert Peel now informed the house that the Government would adhere to the practice in previous cases, of not remitting the duties on corn until the Act had received the royal assent; but to obviate, as much as possible, the inconvenience which the delay would cause, they would proceed with the Corn Bill to the exclusion, in the meantime, of other public business.

The "order of the day" was then moved, that the house should resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, on the commercial propositions of the Government. The SPEAKER put the question, "That I do now leave the chair," upon which up rose,

Mr. Philip William Skinner Miles, one of the members for Bristol, and younger brother of Mr. William Miles, the well-known member for Somersetshire. Mr.

Philip Miles moved, as an amendment, that the house should go into committee on the Government proposition "that day six months." This, of course, is a direct negative. The speech in which Mr. P. Miles supported his amendment was delivered with calmness, and a somewhat easy fluency; his manner gave an air of respectability to his arguments. But the arguments themselves were of the stock kind, and not unfrequently self-contradictory. He saw no sufficient ground, either in the price of wheat or in the failure of the potato crop, for the sweeping propositions of the Government. The law of 1842 had worked well; under it Sir Robert Peel hoped to maintain a price about 58s. the quarter; the actual price at the time he proposed to open the ports was only 56s. 2d. Increase of exports was no test of commercial prosperity, for India, China, and other markets were glutted with our goods. Engaged alike in commerce and agriculture, he was no enemy of any interest; but he dreaded the unnatural expansion of our manufacturing system, and in the adoption of Free Trade saw ruin to all, beginning with the humbler classes, whose wages it would reduce, until it reached the higher, whose incomes it would diminish. Then Free Trade would destroy our shipping, and sweep away navigation laws and reciprocity treaties. Our colonies would cease to be of value to us, for they, too, must have equal liberty to trade freely with the foreigner; and thus anticipating universal disaster from the adoption of the Government scheme, he prognosticated that its adoption would neither allay the appetite for change, nor repress agitation. He asked if the Anti-Corn-Law League would now be induced to "retire into private life?"—a question which provoked much laughter. If it did, said Mr. P. Miles, other associations would arise, to agitate for other objects. He concluded by proposing his amendment, which was seconded by

Sir William Heathcote, one of the representatives for North Hants, who expressed his confidence in the Government, while opposing their propositions as ruinous. He was for Free Trade in grain with the colonies, but not with foreign countries.

The Hon. Mr. Lascelles, brother of the Earl of Harewood, and member for Wakefield, rose, immediately behind the Treasury bench, and advocated the commercial policy of the Government. Though Mr. Lascelles is a Conservative, he is not a turn-coat. Before the general election of 1841, he supported the commercial changes of the then Whig Government, and has, therefore, consistently supported the policy of the present Government, from the tariff of 1842, down to the present greater scheme. But a reference which he made, praising Sir Robert Peel as a greater financial Minister than any of his Whig predecessors, called up Lord J. Russell at a later period of the evening, in vindication of the consistency of his party, and their steady adherence to principle, whether in or out of office.

Lord Norreys, son of the Earl of Abingdon, and one of the representatives for Oxfordshire, next expressed his dismay at the sweeping propositions of the Government; which, however, were defended by

Mr. A. B. Cochrane, one of the members for Bridport, who ridiculed the idea that members were never to change their opinions, and quoted the witty saying of a remarkable individual, who had remarked that the advocate of an unalterable law must be an unalterable fool! Mr. Deedes, a new "agricultural mind" representative from Kent, took, of course, the protective side; and was followed by

Sir John Walsh, who represents Radnorshire. This gentleman endeavoured to raise the question to the dignity of debate. He quoted statistics, expounded the theory of rent, and tried to break a lance with the political economists. The rental of Great Britain, according to the income-tax returns of 1842, was 45,750,000*l.*, to which add 15,000,000*l.* for Ireland, and we had an annual rental of 60,000,000*l.*, or double the annual amount of the interest of the national debt. The landed proprietors were at least 200,000 in number; and he warned them against touching their rental by changes which would throw the loss on its actual recipients, the tradesmen, and other people in the country upon whom the landlords expend their incomes. Again, he told the political economists that they were ignorant of the theory of rent, and unaware of the fact that a fall in price would touch, not rental, but the profits of the tenant farmer, who thereby would be ruined, and his ruin would descend on the labourers whom he employed.

Mr. A. J. Beresford Hope, member for Maidstone, and youngest son of the late author of "Anastasis," made a speech characterised by rambling humour, some little buffoonery, and touches of natural common sense, the staple of which, however, was an attack on Sir R. Peel for having abandoned his party, and the principles on which that party placed him in power.

Lord Sandon came next, and the noble member for Liverpool exhibited himself to the house like an ass be-

tween two bundles of hay. He spoke strongly against the measure, and as strongly expressed himself determined to support it. After pointing out what he thought would be the misery which Free Trade might produce, he gave the go-by to his fears, by expressing himself, not merely going to vote for Free Trade, but his belief that under Free Trade England would be as great as ever!

No member had yet spoken from the Opposition side of the house, but now

Lord John Russell rose, and told Lord Sandon that he was going to give his vote on the same side with him, but he trusted with more of heart and hope! The noble lord's speech deserves perusal.

Sir Robert Harry Inglis followed Lord John Russell, with some stock arguments for protection; and the night was wound up by a very remarkable speech from Mr. Sidney Herbert, half brother of the Earl of Pembroke, and one of the representatives for South Wilts.

Mr. Sidney Herbert, as is well known, is Secretary at War, and a member of the Cabinet. He it was, who in the early part of last session told the agriculturists not to come "*whining*" to the House of Commons for relief. On the present occasion he gave the history of his conversion to Free Trade views, and certainly spoke with much ability in support of the measures of the Government of which he is a member. The law of 1842, he frankly avowed, had failed; and the state of the agricultural population showed that protection had done nothing for them. The remarkable assemblage of labourers, at Goatacre, in Wilts, who, at night, had met to proclaim, in painfully-affecting statements, their social wrongs and sufferings, had made a deep impression on him. Knowing the country as he did, he felt that no change could make their position worse than it was. Then he warned the landed interest that tenant farmers and agricultural labourers were all coming round, with the rest of the community, to the conviction that the Corn Law was simply a landlords' question; and concluded his speech by an earnest appeal to the country gentlemen to avail themselves of the present opportunity to REPAIR the "great error" which had been committed in 1815, when the first of the series of modern Corn Laws had been imposed.

When he had concluded, the debate was adjourned; and on Tuesday was resumed by

Mr. Augustus Stafford O'Brien, one of the representatives for North Northamptonshire, and well known as one of the most active members of the Central Protection Society. He addressed himself mainly to the speech delivered on the previous evening by Mr. Sidney Herbert; and taunted him with want of originality in offering to the country gentlemen the opportunity of "repairing" the "great error of 1815." Mr. Stafford O'Brien felt much obliged to Mr. Sidney Herbert for the offer, but the country gentlemen had been repeatedly offered similar opportunities by Mr. VILLIERS, and had been backed by the Government in their refusal to accept them. The speech of Mr. Stafford O'Brien was delivered with fluency, and had several *ad captandum* points which were vociferously cheered by the agricultural members around him. The staple of his speech, so far as argument is concerned, was simply this:—The poor man's labour is his property; the Legislature is mainly occupied with the protection of property; but if we permit the rich man to go abroad for his silks, his paper-hangings, and his carriages, there will be no work for the artisan, and consequently the labouring man, deprived of his property, will covet that of the rich, and in wrath and hatred overthrow the established relations of society. This was really the gist of a somewhat showy speech.

When Mr. Stafford O'Brien had concluded, Mr. Sharman Crawford rose, and in language as plain as his mild and amiable nature would permit, told Mr. O'Brien, that however amusing as a *fancy*, there was not a particle of *fact* in the "dissolving view" he had exhibited. Mr. Sharman Crawford is an Irish landlord of considerable property and experience; and his opinions on the question of the Corn Laws are deserving of great respect. He showed that their repeal would be of the greatest possible advantage to Ireland—an opinion which was corroborated by Lord Clements, who represents Leitrim, and young Mr. Gregory, who is one of the members for Dublin.

With the exception of two speeches,—one at the opening, and the other at the close,—the whole of the debate of Tuesday night was exceedingly flat. The opponents of the Government were Mr. Lefroy, member for Longford, the Marquis of Granby, the eldest son of the Duke of Rutland, Lord Brooke, who was recently elected for Warwickshire, and Lord Clive, the eldest son of Earl Powis, and who represents North Salop.

There was, however, one noticeable speech, which, in fairness, cannot be passed over. It was delivered in a low slow tone, and escaped attention; but it contained some plausible objections to Free Trade, and then the

gentleman who made them declared his intention of voting for the Government measures. This member was

Mr. H. Baillie, who said that the reason why foreign nations fenced themselves round with customs houses and prohibitory duties, was the fact of their being aware that our superiority in manufactures, by means of our iron, coal, machinery, and facilities of transit, would enable us to overwhelm their domestic industry. Again, the reason why we protected our domestic agriculture from foreign competition, was the fact that our climate was inferior to that of other countries for the production of grain, which could only be produced here at a risk from which warmer countries were free, and which, therefore, gave foreigners an advantage over us to the extent of at least twenty per cent. If it was said that our soil was better adapted for pasture, he admitted it; but then this raised the question of dependence on foreign supply. He illustrated what he considered would be the results of Free Trade, by a reference to the cotton manufacture. When we went first to India, we found a vast population engaged in the domestic manufacture of those fabrics, which have been since wholly superseded by our machinery and skill. Yet, dreading the results of Free Trade, he thought he had no alternative left but to vote for the Government propositions.

Lord Worsley, the eldest son of the Earl of Yarborough, and one of the representatives for Lincolnshire, quoted some of the former speeches of Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham, in praise of protection—especially a famous one by the Home Secretary, in which he deprecated the "change from 'the breezy call of incense-breathing morn' to a painful and grievous obedience to the sad sound of the factory bell; with a number of fine epithets about the "thatched cottage," "blooming garden," "rural walks," "village green," "foul garret," "dark cellar," and other things too numerous to mention, including a threat that if England were made the "workshop of the world," it would be the last country he would wish to live in. This reminiscence created much laughter, and brought up Sir James Graham.

Lord Clive finished the discussion on Tuesday night; and the debate was then adjourned to Thursday.

On Wednesday there was a short day sitting of about two hours; and even in that interval the "agricultural interests" in the house could not resist the temptation of getting up a miniature Corn Law debate. Lord G. Bentinck, (second son of the Duke of Portland) who has earned more laurels on the turf than in the House of Commons, moved for a return of the number of importers of foreign grain, and the quantity in bond, with a view of showing that any reduction of duty would be a benefit, not to the consumer, but merely to the importer. Mr. Escott sarcastically advised Lord George to add to his motion a return of the number of people who were to EAT the grain! This provoked his gallant lordship to tell Mr. Escott that he wondered how he could, consistently, with his personal honour, retain his seat for Winchester, seeing he was elected on protection principles, and was now an advocate for Free Trade. Mr. Escott, however, took the matter very coolly, hoping Lord George felt more comfortable after his discharge! and informing him that he was wholly ignorant of all the circumstances connected with his election.

Before the adjourned debate was resumed, a characteristic scene occurred. One of the laborious compilations of Mr. Macgregor, of the Board of Trade, on the Commercial Regulations of America, has just been issued; and Mr. Stafford O'Brien, holding up the huge Blue Book, said it was full of disgraceful blunders, adding an instance of what he considered to be one. This attempt to damage the reputation of Mr. Macgregor turned out an utter failure. Though Mr. Stafford O'Brien had not given any notice of his question, and therefore expected that his charge would have an uncontradicted run for twenty-four hours, it luckily happened that Mr. Macgregor was within hail; and through Mr. Thomas Duncombe, the house was informed that the supposed astounding mistake was caused by a simple *typographical* blunder!

Mr. Colquhoun resumed the adjourned debate, and made a long speech; and a curious speech it was. The opinions of Mr. Colquhoun hang on the very confines of the principle he opposes; *almost* he is persuaded to be a Free Trader; he would take a fixed duty, if he could get it; and during his speech, his arguments were like nine-pins, which a man sets up that he may have the pleasure of knocking them down himself. Besides, Mr. Colquhoun, though a fluent, is really a very shallow speaker; after listening to his fluent mass of verbiage for an hour, you could put all that he has said into a speech of ten minutes duration.

Mr. Wynn followed. This gentleman has been in Parliament for a length of time—nearly equal to that of venerable Mr. Byng, that is, for about half a century. He has long been noted as a liberal Conservative, and has had considerable official experience during his public life. His

opinions therefore are always treated with respect. Owing to infirmity in his limbs, he addresses the house sitting; but his head is still clear. He made an excellent speech in favour of the Government measure, showing that all our past commercial legislation was a compound of ignorance, folly, and intermeddling, and that the sooner we could arrive at a sound system the better for the country.

Later in the evening, Mr. Wynn's son-in-law, Mr. Milnes Gaskell, who flung up his lordship of the Treasury in horror at the propositions of the Government, made an attack on Sir Robert Peel, for having betrayed his principles, and broken up a "splendid party." His assault on the Prime Minister was vociferously cheered by the "agricultural members;" though Mr. Roebuck, in reply, put the question on its right footing, by asking what they meant when they talked of a great party being broken up? Was it anything that would prove injurious to the people?

The other speakers on Thursday evening do not require special notice, unless we remark that Mr. Wykeham Martin, member for Newport, Isle of Wight, produced a series of calm statements, to prove to the agriculturists how groundless were their fears of some terrific flood of foreign grain. But the two main orators of the night were Mr. Thomas Baring and Lord Morpeth.

Mr. Thomas Baring, who contested London on the principle of "Free Trade in the *abstract*," against "Free Trade in *practice*," was true to his former reputation. Trying to steer his way between rock and whirlpool, he at last came to the conclusion that the time was now come—*only now come!*—for a COMPROMISE. He implored the house to adopt a middle course, and accept a FIXED DUTY. Well was he answered by

Lord MORPETH, whose rising excited the general attention of a full house. The noble lord reminded Mr. T. Baring that a "compromise" had once been offered, but the time was now gone by. The whole of Lord Morpeth's bold, frank, manly speech, deserves the most serious attention. The conclusion was one of the most emphatic warnings ever delivered to the aristocracy by one of its most honourable and conspicuous members. His travels in the United States have enlarged the sphere of his observation, and Lord Morpeth, therefore, spoke with authority, when he told them that no aristocracy which claimed excessive and peculiar privileges ever escaped a downfall. The question of the Corn Laws, if not settled *with* their aid, would be settled *in spite* of them. Let them, then, he said, throw in their influence with a thinking middle class, a toiling population, and a busy press, and in the onward march of civilisation be the *leaders*, and not the *laggards* of the people. This conclusion was like a trumpet sound.

The debate was adjourned to Friday.

THE CORN LAW DEBATE.

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had by no means prepared the house or the public for the course which he now takes, and he referred particularly to a speech made by my right honourable friend in 1839. Allow me to read a short extract from that very speech. My right hon. friend, then a leader in Opposition, and a candidate for power, said, "I consider this statement, that the condition of the labourer has been rendered worse by the operation of the Corn Law, a most important one; and I have no hesitation in saying that, unless the existence of the Corn Law can be shown to be consistent, not only with the prosperity of agriculture and the maintenance of the landlord's interest, but also with the maintenance of the general interests of the country, and especially with the improvement of the condition of the labouring class, the Corn Law is practically at an end." That was the declaration of my right honourable friend, as early as the year 1839 (hear, hear). It may seem presumptuous in me to refer, in addressing the house, to what has fallen from myself in a former debate, but after what my noble friend has stated, perhaps in fairness the house will not refuse me permission to do so (hear, hear). On the occasion when the hon. member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Villiers) moved for going into committee on the Corn Laws, in June last, I said, "It is decidedly my opinion that the prosperity of agriculture must always depend on the prosperity of the other branches of the native industry of this country, and that the public prosperity is on the whole best promoted by giving a fair and uninterrupted current to the natural flow of national industry. I will go farther and say, that it is my opinion that, by safe, gradual, and cautious measures, it is expedient to bring our laws, with reference to the trade in corn, into a nearer relation with the sound principles which regulate our commercial policy with respect to every other branch of industry. I will go still further, and say I am not satisfied with the plan, and can be no party to it, of setting up a separate interest for the landlord and the farmer of this country; I believe that their prosperity will, in the main, be found to depend on the wealth, the comfort, and the ease of the great body of the people of this country." Those were the principles which I avowed upon that occasion (hear, hear). The house, I think, will also remember the memorable motion of the noble lord opposite, on the condition of the working classes. I then stated to the house many facts which had come before me, which were, in my opinion, quite conclusive to prove that the comfort and well being of the working-classes in this country were mainly dependent upon abundance and cheapness, and that misery and distress were mainly occasioned by scarcity or

by high prices (hear, hear). I frankly avow, that if the course of events had not been interrupted by circumstances which it was impossible to foresee, I should very gladly have adhered to the policy of gradually and progressively diminishing the protection to agriculture, but steadily keeping in view that desirable period when the protection might altogether be removed. But this brings me to the point of the utmost importance to the consideration of this case, namely, the unforeseen circumstances which did occur after the termination of the last session. First, with respect to the harvest of this country. It was a harvest, as was truly stated by my right hon. friend the Secretary at War, of a peculiar character. In point of quantity it was not a deficient harvest: in point of quality, I believe, in the experience of the oldest farmers, there never was so great a variety; and the effect of that has been to point out and to establish the great imperfection of the averages under the existing law. I will not press this further. It was distinctly stated last night by my right hon. friend, that in no former years, I believe, has there been such a variety of quality in the corn brought to market, the price varying from 40s. for the worst, I believe, up to 70s., or 75s. for the best. An alteration was made in the law in 1842, in regard to the averages, which had a very decisive effect in one respect; it altogether prevented fraud. By extending the period, and multiplying the towns, in respect to the taking of the averages, fraud was prevented; but as relates to the interest of the consumer, this had a very reverse effect; for fraud, whenever it had been exerted, was always in favour of the consumer, and for the purpose of opening the ports; and in my real opinion, the general defect of the measure of 1842, though it was not so intended, was that it rendered protection more stringent (hear, hear). This was demonstrated, I must say, by the operation of the scale regulating the duties in the course of last autumn. Prices were rising; the price of the quarter loaf in this metropolis was 9d., and approaching to the war price. When the quarter loaf had so risen, the duty indicated by the sliding scale was 14s. or 15s. per quarter (hear, hear). In point of fact the sliding scale would neither slide nor move (cheers). And that was its condemnation (renewed cheers). I do not wish to go into an historical statement respecting the Corn Laws, or I might mention that from 1773 to 1792 the importation of corn was in point of fact free in this country; and it was a remarkable coincidence, which Adam Smith points out when, without marking the cause, he mentions as a time when there was a great start in our manufacturing and commercial prosperity—exactly that period, from 1773 to 1792, when the importation of corn was free (hear, hear). I will also observe that really change on this matter was not a change of any fundamental principle. The corn law had been changed and altered five or six times, and yet its avowed object had never been answered (hear, hear). I will now return to the point from which I digressed. I was speaking of the imperfect operation of the sliding scale, and I may add, that together with that, there did arise that which human foresight could not anticipate, the general failure of the potato crop throughout the United Kingdom. This failure was by no means limited to Ireland. The destruction of the potato crop began in the south of England, and I believe that it was more fatal in the southern part of England than in any part of Ireland. In many parts of the southern counties of England the working population, though not altogether subsisting on potatoes, yet are in a great measure dependent on that article for their daily food. With respect to Scotland we have the most accurate information; and from the parochial returns, we know positively, that in the south of Scotland one-third of the potato crop was destroyed as early as the month of November last. I will not go through all the precise details as to the extent of the failure of crop in Ireland. Suffice it to say, that in November Government received the report of Messrs. Lindley and Playfair, by which it appeared that one half of the whole crop, though not greater than an average, had been destroyed; that one-eighth of that crop must be preserved for seed; and that, consequently, not more than three-eighths of the whole crop remained at that time for the consumption of the year in Ireland. I had been at that time resident in the North of England, and had almost daily communications, in writing, with my right hon. friend at the head of the Government; and it did appear to me that this matter of coming scarcity, if not of famine, to be apprehended in Ireland, did have an immediate and indissoluble connexion with this question of the Corn Laws. The noble lord the member for Liverpool said last night that he could not see that connexion; and the hon. member for Northamptonshire, following the same track, has also said that he did not see the intimate connexion between the two questions. Will the house, then, allow me to state what was the effect produced upon my mind by this inevitably coming scarcity in Ireland (hear)? I foresaw, and I am afraid rightly, that it would be indispensably necessary to give to the suffering community in Ireland aid from the public purse of this country to meet this great calamity. Already some advance of the public money has been asked for, and I am afraid that further advances may still be necessary. Then this great question presents itself—Can in fairness any Minister of the Crown propose to the people of Great Britain to take out of the taxes of Great Britain public money to aid in the sustenance of their fellow countrymen in Ireland, while artificially, by laws so designed, the price of the food of the people of Great Britain is enhanced (hear, hear)? Other persons may be bold enough to make such a proposition; but I confess that no power on earth should have induced me to be responsible for such a proposal (hear, hear). I told my right hon. friend that if such a course should be necessary, I strongly advised the suspension of the existing law (“hear, hear,” from the Protectionist benches), and that suspension I find is now generally approved of on this side of the house (hear, hear). The humane, the generous feelings of the landlords of England could not tolerate for a moment that distress, such as that likely to visit Ireland, should not be met (hear, hear). But to give this aid to the Irish people, and at the same time to enhance the price of the food of the great community who contribute towards the taxes of England, and who by their hard industry are only able to pay those taxes, living in some instances on potatoes—is a proposition which I never could have maintained as a Minister (hear, hear). But it has been intimated that, under these circumstances, hon. members generally on this side of the house would be glad to open the ports. Then arises the question—if you once suspend the present law, what is the proposition which, at the termination of that suspension, is to be made? I have told you that I am satisfied, that even when scarcity has arisen, when the price of the quarter loaf was high, and when high prices ought to have been counteracted by the self-operation of the scale, that scale does not operate. I have told you that I thought the

present an unsatisfactory law, and according to my opinion, I could not, after its suspension, have supported its re-imposition. I have always stated that my objections to a fixed duty as a fiscal duty are insuperable; because I think that whenever the duty should be high, it would be impossible to exact it; and whenever the duty should be low, it failed for the purposes of protection, and the agricultural interest would then incur all the obloquy of maintaining protection without deriving any advantages from it. We might have proposed some small remnant of the sliding scale, and such a reduction of protection, which it would have been unworthy of the agricultural interest to accept, and still more unworthy of the Government to offer. Under these circumstances the abolition of the Corn Laws was inevitable on its suspension. It was, as it appeared to me, absolutely necessary to suspend the operation of the law; and I foresaw the necessity, if you suspended the law, of its abolition; and I again repeat that, in my humble view, our duty was, charged as we were with the responsibility of office, to meet this immediate necessity and suspend the law. Nothing could have more gratified me than to see the general arrangements of this question respecting the Corn Law conducted by the noble lord opposite (hear, hear). The question has been asked, “Have you any reason since 1842 for changing your opinion?” I say that since 1842 those who were charged with the administration of affairs, and who have watched the various circumstances which have occurred have had experience, not to be mistaken, leading to conclusive consequences. We had, first of all, the painful and lamentable experience of 1842 itself, a year of the greatest distress, and, since it had passed, I may say, of the utmost danger (loud cries of hear, hear, hear). What were the circumstances of 1842? Allow me just to glance at them. We had in this metropolis, at midnight, Chartist meetings, assembled in Lincoln’s inn-fields. Almost for nearly three weeks there were assembled in all the environs of this metropolis immense masses of people, greatly discontented, and acting in a spirit dangerous to the public peace. What was the condition of Lancashire, the seat of our great staple manufacture, depending for its prosperity on an uninterrupted tranquillity and labour? Such was the madness of the people on that occasion, that a great combination existed to stop machinery, and to put an end to the source of the labour, on which they depended for subsistence (hear, hear). What was the duty of the Government under these circumstances? It was my painful duty to consult with the Horse Guards as to the precautions that were necessary for the maintenance of the public peace; a large force was marched to Manchester, and the troops were actually called on to enforce public tranquillity. I can safely say that for three months the anxiety which I and my colleagues experienced with reference to the public peace was greater than we ever felt before with reference to public concerns (hear, hear). Those were the days of high prices and scarcity (hear, hear). I am certain from what I have since observed, that that turbulent disposition, that dangerous disposition, mainly arose from the want of adequate sustenance, combined with low wages (cries of hear, hear). What has been my experience for the last two years? I don’t take credit to her Majesty’s Government for the altered circumstances. Our measures may or may not have conduced to that great end; but by the bounty of Providence we have had abundant harvests; with abundant harvests we have had cheapness and full employment; and what has occurred? I can safely say that for the last 12 months I have not had a single interview with one of the commissioners of police with respect to the maintenance of the peace of this metropolis; I do not believe that for the last 12 months I have had one interview with the Horse Guards with respect to the movement of troops for the maintenance of the peace of the country (hear). Perfect tranquillity, comparative happiness prevailed; and that is a contrast between scarcity with discontent, and plenty with social comfort, more striking than any I ever before witnessed (loud cheers). I will not trouble you with many statistics. The document I am about to read is short, but still, as an analysis with reference to crime, it is pregnant with instruction. I have taken the six counties which may be said to be the seat of our manufacturing industry; I have taken the county of York, the county of Lancaster, the county of Warwick, the counties of Gloucester, Cheshire, and Staffordshire, and have compared the commitments for trial in these counties in 1840, 1841, and 1842, when the prices of wheat were 66s. 4d., 64s. 6d., 57s. 3d., with those which took place in 1843, 1844, and 1845, when the price of wheat was about 50s. Now, observe, in Yorkshire the commitments were, in 1840, 1687; 1841, 1895; 1842, 2,598. The scarcity then ceased, abundance with low prices begins; and we have committed for trial in 1843, 2304; 1844, 1691; 1845, 1417; showing a decrease of commitments in the last as compared with the previous period of these years of 14.9 per cent. In Lancashire the commitments in those years were respectively 3506, 3987, 4497, 3577, 2893, 2852, exhibiting a diminution of 21.4 per cent. In Warwickshire the commitments were 1001, 1046, 1003, 1045, 894, 769, a decrease of 11.2 per cent. In Gloucestershire, including Bristol, the numbers were 1045, 1236, 1252, 1186, 1071, 929, showing a decrease of 9.8 per cent. In Cheshire the commitments were 1042, 943, 1086, 1018, 777, 688, a decrease of 19.1 per cent. In Staffordshire the numbers were 923, 1059, 1485, 1175, 885, 717, a decrease of 19.9 per cent.; exhibiting an aggregate decrease of 17 per cent. (loud cheers). Upon the whole of these six counties, comparing the years 1842 and 1845, there is a diminution on the aggregate of 18 per cent. I am convinced with the right honourable baronet, the head of the Government, that it is a fallacy to contend that wages fall with falling prices, and rise with rising prices (hear, hear, and loud cheers). It was my noble friend the member for Liverpool, I think, who last night contended that it was true in the agricultural districts that wages did rise with rising prices; but he admitted that the proportion was not always equal. Now I beg you to observe, that to the labouring man the equal proportion between the price of food and the rise of wages is a matter of life and death. But it was necessary to observe that the proportion should be concurrent as well as equal. If the rise in wages should lag behind the rise of prices life itself might be in danger. But I have the experience of Sir John Walsham, who long had the charge of the districts of Norfolk and Suffolk, himself an extensive landed proprietor in the county of Hereford, and who, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, assisted the Poor Law Commissioners, and he tells me that he has never known that wages have risen between 8s. to 10s. and 11s. in certain counties, and from 9s. to 18s. in other counties; the utmost rise being 25 per cent.; while he has seen at the same time the price of corn rise from 45s. to 90s. It is unnecessary to say, in reference to this point, that the rise of wages in those districts is not at all commensurate with the

rise in the article of first necessity (hear, hear). But, as truly stated by my right hon. friend the Secretary at War, whatever may be the case in the agricultural districts, the converse of the assertion is true with respect to the manufacturing districts. Invariably in the manufacturing districts you will find low prices accompanied by high wages, and high prices by low wages. I mentioned some circumstances which occurred in the month of November with reference to Ireland; but I have not the whole of the case with respect to that time. From a report which I have received from Mr. Sanders with respect to the West Riding of Yorkshire, I find that at that time there was not merely a rise in prices, but a strong apprehension of still higher prices in several parts of the West Riding, particularly in Bradford, and that several works were put on short time. In several of the cotton districts, also, I learn the mills were about to be put on short time. When, therefore, we looked to the circumstances of the whole country in the months of November and December, we had no option left, as the general guardians of the condition of the great body of the community, but to pursue the course which we have pursued. We have been told of the danger of being dependent on foreign States for the supply of food; but when we consider that the population of Great Britain in 1815 was 18,000, and that at the present moment it is 23,000,000, it seems to me that the time has arrived when it may well become a question, not whether Great Britain can alone supply the amount of food necessary for the population, but whether it will not be difficult at a moderate price to secure food for the whole of that population, even with the aid of foreign countries (hear, hear). For myself, I have no apprehension of any great fall of prices from the abolition of the Corn Laws. I think that both the hopes and fears of many people on the subject are greatly exaggerated. I do not believe that the abolition of protection, as matters now stand, will materially lower the price of corn; but I consider that to the great body of consumers it will be a security of inestimable value against high prices when the harvest happens to be deficient in this country (hear, hear). That is my view with regard to supply. With regard to the commercial principle there can be no doubt whatever. The hon. member for Northamptonshire described a state of things where a certain individual has the walls of his house covered with French paper hangings, furnished with articles of German hardware, and who rides in a Brussels carriage, while workmen are crowding the market with nobody to hire them. How does the hon. gentleman think those carriages are to be obtained? Whatever may be the form of the transaction by which they are obtained, that transaction of necessity resolved itself into a bargain. Directly or indirectly there must be an exchange of commodities, and you must in the long run export some of your own home productions to pay for what you have got from abroad. I am quite satisfied, if you extend the sphere of your commerce, and do not attempt by fits and starts to force its expansion, that the property of all classes will steadily advance with the increase of your exports. The hon. member for Northampton, (Mr. S. O’Brien) referred to the case of a farmer, whom he described in the most pathetic terms, for the purpose of illustrating the consequences which the hon. gentleman presumes will flow from the measures of her Majesty’s Ministers. But another picture was given last night by the noble lord the member for Liverpool (Lord Sandon). The hon. gentleman represented the farmer as petitioning his landlord in vain for a reduction of rent. The noble lord considered the condition of the farmer as peculiarly helpless and exposed. He said this unhappy man had constantly held out to him the expectation of prices which he had never realised—prices which were made the basis of calculation, when he agreed to pay a fixed rent; then he comes to the landlord with “bated breath” and most humble demeanour, seeking an abatement of rent. The landlord grants somewhat less than the farmer requires; an abatement of 10 per cent. is found quite inadequate; and at last the farmer is forced to take refuge from all his difficulties in some lower occupation. Such are the results, as described most accurately by the noble lord himself, of this system of protection and of disappointment (cheers). The abundant crop, the diminished protection, and the fixed rent, have been a failure (no, no, and hear, hear). From the very spot where the hon. gentleman stood when he addressed the house I heard such a representation given of the condition of the farmer; and I am quite satisfied that the great bulk of that class are more likely to be injured by the continuance of the existing law than by its repeal. I have no apprehensions whatever that the abolition of that law will render this country dependent upon any foreign country. But, as a landlord—and on this point I agree with the noble lord the member for Lincolnshire—I am certain that the settlement of this question is with reference to the interests of landlords of paramount importance (cheers). How can we have a settlement? with the feeling of the great bulk of the community on the subject as at present, there is but one settlement. There are various classes whose interests are involved in this question, and their views have undergone a change on the principle of protection. I will not dwell upon the meeting in Wiltshire. It may have been suggested, but still that meeting is a remarkable fact. I pass, however, from that, and appeal to every gentleman in this house who has had opportunities of observation, whether he can contradict me when I assert that till lately the opinion prevalent among operatives was, that low prices would invariably lead to low wages. I say they have changed their opinions (cheers). The experience of the last three years has not been thrown away upon them; and if that be so—if the masters and the men are quite of one mind on this point, they will settle—and I may tell the hon. member for Knaresborough so—they will easily and amicably settle those questions which are likely to arise between parties placed in such a relation to each other. I can very well understand how those working men should overtax their industry, and even call on their wives and daughters to work, that they may obtain subsistence. Necessity might drive them to such resources. But if they can understand that by a change of your law they may be able, without working so long themselves, without requiring their wives or daughters to work as they do now, to live in greater comfort than they have ever known, I have not the smallest doubt that arrangements will be made between masters and men as to the period of labour, and so every ground or pretext for legislative interference will be taken away (cheers). It will, I should say, be one of the most pleasant and happy days that ever occurred in England, when, on account of an alteration in your law rendering a shorter time necessary to procure wages adequate to purchase the comforts of life—it will, I repeat, be one of the happiest days of England when, on account of such an alteration, the masters and the men shall, without legislative interference, come to an agreement on that subject (cheers).

I am glad to see that the noble lord the member for the West Riding of Yorkshire (Lord Morpeth)—with whom I have often differed, but whose absence from this house I never ceased to regret—expressed on the hustings sentiments closely akin to those I have endeavoured to convey (cheers). As to the agricultural interest—the interest with which I am myself connected—I would say, let us have certainty with reference to the value of our land. That certainty you will have, as far as it can possibly be given, from a change in the law. But, in addition to certainty, you will have peaceful enjoyment. You will have that peaceful enjoyment without exciting the jealousy of your poorer neighbour. And I do not think that landlords will have to make any very great sacrifices; but, entertaining the opinions which I do, founded on the experience I now possess, I say, were the sacrifice ten times greater, I for one, sooner than that it should be said of myself, or any of the class to which I belong, that our object was to secure for ourselves an increase of rent, and not to promote the welfare and happiness of the great body of the community—sooner than leave any room for such a suspicion, I should say, speaking for myself, that I would descend to a lower estate, and abrogate my inheritance (cheers). It is said a great party has been dissolved. It is said old political ties have been severed. It has been said that social relations have been disturbed. It is anticipated, and it is probable, that an Administration may be dissolved (cheers). And, though I should regret the former part of those consequences, on my conscience I believe this proposition will save a great and powerful nation from anarchy, misery, and ruin. (The right hon. gentleman resumed his seat amidst great cheering.)

Lord CLIVE briefly expressed his intention of voting for the amendment of Mr. Miles, and of opposing the commercial project of Government.

On the motion of Mr. COLQUHOUN the debate, after a short discussion, was adjourned till Thursday next.

The house then adjourned.

ADJOURNED DEBATE.—THURSDAY.

The adjourned debate on the question "that the house do resolve into committee on the Customs and Corn Importation Acts" was commenced by

Mr. COLQUHOUN, who entered into an explanation of his vote in 1838, in support of Mr. Villiers' motion for a committee to inquire into the propriety of repealing the Corn Laws. Sir Robert Peel had entirely mistaken both his past and his present opinions. He had never entertained the opinions so consistently entertained by Mr. Villiers; and he had never passed from them to the doctrines of high protection. He had always considered the question of the Corn Laws a most anxious and perplexing question; and in 1841, not being in Parliament, and having much leisure time, he had studied it with all the diligence and impartiality he could command (hear, hear). He had come to the conclusion that protection was necessary for the interests of agriculture; and having come to that conclusion, he had declared himself an advocate for a fixed duty on corn. After the occurrences of the last few months, it seemed probable that his notion of a fixed duty, had it been adopted, would have now been deemed preferable to that of a sliding scale. After applying himself to refute Sir R. Peel's arguments respecting prices and wages, he proceeded to comment on the speech delivered by Sir J. Graham on Tuesday evening. Sir James Graham had then disposed very summarily of all his former arguments on this subject; and had said that as he confessed that he had changed his opinions, there was an end of his former reasonings (hear hear). No, there was not an end of them; for a statesman who spoke like Sir J. Graham, with eloquence and genius, ought to recollect that his words were winged shafts which stuck deeply in men's hearts. They had made many converts, and had influenced and were influencing thousands of his fellow-countrymen; and he (Mr. Colquhoun) was of opinion that Sir James's explicit recantation of his immortal words would not convince the country that he could raise wages or exalt the financial condition of the labouring population by his present measures. He was afraid that those measures would bring on the country evils of a kind to which its attention ought to be, yet had not been called. What would be their effects on the colonial interests? The protection on timber and sugar would soon survive the protection of corn; and then the manufacturers of England would find themselves no longer in possession of the advantages which they now possessed in the colonial market. Under such circumstances, what would be the condition of the country if, in addition to a failing harvest, it should have to struggle, as in 1840, against a falling revenue? But what reason was there to induce the house to give its assent to a commercial code which even Mr. Villiers could not recommend to his constituents as a perfect code, as it still enforced protection on silk, on sugar, on timber, on copper, and various other articles? If, then, protection were left on some fabrics, why was all protection to be taken from that manufacture—for corn had been justly called by Lord F. Egerton a manufacture—which was of all others the most precarious in its course, and the most uncertain in its returns? He regretted that ever since he had taken his seat on the Ministerial bench agricultural protection had never received from Sir R. Peel anything like a sincere defence. Last year Mr. Villiers had called Sir Robert's speech on the Corn Laws a dexterous evasion of the whole question, and had warned the country gentlemen that they would soon be called upon to surrender the protection they enjoyed. He was sorry to observe that on all the great institutions of the country Sir R. Peel followed a similar course of dexterous evasion. He had no antipathy to him, and a very sincere regard for many of his colleagues; but his opposition to Sir R. Peel's Administration would in future be openly avowed and steadily adhered to; for as long as Sir Robert declined discussion on all the great questions which agitated the minds of Englishmen, so long he should not promise him any adhesion, nor repose in him any confidence.

Mr. C. WYNN was sorry that he differed in opinion on this question from his constituents, but was consoled by the reflection that he differed from them on honest and conscientious grounds. There was no portion of our law which reflected so little honour on the wisdom of our ancestors as their commercial regulations. Our statute book was filled with instance after instance of their impolitic interference with matters of trade. So long as there was protection extended to other articles, it would have been unfair to take it altogether from agriculture. But the removal of protection was now no longer brought forward as an isolated measure bearing on one interest alone, but as part of an extensive project which applied to every interest and to every trade in the empire. It had been said, however, that a duty of 10 per cent. was well preserved on several manufactured articles. Undoubtedly it was so; but that duty was not so much a duty of protection as a duty of revenue. It was impossible

to carry out the system of Free Trade fully; for the claims of the revenue unfortunately interfered. He trusted that on a future occasion this measure would be carried out to a still greater extent. He should have been better pleased had it been so carried out now; but he was afraid that such a proposition could not have been made to Parliament with any chance of success at the present moment. He had no apprehension that if we repealed our Corn Laws we should fall in obtaining a supply of corn from foreign nations. So long as they could raise a superabundance of corn, they would be as anxious to sell as we should be to buy it.

Mr. HEATHCOTE did not come forward on this occasion to attack the consistency of others, but to maintain his own. He had resisted a measure similar in principle to the present when proposed by his own political friends; and he felt bound to offer the same resistance now, when a measure ten thousand times more mischievous in degree was proposed by his political opponents. He explained at some length the reasons why he considered this measure a rash, ill-timed, and hazardous experiment, and observed that it was not recommended to his mind by being accompanied with changes of opinion hitherto unparalleled in the annals of political tergiversation. They had turned out a Government for proposing a fixed duty of 8s. a quarter on corn; and they were now themselves proposing a fixed duty of 4s. a quarter, to expire at the end of three years. The compensation which they proposed for the injury which they were thus going to inflict on the agricultural interest was utterly inadequate and disproportionate. Monarchical Europe and Republican America had both their Corn Laws. Why was England to deprive itself of a similar code? Holland had once made the experiment of abrogating such laws; but the experiment had altogether failed, and Holland, like ourselves, had now the benefit of a sliding scale. No case of public necessity had been pleaded as a justification of the proposed change. Public opinion was not in favour of it even in the large towns, if any conjecture could be formed from the last elections for Wigan, Birmingham, and Sunderland. Foreign countries had not called upon us to make it, for as we were putting off our armour they were covering themselves with the full panoply of restriction. As to the allegation of famine in Ireland, he believed it to be little better than a mere pretext. Famine might exist in Ireland in the speeches of Cabinet Ministers, and in the paragraphs of newspapers; but he believed abundance was to be found in its markets. If he was mistaken on that point, he was willing to meet the emergency by an ample grant from the public treasury; but he was not prepared on account of local distress and temporary mischief to alter entirely the permanent laws of a mighty empire.

Mr. C. W. MARTIN felt compelled, after the observations of the preceding speaker on the political tergiversation which had been displayed on this question, to explain the reasons which had induced him to abandon the opinions which he had formerly entertained of the Corn Laws, and to support the propositions of Sir Robert Peel in favour of Free Trade. He then entered into a review of the circumstances which had occurred in the last autumn, and contended that there was no ground for supposing that the agricultural interest would suffer injury from the reduced price of corn in consequence of the changes now proposed. The prices of corn in the Channel Islands were not unworthy of the attention of the house. The trade in corn was perfectly free, and yet corn bore a high, and what was more material, a steady price. Little apprehension was to be entertained for many years to come from those corn-growing countries which it was said would inundate England with grain. He looked forward with confidence to the measures now proposed, and was certain that they would place the agriculture and commerce of the country on a sound and healthy footing.

Mr. T. BARING expressed his deep regret that he was compelled to give his vote on this question in opposition to a Government which he had hitherto supported, and in whose patriotism he still trusted. The experience of the last three years was not a sufficient justification for adopting, without hesitation or reserve, a great experiment, which would shake the security of all interested in the prosperity of agriculture, and which would open a future to the whole country of which no man could foresee the result. After alluding to the allegation of Ministers, that famine was impending over Ireland, and after contending that casual distress ought not to induce us to change a permanent law, he proceeded to express the surprise which he felt at hearing Sir James Graham assert the other night that he would not be the Minister to propose, and that this would not be the Parliament to consent to, the imposition of a tax for the purpose of supplying the starving people of Ireland with food so long as the price of corn in Great Britain was enhanced by artificial regulations. Talk of want in Ireland! He believed that the greatest want under which the country laboured at present was the want of ministers, and the most appalling scarcity was that of statesmen, who would consent to sit together in the same Cabinet. Neither in the effects of our previous relaxation of protective duties nor in the present circumstances of the country, could he see any justification for the sweeping change now proposed. There were three parties on the subject of the Corn Laws at this moment—the agriculturists, who required the protection of a sliding scale; the Anti-Corn-Law League, which repudiated all protection; and those who advocated a fixed duty. The present settlement would not satisfy any of the three. If ever there was a time when a compromise could be made by conciliation and concession, this was it, and he recommended the three parties, laying aside passion and prejudice, to submit their claims to friendly arbitration.

Lord MORPETH, having been loudly called upon, rose to address the house. He said: If the question had been a less important one, and the moment less critical, I might perhaps have hesitated, at so short a period after I had resumed my seat within this house, to present myself again to its notice, especially when I rise for the purpose of taking that view of the question, which, in my humble judgment, at least, has received almost all the illustration of which it is capable, from everything that the most consummate ability, the most industrious research, and the most protracted discussion could bring to bear upon it (hear, hear), not to mention the still more useful assistance it has lately received from official countenance, and from many illustrious adhesions (cheers). The honourable member who has just sat down was, we know, the friend of Free Trade in the abstract, but after his speech of to night, it would be difficult to discover that he is a friend to it either in abstract or detail (cheers and laughter). He professes himself, indeed, to be favourably disposed to some gradual and cautious relaxation of restrictive duties, but he

has not told us how far he would go, or where he would stop; and I imagine that, with reference to the great interest which has been specially brought forward in the course of this debate, the large agricultural interest of this country, if there be any one course more than another to which we should object, it is to make it the subject of constant, gradual experiments, being for ever tampered with, and never let alone. The hon. member (Mr. Baring) has told us that the great want in the preceding autumn—upon the circumstances connected with which most of the ministerial proposition is sustained and has been founded—was the want of a ministry. Now, I certainly think that want is most sensibly felt by that great and important party in the state and in the country of which the hon. gentleman himself is an ornament (laughter). We hear of their being backed by the voice of the country (hear, hear)—we hear of their contesting successfully every vacant seat (hear); but still it seems to be as lamentable as it is unaccountable, that they are without leaders and without a head (cheers and laughter). If this be not the case—when they have displayed the full force of their numbers, when they have made the echo of their own opinions heard throughout the country—why do we not see a successful and suitable Government formed upon the principle of undiminished protection to agriculture (cheers from the Opposition benches)? Indeed the hon. member for Huntingdon (Mr. Baring) has told us that the present time would be eminently suitable for a compromise (hear). I don't know whether he comes here entrusted with any message—I don't know whether he comes here the bearer of any overture to propose a ministry founded on the principle of compromise. If his compromise, indeed, was founded upon the commercial circular he read himself, I think he would find that he would depart very little from the actual line of conduct of the right hon. gentleman Sir Robert Peel (hear, hear). But I apprehend that it is now universally felt, both in the country and in this house, that the time for compromise is gone by (hear, hear). A compromise, indeed, was once offered (loud cries of hear, and cheers from the Opposition benches,) by the party, and by the leaders of the party with whom I have the pride and satisfaction of acting (cheers). And the hon. member cannot forget that the party which is now so glad to hail him and to cheer him as an honourable auxiliary—summarily and immediately rejected all notions of that kind (hear, hear, from the Opposition benches). I feel, sir, that the best excuse I can have for offering myself to the attention of the house, on this long discussed and widely-stretched question—which, as I have already said, has received almost all the illustration of which it is capable—will be, first, that I shall compress what I have to offer into a very moderate compass; and next, that I mean to confine myself to what may seem to me most special and particular, so far as my own opportunities and position enable me to form an opinion with respect to it (hear). Since I had the honour of having a seat in this house, I have myself happened to be a traveller upon the North American Continent. I have, for an uninterrupted period of two years lived in the heart of a purely agricultural district, and I have lost and gained the representation of the West Riding of Yorkshire (cheers). The last circumstance is naturally the freshest and uppermost in my own mind; and it is one of wisdom in itself. I feel it may intelligently and sufficiently answer for itself (cheers), because, brought about as it has been, it tells its own moral, and conveys its own meaning (loud cheers). And if my predecessor in the seat which I have now recovered justly adduced, in the opening debate of this Parliament, his return as a most significant reply to the inquiry which had been submitted to the country with respect to the budget of the year 1841, I feel that I may still more expressly appeal to my own recovery of that seat as the most significant and signal verdict that could be given upon the measure which now, under happier auspices, has been submitted to the country in the year 1846 (hear, hear). But there is only one circumstance that seems to me to require remark from me with reference to the bearing of the late election in Yorkshire on the question before the house. We know that the project of the right hon. baronet includes a variety of articles, corn, and provisions. His scheme has justly earned the title of comprehensive (hear, hear), and it meddles almost as much with manufactures as it does with agriculture (no, and cries of hear, hear). With many leading branches of manufactures it meddles with them just as much as it could, because the withdrawal of protection with respect to them, unlike that of corn, is immediate (hear, hear, and laughter). I was proceeding to say that the constituency, by whose choice and approval I have been honoured, represent, as is familiar to every one, a great variety both of manufacturing and agricultural interests. It comprises the largest woollen, the largest worsted, the largest steel manufactures in the empire (hear, hear). It comprises, I believe, the largest linen manufacture in England, and it comprises besides very large iron, and considerable cotton manufactures. Now, as I have just said, the withdrawal of protection from most of those articles is immediate and complete, and with respect to some of them it is by no means clear that the protection which is withdrawn would only act nominally. I might mention for instance, the cutlery of Sheffield, the knives and scissors and razors, for the manufacturing of which that town has acquired such just celebrity. Those articles will be immediately imitated on the Continent of Europe; the Sheffield mark will be forged upon them, and then they will be introduced into this country as genuine Sheffield manufacture (hear). So with respect to the article of woollen manufactures that are called low cloths. I am told that this manufacture, which prevails extensively in certain districts in the west, may be obtained from Belgium, and we shall probably sustain a formidable competition from the low cloths of Belgium. Every one of those interests will be directly affected by the withdrawal

of protection, yet not one of the persons connected with them during the whole of the fortnight which was specially exacted for the consideration of the measure by the friends of protection, expressed a wish that it should be continued, even during the excitement of some rather vehement appeals that were made to them in the principal cities, and in the very heart of the manufacturing districts; and again, when many of those manufacturers were assembled in great numbers last week before the hustings of Wakefield, from no one of them was a single murmur or whisper of murmur or disapprobation heard, nor a single hint or wish to continue protection. Competition may come, they said, but we are prepared to meet it—all we ask is a fair field and no favour (cheers). And let me ask, why may not that interest which so often plumes itself upon being the most important, the noblest, the most English in the country—why, I say, should not that interest take a leaf out of the book of those begrudged manufacturers (hear, hear)? Now, with respect to what is meant by the agricultural mind and the impressions derived from it, we have not heard for the first time to-night in this debate that it is evident that the landlord persuades himself in this question that he is not induced to take the course which he does from any regard to his own interests, but to that of others; it must be confessed that with this comfortable opinion he could not regard it as injurious to his interests. The landlord assumed that he did not take the course which he did with respect to the Corn Laws from any regard to his own advantage, but with a view to the interest of his tenants—and above all, to the agricultural labourers—and to the wounds which he thought would be inflicted on them by repeal. Now, valuable as I admit the services of the agricultural labourer to be, and acknowledging, as I do, that it is the duty of individuals to honour, and of the state to cherish them; yet in a country where trade and commerce contribute such important elements, it is not proper to say that in any one interest, exclusively or principally, resides the source of individual wealth, or of national strength. I think that it is only natural justice to all not to select one class to honour, or, as its friends are not ashamed to term it, protect (hear, hear). I really question whether protection is not misallied, and among those exposed to this mistaken system no class is so much injured as the agricultural tenants and labourers. The hon. member for Northamptonshire presented to the house the other night the picture of a scene between a landlord and farmer, where the latter had been turned out of his holding because he could not give the same rent for the farm as an enterprising member of the Anti-Corn-Law League (no, no, from Mr. Stafford O'Brien). I thought that the honourable member represented the competitor as a person of more capital, more enterprise, and more intelligence.

MR. STAFFORD O'BRIEN: Hear, hear; but it does not necessarily follow that he was a Leaguer.

LORD MORPETH.—There was previously an allusion to the hon. member for Stockport in connection with agriculture, and from the statement of the hon. member for Northamptonshire I thought that he intended the competitor to be a member of the League. But this is an occurrence which might happen every day, if you had a landlord who would not give a lease, and who did not scruple to deal summarily with his tenants, and when, as the hon. member said, he could get a tenant who would make each acre bear six quarters where hitherto it had only borne three (hear, hear). But putting out of consideration the effect on the agricultural labourer, the truth is not less justly recognised that the interests of all classes must really be identical. It is merely begging the question for any one to say that this is for my interest, and therefore it is for yours. The welfare of agriculture must depend on the well-being of the whole community, and above all, on the efficient demand of the working classes. Now, has not this demand been more efficient when corn is cheap than when it is dear (hear, hear)? The hon. member for Huntingdon said that cheapness of bread did no good, if it was not accompanied with a larger demand for labour; but has not this been universally the case in practice (no, no, and hear)? As far as practical experience goes, I say that with a cheapness of bread there is an increased demand for labour (cheers and cries of "No"). The hon. member opposite said that they might talk of the three years' experience of the right hon. baronet at the head of the government on this point, but the fact was, that the prosperity and activity of three years was not to be imputed to the working of the tariff, but to various causes, and above all, to the activity of the railway system. But I ask whether this activity of the railway system occurred while bread was cheap, or while it was dear (cheers)? The hon. member for Rutlandshire, upon this point, said that in 1839, when there was great prosperity in manufactures, bread was dear, and he quoted some observations of the late lamented member for Kendal on the subject. But I beg the hon. member to recollect, that this was only the commencement of that cycle of bad seasons and dear years which proved so injurious, not only to the manufacturers, but to the whole country. Now, I find in a statistical report on the woollen trade of Yorkshire, in 1839, a statement which bears directly on this point:—"On a careful comparison of these, it appears that the amount of employment is less by at least two-fifths now than on the average of 1833 to 1835; and comparing 1839 to 1841 with that period, full one-third less. Combining the two elements of a depreciated rate of wages and a diminished amount of employment, as just stated, it would appear that estimating the former at 20 per cent., and the latter at 33 per cent., the real deduction of the wages of the operatives of this district is about nine-twentieths, or nearly one half,—a fact which, coupled with the enormous rise in the price of flour and butcher's meat, painfully and forcibly indicates the severe privations which the operative classes are now enduring." Why this is as plain as can be, and shows the effect of the demand on the kitchen-house of the working classes, namely, the agricultural markets. But I will put the case in another light:—Suppose a miller, regardless of the produce of cattle, of wool, or of hides, or of any protection for them, insists that all corn should be brought to his mill, although he might not be able to grind, and he might therefore say to them, as you do now, that the effective demand of the working classes shall be increased. But what advantage was this to the agricultural labourer—how do you intend to bolster up him and the

farmer—and what share do you give them of the *spoliu opima* of legislative protection (hear)? The noble lord the member for Liverpool stated, in the course of the debate, that the rate of wages varied with the price of provisions. Now it was clearly proved by the right honourable Secretary for the Home Department that it never varied in the same ratio, that is, that wages never rose in the same proportion as the price of provisions (hear, hear). He had a proof of that in his own neighbourhood, for in that district wages never varied at all. In Northamptonshire, he was happy to say, they were as high as 12s. a week. If the agriculturists fixed the wages at 12s., and there was no variance in the price of corn, it would be very well, but this would not stand for an instant the test of fact. Some time ago a stone of flour was 1s. 9d.; it was now 2s. 6d. Under those circumstances, a labouring man's command over the other comforts and necessities of life must be materially diminished. Now, taking 12s. a week as the rate of wages, it would give 31l. a year. Suppose a case of a family, six persons in it, that they consumed ten stone of flour a week, the rise in the price from 1s. 9d. to 2s. 6d., would make a difference of 6l. 10s. in the year (hear, hear). I put this to rich men—to men (to use an expression used the other night) of two meals—they would not think it a trifling thing to have to give two-fifths of their income, in addition to the income tax; and must not a man who gets his bread by the sweat of his brow feel most keenly this great additional charge thrown upon him for the daily food of himself and family (hear, hear, and cheers)? I have before me a paper which has been drawn up giving some statistics respecting an agricultural town near which I reside, showing the proportionate expenditure on the several articles of food in three families in respective classes of society, namely—the tradesman, the professional man, and the working man's family. I will not trouble the house with going into details respecting butcher's meat, or butter, or cheese, or milk, or other articles, which, however, I could give, but shall confine myself to flour. Each of the families which I take consists of six persons. I will take the tradesman's family first. I find that the tradesman's yearly bill for flour amounts to 12l. 18s. 10d., being 15 per cent. of the whole of his expenditure for food. The annual charge of the professional man for flour for his family is 8l. 18s. 2d., being rather more than 10 per cent. of his whole expenditure for food, while the working man pays 13l. 4s. for flour for his family, and not 15 per cent. as the tradesman, or 10 per cent. as the professional man, but 48 per cent. on his expenditure for food (loud cries of hear, hear). Now is it not apparent that such a state of things must sorely detract from the few comforts of the labourer, and prevent him obtaining many articles, such as clothes, and that it must infinitely more press upon him than upon those more easily circumstanced in society (hear, hear)? I find that a professional man, living economically, expends about one-third of the total amount of his income. I find also, that the expenditure for food by a careful tradesman is short one-half his income, while the food of the working agricultural labourer is about three-fourths of his income (loud cries of hear, hear). What he actually spends in food out of his whole earnings is 73 per cent., while the other 27 per cent. is left for rent, clothing, shoes, and education for his children; therefore, is it not clear that this rise in the price of a stone of flour from 1s. 9d. to 2s. 6d. must deprive the working man of most of the little comforts of life, means of clothing, and of educating his children (cheers)? I have sometimes thought that the whole logic of the question is so complete in its force, and the syllogism of it so simple, that I have been surprised how any one could dispute it; for instance, that there is not more than a sufficient quantity of food produced in this country for the supply of the people. I believe there is hardly a man who will deny this—that there is daily added to the population an increase of 1000 or 365,000 in the course of the year. Then I make bold to assert that you do not year by year, having this annual addition of 365,000 to the population, grow a proportionate increased quantity of what. Therefore, does it not result that it is most imperative upon us to get a supply of food from abroad, and should we not do this at the cheapest possible rate (hear)? I challenge any one to point out a fallacy in this syllogism. I do not say that the agriculturists have less humanity than any other class, but, for our part, I think it a matter of humanity as well as of duty, to get rid of that system which prevents a due supply of food for an increasing population, and which, in spite of long cherished feeling, I feel I could not cling to without something like infatuation and cruelty (cheers, and cries of hear, hear). I do not impute blame to her Majesty's ministers that they did not act till they were appalled by the events of last autumn. An hon. member opposite asked, "What had the failure of the potatoe crop in Ireland to do with the repeal of the Corn Laws, as England had never shown any want of sympathy towards Ireland, nor hesitated to afford ample relief in times of necessity?" But I ask is it fair to tax the community of England because there is a wish to fly to the relief of the distress prevailing in Ireland? There is an old maxim, "Be just before you are generous." I say, give generously to the people of Ireland, but at the same time be just to the collective community of England (hear, hear). The hon. member for Huntingdon said that you should not apply a permanent remedy for a temporary evil, but does the hon. member forget that this state of things might arise every year (hear, hear)? and with the risk of being exposed to such a state of things, are we to be mocked with a sliding-scale, which will not slide, and which will not stand the test of trial (hear, hear)? I think it is one of the best proofs of the truth of the doctrine of Free Trade, that it does not interfere with the laws of nature, and that its success is not dependent upon seasons. I recollect reading some lines addressed to an emperor, which I consider applicable to this point, and I shall endeavour to quote the Latin more correctly than did the honourable member for Newcastle this evening.

"Tibi mittit ab antris

Æolus armatus hymes; tibi militat æther

Et conjurati veniunt ac classica venti."

Yes, sir, I think it rather a confirmation of the truth of that principle, that the stars do not fight against it, but that their combinations would seem to be in its favour (cheers and laughter). But with respect to this argument, I believe it is established by those who give their special attention to the variations of the weather, that the same circumstances of cold or hot, wet or dry, weather are not found generally to prevail over or to affect the produce of a large surface, so that bread, in seasons when prices are high in London, may be cheaper in Paris or Vienna; but, on the contrary, I believe it will be found that a wet or dry season in this country, is compensated for by a season of an opposite character in other parts of the world, for instance, upon the Continent of North America. Every one will recollect, for example, that the

season of 1842 was remarkable in England for a warm and even temperature. Now, during that year, I happened to travel on the Continent of North America; and we had weather of the most variable character. Much as I had heard of the extreme heat of an American summer, I scarcely experienced "a hot day," and every one told me that it was the coldest season almost ever experienced in the United States; the very reverse of this occurred last year. Last summer, it will be remembered, was peculiarly wet and unseasonable in England, whilst, on the Continent of America it was, I understand, peculiarly hot—so much so, that I remember reading, in one paper, of a man who died, in one of the larger cities, from the effects of the excessive heat. Now, what is the inference to be derived from this? That not merely the periods of sunset and of sunrise are different in different parts of our globe, but that there is the same system and compensation as to the season, as there is in the return of darkness and of light; so that when our part of the world is afflicted with untimely rains or colds, and the attendant bad harvests, we may take comfort in the reflection, if we repeal the Corn Laws and open our ports to foreign produce, that the rays which have been denied to us have ripened distant harvests, and that just at the moment of need, the superfluity of their growth will be wafted over the ocean to atone for our deficiency (cheers). With reference to the Continent of America, on which I just now found myself, I do not wish to allude so much to any statistical deductions which my residence there may have induced and enabled me to make, because these have been subjects of frequent discussion, and can be calculated as closely and appreciated as clearly at a distance as on the actual spot; though I have felt sometimes that the real site, the actual presence of our own faithful eyes, bring the truth better home to one, than the most laborious collection of documents (hear). He had felt this most emphatically when placed in full view of those mighty prairies of the west, which, almost totally without an inhabitant, seemed in their luxuriant fertility imploringly to invite the agriculturist—when in view of those vast forests above the prairies, which promised (and all experience had verified the promise) that as soon as the axe of the woodman had once rung among them, as soon as the log-cutter had put up his cabin, and the smoke from its chimney curled up into the air, fertile crops would take the place of tall trees (hear, hear, and cheers). He felt this in sight of the immense and wonderful valley of the Mississippi—that valley which the accomplished De Bequeville has described as the most magnificent abode ever formed by nature for man; I have felt this, on the St. Lawrence, that mightier volume of fertilising waters than the whole world else presents. In all these grand scenes, I have felt that while the distance between them and us must necessarily prevent those extraordinary imports which the panic in the breasts of our protectionists anticipates, yet that still, as a very long time must elapse before that same valley of the Mississippi can number the 200,000,000 of inhabitants, of which it is said to be capable, as a very long time must elapse ere those woods can be cleared for the cultivation of what they are susceptible, or for a very long time the traffic to be looked forward to on the lines of communication there, as the prescribed Canadian Railway, and others, must be good for more passengers. I have felt it, I say, most extraordinary and deplorable, that we have not availed ourselves of all these advantages for the transmission of food to our own little island, which seems adapted to supply, even to overflowing, every article of necessity, of utility, except that certainly not unimportant one of food. We have heard repeatedly, of late, representations made respecting the social and political condition of the people to whom I am now referring. I am ready to admit that much of what I witnessed whilst I was amongst them, and more of what has reached my knowledge since I quitted their shores, have not tended to give me the most favourable impression of their pacific or their moral tendencies; and the particular specimens of their good faith which have been seen to arise out of a pure democracy, are such, that I did not on my return home, feel any increased repugnance (loud laughter). I meant to say that I did not feel, on my return to England, any diminished attachment either to the aristocratic or monarchic elements of our constitution (loud cheers). But, notwithstanding, I have felt whilst I was in that country, a most powerful conviction that we are not in a position to confront the general ease and abundance that prevail generally throughout the United States. The honourable member for Northampton has referred to the two meals a day of the wealthier classes as a test of ease, and we are all familiar with the case of the Irish emigrant, who refused to write home to his relatives in Cork that he had three meals a day, because he was sure that nobody would believe what he said (hear). But what I assert is, that we are not in a condition to confront the growing convictions of our own people (hear). We cannot confront the sympathies, the feelings, the determinations of the age in which we live, if we do not work out the aristocratic institutions by which we are surrounded, and which have gradually sprung up around us, in a more democratic spirit than we have shown a disposition to do. I contend that there is no aristocracy resting on exclusive principles, which our own does not (hear)—that could be maintained or tolerated for an instant. Such an aristocracy, placed in a community such as ours fortunately is, could not escape a certain and a speedy downfall (hear). And not even an aristocracy so old and so dignified as that of Great Britain could sustain itself when concession comes to be prohibitory. That would be an effort which the oldest title-deeds would fail to make. I do not by this mean to say, that the advocates for protection seek purely and solely to promote their own personal interests individually. Still they are the interests and the associations, not of individuals, but of a class, which they have been in the habit of keeping planted in their minds and view. There is in them the strength and sympathy of feeling which belongs to what is termed *esprit de corps*; there is even a refined degree of selfishness, which almost mistakes itself for self-martyrdom. Under these circumstances, monopoly itself, as it nears its downfall, though it does not seem entitled to any sympathy for self-sacrifice, will be invested with something of the graces of self-martyrdom. We are even prone to feel sympathy with the convict, when he is pursued, and when he stands at bay (hear, hear). But I cannot permit the general interests of the community, or the whole of the State, to indulge in practice at least, in sympathies of so morbid a description. It is the part of a true politician, of a sound philosopher, to put the universal above the particular, to rise above the interests of a class, and not weigh them against those of a people, and therefore I would conjure those who belong to the real aristocracy of the country—who are so by hereditary association or by landed property, to rise above the consideration of their own especial interest, and to open their eyes to the consi-

deration of this great question (hear, hear). I grudge to their side, I grudge to them the adhesion of those who bear such names as the Marquis of Granby and Lord Clive (laughter), for I feel that our aristocracy has marched with the general progress, and identified itself with the struggles of the country. Well, then, let them not refuse to bear their part in an adjustment which, if not adjusted with them, must be adjusted in spite of them (loud cheers). They bear a part, I allow a distinguished and a prominent part, in our social system, but that system comprises, besides themselves, the irrepressible energies of trade and industry, the order and determination of our middle classes, the hard working perseverance of the immense masses of our working classes, the most powerful agencies of a talented and enlightened press, and all the great stir and progress of a generally advancing age. Let them, then, throw all their energies into the cause; let them make it as much their pride, as it is their station, to be the leaders, and not the laggards, in the onward march of the British people. (The noble lord resumed his seat amid loud and protracted cheering.)

Mr. GASKELL observed, that in spite of the speeches of Sir J. Graham and Mr. S. Herbert, he had yet to learn what new circumstances had arisen to induce this Parliament, elected on protection pledges, to consent, not to a suspension of the Corn Laws, but to a total departure from their general principles. During the last four years he had opposed every motion for the repeal of the Corn Laws under the guidance of those in whom he had hitherto placed confidence. He had always been a friend to a moderate protection to agriculture, and in those opinions he had been confirmed by the authority of Mr. Canning, Mr. Huskisson, Lord Grey, and Sir R. Peel. The force of that authority could not be swept away by a single sentence even of so able a statesman as Sir R. Peel; and the more he reflected on this subject, the more he was convinced that gentlemen on his side of the house should not propose, and that this Parliament should not sanction, the repeal of the Corn Laws. In the course of his public life Sir R. Peel had made great sacrifices to his sense of public duty, but the first sacrifice which he had made was not so great as his present. By the first he had lost the representation of the University of Oxford; by the present he had destroyed a noble party which was once his pride. He then expressed the regret with which he had contrasted the votes with the speeches of Lord Sandon and Mr. Baillie. Though he differed from Sir Robert Peel with pain, he differed from him without hesitation; and he should, therefore, with a clear conscience give his vote in favour of the amendment of Mr. Miles.

Mr. ROEBUCK observed, that when passion had passed away on this question, posterity would wonder how it had contrived to raise such a storm of agitation. He differed from most of the speakers who had preceded him; for he had nothing to retract—nothing to defend—but everything to assail. He was surprised that the High Tories on the other side of the house should have given encouragement to the notion that a member ought to resign his seat whenever his opinions were in opposition to those of his constituents; for that doctrine, which degraded the representative into a mere delegate, was contrary to all their former dogmas on the subject. He also wondered what they would say to those representatives who had resigned their seats, not on the demand of their constituents, but because they were the nominees of certain influential proprietors of close boroughs. He lectured Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell on their recent change of opinion on the Corn Laws, and observed, that he who gave them credit for sincerity must do so at the expense of their understandings. The real meaning of "protection" was that the food of the people should be produced at a higher price at home by certain individuals for their own benefit than that at which it could be procured abroad if the trade were free. It was said that such a system was necessary to promote the agricultural class, which consisted of labourers, farmers, and landlords, all with different, if not conflicting, interests. He showed that it was more injurious than beneficial to them all. After a long argument on this subject, he concluded by expressing a hope that the measure of the Government would pass, and by recommending the house to accompany it with some measure for the general education of the people. This measure, if carried, would give a stimulus to the population; and as the population increased, its condition, unless it were educated, would deteriorate rapidly.

The adjournment of the debate was then moved by Sir H. Douglas.

Mr. HODGSON HINDE in speaking to that question observed that as he had always been an advocate of protection to native industry, he could not give his vote against the proposition of a Government which he had hitherto supported without briefly explaining his reasons for it. The impatience of the house rendered his explanation very inaudible, but he concluded it by declaring his opinion, that after the present session Sir R. Peel must be prepared to give up the Government to those who had been the early supporters of this liberal policy.

Some formal business was then disposed of, and shortly afterwards the House adjourned.

FREE TRADE MEETING AT Tooting.—On Wednesday evening a Free Trade meeting was held at the spacious room attached to the Rising Sun, Tooting. There were about 600 persons present, many of whom were well-dressed ladies, and who seemed to take great interest in the proceedings. Mr. Barter having been called to the chair, opened the meeting with some appropriate observations, and then called on Mr. Richard Aitken, who moved, after a suitable speech, a resolution approving of the ministerial measure so far as it went, but condemning that an interval of three years was allowed, previous to the total abolition of the Corn Laws. The resolution having been seconded by Mr. Rolt, the chairman called on Mr. A. L. Saul, of the League, who explained the general features of the Peel measure, and congratulated the meeting on the advance of the Free Trade question, and in an argumentative address, proved that the proposed interval of three years would be injurious to the farmer. He was followed by Dr. Eppe, who gave a short but humorous speech, which much amused and interested the audience. Thanks to the speakers were moved by Mr. Aitken and seconded by Mr. Harding. Thanks were also voted to the chairman, and the meeting then broke up.

A young woman brought before the Boston (American) police alleged, in defence of her respectability, that she was acquainted with "all the lawyers in New York." She was instantly committed for six months.

WESTMINSTER.

On Thursday night a numerous meeting of the Committee of the Westminster Reform Society was held at Stannard's Hotel, Charles-street, Covent-garden (at which the previous evening it was resolved to support the election of General Sir De Lacy Evans, as the representative of the city of Westminster) for the purpose of taking prompt and immediate measures to carry out that object. There were present some of the most active and tried reformers of Westminster, among whom were Mr. Prout, Mr. Trott, Mr. Coppock, Mr. Pouncey, Mr. Charlwood, Mr. Childs, Mr. Lewis, junior, Mr. Hocken, &c. The gallant general also entered the room previous to the commencement of the business.

Mr. PROUT having been called to the chair, directed the attention of the meeting to the circumstance of the High-Bailiff having appointed Tuesday next as the day of nomination, and the following day (Wednesday) for the election. He impressed upon them the necessity of the utmost energy being exercised by the Reformers of Westminster upon the present occasion, to ensure the return of General Evans, and stated that the Central Committee-room would be opened on Friday at the Ship Hotel, Charing Cross. He then announced, that the following noblemen and gentlemen had consented to act with the committee chosen to promote the election of General Evans, viz.—the Hon. E. P. Bouverie, M. P., Chairman of the Central Committee; the Hon. G. S. Byng, M. P.; the Hon. W. Cowper, M. P.; the Earl of Shelburne, M. P.; Lord Duncannon, M. P.; the Hon. W. R. Colborne, M. P.; Sir J. Easthope, Bart., M. P.; the Hon. H. Elphinstone, M. P.; the Hon. G. Fitzwilliam, M. P.; Mr. C. P. Villiers, M. P.; and Mr. T. Duncombe, M. P. They had also been promised the support of the Marquis of Tavistock, M. P.; Lord R. Grosvenor, M. P.; Lord Marcus Hill, M. P.; the Hon. E. J. Stanley, M. P.; the Hon. F. Maule, M. P.; and Mr. E. Ellis, M. P. It was most cheering to their cause to receive the support of noblemen and gentlemen, members of Parliament, and of such high respectability and influence in society.

It was unanimously resolved that the names of those offering themselves should be added to the committee.

Several gentlemen from the various parishes stated that active exertions were being made to promote the election of the gallant General.

It was subsequently arranged that a meeting of the electors should take place on Friday evening at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand; another on Saturday night at Willis's Rooms, Brewer-street, St. James's; and on Monday a third and last meeting at Pimlico, for General Evans to meet the constituency.

Thanks were then voted to the chairman, and the meeting separated.

BRISTOL.

On Monday evening a tea meeting was held at the large public rooms, Broadmead, in aid of the Quarter of-a-Million League Fund. The attendance was numerous and highly influential, several of the leading merchants of the city being present. The chair was taken by George Thomas, Esq., merchant, and a liberal supporter of the League. When tea was concluded,

The CHAIRMAN said that a petition had been sent from this city, signed by 18,000 persons, for a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. It was sent to Mr. Berkeley, one of the members for Bristol, with a request that he would present it to the house and support its prayer. A similar request was also made to Mr. P. Miles, the other member. Letters had been received from each of those gentlemen, the former agreeing in the sentiments of the petitioners, the latter saying that he could not give his vote in favour of total and immediate repeal.

The Rev. GEORGE ARMSTRONG (Unitarian minister) followed the chairman. He congratulated Colonel Thompson and the Free Trade advocates upon what he might call the successful termination of labours extending over a period of twenty years. It was gratifying now to find men of all parties agreeing that Free Trade is the only measure which can work advantageously for this great empire (cheers).

Colonel THOMPSON then rose, and was received with loud cheering. He said that they met under very altered circumstances from what they were in twelve months ago. He could truly say that their enemies were made to be at peace with them; let them, then, lay aside all unfriendly recollections and hostile feeling, let them make the utmost of the bounty which Heaven hath bestowed upon them, and take all reasonable care that none of the advantages slip away from their own carelessness, that they would do their endeavours to carry forward the fruits of their great success wherever the condition of mankind should open the occasion. He rejoiced that the trust of executing this great object had fallen where it had. He should be glad if they would throw aside all remnants of party feeling, throw aside all recollection of what had passed, and, as honest men, know and feel nothing except that they were seeking the improvement of the condition of the country (cheers). Col. Thompson concluded by extolling the conduct of the Premier in respect of the Oregon question, stating that his promptitude had had the effect of subduing the warlike spirit which had begun to manifest itself in the United States, and prognosticating that his (the Premier's) measures would have the effect of averting the war altogether (hear, hear).

R. R. R. MOORE, Esq., was next introduced, and was received with loud cheers. Having addressed the meeting at some length, with his usual eloquence, he concluded by announcing the subscriptions, observing that at present only 20 per cent. would be called for.—George Thomas, Esq., 250*l.*; Joseph Eden, Esq., 250*l.*; Edward Thomas, Esq., 250*l.*; William Tothill, Esq., 200*l.*; Edward Keate, Esq., 100*l.*; Naish and Co., 100*l.*; James Charlton, Esq., 100*l.*; Thomas Sanders, Esq., 100*l.*; William Wills, Esq., 100*l.*; H. O. Wills, Esq., 100*l.*; S. S. Fry and Son, 100*l.* There were several 50*l.* and 25*l.*, and smaller sums, and we believe the collections amounted to about 3000*l.*

After the collection the meeting broke up.

THE QUEEN.—**FREE TRADE.**—We hear, from a source which leaves no doubt of the truth of the statement, that the most illustrious personage in the kingdom takes a lively interest in the repeal of the Corn Laws, and has, on more than one occasion, warmly advocated the measure, against the opinions of certain noble lords, who are as strongly opposed to it.—*Daily News.*

Sir John Sinclair said of sleeping—that it can only be performed in two manners—with or without a nightcap.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

Brighton, Feb. 10, 1846, 10 o'clock.

SIR,—Mr. Falvey and myself have just returned from Chichester, after having achieved one of the greatest victories ever known in that city. We arrived at Chichester about 4 o'clock last evening, and after dinner, proceeded to the rooms that had been taken for the purpose of Mr. F.'s lecturing. After a most eloquent address to the electors, who had assembled in great numbers, so much so, that there was a complete crowd outside the doors, Mr. Maldon proposed thanks to Mr. F., and dovetailed with it, "That he was a fit and proper person to represent the electors of the city of Chichester in Parliament," which was received with deafening applause. After the meeting, we adjourned to the Dolphin, and prepared the address to the electors (a copy of which I enclose, which please to take great care of, as it is the only one left). We sat up till past one, getting it out, and making arrangements for posting and distributing it. This morning the town was in the greatest state of excitement in consequence of the opposition. At half-past nine o'clock we proceeded to the Town Hall, which we found had been previously "packed" by the monopolists with labourers at ten o'clock. The mayor took his seat; and after the precept was read, Lord H. Lennox was proposed and seconded, after which Mr. Fullagar proposed Mr. Falvey in a very eloquent speech, and was seconded by Mr. Maldon. Then Lord Lennox rose to address the electors, but he was very poorly received, and was in a very nervous state, for his knees knocked together as if he had fallen. He merely said, that he should feel it great honour to be returned as M.P. for their city, and stated that he thought that we ought not to be dependent upon foreigners for our daily bread, and ended his address in about five minutes. He was interrupted many times during its delivery with hisses and groans, so much so, that at last he said, he hoped they would give him a hearing, and allow him to proceed without interruption. Upon Mr. F.'s rising, there was a simultaneous burst of applause, which lasted for a considerable time; and, after an address from Mr. F., of about one hour and a quarter's duration, the Mayor called for a show of hands for Lord H. Lennox, which was complied with. "On the contrary, and in favour of Mr. Falvey," was put, when the large body of heads in front of the Mayor, seemed on an instant to be changed into hands! The Mayor then said, that it was his bounden duty to say, that the show of hands was in favour of Mr. Falvey!! (Loud and prolonged cheering.) Lord H. Lennox immediately demanded a poll; the usual notices were then given, that the poll would commence at eight o'clock next morning, and a vote of thanks to the Mayor about to be passed, when Mr. Falvey came forward and said, that as his noble opponent had had the start of him in the canvass, it was not his intention this time to go to the poll; but at the next election a Free Trader would be ready to fight the seat with the noble lord, who was then returned duly elected. The meeting broke up with three cheers for Free Trade, and three groans for protection. Then we had to go home, and we were accompanied by a mob who continued shouting, "Falvey for ever!" "Free Trade!" and "Down with protection!" The place was in the greatest excitement when we left, as such a thing as the candidate of the duke's having to demand a poll has never before taken place. They sadly want some one to come and look after the registration here, which ought to be done.

Yours, &c.

P.S. I should state that the whole of the men paid by the monopolists, as if completely paralysed with Mr. F.'s eloquent address, held up their hands for him; and a great number followed us home. There was a large staff of London reporters down for the *Times*, *Herald*, *Chronicle*, *Daily News*, *Advertiser*, &c.; and it is the opinion that this is the greatest blow the Duke of Richmond has ever yet had.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

SIR,—As a working man, I beg to offer you the following remarks for your consideration. This time last year the potatoes were 4*d.* per pound, just now they are 1*d.*; almost all small families use three pounds per day, that makes an extra outlay of 9*d.* a-week. The bread was 6*d.* a loaf last summer, now it is 8*d.*; if we consume three loaves a-week we pay an extra 6*d.*, and that added to the 9*d.* makes 1*s.* 3*d.* Now, if our wages last summer were barely sufficient to find us in food, shoes, and cloth, this year we must go without something to the amount of 1*s.* 3*d.* a-week; and what will that something be? not food, I am sure. No! the tailor and shoemaker may starve, but food we must have. Our old clothes and shoes must last us some time longer, and in the meantime the master tailors and shoemakers, finding their trade falling off and workmen pressing them for work, reduce wages. There is only one party who prospers, and that is the landlord; he will this year pocket the tailor and shoemaker's 1*s.* 3*d.* On the other hand, if we only earned enough last year to find us food, we will be obliged this year to give up the use of tea and sugar to the amount of 1*s.* 3*d.*, these being articles we can easier spare than bread, and by these means we lessen the revenue of the country by at least 6*d.* a week.

38, Coleman-street,
Woolwich

JOHN WHITE,
Journeyman Carpenter.

The following letter has been forwarded to the Rev. Mr. Ferguson, of Bicester, by a few friends of humanity in the city:

22, Swan-street, Minorities, London, Jan. 10, 1846.

DEAR SIR,—Your very affecting appeal on behalf of the agricultural labourers of Bicester and its neighbourhood, as contained in THE LEAGUE of Dec. 27, has been responded to by a few warm-hearted Free Traders of the Ward of Portsoken, in this city. The contributions placed in my hands for this purpose will enable me to send you between 30 and 40 good smock-frocks, a portion of which were forwarded yesterday by waggon, and the remainder shall follow so soon as the quantity can be made up at the warehouse. I feel honoured in being made the medium of communication with you, Sir, whose untiring exertions and personal sacrifices in the cause of humanity shed so bright a lustre on human nature, and beautify and adorn the Christian character which you so well sustain.

I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

JOHN BUNTING.

ALL ONE.—For the time-honoured admonition of the pantaloons, "Don't be a fool!" the clowns in the pantomimes at most of the theatres are now, we understand, substituting "Don't be a duke."—*Punch.*

CORDEN'S SPEECH.
THE SPEECHES OF R. COBDEN, ESQ., M.P.,
 and T. M. GIBSON, ESQ., M.P., on Sir R. Peel's Budget, WILL
 BE PUBLISHED as early as possible after delivery. Price One Penny
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A VERBATIM REPORT OF THE MEETING OF
THE AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS AT GOSFORD, printed in a
 tract form, 12 pages.
 Sold at the LEAGUE Office, 67, Fleet-street, London; and by J. Gadsby,
 Newall's Buildings, and 3, Old Millgate, Manchester.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

While we congratulate our readers on the progress of the subscriptions to the Quarter of a Million Fund, and on the effect that they have obviously produced without and within the walls of Parliament, we must impress upon them the necessity of not relaxing in their exertions, now that the crisis of our great struggle has arrived. The victory is not yet won; all the resources, and all the energies of the League, will be required, before complete success can be achieved. A dissolution of Parliament appears to be imminent; and the battle of Free Trade will have to be fought inch by inch on the hustings. We are anxious to urge on our friends the importance, not only of subscribing freely, but of subscribing early. The manifestation of strength will often decide the course of the wavering and the doubtful; but, above all, our subscriptions are the best proof that we are thoroughly in earnest, and that we shall not cease to labour until every link of the fetters imposed on British industry is struck off, and every restriction on the supply of food to the people completely annihilated.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Feb. 11, 1846.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

As the regulations of the Post Office require that the Christian Name of the party to whom Post Office Orders are sent should be given in full, subscribers are respectfully requested to procure their Orders in future for GEORGE WILSON, League Offices, Manchester, or ABRAHAM WALTER PAULTON, 67, Fleet-street, London.

	£	s.	d.
*McCormel and Co, Manchester ..	100	0	0
*Murray, A and G, do ..	100	0	0
*Ross, Wm, 18, Mosely-st, do ..	100	0	0
*Mayson, John, and Co, Strutt-st, do ..	50	0	0
*Heald, Nicholas, do ..	40	0	0
*Wilson, John, do ..	30	0	0
*Eden and Thwaites, Bolton ..	30	0	0
*Wilkinson, Fredk and Geo, Stockport ..	20	0	0
*Barratt, J, Sons and Darbyshire, Newton and Manchester ..	20	0	0
*A Friend, per Jno Gadsby ..	20	0	0
*Grady, Edmund, Park Hills, Bury ..	20	0	0
*Brigden, Mathew, South-st, Manchester ..	10	0	0
*Lat, W T and E, Hatfield Lodge, Glossop, Derbyshire ..	10	0	0
*Shaw, Peter, and Son, Mossley, nr ..	10	0	0
*Eley, Joseph, Boden Down, Macclesham ..	5	0	0
*Shackleton, Ebenezer, Moon Mills, Ballitore, Ireland ..	5	0	0
*Eales, Thos, Stamford, 3, Hare Court, Temple, London ..	5	0	0
*Kendal, Thomas, 30, Nelson-st, Manchester ..	5	0	0
*Workpeople of Henry Woods, Wigan ..	4	4	2
*Ryder, John, Bradford, near Manchester ..	1	0	0
*Cabinet-makers in the employ of Mr. Doveston, Manchester ..	2	2	0
*Roberts, John, 85, Market street, do ..	2	2	0
*Dale, John, Dockway-square, North Shields ..	2	2	0
*Hall Free Trade Club, per Edward Brady ..	2	0	0
*Luton, Francis, Orell, near Wigan ..	2	0	0
*Hubert, Joseph, Hyde, near Manchester ..	2	0	0
*Watson, J, 40, Moreton-st, Strangeways, do ..	2	0	0
*Eames, Thomas, Whitman, Sunderland ..	2	0	0
*Hilton, Charles, Gilder Brook, Eccles, near ..	2	0	0
*Warburton, Josiah, Preston street, Radnor-street, Hulme, Manchester ..	1	12	6
*Booth, John, 58, Great Jackson-st, Manchester ..	1	1	0
*Hewitt, John, Ardwick-green, do ..	1	1	0
*Dobbs, J and S, 14, Whitley-grove, do ..	1	1	0
*Taylor, J R, 228, Deansgate, do ..	1	1	0
*Thornley, T, Crown Inn, Fountain-st, do ..	1	1	0
*Leach, James, Scholes, near Wigan ..	1	1	0
*Faulkner, Nicholas, 3, Durham-street, Hulme, Manchester ..	1	0	0
*Griffin, Rev. James, Richmond-terrace, Strerford, do ..	1	0	0
*Richard, John, 6, Booth-street West, Hulme, do ..	1	0	0
*Leech, Richard, 84, Rutland-street, do, do ..	1	0	0
*Thyer, Josh, 7, Loyd-street, Green Hays, do ..	1	0	0
*Whitaker and Higginbottom, 52, Wilnot street, Hulme, do ..	1	0	0
*Luton, Thos, Hauley, Staffordshire ..	1	0	0
*Walker, Geo, Belle Vue, near Bury, Lancashire ..	1	0	0
*Lomax, Abraham, Folds road, Little Bilton ..	1	0	0
*Lambert, C, Warwick-street, Birmingham ..	1	0	0
*Leach, Robt, Douglas, Carl, Wigan ..	1	0	0
*Hall, Robert, Tideswell, Derbyshire ..	1	0	0
*Hobbs, Edward, Golden Lion Inn, Tedmorton ..	1	0	0
*Chadwick, Uriah, Dukinfield, near Manchester ..	1	0	0

*Wilson, Alex, Mrs, 4, Great Ducie-st, Strangeways, do ..	1	0	0
*Lewis, Henry, Blue Bell, Chester-road, do ..	1	0	0
*Whittaker, Rev, T F, St Wilfred's Church, do ..	1	0	0
*Radcliffe, Jno, 71, Queen-street, Hulme, do ..	1	0	0
*Mitchell, Richd, 39, York-street, do, do ..	1	0	0
*Ritchie, John, Cleveland-buildings, Market-st, do ..	1	0	0
Derbyshire, Wm, 30, Cobden-street, Manchester ..	0	10	6
Jones, Joseph, at Smith and Jukes, grocer, Bradford, Yorkshire ..	0	10	0
Prideaux, George, Woodbury, Devon ..	0	8	0
Williams, Henry, 56, Great Jackson-street, Manchester ..	0	5	0
Lancaster, Edward, New-street, do ..	0	5	0
Stamp, Rev. John, 78, Wilnot-street, do ..	0	5	0
Meyer, George, Bedford-street, do ..	0	5	0
Small subscription ..	0	5	0
Large, William, Market-place, Prescott ..	0	4	0
Small sums in Hulme ..	0	3	0
Oxford, William, Fazakerley-street, do ..	0	2	6
Lloyd, Charles, do, do ..	0	2	6
Forber, William, Atherton-street, do ..	0	2	6
Scholes, James, 60, Great Jackson-street, do ..	0	2	6
Richards, W G, 62, Medlock street, do ..	0	2	6
Small sums ..	0	1	6
Montrose. Paton, John and George ..	40	0	0
*Roster, Archibald ..	10	0	0
*Miller, C H ..	5	0	0
*Workmen of J and G Paton ..	4	12	0
*Muelart, John, N B ..	3	0	0
*Weatherley, Capt J D, New Bridge-st ..	3	3	0
*Burnett, Thos, Summerhill-terrace ..	2	0	0
*Fensdale, Wm, Quay Side ..	1	1	0
*White, Thomas, Deun-street ..	1	1	0
*Greenhow, T M, Eldon-square ..	1	0	0
*Weatherett, James, 5, Carlisle-square ..	1	0	0
*Wilson, Robert, Swinburn-place ..	1	0	0
*Gowan, Joseph, Blaydon Burn ..	1	0	0
*Yea, R H, Hanover-square ..	1	0	0
*Proctor, Wm, Grays-street ..	1	0	0
*Dewar, Thomas, Picton-place ..	1	0	0
*Watson, Joshua, son, 109, Side ..	1	0	0
Gateshead. Angus, Wm, Windmill Hill ..	1	0	0
*Hewitt, James, 45, High-street ..	1	0	0
*Humble, Wm, Church-street ..	1	0	0
*Hind, Thomas, Heworth, near ..	1	0	0
*Foster, Joseph ..	1	0	0
*Bolton, Andrew ..	1	0	0
*Foster, Miss Jane, Green Bat Cottage ..	1	0	0
*Duncan, Thomas ..	1	0	0
*Hushey, Robert ..	1	0	0
*Graham, Joseph ..	1	0	0
Anonymous ..	0	10	0
Alnwick. Davidson, Wm ..	0	8	0
Fate, George ..	0	5	0
Johnson, Thomas ..	0	5	0
Milne, Wm ..	0	5	0
Burnell, Mrs, Bailiff Gate ..	0	5	0
Finlay, Robert ..	0	5	0
Landells, James ..	0	5	0
Smart, Wm ..	0	5	0
Holywell. Kenrick, Sam S, Greenfield Lodge ..	5	0	0
*Buckley, John F, Walwen ..	2	0	0
*Wolstenholme, H J ..	1	0	0
*Smedley, Thomas ..	1	0	0
*Williamson, Wm, jun ..	1	0	0
*Fairbairn, P, Woodley House ..	60	0	0
*Birchall, Messrs Edwin & Sons, Park-lane ..	60	0	0
*Aldam, W, jun, Esq, MP, 3, Plowden's-buildings, Temple, London ..	20	0	0
*Walker, Benjamin, Water Hall ..	20	0	0
*Ripley and Ogle, Lady-lane ..	20	0	0
*Haigh, John, Cookridge-street ..	20	0	0
*Sykes, John, Woodhouse-lane ..	20	0	0
*Jowett, Robt and Sons, Albion-street ..	20	0	0
*Witham, Messrs Sand J, Kirkstall road ..	10	0	0
*Walker, Thomas, Springfield Mount ..	10	0	0
*Broadhead, John, Bridgend ..	10	0	0
*Elwynd, B, Roker-lane, Pudsey, near ..	5	0	0
*Haigh, Thomas, Newlay, near ..	5	0	0
*Wilkinson, John, Wellington-street ..	5	0	0
*Watson, Chas, Queen-street ..	5	0	0
*Lambert, Josh, Cookridge-street ..	5	0	0
*Simpson, Wm, 11, Park-row ..	5	0	0
*Shackleton, Jonathan, Mill Green ..	4	0	0
*Tatham, G N, Water Hall ..	4	0	0
*Kennedy, Francis, 3, Park-row ..	4	0	0
*Ford, R L, Albion-street ..	4	0	0
*Stead, Sam, Holbeck, near ..	3	0	0
*Smith, Beacock, & Tannett, Victoria-road ..	2	2	0
*Wood, R and Son, Larchfield, near ..	2	2	0
*Warburton, Sam, Hunslet Carr, near ..	2	2	0
*Atkinson, Edward, Trafalgar-street ..	2	0	0
*Ingham, Wm, Wortley, near ..	2	0	0
*Cliff, John, Bramley, near ..	2	0	0
*Ramsden, John, East-street ..	2	0	0
*Friends at Fountain Inn, Armley-road, per Fred Batty, Wellington-bridge ..	2	0	0
*Stenson, Thomas, Richmond-street ..	1	1	0
*Waring, James, Briggate ..	1	1	0
*Maude, John, Greek-street ..	1	1	0
*Newton, Geo, Hanover-street ..	1	1	0
*Morgan, E, Wheeler-street ..	1	1	0
*Morgan, Thomas, Rock-street ..	1	1	0
*Yewdall, John, Briggate ..	1	1	0
*Burroughs, John, do ..	1	1	0
*Rowling, Sam, Headingley, near ..	1	1	0
*Clark, Robert, Hunslet do ..	1	1	0
*Bilbrough, James, Gildersome, near ..	1	1	0
*A Friend, per J Holroyd, Carlton Hill ..	1	1	0
*Illingworth, Wm, Crownpoint ..	1	1	0
*Hughes, John, St John's-street ..	1	1	0
*Vickerman, James, Burley-street ..	1	1	0
*Kilvington, R, Skinner-lane ..	1	1	0
*Robinson, Wm, Isle of Cider ..	1	1	0
*Bingley, G M, Alfred-place ..	1	1	0
*Bislington, R, Briggate ..	1	1	0
*Broadbent, J, Prospect-place, Holbeck ..	1	1	0
*Eggleston, W, Alfred-place ..	1	1	0
*Townley, R, Springfield-place ..	1	1	0
*Pollock, R, Bishopgate-street ..	1	1	0
*Knox, Geo, Elmhawd Grove ..	1	1	0
*Wainman, John, Garden-street ..	1	1	0
*West, John, care of John Wilson and Co, Hunslet ..	1	1	0
*Holroyd, Wm, Park-lane ..	1	1	0
*Lawton, T, and Son, Wortley, near ..	1	0	0
*Turkington, H C, Chapel Allerton, near ..	1	0	0
*Asquith, Thomas, 17, Mill Hill ..	1	0	0
*Jagger, Wm, Upper Wortley, near ..	1	0	0
*Bell, Charles, Pottennewton, near ..	1	0	0
*Smith, James, and Son, Wortley, do ..	1	0	0
*Brandsby, Benjamin, Bramley, near ..	1	0	0
*Barker, Joseph, Bell-lane, do ..	1	0	0
*Ball, Mark, High-street ..	1	0	0
*Shackleton, Roger, Wortley, near ..	0	12	0
*Mann, John, Gifford-street ..	0	10	0
*Dewhurst, John and Son ..	30	0	0
*Tempest, Sir C R, Burt, Broughton-hall ..	20	0	0
*Wilson, Mathew, jun ..	10	0	0
*Settle, John ..	10	0	0
*Johnston, B ..	10	0	0
*Shackleton, T, Aulton Garages, near ..	1	0	0

	*Beveridge, Erskine, manufacturer	10	0	0
	*Inglis, James, do	2	0	0
	*Robertson, Robert, draper	2	0	0
	*Reid and Davie, do	2	0	0
	*Duncanson, J & Co, do	1	1	0
	*McLaren, W & J, do	1	1	0
	*Lawrie, David, soapboiler	1	1	0
	*McDonald, Andrew, teacher	1	1	0
	*Young, Jas, Rev	1	0	0
	*Clarke, Wm, bookseller	1	0	0
	*Birrell, Geo, manufacturer	1	0	0
	*Morris, James, Gardner's-land	1	0	0
	*Inglis, H, grocer	1	0	0
	*Aitken, James, manufacturer	1	0	0
	*Reid, A and H, do	1	0	0
Dunferm.	*Inglis, Geo	1	0	0
line.	*McMichael, Rev N,	1	0	0
	Boevie, Wm	0	10	0
	McLaren, Peter, shoemaker	0	10	0
	Robertson, Geo, grocer	0	10	0
	Brydon, J and J, clothiers	0	10	0
	Syme and Preston, drapers	0	10	0
	Miller, John, bookseller	0	10	0
	Thomson, Rev Geo,	0	10	0
	Walker, Ralph, bleacher	0	6	0
	Shoolbred, James, manufacturer	0	5	0
	Ireland, Thomas, ironmonger	0	5	0
	Browning, J S, teacher	0	5	0
	Elder, David, grocer	0	5	0
	Henderson, R, clothier	0	2	6
	Lumsden, John, grocer	0	2	6
	*Isherwood, John	1	1	0
	*Brooks, John	1	0	0
	Spedding, Edw	0	10	0
	Hindle, John	0	7	6
	Fell, James	0	7	6
	Fell, John	0	6	3
	Fell, Wm	0	6	3
	Hardman, John	0	6	0
	Marsh, Peter	0	5	0
	Callan, Joseph	0	5	0
	Selby, M	0	5	0
	Booth, James	0	5	0
	Wardle, Benjamin	0	5	0
	Wardle, Robert	0	5	0
	Hayes, James	0	5	0
	Hindle, Thomas	0	6	0
	Longshaw, James	0	5	0
	Corless, Joseph	0	5	0
	Higson, Thomas	0	5	0
	Bluesdale, Thomas	0	5	0
	Green, James	0	5	0
	Turner, James	0	5	0
	Whittle, James	0	4	0
	Moore, John	0	4	0
	Marsh, James	0	2	6
	Marsh, Richard	0	2	6
	Ince, James	0	2	6
	Jervis, Wm	0	2	6
	Corless, John	0	2	6
	Littrick, James	0	2	6
	Yates, John	0	2	6
	Futough, Adam	0	2	6
	Durham, Richard	0	2	6
	Grime, James	0	2	6
	Griffin, Henry	0	2	6
	Small Sums	0	11	0
	*Metcalfe, John and Geo	10	0	0
	*Harker, Robert	4	0	0
	*Taylor, Joseph	1	0	0
	*Wrigglesworth, Mrs	1	0	0
	*Newbould, Matthew	1	0	0
	*G H M	1	0	0
	*Grange and Bell, Dacre Banks, near	1	0	0
	*Webster, Henry	1	0	0
	*Newbould, Wm	1	0	0
	*Warburton and Sugden	1	0	0
	A Friend to Free Trade	0	10	0
	Grange, Ward	0	5	0
	Doughill, Wm	0	5	0
	Steel, Geo	0	5	0
	Gill, Joseph	0	5	0
	Ashworth, John	0	5	0
	Lowcock, John	0	5	0
	Small Sums	0	5	0
	Isaac Sinclair	0	2	6
	Ward, Moss	0	2	6
	Marshall, Wm	0	2	6
	Rogers, John	0	2	6
	Wood, Christopher	0	2	6
	Hallawell, James	0	2	6
	*Gully, John, Ackworth Park	20	0	0
	*Gaskell, Daniel, Lupsett Hall	20	0	0
	*Clayton, Thomas	5	0	0
	*Scott, Robert, Wood-st	5	0	0
	*Todd, Christopher, Hoyle Mill	1	0	0
	*Kershaw, James, Westgate	1	0	0
	*Swallow, Joshua, Garden-street	1	0	0
	*Oyston, John, Kirkgate	1	0	0
	*Watson, John, Northgate	1	0	0
	Stead, Mr, jun	0	3	0
	Sundry Small Sums	0	3	0
	*Tucker, Geo, 7, York-street	2	0	0
	*Fearn, John, 3, Leicester-street	2	0	0
	*Workmen at Hawks worth, Eyre and Co., per Vincent Eyre, 30, Rock-st	1	12	0
	*Read, Isaac, Lambert-street	1	0	0
	*Eadon, Moses, Norfolk-lane	1	0	0
Sheffield.	*Thornhill, S and Son, St Thomas's-st.	1	0	0
	*Shirt, Elias, Coalpit-street	1	0	0
	*Sanderson, John, Charles-street	1	0	0
	*Cam, John, Eyre-lane	1	0	0
	*Osborne, T P G, Port Mahon	1	0	0
	*Parkin, John, 8, Wicker	1	0	0
	*Nicholson, John, Charles-street	0	8	0
	*Clay, John, 147, Castle-st, Edgley, near	1	1	0
	*Hyde, Abel	1	1	0
	*Hyde, John	1	1	0
	*W S, M P S	1	1	0
	*Heginbotham, James, Millgate	1	0	0
Stockport.	*Riddell, James, Heaton-lane	1	0	0
	*Wells, John, do	1	0	0
	*Roylance, Wm do	1	0	0
	*Mayden, R do	1	0	0
	*Bowden, J, N B Lane	1	0	0
	*Atkinson, Geo, Petersgate	1	0	0
	*Wheeler, Thomas, Bridge-street	1	0	0
	*Hunnah, John, St Alban's	2	0	0
	*Thompson, R, Eanam	1	0	0
Blackburn.	*Blacklock, James, Cable-street	1	0	0
	*Rutherford, John, John-street	1	0	0
	*Briggs, James, Plough Inn	1	0	0
	*Roberts, James, Britannia Inn	1	0	0
	*Watson, J A, Old Chapel-street.	0	0	0
	*Musgrave, S and S, Town End	2	0	0
	*Hinings, Wm	1	0	0
	*Carr, Henry, Jun, Little Moor	1	0	0
Padsey.	*Walker, James, Low Town	1	0	0
	*Halliday, John do	1	0	0
	*Halliday, Wm do	1	0	0
	*Oddy, John do	1	0	0
	*Webster, Geo do	1	0	0
	*Halliday, James do	1	0	0
	*Fearnley, Joshua, Kent	1	0	0
	*Swale, John, Heslington	4	0	0
	*Allis, Thomas, Oswaldwicke	2	0	0
	*Wilberforce, Henry, Walmgate	2	0	0
York.	*Birks, John, St Helen's-square	1	0	0
	*Agar, Thomas, Walmgate	1	0	0
	*Swale, Joseph do	1	0	0
	*Swale, Thomas do	1	0	0

Glasgow.	*Thomson, Dr Thos, 100, St Vincent-st	2	0	0
	*Young, Andw and Sons, Brunswick-st	1	1	0
	*Jamieson, Joseph	1	1	0
	*McNab, Messrs	1	1	0
Falkirk.	*Turner, Geo, stationer, Ingram-street..	1	1	0
	*McIntyre, Donald	1	0	0
	*Lemon, John, 18, Saltmarket-street	1	0	0
	*Anderson, James, 16, Montrose-street..	1	0	0
South Shields.	*Cameron, James, 24, West Nile-street	1	0	0
	*Rankin, Robert, 93, Glasgow-street..	1	0	0
	*French, Robert, 86, Trongate	1	0	0
	*Miller, Robert, Govan	1	0	0
Bolton.	*Young, John, teacher, Wathamston	1	1	0
	*Cochrane, H W, ironmonger	1	0	0
	*Jeffrey, Chas, bookseller	1	0	0
	*McColl, Hugh, King-street	1	0	0
Collected by F C Harrison.	*Thompson, Alex, Hiron-street	1	0	0
	*Mitchelson, Archibald, King-street	1	0	0
	*Robertson, Wm do	0	10	0
	*Campbell, Robert, Market-place	0	2	6
Dalkeith	*Threllfall, R, Bridgmore-place, Bolton	1	0	0
	*Spencer, James, Cross-street, Great do	1	0	0
	*Knott, Geo, Manor street, Little do	1	0	0
	*Harrison, F C, Cement Works, Abersychan, near Pontypool	2	10	0
Birmingham.	*Parker, Joseph, brewer, Pontnewydd	2	0	0
	*Hair, John, miller do	1	0	0
	*Hughes, Henry, stationer, Pontypool..	1	0	0
	*Spittle, Thomas, Union Inn, Abersychan, near Pontypool	1	0	0
Edinburgh.	*Yates, J A, 33, Bryanstone-square	20	0	0
	*Morse, Arthur, Swaffham, Norfolk	20	0	0
	Crosfield, Brothers, and Co, St Helens, Lancashire	10	0	0
	Weedon, John, Reading	10	0	0
Greenock.	*Robinson, H G, Half Moon-st, Piccadilly	5	5	0
	*Webb, Wm, Hereford	5	5	0
	Hewitt, Colonel, Boulogne	5	0	0
	*Bouverie, Admiral, The Hon T B, Cliffe Hall, Devises	5	0	0
Glasgow.	*Burt, James, 65, York-st, Westminster	5	0	0
	*Coupland and Gilbert, 1 George Yard, Bow Lane	4	0	0
	*Colquhoun, Wm, Clatlick, near Crief, Perthshire	3	3	0
	*Westleys and Clark, Doctors Commons	3	3	0
Per Thomas Morgan, Leeds	*The Workmen of Messrs Burt and Potts, York-st, Westminster	2	2	0
	*Roberts, David, R A, 7, Fitzroy-st, Fitzroy-sqr	2	2	0
	*Beauchamp, Richd, Hereford-st, Mayfair	2	0	0
	*Wormald, Mr, Solicitor, Macclesfield	2	0	0
Birmingham.	*Pidduck, John, Burslem, Potteries, Staffordshire	2	0	0
	*Kennedy, W S, do do	2	0	0
	*Hall, Thos Henry, 48, Finsbury-square	2	0	0
	*Finlay, James, Newcastle-on-Tyne	2	0	0
Edinburgh.	*Parker, Wm, and J G, 76, Eyre st, Sheffield	2	0	0
	*Biffen, John, Chichester	2	0	0
	*Jarvis, J, Sportsman Inn, Bridghouse, Sheffield	1	5	0
	*Tweeddale, M, Wellington-street, South Shields	1	1	0
Glasgow.	Clarke, J, Anstwich, near Clapham, via Lancaster	1	1	0
	*Ayling, Wm, Midhurst	1	1	0
	*Hamilton, Thomas, Gloucester	1	1	0
	*Robinson, John, Wellington-place, Northampton	1	1	0
Greenock.	*Wordsell, T C, English-street, Hull	1	1	0
	*Cochrane, A B, Blowers green, near Dudley	1	1	0
	*Parsons, Robert, York-street, Westminster	1	1	0
	*Hill, Thomas, 12, Princes-street, near Jubilee-street, Stepney	1	1	0
Glasgow.	*Biaggini, C H, Hoxton-square	1	1	0
	Ratray, Alexander, 18, Bedford-place, Commercial-road East	1	1	0
	*Smith, David, and Friend, 3, Wood-street, City	1	1	0
	*Lines, Augustus, 3, Iron-gate wharf, Paddington	1	0	0
Greenock.	*Easto, Robert, Upper Tulse Hill, Surrey	1	0	0
	*Lowe, J, 68, Fleet-street	1	0	0
	*Trappe, J, 31, Budge-row, City	1	0	0
	Denman, G, L, 4, Curzon-street, Mayfair	1	0	0
Greenock.	Bicknell, David, 100, Ebury-street, Pimlico	1	0	0
	*Price, John, Belle Sauvage, Ludgate-hill	1	0	0
	*Ibbotson, T, 21, Camomile-street, City	1	0	0
	*Gurney, James, Brill House, Thame, Oxon	1	0	0
Greenock.	*Waters, T, Worcester	1	0	0
	*Charlton, Michael, Union-terrace, York	1	0	0
	*Winspear, W, St, Helen's-square, do	1	0	0
	*Young, H, Winchester-street, Salisbury	1	0	0
Greenock.	*Burford, G, 1, Printing-ground, Stratford, Essex	1	0	0
	*Burford, E, jun, 5, do do	1	0	0
	*Whitburn, T, Ripley, Surrey	1	0	0
	*Shunks, James, St, Helen's, Lancashire	1	0	0
Greenock.	*Crosfield, Simon, 10, Dean's-street, Fairfield, Liverpool	1	0	0
	Diggary, Mr, Waterloo-road, Cobridge, Staffordshire Potteries	1	0	0
	*Walker, James, 3, Morton-street, Leith	1	0	0
	*Phillimore, Samuel, Ebley, near Stroud	1	0	0
Greenock.	*Miles, Richard, do do	1	0	0
	*Boulter, Benjamin, Surgeon, Ordnance-place, Drypool, Hull	1	0	0
	*Shipway, Edward, Stanley Mills, Stroud, Gloucester	1	0	0
	Hamlin, John, Draper, &c., Taunton	1	0	0
Greenock.	*Walker, P, Devises	1	0	0
	*Newton, Edward, Church Gate, Leicester	1	0	0
	*Laycock, Joshua, Harewood, near Leeds	1	0	0
	*Jupe, C, Mere, Wilts	1	0	0
Greenock.	*Parkin, Wm, Barnard Castle	1	0	0
	Morton, Robert, Dunoon	1	0	0
	*Hardrop, Robt, Windy Edge, Beith, Ayrshire	1	0	0
	*Wright, A, North-street, St Andrews, Fife	1	0	0
Greenock.	*Andrew, John, North Curry, Taunton, Somerset	1	0	0
	*Atkinson, Joseph, Yeadon, near Leeds	1	0	0
	*Selley, Ephraim, Minto, by Hawick	1	0	0
	*Woffenden, J R, Selverwell-street, Bolton	1	0	0
Greenock.	*Hamilton, John, Fairholn, Larkhall, N B	1	0	0
	*Liggs, Wm, Sen, 2, York-buildings, Gloucester	1	0	0
	*Zeal, Thos, Church-street, Westbury, Wilts	1	0	0
	*Scott, Moses, Kay-street, Little Bolton	1	0	0
Greenock.	*Stopes, Christopher, East-street, Colchester	1	0	0
	Garland, Thos, do do	1	0	0
	*Holmes, Jno, 29, Manchester street, Liverpool	1	0	0
	*Cochrane, John, Melksham	1	0	0
Greenock.	*Thompson, W, Hull	1	0	0
	*Colquhoun, J, 37, East Holborn, South Shields..	1	0	0
	*Liddell, Edw, Union Bank, Sheffield	1	0	0
	*Saunders, A C, Market, Lavington, near Wilts..	1	0	0
Greenock.	*Tucker, W, MD, do do	1	0	0
	*Smith, Wm, do do	1	0	0
	*Ross, John, Stanwix, Carlisle	1	0	0
	*Cooke, Wm, Heckmondwike, near Leeds	1	0	0
Greenock.	*Clarke, Mrs Elizabeth, Lynton	1	0	0
	*Horton, W, Eccles Hill, near Bradford, Yorkshire	0	16	0
	*Hutton, John, do do	0	16	0
	*Fenton, William, do do	0	16	0
Greenock.	*Thornton, Samuel, do do	0	16	0

in procession to the Town-hall in the usual electioneering style, with a brass band at their head that made horrible discordance, the usual forms having been complied with,

Mr. RAFFER, the mayor, stood forward, and said that the meeting had heard from the crier the object for which they were then assembled together, and he was quite sure that they would proceed to the business before them in the spirit that they had displayed on former occasions, and that they would give to every person, whatever his political opinions might be, a fair, candid, and impartial hearing (cheers).

Mr. HENRY, an extensive brewer in Chichester, then rose, and said that the connection between the citizens and their late representative had suddenly been dissolved, and he was sure they all regretted extremely that such was the case, but it now remained to be seen whether they could not find a worthy successor. The connection between them and Lord Arthur Lennox had subsisted for 15 years, and he believed that it had ever given satisfaction to them all—that each year had strengthened their mutual regard, and even political opponents had heard of Lord A.'s retirement with regret. He was sure that the citizens would now proceed to find his successor with perfect good will. There had existed between them and the house of which Lord Arthur was a branch, a connection that had lasted many years, and where could they look for a representative of their city with a greater chance of success than in some other branch of that family? In introducing to them Lord Henry Lennox as a young candidate for the honour of representing them in Parliament, he considered that great trust was to be placed in his lordship (cheers and groans). There was about him certainly an uncertainty which in the case of their noble friend, the late member, did not subsist; but he felt well assured that if the constituency elected Lord Henry Lennox, their trust in him would not be belied. The connection which had existed between their city and his grace of Richmond, was not that which bound a stern landlord to a servile tenantry; but it was that which influenced the heart and the affections, which sprang from the love which the exalted integrity of the Lennox family must create (cheers and groans.) He introduced the noble lord as the upholder of true Conservative principles, as a warm supporter of the ancient institutions of the country, both civil and ecclesiastical, as determined to promote whatever may conduce to the welfare of the country, and to oppose such measures as he may consider dangerous to its prosperity. But the noble lord would himself have an opportunity of addressing them and explaining his views; and he now therefore begged to nominate Lord Henry Lennox as a fit and proper person to represent the city of Chichester in Parliament. (Cheers and groans, mingled with cries of "Free Trade for ever.")

Dr. M'CAROGHER said that he had much pleasure in seconding the nomination of Lord Henry Lennox. Though only about to commence his political career, he felt sure that his lordship would imitate the conduct of his illustrious predecessors by the zeal and ability he would display not only in advancing the interests of his own constituency, but also that of the country at large.

Mr. FULLAGAR, a Unitarian minister, then stood forward and addressed the meeting. He said that it was the custom sometimes in the hereditary house of the Legislature, in which the noble duke, the father of the noble lord then present, sat, to enter a protest against the proceedings of the house, when these were disapproved of by any peer; and he suspected that unless his grace very speedily became a convert to those opinions which were now very generally expressed by Parliament, his only resource would be to enter his protest against the proceedings of the house in which he sat. He thought the noble duke would find himself in a minority if he still clung to his opinions, and that those who thought with him would have the poor satisfaction of entering their protest against the proceedings of their fellow peers. Now a protest did not stop the progress of a measure, for it was only an advantage as a satisfaction to the party making it, and as a record to posterity in all time coming of the views which he had taken. He (Mr. Fullagar) was there to protest against the proceedings of the day, as managed by the friends of the noble lord and himself, and against those proceedings which had preceded that meeting (loud cheers). He held in his hand two papers, the one purporting to be from Lord Arthur Lennox, and the other from the noble lord who was then soliciting their suffrages. He must confess that he strongly suspected if they were to search the whole annals of election proceedings, they would not find two more curious productions than he then held in his hands (cheers). He could not tell if they emanated from the same pen, but he had a strong presumption and suspicion that they did (laughter). There was a very general similarity in their character. Their score and meaning was perfectly inane and unsatisfactory, for they declared hardly anything (cheers). He did not pretend to say that these addresses had any direct or indirect connection with the noble lord's father, because that would be a very unconstitutional interference with the liberty of elections (laughter). But if they did not proceed from the same pen, then he hoped that Mr. Frec-land would prove to the satisfaction of the meeting that his suspicion was groundless (cheers). All he could say was, that if those addresses did not proceed from the same pen, then there was a very strong family likeness between them; more, indeed, than could be anticipated between the style of an uncle and his nephew. Lord Arthur said, in his address, that the feelings under which he then laboured were such as he could not possibly express. And why? Because he felt himself placed in a more difficult and painful situation than he was sure the constituency would wish to see him involved in. He believed that many of Lord Arthur's political

opponents were as sorry that Lord Arthur had resigned as any of his friends could be; but his lordship's resignation did seem so very curious, that the question very naturally suggested itself—What, in the name of common sense, was the nature of the dilemma into which he had got? He was unacquainted with the courtesies of life which regulated the intercourse of men associating in the ranks of the noble lord, but he should have thought that had he himself represented a city in Parliament for 15 years, and at length had felt himself uncomfortable in that connection, he should have come down to the citizens, and explained to them frankly the causes of his discomfort (cheers). Lord Arthur had merely talked to them of his painful feelings, without deigning to give them the least insight into the reasons for which he was about to withdraw (cheers). It appeared to him most extraordinary and most unsatisfactory that some information had not been offered to them on the subject. Probably the noble lord would see the propriety of giving some explanation with respect to the conduct of his noble relative (laughter). But when Lord Arthur Lennox had withdrawn from the representation, the constituency had not once been called together to consult to whom they should entrust the affairs of the city, and yet in so momentous a business one would suppose that some step of that kind would at least be taken. The noble lord, their late representative, had withdrawn, and then another noble lord came and told them that he was ready to supply the vacant place. Lord H. Lennox told the electors that he was quite aware that he had "but slight pretensions to so great a distinction as that at which he aspired" (hear,) and he therefore expressed a hope that he should not be considered presumptuous in doing so. Now, he did not pretend to be the scholar the noble lord might be. His lordship might have studied many languages, and the English language among them, but he did not see how his lordship was to be acquitted of presumption in coming forward to solicit so important a trust, while he admits at the same time that his qualifications for assuming it are so slight (cheers). He suspected that the noble lord was not acting on individual feeling and principle, but that he was a mere automaton, whose motions were regulated by the pulling of some secret wires (loud cheers and laughter). These were the horns of the dilemma on which he should fix his lordship, because, as the matter stood, he thought the constitution had been wounded in one of its most vital parts (cheers). The noble lord told them in his address that he was anxious to preserve those institutions under which the country had attained its present prosperity. Now, what were these institutions? There were two of the greatest importance to the interests of the country and its liberties; one of these was the trial by jury, and the other, the liberty and duty of returning as member to Parliament the fittest person they could find after due consideration, and of returning him on free, unbiassed, independent principles (cheers). Now, instead of his lordship's saying what his capabilities were, he merely told them that individually he had but slight claims on their support. Mr. Henry had introduced his lordship as entitled to become their representative because of the long connections that had subsisted between the city of Chichester and the Goodwood family. But, if Mr. Henry wanted a coachman, would he choose him on such grounds (laughter)? If he did, and the coachman pulled one rein when he should have pulled the other, very few people would be found who, however much they pitied, did not blame Mr. Henry for the accident (laughter). Such was the case of the noble lord. He did not mean, when he said so, however, to say anything hard of the noble lord personally. He had intended to come there that day, not from any feeling of personal liability to his lordship; for if he had it in his power, he would be ready to serve him, but to protest against proceedings which were reducing a most important duty to something worse than child's play. Since, however, he had seen the noble lord, circumstances had arisen which had given him an opportunity of introducing to the citizens a gentleman of the Anti-Corn-Law League; and he embraced the opportunity presented for two or three reasons. In the first place, he thought that free and unrestricted trade in everything was not only most important for the country, but proper and fitting, according to the Creator's arrangement of the New World. He would, therefore, put it on his opponents to show if there were any circumstances in the state of the country—anything rotten in the state of Denmark—to require such an interposition in the dispensations of the Deity as protection interposed. His second reason was, that he was a minister of the gospel. When he considered that Free Trade was what the Deity intended; when he considered that that illustrious person (the reader must remember that it is a Unitarian minister who thus speaks of our Lord), whose minister he was, had directed his disciples to do all in their power to ameliorate the condition of the poorer classes, he certainly was astonished that the established clergy had not come forward on this subject (cheers). Having, however, been at the Corn Exchange the other day, he was still more astonished to find that some of them could come forward on the opposite side of the question. In an old book, which he had in his possession, the author, in describing the conduct of the Christian hierarchies, said, that the instruction given them was, "feed my sheep," whereas their conduct had been as if it was "fleece my lambs." As the Duke of Richmond had expressed his desire that the question of protection should be discussed at the hustings, he would not be surprised if his Grace should make him a handsome present for allowing his son to have an opportunity of discussing the subject there to-day (laughter). He would wish to please his Grace if possible, and as this was not the first or only time in which such discussion had taken place, and if the question was not soon settled, would not be the last, as other obstacles might be

thrown into the stream of truth; yet they were only like the pebbles which children cast into the brook, which were powerless to stay the flow of its waters. The rev. gentleman then proceeded to state his objections to Lord H. Lennox, as a member of the aristocracy, entering the lower House of Parliament. He then continued by saying that it was asserted that Sussex had been distinguished for sending incapables to the House of Commons, that the brains of the people required as much working to make them profitable as the clods of the soil itself. After enlogising Captain Pechell, whom he excepted from this category, and condemning in strong language the principles of the new Poor Law, the rev. gentleman concluded by quoting the following lines, altered from those on Burke, with reference to the trial of Warren Hastings:—

"Off it has been remarked that Sussex ground,
"Produced no senators of thought profound,
"That taint at Sussex shall no more be hurled—
"Cobden, her son, appears to teach the world." (Cheers.)

Having proposed Mr. T. Falvey, as a fit and proper person to represent Chichester in Parliament,

Mr. MALDON seconded the nomination. He said that he was one of those who regretted exceedingly that Lord A. Lennox, their late representative, had not rested satisfied with the office which he had obtained a little before he last came down there to stand upon the hustings, but that since then he had been ambitious of another office, viz., that of the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds. He regretted that Lord Arthur had vacated his seat for Chichester. Not that he could agree with the noble lord then present that Lord Arthur's retirement was unexpected by him. When he read the able speech of Sir R. Peel, developing the plan of his great commercial revolution, he did expect that Lord Arthur would either quit the ministry, depart from Sir R. Peel, or vacate his seat in Parliament. His lordship had chosen to do the latter, and he thought that his lordship had shown himself very wise in his generation (loud cheers and laughter). By so doing he had pleased his noble brother; he had accommodated his noble nephew; he had shown his gratitude to his patron, his friend, and benefactor—Sir R. Peel; and also some consideration for his noble self and the wife of his bosom (loud cheers and laughter). 1200*l.* a-year was no joke it appeared. Lord Arthur had chosen to keep his office, with its emoluments, and he had thought proper to give up the representation of their city, which would not after all be worth to him more than about a year's purchase—or the value of a warming-pan (cheers and laughter). It was merely a question of time with his lordship, after all, for he might be sure that as Lord George Lennox was compelled to vacate the west division of Sussex for the accommodation of Lord March, so surely would Lord Arthur be compelled at the close of the present session to vacate his seat for the noble candidate who was then before them (cheers). He had always received a great deal of civility from Lord Arthur Lennox, and he rejoiced therefore that he intended to retain his office, as it would make him independent of his brother the Duke of Richmond (hear, and cheers). His Grace had been a very fortunate man in providing for his children (cheers). It was said in a very old book, that "he who would not provide for his own had denied the faith, and was worse than an infidel" (laughter). He (Mr. Maldon) believed that the sort of infidelity thus spoken of did not belong to the Duke of Richmond (continued laughter). All this was quite true, but was it not a serious thing that a peer of the realm should thus interfere in the election of members serving the lower house of Parliament. Was it not a serious thing that he should thus violate the express terms of an Act of Parliament on that subject (cheers). But if they, the inhabitants of Chichester, being so ill-treated, returned his Grace's nominee to Parliament, they would become abettors of his crime. The duke had expressed his anxiety that the Parliament should be dissolved, and the doctrines of Free Trade discussed at the hustings. His Grace had taken care that Parliament should be dissolved as far as Chichester was concerned; and to accommodate his grace, he, Mr. Maldon, was there to hear it discussed, and he had very great pleasure therefore in seconding the nomination of Mr. Falvey, of Manchester, because he knew him to be a man of talent and information, of high moral and intellectual worth, and well able to discuss with the noble lord the great question which was then absorbing the public attention (cheers).

Lord H. LENNOX, then, on presenting himself, was received with cheers from his own party, and groans from his opponents, in the midst of which a voice was heard, "Let the lady speak." His lordship said that he presented himself before them as a candidate for the honour of representing the city of Chichester in Parliament. He assured them that he felt deeply the extent of the honour which he solicited at their hands, and he must take that opportunity of expressing the gratitude which he felt in the course of his canvass during the last four days. There was one point which had been alluded to that day, and with which he had been repeatedly questioned in the course of his canvass. He begged distinctly to state that Lord Arthur Lennox had resigned his seat of his own accord. The Duke of Richmond did not dictate that step; but he resigned of his own accord. (Cheers and groans, mingled with cries of "Turned out.") He of course felt some delicacy in approaching a subject which had been discussed by the greatest men in the kingdom—that subject which engrossed not only the attention of England, but that of the whole civilised world. Nevertheless, he was unhesitatingly in favour of protection, not only to agriculture, but to British industry in every branch. He hoped that he should never live to see England dependent on the foreigner for her daily bread. The cry of the League was cheap bread, while their avowed object was low wages; but what good would cheap bread do if the rate

of wages fell in proportion? (Hisses.) He considered that the result of the proposed Ministerial measure would be to employ the foreigner, and to allow the condition of the native mechanic and labourer to become much worse than it then was. He did not see why the landed interest, who had peculiar burdens pressing on them, should have protection to their industry taken away, while the manufacturers, who had no such burdens, were still to retain a half of theirs. The best proof that protection should be preserved was to be found in the fact that it was, as a principle, approved of by the whole world, and that every country abroad was now adopting the system under which England had attained its present flourishing position among the nations (cheers and groans). They had heard his opponents without interruption, and perhaps now, therefore, they would allow him to explain his views. There was no use, he thought, for any change in the existing corn and provision laws, as England was at present in a very flourishing condition. He agreed with the present Secretary for the Home Department when he said, some years ago, that it was at any time most dangerous to interfere with the laws that regulated the price of food, and of all periods for doing so, the worst was, when a report of scarcity in the returns of the seasons had inflamed the ignorant passions of the people (loud cheers). The reverend gentleman opposite had stated that he expected a brilliant speech from him, and he saw that the Anti-Corn Law League newspaper (the *Times*) of yesterday had said that as this was "his first appearance on any stage, it was anticipated some other members of his family would be present on the occasion as prompters." It was his first appearance on any stage, and if he failed in realising their hopes they must excuse him, because it was his first fault (cheers). He trusted that, should they elect him to Parliament, they would find him not only ready to vote for all measures which might tend to the benefit of the country at large; but, also, more especially, for those that would be of benefit to the local interests of the city (cheers and hisses). And he would consider that he had been elected as member for the city, not on account of any merits in himself, but to advocate that principle of protection to native industry which the farmers required. Now, the city of Chichester was dependent on the farmers of the neighbourhood, and if they were ruined, what would become of the city? The organ of the Anti-Corn-Law League, the *Times*, on Wednesday last, said that Chichester was dependent on the labouring farmers around her, and if it was so, the prosperity of the one must rise or decline with that of the other. He would not then detain them any longer, but conclude by informing them that, should he be elected, he would support the Guildford Junction Railway, as that best adapted to suit their interests. He tendered his best thanks to those who had promised him their support (cheers and hisses). He trusted that his friends would fight out the question of protection at the hustings. He did not mean that they should discuss it, because discussion would not send their member to Parliament, but he repeated that he hoped they would fight it out at the hustings (cheers and groans).

Mr. FALVEY then rose and said, that he appeared before the constituency of Chichester that day in order to offer his opposition, not to the person, but to the principles of the noble lord who had just been soliciting their suffrages. He came before them, also, in a great measure owing to a challenge thrown out by the Duke of Richmond in his place in Parliament, that her Majesty's Ministers should dissolve Parliament, that the question now before the public might be openly discussed, for that was the point. Whatever might be the result of that day's proceedings, it was satisfactory to the friends of Free Trade to know, that it was as vain for the noble lord, his opponents, and his relatives, to stem the tide of public opinion on the question of Free Trade as it was for Madame Partington to attempt to put back the ocean one fine morning with her broom (cheers). He came before them with perfect confidence, because he felt from the experience which he had had in the agricultural districts, that both friends and foes were resolved to hear fully and fairly what was to be said in favour of the engrossing question. He trusted, therefore, that the noble lord would believe him if he spoke severely of the principle advocated by his lordship, that he meant nothing personally offensive, but was merely actuated by a regard to the dictates of humanity, common sense, and justice (cheers). The noble lord had denied, and he was bound to believe that his denial was true, as far as he was concerned, that Lord Arthur Lennox was requested or commanded to resign his seat for Chichester. He (Mr. Falvey), however, would ask what Lord Arthur meant by saying that he would be placed in a painful situation if he continued to represent the city in Parliament? Was the language of his address intended to have any authority with the electors, or was that address intended to be anything more than a childish form? No one could read the address without coming to the conclusion that Lord Arthur had been obliged to give up his seat by an unseen power not known to the constituency (cheers and laughter). There was not a more tender point to touch upon than the privileges by which the Commons returned their representatives to Parliament. It had been declared a high crime and misdemeanour in a peer of Parliament to interfere either directly or indirectly in the election of members to the other house. Yet, in the face of all this the representatives for Buckingham, for Woodstock, for Newark, and for Chichester had been silently turned out at the dictation of the neighbouring noblemen, and he should not have solicited at their hands the honour of representing them that day had it not been for the attempt which had been made to prevent the question of Free Trade being examined and discussed in their city (cheers). Thanks, however, to the power given on these occasions to the people, he had the opportunity of bringing the question before them in the best possible

arena he could desire if he had his selection. For such an arena no question could be better adapted than that. Have the Corn Laws done well for their country—has protection answered its objects? Have the farmers those profits to which they are entitled on the outlay of their capital? Has the labourer been paid in proportion to his requirements (vehement cries of "No, no")? He did not blame the noble lord for conscientiously following in the footsteps of his relative. He had no fear, however, that if the question was not now finally settled, his lordship would no more remain a protectionist than Lord Arthur had continued so (cheers). Lord Arthur was said to be an honourable man and an excellent representative. Lord Arthur had kept his eyes and ears open. He heard the Free Trade declarations of the Prime Minister—he had listened to the argument adduced in favour of Free Trade by the greatest men on both sides of the House of Commons. He had felt that protection could not be maintained, and the result had been that he had stuck to his situation of 1200*l.* a-year at the hands of a Free Trade Minister (cheers and laughter). He did not despair of seeing the noble lord himself become the advocate of Free Trade; but if the great measure was carried before his conversion would be completed, then he would see the lands still in cultivation—the farmers prosperous—the labourer better paid and better fed—England worth living in still: and he will find, too, that his noble father has not run away and left it (cheers and laughter). He would put it to them as to any intelligent assembly, were not all Sir Robert Peel's personal and political predilections in favour of things as they were? He had a large majority in the House of Commons. He had been selected to lead the armies of protection; he had every reason to continue a protectionist; but he saw a blight coming over an esculent upon which (shame be it said) a large portion of the population of the land depended. He saw want in the distance by Government commissioners reporting the facts of the case, and then he went to Parliament, and though the Minister of a party, opposed to such a policy, declared that he would not take upon him the responsibility of keeping the ports shut, and that as the Minister of the Crown and the people he bade defiance to the aristocracy, and threw himself upon the support of the country (loud cheers). The consequence was that large meetings were preparing and sending petitions to Parliament to support him, while the protectionists were hiding themselves in holes and corners, and assembling in numbers so small that there were few present besides the reporters, and getting up petitions without allowing discussion upon them (cheers). With respect to the Duke of Richmond taking on his shoulders the Government of the country, his Grace might think himself very clever, but he (Mr. Falvey) would as soon expect to see a child wielding a thunderbolt as his Grace occupying such a position (loud laughter). The duke, who was Lord Lieutenant of the county, was reported to have said that if a Free Trader came to address the people of Sussex he would not answer that he would not get pinched by them. Now this was a most unwise suggestion, for, as the head of the magistracy, his Grace should not thus, by innuendoes, have hinted at violence. But expressions of that sort pass for nothing, because the labourers, when they met to declare their opinions, entered heart and soul into the cause of Free Trade, and protested against a system which had not protected them. Mr. Falvey then proceeded to address himself in detail to the different points of Lord Henry Lennox's speech, meeting each assertion with the usual and well-known arguments which the Free Traders have employed against the fallacies of monopoly. He concluded by complimenting the citizens upon the candour and impartiality of the hearing which they had given both to him and his opponents.

When Mr. Falvey had sat down, a gentleman named Barlow made an abortive attempt to gain a hearing.

The Mayor then proceeded to take a show of hands. The result of which he declared to be in favour of Mr. Falvey.

A poll having been demanded by Lord Henry Lennox, Mr. Falvey pleaded the want of a fair start in the canvass as his excuse for retiring from the contest, and again thanked the constituency for the kindness with which they had received him.

Lord H. LENNOX, in returning thanks for his election, which was duly declared by the mayor, said that if Mr. Falvey had expressed his high sense of the honour which they had done him in giving him the show of hands, how much more creditable was it to him that so many of the electors had promised him their support, that Mr. Falvey would not go to the poll. As long as he lived he should not forget the favour which they had that day conferred on him (cheers). His endeavour would be to promote the best interests of the city, and he hoped they would not find him so bad a bargain as they thought for (cheers and laughter). He could not quite conclude without thanking his opponents for the good humour and kindness they had evinced towards him.

A vote of thanks to the Mayor having been put and carried, the farce of an independent election at Chichester closed, as it had opened, with a disorderly procession, and the noisy discordance of wind instruments.

IMPORTANT TO SHEEP FARMERS AND OTHERS.—A correspondent earnestly recommends the sowing of rye grass and clover among heather. He observes, "I have seen barren patches of heath land converted into the most beautiful green sward, merely by sowing rye grass and clover among the heather, in the proportion in which these are generally sown together, without paying any attention to the afflu." In the instances in which I saw this done, I observed that three years or so had not elapsed before the heather had completely disappeared." This hint ought to be attended to, especially under present circumstances.—*Edinburgh Evening Post.*

CITY OF LONDON—COURT OF COMMON COUNCIL.

THE CORN LAWS.—After an ineffectual attempt made by several members to proceed to the consideration of petitions, the subject of the total and immediate abolition of the Corn Laws was entered upon.

The clerk of the Court read the requisition, which was signed by the following gentlemen:—David William Wire, Thomas Watkins, William Dawson, F. Bennock, James Hoole, Charles Barnard, John Last, Benjamin Brown, W. H. Ashurst, J. M. Barnard, J. Anderton, J. Prendergast, W. Johnson, T. H. Hall, W. S. Pilcher, James Frisby, W. Stevens, J. R. Carr, J. Bennett, R. Ashby, R. Thomas, W. Tozer, G. Wright, J. R. Thompson, J. Parker, J. Collingwood, J. Kilby, W. Christie, S. H. Jutsum, T. J. Holt, T. J. Salter, A. Freeman, J. Jerran, E. Fisher, T. Young, T. Tagg, J. Sharland, J. Waterlow, J. Duncan, D. Lauri, G. Virtue, N. Maughan, R. Westwood, H. Prichard, H. Blake, S. Ridley, R. Williams, H. L. Taylor, W. Lister, E. Hickson, W. Groucher, J. Roberts, L. Redhead, T. Sidney (alderman), T. Hall, J. Phillips, F. Sadler, T. Eldred, S. Read, S. Sharwood, S. Maw, S. Gilbert, W. B. James, G. Bracher, J. Curtis, G. Selson, T. Joyce, D. Cook, J. Law, W. Muddell, T. T. Lott, J. Jolliffe, T. Rowley, T. Sprague, W. Tyler, T. Marsden, S. Lepard, J. T. Bedford, R. Taylor, J. Bailey, W. M. Williams, R. Norris, G. Stacey, W. Harding, J. Whiteside.

Mr. WIRE said, that in rising to propose the resolution which he should afterwards submit to the consideration of the Court, he would best have consulted his own feelings if, after thanking the Lord Mayor for the readiness and courtesy with which his lordship had complied with the requisition in thus calling the Court on an early day, he had been permitted to submit the resolutions without any remarks. But he had understood that the resolutions would be opposed by gentlemen on the ground that the policy of Sir R. Peel had already gone far enough, and that to ask for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws would be to endanger the success of measures which, apart from that question, were considered beneficial to the country. He should, in a few words prove the immediate necessity for the concurrence of the Court in his propositions (hear). Happily the Court had not, like the members of another house, to retract opinions formerly enforced, nor had the individual members placed themselves in the unenviable position of being suddenly converted to Free Trade doctrines (hear, hear). For a series of years that Court had recorded its conviction of the impolicy and injustice of the Corn Laws, and had denounced the imposition of prohibiting duties as alike injurious to the commerce and industry of the country, and it was matter of congratulation that opinions so just in themselves, ratified and confirmed as they had been by experience, of the benefits arising from the relaxation of import duties, had been gathering strength every day, and had ascended from the haunts of commerce to the halls of legislation. The publication of the evidence taken by the House of Commons some years since, the report upon that subject made to the Houses of Parliament, the agitation of the Corn Law League, the speeches at the hustings, and other assemblies of the people, had carried conviction to the minds of all that extension, and not exclusion, as free interchange of the commodities of one country for the productions of another was the true basis of a sound commercial policy (hear, hear). One class, however, of the community remained unconvinced of the justice by selfishness or misled by prejudice, steadily resisted any change in the protection afforded to agriculture. It seemed as if it required, in addition to reason and experience, the visitation of Providence, in the shape of famine, to convince them of the folly and wickedness of withholding food and employment from the people. Sir Robert Peel, seeing the terrible prospect which awaited the greater part of the population of Ireland, in the destruction of their usual food, could no longer uphold the system of protection, and he had won for himself a nation's gratitude by announcing the change in his opinions, and by proposing those liberal, just and necessary measures which he had submitted to the House of Commons (loud cheers). It was to be regretted that, apparently awed by the clamour of the monopolists, he had not proposed the immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. If it were right that they should expire in three years, why should they not immediately cease (hear, hear)? Why, with an impending famine, should we go on continuing those obnoxious laws? Why should an important branch of commerce be deranged by a sliding scale which all parties have pronounced to be a failure (hear, hear)? It had increased the price of corn. It had filled the pockets of speculators. It certainly had not benefited either the tenant-farmer, the commercial man, or the labouring population. On whom then, while it inflicted great evil, had it conferred any substantial advantage? Surely not on the landlord, who on letting his farms had been unable to calculate upon the sure payment of rent without subjecting the tenant to ruin by the fluctuation of prices and the uncertainty of obtaining a remunerating profit for his capital and labour (hear, hear). Apart from these considerations, there was another and most important one, which was the injury done to commerce in general. Poor countries, which had no money, but great agricultural capabilities, were prevented from pouring their abundance into the land, to feed its millions of population; and we were unable to find a large market for the exportation of our manufactures. Ascending still higher, he could not but look upon the subject in a moral and religious point of view, and asking the Court to be consistent with itself, with its former resolutions, and to send up its unanimous prayer to Parliament to abolish that most hateful of all monopolies in the sight of God and man—the monopoly of food (loud cheers). He concluded by moving the following resolutions:—

"That while this court is desirous to record its cordial and entire approbation of the comprehensive, just, and wise measures introduced to the Commons House of Parliament by the first Minister of the Crown, for the revision of our commercial policy, and is gratified to learn that a repeal of the Corn Laws is also proposed, although at a future time, it cannot but express an earnest hope that the total and immediate repeal of those laws may yet be proposed, instead of deferring such a positive good for a period of three years.

"That this court is of opinion that the removal of all prohibitory duties upon the importation of food and other necessary articles is eminently calculated to promote the agricultural, commercial, and social interests of the people by improving their physical condition, and thus advancing their intellectual and moral habits.

"That, therefore, to delay the final repeal of the Corn Laws for a period of three years is an evil, and necessarily tends to introduce uncertainty into an important branch of commerce, to injure commerce in general, to procrastinate

agricultural improvement, and thus prevent the application of service to the better cultivation of the land by which the English farmer, without protection, will be able successfully to compete with the foreign grower.

"That a petition be presented to Parliament founded upon these resolutions, and praying for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws.

"That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the representatives of this city in Parliament, with the expression of the hope that they will support the measures introduced by her Majesty's Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, for the repeal of the Corn Laws and the remission of taxation, and avail themselves of any opportunity which may present itself, and which, without prejudicing or impeding the passing of the measure of Sir R. Peel, may yet afford an opportunity to obtain a total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws."

Mr. DUNCAN seconded the propositions. He anticipated great advantages from the immediate abolition of the Corn Laws, and pointed to the disposition already evinced on parts of the Continent to assimilate their duties to ours as proof of the liberal commercial policy springing from the example of this country. After entering into some details on the benefits naturally arising from unrestricted trade, he stated that one of the great effects of the policy would be the complete settlement of the question of war, which was only for barbarians (cheers). A war with France would drive the people ten years back in civilisation, and would destroy the improvements which would be disseminated by the abolition of the abominable Corn Laws. Three years, in fact, would not elapse before the vast benefits derivable from immediate repeal would exhibit themselves, and the country would appear in a most flourishing condition (hear, hear).

Alderman H. HUGHES said it appeared to him to be extremely inconsistent in the court to support the Government in the measures they brought forward, and then turn round suddenly and require the Government to propose a total abolition.

Mr. PHILLIPS said it might be reasonably imagined that Sir R. Peel would be the best judge as to the time for the abolition (hear, hear). The Minister had fixed the time for the total removal of the restrictions, but the supporters of the resolutions, who did not seem to think at all about the consequences of immediate abolition to the agriculturists, were for hurrying on the measure. He thought that a concession had been made to the agriculturists to which they were entitled.

Mr. LAWRENCE said he considered several of the resolutions founded on reason and good sense, but he could not reconcile himself to the idea of calling for immediate repeal, at the same time that the portion of the resolutions he admired, pledged the Court to the support of the Ministers in the plan for fixing a future period for the total abolition (hear, hear). There was something strangely contradictory in the introduction of the paragraphs, and, in his opinion, the Court could not do better than adopt the former, and exclude the latter. A person would imagine that the opinion of such a man as Sir R. Peel, as to the time adopted for removing the restriction, might be considered as entitled to some weight; but there were some people, who if the stream ran in any particular line, were determined to go along with it. Mr. Lawrence then proposed an amendment to the effect described.

Mr. W. JONES supported the amendment, and remarked upon the inconsistency of the proposers of the resolutions. Lord John Russell had expressed, at a meeting of his friends, an opinion that it would be injurious to the measure of the Premier to advocate immediate abolition; and it might be reasonably admitted that such an authority deserved to be respected (hear, hear). He would then ask why the court considered such a suggestion unworthy of regard? It was well known, that the citizens were accused of too frequently meddling with political matters (hear, hear, and laughter). It was said they were afraid to go to Parliament upon any subject connected with their local interests, because they endangered their interests by meddling with politics. He believed that to be the fact. But the supporters of the resolutions knew that the immediate abolition could not be carried. If they thought it would, why did they not condemn Sir R. Peel? The terms of praise in which the Minister was lauded in the court, after having been subjected to very different sorts of compliment upon previous occasions must be very flattering and gratifying to his ears (laughter). He (Mr. Jones) believed that it would be an act of great injustice to the agriculturist to adopt the course advocated by the mover of the resolution, and no inconvenience of any consequence was likely to arise from the three years' continuation of the small duty proposed by Sir Robert Peel. If the Corn Laws were repealed at once, money would not be put into the pockets of the monopolists, but food would not be put into the bellies of the poor. He was an advocate for the measure proposed by the Premier; and he hoped the court would see the necessity of supporting that measure.

Mr. BOWER said the Corn Laws could not be repealed in any other way than in that proposed by Sir Robert Peel. If immediate repeal were to take place, it would throw money into the hands of individuals or foreigners; but it would not at all afford any benefit to the poor.

Mr. NORRIS supported the original resolutions. Those who advocated the proposition were anxious to express their approbation of the new feature in Sir Robert Peel's domestic policy: and to show their approval of it, they wished to make it known that they wanted it now instead of three years hence; but they also plainly exhibited a desire not in the slightest degree to embarrass him in the excellent measures he was carrying into effect.

Mr. BENNOCK very ably supported the resolution. He condemned all protecting duties as always delusive, never protecting those they pretended to protect.

Mr. WIRE replied, and the question was put. The amendment was negatived, and the original resolutions were carried by a large majority.

Petitions to both Houses of Parliament, grounded upon the resolutions, were proposed and carried, and after the transaction of some unimportant business, the court adjourned.

CORN LAWS.—A meeting of agriculturists took place at Toynes, on Tuesday, for the purpose of considering the financial scheme of Sir Robert Peel, and adopting certain resolutions with reference thereto. The meeting was called by the protection party, and resolutions condemnatory of Sir Robert Peel's proposed alteration of duties were proposed, but, strange to say, the whole of them were defeated with great majorities, and an amendment approving of an immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, agreed to with acclamation. This was turning, the tables with a vengeance, and the astonished "protection" men left the meeting looking unutterable things.—*Devonport Independent.*

AGRICULTURE.

THE "PROTECTED" LABOURERS.

Of the many impudent pretences put forward by the monopolists as apologies for the Corn Laws, perhaps the most impudent is that which asserts that the agricultural labourers have an interest in the maintenance of artificial scarcity. In fact, nothing but a thorough reliance upon utter want of knowledge on the part of the public of the real condition of the rural population, and of the causes of that condition, could have induced the monopolists to venture on those statements. If there be one demonstrative proof of the impolicy of the Corn Laws, it is the state of the English peasantry in connection with the state of English husbandry. The land is imperfectly cultivated, producing little more than the half of what it might easily be made to produce by the employment of more labour, while labourers are unemployed, or starving on a pittance of 7s. or 8s. a-week. A mine of wealth exists in the soil, which only waits to be sought to be obtained; yet the means of its attainment, the muscles of the English peasant, are resting uselessly by in the form of a redundant and half-employed population. And this, after 30 years of that "protection," which we are told has been maintained for the especial advantage of the agricultural labourers!! Away with such nonsense! Ask the labourers themselves how they have fared under the fostering care of high rent seeking and monopolist landowners. Look at Wiltshire, where the monopolists muster in great force,—where, if anywhere, protection must have benefited the labourer; for, with very trifling exceptions, the county is now exclusively agricultural. Yet what said the thousand labourers assembled at Goatacre? What said the 1500 collected on Bremhill Green? Why, with one voice, they declared that protection has been the bane of agriculture, and the destruction of the agricultural labourer.

Probably none of our readers need be told of the effect the simple and touching statements of the poor men and women who spoke at these meetings have made upon the public mind; everywhere there is but one opinion upon the subject. Men least affected by rural sympathies or Free Trade arguments have said, "If this be the state of the protected labourers, there must be some error in the system; such things must not be." The monopolists, too, purblind as they are, could not avoid seeing what a decisive refutation of their favourite pretence these meetings afforded; and, accordingly, we find the most flagitious attempts have been made to misrepresent the Goatacre meeting, and its earnest and humble speakers. Thus, we learn from the *Wiltshire Independent*—a journal of unflinching integrity, and well worthy of its name—that, amongst other falsehoods put forth by the local organ of monopoly, it was stated that Burchell, one of the speakers, and his family earn 24s. a week. Now, what is the fact?—and, we refer to these statements mainly for the purpose of showing what is the real state of the labourers, the "protected" labourers of North Wiltshire, and as introductory to some notices we shall give of the state of husbandry in those parts:

Burchell is a married man; and his family, at home, consists of himself, his wife, and six children; one child, a girl, is out at service; she is, however, no assistance to her parents, but, at present, the contrary, the cost of fitting her out at Michaelmas last, having obliged them to deprive themselves of many necessities, and even to run into debt. Here, then, are eight persons in one family. Their earnings, we have stated, were, at the time of the meeting, 10s. 6d. a-week, and the following are the items composing that sum:—

Burchell himself	8 0
His eldest son, 19 years of age, who acts in the capacity of shepherd, to Mr. Henley, Burchell's master, and works seven days in the week	6 0
And his second son, 17 years of age, who also works for Mr. Henley, as milker, &c.	5 6
	19 6

"[Since the meeting, and in order to make out a case against Burchell, by swelling the amount of his family earnings, the third boy has been employed by Mr. Henley, at 3d. a-day; but with that we have nothing to do, and only mention it to prevent our being hereafter charged with any misrepresentation.]

"Now the two elder sons absorb, in better clothing and in better food than the rest of the family are obliged to put up with, nearly the whole of the benefit of their wages, so that, in fact, Burchell, his wife, and four children were living on 8s. a-week, their sole dependence."

Here we find an adult, an intelligent labourer, working at 8s. a-week; his son of 19, who is to all intents and purposes an adult labourer, and en-

trusted with the responsible duty of shepherd—a duty which requires attendance seven days in the week, and at certain seasons of the year a good deal of night work also—earns 6s. a-week, or about tenpence farthing per day; and another son, who also is competent to the post of milker on a large dairy-farm, has wages of 5s. 6d. a-week. Now let us ask any one whether such wretched wages do not indicate a low state of husbandry? And this is not a populous district. One may ride through the North Wilts Vale, of which Goatacre is the centre, and meet with nothing but a few scattered cottages and very small hamlets—they can't be called villages; while so few are the people at work in the field, that a traveller, having missed his way, may often go for several miles before he can meet with a human being to direct him. Yet he is wandering for the most part amidst good though neglected land. High rude hedges, full of timber, surround him on every side; ditches and water-courses are very imperfectly scoured, while the land universally wants that first necessary to good cultivation,—draining. Cows, sheep, and oxen, are feeding on the natural pastures, for which high rents are paid, though they afford but small profits to the farmer, and to the labourers such wretched wages as are received by Burchell's family; and who, be it observed, for a vale country labourer, is "well off." How is it with those, the majority, who are confessedly not "well off?" Now, without saying the whole, or even the greater portion of the land of this district, ought at once to be converted into tillage,—though we believe it might be so converted with great advantage,—inasmuch as that would imply an entire change of system, and almost a complete change of tenants, we do not hesitate to assert, that by converting certain portions of the least valuable pasture of each farm into arable land, the amount of the total value of the produce might be doubled.

There is not a tenant farmer in the vale who will not assent to that statement. All of them are always anxious to have more tillage land, but the landlords will not consent. The landowners like the nomadic husbandry, because they believe it can be carried on by men of less capital, and of more supple politics, than would be required for a mixed husbandry. They believe also that they get as high rents from dairy farms as they would do from a more improved system of mixed cultivation. And it is the high rent derived from rude and primitive cultivation which the Corn Laws are especially calculated to protect. But what of the labourers? If no more than one-third of the pasture were broken up, and if all the land were to be drained even by the slowest conceivable degrees—say ten acres in every hundred yearly—it is absolutely certain that labour in this district would become scarce, and that wages would at once rise fifty per cent. And while wheat and beans might be produced in considerable quantities, more cattle might be actually kept than are maintained on the present system; for, first, the pastures being well drained would carry more stock than at present, and the use of roots, the supply of straw, and the adoption of house and yard feeding and rearing of stock which should result therefrom, would enable the farmer to milk his cows longer and keep more dry stock than he does now. Then again, a cheap supply of pulse, Indian corn, and so forth, would be of singular advantage to the dairy farmer, who always has or ought to have a large stock of swine, which feed with great rapidity on corn and milk. It is not that these things are unknown to the farmers who occupy this district, but they have been compelled by their landlords to follow one beaten track, and have been taught to lean on the delusive support of protection. Now protection is coming to an end, it will be for the advantage of all parties, and especially of the "protected" Wiltshire peasantry that there should be no delay of absolute freedom.

We shall add a few passages from the *Wiltshire Independent*, illustrative of the present condition of the Wiltshire labourers. After refuting some of the misstatements of his monopolist contemporary, the editor says:

"The destitution of the Wiltshire peasantry is denied;—7s. or 8s. a-week for a large family to subsist on is a thing not to be credited; but on the contrary, instances where thirty or forty shillings a-week have been paid in money to

the members of one family, besides 2s. or 3s. more of occasional perquisites, are known to the editor. Now we unhesitatingly assert, without fear of contradiction, and we will prove it if necessary, that 7s. and 8s. a-week is the general rate of wages for the best able-bodied labourers in the county; it is true a few get more, such as carters or shepherds for instance, who occasionally get nine, and perhaps one in a hundred, ten shillings a week; but in these cases all the amount above 8s. is for extra work; for their labour on the Sabbath-day, and for over hours on other days."

He also thus refers to another district of the county, Pewsey Vale, which is deep strong arable land, needing nothing but spirited culture to be one of the most productive tracts in the kingdom:

"Cases of general destitution have also been sent to us in great numbers, and from various parts of the county; and among other places from Farnford, where, at the late meeting of the Protection Society, Mr. Bethell spoke of the labourers as being happy and contented, but where, we are informed, the common necessities and common decencies of life are sadly wanting. From Pewsey, too, we have had most distressing accounts; there honest, able-bodied men are to be seen yoked to carts, like the brute-beasts, and drawing loads of stones to repair the roads; and for this degrading work, men, with wives, and three, four, five, and even six children, are paid only six shillings a-week! and on this sum they have to depend for their subsistence. Nay, more, one case is reported to us where a man with his wife and one child, and whose rent is £3 a-year, is employed at this work at four shillings only!"

Again he says:

"Were work as plentiful, and wages as good as the *Gazette* asserts they are, would such scenes as we have described at Pewsey exist, and would the independent labourers of the county be flocking into the Union Houses as they are? Last week upwards of fifty persons were admitted into the Devizes Union, and among them fourteen able-bodied labourers, some of them with wives and children, from the parish of All Cannings."

Vines, one of the speakers at Goatacre, on whose statement of his condition, the monopolist print, under the guise of a correspondent, affected to throw a doubt, thus writes to the *Independent*:

"It is false that I received 10s. for the job. And here I stand at Christian Melford (not at Sutton as the *Gazette* says) ready to prove the truth of what I said at Goatacre, and thither any man or any party of men from any part of England, is welcome to come to question me, and I, with my wife and also my children of age enough to have knowledge, will prove to them that the situation of myself and family at the present is really appalling. It costs me near 9s. a-week for bread, not having one potato I can eat. I do not deny that I had a place at 10s. a-week, but it is a falsehood that I came away; I was discharged, about four months ago, and with as good character as I went to the place with. As I said before, my distress is too conspicuous to be denied, therefore, sir, I submit this to you for publication as a testimony of my readiness to prove that the words stated by me at Goatacre are nothing more than bare facts, and not falsehoods."

Mr. H. Gale, of Malmesbury, who is well known for his hearty support of Free Trade, gave the following statements of the average case of Wiltshire labourers in his own neighbourhood:

"Jacob Chappell has a wife and seven children, oldest 13, (none of them employed) has been working at 8s. a week, but is now out of constant work; his wife went to the relieving officer on Saturday last, as he could not earn enough to buy food, but he could get no relief and he left home in search of work. He gives 5l. a year rent for a cottage and twenty lug of ground; pays poor-rates which leaves (after deducting for house rent and firing) 5s. for 9 persons, or 60d. for one hundred and eighty nine meals, or about 1d. a day each to live upon. Nothing for clothes and groceries."

"Thomas Hillier, of Westport, has a wife and 6 children, works at Cobwell at 8s. a week; rent £4 a year without land, which with rate is nearly 2s. a week. Firing 1s., leaving 5s. a week for food, clothing, soap, candles, and all the little &c.'s of housekeeping for eight persons."

"Richard Lea, of Westport, has a wife and 5 children, oldest 11; works for Mr. R. Milsome at 2s., and two quarts of table beer a day; rent 3l. 10s. for a very bad house without land; pays rates."

"Thomas Shallum, of Garsdon, works at Mr. Backlands, at 8s. a week, has a wife and five small children; no other means."

"Charles Tanner, of Corston, works for Mr. Whale at 7s. a week, has a wife and four children; rent 3l. 10s.; garden small."

"Richard Fry, of Filands, works for myself at 9s. a week, and as much milk as he requires to drink; has a wife and 5 children, one at service, and another has her food at her grandmother's, and three at home. Rent 5l. 10s. for a cottage and twenty lug of land; pays poor-rates, which makes the rent equal to 6l.; garden at 8l. an acre worth 1l. Deduct 3s. 2d. a week for rent and a hundred of coal, leaves 5s. 10d. for 5 person's food, groceries, &c., and 6 persons' clothes—less than enough to purchase three small loaves a day for fifteen meals."

The monopolist organ also said the Wootton Bassett labourers are fully employed. Hear what a correspondent of the *Independent* says thereupon:

"I beg leave to give you a brief statement of the real condition of the inhabitants of this town. They never were worse off than at this time. Some of them are, as I well know, at present in a state of starvation; and were it not for the benevolence of a few well-disposed individuals, they must inevitably perish. They go from house to house, begging, which seems to be their only resort. The other day, a friend who called on me said he had given a meal of victuals to one of his neighbours who was in a most distressing state of poverty. Another person whom I was in conversation with, stated that her brother-in-law had been out of employ for a month, having a wife and 4 children; and that they had actually been two or three days together without anything to put in their mouths. I have made inquiry respecting those persons who are out of work, and according to statements given

REVIEW.

Poems. By Thomas Hood. London. Moxon.

Among those who have devoted their lives to the service of their fellow-men, and employed the high powers with which they were gifted to relieve misery, expose hypocrisy, and resist oppression, there has been no one who has surpassed the late Thomas Hood in zeal, earnestness, and fearless expression of opinion. While these volumes ensure for his name a high and permanent place in the list of British poets, they equally establish his claim to the title of an enlightened philanthropist and a genuine patriot. His services to the great cause of truth and justice, for the advancement of which the League has been established, deserve the gratitude of every Free Trader; and we trust that all who can purchase books, will make a point of adding these volumes to their library for the sake both of the deceased bard and his surviving family. Even in his lightest pieces of wit and humour, Hood manifested an under-current of deep philosophic thought, combined with the finest sympathies of humanity. While the jest wreathed our lips with smiles, it suggested reflections which employed the intellect and roused feelings which touched the heart. In his more serious compositions he evinced an extraordinary power of deducing from external nature an entire creation of thought; every detail not only gave its image, but its train of imaginings. We may take, as an instance of this peculiarity, part of his description of "The Haunted House;" no one can read it without an involuntary shudder.

The wren had built within the Poreh, she found
Its quiet loneliness so sure and thorough;
And on the lawn,—within its turfy mound,—
The rabbit made his burrow.

The rabbit wild and gray, that flitted through
The shrubby clumps, and frisk'd, and sat, and vanish'd,
But leisurely and bold, as if he knew
His enemy was banish'd.

The wary crow,—the pheasant from the woods—
Lull'd by the still and everlasting sameness,
Close to the Mansion, like domestic broods,
Fed with a "shocking tameness."

The coot was swimming in the reedy pond,
Beside the water-hen, so soon affrighted;
And in the weedy moat the heron, fond
Of solitude, alighted.

The moping heron, motionless and stiff,
That on a stone, as silently and stilly,
Stood, an apparent sentinel, as if
To guard the water-lily.

No sound was heard except, from far away,
The ringing of the Whitwall's shrilly laughter,
Or, now and then, the chatter of the jay,
That Echo murmur'd after.

But Echo never mock'd the human tongue;
Some weighty crime, that Heaven could not pardon,
A secret curse on that old building hung,
And its deserted Garden.

The beds were all untouched by hand or tool;
No footstep marked the damp and mossy gravel,
Each walk as green as is the mantled pool,
For want of human travel.

The vine unprun'd, and the neglected peach,
Droop'd from the wall with which they used to grapple;
And on the canker'd tree, in easy reach,
Rooted the golden apple.

But awfully the truant shunn'd the ground,
The vagrant kept aloof, and daring Poacher;
In spite of gaps that through the fences round
Invited the encroacher.

For over all there hung a cloud of fear,
A sense of mystery the spirit daunted,
And said, as plain as whisper in the ear,
The place is Haunted!

Similar skill in the aggregation of minute circumstances is shown in "The Song of the Shirt," that unrivalled picture of the wretchedness produced by the operation of the cruel restrictions imposed by selfish monopolists on human food. It would be useless to quote a poem which is imprinted on the memory of all who can read, wherever the English language is known. We shall, therefore, quote its companion-piece, which, though equally meritorious, has obtained less celebrity.

The lady lay in her bed,
Her couch so warm and soft,
But her sleep was restless and broken still;
For turning often and oft
From side to side, she mutter'd and moan'd,
And toss'd her arms aloft.

At last she startled up,
And gaz'd on the vacant air,
With a look of awe, as if she saw
Some dreadful phantom there—
And then in the pillow she buried her face
From visions ill to bear.

The very curtain shook,
Her terror was so extreme:
And the light that fell on the broider'd quilt
Kept a tremulous gleam;
And her voice was hollow, and shook as she cried:—
"Oh me! that awful dream!"

"That weary, weary walk,
In the churchyard's dismal ground!
And those horrible things, with shady wings,
That came and flitted round,—
Death, death, and nothing but death,
In every sight and sound!"

"And oh! those maidens young,
Who wrought in that dreary room,
With figures drooping and spectres thin,
And cheeks without a bloom;—
And the Voice that cried, 'For the pomp of pride,
We haste to an early tomb!'"

"For the pomp and pleasure of Pride,
We toil like Afric slaves,
And only to earn a home at last,
Where yonder cypress waves;—
And then they pointed—I never saw
A ground so full of graves!"

"And still the coffins came,
With their sorrowful trains and slow;
Coffin after coffin still,
A sad and sickening show;
From grief exempt, I never had dreamt
Of such a World of Woe!"

"Of the hearts that daily break,
Of the tears that hourly fall,
Of the many, many troubles of life,
That grieve this earthly ball—
Disease and Hunger, and Pain, and Want,
But now I dreamt of them all!"

"For the blind and the cripple were there,
And the babe that pined for bread,
And the houseless man, and the widow poor
Who begged—to bury the dead;
The naked, alas, that I might have clad,
The famish'd I might have fed!"

"The sorrow I might have soothed,
And the unregarded tears;
For many a thronging shape was there,
From long forgotten years,
Ay, even the poor rejected Moor,
Who rais'd my childish fears!"

"Each pleading look, that long ago
I scan'd with a heedless eye,
Each face was gazing as plainly there,
As when I pass'd it by:
Woe, woe for me if the past should be
Thus present when I die!"

"No need of sulphureous lake,
No need of fiery coal,
But only that crowd of human kind
Who wanted pity and dole—
In everlasting retrospect—
Will wring my sinful soul!"

Alas; I have walk'd through life
Too heedless where I trod;
Nay, helping to trample my fellow worm,
And fill the burial sod—
Forgetting that even the sparrow falls
Not unmark'd of God!"

"I drank the richest draughts;
And ate whatever is good—
Fish, and flesh, and fowl, and fruit,
Supplied my hungry mood;
But I never remember'd the wretched ones
That starve for want of food!"

"I dress'd as the noble dress,
In cloth of silver and gold,
With silk, and satin, and costly furs,
In many an ample fold;
But I never remember'd the naked limbs
That froze with winter's cold."

"The wounds I might have heal'd!
The human sorrow and smart!
And yet it never was in my soul
To play so ill a part:
But evil is wrought by want of Thought,
As well as want of Heart!"

She clasp'd her fervent hands,
And the tears began to stream;
Large, and bitter, and fast they fell,
Remorse was so extreme;
And yet, oh yet, that many a Dame
Would dream the Lady's Dream!

The legend of Miss Kilmansegg and her Golden Leg is one of the most extraordinary mixtures of whimsicality and philosophy which exists in any language. This favoured daughter of Mammon exhibits the misery of wealth, when riches are sought for their own sake, and gold made the end and object of existence. Even as a baby Miss Kilmansegg was brought under the dominion of gold.

When she saw the light—it was no mere ray
Of that light so common—so everyday—
That the sun each morning launches—
But six wax tapers dazzled her eyes,
From a thing—a gooseberry bush for size—
With a golden stem and branches.

She was born exactly at half-past two,
As witness'd a timepiece in ormolu
That stood on a marble table—
Showing at once the time of day,
And a team of *Gildings* running away
As fast as they were able,
With a golden God, with a golden Star,
And a golden Spear, in a golden Car,
According to Grecian fable.

Like other babes, at her birth she cried;
Which made a sensation far and wide,
Ay, for twenty miles around her;
For though to the ear 'twas nothing more
Than an infant's squall, it was really the roar
Of a Fifty-thousand Pounder!
It shook the next heir
In his library chair,
And made him cry, "Confound her!"

Her baptism affords an opportunity for some clever satire, equally marked by brilliancy, force, and truth.

It would fill a Court Gazette to name
What East and West End people came
To the rite of Christianity:
The lofty Lord, and the titled Dame,
All diamonds, plumes, and urbanity;

me, there are about thirty able-bodied so situated. Potatoes are scarce and very dear; and what the poor men will do to plant their land I cannot tell. The highest rate of wages of the labouring men here is 8s. per week; but there are many, who are out of employ, who would be glad to work for less; indeed there are several instances where they do work for considerably less than 8s. One case I will mention, that of a working man at a quarry; he is digging stones at the rate of 5d. per yard; and he says, he can only dig two yards per day. The master of this person is a protectionist farmer."

We could increase these extracts, but we have already exceeded our limits. It is well, however, to place on record the decisive contradiction which the actual state of the rural labourers affords to the assertions of the monopolists.

THE LEAGUE AND THE ANTI-LEAGUE.

The following paragraphs, from the *Wilts Independent*, place in strong contrast the desire for Free Trade and the affection for monopoly, as existing amongst the "protected" labourers of Wiltshire. We learn:

"OGBOURNE ST. GEORGE.—A public meeting of labourers was held in this village on Monday evening last, at 7 o'clock, for the purpose of considering the best means of supporting the labourers' petition, for the northern division of the county, for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. Notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather, upwards of 300 people were assembled, and the business having been explained to them, a resolution in favour of Free Trade, and to promote the object of the petitioners, was unanimously agreed on. The petition received nearly 100 signatures before the meeting broke up."

A medical friend in that neighbourhood informs us that "the typhus fever *always* prevails at Og. bourne." This arises from the wretchedness of the population.

Again;

"A CONTRAST.—In the little village of Ogbourne St. George, the protectionists have been doing all they could the week before last against the Anti-Corn-Law advocates, and after a hard struggle have got their petitions to both Houses of Parliament signed by eight persons! The second signature was that of an old woman! On the 26th inst., about six o'clock in the evening, the rain falling in torrents, notice was given, by the bellman going round the village, that a meeting would be held that evening at seven o'clock, near the Shoemakers' Arms, to sign a petition to Parliament for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws; when not less than 300 people assembled, and after being addressed on the subject, *sixty-six labourers, out of a total of eighty-eight living in the village, signed the petition.*"

This needs no comment. The same indifference to protection also exists in the western part of the county:

"The protectionists of Colerne have been engaged for the last two or three days endeavouring to procure signatures to some of their hole and corner petitions to Parliament. The gentlemen who received this document from their Chippenham friends, not liking to be seen taking an active part, employed the police constable, as it was thought the importance of his office might influence some of the small freeholders. Their expectations were, however, disappointed, as he was obliged to return the petitions with *something less than twenty names to them*; not one-fourth of the signatures they obtained were electors, and three or four of them declared they thought it was some parish business or they would not have signed them! The parishioners think the police constable would have been better employed looking after the property of those who are forced to find the money to pay him, than running about with pro-corn-law petitions. It is reported that some of the new police, for want of better employment, officiate as *understrappers to the game-keepers, and are nightly employed in watching game.*"

We recommend the following example to all farmers who may be pressed to petition for protection:

"CALNE.—How to sign Pro-Corn-Law Petitions.—A laughable circumstance occurred last week at the Market Table of the Lansdowne Arms Inn, Calne. A worthy farmer, residing in the neighbourhood, having been entrusted with petitions to the Houses of Lords and Commons, in favour of protection, handed them across the table to receive the signature of a brother farmer, who, however, instead of signing them, as was expected, *very coolly twisted them up, and, having lighted his pipe, threw the remains of both petitions into the fire, to the very great dismay of the protectionist, and to the great amusement of all the company present.*"

This farmer must have been a practical wit, for he thus plainly intimated his knowledge of the fact that these protectionist effusions are nothing but smoke!!

"FREE TRADE AT BAMBER BRIDGE.—Mr. Totell, of Bamber Bridge, has this week caused great excitement in the neighbourhood, by fixing a large loaf, stuck on the end of a pole, and labelled 3d., outside of his shop. Mr. T. had also posted up two large placards, with the following:—"Sign immediately the Great County of Lancashire Petition for the total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws." He has succeeded by this means in obtaining a very large number of signatures to the Free Trade petition. Several gentlemen driving on the road have pulled up to look at so singular a demonstration made under the nose of one of the most ultra-monopolists in the county, which shows that there are Free Traders to be found fearless enough to publicly avow their principles even in the vicinity of Cuerden Hall.—*Preston Guardian.*

His Lordship the May'r with his golden chain,
And two Gold Sticks, and the Sheriffs twain,
Nine foreign Counts, and other great men
With their orders and stars, to help M or N
To renounce all pomp and vanity.

To paint the maternal Kilmansegg
The pen of an Eastern Poet would beg,
And need an elaborate sonnet;
How she sparkled with gems whenever she stirr'd,
And her head niddle-noddled at every word,
And seem'd so happy, a Paradise Bird
Had nidicated upon it.

And Sir Jacob the Father strutted and bow'd,
And smiled to himself, and laugh'd aloud,
To think of his heiress and daughter—
And then in his pockets he made a grope,
And then, in the fulness of joy and hope,
Seem'd washing his hands with invisible soap,
In imperceptible water.

He had roll'd in money like pigs in mud,
Till it seem'd to have enter'd into his blood
By some occult projection:
And his cheeks, instead of a healthy hue,
As yellow as any guinea grew,
Making the common phrase seem true
About a rich complexion.

The loss of her leg by an accident, and her firm determination to have the artificial substitute of gold, are described with great felicity; we are told,

'Twas a splendid, brilliant, beautiful Leg,
Fit for the Court of Scander-Beg,
That Precious Leg of Miss Kilmansegg!
For, thanks to parental bounty,
Secure from Mortification's touch,
She stood on a Member that cost as much
As a Member for all the County!

We must not omit the exhibition of this precious leg at a fancy-ball, and the jealousy with which it inspired ladies who stood on their proper limbs.

'Twas hard they hinted for flesh and blood,
Virtue, and Beauty, and all that's good,
To strike to mere dross their topgallants—
But what were Beauty, or Virtue, or Worth,
Gentle manners, or gentle birth,
Nay, what the most talented head on earth
To a Leg worth fifty Talents!

But the men sang quite another hymn
Of glory and praise to the precious Limb—
Age, sordid age, admired the whim,
And its indecorum pardon'd—
While half of the young—ay, more than half—
Bow'd down and worshipp'd the Golden Calf,
Like the Jews when their hearts were harden'd.

A Golden Leg! what fancies it fired!
What golden wishes and hopes inspired!
To give but a mere abridgment—
What a leg to leg-bail Embarrassment's serf!
What a leg for a Leg to take on the turf!
What a leg for a marching regiment!

A Golden Leg!—whatever Love sings,
'Twas worth a bushel of "Plain Gold Rings"
With which the Romantic wheedles.
'Twas worth all the legs in stockings and socks—
'Twas a leg that might be put in the Stocks,
N.B.—Not the parish beadle's!

The foreign fortune-hunter who won this prize in the matrimonial lottery, is thus described:

Savage at heart, and false of tongue,
Subtle with age, and smooth to the young,
Like a snake in his coiling and curling—
Such was the Count—to give him a niche—
Who came to court that Heiress rich,
And knelt at her foot—one need say which—
Besieging her Castle of Sterling.

With prayers and vows he open'd his trench,
And plied her with English, Spanish, and French,
In phrases the most sentimental:
And quoted poems in High and Low Dutch,
With now and then an Italian touch,
Till she yielded, without resisting much,
To homage so continental.

There are so many clever hits in the description of the wedding, that we should gladly have quoted the entire, but have only space for the conclusion:

Away! away! they rattled and roll'd,
The Count, and his Bride, and her Leg of Gold!
That faded charm to the charmer!
Away,—through Old Brentford rang the din,
Of wheels and heels, on their way to win
That hill, named after one of her kin,
The Hill of the Golden Farmer!

Gold, still gold—it flew like dust!
It tipp'd the post-boy, and paid the trust;
In each open palm it was freely thrust;
There was nothing but giving and taking!
And if gold could ensure the future hour,
What hopes attended that Bride to her bow'r,
But alas! even hearts with a four horse pow'r
Of opulence end in breaking!

The specimens we have extracted are so likely to induce our readers to procure the work, that we shall not anticipate the catastrophe. But we cannot quit these volumes without recording our tribute of gratitude to the publisher for having given us an opportunity of returning to poems which the world will not allow to die so long as genius is valued, or philanthropy revered.

EFFECTS OF SIR ROBERT PEEL'S ANNOUNCEMENT.—In Ireland, bacon has fallen 4s. and ham 2s. since Sir Robert Peel's new tariff arrangements, in anticipation of the reduction of duty on those articles.—*Preston Guardian*.

THE AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.—ANOTHER SMOCK-FROCKED MEETING IN WILTSHIRE.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

The farmers and landlords of Wiltshire have met and spoken—the labourers are holding their assemblies in turn. On Tuesday night last, a moonlit meeting of the "protected" hewers of wood and drawers of water in the agricultural county of Wilts was held at Bremhill, an unheard-of little hamlet, lying between the Great Western Railway and the quiet rural town of Calne.

These meetings of the peasantry—originating with themselves—springing from no ducal pints of beer—and at which labourers speak what they actually feel—at which they tell their own stories, interchange the sad history of their slow starvation—are very curious signs of these changing times. Who would have thought, a year or two back, of men in smock-frocks—the hedges and ditchers, the wielders of spades and hoes—meeting together; not, unhappily, over good dinners, but in the bleak air of a winter's night—to denounce protection—to accuse it of keeping them hungry—to call the Corn Laws "accursed?" And on Tuesday night women spoke as well as men. It was no ordinary public meeting that. Those who composed it knew nothing of the conventional rules of such assemblies. Hunger was the requisition which brought them together. Women were hungry as well as men, and they did not see why they should not try to bring about better times—fuller dinners.

The meeting originated entirely with the working-men. Every influence was brought to bear, first to prevent its taking place, and then to keep the labourers from attending it.

The reverend incumbent of the parish did his best to put the affair down. I speak from hearsay—if I am wrong, the reverend gentleman may correct me; but I was informed that he first applied to the superintendent of the rural police to know whether the people could not be prevented from gathering; that, failing in this, he succeeded in procuring the attendance of a great number of constables in private clothes, to be ready to disperse the meeting should the slightest confusion take place; and finally, that he told the man who went about with the bills announcing the affair, that he (the parson) would get him sent out of the country. These were the stories I was greeted with on every side at Bremhill. I may add, that the reverend gentleman is a fox-hunting successor of the apostles.

Not a bit behind the clergyman were the farmers in their attempts to gag the unfortunate labourers. Strenuous efforts were made to keep them back, and threats freely used. I know, on the best authority, that two tenant farmers were particularly active: Mr. Jeffreys, of Side-row Park, told his labourers that he would dismiss every one of them who went to the meeting; and Mr. Henry, of Preston, threatened his unfortunates with dismissal if they did not sign a protection petition now being hawked about. They refused to a man; and to a man attended at Bremhill.

The character of the speeches was peculiar; they were simply statements; little or no argument was used. Each labourer and labourer's wife told the details of their domestic economy. There was little or no variation in the story. Families of from four to twelve persons, wages at an average of 8s. a-week for the father, eked out in some cases by the "twopences a-day" received by his boys. As for food, all they had was potatoes, and, as one of the speakers strikingly phrased it, "stark naked bread." The proceedings went off very quietly. One attempt there was to create a disturbance made by a man, a Chartist, I believe from London, who called himself Gale. He claimed, as a working man, to be heard, and commenced a long tirade against machinery, full of the usual crude, half-understood positions usually taken up by men of his way of thinking. His exhortations, however, to charge, not the Corn Laws, nor any laws, but the threshing and dressing machines with their misery, was groaned down by the multitude with a promptness which did them very great credit, and the Gale got down as suddenly as it had arisen. One of the speakers afterwards charged this man with being the agent of the monopolists sent down to disturb the meeting. No reply was made to this imputation. But one spirit pervaded the speakers and listeners—down with monopoly! The women absolutely shrieked out, and the allusions they now and then made to hungry, crying children, produced the greatest sensation. The crowd kept up a running fire of comment and sympathetic remarks, speaking in more of a conversational than an oratorical character. The labourers generally expressed themselves tolerably well, of course with a strong Wiltshire accent and abundance of provincial solecisms, but by no means in a dialect akin in the extent of its *patois* to what one hears in Yorkshire or Somerset. At all events they were easily made out. I shall try to preserve something of the simplicity of the style, to which, however, the pronunciation gave a character I cannot convey.

I have said that Bremhill is a petty hamlet, lying not far from the town of Calne. Around it stretches a rich, gently undulating country; meadow and field, hedge-row and clump of trees, spreading far away—a fair expanse of greenery. Here coppice wood crowns the ridges of the hills—there they merge into breezy upland downs. Farm houses and cottages cluster in the hollows; and now and anon you observe the spire of the village church rising from its old embowering trees. Altogether, it is a pleasant and right English scene. Would that those who live upon it should share some little of the apparent riches of the soil!

Bremhill is a mere cluster of houses. You enter a narrow straggling street, or rather one which would be straggling were it long enough. The cottages which form it seem comfortable, their walls cleanly whitewashed, their roofs snug thatch. The place is very quiet, and a passing vehicle draws many a curious face to the little-paned windows. Proceed some score of paces along the street, and it spreads out into a species of oblong square, or what, if there be a market held there, would be the market-place. An old stone cross rises in the centre. The cottages, most of them with their gable ends turned to the way, are clustered irregularly round. A foot-path leads you across a stile, through the churchyard and by the church, with its square old Gothic tower and buttressed aisle, clad in green festoons of ivy. From among the graves you have a far-extended view of the swelling ridges about Marlborough and Devizes, enclosing the "Vale of the White Horse." Close to the church, in a neat Elizabethan cottage, dwells the Rev. Mr. Bowles, of "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers" memory. The "gentle sonneteer" is now, of course, a veteran one. Retracing our steps to the main and only street of the hamlet, we find it narrowing again into a continuation of the crooked lane by which we entered, stretching down a rather steep declivity, and losing itself amid hedges and clumps of trees.

It was already night when I arrived at Bremhill—an intensely cold, but beautifully clear and serene night. The sky was cloudless, not a breath stirred amid the leafless branches, and the full moon showed the vast panorama of fairly undulating country around, dimly sleeping in its radiance. It was a splendid night for out-of-doors work. "Providence," said a labourer to me, "Providence be with us surely—it was just such a night when we were at Goatscote."

In the centre of the open space before mentioned, close to the stone cross, a rude tent—the canvass stretched upon stakes roughly cut from the hedge—was erected for the reporters. A bench for the speakers stood before it; and when I arrived, I found both surrounded by a group of peasantry—men, women, and children. Every moment fresh parties arrived from different farms. Some of them had trudged ten or twelve miles, and this after a hard day's work in the fields. It was curious to see the groups—the men with their smock-frocks showing like white moving patches in the moonlight—making their way from all sides—appearing from the narrow streets—gliding across the churchyard—to the place of meeting. The women, generally, wore cloaks and bonnets. The men appeared a gaunt, raw-boned set—the women pinched and care-worn.

The proceedings commenced soon after seven, when there were probably about 1500 persons present—clustered in a dense mass round the stone cross and the canvass tent. A labourer, Job Gingle, took the chair—that is to say, perched himself on one of the higher stone steps which supported the cross, thus forming a sort of apex to the pyramidal group which clustered round it. Then by the flicker of a morsel of candle, held by himself, he proceeded to read the bill calling the meeting together.

This had a novel effect. The swartly, strongly marked features of the man—his white smock-frock, and oddly-shaped felt hat—seen every moment in a new light, as the slight currents of air stirring, caused the flame to wave and flicker—made up quite a novel picture of a chairman. The crowd round listened with attention as he read, with some little hesitation, the following placard:

"DISTRESS OF THE PEOPLE—FREE TRADE."

"A public meeting will be held at the Dumf Post, Bremhill, on Tuesday, 10th February, 1846, at half-past seven o'clock in the evening, for the purpose of taking into consideration the distress of the people, and of petitioning Parliament for a total repeal of the Corn Laws. It is earnestly hoped that all who are distressed will attend, that their condition may be made known."

Perhaps I may mention here that Mr. Edwards, of Marlborough, was kind enough to help the rustic chairman in the official part of his duties—of which course the poor man had no more notion than a Hindoo of icebergs. After reading the placard, he spoke somewhat as follows:—"My friends—I be a labouring man, I have a wife and seven children in family. My wages at the present time is 8s. a-week (loud cries of "You can't live on that—you can't"). In the beginning of December last I only got 7s. But one week with another I get 8s. That comes, I think, to 20l. 16s. a-year, allowing my wife to earn 9d. a-week, which certain be more than she did for the last three or four year, and seeing that two of my sons earn 2s. a-week, and one of them 1s. 6d., which, if I don't mistake, make together 9l. 2s. a-year, you see we may say we earn altogether 31l. 17s. Now, how do we live on that? First of all I should refer to the expenses of house-rent, that be 3l. 10s.; we can't live without firing, and that be 1s. a-week more; then, friends, there be the shoes bill—shoes for myself 14s., and mending, and my wife 7s. 6d. and mending, and my eldest daughter 7s. and mending, and my eldest son 8s. 6d. and mending, and my next son 7s. 6d. and mending, and the next 6s. and mending, and the next daughter 3s. 6d. and mending, and the next son 3s. and mending, and the next daughter 3s. and mending, and the youngest daughter 2s. and mending, which comes in all, my friends, to 2l. 18s. 6d. ("yes, full that—full that, to all 'o us"). Next thing I refer to is clothing. A smock frock for myself, 3s.; a shirt, 1s. 6d.; a pair of stockings, 1s. 3d.; a smock-frock for my eldest son, 1s. 6d.; his shirt, 1s. 3d.; his stockings, 1s. 1d. My next son has a smock-frock; I pay 1s. for it, besides his stockings. Then my eldest daughter has a frock, 1s.; a pinafore, 4d.; a petticoat, 8d.; a garment (probably a gown), 1s. 6d.; and so on, friends, for stockings and garments for my other daughters and my poor wife. Now, all this makes 2l. 12s. The next thing, my fellow labourers, will be soap; I pay 6d. a-week for it, and perhaps about 3d. a-week for candles, soda, thread, pins, and needles. All this make about 1l. 5s. 11d. a-year. The whole I pay for these articles—and we can't do without them—is about 13l. 13s. 6d.—that is, if I make no mistake—if I do say anything wrong then I will admit to any man a contradiction ("no, no, you be 'ant wrong—you be telling us the truth"). Then, friends, there is left 18l. 4s. or thereabouts, and I ax you if that be sufficient to the support of eight people for one year ("oh, no, no—certainly not—we have no more, and we have hungry bellies")? I say, friends, if you take the 365 days, that will only give 1½d. a-day for us each to live on all with the exception of 1s. (shame, shame). If 1½d. a-day be sufficient to support a labouring man, then I admit any labouring man to come for'ard and be answerable (renewed cries of shame)—and I made no account for breeches, hats, and leggings, which every working man is supposed to find; but I'm very ill off for such clothing (cries of "poor man"), therefore, friends, I do ask you what the Wiltshire labourer has done, or what crimes he has committed, that he be so deprived of necessities—that he be worse off than the convicts on board the hulks (loud cheers)? I have this to tell you, if any person do say that what I have described be sufficient for food for a hard labouring man, or clothing either, or if I have made an extraordinary charge, then I am ready, friends, to be answerable (loud cheers, and cries of "There be plenty more of the same mind"). This I am ready to discuss with any protectionist or monopolist (renewed shouting); for I believe there is nothing as will bring a man sooner to his recollection than hunger (true, true). Then let the Duke of Buckingham rise against this as he may, or Mr. Benett, with his petitions, do what he likes; there is a general distress in this country (hear, hear). Only refer, friends, to the tale of the "Prodigal Son" after wasting his substance in riotous living, he said, "how many hired servants of my father have enough and to spare!" Oh, friends, hunger and distress brought him to his senses, but the hunger and distress which we have been living under so long be owing to the Corn Laws (cheers). They protect us, do they (a voice: "Beant't you one of the Wiltshire protected labourers")? I be protected, but I be starving (hear, hear). And now let any other labouring man come forward and speak (cheers).

Mr. Edwards here shortly addressed the meeting, stating

his belief that it was hunger which brought that meeting together, and asking whether their boasted protection had benefited them (cries of "no, no").

Here Mr. Gale's episode commenced, by that gentleman informing the meeting that they were starved by the operation of threshing machines. His interference was met by a general chorus of groaning, and cries of "We come here to speak of the Corn Laws, not of machinery," in the midst of which Mr. Gale disappeared, and was no more seen.

JOHN BATCHELOR, of Pemsy, a labourer, was the next speaker. (The speeches, as I have said, partake of the same character; I need, therefore, after having reported the chairman's at length, only give the distinctive points of the other addresses.) For the last fortnight he had only received 6s. a week. He knew many men with four children who had only 6s. a week and 5s. (shame). For himself, he did not know what to do. He expected to be discharged when he got home for having come to the meeting (a voice: "Come to me, and I will give you 10s.")—(cheers.)—There was only one labourer at Pemsy earning 8s. a week. Well, those with many children—what were they to do? (Oh, what can they do? they be half-starved.) It be them Corn Laws, them cursed Corn Laws, which made bread dear. The poor man must labour, and the farmer could not afford to pay, all through the Corn Laws (hear, hear). The repeal and small farms for large ones—that was what they wanted. He had been employed like a horse in drawing a cart (shame). Yes, but he had; he had pulled it more than twelve miles a day, and it was fully a ton weight (shame, shame). He was one of five men yoked to the cart. That was the way protection used them. Let them hold up their hands, then, for its destruction, root and branch. This was the resolution he proposed (I give it *et literatim*): 1. "Resolved that this meeting is satisfied from experience that one general distress prevails among the laboring classes that the Corn Laws have failed to give employment to the agricultural labourers and in the opinion of this meeting they ought forthwith to be repealed" (loud cheers greeted the resolution).

GEORGE CHIVERS, of Winterburn, seconded it. He did it because he had not bread enough to eat ("there be many like you.") He had sometimes 6s., and sometimes 7s. a week.

The resolution was duly carried.

HENRY DREW, of Lockeridge, in the parish of Overton, proposed the next resolution. His speech was, omitting repetitions, nearly as follows: I am a labourer myself, and have four children, and my earnings be 8s. a-week, that is, when I am in constant work; that is the rate of wages in the neighbouring villages generally. Some of my neighbours and relatives have three, and four, and five, and six children in family, and how they live, and how we all live, I can't tell. (Bad enough—bad enough.) Let us have Free Trade. (Yes, yes.) Let us pray to Almighty God to influence the Queen and the nobility to utterly destroy the Corn Laws, which make bread dear to us poor! If all the misery, friends, in the world, was put in three lots, the Corn Law misery would be the biggest (Aye, aye). I say it is the worst; I feel it. I have not had a bellyful of victuals now for these seven weeks (loud groans). I say that the state of things is so, that a poor man can get nothing more—if he gets that—than a piece of stark naked bread, and perhaps a few 'tatoes (hear, hear). It was God's mercy which sent a mild winter for us to have a few greens—that kept many from dying of hunger, for the 'tatoes are gone. I do say that we be in a sad state. What is for us to eat? (a voice: There should be Polish wheat and wheat from Ohio—(cheers). The speaker concluded by reading the following resolution: 2. "Resolved that this meeting pledge itself to do all in its power to promote the petition of the agricultural labourers of North Wiltshire for a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws."

CHARLES KINGELL, of Preston, parish of Hillmartin, seconded the resolution. I am, he said, one of your protected labourers. I have seven children; the eldest is 19 years of age, and he earns 8d. a day. This is protection (cries of "shame"). Well, he gives it to me—but it don't pay all his keep—I have to give him washing and lodging. I have a wife and six other children. I have a lad 10 years of age, working for twopence a-day. I labour myself for 8s. This is my condition (cries of "down with protection"). The speaker here entered into a detail of his domestic expenses, which was nearly similar to that given by the chairman. Whoever says that the Wiltshire labourer is well fed and well clothed says what is not true (hear, hear). The protection they talk of is no protection to us, or to the farmer. Many a night this winter I have lain awake for hours, and tumbled in my bed for want of food. ("There be many like you. There's many a man the same.") A female voice: "Aye, and woman, too." Friends, I second the resolution. It was carried by acclamation.

A female then stood forward to speak. She was a middle-aged woman, dressed in a long grey cloak, and old bonnet, and she partly read what she had to say by the light which the chairman held—partly spoke it fluently enough.

My name, she began, is Lucy Simpkins. I am from Preston. I am the wife of a labouring man. I have had seven children, all born in lawful wedlock. There are five living—two I buried. I have a boy seven years of age. He works for 3d. a-day; but he can't keep himself entirely on that, and the rest of the family must be supported from my husband's wages. No boy, friends, of seven years of age could keep himself on 3d. a day (cries of "It be a't likely"). Well, we can't do with less than seven gallons of bread, and we pay 8d. for it, and that is a little allowance for eight people to live seven days on (true). We are forced to go about on hungry bellies after we rise in the morning, and it is very hard to have poor dear little children, who don't know anything about the protection that makes bread dear, crying for food and you nothing to give them (hear, hear). Yes, and when I was confined last, I had nothing to eat from one o'clock one day until four o'clock the next day (shame, shame). I wished I had a good jug of gruel; but a poor labouring woman like myself came in, and said, "I have brought you something to eat—bread with sugar on it. I had no cheese, or I would have brought that" (shame). And recollect, neighbours, this is under a protecting law (a voice—"I am a witness to the truth of what she says"). My husband is not a drunkard, nor anything of the kind, but a good husband to me, and a good father to his children, but he can't make his money go farther than it will (hear, hear). Many a Monday morning I say to him, "Well, how be we to get through this week, we have no food and no fire." Well, but Saturday comes, and we have got through—but how, I don't rightly know. We manage it somehow. But that a't living (no more it be). What will 8s. a week do among so many people (groans)? I have been obliged to tell my children that I would beat them if they cried for hunger (you were forced to do so, poor woman).

Yes indeed I was; but if Free Trade will make bread cheap, then I want Free Trade (loud cheers).

MARY FERRIS, of Charlott, Bremhill, here stood forward with a resolution to propose. It was a somewhat singular one, but, nothing daunted, she read it as follows (I again copy verbatim):—"That a public meeting of females be held to give the wives of the agriculture labourers an opportunity of making known the distress which they have experienced under the Corn Laws" (loud cries of "Free Trade for ever!" greeted this extraordinary resolution). The proposer went on: We poor women do suffer much. I have been forced to go and cut nettles to boil for my children (shame). I have picked sacks of chaffuck (or some such name—the local term for a species of wild plant) to give my children to eat (groans). Somebody told me that chaffucks would kill my children; but I thought to myself that it would be as well to die with a bellyful, as to famish for want of a bellyful ("So it be"). We have eight to feed in family, and when we get our money, that is, 8s. a week, there are ten things to be done with it (hear, hear, hear). Then, may God bless the Queen, and give us cheap food. It is not the dressing machines, but the dear bread that we complain of. We be very bad off indeed; and I ax any one here to say if what I spoke is false (No, no). I will stop now to let others speak.

Here the resolution, although it had not been seconded, was declared carried.

WM. COLE, of Calne, said a few simple words in the strain of those who preceded him, and

JACOB WILKINS, of Goatacre, spoke next. There were no less than "seven folks lying about Goatacre" (that is, out of work), and those who were in work only got 7s. a week. He had nothing to do at all, because the farmers had nothing to do. He had been to the whole of them. There was no work, and very little food.

JOHN HILLIER, of Goatacre: I have a wife and seven (or five, we could not make out which) children. I could not support my eldest son, and I put him in the union (shame). The young lad he was willing to go, for he knew our distress; but I did not like him leaving us, and oh, his mother was terrible loth to part with him (there was one loud general groan). I have had very much distress. We want protection done away with. It does us no good. Let a man protect himself (cheers). After the Goatacre meeting our steward came round to us, but instead of asking us poor how we lived, he went to ask at the farm-houses (groans). What is the good of that? Why didn't he come to ourselves, if he wanted to know the truth (hear).

Mr. EDWARDS again shortly addressed the meeting with reference to the discomfited Mr. Gale, charging him with "having been sent down by the Duke of Richmond or other monopolists to disturb the meeting." The labourers would meet Gale if he chose, and discuss the machinery question on Calne Green on Tuesday evening. Here was a challenge to him, and to anybody who chose to accept it.

W. COLE reiterated the challenge; but Mr. Gale manifested no anxiety to pick up the gauntlet; and Cole went on to propose a vote of thanks to that portion of the public press, which had advocated the people's fight to cheap food.

This vote having been carried, with a friendly hint to the *Devizes Gazette* (the local Tory paper), that there was no use in falsifying the proceedings, three hearty cheers were given for Cobden and Bright, and the meeting was declared over; those who formed it quietly dispersing to return to their scattered habitations.

Thus ended this very remarkable labourer's meeting.

THE FREE TRADE INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION.—

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PROSPECTUSES may be obtained, gratis, on application at the Society's Offices, East Temple Chambers, Whitechapel-street, Fleet-street. The Rules (6d. each) are now ready, and may be had as above.
Persons desirous to join the Society are requested to make application immediately.

The Society's Offices will be open for receiving subscriptions and the general transaction of business, every Tuesday and Friday evenings, from 6 to 9 o'clock.

THE FREE TRADE INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION.—

A Public Meeting will be held on Thursday evening next, the 19th inst., at the Assembly Room, White Conduit House, Pentonville, when the principles of the Society will be explained, and addresses delivered by
GEO. THOMPSON, Esq.,
DR. THOMAS PRICE, and
SIDNEY SMITH, Esq.

The Chair will be taken at half-past seven o'clock. Persons wishing to join the Society, may give in their names, and pay the entrance fee at the close of the meeting.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, February 14, 1846.

While the debate in the House of Commons drags its slow length along, two resistless enemies of the Corn Laws are giving fearful evidence of the dangers that will result from any delay in their abolition. Famine and fever,—advocates more formidable than any monopoly has yet encountered, have commenced their ravages in the South of Ireland. The perilous consequences of protection, so often predicted, are manifested to an extent already great, and rapidly increasing. We have received the report of the Mansion House Committee on Fever, and Dr. Corrigan's very able pamphlet on the fevers which are always found to follow a deficiency of food in Ireland; and we have also before us letters from the principal districts of Munster and Connaught, describing the steady spread of disease and destitution, with the fearful prospect of five months during which this double

pressure must be borne. It is a heavy aggravation of this dire calamity that the protective system stimulates the export of food from this starving people. Stores and warehouses are crammed with grain, for export to England, while multitudes are perishing for want of sustenance in sight of these plenished granaries. Relief must be immediate, or ruin will be complete. Under such circumstances, the public may well be weary of protracted discussion, when the visitations of Providence have predestined and necessitated the ultimate decision. Proprietors of boroughs, and traders in the votes of their tenantry, may "do what they like with their own,"—may dismiss members of Parliament as they would their scullions, and select representatives with as little ceremony as they hire grooms; but there can be no trifling with the sufferings of a starving people,—there can be no compromise with the pangs of disease, and the presence of death. Mr. T. Baring, the rejected of London and chosen of Huntingdon, stands alone in his proposal of compromise; he is the only person who deems it possible to have a capitulation with Famine, and to negotiate terms with Pestilence. He proposes to stand between the living and the dead; not that the plague should be stayed, but that some bargain should be struck to regulate the amount of future victims. What are the lives of a few thousands, more or less, when compared with the value of mortgages and settlements? In vain do the piercing cries of the labourers of Wiltshire strike the ear of Mr. Thomas Baring. Were the fearful vision described by Famine, in Coleridge's Eclogue, realised before his view—

"A baby beat its dying mother,
I had starv'd the one and was starving the other,"

he would propose a compromise, and offer the demon half its prey, rather than allow the behests of Protection to remain unsatisfied. Lord Morpeth justly declared that the time for compromise has gone past for ever; it would not be endured by the people of England—it would be destruction to the people of Ireland. The ground on which the protectionists stand is crumbling beneath their feet, and nothing but a precipitate retreat can save them; a step in advance would hurl them into the abyss; a maintenance of their post would only last until the sap reaches the ground beneath their feet. In either case their fate must be the same—they fall never to rise again. Defeat is no longer to be dreaded; all our danger now arises from delay; what is to be done must be done quickly. Imperfections must be endured when time is to be gained. There will be leisure for discussing amendments when the imminent peril is averted. Save the patient first, and then discuss the regimen by which his health may be preserved for the future.

We have given reports of the most remarkable speeches as yet delivered in this long debate, but we feel that they lose much of their interest when compared with the more eloquent cry of distress which daily swells louder and deeper on the wind. The arguments of misery are not to be misunderstood; hunger is a sharp logician; the reasoning of fever conducts very rapidly to a conclusion. It was said of an obdurate generation, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead;" but we live when men require millions of their fellow-countrymen to be added to the dead before their minds can be open to tardy conviction. "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!"

MR. COBDEN.—The numerous inquiries addressed to us from every part of the country, render it necessary that we should inform our readers of the recovery of Mr. Cobden from his recent and severe indisposition. He is now so far convalescent, that he will probably resume his Parliamentary duties next week, though it is still doubtful whether he will be able to take a part in the present debate. His illness arose from his having fallen asleep in a railway carriage, the window of which was open, on his return from Manchester last week. The exhaustion of his powers produced by his recent labours increased the predisposition to illness; he was attacked by a severe earache and nervous pains in the side of the head, which terminated in an abscess. This has yielded to medical treatment, and is now almost completely reduced. It might almost compensate for such suffering to observe the anxious concern evinced by the public when the fact of his sickness became known; the sympathy was not confined to any party—friends and opponents equally expressed the deepest interest in his health, and have been equally gratified by his restoration.

ORIGIN OF THE LEAGUE.
THE MANCHESTER TIMES of this Day contains a History of the Anti-Corn-Law Movement prior to its being joined by RICHARD COLEMAN.
The paper will be sent post free on the receipt of four penny stamps.
Office, Duncle-place, Manchester.

NEW MUSIC.—New Editions of the FREE TRADE SINGERS' SONGS, dedicated by permission to R. Coleman, Esq., and to be performed at all Free Trade meetings and fairs, now ready in the PIANIST'S No. 65, price 1s. by post, eighteen stamps. Mr. Coleman's autograph permission is seen at the Pianist's No. 67. Paternoster-row, one door from Chesapeake, where may be had No. 30 Pianist, containing the whole opera of Sonnambula, for 2s. The Pianist's No. 65, price 1s. by post, eighteen stamps. The Pianist's No. 65, price 1s. by post, eighteen stamps. The Pianist's No. 65, price 1s. by post, eighteen stamps.

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A PUBLIC MEETING will be held in the London Mechanics' Institute Southampton Buildings, Holborn, on Tuesday Evening Feb. 17th, 1846, at Eight o'clock, exact time, to explain the principles and objects of the Company, to enrol Shareholders, and answer inquiries. All Persons desirous of becoming Shareholders, or of obtaining information as to the best mode of procuring Advances—Finances, or neglect of payment reduced to less than one half those usually charged. Four opportunities of making the Monthly payments given instead of one. Shareholders assisted to purchase property at Auctions, the Society paying the deposit. Shareholders may at any time pay off the advance made by the Society, and redeem their Property.
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This Society is open to all Persons, Shareholders, to enable them to purchase property. The property so purchased is taken as security for the money advanced. The Tenants of the property purchased are applicable to the repayment of the Money advanced, and in general, will be found sufficient to pay the Subscriptions due to the Society—so that Houses acquired with their own rents, the interest of small sums of money will realise a much larger profit than in the Savings' Bank.
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He has really simplified and improved the plan on which Building Societies are conducted.—Temperance Intelligencer.
The Prospectus may be obtained, gratis, of any of the Directors, and at the Sussex Hall, 52, Leadenhall-street, City, Coffee Rooms, Exeter-street, Sloane-square; Coffee Rooms, Henry-street, Portland Town; the Mechanics' Institution, 67, Charlotte-street, Portman-market; C. Witcomb, 121, Leadenhall-street; J. H. Hanway-street, Oxford-street; J. H. Storie, 186, High Holborn; or of the Manager, Mr. J. R. MacArthur, 3, Tavistock-terrace, London Hospital, or the Secretary, Mr. K. Jessurun, 17, Clifton-street, Finsbury, London; or at the Office of the Company, 3, Ivy-lane, St. Paul's, from 10 to 4 o'clock.

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STOOPING OF THE SHOULDERS AND CONTRACTION OF THE CHEST, entirely prevented, and gently and effectually removed in Youth, Middle Age, and Gentlemen, by the occasional use of the Improved Elastic Chest Expander, which is light, simple, easily employed, outwardly or invisibly, without any uncomfortable restraint, or impediment to exercise. Sent per post, by Mr. A. BISHOP, 8, Old Mary-at-Late, St. Paul's, Covent Garden, London, or full particulars on receiving a postage stamp.

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LUCK, KENT, and CUMMING, beg to inform the Nobility and Gentry, as well as their friends and the public, that they have received their large stock of Carpets from Curzon's Hall, London Wall, to their long-established Warehouse, 1, REGENT STREET, WATERLOO PLACE, opposite Howell and James's, and to 98, HATTON GARDEN, HOLBORN, where they trust that Patronage will be continued which they have enjoyed for upwards of thirty years. A considerable portion of their large stock of BRUSSELS, KIDDERMINSTER, and other Carpets, to be sold at a Great Reduction. In addition to Carpeting, they have at their West End Establishment, a large Stock of Chintzes, Damasks, Tabourets, &c., well worthy of attention. A splendid Carpet, of British manufacture, 20-3 by 15, with a centre and border, at less than cost price.

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As real goodness is not helped by praise, nor injured by reproach, so the BLACK TBA, at 4s. 6d. per lb., sold by JAKIN and COMPANY, owes its popularity solely to its intrinsic excellence.
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BOTANIC WATER and BEAR'S GREASE.—When the hair is becoming thin and falling off, the only effectual remedy, besides shaving the head, is the use of the two above named articles, applied alternately—the botanic water to cleanse the roots from scurf, and as a stimulant, and the bear's grease as a nourisher. If any further evidence was required of the virtues of bear's grease for renovating and preserving the hair, Mr. Catlin's account of the quantity used, and the length of hair obtained by some of the North American Indians, would be a sufficient answer.—ROSS and SONS, 119 and 120, Bishopsgate-street, who first introduced the use of bear's grease in this country, and who fat and kill the animals, recommend the public to purchase none other but with their names and address printed on the pot, or the chances are they are obtaining a spurious article. All vegetable oils applied to the hair are worse than useless.

BERDOE'S WATERPROOF OVER-COATS, and OUTSIDE GARMENTS of all kinds—guaranteed to exclude any rain whatever. More than seven years' extensive trial of these well-known garments, has enabled the public to form its own opinion respecting them: what that is, is best shown by their established and constantly extending sale, and the numerous competitors their success has produced, some of whom employ other similar attempts to mislead, actually attach to their garments W. B.'s name and label. General price from 40s. to 50s. An extensive variety kept to select from, or made to order at a day's notice. All sloop and inferior goods strictly excluded. W. BERDOE, Tailor, Over-coat Maker, and Waterproofing, 69, Cornhill, north side.

HEAL and SON'S LIST OF BEDDING, containing a full description of weights, sizes, and prices, by which purchasers are enabled to judge the articles that are best suited to make a good set of bedding. Sent free, by post, on application to their establishment.—Heal & Son Feather Dressers and Bedding Manufacturers, 195, Tottenham-court-road.

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CAUTION.—The words "ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL" are on the Wrapper of each bottle.
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A CHAT IN THE 'CHANGE;
Or a "Stop" to Rumour—not to Payment.
Two gentlemen were seen to range
The area of the New Exchange;
They'd often met each other there,
On business and the like affair;
And oft while pacing to and fro
They'd have a bit of chat, you know.
Sometimes the theme on which they'd fix
Were Church affairs and politics;
At other times discussion turn'd
Where trade and commerce were concern'd.
Twas thus upon the day in question,
They'd many topics for discussion,
But that which form'd the greater part
Was MOSES' celebrated Mart.
The part where we were staying at
Enabled us to hear the chat;
And as we think it worth narration
We'll let you know
THE CONVERSATION.
"I say," said one, the first who spoke,
I'm told, without a word of joke,
That MOSES' house—that Mart for raiment,
Has positively stopp'd its payment.
I trust 'tis some unfounded notion.
For, sir, 'twould be a sad commotion
What are your thoughts upon the matter?"
Dye you think it's truth, or merely chatter?"
THE REPLY.
"What!" said the other, rather "poppy,"
MOSES and SON, the Mart's stopp'd?
Don't name such stuff to me, nor don't!
I won't believe it—that I won't!
I give at once a contradiction
To such a base, malignant fiction.
For instance—MOSES' deal with me—
And purchase most extensively
I've bargain'd with that house for years,
And never found the least arrears.
No—as a merchant, I can say
They're always ready cash to pay;
As soon as goods are taken in
They're always ready with the "tin."
Excuse my joke—I can but laugh
At such a piece of trifling chat.
This rumour, doubtless, came from lips
Belonging to pretended "snips."
Who would rejoice, with all their hearts,
To "stop" outright the Mart of Mars.
The tailors and such competition
Has plac'd them in a sad position,
And finding that they can't compete
With times so mighty—so complete—
They split their spite in sore vexation.
And force a silly fabrication.
These "little fellows" of the trade
Have many a puny effort made,
And finding that won't do, they try
At fabricating—what?
I tell you what—I'd stop their "clocks"—
I'd put the cane about their backs.
But why should I beset you out?
MOSES' enjoy the fun no doubt,
I guess, and I have heard his sides—
They've laugh'd enough to hurt their sides.

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READY MADE.
Beaver Tasslonis - - - £ 8 6
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Boy's Hussar and Tunic Suits - - - 0 18 6
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Best, or Dress Trousers - - - 1 0 0
Dress Coats - - - 1 12 0
Ditto, best quality made - - - 1 12 0
Frock Coats - - - 1 13 0
Ditto, best quality made - - - 0 8 0
Cuskinere Vests - - - 0 8 6
Satin, plain or fancy - - - 0 12 6
Boy's Hussar and Tunic Suits - - - 0 18 6
Boy's Great Coats - - - 0 14 6

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT.
A new work, entitled "Habillment Hall," with full directions for self-measurement, may be had on application, or forwarded post free. Mournings to any amount can be had at five minutes' notice, at the following prices:
Men's Suits, dress coat, vest, and trousers - - - from 1 18 0
Ditto, jacket, vest, and trousers - - - from 0 18 0
IMPORTANT. Any article purchased or ordered, if not approved of, exchanged, or returned, at the discretion of the Proprietors.
J. MONAGHAN and CO., Tailors, Wholesale and Retail Woollendrapers, Outfitters, and General Warehousemen, 154, Minorities, and 86, Aldgate, City, opposite the Church.

CAUTION. J. MONAGHAN and CO. are obliged to guard the public against imposition, having learned that the unscrupulous falsehood of being connected with them, or it's the same concern, has been resorted to in many instances, and for obvious reasons. They have no connexion what-with a y other establishment in or out of London; and those who do desire genuine "cheap" clothing should to prevent disappointment, call or send to 154, Minorities, or 86, Aldgate, opposite the Church.
N.B. No business transacted at this Establishment from sunset on Friday to sunset on Saturday, when business is resumed till twelve o'clock.

Printed at the Whitefriars Printing-office, Bouverie-street, in the precinct of Whitefriars, in the City of London, by James Gosney, printer of Number 7, Ridgway-place, Roper-street, in the County of Middlesex, and also of Number 4, Paribell-place, Chesham hill-road, in the parish of Manchester, in the County of Lancaster, and published at Number 67, Fleet street, in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, in the City of London, by ABRAHAM WALTER PATERSON, of Number 67, Fleet-street storeside.—Saturday, February 14, 1846.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LEAGUE.

No. 125.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1846.

[GRATIS.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

DEBATE ON THE CORN LAW.

It is unnecessary to observe that ever since Sir Robert Peel's memorable statement of the 27th ult., the present parliamentary week had been looked forward to by all parties with no ordinary interest. The subject, indeed, had already been discussed in all its bearings, and it was not expected that new light could be thrown on the real merits of the question; but still it was regarded as the opening up of the concluding scene—the commencement of the last stage of a great national movement, to which every circumstance—even the comparative tranquillity of the preceding week—conspired in no ordinary measure to direct the undivided attention of all classes of the community. No startling revelation was expected, but still as the hour drew near when the House was at length fairly to launch out on this important question, it was manifest that the excitement which pervaded the metropolis had increased; and multitudes might be seen in the vicinity of St. Stephen's, whose interest in the proceedings of that evening was not less intense than that of the crowded assemblage of members and spectators within the walls of the House. It was known and felt throughout London, and throughout the kingdom, that a great legislative question was on the eve of being finally discussed and adjusted, the settlement of which, in accordance with the wishes and with the hopes of the nation, would usher in a new era in the commercial policy and in the social circumstances of this country.

The reader will remember that Monday, the 9th inst., was the day appointed for resuming the consideration of this great question. When the House of Commons had met, the quietness of the usual routine of preliminary proceedings was enlivened by the entrance of Lord Morpeth, who, when taking the usual oaths, was cheered. The same mark of attention was paid to the noble Lord when he was called on to present petitions from Yorkshire, praying for the immediate as well as the total repeal of the Corn Laws.

Mr. FERRAND asked if the noble Lord could assure the House that the signatures to these petitions were the free and unbiassed acts of the parties themselves, for he had been assured—

The SPEAKER informed Mr. Ferrand that he might ask a question, but could not make a speech.

LORD MORPETH, in reply to the question, declared that, to the best of his belief and the entireness of his conviction, the signatures were the free and unbiassed acts of the parties.

Amongst various questions and answers, and other preliminary business, the topic of the evening was introduced in the following manner, by the right hon. baronet at the head of her Majesty's Government.

SIR R. PEEL—I am anxious to take the first opportunity of referring to a question which was put to me the other night by the noble lord the member for the city of London. The noble lord (J. Russell), following his colleague (Mr. Pattison), asked me whether it was the intention of the Government to remit the duties on foreign corn immediately after the resolution of this house should be reported? That question, Sir, was put to me at once by the noble lord without previous notice; and, under the impression that the Treasury had dealt with the duties on corn in the same way as other duties, I answered the noble lord, that the Treasury would remit the duties on foreign corn on the report of the resolution in this house. I gave that answer under the impression, as I have said, that the Treasury had dealt with the duties on corn as with other duties. I find that impression is erroneous. In every case when the corn duties have been dealt with by Parliament the reduction of duty has taken place from the passing of the Act; and the Treasury has never in any case, on the report of the resolution, undertaken to remit the duties. I should be exceedingly unwilling to assume, on the part of the Treasury, any authority for which there was not a precedent. I should be also exceedingly sorry to assume it in this case, because I fear that the assump-

tion of that authority for the first time would have a tendency rather to prejudice than promote a satisfactory settlement of this question (cheers). It is the intention of the Government, therefore, to adhere to the course which has been uniformly pursued in all former periods of alteration in the Corn Laws, and make the reduction of duty, if the measure should meet with the sanction of Parliament, take effect from the passing of the Act. I believe there will be no inconvenience or delay as to the taking of corn out of bond at the duty of 4s. dependent on the passing of the Act; but, at the same time, it is of so much importance that the decision of Parliament on this subject should be known as soon as possible, and that the trade should have an assurance as to the principle which is to govern our conduct, that her Majesty's Government propose to give preference to the corn bill over all other proceedings. So far as we are concerned, we will propose no other Government business until the decision of this branch of the legislature with respect to the new Corn Law shall have been taken (cheers). That bill will, therefore, be proceeded with before any other measure connected with the tariff; and, provided it meet with the sanction of this house, will be sent at once to the House of Lords (cheers).

Mr. CHRISTOPHER presented several petitions in favour of the continuance of the existing Corn Law.

Mr. BANKES presented 23 petitions from Bridport and other places in Dorsetshire praying for a continuance of protection to British agriculture, at least until the sense of the country should be taken on the question. He also presented several petitions from different places in Hampshire.

Mr. HAWES presented a petition signed by 72,000 inhabitants of Lambeth, in favour of a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws.

Mr. PLUMPTRE presented several petitions in favour of the existing Corn Laws.

Mr. J. T. CLIFTON presented several petitions from places in Northamptonshire in favour of protection to British agriculture.

SIR G. GREY presented a petition from Devonport and Stonehouse, praying the house at once and for ever to abolish the Corn Laws.

Mr. GIBBORNE presented a petition from the Isle of Wight in favour of the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws.

Mr. MACAULAY presented a petition from the Lord Provost, magistrates, and town-council of Edinburgh, expressing their general approbation of the measures of the right hon. baronet (Sir R. Peel), but regretting that the repeal of the Corn Laws was not to be immediate.

Mr. DUNCOMBE presented a petition from the paper-hangers of the city of London declaring themselves favourable to the principles of Free Trade, but wishing them to be equally applied, and complaining that the duty on the importation of foreign paper-hanging was to be reduced five-sixths in place of one-half.

Mr. BRIGHT presented petitions from Stockport and 30 other places in favour of the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws.

Similar petitions were presented by Mr. CHRISTIE, from Weymouth; by Sir B. HALL, from Marylebone; by Mr. WARBURTON, from Bridport, and from Ambleside, in Westmoreland; by Mr. STRUTT, from Derby, and seven other places in Derbyshire; by Mr. ROSS, from 1400 inhabitants of Belfast, and from 150 inhabitants of another place in Antrim; by Lord J. RUSSELL, from South Devonshire; by Mr. BOUVIER, from Salisbury and five other places; by Mr. HUME, from the magistrates, town-council, and inhabitants of the Royal burghs of Montrose, Arbroath, and Forfar, from the merchants and shipowners of Arbroath, from the guildry of Arbroath, from the inhabitants of Forfar, Letham, Lunanhead, &c.; by Lord A. PAGET, from Lichfield; by Mr. W. COWPER, from Hertford; Sir W. CLAY, from the Tower Hamlets; by Sir W. MOLESWORTH, from 44,600 inhabitants of Southwark; and by Mr. AGLONBY, from Whitehaven.

Mr. BENETT presented a petition from Salisbury, praying that no alteration should take place in the Corn Laws until an appeal should be made to the different constituencies.

Mr. M. PHILIPS presented a petition from 314,520 merchants, bankers, landowners, farmers, traders, and others, in the county palatine of Lancaster, expressing their general approbation of the measures of the Government; declaring their opinion that they would be much more appropriate and much more valuable to the country if they had dealt with the immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, instead of leaving that as a prospective measure; and praying the house immediately to proceed to the abolition of the Corn Laws. The hon. member also presented a similar petition from the Manchester Commercial Association. The latter body also expressed their hearty concurrence in the proposed change in the law of settlement.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL presented a petition from Abingdon in favour of the measures of Government.

Mr. W. MILES presented a number of petitions from parishes in the counties of Somerset, Monmouth, Glamorgan, and Gloucester, all in favour of protection to British agriculture, and expressing a hope, that should it be the determination of her Majesty's Government to propose an alteration in the Corn Laws, an appeal should in the first instance be made to the country.

LORD DUNCAN presented a petition from Bath, which had in four days received the signatures of 6700 inhabitants, Whigs, Tories, and Radicals, in favour generally of the Government measure; but humbly praying that advantage might be taken of the present season of scarcity at once to repeal all duties which tended to diminish the supply of the people's food.

Mr. CAYLEY presented a petition from a place in the North Riding of Yorkshire in favour of protection to British industry.

Mr. WAKLEY presented a petition from 83,000 of the inhabitants of Finsbury, expressing their regret that the proposed total repeal of the Corn Laws was not to be immediate, and praying that, as the protectionists desired an immediate repeal, if at all, their wishes should be complied with. The hon. member also presented a petition from Newton, in Montgomeryshire, in favour of a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. The hon. member then proceeded to state that he had another petition of an important nature to present on the same subject. It was from 14 labourers in Wiltshire, and was as follows:

"TO THE HON. THE COMMONS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

"The petition of the undersigned, inhabitants of Pewsey, in the county of Wilts, sheweth,—That your petitioners are agricultural labourers, members of that class for whose especial protection and benefit the Corn Laws are said to have passed, and are now sought to be maintained. That, so far from having received protection and benefit, the condition of your petitioners is one of destitution and of degradation, being obliged to submit to the work usually assigned to beasts of burden, namely, to be harnessed to carts and to draw them, laden with stones, from place to place, in order to earn, not the fair wages for labour, but a miserable pittance, a sum nicely calculated as being just sufficient to keep them from starvation, and to prevent their availing themselves of that refuge which the law of the land has provided for them, and which the poor-rate is levied to ensure to them. That, although some of your petitioners have as many as eight in their family, in no one instance does the payment for their labour amount to more than 6s. a-week, out of which sum rent, fuel, and other necessities, as well as food have to be provided; that being thus reduced, under the Corn Laws, which do not enable the occupiers of the soil to give them employment for fair wages, and which clearly do not afford them protection, or conduce to their benefit, your petitioners are strongly of opinion that those laws are injurious, rather than advantageous to them; they therefore humbly implore your hon. house immediately and entirely to abolish those laws, and all others the tendency of which is to make food scarce and dear,—a state of things that is always hurtful to the labouring classes. (Signed by 14 labourers, having 14 wives and 48 children, altogether amounting to 76 persons, subsisting on 4l. 2s. a-week, or 13d. each person, being less than 2d. a-day each.)"

SIR R. PEEL presented a petition from the Lord Provost, magistrates, and town-council of Glasgow, in favour of the commercial policy of Government. The right hon. baronet presented similar petitions from Hawick, Thirsk, in Yorkshire, and Pollokshaws.

SIR G. STAUNTON presented a petition from the town of Gosport and parish of Alverstoke, in Hampshire, for the total repeal of the Corn Laws.

Petitions were also presented in favour of immediate repeal, by Mr. MILNER GIBSON, from the Mayor and Corporation of Manchester; by Mr. OSWALD, from Glasgow; and by Mr. B. ESCOTT, from a place in Winchester. The petitioners in the last instance prayed also for an equalisation of the sugar duties.

CORN-LAW DEBATE.

The question having been put that the Speaker leave the chair, that the house might resolve itself into a committee on the Corn Importation Acts,

Mr. P. MILES rose to move his amendment, that the committee be postponed until this day six months. He did not wish, he said, to expose the Speaker to the infliction of a tedious debate, but the present seemed to him the most fitting time to take the discussion (hear, hear). He was resolved to treat the question calmly and dispassionately, and no expression calculated to excite any angry feelings should drop from him: the question was too important—too comprehensive in its details—to be debated upon party grounds, for it affected equally the merchant and the manufacturer, the landlord and the tenant, the operative and the artisan (hear, hear). He trusted, therefore, that the house would give it the fullest and most anxious consideration. It was a greater question than the Reform Bill, because it involved a change of policy which from the earliest times had been the ruling principle of government, under which Great Britain had risen to her present eminence, and which all nations had long followed, and still continued to follow. Whether the country were prepared for the change, and the constituency disposed to sanction it, remained to be proved (hear). He did not hesitate to say that upon such a question the constituency ought to be consulted (hear, hear), and it was indisputable that the majority of the house had been returned upon protectionist principles. Notwithstanding the explanation given by the right hon. baronet, he (Mr. P. Miles) must concur in the expression of the late Secretary for the Colonies, and at one time of the greater number of the colleagues of the right hon. baronet (hear, hear), that there was no special necessity for the measure (hear, hear). No one could more deeply deplore the undoubted failure of the potato crop in Ireland than he did, but there was no real ground for apprehending famine. The oat and barley crop had been unusually large; and by a return now on the table, it appeared that between the 5th July, 1845, and the 5th January, 1846, nearly four million quarters of grain had been imported, and more than a million cwt. of meal. Did this look like famine? At the very moment the right hon. baronet wished to open the ports the price of wheat was only 56s. 2d. per quarter, which in 1842 the right hon. baronet had considered a fair remuneration to the grower (cheers). He trusted that the house would not look upon him as inclined to undervalue the responsibility of a Minister. He did not wish to taunt the right hon. baronet with being alarmed without cause—far from it. He could well understand and allow for the anxieties of a Prime Minister, and he knew how much they must be increased by the bare idea of famine (hear). He was aware what reports reached him from various quarters, but the alarming paragraphs the right hon. baronet had read from the newspapers did not produce the same impression upon him.

The law of 1842 was, he believed, admitted by all parties to

have worked well (oh, oh), as far as any Corn Law could go. It had produced steadiness of prices, and it had given the farmer a fair price for his corn. Under the law of 1842 the right honourable baronet estimated the price of 56s. as a fair amount for the farmer to receive for his wheat, but he should be glad to know what price the right honourable gentleman considered a fair price for the farmer now (loud cries of hear, hear, from the protectionist members)? The right honourable baronet offered the farmer what he called compensation, but did he suppose that the advantages which he offered in return for the protection which he took away would compensate the farmer for a loss of ten or fifteen shillings a quarter upon wheat, which was the amount to which the right honourable gentleman opposite expected it would fall? The right honourable gentleman's opinion was that the farmer would not lose by the change introduced by his measure; but if that opinion were correct, what became of the argument of the right honourable gentleman opposite which was founded upon the certainty of a cheap loaf (hear, hear, hear)? He believed that there was a vast difference between a cheapness produced by good harvests and a cheapness produced by a free importation of corn. He was afraid that the right honourable gentleman had been mistaken in his calculations, and that he had overstated the prosperity of the country in consequence of the good harvests with which Providence had blessed us (hear, hear). It was the opinion of Mr. Huskisson—none the worse for having been pronounced many years ago—that “cheapness produced by the importation of corn from abroad was the sure forerunner of scarcity, and that a steady home supply was the only safe foundation of steady and moderate prices” (hear, hear). He (Mr. P. Miles) was of the same opinion. No state was so critical as that in which a country was regularly dependent on a foreign supply. What the result of these changes might be no man could at present foretell. He thought himself that they would lead to great fluctuations in prices, and that before long hon. members would see the right hon. baronet come down to the house and propose some new measure for the regulation of the trade in corn. (Cheers from the protectionist members.) The principle of free trade for which hon. members opposite contended, if rightly understood, meant this—that every other country should be allowed to inundate us with their goods, without offering us any corresponding advantages in return. Now, he must say, that he thought it would be very difficult for the manufacturer to compete with his rival in the foreign market unless he reduced the rate of wages. (Hear, hear.) The Swiss, the Germans, and the French competed with us at present most successfully in many articles of manufacture. If the important item of wages were excepted, the English manufacturer would stand in a position equal, or perhaps superior to the foreigner; but hon. members all knew what an important item that was to manufacturers. Hon. members might be told that cheapness of provisions would not affect the price of wages, but let provisions be as cheap as they would, the manufacturer here could not compete with the foreigner unless wages were reduced. The house had heard the stress which the right hon. bart. laid on the withdrawal of protection from the manufacturing interests. Manufacturers, however, had a great advantage over the agricultural interest. He much doubted whether agriculture and manufactures, although they depended on each other, could be said to be governed by the same laws and principles, but he knew that if the agriculturist did anything with his farm, he must task his labourers to the utmost. Again, the manufacturers had an advantage when the burdens were considered which both must bear. He held in his hand a return showing how unequally these burdens pressed upon the manufacturers. The returns of one manufacturer's business amounted to 170,000*l.*, and the wages which he paid to 30,000*l.*; but upon looking at the burdens which he bore, he found that they only amounted to 530*l.* When he looked to the compensation which was offered to the landed interest in return for the changes about to be introduced, he was surprised to find how slight it was. A compensation of 300,000*l.* or 400,000*l.*, spread over all England, would hardly be felt. He thought that the agriculturists would have been better pleased if the right hon. baronet had had offered them nothing at all (loud cries of hear, hear, hear). The honourable member, who was heard but imperfectly in the reporters' gallery during the latter portion of his speech, in consequence of his dropping his voice at intervals, then formally moved, as an amendment upon Sir R. Peel's motion, that the house do resolve itself into the said committee on that day six months.

Sir W. HEATHCOTE begged leave to second the amendment, and in doing so he asked the right hon. baronet as the head of the Government to believe that he disclaimed any imputation of unworthy motives to him. It was true that he thought his measure both dangerous and delusive, that the grounds upon which it was based were insufficient, when taken separately, and inconsistent and self-destructive when combined. He thought the right honourable baronet had not sufficiently appreciated the violent shock to which confidence in public men was exposed, when their opinions were suddenly changed without any apparent change of circumstances, on matters upon which the public mind had been long exercised, and upon which public opinion had been long expressed (hear, hear, from the protectionist members). To say, however, that the right hon. baronet pretended to entertain opinions which he did not hold, or that he had not the best interests of the country in view when he introduced his measure, appeared to him (Sir W. Heathcote) to be a gratuitous assumption. He must give, therefore, the supporters of the Government measure the advantage of the argument which was derived from the good intentions of its author; but he nevertheless intended to oppose it, because he considered the measure mischievous in itself, and not justified by reason or experience.

He (Sir W. Heathcote) had supported the right honourable baronet upon the Canada Corn Bill, and he would have been prepared to support him in a similar boon to Australia (hear, hear). But in the measure before the house there was a boon to no colony (hear, hear). On the contrary, for the first time, an anti-colonial policy was openly avowed (hear, hear). Entertaining these views, he could not consent to go into any question of terms or conditions of compromise. He thought it his duty generally to oppose the proposition and to support the amendment (hear). There was one practical consideration which he had no doubt had much weight with hon. gentlemen on his side of the house who were prepared to support the ministerial proposition—he meant the feeling that the existence of the Government would be compromised in the midst of the discussions and dissensions which would arise from their taking a different course. Now he did not underrate the importance of that contingency. He for one was not careless whether the right

honourable baronet and those with whom he acted, or whether the noble lord the member for the city of London and his friends, sat on the Treasury bench. He had supported the right honourable baronet because he, generally speaking, agreed with the course taken by his Government, and it was not because he differed from him on one important point that he would be led away to a transference of that support to those with whom he had little in common, and on a point on which he disagreed from the views of the noble lord as much as he did from those of the right honourable baronet. That right honourable gentleman took power not to carry out private ends but for great public purposes. But if, on account of their disagreeing with a particular measure, he was induced to throw up the Government which they still wished to see confided to his hands, why then upon him, and not upon those who generally supported him, must rest the responsibility and the blame (loud protectionist cheering). The honourable gentleman concluded by seconding the amendment (hear, hear).

The question was put from the chair, and Mr. W. LASCELLES (who was at first almost inaudible, and often indistinctly heard) rose. He was understood to say, that the honourable gentleman who had just concluded his address seemed to think that the country had attained the prosperity which had been its lot, entirely in consequence of the restriction on trade which had been so long imposed upon it. He owned that the honourable gentleman seemed to him to have read very incorrectly the history of the empire. In his view, ever since the commencement of the time when restrictive policy began to be applied, they were visited with a series of fluctuations in the price of food which could not be otherwise than detrimental to the country (opposition cheers). He must deny that upon the reconstruction of the Conservative party after the Reform Bill, its commercial principles were those founded on a restrictive policy (hear, hear). He for one had never considered such a policy as the test of the Conservative party. On the eve of the general election he had considered it necessary to assert that no such principles as those of restriction were necessarily those entertained by the Conservative party, and with this view he had voted for the noble lord opposite, as he would have supported him had he been able lately to form a cabinet (hear, hear). He had watched the course which Government had taken with respect to this matter very closely, and when honourable gentlemen spoke of the danger which would accrue from the Government proposition, he replied to them that the very first act of the Government implied and involved the very principles now on the eve of being carried out (hear, hear). Why, he had thought it impossible to listen to the speeches with which the tariff had been prefaced, and not to have seen that they inculcated the full principles of Free Trade (loud opposition cheering). And there was proof that these speeches were so understood by honourable gentlemen on his side of the house, or why, in every successive session of Parliament, were so many questions put to the right hon. baronet, implying that, from the principles which he had asserted, the questioners believed that he was about to alter the Corn Laws, and requesting to know whether or not he actually and really did (opposition cheers). Well, an answer was given, which they were obliged to deem satisfactory (hear, hear, and a laugh). The right hon. baronet told them that he had no intention of repealing the Corn Laws at the time, but that he did not regard the corn question as one on which a minister, responsible for the welfare of the nation, was for ever to pledge himself (hear, hear). Now, that was the full amount of the charge which could in fairness be brought against the right honourable baronet. He was willing to do both the honourable mover and seconder of the amendment the justice to acknowledge that they had not followed the course which had been taken with respect to this subject out of doors. They had rather addressed themselves to the actual merits of the case, than the personal topics mixed up with it. The hon. seconder of the amendment had told them that the country had prospered in consequence of the Corn Laws. Now, let them look at what had been the immediate effects of relaxation wherever the principle had been carried out. He did not merely rely on the result of the measures of the right hon. baronet, but he would take as instances of the good effect of commercial relaxation the cases of silk, of sugar, of wool—in short, with respect to all the articles which they could possibly bring to mind; and the fact which the advocates of a protective policy would have to refute was this—that the result of all experience, without one single exception, had confirmed every theory which the wisest men had uttered upon the subject (hear). To this rule, he repeated, there was no exception. He did not believe that when it was applied to agriculture, there would be any exception in that case more than in others. There might be some suffering and distress before the sound system was established, but that constituted no reason why the change to it should any longer be deferred (hear, hear). He had a very strong feeling on this subject. Painful as it was to do anything to break those party ties which so often cemented private friendship, he could not help expressing the satisfaction that he felt in reflecting that he had laboured to place the right hon. baronet in the position in which he stood, in the full confidence that he would apply his great knowledge, his undoubted powers, to the satisfactory settlement of the question before them. That right hon. gentleman had acted as he anticipated, and without wishing for a moment to diminish the merits of those hon. gentlemen opposite who had so long, so ably, and so consistently argued against commercial restriction, still he did think that, practically speaking, the right hon. baronet had done more than any one else for the—to his mind satisfactory—adjustment of this great question (loud opposition cheers).

LORD NORREYS rose with pain, not only to oppose the measure, but also to withdraw his confidence from the right hon. baronet (Sir R. Peel), with whom he had acted on every occasion, in and out of power, from the year 1830 to the present period (hear, hear).

If the right hon. baronet had refused to resume office until a noble duke (the Duke of Richmond) had been offered the government (cheers and laughter)—that would have opened the eyes of the agriculturists to their actual position. Every one knew what would have been the result, and the agriculturists being then made aware of their actual position, a measure far more favourable to them might have been carried by the right hon. baronet (hear, hear). But could he (Sir Robert Peel) be surprised that they had stood out for no alteration? They were only following the advice given by him in 1839. He (Lord Norreys) could not have expected that he who gave that advice in 1839, who so damaged the fixed duty in 1841 that that mode of protection had been abandoned, who professed a settlement

in 1842, who objected to an 8s. permanent duty, could have proposed a 4s. duty to end in total repeal (hear, hear). He did not believe the right hon. baronet acted dishonestly, but it was clear, from his former conduct, that he had been wanting in political foresight, and was therefore unworthy of the confidence of public men. Whatever the result of opposition might be, he held the right hon. gentleman responsible, who had risked this state of confusion without any sufficient cause, and who had so unhandsonly driven his opponents from power on that question in 1841 (hear, hear).

Mr. B. COCHRANE.—He was compelled to differ from the opinion expressed by some honourable gentlemen at recent meetings of the agricultural societies, and he could not agree with them that the Corn Laws involved a Christian and religious principle. On the contrary, looking through the whole history of the Corn Laws, he could not discover any principle at all, a principle being something immutable, not taking its colour from the impulse of the moment, and beyond the influence of the circumstance and the hour. So far from a fixed principle, he found that for five centuries posterior to the Conquest importation was free; but agricultural protection, which dated from Henry VI., gradually increased until the Revolution, when a bounty of 6s. was given to exportation; and importation, totally forbidden until the price of wheat was 54s., was subject to a duty of 8s. between that price and 80s. This, with occasional variations, remained in operation until Lord North's Act, in 1773, reduced the protection to 44s.; but in 1791 the agricultural was again the predominant interest, and greatly favoured until 1815, when the duty amounted to a prohibition. Then followed the Act of 1822, and afterwards Mr. Grant's resolutions in 1828; in 1842 the present measure was passed, which he for one supported, and which it was now proposed to overthrow altogether. Where, then, was the lurking place of this principle, if it did exist? Through what strange scenes and changes had it passed! If there was a Corn Law faith, it admitted of every diversity of heresy (hear, hear, and a laugh). If he might be permitted the opinion, he thought the agriculturists were requiring too much, when they claimed a Corn Law principle. He would rather adopt the language of the honourable member for Shrewsbury, and term the Corn Laws an accident or an expedient, subject, as all expedients must be, to the influence of time and circumstances.

The right hon. gentlemen at the head of the Government had been accused of gross inconsistency. But when he looked back to the histories of other public men, he did not find any greater consistency. Why, Lord Ashburton, the now protector of protection, in 1820, presented a petition from the merchants and traders of the city of London, praying for total free trade. *Facies non omnibus una*. There was scarcely one public man who had devoted his attention to the corn laws who had not been compelled to change his opinion, and what did this prove? That all public men were dishonest, and that public virtue had no existence? This he thought, on whichever side of the argument, would be an unfair assumption; it rather proved that the question was one full of difficulties, ever varying with the seasons and the times; that there might be some truth in Mr. Sydney Smith's dictum, “whoever talks of an unalterable law, is an unalterable fool” (a laugh)—that events in politics were not like equal quantities in mathematics, always the same, or like the great abstract truths of morality, eternal and invariable in their nature (hear, hear). He (Mr. Cochrane) was one of those who did lament those harsh necessities which hurried men on from change to change; but to lament was not to prevent, and for God's sake let them look at the state of the world as it is and was, not as it should be. Let them look at the movements which had taken place within the last 16 years: the development of industry, the progress of invention, the extended intercourse—America brought within 12 days, China within two months, goods conveyed 40 miles an hour, letters sent from Penzance to Caithness for one penny. With all this movement upon the waters, could the mind of man alone remain unchanged? And then let them regard the great fact of the population doubled within 100 years, and increasing half a million annually—increasing through the expansion of that trade which broke the alliance between Napoleon and Alexander, and which had extended our colonial intercourse to the furthest quarter of the globe. Above all, could they ever forget that the Reform Bill had passed? That reform which the honourable baronet the member for Cornwall truly styled a revolution. The consequences of that measure never could die—and who were the Ministers who passed it? Why, among others, the noble duke at the head of the agricultural societies, a noble lord who had succeeded, and a noble earl who, it was supposed, would secede from her Majesty's Government (hear). These were the Ministers who compelled the Crown and the aristocracy to yield to clamour, and these noble lords, who threatened “to swamp” the House of Peers, now stand up in defence of the landed interest of this nation.

Sir, (said the hon. gentleman,) I vote for this measure because I have confidence in the financial policy of the right hon. gentleman. I vote for this measure because I prefer legislation to agitation; moreover, because I am a sincere advocate for protection (hear, and a laugh). Yes, sir, for protection not to one class, to one interest, however important; but protection to all classes, to all interests, foreign and domestic—protection in hours of darkness and trouble, which, I pray God, may be far from us, but which, we cannot conceal from ourselves, may depend on the life of one man in France, or on party cry in America—protection when another northern confederacy may have threatened our shores, and hostile fleets threaten our colonial empire—the protection of a strong and vigorous administration;—but above all, I vote for this measure because, in the beautiful language of the prayer which we hear each day, I would set aside all private interests, prejudices, and partial affections, and lend my humble but most sincere endeavours to any settlement which those whose peculiar province it is to rule the destinies of this great country may judge conducive to the comfort and welfare of the poorer, but not less loyal, classes of my fellow-subjects (cheers).

Mr. DEEDS hoped he should be allowed to trespass on the time of the house for a short period, as this was the first time he had ever appealed to them for a similar indulgence (hear, hear). He was much tempted to express his dissent from the right hon. gentleman at the head of the Government on the first night on which he submitted his great measure, but he was deterred from that course because he understood the merits of the question were not then to be entered into, and because he was desirous to remove from himself the imputation of having formed a hasty judgment on so grave and important a matter. In the course of his address the right hon. baronet had alluded to the thriving

condition of the country during the last three years, but it must not be forgotten that the empire had been under the operation of the revised law of 1842 during the whole of the period. The right hon. baronet now called on the house to expunge that law. He (Mr. Deedes) could not go along with him, or give him a support which would be contrary to the best judgment he was able to form (hear, hear). He feared very much that the abolition of the Corn Laws would have the effect of throwing the poorer soils in the kingdom out of cultivation. Without passing over in review those measures which might be called an offset to that abolition many of which he believed good in themselves, he could not but express his opinion that they ought not to have been added to a revision of the Corn Laws. Entertaining those views generally—dreading above all things the dependency of this country on foreign nations, in the event of any scarcity in so important an article as bread—fearing that specie must necessarily go out of the country to pay for corn, that a consequent reduction of specie must take place in the Bank of England, which supplied the other banks in the country—fearing the results of that restriction on the community, and bearing in mind the language of the right honourable baronet in introducing the measure in 1842, he could not allow himself to vote against his convictions. Having thanked the house for the indulgence with which he had been heard, the honourable member concluded by saying that he sat down with the fervent prayer that it might please God, who had raised this country to so high a place among the nations of the earth, to continue her therein—to guide and direct her rulers, and to make her an example and pattern to the rest of the world (hear, hear).

Sir J. WALSH, on rising to address the house, was met by cries of “spoke, spoke,” which were silenced by the Speaker. The honourable member proceeded to say that the agricultural party in that house had every motive to urge them to speak; and he would add, every claim on the justice of the house for a patient and forbearing hearing. That party must be allowed to be the representatives of great and important interests. They must be recognised as the organs of opinions which, if they had lost some important leaders and champions recently in that house, were still the opinions of the great mass of the population of the kingdom (hear, hear). He thought they must present themselves likewise to defend their motives from charges and imputations almost of a personal character which had been levelled against them throughout the length and breadth of the land (hear, hear). Those hon. members opposite, who had refrained hitherto from taking any part in the discussion, and had preserved that stubborn silence which was remarked on another occasion (hear, hear), had held up himself and his friends as the champions—or rather as the weak and impotent advocates—of an odious and selfish monopoly, and had represented them as persons actuated by no other motive or aim than the maintenance of the landlords’ rents, in opposition to all the interests of the mass of the country (hear, hear). The agricultural members might also present themselves under circumstances of great disadvantage, deprived, as they had been, by the sudden change of the right hon. baronet, of that powerful advocacy of their cause on which they had been accustomed to rely (cries of hear). The right honourable baronet had accompanied his present proposition with some measures of amelioration and compensation, and it might be of some value to the agricultural interests that he had by his defection placed them in a situation to defend their opinions and vindicate their characters (hear, hear). On behalf of that interest he first of all begged to deny, in the strongest and most emphatic terms, that they considered this question as one of rent and rent only (hear); and he denied that it could possibly be looked upon in that light (hear, hear). But before he addressed himself to that point, he would ask the house to consider, if they were to argue that question upon the narrow basis upon which their opponents endeavoured to place it, whether it would not, even in that point of view, be a question of sufficient importance to engage their attention? It appeared from the return made on the motion of the hon. member for Wolverhampton in 1842, that the landlords’ rental of the kingdom was assessed at the sum of 45,750,000*l.*, exclusive of Ireland. There was no return respecting that country from which her rental could be ascertained, but they could not err in assuming it to be 15,000,000*l.* or 20,000,000*l.* He was sure, then, they were within the mark in assuming that this narrow question of rent was one involving no less than 60,000,000*l.* sterling annually—a sum which was double the interest of the national debt, and exceeded the amount of our annual export trade, and which could not but be considered as involving the wealth and prosperity of the country.

There was another subject that had often been discussed in that house, and on which they—the protectionists—were wont formerly, in great measure, to rest the strength of their case, the peculiar burdens affecting the land. For some time past honourable gentlemen opposite had taken upon themselves to controvert that position, and deny that there actually were any peculiar burdens on land. The hon. member for Montrose (Mr. Hume) was the first to advocate that view, and he had been supported by the hon. member for Sheffield (Mr. Ward). He, however, thought that both honourable members had fallen into a great error in this matter. The hon. gentlemen, he conceived, argued that from the official accounts it appeared that a great amount of the local taxation fell upon other sorts of real property than land, such as houses and mines, and therefore was not an exclusive burden upon the land. To that his reply was, that they did not pretend it to be an exclusive burden, but that it was one which fell with particular weight upon agriculture, and that those connected with the landed interest paid more than those engaged in trading and manufacturing pursuits.

The right hon. baronet rested the adoption of his measure upon the experience of the last three years (hear, hear, from Colonel Sibthorp); but he (Sir John Walsh) was sure that public opinion would decide that another cause had been in operation, which had had a most powerful effect in producing the resolution of the right hon. baronet. To the organised efforts, and the vast funds raised by the Anti-Corn Law League, the public would be induced to ascribe in a great measure the great commercial revolution which had now been announced (hear, hear). Within the course of 25 years, that was the second of these associations that had sprung up and produced important effects upon the institutions of this country. Read the history of the first of these, and then solve this problem—How many of these associations it would take to crush the independence of Parliament itself (loud cheering)? To strike at the aristocracy (as we understood the hon. member, for the cheering with which this

sentiment was greeted from the Tory benches rendered the conclusion of his sentence nearly inaudible) and to endanger the monarchy? This was an evil which must be grappled with by some minister or other—this was a system which must of its nature be destructive of the independence and utility of representative government (cheers). He opposed this measure, then, because he believed it to be a dangerous experiment upon the resources of the country—he opposed it doubly because he believed it had been very much brought about by the influence of that association, which he considered every lover of order and good government was bound to oppose (Conservative cheering). He did not oppose the measure on the narrow ground of class interest—he did not oppose it because he believed rent, and rent only, to be concerned—but he opposed it because he was convinced if they made a mistake in this matter—if the calculations of the right hon. baronet proved erroneous—the result of that mistake would not be the sacrifice of the interest of a class, but the destruction of the prosperity of the empire (loud cheers from the protectionists).

Mr. A. HOPE said that the right hon. baronet at the head of the government had, as the leader of the opposition, led a struggle against the noble lord the member for London; and the Whig government, after ruling England since 1830, had by the natural course of events become *effete* (laughter); and when the noble lord had brought forward free-trade measures, the right hon. baronet had opposed them and compelled the noble lord to appeal to the country (hear, hear). The country then returned a Parliament as a protectionist Parliament, to crush free-trade, and they chose the right hon. baronet as a leader because they believed him to be the leader of the protectionist party (cheers). And now the members of that house were called upon to pass a far stronger and more sweeping measure than that which their constituents returned them to oppose (cheers). A Conservative government had come forward now at the beginning of 1846 to accomplish free trade, and the reason they assigned was, that it was consistent with the principles of true Conservative policy (hear). It might be true Conservative policy, but it was not a policy which would conserve the affections of his own party. There was a very powerful minister who in times when the House of Commons had not attained its present position, swayed his Sovereign with as potent an influence as that exercised by the right honourable baronet in that house; and that minister was said to have used the expression, *Ego et rex meus*. The right honourable baronet might with equal propriety use the expression, “I and my party” (hear). In 1841 honourable members were elected upon strong protectionist principles. Now so much were they expected to follow their leader, that they were brought down to that house as they had been last Tuesday week, without the common courtesy which always accompanied measures of much less importance—of having some inkling of the nature of the measure to be proposed (hear, hear). He (Mr. Hope) had been one of the members who in 1841 knew something of what was to be brought forward, but now a total change in the commercial system which had prevailed for centuries was considered a bubble—a mere *blea-bite* (laughter)—a nothing greater than a turnpike bill. Such a policy was truly Wolsheyan. This, which was literally one of the greatest revolutions the country had ever seen—a revolution in commerce, trade, and manufactures, calculated to produce results more serious than even a revolution in the constitution or government of the country, was brought forward in the course of an almost *effete* Parliament, and members were expected, as a matter of course, to support it. If there was any glory to be derived from this achievement, most assuredly it belonged to the noble lord and not to the right hon. baronet, and he could not help thinking that the right honourable baronet would have acted a more glorious part, and one of far more advantage to his fame than that which he had adopted, if the moment he found “a change coming over the spirit of his dream”—he had gone to the noble lord and said—“I now find that you all your life were right, that I all my life was wrong, and it is but right that I should now resign to you the reins of Government, in order that you may not be deprived of the glory of carrying into operation those measures which you have so zealously, and I must say so properly, advocated” (hear, hear, hear). Had the right honourable baronet done this long, long ago, he would have avoided the reproach of arraying himself in borrowed plumage, and he would have pursued a course which gentleman at both sides of the house—however they might differ from him in opinion—would have commended as a heroic and magnanimous attempt for the well-being of the country (hear, hear, hear). Besides, it would have been nothing more than an act of justice to those who in bygone days were the adversaries of the right hon. baronet. The right hon. baronet was now their fellow co-operator and fellow-labourer; but why should he not allow them the merit to which in his heart he must feel they are entitled (cheers, and cries of hear, hear, hear, from Sir Robert Peel)? The hon. member concluded by expressing his determination to uphold the protective system as far as in him lay by voting in favour of the amendment.

Lord SANDON next addressed the house; but spoke in so indistinct a tone of voice as to be for some time almost inaudible in the gallery. He was understood to say that he felt himself called upon to explain and vindicate the course which he was about to take with reference to this great question. He had an opinion of his own to represent and illustrate, and it was very possible that it was not an opinion which was shared by any other member of that house. The fact was, he was about to support the Minister’s measure, although he disapproved of it (laughter). The arguments which Sir R. Peel had used in reference to this question appeared to him in many respects untenable, and very many of the grounds which he had assigned as the basis on which he had founded his change of opinion seemed to him to be deserving of little or no consideration. They had little if any weight with him (Lord Sandon); for they constituted, in his opinion, too narrow a foundation on which to establish such startling changes as those which were now in contemplation. They did not furnish an adequate pretext by which to justify the overturning of institutions which had been sanctioned by the experience of many years (cries of Hear, hear). The right honourable baronet at the head of her Majesty’s Government attempted to justify the change in his policy by a reference to arguments and facts deduced from the experience of the last three years, but that experience was a superficial one, resulting from peculiar circumstances not likely again to occur, and most assuredly it was not that description of experience which warranted a statesman in disregarding and setting at naught principles which were warranted by the experience of thirty years. He (Lord Sandon) could not concur in the opinion that the price

of corn did not to a certain extent influence the rate of wages. No one could persuade him that the price of corn did not exercise a very decided influence upon the wages of the agricultural labourer, and upon those of all classes of unskilled workmen, though it might be very true that the effect would not be at all as sensibly felt in the case of artisans and tradesmen.

Having argued to show the right of the farmer to protection, his lordship then proceeded to observe that after making this exposition of his views, it was only right that he should now give some explanation of the somewhat anomalous course he was about to adopt in recording his vote in favour of the minister’s measure. He found that this country must be governed (hear, hear); moreover he felt that great questions of this kind had no chance of long maintaining their ground unless they were sanctioned and supported by great masses of enlightened opinion; and whatever his own views on the matter might be, he could not be blind to the fact that this question of repeal of the protective system was, in truth, thus sanctioned and supported (hear, hear, and cheers.) He looked around him and saw that opinions hostile to protection had been cordially adopted and fearlessly enunciated by the great leaders on both sides. He saw that a great and a wonderful change had taken place both in that house and out of doors. All the members of her Majesty’s government with the exception of two, had given their acquiescence to this measure, and were prepared to justify that acquiescence and to persevere in it. In fact he could not conceal from himself that the fate of the Corn Laws was sealed. The question was no longer a matter of discussion. The protective system was doomed, and the only questions now to be decided were, when and how it was to die (hear, hear). He looked upon the question as entirely settled, out of the pale of argument. There might have been different opinions with respect to free trade; but no matter what discrepancy of feeling might exist, this must be admitted on all hands, that the country must be governed. It was impossible that the present system of agitation could continue. It was convulsing society in these countries, and the sooner the question which gave rise to it was settled the better (hear). The present state of things could not continue without great and manifest injury to the country, for the agitation of this question disarranged our social system, and inevitably gave rise to bitterness of feeling. His friends around him might vote as they pleased, but their votes would not work salvation for the Corn Laws (hear, hear, and loud cheers.) They might succeed in “staving” off the destruction of the protective system for a few months, or it might be perhaps for a year; but eventually the same result which was now impending must be realised, for the downfall of the fabric was inevitable. Abolished it must be, and the only question now was, how was it to be done (hear, hear)? For his part, he held it to be unwise, and in the last degree inexpedient, to permit the country to be convulsed any longer by agitation (hear, hear). These being his feelings, he would vote with the ministry. He had declared that in his opinion the experiment about to be tried was a hazardous one; but he wished it to be understood that he did not feel the same degree of apprehension respecting it that some of his friends did. He believed it to be a perilous experiment—he knew it to be an unprecedented one; but while he made this admission, he was far from thinking that it would be found to be fraught with consequences quite as disastrous as many honourable gentlemen in that house appeared to apprehend (cries of hear, hear). He was not one of those who anticipated that a million of labourers would be thrown out of employment by it, nor did he fear that the cultivation of the land would be in any material degree interfered with. He remembered a period when market prices fell from 10*s.* to 5*s.*, but no large proportion of the labouring population were deprived of employment, nor did any large tracts of country go out of cultivation (hear, hear). He was of opinion that the measure now contemplated was a rash and a perilous one—he knew that much individual misery must result from it; but he did not anticipate a great national calamity (hear, hear, hear). He had faith in the country, and he was sure that the vessel of the state would gradually right herself, and escape the breakers (hear, hear, and cheers). In the abstract he was for protection, but having regard to the present circumstances of the country, and bearing in mind that the Corn Laws, however much to be commended, did not involve any question of faith or morals, he felt himself quite at liberty to take, in reference to this subject, whatever course he considered most conducive to the interests of the English people (hear, hear, and cheers).

Lord J. RUSSELL.—I believe, Sir, that I am the first member who has risen on this side of the house on the important, the very important, question now before us; and, while I shall give my vote on the same side with the noble lord who has just addressed the house, I can say that I shall do it with better heart and hope than that noble lord (cheers) as to the task we are about to undertake. I will not attempt to underrate the importance of this question. Hon. gentlemen whom we have heard speak on the opposite side of the house, and who object to the propositions made to us by her Majesty’s Ministers, seem to consider that they have said what is quite conclusive when they say that for centuries a system of protection has been the system of legislation adopted in our public policy (hear). I am not at all terrified, Sir, by that denunciation. We know that for centuries the system of religious disabilities was the system of legislation adopted in this country; we know that for centuries the want of security for the liberty of the person was the legislative system adopted in this country; but happily we live to acknowledge the great benefits which have flowed from the destruction of those systems (hear, hear); and I hope that we are now at the commencement of the destruction of another system which has been most injurious to the country, and that we shall hereafter feel proud that we have participated in laying the foundation for a new and a better order of things (cheers). It appears, Sir, that the question with respect to the Corn Laws, which in former years was almost exclusively confined to the particular question of corn, has of late, especially in meetings and discussions in the country, been widened to the whole principle of protection; and those who defend the present Corn Laws, and who wish to maintain them—avoiding all appearance of selfishness or of legislation for a particular class, have said that they wish all native industry to be protected (cheers from the minist-

terial benches); but the hon. gentleman who seconded the amendment this night seemed to confess, at least he was sensible that protection to all native industry was a mere plausible word, that it rested on no solid foundation, because he asked, how could protection be found for many great interests in the country? The great cotton manufactures of this country, the great woollen manufactures, the great linen manufactures of this country are sent abroad to compete in markets at a great distance from us; they are sent to the markets of America and of Asia to compete with the fabrics of other countries; we therefore want no protection for them in Sussex or in Lincolnshire (hear, hear). If that be the case, and if the great branches of our industry want no protection, they are not benefited by the trifling and the trumpety protection which remains on your statute-book, and they are not benefited by that protection which seems to give to one particular class of industry an advantage. The great general argument of all writers on political economy, with regard to protection, applies to each particular class. In the first place, it interferes with the due current of trade on behalf of one particular class; in the next place, it lays a tax upon the rest of the community for the benefit of that particular class; and in the third place, that this particular object is not attained, and that the very classes it seeks to benefit lose by this pretended protection. Indeed, these propositions have now been so clearly proved, that they have become axioms in political science. (Cheers.) I was induced the other day, in consequence of the praise bestowed upon it by the hon. member for Norfolk, to read a pamphlet, in answer to another pamphlet published by Messrs. Morton and Trimmer, written by Mr. Halesworth, who says that every quarter of corn is raised 17s. in price by the protection afforded by the Corn Laws. If this be so—though I believe it in fact to be a great exaggeration—if corn and bread be thus raised in price, an enormous amount of protection is given to agriculture. Suppose the fact were so, if 20,000,000 quarters were raised 17s. a-quarter, a tax of no less than 17,000,000l. a-year would be paid by the people of this country for this protection to agriculture. I believe that this statement is most exaggerated, but still the principle is correct; it does raise the price, and while we give protection, as it is afforded by the present law, we give, what I will not call an advantage, but an apparent advantage, to a particular class, which is injurious to the other classes. The hon. gentleman the member for Hampshire, who seconded the amendment in terms which were so temperate and so unobjectionable (cheers), stated that a difference ought to be made between those in whose occupations more manual labour is employed and those in whose occupations there is less manual labour, and in which machinery is more employed. Now, I do not see the foundation for any such distinction. Suppose 5,000,000 are employed in a trade in which machinery is used, and others are employed in a trade where there is little machinery, that is not a good ground why one should receive the protection of the Legislature, and why the other should not enjoy that protection. Well, then, Sir, if it be the case that the system of protection be in itself an evil, as the great writers have laid it down, the question comes to be, "What course ought we to take to get rid of this protection?" And here I must say that the writers who have written most ably on the subject—I refer to Adam Smith, and to Ricardo, and to Lord Grenville and Mr. Huskisson as statesmen—have not pointed out in what way we are to get rid of this protection, how we are to eradicate this vice. On this subject they have thrown little light, possibly because there was little which a theoretical writer could throw upon it. I confess that I agree with the noble lord who last spoke, that a great transition cannot be made without incurring the risk at least of considerable suffering. (Cheers from the Ministerial side.) Circumstances may be so prosperous that we may avoid it, but I do not wish to risk the prediction that if we get rid of protection, though we promote eventually the welfare of the country, we shall not for a time incur a considerable sacrifice. I think that this admission has been made by all who have thought upon the subject. Some may speak of a panic; others, as landlords, of the difficulties of making arrangements as far as different classes are concerned; but all will admit that there is a material, a considerable danger, of some loss of capital and of some diminution of profits. I come then to the mode in which the right hon. gentleman opposite, the first Minister of the Crown, proposes to treat this question. I agree with the noble lord that I do not think he has laid his grounds broadly and extensively enough in point of time (cheers). It appears to me that there are measures to which he might have alluded. He could have had no difficulty in referring to them, because I believe he was a member of the Cabinet by which those measures were introduced. I allude to the measures of Mr. Huskisson, which in many cases substituted a moderate duty, and did away generally with prohibitory duties. I will not make any statement of figures, but I will say, generally, that I think the duty on silk having been made a moderate duty from prohibition in 1825 or 1826, in 1837 and 1838 we found the import of raw silk had increased more than 100 per cent.; with respect to French gloves, with regard to which there was a great alarm, the increase in the article of hides and skins necessary to make gloves, was 57 per cent. in the course of about ten years after those duties were reduced; with regard to wool, the reduction to 1d. a-pound produced a great increase in the price of the article, an article, the produce of the British agriculturist; the French wool being introduced at that low duty, the exports increased to a very great extent; and I think the tod of wool rose from 25s. to nearly 40s. I think there are instances among many that may be quoted from the history of the last and the present centuries, showing the benefit of at least reducing duties (hear,

hear). But, then, the right hon. gentleman has proposed a plan which goes beyond the mere reduction of duties to a moderate amount, thereby increasing the import; he has proposed, with regard to the duties on corn, that after three years they shall altogether cease. Now, I am of opinion that if the right hon. gentleman had undertaken this task in 1842 in a different spirit, and had made a far greater reduction in the duties on corn than he then made, it would have been better for the agriculturists as a body, and better for the country in general; but as matters stand now, I am ready to say, seeing the contest that is going on—seeing the struggle that would go on if you attempted any intermediate step either of a sliding scale over a few shillings or a small fixed duty, I am prepared to say, as indeed I have already said in public, that I think the abolition of the duty is the most expedient course for a Government to propose to Parliament (cheers.) Considering the plan of the right hon. gentleman as a great measure, as a measure that is to lay the foundation of a completely new principle with regard to our commercial legislation, that principle being neither to foster one trade nor the other, neither to attempt to promote agriculture nor manufactures, but to leave them "to flourish or to fade" according to the energies and skill of the people of this country, and believing that is the sound principle, I am prepared to give every support I can to the plan brought forward by the right hon. gentleman (cheers). But, Sir, I think it incumbent upon me to say, with regard to the mode in which he has introduced it, that of having a new system of corn duties for three years, that the opinion I had formed in December has been more and more strengthened by everything I have heard since the right hon. gentleman made his plan public in this house (hear, hear). I hear from all parts, from Devonshire, from Roxburghshire, from various parts of Scotland, and from various of the midland counties of England, that the farmers who have been consulted upon this subject say everywhere—"If we are to have the system of Free Trade instead of the system of protection, let us know at once what that system is to be (hear, hear); we would rather have the duties immediately repealed, than take the chance of this new Corn Law which you propose, as breaking our fall, and as intended for our benefit"—(hear, hear). Sir, I think there is great reason in that. In the first place, I think the tenant farmer will be better able to arrange with his landlord as to the particular sums that he will have to pay, if he knows at once what the state of the law is, and has not to wait till February, 1849, to take the chance of what may then happen. In the next place, I think there is some danger to the farmer—but it is according, of course, to what the seasons may be—that in 1848, if the price is low, there may be a very considerable accumulation of corn, and that a glut which would not happen if trade were free, may happen if there is a sudden reduction of 10s. to 1s. in 1849, not owing to the price of corn, but owing to your previous legislation. In the next place, I have always thought, that if there be a danger of competition to the English farmer, the danger will be far greater after the lapse of two or three years than it is at the present moment (hear, hear). It so happens that, in the present year, we know, owing to the bad harvest in some of the countries in Europe, there is very little stock of corn remaining at Dantzic or Hamburg, or those parts of the Continent from which corn is usually introduced, and there is no reason to suppose that there is any great stock in the United States; there is therefore no apprehension on the part of the farmer. I think the way in which the immediate prospect of the duty being reduced to 4s. has been encountered in the market—for I believe the price of corn has generally rather risen than otherwise—is a proof that there is no great danger at the present moment (hear, hear). If there be any danger to encounter, it is when, both on the Continent of Europe and in the United States, preparations are made, the ground has been cultivated, and the seed has been sown, with a view to send in large supplies to the English market, and then at that very moment the duty is to cease. It is as if the right hon. gentleman were to furnish the farmer with a great coat, provided he only wore it in the summer; and were to make it a condition that he should take it off when Christmas arrived (hear, and a laugh). The provision, I think, may expose the agricultural interest of this country to a danger which it would not otherwise encounter. But I would put it to the right hon. baronet whether he will not reconsider that part of his plan? (Loud cheers.) The right hon. baronet has frequently alleged, when bringing forward subjects of this importance, that it would almost be impossible to know the exact effect of the duties proposed, until they had been by himself stated in this house, and the opinions of those who would be most affected by them taken and collected. It does appear to me, as far as I have heard, that with respect to this, which the right honourable baronet intended, no doubt, as an advantage to the cultivator of the soil, the general opinion is that it would not be that advantage. I hope, therefore, that the right hon. gentleman will reconsider this part of his plan. But, as I have already said, I wish the plan of the right hon. gentleman to succeed; I wish to see his measure with respect to corn successful in this and the other house of Parliament, and no vote of mine shall tend in the least to endanger a measure of such a character (cheers). If, therefore, when we come into committee the right hon. gentleman tells me that he has considered the representations made from various parts of the country, but that upon the whole he considers the delay of three years, and the duty to be imposed in the meantime, an essential part of his plan, I for my part shall go out with the right hon. gentleman upon it (loud cheers). I have stated thus much with regard to certain parts of the plan as it affects corn; it is not necessary that I should say much with regard to other parts of the plan which the right hon. baronet explained to the house. With regard

to sugar, it will not be necessary for me at this time to make any observation whatever. With regard to manufactures, I should say, generally, that if the corn duties are to be abolished, the taking away protection from manufactures, unless where there is an impost which gives a considerable revenue, is a clear duty to the agricultural body (loud cries of hear, hear). I think you are bound to show them that you abandon protection altogether as a principle, as a principle vicious in itself, and injurious to the country, and not that you are about to subject them to any peculiar experiment, which is so hazardous that you will not subject other parties to the same experiment (hear, hear). I own I doubt if in some instances the right hon. gentleman has acted upon that principle: but, however, that will be matter of detail when we come to consider the various duties (hear). But there is another part of the subject which I certainly cannot approach with any great satisfaction, from the difficulty of treating it. The right hon. gentleman has proposed to give certain relief with respect to local burdens, and especially with respect to the expense of prisons and of prosecutions. I think those amendments in the law are upon their own grounds just; I think they are improvements upon the existing law; I did not hear the right hon. gentleman say that they were offered as compensation, and I do not think any compensation of that kind could properly be offered (hear). But I confess I do not feel sure that with respect to the general burdens of the country, the landed interest, the owners and occupiers of land, may not have more than the share that properly belongs to them (hear, hear). It is a point upon which I feel difficulty, because, although my opinion certainly was that they were thus unduly burdened, I found that whenever a proposition was made (cheers from the Opposition benches)—when my hon. friend, the member for Sheffield, (Mr. Ward,) making a statement adverse to that opinion, asked for a committee, none were so ready as the agricultural gentlemen to oppose inquiry, and to declare that they would not submit the question to investigation (renewed cheers). An hon. gentleman, the member for Radnorshire, gave us rather a long comparison or analogy; he has said that if the shoemakers of this metropolis were ordered alone to pay the police rate, they might well state that they could not sell their shoes so cheap as other persons could sell the different articles they produced, and they might complain of the unjust burden upon them, and that might be so; but if the shoemakers happened to form a majority in this house (a laugh), and if the shoemakers were to say, "We will not have this subject inquired into, we will not let you know whether we do pay more than you or not for the police," I own I should very much suspect those shoemakers of thinking that their case would not prove so right when it came to be sifted as it was plausible in appearance (laughter and cheers). But there is another difficulty in this question. When, about a year and a half or two years ago, there was a very large surplus of about 3,500,000l. in the Exchequer (or indeed more, for there were increased estimates afterwards), I suggested that it might be worth the while of the agricultural interest, if they could at all perceive what was coming on, to have their case as to burdens investigated, with a view to obtaining relief with regard to some taxes,—I mentioned the malt tax, for instance, which I thought pressed heavily upon them; but they would not hear of such a proposition; they said, "Protection must be kept just as it is" (hear, hear). When the right hon. baronet came to distribute those 3,500,000l., he distributed them no doubt advantageously to many interests of the country, very advantageously to the trade of the country, but with no peculiar regard to the agricultural interest (hear, hear); and I for one felt no sympathy for them. I could not vote that they ought to have even the 250,000l. which the hon. member for Somersetshire proposed they should have granted to them, because I thought, as long as they clung to this protection and insisted upon having what I considered an unfair advantage against their fellow-countrymen, they had no claim for having a peculiar relaxation of burdens. But, as the right hon. baronet now proposes the matter, he really would have little more surplus to give. I do not know that he has fairly so much as the 500,000l. or 600,000l. which he proposes. I confess freely that if I had had to propose a scheme upon the subject, it might have differed from the right hon. baronet's scheme, but that there would not have been any more very material relief. (Hear, hear, and a laugh.) For the right hon. baronet has this alternative,—to take what there is of surplus in the Exchequer, to endeavour to lay burdens more equally which are now unequal, or to propose an increase of taxation more severely on the landed interest. Now, that increase of taxation, I think, would be a most inexpedient course; I believe it would expose the landed interest to very great unpopularity; I believe nothing they could gain in point of money would be equal to the odium which would attach to them, if it was to be said that the taxes of the country were to be increased in order to provide a compensation for the abolition of the Corn Laws (hear, hear). For these reasons, therefore, I say at once that I concur in the general scheme of the right hon. gentleman. I wish that the repeal had been immediate instead of deferred (cheers); but in the present state of affairs, seeing the attachment there is on the part of a large portion of the community to this protective system, I think the advantage so great of getting rid of that system as respects corn in three years, and of almost every other protection giving way immediately afterwards, unless it be really some case which will bear argument, that I am unwilling to disturb in any way the settlement of this question (renewed cheers). But I cannot forbear making one remark which fell from the hon. member for Wakefield (Mr. Lascelles) with regard to these plans proposed by the First Minister of the Crown. The hon. member

said, that without meaning anything (I am sure he did not) discourteous to those who sit here, he thought the right hon. gentleman more able to carry these measures successfully than we were likely to be. Now, that is an observation which compels me to state, that I do think that measures of the same kind would have been successfully carried, if the right honourable gentleman and those who sit with him had supported plans brought forward by those who are his political opponents in the manner in which we support plans brought forward by ours (cheers and counter-cheers). This matter of Free Trade and Protection, as it has been very justly stated, I think, by the hon. member himself, is not properly one of those questions which come within the domain of party. When Mr. Huskisson brought forward his plan, many of those who sat on his own side of the house were opposed to him; many of us who sat opposite to him gave him our support. Plans of moderating duties, and introducing a tendency towards Free Trade, are not properly Whig plans; they are not exclusively Tory plans (hear, hear). The right hon. gentleman opposite, when Home Secretary, as I have always understood, and as he himself has stated, acted most cordially with Mr. Huskisson in the promotion of those measures. But when the Whig party were in power, and Lord Althorp attempted a reduction of the timber duties, he was met by a party opposition (hear, hear). In 1830, when we all of us who were then in office, two Secretaries of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Presidents of the Board of Trade and the Board of Control, voted with the hon. member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Villiers) for going into committee to consider the Corn Laws, with a view, as we all stated, of proposing a moderate duty, we were met, then, by a party opposition, which prevented us going into committee (hear, hear). In 1841, when we came forward as a government to propose reductions with regard to corn, and sugar, and timber, we were met by a united party, containing many members who represented commercial places—many, who, I believe, if they had not been bound by a party tie, would have acted according to their convictions that it would be for the benefit of their constituents that more free principles of commerce should be adopted. The hon. member for Wakefield is an honourable exception to that remark (hear, hear). He voted,—I believe he frequently has,—with my hon. friend the member for Wolverhampton, when he proposed those motions for the repeal of the Corn Laws, of which he is now about to see the triumph; and I congratulate my hon. friend on that prospect (cheers). But I think it is to be lamented that the right hon. gentleman opposite, and those who with him had learned sound principles of commercial freedom, who had been colleagues and friends of Mr. Huskisson, who could not be ignorant of those principles by which the trade of nations ought to be governed, who did not share in those principles which I think totally unsound and erroneous which have been expressed by the Opposition to-night; it is to be lamented that they did unite in party votes in order to defeat plans founded on those sound principles (hear, hear). My opinion is, that if that had not been the ground of opposition, if the Government of that day had been defeated in any other manner, and those measures had been allowed to pass, much of the sufferings of 1842 and 1843 would have been avoided (hear, hear); the right hon. gentleman would have avoided for himself much of the invective and the reproach now cast upon him, as having betrayed somebody or other (hear, hear), when he has been, if not consistent with the course which he took in 1841, true to the interests of his country (cheers). But, Sir, when the hon. gentlemen, the member for Wakefield, tells me that the right hon. gentleman opposite will be more successful in carrying these plans than we should, I say again that it is by our aid (cheers), and in consequence of the conduct that we shall pursue, that the measure will attain its success (hear, hear, from Sir R. Peel, and some other members). I think myself bound to say so, in justice to those who act with me (hear, hear). And if the right hon. gentleman has the glory of adopting plans of commercial freedom which will benefit his country, which will enable the poor man to get a better reward for his labour, which will increase the demand for all the productions of this country, and which, after these questions are settled, will, I hope, open the way to the moral improvement of the people of this country, hitherto prevented by their want of adequate means of comfort (cheers),—if the right hon. gentleman has the glory of carrying a measure fraught with such large and beneficial results, let ours be the solid satisfaction that, out of office, we have associated together for the purpose of aiding and assisting the triumph of the Minister of the Crown (loud and continued cheering).

Sir R. INGLIS said that he was not astonished that his noble friend who had just sat down felt gratified that the numerous and united party formerly opposed to him should be firing at each other (hear, hear). He felt some surprise at the course that the debate had taken, and at the apparent reluctance of hon. members to address the house. He was not surprised that his honourable friend (the member for Wolverhampton) rested under the laurels which he had acquired by the success of the cause which he had so long advocated; but what had become of the new converts to Free Trade opinions on his (Sir R. Inglis's) side of the house (hear, hear, and laughter). He did not wish to say any thing unkind or likely to excite angry or personal feelings, for he was happy that the debate had hitherto been conducted with so much calmness; but he could not help remarking that when those honourable gentlemen were so long silent, his noble friend came to the rescue (hear, hear). His noble friend objected to the statement of his honourable friend the member for Hampshire, as to the difficulties which affected labourers engaged in agriculture, in comparison with those engaged in manufactures, but the objections were merely assertions, and could not be termed arguments. When his noble friend, the member for Liverpool said that he should vote for this measure, he (Sir R. Inglis) felt that such a conclusion was at direct variance

with the reasons adduced throughout the speech of his noble friend (hear, hear). A more able speech he had never heard even from his noble friend himself, and he agreed in all parts of it, with the exception of the statement at the close of it, that he should vote for the measure (laughter). He would now detain the house for a few minutes while he went into the general question. He believed that it was the duty of the Minister to endeavour to procure an adequate supply of food at the most equitable and moderate price. Now, he would take the protective system, and he would appeal to any dispassionate person whether under it, in this country, moderate and regular prices were not general? (Hear, hear, and no, no.)

He was aware that some persons looked upon the noble lord the member for London as if he were an ogre (laughter), and imagined that there was nothing too bad for him to do (laughter); but all he would say was, that he preferred an honest enemy, who would say what he meant to do, than one—it was not for him to say an enemy (a laugh)—than one who would not at once take that open course. A great party had been broken up by this latter course, and however he might deplore that occurrence, it was not his intention to say anything which could create an unpleasant feeling, but he could not avoid remarking that he would rather see a measure of this nature carried by honourable members opposite. At what time was this measure brought forward? At a period of profound peace in Ireland, not when, like the period of 1798, there were 200,000 armed men in that country (hear, hear, from Sir Robert Peel)—not when, as they had witnessed three years ago, that country was disturbed by monster meetings (hear, hear, from Sir R. Peel). How was England situated when this measure was brought forward? England was in a state of almost unexampled prosperity in every department of industry, and that prosperity, be it remembered, had grown up under the system of protection. There was no breach of trade in England which had been at any period so flourishing as in 1846. Why, then, was this measure brought forward? *Quia non movere* was a good motto. Let well alone. If we were well, why take physic and die (cheers from some county members)? He saw nothing in the circumstances of the times in which this measure was proposed which could be any justification of such a change, and he would, therefore, cordially support the amendment of his honourable friend the member for Bristol.

Mr. FITZMAURICE next rose, but he spoke in so low a tone as to be nearly inaudible. He expressed his decided advocacy of the system of protection, not only for agriculture, but for every other branch of industrial employment, all of which had long flourished under the system of protection. Free Trade would, in his opinion, throw land out of cultivation in exact proportion to the quantity of foreign corn imported. It had been said that America would take our manufactures in exchange for her corn; but suppose instead of taking our manufactures she should insist on having gold, would not the consequences be most disastrous to this country? And he was putting no supposititious case, for he would ask the right honourable baronet at the head of the Government whether he did not know that nearly three-fourths of the whole of the shipping which came into the port of London, during the last quarter, laden with corn, had left England in ballast; or, in other words, with English gold in exchange for their corn. He thought that an efficient change would be secured in the present Corn Law, if they would take the averages by weight, instead of by measure. Bread and wheat would then be at corresponding prices, and the great monopolies in Mark-lane would thus be destroyed. It was not surprising that at present the farmers of England were in great doubt and anxiety. No thing could be worse than that eternal change from which they had of late suffered so much, which interfered at once with the process of farming, and with the regulations of labour. No wonder that they were in doubt, when the highest in the land were changing their opinions every six months with respect to the law which ruled the farmers' destiny (hear, hear). As to the farmers of England, it was much the same to them in the end whether they were killed by the puncture of 10,000 needles or by the deadly thrust of one sword: they might as soon die by the manly open thrust of the honourable member for Stockport, as by the mince-meat, ladylike interference of the right honourable baronet. But the right honourable baronet having been placed in the high position which he now occupied by the exertions of the farmers, could not be surprised if they now turned round, and in the bitterness of their feelings, said—

"Blow, blow thou winter wind,
Thou art not so unkind
As man's ingratitude." (cheers.)

Mr. S. HERBERT.—If I were called upon to cite authority in confirmation of my opinions, and in favour of the expediency and justice of the course which her Majesty's Ministers are prepared to adopt, I think, of all the speeches I have heard this evening, I should select the two last speeches of my two hon. friends as those which furnish the strongest arguments against the conclusions which they announce as their convictions, and against the course which they intend to take on the present question. An attempt has been made to show, in a speech mixed up with much hostile feeling and prejudice against the conduct of her Majesty's Government, that there are no circumstances existing in this country which call for legislative interference—still less that there are grounds for interference to stop the usual course of law—that nothing has occurred, either in this country or in Ireland which could have justified all parties in stepping out of their previous course, and announcing a great change of opinions—a change of opinions forced upon them by different circumstances, which no one by possibility could have contemplated. I wish I could agree with my hon. friend that there was not in Ireland any such cause for interference—that there was no cause for anxiety, none to justify any extreme step taken by the Government, none to justify Ministers in proposing to change the laws which regulate the importation of food. The hon. gentleman tells us—and he selects an electoral district in illustration—that there was a larger crop than the average sowed in Ireland, and therefore the loss was not so great as the increase which the unusual fertility of the fields produced. (A voice, "Yes, but potatoes.") Yes, but potatoes are a prime article of food in Ireland; and it is impossible to disconnect the failure of the potato crop from this question of food. It is not necessary for me to expatiate upon the misery of a population depending upon that kind of food exclusively. We have this year a signal instance of the state to which a population may be reduced when it depends on such a kind of food for subsistence, and when that food is not susceptible of keeping from one harvest to another. The commissioners, referring to the opinion that upon the whole

the potato crop this year was a very large one, said—"We regret to add that we have been unable to obtain any proof of this, on the contrary, we have seen that the crop was small, and we have it in evidence that it is below the average; but we have also seen it to be heavy, and we therefore conclude that it may, perhaps, be an average crop." From first to last I must say that the reports which the Government has received from the constabulary and from the stipendiary magistrates were most creditable to their judgment in this respect, that as they never gave in to the panic at first, they never gave in to the fool's paradise at last. They never gave in to the statement that there were no sound potatoes left. They never misinformed the Government, and they never in that reaction of the public mind—to which perhaps they are more subject in Ireland than in other parts of the empire—fled to the other extreme, and told the Government that no danger was to be apprehended. So far as the failure of the crop in Ireland is concerned, I wish I stood here in the position of being obliged to state that the reports by which we have been guided are fallacious, our judgment erroneous, our precautions unnecessary. On the contrary, I fear that any inquiry you may institute will give a fearful and melancholy corroboration of the facts on which we have acted, and that our judgment will be proved true in a manner and to an extent which none can regret more warmly than we do. Potatoes are also a staple article of food in the west of England; their use has increased there almost as much as in Ireland. No man has put more strongly than the noble lord the member for London, the paradoxes of a scarcity of food with cheapness, owing to the inferiority of what is produced. So the averages of corn were depressed last season by the inferior quality of the grain. I do not stand on a point of consistency when I frankly avow that I think the law of 1842 has failed (cheers)—that the first time it was tested by adverse circumstances it failed, and signally failed. For short harvests the law of 1842 would have worked, for it was a mitigation of the principle of protection (cheers). Hon. gentlemen forget that the whole object of the Corn Law enacted in 1815 was to effect the transition from the high prices of war to the low prices of peace. Every statesman altered it. How? To increase protection? No; but to carry out the principle in the same spirit in which it originated. Seeing the existing state of matters, seeing the law had failed of its purpose, that food was deficient in quantity and inferior in quality—that the deficiency was common to the whole of Europe—that in consequence of that deficiency other countries opened their ports for importation of grain—while Turkey, Egypt, and others had closed theirs against exportations of grain—that other countries on which we had depended for supplies had become competitors against us for the purchase of grain—under these circumstances I thought, with others in her Majesty's Government, that it was necessary to take steps for meeting the difficulties under which the country was labouring. I am glad to hear from the hon. member for Somerset that he is not one who was adverse to opening the ports—that he was not prepared to oppose such a measure if its necessity were absolutely shown. I regret, even now, that the course we then contemplated was not adopted. I think that in cases of public emergency, promptness and vigour ought to be exercised ("hear, hear," from the Opposition benches). I thought, under these circumstances, that if the Government at once took upon itself the responsibility of these measures, the battle would have been half won (hear, hear). I knew this, moreover, and say what gentlemen may in this house they will not persuade me to the contrary—that the gentry and agriculturists of England were not men to set up their pecuniary or other interests in opposition to the public advantage (hear). My noble friend, the member for Liverpool, (to whose speech, though it has been claimed by the hon. member for the University of Oxford, I also may lay claim, because I think it proves the accuracy of our anticipations of the results of Free Trade), expressed with some earnestness his regret that this measure should have been proposed by the Government of the right hon. baronet (Sir R. Peel). I have no hesitation in saying that I held the same opinion; and that I strongly advocated the necessity of this measure being entrusted to other hands than ours. The noble lord opposite (Lord J. Russell) has spoken in terms of some bitterness of past differences on this subject. But those differences did not relate to the question of protection or no protection, but to the relative advantages of a fixed duty and a sliding scale. The noble lord is a recent convert to Free Trade; but I think that, as latterly he has, from his party connexions, been so much mixed up with the cause, he had a better right than we had to bring forward this measure, and I, for one, should have been heartily glad if he had undertaken its conduct (hear, hear). I regretted to hear the noble lord (Lord J. Russell) use an expression—whether inadvertently or not I am uncertain—intimating that if we had offered to support him, as he is about to support us, he would have been able to carry this measure. I observed that the expression to which I refer was received with a cheer by hon. gentlemen on the other side, as if they thought there was a wide difference between the conduct of the two great parties in this house on the question now under discussion; and I must say that I think no distinction could be made more unfair, than that which is thus attempted to be drawn. The noble lord said, in allusion to the speech of the hon. member for Wakefield, who questioned the power of the right hon. baronet (Sir R. Peel) to carry this measure, that if we had offered him the same support he is prepared to give us, he would have been as well able as we are to pass this proposition.

Lord J. RUSSELL.—I alluded to the year 1841. I did not refer to anything that has occurred recently.

Mr. S. HERBERT continued.—Then I have misunderstood the noble lord; but I must say that the support we volunteered to him was spontaneously and cordially tendered, and we stated to the noble lord the grounds on which we felt that a private concert between the leaders of parties would have been resented by the House of Commons as an infringement of their rights of free deliberation. The noble lord admitted the truth and soundness of those arguments; but I will say, for my right hon. friend and myself, that no support could have been more cordially and heartily given, than that which we tendered to him. When I hear assertions as to the effect the measure suggested by her Majesty's Government is to produce upon the agricultural interest in this country, I wish hon. members would show us how we are to be ruined by a more extended commerce, and from what countries the abundant supplies of wheat they anticipate are to be imported. I heard an hon. gentleman say, a short time since, that wheat could be imported into London from Poland at 30s. per quarter. Such a thing certainly has not yet happened. If you go to Dantzic you may buy Polish wheat, but I doubt whether you would get it at anything like

so cheap a rate as the hon. member anticipates. I am afraid, if he enters into any contract of that description, that ruin will fall upon himself rather than upon the agricultural interest. In Dantzic the prices of wheat are now as high as they are in London; and whenever there is, in that place, the slightest demand for wheat, the price rises rapidly. It must be remembered that in these producing countries the fluctuations in price arise from two different causes; from the nature of their harvests, and from our demand. One place from which a very large supply of corn is expected, which might, it is supposed, interfere materially with our own produce, is Odessa. I have made inquiries as to the state of the markets there, and I find that the price has frequently been 30s., 31s., and 32s. per quarter. At Malta, which is supplied with Odessa wheat, the average price is about 32s. or 33s.; and the cost of the transit of that wheat to this country would bring it to a price at which it could scarcely enter into competition with our own. (The right hon. gentleman here spoke for some moments in so low and indistinct a tone, that it was impossible in the gallery to collect the purport of several of his observations.) You will find it impossible that any great quantity of corn can be brought here from Dantzic or Odessa to compete successfully with our home produce; and those are the two great continental ports from which importations are expected. Spain, where corn can be produced cheaper perhaps than in any other country, receives large importations from America. Great apprehensions are also entertained of the extensive importations of corn anticipated from the United States. I find that in Ohio, the largest and most fertile state in the Union, the population increases much more rapidly than the production. The population has increased from 15,000 in 1800 to nearly 2,000,000 at the present time. The total exports of flour and wheat, from the United States, have been gradually diminishing for the last 15 years. It is time now that we should allay the apprehensions which exist on this subject; that we should prevent the agriculturists of this country from being scared from their propriety by alarms which are founded in delusion. I found, in considering the present circumstances of the country, that a state of things existed which promised a succession of high prices for one, two, or more years. I saw that a great change of opinion had taken place in the public mind on this question. I found that a great change had taken place even in the opinions of the agriculturists themselves; and that among the tenant-farmers there was an impression, which I have heard them express frequently in strong language, that this is a landlord's question. An hon. gentleman who has spoken to-night, has said he considers that any depreciation in the value of produce must be divided between the landlords and the tenants—that it must affect the rent of the one as well as the profits of the other. The tenants had taken leases on what was called the Act of Parliament prices. The market price was below the Act of Parliament price, and the landlord got the benefit of the difference. Sir, I felt that if these opinions were prevalent among farmers holding large quantities of land, it would be impossible to maintain the existing system. The supporters of that system said, "Let us be quit of that which is so uncertain, which depends on Parliamentary majorities, the caprices of members of Parliament, the turns of public affairs; let us trust to our own skill, capital, and industry, and then we shall have nothing to complain of. At all events it will be better than a state of uncertainty." These were the opinions of the occupying tenants; and as to the feelings of the labourers, I appeal to every agricultural gentleman whether they do not entertain similar opinions (hear, hear, from the Opposition side). Sir, a meeting took place in my county (hear)—a meeting which has been alluded to in a different sense by different parties in this house (hear, hear). Now, I am not prepared to deny—indeed, I think on the face of the resolutions agreed to at that meeting it is obvious that those resolutions were not drawn up by working men, that the proceedings were pre-organised and contrived by others (hear). But this I am bound to state, that the statements of those working men as to the difficulties they labour under were correct (hear, hear). I live in the midst of a population as to whom I scarcely know how they exist (hear). That is a question which has disturbed more men's minds than mine. Sir, honourable gentlemen, my colleagues, have thought, and thought painfully, on these things. They have said, "I don't care what change you make. I defy you to make their condition worse." I am not one of those who would say, as hon. gentlemen opposite would, that this state of things is the effect of the protective system. But, at the same time, although it may not have been the cause of these things, it does not follow that it may not help to remove them. I will read to the house a letter I received to-day from a man of great intelligence, who farms what is called "high farms," who manures his land highly, and is thoroughly master of the subject:—"I am quite sure that if the Wiltshire hills were farmed as they ought to be, and as under the proposed measure I hope they will be, you would not find a labourer unemployed in the whole county. Light-land farmers attach too much importance to their wheat crops; they grow corn on too large a proportion of their farm, and do not consume half enough on their land by stock, viz., they ought to produce more beef, mutton, and pork, and less grain. I can, Sir, give you an example how far good and high farming permanently improves the soil. There was a common field in Berkshire which was occupied by several persons,—one of whom was a baker who had three acres in different parts of the field. He used to fatten a great many pigs, which made much very rich manure; this he applied very liberally to his land—and, although it is 10 years since the field was divided, yet the baker's acres may be discovered at this day by the most casual observer, from their increased and surpassing fertility,—thus proving not only the advantages of this high system of cultivation, but the necessity of a long tenure to enable the farmer to obtain such a full return as his energy and capital so well merit. By compliance with the conditions I have above mentioned the landlords' rentals will not be decreased, but their tenants will be prosperous, and their labourers employed at good wages. Another argument which is used by the opponents of Free Trade is, 'the reduction which it will cause in the wages of the agricultural labourer,' founding this opinion on the fallacy that the price of labour varies with the price of wheat. Now, my own experience fully controverts this statement; for, since I have been in Wiltshire, I have sold wheat as high as 78s. and as low as 40s. per quarter, and have only paid two rates of wages, i. e., 9s. and 8s. per week, a variation by no means commensurate with that of the proposed standard; and I cannot but think, if the condition I have spoken of before were complied with, that the increased demand for labour arising from the safer employment of more capital on our farms, and the general better cultivation of

them, will more than counterbalance the slight difference in wages which so large a variation in the price of wheat may have caused." There has been much misapprehension on this subject, because hon. gentlemen will draw deductions from what falls under their own eye rather than from a general view. It is incontestible in the manufacturing districts, and we have lately had additional proofs of it, that so far from wages fluctuating with the price of food, the price of food rises while wages fall. When a fall in the price of wheat takes place wages will fall, but when the price of wheat rises, wages do not rise in proportion (hear). Well, sir, for these reasons, and seeing these changes of opinion among the very classes who profess to support those laws, I first thought that they were not maintainable, but still more, I considered that they ought not to be maintained, because being no longer accepted by the community they became most unjust. That this was a time for making the change with the least prospect of the infliction of suffering was an additional reason why it should take place. But I confess other reasons more cogent than these, than a desire for the extension of commerce, or to avoid scarcity; I felt that it was more consistent with honour (a loud cry of Oh, oh! from the Ministerial side). The right hon. gentleman, after a short pause continued. Hon. gentlemen may have a difference of opinion from myself on these subjects—(the rest of the sentence was inaudible.) I was speaking not of the honour of the Government, nor of my own personal honour—I hold that, as far as my personal honour is concerned, I did that which was consistent with the conduct of an honest man. After much doubt on a question on which I had entertained fixed opinions, reluctantly, slowly, I changed my opinions; I did not make light of party engagements; I saw these evils; I knew the intimidation that would arise; I knew of the threats that would be held out of what I should experience if I visited my constituents, because I had chosen, in the exercise of my duty, to follow the dictates of my conscience rather than of personal interest;—I speak in no tone of bravado, for if such a punishment were to be inflicted on me it would be to me a matter of the deepest mortification; but I counted the cost of these things (hear, hear). I knew that my duty to the country required that I should not stand here as the delegate of a mere local interest, to make a scramble with other delegates to get as much as I could from the general pickings; I thought that such a position it would be disgraceful in me to hold, and one which my constituents never dreamt of imposing on me, and, thereupon I acted as I have done. (Hear, hear.) So much, sir, for my personal honour. (Hear.) The honour I spoke of was that of the landed interest only. (Hear.) I say, now is the time to concede with honour, when there is no appearance that your concession is extorted by violence. There is no danger from agitation at your doors. Arguments you have had which I confess have great weight in my mind; but the amount of the agitation of the League, led, though it has been, by men of the greatest ability, has been much overrated. Like the armies we see paraded on the stage, the same men have served for the same parts many times over. The agitation of the League has not been that of masses, such as we have seen in the case of former agitations. It has been an agitation not of force, but of reason. If you do not now yield to reason, to that agitation some day force may be added, and then you will yield, not as now, with honour, but with loss of station, influence, and character. I now come to a ground I wish to touch upon, and which I frankly avow to you is with me a stronger motive than all why we should set ourselves free from the continuance of this law. The public mind is not in the state it was in in 1815. At that time these matters were so little understood that those gentlemen who were the heads of the party who brought forward this question, Lord Liverpool and the men of that time, brought it forward as an exception to a recognized principle. It has been so dealt with ever since. In 1841, when the noble lord opposite brought forward his budget, I frankly avowed my complete adhesion to the principles of Free Trade, but I objected to the mode of their application to corn. I said that corn was an exception from them on account of the rapidity with which they would be applied. But now the public mind is enlarged upon the subject (loud cheers). You have men of all classes, of all shades, and of all colours, and engaged in all domestic pursuits, beginning to think that one portion of the community has a benefit over another. Then, if we are to stand upon such ground as that, we stand upon a mine, upon a rotten footing, and we cannot maintain it (hear, hear). Talk of party, the hon. gentleman says that the party is broken up. I do not admit that this party, Conservative party or Tory party—call it by what name you will—is bound together by no greater object than a Customs' duty upon the importation of foreign corn. Look at the intention of these laws. Was it party intention? We have had Corn Laws ever since the reign of Charles II., and why were they granted? For the purpose of regulating the importation of foreign produce. I could show you cases when the duty was no higher than 6d. a quarter,—when the laws were suspended, and the ports were opened. But it has been said that party is part of our constitution. I think it is contrary to the whole spirit of our constitution (hear, hear). I am not one of those who wish to see the constitution of this country rendered more democratic than it is. I cannot think that the public mind wishes it to be more democratic than it is. I think late events have rather shown that the mantles of despotism which disgraced the world have fallen on democratic rather than on temperate and mixed Governments (hear). I wish to see the aristocratic element preserved in our constitution; and therefore I say, do not peril it on a question in which your motives may be impugned (hear, hear) when once you are convinced, as I am, that these laws are not for the good of the community. I say that, with that opinion, no earthly power can induce me to rise from this bench to defend them. They may say that the country gentlemen are a party having great power and influence; that that power and influence have been given to us to be exercised for the public good; but that we have used it for the increase of our incomes. I cannot deny that these laws have that effect; but I say I should sit with shame upon my face were I to hear such an accusation made, and were I unable to refute it (hear). Hon. members must recollect that great changes had taken place in the last 50 years in the social constitution of this country; that the manufacturing power had increased to an enormous degree; you may dislike the effect of it—you may think it congregates together great masses of men—that you have less security for their morality and welfare; but depend upon it, it is a power you cannot check or control; it has become a permanent element in our society; it has great wealth, and offers great employment; it is a source of that commerce which has maintained our colonial empire and given us the dominion we possess throughout the world. You must recollect, too, that it is now,

as it has always been, the great source of our maritime power, and you must also recollect that if you intend to maintain this great empire, and think as I do, that it is possible to carry its free institutions, and temperate liberties, and reformed faith to other parts of the globe, it is by these humble means that you are enabled to do it—it is by extending your commerce that you are able to carry your institutions into every part of the world, and to civilise and exalt the remotest and the wildest regions (cheers). You must recollect, too, that men who give you these benefits are entitled not only to a full share of what they contribute to posterity, but to a full share also of the advantages of the State (hear, hear). My noble friend who opened the discussion at the meeting of Parliament, in one of those eloquent and graceful speeches so characteristic of him (hear), pointed out how if your interest is a commercial interest, if your interest be to have peace, security, and the maintenance of your institutions, that is most likely to be secured. You must recollect that those gentlemen whose pursuits depend so much upon public tranquillity are the best auxiliaries for maintaining those things under which this empire has so long flourished—those institutions which do not depend upon customs' duties, but which have grown with the growth of this country, that require to be constantly amended, but with a tender and reverential hand. I wish to see the two interests of agriculture and manufactures united. If there has been a fault of legislation it is not a fault on either side; but I wait to see these two knitted together. I believe the proposals of the Government have a tendency to cement the two. I believe that the proposals of the Government, being involved in a large and comprehensive scheme, will produce a change in such a way as to produce little loss or suffering to the interests affected; and I believe further, that when the country shall have maturely considered them, and when the constituencies more exclusively agricultural shall have calmly considered them, they will think that those proposals offer a means of escaping from that protection which they no longer require, that they have the means of attaching to themselves large masses of men who have been taught by circumstances to be almost hostile to them; that they may follow their pursuits without doubt and uncertainty, and the loss attendant upon them from which they have hitherto suffered, (hear, hear). I should lament, moreover, to see the class to which you and I belong, and which I consider to be one of the noblest spheres of usefulness that exists in private life in any country in the world—I mean a class of English country gentlemen—debased in any way, or lose its natural influence, and I know no way in which that influence can be so weakened as by your maintenance of a law, from which, in my conscience, I believe you derive no advantage whatsoever, but which I consider to be unjust and impolitic, and must lower you in public estimation, by giving to those who watch your proceedings false, but I admit, most injurious, notions as to the motives by which you are actuated. You have now an opportunity of repairing the greatest error ever committed by any body of men (loud cheers from the Opposition.) I may assert that the gentry of this country have been distinguished from those of all other countries in the world as having never been the advocates of disgraceful immunities; while other aristocracies have been the sycophants of courts, they have borne the chief burdens of the State; they have given to the State their service and their blood and treasure, and from them have sprung some of the most eminent men in the field, the church, or in the walks of science, this country has ever produced. I am anxious that our character should be maintained (hear, hear). Honourable gentlemen laughed just now, but I do think that the law of 1815 was a great error (hear, hear). We offer you the means of repairing it. I trust you will accept it. For myself, my own mind has for some time been firmly made up to it. I believe the measures we propose will be for the interest of all classes of the community. I have confidence in their success in this house; I have confidence in the results that will follow from them; and I leave them in your hands, with the earnest and sincere hope that without previous bias, without party or resentful feeling, and believing that they are for the interest of yourselves, as well as of the community at large, you will sanction the measures which the Government have proposed to you for the public good, and for the public good alone (loud cheers).

On the motion of Mr. STAFFORD O'BRIEN, the debate was then adjourned.

THE ADJOURNED DEBATE—TUESDAY.

On the motion of Mr. CARDWELL the order of the day for resuming the adjourned debate on the Customs and Corn Importation Act was agreed to.

Lord EBRINGTON presented a petition, as we understood, from tenant farmers, in favour of the repeal of the Corn Laws.

Mr. S. O'BRIEN was reminded by the petition now presented by the noble lord of the statement put forth last night by the noble lord the member for the city of London, that the farmers of this country were now in favour of an immediate repeal of the duties on corn, if they had not previously made up their minds to that extent; and that the noble lord pressed upon her Majesty's Government to take the propriety of immediate repeal into their serious consideration, now that the Government measure had been laid before the farmers and the country, and that a general opinion had been expressed in its favour. Now, whether there was a general opinion among those farmers to whom the noble lord referred in favour of that measure he would not take upon him to say, nor would he pronounce any opinion on the matter; but he would only say that the parties to whom the noble lord referred did not express the opinion of the farmers generally upon this question (hear). He had some hope of directing the attention of the house and the country to a full explanation of their views on this subject. He had not changed his opinions upon this matter; and what he had said before he should probably say now. What the documents were to which the hon. member for Bolton alluded, he was not aware; but at all events his sentiments remained the same as they were last year. His hon. friend (Mr. S. Herbert), who spoke last night, had not only felt it his duty to announce the change of his opinions in reference to this great question, but had uttered a sentiment the end of which was drowned by the cheers from that side of the house, that the law of 1815 was the greatest error this country ever saw (hear, hear). That law might be the greatest error ever perpetrated in this country; but he looked to that side of the house and asked, if it was the greatest error, who were those who had been hitherto injuring the landed interest of this country not to revoke the error, but to persevere in it and maintain it (hear, hear)? The right hon. gentleman said that now he gave them an opportunity of revoking that error. Obligated as they were by the courtesy of the right hon. gentleman, he must say, however, that this was not the first opportunity given to the country gentlemen

to repair that error, if error it was. The hon. member for Wolverhampton had often afforded them that opportunity, but they had always refused to avail themselves of it; and the most powerful and skilful reasons why they would not avail themselves of it were the reasons that had been given by the right hon. gentleman (hear). Now, though it might be extremely distasteful to his friends of the Government, to whom he was prepared to address himself, he trusted he might be permitted to do so for a few moments. The right honourable gentleman had said, that if he changed his opinions he should be ashamed of himself if he did not rise and declare so. Now, he (Mr. O'Brien) should be ashamed of him also if he fully and truly believed that he was capable of taking any other course. But, what he wanted to know was, on what principle parties in this country were now to be held together (hear). It might be said this was the old story, and that they were attacking the right hon. gentleman, and making their defence on a bad cause by personalities; but he was as far as any man from imputing other than the most patriotic motives. In this country they had hitherto been governed by party, and it might be a prejudice, but he was not ashamed to own himself a party man (hear, hear). It had hitherto been the custom in this country to uphold, by the discussion of questions of party principles, the distinct enunciation of those principles; having always before them the expectation that they were in this way best eliciting the truth and conducting to sound legislation (hear, hear). It might be observed, that not only had the Government changed the principles upon which they came into office, but they had taught the lesson that protection, as a distinct principle, should henceforth cease to be a bond of party altogether (hear, hear). He (Mr. S. O'Brien) was not in the house before the present Government came into office; the first vote he ever gave was to place them there; but he could only say, as he had laboured and worked for them in the country, that if ever there was an opposition conducted upon party principles, upon party tactics, and for party ends, it was the opposition marshalled, headed, and led by the leaders of her Majesty's present Government (loud cries of hear, hear). The disappointment was too bitter, too great, and too general to be disguised any longer from a fear of personal offence. It was too bitter, too great, and too general, to permit him, even from feelings of private friendship, to refrain from distinctly reprobating it in that house (hear). The right hon. gentleman (Mr. S. Herbert) had said the preceding night, and he really thought that was the sum and substance of his speech, that inasmuch as the law of 1842 had failed, therefore he was prepared to abandon entirely those protective principles upon which he came into office. The right hon. gentleman had said that the law of 1842 had failed; but the word "failure" might be understood in two ways; and when he remembered what the right hon. gentleman was, in February, 1845, when he solicited and obtained the suffrages of the electors of Wiltshire, and when he saw what his right hon. friend now was, when he made the announcement of his being a convert to the principles of Free Trade, he (Mr. O'Brien) must ask him, when he said that the law of 1842 had failed, whether he meant it had failed to the Sydney Herbert of last year, or the Sydney Herbert of this (hear, hear)? He must ask the right hon. gentleman also how he could hope it was possible by any ingenuity, that the members of the Legislature could so frame a law as to answer both the one gentleman and the other (cheers and laughter)? The right hon. gentleman of 1845 would find the law of 1842 a failure if it let in corn too freely, whereas the right hon. gentleman of the present year would find it to be a failure if it restrained the free importation of corn (hear, hear). The right hon. gentleman expected too much if he expected the law of 1842 could succeed with gentlemen of every opinion and of every time. His right hon. friend should remember that even if he were obliged by the failure of the law of 1842 to give up the sliding scale, there was still the principle of a fixed duty to fall back upon (laughter)—that there was still a middle point between a sliding scale and entire Free Trade, of which he might have availed himself if he had chosen. He (Mr. S. O'Brien) thought that the right hon. gentleman judged too harshly and too severely of a law which was passed only three years ago, and which he had declared had answered for two of these years and had failed in only one, if he had no better arguments than these to induce him to give up the principles of a life (hear, hear). The right hon. gentleman had also stated that this was not a question upon which he could consent to stand there as the delegate of a mere local interest, or to make a scramble with other delegates for the general pickings. He (Mr. O'Brien) presumed the right hon. gentleman did not mean to charge those who stood on that side of the house, whatever might be their opinions on the controverted question then before them, with being more anxious for the pickings, or more inclined to act as delegates of mere local interest, than the right hon. gentleman himself; but if he meant to describe the present contest as a mere scramble for pickings, or the persons who opposed the Government as the mere delegates of local interests—if he said that the great Conservative party could not, and ought not, to be split asunder or bound together by no greater object than a customs' duty upon an article of importation, he (Mr. O'Brien) must say that that was talking too lightly of a great question like this. If it was merely a question respecting a duty on the import of only one article—if it was only such a small change as this, how was it that such passions had been agitated and such a panic raised concerning it? It was not merely a question of a duty on the import of only one article when they put out the Government of 1841 (laughter and cheers from both sides of the house). It was not merely a question of a customs' duty on only one article when the present members were sent to that house by the constituencies of the country. It was not merely a question of duty on one article of import when the Conservative party were returned by a triumphant majority. It was not merely a question of duty on one article of import when that party placed the present Government on the Treasury benches (loud cheers). Let them say, if they pleased, that they had changed their opinions on this question; let them say so freely and manfully, and they (the protectionists) might respect their motives, although their confidence in them might be impaired; but let them not represent it as an insignificant question (hear, hear). Let them not say that the gentlemen opposite, who had laboured so long and so zealously to bring about this measure, had done so merely on a question of duty on one article of import. Let them not attempt by such phraseology to disguise the magnitude of this great question. It might be for good, or it might be for evil—there were strong antagonist opinions concerning it; but he had never heard till then, and he wished he had never heard it at all, that it was a light and trivial question. The right hon. gentleman afterwards, in alluding to Ireland, had

charged the hon. member for Oxford with saying that there was no necessity for moving in a question like this, because the potato rot in that country was not so bad as had been stated. Now, he (Mr. O'Brien) had no wish whatever to under-rate the imminence of the evil now impending over Ireland. He was rejoiced that the hon. member for Cork was to bring the subject under the special consideration of the house to-morrow (Wednesday); but he must say that his right hon. friend the member for Wiltshire had greatly misrepresented—he had almost said, except that such a term would not apply to the right hon. gentleman, unfairly misrepresented—the hon. member for Oxford. He (Mr. O'Brien) understood him to say, that for a particular evil there should be a particular remedy—that he should be the last person to refuse to open the ports in the case of a famine in Ireland, but that he did not see how the exigencies of the case could be met by an alteration in the corn system—that his objection was that the Government were announcing a new principle for what he hoped was only a casual disaster, and that they announced this new principle without attempting to trace the connection between the existence of the Corn Laws and the continuance of the famine in Ireland, or to show how the total abrogation of those laws could possibly relieve the threatened distress (hear, hear). And he (Mr. O'Brien) might remark, in passing, that while the Government were bringing forward the question of Free Trade for the relief of Ireland, all the letters he had from that country—and he might also add the hon. member for Limerick, whose influence was only second to that of the hon. member for Cork—had all pronounced against the scheme of Government; they all asked employment for the people, they all prayed that the railways might be forwarded; they all said that great difficulty would be felt in obtaining seed for potatoes next season; but at the same time they all said that if Government wished to ruin them, their plan was to destroy their agriculture (hear, hear). He (Mr. S. O'Brien) begged also to remark, with reference to the potato disease, that three months ago he had been in Ireland and came over to England, but was soon called back to Ireland again by the reports of the failure of the potato crop and its alarming ravages. The disease was making such rapid progress then that he did not believe there would remain one single vegetable in Ireland, and, therefore, he set about examining people of practical experience on the subject. In a short time he learned that the disease, instead of progressing, began to mend, and after taking all the precautions he could against the disease, he again returned to England, yielding so far to the "fool's paradise," as the right hon. gentleman (Mr. S. Herbert) had called it, that there was no cause for alarm. He regretted to say, however, that since then the rot had set in again, that continued wet weather, or some other mysterious cause, had occasioned an increase of the rot, and, therefore, he did not hesitate to say that there never was a country which called for more urgent measures than Ireland now did; and he had great satisfaction in being able to say that he firmly believed there never was a Government more anxious for the welfare of that country than the Government which now occupied the treasury benches (hear, hear). But he thought it fair, both to the hon. member for Oxford and himself, to remark, that it was difficult to see how the famine in Ireland could be met by a change in the corn system; that it would be necessary to alleviate the misery of Ireland much more rapidly than they could bring the proposed change to bear upon it; and that he did not see, if the ports were open to-morrow, how one quarter more of wheat, or one hundred weight more of meal, would reach one poor person in Ireland, unless they were accompanied by other measures (hear, hear). The right hon. gentlemen had said that he lived in the midst of a population as to whom he scarcely knew how they existed, and he cautioned the opponents of the Government measure to beware how they resisted the attempt to remove the misery of the labourers to whom he referred. Now, he (Mr. O'Brien) would say, that it would be generally found that the poverty in the agricultural districts was greatly attributable to the owners of the soil (hear, hear); and that there was this great advantage which the agricultural districts had over the manufacturing districts, that when they saw a parish destitute, when they saw cottages wretched and the labourers half starved and half clothed, if they inquired who were the landowners of the district, they would generally be able to bring the cause home to them (cries of hear, hear, hear). He thought it right to say, however, that he had had a conversation that morning with a Wiltshire farmer, who had borne testimony to the fact that the distress in that country was not attributable to the right hon. gentleman (hear, hear). But he (Mr. O'Brien) must say, on the other hand, that if the right hon. gentleman brought forward the cause of distress in Ireland as a reason for the proposed change, he had totally failed, inasmuch as he had failed to show how the repeal of the Corn Laws would remedy the evil. The right hon. gentleman had read a letter from a farmer in Wiltshire, to the effect that if agriculture were conducted on certain improved principles, which he stated, the labourer would be better off. This was just saying, in other words, that employment, and the wages of employment, tended to the happiness and morality of the labourer. But if he had followed up his argument and shown how the repeal of the Corn Laws would tend to the cultivation of the poor soils, he would not only have made out his case completely, but would have furnished an argument in favour of the abolition of the Corn Laws which had never yet been given on the other side (hear, hear). As the right hon. gentleman had declared his inability to show how the labourers in Wiltshire lived, it might not be wholly unsuited to the occasion if he referred to the manner in which the labourers of Northamptonshire lived (hear, hear); and he could tell him that their wages were 12s. and 14s. a week, and that if the right hon. gentleman would favour him with a visit in that part of the country he would show him specimens of cottage comfort and agricultural prosperity which he was sure would gratify his benevolent heart. The noble lord, the member for London (Lord John Russell) in his speech last night laid down three propositions which he assumed to be incontrovertible, the long and short of which was, that protection to British industry was no longer tenable, and that the legislature ought in future to foster neither agriculture nor manufactures, but leave them to "flourish or fade" according to the energy and skill of the people of this country. Now, he (Mr. O'Brien) thought he was not quoting the noble lord unfairly, neither did he think that he was quoting the right hon. baronet at the head of the Government unfairly, if he assumed that the principle so laid down was in future to be acted upon by the legislature of this country. The noble lord assumed that the propositions were true because all political economy had agreed upon them. Now, notwithstanding that he might thereby expose himself to the charge of bigotry and old-fashioned prejudices,

and "clay intellect," he ventured to dissent from the noble lord's propositions, and to say, that even if political economists had agreed upon them, there were other considerations which would require him to enter into a statement of the question before he could give his unqualified assent (cries of hear, hear). Writers on political economy, he (Mr. O'Brien) thought, were too apt to confound the science of political economy with that of legislation (hear, hear). His notion of political economy was, that it was a science referring to the accumulation and the distribution of wealth, which he held to be only one among many elements which entered into the science of legislation. But he would proceed to notice the question of protection to British industry—a question which the noble lord the member for London said had recently been interwoven with the question of agriculture—not recently, however, he would have the noble lord to know, for it had been interwoven before the existence of the protection societies. But it was said that labour was the property of the poor man. Very well; assuming this definition to be true, the parties making it must not, unless they wish to be misunderstood, stop there. They must, while they were meeting there every day for six months, for the protection of their own property,—they must tell the poor man that his property, his labour, would not be protected, but that it must protect itself; that they must be left to fight it out with foreign competition; and that they (the legislature) were to sit quietly above, and watch whether they triumphed or not. The axiom of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest, and that the property of the poor man needed no protection, was a very plausible one; but see how it operated. Suppose an individual to buy his paper-hangings in Paris, his carriages in Brussels, and his hardware in Germany; and suppose, while he was looking out of the window of his smart house, or his elegant carriage, he saw the labourers all idle because of the new law which had passed in favour of the introduction of these articles; and suppose he said to them, "My good fellows, I have done my best to make you poor and wretched, but I have not done so from any selfish motive. On the 27th of January, 1846, it was propounded by the head of the Government that the property of the poor needed no protection, and that in future we should all buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest, and I have only a wish to promote my own interest by acting upon those principles." What poor consolation this would be to the poor workman. He begged the house also to think not only of the amount of poverty which these proposals, if carried out, would occasion, but of the amount of alienation and disaffection which they would occasion. In that house they were all rich men (a laugh), more or less he assumed that qualification (cheers); hon. gentlemen who had it not might laugh at the notion of having it. Comparatively they were all rich. They all had had a breakfast that morning and they all would have a dinner before night. But there were millions in the country who could not say so (hear). He might assume, considering the frightful contrast between rich and poor, all in that house were rich. How, then, did the matter stand? The doctrine they had announced was a most selfish doctrine. It was not a question of cotton against corn. But when they spoke of always buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market, he would ask how they reconciled their principle with that of a poor law? Could they explain why one man's industry was taxed to relieve another man's poverty? In showing that their principle struck against that of a Poor Law he was only arguing against a clumsy, hard, and impracticable dogma on which they never could act; which, if reduced to practice, would alienate the affections of the people, and only increase their own dangers. He was sorry to hear that dogma promulgated in that house, the members of which could not call themselves in any sense the representatives of the poor man (hear, hear); but because, while they talked of respecting the rights of the poor, they had hitherto been acting so as practically to diminish and destroy those rights, they should be careful how they, the representatives of the people, announced that they were no longer able to protect the property which millions of their fellow-countrymen said was all they had in the world. Dr. Adam Smith had specified two exceptions from this rule of Free Trade; and if a state chose to protect corn with the view of securing that regular supply which was conducive to the health and longevity of the inhabitants, to their physical and moral well-being, that State would not act wisely. The amount of the duties was not the question. That which was protection 10 years ago might be more than protection now; to continue it at the same amount might be unjust; it might be fatal to the producer himself (hear). He (Mr. S. O'Brien) protested against any change such as was proposed in a complex state of society like that which existed in this country; and he agreed with the noble lord the member for London (Lord John Russell) in thinking that it would have been better had a single change taken place in 1842, instead of one then and another now; the transition would have been thereby rendered easier—the shock would have been broken. He had not been careless in studying the operation of the Corn Law during the last four years. If he could not agree with those who now thought the protection excessive, he must acknowledge a change of opinion produced by so studying the operation of the law. He had believed that this was a landlord's question, that a sudden repeal would throw a large quantity of land into the market with the effect of deteriorating the price. But, from what he had read and seen, he doubted very much whether such would be the result. If it were a landlord's question, it was only a question of the small landed proprietor (hear), who, on the faith of previous legislation, might have charged his estate to an extent beyond the means which an altered state of the law would leave available for his extrication. But he (Mr. S. O'Brien) looked on this as a tenant farmer's question, and, so far from abandoning his opposition because he so believed, on that ground he took his stand, and refused to assent to the proposed alteration. He might take the opportunity of applying the new philosophy to this tenant farmer's question. The tenant farmer came to the landlord and said—"You see the change that has taken place; you know its effects, and I hope you will allow an abatement of rent. My family has held under your family. We have weathered the storm in difficult times. I have worn your colours; and I shall be very sorry to go anywhere else." (cheers.) The landlord would reply—"My good fellow, I am very sorry for you. You have invested your capital in those drains; I too have invested my capital. You invested yours on the faith of legislative enactments; but so did I. We are told to buy in cheap and sell in dear markets. A gentleman from the manufacturing districts is largely interested in your farm. You talk of feudal times, of days long gone by, of your wearing my old colours. Those are old exploded notions; but as to colours, I tell you, my good fellow, there is no true blue now." (Great cheering from

the protectionists). So, unless the landlord acted towards the tenant with better faith and kinder feeling than the agricultural interest had experienced, the tenant farmer must go forth on the world. A few months ago a farmer came to him and said, "I have got a fortune left me." "Take your good land, then," was the reply, "and farm it for yourself." "Why," said the farmer, "there are the gravestones of four generations of my race in the churchyard—father, grandfather, great-grandfather, and great-great-grandfather. I will not invest my money anywhere else; I shall stick to the old farm." To his mind the heart of that old fellow was worth a very heavy volume of political economy (cheers). And (continued the hon. gentleman) it is hundreds of thousands of men like that—of men, not with such fortunes in their pockets, but with such hearts in their bosoms, whom you are driving forth by your legislation with broken hearts and ruined families. Neither is it too much to say that when—feeling the effect of your policy—they take a retrospect of the past, their keenest associations, their bitterest recollections of the period from which they will date their blighted hopes and broken fortunes, will not be with the name of Cobden (loud cheers). We will not aid you in your triumph over those old men. We do not envy a triumph which we do not participate; and small in numbers, yet it may not be without some influence, we will raise our voices against the injustice you are about to perpetrate. You may exult in your triumph over a body of men who are loading that table with petitions and who see ruin staring them in the face. Moderation in prosperity and patience in adversity were their virtues, and their greatest fault was that they trusted you, and you are prepared to triumph over them (I can give it no milder term) in strange coalition with men who, true to their principles (cheers from the protectionists), can neither welcome you as friends nor respect you as opponents (renewed cheers); of whom I must say, in conclusion, that the best and most patriotic of them will least rejoice to witness the ruin and downfall of a great constitutional party, and will most deplore the loss of public confidence in public men (great cheering from the protectionists).

Mr. S. CRAWFORD considered that the eloquence of the last speaker was much greater than the power of his arguments; for though he professedly took great interest in the welfare of the working man, he showed the value of his professions by refusing to give that working man cheap food. Nothing would promote the prosperity of the country so much as cheap corn, and therefore it was that he wished to repeal every tax which was imposed on its importation from foreign countries. He then entered into a discussion upon the social and domestic condition of Ireland, and upon the bearing of the changes now proposed upon the labouring population of that country; and after warning the house that the danger of famine in Ireland was not visionary, but actual and substantial, concluded by declaring his intention of giving his cordial support to the proposition of her Majesty's Government on this occasion.

Mr. H. BAILLIE lamented that this question should have been made the war-cry of a party, as it rendered it more difficult to discuss with calmness and without acrimony one of the most difficult questions within the whole range of political economy. After pointing out the fatal results produced by free trade in India, where the free importation of British manufactures had destroyed the native manufactures, and had caused greater numbers to perish by famine than had ever perished under the sword of any conqueror, he asked whether we could be surprised that foreign Governments, witnessing such results, should refuse to try the experiment of free trade upon their own people, and should impose barriers against the free introduction of our goods into their dominions? He did not, however, conceive that this determination on their part ought to induce us to try that experiment upon our own countrymen. It was an old axiom, that there was an intimate connexion between agriculture and commerce, and that any measure which injured or benefited the one must also injure or benefit the other. As our master manufacturers had made greater profits during the last year than during any year previously, it would not be irrelevant to inquire into the causes of that prosperity. Were those causes to be found exclusively in the new tariff? No; they were also to be found in three good harvests which had successively followed each other. Then it was clear that the prosperity of agriculture had been most conducive to the prosperity of commerce; and such being the case, the question arose how could we best promote our agriculture? Was it by affording to it a moderate protection, or by permitting it to meet unmitigated competition with countries which, from their climate and fertility, enjoyed advantages over our own country for the growth of corn? He thought that if we adopted the latter course, a portion of our wheat-land must be thrown out of cultivation, and we must become dependent on foreign countries for a large portion of our supply. It was his opinion that free trade would increase our population, on the one hand, and would decrease our natural means of subsistence on the other. This question, however, could not be decided on its own merits; for before we came to a conclusion upon it we must take into our consideration all the circumstances of the country, and, above all, the mischief of the continuance of that struggle in which the interests of the great masses of the people were arrayed against the interests of a few. We must also take into consideration that besides the two classes in the country now pitted against each other, the leading men of all parties in that house were united in the doctrine that some great alteration in the Corn Laws was necessary, and that those who opposed that alteration were themselves unable to form a Government. We have, therefore, only the choice of two alternatives—we must either accept the compromise now offered to us, or throw out the present Administration to make room for another equally pledged to the abolition of all duties on the importation of foreign corn. Under such circumstances, he should support the proposition of the Government, from a conviction that in so doing he was supporting the best interests of the British Empire.

Mr. LEFROY commented on the speech of Mr. S. Crawford on the wretched condition of the population of Ireland, and asked how this measure was calculated to improve it, or to raise the capital of the landlords and farmers of Ireland, who were the employers of labour? He declared himself compelled, as an Irish member, to oppose the proposition of the Government, which he denounced as a most rash and hazardous experiment.

Lord CLEMENTS had no hesitation in meeting the challenge of the last speaker, and in contending that this proposition would not be injurious either to the population or to the landlords of Ireland. He wished hon. members would inquire how far the Corn Laws had benefited the agricultural population of Ireland. Nothing could be more destitute or deplorable than the condition of the peasantry of that country.

It was forcibly depicted in the report of Lord Devon's Commission, and still more forcibly in the spirited communications of the commissioner of the *Times*. He bore the highest testimony to the accuracy of that commissioner's statements, and asserted that there was not a single syllable in the slightest degree exaggerated in his description of the calamitous state of the Irish peasantry. What, then, was, or what would be, the benefit of protection to a population in such deplorable misery? Had it been, or would it be, of the slightest use either to the tenant farmer, or had it prevented, or would it prevent, the labourer from standing idle in the market-place? No such thing. He should, therefore, give his support to the Government proposition for the alteration in the Corn Laws. He then expressed at some length his opinions on the other parts of Sir R. Peel's scheme relative to the payment of the police and of the cost of prosecutions in Ireland.

The Marquis of GRANBY believed that Sir R. Peel was actuated by the most pure and honourable motives; but if he had promulgated in 1841 the same opinions which he now entertained, he would not have proposed them now as a Minister of the Crown. It was not a fair way of putting the question to say that the labourer, if the Corn Laws were repealed, would be enabled to buy cheaper bread. The question was, would he be able to buy and to eat more bread? He was afraid that the labourer would not be able; for where subsistence was cheap, labour was cheap also, and the condition of the population most miserable. Sir Robert had told the house that he could not hold out hopes that foreign nations would follow our example or relax the regulations of the tariffs. But even if they did, you might increase your exports, but in the same proportion your home consumption of manufactures would fall off, as your agriculturists would be deprived of funds wherewith to purchase them. He should support the principle of protection, which had mainly conduced to the greatness, the happiness, and welfare of Great Britain.

Mr. GREGORY contended that agriculture had flourished hitherto in this country, not through, but in spite of protection. He derided the fears of the agriculturists that land would be thrown out of cultivation, and that we should become dependent on foreign nations for supply, if we acceded to the proposition of Government. He hoped that the house possessed too much true courage to be afraid of the imputation that this measure was granted as a concession to agitation. The only mischief which he anticipated from it was that which would arise from continuing a portion of the existing duties for three years, instead of abolishing them entirely at once. He gave his cordial support to the commercial policy of Sir R. Peel.

Lord BROOKE, as the representative of a large and important county, explained the reasons which induced him to give, on this his first entrance upon public life, his decided opposition to the commercial policy proposed by Sir R. Peel. The change in that policy was, no doubt, conscientious on the part of the right hon. baronet; but he must say that the conduct of some of Sir Robert's supporters in agreeing to the same change was not equally straightforward, for it was so sudden as to be almost miraculous. He pointed out the inconsistency of Lord Sandon in supporting a measure which he had denounced as unworthy of approbation, and amused the house, now approaching from its age to a dissolution, by comparing it to a decrepit old man, who from the length of his life had lost his memory, and with it all the recollection of his former pledges. He was afraid too that it was imitating the same old dotard in its mode of making its will, and in defrauding its lawful heirs by bequeathing its property to strangers and aliens. He then handled with considerable tact the usual agricultural arguments against the repeal of the Corn Laws, and declared his intention of voting against the Government proposition.

Lord WORSLEY observed that this measure was not brought forward by her Majesty's Government as a measure which they deemed right, but as a measure which peculiar circumstances had rendered expedient. At the last general election no cry was so general as that of "Peel, the farmer's friend;" but now "Peel, the farmer's friend," was introducing a measure which almost every farmer in the country considered as pregnant with ruin to himself and his property. Noticing the observation of Mr. Sidney Herbert, that the country gentlemen of England were entertaining apprehensions of the proposed change not very creditable to their good sense, he asked who were the parties who had first poured those apprehensions into the agricultural mind? They were no less personages than Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham. Having read amid the cheers and laughter of the House extracts from their speeches in direct contradiction to the many advantages which they now proclaimed as likely to result from free trade, he observed, that with the recollection of these speeches fresh in their memories it was impossible that the farmers would not at the next general election choose such representatives as would enable them to demand a revision of the Corn Laws—(hear)—even if they were defeated in their present opposition to the new-fangled scheme of Government. The question, therefore, would not be settled, even if the present measure were passed; but he hoped that it would not be passed even by the present Parliament, which was elected as a protection Parliament; for it was neither wise or equitable to enact a permanent law to meet a mere temporary evil. He urged upon the Government the propriety of appealing to the country upon this subject, and of taking the opinion of the constituencies whether they would or would not abandon protective duties. If they did not, they must remain in their present painful position, in which they were dependent on their opponents for support.

Sir J. GRAHAM—Sir, I have risen to address you at this time chiefly in consequence of the able and powerful speech of the hon. member for Northamptonshire, who addressed the house this evening, and in whose sentiment I most cordially concur, that we ought not to allow this discussion to degenerate into a mere fiscal question (hear, hear). When a great party is on the point of being dissolved, the question, though in itself even insignificant, becomes a great national one (hear, hear). I think that no leader of a great party, such as that which has placed its confidence in my right hon. friend, can be justified for one moment in treating this great occasion, in any other light, except as one of immense national importance, and one that needs the frankest explanation. This is a question that I hope also may not be treated altogether as a question of mere personality (hear). I cannot at all blame my noble friend who has just sat down for the reference he has made to my former declarations on this subject. I admit that the past declarations of opinion made by a member of this house, who either leads, or aspires to lead a party, and declarations made by a First Minister of the Crown, if at variance with the course he now adopts, are subjects not unworthy of reference, and which call for explanation. The hon. member for Northamptonshire

made a direct appeal to the Government, and challenges us, if we had changed our opinions, manfully to own it. I answer that challenge. I do frankly avow my change of opinion, and by that avowal I dispose of all the speeches (loud cheers from the Opposition, with counter-cheers from the Protection benches, rendered inaudible the rest of the sentence). Upon the advice given by the hon. member for Northamptonshire, that if I were prepared to make that avowal it is my duty to do it; I now make the avowal, and I only ask the house to exercise patience, and indulge me while I point to the reasons of that change (hear). And that I may stand in the position of a man worthy of confidence, I will only glance at a few considerations explanatory of the course I now pursue, instead of leaving the matter to rest on the individual honour of the person who makes the avowal. If you look at the tests by which change of opinion must be tried, on the part of a particular member, you would find that the first which should be applied is this—does the change of opinion promote his personal interest? Perhaps, under the circumstances, I may be allowed to glance at my personal position. All that I possess is as a landlord. I have nothing to hope for except from the possession of landed property. I have inherited by that property a large tract of land, of inferior soil; and I congratulate myself that by my position as a landlord, if the proposed change be dangerous, it exposes me to as great risks as any landed proprietor in the country. So much with respect to my personal position. Now, as a Minister of the Crown, allow me to ask you to apply a test equally conclusive. Does a change of opinion on the part of a Minister of the Crown increase his strength or consolidate his power? Can there be a doubt, after the unhappy scene which we have witnessed during the two last evenings in the conduct of the debate on this side of the house, that my right hon. friend, before the commencement of this session, being (as is allowed) a leader of great talent, possessing the confidence of a great party, and of powerful and immense influence out of the house, has lost—has, as it is now said, almost dissolved that party, by the conduct which he, from a sense of public duty has pursued (cries of hear, hear)? I will try another test upon that subject, and it shall be the last. Has the Minister, by a change of opinion, acted unfairly towards his political adversaries, and availed himself of that change of opinion to exclude them from office? I think it is not expedient, at this time, to touch further upon that subject; but my right hon. friend, with my entire concurrence, frankly tendered to her Majesty the office which he held as the head of the administration. I certainly concurred in that resignation; and I can truly and sincerely say, it was my earnest desire that this measure should have been brought forward by the noble lord opposite, in whose hands I think it would have been more properly placed (hear, hear). I state that, unfeignedly and frankly, I thought, after all that has occurred, it would have been better for the public, better for public men (hear, hear, and loud cheers). I am stating my sincere opinion—I think it would have been more for the public advantage, and for the credit of public men, if what has been proposed, as it has become our duty now to propose it, had been brought forward by the noble lord opposite; and I may say, and I am sure the noble lord will bear testimony to the truth of what I am saying, that both in writing and verbally I assured the noble lord that if he, as a Minister, brought forward a measure such as was indicated in his letter to his constituents of London, I, as a private member of Parliament would have given to that measure my frank and cordial support (cheers). Now, having disposed of that which more personally related to myself, I may perhaps be permitted to refer to some of the points touched upon by the hon. member for Northamptonshire (Mr. S. O'Brien), and the noble lord (Lord Worsley). The noble lord asks me—is this measure brought forward merely because we think it expedient? He appeared to doubt whether we thought it right. I say that we bring forward this measure, not because we think it expedient, but because we think it right, and because we think it necessary (hear, hear). Then the noble lord proceeded to state, that the time had arrived when this question must be settled. I perfectly agree with him, and I join in the alternative he put; he said it could only be settled in one or two ways, either by absolutely refusing to go into committee upon this question, and to entertain any further proposition in relation to agricultural protection, or else that you must proceed as the Government now advises you to proceed, to the total abolition of protection to agriculture (hear, hear). An hon. member has put the question, as I think, shortly and fairly; he said, the question to be decided is, is the abolition of protective duties adverse to the poor? The noble lord the member for Stamford (the Marquis of Granby), who addressed the house also with great ability, put it in terms equally distinct; he said, the question is, will this alteration in the Corn Laws, not only give cheap bread, but give a greater quantity of cheap bread to the working classes? I must say that this is the issue which I think we have to try—this is the great question we have to determine (hear). The hon. member for Northamptonshire addressed the house with so much ability, that I really was surprised to hear him, even in a passing sentence, speak contemptuously of political economy; he said that the object of political economy, in his opinion, was the accumulation of wealth. I had always understood that the great object of political economy was the distribution of wealth. (Mr. S. O'Brien,—"I said the distribution of wealth")—will the hon. member allow me?—in my humble view the great object of political economy is not the accumulation, but the distribution of wealth, and the application of capital to industry on principles which science and experience shall have proved to be conducive to the happiness and welfare of the greatest number (hear, hear). The question, then, which we have to determine is, is the maintenance of the existing Corn Laws conducive to the interests of the greatest number of the community? Will it insure them an ample supply of food of the cheapest and best kind? The noble lord who has just sat down rather apologised for reading extracts from speeches, because he thought they were not very palatable to the house; I must say, that the extracts he read appeared to me by no means unpalatable (laughter). Will he allow me also, in perfect fairness, to read just two extracts? The noble lord imputed to my right hon. friend that not intentionally, but without intention, what had fallen from him on former occasions

** For Remainder of Debate see our Regular Paper.

Printed at the Whitefriars Printing-office, Bowyer-street, in the precincts of Whitefriars, in the City of London, by JOHN GARNET, printer, of Number 7, Ridgmont-place, Hampstead-road, in the County of Middlesex, and also of Number 4, Earfield-place, Chesham-hill-road, in the parish of Manchester, in the County of Lancaster, and published at Number 67, Fleet-street, in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, in the City of London, by ADAMANT WATTS, printer, of Number 67, Fleet-street, aforesaid.—Saturday, February 14, 1846.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 126.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1846.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newalls-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

IMMEDIATE REPEAL.

Our readers are already prepared for the announcement which we have now the pleasure of making, that Mr. Villiers has given notice of his intention to move, in the Committee of the House on the Ministerial Corn Bill, an AMENDMENT for making total repeal of the Corn Law IMMEDIATE.

After the very satisfactory and creditable intimation given by Sir Robert Peel, on Monday night, that he will acquiesce in the sense of the House of Commons, whatever that may be—that, if such an amendment be carried, he will accept the amended bill, and still regard it as his own—we cannot doubt that ALL Free Traders will be at their posts, prepared to express their opinion in a unanimous vote. The most sensitively and scrupulously timid of our Parliamentary friends can now be under no apprehension that the success of the amendment will endanger the bill. Opposition to the Government on this point will not have the spirit nor the effect of opposition. To outvote Sir Robert Peel will not be to defeat him.

This is a most wise determination on the part of the Government. To insist on the three-years' delay, as an integral part of the Ministerial measure, would have been a blunder which we were all along convinced Sir Robert Peel would not and could not commit. It is no essential element of his plan. It stands in no relation whatever, except in that of direct contradiction to the grounds on which the plan, as a whole, is based. All these demand immediate repeal. The great Free Trade principle, to which he has now given his full and unqualified adhesion, and conformity with which is announced as the rule of our whole future legislation, demands immediate repeal. The frightful emergency which has suddenly resolved all doubts, and ripened half-formed opinion into prompt and vigorous action, demands immediate repeal. So far back as the 1st of November, Sir Robert Peel judged it imperatively necessary to open the ports to the unrestricted importation of food; and, as he said, the other morning, "the necessity which existed for the adoption of this measure on the first of November, is NOW ONLY INCREASED."

The three years' delay was never adopted on its merits. It was only meant as a compromise—a concession to please the landlords, and smooth down landlord opposition. As such it has failed. The landlords one and all repudiate it. The Duke of Richmond will have none of it; he says that immediate repeal would be immeasurably less objectionable. Mr. Miles, the same. He declares, "upon

his honour," that both the farmers and himself would "infinitely prefer" immediate repeal; and he gives precisely those reasons for the preference which are so forcibly urged in Mr. Cobden's Letter to the Farming Tenantry. The protectionists of Dorsetshire (who regard Mr. Cobden as the "father of lies," and Sir Robert Peel as something a good deal worse), say the same—so does the *Standard*. So does everybody, without a single exception, in Parliament, and out of Parliament. If "what everybody says must be true," there never was a truth so indisputably and overwhelmingly authenticated as this. One might, with the most perfect safety, offer a thousand pounds reward to the discoverer of any man out of Bedlam who denies, or doubts, the preferableness of immediate to delayed or gradual repeal of the Corn Laws.

Nothing now remains to be done, but that everybody should say, in regular Parliamentary form, that which everybody thinks—and then the Government say it, too. We are sure that the very happiest day of Sir Robert Peel's life will be that on which he is forced, by the agreeable compulsion of a nominally adverse, but really friendly majority, to clear the greatest and noblest act of his political career of a flaw utterly inconsistent, both with its general principles and its special and temporary grounds, and—as we have shown on a former occasion—most perilous to its practical well-working.

In the unrivalled ability and constancy with which, year after year, under every conceivable circumstance of discouragement, Mr. Villiers has urged on the reluctant attention of a hostile House of Commons, the motion which is so honourably identified with his name and fame, the Free Traders of Great Britain have a sure pledge, that now—when the cause of total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws is all but triumphant—the most strenuous exertions that zeal can prompt, and wisdom and experience direct, will be put forth to render the triumph complete and final.

THE PROTECTIONISTS AND THE PREMIER.

We have, of course, nothing to do with that mere party question between Sir Robert Peel and his "Conservatives," on which such an infinity of landlord rhetoric has been expended during the past fortnight. We must, however, say, of the protectionists' quarrel with their Premier, that if it had been these gentlemen's express purpose to justify him in cutting the connection, they could not have managed the matter better. Their own case is their own condemnation. Their impeachment includes and suggests his defence. Their accusation of "treachery" recoils with crushing weight on their own sordid and miserable selves. Their charge against him of "perfidy" and "breach of compact" is, of itself, a confession of their own faithlessness to the highest duties of legislators—of their utter incapacity even to understand the fundamental moralities of the legislative trust. They quarrel with Sir Robert Peel, not as a bad statesman for the empire, but as a bad steward of their private concerns. He has broken faith with them. They had hoped he would look after their interests, and never mind the empire—and they are disappointed. Their hired "counsel"—to use the similitude which Mr. Francis Scott regards as most expressive of the moral relation of a Prime Minister of England to the landlords—throws up his brief, and stops the cause. They had actually sold the empire to their Peel, by private contract, for a "consideration"—and they are outrageous at not getting value received. Well might the Premier speak of "servile tenure!" He judged wisely, the other night, in

waving them and their indictment contemptuously aside, and going at once to the business of the country, without more words—though we do think he might, in common charity, have spared the cruel side-hits at the "*British lion*," the "*flag of protection*," and "*protection in its integrity*." The country asks no apology for the breach of a compact so palpably of the *fœdus latronum* class.

We have nearly done with these men now. Their power for mischief is pretty well at an end, and it is hardly worth while to trouble ourselves with monopolist absurdities, and impertinences that have lost the significance they once possessed, as indicating the purposes of an irresistibly dominant faction. On the whole, we are willing to let the landlords' speeches alone, and leave them to make their own impressions on the country. One exception must be made. We cannot refrain from holding up to the indignant reprobation of all just and Christian minded men, the almost incredible selfishness and sordidness so audaciously avowed—obviously with the most perfect unconsciousness of offence against God or man—by the protectionist leader in the House of Commons. Should the oratory of a Miles find its way to posthumous remembrance, the future historian will be at a loss for language to express his amazement, that in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, a reputable British legislator could be found to give utterance to the sentiments expressed last Friday night by the member for East Somerset. Mr. Miles is, it seems, perfectly aghast at the idea of the earth being properly cultivated. He abhors the notion of deserts becoming fruitful fields. He cannot speak ill enough of "*the supply of corn which they were to expect from America*." "*It was not alone to the quantity of corn now grown in that country that they should look*"—though the matter wears already a sufficiently menacing aspect. But we do not half know the worst yet. "*The cultivation of the teeming and fruitful land of the United States was rapidly advancing*—the population was increasing at the most extraordinary rate, and that population, active and industrious, occupied a vast and boundless territory, containing some of the richest land in the world. They only wanted a profitable market for the excess of their produce to raise an infinitely greater quantity of grain than they had hitherto grown." Then there are the Polish provinces, and Novogorod, and all Tamboff, with absolutely frightful "capabilities" of food-production—capabilities at present happily suppressed, but now about to be developed into a sort of venomous activity. "All he could say was, that there was an immense acreage in those provinces; they were known for their fine rich loamy soil, and for their vast production; and, immediately the markets of this country were thrown open, a ready opening would be afforded to the different nations of the Continent; in that instant would all these vast and productive lands be cultivated, and just so much as they were cultivated, would the fair lands of our own country be blighted. HE COULD NOT CONCEIVE A PROSPECT MORE DISMAL."

This defies comment. The blinding, perverting force of a sordid interest can no further go. When the inspired prophet of old would depict, by the liveliest and most impressive imagery, the joyful effusion of divine blessings on mankind, he summed up all in those beautiful words of hope and promise—"The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose." Were Mr. Miles a biblical commentator, he would, we presume, subjoin in a foot-note, "*I cannot conceive a prospect more dismal*."

We turn with delight from these ravings of a fatuous folly, and a fanatical selfishness, to the wise and generous utterances of a statesman's mind. Sir Robert Peel's speech of Monday night has been

characterised as a "speech more powerful, and more to be admired than any which has been delivered within the memory of any man in that house." The eulogy thus pronounced by Mr. BRIGHT will, we believe, be very generally responded to by every reader who is capable of appreciating noble truths and sentiments worthily expressed. Of the special topics of this masterly vindication of the course which he has pursued, as responsible ruler of the empire, during the past eventful four months—this lucid and eloquent exposition of the principles that are henceforth to govern all British legislation—we need not speak in detail. That speech will be read, and read again, wherever the English language is known. What most strikes us in it is the new heart, energy, and eloquence with which Sir Robert Peel seems to be inspired, since he has sunk the party politician in the statesman and the man—emancipated himself from the debilitating and degrading bondage of the "servile tenure"—and won the liberty of speaking the truth. Now that he has ceased to be the advocate of a class, the counsel for a class-interest—and has resumed power, not as a landlord over his under bailiff, but as the servant of the Crown and country—there is an expansion in his thoughts, a force and life in his speech, that are altogether new. He can now do justice to himself and his own powers. Never was there a more triumphant exposition of a great truth—triumphant, not in point of logic only, but in vigorous fearless of its tone and spirit—than that of Monday evening, when the Premier wound up a luminous argument, by challenging all gainsayers to "look back to the commercial history of the country for the last thirty years, whether as regards our colonies or our home transactions, and point out one single instance when either producer or consumer was injured by relaxing the prohibitory system," and scornfully asked, "Is it not strange how gentlemen can forget historic facts, and ally themselves to their own infatuations?" And never did a Prime Minister, of this or any other country, speak words more instinct with power—more certain of finding their way to the heart and soul of a great nation—than those in which he appealed to Englishmen, to improve the magnificent opportunities that God and nature have given them, proclaimed industrial progress as England's destiny, and industrial freedom as England's law:

"The question you have to decide is simply this—WILL YOU, IN THIS ENLIGHTENED AGE, ADVANCE OR RECEDE? Remember, the eyes of the world are upon you. Oh, act a part worthy of yourselves and of your country. Will you advance or recede? Which is the policy best suited to a great commercial empire? Remember your position—remember your great national reputation. LOOK TO THE ADVANTAGES WHICH GOD AND NATURE HAVE BESTOWED UPON YOU. Look to your geographical position; on the confines of Western Europe, the connecting link between the North of Europe and the Continent of America. Remember that the improvements of navigation and the applications of science have brought you within ten days of Petersburg, and within ten days of New York. Look to your physical advantages—the nerves and sinews of manufacture—iron and coal—which abound throughout your country. Look to your acquired advantages, possessed as you are of a capital tenfold greater than that of any country in the universe. Look to the inexhaustible mine of wealth that is to be found in the unwearied perseverance, the indomitable skill of your people; look to their talent—their ingenuity—their great mental power. Look, too, to your free institutions; your unshackled press; your glorious constitution, which, though it prohibits licentiousness, affords rational liberty to all. Look, I say, to all these things; think of the glory England has acquired from the equator to the pole, and tell me, IS YOUR'S A COUNTRY TO DREAD COMPETITION WITH ANY COUNTRY ON THE FACE OF THE EARTH?"

This is a "great fact," indeed—a speech like this—from a statesman, who has a majority ready waiting to make his word law. It is worth having toiled seven years, to hear such words from the lips of the first Minister of the British Empire; to hear them with the certainty that they will be read and pondered over by tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of Englishmen—that they will sink into the national mind, be embodied in national law, and become part and parcel of the national history—that they will reach to the remotest ends of the earth, be translated into every language spoken by civilised men, and, in their remotest workings, change the public opinion of the world.

THE KING OF SPADES.

Those charitable persons who so good-naturedly took for granted that a successful railway specu-

tor must needs make a wise lawgiver—who indulgently excused absurdity by the plea of ignorance, and were sanguine enough to hold that a man who extemporised nonsense in July would study, reflect, and become rational by February—are now undeceived. The oracle of the railway world, the idol of the great stag interest, has spoken again—and mankind know, once for all, what is in him. Mr. Hudson has given us his true measure. His pretensions as a politician and man of sense are now made level to the meanest capacity.

Mr. Hudson has "deeply reflected and thought upon the question in its various bearings"—and the result is before the world in general, and his proud and delighted constituents in particular, in his superlatively silly speech of Tuesday night. The representative of one of our greatest industrial interests—a man pledged, by the fundamental necessities of his position and relations, to the cause of commercial and industrial progress, and to large and bold views of all commercial and industrial questions—a man prominently identified with one of the grandest social revolutions known to history—is not ashamed to endorse and circulate the vulgarest and stupidest fallacies of a rotten cause, and an expiring and disgraced faction. All the antiquated and exploded nonsense of landlordism finds a ready advocate in the Railway King. Platitudes which disgrace the very dukes themselves, are mouthed with the most stolid self-complacency by this representative of the cause of industrial science and national growth. He seems to like the trash, as if it were his own. He, too, has the ineffable silliness to talk of "land thrown out of cultivation" in consequence of the increase of everything that makes land worth cultivating. A man who has seen land rise five, ten, or twenty fold in value, through the extension of trade and manufactures and the opening of new markets, "believes" that without the artificial stimulus of Parliamentary prices, "the farmer will not be able to cultivate the land, even if it were let without rent"—in other words, land in England is naturally and intrinsically valueless. And a man whose life is passed in the presence of the most startling and splendid achievements of the industrial genius of Englishmen, has the almost incredible poltroonery to deprecate competition, and "believe that English labourers cannot contend with labour from abroad."

A precious legislator we have got, truly, in this railway king! For Irish famine, the simpleton would prescribe a—PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION!! the said public subscription to be expended (if we rightly understand the royal logic) not in bringing more food into Ireland for the Irish people to eat—this would only make matters ten times worse. His Railway Majesty is as frightened as a duke at the notion of food coming into the country. An "extensive importation of foreign corn" knocked up his railway schemes, some years ago; and so, extensive importation is to be dreaded as one of the plagues of Egypt. This accomplished thinker never troubles himself to ask why an extensive importation of foreign corn need be more embarrassing to railway enterprise than an extensive importation of foreign tea, foreign sugar, or foreign cotton. He stops at the "extensive importation." There is the mischief. That's where it is, gentlemen. The harm is in the supply, not in the siege and the famine.

Sunderland really deserves all this. The humiliation of having so unspeakably empty-headed and conceited a representative is the fit retribution—we own it is a severe one—for the electoral dishonesty that bartered away public rights, for the beggarly bribe of "local interests."

QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

As the time for the final struggle approaches, the exertions of the Free Traders must be increased, and every effort made to establish our principles in their full integrity. The necessity for fresh zeal and fresh vigilance increases every day, and the expediency of strengthening the League for the decisive issue becomes more and more apparent. Mo-

nopoly will only yield to the resolute determination of the entire people, and this resolution will be best manifested by exhibiting how widely and how deeply the importance of the great cause is felt through the length and breadth of the land. Sir Robert Peel has declared that he will not abandon his scheme, even though he should be forced to substitute immediate for deferred repeal. The Westminster election has shown that the delay of three years is not acceptable to the country; the crisis has, therefore, arrived, in which it behoves us to exert all our strength, and put forth all our resources. The moral effect of the great Quarter of a Million Fund is even of greater importance than its financial amount, at this peculiar juncture. It is felt to be an expression of opinion which admits of no mistake or misrepresentation. It has struck terror into the protectionists, and broken the harmony of their camp. The demonstration must be continued, in order that its effects should be complete and decisive. During seven arduous years, the appeals of the League have been eagerly and nobly responded to by the people of England; and with unabated confidence we now call upon them to make still more vigorous efforts for a final campaign. Victory is not yet won; there are many signs which intimate that our cause has yet to encounter many perils and many hazards. The battle will not be won for us by any combination or derangement of parties. Never yet was any great boon won for the people which was not achieved by the people. A dissolution of Parliament is menaced, and whatever may be the fate of the measure now under the consideration of the legislature, we believe that the period for a dissolution is not far distant. Free Trade must be represented on every hustings, and its voice heard in every polling-booth. Bribery and intimidation will be marshalled against us, as they were before, and we must meet them with every legal means which the constitution places at our disposal. The contest with which we are menaced will be arduous and expensive, but it will also be final. Providence, in its wise dispensations, has brought round a combination of circumstances the most favourable for the perfect establishment of those sound principles of wisdom, justice, and true charity, which we have so long supported; but we shall be deservedly the mockery of mankind if we allow the opportunity to pass unimproved.

It is not to be expected that such another combination of circumstances can be expected in the course of a generation. The repeal of the Corn Laws may be effected totally and immediately, without disturbing a single existing interest. The state of the Continental markets liberates the British farmers from all the possible evils that may be dreaded in a period of transition; employment is prepared for labour so soon as the food is free by which labour must be supported. The doom of the present Corn Law is sealed; but there is great danger of our being subjected to a more insidious system, and one which it will be far more difficult to remove. When the breach is made, and the storming parties formed, it would be sheer cowardice and sheer folly to listen to proposals of compromise and capitulation. Let us nerve ourselves for the final effort; let each contribute according to his means his share in achieving a complete triumph. Half a victory under present circumstances would be worse than a defeat, for we can never again expect to hold so favourable a position in a field of battle.

Under these circumstances, we appeal to our countrymen. Come forward and help us freely, promptly, and largely, ere the great opportunity be lost for ever. What you have done before will be rendered unavailing if you hold back now. The vessel is in sight of port; but there are breakers ahead between us and the harbour. In the brief interval between us and safety, every one of the crew must be watchful, and must be active. Our fund, consecrated to advance the great cause of "Glory to God and good to man," must be placed above the chances of those unexpected exigencies whose advent no man can foresee, and whose amount no man can calculate. The hour of our deliverance is at hand if we are true to ourselves;

but if we fail at the crisis of our fate, our certain doom is disappointment, aggravated by the consciousness that it has been occasioned solely by our own coldness and neglect.

MR. STAFFORD O'BRIEN'S CHARGE AGAINST MR. M'GREGOR, OF WILFUL MISSTATEMENTS.

Mr. S. O'Brien, in his speech on Sir Robert Peel's measure for the repeal of the Corn Laws, took occasion to make a most unjust and unfounded charge against Mr. M'Gregor, the Secretary of the Board of Trade, accusing that gentleman of having in his work, "The Commercial Legislation of England and America," made statements to suit the arguments of the Free Traders, not founded on facts. Mr. S. O'Brien is the chairman of the publication committee of the Protection Society, and in his accusation has been too forward in measuring Mr. M'Gregor by his own standard. That society has not scrupled to make wilful misstatements to advance its own objects; and our readers cannot have forgotten our frequent exposures of its disgraceful garbling of quotations from Adam Smith. We do not wonder, therefore, that Mr. S. O'Brien should think others capable of the like unworthy proceedings. But let us see how a few plain words can put down the charge:

Mr. O'Brien states that Mr. M'Gregor has given the amount of four excise duties received on spirits for the United Kingdom, as £241,456*l.*, whereas it ought to have been £241,456*l.* Mr. M'Gregor did no such thing. In the corrected sheet (which we have before us), the account stands thus:

For Great Britain	£4,226,951
For Ireland	1,014,505

Total £5,241,456

How, then, could such a mistake have been made by such a profound Pundit as Mr. O'Brien? We will tell him.

He had the *uncorrected* sheet to go by (which we have also at this moment before us), where the account stands thus:

Received for Great Britain ..	£4,226,951
„ Ireland	1,014,505

Total £4,241,456

Mr. O'Brien stated that such an error would be disgraceful to a school-boy who so drew up accounts; whereas the man who could not see that such an error in an uncorrected sheet is not attributable to the author but the printer, must be worse than any school boy, even at "Do-the-boys Hall." There is another alleged "disgraceful misstatement" as to the Malt Tax—it is of a similar kind, the misplacement of a figure 5 in the uncorrected sheet, which is placed right in the corrected work!

What a mountain in labour is this!! Lastly, Mr. M'Gregor has been charged with bringing before the public his *dull romances*! Mr. M'Gregor wants no defence on this score from us. His "dull romances" have enlivened the present generation to their true interests; and, with his predecessor, Mr. James Deacon Hume, he will be remembered as a man who did good in that generation when the stupid misapprehensions of the whole school of which Mr. O'Brien would fain be an ornament, will not only be forgiven—but forgotten!

MR. BRIGHT'S SPEECH ON TUESDAY NIGHT.

(From the Sun)

The great feature of the evening—the feature by which it became conspicuous amongst its predecessors—was the circumstance of the League having at length mingled in the conflict of tongues, having at length broken its "sullen silence," having at length descended among the rhetorical gladiators of the Commons. And this first thrust, as it were, of their intentions within the echoes of the Parliament House was allotted to Mr. Bright, owing to the unfortunate indisposition which has excluded the hon. member for Stockport just as his earnest and unmitigated exertions were driving matters to a consummation. Still, *maugre* the crushing and solid reduplication of facts by which Mr. Cobden's oratory acquires such extraordinary influence, the opening speech of the Anti-Corn-Law Leaguers could scarcely have been more chivalrous, more imperative, more dignified, and honest, and magnanimous, than it proved to be under the auspices of Mr. Bright. In it that honourable gentleman excelled himself; the singularity of his position, as he rose to address the (miscalled) Oppositionists and Ministerialists, seemed to animate him to an unwonted pitch of rhetorical excellence; his periods were, as usual, adroitly and elegantly turned; but, in addition to this, they alternately glittered with satire, and burnt with energy, and thrilled with a tone even occasionally pathetic. Nor was there anything forced or conventional in his speech; he became effective without apparent labour, and never appeared to strive for the attention of his auditors. And indeed this very aspect of being spontaneous and unaffected lent to each opinion its principal interest. There is something absolutely noble, there is something admirable, there is something great in the pure and generous eloquence with which the hon. member enlivened his former antagonist, the courageous, the large spirited, and now popular Sir Robert Peel. "I watched the right honourable baronet go home last night," said Mr. Bright, "and I confess I envied him the ennobling feelings which must have filled his breast after delivering that speech—a speech, I venture to say, more powerful and more to be admired than any speech ever heard in this house within the memory of any man in it." This was no idle compliment, it was no ebullition of sympathy, it was no favour carrying laudation; it was full-hearted, it was untridled, it was most strictly deserved. And in a subsequent passage we discover a death-blow to the incessant recrimination hurled at the devoted head of the Premier; a few simple syllables, in which the jeers of Messieurs the Protectionists are smothered up for

ever. "When the right hon. baronet resigned," said he, "he was no longer your minister; he came back to office as the minister of the Sovereign, as the minister of the people; and not again as the minister of a class, who made him such for their own social and private objects." As such, namely, as a statesman actuated simply and ostensibly for the good of his country, for the just maintenance of the constitution, for the integrity of the empire, the confidence of the monarch, and the general happiness of all classes of the people, we honour the heart and admire the intellect of the Prime Minister; while as a man animated with purely liberal sentiments, and as one ready to acknowledge justice in whatever garb she may assume, Mr. Bright has no insignificant place in our estimation.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION OF 1846

Fifth Week, ending Saturday, February 21.

Our notice of the great debate, last week, terminated with Thursday night, which, but for the speech of Lord Morpeth, would have been very dull. Friday night however, transcended it. Four speeches were delivered, three of which were of excessive length and excessive tediousness; the exception was an excellent speech from Mr. Ward, at once telling and pithy. But for some little characteristic occurrences, nothing could have been more exhaustive than the protective oratory of that night.

Mr. Miles, the Aristarchus of Protection in the House of Commons, made his "great display" on Friday night, loaded with an unwieldy and undigested mass of documents, which were expressly prepared for him at No. 17, Bond-street. The reading of them was one of the most dreary and monotonous things imaginable. As parchment after parchment was taken up, the sight of each formidable document called up a suppressed moaning sound, which we do not imagine to have proceeded from any excess of pleasure. Mr. Miles at last became so excited by his own arithmetical frenzy, that he was fairly on his way to the middle of the floor, when good Sir Robert Inglis rose and gently pulled him back by the skirt of his coat. The honourable member for Oxford then resumed his seat, looking more sleek and demure than ever, and Mr. Miles pursued his dismal argument. One incident, and only one, enlivened his speech of three hour's duration. Reading statements of the extent, capacity, and population of different districts in Russia, which the document he held described as being able to supply all Europe, he came to the province of Tamboff, covering he said, an acreage of twenty-five millions of square miles. This blunder, associated as it was with the recollection of Lord Stanley's famous adoption of the blunder about Tamboff fertility, raised most extraordinary laughter and cheering, some members, in ecstasy, actually clapping their hands. Mr. Miles corrected himself by substituting *thousands* for *millions*; and he concluded a long speech, by telling Sir Robert Peel that the country was not prepared for his proposed changes; and assuring the House that when the various interests affected understood their own interests, they would rise unanimously against them.

But we have forgotten Mr. Francis Scott, one of the sons of Lord Polwarth, and the representative of Roxburghshire. He, as did also Sir Howard Douglas, occupied the early portion of that evening with long speeches as tedious in their delivery as they were contemptible in style and argument. Mr. Francis Scott, however, proved the truth of the adage, that he who is his own counsel has a fool for his client. He compared Sir Robert Peel to a lawyer, who, after taking a fee for advocating one side at the assizes, took to the other side when the case came to be argued on appeal; and was, of course, imitated by "juniors" and the attorney. Some time afterwards, he admitted that improved facilities of locomotion, and other causes, enabled the farmer to carry on cultivation at a very reduced cost. The House, at the time, was very quiet, for it was the important hour that lies between seven and eight o'clock, the hour of dinner. Sir Robert Peel, who was sitting immediately below Mr. Francis Scott, turned round, and, in a good-humoured under-tone, asked him, "Whose counsel are you now?" This put Mr. Scott into a terrible passion. He could not see the joke; and absolutely stormed away, as if Sir Robert Peel had insinuated that somebody had given him a guinea to plead the cause of protection! He protested in loud tones that he was counsel neither for the agriculturists nor the mercantile interests, nor for the foreigner, but for the interests of Great Britain. He then proceeded to admit that the theory of Free Trade was a beautiful one—*cobweb hung with brightly sparkling dew-drops*, but it was unfit for practical use. The honourable member delivered his oration from the bench behind the one on which Sir Robert Peel was sitting, in a sibilant emphatic tone, which did not however much seem to affect the nerves of the Premier.

The dull night of Friday did not pass over without a small "scene," produced by that accomplished gentleman, Mr. Ferrand. Lord Northland, the eldest son of the Earl of Ranfurly, and representative for Dunganon, made a short speech, in which he avowed his intention of supporting Sir Robert Peel, because he had more confidence in him than in Lord John Russell. Now, the story goes (it was originally given on the authority of the *Dublin Evening Mail*) that at the time of the passing of the Maynooth Act, Lord Northland was caught in the house, as it was going to a division; and being unwilling to vote either for or against the Bill, he hid himself in a small recess, which had been formerly used as a coal-hole; and some mischievous "friend" having observed it, told the Serjeant-at-Arms, and Lord Northland was compelled to come out, and vote. Mr. B. Ferrand, who is invariably distinguished for his lofty sense of public duty, and who reckons the amenities of private life as of little importance when compared with the discharge of his high functions, recalled this circumstance to the recollection of the noble lord, amidst uproarious laughter. "What confidence," he bellowed, "had you in the right honourable baronet, when you were dragged out of the coal-hole to vote for him?"

On Monday the general question was debated in both houses. In the House of Lords, the question of "peculiar burdens" was raised by Lord Beaumont, who moved for a select committee of inquiry. On this occasion, Lord Stanley gave a tolerably distinct intimation that he will oppose the measures of the Government. The Duke of Richmond glorified Lord Stanley, and threw out a coaxing kind of invitation to him to devote his noble intellect to the protection of "native industry." After a discussion, the motion was agreed to, and the committee has been since appointed.

On Monday night, the adjourned debate was resumed by

The Earl of March, eldest son of the Duke of Richmond. This noble lord bids fair to be as sagacious and intelligent a Duke of Richmond as his father, should he succeed to the title. He added nothing whatever to an exhausted debate; and it was, therefore, with pleasure that we noticed, amid the crowd of members contending for the "possession of the house," that Mr. MILNER GIBSON had caught the eye of the SPEAKER. The clear, easy, fluent, and agreeable style of the member for Manchester always secures for him the attention of the house; and on this occasion he received and he repaid attention. His speech was excellent, both in matter and in manner. The great distinction between the advocates of Free Trade and the advocates of protection, during this protracted debate, has been the important fact, that while the one have addressed themselves mainly to the question, the others have indulged mainly in vituperation. Mr. Milner Gibson kept the attention of his auditors to the subject in hand; and the loud, hearty cheers with which he was greeted, showed how welcome was the relief afforded by the speech of an intelligent gentleman, raising up faculties all but laid prostrate by the unconscionable dullness of protection oratory.

After the excellent speech from Mr. Milner Gibson, Sir William Clay, one of the representatives for the Tower Hamlets, discussed four or five of the opinions at issue largely and clearly; and Lord Alfred Churchill read such a speech as the nominee of Woodstock might be expected to read. Mr. Wm. James, member for East Cumberland, also addressed the House, not very unnaturally, in somewhat of a self-laudatory strain, as having been through a long course of years the steady advocate of the measure which was now about to receive the sanction of the House. Lord Harry Vane, too, spoke in favour of the measure. He is the brother of the monopolist Duke of Cleveland. We had also a "maiden" speech from Mr. Halscy, the new member for Hertford, who spoke in a bold strain against the Government; and a similar course was adopted by Mr. Buck, one of the Members for North Devon, though his manner was mild and gentlemanly. But the Government was supported by Mr. Dickinson, one of the Members for West Somersetshire, who frankly avowed that he was a convert to Free Trade principles.

Sir John Tyrrell took the opportunity of coming out, on Monday night, as clown in the pantomime. The Essex baronet is a perfect treasure to the House of Commons. Were it not for the presence of one or two such members, honourable gentlemen would sink under the weight of dullness which seems necessary to legislative discussion. After the human intellect has been puzzled for three or four hours with self-contradictory theories, pelted with statistics, exacerbated with invective, rendered torpid by prose in its very worst form, to see a good dry joker rise to address the House is such happiness as is rarely given to man. Sir John had nothing particular to say about flax, no new light to shed upon any of the disputed articles in the tariff; but he held a little paper in his hand, which, for the moment, was feared might contain some hitherto unknown data about

the state of the Essex fens. Nothing of the sort—it was a fragment from the works of a gentleman lately deceased, a reverend divine, a doctor in divinity, the late Dr. Arnold. Although Sir John Tyrrell was aware that honourable gentlemen would not unfrequently smile at observations of his, yet he was sure that the House would lend him their attention while he read to them Dr. Arnold's opinion of the Premier. This was to the effect that the late lamented Dr. Arnold would trust Peel in a question of currency—he had an *idea* about that, and he was sure that upon that subject he would not unduly yield to popular clamour; but upon any other point—the Church, for instance—he was sure Peel did not care a straw about the matter, and would yield at the first summons. The right honourable baronet, continued the member for Essex, is always talking about his having an eye to posterity, and he was sure that there was but one feeling in the House on this subject, and that was that posterity might have him all to themselves without any further delay.

But the great speech of Monday night was the one delivered by Sir ROBERT PEEL. The First Lord of the Treasury rose about a quarter to ten o'clock, and spoke till near one o'clock—for nearly three hours arresting and enchaining the house by the most emphatic, the most powerful, the most earnest speech which perhaps he ever delivered. The crowning merit was its *earnestness*. Yet, though impassioned force and truthfulness constituted its main characteristics, it was not devoid of playful assault on his antagonists, and good-humoured railery. It was quite edifying to hear Sir Robert talk with playful scorn about “rousing the British Lion,” “True Blue,” “the Corn Law in all its integrity.” Altogether, he made “minced meat” of those who have charged him with “treason,” “apostacy,” and so forth. First, Mr. Thomas Baring, then Mr. Francis Scott, the member for Roxburghshire, who, as he had been the most furious and polemical, so his turn came among the first—Sir Robert called him Anacharsis Clootz, laughed at his assumption of the office of “Attorney General for the whole human race,” confronted his sentences with each other (and Mr. Scott's sentences cannot stand this test), and trotted him up and down the house, much to the amusement of honourable gentlemen, for some considerable time—“all in good humour,” as Sir Robert said. He certainly appeared in an admirable temper himself, but Mr. Scott, who is of a beligerent and *disputatious* nature, appeared not quite to relish the joke. Mr. Miles was the next victim to the Premier's jocularities: he had risked an assertion about the cultivation of flax in the parish of Chizzleborough, and had talked about acres being thrown out of cultivation in consequence of the removal of the protecting duty two or three years ago. Sir Robert recalled to his recollection that the duty had been really removed in the year 1824, and that so he must seek some other cause for the agricultural distress which the honourable gentleman had quoted as existing in Chizzleborough. There was something in the sound of the word Chizzleborough which seemed to give the Premier an innocent satisfaction; for he would continue to repeat the word in every possible intonation; and furthermore, a little pleasantry about Mr. Miles taking his stand upon grease. Describing the *great grease debate*, the First Lord of the Treasury provoked roars of laughter, by exclaiming “Grease you shall not touch—hence, avaunt, 'tis holy ground!” Then there was an onslaught on Mr. Colquhoun. Sir Robert playfully inquired if any hon. gentleman had laboured under the same misfortune as himself, that of having perused Mr. Colquhoun's pamphlet? He gathered from that publication that the honourable gentleman's views were favourable to Free Trade. Now he expressed himself determined to maintain protection; at another time he was for a fixed duty; then he had voted for Mr. Villiers' motion. “How,” inquired the Premier, “can one tell how to hold such a man? There is nothing like consistency in his conduct.”

All this, however, was only the “light artillery” of the speech. Sir Robert Peel had business of too weighty a nature in hand to spend much time on trifles. We, therefore, commend to the patient consideration of our readers a speech which produced an extraordinary effect on the house, as it has since done on the country. The conclusion of it, especially, is all that the most ardent Free Trader can desire; it was delivered with remarkable force; and on sitting down the First Lord of the Treasury was greeted by a burst of cheering as sincere and spontaneous as ever honoured the eloquence of a member of the legislature.

On Tuesday night, the resumption of the adjourned debate was retarded for a short time by a motion which was made by Mr. O'CONNELL, on the impending famine and disease in Ireland. The appearance of Mr. O'Connell, we regret to say, was feeble; he appeared to be labouring under general debility; and his round, full-toned voice, was subdued to an almost inaudible

whisper. He confined himself chiefly to statistical documents. Sir James Graham, in reply, described the precautions which the Government are taking, in order to mitigate the effects of the impending calamity; and after a short discussion, Mr. O'Connell withdrew his motion.

Lord John Manners then resumed the adjourned debate. This nobleman has got a little farther in conviction than his brother, the Marquis of Granby, but both are going to give their votes against the Government measure, thereby evincing the animus of the Rutland family. Lord John Manners thinks that the time has come for a settlement of the question; but wishes Parliament to be dissolved previously, so that the “constituencies” may express an opinion. Altogether it was a very strange speech. He neither feared Free Trade, nor hoped much from it; but at present he declines having it. Notwithstanding his amiable character, and his “chivalrous” feelings (though what is meant by that is not very clear) there is a misty, confused, indefinite character about the intellect of Lord John Manners, which would indicate that his politics have been imbibed under some mystic political Dr. Pusey. Whatever amiability there may be about such intellects, there is little in them either of grasp or force.

After a dashing speech from Captain Layard, member for Carlow, in favour of Free Trade, and a long prosy address against it from Mr. Robert Palmer, one of the Berkshire representatives,

Sir Charles Napier rose, and made one of those characteristic speeches, which, from their blunt style, and sailor-like manner, always provoke the merriment of the house. But the gallant commodore spoke much excellent and appropriate common sense. He told the house how he had changed his sword into a ploughshare; and had converted a worthless farm of 40 acres into a profitable one. Agricultural members laughed at his 40 acres; but the commodore told them that what was good for 40 was good for 400. The speech of Sir Charles Napier was a capital contribution to the cause of Free Trade.

Then came Mr. Shaw, Recorder of Dublin, and one of the representatives of its University. He has always been considered not merely a personal friend, but even a *toady*, of Sir Robert Peel. That he is a disappointed man is a common belief—he has long looked for a higher judicial post. He came out, on Tuesday night, with a bitter attack on Sir Robert Peel, charging him with treason, faithlessness, instability, cowardice, trickery, and all other sins against the “great party.” Then, as if to exhibit the lickspittle spirit of the man, he expressed a hope, in a whining tone, that Sir Robert Peel would still permit him to call him his “right honourable friend!”

Mr. BRIGHT came next, in a speech which was a “blister” to the “great party.” His cordial admiration of the speech of Sir Robert Peel; his taunts of the Protectionists as to their utter inability to form an administration; his appeals to fact—all told upon the House. It was certainly the most powerful speech delivered during this debate, with the single exception of the Prime Minister's.

Mr. Hudson followed Mr. Bright. Never was there a more marked failure. The self-satisfied air—the pompous indication of conscious self-importance; the vulgarity of the style of address, breaking Priscian's head in every sentence; and the ludicrously inconclusive logic, were all in keeping. The House of Commons worships rank and mammon; but the House of Commons is also an admirable school: and however shrewd the “Railway King” may be in companies, gradients, and lines, if he ventures to speak on general topics, he will assuredly find his level in the legislature.

Before the debate was resumed on Thursday night, Mr. Collett, the member for Athlone, called the attention of the house to the open, undisguised influence exercised by the “Dukes”—those of Newcastle, Marlborough, Buckingham, and Richmond—in the boroughs of Newark, Woodstock, Buckingham, and Chichester. He charged the “Dukes” with unconstitutional practices, involving a violation of the rights and privileges of the commons of England: but as he did not bring forward any specific act, merely alleging the notorious belief, it was easy for Sir Robert Peel to show that the house could not act on surmise, and so the motion was withdrawn.

Lord Duncan opened the adjourned debate in a smart speech, in which he told an amusing story of a Warwickshire grazier, who once believed, on the authority of Mr. Miles, that they were building a great ark at New Orleans, in which to carry over a swarm of cattle and pigs—thousands of them—to be landed at Bristol. Having sold his cattle at a loss, by the fear of such an importation, he was lately asked what he thought of the account given by Mr. Miles respecting Tamboff. “Ah!” said he, “I was gammoned by that gentleman afore, but I won't be gammoned again!”

Mr. Alderman Thompson followed; and the repu-

tation which he has acquired for commercial shrewdness, as well as his great wealth, caused his opinions to be watched with some anxiety. It was curious to observe how the earlier feelings of the man, who has ploughed his way from a humble to a high position, were neutralised by his later associations, in the capacity of a landlord. He admitted that he had signed the celebrated petition of the merchants of London in favour of Free Trade; but he has since become a landowner in his native county, Westmoreland, and, also, by favour of the Lonsdale interest, one of its representatives. Therefore, though many parts of Mr. Alderman Thompson's speech might have been spoken in favour of the Government measure, his conclusion was that he must oppose it.

Sir William Molesworth, who, like Lord Morpeth, has now, for the first time, had an opportunity of raising his voice in the present Parliament in support of his old opinions, made an excellent speech, which was closely and almost mathematically reasoned out, in support of Free Trade. This one speech alone, if the closeness and consecutive character of its logic were noticed and felt, would be conclusive of the whole question.

Mr. Benett, the notorious senior member for Wiltshire, made a long prosy speech, marked, however, by an audacity which caused impudence to pass for spirit, and nonsense for agricultural wisdom. He told the house that he had always treated the poor, forlorn, broken-down, starved, and crushed labourers of Wiltshire as his particular “friends!” Nay, more, he admitted that Free Trade would benefit landlords and large farmers, but he opposed it for the sake of the small farmers and the poor labourers! Every quarter of corn imported displaces twenty-five shillings worth of agricultural labour—the real English of this being, that the more means the nation possesses, the poorer it must become.

Mr. Thomas Duncombe made one of his smart speeches, in which, after hitting the agriculturists very hard about their opposition to Sir Robert Peel, he contrived to obtain agricultural cheers, when he began to hit the manufacturers, and to enforce the necessity of securing for the workmen the proposed alteration in the law of settlement, by which industrial residence for five years in a manufacturing town will give a claim to relief.

The only other speech (with the exception of minor orators) was a terrible long one from Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, one of the representatives for Devon, and father of Mr. Thomas Acland, one of the Somersetshire members. The manner of the worthy baronet was very energetic, but his matter was singularly poor; the most forcible argument he exhibited was a stick, with which he belaboured the floor of the house. But there were clear indications in his speech that he only votes against Sir Robert Peel to please his constituents, and that he will not be displeased if the Government measure is carried by a large majority.

THE CORN LAW DEBATE.

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ADJOURNED DEBATE—THURSDAY

LORD DUNCAN, in resuming the adjourned debate, said he had always been an advocate of Free Trade, and though he had not taken part in the present debate, he was not deterred by any arguments he had heard from the hon. member opposite. Heremembered the prophecies of the hon. member for Somerset (Mr. Miles) in 1842. That hon. gentleman said that New Orleans was situated in a territory spread over 460,000 square miles, and its inhabitants were prepared to pour into this country flour, corn, beasts, and pork. He (Lord Duncan) happened at that time to be in Warwickshire, and he met a gentleman, a friend of his, a great grazier in that county, riding along at a fearful rate (a laugh). He asked his friend why he rode at such a pace? “Oh, I am going to sell my beasts, for Peel and the rest of you have ruined us all (renewed laughter). Have you read,” he continued, “Mr. Miles's speech? He is the great orator that we agriculturists always believe in, and he tells us that 5,500,000 people are building a sort of ark, in which pigs, cattle, and corn are to be brought over to Bristol” (much laughter). Now, I have lately seen my agricultural friend, and have asked him, “Have you not seen what your friend Mr. Miles says of Tamboff?” “Ah,” said he, “I was gammoned before by that gentleman, and I don't mean to be gammoned again” (laughter). Now if the honourable gentleman's former prophecies were not fulfilled, he must excuse him (Lord Duncan) if he trusted more at the present time to the predictions of the right honourable gentleman at the head of the Treasury (cheers). Now, he must refer to the speech of the hon. member for Sunderland. That gentleman of iron nerves was surprised that the Government should be in such a panic. “There are only nine millions starving in Ireland,” said he, “that is nothing, I could get rid of it at once.”

MR. HUDSON said—That is not what I stated (hear, hear, from the protectionists).

LORD DUNCAN—Well, he should quote the honourable gentleman's speech. The honourable gentleman said, “he conceived the repealing of the Corn Laws had nothing to do with the calamity in Ireland (hear, hear, from Mr. Hudson). If the famine which was dreaded occurred in Ireland, he was anxious to alleviate it by public subscription.” He was the more surprised at the honourable gentleman's arguments, as he always looked upon the honourable gentleman as no friend to agriculture from the vigour with which he broke up turnpike roads, and disturbed rural solitude (hear, hear, and a laugh). But the honourable gentleman

said he recollected that 1841 was a year of extreme distress in this country, but that in 1842 the state of things was completely changed. And this was owing, he said, to the over-production of corn in this country (hear, hear, and a laugh). The honourable gentleman also told them that he himself had bought foreign corn at 25s. a quarter, though he had not specified where. If that was so, the honourable gentleman was certainly a good political economist, "for he bought in the cheapest and was resolved to sell in the dearest market" (hear, hear, and laughter). Then the honourable gentleman went on to say, "You are not to look to Sussex as a proof of the benefit of protection, where men are working for 8s. a week, but take a special train, and come with me to Yorkshire (where, by the way, the duties on cotton, wool, and silk have been of late years abolished) and I'll show you peace and plenty." This was important testimony, for he never heard a manufacturer, or a friend of manufacturers, get up in that house, and maintain that the poor were better off in their districts than in purely agricultural counties, that it was not attempted to cry him down. (Hear, hear.) All those on his side had a great respect for the name of the honourable gentleman, and they were really anxious not to see it in the provisional committee of the Great Bubble Protection Society. (Laughter.) He confessed, that as a landlord he had no objection to high rents; but he thought it most lowering to the class who received them, that they should be raised by artificial means. [The noble lord then went over the history of the different Corn Law measures, which had been repeated over and over again in this debate, and referred to the speech of Mr Robinson on the bill of 1815.] It was, in his opinion, a mean, base, and paltry principle to tax the people in their food, that the aristocracy might receive a larger sum for their produce. That aristocracy had been accustomed to lead, not to follow. He hoped they would continue to direct, but not to coerce public opinion (hear, hear). Should the natural leaders of the people hold back when the whole country was preparing for foreign competition? The landlords and tenants in that part of the country in which he was born were acting very differently from those in Somerset. They were already buckling on their armour for competition with the foreigner, and were little afraid of him as to the growth of corn, hemp, or flax. There was an exclusive burden on land, which he was surprised he had heard nothing of in that debate—he meant education. The Prussian and Scotch farmer could educate his son at a cheap rate. The English farmer had not a practical school to send him to (hear, hear). He stood there to-day to act up to the pledges which he had given on the hustings. He then said he should vote for any measure he thought beneficial to the country; and believing that the right hon. gentleman's measure was a measure intended for the benefit of trade, and of the commercial and working classes, and believing also that their interests could not be promoted without advancing those of the class to which he had the honour to belong he gave it an humble but an honest support (cheers).

Mr. Alderman THOMPSON contended that it was a delusion to maintain that wages could be maintained at their present rate if the price of food were diminished, as the advocates of the repeal of the Corn Laws maintained that it would be by that measure. Sir Robert Peel had proposed his present changes in our commercial policy, because they would improve the moral and social condition of the labouring classes; but he was convinced that if those changes injured agriculture, as he was certain that they would do, they would turn the scale of national comfort and prosperity quite the other way. If a Free Trade in corn were made the law of the land, further changes must follow, and amongst the earliest must be the abrogation of our colonial system, and the repeal of the navigation laws. For one, he could not consent to go along with such extreme measures. What statesman, even in Europe or America, had ever advocated perfect Free Trade?

Sir R. PEELE.—The merchants of London advocated it in their petition in 1820, which you signed.

Mr. Alderman THOMPSON admitted that he had signed it, but he had not been speaking of merchants, but of statesmen with enlightened minds. Mr. Webster, the most eloquent man in America, had denounced it, no longer than November last, as an impracticable scheme of commerce, which must be ruinous to all engaged in it. Replying to Sir R. Peel's question on a former night, he observed that he was not disposed either to retrograde or to stand still on the road of commercial relaxation. On the contrary, he was prepared to go forward, but not on the road on which Sir R. Peel was advancing. Instead of reducing the duty on corn, he recommended the Government to reduce the duties on tea to 6d. a lb., and to lessen materially the duties on soap and tobacco. By such a measure he would confer the greatest boon on the labouring classes. In conclusion, he expressed his regret that a sense of duty should compel him to differ on this question from the political leader whom he had hitherto followed with pride during the whole course of his political life.

Sir W. MOLESWORTH: I will not trespass upon your patience, sir, by discussing the general principles of Free Trade. I will content myself with replying to some objections which have been urged against this measure by honourable gentlemen opposite. They have repeatedly asserted that it would be injurious to the labouring classes, that Free Trade would cause low prices, and that low prices would be followed by low wages. The right honourable baronet, on the first of the session, stated his conviction that there was no connection between low prices and low wages. He has been repeatedly and violently assailed both for this opinion, and for having arrived at such a conclusion from an experience of only three years. I think, however, if it were necessary, it would be easy to confirm that position by a much wider experience. Just before the dissolution of the last Parliament, I gave notice of a motion for a committee to inquire if any connection could be traced between the amount of the wages of labour and the price of food. If I had been able to bring that motion before the house, I think I could have shown, from a series of Parliamentary returns embracing a period of more than 30 years, that there was no connection between high wages and high prices, and low wages and low prices; on the contrary, it appeared to me, from a careful examination of those returns, that generally speaking the wages of labour, especially of manufacturing and skilled labour, were higher when the price of food was low, than they were when the price of food was high. And the reason appeared to me to be this. When the price of food is low, the labouring classes, and they form the great bulk of the community, can

expend a larger portion of their earnings on the purchase of articles of clothing, dress, and other the staple manufactures of the country. Consequently, when food is cheap, there is a greater demand for those articles, and a greater trade in them. There is therefore increased activity amongst the manufacturers, increased employment for their workmen, and as a necessary consequence, the wages of labour, especially of manufacturing and skilled labour, tend to rise. On the other hand, when food is dear, as the labouring classes must first and before all things obtain the means of subsistence, they are compelled to expend a greater portion of their earnings on the purchase of food, consequently they are compelled to diminish their consumption of articles of clothing, dress, and manufacture. There is therefore a diminution in the demand for those articles, stocks of them accumulate in the hands of the dealers, trade becomes dull and stagnant, the manufacturers employ fewer workmen, and, as a necessary consequence, the wages of labour, especially of manufacturing and skilled labour, tend to fall. Thus, reason and experience show not only that there is no connection between high prices and high wages, and low prices and low wages, but that, generally speaking, the wages of labour are higher when food is cheap than when it is dear. In fact, the amount of the wages of labour depends upon the relation which exists between the supply of labour and the means of employing it. If there be no alteration in the supply of labour, wages rise or fall according as there is more or less employment for labour. Now, the means of employing labour are in proportion to the capital of a country, to the extent of its trade, commerce, manufactures, and other industrial operations of its inhabitants. But it can hardly be doubted that Free Trade would augment the commerce, manufactures, and capital of this country. It follows, therefore, that with Free Trade the means of employing labour would increase, the wages of labour would rise, and the condition of the labouring class would be improved (hear, hear). Some hon. members are apprehensive lest a large number of agricultural labourers should be thrown out of employment by a repeal of the Corn Laws. It cannot be denied that if the repeal of the Corn Laws were to produce a panic amongst the agricultural classes, that if in consequence of that panic a large quantity of land were thrown out of cultivation, there would be a diminution in the demand for labour for agricultural purposes. Now this might prove, under other circumstances than the present ones, a serious though temporary evil. Fortunately, however, if the Corn Laws were immediately repealed, there are causes at work which would fully counteract the effects of any such panic. The railroads which are now making, or about to be made, will create a great demand for that very description of labour which it is supposed the repeal of the Corn Laws would throw out of employment, and long before those railroads are completed the apprehensions of the agricultural classes would be dispelled. As far, therefore, as the agricultural labourer is concerned, it would be difficult to find a better opportunity than the present one for repealing the Corn Laws (hear, hear). Most of the honourable gentlemen who have spoken against this measure, have expressed their opinion that the repeal of the Corn Laws would chiefly affect the tenant, and not the landlord. I cannot agree with them. It appears to me that if Free Trade makes any alteration in the value of land, or of agricultural produce, the chief gainer, or the chief loser, must be the landed proprietor. The honourable gentlemen possess landed property. They have let estates. What, I ask them, does a farmer do before he offers to take an estate? Why, he considers the nature of the soil, the vicinity of the estate to markets, and the general value of agricultural produce, and, according to these particulars, he offers a greater or less rent for the estate. The landlord or his agent does precisely the same thing: he takes into account precisely the same particulars, and demands a rent accordingly. Thus a bargain is struck between landlord and tenant for a definite or indefinite number of years (hear, hear). Now, suppose any event occurs which alters the value of the estate, as, for instance, if its fertility be improved by drainage or other means, if it be rendered more accessible to markets by new roads or railways, or if the general value of agricultural produce be altered by legislative enactments, or other causes, then, at the expiration of the period for which the original bargain was made, either the landlord demands a higher rent, or the tenant offers a lower one, according to the circumstances of the case. Thus a new bargain is struck, in which the landlord generally takes good care to obtain the full value of his estate, and the tenant is equally cautious not to offer more than that value. Thus it appears to me certain that if Free Trade diminish the value of land, rents will fall; if, on the contrary, as I expect and believe, Free Trade will increase the value of land, then we shall have the pleasant task of raising our rents: in either case, it will be the landlord, not the tenant, who will ultimately lose or gain (hear). In one point of view, however, the farmer will be a gainer by a repeal of the Corn Laws; for a repeal of the Corn Laws will be a final settlement of the corn question. During the last half century there have been I know not how many Corn Laws, with the professed object of regulating the price of corn. Now I may assert, without fear of contradiction, that under each Corn Law the price of corn has been much less than was calculated upon or intended by the framers of those laws. If farmers, therefore, acted upon these expectations of higher price in their bargains, with their landlords, they must have been repeatedly and grievously disappointed. A repeal of the Corn Laws will dispel all doubt and anxiety on the subject. The farmer will soon know what he is about, and what bargain he ought to make with his landlord (hear). I must acknowledge, however, that these observations chiefly apply to those farmers who possess sufficient capital and skill to cultivate their estates in the best

manner; for only such farmers are really independent, and can make an equal bargain with their landlords. There is, however, another class of farmers, who possess little capital and less skill, the tenants of small estates, which they cultivate in the worst possible manner, many of which estates have been in the same family for successive generations; of this class of farmers the hon. gentleman the member for North Northamptonshire gave a pathetic description the other evening. He portrayed in forcible terms their impending ruin, and attributed that ruin to the Free Trade measures of the right honourable baronet. It cannot be denied that the class of farmers in question will cease to exist. In many parts of England, especially in the west, with which I am well acquainted, they work harder and fare worse than the agricultural labourer. It is a mistake, however, on the part of the honourable gentleman to attribute their present condition or future fate to Free Trade. Whether the Corn Law be repealed, or its provisions be rendered more stringent, their doom is inevitable. What is the cause of it? I answer, it is their want of capital and of skill. It has been discovered that in agriculture, as in every other branch of industry, by the combination of capital and skill, production can be carried on more cheaply and profitably than in any other manner. Of late years agriculture has ceased to be a mere empiric routine: it has become an art founded upon chemistry, vegetable physiology, and other kindred sciences. For the successful cultivation of this art, much capital and skill are required (hear, hear, hear). By these means the agricultural produce of certain portions of England has been greatly augmented, and the produce of the remainder might be equally increased. Indeed, it appears to me that some of the honourable gentlemen opposite have scarcely been guilty of exaggeration when they asserted that if the whole of England were cultivated in the best manner, we might raise an amount of food sufficient for a larger population than the present one, and at as low a price as it can be imported (hear, and cheers). But to do this, the land must be cultivated by farmers who possess sufficient capital and skill. And what, then, would be the fate of the small farmers without capital or skill? Sir, the large farmer, with abundant capital, and acquainted with the best methods of agriculture, can produce more cheaply, can afford to pay a higher rent, and at the same time can obtain a better profit than the small farmer without capital. The former can and does undersell the latter in the market. He cat and does outbid him with the landlord, and he prospers, whilst the condition of the other daily becomes worse and worse. In proportion; therefore, as agriculture improves, in proportion as more capital and more skill are required in the cultivation of the soil, the doom of the small farmers, who have neither capital nor skill, becomes more and more certain, more and more imminent (hear, hear). They are the hand-loom weavers of agriculture, and their fate is the necessary consequence of the competition between capital and skill on the one hand, poverty and ignorance on the other. We may sincerely deplore the sufferings of the individuals, but neither as individuals nor as legislators can we prevent the result (hear, hear). For in order to prevent it we should have to stop the accumulation of capital, to check the advancement of knowledge, and stem back the tide of human progress. Though most of the honourable gentlemen who have spoken from the opposite side have declared their belief that the repeal of the Corn Laws is only a farmer's question, yet I know that many who sit on that side of the house firmly believe that Free Trade will diminish the value of land, and that the landowners of England will be ruined. As an owner of land, and of no other description of property, I do not entertain any such apprehensions (hear). For some years the principles of Free Trade have evidently been gaining ground, and every year the repeal of the Corn Laws has become more and more probable; yet has the value of land decreased in this country? Certainly not. Land sells better now, and for a greater number of years' purchase than it ever did before (hear, hear). Upon what, I ask, does the value of the land of a country depend? It does not depend entirely, or even mainly, upon its fertility; for in some places a few acres of inferior soil are much more valuable, and fetch a higher price in the market than thousands of acres of the richest soil in other places (hear). The value of land depends mainly upon the wealth and numbers of the surrounding population, and upon its vicinity to good markets. Now, when I reflect on the enormous population, the vast trade, and the great wealth of this country—when I calculate the stimulus which will be given to population, the additions made to commerce and wealth, by a system of Free Trade;—when, on the other hand, I consider the narrow extent of the land of England, and the increasing demand for it which must arise from any increase of wealth and population. I laugh at the notion that the landlords of England can be permanently injured by a repeal of the Corn Laws (cheers). It is my firm belief that the value of our lands is augmenting, and will augment, and I contend that we owe that augmentation to the accumulation of the manufacturing and commercial classes (hear, hear). For example, a great revolution seems to be about to take place in our means of internal communication. If this country continue prosperous—if commerce and manufactures thrive, before long England will be covered with railroads—railways will exist between every town of any importance, and extend into every district possessing either mineral or agricultural wealth. Great Britain will become like one vast city, our remotest agricultural districts will be brought, as it were, into the vicinity of the metropolis, and a few hours will convey their productions, their corn and cattle uninjured, to the best markets of the world. To whom shall we be indebted for these railroads, which in many cases will double the value of our land? Not to the capital of the landowner, but to the accumulations of the commercial and manufacturing

classes (cheering). More than any other set of men the landowners of England are interested in fostering the commerce, augmenting the wealth, and increasing the population of this country; for, in proportion to that commerce, wealth, and population, will be the demand for our land, and in proportion to that demand will be its value in the market, and we shall be rich. Therefore, sir, if I were not actuated by noble or better motives, self-interest alone would induce me, as a landowner, to give my cordial support to the measures of the right hon. baronet (much cheering).

Mr. BENETT had never changed his opinion respecting the propriety of standing by the principle of protection, but admitted that he had moderated it with respect to the amount of protection to be afforded. He controverted the theory that cheap food would not produce cheap wages, and declared that the meetings at Goutiere and Bremhill were not meetings of agricultural labourers, but were got up, and addressed by paid emissaries of the League. He opposed the present measure for the sake of the labourer and the little farmer. He opposed it also on account of the landowner, as it would lead to a large confiscation of their property. Sir Robert Peel's bill for the resumption of cash payments had almost destroyed the landed interest. It was just beginning to recover from that wound, when Sir Robert Peel came forward with his present bill to strike it another blow almost as mortal.

Mr. HENRY BERKELEY said: I might have been unwilling to obtrude myself upon the house in this protracted debate had it not been for the very prominent position in which my honourable colleague has placed himself by moving the amendment. I find myself called upon to make some remarks on the subject, and I intend to confine myself as much as possible to the line of argument adopted by my honourable colleague. My honourable colleague has thrust himself into the front of the protectionist army. Whether he has achieved this greatness willingly, or it is greatness thrust upon him, we have no right to inquire; but there I find him pleading the cause of protection sternly and stiffly. My honourable colleague argues, "There was no special necessity for the measure." My honourable colleague observes, "Even the honourable member for Wolverhampton must be astonished at the miraculous conversion of some of his new coadjutors, who were now prepared to substitute for their own the opinions of the member for Stockport;" and my honourable colleague winds up his determined protectionist speech in these words:—"He believed that he was acting for the benefit of the country and the colonies also by advocating protection for every branch of British industry." Now, sir, the astonishment my honourable colleague evinces for the conduct of others may be somewhat abated if my honourable colleague will only take trouble to scan his own. On Monday, the 9th, my honourable colleague made the speech, from which I have quoted extracts; and on Tuesday, the 10th, having been asked by a most respectable constituent to support the prayer of a petition, signed by 18,000 of his constituents, approving of the ministerial plan, but preferring immediate abolition, my hon. colleague—ever having voted against the annual motion of my hon. friend the member for Wolverhampton—ever having been a sturdy protectionist—having on the 9th made a protection speech, thus writes on the 10th:—

"London, Feb. 10, 1846.

"Dear Sir—I received your letter this morning, and regret that I cannot give my vote in favour of the immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, as I am opposed to the measure introduced by Sir Robert Peel, when considered as a whole; but though I cannot give my vote in favour of the immediate repeal, I do not hesitate to say that I think that it would be better for all parties that the repeal should be immediate; and, entertaining this view of the question, if the motion should be made, I shall not oppose it.

"My speech of last night will, I hope, sufficiently explain to you my reasons for not being able to come round to a sudden change of opinions.

"Believe me, dear sir, yours truly,
G. Thomas, Esq. PHILIP W. S. MILES."

Now this is consistency with a vengeance (hear, hear). Why, if the honourable member for Wolverhampton be astonished at the conversion of any one, he may well be astonished at the conversion of the member for Bristol (hear, hear, hear). Has the proposition of the right honourable baronet to deal with the Corn Laws had the wonderful effect of disarming the honourable member's objection to total abolition (cheers)? But, no, he will not now oppose the instant abolition of the Corn Laws. Then, if not, why not (hear, hear)? Because the right honourable baronet has brought forward a scheme for a sort of modified abolition of the Corn Laws; can that be a pretence for the hon. member for Bristol giving up all defence for protection? and how are we to reconcile his speech of the 9th with his letter of the 10th (hear, hear, hear)? Really, when gentlemen opposite talk of inconsistency, it would be better to remove the mote from their own eye before they look after the beam in the eye of their neighbour (cheers); and I would just ask my hon. colleague if the Conservatives of Bristol are inclined to be hypercritical, whether they might not think that his determined opposition to his own political leader might savour of faction, coupled as it is with the surrender of his opinions to those of a political opponent (cheers)? I now turn to that great commercial city, which we have unitedly the honour to represent, and I tell my hon. colleague that he does not speak the opinions of the majority of the inhabitants of the city and county of Bristol (cheers), nor of the constituency, nor of that portion of the constituency which sent him to Parliament (cheers). I believe most decidedly this to be the case. The petition which I presented contains 18,000 signatures, and those the signatures of Conservatives equally with Liberals (cheers). Now, if my hon. colleague spoke more than his opinion, if he claims the weight which a member deserves who speaks the voice of a powerful constituency, where were his petitions? Not a single

one did he or could he produce (cheers). The opinions of the hon. member on this question are the opinions of a mere clique (hear, hear). Bristol has suffered too much from the principle of monopoly not to feel disgust at the very name (cheers). Monopoly has been the evil genius of the city (hear, hear). Whatever strength protectionists may have in other parts of England, it exists not in Bristol (hear, hear). I have heard loud boasts from hon. gentlemen opposite of an appeal to the people. An appeal to Bristol, I most decidedly believe, would prove that the constituency fully recognise the principles of Free Trade (cheers); and I fear my hon. friend would find that his supporters in that city would not sanction a secession on his part from her Majesty's present minister (hear, hear). In short, since my hon. colleague cannot understand the signs of the times—cannot read the writing on the wall, the people of Bristol will read it for him. They will discriminate between obstinacy and consistency; and if my hon. colleague stands still, his constituency will follow the right hon. baronet in his onward course. And why should they not feel and yield to the pressure of the times, and following the example of the two first statesmen of the age, give up foregone conclusions—abjure bygone errors—and uniting heart and hand, do that tardy justice to their country, the necessity for which has forced itself on their reason (cheers)?

Mr. JOHN TOLLEMACHE, in expressing his determination to vote against the Free Trade scheme of ministers, took occasion to declare that the Anti-Corn Law League owed all its importance to their feeble and vacillating policy.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE—Cordially concurring, as I do, in the measure before the house introduced by her Majesty's ministers, and believing as I do this measure not only to be honourable to the minister who introduced it, but that it will reflect credit on the Parliament which shall adopt it (hear, hear)—believing also, after the speech of the right hon. baronet, that by public opinion, and through the influence of public opinion alone, he can hope to overcome the difficulties in his way, notwithstanding the obloquy the bigotry and ignorance with which he is assailed (cheers)—I think that it behoves those who do not owe their seats in this house to the nomination of peers, and therefore must vote as they are directed, but who are sent by the free and independent choice of the people to vote for such measures as they can approve of—not to give a silent, lukewarm, and jealous support to it (cheers). Far be it from me, in the few observations which I shall make, to say anything which will lead hon. gentlemen opposite to believe that I am insensible to the false and painful situation in which they are placed. I can make every allowance for those gentlemen who cannot keep pace with the change of opinion with those who sit around them (hear, hear). No doubt great changes have recently taken place in opinion on the part of public men on both sides of the house, and in conformity with the advice of the right honourable baronet to the cabinet in November last. It does not become us on this side of the house to cavil or quarrel with this change of opinion; it is sufficient for an humble individual like myself to be satisfied with this change of opinion, and to the results to which it will lead, and to the ability with which it is carried out (hear, hear, hear). But those honourable gentlemen for whom I have expressed some sympathy do not understand the change which has taken place in the opinions of those who sit with them, and they certainly do not take a wise or the right course to extricate themselves from the false position in which they are placed (hear, hear, hear). They make every kind of attack on the right honourable gentleman and his colleagues, and then conclude with some hypocritical and canting observation. They said that they were sure that the right honourable gentleman and his colleagues had acted upon the most honourable and the purest motives, but that still they had no confidence in them (hear, hear, and laughter). The learned Recorder of Dublin went further than any other gentleman in this respect. What did he call the ministers of the Crown with whom he was in the habit of associating? Why he called them political cowards (hear, hear). After praising the right honourable baronet and the other ministers with whom he was in the habit of associating, and stating that they were constrained to pursue the course which they did from a sense of public duty, the learned gentleman turned round, and said that he had no confidence in such political cowardice (hear, hear). If this was the case, why not at once come forward and move a vote of want of confidence in the Government (loud cheers). Why not at once come forward with a vote of censure on the Treasury bench (hear, hear). Such a course would be mainly intelligible, and parliamentary (hear, hear). I say that it would be a parliamentary course, because you in 1841 then proposed a vote of want of confidence in the then government, and why did you vote it? It was then proposed to introduce some measure like the present concerning the commercial interests of the country (hear). What was the nature of the amendment that you then proposed? That a Government which proposed to legislate on the commerce or the revenues of the country should possess the confidence of that house—"We assure your Majesty that we are deeply sensible of the importance of those considerations to which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct our attention in reference to the commerce and revenue of the country, and to the laws which regulate the trade in corn. That in deciding the course which it may be advisable to pursue with reference to such matters, it will be our earnest desire to consult the interest, and promote the welfare of all classes of her Majesty's subjects. That we feel it to be our duty humbly to submit to your Majesty that it is essential to the satisfactory results of our deliberations upon these and other matters of public concern, that your Majesty's Government should possess the confidence of this house and of the country; and respectfully to represent to your Majesty that that confidence is not reposed in the present advisers of your Majesty." (hear, hear, hear). That was your opinion in 1841, and was a mainly, intelligible, and parliamentary course (hear, hear). You now say that the Government opposite has not the confidence of the country and of the house—why not, then, move a similar resolution now (cheers)?

Sir JOHN TYRELL: Will you give it your support (hear, hear, and laughter)?

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE: How do you know which way I shall vote (great laughter)? Why not try this honest proceeding, and bring the matter to a test?

Sir JOHN TYRELL: Will your party vote for it?

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE: I am of no party, but the party of my

country; and I only vote for those matters which I believe to be favourable to my country (hear, hear). Gentlemen would do better by acting thus, than heaping all sorts of obloquy on the Government, and bringing charges of treason (hear, hear). Treason against whom (hear, hear)? What was the right hon. baronet to do in the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed in November last? What had he told them? They had been told by the right hon. baronet in the explanation which he made, and which was so satisfactory to the country and honourable to himself (cheers), of the conduct which he pursued on that occasion (hear, hear). He resigned office; were you prepared to take it (loud cheers)? Mr. Gladstone, in his address to the electors of Newark, said that those who were against any relaxation of protection were not prepared to take office (hear, hear). The noble lord had an opportunity of taking office, but he did not succeed in forming an administration. You wanted confidence, the Whigs wanted concord (hear, hear). You must admit that the country must be governed, and for that purpose there must be a Government. There must be some Government, and how was this to be but by the course taken by the right hon. baronet, who, as was stated elsewhere, was determined, if he stood alone, that her Majesty should have the opportunity of meeting that Parliament with a confidential and responsible adviser (hear, hear, hear). I wish that the noble lord had done the same (hear, hear), and if he had only ten more to follow him, I am sure that public opinion would have supported him as it does the right hon. baronet (hear). As for the charge of treason brought against the right hon. baronet, was it treason to Her Majesty, treason to the people, or treason to his own honour (hear, hear)? If there was treason, it must be towards somebody. That would, indeed, have been treason if the right hon. baronet had forfeited and sacrificed the interests of a great nation to the interests of a party (cheers). There are treasons of which the right hon. baronet can be guilty. It would be treason to the people and the country if the right hon. gentleman is guilty of vacillation in the course which he has marked out for himself (hear). This is the only description of treason which I can understand. But we were told that the people are with you. Has there been any public exhibition which will show that this is the case (hear, hear)? Look, however on the opposite side (hear, hear). Was the election in the West Riding of Yorkshire nothing (hear, hear)? Was the Westminster election yesterday nothing (hear, hear, from the protectionists)? Where was your protection at Westminster yesterday (cheers from the same quarter)? Why was not a protection candidate brought forward at Westminster yesterday (cheers)? For myself, I do not think it was very material which of the two gentlemen was chosen yesterday; but why, I ask, when you tell me that public opinion is in favour of protection, did you not bring forward a protection candidate for Westminster (hear, hear)? Why not hoist in this city the flag of protection (hear, hear)? Your candidate might have stood up to his knees in the fetid cabbage of Corn Law proprietors (laughter and cheers). No doubt we may be told to look to the opinion of tenants-at-will and other farmers, and the hon. baronet the member for the University of Oxford said, the other evening, that the clergy and the church stood alarmed at the effect that a repeal of the Corn Laws would have upon the operation of the Tithe Commutation Act. But he did not tell us why (hear, hear, hear). It so happened, that whenever anything is brought forward for the good of the people, some one is sure to stand up and exclaim, "Oh! you do not recollect the clergy" (laughter). Whenever we hear any talk of the church or the clergy, it is sure to be in some way or other connected with tithes. This is not a measure for the church—for, as I understand it, the church means religion (laughter). It should be remembered also that at least one-third of the tithes at this moment belong to lay improvers, and this measure must as much affect them as the tithes of the clergy. My own opinion is, that the tenant farmers do not care one pin about protection, and if the vote by ballot existed, they would not support it; but, as it is, they dare not vote against their landlords. With respect to this, however, they had an authority on the subject, whose opinion I will read, for the satisfaction of the honourable member for the University of Oxford, which I trust will allay some of the alarm he feels. I say I am sure the authority to which I am about to refer is one to which the honourable baronet will pay great deference—it is the charge of a bishop to his clergy—namely, the charge of the Bishop of Rochester. If I understood the honourable baronet rightly the other night, he said that in passing the Tithe Commutation Act, we entered into a compact with the church, and that therefore tithes ought not to be injured, or prejudiced, or deteriorated, but that this act for the repeal of the Corn Laws would deteriorate them. The honourable baronet said that he opposed the Tithe Commutation Act at the time it was introduced. Now, I have more than once joined the honourable member in opposing bills in this house; but it so happened that we always did so on very different grounds (a laugh). For instance, we both opposed the Maynooth Bill last year. The hon. baronet did so on high-church principles; whereas I opposed it, as I was opposed to all state endowments of religion (hear, and laughter). The honourable baronet opposed the Tithe Commutation Act on some ground connected with the church; but I opposed it because I thought that it would prove injurious to the landed interest, and more especially if there was a repeal of the Corn Law, for I felt sure that when the Corn Laws were repealed, certain light lands must be thrown out of cultivation, and that under the Tithe Commutation Act they would still remain chargeable with the payment. I also objected to it because it gave tithes a stronger claim on the land than they ever had before. Previously to this act, tithes were not a direct lien on the land, but now they are made a positive rent-charge. Now, this is the opinion of the Bishop of Rochester on the subject:—"Taking into account the state of political parties in the country, the Tithe Bill may be considered to be as favourable an arrangement towards the clergy of a very difficult question as could have been expected. Happily for the church, a powerful and influential body of the laity were also holders of tithe property to a very large amount, and were as much interested in a fair settlement of the question as we were; the clergy therefore, in this instance, have experienced a greater degree of justice than has been extended towards them in the discussion of other subjects connected with their temporal affairs." For a person in Parliament to impute motives would be irregular; but here we have a bishop who charges parties legislating on this subject with being influenced by feelings of self-interest, and that they never would have acted in the way they did but for these circumstances. If I had said anything of this kind it would have been called a Radical opinion; but coming from a right reverend prelate it is no doubt right and orthodox (a laugh). The right reverend

prelate went on to say, "The criterions which have been fixed upon to determine the future value of the tithes is also considered by some persons, whose opinions are entitled to great weight, as a dangerous and delusive arrangement, which will hereafter lead to great diminution in the property of the church, and it is said that any considerable decrease in the value or quantity of the articles which may have been fixed upon to regulate the future relative value of the tithes would produce the evils here anticipated; but it must be remembered, that as the incomes of the clergy were derived under the old system from the articles of produce, they would equally have been affected by, under any circumstances, a diminution in their quantity or value. I am not therefore disposed to think that any just cause for alarm exists on this point." I think this must be satisfactory. The extracts I have read are in a charge of the Bishop of Rochester, delivered in 1837, and reported in the *Times* of that year. Unless the honourable baronet is prepared to prove that the sliding scale has the same divine origin as tithes, they cannot be affected by a repeal of the Corn Laws. I can easily understand the right honourable baronet opposite despairing and desponding of making any impression on the reasons of honourable members on his side of the house, and that consequently he appealed to their fears; but I do think that when he did so appeal to their fears, they ought to do justice to this side of the house. They ought to recollect that, in 1842, when those dreadful occurrences took place—when such great distress existed—and when there was every appearance of disturbance and confusion—that previous to those events continual motions were made in this house by honourable members sitting on this side of the house—motions involving exactly the same principles that are now put forward by her Majesty's ministers. We told these ministers, over and over again, that "if you would but give effect to those sound principles of commercial policy with which you began this session, and more especially as regards the food of the people, you will put an end to all the distresses under which the people are suffering." In the end of July, in that year, I moved an address to the Crown, founded on arguments the particulars of which I will not now trouble the house with, and which motion was, after all, negatived by but a small majority, considering the force of the party at the time by which I was opposed. The object of the address which I suggested was, "that the distress in the manufacturing districts, to which her Majesty had alluded in the speech from the Throne, still continued; and that if after the termination of the session no decisive improvement should take place in the condition of the people, her Majesty might be graciously pleased again at an early period to call Parliament together, with a view of giving fuller effect to those sound principles of commerce to which some approach had been made by her Majesty's Government in the early part of the session, and which, if fairly and impartially carried out, more especially as regards the food of the people, would, by giving an impulse to trade and industry, avert those calamities with which the country was threatened." That motion was rejected; but we are now told that the measures to which I then alluded are the very measures that could remove distress and confusion. We have therefore a right to say that the same measures would have prevented them on that occasion, and would have relieved the right honourable baronet from the painful necessity under which he found himself, but in which he seemed to glory, of sending down regiments of guards and a park of artillery among the starving operatives in the manufacturing districts (hear, hear). If the right honourable baronet had sent down this measure which he has now brought forward on that occasion, there would have been no necessity for his guards and his artillery, and peace would have been restored without them (hear, hear, and cheers). I believe that if he had taken this course, it is impossible to estimate the extent of misery that then might have been prevented, the suffering that then might have been spared, and the crimes that then might have been avoided. Sir, whoever governs this country, whoever are the rulers of this empire, it should not be forgotten that they rule over a loyal, a peaceable, and an honest people (hear, hear)—and I will add, too, a forgiving people (hear, hear, and loud cheers). Yes, they are a forgiving people, and they already forgive and forget the errors that you then perpetrated; and all that you can now do is to pass these measures as quickly as you can, and as honestly and sincerely as you can, and not leave the people for a moment to regret or look back to the days to which I allude (hear, hear). A question was put to the right honourable baronet this evening by the honourable member for Norfolk, and a question has been also put to him by the noble lord opposite, with regard to the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. The right hon. baronet has told them, that if it should be the wish of gentlemen here and protectionists elsewhere, that the total repeal of the Corn Laws should be immediate, why, that he and this house will be but too happy to accommodate them. But there is another part of this measure to which I beg leave to call attention, in answer to the question put by the honourable member for Norfolk. When this measure was first proposed to us, we were told to take it as a whole (hear, hear). Now, let me tell you that the part of this measure that after all is, and will be most valuable to the operative classes, is that which makes the great, the important changes in the law of settlement; and I say this, if you strike out that part of the measure; if you do not pledge yourselves to that portion of the measure, as you do to the part relating to the Corn Law, your whole measure will become valueless in the eyes of the operatives in the manufacturing districts (hear, hear). The right hon. baronet says, that he does not wish to press that part of the question until the Corn Law part—the portion referring to the relaxation of duty in the articles of provision and of clothing—is completed and concluded in this house. But if there be an idea going abroad, as I am informed there is, though I hope it may not prove true, that in some of these great manufacturing towns a great and powerful opposition is intended against that portion of the measure of her Majesty's ministers; if the language that is used in those towns be this—"Let us get the Corn Law part of the question settled (loud cries of hear, hear, from the protectionist benches), and then we will deal with the law of settlement (hear, hear, hear); I say again, if you permit that course to be adopted and to succeed, there will be an agitation got up against this measure throughout the country that will render it completely valueless; and I therefore call upon her Majesty's ministers to give us an assurance that they do consider the proposed change in the law of settlement as an essential part and parcel of their measure (hear, hear). What is the benefit intended? It is to give a settlement to parties having an industrial residence in the towns for five years, and to make this have a retrospective effect.

Sir R. PEELE.—That an industrial residence for five years shall give them a right to relief.

Mr. DUNCOMBE.—I mean that it shall give them a right to relief; that is to say, that these towns shall be saddled with the expense of that relief (hear). Now, suppose you had had a law of that sort in operation in 1842, do you suppose there would be half the crime—do you suppose there would be half the misery—do you suppose there would be half the distress, or half the suffering which was then witnessed in the country? Why, it is notorious that in Stockport alone there were 3000 houses vacant and empty in that year 1842. These had been inhabited by persons paying half a crown a week rent, or some trifle of that sort. But what became of these unfortunate people? They were sent travelling over half the country (hear, hear). Great numbers of them were Irishmen, and were sent back to Ireland with their families, with the greatest cruelty—with the utmost inhumanity—by those capitalists for whom they had worked for years (hear, hear). I understand there are at this moment two-thirds of the operative population of the town of Manchester, who are not entitled to relief from those persons whose fortunes they had made; and what is the result? You send those people with their families back to their country parishes. When they arrive there what happens to them? Why, they are disowned by the parish, and a small sum is offered to them to go away again elsewhere, and then they are left tramping over the country, nobody owning them, society seeming in fact to be conspiring to starve them; and who can be astonished if under such a system these persons should commit crimes? Can you be astonished if there should be discontent, or disaffection if you wish, or sedition if you think proper to call it so (hear, hear)? I say, if you look to these facts, if you consider that poor persons after many years of labour in the manufacturing districts have been sent abroad with their families starving, and tramping through the country without having any hope or chance of their misery being put an end to, save by death or the hulks—if these unfortunate victims of this detestable system are thus made to suffer, then I do hope that her Majesty's Ministers will think the change of the law of settlement as being also a most important measure. I do not ask it as a matter of compensation to the agriculturists (hear). It will be a boon, it is true, to them; but it will be also a great act of justice to the unfortunate people who are made to suffer from the existing law. Though all opposition to this question may now be in abeyance, that is no reason why you should not look after it with great care, and with a jealous eye (hear, hear). I believe, however, that her Majesty's Ministers are sincere, and are determined to carry this great and important measure (hear, hear, from Sir R. Peel), which can only be objected to by some of the great capitalists of the country. It is, I say, with these views and expectations that I give my cordial support, both in and out of this house, to the measure of her Majesty's Government—believing that it is a measure calculated not only to extend commerce and manufactures, but that it is calculated to promote the interests of agriculture, to relieve the resources of the empire, and to advance the condition of the people; and, above all things, to enlist in favour of our common country the goodwill, the friendly feelings, and the respect of the civilised world (hear, hear). But as to that portion of this house, commonly called the agricultural interest, I really do believe that as soon as the protection shall have been removed, which is now so unworthy of them, and so degrading to their party—that as soon as these days of protection shall have passed away, they shall be themselves the very first to acknowledge that their apprehensions had been unfounded; and that when they see trade flourishing—when they see the people in the provinces in good and constant employment—when they see prices fixed and rates reduced—when they see that, notwithstanding all their fears, the value of their estates has not really been diminished—when they see all this, they will, I am convinced, be the very first to acknowledge that their alarms had been unfounded, and to regret the errors in which they had so long and so pertinaciously continued (loud cheers).

Sir T. ACLAND rose, with great warmth, to defend the agricultural interest against the charge of ignorance and bigotry which the last speaker had preferred against it. He had never been a friend to extreme protection. He had welcomed Sir R. Peel's measure of 1842. But the reasons which Sir Robert Peel now advanced in support of the sweeping change and the further reduction which he now proposed, were by no means satisfactory to his mind. Eloquent in language, no doubt they were, and of great excellence in debate; but convincing they certainly were not. Sir Robert Peel seemed to use every effort to put his opponents in the wrong; but took very little pains to place himself in the right (hear, hear). It was a most unjust imputation on the agricultural interest to assert that it upheld the Corn Laws because they starved the labourer for the benefit of the landlord. Believing that the existing Corn Law had worked well for the landlord, the farmer, the labourer, the manufacturer, and the exporter, he could not accept the measure which Sir Robert Peel now offered to him; for he could not in three weeks learn to read backwards the lesson which Sir R. Peel and he had learned in the same school for 50 years. He believed that the League was at the bottom of all this change; but a greater agitation even than that which the League had raised, might have been put down by ministers firm and resolute, though it could not be met by ministers who, in heart and in spirit, by some process or other, had secretly arrived, at the same conclusions with the League itself. In conclusion he informed Sir R. Peel that he would not join in any factious opposition to his government. He would not even worry his measure. If parliament should pass this measure, and the crown should sanction it, Sir Robert need expect no further trouble from him; but if the division should be close on the present debate, then Sir Robert would not be able to carry his measure, and the sooner he dissolved the present parliament the better.

Lord A. PAGET had listened with a good deal of attention to the debate as it had gone on, and he confessed he thought that a good many gentlemen had been rather hard upon the right hon. gentleman. He was convinced that nothing but a sense of public duty could have induced that right hon. baronet to have brought forward the present measure. He had been at the head of a large and united party; now, whether he went east, west, north, or south, nothing but the renegade minister was talked about (cheers). He thought that the right honourable baronet was one of the greatest instances of sacrifices of self that had ever been made from conscientious motives (hear). He quite agreed that the noble lord (the member for London) would have been the proper person to have brought forward this motion. He had had the honour of supporting the noble lord since he had been in Parliament, and he hoped that he should long

have that pleasure—his undoubted bravery and manly straightforward conduct entitled him to their highest regard (hear, and cheers). He (Lord A. Paget) should give the right honourable gentleman's measure his most cordial support (hear). He had belonged for several years to that forlorn hope which went out annually with his honourable friend the member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Villiers); but now he was glad to say that their position was altered (cheers). He had always agreed that no law could regulate the price of wages; admitting that axiom, he said also that no law could regulate the price of food. The Corn Laws were near their end. His family derived their income from corn, and he knew that the head of it apprehended no danger from the repeal of the law; therefore, though he should support the measure of the right hon. baronet, yet he must hope that it would not be long ere they should have an immediate repeal of the Corn Laws (cheers).

Mr. W. B. BARING, in a voice scarcely audible amidst the noise occasioned by members retiring, next addressed the house. We understood him to say that protection had been granted to the British farmer when, from a variety of circumstances, he would otherwise have been utterly unable to have competed with the foreigner. Now, however, things had changed. Tithes had been commuted, cultivation had been improved; the farmers admitted themselves that they could make the soil produce double what used to be an average. These, and other things combined had enabled the farmer to compete with the foreigner without protection, and for that reason he thought that protection might be dispensed with. This was an appeal to the justice of the landed interest. To be satisfactory the measure must be unanimous; and he trusted the landowners would not, as judges in their own cause, give a verdict in their own favour (cheers).

On the motion of Mr. CUMMING BRUCE the debate was adjourned.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

SIR,—As the writer of the "Shoemaker," in Knight's series of Industrial Guides, and editor of the "Cordwainer's Companion," a correspondent, in the person of a master boot and shoe maker, in an important provincial town, has sent to me to say, that he has just purchased the first named little volume in consequence of a paragraph in *THE LEAGUE*, of Jan. 31st, concerning the foreign and home boot and shoe trade; but that he has been much dissatisfied in not finding any mention therein of the matter he was led to expect, and upon which he was desirous of obtaining information. The passage in your Journal is this one, and which I thus transcribe for the purpose of clearer understanding the few observations I would wish to add:

"In the case of the bootmakers, to which Sir Robert has alluded, protection has acted as a check and discouragement to ingenuity and economy. The author of the 'Shoemaker,' in Knight's Industrial Series, has stated that the reliance of the London bootmakers on protection has induced them to neglect several improvements adopted by their brethren in Paris, which save material and induce a better fit."

Now, although it might be inferred that the reasons for the statement here made were to be found in the "Shoemaker," still it is not so, but in a pamphlet I had printed about eight years ago, and hence several years prior to the first great change in our commercial system of 1842. This pamphlet was also written before the "Shoemaker" was published by Mr. Knight, but may still be had of Mr. Strange, in Paternoster-row, or, through him, from any other bookseller—the title of it being, "The Boot and Shoe Trade in France, as it affects the interests of the British Manufacturer in the same Business." It is true, however, that in this production, I argued that "protection" had in some degree—to use your own words—"acted as a check and discouragement to ingenuity and economy," though the main scope of my proofs on this head were more exclusively directed to the inferiority of our dressed calf leather, as used for the upper parts of boots and shoes, than to the artistic abilities of the maker of the boot or shoe. Yet even here I likewise urged the necessity for improvement; and also stated the case as strongly as I could against the fondly-lingering belief of the great majority of the trade, that the then heavy scale of "protection" might be still rendered more heavy, and that the Government ought to be memorialised to do so.

This, then, was one of the statements advanced by the "author of the 'Shoemaker,'" and although at the time—and as I still am to a certain degree—even vituperated in the foulest manner for the "cut-throat," as it has been called, cast of such advice, yet have I now, withal, the satisfaction to say, that since the eight years this pamphlet has been placed before my fellow-tradesmen, the British boot and shoe manufacture has not at any rate been retrograding; but on the contrary, has advanced so considerably in taste, and in every other way, and in all places alike throughout the United Kingdom, that the French boot and shoe—ladies' or gentlemen's—are no longer considered the superior articles they were some ten or twelve years ago, or even down to the time of the last change in the tariff. That change produced a greater abundance of the so-much-needed better dressed leather of our neighbours; and although the price of this material was still high—and has still kept high, and will, no doubt, still longer keep so, through the greater demand which the present proposed alterations will further induce, yet, in the words of my pamphlet, allow every portion of our industrial population but to live as "cheap as the people of other countries" in having cheap bread and cheap taxation, and then, nor shoemaker, nor currier, nor Spitalfield's weaver, will care what customs' impost is taken off, assured—as I feel it will be with the shoemaker—that he doffs not his "hand-leather" to his fellow-craftsmen of any country. In old times—to use a familiar technical phrase of our "order"—we were all "dons," veritable "prize" workers,—men who made it their dearest ambition—to be very "goods off-leather;" and with a big loaf, cheap house rent, and cheap everything else, not forgetting a cheap and broadly-expanded voice as our own due share in the choice of the "People's Parliament," we will courageously go on, sewing and singing, happy as Charles Wesley's inimitable cobbler; or reading, and learning languages, and authorising as "Cooper the Chartist," who was once, also, a member of the "gentle craft."—Yours, &c.

London, Feb. 9.

JAMES DEVLIN.

Sir George Hayter, who met with an accident at Penhurst in July last, has had a compensation paid by the railway directors of 20,000*l.*—*Globe*

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N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from
 Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on
 Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the
 LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding,
 but are included in the list of the week following.

As the regulations of the Post Office require that
 the Christian Name of the party to whom Post
 Office Orders are sent should be given in full, sub-
 scribers are respectfully requested to procure their
 Orders in future for **GEORGE WILSON, League**
Offices, Manchester, or ABRAHAM WALTER PAULTON,
67, Fleet-street, London.

	£	s.	d.
*Thomasson, Thomas, Bolton ..	200	0	0
*Ashton, Thomas, Hyde and Manchester ..	200	0	0
*Mellor, James, 7, Water-st, Liverpool ..	100	0	0
*Challinor, Edward, Oak-st, do ..	40	0	0
*Seville, P and E, Lees, near Oldham ..	40	0	0
*Potter, Edward, and Co, Mosley st, Manchester ..	20	0	0
*Alcock, John and Samuel, do ..	20	0	0
*Bottomley, James and Joseph, Rochdale ..	10	0	0
*Hoyland, Wm F, Manchester ..	10	0	0
*Bancroft, I and I, Ashton-under Lyne ..	10	0	0
Hodgkinson, Jas, Patricroft Colliery, nr Manchest ..	4	0	0
Kirkham, John, Port st, do ..	4	0	0
*Bulcock and Sons, Clitheroe ..	3	3	0
Mercers and Anderson, do ..	3	3	0
*Thwaite, John, Blackburn ..	3	0	0
Robb, Wm, 4, Cleveland Buildings, Market-street ..	2	2	0
Manchester ..	2	2	0
*Christy, David, Edale, Castleton, Derbyshire ..	2	0	0
*West, Edward, Warrington ..	2	0	0
*Forrest, Thomas, Blackburn ..	2	0	0
*Cockshoot, Joseph, Stevenson's-sq, Manchester ..	2	0	0
Stavey, Robt Geo, 98, Gt Ancoats-st, do ..	2	0	0
Nerr, Hy Wm, Store-st, do ..	2	0	0
Jones, John, 8, Swann-st, do ..	2	0	0
B C, do ..	2	0	0
Thorniley, Isaac, Booth-st, do ..	2	0	0
*Patrick, I T, Leominster, Herefordshire ..	1	5	0
Wilkinson, Thomas, Blackburn ..	1	1	0
*W C, Manchester ..	1	1	0
*Jackson, George, at Mr. Dells, Tanner's Lane, ..	1	1	0
Pendleton, do ..	1	1	0
Storey and Donaldson, Little Peter-st, do ..	1	1	0
*Sisson, Wm, per E Brady, Linneus-st, Hull ..	1	0	0
*Martin, Wm, 104, Virginia-place, Glasgow ..	1	0	0
*Butterworth, Joseph, Cleckheaton, near Leeds ..	1	0	0
*Green, Wm, innkeeper, Deansgate, Bolton ..	1	0	0
*Howarth, Dr T, Wood-st, Bolton ..	1	0	0
*Lever, H, Johnson-st, do ..	1	0	0
*Spetch, T, 5, Ebor-st, Salford ..	1	0	0
*Lewis, Mr, Bogillie near Kirkcaldy, N.B. ..	1	0	0
*Gray, Andrew, Dysart, near do ..	1	0	0
*Smith, George, Hope Hill, Stockport ..	1	0	0
*Dewhurst, G, Queen-st, Blackburn ..	1	0	0
*Durham, Jno, Shorrook Fold, do ..	1	0	0
*Shorrocks, J, 44, Gt, Bridgewater-st, Manchester ..	1	0	0
Hadfield, W, 44, do ..	1	0	0
Brindle, John, N, Brindle-st, C on M, do ..	1	0	0
Wainwright, C, Old Garratt ..	1	0	0
*Norbury, F, 43, Sidney-st ..	1	0	0
Turner, W H, 106, Newcastle-st ..	1	0	0
Maack, J, 59, Higher Temple-st ..	1	0	0
Worthington, T, 51, Welcomb-st, Hulme, do ..	1	0	0
Stirling, T, 18, Ardwick-green ..	1	0	0
A Friend per W. Gray, Stephenson's-sq ..	1	0	0
A Friend ..	1	0	0
Satcliffe, G, 4, Thomas-st ..	1	0	0
Ta. lor, W H, Stead-lane, near ..	1	0	0
Sherlock, J, 82, Shudehill, do ..	1	0	0
Taylor, W, 86, Great Ancoats-st ..	1	0	0
Taylor, C, 64, Oldham-st ..	1	0	0
*Ireland, J, 10, Clarendon-place, C on M, do ..	1	0	0
Moore, T, Great Ancoats-st ..	1	0	0
Platt, John, 96, do ..	1	0	0
Gresty, J, Welcomb-st, Hulme, do ..	1	0	0
Carlyle, W, 19, Duke-st do ..	1	0	0
Roberts, T, 80, Streifford New-road, do ..	1	0	0
Birch, W, 3, Byron-place ..	1	0	0
Dow, H T, 37, Thomas-st ..	0	10	0
Jolley, T, 12, Great Mount-st ..	0	10	0
Cooper, John, 21, Young-st ..	0	5	0
A Friend, per Mr Kearsley, Manchester ..	0	5	0
Clegg, W, 50, Great Ancoats-st ..	0	4	0
Critchley, J, jun, 196, Great Jackson-st, do ..	0	2	6
Smith, James, Duke-st ..	0	2	6

Liverpool.

*Holt, George and Co, India Buildings ..	40	0	0
*Wood, Wm, 1, Harrington-street ..	5	0	0
*Jones, Robert, and Sons, 2, Castles-st ..	5	0	0
*Mondell, Joseph, 18, Nelson-st ..	5	0	0
*Hollins, Francis, Oldhall-st ..	4	0	0
*Pownall, John, do ..	2	0	0
*Horn, Francis, Sir Thomas's-buildings ..	1	1	0
*Horsfall, John, 6, Brownlow Hill ..	1	0	0
*Moyle, Miss Sarah, 18, Nelson-st ..	1	0	0
*Fowler, Benjamin, 34, Concert-st ..	1	0	0
Laurie, John, 4, St Jude's-ter, Low Hill ..	1	0	0
*Levi, Leone, India-buildings ..	1	0	0
Harrison, Joseph, 5, Manchester-st ..	0	8	6
Langdon, Andrew, 50, Up Parliament-st ..	0	8	0
Emmerson, Wm, 40, South Castle-st ..	0	6	8
*Lloyd, S W, 128, Park-lane ..	0	4	0
Lambton, H B, 59, Up Parliament-st ..	0	4	0
*Marie, Chorley ..	0	4	0

*Richardson, Brothers, 105, West Bow ..	60	0	0
*Stone, Geo, sen, Dalmore ..	50	0	0
*Annandale, A, Polton, near ..	20	0	0
*Grieve, Robert, Noble Hall ..	20	0	0
*Jamieson, J, 18, Rutland-square ..	20	0	0
*Somerville, Wm, sen, Dalmore ..	20	0	0
*Somerville, Wm, jun, do ..	20	0	0
*MacLaren, D, 12, Frederick-st ..	20	0	0
*Mackenzie, Sir Geo, Bt, Coul ..	20	0	0
*Cowan, James, 17, Princes-street ..	20	0	0
*Howison, J & W, 2, Drummond-st ..	10	0	0
*Laidlaw, R and Son, Simon square ..	10	0	0
*Murray, Wm, 9, Gt Stuart-st ..	10	0	0
*Milne, Messrs Jas and Son, 81, High-st ..	10	0	0
*Ross, A, 19, Inverleith Row ..	10	0	0
*Redpath, Messrs Brown, and Co, 33, ..	10	0	0
Candle Maker Row ..	10	0	0
*Wigham, John, jun, 10, Salisbury Road ..	10	0	0
*McCallum, G, 42, India-street ..	10	0	0
*McMurray, Wm, Stead's-place, Leith ..	10	0	0
Walk, near ..	10	0	0
*Chambers, Wm, 13, Manor-place ..	10	0	0
*Dick, Wm, Clyde street ..	10	0	0
*Dunlop, Wm, 11, Wemyss Place ..	10	0	0
*Girle, G H, 125, High-street ..	6	0	0
*MacLaren, C, 15, Northumberland-street ..	6	0	0
*Nelson, Mr ..	5	0	0
*S B ..	5	0	0
*Boag, Messrs J & P, 3, Waterloo-place ..	5	0	0
*Black, A & C, 27, North Bridge ..	5	0	0
*Adie, Alex, and Son, 50, Princes-st ..	5	0	0
*Dryburgh, And, 14, Regent Terrace ..	5	0	0
*Gray, John, 3, Craigie Terrace ..	5	0	0
*Hope, G, Fenton Barns ..	5	0	0
*Hunter, Robt, 67, Northumberland-street ..	5	0	0
*Leishman, J, Corstorphine House ..	5	0	0
*Mill, T, 7, Frederick-st ..	5	0	0
*Ritchie, Baillie, 48, George's-square ..	5	0	0
*Veitch, John, Woodside, No. 12, Cas- ..	5	0	0
sel's-place, Leith-walk ..	5	0	0
*Wigham, John Tertius, 52, Nicholson-st ..	5	0	0
*Wemyss, William, Salisbury-road ..	5	0	0
*Mac Intosh, J, 9, Graham-street ..	5	0	0
*Cunningham, J, Bonnington, near ..	5	0	0
*Dunlop, J, 7, Randolph-cliff ..	5	0	0
*Mac Farlane, Mrs, and Drummond, Mrs, ..	4	0	0
16, Shadwick-place ..	4	0	0
Thomson, Archibald, 255, High-st ..	4	0	0
*Dunlop, Alex, advocate, 38, Melville-st ..	4	0	0
*Kennington, Messrs and Jenner, 47, ..	4	0	0
Princes-st ..	4	0	0
*Thomson, Alex, 93, West Bow ..	4	0	0
*Mac Murray, J, Stead's-place, Leith-walk ..	4	0	0
*Mc Callum, G, 42, India-st ..	4	0	0
*Johnston, Messrs, Pringle, and Son, ..	3	3	0
Dalkeith, near ..	3	3	0
*Oliphant, Charles, 10, Inverleith-place ..	3	0	0
*James, T, 495, Lawn Market ..	2	10	0
*Allan, Messrs, T and Son, printers, 265, ..	2	2	0
High-st ..	2	2	0
*Brown, Dr, M.D., 5, Albany-street ..	2	2	0
*Bertram, W, 11, Sciennes-street ..	2	2	0
*Drummond Messrs, George, and Son, ..	2	2	0
6, Scotland-street ..	2	2	0
*Hay, Alex, 28, Greenside ..	2	2	0
*Ker, Messrs and Son, St Leonard's ..	2	2	0
House ..	2	2	0
*Lorimer, G, 2, Keir-st ..	2	2	0
*Mould Messrs, and Todd, 29, N Bridge ..	2	2	0
*Miller, T, 1, Bread-st ..	2	2	0
*Mc Leay, K, 30, Stafford-st ..	2	2	0
*Mc Kenzie, Thomas, 24, Heriot-row ..	2	2	0
*Carruthers, Miss, of Holmain, 3, South ..	2	2	0
Frederick street ..	2	2	0
*Cox, Miss, 25, Rutland st ..	2	2	0
Mackintosh, John, 42, Nicholson st ..	2	0	0
*Bell, J M, advocate, 4, Forbes-st ..	2	0	0
*Dowie, Charles, 10, High-st ..	2	0	0
*Gregory, J, Canaan Lodge, near ..	2	0	0
*Gregory, Professor, 9, Inverleith place ..	2	0	0
*Johnstone, M, 4, Park-street ..	2	0	0
*Lees, J, 3, Brown-square ..	2	0	0
*Mercer, Messrs & Son, 17, Nicolson-st ..	2	0	0
*Milne, Wm, S and J K, 33, Hanover-st ..	2	0	0
*Renton, Wm, 22, Buccleugh-street ..	2	0	0
*Renton, Wm, 17, Princes-st ..	2	0	0
*Rose, Hugh, 15, Annandale-st ..	2	0	0
*Wilson, Peter, Regent Arch ..	2	0	0
*Willis, Capt, 42, Rankellor-st ..	2	0	0
*Young, Archibald, 7, Annandale-st ..	2	0	0
*Smith, George, 30, Niddry-st ..	2	0	0
*Smith, A, Palace-yard ..	2	0	0
*Tait, Wm, 107, Princes-st ..	2	0	0
*Maitland, E F, advocate, 31, Melville-st ..	2	0	0
*M'Laren, J, and Son, Roxburgh-place ..	2	0	0
*M'Intosh, Wm 29, Charlotte sq ..	2	0	0
*M'Intyre, J, Mid Calder, near ..	2	0	0
*Campbell, W B S, 13, Scotland-st ..	2	0	0
*Cox, Robert, 25, Rutland st ..	2	0	0
*Cooper, Thomas, 10, Minto-st ..	2	0	0
*Combe, A, M D, 25, Rutland-st ..	2	0	0
*Crabbie, Henry, 261, High-st ..	2	0	0
*Darling, Wm, 94, S Bridge-street ..	2	0	0
*Duncan, Baillie, 1, Heriot-row ..	2	0	0
*Duncan, Lieut-Col. 19, Carlton-terrace ..	2	0	0
*Kidd, J, 5, Arncliffe-place ..	2	0	0
*Archibald, Thos, 255, High-street ..	2	0	0
Orme, Andrew, Balern's Mill, Currie, nr ..	1	2	6
A Friend to the League ..	1	1	0
*Alexander, Rd, 18, Lyndoch-place ..	1	1	0
*Burton, J H, 20, Scotland-st ..	1	1	0
*Blain, J, N, Back Canongate ..	1	1	0
*Berry, L, 3, Greenside-row ..	1	1	0
*Bell, W, S S C, 21, Thistle-street ..	1	1	0
*Brunton, John, 2, Great Stewart-st ..	1	1	0
*Burnet, T, 35, West Register-street ..	1	1	0
*Bayne, A, 42, Broughton-street ..	1	1	0
*Burn, George, 182, High-street ..	1	1	0
*Dods, Andrew, 29, do ..	1	1	0
*Dick, Dr, Mid Calder, near ..	1	1	0
*Fortune, R, 138, Princes-st ..	1	1	0
*Graham, A, 70, Bristo-street ..	1	1	0
*Innes, J, 16, Catherine-street ..	1	1	0
*Imlach, G, 47, Ann-street ..	1	1	0
*Johnston, P ..	1	1	0
*Lillie, Joseph, 41, George-square ..	1	1	0
*Linn, H, 39, St. Leonard st ..	1	1	0
*Lees, G, Clearbourne, near ..	1	1	0

*Wright, W, 65, North Bridge-st ..	1	1	0
*Wemyss, A, 20, James-square ..	1	1	0
*Watherstone, J, 22, Rutland-square ..	1	1	0
*Wells, W, & Co, 41, North-bridge ..	1	1	0
*Young, A, 79, Princes-street ..	1	1	0
*Young, Messrs. W. & D, 17, Cowgate ..	1	1	0
Head ..	1	1	0
*Spence, J, 10, Hunter-square ..	1	1	0
*Skinner, D, 108, Princes-street ..	1	1	0
*Stalker, D, 2, Charles-street ..	1	1	0
*Saunders, W, 4, Albany-st ..	1	1	0
*Scott, A ..	1	1	0
*Tuting, E, B, Jessfield Newhaven, nr ..	1	1	0
*Marshall, A, 12, St. Andrew's-square ..	1	1	0
*Merard, C, P, 1, Flesh Market Close ..	1	1	0
*Malcolm, J, 10, Duncan-st ..	1	1	0
*Clerk, G, 17, Bread-st ..	1	1	0
*Cruickshanks, E, Laureston-lane ..	1	1	0
*Clouston, R, 25, Queen st ..	1	1	0
*Callum, G, senr, 24, Greenside Place ..	1	1	0
*Duncan, J, 46, Queen-st ..	1	1	0
*Donall, W, 10, Hanover-st ..	1	1	0
*Davidson, J, 17, Elm-row ..	1	1	0
*A Friend to the League ..	1	1	0
*Scott, A ..	1	1	0
*"A Friend to Free Trade" ..	1	1	0
Causton, David, 38, Sheriff Brae, Leith ..	1	1	0
Anderson, John, Lasswade, near ..	1	1	0
*J S ..	1	1	0
*T J ..	1	1	0
*W A G ..	1	1	0
*Wilkinson, John ..	1	1	0
*A Friend ..	1	1	0
*Adam, Messrs, A & Son, Bonnington nr ..	1	1	0
*Aitken, D, sen, Tranent, near ..	1	1	0
*Anderson, J, 5, St Patrick-square ..	1	1	0
*Anderson, James, 21, Rose-street ..	1	1	0
*Anderson, James, 15, Nicholson-square ..	1	1	0
*Aitken, A, 11, Duncan-street ..	1	1	0
*Anderson, Rev C, 5, North Charlotte-st ..	1	1	0
*Arnott, David, Steed's-place, Leith-walk ..	1	1	0
*Anderson, James, 5, Grey-street ..	1	1	0
*Brown, J, D D, 10, Gayfield-square ..	1	1	0
*Blyth, T, 133, Plesance ..	1	1	0
*Ballantyne, J, 15, Montague st ..	1	1	0
*Brown, D, Roddinglaw Ratho, near ..	1	1	0
*Bruce, P, 3, Summer-place ..	1	1	0
*Bladsworth, Jonathan, 129, Grass-market ..	1	1	0
*Bell, Alexander M, 12, India-street ..	1	1	0
*Brown, Rev, Dr, Wm, 2, Meadow-place ..	1	1	0
*Broomfield, A, 1, Arncliffe-place ..	1	1	0
*Christie, A, 23, George-street ..	1	1	0
*Clark, Rev, J, 7, Duncan-street ..	1	1	0
*Chisholm, J, 25, London-street ..	1	1	0</

*Lawson, W, 31, W Nicolson-st	1	0	0
*Miller, A, 27, Lothian-st	1	0	0
*Mair, A, 26, Abercromby-place	1	0	0
*Maidland, J, 2, Salisbury-road	1	0	0
*Morrison, W, 2, George's-place	1	0	0
*McIsie, T, Drumfirth by Lamlithgow	1	0	0
*Millar, William, 4, Hope Park	1	0	0
*Nicholson, Eliza, 10, Salisbury-road	1	0	0
*Nimmo, Peter, 14, Stafford-st	1	0	0
*Napier, G, 63, Princes-st	1	0	0
*Nelson, Robert, R, 32, Nicolson-st	1	0	0
*Nisbet, George, 30, Rutland-square	1	0	0
*Oswald, J, 5, Lothian-st	1	0	0
*Oliphant, Messrs William and Sons, 7, South Bridge	1	0	0
*Pride, J, 59, South Bridge	1	0	0
*Patterson, G, 13, Montgomery-st	1	0	0
*Peters, Mrs C, 25, Grass-market	1	0	0
*Pillans, J, 2, Salisbury-road	1	0	0
*Picken, J, 18, Victoria-st	1	0	0
*Pringle, William, 7, Wharton-place	1	0	0
*Proudfoot, T, 23, Norton-place	1	0	0
*Piedie, Dr, 11, Rutland-st	1	0	0
*Phillips, J, 142, Rose-st	1	0	0
*Patterson, J, D.D., 11, Salisbury-place	1	0	0
*Piedie, J, W. S., 36, Albany-st	1	0	0
*Pike, William, 37, Princes-st	1	0	0
*Pondie, Dr, William, 15, Union-st	1	0	0
*Patterson, Andrew, Penicuik Foundry, near Penicuik	1	0	0
*Russell, Robert, Cannon Mills, near	1	0	0
*Richardson, R, 38, Minto-st	1	0	0
*Rough, A, 18, Leith-walk	1	0	0
*Russell, G G, 41, Claremont-st	1	0	0
*Robertson, D, 7, Pilrig-st	1	0	0
*Raeburn, Wm, 587, Castle-hill	1	0	0
*Rutherford, Wm, 32, Niddry-st	1	0	0
*Ross, J, 4, Milner-square	1	0	0
*Russell, T, 7, Hunter-square	1	0	0
*Russell, Alex, Scotsman's Office	1	0	0
*Whitlure, Messrs, and Phelps, 9, Waterloo-place	1	0	0
*Wilson, Wm, 165, Pleasance	1	0	0
*Walker, J, Lauriston-place	1	0	0
*White, Messrs T, and Co, 225, Canon-gate	1	0	0
*Wood, J, 31, Castle-st	1	0	0
*Wilkie, A, 9, Duncan-st	1	0	0
*Watson, Messrs, and Handyside, 1, Spencer-place, Leith Walk, near	1	0	0
*Walker, J, 54, High-st	1	0	0
*Wixon, Jas, 3, Nicholson-st	1	0	0
*Wemyss, J, 25, Downie place	1	0	0
*Wilkinson, John, 25, Thistle-street	1	0	0
*Watt, James, 3, Norton street, Leith	1	0	0
*Waterston, Robt, 133, Rose-st	1	0	0
*Wilson, Dr Geo, 24, Brown-square	1	0	0
*Young, Dr, 60, George-square	1	0	0
*Young, James, 126, High-st	1	0	0
*Robison, Rev, Geo, Laurier, near	1	0	0
*Scott, Robt, 20, St Stuart-st	1	0	0
*Scott, A, 9, Crichton-street	1	0	0
*Simpson, J, 33, Northumberland-st	1	0	0
*Scott, J, Canon Mills, near	1	0	0
*Scott, Wm, 10, S College-st	1	0	0
*Sturrock, J, 6, Queen's-place, Leith Walk	1	0	0
*Sinclair, J, jun, 79, S Bridge	1	0	0
*Shepherd, J, 6, George-st	1	0	0
*Steele, Messrs A, and Barrie, Pathead, Ford, by	1	0	0
*Smith, J S, 1, Antigua-st	1	0	0
*Skirving, —, 13, Union-st	1	0	0
*Sheils, R, 25, George the Fourth Bridge	1	0	0
*Strachan, J, 4, Torpsichen-st	1	0	0
*Stevenson, R, 36, Leith-st	1	0	0
*Small and Co, 35, Candle Maker Row	1	0	0
*Thomson, G, 173, Cowgate	1	0	0
*Toppin, Wm, 13, Princes-st	1	0	0
*Thomson, Andw, 19, Canongate	1	0	0
*Thomson, C, Heronston, near	1	0	0
*Thomson, J, 4, Park-st	1	0	0
*Thomson, J, 168, High-st	1	0	0
*Millar, Messrs A & Son, 60, N Bridge	1	0	0
*Marshall, R, 12, Rose-st	1	0	0
*Miller, L, 23, Howe-st	1	0	0
*Moffatt, W B, 7, Infirmary-st	1	0	0
*Moyes, J, 33, Bridge-st, Leith	1	0	0
*Mintosh, L, S S C, 31, Northumberland-st	1	0	0
*McVittie, R, 129, Rose-st	1	0	0
*McLachlan, J, 60, S Bridge	1	0	0
*McKecknie, J M, 23, Alva-st	1	0	0
*McCaslie, J, 90, Candle-maker row	1	0	0
*McPherson, —, 22, India-st	1	0	0
*McKenzie, Rev W, North Leith, nr	1	0	0
*McCullum, Messrs D & I, 93, Nicolson-st	1	0	0
*McFarlane, J F, 17, North Bridge	1	0	0
*McWhorter, Geo, Inglis Green, Bleach-ers, Slatford, near	1	0	0
*McGivin, A, 16, West Port	1	0	0
*McKenzie, Wm, millwright, Penicuik Foundry	1	0	0
*McLay, P, 27, Hamilton-pl, Stockbridge	1	0	0
*A Friend to Free Trade	1	0	0
Gardner, Dr, 18, Hill-st	0	10	6
Gardner, T, Larchgrove	0	10	6
Leung, Geo, 10, Patto-row	0	10	6
Andw, Wm, 51, Lawn Market	0	10	0
Brown, Wm, Hailes Quarry, near	0	10	0
Bellaney, Wm, Warriston-crescent	0	10	0
Baynes, James	0	10	0
Colman, Dr, Lawn Market	0	10	0
Chalmers, R, 34, S Bridge	0	10	0
Jacobine, —, 51, Broughton street	0	10	0
Leighton, Mrs	0	10	0
Lowrie, Dr, 22, Rankeillor st	0	10	0
Ogle, Mrs, per Wm Wigham	0	10	0
Plan, J, 11, Archibald-place	0	10	0
White, R, 1, Drummond-place	0	10	0
McKenzie, A, Duncan-st	0	7	6
Alston, Geo, 57, Heron-st	0	7	6
Black, Wm, 7, Belmont	0	7	6
Arthur, Andrew, 118, Lauriston-place	0	5	0
Brown, John, 4, Haddington-place	0	5	0
Brown, Geo, Slatford, near	0	5	0
Chalmers, John, 1, Lawn market	0	5	0
Dunlop, J, Slatford	0	5	0

Edinburgh

Dick, J, plumber, 59, Albany-st	0	5	0
Finlayson, Mrs A, Kirkhill, near	0	5	0
Henderson, J, 3, Castle-st	0	5	0
Henderson, J, 2, Stafford-st	0	5	0
Jeandin, F, 15, Nicholson-st	0	5	0
Jamieson, Alex, Adam-square	0	5	0
Muscat, Mrs J, Carnegie-st	0	5	0
Nelson, W, 41, Leith Wynd	0	5	0
Nichol, Andrew, 11, Hill-place	0	5	0
Paton, A, 28, South Bridge	0	5	0
Pringle, J	0	5	0
Thompson, Capt, Morrison-place	0	5	0
Thompson, G S, 6, Jamaica-place	0	5	0
Renton, J, 4, North Bank-st	0	5	0
Wardlaw, E, 4, Gresham-st	0	5	0
Morrison, W C, Charlotte-place	0	5	0
Martin, Hugh, 19, Carnegie-st	0	5	0
McLaren, D, 6, Downie-place	0	5	0
Anderson, Miss, 6, Windmill-st	0	4	0
Craig, Robert, 18, Nicholson-st	0	3	6
Owen, C, 3, West Preston-st	0	3	6
Peacock, Mr, South Bridge	0	3	0
Borthwick, D, 4, Greenside Place	0	3	0

Glasgow.

*Yuile, Wm and Son, 40, Miller-street	5	0	0
*McCallum, John, 32, New Wynd	3	0	0
*Finlay, Messrs & Nelson, 25, Gordon-st	1	1	0
*Galbraith, Robert, 23, Tron-gate	1	1	0
*Mossman, Wm, 83, North Frederick-st	1	1	0
*Nichols, John, Blantyre Stowe, Blantyre, Hamilton	1	1	0
*Shaw, Neil, R, 177, Hope street	1	1	0
*Anderson, John, jun, 4, Adelphi-place	1	0	0
*Armstrong, James, 35, Tron-gate	1	0	0
*Robertson, David, 188, do	1	0	0
*White, John, 133, do	1	0	0
*Matthewson, Neil, and Co, East Field, Rutherglen	1	0	0
*Turner and Parker, 10, Hutcheson-st.	1	0	0
*Alexander, Robert, 18, do	1	0	0
*Milroy, Wm, 48, do	1	0	0
*Cunningham, Wm, bleacher, Campsie	1	0	0
*Bell and Bain, St Enoch's-square	1	0	0
*Blackwell, Sam, Gallowgate	1	0	0
*Morrison, J and J, 51, Gt Hamilton-st	1	0	0
*Harper, McFarlane, and Glen, 71, Virginia-street	1	0	0
*Smith, Wm, 41, London-street	1	0	0
*Kaye, Robert, Turner's-court	1	0	0
*Cameron, Wm, 22, St Enoch's-square	1	0	0
*Stevens, Wm, Duke-street	1	0	0
*Carswell, Wm, 95, North Trovinside	1	0	0
*Brown, Thomas, 13, Brown-street	1	0	0
*Laurie, Messrs, & Faulds, 89, Ingram-st	1	0	0
*Hamilton, James, 104, Brunswick-street	1	0	0
*Murdoch, Peter, Langbank, Newton Mearns	1	0	0
*Smith, James, 119, Main-st, Bridgeton	1	0	0
Graham, John, 181, Tron-gate	0	10	0
Todd, John, I, do	0	10	0
Patterson, David, 106, do	0	10	0
Bennie, Thomas, 29, do	0	5	0
Omega	0	5	0
Rankine, Wm, 89, Argyle-street	0	5	0
Brown, Thomas, 29, Tron-gate	0	2	6
Anderson, John, 46, do	0	2	6
Musgrove, Mrs B, 46, do	0	2	6
Gordon, John, 126, do	0	2	6
McInnes, Matthew, 136, do	0	2	6
Martin, James, 114, do	0	2	6
*Darby, Abraham	1	00	0
*Darby, Alfred	1	00	0
*Dickinson, Henry	1	00	0
*Friends to the Cause	1	00	0
*Graham, Thomas	4	0	0
*Graham, Richard	4	0	0
*Rose, Wm, Coalport	3	0	0
*Dorrell, Henry, and others	1	10	0
*Nickless, Thomas, and others	1	8	0
*Hedford, Wm, Madeley, Shropshire	1	0	0
*Robinson, John	1	0	0
*Evans, Thomas, Ironbridge	1	0	0
*Crookes, Chas	1	0	0
*Cook, J and J, Ironbridge	1	0	0
*Dr. Vis, Thos, Jackfield, near Ironbridge	1	0	0
*Darby, Chas E	1	0	0
*Millington, John, Fane's-lane, Shifnal	1	0	0
*Per E Jones, Coalport, near Shifnal	1	0	0
*Per Thomas Wheeler, do	1	0	0
*Per Thomas Pugh, Delp, Broseley	1	0	0
*Per Sam Nevitt, Sibbey's-lane, do	1	0	0
*Per W. Tranter, Lincoln-hill-rd, Ironbridge	1	0	0
*Moseley, Wilkes, and others	0	16	6
*Additional Subscriptions, per C Crookes	0	14	0
*Ryal, Joseph, and others	0	14	6
*Mason, Wm, and others	0	13	0
*Nicholas, Wm, and others	0	12	0
*Hughes, John, and Sons	0	11	6
*Good, Edw, and others	0	11	0
*Cureton, John, and others	0	11	0
*Fletcher, Michael, and others	0	11	0
*Downing, Joseph, and others	0	10	0
*Weare, Wm, jun	0	10	0
Dunbar, Isaac, and others	0	9	0
Dixon, Wm, and others	0	9	0
Turner, J and W, and others	0	9	0
Edwards, Edward, Ironbridge	0	8	6
Fletcher, Michael, and others	0	8	0
Wilkinson, James	0	8	0
Miner, James, and others	0	8	0
Aston, John, and others	0	7	0
Hughes, James, and others	0	7	0
Onions, Samuel	0	6	0
Fletcher, Wm, and others	0	5	6
Rushton, Wm	0	5	0
Wright, Benjamin	0	5	0
Richard, s, Edw	0	5	0
Hart, Edw, and others	0	5	0
Ruckley, Mrs	0	5	0
Mann, R	0	5	0
Bangham, Michael	0	5	0
Ibbotson, Alfred, and others	0	4	6
Longford, Andrew, and others	0	4	3
Isaacs, A C	0	4	0
A Friend	0	4	0
Yates, John	0	4	0
Wall, Wm	0	4	0
Walker, John, and others	0	4	0
Walker, Wm A, and others	0	4	0
Armstrong, R, and others	0	4	0
Windsor, John, and others	0	4	0
Edge, James	0	4	0
Edge, George, and others	0	4	0
Randall, John	0	4	0
Mason, John	0	4	0
Hinley, Thomas, and others	0	3	9
Githing, James	0	2	6
Rutter, Hill, and others	0	2	6
Burnett, Isaac	0	2	0
Stanway, George	0	2	0
Bagsshaw, James	0	2	0
Harvey, Wm	0	2	0
Barker, John	0	2	0
Greenhalgh, R	0	2	0
Tushingham, Hewett, and others	0	2	0
Small Sums	0	2	0
*Doncaster, Daniel, Doncaster-street	5	0	0
*Chapman, Samuel, 97, West Bar	1	0	0
*Deakin, Isaac, Raw Moor	1	0	0

Coalbrookdale.

Sh. field.

Stroud.

Lancaster.

Higher Hurst, Ashton-under-Lyne.

Holmfirth.

Wigan.

Oley and its vicinity.

Halifax.

Leeds.

Stockport.

W. k. field.

*Hooper, Charles, Eastington	30	0	0
*Stanton, Charles, Stafford Mills	30	0	0
*Marling, S B, Ebley, near	30	0	0
*Marling, N S, Stanley, do	20	0	0
*Scrope, Geo P, MP	20	0	0
*Watts, Joseph	10	0	0
*Partridge, Joseph, Bowbridge, near	7	0	0
*Partridge, Arthur, do do	3	0	0
*Cartwright, W B, Field	2	0	0
*Webb, John, Brinscombe, near	2	0	0
*Jones, Thomas, Chalford, do	2	0	0
*Jones, Nathaniel, do do	2	0	0
*Marling, Wm	2	0	0
*Lacey, Richard	2	0	0
*Barnard, Wm, Lodgemore Mills	2	0	0
*Farrabee, John, Phoenix Foundry	2	0	0
*Farrabee, J H, do	1	0	0
*Parsons, Thomas, do	1	0	0
*Gyde, Messrs, and Sons, Arundel's Mill	1	0	0
*Hill, T D, Stafford's Mill	1	0	0
*Willoughby, Thomas	1	0	0
*Peglar, James, Middle-street	1	0	0
*Gardner, Thomas, Gainscross, near	1	0	0
*Lewis, Henry, Ebley, do	1	0	0
*Davis, Richard, do	1	0	0
*Nurse, Frederick, Dudbridge, do	1	0	0
*Nurse, James, do	1	0	0
*Smith, Christopher, do	1	0	0
*Leonard, Solomon, Woodchester, do	1	0	0
*Hook, Samuel, Chalford, do	1	0	0
*Fluck, Wm, Vatch Mills, do	1	0	0
*Tanner, C B, Thrupp, do	1	0	0
*Fewster, Anthony, Nailsworth, do	1	0	0
*Blackwell, Joseph, do do	1	0	0
Armstrong, John	20	0	0
Higgin, T H	10	0	0
Jackson, William	10	0	0
Jackson, George	4	0	0
Barrow, Corben	2	0	0
Dilworth, Miss	2	0	0
Verity, Henry	1	0	0
Marsland, Wm, Queenmoor	1	0	0
*Grundy, Wm	2	0	0
*Hyde, James	1	0	0
*Sandford, John	1	0	0
*Coop, Isaiah	1	0	0
*Hargreaves, Joseph	1	0	0
*Clough, Ralph	1	0	0
*Lofthouse, John	1	0	0
*Wood, Isaac	1	0	0
*Tetlow, Robert	1	0	0
*Hibbert, George	1	0	0
*Walkwork, Robert	1	0	0
*Elson, Samuel	1	0	0
*Hamer, Samuel	1	0	0
*Leech, John	1	0	0
*Grundy, Robert	1	0	0
*Beardsell, James, and Sons, Holme, nr	8	0	0
*Brook, John, and Son, Upper Thong	2	0	0
*Trotter, Charles, Lane	2	0	0
*Dyson, Joseph, do	1	0	0
*Charlesworth, David, Mount Pleasant	1	0	0
*Kenvon, Joseph, Hinchcliffe Mill	1	0	0
*Haigh, Wm, Upper Bridge	1	0	0
*Earnshaw, John, Dob	1	0	0
*Hinchcliffe, John, Holme-lane	0	10	0
*Hinchcliffe, T and J, Upper Thong	0	8	0
*Wood, Tola, Park House	0	8	0
*Battye, R, New Town	0	8	0
Hobson, Charles, Nether Thong	0	5	0
Coldwell, John, Lip-Hill Bank	0	4	0
Wylie, John, Upper Bridge	0	4	0
Brerly, Sam do	0	4	0
"A Friend to the Cause"	0	4	0
McClellan, John, New Town	0	4	0
Moyle, Jones, Bridge	0	4	0
Eastwood, Benjamin, Nether Thong	0	4	0
Eastwood, James, do	0	4	0
Roebuck, Jonathan, Cross-roads	0	2	0
Moorhouse, Wm, tailor	0	2	0
Hobson, Uriah, Nether Thong	0	2	0
Ryley, Thomas C	10	0	0
*Evans, Edward	10	0	0
*Peck, John H, Wallgate	1	0	0
*Waddington, Wm, Standishgate	1	0	0
First Instalment from the Workmen at the Haigh Foundry, viz:—			
*Melling, Wm	0	8	0
*Melling, Wm, jun	0	8	0
*Burrows, James	0	8	0
*Shack, John	0	5	0
*Jamieson, Peter	0	5	0
*Frost, Thomas	0	4	0
*Whysall, Edm	0	4	0
*Planey, John	0	4	0
Sundry Sums under 2s 6d	9	2	0
*Ackroyd, Wm, Westbourne Lodge	25	0	0
*Tawkes, F H, Farnley Hall	20	0	0
*Barrett, Edw, Grove Hill	1	0	0
*Musgrave, Wm	1	0	0
*Foster, M G	1	0	0
*Hunter, Thomas, draper	1	0	0
*Milligen, Robert	1	0	0
*Baker, Robert, farmer	1	0	0
Duncan, Thomas, worsted spinner	1	0	0
*Hillingworth, Wm, St James's-road	4	0	0
*"A Friend"	3	0	0
*Gaukrager, Geo, Brunswick-street	2	0	0
*Ingham, R, 4, Bedford-terrace	2	0	0
*Smith, Thomas E, Blackledge	1	1	0
*Smith, Wm, Church-terrace	1	1	0
*"A Friend"	1	0	0
*Ramsden, D, Kingston	1	0	0
*A Friend	1	0	0
*Collinson, T	1	0	0
*Kershaw, P, Maltshovel Inn, Elland, nr	1	0	0
*Pickard, Sam	1	0	0
*Schulfield, Henry, Rhodes-street	1	0	0
*Maclea, Messrs, and March	40	0	0
*Birchall, S J, and Co	20	0	0
*Luceock, Messrs, and Co, Park-lane	20	0	0
*Tittle, Anthony, York-place	5	0	0
*Winn, W S, Burley-terrace	4	4	0
*Jackson, John, Pepper-lane, Hunslet	2	2	0
*Watson and Osborne	2	2	0
*Megson, A, Water Hall	1	1	0
*Dixon, Henry, Nippett-lane	1	1	0
*Robinson, James, 15, North-street	1	1	0
*Dockray, Jacob, M-alow-lane	1	1	0
*Hick, James, Swingate	1	1	0
*Oldman, Robert, Albion-street	1	1	0
*Nunneley, Thomas, East Parade	1	1	0
*Elliott, Samuel, Oxford-row	1	1	0
*Beevers, Wm, Wellington Bridge	1	0	0
*Bryty, Thomas, do	1	0	0
*Hay, R C, Bond-street	1	0	0
*Hustler, Wm, Vendon, near	1	0	0
*Fowden, John, Brimington	1	1	0
*Davenport, Samuel, Old Road	1	1	0
*Spake, Wilson, 33, Brunswick-street	1	1	0
*Dooley, Edward, Duke-street	1	0	0
*Beard, James, Wharf-street	1	0	0
*Taylor, Aquila, 19, New Bridge Lane	1	0	0
*Shawcross, James, Princess-street	1	0	0
*Milibee, Joseph, Great Portwood-street	1	0	0
*Walker, Samuel, Chestergate	1	0	0
*Holewhout, Joseph, Belle Vue	10	0	0
*Crowthor, Caleb, M D, Kuzgate	5	0	0
*Micklethwaite, James	5	0	0

Holywell	*Williamson, E. H., Greenfield	2	0	0
	*Dundas, C. W. D., Aston Hall, Hawarden	1	1	0
	*Garland, Charles, Greenfield	1	0	0
	*Lloyd, John, Chester-street	1	0	0
	*Fishwick, John	1	0	0
Kelso	*Dods, Alexander, grocer	1	0	0
	*Johnston, Andrew, Chronicle Office	1	0	0
	*Heckford, Robert	1	0	0
	*Martin, Robert, stationer	1	0	0
	*Harvey, A. carrier	1	0	0
	*Crosbie, Thomas, Kelso Mills	1	0	0
	*Thompson, George, Haymount, by	1	0	0
	*Huggan, Andrew, joiner	0	1	0
	*Foster, Henry S., Cambridge	10	0	0
	*Pow & Fawcus, Messrs, North Shields	10	0	0
	*Gibb, James, 122, Long-lane, Bermondsey	5	0	0
	A Chichester Tradesman, per T. Falvey	5	0	0
	*Walker, W. S., Farringdon-street	5	0	0
	*Aulic, Thomas	4	0	0
E. H.		3	0	0
	*Kellan, Matthew, High Wickham, Hastings	2	0	0
	*Cundell, Geo, 17, Finsbury-square	2	0	0
	*Peirce, James, 45, Fore-street, City	2	0	0
	*Edwards, Wm. J., Trinity-sq., Tower-hill	1	1	0
	*Phelps, Joseph, Bunnett, Paternoster-row	1	1	0
Kent	Thomas, 20, Southampton-place, Euston-square	1	1	0
	*Rippon, J. J., Ealing Common	1	1	0
	*Nichols, W. J., Lombard-street	1	1	0
	*Ohlry, H. G. S., St Thomas-square, Hackney	1	1	0
Hancock	Henry, Bell Tavern, 40, Great Tower-street	1	1	0
	*Kynnersley, E. Level, Bermondsey	1	1	0
	*James, D. D., 6, Princes-street, Stamford-street	1	1	0
King James	7, Upper Belgrave-street, Belgrave-square	1	1	0
*Wilkinson	Joseph, sen, St Mildred's-court Poultry	1	1	0
	*Smith, William, 39, Fish-street hill	1	1	0
	*Scott, Abraham, 60, Red Lion-street, Holborn	1	1	0
	*Wing, William, 60, do	1	1	0
	*Bosher, Thomas, 60, do	1	1	0
	*Mason, Joseph, Monk Gate, York	1	1	0
	*Bullaus, John, 29, Angel-street, Sheffield	1	1	0
	*Anderson, Wm, Henry-street, Blackburn	1	1	0
*Shuttleworth	Ephraim, 18, John-street, Oxford-street	1	1	0
	*Warner, John, Hoddesdon, Herefordshire	1	1	0
	*Nichols, Isaac, Plymouth	1	1	0
	*Dakeyne, Edward, Green-house, Darley Dale, near Bakewell, Derbyshire	1	0	0
	*Reynolds, Joseph, Malmesbury	1	0	0
	*Glass, Robert, Victoria-street, Edinburgh	1	0	0
	*Goldthorp, James, West-gate, Wakefield	1	0	0
	*Guthrie, Dr, John, Newburgh, Fife	1	0	0
	*Blanchard, W. F., Jersey	1	0	0
	Stevens, Thomas, miller, do	1	0	0
	*Waltham, Joseph, Cottingham, near Hull	1	0	0
	*Loader, Rev. T., St. Mary's-street, Monmouth	1	0	0
	*Blow, Rev. D., do	1	0	0
*Hancock	W. junr, Market-place, Wiveliscombe, Somerset	1	0	0
	*McKenzie, Andrew, Kelso	1	0	0
	*Deas, Francis, Falkland	1	0	0
	*Shaw, Elizabeth, Water-lane, Leeds	1	0	0
	*Armstrong, G., Heworth Shore, Gateshead	1	0	0
	*Murray, P. S., Charles-street, Sheffield	1	0	0
	*Dalrymple, D., grocer, Pathhead, Fife	1	0	0
	*Benson, J., Shield Field, Newcastle-upon Tyne	1	0	0
	*Sinclair, P., baker, Maybole, Ayrshire	1	0	0
	*Brookhouse, J., 52, Fargate, Sheffield	1	0	0
	*Hamilton, J., pawnbroker, Johnstone, by Paisley	1	0	0
	*Alexander, E., Cross Keys, Malmesbury	1	0	0
	*Nicol, Robert, Cnpar, Fife	1	0	0
	Gough, George, Island, Gloucester	1	0	0
	*Kirkwood, J., Langwith, near Mansfield	1	0	0
	*Millsom, Robt, High-st, Devizes	1	0	0
	*Thompson, Thomas, 16, Moss-st, Liverpool	1	0	0
	*Milbourne, John, 20, Clarence-st, Liverpool	1	0	0
	*Bateman, Hudson Thos, Halton Park, Lancaster	1	0	0
	*Pleden, J., Fording Bridge	1	0	0
	*Sturge, Edwin, Gloucester	1	0	0
	*Johnson, J., Clotton Lodge, Tarvis, Chester	1	0	0
	*Archibald, J. and W., manufacturer, Alloa	1	0	0
	*Nicholls, Alf, Bridport	1	0	0
	*Rayner, John, Hillgate, Stockport	1	0	0
	*Larard, Thomas, Market Place, Hull	1	0	0
	*Gibb, W. 18, Salisbury-st, Edinburgh	1	0	0
	*Christian, Jno, Gilling, Richmond, Yorkshire	1	0	0
	*Burgin, Joseph, 63, West-st, Sheffield	1	0	0
	*Danks, Samuel, Wednesbury, Staffordshire	1	0	0
	*Dewar, David, and Co, Dumfermline, N.B.	1	0	0
	*Fagg, Geo, farmer, Bedford, Middlesex	1	0	0
	*Layton, Thos, Kew Bridge, Brentford	1	0	0
	*Sessions, Jesse, Gloucester	1	0	0
	*Clarkson, Henry, Westgate, Wakefield	1	0	0
	*Whicello, S. H., Leyton Buzzard	1	0	0
	*Clode, John, jun, 1, Augusta-place, Windsor	1	0	0
	*Bedborough, John, High-street, do	1	0	0
	*M' Rae, William, Mitcham Common	1	0	0
	*Andrews, Walter, Maybole, Ayrshire	1	0	0
	*Dixon, J. J., Cross-lane, St. Mary-at-Hill	1	0	0
	*Parker, D., 96, Minories	1	0	0
	*Southgate, John, Old Change	1	0	0
	*Hutchinson, Thomas, 5, Bread-st, Cheapside	1	0	0
	*Jones, Lewis, 47, Conduit-street	1	0	0
	*Batsford, B. T., No 80, High Holborn	1	0	0
	Lowe, Mr, Holborn Hill	0	10	0
	Ridgway, M., Dewsbury	0	10	0
	"From Messrs. Buck and Rich, corn-chandlers, Duke-street"	0	2	6
Dickens	George, 15, Wornwood-street	0	2	6
Peppelwell	P., Church-passage, Gresham-street	0	2	6
	*Bruce, John, High-street	1	0	0
	*Bramingham, G., do	1	0	0
	*Dunell, John, do	1	0	0
	*McDonald, M., do	1	0	0
	*Patterson, Thomas, Bridge-street	1	0	0
	*Brothwell, Wm, do	1	0	0
	*Phillips, Alex., Sunderland Potteries	1	0	0
	*Dixon, Thomas, do	1	0	0
	*Hills, John, Frederick-street	1	0	0
	*Wild, Chas., Low-street	1	0	0
	*Wilkinson, M., High-street	1	0	0
	*Butterworth, Edwin, Manchester	1	0	0
	"A Free Trader"	0	1	0
	Anderson, J., Monkwearmouth	0	1	0
	*Dun, an, Walter, druggist, High-street	1	1	0
	*McAdam, Sam, Kirkland, by	1	1	0
	*Beveridge, David, baker, Maxwelltown	1	0	0
	*Swan, James	1	0	0

	*Gibson, Messrs Geo, and Co	25	0	0
	*Renny, Sons, and Co	10	0	0
	*Cunning, Geo	5	0	0
	*Cooper, James	4	0	0
	*Maun, Alex and Son	3	0	0
	*Lowson, Andrew	2	0	0
	*Laugham, David and Son	2	0	0
	*Anderson, Wm	2	0	0
	*Johnston, Wilhelm	2	0	0
	*Espil, J. J.	2	0	0
	*Miln, Robert	2	0	0
	*Renny, Sam	2	0	0
	*Anderson, Charles	2	0	0
Arbroath	*Webster, F and W	1	10	0
	*Anderson, J., merchant	1	0	0
	*Ambrose, P. S.	1	0	0
	*Ritchie, Patrick	1	0	0
	*Gibson, W. G.	1	0	0
	*Nicol, Alex	1	0	0
	*Salmond, Wm, jun	1	0	0
	*Gorsar, David and Son	1	0	0
	*Anderson, W, Messrs	1	0	0
	*Stephen, Wm	1	0	0
	*A Friend	1	0	0
	Wilson, Patrick	0	10	0
	Peacock, David	0	10	0
	Gellatly, Stewart	0	5	0
	*Robbins and Martin	1	0	0
Birmingham	*Pritchard, Mrs, 135, New-street	1	0	0
	*Vates, Thomas, Sutton-street, Aston-rd	1	0	0
	*Ellis, S.	1	0	0
	*Goway, John, 10, Snow-hill	1	0	0
	*The Workers at Messrs David & John Anderson	1	5	0
Glasgow	*Black, D. 1, Morris-place	1	0	0
	*Hendrey, E., 2, North Exchange-court	1	0	0
	*Gourlay, Henry, and Co	1	0	0
	*Robertson, R and Co, 12, Hutcheson-st	1	0	0
	*Arkecoll, John	4	0	0
	Arkecoll, Chas	1	0	0
	Ellis, Chas	1	0	0
Maidstone, Kent	*Nelson, R.	0	5	0
	*Hooker, J. S.	0	5	0
	*Southon, David	0	5	0

* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed subscriptions.

LET US HAVE IT AT ONCE.

"Let us have it at once." Such is now the common expression in farm, field, and market-town. At first, when Sir R. Peel's three years' scheme came before them, the farmers said, "Better have it at once;" but many of them added such bitter expressions as showed they were only speaking in a fit of vexation. They then said, "Sacrifice us at once!" "Destroy us if you will; but do not keep us in torture." "What be the good of being particular about we? Knock us down, and slay us, and rob our dead bodies; what good be it to give us three years' notice to stand on our own defence?" and so forth.

Now, since conversation has become calmer, cooler, and reflection has penetrated into the question of Free Trade, the thoughts of the farmers going into it, and examining it on all sides, which few of them ever did before, they say more earnestly, though with less passion, "Let us have it at once."

Even the man who has no hope of good from it believes that it must come; and he says he would like to have it over. But this kind of man is day by day growing rarer. I can now see a farmer leaning over his barn-door, his face directed to the farm-yard, his score or two of pigs before him with their exploring snouts in the straw, gathering the lost grains, himself, like them, busied—or buried—in deep cogitation about maize, and beans, and oats, to feed pigs and cattle (for he has read Sir Robert Peel's speeches, and though he never read Free Trade speeches before, he begins to understand that a farmer may derive advantages from Free Trade),—such a farmer, with such thoughts in his head, so standing with arms folded on the barn door, may now be met with frequently. I have met many of them within the last fortnight, and every day they are becoming more plentiful, and his words are, "If it be to do good, let us have it at once."

So speaks the flock-master, standing beside his shepherd. "It is true," says he, "that wool sells better since there was no protection on it. It is true that we can now feed sheep, where up to a few years ago we only bred them and sold them for others to feed, we having bought foreign grown food since that time, and foreign manures to grow turnips; I am beginning to think that Sir Robert Peel must be right. The farm-yard manure, if we have enough of it, is the best of all manures; and we should import the food of cattle, to have our manure for nothing, rather than pay one million and a quarter of pounds sterling, as it is said we did, last year, for the dung of foreign birds, to grow turnips at home; but why should we wait three years to do this?"

So says the farmer, as he walks across his ploughed land, and plans what crops he shall have on this field, and what on that, and kicks the clods as he plans and turns over in his mind all that has been said about the advantage of having the lean

cattle of the foreigner admitted free of duty, and the provender to feed the cattle, also free of duty—the oats of Poland, and the beans of Egypt; and is certainly of opinion that it is greatly preferable to admit the lean beast and the food for him, than to admit the fat beast on an equality with the lean, and keep out the food; but on looking at the new scheme of the Prime Minister, he finds that the lean beast is to be immediately imported free. But the food is not to be free for three years, unless it be the article of maize, the uses of which, however, the farmer knows much less about than of the uses of barley, beans, peas, and oats. Whatever plans he intended for the cropping of his farm, they are now frustrated, when he comes to this hitch in the ministerial plan. He says, "Why not let us have it at once;" and he adds to it some such observation as this, "Look at those men making the new railway; when they began work, they had their shovels and their wheelbarrows given to them at the same time. What use would their wheelbarrows have been alone, without their shovels to fill them? So of what use is the importation of cattle for us to feed, if the food is not admitted at the same time?"

At the market-tables, though there is some grumbling—still a few murmurs of "treachery," "done for," "taken in," "sacrificed," and so on—there is now a prevailing tone of fair discussion, and that is emphatically for immediate repeal in preference to prospective repeal. In several market-places I have heard it said by those who have been leading protectionists, "If you can so frame a petition to Parliament, asking for immediate repeal, without committing us as seeking an abolition of the Corn Laws we will sign that petition. We will rather have it at once."

It is hardly possible to set eyes on the farmer who is favourable to the three years' scheme. Occasionally a man, from some political connection, with the Ministerial party, may be found in a market-place giving his approval of it. One of these I saw a few days ago in a certain city of the south. He was selling wheat. A well-known miller came and looked at it, and offered the price of the previous week, but the farmer wanted two shillings more. The miller said nothing, but was moving towards some other samples. "But you have not given me an answer," said the farmer, "What am I to do?"

"Friend," said the miller, "I will not keep you three years in uncertainty; in five minutes thou shalt have an answer."

Not the least favourable sign of progressive intelligence among the farmers, relative to this question, is the fact that they are now tolerant enough to quote the opinions of opponents, and speak respectfully of Free Traders. "Have you read Cobden's letter?" asks one. "Ah! but do you see what Mr. Cobden says?" exclaims another. And these are men who twelve months ago would not have sat at the same dinner table with a man who would mention Mr. Cobden's name.

But of all the evidences of altered opinions, the strongest, the richest, is one I heard in a market-place a few days ago. The letter of the honourable member for Stockport was once more the subject. One expressed his concurrence in every word of it. Another agreed with that one, and gave words to his wonder that the honourable gentleman should be so well-informed, should know so much of the world, and everything in the world. "Oh!" replied the oracle of the party, "don't you know he be's a farmer's son?"

ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH.

MR. COBDEN.—We have great pleasure in informing our readers that Mr. Cobden's health is so far re-established, as to render it probable that he will be able to resume his parliamentary duties in a day or two. It is expected that he will make his appearance this (Friday) evening in the House of Commons.

DEATH OF J. P. BURNARD, Esq.—We regret to have to announce the death of J. P. Burnard, Esq., who died on Tuesday last, at his residence, Formosa Cottage, Holloway. Mr. Burnard has been an energetic and active supporter of the League for many years, and many of our readers will probably recollect the efficient services rendered by Mr. Burnard as the superintendent of all the arrangements for the stage and platform, during several years, at the League meetings in Drury Lane and Covent Garden Theatres. Mr. Burnard has suffered severely from a pulmonary affection for several months, and death has at length terminated a zealous career of useful and patriotic exertion.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION. THE NOMINATION.

The first public demonstration connected with the election of a member to serve in Parliament took place on Tuesday, on the occasion of the nomination of the candidates ambitious to represent the good men and true of Westminster, and the result of the nomination fully proves, whatever the election may show, that the majority of the people at least give their hearty support to Sir De Lacy Evans, the consistent advocate of Free Trade.

The Westminster nomination is notoriously one of the most riotous in the kingdom—the spot where it is held—its proximity to Covent Garden market—the facilities which are thus afforded for the physical expression of one's feeling, through the medium of rotten apples, oranges, cabbages, and such like missiles, so effectual in electioneering warfare, which there abound—its proximity to some of the lowest localities of the metropolis, all tend to render it a noisy and boisterous affair. Tuesday was no exception to the general rule. The vast space in front of the hustings was crammed with a motley group; and though every exertion was used to preserve order, the most discordant noises prevailed throughout the whole business, and the most disagreeable missiles were ever and anon discharged at some one or other of the more prominent individuals on the hustings.

There could not have been less than 10,000 persons present; and though tolerably free in the expression of their opinions, a general good-humour seemed to prevail, which, spite of other disagreeables, made the matter pass off more pleasantly than usual.

Precisely at twelve o'clock General Sir De Lacy Evans entered on the platform, amidst the most unequivocal expressions of approbation from the vast assemblage in front of the hustings. He was accompanied by Lord M. Hill, Lord C. Fitzroy, M.P., Lord Moreton, Baron de Sedwitz, the Hon. F. Byng, Hon. E. P. Bouverie, M.P., the Hon. R. Colborne, the Hon. Capt. Boyle, Colonel Fox, M.P., Mr. T. D'Eyncourt, M.P., Mr. B. Hawes, M.P., Mr. H. Elphinstone, M.P., Messrs. Proutt, Berkeley, Allen, Trott, Kemp, M'Leod, Keogh, &c.

Captain Rous and his party followed immediately after. Their approach was the signal for combined cheers, hisses, and groans. Amongst his supporters we observed Lord F. Egerton, M.P., Lord E. Bruce, M.P., Lord Cantaloupe, Lord W. Graham, the Hon. Mr. West, Captain Meynell, R.N., Lieutenant-Colonel T. Wood, M.P., Messrs. Merewether, J. C. Wood, Miller, Smith, Fitzgerald, Hedges, Wilson, Kensley, &c.

When something like the semblance of a calm had been procured,

Mr. F. SMEDLEY, the high bailiff of Westminster, came forward, and spoke as follows:—Electors of Westminster, I have the honour of attending here to-day, as the returning officer for this ancient city. The object for which you have assembled is to return a member for this great city to Parliament, in consequence of your late member, the Honourable Captain Rous, having accepted an appointment connected with the Government (groans and loud cheers), whereby he has vacated his seat in Parliament. Gentlemen, the constitution of this country requires that every member of Parliament who accepts a situation connected with the Government should vacate his seat (loud cheers, and a voice, "Good job, too"). He may come forward again, however, to be elected (uproar, and cries of "We won't have him," "Go home," &c.). Captain Rous is in that position (conflicting cheers and hisses, mingled with groans, cat-calls, and every species of noise). Gentlemen, that gives you an opportunity of expressing your opinions as to whether he shall be your member, and of shewing whether the Government measures, which he is about to support, are in accordance with your own views and wishes. Captain Rous, then, is one of the candidates who seeks the honour of being returned to Parliament as your representative. General Sir de Lacy Evans (loud cheers and uproar), who before was your member, also seeks that honour (renewed cheers). I intreat you to give to both these gentlemen, and to the electors who may propose and second their nominations, an impartial and patient hearing, for by such means you will be best able to judge who shall represent you in Parliament (confusion and general manifestations of impatience). There are certain forms which it is necessary for me to go through before proceeding to the more important business of the day. I ask your patience while those forms are being gone through, and I promise that they shall not occupy more time than is absolutely necessary (cheers).

Mr. OWEN, the high constable, then read the proclamation; and the usual formalities which have so often been recorded of late, having been gone through,

Mr. JOSEPH CARTER WOOD came forward to propose the nomination of the Hon. Captain Rous. His appearance was greeted with yells and groans, a "bravo Rous" or two, and a few cheers. He said, "We are assembled to-day for the exercise of the Englishman's most valued privilege; and I trust there is not a constituency who values its free and unbiased exercise more than the electors of Westminster (cheers). The results of their decisions have always been viewed with deep interest, and their influence is extensively felt. The present election takes place at a moment of peculiar anxiety and excitement—an anxiety felt by all classes of the people, and an excitement co-extensive with the varied and important interests at stake. I must confess to you, that in appearing again on the hustings, I am deeply sensible of the responsibility of that duty, which as a citizen of Westminster I am called on to perform (uproar, groans, and cheers); and I trust you will believe me when I say that nothing but a prevailing sense that it is my duty would induce me to attempt it (groans). Gentlemen, I stand here to-day to nominate the Hon. Captain Rous as a fit and proper person to represent this city in Parliament (terrific confusion); but I feel that his fitness will depend very much on the part he has taken in that great question which now occupies the public attention—Free Trade, or not Free Trade—that is the question (bravo). For, allow me to say, I have never heard the slightest complaint that my hon. friend has been deficient in all attention and courtesy to, and zeal for, the interests of his constituents. I cannot, therefore, anticipate that having served you faithfully, you will consider his acceptance of an office, wherein his professional knowledge as a naval officer may render him most useful to his country in promoting the welfare of our navy, as any disqualification for his re-election (oh, mingled with cheers and hisses). I cannot disguise from myself that on the great question to which I have alluded there is a feeling of dissatisfaction on the part of many of his former supporters; but let me put his case fairly before you, and I trust we shall find English spirit enough in the electors to do him justice, and reconstitute him in Parliament as your tried and approved representa-

tive. Does it not appear extraordinary that at the same period of time so many minds seemed to be directing their enquiring energies towards the subject of Free Trade in corn, if at the same time there should appear no external circumstances, as it were, forcing that subject on their attention? But, gentlemen, those external circumstances did exist. Not only was the alarm extensive with regard to the potato murrain; but had it not pleased a gracious Providence to suspend the falling rain—had it continued another two or three weeks—what must have become of the wheat crop, and what must have been the privations of the poor of this country? It was at such a juncture, gentlemen, that the Conservative ministry, and Conservative members of Parliament, began to review their past votes on the corn question, to avail themselves of the result of those Free Trade measures which had already been introduced, and thus looking onward from them to what was likely to be the result of more extended measures of the same character—to contemplate the introduction of that alteration in the relations of the country, a Free Trade in corn, by which the long-contending parties for agricultural and manufacturing interests were to be amalgamated, new channels opened, and new sources created through which capital may flow into the agricultural districts, unequal burdens equalised, and the industry of the country relieved by lightening every weight that pressed upon it. Now, here is the head and front of my honourable friend's offending—that he was almost the first to draw the public attention to the advanced and advancing views on this subject (cheers and groans). I candidly admit that I at first disapproved of his early avowal of these views; but, subsequently, my attention, like others', has been drawn to this matter; and though I once thought agricultural protection a *sine qua non* to the safety of the country, I own that the time has arrived to abandon it with safety—at least if under the guidance of her Majesty's present Government, for in their integrity and ability I feel the fullest confidence. Why, gentlemen, have we not seen the agricultural labourer reduced to wages—I will not say wages, but a pittance, that affords no just remuneration for his services? Do we not see fertile districts half farmed, and consequently not yielding half the produce nature intended; and if these are the results of protection, is it not time we said farewell to it? Now, gentlemen, I beseech you to consider with what views, but those of deep and absorbing interest in your welfare, could my honourable friend have taken up the advanced post in the Free Trade movement? Then show him now by your votes and earnestness in his cause that you are grateful for the measure. I am here to-day to ask your support of my honourable friend, and that you will thereby testify to the honourable baronet at the head of her Majesty's Government, that you duly appreciate the sacrifice he has made to meet the wishes and promote the happiness of the people, that you will avail yourselves of the first public opportunity to merge any political differences of minor importance in the gratifying opportunity now afforded you of recording your sense of the value of those measures, proposed by the most able, conscientious, and decisive minister this country ever possessed. But you will, perhaps, tell me I am advocating the cause of the ministry rather than that of my hon. friend. Gentlemen, they are one and the same cause. Let me, therefore, appeal to every honest Conservative to come forward and record his vote in favour of it. Let no feelings of personal interest damage so good a cause. Let the aristocracy, gallant and noble as they are, be not, as a noble lord has said, laggards, but leaders of the people. Let the middle class, honest, enterprising, and firm of purpose, rally round my honourable and gallant friend Captain Rous—whom I now nominate as a fit and proper representative for this city in Parliament. Let every elector rise in honest rivalry, that he be once more sent from these hustings honoured by your approval, and he will still be found to do his duty with honour to himself, advantage to his country, and courtesy to all (general uproar).

Lord F. EGERTON, in seconding the nomination, said he saw the minister, unavoidably perhaps, but as he thought, unfortunately for the country, deprived of the assistance of many valued adherents (hear, hear). He was not the man, under these circumstances, to withhold from a Minister so situated the small assistance which he could bestow, and he had reason to believe that little as it was, it would be best esteemed in the shape in which he was endeavouring to give it (cheers). He thought by so doing he should best facilitate the introduction of measures involving a principle which he hoped to see henceforth embodied in our commercial and fiscal regulations (cheers).

Mr. BOUVERIE, who was received with cheers, came forward and said—We are met together to choose a representative for the House of Commons, and I beg to propose Col. Evans as a fit and proper person (great cheering). Five years ago a Tory and monopolist was chosen to represent this great city. Since then we have had no vote or voice in Parliament (cheers). We have had one of our members voting one way, the other the other. On every great question of importance to the people, we have had one member voting one way for it, and the other against it—the one saying yes, the other no (cheers). We have now an opportunity of redeeming ourselves from this disgrace, and of re-establishing ourselves in the proud position Westminster used to occupy, as the first and greatest liberal constituency in England (great cheering). We have a place to dispose of; not one of emolument, though in Captain Rous's case it would seem to lead to emolument, but one of proud eminence—the honour of representing this great constituency (cheers). We have two applicants for the situation. One who has been always a Free Trader, and is so still; one who has always opposed the Corn Laws, and does so still; one who has always been a reformer, and is still; one who has always stood forward for the rights and liberties of the people, and does so still (great cheering). Did he believe Free Trade was for the benefit of the country? he believes it now. Did he believe that the Corn Laws ought to be repealed? he believes so now (loud cheers). The other applicant was a Tory and monopolist—what he is now I cannot tell. He is neither one thing nor the other—a sort of amphibious animal, something like a horse-marine (laughter and cheers). Sir Robert Peel has asked us two questions: Do we approve of Free Trade? I trust we shall answer, Yes; and send General Evans, a thorough Free Trader, to vote for it (cheers). Do we place confidence in Captain Rous? I trust we shall answer, No; that we place no dependence on him, that we cannot trust him (cheers). I beg, in conclusion, to propose General Sir de Lacy Evans as member for this city (cheers).

Dr. BAINBRIDGE said he rose for the purpose of seconding the nomination of General Evans, who had ever been the consistent advocate of liberal principles (cheers), who had ever been the opponent of all abuses in the Government,

whether fiscal, commercial, religious, or connected with the representation (cheers)—who had ever been the stern defender of the rights of the people, even when it was not fashionable to be so (cheers). He was the consistent advocate of Free Trade principles, when the profession of these opinions was not expected to lead to place and to emolument (cheers). The hon. gentleman (Captain Rous) told them he was unchanged, and let them recollect that he originally came into Westminster as the adopted child of the Tories, and the opponent of Free Trade (cheers). He spoke on the hustings against the repeal of the Corn Laws, and he told the advocates of Free Trade in Parliament, that the triumph of their doctrines would lead the labourers and artisans of the country to the condition of being obliged to live on bread and an onion, and to take a suck at the pump (cheers). Either the judgment of the hon. captain must be defective, or he was guilty of dishonesty, for he told them he would vote for the repeal of the Corn Laws (hear, and cheers). If at that time the continuance of those laws he believed to be good, his judgment was defective; and if he had voted for those laws believing them to be bad, it was an act of political dishonesty (cheers). And in either case he was unfit to represent the electors of Westminster, and he would leave him on either of the horns of the dilemma which he chose to select (cheers). There were many other reasons which he (Dr. Bainbridge) could add why they ought to vote on this occasion for the Liberal candidate, but he would leave them to be descanted upon by the gallant general himself, who would deal with them much better than he (Dr. Bainbridge) could possibly pretend to do (cheers). They were now called upon to emancipate themselves and their great city from the disgrace of being misrepresented by an apostate Tory—by a man whom no party could understand—who was a sort of nondescript politician—who was neither fish, flesh, nor fowl (cheers and laughter), but some strange marine monster, with a log of a thousand pounds weight tied to his tail (cheers and laughter), and who stole into Westminster with the express purpose, it would seem, of getting into a good place. He (Dr. Bainbridge) would call upon the electors, by one united effort, to resuscitate their declining fame, and to re-establish themselves in that high and proud eminence which they had so long held in this country (cheers), as the defenders of the great principles of freedom, and the defenders also of the rights and privileges of their fellow-countrymen (loud cheers). In conclusion he seconded the nomination.

Captain Rous then presented himself, and was received with great applause by the "roughs" on his own side of the hustings; but with a preponderating amount of groaning from the other side. Amidst the utmost confusion, which prevailed throughout his whole address, and of which we should not have been able to have caught a word had he not obligingly addressed the reporters instead of the audience, he said—Gentlemen, electors of the city of Westminster, no man can regret more than myself that the peace of the city of Westminster should be disturbed as it is at this moment (groans). It is the duty of every man who wishes well to the Sovereign and to the measures of Sir R. Peel to hold fast by his principles at a time when many are deserting their colours, to consider well what are, and to defend, the true interests of the country. In 1841, when I before had the honour to address the electors of Westminster, I well remember that at that time there was great agricultural distress—that the country was engaged in two wars—that the funds were low, and that a general despondency pervaded all classes. Sir R. Peel shortly afterwards introduced his amended tariff. The consequence was, that the funds rose, peace was restored, and universal prosperity again prevailed. If that was the result of Sir Robert Peel's measures, as it must be admitted that it was, I say, that to Sir Robert Peel alone must be awarded all the merit and all the praise (cheers and confusion). Every branch of business received a stimulus, and general advantage to all classes resulted from the working of Free Trade principles; and seeing that, I could come to no other conclusion, long ere this time, than that the adoption of free trade principles was actually necessary for the country (cheers). I therefore proposed in the House of Commons that Australian wheat should be admitted into this country on favourable terms. I also advocated a Free Trade with our colonies, and in September last I gave it as my opinion that there should not only be a Free Trade in corn, but that as the population increased the Government should give a *bonus* on its introduction, that the people of this country should be supplied with food. No man can say then, gentlemen, that I have changed my opinions to suit the minister of the day; for it is known to every man in Westminster that my opinions were changed long before Sir Robert Peel changed his (cheers, groans, and confusion)—and, if there be any merit in the plans of Sir Robert Peel, I think you will agree with me that no man could carry those measures so well as himself. My Lord John Russell once tried to forward those measures and failed, and it was the opinion of all parties, including the honourable gentleman on my left, that Sir Robert Peel was the only man to carry them (cheers, groans, and other discordant noises). If the electors of Westminster have any fault to find with my votes, they will please to recollect that on every occasion when their interests have been threatened or assailed, I have been found in the van defending their privileges (loud cheers and uproar). The electors of Westminster will be pleased to recollect also that on one particular point of the utmost importance—I mean the window-tax—I seconded Lord Duncan's motion for its repeal; whilst my honourable antagonist, General Evans, though pledged to use his utmost endeavours to repeal that obnoxious tax, absented himself from the division, and never acted up to his pledge. The electors of Westminster will also recollect that I resisted the proposals which were recently made to introduce alterations in our vestry system, and there is not a vestry in Westminster but will bear testimony to the feeling with which I combated that proposal (cheers and confusion). If then, gentlemen, during the four years that I have had the honour of representing the city of Westminster, there is no single act or vote of mine which has been prejudicial to your interests, I ask why the gallant general now comes forward to oppose me, when he knows that my sole object is to support Sir Robert Peel in carrying those measures of Free Trade which are of the utmost importance to the country, and which no other man in the country can carry to a successful termination (great uproar). As regards my having accepted a public appointment, gentlemen, the question is, can I be more useful in performing an official duty, than in leading a more idle life. The gallant officer knows that it is absolutely necessary that the great measures proposed by the government should be carried through, and does he think that he will forward those measures by preventing my return (groans)? I ask you not to return me for my own sake—

it signifies not in the least to me personally whether I am returned to Parliament or not. It is not for myself, but for the real measures which I go to support, that I ask you to return me (great uproar). The election will have a great moral effect upon the constituencies of this country, for it will then show whether or no the electors of Westminster approve of the measures of Sir R. Peel, and by its decision many future elections will be guided. And now, gentlemen, I have only to assure you that, if I am returned again, I shall, though in a public office, have no hesitation in giving my best advice and assistance to gentlemen of any political persuasion who may apply to me. Such is the course I have hitherto pursued, and I defy any man to say other than that I have taken more pains with those who differed from me in politics than with my supporters, knowing that as a gentleman and an Englishman I was bound to make no difference between parties when I was elected to represent all (cheers and groans). Now, gentlemen, in conclusion, whether I am returned or not as your representative, nothing shall ever efface from my mind the gratitude which I owe to the constituency of Westminster. You brought me forward and elected me in the room of the party which had represented the city for near a quarter of a century—you reposed your confidence in me, and I am not aware that I have done anything to forfeit it (cheers and uproar). To-morrow I shall meet you again; in the mean time I beg you to recollect that no improper notice, no reproach of any kind, no gentlemanlike placards have issued from me, and that I deprecate the employment of any abuse whatever. Let me ask the same good humour, and the same conduct from my opponent (uproar). I again repeat, that whether beaten or no, my only object has ever been to do my best to serve my country (cheers, and great uproar).

Sir DE LACY EVANS came forward to address the assemblage, and was received with loud cheers, but owing to the noise and confusion which prevailed it was impossible to hear distinctly a portion of his observations. He spoke to the following effect:—"I always felt great gratification in the honour of appearing before you on former occasions as a candidate for your suffrages, but never on any preceding occasion have I felt more so, or more reliance in the justice of our cause, than in the present instance (cheers). Gentlemen, this election, at this unseasonable time, is none of our seeking, and I was about to go into a statement that would show you how it came to pass, but the returning officer has relieved me from that necessity, for he stated to you in a few words that the acceptance of an office, I believe a very valuable office—under the Government, by Captain Rous, has led to it (cheers). My best course to adopt is to refer at once to all that I have been able to hear of my honourable and gallant opponent's observations (hear, hear, hear). But before doing so, I must beg, in all fairness to him, to express my conviction of his excellent personal qualities (cheers). There is not, I am sure, a more good-humoured, a more urbane, a more manly character in society (cheers); and I wish it to be understood that in any observations I make with reference to him, I solely allude to his political conduct and principles, and if I transcend in the slightest degree the courtesy and good feeling which is due to a man of his excellent private qualities, I trust and hope sincerely that he will believe it was utterly unintended on my part, and that I have no intention but to enter into a fair disquisition of our rival claims to your confidence (hear, hear, and cheers). The most marked observation that my noble and gallant opponent has made is, that there will be a great moral effect arising from this contest (cheers). A great moral effect will certainly arise from it, not only with reference to my honourable and gallant opponent, but also with reference to the Prime Minister of England (loud cries of hear, hear); and, what I esteem quite as much, with reference to the honour, reputation, and fame of this great constituency (cheers). And I confidently trust that between this and to-morrow night that moral effect will be triumphantly established throughout the land (loud cheers). He made a statement which I think rather extraordinary: he seems to attribute to himself the conversion of Sir R. Peel (cheers and laughter) to Free Trade principles. He states, forsooth, that he has a long time been convinced of the propriety of Free Trade principles; but it was only the other night—I believe a few nights since—that a great meeting of the constituency assembled at the Crown and Anchor, for the purpose of supporting the measure of Free Trade now before Parliament, and my gallant opponent was specially invited as one of your representatives to come to that meeting and declare his sentiments on the subject; but no application—no entreaty—no request—no argument, however earnest, could induce him to show himself on that important occasion (cheers). He has said that Sir Robert Peel has only one object in all his measures—namely, the welfare and happiness, and I suppose the liberty too, of the great body of the people (hear, hear). Now, gentlemen, was it in order to sustain the principles of liberty that he perseveringly opposed the emancipation of the slaves in the West India colonies (hear, and cheers)? Was it to further the rights of the great body of the people that for about twenty years of his life he resisted—unhappily with great power—the emancipation of our Catholic fellow-subjects in Ireland (hear, hear)? Was it to further the rights, liberties, and welfare of the people, that throughout his whole political career he has resisted Parliamentary reform (cheers); and when beaten out of his opposition to it—as he has been beaten out of his opposition to every other measure he opposed—has sought to restrict the operation of reform by resorting to all the technicalities of the Registration Court (cheers)? He, with a naïveté and innocence quite amusing, asks how is it possible I can come forward to oppose him, professing myself at the same time to be the friend of Free Trade, and seek to deprive Sir Robert Peel of his co-operation (hear, hear)? I have been the advocate of Free Trade for some 20 years, and I would now go into the house not only to support the Government measure, but the full and immediate repeal (loud cheers). I wish to discharge my duty by examining into the pretensions of my honourable and gallant opponent, and the extraordinary manner in which he comes before you. He says, in the speech made by him, that he repels the insinuation that he was guided by any interested motive in adopting Free Trade principles, or adopting the course that he now pursues. I will not judge him by prejudiced opinions; but will apply to him a rule which was laid down two or three nights back by Sir James Graham, one of the principal members of the Government with which he is now connected. Sir James Graham states that the true test of a disinterested and conscientious conversion is to inquire whether a man's worldly interests are promoted by his conversion. Well, sir, it is but fair for me to take this test, which is applied by one of the principal leaders of the Government, as applicable to his hon. colleague, my hon. and gallant opponent, as a candidate who has obtained

office, and to myself as a candidate without any office. He, I think, falls under Sir James Graham's test, and it is an excellent test. He has succeeded to an excellent office with a very handsome salary. I am quite sure that, in doing so, his motives are honourable, and that he has been guided by a high and most excusable personal ambition; but we have nothing to do with his personal ambition; our business is to inquire into the probable causes of his conversion, and here they are stated by Sir James Graham (cheer). I have been always in the opposite category. It happens that very many years before the honourable gentleman appeared as a supporter of Free Trade, I was a supporter of it (loud cheers); but I was not a supporter of it with any result of advantage to myself, but the contrary (hear, hear). I have supported it when my advocacy of it produced to me most severe professional discountenance, and also professional persecution (cheers). This is the advantage my honourable opponent possesses over me, that at the period of his conversion he succeeded to a comfortable berth, while I have been exposed to the very reverse (cheers). I now beg leave to remind you of the consequences that followed on your supineness and over-confidence at the last election (hear, hear). The first question that came before the house was this very identical question of the Corn Laws, and what did my honourable and gallant opponent say on the subject? He said, if you repealed the Corn Laws, you would be reduced to utter destitution; you would be reduced for subsistence to bread and an onion and a suck at the pump (laughter)—instead of the beer and gin that you now enjoy. I don't think that was a very good proof of his political wisdom, though perhaps it was a most excellent proof of his oratorical taste (cheers and laughter). The next question was one in which you and the great body of the people, and all benevolent people, are interested—I advert to the motion brought forward by Mr. Walter, with reference to the dietary system of the poor (hear, hear). I will refer you to a letter which was published in all the newspapers from Mr. Walter, a most honest and philanthropic supporter of the rights of the poor—I will refer you to that, and not to anything I shall say, with regard to myself, as to the relative conduct of my honourable opponent and my conduct with regard to the poor on that occasion (cheers). I deem it necessary here to advert to some statements made at the last election with respect to our friends the licensed victuallers (hear). It was represented that they were extremely displeased with me, because of some 10 per cent. that was imposed upon them by the late Government. I regret that cause of annoyance should have taken place, but I suggest to our friends—our impartial friends, the licensed victuallers' body—to cast their eyes back through the statute-book, and I think they will find a good many statutes in that book originating with the party of my honourable and gallant opponent, that are ten times worse than the 10 per cent. measure (cheers). For instance, the Beer Bill. I think the Beer Bill originated with them; it is not attributable to the late Government, at all events (hear, hear). I now come to speak of my conduct on several occasions. I doubt if it be not altogether superfluous to detain you by entering into detail as to my political principles, which are really unchanged, and which are quite opposed to those of the honourable and gallant captain (cheers). I have been always the supporter of civil equality, as applicable to all sects and denominations (cheers). I have at all times supported the abolition of penal laws affecting the dissenters (cheers). I have likewise been the advocate, of course, of the abolition of the laws which oppressed the Catholics of both kingdoms (loud cheers). And let me also tell you that I never failed to give my vote and support in favour of the most barbarously oppressed people in Europe—the Jews (cheers); a people as respectable—as industrious—as deserving—as good subjects—and as well entitled to enjoy the rights possessed by their fellow-subjects, as any other portion of the people of the country (hear). Need I tell you that I shall continue to support them (cheers)? I doubt if my hon. and gallant friend will have the power to do so, even though he should have the will. His hands are now tied up; however good and excellent his intentions may be, he will be under the necessity of holding his tongue and giving his vote as the head of the Government may direct (cheers). I beg to remind you that in going to Parliament as your representative on this occasion, I go there to support and carry out to the utmost the measures of Sir Robert Peel (cheers). But remember that those measures will not be complete until a period of three years has elapsed. Recollect that for many years Sir Robert Peel was opposed to the repeal of the Corn Laws; a sudden conversion on his part has taken place, but can we be quite sure that another sudden conversion may not come over him during the next three years (cheers)? Look back to the conduct of Sir Robert Peel on former occasions (hear, hear). When beaten on the subject of the Test Act—when beaten on the subject of the emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland (cheers) when those great measures were passed, did he cordially endeavour to carry out practically the results of those measures (hear, hear)? No, up to this day the Dissenters, the Catholics, and the Jews, are practically deprived of the benefits of those laws, so far as it is possible for the Government to deprive them of it (hear, hear). My hon. and gallant friend tells you that Sir Robert Peel is entitled to the whole merit of granting those measures. Now, I ask, did Mr. O'Connell do nothing for emancipation (cheers)? Did Mr. Cobden do nothing for Free Trade (cheers)? Did Lord J. Russell do nothing with regard to Parliamentary Reform or the Test Act (cheers)? This is the most audacious pretension that ever was heard of (hear). He says Sir R. Peel is the only man who can carry this Corn Law measure into operation. If that statement had been made two months ago, I would entirely concur with him. At that time the great Conservative party was not broken up, and if Sir R. Peel was then ready to sacrifice his political consistency, he was possessed of great power. But Sir R. Peel has since turned about (hear). He has laid his measures before the house, and he would not do so if he were not compelled to adopt that course. But now the Conservative party is broken up, and so far now from being the person to bring about this alteration of the law, Lord J. Russell is really the proper person to carry that measure; but you will permit me to say that the measures of Free Trade depend now neither upon Sir R. Peel, their present proposer, nor upon Lord John Russell, the consistent and honourable advocate of those principles; for the people of England have determined in favour of Free Trade, and it matters not a straw who is the minister or which is the administration (vociferous applause). Free Trade is already virtually enacted, and it is nonsense to tell you that the traitor or rather the deserter of his principles is the only person to carry it into effect (cheers and confusion). Now, gentlemen, allow me to refer to another point. My honourable opponent said in his speech

of last night (and I have no doubt that he referred to me) that he was so strong in your good opinion that he could well dispense with the glitter of aristocracy amongst his supporters. On his election in 1841, gentlemen, I think nothing of that kind fell from the lips of my honourable opponent; but, for my part, I have no disposition upon this occasion to dispense with what he calls "the glitter of aristocracy." On the contrary, though myself tolerably democratic in my sentiments, as you know—though myself one of you, of and from the people—yet I hesitate not to say that I am proud to number amongst my supporters many noble and illustrious families who have faithfully served the people's cause, and who are a pride and an ornament to the country to which they belong (loud cheers and the usual interruption). That is my answer to the charge of depending upon the glitter of aristocracy; and now let me ask you what sort of a candidate must that be who is abandoned by the aristocracy of both parties, save by that excellent nobleman who seconded his nomination, and to whom I render all personal and political respect (loud cheers)? Except by that noble lord, my honourable opponent is literally abandoned by the aristocracy of this country. Then I come to the press; and again let me ask you, what sort of a candidate can he be who is not only deserted by the aristocracy, but who can find no supporter amongst the whole public press of the metropolis, that great exponent of public opinion in this country (loud cheers)? Let us take the newspapers which rank first as the representatives of the high Tory party of this kingdom, the *Standard* and the *Morning Herald*, and let us see what they say. They have not one idea in common with me, yet they are firmly of opinion that the honest and honourable men of all parties will vote for me (cheers). Now, gentlemen, I will mention to you one sentence more, as an indication of the feeling of that high and respectable Tory party which returned my honourable opponent to Parliament in 1841. Immediately after announcing that I was your candidate, I met a member of Parliament of great eminence as a public man, and of the highest character, both in political and private life. Though directly opposed to me in politics, he said, "I am delighted that you are a candidate. On the last occasion I was opposed to you, and I did my best to return Captain Rous; but now I shall give my whole support to you." I said that I was extremely gratified to hear that from a man whose sentiments and character were well known to be so sound and unimpeachable as his, and that I was the more delighted, because I regarded it as a key to the opinion of the whole of his great party. He answered, "I hope it is; but allow me to say that it is not a key to the opinions of my party only, but to the opinions of the great mass, in fact, of the whole body of the English people, who love fair play, honour, and consistency, and detest the contrary" (loud cheers, mingled with disapprobation). One word more:—Gentlemen, I am simply an instrument in your hands; I do not invite you to exert yourselves on this occasion on my personal account; but I invite and entreat you to omit no exertions, both now and to-morrow, to advance those great principles of liberty and Free Trade which I have ever supported; and I entreat you, in the words of my honourable opponent, to teach your representatives the great moral lesson that political rectitude can alone receive your approbation and support (loud cheers and uproar).

No other candidate having been proposed, The HIGH BAILIFF called for a show of hands on behalf of Captain Rous. About 50 hands out of the whole vast assemblage, which had by this time considerably increased, and now blocked up the main thoroughfare of the market, were all that were held up for the hon. captain.

Another show, for Sir De Lacy Evans, was next called for, and amidst the loudest cheering and applause a perfect forest of hands was exposed.

The nomination was declared to be in favour of General Sir De Lacy Evans, and a poll having been demanded on behalf of Captain Rous, the assemblage soon after quietly dispersed.

RESULT OF THE ELECTION.

The polling for this election commenced on Wednesday morning at 8, and closed at 4, resulting, as will be seen, in the triumph of the Liberal candidate. At four o'clock, it having been evident for some hours previous that the fortune of the day would be with Gen. Evans, crowds of Liberal electors, and friends of the cause, flocked from all directions to the front of the Ship Hotel, Charing-cross, to congratulate their old and gallant representative, now once more reinstated in his proper position. About half-past four o'clock Sir De Lacy Evans presented himself at the balcony of the hotel, and was immediately hailed with deafening shouts and huzzas, intermingled with waving of hats and handkerchiefs, which continued for some minutes. When silence was in some measure obtained the gallant general briefly addressed the crowd from the window. He said, that although the state of the poll would not be officially announced till to-morrow (this day) he had great pleasure in informing them that he believed the majority in his favour would be at least 800 on the day's canvass (loud cheers). He thanked them and all his fellow-citizens for the zeal and public spirit they had exhibited during the day, and throughout the whole of this highly important struggle. It would do honour to them (cheers). A glorious victory having been obtained, they might return home for the present. To-morrow he would address them at greater length. In the meantime they might congratulate themselves that they had amply and nobly vindicated the ancient reputation of this city, and given a lesson to the Tories and the new Government (loud cheering). He had not then five minutes breath in him, but he would do both the triumph and the true and honest Liberals who had achieved it greater justice, and address them more at length from the hustings to-morrow (cheers). Once more, he begged to congratulate them on the result of their exertions, and to thank them all from the bottom of his heart.

Three hearty cheers were then given for Sir De Lacy Evans, and for civil and religious liberty, and the crowd broke up.

The following is the hourly state of the poll throughout the day, as given by General Evans's committee:

Nine o'Clock.		
Evans		659
Rous		284
Majority		375
Ten o'Clock.		
Evans		1001
Rous		707
Majority		354

Eleven o'Clock.

Evans 1668
Rous 1180

Majority 488

Twelve o'Clock.

Evans 2114
Rous 1650

Majority 464

One o'Clock.

Evans 2543
Rous 2003

Majority 535

Two o'Clock.

Evans 2952
Rous 2298

Majority 654

Three o'Clock.

Evans 3355
Rous 2635

Majority 720

Four o'Clock.

Evans 3703
Rous 2938

Majority 765

As given by Captain Rous's committee the numbers stood at the close:—

Evans 3703
Rous 2893

Majority 900

It may be worth while to append the numbers polled by the same two candidates at the last election, in 1841. They were as follow:—Rous, 3338; Evans, 3258.

OFFICIAL DECLARATION OF THE POLL.

On Thursday, at two o'clock, the High Bailiff (F. Smedley, Esq.) attended at the hustings at Covent Garden Market, for the purpose of officially declaring the final state of the poll.

The crowd was very great, but not so noisy as at the nomination of candidates. General Evans, attended by the Hon. Mr. Bouverie, Lord Marcus Hill, and a number of his friends, arrived a few minutes before two o'clock; they were most enthusiastically cheered. Captain Rous, and a number of his most influential supporters, shortly afterwards presented themselves on the hustings. They were received with the most deafening and discordant yells and hisses, intermixed with some cheers from their friends.

The High Bailiff then announced the numbers polled for each candidate to be as follows:—

Gen. Evans 3843
Capt. Rous 2903

Majority for Gen. Evans 937

The announcement of the numbers was received with tremendous cheers and hisses, amidst which General Sir De Lacy Evans came forward and addressed the thousands assembled, thanking them for the honour conferred upon him.

STATEMENTS OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

Torrington, Devon, February 1, 1846.

SIR,—I have attended many of the poor which Mr. Geo. Toms, our indefatigable Secretary, has reported upon, and whose cases he will send to you by this day's post; and I can confirm his statements relative to their destitution and misery. I believe there are many families in even a worse condition than those he has sketched. Trusting soon to witness the abolition of the starvation laws, I remain, Sir, yours respectfully,

G. Wilson, Esq. T. K. TAPLEY, Surgeon.

Torrington, Jan. 31, 1846.

SIR,—I beg to hand you the statement of different agricultural labourers of this district, as you requested me, and I am greatly obliged to you for the offer of some beds and bedding for them. I do assure you that the labourers in this locality are in a most deplorable state, as you will see by the statement which I have sent. Within the last week I have had application from a hundred labourers, giving me a most awful account of themselves and families. Be pleased to direct the beds and bedding to me. I will, with our friend Mr. Rous, deliver them out as you may direct. Also, I beg to state that Pickford & Co., carriers, as a communication from Manchester to Exeter, will be the best conveyance for you to send it by. I beg to remain, Sir, yours, &c.,

G. Wilson, Esq. GEO. TOMS.

P.S.—The 'squires are rampant almost to think of the League's sending beds amongst the labourers, and inquiring into their state.

Samuel Perryman, of Saint Giles, aged 36 years, wife aged 40, mother of 11 children in 13 years. I have 7 children now at home, 6 of them under 9 years of age. I have worked for 14 years with Mr. Hookway, of this parish. My wages is 7s. per week. I pay 4s. per bushel for barley, rent 2l. 10s. a-year. I have no potatoes; nothing more than the penny goes for. My family is the most distressed in the whole parish. I am now under the doctor's care, and I am fearful I shall be a cripple. The 7s. is all we have to live upon.

George Hoare, wife and 5 children; of the parish of Fristlestock, wages 7s. per week. I work for Mr. John Fisher, living on his own estate. I had my goods all sold up for rent, and was obliged to go to the workhouse. I have been in great distress, me and my family.

Statement of the wife of Philip Morrish, labourer to Mr. Mann, of the parish of Fristlestock. The estate Mr. Mann rents of Lord Clinton.—My husband's age is 34. I am about the same age. I have had 7 children in the whole, with a great deal of sickness. I have buried 3 children. His wages is 7s. per week. I have rented the house for two years and a half of Mr. Mann, my husband's master, but I am obliged to leave it, it being ready to fall down. My rent is 1s. 2d. per week, or one day's work. After my rent is paid I have 6s. 10d. to live upon. My husband's master pays me in cash, and I go to Torrington market, and make the best of it. I seldom or ever buy any meat. I buy a pound (a week) of bacon, at 8d. per pound; I get a half-bushel of wheat a-week, and then my stock is nearly gone. I get a little sometimes

myself, which helps us along. My husband has been ill, and has only done five and a half days' work since Christmas. He belongs to a sick club, and now he gets 5s. per week. I have also two children ill. I am sure you can have no idea of the state of my affairs.

Statement of the wife of James Short, Great Torrington, aged 36 years.—She says that he has not been able to get any employment for some time. He served his apprenticeship with Mr. Ward, a farmer of Great Torrington, and he is considered a first-rate labourer. We have 4 children, all very young; neither of them gets a penny. He has been employed on the parish road for some time. His work averages about 3 days a-week, for which he gets 3s. 6d. My rent, including poor-rates, &c., is 1s. 2d. per week. I buy half-a-pound of suet or lard weekly, for six of us to live upon, and the remainder I lay out in potatoes. We have very seldom any bread, or any food some days to eat. I often hear my children crying for bread, and I have nothing to give them. I seldom or ever taste any animal food; I often grieve when I pass through the market and see it, and think that there is none for me. I am often without fire or food; you can well judge of my other matters.

Richard Scott, labourer, aged 41 years; works for Mr. Shopland, farmer, of the parish of St. Giles; the estate belongs to Mrs. Morrison, of Yeovil, in the parish of Peppercombe:—He says that he has had 8 children in the whole; two are dead. I have now 5 home with me; 4 of them get not a farthing. My wages are 7s. per week. I buy my corn of my master at one stated price at all times, viz. 7s. per bushel for wheat, and 3s. 6d. for barley. I settle with my master once a month, and then I have to allow for three bushels of corn. I sometimes settle up for months and months, and never receive a farthing, and then in debt. I have my bacon and other things of him. My rent is 5l.—house, orchard, and small spot of ground, which I till my potatoes in. My family have seldom tasted fresh meat this last fortnight. I have not had anything more in my house for 7 to live upon but one pound of suet. I take my dry bread with me, and my master allows me one quart of cider per day. I am very short of bedding, having no money left to buy anything with. I buy a small pig, and rear it, and sell it to pay my rent.

James Vicary, agricultural labourer.—He has 5 children, rent 3l. per year; to maintain this family, his wages are 7s. per week, and seldom in full employment at that rate. The above-named labourer gave evidence of the state of his fellow labourers in this district before the League in Palace Yard, London, and was there remarked for his intelligence. Since that time, he has suffered great privations. I have frequently heard him say he has been obliged to rise from the table before he had half sufficed his stomach, to leave the coarse food for his children.

William Bunbury, labourer, of Langtree, has a wife and 8 children. Neither of his children get anything. Wages 7s. per week. Works for John Tucker. Believes that the estate is his master's.

William Mitchell, labourer, of the parish of Shebbear—Wife and 4 children; wages 7s. per week. Rent 2l. 12s. per year. His family are very bad off.

George Jewell, labourer, of this parish; he now being a tenant of mine. In removing his goods at Michelmas, I found him in a state of poverty. His earnings are 7s. per week. He has a hard family; his wife is shortly expecting the 8th child.—GEO. PHILLIPS, Hantsaws, Jan. 28.

Statement of the wife of George Jewell, of the parish of Hantsaws, labourer; he works for Mr. George Phillips, a tenant of Lord Clinton:—My husband's wages is 7s. per week. My barley I buy of Mr. Phillips, for which I pay 4s. per bushel; and he charges us 7s. 6d. for wheat, should we at any time want any. I am daily expecting the 8th child. I am very poor; I have no change of any bedding. I have not a child that can earn a farthing. My husband's master gave me this paper to give you, to show that I am in great distress. I have 4 children living—one always ill. The parish allows me 6d. per week. My house rent is 3l. 10s., which I pay to Mr. Phillips. The house belongs to Lord Clinton. I buy a pound of suet at 6d. per pound, per week; some weeks we manage to buy a pound of bacon. That is all we get per week as animal food.

John Lockyer, Great Torrington.—I am a labourer in the employment of Mr. Hunt, a tenant farmer of Lord Rolle. My wages is 14d. per day. One shilling we pay for rent; then we have 6s. to maintain six of us; and by the time we have bought fire, candles, and soap, we have 4s. 6d. to maintain six on. Meat we never get any, unless we have a half-pound of suet, or a pennyworth of bacon. We never eat anything but barley bread, and not enough of that; and as to our bedding, we have one blanket and one whole sheet for us all; our beds are straw, and the rain comes in in different places. We have but one small table and three broken chairs and two stools. We have had 10 children; five living; four we have at home, and one lives out; five we have buried, three of whom were completely starved to death through the means of a severe parish, and one we have very ill now, and my wife went to the relieving officer for an order for the doctor; and my wife asked the doctor if he could do anything for the child; but he said no; there was a private mark on the order; and he could not do it at the time. I lost my three children. I had nothing but stones to break, and had to go nine miles a day, and work hard for 5s. per week; and I expect this is the last week's work I shall have at Mr. Hunt's, and I shall have nothing but the parish roads to trust to, and then I shall have but 4s. 8d. per week.

[The foregoing statement was written by John Lockyer himself. I should add that he was not regularly brought up as an agricultural labourer, although he now works at it.—GEO. TOMS.]

William Kelly, labourer, of the parish of St. Giles, near the seat of the late Lord Rolle, states that he works regularly for Mr. William Liverton, of the parish of Beaford, for which he gets 7s. per week, and one quart of cider per day. The estate that I work on belongs to Sir Thomas Ackland, the member for the northern division of the county. My wife has had 10 children, and are all living. I have six home with me now; five of my children are under nine years of age, and never earned me a penny. My wife has been ill for near 12 months, and the parish have allowed me 1s. per week. I pay my master 4s. per bushel for my barley; for this last month I have used in my family one bushel per week; my potatoes are getting shorter. After my barley is paid for, I have left only 3s. to buy other things for my family. My rent is 3l. 10s. a year. I have a garden, which I till potatoes in, also other garden necessities. My master pays me once a month. After deducting for the corn and other things I have of him, I do not receive much at the end of the month. My clothes I beg, for I have no money to buy them with. I have not a morsel of bread in my house this day (Sunday) to give my children. I have

boiled some potatoes for them. I shall take my bag with me to-morrow for corn.—Jan. 25, 1846.

Statement of the wife of Richard Sussex, labourer, of the parish of St. Giles (the late Lord Rolle parish).—My husband has worked for Mr. Tanton, with his apprenticeship included, for 22 years. His wages are 6s. per week. I have five children, and soon I shall have another. My children are all young, and neither of them get a penny. I have no potatoes more than I am obliged to buy. How I get through with my family I cannot tell you; we are very often in want of food. If I can use one pound of bacon per week, that is the outside for the seven to live upon. I pay 3s. per bushel to my husband's master for barley; we use one bushel per week; then I have 3s. left, out of that 1s. 2d. to pay for rent. The house I rent of Frank Squire, of St. Giles' Town. My husband's master, Mr. Tanton, rents his estate of the representatives of Lord Rolle.

Statement of the wife of Samuel Ackland, of the parish of St. Giles. My husband, when able to work, gets 10d. per day. He works the bone mill for Mr. Geo. Braginton. I have 2 children.

Statement of the wife of Abraham Bright, of High Land, of St. Giles, who says—I have had a hard family, 10 children in the whole. I have 4 at home with me now. One of the children goes out sometimes for a bit of meat, the other 3 get nothing. My husband works for Mr. Row, and gets 6s. per week. Mr. Row is a tenant farmer of Lord Rolle's representatives. I buy a bushel of barley weekly, having no potatoes. I pay 3s. 6d. per bushel for barley to Mr. Row. My house rent is 3l. 10s. a-year. In addition to the rent, I am obliged to pay poor-rate and tithe. I have been summoned many a time for non-payment. I have 50 or 60 yards of land to my cottage. If you would call and see my bedding you would be frightened; I have borrowed a blanket from the parson for three years past, and return the same again in May to the parson. I do not use half a pound of suet a week, for I cannot get it. I burn bread, and put it into the tea-pot for our tea.

Mulford Judd, of the parish of St. Giles, stated—I work for Mr. Liverton, of Beaford; the estate belongs to Sir T. Ackland. I have 5 children, four of them under 9 years of age. I work for 6s. 10d. per week, giving 4s. per bushel for barley; rent, 3l. 7s. per year. I am the son of a farmer.

William Parr, living in the parish of St. Giles, working for Mr. Liverton, tenant of Sir Thos. Ackland, works for 1s. per day; five children; 3s. per bushel for barley; rent, 3l. per year.

Richard Burd, labourer; wages, 7s. per week.—I have 4 children: I work three days a week for Mr. Symons. The estate belongs to John Furze, Esq. The other three days I work for Mr. Tanton, who rents his estate of Lord Rolle's representatives.

John Lethbridge has 6 children; three get nothing. Wages, 6s. per week. Works for Mr. Hadlow, of Roburrough. His wages are as high as any in the parish. Rent, 4l. per year; small field to my house.

Richard Belt, labourer, of the parish of Great Torrington, states that he gets 1s. 2d. per day. Sometimes he gets a few days' work from Farmer Stone, a tenant of Lord Rolle; at other times he gets a few days on the parish road, averaging about five days work per week. I have had 6 children, I buried one of them just before Christmas. One of them lives out, and the other four home. My rent is 1s. 2d. per week; after that is paid I have 4s. 8d. left. I buy one pound of bacon per week, and one peck of potatoes, and half a bushel of barley; and some weeks I buy half a bushel of wheat instead of the barley, as I have no meat to eat with it; and it is a change to have a little wheaten bread with our warm milk and water. I never have any tea; I get a bit of peppermint sometimes. I am sorry to say that all my goods, including bed, &c., &c., (if you can call it so) are gone; that I have nothing now to hold the straw in. I have one broken chair, and an old table; I am sure that it is not worth 5s. altogether. I am indebted to my master, Mr. Stone, 22s. for the corn. If Farmer Stone had not let me have it, we should have been starved. I had four children ill at one time in the small-pox, about three months since, and then I got in debt for food for the children. My age is 37 years, my wife about the same. My wife fries me a piece of the pound of bacon when I return from work. I never carry any thing to work with me, but dry bread, for the pound of bacon must last all six of us for seven days, which costs 8d. I brought home my pound of bacon from Farmer Stone's tonight for the week. I leave you to judge our state.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

SIR,—I beg, through the medium of THE LEAGUE, to say that I have received the sum of 1l. from F. Monro, Cheltenham, for the use of the starving poor in Bicester. Many thanks to Mr. Monro. I have met, within the last fortnight, with sober and honest women and children, who have been compelled by hunger's gripes to weep frequently and aloud this winter for a piece of bread. It is a fact!

W. FERGUSON.

ROYAL POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTION.—The chemical lecturer of the above most excellent establishment, Dr. John Ryan, has, we are delighted to inform our readers, resumed the subject of general chemistry, which has for a considerable period been set aside for that all-engrossing subject the potato disease. The lecture was on the subject of heat, introductory to an extended series explanatory of the application of chemistry to the general purposes of life. We need scarcely say that the lecture was attended by a crowded and most respectable audience, who listened to the learned professor's discourse with breathless silence. We are more and more convinced of the high character and the moral influence of this splendid institution, especially when its professors take so much pains to bring the most abstruse subjects of science before their auditors in such a plain and simple form. This popular mode of treating subjects of scientific character is mainly owing to the committee of directors, who by so doing prove their good taste, and fully entitles them to the most extended patronage of the public. If we might offer to Dr. Ryan a fitting subject for a future course of lectures, we would suggest to him as a text-book the report of the Health of Towns' Commissioners. There he would find a wide and legitimate field for his powers as a chemical and medical teacher. The lectures on natural philosophy are highly creditable to the scientific knowledge of Dr. Bachoffner, who by the pleasing manner in which he delivers his discourse, procures him continually a large and delighted audience.

The Marquis of Sligo, the Hon. Mr. Dutton, and a party of English travellers, ascended the first cataract of the Nile, at Assouan, on the 20th of December.

AGRICULTURE.

THE RURAL REVOLUTION.

County members and protectionist lords have declared in every variety of tone, from the fierce to the dolorous, that a Free Trade in corn will be "a revolution;" a "danger greater than the Reform Bill itself." This language is intended to operate upon the mind of the timid and cautious mass of the well-to-do people against the impending change; but, like the thrice-repeated false cry of "wolf," it has ceased to have any potent effect.

Nevertheless, there is a sense in which that cry is perfectly true. Free Trade will effect a revolution, a great social revolution, but one which none, except monopolist landowners, will deem open to the slightest objection.

The revolution we allude to will be in the condition of tenant farmers, and in the state of British husbandry. Free Trade will, by its direct and indirect operation, render farmers independent, and husbandry a prosperous business. We fancy we hear our brother farmers exclaim, "that will, indeed, be a revolution!"

It is admitted that the condition of the "protected" agricultural labourers is so low, that if Free Trade does not raise them, it can depress them no lower. That was distinctly declared by Mr. Sidney Herbert, one of the members for South Wilts, an exclusively agricultural district, in which the farmers have implicitly relied upon "protection." We shall presently show, from sources not open to question, that the position of the tenant farmer is very similar. Protected, they have not prospered; and that chiefly by reason of the hand-to-mouth system protection has engendered. The dreaded "revolution" cannot do them more mischief than they endure from restriction, and may—indeed will—raise them from the dust.

And here let us call the attention of our readers to the kind of twaddle which passes current in the House of Commons for advocacy of the interests of tenant farmers. Mr. Stafford O'Brien—confessedly the only protectionist member of Parliament who has any pretension to debating power—at the close of his speech on Sir Robert Peel's plan, thus attempts to make out that "protection" is a tenant farmers' question. He said:

I am satisfied it is a tenant-farmer's question. And, far from thinking that a reason for underrating its importance, it is on that very account I resolve to make my stand against the measure. Apply the precepts of your new philosophy to the tenant-farmer. Suppose prices fall in consequence—partly, perhaps, of an inundation of foreign corn—the tenant-farmer says to his landlord, "I hope, sir, you will allow me a small abatement in my rent? I may not know so much about draining as Mr. Smith, of Deanston; I may not have all the patent implements, nor show the fattest pig; but my family has held under your's for many a generation: we have weathered hard years together; we have worn your colours—and we should be sorry to go elsewhere." The landlord may reply, "My good fellow, I am very sorry for you. You have invested your capital in these drainings and these soils; but so I have mine. You have invested the money—as I have—on the faith of the legislature. But we are told now by the Prime Minister that we are 'to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest.' There is a gentleman from the manufacturing districts with more capital than you, ready to invest in your farm. I really must look to my own family arrangements. You talk of feudal times and days, long gone by—you conjure up old exploded notions—and as for 'colours,' why, my good fellow, there is no 'true blue' now! Yes! unless the landlord, therefore, acts towards his tenant a better part, and with kindlier feeling than you are now prepared to act towards the whole agricultural body, the tenant-farmer must leave his farm. The manufacturer—whoever he may be—with large capital and more 'energy' (if you will), comes in, and the product is perhaps a quarter or two more per acre—" ("Hear," from the Opposition)—and that is called "improvement of agriculture;" but the only men who will suffer—mark!—are the men whose fault it was to have been poor comparatively, but whose fatal fault was that they trusted you! A short simple story, Sir, sometimes does better to illustrate an argument than more formal reasoning. Some months ago a farmer told me, "I have had a fortune left me." "Well, then," replied I, "you had better leave these 'cold clays'—take a better sort of land—settle down to it, and make your fortune double." "Sir," replied he, "there are the gravestones for four generations of my family in this parish. My father, grandfather, and great grandfather worked this farm—I will not go any where else. I will try what I can do at home. I will stick to the old farm till the plough breaks in the furrows." (Great cheering.) Sir, the heart of that man was worth volumes of political economy. (Renewed cheering.) And it is hundreds and thousands of men like him, without the same fortune indeed in their pockets, but with the same sort of heart in their bosoms, whom you are driving forth by your legislation, with broken hearts and ruined fortunes.

Now this is arrant nonsense. Pure unadulterated maudlin; as much like the reality as a sentimental novel is to actual life. And none would more eagerly repudiate such advocacy than the tenant farmer. It implies that the present servile and abject con-

dition of too many tenants is a necessary condition, and one which it is desirable to perpetuate. Farmers take land to make a living, to earn a competency, to get money, and they naturally prefer to remain in the farm or the neighbourhood in which they were born and bred, because they have their relations and their associations around them; but the notion of having "worn the landlord's colours," or of entertaining any sentimental recollection of the generations who have lived on "his honour's estate," is all non sense. Farmers have no feelings of the sort. They have too much sense for that. They come for abatements of rent upon very different grounds. They say, "prices are not remunerating; the Corn Laws have not kept us where we expected, we have not the prices your law promised us, and we ought to have some abatement." That is in substance the appeal made to the landlord for abatement.

Now, let us strip Mr. O'Brien's speech of its tinsel and sentiment, and we shall find it contains three positions, on the part of the tenant farmers, as he alleges, why there should not be Free Trade: that they don't drain; that they have not the best implements and stock; that they have invested capital in farming on the faith of Act of Parliament prices; that there are other persons of more capital than the present tenants, ready to occupy the land; that old tenants must, therefore, be displaced; that "a quarter or two per acre" above the present produce may be grown, and that many farmers stick to an unprofitable farm, and unprofitable practices, from sheer *vis inertiae*. Now, farmers don't drain, or obtain the best implements and stock, for two reasons; first, because they have not that security of tenure which is necessary to justify expensive improvements; secondly, because they have been induced, through delusive reliance on protection, to take too much land in proportion to their capital they "invest their money on the faith of the legislature" in a way which prevents their obtaining full crops. These things are the direct results of landlord rules and landlord legislation, from which Free Trade will tend more than anything to relieve the tenant farmers. When prices are natural, when farmers have no fluctuations to guard against, except such as are caused by variations of seasons, they will necessarily apply themselves exclusively to grow the largest produce; and it is a mere monopolist artifice to pretend that the present race of farmers cannot, if their landlords would let them, so increase their produce as to defy foreign competition. It is impossible to take up a modern agriculturist work, without meeting with striking evidences of the fact that tenants require certainty, security, and the removal of landlord imposed burdens.

Dip, for instance, into the part of the journal of the Royal Agricultural Society, just published, and we can scarcely miss passages of this sort. Thus, in a prior essay on the farming of Kent, the writer says, speaking of hop culture, "Hop-growing is a speculation, in which a few occasionally realise immense profits, the hope of obtaining which induces the many to persevere. It is a lottery, in which the blanks are too commonly found disproportionate to the prizes." Hops, be it remembered, are highly protected; and what is stated with reference to hop growing, is strictly applicable to farming in general, which, under the restrictive system, is a speculation and a lottery, where the blanks exceed the prizes. Again, we are told, "In years of great abundance the price is so low as scarcely to meet the duty, and the expense of picking and drying. The chief hope of the planters obtaining a remunerating price is the chance that the crop in some other districts, save his own, may more or less fail. The cultivation of hops too frequently receives such exclusive attention as to act most injuriously on all the other crops. It is no uncommon thing to see the small portion devoted to the growth of hops, highly manured and cultivated, while the rest of the land is suffered, year after year, to remain in a foul and exhausted condition." What a picture of protected farming! Every word is applicable to grain growing. And the writer condemns the existing system when he says, "the sooner that hop-culture is allowed to occupy only a subordinate place in the extended husbandry of Kent,

the better will it be for the advancement of agriculture and general prosperity."

The same writer says, before "draining" can be successfully carried out on that extensive district called the Weald, the small fields must be enlarged by grubbing the hedges and felling trees; and adds, "Not less than one-eighth of the arable land of this extensive district is occupied by hedges and trees, taking into calculation the ground that is injured by their roots and shade."

The consequence of this is, that "there are many thousands of acres in the Weald of Kent, which cannot, under existing circumstances, be cultivated without a positive loss, that might be made to yield of most kinds of corn a full average of the kingdom." And it is said these landlord-reserved trees do more injury to the crops in three or four years, "than the whole value of the trees will amount to after continuing the mischief for half a century." And the produce of the hedge-rows and the timber "would, after paying the expenses of grubbing, levelling, &c., go a great way in defraying the cost of thoroughly draining the whole Weald."

Here, then, the landlord, and the landlord alone, can enable the tenant to compete in the world's market. We suppose that it was in some such ungenial district as this that Mr. O'Brien's farmer, would "stick to the old farm till the plough breaks in the furrows"—against the roots of the hedgerow timber possibly!

Again: another writer in the same journal says, in an Essay on Fences,—“in the average of farms in this district (Sussex), one acre in ten would be added to the cultivated land by the entire extinction of fences. The second reason, and many tenant farmers would say the first, is, that any covert for game in the shape of hedgerows, would be totally destroyed.”

Here we have a hint of another landlord-imposed burden. And the last writer, in a very practical exposition of the evils of high hedges and timber trees, asks, "What object can a landowner have in the preservation of hedgerow timber? In a pecuniary point of view, he would be abundantly repaid by the interest upon invested capital, realised by the sale of the timber, and the increased value of the land to the occupying tenant."

So Mr. Karkeek, in his prize Essay on the farming of Cornwall, after stating his own high estimate of the value of "chemical science and mechanical ingenuity, in increasing the productive powers of the soil," adds, "but I should anticipate a hundred-fold greater improvements in Cornwall, within the next fourteen years, if the landlords—one and all—would adopt a better system in their leases."

And on the prevalent practice of holding too much land in proportion to capital, he says "There is no mistake more common or more injurious than the supposition that the more land a man occupies the greater must be his profits. The profit does not arise from the land itself, but from the mode of cultivation; and we could adduce many instances around us to prove, that farmers properly managing small holdings, are improving the soil, and realising fair profits; while others, on large farms and bad management, are ruining their farms and themselves at the same time."

Such are the views taken by practical farmers and men of business, and which stand out in strong contrast with the sentimental inanities we have quoted from Mr. O'Brien's speech. And we cite these passages to show that there is no necessity "that the tenant farmer should leave his farm" when farming ceases to be a lottery, and takes its place amongst businesses of steady profits. This can only happen after Free Trade. Therefore, we say, Free Trade will produce a rural revolution, by compelling the landlord to give secure tenure, to permit corn and roots to be grown in the place of rushes and hedge-row timber, and to abandon the silly and noxious hankering after the ghost of feudalism, on which Mr. O'Brien, the monopolist leader, is so piteously pathetic.

THE QUEEN.—There now appears to be very little doubt that the achievement of our beloved Sovereign will take place at Windsor. Preparations, supposed to be in anticipation of that auspicious event, have already commenced in her Majesty's private apartments.—*Observer*.

The *Courrier Francais* states that a woman lately died at Tolosa, in Spain, at the extraordinary age of 160 years. She leaves a daughter in her 82d year.

HADDINGTON.—DEFEAT OF THE PROTECTIONISTS.

(From the Kelso Chronicle.)
Thirty protectionist gentlemen, headed by Sir George Warrender, called "a meeting of the noblemen, landed proprietors, tenant farmers, merchants, tradesmen, and others of the county of Haddington, who are favourable to protection to British industry."

Two o'clock was the hour fixed on for the meeting, at which time the large Assembly Hall was completely filled. It was evident, however, that there would be much dissension, of which the protectionists seemed to be aware, for before proceeding to elect a chairman,

JAMES AITCHISON, Esq., of Alderston, requested all those who were not favourable to the views of the requisitionists to leave the room, as they had not been invited to attend (hisses). If they did not, they would be held to agree in the resolutions about to be submitted to the meeting.

LORD JOHN HAY contended that the meeting had been convened for the purpose of pronouncing an opinion on a great measure of commercial reform: and that all present equally desired to support British industry.

SIR GEORGE SUTTIE considered that those only who were in favour of the present protective system had been invited to attend (cries of "Oh, oh," and "no, no.")

SIR GEORGE WARRENDER, who said that he was very much indisposed, but had attended the meeting as an act of duty, trusted this preliminary question would be discussed with calmness. This was a private meeting of gentlemen, not presuming to express the opinion of the county; at least half of those present seemed to differ with the requisitionists, and he therefore hoped that they would follow their example—call another meeting, and express a distinct opinion on the subject.

MR. CADELL, Cockenzie, argued that the requisition was addressed to those who were favourable to British industry. Now, he belonged to that class, although he differed from the requisitionists.

A scene of some confusion here ensued. At length Sir George Suttie said it was time to take a decided course, and he therefore proposed that they (the minority) should retire to another room and not transform the meeting into a debating society (the worthy baronet, who spoke covered, was saluted with a cry of "Hats off!") He hoped they would be permitted to retire peaceably.

LORD JOHN HAY declared he would remain, from a sense of public duty. Whatever opinion went forth, it would be published as the opinion of the county. He did not dream that this was a class meeting, and he trusted they were prepared to pronounce an opinion on the great commercial question which had been submitted to the country by Sir R. Peel.

Another scene of confusion ensued; but at length Sir George Suttie took off his hat and invited his friends to retire, which was accordingly done.

Notwithstanding the retirement of the protectionists, the room (capable of containing about 400) was soon completely filled by a most respectable assemblage.

On the motion of MR. CADELL, the Provost, Mr. Dodds was unanimously called to the chair amidst much applause.

LORD JOHN HAY then said that he had received a letter from the Duke of Roxburgh, which stated that he had heard of the meeting—regretted his inability to attend, but declared his approval of Sir Robert Peel's measure. He (Lord John Hay) had no resolution to propose, but he would take the opportunity of stating his opinion of the Premier's measure. To separate the agricultural from the other great interests, was to take a very narrow minded view of this great question and the effects it was calculated to produce. Had the Government done so, they would have found it impossible to manage the affairs of this great commercial country. But the Government measure indicated nothing of the sort—it was not only a great experiment, but a great moral and philosophical experiment. It put an end to class-interested legislation, by placing corn on the same footing as other manufactured articles, and would tranquillise the hostile feeling which prevailed not only amongst different classes throughout this country, but which also endangered our foreign relations: for the shutting of the ports against foreign grain had been the means of paralyzing the efforts of the Foreign Secretary in concluding favourable treaties with other nations (applause). He (Lord John Hay) had had much intercourse with foreign countries, and he was confident that our liberal commercial policy would be followed by them. The President of the United States had already recommended that their tariff should be reduced to the revenue standard, and that no duties should be levied for protection. He (Lord John Hay) had spent eight months in America—he believed he was the first man who, after the war, had sailed into the port of New York with the British flag—and he was convinced that the anti-British feeling which prevailed there was the result of our anti-commercial policy; give us Free Trade and this would do more for our interest than all the war steamers it was possible for us to send to their coast (applause). Before the last meeting was dissolved, they had heard much of protection to agriculture. Now he (Lord John Hay) would read to them the opinion of a noble relative of his (the Marquis of Tweeddale) upon that subject, written so long ago as the 8th of December. [The letter stated, that from the unfavourable weather, the potato rot, and other circumstances, Sir R. Peel would experience much difficulty in meeting Parliament—that it was therefore probable there would be a considerable diminution in protection to agriculture—a depreciation in the value of land might be the result at first, but ultimately it would become as valuable as it was at present.] Lord John proceeded to advise that a moderate course should be adopted by the meeting. Many who were present differed as to the question; some were for immediate repeal, while others contended for a certain amount of protection, which they deemed essential under the present circumstances. The Government measure was as extensive a reform as could have been reasonably anticipated, and should therefore satisfy all parties. For himself, he had no hesitation in stating that he would have preferred immediate repeal, and many Protectionists with whom he had conversed were of the same opinion. From the agricultural improvements introduced, farmers were as able in 1845 to compete with the foreigner without protection, as they were in 1825 when they had a high protective duty. The produce of the land had been increased by one half, which he showed was of the same value as the protective duty of 1825; and the British agriculturist had also the benefit of a reduction in taxation since that period. There was no possibility of effecting a great change without injuring some individuals, and to afford compensation was impracticable; it might as well be claimed by the cotton manufacturer or the silk

weaver. He was no party man—he had no tie to Government; but if the liberal measure they proposed was rejected, God knows what would be the result. He believed, however, and he trusted it would be successful. If it was rejected, who, he would like to know, was capable of conducting the Government (hear, hear)? It was not likely that the present Government would introduce a measure inimical to the general prosperity. They had weighed it well, and had proposed a large and comprehensive measure calculated to give general satisfaction to the whole kingdom. (The noble lord resumed his seat amid much applause.)

MR. AINSLIE, farmer, then proposed the following resolutions:—

"That it is of the utmost importance that an end should be put to the agitation regarding the Corn Laws, which has so long convulsed the country, and to the uncertainty which prevails in all markets for corn.

"That while this meeting considers it would be desirable to have an immediate repeal of the Corn Laws in preference to the proposed measure of Sir Robert Peel, yet they consider it inexpedient that the country should adopt any measure which can tend to frustrate or delay the settlement of the Corn Law question."

MR. AINSLIE said he well recollected the period when he had incurred much odium for having, in conjunction with Mr. Hope of Fenton Barns, asked Mr. Cobden to deliver an address in favour of Free Trade, which, however, was now getting into favour even among the members of the Protective Society.

MR. MILLER, Mr. Cadell, and Mr. Mitchell Innes spoke in favour of the resolutions, which were carried unanimously.

MR. SYMON SAWERS proposed that a petition, in accordance with the resolutions, should be sent to the Legislature.

MR. SYDSERFF seconded the motion, which was carried with acclamation.

Three cheers were then given for Free Trade—three cheers for the League—a vote of thanks was passed to the Chairman, and the meeting separated.

THE FREE TRADE INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION.—

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SURVEYOR.
Mr. Frederick Farrand, Priory Villa, Peckham.

SECRETARY.
Mr. Alfred Leach Saul.

Prospectuses may be obtained gratis, on application at the Society's Offices, East Temple Chambers, Whitefriars-street, Fleet-street. The Rules, &c., each are now ready, and may be had as above. Persons desirous to join the Society are requested to make application immediately. The Society's Offices will be open for receiving subscriptions and the general transaction of business, every Tuesday and Friday evenings, from 6 to 9 o'clock.

A SMALL 'FACT.'

THE SOUTHWARK AND EAST SURREY FREEHOLD BUILDING SOCIETY sold between 50 and 60 Shares the First Month. The Purchasers have taken up Property sufficient to qualify 72 Persons to be placed on the Register for the Eastern Division of the County of Surrey, at the next Revision. This Society is established in conformity with the Act of the 6th and 7th William IV. Cap. 32, for the Regulation of Benefit Building Societies, in 1009 Shares of £120 each. Entrance Fee, 2s. 6d. Subscription, 10s. per Share, payable on the First Tuesday in each month.

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BANKERS.—The London and County Bank, Lombard street.
SECREARIES.—Mr. W. HEARN, 7, Adam's-place, Borough.

Subscription Room.—The Literary and Scientific Institution, Borough-rd. The Third Subscription will be payable on Tuesday, March 3, (and on the first Tuesday in every succeeding month), between the hours of 12 and 2 at Noon. Applications for Shares should be made immediately to either of the Directors, or to the Secretary. Shares can also be taken at the Subscription Rooms, where the Subscriptions are paid.

In the Press

THE LOCAL TAXES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM: containing a Digest of the Laws, with a Summary of Statistical Information concerning the several rates now leviable in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

This Volume presents a succinct account of all our Local Taxes; comprehending their various purposes—the Local Provisions under which they are raised and expended—and the Property they affect. Published under the direction of the Poor Law Commissioners, by Charles Knight and Co., London.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, February 21, 1846.

Elections have divided public interest with the protracted debate, if indeed the latter can now be said to possess any interest whatever. First in importance and significance we must rank the election for Westminster, which ended in the return of General Evans by a majority of nearly a thousand above his opponent. The contest lay between two Free Traders; no protectionist was found to present himself before this great metropolitan constituency. While therefore we rejoice in the triumph of the successful candidate, we are far from exulting in the defeat of Captain Rous. Independent of personal considerations, the principle at issue in the contest was the choice between immediate and deferred repeal; and the decision of Westminster is that which the League has ever supported—the necessity that the repeal of the Corn Laws should be both total and immediate.

But in every election personal considerations must be taken into account as well as political differences. On these grounds, the preference of General Evans is not only justifiable, but laudable; he had been long the popular member for Westminster, and had been defeated at the late election rather by a series of unfortunate accidents, rendered worse by mismanagement than by the deliberate choice of the constituency. He had been a supporter of Free Trade through evil report and good report ever since the question was mooted; he had nothing to retract—no former professions to contradict—no doubtful assertions to explain away. He had all the claims of a veteran in the great cause of commercial freedom; while Captain Rous was a new convert, who had fought vigorously under a different flag, and was therefore exposed to the suspicion intimated by the patriarch when he exclaimed—"The hands verily are Esau's hands, but the voice is the voice of Jacob." We do not share in such a suspicion. We believe the conversion of the gallant Captain, and his present convictions sincere. But where a choice had to be made, we must prefer a tried and faithful ally to a volunteer who did not appear to offer his aid until the success of the campaign had been all but decided.

The East Suffolk election was one of those solemn farces which exhibit the miserable and degraded condition of the county constituencies. Mr. Gooch was chosen, not by the nominal electors, but by the combination of a few landlords anxious to maintain and perpetuate the serfdom of their tenantry. He was hooted from the hustings by the very men whom he is said to represent; the popular voice, so far as it could be heard, protested against his return, which will add little to the strength of the protectionists, but will give fresh vigour to the efforts of the Free Traders to redeem the counties from their present degrading thralldom.

Dorsetshire claims a passing notice; it is generally believed that Lord Ashley would have been returned had he gone to the poll, but a weighty subscription purse was shaken in his face, and he felt unprepared to meet the expenditure which a contest with such a money-power must necessarily have involved. His farewell address to his former constituency indicated greater firmness and independence of thought than the noble lord has been accustomed to manifest. He declared himself the advocate not merely for total, but immediate repeal, and he exposed the trite fallacies urged in defence of the Corn Laws with a freshness and vigour which can only be the result of strong conviction. We have often differed from Lord Ashley. There are some points in his recent address, of which we strongly disapprove; but we must say that his observations on Free Trade exhibits a breadth of view, and a soundness of well-considered principles, which lead us sincerely to regret his exclusion from Parliament.

Lord Lincoln, in South Nottinghamshire, has not adopted the tactics of Lord Ashley, but has boldly dared the protectionists to the fight. He is prepared to fight the battle of Free Trade on purely agricultural grounds; and we should angr better for his success, as well as feel a deeper interest in his cause, if he did not restrict himself rather too closely to the Ministerial measures. The men of Westminster have set a noble example, by neglecting the very shade of compromise; and Lord Lincoln would better have served his fame and his fortunes in the fight, if he had flung away the paltry condition of three years, with its mockery of a sliding scale, and taken his stand on total and immediate repeal. It is impossible to glance at this contest, without taking some notice of the strange interference of the Duke of Newcastle. Were this one of the ordinary differences between a father and a son, we should pass it over without comment; but it is an indecent and unconstitutional attempt to dictate to a constituency. He addressed the candidate as John Gilpin did his horse:

"'Twas for your pleasure you came here,
You shall go back for mine."

Lord Lincoln will not go back; and if the dual letter does not ensure his return, there is neither spirit nor manly dignity in the constituency of South Nottingham.

of London, by ABRAHAM WALTER PAULTON, of Number 67, Fleet-street
aforesaid -- Saturday, February 21, 1846.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE CORN LAW DEBATE.

THE ADJOURNED DEBATE—FRIDAY.

The adjourned debate on the question that the house do resolve itself into a committee of supply to consider the Customs and Corn Importation Acts was commenced on Friday evening by

Sir HOWARD DOUGLAS, who rose with inexpressible pain to oppose the proposition of her Majesty's Government, and to give his vote in favour of protection and against the extinction of restrictive duties. After explaining the grounds on which he thought that agriculture was entitled to protection, he proceeded to make several practical observations on the injurious bearings of the present scheme upon those great colonial interests which were not represented in that house, and which were not in general well understood by the country. The abolition of protecting duties extinguished the Canada Corn Bill, which was a solemn compact between the Imperial and Canadian Legislature, and destroyed all the flattering hopes which that bill was intended to foster. It also involved the abolition of discriminating duties; and from the moment when discriminating duties were abrogated, our colonies, so far as commercial purposes were concerned, became free and independent states. There would arise the question—"Of what use were our colonies?" and to that question it would be difficult to give a satisfactory answer. He concluded by quoting several extracts from the speeches of Mr. Huskisson, for the purpose of proving—first, that that great statesman was not an advocate of Free Trade properly so called; secondly, that he was the strenuous supporter of protection to agriculture; and, lastly, that he thought it absolutely necessary that we should give protection to our colonies if we wished to maintain our maritime ascendancy.

Viscount VILLIERS observed that the events of the last three years had caused him to change his opinion on the subject of protection, and expressed his conviction that this measure would tend to increase the prosperity and promote the welfare of all classes of the community.

Mr. F. SCOTT described the stunning effect produced on his mind by the sudden desertion of all his former principles and pledges by Sir R. Peel, and the pain and reluctance with which he now came forward to give the most decided opposition to his new commercial plans. He would not ransack *Hansard* to point out the inconsistency between the past and present speeches of Sir R. Peel and his colleagues; he would confine himself to contrasting the various and contradictory statements which they had made in their speeches during the last three weeks, in order to show the shifts to which men were driven when they brought forward measures for which there was no sound justification. The hon. gentleman then amused the house by reading a curious series of contradictions which he had detected in the speeches of Sir R. Peel, Sir J. Graham, and Mr. S. Herbert, delivered between the 26th of January and the 9th of February, 1846. Those contradictions were proofs of the difficulties in which great men were plunged when they abandoned principle, and entered upon a crooked and devious course of policy. He called upon the house to consider what the feelings of the party with which he was connected must be towards Sir R. Peel, by reflecting upon the terror and alarm which had seized a friend of his, who having tried an action in the provinces, and having then argued the merits of it in Westminster Hall, and having afterwards removed it to the court of last resort, the House of Lords, found that his leading counsel—the very man who had supported his claims in every previous stage of the cause—had not only thrown up his brief, but had actually taken one from his adversary. His friend had then applied to the King's counsel, and to the junior counsel, whom he had formerly employed, in the hope that they would have no scruple to undertake his cause. But no—they refused—for they said that it was their duty to follow their leader. Noticing the assertion that this project was wide and bold and comprehensive, he expressed a doubt whether it would be as wise as it was wide, as politic as it was bold, as successful as it was comprehensive. He considered that it would be "a heavy blow and severe discouragement" to agriculture—that it would diminish our command over the necessities of life—that it would drive bullion out of the country for the purchase of grain—that it would increase grievously the fluctuations of the price—and that it would diminish the supply of food for our labouring population. Whilst he was proceeding in his denunciations of the measure

Sir ROBERT PEEL asked Mr. Scott for whom he retained?

Mr. F. SCOTT (apparently bursting with indignation).—For whom am I retained? Who am I counsel for? I am counsel for no man, no party, and no sect. I was proud to follow the party of the constitution when the right honourable baronet hoisted the banner of it; but now that he fights under a different flag, I am left to myself, and must act according to the dictates of my own conscience and my own judgment. The hon. gentleman, after apologising for the warmth into which he was betrayed, delivered a long invective against Free Trade, which he described as sense in the abstract, and nonsense in the reality, and as a fantastic cobweb sparkling like a dew drop in the sun. With our taxation it was impossible. With our debt of 800,000,000, we had no more right to call on this country to enter into competition with countries comparatively untaxed, than we had to ask a man with a hundredweight on his back to enter into the lists with an opponent perfectly unencumbered. Besides, the appearance of the political atmosphere in the East, and still more in the West, was not such as to encourage us to make at present the rash and perilous experiment which was now recommended—an experiment which, he contended, would produce the loss of Canada and all our other colonies. He concluded with a long and declamatory philippic against her Majesty's Ministers, who, with Free Trade on their lips but not in their hearts, were now venturing upon a grinding,

bone-crushing experiment, which would consign not only all the agricultural labourers, but all the other industrious artisans of the kingdom also, to one unsparing and indiscriminating ruin.

Mr. WARD said that the hon. member who had just addressed the house was a speaker whom it was very difficult to follow. He was difficult only in one sense,—and the difficulty arose chiefly from the variety of topics which his speech embraced. The hon. gentleman announced himself as counsel for the whole British empire, but the course of his speech seemed to carry him all over the world. As to his arguments, there was no difficulty in dealing with them,—or rather there was no necessity for replying to them, for one-half of the hon. member's speech completely disposed of the other. Every proposition of his was demolished by the next which he enunciated (hear, hear, and No, no). Did hon. members who cried "No, no," attend to the speech which had just been delivered? Did they observe how the hon. member attacked the Government, and did they not at the same time remember that that same hon. member had, until just the present session of Parliament, supported every one of the measures of the right hon. baronet? The hon. member who spoke last supported the Canada Corn Bill; he supported the measures of 1842, including the new tariff, and now he talked of their disastrous results as regarded our hardware and cutlery. The speech just delivered was filled with complaints of the measures of the last three years, and up to the last three months the hon. member himself had supported every one of those measures. Then he told the house that the matter of Free Trade was a question of degree, and almost in the same breath he informed them that it struck a blow at the heart of the constitution. Looking then, at the way in which one part of the hon. member's speech answered another, it might well be inquired what gave him a right to take office when asked for which party he was retained; and what right had he to apply the remark to Ministers that public men had great difficulties to encounter when they took a devious course? Surely for a long time past the present Ministers of the Crown had been taking a most direct course. No one who had sat opposite to the right hon. baronet and had seen the progress he had made in the adoption of principles of his opponents, could have doubted that he must in the end have come to the same conclusions with them; and those who supported him in the year 1842 had no right to turn round upon and to condemn him for results which they had rendered irresistible. What did they do in 1842? They were a great party, they had an unassailable majority in that house (cheers); they had the game in their own hands; there had been an appeal to the country on the question of protection to native industry (hear, hear); they had beaten their opponents. What was the first step taken? Concession was made; with all the responsibilities of power, the right hon. baronet yielded to what he now called the force of reason and of truth, as he only now yielded because it was reason and it was truth. After the admission of the principle, the only question was one of degree—where they should stop. In dealing with the tariff, how did the hon. gentleman deal with those interests with which they had been connected in 1841, with which they had so recently entered into a holy alliance? They sacrificed them. And if they were reduced to what they themselves admitted to be almost a hopeless condition—if defeat were staring them in the face—(cheers from Mr. Ferrand); the hon. member for Knaresborough cheered that expression; what did he do in the West Riding (loud cheers)? On the very first night after the opening statement of the right hon. baronet, it was a notorious fact, that the hon. gentleman in that house, with some foolishness, and much good nature, subscribed 2000*l.* to enable the hon. member to fight the West Riding election. ("That is not true," from Mr. Ferrand.) The hon. member published a very able letter ("hear, hear," from Mr. Ferrand, and much cheering), and he so completely succeeded in what he (Mr. Ward) believed to be his peculiar mission, of creating hostile feelings between the masters and the men, between the employers and the workmen, that his own friends absolutely repudiated his efforts; his own friends, the Tory manufacturers, were so frightened with the doctrines of the hon. gentleman, that they refused to take part and act with him. ("That is not true," from Mr. Ferrand.) If that were intended as a personal contradiction, it was not exactly the language which ought to be used in that house. ("No, no," from Mr. Ferrand.) Now, hon. gentlemen opposite found themselves placed in a position of denouncing as absolute treachery to their party the step taken by the Government, which was the inevitable result of honourable gentlemen's own former opinions; and the champions and advocates of protection now were forced to admit that they only differed from the right hon. baronet because he went further than they wished. The hon. gentleman who last spoke admitted that legislation must be progressive, that the laws of this country were not immutable, but that he would rather have changes introduced at the desire of the landlords than on the demand of the people. Now, the country had waited quite long enough for the landlords' desire; it was time to listen to the demands of the people (hear). The hon. gentleman complained that a tax upon grain was liable to be confounded with a bread tax; but he did not show how it was possible to separate them. The hon. gentleman told them also that protection was not required for the interests of agriculture in the part of Scotland with which he was connected; he talked of the disadvantages of hilly roads, and of the want of markets and manure, and though he talked of the demoralising effects of the ministerial measures, yet he had told them that cultivation could still be profitably carried on. As to the trash which the hon. member had quoted in relation to the colonies, it needed no answer, nor would it be necessary to reply to the circular of Mr. Buchanan; but he would ask how it was possible that we could incur the risk of nine-tenths of the Canada trade being taken from us and going to supply New York, seeing that we now supplied the market of New York ourselves against all competitors? What amount of the English export trade went to the English colonies? He did not believe that they took one-eighth of the whole exports of this country. Where were the rest consumed? In the neutral

ports, where we had not any advantage, and not the slightest preference over our Continental neighbours. He must next go back to the speech of the hon. and gallant member for Liverpool (Sir H. Douglas), who, he regretted to find, had left the house; though he must have expected that some remarks would have been made upon what he had stated. The hon. and gallant gentleman was peculiarly happy in his position, for he said that he had nothing to regret and nothing to retract since he had come into Parliament. Few members in that house could make such an admission (hear, hear). The town of Liverpool, however, was not so peculiarly happy in her members at the present moment, for one, the noble lord (Lord Sandon), found it utterly impossible to make his vote and his speech agree upon this occasion (laughter), and the other hon. and gallant member had connected with the cause of the narrowest and blindest monopoly the greatest commercial town in the empire (cries of hear, hear). The honourable and gallant gentleman wished for protection to all; he would give protection to all; and he would give it to labour, because it was exposed to the competition of capital at home. He believed that was the doctrine of the hon. member for Knaresborough; but he seemed not to see the reply to his doctrine in the question, "What would labour do without capital (cries of hear)?" They heard of the competition of flesh and blood with machinery. They had been made the most of in the West Riding; but the working men now scouted such a doctrine,—they outstripped their leaders and went beyond them; and he confessed that he was surprised to hear an hon. member for Liverpool complain of the competition between English labour and English capital, and ask Parliament to protect labour against capital. Then the hon. member said that reciprocity was hopeless; that it was all very well to talk about Free Trade here, but that we could not communicate it to other countries. We had tried negotiations, and we had failed; was it not then advisable to try the effect of example (hear, hear)? Had not our trade with France quintupled, notwithstanding the most rigorous and severe restrictions imposed upon our imports? Then, it was asked, what would become of our colonies, and what would be the effect of British interests in India? The hon. and gallant member forgot that the people were supplied with cottons from this country better and cheaper than they could be procured elsewhere; and yet he said that this measure would be the ruin of England. He asked also how the people on the banks of the Ganges could enter into competition with those of other favoured countries. What did the people of the Brazils inherit by way of advantage over those who inhabit the same climate and had the assistance of British science and British capital (hear, hear)? He (Mr. Ward) had always thought it had been assumed, during the discussions of the Slavery Emancipation Bill, that free labour was better and cheaper than slave labour; how was it, then, that India could not enter into competition with any other country? The hon. and gallant gentleman then appealed to the opinions of Mr. Huskisson. No man entertained a greater respect for the name of Mr. Huskisson, no man had a warmer appreciation of the great services he had rendered to his country, than himself; but Mr. Huskisson was obliged during his long career often to make sacrifices to party requirements; and if an appeal were made to the opinions of Mr. Huskisson in 1825, it would be right that an appeal should also be made to his opinions towards the close of his career, when he was free from the trammels of party, and ventured to speak his real sentiments. What did he say towards the close? On the 25th of March, 1830, two years after his sliding scale had been in operation, and he had seen its defects, he said, "It was his unalterable conviction that we could not uphold the Corn Laws now in existence, together with the taxation, and increase the national prosperity, or preserve public contentment. That these laws could be repealed without affecting the landed interest, whilst the people would be relieved from their distress, he had never had any doubt whatever" (cheers). It was easy to complain of bad faith and of the betrayal of constituencies; but the first thing a public man had to do was, he must be right (hear), and if he found that he was not right, he ought at once to return to what reason and experience showed to be most conducive to the real interests of the country (hear). There was no question on which a public man had greater justification in exercising his right to change his opinion than the Corn Laws. It had never been a party question. Many had lived to learn and to benefit by experience. Every day new lights and new facts broke in upon them, and warranted any man in changing his opinion (hear, hear). Mr. Huskisson had changed his opinion. The noble lord the member for the city of London had manfully come forward and declared, "What I did 20 years ago, when I was a young and inexperienced man, was erroneous, and I have seen good reason to change my opinions." He (Mr. Ward) himself admitted that the first vote he had given was with the right honourable baronet, in favour of the Corn Laws, and he had only altered his views since he had brought his mind to bear, and since he had done what few, perhaps, did (loud cries of Oh, oh)—looked honestly and fairly into the question, divested from all class—he would not say interests, for they had not so much effect upon an honest mind—but class prejudices and parties, ties which were more difficult to shake off than considerations of personal interests. Men got hampered with party connections, or they had made some hasty and ill-considered speech at a county meeting, and they thought it only consistent with their honour to adhere to their opinions, till the country was united against the obstinate and blundering pursuit of a policy which was as ruinous to their own interests as it was to the interests of the country (loud cheers). In the course of this long debate he had certainly listened to some very able speeches. There was the speech of the hon. member for Northampton (Mr. Stafford O'Brien), which he had cheered, sitting on that (the Opposition) side of the house, quite as much as any one who had listened to it on the other side; he had never heard a speech which in point of delivery, feeling, and tone, and everything except the principle on which it was founded, he more admired. But strip it of its glitter, take away its appeals to the feeling, and it was but a *petitio principii* from the beginning to

the end, a begging of the question. It proceeded on the assumption that the legislature could protect all, that all would be richer and better by their acting on that system of legislation, and that upon this foundation could be built up a fabric of kindly and social relations. And if it were granted that they could thus make the people richer and happier, and if they could thus benefit all without doing injury to any, they had hitherto been the most blundering of mortals, and they had disregarded a most sacred duty when, instead of attempting the grand object, they had preferred an irksome attendance in that house, and constant ameliorations. But how did the system work? They had partially tried it last year. It was admitted that if it were applied to any interest, it must be applied to all—that it must be universal. They had no right to apply it to wheat and to neglect barley (hear, hear); and so they were to go down to the smallest interests, which as being unable to protect themselves, had a greater claim to their special attention (hear, hear). They must go down to the smallest branches of the most unimportant manufactures. They had done an injustice in passing the tariff. If hon. members would recollect, they took off the duty from ture and clover seed, and yet when the hon. baronet the member for Essex (Sir J. Tyrell) met the farmers of Essex, they said, "What have we to do with this reduction? 99 farmers want tare-seed where there is only one who grows it." There was the question of protection confined to the agricultural interests, and that was the answer of the farmers. This great principle, then, was most defective—it was a great humbug (laughter); they could not carry it out. What said a noble lord, a friend of his—though he did not know whether he might still call him his friend, so great were the differences now between them, but one who had been his friend—Lord Dacre? He said that if they had a Free Trade in corn, they must have a Free Trade in cattle food. How could he have this without doing an injustice to some portion of the agricultural body, which grew food for cattle? If the measure which the hon. gentleman the member for Winchester (Mr. B. Escott) had originated had been carried, and if maize had been introduced into this country, there would as a consequence be a lessened demand for oats and barley, and the farmers of Scotland and of the fens of Lincolnshire would be the sufferers. All other interests might be benefited, but one would receive a great injury. The truth was, they could not work out the principle, and any attempt to do it would involve them in a labyrinth, from which they would not be able to extricate themselves, even if honourable members opposite had a Ministry of their own. Were they then to sacrifice to this principle the great interests connected with a large and cheap supply of food for this country? It was said, however, that we could not compete with foreigners, because we were so heavily taxed. This was a question which ought to be approached with peculiar delicacy by honourable gentlemen opposite (hear, hear, and cheers). For six years this had been constantly put forward as the reason for refusing a change; and he was now delighted to find, by the votes of another house, that a noble lord had taken up the subject, and had adopted almost the exact words of his own motion. A corresponding notice he had given in that house, and for three years successively he had endeavoured to procure an inquiry (hear). If the agricultural interests had any peculiar burdens they ought to be ashamed if they could not prove them; for three years he had given them the opportunity, which they had declined. He had begged them to nominate their own committee, he had told them that they might even have the hon. and gallant member for Lincoln (Colonel Sibthorp) as their chairman, if they so pleased (laughter); and that they might examine his witnesses, or he would examine theirs, so that they should arrive at a fair conclusion; but they had declined, and he believed that they had no case which they could prove before 12 intelligent men. They would have nothing to do with it ("hear, hear," from Sir J. Tyrell). The hon. baronet who cheered had not voted for it, and he well recollected the last time the subject was discussed the hon. baronet did him the honour of sleeping through the whole of his speech in the gallery (laughter). There was not the least blame in that,—it was the best use the hon. gentleman could make of his time (renewed laughter), for it was a very disagreeable subject; he did not know what to say, and so he thought it best to sleep through the whole of it (hear, hear). However, the party disagreed to the appointment of a committee, they shuffled about, and as a great party they did not do themselves justice, there was much talking and bragging out of the house, and very little in it; there never was a party that so shrunk from a fair inquiry ("hear, hear," from Sir J. Tyrell). He supposed by that cheer there was some mystery behind, and that by the hon. baronet the mystery would be cleared up. The hon. baronet had at Chelmsford cleared away many mysteries; he had cleared up the mystery of the breaking up of the Cabinet, and had told his friends how all the Ministers voted (laughter), and if he could clear up the mystery that night he trusted the opportunity would not be allowed to pass by. He had certainly assumed that as honourable gentlemen never had proved their case, or attempted it, so they never could (hear, hear). Were they, however, to shrink on grounds such as he had alluded to—grounds so contradictory and so inconsistent, from entertaining, and favourably entertaining, as he trusted the house would, and as the country had done, the very large propositions brought forward by her Majesty's Government? He would give to those propositions his most cordial support as the salvation of the agricultural interest, because he believed the worst thing that could be done would be to leave them to themselves; nothing could be more fatal than any attempt on their part to go on without leading strings. They never had known, they did not now know their own interests; they had made the strangest mistakes whenever they had been enabled by courtesy or circumstances to try their hand in the statute-book. He would not enter into details, but let them take the case of wool ("hear, hear," from Mr. W. Miles). Would the hon. member meet him on that ground? ("I will," from Mr. Miles.) Well, if the hon. member would meet him he would state the case of wool. He believed that the agricultural interest, by way of raising the price of English wool, were induced to lay a duty of 6d. per pound on foreign wool. Would the hon. member for Somerset deny that at the end of five years from that time the price of wool was lower in England than it had been for 200 years before? (Cheers.) Would he deny that when in 1825 the duty was lowered to 1d. the price instantly rose? Would the hon. member deny, that now the duty on foreign wool was taken off altogether, and during the last year an immense quantity of wool was imported, the price of wool here was as high as it had been for the last six or seven years? How would he meet that case? He would say that he was saved by Mr. Huskisson and the right hon. baronet from the consequences

of his own legislation. The agricultural interest had committed an irreparable folly, but they found at last that they could not keep such a monopoly, and that their only remedy was to throw themselves into the arms of that monster whom they now denounced—Free Trade; and in proportion as the importation of wool increased so had the price of wool increased up to the present day. The hon. gentleman said they would destroy the trade of the country if the Corn Laws were altered. He assured the hon. member, that whatever might be the feelings of some hon. gentlemen in that house, tenants in many parts of the country entertained a very different opinion; they did not see those frightful contingencies from the relaxation of protection, provided the landlords met them in a fair spirit. They knew, on the contrary, that they could do nothing with safety until this question was settled, that settled it must be, and that that could be only in one way now; that the period of uncertainty and difficulty might be protracted for a few months, perhaps twelve-months longer, but that the system of the Corn Laws must come at last to a total abrogation of protective duty. They were anxious for it, always supposing that the tillage of land was put on a more rational basis than now—that the obsolete terms of the leases were expunged in future—that they were not forced to support the game of their landlords—that certainly was one of the peculiar burdens upon land (hear, hear)—and that they were to meet with more support for two or three years in the difficulties they expected and were prepared to encounter (hear, hear). He admitted it; but had the agricultural interest had no difficulties to encounter during the time they had had protection? Had they had no fluctuations of price? Had not the right hon. baronet spoken of the complaints of low prices, and of the ruinous consequences to the tenants, in the years 1832 and 1835? Was not the price of wheat in 1839 only 42s., and that under a law, the law of 1815, that promised a price of 80s. to the farmer? Were there not more fluctuations under that law than any man could conceive under a system of Free Trade? Then the hon. member said it was very hard that those whose families had been attached to the soil for two or three generations should be told they must quit it. He admitted that it was a hard thing for any man to separate himself from old habits and associations (hear, hear); but would they legislate for any other branch of the community upon that principle? Would they legislate for the shopkeeper on the principle that he wanted to keep his shop? There was but one way. They must legislate properly. And if, as he heard, there was too much land underfarmed, from want of capital, the best thing they could do for those unfortunate men who had taken leases of lands they had not the means of cultivating, and who could never hope for such a state of things as would enable them to extricate themselves from the difficulties of a business for which they had not sufficient capital, was to reduce their farms to smaller ones, and not to cheat them by the belief that anything that house could do could save them from the hopeless struggle. But, above all, let them look at the lowest classes, whose comforts in life, as an hon. member said on the previous evening, depended more than any other on the price of provisions, which absorbed three-fourths of their annual income. And could any one who heard the speech of the right hon. gentleman, the member for Wilts, the other night, when he said that on his own estates and in his own neighbourhood, whilst wheat was varying from 74s. to 40s. in the last ten years, the wages he paid during that time, and they all knew that the right hon. gentleman was a man of a kind and liberal heart (hear, hear), were but 8s. or 9s.,—could any one who heard that say that the labourer did not suffer the most from the system of protection? Talk of wages equalising themselves to the price of provisions! why, when they saw the labourer exposed to the keenest privations under the system of protection, could they turn round and invoke that house to continue those laws, not for the sake of the landlords, but for the sake of the tenants (hear, hear, hear)? He recollected a passage in the writings of a gentleman who wrote in language peculiarly expressive, in which he called all those fallacies in which public men were in the habit of indulging "political lies," and he said that never was there a lie yet which was not brought to nature's bank for payment (hear, hear). Why, that was the case here; they came at last to the lowest classes, and could press it no further. That was the point to which protection in this country had come. At the very moment of manufacturing prosperity there was also great distress—at the very moment of agricultural prosperity they found the same difficulties pressing on the agricultural districts. But there was one resource before them—let them take the path now opened to them—let them look to the great development of the interests of this country, and the consequent increase of employment, as the only thing that would permanently improve the situation of all classes of the population; and when they had ascertained what was the right course to pursue, without regard to small or selfish interests, he hoped that upon calm consideration that would have an influence on the great body of the English gentry now arrayed against these measures. It was a difficult task that they had undertaken; but never were the gentry of England in higher estimation than now, and he should be grieved to see them forfeit one particle of their position; but when a class, however numerous, however powerful, raised themselves against the interests of a whole community, depend upon it it could not long command either the respect or the kindly sympathy of the people (hear). It was a question involving their personal interests; he said that with reference to himself, for every interest he had was in land; but he gave his support to the policy of his friends behind him, because he saw it was the irresistible claim of justice (hear, hear). Already some of the brightest ornaments of that house had been driven from it by the honest admission of their convictions upon this subject. A noble lord opposite had told them that his conviction was one way, but his vote would be another (hear, hear). He felt sure, however, that the noble lord would free himself from the trammels that embarrassed him, and would be with them (hear, hear, and a laugh). Could they honestly maintain a law which, as he thought, had been based upon false principles, upon grounds which they could not work out in detail when they came to try it, and which was utterly at variance with the just demands of the country? He did not believe that they could. The hon. member for Huntingdon had spoken of a compromise; he appeared to have in his mind some ministry which was to modify protection and adjust this question by some possible mode of regulating the tax on food. Perhaps the hon. member was himself to be a member of the Government (a laugh), but he assured the hon. member that, so far as the seuse of the country went, they thought that the only fault of this great scheme was, that it did not work out its principles far enough. There was no conceivable reason why the duty

upon butter and cheese should be reduced one-half, and the duty upon corn taken off altogether; and as to any idea of a compromise, he could assure the hon. gentleman that every attempt would only serve to protract the struggle and involve all the interests connected with agriculture in inextricable confusion; that any arrangement would not be satisfactory to all parties, to landlords as well as tenants; and that they would lose the opportunity, which perhaps they might never have again, of admitting foreign corn without any check to the industry of the country; and he sincerely trusted that the majority with which the measures of the Government would be sanctioned in that house might be large enough to insure some such reception of them elsewhere, as he was certain they would meet with from the country.

Mr. MILES observed, that he was glad that this question was presented to the house in such a shape that there could be no mistake respecting it. Protection must be defended as applicable to every class of the community, or must, if withdrawn from one class, be withdrawn from every other. Last night Mr. Baring had talked of the expediency of a compromise. He had never been, he never should be, for such an arrangement. On the contrary, he thought that we must either have the present duties under the sliding scale, or else submit to the new duties proposed by Sir R. Peel, and to their abolition at the expiration of three years. He could not understand the principles on which that proposition rested, nor could he see why the policy which had been pursued for more than two centuries, and which had raised this country to greatness, should be set aside on no other ground than the experience of the last three years. The apprehension of impending famine had been alleged as a reason for this innovation; but he was rejoiced to have it in his power to dissipate all fears of a coming scarcity on the authority of returns made to the Central Agricultural Association from its provincial branches in 26 counties, if not more, of England and Wales. There was a sufficient stock of wheat in England for the consumption of its inhabitants, and the price of potatoes was at present falling in the London and country markets—a certain proof that the supply of them was not deficient. He then proceeded to reply to the statements of Sir R. Peel in his speech on the address at the commencement of the session, and also in his speech in proposing his present commercial code, and to controvert the returns which he had quoted respecting the consumption and price of flax, wool, meat, lard, and various other articles for the three years before and after the passing of the tariff of 1842. Even supposing the returns of Sir Robert Peel, and the conclusions derived from them to be correct, were they sufficient to justify him in throwing overboard all the industrial energies of the country, and in leaving them to compete by themselves under our heavy taxation with the untaxed energies of Germany and the United States? After contending at great length for the negative of that proposition, and after reading a large quantity of statistical information in support of his arguments, he proceeded to show, that it was the interest of the country to foster its home trade in preference to its foreign; whereas Sir R. Peel was upholding the foreign trade at the expense of the immense mass of capital thrown into the home market by the great consumers and little savers of the country. Our recent prosperity had not been occasioned by the relaxation of duties made by the tariff of 1842 so much as by the impetus given to the home trade by the formation of railroads; and he therefore cautioned the house against acceding rashly to any proposition for interfering with the march of our native industry. Though he did not approve either of the plan proposed by Sir Robert Peel or of that proposed by Lord John Russell, he must say, that if he were compelled to accept one or the other, he should prefer that of Lord John Russell to that of Sir R. Peel, as the suffering which Lord John admitted must accompany the transition from the present Corn Laws to a Free Trade in corn, would, in his opinion, be less under the latter than the former plan. After giving his reasons for that opinion, he noticed with some indignation the advice which Mr. S. Herbert had offered a few nights ago to the landed interest, when he said that it was time for the country gentlemen to lay aside their claptags, and not to propagate alarms founded on delusion. In order to show that the alarm was not unfounded, that we should be inundated with foreign corn in case of the repeal of the Corn Laws, he read a description of the immense agricultural resources of the United States in the extensive valleys and boundless prairies of the Mississippi, and of Russia in her northern and southern provinces, amid the roars of the house, when he came to the exaggerated accounts of the fertility of Tamboff, once so unfortunately quoted by Lord Stanley. As soon as our markets should be thrown open to the world, those fertile lands would be tilled, and our barren lands would go out of cultivation. He could not see any prospect more disheartening; and yet the agriculturist was told "to cultivate, to cultivate." Why should he cultivate, when, after his crop was grown, he would find the home market paralysed and closed against him by the foreign corn thrown into it free from duty? He concluded a denunciation of great length and violence against the proposed measure by a declaration of his fears that the time would soon arrive when the people of these islands would curse the day when first their Government was entrusted to a cautious and temporising Free Trade Minister.

Lord MARCH then moved the adjournment of the debate. A number of members were leaving the house under the idea that the motion would be agreed to, when

Lord NORTHLAND rose, and speaking to the question of adjournment, said, that though his principles were unchanged, he should vote for the measure of the Government. He foresaw that this question must be settled; and, as that was the case, he would rather have it settled by Sir R. Peel, in whom he had confidence, than by Lord J. Russell, in whom he had none.

Mr. FERRAND wished to know what confidence the noble lord had in Sir R. Peel when he was dragged out of the Coal-hole to vote for him on a late occasion.

Lord NORTHLAND rose amid a tumult of laughter, but sat down again without uttering a word.

Col. T. WOOD, jun., expressed his intention of supporting the bill, as he considered it necessary to the commercial and manufacturing prosperity of the country that this question should be settled. He regretted the opposition which, acting upon party motives, he had given on a former occasion to the Free Trade measures of Lord J. Russell.

The debate was then again adjourned, after a protest from Mr. S. O'Brien against the public inconvenience which would accrue if the practice, now twice adopted, of speaking after the question of adjournment was moved should become a common usage.

ADJOURNED DEBATE—MONDAY.

On Monday the adjourned debate was commenced by

The Earl of MARCH, who expressed his astonishment at the sudden conversion of Lord Northland to the cause of Free Trade. Other members had taken a considerable time to alter their opinions, but Lord Northland's conversion was miraculously sudden; for in the course of the last month he had delivered himself of two speeches in that house, one against Free Trade and the other in favour of it. He could not say to what private cell the noble Lord had retired to complete his conversion. This he was sure of, that he had not been in the house, for all the argument had been on one side, and that in favour of protection. He lectured Mr. B. COCHRANE for his attack on the Duke of Richmond. It was true that the Duke of Richmond had been a member of Earl Grey's Administration, but that was no reason that he should be a Free Trader; for Earl Grey, its head, was an advocate for protection. He then proceeded to contend that the abolition of protection would be the utter ruin of the country; and that Mr. Sidney Herbert's plan to settle the question of the Corn Laws by throwing them altogether overboard was not the way to come to a satisfactory settlement of it. Mr. S. Herbert had favoured the house with the cogent reasons which had produced the change in his opinions. He should like to hear what Mr. Goulburn and Lord G. Somerset had to say in favour of this measure, which they once opposed, but which they now supported. After dwelling at some length on the inconsistency of Lord Lincoln, Mr. Gladstone, and other members of the Administration, who at the last general election had denounced a more moderate measure than the present as "the fugitive humping of a dying political faction," and who were now supporting a proposition for the total abolition of all protective duties, he concluded by declaring that he could not give his assent to a measure so detrimental as the present to all classes of the community.

Mr. M. GIBSON, though unwilling to delay, for a moment, the appointment of the committee, said he could not forego the opportunity of making a few observations on a question in which he had taken much interest, and which importantly affected the prosperity and comfort of his constituents. To one part of the speech of the noble lord who had just resumed his seat he gave a most cordial concurrence: he referred to the passage where he stated that if protection was not good for corn, it was not good for manufactures. He admitted that the noble lord and his friends had a perfect and indisputable right to claim at the hands of Parliament that if there were no legislative encouragement to the growth of corn, there ought to be no legislative encouragement to the progress of manufactures. Those with whom he acted had invariably, in their petitions and resolutions, enunciated one principle, and that was, the abolition of all protective duties, not only as applied to corn, but as affecting the manufactures in which they were engaged (hear, hear). He denied that the great portion of those who had been engaged in this Free Trade movement had been animated by any peculiar animosity against any peculiar protected class. Their object was the abolition of all protection, and in that respect he should be happy to go with the noble lord and his friends around him (hear). But after all, these were extrinsic topics. The immediate question before them was that of the Corn Laws. Anything that ministers might have said upon former occasions was but of small moment as compared to the question of whether it be right to abolish the Corn Law (hear). He was told that this Parliament was elected to maintain protection, and that it could not therefore deal with the question of protection. Why? He maintained that it was because protection was the main question submitted to the electors in 1841, that this Parliament was of all others the best fitted to decide upon that proposition (hear). To say that because certain gentlemen found it inconvenient to give particular votes, that, therefore the Parliament was incapable of deciding on a great national question, was a proposition which could not be maintained for a moment (hear, hear). If the question of protection had not been put forward it might with more plausibility be contended that this Parliament was not fitted to deal with it. He doubted, indeed, whether—if they were to appeal to the country—the electors would return a more respectable set of gentlemen than those he saw around him (hear, hear, and a laugh)—or men upon whom they could safely place greater reliance. The country certainly would not have a better guarantee for the fidelity of those it might return than it already possessed for the good faith of those whom it had already sent to Parliament (cheers). Why, what was the language of a gentleman now a candidate for the representation of Suffolk? He said he left himself open to vote on the corn and on all other questions as he should deem best for the interest of the country (hear, hear, hear). This was one of the new protectionist candidates. How did they know but that he might be open to argument—determined to examine carefully and decide conscientiously (cheers). But how did the case, as to the Parliament being elected to support the right honourable baronet and protection, really stand? Appeals had been made to constituencies on behalf of the right honourable baronet on the ground of his being favourable to Free Trade. It had been urged in manufacturing districts, that the right hon. gentleman and his party would and could do more for Free Trade than the noble lord and his friends on this side of the house. Indeed it was brought as a reproach against him (Mr. M. Gibson) that he belonged to a party incapable of advancing the cause of Free Trade so much as lay in the power of the right hon. baronet (hear, and a laugh). The supporters of Sir George Murray in Manchester took that course, and the same thing took place in various other manufacturing towns. The fact was this, gentlemen in the agricultural districts made a great mistake in taking "protection" for a party cry at the last election (hear, hear). And if there be any charge of deceiving and misleading persons out of this house, it rested on the representatives of the agricultural interest (hear, hear). They it was who induced the tenant farmers to believe that statesmen of reputation could be found who would undertake to all time the defence of agricultural monopoly; they allowed and encouraged the tenant farmers to believe that Parlia-

ment would maintain those laws, although they had received repeated cautions that such a course was inconsistent with the statements made by the leaders of Parliament in this house (hear, hear, hear). But honourable gentlemen persevered in telling the farmers that there would be legislation to increase the value of corn. They made that mistake, and they were now suffering the consequences. In point of fact, the position under which Government took office was this:—"The right honourable baronet had said, 'Call me in, and I will prescribe.' They had called him in; he had prescribed, and they were now labouring under the effect of the dose which he had given them (hear, hear, and a laugh). It was a searching dose—a drastic purge, no doubt; but hon. gentlemen must be prepared for those strong and searching medicines when we had a great national evil to deal with (hear, hear, hear). But it was wasting time to dwell on those questions of ministerial and personal consistency. He would, therefore, refer, with the view of replying, to some of those statistical statements which had been adduced, the other night by the honourable gentleman the member for Somersetshire, and which were said to constitute the great protection case. That honourable gentleman had informed the house that the British farmer was unable to compete with the American and Polish agriculturist, because he had certain expenses in the cultivation of the soil to bear, which did not oppress those foreign agriculturists, and the hon. gentleman went on to give an instance of a farm in which the four-course system of husbandry was carried on, three parts being arable, and the fourth devoted to pasture. He stated that the labour employed on that farm cost from 30s. to 35s., and that the local taxes amounted to 4s. or 4s. 6d. per acre—both taken together amounting to 37s. per acre. Then they were told that the average quantity grown was about four quarters per acre, by which amount were they to divide the 37s., they would get a product of a very little more than 9s. as the expenses of labour and local taxation on each quarter of wheat. Very well. This item of 9s. per quarter was the item which they complained of as constituting their disability to compete with foreigners (cries of no, no)? It must be. All other items were borne both by foreign and English farmers. They said it was not rent, rent was out of the question; they repelled the idea of legislating to raise rent (cheers). The burdens borne, then, were simply the 8s. for labour and the 1s. for local taxation per quarter. Was it not so (cheers)? Well, the right hon. baronet, in his scheme, by leaving a permanent duty of 1s. per quarter had clearly left them a protecting duty equal to the whole amount of their local taxation (cheers). Now, with regard to wages, he would ask them how much less than 8s. per quarter did labour cost in America (hear, hear)? Why, it was notorious that labour was much more expensive there than here. In America the labourer had nearly double the amount of wages. How, then, came it that this item of 9s. could be pleaded as a burden which disabled them from competing with the foreign agriculturists? How much less was the item for labour and local taxes than 9s. per quarter in the case of the foreign agriculturist? The difference was so small as to be less than any thing which could be assigned. Consider that the average freight of 8s. or 9s. per quarter from the United States more than covered all their expenses, labour and local taxation put together. Thus they were protected by the natural course of things to the full extent of the disability which they pleaded (cries of hear, hear). But he contended that the foreign corn trade had as much right to be favoured as the pursuit of growing it at home. Then there was another strange argument of the hon. member for Somersetshire, that the price of bread was raised by the inordinate profits of millers and bakers; but that plea was clearly inconsistent with the one used by the same hon. gentleman, that even supposing the price of bread to fall, wages would fall with it; if so, then it followed that bakers and millers in enhancing the price of bread did really no harm to the labouring man. The fact seemed, however, to be that the honourable gentleman wished for one law to keep down the profits of the bakers, and another to increase the profits of the farmers (cheers). He (Mr. M. Gibson) contended that such was not a case upon which the protectionists could come down to the house and claim restriction upon the foreign corn trade. But why was it that this extraordinary timidity existed on the subject of Corn Law repeal? If the Corn Laws be such an important element in the value of land, how was it that that value remained undisturbed now that these laws were about to be repealed (cheers)? The conduct of capitalists in dealing with a commodity with respect to which a great change was expected was the best of all guides as to the effect on the value of that commodity which that change would produce (hear, hear); and he believed that capitalists were as ready as ever to embark their money in land (hear, hear). If any change were impending which would prevent the tax collector from getting sufficient money to pay the dividends on funded stock, would consols maintain their price? There was no fall in landed securities (hear). He had been informed that in the county of Suffolk, since the period of the rumours of Corn Law repeal, no fewer than sixty-three farmers (and they had all been communicated with by a friend of his, whose tenants they were) had made agreements to renew their leases for long periods without one having asked for a reduction of rent (hear, hear). Twenty of the number stated that in the opinion of a farmer a repeal of the Corn Laws would not involve the necessity of a reduction in rent (hear, hear). What, then, was the meaning of the alarm he heard on all sides expressed? Did the protectionists wish to cripple the advance of manufactures? Were they jealous of the progress of trade (loud cries of "no, no")? He did not believe that they were; but their conduct would lead many to believe that they wished to raise themselves by depress-

ing others (hear hear). He believed that that unworthy feeling did enter into many minds. He believed that there was a jealousy of the advance of the mercantile and trading community (no, no). Why, let them look to their social system. Had they not attached to the possession of land social advantages and estimation which they did not attach to trading and commercial pursuits (hear, hear)? Had it not been their system to make the possession of land the test of fitness for the administration of the national affairs—the test of fitness for admission into the other house? for, though he admitted that gentlemen who had acquired great wealth and power by commercial pursuits had been raised to the peerage, still they were not admitted to the upper legislative assembly until the possession of landed estate had rendered them in the estimation of the privileged classes fit to be trusted (hear). Was it not laid down, even on the passing of the Reform Bill, that one of the objects of the measure, so far as the distribution of the representation was concerned, was to give a predominant influence to the possessors of land? (Lord John Russell was understood to say, "No.") He contended, at any rate, that the possession of land gave the greatest advantages; that the landed gentry had a monopoly of the Cabinet, and the principal offices and emoluments of the State; that it was the boast of their leaders that they could make and unmake Ministries, and the party that had such power could help itself freely to all the advantages of the State. The honourable member for Shrewsbury told us, and told us truly, that our aristocracy was a territorial aristocracy. There was no doubt it was so, and if the Corn Laws were repealed tomorrow there would be but an increased competition for that property which conferred such immense boons on its possessors (hear, hear). If this change was long resisted, the inference was irresistible that the landed gentry perverted their legislative functions to serve their private and pecuniary interests (hear, hear). There is a portion of the question, said the honourable gentleman, to which I wish particularly to allude. As the Corn Laws are to be totally abolished, I wish to ask why the change should not now take place (hear, hear)? Why defer to a future day what justice requires, and what the emergencies of the country at the present moment especially call for? If there be any force of argument in the failure of the potato crop, and the deficiency of corn in the north of Europe—and that therefore it would be difficult to procure supplies of food for our population—if there be any force in that argument, it calls on the legislature seriously to consider whether the emergencies of the country do not require an immediate measure of relief, and not one that is to have effect at a future time (hear, hear). I, for one, think the agricultural interest would be benefited by an immediate rather than by a deferred repeal of this law. I believe that if you are to enter into competition with foreign agriculture you had better take your competitors by surprise than give them warning (hear, hear, and cheers). Our present course is inconsistent with the arguments on which it is said to be based. The present emergency is not an argument for doing something three years hence (hear, hear, from the protectionists); for, if you admit the evil, you should at once apply the remedy (hear, hear). The right hon. the Secretary at War said he was of opinion that the ports should have been opened two months ago. Well, then, the necessities of the country, as well as the interests of agriculture, urge the Government to take the step now at all events (cheers). You can never bring about a complete and pacific arrangement of the present question short of total and immediate abolition. While any part of the law is left on the statute-book you will have some agriculturists rallying round it in its defence. That will render necessary an army of observation on the other side (a laugh from the protectionists); and in this way the conflict you deprecate will be perpetuated. I am as anxious as any man that the agitation should be got rid of to-morrow (hear). So strong is the conviction out of doors, among those who support a repeal of the Corn Laws, that the question should be at once set at rest, that those who represent their opinions in this house will be bound to take its sense on this part of the question. The Corn Law question has found its way into this house in the face of unprecedented obstacles. It has found its way in the teeth of an adverse majority. It is here now, and it never would have been had it not been backed by the public opinion of the country (cheers). I believe that no course that any individual member can take can endanger the passing of this bill (cheers). If it be capable of being endangered by a motion here, the other house would throw it out. The measure has not been brought to its present position by politicians in this house; it will be carried, if at all, by the voice of the country; and unless it rest on that substantial basis it will fail (cheers, and a laugh from the protectionists). I do not wish any measure to be carried on any other ground. And let me tell the honourable gentlemen opposite they cannot have a better barometer of public opinion than the right honourable gentleman at the head of the Government (a laugh from the protectionists). Yes, if you want to know what the great mass of the people are thinking about, see what the right honourable gentleman is doing (cheers). He is moving with public opinion; he has measured and justly appreciated public opinion; and when you talk of confidence in public men, you should remember that the only confidence in statesmen worth having is that they will not set public opinion at defiance, or resist changes which inquiry has shown to be safe, and which are founded on a sound and true economy (cheers). Public confidence is not to be acquired by mere party manoeuvring. The great bulk of the community were every day becoming more practical. The great meetings held at different parts of the country have not been engaged in discussing the merits of particular party leaders. They have not said that some

men are not better to administer public affairs than others; but the public of late years have not so much looked to the distinctions of Whig and Tory as to the prospect of carrying great practical measures of reform (hear). I do caution, from the bottom of my heart, the hon. gentlemen opposite against prolonging this conflict with the manufacturing and labouring classes. They have taken a position which they cannot defend with credit, and which they would be compelled to abandon with disgrace if they proceed further (cheers). Aye, and it may be with more than disgrace. Have a dissolution if you will (cheers from the protectionists). The only effect will be the postponement of this measure. I do not object to a dissolution on any other ground than that I think it behoves members who are now entrusted with the care of the national interests to deal with the present emergencies before an appeal is made to the people. I think we are not discharging our duties if we suffer any time to elapse before we provide for that awful deficiency which is staring us in the face, and from which the right hon. Secretary for the Home Department apprehends the most serious consequences (hear, hear). I once more call on you to consider that you have no right to lay down the conditions on which manufacturers and merchants shall carry on their trade. The merchants who import foreign corn should be as free from let or hindrance as you to cultivate your estates. I implore you not to press your antiquated feudal pretension that you are entitled to say on what condition the trade of the country should be carried on. I call upon you to be satisfied with the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of your own estates, and let trade and commerce flourish in freedom. (The hon. gentleman sat down amid loud cheers.)

Mr. HALSEY wished that all the extempore proselytes to Free Trade would make such a candid declaration of the reasons of their conversion as had been made by Lord Northland on a former evening, as it would be useful to the house, and still more useful to its constituents. After a passing attack upon the Anti-Corn-Law League for its proceeding in collecting large sums of money for the purpose of meddling with the registration and of tampering in elections, he proceeded to denounce the Government plan as a measure which supported Free Trade, and yet did not carry it out—which repudiated protection, and yet left it in force. The farmer was not allowed to cultivate tobacco, because it was necessary to protect the revenue, and also some colonial interests. Were the landowners to allow the ports to be thrown open, and then to be told that they must cultivate their farms with their hands tied behind them? Sir R. Peel proposed to reduce one-half the duty on foreign hops; and there was no reduction to be made to the same amount on the excise duty on English hops. He (Mr. Halsey) was the advocate of equal justice and protection to all classes. He wished to know, if the price of English wheat should fall, on what principle Sir Robert would settle the Tithes Commutation Act? Sir Robert had also said that the revenue would not be affected by the changes which he now proposed; but if he were disappointed in that calculation, would he make up the deficiency of the revenue by doubling the Property Tax, and by making it avowedly permanent?

Mr. DICKINSON considered that the proposal now made by the Government was just and right, and therefore he should support it. However the members of the Central Agricultural Association might complain of the proceedings of the Anti-Corn Law League, it was undeniable that they themselves acted on the very same principles; else what was meant by their interference in elections, and their dictation of pledges to county members? He then proceeded to explain the reasons which had induced him to moderate the views which he had formerly entertained on the subject of protection, and to support the measure of the Government. He was convinced that it would inflict no great loss either on the owners of landed property, or on those who were subordinate to them. He should, however, consider it as an improvement on the Government plan, if its adoption were made immediate.

Lord ALFRED CHURCHILL, in a brief speech, which was very imperfectly heard in the House, declared his intention of opposing the measure which had recently proceeded from the new lights of Sir R. Peel and his colleagues in the Ministry.

Sir W. CLAY lamented that this debate had partaken so much of a personal character. It had been called a one-sided debate; but if it were so, it was owing to the fact that the staple of the arguments on the other side had been the abuse of Sir R. Peel, and not the defence of a system of protective duties. The country gentlemen had absolutely overdone their case: they had proved too much for their own side; for when they showed that Sir R. Peel had broken up a noble party they convinced the public that he had discarded all merely personal interests, and that under the pressure of an overwhelming necessity, he had sought nothing else than the advantage of the country. He then proceeded to refute several statements in the speech of Mr. Miles on Friday night. That gentleman had declared himself the open foe of all future relaxation of protection. Might he ask Mr. Miles if he was prepared to condemn the past relaxations of it, and to retrace the steps which had been already taken towards Free Trade? If he would not abrogate past relaxation, with what show of reason did he call on the house to proceed no further in its present liberal and enlightened course? The cry of protection to native industry found no echo out of doors. He (Sir W. Clay) gave his entire approbation to the measure, which would be productive of no injury to the agricultural interest. If there was one interest deeply concerned in the abrogation of these laws, it was the agricultural interest, for that interest depended more than any other on the success of the whole community. It had nothing to fear from the competition of the agriculturists of the Baltic or the United States.

Mr. BUCK participated in the alarm and dismay which this unjust and unequalled measure had produced among his constituents. The annunciation of it had shaken all confidence in public men, and its baneful influence would extend not only to the agricultural, but also to all the trading and manufacturing classes of the country. To the working part of the population it would be eminently injurious; for whenever the price of wheat had been high pauperism had been low, and whenever the price had been low pauperism had been high. Having delivered himself of a passionate invective against Sir R. Peel for having deceived and deserted the Conservative Associations, which he had himself called into existence, and of a bitter attack upon the Anti-

Corn Law League, he concluded by declaring his intention to give a most decisive negative to this most rash and injurious measure.

Lord H. VANE explained the reasons why he was now prepared to give a vote in opposition to the policy which he had formerly followed on this question. Though he had always urged the reduction of duties on agricultural as well as on all other productions, he had never yet gone the length of advocating the total repeal of the Corn Laws. He believed that a low fixed duty would have been equally advantageous for all commercial purposes, and therefore regretted that it had been abandoned. The time for compromise had now unfortunately gone by; and the question was not to be settled now, except by the adoption of some such measure as that proposed by Sir R. Peel. He appealed to the country gentlemen in the house, and asked them whether it would not be advisable for them to withdraw their opposition to this measure, seeing they could not hope to resist it effectually, after the numerous conversions which had taken place.

Sir J. TYRRELL, after denouncing the Government scheme as a clap-net proposition, observed, that in speaking of it, it was impossible to avoid making personal reflections on Sir R. Peel, inasmuch as he always represented the Government in his own person, and scarcely permitted any of his colleagues in the Administration to speak. The present measure would not settle the question of protection; for not many moons would elapse before Lord John Russell would come forward with a motion for abrogating the discriminating duties on sugar; and if the present motion were carried, he did not see how that could be resisted. He amused the house by stating, that as Sir Robert had appealed to posterity for its judgment on his policy, the sooner posterity had an opportunity of judging on his merits the better. If the house should pass this measure for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and if the House of Lords should register that verdict, all ties between the upper and lower classes of society would be dissolved, and misery, ruin, and anarchy would ensue.

Mr. JAMES took pride to himself that on every occasion since he had been in Parliament he had voted in favour of the repeal of the Corn Laws. On the first occasion, when it was brought forward by Henry Hunt, he had been one of the tellers, and there was only a minority of five in favour of it. Now he trusted that the majority would be counted by as many hundreds as there were formerly units in the minority.

Sir R. PEELE rose and said:—Two matters of great importance have occupied the attention of the house during this protracted debate: one, the manner in which a party should be conducted; and the other, the measures by which to meet the contingencies of a great public calamity shall be vindicated, and the principles by which the commercial character of a great empire shall for the future be governed. On the first point—the manner in which a party shall be conducted—by far the greater part of this debate has been expended. I don't undervalue its importance, but surely it is subordinate, in the eyes of the people of this country, to those two other questions to which I have referred—(loud cheers from the Opposition)—the precautions to be taken against a great danger, the principles by which your commercial policy should hereafter be governed (cheers again). On the party question I admit I have little defence to make (cheers from the protectionists). Yes, our measures are, I admit, the very worst measures that could be adopted for party measures (vehement opposition cheering). I make this admission at once; and further that it is unfortunate that the conduct of those measures (so far at least as the Corn Laws are concerned) should be committed to me. I admit, at once that it would be far preferable—even assuming that the question must be settled—that those should have the credit (if credit there be) of its settlement who have been its uniform and consistent advocates (protectionist cheers). That which prevented myself, and those who concurred with me, from committing it into other hands, was the firm conviction under which I laboured that a part of this empire was threatened with a great famine. I did firmly believe—I do firmly believe—that there is impending over you, and will come at no remote period, a calamity which all must admit and deplore; and while there was that danger, with no means of averting it, I did not consider it consistent with my duty to my Sovereign, or with my honour as a public man, to take an opportunity of evading the difficulty which I saw impending (loud cheers from both sides). While I entertained the hope of a concurrent and agreeing administration, I thought there was a prospect of bringing this question to a settlement. When compelled to abandon that hope—my sense of the coming evil remaining the same—I took the earliest opportunity (and I took it with the utmost satisfaction) of adopting the course which my sense of duty and of public honour required—namely, to tender my resignation to the Queen, leaving her Majesty full opportunity of consulting other advisers. I offered no opinion as to the choice of a successor. That is almost the only personal act of the Sovereign (hear, hear). It is for the Sovereign to determine in whom confidence ought to be placed (cries of hear, hear, from both sides). It was my duty to ascertain, in consequence of the request of the Queen, whether those of my colleagues who had dissented from me were either prepared themselves to form a government, or whether they were prepared to advise her Majesty (if they themselves were not able to form a government) as to the hands to which should be entrusted the formation of a cabinet on the principle of maintaining the existing Corn Laws. Those from whom I differed—who had not concurred with me either as to the full extent of the danger, or as to the policy of altering the existing law—did signify it as their opinion that it would not be for the public interests that they should form a government; nor would they advise her Majesty to resort to others for the formation of a government—I mean a government formed on the principle of maintaining the existing law. Her Majesty determined to call on the noble lord (Lord J. Russell) to undertake the duty of forming an administration. I was relieved from the responsibilities of office. The noble lord was sent for. My firm belief was that the noble lord would have been enabled to undertake the duty of forming a government, and that if he had so undertaken the formation of a government, he would have succeeded. Throughout a long course of opposition to the noble lord, I can never charge myself with having said a word disrespectful to him. We have sat opposite each other for many years; but nothing has ever occurred to lend to acrimonious feelings or to engender a spirit of hostility (cries of hear, hear, from Lord J. Russell). But I must say the noble lord disappointed me when he did not at once undertake the government on the principle of an abolition of the present Corn Laws (some cries of hear, from the Opposition). My impression was, the noble lord would

have undertaken the government—my impression was, that I was merely in the capacity of a private member—my strong opinion was, that we had cause for apprehending great danger—my opinion also was, that in taking precautions against that danger, we must compel the necessity of a final settlement of the Corn-law question. I knew all the difficulties which any man would have to contend with who undertook the conduct of government. I knew the great dislocation which the frame of government had received in the breaking up of the administration of which I was the head; and I thought it would be unfair and dishonourable, under the impression that that noble lord would be minister, not to take those steps which must diminish his embarrassments (cheers from both sides). Sir, I have not a word of complaint to make against the noble lord for the statement which he the other night submitted. The explanations I gave related chiefly to the part which I took while I remained in the government. The noble lord undertook to state what passed when that period expired. The noble lord read a letter, a copy of which he said was in his possession, and the general statement of its contents which the noble lord gave was perfectly fair and honest. But the noble lord said there were other letters not in his possession. As reference has been made to those other letters—to one at least of primary importance—I feel it my duty, in order to show I was sincere in saying that I deprecated a settlement of this question being committed to my hands—I think it right for my vindication in that respect to state to the house the course I pursued (loud cries of hear, hear, from both sides). I relinquished office on the 6th December, 1845. I knew then of course that those of my colleagues who differed from me declined to form an administration in accordance with those views, and could not advise the formation of such a government. I was aware too that the noble lord, though not at my suggestion, had been sent for by her Majesty. On the 8th of December, considering myself to be in a private capacity, anxious to facilitate the adjustment of this question—my opinion having been given in the Cabinet that it must be entertained—I made the communication to her Majesty, which her Majesty I believe made known to the noble lord. The noble lord had not a copy of this letter, or I have no doubt he would have read it. I wrote it from myself, and in a private capacity, on the 8th of December, two days after I quitted office, and when I heard the noble lord was accepted as minister:

“Whitehall, Dec. 8.

“Sir Robert Peel presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and, influenced by no other motive than the desire to contribute if possible to the relief of your Majesty from embarrassment, and to the protection of the public interests from injury, is induced to make to your Majesty this confidential communication explanatory of Sir R. Peel's position and intentions with regard to the great question which is now agitating the public mind.

“Your Majesty can, if you think fit, make this communication known to the Minister who, as successor to Sir R. Peel, may be honoured by your Majesty's confidence.

“On the 1st of November last Sir R. Peel advised his colleagues, on account of the alarming accounts from Ireland, and many districts in this country, as to the failure of the potato crop from disease, and for the purpose of guarding against contingencies, which in his opinion were not improbable, humbly to recommend to your Majesty that the duties on the import of foreign grain should be suspended for a limited period, either by order in council or by legislative enactment; Parliament in either case being summoned without delay.

“Sir Robert Peel foresaw that this suspension, fully justified by the tenor of the report to which he has referred, would compel, during the interval of suspension, the reconsideration of the Corn Laws.

“If the opinions of his colleagues had then been in concurrence with his own, he was fully prepared to take the responsibility of suspension, and of the necessary consequence of suspension, a comprehensive review of the laws imposing restrictions on the import of foreign grain and other articles of food, with a view to their gradual diminution and ultimate removal.

“He was disposed to recommend that any new laws to be enacted should contain within themselves the principle of gradual and ultimate removal.

“Sir Robert Peel is prepared to support, in a private capacity, measures which may be in general conformity with those which he advised as a Minister.

“It would be unbecoming in Sir Robert Peel to make any reference to the details of such measures.

“Your Majesty has been good enough to inform Sir Robert Peel that it is your intention to propose to Lord John Russell to undertake the formation of a Government.

“The principle on which Sir Robert was prepared to recommend the reconsideration of the laws affecting the import of the main articles of food, was in general accordance with that referred to in the concluding paragraph of Lord John Russell's letter to the electors of the city of London.

“Sir Robert Peel wished to accompany the removal of restriction on the admission of such articles with relief to the land from such charges as are unduly onerous, and with such other provisions as, in the terms of Lord John Russell's letter, 'caution and even scrupulous forbearance may suggest.'

“Sir Robert Peel will support measures founded on that general principle, and will exercise any influence he may possess to promote their success.”

That was the assurance I conveyed to her Majesty of my perfect readiness to support, if proposed by others, those measures which I myself have now introduced. I could not but foresee that in addition to all the other difficulties which the noble lord or any other Minister would have to contend with, he would have accepted office at an unfortunate moment. Up to the present time there has been a prosperous revenue, but a limited expenditure. There had been hitherto a large surplus; and I thought the Minister succeeding me might have been deterred from accepting office by the increased expenditure that was necessary, and because an unfavourable contrast might thus be drawn between his financial policy and that of his predecessors. I added, therefore, to those assurances of support I have alluded to, this further one. It is important for the house to attend to it:—“Sir Robert Peel feels it to be his duty to add that, should your Majesty's future advisers, and after consideration of the heavy demands made upon the army of the country for colonial service, of our relations with the United States, and of the bearing which steam navigation may have upon maritime warfare and the defence of the country, deem it advisable to propose an addition to the army and increased naval and military estimates, Sir Robert Peel will support the proposal—will do all that he can to prevent it from being considered as indicative of hostile or altered feelings towards

France, and will assume, for the increase in question, any degree of responsibility, present or retrospective, which can fairly attach to him" (loud cheers). Now, sir, when it is charged on me that I am robbing others of what is justly their due, I hope the explanation of the course I have taken when acting under the first persuasion that the adjustment of this question would have been committed to others—I hope the explanation I have now given will tend to prove that I am not desirous of robbing others of the credit which is their due, or of trying to embarrass them in the course which I thought they should have adopted (loud cheers from both sides). Sir, there were further communications made, and I was aware, in the course of them, that it was desired to put me in possession of the particular mode in which it was determined to settle this question. I thought it better to decline such a communication of the noble lord's measures, for I felt that any apparent concert between the noble lord and myself would have a tendency to endanger rather than promote the adjustment of this question, and I therefore declined to receive the communication of those details. But I think the noble lord must have been satisfied that, though I declined to concert measures with him, yet it was my intention to give the noble lord in the adjustment of this question according to his views of public policy, that same cordial support which it is his boast that he now intends to give me (prolonged cheering from the Opposition). Sir, I believe that must have been the impression of the noble lord, because, after the communication with me, the noble lord undertook the formation of a Government; and I am sure that the noble lord must feel that it was no act of mine that caused the failure. I was in no way whatever concerned with the reasons which induced the noble lord finally to abandon that attempt (hear, hear, from Lord John Russell). So much, therefore, as to the course I pursued with reference to those opposite. I never made an inquiry as to those who constituted the new Government. I had no personal objection of any kind. My belief was, that this question ought to be adjusted, and I was prepared to facilitate its adjustment by my vote, and by the exercise of whatever influence I possessed (hear, and Opposition cheers). Now, then, with respect to the course I have pursued with regard to those who have so long given me their support, I admit to them it was but natural they should withhold from me their confidence. I admit that the course I am pursuing is different from the established principles on which party should be conducted: but I do ask them whether it was probable I should sacrifice their favourable opinion and support, unless I was influenced by considerations of public duty; unless I did believe it was for the public interest that I should propose the measures which have caused the estrangement between us (cheers)? Notwithstanding what has passed in this debate—notwithstanding the asperity with which some may have spoken of me, I will do them the justice they deserve. No person could have held the position I have done so long without being intimately acquainted with the motives of his party. I must know what are the objects of those who gave me their support; and I will say, after the forfeiture of their confidence, that I don't believe (speaking generally of the great body) that there ever existed a party that was influenced by more honourable and disinterested feelings. I must know the fact; and I will give them the credit they deserve (cheers and hear). But this I must say, that be the consequences what they may, you cannot rob me of the conviction that the advice which I have given is advice consistent with all the obligations which party can impose. I know how easy it would be to conciliate their temporary support. The way would be to underrate the danger, to invite a continued combination for the maintenance of the existing law—to talk about hoisting the flag of "protection to native industry"—to have insisted that agricultural protection should be maintained in all its integrity. Such a course would have conciliated a temporary confidence. But the month of May will not have arrived without demonstrating that I should have abandoned my duty towards my country, towards my Sovereign, and towards my party, if I had so acted (loud and long continued cheers from the Opposition). I had, and I have, the firm persuasion that in the present temper of the public mind—in the state of the public feeling with respect to the Corn Laws—that state of public feeling and opinion, independent of all casual and adventitious circumstances, making a defence of this law difficult enough—I have the firm persuasion that if that calamity, which I foresee in Ireland, should arise, and the battle has to be fought on the question of maintaining the present Corn Law, unless the duty exceeds 17s. a quarter on foreign wheat, a degree of odium would then have attached to the landed interest which would have been overwhelming in its effects (loud cheers from the Opposition). And what would have been the situation of my right honourable friend the Secretary for the Home Department, charged as he is with the responsibility of maintaining the public peace, and whose duty it was to take measures for rescuing millions from the calamity of famine (hear, hear)? What were the facts brought daily under our notice? We know it as a fact that in one part of the empire four millions of the Queen's subjects depended on one article of food (hear, hear). It was difficult to say what was the extent of danger, what had been the progress of the disease, and what would be the amount of the deficiency in the supply of this article; but surely you should make allowances for those who were charged with the duty of providing for the public safety; and, in the case of this failure, we must be aware that within three or four months this disease would be followed with traces of famine; and under these circumstances was it not our duty to the country, as well as to the party, not to neglect the taking due precautions (hear, hear). I wish that my anticipations may not be fulfilled; but it is of the last moment, it is absolutely necessary, before coming to a final decision on this question, that you should understand the Irish question (hear, hear). I cannot consent to confess that I entertain any feelings of regret at the course which I then took; so far from it, that I declare to the house that that day in my political life on which I look with most satisfaction and pride, was that on which I was ready and prepared to take upon myself the responsibility of issuing an Order in Council for the opening the ports, and trusting to you for an act of indemnity (loud cheers). My primary and particular object was to increase the supply of food in the country, and thus make provision against famine, and there might also have been other collateral advantages which would follow; but I thought, I say, that the best course to have taken was to have opened the ports (hear, hear). Suppose that my anticipations proved incorrect, and that I had uttered a false estimate of the danger which threatened, I believed that even then the generosity of Parliament would have made allowance for the motives that had actuated me, and would have granted an indemnity (cheers), even if my anticipations were not fulfilled

by the result. But what are the facts? There was during the latter part of December and the beginning of January said to be something like a lull—a suspension of the potato disease. I never shared in the prophetic feeling as to the ample supply of food, and that the potato disease had vanished, after the opinions on the subject which I had received from most able men of science, who had been directed by the Government to investigate the matter. But I ask, what were the facts of the case? I hold in my hand some papers which will throw a light upon this subject. I shall read them, not so much for a vindication of the Government, but, as I conceive, that it is not right that I should leave the house ignorant of the facts of the case. I know the measure before the house is not directly for opening the ports; but it is almost equivalent to that step, for its object is the immediate admission of maize and other descriptions of grain free of duty, and the reduction of the duty on wheat to 4s. the quarter. Some persons, I know, say that it would be better at once to reduce the duty to nothing (hear, hear, hear). But still this is a virtual removal of the duty on all descriptions of corn, with the exception of wheat. Before, then, you finally decide on rejecting this measure, I ask you to look well to the circumstances of the case. You affect to doubt the accuracy of these official reports, but this can only be on the assumption that official men would deceive in such documents. But I will not depend on statements from official men, but I will refer to letters which have been received from Ireland by the two last mails, and the accuracy of which, I think, will not be doubted when I state from whence they come. The name of Sir David Roche is known to many members of this house, for he was some time member for the city of Limerick, and I think, after I have read the letter from that gentleman which I hold in my hand, few honourable members will say that the apprehensions of famine are greatly exaggerated. This day this letter has been received by the Government from the city of Limerick, from Sir David Roche. He says:—"No person was more disposed than I was to look with hope to that part of the potato crop that appeared sound before Christmas. I thought it was quite safe and certain to keep in the usual way, and in my answer to the Lord Lieutenant's circular, I stated that hope with great confidence, adding that the crop was so large the sound portion would nearly feed the people." (This, then, is a disinterested authority.) "But grieve to say, that every day convinces me of the error I was under; the potatoes that were apparently sound then, had more or less the disease in an incipient state, and the greater part is now obliged to be given to pigs and cattle, to save the owners from total loss. The Catholic clergy of several parishes have made this painful communication to me: my own experience as a landed proprietor and practical farmer, holding in my possession large arable farms in three different parts of this county, and also in the county Clare, entirely corresponds with their statements. I don't think by the 1st of May next, that out of one hundred acres of potatoes on my land, sound seed will be left for next year (hear, hear). If the case is so bad with me, and it is nearly the same in the four districts I allude to, how much worse must it be with the poor, who have not the convenience and aid that large farming establishments, with substantial buildings, can command? In short, as one rides through the country rotten potatoes are to be seen everywhere in large quantities by the side of the roads—pits, lately turned, in most cases much smaller than the heaps of rotten potatoes alongside them, and those in the pits are certain, if not quickly consumed, to share in the general decay (hear, hear, hear). Such, sir, is the state I may say of the entire country. No doubt for six or seven weeks, while the remains of the potato last, destitution will not be general; but I pray you, sir, look to it in time" (hear, hear, hear). Is it not right that we should look to this state of things in time (hear, hear)? This is the account from Limerick. I now come to Queen's County, the letter from which was received yesterday. It is from the inspector of police in that county, who states that in his visit to the locality which he describes, he was accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Emerson, the clergyman of the parish, and the place was the property of Mr. Fotheringdon. The writer says:

"Queen's County, Stradbally, February 11, 1846.
"With reference to the potato disease I beg to state that I was requested by Sir Edward Walsh and Sir Antony Weldon, two magistrates of this district, to make a more searching inquiry into the state of the potatoes in the neighbourhood of the collieries than had hitherto been made. The instructions were to make the examination by properties, and ruled forms were supplied by Sir A. Weldon, with such headings as he considered applicable to the case.

On Monday morning, the 9th, I proceeded to Wolf hill, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Emerson, the clergyman of the parish, and commenced with the property of Mr. Hovenden. Mr. Hovenden himself being with us, we examined every house on the property, took down the number of each family, the quantity of potatoes planted, and the quality (from actual inspection) now remaining on hand, with the quantity of oats and other grain now in the possession of the family. On Tuesday we went over the property of Sir Charles Coote, adjoining Mr. Hovenden's, and also over Mr. Carter's, and, so far as time would admit, examined a few families on the property of Mrs. Kavanagh, of Gracefield. Our inquiries extended to about 190 families altogether, and enabled me with the most perfect accuracy to state the frightful extent to which the destruction of the potato crop has proceeded in that part of the country. Many families whom we visited, and who had planted sufficient for their ordinary wants, including the seed necessary for the ensuing season, have not had a potato of any kind for the last month." (Observe, this is in the month of February, five months at least before there can be any supply from the natural bounty of Providence (hear, hear). "Others have lost nearly all; and the few that still remain are totally unfit for human food. In every instance where we saw potatoes in pits in the fields we had them examined, and, with scarcely an exception, we found them to be a mass of putrefaction, perfectly disgusting, even to look at. We examined a few houses on the property of Sir Thomas Esmonde, where the land is of much better quality, but the result was in every case the same. There are literally no potatoes remaining in that part of the country.

"I understand the magistrates intend to meet on an early day, and make some representation through the lieutenant of the county on the above subject.

"W. W. HEMSWORTH, Sub-Inspector, 1st Rate."
Now, these were the letters received within the last two days. I now shall refer to a report on this subject from the lord-lieutenant of Waterford, Lord Stuart de Decies, dated the 10th of February; a person whose statements I am sure will carry with them full authority in this house

(hear, hear). The report is directed to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and in it I find it stated:—"His Excellency will find in these statements an announcement of the alarming fact that in two districts alone of the union in question there are, even at this early period of the year, no less than 300 persons whose stores of provisions are upon the point of becoming exhausted. In the meanwhile the rot is represented as making daily progress amongst the potatoes, which until lately it was hoped might have been preserved in a state of partial soundness for some time longer, and there is every reason, therefore, to anticipate that the distress now prevailing in certain localities will very speedily cause its pressure to be felt by the labouring classes throughout the union. With this prospect in view, the probability is that a rise in the price of all kinds of grain may be expected to take place in the ensuing spring and summer months, although foreign supplies were to be admitted immediately, duty free, and that the facilities for providing food for the people in exchange for their labour be removed beyond the means which landed proprietors have at the present moment within their reach for this purpose. It is these circumstances that I would venture respectfully to submit, as far as the interests of the county of Waterford are involved, that much good might be effected in keeping down prices by the establishment of Government corn stores, from which grain might be purchased at first cost price in such towns as Youghal, Dungannon, Waterford, Carrick, Clonmel, and, perhaps, Lismore. In all but the last-mentioned of these towns there is an adequate military force for the protection of such granaries, if established, and no part of the country would then be beyond twelve or fourteen miles distance from a depot, whence food on moderate terms might be drawn to those localities which stood in need of a supply" (hear). The next statement I shall read is from Kerry, and is dated the 9th inst. It is from a gentleman whose statement is entitled to the highest credit. I allude to Mr. Thomas Dillon. He says:—"I regret to have to report, for the information of Government, that serious ravages have been made latterly on the potatoes by the disease which, for the last two months, was supposed at least not to be progressive. Having gone round my district within the last ten days, I have had opportunities not only of hearing, but of witnessing, the destruction which has been committed, and which is gaining ground so rapidly, contrary to the hopes which have been for some time cherished, as to excite the utmost alarm among all classes, and for my own part I feel almost confounded at the difficulty that must exist in procuring a sufficiency of good seed for the ensuing crop" (hear). The house is aware that there was for some time past sitting in Dublin a commission, one of the objects of which was to inquire as to the extent to which the potato crop had failed. The commissioners' report refers to a period when the disease had re-appeared, and it embraces returns from every part of Ireland. Indeed, returns have been furnished from every electoral district in Ireland, with the exception of 99, and from these returns have not been sent. The commissioners in their report state that in four electoral districts the disease has affected nine-tenths of the whole crop; in 93 districts it has affected between seven-tenths and eight-tenths of the whole crop; in 125 districts it has affected seven-tenths of the crop; in 160 it has affected six-tenths of the crop; in 566 electoral districts nearly half of the whole crop has been destroyed; and in 582 districts nearly four-tenths of the whole crop has been entirely destroyed (loud cries of hear, hear). I have just stated the request made to us, and we had already acted upon the principle in time, by taking steps to establish stores of corn, where it could be sold at low prices, or giving it in return for labour; to get an adequate supply of seed for potatoes from foreign countries for the ensuing year, is now next to impossible (cries of hear, hear). One-eighth of the whole crop is required for seed, each acre requiring from three-quarters of a ton to a ton of potatoes for seed (cries of hear). Suppose that we endeavoured to buy 10,000 tons of potatoes from ports in those parts of Europe where there are potatoes? I am satisfied that the attempt would be almost impossible. We can only make provision for seed for future years by saving from the portion of potatoes which have been preserved. When the immediate pressure of famine has been got rid of by a supply of food, I fear that due caution will not be taken for a provision for future years; the Government, therefore, must take upon itself to do this, and see what best steps can be taken for such provision of seed. Then the question arises, what should be done? Might not much be done by inducing parties to exchange the potatoes that are yet preserved for some other article of food? I ask, if, instead of taking the course which we have thought it our duty to take, we had let the matter stand over, and come down to the house in May, and asked for larger grants of the public money for the relief of the destitute, and told the clergy, and the Catholic clergy, that they might supply themselves with food for the relief of the people at the Government expense, suppose that at the time we asked for a vote of 200,000l. or 300,000l. for the purpose of charity, we determined to adhere to the present Corn Laws—(hear, hear)—would it, I ask, be tolerated, that at the same time we came down to the house for such a purpose that we were retaining the duty of 17s. on corn (loud cheers). Do honourable gentlemen recollect the returns which I just read as to the state of the potato crop, namely, that in several hundred electoral districts seven-tenths of the crop had been destroyed, and that in nearly 600 of those districts more than half of the potatoes had completely gone, and that in some eight-tenths of the produce had been destroyed (hear, hear). Supposing in such a state of things a famine should ensue, do you believe that it is, for the credit or honour of the landed aristocracy, that they should throw on the Government the responsibility of providing a remedy to meet this threatening state of things, and at the same time declaring that not a letter of the Corn Laws should be altered (cheers)? Would it be an act of fidelity to the landed interest to assent to the adoption of such a course (hear, hear)? No; I believe that if such a proceeding had been adopted you would have a perfect right to charge me with that treachery which you now impute to me, because I have thought it necessary to make provision for such a moment of pressure (hear, hear). The pressure in Holland and Belgium is not half so severe as it is in parts of this empire, but the Governments in these two countries took immediate steps to meet the threatening danger (hear, hear). In Belgium the executive Government took upon itself the responsibility of opening the ports to the free admission of all descriptions of grain and other agricultural produce. In Holland the same course was followed, and the ports were opened for the free admission of all descriptions of food (hear, hear). Belgium is an agricultural country, and on the meeting of the Parliament there the Government asked for an indemnity from the Chambers, and this was granted to the Government, not only without a

discontented voice, but with acclamation (cheering). But in the same circumstances, what course would be taken by the Parliament of England, by a Parliament deeply interested in the welfare of agriculture (hear, hear)? There have been times before the present when there have been apprehensions of famine. What remedy did the legislature apply in such cases? Why that which any man of common sagacity would suggest—it was the remedy resorted to in every instance—the removal, for a time, of the duty on corn (loud cheering from both sides of the house). I rejoice at the cheer with which this proposition has been assented to (hear, hear, and laughter). I apprehend it was an unanimous assent (no, no, from some agricultural members). But at any rate it was a very general assent (hear, hear). My proposition is, that at a period of impending famine the proper course to take is to encourage the free importation of food (cheers). The proposition is that the existing duty on corn should cease, so that it might be admitted free (hear, hear). Then, if so, and you agree to this, I ask you at once to agree to expedite this bill (cheers and laughter), or move as an amendment that the duties on all articles of provision shall forthwith be suspended (loud cheers). I am not arguing now as to what we should do after the suspension, I am only trying to convince you that it would be unfair and treacherous on my part to the landed interest if, convinced as I am of the serious nature of the Irish case, I proceeded to talk of hoisting the flag of protection (laughter)—of rousing the British lion (renewed laughter, and hear, hear)—or of sticking to the true blue colour (hear, hear), and of adhering to the Corn Laws in all their integrity (loud cheers and laughter). I am trying to convince you that the adoption of such a course would not be consistent with the public interest, or with the credit of the landed proprietors of this country (renewed cheers). But it may be said, suspend these laws until next session. I rejoice to have the support of three-fourths of those opposed to me on this measure, as to the admission of maize, or rice, or oats; but, with this admission, are you prepared to maintain that the duty on wheat should be kept up to 17s. (hear, hear)? At all periods of our history, when scarcity was apprehended, the natural precaution has been the admission of foreign corn without restriction. In 1765 there was an apprehension of famine. The Parliament was assembled, and their first act was—unwisely as I think—to prohibit all exportation of corn; their second, to permit its admission duty free (hear, hear). In 1767, likewise under similar circumstances, the first act of Parliament on its sitting, was to remove all duty on corn. In the year 1791 the Parliament altered the Corn Law, and established a new system. In 1793, when there was an apprehension of scarcity, notwithstanding the establishment of the new system of Corn Laws, the first proceeding of Parliament was to remove all acts imposing any duty on the importation of foreign corn (hear, hear). In 1795, when there were apprehensions, mark—not of famine, as now—but of scarcity—the same course was adopted; in 1796 the same remedy was taken; and in 1798 Parliament adopted a similar course (hear, hear). When, I say, then, what all those Parliaments had done, under circumstances where the danger they apprehended was greatly less than at present, would it have been wise or prudent in me to have refused to follow their example, and to have adopted a different course (cheers)? I believe, sir, had I done so, and had I refused to follow that course, that I should have brought not only this Government but this Parliament into the greatest discredit (loud cheers), and have acted in such a manner as, instead of maintaining the existing Corn Laws, would have made a defence of them a political impossibility (loud cheers). Seeing, then, what had been done in neighbouring countries on such occasions, and looking back on the course which had been adopted in your own Parliament at a time, not when corn was at 80s. or 100s. (hear, hear), but under 60s. a quarter, I believed that the best remedy which could be devised for the apprehended evil was to open the ports (loud cheers). Don't answer me by saying that the Corn Laws in those days were not as they are now, or by saying that there was no sliding scale then. I say the fact is exactly the reverse (hear, hear). Foreign corn was admitted at a duty of 6d. as long as it was under 60s.; but Parliament interfered and gave a guarantee that the high duty should not attach, in case of importation, below that price up to 54s. To prevent the consequences of unequal rise and fall, Parliament gave a guarantee to the importer that his corn should be admitted free for six months. With all those cases of which I have spoken before us, would it have been creditable to Parliament to have refused to have acted as their predecessors had done? I think not. It was a subject of consideration with my colleagues; and looking at all the circumstances of the case, we advised the total and immediate suspension of the Corn Laws by an Order in Council (loud cheers). That was the course we would then have pursued: but now what shall be done (hear, hear, hear)? The law is not suspended—the Parliament is sitting. It would not be respectful nor would it be constitutional, that the executive should act whilst Parliament was sitting, without consulting it, and it is now impossible by an order in council to do that which might have been done before (hear, hear). It is not in the province of the Crown to do that which I now invite you to do. It may be quite true that the most fitting time for following the course I advised has passed away, and that the 1st of November would have been a better period for opening the ports than the 16th of Feb.; but admitting that to be true, I tell you at the same time that the necessity which existed for the adoption of this measure on the 1st of November, is, on February 16, only increased (loud cheers). It is true that the supply might have been more ample, and the area of our supply more extended, but you have six months yet to come. Let some one make some other proposal, but, I say, you must choose between the alternatives—either maintain the existing Corn Laws, or make some proposal for increasing the facilities of procuring food by the importation of foreign corn. If it be admitted that, on account of temporary and unforeseen necessity, the present system should be relaxed, all reason is in favour of the suspension of the existing law (hear, hear). Let us assume that the law had been suspended, and I have to consider the second question, from which I assure the house I should not shrink. After the suspension of the existing law eight months would elapse—what would you propose to do with the present Corn Laws? This is a question which I advise the house to consider. My conviction is as strong as it possibly can be, that it would be as utterly impossible, after establishing freedom of trade in this country for eight months, and permitting the free importation of grain for that period, at the end of it to permit the existing Corn Laws to come into operation, as it would be impolitic and impracticable (cheers). I know it will be said that we might have had a temporary suspension, at the end of which the law might be renewed

by its own vitality, and that honourable members would say, "Give us a temporary suspension of the law, and give us a guarantee at the end of the eight months that it shall be renewed." Why, sir, it was impossible to advise the adoption of such a course, I think it would be an utter misapprehension of the state of public opinion to suppose it possible that after this country had tasted the fruits of freedom of importation, without any restriction whatever, any power could have renewed the principle of protection in the present laws (loud cheers). It might be asked—"What, must you refuse the admission of maize?" The consideration of that question had dwelt on the minds of my colleagues and of myself, and we were of opinion that we might have admitted maize, and kept up the protection on all other kinds of grain; but then I said, "Well, don't disregard public feelings in matters of this kind (cheers). Don't let us overbear the deliberate convictions of the country, for depend upon it that in questions affecting food public feeling is not safely disregarded" (loud cheers). By the present Corn Laws the duty on maize varies with the duty on corn. It was most desirable to admit maize free of duty, for it appears that as the price of barley was falling the duty was increasing, and that without the slightest natural connection between maize and barley, the duty on maize was in consequence increasing also (hear, hear). Remember that in the course of last session notice was given of a motion that maize should be imported duty free, because it was desirable that it should be brought into this country for the feeding of cattle (loud cries of hear, hear). Do you think it possible to devise a new Corn Law, the leading principle of which shall be this—maize shall come into our ports duty free, because it will be for the benefit of the farmer that it shall do so, as it is of use to feed his pigs and to fatten his cattle, but there are certain other articles of food for the consumption of human beings which must be excluded (the right hon. baronet was interrupted by loud cheers) and in respect of which the same law cannot be maintained (cheers)? Do you advise us to fight the battle on such a principle as that (hear, hear). Assuming, too, that a suspension of the Corn Law had taken place on account of the present great emergency, would you advise the Government, for the sake of the public interests, and of the country, to give a guarantee that the existing Corn Laws should be renewed as soon as the term of their suspension had arrived (hear, hear)? Do you not feel that the very fact of that suspension would constitute a new element in the application of the question, and give a tenfold stimulus to your opponents? You invite us to fight this battle for you, but you must look to the state of feeling on the subject. You invite us not to abolish, but to suspend the Corn Laws, but you cannot be insensible to the change of opinion on this subject—not alone among politicians, which people are apt to attribute to some interested or corrupt motive—but among the most independent members of the house (cries of hear, hear). Did Lord Ashley vacate the representation of his country from any interested or corrupt motive (loud cries of hear, hear)? Did Mr. Sturt follow his example on such grounds? Did Mr. Tatton Egerton resign the representation of Cheshire from any improper motive (hear, hear)? Did Lord Henniker vacate his seat from any reason but change of opinion? Were any of those gentlemen actuated by any feeling but a real conviction that the time was come for the settlement of this question (hear, hear)? If that honourable member of this house (Mr. Charteris), who has shown as high a spirit as ever emanated from the heart of an English gentleman (cheers), and who held out great promise of excellence—if Mr. Charteris vacated Gloucester, was it through any corrupt or interested motive (hear, hear)? Can you attribute such a motive to Mr. Dawney (hear, hear)? Does not all this change of opinion prove that the giving of a guarantee would have been attended with enormous difficulties? Let us take the admissions and the opinion of those who have been longest and loudest in condemnation of Government, and examine their argument (hear, hear). First comes the hon. member for Huntingdon (laughter). Well, I confess, I was surprised by some of the opinions maintained by the honourable gentleman (hear, hear, hear)—but whilst condemning the present measure, will he follow me in the defence of the existing Corn Laws (hear, hear)? No such thing. So far from it, he thinks this is just the time for effecting a compromise for a new Corn Law. Why, he would have abandoned me, if, after a suspension of the Corn Law, I had undertaken to have given a guarantee of revival (laughter). He says, the time has just arrived for a compromise. Why, if there was an unfortunate moment for such a measure, it is this (laughter). What is the meaning of a compromise? Why, it means a new Corn Law (hear, hear, hear). What security is there for the maintenance of that (hear, hear)? Or what could it be (hear, hear)? What would the state of parties be here, as might be inferred from the sentiments of those members? I only take now the loudest and most vigorous of them. I only take now the loudest and most vigorous advocates of this system of protection, and I am trying to convince you that a guarantee of the revival of the Corn Laws was impossible. Well, the hon. member of Roxburghshire comes first, and he was loudest of them (loud laughter). The honourable member has some very curious notions as to the relations which exist between the country and its ministers, and still more as to those between the sovereign and her ministers. The honourable gentleman likens me to a hired advocate who was engaged in a particular cause, and says that I have thrown up my brief. Perhaps he is not aware of the circumstances which may make some material difference in that comparison; perhaps he does not know that the minister on entering into office takes an oath that in all matters debated and discussed in council "he will fearlessly and unmovably deliver his opinions according to his heart and conscience" (cheers). That obligation, according to my comprehension at least, constitutes a material difference between the position of a minister and that of an advocate (cheers). The hon. member said that I had been sent here to defend the old system of the Corn Laws, that I had made a breach in that system by the alterations of 1842, but that, having made these alterations, I was bound by every consideration of consistency and honour to maintain them. He, however, made some admissions before he got to the close of his speech. He said he admitted in his own country, since these changes, there had been great improvements in the roads, in the introduction of science into agriculture, and the facilities for improving and transferring the produce, and that his own opinion was that the time had come when the Corn Laws must be altered. I said, whom are you now to for, menning, if any obligation was imposed on me to maintain the alterations made in 1842, he was bound also to adhere to his opinion that the time had come for a change in the Corn Laws. The hon. gentleman was perfectly indignant at the imputation, and, claiming for himself the function

maintained by Anacharsis Clootz as attorney-general of the human race (great laughter), assumed a universal character in his reply.—I asked him whom he was counsel for, when he was so ready to abandon his old professions. The hon. gentleman said—"whom am I counsel for? I am no kind of counsel, that is an imputation on my honour—I am counsel for my country—I am counsel for my own opinions—I am counsel for the interests of the empire" (great laughter). I certainly claim to be counsel, with perhaps not quite so comprehensive a function—I claim to be counsel for this great country, and for those who have required me, in a time of great public necessity, to give that advice which, in my heart and conscience, I believe to be the best (cheers). As to the hon. member for Newcastle-under-Lyne, he tells me hereafter and for ever, from this time he withdraws his confidence from me (laughter), on the ground that I establish no great principle as to the Corn Laws. If ever there was a man to whom a minister ought to be recommended because he does not establish a great principle, it is the hon. gentleman in question (laughter). He has fought by the side of the honourable member for Wolverhampton and has voted against him—he is an advocate for a fixed duty, but he has done all he could to defeat it. I do not know whether he has so far shared so much of my misfortunes as to have read the pamphlets of a Mr. J. Colquhoun (great laughter), but I doubt not but that he will agree with me, in so far as I can understand them, that the author is an advocate for a repeal of the Corn Laws. If the honourable gentleman has voted with the honourable member for Wolverhampton and against him—if he is the determined advocate of a fixed duty, and has done all that he could since 1842 to maintain a sliding scale—I wonder how I should have fared with the honourable gentleman—I wonder what he would have said, after having carried a motion for the suspension of the Corn Laws, if at the end of that time the Government were to stake their existence on the repeal. I venture to say, there would not have been a more strenuous combatant of such a proposal (hear, hear). There never was a person clamouring for a principle who was more ready to fall in with any measure that might turn up (laughter). As for the noble lord the member for Newark, who has not yet spoken, would it be possible for the Government to rely upon his support, as this is his opinion? He says: "The conclusion to which I have come is, that sanctioned by the authority of the late Lord Spencer and other practical agriculturists, upon the best of an unbiased judgment, we humbly express a firm belief that both the advantages and evils of the expected changes have been abundantly magnified; and that of all the panic dreams that ever sat like a nightmare on the energies of human enterprise, or cramped the sinews of a noble pursuit, the idea—in a densely-inhabited country, where population is rapidly increasing, commerce and skill unequalled, and true science dawning—that human food is likely to become too cheap, and its production too profitable, is the most unaccountable and will eventually be found the most illusory and groundless." I do not know what course he meant to take as to the present measure, but I infer from this passage that he is decidedly in favour of the present Corn Laws (cries of hear, hear). Well, but there may be a personal objection to the proposer of the measure, and the honourable gentleman the member for Maidstone may say—I will not ask whether the measure is right or wrong, but I will look to your conduct; I will give extracts from your speeches, and say you ought not to propose it. But with all due submission, I say the question for the country is, whether it is right or whether it is wrong (cheers)—whether it is right or whether it is wrong, that is the question (hear, hear). Is it right that the Corn Law should be suspended, and after suspension it should be attempted to revive it (hear, hear)? If it be right, vote for it—if it be wrong, withdraw your confidence by all means; but surely you cannot justify, on the ground of personal objection to the proposer, your voting against a measure which you believe to be right, and that a measure that concerns such mighty interests (loud cheers). Now, sir, I cannot make the same remarks with respect to the speech of the honourable member for Somerset. He made no such admissions as the honourable member for Roxburghshire and the honourable member for Huntingdonshire. I heard from him (the honourable member for Somerset) that he is for maintaining the law in all its force. The hon. gentleman also said, we must not expect the continuance of his confidence. Now, I do not implore of the hon. gentleman to visit those penal consequences upon us (cheers and laughter); but I say to him, do not let this measure be lost on account of your distrust. If you believe the measure to be right, pass the measure in the present crisis, and take the opportunity, if you think fit, of punishing those in whom you have not sufficient confidence. But then the hon. gentleman, in closing his connection with us, must excuse me if I say, he speaks too modestly of himself (laughter), for I was not always the hon. gentleman's leader. I proposed in the course of the last year that certain duties on grease should be remitted, as grease was much used in manufactures; but the hon. gentleman resisted me. Hence, avault! this is holy ground! grease you shall not touch (cheers and laughter); for, said he, though grease may be introduced for the benefit of manufactures, yet I doubt the vigilance of the Custom-house officers; and some persons may introduce and use the grease intended for manufactures as butter. I do assure the honourable gentleman that it is rather hard to devolve upon me the duty of defending protection, after such measures as that; and I do not believe that the hon. gentleman, by taking this stand upon grease (loud laughter), did so much injury to the cause of Free Trade as to the cause of protection (cheers).

Mr. MILES was understood to remind the right honourable baronet that he was absent from the debate to which he referred.

Sir ROBERT PEEL.—I think the hon. gentleman has shown his qualification for the post of leader by the discretion he used in being absent from the discussion (laughter). Now, if the honourable gentleman will permit me, I will, with perfect good humour, examine two or three of his arguments. I had said that the price of cattle and meat had not been diminished; that the contracts of the present year were entered into, and that they were higher than those of preceding years. The honourable gentleman's reply was, that he voted for the Corn Law of 1842, but strenuously resisted the part of the tariff that admitted foreign cattle. The hon. gentleman says, that the cause of the high price of meat is this, that in the year 1843 we suffered from the defective supply of green crops; that in the course of the last six months the quantity of sheep brought to Smithfield market had been 250,000 less than in the half year preceding; that the average weekly supply of sheep in the London market was 16,000 less than it had been. He spoke of the cattle being 10 stone less, and of being lean and ill-favoured. Now,

how can the hon. gentleman think it possible to maintain a law which, in periods of disease and defective food, would prevent the introduction of 250,000 sheep into this country, and raise the price of meat extravagantly (loud cheers). Does he think it would not be of benefit to the landed interest to repair that deficiency, and bring in a few healthy oxen and a few sound sheep from the Continent (cheers)? Now the honourable gentleman must excuse me if I refer to his observations with respect to the question of flax. What was his argument with respect to flax? When there was a duty of 10l. per ton on foreign flax, in certain parishes in the county of Somerset the inhabitants were in the habit of growing flax. I shall take one of those parishes, the parish of Chizzleborough. There were 100 acres in that parish appropriated to the culture of flax; now I would like to know what were the circumstances under which that culture was abandoned? Was it in consequence of the withdrawal of protection? What period of the year?

Mr. MILES.—At the last removal of the last duty.

Sir ROBERT PEEL.—Now observe, the last removal of the last duty was only the removal of 2s. a hundred. The duty on foreign flax was remitted in 1824. In that year it was 10l., and it was reduced to a nominal duty of 2s. a hundred.

An Hon. Member remarked that it was reduced to five-pence.

Sir ROBERT PEEL.—That is, five-pence a hundred weight. In the year 1842 it was remitted, and the removal of this five-pence a hundred weight on flax has involved this parish of Chizzleborough in ruin (laughter and cheers). See, said the honourable gentleman, what has happened—here is 100l. lost to the parish of Chizzleborough, and that by your withdrawal of protection on native industry (laughter). Now let us see what has taken place in other parts of this great empire from the withdrawal of what is called this protection for native industry (hear). You will find that no culture is more profitable at this moment than the culture of flax is in Ireland; and you will find that it has thus become flourishing since the withdrawal of this remnant of protection (cheers). That is the way we are to argue it, and not to view some particular locality, and say, see what is the consequence of the removal of protection, when it may be clearly owing to some other cause (cheers). Now, what is taking place in Ireland, in a country without any other manufactures than linen—what is taking place there in consequence of the withdrawal of protection? We see by the evidence of Lord Devon's committee that flax is more profitable than wheat; that is, that flax without protection gives a better return than wheat with it (cheers from the Opposition benches). But what becomes of the manufacture? Before the withdrawal of protection the exportation of cambrics was in the following proportion:—1000 dozen of French; Irish, 100. In the next four years after the withdrawal of protection, the increase of Irish importation of this article was 300, in the next four years 900; in four years, from 1838 to 1842, it was as 4000 to 1000; and in four years, from 1842 to 1846, it was at 16,000; that is to say, that by the withdrawal of this protection from flax, a great manufacture sprung up in the north of Ireland, and the linen dealers in the city of London, who waited on us the other day, said that ten years ago three-fourths of the cambric and the cambric handkerchiefs of our supply were brought from France, and one-fourth from Ireland, but in the last year the proportions were just reversed; one fourth comes from France, and three-fourths from Ireland. Well, then, it may so have happened that the parish of Chizzleborough may have suffered (laughter). But then recollect that, coincident with this removal of protection, the cultivation of flax in Ireland has prospered, and the linen manufacture in that country has arrived at a degree of prosperity as great as the most sanguine friend of Ireland could wish. Well, then, are we to restore the duty on flax again (hear, hear)? Sir, this debate has chiefly turned on the Corn Laws, but it is not necessarily a Corn Law debate; it is proposed that we should go into a committee of the whole house for the purpose of considering the principles of our commercial policy. No doubt the consideration of the Corn Law will come before that committee, and it will be perfectly open to you to reject the measure of the Corn Laws, and yet to consent to the others (hear, hear). So much has been said on the subject of the Corn Laws that I cannot pass it by. Her Majesty's Ministers have proposed a measure which they propose from the belief that it was most likely to ensure success; namely, that after the lapse of three years, the duties on corn should be repealed, or at least reduced to a nominal duty. I proposed that measure on the part of the Government, and I sincerely believed that it would be more acceptable than any other to the agricultural interest. I proposed it from the belief that it would not be more acceptable to them, but that it would be preferred to an immediate repeal. We combined with the measure of the Corn Laws a proposal for encouraging the improvement of land, by advancing money for the purpose of drainage. I certainly thought it more probable, with respect to land, that in many parts of this country the people would be in a much better position to compete with the foreigner if the absolute repeal of the Corn Laws was postponed for a period of three years; I thought there would be more opportunity to make arrangements, if arrangements were necessary, between landlord and tenant. But, above all, I thought there would be more time for seriously considering what improvements in drainage could be made, what advantage could be taken of that proposal of the Government. I certainly thought, taking into consideration that Canada has at present an advantage in respect to the admission of her corn, compared with the corn of foreigners, that it was more likely to be acceptable to Canada that some time should elapse before Canada corn was brought into competition with the corn of the United States (hear). *Bona fide* believing the arrangement to be a better one, believing also that it was more for the advantage of agriculture, I, on the part of her Majesty's Government—I made that proposal (cheers); and it is my intention to use all legitimate means I can for the purpose of giving effect to it (cheers). It was said the other night by the honourable gentleman the member for Somerset that he greatly preferred, speaking on the part of the agricultural population—that he greatly preferred immediate repeal to the measure proposed, and he turned round to his friends, and that sentiment at that time received, apparently, a concurrence from them. Now, sir, as I have before said, it is the intention of the Government to adhere to their own proposal. They state the reasons why they propose it, and why they are inclined to adhere to it, considering the opportunity there will be for the improvement of the country in the interval. But I stated this distinctly, that if the agricultural body are not of opinion that it is for their advantage, and that they think that immediate repeal is preferable to deferred repeal (laughter and loud cheering from the Opposition benches), by taking part with

the honourable gentleman opposite, they may place me in a minority (laughter and cheers again). Then the only consideration I shall bear in mind will be this, what course should I best take to give effect to the law as amended at your hands. We will do all we can to carry the proposition—I prefer it. I proposed it believing it to be favourable to agriculture. I don't say what course—speaking for myself—I may possibly take. I don't say what effect success here may have in other places (hear, hear). This I will say, that my opinion with respect to the policy of the final adjustment of the Corn Laws will remain unaltered, and I shall decidedly prefer immediate repeal, so carried against me, to throwing this country into confusion by any attempt on my part to prevent it (loud cheers and laughter from the Opposition). It is right to consider what course would be most advisable to adopt, and I do believe that the final adjustment of this question is now become paramount to all (loud cheers). I was asked in the course of this discussion, what price I calculated corn would hereafter bring? I thought it was but natural to say, that it was very difficult for me to give a positive answer to that question; that I thought the price of corn was affected by the seasons and other causes; and, therefore, I could not undertake—and I am sure past experience would show that I could not undertake—to guarantee any price, or express any opinion whatever. But this I will say, that I think nothing could be more erroneous than to suppose that the interests of agriculture are necessarily and intimately interwoven with the price of wheat. When the hon. gentleman talks of the great quantities of corn that could be brought in, let him consider that in Jersey for a long period there has been a Free Trade, that there is Free Trade in Malta in corn, and that Egyptian corn is brought in there. When the hon. gentleman says that all this corn will be pouring in here, he should recollect that to determine what is to be the price of corn, you must always take into consideration the quality. It appears that the corn brought from Odessa and Egypt to Malta bears a price of 31s., and that some corn would bear a price of 10s. less, in the English market on account of its inferiority. Therefore it is impossible to draw an inference as to the price of corn without knowing the quality, and I certainly entertain the hope that there will not be any such reduction in the price of wheat in consequence of the more extended importation as would seriously injure the agriculturists (hear, hear). What I want to show is this, that agricultural prosperity has no necessary connection with the price of wheat (hear, hear). It is admitted that never was there a period when science has been so much applied to agriculture—when so many improvements have been made—and when the cost of production was so much reduced as it has been within the last three or four years. Let us see what is the price of wheat—and, I would observe, that there is a natural tendency in the price of wheat to decline quite apart from legislation—let us take the price of wheat for the ten years ending 1805; the price then was 81s., for the ten years ending 1815, it was 97s. 6d.; for the ten years ending 1825, it was 78s. 8d.; for the ten years ending 1835, it was 56s. 7d.; for the ten years ending 1845, 57s. 11d. Now, what was the average for the last four years, during which it is admitted great improvements were made in agricultural science. The average of the last four years was only 51s. 10d. Thus, it has fallen from 97s. 6d., 78s. 8d., 81s. 2d., and yet it is admitted that agricultural prosperity never was more marked, or that greater improvements were made than within that period. And therefore, if there should be a continued fall in the price of wheat, do not attribute it to the operation of the law—it may be the result of scientific improvements, and even the reduced price of wheat shows the increased extent of agricultural resources. I would now compare the rental of land in this country, as taken from the property-tax returns, with the price of wheat. The rental of 1815 was 32,532,000l.; the average price of wheat for five years, ending 1815, was 102s. 5d.; for five years, ending 1842, the price of wheat was 64s. 7d.; and yet the gross rental of the country had then risen from 32,000,000l. to 37,000,000l. So that along with a great fall in the price of wheat, there had been a great increase in the rental of land. I quite admit there was a difference in the currency; if you take off ten per cent. from the price of 100 shillings on account of the difference in currency, you must take off ten per cent. on the rental of 32,000,000l. Take off a proportion on both sides, and still it will leave them unquestioned, that with a great reduction of the price of wheat, there had been a great increase of agricultural prosperity. I must refer to an argument which has been advanced by the hon. member for Northamptonshire. The hon. gentleman says, after this Corn Law shall have passed, the tenant farmer will come to his landlord, and will thus address him. He will say to the landlord—"I cannot afford to pay the rent which I have hitherto paid. The bones of my forefathers have been deposited in the churchyard of their native parish. Most painful it is to quit the residence of my ancestors, the rude forefathers of this hamlet, and to seek my fortune in another country." Then the hon. gentleman—and it made a great impression on the house, from the pathetic tone in which the speech was delivered—stated that the landlord would make a speech to his tenants to this effect—"My good fellow (great laughter)—it is quite true that your forefathers have lived in this country, and on this estate; that there has been an intimate relation between your ancestors and mine, but the principles of Free Trade are prevailing. I can purchase the articles required for my consumption at a cheaper rate, and I must deal with you upon the same principles. True, the land which you occupy produces only three quarters, but by the application of a little capital and skill it may be made to produce five. And there is a gentleman connected with the Anti-Corn-Law League—

Mr. S. O'BRIEN.—No, no, no (loud laughter).

Sir R. Peel: I wish the hon. gentleman would make his own speech in answer—"A gentleman then, not connected with the Anti-Corn-Law League, but connected with the manufacturing districts" (hear, hear). Well, now, I will suggest another speech, and a better speech to be made by the landlord: "My good fellow (laughter), let us both start with this advantage. Your forefathers have been buried in the churchyard of this hamlet. Your forefathers have had their fortunes intimately connected with those of mine. It is possible that a stranger may outbid you in this farm. Under these protecting laws, your land, which ought to produce five quarters, only produces three, and public opinion will hardly tolerate this (hear, hear). That there shall be no foreign corn imported, but that the natural fertility of our own soil shall be promoted. We must really, therefore, take some measures for increasing the produce of this farm from three quarters to five. But I have the advantage of the new tariff (hear, hear). I am enabled to purchase my commodities at a lower rate (hear, hear), and I intend to apply the saving in your assistance and in the improvements

which I wish to effect (loud cheers). I will not therefore turn you out of your farm; I will not let the manufacturers come here; but it is for your interest and mine that the land which can bear five quarters shall not bear three (hear, hear). You have not capital, perhaps; you have not science; I can afford you both—I will lend you capital, I will get you the aid of science to assist your improvements, to assist you in the education of your son, and enabling him to succeed you (hear, hear). I will cut down the trees that encumber your land, and let you and me together keep out this foreign invader—the manufacturer (hear, hear, and a laugh). But let us now, by the application of capital and industry, improve this farm, and let it be handed down to my son and yours in an improved state (cheers). Let five quarters be produced where three have been before. That will be for the benefit of both landlord and tenant, and your son's son shall be buried in this churchyard" (hear, hear, and a laugh). Suppose the tenant should say, "But this is a labourer's question;" I should answer then, "My good friend, but if we can make this land, which now produces three quarters, produce five, we shall employ more labour—we shall have a greater demand for labour, and all parties will be benefited, and the State will be improved. The guarantee for the rent will be enhanced, your comfort increased, and all this by the application of a little of that saving which the honourable gentleman says the rich are to derive from the tariff." But as I said before, this is no mere Corn Law question. The question is this—her Majesty has surely made no unreasonable request—she has thus addressed you: "I recommend you to take into your early consideration whether the principles on which you have acted may not, with advantage, be yet more extended, and whether it may not be in your power, after a careful review of the existing duties on many articles to make such further reductions and revisions as may tend to ensure the continuance of the great benefits to which I have reverted." And you promised that you would (hear, hear, hear, and laughter). The answer which the house made in return gave no pledge as to the measures themselves. It was purposely so worded as to give none. But you gave this assurance, that in compliance with her Majesty's recommendation, you would take the subject into your early consideration (hear, hear). How do you fulfil that promise? Why will you refuse to go into the committee where these measures are to be considered? What is the amendment before us? Does it embody any great principle, as I expected it would from the early notice which was given by the honourable member for Newcastle-under-Lyne (Mr. Colquhoun)? I thought that he would move that the Government were either not entitled to the confidence of Parliament, or that native industry was entitled to protection (hear, hear). But what is the motion that has been made now? That not one of those questions shall be considered for six months to come! After the positive assurance given to the Sovereign that you would take into consideration and determine whether it was possible, after a careful revision of the existing duties on many articles, to make such reduction as might tend to ensure the continuance of the great benefits adverted to, you refuse even to resolve yourselves into a committee, where proposals with a view to this object may be entertained. You would pronounce at once against the admission of foreign grain and timber. This motion absolutely precludes the consideration of any one of these proposals (hear, hear). In point of fact, it is not a question of Corn Laws merely. There is this great principle at issue in reference to commercial policy—will you advance or recede? The hon. member's proposal says—"No, we will stand still; for six months to come we will do nothing." I say, in this great country to stand still is to retrograde. The carrying of this amendment would be a reflection on the House of Commons. You have already taken some steps to relax protection. You now say we will relax it no more. You will not listen to any proposals. This committee is moved. I hope that this house, who have been parties to all the proposals made to amend the commercial law; who passed the amended law of 1842; who simplified the customs' code; who consented to the tariff; who passed the Canada Corn Bill, and the altered tariff of last year; I do hope that this house will not accept such a reflection on itself as to vote for this amendment; that, for six months to come, nothing of this kind shall be attempted (hear, hear). That is the question at issue, whether you will advance in the relaxation of duties and the removal of prohibitions, or will restore prohibitory duties and will enforce protection (hear, hear)? That is the question which will be decided by the vote to which you will come. Well, now, I offer this challenge. I never said, "I looked only to the experience of the tariff for three years. I have come to a change of opinion." I said this, that during three years I have seen coincident with abundance and low prices great prosperity; I have seen great contentment. I have seen the diminution of crime; I have seen the abatement of all commotions; I have seen improved health, increased commerce; and that the experience of three years has convinced me that cheapness and plenty are at the foundation of our prosperity. I did not take any credit for the tariff. I said, all I claim for it is this, that concurrently with these great blessings, there have been constant relaxations; that it is impossible, therefore, to raise an objection to extend relaxations. I judged of the future from the past, but this is the challenge which I offer, not with respect to the tariff you have passed, but with respect to the whole series of remissions of prohibitory duties. Show me one relaxation, one removal of prohibition, which contributed to the welfare of the producer. I say I will show you that these removals of prohibition have contributed, not merely to the general weal and advantage of the consumers (which is sufficiently apparent), but that they are perfectly consistent with the permanent benefit and increased wealth of the producer (cries of hear, hear). Why, I am ashamed when I read some of the petitions. Here is one presented from the shipowners (hear, hear, and laughter). It says, your petitioners are deeply interested in the prosperity of British navigation and the British colonies, and this is the prayer with which it concludes—they implore the wisdom of Parliament to check all further rash experiments on British navigation. And, as an earnest of its sympathy with the interests of commerce, so indissolubly connected with national defence, they implore your honourable house at once to reject the proposition for the reduction of the duty on foreign timber from 25s. to 15s., as proposed by the measure before you (hear, hear). This is from the shipowners—the builders of ships (hear, hear, and laughter). Praying you to check all further rash experiments. Why what is the issue of the "rash experiment" you made in 1842. You found a discriminating duty of 45s. in favour of Canadian timber, and you reduced it to 24s. Have you destroyed the Canadian trade? Has that rash experiment been injurious to the shipowner (I don't speak of the Baltic shipowner)? Let us see. In

Liverpool the average tonnage employed in the British American timber trade (for I won't take the Baltic timber trade) during the eleven years preceding the reduction of duty was 153,000 tons. This was with the discriminating duty. Now that you have removed it in the last three years, the tonnage of ships engaged in the trade from Liverpool is 147,000 (loud cheers). This was the shipping employed in the Canada trade. The quantity of pine timber imported into Liverpool on an average of seven years, before the reduction of duty, was 5,749,000 loads. In 1844 the quantity of pine timber brought into Liverpool from British North America, increased after the reduction of duty from 5,749,000 to 6,211,000 (cheers). In 1845 the quantity was 6,827,000 (loud cheers). The shipowners ask you to reject the proposition for reducing the discriminative duty still further to 15s. What is the state of things at Liverpool under the existing law? One branch of the timber trade has this year been very scantily supplied with those woods adapted for the construction of ships of the first class. So trifling has been the supply, that at the present moment this, one of the greatest maritime ports in the world, is in the anomalous condition of not having in stock a single log of foreign wood suitable for building ships that will last for twelve years time. We propose to give increased facilities for the importation of Baltic timber in order that with it good ships should be built. We have done this to some extent already, and concurrently with it there has been an enormous increase in the consumption of Canadian timber. Just for the same reason then, the import of foreign wood led to an increase in the price of the domestic article. The access given to the good timber of the Baltic much increased manufacturing prosperity, and with it the demand of that Canadian timber which does not come into competition with the Baltic. You are deficient in that particular article so useful in building ships that will endure for 12 years. You have not one single log. I make this modest proposal, to have a discriminating duty of 15s., and these ship-owners come forward and ask us to check all further "rash experiments (hear, hear, and laughter). The honourable and gallant member for Liverpool (Sir H. Douglas) made a long speech about colonial policy, in which he deprecated the consequences of our measures as regards the colonies. What has been the course we have pursued? Am I proposing an immediate application of the principles of Free Trade? Am I disregarding all considerations of revenue? Am I proposing that you should levy nothing on timber, and that you should sweep away all customs revenue by extravagant reductions? No; I am preserving the distinction between duties laid on with a view to prohibition, and those for revenue purposes; and I am laying a foundation for increased revenue through increased consumption (hear, hear). I know that great interests are involved in our relations with the colonies. I wish for no rash or precipitate alteration in those relations. I do not ask that the discriminating duty on coffee should be at once removed. The whole scope of our policy has been to diminish protection on all articles of colonial produce, but you have also done that which was just—you have diminished protection as to commodities introduced into your colonies. If the hon. and gallant member is adverse to this course, he ought to have begun his opposition long since. What did you in 1842? You permitted the colonies to get their provisions introduced freely—to get their staves introduced freely. You said the time was come for relaxing that rigid principle which denied or restricted commercial relations between our colonies and other countries. There were great difficulties to contend with; but you said you would not be prevented from getting supplies of colonial articles from other countries if you permitted your colonies to get their supplies of necessary articles in other markets than your own. You said, we will reduce the protection on coffee and make some new arrangement as to sugar. Is that unwise? Has injury been done to the colonies? It is quite wrong to say with respect to colonies, that their affection for the mother country depends on their having the exclusive supply of her markets. Look to the great benefit you derive from your commercial relations with Australia. I do not propose to make rash alterations. I propose to proceed in the path which has led to so much benefit, and gradually to alter some of those protective duties. The honourable gentleman of whom I spoke before, the member for Northamptonshire, was particularly severe on the proposed removal of some of these duties. But I really do not know what there is in the state of our trade to prevent it. One of my proposals is, that there being an excise duty of one farthing per yard on British paper, there shall for the future be a customs duty on foreign paper of 400 per cent. more; that foreign paper-hanging shall pay 2d. a yard. Why is it that we cannot compete with France in papers? I know it is said our patterns are inferior. That is perfectly true. They are inferior in paper-hangings as in silks, but admit a qualified and limited competition, and depend upon it they would improve. There is nothing in the constitution of Englishmen to prevent them drawing as good patterns. What is the admission you begin with? That believing a duty of 1s. per square yard on foreign papers, when the export duty on your own is only 4d. you can protect your patterns. But I say reduce the duty. The hon. gentleman says, that looking out at the window he will see a great number of paper-hangers and carriage-makers, who will say that their interests are sacrificed. But there is not an instance of alteration of duties in which the same argument has not been employed. Remember the tariff of 1842. I proposed to let in foreign potatoes at 2s. per cwt. The potato growers came up in a body, and said that they would all be ruined; that France would get possession of the supply, and that you would be reduced to depend on her. I proposed to reduce the duty on foreign hops from 8s. to 4s. All Kent and Sussex were alarmed, and the most extravagant predictions were made of the quantity that would be introduced from abroad. How many have come in? 2 cwt. only. Yet the hop growers said they would be perfectly ruined. Now I propose further to reduce the duty on foreign hops from 4s. to 2s. 5s., and I am asked what are we to do with all the persons that will be thrown out of employment? I said that exactly the same prophecies were made before, and you may depend upon it that these will not now be fulfilled. I now come to consider the question of foreign silks. With respect to this question I stand in pretty much the same predicament as Mr. Huskisson, against whom all the advocates of the protective system cried out in indignant remonstrance, when in the year 1826 he proposed to relax the restrictions on the importation of silk. Mr. Baring (now Lord Ashburton), a great authority in those days, spoke on occasion of that debate, and resisted inexorably the contemplated reductions of duty. He said—"Here were hundreds of thousands of poor honest men, who knew nothing of the world of political economy, but who found on a sudden, that because some very wise men had of late sprung

up, they were to be ousted of the earnings of their industrious and patient labours of many years. These people were at present, and had long been remarkable for being loyal, orderly, and well-conducted, and yet they found themselves on the very brink of the most painful distress, owing to the discoveries of the political economists." Another gentleman, in answering Mr. Huskisson, was pleased to speak of him in terms which put me in mind of some hard sayings which I have known to be applied to another minister—a minister of our own age (hear, hear, and laughter). He called him "an insensible and hard-hearted metaphysician, exceeding the devil in point of malignity" (loud laughter). Mr. Huskisson rejoins thus: "I hope that I am not wanting in the duties and feeling of a man—I have also a duty to perform as a Minister. If immediate relief be in a great degree out of our power, it the more becomes us, as the guardians of all that is most valuable in civilised society, to trace the causes of the present calamities, and to prevent, if possible, their recurrence." Such were the difficulties with which Mr. Huskisson had to contend—such was the obloquy to which he exposed himself, in pursuing a course which he knew to be authorised by wisdom and sound policy. But neither misrepresentation, nor obloquy, nor reproach, could divert him from that course. Conscious of the wisdom of his policy, and, above all, conscious of the rectitude of his motives, he persevered (loud cries of Hear, hear). And what was the result? Were the dreary prophecies of those who advocated the protective system realised? Did their dark forebodings come to pass? Were hundreds of thousands of tradespeople turned from their homesteads to the precarious mercy of the world? Were the poor-rates burdened with their support? Far from it. On the contrary, prosperity and affluence were the results, and the interests of trade were promoted in exact proportions with the relaxations of the prohibitory system. I can prove it by figures. During the 10 years which immediately preceded the year 1823 the total amount of raw silk imported into this country, under the old system, was 19 millions of pounds. During the next 10 years, it was 39 millions, and during the next decennial period, that terminating in the year 1843, it was 52 millions (hear, and loud cheers). Could any eloquence of any human tongue, however gifted, speak more potently than do these figures (cheers)? Under the prohibitory system the quantity of foreign silk imported was nineteen millions—when that system was relaxed it increased from nineteen millions to fifty-two millions! On that fact alone I might base my vindication. And now I will give you a statement of the aggregate consumption of raw silk after the duties were relaxed. During the first decennial period after the relaxation, the average consumption was 1,540,000lbs.; during the second, 3,968,000lbs. (hear, hear); during the third, 5,200,000lbs. (loud cheers). There was a further reduction of protection in 1842, and the results were equally satisfactory. The gross result of the experiment shows that whereas under a strict and inexorable system of prohibition the quantity of silk consumed in our manufactures averaged no more than 1,940,000lbs. in each year; in the year 1844, when a wiser and more liberal policy was adopted, our consumption was no less than 26,400,000lbs. (loud cries of hear, hear). And now, sir, I ask you which is the true philanthropist—the man who forbade foreign silk to enter, who totally kept it out, or he who was not deterred by threats or obloquy from pursuing a course more liberal, more generous, more consistent with common sense? The minister who had the manliness to adhere to his purpose, amidst such difficulties, was surely the man who deserved best of his country. He was charged with being unkind, and insensible even to humanity, but he repudiated the charge, and that it was unfounded history now attests (hear). "Call me not insensible," said Mr. Huskisson, "say not that I regard with indifference the distress and difficulties of my humbler fellow-creatures. I attribute your zeal in their behalf to the most honourable motives, but I know that I have seen Spitalfields under the fostering influence of the protective system devastated by famine and disease. Let me open the ports, and see whether, by freely admitting the fresh air of competition, I may not purify the atmosphere, and establish health, happiness, and comfort, where now squalid misery and desolation are alone to be found" (hear, hear). Is it not strange how gentlemen can forget historical facts, and ally themselves to their own infatuations? Look at the state of your silk trade at this moment. The French have been long accustomed to plume themselves upon their silk manufactures. But it may, perhaps, surprise not a few of those who are now listening to me, to learn that last year, with our relaxed tariff, we actually exported to France more silk than we exported to the whole universe in any year under the protective system (hear, hear). And there is no branch of manufactures in which the same improvement is not observable. I am prepared to prove this, and could enter into matters of the most minute calculations in support of the assertion. In the year 1842 we reduced the duty upon foreign feathers. When it was understood that this reduction was in contemplation, an extensive dealer in the article, who resides in Cork, came to me in an agony of anxiety, and gravely assured me that the proceeding in which I was about to engage was the most revoltingly cruel and hard-hearted measure that it had ever entered into the mind of man to conceive (laughter). In fact, he represented to me that the absolute ruin of every one engaged in the feather trade would be the inevitable consequence of the reduction, and he calculated that the injurious results would be felt in an especial degree in Ireland. He said that he was in the habit of purchasing large quantities from the Irish farmers, who were more provident with respect to their feathers, and set greater value upon them than the English, and he represented that this source of revenue would be entirely removed from them if the duty were relaxed. His representatives were pathetic and moving in the extreme. But I was not to be diverted from my purpose. We reduced the duty on feathers, and I have the happiness to inform the house that many weeks have not elapsed since I received a letter from the same gentleman, in which he admits that he was totally in error, that he was but a sorry prophet, and he returns me thanks for the firmness with which I adhered to my purpose, in despite of his representations, and those of many others similarly circumstanced. He had given me to understand that, before the alteration was effected in the tariff, he was in the habit of purchasing about 100 tons of feathers annually in Ireland, for which he paid at the rate of 20s. per stone, and herein consisted almost the entire of his traffic. But observe how his fortunes are improved. He now informs me that, during the last year, he imported 250 tons of feathers from Russia, and that in Ireland he purchased 150 tons, instead of 100 tons, as heretofore, and that he paid for them to the Irish farmer at the rate of 17. 2s. 10d. per stone, being an advance of 2s. 10d. per stone upon the price which the article fetched under a

higher duty. So much for my friend's prediction that his own trade was about to be lost, and the Irish farmers ruined. But there is another circumstance connected with this communication which is highly gratifying, as evidencing the increase in the comforts of the poor, which results from a liberal policy in commerce. He tells me that his principal customers are the miners of Cornwall, whose condition of late years has become so much improved that a feather bed is no longer a rare luxury amongst them; and their orders to my correspondent are daily becoming more numerous. This is a trivial matter, and yet I have not thought it wholly irrelevant to allude to it. And now, in the face of all these facts, are you going to adopt a narrow, bigoted, intolerant policy? Am I to be told that you will array yourself in opposition against me, and to oppose any reductions whatever? You cannot be so infatuated. I offer you this challenge. Take up the history of your own times. Look back to the commercial history of this country for the last thirty years, whether as regards our colonies, or our home transactions, and I challenge you to point out one single instance where either consumer or producer was injured by relaxing the prohibitory system. Oh, let me implore of you to approach the consideration of this question with feelings suitable to its magnitude and importance. View it, I implore you, by the clear, calm lights of reason. Be not mistaken—be not led away. This is not a question of confidence in her Majesty's Government. Reserve that, if you please, for a separate vote. The question which you have now to decide is, will you advance on your path or retrograde (hear)? I do not want to sweep away all duties from these things: I want to impose a duty of 10s. upon French brandy, whereas the English article is only subject to a duty of 9s.; and I want to impose upon French silks a duty of 15 per cent. instead of the present duty of double that amount. I put it to you whether it is not worth your while to endeavour to prevent the evil of smuggling. For my part I confess I think that it is a most desirable object. I would cut up that trade root and branch, and would substitute a legal for an illegal traffic. This, to be sure, is but one of a thousand considerations which should weigh with you in determining on the course which you will pursue. Again, I would remind you that this is no party question. The question you have to decide is simply this—Will you in this enlightened age advance or recede? Remember, the eyes of the world are upon you. Oh, act a part worthy of yourselves and of your country. Will you advance or recede? Which is the policy best suited to a great commercial empire? Remember your position; remember your great national reputation (hear, hear). Look to the advantages which God and nature have bestowed upon you. Look to your geographical position, on the confines of Western Europe, the connecting link between the North of Europe and the Continent of America. Remember that the improvements of navigation and the applications of science have brought you within ten days of Petersburg, and within ten days of New York. Look to your physical advantages—the nerves and sinews of manufacture—iron and coal—which abound throughout your country. Look to your acquired advantages, possessed as you are of a capital tenfold greater than that of any country in the universe. Look to the inexhaustible mine of wealth that is to be found in the unwearied perseverance, the indomitable skill of your people; look to their talent—their ingenuity—their great mental power. Look, too, to your free institutions, your unshackled press, your glorious constitution, which, though it permits licentiousness, affords rational liberty to all;—look, I say, to all these things—think of the glory England has acquired from the equator to the pole, and tell me—is yours a country to dread competition with any country on the face of the earth (loud cheers)? What have you to fear? Why is it that paper-hangers and silk-weavers are to be turned out of employment when protecting duties are proposed to be modified? What is to be your motto? Is it to advance or retrograde? Other countries are now watching your example—other countries are wishing to know what is to be the result at the close of this debate. It is not a fact that every country is determined to meet you with hostile tariffs (hear, hear). No, there are countries which you, perhaps, least expect, and to which I did injustice, perhaps, by not naming before—as Sardinia, which has already set the example of a free importation of your goods and manufactures (hear, hear). Naples will shortly follow the example of Sardinia (hear). And Prussia, I can tell you, is already shaken (cheers). France is desirous of following these examples. These countries have been controlled by the aristocracies of their manufactures and commerce, which exercise a preponderating weight in their chambers; but the opinion of sensible men not interested in protection is bearing upon willing governments, and they are desirous of following your course, and of reciprocating the benefits you may offer to them (loud cheers). Then the United States (hear). I believe you will give by this measure an encouragement to that party in America which is in favour of commercial intercourse with this country. But even if you do not—if you fail in this—still I repeat again, don't punish yourselves because others choose to impose restrictions upon their own commerce. This night, or whenever this debate shall close, you will have to decide what are the principles upon which your commercial policy is to be regulated (hear). Most earnestly, from a deep conviction founded not upon the experience of three years, but upon the experience of every relaxation of restriction and prohibition, I advise you yourselves to set the example to other countries, by persevering in the course you have begun (cheers). It is no inconsistency on your part—it is in perfect consistency with the course you have hitherto taken. Add to those measures and you will take a government security for the preservation of peace—you will take an additional guarantee for the contentment and happiness and prosperity of the great body of the people (loud cheers). You may fail. All human precautions are necessarily precarious. After you have adopted the measures, there may be no assurance that mercantile and manufacturing prosperity will continue uninterrupted. It seems incidental to great prosperity that there shall be a reverse—that depression shall follow a season of excitement and success. That time of depression may return—it may return, and be coincident with a scarcity caused by unfavourable seasons. Your times of '41 and '42, in spite of all your legislative precautions, may again come back. Let me recall the recollection of those sad years. The memory of the winters of 1811 and 1812 never can be effaced from my recollection. Recollect the course we pursued. Then, on every occasion on which the Sovereign met her Parliament, there was the expression of the deepest sympathy with privation and suffering, but an expression also of the warmest admiration of the patience and fortitude with which they were borne (hear). This time may recur. The years of plen-

teousness may intermit, and years of dearth may succeed. And if they do come, and if it be our duty again to express sympathy with sufferings, and again to exhort fortitude in their endurance, I do ask every man who hears me to commune with his own heart and to ask himself this question, If these calamitous times do come, if we must express sympathy with distress, if we must again proffer exhortations to fortitude, will it not be a consolation to reflect that we have relieved ourselves from the heavy responsibility of regulating the supply of human food (great cheering)? Will not our expressions of sympathy seem more sincere, if we not our exhortations to fortitude be more impressive, if we can at the same time say, and with pride, that in a time of comparative plenty, urged by no necessity, yielding to no clamour, we anticipated all those difficulties, and removed every impediment to the free circulation of the bounty of the Creator (loud cheers)? Will it not be a great and lasting consolation to us to be enabled to say to a suffering people, these calamities are the chastenings of an all-wise and beneficent Providence, inflicted for some great and humane purpose—perhaps to abate our pride, possibly to convince us of our nothingness, and awaken us to a sense of our dependence; they are to be borne without repining as the dispensations of Providence, for they have not been aggravated by human institutions restricting the supply of food (the right honourable baronet sat down amidst loud and prolonged cheering).

On the motion of Lord JOHN MANNERS, the debate was then adjourned.

TUESDAY.

THE STATE OF FAMINE AND DISEASE IN IRELAND.

Mr. O'CONNELL rose and said,—I rise, sir, to give notice, that on Monday, the 23rd of February, I shall move for a committee of the whole house to consider the state of Ireland with a view to devise means to relieve the distress of the Irish people. That is the motion which I have to submit to the house, and I respectfully demand the acquiescence of the house in that motion. I certainly do not introduce this subject from any party motives, or for any party objects (hear, hear). I would not give utterance to one partisan feeling or expression, nor do I expect any party opposition (hear, hear). I am thoroughly convinced that many gentlemen present, who differ from me on political subjects in reference to Ireland, are as sincerely anxious as I am to relieve the distress of that country; so that this house will come fairly to the consideration of this subject, free from any of those feelings which are calculated to diminish or disfigure its advocacy (hear, hear). That there is the prospect of a calamitous season before Ireland is a fact which is altogether indisputable. The extent of that calamity has been disputed. For a time it was supposed that there was a prospect of our avoiding the misery we were threatened with, but I believe that all hope has now vanished; and before I sit down I shall be able to show the house that the calamity is more imminent and pressing, and likely to be more awful than the house is aware. In order, however, to understand the fearful extent of the threatened calamity, it is right that the house should be reminded of the situation of Ireland previous to this visitation. The calamity with which Ireland is now threatened is not owing to any default of the people, it is not owing to any sterility of the soil, it is not even owing to any want of the abundance of the harvest. It is owing to a dispensation of Providence, which man cannot control. Our duty is to submit to the will of an All-disposing Power, and to perform the part of charitable Christians by endeavouring to mitigate the evils as they arise. But in order to appreciate the extent of the distress, and enable us to devise means for its relief, it is, as I have said, obviously necessary that the house should distinctly understand the previous state of Ireland. I am sorry, in the performance of my duty, to be obliged to state as a fact, that the population of Ireland, instead of augmenting, as some have supposed, has actually been falling and wasting away—that the people have been suffering misery and distress unequalled by any other people in Europe—that the rural population, and especially the agricultural labourers, are, as has been stated in a report to this house, almost always on the verge of famine. I propose, not to call upon the house to give credit to any assertions of mine which are not corroborated by indisputable documents—I mean to show, from documents of the most unquestionable character, the truth of the facts which I have stated respecting the increasing misery of the Irish people. The first document to which I shall refer is the abstract of the population returns of 1821, 1831, and 1841, the accuracy of the facts of which are beyond doubt. From these returns it appears that the population of Ireland between 1821 and 1831 increased about a million, whereas between 1831 and 1841 they increased only about half a million (hear, hear). It has been attempted to account for this by emigration; but this is most unsatisfactory, for those who attempt to account for the decrease in that way give us no account of the emigration between 1821 and 1831, but confine themselves to statements of the emigration between 1831 and 1841, thus leaving out an essential ingredient in the calculation, for there is no reason to suppose that there was less emigration between 1821 and 1831 than between 1831 and 1841. With this fact staring you in the face, then, that in the course of ten years the population of Ireland has gone back half a million, it will not be disputed that there is something wrong in the condition of that country. I remember that the late Sir Fowell Buxton used to make a great impression on the house by showing how the black population diminished during slavery. This is not exactly the case here, but the facts which I have mentioned certainly come within the same principle (hear, hear, hear). I consider that nothing but distress can account for the falling off in the population to which I have referred. The next public document to which I shall refer is the report of the Poor Law Commission in 1835. That commission was named by this house to inquire into the destitute state of Ireland, preliminary to the introduction of

a Poor Law, and they reported that there were 2,300,000 of the agricultural population who were constantly in a state approaching to destitution, and that for several weeks in the year they were entirely compelled to live on the charity of their neighbours. The last population returns furnish me with another argument. These returns shew that 46 per cent. of the rural population live in habitations of a single room, and that there are frequently several entire families living in the same room. They also show that 36 per cent. of the civic population live in single rooms, and that frequently two or three families reside in the same room. Does this not present a fearful picture of destitution? But the most important of all the reports to which I have to refer is the report of Lord Devon's Commission. This commission consisted of Lord Devon and four other persons of rank and fortune, and perhaps a better commission was never formed by any Government. It is impossible to imagine that they could be deceived, and I believe they performed their task most laboriously. They state that from the evidence they collected on oath, and from their own observations, they found that the agricultural population of Ireland suffered great privations and hardships; that they were badly housed, badly fed, badly clothed, and badly paid for their labour; that in many districts the only food of the people was potatoes, and their only drink water; that their cabins scarcely protected them against the weather; that a blanket was a rare luxury to them; that their pigs and their manure constituted their only property; and that altogether they endured more suffering than the people of any other country in Europe. This is the report of Lord Devon's commission. This is not the assertion of any agitator or demagogue, but the distinct and emphatic assertion of men who were beyond the possibility of suspicion, and beyond the possibility of being deceived. The agricultural population of Ireland is calculated at 7,000,000, and 5,000,000 of these at least are labourers, in the situation described by Lord Devon's Commission. Now, I beg the house to observe that here is a report made 45 years after the union with England—this is a description of the agricultural population of Ireland by the persons to whom I have referred; I appeal to gentlemen who are listening to me, whether it is not a most frightful picture,—I do not say which is in consequence of, but coming after, the union with England? Remember, that we did not govern ourselves; that we had no Irish Parliament to legislate for us; remember that you have had the government of Ireland for 45 years in your own hands. If you cannot govern us, abdicate; but if you will govern us, try and extricate the population from their abject misery (cries of hear, hear). The report to which I have just referred was made in 1844-45. It was made at a period when our harvest was abundant, when there was a little distress as was ever known in Ireland—when there was no public complaint—when the people were suffering in silence—when they were, in fact, in a state of comparative comfort and freedom from calamity; and yet, such is the report which they gave respecting the state of the rural population of Ireland. That commission also reported two things, to which I wish to call the attention of the house. The first is their report upon the conduct of the unhappy people themselves:—"We repeat, that the patient endurance which the labourers exhibit entitle them to the best attention of Government and of Parliament." The commissioners, it will be observed, do not blame the people for their misery; but they commend them for their patient endurance, and they call on Government and Parliament to give them their best attention. I have some confidence that that call will be responded to (hear, hear). The commissioners make another statement to the effect, that any improvement which had taken place in the condition of the people was attributable to the habits of temperance, and not to any increased demand for their labour. It is also singular enough, as I have said, that this calamity is not attributable to the faults of the people, to any refusal on their part to cultivate the soil, or any want of fertility in the soil itself (hear). I have Parliamentary returns which show the amount of food exported from Ireland from 1842 to 1845. The first is—

An Account of the Quantities of Wheat, Barley, Oats, Wheat-flour, and Oatmeal imported into Great Britain from Ireland, in the years 1842, 1843, 1844, and 1845, distinguishing the Quantities in each year:—

Years.	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Wheat-meal or Flour.	Oatmeal.
	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Cwts.	Cwts.
1842	112,195	50,287	1,274,326	314,311	1,551,172
1843	192,177	110,419	1,561,997	773,463	1,706,628
1844	200,276	90,656	1,509,870	859,567	1,159,976
1845	372,719	93,096	1,679,958	1,422,379	1,959,185

So that, during the very period in which the people of Ireland have been living in the manner I have described, they have produced for your consumption no less than 2,000,000 of quarters of bread stuffs and 2,000,000 cwt. of flour and different sorts of meal. The second document is "an account of all cattle, sheep, and swine imported into Great Britain from Ireland, from the 10th day of October, 1843, to the 5th day of January, 1846. Oxen, bulls, and cows, 32,883; calves, 583; sheep and lambs, 32,576; swine, 104,141." Thus these returns establish that this dreadful anomaly exists in Ireland, that while she produces in abundance, her people are starving; that a country so blessed by Providence is thus cursed by man. Let others account for it as they can. We have now to face the evil of coming famine. Remember, when you come to face that evil, that what may be called the substratum of the population in Ireland is in such a condition that their best state is little better than what would be called famine in other countries. And, sir, having shown what this condition of the Irish people is at even the best of times, I now

come to that in which they are now placed, and also to the frightful evidence which has poured in on us from all sides of the dreadful nature of the threatened calamity. The documents I shall use are chiefly those which have come out of the hands of the Government; with some of them many hon. gentlemen will already be familiar, and my reading them will therefore be doubly tedious. But it is my duty to lay the case of Ireland in the fullest manner before the house, and therefore I trust I shall be excused if I am more prolix than I would wish to be. This passage is contained in the report of Messrs. Lindley and Playfair, dated November 15, 1845:—"During our stay in Ireland we carefully examined such official papers as were transmitted to us from the Castle; we consulted persons acquainted with the facts of the disease; we visited the district lying between Dublin and Drogheda, and inspected various potato fields and stores in the counties of Dublin, Louth, Meath, Westmeath, and part of Kildare. Judging from the evidence thus collected, and from what we have seen of the progress of the disease in England, we can come to no other conclusion than that one-half of the potato crop of Ireland is either destroyed or remains in a state unfit for the food of man. We, moreover, feel it our duty to apprise you that we fear this to be a low estimate. The next extract is from the report of the commissions of inquiry at Dublin Castle, and the house will observe that it is a remarkable paragraph:—"It appears from undoubted authority that, of 32 counties in Ireland, not one has escaped failure in the potato crop; of 130 Poor Law Unions, not one is exempt; of 2,058 electoral divisions, above 1,400 are certainly reported as having suffered; and we have no certainty until the receipt of the more minute returns now in progress of completion, that the remaining 600 have altogether escaped." That commission had corresponded with nearly all the local authorities in Ireland, and the following was the conclusion at which it had arrived, after having written 362 letters to obtain correct information:—

PROPORTION OF POTATO CROP LOST.

	ALL.	1-10ths.	1-5ths.	3-4ths.	2-3ds.	Halves.	1-3ds.	1-4ths.	1-5ths.	1-6ths.	1-8ths.	1-10ths.	Total.
Ulster.....	6	1	3	15	37	133	32	6	—	—	—	—	239
Munster.....	—	—	9	13	83	16	4	1	—	—	—	—	133
Leinster.....	—	4	1	28	41	97	9	2	1	—	—	—	199
Connaught.....	—	1	8	12	40	6	4	—	—	1	—	—	81

The next evidence I shall quote is that of Sir L. O'Brien, a gentleman of large property in the county of Clare, whom it was for some time difficult to persuade that there was anything wrong in the crops. He, however, discovered his mistake, and waited on the Lord Lieutenant, stating the result of his observations. He had just returned from an examination of the state of his county, which he had been induced to visit on account of the discouraging accounts he had received. His statement was that the disease was again progressing in many districts, that many families had lost their whole supply, and that whole districts had lost their crops. This gentleman concluded by strenuously recommending the interference of the Government. Sir, there was a committee appointed at a public meeting at the Mansion-house in Dublin, and from that called the Mansion-house Committee. Their reports are in the highest degree persuasive, from the minuteness and care they have shown in taking their information. Between the 10th of December and the 26th of January, they issued 923 letters, and had received 523 answers, viz., from Leinster, 141 letters; from Ulster, 163 letters; from Munster, 152 letters; from Connaught, 67 letters. Of these there were—From ministers of the established church, 216 letters; from Roman Catholic clergy, 195 letters; from Presbyterian ministers, 40 letters; from lieutenants and deputy ditto, 47 letters; from Poor Law boards, 25 letters. The following was the degree in which they represented the potato crop had suffered, and was unfit for human food:—Under one-third, 110; one-third, 111; one-half, 148; over half, 84. A report having been circulated that there was a mitigation in the progress of the disease, an opinion which arose from the people not having examined their potatoes in consequence of their having stored them, a second inquiry was made to ascertain whether or not there had been any such lull in the ravages of the disease. It is now certain that it is still making rapid progress. Thus the returns received by the Mansion-house Committee and by the Government corroborated each other. Sir, I have now to trespass on the house with documents collected from different parts of Ireland, describing the progress of the disease in different localities. I should not, perhaps, have thought it necessary to trespass on your attention with these further statements, were it not that two of the leading journals have stated that the disease has ceased in Ireland, and that there is no reason to fear any want of provision for the winter. I do not accuse the writers of those statements with being actuated by party zeal or party motives, but I do accuse them of being too easily deluded, and of too easily deluding others. It is, however, on this account necessary to place beyond all shadow of doubt the fact of the continued existence of the disease, to show that the evil is not confined to particular localities, but has spread all over the land, and that the cry echoes through the country of coming famine and its attendant, disease. The hon. and learned gentleman then proceeded to read statements from different parts of the country, describing the condition of the potatoes, and the effects which the failure of the crop was producing in the increase of disease. A letter published by Lord Cloncurry (which the hon. and learned gentleman read) distinctly proves the fact that one-third of the potatoes which his lordship had planted under the most favourable circumstances were destroyed. The continued dulness of

the statement I have had to make arises from the reading of so many documents; but, reluctant as I am to occupy the time of this house, I feel it my duty to give the fullest information in my power on the subject. I wish the house distinctly to understand that a scarcity has never been experienced in Ireland which has not been accompanied by typhus. It has not been found that fever is diffused by the atmosphere, for the disease has uniformly ceased when provisions became abundant. You have the cause, the effect, and the cure. The cause is scarcity; the effect, fever; the cure, a more plentiful supply of food. It is singular to observe how constantly this has occurred. I have several instances of great famine in Ireland, showing how invariably scarcity has brought fever in its train, and that fever has disappeared when harvests became abundant. In 1734 and 1735 there were wet summers, with bad harvests; fever appeared in the winter of 1734, and did not disappear till the autumn of 1736, which brought a most abundant harvest; between 1740 and 1743, 1798 and 1802, 1817 and the autumn of 1818, 1825 and the autumn of 1827, the same sequence of bad crops and disease, of good crops and the disappearance of disease, was to be observed. A most eminent physician in Dublin (Dr. Corrigan) traces a connection between those pestilential fevers and small-pox. The honourable and learned gentleman having stated from documents a variety of details as to the seasons referred to, proceeded—I have now laid before the house the details which have come under my notice. With regard to the Irish agricultural labourer, the report of Lord Devon's commission shows that there is no peasantry so badly off as the Irish peasantry. It is stated expressly that in no part of Europe is there so great misery as in Ireland, that there are masses of people always on the verge of starvation. From the reports of the Government Commissioners, from the reports of the Mansion-house Committee in Dublin, from the enormous mass of documents to which I have referred, documents obtained not from one locality or vicinage, but indiscriminately throughout Ireland, it appears that the crop has totally failed, and that the country is on the verge of famine. If I am asked what I propose, I can only express my anxiety that the members of this house should join with me in the most energetic measures. You cannot be too speedy in the application of your remedy; you cannot make that application too extensive. It may be said, will you ask money from Englishmen for the relief of Ireland? No such thing. I scorn the thought. Ireland has resources of her own. The Woods and Forests yield a revenue of 74,000*l.* a-year; take that and let it represent a capital of a million, or a million-and-a-half. You may borrow money upon it to meet the exigency, and have a sinking fund for the extinction of the debt out of the revenue. If that plan should not be adopted, then I would say, borrow the rents of the Irish landlords; charge absentee landlords 20 per cent. of a property-tax, and resident landlords 10 per cent. The object is to protect the labouring population from an impending calamity. They are even now surrounded by disease and death in their most horrid forms. And it is fitting that we should make the landlords contribute in such a way as shall be effectual. You may tell me of the Poor Laws. My opinion is that Poor Laws may mitigate distress in ordinary seasons, but will not meet a famine. The workhouses would make very good hospitals for the sick. That fever prevails in Cork, Tralee, and Killarney, I have proved to you; it has raged to a frightful extent in Limerick; the number of patients in the infirmaries has increased; the lanes of Dublin are full of fever. You are not to be guided in such a case as this by ordinary rules. It is a case beyond every rule. The people are not to blame. It has pleased Providence to inflict this calamity upon them; it is your business to mitigate that calamity as much as possible. There are the railroads, for example. Why do you not take strong measures with railroads? I should be happy to see the Government authorised to act in reference to these. I should wish to see this House and the other support the Government in that course. I would dispense with the rules and regulations that fence railway schemes brought before Parliament. Famine is coming on,—fever is coming on,—this house ought to place in the Queen's Government powers adequate to such an exigency, so that it may have the means of giving the most extensive employment. As to contending lines, I do not know that the Government would decide better; for I don't know a worse tribunal than this house. I found myself yesterday voting on a railway question without exactly knowing what I was doing; I cannot, therefore, blame others. But wherever 100,000*l.* has been subscribed for a railway, the Government ought to have power to give another 100,000*l.* by way of a loan, so as to afford every facility for proceeding with the works, and to leave private individuals at liberty to apply the funds thus left for a time in their hands in such a manner as to give employment. Lend the money to the railways at 1 per cent. or 2 per cent. I know how many objections may be started to such a plan; but I speak of a case which is superior to every objection. Great evils require great remedies; the remedy ought to be commensurate with the evil; and I am not speaking from the depth of my conviction when I declare, that in my conscience I believe the result of neglect on the part of this house in the present instance will be deaths to an enormous amount. On the grounds which I have stated, I request the appointment of a committee of the whole house, if with no other effect, at least for the purpose of convincing the Irish people that their calamities are not disregarded. I don't blame the Government for what they have done and for what they purpose to do. They have had my humble support. I have not been peddling for objections to their measures. I am prepared to give an honest support to any plans which the Government may bring forward for the purpose of mitigating the effects

of the scarcity. Yet, those which have been propounded are miserable trifles; they would do for ordinary times, and for an ordinary scarcity; but they will not answer when death is abroad. The details into which I felt it my duty to enter, have made my statement necessarily a dry one; and, for the extreme patience with which I have been heard, I beg to express to the House my own thanks and the thanks of the Irish people (cheers). The hon. and learned gentleman (who was but imperfectly heard throughout) concluded by giving notice that on Monday, the 23d of February, he should move for a committee of the whole House on the state of Ireland, with a view to devise means to relieve the miseries of the people.

The question having been put,

Sir JAMES GRAHAM said—I am sure I express the general sense of the house when I declare that the hon. and learned gentleman in bringing forward this subject is entitled to the respectful attention of every member of it. The state of Ireland at the present moment deserves the anxious and serious attention of Parliament, and I admit to the hon. and learned gentleman that the importance of this subject can hardly be over-estimated. I also agree with the hon. and learned gentleman, that whatever differences of opinion may exist between various parties in this house, yet that the difficulty to which he has called our attention will receive from all sides a patient and anxious consideration. Sir, it is my painful duty to state, that having taken the utmost pains to inform myself accurately of the facts of the case, I cannot say that in any important particular the hon. and learned gentleman has exaggerated the difficulty of it (hear, hear). What are the striking facts? The hon. and learned gentleman states that a very large proportion of the potato crop of the present year has failed in Ireland: before we consider the effect of that statement it is necessary to remember how very large a proportion of the whole population of Ireland is dependent almost exclusively on the potato for its daily food. The hon. and learned gentleman had estimated that proportion of the population at 5,000,000. I should estimate it somewhat lower; but it is clearly admitted on all hands that one-half of the entire population of Ireland is dependent on the potato for food. Now, consider the effect of one-half of the entire population being dependent upon the plant, which by the visitation of Providence has this year signally failed; it is very difficult to ascertain, by any calculation that can be made, the exact proportion and extent of that failure (hear, hear, hear). Dr. Playfair and Dr. Lindley, at one period of this visitation, estimated the loss at one-half of the entire crop. Admitting, for a moment, that there may be some exaggeration in this estimate, I will now state to the house the result of the most accurate inquiry which the Government, with all its resources, has been able to make. Early in November last, the Government constituted a commission, composed of officers, all responsible to the Government, as the best mode of ascertaining the facts of the case. At the head of this commission was placed Mr. Lucas, Under-Secretary for Ireland, a gentleman known in the house as the representative of an Irish county, conversant with all the affairs of that country, and certainly well entitled to be intrusted with the conduct of such an inquiry. Under him were placed Colonel Jones, the head of the Board of Works, Colonel Macgregor, the head of the constabulary, who had the means of obtaining information from the most remote parts of the country, Mr. Twisleton, the Poor Law Commissioner in Ireland, who was in communication with the boards of guardians of all the unions, Dr. Playfair, Dr. Lindley, and Professor Kane. The result of their inquiries was stated last night by the hon. baronet (Sir R. Peel), in some of its most striking features, and I fear that in the larger number of electoral divisions throughout Ireland the estimate of Dr. Playfair and Dr. Lindley, so far from being falsified, is unfortunately but too strictly verified. Now in ordinary years, with an average crop of potatoes, it is always the case that for a period of six weeks after the old crop is consumed, and before the new one comes into use, the population is compelled to subsist on a food of a higher and more expensive kind. Suppose the exaggeration of the failure is one-half, assuming, for the sake of argument, that the failure is only one-fourth of an average crop, you then have this state of affairs,—in addition to the six weeks, during which in ordinary years this population, dependent on potatoes, is obliged to subsist on a dearer kind of food, there will be four months of the present year during which 4,000,000 of the population must be fed on food of a higher quality than in ordinary years. A more alarming case has hardly ever been submitted to the consideration of Parliament. It is not ordinarily the duty of Parliament to provide food for the people; but it is the imperative duty of the Government, and I am sure it will be the natural impulse of a representative assembly, under such circumstances, sympathising with a population in such distress, to admit that general rules must bend to such a necessity; nor could the circumstances of a country so unhappily circumstanced be disregarded by the Government. But is this the whole of the case? The information we have received, with all its accuracy, does not extend to a later period than the end of January; but what we have received within the last fortnight is quite confirmatory of the statement of the hon. and learned gentleman—that the disease, so far from being arrested, has progressed; that the potatoes in the pits have not kept well, but have decayed, and that there is great danger of want, unless further precautions are used in time. If, too, is not preserved for the ensuing year, the difficulty, great as it is at the present moment, is but the commencement of a series of evils of such an extent that I hardly dare to contemplate them. I must also state that I entirely concur with the hon. and learned gentleman, that the conduct of the Irish peasantry generally in such alarming prospects, and in the midst of such great distress, has been most excellent. There have been no tumultuary proceedings—no riots; all has been borne with the utmost patience. I have one account of 190 labourers who came to meet the guardians of a union to state that food was failing them; that all they wanted was work; that none was offered them; that they had no labour within their reach. They did not tumultuously demand admission into the workhouse; they indulged in no violence; all they asked for was work for wages. A more touching case than this cannot be conceived (hear, hear, hear). The hon. and learned gentleman has stated with great accuracy the general state of want and deprivation among that suffering and gallant people. From some of the facts the hon. and learned gentleman has mentioned, I should be inclined to draw different conclusions from those he has done. If it is the fact that the population of Ireland has not been increasing so much of late years, I should doubt if that was any proof of the increase

of poverty; I believe that a superabundant population is one of the great sources of poverty. The fact is, that the manufacturing prosperity of England and Scotland attracts large numbers of people from Ireland to partake of it. In Manchester, Glasgow, and Liverpool there are immense numbers of Irish congregated, exercising an exemplary industry in pursuits incidental to that manufacturing prosperity. The hon. and learned gentleman has also observed that the imports of corn and cattle from Ireland to England have increased. I cannot regard that circumstance with anything approaching to regret. My confident opinion is, that as those imports have increased, the wealth of Ireland must naturally have accumulated. The cultivation of wheat has also been improving in Ireland, and within the last few years I believe it has been carried more into the consumption of that country. But these are passing observations in reference to the general condition of the people. I now wish to point out to the house what the Government has done to meet this great emergency; the difficulty of which I am not in the least disposed to underrate. Early in November last the Government appointed the commission I have already alluded to. Up to the present time the principal occupation of that commission has been to ascertain the facts of the case (hear). Unhappily, those facts are well ascertained, and the extent of the danger it must be admitted is very great, and the time has arrived when it is necessary that executive measures should be speedily taken. With this view her Majesty's Government have thought it expedient to reduce the number of the commission, as some of the gentlemen forming it were unable to attend to its duties; its functions will henceforth devolve on three officers—Mr. Twisleton, Professor Kane, and Mr. Randolph Brown. Short as the present session of Parliament has been, considerable progress has been made in measures involving public grants and advances for public works, to aid in meeting the emergency of the case. This house has already given its consent to a Public Works Bill, by which an absolute grant of 50,000*l.* is made from the public funds; there is also a Port and Harbours Bill, containing a further grant of 50,000*l.* The Drainage Bill contains clauses which provide for the improvement of the inland navigation of Ireland, connected with draining of lands, comprehending four great works, for joining the northern loughs with the navigation of the Shannon and the waters of the west. The Government has given a separate consideration to the estimates for these four great works, and it will be prepared to bring them under the notice of the house in a committee of supply. The estimate of these works is not less than 120,000*l.*; altogether not less than 220,000*l.* in the shape of grants will be applied to the increase of public works in Ireland. With respect to advances of money as loans, under the Drainage Bill, which now stands for the third reading, an advance of 50,000*l.* will be made for preliminary expenses; on the Ports and Harbours Bill 2,000*l.* will be advanced for the same purpose; on the County Works Bill there will be an advance of 100,000*l.* Altogether the advance in the shape of loans will be 228,000*l.*; as grants, 220,000*l.*; thus as loans, and as grants, no less a sum than 448,000*l.* would be laid out in public works in Ireland. The hon. and learned gentleman has referred more particularly to the railroads now under the contemplation of Parliament. Allow me to call to the recollection of the house that in the last session of Parliament, and the session preceding it, railroad acts passed, by which it is generally assumed that an outlay of 9,000,000*l.* will be made in Ireland in the next three years. But I should be sorry if the house deceived itself into thinking that this capital thus brought to bear on the labour market will prove a sufficient provision. From a report laid on the table of the house, it appears, from a competent authority, that money spent in such works only operates beneficially within a circle of from five to ten miles round the locality. What is the effect of that? Unfortunately it is only the able-bodied men who are attracted by that employment from a distance; they leave their wives and families in the places they come from, sometimes entirely dependent. Such is the particular nature of the difficulty, that a railroad, or long line of railroads, at great intervals, will not meet the case (hear, hear). The difficulty is this,—in all former cases the potato crop has only failed in districts and counties; but at the present time it is widely different, as the honourable and learned gentleman stated, in evidence that cannot be doubted; there is not a county in Ireland in which this unfortunate calamity does not to some degree exist. Out of 130 Poor Law Unions not one had escaped it; in 2000 sub-divisions of these unions, in 1500 at least, the disease has appeared. The calamity is widely spread in different degrees, and thus the difficulty of the operation of a remedy is quite equal to the extent of the danger. The hon. and learned gentleman says the Poor Law is quite insufficient to meet the evil. I quite agree with him, considering the nature of the Poor Law in Ireland—under which no claim to relief is given by destitution, from the size of the unions and the small number of workhouses yet built—that the Poor Law is insufficient to meet the case. I have stated to the house already some of the steps the Government has taken, and I hope the house will give it credit for not having neglected any precaution which prudence and sympathy for the sufferings of the people render necessary. I am pressed to give the details of the instructions the Government has issued with respect to these measures; but as I consider any statement of them now would not be consistent with the public interest, I hope the house will not expect any such detail (hear, hear). It will be sufficient for me to say that in no one particular has the extreme difficulty of the case been overlooked. Early in November instructions had been given specifically upon all the leading points, and I can assure the hon. and learned gentleman and the house that, be the calamity as extensive as it may, her Majesty's Government will not be taken by surprise (hear, hear). The hon. gentleman has stated that in Ireland destitution from a failure of the potato crop is always followed by fever of a most malignant kind (hear). In this respect I think the Poor Law does afford most important assistance. Under the existing Poor Law, cases of fever can be relieved in four different ways; the person may be received into the workhouse, or removed from the workhouse to the fever hospital. I see an objection to the admission of fever cases into the workhouse, as it may tend to spread infection, and by the law as it now stands, except from the workhouse, there is no power to remove the patient to the hospital. I have not much reliance on these two provisions, but there are two others which I think of immense importance if brought into full operation. The first gives the power of erecting temporary fever hospitals in the vicinity of each workhouse; out of 110 unions which have workhouses built, 42 have already temporary fever hospitals provided. Measures have been taken in the remaining unions for compelling this accommodation to be provided where it does not now exist, and a power is also given to the

guardians to hire houses for that purpose. In Galway, in 1844, there was a malignant typhus fever, and I am told, that nearly 1100 patients were received in the temporary fever hospital connected with the workhouse of that union. I admit it is possible that even these provisions may be insufficient to meet the exigency of the case, and I am prepared on the part of the Government to ask leave to bring in a bill on this subject, founded on the precedent of the cholera hospitals of 1832. If the disease should spread, this bill will be proposed as a temporary enactment, providing that a temporary rate shall be levied in each union, to meet the cost of maintaining the fever patients. I am not aware that I need go at greater length into these circumstances on the present occasion. And I must say I am most unwilling that this discussion should be prolonged, or should have the effect of interrupting for two hours the progress of the important debate in which the house is engaged (hear, hear). My humble opinion—an opinion sincerely and confidently entertained—is, that in the present circumstances, it is the first and primary duty of the legislature to remove all restrictions on the free importation (cheers) into this country of all articles of the first necessity constituting the food of the people (hear). I am satisfied this is the first duty of Parliament; and I think the hon. and learned gentleman will see, notwithstanding the measures he has mentioned, if this calamity should spread to the extent we apprehend, that it is necessary to call on Parliament for a generous exercise of that great virtue inherent in a representative assembly—that of allowing the sufferings of no part of the people to be neglected, when public aid can be afforded for that necessity. I hope, then, that the house, without further delay, will proceed to take that primary step, and consider the all-important and special necessity of relaxing the restrictions on the importation of food into this country (cheers).

Mr. SHAW, while admitting the habitual poverty of the Irish people, was of opinion that the failure of the potato crop had been greatly exaggerated; even the commissioners, high as was their professional reputation, had fallen into the current delusion, promoted as it was for specific objects.

Mr. JOHN O'CONNELL considered the official information adduced by the Government a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of the allegations as to the nature and extent of the distress. Since he had come over to his Parliamentary duties, he had found a strong sympathy existing on the part of members respecting it, and a great anxiety to adopt measures for its alleviation. Hitherto Ireland had been sacrificed to the selfish interests of England; the country had been treated on the now useless hand-and-mouth system, temporary remedies being provided for pressing exigencies, but for years forgetting and neglecting it. The Union had depressed the material and moral interests of Ireland; the life-blood of its body politic was exhausted by the drain of the absentee system, under which four millions and a half were annually abstracted from its resources; and the public money which the Government now proposed to bestow was not equal to the public revenue raised in Ireland and expended elsewhere. They did not beg for justice, though they had often demanded it; and he urged upon them the importance of subjecting the grievances of Ireland to a searching investigation, so as to discover their root and remove it.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL advised Mr. John O'Connell to seize every opportunity of urging, within that house, the wrongs of Ireland, and the remedies which he considered applicable. The House of Commons represented the United Kingdom, and it was its duty to listen to any statement of any grievance which might afflict any portion of it. He hoped that after the statement of Sir James Graham as to what the Government intended to do, Mr. O'Connell would not at present press his motion. It would be in his power to renew it if he found that the proposed measures were ineffective for the crisis.

Mr. LAWSON was afraid that Sir Robert Peel's measures would reduce England to the condition of Ireland, and he could not see the wisdom of permanently ruining one country in order to provide for a temporary calamity in another.

Mr. O'CONNELL withdrew his motion.

ADJOURNED DEBATE.

The adjourned debate on the Corn Laws and the commercial propositions of the Government was resumed by

Lord JOHN MANNERS, who quoted the opinion of Count Camille, in which he considered the English Corn Laws as the result of the care of a Government which saw the wisdom of stimulating the production of its own soil, in order to render its population independent of foreign supply. Though favourable to moderate protection to agriculture, he confessed that, when he heard, last winter, that it was abandoned by all the leading statesmen of the country, he thought that the time was come when they should reconsider their position. But he would not adopt the proposed change on the contradictory arguments with which it had been urged; a terrified ministry was pressing their measure through a mystified Parliament, in order that it might be hurried into a premature law. Open the ports if the danger were imminent—now, late as it was; but let them leave it to the people of England to say whether of not they should be closed. It had been said that this country could not stand a revolution once a year, but Sir R. Peel seemed to think that it could stand a half-yearly revolution. Prussia was said to be "shaken," but he saw no public sign of it. Why should she, when we give her, without equivalent, all that she can ask? As to France, public opinion was led by such men as Arago, Thiers, and Berryer, who were opposed to any relaxation of their protection system. He neither dreaded Free Trade, nor hoped much from it, but he deprecated a rash and hasty intermeddling with great interests, and was of opinion that the settlement of the question should be referred to a new Parliament.

Capt. LAYARD observed that, whatever might be the opinion formed by some honourable gentlemen on the other side of the house, concerning the great measure proposed to their consideration by the right honourable baronet at the head of her Majesty's Government, looking upon it as he did as a question of vital importance, as a question by which the great principles of Free Trade were at once to be established; or, should the measure be rejected, or for some time delayed (for he was one of those who never had the smallest doubt that Free Trade must ultimately succeed), it was his intention to give his warmest support to this great and beneficial measure, and he earnestly trusted that honourable gentlemen would well and deeply consider the fearful responsibility that would attach to them if they any longer banded themselves together, and, under the cry of protection to native industry, tried to maintain a monopoly which was nothing more nor less than a restriction on the food of the people. No cause that had ever been brought before a Parliament had ever progressed so rapidly as that of Free Trade within the last few months. Those who had been the most

skillful and strenuous defenders of monopoly had thrown down their arms, and said they could no longer defend so weak and hollow a cause; and what arguments had the protectionists brought forward that had not been refuted over and over again (hear, hear)? They had stated that a quantity of land would get out of cultivation, but let them remember the meeting at Goatsacre, among the Wiltshire labourers, where the protectionists petitioned against protection, and where it was stated that when the labourer requested to be allowed to occupy and rent patches of ground, he was told by the farmer that he must pay 8*l.* for that for which the farmer paid but 2*l.* (hear, hear, hear). For his part he believed that with such an increasing population, that with such an impetus that would be given to trade were this measure carried, that so far from any land being uncultivated, we should find in places where now there was only a wilderness and a game preserve, we should shortly see extensive and flourishing gardens (hear, hear). In every experiment made by the right honourable baronet approaching Free Trade he had been eminently successful, and the last alteration in the tariff had more than realised his most sanguine hopes. What was the use of experience? Were they to shut their eyes to it? Were they to be forever blind (hear, hear)? However that might be the case with some honourable gentlemen, he believed a far different feeling began to pervade the country; and he believed a better truth could not be adduced to support the truth of the assertion than the wise, the judicious choice made the other day by the West Riding of Yorkshire, a choice in his mind equally honourable to the electors and the elected (hear, hear, and cheers). What would be a more ample proof of the alteration which had come over the feelings of the people than that a few years ago the noble lord was beaten because he was not a sufficient protectionist, and now he stood in the proud position of their representative as a Free Trader. When he heard the right honourable gentleman, the Secretary-at-War state in his Free Trade speech—which he congratulated him upon—when he said in that speech that the Corn Law of 1815 was, in his mind, a great mistake, he agreed with him in that opinion; nay, for his part, he went further, and not only thought it a great mistake, but a great crime. By that mistake or crime, whichever they chose to call it, commerce had been crippled, agriculture had been injured, crime and misery had increased. It had given rise to difference of feeling greatly to be deplored. But, like other crimes, it had brought its own punishment (hear). It had for years kept the agriculturists in hot water and uncertainty; and at last received its just retribution and condemnation by the very hand that millions had been spent to raise in its defence (hear). They were told by the protectionists that it was by this law that great and glorious England had taken her stand as one of the greatest nations of the earth. But what a fallacy! He would give them an illustration. He supposed no one, either in the house or out of it, would doubt for a moment that the right hon. baronet at the head of her Majesty's Government was a Free Trader (hear, hear). Now did any one suppose for a moment, that because the right honourable gentleman had lived with the protectionist party, had spoken with them, and had acted with them, that that was the reason he was a Free Trader (loud cries of hear, hear)? Certainly not. These had been his hindrances; in spite of all these he was a Free Trader, from honest and sincere conviction. And who could doubt that he would have been a Free Trader long ago, if it had not been for these unhappy connections? So it was with England. It was not on account of these Corn Laws she had become great and glorious, but in spite of them; and she would no doubt have arrived at a higher pitch of grandeur if she had not suffered from the ill effects of these baneful laws. He (Capt. Layard) could not help expressing his surprise (though certainly there were times when a wise man ought to be surprised at nothing) at the course about to be taken by the noble lords on the other side of the house. He alluded to the noble lord (Viscount Sandon), the member for Liverpool, and the noble lord the member for Newark. The first noble lord made a speech in favour of protection, which was claimed, and justly so, by the honourable baronet the member for Oxford (loud cries of hear, hear). The right hon. gentleman the Secretary at War had also put in his claim, but in his opinion, fit was about as just a one as the American claim to Oregon, and seemed to show that right hon. gentleman to be of a very avaricious disposition, as the noble lord had, in the division he had made of himself, given his old friends (the government) what they no doubt considered upon this occasion the better half, namely his vote. Now the line thus pursued by the noble lord put him in mind of a circumstance that happened a few years ago. A person at Huntingdon having given a vote to a successful candidate, the member, from those pure motives of gratitude which actuated so many politicians, procured for the man the place of chorister at Canterbury. But when he was required to perform the duties, he was found to have no voice at all. Some one patronised by the genius of poetry, though in a very inferior degree to the hon. member for Pomfret, put the story into rhyme, and it ran thus—

"A singing man and cannot sing!

No need to thank your patron's bounty.

Excuse me, sir, if I can't sing,

My voice is in another county."

(loud laughter). So it was with the noble lord the member for Liverpool, who had made a right good speech for protection as far as was possible in such a cause, but his voice, like the chorister, was in a different direction (hear, and laughter). Then the noble lord the member for Newark wrote a letter to his constituents, and said if ever he was returned again, he would not vote in favour of protection. What the noble lord would now do it was impossible to say. He defied any member who had listened to the noble lord's speech to say what the noble lord's actual views on the question now were. He could not help thinking it would have been just as well if the two noble lords had paired off, and said nothing at all on the matter (hear, hear). Upon the last occasion that he (Captain Layard) had the honour of addressing the house upon this subject, he had foretold that the honourable baronet at the head of her Majesty's Government, and the present Secretary for the Colonies (Mr. Gladstone) would become ere long Free Traders. He was delighted to find that his prediction had been correct, though at that time he was not sanguine enough to hope that the change would have been made so quickly and completely. But he congratulated them on having acted in a manner worthy of the high station in which their talents had placed them. They had been undismayed by the thunders of the Caucasus, unscared by the virulent attack of the honourable member for Shrewsbury—though, indeed, they were manifestly guilty of the charge brought against them by that gentleman—the charge of sa-

crificing that which was supposed to be the benefit of their party, to the welfare and happiness of their country. They had been told by the honourable members for Shrewsbury and Newcastle-under-Lyne, that rotten potatoes had given rise to rotten argument, that the fear of scarcity had been exaggerated, but the deplorable accounts received from Ireland unhappily too surely proved that the prudent measures taken by the Government were only those which were absolutely necessary; and he, for one, believed most men would agree with him in thinking that those who prepared for a scarcity acted more wisely, aye, and more conscientiously than those who, with the fact staring them in the face, of the fearful loss which had happened to the potato crop, endeavoured to argue that no scarcity need be feared at all. In that able pamphlet entitled "An Attempt to Estimate the Effect of Protecting Duties on the Profits of Agriculture, by Mr. Morton and Mr. Trimmer," it was proved to demonstration that the tenant-farmer and the agricultural labourer were considerable losers by this so-called protection. By that pamphlet was proved the truth of the declaration of the hon. member for Stockport, Mr. Cobden, that the system of protecting duties was a system of mutual plunder between the growers of the different descriptions of agricultural produce. He would have been delighted had the hon. baronet proposed to do away at once with all duty upon the importation of corn, because he believed the only danger to the agriculturists was the uncertainty with which they had to contend at present, and which must continue for the next three years—an uncertainty which prevented that self-reliance, that outlay of capital and industry, which could alone raise them to that independence which they ought to aspire to, but which was unattainable as long as they relied on artificial prices and a bolstering system (hear, hear, hear). He, for one, had the greatest reliance on the ability and judgment of the noble lord the member for London; that reliance was, if possible, increased when the noble lord made the assertion, which to him seemed so wise, but to many so startling, that protection was the bane of agriculture (hear, hear). For his part, he looked on this measure as a great and beneficial one; one not only advantageous to this country, but which set a bright example to the world at large (hear, hear), and an example worthy of all imitation. He would vote for this measure, believing that it would prove one great link to assist in binding together the nations of the earth in unity and peace (cheers).

Mr. R. PALMER (Berks) took an opposite course, expressing his willingness to assent to a temporary opening of the ports, but objecting that so great, sudden, and permanent a change should be based on a temporary difficulty. He contended that the Government measure would prove injurious to the whole agricultural interest, and declined to follow Sir Robert Peel in a path which he could not pursue.

Sir C. NAPIER said, he had hoped that after the able, brilliant, heart-stirring, and unanswerable speech of the right hon. baronet, the First Lord of the Treasury, the hon. members opposite would have allowed the debate to come to a conclusion this evening (ironical cries of "hear, hear," from the agricultural members). He feared, however, from what had fallen from the noble lord the member for Newark, that if it was still the intention of hon. members to proceed with this debate (loud cheers from the same quarter), they would, no doubt, follow out the same course of invective in which they had hitherto indulged against the right hon. baronet in the vain hope of inducing the right hon. baronet to alter his mind, and adopt another course. He was glad that the hon. gentleman who had last addressed the house, had not spoken in the same bitter tone of feeling as the other hon. members who had spoken on the same side. The great complaint that hon. gentleman had made against the right hon. baronet was, that he had proposed a new Corn Law in consequence of the potato crop in Ireland, and the depression and distress which was soon to follow it. But he (Sir C. Napier) did not see why the right hon. baronet was to be blamed alone. The right hon. baronet at the head of the Home Department had changed his mind as well as the right hon. baronet the First Lord of the Treasury (a laugh). The right hon. gentleman the Secretary at War had followed in their wake, and he believed that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was of the same opinion as the right hon. baronet. The rest of the Cabinet had also followed the right honourable baronet in adopting the just and popular view which he had taken (loud laughter). Why, then, was the censure of hon. gentlemen reserved for the right hon. baronet? He wondered that they had not blamed hon. gentlemen on the Opposition side of the house, who, having formerly been advocates for a fixed duty, now agreed in opinion with the noble lord, the member for London, and thought that the time was come for a total repeal of the Corn Laws. He was surprised that this charge had called forth no expressions of astonishment or indignation from those hon. gentlemen who ploughed with the same horses which they had yoked together twenty or thirty years ago (cheers and laughter). Had not the right hon. baronet told the house over and over again, that on the 1st of November he proposed to his colleagues to open the ports, and that he was only supported by three of his colleagues? The right hon. baronet, seeing that his colleagues would not agree with him, gave his resignation into her Majesty's hands. The noble lord the member for London then attempted to form an administration, but failed in the attempt, and he (Sir C. Napier), for one, rejoiced that he did fail, because when he saw the numbers who had deserted the standard of the right hon. baronet, he could not but think that the hostile array presented on the other side of the house, would have been much more formidable than it was likely to prove. The noble lord the member for Newark had asked why the right hon. baronet did not now open the ports? The noble lord blamed the right hon. baronet for not opening the ports, because in November he had expressed his opinion of the necessity for opening them; but he (Sir C. Napier) believed that if the right hon. baronet had proposed to open them now, hon. members opposite would have opposed the project just as much as they did the present measure (hear). He thought that the right honourable baronet was perfectly correct when he wished to open them. Honourable members opposite now told the right honourable baronet that they would much rather have an immediate repeal of the Corn Laws than a repeal at the end of three years; but he (Sir C. Napier) was not going to fall into that trap. He believed that the right honourable baronet had gone just as far as he could go (loud and ironical cheers from the agricultural members). Hon. gentlemen opposite hoped, by inducing the right honourable baronet to agree to this alteration, that the measure would be defeated in the House of Lords, but he trusted that it was a settled thing on that (the Opposition) side of the house, that they would not take the bait which honourable gentlemen were so ready to offer them. The noble lord the member

for Newark had said that there ought to be an appeal to the country on this question. But this was the time, when Ireland was in a state of starvation—and honourable gentlemen must know that Ireland was in a state of starvation when they did not contradict what the right honourable baronet said on the subject—to make matters still worse than they were by an appeal to the country? The noble lord was the most extraordinary man (a laugh) whom he had ever heard speak on this subject. He changed his arguments constantly. The noble lord, who had always, he believed, been a sitting-scale nobleman (much laughter), was now ready, it seemed, to accept a fixed duty. The noble lord had changed his mind, just as the right honourable baronet had changed his, with this difference however, that the right hon. baronet changed his because he was convinced that he had been wrong; while the noble lord changed his in order to keep up his rents (oh, oh). Honourable gentlemen opposite did not like to hear the truth, but he would tell them very plainly what his opinion was on the subject, namely, that if they did not think their rents would fall in consequence of the measure there would be no opposition to it (hear, hear, from the Opposition side of the house, and "oh, oh," from the agricultural branches). He knew that plain speaking was not in fashion in that house, but he must remind hon. members that when interest swayed the human heart the mental vision was not always perfectly clear. The right hon. baronet had adverted to what had fallen from the honourable member for Northamptonshire (Mr. S. O'Brien), in relating a conversation which had taken place between the honourable member and his good friend the tenant farmer (hear). Now, he (Sir C. Napier) would take the liberty of giving a little advice to the hon. members opposite, and he would recommend them, instead of making long speeches, to grant long leases to their tenants (hear, hear), and then they would gain much more than they would get by protracting this debate. Let them go to Scotland, and see how the land was farmed there. That country had an adverse climate, three weeks behind that of England, yet let members look at the manner in which turnips were cultivated—let them look at the mode in which wheat was drilled, and the crops were threshed out by machinery, instead of employing men and horses. If they would imitate the example of Scotland, England would become an exporting instead of an importing country. "It may seem, sir," said the hon. and gallant officer, "very ridiculous in a sailor like me to give advice to hon. gentlemen opposite, on the subject of agriculture (hear, hear, and laughter), but I am myself a farmer, like they are (hear, hear). True, I am not a farmer of very long standing, having only been a farmer four years. I took at that time, four years ago, a farm of forty acres (renewed laughter). Honourable gentlemen may laugh, but what is good for 40 acres, is good for 400. I took, I say, a farm of 40 acres, and I wish I could have afforded to have taken more land. The land was very bad; what is called in Hampshire forest land, which had been under the plough 11 or 15 years. The land was very foul, and those who had it before me used to plough it with four horses and two or three men conducting them. As might be expected, they lost money by farming it. One man gave it up; another took it; no one could do anything with it, and they all went away ruined (hear). I hope I am not fatiguing the house (hear, hear, and a laugh). I began farming much in the same way as my predecessors had done, and the consequence was that in the first year I lost 200*l*. Sir, I began to think this was very bad farming (great laughter). I looked about me, and I saw a poor man, a neighbour of mine, who had a piece of land of 10 acres, who had always good crops, and who contrived to keep his land dry. I went to him and said, "Well, old boy (roars of laughter), how is it that you, who have no capital at all—you, who have only a little pony, your wife, and yourself (long-continued laughter), manage to have such good crops as you do?" In reply to my question he said, "If you will follow my advice you will have good crops too. Cleanse your ditches, level your banks, and drain your land well." I acted under his directions in managing my land, and the next year, in place of four or five quarters of oats, which was the utmost which the land had ever borne before, I had eleven quarters of oats to the acre (loud cheers). I went on under his advice, and now, instead of the land belonging to me lying fallow during the winter, as is the case with nearly all my neighbours, all my land with the exception of three acres, has crops upon it. If hon. gentlemen will do the same as I have done, they will, I doubt not, succeed equally well. "Mr. Speaker," continued the hon. and gallant member, "I have taken up arguments different from those used by others, because the question before the house was so completely worn out (hear, hear), that I thought it necessary to get up something fresh (a laugh), and to enlighten the agricultural mind" (cheers, and renewed laughter, in the midst of which the hon. and gallant member resumed his seat).

Mr. SHAW admitted Lord Morpeth's taunt, that the agricultural party were without a leader and without a head. It could not be otherwise, for they had just been abandoned by their "leaders." But though disorganised, without a plan, unofficered, and undisciplined, they were still undismayed. They were not so ignorant of the writings of Adam Smith, Ricardo, Macculloch, and all that class of men, as was imputed to them. But they knew something more; and, though admitting that there was much "abstract" truth in Free Trade views, there was a wisdom taught by experience, in relation to social happiness, which it was neither safe nor honest to discard. He criticised the conduct of the Government as exhibiting instability of mind, infirmity of purpose, political tergiversation, and Cabinet juggle; and contrasted Sir Robert Peel disavantageously with M. Guizot, whose decision of character ruled the destinies of France. If Sir Robert Peel, two years hence, proposed a repeal of the union with Ireland, in obedience to popular clamour, it would not surprise him more than two years ago would have been the anticipation of the repeal of the Corn Laws. At all events, the repeal of the Corn Laws would take away from the maintainers of the union in Ireland the argument that this country was the best market for their produce. Sir Robert Peel now committed suicide on his own power with the very weapon with which he had slain the political existence of Lord John Russell: he who, at the head of a powerful and united party, drove the noble lord from office, was now supplicating him to spare his Government. He advised the First Lord of the Treasury, quoting his word on a former occasion, not to throw the present Corn Law into the lottery of legislation, in the vain hope of drawing a better.

Mr. BRIGHT said that he had hoped when the hon. member for Bristol moved his amendment that they were to have the question of protection discussed, that when the right honourable baronet moved that proposition which had been so often and so ably brought

forward by his honourable friend the member for Wolverhampton, they were to have the whole question fairly gone into, as being that about which the country really cared; for he could assure honourable gentlemen opposite that they never committed a greater mistake than in imagining that the great body of the people cared one farthing about the quarrel in the great Conservative party (Opposition cheers). He had been an attentive listener during the debate, and had endeavoured to find out any reasons which might be alleged in favour of agricultural protection. The honourable member for the University of Dublin would forgive him if he did not attempt any answer to his speech (protection cheering), as, if he was not mistaken, this was a discussion on the merits of protection, and on these merits the hon. gentleman had said not one syllable (Opposition cheering). He passed, then, to the speeches of those members who had attempted to grapple with the question. The hon. member for Bristol said that the farmers of England would not consent to sell cheap corn and buy dear sugar (hear, hear), and the honourable member for Lincolnshire had stated at a meeting lately held in Willis's Rooms that the colonies of England had been protected at a heavy expense to the English farmer (hear, hear). From this he gathered it to be the opinion of honourable gentlemen opposite that it was not fair to give protection to the colonial sugar grower if protection be withdrawn from the British grower of corn (hear, hear, and cheers). He admitted it most freely. If this great inroad were to be made in protection, the principle must be extended to all—manufacturers, agriculturists, and colonists. If, then, it were unfair to protect sugar and not corn, it must be clear that if there be any industry to which the Government did not now afford protection, that the protection which it extended to agriculture must be unjust to the class pursuing the unprotected branch of industry. He supposed they would not deny that (cheers). Well, he was then in some sense the representative of one of the largest trades carried on in this country, a trade to which no gentlemen on the opposite side had ever proposed to extend the protection of legislative enactments. Since he had entered the house a proposition had been made to remove restrictions on the export of machinery—much of it used in the trade referred to. Every honourable member connected with that trade had voted for it (cheers). Last year it was proposed to sweep away the protective duty of ten per cent. upon cotton yarn. Every honourable member connected with the trade voted for the proposition (cheers). And there was now not a person in any way interested in the business who did not regret that the right hon. baronet had not swept away every vestige of protection (cheers). But he would not talk of the cotton and woollen trades; he would come to that great branch of industry of which hon. members opposite talked so much and appeared to know so little (laughter, and oh, oh). He had passed by the door of the Central Office of the Protection Society the other day, and certainly the place did look what was generally called "seedy" (laughter), and very forlorn. There was not the least appearance of business, but he observed a handsome brass plate on the door, marked, "Central Society for the Protection of Agriculture and Native Industry" (laughter). Now, what was this native industry they were so anxious to protect? Did they recollect that in 1842 his honourable friend, the member for Stockport (Mr. Cobden), proposed that before they proceeded to make a law to raise the price of bread, it was becoming to ascertain whether it was possible to make a law to raise the rate of wages? What, on that occasion, was your answer? That spinners and weavers did not understand political economy—that it had long ago been settled that wages could not be raised by Act of Parliament. They had said so, and within an hour of the declaration they proceeded to make a law for the express purpose of raising the price of wheat which they had to sell—the produce of their own estates (cheers, and cries of Oh, oh). They would propose prohibition, if they dared and thought it safe (cheers, and cries of No, no). They did not mind the starving of an operative in Lancashire or a labourer in Wiltshire. To a certain point they seemed determined to carry prohibition (oh, oh). The population was increasing—the competition for food increasing, and therefore they hoped, as they said, that there would be an increase of profits to their farmers—a hope which the public was ill-natured enough to translate into a hearty aspiration for an increase of rents to themselves. But now, where was the protection to the labourer? He had heard a clergyman of the church of England say, that the protection of the labourer was the Poor Law. But it was as much the protection of the landlord. If the latter became poor he would betake himself to the union (oh, oh). But what protection had the labourer akin to the protection which the Corn Laws gave the landowner? This house, within the memory of many of those who now sat in it, had passed no law for the purpose of giving employment to the labourer, or raising the rate of his wages. The hon. member—the senior member, he believed, for Wiltshire (Mr. Bennett), at a meeting held the other day in his county, made a long speech to the farmers. He reviewed the condition of the agriculturists in this happy land, and concluded by stating that, had he to come into the world again—had his life to be lived over again—he knew no condition which he would choose with so much contentment—with so much pleasure as the humble lot of an agricultural labourer (laughter). He (Mr. Bright), really felt some delicacy (laughter) in saying anything which could imply a doubt of the sincerity of the hon. gentleman. He was older than he (Mr. Bright), he had lived among agricultural labourers all his days, and he ought to know something of their condition. However, after all, he would take the opinion of the agricultural labourers themselves upon the point, rather than that of the hon. member, landowner in Wiltshire though he

was. Now, it happened that there was a meeting of peasantry, at which the matter was debated the other night, at Goatacre. He was aware that some hon. members had stated that that meeting was got up by the League (protectionist cheers). And he must say that the omnipresence of the League had been so impressed upon hon. gentlemen, that if he stated that the League had nothing to do with the Goatacre meeting, he believed that some of them would go away with the impression that, nevertheless, it had been concerned in it (ironical cheering from the protectionists). But there had been a second meeting at a place called Bremhill, at which the chair was taken by a labourer named John Gringell. He knew not whether this poor fellow was a pattern labourer of Wiltshire; but he told his auditory, "I be protected, but I be starving" (hear, hear, and cheers). And it was not in Wiltshire alone that such scenes were passing. Since he had come into the house a paper had been put into his hand by his honourable friend the member for Bolton, drawn up by a most respectable person at Tiverton, and containing accounts of the circumstances of twenty-eight families—the number of each family, and the wages earned by its members. And how much did these wages amount to? Why, 7*s.* a-week. These men—with wives, with five, or six, or seven children each—lived in miserable huts, and earned 7*s.* a week (loud cheers from the Opposition, and cries of "oh," from the protectionists). The honourable member for Northamptonshire said that the labourers there had 12*s.* a week. He asked him whether it was protection that had given the labourer in Wiltshire 7*s.* a week, and whether the peasant there had protection commensurate with that which Parliament had accorded to the owners of the soil (hear)? The hon. member for Northampton was very pathetic on the subject of the coachmakers, who he contended would be thrown out of employment by the change in the tariff; but if the hon. member would go to Southampton, and speak to Mr. Andrews, the great coach-builder there, he would be told that at this moment he was constructing carriages to go to almost every part of Europe (hear, hear). Why, he would not insult his countrymen as some honourable gentlemen did. He would not believe that they were so inferior in skill and enterprise that they could be beaten on all hands—by the French in matters of taste, or by the serf-cultivator in Poland (cheers). But honourable members persisted in expressing great horror at the consequences of the repeal of the Corn Laws. They were continually talking of an inundation of wheat. Now, we had different sorts of inundations. There were actual inundations of water—there were talked-of inundations of wheat; but it was the remark of an acute and distinguished writer on the subject, that rivers of wheat were as rare as rivers of gold. No country produced much more corn than was necessary for its own wants, and there was nothing in the circumstances of any foreign nation, which could make it a formidable rival to the agriculture of this country. They grew upon every acre in England a larger quantity of corn than was grown on a corresponding space in any country in the world (hear). There could be no doubt of the fact, and as little of the other fact, that of the produce of the land the English labourer got less for his share than fell to the lot of the actual tiller of the soil in any other country whatever (loud cheers, met by protectionist counter-cheering, and cries of Oh, oh). Why, if their prices were so much higher, as they said they were, and the wages they gave but 7*s.* a-week, and if each of their acres grew nearly twice as much as any other acres in the world, how could any conclusion be come to other than that the labourers of England received a smaller share of the produce of their toil than the peasantry of any other country in the world (cheers). Then look to the advantages by which the landowners were assisted. They possessed more manure, they had better and cheaper implements, they had better roads, and markets beyond comparison more valuable, and yet they complained of not being able to get on without protection (hear, hear). It was protection which had damaged them—they had protected their farmers into a state of decrepitude; and now, when a stimulus was to be applied, they trembled for the consequences. How did matters at present stand? Take the county of Cheshire. There they found a high aristocracy and a poor tenantry. Land of fair quality was most wretchedly cultivated—in fact, there were all the elements for the production of a mass of pauperism as great as that in the southern and western counties, had it not been for the proximity of Lancashire. It was not that the people of Cheshire were inferior to their Lancashire neighbours; but that an unfortunate system of legislation had destroyed the vitality of agriculture. The hon. member for Berkshire complained of the burden of poor-rates on the land. He (Mr. Bright) contended that the tenant farmers paid no poor-rate whatever on the capital they employed in farming. Those opposite complained that he (Mr. Bright) did not pay poor-rate on the machinery in his mill, and his stock in trade. Well, they could not wish to mete out another measure to the manufacturers from that which they applied to themselves. Let them see how this plan of taxation would work. The hon. member may have a tenant who had some thousands wherewith to cultivate his land; that tenant paid no poor-rate on his household furniture, on his stock, his growing crops, or his cattle, or his horses. Not a farthing poor-rate did he pay on all these things, nor on any portion of his capital, unless by permanent improvements it became incorporated with the land. Was that true or not? Now, if he (Mr. Bright) was obliged to pay on his machinery, it was quite clear the tenant farmers must pay on their stock (cheers). Such a system would be found totally impracticable, and as it would work infinitely greater injustice than service, he advised the honourable member for Berkshire to say nothing more about it (loud cheers).

Mr. PALMER : I only quoted Sir R. Peel's speech on that topic.

Mr. BRIGHT : Yes, but you used the right honourable gentleman's argument as unanswerable at the present time (hear, hear). There was another burden on land about which they heard nothing in that debate, and that was the burden of the game ("oh," from Col. Sibthorp and others). There were two sons of the Duke of Rutland had spoken in that debate, and were about to vote against the proposition of Government. Now, in 1844, that noble duke paid 915*l.* for game damage on 389 acres of land (an ironical cry of "hear" from the protectionists). Now, he asked honourable gentlemen how they could sanction a law which prevented a full supply of food being furnished to a starving people, and at the same time destroy large quantities of food by game, kept solely for their own gratification and amusement (cheers)? I believe, in reality (said the honourable gentleman), you are not afraid of a repeal of the Corn Laws. You are angry with the Government, but you are not afraid of protection being abolished. In this house and out of it you have said repeatedly "that if the Corn Laws were abolished the land would be neglected, that no rent could be paid by the tenants (an assurance some of you will be reminded of before 12 months elapse), the labourer would starve, the interest of the national debt would not be paid, that there would be no revenue, that a proud aristocracy would be lowered, that the church, and therefore Christianity, would be endangered, that the Crown itself would be insecure, and that the sun of England (whatever that means) would set for ever" (laughter and cheering). This is but a short list of the calamities that were to come upon the country. Now do you adhere to the statement, or are you anxious to repudiate it (hear, hear)? You exhibit no alarm, you show no resistance. You say that seven-ninths of the population are connected with agriculture, and that all connected with agriculture are in favour of protection; and yet, though all the calamities I have enumerated have been predicted by their leaders and guides, there is not the smallest prospect of insurrection (laughter). And the right honourable Secretary for the Home Department assures us that for the last twelve months not even the sound of sedition has been heard within the precincts of the Home-office (cheers and laughter). But you don't believe that any such dread calamities are at hand. The people don't believe it. Where are your public meetings? There was a meeting in Dorsetshire of 1500 persons (hear, hear, from the protectionists). I myself addressed 3000 in that county, and in that same field, and presented their petition for total abolition (cheers). But where else have you held meetings? Did you see the Lancashire petition with 300,000 signatures? Did you see the petitions of the metropolitan members signed by 400,000? And honourable gentlemen opposite came down with their 150 petitions, each with 12 or 18 signatures to each petition. Where is public opinion in your favour? Look to the public press. All the newspapers which have the widest circulation are almost without exception in favour of the Government proposal. The public laugh at your predictions, and you yourselves disbelieve them. We have heard of men going merrily to battle; there is the chance of escape, and the hope of such renown as successful battle gives; we have even heard of some reckless and daring criminals who have joked upon the scaffold; but never have we seen men sliding into the unfathomable abyss of ruin with faces so jovial and complacent as those of the honourable protectionists opposite (loud laughter from both sides). You say the right honourable baronet is a traitor. It would ill become me to attempt his defence after the speech which he delivered last night (loud cheers from the Opposition)—a speech I will venture to say more powerful and more to be admired than any speech which has been delivered in this house within the memory of any member of it (hear, and cheers again). I watched the right honourable baronet as he went home last night, and for the first time I envied him his feelings (cheering). That speech has been circulated by scores of thousands throughout this kingdom, and is speeding to every part of the world, and wherever there is a man who loves justice, and wherever there is a suffering creature whom you have trampled under foot, that speech will give joy to the heart of the one, and hope to the breast of the other (loud cheers). You chose the right honourable baronet—why? Because he was the ablest man of the party. You always said so, and you will not deny it now. Why was he the ablest? Because he had great experience, profound attainments, and, as you have always said, an honest regard for the good of the country. You placed him in office. When a man is in office he is not the same man that he is as when in opposition (laughter). The present generation, or posterity, does not deal as mildly with men in Government as with those in opposition. There are such things as the responsibilities of office (cheers). Look at the population of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and ask yourselves whether, with all your valour, and although you talk of raising the standard of protection, and cry "Down with the Anti-Corn-Law League," there are not men in your ranks (and I defy them), who will take that bench (the Treasury) pledged to a maintenance of this law (loud cheers)? The right honourable baronet took the only honourable course (a laugh from the protectionists). He resigned. He told you by that act "I can't any longer do what you want—I can't defend your cause." The right honourable baronet, no longer your minister, came back the minister of the Sovereign and of the people, and not the advocate of a class who placed him at their head for their own special and private objects (cheers). The right hon. gentleman has not used you badly. He offered no obstruction to your taking office (hear, hear, from Sir R. Peel). The right hon. gentleman stated distinctly that

he had not advised the Sovereign to send for Lord John Russell, but that he left it to his Sovereign to use her own discretion as to the party to be selected for her minister. It would be presumptuous in me to assume the considerations that swayed the decision of the Sovereign, but I doubt not there entered into her mind the question, "Shall I select for office men pledged to uphold the present Corn Laws?" and the Sovereign doubtless felt that to have done so would have jeopardised the aristocracy, and have done a thousand times more damage to your institutions than the instantaneous sweeping away of every vestige of the system of protection (loud cheers). What sort of Government would you have made? There is a programme of your administration published this morning in the *Times* (a laugh). There is the hon. member for Somersetshire at the Board of Trade. I don't say that all the mills of Lancashire would have shut up at the announcement, but certainly either irrepressible laughter or general consternation must have followed in all the trading districts. Lord Stanley was to have been a leading man in your Government (loud cheers from the Protectionists). Now, recollect the noble lord's geography as to a Russian province (a laugh). The hon. member for Norfolk, who sits at the table, challenged my hon. friend, the member for Stockport to a discussion, at St. Andrew's Hall, Norwich, and in the courtly language of the Central Society he predicted there would be a "shindy." Well, the hon. gentleman proposed certain resolutions on principles which he said were advocated by Henry Clay, once president of the United States. Well, if one member of your cabinet knows so little of geography, and another so little of history, I am afraid your rule over the destinies of the empire would not be a very brilliant one (cheers). You were, too, to have the Duke of Richmond, remarkable for the freedom of his assertions. That noble duke said last week that my honourable friend the member for Stockport got thirty thousand pounds a week by his business, and that one of his own tenants paid a larger amount of poor-rates than all the Leaguers put together. That may be true; but if it is it says little for protection when one tenant of its greatest advocate is obliged to pay so much to the poor-rate of his parish. But what sort of Government would Lord Stanley, the honourable member for Norfolk, and the Duke of Richmond have formed? I am quite sure of one thing, that in all my public speaking, of which so much has been said elsewhere, I never said anything so disastrous to the aristocracy, and especially to the order of dukes, as has been said by the Duke of Richmond during the last four months (cries of hear, hear, from the Opposition, and "oh, oh," from Colonel Sibthorp and others). Yes: I refer to his exaggerated statements, to charges against men from whom he differed, to such statements as he made last night, "that it would be easy to send itinerant agitators in the manufacturing districts to show that cotton would burn as well as stacks" (loud cheers). And yet for men capable of such things you profess yourselves anxious to remove the statesmen who now occupy the Treasury benches? You know the country would not tolerate such a Government a week (Opposition cheers). I do not believe that even you are anxious to place the protectionists in office; but you wish to be avenged on those who have forsaken the obligations of party, in order to obey the call of a great country, imploring them to work out its commercial deliverance (cheers). I was going to make an observation to the honourable baronet, the member for Oxford, if he had not left the house: I fear the honourable baronet has forsaken his usual associates in politics—the Bishops (oh, and cheers). Henceforth I shall doubt his orthodoxy if he vote against the Government when all the Bishops are about to vote with them (cries of Oh, oh). Would any gentleman dare to say that when there is the intensest suffering in your counties, and when famine is at hand in Ireland, any one dignitary of a Christian church would dare to give a vote for preventing the opening of the ports, and allowing a supply of food to a starving people? The hon. baronet laments the breaking up of a great party. I doubt if the people of England will regret it. But the hon. baronet need not despair; while there is wrong to support, there will be a wrong party; while there is an abuse left, the hon. baronet will have an opportunity to defend it; so long as there is an imposition, civil or ecclesiastical, he may throw over it the shield of the constituency he represents—a constituency which, from the passing of the Oxford decree, in 1683, to this hour, has demonstrated that the minutest acquaintance with books is compatible with the profoundest ignorance of men (loud cheers). Now, as to the measure before the house, I hesitate not to say that it is a great measure, and does great credit to the Government (loud cheers). But great measures, like great pictures, are sometimes tarnished by defects, and I believe it is a serious defect in this measure that it does not propose an immediate abolition (cheers). I know that the tenant farmers in many districts prefer it to a gradual repeal. I ask for it not only because there is no alarm in the country, and men are giving higher prices for their farms, even now, when the Government proposition is on the table of the house, but on this ground, that we have always advocated the repeal of the Corn Laws, because they were a defiance of the laws of God, and an odious tyranny on our fellow men. If the emergency is so great as to justify the Government in going so far, it pronounces their condemnation if they stop where they are. If there be suffering throughout England, and a pending famine in Ireland (and no man is insane enough to deny it), the Government can never defend the duty of from 4*s.* to 10*s.* for three years on the importation of food (hear). Honourable gentlemen say the emergency is not great; if my honourable friend, the member for Manchester, had been allowed to obtain complete statistics of our agriculture, he might have known exactly how we stand;

but as some will not believe in a flood while it drowns only those who dwell in cellars, others will not give credit to the existence of famine until it reaches Belgrave-square (hear, and cheers). The hon. member for Hertford and the noble lord who sits for Warwickshire, made an attack on the League because they were said to purchase votes in the counties. I recommend them to read the decision of the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. He says it is a course not only legal but laudable (cheers). If there be any member of this house who fears that the incompleteness of the Reform Bill may give cause to agitation, it must be a matter of rejoicing to him that a mode has been discovered by which tens of thousands of honest, industrious, and meritorious artisans have brought or may bring themselves within the pale of the constitution (hear, and cheers). But not a farthing have the Anti-Corn-Law League given for qualifications. We merely ask those who are of Free Trade principles to qualify for counties if they have the means of doing so. A noble lord elsewhere has called on the Government to put down that proceeding. I am not afraid that his advice will be taken. The League is expressly framed for the purpose of procuring the total and immediate abolition of the Corn Laws, and when that abolition is effected, its organisation will be instantaneously dissolved—but not till then (Opposition cheers). I doubt not that the class of men who through its instrumentality may obtain the franchise will use it at least as independently as the tenant farmers, and as much for the good of their country (hear, hear). I ask the hon. members opposite, representing pocket boroughs and nomination counties, what they imagine their countrymen will think of the course they are now pursuing; when, if there be truth in the minister—if there be truth in the statements of the hon. member for Cork, and of all those who had any opportunity of being acquainted with the facts, there was a terrible calamity impending over the country for which somebody must be responsible (cheers)? The Government say they will not take that responsibility upon their shoulders, and sooner than do so, they risk everything to remove it, and ask this house to do that which common justice at all times requires, but which necessity now demands (hear, hear, and cheers). I ask you if you think that the gratification of your vengeance against the minister will be held as any excuse for the course you are now pursuing by your country and by posterity? Do you believe it will? You know that your Irish fellow-subjects are fainting, dying of hunger,—that millions are almost foodless, and are driving on to despair. Should you succeed in breaking up the Government,—in dissolving Parliament,—in rejecting a great and wise and most necessary measure,—how glorious, how compensating will be your reward, when you reflect that by your factious conduct you have been successful in bringing misery and ruin upon multitudes of the most defenceless of your countrymen! (The hon. gent. resumed his seat amid loud cheers).

Mr. HUDSON said he was compelled to claim the indulgence of the house on the present occasion, for though it was true he not unfrequently addressed public meetings, he felt he was now about to speak on a question of no ordinary importance, before a house with the forms of which he was imperfectly acquainted. He was not returned from any pocket or nomination borough (protectionist cheering). He came there as independently as the honourable member for Durham (renewed cheering), and he could return to his constituency with as much consistency and honesty of purpose as that honourable gentleman, or any honourable member in that house (cheers). As to the question now before them, feeling its great and paramount importance, he had deeply reflected and thought upon it in its various bearings. He had listened to the speeches and arguments of the right honourable baronet and gentlemen opposite, and he had read and thought upon the subject as a man who was interested—and justly interested—in the welfare of his fellow-men (hear, hear). With the deepest attention he had listened to the speeches of the right honourable baronet, but he confessed he saw nothing in the arguments therein adduced to alter his firm conviction that the opinions he entertained, when first he addressed the electors of Sunderland, were not based on sound and constitutional principles. The right honourable baronet had grounded this measure on the failure of an article of home-grown food—but we had, in his (Mr. Hudson's) opinion, nothing whatever to do with an unfortunate calamity of that nature. No man more sympathised with the persons who had fallen under it than he did—no man had heard the right hon. baronet with greater feelings of regret and distress, or with a greater anxiety to alleviate the sufferings of the sister country than he did; but he contended that the house could not be called upon to legislate so extensively as the present measure; because, if a practical calamity, however sudden its effect, these effects might be met by employing the executive powers conferred by the constitution. He did not think that the right hon. baronet had treated the party to which he had belonged with that fairness which they had a right to expect (protection cheers). He had appealed to the distress which might soon be feared as the grounds for this measure, and had drawn a terrible picture of its effects, to induce Parliament to concur in this measure. He (Mr. Hudson) thought a far different course should be adopted, and believed, if the danger of want were so great; the best way to provide for it would be by a public subscription. If the emergency were so great and pressing as it was said to be, why did not Government come down at once, and propose to Parliament some measure for immediate relief? The feelings of the house had been influenced by the pictures of harrowing distress; and if those statements were correct, he called on the right hon. baronet and the executive Government to take up the matter at once, and to provide instant measures of relief. Such mea-

tures would, he was sure, be favourably received by all parties, and he had no doubt honourable gentlemen opposite would readily concur in giving their support. He objected, on public grounds, to such extensive legislation, to meet a want which was merely temporary, and thought it would have been much better to have made a suitable motion in the House for its relief, than to have introduced such a measure as that before them. As to the question, whether or not a repeal of the Corn Laws was advisable, he admitted there was room for the greatest possible discussion, but in that discussion, he contended, they ought not to be encumbered by the consideration of other topics. The right hon. baronet grounded his first appeal to the House for the removal of the present system of Corn Laws, on the good effect resulting from the tariff and the other commercial changes of the year 1842. He had since been compelled to abandon that position, and go back to 1825, for he found his argument untenable, and discovered that other measures had contributed to the prosperity of the country, besides the alteration in the tariff (hear, hear). The first interview he (Mr. Hudson) had with Her Majesty's Government resulted from his desire to effect the continuance of a railway between England and Scotland, which, owing to the great depression existing in this country from the extensive importation of foreign corn could not be carried on. From 1839 to 1842, in consequence of that, the balance of trade had been decidedly against this country, and the result was, it was utterly impossible to raise any fund for the execution of the works. In his anxiety to carry out that system, which would, he believed, confer greater benefits on the country than any other measures the right honourable baronet would propose, he had gone about begging from company to company, for the purpose of procuring a guarantee of 6 per cent. to the promoters of the new line, and that was the period of her Majesty's Government during which the right hon. baronet maintained there was great prosperity (hear). In his exultation at the supposed success of his measure the right hon. baronet, on the second night he addressed them, forgot how much he was indebted for the prosperity he mentioned to the large production of wheat at home (hear, hear, from Sir R. Peel). It was all very well for the right hon. baronet to say "hear hear," but he could not join in his exultation unless it appeared that the prosperity of that period was produced during an importation of foreign corn. The fact was, the prosperity of the country, and the ease of the monetary system at that time, was not owing to the cheapness of corn, nor the result of altered tariffs, but entirely arose from the plentiful produce of wheat and other grain at home, and from the employment of capital throughout the country. The right honourable baronet proposed to reduce the duty on shoes, on papers, and other articles of produce. Did not the matter resolve itself, then, into a question of labour? He believed that the labourers here could not contend with labour from abroad. The shoemaker was required to pay poor-rates, county-rates, and other charges which did not affect the labour of the foreigner. He had taken some pains to ascertain what would be the probable price of wheat under the present bill; he had had large dealings with the interest more immediately affected, and had felt that it would not be right to offer an opinion on the subject without consulting many practical men. He recollected having a corn speculation in 1837, and he was enabled to deliver wheat in the ports of this country, all charges paid, at 25s. a quarter, weighing 61½ pounds. What he had done in 1837, why should he not do in 1849 (hear, hear)? Before they entered on a measure of this importance, affecting such vital interests, they ought to have been furnished with information as to the probable price at which corn could be delivered. If he took a reduction in price of 10s. as the probable effect of a Free Trade in corn, he thought he should not be taking an unfair view of the matter, or one not borne out by the information which he had received. He would assume that the average price of corn in this country under the new bill would be from 35s. to 40s. He should rejoice in its success, but he could not refuse to communicate to that house the information he had received from various quarters and from practical sources. He would like to ask the right hon. member for Wiltshire, who had spoken of the distress prevailing amongst agriculturists, and declared at the same time that he thought protection was of no benefit to agriculture, if he thought that with the taxes required to pay the interest of the national debt and other charges, the farmers would be better off at the price of 35s. to 40s. a quarter than at the present rates (hear)? Why, it appeared to him to be mockery and an attempt to deceive. The right honourable member had talked of distress in the agricultural districts—he wished the right hon. member would come into Yorkshire, as another gentleman had wished him to come into Northamptonshire, and the right hon. member would see no distress. As to its being a matter of rent, he believed firmly and honestly that it was no such matter. If the land were let without rent, he believed the farmer would not be able to cultivate it (hear, and a laugh). The right hon. baronet said the farmers of England would be as well off as before, and that he would not make any reduction in the charges of the income tax. He (Mr. Hudson) had got a paper called *THE LEAGUE*, which had ventured an opinion as to what would be the probable result of the operation of this bill. In 1849 they thought the bill might work exceedingly well; but they went on to state their opinion that it was at least equally probable that the 1st of February, 1849, might be the commencement of a period of unexampled distress and ruin to the whole class of farmers, re-acting with fearful weight on the entire community. That was the opinion expressed by persons who had been the agitators of this question. He was not prepared, on the experiments of the moment, to recall the opinions he had entertained for many years. He was not prepared, because the right hon. baronet had changed his opinions, he believed most

unsatisfactorily to every person, to throw over those principles under which this country had risen to a height of prosperity unparalleled in the world. The effect of the Government proposal would be to throw large quantities of land out of cultivation. Afterwards for a time we might revel in low prices; no doubt there would be abundance; but the manufacturer would not derive the benefit he anticipated, for he would lose his best customer—the home customer (hear). That when a bad harvest came, we should have high prices, and the right hon. baronet would have to come down to the House with some proposal to give food to the people. He believed in his conscience that the measure would be ruinous to the best interests of the country, and it ought not to be forced without an appeal to the constituency. (Hear, hear.) If Ireland were in a position of distress and difficulty which rendered interference in her behalf, on the part of the legislature, necessary, let some temporary measure of relief be introduced by all means, but let not the whole commercial system of this country be subverted, and the experience of many years be totally disregarded, in order to meet the pressure of a temporary calamity. (Hear, hear.) He felt that he was discharging his duty to his constituents, and the country at large, by opposing the measure which had been introduced under the patronage of the right hon. baronet at the head of Her Majesty's Government. (Hear, hear.)

Lord DUNCAN moved that the debate be adjourned till Thursday next.—Motion carried.

* * For Remainder of Debate see our Regular Paper.

LEAGUE REGISTRATION.—The registration movement, so far from having been checked by the prospects of speedy success in the League movement, seems but to gather strength. At a meeting of the Freeholders' Building Society, held in the Free Trade Hall on Wednesday night, the extraordinary number of 1300 new shares were taken up by persons resident in various parts of the country, making a total of 5200 shares engaged in two months; in other words, 5200 new freeholds, each giving a county vote, are bespoken! The meeting presented an extraordinary scene, upwards of 50 money stewards being engaged in racing about the immense hall for more than two hours and a half to receive the subscriptions of members. No less than 250 gentlemen in Liverpool have bought qualifications in South Cheshire, 125 in Oldham, 81 in Ashton, 60 in Rochdale, 60 in Manchester, 25 in Stockport, 24 in Congleton, 20 in Chester, 20 in Northwich, 18 in Leek (Staffordshire), 10 in Nantwich, 10 in Bury, 9 in Macclesfield, 6 in Sandbach, 4 in York, and 4 in Holmes Chapel—total, 726! These are independent of many new qualifications obtained by Free Traders in the agricultural districts of Cheshire. It will be seen that the plan is to purchase qualifications, not for the county alone in which the purchaser is resident, but to give the register "a lift" wherever it can be done with most effect. All the League does is to receive lists of properties for sale giving a vote, and by this means the money is so well laid out that the purchaser makes a good investment, generally ensuring a return of 6 or 7 per cent.

FORTY SHILLING FREEHOLDS.—The 30th Jan. is now past, and no freeholds, hereafter purchased, will be available for the register of 1846. Now, therefore, is a fitting time to report the issue of the effort that has been made in Newcastle and Gateshead, since the great Free Trade meeting of the 5th inst. to strengthen the Anti-Corn-Law cause in North Durham and North and South Northumberland. North Northumberland was not thought of in the first instance; but an application from Edinburgh, indicating the anxiety of Scottish Free Traders to "come over and help them," induced the committee on the Tyne to extend their operations farther than they had originally intended. The result is, that 73 freeholds have been conveyed to Free Traders residing in Edinburgh, Dundee, and other places, at an expense to the purchasers of 2457*l.*, exclusive of the cost of conveyance, which also falls on the newly made Northumberland freeholders. In South Northumberland 123 freeholds have been purchased, and 118 in Durham. The total number in the three divisions is 314, North, and the total cost nearly 10,000*l.* Lord Brougham's spiteful speech of the 22d inst. justifies us in repeating (although the repetition is, perhaps, superfluous), that not a penny of the expense has been borne by the League. The new freeholders have themselves provided the purchase money.—*Observer.*

ORIGIN OF THE LEAGUE.—In consequence of the reference in the *Daily News*, and by Lord Radnor in the House of Lords, to the seven persons who originated the movement which gave rise to the National Anti-Corn-Law League, we have had letters from various parts of the kingdom requesting us to name the individuals. They were, Edward Baxter (now of Belfast), W. A. Cunningham, Andrew Dalziel, Jas. Howie (now of Edinburgh), James Leslie, Archibald Prentice, and Philip Thomson. At the second meeting of the association, although above 50 persons had given in their subscriptions, there was again an attendance of seven, the place of Mr. Baxter, who was absent, having been taken by Mr. William Rawson, now the Treasurer of the League. Mr. Rawson was the first Englishman who joined the association. Of the original seven, six were natives of Scotland, and one of Ireland. The grand impulse to the movement was given when Mr. Cobden, who was abroad at the time of its origination, joined it. The first person who subscribed more than 5*s.* was Mr. Robert Stuart, now one of the magistrates for the borough, who, on being applied to, said, "What is the use of subscribing 5*s.*? Put me down for 10*l.*"

DANIEL O'CONNELL.—The London correspondent of the *Liverpool Chronicle* says:—"Daniel O'Connell is breaking up; he no longer treads the ground firmly, and walks fast, with carriage *debonnaire*. 'Poor Dan's a-cold,' and creeps along with chin resting on breast bone, or would rest there, but for the ample folds which pillow it up and keep him warm. I never saw such a change in a human being as that which O'Connell presented yesterday in the Strand, compared with the burly and active man of last year. Unable to creep—there is no other word for it—he hailed a cab, or, rather, I should say, the cabman, seeing the enfeebled state of the old man, hailed the great Liberator, who immediately groped into the vehicle with a sigh."

A musician, in giving notice of an intended concert at Cleveland, Ohio, said, "A variety of songs may be expected, too tedious to mention."

THE NEW JOHN GILPIN.

SHOWING HOW PEEL WENT FURTHER THAN HE INTENDED, AND CAME SAFE HOME AGAIN.

(From Punch.)

Sir Robert was a Minister

Of credit and renown;
And eke, by virtue of his place,
Adviser to the Crown.

Now Richard Cobden said to him,
"Protected Corn has been
Thro' thrice ten tedious years since eight-
Een hundred and fifteen.

"Yet landlords and eke tenants say
Of profits they despair;
Despite Protection, growing corn
Is a losing affair.

"There's Mr. Bright, and there's myself,
And Mr. Fox make three;
We've raised a League, and you must ride
(As Ben says) after we."

Said Peel, "Your doctrines I admire,
But I am only one;
Still, if the Duke will stick to me,
I'll try what can be done.

"I am a Premier stout and bold,
As all my party know;
And my good friends in Manchester
Will lend their horse to go."

Now see him in his new Tariff,
On Free Trade—noble steed!
Full slowly taking duties off,
With caution and good heed.

Then came the blight, and fears arose
We'd not have food to eat,
Free Trade, from walking, 'gan to trot,
Which shook Peel in his seat.

"Fairly and softly," Peel he cried,
But Peel he cried in vain;
The trot became a gallop soon,
And Free Trade flew again.

Then giving up, as needs he must
Who cannot help his plight,
Peel seized Free Trade, and like a shot
Flew past Protection quite.

Free Trade, who by a Tory lord
Had ne'er been cross'd before,
What thing upon his back had got
Did wonder more and more.

Away went Robert—neck or nought
Past Radical and Whig;
He little thought when he began
His bill would be so big.

The *Post* did bark, the *Herald* scream'd,
Out spoke the farmers all,
And every Duke cried out "For shame!"
As loud as he could bawl.

Away went Robert! Who but he?
Free Trade still gaining ground,
He carries weight—he'll win his race,
His horse's wind is sound.

Still, as Division-day drew near
'Twas wonderful to view
How overboard the men in place
Their old convictions threw.

Thro' manufactures of all kinds
His gambols he did play,
And came to Corn Laws at the last,
Which stood dead in the way.

The sliding scale he knock'd about
Unto his friends' dismay,
And fix'd how that at three years' end
The tax should die away.

Free Trade, not satisfied at all
To wait for three years more,
Straight gallop'd off with all his might,
As he had done before.

Away went Robert, with the League,
Still thundering at his heel,
Insisting loud in total and
Immediate repeal.

The county members in the house,
Thus seeing Robert fly,
With Lord John Russell in his rear,
Set up a hue and cry:

"Stop thief! Stop thief! a highwayman!"
Not one of them was mute,
And Ben D'Israeli and Colquhoun
Did join in the pursuit.

In the "Protection" heavy coach,
The Upper House gave chase;
But Free Trade's bottom, bone, and wind,
Made it a hopeless race.

The race is run, the race is won
With credit and renown;
Nor did Free Trade draw breath until
The Corn Laws he ran down.

Now let us sing, Long live the League,
And Cobden, long live he;
And when Peel next doth ride Free Trade,
May *Punch* his Laureat be.

SHEPTON MALET.—The League has sustained a heavy loss in the death of W. Richardson, Esq., of this place, who was one of its most zealous and active members. He has for many years past been actively engaged in disseminating the principles of Free Trade; and in this neighbourhood he stood for a long time almost alone in their defence. The day before his death, which was sudden, he was distributing the subscription books of the League among his friends, which shows how near and dear its cause was to him. He died on Saturday last, the 7th inst., and is much lamented by a large circle of friends and by his fellow-townsmen at large, for he was ever a friend to suffering humanity, and to every cause which had for its end the moral and intellectual improvement of his fellow creatures.—J. R. R.

The name of Oregon is derived from *oregano*, the Spanish word for wild marjoram, the *oregano vulgare* of Linnaeus, which grows abundantly in the Western parts of the American continent, and particularly in the disputed territory.

FREE TRADE MEETINGS.

MEETING OF THE WORKING CLASSES AT NEWBURY.

NEWBURY, FEB. 13.—The protection demonstration made a few days ago in this town has led to a counter-movement of the working-classes. This evening they assembled to the number of at least 1000 in the market-place, in compliance with the requisition of men of their own order, and with the view of making such a public manifestation of their opinions that no one could have reason to infer that they sympathised with the advocates of the existing Corn Laws. Although public meetings held entirely by the labouring population are novelties in a purely agricultural district, nothing could exceed the decorum and propriety with which the proceedings of this evening were conducted. There were no noisy interruptions, no squabbling or confusion of any sort, but the audience—humble and coarsely clad, and poor as they were—listened with earnest attention to each speaker, who addressed them.

W. GRIFFITHS, a working man, and who was selected to fill the chair, was the first spokesman. He said, fellow townsmen and labourers, you have done me the kindness in calling me to the chair, and I'll do the best in my power; but when I look around me and see so many more able, I call it a great charge. But when we see, from the length and breadth of the land, a question agitated from the humblest to the noblest, it becomes us to see if you will approve the measure brought before the Legislature (hear hear). Having called on the mover of the first resolution,

G. ADRIY said—Fellow countrymen, I appear before you to-night as a stranger almost, for I have been living in this town only six months, but my heart is glad to see there is no law to keep us from a meeting like this. We are here as a party of working men, and so you must expect nothing but working men's speeches (hear, hear). I am not here to try and instruct those superior in life, but to speak my opinion of the Corn Laws to my fellow men of my own rank. I have wondered, while living in the town, that my fellow men have been so backward in not calling a meeting like this, seeing we have so long laboured under that cursed law, the Corn Law. Perhaps before Saturday I may be asked by my professed friends my reason for being here, and to save them the trouble I will tell now my reason—because I believe the law a curse to the nation (hear, hear). I think that it is every man's duty to leave the world better than he found it; and if we go out of the world leaving the Corn Law we do not do our duty (cheers). My friends, our retired habits seldom bring men like me before the world; but it is needful to do so; and I have felt astonished that you did not come forward before, because, in the county I belong to, there has been meetings for two years, ten of which I attended; and we have had gentlemen come from Bath and other towns, who thought it no disgrace to take the chair. Now I wish some of the gentry in this county would do so, and let the labouring men tell the miserable state they are in from distress and the bread tax. If the Corn Law is for our benefit, our condition would be comparatively good; but I ask you—is your condition good (cries of "no, no")? If not, speak out, and let the protectionists sound your condition. The Corn Laws made food dear; they have impoverished the farmer, so that he cannot give wages, and instead of the land employing more hands, they have been getting fewer on it for years (hear, hear). I say, if such is the case, there must be terrible distress in the agricultural labourers—and they have been in great distress (hear, hear). The New Poor Law passed to suppress the poverty which the Corn Law created, but it failed in its effect (cheers). We must then, my friends, fix our hopes on abundance of provisions, which will be the result of Free Trade, and I hope that every one here will sign a petition for Free Trade. I watched the proceedings a week ago at the council-room. A poor humble man went and asked them, "If there were any questions to be asked?" and he was scornfully answered, "No." If there is any protectionist here to-night that wishes to ask a question, if we can answer it we will, and if we cannot we will tell him so (hear, hear). But without alluding to this county at all, I say that if we watch with a discerning eye the proceedings of the protectionists in the land, we should be able to judge of their cause even though we knew nothing of the Corn Laws. They are like a party of men going into the field to fight; but they like a gun of their own sort, not one with a straight barrel, but one that would shoot round the corner, without their being shot at again (laughter). In Wiltshire, the chairman of the agricultural protection society got one of his men, when just roused out of a sleep to sign a petition to say that he was not in distress, and the petition had been sent up to Sir R. Peel, to show that Wiltshire was well off. This man had six children besides himself and his wife, and only 7s. a-week wages; and yet he was made to sign a petition of this sort. There was 1s. of that for rent, and 1s. for firing, and 1s. for soap and other household necessities like that, and the rest was all remained for feeding and clothing himself and his family. Now, I think that at the end of six months his stomach would be able to digest a total repeal of the Corn Laws. The protectionists used to say that the labourer could fill his stomach with potatoes; but suppose this true, I ask you if he had a horse worth 30l., would he be satisfied on a long journey to give his horse coarse hay and no corn (hear, hear). It is not the quantity we want, it is the quality; and why should we not have good wholesome food like the protectionists? we could have it if it was not for the tax on it (hear). I assert, if protection it is that the farmers get, it is a very curious sort of protection in some cases. Some time ago, in a part of the country, foxes became extinct; but it was determined that fox-hunting should not be done away with; so foxes

were imported from France, and turned loose on the land; and such was the farmer's loss of poultry, that it was quite enormous (hear, hear, and laughter). Now this is the sort of protection that the landowners give. They keep up a stock of foxes for hunting, and all sorts of game, to cut up the farmer's profits. Yet the farmer was foolish enough to be led about by the landowners, like a brown bear led by an Italian through the country (cheers and laughter). I remember, in a village near my own, that I spoke something about the Corn Laws; and for what I then said I had almost to beg my life; but now it was very different, for since then the labourers had found out that it was not true, as they had been led to believe, that when bread was 9d. a gallon they were not better than now that it is 14d., even though the wages were higher. At the meeting in the council-room the other day, the protectionists said that they had high objects in view; that they would petition the House of Commons, and the House of Lords, and these were not enough, but that they would petition to the king of kings. Now, I think that, however weak my speech should be, in the ears of the protectionists, I could say nothing weaker than that (hear, hear). To think that a man could utter such a weakness as to petition the king of kings to starve the poor of the nation (hear, hear). Any one would blush to think that a land of light like England should produce a mind of such heathen darkness. I believe that Sir R. Peel had honesty about him, and that the landlords crammed him with lies, telling him that the working men were comfortable (hear, hear). Now, the scale of living was to this effect, not among the working classes, but among—first, the transported thief, the convicted thief, the suspected thief, the soldier, the able-bodied pauper, and then the independent protected labourer—or the poor white slave (hear, hear, and cries of "That's true"). If I am not mistaken, the average runs to 330 ounces of food per week to the others, while the protected labourer gets only 122 ounces (cries of Shame). Was it not enough to make the labourer a desperate man when he found that he couldn't get with working hard in so good a condition as the man who was transported. I remember on a Saturday night, about six weeks ago, not very far from this, hearing a grocer remark to some one with him, "There are not many country people here to-night; but when we look at what they get, is it a wonder that there are not many more on Saturday nights?" In the parish where I used to live, the clergyman and his lady went to a poor man's house and asked him how he was getting on; and the man told him that he was not well off. They were at the time dining on two-penny worth of bacon, and three-quarters of a gallon of bread, so the lady told them it was "delicious" living; and when they spoke of distress the parson told them that there were too many people in the world (shame, shame). Now, I ask you if it is not an awful insult to the face of God to say this? Can we suppose that God created more than he was able to provide for (cheers)? I ask you, when I came to this town, did I not, with my family, bring my wants too? The man where I buy my bread and my groceries, knows that I have. But let me have a day's work and fair wages for it, and Free Trade, and we'll spend it right merrily (cheers).

The following resolution, having been moved and seconded, was then carried unanimously:

"That this meeting is of opinion, that any duty on the importation of grain and other articles, is undesirable, and that we, therefore, are anxious to sign a petition to the House of Commons that trade shall be free."

—JACOBS, apparently from his accent, a foreign Jew, then addressed the meeting. I have been called here (he said), to do my duty, and propose a resolution to you, my fellow-workmen. The question is, whether we are to have food to eat sufficient to keep up our strength, or we should starve? The meeting is to consider whether we should have Free Trade or not; whether there should be taxes and restrictions on food, or whether we should have as much of it as we want. I am a foreigner, and know that you boast that yours is a land of liberty; but it is an easy thing to boast that you are free. I am sorry to say you are not free. Every man that is free should have the liberty of his hands and legs, his head and his body. If a man's legs are tied he is not free; and if you say that this is a free country, I deny it. You can't pay for your loaf where you will, for your sugar where you will; you must buy it from the monopolist; and if such is the case, I ask you if you are free (hear, hear). But as you have got the name of being free, and have some of the privileges, I hope that you will raise your voices, and try to break down the monopoly of corn and other food, because it ties your hands and legs, and prevents your liberty (cheers). What have the agriculturists gained by protection? If you listen to me I will tell you. Agriculture, if it is so protected, I suppose that it is the better off it. That should be the result. But if I can show that protection has been a curse on that and every other class of the people, I think it should not exist. The farm labourer has to work for 7s. a week on the average, and what then can he afford to buy? What is he likely to use? What food? What clothing, and what sort of bed? His cottage is strewn with gravel, for there was not even a brick in it. At least, there were plenty of that sort in Wiltshire. His food was principally of potatoes (hear). Now will any of the protectionists tell me that the labourer can't eat beefsteaks as well as he can do. Can't he eat good bread? I think I could eat it. If the labourer has potatoes and a little bacon, he is told that that is quite enough. In Wiltshire bread was quite a luxury, and such things as tea and sugar were never hardly seen. All the animal food they were able to procure there was the entrails and heads of pigs, whose carcases were sent to the London market, and sometimes to this town even (cries of Shame). Now I ask you is that protection? If you think me correct in this, then I call on you to speak out as Englishmen, and to destroy this tyrant of monopoly (cheers). Let us now see what the state of the labourers is in the manufacturing districts. He is able without protection to get an average of from 12s. to 16s. and 21s. wages per week. If you go to any part of the manufacturing districts on a Saturday night, the working-man will go to market, and buy a leg of mutton, or a shoulder of mutton, or ribs of beef; but how many ribs of beef or joints of mutton shall the farm labourer buy in the

year? Now, what an appalling thing it would be were Free Trade to compel a man to leave his employment of 7s. to get 15s. wages a-week (laughter). Then the protectionists say, that the land will be thrown out of use; but I deny that. It will bring more corn into the country, and not allow it to fluctuate as it at present does. It will create a spirit of commercial enterprise, and secure to every working-man the full value of his labour. Is the English labourer a lazy fellow? He wants to work; but he wants to eat, too (hear, hear). The protectionists said that the country can grow sufficient corn; but if you go and ask a friend to dinner, and calculate on so much for each person, when you sit down to a leg of mutton, and there is nothing left, then you think there is not enough. If you then get of rib of beef, and some of it remains, you then believe there has been sufficient. But when the platter is well licked, and left clean, then you think there has been a scarcity (loud laughter). Now, if this country grew enough of corn, there would be no need of corn from abroad. But in the face of the protectionists, every year thousands of quarters of foreign corn were imported into the country. Instead of some of the corn in the country being left over, we were obliged to buy every year from foreigners (cheers). Can the protectionist lady go out without being, from her shoes to her bonnet, decked out with foreign produce? Her bonnet, her shawl, her stockings, her very petticoats, may be foreign; and if it is a shame for the poor man to eat the loaf of the foreigners, why should she wear their finery (cheers)? The time has now come for you to stand up and speak out for your rights (cheers). It will be a great thing for the poor man to be able to get plenty to eat, for he will then wish to earn his food by a hard day's work. I was in Liverpool at the last election, and saw the brown loaf shown there which the labourer eats abroad. But have you got enough of white bread to eat? (Cries of "No, no.") I am not standing here to wish you to eat the black bread of the Poles; but a hungry man, who has not enough white bread to eat, if he has brown bread besides, will eat that. Now I ask you to come forward, as the times are coming to a critical point, and pray that the Parliament may repeal these laws. A resolution to the following effect being then moved and seconded, was carried unanimously:—

"That this meeting is of opinion that all restrictions on the free importation of corn is unwise, unjust, and a grievance."

G. GADD was the next speaker who addressed the meeting. He said, I was in hopes, fellow countrymen, there would be enough said without me; I neither court the smiles nor frowns of any man. Some say that they have never been at college, but I have been at Pinchbelly College, in the town of Oppression, on the side of Bread-tax-hill (laughter). We come here either for plenty or taxation. We are aware that protection has done us no good, and we are willing to have the Corn Laws abolished, to try if that will better us. Under the present laws we can't get a bellyful (hear, hear). I was at a house last week, not six miles from here, and I said, "Mrs., do you want oranges?" "No," says she, "I can't get money to buy bread. We have only had a gallon of bread all the week for myself, my husband, and nine children." "What have you lived on?" says I. "On potatoes," says she. Now is that the sort of protection we want? No. We want to tell the wrongs we are suffering, and to try for our rights. The protection meeting held last week was called on market day, when the town was full of farmers, but this has been got up by poor men in the open air, and at very short notice, and that is the difference between it and the one at the Mansion-house. If the working men are satisfied, what calls them out from their homes at this time of the night to stand here and hear their wrongs talked of. The protection people might ride about on slap-up horses, and have all the pomp they wished, but let the poor man have his rights too, for why should we be starved to keep up the pride of a few. We could buy 3 ounces of tea, 2 ounces of coffee, 8 ounces of sugar, 3lb. 8 ounces of meat, 7lb. of flour, 7 pints of ale, 1 quarter pint of brandy, and 1 ounce of tobacco, if free of corn, the Custom and excise duty at 2s. 4d., the present cost being 7s. 7d., of which 5s. 3d., was a tax on the consumer (cries of hear, hear). This country pays a smaller land-tax than any other besides. The tax on land amounts only to 2,000,000l., while that on the people amounts to 23,000,000l. I dare say a repeal of the Corn Laws will hurt the "big uns" a little. It will perhaps hurt the large farmers; but there never was such times as when the land was let in about 200 acres; and if that time came back again, it would employ a great many more hands. The present large farms of 90 and 100 acres, if they were cultivated as they ought to be, would support a much larger number of labourers. The land would not be allowed to grow thistles and weeds, as it now did, but would be made to raise corn. At present the labourer goes to his work in the morning with a little bit of bread and cold water, although God has given every herb that grows and every living thing to man for his use—free and without a tax. The farmers had been told that their lands would go out of cultivation, and that the higher the price of bread the higher were the wages. But let any man say if he has not been better off when bread was cheaper. I deny that the rate of wages rises and falls with the price of wheat. When the average price of wheat was 44s. 6d. a quarter, wages were, in Wiltshire, from 5s. to 7s. a week; in Somerset, from 7s. to 9s.; and in Dorset, from 5s. to 6s. 6d. Now, when wheat is at 50s. a quarter, when the labourer has not less than 7s. a week, was that enough for any man to work on? I see it was said at the protection meeting the other day, that the labourer was better off now than when bread was cheaper; but if he has only 7s. a-week, out of which he pays 4s. a-year, or 1s. 8d. a-week for rent, and 4s. 6d. for soap, candles, firing, clothing, &c., that leaves him only 14d. a-day for feeding himself, his wife, and family. Let us not only endeavour to get the tax from corn, but from the other necessities of life,—let us assemble and agitate for our rights, and never rest till we have equal laws and equal taxation (cheers). I went to the protection meeting the other day, and asked a great man there, who was fond of proposing bread rules for union workhouses, if I might put a question, and he answered scornfully, "No." He said the meeting was one which should be attended by labourers, yet when a poor man asks him a question he says that he has no right to an answer. A man there proposed that the malt tax should be done away with, but does the labourer ever buy malt to brew his own beer. Remove the taxes from the necessities of life, and this country will prosper, and never till then (cheers.) This speaker, concluded by moving that a petition be presented to Parliament praying for Free Trade.

—BLUNDEL seconded the motion in a speech of some length. Referring to the potato disease, he said a gentleman in the neighbourhood proposes that you should take the diseased potatoes and wash them, and then to get the grater

THE LEAGUE.

No. 127.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1846.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

THE FLAW IN THE BILL.

If there is force in plain truth plainly stated, in a strong argument strongly put, in convictions of present necessity and permanent policy, which were irresistibly strong four months ago, and which every hour's subsequent experience has overwhelmingly confirmed, Sir Robert Peel must and will relinquish the miserable device—we do not call it his, for it is not his—of the three years' sliding scale. We cannot believe in the possibility of this part of the ministerial measure finally making its way to the statute book.

He will give it up. Even if he had not told us as much, we should know, without his telling, that he is but "waiting for an excuse" to have done with it. It has become plainer and plainer, night after night, as the debate has proceeded, that he knows and feels the thing to be wrong. Not a reason—not a pretence of a reason, nor apology for a reason—has been pleaded for it. All the reasons are against it. The whole of the ministerial argument is an argument against the ministerial measure as it now stands. The ministerial case is decisively complete and strong at all other points—panoplied all over with facts and principles;—but it is ridiculously weak here; and they know it. In the admirably conclusive and vigorous defences of Free Trade principles and measures that have been made by the Government speakers during the past three weeks, the new sliding scale is left out by everybody's desire.

They talk much—and not too much—of the "emergency." They urge, with all possible earnestness and solemnity, the necessity of providing for this emergency. But they do not provide for it. If "emergency" means anything, it means OPEN PORTS; and the ports are not to be open now, but three years hence, when the emergency will, it is to be hoped, belong to history. They proclaim a famine—and they recommend a law for keeping out of the country certain supplies of food that would else come in. They quote the precedents of former famines, met, by Prime Ministers and Parliaments, with open ports—and they do not follow the precedents. They close the ports against so much of our possible available supplies of food, as cannot afford to pay the tax and leave a profit to the importer. Open ports in 1849 are their remedy for famine in 1846. To believe that Sir Robert Peel really approves of this extraordinary arrangement would be to believe him demented. Four months ago he knew better, and he has not unlearned his knowledge since then. On that first

day of November to which, of all the days of his life, he will ever look back with the most "pride and satisfaction," he judged it "necessary" to open the ports to the admission of human food. On Monday-week, he was of opinion that "the necessity which existed for the adoption of this measure on the first of November, is now, on the sixteenth of FEBRUARY, ONLY INCREASED;" and since the sixteenth of February, it has gone on increasing again. We are very sure it is not Sir Robert Peel's opinion, that the larger necessity should be met with a smaller remedial measure.

Never was a thing more preposterously and glaringly incongruous with the wants, necessities, fears, and convictions of the time, than is the proposal of a little food-tax now. If the three years' sliding scale means anything, it means that from now to the first of February, 1849, the British people will be in danger of having too much to eat. The danger, to be sure, is only of a little too much; and accordingly, the precautionary tax is little likewise. If we can but succeed in keeping out so much corn as will not bear a four-shilling or ten-shilling tax, we shall be all right. Now, we need not argue that this is a monstrously absurd fear. The ministers themselves tell us that it is monstrously absurd. The ministers themselves tell us, that the danger is all the other way—not of a little too much, but of very much too little. "Honourable gentlemen," says Sir George Clerk, "instead of indulging in any apprehension that our home-market will be inundated with foreign corn, ought to apply themselves to the consideration of this question, whether, if our population continues to progress at the ratio in which it had of late years been advancing, we shall be enabled, even though the resources of Russia and some other countries should be developed to the very utmost, to procure a sufficient supply of corn for our own people." Well, then; why do they not "apply their minds to the consideration" of this question? And why do they keep up a make-believe of applying their minds to the consideration of the flatly contrary question—how to keep off the chimerical and impossible inundation?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer is still stronger on this point, and reinforces the general argument with some most alarmingly suggestive hints, as to the probable condition of the potato-eating millions during those very three years for which we are now about to legislate against plethora:—

"He had seen accounts on this subject from North America, where the disease in potatoes had prevailed for three consecutive years. It was observed that in the first year the disease prevailed to a comparatively slight degree, in the second year it appeared in a more aggravated form, and in the present year the disease prevailed to as great an extent as it had in many parts of Ireland. The extent and continuance of this disease for a series of years might happen in this country as elsewhere; it was only safe then to provide beforehand for the emergency, in case this disease should continue in this country and Ireland, as in America, for a series of years. But this disease obtained not merely in England, Ireland, and America, but it prevailed to a great extent in many parts of the Continent, and if it there continued, the demand for corn in those countries would necessarily increase, and we should not be able to obtain a supply of that article from these quarters for our rapidly increasing population; instead of having an inundation of corn, as many honourable gentlemen had supposed. He would ask, had honourable gentlemen looked at the altered state of things which had arisen from the increase of our population? The addition made to the number of the population of this country every year was such as would require from 100,000 to 200,000 acres to be taken into cultivation for wheat to meet the wants of the increased population. In such a state of things you must be able to add almost an additional county under cultivation every year. Did not such circumstances make it incumbent on them to make provision in time?"

And yet it is proposed to make provision against a diametrically opposite and intrinsically impossible emergency!

We beg the most serious attention of all persons who are inclined to blink at the faults of the Ministerial scheme, for the sake of its vast and undeniable excellencies, to the truly tremendous prospect here held up before the country. It is not only this

year's certain wants, but the probable wants of future years, that we have to provide for. If we are to judge from analogy, we have not yet seen the worst of the potato rot. It may come again—it almost certainly will come again—probably in a "more aggravated form;"—i. e., if the potatoes should be in existence in sufficient quantities to render the menaced aggravation a physical possibility; for, even this is dubious. It is far from certain that potatoes enough will be saved out of the existing stock to serve as seed of next year's crop. The Government are, it seems, most anxious on this point, and are contemplating special arrangements for the express purpose of reserving from present consumption an adequate store of seed potatoes. Sir George Clerk even goes to the length of saying, that "it will be absolutely impossible to find a sufficient quantity of potatoes for the seed required in the cultivation of the soil." So that what we have to prepare ourselves for, is not merely the certainty of a potato famine during several months of the present year, but a certain deficiency—and, perhaps, an utter failure—of the potato crop of next year, and the year after that. We have not merely to tide over a temporary difficulty with temporary expedients, but to make arrangements for a radical and permanent change in the diet of four millions of people. For so gigantic a task we shall need the very uttermost of our strength and resources. It is no time to be higgling with the landlords for shillings. So stupendous a demand calls for an unlimited supply. We can stand "inundation" to any amount. We want all, and more than all, that we can by any possibility get. The agriculture of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia, together, cannot over-do and surfeit us.

We do not believe that these truly awful considerations, to which Cabinet Ministers themselves teach us to attach so grave and tremendous an importance, can be urged in vain on the Government and the legislature. Sir R. Peel will not—he has told us that he will not—obstinately insist on again charging himself with any portion of a responsibility which he has already felt to be perfectly unbearable. He will not forfeit his right to look back on the first of November with "pride and satisfaction," by falsifying now the counsels which he gave then. He cannot be immutably resolved on tarnishing his name and fame in the hopeless attempt to conciliate the sordid imbeciles who are afraid of a famished people obtaining, from the world's poverty-stricken granaries, too much to eat. Everything invites and urges him to do his great work in a great spirit. He has, in truth, no alternative. The protectionists have left him none. He must put out all his strength. They talk of "appealing to the people." There is only one quite effectual way of meeting this. The Premier, too, must "appeal to the people"—by offering to popular acceptance a measure so thoroughly true to the public wants, necessities, convictions, and sense of justice, as that the people will take charge of it, and see it safely through Parliament. Only let him throw himself unreservedly on the great principles of which he is now the vigorous and accomplished advocate, and on that support which the intelligence and will of an educated nation are ready waiting to give him—and he will make short work of it. He need not concern himself with a too close measure of the resistance, if he will but make sure of his momentum.

MR. D'ISRAELI'S FIRST LESSON IN FACTS AND FIGURES.

The world had promised itself a good deal of entertainment from the speech of the honourable

member for Shrewsbury, and the world has certainly not been disappointed, though the fun was of a decidedly different description from that which had been anticipated. This time the laugh has not been with, but *at* the honourable member for Shrewsbury—which makes no great difference, so far as the laughers are concerned, though the distinction is undoubtedly of some moment to the kind caterer for the public merriment.

Everybody thought, when Mr. D'Israeli rose to bear his part in the monster debate, that he was going to come out very strongly on the Peel apotaxy, the Peel treason, the Peel tergiversation, &c.; and everybody expected, of course, a grand treat. This sort of thing is Mr. D'Israeli's *forte*. He understands it. He likes it. He does it well—almost too well for those charitable and Christian-minded people whose sensibilities revolt at anything like cruelty to animals. Unluckily for himself and his Parliamentary reputation, Mr. D'Israeli thought proper, on the present occasion, to do something quite different. Whether he was tired of the old line, or thought other folks might be tired, or how else it came about, we know not—but Mr. D'Israeli took it into his head to strike out a new line. Nothing would serve but he must “treat the question on its merits”—a thing for which he is just about as competent as his own Messrs. Taper and Tadpole. He must teach Sir Robert Peel a secret or two in economics. He must lecture “the school of Manchester,” on political science. He must have a dash at facts and figures. He must be statistical, by way of proving the universality of his genius. Accordingly, after a good deal of hard, heavy reading, the honourable gentleman was enabled to treat the House of Commons to that comical jumble of facts turned inside out, and philosophy run mad, which the curious and patient reader may find in last Saturday's morning papers.

What could possibly possess Mr. D'Israeli to leave his own proper line, and indulge in the freak of treating a great public question on its merits, we cannot pretend to say. Never was temerity more cruelly chastised. It was really painful to see how, on Monday night, that highly-respectable, and particularly heavy gentleman, Sir George Clerk, took the coxcomb down—pulled him regularly to pieces—unravelling the tangle of his logic—knocked down his nine-pin “facts”—and, on the whole, made minced meat of the speaker and the speech. It was a rich example of the triumph of sober, steady-going dulness, over brilliant pertness and presumption. The dull man carried it hollow over the bright man. Mr. D'Israeli was wrong here—he was wrong there—he was wrong everywhere. He was quite mistaken about tea—he was altogether under a misapprehension as to cotton—and he had got hold of the wrong figures with respect to silk. He put the case quite incorrectly as regarded France, and was entirely misinformed about Turkey. He was quite out about America, and made a sad mess of Russian tallow. His theory of the “territorial constitution,” and the “preponderance of the landed interest,” was mildly protested against as little better than anarchical in its tendencies; and his dearly-beloved “reciprocity” dogma of the hopelessness of “fighting hostile tariffs with free imports,” was kindly shown to be contrary to common sense—for, as the Vice-President of the Board of Trade sagaciously put it, the people of this country will not buy things if they don't want them; and if they do want them, it is, on the whole, as well that they should buy them. The thing was really extremely well done. We are sure Sir George Clerk both earned and received the warmest thanks and commendations of his Premier.

In future, we dare say Mr. D'Israeli will take a more careful measure of his own powers, before assuming to treat a large and important question on its merits. The mistake may, perhaps, be accounted for. This gentleman has played so many parts in his time, that he might, naturally enough, think there could be no great harm in trying his hand at facts and logic, and coming out as philosopher in ordinary to the landlords. He should

have considered, however, that inconstancy of principle is not identical with versatility of genius, and that a talent for getting up disagreeable *impromptu* is no guarantee for a man's shining in political logic and arithmetic. There are limits to everything. Mr. D'Israeli does many things remarkably well—but there are some others which, we take it, he cannot do. He cannot treat, on its merits, any question requiring accurate and comprehensive political knowledge, without showing himself a dunce; he cannot induce Sir Robert Peel to take him on as one of the regular official staff; and he cannot conceal from the public scorn the real nature and grounds of his present bitterness against the Minister whom, not so very long ago, he was ready to worship as a sort of Pitt *redivivus*.

THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

The long and tedious debate on the preliminary step towards the abolition of the Corn Laws, sufficiently proves that the protectionists will make use of every possible legislative artifice, not only to defeat or delay the success of Free Trade measures, but that they will all also endeavour to impair the efficiency of every law which they find themselves unable to reject altogether. Mr. Monckton Milnes has given notice of his intention to move that the clause ensuring total repeal, in February, 1849, shall be omitted; and we have reason to know that many influential persons on both sides of the house, who give general support to the ministerial scheme, not only view this proposition with favour, but are making urgent efforts to recommend it in private. The great struggle is yet to come; at present the Protectionists, like the Sikhs in India, have taken the offensive—they have crossed their Sutlej, and attacked the minister in his camp. Every one knows that they will be defeated and pursued into their own territories, but the difficulties of the campaign, both in India and England, will be immensely aggravated when our troops have to take up their position on a hostile soil. The strength of Sir Robert Peel's majority decides the fate of the existing Corn Laws; but the question then comes, what are we to have in their stead? Shall it be total and immediate repeal, or some other juggling scheme of modified protection? The case is not without danger to the interests of the country. The League will have to use all its vigilance and all its exertions to prevent the victory ending in a modern convention of Cintra, which would allow the enemies to retire with their plunder intact, and their means of future mischief undiminished.

We, therefore, urge the Free Traders to redouble their efforts at the present crisis. The greater the amount of resources which the League can command, the less will be the peril of the issue in the decisive contest. Battles must be fought at the hustings, wherever a Free Trade candidate can be brought forward with any prospect of success. Even should there be no dissolution, there are chances of a more than an ordinary number of vacancies to raise contests at single elections. Wigan is vacant at the present moment, Captain Lindsay having with prudent precaution declined to meet the exposure of the practices at the late election, and abandoned the defence of his seat.

At this moment we must bear in mind that we have to meet the fight with allies on our side, whose attachment to the League and its principles is of very recent date, and whose firmness through the entire duration of a protracted campaign must not be calculated upon with sanguine reliance. It is possible that there may be some likely to follow the example of the Bengal cavalry, and to charge the Sikh protectionists in their entrenchments. To meet the chances of such a defection, the League must hold large resources in reserve; it will be too late to assemble forces when the fight is over.

Famine and fever in Ireland are potent auxiliaries to our cause. They proclaim, in terms not to be mistaken, the dangers of delay. But this very necessity of proceeding rapidly may be so used by the protectionists as to introduce a system of delusive compromise in the excitement of haste and hurry. When everybody is agreed that something should be done, it is to the most active and vigilant that the privilege will belong of dictating what that something shall be. We have no fear that the

popular members for Ireland, O'Connell, Lord Clements, N. A. Fitzgerald, &c. will propose or accept a compromise, even though Mr. Smith O'Brien should continue to patronise restrictions on food in the midst of a starving population. His appeals to selfishness will, we know, be vain; but his name may be employed to gloss over a plan which he is too prudent to come over and defend in person. We are not in the habit of ascribing any importance to Mr. Smith O'Brien, or his opinions on questions of political economy; he is hopelessly ignorant of the very rudiments of that science; but we are not without fears that a shallow man may afford a shallow pretext to the protectionists for declaring that a repeal of the Corn Laws goes beyond the popular demands and the present exigencies of Ireland.

There are other elements of danger before us and around us, which it will be the duty of the League to guard against and to meet. On our confederacy, at the present moment, mainly rest the nation's hopes for maintaining the existing tranquillity, and ensuring the future prosperity of the country. Were the League to withdraw from its conspicuous vantage-ground, the space would be occupied by the disorganised legions whom want of food and want of employment, aggravated by the loss of hope, would have lashed into despair.

In claiming support, in requiring fresh and vigorous exertions at the present crisis, we have grounds of appeal stronger than existed at any former period of our arduous struggle. While our prospects are brighter, our dangers are greater. The protectionists never really believed that their monopoly was in danger, until the present phase of the strife burst upon their benighted mind. Like the mute son of Croesus, they have acquired the use of language only when the object of their affection was about to be struck down. It is all very well to say that their clamour is utterly senseless, and to ask with the prophet, “What meaneth this bleating of sheep and lowing of oxen in our ears?” It has a meaning and a purpose. Its object is to introduce insidious means of rendering those measures inefficacious which cannot be directly resisted, and to insert injurious clauses at a time when men are so stunned by noise, and so wearied by iteration, that they are likely to make any sacrifice to get rid of the annoyance.

The interests of the nation require that victory should not only be complete, but should also be speedy. Trade stands still, commerce languishes, the Exchange is silent as the halls of Baalbec; and ships are idle in our harbours for want of freights. The protectionists know well the evils of this state of suspense; but they protract it on the chance of something occurring which they may turn to their own advantage. But the League has also something to gain during the interval. The chances for immediate repeal increase by delay in a greater ratio than the chances for maintaining protection, and the League must be strengthened to push those chances to a decisive and a successful issue.

Free Traders are no longer in danger from too much timidity—our present peril is excess of confidence—a belief that the battle has been won for us by the conversion of the great leaders of great parties. This would be just such a blunder as Pitt committed in the revolutionary war, when he looked for the overthrow of France to his coalitions with Austria, Russia, and Prussia. His example proved that nations cannot safely rely on their allies, but it would be still more dangerous for a people to repose implicit confidence in political parties. God helps those who help themselves. Earnestly and confidently we appeal to the Free Traders throughout the empire to renew and to increase their efforts. The precious moments of opportunity slip by like the grains of sand with which Time is represented as meting out human duration; and when these have all fallen, neither for individuals nor for nations will Time “turn his glass again.”

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM JERUSALEM, DATED JAN. 1.—“We have reason, indeed, to praise God—we have just had some rain, which brightens our prospects a little. Water was rising every day in price; we have been paying for some time 9s. and 10s. a day for the quantity that was absolutely necessary; the distress in the city has been fearful. Now we expect that all prices will fall. Corn and meat have been at an almost incredible price.”

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE
SESSION OF 1846

Sixth Week, ending Saturday, February 28.

The interest of the debate on the Corn Laws has been thoroughly exhausted; and it would therefore be absurd to notice in detail the speeches of individual members whose opinions are only of importance to themselves and their constituents. It may seem ungracious to speak with apparent contempt of men who, in their private relations, are respectable and estimable; but after the leading men in the House of Commons have all declared their sentiments, the country cares very little about the style or the manner in which the smaller unknowns utter their views.

The only noticeable man who spoke on Friday night was Mr. Disraeli, who made himself conspicuous by the extent of his failure. Dropping inductive, he tried his hand on commerce; and spoke much clever nonsense. The secret of his failure lies in the fact that Mr. Disraeli does not believe what he says about protection. In attacking Sir Robert Peel, he is in earnest, for the Prime Minister has neglected him, overlooked him, wounded his personal feeling; but were he not member for Shrewsbury, he might have made a clever speech in support of a Free Trade policy.

On Monday night we had Sir G. Clerk, Vice-President of the Board of Trade; and on Tuesday night, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Both these gentlemen made excellent speeches, and demonstrated most effectually that people can express themselves clearly and vigorously as soon as they get on the right track. Sundry insinuations had been thrown out, in the course of the debate, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was a reluctant supporter of the policy of Sir Robert Peel. On Tuesday night he most completely upset that idea; and made a speech, which, for fact, argument, and force, transcended all that he has ever yet spoken in the House of Commons. Mr. Goulburn is an excellent financier, but is a somewhat prosy orator; yet it is no idle compliment to say that, on Tuesday night, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not merely effective, energetic, and intelligible, but he actually threw novelty into a debate of which even the very leas have been expressed. His great point was the effect which Free Trade would have on the shipping interest; and most successful was he, in showing the fallacy of the fears which have been urged on this point.

Mr. Ferrand showed himself on Tuesday night; and his speech, the earlier portion of it, at least, was a specimen of happy audacity. He read, in a loud tone, extracts from the speeches of Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, and other members of the Government, when they used to advocate the necessity of protection; and certainly the contrast between their former and their present sentiments sounded oddly enough. But though Mr. Ferrand, like everybody else, is advancing in life, his mind stands still. There is not a particle of more discretion—not the slightest indication, that he gets wiser as he gets older. In precisely the same style which he used in 1842 he charges the manufacturers of Yorkshire and Lancashire with cruelty, monstrosity, wickedness and abomination; they are the ogres who feed on the babies of England, and devour the "witals of the poor." Mr. Ferrand is so tremendously intense, throws his ball with such fury, that it rebounds and hits his own nose; but he don't feel it. His madness has unquestionably some method in it; but the man roars away in such a wild, extravagant manner, that you feel convinced that he would ruin the best and safest cause ever intrusted to human advocacy.

Amongst the speakers have been Mr. Edward Buller, Mr. Liddell, Mr. Hutt, and others; and on Tuesday night, when the debate was proposed to be adjourned till Thursday, Mr. Miles undertook, in a somewhat gracious and patronising way, that it should terminate on Friday night.

The debate of Thursday night was an exception to the dreary dullness of the preceding week. There were several able speeches delivered on the Free Trade side of the question, whilst some of those on the protective side exhibited a little variety in manner, if not in matter.

Before the debate began, Mr. Roebuck asked how long it was to be continued? when terminated? He then pointed to the speech of Mr. Ferrand, who, on Tuesday night, had occupied nearly three mortal hours in violent vituperation couched in

vulgar language, and delivered in a swaggering style and with a blustering demeanour. He besought the landed interest to uphold the credit and character of the house in public estimation, and to bring forward something better in defence of their cause than "violent hatred in violent and vulgar language."

Mr. Ferrand happened not to be present; but Sir B. H. Inglis took up his defence, and expressed an opinion that Mr. Roebuck was not quite the man to complain of personalities. Immediately afterwards, three members rose in succession to contradict, on authority, specific allegations made by Mr. Ferrand, in his usual confident and recklessly-undaunted style. The first was Mr. Bright, who vindicated Mr. George Wilson, the chairman of the Anti-Corn-Law League, from an absurd charge of attempting to procure a protective duty on—starch! The next was Dr. Bowring, who complained of the wild audacious way in which Mr. Ferrand attacked the character of the amiable, benevolent, intelligent Henry Ashworth, a gentleman held in universal esteem, and who is incapable of hurting a fly, but yet who has been accused, on more than one occasion, too, of "cold-blooded cruelty." And lastly, Lord Morpeth, on the express authority of the Yorkshire operatives, vindicated them from the accusation of having been coerced to sign Free Trade petitions.

Mr. Ferrand having been set down, the debate began, the first speaker being Mr. Ross, member for Belfast, who dealt specifically with the question of flax, and showed the benefit which Free Trade would confer on Ireland. Following him came Mr. Beckett Denison; and some interest was felt to hear his sentiments, as he had seconded the address, and trustworthy Mr. Ferrand had affirmed, as if on his authority, that he had been "tricked" by Sir Robt. Peel. Mr. Beckett Denison repudiated Mr. Ferrand, who would take better care of his reputation if he were more cautious in his statements. [This was a mild and gentlemanly way of intimating a decided opinion that Mr. Ferrand was in the habit of indulging himself in the amusement of "throwing the hatchet."] Mr. Beckett Denison expressed a high opinion of Sir Robert Peel's personal integrity and honour, but declared himself unable to follow him in his Free Trade policy. It is a pity, then, that he should have seconded the address, even though he was not "tricked" into it.

Mr. Brotherton made a very sensible speech, which was well received in the house; and Mr. Christopher followed in a somewhat prosy oration, in which there was far more of sound than of sense. He was, however, gentlemanly in his manner, and did not indulge in invective.

Mr. Edward Cardwell, member for Clitheroe, and Secretary to the Treasury, next rose. This young gentleman made a most able speech—coherent, consecutive, and logical—the whole of which was one lucid argument, admirably arranged, and delivered with spirit, temper, and effect. To answer him there rose Mr. Finch, who was in the house some years ago, but has just been returned for Rutland. He spoke very fluently, but also very flippantly, and with an air as if he felt that he had been specially returned to take the "leadership" of the protectionists, and to rally their forces. Mr. Finch might have made a much more effective speech if he had been less anxious to be "smart," and had curtailed his oration by one-half. It is an unfortunate circumstance that now-a-days, "length" should be taken as a criterion of excellence; orators are too frequently not satisfied that they have left an impression, unless they exhaust their subject, their audience, and themselves.

Mr. Seymour, one of the new members for Dorsetshire, (he and Mr. Floyer having been returned in the room of Lord Ashley and Mr. Sturt) next spoke, with considerable spirit as to manner; and he showed his good taste by not trespassing too long on the attention of the house. His object was to tell the Legislature that the tenant farmers of Dorsetshire, and indeed, of all England, were in favour of Protection.

Mr. Villiers closed the night with one of those truly elaborate speeches, with which he has so often urged the "great question" throughout the long years during which he has been its leading advocate. Facts, arguments, reasons, were all marshalled in their due order; the present position of the question was pointed out, and the helplessness of the protectionists to govern the country exposed with pith and spirit. Mr. Villiers never shrinks from calling things by their proper names; he lets the protectionists know that a spade is a spade, and monopol

is a class interest and a public cruelty: but he intermingles it all with pleasant sarcasm, and enlivens his gravest facts by a happy jocularity which never detracts from the dignity of the subject in hand, but only gives point to his meaning.

Whether or not the debate will terminate on this night (Friday) is still uncertain. Lord John Russell expressed a hope that it would; and Mr. Spooner agreed with him, but said it should not terminate until he had an opportunity of delivering his sentiments. There are still, apparently, a large number of members anxious to take part in the debate. Should the division occur to-night, or rather on Saturday morning, the result will be communicated in our "Postscript."

DRAIN OF GOLD

The fear of "money going out of the country" is still one of the greatest bugbears of the protectionists. It especially haunts the minds of those one-idea people, like Mr. Hudson, who look to the effects of "a lightning of the market" upon their scrip. Let us try, for the twentieth time, to refute this fallacy, with an argument, if possible, level to the capacity of even the member for Sunderland.

Corn imported from abroad must be paid for, either in gold, bills, or manufacture; and it is contended by the protectionists that, unless paid for exclusively in manufactures, the effect of such importation of corn will produce a pressure on the money market prejudicial to our internal trade.

The direct and immediate advantage of a payment in manufactures is not denied by the friends of Free Trade, nor is it necessary to their argument to deny that advantage in order to prove that payments for corn could not derange the money market under a regular and open trade. That the money market has been deranged under an irregular, uncertain, and fitful trade in corn, such as we have had under the present Corn Laws is quite natural and perfectly true; because the uncertainty attendant on them prevents those channels of commerce being opened which under a regular and certain trade in corn would provide a regular and certain mode of payment for it, without occasioning those sudden and unexpected drains on the money market which have occasionally marked the operation of the present law.

To prove this we have only to trace what will be the operation and effect of a free importation of corn on our own trade, and on the trade of those countries from whence we import it, and the mode of payment.

Let us take the trade of one country as an example for the rest—say Russia. The first effect on Russia will be to increase its consumable power of foreign products, such as sugar, coffee, silk, cotton, tobacco, &c., for which orders will be sent, not only to the countries producing those articles, but also to the bonded warehouses of this country, in which, at all times, a large stock of them is in store. The increased consumption of those articles in Russia will increase the prosperity, and consequently the power of consumption of those countries by which they are produced and supplied, and create an increased demand for those articles of luxury and convenience which they cannot produce for themselves, amongst which British manufactures will hold the first place. The consequence will be that large orders for British manufactures will be sent to this country from Brazil and elsewhere to meet the increased demand for them, and these manufactures will be paid for in bills drawn against increased shipments of produce to Russia, to meet the increased demand consequent on Russia having found a regular and open market for her corn; in payment for which corn those bills, drawn in Brazil and elsewhere, for British manufactures, will be remitted to Russia, and thus the account will be settled, without the aid or medium of a single shilling of coin or bullion being used in the transaction, and without in any way deranging the exchanges. These foreign bills on Russia will meet and balance the amount of bills drawn in Russia or England for corn; and as the powers of consumption would in both cases regulate the demand, there could never be any fluctuation in their relative amount, at least none large enough to produce any effect on the exchanges. In this statement we leave out of account the bullion and coin which could be emitted from foreign countries in payment for our manufactures in increased quantities with the increase of our trade, but which would form an important additional security.

FREE TRADE AGITATION IN FRANCE.—We are glad to learn from a correspondent, that the first step towards an organisation of the friends of commercial freedom in France has just been taken at Bordeaux, where a meeting has been held and a society formed, with the Mayor at its head, for the purpose of advocating the removal of all protective duties. The plan of operation proposed is precisely the same as that proposed in the earliest stages of the League agitation. A subscription is to be entered into for the purpose of disseminating printed publications, and creating a public opinion out of doors, previous to raising the question of Free Trade in the Chamber of Deputies. M. Bastiat, who has published a volume in France upon the proceedings of the League, and who is a native of the south of France, was present at the meeting, and took a prominent part in the proceedings. Bordeaux, the metropolis and port of the wine district, has always been celebrated for its liberal commercial views. We trust the movement now entered upon will be prosecuted with spirit, and that we shall soon hear of similar demonstrations in other parts of France.

SOUTH NOTTINGHAM ELECTION.

NOTTINGHAM, FEB. 25, 22m. PAST 6 P.M.—The last express from the polling booths arrived here at 6 precisely, bringing the close of the poll at Sutton-upon-Trent, thirty miles distant, and those of Southwell and Lowdham. The Newark, Bingham, and East Leake had previously arrived. You will perceive by the statement subjoined that in all the districts the poll has dragged on at a slow rate all the day.

GROSS NUMBERS FOR BOTH DAYS, AND FINAL CLOSE OF THE POLL.	
Lord Lincoln's committee report.	Mr. Hildyard's committee report.
SUTTON-UPON-TRENT.	SUTTON-UPON-TRENT.
Lincoln 106	Hildyard 307
Hildyard 309	Lincoln 105
SOUTHWELL.	SOUTHWELL.
Lincoln 131	Hildyard 267
Hildyard 267	Lincoln 131
LOWDHAM.	LOWDHAM.
Lincoln 309	Hildyard 189
Hildyard 189	Lincoln 298
NEWARK.	NEWARK.
Lincoln 233	Hildyard 279
Hildyard 277	Lincoln 229
BINGHAM.	BINGHAM.
Lincoln 102	Hildyard 481
Hildyard 481	Lincoln 102
EAST LEAKE.	EAST LEAKE.
Lincoln 161	Hildyard 215
Hildyard 215	Lincoln 161
Majority for Hildyard 696	Majority for Hildyard 711
TOTAL NUMBERS POLLED.	
Mr. Hildyard 1738	Lord Lincoln 1012

REQUISITION TO MR. VILLIERS, M.P., AND W. BROWN, ESQ., FROM THE ELECTORS OF SOUTH LANCASHIRE.—We beg to call the attention of every Free Trade elector of South Lancashire to the requisition now in course of signature to the Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P., and Wm. Brown, Esq., of Liverpool, a printed copy of which appears in another part of our paper. We need make no appeal to the electors of South Lancashire on the subject of this requisition. The eminent services of Mr. Villiers throughout the long struggle for commercial freedom have identified his name too closely with the interests of that great county to render it necessary for us to urge upon the electors the public duty of thus testifying their appreciation of his character and claims to the honourable distinction of representing such a constituency in the House of Commons. Mainly to South Lancashire will the nation be indebted for the successful issue of the struggle for Free Trade. To the Parliamentary champion of that cause, through long years of tried fidelity and zealous self-devotion, no more fitting testimony could be made of public gratitude to public men than the proffered confidence of such a constituency. We trust that every Free Trader whose name stands upon the register for South Lancashire will at once append his signature to this requisition, inviting the Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P., and W. Brown, Esq., of Liverpool, to become their representatives in Parliament at the next election.

REPRESENTATION OF WIGAN.—The Honourable Captain Lindsay has declined to defend his return, and unless some of his supporters volunteer to oppose the petition on his behalf, which is very improbable, the electors of Wigan will be once more called upon to choose a representative. During the few months which have elapsed since they were last appealed to, the cause of Free Trade has advanced with gigantic strides. We trust that in Wigan public opinion has not stood still, and that bribery and corruption will give way before the popular demand for unfettered commercial intercourse with all nations. At such a crisis as the present, when the protectionists are asking themselves whether they dare throw out the Government measure, the return of any man who is not a thorough friend to Free Trade, as the representative of a borough solely dependent for its prosperity on manufactures, might have a very important and a very prejudicial influence on their determination. Free Trade is now no party question; all are equally interested in its adoption; and all parties in Wigan, we hope, will concur in this missing faction, feeling, and work energetically for their common cause.

WIGAN ELECTION PETITION.—We understand that a great number of very gross cases of bribery at the last election for Wigan, are already in the hands of the petitioners against Mr. Lindsay's return. Although Mr. Lindsay has resigned the seat without a contest in committee, it is still the intention of the Free Traders to prosecute the inquiry, and we have no doubt that several cases for criminal prosecution subsequently will arise out of the evidence.

REPRESENTATION OF LEICESTER.—Soon after the formal announcement from Wynn Ellis, Esq., that he should not again become a candidate for this borough, a requisition was forwarded to Mr. George Thompson, of the League, who, in company with Captain Cogan, presented himself to a crowded meeting of the Liberal electors and other inhabitants in the New Hall, on Monday evening. After a long address from Mr. Thompson, in exposition of his views, a resolution, declaring that gentleman's fitness for the representation of that borough, and pledging the meeting to support him at the next election, was moved by Mr. C. Billson, seconded by Mr. Slade, and an amendment for an invitation to Mr. Ellis was moved by Mr. J. Staines (agent to the Reform Registration Society), and seconded by Mr. Edmund Mitchell, when the resolution was carried by a very large majority. It was also stated by the chairman that Mr. Bright, M.P., having been written to by an elector (not favourable to Mr. Thompson), had declared that were he an elector of Leicester, he would give Mr. Thompson his unqualified support.

NORTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.—NOTTINGHAM, THURSDAY.—Lord H. Bentinck will walk over. There will be no contest for the North Division of this county.

ELECTORS' CHANGE OF HOMES AFTER REGISTRATION.—Householders who have changed their residences after registration may now vote (if on the register of voters), provided, after removal, they had resided within the city or borough, or within seven miles. This reasonable amendment of the former law on the subject was made in 1813, by the enactment of the 6th and 7th Vic., c. 18, sec. 79.

LETTERS ON THE CORN LAWS, No. LVII.

TO JOHN BRIGHT, ESQ., M.P.

SIR,—About the time when these words are passing through the press, you will probably be giving a vote which will help to "lay the domination of the aristocracy in the dust."

That phrase will not be forgotten by your enemies; nor, I trust, by your friends. It is too practical not to be memorable. It is prophecy as well as precept. The forty shilling franchise is the weapon you recommended as capable, in case of need, of accomplishing this prostration; and that is henceforth the people's weapon against all unjust and injurious "domination" on the part of those who prove themselves inaccessible to fact and argument; and who uphold, by the insolence of power, laws which tend to the plunder of industry.

The man who lost his temper, and was consoled by the assurance that it was a very bad one, typifies the section of the aristocracy to which you alluded. The "domination" which denies bread, deserves to be in the dust. Its possessors should repeat Archbishop Tillotson's ejaculation over the damnable clause of the Athanasian Creed, and "wish to heaven they were well rid of it." It alienates them from the community, robs them of respect, paralyzes them for good, attracts hatred and contempt, associates their names with sophistry and rapacity, and identifies them with the cause of scarcity, of crime, and of disease. Morally, and in every sense, except the most sordid one, such domination is a damnification.

The labourers have long been laid in the dust by this domination. As it succumbs they will revive, and bless the helping hand that raises them, by its prostration. Your name is greeted with the grateful shouts of the toiling and starving serfs of Hampshire. Nor is that the only justification which events have conferred upon your language since its utterance. Think of three weeks' speaking against Time, with famine in his train. In this prolonged debate, lives have been sacrificed by speeches; as surely as if words were the deadliest weapons. A thus far dominating minority has secured a three weeks' march in advance for scarcity and pestilence. That domination will bring destitution to the dust. Is more justification required? Look at the "unnatural combat." The father warring upon the son, and seeking the destruction of his fair name and honourable position. We had before seen brother discarding brother, and a constituency submitting to become the agents of fraternal wrong. Scenes like these in Christian England call for interposition. They are the works of a demon, who must be ejected and laid in the dust or the Dead Sea, no matter where; and for whom you have found the best exorcism in the forty shilling franchise.

Peace and philanthropy have ever characterised the religious body to which you belong; and the weapons of your warfare are not unworthy of their Christian spirit. You could destroy the bad of aristocracy by the good of democracy. You propose to vanquish a wrong by the power of a right. You exhort the many to emancipate themselves politically, that they may achieve a moral emancipation for those whom cupidity or ignorance has enslaved. The banner of such warfare is the white flag of peace, its sword the keen point of argument, its battalions the well-marched array of facts, its artillery the thunder of a people's cry, and the domination which the victory lays in the dust, a wrongful power over human food, not less pernicious for its authors than for its victims.

Associated with Mr. Cobden in toils long to be remembered, speedily be your name blended with his in the most memorable of triumphs ever achieved by peaceful agitation. On you especially has devolved the exposure of the doers of an enormous wrong, and the claim of sympathy for the suffering. Not merely in the technical language of religious classification, but in the broadest and best sense of the word, society knows you for "a friend." On the wide plains of Wiltshire, or the quiet downs of Hampshire, the grateful recognition of your exertions blends with that which is breathed amid the busy clatter of your own Rochdale factories. Nor is your energy exhausted in the success now so nearly

achieved. You are already labouring in another field of usefulness. In the Game Laws there is another form of crime-engendering domination, which you have also to lay in the dust. Spare it not; but from winning freedom for industry proceed to win also protection for the farmer and the peasant.

A NORWICH WEAVER BOY.

AGRICULTURE.

A MONOPOLIST PROPHECY.

When a public man has gone on for thirty years making predictions which subsequent events have invariably falsified, one would think that he might possibly suspect he had gone upon a wrong tack. Now, Mr. Benett, of Wiltshire, is a man of that sort. He has prophesied on the subject of agriculture and protection from the year 1815 downwards, and every prophecy has signally failed; yet with mindless loquacity he last week again took upon himself, in the House of Commons, to make the most ridiculous predictions of evil to farmers and labourers as the result of Free Trade in corn.

Now, Mr. Benett is a genuine monopolist; and it will be curious to trace his course from the year 1815 to the present time, and then mark the absurd inconsistencies of his latest speech in favour of monopoly. To farmers such a review will be eminently useful, because Mr. Benett being a high professing "farmer's friend" and a voluble talker, had at one time considerable influence amongst the Wiltshire farmers. How utterly unworthy of their confidence this gentleman is, a little examination of his incoherencies will speedily show.

In 1814 Mr. Benett was the owner of an estate on Salisbury Plain, some part of which he farmed himself; and he had, both as a landlord and an occupier, derived great profits from the high prices of grain during the preceding twenty years. Mr. Benett's estate is of that description of light land which most largely partook of the advance in value caused by the high prices; sheep farming, and to some extent turnip husbandry, were adopted in that district with considerable success. But, although the system of husbandry in Wiltshire, in the year 1814, was a vast improvement upon that which existed there before 1793, it was a forced and artificial one, dependent entirely upon high prices. That is, it consisted of a moderate amount of capital spread over a wide surface, in a word, low farming. Mr. Benett, who was examined before the Parliamentary committee of 1814, probably gave a very accurate account of the actual system when he said the price of 100s. per quarter for wheat was indispensable to enable the Wiltshire farmer to make a profit. He gave a detailed account of the expenses and produce of his own farm of 945 acres; and taking the price of wheat at 96s., and of barley at 48s. per quarter, his estimated loss was 66l. a year! Of course Mr. Benett was an ardent supporter of the law of 1815; and when some few years afterwards he was brought into Parliament by the squires and farmers, he was everywhere execrated by the agricultural labourers of the county.

A supporter of Mr. Benett's views could scarcely pass a town or village in safety, so atrocious did the labouring population of the county deem Mr. Benett's opinions. The sight of his ribbon was the signal for a riot for there was then no affectation of regard for the interest of the labourers on the part of Mr. Benett. "Barley bannock" and "oat-cake" formed the diet to which, as it was generally believed, Mr. Benett had said the rural labourers should return and conform to. That monopoly is not less odious to the Wiltshire labourers now than then, let Goatsacre and Bremhill bear witness; though they now know how to use arguments far more effective than violence and riot.

From that hour to this, Mr. Benett has been the consistent advocate of laws for the creation of artificial scarcity. Undeterred by failure after failure, he has constantly urged the farmers of Wiltshire to look to monopoly for safety, and to high prices for profit.

Unfortunately, his purpose of deteriorating the diet of the labourers is the only one of his avowed public objects which has not failed; for, instead of the inferior grains, the Wiltshire labourer has fallen

to the lower depth of potatoes; while the Wiltshire farmers have contrived to struggle on with prices little higher than the half of the sums promised them by Mr. Bennett and his fellow landowning legislators.

Let us now see what Mr. Bennett urges in defence of monopoly, and it will be found that his present assumptions are as baseless as ever. He said:

"It was assumed that cheapness of food would confer the greatest amount of happiness. He agreed that cheapness of food was most desirable; but in cheapening food care must be taken that the people were not reduced to greater distress than they would suffer if food were dear. Cheapness of food, by home production, was undoubtedly most desirable. Cheapness, occasioned by the extent of production in favourable seasons, was most desirable; but in this he agreed with the right hon. baronet, that the amount of the wages of labour always depended upon the proportion of the demand to the supply; and it was for them to consider whether they might not, by cheapening food in the way proposed, lessen the demand for labour without lessening the supply."

And he then went through some calculations, or would-be calculations, to show that every quarter of foreign wheat brought into this country "would displace the demand for labour to the extent of 25s."

In a subsequent part of his speech he said that the average produce of wheat per acre in Wiltshire is three quarters, or 24 bushels—we doubt whether it be in fact so much—an admission which at once proves the absurdity of the assertion, that "the demand for labour" would be lessened by Free Trade. Nothing but the uncertainty induced by reliance on the Corn Laws has kept the produce of Wiltshire so low as it is; and all past experience has shown that there, as elsewhere, moderate prices have always led to increased exertions on the part of farmers; and, consequently, to a greater demand for labour. And what, according to Mr. Bennett's own showing, is the actual state of farming in Wiltshire,—at a time, be it observed, when not a farmer in the county can doubt that Free Trade in corn is inevitable?

"But whatever might be the rate of wages, he could tell the hon. member there were as comfortable farmers and labourers in Wiltshire as in any part of the kingdom. There was no land better cultivated; he knew that the Salisbury Plain land was producing four (so we understood the hon. member) quarters the acre. Science was doing wonders, and much capital was being invested. Every thing was thriving there, and every labourer was employed. Harrowing stories had been told of men drawing in carts, but the fact was, the stones were only drawn from the road into the field, in an ingeniously constructed machine, which was much less laborious than the common wheelbarrow. Besides, these were not farmers' labourers, but old men who preferred earning 5s. a week in that manner to going into the workhouse. He thought it hard then—he thought it unwise, when everything was thriving in the country—when all parties were employed—the farmer getting a fair but moderate price—for 52s. was only a moderate price—when, in fact, everybody was satisfied, that the right honourable baronet should have chosen such a moment for proposing his measure, it seemed to him a most astonishing event—one that had astonished him more than anything in the course of a long life—that ministers should have been so easily frightened from their property—that for a disease so trifling and temporary, to say the most, so desperate a remedy should have been prescribed."

Now, though there is too much evidence, of far greater weight than the testimony of Mr. Bennett, that everybody in Wiltshire is not satisfied, we may safely accept this passage as proof that capital is being invested in farming by the Wiltshire farmers, which is in itself a decisive answer to the huggaboo cry of "lessening the demand for labour." The quality of this gentleman's judgment may be gathered from the fact of his having thus reiterated in the House of Commons the very silly assertion he made at a local agricultural dinner, that, had he to choose his own station in life, he would be a Wiltshire agricultural labourer! Mr. Bennett said:

"The hon. member for Durham had spoken of the condition of the labouring classes; and particularly of the agricultural labourers in Wiltshire. He (Mr. Bennett) was not going to suffer any personal allusions of the hon. gentleman to divert him from the present discussion; but he begged to assure the hon. gentleman and the house, that he respected the peasantry as his friends. He entertained a strong sense of their worth. And in allusion to what he had himself said on a former occasion, he had declared to those men—knowing the valuable services they rendered to society, and being fully aware of the delight derived from a consciousness of fulfilling one's duty—that if he were to be born again he should not covet in this world any station beyond that which they themselves sustained: that was the true sentiment of his mind—it was warm and sincere."

Truly it may be said: how little wisdom suffices for a legislator!

BEWARE OF FALSE FRIENDS.

Farmers, if they are wise, will hasten to repudiate the remnant of protection which the landowners of the House of Lords have extorted from Sir Robert Peel; for there is no mistake about the matter.

The Minister is far too clear-sighted not to see that immediate as well as total repeal of the Corn Laws is for the public weal, and the three years' postponement of Free Trade in grain, by which the Government plan is deformed, is avowedly a concession to the prejudices of the Peers. A few of the monopolist aristocrats, in their agony of wrath against the Government at first, said they would prefer an immediate Free Trade in corn to the prospective Free Trade of the Premier; but latterly they have drawn back from that position. Now, in reference to that threat—for such was the form it assumed in the House of Commons—in his late splendid speech, Sir Robert Peel said:

"Bond fide believing the arrangement to be a better one, believing also that it was more for the advantage of agriculture, I, on the part of her Majesty's Government—I made that proposal, and it is my intention to use all legitimate means I can for the purpose of giving effect to it. It was said the other night by the hon. gentleman the member for Somerset, that he greatly preferred, speaking on the part of the agricultural population—that he greatly preferred immediate repeal to the measure proposed, and he turned round to his friends, and that sentiment at that time received, apparently, a general concurrence from them. Now, sir, as I have before said, it is the intention of the Government to adhere to their own proposal. They state the reasons why they propose it, and why they are inclined to adhere to it, considering the opportunity there will be for the improvement of the country in the interval. But I stated this distinctly, that if the agricultural body are not of opinion that it is for their advantage, and that they think that immediate repeal is preferable to deferred repeal (laughter and loud cheering from the Opposition benches), by taking part with the hon. gentleman opposite they may place me in a minority (laughter and cheers again). Then the only consideration I shall bear in mind will be this, what course should I best take to give effect to the law as amended at your hands. We will do all we can to carry the proposition—I prefer it. I proposed it believing it to be favourable to agriculture. I don't say what course—speaking for myself—I may possibly take. I don't say what effect success here may have in other places (hear, hear). This I will say, that my opinion with respect to the final adjustment of the Corn Law will remain unaltered, and I shall decidedly prefer immediate repeal, so carried against me, to throwing this country into confusion by any attempt on my part to prevent it (loud cheers and laughter from the Opposition). It is right to consider what course would be most advisable to adopt, and I do believe that the final adjustment of this question is now become paramount to all."

The "cheers and laughter" with which this mode of meeting the monopolists' threat was received shows how entirely their utter hollowness is appreciated in the House of Commons. There is not a man in the house who is not aware that the three years' postponement is the sop to the monopolist landowners; and the last thing they think of doing is to hazard that part of the Government measure.

But how stands it with the tenant farmers? Our readers will recollect that wherever the Corn Law question has come under discussion in a genuine agricultural assembly, however farmers may have differed as to the policy, or otherwise, of Free Trade in corn, they have invariably declared, that "if Free Trade is to come, let it come at once, that the question may be settled, and we shall then know where we stand." And this is the common-sense view. But when did a common-sense view of the subject meet acceptance with the monopolist landowners? They have indirect objects to gain by the Corn Laws, and a principal one is to use the farmers for their own political objects. Now, on two grounds, immediate instead of ultimate repeal should be the earnest demand of every tenant farmer in the kingdom. First, because no settlement, at all events, no settlement advantageous to the tenant, can be made with the landlord during the period of transition, namely, for four years; secondly, because, designing political landocrats will, during the three years' interval, foster a delusion amongst the less intelligent tenantry, that the "protection" may be continued. And such are the very grounds which secretly make the monopolist landocracy adhere to this shred of monopoly. It will delay, perhaps prevent, that which of all things they most dread, the emancipation of the rural middle classes—the tenant farmers. It will prevent, or delay, that influx of intelligence and capital, into the business of agriculture, which will grow six quarters of wheat instead of three, so much deprecated by Mr. Stafford O'Brien, because the increased produce must be grown by farmers, rendered independent of the whim, caprice, or cupidity of their landlords.

It will delay that period—until which farmers and husbandry will never occupy the right position—when the tenant farmers will care as little for, possibly know no more of, their landlords, than the occupier of a house in London cares for the ground landlord; he will pay the stipulated sum, and there the

matter will end. From the hour of total Free Trade in corn, but not till then, the removal of the rubbish of feudalism which lingers in the relations of landlord and tenant in this country will begin to be swept away; and although landowners will benefit by the change at least as much as any other class, the narrow-minded and mortgaged landowners—the immense majority of the class—relinquish with anger and regret that part of their importance which arises from the depression, the unnatural depression, of other classes.

Every farmer knows the unwillingness with the landlords to grant fair leases; and the eagerness with which, now the necessity of leases is admitted by all but themselves and their tools, they listen to every shift and expedient, such as legislative allowances for improvements and tenant rights, proposed to keep up the system of yearly holdings. Upon this part of the subject we shall have much to say to the farmers hereafter; but, at present, we content ourselves with calling their attention to the uses, such as we have stated, to which the monopolists are about to turn their three years' grace, which the Lords have obtruded upon the Government plan.

In Huntingdonshire, a Squire of the name of Hammond said that three years' protection ought not to be regretted, because, after the next general election, the law might be altered, and the protection rendered permanent. Again, in Essex, a clergyman of the name of Cox, who seems to be more voluble than discreet, said

"When I first read his (Sir R. Peel's) speech I said this is a mockery of protection; it never will do; we must make war with all protecting duties, and then they will see they cannot go on, because they will not have the sinews of war. But our advice now is this, stand fast to your protection; and let me tell you it is a great deal easier to add to a protective duty than to give it up and begin anew. We must fight the battle as long as there is a plank of the ship left. Therefore our advice is to stand by all protected classes, and don't any of you be fools enough to say, we will have Free Trade immediately, for Free Trade is anarchy, it is democracy in the true sense of the word, and, if you had it, it would shake the throne to the foundation, and the church and all other great interests would be destroyed. The Central Society says, fight the battle till you are beaten, and then we will give you the best advice we can. Our advice now is 'no surrender.'"

Now, so far as regards the chance of prolonging protection, such advice to the farmers is simply ridiculous. The maintenance of monopoly has become an utter impossibility, and the only effect of lengthening the period of transition is to postpone that day when farming will become a steady and profitable business, and tenant farmers be men who dare to act upon their own convictions.

POTATO SEED FOR YORKSHIRE.—FRASERBURGH, FEB. 13.—We are sorry to have to report that the crop in this neighbourhood, like adjacent counties, is seriously affected with the prevailing epidemic. Until the last few days, the growers considered they had escaped this destructive disease, but though late in appearing, it is making rapid progress. At this place, large quantities are annually shipped for seed to Yorkshire; and, from the flattering accounts forwarded by the shipping agents to their Yorkshire friends, the latter were consoled in some degree for their recent heavy losses, by the prospect of obtaining good plants from this old quarter for their ensuing crops. Fraserburgh and Yorkshire will not be the only sufferers by this unfortunate disease. Another correspondent speaks in a similar strain of the condition of the potatoes in Euchar—of the wholesale repudiation by the Yorkshire dealers of the quantities purchased in this quarter. They will not take them at any rate, not even at the average rate fixed at the Rattray market, the other day, which is so low as 10s.—Aberdeen Herald.

THE MARQUIS OF WESTMINSTER AND THE CORN LAW.—Last week, the Marquis of Westminster entertained a large body of his tenantry to dinner at Eaton Hall, and presided on the occasion. The noble lord expressed his belief that the measures of Sir R. Peel would not have any material effect upon the native agriculturists; whilst they would aid our commercial interests; and he enjoined that any anticipated depression should be met by increased energy, and the adoption of those improvements in agriculture which experience had shown would lessen the cost and increase the amount of production. He also said, that if any of his tenantry felt any cause of dissatisfaction at the terms on which they held the lands in their occupation, he should feel it his duty that the grounds of that dissatisfaction should be submitted to investigation, and if they were too highly rendered he would reduce them. All his declarations were made in the broadest sense of liberality and fairness, and gave great satisfaction to the tenantry.—Chester Chronicle.

THE CORN LAWS.—Notwithstanding the prognostications of the "protectionist party," that the proposed measures of the Government would immediately tend to a vast reduction in the price of wheat, there was an advance in the price of nearly every description of grain at Maidenhead market on Wednesday. Wheat had advanced 5s. per load, and met with a brisk and ready sale at 17l. for middling quality. Our informant, who was at the market, and who had opportunities of ascertaining the sentiments of the farmers of the neighbourhood on the subject of the anticipated immediate reduction of the duties upon corn, states that the great majority of the agriculturists who attended appeared to be of opinion that the sliding scale had not had the effect which had been expected, and that the sooner the question was set at rest, by the carrying the plan submitted to Parliament by Sir R. Peel, the better it would be for the real interests of every person engaged in agricultural pursuits.—Globe.

ANTI-CORN LAW MEETING.—THE LABOURERS OF HAMPSHIRE.

GOSPORT, TUESDAY, FEB. 24.—Last night a meeting was held composed of the agricultural labourers of Hampshire, for the purpose of their furnishing to the world a description of "their state and condition under Corn Law protection." Such were the terms of the handbills which had been extensively circulated in the districts which abut upon the locality which was appointed as the rendezvous. The spot selected was Sheril Heath, which forms part of Waltham Chase, a wild district in the parish of Droxford, and situate about five miles from the Botley station, on the South-Western Railway, about ten miles from Gosport, and the same distance from Southampton. On reaching the spot shortly before the hour at which it had been announced the proceedings would commence (5 o'clock) we found that notwithstanding the heavy rains which had fallen during the day, and the threatening appearance of the atmosphere, which still continued, that a large body of the peasantry of the neighbourhood had already collected, while other numerous bodies were seen wending their way to the selected spot from various points of the vast space which lay unbroken to the view. All was order and decorum, and many of the groups of labourers with their wives and children appeared in their best homely but cleanly gear. To serve the purpose of a hustings or rostrum for the reception of those who were to take the most active and leading part in the business of the evening, three carts had been rudely bound together at the rear of a small outhouse. In one of these carts a rustic chair was deposited for the reception of the president, while a second contained a small table for the accommodation of the representatives of the press. Here also were arranged three small candles, while as many flambeaux of a rude construction had been prepared to illumine the station of the chairman and the speakers. With these flickering and uncertain lights the affair proceeded, and the scene presented a novel and somewhat singular appearance. About five hundred persons, all of the same grade and class, had assembled, and nothing could exceed the good order which was preserved throughout. Mr. John Ekless, a yeoman residing at Bursledon-bridge, near Southampton, who has attained considerable fame for the stand he has made, with success, against several attempted innovations of the rights of poorer classes, by projected enclosure bills, appeared to lead in the way of suggestions as to the mode in which the proceedings ought to be conducted. A labouring man of the name of Jesse Burgess (of whom particular mention is made in the subjoined report) was elected to the chair, and having assumed it, he called upon Mr. Ekless to open the business for which the meeting had been assembled.

Mr. EKLESS, in obedience to the call, spoke as follows: Mr. Chairman and friends, if you will leave off talking yourselves, and will listen to my talk, you will hear what I have got to say. In the first place, I am most happy to see so many assembled here this evening; and, considering the state of the weather, your numbers show that you must have a strong feeling upon the question which has assembled us, or you would not have attended here at all. I congratulate you upon the choice of your chairman, for though he is one of the humbler classes, he is still, as I know, a respectable man. To my knowledge he has brought up a family of eleven children, and has only had the aid of 24s. from the parish; and that fact, in my judgment, constitutes him a respectable man (cheers). He is not only respectable, but he also fills a prominent place in the pages of history. Jesse Burgess is a man whose name is immortalised in the immortal writings of your great friend, and the defender of the rights of labour, William Cobbett (shouts of applause). Jesse Burgess is the man whom William Cobbett was accused, at the Coventry election, many years ago, of having flogged to death—a most wilful and diabolical charge, brought forward by his opponents. This man—I mean your chairman—was sent for, post haste. He went down to Coventry, and from the hustings there boldly proclaimed the falsehood of the charge by shouting, "I be the real Jesse Burgess" (cheers and laughter). So that his name will go down in history to the latest period of time. We are met here this evening on a requisition or invitation to the labouring classes of this county to meet together, to describe their state and condition under Corn Law protection, as stated in the handbill which has been printed and circulated. Now, there have been many similar meetings held in Somersetshire, in Wiltshire, and in Berkshire; but they have been repudiated in the House of Commons as not being the genuine and spontaneous acts of the labourers themselves, but got up by emissaries from the League. Now I do not know that this has much to do with the matter, unless the astounding statements made at these meetings could be denied. I find, however, that some members of the house did not deny them; and amongst them, Mr. Sidney Herbert, the Secretary at War, member for Wiltshire, got up, and in a speech which did equal honour to his head and heart, said he was grieved to believe that the statements which had been made were quite true, and that the poor of Wiltshire were labouring under privations such as had been described, and the right hon. gentleman added that the only thing he could do to alleviate their sufferings and distress would be to support Sir Robert Peel in the repeal of the Corn Laws. I, for one, care not how these meetings are got up. The only question is this, are the statements made at them true or false? Now, in order that there shall be no mistake, I will tell you how this meeting has been got up. I am no Leaguer—I am not connected with any political party or faction. I never paid to or received from the League one penny, but a friend of mine, one of yourselves, one who has risen from the plough-tail, met me, and said to me, "Do you not think we could get up a meeting like that which has been held in Wiltshire?" I stated some difficulties, which I thought would attend the getting up of the meeting, and suggested that it would be hard to get a sufficient number of labourers together, and so we parted. About a week ago we met again, and he said, "What do you think of a meeting now that the farmers be repealers?" "I have been talking," said he, "with 100 highly respectable farmers of the neighbourhood, and I have found that with one solitary exception they are all in favour of total and immediate repeal, referred to the three years of deception which the measures of Sir Robert Peel would produce, and now if the farmers have not courage and pluck enough to carry out their own wishes, let the labourers come forward and help them" (loud cheers). Well, I was bound to yield to my friend's unanswerable arguments. He said, "Will you help us?" I said, "If I am capable, and in health, I will." We then went to work, and this meeting is the result of that consultation (applause). Whether legitimate or illegitimate, such are the circumstances under which this meeting has been convened, and I say fairly, that we do not wish to prejudice the question, or to pass any petition for or against the

Corn Laws, yet we are here to call upon the labourers of Hampshire to describe their state and condition under Corn Law protection. It has been argued by the protectionists, that the Corn Laws are necessary for the protection both of the farmers and the labourers; therefore, if you can prove that there has been such a state of happiness and prosperity during the time the law of 1815 has been in operation—now a period of thirty years—if you can prove that your state and condition has been improved; that you lived better; that you are better housed, and better clothed; then, no doubt, some straightforward Englishman will get up and propose a petition praying for the continuance of that law. (Cries of "No such thing—Free Trade for ever.") But if, on the other hand, a state of privation and suffering, such as our forefathers never knew, is developed at this period, then, I contend, that you will advocate and carry petitions to both houses of Parliament praying for the total and immediate repeal of these laws (cheers). My friends, because I say that I am not one of the League, do not suppose that I mean to repudiate or impugn that body. We owe the League much; and every man, woman, and child that eats bread owes the League a deep debt of gratitude. (Here an interruption arose from the interference of a farmer named Whale, who was in the body of the meeting.) Mr. Ekless, addressing the person named, said, "Whale, we know you are a rum fish, but you must not interrupt the business of the meeting." (Cries of "Silence, Whale; you beats down the wages of the poor, and drives them into the unions, you rascal.") My friends, take no notice of him, for, like most of his species, he is composed principally of blubber (cheers and laughter). But, my friends, I will go further and say, that I not only respect the League as a body, but there are certain members of the League whom I highly esteem, which is more than respect. I allude to Richard Cobden and John Bright, who agree with me, and of the honour of whose intimate acquaintance I am truly proud (hear, hear, hear). Richard Cobden is one of ourselves—he was brought up at the plough tail, and had served part of his time within a few miles of the spot where we are now assembled. (Mr. Whale here again interrupted the speaker, and was met with general cries of "Turn him out.") Mr. Ekless proceeded—If you think, Mr. Whale, to disturb the meeting, you are most miserably deceived, for you shall not be allowed to do so many minutes longer. If you have anything to say come up here, and we will willingly listen to you; but you shall not disturb our proceedings. (Loud cries of "Come up here, and speak out like a man if you have anything to say.") Mr. Ekless resumed—I was about to say that we are met within a few miles of the spot where Richard Cobden spent part of his time, and that I cannot do justice to the honourable character of that individual; but I do not in my conscience believe that a more sincere, constant, and zealous friend of the tenant farmers of England exists in this country than Richard Cobden, or a man who makes greater sacrifices to promote their interests, happiness, and prosperity, much as he has been impugned and vilified (hear, hear). With respect to John Bright, eloquent and all-powerful as he is in the cause of Free Trade, he has proved himself the friend of the farmer by moving last session a motion, which he has resumed this session, for the appointment of a select committee to take into consideration, with a view to its repeal, that curse, that plague-spot—that relic of the Norman yoke—the Game Laws—which has become so fertile in crime, and injurious to the best interests of society, and so destructive to property (cheers). For this John Bright would descend to his grave with laurels on his brow, compared to which the laurels of the battle-field were but as mere weeds (loud cheering). Now, I had always been taught to believe, when I was young, that our forefathers were in a most most miserable condition—that they were half-starved—that they were dependent upon the upper classes, to whom only luxuries belonged, while squalid wretchedness was the condition of the lower orders. But when I got older, and began to read the pages of history, I found that 400 years ago, during the reign of Henry VIII., an Act of Parliament was passed, the preamble of which recited—"Whereas, beef, mutton, pork, and veal, are the common food of the poorer sort." So that, in those days, the very serfs were well fed (cries of "We do not get it now.") And in a subsequent reign, another act was passed, which also shows what was the state and condition of our forefathers. It was called a sumptuary law, and it shows that such had been the state of civilisation, that a law was necessary to restrain the people in regard to the luxuries of dress, and accordingly an act was passed 350 years ago, to prohibit every artisan and mechanic from wearing cloth of the cost of more than 30s. per yard, and every field labourer from wearing cloth of the cost of more than 20s. per yard (cheers). My friends, no such law as that is necessary now. Supposing a full-sized labourer of the present day to be fed on beef, mutton, pork, and veal, he would require a much bigger coat than fits him at present, and if he took at that time two yards of cloth, at 20s., it would have been about the cost of two bullocks, or thirty sheep, or eight quarters of wheat or malt (cheers). This statement is not of my own making, but these are facts which I quote from the records of the nation. It is Fortescue and Clarendon, two Lord High Chancellors of England, who state these things, and who then described the state of the people "as the envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world" (loud cheers). I come now to the period of the Revolution of 1688, and I find that there was double the quantity of malt consumed in England by the same number of inhabitants as there is in the present day (cheers). But I will bring you down to a still later period, and to a spot near home. I mean to the parish of Titchfield. I hold in my hand a statement given to me by Mr. Carver, of Upham, taken from the farm-book of Mr. Huxman, who held three farms in the parish of Titchfield, forming together an equilateral triangle, and there I find that, in 1782, a farm labourer with his wages could buy 27 gallons of malt, or 19 gallons of wheat, or 33 lbs. of peg meal (cheers). And I also find that James Rutter, one of the labourers, paid 2s. 10s. a year for his house rent and the grazing of a cow; so that from this time to the present the state and condition of the labourer has been gradually deteriorating until it has reached the degrading level on which it now stands (cheers). But what do I find still further? I have another authority on this subject, contained in the Journals of the House of Commons for the year 1820, which is only five years after the law of 1815 was passed, and from an entry in those journals, it appears that the state and condition of the labourer was then so wretched that the legislature thought it advisable to move for a committee of the whole house to take the subject into consideration. And what was the result? Why, men of the first respectability were examined at the bar, and of these, the first was Mr. John Elmore, now a celebrated protectionist in Sussex, who, when asked what had been the

condition of the agricultural labourer 30 or 40 years before the time at which he was examined, replied, that then every provident labourer in his parish brewed his own beer, and enjoyed it with his family at his own fire-side. Now, he added, there are only two or three to whom I supply malt (cries of "shame, that is true"). The next witness examined was a gentleman whose name I forget, but who was High Sheriff of the county of Wilts, and he stated that the labourers "then subsisted principally upon good bacon, bread and beer." On what do they subsist now? was the next question, and his reply was, that their principal food consisted of potatoes, which they carried cold with them to the fields (loud cries of "shame!"). Thus, my friends, you see that your condition, from whatever cause, has gone on gradually deteriorating. I do not say that this is to be attributed to the Corn Laws alone, because many other causes have conspired to produce these fearful results, but I do say that the Corn Laws have not prevented them, and that if those laws had been conducive to the prosperity of the country, the condition of the labourer would have been ameliorated and bettered instead of made worse. There is no man present whose intellect is so obtuse as not to know this fact, and it is wrong to suppose that a man, because he has been brought up at the plough tail, has no skill or common sense. Now, as to this Corn Law. You all of you remember the late war and privations which were then endured with a patience unexampled. We had then all the world against us, and we were told that this nation was so isolated, that we must stand together to beat Boney, and defend our happy fire-sides. We were told also that peace would come, and with peace plenty (hear, hear; and loud cries of "yes, we remember all that"). The labourers of England did come forward, and were ready to shed the last drop of blood in their bodies in defence of their native land (cheers). Well, the year 1815 came, and then, only one year after peace was restored and plenty had been promised, the House of Commons passed a law, which enacted that no wheat should be imported into this country until it had reached 80s. per quarter for the three preceding months. It was said that this law was necessary, not merely to keep up the respectability, but the very existence of our country as a nation. It was opposed by a gentleman now a half-and-half protectionist—I mean Lord Ashburton—then Mr. Alexander Baring, a merchant and a money lender, so violently that Mr. Robinson (now the Earl of Ripon, then Chancellor of the Exchequer) accused him with fomenting mobs outside of the house, and threatened him with the consequences. Lord Ashburton dared Mr. Robinson to postpone the measure for another week; that if so there would be such an expression of public opinion against it that the bill would never be passed into a law. Lord Ashburton described the measure thus. "He said that seeing its tendency to raise the price of bread, a more cruel act of injustice towards the labourers of this country could not be perpetrated. And what did Mr. Robinson reply? Why that the measure would not have any injurious effect upon the labourer, because if he could not earn enough wages they would be made up to him from the parish pay-table, so that he had a resource to fall to. And so matters went on until a great cry was made that the poor were going to eat up the country (loud cries of "That's true!"). A report was then drawn up, than which a grosser libel on the working classes never was published (cheers). On that report a bill was founded and brought in—a bill which I am almost afraid to mention, for it raises my feelings and makes my blood boil with indignation—it is the accursed Poor Law Bill (groans and hisses). Now I contend fairly and honestly the passing of that abominable law—which cuts off from the labouring man that out-door relief, which he preferred in the shape of wages, to being doled out in charity, affords a fertile reason for the repeal of the Corn Laws, because if one law was passed to make bread dear, and another law was passed to constitute poverty a crime, it was a proceeding so monstrous that I can hardly speak of it with calmness, and the most cruel injustice ever practised on the rights of mankind (cheers). I consider that the Corn Laws were virtually repealed by the passing of the New Poor Law, and it ought to have been so, in fact (great cheering). Hence, it is our bounden duty to our wives, our children, and our country, to raise our voices against the Corn Laws. It is now proposed by Sir Robert Peel, yielding, as he does, to the voice of public opinion, to abolish the Corn Laws at the end of three years; and a difference of opinion exists as to the wisdom of continuing them for three years, or of repealing them immediately, but I am happy to say that the great mass of the farmers, instead of agreeing to a deception for three years, join almost to a man, heart and hand, in supporting total and immediate repeal. I have met with only one exception, and that is my friend, Mr. Whale (hisses and groans). If, then, the farmers are severe—(cries of "Who will doubt it?")—it is in strict keeping with our duty as labourers, (for I call myself one of yourselves,) to come forward and do their work for them (cheers). If, however, they have not the energy and decision to come forward and prove that the Corn Laws have not produced happiness and prosperity, I trust we shall adopt a petition for repeal; but if, on the contrary, it should be the feeling of the majority of this company that, during the 30 years those laws have been in operation, the labourers have enjoyed happiness and comfort, and have been better fed, better housed, and better clothed than they were before, then adopt a petition for the continuance of those laws (cries of no, no, never). I do not come here to set the labourer against his master, because I believe that unless the farmer is in a state of prosperity, the labourer cannot enjoy any degree of comfort. I believe that the real interests of the farmer, the labourer, and the landlord are identical; but if the farmers would adopt the use of a little "Cobdenised eye-salve," and look a little beyond their noses, they would see that they had been the mere cat's paws of the landlords. The law is not a farmer's, but a parson's law. It has worked a great moral evil; it has never fulfilled its purpose, or the pledges given with respect to it. It has turned out a mere delusion, and it has swept away four-fifths of the renting farmers of this country, leaving the remainder in anything but a state of prosperity (loud cheers). If they were in a state of prosperity, what hypocrisy it was for them to go whining about distress before no less than five committees of the House of Commons. Mr. Ekless proceeded at still further length to comment on the operation of the existing Corn Laws, and after pronouncing a warm eulogy on the services of the *Times* newspaper in advocating the cause of the poorer classes, concluded by asking for as fair a hearing for every person as he had obtained himself. Three cheers were enthusiastically given for Mr. Ekless.

JAMES BEDDLE, a labouring man, clad in a smock-frock, then came forward and proposed a resolution, of which the following is an exact copy: "Resolved, that we be the farmers labors be as bad of as we can be not being able to

get the Necessaries wat we and our Fameles wants and tho a good many saie we be pertected by the Corn Lawes we thinks we shoud be better of if thare woodent noan." The mover stated that last winter he had earned nine shillings per week, out of which he had to keep a family of seven in number; and this year he had got ten shillings a-week to keep eight. He had no house-rent to pay; but they wanted eight gallons (a term peculiar to Hants) of bread a week, which cost 8s. 2d.; which left him and his family 1s. 10d. (A Voice—"Where is the meat to come from?") Last winter all he had to eat during the whole of the cold weather was bread twice a day. (Another voice: "Your family had not any roast joints at home.") No, they had not. All they had was bread. (A third voice: "Had you not a little water, Jam?") Yes, plenty of that; but I leave you to judge after that (cries of "Shame.")

JOHN LIPSCOMB, another labourer, seconded the resolution. He said that perhaps some of his fellow-labourers around him might know his state as well as he did himself; but if not, his state was thus: He went to work six days in the week for nine shillings. His family consisted of four children, his wife and himself making six in number. They required six gallons of bread a week, which took seven shillings of his earnings; and if he calculated to spend the remainder in butter, it would be only a halfpenny worth for each per day. But he did not spend the money in that way. From the 10th of December to the 22d of February he had never seen either cheese or butter in his house; and if it had not been for one gentleman (William Garnier, Esq.,) letting him have an acre of his land at a reasonable rent, he and his family would have been almost starved during the past winter. The man with much feeling thus concluded:—"May God Almighty, who rules the hearts of our Queen and her subjects, turn their hearts to us, and look upon us with an eye of mercy and pity; and to relieve our distresses give us Free Trade if it will afford us any good. I have described my state as well as I can; I have nothing more to say. I have got no money." (Loud cheers for Lipscombe.)

JANE CLREVE, a cleanly-dressed, middle-aged woman, next came forward, and said she had a sick husband and a sick child, and had applied to the parish, who had given her five shillings and six loaves of bread during the time her husband was ill. She had two shillings a week to pay for house-rent, and they wanted three-and-a-half gallons of bread to give them two meals a day. Meat she never saw, but a piece one of her neighbours had given to her sick boy. Her family consisted of five children, her husband, and herself. The doctor had been to see her husband, and she had applied for a little tea and sugar, but was told it was only allowed when the party was in a dying state. ("Shame.") She went before the board of guardians, and had been allowed 2lbs. of mutton to make a little broth, and last week she had received 3s. 6d., which was sixpence a head for her family. She hoped the Corn Laws would be done away with, if that would do any good for the poor (loud cries of "Free Trade for ever.")

POLLY EDWARDS, a comely looking matron, next came forward and said she had come to state her case. She was the mother of five children who required six gallons of bread a week. She paid 1s. 6d. house rent, 6d. a week to her husband's benefit club, and 6d. a week for her children's schooling, and after this she left the people to guess how much she had remaining out of 11s. a week. Many nights she had gone to bed with a baby to suckle, after having had nothing but a bit of bread and a drink of cold water (loud cries of "shame.") One ounce of tea, and a quarter of a pound of sugar had to last seven of them an entire week. She hoped the Corn Law would be repealed and that her husband would be able to go to work from 6 o'clock to 6 o'clock, with some meat to eat instead of a bit of "bread and scrape," if he had even that. This was her case, and she had walked five miles to tell it.

Mr. EKLESS remarked that a more honest, trustworthy, orderly moral couple than this woman and her husband did not exist. Her coming the distance she had, reflected great credit upon her, and he proposed that she should be greeted with three cheers.—The proposition was promptly and energetically adopted.

HENRY EDNEY, a labourer, from the neighbouring parish of Droxford, stated that he had a wife and nine children, six of whom were at home. His wages were 9s. per week, and his family wanted seven gallons of bread a week, which came to 8s. 2d. This left but 10d. to buy other necessities. He could say that there had used to be a few mice in his house, but that now they were all starved out. His family had been or three days with only one quatern loaf among them (shame). He was not ashamed to tell it—(cheers)—and he had worked three days, having eaten bread only once in that time.

The CHAIRMAN having inquired whether any other person wished to speak for or against the resolution, and no reply having been given, he then put the resolution, to the meeting, by whom it was unanimously adopted amidst loud cheers.

JOHN DEDIMUS then mounted the platform and said he had got a resolution "wrote" out, which he would get Mr. Ekless to read for him.

Mr. EKLESS read the resolution, which was in these precise terms, "Resolved—that we send up a petition to Both Houses of Palament to take up the Corn Lawes, cause we thinks we should be better of without em."

DEDIMUS stated that he was a labourer at Weckham, and worked for Captain Green, at 10s. a week. He had a wife and six children. He paid 2s. house-rent, and sixpence to his benefit-club, which left 7s. 6d. per week for eight of them to live upon (loud cries of "Shame"). That was every farthing he got, and six gallons of bread a week was as little as they could do with, and this left but sixpence a week. (A voice, "Where's the beef, mutton, pork, and veal, and the blasters and salmon.") He got none, and was often puzzled how best to lay out the sixpence—(a voice, "Mr. Whale will tell you how to spend your sixpence"—to which another voice replied, "No, Whale is gone home with a harpoon stuck in him. Cheers and laughter.) His children had not a shoe to their feet or anything to keep them warm in the day, and scarcely so at night. (A cry of "Where is the fire?") As to the fire he was forced to steal that—he did not wish to do so, but he was forced to it. (A shout of "There's Corn Law protection for you.") The Corn Laws could not be worse, and any change must be for the better. He wanted to work to support himself and family, for he did not like to be poked into those holes—the union workhouse. His wife went to the union at the fore part of the winter, in hopes to get a little relief for their large families, and some of the great bloated fellows there said that if they could not live on 10s. a week they must come into the union altogether. These fellows sat there with wine and beef before

them, while his wife had not two ounces of bread inside her (loud cheers, and cries of "Shame.")

SARAH TITTERIDGE, an intelligent-looking woman, came forward to second the resolution. She said that she had six children, who were not able to do anything, and that her husband was ill. When he was at work his wages were nine shillings per week, from which, deducting two shillings for house rent, left seven shillings for eight of a family to live upon. Her husband paid sixpence a week to his club, from which he had some assistance when he was not able to work, but if it had not been for being trusted on next summer's earnings, she and her family would have been starving during the past winter.

MARGARET HILYER made similar statements—her husband was a shepherd, earning 10s. a week, and they had nine children at home and two at service.

PETER BARFOOT, a venerable looking man, whose appearance would form an admirable study and subject for an artist, stated that all he had earned during the present month of February was three shillings, with the exception of a few coppers he had been given that day.

No other speakers presenting themselves, The CHAIRMAN put the resolution, which passed amidst loud cheers.

Petitions to both houses of Parliament, in the following terms, were then agreed to.

"The humble petition of the labourers of Hampshire, in public meeting assembled, sheweth—

"That your humble petitioners, after going on from year to year under Corn Law protection, with bare subsistence wages, despair of an amendment of their state and condition, under those restrictive laws.

"That your petitioners, therefore, do most earnestly entreat your honourable house will be pleased to pass an act for the immediate and total repeal of the Corn Laws, which, as they hope and believe, would be followed by an equitable adjustment of tithes, the protection against game, and the repeal of the malt tax, thus placing the renting farmers in a more secure and legitimate condition than they have been in under the last thirty years of Corn Law protection; which would, as they also believe, improve the state and condition of your petitioners, by keeping the price of provisions more moderate and steady, and by an increased demand for their labour, through an outlay of capital on the land, which the present uncertainty, occasioned by Corn Law protection, has had a powerful influence in preventing.

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

On the motion of Mr. Ekless, three cheers were given to the reporters of *The Daily News*, the *Times*; and of the local journals then present; and three cheers for Cobden, Bright, and Free Trade; and the concourse of persons who had remained throughout the proceedings, which occupied until half-past eight o'clock, began to move off towards their respective homes in the same peaceable and quiet manner as they arrived.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

"Be instant in season, and out of season."

SIR,—Allow me, through the medium of your journal, to acknowledge the receipt of 10s. from C. H., Bristol, for the use of the poor in my neighbourhood. Many thanks to C. H.

Sir, while I have the pen in my fingers, I may as well inform both yourself and your many readers, that Free Trade doctrines are gaining ground in our high church neighbourhood; and the farmers in general would, I know, much rather have the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, than the measure as proposed by Sir Robert Peel. The farmers of our province were taken by no small degree of surprise, in our market place, on Friday, the 20th inst. I employed a man to distribute about seventy-five copies of the *League* and *Economist* newspapers, including a great number of Anti-Corn Law tracts, and about fifty copies of the Anti-Corn Law Catechism among them. It was highly amusing to see how some of the worthy cultivators of the soil threw the *League* up into the air, just as they would shake off a serpent; but the great bulk of those who took the papers, &c., put them into their pockets: and I have not a doubt that, in consequence of the simple plan which I have adopted, to promulgate Free Trade doctrines, many hundreds of farmers, farmers' wives, sons and daughters, have now become more friendly, and more willing to think and act for themselves, than they have been accustomed to do.

I am indebted to my old, well-tried, and constant friend, Joseph Proctor, Esq., Manchester, for the greater number of the papers which have been distributed at my request and by my directions. And it is my duty and privilege to add, that Mr. Proctor has forwarded the sum of 10l. to be laid out by me for the benefit and to promote the comfort and elevation of the starving and half-naked poor in my own neighbourhood. For this rich and seasonable gift for the peasantry of the district in which I live, and often sigh and weep over the miseries of my fellow men, I give thanks, and take courage. I am still hard at work, walking day after day from hovel to cottage and from hamlet to village, to see and examine for myself how far the statements made to me at my own door, and by hundreds of the peasantry, are true and to be relied upon; and I can assure your readers that the more I search out the real condition of the field-labourers, the more I am constrained to say to the "protectionists," "With force and with cruelty have ye ruled them."

Last week both my wife and myself paid a visit to the hamlet of Arncoft, in the parish of Ambrosden, Oxon. Arncoft is about five miles from Bicester.

Out of the many applications made to us for relief by the poor of Arncoft, we have selected a number of the most wretched and destitute families we could find, and have given them, blankets, sheets, and smockfrocks. We shall not soon forget the miseries, privations, and sufferings of these poor people; neither can we ever forget their artless, simple, and heartfelt expressions of thanks to those Free Traders who have enabled us to assist them.

These poor people (hundreds in number) have no other water, summer or winter, to boil or to drink, than what they draw from the stagnant and filthy ponds at which cows and horses drink, and in which ducks and geese swim. The consequence of using this puddle, and of the hunger endured by the people, is an annual typhus fever, by which several persons are hurried every year into eternity.

It is not long since, a labourer's wife in Arncoft was so destitute of bedding, that she had to remain on her death-bed without any other covering than a chemise, while a poor neighbour washed the only sheet which the dying

woman had to cover her, and she died before the sheet could be rendered fit for the bed!!

One of the men to whom we gave sheets and blankets last week, whose name is Green, has had the typhus fever in his hovel for seven weeks; his wife has been ill, and not able to stand by herself, and consequently the poor man has had to hire a woman out of his 8s. a-week to attend to him, and his three children have been ill of the typhus fever, and confined to the house for seven weeks. The poor man used to lay one of the children on an old sack on the floor before the fire, while he attended to his delirious wife and other children. Another sober and industrious man, to whom we have given sheets and a blanket, has been seen this winter by a member of my church, with his wife and children, 10 in number, eating out of an old beehive; but their food was neither "locusts" nor "wild honey" no,—but their rich repast was made up of boiled Swedes and greens, mashed into a kind of pulp.

Another great sufferer in our neighbourhood is a young man who lost his father a few years ago. The poor lad was brought up in the midst of plenty, but since the death of his father—especially this winter—he has been almost starved to death. I know it to be a fact, that the poor fellow was so reduced by hunger a few weeks back, that he could not walk up stairs to his bed.

Sir, I have done what I could to relieve the most distressing cases which I could find in the town and neighbourhood in which I live and labour, but I have not reached more than one-half of those cases of wretchedness and misery which call aloud for help. It is now about seven years since I took up the cause of the rural peasantry. I then said that whenever others in other counties could be induced to follow my example, the peasantry as a whole (in the South of England), and not the peasantry of this or that county, would be found a ruined wreck.

Others have since followed my example in pleading for the poor, and those who read *THE LEAGUE* know the result. I should like to know when I am to have the remainder of the beds and bedding promised me. I have promised them to the bedless sons and daughters of toil, and they are ready to worry me for them. The following is an exact copy, spelling and all, of a letter addressed to me, begging for a bed. The writer is a sober, pious, and industrious man, and a member of the Primitive Methodist Society.

"DEAR SIR,—I hope you will not be offended with me for my coming to you, for I hear that you have beds to give away—I have no bed of my own, we sleep on my mother's bed—I have been out of work for 3 weeks, but I have work now and I have six shillings a week for 3 persons to live on And I ham afrade I shall not get one without you are my friend." Jas. STANFORD, Merton, Oxfordshire.

"29 January, 1846."

Sir, I have presented in this letter a *FATR specimen* of the PROSPERITY AND MENTAL CULTURE of the PROTECTED LABOURERS in the counties of OXON and BUCKS, and beg to close this epistle with the following short petition:—"Perish protection—flourish Free Trade."—I am, Sir, yours very respectfully, Wm. FERGUSON, Minister of the Congregational Independent Church, Feb. 23, 1846. Bicester, Oxon.

IMPORTS OF WHEAT AND WHEAT FLOUR.—We copy from a parliamentary return (No. 54, 1845), dated the 13th instant, "An account of all wheat and wheat flour (stated in quarters of wheat) imported into the United Kingdom, in the years ending the 5th day of January, 1842, the 5th day of January, 1843, the 5th day of January, 1844, the 5th day of January, 1845, and the 5th day of January, 1846.—Also, of the quantities entered for home consumption in the same periods":—

Years ending 5th Jan.	Wheat and Wheat Flour, stated in Quarters of Wheat.		
	Foreign.	British Colonial.	Total.
Quantities Imported.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.
1842	2511628	259019	2770647
1843	2840726	199543	3040269
1844	946638	118304	1064942
1845	1146438	234413	1370851
1846	896077	245951	1142028
Retained for home consumpn.			
1842	2361732	257970	2619702
1843	2764222	213080	2977302
1844	647381	134906	982287
1845	787984	233697	1021681
1846	89819	225924	315743

From the same parliamentary paper, we copy "An account of Wheat and wheat flour (stated in quarters of wheat) imported into Great Britain and Ireland from Canada, in the years ending the 5th day of January, 1842, the 5th day of January, 1843, the 5th day of January, 1844, the 5th day of January, 1845, and the 5th day of January, 1846.—Also, of the quantities entered for home consumption in the same periods":—

Years ending 5th Jan.	Wheat and Wheat Flour, stated in Quarters of Wheat.		
	Entered as Produce of British Possessions.	Certified Produce of Canada (from 10th Oct 1843.)	Foreign.
Imported from Canada.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Qrs.
1842	238605	..	118
1843	178057	..	1865
1844	35223	77327	13
1845	7	225097	17
1846	..	229241	3
Entered for home consumption from Canada.			
1842	241564	..	104
1843	191686	..	622
1844	55639	75329	131499
1845	137	226886	8
1846	..	208420	208423

Letters from Coblenz state that 48,000 bushels of flour had been withdrawn from the military stores of Wesel, Cologne, Juliers, and Coblenz, and placed at the disposal of the President in Chief of the Rhenish provinces, to be divided among the inhabitants of the most distressed districts, who will pay for the supply at a rate to be fixed after the next harvest.

Just Published,

MR. BRIGHT'S SPEECH in the House of Commons on Tuesday Night, Feb. 17. Price One Penny.

MR. GIBSON'S SPEECH on Monday Night, Feb. 16.

Leaves Office, 67, Fleet-street, London; J. Gadsby, Newall's Buildings, and 3, Old Millgate, Manchester.

Where may be had,

THE GOATCRE MEETING.

Just published, price One Penny, or 5s. per 100.

A VERBATIM REPORT OF THE MEETING OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS AT GOATCRE, printed in a tract form, 12 pages.

Sold at the League Office, 67, Fleet-street, London; and by J. Gadsby, Newall's Buildings, and 3, Old Millgate, Manchester.

MR. CORDEN'S SPEECH will be published as early as possible after delivery.

*Several members of the Council of the League are desirous of making complete their sets of the *Anti-Corn-Law Circular*, which was printed in Manchester, prior to the commencement of the LEAGUE paper. They are deficient of the following numbers:

11, 18, 19, 21, 28, 41, 48, 53, 63, 67, 68, 70, 76, 78, 93, 97, 100, 103, 104, 105, 107, 115, 118, 125, 139.

Any reasonable sum will be paid for the numbers, or any of them.

They may be addressed to the care of Mr. Gadsby, Newall's Buildings, Manchester, and should be accompanied by a letter from the senders, which shall be promptly replied to, with payment.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, Feb. 25, 1846.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

As the regulations of the Post Office require that the Christian Name of the party to whom Post Office Orders are sent should be given in full, subscribers are respectfully requested to procure their Orders in future for **GEORGE WILSON, League Offices, Manchester, or ABRAHAM WALTER PAULTON, 67, Fleet-street, London.**

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*Eastwood and Tavo, Charles-st, Brook-st, Manchester	2	0	0
*Higginbotham, Jno K, Chapel-st, Salford	2	0	0
*Mellon, Rev Robert, Birmingham	2	0	0
Small sums, per Johnson and Hargreaves, Manchester	1	7	6
*Chadwick, John, Jun, 13, Princes-st, do	1	1	0
*Stephens, Edwd, 11, Bridge-st, do	1	1	0
*Pilling, J, Nicholas Croft, do	1	1	0
*Hughes, J, 23, Stretford New-road, Hulme, do	1	1	0
*Cookson, Wm, 26, Mercer-st, Butler-st, do	1	1	0
*Chadwick, David, Salford	1	1	0
*Whitehead, E, 53, London-road, Manchester	1	0	0
*Read, W, 47, Stretford-road, Hulme, do	1	0	0
*Edgar, T, Carlton-place, Ardwick, do	1	0	0
*Mellor, W, Stevenson's-st, do	1	0	0
*Daniels, A, Winton Barton, near do	1	0	0
*Greening, M, at Ryland's & Co, Cateaton-st, do	1	0	0
*Hankinson, M, Hanging-ditch, do	1	0	0
*Hargreaves, G, Whitley Grove, do	1	0	0
*Vickers, W, Pin Mill Brow, do	1	0	0
*Campbell, G, 42, Swan-st, do	1	0	0
*White, J, R, sen, Radnor-st, Hulme, do	1	0	0
*White, J, R, jun, do	1	0	0
*Ogilvie, C, 26, Royle-st, C on M, do	1	0	0
*Ogilvie, E, J, 12, Maskell-st, do	1	0	0
*Baxter, W, C, cabinet maker, Dundee	1	0	0
*Hadfield, T, Butter-market, Warrington	1	0	0
*Hadfield, Mrs, Stanley-st, do	1	0	0
*"Plato", Bolton-st, Darwen, per H. Lightbourn	1	0	0
*Whitworth, E, Royton, near Oldham	1	0	0
*Brown, H, Thetford, Norfolk	1	0	0
*Yule, Thomas, Haddington	1	0	0
*Mason, G, Belhaven, Dunbar, N.B.	1	0	0
*Knowles, J, Engley Bank, nr Bolton	1	0	0
*Harwood, R, Silverwell-st, do	1	0	0
*Slater, W, Hebdon Bridge	1	0	0
*Aron, T, Dukinfield	1	0	0
*Bushby, Jno, Carrier, Blackburn	1	0	0
*Farrow, W, Woburn	1	0	0
*Kitching, W, Kendal	1	0	0
*Rhodes, Jno, Accrington	1	0	0
*Dawson, J, Regent-rd, Salford	0	12	0
*Bell, Jno, 3, Eagle-st, C on M, Manchester	0	10	0
*Johnson, Richard	1	0	0
*Garside, T B	1	0	0
*Bennett, T G	1	0	0
*Wright, J, jun, Free Trade Cottage, nr Southport	0	10	0
*Jolley, Wm	0	10	0
*Harrocks, John	0	5	0
*A Friend, per R Johnson	2	0	5

Borough of Oldham.

*A Friend	100	0	0
Platt, J & Z	30	0	0
*Gartside and Mayall, Union Mill, Greenacres Moor	80	0	0
*Greaves, James, Dittcar do	20	0	0
*Lees, Eli, Soho do	20	0	0
*Lees and Mills, Waterhead Mill	20	0	0
*Travis, John, and Brothers, Shaw	20	0	0
*Barlow, George, Chamber	10	0	0
*Moss and Howard, Waterhead Mill	10	0	0
*Broadbent, T, Hopwood Mill, Greenacres Moor	10	0	0
*Marsden and Collinge, Horsedeg Mill	10	0	0
*Wild, A, Marsland Mill	10	0	0
*Yates, R, Grosvenor-st	10	0	0
*Nelson, J & H, Waterloo	10	0	0
*Clegg, A, Mump's Mill, Greenacres Moor	10	0	0
*Holladay, James, North-st Mill	6	0	0
*Wainwright, John & Sons, Bankside do	6	0	0
*Jackson, Brothers, Cannon-st	6	0	0
*Brierley, Brothers, Union-st	6	0	0
*Wild, James, Mumps Mill, Greenacres Moor	6	0	0
*Milne, A, Primrose Mill	6	0	0
*Milne, W, 13, Stock-st, Cheetham Manchester	6	0	0
*Milne, F, 6, Stanley-st, do	5	0	0
*Roe & Boyd, Soho, Greenacres Moor	4	0	0
*Rhodes, John, timber-merchant	4	0	0
*Walton & Shaw, Chapel Mill	4	0	0
*Chadwick, J, Rhodes do, Greenacres Moor	4	0	0
*Wainwright, Joseph, King-st	4	0	0
*Horwood & Monkman, Manchester-st	4	0	0
*Walton, David, Chat Moss, Greenacres Moor	4	0	0
*Robinson, S, Hope-st, Greenacres Moor	4	0	0
*Butterworth, James, Mumps, Greenacres Moor	4	0	0
*Marsh, Richard, Croft Bank do	2	0	0
*Knott, William, King-st	2	0	0
*Stansfield and Buckley, Austerlands, Saddleworth	2	0	0
*Lees, Jas, New Earth, Greenacres Moor	2	0	0
*Wild, Isaac, King-st	2	0	0
*Schofield, Jas and Son, Bankside Mill	2	0	0
*Lees, Jonathan and Son, Primrose Mill	2	0	0
*Emmot, George	2	0	0
*Hargreaves, James, High-st	2	0	0
*Wright, Edward, Vineyard, Greenacres Moor	2	0	0
*Robinson, J, Bull's Head Inn do	2	0	0
*Anti-Curry	2	0	0
*Beswick, George, Edge-lane, Royton	1	1	0
*Holladay, Matthew	1	0	0
*Nelson, James, Manchester-st	1	0	0
*Potter, John do	1	0	0
*Gipin, Edward, Market-place	1	0	0
*Frith, John, High-st	1	0	0
*Cooling, John, Manchester-st	1	0	0
*Hilton, John, plumber, &c., Greenacres Moor	1	0	0
*Hall, J, boot and shoe dealer, Mumps do	1	0	0
*Dickinson and Sharples do	1	0	0
*Buckley, John, Mount-pleasant do	1	0	0
*Taylor, Isaac, Shore Mill do	1	0	0
*Bentley, John, butcher do	1	0	0
*Taylor, Joseph, Shore Mill, Greenacres Moor	1	0	0
*Crompton, James do	1	0	0
*Collet, Thomas, 3, Horse Shoes do	1	0	0
*Cooper, Reuben, Market-place	1	0	0
*Travis, George, Manchester-st	1	0	0
*Raws, John, tinplateworker, Greenacres Moor	1	0	0
*Buckley, W, Spinners Arms Inn, do	1	0	0
*Robinson, W, cotton spinner, Waterhead Mill	1	0	0
*Lees, Joseph, do	1	0	0
*Hague, Matthew, n achinist, do	1	0	0
*Eastwood, W, George & Dragon Inn, do	1	0	0
*A Friend	1	0	0
*Broadbent and Lees, do	1	0	0
*Beswick, John, do	1	0	0
*Lees, John, grocer, do	1	0	0
*Dunkerkley, James, grocer, do	1	0	0
*Brideauke, Edward, do	1	0	0
*Mayall, James, Union Mill, Greenacres Moor	1	0	0
*Grindrod, Samuel, do	1	0	0
*Hirst, John, Church-street, do	1	0	0
*Hall, John, Shaw Crompton	1	0	0
*Rhodes, John, jun, Yorkshire-st	1	0	0
*Marsland, Joseph, engineer, Wernith	1	0	0
*A Friend	1	0	0
*Travis, W, waste dealer, Greenacres Moor	1	0	0
*Wild, Samuel, Lees Road do	1	0	0
*Hardman, J, Chat Moss, do	1	0	0
*Alcock, J, Lower Moor Iron Works, do	1	0	0
*Jones, Joseph, do	1	0	0
*Howard, Edward, do	1	0	0
*Wrigley, Joseph, do	1	0	0
*Wrigley, Benjamin, Firth, do	1	0	0
*Wild, James, grocer, side of do	1	0	0
*Collinge, J, Horsedeg-street	1	0	0
*Marsden, J, do	1	0	0
*Bradbury, J, do	1	0	0
*Wilcock, J, Henshaw-st	1	0	0
*Mort, W, Shaw-street	1	0	0
*Mills, T, Lords Hill	1	0	0
*Gartside, R, Shaw-st	1	0	0
*Lees, J, Henshaw-st	1	0	0
*Lawson, J, Regent-st, Greenacres Moor	1	0	0
*Taylor, J, Glodwick, do	0	10	0
*Lees, Edmund, Waterhead Mill	0	10	0
*Holladay, Mrs James	0	8	0
*Quarby, Greenacres Moor, per Mrs A Clegg, Greenacres Moor	0	8	0
*Godier, S, Newland-st	0	5	0
*Warburton, Jeremiah, Waterhead Mill	0	5	0
*Needham, William, do	0	4	0
*Parington, John, per Mrs A Clegg, do	0	3	0
*Lawton, James, surgeon, Rochdale, per Mrs A Clegg	0	0	0
*Clegg, J, Greenacres Moor, per do	0	0	0
*Clegg, Mrs John, do, per do	1	0	0

Borough of Oldham.	*Chadwick, Miss, do, per do	1	0	0
	*Williamson, H Miss, per Mrs A Clegg, Greenacres Moor	0	2	6
	*Ramsden, Charles, per do do	0	2	6
	*Cavoly, E, Rhodes Bank, do	0	2	6
	Small Sums	0	3	0
Stalybridge	*Woolley, Samuel, Feathers Inn, High-st	1	0	0
	*Burton, Wm, brassfounder	1	0	0
	*Davis, J	1	0	0
Staleybridge. Collected by E Cheetham and J. Davis.	*Hill, James, Grosvenor-street	2	0	0
	*Milburn and Halsworth	1	0	0
	*Cheetham, Edw, Ackers-lane	1	0	0
	*Bamforth, Mr, 233, Stamford-st, Ashton- under-lyne	1	0	0
	*Taylor, James	1	0	0
	*Allen, Robert, Royal Oak	1	0	0
	*Thompson, M.D.	1	0	0
	*Andron, T, shopkeeper, Grosvenor-sq.	1	0	0
	*Kenworthy, T, do, Grosvenor-street	1	0	0
	*Potter, T do	1	0	0
	*Garside, Robert, Wainley-street	0	10	0
	*Head, Wm, Stokes Bridge-street	0	10	0
	*Neild, James, High-street	0	5	0
	*Hadfield, Moses, Caroline-street	0	2	6
	*Hyde, Thomas, Hyde-street	0	2	6
	Contributed by the Workpeople of George Cheetham and Sons.	*Reynolds, Wm, Ackers-lane	1	2	6
*Booth, Henry		1	2	6
*Cheetham, Jeremiah		1	0	0
*Harrop, Edwin		1	0	0
*Wilkinson, Robert		1	0	0
*Bradshaw, James		1	0	0
*Holt, Thomas		0	10	0
*Hall, George		0	10	0
*Waite, Joseph		0	10	0
*Roberts, Joseph		0	10	0
*Clay, Wm		0	5	0
*Wagstaff, Thomas		0	5	0
*Hillingworth, J		0	5	0
*Boulton, Wm		0	5	0
*Brierley, Isaac		0	5	0
*McAlister, Wm		0	2	6
Staleybridge. Contributed by the Workpeople of George Cheetham and Sons.	*Chadwick, Edward	0	2	6
	*Hadfield, John	0	2	6
	*Armstrong, Moor	0	2	6
	*Werrall, George	0	2	6
	*Roberts, Daniel	0	2	6
	*Ratcliffe, David	0	2	6
	*Robinson, James	0	2	6
	*Hollingworth, James	0	2	6
	*Shaw, Edward	0	2	6
	*Bowles, John	0	2	6
	*Welsh, James	0	2	6
	*Loes, John	0	2	6
	*Walker, James, 69A	0	2	6
	*Lees, W	0	2	6
	*Smith, Joseph	0	2	6
	Small Sums	8	10	8
Staleybridge. Contributed by the Workpeople of Messrs. William Bayley and Brothers.	*Greaves, John	1	0	0
	*Andrew, Wm	1	0	0
	*Linney, John	1	0	0
	*Byrom, J and J	1	0	0
	*Lees, J and J	1	0	0
	*Birch, J, and J Shipley	1	0	0
	*Howard, Joseph	0	10	0
	*Whiteley, John	0	5	0
	*Kershaw, Wm	0	5	0
	*Kenworthy, Hugh	0	5	0
	*Meadowcroft, John	0	5	0
	*Hilton, Samuel	0	5	0
	*Mundy, Randle	0	5	0
	*Platt, Samuel	0	5	0
	*Battersby, Emanuel	0	5	0
	*Calvert, James	0	5	0
	*Shofield, James	0	5	0
	*Goddard, Wm	0	5	0
	*Quarby, Wm	0	5	0
	*Pickford, Thomas	0	5	0
	*Hague, James	0	5	0
	*Dimfion, Wm	0	3	0
	*Gledhill, Eli	0	2	6
	*Cook, John	0	2	6
	*Green, Joseph	0	2	6
	*Green, Allen	0	2	6
	*Nuttall, Eli	0	2	6
	*Wood, Wm	0	2	6
	*Battersby, John	0	2	6
	*Hill, Wm	0	2	6
	*Whitehead, John	0	2	6
	*Onsey, Ralph	0	2	6
	*Hadfield, Isaac	0	2	6
	*Gee, George	0	2	6
	*Ogden, John	0	2	6
	*Barney, John, at old mill	0	2	6
	*Hurst, David, Sen	0	2	6
	*Cook, Wm, at old mill	0	2	6
	*Hurst, David, jun	0	2	6
	*Wood, Wm	0	2	6
	*Sutherland, Henry	0	2	6
	*Collins, Robert	0	2	6
	*Edmunds, James	0	2	6
	*Andrew, John	0	2	6
	*Hopwood, Henry	0	2	6
	*Bardeley, Thomas	0	2	6
*Dean, Joel	0	2	6	
*Greenwood, Thomas	0	2	6	
*Taylor, Horatio	0	2	6	
*Shofield, John	0	2	6	
*Hodgson, Samuel	0	2	6	
*Allen, Amos	0	2	6	
*Hodgson, John	0	2	6	
*Saxon, Joseph	0	2	6	
*Malony, Patrick	0	2	6	
*Wormald, Abraham	0	2	6	
*Shepherd, John	0	2	6	
*Pearson, Joseph	0	2	6	
*Hadfield, Samuel	0	2	6	
*Drury, Stephen	0	2	6	
*Clarison, Robert	0	2	6	
*Brooke, Wm	0	2	6	
Small Sums	0	5	0	
Congleton.	*Cooper, Thomas, solicitor	1	1	0
	*McGoy, Patrick, draper	1	1	0
	*Lockitt, George, grocer	1	1	0
	*Duncalf, James	1	1	0
	*Bloor, Wm, silk throwster	1	1	0
	*Davenport, Thomas, do	1	1	0
	*Andrew, John	1	1	0
	*Hadfield, Wm, jun, druggist	1	1	0
	*Twells, Joseph	0	10	0
	*Hadfield, Wm	0	10	0
	*Sh. Idon, Robert, grocer	0	10	0
	*Broadhurst, George, Bagshaw-stn	0	5	0
	*Amson, T	0	5	0
Stockport.	*Longoe, James, Sandy-lane	1	1	0
	*Longson, John do	1	1	0
	*Robinson, H, Millgate	1	1	0
	*Smith, George, Hope Hill	1	1	0
	*Chapman, George, Little Underbank	1	1	0
	*Coxon and Jones, 10, Lancashire Hill	1	1	0
Sheffield.	*Hall, John, Green lane, near Cornish pl.	1	1	0
	*Chamberlain, James, 35, Fargate	1	1	0
	*Atkinson, Wm, Rannover-square	1	1	0
	*Davenport, John, 185, Rockingham-st	1	1	0
	*Gladwin, John, Market-street	1	1	0
	*Osborn, A. 19, Smithfield	1	1	0

*Shaw, J W, and H	30	0	0
*Bendley, Benjamin, and Sons	4	0	0
*Mills, Wm, Aspley, near	4	0	0
*Shaw, Simon, Taylor Hill, near	2	2	0
*Mitchell, John and Son, Aspley, near	2	0	0
*Moors, Joshua, woolstapler	2	0	0
*Walker, Wm, Longwood	2	0	0
*Lorimer, Andrew	1	0	0
*A Friend	1	0	0
*Haigh, Joseph, Lindley, near	1	0	0
*Pilling, Joseph do	1	0	0
*Broadbent, James do	1	0	0
*Fawcett, Richard do	1	0	0
*Bottomley, Joseph, Slathwaite	1	0	0
*Kaye, John, wheelwright, near	1	0	0
*Brooke, Charles, Rastrick, near	1	0	0
*Berry, Godfrey, jun, Lockwood	0	10	0
*Shaw, David, Mold Green, near	0	4	0
*Swain, Edward, 185, Piccadilly	2	2	0
*Sandford, Henry, jun, 180, Bishopsgate-without	2	2	0
*Barclay, Messrs, and Curle, Slip Docks, Glasgow	2	2	0
*Birnie, Charles, Menstrase	2	2	0
*Clark, R. Little Ardyne, Castle Torriard, by Greenock	2	2	0
*Smith, Dr Pye, Homerton College	2	0	0
*Perris, Joseph, Totnes	2	0	0
*Fatten, Henry, 3, Berners-street, Oxford-street	1	1	0
*H G I	1	1	0
*Fairies, Henry Howe, Jeweller, 34, Ludgate Hill	1	1	0
*Collins, J, 32, Nelson-square, Blackfriars-road	1	1	0
*Burton, Alfred, 13, Albert-street, Mornington-crescent	1	1	0
*Winks, J F, Leicester	1	1	0
*Scoles, Wm, Scite House, Hightown, near Leeds	1	1	0
*Scott, D and W, drapers, Arbroath	1	1	0
*Bell, Wm, Irish-street, Dumfries	1	1	0
*Massey, H, Clumber-street, Nottingham	1	1	0
*Ravne, R, Shieldfield, Newcastle-on-Tyne	1	1	0
*Tomlinson, G D, Ramsden-street, Huddersfield	1	1	0
*Eric, Thomas, Leighton Buzzard	1	1	0
*Gray, James McEwen, George-street, Perth	1	1	0
*McDonald, Rev P, M A, Alton, Nt	1	1	0
*Mander, Thomas, George Inn, Stroud, Kent	1	1	0
*Lay, James Peard, 4, Middle Temple	1	1	0
*Lewis, W, Rum Panchoon, Cross-lane, Newton-street, Holborn	1	0	0
*King, Henry, Church-street, Hackney	1	0	0
*Stevens, J, 30, Cross-street, Blackfriars-road	1	0	0
*Cox, Benjamin, 7, Swallow-place, Oxford-street	1	0	0
*Walton, Messrs, and Mitchell, 24, Wardour-st, Soho	1	0	0
*Blakesley, Benjamin, 47, Friday street, City	1	0	0
*Cant, Geo W and Son, High Holborn	1	0	0
*Ashton, W B, Stamford-street, Blackfriars-road	1	0	0
*Epps, John, MD, 89, Great Russell-street	1	0	0
*Epps, Mrs, Coldbath Cottage, Old Charlton, Blackheath	1	0	0
*Plack, Geo, Dr, 93, London-street, Glasgow	1	0	0
*Brown, Geo, Auctioneer, Aberdeen	1	0	0
*Whitehead, H A, Lower North Gate, Gloucester	1	0	0
*Proddow, J, Whitehaven	1	0	0
*Lennon, G, Ninfeld	1	0	0
*France, H, 15, Frederick-street, South Shields	1	0	0
*Wallington, H, Church-place, Warrington	1	0	0
*Gundry, Joseph, Bridport	1	0	0
*Gundry, Benjamin P do	1	0	0
*Williams, James do	1	0	0
*Ellis, W Viner, King-street, Gloucester	1	0	0
*Frankish, S C, Hull	1	0	0
*Paton, John, Montrose, NB	1	0	0
*Paton, James, do	1	0	0
*Cudde, N, brewer, 112, Loch-street, Aberdeen	1	0	0
*Meldrum, Geo, tobacconist, Kirkcaldy	1	0	0
*Wilkinson, Thomas, Kendal	1	0	0
*Benny, Mr, chemist, Bonnybride, by Deney, NB	1	0	0
*Henderson, R, Plash Mill, Kirkcaldy	1	0	0
*Moffatt, D and W, 2, Cross-street, Newcastle-on-Tyne	1	0	0
*Greig, Walter, merchant, Pathhead, Kirkcaldy	1	0	0
*Stevens, John, Clyde Rope Works, Glasgow	1	0	0
*McMillan, James, Moffat, Dumfries	1	0	0
*Murray, W, Anstruther, Fife	1	0	0
*Sanders, T R, jun, 9, Berkeley-square, Bristol	1	0	0
*Riddell, T, 32, Mosley-street, Newcastle-on-Tyne	1	0	0
*Mann, John, Kendal	1	0	0
*Edmondson, Isaac, manufacturer, do	1	0	0
*Ashy, Chas, Trumpington-street, Cambridge	1	0	0
*Dickinson, M, The Poultry, Nottingham	1	0	0
*Scard, Thomas, East End, Warrington	1	0	0
*Washbourne, Chas, Southgate-street, Gloucester	1	0	0
*Horne, Wm, Conistone, near Skipton	1	0	0
*Cowan, Patrick, banker, Ayr, NB	1	0	0
*Dutton, Samuel, Highgate, Hantslet	1	0	0
*An Annual Subscriber to the League Fund per H C Milford, Truro	1	0	0
*Baldwin and Crossley, Burnley	1	0	0
*Levers, Joseph, Kendal	1	0	0
*Bailey, John, Calne	1	0	0
*Brown, Wm and Son, Paisley	1	0	0
*Dufour, Monsieur F Arles, merchant, Lyons, France	1	0	0
*North, Benjamin, Bank-street, Leeds	1	0	0
*Medley, Samuel, New-road, Chatham	1	0	0
*Wyles, Thomas, Westgate-street, Gloucester	1	0	0
*Soame, W, Cecil-court, St Martin's-lane	0	10	6
*Richardson, John, 29, Welstead-street, Somers-town	0	2	6
*Don, Messrs W & J, & Co, manufacturers	3	0	0
*Potter, Provost	2	0	0
*Strachan, Wm, farmer, Hilton of Fearn	2	0	0
*Lawson, John and Son, manufacturers	2	0	0
*Crak, James, jun do	1	10	0
*Sturrock, Wm do	1	6	0
*Don, Robert	1	0	0
*A Friend, per Robert Don	1	0	0
*Whyte, Patrick, tanner	1	0	0
*Reid, Peter, merchant	1	0	0
*Steele, John and Son, manufacturers	1	0	0
*Lawson, A and Son do	1	0	0
*Laird, Wm and Son do	1	0	0
*Webster, Geo, merchant	0	10	0
*Craig, John, manufacturer	0	10	0
*Nicoll, John do	0	10	0
*Thornton, Archibald, reedmaker	0	6	0
*Littlejohn, Wm, hosier	0	5	0
*Murray, Rev A	0	4	0
*Thornton, Peter, manufacturer	0	4	0
*Ramsey, John do	0	4	0
*Littlejohn, Thomas, clerk	0	4	0
*Craig, John, ironmonger	0	4	0
*Anderson, James, baker	0	4	0
*Thompson, James, draper	0	4	0
*Low, Bailie	0	4	0
*Cable, Wm, merchant	0	4	0
*Barry, Wm, grocer	0	4	0
*Ramsey, James, ironmonger	0	4	0
*Burns, James, shoemaker	0	4	0
*Lax, Wm, druggist	0	4	0
*A Friend, per Geo Milne, writer	0	4	0
*Christie, Wm, writer	0	4	0
*Fyfe, John, jun, manufacturer	0	4	0
*Yeaman, John, jun, merchant	0	4	0
*Lawson, Alex, grocer	0	2	6
*Rea, N, weaver	0	2	6
*Smith, Geo, bookseller	0	2	6
*Bell, John, weaver	0	2	6
*Small Sams, Subscribed	0	5	0
*Evans, Chas, 37, Edmund-street	1	1	0
*Hobbs, Joseph, 209, Bradford-street	1	0	0
*Moore, J, 3, Mary Ann-st, St Paul's-q	1	0	0
*Smith, Wm, 110, C. chapel-st	1	0	0
*Wheeler, Chas, 104, Hockley	1	0	0
*Winks, J, Temperance Hotel, Moon-st	0	4	0
*Wrighton, W, Fountain Tavern, New-st	1	0	0

Rawdon.	*Thompson, Wm	1	0	0
	*Yendon, John	1	0	0
	*Briggs, Joseph	1	0	0
	*Wadsworth, Thomas	1	0	0
	*Thompson, G and G W	1	0	0
	*J P	1	0	0
	*Cockburn, R	0	10	0
	*Turnbull, Wm	0	5	6
	*Hall, E	0	5	0
	*Champion, Wm	0	5	0
	*Newnham, H	0	5	0
	*Agates, J	0	5	0
	*Roberts, Edw	0	5	0
	*How, Thomas	0	5	0
	*Dear, James	0	3	0
	*Hall, Thomas, sen	0	2	6
	*Slade, H	0	2	6
	*McClelland, Alexander	0	2	6
	*Kingsman, Geo	0	2	6
	*Wood, W	0	2	6
	*Whiley, W	0	2	6
	*Morris, James	0	2	6
	*Pitt, R	0	2	6
	*Josiah, R	0	2	6
	*Bruce, James	0	2	6
	*Stapler, James	0	2	6
	*Thomas, Wm	0	2	6
	*Wilson, Thomas	0	2	6
	*Cooper, S	0	2	6
	*Hobbs, G	0	2	6
	*Topples, James	0	2	6
	*Wales, David	0	2	6
	*Pressland, H	0	2	6
	*Woodworth, Wm	0	2	6
	*Wales, John	0	2	6
	*Buckett, W, sen	0	1	6

* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed subscriptions.

ERRATA.

In LEAGUE, No. 123, for G B Lea, Kidderminster, 127. 10s. read 10l.
In No. 125, for J Hamilton, Gloucester, read Thos Francillon.
In No. 126, for Matthew Kellan read Matthew Kelland; and in the Edinburgh List, John Mackintosh, 42, Nicholson-street, 2l., appeared as a new Subscriber instead of a renewed one.

THE CORN LAW DEBATE.

Continued from Page 397 of our Supplement.

THE ADJOURNED DEBATE—THURSDAY.

MR. ROEBUCK, before the orders of the day were read, begged leave to put a question to the honourable gentlemen who occupied the benches opposite. He wished those hon. gentlemen would give him to understand the time at or about which the present debate was likely to terminate (hear, hear, hear). Because it appeared to him that the debate had taken a turn quite different from that which it professed to have in view, and that it seemed to be directed rather to waste time than to improve it (hear, hear). He had heard an honourable gentleman the other night occupy two hours and a half of the very valuable time of the house on subjects that had reference to anything and everything but to the business of the debate before them. He (Mr. Roebuck) thought that such a proceeding did not reflect any honour on the house. It certainly was not the way in which to promote the character of the house for decency, order, or anything that was great. That honourable gentleman had spoken for two mortal hours and a half by the clock on any and every subject but the one before the house. He (Mr. Roebuck) did not wonder at the proceedings of the honourable gentleman. He was accustomed to him. But what he was surprised at was, that honourable gentlemen opposite should have cheered and encouraged him in such a style of proceeding, as if they or their cause had been deriving any assistance from his vociferations. If the house were to maintain its dignity, it was not by permitting or indulging in vulgar vituperation, or indecent menace. The honourable gentleman looked as if he had come down like Orson with his club to lay about him; and he indulged accordingly in furious, outspoken, mere—there were words in the English language which would express most properly his opinions of the honourable gentleman's speech, but which would hardly be in accordance with the rules or usages to which the house was accustomed, and he was therefore driven to the use of words that were less expressive but more decent (laughter and cheers). The difficulty of finding suitable language was not raised by him but by that person—by that honourable member who had so violated decency (loud cries of "order, order," from the protectionist benches). Did they cry "order" at him? Did they cry "order" when the violence of which he spoke took place (hear, hear, from the Opposition benches)? No, they did not. And were they as a party so low, that instead of argument they were reduced to rely on blustering and swaggering demeanor? This was an accurate description, and he hoped that the hon. member had something to display beyond the exhibition of intense passion. It was not the reading of extracts from former speeches, or saying that such and such an individual was a dishonourable person, because he had not done exactly what the honourable member thought he ought to have done, that anything was gained in the way of debate or argument. Besides, what was the worth of that honourable gentleman's opinion? Was there a human being, measuring its value professionally, who would give a guinea, or half a guinea, or half a farthing, even, for any opinion he expressed? He (Mr. Roebuck) admitted that great ability had been displayed on the other side; he had been improved and informed by listening to many honourable members; but he must be allowed to add, that it was not by an exhibition like that in the last night's debate that the character of the party opposite would be elevated. He hoped, for the honour and credit of the landed interest, that they would have something better to put forward this evening. He (Mr. Roebuck) did not care for personal imputations; he had lived too long in the atmosphere of this house to value them, but he earnestly hoped that the country gentlemen of England would not be driven to depend upon such advocacy. If the house were to divide, let it divide on argument alone; and to-night he trusted that they would furnish something a little more like it than the speech to which he had referred, and not require the house to sit and listen to violent hatred, in violent and vulgar language (cheers).

MR. BRIGHT agreed that this was not the best time for entering into such matters; but he was anxious to say a few words on what fell from the honourable member for Knaresborough, respecting the conduct of an intimate friend of his (Mr. Bright's), who had not an opportunity of defending himself (hear, hear). He alluded to Mr. George Wilson, the chairman of the Anti-Corn-Law League. He did not

intend to enter into any detailed contradiction; but to be at liberty to say that nearly every portion of what the honourable member for Knaresborough had stated as facts, and every particle of inference he had drawn from them was to be set down as utterly untrue. Mr. Wilson had never called any meeting of the starch-manufacturers: he had never presided at any such meeting, and he had been no party to any deputation that waited upon Government. The object of the starch-manufacturers was not to obtain protection, but as their raw material was enhanced in price by protective duty, it was necessary that the imported article should have a protective duty imposed upon it. When foreign malt was brought into this country, it would only be just to the malsters, that they should be protected to the amount of the exorbitant duty upon home-grown malt. Mr. Wilson was the last man who would join with the starch-manufacturers, if what they wanted was protection in the sense in which the word was used. There was a strange fatality about the assertions in the speeches of the honourable member for Knaresborough, that as far as he (Mr. Bright) had ever heard or read, he had not been able to substantiate any of them (cheers).

DR. BOWRING thought the house had great reason to complain of the absence of the hon. member for Knaresborough, who had directed serious charges against a personal friend of his (Dr. Bowring), who was unable to defend himself. He alluded to the benevolent and intelligent Henry Ashford, of Bolton, who had been brought before the house as having been guilty, to use the words of the honourable member for Knaresborough, of cold-blooded cruelty. His acts had been processionised in the face of the house by the hon. member, who had talked of the dirt, the poverty, and the squalid state of the dwellings of the people Mr. Ashford employed (hear, hear, hear). He (Dr. Bowring) had had some opportunity of knowing the real condition of the population by which his friend was surrounded, and he would venture to assert that in the midst of the dire distress that assailed Bolton a few years ago, the workmen at the mills of Turton and Egerton formed a striking contrast to the rest of the inhabitants. He had written a note to the noble member for Newark (Lord J. Manners), and he hoped that he was in his place. He had also requested the presence of the hon. member for Canterbury (Mr. Smythe), because they had both done Mr. Ashford the honour to visit him, and to inspect the state of his work-people, in order to ascertain whether there was any truth in the representations made in the House of Commons and elsewhere as to the condition of those employed by Mr. Ashford. He (Dr. Bowring) was sure, if they were present, they would pay due homage to truth and justice, by stating the fact. The statement of the honourable member for Knaresborough was altogether untrue (cheers). He (Dr. Bowring) felt called upon to add that if there were anybody who was bound to be singularly scrupulous and careful in his assertions, it was the honourable member for Knaresborough; few were less at a loss for boldness than the honourable member.

A Member, whose name we could not learn, observed that no doubt the honourable member for Knaresborough had many faults, but it was fit that he should be present when he was told of them. An opportunity would occur on a future day (cheers).

LORD MORPETH wished to be permitted to make one reference to what had been said by the honourable member for Knaresborough. He had been the last speaker on Tuesday, and it seemed not unreasonable to expect that he should be present now. He (Lord Morpeth) had a letter in his pocket at the time the honourable member was making his address, which directly contradicted the statement that the operatives at Union-hall had been compelled by their master to sign the petition for the repeal of the Corn Laws. The letter accompanied the petition, and asserted that the signatures were as free as the air the subscribers breathed. Such they believed was the case with other petitions. They made the remark, they added, because it had been said that they had been compelled by their masters to sign it. The operatives, it went on to state, were more anxious than their employers for the total and immediate repeal of all duties on articles of food (cheers). His lordship subjoined that he had received similar letters from other quarters.

MR. ROSS did not feel himself called upon to notice what the honourable member for Knaresborough had advanced respecting the election for the West Riding of Yorkshire, or the personalities in which he had indulged; least of all the assertion that the honourable member for Stockport (Mr. Cobden) had been guilty of selling milk to his work-people. Had that honourable member spoken at all to the question before the house, he (Mr. Ross) should have been prepared to answer him. The honourable member for Northamptonshire (Mr. S. O'Brien) had delivered a speech near the commencement of the discussion, as remarkable for the excellence of its phraseology as it was lamentable for its lack of argument; but he had advanced one position which he had put syllogistically, of which it might be necessary to expose the fallacy. The position was that the labourer was entitled to protection, and thus he endeavoured to prove it: the labour of a working man is his property—therefore he is entitled to protection. If the labour of a working man were his property, any man who by any means deprived him of his property ought to be criminally punishable, and the fallacy was, that although the working man is entitled to protection in the exercise of his industry, he is not entitled to the protection of his labour as property. A confusion seemed to have arisen in the honourable gentleman's mind between protection and property, and he had been driven to use a fallacy in spite of his own understanding. After reading an extract from one of Pym's speeches, in order to prove that even at that early date, he was a warm and sincere friend to Free Trade principles, the honourable member adverted to the statistical details brought forward by the honourable member for Dublin, and to the contents of a petition he (Mr. Ross) had presented from Belfast, signed by all the flax-spinners and other artisans in favour of the unrestricted import of grain. For himself he was quite clear of any equivocal motive for the course he now pursued: he had not adopted his opinions for the purpose of obtaining his seat, but he had been freely selected by his constituents long before the late dissolution, on account of the knowledge they possessed of his claims to their suffrages. He was not surprised that those who thought differently acted differently: they dreaded a danger which he thought chimerical; but as they really feared it, he could not expect from them the more than Roman virtue to plunge into the gulf with their eyes open. He took the course he now adopted because he had arrived at a fixed belief that the repeal of the laws restricting the import of food would be beneficial to the country at large. He would advert briefly to the dependence of the agricultural interest on manufacturing prosperity, and he laid it down as incontrovertible

that the influence of the one interest was the prosperity of the other. For this reason he contended that the measure, instead of injuring, would benefit Ireland. At that time he admitted that many improvements in agriculture were yet required. In Roxburghshire, Berwickshire, and the Lothians, the perfection of farming might be said to exist, and it had been mainly produced by competition. An impulse of the same kind would be given to agriculture generally when free importation of grain was allowed. In reference to this point the honourable member noticed the introduction of the growth of flax into Armagh, as well as the improvements in the cultivation of it, so that in a short time it seemed very possible that it might surpass the flax of Belgium, and drive it out of the home market. Upon this question he went into some statistical details, which illustrated and enforced his position. Another article in which great improvements had been made, and still greater were possible, was Irish butter. At present a vast quantity of Dutch butter was weekly brought into the market, which might ere long be superseded by Irish butter, if greater care and skill were displayed in the manufacture and cure of it. He had no doubt this country would maintain her wonted supremacy in arts and arms, if the Corn Laws were at once repealed, notwithstanding the gloomy forebodings which hon. gentlemen opposite indulged in (hear, hear).

Mr. B. DENISON regretted that Mr. Ferrand was not in his place; for Mr. Ferrand had alluded to him the other night in his absence, in a way in which he was by no means justified. Mr. Ferrand had stated to the house that Sir R. Peel, when he did him the honour to ask him to second the address, had deceived him as to the measure which he (Sir R. Peel) intended to propose. Now, Sir R. Peel was the last man in the world to deceive anybody; and in no way, either directly or indirectly, had he deceived them. When he (Mr. B. Denison) seconded the address, he expected that Sir R. Peel would propose a measure of the same character as those which he had proposed, on several occasions in the last three years, and which had been so eminently successful; but he had not been prepared to expect that Sir R. Peel would propose a total abolition of the Corn Laws, after a period of three years, during which we were to have a diminished sliding scale, accompanied by certain compulsory propositions. He thought that in propounding such a scheme, Sir R. Peel had committed a mistake, which many now regretted, and which he hoped that Sir R. Peel would never live to regret himself. Though he should oppose to the uttermost that scheme, he hoped that, if it were made law, it would promote the public interests in the way which Sir R. Peel expected.

Mr. BROTHERTON said that the honourable member for the West Riding of Yorkshire seemed to think there was something derogatory to a man's character involved in a change of opinions; but he (Mr. Brotherton) had read in an old book, that the wise man changed often; but that one of a different nature continued in his perversity (hear, hear, and a laugh). As to the statement made by the honourable member respecting the proportion of foreign corn consumed in the country, he would say that if the honourable member had attended to the returns laid before the house, he would have found that from 1815 to 1831 the proportion of the population that fed upon foreign corn was 1 in 30—that from 1831 to 1831 it had increased to 1 in 22—and that from 1831 to 1841 it was 1 in every 16½ (hear, hear). If the average were to be taken now, he (Mr. Brotherton) was convinced that 1 out of every 10 persons now depended for his food on the foreign market. He would not dispute that many persons voted for the Corn Laws under the impression that they tended to keep up agriculture. Those laws might have been framed with that view—they might have been designed—not to keep up the rents, or render food dear—but to encourage agriculture, and to enable the country to produce sufficient food for the population (hear, hear). But the question now was, have they answered their end? He believed they had utterly failed to do so, and that for 30 years the numbers of the people fed on foreign corn had been rapidly increasing. In Ireland, 4,000,000 of people lived on potatoes. The Prime Minister states that those people were on the brink of famine from the disease of that vegetable; and it could not be denied that the Government had shown wisdom in providing against such a calamity. In arguing against the measure the country gentlemen had given expression to their feelings in speeches which, discarded of verbiage, meant nothing more nor less than this: "The land is ours—we will do as we like with our own. We have a right to govern you, and you cannot complain of your condition; for we have given you employment, and you are much better off than the serfs of Poland or Russia. We are determined you shall be fed at our prices, and by our produce alone" (cries of Hear, hear, and No, no). He firmly believed honourable gentlemen opposite would prevent any foreign corn coming into this country if they could (no, no). There had been a great deal of cant uttered during the debate about the condition of the working-classes and the benefits conferred on them by the Corn Laws—he had heard too much about the distress of the agricultural labourers (hear, hear). That might all be very charitable and humane; but honourable gentlemen would do well to consider who employed the labourer. He contended there were fewer agricultural labourers employed in 1841 than in 1831, and that in 1831 there were still fewer than in 1821, though the population had increased 4,000,000 since the latter year. There were now about 1,200,000 agricultural labourers in the kingdom (oh, oh, and cheers). That was the number given in the return (hear, hear). On an average each labourer was paid 8s. a week. The annual consumption of wheat might be taken at 20,000,000 quarters, which at 25s. a quarter came to 25,000,000l. a year. How was the difference in value made up, and by whom were the labourers paid (hear)? The law as it at present stood was inhuman and unjust, and the increase in the price of food induced by its operation this year alone made a difference of 1,000,000l. sterling to the people of Lancashire. The best encouragement to agriculture was foreign competition (hear). He thought the measure before the House entitled to the support of the country, and though he would have preferred an immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, which would, in his opinion, have been truly worthy of a great minister, he would, nevertheless, give his vote to her Majesty's Government, because he was convinced that their proposition, so far from being injurious to the working classes, or to any class, would cause a decrease in the amount of poverty, crime, wretchedness, and be conducive to the advance of the general interests of the country (hear, hear, hear).

Mr. CHRISTOPHER expressed his intention to resist the measure of the Government, and to give his cordial support to the amendment of Mr. Miles. He considered the explanation which Sir Robert Peel had given of the reasons which had induced him to resign and resume office perfectly

satisfactory (hear, hear); but he could not express himself in terms of equal satisfaction as to the causes which had induced the right honourable baronet to introduce so sweeping and so perilous a measure as the present (cries of hear, hear).

Mr. CARDWELL next addressed the house. He said that, although it would be his misfortune to differ from his honourable friend the member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, and from his hon. friend who had just sat down, in the vote he was about to give, it would not, therefore, be necessary for him to differ from all the positions which those hon. gentlemen had laid down; but, on the contrary, in the few observations he should submit to the house, he should frequently have to admit many of those positions upon which they seemed to lay the greatest weight, and to press, as he thought he might justly do, into the service of his own argument many of the facts and illustrations they had thought it expedient to introduce into theirs (hear, hear). To his honourable friend the member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, he (Mr. Cardwell) could have no difficulty in admitting that agriculture had gone on improving with the increase of the population of the united empire. Also, he could have no difficulty in allowing, that although we had had a constant relaxation in the protective system, and the ordinary prices of agricultural produce were now, as the hon. member had said, lower than at the commencement of the century—notwithstanding all this, agriculture was in a prosperous and improving condition, and the general welfare of the country had gone on improving likewise. On the other hand, it was not necessary for him to dispute that with the variations of the harvests the prosperity of the country had varied. The obvious and first result of a bad harvest was to cause great scarcity of food, and it would be inconsistent with the argument he was about to offer to contend for a single moment that the prosperity of the country had not varied in exact ratio with that circumstance. Nor would it be necessary for him to deny that the condition of the population had gone on generally improving. So far from denying these facts, it would be necessary for him to draw from them the illustrations of his own argument. As he had never had the opportunity of expressing in that house his opinion upon the subject of the Corn Laws, perhaps he might be excused if he now stated the grounds which induced him to give to this measure, for the final settlement of them, his most cordial support (hear, hear). His hon. friend, who peculiarly represented the agricultural interest, had rested his case for protection upon the assumption that it was calculated to promote the interests of all classes of the community. Upon this ground he (Mr. Cardwell) desired to meet him: and most unworthy should he be to enter upon so great a question in that house, if in dealing with it as affecting all classes of the community, he did not recognise amongst the first of those classes, that great interest which hon. gentlemen near him so ardently, and in many instances so creditably supported. The arguments upon which the honourable gentlemen rested their case were these:—They said that the existing system of protection had maintained an independence of foreign supply; that it had given security on which capital could be cheerfully invested in the improvement of domestic agriculture; that it had ensured to the farmer steady prices, and that it had provided for labour a protective rate of wages. Did those honourable gentlemen remember that the declared annual value of our native manufactures was 50,000,000l.? Did they remember that during the war, at the conclusion of which we were engaged with both America and France, we were indebted to the first for our cotton, and to the last for our corn (hear, hear)? He knew the distress that had existed in 1842, but it was not occasioned by our dependence upon foreigners for food, for at that time the law for the protection of native agriculture was upon the statute book as now, but by the failure in the demand of our foreign customers, by which our traders became involved in difficulty, and our labourers in a state approaching to starvation. But if this country was at the present moment as dependent upon foreigners in every other way as one free country could be upon another, was it less dependent as regarded the article of corn? Hon. members seemed to make light of the fact that the gross annual import of foreign corn for our own consumption was two millions, or ten per cent. upon the whole consumption of England. If that were so, it was not using language according to its practical signification—it was little better than a play upon words—to say that the existing law secured to this country independence of foreign supply (hear, hear). As to the security which the law afforded for the cheerful investment of capital in the improvement of domestic agriculture, he put it to honourable gentlemen whether, in the actual situation of England, knowing as they did that there was a strong prevailing sentiment in opposition to the existing law, that a strong tide of public opinion had set in against it—there would not, in the nature of the constitution under which we lived, necessarily be much difficulty in maintaining that confidence and security? Of this fact there could not be the slightest question, that the notion of a protective system was every day becoming less popular (hear, hear). He believed he was perfectly warranted in asserting that every member of that house, on whom had devolved the responsibility of giving advice in the councils of her Majesty, was upon principle opposed to the maintenance of protection in this country (hear, hear). The manufacturing interests were strenuously opposed to it; and if his gallant friend, the member for Liverpool, were in his place, he was sure he would admit that the commercial interests were also averse to it (hear, hear). The principle could find but few defenders, unless amongst the agricultural interest. And even then, could it be said that unanimity of opinion prevailed on the subject (hear, hear)? Surely not. Was it not notorious that many advocates of the system amongst the agricultural party had recently followed the steps of the late Lord Spenser, and the present Lord Grey, and had not the hon. member for Northampton himself admitted that he had never contended that protection was to be permanent, and that all the British farmer wanted was certainty against future changes (hear, hear, hear). This being the true state of the case, were they (the protectionists) prepared to admit that if they were to succeed in frustrating the contemplated proposals of Government, and in maintaining the law as it at present existed for a while longer—were they, he asked, prepared, having accomplished this, to go down to their respective estates and to invite the farmers to come forward and take long leases, under the guarantee of the existing law (cries of "no no")? Honourable gentlemen cried no, no, but where was the boasted security said to be guaranteed by the Corn Laws to the agricultural interests, if the landlords were not prepared to make this proposition, and the farmers equally ready to accede to it (hear, hear)? It had been argued in favour of the protection system that

it had the effect of securing remunerating prices to the farmer; but he denied that it possessed any such merit (hear, hear). If they (the advocates of protection) could show that they could keep the cost of production in the exact position that it now held, and that they had the power, through the means of the Corn Laws, of limiting the supply while the demand was increasing, the interference would of course be that the remuneration of the farmer was increased by the operation of the system; but if it could be proved that the cost of the production might be diminished, and that the supply might be made to increase under the abrogation of the system, a two-fold benefit would be secured to the farmer, and it would be clear that the abolition of the law would do more than its maintenance in securing good prices. If any one was inclined to question whether, by means of the contemplated measure, the cost of production might be diminished, he (Mr. Cardwell) would take leave to call an unexceptionable witness into court in the person of the honourable member for Somersetshire, whose speech on the tariff of 1842 would be found to be conclusive on the point. There would be no doubt whatever that the direct and inevitable consequence of the proposed relaxation would be to lessen very much the cost of production. And now arose the question, had the demand increased? He (Mr. Cardwell) maintained that it had, and in attestation of the truth of the assertion he need only refer to the speeches of many honourable members favourable to the protective system, in which they had expressly admitted that there never was a period when the country was in a more flourishing condition, or when trade was more active. It was the first symptom of reviving trade in Manchester, that there was suddenly a greatly increased demand for coarse joints of meat from butchers in that city. This demand, of course, originated with the industrious classes, the tradespeople, whose improved condition enabled them to enjoy a greater amount of comfort than they had previously been accustomed to. The demand, therefore, had clearly increased under the new tariff, and it was still increasing. The hon. member for Somerset had adverted to the fact, that during the last half year a falling off of 16,000 sheep a-week had taken place in the market of London since the protection system had been relaxed; but was the honourable member aware of what quantity of sheep had been imported within the last 12 months, for the double purpose of supplying the increased demand, and meeting the defalcation? Why, the fact was, that during the whole 12 months, the entire foreign supply had not been sufficient to make up the weekly defalcation (hear). If hon. gentlemen would only take the trouble of inquiring carefully into this question, they would find that the direct consequences of the relaxations which had already taken place had been to diminish the cost of production, and that an increased demand had taken place wholly disproportionate to the supply. But there was another point on which honourable gentlemen, who advocated the present system of things, laid great stress. They argue, that the Corn Laws secured to the labourer in the rural districts of England a protective rate of wages; and one hon. member, in the course of the debate, had expressed his wonderful surprise that the right hon. baronet at the head of the Government should, with the case of the silkweavers before his eyes, venture to propose the relaxation now in contemplation. Now of all the illustrations of the effects to be realised by the abolition of the protective system, he would most cheerfully avail himself of that which was furnished by the case of those who were employed in the trade of weaving silk. Wherever an article was produced by mere hand labour, there could be no doubt that as competition progressed there was an adverse incidence in the scale of wages, but when the manufacturer arrived at that position, that by the improvements of machinery he could afford to cheapen the article, the demand became much greater, and the condition of those in his employment would be improved. In the manufacturing districts of the north the effect of the introduction of machinery had been to cheapen materials, not to lessen the rate of wages, and the result had been to open markets—markets which had not existed before. The poorer classes, who, as long as the article was at high price, could not afford to purchase it, became customers to the manufacturer when the price was reduced, and thus a great market was secured to the manufacturer; who, when he had a vast number of customers to depend on, felt less sensibly his dependence on any particular class or individual (hear, hear). And what though we were to be met by hostile tariffs? The result of the operation of Free Trade principle, even under these circumstances, would be that the foreign competitor, the German or American, who was already greatly behind the English manufacturer in the course of improvement, would be compelled to undertake the rivalry under disadvantages which would be continually increasing; while the English manufacturer was succeeding in making his commodity every day cheaper and cheaper, the foreigner would find that he could not produce his except at a cost which was continually becoming dearer and dearer, and ultimately he would be unable to protect himself even in his own market. He could only hope to do so at the expense of the agriculturists of his own country, who would have to submit to a constantly increasing tariff, and would have to pay an exorbitant price for his protection (hear). It was then a mistake to contend that we should hesitate to adopt a wise and salutary policy in our own country, because it might happen that we would have to encounter hostile tariffs in other countries. Were it not that he was unwilling to weary them with statistics, he could refer them to an authentic document which he held in his hand, and which would show at a glance how vast had been the increase in our export trade, notwithstanding the existence of hostile tariffs. He maintained that the injurious effects of the hostile tariffs of other countries could be totally annulled by a wise and liberal commercial policy in our own, and if so, what became of the imaginary apprehensions with which certain honourable gentlemen in that house were so fond of torturing themselves (hear, hear)? Some honourable members appeared to be sadly alarmed at the prospect of Russia sending here five million quarters of corn, for which he feared we would be obliged to pay in the precious metals; but such an apprehension was totally uncalled for. Honourable gentlemen appeared to forget that Russia was a country which produced the precious metals, whereas this country did not produce them at all; and to suppose that we should pay in specie for goods imported from Russia was just about as rational as to suppose that a citizen of London, who procured goods from Lancashire, should pay for them by sending coals to Newcastle or Wigan (hear, hear, and laughter). Another argument against the protective system, that which had reference to the peculiar burdens supposed, and to a certain degree justly supposed, to bear upon the agricultural interest (hear). At the present stage of the

debate, and having already trespassed to some length on their attention, he would not enter minutely into the consideration of this branch of the question. He would not decline it, however. He knew that this argument of peculiar burdens was one which, so far as it was founded on truth—and that it was to some extent founded on truth he fully admitted—was worthy of the most serious consideration (hear, hear). He was as ready as any of the honourable gentlemen around him could possibly be, to admit that whatever burdens were laid unequally on land, while that land was a protected interest, ought to be investigated most carefully and minutely in the consideration of such a question as the present (hear, hear). It could not be denied that a burden of this particular description having been proved as bearing on a protected interest, it was only just and rational that when it was intended to remove protection, the burden should at the same time be removed (hear, hear). This he admitted to the fullest; but what he contended for was, that no party or class of men in this country had a right to say, "True, we are a burdened interest, but we are resolved to remain a burdened interest in spite of you in order that we may have an argument in favour of the protective system" (hear, hear). And now, having endeavoured to show the fallacy of so many of the positions taken up by the protectionist party, he would take occasion to say one single word in reference to the only considerable argument of theirs which he had left as yet untouched. He alluded to what he would designate the colonial argument (hear, hear). Now he would venture to assert on the part of the honourable gentlemen who took a different view of this question from what he did, that the proposition for which they contended was precisely this—that a colony of the British empire should be to the British Parliament as dear as York or Middlesex (hear, hear). In this doctrine he fully concurred, but he had never heard any such doctrine as this propounded, that we were bound to adopt or maintain in the mother country a course of policy which we believed to be inexpedient for imperial interests, in order that we might subserve in some special or particular respects the interests of a colony (loud cries of hear, hear). There might, to be sure, be some special cases of a peculiar character which might form an exception to the rule; but it was his opinion that that which was in the main good for the mother country would be found in the main to be equally beneficial for the colony, and it was by this principle that we should be guided in considering this question in respect to its bearing on our colonial interests (hear, hear). So much for the colonial argument; and now, having canvassed in succession all the arguments which formed in the aggregate the case of the protectionists, he begged those gentlemen (if, after all he had said, they should now be of opinion that their doctrines were not quite so irresistible and conclusive as they at first believed), he begged of them in that event to consider and reflect what was their position before the public (hear, hear). Were there no stronger and more cogent arguments against them? Let them pause and think. They were endeavouring to put upon the food of the people a grievous tax, a very small portion of which found its way into the coffers of the Exchequer (loud cries of "hear, hear"). They were claiming the not very gracious privilege of interposing an arbitrary barrier to impede the free course of trade and commerce; and they were seeking to deny to native industry the natural and obvious advantage of disposing of its own production according to its own discretion (loud cries of "hear, hear, hear"). Did they not apprehend that this might perhaps be regarded by the country as rather a selfish policy? It was, and more; it was an unwise and inexpedient one (hear, hear, hear). He was averse to reading extracts if it could be avoided, and yet he was anxious to call the attention of the house to a passage from Adam Smith, to show that it was no new doctrine that he (Mr. Cardwell) was advocating:—"All systems, (says that great authority,) either of preference or of restraint, therefore, being thus completely taken away, the obvious and simple system of natural liberty establishes itself of its own accord. Every man, as long as he does not violate the laws of justice, is left perfectly free to pursue his own interest his own way, and to bring both his industry and capital into competition with those of any other man, or order of men. The sovereign is completely discharged from a duty, in the attempting to perform which he must always be exposed to innumerable delusions, and for the proper performance of which no human wisdom or knowledge could ever be sufficient—the duty of superintending the industry of private people, and of directing it towards the employments most suitable to the interests of the society" (loud cries of "hear, hear"). An illustration occurred to his mind which he heard the other day, and as he considered it a very happy and appropriate one, he would take the liberty of mentioning it and applying it to the question now under consideration (hear, hear). He was in conversation a few days ago with an illustrious gentleman who, during the late war, was a distinguished defender of his country. He alluded to the gallant admiral who had been appointed chairman of the commission to inquire into the state of the maritime defences of England. This distinguished personage observed to him, "You have been told that England's ancient boast is over, and that she can no longer rely for security on her far-famed wooden walls. You have been told the truth (loud cries of "hear, hear"). The march of improvement has deprived us of our old security. But our policy is clear. Let us not be afraid of the march of improvement—let us study to keep pace with it (hear, hear). If we do, all will be well. It has robbed us of our old security, but it will provide us with a better. One modern invention will tell us which is the point of danger, and another will concentrate on the point of attack all the disposable resources of a country. Let us keep pace with the spirit of the times, and our country will become, not a defended country, but a fortified citadel" (loud cries of hear). He did not wish to weary the house by statistics, but he could scarcely forbear referring to a calculation which he knew to be perfectly authentic, and which attested the truth of the assertion that the country was rapidly improving under a wiser policy than of old. The calculation had reference to county rate, and was as follows:—

Valuation made for County Rates in the townships which now constitute the boroughs of Manchester and Salford:—	
	Manchester. Salford,
1815	353,376
1829	445,997
1841	1,022,055

showing an increase, since 1815, of 189 per cent. in Manchester, and 194 per cent. in Salford (hear, hear). He also states, that, "since the last return to Parliament in February, 1839, there has been an increase in my district of 529 factories, of 10,641-horses power, and of 59,522 persons employed." This increase has all taken place since Nov.,

1842, when the revival of trade began; and, indeed, the increase of persons employed since that period must have been considerably greater than the above amount; for between June, 1838, when the collection of particulars for the return of 1839 began, and November, 1842, many mills had entirely ceased to work, and others had considerably reduced the number of their hands. The total number of power-looms in my district, ascertained by this inquiry, is 142,949. The only return of power-looms made to Parliament is that of 1835, and I find from it, that in the same parts of England which now constitute my districts, viz., Lancashire, part of the West Riding, and the whole of the North Riding of the county of York, and the four northern counties of England, there were then only 63,861; showing an increase of 79,088 in the ten years; and there are now 26,237 more power-looms at work in my district alone than there were in the whole United Kingdom ten years ago." Now he (Mr. Cardwell) would put it to the House whether a statement of that kind was not pregnant with more argument than almost any fact or argument that could be addressed to them. As the silk weavers had been particularly referred to by an honourable gentleman, he (Mr. Cardwell) could not but notice them, and call the attention of the House to returns in reference to them. The following was the statement in the report with reference to that trade:—"Through the entire district a general scarcity of hands is noticed, and a consequent rise of wages. In the silk districts particularly, hands are very scarce, and I have been informed that instances are not wanting where children working half time have got as much wages, and in some cases it is said that they get more than they did when they worked ten hours; but I am told that a rise also has taken place in the wages of those who now work ten and twelve hours respectively." He would next call the attention of the House to a speech by Mr. B. Moore, the chairman of the Dock Committee, recently delivered in Liverpool, and he (Mr. Cardwell) regretted that his honourable friend who advocated the case of the shipowners, was not now in the House. That gentleman said, "Surprise has been expressed in the council when an increase of 100,000 tons was talked of some time since; but I have not now to deal with an increase of 100,000 tons, but with an increase of hundreds of thousands. In the dock financial statement of the 24th of June, 1845, which was the end of the financial year, the increase was 383,819 tons over the preceding year. The increase in six months, from June to the 31st of December last exceeded that of any previous period, inasmuch as it showed an increased of 600 vessels and 209,409 tons over the corresponding six months of the previous year. The increase in the East India trade has been about 20 per cent., and the increase in the United States and Western trade has been about 30 per cent. I may also state, that in proportion as we afford increased dock accommodation, in the same proportion shall we trade to the port. Suppose that at no distant period—which I dare say will be the case—we were to have modified rates of duties on various other foreign productions (which he specified), which are at present virtually excluded by a high and impolitic tariff; when the duties are so reduced, it is not in the power of man to divine what accommodation will be required in a port like Liverpool" (cheers). He would next refer to the number of vessels engaged in the trade. He begged leave, before doing so, to call attention to one observation made by Mr. Moore with reference to that trade. In 1838 there were 305 vessels—he was now speaking of Canada.—

An Hon. MEMBER: The Baltic (hear, hear, from the Protectionists).

Mr. CARDWELL continued: They had shown an increase in the Baltic, but they would show an increase in Canada also: which ever way they liked he would have it (a laugh). He would show there was an increase in both, and they would see which was greater in proportion, or the more satisfactory (hear, hear). In 1838 the number of British American vessels amounted to 305, with a tonnage of 160,415; in 1842, 165, with a tonnage of 91,179; in 1845, 453 vessels, 239,854 tons. Now, he would take the Baltic. In 1838 there were 72 vessels, tonnage 22,788. In 1842, 33 vessels, tonnage 11,239; in 1845, 113 vessels, tonnage 33,792 (loud and continued cheering from the opposition). He (Mr. Cardwell) was glad to see that his honourable friend, the member for Sunderland (Mr. Hudson) had come into the house, because he was anxious to disabuse his mind of the fallacy that seemed to possess it. He had already dealt in his absence with the fallacy, which he thought to be as plain a fallacy as man could employ with respect to the effect of a circuitous trade, and paying the Russians for their commodities in gold. The honourable member for Sunderland said he would make railways enough in the country if they did not send out the gold of the country to bring in foreign corn. Now he (Mr. Cardwell) would remind the honourable gentleman that during the period he had been prosecuting his successful undertakings they had received two millions of quarters of Russian grain, and they had paid for it, not by sending gold to Russia, but by the increase of their export trade. The result was, that numbers of industrious navigators had been greatly benefited and their profits, if they could analyse them, would be found to have been largely invested in those railway speculations (cheers and laughter from the opposition), and to have done a great deal to promote their success (renewed cheers from the opposition). It was true that he (Mr. Cardwell) did not hesitate to give his vote in former years against the honourable member for Wolverhampton, but he always thought that great changes like that proposed should be regarded as a question of time (hear hear from the opposition). The honourable member for Northamptonshire regarded such questions as questions of time, and why should not he (Mr. Cardwell) also regard them as questions of time? and he would ask, could anybody deny that the present was a time when it was necessary to augment the supply of food (cheers from the opposition)?—and never was there a time when such a change could be effected with so slight a dislocation of existing interests. He (Mr. Cardwell) felt perfectly at liberty to say, that this was a proper occasion to consent to the adjustment of this question (hear, hear). He did say that a great, and large, and important interest in the country, whose support was essential to the Conservative party—he said so without meaning the slightest disrespect to the agricultural interest, for whom, on the contrary, he entertained the highest respect—he did say that the commercial interest did expect a reasonable and constantly vigilant and not unyielding disposition on their part to watch over the ever-varying circumstances of the country, and he was persuaded that he could, in making that assertion, be borne out by facts (cheers from the opposition). He did with perfect cheerfulness, and without hesitation, give his cordial support to the proposition for the final ad-

justment of this question (cheers). He did believe that its settlement would tend to the advancement of the country, the diminution of crime, the moral amelioration of the people, the general removal of sources of discord (cheers). He also believed that in a due, generous, wise, and discriminating regard for all the complicated interests of the country, the present Parliament was competent to decide upon this great question (cheers from the Opposition), and he felt assured that if they decided in the affirmative, they would confer on this great country a most important benefit (loud cheers from the Opposition).

Mr. FINCH addressed the house because he had been desired by his constituents to make their sentiments known to it. Formerly it was not a question whether there should be protection or no protection, but whether there should be a fixed duty or a sliding scale; but now both those doctrines were thrown over, as if a moral murrain had broken out among the leaders on both sides of the house. He considered their conversion, which was partly ludicrous and partly miraculous, to be the result of circumstances rather than of calm reason and impartial judgment. He then entered into a general defence of the existing Corn Laws, and into a violent denunciation of the proposed alteration in them, concluding both with an impassioned appeal to the house not to assent to the monstrous injustice of sweeping away at once all protection from agriculture.

Mr. SEYMER observed, that some members elected five years ago seemed to have forgotten the sentiments of their constituents; but it was impossible for him, who was only elected on Thursday last, to display such a failure of memory. He undertook to say, that in Dorsetshire the farmers were to a man strong protectionists, and he believed that nine-tenths of the farmers in other counties of England were so too. Their opinions were, therefore, entitled to respect from her Majesty's Government, and he was inclined to think that they would have obtained that respect had they been less loyal and more seditious.

Mr. VILLIERS then rose, and addressed the house as follows: Mr. Speaker, I have some scruple in rising after the honourable gentleman who has just sat down, considering the impartial manner in which you have selected those hon. members who have risen to address the house on the different sides of this question. Sir, I believe the hon. gentleman who has just sat down and myself entirely agree on the question before us (oh, and laughter). If I am not mistaken, coming, as he has stated, so recently from the hustings, and from addressing the farmers in Dorsetshire, he has stated that he could answer for himself upon the question, and he believed he spoke the sentiments of the farmers, that he was for the immediate repeal of the Corn Laws (no, no, and hear). Then, sir, if the hon. member denies that he entertains such an opinion, he has been entirely misrepresented, for there is not a single newspaper that reported his address to his constituents which does not state him to have declared in his speeches during the late election in Dorsetshire, that if there was to be any change in the Corn Laws, he for one should be for a total and immediate repeal of the law (no, no, and confusion). Does the hon. member deny that, when he was canvassing in Dorsetshire, he declared himself to be in favour of immediate and total repeal (hear, hear)?

Mr. KER SEYMER—If I might be allowed to say a few words, I would state what I did say on the occasion referred to by the honourable member (speak, speak). I said that if I had the power to be returned as a member of this house, I would, to the utmost of my humble ability, oppose the measure of her Majesty's ministers; but that, failing in my opposition, and if it was finally carried that the whole of the duty was to be abolished at the end of three years, we had better have it repealed at once (hear, hear).

Mr. VILLIERS—I am extremely happy to find that the honourable member has confirmed the statement of the press (no, no, from the agricultural benches). I am happy to hear a confirmation of that (cries of "no"). Why do you say no, when he has just said yes? Why the honourable member says he admitted that an immediate repeal is better than a postponement of the total abolition of the duty for three years; and I am therefore entitled to claim the honourable member as a supporter of my views (laughter). If the hon. member did really represent the farmers, I believe he would most certainly vote for the measure. He says he represents an independent body of men, and the proof he gives us of their independence is, to tell us that they went in a body to their landlords before they ventured to vote for him, to know how they were to vote (hear, and oh). The hon. member tells us that a great number of his voters hold farms under landowners of liberal principles, to whom they went before they gave their suffrages to him. Fortunately for the hon. member, he says those liberal landlords did allow their tenants to vote as they liked. But the hon. gent. gave us this as a proof that the farmers were independent; and I think it must be a most satisfactory one to you and the country. But, says the hon. member, the farmers generally are loyal and well-affected (cheers from the agricultural benches). This is a satisfactory proof that they are not under the influence of their landlords (oh, oh, and hear). I believe this to be the case. I believe the farmers are well-affected. I believe they are a very good sort of people. I believe they are far more estimable and intelligent, generally speaking, considering the temptations to which they are exposed, than to suffer themselves to be swayed by the vile, disloyal, degrading language that has recently been addressed to them by persons of the upper classes (oh, oh, and hear). Their complaints, generally speaking, are not against the state. They do not quarrel with the Government. Their grievances are much nearer home. Those who know the farmers know that they have got great grievances which are never redressed; but which, if the landlords were to attend to, they would do their duty far better to those tenants and to society than by going before them and saying that the authorities of the country are doing all they can to injure them; and that the ministry are men without good faith, honour, or honesty; for that is what they are telling them. But the farmers are too sensible a set of men to be long

influenced by the violent and interested language used by their landlords to them. Sir, as far as I understand the honourable gentleman, the farmers, generally speaking, are for the immediate repeal of this law, and not in favour of its gradual abolition (loud cries of no, no, from the agricultural benches). I think the point of the hon. gentleman's speech was to show us how very much the farmers were under the influence of the landlord with respect to their votes, and how very distinct their opinions are from those of their landlords. I will just refer to a speech that was made before him. That was the most extraordinary address that we have heard recently; it was nearly an hour and a half long. I refer to the speech delivered by the hon. member for Rutlandshire (Mr. G. Finch). He is the last newly-elected protectionist member in this house. I think the hon. gent. must have met the same person as I met with this morning, who asked me what all this was about, and what was the cause of this protracted debate; for he said it was only the same old story over again, and nobody really cared about it out of the house, except that it might be brought to a close. (laughter). The honourable member gets up, and like the chorus in the Greek plays, tells us all that has passed; that people have done this, that, and the other, and concludes, as most of the protectionist members conclude, by telling us that if the Corn Laws are abolished, England's sun will set for ever (laughter). He professes to tell us what is the result of his election—that it indicates the opinion of the public to be against us. The fact is, it indicates nothing but that which the hon. gentleman the member for Dorsetshire has stated—the influence which the landlords have over the tenants in the counties. They have returned him, as many others have been returned, just to represent their own views and opinions (cries of oh, oh, and hear hear). I defy any one to make any thing out of the speech of the honourable member for Rutlandshire, except that it was important, to put an end to the trade with America and France, because those are countries which we might possibly go to war with (hear, and laughter). Why, sir, I really have some scruple in rising to address the house upon this subject. In the first place, there is nothing I can say respecting the measure now before the house, which has not been better said by her Majesty's Government; and, in the second place, that no service would be more highly appreciated by the public than that of facilitating in every way the progress of the measure, and finishing the debate as soon as possible. Honourable gentlemen in that corner of the house do not seem to encourage their forbearance. They have marked out for themselves a course of obstruction, which, perhaps, they can explain, but which, if they can, they are more fortunate than other people. However, I cannot help contrasting the patience with which the house now bears with them with the conduct adopted when the persons who promoted this question at other times have met with. When persons in a minority, in this house, and who have promoted this discussion, have stood up and pleaded for the sufferings of their constituents, and have asked for an inquiry into the connection of this law with all that misery and suffering, were asking even for a partial inquiry, into that which they ascribed to the influence of this enactment—oh, I have tingling in my ears now those hideous noises which were then raised to stifle all expression. (Cheers and laughter). I think there is also presented to us a striking contrast in what took place upon the passing of this law in 1815, with what is now occurring with regard to its abolition (hear). The people were crying out in the streets against the enactment of this law. Soldiers surrounded this house, and the members made complaints that they had not even time to present their petitions to the house, foretelling all the misery and distress which its operation could entail upon them. Notwithstanding which, the Corn Law was passed with the greatest speed with which an act would pass the house (hear). But now gentlemen opposite are pleading for themselves, for the rich, and for the aristocracy; and therefore we are to have this debate protracted to a longer period than has ever been known upon any other question—longer than any question has been protracted within the memory of any member within this house. Now we are to have an unprecedented delay. For three weeks have we sat here listening to the same statements over and over again. After all the experience which has been gained of the mischief of this law, after it has been discarded by every enlightened authority, after all the argument being on one side, and that side being supported by every experienced authority—I say, here we are, having the same things repeated over and over again, for the space of three weeks (hear). Such is the difference between the way in which the interests of the rich, and the rights of the poor, are considered in this house (cheers from the Opposition side of the house, met by ironical cheers from the protectionist benches). However, sir, as the time is to be wasted (laughter), I do not think I should be really doing justice to the principles I have advocated in this house—I do not think I should be doing justice to those whom I represent here, and those with whom I have co-operated throughout the country, if I did not express my joy and satisfaction at the concession that has been made to wisdom, truth, and justice (loud cheers, and cries of Oh, oh) in the propositions and avowals which have been made by her Majesty's ministers. And further, Sir, the subject has been so much intruded upon in this debate, that I cannot help forming an opinion as to whether this concession has been made at the sacrifice of honour or from interest on the part of her Majesty's ministers. And I declare most solemnly, that it seems to me, that the concessions which have been made have been the result of a lively sense of the responsibility which as ministers and statesmen they have of the danger to the country from a continuance of this law (cheers). And I must state to those who have depended chiefly on fact and argument to persuade those who were opposed to

them, that it is most gratifying to observe that the abandonment of this system has been conceded by the leaders on both sides under circumstances which place them entirely above the suspicion of any interested views (hear), for I do believe, that when the noble lord, the member for London, declared in this House, at the beginning of last Session, that he considered that the system of protection, as you call it, is the bane of that interest which was thought to be secured by it—when he proposed in the course of last summer, that the House should resolve that those duties were injurious to those who were said to be benefited by them—when he, moreover, addressed his letter to his constituents, telling them that he was ready to act upon such his conviction—I say, that when he did this, I believe he did so simply from an honest sense of what was due to the community; and that I doubt, whether in doing so, he consulted what were deemed by many the interests of his party (hear). With respect to the right hon. gentleman, there has been so much discussion on his conduct that it is impossible not to have formed an opinion upon his position in this matter; and I declare that I cannot see in what respect he has deserved the reproaches which he has received from his party (loud cries of "Oh, oh" from the protectionist members). As far as I have collected from what has been said in this House, the right hon. gentleman does not propose this measure himself without reluctance. He has made the proposition himself, being satisfied that it was right that it should be made, but only after having submitted to others the propriety of proposing it to this House. It is no fault of his, as far as I can discover, that he is minister at this moment, or that he is now the proposer of this measure. I think, therefore, sir, that on this ground, as well as on every other, the public have no ground of regret or complaint; that this Government should have been the one to submit such a measure to the country (hear, hear, hear). If I collect the opinion of the public rightly upon this subject, it is, that they are pleased that the right hon. baronet should have thrown aside those trammels with which every ministry has been surrounded on this question, and that he has at length cleared himself from an insolent domination to which our Governments have been too long subject (cheers), and has become the minister of the country. This party have formerly forbidden their minister to meddle with the subject of corn, and have always threatened a Government that, if they dared to deal with this privilege of their class, he should cease to hold power in their service. The right honourable gentlemen, actuated by a sense of what is his duty to the country, has braved this party, disregarded this dictation, and has come forward and proposed a measure for the interest of the community, and has thrown himself upon that community unreservedly for support (cheers). I believe that the public in general are delighted to see him relieved from the trammels of his former party (cries of "oh, oh" from the protectionist benches); and I further believe that the public will carry him through, not only in this, but in every other measure in which he will consult the public interest, and have the honesty and courage to present it to this house (cheers). Sir, I know that this measure is not a complete one. I am aware that in one respect it falls short of what the country wished. I have been asked by an honourable gentleman; the member for Newcastle-under-Lyne, whether I will venture to recommend the adoption of this measure? Why, sir, I did put on record, within a few hours after that measure was proposed, my congratulations to my constituents at their being likely to receive so large an instalment of that which they had been struggling for so long. If I had not taken that step, I certainly should have done so after the opening speech of the member for Bristol, who proposed the amendment now before the house, and who said that if this measure was passed, the system of protection would be abolished for ever. If I had not done it then, I certainly should have done it after witnessing the opposition which the right honourable gentleman has received from the other side of the house. I say, the vehemence of that opposition will be accepted by the country as an apology for many of the deficiencies and much of the incompleteness of the measure. The right honourable gentleman will be looked upon as a negotiator with that party who has long dominated and tyrannised over this country, having endeavoured to obtain the most that he was able for the country. The public will see from the conduct of the hon. members opposite, what difficulties the right hon. baronet has had to contend with, and what a fierce spirit has been opposed to him on account of the measures he has proposed (hear, hear). Gentlemen opposite are not aware, perhaps, of what service they are rendering to the right hon. baronet, and the popularity they are giving to the measure by their conduct in the course they are pursuing. For my part, I believe that the violence and passion that has been exhibited upon that side of the house in respect to that measure has of itself endeared it to the public—that every member who has deserted the Minister, and exhibits the sacrifice that he has been obliged to make in proposing this measure of national advantage, raises the right hon. gentleman to a pinnacle in public estimation which he could not have expected otherwise to attain. Sir, the hon. member for Newcastle-under-Lyne, asked me whether I would dare to show my face among my constituents after supporting this measure? I would ask the hon. member and any of those who support him, whether two years hence he will venture into any public meeting, and show his face after supporting an amendment which I must consider the most daring defiance of public opinion I have ever known (hear, hear)? It makes no distinction in the measures involved in the scheme, without denying the expediency of many of them; it says simply and peremptorily to the scheme, "We will have none of it." There are many parts of the right honourable baronet's

scheme highly beneficial to agriculture (hear). Many people now without means of subsistence would have it if these measures were carried, but simply because they touch one single article from which hon. members opposite derive their income, they say, "We will have none of it" (cries of "no, no," from the Conservative benches). You say, "No, no," but are there not many of you who have said that there were parts of the scheme which were most desirable and which would much benefit agriculture, and which on that account you think would be beneficial? You know that there are immense numbers of the people who have no employment, and that this measure, if carried, might afford it to them (cries of "no, no"); but simply and solely you say, "because it touches that one article in which we deal, and from which we derive our income, we will have none of the measures" (cries of "no, no"). You say, "No, no," but I ask if there are not many of you who have said that some parts of the scheme are most desirable and expedient. I ask if noble lords have not at some of their protection meetings said that several of the schemes included in this measure will be most advantageous to agriculture (cries of "no, no")? Why I can point to two or three counties where protectionists have come forward and said so (cries of "name, name"). There is Lord Essex, in Hertford, who said that Indian corn would be a great boon to agriculture (Oh, oh). Why, he is one of your protectionists, and he would not let foreign wheat come in to feed the people, but he would allow foreign food to feed cattle. You will not even allow those who are graziers, and who want to feed their cattle, to have this food from abroad (hear, hear). You may shake your heads, but I say it is so. (a laugh). The hon. member for Newark, who has just been returned, a rank protectionist, shakes his head; what does he mean (a laugh)? Does he mean that he would not let in Indian corn, fearing lest it might supersede the use of some nobler grain? He would let it in! Then why vote for this amendment? The bill is opposed *in toto*. The Irish people might starve (no, no). Oh, you would open the ports; how long is it since you consented to do that (hear, hear)? Since you discovered that there was no corn to come in (loud cheers). There was nothing said in last autumn about opening the ports. Then it was said that there was no scarcity, that there was nothing but the basest cowardice on the part of the Government. "Afraid," you said, "afraid of the people starving, while there is our own grain for their support! Why, was there ever such a Government as this? Was there ever such a miserable turpitude?" I heard this expression the other night. This is what you stated then; but now you have discovered that grain is actually going out of this country from the warehouses to neighbouring states, and that there is such a scarcity on the Continent that there is no more grain to come in, and so now you state, and the honourable member for Somersetshire says, "God forbid that we should prevent anything coming in to save the people!" Anything may come in so long as it is sure that prices will not fall. When it is quite certain nobody will be benefited, then you are ready to open the ports (cries of No). Well, if that be so, I do not understand what you mean by saying "no, no," when I assert that you are trying to oppose all the measures comprehended in this scheme (hear). Sir, we have heard in the course of this debate, that it is for the purpose of discussing the great principle, the great system of protection; the system of policy that has long prevailed in this country, that this debate has been so long continued. Now, this is the eleventh day that we have been discussing the system of protection; and I want to know whether any one has the least idea what that system is (hear, hear). Has any one the slightest idea from anything that has fallen from the hon. gentlemen opposite what that system or principle is—whether there is any rule in it—any result from it; whether anything that ought to be dignified by the name of a system of policy resting on general principles and involving general good? Why, it is quite clear that no one has a single idea upon it as a system (a laugh). We have been asked on this side, whether this system of protection can be universally applied. Oh, certainly not. You say you cannot regulate the price of labour, whatever you may do with the price of food. It has been admitted that cannot be done. Can you define the cases where protection ought to be applied? We have not heard the case. "Is it," we ask, "opposed to the principle of competition?" Oh, God forbid! it is not opposed to competition, for Lord Stanley, our leader, defines protection to be "competition subject to regulation" (a laugh). But you cannot tell when or how it should be regulated. You say you do not mean to oppose all the advantages proposed in the measure; but you want to maintain the principle of protection. I thought that the honourable gentleman the member for Shrewsbury (Mr. D'Israeli) would have told us something about the principle; but instead of enlightening us himself, he only complained of others, and lamented that his friends around him had not told him what the principle was. Now, I ask the house candidly, whether this great system, which was said to be in question, has not dwindled down into a complaint of that fanciful obstruction to the supply of food, called the sliding scale, being in jeopardy (hear, hear)? Every member who has spoken upon this subject, when he has risen to vindicate the system of protection, has hardly been on his legs five minutes before he commences to discuss the horrors of Free Trade in food, and to depict the advantages of the sliding scale, which, it seems, is dignified by the term of Protection to agriculture. But there has not been the slightest discussion on the important question of protection to agriculture. Have we heard the slightest thing upon the subject—how the science of agriculture could be best promoted—how capital could be brought to the cultivation of the soil? Have we

heard anything but the vaguest assertions as to what prices would be if there were a Free Trade in corn? Not one single syllable has been uttered to show that it will be of advantage to agriculture (cheers). "Not one single agricultural authority" has been quoted in the whole of this debate to show that the sliding scale, or what you term this system of protection to agriculture, is of the least advantage to agriculture. Not one single man engaged in agriculture—not an individual who would be an authority in any hundred or parish in this country have you quoted to back your statements upon this protection to agriculture (hear, hear, and cheers). Many have been quoted on the other side, who have said that agriculture depends on nothing of the kind, and that there is not the least necessity for an act of Parliament to secure high prices (hear, hear). Why there has been a gentleman, deeply interested in the business, who has sat for two nights in the gallery of this house, that I could quote. He is about the largest occupier of land in the country, and he was examined for three days before the agricultural committee of this house, when it sat last, having been called as a great authority amongst your agricultural gentlemen. Well, he has been within the last few nights in the gallery of this house, and he has been panting to be in the house that he might answer the silly things which he has heard from your side. He occupies 3,800 acres. He holds land in six counties. He is a receiver of rents in eight counties, and he states that he is for the total, and immediate, and unconditional repeal of the Corn Laws as the best thing for the farmer (hear, hear). When we see such men as that in favour of a repeal of the Corn Laws, it certainly is not wonderful that you are so averse to inquiry. You never would give any committee; you would not hear any one at the bar of this house on the subject, because you knew that these persons would come forward and give evidence directly in opposition to your views (cheers). You would not stand a committee. Those persons are ready to come, but you have none ready to call on your side (cries of "Oh, oh"). Oh, why you never name such persons in support of your case—you are surely on your trial before the country now, and you do not cite agriculturists in favour of your notions and views of protection. I venture to say now, what I said before, that if you go into a committee of inquiry, that I will call farmers from every county in England—that I will call land agents, and every man who is competent to give evidence from his capacity, and that they shall give evidence contrary to your views of the subject (hear, hear, and cries of "Oh, oh"). You say "Oh," why there is a club of land-agents in this city, and the majority of its members are of opinion that a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws will do no harm to the landed interest (cries of Name, name). That is their opinion, and the hon. gentlemen opposite should shew them to be wrong. One would have thought that the hon. member for Essex and the hon. member for Suffolk, who have both spoken—who plume themselves on being identified with the soil—who would be quite angry if they were not supposed to be so, would have given some answer. I listened with great interest to them, because I know how able they are upon this subject. The hon. member for Essex (Sir J. Tyrell), after cutting some very questionable jokes, in the first part of his speech, ended by reading a chapter from Dr. Arnold about men with one idea (a laugh). Then there is the hon. member for Suffolk. He was returned specially as the farmers' friend—as the man who knew more about the farmers than anybody else. I don't know whether anybody else did, but I confess I listened to what that hon. gentleman said (a laugh), and all I could collect was, that he was reading the Solicitor-General's speech at Cambridge. Those are two of the chief agricultural counties, and that is all we can collect from those two members (a laugh, and hear, hear). Those honourable gentlemen will go any length to turn out the Government, and to oppose the right honourable gentleman's measure, and yet we cannot obtain a single notion from them as to the way in which the sliding scale benefits agriculture. There is the member for Norfolk; I see him in his place there. There is a very intelligent man in the county of Norfolk who has written a pamphlet, and who says if the land lords will do (what they will not do), and if you will make the tenants do (what they are not able to do), that we shall have plenty of corn without free trade. That gentleman, I dare say, is a constituent of the hon. member for Norfolk; his name is Mr. Warnes. That gentleman has published a book, and the first thing he declares is, that the farmers of the present day must take for their text, for their rule of proceeding, that low price is quite compatible with good agriculture; that they must never look to high prices, but must produce a great quantity, and must depend for success on low prices and plentiful crops. That doctrine is, I think, directly opposed to that of the honourable member for Norfolk himself, who says, "Never mind the cultivation, never mind how you manage your farm, because we will get you an Act of Parliament, and we will secure you high prices, which is all you want." If that is the object he is seeking to serve at this moment (hear, hear), then I ask if the house has heard, on this occasion, any great results from this system which justify it? The hon. member for Norfolk tells us of none. Do you produce any farmers or labourers as authorities in favour of this protection? Why, we have scarcely heard a word said about the condition of the farmers during the discussion; but if you look at the speeches out of this house, you will collect from them that the farmer who has prospered during the last thirty years is so rare a bird, so strange an animal, that if you can catch him, you should stuff him and send him to the British Museum (a laugh). That really has been said at some of the agricultural meetings. It has actually been said that the farmer who has thriven under this system ought to be preserved in a

Museum. Then, as to the labourers, have we had any evidence about them? We have been told that the Goatscote meeting was a thing got up by the Anti-Corn-Law League. That, however, is not the fact. The League had nothing whatever to do with that meeting. I know that that meeting was only one of a series of meetings which have been held for some years past by the labourers of Wiltshire, who have always declared the same thing, that they could not be worse off than they are, and that any change among them must be for the better (cheers). But look at the reports of every commission that has been appointed to inquire into the condition of the agricultural labourer, and you will see from 1824 down to 1843, the date of the last report, just exactly the same account of the agricultural labourers that their condition is as bad physically as it is possible to be, and that they live under all those circumstances so unfavorable to their morals and their happiness, the result of physical suffering; and that this is particularly the case in the most agricultural counties. I wonder that the honourable member for Suffolk did not allude to the agricultural labourers of his county, because they are specially mentioned in the report of the year 1824, and have been certainly referred to ever since. In Suffolk there are more of what are called gentlemen-farmers and of clergy than in any other county, and yet the people are described as being there as demoralised, and are subject to as much privation as in any other county in England (hear, hear). The honourable member for Shrewsbury asks if the people have not thriven under this system of protection? I say they decidedly have not; and I ask, why, if they have, we have had no account of that prosperity during the eleven days that this debate has been discussed; and why we have not been told how it could benefit the poor; and that no other definition of the system has been given than the one given by Lord Stanley in another place (hear, hear)? Lord Stanley was asked what he meant by this system, and he was obliged to avow that it was a system that raised the rent of land, that raised the price of food, but did not raise the wages of labour. Well, then, I believe that Lord Stanley is your leader, and that you are all proud to acknowledge him to be so. The principles therefore which he has avowed are those which you have been fighting for eleven days past, and in support of which you are going to a division; a system that raises the price of food, raises the rent of land, but does nothing to benefit the labourer—a system which accounts for a prosperous farmer being such a rare bird that he ought to be stuffed and put in a museum; and why the condition of the agricultural labourer is a by-word of demoralisation and distress? It is the condition that you would expect from Lord Stanley's definition of raising the rent of land and the price of food without also raising the wages of labour. That is the definition of your own system, given by your own leader. Now, we want to know what the effect of this system is. We are legislating for the public at large, and we want to know what the effect of this system is upon them. The right honourable baronet the Secretary of State for the Home Department tells us that he has ascertained its effect. He has, in my opinion, most accurately stated it. The right hon. baronet said that he had evidence which had been forced upon him, to show that the purpose of the protective system was disastrous to the working classes and the community at large, if it succeeded, in consequence of high prices. The right hon. baronet states this as the necessary result of observation, and you have avoided dealing with that point altogether (hear). Yes; you have met it in one way; you have railed at the ministers for treachery; you have charged them with letting the cat out of the bag; we have had a great deal of talk about a system, but you have not answered this case, and you have left yourselves up to this moment exposed to the charge of promoting a system which produces the effects which the right honourable gentleman has told us, who has been in office during two periods—one, when food was dear through the operation of your law; and the other, when it was cheap, the result of the blessings of Providence. He says that he has found, in one case, that in consequence of high prices the poor were in distress; that they were miserable; that they were tempted into crime; that the rate of mortality among them had increased, and that these misfortunes had fallen upon them from the success of protection. But when, by the bounty of God, your system has failed; and when you come to this house to complain of its failures, and say, that when the price is low you cannot continue to cultivate the land, you thus, in effect, contend that high prices are necessary to your success. When you come and denounce the Minister, because you have not got a sufficient price for your food, he tells you that the price of labour is high, that crime is diminished, and that death, disease, and all the miseries that before befel them are less; and that therefore he has come to the conclusion that the success of your protective system is calculated to promote the misery of the people, and its failure ensured to them prosperity and happiness. To this moment there is not one of you who has given an answer on this point to the right hon. baronet: not one. When the right hon. baronet rose last summer, and stated all these results, there was not one of you who answered him. When he said that under a high price of provisions wages did not increase, but that much misery and destitution followed, you ought to have risen and said, that low prices of provisions do not promote the comforts of the people. You ought to have got up and said, what I have often heard in this house before, that high prices of provisions do improve wages. But you did not do that; because if you had you felt that nobody would have believed it. You submitted to his proposition then; you tacitly agreed with what he said; and who could believe that any man who intended to show his face in

the country again would continue a system which he said was the source of such calamity whenever it succeeded success? I say, that when the right hon. gentleman made that speech last May, it was a subject of general remark that the Corn Laws were doomed. If he had said before that high prices of provision were good for the poor, and that none of these blessings had fallen to them from low price, then you would have a good right to charge him with inconsistency. I maintain that the right hon. gentleman did then overthrow the system of enhancing the price of food by law. He told you that misery and misfortune had been the result of it; but not one rose to contradict the statement which the right hon. gentleman had made; but, on the contrary, some gentlemen rose on the other side, and bore out his statement. Even in the agricultural districts it was seen that the effect of high prices of food was to produce misery and misfortune, but when the prices of food fell it brought the greatest advantage to the agricultural labourers. Well, now, I say that it is a very serious charge, which ought to be met before the close of this debate. I say that the charge involved in that statement ought to be met, otherwise the indication of your good fortune is that of the misery of others (loud cheers from the Opposition benches). You should not look to the prices current, but to the calendars and to the rate of mortality, and the misfortunes that befall man, in order to know whether you are well off under this law, or whether you should contend with the Minister for its maintenance (hear, hear). According to your system, a man should congratulate you if you were told that the people were miserable, and dying of disease, occasioned in the first instance by want of food and employment. I do not say that this is so, but if you do not answer the right hon. gentleman, you are open to the charge (hear). You have had now eleven days' debate without meeting that one fact. I say that the right hon. gentleman stated that to you; that the noble lord the member for London tells you, in his letter, that the intention of the law is to make food dear; and that the effect of that is what the Home Secretary has told you. You cannot escape from that purpose of the law; because there is no meaning in the law, if it is not to make food dear. It is very well for the honourable gentleman the member for North Devon to say, "God forbid that the price of corn should be high; he does not wish scarcity; that he knew it was a great misfortune"—and all that sort of thing. It is all very well to say so, but how is he going to vote, and how has he voted on previous occasions? I ask this because there has been talking about the Corn Law for twenty-five years, and there has been no other purpose ever in view but to maintain price? I refer him to the year 1822, from that time to the present, and to the fact that prices never have been low during that period, but that the country gentlemen have come here to complain; and, on the other hand, I say, they have never been high but that the people have come here to complain of distress. In 1822, the price of food was lower than ever it was before. The honourable gentleman, the member for North Devon, must remember all that took place then; that it was made a subject of positive grievance by the county members, that prices were so low. But these low prices were not the result of importation. We have heard to night that cheapness produced by importation and abundant harvests, are two very different things. I say that low prices are what you have always complained of. You never distinguish between low prices and the causes that produce low prices. I forget who it was—but I believe it was the hon. member for the West Riding of Yorkshire (Mr. B. Denison) who stated the difference between the cheapness produced by foreign importation and an abundant harvest. Ah, you will do well to look to the year 1822, 1835, and last year. I say there are three distinct periods when the prices have been low, not from importation, but from the care of God, of which you have come down here and complained (cheers). Why, it is of no use denying the fact; there are the records upstairs which will prove it. Lord Castlereagh came down and proposed a scheme for making food dear. He suggested a vote of money, in order to buy up all the "surplus food," as it was called. There was a vote of money proposed in the house to relieve the landed interest from the support of the poor. I say that in 1835, and 1836 there were low prices that proceeded from good harvests and nothing else, and yet the Marquis of Chandos came here and proposed a repeal of the malt tax, and that the house should go into committee upon the state of agriculture, and I believe there were committees appointed in both Houses of Parliament, to consider the unparalleled distress of the country gentlemen, although not from importation, but simply from an abundant harvest. I ask, what was the meaning of that two hours' speech which we heard last year from the honourable member for Somerset, flourishing the prices current in his hand, and complaining that the Government had not secured them a better price of beef, flour, bacon, veal, pork, &c. He did not complain of low prices occasioned by importation, because there was less imported during that year than for some time before; but he stated that there was distress owing to prices falling, and on account of a more abundant harvest than usual. I say, therefore, that what you complain of is low prices, and that the object of the Corn Law is high prices. I say, again, that after the statement of the right hon. gentleman the Secretary for the Home Department, who says that he cannot resist the evidence that high prices produce distress, because wages are not increased in a corresponding ratio, you must say why you contend for the continuance of a system that is intended to raise price (hear, hear). But then it is contended that the Corn Laws are a protection to agriculture, and to domestic industry. What do you mean by "domestic industry"? It must mean something, I suppose, in which the working classes are concerned. But have you any evidence

that the working classes agree with you in that view of the case—that the working classes are interested in the system that produces all that misery which the right hon. gentleman says takes place whenever this scheme succeeds? Have you any evidence, I say, of the working classes agreeing with you? Has any gentleman quoted the evidence of the working classes in support of the position that the Corn Laws are beneficial to domestic industry—that they are delighted with the idea that they shall benefit with the high price of food? I tell you there is not a single town in all England where the working men are not against you, and have not declared to the contrary of your doctrine. I believe the address published by the working men at Sheffield, agreed to in an open air meeting, and to their fellow workmen throughout the country, were assented to by them all (hear, hear, hear). They say, “These laws have deranged our monetary system, making numbers of our merchants and manufacturers bankrupts, checking the natural current of trade, and reducing thousands of families to misery and starvation; nor do they produce any real good to the great mass of our agricultural population, for those who till the earth, and make it lovely and fruitful by their labour, are only allowed the slave’s share of the many blessings they produce.” Again at Liverpool in 1843, some of the working classes undertook to inquire into the condition of their own class then residing in that town, and the result of the inquiry into the condition of 5,000 families in that town which was verified by some respectable merchants at the time, was the following:—“That the labouring classes are in a state of great distress. That their condition has been getting worse for the last four years. That we find that disease and crime bear a relation to the price of food. That high prices of provisions compel the people to live on coarser food, thus injuring their health and abridging their comforts. That manufacturers and dealers are fast sinking, from an inability in the bulk of the population to purchase from them those articles necessary to their existence. That we find that high wages and full employment are coincident with low prices of provisions, and that high prices of provisions are coincident with low wages and want of employment. 1052 families are supported by paupers, charity, or prostitution. 1017 families are supported by savings, credit, relations, and casual employment. Other families now on the parish: out of 5000 families, 3600 come from the agricultural districts, not being able to find employment in their own districts.” That is the way the Corn Law supports domestic industry. Why it is surely a mockery and an insult to tell the poor that you stop this measure to promote their industry in the town and in the country (hear, hear). There are some things that have been said certainly against the measure, and which, perhaps, I should not notice, but that the authority of the member for Sunderland, who has used them, may influence somebody. The honourable member for Sunderland is very much alarmed at this measure, and he has used all his authority to frighten the house and the country upon three grounds. In the first place he is afraid that the sum at which wheat can be brought into this country from abroad will be too low for agriculture here; he is afraid of the injury which may be done to our home trade, and he is afraid of the effect on the exchanges. The honourable gentleman has a singular position at present, and what falls from him is taken to be gospel by some. Now the hon. gentleman told us the other night that he had brought foreign corn into this country at 25s. a quarter. The hon. gentleman says in 1837 he was a party to a transaction himself, in which wheat, after paying the charges of freight and duty, was lodged here at 25s. It was impossible to doubt the truth of that which any gentleman says he did himself, and quite impossible to doubt anything which the member for Sunderland says; but when the honourable gentleman states a fact of that kind, he wants the country at large to draw a general conclusion from it. He wants people to suppose when food can be purchased and consumed at 25s. a quarter, and can be imported at that price from abroad, that the farmers of this country cannot compete with the foreign grower. That is the purpose for which the statement was used, or if not it was of no use at all (cries of No.). I think that the hon. gent. ought to have stated in the first place where it was that he imported his grain from, as during the last week his statement has been used in different papers, as if it was the general import price of foreign wheat. I believe that the hon. gent. opposite will admit that we must import a considerable quantity of grain from Poland and Russia, and that Dantzic must be one of the ports from which we must receive grain. We shall have to get a million, or two millions, or, as some people say, four millions; and we must depend on that port to a great extent. I happen to have here an authority which I defy any one to question, namely, the prices of grain at Dantzic during the whole of the year 1837, when the honourable gentleman imported his wheat at 25s. a quarter, and the price of freights from Dantzic to Liverpool or London (Mr. Hudson was here understood to say that the wheat which he had purchased came from Odessa). But as I understood the honourable gentleman’s statement, wheat could be bought for general consumption at 25s. the qr., and this fact is of little use if it has only reference to damaged wheat at Odessa, because I say that you must depend for a large portion of your wheat upon Dantzic. The hon. gent. says he brought grain here, good grain, capable of being consumed as human food, and brought into the market at 25s. I say that the finest quality, capable of being consumed there, never was sold at Dantzic during that year, under 29s. a quarter (cries of “Odessa”). But the hon. member is telling you the Free Trade price of wheat, and you all began triumphing on that account, because you believe that it will be inferred that wheat, which ought to be at 56s. here, as you say, will be 25s. Now the prices of wheat at

Dantzic for the highest and lowest qualities, during the year 1837, were as follow: I find that in 1837 the prices in Dantzic were—

	Highest quality.		Lowest quality.
April.....	31s. 0d. per quarter.		23s. 5d. per quarter.
May.....	32 0 ” ” ” ”		24 0 ” ” ” ”
June.....	33 0 ” ” ” ”		25 0 ” ” ” ”
July.....	30 0 ” ” ” ”		20 0 ” ” ” ”
August.....	32 0 ” ” ” ”		20 0 ” ” ” ”
September 32 0 ” ” ” ”			24 0 ” ” ” ”
October.....	29 6 ” ” ” ”		23 5 ” ” ” ”
November 30 0 ” ” ” ”			25 5 ” ” ” ”
December 29 0 ” ” ” ”			25 0 ” ” ” ”

During the same period the prices of freights from Dantzic to London and Liverpool were never less than 4s. 9d., and sometimes were 6s., and the other charges 3s., and yet the honourable gentleman tells you that if the trade was open foreign grain would be imported here at 25s. a quarter; this he infers from what took place in the year 1837, after our ports had been closed for four years. There is another peculiarity in that year, namely, that a very large amount of Baltic wheat which was grown went from Dantzic to America—which makes him still more fortunate in having been able to land one cargo here from somewhere for 25s. (hear, hear, hear). But the hon. gentleman is one of that school which says there is no objection to an importation of foreign corn if it be not paid for in gold. Well, then, I will just tell the honourable gentleman what was the case when we were importing grain between the years 1840 and 1844. In 1839, there is no doubt that the bullion fell from upwards of nine millions to two in the course of six months, and owing to a large importation; but our importations for the three years were as large, but were regular; and the honourable gentleman will see that the bullion was regularly returned to this country, and the wheat was paid for by manufacturers. In 1840, the import of wheat was 2,600,000 quarters, but the bullion in the Bank had increased to three millions and a half from two millions. In 1841, the import of wheat was 2,300,000 quarters, but the bullion was in the Bank in that year 4,900,000l. And in 1842 we imported 4,206,000 quarters, and at that time the bullion in the Bank of England had increased to ten millions, our exports had also increased in a corresponding ratio, and these exports to the great grain countries took place when our exports to all other countries failed (cheers). But without reading all the particulars, I will just state what was the result of the exports before we began to import grain from the grain-growing countries down to the last year. In 1837, the export of manufactures was 12,800,000l.; in 1842, after we had had four years’ import of grain, the exports of our manufactures was 16,800,000l. This increase of trade with foreign countries took place when our exports to every country were falling off, showing that after the first year of demand for articles we had not before imported, there arose a regular trade (cries of hear, and loud cheers). Sir, the honourable member for Sunderland has referred to what has been alluded to by other members in this debate, the value of the home trade. It is a very common argument with agricultural gentlemen that the home trade is far better than the foreign trade, and that we ought to be careful how we deal with it. Sir, that is our case: it is because the home trade is so good that we ought to be careful not to injure it, and nothing injures it so much as high prices of corn (hear, hear). The hon. member is acquainted with the midland counties, and I therefore select the evidence of the Mayor of Leicester, a large manufacturer, given before the import duty committee of this house, for his information on this point. “In speaking of the consumption of Leicester, you say that the market has been falling off for two years. Are the committee to understand that has been from the increasing poverty of the industrious classes of the country?—I do imagine that to be the case. Have the artisans been obliged to give more labour and to do more work for the same wages in consequence of the pressure which has existed in Leicester?—Certainly, wages have been lower in consequence of it, and I never saw anything like the distress that there has been among the artisans employed in the town of Leicester. To what do you ascribe the decreased demand for their goods?—To the high prices of provisions, which have diminished the means of the labourer to purchase, because, if his food takes a large proportion of his wages, it leaves him less to lay out in clothing, furniture, and other articles. Have you any experience, with respect to the demand for your goods, when provisions have been low? Yes; it is the invariable rule in our trade that when provisions are low we have a good demand; it is a rule observed by the manufacturers, and established as a maxim in the trade. If the harvest is good, we may have a better home demand, but if we have a bad harvest, I do not know what will become of the population, for it will make corn high, and leave the workmen destitute of employment, and the distress will be very great. Ours is a home manufacture depending upon the home market; and upon the well-being of the working population generally the prosperity of the manufactures of Leicester entirely depends. Are you quite certain that the falling off in the demand for Leicester manufacture amongst the purely agricultural population has been as great as amongst the manufacturing population? The falling off has been as great. The hosiers who travel there tell me that the wages of agricultural labourers are so low, that it leaves them nothing to lay out in manufactures. They have first to obtain the necessities of life, and it leaves them nothing to lay out in stockings. Then although the price of food has increased, their wages have not increased in proportion? Certainly not in the agricultural districts; in the manufacturing districts wages are lower than they were two years ago when food was lower. Would you attach any importance to the protecting duties being removed which you are said to have yourself? The bulk of our manufacturers would be glad to see them re-

moved. We passed a resolution to that effect at a large meeting held in the spring of the last year. We had a large town meeting, and resolutions were passed declaring their willingness to abandon all protective duties on manufactures, if all prohibitory and all protective duties on agricultural produce were also removed. Was that resolution the result of the opinion of the general aggregate of the manufacturers in Leicester and the neighbourhood? It was.” Facts of this kind have been elicited from nearly every manufacturer of articles of general consumption, and we urge them, in opposition to what has been stated against us (hear, hear). Now I ask your attention to what it is which has been said at the other side, in reply to these great economical considerations which have been brought before them by the Government, and to propositions which have been from time to time submitted for years past to the same effect, by honourable gentlemen at this side—I see hon. gentlemen are unwilling to listen to this matter, because it is conclusive against them. It has been stated, and stated truly by that right hon. gentleman that the population of this country is rapidly increasing—and the census shows that there is no chance of finding employment for them, except from commerce and manufacture (hear, hear). Now I ask the house to attend to the answer which the honourable member for Northamptonshire and the honourable member for Bristol make to that statement. The commissioners have declared that produce, equal to that of the county of Surrey, is annually required to feed the population of this country, and places as large as Birmingham and Manchester to find them room for shelter. The honourable member for Bristol says, that manufactures have been carried a great deal too far; that we ought rather to consider the propriety of restricting our manufacturing districts; and the hon. member for Northamptonshire, who is the leader of the body of protectionists, and who undertakes to speak for that party, and to tell them the views which they ought to take, and the opinions they ought to pronounce as opposed to this side of the house—he (the honourable member for Northamptonshire) says that we may talk as we please about the increase of our population, and about our want of food for that increased number, but that his policy is not to import more food from abroad, and that we ought to confine ourselves at home to a system under which we should produce three-quarters of corn, instead of five (hear, hear). Now let the country distinctly understand the political economy in fashion on the other side. They say the manufacturing districts are already increasing too much, and that their limits ought to be confined, whilst concurrently with that restriction they also say that we ought to produce less food at home instead of more, and that we ought to import less food from abroad notwithstanding the increase of population. That is the argument which is used by honourable gentlemen opposite, and deliberately stated in your organs, your *Quarterly Review*, *Standard*, and *Herald*. We see it stated that if the manufacturing districts were razed to the ground, if half the metropolis were razed to the ground, the country would be greater, happier, and more prosperous. And you go on consistently with these views, and say that we want no manufacturing towns, and that we require to produce less food, and to import less from abroad, for this rapidly increasing population. That is what you say are your economical principles (loud cheers). We say that we want to provide food for an increased population; and we find, by the census returns, that you give less employment to the population now than you did in 1831; and, in answer to that, you say that we ought to have fewer manufactures and less production of food (hear, and cheers). Now I ask if any save men not fit to be loose, would utter such statement, or if such men ought to be allowed to legislate for the country? And yet these are the persons who propose to form a Government; who say, “If you will only throw out this measure we will form a Government which will provide for the people;” who propose to diminish the manufacturing districts, and to produce less food in the country (hear, hear). That is your economical view (cheers). But how do you propose to carry it out? You depend upon your territorial influence, the county constituencies, and the House of Lords. You think that by your influence with the counties and some boroughs, and with the influence of the House of Lords, you will be able to throw out this measure of the Government and to uphold monopoly. This it is which has induced you to keep up the debate for eleven days, and it is with a hope of effecting that object that you will go to the division to-morrow night. You hope by these means, by your influence with dependent voters, and the support of the House of Lords, to throw out the Government measure. But let me ask, did you ever consider this question in all its bearings? The Corn Laws must be supported now by force or by opinion (ironical cheers from the Protectionists). Is there any other way? You have already tried by force to support it. You tried force when the law was introduced, and four years after it was carried you maintained it by force (hear). I say the people were cut down in this town for resisting that law, and at Manchester also, in 1819, four years after its enactment, they were cut down for resisting it (hear, hear). They were threatened in 1837. It was attempted, but you could not do it in 1839; yes, it was said that there was a way of putting down people if they ventured to express an opinion against this law. What you then had to resist the people was your rotten boroughs. After 1830 you could not put down the people by force. When the people were disappointed and discontented with the results of the Reform Bill, you were enabled to persuade them not to press for a repeal of the Corn Laws. That it was which gave rise to the Anti-Corn-Law League (cheers). Your protective societies were formed for the purpose of deluding and deceiving the people by every means which could

lead them astray with respect to the subject of the Corn Laws. Everything which could distract the minds of the people on that subject was done by the protection societies. That gave rise to the Anti-Corn-Law League; that caused them to exert themselves as they had done; that it was which led them to do so much in circulating, not their own notions, but the deliberate opinions of the most enlightened men that ever the country produced, and induced them to make those extraordinary exertions which the country had witnessed to obtain the abolition of all restrictions on commerce, and in particular the total abolition of your Corn Laws (cheers) I have described the position in which the question is placed, and it is quite clear that you cannot at this moment support it by force or delusion or persuasion (cheers); so if you wish to support it, you must do it by other means (hear, hear). You are now quarrelling with a Minister who is conscientiously applying himself to the settlement of this question. If you do then desire to support it by other means, I ask you whether you have taken any security whatever against the recurrence of another period of scarcity (hear, hear)? If a season of scarcity should occur again, and that the people under the pressure of that scarcity should call upon you for universal suffrage, or if it should so happen that the people rise up in arms against this law, or your Government, what state would such a Government as you could form be placed in under such circumstances? I only ask you just to imagine such a Government as you have seen described—a Government with a noble duke at its head, and consisting of some honourable gentlemen whom I see opposite (great laughter),—what position would such a Government find itself in with a period of scarcity and tumult in the land, and the responsibility placed upon them of restoring and maintaining peace and order? Can we suppose a Government in a more horrible, I will not say despicable, situation (hear, and cheers)? What would you do? Would you not do exactly as you did in 1841? Would you not come to the right honourable baronet the member for Tamworth, and pray of him to take the reins of power and restore a state of peace and order (cheers)? The honourable member for Rutlandshire blamed the right honourable baronet at the head of the Government for not having stuck to his guns. What a comparison (a laugh). "Stick to his guns." What minister, let me ask, would have stuck to his guns under similar circumstances (hear, hear)? Would you stick to your guns if starvation was spreading throughout the country, and you were not able to put the people down by force, nor to persuade them that the starvation they suffered was not your fault, and was not the result of your legislation? Would you who blame the right hon. baronet stick to your guns under such circumstances (loud cheers)? Is it not clear that in your attempts to prevent the right hon. gentleman from abolishing this Corn Law, you are consulting your own interests solely? Is it not evident that the real protection which you require is protection for yourselves (cheers)? You have alluded to other countries; and I remember the honourable member for Dorsetshire, since the commencement of this session, said he was not afraid so much of agitation with respect to this question, or of high prices, but he was afraid of such men as Neckar, or Turgot getting into the Government (hear). There is some analogy, I admit, between the position of this country as regards this question and the state of France at a former period, when Turgot became Minister. The honourable member for Dorchester, who expressed his fear of a second Turgot in our Government, is, I am sure, acquainted with the character of that Minister and the views he entertained. He was a very sagacious man. I venture to say, notwithstanding the pretensions of the economists that there is no man possessing more comprehensive views than he possessed upon national policy. Turgot was called to power in 1775, and no man could have obtained office entertaining more enlightened views. He said that he undertook the government of the country without the slightest hope of being able to do good: he knew he should be calumniated, and that a confederacy would be formed against him because he represented to the King that a certain class ought not to live on the substance of the nation (cheers); but he accepted of office notwithstanding, because he wished to die with the character of desiring to do as much good as possible for his country. What was the first act he did when he obtained power? He repealed the Corn Laws (loud cheers). He said there were two things which should be taken care of by every country if it was desirous of escaping bankruptcy and revolution—and this he said, be it remembered, 15 years before the revolution took place in France. The two things which he said ought to be cared for were, that the revenue should be maintained, and that the occurrence of scarcity should be avoided, and he added, that above all things trade in corn should be kept free. Consistently with these views, the first act of Turgot in 1775 was to set free the internal corn trade of France, and to place on record his views with respect to the expediency of setting free the external corn trade. But what was his reason? It is really worth the while of hon. gentlemen opposite to observe it. He said there was a regular barrier when he came into power between each of the provinces, and that this was of such a nature as to form a regular interference with the trade in corn of every province, thus causing each province to depend upon the season for its supply of food, and to be of course exposed to the evils of scarcity, irrespective of the other provinces, in a season of scarcity (hear, hear). He then proceeded to put the financial department in a better and more secure position. And what was his fate? I mention it, because I think it may be the fate of the ministry that we have at present. If you look to Condorcet's "Life of Turgot," you will find that there was a combination formed against him of all those people in the country who lived on abuses, and who derived incomes from the public revenue, without giving any service to the public in return. The combination included foolish people about the state; young nobles; kept mistresses (laughter) and the farmers of the pub-

lic revenue. That was the description of persons who combined against Turgot, and against every minister from 1775 to 1789, who foresaw the consequences of which Turgot complained, and wished to prevent them (cries of hear, hear). That was the minister whom the honourable member for Dorsetshire feared might be imitated by a minister of this country (hear, hear). Mr. Carlyle represents the privileged classes in France as saying, in 1787, "We cannot maintain our station, unless we have some exemptions and some privileges." Well, they would not listen to any minister who would not pander to them. In 1789 a scarcity of food took place; there was a bad harvest throughout France; and in 1789 it was recorded that considerable tumult and riot occurred which involved great change; a change which struck its roots deeply, but which was not the result of the particular cause which the hon. member for Shrewsbury suggested, but which was caused by the scarcity of food. Let honourable gentlemen carefully attend to that history, and take warning. I know nothing which could enable the Government to resist such scarcity and failure of revenue, and the effects which they produced on that occasion are worthy the attention of a just and prudent minister. When you consider the effects of scarcity, I will ask you whether the right honourable baronet at the head of the Government is not a real Conservative—whether he is not doing what is really promotive of true Conservatism—when he adopts the course which he recommends to you (cheers)? Remember, you have not taken a single measure of security against a year of scarcity (hear). You heard the right hon. baronet opposite say what he apprehended from it; that he dreads the very recollection of former periods of scarcity and insecurity and sedition, and that he is therefore desirous to prevent the recurrence of such periods, but you have offered no security against the recurrence of scarcity. You have taken no precaution, and recollect that, after all the discussions which have taken place on this question, the enlightenment of the people on this subject, it is impossible to deceive them again, and they will hereafter look for some responsibility from you (hear, hear). Recollect that the system you wish to maintain is to prevent the growth of food in other countries for the supply of the wants of our population. Consider the state of things at present. You are really not safe from this responsibility for two or three years to come. There is something like famine already existing in Ireland, and you are not sure that there may not be a bad harvest next year (hear, hear). What do you mean to do if there should be a bad harvest? If the people are distressed and without food, and call on you for supplies, what do you mean to do? You have undertaken to feed them, and they are not fed. What answer will you give in 1846, and 1847, and 1848, if distress should still continue? Surely there is sense in this. In a period of scarcity it would not be merely a question of Corn Law. The people are in a peculiar state of mind. Let us then prevent, by every means in our power, another period of scarcity—a period that the present ministers of the crown reflect upon and contemplate the recurrence of with horror and alarm (hear, hear, hear); let us remember that when men are made desperate by distress, and driven to madness by privation, that they accept any cause to account for their misfortune, and listen to any remedy suggested for their relief, and it is very much to the interest of the aristocracy that the people should not attribute it to them (hear, hear). Avert in time the public mind from reflecting upon the manner in which they have been governed by the aristocracy for the half-century past (hear, hear). My noble friend the member for London has referred to immortal services rendered by them to the country. I do not in the least deny what we have heard that they have rendered immortal service in some periods of our history. I am delighted to hear it. I do not dispute it, because I am not so well versed in ancient history as others are; but I think if there does come a period of distress, that the people, after all would be apt to review the period of which they have immediate cognisance, and I doubt if that is the period that my noble friend referred to; the period is within the last 40 or 50 years. I do honestly believe that they can come to no other conclusion than that during the last 50 years past have wielded the power of the legislature against the industry, energy, and intelligence of the people (hear, hear)—that they have been faithless to their trust in this place (hear)—that they have sought unhallowed gain, reckless of the means of obtaining it (hear, hear)—and that they have been ever blind to the destiny of this great nation (loud cheers). I therefore conjure them at this moment, and at the present opportunity, to become reconciled to their own true interests, and to sacrifice selfish prejudice to the cause of justice by a hearty concurrence in the measures proposed by the Government, and by the abolition *in toto* of this law; which, as long as a vestige of it remains, will only be an evidence of your shame (cheers). Lose the occasion and I venture to predict that you will surely follow the fate of every one who has ever sought, or for a while succeeded in trampling upon, or tyrannising over this race and nation, amongst whom it is your great fortune to be born, and over whom it ought to have been your pride to rule with justice and intelligence.—(The hon. gentleman resumed his seat amidst loud applause.)

On the question that the debate be adjourned, Colonel SIBTHORP called the attention of the house to the fact that the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General for Ireland, a Lord of the Admiralty, and the Clerk of the Ordnance—all officers with large salaries—had none of them seats in that house. He also wished to know who was now the First Commissioner of Woods and Forests—and who were to be the new Lords of the Treasury. Surely those appointments ought to be filled up.

Mr. SPOONER hoped that the debate would terminate to-morrow night, but would not consent to such a proposal, unless every member had an opportunity of delivering his opinion.

The debate was then adjourned.

We are happy to learn that the Earl of Glasgow has given in his adhesion to the ministerial proposals for abolishing the Corn Laws, and that he intends to take his place and support them in the House of Peers, when they come under the consideration of that branch of the legislature.—*Glasgow Argus*.

It is through the Greek and Armenian churches that Russia possesses her influence in Turkey, while through the Catholic church France is endeavouring to obtain similar influence.

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BRITISH VICTORIES IN INDIA,
from the official despatches and other sources, the lists of killed and wounded; Trophies seized, &c. &c. With the
MONSTER DEBATE AND DIVISION,
the Election for South North. Editorial Comments on the state of the Free Trade Question, and a Letter from Cotton Twist.—Office, 387, Strand; and all Newsmen Price 6d.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, February 28, 1846.

We regret the defeat of Lord Lincoln in South Nottinghamshire, for the sake of the young nobleman himself, whose spirit, candour, and ability have won for him a large share of public interest and sympathy. But apart from personal considerations, we see no reason to sorrow over the result of the several county elections which have occurred within the last fortnight. They prove that the protection really needed by farmers is the ballot, and that protectionists are not satisfied with possession of the soil unless they can also lord it over the conscience. No wonder that they protest against the registration movement of the League, and clamour against our efforts to create an independent body of freeholders. They do so on the same principle that the American planters resist the presence of free negroes in the vicinity of their estates, and that no object is more odious to a Russian boyar than an emancipated serf. The recent elections afford better arguments for the continuance of our exertions in the counties than all the eloquence and ingenuities of our leaders could have devised. The qualification for a county member has become, in sober earnest, that which George Seacole possessed for the office of constable; it is simply to be "the most senseless and unfit man for the purpose." The world revolted when Caligula raised his horse to the consulship; but our protectionist landlords have tried the experiment of investing far less respectable animals with the functions of legislation. We are to have "a country party," save the mark; and we are to take the noodles sent up to swell the bellowing herd "below the gangway" as specimens of its constituent elements. Be it so,—the sooner the experiment is tried the better it will be for the nation. Despotism, indulging in the vagaries of capricious absurdity must hasten its own fall. Already the farmers are soliciting the League to aid in rescuing them from thralldom. Another year may convert South Nottinghamshire into a constituency similar to the West Riding of Yorkshire. The dictation of the landlords has become so ostentatious and so insulting that it cannot be endured much longer. At the present crisis their conduct is as wanton, and as perverse as it is tyrannical. They know that they cannot delay the progress of the ministerial measure for one day, or impair its efficiency by the rejection of a single clause; their only object is to indulge their personal spite against Sir Robert Peel at all hazards. They feel that without him they are as sheep having lost their shepherd, and yet they exhibit themselves to the world a melancholy specimen of potent imbecility and domineering folly. We do not grieve at their rendering themselves thus ridiculous; we are not sorry to see them weeding the pocket-counties of every man who has a reputation for virtue or for talent; and we have no fear of the threatened experiment of trying how long this nation would endure to be governed by avowed selfishness, and sheer stupidity.

MUSIC FOR THE MILLION—3d per Sheet of Four Folio Pages!!
JULIEN'S NIGHTINGALE WALTZ, and the Original Mazurka, for the Pianoforte, both for 6d. The Manly Hero, Mozart's celebrated duet, 3d. Semiramide Quadrille, 3d. or the whole in wrapper for a Shilling, being Part 52 of "The Musical Treasury," for March, 1846.
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Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row.

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A Plea for the World Below Stairs.
The Devil's Walk in 1846.
To-day.
How the Merchant's Clerk turned Cabman.
Railways and Royalty.
London: Published at the "Punch" Office, 55, Fleet-street.

This day is published, price 6d., with numerous Illustrations, No. III. of the
ALMANACK OF THE MONTH, A Review of Everything
and Everything.
Edited by GILBERT AUBREY & BECKETT.
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London: Published at the "Punch" Office, 55, Fleet-street.

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With Illustrations by George Cruikshank, and the latest Corrections and Alterations of the Author.
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Moved by Mr. Alexander, seconded by Mr. Thomas.—That this meeting considers the conduct of the Directors, in waiving their right to receive or claim any advance from the Company during the first 12 months, as highly honorable, and deserving of the sincere thanks of the meeting. A Vote of Thanks was given for forming Building Societies to be a decided improvement.—Weekly Dispatch.

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N.B. No business at this Establishment from sunset on Friday to sunset on Saturday, when business is resumed till twelve o'clock.

** For remainder of News see SUPPLEMENT.

Printed at the Whitefriars Printing-office, Rouverie-street, in the precinct of Whitefriars, in the City of London, by JOHN GADSBY, printer, of Number 7, Ridgmount-place, Hampstead-road, in the County of Middlesex; and also of Number 4, Fairfield-place, Chesham-hill-road, in the parish of Marychurch, in the County of Lancashire; and published at Number 67, Fleet-street, in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, in the City of London, by ABRAHAM WALTER PLUMSTON, of Number 67, Fleet-street, storehouse—Saturday, February 28, 1846.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 127.—Vol. III.]

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1846.

[GRATIS.]

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE CORN LAW DEBATE.

THE ADJOURNED DEBATE—FRIDAY, FEB. 20.

The adjourned debate was resumed by Mr. C. BRUCE, who denied the assertion of Mr. B. Baring, that an end would be put to agitation if the house assented to the present proposition of her Majesty's Government. On the contrary, he believed if it were passed into law, discontent more dangerous, and agitation more difficult of repression, than that with which the house had to contend at present, would ensue. He was convinced that a more intense outcry would then be got up in favour of the extinction of tithes, against the Established Church, against the aristocracy, against the law of primogeniture, and against the necessary expenses of the monarchy. He could not agree with Lord Sandon or Mr. Baillie, that it was necessary to support this measure of the Ministers, because the country could not be governed without them. Like the king in the ballad of Chevy Chase, who, though he regretted the death of Earl Percy, thanked God that "he had within his realm 500 good as he," he would express his belief that, much as the retirement of Sir R. Peel and his colleagues might be deplored, it would not be difficult to find in England other ministers to form a cabinet quite as good as they. Declining to enter on this occasion into the policy of the Corn Laws, he proceeded to comment upon the celebrated letter of Lord John Russell, which he denounced as quite as remarkable for the boldness as for the extravagance of its assertions. He denied that the Corn Laws were the blight either of commerce or of agriculture, and insisted that without protection the country would never have reached its present height of greatness and prosperity. He wanted to know how Sir James Graham reconciled to his present course his most eloquent speech in favour of protection in 1839—a speech which he had cheered at the time till he was perfectly hoarse. He should also like to know what arguments the Chancellor of the Exchequer had to urge in favour of a measure which touched his department very nearly, and which at the same time was opposed to every principle on which he had hitherto acted. He had likewise some curiosity to hear what other officers of the Government had to say in defence of their sudden abandonment of all the opinions of their past lives. Passing them over without further remark, he proceeded to grapple with what he called the magnificent speech of Sir R. Peel on Monday night. It was his deliberate conviction that Sir R. Peel had in that speech made out one part of his case, but had signally failed in making out the other. He had proved that great advantage would be derived from the repeal of the duties on manufactured articles, but he had failed in proving that corn came under the same category with manufactured articles. He had not given his Corn Law a fair trial. A factious party, seeking its own interest in the reduction of wages, demanded the repeal of it; and, taking advantage of the failure of the potato crop in Ireland, he had yielded to the demand, in the face of a verdict given in favour of protection at the last general election by the constituencies of England. He (Mr. C. Bruce) could not sacrifice his past and present opinions on the subject of the Corn Laws for the reasons which Sir R. Peel had alleged; and therefore he must decline embarking with his right hon. friend on that boundless ocean of Free Trade, upon which the British navigator had not yet ventured, and from which no British pilot had yet returned.

Mr. P. SCROPE would not rest the defence of the Government measure on the favourable experience of the last three years, because, if the experience of the next three years should be unfavourable, it might be urged as a reason for reconsidering it. The arguments for the repeal of the Corn Laws were as strong in 1841—aye, and even 30 years ago—as they were at present. The Corn Laws either raised the price of corn or they did not. If they did not raise the price, then they were no benefit to agriculture or to any other interest, and were a gratuitous interference with industry, and therefore an unmitigated wrong. If they did raise the price, how did hon. gentlemen justify their result? Why, they said, we are a highly taxed country, and must have high prices to pay our taxation. Then came the consideration, "From whom did these high prices come?" They came from the consumers of corn, and what justification was there for that? You gave the consumers no compensation for the high taxes which they had to pay for themselves personally; and what right then had you to force high prices on them in order to make them pay the high taxes, which properly ought to fall upon yourself? He considered this to be a sufficient proof that the Corn Laws, if they did raise prices, were even a more unmitigated wrong than they were if they did not. Having stated that he had heard no satisfactory reasons from the other side in behalf of the policy of protection, he proceeded to comment on the speech of Mr. S. O'Brien, and more especially on that argument, in which he insisted on the hardship inflicted on native industry by our consumption of articles produced in foreign countries. Firing a passing shot at Mr. Ferrand for his efforts to prevent the importation of foreign corn and the exportation of British machinery, he concluded by calling on the house to abolish the Corn Laws, which were at once odious in character and suspicious in motive.

Mr. NEWDEGATE contended that Mr. Stafford O'Brien had not violated in his own person the principle of protection, for so long as he paid the protective duty he had a right to use any foreign article. He complained that all the advocates of Free Trade had assumed that the defenders of the Corn Laws were the advocates of prohibition, and not of protection. Mr. P. Scrope, in stating that the Corn Laws were an unmitigated wrong, whether they did or did not raise prices, seemed to think that he had disposed of the whole question; but he had utterly forgotten that they were not enacted either to raise or depress prices, but to secure at all times steady prices. There were many taxes which the landowner paid and the manufacturer did not pay, and for those taxes the landowner obtained some compensation

in the protection given to native corn. The manufacturers were not the majority of the country, and the laws, which were for the benefit of the majority, he had a right to assume were for the benefit of the community at large. To buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market was a good maxim for trade, but not a good one for Government, inasmuch as Government had other objects to which it ought to look to besides the accumulation of capital. Turning to the measure immediately before the house, he observed that it had not come upon him by surprise. In the year 1844 he had foreseen, foretold, and lamented over its approach. When he saw Sir Robert Peel rendering this country dependent on foreign countries for its monetary exchanges, he expected that he would soon render it dependent on them for its supply of food also. The Corn Laws were the key-stone of protection; and if that key-stone were removed, the whole edifice of protective duties would fall with it to the ground. Universal distress would then ensue among all classes of society, agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing; and if the country escaped a convulsion in consequence, it would only be by re-enacting these once applauded but now repudiated Corn Laws. After a disquisition upon the injurious connection of the present question with the currency of the country, he proceeded to grapple with the doctrine that agriculture was not exposed to any peculiar burdens. Mr. Ward had denied the existence of these burdens altogether. Lord John Russell had admitted their existence; but had contended that the landed interest had no right to any compensation for them, inasmuch as it had refused to go into Mr. Ward's committee to inquire into their extent. Mr. Newdegate then read a paper, by which he endeavoured to prove, that in the shape of tithe, malt-tax, property-tax, poor-rates, land-tax, highway rates, and some other charges, the agricultural interest was exposed to burdens amounting to 12,000,000*l.* annually. He believed that compensation for these burdens was impossible, and that if it were possible, it would not be advantageous. He censured the somewhat haughty and dictatorial tone which Sir Robert Peel had of late assumed towards the independent members of that house. His conduct in overbearing the opinions of his colleagues, and in appealing to their fears instead of to their dispassionate judgment, endangered the liberty and freedom of the subject; and until he submitted his change of opinion to the approval or disapproval of the public by a constitutional appeal to the people, he (Mr. Newdegate) should consider him, not the Minister of the Sovereign or the people's choice, but the Minister of their necessity. What right had he or Mr. S. Herbert to say to the country gentlemen, "If you don't yield now to reason, you will have to yield hereafter to force?" Surely such language ill became a Minister of the Crown, and was highly derogatory to the dignity of a deliberative assembly. In conclusion, he exhorted the independent party in the house to persevere in the career on which it had entered, as before long the country would appreciate and co-operate with its exertions.

Mr. BARCLAY observed, that on former occasions he had voted against the annual motion of Mr. Villiers, for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, and that he should have given a similar vote this year had a similar proposition been made. The aspect of things was, however, changed in his eyes, when he saw Sir Robert Peel proposing, not a lopsided plan, like that of Mr. Villiers, for the mere repeal of the duties on corn, but a broad and comprehensive plan for the reduction of all protective duties whatsoever. He then proceeded to explain at considerable length, but in a tone of voice which rendered him very indistinctly heard, the reasons which induced him to give his support to the commercial policy now proposed by Sir R. Peel.

Mr. BENETT (of Suffolk) felt himself compelled to withdraw the confidence which he had once reposed in Sir R. Peel, partly by his recent desertion of all the principles of protection which he had formerly advocated, but principally by the grievous injuries which he had inflicted on the Protestant Church in Ireland. He should give his decided opposition to the Government measure, which took away all protection from agriculture and native industry, and he expected that the Solicitor-General would join him in that opposition, as he had expressed himself strongly at his late election at Cambridge against "the folly" of those who thought Free Trade advisable.

Mr. MUNTZ had done all he could to prevent Sir R. Peel from occupying the high position in which he then stood; but he was now very glad that Sir R. Peel had obtained it. He was very glad, too, that he had brought forward this measure; and he should certainly support it; for it would tear away a veil concealing all the miseries of the country, which were at present attributed, and very unfairly, to the Corn Laws. He had always said to Sir R. Peel, "You must reduce every thing to the Continental level, or else you must raise up every thing to another level." Sir R. Peel had taken the first course; he (Mr. Muntz) believed it to be a wrong course; but, as Sir R. Peel had taken it, he would do every thing in his power to support him in it; for anything was better than a system which led to nothing but uncertainty. He went the length of saying that the house ought to protect all native industry against the untaxed industry of foreign countries; but the protection of the house had not been extended to every branch of native industry, and that was the reason why he had always voted against it. He did not believe that the repeal of the Corn Law would produce all the advantages which had been stated in and out of the house, but he did believe that it must produce a reduction in the price of food—and it would then be the duty of the house to take care that that reduction did not produce a reduction in the rate of wages. Hitherto Sir R. Peel had been deemed infallible, but now that he had confessed that he had been in the wrong for 30 or 40 years on the subject of the Corn Law, people were beginning to suspect that he might be wrong on other questions also: he (Mr. Muntz) should not be surprised if Sir Robert should come down early in the next session and confess that he was convinced, by the experience which he had collected in the interval, that he had been wrong, too, on the subject of our currency and monetary system.

Mr. DISRAELI.—Sir, I leave the right hon. baronet, the first minister, to settle the question of the currency, with his new supporter, the hon. member who has just sat down, and to whom we are indebted for a protection speech almost as able as that delivered to us by the noble lord the member for Liverpool (hear and laughter). The honourable gentleman who has just addressed us seems to think that, after this declaration of the Government, all is doubtful. Sir, there is one point on which no doubt can any longer rest. Whatever may be the opinions that now have entered into this great controversy on the main question before us, however fervent may be our convictions of the advantage of protection, however sanguine may be the expectations of hon. gentlemen opposite of the benefits of competition, there is one point on which we are all agreed—there is one point on which there can be no misunderstanding, and it is this, that her Majesty's Ministers have changed their opinions (hear). Whether the opinions they formerly pursued, or those opinions which they are about to follow, are the right ones, are the most expedient, and the most calculated to benefit this country, that, I apprehend, is the real question before the house (hear, hear). Sir, that is the question which, with the indulgence of the house, I shall endeavour to consider, and on which I shall endeavour to offer some suggestions, which I hope may make honourable gentlemen hesitate before they accede to the great change which is proposed. I shall endeavour to show that this system which is called the system of protection is not that odious system which it has too long been assumed to be. I have pledged myself to meet the question on its merits, and though I may not be capable of the argument, I shall not shrink from it (hear and cheers). But before I presume to offer these considerations to the house in support of that system, it will be more convenient to notice the arguments that have been offered by her Majesty's Government in favour of the change that is proposed. I shall thus clear the course which I have to illustrate. It will lead me to the end which I aspire to reach, and facilitate the discussion very much. We have been addressed in support of the measures of the Government by three cabinet ministers. It is but due to the right hon. gentleman, the first minister—to the position which he occupies—to the more comprehensive statement that he made of the case of the Government, that I should perhaps, in the first instance, notice what he said. The right hon. gentleman assumed that a great part of this discussion has been wasted in arguments as to the conduct of parties. I have no wish myself to enter into that subject: nor should I have noticed it at all, had not the right honourable gentleman, by the use which he made then, as well as on a previous and subsequent occasion, of the word "party," seemed to entertain a very different feeling with regard to it from that which influences honourable members on this bench (hear, hear). Sir, we have indeed heard from these benches a great deal on the conduct of party, but we associate with that word very different ideas from those which the right honourable gentleman seems to entertain. We do not understand that party is anything but public opinion embodied (loud cries of "hear, hear"). We protest against the doctrine of the right hon. gentleman, that there is a distinction between political party and public opinion. We maintain that party is public opinion embodied, whether it represent the opinions of the majority or of the minority of the public. In either case it represents the opinions of a great section of the community. In this country, where the nation is divided into parties—where great results are brought about by public discussion—by the organisation also, no doubt, of material interests—by these two agencies of reason and of property, we arrive at the solution of controversies almost times the most fatal. Such are the beneficial consequences of those agencies, that, however fierce the controversial strife—however violent the agitation of the nation—still you will find always that when a question is settled by the agency of the legitimate exercise of what the right hon. gentleman calls "party," but which is in fact national organisation, the nation is content and satisfied with the appeal, and you seldom see a question so settled re-opened (hear). Now we do not complain of the right hon. gentleman having changed his opinions. Opinion is not always in the power of the human will; but we do complain, not that he has deferred too much to public opinion, but that he has outraged public opinion (loud cries of "hear")—that he has prevented that legitimate action of the public voice—that he has resisted the settlement of questions, by the aid of party, and the feelings of the community which are embodied in it. And if he achieves, as most probably he will achieve, the result which he has in view, the community will consequently be not satisfied, and they will say, and say with reason, "We represent a great mass of public opinion—by our aid the right hon. gentleman has been raised to power—by our aid the present Parliament has been elected to represent our section of the public, and yet our feelings have been disregarded. If the noble lord (Lord John Russell) who represents another section of public opinion had succeeded in being the minister—if his friends had succeeded in being the majority in this house, and if the noble lord, by their aid, had settled this question, we should have yielded to that decision, because we would have felt that the solution of the controversy had been carried out in a legitimate manner; but we complain that, under the course pursued, this question is not settled, and cannot be settled, in a constitutional manner. We have merely the sad spectacle of the right honourable gentleman surrounded by a majority who, while they give their votes, protest in their speeches against his policy (cries of "no, no," and "hear, hear, hear"). I had no idea there was any doubt on this point. The illustrious catalogue of converts that we have seen have been converts to the policy and not to the principles of the right honourable gentleman. But I say it is not merely of that alone that we complain, but it is also of the flagrant scandal of the minister, carrying, under these circumstances, a great question, when he has himself announced that there has been a majority of his cabinet against him upon it (hear). Well, then, the public opinion which we represent has not been fairly dealt with, and when we complain of the right honourable gentleman not treating his party fairly, we are not speaking of the three hundred gentlemen who

may be sitting on these benches, but of the majority forming a great portion of the community at large, whose views they represent, and of that public opinion which is the result of their convictions (hear, hear). This is probably the only observation that I shall make on this subject, and I have offered it clearly in the legitimate spirit of the debate (hear, hear). The right honourable gentleman proceeded to indicate that which he considered to be the proper subject for discussion in this matter; and I conceived that the right honourable gentleman in his description of what should be the proper subject of discussion at once described and indicated the fallacy of his own position, and the fatal character of the policy which he is pursuing. He says, "I call upon you not to discuss a party question, but to meet an emergency, and to do what you can to construct a commercial system" (hear). Now, sir, can anything be more different—if there can be a contrast more complete than any other between two things, it must be that between a system which must be permanent, and an emergency which however managed must be to a certain degree precipitate. There, I think, is at once the fault of the position of the right honourable baronet. At the very first step he counsels us to a course which, if we consider his policy under other circumstances, if we regard it, for example, as the policy of the minister of a foreign country, and be thus able to regard it without any of the clamour or spirit that now animates us, we must at once pronounce a great mistake. If, for instance, this course were recommended by the noble lord opposite, we should call it a great mistake. We should consider it unwise in him to say, "I have measures to meet an emergency, but I call upon you to come forward and to reconstruct your commercial system, in deference to a system which you have always previously opposed." But what are we to say to a minister who asks us not only to do that, but who says you must do it, in total opposition to all that I have told you was right and proper heretofore (hear, hear)? Now, sir, as regards the emergency—namely, the state of Ireland—I must protest against the necessity of any one warning us in this house not to treat the subject lightly. It is a subject on which I have never spoken in a tone of levity, though I may have occasionally so treated the policy that has been adopted towards that country. But as regards the question which we have to discuss—namely, the adoption of a new system, a system which the right honourable gentleman himself described, only a few months ago, as a great social revolution (hear, hear),—as regards this question, there are one or two points which it may be as well if some member of the cabinet would enlighten us upon, though I believe there are no more Free Trade members of the cabinet to speak on this question (hear, hear, and laughter). But perhaps we may be favoured with the opinion of a protection member of the cabinet on these remarkable circumstances of the present anomalous state of affairs, namely, that we shall have at the same time a protectionist cabinet, and a Free Trade ministry (hear, hear, and cheers). Now, sir, with regard to the point to which I was calling the attention of the House, the right honourable gentleman feels strongly the difficulty under which he necessarily labours, in being himself the minister to propose these changes in our commercial system. The right honourable gentleman told us that he would have wished those changes should be proposed by others, but he at the same time informed us that he had proposed them in the cabinet long before he had meditated a rupture in that cabinet on these items. The question, then, arises, how does he reconcile these two statements, namely, his having proposed these measures to the cabinet, with the fact, which he has recently so often assured us of, that he would have wished that others should have brought these measures before Parliament (hear)? Now, sir, I would notice the commercial principle, if you can call it a principle, upon which the right honourable gentleman seems to have founded the measures which he proposes to us. We are, as regards the emergency, ready to do that which any minister entitled to the confidence of Parliament would recommend. We are prepared to do for Ireland—I will not say all that Ireland can require—but all that human judgment can devise (hear, hear, and laughter). But we do not understand the position of the right honourable gentleman with respect to this subject. That position has been involved in great obscurity. The right honourable gentleman says—"I was for opening the ports," and then, following up the cheer which he sometimes met with in alluding to this fact, he proceeded to take a rapid view of the economical system of the country in past times; he proved that the ports had been often before opened, and beneficially opened; but, as if alarmed at the cheer which this statement called forth from these benches, he turns round and says, "Yes, it is very well for you to agree with me in this; it is very good to cheer me when I allude to the opening of the ports; but I must tell you that I was not prepared to shut them again" (hear, hear). The providing for the emergency, therefore, was not the difficulty of the right hon. gentleman—the difficulty was at the bottom of the right hon. gentleman's policy (hear, hear). He was resolved that the present system of Corn Laws and other laws should cease (hear, hear). Now, compare these facts with the declaration that has been made by a member of the cabinet, not exactly on the hustings, but before a large body of the constituents, in a county town; what is the declaration of the Chief Secretary on a late occasion? He tells you, "We would have wished that these communications should have been made to another Parliament;" that is to say, the present Parliament might have gone on; there might have been a renewal of the seven years' lease of the Conservative majority, and probably, when the election would just have taken place, we would receive that announcement which, under peculiar circumstances, has perhaps been made too soon (hear, hear). Now, I am bringing no charge against her Majesty's Government. I am merely throwing out hints to the protection members of the cabinet who probably may rise in the course of this debate. I have mentioned the points on which I wish to have information; I came to no foregone conclusion. It is probable that the Chief Secretary for Ireland was not authorised to state that the change was not wished to be made until the new Parliament would meet. But there is also the fact that the right honourable gentleman more than once deplored that the task should have been imposed upon him, and should not have fallen to others, of introducing these measures. Still it would appear that before the matter was conceived by any human being, the right honourable gentleman had actually proposed its adoption in council, and insisted on his colleagues approving of it. These are, I think, two points which require elucidation; and having alluded to them, I shall now proceed to the consideration of the commercial system that is proposed for our adoption. I am afraid that I may weary the house, but I assure honourable gentlemen that I will redeem my pledge if they will permit me (hear, hear). The right honourable gentleman, on first bringing

these measures to the notice of the house, assumed that he had founded them on the observations of the last three years; but in his last speech, he seemed to find fault with the manner in which that former expression had been taken up by different members. As long as he denies the construction put upon his words, that denial is quite enough for me, and I will not, therefore, dwell upon this point. The right honourable gentleman says, "I do not exactly say that it was the observation of the last three years that absolutely induced me to adopt the measures which I now recommend, but I have been taking a general view of the commercial relations of the country for a long time, and of the effects of considerable relaxation of protective duties, and I have seen, especially under the influence of my tariff during the last three years, that there has been a great and simultaneous increase of exports and imports with these relaxations." That I believe is a fair statement of the argument of the right honourable baronet. If the right honourable gentleman were merely proposing an annual budget, I do not think there would be any great objection to his measures, but when a great change is proposed to us, and when that change is recommended on the data afforded by the amount of imports and exports in a recent period, it becomes the house to be very cautious in the policy which it adopted, and to analyse very closely the operation of those commercial results (hear, hear). Now there is one case, with which some hon. gentlemen opposite are very familiar, connected with this matter of exports and imports. I am throwing aside the allegations about magnificent railway works, and a superabundant employment, which the right hon. gentleman omitted altogether on the first occasion, but on which he afterwards dwelt so warmly (hear, hear). I believe that the data on which the right hon. gentleman rested the basis of his plans would be found fallacious in all cases. I believe, whatever our opinions may be, that is universally acknowledged; but I throw all these circumstances aside, and I put my finger on the important agency through which the right hon. gentleman brought forward his case. There is nothing, it must be admitted, which affects imports so much as the state of the seasons. Now, I shall show how this applies to what must be regarded as a commercial transaction, in respect both to exports and imports, and how beautifully it illustrates the fallacy of his arguments. If you look to the past year, you will find that there has been great increase both of exports and imports in the article of sugar. It is impossible to suppose that the operation of the tariff, introduced last year by the right hon. gentleman, could have influenced to any extent the cargoes of sugar which were received, especially from the more distant parts, such as the Mauritius and the East Indies. But there happened to have been an abundant crop, both in the Mauritius and in the East Indies; and owing to that circumstance, our imports of sugar from those parts of the world were much greater than usual, and will no doubt figure in the table to be brought forward by the right hon. gentleman on some future day in support of his commercial policy. Now it is a most curious circumstance, that while there was an abundant crop of sugar in the Mauritius and in the East Indies, there happened to have been a total deficiency in the crop of the Havannah, from which the whole of Russia is supplied. Accordingly an imperial decree was immediately issued in Russia, declaring that sugar might be imported from England. From this, you perceive that the influence of the seasons in these distant countries has tended immensely to increase the export of sugar from England. The bad season in the Havannah caused an increase in the export of sugar from England to Russia, and surely no one will pretend that that result is a consequence of the tariff. It is, I maintain, to be attributed to the influence of the seasons; and the same influence may probably be traced in all the exports and imports of the great raw commodities that enter into our colonial and other commercial transactions. I was bound to enter into that question, and I have done so. I wish to show the influence of the seasons on the imports and exports of which the right honourable gentleman boasts. I would ask him, suppose there were a deficiency of half a million of bales in the cotton market of the United States, would his paltry reduction of duty on cotton wool increase the imports into this country (hear, hear)? Again, if we look to the wool trade we find the same argument to apply; in fact, whether it be cotton, or sugar, or wool, in any case, it is an undoubted fact, that the seasons have a great effect on the amount both of imports and exports (hear). Now, sir, at the risk of wearying the House, I must venture to notice another statement of the right hon. gentleman—one of his high-flown statements which he makes with his figures always ready (a laugh). The right hon. gentleman has made a battle-horse of the unfortunate silk trade. I should really have thought that the memory of the hand-loom weavers alone would have prevented the minister of Free Trade from putting forward the case of the silk trade. The honourable gentleman, the member for Warwickshire, has referred to the subject already, and I will not go into those species of waste silk, the names of which I cannot call to mind. Honourable gentlemen opposite are perfectly familiar with them. I will give you the advantage of all that refuse as compared with real silk, which costs 14s. per pound, which may be purchased at rates varying from 2d. to 10d. But I beg the right hon. gentleman to contrast the importation of raw silk in the year 1844 with that of the last year of the protected trade. In the last year of the protected trade, if my memory serves me right, we imported 4,010,064 lbs. of raw silk. That is exactly twenty-two years ago; and in the year 1844, after twenty years of the blessings of this relaxed protection, we imported 4,020,063 lbs. But it appeared from the hon. gentleman—he may have been misreported, yet I had the satisfaction of hearing it—that the contrast he drew was between three millions under protection, and six millions under the relaxed system. But supposing that the increase had been such as the right hon. gentleman had stated—suppose it had arisen from three millions to six millions of pounds per annum, I cannot believe for a moment that you are to trace all the progress of a country like this, with the untiring energies of the English nation to the principles which regulate your commercial code. I know that if the country is prosperous, we on this side of the house are, of course, ready, as the advocates of protection, to attribute it to the system of protection, and gentlemen opposite attribute it to the application of a liberal commercial policy. But I believe that, whether you have one system or the other, the country will flourish (cheers from the protectionists). The country will thrive, though there may be much class suffering, and much individual misery which are the two things we wish to prevent (hear, hear). The most surprising thing connected with the silk trade is, that it has not thrived. It is the exception that proves the rule (oh, oh, from the Opposition). If hon. gentlemen doubt the statement, they will have ample opportunity of contradicting me.

I speak from authority, but I am open to contradiction. I have made these assertions because I thought they were deserving the attention of the house. But I may be permitted to refer to the principles which the right hon. gentleman put forward in his last speech. The right hon. gentleman says we have for 30 years terminated prohibition, we have relaxed protection, and the country has been more flourishing than ever. I believe that is the case; but I say the country is flourishing, because you have given it a judicious and a moderate amount of protection. But the right hon. gentleman having proved, not in his last speech, but in other speeches, and especially in some of his last expositions of the blessings of a Free Trade Government, that by a just, judicious, and moderate protection, England has flourished, very calmly turns round to us, and says, "I am bound to acknowledge I have changed my opinion on the subject of protection. I am no longer in favour of protection." But his whole speech, after all, only proves the advantage of it (hear, hear). It proved the advantage of the principle of moderate protection (no, no, from the Free Traders, and counter-cheers). I am sorry, sir, to excite that groan from Free Traders in distress (a laugh). But I want to ask the right hon. gentleman a calm, and, I think, a perfectly Parliamentary and proper question. Does the right hon. gentleman believe he can fight hostile tariffs with free imports? That is the question I wish to ask him (Protectionist cheers, and hear, hear). "Hear, hear!" from the disciples of the school of Manchester! A most consistent cheer. They have always maintained that cause. If their principles are right as they believe, and as I believe not, I can easily understand their conclusions are right. At any rate, they are consistent. They believe they could fight hostile tariffs with free imports, and they say, very justly, "Let us take care of our imports, and the rest will take care of themselves." But is that the opinion of the right honourable gentleman? If that is the conviction of the right honourable gentleman, why all these elegies over defunct diplomatic negotiations with reference to commercial tariffs? Why does the right honourable gentleman speak with so much pity, and also with so much pique, upon the question of diplomatic intercourse on the subject of relaxations in commerce? If he believes he can fight hostile tariffs with free imports—I say, if he really believes that, he need not trouble himself about commercial treaties (cheers); but if the right honourable gentleman does not believe it—if he has only the convictions of the school of Manchester, then he is not justified in this measure (cheers). But I believe he has a conviction, though he has never enunciated it. He tells you one of his reasons for proposing the measure is that he hopes great things from a good example. If he believed that great principle, a good example is of no effect whatever (cheers). We must have a protection minister speak upon this subject. We must have a clear declaration from the cabinet upon that important point, for it is a principle upon which all hinges (hear, hear). Now, sir, I conclude from the language of the right honourable gentleman, that he is not satisfied. How otherwise am I to explain his language? He tells you Russia already shakes. He reads to us the report of an American minister in favour of what is really Free Trade—an equal interchange of the peculiar products of the country. Prussia, he tells you, is already shaken. He delivers what I cannot but consider most extraordinary opinions upon the state of France, to which my noble friend the member for Newark (Lord J. Manners) has already referred. I cannot of course presume to offer an opinion upon this high subject of cabinet secrets after the declaration of the right honourable gentleman. It may be that the Americans, because all things are possible, are going to change their tariff; it may be possible that Russia is shaken; it may be possible that the French are in favour of Free Trade; but I think it my duty to the house to offer some facts to their consideration, from which I shall leave them to draw their own inference. We have, in the first place, a report from the Hon. Mr. Walker, secretary to the American Treasury. Mr. Walker is a very respectable man. He is not, I believe, interested in the protection of native industry; and, indeed, I am sorry to say, that in America, for the last few years, the question as to what is your material interest is the only line of demarcation between parties. But before you can calculate upon any modification of the tariff of America, it would be just as well that the house should clearly understand what is the power of the manufacturing interest, and protected interest of that country. I will not refer now to that enormous volume which has been already subjected to criticism in this house, but to the last census of the population of America, which has been sent to me by a gentleman residing in Liverpool. It is the census of the year 1840, and I believe it is the last published; but if it is not so, so much the more in my favour. What do you suppose is the number of manufacturing operatives in the United States? In 1840, and since 1840, under this tariff there has been the greatest development of manufacturing industry in America yet known (hear, hear, hear). In 1840 the number of manufacturing operatives in the United States was 800,000, a population exceeding, I believe, the manufacturing population of the four great staple manufactures in England. The honourable gentleman, the Secretary of the Treasury, says in his report, "The only interests concerned are the interests of 10,000 manufacturers." Now, the importance of any interest is to be calculated from the amount of population employed and the capital invested. What the number of manufacturers really is, is of trifling importance, but there are really 10,000 in the United States. I want to know how many there are in England? I know that in the population returns, which were drawn up by a pen not very favourable to the agricultural interest, it was not convenient, probably, to allow the number of manufacturers to appear; but I very much doubt whether there are 10,000. At any rate, conceive the importance of the interests you are to encounter. But that is not all. I am not going to dilate upon the number of individuals in America who are dependent upon those 800,000 persons; but there is not an agricultural community in the vicinity of those manufacturing establishments which is not in favour of protection; and for this reason, that the protected interest gives them the incalculable advantage of the home market (cheers from the protectionists). You have therefore, to encounter alone the best organised, and probably one of the most numerous interests of the United States, and unless you are aware of peculiar circumstances with regard to the industry of the United States, it is utterly impossible to comprehend what is going on in that country (hear, hear). I will give the house an illustration. The other day I met a noble lord, once a minister of the Crown, who has travelled much in America. Mr. Adams, he said, who was the last man he should have expected to find, had made a most warlike speech; and the noble lord remarked that ever since the Free Trade agitation in England, and especially since the English cabinet had become Free Traders, all the manufac-

turing interests of America had become extremely warlike. "They were a peaceable interest." I am quoting language which I read only last night; but the fact is, after all, that war will be the only protection for our manufactures (hear, hear). Let me press this upon the attention of the house (hear, hear, hear). Remember the arguments used in favour of free imports, in favour of altering our tariff to the American market. It has always been considered a peace measure; but remember what things may happen from that quarter if we relax our protection. In exact proportion as you consult, if you can consult, the western community, you will raise the disaffection of the great northern states, which are the states upon the coast, and the most powerful in the American union (hear, hear). I put these things to the consideration of the noble lord (Lord Morpeth) who has recently visited those countries, and who interested us the other night with an account of them (a laugh)—I mean the noble lord the member for the West Riding; and I am bound to say I rejoice in his return to us, even though he be member for the West Riding. Really, I listened to the noble lord's speech with very great interest. His descriptions of American life, and his pictures of American landscapes were admirable, and all I wished for was, that he could have entered a little more into social detail, and given us, for example, an affecting account of that celebrated melody which depicts the manner in which they jump from one side of the table to the other (laughter). I have endeavoured to condense my observations upon America; but I really think they are worthy the calm consideration of the house. Then we are told that "Russia is already shaken." We are to be knocked down at once by that statement; we must not speak a single word upon it. "Russia is already shaken," says the right honourable gentleman. I can only say I have been reading a book published within the last month, which seems to have been in anticipation of all these wonderful changes. It is written by a man who has great influence upon public opinion in that country. "I find," he says, "a most obstinate determination that this system (Free Trade) must be put an end to immediately. It is confessed (he says) that the Manchester people can export, and are ready to export"—and he quotes the language of Mr. Baines, and the speeches of the honourable member for Durham—"at a loss. This wonderful nation will go on (he says) exporting at a loss to swamp our markets, and this dangerous measure of English aggression will render it necessary we should, if possible, be far more stringent" (hear, hear). Until I hear more detailed accounts of "the shaking of Russia," I shall be extremely sceptical, I am sorry to say, upon the statements of the right honourable gentleman (cheers from the protectionists). But, sir, I have read a most mournful representation from the little state of Mecklenburg, and some of the other states in the vicinity, which had been asked to join the Zollverein over and over again. They say they have not joined it in consequence of the representations of the English Minister (hear, hear). They say, after all our sacrifices, the Zollverein are to have free exports from England. We are to have no advantage whatever; and having been misled by the representation of the English Minister, the best thing we can do is to join the Zollverein, and see what measures are most calculated to advance the cause of native industry" (hear, hear, and loud cheering). Now, sir, I come to France, and I must say that I never in my life listened to anything (even when the right honourable gentleman confessed he had given up the principle of protection) more astounding than the prospect he held out to you—held out by a powerful minister—to influence your judgment in the school of Manchester, because if we fight hostile tariffs with free imports, I fear for the men who once have agreed to support a minister who does not believe they can fight hostile tariffs with free imports. Now I say, without shrinking, and I declare most solemnly, it is my conviction, and I speak from as much knowledge of the public men of France as generally falls to the experience of any individual not a minister—that with the exception of an occasional minister, there is not any interest, of any individual in France, not in favour of a high restrictive policy (cheers from the protectionists). It is, indeed, a most curious circumstance in France, which the house should be well acquainted with. My noble friend the member for Newark has already alluded to it. There is no country in the world where parties are so various and so violent as in France. Changes of Government are looked for; there are national parties looking for revolution, and in common talk anticipating changes that would make an Englishman shudder. But you will always find this curious circumstance, that what is called the Conservative party, which now sways the Chambers—the commercial aristocracy—is entirely opposed to it. The republican party, the great object of whose struggle is to terminate the dynasty and to get rid of the sovereignty, and the men who are neutral to change, even they are more opposed to what is called Free Trade than the commercial body. To these great interests must be added the literary and philosophical classes, which enlist all the fashion of the country. You have these working together with the others—it may be from a higher motive, but of course from a conviction that it is their interest—against what they call the fatal principle of competition. Now, sir, there is but one way, though I fear it is now too late, to gain any relaxation in the commercial system of France. It is by diplomacy. It is a condition of the French cabinet to do nothing without diplomacy. With regard to isolated points, and especially with regard to the manufactures of Sheffield, something might be done without it; but every thing in France is a matter of diplomatic *quid pro quo*. If I bring you then to this point, and if the right honourable gentleman is not prepared to fight hostile tariffs with free imports, he has really no ground whatever for his measure (cheers). Now I come to the doctrine of Free Trade, and let us see what it is to fight hostile tariffs with free imports. I will take the Baltic trade. We have large importations of corn from the Baltic, and if in addition we import five millions from Russia, how will you meet that claim? An honourable friend says they will take nothing but gold. Another honourable gentleman says we shall buy bills and sell those bills to them. That is all very well as far as it goes. You have then got to pay Russia five millions, and you are to buy bills from Brazil and New York to pay those five millions; but you have already supplied the Brazilians and the Americans with as many of your goods as they can take, and if you want to sell them more you must sell at a great sacrifice ("oh, oh," from the Free Traders). If you do that you must reduce profits, and if you reduce profits you must reduce wages (cheers from the protectionists). The system of the right hon. gentleman is a "comprehensive" system. It is not confined to one market. Its action will be going on in six or seven markets at the same time; and if in six or seven markets you have these forced sales, I want to know how are you prepared to meet the effect they will have upon

the general distribution of the precious metals (hear)? If you reduce your produce, if you reduce your wages; if prices are lower, as they are to be in this country; if you find no longer around the high prices and efficient labour of this country, and that in every other market an immense mass of bullion is distributed—I want to know how you can prevent the distribution of the precious metals, which is our strength? I confess I cannot think that in the banking bill of the right hon. gentleman we should find a remedy. It is a measure rather characterised by caution than security (hear, hear). How can you meet your fixed charges? How can you meet your taxation? How can you meet everything which is fixed in this country, if you have this general fall of prices? For example, if you get those cargoes of Manchester goods which would otherwise take a million and a half or two millions, for one million, the labour of England receives only one million, instead of a million and a half. Every year the labour of England receives less. The inevitable effect must be, that you will have a less demand for all foreign articles, and how can you then fulfil your public contracts (hear, hear)? Now, I ought to notice, before I address myself to the principle of protection, and I have to apologise to the house for having so long delayed to do so, two speeches which have been made in the course of this debate, and which, as a matter of courtesy, I am bound to notice. The first is that of the right honourable gentleman the Secretary at War (Mr. S. Herbert). This was a speech which excited, I think, a great deal of surprise (hear). It was, I do not say it offensively, but it was a League speech (cheers, and counter cheers)—a speech which, made at the right time, by the proper person, and, under the proper circumstances, would have been received, I dare say, with much applause. Now, I can easily understand some gentlemen opposite, who entered life with a deep conviction of the truth of great economical principles, who viewed, perhaps, in an extravagant manner, many of the evils of this country, as resulting from the fallacy of the system to which they were opposed—I can conceive them, acting under a deep, profound, and rational conviction of the truth which animates them, as I dare say it does many of the Anti-Corn Law League—I can conceive them using language of a very ardent character; but I must say, that the right honourable gentleman is not the person who should address us as a master when he is only a convert (a laugh)—I was going to say only a recent convert; but I beg his pardon, he was a disciple of Free Trade in 1841, but the principles of Free Trade were then to be applied from the side of the table opposite, and that of course makes a great difference (a laugh). But the right honourable gentleman said the other evening that the fallacy of cheap bread was entirely discarded by all parties. So said the right honourable gentleman the Secretary at War; but the right honourable gentleman the Secretary for the Home Department, on the following night, in answer to a very proper appeal from the honourable member for Stamford, said, unless the question before the house was one of cheap and abundant food for the people, there was really no question at all (cheers from the Protectionists). Then, how reconcile that with what the right honourable gentleman the Secretary at War said? You may not reconcile them; but I draw a moral, and I say that I am not surprised at their distracted counsels when their arguments are so discordant. But was that the only discordance? No, for the right hon. gentleman the Secretary at War says, "In the first place, as regards the most important interest in this comprehensive scheme" (which I don't wish particularly to advert to, but which is the most important interest), the agricultural interest—"What," he says, "do you fear from free imports? where is your corn to come from?" Now I want to avoid as much as possible making a Corn Law speech, of which, no doubt, I shall have many opportunities. I wish to deal in a comprehensive manner with a comprehensive question; but I do not like to allow such statements to pass, because I observe that there is a coolness of assertion very prevalent upon this subject (loud cheers and counter cheers). I read a speech the other day from one whom all respect, and whom I may call, I believe, a noble parliamentary victim. The noble lord said, "What do you care for imports; you may get some, but of every million of quarters there is a rise of 10s. in the price." Now, I would say to the right hon. gentleman the Secretary at War, and I speak from as much investigation as I could give the subject, and from more experience, perhaps, than many possess, that there is not the slightest doubt but you may have, when this system is established in this country, any quantity of corn you like (loud cheers from the opposition). It is ridiculous to tell me that those people have no capital. The gentlemen of Manchester have plenty (cheers). But this I will say, that there is no fallacy so great as to suppose that the price will rise when you have once established a market here in proportion to your demand (cheers, and cries of "oh, oh"). Certainly, now, when we have a very limited supply, a sudden demand will immediately affect the price; but when we have a settled market, exactly in proportion to your demand, prices will fall (ironical cheers from the opposition). It is the invariable result (renewed ironical cheers from the opposition). Nothing pleases me more than that chorus of sneers from the school of Manchester. But now I will prove it to you. Take the article of tea. You get tea from one country only. Your demand has increased every year, and year after year the price has fallen (cheers). Take again cotton; there is a greater analogy between cotton and corn, perhaps, than between tea and corn; for there were nearly the same discussions with regard to cotton as have taken place relative to corn. It was said, the more Manchester demanded cotton, the greater would be the price in the United States, and it was proved, in a pamphlet written by a late distinguished member of Congress, that under no circumstances could the price of cotton be less than 12 cents. per lb. Now, ever since you have established your trade, with scarcely any interval, the price of cotton has diminished, diminished, diminished, and it has been as low as three cents. per lb. (hear). You may object to my reasoning with respect to corn; but first rebut my evidence as to tea and cotton, and then you will have the right to do so (cheers). Now, I refer again to the right hon. gentleman the Secretary at War, who says to you, "What is all this agitation—what is this question of importance?—it is only a repeal of the duty," forgetting that last year he called it a "social revolution" (a laugh). Then I come to the consistent Secretary of State for the Home Department, who says, "Refuse to pass these measures, and bring on England anarchy, misery, and ruin." The right hon. gentleman was very much alarmed at the end of last year in consequence of the deficiency of potatoes in Ireland, and he was also alarmed, he said, in consequence of the expected deficiency of the wheat harvest in England. He also tells us, that he was particularly alarmed about that, because he thought it possible that it might bring about a state of affairs similar to that in 1843, in which he assured the house

he was more alarmed than he could possibly have anticipated at the time (hear, hear). I have observed ever since the right honourable baronet has been a Minister of a Conservative Cabinet, that he has gradually brought forward a very extensive measure, which has as regularly produced great alarm, and excited great odium in the country. Then the right honourable gentleman has been alarmed, and has withdrawn that measure (cheers). Though in opposition not over scrupulous, it seems a characteristic trait of the right hon. gentleman that the responsibilities of office bring to him not prudence but panic (loud cheers and laughter)—and these are the ministers who turn round to us and say, "You are alarmed at our measures, but you only suffer from your own panic" (hear, hear). Why, it is an alarmist cabinet. I know not what is the cause, but you may see fright stamped on every forehead. Whether it arise from the deficiency of food in Ireland, or the superabundance of suffrage in Lancashire, so it is (a laugh). And, now, if I may be permitted, I will meet the question of protection as I engaged to do. I was bound first, however, to answer those main arguments which have been offered by the Government in favour of the new system; now I venture to offer mine in favour of the old (cheers). Sir, the noble lord the member for London, in his address the other night, the tone of which I am sure every one must have felt was equal to the occasion and to himself (cheers), touched upon the question of protection in the abstract. He explained in very classic language the usual economical theories on the subject, very valuable, I have no doubt, in themselves, but never having influenced human conduct, and being totally incapable of ever influencing human conduct, all that I can admire in the communication of the noble lord is the evidence of his well-read mind (cheers and laughter). I do not understand what the honourable gentlemen opposite mean, dealing as we are with England and with practical and existing circumstances, by the protective system of this country. I do not think that in England the protective system, as defined by the noble lord, namely, protection to every branch of native industry, ever existed (hear, hear). There has been in England once a commercial system, founded on principle, definite in all its details, and extremely beneficial in its practice. It was called the colonial system. The colonial system was a system, and as far as that system could effect what you call "protection of native industry" it did so. In order to develop its grand point, no doubt there was protection of native industry in England, but always auxiliary to the full development of the colonial system. Now, we have always had in England in those good old days a very liberal system of commerce in cotton. We have had also a proposal, which, unfortunately, was not carried into practice, for a general system of commercial communication with the whole world at the moderate duty of ten per cent. That is the true principle of Free Trade (hear, hear). During the whole of those years, our foreign trade was sacrificed to our colonial system. There was a falling off in the average of our commodities. Cotton was very much curtailed; but the merchants of England were compensated by larger profits and securer markets. But you lost your principal colonies, and you were obliged to lay down some principles for your future commercial interests. It fell to the lot of Mr. Pitt, whose speeches you all have, or ought to have, read, to adjust those principles. He adopted a system of commercial intercourse upon principles of reciprocal advantage. He told the gentlemen of this house that they must no longer adhere to those old ideas which belonged to the colonial system, because they had no longer a colonial world to support that system. Mr. Pitt gave them a new tariff, as the right honourable gentleman has given us. He said, "Here is my new tariff; these are the terms of interchange with all Europe. They are most liberal terms. I want to have Free Trade; and I have entered into commercial treaties with the great powers, and I have commenced with France." Then came the revolutionary war, which unsettled all; but the moment that was over you returned to the old system. Lord Liverpool, Mr. Huskisson, and others, all adopted the same system. I gave a most conscientious vote for the tariff of the right hon. gentleman and for his former corn-bill, which was founded on a just and moderate system, and which was in complete harmony with what I conceive to be the true commercial principles which ought to influence this country. We know very well what a contrary policy would have done; we know what absolute prohibition would have done, for we have the example of Spain always before us; but we knew also that there is another country where there has been a trial of what you call Free Trade. The spirit of competition has in Turkey gradually destroyed the finest manufactures in the world. As recently as the year 1812 there were very considerable manufactures carried on in Turkey, but they are now destroyed. The consequences of Free Trade in Turkey have, I say, been altogether as pernicious and as fatal as the consequences of Free Trade have been in Spain (hear, hear). To return to England, however. The right honourable gentleman had two things to do. First, to employ the people, and then to study what should be the surest means of employing them, not giving a preponderance to one branch of industry, so that in case of its failure, great distress should not ensue. I think the right hon. gent. said, that there were difficulties in arguing against the principles of Free Trade, because they had a *prima facie* case with them. But that is saying nothing, and I think nothing at all of *prima facie* cases; because it is just as well for me to say it is very difficult to argue against protection, because there is a *prima facie* case in favour of protection (hear, hear, and cheers). Well, now the right honourable gentleman has announced officially that this principle of protection is for ever relinquished by his Cabinet. We think it is beneficial—I do not say that I am proving it beneficial—but I call on you to prove that Free Trade would be beneficial (loud cries of hear, hear). On you rests the *onus probandi*; and now, gentlemen of the League, I will meet you on that point as I promised. I have listened to the speech of the honourable member for Manchester with great attention. Unfortunately I did not hear the speech of the honourable member for Rochdale, but, of course, I read it, as I always take care to read the speeches of one whose part in debate is so prominent (cheers); and I cannot extract from the speech of either honourable gentleman one single principle which can guide me in this maze—not a single reason for alteration; but then I admit that it is not fair to judge of their case from those two speeches, when they have made so many upon the same subject (a laugh). I want to meet their case, I declare, in the fairest possible manner. I have great difficulty, I confess, in doing so, and it is because the case of the Anti-Corn-Law League has perpetually changed (loud cheers from the Protectionists). It is a very curious thing, but it must be remembered, that though they have been working now seven years, they com-

menaced their agitation by promising cheap bread to the labourer, and they finished by promising high rents to the landlord (cheers). I do not impute those as changes. I can easily understand, if I took one great principle to work out, and if I viewed it in every light, and turned it over and over in my mind every day, that I should often see very contrary effects arising from the same principle: and I believe that all the Anti-Corn-Law League all this time, while they thought that they were instructing the people, were only educating themselves (cheers from the Protectionists, and laughter). I will give the gentlemen of the League another reason why I can trace this ingenious development of their minds. I happen to have in my possession a circular—a kind of manifesto of the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester. I think it is dated 1839, and it gives a most melancholy picture of the commercial system of England. Turning the first leaf, I find that the great panacea for all the difficulty was, not at all the abolition of the Corn Law, but only a change in the currency (cheers). You say, "but what is the Chamber of Commerce to the Anti-Corn-Law League?" It happens that the gentlemen who drew up that circular are the principal members of the Anti-Corn-Law League. If you doubt it, send up stairs for the book which contains the evidence taken before the committee on joint stock banks in 1840 and 1841, and just read the evidence of the most distinguished members of the Anti-Corn-Law League—some of them members of this house—and you will find that they have not an idea against protection, but that many of them are sworn brothers of the honourable member for Birmingham (cheers, and "no, no," from Mr. Muntz). Do you mean to say that Richard Cobden, the same gentleman, I believe, who sits here as the member for Stockport, does not trace all the evils of the country to the currency?

Mr. MUNTZ: I don't know what he did. I mean to say I never did (hear, and a laugh).

Mr. D'ISRAELI continued: I may be wrong. They may not be the same gentlemen; but I certainly took him for one of the school of Gemini (a laugh). However, I do not impute that as any fault to them. But it is extremely important to see how they have changed their minds. Having exhausted the currency, they turn round to attack the landlords. Continue the agitation, and they may next attack the fundholder. They want a new victim. We are only a link in the great chain. Our case is not entirely hopeless. I think, therefore, we should promote the agitation: because, if we promote the agitation, they may attack a new interest (cheers and great laughter). I take their case from their own speeches, and I am anxious to quote them fairly and properly. The case of the League against protection may be stated thus:—"Protection aims at two objects, to feed the people and to employ them. It has failed to feed the people, because you are obliged to import some corn from abroad to make up the deficiency in the home supply, and it does not employ them, because you are compelled to send a portion of the agricultural population to other trades. Now, we say, that we can both feed and employ the people." I may answer to this argument, that it is a great assumption. You may contend that we, the advocates of protection, have failed in what we undertook to do; but, at any rate, you are untrue (hear, hear, from the agricultural members). But the first question which arises is, have we failed in feeding the people? We have no agricultural statistics, which I deplore, but we have what are called "great facts" to guide us. We all know that, 50 years ago, the population did not reach half its present amount, and we also know that we then had not corn enough to feed the people. We know also that, at the present day, we do, on the average of years, succeed in feeding the people, although the population has since been doubled. That is a *prima facie* case in our favour. But then it is said that protection is the bane of agriculture (hear, hear, hear). Now, I do not see how protection can be the bane of agriculture, unless you mean to say that the agriculture of England is inferior to that of other countries. You say that it is inferior, but the assertion is not enough. You are bound to prove it. Now, I want to know where a superior system of agriculture is to be found. You will not tell me that there is a superior system of agriculture in Russia? This system has been described by a very graceful and graphic pen, and as the description must be fresh in the recollection of the House, I will not do more than allude to it. I believe the system of agriculture in Russia remains in much the same state as that in which it was carried on at the time of that description. But, will you say that the agriculture of Germany is better than that of England? I admit that you may go over the world, and pick out one district in Styria, or another in Tuscany, where a superior system of agriculture may be pursued, but I believe that there are districts in England which may rival them (cheers from the agricultural benches). I believe, however, that there is no country with that breadth of land which England possesses, which can sustain the reputation of a first-rate system of agriculture (hear, hear). Take the north of Germany, for instance. Take a rural town in the north of Germany, where you find merely a straggling street, with one shop, probably the apothecary's, who sells everything (cheers and laughter). Take such a town, and compare with the rural towns—the smallest rural towns—in England, where you find many large shops abounding with goods, and goods from Manchester too (hear, hear, hear). There you can see and understand what the home market is. I will take another country—France. There is a country blessed with the most abundant natural advantages. They have an exuberant soil, and a fertile climate, nor have they to contend against any of those disadvantages to which the gentlemen of the League are constantly reminding us that agriculture in this country is exposed. They have no law of primogeniture (hear, hear), they have no hereditary peerage, they have no law of entail, they have no game (loud cheers, and laughter on both sides of the house). Then, also, you have the equal partition of landed property; yet what is the condition of the agricultural population in France? It is notoriously inferior to the condition of the same class of people in our own country. It seems, then, that the condition of the agricultural portion of the population of England is not so very bad after all. But, again, you say that there is a want of the application of capital to land. I say that it is impossible to travel over England and foreign countries, and then to doubt that there is a greater application of capital to land here than elsewhere (cheers). There is not a man in our colonies, or in our Indian possessions, whose aim and object is not to return with the wealth which he has accumulated in England, and become a justice of the peace or a deputy lieutenant (cries of hear, hear, and laughter). Riding on elephants, or surrounded by slaves, he is always dreaming of the quarter sessions (cheers and laughter). But you say that there is no application of capital to the land in England. Why, in a very short time, no less than a million and a quarter sterling has been expended upon guano alone. There is no doubt that

if you give a good profit upon cultivation, you may have a more organised system of the application of capital to agricultural purposes; but the extraordinary part of the case is, that land in England gives, on the average, less than $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. as a return for the investment of capital. Foreigners cannot understand this, and they have often asked for an explanation of the causes which lead to this result. It is your territorial constitution which has invested the possession of land with honours (hear, hear), which forms the principal inducement to the investment of capital in land in this country. There are two circumstances which I am afraid will alter this state of things. I will assume, in the first place, that after a number of years we may be involved in a foreign war. Now I wish honourable members would consider what was the position of England after the rupture of the treaty of Amiens. We had then what you call Free Trade. We had no less than one-fifth of our supply of corn from abroad. What was the consequence of war at that time? You tell me that although we cannot be independent of a foreign supply, yet that we can be supplied by France even in time of war. Now, I do not deny that in 1812 we did receive some corn from Holland and France: but if from that isolated fact you draw a complete theory, you will fall into a great error. You had a great difficulty in obtaining what corn you did get; and it was only by acquiring the dominion of the seas that you did, under any circumstances, obtain a supply. At that time, in consequence of the want of food in England, you had the greatest possible inducements to investments in land (hear, hear). You had that variety of Enclosure Acts of which we have heard so much, and you had wheat at 110s. the quarter. You raised loans upon the land when wheat was at 110s. or 112s. the quarter, and you paid on those loans with wheat at 55s. (hear, hear). Now, I want to know whether it can be said that in the dreadful struggle in which we were afterwards engaged, the agriculture of this country did not supply the nation with food. Recollecting, as I do, that though there were two seasons when famine was impending over England, and that in 1812 the quarter loaf was selling at 1s. 11d.—still, with all this immense increase of population going on, England has mainly supported herself, it cannot be urged against the system of protection that it failed to supply the people with food (hear, hear). I now meet the gentlemen of the League on the second point which they have urged—namely, that this system has failed to employ the people. The right honourable gentleman the Secretary at War has touched upon this delicate subject. "Only cultivate the hills of Wiltshire," he says, "and there is sufficient employment for the whole population" (hear, hear). I ask the right honourable gentleman why the hills of Wiltshire are not cultivated? It is a legitimate question to ask one whose proud, though not his proudest boast it is, that he is the representative of that county. On him and his, amongst others, rests the moral responsibility for the condition of the people in that county. You tell me of Goatcare and Bremhill, and of the wretched condition of the Wiltshire labourer. I do not attempt—I never did attempt—to deny the existence of much misery among the agricultural population. I have myself, not here alone, but by other means, attempted to draw the attention of the public to the condition of the people. But when you tell me of the more prosperous condition of the population in former times, I call upon you to look to facts and cases. I say, that even with this accumulated population, the condition of the people was formerly worse than it is at present. I have read descriptions of the sufferings of the people during the revolutionary war, and they more than equalled the distress which has been felt occasionally since. But you bring forward the Goatcare and the Bremhill meetings, and point to them as examples of the condition to which the agricultural labourer is reduced. The right hon. gentleman (Sir Robert Peel) compared a gentleman who spoke on his side of the house (Mr. F. Scott) to Anacharsis Clootz. That reminds me of a story which I recollect having read. Anacharsis Clootz announced one fine morning to the French convention that there was a deputation of all the nations of Europe, who wished to express to them their gratitude for the efforts which they had made in behalf of the human race. The French Convention allowed the deputation from all the courts of Europe to attend. They appeared at the bar, introduced by Anacharsis Clootz, in appropriate costume, each in the dress of his own country. It made a great sensation in Paris, and I believe the deputation from all the nations of Europe afterwards dined at the Café de Paris, and probably danced at the carnival ball in the evening in the same dresses in which they presented themselves to the convention (a laugh). I think the Goatcare meeting was got up pretty much in the same way. But let the agricultural labourer be as miserable as you say he is, does it follow that protection is the cause? I might turn to the honourable members near me and say, "I will go to Manchester or Stockport and show you what misery is there. I know what human suffering is. I will take you to Stockport or Manchester, and show you the worker in the factory where the exhausted slave curses the life which he cannot quit" (cheers from the agricultural members). But I will not do so, because I am too well acquainted with the noble industry of Lancashire and Cheshire to make such a representation. I know that the manufacturers of Lancashire are aware of their responsibility, and I cannot condescend to such vile acts of faction as to say that the condition of the manufacturing labourer is attributable to the manufacturers. We, however, who are the advocates of protection, cannot assent to your assumption, that we shall give the people more employment by admitting the productions of foreign labour, or elevate their condition by diminishing their wages. I will admit that the wages of labour are not dependent on the price of corn, but that the price of corn acts rather in an inverse ratio. Then how does that act affect your argument? The higher the price of corn the cheaper your articles ought to be, because wages will be lower (hear, hear, and a laugh from the agricultural members). If, however, the position of the right honourable gentleman—which is yours also, for he borrowed it from you—be true, then, with an importation from the Baltic of 4,000,000 of quarters, and with the wages of labour not increased, how will you make consumption greater? Suppose wheat at 50s. in England, and the price of the Baltic wheat 80s., you must have a proportionate displacement of labour, because you know the great modern principle is that the wages of labour do not depend on the price of corn. That is a dilemma for your consideration. There is another point to which I must refer, namely, the effect of this sudden importation on our monetary system. We, the advocates of protection, say at once that all those evils which you attribute to the system of Corn Laws, so far as our monetary system is concerned, are owing to the admission of foreign corn. You rejoin, if we had a regular trade we should then have a regular supply. I admit that; but suppose that you have a sudden deficiency in England, you

must still have two or three millions of quarters more than the regular supply of foreign grain, and you must pay for these additional millions of quarters with English gold. Now, Sir, I have nearly concluded my observations. I have omitted much of what I should have wished to urge, and I have only applied myself in detail to the question of corn, taking it as an illustration of the more general principle which I have advanced. I have never been one of those who have advocated the cause of agricultural protection, upon the ground of agricultural burdens. I maintain—and I wish those who think with me, to bear this in mind—that it is by means of great principles they must defend their cause. Sir, I have ventured to vindicate those great principles—principles of high policy—on which I believe that the protective system should be continued. First, without particular reference to agriculture, looking at all countries, it is the first duty of a minister, and the first interest of a State to maintain an equal balance between the great branches of national industry. That duty has been recognised by our greatest ministers for the last two hundred years, as one of the most important which a statesman can undertake, and the reasons why it is so are so obvious that I need scarce recount them. These reasons, sir, involve the healthy state of our political condition—of our social condition; they affect the happiness of the people, the rights of the population, and above all, they affect the stability of the State (cheers). But I go further than that. I say we are bound in practice to do more than that. I repeat now what I have said before, and what I will never shrink from—I repeat that there are special reasons which I will give, why you should not only maintain the even balance to which I have referred, but why you should give the preponderance to the landed interest (hear, hear, and cheers). Mind, I don't say predominance—the word, by the way, wrongly quoted by the honourable member for Manchester as having been used by the noble lord the member for the city of London. He never employed it. He said preponderance—a perfectly constitutional and proper expression (hear, hear). I repeat it. I say the preponderance ought to be given to the land because you have a territorial constitution (hear, hear). You have thrown on the land the revenue of the church—the administration of justice—the estate of the poor (hear), and you value this territorial constitution, not to gratify the pride, or pamper the luxury of proprietors, but because in a territorial constitution you, and those who preceded you, have found the only security for self-government—for that Government which stands in proud opposition to the centralised system which has taken root in other countries (loud cheers). This is why I have ever supported the claims of agriculture. My constituents are not landlords nor great capitalists—they are, in fact, children of industry and toil. They believe, first, that their material interests are involved in the maintenance of that system which would favour the native industry of the country—they believe that their social and political interests are involved in that system. They believe that that system has guaranteed our rights and liberties; and I agree with them (protectionist cheers). I may be told that these are worn-out sentiments—exploded fallacies (hear, hear, from the Opposition). I know that we are told that the meaning of this great movement—this Free Trade movement—is not merely the repeal of the Corn Laws, but the transference of power from one class to another (loud cheers)—another distinguished for its intelligence and its wealth—that of the manufacturers of England (cheers). Sir, my conscience assures me that I am not one who have been slow in doing justice to the intelligence of that class—who have ever envied them their deserved prosperity (hear, hear). But I confess my deep astonishment, that in this age of political legislation, when we trace all our evils to class interests, I am told that we are to be rescued from the alleged power of one class only to sink under the avowed power of another (loud cheers). I for one—if this be the end of all our struggles—if this be the great result arrived at by this enlightened age—I for one protest against the ignominious catastrophe (cheers). I believe the monarchy of England—that sovereignty mitigated by the acknowledged authority of the States of the realm—has a root in the hearts of Englishmen, and moreover, that it is capable of securing the happiness of the people and the power of the state (cheers). But if these be worn-out terms—if it be true that we have discarded these doctrines, I for one—am anxious as I am to maintain our present polity—am ready for that end to make as many sacrifices as any man. If, sir, we are to have this change, then I hope that the foundations may be deep and the scheme be comprehensive, and instead of falling into such thralldom—the thralldom of capital—of those who when they boast of their intelligence are proud of their wealth (cheers)—I for one say, if we must find a new force to maintain the ancient throne and immemorial monarchy of England, that I would prefer to find it—to find these invigorating energies—in an educated and enfranchised people. (The hon. gentleman resumed his seat amid vociferous cheering.)

The adjournment of the debate was then moved by Mr. E. BULLER, and agreed to.

ADJOURNED DEBATE—MONDAY.

Mr. EDWARD BULLER was very imperfectly heard at the commencement of his speech: when he became audible, he was remarking upon what had fallen from the honourable member for Shrewsbury (Mr. D'Israeli) on Friday, whom he charged with using stale arguments, often employed, and as often refuted. That honourable member, among other things had contended for three points—1. That import, without reciprocity, drained the country of its specie. 2. That it lowered prices. 3. That it reduced wages. He had asked, too, whether the ministers of this country were prepared to fight hostile tariffs by free imports? He (Mr. E. Buller) was strongly inclined to think that by means of commercial treaties, Great Britain might enjoy the double advantage of buying in the cheapest, and selling in the dearest markets. The hon. member for Shrewsbury had urged that all the manufacturers, and all the principal public men in the United States, and indeed in France, were protectionists; but if any expectations could be indulged that foreign nations would be induced to see their true interests in carrying out the principles of Free Trade, it could only be produced by showing our own sincerity in adopting and adhering to such principles. If the principle of high protection were the right footing, how did it happen that foreign nations had gained nothing by such a course, while in Great Britain our exports had been annually and rapidly augmenting. The honourable member here entered into some calculations founded upon a comparison of the exports and imports of Great Britain with those of France, but he stated his figures in a tone of voice which prevented us from catching several of the items. The general result was, that while our imports had only doubled, our exports had trebled, within the last few years. Great Britain has been pursuing the course of

gradual diminution of protection since 1825, when Mr. Huskisson introduced his great measure of commercial reform. The French had met it by a contrary system, and what had been the result? In the twelve years before 1825 our average exports to France were in value 326,888*l.*, and our average imports 939,000*l.*. Our average exports to France, from 1833 to 1844, were in value 3,340,000, and our imports 3,035,000*l.*. Hence it was evident that although France had not profited by the example of Great Britain, the success of the latter had been triumphant. The honourable member for Shrewsbury had adverted to Turkey, and had contended that the trade of that country had been ruined by free importation. The truth, however, was, that the honourable member had not at all noticed the many disadvantages with which trade and manufactures had to contend in Turkey; and independently of free importations, there were many circumstances calculated to check enterprise and fetter industry in Turkey. In proof of this position, the honourable member (Mr. E. Buller) read a *hatti scheriff*, not long since issued by the minister of Turkey, relating to three points; first, the security of property; secondly, the mode of taxing and levying imposts; thirdly, the mode of raising soldiers, and fixing the duration of their services. On the whole, he contended that if the commerce of Turkey had declined, it was not to be attributed to free importation. The honourable member for Shrewsbury had next adduced the old argument that it was dangerous for Great Britain to depend upon a supply from foreign countries, especially a supply of corn. He (Mr. E. Buller) denied in the first place that this country was ever completely independent of a foreign supply of corn: in years of scarcity, grain for two months' consumption was derived from abroad. In the next place he insisted that there was no danger in this dependence as long as we maintained the mastery of the ocean; if we once lost that supremacy there must be an end to the greatness of the empire. The honourable member had insisted that importations of corn had a tendency to lower wages, but he (Mr. E. Buller) would endeavour to point out in what way his position was destitute of foundation. The honourable member for Shrewsbury said if four millions of quarters of foreign wheat were introduced, it must be displaced by four millions of quarters of home grown corn. But what would be really the effect of such an importation? Why that 6,000,000*l.* instead of 10,000,000*l.* would be laid out by people in food, and that they would have the remaining 4,000,000 to spend in manufactures or in colonial produce (hear, hear). Thus would the people be raised in a social, and consequently in their moral, position. Thus would they be enabled to support churches and chapels, and send their children to school. "But yours," said the hon. member for Shrewsbury, "is a territorial Government. You bestow great honours on the possessors of land, but you do so on great principles." He looked on the hon. gentleman as one who embodied "a great idea," and he looked most anxiously for the enunciation of those great principles to which he referred. He expected some great truth which was to guide the new generation, and let in light and happiness on our present social system. And what was this great principle? To give preponderance to the landed interest. That was all very well for those who belonged to the favoured class; but how would those who were excluded regard such a principle of Government? If this principle of governing only through and for one section of the community was once sanctioned, her Majesty would no longer be Queen of a nation, but sovereign of a faction (hear, hear). Protection seemed to him to be either a delusion or a fraud. If it meant merely putting into one pocket for manufactures what it took out of the other for food, it was a roundabout system of doing nothing. But the real intention of these laws he believed to be, to benefit one class at the expense of another; for it was impossible effectually to protect our export trade and the monied interest. Though there might be points to cavil at in the measure of the right hon. gentleman, he should give it a cordial and earnest support, while he bore his testimony to the readiness and humanity with which the Government took a step equally called for by their duty to the Sovereign and the interests of the people (hear, hear).

Captain BATESON avowed, that as an Irish member, he should give his decided opposition to the hazardous and revolutionary scheme of the government. He availed himself of the opportunity to accuse Mr. Bright, on the authority of Mr. Leonard Horner's Factory Report for 1845, of dealing in professions of humanity, which were not genuine, and in declarations of liberality and philanthropy towards the poor, which were at once spurious and hypocritical. Returning, however, to the measure more immediately before the house, he contended that it would destroy the export trade of Ireland, shut out from Great Britain its agricultural produce, and annihilate its linen trade. It would likewise give a premium to agitation, by enabling the Peelers to state, and unfortunately with truth, that Irishmen were treated in England no better than other foreigners. He treated as perfectly ridiculous the compensation which Government proposed to give to the landlords of Ireland for this most injurious measure. Four millions of waste lands in Ireland would have been brought into cultivation under the fostering influence of protection; but the heath would still continue to flourish on one part, and the bog to encroach upon the remaining part of them, under the system now proposed. For such a loss, what pecuniary grant could be a compensation?

Mr. M. GORE said, the opinions he was about to express, and the vote he intended to give, were opinions, and would be a vote, at variance with those of a large body within that house, for whom he entertained the highest esteem and the sincerest regard; it would also be a vote at variance with the sentiments of many without the house, for whom also, as for the others, he felt the highest regard; moreover, the opinions he then entertained on this subject were at variance with the opinions he formerly held (hear, hear, hear); and, in justice to himself and the public, he felt bound to come forward manfully and openly, and state the reasons that influenced him on the present occasion. In so doing he agreed with the hon. member who had last spoken, that the consistency which scorned to yield to popular agitation, or be lured from the path of duty, was indeed to be prized; but the consistency which, when convinced that its course was erroneous, still adhered to it—that did so in spite of the evils that would be caused by so doing—that was a consistency which he could neither admire nor follow (hear, hear). What subject or question could be named on which there had not been change, both in that house and the country? Take the Catholic question—the slavery question—take the present question of the Corn Laws—and what great discrepancies of opinion would not be found to have existed upon them? In 1811 or 1815 the advocates of the Corn Laws thought 8*l.* or 9*l.* a quarter only a fair price for corn; yet the same gentlemen afterwards allowed that they had

been in error on this subject, and that 50*l.* or between 50*l.* and 60*l.* was a fair price (hear, hear). Mr. Huskisson himself, one of the greatest names of that house, was, both in 1815, and afterwards, a strong advocate of the protection measures of that day; yet, it was well known, that before his death, he was of opinion that the Corn Laws could not be maintained. If it was an error, therefore, though he could not allow it to be an error to admit the force of reasoning, it was one of which that house, and men on both sides of it, had been repeatedly guilty. He declared, on his own part, that he should think himself unworthy of a seat in that house—unworthy to take a part in any public debate or public discussion, if, when convinced of an error, he did not come forward and manfully and firmly avow it. And in allusion to the debates of 1811 and 1815, perhaps he might be allowed to say, that to one venerable member of that house—one nearly related to himself—the charge of inconsistency would certainly not apply, since he, in 1811 and in 1815, opposed the motion that the Speaker do leave the chair, in order to go into committee on the motion of Mr. Robinson (the Earl of Ripon); to those opinions his relative had always adhered; and notwithstanding his advanced age and infirmities, he would come down and give his vote in favour of the Government. He (Mr. Gore), on his own part, would at once say, that he would rather have seen this measure brought forward by the noble lord opposite (hear, hear, and cheers); and had it been brought forward by him, he should have had his cordial, strenuous, and decided support (hear, hear). He did not think that the mere desire for a settlement of the question relative to the Corn Laws, would alone justify him in giving his vote; but he was of opinion, that there existed an absolute and pressing necessity for such a settlement; and that, taking into consideration the effect which a distraction in the councils of the nation would have upon the many great interests involved in the security of our vast colonial possessions and Indian empire, they were called upon to set aside all slighter differences; and if they feared no evil result, to give their fullest support to the Government (hear, hear). He considered it of the highest importance that the Minister of this country, whatever be his party, should be enabled to carry on the Government without dissension, and without trammels; and in addition to the reasons, furnished by that belief, guiding him in the course he (Mr. Gore) was pursuing, it was his most decided conviction that the repeal of the Corn Laws, in the manner proposed, would be attended with no detriment to the public (cries of hear, hear). The right hon. gentleman, the Secretary at War, in the remarks which, on a previous night he had made, had said that hon. members, representatives of agricultural interests, were labouring under a delusion. Gentlemen might quarrel with a term; it might, perhaps, have been said, that those gentlemen were mistaken; and certainly he (Mr. Gore) coincided in that opinion; and he did think that in the opposition offered by hon. gentlemen to the measure, they had been led away by a very mistaken view of the facts. He considered that it was altogether impossible that, as some had supposed, any commercial regulations could ever expose England to a deluge of foreign corn; and on examination, such would be found to be the inevitable inference. He had made inquiries, extensively, among merchants and others engaged in the American and European corn-trade, and the results he would as briefly as possible lay before the house. As concerned Dantzic, the prices of wheat at that port, according to the statement of Mr. Jacobs, who put ordinary priced corn on board for 40*l.* a quarter, were as follows: Price per quarter, 50*l.*; freight to London, 4*l.* 8*l.*; insurance, 1*l.* 4*l.*; charges, 6*l.* 9*l.*; duty, 3*l.* 6*l.*; making 66*l.* 3*l.*. Another gentleman, also in a Dantzic house, had assured him that the charges for freightage, insurance, landing, and lading, amounted to 10*l.* per quarter. At Odessa, for the three years ending in 1840, the price of wheat was 34*l.* 6*l.* when sold on the spot; the charges for freightage, amounting to 10*l.* 10*l.*, and being, as he knew from a competent authority, never below 15*l.* per quarter. He had also been informed, by merchants largely connected with Odessa, that they were unable to import corn under 48*l.* to 50*l.* a quarter; and a considerable quantity of Odessa corn is always carried to the shores of the Mediterranean. It might be said that an inducement being held out, the agricultural industry of these countries would undergo, and were capable of undergoing, great improvements; but it was forgotten that, to effect that end, there was a want of the necessary capital, labour, and facilities of conveyance. The estates on which the corn was grown were held in such a manner that there were great impediments, even if there was the inclination, to any material accession of that capital employed in the cultivation of land. The existence of feudal tenures would also be an effectual bar to the concentration of labour; the labourers were serfs; and, in the great majority of instances could not be removed from one estate to another. And then, with respect to the modes of conveyance, it was known that corn was conveyed to Dantzic by water carriage, and on arriving there, the boats, valued at 80*l.* each, carrying 250 quarters, were broken up, and sold for a mere trifle when compared with the original cost. To Odessa, the corn was brought overland, 400 or 500 miles, by means of carts, few in number, and in other respects altogether unequal to giving any facility to a great trade. Would not the knowledge of these circumstances fully justify this conclusion, that, as far as the Continent of Europe is concerned, no great increase for a number of years could be anticipated in the quantity of provisions to be imported into Great Britain? The hon. member for Somersetshire had alluded to America, and had contended that it was out of the question for the English agriculturists to expect any successful, any but a ruinous, competition with the corn growers on the other side of the Atlantic. It should, however, be borne in mind that in America capital was absent, labour was excessively high, and that the yield per acre was very small in comparison with what was found to be the case in England and in other countries in Europe. It was perfectly true, as has been said by the honourable member, that the extent of land under, or about to be under, cultivation was prodigious; but was that a circumstance favourable to the hon. member's argument? What did they deduce from the reports of the Agricultural Societies in America? Why, they would see that the great subject of complaint with those desirous of beholding improvements was, that the very extent of land under cultivation, causes a careless and unsystematic cultivation (hear, hear). At an agricultural meeting in Albany, in the winter of 1844, Mr. O'Reilly said—"Such has been the depreciation of the wheat crops, owing to the exhaustion of the soil, consequent on ill-judged farming, that the product of the wheat lands between the Seneca lake and Virginia river, has not, for the last three or four years, exceeded the low average of 11 or 12 bushels per acre. Indeed, he had authority for declaring that, in reference to a single county (Seneca), the average

yield is now not over 10 bushels per acre." Dr. Bukman, addressing the County Agricultural Society, said—"Where is the farm that will now upon the average yield 40 bushels of wheat to the acre? If in this assemblage there is an individual who owns that farm, and realises that result, I will stop. No one speaks. If not 40, then 30; if not 30, then 20." Mr. Van Ranselaer, president of the Agricultural Society of Ranselaer county, said—"One reason why our land has not advanced more rapidly, and grows out of the wide circle in which it is expanded: New lands yield with but comparatively little labour; and to produce a certain amount, many acres are put into cultivation; when these fail to make a profitable return, the farmer, instead of repairing the exhaustion of the soil, often adopts, as he supposes, an easier method of obtaining his purpose, by moving to one of the new states, where a rich harvest may be reaped with little trouble of sowing. To cultivate less land, and in a superior manner, is the point to be ascertained." Mr. Kirby, president of the Jefferson County Society, speaking of the repeal of our Corn Laws, said—"It appears, by an official report made to the British Parliament, in 1841, that the average price of wheat, for the seven previous years, at the principal ports of the Baltic and the Black Sea, was 77 cents per bushel; while, during the same years, the average price at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, was 1 dollar, 40 cents. The cost of freight to England, from the European ports referred to, was 13 cents per bushel. The freight from our ports to England was 17 to 18 cents per bushel. Thus it is apparent that our most favoured wheat region cannot compete, even-handed, with the Continent of Europe, for the wheat trade with England, unless we consent to a general reduction of wages to the European standard—a thing quite out of the question." Tooke says,—"Barring any extraordinary difference in the seasons, I should expect that the price here, with the ports always open at a duty of 22*l.*, would, in a series of years of some length, average about 45*l.*. This country, but more especially the port of London, will be the emporium of the trade in corn between Europe and America. Thus there will be a great increase of trade, and we shall be sure of supply if our crops are deficient." Allusions had been made in the course of the debate to the calculation as to what would be the remunerating price to the English farmer; and the right hon. baronet at the head of the Government had been asked to say what he thought a fair price. But he (Mr. Gore) must say, that of all the difficult questions to be solved, the present seemed to him the most difficult (hear, hear). It was a subject on which a great diversity of opinion had prevailed, and still did prevail, and it was also a subject concerning which an agreement would perhaps never be come to. In 1814 and 1815, men of great experience and of high authority endeavoured to show, and very generally convinced the public, that the agriculturist could never leave the market with profit, if he failed in obtaining the price of 80*l.* a quarter (hear, hear). In 1818 similar statements had been made by individuals whose opinions were entitled to the same respect, and yet prices had declined, and what had been the consequence? It was a consequence in which the nation had rejoiced—a great increase in the profits of agricultural industry (hear, hear, hear). On this point Mr. Tooke said:—"The average of the six years following, when there was no foreign wheat, or no proportion worth mentioning in the market, were 1832, 58*l.* 6*l.*; 1833, 52*l.* 11*l.*; 1834, 46*l.* 2*l.*; 1835, 39*l.* 4*l.*; 1836, 48*l.* 6*l.*; 1837, 55*l.* 10*l.*; average, 50*l.* 3*l.*. But if it be considered that by far the largest quantities sold were in the three years of the lowest prices, viz.—1834, 46*l.* 2*l.*; 1835, 39*l.* 4*l.*; 1836, 48*l.* 6*l.*; average, 41*l.* 8*l.*; and that, during that period, although, as usual, on the occurrence of low prices, there were loud complaints of agricultural distress, the country never exhibited a greater extent, nor a higher degree of cultivation; it is perfectly fair to presume, that, at a price of 45*l.*, there would be no reason to apprehend that much, if any, land would be thrown out of cultivation. The general fact is, in point, by results beyond controversy, that the agricultural productions of the kingdom were never, as far as the seasons permitted, on a larger scale than in 1836 and 1837, notwithstanding the alleged discouragement of the low prices of 1834 and 1835." For his (Mr. Gore's) part, he was inclined to believe, that the principal aids to a rapid progress in agricultural science, and to an increase in the profits of those engaged in agriculture, were to be found in the development of our manufacturing interest (hear, hear, hear). If they looked to the periods when the greatest improvements had taken place in agriculture, they would discover that those improvements were coincident with an extension of the capital, and an addition to the amount of labour engaged in manufactures (cheers). If they took the history of this country at the period immediately previous to the accession of George III. to the throne, and when manufactures in Great Britain were in their infancy, they would perceive that agriculture at the same time was stationary, and had undergone, for a considerable number of years, scarcely any improvement. When, in 1760, attention was being drawn to manufactures, and when their value as an ingredient of a nation's wealth was recognised, agriculture, it would be remarked, had made a corresponding advance, and since then the progress of the two interests, fostered by capital and skill, had been in conjunction (cheers). And judging, therefore, from the past, he felt perfectly assured that the measure, the adoption of which was now recommended, would, if carried, make the further progress, both of agriculture and in manufactures, more certain and more rapid (cheers). He had said before that he was not advocating the proposition merely because he concurred in thinking it was necessary the Government should be kept in office; if he considered that end would be obtained, at any material sacrifice of the agricultural interests, he would give his most strenuous opposition to the scheme of the right honourable baronet; but from an increase in population there must result great increase in demand, for agricultural produce (loud cries of hear, and cheers). All experience and all reason went to prove that a benefit to the manufacturing would be a benefit to the agricultural interest; and among the many authorities who had dealt with the subject, none had spoken more plainly or more convincingly on that point than Hume:—"When manufactures and mechanical arts are not cultivated, the bulk of the people must apply themselves to agriculture; and if their skill and industry increase, there must arise a great superfluity from their labour beyond what suffices to maintain them. They have no temptation, therefore, to increase their skill and industry, since they cannot exchange that superfluity for any commodities which may serve either to their pleasure or vanity. An habit of indolence naturally prevails. The greater part of the land lies uncultivated. What is cultivated yields not its utmost for want of skill and assiduity in the farmers. Were our narrow and malignant politics to meet with success, we should re-

duce all our neighbouring nations to the same state of sloth and ignorance that prevails in Morocco and the coast of Barbary. But what would be the consequence? They could send us no commodities; they could take none from us; our domestic commerce itself would languish for want of emulation, example, and instruction; and we, ourselves, should soon fall into the same abject condition to which we had reduced them. I shall, therefore, venture to acknowledge, that not only as a man, but as a British subject, I pray for the flourishing commerce of Germany, Spain, Italy, and even France itself. I am, at least, certain that Great Britain, and all these nations would flourish more, did their Sovereigns and Ministers adopt such enlarged and benevolent sentiments towards each other" (hear, hear, hear). A great change like that proposed would naturally create great apprehension; and in the remarks he (Mr. Gore) had to make, he would carefully guard against saying one word that could convey anything but his respect for those gentlemen with whom—it was his misfortune—he differed. Similar changes in the history of every country had been attended with similar expressions of doubt, dismay, and dissatisfaction. A remarkable instance of that kind occurred at the time when Spain, in 1765, having at last been convinced of the ill effects of her past policy, proposed a total alteration in the fiscal laws relating to the intercourse between the mother country and the colonies. All cried out against it, and loudly predicted ruin and disaster. In a short time the new system was found to work advantageously, and in the end the merchants of Cadiz, who had been the most strenuous in their opposition, were the most prominent in their mutual congratulations on the new state of affairs. A train of events, identical in their character, marked the introduction in England, in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, of turnpike roads; the possessors of property round London declared they would be ruined; but when their entreaties were neglected and the roads were made, the benefits of the alteration were experienced, and since had been fully acknowledged (hear, hear). It was, none would deny, a most important point to be mentioned as to the way in which the new bill would affect the poor (hear), and as to the proportion likely to exist between prices and wages. In reference to that portion of the inquiry the honourable gentleman read the following documents:—"Harvest of 1795 very deficient, price of wheat six guineas per quarter. Season of 1799 favourable, price fell to 56s. at end of year. In 1797 quality was bad quantity deficient. Harvest of 1798 only moderately abundant, consequently no store of grain to bring in in aid of deficient harvest of 1797; immediately after which the price rose to 92s. 7d. per quarter. In 1800 the quality was injured by excessive rains, and the quantity was so short that the average price of wheat, on the 1st of January, 1801, had advanced to 139s. per quarter. Before the harvest of 1801 was secured, the price of wheat in the London market reached 180s. per quarter, and the quarter loaf was, for four weeks, as high as 1s. 10½d." It was curious (continued Mr. Gore) to observe how intimate a relation existed between the prices of food and the number of marriages (cries of hear, hear). "The falling off in the numbers, observable in 1794, 1800, and 1801, was in each year very marked in its character. The harvest of 1801 was moderately abundant, and as, in addition to the home produce, the importation of wheat, under the stimulus of a bounty, had been very large, the price fell, in the latter part of this year, to less than half what it had been before the harvest. In 1802 the crops, although not very abundant, yielded enough, with a small importation, for our wants, and prices became still more moderate. The number of marriages in these two years, according to the registers, was 90,396 in 1802, and 94,379 in 1804. In March, 1804, the average price of wheat was as low as 49s. 6d. per quarter; but the harvest in that year was far from being good, and towards Christmas the price was double what it had been nine months before; the price continued high until the result of the harvest of 1805 could be known. This proving more favourable, and a considerable quantity of foreign grain having been imported, prices again receded, but not extensively. The number of marriages in 1804 and 1805 again showed the restraining effect in this respect of high prices, having been 85,738 and 79,586 respectively." All these facts and statistics went to show that the country flourished in the greatest degree when there was the greatest abundance, combined with cheapness, of food. He had supported the Corn Law as it then existed, because he had looked upon it as the law best suited to the circumstances; but he had since seen reason to doubt, and even deny that it had been productive of the good which, in adopting it, was contemplated; and he could not see how such a good could be better secured than by the measure for which he now intended to give his vote (hear, hear). It had been said of the right honourable gentleman, the member for South Wilts (Mr. Sidney Herbert), by the honourable member for Shrewsbury (Mr. D'Israeli), that he was responsible for the state of the labouring population in that county. He (Mr. Gore) was bound to say that he did not believe the agricultural interest or the agricultural labourers had a better friend than the right hon. gentleman, the Secretary-at-War; and he spoke from a knowledge of the past as to the kind feeling shown by him to all on his property (loud cries of Hear, hear). With regard to the assertion that the Corn Law had worked well, it was for the advocates of the law to reconcile this assertion with the fact, that under its operation the farmer had to sustain a progressive fall in the price throughout not less than five successive years, from 75s. till it got down to 36s. On the occurrence of the first season following, of marked deficiency, the public obtained no relief till the aggregate averages of the six weeks had attained in September 73s. 2d., when suddenly, in a single week, 1,513,113 quarters of wheat and wheat-meal were liberated, at the low duty of 1s. per quarter. The price declined in four weeks from 77s. to 61s. 10d., so that whereas the previous rise was for the benefit of the wealthier farmers, who had been enabled to hold their stocks of the crop of 1837 to the last, the subsequent fall was to the detriment of the numerous class of small farmers, who, having by that time got in their crops in all the divisions of the land south of the Humber, were threshing out, and, as usual, bringing the earliest supplies to market. Therefore, he thought it was an error to suppose that the Corn Law had worked to the advantage of any class of farmers but the wealthier farmers. What had been the effect of the Corn Law upon other interests? There was a sudden demand for shipping; freights rose; the ship-owners got large profits: but in a moment prices fell, and down fell the profits of the shipowners. The effect of the law, and of a sudden demand for corn, was mischievous upon capital, as well as upon the interests of shipowners. He was inclined to agree with a remark of the honourable and learned member for Bath, that there would not be any sudden influx of corn into this country. He thought that the hopes on one side and the fears on the other

were equally exaggerated (hear, hear, hear). This was a question which affected not only agriculture, but commerce and national industry. He had the authority not only of Bishop Watson, Mr. Horner, Lord Wallace, but of a statesman, second to none in experience, knowledge, and attachment to the constitution; he alluded to Lord Grenville, who in the debate upon the East India Charter, in 1813, said—"Those who understand, as your lordships do, the real nature of commerce, and the true principles of its wise administration, will know that all its interests are interwoven; all its branches inseparably connected. It is the union, not of commerce with Government, but of commerce with commerce, that a provident legislation will respect. Numerous are the commercial enterprises which would be of small benefit if limited to the direct intercourse of one country with another, but which, by intermediate or subsequent transactions, in other markets and in distant regions, became highly advantageous both to private and national interests. For the encouragement of such hopes no moment was ever yet more favourable. The barrier of prejudices shaken, the spirit of monopoly is rapidly giving way to juster principles of commercial legislation, and the change of public opinion in this country is seconded by the great revolutions of the world." These were the opinions of Lord Grenville, than whom no man was more sincerely attached to the constitution of this land; so that, if this question is to be decided by authority—though he gave no weight to authorities, as the question must be determined by experience; but if authority were required, there could be none of greater weight. For the reason he had stated he should give his decided and cordial support to the measure of her Majesty's Government. He believed that the measure was framed upon sound principles; he thought it calculated to promote all the great interests of this great empire. It did not swell any one interest into unnatural proportions, but it preserved the symmetry of the whole. He thought that the prosperity of the country rested not upon the enactments of the statute-book, but the energy and enterprise of the people, inspired by free institutions and guarded by equal laws. Looking to these considerations, he had no fear of competition with other countries; and, under the present measure, he believed that all the great interests of the country would receive benefit; and looking beyond the interests of this island, and to the distant shores to which our commerce extends, he thought that this measure, to which he gave his cordial support, would benefit the whole human race (hear, hear, hear). He would not support the measure if he thought it had been yielded to agitation or anything like fear. Such a motive he considered to be unworthy of him and of the house. Whilst dissenting from other members upon this question, he honoured and admired their firmness; and if they thought it for the welfare of the country that the Corn Laws should be maintained, they were bound to support it; and whilst he differed from them, he honoured and admired their conduct. He rested the question upon higher ground—upon its intrinsic merits; for if it could not bear investigation, let it be rejected. He hoped that the house, in conformity with the prayer with which it auspicated their proceedings, would come to a conclusion upon this question divested of all party feeling and private affection, and would decide according to what they thought would best promote the welfare, the greatness, the glory, and the prosperity of this great empire, and the happiness of the millions subject to our sway (hear, hear).

Mr. FITZGERALD was prepared to support the measure proposed by her Majesty's Government. Wishing to secure the weal of his unfortunate country, and to avert the awful consequences that might arise from the deficiency of food in Ireland, he felt bound to take an early opportunity of urging on the attention of her Majesty's Government the expediency of carrying into speedy execution whatever measures they might deem necessary for its safety. The danger of famine and pestilence in that country was imminent, but he hoped it was not yet too late to prevent the horrors that might desolate that important portion of the empire. He had heard with no small gratification the speech of the right hon. baronet at the head of the government, delivered the other evening; and he must also express his gratification at the conduct announced by the right hon. Secretary for the Home Department, in taking measures to encourage employment in Ireland, and give to the poor the means of buying food, of which they stood in so much need. At the same time he must declare his conviction that measures of a far more comprehensive nature were required to remedy the evils afflicting the social state of Ireland. With respect to the great question before them, his ideas until he entered the house had been always on the side of perfect Free Trade, but now he was inclined to say that the measures brought forward by her Majesty's Government were the best that could be thought of at the present moment. It was but just that the agriculturists should have time to make those changes in the modes of cultivation which might become necessary; for this purpose three years would be required; and if sudden changes were made, it might be feared that they would produce injury rather than benefit. But he looked forward with pleasure and hope to the results of a system of perfect Free Trade, when established at the proper time. He must say that on the first announcement of the measures of Government, no small alarm had been created in Ireland; but having felt it his duty, as representing a large agricultural constituency, to consult the opinions and wishes of those whom he represented, he had found that on further deliberation the disposition to alarm was considerably diminished. He was enabled to state that, though apprehensions were entertained in different quarters that some temporary loss might ensue, there was a general inclination to support her Majesty's Government on a view of the whole case, bearing in mind that not the Corn Laws only must be altered, but a very extensive change must take place in the whole commercial policy of the British empire, from which a large increase of our commerce might reasonably be anticipated (hear, hear). Considering the great alterations which had been effected within the last few years, and the results that had followed them, it was impossible to avoid seeing that the principles on which those measures had proceeded must be carried further. In his opinion, the right hon. baronet deserved well of his country for the moral courage he had shown on this question, and had sufficiently proved that as minister of the empire he would have regard to the welfare of the whole community, rather than to the interests of any particular class.

Mr. LOCKHART expressed the deep regret which he felt at being compelled to vote against Sir R. Peel on this measure; but he had no choice, as he was convinced that it would sweep away all the small farmers of the country, and would throw out of cultivation all the inferior land in the country.

Sir G. CLERK was very unwilling to intrude himself

on the attention of the house, but from the situation he had the honour to hold, he did not like to allow the discussion to close without offering some observations. The honourable member for Shrewsbury had said that the object of the measure proposed by ministers was twofold—to provide for emergency, and to construct a system. As to the existence of an emergency, he believed there was not a single member of that house who doubted it; nor did he think there was the least inclination to oppose the Government in carrying any measure for its relief. He denied altogether that there was anything like the construction of a new system of commercial policy in the measures now submitted to the house; they were nothing more than the carrying out of those principles on which the measures of 1842 were founded, as well as the measures proposed in 1824 by Mr. Huskisson, and supported by the right honourable baronet at an earlier period of his political career. At that time they had been told, as he supposed they would be told on the present occasion, that Government and Parliament had run wild on the subject of Free Trade. Some honourable members might suppose that Government was now proceeding more rapidly than they could approve of; but, reflecting on the course of policy followed by the various administrations of this country for the last twenty years, it could not be supposed that the measures now proposed constituted anything like an ovel system of commercial policy. With respect to the emergency spoken of, he wished it could be considered as one merely of a temporary nature; but hon. members looked too exclusively to the misery that might be experienced in Ireland in the course of the ensuing summer. We must look forward some distance, and ask ourselves how (the potato crop having failed) a substitute for this food was to be found in the years 1847 and 1848. We must bear in mind that not only was the crop of the present season destroyed, but it would be absolutely impossible to find a sufficient quantity of potatoes for the seed required in the cultivation of the soil (oh). Some hon. members seemed to doubt that; but perhaps they had not been in the house the other evening when a question was put to his right hon. friend at the head of the Government by the hon. member for Cocker-mouth (Mr. Aglionby). Now he (Sir G. Clerk) had made inquiries in his own neighbourhood, and he had received information that last spring the germs of the disease had been perceived; it had been admitted that sufficient care had not been taken in the selection of the seed, and it was to be feared that in some degree the infection had been communicated to the plants last year. Looking to the facts which had been ascertained, and to the report communicated to his right hon. friend by Professor Lindley, there was great reason to fear that the disease would not be confined to the present season, but that it might prevail next year to a great extent (hear, hear). But was it only for Ireland that an additional supply of food was to be provided? The potato formed an important portion of the food of the people both in England and Scotland, and the disease prevailed to a great extent in every part of the United Kingdom (hear, hear). He knew the difficulty of getting persons to agree as to the extent of this disease, but there was one test to which it might be brought which would afford evidence of that extent. The potato formed a great portion of the food of the poorer classes in London, and it became important to ascertain what had been and what now was the amount of the supply. He found that between the 1st of October, 1844, and the 14th of February, 1845, the supply of potatoes amounted, during the four months and a half, to 770,000 sacks. The supply from the 1st October last year to the 14th February in the present year was only 540,000 sacks, showing a falling off of nearly one-third in the supply of the metropolis alone (hear, hear). He believed that that might be taken as a fair index of the amount of deficiency in general, and if he had the means of ascertaining the supply of potatoes to Manchester, Birmingham, and other of our great manufacturing towns during the same period, he had no doubt that the deficiency would be found as great. Now what had been the effect of that deficiency of supply in London upon the price of the article? He found that in January, 1845, the price of potatoes in Covent Garden market had been from 50s. to 80s. per ton, and that in the January of the present year the price ranged from 80s. to 160s. per ton (hear, hear), showing that the lowest price now was equal to the highest in a former year, and the highest just double (hear, hear). Some prices might be found lower than these, but there were still cargoes of diseased potatoes brought in, which of course sold at an inferior rate; and indeed it often depended upon the state of the wind, so that a quick passage could be had from the Humber, whether the potatoes arrived in the market in sound condition or not. He had also been informed that the price of potatoes having placed them beyond the reach of the poorer classes, they were in many instances obliged to purchase bread; and that in districts chiefly inhabited by the poorer classes, those bakers who used to bake ten sacks of flour, now consumed eleven, being an increase of 10 per cent. on the consumption of flour. Looking, then, to the fact that the food of four millions of the inhabitants of Ireland was likely to be cut off for six months—that the supply in hand would not hold out until May, it was the duty of Government to take care that no impediment was thrown in the way of a supply of food (hear, hear). He must now advert to another remarkable feature. It was well known that although the harvest of last year had not been deficient in bulk upon an average, it had been deficient in weight, and an additional quantity of wheat was now required to produce a given quantity of flour (hear). Now at the same time that the potato disease had not been confined to Great Britain and Ireland, but had extended itself to the whole of the Continent, it was also known the harvest in Germany and other parts of Europe had failed

to a great extent likewise. Holland and Belgium had then at once removed all impediments to the admission of food in their ports (hear, hear). At that time, when corn was so admitted into the ports of those countries free, it had been found that though the price of corn in the London markets was exceedingly high—though the best wheat was remaining stationary, or rather rising—the averages were moving in the opposite direction. That was in the month of November. The attention of the Government had been most anxiously directed to this difficulty. From week to week the accounts of the quantity of corn coming in were compared with the accounts of the quantities which week to week were re-exported. The amount so re-exported continued trifling; but had it increased, it would have been the bounden duty of Government to open the ports, as a means of preventing the corn from being taken away from this country to those which had removed the impediments upon its importation (hear, hear). Under such circumstances he thought he might assume that there would have been but one feeling in the house, that the government would have been justified in taking upon themselves the heavy and delicate responsibility of opening the ports and admitting corn (cheers). Then that took away from him (Sir G. Clerk) the main and chief article upon which he had ever been prepared to defend the sliding scale, because the great argument in favour of that scale had been that it contained within itself a self-adjusting principle, that the duty should fall with a rise in price, until it vanished altogether. If hon. gentlemen would refer to the arguments used in favour of the sliding scale in 1837, and having regard to the circumstances of the autumn of 1826, they would find we were now somewhat in a similar position in the autumn of 1845. The government of that day had been obliged to open the ports and suspend the law. They had come to Parliament and had asked for a bill of indemnity, and having made out a sufficient case the Parliament had passed their bill. Lord Liverpool had then remarked that this power of opening the ports was of so delicate a nature, that it required to be exercised with the greatest caution and care; that it might occasion loss and ruin to many unoffending and innocent persons; that it was a power which ought not to remain with the government; and that some alteration should be made to render it unnecessary. Mr. Canning had also shown most forcibly that the objection was not only applicable to the law of 1815, but to a fixed duty, however small. That had been the great argument in favour of a sliding scale, for in a commercial point of view it was liable to many palpable objections. Now here was a case in 1845, when the sliding scale had failed in this respect of adjusting the duty in proportion to the price (hear). The law not answering its purpose in this respect, it would have been the duty of Government, had they opened the ports, to do as Lord Liverpool had done in 1827, when he asked for indemnity, namely, be prepared to show how the existing law might be modified and altered, so as to prevent the recurrence of the evil. An honourable member had said that all that was required was an alteration in the mode of taking the averages; but upon this point he (Sir George Clerk) would rather take the opinion of a representative of the agricultural interest, the hon. member for Somersetshire, who had said that there was no middle course, and that he would rather have that proposed by the Government, if the Corn Laws were to be touched (no, no). The honourable member for Somersetshire was not now in his place, and it was possible he (Sir George Clerk) might be mistaken, but he had a distinct recollection of the hon. member saying that there was no middle course. The hon. member had followed shortly after the hon. member for Huntingdon, who thought there was a middle course open, but received so little encouragement from gentlemen who had cheered other parts of his speech, that he had not been induced to state to the house what that middle term was. But the hon. member for Somerset had stated his opinion that there was no middle course, but that if the existing Corn Law was to be disturbed, it was better that the measure of the Government should be adopted. Very few of the agricultural members had entered into details to show the nature and extent of the injury they apprehended; but the honourable member for Somersetshire had been an exception, for he had quoted some statistics, and had expressed his alarm at the quantity of corn likely to be brought from various parts of the world, and he particularised Russia; but it would be seen that in reality a very small portion of the crops in the southern provinces of that empire consisted of wheat, but were principally rye, hemp, and tobacco. During 10 years of deficient supply of corn at home we had been obliged to ransack the whole world, and even then wheat could only be had at a great price. If hon. members would look at the accounts on the table they would see that 120,000 quarters only was the average importation from the eastern provinces of Russia, and even in 1840, 317,000 quarters were all that could be had from that country. The Government availed themselves of the best information on this subject from our consular agents abroad; and it was a very remarkable fact, that nearly all of them concurred in the general result (hear, hear). From that information it appeared that the utmost quantity of wheat to be expected from Russia was 670,000 quarters, which was supposing that Great Britain obtained the whole surplus of the country; for some gentlemen argued as if Great Britain was the only country wanting wheat, whereas they would find that in reality a very small portion of the surplus of these corn-growing countries came into England, and that if we went into the market, other countries would compete with us, a consequence of which would be, that the price would be raised to the English level by such competition, instead of the English price being reduced to the Continental level. With respect to America, there was no greater mistake than to suppose that we were likely to receive very large supplies of corn from that

country. By a reference to the papers, it would be seen that the United States exported in 1790 and 1796, when the population was four millions, a larger quantity of corn than she had ever done since, except in 1840, when the preceding harvest of 1839 had been remarkably abundant. But of the corn exported by America in that year a very small part found its way into the English markets. The population of America in 1840 was calculated at upwards of 17,000,000; the crop of wheat in that year was estimated at ten million quarters. Of those ten millions America exported 215,000 quarters in the shape of wheat, and 1,897,000 barrels of flour, which, subtracted from the total quantity, left only about four bushels per head for the consumption of their own population. Now, of that quantity exported from America only 620,000 barrels of flour came into England in 1840, the year in which there was the greatest importation. In the next year, 1841, America only exported 108,000 quarters of wheat and 1,500,000 barrels of flour; and in 1842 her exports were 140,000 quarters of wheat and 1,100,000 barrels of flour. The population of America was now about 20,000,000, and it was supposed that she could export little more than half the wheat she had sent out in the year 1840, still leaving a supply for her own people not greater than four bushels per head. With regard to the Western States of America, the fact of the matter was, they scarcely produced a sufficient supply of corn for their own population, and this being true—and that it was true was notorious to all who knew anything of the matter—it was clear that there could be nothing more absurd or untenable than the apprehension that from that quarter of the world, at all events, a supply of grain was to come in such exorbitant profusion as to glut the home-market (hear, hear). Indeed, he believed that the apprehension would be found to be totally without foundation as regarded the United States generally, for circumstanced as those States were at present, and as they were likely to continue, with respect to their commercial relations, and the vast calls which their own population made upon their home market, it was in the last degree improbable that they would ever be in a position to export corn in sufficient quantities to injure the growers of any other country whatsoever (hear, hear). The United States already supplied Brazil and the West India islands with flour; and as the demand for the article had enormously increased, and was still increasing in the latter countries since the emancipation of the slave population—which, by the way, was a most gratifying fact (hear, hear)—the possibility of our receiving any very considerable supply of corn from the other side of the Atlantic was rendered more and more unlikely (hear, hear). In fact, he regarded it as a contingency so extremely improbable, that it might fairly be considered as almost entirely out of the question (hear, hear). Nay, he viewed the matter in another aspect altogether—in an aspect which he must say he considered as a much more alarming one than that in which it was viewed by the hon. member for Somersetshire; for he could not help thinking that the actual state of things being such as he had described it to be, hon. gentlemen, instead of indulging in an apprehension that our home market would be inundated with foreign corn, ought to apply themselves to the consideration of this question, whether, if our population were to continue to progress at the ratio in which it had of late years been advancing, we should be enabled, even though the resources of Russia and some other countries were to be developed to the very utmost, to procure a sufficient supply of corn for our own people (hear)? Within the last five years there had been imported into this country nearly 10 millions of corn, being an average of two millions per annum, and surely there was no one who would be so venturesome as to allege that the people of this country had in that period been over-fed (hear, hear, and a laugh). Let the resources of Russia be developed to what extent they might, even though it were to that extent the prospect of which caused so much pain and alarm to the honourable member for Somersetshire, and let it be taken for granted, that during the 10 years preceding 1856, the importation of foreign corn was to average 3,000,000 quarters per annum, instead of 2,000,000 as heretofore—it would still be found that a larger supply had not been brought in than was absolutely necessary for the support of the people; and furthermore, it would be found (he ventured confidently to predict it) that notwithstanding all this vast importation, not one single acre of land would be thrown out of cultivation, but that on the contrary, agriculture would receive a fresh impetus, for that the demand upon the home market would still be very much greater than the supply. This was his deliberate predication, and he had not the slightest question but that the result would show that he was a true prophet. He could not understand how honourable members could hold a different opinion, if they would take the trouble of studying this question with attention. The experience of the last 30 years proved that the rate of population advanced more rapidly than the rate of production, and that this was true was attested by the fact that for a long series of years we had every year been compelled to increase our importations of foreign corn in proportion as we approached more closely to the present time; and bearing in mind this fact, the truth of which was not to be contested, he could not help thinking—no matter how vigorously, no matter how scientifically, the arts of agriculture might be applied to the enrichment of the soil—for the next ten years we would be compelled to import 3,000,000 of quarters of corn annually instead of two (hear, hear). It was a favourite argument with honourable gentlemen who were averse to the repeal of the Corn Laws, that the sliding scale had this merit at least, that it prevented, or at all events materially checked, the fluctuation of the market; but he denied that there were the slightest grounds for attributing any such virtue to the system (hear). The fact was, it had never had any such merit (hear). The

fluctuation of the market had been considerably greater under the sliding scale than it was in the period intervening between the years 1786 and 1792—the period when the corn trade was not trammelled by any restrictions whatsoever (hear, hear). This, he considered, a very valuable fact, and one highly interesting for the purposes of this discussion. The honourable member for Sunderland, when expatiating on the probability of our being subjected to an inundation of foreign corn, had spoken of the facilities for speculating in that article, and had alluded to the circumstance of his having himself in the year 1837 imported into this country a quantity of foreign corn at so small a cost as 25s. per quarter. He (Sir G. Clerk) had no doubt that the fact was just as the hon. member had stated it, but it was capable of a very easy and natural explanation. Look at the state of the corn trade at home and abroad in the year '37 (hear, hear). During the years '34, '35, and '36 we had a succession of good harvests, and consequently imported little or nothing. In the month of August '37, it was ascertained that the crop on the Continent was an excellent one, and the crop in England was likewise very abundant, for the summer had everywhere been warm and genial. The consequence was that all the markets here and on the Continent were well stocked. He held in his hand an authentic document, prepared at the period to which he alluded (August, 1837), and by a reference to it he found that at that time the Hamburg market was so low that corn had fallen to a price varying from 22s. 4d. to 29s. 4d. Now he could very well conceive that the honourable member, if inclined to speculate at all, might have done so in this manner. He might have purchased a small parcel of corn, of a very inferior description indeed, at 22s. 4d. or thereabouts, and after paying 2s. 6d. for freight, nothing was more natural than that he might have had the article for the cost he specified; but would the honourable member tell the house that this was a thing that could be done every, or indeed to a very great extent, in any year (hear, hear)? Mark what a revolution took place in the corn market the very next year. The crop on the Continent, in 1838, was an average one, but it was the reverse of abundant in England, the summer having been cold and moist. The fact that the English people had not been blessed with a very rich harvest soon became widely circulated, and the consequence was that in the month of August, 1838, wheat rose at Hamburg from 22s. 4d. to 63s. 9d., and freight from 2s. 6d. to 6s. 9d. (hear, hear). The honourable member for Sunderland had not given the house to understand that in the year 1838 he imported any corn at 25s. per quarter (hear). He would have found it rather a difficult matter for his speculative mind. The honourable member for Shrewsbury had argued that the rule of commerce was that in proportion as the demand for an article increased the price fell, but he (Sir G. Clerk) contended that the history of commerce proved that the contrary fact was usually realised, and in attestation of the truth of this assertion he would beg to call the honourable member's attention to this fact—that at Canton the price of tea had, at no very remote period, been higher than in the year 1834, notwithstanding that the demand was considerably greater. The price had since been reduced to the consumer, but the fact was not to be attributed to the increase in the demand. The honourable member for Shrewsbury had referred to the cotton trade as also affording an illustration of the truth of his doctrine, that, according as the demand for an article increased, the price fell; and he had instanced the fact that, in certain parts of the United States, cotton might now be had for three cents a pound. This statement, however, should be received with caution. He (Sir G. Clerk) believed that cotton of a very inferior quality, and designed for the purposes of seed, might be sold for that sum. He was given to understand that in New Orleans cotton of that description might be had for three cents per pound; but the latest commercial advices that we had received from New Orleans showed that good cotton, so far from being sold there for that sum, fetched so high a price as from 6½ to 9 cents per pound (hear, hear). This was the actual price of the article at the present time in New Orleans. It was very possible that owing to a stagnation of trade, or some other of those unfortunate casualties to which all branches of commerce were subject, a fall in the price in the article might have taken place in 1837, but that fall was only of a temporary character, and the indisputable fact was that so far from our manufacturers being able to purchase cotton at three cents per pound, they were obliged to pay a price for it ranging from 6½ to 9 cents per pound. And there was no knowing what price it might yet attain; for there could be no doubt but that the merchants at New Orleans were narrowly watching the policy England was now about to adopt, and would model their own policy accordingly (hear, hear). The doctrines of the honourable member for Shrewsbury, he had no hesitation in saying, were totally untenable, and would not endure one moment's investigation. The mind of the honourable member appeared to be tortured by the most dreadful apprehension of coming evil; but the event would prove there was no ground whatever for such apprehensions. Alarm would always be excited whenever it was proposed to make any change, even the most trivial, in the commercial policy of this country (hear, hear, hear). In the year 1787, when Mr. Pitt first brought forward his proposition to regulate the importation of corn from Ireland, the Scotch agriculturists were in an agony of alarm, and predicted that the corn trade and the agricultural interests generally of Scotland would be irretrievably ruined; but he was proud and happy to say that, notwithstanding this gloomy prophecy, in no part of the United Kingdom had the science of agriculture been prosecuted with more signal success than in Scotland, nor did he know of any portion of the empire in which there had been a greater increase of rents to landlords since 1787. He ventured to predict that re-

sults equally happy would follow from the adoption of the measures now in contemplation; but let not the house be surprised at finding that apprehension and alarm existed in certain parts. As far back as the year 1820 a petition was presented to that house from some of the most eminent merchants in London, praying for the removal of those protective restrictions which cramped the energies of trade and commerce. The Government of Lord Liverpool, in the year 1824, acted on these recommendations, and brought in various measures with a view to the mitigation of the prohibitory system; but it was a notorious fact that, with respect to every one of these mitigatory measures, the same alarm was manifested, and the same gloomy forebodings were indulged in. At that time the amount of the protective duty on linen was not very great; but when it was proposed to reduce it, the Irish members rose with the utmost indignation, and declared that the reduction would be the absolute destruction of the Irish manufactures. He well remembered that the hon. member for Londonderry expressly declared that if the contemplated reduction were to be carried into effect, the linen and cambric trade of Ireland would be irretrievably ruined. Such was the prediction of the member for Londonderry; but had the house forgotten the statement made by the right hon. baronet at the head of the government, in the course of his masterly speech of that day week (hear, hear), by which he showed, on the authority of some of the most eminent linen manufacturers residing in the neighbourhood of Belfast, that their prosperity dated from the year 1826, and that notwithstanding the removal of protection, they had been able not only to compete with France, but to send their fabrics in enormous quantities to the remotest countries of the world, and especially to the United States (hear, hear)? So much for the linen trade (hear). His (Sir G. Clerk's) right hon. friend (Sir R. Peel), in the course of his speech, had summed all up in this way—"We reduced a great number of these things; we made further deductions in 1842; and now I call upon any member (hear, hear, from the Opposition)—I call upon any person, who is connected with trade, to show us where it had suffered injury by the reduction" (cheers from the Opposition). That challenge then remained unanswered (renewed cheers). At last the hon. member for Birmingham took the field, and he referred to the article of spelter or zinc. He (Sir G. Clerk) had heard with great astonishment the declaration of the hon. member, that the zinc trade had suffered from the change that had taken place, but he confessed he could not find that out from his statement. He said when the price of zinc was 75*l.* a ton, the duty was 45*l.* a ton.

Mr. MUNTZ: Oh, no; I beg your pardon.

Sir GEORGE CLERK would take it at 50*l.* a ton; the duty was as high as 50*l.* a ton, and the price of the article was 75*l.* That duty was gradually reduced, and last year they took off the duty. He appealed to the knowledge of every member of the house whether the manufacture of zinc was not one of the most recent origin, and it was only within a few years the means were discovered of rendering zinc malleable and readily converting it to any useful purpose. Formerly they were depending on that zinc that was used for the mixing of copper as an alloy for making brass. The description of spelter or zinc found in the country was so brittle that it could not be converted into those articles into which zinc was now manufactured. It was the foreign zinc that was susceptible of being made malleable. Large mines were discovered in the Prussian provinces, and large quantities of that zinc had been brought here, and by the admission of that zinc, an entirely new branch of manufactures was established (hear, hear, hear, from the opposition). By that means employment was given to many hundreds of persons, whereas if the prohibitory duties had been maintained, the proprietors of those inconsiderable mines from which the inferior quality of zinc was procured might have retained the price of 75*l.* per ton, and that zinc might have been used for the manufacture of brass, but then the country would have been deprived of the means of manufacturing those zinc articles (hear, hear). The honourable member wound up his statement by this assertion:—He said zinc was now 50*l.* per ton, and that it was not worth any man's while to work up that zinc, for every article of it, with trifling exceptions, was brought from abroad. Now what was the fact? they had last year a statement of the duties on every article, the duty on manufactured spelter was 10 per cent., and the whole value of the article brought in was 5*l.*, and the duty was 10*s.* 6*d.* (hear). Now what had been the profits of the zinc manufacture in this country? He need go back only a few years, for the manufacture of zinc was but recently introduced. In the years 1843 and 1844 the quantity of zinc imported was 10,000 tons, and of that between five and six thousand tons were exported to India and China, and 4,000 tons were retained to be worked up in manufactures in this country. In the last year 12,000 tons were imported, and of that 2,000 only were exported and 10,000 tons were worked up into manufactures (loud cheers). By means of that manufacture, a very useful and valuable article could be obtained at a moderate price, and employment was given to a great number of persons (hear, hear). The hon. member for Birmingham ought from his position to be well acquainted with this subject, but yet he said that the measures of the Government were productive of injury (hear, hear). He (Sir G. Clerk) would next refer to the observations of the honourable member for Shrewsbury. His right honourable friend (Sir Robert Peel) had said, that so far from the silk trade being injured by the reduction of duty, the quantity of raw silk imported had more than doubled since the restriction was taken off. No, said the hon. member for Shrewsbury, for the right honourable baronet has taken into his calculation waste silk and thrown silk. The honourable member for Shrewsbury said that they had nothing to

do with them, and he then stated, that 20 years ago, in the last year of protection, the quantity of raw silk introduced was 4,010,000 lbs. Now, he (Sir G. Clerk) found that the silk imported in that year stood thus:—raw silk imported, 3,414,520; waste silk, 133,257; thrown silk, 462,731; making about 4,011,000, the quantity of silk which was stated by him to have been imported in 1824 included waste and thrown silks (hear, hear). That was the quantity imported in 1824, and in 1844 the raw silk imported was 4,021,000; waste silk, 707,850; thrown silk, 410,358; making about 6,000,000 (hear, hear). The hon. member, when he made a statement of figures, was bound in both cases to take the same items, for he came down there to make a business speech, throwing aside all those sallies with which he amused the house on former occasions (hear, hear, and a laugh). The hon. member said he would take the year 1824, the last year of protection. In the month of February in that year the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced to the house certain plans, including a proposition for the reduction of duty on raw silk, and the removal of the prohibition on the manufacture. An objection was taken to the introduction of the silk manufacture, but there was only one feeling in the house as to the propriety of immediately taking the duty off raw silk. On the 7th of March the house agreed to the resolution, and on the 25th of March, in that year, the duty was taken off. Therefore, it was perfectly clear that the subject had engrossed the attention of the house in former years. The only true criterion to be taken in a thing of that sort was to take an average, and to see what was the effect of Free Trade, and what was the effect of protection and high duty. Let them compare the import of raw silk prior to 1824 with what it was subsequent to that period. For ten years previous to 1824 the average was 1,524,000. For ten years, from 1825 to 1834 inclusive, the average was three million pounds per annum, instead of one million five hundred thousand as before; and taking ten years from 1836 to 1845 inclusive, gave him an average of 3,865,000 as compared with 1,500,000, presenting an increase of 150 per cent. The result, therefore, was, to increase the silk manufactures of this country to the extent he had mentioned, and, instead of throwing any persons out of employment, they had given employment to a great number of silk weavers and other persons engaged in the silk trade by the removal of that duty (cheers from the Opposition). The honourable member said he was for Free Trade, as he understood Free Trade. He was for a free interchange of the commodities of different countries. He desired, he said, that they should interchange their commodities on the same terms with France and America as they were willing to interchange with them, but, said he, there are hostile tariffs against us. With reference to this observation, he (Sir G. Clerk) would remind him that this change was proposed to be made, not with reference to its effect upon foreign countries, but for the benefit of the community of England. If they required those articles which were produced in other countries, were they to deprive the people of this country of the use of them, because some foreign nations said they would not have their articles (hear, hear)? Russia, he said, had a prohibitory tariff, and would not take our articles while facilities were given for the introduction of Russian tallow into this country. But the fact was, that the people of this country would not buy the Russian tallow except they wanted it (hear). It certainly must be a matter of regret that the countries from which they imported so largely so many articles necessary for the interests of this country should persevere in having prohibitory tariffs (hear, hear). They should hope, however, that those other countries, not only from their example, but also from experience, would see that the most efficient means of increasing the revenue would be by having a moderate duty substituted for prohibition (cheers). The honourable member had said that without diplomacy they would get nothing from France; that they might reduce their duties as much as they pleased, but that it would not produce any advantage for the manufacturers of this country. Let them see what was the experience of the last twenty years, during which they had reduced the duties on articles the produce of France as well as other countries. They had within that period reduced the duty on French silk and gloves, on French wines and cambrics, clover seed, kid skins, &c.; and the exports from this country to France greatly exceeded what they were when the prohibitory duties were in force (hear). In 1830 they amounted to 475,000; in 1831, 602,000; in 1832, 674,000; in 1833, 848,000; in 1834, 1,116,000; in 1835, 1,450,000; in 1836, 1,591,000; in 1837, 1,643,000; in 1838, 2,214,000; in 1839, 2,298,000; in 1840, 2,378,000; in 1841, 2,902,000; in 1842, 3,193,000; in 1843, 2,534,000 (hear, hear). It was not confined to any description of article, but included nearly all the manufactured articles the produce of this country. He had endeavoured by reference to past experience to show that they had no reason to think that the changes which were now proposed would be attended with calamitous consequences. He had endeavoured to deal with the statement of the hon. member for Shrewsbury, and he trusted that by simply stating those figures, he had shown that he was in every particular mistaken (hear, hear, hear). The honourable member said that he was in favour of Free Trade, provided that it could be got by diplomacy. He said it was the duty of the Minister of this country to see that he did not give any advantage to a foreign country without an equivalent, and, above all, that nothing should be done which would, in the slightest degree, lessen the preponderance of the landed interest. He (Sir G. Clerk) was as anxious as any one that the proper influence of the landlords and the landed interest should be upheld; but if the hon. member meant by this, that it was to depend on the maintenance and continuance of the present Corn Laws, he would only say, that he could not agree to such a principle; and

he did not believe that such an argument was for the advantage of the landed interest (hear, hear). He believed that it would be a most dangerous argument to put forward, that the Corn Laws must be kept up for the purpose of keeping up the influence of the landed interest (hear, hear). A statement had often been made to this effect on the other side, and it had been said that the Corn Laws had been adhered to for the purpose of benefiting the landlords. This was an argument or assertion which he had always hitherto indignantly repudiated; and he certainly conceived the assumption of the honourable member for Shrewsbury as objectionable, and the argument which he had used, if adopted, would lead to the most dangerous consequences (hear, hear). This was the only meaning which he could attach to the language of the honourable member, and he as a landed proprietor disclaimed it altogether. He thought that the only just argument that could be used by the landed interest in favour of the Corn Laws, was that the maintenance of these laws was not exclusively for their interest, but for the interests of all classes of the community (hear, hear, hear). He felt that he had already trespassed too long on the attention of the house (hear, hear). In conclusion, he was ready to admit that he did not entertain the same opinions as to the effect of the repeal of these laws which he formerly did (cheers from the protectionists). He would only ask honourable members to bestow the same pains to make themselves masters of the subject as he had done, and that they would disabuse their minds as to the effect of these laws (hear, hear). Honourable gentlemen opposed to this measure were in the habit of saying that the right honourable baronet at the head of the Government gave his opinion in 1839 and 1840 in favour of these laws, and had given the best argument that could be used for their maintenance, and that they intended to rely upon such arguments; experience, however, had since convinced his right honourable friend that he could not depend upon these arguments. He therefore thought honourable gentlemen should seek for some new arguments (hear, hear). He hoped that those honourable gentlemen who had formed opinions on the subject would state them, and give reasons for the conduct which they intended to pursue (cheers from the protectionists). He put it to honourable gentlemen whether they would not best consult the interest of the parties they represented in that house, by at once assenting to the settlement of this question (hear, hear); the settlement of which, it was admitted on all hands, could not be long postponed (hear, hear, and no). He put it to them to agree to accept a measure which was best adapted to promote the social, commercial, and political relations of the country, and calculated to promote the permanent well-being and best interests of all classes of the community (loud cheers).

Mr. MUNTZ entered into an explanation of his arguments respecting the zinc and spelter trade, which was at last cut short by the interference of the Speaker.

Mr. LIDDELL said that Sir G. Clerk had made one or two of the boldest assertions in his speech which it had ever been his fortune to hear, even from the Treasury benches. If there had been no change in the policy of Government, why was Lord J. Russell on the Opposition and not on the Ministerial benches? and why, from a sensitive sense of honour, had Lord Lincoln gone before his constituents to run the risk of being rejected by them? Sir G. Clerk had then told the opponents of the present measure that they ought to look out for some arguments against it. They had not occasion to look far; for they had only to turn to Sir George's own past speeches against the Corn Laws to find plenty of arguments against it. Passing without further comment from Sir G. Clerk's speech, which he considered as a mere *rechauffé* of Sir R. Peel's, he proceeded to discuss that of Sir R. Peel himself, and controverted the statements of Sir R. Peel with respect to the silk trade, and to show that he had not ventured to withdraw protection altogether from it, although he proposed to withdraw it entirely from the corn trade. He next reviewed Sir Robert's observations on the timber trade, denounced the proposed reductions on the timber duties as most injurious to the shipping interest, and then stated at considerable length the claim of the shipowners to protection. He passed from that topic to a consideration of the effects which the policy of the Government would produce upon our colonial trade, arguing that the great exertions made to foster a trade in corn between this country and our colonies in Canada and in South Australia were now completely thrown away. He approved the proposed change in the law of settlement as a great boon to the agricultural interest, and an act of justice to the labouring artisan; but concluded by claiming for the shipowner and the agriculturist the protection which they had long enjoyed, and by declaring that so long as he had a seat in the House of Commons, he would endeavour to maintain that protection, and would oppose all such hazardous experiments as the present.

Mr. HUTT, who was heard very imperfectly at the commencement of his speech, in consequence of a great number of members leaving the house, was understood to say that he remembered with particular satisfaction having had to present a petition from a number of shipowners, in which they advanced opinions counter to those stated in the petition which his honourable friend had presented, and approving of the policy which had been enunciated by the right honourable baronet at the head of the Government. He begged the house to notice the way in which his hon. friend proposed to place the British shipowners on an equal footing with the Prussian shipowner. His hon. friend said that we were to maintain the shipping interest by making the materials for ship-building dear. The consequence of our protection of British colonial timber had been that the colonist selected the worst species of timber, which was known as American timber, to send to England, while they sent their best timber to the United States. We were only able, therefore, to get good timber from the Baltic. He trusted that the house would take a more liberal view of this question, and that they would cordially estimate the views of the right hon. gentleman for diminishing the duty on good ship-building timber. Upon the general subject he might be permitted to say that he did not wish to enter into any discussion as to the political consistency of the right honourable gentleman and his Government, but he must observe, that if the hon. gentlemen opposite thought that the conduct of the right honourable

gentleman was deserving of censure, they would do right to adopt the recommendation of the honourable member for Finsbury, and bring the question before the house in the shape of a motion of want of confidence. He (Mr. Hutt) certainly should not support them in that motion; but it would be a far more regular proceeding than to introduce personal grievances and party animosities into the discussion of a great commercial question. He confessed he could not understand the conduct of honourable gentlemen opposite. They agreed to the Canada Corn Bill, they assented to the tariff of 1842, yet when the larger measure of 1845 was brought forward, which was a legitimate consequence of the tariff of 1842, they talked of their own virtue and of the treachery of the right honourable baronet. For his (Mr. Hutt's) own part, he thought that the right hon. baronet had greater reason to complain of them. It had been maintained that we should be obliged to pay gold for the additional grain which we should import from foreign countries when this measure had passed. Now, he asserted on the other hand, that foreigners would not require that we should give them gold for their corn. But even if they did, we might still carry on a trade with them advantageously. The only trade that we carried on with China for years was a trade of this description. We took our dollars to Canton, and exchanged them for teas and silks. As to the fear of taking bullion away from this country, his firm belief was, that we had only to repeal the Corn Laws, and the operation of distributing the precious metals over the world would become as regular as the trade in any other commodity. Hon. gentlemen opposite prided themselves on being Conservatives. Now they might depend on it nothing was so dangerous and revolutionary as grievances that came home to the bosoms of all men of intelligence. The measure of the Government was, in the best meaning of the word, a Conservative measure; and if they meant to vindicate their character for Conservatism, honourable gentlemen opposite would gladly support it (hear, hear).

Captain FITZHARRIS repeated the trite invectives of his party against Sir R. Peel's inconsistency on the subject of the Corn Laws. He condemned the present proposition of the Government, and regretted that we were about to lose our place among the nations of Europe, in order to become a great shop for the benefit of the whole world.

Mr. M. MILNES was not inclined to take the harsh view of Sir R. Peel's conduct which had been taken by many of his friends, when he recollected how many great men had modified their opinions upon the subject (Mr. D'Israeli and Mr. Colquhoun for instance) of the Corn Laws. Looking, however, at the past commercial measures of Sir R. Peel and his Government, he could not consider the present project as a legitimate deduction from them. It was not, therefore, from any feeling of confidence either in Sir R. Peel or his government that he gave his support to it, but because he felt that it was the only course which he could pursue consistently with the opinions which he had formerly held, and which he still continued to hold on the subject of the Corn Laws. The question then before the house was, not whether it would be satisfied with a modified protection, but whether it would adhere to the principle of protection in all the force of the Central Association in Bond-street. To that principle he could not assent, and therefore he must vote for the original motion.

On the motion of Lord INGESTRE the debate was again adjourned.

THE ADJOURNED DEBATE.—TUESDAY.

The debate was resumed by

Mr. M. J. O'CONNELL, who after briefly noticing some discrepancies among the opponents of the measure, proceeded to discuss the merits of the question before the house, and to explain the course he intended to pursue. He was not ashamed to acknowledge that his opinions had undergone a considerable change within the last few months. On several occasions he had supported propositions brought forward by the hon. member for Wolverhampton (Mr. C. Villiers) with a view to the adoption of a moderate fixed duty, which then seemed to him the best mode of settling the question, at least for many years. He now frankly avowed that in his opinion the best course for the agricultural and all other interests was to enact the speedy and total abolition of duties on the import of food. His individual opinions were of little importance, but as he represented a large constituency he might perhaps be allowed to state his reasons for the change his opinions had undergone. He would first advert to the origin of the recent and prevailing alarm in Ireland. In the middle of October the disease in the potato crop showed itself extensively, and in the latter end of that month an expectation was general that an opening of the ports and a perfectly free importation of grain would be ordered by the Queen in council. It was not, however, until ministers met, and the proposition of the right hon. baronet was unfortunately rejected, that a cry was got up—a cry of a most strange character. That cry was that the threatened danger had been exaggerated for party purposes, that the alarm of famine was, in fact, a party alarm, in order to bring into office the noble lord the member for London and his adherents. Even the high character and moderate views of the Duke of Leinster did not secure him and others of the Mansion-house committee from the imputation that they were anxious and unscrupulous partisans of the Whigs. The effect was most disastrous, for many men who until then were ready to press upon Government the necessity of taking steps, to join in subscriptions for the importation of foreign food, began honestly to doubt as to the reality and extent of the evil. He must make one honourable exception—the Protestant clergy; they never doubted—they never joined in the cry; on the contrary, they gave statements of the disease in their districts which were unbiased and unexaggerated, acting from that pure motive of charity and benevolence which had raised their characters so high, even among those who were opposed to them in faith (cheers). What was the state of Ireland now? Descriptions had been given on former nights by the first Minister of the Crown, confirmed by facts adduced by the hon. and learned member for Cork, but the Recorder of Dublin had, nevertheless, maintained that a system of gross exaggeration on the subject prevailed. If such were the truth, why had he not, as his duty required, pointed out the exaggerations. He had not brought forward a particle of evidence, he had shrunk from the proof; and he (Mr. J. O'Connell) begged to tell him and the house, that boldness of assertion would not pass for proof (cheers from Col. Conolly). He hoped that the hon. and gallant member who cheered the observation would also bear it in mind (hear). The truth was, that the danger in Ireland was most imminent. Some had contended that it was only a temporary emergency, and that a temporary emergency ought to be met by a temporary remedy (hear, hear, hear). But there was every reason to fear that the emergency was not temporary, that the crop of next year would be infected, and that

the disease might be permanent. If, however, it were certain that the crop and harvest next year would be abundant, still it ought to be remembered that there was no security against the return of the disorder (hear, hear). That consideration had much tended to produce the change that had taken place in his opinions; for he had asked himself this question:—Why are the people of Ireland to be dependent on an article of food so peculiarly liable to disorder and failure? It was peculiarly liable, first, because it was a root, and it was often impossible to know that it was infected; and next, because the disease was a new one, and little, if at all, understood. The conclusion to which he came was that the sooner all laws restricting the importation of the food of the people were repealed, the better for all classes of the community. He wished, therefore, that the proposal of the right hon. baronet had been to do away with the Corn Laws at once; and if he (Mr. M. J. O'Connell) supported the motion as it stood, it was only because it seemed under all circumstances the most effectual and speedy means of putting an end to an evil. Why, he would ask, had potatoes become the almost universal food of the peasantry in Ireland, and the general food of the lower orders in the south of England? The great, he did not say the sole, cause was, the high price of bread-corn. Fifty or sixty years ago, the use of potatoes was by no means so common in Ireland: in some of the more remote districts, oatmeal was nearly as much employed for food as in Scotland. The high price of bread-corn had constantly tended to make the great body of his fellow countrymen dependent for subsistence on this most precarious article. He felt it his duty to do all in his power to render a supply of more nutritious food accessible to the working classes. The house had, however, been told that the repeal of the Corn Laws would be injurious to the lower orders, especially in Ireland; and it was urged that the present system was mainly valuable to labourers and tenant farmers. That they were so valuable might, in his opinion, be answered in a single word; and that word was—Ireland. Had the Corn Laws been of service to the tenant farmers there? Look at the destitution among the working classes of Ireland. The truth was that the Corn Laws were of no value to the labouring classes. It was admitted that improvements must be made in agriculture to meet the change, and he defied any man to show that such improvements would not necessarily give additional employment to the working classes; and the consequence of additional employment would be increased comfort and amelioration of condition. As to the tenant farmers, he begged honourable members to bear in mind that profit did not always depend upon price; that the profits of the tenant farmer might be higher even if the price of corn were lower. Comparing the last three years with the three years preceding 1842, it was obvious that a comparatively low price was more profitable. The tenant farmers had been in a better condition during the last three years, when corn was cheap, than in the previous three years, when corn was dear. Much, of course, depended upon the prosperity of the consumers—the prosperity of the home market—the manufacturers. The very circumstance of the increase of population in the empire, which was most likely to continue, would of itself afford security against any considerable fall of price. The experience of the past had taught him to distrust the predictions of ruin in which the alarmists dealt whenever a change of system was proposed; and the Vice-President of the Board of Trade (Sir G. Clerk) had alluded to some of those predictions last night. One of them respected the introduction of swine when the tariff was introduced in 1842. It had been calculated by some of the alarmists that no fewer than three millions and a half of swine would be imported, but the number really brought into the country had been ridiculously small. The prophecies of these gentlemen reminded him of the prophecies of a certain lady of old; it was decreed that she should prophesy truly, and not be believed; but of the Corn Law alarmists it seemed to be determined that they should prophesy falsely, but find people foolish enough to trust them (cheers and laughter). The hon. member went on to read an extract from a recent copy of the *Dublin Evening Mail* respecting the number of sheep sold and remaining unsold at Ballynasloe fair in 1842, 1843, and 1844, showing a regular increase both in number and price. He hoped, therefore, that farmers would be governed by experience, and not allow themselves to become the victim of a panic. The right hon. member for Taunton (Mr. Labouchere), when in office in 1840, had brought in a bill to allow the introduction into Ireland of foreign flour upon the same terms as into England. It was opposed by some members of the present Government; and Sir J. E. Tennant, in a speech crammed with statistics, proved to demonstration, as was thought and said by some, that the millers of Ireland would be ruined if the measure passed. In 1842 the right hon. baronet altered the Corn Laws, and among his alterations was one by which foreign flour might be introduced into Ireland exactly on the terms proposed two years before by the right hon. member for Taunton. It was, of course, supported by the opposition side of the house, though not without some taunts against ministers for silently adopting in office a scheme they had resisted in opposition, and what had been the result? The result was, that in spite of this bill, which was to ruin the millers of Ireland, the importations of flour into this country from Ireland had constantly and most importantly augmented.

In 1842 had been imported	311,311 cwt.
In 1843	773,463 "
In 1844	839,567 "
In 1845	1,422,370 "

Thus this ruined interest in the course of four years had quadrupled the amount of its importations of flour into England (cheers). How had the arguments on this subject been met? Scraps from newspapers and *centos* from Hansard afforded no grounds for debating a great national question. The Recorder for Dublin, quoting Lord Mansfield, had said that the worst of precedents were established from the best motives; but the agricultural interest, if they could learn anything, must have learnt since 1829 that the right hon. baronet at the head of the Government would never consent to sacrifice national objects to party consistency (cheers). They were, therefore, forewarned of the present crisis; but, nevertheless, they had placed him again at their head, knowing that, under like circumstances, he would not act in the like way. They had thus set a bad precedent from the best motives, and they must now expect to find it used against themselves. What had happened only last year on the subject of the grant to Maynooth? Hon. members on the other side of the house supported the proposition, because it was introduced by the right hon. baronet, though they would have opposed it had it been brought forward by the noble lord the member for London. After that, what right had they to attack the right hon. baronet for his conduct upon this question? Did they wish to set the precedent again? There was no doubt that when

this debate was over, they would again become the humble servants of the right honourable baronet (cries of "no, no," answered by cheers). In 1829, *musquam tuta fides* was the exclamation; yet they had restored to him all their confidence: again *musquam tuta fides* would be the cry, and again they would submit themselves to his mercy (cheers and laughter). What could they do without him (hear, hear)? Whom could they put in his place (hear, hear)? Lists of new sets of ministers had been circulated, but they only seemed worthy of the satirical pages of the admirable *Punch*. On this point he might quote to the House a passage from the posthumous pamphlet of the Rev. Sidney Smith:—"And let me beg of my dear Ultras not to imagine that they can survive for a single minute without Sir Robert—that they could form an Ultra-Tory Administration. Is there a Chartist in Great Britain who would not, upon the first intimation of such an attempt, order a new suit of clothes, and call upon the milkman and baker for an extended credit? Is there a political reasoner who would not come out of his hole with a new constitution?" After reading the words of so eminent a man, he was unwilling to add anything of his own, since it must appear to vast disadvantage; but he would ask whether there was a bear on the Stock Exchange who would not realise large profits under such a minister, or a stockholder who would not be a sufferer? If he (Mr. M. J. O'Connell) wished to see great changes accomplished, his earnest desire would be that the right honourable baronet should be thwarted, and that his present adversaries should be compelled to form a ministry of their own (laughter and cheers). In his speech a few nights ago, the honourable member for Northampton (Mr. S. O'Brien) had had recourse to a fallacy which ran through all he said: it was when he talked of protection as valuable to the working classes. He assumed that the existing laws afforded them real protection; but he (Mr. M. J. O'Connell) supported the present measure because he felt convinced that that, and that only, would afford them real and effectual protection. It would protect them against extravagantly high prices—against scarcity of food—against a reduction of wages—against want of employment—against, in short, all the evils incident to the present system. It was very well for agriculturists to talk of their anxiety for the welfare of the lower orders, but true philanthropists were those who by unshackling commerce gave industry employment (hear, hear). It was far better that the industry and energy of our own country should walk forth in its own strength, than that they should be supported by legislation in an enfeebled and rickety existence (cheers). He did not believe that the labouring classes would ever again call for such protection as they had enjoyed under the Corn Laws—not even the stentorian voice of the honourable member for Knaresborough (Mr. Ferrand) would be able to raise that cry among them. If they did, it could only be in the same spirit that the graphic wit of a former age described the ignorant crowd as exclaiming, "Give us back our eleven days!" If any man had eloquence to reverse in the nineteenth the folly of the eighteenth century, it must be some such overpowering orator as the individual to whom he had alluded (cheers and laughter). For these reasons he supported Free Trade and free imports, which he believed essentially the same: he believed the cause he advocated just and righteous, and that formed not the least of the reasons which would induce him to give the measure before the house, not a lukewarm and a grudging, but a zealous and a cordial support (cheers).

Colonel CONOLLY agreed with Mr. Shaw that the failure of the potato crop in Ireland had been greatly exaggerated. Admitting, however, the accuracy of those representations, still the measure before the house would be of little service, inasmuch as for a present calamity it offered nothing but at best a dilatory relief. He predicted that the greatest misery would follow the adoption of the proposal, and he should, therefore, give it his opposition.

Lord INGESTRE called upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to explain why he retained his seat for the University of Cambridge, after a change of opinion as complete as that which, in 1829, induced Sir Robert Peel to vacate the representation of the sister university. He condemned the measure before the house as likely to prejudice every interest of the country, and as inconsistent with the former policy of Government, and should therefore offer it his opposition.

Mr. TRELAWNY was surprised at the extraordinary contrast between the letter of the noble lord the member for Newark and his recent speech. Why, from reading that letter, he concluded the noble lord would of course support the Government, or that, if he did not, his only reason for opposing the Government would seem to be because he agreed with it (a laugh). He believed the noble lord to be a most benevolent person—he believed him possessed of considerable ability; and yet his conduct was difficult to reconcile with these qualities. He admitted the frightful state of famine and disease expected to prevail in Ireland. He admitted the necessity of taking measures to diminish these dreadful visitations. He went even so far as to agree that the right hon. baronet ought to have opened the ports, even in the autumn, when the danger was far less imminent; and yet now he was coolly going to vote that the consideration of these pressing matters should be put off till this day six months (hear). And why? Because he had some objections to the political morality of a particular individual, whose fault, if it were one, was to be the cause of the suffering of millions of men (hear, hear). Why, the true course for the noble lord to pursue, and the protectionists with whom he acts, though he does not agree with them, would be to move an amendment that the operation of the Corn Law be immediately suspended. The honourable member for Shrewsbury had certainly made a clever speech. He made an observation which the members of the Free Trade party must candidly admit to be just; viz., that while the League had been for years professing to educate the masses, it had really been educating itself (hear, hear). Yes, but it was educated at last. The honourable member had said that they had constantly been shifting their grounds. True; but so had the protectionists. Feeling that it would not do any longer to fight under so exclusive a banner as that of protection to agriculture, they had chosen a new one in protection to native industry. But how could native industry be protected in the case of articles already competing, spite of heavy duties, with foreign goods in foreign markets? A bounty on exports would be necessary if protectionists would be consistent. Were they prepared for that? And if all were protected, what good was protection? The fact is, the honourable member's argument fails, as he would do as a commercial minister. Having so thoroughly and so enviably succeeded in a different line, it was a pity to see him frittering away his reputation in aspiring to the office of a statesman (a laugh). The protectionist party had argued this question throughout as if it was simply a Corn Law question, and as

if it was certain agriculture would be injured. Now he demurred to that. Supposing the agriculturists lost something by the removal of duty on corn, would they gain nothing by reductions on other articles? The right hon. baronet's proposal was not a corn measure, but a new tariff. Of what use was the duty on maize to farmers? How did they benefit from the duty on brandy—on manufactured goods—on sugar? Again, different classes of farmers were protected, to each other's injury. Of what use was the wheat duty to the grass farmer? Of what use was protection on cheese, butter, and cattle to the wheat farmer? He (Mr. Trevelyan) said that honourable members on the protectionist side of the house were a little unfair towards the Government on the subject of their change of opinion. They wholly forgot the tremendous responsibility which any body of men must be under who assumed to feed twenty-four millions of men (hear, hear). It was easy for those who were out of office, who had none of its cares and anxieties, who were not responsible for the preservation of internal peace, to talk loudly about principle, and the obligation of a rigid adherence to it (hear, hear). Then, besides being a little unfair, they were rather more illogical, because, after all, what did the quotations from Hansard and taunts of inconsistency mean? What was their real force and virtue? Why, simply this, that when a man had taken up an opinion, he was bound to be fanatical in maintaining it, although he conscientiously believed it to be unsound. Hon. members seemed to be indignant that Government no longer assisted them in finding plausible defences of an untenable position; or was it that they could not forgive the implied reproach to themselves of the earlier conformity of others to rational opinions (hear, hear)? If Government were supposed to have been guilty of deliberate falsehood in respect to the time of their asserted change of opinion, why did not some protectionist manfully say what he really meant? Was it like the characteristic courage of the English gentleman to rest content with insinuations? If, when a man at the head of a party deliberately announced an opinion and subsequently changed it, he was bound, according to what hon. members seemed to imply, to affect adherence to it for party purposes, then the moral of all this was, that he who commenced by error should end in dissimulation—the very thing with which protectionists reproached Government. For his part, he thought there had been very adequate cause for the recent changes of opinion. In the abstract, the question had long been settled, and a very narrow induction was necessary, by way of experimental confirmation, when the abstract conclusion was in accordance with the practical (hear, hear). Besides, if government were not convinced by any other evidence of the soundness of Free Trade principles when applied in practice, could they have higher grounds of conviction than were to be found in the speeches of Protectionists during the last few months—speeches which the *Times* had been malicious enough to report in full (a laugh)? Could any sane man have remained Protectionist who had carefully waded through the heavy dig of the speeches of England's dukes? Why, had they not been by fortune raised far above want, their speeches could not but have raised the opinion that they were retained by the League! Indeed, so effectively had the dukes argued in favour of Free Trade in their sneeringly-ironical defence of protection, that when he saw them, inflated and floating about in the public gaze, over the agricultural districts, he concluded as a matter of course that they were the pilot-balloons which were testing the current of popular opinion in favour of Free Trade (a laugh). But seriously, some friend to aristocrats should warn those who stand highest among the peers of the ultimate effects of their recent conduct. There was more involved in this question than a mere duty on a commodity. The successful maintenance of a one-sided law by a one-sided Parliament would involve a great constitutional question, and new agitation would commence, even amongst the middle classes, for further measures of organic change. If the existing form of Government could be made permanently subservient to the purposes of a class, a practical demonstration would be afforded of an inherent vice in the constitution itself. And no great grievance in this country would long want its League or Repeal Association; and, in fact, such bodies seemed necessary as indications of symptoms not otherwise easily detected in time (hear, hear). It was a pity to see an ancient aristocracy putting its power, its usefulness, its very existence on an issue of rent. If it were to fall, one would have wished to give it credit for a Roman wish, to fall with decency. Could the country afford to place all its intellect on the shelf?—at the present time especially. Were they so sure of peace abroad? Were their Oregon negotiations in so satisfactory a state? Was there no war in India? Could the country afford to trust itself to “all the talents” of all the dukes (hear, hear)? If Government had all along deceived their party, how very innocent must the party have been to be so easily and so long taken in?—or was it that they were compelled to put up with the arch deceiver, because they had no men fit to form a cabinet? Was it that they could not pardon the head of the Government that he had so long been a standing reproach to their incapacity? They might depend upon it, even now, that something more was required to make a statesman besides successful vituperation (hear, hear). He could have wished the change in the Corn Laws had been immediate and final. He thought it a pity that for three long years the duty should remain a monument reminding the people of the melancholy infatuation of an agricultural Parliament. His constituents held the same opinion, as they indicated in a petition presented a few days since. Much had been said of unconstitutional practices. Was it constitutional for a body of men to come into this house as the avowed delegates of one interest? Agricultural gentlemen always talked (ay, and acted—witness their resignations) as if representation were particular, not general—as if they were returned to carry out a great agricultural job, instead of benefiting the nation as a whole. They fell into this error particularly when they accused Government of betraying the landed interest. For his part, he could only say that if the Government ever pledged itself to support, exclusively, the landed interest, such a pledge was void for its immorality (hear, hear). But it was said the League was unconstitutional. He flatly denied it, though he was not a member. In what respect did it differ from other associations for bringing about elections, and which Conservatives in most countries belonged to, except in superior wealth, strength, numbers—and even, perhaps, intellect? and to what cause were its power and wealth due but to the existence of a grievance of such magnitude as to produce such results? The League did not buy votes. It merely indicated in what way the unrepresented intelligence of the country (unrepresented, because county members seemed awfully delegates of a class) might constitutionally influence opinion at future elections. Was it immoral to buy small estates in order to obtain a stake in the country? Immoral to indicate how

the desire might be gratified? Besides, did it not raise the price of land and benefit landlords? A learned judge was reported to have pronounced the desire legitimate and commendable (hear). He (Mr. Trevelyan) believed he was correct in stating that some of the leaders of the Protectionists had talked of fighting the League with its own weapons. A noble individual was reported to have talked of opposing the Government factiously if necessary. Let peers take counsel, before they set such examples. It were wise in those, whose hereditary duty it was jealously to watch over the constitution, to beware how they impotently bragged of their power to prostitute its functions to purposes which could not but seem suspicious to the uninstructed (hear, hear). He knew it was denied that rents were the objects of the Corn Law. But if it were said that food for the people was its real end, then how could men be induced to believe that the best method of keeping corn in was to pass a law to keep it out? This kind of argument would no longer do in towns, however it might go down with farmers' clubs and labourers' friend societies. In conclusion, he should only add that he should support the Government, only protesting against the incompleteness and want of finality of the measure they proposed (cheers).

Mr. PACKE was sorry to differ from an administration to which, during the time he had been in Parliament, he had given his warmest support; but he felt bound to vote against a measure which he believed would in its consequences be ruinous to the country. He did not mean to impute to the right hon. bart. any impure motives in bringing it forward. He gave the right hon. baronet credit for the sincerest conviction of its necessity. It was said that the policy of Government was based on public opinion; but he believed there had never yet been a Parliament in England that was not in favour of protection. He recollected that upon one occasion, during the tenure of the power by the late administration, the honourable member for Montrose made a proposal more revolutionary in its tendencies than that of the noble lord the member for London, and his adherents. The honourable member then requested the Conservative members to walk out of the house, and allow him and his friends to settle the question with the noble lord. If honourable members opposite would now act on that suggestion, and walking out of the house, leave them (the Protectionists) to settle the question with the right honourable baronet, he believed the conclusion to which they would arrive would be much more satisfactory to the public (hear, hear, hear, and a laugh). The honourable member concluded by expressing his general disapprobation of the Government measure.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I fear, sir, I must begin the few observations I have to address to the house with that opening sentence which has marked other speeches already—that at this period of the debate, and after the discussion this subject has undergone, I cannot expect to offer anything to this house worthy of claiming much attention; and I can only assure the house, that under these circumstances I shall confine my observations within the narrowest limits which are possibly consistent with the discharge of the duty I have undertaken. As to the question itself, it might almost be unnecessary to enter into any argument upon it, after the ability with which the case has been met by my right honourable friend at the head of the Government, and by the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, in the course of this debate, who have left no part of the subject untouched, and no argument unrefuted (oh, oh, and cheers), and who established, beyond the power of contradiction (oh, oh), that the progress which had been made in the removal of restriction and the gradual relaxation in protective duties had in every instance been attended with benefit, and had in every instance produced permanent results on the comforts and happiness of the country. Before, however, I enter upon the question, I think it my duty to respond to a call which has been made upon me in the course of this debate by many honourable gentlemen (hear, hear), and distinctly to state the ground upon which I have acted in those transactions which have led to the situation in which we at present are placed (hear, hear). Some hon. gentlemen have supposed I differed from my colleagues on the question before the house—that I am prepared to support measures in the justice and propriety of which I do not concur; and it has been stated that upon the authority of conduct of mine, which has been alleged to have come to the information of some honourable members by means beyond the ordinary channels of information, they have grounded this opinion. I believe, however, that this opinion on their parts will, after the statement I am about to make, be pronounced as utterly delusive as the arguments they have adduced against the measure itself (oh, oh, and cheers). The course I have taken on this question I will simply and plainly state. In October a general apprehension prevailed as to the disease in the potato crop, which then generally extended through many parts of the country, and, therefore, on the 1st of November the Government assembled for the purpose of considering what measures it was proper to adopt under the circumstances in which the country was then placed. The house has already been informed by my right honourable friend that on that occasion he proposed to his colleagues two separate measures—either to open the ports by order in council, or to assemble Parliament immediately for the purpose of effecting that object by legislative enactment. Now, certainly, on both of these questions I differed from my right honourable friend. In the first place, I think in all cases that direct interposition of the Government, by an act of its own, with the execution of the law, is a hazardous and dangerous experiment, and one only to be justified by immediate, and urgent, and evident necessity. I could not then conceive that the state of Ireland required that immediate urgency of action, but might well remain to be dealt with by legislative enactment at a future period. I did express the opinion, therefore, that it was expedient by order in council to open the ports for the admission of foreign corn. In considering this question there was one point impossible to be put out of consideration—that we were not called only to decide on the suspension of the Corn Law, or on the occasion which rendered that step necessary, but it was also obvious that in dealing with that proposition

we look to the ultimate consequences of the course we were about to pursue; and I could not conceal from myself that the step we were taking must be viewed in connection with the abolition or abrogation of the Corn Law, which must be the necessary consequence of the suspension of the law (cheers). I know it has been stated by some honourable gentlemen that the suspension of the law did not entail any consequence whatever; but it was impossible for me to view the subject in that light. I know that in an antecedent period of history the ports have been opened, but the effects of this measure were always represented as injurious to trade and disadvantageous in itself, although such a course might be justified by the necessity of the case; and I always understood the benefit of the sliding scale, as argued in 1838, was this, that by self-operation it was adapted alike to periods of plenty and periods of scarcity, without the necessity for this Continental interference of the Government, which, on former occasions, had been found so inconvenient. And also I could not put out of my consideration, that on all the occasions we had to argue the benefits of the sliding scale in opposition to those of a fixed duty, the great point brought against the application of the fixed duty was, that when periods of difficulty and trial arose, it would be necessary to depart from the usual operation of the law, and to suspend it for the purpose of admitting foreign corn (hear, hear). The consideration therefore, that the consequence of a suspension of the law must necessarily be the abrogation of the law, was to my mind an additional argument, and a strong one, why that object should not be affected by an Order in Council. I did not consider that it would be fair, on a question of great public interest, involving great public consequences, and exciting strong feelings among a great body of the community, to pre-judge, by an act of the Government, the decision of Parliament as to what might be the ultimate measure necessary to be adopted (hear, hear). For these reasons, therefore, I gave my opinion against the admission of foreign corn into this country through the medium of an Order in Council (hear, hear, hear). But my right hon. friend at the head of the Government proposed an alternative (hear, hear). He suggested the immediate assembling of Parliament for the purpose of effecting the object of opening the ports by means of a legislative enactment. To that proposition I also offered an objection, but that objection rested on different grounds altogether. The proposition was submitted on the 1st of November. At that period no doubt the members of the Cabinet had, from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and other persons in high station, accounts of widely spread and serious apprehensions as to an extensive failure in the potato crop of Ireland (hear, hear). On the other hand, however, we had opinions resting on what was considered highly respectable authority, that the failure of the crop had not reached to that extent which was calculated to give any colour of truth to the alarm which appeared to be entertained in certain quarters (hear, hear). At that period, moreover, the potato crop in Ireland had not been generally dug, and there were as yet no means for ascertaining by actual experiment whether the apprehensions by which the public mind was disquieted were likely to lead to the extensive results which some persons were inclined to believe would be realised. I felt, therefore, that with this defective information as to the extent of the calamity which appeared to be coming upon Ireland, it was highly probable that there might be prevalent a doubt on the minds of a very large class, both inside and outside of this house with respect to the actual measure and extent of the disaster as might render it exceedingly unlikely that that general concurrence in the proposed measure of acting on the Corn Laws by the means of a legislative enactment would be obtained which was so essentially necessary to the securing successful results. I believed that it was highly desirable that time should be afforded for further investigation with a view to ascertain whether there were sufficient grounds for the apprehensions by which the country was beginning to be so seriously alarmed. I was anxious that it should be distinctly ascertained whether it was likely that these apprehensions would be realised, for I felt that in the event of our being able to show that the extent of the misfortune which impended over Ireland was anything like what we have now ascertained it to be, by authority which I regret to say admits not of a shadow of doubt—I say I felt that, in the event of our being able to lay the true state of affairs before the public, there could be little doubt of our being able to secure a more general concurrence in support of some measure for the immediate suspension and subsequent alteration of the Corn Laws than we could hope to command if we proceeded at once to the discussion of the subject while we were provided with information which, though unquestionably of an alarming character, was, notwithstanding, in many respects defective and incomplete. For these reasons I gave my voice against the assembling of Parliament. I may have been wrong, I may have committed an error of judgment, but I have no hesitation in asserting that I acted throughout in conformity with the dictates of my conscience. It appeared to me that the danger with which we had to deal was one the results of which could not be experienced at all events until an early period of the spring, and I confess I felt great anxiety that as large a number of honourable gentlemen as possible should be induced to concur in acknowledging the necessity of the case; for I felt that it was in the last degree desirable that the measures which we might deem to be necessary for the preservation of the country should be sanctioned by a very large proportion, indeed, of the members of this house, and supported unequivocally by public opinion out of doors. I, therefore, preferred delay in the commencement of our operations, that, when they were commenced, they might be carried with a weight and an authority which would put an end at once to cavil and

opposition. I may be told that, in opposing the Order in Council, I displayed a want of that boldness which a minister ought to exhibit in dealing with great public emergencies (hear, hear). I may be told that I was wanting in that sagacity which ought to have enabled me to comprehend the actual extent of the calamity so long before it had approached (loud cries of hear, hear, from the Protectionist members). I may be told, also, that I was yet more deficient in a proper knowledge of the friends who sit at the same side of the house with me, for that I should have known that they would at once and unobtrusively have consented to the suspension of the Corn Laws if the question had been only put to them. I may, I say, have been in error in all these respects, but the error was only one of judgment. To my own conscience I stand acquitted of any higher offence; and I hesitate not to assert, that after the lapse of the period which has since intervened, and after calmly reflecting on the course I have taken, and the advice I have given, I cannot, on review of the entire transaction, bring myself to believe, that if the case were again to be presented to me in the shape in which it then stood, I would be justified in pursuing a different course of proceeding from that which I then adopted. After these differences in the Government, it was agreed to postpone the further consideration of the subject for a limited period, in order that more extensive information might be obtained. That further period did most unquestionably bring with it the strongest possible arguments to induce me to a change of opinion (hear). Many days did not elapse before we were in possession of the report of the commissioners who had been sent to Ireland, detailing with accuracy their views of what was the extent of the potato disease, and what the amount of the crop on which it was fairly possible to calculate with reference to next year. The statement contained in the report of these commissioners was confirmed by actual experience when the crop came to be dug out, and it was then put beyond all question that to such an extent had the potato plague spread, that in some districts of the country one-half of the crop was lost, in others one-third, in others three-fourths (hear, hear). Nor was this the entire extent of the calamity; for there was a general feeling, and one which I believe was completely warranted by the fact, that in some portions of Ireland the preservation of any part of the crop, however minute, depended altogether upon the wetness or fairness of the weather. When these facts were known, the case was relieved from its difficulties (hear, hear), and although I was well aware, and felt most deeply that the adoption by us of the course which my right hon. friend has now proposed to you would be attended by the dissolution of party connections, and that it would cause our separation from many of those with whom for many years it has been my pride to act, and whom, I trust, I may be still permitted to call my hon. friends—I say, although I felt that this must be the inevitable consequence of the measure, I also felt that there were imposed upon me, by my position as minister, other and higher duties which went beyond the feelings of party attachment; and being convinced that the alteration of the Corn Laws had now become a question of absolute necessity, I was prepared to give my opinion that under all the circumstances of the case those laws ought to undergo a change (hear, hear). At the same time, however, I felt that the change ought to be effected by others than myself and my friends in office; and extending this opinion, I most cordially concurred in the resignation of our charge into the hands of persons who, from their longer maintenance of the opinions which we then entertained, were better fitted to discharge the duty, and had perhaps a better chance of carrying the contemplated measure into operation (hear, hear). And here permit me to assure the house, with the most unaffected sincerity, that when I tendered her Majesty my resignation of office, I had not the remotest conception that I should have ever to deal with this question in any other capacity than as a private member of Parliament (hear). If any hon. gentleman should be inclined to question this assertion, I am prepared to sustain it by testimony which cannot be resisted. I am prepared to prove, by evidence of the most incontestable character, that when I resigned my office, the resumption of it at a subsequent period never entered into my contemplation (loud cries of hear, hear). But to resume—When it was discovered that the noble lord, the member for London, found it impossible to construct a cabinet with satisfaction to himself, the question again rose whether I should again decline to accept office in a Government of which my right honourable friend was to be the head. Sir, I know of no principle on which it would be possible to justify a refusal (hear). I had in the first instance doubted as to the exact time at which the great move should be taken, and as to the particular measure which ought to be proposed, but I had subsequently seen and learned quite sufficient to convince me of the necessity of an alteration in the Corn Laws, and I was perfectly prepared, as a private member, to give the sanction of my vote and opinion to that course of policy which, under all the circumstances of the case, I considered to be most conducive to the interests of the country (hear, hear). Therefore, being fully prepared to maintain in my private capacity the opinions which I now advocate as a minister, I felt that there was nothing against honour, dignity, or duty in my resumption of the situation which I at present occupy (hear). That is, in a few words, a brief history of the transaction as far as I am concerned (hear, hear, hear). I trust this explanation will satisfy my friend the honourable member for Newark; and that he will understand that, although I may have had doubts at first, as to the particular period at which, and the particular mode in which her Majesty's ministers ought to have introduced the measures which they considered necessary, I have come at length to the deliberate conclusion that I am best consulting the interests of the country by adopting the course which I am now

pursuing. A noble lord, a friend of mine, who has spoken in the course of this debate, charges me with acting in a manner inconsistent with my duty in not tendering a resignation of my seat in Parliament to my constituents, and he calls on me to make some explanation of the fact that I still remain here as representative of the University of Cambridge (loud cries of hear, hear, hear). Now, sir, I think it right to state that the views I take of the duties of a representative differ very materially from those which have been expressed by the noble lord. I do not pretend to say that if honourable gentlemen, at the period of their election, think fit to pledge themselves under all conceivable circumstances to maintain particular laws, and to take stated particular views of certain specified questions, they may not take upon themselves an obligation which they are bound in all honour to redeem, and which renders it imperative on them to resign their seats if they see grounds for changing their opinions; but I do not consider that I am one of those who are in this position (hear, hear). In offering myself as a representative to my constituency, I may have stated to them in general terms my views on particular questions, if they happened to come under discussion; but I have reserved to myself, in the most unequivocal manner, the fullest right to adopt, in reference to every question that may be deliberated upon in this house, that course—whatever it may be—that course which in my conscience I believe to be most conducive to the general interests of the community; and however strongly an opposite course may be sanctioned by some great examples, however conformable it may be to the views of certain honourable gentlemen who pledged themselves at the hustings—I cannot admit that it is the duty of a representative who happens to act in opposition to the feelings of his constituents on a particular question, to make that difference the ground for tendering his resignation, or even for acquiescing in a demand that he should do so (hear, hear, hear). I gave no pledges whatever with respect to the Corn Laws on any of the occasions to which I addressed myself to my constituents (hear, hear). I never expressed any indications of that permanent and unqualified adherence to existing laws which some honourable members around me appear to have expressed when they were elected; and upon these grounds I think that I would be abdicating the character of a representative altogether—that I would be depriving myself of the capacity of voting for the community in questions affecting their interests, if I were, by my professions or my example, to give countenance to the idea that it is the duty of a representative, in differing from his constituents on any point, to forsake the trust that has been reposed in him. Thus much, sir, I have said in matters personal to myself. I have to apologise to the house for having trespassed at such length on their time and attention. It was painful to me to have occupied so much of their attention by matters having reference to myself; but I felt that I was called on to say something in explanation, and having done so, I now proceed to address myself to the consideration of the question more immediately before us. The question we have before us is one which, in my opinion, can be comprised within a very narrow compass. It is simply whether you will continue to progress in the course which for some years past you have pursued in the relaxation of protective duties, or whether you will be content, not merely to remain stationary where you are, but to retrograde on the path which, after full and mature consideration, you have adopted. I am well aware, that in the course of this debate many honourable members who have supported the Government up to this period in their relaxing policy, maintain that we have now arrived at that particular point in the withdrawal of protection from native industry at which it is essential that we should come to a stop (hear, hear, from Protectionist members). They contend that we ought not to advance beyond it, because we cannot do so without injuring interests which we ought to study to protect, and because they think that in remaining where we are, we are doing what they believe is just to all parties (hear, hear). But when I consider the arguments of some of my friends at this side of the house—when I hear one honourable member declare that as regards the Corn Laws he thinks they ought to be suspended at once, and when I find that that sentiment is cheered in such a manner as would seem to show that it met with very considerable approval—and when I hear other gentlemen, at my own side, admitting that the Corn Laws may be modified after a certain fashion—when I see that some honourable members come a step further, and some not quite so far on this question; when, I say, I see and hear all this, it appears to me that the great principle for which we are contending is conceded upon all hands; and I certainly think that those gentlemen will find it difficult to account for the reasons why, with such professions and admissions on their lips, they resist, as they are resisting, the motion now before the house (hear). I could have understood them if they proposed some modification of the Corn Laws, or if they were prepared with some amendment after getting into committee (hear, hear). That would have been a natural and rational course. That would have been the proper time and mode to consider the measure. But they have adopted the course which precludes all consideration whatsoever of that kind. Whatever they may be in words, in actions they are against us. They refuse as much to suspend as to abrogate the Corn Laws (hear, hear, and cheers). They have taken no steps from which any results can come, but to remain just as we are, without a remedy for the existing evil, which they admit to be great—without a remedy for a possible future evil which may be yet more dreadful, and without the means of making that progress in the course we have undertaken which is essential for the welfare of this country. Sir, in support of the views which the

Government take in support of this question, we have appealed, and I think in the opinion of the country successfully appealed, to the results of experience, as attesting the progress which we have made in opulence and power since the protective system has been relaxed (hear, hear). That progress has been attempted to be denied by certain honourable members who are adverse to Free Trade. They have referred to figures and calculations in support of their position, that no beneficial consequences have resulted from the relaxation of the protective system; but I think I am warranted in saying, that these figures and calculations have proved an utter failure (cries of no, no, from the Ministerial benches). Well, I think they have. I think they have been most triumphantly overthrown by my friend the right hon. baronet the Vice-President of the Board of Trade (continued cries of no, no, from the Ministerial benches). The statement made by the right hon. baronet at the head of the Government was this, that it could not be shown that in the case of any one of all the articles affected by the recent reductions of the protective system, anything had resulted from the relaxation but increased activity to the trade and improvement to the industry of the country. This was the proposition that was advanced, and in refutation of it one honourable gentleman, the member for Birmingham, pointed to the article of spelter or zinc; but his friend the right hon. baronet, the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, met the assertions of the member for Birmingham, and settled spelter as easily as everything else (hear, and a laugh), for he showed that though the home manufacture of the article might have been injured, the relaxation of the protective duty led to the introduction of a foreign article, the manufacture of which opened a new source of industry, and afforded increased employ to a vast number of the poorer classes. A friend of mine yesterday evening thought it necessary to complain of the hardship which those Free Trade measures would inflict upon the shipping interests. He told us that whatever might be its effect upon other interests, the welfare of the shipping interest was inseparably identified with the preservation of the protective system; and he did not seem willing to admit that the shipowners had derived any benefit whatever from the relaxations that had already taken place, or that they were likely to realise any from the reductions now in contemplation. I must say, sir, as my right honourable friend at the head of the Government has already said, that this opposition to freedom of commercial intercourse on the part of the shipping interests is one which greatly excites my surprise (hear, hear). I should have thought that a system of commercial intercourse, which leads to a great increase of exports and imports, would have suggested itself to the mind of every thinking man as one calculated to increase the means by which these imports and exports were carried on, and that it would be as clear as sunlight, that in proportion as commercial intercourse extends, in the same proportion would the shipping interest be benefited—and that this benefit would also be realised, that in addition to abundant commerce in times of peace, we would have ample means of defensive or offensive hostility in the event of war. This I ever regarded as the natural result of free commercial intercourse, as far as the shipping interests were concerned; and I confess that no one could be more surprised than I at finding that opposition on the part of those interests was offered to the propositions of the Government. But I deny that the shipping interests have been injuriously affected by the relaxation of protective duties. I can prove the contrary to be the fact. In the year 1842, the tonnage of British vessels engaged in the foreign trade amounted to 2,600,000 tons. In the year 1845 it was 3,699,000 tons, showing an increase consequent on the relaxation of protection duties of one million of tons in that brief period (hear, hear). The hon. member for Durham insists that injurious effects are likely to result to the timber trade from the proposed measures; and he maintained that injury had resulted from the relaxations which had already taken place. But let us come to figures. Let us consider what has been the quantity of shipping engaged in the Baltic trade within the last few years. In the year 1842 the number of ships engaged in that trade was 3519; their tonnage was 613,809; in the year 1844 the number was 4424, and their tonnage 818,440 tons; showing an increase of 1000 ships, and 200,000 tons (hear, hear). My honourable friend has said that the increase of British shipping in the Baltic bears no proportion to the foreign ships that are engaged in the same trade, and therefore that the removal of the duty would throw into the hands of foreigners a greater extent of trade than we derived ourselves from the same source. I admit that that is the necessary consequence of the navigation law itself, which admits the foreigner to introduce, if he pleases, the produce of his country in the shipping of his own nation (hear). There is another reason for the increase of foreign carriage in the Baltic, which the measure before the house is calculated to remove; and if my honourable friend deems it expedient to give encouragement to British shipping in the Baltic, there is no means by which he can do it more effectually than by passing the measure now before the house (hear, hear). Sir, if the honourable gentleman had looked to the proportion of shipping employed in the conveyance of corn under the system of the Corn Laws, when the demand being sudden, it must come immediately from the country where the produce is, in the ships that are to be had on the spot, and cannot wait to be introduced in ships which come from this country, bringing out a cargo to bring back a cargo in return, if he looked to the disproportion in that particular branch of trade between the British and foreign shipping employed, he would see that he could not do anything to give a better chance of employment to British shipowners, than by passing the measure now before the house (cheers from the Opposition). It appears by the returns of corn-laden ships that pass through the sound, that there are 1138 foreign

ships, and only 501 British—a disproportion exceeding that which prevailed in the ordinary course of trade, and only to be accounted for by the circumstance I have stated (hear, hear). Then, if my honourable friend wishes to restore the employment of British shipping, let him join with us in doing that which, by giving more freedom in commercial intercourse with those particular ports, and in an article which will not be suddenly sent for, but in a regular article of trade—let him join us in passing that measure, and his object will be accomplished (cheers from the Opposition). But then, said my honourable friend, this diminution of duty on Baltic timber will necessarily affect the shipping interests as regards your Canadian provinces, and tend to injure those provinces which you ought to protect. I will tell my hon. friend that in making that statement he falls into an error, which is not uncommon with those who argue strongly in favour of protection, in respect to commercial measures (hear). They think that an advantage on one side is sure to produce a disadvantage on the other, whereas the converse of the proposition is the fact; for by increasing the import of an article into a country, instead of inflicting an injury upon the home produce, you confer a benefit on it. I have already referred to the state of our trade in the Baltic, in 1842 and 1844, and now let us see what is the state of the shipping trade, in those years, in the British North American colonies. In 1842, 1550 ships were cleared out; in 1844, 2844 ships were cleared out, with a tonnage, in the former case of 540,000, and in the latter of 789,000 (hear, hear). Can there be any more conclusive evidence than this afforded, that the reduction of the duty on foreign commodities did not injuriously affect colonial trade, or the interests of the British shipowners connected with it (loud cheers from the Opposition). This does not rest on my statement alone. There was a committee sitting last year, in which this very question incidentally arose, and Mr. Chapman, a gentleman of extensive interest in the shipping trade, states the benefit the shipping interest derived from the operation of the tariff, of which, however, the success is doubted by some persons. Mr. Chapman was asked: "Is it not the fact that it is only since freights were not remunerative that the attention of shipowners has been directed to obtaining relief from any quarter they could?" He replied, "That of course naturally follows from the state of such dreadful depression as they have undergone, that they feel they have had nothing done for them; it is not only the light dues, but other burdens. The fact is, that until Sir R. Peel, by the new tariff, allowed us to get foreign provisions out of bond, the competition we had to maintain against foreigners was most unfair; that made a difference of 30 per cent. upon those provisions at once. Previously it was like a penalty hanging over us, and a premium to the foreigner. Has that relaxation of the law, by which vessels going abroad can get provision out of bond, been very useful to the shipping? Of the greatest possible consequence; it makes just the difference, I believe, between a loss or no loss upon sailing the ship, as they are obliged to do, because they are compelled to have apprentices, and the apprentices must be maintained: and the real fact is, that they often send ships to sea only to save themselves being out of pocket." My honourable friend's statement as to the injury effected by the late change, or likely to be effected by future changes, rests only on the opinions of individuals who embarked in the trade when ships were more costly than they are at present, and who now find it difficult to get that interest for their capital that they originally had every right to expect. I admit there are shipowners on whom the repeal of the duty on Baltic timber will have an injurious effect. The ships built before the reduction of duty were built at an enormously enhanced expense, in consequence of the charge which that duty imposed on them. It is quite clear that the men who have built ships of this expensive article find it difficult to compete with those who build their ships of the cheaper article; but if I may compare great things to small, they stand precisely in the same position as the innkeepers on the north road, who have suffered from the formation of railways (laughter). Another hon. member said, see the injury you are about to commit on Canada, to whom you gave the advantage of being on the same footing as the mother country. He says, has not Canada a right to complain that you are going to admit foreign corn? Now, sir, I stand up as highly as any man for the importance of preserving the colonial connection, and of doing everything for the colonies which is just and equitable and right, and likely to conduce to their benefit (hear, hear). But I say, sir, if in dealing with a colony you place its produce upon the same footing as you do the produce of your own country, they have no right to complain (cheers from the Opposition). If the Canadians complain that the advantages possessed by them are diminished, they stand in the same position as the mother country (hear, hear). They must share the inconvenience—if inconvenience there be—and I don't admit that inconvenience will exist—but they will have no right to complain of the course that has been taken (hear, hear). Now, sir, it has been a favourite argument with honourable gentlemen in discussing this question—and it is always a favourite mode of dealing with this subject when arguments cannot be readily adduced—to draw a picture of the extraordinary consequences that are likely to result from it. We are told, therefore, that if the proposed measure of Free Trade be adopted, you must have Free Trade in everything. You must have no duty upon tea—you must have no duty upon tobacco—you must have no duty upon various other commodities. Now, sir, I beg to state, that in adopting these principles of Free Trade, which are promulgated by the Government, I do not adopt the extreme opinion either on one side or the other; I admit that all duties, whether they are raised for the purpose of taxation or otherwise, are impediments

upon trade. But when I advocate Free Trade, I put in my claim distinctly to retain the duties which are essential for revenue purposes—to retain those which are essential for the purpose of preserving public morals—to retain those which may be necessary occasionally for public safety; and in doing that I do not conceive that I am in the least degree departing from the legitimate application of the principle of Free Trade for a society constituted as ours is. I view freedom of trade as I do civil liberty, where the liberty of the individual must be subject to certain restraint. It is an exception to the general rule, one which it would be desirable to avoid, but one which it may be necessary to maintain on the very grounds I have stated, namely, for the purposes of revenue, national safety, or what is most important of all, for the purposes of national morality (hear). The argument of the present question has turned upon the probable effect that the repeal of the Corn Law is likely to have upon the agriculture of this country. It is said that by the introduction of foreign competition with the agriculture of this country, we are likely to be overwhelmed with foreign produce. We heard the question ably argued in the course of this debate, and I shall not repeat the arguments that have been used, but merely content myself with calling the attention of the house to two cases in which we have made the trial of what is the effect of restriction upon agriculture, and what is the effect of introducing competition with respect to agriculture; and from the result of those two experiments, with which the history of the country furnishes us, I can show in the strongest manner the advantage that competition creates in the country which adopts it. It is known that a considerable number of years since, in the reign of Charles II., the agricultural interest of this country entertained opinions very similar to those which have been professed by individuals connected with that interest at the present moment. They thought they were deeply affected by the importation of articles which entered into competition with those which they produced. At that time the object of alarm was Ireland (hear, hear), where labour was cheap, the soil fertile, the climate favourable, and it was apprehended that by admitting the produce of Ireland it would necessarily overwhelm the agricultural interests of this country (hear, hear). They conceived that it would affect the interests of the owners and proprietors of land; and, therefore, the Parliament of that day passed a law restricting the introduction of cattle from Ireland. Now, at that period, it was rather curious to observe the argument that was used. The historian tells us, that in the House of Commons "There was a great murmur rather than a complaint of the great damage the kingdom sustained from the importation of Irish cattle, which were bred there for nothing, and transported for little, and might well undersell all the cattle here, and from hence the breed of cattle would be totally given over, and thereby the land yield no rent proportionably to what it ever had done, and that this could only be remedied by a very strict Act of Parliament to forbid the importation. Very many members of several counties desired that these counties might not undergo any damage for the benefit of other individual places. They professed that these counties had no land bad enough to breed, and that their great traffic consisted in buying the cattle, making them fat, and upon this they paid their rent, and this appeared to be the case of many counties of England" (hear, hear). But the voices of those honourable gentlemen had little effect in the House of Commons, and the bill passed almost with universal assent, and was sent to the House of Lords (hear, hear). In the House of Lords all expedition was used in passing it, and, by a singular coincidence, the Duke of Buckingham headed those who favoured the bill (loud laughter). "In the Lords, a marvellous keen resolution appeared to use all expedition in passing it. The Duke of Buckingham appeared at the head of those who favoured the bill with a marvellous concernment, and at the same time appointed for the debate of it, contrary to his custom of coming into the house, indeed, of not rising till 11 o'clock, and seldom staying above a quarter of an hour except upon some business he concerned himself in, he was always present from the first thing in the morning, and stayed till the last at night, for the debate often held till four o'clock in the afternoon, and sometimes till candles were brought in. It was urged that, if the bill did not pass, all the rents in Ireland would rise in a vast proportion, and those in England fall as much." It was then said that if the bill did pass, the rents in Ireland would be raised, and the rents in England would fall; but seven years afterwards a distinguished man in this country, an ancestor of the noble lord opposite (Lord Palmerston) Sir W. Temple, in a letter to the Lord-Lieut. of Ireland, the Earl of Essex, dated Dublin, 1673, says: "When the pasture is open, land will be turned most to feed cattle, when shut, to sheep, as it is at present, though I am of opinion it cannot last, because this act seems to have been carried on rather by the interest of particular counties in England, than by that of the whole, which, in my opinion, must evidently be a loser by it. For first, the freight of all cattle that are brought over being in English vessels, was so much clear gain to England. The trade of hides and tallow, or else of leather, was mightily advanced in England. Where the Irish sell, there will they be sure to buy too, and all the foreign merchandise which they had before from Bristol, Chester, and London, they will have in time from Rouen, Amsterdam, Lisbon, and the Straits. As for the cause of the decay of rents in England, which was made the occasion of that act, that proceeded not from the importation of Irish cattle. Besides, the rents have been far from increasing since." Therefore it appeared that the bill which was passed to exclude the importation of cattle from Ireland, and to raise the rents of England, was proved, after seven years' experience, by one most capable of judging—by a man of

admirable judgment, who was conversant with the interests of England and Ireland, to be an utter failure (cheers). It is perfectly well known that up to the period of the union, Ireland, in the importation of corn to this country, was treated as a foreign country. After that period, and when a free intercourse was established between this country and Ireland, the corn of Ireland was admitted to the markets of this country to compete with the corn grown by the agriculturists here. We must bear in mind that at that particular period, the population of England was something short of 11 millions of souls, and the quantity of corn raised in England was proportionate to the population which at that time existed. When Ireland was permitted to import to England, she rapidly sent in here large quantities of corn for the consumption of the people. To the amount of a million of quarters per annum for a few years was sent here towards the maintenance of a population of 11 millions, and it rose gradually, until ultimately it amounted to between three and four millions of quarters of corn sent into England. Now, if there be anything in the argument that agriculture is ruined by the importation of corn from a country where labour is cheap, and the land fertile, if those arguments have any weight when applied to foreign countries, why not have weight when applied to the admission into England at that period of corn from Ireland, which enjoyed all those particular advantages (hear, hear)? If England, with a population of 11 millions, could sustain the admission to this extent of agricultural produce from Ireland, not only without injury, but, as I will show you, to the great increase of her own produce and the improvement of agriculture, what fear have we now, when the whole population of the United Kingdom amounts to 27 millions, that any impartial importation from abroad can exceed—in proportion to the population—the quantity which was previously admitted from Ireland, or can produce effects on the agriculture of this country more prejudicial, or otherwise than beneficial—than that which the Irish importation produced (tremendous cheers from the Opposition)? Why it is from the very period of the union we may date the improvement of agriculture in this country (hear, hear). It was then that a stimulus was given to British exertion (hear, hear). We find that in the year subsequent to the admission of Irish corn, a greater number of enclosure bills were introduced into the house than at any period preceding or subsequent (hear, hear). They would find that the gentlemen of England paid more attention to the progress of agriculture, and that science was applied to effect agricultural improvements. They would find that the agriculturists of England were not injured by the corn imported from Ireland, but that agricultural prosperity was on the increase from year to year (hear, hear). Therefore, if in the limited field in which this large proportion of corn was introduced they experienced no sensible effect to the injury of agriculture; if, on the contrary, they found that the importation of Irish corn excited emulation and industry, and led to permanent improvements, how could it be argued that a similar introduction of corn from the Continent would produce those disastrous effects which honourable gentlemen said it would produce to the agricultural interests of this country (hear)? But there was another remarkable circumstance as to the corn produced in the two countries, Great Britain and Ireland (hear, hear). In which of the two countries was agriculture in the most advanced state, in England or in Ireland? No man, he believed, however attached to the sister country, but must admit that the deficiency in skill was extremely obvious to the latter country. The corn of Ireland had, notwithstanding, been brought into England in successful competition with the native produce of that article. In Ireland corn could be produced at a cheaper rate than in any country on the Continent, and the produce was so abundant that she required none from abroad. From want of competition, however, agriculture in that country remained in much the same state as when the English market was open in Irish corn. The fact of no foreign corn being imported into Ireland had been productive of much injury to agriculture in Ireland, while the circumstance of its being introduced here had proved beneficial to English agriculture (hear, hear). They were told that this measure would prove peculiarly injurious to the interests of Ireland; now, he did not believe there was any ground for such an assumption, but on the contrary, that it would produce the same result and the same effect as in this country; and so far from diminishing the value of property or the amount of employment to the poor, that it would increase both by the stimulus that would be given by intercourse and competition with foreign countries. He had no doubt that it would produce the same effect there as here, and would lead to the formation of manufacturing establishments there to meet the wants and afford employment to the people. It had been truly said that the best market for a country was the home market. If this was the case, then it was most desirable that the consumers should be in a state of comparative affluence, and certainly it was most desirable for the agriculturists that this should be the case, for their trade was necessarily confined to the home market. So far then from looking with jealousy on anything which would extend or promote our manufactures, they should regard it with satisfaction, as affording new means for giving employment to large numbers of the people, and making them prosperous consumers of agricultural produce. The agriculturists of all men should be the most anxious to extend and promote the well-being of those who were the consumers of that produce which they had to sell (hear, hear). He would confine himself to one other topic, which, however, was one which had formed the subject matter for a large portion of the present debate. He alluded to the charge of inconsistency in public men (cheers from the Protectionists). This formed a main staple with many honourable gentlemen, and when-

ever the word was used it did not fail to elicit cheers (hear, hear). He was as strong an advocate as any man for consistency of public conduct (laughter and cheers); but when they told him that consistency consisted in adhering to a law which seemed at variance with an altered state of society from time to time, and that that law particularly referred to the means of supply of food for the people of this country, but which, at the time at which it was enacted and subsequently might have been attended with advantages; and notwithstanding any changes that may have taken place in the circumstances of the country—notwithstanding the wants of the country and a deficiency in the supply of food, and other alterations, you place the plea of consistency on a ground which was not tenable (hear). So far, then, from consistency under such circumstances being commendable, you place it on a footing which, if adhered to, would damage the character of public men (cheers). Who was there, of the honourable gentlemen present, who had been consistent on the subject of the Corn Laws (hear, hear)? He knew of no public man, from Mr. Huskisson or Lord Brougham down to any other public man of the present day, who had had to deal with the question of the Corn Laws, who had not at some time or other changed his opinion on the subject (hear, hear, and laughter). But were honourable gentlemen themselves agreed that the adherence to protection and the maintenance of the Corn Laws for the future, were essential to public men being consistent? Even his honourable friend the member for Northamptonshire (Mr. Stafford O'Brien) has said in the course of his speech that the present duty on corn never could be regarded as permanent. He, therefore, was at variance on the subject with many honourable gentlemen round him (hear, hear). He would, however, ask his honourable friend when he thought the time would arrive when they could, with a regard to consistency, make an alteration in the present Corn Laws, or when they could abrogate them altogether (laughter and cries of "No"?). Why his honourable friend had said that the duty could not be regarded as permanent, and he alluded to the abrogation of the Corn Laws; he, therefore, was justified in asking when the period of time would come for a repeal of the duty on corn (hear, hear). Would his honourable friend show him a time when a repeal of the Corn Laws could be effected with less injury to any class of society, or when it would be better for the public interests than the present, or when an adherence to the present law could be less effectively maintained (hear, hear)? If he could do so, it was then merely a question of time. He thought, for one, that the present time was the most important to lay hold of for that purpose. It was notorious that there was great distress from the failure of one particular crop which afforded food for large numbers. There was not only the temporary danger which threatened from the failure of this crop, but they must look to the possible failure in future years which might lead to a degree of distress which would be attended with the most alarming consequences. He said this, although his noble friend the member for Staffordshire (Lord Ingestre), who had appeared there that night as the advocate of Mr. Chapman, of Isleworth, had produced a potato which he said had been grown from the seed of a diseased Irish potato ("No," from Lord Ingestre; "not an Irish potato." The observation excited some laughter). Well, at any rate the produce of a diseased potato which had been cultivated in a garden at Isleworth. This might be the case; but then other experiments had been carried on on a more extensive scale than those of Mr. Chapman, with a very different result, and many of those experiments had been carried on under the superintendence of eminent scientific men. He had seen accounts on this subject from North America, where the disease in potatoes had prevailed for three consecutive years. It was observed that in the first year the disease prevailed to a comparatively slight degree; in the second year it appeared in a more aggravated form; and in the present year the disease prevailed to as great an extent as it had in many parts of Ireland. The extent and continuance of this disease for a series of years might happen in this country as elsewhere; it was only safe then to provide beforehand for the emergency, in case this disease should continue in this country and Ireland, as in America, for a series of years (hear, hear). But this disease existed not merely in England, Ireland, and America, but it prevailed to a great extent in many parts of the Continent, and if it there continued, the demand for corn in those countries would necessarily increase, and we should not be able to obtain a supply of that article from those quarters for our rapidly increasing population, instead of having an inundation of corn, as many honourable gentlemen had supposed (hear, hear). He would ask, had honourable gentlemen looked to the altered state of things which had arisen from the increase of our population? The addition made to the number of the population of this country every year was such as would require from 100,000 to 200,000 acres to be taken into cultivation for wheat to meet the wants of the increased population. In such a state of things you must be able to add almost an additional county under cultivation every year. Did not such circumstances make it incumbent on them to make provision in time (hear, hear)? He had heard it asked by some honourable gentlemen why it was proposed to make this change in a season of prosperity. Would they, he would ask, wait until a time of distress and adversity, when the sufferings of the people would give rise to great dissatisfaction? Could they then expect to make a satisfactory arrangement in a time of pressure (hear, hear)? He therefore thought that the present was the time when the corn question should be settled, and by this means provide food for the increasing population of the country, and for the comfort of the people, and at the same time excite a spirit of enterprise and emulation which would

overcome all difficulties (cheers). He regretted that many of his honourable friends should have felt called upon to express their opinions in such strong terms as to the conduct of the Government (hear, hear). He regretted that those towards whom he entertained feelings of such great respect should use expressions of hostility, not merely against the measure, but also against those from whom it emanated (hear, hear). He did not intend to retort expressions of severity on any honourable gentleman. The right honourable member for the university of Dublin, in his speech, which he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) might be permitted to say was far more eloquent in the declamation and attack on his honourable friends of the Government than on the subject-matter of the debate, stated that it was the duty of an independent member of that house to maintain the opinion which he believed to be right and just on any subject, irrespective of consideration as to the man or men by whom it was brought forward. He agreed to the fullest extent as to this principle, and as to the right of a private member to form a judgment on any measure as to what was right, and to act accordingly; but surely the right honourable gentleman would go to the same extent as regarded the ministers of the Crown, and that they should be allowed to act upon the principles which they believed to be right, independent of those by whom their measures were opposed (cheers). He asked whether it was not to be open to them to concur in a course which they believed to be right, and whether they were not to be allowed to act on the same principle which the right honourable gentleman claimed for himself without bestowing on them harsh terms (hear, hear)? The terms used by the right honourable gentleman were unstable and infirm of purpose, of being guilty of inconsistency and tergiversation, and that they were guilty of cabinet juggling (laughter). When the right honourable gentleman used this term, he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) felt more regret at it as it affected the character and reputation of the right honourable gentleman more than it could affect him (loud cries of hear, hear). The house had before them the distinct explanation of all that had passed (cries of hear, hear, and no)—the house had before them a declaration of the whole of the transactions which led to the resignation of the Government and their subsequent return to office, and he believed that there was not another member in the house besides his right honourable friend who was not satisfied that there was nothing but perfect openness in their resignations (cries of "oh, oh," from some of the protectionist members). There was no hesitation in the charge of juggling which the right honourable gentleman imputed to the Government, and the only regret which he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) felt on the subject was, lest the public at large, when the speech of his right honourable friend was before them, should arrive at the conclusion that his right honourable friend had always formed those conclusions which would not become his high judicial situation and character (hear, hear). He was afraid to maintain the principle that the claims of public party must be regarded in spite of the public interests. This would be the description of consistency of which he should be guilty if he had followed the course suggested by his honourable friends, and it was a consistency on which he would not act (hear, hear). If he were guilty of political tergiversation, if he had turned his back upon his friends, it was only to protect them against their own want of foresight (loud cries of "oh, oh," and cheers). Seeing the storm ahead, seeing the effect already produced in Ireland, seeing the effect which might be produced in this country, he was not ashamed of the course that he had taken, although he might be charged with abandoning party connections (hear, hear). Although he should painfully feel the loss of those who had supported the same line of politics as himself, he should always look back with satisfaction and pride to his former connection with them, and when their judgment had time to cool (laughter), and they had seen the danger with which the country was threatened, not merely in distant prospect, but in a proximate degree, they would then see the propriety of making the alteration in the laws for the supply of food; and he knew enough of them to believe that, however inconsistent they might think the change of opinion that had taken place in respect to public matters to be, there was not one of them who would not admit that he was wrong now in the view which he had taken of the subject, and that he would regret not having supported this measure, the success of which he would then be satisfied was essential to the best interests of this country (loud cheers).

Mr. FERRAND repeated the imputation he had, on a previous evening, made upon the petitions presented by Lord Morpeth, from the West Riding, in favour of Free Trade. He then detailed, in his own peculiar style, the proceedings of his recent electioneering crusade into Yorkshire. Having concluded this narrative, he proceeded to catechise, in a pretty severe manner, various members who had severed themselves from the protectionist party, reading extracts from their former speeches amid most uproarious mirth. The next topic was the cruelties practised under the factory system. That system he declared had a natural tendency to produce murder, and every other kind of atrocity. He also charged the Poor Law Commissioners with having conspired with the manufacturers to kidnap the agricultural labourers under promise of "a land flowing with milk and honey." Having made some allusions to the tenure upon which he held his seat in Parliament, he concluded by announcing that he should do his duty.

On the motion of Dr. BOWRING, the debate was then adjourned till Thursday.

PETITIONS.—The total number of petitions presented to the House of Commons, up to Feb. 10, is—against repeal, 1,422; for repeal, 398. Number of signatures against repeal, 107,952; for repeal, 1,150,293.

NOW, OR THREE YEARS HENCE?

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

However we may have felt it a duty to express our warm approbation of the general character and aim of the measures proposed by Sir Robert Peel, we have on several occasions felt ourselves not the less called upon to protest against some of the details, and what we call minor principles involved in those measures. Moreover, the unreserved support which we have all along given to the Free Trade policy of the present Government, entitles us the more freely to criticise their measures—and to expose their defects, without being suspected of a wish to endanger their success. We have never failed frankly to avow our admiration of the wise and bold determination of the minister to secure a final settlement of the Corn Law question by the only way in which that was possible—a final abolition of all protective duty. But neither have we failed from the first to point out what have always appeared to us powerful objections to the precise mode in which that great object is to be obtained; and the reasons we have hitherto urged in support of our views have had more reference to the interests of the agricultural body than to those of the consumer.

If, however, we felt that there were important objections to the details of the measure as proposed by the Minister, calculated to endanger, or at least delay the full benefits of so desirable a settlement—if we felt strongly the greater advantages to all parties which would result from an immediate rather than a deferred repeal of these laws, on grounds chiefly agricultural, and rather on economical than on social considerations—if such were our views before the delivery of Sir Robert Peel's remarkable speech, we must own that they have only been materially strengthened by that address. Amendments in the measure which before we deemed desirable, appear now absolutely necessary. They are necessary to sustain the logical consequences of the Minister's argument and the facts on which he relies. Moreover, the grounds of our convictions are greatly strengthened by new reasons, involving the most important considerations, both social and political.

The most accurate statements that can be obtained from Ireland—the most accurate and satisfactory that the Government, with all its machinery, can command—represent that in six hundred electoral divisions one-half of the whole potato crop has perished of the rot; that in another six hundred electoral divisions two-fifths of the crop have been similarly destroyed; while in some, eight-tenths of the crop are altogether lost for human food. Such are the Government accounts. The correspondents of the minister, some of whom were among those who were long inclined to disbelieve the truth of the reported danger, now measure the available subsistence of the Irish nation by a few weeks:—"For six or seven weeks, while the remains of the potatoes last, destitution will not be general; but I pray you, sir, look to it in time." "I don't think that by the 1st of March next, out of 100 acres on my land, sound seed will be left for next year's crop." Another of the minister's informants, in a different part of the country, says, "Our inquiries extended to one hundred and ninety families altogether, and enable me to state with the most perfect accuracy the frightful extent to which the destruction of the potato crop has proceeded in that part of the country. Many families whom we visited, and who had planted sufficient for their ordinary wants, including the seed necessary for the ensuing season, have not had a potato of any kind for the last month. Others have lost nearly all, and the few that are left are unfit for human food." Another account transmitted to the Lord Lieutenant, says, "His Excellency will find in these statements the announcement of the alarming fact that in two districts alone of the union in question, there are even at this early period of the year (the 9th of February) no less than three hundred persons whose store of provisions are on the point of becoming exhausted." Such then is the present state of Ireland upon the highest possible authority. But what, not only of the immediate, but the more distant future? The immediate future threatens appalling famine; the more distant future, the absolute want of the means of reproducing food. Can a country be placed in a position that more imperatively demands a great effort, the greatest effort that legislative power and private exertions can make? Between present starvation and future provision there is no choice. Self-denial, provident care for the future, are virtues utterly unknown where famine is committing its present ravages. What is the choice between the conviction that seed will be required for the next year's crop, and the present appeals of starving wives and children? "One-eighth of the whole crop is required for seed," says the Minister. "Take the tonnage which it would require to bring ten thousand tons of potatoes from any part of Europe where potatoes may still abound—it is almost impossible to supply the deficiency." But if we had the tonnage, if the Irish had the means, if Parliament were to vote the money, where is the part of Europe where ten thousand tons, or one thousand tons of potatoes could be procured for seed to plant in Ireland for next year? NOWHERE. The whole is a physical impossibility. But the faint hope, the only hope, which the Minister holds out of meeting this alarming crisis, is that the Government shall exchange other food for potatoes, and retain them under their own care for seed. One hundred thousand quarters of maize have been purchased in America with that view. One hundred thousand quarters of maize for the whole of Ireland! Why it is barely adequate to supply the place of potatoes for a single fortnight.

With these facts in view, we can well understand that Sir Robert Peel should "now declare in the face of Parliament, that the day in his public life on which he looks back with the greatest pride and satisfaction is the first of November last, when he was ready to take the responsibility of issuing an Order in Council to open the ports." Such a course the Minister deemed necessary then. Subsequent events have proved that the determination taken on the first of November was wise and unavoidable. Danger is not removed, but is rather aggravated by delay. And now, in the middle of February, when we find the worst anticipations and fears of November on the eve of accomplishment—when the slight hopes which then remained have given way to certain and impending danger—what is the proposal made by the Government? To open the ports, as the Minister proposed on the first of November? No; but to pass a law imposing duties, though much reduced, for three years on all kinds of grain except maize. If it were necessary to open the ports in November, then is it not more dangerous and less practicable to maintain any duty in February? If Sir R. Peel looks back with so much satisfaction to the determination taken on the first of November, in what light can he regard that part of his bill which in February provides for the continuance of any duty on grain? Surely such a provision cannot be the choice of the minister; nor can it be adopted with his approval.

The only palliation offered by Sir Robert Peel for this obvious discrepancy in what he deemed a necessary course in November, and that which he proposes in February, is that he admits maize free, and barley and oats at a nominal duty. But what is the fact? At this moment, according to the *Gazette* prices, the duty on oats, under the proposed scale, would be two shillings per quarter; and on barley two shillings and sixpence—duties amounting to about ten per cent. on the value of the respective articles. Then, taken in connection with this fact, what is the condition of the grain markets in all the surrounding countries to which we usually look for supplies? In Holland and in Belgium the deficiency of food is even greater than here. In no part of Europe is there a surplus. In almost every part there is either threatened or absolute want. The price of barley on the Continent—on the supply of which Sir Robert Peel appears to rely to make up the defective potato crop in Ireland, and to aid the Government in an effort to save seed for next year—is so high, that shipments of English barley have recently taken place to Holland, this being the cheapest market from which supplies could be obtained. Is this then, a time to maintain one penny of duty? Supplies will be withheld or diverted from this market as much as these proposed duties, in the present state of prices abroad, as if they were double the amount. Two shillings on oats, two shillings and sixpence on barley, are duties at this moment prohibitory. Double their amount could be no more.

If Sir Robert Peel has proved one thing more clearly than another in his speech of last week, it is that the measure now proposed, however well adapted it may be deemed for a permanent settlement of this question, is at least not equal to the present emergency, an emergency so great, so appalling, that we cannot conceive that any Minister charged with the responsibility of the public interests could willingly meet it with so inadequate a provision. It is with the most sincere satisfaction that we observe, that whatever amendment may be adopted by Parliament for the purpose of giving an immediate effect to the reductions of duties proposed by the Government, Sir Robert Peel will adopt it, and will still consider the passing of this law paramount to all other considerations.

THE FREE TRADE CANDIDATES FOR SOUTH LANCASHIRE.

A meeting of the Council of the League, and other subscribers to the League Fund, was held at their offices, last Tuesday evening, at which a numerous committee was appointed to canvass for the signatures of electors of this division, to a requisition to the Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P., and William Brown, Esq., requesting them to become candidates for the representation of South Lancashire at the next general election.

The following is a copy of the requisition:

"TO THE HONOURABLE CHARLES PELHAM VILLIERS, M.P., AND WILLIAM BROWN, ESQ.

"Gentlemen—We, the undersigned, electors of the southern division of the county palatine of Lancaster, respectfully address you, in the belief that the present is the most suitable period for soliciting you to become candidates for the representation of this division of the county at the next general election. We are induced to do this from the deliberate conviction that the representation of the vast and varied interests of this important section of the kingdom will be adequately sustained by you; that you will be firm in the support of measures founded on the most comprehensive and impartial views of what is necessary for the general good of all classes of the community; and that, especially, the principles of Free Trade will, in their widest signification, their fullest integrity, find in you ardent and uncompromising friends.

"We make the tender of our support to you, Charles Pelham Villiers, as a testimony of our gratitude and admiration of your persevering advocacy of the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws in the House of Commons, continued from year to year in the face of obstacles, arising from the selfishness of some and the indifference, almost equally culpable, of others, until your efforts, along with your coadjutors out of doors, raised up throughout the kingdom a spirit and determination which will not subside until they have marked this period, to all future time, as the era of commercial reformation.

"We make the like tender of our support to you, William Brown, believing that your enlightened views and enlarged experience on commercial subjects eminently qualify you for representing this portion of the empire—the seat and centre of our manufacturing industry—the very heart where all its pulsations begin; in addition to which, your having undertaken to contest the division on a recent occasion, at considerable personal inconvenience, in the belief that, though not successful, yet that certain good would result, gives you a claim to our support, to which we are anxious to respond.

"Gentlemen,—In the firm persuasion that, should you consent to be put in nomination, you will be triumphantly returned to Parliament, we respectfully pledge ourselves not only to give you our personal support, but to endeavour to secure your return by every other constitutional means in our power, and we fervently hope that the connection thus formed may be long maintained, by the honourable fulfilment of our respective duties as constituents and representatives.—We are, your faithful servants."—(Here follow signatures.)

A public meeting was held on the 16th inst., at Campsie, Stirlingshire, for the purpose of ascertaining the general feeling on the momentous question of the Corn and Provision Laws, and to consider the propriety of petitioning both Houses of Parliament on the subject; when it was speedily and unanimously resolved to petition at once for a total and immediate repeal of so glaring an act of selfish legislation. The meeting was almost (if not entirely) composed of the operative class, and the petition, which is in course of being numerously signed, will shortly be forwarded to the Right Hon. Earl Grey, and John Dennistoun, Esq., for presentation.

PETITION FOR FREE TRADE.—It will be seen that the Town Council of Canterbury have voted, without opposition, a petition to Parliament in favour of Free Trade and the ministerial plans. This, it will not be denied, is an impartial testimony, Canterbury being the centre of an agricultural district, and deeply interested in the welfare of the owners, occupiers, and cultivators of the land. Free Trade, it is now generally seen, will benefit all classes.

Wheats which were worth at Santander about 40s. per quarter before it was known that the British ports would in all probability be opened at a low duty, have already advanced to 53s.

HOW CAN LAND BEST BE RELIEVED?

(From the Economist.)

The question of special burdens on land, which has been so frequently evaded by the House of Commons, has at length been entertained by the House of Lords, on the motion of Lord Beaumont, and a committee has been appointed to take evidence on the subject. In anticipation of this motion, we, last week, instituted an inquiry into the relative portion of burdens borne by land and by other property, by which it appeared that a considerable balance of exemptions exists in favour of the former. The balance, however, as it appeared in those calculations, will be still greater when we include two items of special exemptions in favour of land, which were omitted in our last statement, viz., stamp duty on fire insurances, and the tolls on turnpike roads. We have no accounts which enable us to estimate the exact amount of these items of exemption. With regard to the former, the finance accounts for the year ending 5th April, 1845, exhibit a sum of 1,003,669*l.* as derived from insurances on other property, independent of marine insurances, which afforded a further sum of 193,155*l.* Here, then, we have a sum of nearly 1,200,000*l.* contributed to the State from other property, from which the produce of land, as long as it remains in the producer's possession, and the whole implements and stock of farmers, is entirely exempted. We have no means of estimating the amount of the exemptions from turnpike tolls; but, when it is considered that all horses and waggons of every description employed in conveying farm produce and manure to or from market are exempt, the whole aggregate sum in the year for the kingdom must be very large.

Our special object, however, in now returning to this subject, is to claim the attention of our readers to another view of the burdens borne by land, which in our estimation is far more important than many others, but which has been singularly overlooked. We refer to the relief which the agriculturists, as a class, and which land, as a property, have derived from the rapid increase of the commerce and manufactures of the country during the last thirty years, both in regard to general and local taxation.

According to the population returns it appears that the proportions engaged in agriculture and in all other pursuits were, at the different periods, as follows:—

	Occupied in agriculture.	Otherwise occupied.
1811	35 per cent.	65 per cent.
1821	33 "	67 "
1831	28 "	72 "
1841	22 "	78 "

According to these proportions the numbers engaged in the production of food, and those constituting consumers only, were, in 1811 and 1841, respectively as follows:—

	Producers of food.	Consumers who were not producers.	Entire population of Great Britain.
1811	4,408,880	8,187,923	12,596,803
1841	4,145,775	14,698,659	18,844,434

By these returns, it appears that the land afforded occupation for 263,105 persons fewer in the production of food in 1841 compared with 1811, while 6,510,736 persons more were added to the class of consumers, deriving their income from other sources. There is, however, no reason to think that the actual increase of population has been less among classes engaged in agriculture than among those engaged in trades and manufactures. But the facts before us lead to the indisputable assumption that the whole increase which has taken place in the rural districts has found occupation in the towns and manufacturing districts. If, however, there had been no such outlet for the surplus population of the agricultural districts—if our trades and manufactures had increased only at the rate required to employ the natural increase of their own numbers, what at this time would have been the condition of our rural districts? What the charge on property for the maintenance of their poor? The whole population during that period had increased at the rate of *forty-nine and a half per cent.*; if the land had been burdened with its own proportion, then those dependent upon agriculture at this time would have been 6,591,276 in place of 4,145,775; or, in other words, there would now have been an actual surplus of 2,445,501 persons dependent for support upon the produce of the soil, which must long ere this have threatened an extinction both of rent and profit in the shape of increased poor's rates. But what is really the state of the case? Upwards of two millions of persons, who would have been thus left a charge upon the land, have, by the rapid extension of our manufacturing system, been converted into so many valuable customers for the produce of the soil; and, instead of being a burden upon land, and a cause of diminution of rent, have contributed by their industry to raise the entire rental of land from 37,666,347*l.* in 1814, to 45,753,615*l.* in 1843, as shown by the returns of the income tax at the two periods in question.

Looking to the agricultural class as a body, this extraordinary change in the distribution of the whole population of the country has operated to relieve it to a great extent of the share of the general taxation of the country which it bore in 1811. In that year the whole revenue of the country amounted to 65,173,545*l.*, being at the rate of 3*l.* 10s. 3d. to each individual of the whole population of the United Kingdom, and of which the agricultural population of Great Britain consequently contributed 15,982,190*l.*, and all other classes 28,760,079*l.*

In 1841 the whole sum raised for public revenue was 51,911,588*l.*, being only at the rate of 1*l.* 18s. 10d. to each individual in the United Kingdom. Of this sum the agricultural classes of Great Britain, in 1841, contributed only 8,049,709*l.*; while the other classes contributed 28,539,897*l.* in consequence of the great proportionate increase of numbers which had found employment in other ways during that period. If the same proportion of the general taxation of the country had been borne by the agricultural class in 1841 as in 1811, it would have contributed 12,798,059*l.* instead of only 8,049,709*l.*—showing a saving of upwards of 4,700,000*l.* to the rents and profits of agriculture in this item alone, from the increased numbers engaged in the trade and manufactures of the kingdom.

When, therefore, it is asserted that real property is charged with burdens from which capital is exempt, it should not be lost sight of that it has been alone to the occupation of that capital, to the extension of our trade and manufactures, that we are indebted for the employment of the *whole* increase of the population since 1811, by which land has been relieved of the enormous charges to which it would otherwise have been exposed to support its increasing number of paupers, and by which the class now deriving rents and profits from the soil has been relieved of a portion of their contribution to the public revenue to the extent of more than 4,700,000*l.* annually. This has been accomplished by the

additional contributions of the thriving masses of our manufacturing and trading classes.

But the relief from burdens which land as a property, and the agricultural class as a body, have derived from the increase of our commerce and manufactures does not stop here. The employment of capital in the extension of trade leads directly to the creation of real property, rateable both to public and local taxes. More houses and factories must be built; more quarries and mines and iron works must be opened up; more canals, docks, and railways, must be constructed. Every shilling invested for these purposes adds to the whole amount of rateable property, and to that extent relieves other real property of its existing share of burdens. A comparison of the distribution of the burdens upon real property between 1814 and 1843, shows the extent of this relief in a striking manner. The Parliamentary accounts of 1814 show that the whole income derived from real property in the United Kingdom amounted to 57,129,047*l.*, as chargeable to the property tax, of which 37,666,347*l.*, or *sixty-six per cent.*, was derived from land, and 19,462,700*l.*, or *thirty-four per cent.*, was derived from all other kinds of property. While, by a Parliamentary return of the last session, we find that the whole income derived from real property had increased to 95,284,497*l.*, of which 45,753,615*l.*, or *forty-eight per cent.*, was derived from land, and 49,530,882*l.*, or *fifty-two per cent.*, was derived from all other kinds of property. In 1814, therefore, land as a property was burdened with *sixty-six per cent.* of all the taxes, both general and local; while, in 1843, notwithstanding an increase of the annual rental of land by upwards of *eight millions*, other property had been created during the interval to so much greater a proportion, that land only now bears the burdens, whether general or local, placed upon real property to the extent of *forty-eight per cent.* Land, therefore, now represents somewhat less than *one-half* of the real property of the country chargeable with rates of all kinds, whether for public or local purposes. It will be an interesting inquiry to ascertain to what extent land as a property, and the agriculturists as a class, have really been directly benefited by the increase of our manufacturing system during the last thirty years. We have now ascertained the proportions of the population in these two great divisions of the country, which at the different periods in question contributed to the general taxation of the country. We have also ascertained the relative proportions in which land and other property were chargeable with burdens placed on real property, and we will endeavour in our next number to work out the precise amount, under all heads of general and local taxes, from which the land has been relieved, in consequence of this new distribution of rateable property, and occupations of the people.

In the mean time, it opens up, in a new and striking light, the enormous advantages which an increase of our commercial and manufacturing systems is calculated to confer upon the landed interest of this country; and that without any effort whatever on their part. Every additional person removed from the rural district, where his labour is not required, to the neighbouring towns, or to the manufacturing districts, where he can be profitably employed, is a direct advantage to the land in two distinct ways: first, it is a relief from a certain burden; and next, the consumption of every such well employed person increases the demand for the produce of the soil. The farmer is relieved of a pauper, and in his place obtains a good customer. Every additional person thus profitably employed is a relief to all the rest of the country, by sharing, through the production of his labour and the consumption of commodities which yield revenues, a portion of the taxes necessary to support the State. And moreover, every house or factory which is built—every mine, or quarry, or iron work which is opened up—every mile of canal or railway which is constructed, come to the relief of all other existing property, by sharing all the burdens to which real property is subjected. How, then, will the owners of land best consult their own interests? By repressing that system which at once relieves them of burdens, and supplies new sources of income, or by giving every possible encouragement and freedom to our commercial and manufacturing enterprise, which has already been productive of such immense advantages to them?

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE IN DANGER.—At a meeting held last week at Mossley, it was unanimously resolved, with one solitary exception, that every one present would purchase a qualification for Buckinghamshire, provided Mr. Cobden would pledge himself to stand as a candidate.—*Preston Guardian.*

THE GAME-LAWS SUPPORTED BY BLOOD HOUNDS.—The barbarous system of blood-hounds to hunt down and worry human beings found offending against the Game Laws, is practised in the neighbourhood of Stamford by the Marquis of Exeter.

POSSIBLE EXHAUSTION OF OUR COAL.—The consumption of fuel is a consideration far more serious. It is not many years since some person made an estimate of the quantity of coals existing in the country in attainable situations, and came to the conclusion that the supply must be altogether exhausted in half a century. This conclusion was not very cheering for the national prosperity. To believe that, within the probable lives of many of us, the grand resource of all our enterprise should be destroyed, and that we should be left a manufacturing Nineveh, amid the ruins of furnaces and warehouses—our energies crumbling to the dust, and our locomotives stationary—our poor-houses crowded with manufacturers—and our engineers petitioning Parliament for inquiring into the means of making fires without fuel—the whole nation, in fact, in anti-promethean state of wretchedness and darkness—all this made a gloomy picture, and one which might have induced many persons to buy investments for their grandchildren in the foreign funds. Unfortunately, the calculator knew but little of the resources of the country. Unfortunately, many districts where the coal is found actually on the surface will be exhausted in a very appreciable time; but the quantity is enormous which lies beneath the surface—unworked at present, till we have used what is more readily attained. It is in the magnificent coal-field of South Wales to which we must look for our enduring supply of fuel. The quantity known or probable is almost incalculable. Still though we may trust that it will be long, very long, ere the nation shall be deprived of so inestimable a benefit, the inconvenience to some districts will be very great, where their supply shall fail, as it must, long ere many living travellers shall have performed their last journey. To preach economy is useless, but it would be well to be careful. We should almost tremble to calculate the consumption in a few years.—*Church of England Quarterly Review.*

REGISTRATION APPEALS.
COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

THURSDAY, JAN. 15.

IMPORTANT CASE.—BOROUGH OF SCARBOROUGH.—**FOUNDERS v. DONNER.**—This was a case in which the voter claimed to be inserted in the list of voters for the Borough of Scarborough, in respect of a successive occupation of houses. A list of claims had been duly published by the overseers, and in that list the name and description of John Founders, and of the situation of the property, was as follows:—

Christian name and surname of each Claimant at full length.	Place of Abode.	Nature of Qualification.	Street, lane, or other place in this Parish or Township where the Property is situate or Number of House if any.
John Founders.	15, Aberdeen Walk.	House.	Queen Street.
"	"	House.	15, Aberdeen Walk

The above description is an exact copy in all respects of the notice of claim sent in by the voter to the overseers. The plan secondly mentioned, or the situation of the house, namely, 15, Aberdeen Walk, is the situation of the house which he at present occupies; and the street or place where the houses are stated to be situated, are well known, and are not so extensive or populous, but that any occupier of any premises in them may be found by reasonable inquiries. Both the houses constituting the qualification are, and have always been numbered.

The claim of John Founders was opposed on the ground that the number of the first house was not inserted in the list agreeably to the form prescribed by the 6th Vic. c. 18, schedule B. No. 3, nor in any claim sent to the overseers by him, agreeably to the form No. 6 of the same statute and schedule; the revising barrister decided that the said John Founders was not entitled to be inserted in the list of voters for the said borough, on the ground that the statute required that the number of each house constituting the qualification should have been contained in the column describing the situation of the property.

This was a consolidated appeal, and seven other votes depended upon the decision in the above case.

Mr. WHARTON appeared for the appellant, and Mr. Bliss for the respondent. The case having been argued at some length, the decision of the court was given by

CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL.—I think the decision of the revising barrister in this case was right. He has decided that the claimant was not entitled to be inserted in the list of voters on the ground that the statute requires that the number of each house constituting the qualification should have been contained in the column describing the situation of the property, and such I think is the proper construction of the statute coupled with the form to which reference is made. The moment this court held that it was not sufficient to give merely the new qualification which was existing at the time of the matter coming before the revising barrister, but that he must also give the qualification which, when coupled with the present qualification, made out the whole—the moment that was decided, the law would apply as much to one as the other; and therefore if that precision was necessary to one, if it was to the later of the two, so also it was necessary in the earlier. You may find out a man by his present residence; you may have great difficulty in finding the number of the precise house on which he intended to rest his qualification, and therefore whether the earlier part is an unnecessary part? Therefore it appears to me it was necessary that the number of the house should be given, which formed part of the qualification in Queen-street. The answer endeavoured to be made to this, though the revising barrister has stated the facts of this case, from which we must review his decision, whether he had a right to make that amendment which we must supply—an amendment which in point of fact he has not made. A reference is made to the sections 40 and sections 101. In looking over section 40, that applies to the case where the revising barrister, not being satisfied with the identification of the premises, had expunged the name of the person from the list, and that afterwards and before the revision had ceased, evidence is given to him which to his satisfaction supplies the misdescription. Therefore, in order to avail himself of the section 40, this complainant ought to show that the revising barrister was satisfied before the sittings for the revision ceased, and that the number had been so-and-so, and that the qualification was complete. But we, as far as that statement goes, must hold that he was not satisfied, for he has still persisted the name should be expunged from the list. And it has been already remarked that was obviated here; and on the face of the case there is nothing to show that there is any fixed number applying to the house at all; therefore he cannot avail himself of section 40. At the end of section 101 it is stated, that "no misnomer or inaccurate description of any person, place, or thing, named or described in any schedule to this Act annexed, or in any list or register of voters, or in any notice required by this Act, shall in any way prevent or abridge the operation of this Act with respect to such person, place, or thing; provided that such person, place, or thing, shall be so denominated in such schedule, list, register, or notice, as to be commonly understood." You cannot liken that to a case where you are uncertain as to how it would be—uncertain as to whether in this street, called Queen Street, there would be 100, or 500, or only a few houses; and you cannot say necessarily that this particular house would be commonly understood to be the house, unless you are supplied with the means of forming a judgment as to the actual state of the street. Besides, the meaning of the words "commonly understood," would refer to some class or description of houses which are given, and from which you may extract the same as the common understanding. I, therefore, think it comes back to the same question referred to in the decision. The Statute requires in the claim should be inserted the name and the number, as well of the latter house as of the former to complete qualification. I think, therefore, the revising barrister has decided right.

The rest of the Court concurred.

Decision affirmed without costs.

JUDGMENT DELIVERED MONDAY, FEB. 28.—**NEWTON v. THE OVERSEERS OF MARBERLEY, AND NEWTON v. THE OVERSEERS OF CROWLEY.**—The Lord Chief Justice, in delivering the judgment of the court, said, in these cases, which were appeals from the decision of the revising barrister for the northern division of Cheshire, two questions were raised for the consideration of the court. With respect to the first, namely, whether the circumstances under which the rent-charges in the case had been granted were such as

to make the grant void, the court was of opinion that the question was one for the revising barrister's decision alone. The second question was whether a rent-charge *bona fide* granted, but for the avowed purpose of multiplying votes, was invalid under the provisions of 7 and 8 Wm. III., c. 25. On that point the court was of opinion that the decision in the case of "Alexander v. Newman" (see the report in THE LEAGUE of February 7,) to the effect that a conveyance of such a nature was not invalid, must also govern the present case.

Decision affirmed.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

Clenham Mill, Beaminster, Feb. 24th, 1846.

SIR,—In this neighbourhood I have distributed among the agricultural labourers 50 pair of sheets and 24 beds, &c. which the League kindly allotted me. Upwards of seventy families have been thus supplied, many of whom were almost destitute of bed clothing; but this goes but a little way amidst the misery with which I am surrounded. Hundreds of applications I have been compelled to refuse. I have the particulars of every family I have supplied, and I find, on an average, they have 1s. per head per week to find food, clothing, firing, &c.: in the Beaminster Union it costs 2s. 6d. per head. Mr. Bankes and his new allies dare not deny this. I have numbers of notes from farmers in my possession, informing me the amount of wages, numbers in family, &c.; and I can assure you the wretchedness of many of these poor creatures I cannot describe; they are far worse at present than ever I have known them in consequence of the great failure of the potato crop in this neighbourhood, which they entirely live on when bread is dear, as at the present time. I assert they are in a most deplorable and dangerous state—a state they ought not to be left in a day. In the face of all this misery the pretended representatives of Dorset will plead in Parliament, as they have at protection meetings in the county, for agricultural labourers—for protection to native industry. What audacity! what consummate hypocrisy! or, shall we call it by a milder term, ignorance, which is the most charitable? Should this meet the eye of any charitably-disposed person who may be able to do something towards clothing the poor labourers of Dorsetshire, as they have done in Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, I shall be most happy to be the medium of conveying it to them.

I am, dear sir, yours truly,

JOSEPH TITE.

To the Editor of the CAMBRIAN.

SIR,—As a farmer, my own experience of good and bad years has long since led me to the conclusion, that the Corn Laws are as much opposed to the farmer's interests as to those of any class of society. I boldly ask my brother farmers whether our prosperous years have been not those in which the price of corn has been high, but those in which the iron, copper, and coal trades of these districts have been brisk? With their activity commences our sunshine—and with their depression the fall in price, the difficulty of finding a market for our farm produce. This at least has been the result of my observations and the experience of some years. The low prices of farming produce which prevailed in Glamorganshire and Carmarthenshire in 1843—the increased poor rates—and the deep distress amongst our farmers at that period, are as plainly to be traced to the depression of our great manufactures, and this again to the Corn Laws, in preventing exchanges with foreign nations, as the light of day is to the rising of the sun. The result of the reduction of duties on live stock by Sir R. Peel, has taught me and many other farmers volumes of wisdom, as to the real causes of the rise and fall of agricultural produce. In 1842, before the tariff came into operation, I sold beef at 4½d., pork at 2½d., and veal at 4½d. per lb. In 1845, after the importation of foreign cattle, by which we expected to be ruined, I have got for the same quality prices as follows:—beef, 6d., pork, 5d. to 5½d., veal, 6d. per lb., Welsh cheese, which in 1842 was sold at 2d., now sells at 4d. per lb.; fresh butter, for which, in 1842, I got 10d., I now sell in Swansea market at 1s. 4d. per lb. So much for foreign competition. While the farmer's customers are in full employ, the farmer's produce must sell well. One word as to farm labourers and the effect of low prices of corn on their wages. In 1842-3, I could procure an in-door farm servant for 7l. a year. I am now giving for the same class 13l. a year. Railway navigators in 1842 earned 2s. a day—last summer they got 3s. a day; the average price of wheat in the last weeks of May and June, 1842, being 61s. 10d. and 63s. 11d., and for corresponding weeks in May and June, 1845, 40s. 3d. and 47s. 11d.

As to immediate repeal, I should say in reference to the farmer's interests, by all means let it be immediate. We have to dread as our greatest enemy repeal by instalments. An English brother farmer has well said, "If the abolition of the Corn Laws are to ruin the farmer, put us to death at once, and not by inches." The gradual repeal of the Corn Laws, by a falling duty each year, whatever mercy it may seemingly have for the farmer on paper, would in practice be the very worst plan that could be devised for him. Whatever inconvenience may be experienced by us from this change (although that inconvenience has been absurdly and ridiculously magnified) would be increased tenfold by continuing a state of uncertainty. Any delay in the abolition of the law would have the effect of delaying satisfactory arrangements between landlord and tenant. The farmer would look forward to the ultimate repeal of the duty, and in the meantime would lay out no more money or labour on his land than would be necessary for the present. I need not add, to those who are acquainted with farming, that the consequence of this would be exhaustion of the soil—and thus both tenant and landlord would be in the end losers by delay.

With apology for these plain remarks,

I am, Sir, your constant reader,

A GLAMORGANSHIRE TENANT FARMER.

Jan. 28, 1846.

COMPENSATION FOR THE CORN LAWS.—Sir Grahame Montgomery, Bart., has intimated to his numerous tenants in Peebleshire that although he feels confident that Sir Robert Peel's measure, when once fairly carried into effect, will produce a result highly beneficial to society at large, still, with an anxious wish to satisfy the minds of his tenants, he begs to assure them should any reduction take place on farm produce in consequence of these measures, a reduction will be made upon their rents.—*Edinburgh Witness.*

NEW GUN.—A self-priming gun has been invented, which fixes caps on the nipple for sixty successive rounds.

REVIEW.

Rough Notes of a Farmer during an Agricultural Tour through Russia, Prussia, &c. By F. F. Salter, Esq. London. Ridgway.

This little pamphlet is so well calculated to soothe the exaggerated alarms with which some interested parties have endeavoured to inspire the agriculturists respecting the dangers of foreign competition, that we are anxious to bring it at once under the consideration of our readers. Mr. Salter's sober facts complete the overthrow of Lord Stanley's Romance of Tamboff; for no English farmer can seriously believe that he has to dread rivalry from those who pursue the system described in the following extract:

"The skill of the Russian people in agricultural operations, when I visited the country, could not be considered otherwise than in a very primitive state, and the implements in general use were of the rudest description. The plough, or rather grubber, being simply two pieces of iron set at right angles with a pair of light shafts; this is drawn by one horse, whose labour depends upon the pressure of the hand that steers it. The implement was worth in the English market 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. The harrow also is peculiar, being constructed of a given number of slabs of the fir tree, with the spurs or branches left on about 15 inches long; these slabs are fastened to two cross bars by means of a withe at each end, and of which the value could not be above 1s. 6d. to 2s. The waggons are also of very rude construction, and about the size adapted for a donkey to draw upon a common road; value from 50s. to 80s., but to this in general either two or three oxen are attached abreast.

"The land is cultivated chiefly by women, children, or old men. It is not an unusual sight to see one hundred women at plough, within a very short distance of each other, without hat, cap, shoes or stockings; their only covering being a loose kind of smock frock, made of a coarse material, woven by themselves during the winter months, with a string to draw it round the waist and above the breast. This of course is their summer dress.

"They not only plough, but harrow, sow, reap, mow, and harvest the crops—the able-bodied men being chiefly engaged either as soldiers or as servants to their lords, or at work as mechanics in the towns. The consequence is, that the lands, for want of strength to till them, look poverty-stricken and neglected, and must under any circumstances require an immense outlay of capital to improve them, independently of the energy and skill required to overcome the difficulties as regards the shortness of the season, during which anything connected with the improvement of the soil can be carried on. The earth is closed against all cultivation for seven months of continued and severe winter. One month of the year may be divided into spring and autumn, and four months into extreme heat of summer.

"The difficulty of transit, for want of material to make roads, forms a serious inconvenience and a considerable check to the improvements in agriculture, especially in the interior, where the visitor will travel hundreds of miles over tracts of deep sand, seeing but a small portion of retentive loam. The depth of these sands renders it necessary to apply the labour of at least three horses to draw a light load for one on a common road; and if it was not for the facility afforded by sledging in the winter, many parts would almost be shut out from a market altogether. I observed no gravel. From what I could see of the crops and from the information I was able to obtain, the carriage of grain is by no means a heavy affair, in comparison with the extent of land upon which it is grown. For instance, rye, which forms by far the larger portion of the grain crop, does not yield, on an average of years, more than 'from two and a half to three corn,' that is to say, from two and a half to three times the seed sown. From what I saw of the rye crop, both before and after ripening, I had a strong impression the yield was greater, although by no means a heavy crop, but upon a closer inspection I found the grain itself smaller than the English rye, and which accounted for the difference (about three bushels per acre) in my own opinion and the information received, and if the crop of 1842, as was stated repeatedly, the one the harvesting, of which I was an eye-witness, was the best that had been grown for twenty years, my decided opinion was that eight to twelve bushels per acre would top the average of many seasons. Wheat, barley, and oats, yield in the same proportion; neither turnips nor potatoes are cultivated to any extent, cabbage being the vegetable for a Russian."

Another passage exhibits the slovenly character of Russian agriculture in a stronger light.

"The poor horses also bespoke the slothful habits of their feeders, who screen themselves under the cloak of superstition, and plead as an excuse or reason for never cleaning the poor animals, or attending more diligently to the weaker constituted ones that sink under the cruelty and neglect, that they shall offend their (the horses) saint; for their impression is, every horse has his night master or saint to watch over him (and rub him down I presume), and therefore it would be presumption to smooth a hair. If the poor brute should be ill they conclude at once he has given great offence, and prevail on their masters to turn him out of the stud. The men at plough on this farm were using English foot-ploughs, with two horses, and a man to drive, ploughing very badly, and not going the nearest way to the end of the field. They were sometimes nine inches deep, and sometimes three inches, and sometimes nearly out. I took hold of the plough and dispensed with the driver, and although the horses did not understand English, I contrived, with the help of the plough lines, to shew them how to carry out a few furrows straight, and of a tolerably even depth. I was soon, however, obliged to give it up, for we were so infested by large black ant flies as to render a stay impossible. The men had a species of veil over their faces to protect them. I left them in high discourse and examining my work."

We shall next direct attention to the practical condition of the corn-markets in Riga and Odessa, from which nearly all the grain exported from Russia is procured.

"The opinion of the Riga merchants as well as landowners was that Russia was not likely to produce corn for exportation cheaper than heretofore, for that any increased demand at all times increased the price, and it was only from the want of a regular market, and their being able to obtain the corn at

leisure from the interior that they have been enabled to sell at the prices they have done; and although there is capability in the soil, there is such uncertainty in the seasons, and a want of hands generally to cultivate it, that nothing but a very steady demand, and that at higher prices, would increase the energy of the people and cause them to apply themselves closer to the cultivation of grain.

"Odessa will no doubt at all times and seasons export grain, the uncertainty of the season being felt less in the south; but as the sea risk and freightage is much greater than from the Baltic, it must increase the value in the market, so that not more than one-third of the grain sent out from that port ought to be calculated as for the English market.

"To give some idea of the badness of the roads and the difficulty of transit, we had ten horses attached to a diligence with six people in it for nearly 250 miles of the journey, which was nearly all the time in deep sand."

Comment on these statements is superfluous. English farmers have as little need to fear competition with such tillers of the soil, as English soldiers an encounter with the most barbarous tribes of Asia or America. The Russians have neither the skill, the capital, nor the enterprise, which would enable them to compete with the English producers of corn. It might as well be said that the Kirghees with their bows and arrows, could compete with our discipline, musketry, and artillery.

Forest and Game Law Tales; By Harriet Martineau. Vol. III. London: Moxon.

The third volume of Miss Martineau's *Game Law Tales* contains but one story, "Gentle and Simple;" it is a leaf from what Gray very falsely described as "The short but simple annals of the poor," for it is a picture of long suffering and complicated misery. Luke Voile, a slow-witted lad, but the chief support of his grandmother, brothers, and sister, having found a partridge's nest, took it home, utterly ignorant of his having committed a crime. He showed the prize to a labourer, who mentioned it at the public-house; Groves, a master-poacher, at once marked Luke as his own.

When they had overheard Waterston tell a man at the counter about Luke and the nest, Groves said to Satchell, with a wink,

"A nice scrape for a lad to begin with, that, Satchell! As nice a beginning as one often hears of."

"Why, you would not set an eye on him?" replied Satchell. "He is such a simple lad,—you may have a better than he, any day. You never saw such a simple lad. Why, if Waterston had told him to sit on the eggs to keep them warm, there he would have sat till they hatched off;—unless his granny had knocked him off the nest. You will never make anything of him."

"But you see, he is a stout young fellow; and if he gets on our side, he will be one the less against us; for you may rely on it, Lisamer will hire such a stout one as that for a watcher. The lad will be sure to be out o' nights, on the one side or the other....."

"Well, then, to be sure, it will be best for the lad himself to be with us. But what can you do with such a gawky?"

"We'll see whether he has not something in him. He has learned to drive a spade well in; and a boy that has learned one thing may learn another. And he need not be able to do us any harm. We'll manage it all for his good and our own."

"Ay, do! Do him nothing but kindness, for they are poorly off,—those Voiles. And the old vixen herself is an honest, thrifty, hard-working old body; so, give them a help, if you like, but nothing worse."

"I'll give them a lift," said Groves, with a decisive nod. "What you have to do is to get the story of the nest to Pole's ear to-night."

"To-night!"

"Yes: for the chance of finding either bird or eggs still extant, you know."

"I know," said Satchell, taking his turn to nod with decision.

He went and joined his other customers, and soon brought them to the point of going before dark to the meadow, to try to find the empty nest. Any object will serve for idlers who want to pass an hour. Satchell knew this; and he knew that one of Mr. Treherne's keepers was pretty sure to hear immediately from Mr. Sleath's people of anything that took place in relation to game on Mr. Eyre's farm, where Squire Sleath rented the shooting.

Accordingly, when Lisamer, Mr. Treherne's head-keeper, was locking the door of his lodge for the night, his assistant, Pole, came up with information which would not bear delay. One of farmer Eyre's labourers had stolen a bird and her eggs, and shown them to a miner who could swear to the fact, but had rather not come forward.

Luke was convicted, but Groves paid the fine for him, and believed himself sure of his victim, as the farmer for whom he worked feared to give any employment to one who had offended the preservers of game. Onslow, a more independent farmer, took pity on the youth, and we shall now see how his conduct was viewed by the "lovers of sport."

As Luke was turning into the field, three gentlemen came riding down the lane; and one of them called to him to open the lane gate. As Luke touched his forehead, as taught when he was a little boy, Mr. Holloway observed to Mr. Treherne that this was the lad who was before them in a scrape the other day. Mr. Treherne pulled up for a moment.

"What business have you here?" he asked of Luke.

"I'm come to my work from dinner, please you, Sir."

"Who gives you work?"

"Mr. Onslow. I did work for farmer Eyre till now; and now I work for Mr. Onslow."

"What, Eyre would have nothing more to do with such a fellow as you, eh?"

"No, Sir."

"There you see what it is to fall into vice. Nobody will trust you, and you will go to jail."

"I work for Mr. Onslow now, Sir."

"He will turn you off,—at least he ought,—if you are caught thieving again. So, take care."

"I was never caught thieving, Sir," exclaimed Luke, looking up surprised.

"Why, are not you the lad that was brought up for poaching—for taking a bird and eggs—only three days since?"

"Yes, Sir."

"Then how can you say you never did any thieving?"

Luke looked puzzled, and the gentleman rode on, Mr. Treherne observing to Lord B. that he thought they ought to watch Onslow, whose proceedings appeared very strange. Every fellow fresh from jail, every poacher just fined, had only to come to him to get encouragement and countenance.

"Do you object to that?" Mr. Holloway asked.

"I hope he has regard to the honest men first," observed Lord B.

"If he has," said Mr. Treherne, "it is only in giving them work. It is no compliment to an honest labourer to put him to work on the same hedge with a poacher. The honest men cannot have much to say for Onslow's consideration there."

The moral and legal code of certain game preservers is expounded in the following conversation:

"You see what happens for want of a little manly severity," observed Mr. Treherne. "A milkop magistrate who looks ready to cry over any brute that a poacher may have to show, and talks about violence and assault, and all that nonsense, is the very person answerable for detestable tricks like these. No man can doubt of the advantage of knocking down a poacher here and there, over such entrapping as this."

"You hold either assaulting, or spying and entrapping men necessary to the preservation of game?" asked Sir Francis.

"I do not admit the word 'assault,' in the case. I would have no one strike a blow who is not empowered by the Act to capture a poacher. That being provided, I am confident that a good deal less parley, and a few more timely blows would save a vast deal of mischief and false sentiment."

"That is your own practice?"

"Of course it is. When I know that a fellow is going to make opposition, I cut the matter short with a punch in the head."

"And by what means do you know it?"

"You may always see by a man's eye when he is intending a blow. How could you parry a blow but for that?"

"How is it that the man does not see the same thing in your eye? How is it that you get your blow struck?"

"Perhaps," observed Mr. Holloway, it is dark, as frequently happens in the night. But in that case, it is wonderful how Treherne sees the poacher's eye."

"Ah! you know nothing about it, any of you. You have not been in between twenty and thirty poaching conflicts, as I have."

Farmer Onslow's view of poaching contains some truths worthy the attention of country gentlemen.

"Where there is profit, Sir, there is always inducement; and there is much pleasure besides in the adventure of poaching; and no popular disgrace;—nothing more than the excitement of an amusing little mystery about their goings and comings. Well, then, there is that old fox Groves, who makes most of all. In all these cases, I have no doubt, if we were to see into their affairs, we should find a curious excess of expenditure over apparent receipts."

"Mr. Treherne is very clever at finding reasons for praising game-preserving," said Mrs. Onslow. "I wonder what he would say to so many people having their incomes improved by his and his neighbours' game."

"It is not the argument he would most rely on," observed Mr. Holloway.

"And it is met in a moment," declared the farmer, "by this;—that the money put into people's pockets, partially, unfairly, and guiltily, by the game, is no more than would be got fairly and honestly, by the proper persons, if there were no game—or no more than is harmless. Only let Mr. Treherne look at Frith's farm, and he may see, if he chooses, how many labourers might and would be employed and fed on that farm, if there was a chance for anything to grow. Lord B.'s tenants are many of them hardly placed enough; but it stirs one's indignation to see such a case as Frith's—how he is going to ruin, in spite of all he can do to save himself; and how the food that God gave for man is devoured and spoiled by brute creatures, while our poor neighbours are shrinking to skeletons for want of food. I wish somebody could get Lord B. and Mr. Treherne to go over that farm, and learn the truth for themselves."

"They could not see it, if it was before their eyes," declared Mrs. Onslow. "Mr. Treherne would say it was worms or rats, or birds, or weather, or anything rather than admit it to be the game.—Yes—even though nobody else had been troubled with wire-worm, and crows, and wood-pigeons, or a bad season. It agrees with his pleasures to say that pheasants are the farmer's best friends, and hares no enemies; and he will go on to say so to the last day of his life."

"I wish he would say so somewhere abroad, where such a saying would be harmless; and leave Frith and the rest of us to do what we like with our farms—paying him handsomely for his game. I am afraid he is not likely to stay away, Mr. Holloway; or we would make him a handsome offer to rent his estate."

The principles which the tale is designed to illustrate may be gathered from the extracts we have made; but the course of the story is developed with artistic skill which no quotations could elucidate. Luke, pressed by his debt to Groves, perseveres in poaching, and is finally transported; his family sinks into hopeless ruin; and finally, Treherne's gamekeeper, outwitted by the poachers, and afraid to meet his master, commits suicide. These sad events produce no more effect on Treherne than they would on Mr. Grantley Berkeley. His comment on the result is characteristic:

"It is a dreadful business," observed Mr. Treherne. "And I feel particularly for you in it."

"Treherne!" exclaimed Mr. Holloway, turning round to him with a face of anguish, "I wish you would go away."

"What! Go away! My dear fellow, what do you mean?"

"Come, say, what you mean."

"I must at such a time as this. Treherne, I wish you would let your estate here, and go to some other. You have

other property, in more places than one, and nowhere could your presence be so—so—what it is here."

"The first duty of a country gentleman, Holloway, is to live on his estate. And no man is more resolved to do his duty than I am."

"Then come back when we have retrieved ourselves a little; but leave us a breathing time. You well know that your estate is unproductive—the neighbouring farms yielding bad rents, our harvests impaired, your tenants discontented, their labourers corrupted and exasperated; and now, here is suicide and flight—flight to another country and to the darkness of the grave—from before your face! You must go away, or I know not what will become of us."

"Come, no more of this, Holloway! I can make great allowance for you—great allowance this evening for you; and at all times for the clergyman of my parish. But there is a point beyond which....."

"Beyond which the voice of man can scarcely reach you," declared Mr. Holloway, "since the hand of Heaven works in vain before your eyes. May God awaken you to a sense of the position in which you stand!"

"When it appears in a new light to me, I will let you know, you may rely upon it, Holloway. I have shown you that I can confess myself wrong. But I have my own views of duty; and till they change, I shall live on my own estate, in the way I think fitting. I am never induced to anything by cant, as I thought you had known. Well, well; I don't apply the word 'cant' to you as originating that set of considerations, I mean only that I think you too easily caught by cant, as every clergyman is apt to be, in regard to game-preserving; even you, it seems, though you have enjoyed sport in your time more than many clergymen who take on themselves to talk of what they know nothing about."

Miss Martineau has done good service by her able exposure of the natural and necessary results of the iniquitous Game Laws; and we trust all who feel an interest in the moral improvement of the agricultural population will exert themselves to ensure a large circulation of these little volumes.

THE ICE HARVEST IN AMERICA.—It may not be generally known that a good pond of water situated in the upper part of the city, will yield to its owner a better income than a field of wheat of the same size.—*Boston Daily Advertiser.*

THE LABOURING CLASSES OF IRELAND.—We have just heard that the board of works will, within six weeks, commence the embankment of the slob between Derrymore point and Anna Island. This work, which is of considerable extent, will prove a most fortunate god-send for the labouring classes during the next summer.—*Kerry Post.*

DISSOLUTION OF THE LIVERPOOL ROYAL STOCK EXCHANGE.—As a sign of the times, the dissolution of this exchange might be adduced as important. A new association opened on Monday, into which we believe the bulk of its members, together with many who have seceded from the association in Bank-buildings, have entered.

INDIAN CORN.—The corn, the arrival of which we lately noticed, is in progress of grinding at the Lee Mills. The meal or flour is of a very fine quality, and is convertible into a valuable and an agreeable article of food.—*Cork Constitution.*

THE YOUNG WHEAT.—The young wheat plants in all parts of the country present a most healthy appearance. If they are not checked by spring frosts, we shall, in all probability, have an early harvest.—*Edinburgh Register.*

FUNERAL EXPENSES.—A movement is now being made in Paisley for the abolition of the custom, which is carried to an extravagant excess in Scotland, of providing refreshments to company at funerals.

EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA.—There are 120,000 children in Virginia who attend no school whatever.

On Friday week, the price of potatoes advanced 6d., and on some kinds 1s. per cwt. A pound of good potatoes cannot now be purchased under 1d. and 1½d.; and for one pound of the best bread the charge is, with very few exceptions, 2½d., or 3d., to 10d. per four pound loaf, the price having advanced 3d. within the last two or three days.—*Morning Chronicle.*

The Commissioners of Woods and Forests have ordered the marble archway or portico at Buckingham Palace to be covered with India rubber pavement, similar to the Admiralty Court Yard.

SPADE LABOUR.—The Duke of Marlborough is improving his land by spade-labour, and has now 250 labourers employed at good wages, in double digging Bladon-heath, Oxon.

It is reported that the King of Sweden has offered a reward of 10,000 dollars to the person who shall contrive the most efficient apparatus for converting sawdust into charcoal without waste.

A letter from Vienna says, "In the memory of man there never was such a winter, or rather we have not had any winter at all. The temperature is generally 14 degrees. Sometimes there are a few icicles in the Danube, but they arrive from Bavaria, and melt as soon as they mix with the river here. The trees are in flower, everybody wears summer clothes, and the promenades are thronged as if in the height of summer."

FAMINE IN SWEDEN.—A letter from Stockholm of the 15th January, states, that in the provinces of Upsal, Stockholm, and Westmanland, the scarcity has reached such a degree of intensity that it is feared generally, lest a mass of unfortunate persons rush to Stockholm, which would inevitably produce a famine. In Upland there are 14,000 persons without food or shelter.

HEALTHY LOCALITY.—It is an extraordinary fact that with a population of between seven and eight thousand persons in Chelmsford, there has not been a death registered in the parish for a month.

A MIRACLE!—A baker of Critch is astonishing his townsmen by exhibiting an egg, on the shell of which appears, in relief, the words, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die: repent." The baker pretends that one of his hens laid the egg a few days ago, and that the inscription was on the shell when it first came forth!

On Friday the first pie of the Nore viaduct, near Mountrath, was driven to its place, and the work commenced.

Printed at the Whitefish Printing-office, Bouverie-street, in the precincts of Whitefish, in the City of London, by JOHN GOSNEY, printer, of Number 7, Ridgmount-place, Hampstead-road, in the County of Middlesex, and also of Number 4, Fairfield-place, Chesham-hill-road, in the parish of Manchester, in the County of Lancashire, and published at Number 67, Fleet-street, in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, in the City of London, by ABRAHAM WALTER PAULSON, of Number 67, Fleet-street aforesaid.—Saturday, February 28, 1846.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 128.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, MARCH 7, 1846.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

MR. VILLIERS'S MOTION—POLICY OF THE LEAGUE.

The fate of Mr. Villiers's motion for making the Premier's total repeal of the Corn Law immediate, was certainly about the strangest result of a strange concurrence, or conflict, of circumstances, that any legislative assembly ever witnessed. It was not, as in times past, when the honourable member for Wolverhampton had to fight the hard, up-hill battle of fact and argument against half-friends, who thought him "right in principle," but mildly censured him for "going too far;" and declared opponents, who condemned him and his principles as wrong altogether. This time everybody agreed with him, and judged him to be altogether right. The motion was a thoroughly good motion—well principled, and well timed. There was no denying his premises—no resisting his conclusion. It was impossible there could be two opinions about it. Everybody felt, and almost everybody said, immediate repeal was the very thing. It was best for the British farmer, best for the Irish peasant, and best for the political peace and quiet of the country, which would then be totally and immediately relieved of the "machinations" and of the presence of an "unconstitutional" League. The emergency demanded it—sound principle required it—and public opinion could not be satisfied without it. There was scarcely a breath of doubt or dissent. Ministers "could not deny," and Opposition orators "frankly confessed." Sir Robert Peel was clearly of opinion that his plan was "not quite so complete" as Mr. Villiers's, and "less perfect" than Mr. Cobden's. Lord John Russell deemed the League scheme "both more wise as an abstract, and more effective as a practical proposition" than that of the Government. The protectionists, themselves, had said as much—only their memories failed them when the time came for saying it once more, with effect; and they had forgotten all about it. Never was such unanimity. Nobody pretended to think Mr. Villiers mistaken; yet, when it came to the point, Mr. Villiers found himself out-voted by a majority of more than three to one.

This calls for explanation; and the explanation is certainly of the oddest. The fact is, it was found, or fancied, that if the bill was made too good, it would never do for that mysterious "other place" to which so many dark and enigmatical allusions were made in the course of debate. Honourable members' imaginations were positively haunted; and their free agency paralysed, by the felt, though

unseen spirit of this "other place." Sir Robert Peel said, it was totally impossible he could answer for the effect that might be produced in the "other place," by making the bill as good as he thought it ought to be—though he was chivalrous enough to volunteer braving the terrors of the "other place," in case of need. Lord John Russell "would not take the responsibility" of troubling the "other place" with anything like a perfect bill. With a glaring fault or two on the face of it, the bill might have a chance of respectful treatment in the "other place;" but everybody shook his head at the notion of sending a faultless bill to try its fortune in that quarter. It was impossible to say what might befall the bill in the "other place," unless its worst flaws were carefully preserved in their "integrity." Honourable gentlemen seemed, one and all, to have the worst possible opinion of the "other place."

Was there ever such a satire on an existing institution of the country, as that impliedly cast, all through the discussion of Monday and Tuesday nights, on the hereditary branch of the British legislature? It seemed to be taken for granted that their lordships of the upper house are naturally inaccessible to reason. Nobody was disposed to give them credit for believing the most indisputably-authenticated facts, or drawing the most irresistibly-obvious inferences. The general sense of the house was strong against putting too great a strain on their lordships' logical and statesman-like faculties. Nothing could make truth go down in the "other place" but a moderate admixture of the false and foolish—as one sweetens physic for squalling children—not arrived at years of discretion, without inquiring too curiously whether the sugar will improve or detract from the efficacy and wholesomeness of the dose. The faithful Commons apologise to one another and to the country for not doing the right thing by throwing it on the Lords' want of sense. The "lower" house must condescend to the mental debility and limitation of the "upper." Accordingly, all the faults are cautiously retained for the express gratification of the very peculiar tastes so freely attributed to the denizens of the "other place"—on some such principle, we suppose, as that on which the waggish toper, after having carefully taken the flies out of the decanter of wine, as carefully replaced them on the termination of the afternoon's proceedings; "for, though he did not like drinking flies, perhaps others might."

The policy of the League, in bringing forward at this particular juncture a motion having the formal character of opposition to a Free Trade Government, has been—or rather, had been—objected to by certain of our over-sensitive and cautious friends. That policy is, we presume, by this time, justified in the opinion of the most scrupulously-timid of them all. Independently of certain highly instructive and monitory incidents occurring in the discussions of this week—such as Lord George Bentinck's menace about "fighting the battle from pillar to post"—there is everything in the present state and prospects of the question to warn us against relaxing one iota of our demand, or receding by a hairs' breadth from our vantage ground of principle. If any of our friends have been flattering themselves with the belief that we are already out of the wood—that the bill is safe—that the majority of ninety-seven has settled everything—that the lords will be compliant—that there will be no dissolution and general election before the business is over,—they have probably seen or heard that within the last few days which may go far to undeceive them. The bill is not safe. The majority of ninety-seven has settled nothing, so far as regards the events of the next three or six

months. For the compliance of their lordships, no human being can answer. And a dissolution and general election before the business is over, never looked likelier than at this present moment. A flat defiance of the Ministry, the House of Commons, and the country—a direct negative to the Government measure—a categorical No—a determination to maintain "protection in its integrity"—is, perhaps, not to be expected. But there is, just now, very great reason to expect that their Lordships will damage and destroy the bill with "amendments." Rumours of a "fixed duty" have been much afloat of late. The atmosphere of the lobbies and the club-houses is charged with "fixed duty," as the thick air is charged with thunder on a sultry summer's evening. These floating rumours have, within the past day or two, assumed a disagreeably definite shape. On Thursday morning, the *Chronicle* startled the good easy folks, who had been so pleasantly saying to one another, "all right," with the portentous announcement, that—

"Statements are now made of so positive a character, and with such special reference to persons and plans, as to leave no doubt that a very serious opposition to the Ministerial Bill in the Upper House is intended. Looking merely to the opinions of the leaders of the protection party, it might be inferred that a simple and direct negative upon the measure would be the course taken to ensure its defeat. This mode of proceeding would no doubt be most consonant with the feelings of the Duke of Richmond. A little reflection, however, must convince the most impetuous opponent of Sir Robert Peel that such a plan would have slight chance of ultimate success. * * * * Whatever may have been the first thoughts of the protectionist peers, it is not likely that their deliberate resolution will be in favour of an extreme course. It is much more probable that a compromise will be attempted; and although nothing of this sort can in reality meet with better success than would attend an unqualified opposition to the bill, the chances may appear to be more in its favour. Supposing that the high protection peers can be got to abandon their present position as untenable, and to join with men of more moderate views in making a stand for a low fixed duty, it may be imagined that, on that ground, a compromise can be effected. The advocates of such a course will urge that several of those who voted for Sir Robert Peel's bill supported the man rather than the measure, and that a reform less sweeping, if sanctioned by the House of Lords, will find a majority of the Commons to accept it rather than leave the question to be settled by a general election, carried on under circumstances of fierce excitement and exasperation. Upon some such calculation as this the intention is entertained of opposing to the Government Bill, when it reaches the Upper House, the proposition of a moderate fixed duty."

The notion of the protectionists taking up with a "low fixed duty," or a "moderate fixed duty," may seem chimerical to many of those who have still ringing in their ears the old Bond-street shouts of "No compromise," and "No surrender." For ourselves, we can perceive nothing at all chimerical in it. The world has seen enough, during the last week, in the sudden oblivion which overtook the landlords, with respect to everything they had so long been saying about the "infinite preferableness" of immediate or deferred repeal, to be able to judge what these passionate and random dicta of landlordism are good for. "Small fish better than none," or "half a loaf better than no bread," will now be the Richmond motto. Now that "protection in its integrity" is done for, we may expect a stout fight for the fragments. The merest odds and ends will be thankfully received, or impudently solicited. There are men among them, we do believe, who would risk a revolution for a "protection" sixpence. We think it in the highest degree probable, that the *Morning Chronicle's* exposition of protectionist policy is true to the letter.

Now, what is the country's security, in the event of this daring experiment on the public patience being actually tried? Suppose the lords really do that which it is said and believed they mean to do; suppose the ministerial measure thrown out by "amendments;" suppose a dissolution of Parliament, and an "appeal to the people;"—where is our security for the instant and crushing defeat of the audacious attempt?

Simply that which the League, and the League's

Parliamentary friends have taken, from first to last, and especially during the past week. If Sir Robert Peel cannot pass his measure, we, who have never linked our cause with Sir Robert Peel and his measure, are ready to go on with *our* measure. We have kept our old faith; we have maintained our old impregnable position; we have placed and kept our cause out of the reach of party politics and Parliamentary diplomacy; and we are prepared for all contingencies. Even a Ministerial and Parliamentary compliance with protectional suggestions of "amendment"—a thing, however, which it would be most unjust to Sir Robert Peel to speak of as in any way probable—would make no other difference to us than a difference of time. We should do with the new Corn Law exactly that which we have done with its two predecessors—only we should make much shorter work of it. Happen what will, our course is plain before us. We have not made Sir Robert Peel's bill our bill—his defeat would not be our defeat—his submission would not be our submission. In any and every contingency, we have the whole undivided and unbroken force of our principles to fall back upon. The lords may do what they will;—our position is exactly that which it was, three or six months ago—with no other difference than that of the prodigious and incalculable increase of force derived from everything that has happened in the interval.

Is it necessary for us *now* to warn the country against a blind and careless over-confidence? We entreat our friends everywhere to be watchful and alert; to keep their heads cool and clear; to take nothing for granted; to be on the look-out for "dangers, traps, and pitfalls;" to be prepared to hear, some day soon, of a ministerial defeat, a crisis, and a dissolution of Parliament; and to have every thing in the best working order for answering her Majesty's "appeal to the people." That the issue of their lordships' experiment would be sure and swift destruction to the last remnant of protection is no ground whatever for believing that the experiment is not going to be tried.

FREE TRADE AND PEACE.

Notwithstanding the menacing tone and complexion of the recent intelligence from the United States, we still hold to the belief that there will be no war—*can* be no war—between nations whom the ties of commercial intercourse and amity are about to bind together in a more effectual union even than that of a common descent and language, and similar laws and institutions. Were the case, indeed, merely and exclusively one for diplomacy to settle, there would really be ground for well nigh despairing of a pacific adjustment. All overtures of compromise successively rejected; arbitration twice offered, and twice refused; formal notice about to be given, that a settlement of some sort must be had without further delay;—all this has unquestionably a most bellicose aspect. At this moment it is certainly impossible to *see* how war is to be eventually avoided without concessions either by one party or the other, which there is no apparent reason for expecting that any party will consent to make. Still, though not seeing this, we entirely believe in the sure predominance of the mutual necessities and common interests created by free commercial intercourse over the war madness just now raging among a portion of the American people. By pursuits, habits, and interests, they are essentially a pacific people, despite all the fierce and foolish talk with which their halls of legislation have lately echoed. Their history is proof enough of this. For sixty years and more that they have been an independent nation, they have most perseveringly kept the peace, with the exception only of a brief contest provoked by ourselves—and this is a good deal more than any European nation can say for itself. We are unable to believe that now, when a new and potent stimulus is about to be offered to their peaceful industry, in the shape of a large and permanent new market for its produce, they will suddenly be found untrue to their enduring interests, their habitual character, and their traditional maxims of policy.

It will, of course, be borne in mind, that those recent acts of the American Cabinet and Congress, which look so warlike, were determined on in ignorance of that approaching change in our commercial policy which will effect so thorough and sweeping an alteration in the mutual relations and interests of the two countries. The resolution in-favour of giving the twelve months' notice to terminate the joint-occupancy convention (which notice, by the way, is not necessarily and intrinsically a war measure) was adopted, it will be remembered, on the 9th of February—only five days after the sailing, from our shores, of the monthly packet which carried out the intelligence of the Ministerial plan of Free Trade, announced to the House of Commons in the last week of January. That that resolution would not have been carried, had the arrival of this intelligence preceded the conclusion of the debate, is more than we can venture to affirm, in view of all that had previously taken place. But we are fully persuaded that its arrival now will be a vast accession to the moral and political force of the peace party, and render it next to impossible for any class of politicians to hurry the American people into a palpably suicidal contest. We are confirmed in this conviction by the intelligent Washington correspondent of the *Times*, who, on the 4th of February, wrote from the scene of action as follows:

"If Great Britain desires to settle by negotiation the dispute respecting Oregon, and at the same time strengthen the bonds of peace between herself and the United States, let a commercial treaty be negotiated. Settle the Oregon question by dividing it by the 49th parallel, and then negotiate such terms of admission into the English ports for the pork, beef, grain, bread-stuffs, cheese, butter, lard, rice, &c., of the United States as shall make you the best customers for these agricultural products of the United States as you now are for their cotton, and you immediately unite the whole farming interest with the present peace party, and you forge a bond of union between the two countries which it will be almost impossible to sever, or disturb by war."

The writer was not aware that the "commercial treaty" was in process of formation and announcement at the very moment he was penning his recommendation of it—and this without troubling the diplomatists. We have learned at last how to make our "commercial treaties," without wasting time and patience on "negotiation." Renouncing all pretence of making a good bargain—asking for no "reciprocity" stipulations—waiting for no foreign signature or ratification—we have taken the commercial law of the world into our own hands, and are about establishing that surest and simplest of all "commercial treaties," of which merchants are the only negotiators plenipotentiary, and ledgers and bills of exchange the only diplomatic notes and protocols. Some time about the 20th of last month—eleven days after the passing of the obnoxious resolution of Congress, the American people would become acquainted with the fact, that the best and richest corn-market in the world is about to be thrown finally open to the produce of their agricultural and corn-growing western states—and not a syllable said of "terms." A few days will now bring us their first answer to this "message of peace." We shall be greatly surprised if that answer be not such as amply to justify the faith of those who look to Free Trade to unravel the entanglements of diplomacy, and avert the horrors and miseries of war.

What a significant tribute it is to the truth and power of the great principle in whose name we have leagued ourselves, that in all difficult and anxious exigencies—foreign no less than domestic—a Free Trade policy presents itself as the only sure resort of baffled and harassed statesmanship! All the lines of sound and wise policy converge to one point. Whether the peril be famine in Ireland, or "a cloud in the west," whether the problem to be solved be, how to feed and employ our own people, or how to avert with honour an insane and destructive war;—in either case, the solution is the same. At home and abroad COMMERCIAL LIBERTY forces itself on our statesmen, as the only solid guarantee against national calamity.

STATE OF TRADE.—MANCHESTER, Tuesday.—The Indian letters have this morning been received. They are not favourable. Sales were tardy, and prices declining. Money also continued tight. The war had a prejudicial effect.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION OF 1846

Seventh Week, ending Saturday, March 7.

Although the events of Friday night, the 27th of February, are familiar to all our readers, the historical importance of an occasion so memorable will excuse our reverting to it, more especially as we could not do so in our last publication.

It will be recollected that the early part of Friday was occupied by Mr. Ferrand, after his peculiar fashion, and in that style on which, amongst every member of the House of Commons, there is but one opinion, and that a very decided one. Perhaps we overrate the fact in using the phrase "*every member*." Lord John Manners is esteemed for his amiability, and he is enthusiastic, on all occasions, in praise of chivalric feeling and our "ancient aristocracy." He usually sits beside Mr. Ferrand, or rather Mr. Ferrand usually sits beside him, in that portion of the house where the protectionists cluster, or, as Mr. Cobden terms it, in a phrase which is becoming a noted one, "under the gangway." There is no disputing tastes; if Lord Manners likes Mr. Ferrand, it is nobody's business: but, after all, the majority of the House of Commons is composed of gentlemen, and though not indisposed to use a boisterous, blustering, bawling "fugleman," when he serves a turn, it is clear that there prevails a very general distaste of the manners of Lord John Manners's companion.

But Mr. Ferrand was the unconscious cause of performing a good service on Friday night. Mr. Bright reminded him how he shrunk from maintaining, in a court of justice, his base allegation that the chairman of the Anti-Corn-Law League, Mr. George Wilson, and Mr. Rawson, were present at a public meeting where the idea of assassinating the Prime Minister was started. This point was taken up by Mr. D'Israeli, in a speech in which he criticised the Anti-Corn Law League, praised the purity of his own motives, and censured with a bitterness amounting to cold ferocity, the manners and conduct of Mr. Roebuck. This brought up Sir Robert Peel; and the First Lord of the Treasury handsomely retracted the imputation which he had thrown out, three years ago, on Mr. Cobden. He ought to have done it long ago, but "better late than never;" and now that it is over, the scene deserves to be recorded, not merely as exceedingly creditable to both gentlemen, but also for the *moral* which it conveys. Had Mr. Cobden been actuated by the pride and the passion of the school of false "honour," had he even acted on the suggestion thrown out at the time by a leading weekly organ of the liberal party, he would have given Sir R. Peel the alternative of retracting his words, or of "naming his friend." But he has waited for and obtained a nobler, a godlike satisfaction—the voluntary, unsolicited, expression of regret—a regret which, we believe, has long filled the mind of Sir R. Peel—that he should have been betrayed into throwing out a shocking insinuation.

The debate was commenced by Mr. Banks, whose sounding platitudes invariably weary the house. Mr. Bickham Escott, who has become an especial object of dislike to the protectionists, followed in an admirable speech. Captain Gladstone, the brother of the Secretary for the Colonies, and who represents Ipswich, declared himself an advocate of protection; and then came the speech, not merely of the night, but even of the debate. When Mr. Cobden rose, all around him set up a hearty cheer, as if to mark their gratification that his recent illness had not prevented him from showing himself at the closing scene of this never-to-be-forgotten Waterloo of Free Trade against Monopoly. It was gratifying to observe that, not merely the members on the treasury and ministerial benches joined in the cheer, but even some of the protectionists showed their good feeling by participating in it. This grateful tribute over, dead silence ensued; and Mr. Cobden began in a low voice, which, however, gathered strength as he went on and warmed to his subject; but from the first, so perfectly still and quiet was the assembly, that not a word was lost. He commenced by stating that he had carefully read over every word of the debate, although he had been unable to attend the house in person, and it appeared to him that it might be conveniently distributed under two heads. The first was merely the invective of an angry party against the chief whom they had lost; the second treated mainly of the propriety of appealing to the country.

before legislating on this measure, and slightly on the merits of the case.

To those who have never heard Mr. Cobden speak in the House of Commons, it will be difficult to convey an idea of the effect which such a speech as the one on Friday night produces. No matter how entangled the debate may have become (and entangled enough it was after three weeks' discussion), it instantly assumes the shape of a clear, explicit account, in which all the items are balanced, and their precise value assigned. You marvel that you have not seen all this before; and you perceive that the assembly he is addressing is marvelling at it too. But this is very far indeed from being the sole merit of a practical, acute, and sagacious intellect. The members of the House of Commons—at least a majority of them—are shut up in circles, clubs, and coteries; and Mr. Cobden walks into the house as if he had come from another sphere, purposely to enlighten "honourable members" as to the nature of a world of which they are wholly ignorant. Every man listening to him felt that he was tearing away the veil from the face of delusion, and placing the actual state of the country before the legislature. Admirably he treated the demand for an "appeal to the country." Assuming for a moment, for the sake of argument (although he utterly denied the fact), that they could obtain a numerical majority in that house, of whom would that majority and of whom would the minority be composed? Why, in the minority would be found the representatives of every town in England that held 25,000 inhabitants—the sixteen metropolitan members, and the members for the metropolitan county—the representatives of Edinburgh and of Dublin, of Manchester, Glasgow, and Liverpool—all the intelligence, all the active power of the country. Contrast the significance of the votes of the members for London, and that of the representatives of Woodstock or Buckingham. Public opinion would be represented by that minority, while the majority would be composed of the representatives of the pocket boroughs and the nomination counties, with their 50% tenants-at-will. Public opinion, said Mr. Cobden, is of such force, that in 1745, had the same unanimity existed in favour of the Stuart dynasty, as at this moment exists in favour of this measure, that dynasty would at this moment have been sitting on the throne of these realms.

The happy manner in which Mr. Cobden meets interruptions was strikingly exemplified repeatedly during his speech. When the protectionists were shouting out "No, no," to his test of public opinion, he asked, "What, then, will you take as a test? Do you require to be tossed in a blanket?" This raised shouts of laughter.

After Mr. Cobden had concluded, Mr. Spooner and Mr. Borthwick both spoke, but the house was not in the slightest humour to hear either of them. Then Lord George Bentinck, son of the Duke of Portland, who had been in training for a fortnight, delivered a dreadfully dreary speech of nearly three hours, commencing before twelve o'clock, and not concluding till twenty minutes to three. Nothing, however, put him down; and consequently he had the benefit of having the best part of his speech to himself, for the house only listened at brief intervals, and the newspapers have given it very short. Then came the division—

For the amendment 240
Against it 337

Majority in favour of the Government plan, 97

Much cheering marked the announcement of these numbers.

On Monday both branches of the legislature were engaged in listening to the accounts given, by the Earl of Ripon in the House of Lords, and by Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, of the recent military operations in the Punjab, and voting the thanks to the Governor-General of India, and to the officers and troops, by whom the dearly-purchased victories of December last were gained.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Craven Berkeley moved for a Committee of Inquiry into the circumstances attending the getting up of a petition, purporting to come from Cheltenham, but bearing the Manchester post mark, to which certain signatures were alleged to be forged. Mr. Bright satisfactorily explained the circumstances, showing that an irregularity had occurred, but no fraud. The opportunity, however, was a tempting one for the Ferrand and Newdegate section to advance a charge of wholesale manufacturing of petitions by the Anti-Corn-Law League. Nothing, however, was

made out of this, and the Committee of Inquiry was appointed. But on Tuesday Mr. Newdegate moved that it be an instruction to the committee to inquire into the system of objecting to votes in the registry, which led to a lengthened, though aimless discussion. All that Mr. Newdegate took by his motion was a very unequivocal demonstration of the fact that the innocent Conservatives have most extensively played at a game, which has now been turned against them by their opponents. Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell joined in the discussion; and Mr. Charles Buller resolved the whole argument into a *tu quoque* one, and showed that if an inquiry were gone into at all, it must not be a one-sided one, but embracing the conduct of both parties and all parties. Mr. Newdegate is not a peculiarly bright young man; but he opened his eyes wide enough to see the consequences of his motion, which he withdrew.

On Monday night the house went into a committee, without objection from any one. The SPEAKER having vacated the chair, the mace was placed under the table, at which Mr. Greene, the chairman of committees, took his place. Then

Mr. Villiers rose, to make his announced motion that the repeal of the Corn Law should be IMMEDIATE. The speech in which this was done was pithy, terse, argumentative, and, though short, completely exhausted the reasons for an immediate as well as a total repeal. When he had concluded, Colonel Sibthorp got up, and played a variety of antics, which, though amusing at first, grew tiresome. The whole *fun* of the gallant colonel lies in his manner. Sir John Tyrrell has really some humour in him, but Colonel Sibthorp has none; and when he makes one laugh, it is simply because of the absurdity of his assertions, and the superfluous gesticulation with which they are accompanied. For instance, when some members, tired of his nonsense, called out "question," he waved his hand, pointing grandly towards the door, and explained that if they were tired they could walk out! Again, when he found that he could not read his "documents," (he never gets up without sets of papers in his hand, though what they relate to is scarcely ever known), he avowed that his eyes were decaying, but, tapping his breast, he exclaimed, "It's all right here."

In the course of the night several agriculturists spoke, but they all shrunk from "immediate" repeal, notwithstanding their loud taunts. One of them, Mr. Goring, revived the old "whine" about incumbrances; which led to a happy reply from Mr. Bright. He told the agriculturists that their perpetual complaints were more pitiable than the appeal of the candidate in Mr. Dickens's portrait of "Vote for Scroggins and eleven small children!"

The chief speakers of Monday night were Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. Bright, and Lord John Russell. The noble Lord told the House of Commons that it was as competent to alter the protective system, as the House of Commons, which passed the septennial act, was competent to prolong its existence from three to seven years. This argument put the protectionists "under the gangway" into a terrible passion. There they sat, Lord John Manners, along with such eminent public men as Lord George Bentinck, Mr. Ferrand, and Mr. Borthwick; and they were determined to "kick up a row." Accordingly, they moved the adjournment of the debate, which, after a division, in which 227 were against 70, was ultimately yielded, for when a few men are determined, they can renew motions for adjournment till the House is wearied out.

On Tuesday the adjourned debate was renewed by the perpetual Mr. Banks, and Mr. Peter Borthwick amused the house by informing it that he was in the habit of retiring into his "library" to study the political economists, who, however, had failed in convincing him of the practical advantages of Free Trade! Again, there was Mr. Liddell, who placed Bremen in the Baltic!—a blunder which was corrected by Mr. Hutt. Lord George Bentinck, too, told the house that the protectionists were determined on resistance, and will fight the battle from post to pillar, and from pillar to post. Napoleon, he said, had remarked that the English never knew when they were beaten; and so the protectionists never were to know when they were beaten. This bravado brought up

Mr. Cobden, who, in another of his powerful speeches, placed the case in its true light before the house. He reminded Lord George Bentinck that the protectionists were beaten by—Englishmen; and warned them against a protracted resistance, which will compel the Anti-Corn Law League to maintain its organisation, and concentrate its energies.

Mr. Ward, and other members, as Mr. Hudson, Sir John Hanmer, Colonel Sibthorp, Mr. Wakley, Mr. T. Duncombe, &c., took part in the debate, which terminated by a division.

For Mr. Villiers's amendment 78
Against it 267

Majority for Government plan, . . . 187

On Thursday night, the knot of protectionists "under the gangway," showed their sense of what is due to the great interests of the country. Under the leadership of statesmen of the weight, character, and influence possessed by Lord George Bentinck, Mr. Peter Borthwick, and Mr. Ferrand, they mustered to annoy the Government, and carry out the "post and pillar" policy. "Notices of motion" take precedence on Thursdays; and on last Thursday, the first on the list was a motion by Mr. Etwall, the member for Andover, for a committee of inquiry into the Andover Union case. Sir James Graham offered to produce all the documents and correspondence; and Mr. Etwall evinced a disposition to postpone his motion. But this did not suit the protectionists. Solemn Mr. Newdegate had a motion for a select committee, to inquire into an alleged organised and extensive system of fraudulent and vexatious objections to the votes of a great number of duly qualified electors for the northern division of Warwickshire, the northern division of Staffordshire, and certain divisions of other counties. And on this motion there was an amendment in the following form:

Mr. Charles Buller.—To move, as an amendment to Mr. Newdegate's motion, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill to prevent frivolous objections to persons registered as electors for Members of Parliament for Great Britain.

Mr. Newdegate was determined to bring on his motion; and so Mr. Etwall, seeing that his withdrawal would not expedite the Government business, persevered.

The case took up the entire night. For about two hours the house was so thinly attended, that it might have been "counted out." But about nine o'clock the protectionists came down, and took their stations "under the gangway." There was Lord George Bentinck, who is trying the "doctrine of chances"—not on the turf, but in the House of Commons; whether or not he has any heavy bets depending on the issue, we cannot tell. There was placid Mr. Peter Borthwick, whose great stake in the country compels him to take a leading part in the "post and pillar" policy. And there was Mr. Ferrand, whose incessant cheer rises above all other sounds, and pierces the ear like the war-whoop of a wild Indian. These men are bent on showing that they come up to Mr. D'Israeli's notion of a "great statesman," in the possession of "a great idea." Their "great idea" is, that any stick will do to beat a dog with; and any sort of obstruction will answer the purpose of impeding the Government measure. Sir James Graham gave way to what appeared to be the feeling of the house, and consented to a committee of inquiry. At this concession such a burst of cheering—sarcastic cheering—came from "under the gangway," as was quite wonderful to hear. But then Sir James Graham refused to include in that inquiry an investigation into the causes which led to the resignation of Mr. Parker, the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, who had been concerned in the Andover case. This was all that the protectionists wanted. They were getting afraid that they would not have their "division." An amendment was moved. Judas spake, not because he "cared for the poor," but because he "bare the bag." The protectionists voted, not because they were anxious about Mr. Parker, but because they saw they had a chance of beating the Government; and the Government were beat. There were 92 to 69, being a majority of 23 against Ministers.

The following are the amendments which have to be proposed in committee on the Government resolutions:

Mr. Monckton Milnes.—To move the omission of all words, in the resolution respecting the importation of corn, referring to the cessation or alteration of duties to be paid in the year 1849.

The object of this amendment is to render the reduced sliding scale permanent, instead of ending in three years.

Mr. W. O. Stanley.—To propose as an amendment to Sir Robert Peel's plan, That in lieu of the duties now payable on the importation of corn, grain, meal, or flour, the product of Foreign Countries, there shall be paid a fixed duty of five shillings per quarter upon Wheat, two shillings and sixpence on barley, and two shillings on oats; meal and flour in proportion.

This of course is a five shillings fixed duty

Mr. Blackmore.—To propose, instead of the propositions of Sir Robert Peel,—

That, in lieu of the duties now payable on the importation of corn, grain, meal, or flour, there shall, from the passing of the act, be paid the following duties, viz.—

If imported from any foreign country,	s. d.
For every quarter of Wheat	5 0
Do. of Barley	2 6
Do. of Oats	2 0

Other kinds of grain, meal, &c. in usual proportions.

That the said duties shall, as received, be paid into the Bank of England, to the credit of the Poor Law Commissioners.

That the money to be raised hereafter for the relief of the poor, the rates for levying the same shall be made upon land, distinct and separate from the rates upon dwellings-houses, buildings, and other property, and shall be distinguished by the name of "The Land Rate."

That the Poor Law Commissioners shall, every half year, apportion the money so placed to their credit in the Bank of England, to each of the unions or parishes in England and Wales, for which rates to the said land rate are made in such proportions as the amount of the said land rate for each union or parish shall bear to the aggregate

amount of all the land rates of England and Wales collectively.

That on the sums thus apportioned being ascertained, the said Poor Law Commissioners shall transmit an account thereof to each of the unions or parishes to which the same has been apportioned; whereupon the Commissioners shall be rated in the land rate for such union or parish at the sum so by them stated and apportioned, and shall pay the same in like manner as other rated persons; and the sum so rated and paid shall be considered as paid in liquidation of the land rate, and be deducted therefrom, and the amount remaining after such deduction shall be the sum to be raised on the several persons rated to the said land rate in equal proportions in the pound, according to their several assessments.

IMMEDIATE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS. MR. VILLIERS'S MOTION.

DIVISION.
HOUSE OF COMMONS, TUESDAY, MARCH 3.—Ayes, 205; Noes 78.

MAJORITY—AYES.	
Aland, Sir T D	Douro, Marquis of
Acland, T D	Drummond, H H
Acton, Captain	Duckworth, Sir J T B
Adderley, C B	Duncombe, T
Aglionby, H A	Duncombe, Hon A
Alford, Viscount	Du Pre, C G
Allox, J P	Egerton, Sir P
Andros, E	Egerton, Lord F
Arbuthnot, Hon H	Ellise, Right Hon E
Arbuthnot, R	Emilia, Viscount
Astell, W	Entwistle, W
Austen, Colonel	Folden, W
Bagge, W	Ferguson, Sir R A
Bagot, Hon W	Ferrand, W B
Bailey, J, jun	Fisher, Sir E
Baillie, Colonel	Finch, G
Baillie, H J	Fitzmaurice, Hon W
Baine, Walter	Fitzroy, Hon H
Banks, G	Fleetwood, Sir P H
Barkly, H	Flower, Sir J
Baring, Rt Hon FT	Forster, M
Baring, Rt Hon W B	Fox, S L
Barnard, E G	Fuller, A E
Barrington, Viscount	Gardner, J D
Bateson, T	Gaskell, J M
Beckett, W	Gladstone, Captain
Bell, M	Glynne, Sir S R
Benbow, J	Gordon, Hon Capt
Benett, J	Gore, M
Benett, P	Gore, Hon R
Bentinck, Lord G	Goring, C
Beresford, Major	Goulburn, Rt Hon H
Bernal, M	Graham, Rt Hon Sir J
Bodkin, W H	Grady, Marquis of
Boldero, H G	Gray, Rt Hon Sir G
Borthwick, P	Grogan, E
Botfield, B	Hale, R B
Bowes, J	Halford, Sir H
Bowles, Admiral	H. B. Colonel
Boyd, J	Hamilton, W J
Bramston, T W	Hamilton, Lord C
Brisco, M	Hammer, Sir J
Brodie, H	Harcourt, G G
Broadwood, H	Hatton, Captain V
Brooke, Sir A B	Hawes, B
Browne, Hon W	Henley, J W
Bruce, Lord E	Herbert, Right Hon S
Bruce, C I, C	Hervy, Lord A
Buck, L W	Hildyard, T E T
Buller, C	Hinde, J H
Buller, Sir J Y	Hobhouse, Right
Buntley, P S	Hon Sir J
Campbell, Sir H	Hodgson, R
Cardwell, E	Hope, Sir J
Carnegie, Hon Capt	Hope, A
Cavendish, Hon G H	Hope, G W
Cayley, E S	Hornby, J
Chandos, Marquis of	Horsman, E
Chelsea, Viscount	Hotham, Lord
Chichester, Lord J L	Howard, Hon C W G
Childers, J W	Howard, E G G
Churchill, Lord A S	Howard, P H
Clerk, Rt Hon Sir G	Hudson, G
Clifton, J T	Hughes, W B
Clive, Viscount	Hume, J
Cockburn, Right Hon	Hurst, R H
Sir G	Ilson, S
Col, Hon A	Ilson, S
Colebrook, Sir T E	Jermyn, Earl of
Collett, W R	Joelyne, Viscount
Colquhoun, J C	Johnstone, Sir J
Compton, H C	Johnstone, H
Connolly, Colonel	Jolliffe, Sir W G H
Conry, Rt Hon H	Jones, Captain
Courtenay, Lord	Kelly, Sir F
Cowper, Hon W F	Kendall, H
Craig, W G	Kirk, P
Cripps, W	Knight, F W
Davis, D A S	Labouchere, Right
Deedes, W	Hon H
Denison, E B	Lambton, H
D'Eyncourt, Rt Hon	Law, Hon C E
C T	Lawson, A
Dickinson, F H	Legh, G C
Disraeli B	Lemon, Sir C
Dodd, G	Lemon, Lord G H G
Douglas, Sir H	Liddell, Hon H T
Douglas, Sir C E	Loch, J
Douglas, J D S	Lockhart, A E

MINORITY—NOES.	
Bannerman, A	Evans, Sir De Lacy
Berkeley, C	Ewart, W
Berkeley, Hn Capt	Fielden, J
Berkeley, Hon H F	Ferguson, Col
Blewitt, R J	Fitzroy, Lord C
Bouverie, Hon E P	Fox, C R
Bowring, Dr	Gibson, T M
Brotherton, J	Hall, Sir B
Bufield, W	Hastie, A
Chapman, B	Hindley, C
Christie, W D	Holland, R
Cobden, R	Langton, J H
Colborne, Hn W N R	Layard, Captain
Collett, J	McCarthy, A
Crawford, W S	McTaggart, Sir J
Currie, R	Marjoribanks, S
Dalbney, Lord	Marshall, W
Dalbny, Captain	Martin, J
Dalbny, J	Mitchell, H
Duncan, Viscount	Mitchell, T A
Duncan, G	Moffat, G
Dundas, Admiral	Monpetit, Viscount
Dunington, Viscount	Morris, D
Ellie, E	O Connell, D
Elphinstone, H	O Connell, M J
Esott, B	O Connell, J
Etwell, R	Oswald, J

Mr. Alderman Humphrey paired off with Mr. Mackinnon on Tuesday night, the former in favour, the latter against Mr. Villiers's motion.

ANALYSIS OF THE DIVISION ON SIR R. PEELE'S MEASURE.

We are anxious to direct attention to the analysis of the division on Sir Robert Peel's measure, which will be found below. This statistical examination of the relative condition of the protectionists and Free Traders, shows that the strength of the former consists mainly in the pocket boroughs and nomination counties. But before entering further into figures, we must notice those places, the representatives of which voted on different sides, such as South Lancashire and Liverpool. It is voluntary disfranchisement to send an "aye" and a "no" to the House of Commons. It is worse than a compromise, for it is an utter annihilation of principle; and we trust, therefore, that the places which now present the contemptible aspect of "halting between two opinions," will, at the first opportunity, redeem their character, and take their stand either for us or against us. We firmly believe that if such an opportunity were afforded to these neutralised constituencies, they would, in the great majority of instances, if not in all, return Free-Traders. In all the large constituencies, the repealers of the Corn Laws are found to predominate; but as the number of electors diminishes, the number of monopolist representatives will be found to increase in the same proportion. The members for rotten boroughs were unable to resist the real representatives of the people in the struggle for reform, and the present division of forces is in all respects similar to that which existed when the first division was taken on the Reform Bill. But though an examination of the relative strength of parties gives to the Free Traders an assurance of victory, they must not believe that this victory will be won without great labour and exertion. The struggle will not end with the present Parliament; the protectionists vaunt that they will renew their efforts at the next election; and our analysis must be an important guide in the preparations to be made for that event. We exhort the Free Traders, in all those places where the representation is divided, to form electoral associations without delay. To many of the counties we can declare that the day of their redemption is not distant; and we believe that the cause of Free Trade is not hopeless in many boroughs now misrepresented by monopolists. It is necessary to make early preparations for the contingency of a dissolution; and the tabular view we have given will not only aid in the examination of the general policy to be pursued, but will point out the special duties which devolve upon Free Traders in their several localities.

The following is a tabulated statement of the total number of *Boroughs* and *Borough Electors*, represented by the majority and minority who voted for and against Sir Robert Peel's measure:—

FOR.		AGAINST.	
Boroughs.	Aggregate No. of Electors.	Boroughs.	Aggregate No. of Electors.
English & Welsh 122	230,356	English & Welsh 41	28,712
Irish	25,198	Irish	2,196
Scotch	19,347	Scotch	1,650
	266,373		31,268

AGGREGATE ANALYSIS OF BOROUGH AND COUNTY MEMBERS ON BOTH SIDES.

Aggregate No. of County Members	For	Against
Borough Members, England and Wales	190	55
Irish Borough Members	27	3
Scotch Borough Members	21	1
Neutralists	34	34
	339	242

The following is the party analysis of the division:

Party	For	Against
Liberals for	227	112
" Absentees	30	13
" Pairs	11	15
" Against	11	1
Vacant (Mayo)	1	1
Speaker	1	1
Tories for	281	231
" Against	13	15
" Pairs	15	4
Vacant—Notts (2)	4	2
Disfranchised, Sudbury	2	2
Total	656	656

COUNTY MEMBERS.

For going into Committee.	County.	Against.
Acheson, Viscount	Armagh	Verner, Col William
Acland, T Dyke	W Somersetshire	
Dickinson, F H	ditto	
Langton, Wm Gore	E Somersetshire	Miles, William
Anson, Hon Colonel	S Staffordshire	Ingestre, Viscount
Russell, J D Watts	N ditto	Adderley, Chas B
Baillie, Henry Jas	Inverness-shire	
Bowes, John	S Durham	
Vane, Lord H G	ditto	
Browne, Robt Dillon	Mayo	
Browne, Hon Wm	Kerry	
O'Connell, Morgan J	ditto	
Butler, Col Pierce	Kilkenny	
Butler, Pierce S	ditto	
Byng, George	Middlesex	
Wood, Lt Col Thos	ditto	
Carew, Hon R S	Waterford	
Cavendish, Hon G H	N Derbyshire	
Evans, William	ditto	
Chapman, B J	Westmeath	
Clements, Lord	Leitrim	
White, Samuel	ditto	
Clive, Hon Robt H	S Shropshire	Newport, Viscount
	N ditto	Clive, Viscount
	ditto	Gore, Wm Ormsby
Corbally, M E	Meath	
Corry, Hon H T L	Tyrone	
Hamilton, Lord C	ditto	
Dalbny, Capt J V	Wigtownshire	
Dawson, Hon T V	Leath	
Dugdale, W Stratford	N Warwickshire	
	S ditto	Newdegate, C N
	ditto	Brook, Lord S
	ditto	Shirley, Evelyn John
Dundas, David	Sutherlandshire	
Egerton, Lord F	S Lancashire	
Patten, John Wilson	N ditto	Entwistle, William
Drummond, H H	Perthshire	Clifton, John Talbot
Egerton, W Tatton	N Cheshire	
Legh, Geo C	ditto	
	S Cheshire	Egerton, Sir P
	ditto	Tollemache, John
Fitzgerald, R A	Tipperary	
Glynn, Sir S R	Flintshire	
Hutton, Capt V F	Wexford	
Power, James	ditto	
Herbert, Hon Sidney	S Wilts	Benett, John
	N Wilts	Long, Walter
	ditto	Sotheron, T H S
Howard, Hon C W G	E Cumberland	
James, William	ditto	
	W. Cumberland	Irton, Samuel
	ditto	Stanley, Edward
	ditto	Acton, Colonel W
Howard, Sir Ralph	Wicklow	
Lambton, J J H	Dumfriesshire	
Lambton, Hedworth	N Durham	Liddell, Hon H T
Lemon, Sir C	W Cornwall	
Pendarves, E W W	ditto	
	E Cornwall	Carew, Wm H P
	ditto	Rashleigh, William
Lockhart, E A	Selkirkshire	
Macnamara, W N	Clack	
McNeill, Duncan	Argyllshire	
Morpeth, Lord	W Riding, Yorkshire	Denison, E B
	E Riding, Yorkshire	Broadley, H
	N Riding, Yorkshire	Hotham, Lord
	ditto	Cayley, E S
	ditto	Duncombe, Hon O
Morison, Maj Gen W	Clackmannan and Kinross-shire	
O Connell, Daniel	Cork	
O'Conor Don, The	Roscommon	
O'Ferrall, R M	Kildare	
Oswald, Alexander	Ayrshire	
Pennett, Hon Col	Carmarvon	
Smollett, Alexan der	Dumfriesshire	
Stewart, Patrick M	Renfrewshire	
Trail, George	Caithness-shire	
Seymour, Sir H B	Antrim	
Stanley, Hon W O	Anglesey	
Wellesley, Lord C	S Hampshire	Compton, Henry C
	N Hampshire	Heathcote, Sir W
	Breconshire	
	Buteshire	
	Montgomeryshire	
	Cavan	
	N Devonshire	Maxwell, Hon J P
	ditto	Acland, Sir T
	S Devonshire	Buck, Lewis W
	Glamorganshire	Buller, Sir J B Y
	Bedfordshire	Courtenay, Lord
	ditto	Adare, Viscount
	Cambridgeshire	Alford, Viscount
	ditto	Astell, William
	F Surrey	Allix, John P
	ditto	Yorke, Hon E T
	ditto	Andros, Edmund
	ditto	Kemble, Henry
	W Surrey	Trotter, John
	Kincardineshire	Arbuthnot, Lt-Gen
	W Kent	Austen, Col Thos
	ditto	Filmer, Sir Ed
	E Kent	Deedes, Wm
	ditto	Plumtree, John P
	W Norfolk	Bagge, William
	ditto	Chute, Wm Lyde W
	E Norfolk	Burroughes, H N
	ditto	Wodehouse, Ed
	Denbighshire	Bagot, Hon W
	ditto	Wynn, Sir W W
	Herefordshire	Bailey, Joseph, jun
	ditto	Baskerville, T B M
	ditto	Hoskins, Kedgwin
	Linlithgowshire	Baillie, William
	Dorsetshire	Banks, George
	ditto	Floyer, John
	Berkshire	Seymer, H K
	ditto	Barrington, Visct
	ditto	Palmer, Robert
	Londonderry	Pusey, Philip
	ditto	Bateson, Thomas
	S Northumberland	Jones, Capt T
	N Northumberland	Bell, Matthew
	W Suffolk	Ossulston, Lord
	ditto	Benmet, Phillip, Jun
	E Suffolk	Waddington, Harry S
	ditto	Goode, F L
	Rendlesham, Lord	
	Hramston, Thos W	
	Palmer, George	
	N Essex	Round, Charles Gray
	ditto	Tyrell, Sir J T, Bart
	Carlow	Brunen, Col
	ditto	Brubury, Thomas
	Berwickshire	Campbell, Sir H P H
	Down	Castercote, Visct
	ditto	Hill, Lord A E
	N Lincolnshire	Christopher, Rht A
	ditto	Worsley, Lord
	S Lincolnshire	Trotter, Sir J, Bart
	ditto	Turner, Christopher
	E Gloucestershire	Codrington, Sir C W
	W Gloucestershire	Worcester, Marqs of
	S Dorsetshire	Haile, Robert B
	ditto	Colville, Charles R
	Donegal	Munday, Edward M
	ditto	Conolly, Col E M
	ditto	Hayes, Sir E S, Bt

LIBERAL ABSENTEES.—30.

Archbold, R. Kidder County
 Aspinwall, Sir A. King's County
 Barker, R. M. Leath
 Berkeley, G. W. Gloucestershire
 Bodman, J. J. Galway County
 Coddington, D. Cork
 Duff, J. Banffshire
 French, F. Roscommon County
 Granger, T. Durham City
 Grattan, H. Meath County
 Hallyburton, F. G. Forfarshire
 Johnson, Gen. W. A. Oldham
 Kelly, J. Limerick City
 Maher N. Tipperary County

O'Brien, J. Limerick City
 O'Brien, W. J. Limerick County
 O'Brien, C. Chre County
 O'Connell, S. C. H. S. No. 10, Cumberland
 O'Sullivan, R. B. Wexford
 Powell, C. Limerick County
 Riccardo, J. L. Stockton-on-Tees
 Roche, E. B. Cork County
 Sholl, R. L. Dungarvon (abroad)
 Talbot, C. R. G. Glamorganshire
 Tuite, H. M. Westmeath County
 Watson, W. H. Kinsale
 Wemyss, Capt. Fifeshire
 Westenhra, Hn.-Cl. King's Cnty
 White, H. Longford County

PAIRS.

Newry, Lord, Newry
 Blak, Sir V. Bart. Galway
 Deane, W. J. West Surrey
 Deane, F. Orkney and Zetland
 Holland, R. Hastings
 Gistow, Lord, St. Albans
 Maitland, T. Kirkcudbrightsh.
 Ponsonby, C. Poole
 Rice, E. R. Dover
 Rutherford, Rt Hon A. Leith
 Standish, C. Wigan
 Stuart, W. V. Waterford County
 Alexander, N. Antrim County

Wendham, J. H. C.
 Nicholl, D. Cardiff, &c.
 Trevor, R. Carmarthenshire
 Hopburn, Sir T. Haddingtonsh.
 Lindsay, H. Sandwich
 Eaton, Capt. Cambridgeshire
 Barneby, J. E. Worcestershire
 Archdall, Capt. Fermanagh
 County
 Williams, T. P. Great Marlow
 Cresswell, AB. Northumberland
 Bernard, Lord, Brandonbridge

THE LANCASHIRE MEMBERS IN THE DIVISION.

(From the Manchester Guardian.)

A very natural inquiry in this neighbourhood and district is, "How have the Lancashire county and borough members voted?" In all, this county sends twenty-six representatives to Parliament,—four county, and twenty two borough, members. We are sure that all who desire to see signs of progress, will feel the deepest mortification to find that both the northern and southern division of the county have on this occasion been neutralised, in voice and vote, in the legislature, the members of each division having voted on opposite sides; so that neither North nor South Lancashire, by its representatives, has been able to say either yes or no, to the ministerial measure on the Corn Laws. In the southern division, Lord Francis Egerton says "Yes"; Mr. William Entwistle cries "No." In North Lancashire, Mr. William Patten supports Sir Robert Peel; Mr. Talbot Clifton votes against him. Two Lancashire boroughs are in the same unenviable condition,—Liverpool saying "Yes" by Lord Sandon, and "No" by Sir Howard Douglas; and Lancaster, by Mr. Greene supporting Sir Robert Peel's measure, and dealing it a back-handed blow by the vote of Mr. George Marton. We commend this state of things to the earnest consideration of the county and borough electors; it is for them to say whether they shall in this way be virtually deprived of all "voice potential" in the legislature, on one of the most important questions that ever agitated Parliament and the country. Only one Lancashire borough has, by its member, voted wholly the wrong way. Mr. John Ireland Blackburne has thus added a further stimulus to the Free Traders of Warrington, to return a better man at the next general election. Wigan has been reduced to one vote on this occasion, by the recent determination of Captain Lindsay not to defend his seat; but that one vote, as every body would be sure who knows Mr. Standish, was rightly employed, that gentleman having paired off with Mr. A. B. Cresswell, the protectionist member for Northumberland. Oldham, too, was temporarily deprived of one of its votes, General Johnson being amongst the absent (without pairing), it is probable from ill health. Mr. John Fielden voted with ministers. The other boroughs of Lancashire were all on the right side; all, by their members, supported the Free Trade measure of Sir Robert Peel, Ashton, Blackburn, Bolton, Bury, Clitheroe, Manchester, Preston, Rochdale, and Salford,—all the members for these boroughs swelled the ranks of the majority in the memorable division of Friday last. The position of the Lancashire members, then, may be thus analysed:—

Voted for Sir R. Peel's measure.....	18
Paired in its favour.....	1
	19
Voted against it.....	5
Absent.....	1
Vacant.....	1
	—
Total	26

REPRESENTATION OF BRIDPORT.—Mr. Cochrane made his *entree* on Friday. In the evening the late member delivered a Free Trade address. An address, with a long requisition, was carried the same day on behalf of Mr. Romilly, a consistent Liberal and Free Trader, who, it is understood, will stand the poll. The protection candidate has been announced, but, in the present state of parties here, it is not expected he will be put in nomination.

BRIDPORT ELECTION.—The nomination takes place to-day. The canvass in favour of Mr. John Romilly is said to have been highly promising in its reception by the most influential inhabitants of the borough. Mr. Cochrane has striven hard, with slender success, to explain his inconsistencies; and there is the fairest prospect of Bridport returning to Parliament a representative able and willing to co-operate with Mr. Mitchell in an honourable, genuine, and vigorous support of liberal principles and liberal institutions.

REPRESENTATION OF LINCOLN.—A report is in circulation amongst the electors of Lincoln, that Mr. Alderman Rudgard has received a letter, which states that if Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton can be shown, that with the present state of parties, he has any chance of being returned as one of the representatives of Lincoln, he will again become a candidate. A public meeting is to be forthwith called, to take the matter into consideration.

REPRESENTATION OF LYMINGTON.—Mr. George Koppel, a native of the town, has announced his intention of offering himself as a candidate for the representation of Lymington, Hants, at the next election. On the motto, "The greatest good to the greatest number," he says his political views are based. It is not his wish, he adds, to disturb the town by a premature canvass.—*Post.*

NORTH NOTTS.—The final close of the poll was, for Lord Henry Bentinck 1,741; for Lord Lincoln 218.

SALISBURY.—Lord Ashley is spoken of as likely to be a candidate for the representation of this city, whenever a vacancy occurs.

THE "INFAMOUS FABRICATION."

(From the Times.)

The public will not forget that from the 4th of December, upon which day we announced the determination of Sir R. Peel and his colleagues to repeal the Corn Laws, until the meeting of Parliament, when the truth could no longer be concealed, we were twice a day assailed with whole columns of the grossest abuse by the Mrs. Gamp and Mrs. Harris of the press,—that, not only was our announcement stigmatised as an "infamous fabrication," but that the conductors of this journal were accused of having wilfully set abroad a falsehood for the purpose of profiting by alleged operations in the stock, share, and corn markets. We have hitherto left these decrepit scolds unnoticed; the events of the last month have been a sufficient refutation of their calumnies; but a confession is so rare among those convicted of falsehood, that we cannot refrain from giving the first of the cronies who has shown symptoms of repentance the benefit of the following extract, from an article which she published last evening:—

"On the evening preceding that announcement of *The Times*, which we contradicted by authority, being instructed (unconsciously on our part) to 'tell a lie in the words of truth,' an insult and an injury which we must ever remember, on the evening of the 3d of December letters were, we know, despatched to public men of influence in the United States, by officers of the Government, making announcements similar to that made by *The Times* of the 4th. We have indeed, now little doubt that the article of *The Times* proceeded directly from the Treasury, and that the false part of it, the alleged decision of the Cabinet, was thrown in with a view to American use."

THE LEAGUE AND THE REGISTRATION COURTS.

(From the Daily News.)

This is the first year since the passing of the Reform Act in which the people have had fair play in any portion of the county registration. It is the first year in which, to any great extent, organisation has been confronted by organisation, claim by claim, and objection by objection. The squires have had it all their own way hitherto; and in their new affected purism must submit to be reminded of their past misdeeds. They have crammed the lists with sham voters. The first onset of the League upon the registration laid bare a mass of falsification. Last year, a commencement was made with South Lancashire. The result was, that 878 objections were sustained; considerably more than annihilating Mr. Entwistle's majority. In the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1,242 names were expunged by the revising barrister. During the last revision, the objections pronounced valid were, in East Gloucester, 249; East Somerset, 358; South Cheshire, 177; East Surrey, 367; North Staffordshire, 700; South Staffordshire, 442; North Cheshire, 349; Middlesex, 869; North Lancashire, 715; South Lancashire, 251 (in addition to last year's expurgation). A total of 6,600 non-legal votes in ten counties, argues an industrious manufacture. It was time to search into this abuse. Of course there must be many struck off, to whom it would be absurd to attribute fraud. But as in all this operation the League has been put to a very trifling expense for costs, which are given when the objections are frivolous and vexatious, a large amount of fraud is presumable. To those who hold their seats by such means, it must seem very desirable to raise a dust and stop the progress of detection and correction.

There are forty-two counties in England and Wales (not reckoning the electoral subdivisions) yet untouched. The registration ought to be cleansed in them also, before that appeal to the electors, for which some protectionists are so clamorous. It is not probable that they are in any better condition. The preference, for the commencement, has been simply founded on local convenience. Manchester, Leeds, and London have been its central points. The forms required by the Act render officers and agents necessary, for copying, witnessing, and many other operations, besides ascertaining whether there be grounds of objection. But no county ought to escape. The landlord influence has ample strength, when reduced within its legal boundaries. It must be taught to confine itself to the limits prescribed by the Act. It has no right to fictitious constituencies. Nobody suspected the extent of the imposition. Once ascertained in about a sixth of the country, as to representation, it is out of question that the remaining five-sixths should elude a like searching examination. The vote-factories must all be overhauled.

This work, though carried on conjunctively with, is in itself quite independent of, the introduction of new voters by their purchasing the legal qualification. It is merely a purification of the existing registries. It reduces them to legality. It carries the law into practical effect. The law may be good or bad. The disfranchising limitations may be wise or foolish. The squires had a hand in making them, which is more than can be said of the League. If unwise or unjust, let them be repealed. But anyhow, there must be the same law for both parties. That is only now beginning to be the fact in practice. The abuse has been untouched. Fraud has stalked abroad triumphantly, buckling swords and spurs upon its chosen ones. They must now produce their representative title deeds. Shearing pigs suggests but a faint idea of the consequent outcry.

The chance of a fair registration for counties is contingent on the existence of some such body as the League, at the head of a popular agitation. Individual exertion is utterly incompetent; and the little Subscription Societies, which have here and there existed, are almost as fruitless. It requires clear heads and active hands; a large establishment and a long purse. The law is made for landlords. In ordinary times any struggle is vain, either with their legitimate power, or with its fraudulent additions. For electoral right in counties, the League is a godsend. People should make the most of it. They have never had such a chance before, and never may again. Let them watch closely the attempt to obstruct its progress.

If, rather than endure further exposure and the loss of legislative honours and political power which must follow such exposure, the protectionists will honestly consent to simplify the system, they will, we are sure, meet with cordial co-operation. But it must be no one-sided reform. The

franchise must not be narrowed. The expense and trouble of these registration battles must be materially abated. The technical conditions of a legal vote must be reduced; and so reduced as to render it much more easy for the honest, and more difficult for the fraudulent, to get upon the list. Repeated objections, the circumstances being the same, must be repressed by heavy penalties. A simple uniform suffrage, like that of the 10% householders in towns, would perhaps be the best remedy. Or a general registration of landed property, large and small, in which all charges of ownership would be recorded. Abusing the League does not mend the mischief in the least. It only shows that they have laboured not in vain, and have known how to plant their blows on the weak and sore places of monopoly. They will not fail to profit by the further knowledge of that kind which the present discussions afford, and for applying which there will be plentiful opportunity during the ensuing three years of pettifogging protection and continued struggle.

GENERAL DEBIT AND CREDIT ACCOUNT OF THE SPECIAL BURTHENS AND EXEMPTIONS OF LAND.

(From the Economist.)

Judging by the language held by some of the most influential members of the House of Lords, we are led to expect that the Corn Law repeal will be opposed, in their House, chiefly on the ground of alleged burthens peculiarly borne by land; and, at least, if they agree to the measure proposed by the Government, we may look for some attempt to change the present distribution of taxation, local or general, in some way which they will deem more favourable to the agricultural body as a class, and to land as a property. Such is the distinct object for which Lord Beaumont's Committee was sought and has been granted. Now, we feel assured that no proposition of the kind will be accepted by the House of Commons or by the country, whether attached to the new Corn Bill, as a condition of its passing, or passed as a separate and independent measure. We own we are not without considerable apprehensions lest an attempt be made, if not to defeat the bill in the House of Lords by attaching some such condition, at least to delay its progress on the pretence of waiting for the report of that Committee. No effort should be saved to prevent such a catastrophe.

The great object of complaint in the distribution of local burthens is, that real property only is rated to them, by which means all capital represented in stock in trade and money in the funds escape any charge for the maintenance of the poor and other local objects. This objection is made with more semblance of good reason, from the fact that the statute of Queen Elizabeth providing for the poor expressly includes all such personal property as rateable thereto. It has, however, long been abandoned as an impracticable attempt to rate personal property, although the exemption is provided for only by an annual bill. This exemption, however, of personal property is by no means the partial measure which those interested in land are in the habit of representing it, or that it may at first sight appear to be. All real property, of whatever kind, whether consisting of land, houses, mills, docks, canals, or railways, is rated to these burthens; and by the most recent Parliamentary papers, it appears that land does not now represent quite one half of the whole. But then it is complained that stock in trade and capital employed in commerce, from which large profits are derived, are exempt. True; but the stock in trade of the cultivator of the soil, whether owner or tenant, consisting of machinery, implements, cattle, flocks, and corn, and the whole capital engaged in his trade, are also exempted. And if we are to accept as an approximation to the truth of the computations made by Mr. Allison, Mr. McQueen, and others, of the comparative annual value of the products of the soil, no part of which are rated, and those of trade and manufactures, the exemption must be very greatly in favour of the land. Now, it is obvious that any tax placed upon farming stock or capital would indirectly be a charge upon the rent of the land; therefore, as between land as a property and all other capital used in other pursuits, the exemptions would appear to be balanced. Land, in round figures, at present pays one-half of these rates—other real property pays the other half. Include in the assessments the capital and stock used in both classes of pursuits, and while the nominal rate "in the pound" would be greatly reduced by being spread over a larger surface, yet still land and its stock and capital would pay the one-half, while other property and its stock and capital would pay the other half.

But even admitting, which clearly cannot be seriously insisted upon, that the whole share of the poor rates payable by land is a burthen upon land, and not shared by other capital and stock, we have already shown in our article of the 14th that there are other exemptions in favour of land which do not apply in any degree to personal property, which more than counterbalance this and all the other alleged special burthens.

The same remarks that we have now applied in respect to the poor rates and the apportionment of their assessment, apply in every respect to the highway rate and the church rate. We showed in that article, by reference to Parliamentary documents, that the proportions of the poor and county rates, and of the highway and church rates, contributed by land, are as follow:

Proportion of poor's and county rates collected from	£
land	2,096,637
Ditto of highway and church rates, ditto	496,974
Total	£2,593,611

Admitting, therefore, the whole allegations respecting the exclusive payment of those burthens as really true, which they are obviously not, then this sum represents the whole amount paid by land. Be it always remembered that a similar amount is paid by other kinds of property, and that if other capital and stock are exempted in trades and manufactures, so they are also in farming.

With regard to the alleged burthen of tithe, we have already shown (in our article of the 14th) that there can be no excuse for stating it as a charge on the owner of the land. It is a portion of the property, neither inherited nor purchased, and is no more a charge upon the rent which the landowner receives than would the share of the income be, which might be paid to a co-proprietor of an estate. To recompense the owner of land for the tithe would be to make him a present of it, as much as if he were compensated for a mortgage, or the interest held by a joint-proprietor.

With regard to the malt duty, this is obviously a tax paid by the consumer of the article, which is enhanced in price in order to repay the maltster for the sum advanced by him, in the same way as the sugar merchant is reimbursed for

the customs' duty advanced by him. But it is alleged that the interests of the land are injured in consequence of the demand for barley being diminished from the lessened consumption caused by the tax. This, no doubt, is so far true. But if the consumption were ever so much increased, it could not be supplied by barley of English growth, as already we are obliged to import largely every year of this grain. An increased consumption, therefore, could only cause an increased use of foreign barley. But were it otherwise, can anything be more preposterous than to set up this claim? Exactly analogous to it would be the demand of the grocer, the tea dealer, or the spirit-merchant, for compensation for the necessary limit which the enormous duties imposed on those articles place upon their respective trades.

With respect to stamps, we have in our former article shown that this branch of the public income is as nearly as possible charged in equal proportions on all classes of the community.

Turning then to the exemptions of land. In our article of the 14th we show, by a calculation in every respect favourable to real property, that its exemption from the probate and legacy duty amounts at least to 1,675,946l. annually. We, however, committed an error in placing the whole of this amount as an exemption in respect to land only, as the calculation, in which land was stated as bearing a proportion of 52 per cent to the whole, included all real property. We are, therefore, only entitled to claim 52 per cent of that sum as an exemption to land, which will be 871,491l. annually. The next item of exemption stated was in respect to the horse duty;—in respect to which we made too low an estimate, as we only included the number of horses which had been charged, and for which exemptions were granted subsequently. We find, however, that it is not the custom for farmers to make any return of such horses at all. The number we stated as exempted from duty in 1841 was 435,002. In 1814 this class of horses, now exempted from duty, paid a low tax, and the number then was 937,898. It is not possible that this number can have diminished, but when we consider how much land has been brought under tillage during that period, it must be greatly increased. The exemptions from horse duty may be thus stated:—

In 1841—claimed for riding horses used by farmers renting under 500l. a-year, where only one horse is kept, 51,898 at 1l. 8s. 9d. each, and 10 per cent. ..	82,062
Horses employed in husbandry, at the average of the progressive duty taken as in 1814, 937,898 at 1l. 18s. 3d. and 10 per cent. ..	1,981,633
In 1841—horses exempted, specially, occasionally employed, otherwise than in agriculture, 17,056, at 1l. 18s. 3d. and 10 per cent. ..	35,878
In 1841—horses bred by bailiffs and herdsmen, exempted, were 1601 at 1l. 8s. 9d. and 10 per cent. ..	2,531
Total horse exemptions ..	£2,102,104

The total of the horse duty exempted from land amounts to a larger sum than the whole amount paid by that property to the poor rates altogether!!! This exemption, however, must be taken under one qualification. The amount of poor rates stated apply only to England and Wales. The exemption of the horse duty includes Scotland. When, however, we consider that we only calculated the same number of horses as now engaged in agriculture that paid duty as such in 1814, we make an ample allowance for the small portion of the whole, belonging to Scotland. The exemptions from window-duty claimed, in respect to houses occupied by labourers and farm houses of farms, under a rental of 200l. a-year, amounted in 1841, to 28,284l. And the exemptions on 66,778 dogs employed in the care of cattle and sheep amounted to 32,690l. Then there is an exemption from the duty on fire insurances, and also from the payment of tolls on the turnpike roads. There are no precise means of discovering the amount of these exemptions as applicable to land, but we may arrive at an approximation.

By the finance accounts for the year ending April 5, 1845, the amount yielded by fire-insurances was 1,003,669l. Taking it for granted that one-half of this sum represents moveable stock, and the other half buildings, and taking, it for granted, that the amount of farm stock insured throughout the country equals one-half the amount of stock in other trades, including household furniture, which we believe to be near the truth, then the exemption in favour of land will amount to 250,917l; which sum, considering the rapid increase of the number of fire-insurances effected of late years, appears below the real amount.

With regard to the exemptions from tolls on highways. By a Parliamentary paper, 580, September, 1843, it appears that the total revenue from turnpike roads in 1841, was 1,574,518l. It is impossible to compute what addition would be made to this sum, if all farmers' carts, waggons, and riding horses, going to and from market, conveying produce or manure, or being empty, paid the usual tolls; but when we consider the recurrence of one or two market-days in each week, in each market-town in the kingdom, and the immense number of farmers with carts, waggons, &c., who attend each, to say nothing of their use of the roads on other days, it would certainly appear that it would amount to a sum at least as large as is paid by travellers of all other classes. In agricultural and rural counties it must far exceed that sum. But to avoid the possibility of any exaggeration, we will consider the exemptions from toll to equal only one-half of the sum contributed by others; and this will show a yearly sum exempted in favour of the land of 787,209l.

We have now passed every item under consideration, and if with a leaning at all, towards the land. We will now put them together in the form of a clear debit and credit account.

Debit and Credit Account of the alleged Special Charges on Land, and of the Special Exemptions under Statute of Charges to which all other Property or Classes are liable:	
Debit. £	Credits. £
To exemption from legacy and probate duty, on land only ..	871,491
Horse duty ..	2,102,104
Window duty ..	28,284
Dog duty ..	32,690
Fire Insurance ..	250,917
Turnpike tolls ..	787,209
£4,072,695	£4,072,695
Balance down against the land, £1,479,084.	

Now we entirely deny, for reasons already explained, that either the poor rate, or the county rate, or highway rate, or church rate, are special burthens on land. All other property pays a sum equal to the land, and if the other capital and stock belonging to traders does not pay thereto, neither does that belonging to land. But were it otherwise—were it, as is asserted, that these charges are to be so classed as special burthens—then do we find special exemptions in

favour of land amounting to a sum exceeding those charges by 1,479,084l., and without any corresponding exemptions whatever in favour of other classes.

One remark more and we close this case of the distribution of local and general taxation. Whatever may be the distribution of taxes, whether equal or not in the first instance, it is quite clear that they are soon equalised by the relative value which property chargeable thereto assumes; and though a tax unequally distributed may, at the time of its first imposition, act unfairly upon some classes of property, yet all subsequent possessors, whether by inheritance or purchase, have received it at a value proportioned to their burthens, and have therefore no right to complain of them, even if they existed. A new distribution, even though apparently more equal, would only be a new act of injustice, in exonerating one kind of property from a tax to which it had been subject when purchased, and imposing it on another which had been exempt therefrom when purchased.

Our space will not this week permit us to follow up the consideration of the relief which land as a property, and the agricultural body as a class, have derived in the amount of the local and general taxes to which they are chargeable, by the increase of trade and manufactures; and we must, therefore, defer it till next week.

MORE SACRIFICES OF OLD FRIENDS.

(From the Spectator.)

A new light has dawned upon the House of Lords. Year after year for more than a century have they, in combination with the Commons, been sharpening the law against vulgar destroyers of hares; but now hares are to be exterminated all the same as magpies. The Duke of Richmond declares they are "nothing but vermin"; and that ever since he became possessed of property he has destroyed all the hares upon it. Such being his grace's views, it is passing strange that he has never thought of interfering in behalf of his fellow labourers in the task of extirpating this "vermin," whom his brother landowners have been in the habit of sending to gaol. The Duke of Richmond claims credit for destroying hares; but the labourer who emulated him, instead of receiving so much per head, has been fined and imprisoned.

The unkindest cut of all to these ex-pets of the aristocracy has been inflicted by Lord Ashburton. On the same evening that the Duke of Richmond propounded his new definition of the genus Hare in the House of Lords—on the second reading of Lord Dacre's Game Bill—Lord Ashburton proposed that hares should be "struck out of the class of game altogether." Not a voice was raised in favour of the poor animal whom he proposed to degrade from the patrician caste of game. The scene reminded one of Gay's "Hare with many Friends." Hares collectively, as well as individually, are petted and praised only so long as they cost nothing. While hares were supposed to be fed exclusively at the farmer's expense, they were preserved ("protected") à la Poultre. But it has been found out, as the Duke of Richmond says, that "they not only injure the farmer, but the landlord, as they bark many of his most valuable trees." The barking of hares disturbs the noble duke's slumbers worse than the barking of dogs. The catiff hares no longer deserve the honour of dying by aristocratic triggers; they are to be consigned to a more vulgar doom. Ere long we may see hare-catchers as much run after as mole-catchers or rat-catchers. The "hare-destroyer to the Duke of Richmond" may rival in celebrity the "bug-destroyer to her Majesty."

If the hares but knew what is awaiting them, they would be as active at this crisis as the other agricultural interests. While the landlord endeavours to persuade tenant-farmers and labourers that the Corn Law is as much their question as his, the hares might address appeals quite as moving, and more convincing, to the partridges and pheasants, "Lord Ashburton," we think we hear some veteran puss—some Miles or Richmond of the leporine race—address the assembled Preserve. "Lord Ashburton may believe, or affect to believe, that by sacrificing us 'all complaints would be speedily got rid of.' But what says Lord Hatherton?—'he had destroyed hares and rabbits, and had found the pheasants and partridges increase in consequence.' Will these avaricious farmers, who seek to have the protection of the Game Law withdrawn from us, tolerate this increase? Their success in obtaining an ostracism of hares will only encourage them to demand the proscription of pheasants and partridges. The grouse and black-cock may be left for a season unmolested in their heathy retreats, but all the game of the cultivated land will speedily share their doom. True conservatives ought to concede nothing; for every concession but encourages to fresh demands. If the stroke of a pen—the wording of an act can make hares, who have been game for centuries, no game, will not the prestige which attaches to all kinds of game be weakened? I may go further: if an act of Parliament can unmake game, it may also unmake Peers. Our peerage and our game both came in with the conqueror. Let the peers beware, lest in making no game of us they teach the Radicals to make game of them." Then, wiping his eyes with his tail, he may protest that it is not for himself, nor even for the dear and numerous progeny around him that he cares, but for the throne and the altar.

THE PROGRESS OF THE LEAGUE.

(From the Glasgow Argus.)

When, in our progress towards Free Trade, we have attained, as at present, a high and commanding eminence, it may be well to pause a little, and look back upon the thorny and discouraging path we have trodden. The reflection may stimulate us to further exertion in promoting the cause of sound legislation, notwithstanding all the discouragements with which it may be apparently beset.

"Cobden and the League have done it all," say the protectionists now, in the anguish of their hearts.

Hear how Cobden and the League were spoken of some two or three years ago, by one of the great organs of the protectionist party. In "Blackwood's Magazine" for October, 1843, appeared an article, entitled "The Last Session of Parliament," which was cried up at the time as a most masterly essay, and as giving the death-blow to Free Trade agitation. Thus were Cobden and the League spoken of:

"Corn Law agitation is that mammoth nuisance of our times by which the gaiety of nations is eclipsed. We are thankful that its damnable iterations have now placed it beyond the limits of public toleration. No man hearkens to such debates any longer; no man reads the reports of such debates; it has become criminal to quote them; and recent examples of torpor beyond all torpor, on occasion of Cobden meetings amongst the inflammable section of our population, have shown, that not the poorest of the poor are any longer to be duped, or to be roused out of apathy by this intolerable

fraud. Full of gifts and lies is the false, fleeting association of these Lancashire cottoners. But its gifts are too windy, and its lies too ponderous." And so on for several pages.

How must the writer of these vinegarish words, of these audacious sentiments, have stared (if he be still alive to stare) on reading the report of the proceedings in the Commons last Tuesday, to learn that the "nuisance" which no man would listen to has been adopted by a great majority of the nation—by almost every uneducated man of sound sense and good feeling in it—that the "lies" of the League have been adopted as the principles of the Premier; and that the "intolerable fraud" is about to become the basis of a beneficent and wise legislation?

OUR COMMERCIAL MARINE.

(From the Nautical Herald.)

In 1813, the first blow was given to the monopoly of the trade with India, but the hon. company did not yield up the exclusive power, which they had so long possessed, without a severe struggle to retain it, and they and their partisans, both in and out of Parliament, argued that our great prosperity in the East arose from the affairs of the Government of India being administered, and from the commerce with the natives being controlled, by a few Directors of unsurpassed honour, wisdom, and talents; and they boldly asserted if the trade were thrown open it would fall in the hands of needy, ignorant, and unprincipled adventurers, by whom it would be destroyed, and who would involve themselves and the country in irretrievable losses and ruin, and would disgrace and degrade the great name and character of Englishmen, so highly appreciated and honoured by the native merchants. After much discussion, Parliament decided that the East India Company should retain the exclusive right of trade with China, but that the trade to the other ports in India should be free to ships licensed by the Company. The trade under these restrictions was partially thrown open and we must judge from the result how far the prophecy of its ruin, and the destruction of the British character and capital has been fulfilled—perhaps the names of Green, Money Wigram, J. and W. Smith, Wimble, Somes, Toulmin, and many others we could select of the hon. and rich merchants and shipowners, in whose hands and by whose capital and talents the commerce with India is now carried on, is a triumphant answer to the one part of the prophecy, and the advantages of monopoly will be best appreciated and answered by the following tables:—

Number of ships and their tonnage which cleared out from London to China and the ports of India, during the following years of the monopoly of the trade by the East India Company.

Years.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1803 ..	55 ..	48,228
1808 ..	44 ..	40,235
1813 ..	44 ..	38,556

Here, then, is a decrease each five years of the monopoly, and between the years 1803 and 1813 a decrease is shown of 11 ships, and nearly 10,000 tons.

Now for the seven years after the trade was thrown open: Number of ships cleared out from London to China by the Company, and from Great Britain by the Company, and by licensed traders.

Year.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1820 ..	109 ..	69,598
Increase since 1813, ships, 65; tonnage, 31,042.		

Thirteen years after, when the trade was thrown open and unrestricted to China, as well as to all the ports in India, the ships cleared out from Great Britain to India were—

Year.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1833 ..	259 ..	115,603

which shows a further increase from 1818 of 150 ships, and 46,005 tons.

Did the trade fall off after that it was wholly free? Let the returns speak. Cleared out in the

Year.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1840 ..	411 ..	190,852

which shows an increase from 1833 of 152 ships: tonnage, 74,750.

Let us conclude our statistics with the returns of last year:—

Year.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1845 ..	620 ..	291,999

Increase in the last five years, ships, 109, tonnage, 161,646. And since 1813, the last year of vaunted monopoly, and under which monopoly the trade had in the ten preceding years decreased nearly one-fourth, the Free Trade increased to—ships, 576; tonnage, 253,443.

CORN LAWS.—Yesterday a Parliamentary paper, obtained by Mr. Moffat, the member for Dartmouth, was issued, showing the number of addresses and memorials presented praying for the opening of the ports and repeal of the Corn Laws, since the 1st of September last. From the first branch it seems that 111 "addresses praying for the opening of the ports and repeal of the Corn Laws have been transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and presented by him to the Queen, since the 1st of September, 1845." Of that number 46 were for opening of the ports; some of the addresses were for opening the ports and for a Repeal of the Corn Laws. The memorials of the city of London, Liverpool, and Manchester, appear in the document. There were, it appears, by the second part of the return, 168 memorials addressed to the First Lord of the Treasury, the Lords of the Treasury, the Lords of the Privy Council, &c., praying for the opening of the ports, since the 1st of September, 1845, and two for the importation of Indian corn.

ALARMING PROSPECTS OF THE POTATO CROP.—At the ordinary meeting of the Horticultural Society, held yesterday, Dr. Lindley exhibited specimens of new frame potatoes as well as those grown in the open ground, from various parts of the country, which appeared to prove that the disease will be greater in the ensuing, than it was in the past season. Dr. Lindley further stated that on Saturday he had received from Lord Aberdeen the correspondence with the different British Consuls abroad upon the subject; amongst the most interesting of which was that from Washington, in which it was stated that the disease first appeared at Massachusetts in 1843, and went on increasing in intensity the last two years. The same course might be expected in this country, and it required the utmost caution to guard against the effects of its progress. That the disease was not confined to potatoes was apparent from some carrots exhibited by the Marquess of Lansdowne which were laid on the table. It had shown itself also in onions which had not kept this season, while nearly all the Dutch hyacinths are in a similarly affected state.

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*Alford, Wm, Warrington	50	0	0
*Kenworthy, John, and Co., Manchester	40	0	0
*Kershaw, R. and J., Ashton-under-Lyne	30	0	0
*Garnett, Jeremiah, Clitheroe	20	0	0
*Slagg, John, Fall Mall, Manchester	20	0	0
*Taylor, Samuel, Rochdale	20	0	0
*Heap, Robt., do	20	0	0
*Shawcross, John, Manchester	20	0	0
*Bazley, Henry, do	20	0	0
*Makent, Wm., Bleacher, Bolton	10	0	0
*Ford, H. R. and C. D., Hareholme, near Rochdale	10	0	0
*Bernard, A., and Nephew, Greenwood-st., Manchester	10	0	0
*Walsley, Edward, Stockport	10	0	0
*Mather, Wm. and Colin, Salford	10	0	0
*Bellhouse, Wainwright, Pritchard-st., Manchester	10	0	0
*Shaw, Wm., Portobello, Wakefield	10	0	0
*Ormonston, Robt., Saville Row, Newcastle-on-Tyne	10	0	0
*Ashworth, Thos. and Josh., Acton-square, Salford	6	0	0
*Whaley, James, Two Cottage, Wigan	5	0	0
*Bradford, James, York-st., Cheetham, Manchester	5	0	0
*Bradford, Wm., High-st., do	5	0	0
*Bateman, Thos., 24, Spring Gardens, do	5	0	0
*Littlewood, Chas., Rochdale	5	0	0
*Hilton, Edwin, Chancery Lane, Manchester	4	0	0
*Green, Robt., Market-st., Strangeways, do	4	0	0
*Gyler, Robert, Manchester	4	0	0
*Smith, Richard, Wigan	4	0	0
*Forster, Miss, Durham-road, End, Gate-head	3	0	0
*Hughes, Barnes and Lugham, Chapel-on-le-Frith	2	0	0
*Riley, William, do	2	0	0
*G. H., Newcastle-on-Tyne	2	0	0
*Taylor, James, Brook-hill, Crompton, near Oldham	1	0	0
*Ogilvie, Joseph, Jun., Camp-terrace, North Shields	1	0	0
*Ford, Robert, Camden-street, do	1	0	0
*Smith, David, 11, Mount-street, Liverpool	1	0	0
*Cooke, Thomas, 12, St. Mary's-gate, Manchester	1	0	0
*Morris, Robert, W. Church-street, Dunfermline, N.B.	1	0	0
*Fittis, David, High-street, Manchester	1	0	0
*Holt, Robert, Wood-road, near Bury, Lancashire	1	0	0
*M'Pherson, Charles, 171, Truro-gate, Edinburgh	1	0	0
*Waddell, William, 50, Melville-street, do	1	0	0
*Dunn, A. and A., Mercy-street, Manchester	1	0	0
*Deane, Thomas, Sandbach	1	0	0
*Vickers, Edward, Hocking-ground, near Broughton, in Furness	1	0	0
*Groube, Captain R. N., Honiton	1	0	0
*Wright, Rev. William, do	1	0	0
*Dobb, John, manufacturing chemist, Wigan	1	0	0
*Robotham, William, Chapel-on-le-Frith	1	0	0
*Carrington, Jos., Boroughfield, do	1	0	0
*Slack, John, do	1	0	0
*Barnes, Thos., do	1	0	0
*Potter, John, Woodside, do	1	0	0
*Bennett, Wm., do	1	0	0
*Kirk, Henry, do	1	0	0
*Woolley, Edwd., do	1	0	0
*Milligan, John, do	1	0	0
*Bardsley, Robt., do	1	0	0
*Wright, Jon., Bugworth Whalley, near Stockport	1	0	0

*Grime, John, Surgeon, Blackburn	1	0	0
*Marshall, Richard, Market-street-lane, do	1	0	0
*Clarke, Eden, 77, Oxford-road, Manchester	1	0	0
*Wrigley, Edwd., do	1	0	0
*Wilde, Jose, 69, Grosvenor-st., C on M, do	1	0	0
*McKinley, Wm. and John, Clarence-st., do	1	0	0
*Shaw, Jas., 42, Clarence-street, do	1	0	0
*Birch, Edward, 1, 22, Lloyd-street, do	1	0	0
*Kirkman, James, High-st., do	1	0	0
*Hordern, James, 177, Oxford-road, do	1	0	0
*Parsons, Joseph, Wells, Somerset	1	0	0
*H. A., Newcastle-on-Tyne	1	0	0
*Prieeman, Jonathan, jun., Summer-hill, do	1	0	0
*Immer, Cuthbert, Walker, do	1	0	0
*Oliver, Timothy, Union-street, do	1	0	0
*Whitfield, Edwd., Quay-side, do	1	0	0
*Reavey, Wm., Colingwood-street, do	1	0	0
*Hall, Edward, 45, Pilgrim-street, do	1	0	0
*Stevins, James, Grey-street, do	1	0	0
*Tear-dale, Robert, Westgate-street, do	1	0	0
*Nuttall, Edward, Hope-hill, Stockport	1	0	0
*Tomlinson, Edward, Little Underbank, do	1	0	0
*Brackenbury, John, Grantham	1	0	0
*Roylance, Charles, Longlight, Manchester	1	0	0
*Fritchie, Geo., St. Peter's-st., Derby	1	0	0
*Whitehouse, John, Redgarne Ironworks, West Bromwich	2	10	0
*Johnson, Thomas, Oak-road, do	2	10	0
*Gilbert, Luck, Sen., Lyndon, do	2	10	0
*Bill, Samuel, Hill-top, do	2	10	0
*Beddoe, Samuel, Hill-top, do	1	0	0
*Silvester, Thomas, Bratt-street, do	1	1	0
*Watton, Allen, High-street, do	1	0	0
*Neal, William, Spence-lane, do	1	0	0
Wilkes, George, Reform-street, do	0	5	0
Wilkes, Daniel, High-street, do	0	5	0
Eld, John, Hill Top, do	0	5	0
Pearson, Wm., auctioneer, Wigan	0	10	0
Rigby, John, 3, Lever-street, Manchester	0	10	0
Kershaw, Mr., Prescott, Lancashire	0	10	0
Roby, John, do, do	0	5	0
Jones Watkin, Sandbach	0	5	0
Redfern, Wm., Chapel-on-le-Frith	0	5	0
Bodmer, Rodolph, Plymouth Grove, Manchester	0	5	0
Boag, Andrew, Dunfermline, N.B.	0	4	0
Walker, Daniel, Beadwell, near Sandbach	0	4	0
Hilditch, Thomas, do, do	0	2	6
Whittingham, William, Winterly	0	2	6
Sidebotham, Thomas, Chapel-on-le-Frith	0	2	6
Sayle, Thomas, 15, Oldham-street, Manchester	0	2	6
*A Free Trader who signed the Petition against the Corn Law in 1815	0	2	6
Small sundry subscriptions	0	4	0

*Kennedy, John	1	0	0
*Stringer, Samuel	1	0	0
*Shaw, John	1	0	0
*Dean, Wm	1	0	0
*Smallman, Thomas	1	0	0
*Walker, Elisha, Bradwell, near	1	0	0
Fox, Edward	0	10	0
Burgess, Wm.	0	5	0
Bayley, John	0	5	0
Rutland, John	0	2	6
Wood, Charles	0	2	6
Oakes, Ralph	0	2	6
Jeppon, Ralph	0	2	6
Whittingham, Mr., Winterley Mills	0	2	6
Herring, Christopher	0	2	6
Bayley, George	0	2	6
Gleave, Samuel	0	2	6

*Ewart, Joseph C., Exchange Alley west	50	0	0
*Holland, Charles, 22, do north	40	0	0
*Reynier, J. H. and Co., 17, Exchange-buildings	20	0	0
*J. W.	10	0	0
*Woodhead, Firth, Church-street	10	0	0
*Horsley, Howard, 21, Chapel-walks	5	0	0
*Chapple, Frederick, 11, Brauns-wick-st.	5	0	0
*Hibbert, Thomas, 7, Water-street	4	0	0
*Weber, P. E., Everton-road	4	0	0
*Henderson, J., 112, Chatham-street	2	0	0
*W. L.	1	0	0
*Tourle, M., South John-street	1	0	0
Rogers, G., Richmond-street	0	10	6
Fairley, F. W., South Castle-street	0	10	6
Keizer, L., 44, Whitechapel	0	8	6
Hogg, Thomas, 42, Crown-street	0	4	0

*Barley, Wm., carrier, Caroline-st.	1	0	0
*Chatham, Edw., Butcher, High-st.	1	0	0
*Tinker, William, do	1	0	0
*Deu, William, do	1	0	0
*Thorneley, Daniel, Grosvenor-st.	1	0	0
*Hurst, Michael, Higher Hurst	2	2	0
*Clayton, Thomas, do	1	0	0
*Hubae, Edward, do	1	0	0

*Nuttall, Edward, Hope Hill	1	0	0
*Tomlinson, Edward, Little Underbank	1	0	0

*Marshall, Messrs, and Co.	200	0	0
*Baines, E. and Sons	30	0	0
*George, T. and Sons, Spring-gardens	20	0	0
*Goodman, George, Haulest-lane	20	0	0
*Gill, Messrs, and Bishop, 187, Park-lane	10	0	0
*Stead, Walter	10	0	0
*A Friend, per W. Brown, 12, Park-row	5	0	0
*Davy, Josiah, Albion street	5	0	0
*Lord, Messrs, and Brook, Lowfold	5	0	0
*Taylor, James, Victoria-road	5	0	0
*Trumble, Messrs, and Cook, York-st.	5	0	0
*Birchall, Charles, Park-lane	5	0	0
*Boyle, Messrs, Gill & Co., Meadow-lane	5	0	0
*Brodehead, J. and H., Briggate	4	0	0
*Boscovitz, E., Dickinson's Yard	2	2	0
*Horsfall, J. and H., Park-lane	2	2	0
*Garlick, Samuel, Park-square	2	2	0
*Duffon, James, St. Peter-square	2	2	0
*Brace, Wm., Bond-street	2	2	0
*Wellbeloved, Charles, jun., Albion-st.	2	0	0
*Bower, Joseph, Hunslet	2	0	0
*Lupton, A., Victoria-rd, Headingley, nr	2	0	0
*Hardy, James, Woodhouse-lane	1	1	0
*Stansfield, Thomas W., jun., 2, Park-row	1	1	0
*Heaps, Richard, Hunslet	1	1	0

*Workmen of George Hammond & Son, per John Gault, Lowfold	1	1	0
*Whalley and Sons, Cross Bank-street	1	1	0
*Baylson, Richard, Hunslet	1	1	0
*Foster, Charles, Park-lane	1	1	0
*Goswain, Joseph, Bedford-place	1	1	0
*Hillingworth, Wm., West-street	1	1	0
*Smithwaite, Wm., Park-square	1	1	0
*Hale, Rev. R., Vicar of Harewood	1	1	0
*Garside, R. W. and J., Garden-street	1	1	0
*Oakes, George, Hunslet	1	1	0
*Longbottom, J. and A., Edward-street	1	1	0
*Veston, Samuel, Blundell-place	1	1	0
*Tepton, Thomas, Sussex-square	1	1	0
*Elliot, J., N. Millwood, near	1	1	0
*Blackburn, Enoch, Hunslet	1	1	0
*Ostler, Stov. A. Meadow-lane	1	1	0
*Land, John, Briggate	1	1	0
*Watson, Benjamin, Blenheim-terrace	1	1	0
*"For a Pinch of Curry Powder"	1	0	0
*Hepper, W. E., Upper Wortley	1	0	0
*Green, David, Briggate	1	0	0
*Shackleton, G. A., Wortley near	0	12	0
Reichold, John, Knostrop	0	10	6
Richardson, Thomas, Neville-street	0	5	0
Richardson, Wm., do	0	3	0

*Firth, Edwin	4	0	0
*Bunley, John	2	0	0
*Swallow, Michael	2	0	0
*Kelley, John and Son	1	4	0
*Armitage, T. and Sons	1	4	0
*Rhodes, George, and Son	1	0	0
*Sykes, Wm	1	0	0
*Stead, Abram	1	0	0
*Hilliday, Wm	1	0	0
*Porritt, Benjamin, Overlooker	1	0	0
Kelley, Fairfax	0	16	0
Firth, L. and M.	0	12	0
Scott, George	0	10	0
Oldfield, T. B.	0	10	0
Walker, James	0	10	0
Ainley, James	0	8	0
Oldy, Christopher jun.	0	8	0
Batley, Joseph	0	6	0
Armitage, Robert	0	6	0
Bond, John	0	6	0
France, Roeluck	0	5	0
Crowther, Wm	0	5	0
Crowther, Benjamin	0	5	0
Armitage, James	0	5	0
Rhodes, Benjamin	0	4	0
Croft, Joseph	0	4	0
Atkinson, Joseph, jun.	0	4	0
Wheeler, Wm	0	4	0
Booth, John	0	4	0
Walker, Edward	0	4	0
Whiteley, Joseph	0	4	0
Berry, Thomas	0	4	0
Berry, Daniel	0	4	0
Newsome, Wm.	0	4	0
Garces, J. F.	0	4	0
Wood, Samuel	0	4	0
Barber, David	0	4	0
Wood, Thomas	0	2	6
Green, Thomas	0	2	6
Oldroyd, James	0	2	6
North, James	0	2	6
Small Sums Subscribed	0	7	0

*Smith, Edward, Fir Vale	100	0	0
*Naylor, Vickers, and Co., Don Works	50	0	0
*Wilson, Messrs. Jno. & Son, Sycamore-st.	35	0	0
*Fisher, Messrs. Wm. & Sons, Orchard-pl.	20	0	0
*Solly, Messrs. Rich. and Jas. Sandon-pl.	10	0	0
*Hargreaves, Wm., Eyre-lane	10	0	0
*Cutts, Messrs. J. P. & Sons, Division-st.	5	0	0
*Silversmiths at H. Wilkinson's and Co., Norfolk-street	4	11	6
*Brady, Messrs. M. and R., Leavy Greave	2	0	0
*Oates, Thomas, Glossop-road	2	0	0
*Hawkesley, John, Hollis Croft	2	0	0
*Acton, John, 28, Union-street	1	0	0
*Yeoman, John, jun., Norfolk-street	1	0	0
*Holman, N. B., Bridge-street	1	0	0
*Littlewood, J. O., Broad-street Park	1	0	0
*White, John, Workhouse Croft	1	0	0

Halifax.	*Amber, Henry, Oxenfen, near	60	0	0
	*St. John, Joseph, and Co.	40	0	0
	*A Friend, per J. Crossley	10	0	0
	*Gregory, J. W.	10	0	0
	*Smith, Jonathan	10	0	0
	*Roper, James and John	10	0	0
	*Roston, Messrs. James, Son and Co.	10	0	0
	*Norton, George	10	0	0
	*Saddell, Messrs., & Jeffrey, Kingston nr	4	0	0
	*Thornett, James, Greenfield, near	3	0	0
Norwich.	*Sivert, John	3	0	0
	*Davy, James	3	0	0
	*Holland, Wm., Newhouse, Lichfield, nr	3	0	0
	*Roberts, Henry, Beddiffe Bridge, near	3	0	0
	*Oates, Messrs. Richard and John	2	0	0
	*Brams, David	2	0	0
	*Deacon, William	2	0	0
	*Moorhouse, Thomas	2	0	0
	*Wheeler, George, Jerrard-st	1	0	0
	*Bainstow, John, jun.	1	0	0
Montrose.	*Naylor, B. B.	1	0	0
	*Bottamley, Messrs. S. and Brothers, Brighouse, near	1	0	0
	*Donohue, At run, New Bank	1	0	0
	*Walker, H. A., Landinere Syke, North-owans, near	1	0	0
	*Brown, Messrs. John and Sons	2	0	0
	*Valentine, James, coal merchant	1	0	0
	*Mowms, David, ship master	0	8	0
	*Mackay, David	0	7	6
	*Smith, Robert, clothier	0	4	0
	*Watt, James, baker	0	4	0
Dundee.	*Semco, Wm.	0	4	0
	*Gibb, David	0	4	0
	*Middleton, David	0	4	0
	*Duncan, George, M.P.	5	0	0
	*Henderson, Henry	2	0	0
	*Wilson Messrs, and Aberdeen, Barrack-st	2	0	0
	*Workmen at Baxter, Brothers, and Co.'s	1	10	0
	*Ward, G. G. G. G.	1	0	0
	*A Friend to Free Trade, per E. Baxter	1	0	0
	*Sutton, Hugh	1	0	0
Whitchaven.	*McGee, D. Rounly Hill, Glamis	0	10	0
	*Cunningham, James	0	10	0
	*Austin, Wm., 12, Torrington-square	10	0	0
	*Cox, Daniel, 3, Copthall Chambers, Fenchurch-st.	10	0	0
	*Briggs, Major-General, 10, St. Andrew's-pl., Regent's-pk.	10	0	0
	*Jones, H. M., Fishmonger's Hall Wharf	10	0	0
	*Rheads, Messrs. Thos. & Sons, Vine-st., America-sq.	5	0	0
	*Priestman, Jonathan, Summer Hill, Newcastle-on-Tyne	4	0	0
	*From the Workmen at Mr. Armstrong's Silk Mill, per Wm. Scrubs, Caton, Lancaster	2	5	0
	*Harrison, Samuel, 68, Queen's-row, Bayswater	2	0	0
Bridport.	*Ponett, Robt., Ordnance Office, Tower	2	0	0
	*Lyon, J. A. & W., St. Mary-le-Strand House, Old Kent-rd	2	0	0
	*Bowles, Thos., North-street, Midhurst	2	0	0
	*Fish, Wm., brewer, Ashford-road, Maidstone	2	0	0
	*Edlington, Robert, Old Jewry Chambers	1	1	0
	*Baker, Henry, 11, Upper Gower-street, Bedford-square	1	1	0
	*Sheffield, H. & E., Church-lane, corner of Culchester-st., Whitechapel	1	1	0
	*Sutton, Wm., 3, Thomas's-place, Gravel-lane	1	1	0
	*Hendry, James, 13, Cambridge-terrace, Hyde Park	1	1	0
	*Holmes, J. F., 180, Brick-lane, Sothfields	1	1	0
Gloucester.	*Gorington, Admiral Sir E., 92, Euston-square	1	1	0
	*Barnet, Richard, 2, Piazza, Covent Garden	1	1	0
	*Marshall, John, Grosvenor Park, Camberwell	1	1	0
	*Mouso, Joseph Charles, Hayes, Middlesx	1	1	0
	*Malpas, Charles, Crooked Billet, New Brown-street, M. street-st., Manchester	1	1	0
	*Dun, Charles, 11, Trudlow-terrace, Greenwich	1	1	0
	*Pickford, Thomas, Grosvenor, Somerset	1	1	0
	*A. B			

A FEW GLIMPSES OF THE LORDS AND COMMONS.

BY REUBEN.

THE DEBATE ON THE CORN LAW—LAND THROWN OUT OF CULTIVATION—WHO DISTURBS IRELAND?

ONE of the Parliamentary reporters, employed for a daily paper, mentioned to me one day during the long debate, that as I was desirous to look at the members, and listen to their speeches for a night or two, he would endeavour to obtain an entrance for me to some part of the house, where the members could be seen—to the reporters' gallery, if possible. But, he regretted to say, his turn was that night in the House of Lords. And although there was sometimes a debate there, and often a conversation on a variety of topics, he did not know what topics would be introduced that night, though he believed there was a likelihood of some debate. I said it did not matter much to me whether I listened to the lords or the commons; I had only once had a glimpse of the commons, and had never seen the lords at all; if he could procure me an entrance into the House of Lords, I would gladly accompany him.

Passing some policemen in the doorway of a house, which was screened from the street by a temporary boarding, we passed through a lobby, turned to the left through a narrow passage, passed a barrier and two more policemen, went through a small apartment where ten or twelve men were sitting round a table, went up a steep and narrow stair, then up another steep and narrow stair, and again up another, as if we had been dreaming of going up the cabin stairs of a small Thames steamer, and never getting on deck; but at last reaching a narrow cabin, which was lined with hats and coats hanging on pegs, and which was small enough to seem nearly filled, with half a score of people in it.

These were the gentlemen of the press; those their hats and coats; and this their place of waiting—an apartment seemingly made out of a part of some old passage. We added two more hats, a stick or two, and a coat to those on the pegs. And, coming out, took a peep through a door, opened just the least thing in the world, and saw over the heads of the reporters down into the House of Commons. A member with a thin voice was speaking on the right hand side of the house—the ministerial side—and seventeen gentlemen were sitting on the seats opposite to him. I did not see how many were on his side, but was afterwards told that there were not at that time seventeen there. This was between six and seven o'clock on the ninth night of the great debate—on one of the mightiest questions which has engaged the deliberations of a senate.

"Where are all the members?" I asked. "I see nothing but rows of empty seats, with red backs, and green or black leather coverings, save those few in a kind of knot near that pillar; and the few others imperfectly visible near to where the voice is speaking. Where are the 'hears' and the 'cheers,' the conflicts of counties, cities, and boroughs, the war of pocket interests and national interests? Where are the concentrated voices of agitated England? Where is the British Lion? Why roars he not throughout this mighty strife, in which he has proclaimed that his very existence is perilled?"

"This is the time of dining. The dinners last three or four hours. No question, not even that which is said to peril the very national existence, detains the gentlemen from their dinners, or draws them numerous here until about nine o'clock. The Lords usually try to get their debate over in time to go home to dinner. Let us close this door and go to them."

So spoke my companion, and he closed that door. Turning from us a few steps he found another, and this led us into the gallery of the House of Lords. We went down some steps having some rows of seats on our left hand, the ends of the seats towards us. These were occupied by an auditory. Then we passed, still going down some steps, two or three empty seats. Then we went within a barrier where there were two rows of seats, the front one filled with reporters, writing what the Earl of St. Germain was speaking below, on the floor of the house; and the second seat partly filled with other reporters, waiting until the clock, which was fixed above one end of the seats, showed that the three quarters of an hour allotted to each member had expired.

A broad, square looking table, with books and papers on it, stood in the centre of the floor. Three clerks of the house, in black gowns and grey wigs, sat at the table, and Lord St. Germain, a plainly dressed gentleman, stood at one side of the table, speaking in a simple style with a pleasant voice, on one of the most unpleasant subjects—grievous, horrid subjects I should say, that can be thought of—the new Coercion Bill for poor Ireland.

"That old gentleman in black, with the white hair, seen below his hat, just sitting behind Lord St. Germain, on the front seat, with his arms folded across his

breast, and his head bent down, as if asleep—that is the old Duke.

"That one sitting on his left, on the same seat—the good-looking man, listening intently—that is Lord Ellenborough.

"The lights hide the Lord Chancellor and the woollack from us, and the throne behind him. He is at the farther side from us; but we can see the white lawn of the bishops in the recess, towards the right of the throne.

"On this side of the table, opposite to the Duke, the Whig lords sit. That is Lord Cottenham, with his hat on; and that elderly gentleman, with the whitish grey hair, next to him, is the Marquis of Lansdowne."

The Marquis rose, and addressed the house, when Lord St. Germain concluded. Having always supposed, from reading the marquis's speeches, that he must be a quiet, unimpassioned speaker, I was surprised to see his animated gesture, and hear his loud voice. But both gesture and voice were pleasing rather than otherwise. I only regretted that they were raised for the punishment of crime, and not for the removal of its causes. I have been on the marquis's Irish estates. There has been some wrong done there. One of his bailiffs, two or three years ago, was shot at. That was wrong; very wrong. But it was not the *first* wrong perpetrated. The marquis does not seem inclined to redress *first* wrongs; but he is for coercion, to put down their offspring.

When I had been in the gallery a few minutes, I rose half up, and stretched over the front seat to see who were immediately below. One of those there I took to be Lord Brougham, though I was not quite sure. I had looked down upon the crown of his head, and saw that head bald on the top, with gray hair on the sides. I looked again, and now I saw his profile, for he had turned round to talk to another lord, and I knew him by the profile. A minute after I looked and had another view of him. His feet were stretched out, and his body was thrown back in a position of rest, so that the tweeds which he wore, with the dark dragon-like stripes up the sides, were exposed at full length.

Again I looked, and he was in another position of rest. He had thrown himself upon the other side, and was speaking to another lord over his shoulder.

Two minutes, exactly by the clock, after this, I looked over again, and he was not there, but had removed to another seat, and was sitting composedly with his arms folded. The noble lord was now within view. He was close to Lord Cottenham, and very nearly behind the Marquis of Lansdowne, who was speaking. He let his arms drop quietly, turned round, and spoke to the Marquis of Clanricarde. He turned from the Marquis of Clanricarde, and removed half way back to the seat where I at first saw him sitting. Here he sat down and seemed to be at ease with his feet stretched out, his frock coat thrown back, his right elbow on the back of the seat, and his left hand rubbing a prominence behind his left ear.

I withdrew my eyes to look elsewhere; and when one minute by the clock, or hardly so much, had elapsed, I looked again, and he was not there. One of the clerks had gone out and left a vacant seat at the table, and the noble lord was in the occupation of that seat examining a large book which was lying on the table.

In about five minutes the clerk returned, and his lordship, giving him his seat, went across the house, and bent himself down as if speaking to Lord Ellenborough. Then he returned to his original seat, and sat about a minute and a half, looking to and listening to Lord Lansdowne, with his right hand placed on the top of his head backwards. Thus I left him sitting while I glanced across the house to a noble lord who sat on a back seat with a florid open countenance, and a white waistcoat on his broad ample chest. Behold, in a twinkling, the erratic lord was at that side of the house stretching over the front seat, and speaking to this nobleman. This was the Earl of Wicklow, so I was told.

From the Earl of Wicklow his lordship glided up the house near to the bishops, and disappeared in the rays of light which, as already said, hid from me the Lord Chancellor and the woollack.

All these movements were made while not one other peer, or bishop, or person, in the house, save the clerk who went out and came in, had moved from his place. The Duke of Wellington still sat with his hat over his eyes, his arms folded, and his venerable head bowed down.

Once again the peer, who seemed to have no resting-place, emerged from the effulgent obscurity before the throne, and returned to his original seat. Here, one hand was on his knee, and the other was as before rubbing the prominence behind his ear. Then he threw himself back on the seat, and leaned his head on his open right hand, stretching out his feet, as if he had at last attained repose.

There was no repose. He suddenly removed him-

self, and sat down beside the solid Lord Campbell. Two minutes after this he was at the table, and again back to his original place, where he sat with his hands alternately on his knees and on his head, rubbing his fingers behind his ears one moment, and the next moment on the upper part of the posterior region.

At last he sprung to his feet, forward to the table, and addressed the house. He, like the previous speakers, and like all who spoke that night, was for coercion to Ireland; only, in his estimation the coercion bill of the Government did not go far enough.

There was nothing said by Lords Farnham, Clanricarde, Campbell, Grey, &c., who afterwards spoke, with which the public is not already acquainted. So I shall not repeat what they said. But as I went at a later period of the evening, and several evenings since, into the House of Commons, and there listened to a repetition of what Mr. Cobden has since called his "old friends, the fallacies of six and seven years ago," the chief of which fallacies is the throwing of land out of cultivation, and the laying of it down in grass, if protection is removed, I think it is worth while to compare the doings of the Lords with the doings of the Commons.

Roscommon is one of the recently disturbed counties of Ireland. The greater part of Roscommon is laid down in grass. The policy of the landlords there is to discourage cultivation, to have as little land under culture as possible, and as much in grass as possible. They can get a ready market for their stock in England, and having soldiers, police, bayonets, bullets, gunpowder, and any other, or every other element of force, at their command, they can remove animals from the land by force, and sell them. When they have a population living on their estates by the culture of the land, they cannot prevent that population from eating a part of the cultured produce. That population, therefore, resolves to take spades and forks in its hands, and it takes them and goes into the grass fields, and digs them up, and swears there, in the face of the soldiers and armed police, that the land shall not lie in grass, that it shall not be thrown out of cultivation, that the land shall be cultured.

The police fire on the people to prevent them from digging the land; the people are not armed, and cannot fire again. They retreat and go home; but being yet unconvinced that land is best left in grass, to fatten cattle to feed England, while they are without work and without food, they still resolve to cultivate, and they take secret vengeance on some of those who are foremost in preventing them. In Roscommon, it is a war of men compelled to be without work and without food, and the owners and agents of the lands out of cultivation, wherein men say we must and shall work and dig, and plant the land, and raise food from it.

In Tipperary, where there are disturbances, the case is not quite the same; the land is there cultivated. It is divided and subdivided, and relet and sublet, into the smallest patches; and the competition for it is so great, that rents of 10*l.*, 12*l.*, and 14*l.* per acre, for one season, are eagerly offered. The inability of the people to pay such rents, the distraints which take place in consequence, the forcible sales of potatoes, the forcible transference of them under escorts of soldiers and police to the seaports, where, like the cattle and the corn they are shipped off to England, to which also the money received in payment, and paid in rent, goes; these lead to the agrarian crimes of Tipperary.

The new coercion bill may allay the popular disturbances for a time. A fire may be obscured and altogether hidden by the quantity of fuel heaped on it. Yet it will burn all the fiercer at some future time.

Employment, wages, and food are what the Irish want. The general purpose of many of the owners of Irish land is to lay it down in grass, and make work, and wages, and food still more difficult to obtain.

The Earl of St. Germain told how the armed constabulary of Ireland had been augmented, and took credit to the Government for the augmentation. I would beg to remind the readers of this paper of a series of letters which appeared in it two years ago, descriptive of a district of Ireland, near Kilkenny, which was peaceable and without crime, until a landlord erected a police barracks, and got a detachment of armed men to reside in it. He then made use of those armed men to effect illegal distraints upon his tenants—tenants who owed no rent. He used the armed constabulary to eject tenants from their farms who held on long leases, who held on legal covenants, as good as ever were written on parchment, actually written on parchment, yet who were ejected. Those tenants brought actions against the landlord, were awarded damages in courts of law; but did not recover them because the landlord refused to pay damages; and not only refused to pay, but continued to distrain on other tenants who owed no rent and held on lease; he in the meantime appealing to a higher court against the decisions given in the lower courts for the tenants.

He was at last shot at, or pretended to be so. Whether shot at, or only pretending so to have been, it was a great card for him to play. He threw the main witnesses into prison, charging them on suspicion of being concerned against his life, and his appeals were some of them decided in his favour, because those witnesses were not in the court.

When the necessity for their absence was over, they were allowed to leave the prison. When new trials were coming on, they were again put in prison once more, charged on suspicion of having shot at him.

In two years and a half from the time of getting the armed police on his estate, he, with only 70 tenants, was involved in, or had been involved in, fully 200 actions at law, or criminal courts.

A troop of dragoons was also brought into the neighbourhood, and the infantry was augmented from a depot to a full regiment. Two pieces of cannon were also added to the police barrack. Many men were imprisoned, several transported, and two hanged. The leases were broken, the tenants ruined with law costs, beggared and ejected to perish, and some of them did perish. The houses of others were pulled down about them by men supported by the armed constabulary and the soldiers, though the inmates had built those houses at their own expense, on land held on lease, and though the leases were unexpired, and they owed no rent.

With the law as it is, a landlord, if a political protestant, may attempt any enormity in Ireland, and ultimately succeed in it. All the functionaries of the law, from the lord-lieutenant to the hangman, are on his side.

What they will be able to do when they get a permanent coercion bill—it is fearful to think on. May the merciful God look down upon Ireland!

STATE OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS IN HANTS AND PART OF WILTS.

FEBRUARY 27, 1844.—The protracted debate on Sir Robert Peel's measure—the depression in the markets—the almost total impossibility of effecting sales at any price, added to the general apprehension or fear of ruin entertained by the farmers in this neighbourhood, have caused some to discharge or suspend many of their labourers; others have reduced the already too scanty wages of from 8s. to 9s. to from 6s. to 7s. per week. At the village of Amport (which parish extends six miles), Hampshire, to the borders of Wiltshire, the labourers fortunate enough to get employment are paid but from 6s. to 7s., one with a wife and six children but 8s. per week, out of which sum 1s. goes for rent weekly, not one of his children in work, his youngest five years, his eldest fourteen; consequently eight hungry and almost famished beings have to exist on 10d. each per week. Clothing they have scarcely enough to cover their nakedness—with out shoes or hats. The cottage without windows, or at least most of them broken; not thatched sufficiently to keep out the wet; neither bed nor bedding to keep them warm. Asking the wife how long it was since her or her family had tasted meat or any other food than bread, she replied "more than two months since," and then a neighbour killing a pig, gave her the "chillings." She further ejaculated, "now their potatoes were all gone. God of heaven only knew," bursting at the time into tears, "what would become of them all."

At Quarterly, Grately, Slipton, and other agricultural villages in Hants, wages have generally been reduced to 8s. per week within the last three weeks, for married, and to 6s. or 6s. for single men. At Almsbury and other villages in Wiltshire, the wages now paid do not exceed 8s. for married, and 6s. per week for single, strong, hearty, and able-bodied men.

Potatoes in Wiltshire seem generally to have escaped the malady or disease so much complained of, as has also some part of Hampshire. At Marlborough, Devizes, Salisbury, &c., good sound kidneys can be purchased at 5s. per sack of three bushels.

At Newbury 7s. per sack is demanded, while as much as 12s. is obtained at Winchester for similar kinds. Many are coming a great distance into Wiltshire for potatoes to set this spring; some out of Sussex, others from Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, and Herefordshire, which will no doubt tend to increase considerably the prices there in a short time.

THE POTATO FAMINE.—Potatoes in the midland counties continue still to advance in price and degenerate in quality. Those kinds which sold in our markets this time last year at 8d. per peck, are now selling as high as from 1s. 2d. to 1s. 4d. per peck. This is a serious calamity for the working classes. What aggravates the case, bread maintains a high rate, and notwithstanding the prospect of cheaper corn, the increased demand from a diminished supply of potatoes, will, we fear, serve to keep the quatern loaf at a price which few persons, with present rates of wages can afford to pay. Some uneasiness has been felt in regard to the obtaining of a supply of seed potatoes for planting the next and following month; but as it appears that the potato blight has not at all affected the potatoes grown in the north of Scotland, where there was also an abundant crop, an ample supply is expected from thence, via Hull, for all our wants. Yorkshire has got its potato seed for many years from the north of Scotland, where prices seldom exceed 5d. a peck, and Warwickshire will, it is hoped, this season be able to import a good many from the same quarter. Nor will there be any risk of potato riots in that district of the far north, inasmuch as the potatoes there raised for the exportation are generally what are termed "forced" potatoes, good for seed, but bad to eat.

PETITIONS ON THE CORN LAWS.—From the eighth report of the committee on public petitions, it appears that the aggregate number relating to the subject of the Corn Laws, presented up to the 24th of February, inclusive, was:—For repeal, petitions 633; signatures 1,354,692. Against repeal, petitions 1,382; signatures 137,454.

AGRICULTURE.

LANDLORDISM UNVEILED.

FARMERS, YOU MUST AID YOURSELVES

A man has been sent up fresh from Dorsetshire by the squires to represent, as he says, the tenant farmers of that county in the House of Commons! and what is his first essay? Why, with infinite simplicity, he talked in the House as squires talk among themselves, and told, as the most proper and natural occurrence possible, how the tenants of certain Free Trade landowners of Dorsetshire declined to sign a requisition to him (Mr. Seymer), a monopolist, until their landlords had given them leave to do so! This was letting the cat out of the bag, with a vengeance! What becomes now of the protectionist ardour of the tenant farmers? What is the roar of the "British Lion" worth? The truth is, that the tenant farmers, as a body, have long ceased to care much about "protection;" and a very considerable and daily increasing minority of them wish the whole delusion to be put down forthwith. Mr. Gibson remarked, in the House of Commons, on Monday night, that he always found, in his personal intercourse with farmers, that "they utterly disregard the question of the Corn Laws as a matter of business." This is perfectly true. We met with a striking illustration of this the other day. Wishing to learn the opinion of the farmers of a county in which some of the most frantic monopolist nonsense has been uttered by squires in the name of the farmers, as to the Government measure, we made the inquiry of an intelligent farmer, who constantly attends the principal local markets, and received this answer: "The farmers consider the whole question at an end, and would gladly have a Free Trade at once, that they might come to a settlement with their landlords; and so indifferent have they become to the progress of the Government bill, that I assure you I have scarcely heard the subject alluded to by a farmer during the three weeks the discussion has been going on; and on the day (market-day) when the news of the division arrived, I did not hear a single comment on the subject by a farmer throughout the day."

This is significant. But it may be said, how is it that the farmers are got together to shout at protection meetings, and to vote for monopolists at county elections? The new Dorsetshire member has afforded a clue to the solution of the paradox. Farmers don't sign requisitions to candidates till they have the word from their landlords, and they do go to protection meetings and county elections at the bidding of their landlords and masters. No one who has mixed with farmers can doubt that farmers do not, and dare not, act upon their own convictions in public affairs; and simple Mr. Seymer has innocently let out the truth, that squires would as soon expect to be opposed in public affairs by their own menial servants as by their tenants.

This is a state of things which must be amended before farmers can take their proper station in society; a new arrangement of the social relations of landlord and tenant must take place before husbandry in England can rise from its present inferior and depressed state. The domineering insolence of the squirearchy is not confined to political matters; it extends into all the intercourse of landlords with tenants. For instance, there is a minor landowner in Hertfordshire, who has lately taken to game preserving with great strictness, and he has recently sent verbal messages by a servant to three of his tenants to say, that if they did not keep their dogs tied up, *he would turn them out of their farms!!!* All these farmers are men of capital and intelligence, who are fully alive to the deep degradation to which their position as yearly tenants has compelled them for a time to submit. Can such a state of things continue? We say, unhesitatingly, it cannot. We have reason to believe that at this time the monopolist landowners are endeavouring to enforce, with more than usual stringency, that semi-feudal system which is the bane of agriculture in England; and they do so from a consciousness that the tenants are writhing under a vassalage which they will, ere long, arouse themselves to shake off.

The landlord's heel never pressed so heavily on

the neck of the tenant as it does at this moment. Yet is the day of redemption at hand; for the time is coming when no landowner will be able to maintain the present system of management except by the sacrifice of half his income. But tenants must assert their own independence, and refuse any longer to occupy as yearly tenants, or to submit to agreements which render them mere vassals. Now, Free Trade in grain will greatly assist the emancipation of tenantry, and in this way:—when the world's market is open, it is highly improbable that the price of wheat in England will, one year with another, average more than 45s. a quarter; and to enable farmers to carry on their business with a profit, more capital and more skill must be applied to farming than is now the case with the class which may be called average farmers. To this the chief obstacles are, yearly holdings, obsolete, unnecessary, and restrictive covenants, game preserves, timber and hedgerows, and a superstitious reverence on the part of the landlord for natural pastures. There are often other landlord-imposed burdens of a local or peculiar nature, but those we have enumerated are almost universal. Together they form the cause of the backward state of English husbandry, the reason why the land produces little, if any, more than the half of what it might be made to produce with moderately good farming. Now the present rental of farms so burdened will be found from 30 to 50 per cent. too high; when the price of wheat shall have settled down to about 45s. a qr., and struggle as they may, landlords who won't relinquish these burdens must ultimately undergo a considerable reduction of income. But how many of them can submit to such a reduction? Will their mortgagees look on quietly at such a wilful sacrifice of property to prejudice? Will the squires themselves like to feel themselves sinking in the scale of society? Well, then, look to the alternative. Rents are not in general too high, if the farmers had long leases, with no burdensome restrictive covenants, no game, an extensive clearance of timber and hedgerows, and liberty to break up a considerable part of the permanent pasture lands. We believe, that when prices have become natural and moderate, the majority of landlords, perhaps in some instances, after a period of fruitless struggle, will adopt the course of rational men, and let their farms upon fair terms, that is, without the landlord-imposed burdens. Then will the tenantry be in their proper position, and the English farmer will no longer be open to the reproach of being a laggard amongst the industrious capitalists of this country. To hasten the advent of that period, every farmer should join in demanding immediate as well as a total repeal of the Corn Laws.

Since writing the above, we have a most decisive admission of the accuracy of our views in Sir Thomas Acland's speech upon Mr. Villiers' motion. In declaring his intention of voting against immediate repeal, the monopolist member for Devonshire said, "he was aware there was a difference of opinion upon this subject between landlords and tenant farmers. He believed that tenant farmers thought that the arrangements between the landlords and their tenants would be in a very unsettled state. He took an opposite view of the matter. He should be glad to come to a right understanding with his tenants as soon as the measure passed, *for three years, which would give time to see how the proposition of the right hon. baronet would work, and then to make an ultimate arrangement.*" That is what we say. That is our case on behalf of the tenant farmers against suspended repeal of the Corn Laws. To this Lord Worsley—who is the most rational man amongst the active protectionists—added "that from extensive inquiries he had made among the farmers occupying large farms, he believed their wish of the two things was, if there should be a repeal of the Corn Laws, that instead of three years it should be immediate. What farmers were most anxious about was, that there should be at least a settlement of this question."

AGRICULTURAL CORRESPONDENCE.

We publish the following letter, which has been addressed to us by Mr. Warnes, of Trimmingham, Norfolk, and it deserves the attention of farmers upon two grounds; first, that in the cultivation and

preparation of flax, the means of profitably employing the agricultural population of all ages, at good wages, is found; secondly, that by the use of boiled linseed, barley meal, and straw chaff, cattle may be fattened at something less than one-half of the cost of feeding on oilcake, or meal alone. Nobody can deny the vast importance of these things to the agricultural interest; and we believe that when once the incubus of "protection" shall be totally removed from agriculture, both subjects will receive more attention from farmers than they have hitherto done. We have used the mixture, for all kinds of cattle, with the most satisfactory results; and a farmer in a home county, who at our recommendation has this winter fattened forty head of cattle on the linseed compound, declares that he never before fed stock so cheaply, so rapidly, or with so good a profit. We believe we saw some of the beasts Mr. Warnes mentions in his letter, at the latter end of September last, when they had just begun to feed, they were decidedly lower in condition than farmers commonly like to begin with:

CULTIVATION OF FLAX. To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

"Sir,—Several years have elapsed since the meeting of a society, that I had been instrumental in forming, took place. It was called the "Norfolk Flax Society," and was held in St. Andrew's Hall, Norwich.

"Present were the Lord Lieutenant and the High Sheriff of the county, the Bishop of Norwich, with a large assembly of nobility and gentry.

"I had the honour of moving the first resolution, to the effect, that flax culture, as a means of employment to the poor, ought to be vigorously promoted by every true lover of his country.

"The success of my advocacy, on that memorable day, was of short duration. For, in less than twenty-four hours after the meeting separated, a cloud, charged with mischief, arose to mar the bright prospects that I had so recently depicted.

"Eventually, I resolved to pursue alone that path, which I in vain pointed out as the only way to success.

"The cloud is now removed; my work complete; and the unobstructed sun of prosperity shines upon the flax cause: the two main points that I endeavoured to enforce, viz., profitable employment to the poor, and reduction of rates, being clearly established.

"I now invite all thoughtful, prudent, and philanthropic persons to visit Trimmingham, in order that they may see how far I have carried out the spirit of my resolution, and witness the realisation of the above statements, with the happy effects of constant work at adequate wages.

"They will also discover that if flax had been cultivated to the extent, and in accordance with the plans I recommended, every parish in the county might, at the present time, have been cleared as free from rates as Trimmingham; where one quarter's poor-rate only, of the past three, at 8d. in the pound, has been required for the support of the infirm, and for Union charges; all hands being employed in dressing flax, that would otherwise have been maintained in idleness. As a proof, Mr. Brown, who has greatly contributed towards the elucidation of this subject, left his farm at Michelmas, engaged another at Ruckhath, and took his flax with him. In consequence, several young persons were thrown out of employment; some of whom were lately obliged to take refuge in the workhouse, where they must still have remained, had I not received them into my flax establishment.

"To remove all prejudice would be to alter the construction of human nature: a thing impossible—so innumerable are the secret springs of opposition. But justice to the poor, whose cause I advocate, and for whose sake the Norfolk Flax Society was formed, demands the statistical investigation. I would therefore just observe, that the system of preparing flax for market is reduced to so great a certainty upon my premises, that I am now able to afford assistance to any part of the kingdom; and that, under the instruction of Belgians from the celebrated Central district, young men, women, and children have become expert flax-dressers, earning from 9s. 6d. to 10s. per week. For instance, the wages of Thomas Siddy, aged 13, exceed, upon the average, 8s. a week.

"In conclusion, allow me to subjoin the copy of a letter, addressed to a nobleman on another part of my advocacy, of the utmost importance to the agricultural interests of the country; and to say, that I this week, sold seven bullocks, fattened according to the system recommended, from the resources of my own farm, that paid 77l. for less than six months keeping:

"My Lord,—The people in this neighbourhood were once as stolid and as stiff-necked as those who inspect your bullocks, nor would they acknowledge the superiority of the compound-feeding system, till they had themselves reaped the profits I described. Now, they are a pliant, communicative, and I wish I could add, a grateful race.

"But, I am richly rewarded by the testimonies of an extensive and enlightened correspondence: and it is with pleasure that I answer your Lordship's present inquiry. I wish, however, first to observe, for the instruction of those parties who admit that your bullocks are doing well, and who will not allow the cheapness of the food upon which they are fattening, that linseed can be purchased at less money per ton than the best oil cake.

"For instance, I was offered, on Saturday, at Norwich, linseed at 18s. per quarter, weighing 80 st., while oil-cake was 11l. 10s. per ton. Now, where farmers are so prejudiced against the new system as not to perceive the superiority of the pure seed over the refuse formed into cake with all kinds of rubbish, no arguments can produce a contrary conviction; and they must be left, till compelled by circumstances, like many in Norfolk, to try the experiment.

"Your Lordship will discover by the above prices, that linseed and cake are about 1s. 5d. per stone each; and that, if a compound of barley and linseed is made, consisting of 1 seed, and 3 cake, at 9l. per stone, [at which price the seeds of quakers may be purchased], it will amount to 7l. 10s. per ton, exclusive of the water; but, when that important ingredient is incorporated according to the recipe in my book, the price will be reduced to 6l. per ton, and those who adopt only this part of my system,

obtain five tons and a half of the incomparable cattle compound at the same sum, which others give for a ton of comparative rubbish.

"I do not say that the same effect will be produced from a ton of compound as from a ton of cake; but I know of no instance where the superiority of the former has not been acknowledged, without taking into calculation the advantages derived by consuming so large a proportion of native produce.

"My Lord, I thank you for having instituted an inquiry into this subject, which I should not otherwise have criticised so minutely, and which I shall expect to turn to some further use.

"Hoping that I have succeeded in resolving the problem contained in your Lordship's note, I have the honour to remain, your obedient servant,

Feb. 16th, 1846.

JOHN WARNES.

"It is not my intention again to enter the lists of controversy, and, in closing this more arduous part of my labours, I am abundantly gratified by the many expressions of benefits conferred, by the glorious prospects of the future, and by a mind conscious of right.

"Hoping that this letter may find a place in the columns of your paper, and in those of every patriotic journal in the United Kingdom,—I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

Trimingham, Feb. 17th.

JOHN WARNES."

Mr. COBDEN AND THE LEAGUE.—Mr. Cobden spoke as a triumph. His speech was a perpetual defiance hurled at the landed aristocracy. It is not only the Tories who ought to have trembled on their seats. The Whig party reckons in reality more real aristocracy in its ranks than the Tories. The "League" saps and mines their influence as unceasingly as that of their opponents, and it is easy to understand that the most political and enlightened portion of the English oligarchy chooses rather to deaden the influence of this dangerous confederacy, by yielding to it now, than to allow it to go on pursuing its crusades against the preponderance of landed property. We have often heard our readers remark how much the interference of the League in election matters tended to modify the elements on which the balance of the great political parties had hitherto reposed. The fact is, that of late years, this formidable association has almost effected a revolution in the representative system of England. Nor did Mr. Cobden conceal this fact; on the contrary, he boasted of it. He laid bare the basis of aristocratic influence, and complacently showed the ravages that had been committed upon them by the repeated assaults of the League. He reminded the great families—which possess the land that their power reposed on about 150,000 electors, who hold farms without leases, and who are thus at the mercy of their landlords. "But," said he, "we can also create voters, and the most enlightened of you well know that we shall effect our purposes? It is a fact worthy of notice that the English aristocracy now finds itself beaten with the weapons which it forged itself. In fact, in a country where wealth and power are concentrated in a small number of hands, the more the electoral basis is enlarged, the more the influence of the aristocracy augments; the more poor electors, the more multiplied is the action of the rich. At the time of the Reform Bill, it was the aristocracy that, quite logically, introduced or maintained on the electoral lists the greatest possible number of persons whose comparative poverty necessarily ensured dependence. But here, in face of the great influences of family and fortune, is a collective influence which resists concentration by combination. In face of the great landowners, with their millions of revenue, here is a League organized, which opens subscriptions and also collects millions. These coalesced cotton spinners also apply themselves to the fabrication of votes; they buy freeholders; they range the country and sow gold in their path, like the dragon's teeth in the fable of Ovid; and the new-born electors everywhere spring up beneath their feet. "You call that revolutionary," cries the great Leaguer, "why it is you that are the revolutionists. It is you that have put these arms into our hands." The "most enlightened" of the aristocracy have perceived that it was time to put an end to this anomalous position, and to put a period to a struggle in which they were losing ground day by day. In spite of the cries and the rage of the vanquished it is probable that the Peers will deem it prudent to be their own executioners. It is clear, that if they were to reject the measure, and so necessitate an appeal to the country, the new election would not give them a majority. Even if they gained a few votes, they would not gain enough to be masters of the field. They are a lost party.—*Journal des Débats.*

IRISH PROVISIONS.—On Monday, the 23d ultimo, five vessels arrived at the port of London from the Irish ports, bringing collectively 2,205 quarters of oats, 1,887 packages of butter, 1,014 packages of bacon, 169 of pork, 87 of hams, 401 of eggs, 576 of lard, in addition to a quantity of tongues and various other articles of Irish production. On Thursday three vessels arrived in the river, bringing 255 quarters of oats, 1,038 packages of bacon, 560 of pork, 160 of beef, 509 of butter, 284 of lard, 152 of hams, 110 of eggs and other articles. One vessel arrived on Friday with 1,029 quarters, and one on Saturday with 1,386 quarters of oats. The imports into the port of Bristol, in the same period, consisted of a large quantity of linens, malt, oatmeal, seed, 69 packages of lard, 390 of butter, 171 of bacon, besides barley, oats, &c. The arrivals at the port of London from the same quarter at the beginning of the present week have consisted of 708 packages of bacon, 57 of butter, 207 of lard, 193 of pork, 140 of eggs, 94 of hams, 189 of beef, 80 packages of linens and cottons, in addition to oats, malt, yarn, and various other articles the produce of the Irish soil. The following is the list of provisions imported from the Irish ports into Liverpool from the 20th to the 26th ult., inclusive:—2,932 firkins, 84 half-firkins, 1,125 other packages, 103 boxes of lard; 201 sacks, 44 tons, and 1,050 quarters of wheat; 1,719 sacks of flour; 9,218 quarters, and 8 sacks of oats; 282 sacks, 231 other packages, 181 tons, 282 skins, and 4 barrels of oatmeal; 104 sacks, and 53 tons of meal; 167 sacks of malt, 6 tons of seed, 388 boxes and tins, 27 bundles, and 10 other packages of linens and cottons; 312 barrels of bacon, 32 casks, 180 firkins, and 699 kegs of lard; 359 barrels, and 39 kegs of pork; 29 barrels of beef; 53 hogsheds, 6 tons, 33 barrels, and 19 other packages of hams, 25 barrels, and 10 kegs of provisions; 43 kegs, and 10 barrels of tongues; 162 bags of farina, in addition to 45 casks of whisky, 25 bags of feathers, and 6 tons of growth.

Sir W. Molesworth paired off in favour of Mr. Villiers's amendment on Tuesday evening with Sir Charles Cocker. Colonel Anson paired off with Lord Newport on Tuesday in favour of Mr. Villiers's motion for the immediate repeal of the Corn Laws.

REVIEW.

Trade and Travel in the Far East. By F. Davidson, Esq. London: Madden and Malcolm.

This pleasing and instructive volume contains the recollections of a residence of 21 years in or near the islands of the Indian Archipelago. With these islands, our country had an opportunity of forming interesting and valuable commercial relations; but the ignorance of Lord Bathurst, and the blundering vanity of Lord Castlereagh, led to the sacrifice of our advantage at the treaty of Kenna. Our duped negotiator not only complimented away the trade of England, but the rights of the natives of Java, at the very moment when the exertions of Sir Stamford Raffles had opened marts for commerce, and stimulated the energies of the Javanese by affording them security to person and property. Under the Dutch Government the natives have fallen back to that indolence which prevails in every country where labour is uncertain of obtaining its reward; and this want of industry is a prominent feature in the prospect from the inn of Bayenzorg:

"The scenery is magnificent; and the view (well known to every visitor) from the back verandah of the inn, is the finest that can be imagined. Standing on the steps of this verandah, you have, immediately under your foot, an extensive plain, thoroughly cultivated, sprinkled with villages, each village being surrounded with evergreen trees, and the whole almost encircled by a river. To the left of this valley rises an extensive and picturesque mountain, cultivated almost to the summit, and dotted here and there with villages and gentlemen's houses. Looking into the valley at early morn, you will see the lazy buffalo, driven by an equally indolent ploughman, dragging a Lilliputian plough through the slimy paddy-field; the lazy Javanese labourer going to his work in the field; the native women reaping, with the hand only, and stalk by stalk, the ripe paddy (rice) in one field, while those in the next are sowing the seed; the adjoining fields being covered with stubble, their crops having been reaped weeks before. Upon the declivity of the mountain is seen the stately coffee-tree, the plantations of which commence about 1300 feet above the level of the sea, and proceed up the hill till they reach the height of 4000 feet."

The conduct of the Dutch to the native chiefs is illustrated by their treatment of the gallant Diepo Nogoro:

"During my first stay at Batavia, from 1823 to 1826, the celebrated Java war broke out, the so-called rebel army being headed by a native Chief of Djokdjocarta, named Diepo Nogoro. Shortly after the first outbreak, the then Governor-General, Baron Vander Capellan, called on all Europeans between the ages of 16 and 45 to serve in the *schuttery*, or militia. An infantry and a cavalry corps were formed, and I joined the latter, preferring a rifle in the evening to a walk with a 14-pound musket over my shoulder. After a probation of pretty tight drilling, we became tolerable soldiers, on 'nothing a day and finding ourselves,' and had the good town of Batavia put under our charge, the regular troops being all sent away to the scene of war. As I do not intend to return to the subject, I may as well mention here, that the war lasted five years, and that it would have lasted five years longer, had Diepo Nogoro not been taken prisoner—I fear by treachery. I saw him landed at Batavia in 1829, from the steamer which had brought him from Sumarang. The Governor's carriage and aides-de-camp were at the wharf to receive him. In that carriage he was driven to gaol, whence he was banished no one knows whither; and he has never since been heard of. Such is the usual fate of Dutch prisoners of state. Diepo Nogoro deserved a better fate. He was a gallant soldier, and fought bravely. Poor fellow! how his countenance fell—as well it might—when he saw where the carriage drew up! He stepped short on putting his foot on the pavement, evidently unwilling to enter the gloomy-looking pile; cast an eager glance around; and seeing there was no chance of escape, walked in. Several gentlemen followed, before the authorities had the door closed, and saw the fallen chief, with his *two wives*, consigned to two miserable-looking rooms. Java has been quite tranquil ever since."

That great precursor of Free Trade, the smuggler, is hard at work in upsetting the system of exclusive commerce established by the Dutch authorities:

"Singapore is annually visited by a large fleet of vessels from all parts of Java: the most important of these are what are commonly called Arab ships; that is, ships fitted out and owned by Arabs residing in Java. They carry the Dutch flag, are commanded by Arabs, and manned by Javanese. If fame does not belie them, these Arab commanders are notorious smugglers. This is certain: that they take goods from Singapore in exchange for the coffee, sugar, rice, &c., which they bring from Java, and that they give prices that would leave them no margin for profit, if his Netherlands Majesty's duties were paid on them. For this sort of illicit trade, the coast of Java offers many facilities in its numerous small rivers, with which the Arab ship-master is intimately acquainted. The article of opium, though strictly prohibited by the authorities of Java, is taken by the Arabs from Singapore in considerable quantities, notwithstanding the pains and penalties attached to its being found on board their vessels; and smuggled into Java the drug most undoubtedly is, let the Dutchman boast of their spies and custom-house establishment as they will. These Arab ships are built of teak, ranging from 150 to 500 tons per register, and are altogether remarkably fine vessels."

The condition of Bencoolen affords another proof of the miserable incapacity of the British ministry of 1815: the ministry which imposed Corn Laws to cripple industry at home, and abandoned advantages to prevent the extension of British commerce abroad:

"The once thriving settlement of Bencoolen, (or Fort Menapoung) which I visited at different times between 1811 and 1813, found, even then, to have declined very seriously from its former prosperity. Previously to its

transfer, in 1825, to the Dutch, great exertions were made to render this settlement important for its exportation of spices of all descriptions; and so far as regards nutmegs, rice, and cloves, those exertions were eminently successful. Planters and others, however, soon found that, on the hauling down of the British flag, and the hoisting of the Dutch, their prospects underwent a very material change, arising from duties and other charges laid on the commerce of the place. Most of the capitalists retired with the British establishment, of which, indeed, they formed a part. A hard struggle was maintained by those planters who remained behind, but without success; and the place is now very little more than a station for a Dutch Assistant-Resident and a small garrison.

In this arrangement the wishes and rights of the natives were as ostentatiously disregarded as the commercial interests of England:

"The transfer of this settlement to the Dutch (in exchange for Malacca) in 1825, was a severe blow and great disappointment to all the natives, both high and low. At a meeting of chiefs held at the Government house, at which the English and Dutch authorities were both present, for the purpose of completing the transfer, the senior Rajah rose to address the assembly, and spoke to the following effect:—'Against this transfer of my country I protest. Who is there possessed of authority to hand me and my countrymen, like so many cattle, over to the Dutch or to any other power? If the English are tired of us, let them go away; but I deny their right to hand us over to the Dutch. When the English first came here, they asked for and got a piece of land to build warehouses and dwelling-houses upon. That piece of land is still defined by its original stone wall, and is all they (the English) ever got from us. We were never conquered; and I now tell the English and Dutch gentlemen here assembled, that had I the power, as I have the will, I would resist this transfer to the knife. I am, however, a poor man, have no soldiers to cope with yours, and must submit. God's will be done.' This was a bold, straightforward speech; but it was thrown away upon the callous ears of the hearers. Delivered in pure Malay, it sounded stronger than in this translation. The speaker was an old man, with whose power and will for mischief, in former days, the British had good cause to be acquainted."

As another specimen of the Dutch policy which the imposers of the Corn Laws established in the Indian seas, we quote an account of the disguised slave-trade at Padang:

"There is a disgraceful traffic carried on between Padang and the island of Nias, a little further up the coast, by Chinese, who visit that island, and purchase hundreds of its inhabitants, for whom they find markets all along the coast. Those brought to Padang, are not, indeed, sold as slaves; but they are registered at the Resident's office, and held as bond-debtors for different terms of seven, fifteen, and even twenty years. During this servitude they are treated as slaves, but free at its expiration. They have also the option of buying their liberty in the meantime, if they can raise the means; and the proprietor is not at liberty to refuse a sum equivalent to the value of the unexpired term of service. This value is fixed thus: on the registering of a debtor, a certain sum is put down as his value or debt; say 400 rupees; of this sum a certain proportion, say 20 rupees, is placed to his credit for every year he serves; so that, if he serves his master for five years, his debt is reduced to 300 rupees; and this sum, the master is compelled to accept as the price of his liberation. If a debtor has a hard master, he is at liberty to induce another to buy his services; and the transfer cannot be declined, if the sum due is forthcoming."

Mr. Davidson resided for three years in New South Wales, and estimates very highly the advantages it offers to agricultural emigrants, notwithstanding the drawbacks of convicts escaping to become highway robbers in the bush, the ravages of occasional droughts, and the depredations of the cockatoos. The last is a plague very perplexing to the farmers:

"While on the subject of the settler's troubles, I may mention, that the cockatoos annoy the farmer in Australia, as much as the crows do in England: they attack his wheat and maize, when the grain is ripening, by hundreds; indeed I may say, by thousands; and it requires a very active watchman to keep them from doing serious injury to the crop, not so much from the quantity they eat, as from what they destroy and scatter. These birds, which, by-the-by, furnish an excellent dish that occasionally formed part of our dinner, are remarkably cunning: while the flock are busily feeding on the farmer's wheat, two of their number are left on some neighbouring trees to keep watch; these, on the approach of danger, give a loud, shrill scream, which at once puts the thieves to flight, and renders it very difficult for the sportsman to get a shot at one of them."

Mr. Davidson's account of Hong-Kong is too superficial to be of much value, and more recent information has refuted several of the speculations in which he indulged. We, however, join with him heartily in recommending that all the English establishments in the Indian and Chinese seas should be declared "free ports," and that the revenues necessary to defray colonial expenses should be raised by direct taxation. The experiment has been tried with complete success at Singapore, and Mr. Brooke has adopted the same course in Borneo. Monopoly is nothing more than legalised piracy, and the Government that sanctions it has no right to complain that the Malay pirates carry out the principle in their own way, and even contrive to better the instruction.

Narrative of a Four Months' Residence at the Marquesas, or, a Peep at Polynesian Life; by Herman Melville. London: Murray.

We have more than once had occasion to refer to that most interesting series of amusing and instructive volumes which Murray is publishing in his Home and Colonial Library. Without entering into any invidious comparisons, we may safely say

that no publisher has been more successful in combining cheapness with excellence, and that there is not a single volume in the whole series which we should not grieve to lose from our collection. The work before us contains the adventures of an American mariner, who deserted from a cruel captain, and sought shelter among the natives of the Marquesas; it offers much for extract, and little for comment, and is therefore a book more gratifying to the reader than useful to the critic. Melville, though an American, does not disguise the atrocities which his countrymen have committed in the islands of the Pacific Ocean—atrocities which have provoked fearful retaliations, though the vengeance has chiefly fallen on the innocent. He thus describes the exploits of Captain Poiter, of the United States navy, during his campaign of 1814, against the Typees:

"On that occasion I have been told that a considerable detachment of sailors and marines from the frigate Essex, accompanied by at least two thousand warriors of Haparr and Nukubeva, landed in boats and canoes at the head of the bay, and after penetrating a little distance into the valley, met with the stoutest resistance from its inmates. Valiantly, although with much loss, the Typees disputed every inch of ground, and after some hard fighting, obliged their assailants to retreat and abandon their design of conquest."

"The invaders, on their march back to the sea, consoled themselves for their repulse by setting fire to every house and temple in their route; and a long line of smoking ruins defaced the once smiling bosom of the valley, and proclaimed to its Pagan inhabitants the spirit that reigned in the breasts of Christian soldiers. Who can wonder at the deadly hatred of the Typees to all foreigners after such unprovoked atrocities?"

"Thus it is that they whom we denominate 'savages' are made to deserve the title. When the inhabitants of some sequestered island first descried the 'big canoe' of the European rolling through the blue waters towards their shores, they rush down to the beach in crowds, and with open arms stand ready to embrace the strangers. Fatale embrace! They fold to their bosoms the vipers whose sting is destined to poison all their joys; and the instinctive feeling of love within their breasts is soon converted into the bitterest hate."

"The enormities perpetrated in the South Seas upon some of the inoffensive islanders well nigh pass belief. These things are seldom proclaimed at home; they happen at the very ends of the earth; they are done in a corner, and there are none to reveal them. But there is, nevertheless, many a petty trader that has navigated the Pacific whose course from island to island might be traced by a series of cold-blooded robberies, kidnappings, and murders, the iniquity of which might be considered almost sufficient to sink her guilty timbers to the bottom of the sea."

"Sometimes vague accounts of such things reach our firesides, and we coolly censure them as wrong, impolitic, needlessly severe, and dangerous to the crews of other vessels. How different is our tone when we read the highly-wrought description of the massacre of the crew of the *Hobomak* by the Feejees! how we sympathise for the unhappy victims, and with what horror do we regard the diabolical heathens, who, after all, have but avenged the unprovoked injuries which they have received! We breathe nothing but vengeance, and equip armed vessels to traverse thousands of miles of ocean in order to execute summary punishment upon the offenders. On arriving at their destination, they burn, slaughter, and destroy, according to the tenor of written instructions, and sailing away from the scene of devastation, call upon all Christendom to applaud their courage and their justice."

Melville left the ship with a companion he calls Toby, and fled towards a ridge of hills in the interior. The obstacles he met on his route were of a formidable nature. Let us select a specimen:

"When we arrived within a short distance of the ridge, we were stopped by a mass of tall yellow reeds, growing together as thickly as they could stand, and as tough and stubborn as so many rods of steel; and we perceived, to our chagrin, that they extended midway up the elevation we purposed to ascend."

"For a moment we gazed about us in quest of a more practicable route; it was, however, at once apparent that there was no resource but to pierce this thicket of canes at all hazards. We now reversed our order of march, I, being the heaviest, taking the lead, with a view of breaking a path through the obstruction, while Toby fell into the rear."

"Two or three times I endeavoured to insinuate myself between the canes, and by dint of coaxing and bending them to make some progress; but a bull-frog might as well have tried to work a passage through the teeth of a comb, and I gave up the attempt in despair."

"Half wild with meeting an obstacle we had so little anticipated, I threw myself desperately against it, crushing to the ground the canes with which I came in contact; and, rising to my feet again, repeated the action with like effect. Twenty minutes of this violent exercise almost exhausted me, but it carried us some way into the thicket; when Toby, who had been reaping the benefit of my labours by following close at my heels, proposed to become pioneer in turn, and accordingly passed ahead with a view of affording me a respite from my exertions. As, however, with his slight frame he made but bad work of it, I was soon obliged to resume my old place again."

"On we toiled, the perspiration starting from our bodies in floods, our limbs torn and lacerated with the splintered fragments of the broken canes, until we had proceeded perhaps as far as the middle of the brake, when suddenly it ceased raining, and the atmosphere around us became close and sultry beyond expression. The elasticity of the reeds, quickly recovering from the temporary pressure of our bodies, caused them to spring back to their original position; so that they closed in upon us as we advanced, and prevented the circulation of the little air which might otherwise have reached us. Besides this, their great height completely shut us out from the view of surrounding objects, and we were not certain but that we might have been going all the time in a wrong direction."

"Fatigued with my long-continued efforts, and panting for breath, I felt myself completely incapacitated for any further exertion. I rolled up the sleeve of my frock, and squeezed the moisture it contained into my parched mouth. But the few drops I managed to obtain gave me little relief, and I

sunk down for a moment with a sort of dogged apathy, from which I was aroused by Toby, who had devised a plan to free us from the net in which we had become entangled."

"He was laying about him busily with his sheath-knife, lopping the canes right and left, like a reaper, and soon made quite a clearing around us. This sight reanimated me, and, seizing my own knife, I hacked and leaped away without mercy. But, alas! the farther we advanced, the thicker and taller, and apparently the more interminable the reeds became."

"I began to think we were fairly snared, and had almost made up my mind that without a pair of wings we should never be able to escape from the toils; when all at once I discerned a peep of daylight through the canes on my right, and, communicating the joyful tidings to Toby, we both fell to with fresh spirit, and speedily opening a passage towards it we found ourselves clear of perplexities, and in the near vicinity of the ridge."

After enduring terrible hardships in the defiles of the mountains, the adventurers at length reached an uninhabited valley, where they discovered two figures half hidden in the bush:

"My mind was at once made up. Dropping my staff, and tearing open the package of things we had brought from the ship, I unrolled the cotton cloth, and holding it in one hand plucked with the other a twig from the bushes beside me, and telling Toby to follow my example, I broke through the covert and advanced, waving the branch in token of peace towards the shrinking forms before me."

"They were a boy and girl, slender and graceful, and completely naked, with the exception of a slight girdle of bark, from which depended at opposite points two of the russet leaves of the bread-fruit tree. An arm of the boy, half screened from sight by her wild tresses, was thrown about the neck of the girl, while with the other he held one of her hands in his; and thus they stood together, their heads inclined forward, catching the faint noise we made in our progress, and with one foot in advance, as if half inclined to fly from our presence."

"As we drew near their alarm evidently increased. Apprehensive that they might fly from us altogether, I stopped short and motioned them to advance and receive the gift I extended towards them, but they would not; I then uttered a few words of their language with which I was acquainted, scarcely expecting that they would understand me, but to show that we had not dropped from the clouds upon them. This appeared to give them a little confidence, so I approached nearer, presenting the cloth with one hand and holding the bough with the other, while they slowly retreated. At last they suffered us to approach so near to them that we were enabled to throw the cotton cloth across their shoulders, giving them to understand that it was theirs, and by a variety of gestures endeavouring to make them understand that we entertained the highest possible regard for them."

"The frightened pair now stood still, whilst we endeavoured to make them comprehend the nature of our wants. In doing this Toby went through with a complete series of pantomimic illustrations—opening his mouth from ear to ear, and thrusting his fingers down his throat, gnashing his teeth and rolling his eyes about, till I verily believe the poor creatures took us for a couple of white cannibals who were about to make a meal of them. When, however, they understood us, they showed no inclination to relieve our wants. At this juncture it began to rain violently, and we motioned them to lead us to some place of shelter. With this request they appeared willing to comply, but nothing could evince more strongly the apprehension with which they regarded us, than the way in which, whilst walking before us, they kept their eyes constantly turned back to watch every movement we made, and even our very looks."

They were at first uncertain whether they had fallen in with the cannibal Typees or the more innocent Haparrs. It soon appeared that their hosts were the dreaded devourers of human flesh, but they nevertheless received the fugitives with great hospitality:

"Reclining upon our mats, we held a kind of levee, giving audience to successive troops of the natives, who introduced themselves to us by pronouncing their respective names, and retired in high good humour on receiving ours in return. During this ceremony the greatest merriment prevailed, nearly every announcement on the part of the islanders being followed by a fresh sally of gaiety, which induced me to believe that some of them at least were innocently diverting the company at our expense, by bestowing upon themselves a string of absurd titles, of the humour of which we were of course entirely ignorant."

"All this occupied about an hour, when the throng having a little diminished, I turned to Melevi and gave him to understand that we were in need of food and sleep. Immediately the attentive chief addressed a few words to one of the crowd, who disappeared, and returned in a few moments with a calabash of "poe poe," and two or three young coconuts stripped of their husks, and with their shells partly broken. We both of us forthwith placed one of these natural goblets to our lips, and drained it in a moment of the refreshing draught it contained. The poe-poe was then placed before us, and even famished as I was, I paused to consider in what manner to convey it to my mouth."

"This staple article of food among the Marquesa islanders is manufactured from the produce of the bread-fruit tree. It somewhat resembles in its plastic nature our bookbinder's paste, is of a yellow colour, and somewhat tart to the taste."

"Such was the dish, the merits of which I was now eager to discuss. I eyed it wistfully for a moment, and then unable any longer to stand on ceremony, plunged my hand into the yielding mass, and to the boisterous mirth of the natives drew it forth laden with the poe-poe, which adhered in lengthy strings to every finger. So stubborn was its consistency, that in conveying my heavily-laden hand to my mouth, the connecting links almost raised the calabash from the mats on which it had been placed. This display of awkwardness—in which, by-the-by, Toby kept me company—convulsed the bystanders with uncontrollable laughter."

One of the most remarkable objects in the Typee valley appears to have been the Taboo ground of the tribe, which is thus described:

"Here were situated the Taboo graves of the valley—the scene of many a prolonged feast, of many a horrid rite. Beneath the dark shadows of the consecrated bread-fruit trees

there reigned a solemn twilight—a cathedral-like gloom. The frightful genius of Pagan worship seemed to brood in silence over the place, breathing its spell upon every object around. Here and there, in the depths of these awful shades, half screened from sight by masses of overhanging foliage, rose the idolatrous altars of the savages, built of enormous blocks of black and polished stone, placed one upon another without cement, to the height of twelve or fifteen feet, and surmounted by a rustic open temple, enclosed with a low picket of canes, within which might be seen, in various stages of decay, offerings of bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, and the putrefying relics of some recent sacrifice.

"In the midst of the wood was the hallowed 'hoolah, hoolah,' ground—set apart for the celebration of the fantastic religious ritual of these people—comprising an extensive oblong pi-pi, terminating at either end in a lofty terraced altar, guarded by ranks of hideous wooden idols, and with the two remaining sides flanked by ranges of bamboo sheds, opening towards the interior of the quadrangle thus formed. Vast trees, standing in the middle of this space, and throwing over it an umbrageous shade, had their massive trunks built round with slight stages, elevated a few feet above the ground, and railed in with canes, forming so many rustic pulpits, from which the priests harangued their devotees.

"This holiest of spots was defended from profanation by the strictest edicts of the all-pervading 'taboo,' which condemned to instant death the sacrilegious female who should enter or touch its sacred precincts, or even so much as press with her feet the ground made holy by the shadows that it cast.

"Access was had to the enclosure through an embowered entrance on one side, facing a number of towering cocoa-nut trees, planted at intervals along a level area of a hundred yards. At the farther extremity of this space was to be seen a building of considerable size, reserved for the habitation of the priests and religious attendants of the groves.

"In its vicinity was another remarkable edifice, built as usual upon the summit of a pi-pi, and at least two hundred feet in length, though not more than twenty in breadth. The whole front of this latter structure was completely open, and from one end to the other ran a narrow verandah, fenced in on the edge of the pi-pi with a picket of canes. Its interior presented the appearance of an immense lounging-place, the entire floor being strewn with successive layers of mats, lying between parallel trunks of cocoa-nut trees, selected for the purpose from the straightest and most symmetrical the vale afforded.

"To this building, denominated in the language of the natives the 'Ti,' Mehevi now conducted us. Thus far we had been accompanied by a troop of the natives of both sexes; but as soon as we approached its vicinity, the females gradually separated themselves from the crowd, and standing aloof, permitted us to pass on. The merciless prohibitions of the taboo extended likewise to this edifice, and were enforced by the same dreadful penalty that secured the Hoolah Hoolah ground from the imaginary pollution of a woman's presence."

While Melville was laid up with sickness, his companion disappeared, having it seems found an opportunity of escaping in some European boat. Melville, however, feared that his companion might have been sacrificed by the cannibals, and his Typee associates tried to console him in vain for some days, but they finally succeeded.

"The conduct of the islanders appeared inexplicable. All reference to my lost comrade was carefully evaded, and if at any time they were forced to make some reply to my frequent inquiries on the subject, they would uniformly denounce him as an ungrateful runaway, who had deserted his friend, and taken himself off to that vile and detestable place Nukubeva.

"But whatever might have been his fate, now that he was gone, the natives multiplied their acts of kindness and attention towards myself, treating me with a degree of deference which could hardly have been surpassed had I been some celestial visitant. Kory-Kory never for one moment left my side, unless it were to execute my wishes. The faithful fellow, twice every day, in the cool of the morning and in the evening, insisted upon carrying me to the stream, and bathing me in its refreshing water.

"Frequently in the afternoon he would carry me to a particular part of the stream, where the beauty of the scene produced a soothing influence upon my mind. At this place the waters flowed between grassy banks, planted with enormous bread-fruit trees, whose vast branches interlacing overhead, formed a leafy canopy; near the stream were several smooth black rocks. One of these, projecting several feet above the surface of the water, had upon its summit a shallow cavity, which, filled with freshly-gathered leaves, formed a delightful couch.

Here I often lay for hours, covered with a gauze-like veil of tappa, while Fayaway, seated beside me, and holding in her hand a fan woven from the leaflets of a young cocoa-nut bough, brushed aside the insects that occasionally lighted on my face, and Kory-Kory, with a view of chasing away my melancholy, performed a thousand antics in the water before us.

"As my eye wandered along this romantic stream, it would fall upon the half-immersed figure of a beautiful girl, standing in the transparent water, and catching in a little net a species of diminutive shell fish, of which these people are extravagantly fond. Sometimes a chattering group would be seated upon the edge of a low rock in the midst of the brook, busily engaged in thinning and polishing the shells of cocoa-nuts, by rubbing them briskly with a small stone in the water, an operation which soon converts them into a light and elegant drinking vessel, somewhat resembling goblets made of tortoiseshell.

"But the tranquillising influences of beautiful scenery, and the exhibition of human life under so novel and charming an aspect, were not my only sources of consolation.

"Every evening the girls of the house gathered about me on the mats, and after chasing away Kory-Kory from my side—who, nevertheless, retired only to a little distance and watched their proceedings with the most jealous attention—would anoint my whole body with a fragrant oil, squeezed from a yellow root, previously pounded between a couple of stones, and which in their language is denominated 'aka.' And most refreshing and agreeable are the juices of the 'aka,' when applied to one's limbs by the soft palms of sweet nymphs, whose bright eyes are beaming upon you with kindness; and I used to hail with delight the daily recurrence of this luxurious operation, in which I forgot

all my troubles, and buried for the time every feeling of sorrow."

We shall now turn to the feast of calabashes, given by the chieftain to the members of his tribe:

"What lavish plenty reigned around!—Warwick feasting his retainers with beef and ale was a niggard to the noble Mehevi!—All along the piazza of the Ti were arranged elaborately carved canoe-shaped vessels, some twenty feet in length, filled with newly made pœe-pœe, and sheltered from the sun by the broad leaves of the banana. At intervals were heaps of green bread-fruit, raised in pyramidal stacks, resembling the regular piles of heavy shot to be seen in the yard of an arsenal. Inserted into the interstices of the huge stones which formed the pi-pi were large boughs of trees; hanging from the branches of which, and screened from the sun by their foliage, were innumerable little packages with leafy coverings, containing the meat of the numerous hogs which had been slain, done up in this manner to make it more accessible to the crowd. Leaning against the railing of the piazza were an immense number of long, heavy bamboos, plugged at the lower end, and with their projecting muzzles stuffed with a wad of leaves. These were filled with water from the stream, and each of them might hold from four to five gallons.

"The banquet being thus spread, nought remained but for every one to help himself at his pleasure. Accordingly not a moment passed but the transplanted boughs I have mentioned were rifled by the throng of the fruit they certainly had never borne before. Calabashes of pœe-pœe were continually being replenished from the extensive receptacle in which that article was stored, and multitudes of little fires were kindled about the Ti for the purpose of roasting the bread-fruit.

"Within the building itself was presented a most extraordinary scene. The immense lounge of mats lying between the parallel rows of the trunks of cocoa-nut trees, and extending the entire length of the house, at least two hundred feet, was covered by the reclining forms of a host of chiefs and warriors, who were eating at a great rate, or soothing the cares of Polynesian life in the sedative fumes of tobacco. The smoke was inhaled from large pipes, the bowls of which, made out of small cocoa-nut shells, were curiously carved in strange heathenish devices. These were passed from mouth to mouth by the recumbent smokers, who, taking two or three prodigious whiffs, handed the pipe to his neighbour; sometimes for that purpose stretching indolently across the body of some individual whose exertions at the dinner-table had already induced sleep."

A far different feast revived Melville's early horror of a continued residence among the Typees:

"The sound of the drums continued, without intermission, the whole day, and falling continually upon my ear, caused me a sensation of horror which I am unable to describe. On the following day hearing none of those noisy indications of revelry, I concluded that the inhuman feast was terminated; and feeling a kind of morbid curiosity to discover whether the Ti might furnish any evidence of what had taken place there, I proposed to Kory-Kory to walk there. To this proposition he replied by pointing with his finger to the newly risen sun, and then up to the zenith, intimating that our visit must be deferred until noon. Shortly after that hour we accordingly proceeded to the Taboo Groves, and as soon as we entered their precincts, I looked fearfully round in quest of some memorial of the scenes which had so lately been acted there; but everything appeared as usual. On reaching the Ti, we found Mehevi and a few chiefs reclining on the mats, who gave me as friendly a reception as ever. No allusions of any kind were made by them to the recent events; and I refrained, for obvious reasons, from referring to them myself.

"After staying a short time I took my leave. In passing along the piazza, previously to descending from the pi-pi, I observed a curiously carved vessel of wood, of considerable size, with a cover placed over it, of the same material, and which resembled in shape a small canoe. It was surrounded by a low railing of bamboos, the top of which was scarcely a foot from the ground. As the vessel had been placed in its present position since my last visit, I at once concluded that it must have some connection with the recent festival; and, prompted by a curiosity I could not repress, in passing it I raised one end of the cover; at the same moment the chiefs, perceiving my design, loudly ejaculated, 'Taboo! Taboo!' But the slight glimpse sufficed; my eyes fell upon the disordered members of a human skeleton, the bones still fresh with moisture, and with particles of flesh clinging to them here and there!

"Kory-Kory, who had been a little in advance of me, attracted by the exclamations of the chiefs, turned round in time to witness the expression of horror on my countenance. He now hurried towards me, pointing at the same time to the canoe, and exclaiming rapidly, 'Puarkee! puarkee!' (Pig, pig). I pretended to yield to the deception, and repeated the words after him several times, as though acquiescing in what he said. The other savages, either deceived by my conduct or unwilling to manifest their displeasure at what could not be remedied, took no further notice of the occurrence, and I immediately left the Ti."

His desire of escaping was increased when he saw that he had given grievous offence by refusing to be tattooed. The natives, however, were very unwilling to part with him, and long refused the ransom proffered for him by the captain of an English vessel. At length he was rescued partly by purchase, and partly by force. The Marquesas are now one of the colonies into which the French are introducing the same system of civilisation that they have established in Tahiti and Algiers, so that this volume may be regarded as a record of customs, which in a few years will have disappeared for ever.

WHEAT IMPORTED FROM CANADA.—It appears from a return issued by the House of Commons, that the quantity of wheat and wheat flour imported into the United Kingdom from Canada, in the year ending the 5th January, 1846, was 239,241 quarters (certified as the produce of Canada, under the Act 6th and 7th Vic. c. 29); three quarters of foreign wheat were also imported from Canada, making altogether a total of 239,244 quarters.

REGISTRATION APPEALS.

NEWTON, APPELLANT, v. MOBBERY, RESPONDENT.

CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL.—In this case the revising barrister appears to have reserved two questions for the opinion of the court: first, whether the circumstances attending the execution of the grant of a rent-charge are such as to show the grant to be void as founded on fraud in fact; and, secondly, whether it is void as being made for the purpose of splitting freeholds and multiplying votes at elections in violation of the statute 7 & 8 Wm. III., c. 25. As to the first point, whether there is fraud in the making of the grant itself, the revising barrister must in all cases find the fact one way or other for himself; it is not a question that ought to be referred to the court. And it is further to be observed, that in this case he has expressly stated his own opinion to be that there was no fraud in fact. As to the second point, we think the case comes directly within the rule laid down by this court in the case of Alexander, appellant, v. Newton, respondent; and the consequence of holding this case to fall within that is, that the decision of the revising barrister ought to be affirmed in this case; and also in the following case on the list, that of Newton, appellant, v. the Overseers of Crowley, respondents, which arises on facts substantially the same as the present.

JUDSON, APPELLANT, v. LUCKETT, RESPONDENT.

CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL.—In this case, the nature of the qualification in respect of which the appellant claims to be placed on the list of voters made out by the overseers is "part of a house;" the revising barrister held the description to be insufficient. The question reserved is, whether such a description is sufficient in point of law? We have already laid down in more than one instance the mere occupation by a party of a portion of a house is an occupation separated from the residue as to constitute an occupation as a tenant within the meaning of the 28th section of 2 Will. IV.; and in this case no question is raised as to the occupation being separate in that respect, but solely on the point whether the description of the qualification on the list is sufficient? We think it is: it is precisely true, in fact, according to the common understanding of the word, and may well denote such a case as will confer—and we must take it in this case that it does confer—a qualification. It becomes therefore unnecessary to consider the second point reserved, namely, whether the revising barrister had the power of amending under the 40th section of the Registration Act? The third point reserved was as to the rating. It appeared the landlord occupied one part of the house and the appellant the other; no question being before us as to the sufficiency of the occupation. The landlord's name was on the rate for "a house" opposite to his name, and the appellant's name under that of the landlord, but nothing was carried out under the name of the appellant, nor were the names connected by brackets or otherwise; and in this state of facts the barrister held the appellant not rated. And we think on this state of facts the name is on the rate as a person charged to the rate which might well be considered to charge the appellant in respect of the premises inserted opposite the landlord's name in the line above, just as if the word "ditto" had been inserted without any bracket to connect it. We think therefore the revising barrister was wrong on both these points, and that his decision should be reversed, and the name of the appellant restored.

COLVILLE APPELLANT, v. THE OVERSEERS OF CHATHAM, RESPONDENTS.

CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL.—In this case, the point of law reserved by the revising barrister for our determination was, whether, in the case of a person claiming a right to vote for the borough, by reason of the occupation of a house as tenant, the bare value of the rent was a proper criterion of the value, without deducting the landlord's repairs? And we are of opinion the revising barrister is right in holding the bare annual profit, without making such deductions, to be the clear yearly value within the meaning of the statute, 2nd Wm. IV. chap. 45, sec. 27. It was contended before the revising barrister, not only that the average annual value of the landlord's repairs should be deducted from the rent paid by the occupier, but the landlord's expense of insurance. But this latter appears so plainly to be a voluntary charge on the part of the landlord, who insures his own house for safety, that we think such an opinion cannot be declared. Of course, the landlord's insurance never could be held a necessary deduction in order to ascertain the clear yearly value of the premises; and we think the same as to the deduction of the landlord's repairs. This is the case of the occupier of a house as tenant, who pays a rent of ten pounds per annum, exclusive of rates and taxes; that is, so far as the tenant is concerned, a clear yearly rent to the landlord of ten pounds per annum. If the statute requires that the house must be of the clear yearly value of ten pounds in order to confer a qualification, it is undoubtedly not enough to find that the tenant pays the rent that is imposed, as such rent is not a measure of the true value; it may be an exorbitant one, such as no other tenant would give, or may have been fraudulently fixed at that sum to confer a vote. It is necessary in order to satisfy the statute to show further the house is of that clear yearly value, that it is therefore a house worth ten pounds per annum as the fair rent of the premises. And whether this is proved to be the clear yearly value is the question before us. There is some difficulty in ascertaining the true meaning of the act in the use of the expression. Where the right to vote depended as it did formerly on property only, there was no difficulty in distinguishing its yearly value in the case of counties, as the 8th Henry, v. 6, c. 7, named that the knights of the shire should be chosen by the people, of whom every one should have a freehold land or tenement to the value of forty shillings by the year, at least, above all charges. And again, it appears the 18th Geo. II. c. 18, s. 5, enacts that "no person shall vote in any such election without having a freehold tenement of the clear yearly value of forty shillings above all rents and charges payable out of, or in respect of the same." It was easy to arrive at the clear yearly value, more especially as the sixth section of the late act had defined the nature of the charge intended to be created, by enacting that no public or Parliamentary tax should be deemed to be any charge payable out of, or in respect of, any freehold estate within the meaning of the act. But in the present case, the register created a new qualification for voting in boroughs, namely, that of the occupier as tenant of a house of the clear yearly value of not less than ten pounds, applying to the case of a tenant the description and definition, which, in strictness of language, and under former enactments belonged exclusively to the owner of property. For, in strictness and propriety of language, though rent, may be a fair criterion of value to the landlord, it cannot be so to the tenant; the value to let depending on the use he puts it to,

and its capabilities for occupation, and other circumstances under the control of the landlord. We cannot conceive the legislature could have intended the right to confer a vote should be dependent on calculation so nice as this, and of so difficult an application; and though it would not be easy to give effect to all the words of the section, we think it may well bear the meaning that where a house is occupied by a tenant at the clear yearly rent of 10*l.*, if such house be really worth that rent to any one wanting to occupy it, if the party was able to pay such a rent, the house would be clearly worth not less than 10*l.*, as far as the tenant is concerned; for we think the legislature intended that any person who is in such a condition as to pay such a cost charged by the owner of a house that is fairly worth the sum of 10*l.*, and shall become a tenant thereof, is a fit person to have a vote at an election of members of Parliament for the borough. In the course of the argument we were referred to the cases of rating under the Settlement Act, 13 Car. II., ch. 12. We think the appellant can derive no benefit from those cases; the rateable value of property has been considered to be what it will fairly let for to a tenant paying all such public burthens as those that are attached to his occupation. In consequence of the disputes as to the principles on which parties should be rated, the statute 6 and 7 Wm. IV., ch. 96, was passed, to state and describe the mode of ascertaining the rateable value of all kinds of property; namely, that it should be a net annual value left after making certain deductions specified in the act from the rent. But if you find in the 2 Wm. IV., ch. 45, s. 27, the expression, rateable value, we must ascertain what that is by applying to it the provisions of the 6 and 7 Wm. IV., ch. 96, where the expression is construed as clear yearly value without any deductions; that is the mode of ascertaining it. Considering that these statutes are made in *diverso intuitu*, it does not, we conceive, militate against the principle laid down as that which we ought to give in interpreting the 27th section. For these reasons we think the decision of the revising barrister ought to be affirmed.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

Staleybridge, March 3, 1846.

SIR,—I am a constant reader of your paper, and saw Mr. Ferrand's speech, in the House of Commons, of last Tuesday. Did I not believe that the house had ceased to place any credit in Mr. Ferrand, or his statements, I should be surprised that the members of the manufacturing districts did not rise as one man to contradict the scandalous assertions of that gentleman. It would be well for that gentleman if, instead of making statements on hearsay, he would visit the manufacturing districts and examine for himself. Let him come to our own town for instance, which contains 20,000 inhabitants, and some of the largest concerns in the kingdom; let him ask, one by one, and I think he would not find many who would change their present situation to go into the country, and work for 9*s.* or 10*s.* per week. Let him visit our churches and chapels on a Sunday, and he cannot (I say it with pride) tell an operative from his master. Let him visit our railway stations on a Saturday night or Sunday morning, and see the hundreds that are going to see their friends, or on parties of pleasure in the country, and when he has done all, let him show us an agricultural town where the labourers can afford these privileges; and yet we are to believe that we are ground to the dust by our tyrannical masters, the cotton lords. I will not trespass on your paper by giving the amounts of wages which an operative can earn, but I know many who have saved a deal of money by economy and steadiness. I know a boy, only 16 years of age, who is the sole support of himself and his aged father, keeping him out of the workhouse, and who is only a weaver; yet so intense is Mr. Ferrand's hatred against this manufacturing system, that I believe, had he power, he would consign it all to one grand ruin.

I know a firm in Rochdale who are intimately connected with the League, and who have not escaped from the vituperation of Mr. Ferrand, who engage a town missionary at their own expense, and give him money to distribute among the poor and afflicted in that town, yet they are among the number of cotton lords who are accused of such "tyranny, cold-blooded cruelty," and other abominations too numerous to mention. I have lived amidst the din of factories all my life, yet I never witnessed any of the cruelties which Mr. Ferrand has talked so much about. If you could put this letter in a corner of your paper, you will oblige me. I am an unlettered man, but what I have said is true, which is more than the (honourable?) member for Knaresborough can say. Wishing you every success in the good cause in which you are engaged,

I am, Sir, yours &c.,

AN OPERATIVE.

Warwickshire, Feb. 24, 1846.

DEAR SIR,—Having engaged to subscribe to your Fund of a Quarter of a Million *5*l.**, as my first mite, I herewith send 2*l.* by post-office order, with an engagement to forward 3*l.* when wanted, or at your request. Had I, Sir, the wealth of some of our lords, dukes, and nobles (so called), or some of the wealthy ignobles, it would not be the gift to your funds of 5*l.*, or of 500*l.*, that would please or satisfy my mind in these days. Nay, Sir, I believe, that had I as much as some of the mean and little-minded nobles of our day, who realise from 100,000*l.* to 300,000*l.* per annum, I would give the whole of my year's income to accomplish the abolition, or final destruction of all the unrighteous, unreasonable, unchristian, and cruel laws on our statute-books, which are contrary to the laws of God, as revealed in the book of heavenly inspiration, opposed to truth, and which I do not scruple to denounce as most vexatious and criminal. Among these are the Corn Laws, the Provision Laws, the Game Laws, the Poor Laws, and the Income Tax.

It is many months since I last troubled you with a line from my pen; and I now forbear saying much, knowing that time with you must be very precious. But, Sir, I feel as the result of reading and thinking, &c., what I know most of the members of her Majesty's Cabinet Council, and her lords and gentlemen of both houses cannot feel, whilst they are trifling with the weighty and all important national concerns of the present very awful crisis.

I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

AN OLD MINISTER OF GOD OUR SAVIOUR.

To George Wilson, Esq.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

"There is that scattereth and yet increaseth."

SIR,—It is with much pleasure that I acknowledge the receipt of 1*l.* from Mr. G. G. Turner of Glasgow, through

the medium of Mr. R. Fletcher; and 1*l.* from Mr. W. Riley, Chapel-en-le Frith, Derbyshire, for the use of the poor in my poor neighbourhood.

My friends may fully depend upon my making a seasonable and prudent use of the fruits of their benevolence.

As there will be a time—and that time is now at hand—when thousands of the English peasantry will ask, "What shall we do? we have no potatoe seed!" I have not lost sight of this heartrending fact; and therefore I have it in my heart, and hope to have it in my power to procure fifty or sixty bushels of potatoe-seed for the most distressed field-labourers in my own neighbourhood. I hope this will prove a new hint to those good men who, I rejoice to see, are imitating me in pleading for the poor.

I am, Sir,
Bicester. W. FERGUSON.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3*s.* 8*d.* by Post-office order to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

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Prospectuses may be obtained, gratis, on application at the Society's Offices, East Temple Chambers, Whitechapel-street, Fleet-street. The Rules &c., each are now ready, and may be had as above.

Persons desirous to join the Society are requested to make application immediately.

The Society's Offices will be open for receiving subscriptions and the general transaction of business, every Tuesday and Friday evenings, from 6 to 9 o'clock.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, March 7, 1846.

In political contests, as in military struggles, great danger arises from underrating the strength of the adversaries. The Austrians had actually won the battle of Marengo, when Melas, instead of pursuing his advantages, stopped short to enjoy his fancied triumph, and thus afforded Napoleon an opportunity of reversing the fortunes of the day. Though the ministerial measure has been sanctioned by a majority of ninety-seven, the protectionists assure us that they are far from recognising its destiny as decided, and that they will use their most strenuous efforts to defeat, to mutilate, and to repeal the measure. They have received a large infusion of fresh courage from the recent defeat of the ministers, though on a question of minor importance, and they vaunt that several peers, on whose neutrality the ministers had counted, will join in active opposition, and defeat every measure of Free Trade in the House of Lords. Their avowed object is to precipitate a dissolution, and to strain all the energies of deception, intimidation, and corruption, to obtain a majority in the next Parliament. It is the duty of every Free Trader to prepare for such a campaign. Let no one say to himself that the protectionists are too prudent to enter on such a desperate course. Sir H. Hardinge formed the same opinion of the Sikhs, and clung to it even when they had actually begun to cross the Sutlej. We have reason to know that the protectionists, like the Sikhs, will make more desperate efforts in their cause of speculation and plunder; and we are therefore anxious to see the League fully prepared for the encounter. It is for this reason that we again implore our friends not to slacken their efforts in obtaining contributions and subscriptions to the great Quarter of a Million Fund. It has been hitherto the most efficacious force to terrify our adversaries, and to animate the exertions of our friends within and without the walls of Parliament. Supporters and opponents look to the list of subscribers as to a kind of Free Trade gauge, for measuring the strength of public opinion; they require to be taught that the spirit of the British people is not "below proof."

During the present crisis it would be impossible for the leaders of the League to hold public meetings in the countless places where their presence is ardently desired, and where indeed it is waited for

with lingering expectation. But, as Mr. Cobden has very justly said, the time for speaking has passed, the period of decisive action has arrived. We recommend the Free Traders to hold subscription meetings for themselves in their several localities; the silent eloquence of the sums attached to their names will now be of more avail than the most powerful orations or the most convincing logic. The thick skulls of opponents may resist the force of reason and argument; but they are open to the convincing argument of a strong array of figures. Though they cannot put two ideas together in their heads, yet most of them are able to count upon their fingers.

The mission of the League is not completed until Free Trade be the established law of the land, and so established that the revival of monopoly shall be impossible. We have done much with the registration; but we have to do a great deal more. The counties must not remain the recruiting depots of the monopolists; the registration movement must be continued, must be extended, and must be urged forward with increased vigour, not only to ensure success, but to secure what may be won. The Free Traders have taken a position as a constitutional force "in the presence of men and angels," which they cannot abandon without proving false to themselves, to their principles, to their country, and to future generations. They must achieve the liberation of British industry, not only from the shackles with which it has been fettered, but from the domination which may retain the power of imposing new chains. This can be done by one great and decisive effort; never had we a more favourable opportunity. Let us, then, avail ourselves of "the tide which taken at the flood leads on to triumph;" for if we neglect it, our future will inevitably be "bound in shallows."

SIR ROBERT PEELE'S POLICY.—A meeting of the inhabitants of Chelsea, adjourned from Friday last, was held last night at the Commercial-rooms, King's-road, for the purpose of expressing "their grateful sense of the patriotic, wise, and statesmanlike conduct of the Prime Minister, in proposing to Parliament, under the sanction of her Majesty, the measures now under its consideration, for removing restrictions on trade." On the motion of F. Lloyd, Esq., the gentleman by whom the meeting was called, Mr. J. H. Lee, the senior churchwarden, was called to the chair. Mr. Lloyd proposed a petition in favour of the ministerial measure, which was seconded by Mr. Burgess. Mr. Anderson moved an amendment in favour of total and immediate repeal, which was seconded by Mr. Murray, and supported by Mr. Ryder. Mr. Dowling, a working man, thought that instead of thanking Sir R. Peel, they ought to thank the Anti-Corn Law League, and their 40*s.* franchise movement (cheers). The amendment was carried by a large majority, and embodied in the petition, which was adopted. It was then resolved that the county members be requested to present and support the prayer of the petition. Colonel Wood, M.P., would be most happy to present the petition, concurring as he did in every word of it (cheers)—but how he would vote was another thing. He firmly believed that the immediate repeal would be far more advantageous to the entire community (cheers), and more especially to the agricultural interest (cheers). But he feared, voting for it under the present circumstances would endanger the great practical object for which they were all struggling (hear, hear). The hon. member, after some personal explanations, addressed the meeting at great length in support of Free Trade, and concluded by calling on the meeting and the public to give a cordial support to the right hon. baronet. Mr. Ryder moved the thanks of the meeting to their representative, Colonel Wood, for his kindness in attending the meeting, which was passed with acclamation. Thanks having been voted to the chairman, the proceedings terminated.

FREE TRADE PRINCIPLES IN FRANCE.—The *Press* publishes a letter from M. Blanqui on Free Trade, in which we find the following remarkable passage:—"Do you know what really would occur if we enjoyed freedom of commerce to-morrow? We should see in Paris some of those rich Turkey carpets which I contemplated at Smyrna with eyes of envy. But we in return would export light carpets to the East, to which climate they would be better suited, and we would in return receive in exchange warm carpets, such as Aubusson dare not manufacture in consequence of the absurd duty of 23 per cent. imposed upon foreign wool. We should receive Swedish iron, by which our cutlery would be raised to a level with that of England, and we could sell in return to the Swedes, who drink beer at present, some Bordeaux wine. We should receive Bohemian glass, and the Bohemian ladies would receive in return millinery from Paris. Every one would have a part in the feast, for our imports could not increase without a corresponding movement in our exports. We could not continue to buy without selling, unless foreigners should make us a present of their superfluous produce, which I would not be ashamed to receive were it offered to me."

BRECHIN.—A correspondent writes us to this effect:—"You can now have no idea of the change of opinion that is abroad amongst us in the town of Brechin. For instance, a protection paper has been lying for the last fortnight, on a table, and they have got the goodly number of four signatures. They have been more fortunate in this county. But not one, for ten that would have signed the paper five years ago, would allow their name to be admitted to it now."

**** * For remainder of News see SUPPLEMENT**

Printed at the Whitefriars Printing-office, Pouwerie-street, in the District of Whitefriars, in the City of London, by JONAS GAYNOR, printer Number 7, Ridgmont-place, Hampstead-road, in the County of Middlesex, and also of Number 4, Tavistock-place, Chesham-hill-road, in the parish of Manchester, in the County of Lancaster, and published at Number 67, Fleet-street, in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, in the City of London, by ABRAHAM WALTER PIERCE, of Number 67, Fleet-street, on Saturday, March 7, 1846.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE LEAGUE.

No. 128.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, MARCH 7, 1846.

[GRATIS.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE CORN LAW DEBATE.

FRIDAY, FEB. 27.

On the question that the house on its rising do adjourn till Monday,

Mr. FERRAND defended himself from the attacks which had been made upon him in his absence on the previous evening. Mr. Roebuck, who had commenced the attack, was the last person who ought to have used such language. Mr. Roebuck had once, with language far more violent and indecent than any which he had used, flung down *The Times* newspaper upon the floor of the house, and recommended its members to horsewhip a gentleman in every way his superior. He believed that the public held Mr. Roebuck in such estimation that they would not give a quarter of a farthing for his opinions; and among all his other failures in life the knowledge of that fact ranked most deeply in his breast. Adverting to the speech of Mr. Bright, he showed that Mr. Bright had put words into his mouth which he had never used. Having repeated to the house the words which he had actually employed respecting Mr. G. Wilson, he observed that the *Manchester Guardian* never denied the fact of Mr. G. Wilson having convened and presided at the meeting of starch manufacturers, although it did deny that which he had never asserted, namely, that Mr. Wilson had been part of the starch deputation which had waited on the Government. Mr. Bright, however, was not a person entitled to attack him on the score of veracity, for two meetings had been recently held in Lancashire to rebut a statement which he had made in his place in Parliament, respecting the reluctance of the working classes at Preston and at Rochdale to support a ten hours' bill. Dr. Bowring had also put in his mouth words which he had never uttered, for the purpose of damaging him in the estimation of the house and of the country. Mr. Ferrand then re-stated and justified the words which he had actually used respecting Mr. H. Ashworth. He appealed to Dr. Bowring, as a member of Parliament and as a gentleman, to retract the charge which he had cast upon him. Turning next to Lord Morpeth, he asserted that he had never said that the petition from Union Mill was not a free and unbiassed petition. What he had said, was, that petitions against the Corn Laws had been in many instances signed by the workmen in the manufacturing districts against their will, and at the compulsion of their masters. He concluded by declaring that it was high time for the house to take into consideration the manner and extent in which petitions against the Corn Laws had been forged and manufactured by the Anti-Corn Law League.

Mr. C. BERKELEY corroborated the statement of Mr. Ferrand respecting the manufacturing of petitions. He held in his hand a petition which was delivered at his house on Wednesday last, purporting to come from Cheltenham, and to be signed by 594 inhabitants of that borough. There was, however, the Manchester post-mark on it, and that led him to make inquiries, which convinced him that the petition ought not to be presented as a petition from Cheltenham. On Monday he would bring forward that petition as a breach of privilege, and he called on the members of the Anti-Corn Law League to support him in his demand for inquiry into the source of this imposition.

Mr. BRIGHT expressed his readiness to second Mr. C. Berkeley's intended motion for inquiry into the source from which these fabricated petitions proceeded (hear, hear). After all that had fallen from Mr. Ferrand that evening, he was prepared still to say that Mr. Ferrand's statement respecting Mr. Geo. Wilson was unfounded. He then read a letter from a Mr. Rawsthorne, declaring that Mr. Geo. Wilson did not issue the circular convening the meeting of starch manufacturers at Manchester, that he did not preside at that meeting, and that no such deputation as that of which Mr. Ferrand had spoken had ever waited on the Government. He then adverted to some charges which Mr. Ferrand had brought against Mr. Rawson and another member of the League, as assassins, and which, he said, Mr. Ferrand shrank from substantiating in a court of law. In conclusion, he repeated that the charge of Mr. Ferrand was calumnious and unfounded altogether.

Dr. BOWRING observed that Mr. Ferrand had accused Mr. H. Ashworth of "cold-blooded cruelty" in having caused the distress and misery which existed in his neighbourhood. He appealed to Lord J. Manners, who had visited the establishment of Mr. Ashworth, whether Mr. Ferrand's statement was correct.

Mr. ROEBUCK had nothing to say, but what he had said last night; if Mr. Ferrand was not present when he spoke, the fault was Mr. Ferrand's, not his. He would not say one word respecting the attempt at sarcasm just made upon him. If he had failed in his career in life, it was his consolation that in all his misfortunes it had never been his fate to have a unanimous resolution of the House of Commons put on record against him, that what he had said was a calumny and a falsehood. He denied that he had ever dealt in personalities, unless, indeed, they called direct accusations personalities.

Mr. D'ISRAEL regretted that Mr. Ferrand made these attacks on gentlemen connected with the manufacturing districts. He had often remonstrated with Mr. Ferrand on that subject, but in vain, for it was Mr. Ferrand's honest conviction that those attacks were necessary and just, and if Mr. Ferrand entertained that conviction, he had not done anything on this occasion deserving the censure of the house. He did not know Mr. G. Wilson personally, but he did know that he had been for many years an agitator, and was therefore very sorry to find that he was so thin-skinned when his name was mentioned. With regard to Mr. Ashworth, he must express his opinion that Mr. Ferrand had substantiated his position, although he much regretted that Mr. Ferrand had taken it up. Mr. Bright had been very angry with Mr. Ferrand, because he had made some obscure accusation, which he did not well understand, against two members of the League as "assassins," and had complained that

Mr. Ferrand would not give the League an opportunity of discussing them in a court of justice. Now, the same charge had been brought against the League by Sir Robert Peel, and Sir J. Graham, and why did not the League, instead of chasing such small deer as Mr. Ferrand, proceed against the antlered monarchs of the wood? Mr. Roebuck, too, had made too much of the resolution of the house against Mr. Ferrand. He thought that resolution ridiculous. Sir J. Graham and Sir R. Peel did not wish for it, and were very unwilling to have it passed. It originated from the same source from which all matters, which were disagreeable in that house, originated, namely, from Mr. Roebuck himself. When Mr. Roebuck said that no other member had been so stigmatised, he forgot that a similar resolution had been passed against Mr. O'Connell. He utterly denied that Mr. Roebuck never dealt in personalities; on the contrary, he was perpetually offending against the rules of the house and the ordinary rules of gentlemanly decorum—no man more so. Corrupt motives had been attributed to himself by Mr. Roebuck. Well, the tree must bear its fruit; the crabtree must produce crab apples; and a man of acid mind must, of course, make acid speeches. He held up to well-merited scorn the melodramatic malignity and the Sadler's-wells sarcasm with which Mr. Roebuck looked daggers, though he used none. If such gesticulations came from a person entitled to use them, he should merely say that they were ridiculous; but coming from Mr. Roebuck, they were not only ridiculous but offensive.

Mr. O'CONNELL had never been accused of calumniating any members of that house, nor had any resolution ever been passed against him for such calumnies. He had said, that the system of trying elections was a system of fraud and perjury. For that assertion the Speaker had read him a solemn lecture. As soon as it was concluded, he repeated the words: and the house proved the truth of them by repealing the system altogether.

Mr. W. BERESFORD animadverted with great warmth on the language of Mr. Roebuck, and complained that three years ago he had been very acrimoniously and unjustly treated by the election committee of which that gentleman was chairman.

Lord JOHN MANNERS gave his testimony in favour of the mode in which Mr. Ashworth conducted his mills. He believed that Mr. Ashworth, as an employer of labour, was as deeply impressed with a deep sense of the responsibility cast upon him as any baron of the cotton system: but that was no answer to the statement of Mr. Ferrand, respecting his negotiations with the Poor Law Commissioners.

Mr. FIELDEN bore testimony to the truth of Mr. Ferrand's statement respecting the distress of the hand-loom weavers.

Sir R. PEEL said, I did not mean to take part in this discussion, and should not have done so but for some observations that have fallen from the hon. member for Shrewsbury, in which he recalled to recollection something that occurred, I think three years ago, in the course of a debate at that time, in which I put an erroneous construction on some remarks of the hon. member for Stockport (hear, hear). That hon. gentleman made an explanation of the meaning of the expressions he then used; I followed the hon. gentleman in the course of the debate, and my intention, after that explanation, was distinctly to relieve him from the imputation I had cast on him under my erroneous apprehension of the remarks he had made (hear, hear). If any one who was present at that debate had hinted to me that my reparation was not complete, and that my acceptance of the disavowal was less unequivocal than it should have been, I should have taken the earliest opportunity of stating what I meant to convey. This was my intention, and I think a reference to the record of the debate will show that this must have been my intention. I am sorry, Sir, that the hon. member for Shrewsbury has thought fit to revive the subject; at least I should be sorry that he has done so, if it did not give me an opportunity of stating what my intention was, and of entirely withdrawing the imputation I threw out under what was at the time an erroneous impression (hear, hear).

Mr. COBDEN (who spoke from the lower part of the house) said—I feel happy that the right hon. baronet has had an opportunity of correcting what fell from him on a former occasion. At the time the occurrence took place I did feel, and I think the country felt, that the right hon. baronet's language did not convey that distinct disavowal which it might have done, and which was due to me (hear, hear). Still, the matter itself was so extraordinary, and so incapable of bearing the interpretation which many on that side of the house put upon it, that I did not see how I could return to it. I take the present statement, however, as a full and entire disavowal of the imputation made by the right hon. baronet, and I am glad it has been made, since it gives me the opportunity—quite as pleasant to my feelings as to those of the right hon. baronet, of expressing my regret that whilst the remembrance of what had passed in this house was ranking in my mind, I have alluded to the right hon. gentleman in terms which I lament having adopted. After the explanation that has been given, I hope no one will feel justified in ever hereafter alluding to the matter (hear, hear).

The discussion then dropped.

ADJOURNED DEBATE.

The adjourned debate on the Customs and Corn Importation Acts was resumed by

Mr. G. BANKES, who commented on the impropriety, in a constitutional point of view, of Sir R. Peel's addressing to

her Majesty, in his capacity as a private individual, an important communication for the purpose of influencing her mind on a great public question. It was the first time in the history of England that any individual, who had been Prime Minister, had ventured to tell his sovereign that he would give his support to his successor, whoever he might be, if he entertained such and such opinions. It was this coalition between the Whigs and the broken party of Sir Robt. Peel which had prevented her Majesty from appealing to the constituencies of the country on the great change which was now proposed in our commercial system. He denounced this coalition, be it secret or avowed, because it involved the sacrifice of principle somewhere, and the knowledge of that fact had always rendered all coalitions in England unpopular. Everywhere, without exception, the elections showed that the mass of the constituency was in favour of protection. Was he, then, asking too much, when it was admitted that the fate of Ireland did not depend on this measure, in asking to have the opinion of all the constituencies in Great Britain upon it. If that demand were refused, many individuals would begin to doubt whether the existence of Parliament had not better be limited to a less period than seven years. After the lesson which had been administered to the house that night, it could attach but little weight in future to petitions. That circumstance rendered him more anxious that the representatives of the people should see their constituents face to face, explain their sentiments to them on this question, promise them what course they would pursue upon it, and then take care to perform the promises they made. At present he felt that the house was not justified in belying the expectations of those who had elected it—that the members of it would not be acting honourably in entertaining this question with a view of carrying it now—and that they ought, therefore, to oppose it *in limine*, especially as they disapproved of it entirely in detail. Feeling the weight of the combination now formed against the agricultural interest by men who never before were united on any subject, and whose union the country saw with inexpressible grief, he still believed and trusted that in another place such delay would occur in the progress of this measure as would give the constituencies an opportunity of declaring their opinion on this important question, "Would they be parties to this great, extraordinary, and extravagant change?"

Mr. B. ESCOTT gave his vote in favour of the measure of Government, in the strongest hope and confidence that it would be productive of benefit to the country. After what had occurred in the early part of the evening, he would not enter into the slightest collision with Mr. Ferrand; but would merely observe that the statement which that gentleman (Mr. Ferrand) had made the other evening, that he (Mr. B. Escott) had been called upon to resign his seat, and that he was acting inconsistently with his private honour in retaining it, was utterly unfounded. The question then before the house divided itself into two parts: the first, whether this great measure was likely to benefit the community? and the second, whether it was possible, in the present condition of the country and of parties in it, to prevent it from being carried? He maintained the affirmative of both these questions, and implored the protection party to prepare themselves for what they could not prevent whilst there was yet time. One reason why they could not maintain the existing Corn Laws was their extraordinary choice of leaders. Their fault was in deposing the Duke of Buckingham from the agricultural throne, and in elevating the Duke of Richmond to it in its stead. The Duke of Buckingham had never argued on the starvation principle. But could the same be said of the Duke of Richmond? He was famous for two circumstances—his predictions about wool, and his declaration that Sussex did not grow grass but timber. That was proof of his selfishness; and on such grounds Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Cobden, in the present state of the constituencies, would beat the Duke of Richmond and twenty such as him out of the field. Under these circumstances, the protection party had better put up with what they could not avoid, and cease to exasperate by their resistance a people who were all but within the grasp of famine.

Captain GLADSTONE briefly explained the reasons why he was compelled to oppose the proposition of the Government, and to support the amendment of Mr. Miles.

Mr. COBDEN—I assure the house that it is impossible for me to trespass long upon their notice, but I am anxious to say a few words before the close of this protracted debate. I have had the good, or the ill fortune, to listen to many debates upon this subject in this house, and although it has not been my fate to listen to this, at all events I have had the merit of perusing every word of it. On former occasions I have had to complain, that although the object and purpose of the motion was to discuss the principle of the Corn Laws, yet that hon. gentlemen always evaded the question, and tried to discuss every other rather than the particular question before the house (hear, hear); but however I may have had to complain of that on former occasions, I think it will be admitted that extraneous matter has been introduced into this debate by hon. gentlemen opposite to a much greater extent than before. It appears to me, that one half of the debate has turned upon the conduct of her Majesty's ministers, and nearly the whole of the other half upon the necessity of a dissolution and an appeal to the country (hear, hear). Now, though there may be ground, I will not say there may be just ground, for hon. gentlemen below the gangway assailing the ministers for the course they have pursued; yet the country, I assure them, will not sympathise with them in the quarrel with their leaders, nor will they be without some suspicion that that grievance has been dwelt upon to avoid that discussion of principle (hear, hear); for I wish to bear in mind that, on former occasions, by similar means, you did try to avoid that discussion. In 1841 you denounced the leaders of the Whigs as furiously as you denounced the leaders of your own party

now; and when I came into Parliament, in the spring of 1842, I must say that I myself and the members of the Anti-Corn Law League were as much the objects of your vituperation as the ministers are now. The country, therefore, will not sympathise with you; and, on the other hand, it will doubt whether or not you have introduced these personal topics because you cannot justify the Corn Law (hear, hear). Now, if hon. gentlemen opposite have any fear that their present leaders contemplate, after the repeal of the Corn Laws, doing something else which they may think injurious to their party interests, I beg to assure them that they are taking the most effectual means of arming the present ministers with the power of accomplishing something else, if they wish it; for the more they attack them, the more obloquy they load them with, the more will the country sympathise with them out of doors. Why, you are making the present ministry the most popular men in the country (cheers). If the right hon. baronet the First Lord of the Treasury were to go into the manufacturing districts of the north, his journey would be one continued triumph (hear, hear). The right hon. Home Secretary was not personally very popular two or three years ago (a laugh). It is a difficult thing for a Home Secretary in troublesome times to become popular; but the magnificent contribution the right hon. baronet (Sir J. Graham) has given to our good cause, by his able speeches and authoritative statements of facts, has sunk deep into the mind of the country; these, and still more the martyrdom you are nightly inflicting upon him, have rendered him so popular that I don't think we could parade any one in Manchester or Liverpool who would meet with a more cordial reception. I don't think you (addressing the protectionists) are pursuing a good party course. I think you are as badly off on the score of good judgment and tactics as ever you were (a laugh). I will now, however, draw your attention to the second topic to which I have referred, and which is of still more importance. If I understand your position rightly, it is this—you say, "We wish for an appeal to the country; if the country decide that Free Trade shall be the national policy, we will bow to that decision" ("hear, hear," from the protectionists). I believe I am fairly interpreting your meaning. I tell you, then, in the first place, that if you are believers in the truth and justice of your principles, you are unworthy advocates of those principles, if you would think of abandoning them on such grounds. If you believe in the truth of your principles you should not bow to the decision of a temporary majority of the house. When I came into Parliament, in 1841, I met you with a majority of 91 in your favour. Did I then bow to that majority and submit to the Corn Law (hear, hear)? No; I felt as confident in the triumph of justice then as now. I said I would never cease my exertions till you abrogated that law. If you have confidence in the truth and justice of your principles you should use the same language. You should say, "It is not one defeat that shall make us abandon those great principles which we consider essential to the welfare and prosperity of the great mass of the people. No; if we are thrown to the ground now, we will spring up with renewed determination and vigour" (cheers, and some cries of "yes" from the protection benches). You say "Yes, yes," to that sentiment, but you had already told me by your cheers that you did not intend to do anything of the kind (laughter and cheers); I am conscientiously of opinion that you are unbelievers in the doctrines you advocate (shouts of "oh, oh!" from the protectionists). But I will assume that you can carry out your object—that you can force a dissolution; and to this point I wish particularly to draw your attention, and what is of still more importance, the attention of persons in another place. We have had some pretty frank allusions, especially in the peroration of the speech of the hon. member for Dorsetshire (Mr. Banks), to what is to be done in another place, where there is no representative with this measure of the middle classes—no merchant, no manufacturer, no spinner, no farmer. In that other place, however, what I now say on the subject of a dissolution may probably be read. You want a dissolution in order to ascertain the opinion of the country. Have you ever thought, or considered, or defined what the opinion of the country means (hear)? Do you think it means a numerical majority of this house? We shall have that to-night (loud cheers). You are not satisfied with that (hear, hear). You are preaching the democratic doctrine, that this question must be referred to the people (hear, and a laugh). Now, I want to have well defined what you mean by public opinion. You will perhaps say, "We will abide by the decision of a numerical majority of this house returned at another general election," and you will consider that the decision of the country. Well, I totally disagree with all those who believe for a moment that you would obtain a numerical majority in this house in the event of a dissolution (hear, and cheers). I ought to know as much about the state of the representation of this country, and of the registration, as any man in the house (hear, and cheers). Probably no one has given so much attention to that question as I have done; and I distinctly deny that you have the slightest probability of gaining a numerical majority in this house, if a dissolution took place to-morrow. Now, I would not have said this three months ago (hear). On the contrary, at a public meeting three months ago, I distinctly recognised the great probability of your having a numerical majority in the event of a dissolution. But your party is since broken up. Though you may still have a firm phalanx in Dorsetshire and Buckinghamshire, what has been the effect of the separation from you of the most authoritative and intelligent of your party upon the boroughs, and among the population of the north? I told you, three years ago, that the Conservatives of the towns of the north of England were not the followers of the Duke of Richmond. They were, almost to a man, the followers of that section of the Government represented

by the First Lord of the Treasury and the right honourable Home Secretary (hear, hear). Every one acquainted with the towns in the north of England will bear me out when I say that those Conservatives who follow the right honourable baronet (Sir R. Peel) comprise at least four fifths of the party, while the remainder may look up to the Duke of Richmond as their leader, and sympathise with the section below the gangway. That large portion of the Conservative party in the north of England has ever been in favour of Free Trade. The language they have used to Free Traders like myself has been this: "Sir Robt. Peel will do it at the proper time (hear, hear, and cheers). We have confidence in him, and when the proper period arrives he will give us Free Trade" (renewed cheers). Then I say, that in this state of your party, I wholly deny the possibility of your gaining a majority. But I will assume, for the sake of argument, that, in the event of a dissolution of Parliament, you obtained a numerical majority. Let us see of what that majority and of what the minority opposed to you would consist (hear, hear). There are 18 representatives in Parliament for this metropolis, and there are two members for the metropolitan county. We have the whole 20 (loud cheers). They represent 110,000 electors; they represent a population of 2,000,000 of souls (hear, hear)—the most intelligent, the most wealthy, the most orderly, and notwithstanding my acquaintance with the business habits of those in the north of England, I must add, with respect to business and mechanical life, the hardest working people in England (hear, hear). Do those people express public opinion think you? Why, this metropolis assumed to itself, centuries ago, the power and privilege of closing its gates in the face of its sovereign, a power which is still retained, and which is exercised on state occasions. This metropolis is now twenty times as populous, as wealthy, as important in the world's eye as it was then; and do you think it will be content that you count it as nothing in your estimate of public opinion (hear, hear, and cheers)? But turn elsewhere. What says the metropolis of Scotland, Edinburgh? Do you reckon on having a member for that city to vote in the glorious majority which you anticipate (hear, hear)? Turn to Dublin. Will you have a representative for that city with you? Go to Glasgow, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and Liverpool; take every town containing 20,000 inhabitants, and I defy you to show that you can reckon on a single representative for any town in the kingdom which has such a population. I tell you that you have not with you now a town in Great Britain containing 20,000 inhabitants ("oh, oh!" from the protectionists; some honourable members mentioning "Liverpool," and "Bristol"). No, no, no; you have neither Liverpool nor Bristol (a laugh). That shows you have not weighed these matters as you are bound to weigh them (laughter). Don't be led away by the men who cheer and hallo there, like the school boy whistling in the churchyard to keep up his courage. Examine these facts, for those who were formerly your leaders have weighed them already (hear, hear, and cheers), and there is none among you deserving to be your leaders unless they have well considered these important matters. I repeat that you cannot reckon upon any town of 20,000 inhabitants sending up a representative to vote with the great majority you expect to obtain. True, you will have your pocket boroughs, and your nomination counties (hear, hear). And I will say a word or two directly as to the county representation; but I now place before you broadly the situation in which you will find yourselves after a dissolution. I will assume that you have a majority, derived from pocket boroughs and nomination counties, of twenty or thirty members. But on this side you will see the representatives for London, for South Lancashire, for West Yorkshire, for North Cheshire, for North Lancashire, and the members for all the large towns of England, Ireland, and Scotland; nay, not one member will come from any town in Scotland to vote with you (hear). Now, what would then be your situation? Why, you would shrink agast from the position in which you would find yourselves. There would be more defections from your ranks, pledged as you are—steeped to the chin in pledges. So much alarmed would you be at your position, that you would cross the floor to join us in larger numbers than you have ever yet done (laughter). I tell you there would be no safety for you without it. I say that the members who came up under such circumstances, to attempt to maintain the Corn Laws, from your Ripons and Stamfords, Woodstocks and Marlboroughs, would hold those opinions only till they found it was determined by public opinion to repeal them. They could not hold them one week longer; for if the country found that they would not give way to moral force, they might think it requisite to place them in another Schedule A (laughter). Now, I have told you what, in my opinion, constitutes public opinion. Had there been such an amount of public opinion as now exists in favour of the repeal of the Corn Laws, in support of the Pretender in 1745, the dynasty of the Stuarts would now have occupied the throne of these realms. That amount of public opinion is sufficient to change the constitution of this country; to alter your forms of Government; to do anything, in short, that public opinion is determined to effect. But you may probably tell me that though we have the electors of the great constituencies I have mentioned in our favour, the great mass of the people are not with us. This is a rather democratic sentiment (hear, and a laugh). You never heard me quote the superior judgment of the working classes in any deliberations in this assembly. You never heard me cant about the superior claims of the working classes to arbitrate on this great question. But you say the mass of the people are not with us. What evidence is there that this is the case? Will you shut your eyes to proofs? Will you go blindfold against a stone wall? You say the petitions presented to this house have not been

honestly signed ("hear, hear," from the protectionists). I cannot disprove that assertion. It must go for what it is worth. But we have ten times as many signatures to our petitions for Corn Law repeal as you have to your protection petitions (cheers). You may assume that the signatures to those petitions are fictitious. Do so if you please. I will give you another test. I will challenge you to the old Saxon mode of ascertaining what are the opinions of the country, by calling public meetings. Now, if you really entertain democratic opinions, this is the way in which to elevate the working man to an equality with his master; aye, to an equality with the peer of the realm,—bringing them out into public assemblies, where every man has an equal vote—assemblies which make laws for the conduct of their own proceedings, and elect their own chairman. Call your public meetings to support the Corn Laws (hear, hear). I challenge you to call one anywhere. Why, it is not in the manufacturing districts alone that meetings have been held since the 1st of November last. Public meetings, convened by the authorities, have been held in every large town,—meetings not confined to a particular class, or consisting of men pledged to particular opinions, but convened to determine, aye or no, whether the people should petition for Free Trade or not. These meetings have not been confined to the manufacturing districts alone; they have been held at Exeter, Brighton, and Oxford, and the opinion of the people was as unanimous at those places as at Bolton, Stockport, and Manchester. Now, cannot you call a public meeting and test the opinions of the people? Would not one meeting, at all events, be something like a proof that you are practical men, and not disposed to be misled by the chimeras of those hot-headed, half-witted people who try to deceive you? I have seen some of your notices calling protection meetings. One was forwarded to me from Epworth, in Lincolnshire, by a gentleman who complained that the notice was so framed that protectionists only could attend, and that no amendment could be proposed (cries of "hear, hear"). Why, in the purely agricultural district of Haddingtonshire, in the centre of the Lothians, a protection meeting was called about six weeks ago. All the neighbouring nobility and landed proprietors attended; they talked of the British Lion, and of the nation being with them (hear). Soon after, another meeting was held, when it was proposed to petition for the repeal of the Corn Laws. The protectionists fled from the room, the largest room in the place; but it was quite full without them, and resolutions in favour of repeal were adopted. Was this evidence of public opinion (a cry of "no," from the protection benches). Was it not? Then what will teach you what public opinion is? Must you be tossed in a blanket (laughter)? Must you be swept out of this house into the Thames (a laugh)? What must be done to convince you that the feeling of the nation is not with you? You will be abandoned to fatuity and destruction if you are left to persons who have so little mercy upon you as to delude you on this question. I said that I would refer to the county representation. You are pluming yourselves on the result of recent county elections, and you are reckoning, no doubt, on the attainment of great strength from your purely agricultural counties in the event of a dissolution; but I beg to remind honourable gentlemen that the county representation under the 50*l.* tenant-at-will clause of the Reform Act is not the old county representation (hear, hear). We never heard, 20 years ago, of requisitions being got up to candidates by tenant farmers. The requisitions were then got up by freeholders (hear, hear). You introduced into the Reform Act, by a great mistake (cheers) on the part of those who then had the power to have prevented it, a clause innovating on the old constitutional custom, and giving tenants-at-will a vote for counties. Do you mean to tell me that the votes of these tenants-at-will are an evidence of public opinion? We heard a definition of tenant-at-will votes last night, which, with the permission of the house, I will read. The hon. member for Dorsetshire, (and I congratulate the Free Traders on his advent here,) told us with great naïveté, "He (Mr. Seymour), with his hon. colleague, came forward at the recent election for Dorset, in consequence of a requisition signed by the great body of the tenant farmers. Three or four of the largest properties in the county were in the hands of Free Traders, and naturally the tenants on those estates held back and refused to sign the requisition till they knew what were the wishes of their landlords (cheers), for it was notorious that English tenants generally wished to consult the feelings of their landlords. He (Mr. Seymour) did not think tenants to blame for that. Knowing that their landlords were Free Traders, the tenancies in question made inquiry, previous to signing, whether those landlords would object to their taking the course their conscience dictated; the landowners, very much to their credit, said, that this being a farmer's question, they would not interfere, and then, almost without exception, the farmers on those properties signed the requisition" (cheers). Yes, yes; it is all very well for those who get the consent of their landlords to vote, but recollect what the hon. gentleman says at the commencement of his remarks. He tells us that he and his colleague were put in nomination in consequence of a requisition signed by tenant farmers, that is, in consequence of a requisition got up by command of the landlords, and signed by the farmer (cries of "oh," from the protectionists). Now, I put it to you candidly,—is it not an understood etiquette in counties that one proprietor who is a candidate should not canvass the tenants on the estate of another till he has obtained the sanction of the owner ("no," and cheers). Am I to understand that the protectionist gentlemen in a body below the gangway contradict me when I state it as a point of etiquette in counties that one proprietor, who is a candidate, does not think it proper to canvass the tenantry on the estate of another proprietor without first intimating to the landowner his

intention and desire to do so (renewed cries of "no")? Well, there are only two or three faint noises (laughter, and cries of "order"). I think the ayes have it (laughter and cheers). But, however, this point at all events is admitted, that as a rule farmers vote with the landlords: that the vote goes with the land; nobody denies that the farm carries the right. What right, then, have you to call this the opinion of the farmer? You cannot have it both ways. It cannot be both the opinion of the landlord and the opinion of the tenants. What becomes then of all those interesting romances in which the Duke of Richmond has indulged in public, about the bold, independent, and gallant yeomanry of the country (a laugh)? Why, these are the men who have not the right of using their suffrages (hear, hear). It is your own statement (cheers). This country certainly will not be governed by a combination of landlords and tenants (hear, hear). Probably you are not aware on what a very narrow basis this power of yours rests. But I can give you some information on the subject. There are about 150,000 tenants who form the basis of your political power, and who are distributed throughout the counties of this country. Well, let it come to the worst; carry on the opposition to this measure for three years more; yet there is a plan in operation much maligned by some honourable gentlemen opposite ("hear, hear," from the protection benches)—and still more maligned in another place, but which, the more the shoe pinches and the more you wince at it, the more we like it out of doors (hear, hear). Now, I say, we have confronted this difficulty, and are preparing to meet it. We are calling into exercise the true old English forms of the constitution (cries of "oh, oh," and cheers), of five centuries antiquity, and we intend that the ancient 40s. freehold franchise shall counterbalance this innovation of yours in the Reform Bill (hear, hear). You think that there is something revolutionary in this ("hear, hear," from the protection benches). Why, you are the innovators and the revolutionists who introduced this new franchise into the Reform Bill (hear, hear). But I believe that it is perfectly understood by the longest heads among your party that we have a power out of doors to meet this difficulty (hear, hear). You should bear in mind that less than one-half of the money invested in the savings' banks, laid out at better interest in the purchase of freeholds, would give qualifications to more persons than your 150,000 tenant-farmers (hear, hear). But you say that the League is purchasing votes, and giving away the franchise. No, no; we are not quite so rich as that; but be assured that if you prolong the contest for three or four years (which you cannot do); if, however, it comes to the worst, we have the means in our power to meet the difficulty, and are prepared to use them (hear, hear). Money has been subscribed to prepare our organisation in every county, and we are prepared to meet the difficulty, and to overcome it (hear, hear). You may think that there is something repulsive (hear) to your notions of supremacy in all this. I see a very great advantage in it, even if the Corn-Laws were to be repealed to-morrow ("hear, hear," from the protection benches). I think that you cannot too soon widen the basis of our county representation. I say, with respect to a man, whether he be a small shopkeeper or a mechanic, who by his prudence has saved 50*l.* or 100*l.*, and is willing to lay it out in the purchase of a cottage or land bringing in 40*s.* a-year as a freehold,—I say that it is to that man of all others that I would wish to intrust the franchise (hear, hear). Let it be understood that all this extraneous matter is not of my introducing; for your debate has turned on the question of dissolution. No one can complain of my having, on this question, been guilty of often introducing irrelevant matter. I generally keep close to the argument; but you have chosen to say now that you will not settle the question by argument, and by an appeal to facts and reason in this house; that you will have nothing to do with this house, but that you will go to the country (hear). I do not ask you to take my opinion for it; but, as mischief may be averted from yourselves, more from another place to which allusion has been made than from others—I do ask you to take these facts home, to study them for yourselves, to look over the registry, to count the population of the towns, and then to come down and say whether you think the public opinion of the country is with you or against you (cheers). So much of the discussion has turned on this extraneous question, and what little argument has been addressed to the merits of the case has been so abundantly answered by other persons (shouts of "oh, oh," from the protection benches), that it would be impertinent in me to trespass at too great length on the time of the house ("oh, oh"). Well, I will tell you what my thoughts were as I sat at home patiently reading these debates. As I read speech after speech, and saw the old protection fallacies which I had knocked on the head seven years ago re-appearing afresh, my thought was, what fun these debates will afford to the men in fustian jackets (hear, hear, and laughter). All these fallacies are perfectly transparent to these men, and they would laugh at you for putting them forward (hear, hear, hear). Dependence on foreigners (laughter)! Who in the world could have supposed that that long-buried ghost would have come again to light (cheers and laughter)? Drain of gold (laughter)! Wages rising and falling with the price of bread (continued laughter)! Throwing land out of cultivation, and bringing corn here at 2*s.* per quarter (cheers and laughter)! You forget that the great mass of the people now take a very different view of these questions from what you do (hear, hear). They formerly, seven years ago, did give in, to a certain extent, to your reiterated assertions that wages rise and fall with the price of bread (cries of "hear, hear"). You had a very fair clap-net against us (as we happened to be master manufacturers) in saying that we wanted to reduce wages. But the right hon. baronet at the head of the Government, and the right honour-

able baronet the Home Secretary, are not suspected by the English people of having such motives on these questions (hear, hear). The English people have no disinclination to defer to high authorities on these matters. They assume that men high in office have access to accurate information, and they generally suppose that that those men have no sinister motive for deceiving the great body of the people on a question like the present (hear, hear). You see, I do not underrate the importance of your leaders having declared in favour of Free Trade (hear, hear). On the contrary, I avow that that has caused the greatest possible accession to the ranks of the Free Traders (hear, hear). Well, then, the working classes, not believing that wages rise and fall with the price of bread, when you tell them that they are to have corn at 2*s.* a quarter, instead of being frightened, are rubbing their hands with satisfaction (cheers and laughter). They are not frightened at the visions which you present to their eyes of a big loaf, seeing that they expect to get more money, and bread at half the price (hear, hear, and a laugh). And then the danger of having your land thrown out of cultivation! Why, what would the men in smockfrocks in the south of England say to that? They would say, "We shall get our land for potato ground at a $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* a lug, instead of paying 3*d.* or 4*d.* for it" (hear). These fallacies have all been disposed of; and if you lived more in the world, more in contact with public opinion and less within that charmed little circle which you call the world, but which is really nothing but a clique—if you gave way less to the excitement of clubs, less to the buoyancy which arises from talking to each other as to the effect of some smart speech in which a Minister has been assailed, you would see that it was a mere child's play to attempt to baulk the intelligence of the country on this great question, and you would not have talked as you have talked for the last 11 days (cries of "hear, hear," and laughter). Now, with respect to the farmers, I will not deny that you have a large portion of the farmers clinging to their landlords on this question (hear). They have been talked to and frightened by their landlords, as children by their nurses, and they dread some hideous prospect or some old bogie, ready to start up before their eyes (laughter). They do not know what is to happen; but they have not strict and implicit faith in you. They are afraid lest anything should happen to render them unable to make terms with the lords in the matter of rent; or otherwise they are perfectly easy and willing to receive Free Trade to-morrow (hear, and laughter). They are afraid of how the adjustment might be conducted; and the question, therefore, I have no hesitation in saying, is a landlord's question. On this subject the farmers have had some hints given them in the following paragraph which appeared some time ago in the *Standard* newspaper: "Under what head then is the farmer to look for relief? Under the head rent. The landlord must reduce rent; but the farmer knows, by rather bitter experience, the process by which this reduction must be effected. He must be first himself rendered unable to pay rent, and then the landlord will yield, and not before." This is the character given by the *Standard* newspaper of the landlords, and in this consists the great difficulty with the farmers. I do not think that the farmers generally believe all that you have told them. I believe that farms let as high now as ever they did. There is something remarkable in this. Since the right hon. baronet has proposed his measure, I have directed my attention to this point, because I conceive that it solves much of our difficulty. I have inquired of land agents, land proprietors, lawyers, &c., as to whether land has suffered any depreciation in value in consequence of the proposition on this subject made by the Government? Now, it is remarkable, that land seems to be the only commodity not injuriously affected by the proposed measures of the Government, that though French silks are for the moment rendered almost unsaleable, and though the proposed change has produced almost a paralysis in every trade touched, yet land is letting and selling for higher prices than ever (hear, hear). Now, I will give you an example. I will mention a case, and I am at liberty to mention the name. The hon. member for Somerset will corroborate what I am going to state. Mr. Gordon, a near neighbour of that hon. member, has made the tenants upon 60 of his farms an offer that he would take their land off their hands on equitable terms at Lady Day; yesterday was the last day for giving notice of accepting his offer, and not one farmer proposed to do so (hear, hear). I think it is not very complimentary to the hon. member for Somerset. Mr. Gordon is a near neighbour of his, and his tenants of course have had the privilege of hearing those eloquent addresses which the hon. member has made in Somerset, wherein he has told them that land will not be worth cultivation at all, or, at least, that there will be such an avalanche of corn from the Continent and from America as will quite supersede home cultivation, and yet these farmers seem to have so little alarm that they are willing to hold their farms at their present rents (hear, hear). Let me read you, too, the account that is given me by a gentleman in the city, an eminent solicitor, whom I have known for some years, and who is largely interested in landed property: "I have for many years been connected with the management of landed property, and with the purchase and letting of estates in several different counties, and am at this time negotiating for the renewal of leases and letting of lands in Bedfordshire, Herts, and Essex. In the latter county, the tenant who has occupied a farm of 500 acres for 14 years under a lease, and who has always spoken of his rent as somewhat high, and of his own farming as the best in his own neighbourhood, has now offered a considerable increase of rent (15 per cent.) for a new lease of 14 years, and to covenant to underdrain two-thirds of the farm, the landlord finding draining tiles, now acknowledging that the cultivation may be greatly improved, so as to meet

the increase of rent. The farmer has another occupation, and is not therefore under any fear of being without a farm. He is a protectionist in words, and a supporter of Sir John Tyrrell. Under the ramour that this farm might be given up, there were eight or ten most respectable applicants for it. In Hertfordshire I am at this moment renewing leases upon two large farms, both with the offer of increased rents and with covenants for greatly improved cultivation, particularly as to underdraining. In Bedfordshire upon two moderate-sized farms the same has been the result, and on the application for one of them, which the farmer is quitting in consequence of age and infirmity, the following conversation took place on the application to me by an intelligent farmer for the farm:—I understand, Sir, that you have the letting of Mr. L's farm, as he is quitting.—I have.—I should like to have the offer of it. My name is —, and I can refer you to the clergyman of my parish, and to several gentlemen, for my character and responsibility.—You are, I presume, a farmer?—Yes, Sir, I have one farm, and I should like another to extend my occupation, as I have sufficient capital.—You know the farm, I presume, and the rent which the present tenant pays.—Yes, Sir, I know the farm and the rent; and as we are no longer to have any protection, and the Corn Laws must now be repealed, I hope you will consider that point in the rent.—Pray, as you say that the Corn Laws will be repealed, what in your judgment will be the effect?—Why, Sir, the first will be the waking up of thousands of farmers who have hitherto been asleep (cheers); and we must look to increased efforts and increased production (renewed cheers).—With respect to rent, I must have a small increase, and I must require covenants for better cultivation, more especially as to underdraining, which must be done very extensively?—Sir, my intention is, if I have the farm, to underdrain the whole of it, being allowed tiles.—Well, as you are a man of observation, and acquainted with different districts in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Herts, tell me whether I am right (so far as your observation goes) in saying that under improved cultivation one-third more corn can be grown, and the sample much better?—I have no doubt that you are right.—Then, if I am right, what have you to fear from the abolition of the Corn Law?—Nothing at all, Sir (cheers).—This person has hired the farm at increased rent, and undertaken to underdrain the whole, if required by the landlord so to do" (cheers). Now, hon. gentlemen must, of course, be better able than I can be to judge from their own experience whether this be a fair statement of the case or not; but I would put it to them, are any of them prepared to sell their own estates for one farthing less now than they were twelve months ago (cries of "hear, hear")? But if farmers will take the land at the same rent, and if you will not take less than 30 years' purchase now upon the present rental, where are the proofs that you are in earnest in all that you predict as the consequences of the repeal of the Corn Laws (cheers)? Nay, this is a proof that there has been a system of mutual self-deception, or mutual deception between you and the farmers (cries of "order," "hear, hear"). You have preached doctrines which the farmers have affected to believe, but which neither of you has believed at heart ("order, order"). Either you have been doing this jointly, doing it that you might practise upon the credulity of your countrymen, or else you are now pursuing a most unworthy and inconsistent course, because, after telling the farmers at your protection meetings that wheat is to be sold at 30*s.* or 35*s.* a quarter, and that they cannot carry on their business in competition with the Russians and the Poles, even if they have their land rent free, with what fairness or consistency can you now let your land to farmers at the existing rents (cheers)? But the truth is, that you know—that the country knows—that there never was a more monstrous delusion than to suppose that that which goes to increase the trade of the country and to extend its manufactures and commerce—that which adds to our wealth, increases our population, enlarges the number of your customers, and diminishes your burdens by multiplying the shoulders that are to bear them, and giving them increased strength to bear them, can possibly tend to diminish the value of land (hear, hear). You may affect the value of silks, you may affect the value of cottons or woollens; transitory changes of fashion may do that—changes of taste; but there is a taste for land inherent in human kind, and especially is it the desire of Englishmen to possess land (hear, hear), and therefore, while you have a monopoly of that article which our very instincts lead us to desire to possess, if you see any process going on by which our commerce and our numbers are increased, it is impossible to suppose that it can have the effect of diminishing the value of the article that is in your hands (cheers). What, then, is the good of this "protection"? Why, the country have come to regard it, as they regard witchcraft, as a mere sound and a delusion (a laugh). They no more regard your precautions against Free Trade, than they regard the horseshoes that are nailed over the stables to keep the witches away from the horses (cheers and laughter). They do not believe in protection; they have no fear of Free Trade; and they are laughing to scorn all the arguments by which you are trying to frighten them (hear, hear). How can protection, think you, add to the wealth of a country? Can you, by legislation, add one farthing to the wealth of a country? You may, by legislation, in one evening destroy the fruits and accumulations of a century of labour (cheers from the protection benches), but I defy you to show me how, by the legislation of this house, you can add one farthing to the wealth of this country. That springs from the industry and intelligence of the people of this country. You cannot guide that intelligence; you cannot do better than leave industry to its own instincts. If you attempt by legislation to give any

direction to trade and industry, it is a thousand to one that you are doing wrong; and if you happen to be right, it is a work of supererogation; for the parties for whom you legislate would go right without you, and better than with you (hear, hear). Then, if this is true, why should there be any difference of opinion between us? Hon. gentlemen may think that I have spoken hardly to them on this occasion; but I want to see them come to a better conclusion on this question. I believe, if they will look the thing in the face, and divest themselves of that crust of prejudice which oppresses them, we shall all be better friends about it (hear). There are but two things that can prevent it; one is, their believing that they have a sinister interest in this question, and therefore not looking into it; and the other is, an incapacity for understanding political economy (hear, hear, and a laugh). I know that there are many heads which cannot comprehend and master a proposition in political economy. I believe that study is the highest exercise of the human mind, and that the exact sciences require by no means so hard an effort. But, barring these two accidents—want of capacity, and having a sinister interest—I defy any man to look into this question honestly, and come to any other than one conclusion (cheers). Then why should we not concur in this matter? Why should there be any triumph for either? I want no triumph (hear). Come down to us, and let us hold a Free Trade meeting in our hall at Manchester; come to us now, protectionists, and let us see whether we cannot do something better for our common country than carrying on this strife of parties (hear, hear, and cheers). Let us once for all recognise this principle, that we must not tax one another for the benefit of one another (renewed cheers). Now I am going to read you an authority that will astonish you. I am going to read you an extract from a speech of the Duke of Wellington, in the House of Lords, on the 17th of April, 1832. It is his opinion on taxation:—"He thought taxes were imposed only for the service of the state. If they were necessary for the service of the state, in God's name let them be paid; but if they were not necessary, they ought not to be paid, and the legislature ought not to impose them." Now there, that noble duke, without having time to study Adam Smith or Ricardo, by that native sagacity which is characteristic of his mind, came at once to the marrow of this question (hear, hear). We must not tax one another for the benefit of one another. Oh, then, divest the future Prime Minister of this country of that odious task of having to reconcile rival interests; divest the office, if ever you would have a sagacious man in power as Prime Minister, of the responsibility of having to find food for the people! May you never find a Prime Minister again to undertake that awful responsibility! It belongs to God and to nature,—to those laws of trade which Burke says are the laws of God and of nature,—it belongs to them, and to them only, to regulate the supply of food, and of every commodity for the use of mankind. When you shall have seen that the abolition of these laws in three years is inevitable, you will, I feel assured, meet the wishes of the farmer by making the repeal immediate, and dissolve the League, as in good faith it will be dissolved (loud cries of "hear, hear" from the protection benches). I say that when you find it to be inevitable, as inevitable it is, you will come forward and join with the Free Traders (cheers and laughter); for if you do not, you will have the farmers coming forward and agitating in conjunction with the League (cheers). You are in a position to gain honour in future; you are in a position, especially the young members among you who have the capacity to learn the truth of this question, they are in a position to gain honour in this struggle; but as you are going on at present your position is a false one, you are in the wrong groove, and are every day more and more diverging from the right point. It may be material for you to get right notions of political economy; questions of that kind will form a great part of the world's legislation for a long time to come (hear, hear, and cheers). We are on the eve of great changes (cheers and counter-cheers). Put yourselves in a position to be able to help in the work, and so gather honour and fame where they are to be gained. We are the aristocracy of the human race—not the privileged aristocracy, but the aristocracy of improvement and civilisation. We have set an example to the world in all ages; we have given them the representative system. Why, the very rules and regulations of this house have been taken as the model for every representative assembly throughout the whole civilised world; and having besides given them the example of a free press, of civil and religious liberty, and of every institution that belongs to freedom and civilisation, we are now about to offer a still greater example; we are going to set the example of making industry free (cheers)—to set the example of giving the whole world every advantage in every clime, and latitude, and production; relying ourselves on the freedom of our industry. Yes, we are going to teach the world that other lesson. Don't think there is anything selfish in this, or anything at all discordant with Christian principles. I can prove that we advocate nothing but what is agreeable to the highest behests of Christianity. To buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest. What is the meaning of the maxim? It means that you take the article which you have in the greatest abundance, and obtain from others that of which they have the most to spare, so giving to mankind the means of enjoying the fullest abundance of every earthly good, and in doing so carrying out to the fullest extent the Christian doctrine of "Doing to all men as ye would they should do unto you." (The honourable member sat down amidst loud and prolonged cheering).

Mr. SPOONER thought that if a stranger had entered the house during the last speech, he would have supposed that the debate was on the propriety of repealing the 50% clause,

or of passing a new Reform Bill, but would never have imagined that it was upon going into a Committee on the Customs and Corn Importation Acts. He then proceeded to express the reasons which induced him to support the amendment in preference to the proposition of the Government; but the interruptions in the house were so frequent that it was impossible to follow the chain of his arguments.

Mr. P. BORTHWICK followed on the same side amid still greater interruptions.

Lord G. BENTINCK condemned the proposition of the Government as vicious in principle and likely to be deeply injurious not only to agriculture but to all the great interests of the country. Certainly it could not be carried in what he emphatically called a protection Parliament without a loss of honour to public men. The alleged change of circumstances in the state of the country, combined with the experience of the last three years, formed no justification for Sir Robert Peel in abandoning the whole course of policy he had pursued for the last 30 years. Accepting the challenge that had been thrown out to name any articles on which the repeal of prohibitory or protective duties had operated injuriously either to the consumer or producer, the noble lord adduced a variety of statistical details connected with the silk, woollen, spelter, and timber trade, for the purpose of showing that a relaxation of the protective system had, in those instances, signally failed. In fact, the Free Trade doctrine was an absolute delusion. The price of wheat was now actually lower than the average of three years before 1842. He contended that the rate of wages would fall with the price of corn, and the working-classes would be better off with undiminished wages and wheat at 70s. per quarter, than with corn at 45s. and reduced means of procuring it. The apprehension of famine was altogether a mistake. The crop was more than an average one, and in some parts of the country, in Scotland particularly, there was a positive repletion. The potato murrain was by no means so extensive as it had been represented; indeed, he complained that only one side of the question had been stated to the house. He had individually made some inquiries relative to the subject, and he discovered that in Roscommon there was no disease at all, while in Tipperary and Queen's County it prevailed but very partially. According to his noble friend, the Marquis of Clanricarde, one half of the evil was attributable to the conduct of the Government in sending commissioners to Ireland and creating alarm. The potatoes were dug up before they were ripe, and they rotted. The cry of famine was a mere pretence for a party object. The Duke of Wellington had admitted that there was no scarcity of food in Ireland, and Lord Cloncurry declared that there was a sufficiency of oats now in that country to feed the whole population. Never was there a change of so extensive a character proposed, on so slender a basis, and with so little just cause shown. He should not have objected to open the ports had that been necessary; but he could not see how the necessity alleged by Government could be met by Free Trade in corn three years hence. Much greater benefit would be derived by the public from a remission of the duties on tea and sugar, two of the main necessities of life, produced by countries favourable to commercial intercourse with England, and which came into no rivalry with our domestic produce.

The house divided at 20 minutes to three o'clock. The numbers were—

Ayes	337
Noes	240

Majority against it 97

The main question was then put and carried.

The house then resolved itself *pro forma* into committee. The chairman was ordered to report progress, and to ask leave to sit again on Monday.

MONDAY.—FABRICATED PETITIONS.

Mr. C. BERKELEY rose to call the attention of the house to the petition which he had presented on Friday last, complaining that a petition had been forwarded for presentation to that house, ostensibly from Cheltenham, but in reality it was from Manchester. This, he believed, the house would agree with him in saying was a breach of its privileges; and, having laid the case before them, he would willingly adopt any course which might be pointed out for vindicating those privileges. He could prove that many of the signatures to that petition were forgeries, and that many names were added which were not on the original sheet. As a breach of its privileges, he would leave the house to deal with the case as it might deem proper. He was the more anxious that the house should take the matter up, because complaints were very general out of doors that the petitions of the people did not receive that attention from the house to which they were entitled; but this fact could not excite surprise in any one, from the manner in which petitions were got up in many parts of the country. If the house would give him a committee of inquiry, he would put the fact of the fabrication of petitions and the forgeries of signatures beyond all doubt. He would now move that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the presentation of certain forged petitions and signatures, and under what circumstances those signatures had been attached.

Mr. NEWDEGATE, in seconding the motion, said that the hon. member had very properly called the attention of the house to this subject, but there was another subject to which that attention should also be given. He alluded to the practices of the agents of the Anti-Corn-Law League in the manufacturing of votes at the registrations. He thought that the privileges of that house were in greater danger from such practices than even from petitions with forged signatures. He did hope, therefore, that if the committee should be appointed, its labours would not be confined to the one subject mentioned by the hon. member (Mr. C. Berkeley), but that it would also inquire into the proceedings of the Anti Corn-Law League at the registrations, by notices of objections which were utterly without foundation. It was stated to him that in one case 710 notices of objections had been sent by one individual. In the parishes of Birmingham and Edgbaston, such notices of objection were given and delivered later than the time allowed by law. In the statement to which he had referred, it was said that 30,000 notices of objections had been posted one night in Manchester. The hon. member was proceeding, when

Mr. HUME rose to order. The hon. member was entering on a subject which had no reference to the motion before the house. What had the proceedings of the Anti-Corn-Law League to do with the privileges of that house? If the hon. member would move for an inquiry into the circumstances to which he had referred, he (Mr. Hume) would support him, but he would put it to him whether, considering the important matters which were about to be submitted to its consideration, he ought to occupy the time of the house

by matters which had no reference to the subject before it? He hoped the hon. member would take another time for his remarks.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said he was in the hands of the house, and would do as it might wish; but, whatever course he might take, he did not think he was out of order in stating that which could be put beyond all doubt, that the privileges of that house had been violated over and over again by the agents of the Anti-Corn-Law League.

The SPEAKER said, although the subject referred to by the hon. member affected the privileges of the house, it was not analogous to the subject of inquiry of the proposed committee, and therefore there would be a difficulty in making the addition the hon. member desired to the motion of the hon. member for Cheltenham.

Mr. NEWDEGATE then gave notice that he should move an instruction to the committee, if appointed, to the same effect as the proposition.

Mr. BRIGHT observed that he had offered the other night to second the motion of the hon. member for Cheltenham, but he had since received an explanation, which, perhaps, he had better submit to the house before the motion was disposed of. He had in his hand a letter from the Secretary to the Anti-Corn-Law League at Manchester, which he would read to the house:

"National Anti-Corn Law League, Manchester, Feb. 28.

"Dear Sir,—I see by the newspapers of to-day that you have had a stir in the house about a petition from Cheltenham, which was sent from this office on Tuesday last; and, as you have promised to second the motion of which Mr. Berkeley has given notice, I may as well put you in possession of the facts, as far as I know anything of them. You know that in January we sent out from this office a circular, of which copies were addressed to our Free Trade friends in all parts of the kingdom, suggesting the sending of petitions for immediate repeal. Among many hundreds of replies to that circular was one from Peter Vines, of Cheltenham, and of this I enclose a copy. In consequence of the request of Mr. Vines, I ordered copies of the printed form of the South Lancashire petition to be sent to him, with a few of the other bills he mentions, and we heard no more of the matter until last Tuesday, when we received (I believe by post) a number of sheets containing the signatures, which we had to paste together, and attach the head. Mr. Septimus Pruen, a respectable solicitor of Cheltenham, sent the sheets to us. As Mr. Berkeley is member of Parliament for the borough, I ordered Mr. Walters, our clerk, to send the petition to him for presentation. I can say nothing as to how the signatures were obtained, except that as Mr. Pruen and Messrs. Bishop and Vines had the management of the matter, I should have had the fullest confidence that all would be done honourably and fairly. I did not expect the sheets to be sent to us, but that the whole would be forwarded direct from Cheltenham to London, as has been done in almost all other cases. I have written to Mr. Pruen to-day, and requested him to inquire into the matter, and to communicate with their M.P. I ought to mention that four or five names which appear on the first sheet were copied from the head of one of the other sheets, and these five names as originally signed, were pasted over, and this was done by Mr. Walters by my direction.—I am, dear Sir, yours very truly, JOSEPH HICKIN."

From this fact had arisen the circumstance that there were only five names on the first sheet, and that they appeared to be written in different ink from the rest was a corroboration of the statement in the letter (hear, hear). The honourable member for Cheltenham had referred to the case of a gentleman named Perry, whose name appeared in the petition, although he had not signed it. On this subject he (Mr. Bright) had received a letter from Mr. Hennessy, a gentleman connected with the League at Cheltenham, written in consequence of having read what occurred in the house the other night:

"4, Essex-place, Cheltenham, Feb. 28.

"Sir,—The Hon. C. F. Berkeley is reported in the *Morning Herald* of this date, in presenting a petition from this town on the subject of the Corn Laws in the House of Commons, to have read a letter from his agent, in which the following passage occurs:—"I have seen Mr. Perry, the miller, of Alstone-mill, whose name is to the first sheet, he says he never heard of it before." I was present when Mr. Perry signed the petition in question, and believe his signature follows my own. I am sure he will remember it when I name the circumstance to him. I have deemed it right, as you promised to second Mr. Berkeley's motion for an inquiry on the subject, to put you in possession of the above fact, and believe the other signatures to be genuine. The fact is, no effort was made to obtain signatures to the petition, sheets were in the shops of two tradesmen, and an announcement stating the simple fact appeared in their windows, beyond which no further trouble was taken.

"I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

"J. Bright, Esq., M.P." "JOHN F. HENNESSY." He (Mr. Bright) thought it right to state to the house there was no charge against the genuineness of more than five of the signatures. The individual who changed them had acknowledged the fact, and although it was not one of the most prudent or regular things to do, yet it might have been done without any intention to infringe the rules of the house, or to substitute false names. He hoped the house would be satisfied with this explanation, and would not think it necessary to take any further steps; but if they did, he would be most happy to second the motion for a committee.

Mr. F. MACKENZIE inquired whether the petition itself, as well as the signatures, had been sent from Cheltenham, or whether it had been manufactured at Manchester?

Mr. BRIGHT had no doubt the petition had been written at Cheltenham, and sent from there, as the wording was not the same as that suggested in the circular of the League.

Mr. FERRAND inquired whether it was competent to him to move an amendment? He had received a letter from Sheffield, bearing out the statement he had made the other night as to the manner in which petitions were signed; and he had also an extract from another communication, referring to the same proceedings at Leeds, and there was actually in the *Illustrated London News* a drawing of the manner in which signatures are made to the London petition on London-bridge. Boys and children signed their names three or four times over. One letter he had received he would read to the house:—"If the following letter will be of any service to you in your opposition to the League—(an ironical allusion to the Opposition benches)—I will give you the names and residences of persons who were employed by the League to add signatures to their petitions, one of them to the tune of 14,000, without leaving his room; and the other to the number of 500, and there are more instances if necessary."

He (Mr. Ferrand) wrote to the person for a reference as to his respectability; he then went to him, and had a personal interview, and he found the whole of the writer's statement to be correct. He was in possession of the names of the witnesses whom he was prepared to produce before a committee, and he would therefore move as an amendment, that the inquiry of the committee should be generally as to the manner adopted by the League to obtain signatures to petitions to that house.

Lord J. MANNERS said, that as he was walking the other day down Grosvenor-place he heard a comfortable-looking baker's boy say to his companion, "I say, old fellow, have you signed the Anti-Corn-Law petition?" I have signed it three times" (a laugh). This was no isolated case (hear, hear). Such things had occurred daily in all the great thoroughfares of London (hear, hear). He regretted this the more, because they were bound to pay the utmost attention to petitions legitimately signed.

The SPEAKER said the hon. member's amendment must be moved as an instruction to the committee.

Mr. C. BERKELEY said he had certainly viewed with suspicion a petition from Cheltenham which came round by Manchester (a laugh), for he knew enough of the people of Cheltenham to believe that they would, as they had done for 14 years (hear), post their petition direct to himself; he also had received a letter from Mr. Hennessy, and, without wishing to say anything offensive to the natives of the Emerald Isle, he feared that letter would fully sustain their character for making blunders. The postscript of Mr. Hennessy's letter said, "If you will refer to the petition, I think you will find that my signature follows Mr. Perry's, or his mine." Now, he (Mr. Berkeley) had searched the petitions, and Mr. Hennessy's name was not attached to any of them.

Mr. ENTWISTLE inquired whether "transferring" meant cutting names off one sheet to add to another, or re-writing them?

Mr. BORTHWICK suggested that some rule should be made by which members could in some way vouch for the petitions they presented.

Mr. BRIGHT (unfolding the petition alluded to) said, that the five names referred to were still there, although they had been pasted over. Thus, though there had been irregularities, there was no fraud. There was the name, too, of Mr. Stephen Reid, who it was said had not signed the petition.

Mr. FERRAND moved, as an instruction, what he had previously moved as an amendment: He added that the honourable member for Cheltenham had stated that Mr. Reid had never signed the petition. Probably, all the signatures had been affixed at Manchester by some person employed by the League, who adopted the process of the person to whom he had referred, who had signed 14,000 names in his own room.

Mr. HUME did not see that the Anti-Corn-Law League had been connected at all with the matter. He would not, however, object to the instruction, if it were intended to include protection societies also (cheers).

Sir R. PEEL had no objection to a general inquiry into the practice complained of. But would it not be better to confine the committee to the specific case brought forward by the hon. member for Cheltenham, in which a petition had been presented as to which there appeared some informality and impropriety? There might be another committee for the general question. The second inquiry might be extensive and prolonged, while it might be necessary to report on this specific case at once (hear).

Sir R. INGLIS concurred in this suggestion, and with respect to what had fallen from the hon. member for Montrose, he would suggest that the protection societies could scarcely be put, in respect of these charges, on a footing with the Anti-Corn-Law League until some hon. member was able to stand up and pledge himself personally to bring forward similar charges against them.

Mr. NEWDEGATE gave notice that he would, to-morrow, move an instruction to the committee, if appointed, to inquire into the case of the North Yorkshire registration. He did not believe the case would occupy so much time as the right hon. baronet apprehended.

Mr. S. O'BRIEN recommended the hon. member for Knaresborough to withdraw his amendment. They (the protectionists) had been taunted by the hon. member for Durham, in his speech the other night, with not having presented enough petitions to that house. The difference was now explained. At least they had never been charged with presenting petitions the signatures to which were forged (hear).

Mr. HUTT was not aware that any allegations of forgery had been made against the protectionist petitions: but from the striking resemblance which they all bore to one another, in substance, allegation, and even in external shape, he suspected that, although they possibly came from the places whence they were said to emanate, they had certainly been previously manufactured in Bond-street (hear, hear, and a laugh).

Mr. CHRISTIE reminded hon. gentleman opposite that several petitions had been presented, complaining of the manner in which protectionist petitions had been got up. He protested against the assumption that any forgery had been committed in this particular case. At all events the expression of such an opinion had better be deferred till the committee had reported.

Mr. FERRAND apprehended there was no doubt forgery had been committed. The hon. member for Durham had himself admitted this (loud cries of "no, no"). There could be no difference between transferring signatures and forging them (loud cries of "oh, oh!").

After a few words from Colonel SIBTHORP and Mr. COLLETT, the instruction to the committee was withdrawn.

CORN LAWS.

On the motion of Sir ROBERT PEEL, the house went into committee on the Customs and Corn Protection Bill.

Mr. VILLIERS, pursuant to notice, brought forward, by way of amendment on the first resolution, his motion that "all duties on imported corn do now cease and determine," and in doing so said—I assure you, Sir, I do not rise for the purpose of making a long speech, nor is it my desire to trespass longer on the time and attention of the house than may be necessary in explaining the considerations which have weighed with me in inducing me to propose this amendment. Nothing can be possibly more remote from my intention than a desire to impede in the slightest degree the object which the Ministerial measure has in view, or to propose a hostile amendment (hear, hear). I had intended to have brought forward, at a later period of the session, a distinct motion, with a view to carry out the object which

this amendment contemplates, namely, the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, and to that intention I would have adhered, were it not that recent events and certain statements which I heard made in the course of the long debate, have induced me to believe that the wiser and more expedient course is that which I am now adopting (hear, hear). The house has very wisely resolved to take into consideration the protective system with a view to its ultimate abolition (so far as its operation on the supply of food to the people is concerned), and my amendment, admitting the principle of Free Trade to the utmost, has only reference to the period at which we are to enjoy the advantages of that measure. The Ministerial measure has distinctly recognised the policy of allowing perfect freedom of trade in the supply of the necessities of life to the people of this country; but it has postponed the full application of that principle until the 1st of February, 1849. In my opinion that delay is not called for (hear). It is my conscientious belief that the full advantage of the Ministerial scheme may be extended to this country at once, without danger or inconvenience to any class of the community; and it is because I hold this opinion, and am anxious that the country should be placed in the immediate enjoyment of the beneficial results which may be expected to flow from a sound and judicious policy, that I now propose this amendment (hear, hear). I do so in consistency with the motion to the same effect, which for some years it has been my practice to submit to the house in the course of every session. The measure which has united so large a number of the protective and industrious classes in its favour, has been for the immediate repeal of all obstructions on trade, and that proposition has not been made without consideration (hear). You cannot but be aware that from the day when the Corn Laws were first introduced, there has ever been in this country a large party who complained of their injustice and impolicy, and who have always been anxious for their removal; but of late years a question has arisen whether it is possible for us to remove them, and pass to a sounder, wiser, and more rational policy, without some danger of inconvenience in the event of the transition being immediate (hear, hear)? This question, I admit, I have ever regarded as well worthy of consideration, and I have accordingly given it the most serious attention. It was urged that such a panic would be created by the prospect of an immediate transition, that those who have invested their capital in the soil might be so much alarmed in contemplating the possible consequences of a Free Trade policy, that they might abruptly withdraw their capital from the agricultural interest, in fact, from the cultivation of the soil, and that this might be productive of results exceedingly injurious to the country (hear, hear). I admit that this consideration had great weight with me, and were it not that I have ascertained from the testimony of persons who, being themselves personally and deeply concerned in the welfare of the agricultural interest, ought to be best qualified to pronounce an opinion on the subject, that this apprehension is totally without foundation (hear)—that it is, in fact, altogether a mistake to suppose that you cannot pass at once, without danger or inconvenience, to a sounder policy—I repeat that if I had not had the most satisfactory evidence of this fact, I would not be instrumental in submitting to your consideration the proposition which is now before you. But I made it my business to obtain the most authentic information on the subject by consulting those whose personal interests were immediately involved, and having found by their testimony that there was no foundation in truth for the apprehension, I hesitated not to advocate the measure of total and immediate repeal. In the year 1843, when I brought this motion forward, I was strongly influenced to the course I adopted by the perusal of a pamphlet which had just then been published by a farmer, who expressly declared it as his opinion, that whenever the legislature should decide on the total abolition of those laws, it would be for the interest of the farmers and the agricultural community in general that the abolition should be immediate. I mentioned this fact in the year 1843. It was not the statement of one farmer merely, but that of a man who might not unfairly be considered to speak the sentiments of his class, or, at all events, of a very large section of them, for his opinions were universally looked up to with respect; and those in his own vicinage and the farmers of his own county, the county Down, gave a singular attestation of the confidence reposed in him by selecting him to preside as chairman over a meeting of their body (hear). I was induced, moreover, to advocate the proposition for immediate repeal, because I found that men of high rank and of the first order of intelligence, who were themselves intimately connected with the agricultural interests, were not opposed to it. For instance, Lord Spencer was of opinion that if the law were at once abolished, the effect would be to equalise the prices in this country, on the Continent, and in all those countries from which a supply of foreign corn might be expected (hear, hear). Lord Spencer did not at all share in the apprehension that if the price were to fall here and to rise on the Continent, there would be any such enormous influx as would blight the prospects of the farmer, and injure the agricultural interests. The same opinions I found to exist in other high quarters, and I was yet more strongly confirmed in my own views on hearing the voluntary declarations of two distinguished personages in the other house of Parliament, who are supposed to have the welfare of the British farmer peculiarly at heart. I allude to Lords Ducie and Radnor, who voluntarily declared their belief that it was for the interests of the farmers that the abolition of the protective system should be immediate; and who also stated that this opinion was shared in by their own tenants and by all the farmers of the adjoining districts (hear, hear). Their reasoning was this, that if the time for the abolition were to be postponed with a view to afford to persons whose capital

was vested in the soil an opportunity of preparing for the transition, the postponement would fail of its object, because they might rest assured that preparation would never be made by the farmer, until the duty had been actually abolished (hear, hear). There would still be a delusive hope on the part of the landlords, that they might be able to retain protection, or to revert to the old law, and the farmers, with prospects so uncertain before them, would never think of going to the trouble and expense of making preparations (hear, hear). They argued, however, that exactly the reverse would be the case with the foreign grower, for that he would watch with a jealous eye the period for the opening of the markets, and proceed to make his preparations on so extensive a scale, and at so liberal an expenditure of capital, that the instant our ports were opened, he would pour in his supply in such profusion as would render it impossible for the native corn-grower to enter into competition with him (hear). This was my view of the question in the year 1843; and now let us consider whether in the present aspect of affairs there be anything to warrant us in adhering to the opinion with renewed energy. If there be any subject on which there has been complete unanimity of opinion, it appears to be the proposition, that if you are to repeal the Corn Laws at all, you should do so at once. I think that of this fact we have had ample indications in the progress of the debate. Honourable members who are hostile to the principle of Free Trade have, without any promptings from this side of the house, volunteered the statement, that if we are to have it, it were better to have it at once (hear, hear); and this they have given not as their own opinion only, but as the feeling and opinion of the farmers all over the country (hear, hear). It is not denied that certain personages who boast to be the farmers' friends, and who profess to have the agricultural interests especially at heart, immediately after the meeting of Parliament declared unshakenly to the world that it would be for the interest of the farmers that the Corn Laws, if repealed at all, should be repealed immediately (hear). I allude especially to the noble duke in the other house, who, the week after the opening of Parliament, volunteered the declaration that his opinion, and the opinions of the farmers generally (with which he was intimately conversant) was, that if we were to have repeal at all, it was desirable that it should come at once (hear, hear). The honourable member for Somersetshire, who is regarded by his party as an oracle in everything affecting the farming interests, made a statement, as you must all remember, to the same effect (a voice, "no, no"). I beg your pardon. The honourable member volunteered the assertion that the farmers, if they were put to their election, would prefer immediate to protracted repeal; nay, he pledged his honour to the fact; and turning round to the friends behind him, he asked them if it were true, and they answered by a unanimous cheer. There is no county in England which has been more forward in declaring in favour of protection than the county of Lincoln, and yet my noble friend the member for Lincoln (Lord Worsley) was, I believe, the very first to see the advantage of immediate repeal. Three months since he made the declaration in favour of immediate repeal (if repealed at all) so decisively, so unequivocally, that I had expected he would have originated some measure in favour of it (hear). So that from every quarter—from every authority from which you could expect to learn what is the opinion of the friends of the farmer, you learn it is for the immediate repeal (cheers). Sir, I do not exactly perceive upon what ground then it is that any party in this house should object to the amendment which I now propose, because the hon. gentlemen opposite, who represent the protection interest, are quite angry if any one distinguishes their interest from that of the farmer ("hear, hear" from the Opposition). I am sure they would be angry if I said they had, and I do not wish, on this occasion, to provoke their anger by saying, they have an interest distinct from the farmer, but I know it is said, that the landlords have an interest in this matter, which is distinct from that of the farmer (hear). I know it is said, that the farmer wants an adjustment, that the farmer wants an arrangement with the landlord, that the farmers want to come to some terms with the landlords on the subject as soon as possible, but that the landlords are unwilling to come to that adjustment or arrangement ("hear, hear" from the Opposition), that they do not despair yet of being able to retain protection and keep up some part of the sliding scale, that they are not willing to come to terms with the farmers but hope to keep up the prices by retaining the protection ("hear, hear," from the Opposition). If hon. gentlemen opposite desire to do justice to that interest about which they are apparently so solicitous, and about which they have been talking so much in this house, I do not think they can refuse to vote for this amendment after what has occurred in this house (cheers from the Opposition). There has been so much consideration of the general interests in the measure that has been proposed, that I am disposed to rest my proposition alone on this ground, that it is for the interest of the agriculturist—that it is for the interest of the farmer, and of those for whom alone there seems to be some consideration shown in urging the postponement of this measure (hear, hear). I cannot help remarking—I have remarked already upon the opinions of the agriculturists—I cannot help remarking upon the opinions of her Majesty's Government, and the position in which they stand with regard to the amendment I propose (hear, hear): I beg to say that I do not do that in any hostility to the measure that is proposed, or in forgetfulness of the difficulties the Government had to encounter in the matter. But I must call the attention of the house to the fact, that the right honourable gentleman at the head of the Government cannot entertain much fear himself respecting the instant suspension or abolition of the Corn Law (hear, hear). If I correctly understand his statement to this house on the 1st of No-

member last, he considered that there was a very great apprehension of a want of food in England, and he conceived it would be safe and wise instantly to suspend the law, which would be practically to abolish it (cheers from the Opposition). I do not collect from the right honourable gentleman that his apprehension is less now than it was then (cheers from the Opposition). He apprehended a deficiency of food on the 1st of November in some parts of the United Kingdom, and deemed a suspension to be necessary. From what has fallen from him since the session commenced, it appears that his apprehensions have not abated (hear, hear). His fears are as great—quite as great as they were on the 1st of November (hear, hear). It certainly strikes me that the right honourable baronet has no fear himself of the consequences to the country or to the agricultural interest from the immediate suspension of the law, for he proposed that suspension as a mode of extending relief to those persons who were likely to suffer from an apprehended deficiency of food (loud cries of "hear, hear"). The right honourable gentleman seems to have stated very properly his reasons for permanently abolishing the law, and to have satisfied himself that at a certain time the trade in corn should be free, and those laws permanently abolished (hear, hear, and loud cheers). He seems to have reasons why he should immediately suspend the law, and to have reasons also why it should be permanently abolished (hear, hear). That is what I propose to do now. I propose that it should be immediately and totally abolished (cheers from the Opposition). The right hon. gentleman (if he supports the immediate abolition of the law), has only to look round the house, and he will see what he could not expect to see on other questions, friends on all sides of the house (hear, hear). If he looks to that bench (pointing to the protectionists), from which there has been a somewhat fierce opposition since the session commenced, he will find that he gets a sanction from them (cheers from the Opposition), a sanction indicating there is no danger to be apprehended, and no ground of alarm from immediately suspending the law, for they said that so far as an immediate abolition or instant suspension of the duty on corn they are ready for it, they believe it might be done safely—they urge it to be done. So we have it on the best authority that the immediate repeal will be attended with no evil at all (cheers from the Opposition). Well, then, if the right honourable gentleman will look opposite to him (to the Opposition benches) he will find the party, at the head of which is my noble friend, the member for London, who is perfectly ready, and on whom he can rely, to support the immediate abolition of the Corn Laws (cheers). My noble friend has expressed this view of the question, and entertains the opinion positively, and every person who knows him knows this—that when he expresses an opinion they may rely upon him (loud cheers). Therefore, if the right hon. gentleman (Sir Robert Peel) will adopt the amendment I propose, which is for the immediate, total, and permanent repeal, he will find authorities on that side of the house (pointing to the protectionists) to assure him that it will be safe, and he will find the requisite support and strength on this side of the house (cheers). And it is impossible to avoid inferring, from what the right honourable gentleman has said himself, that he has no fears on the subject. The hon. member for Somersetshire has actually elicited his opinion on the matter. The right hon. gentleman stated what his own views were when he proposed for some time the postponement of the repeal of the law, and he stated, in answer to the member for Somersetshire, that he had been apprehensive of some panic and alarm being spread among the farmers, and he was desirous to give them time for some preparation for the change; but the right hon. gentleman must be relieved by the speech of the hon. member for Somersetshire, for he told him there was no ground for fear or alarm, and no need of preparation—the farmers were all ready (cheers). The right hon. gentleman has proposed the abolition of the law out of deference to the agricultural interest; but it would appear that they do not require the postponement. It is impossible that the right honourable gentleman himself is not in favour of the immediate and permanent abolition of the law. I cannot understand, then, why he should object to it, or why he has not come to that conclusion. Every person seems to be ready for it, there is no danger apprehended from it, and there is a majority in the house in favour of the amendment I propose (hear, and cheers). If, then, Sir, there are no objections to, or inconvenience attending the adoption of the amendment, are there not some advantages (hear, hear)? There is one that I should name before any other, that there would be then no impediment to the supply of food for the people in case of need (hear, hear, hear); and let me say that is a most important consideration this year, and perhaps more so than any other for many years past. There are several reasons why a deficient supply may be expected this year. The harvest has been bad in Europe—bad in the grain-growing countries, and also deficient in other states not usually dependent on other countries for supply; our own harvest has been deficient; there has been a failure in an important article of subsistence in Ireland, and there is an unusually great consumption of wheat in this country (hear, hear)—there is little to come from America this year, and we must expect less than usual from the Baltic. The prices are high in neighbouring countries, the ports are open for import, but shut for export. Already wheat, destined for this country, has not waited for the passing of this measure, but has proceeded to Antwerp, and found a market (cries of "hear, hear"). There was a profit to be obtained from the price, and there was no duty. We are then in a state to want food this year, and yet incur the risk of not obtaining it (loud, hear). We have no indication of the harvest yet for the coming year, and before three months are over we may be suffering from a deficiency—paying a high price, and the business

of the country disturbed by it (hear, hear). Every sixpence of duty may tell upon the supply and the price this year. He asked if that was just towards the people, or if it was wise, after the admission that had been made of the errors and mischief of the law, and whether it was politic to let the people see so clearly the object and the cause of their suffering (hear, hear). This duty of 4s. might be as effective in excluding food a short time hence as the present duty of 17s. (hear, hear). It would not, perhaps, be fair to suppose that the Government had retained the duty from choice, and not to notice the supposed means of its retention. It is said that they have contrived their scheme with a view to its success, that they have secured a certain amount of support for the measure as it is, but if they were to alter it in this particular, they might risk the loss of the measure, and he understood that would weigh also with some of his own friends, who were anxious to see the measure safe. There might be prudence no doubt in this course, and he did not impugn their judgment; at the same time he felt it his duty to state the reasons distinctly to the house that he thought ought to weigh with it, and decide it to adopt the amendment. He was sure they were such that justified its being proposed (hear, hear). Before he sat down he could not help submitting one other consideration to the house bearing upon this subject. He referred to the statement made by his honourable friend the member for Stockport, during the last debate. He stated that that great organisation of the people of which he is at the head was formed and existed for the single and simple purpose of obtaining the removal of all obstructions to the trade in the necessities of life; and he answered for the good faith of those who followed him, that the day after this law was repealed that this association would dissolve (hear, hear, hear). Now it is not underrating the services which he (Mr. Villiers) considered the League had rendered to the country, to say that this would be a great advantage. He believed that the time would soon arrive when the service of the League would be fully and duly appreciated by the whole country; for his part he should always look back with satisfaction at having co-operated with it, and joined in their exertion as far as he was able (hear). They had sought to disseminate the views and opinions of those clear, calm minds who had enlightened the country on the difficult science of commercial economy (hear, hear). They had sought strength by appealing to the reason of those whom they addressed (hear, hear), and he honestly believed that they had, during the long period of their agitation, given as little real cause of offence to those opposed to them as any body of men that ever were united for a common purpose (hear). But, doubtless, it was an evil that such a combination should exist. It was impossible for them to proceed without exciting bad feeling and great animosities between classes (hear, hear). He for one, as he deeply regretted that result, so was he anxious that they should have no reason for the continuance of agitation (hear, hear). That could, as his honourable friend the member for Stockport said, be only effected in one way, for he knew that both he and his honourable friend the member for Dorchester were deeply bound to those who trusted them that they would not cease their exertions until the object was attained (hear, hear). He did not say that this ought to be binding on the legislature if any evil was likely to follow from it; but his case was, that there was no evil likely to ensue, nothing, indeed, but advantage to the interest in question, added to which would be the blessing that those classes who had been brought into collision would, after the repeal of this law, cease to struggle with each other, and only see their common interest in promoting the prosperity of each other, and of the community at large (cheers). He begged, therefore, to move this amendment, "That all duty should henceforth cease."

Colonel SIBTHORP had no hesitation in saying that he considered the honourable gentleman, the member for Wolverhampton, in the whole course of his conduct on this important question, as an upright, honest, and straightforward man, in comparison with the members of the Government (cheers and laughter). He had never deceived the public. He was straightforward in his declarations, and persevered in his objects; and whatever might be the result, he was bound to give him credit for a manly and honest course, and he wished he could say the same for others (cheers and laughter). He (Col. Sibthorp) would refer the house to a speech made by the right hon. gentleman (Sir Robert Peel) at a dinner given to him in the year 1839, in Merchant Tailors' Hall. There were present on the occasion (besides Sir Robert Peel) Lord Francis Egerton, Mr. Goulburn, Lord Stanley, Sir Robert Inglis, Sir James Graham; and the Marquess of Chaudos, now Duke of Buckingham, was chairman (hear, hear). [The gallant Colonel read along extract from the speech of Sir Robert Peel, on the occasion referred to, in which he recommended the formation of a great Conservative party, to get rid of the Whigs and their Radical and Repeal allies; and also that the strictest attention should be paid to the Parliamentary registration.] Such was the language of the right honourable baronet in 1831, when he was entertained with a dinner; and it was sometimes said *in vino veritas*, but he did not know how it was on that occasion (laughter). The truth was, that either the right honourable baronet wanted moral courage to resist agitation, or he was of the same opinion then that he was now. At any rate, he (Colonel Sibthorp) was sorry to say at that time he placed implicit confidence in the right honourable baronet which he should ever regret (cries of "question" from the Opposition). The honourable and gallant member, looking to the opposite side, exclaimed, "If you are tired of hearing me, walk out" (laughter). He would tell the right honourable baronet that the eyes of the country were upon him, and when it observed that he said a thing was white one day and black another, that no further confidence would be placed in him. With respect to the question, he thought that there was very little difference between the proposition of the Government and total and immediate repeal, and there was no confidence that the right honourable baronet would adhere to the three years. The honourable member for Wolverhampton said that it was for the interest of the farmer that there should be immediate repeal.

Now he heard the farmers were a shrewd and intelligent class of men, and they believed that neither the honourable member or the right honourable baronet cared anything about their interests (hear, hear). The country ought to know what were the solid grounds which induced the right honourable baronet to change his policy. Were they to believe that it was the fear of a deficiency of food? If that was the case, the noble lord (Lord G. Bentinck) near him had demonstrated, in his able speech the other night, that there was no reason for any such apprehension. He felt that, after all which had passed, he had a right to believe that the party to which he belonged had been grossly deceived and betrayed by the right honourable baronet. On that ground, as well as from a sense of duty to the country, he should take a firm stand in opposing the right honourable baronet on every occasion that he could do so. In the present instance, he felt therefore bound to explain, as he understood there would be a division on the amendment of the honourable member opposite, that on going out at the same lobby with the right honourable baronet, in opposition to the honourable member for Wolverhampton, he would do so from no attachment, from no affection, or from no regard to the right honourable baronet, or to any one member sitting on the Treasury bench (hear and laughter). Between two evils he should like to choose the least, and it was on that principle he would act. In conclusion, he cautioned the right hon. baronet to beware of now sowing the seeds of revolution, and cautioned him as to those with whom he associated (laughter); and not to neglect, until he would find it to be too late, the advice of the party who had hitherto been his friends and supporters (hear).

Lord WORSLEY said: As the hon. member for Wolverhampton had alluded to him, and to a statement which he had made on this question on another occasion, at a time when it was thought impossible the question could be met as a mere matter of compromise, and when he supposed that the House of Commons were to decide by a large majority, that no alteration of the Corn Law should take place, or else that there should be a settlement of the question either by a total abolition, or by such an arrangement as those who advocated total abolition would assent to, he wished to state to the house the grounds on which he intended to give his vote on the present amendment. It was now proposed by his hon. friend, the hon. member for Wolverhampton, that all duties on the importation of foreign corn should totally and immediately cease. On the other hand, it was proposed by her Majesty's Government that until 1849 there should be a continuance of the sliding scale, on a much lower rate of duty than that now in operation. His (Lord Worsley's) impression was that if the measure rested solely between the motion proposed now by the hon. member for Wolverhampton and that of her Majesty's Government, it would be much better that they should now decide in favour of immediate and total repeal than that they should be forced to remain in a state of constant uncertainty during a period of three years from the present time (hear, hear, hear). On those grounds, if the house had to decide simply between those two propositions, he certainly should be in favour of the proposition of his hon. friend the member for Wolverhampton. But he had to look to the question in this light: he felt that if he were to vote in favour of the motion of his hon. friend the member for Wolverhampton, and if that motion were carried by the house, he would thus aid in precluding himself from considering other amendments which were to be proposed by other hon. members on this question (hear, hear). It might be considered that in adopting this course he was not quite consistent in the opinion which he had before expressed in favour of a desire to set this question at rest, but he hoped he could satisfactorily explain to the house that the charge of inconsistency could not be brought against him, and that he was justified in taking the course which he adopted because he believed that the propositions to be brought forward by the hon. member for Anglesea (Mr. O. Stanley) would be a settlement of the question, and because he was anxious to give that proposition his support. The amendment intended to be proposed by the hon. member for Anglesea, was, that in lieu of the duties now paid on the importation of foreign corn and grain, there should be paid a fixed duty of 5s. a quarter on wheat, 2s. 6d. a quarter on barley, and 2s. on oats. Now, it might be said that those who had hitherto advocated a total repeal of the Corn Laws, would not be satisfied with that arrangement—that it would not come up with their expectations or desires—but, on the other hand, the persons who had hitherto supported them could not but feel that such a plan would not materially enhance the price of food, whereas it might afford some protection to the agriculturists of this country, and it would also supply that loss to the revenue which a total repeal would effect, and which should otherwise be made up by the imposition of some other burden (hear, hear). The hon. member for Wolverhampton must know better than he (Lord Worsley) did the opinions of the persons to whom he alluded, but it was not improbable that though they had asked so much, they would take less than they demanded (hear, hear). He remembered that before the Reform Bill had been proposed, they were told that nothing short of vote by ballot, and a considerable extension of the franchise would at all satisfy the country, and yet when a measure much shorter than these demands was proposed, it was admitted to be a greater step than it was thought possible to obtain (hear, hear). He did not consider that the amendment about to be proposed by the hon. member for Pontefract (Mr. R. M. Milnes), would prove a settlement of the question. That was, that the sliding scale, as proposed by her Majesty's Government in the present instance, and which, by the proposition of the right honourable baronet, was to cease altogether in 1849, was to continue after that period; that it was to be a permanent sliding scale varying from 10s. to 4s. a quarter on wheat. That proposition would not, he was convinced, be considered satisfactory by those who advocated an alteration in the laws; whereas, by adopting a fixed duty of 5s. a quarter upon wheat, as proposed by the hon. member for Anglesea, he considered the corn merchant would be satisfied, as he would then have a regularity in the payments he would have to make, while many who now opposed any alteration in the existing law would also give such an arrangement their support (hear, hear). The honourable gentleman the member for Bedford (Captain Polhill) had also given notice of an amendment which he thought he could show it would be utterly impossible to carry. The amendment was to the effect—"That, in the event of this house consenting to the change proposed by the right hon. baronet at the head of the Government in the duties on the importation of foreign corn for three years, the amount of such duties as received shall be appropriated as a fund to relieve or compensate such tenant farmers of the United Kingdom now subjected to certain rents, burdens, covenants, and obligations entered into under the present scale of duties, who may prove before a

select committee of this house that they have been ruined, impoverished, or deeply injured by the lessening of the protection they now possess." He thought the house would agree with him that it would be utterly impossible to have a committee to decide who had been ruined by the reduction of protective duties, or who had not, and to hear the complaints of farmers, and ascertain whether the ruin of which they would complain might not be owing, not perhaps to the effect of a change in the Corn Laws, but to incautious or improper arrangements entered into by particular individuals. If the majority of the house should support the views of his hon. friend the member for Wolverhampton, he should thereby be precluded from supporting any other proposition advocating a higher amount of duty, and he could not, therefore, give any assistance towards bringing about such a result. On the other hand, he thought there might be very serious evils arising from the course proposed by her Majesty's Government. How, for instance, could they avoid the difficulty which would arise when the anticipations which had been expressed, and which he understood it was generally believed out of doors would be carried into effect, namely, that an endeavour would be made on the part of the farmer and those by whom they were advised, to get back at the next election the protection of which they were now to be deprived, by returning to Parliament none but members pledged to support a Corn Law, and to get rid of the measure which her Majesty's Government were now prepared to carry—when such anticipations might be realised; and now, while such a course of proceeding was threatened, could those who were the advocates of the Anti-Corn-Law League be expected to persuade the members of that association to dissolve their body (hear, hear)? They could not expect that such a course would be taken; and in stating that, he would support the motion of his hon. friend the member for Wolverhampton, if the question were simply between it and the propositions of the Government. He did so, because he was not one of those who would delude the farmers—he could not call it by any milder term (hear, hear)—with the idea that they could get back again the protection which was now proposed to be taken from them. If he were to hold forth that language to the farmers, he felt that he would be taking a dishonest part, because he did not think the agricultural interest had the least chance of ever recovering the protection of a Corn Law if it were once taken from them (hear, hear). He could not therefore give any vote that would hold out the least expectation of such an event taking place. If he opposed the motion of his hon. friend the member for Wolverhampton, in order to support the measure of the Government, it might lead to an expectation out of doors, that he thought there was a chance of the agriculturists again getting the protection of which they were now to be deprived. He did not think there was the least probability of such an event taking place, and believing such to be the case, he could not do otherwise, acting as an honest man, than show by his vote the view which he entertained of the question. In voting against the amendment of his honourable friend, he wished also to show that he believed it was utterly impossible the agriculturists could ever again possess such an amount of duty as they at present enjoyed (hear, hear).

Mr. MILNER GIBSON said he was one of those who never entertained any sanguine expectations that those hon. members who advocated protection would support the motion of his hon. friend. He felt that when the proposition of immediate repeal was submitted to the house, those honourable members would find very good reasons for not giving it their support; but at the same time he was extremely glad to hear from the noble lord who had just sat down, that he did not withhold his vote from his honourable friend (Mr. Villiers), because he would wish to encourage the feeling among the tenant farmers that the protection which was now about being withdrawn from them could ever again be restored. His noble friend had told them that if he were to take such a part he would not be acting honestly—conscientiously believing, as he did, that protection once withdrawn could never be again conferred upon them. But such being the conviction of his noble friend, he would necessarily be perfectly justified in giving his vote in favour of the motion of his hon. friend. He thought his hon. friend the member for Wolverhampton had taken a judicious course in submitting this measure to the house. He thought it was due to the country, to those who had acted cordially with him in this Free Trade movement, and due to the hon. member himself, to submit this proposal to the house (hear, hear). It was a proposal, as his honourable friend had very justly observed, which had been taken and adopted as the motto of the Free Trade movement after due consideration (hear, hear). It had caused some unpopularity to the advocates of Free Trade. It had been said that the question of immediate repeal of the Corn Laws was a proposition which overlooked the sufferings that might arise to the agricultural body from the immediate transition from monopoly to complete freedom of trade. All these things were taken into consideration, and formed the elements on which the gentlemen who had conducted the Free Trade movement had come to the decision that it was better for the agricultural interests, and for all the interests of the country, that this question should be settled by the mode of immediate and unconditional repeal (hear, hear). He thought that his hon. friend himself, having taken so prominent a part in the promotion of the repeal of the Corn Law, was entitled to be heard in respect to the settlement about to be made. His hon. friend must take a very large share of the responsibility on his shoulders, and on the shoulders of his friends must also rest much of the responsibility of the future consequences of this measure. Therefore he would say his hon. friend was entitled to have a voice in the settlement of the question (hear, hear). With regard to the allegation that they would endanger the plan of the Government by asking for something more than was proposed by the right honourable baronet, all he could say was that he did not think that danger would exist if they succeeded in inducing the House of Commons to carry his hon. friend's propositions. As to what would take place elsewhere, with that, he submitted, they had nothing to do. All he could say was, that there was not a single supporter of the right honourable baronet on his own side of the house, who had spoken during the late debate, who had stated that he gave his support to the measure, in consequence of the three years' grace that was afforded to the agricultural interests, while many opponents of the measure had expressly declared that they would prefer immediate to gradual repeal (hear, hear). Under these circumstances he could not perceive that any danger could possibly arise from pressing upon the committee the motion of his hon. friend. But when he took into consideration the present condition of the country, he felt that the case of his honourable friend was perfectly irresistible. It was the only case that met the circumstances which had been

stated by the first minister of the Crown. The first minister had told them that he had two objects in view; one to settle permanently the question how the future commercial policy of the country should be conducted, and the other was how at the present moment they were to avert a great national calamity. Now, his hon. friend had reminded the house that in November the right hon. baronet had thought that no measure short of opening the ports and a complete freedom of the corn trade would satisfy the present emergency, and he had also contended that nothing short of total repeal would be a final adjustment of the Corn Law question. Under these circumstances, it appeared to him that there was no course which the House of Commons could in common reason and with consistency adopt at the present moment but total and immediate repeal. Nothing short of such an adjustment could meet the present exigency in Ireland, and he would beg to remind the right hon. baronet that, though he might grant these three years' grace to the agriculturists, it was a question whether, considering the accounts which were received from that country, he could maintain this degree of protection even until the month of July next (hear, hear, hear). How could he, when he knew that famine and fever were making progress in Ireland in consequence of the want of food—how could he possibly maintain any duty on the importation of foreign corn (hear)? He would ask, if it were right to open the ports in November last, how could a maintenance of the duty be defended at the present moment, especially when he considered that the circumstances which justified the opening of the ports in November had become more and more pressing at the present moment (hear)? His noble friend had touched on the duty on wheat, but they should also look to the effect of the duty on barley and oats. Taking the present prices of barley and oats, the scale of the right honourable baronet would amount to an actual prohibition (hear, hear). No barley or oats could be now introduced into the country, and sold at the present prices, if they had to pay half-a-crown duty. How then could they for a moment suppose it was possible to maintain a duty to the proposed extent under the emergency at present existing in Ireland? The duty of 2s. upon oats and barley was, after all, 10 per cent. upon the value. He believed, that taking the price of barley in this country at the present moment, it could not be imported and pay duty at a profit. Those duties would cause considerable supplies of oats and barley to be thrown into the English market, and to be diverted from foreign markets, and this when we were told that every grain of corn that could be imported into this country was necessary to avert the calamity with which we were threatened. That immediate, instead of deferred, repeal was better for the agricultural interest, there could be no doubt. He himself did not believe the farmers cared anything about the Corn Law question (cries of "no," from the protectionists). He declared, positively, it had struck him as something most remarkable, when he was in the country, to find that as a matter of business the tenant-farmers did not appear to care one straw about the repeal of the Corn Laws (loud cries of "hear, hear," and cheers). As a matter of politics they might have some concern upon it; as a matter of opinion they had not ("oh, oh," from the protection benches); but if gentlemen opposite were right in saying that the farmer was entitled to a reduction of rent in consequence of the withdrawal of protection, when the farmer came to ask them for an adjustment, what would be their answer (hear, hear)? Would they not say, "Wait, and see what the effect of Free Trade will be?" His honourable friend the member for Stockport (Mr. Cobden) had informed the country that prices would not be affected by the repeal of the Corn Laws; and, therefore, they (the protectionists) said to their tenants, "Wait till the 1st of February, 1849, and see whether it will then be necessary to make a re-arrangement of rent, or to lay out capital in particular improvements." He (Mr. Gibson) believed that the change impending over the agricultural body till 1849 would cause many improvements to be postponed till that period, which, if the repeal took place now, would be carried into effect before (hear, hear). If a man was ordered to be executed this day three years, did the house suppose he would occupy the interval in preparing for eternity (cries of "oh")? Nothing of the kind (a laugh). He would be calculating how he could avert the sentence. The position of the protectionists was exactly the same. Protection had been fairly put upon its trial; it had been found guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours, and condemnation had been passed upon it by that house. All that was asked for now was its speedy and immediate execution, and no respite. A respite instead of being a kindness would be a cruelty; and he called upon the house to adopt, as the best measure for the agricultural interest, as the most in accordance with the justice of the case, and the most equal to meet the pressing emergencies of Ireland, the amendment proposed by his hon. friend the member for Wolverhampton (hear, hear).

Mr. B. ESCOTT said if no danger could be proved to arise from the amendment of the honourable member for Wolverhampton he would vote for it; but if anything occurred in the course of the debate to make him seriously believe that the eventual success of the measure proposed by her Majesty's ministers would be endangered by the amendment, however much he might respect the honourable member (Mr. Villiers) for an advocacy of this cause—and no one could honour him more for it than he did—then, upon the principle laid down by the noble lord (Lord J. Russell) at the commencement of the session, in order to save that great measure, he should vote against the amendment. The question he asked himself, as determining the principle upon which he should give his vote was this: Under the existing circumstances of the country, is it right and just that the price of the food of the people should be increased by restrictive laws? He had attended a meeting of his constituents in November last, and he told them that in his opinion the only justification of the ports being closed was the fact, then supposed to exist, that there was no Government responsible for the affairs of the country (a laugh). The statements made by the First Lord of the Treasury during the late debates fully supported him, when he said, "at that time there was no Government responsible for the affairs of the country," and it was notorious that his right honourable friend could not open them, in consequence of certain disagreements. Had anything happened since to make him (Mr. B. Escott) believe that there ought to be no restrictions on the importation of food? He thought everything had happened to make the unrestricted importation of food more necessary than it was before; and under these circumstances he should vote for the amendment, unless he found that by so doing he should endanger the great measure of her Majesty's ministers. One word with regard to the farmers; they said they wanted to have done with agitation, and there was but one way to accomplish that, which was, to repeal the Corn Law for ever. There was but one member

on the benches near him who would tell the farmers differently; but it was more difficult to tell them anything else. This being the case, he asked whether it would not be better for the interests of the farmers, for the interests of trade and commerce, and for the credit of the House of Commons, to repeal the Corn Laws at once (cries of "no, no," from the protection benches).

Mr. R. COLBORNE, not having had any previous opportunity of expressing his opinion on this subject, wished to state the grounds on which he should give a cordial and sincere support to the amendment of the honourable member for Wolverhampton. He had given his support to the right honourable baronet, not because he believed that all the details of his proposed measure were perfect, but because the measure itself was right in principle. The arguments and reasoning of the right honourable baronet had clearly proved Free Trade to be right in principle; but, notwithstanding this approbation, he (Mr. R. Colborne) reserved to himself the right of voting against whatever parts of the measure he might think proper. That measure was a Free Trade measure, but it would have to do later upon the country if it had included the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. The noble lord (Lord J. Russell) had told the house it was not his wish that the amendment should be carried for fear it should endanger the ministerial measure; and on this point he would allude to one subject upon which he feared there would not be found many to agree with him. He referred to a dissolution of Parliament upon this question. He believed if Parliament were dissolved, the cause of Free Trade would gain; but when he heard the noble lord say they dared not oppose the measure, because he thought if there was a dissolution upon it there was not sufficient spirit to carry him through, he (Mr. R. Colborne) would ask what stronger proof there was of it than the arguments urged by honourable gentlemen opposite in favour of an appeal to the country. Before this measure was finally settled there must be a new Parliament, for it was impossible to call the doubt and hesitation of three years a settlement. There must, in short, be a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, otherwise the question would be agitated again and again. The only chance of carrying the ministerial measure to the satisfaction of the country, was to make the repeal total and immediate (hear and cheers). Honourable gentlemen must get ready to fight the battle (hear, hear, and cheers), and as the battle must be fought, he urged upon the house to adopt the principles of total and immediate repeal that evening. He did not urge this with any object of party triumph over the right honourable baronet, but because he wished him to have the satisfaction of carrying a great and important measure. Before he sat down he wished to refer to one point upon which he was personally concerned. In one of the newspapers of yesterday he had been mentioned as a political apostate. He was not an apostate, and the editor had apologised to him for the expression, and there the matter ended. He mentioned this circumstance because it had always been his opinion, notwithstanding the eloquent speech of the honourable member for Wolverhampton, that protection affected the landlord alone, and not the tenant; but at the same time he believed the landlords were prepared to make all reasonable sacrifices. He had voted in favour of the noble lord's proposition (Lord J. Russell's) for a fixed duty; but it was not his opinion now that a fixed duty would be the best, because sacrifices must be made where the food of the people was concerned. He was in favour of an immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, but without applying the principle to every other article. If they were to do away with all import duties, and to throw the whole burdens of the country upon direct taxation, he should be opposed to Free Trade. There was one direct tax from which the country would be glad to be relieved, and there would not be a more cordial supporter of that object than himself; and there were certain articles the duties on which might not be relaxed, but additional revenue obtained. The right honourable baronet has boasted that although he had taken so many taxes off there had been an increase of revenue. Why did he not apply that principle to the consumption of tea, sugar, and coffee? If they were to legislate let them legislate for the labouring man who toiled from morning till night to earn a scanty support for his family—legislate for the artisan, and all the good expected by the right hon. baronet would arise (hear).

Mr. GORING, who was very imperfectly heard, said he should give his strenuous opposition to the amendment. He could not see the grounds for the preference of a 4s. duty on corn to the 8s. duty proposed by the noble lord (Lord John Russell). After the speeches which he had heard from the Treasury benches, he really was astonished that the right hon. gentlemen on those benches should go down to that house, and ask the landed gentlemen to make sacrifices. The house must remember, however, that it was not the large landed proprietor who would be injured by such a measure as that proposed by the Government; for he, by the extended use of machinery, and the application of capital to the cultivation of the soil, might be enabled to meet the difficulty; but the small landed proprietors it was, with encumbered estates, with rent charges and mortgages, who must inevitably suffer (loud cheers and laughter from the Opposition). Hon. gentlemen might laugh, but that was the fact (hear, hear). The tithe-owner and the farmer also, he contended, would be considerable sufferers if the proposed measure were carried into effect, and he should, therefore, give it all the opposition in his power.

Mr. BRIGHT: I rise principally with the view of making a few observations upon the speech of the noble lord the member for Lincolnshire (Lord Worsley). The noble lord said he was of opinion that even now the imposition of a fixed duty of 5s. would settle this question. Now I have here a speech delivered by that noble lord in Lincolnshire, and as he, upon one occasion, amused the house with long extracts from the speeches of members of the Government, perhaps he would not object to hear read a short extract from one of his own, delivered as recently as three years ago (cheers and a laugh). At a meeting held in Lincolnshire, the noble lord said—"Something had been said about compromise. About a year ago he thought something like compromise might have been effected, but that day had gone by. There was at present only one ground of compromise, and that was a final settlement of the question, whereby agitation would be for ever stopped. It was agitation on this subject that was doing all the injury, and the stopping of that was the only compromise that could be for a moment entertained. Some had supposed that it was the intention of Sir Robert Peel to propose a fixed duty with a descending scale, to go down gradually until it vanished altogether.

That would not stop agitation. It would go on as violently as ever until the last shilling of duty was removed." He then gives a dissertation upon the peculiar burdens on land which it is not necessary for me now to quote. I quite agree with the noble lord that there can be no cessation of the agitation of this question until all the duties upon the importation of corn are finally abolished (cheers); and I am sure that he who thinks differently must have formed, indeed, an imperfect idea of that amount of public opinion which is now concentrated in one universal demand for the total and immediate abolition of the Corn Laws (renewed cheers). The honourable member who preceded me has referred, and I wonder at his imprudence, to the mortgages and incumbrances upon the property of landed proprietors (cries of "oh!" from the protectionists). Now I hope that the time has nearly come when the landed proprietors in this house will not subject themselves to such imputations as have with some justice been heaped upon them, by again bringing forward their own extravagancies or imprudence, their mortgages and incumbrances, as the justification for a law to raise the price of food in order to secure to them a rent for their property which, in reality, it is not worth (cheers and "oh!" from the protectionists). I recollect in one of Mr. Dickens' works that he gives an account of an election for the dignified office of parish beadle, on which occasion the walls were covered with placards, with "Vote for Scroggins and eleven small children" (a laugh). Why, there is scarcely even in that anything more pitiable than it is to witness the great landowners of this country coming here and talking of the incumbrances upon their estates, or of the necessity of providing fortunes for their grown-up daughters (hisses and groans from the protectionists, cheers from other parts of the house). To come, however, to the question more immediately before the house, That question is now greatly narrowed, and it is no longer whether we shall have protection or not, but whether protection shall be immediately abolished, or shall linger on for three years more. Now, I do not like to say anything which may appear in opposition to the ministers (hear, hear, and a laugh), because in the speeches which they delivered in the last debate upon this question I have observed so much of what I believe to be perfect honesty and sincerity in the course which they are now pursuing, that I feel unwilling to say anything which might make it appear that in my opinion they are falling short of the duty which at this important period they owe to the country (general applause). But I must say that her Majesty's Government have admitted all our case (cheers); and if there be any man on either side of the house who, in consequence of the speeches of the members of the Government, have come to the conclusion that protection should be abolished, I can't think it possible that such a man would say that he should wait for three years before that abolition took place (hear, hear). I think that every argument offered by the gentlemen in justification of their measure, justifies still further our proposition for the immediate repeal (hear, hear); and I think it would be a condemnation of the arguments of the Government if we now stopped short of immediate repeal. The impending famine in Ireland is either a reality or it is not (cheers and counter cheers). The Government tells us that they have established stores for the accumulation of grain, to be sold to the people at a moderately low price. Both the right honourable gentlemen who have spoken said that they could not come to this house and call for a vote of public money whilst there was a law in existence imposing a duty of 16s. or 17s. upon the admission of foreign corn. I would ask him, could they come and demand 200,000*l.*, 300,000*l.*, or 400,000*l.*, as they may be obliged to do in the course of this session, and ask the clergy and the public generally to subscribe money in charity to feed the people of Ireland, while this house maintains a law which imposes a duty which narrows the circle whence our supply of food can be drawn, which must make prices higher here, and must limit the whole supply from the people of the United Kingdom can be fed (cheers)? The right hon. gentleman said he could not propose to allow maize and the inferior grains for the food of pigs and cattle to be admitted at a nominal duty, whilst there was a heavy duty upon the nobler grain—wheat, which was more especially the food of man. I know not, then, how he can reconcile the imposition of a duty varying from four to ten shillings on the food of man in this period of great scarcity, whilst he allows maize, the inferior grain, to be admitted duty free (hear, hear). The reasons for the delay in removing the duty stated by the Government were curious. One of them was, that the right hon. gentleman thought that the measure might meet with rather less opposition. Now I suspect the right hon. gentleman has found out by this time that that idea was altogether erroneous (hear, hear). I believe it would have been impossible, whatever were the measures proposed, even if they had come directly from the Council of the Anti-Corn-Law League, that they would have met with a more determined resistance than they have already encountered, or than they are about to encounter, both in this and the other House of Parliament (cheers). The right hon. baronet, in his speech the other night, almost said that he was willing to accept of immediate repeal; and I believe every one must feel that there are no honourable members in this house, not even amongst those who sit on this side of the house, who are more firmly of opinion in their conscience that the immediate repeal is the best thing for this country in every way than are the members of the Government themselves (cheers). The protectionists can scarcely have any objection to it, for they have always said that it was a farmer's question, and not a landlord's question. If it is a farmer's question, then, why not settle it as the farmers wish it to be settled

(hear, hear)? There cannot be a doubt of their opinion upon the subject (cheers, and cries of "oh, oh!" from the protectionists). Then, if there be, I challenge honourable gentlemen opposite to point out one case in which any number of farmers have agreed that three years' delay previous to the removal of protection would be preferable to the immediate abolition which we propose (hear, hear). You say that the agitation of this question is the worst thing that can happen. The noble lord the member for Lincolnshire says so distinctly. What guarantee have you that you will not have as much agitation now as if the law had not been altered in the least? I am afraid that honourable gentlemen opposite are still clinging to the gains of that protection. I believe that you cling to the three years' delay because you fancy you can gain something from it. As far as I am associated with the Anti-Corn Law League, I can assure you that that agitation will go on till the question is fairly settled. We are bound by hundreds of pledges to bring this question before the house, and still more are we bound to do so by a firm conviction of the necessity and the justice of the measure we propose; and I am sure that the Free Traders throughout the country will thank my honourable friend the member for Wolverhampton for giving the house this opportunity of deciding once for all upon this question (cheers). If the house pass this measure, it will have again to discuss it before this session is over, and if we do not gain the immediate repeal this session, we shall have to discuss it every session until the law has been fairly abolished. We commenced our agitation with that object—we have carried it on for no other—and you may rest assured that we shall continue to persevere in the principles which we believe to be right, and to press them upon this house and the country until this great question is finally and fairly settled (cheers).

Sir ROBERT PEEL said: I presume it is not wished by honourable gentlemen on either side of the house, that the debate, which has already occupied twelve days in discussion, should be much longer continued (cheers). There are many points which have arisen in the course of the debate—some, at least, on which I should be anxious to offer an explanation; but I think it probable that there will be an opportunity in the future stages of the bill—the second reading, for example; and if that be so, I would rather postpone any explanation which I may wish to make till that period (cheers). Therefore in what I have to say now, I shall certainly confine myself to the question before the house, which is, whether the repeal of the duty upon the importation of foreign corn should be immediate, or whether the duty should continue as proposed by her Majesty's Government for the period of three years? Now, Sir, I am bound to say, if you look simply and abstractedly to the emergency which exists in Ireland, that I cannot deny that I think the preferable measure would be the immediate suspension of all duties—that is, if there were no other questions to deal with than the emergency existing in Ireland (hear, hear). Suppose I took the course which has been taken in former years, and suspended the duty of the Act of Parliament for a period of eight months—till August or September next—there would then be an absolute repeal of all duties, or the maintenance only of a nominal duty; but what would Parliament do in the interval? What provision should be made with respect to the period when the suspension would expire (hear)? Those who contend for the immediate repeal of the Corn Laws would, of course, be perfectly satisfied with the immediate repeal. It would provide for their permanent object, and it would also provide for the removal of all duties during the apprehension of scarcity in Ireland. But that is not the universal opinion. There are many who think that the Corn Laws ought not to be repealed (loud cheers from the protectionists). Her Majesty's Government, however, having to decide this matter on the 20th of December, when they were again recalled to office, thought that there might be at the same time an opportunity of making provision for the emergency in Ireland, and of laying the foundation for a final settlement of the Corn Laws (cheers). I have frankly admitted that the provisions which we have made to meet the present emergency are not quite so complete as they would be if you removed the duty altogether; but what her Majesty's Government had to consider was, on the 20th of December, as I have already stated, how they could best effect the double object of providing for the emergency in Ireland, and at the same time of trying to gain the assent of the legislature to laying the foundation for the total removal of all duties; and in the hope of reconciling those two objects in the best way possible, her Majesty's Government framed the proposition which is now under the consideration of the house (hear, hear). With respect to the apprehensions of scarcity in Ireland, we certainly do not altogether remove the duties on grain, but we propose to remove the duty altogether on Indian corn; we propose to remove altogether the duty on rice; and though not, perhaps, so nearly affecting the people of Ireland, we propose to remove it also altogether from cattle and meat. With respect to wheat, too, we place that in a very different position to what it was in before, and we materially reduce the duty which at present absolutely prevents you taking out of bond that superior description of wheat, which is most important for the purpose of mixing with the inferior descriptions which enter into the market generally and affect the price of the other (hear, hear). I have before me a memorial signed by the whole of the millers of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and they state that the general weight of the bushel of corn in ordinary years averages from about 61 lbs. to 63 lbs., whilst in the present year it is not above 58 lbs. They say it would be of the utmost importance if they could have access to the better qualities of wheat, which are in bond, for the

purpose of mixing with the inferior wheat, and they, therefore, now pray for immediate repeal. The duty at present upon that wheat, however, is 17s., and as there is a great quantity of inferior wheat in the market the price appears to be low, and the duty consequently remains high, so high as to operate almost as a prohibition to taking out of bond that quality of wheat which it is of the utmost importance to have for mixing with the inferior wheat (hear, hear). The present proposal of her Majesty's Government certainly does not remove the duty on wheat altogether, but it will considerably reduce the present duty of 17s. And it will do more; it will give a guarantee that in no one case can the duty rise above 10s., and there must be a very rapid fall in the price of wheat, which cannot be calculated on, to bring the duty up to 10s. The maximum duty at present is 20s. Under the proposal of her Majesty's Government the maximum would be 10s., and it is not probable even if the price should fall to some extent, that it would be more than 5s. or 6s. for some time to come (hear, hear). That is the proposal of her Majesty's Government with respect to wheat. Then with respect to barley. The present duty is 7s.; we propose, certainly not to reduce the duty to a mere nominal one; but we believe that it would not exceed 2s. instead of 7s. The duty upon oats is now 6s. Under the proposal of her Majesty's Government it will not exceed 2s.; but both in the case of barley and oats the guarantee which is given as an encouragement to importation. In barley there would be a guarantee that the duty should not rise above 5s., and in the case of oats not above 4s. a quarter. The duty on rye is at present 8s. 6d. Under the proposal of the Government it will be reduced to 2s. The present duty on beans is 6s. 6d., which will also be reduced to 2s. On peas, I believe, a similar reduction will be made. I am speaking now of the apprehension of a scarcity of food in Ireland, and I admit that the proposal is less perfect than if the duty had been altogether removed. But I say that, in the present state of public feeling in this country, you cannot look at this question abstractedly (cheers). I think it would be a very inconsiderate course, at the present moment to propose a mere suspension of the duty, to endure for eight months; for we should make no advance by such a suspension towards the final settlement of the question. At the end of that period the difficulties in the way of dealing with the question would be just as great as ever, the public feeling would be equally excited; and I confess I cannot see at all how a suspension of duties for eight months would lead to a satisfactory settlement of the question, which is by far of the most paramount importance, of the footing on which the Corn Laws shall hereafter stand (loud cheers). My opinion is decidedly that it is for the public interest that the Corn Laws should be either at once settled, or that the foundation for a settlement should now be laid, and that there should be a certain assurance on the part of the country that at no remote period the duties upon the importation of foreign grain should cease. The proposal of her Majesty's Government gives that assurance. I was certainly impressed from what passed the other night, that the honourable gentlemen on this side of the house were inclined to prefer the immediate repeal (cheers from the Opposition, and expressions of dissent from the protectionists). When I use the word "repeal," I mean the reduction to a nominal duty. The honourable member for Somersetshire certainly did declare positively in favour of immediate repeal (cheers and dissent). I may be erroneous in my impression of the degree of assent which the honourable member gave to the immediate repeal—I speak merely hypothetically; but when the honourable gentleman spoke, his declaration was certainly received as implying a preference of immediate repeal, nor was any dissent then expressed by him (hear). Her Majesty's Government have proposed a suspension of the repeal for the period of three years, partly from the impression that that proposal was preferable in itself to the immediate repeal, partly from a hope that it would be more acceptable to those who represent the agricultural interest (hear, hear), and it was under the impression that the immediate repeal was viewed by many, as I know it is, most decided friends of the agricultural interest and the main advocates of their rights, with the same approbation which I attributed to the expressions of the honourable member for Somersetshire, that I said, as I now repeat, that if the representatives of the agricultural interest—if those best acquainted with the feelings and wishes of the agriculturists should really prefer immediate repeal to a suspension of the repeal for three years, I have no doubt whatever that, under those circumstances, by uniting their forces with those of the honourable gentlemen who sit on the opposite side of the house, they would be enabled to carry that proposition (cheers). The paramount object being to lay the foundation of an adjustment of the repeal of the Corn Laws, I shall accept the amended proposal of an immediate repeal of the Corn Laws (cheers from the Opposition). But, at the same time, my own opinion in favour of the gradual removal of duties proposed by Government remains unchanged. Well, the hon. gentleman, the member for Durham, threatens us with a continued agitation. Sir, I am very sorry for it (ironical cheers from the protectionists). I think such an agitation will be unreasonable (cheers from a large part of the Opposition). I cannot answer for the agricultural party as to the course they would pursue in case a great change of this kind were carried, but I don't think an attempt would be made by them to disturb a settlement when once made (this appeal to the protectionists was received in silence). But if there were a general acquiescence in the measure, I must say that the continued agitation of the Anti-Corn-Law League—considering that there would be a Parliamentary assurance that the duty would cease at the end of three years, and that during the interval there would be no duty as compared with that which now exists—I must say that an

agitation for an immediate repeal would be unreasonable (protectionist cheers), and further, I do not think it would be successful (loud cheers from the same quarter, and from some on the Opposition side). The hon. gentleman (Mr. Bright) says, that year after year the motion for an absolute repeal would be made, but as year after year the time for absolute repeal became nearer, I cannot see that very much interest would attach to that motion (cheers). I think a great number of persons would withdraw from the ranks of the Anti-Corn-Law League; that a great number of men would say that our proposal was not an unfair one, considering the differences of opinion which exist, considering the prospect there is of the duty expiring in three years, and that every day we are advancing towards a total repeal of the duty, which, after the proposed reduction, would be much lower than at present. My belief is, notwithstanding the necessities of agitation, that there would be still greater opposition to our measure if it proposed at once a total repeal. That proposal for total repeal is received now in a very different spirit from that in which it would have been met if the Government had not made another proposal. I am confirmed in that view by the demand of the hon. member for Somersetshire for an immediate repeal instead of a gradual repeal. I cannot help thinking, if we came forward in the first instance with a proposal for the total repeal, the measure would have encountered such a degree of opposition that we must have abandoned all hope of ultimate success. Another proposal has been made, partly from a preference to its abstract merits and partly from a sincere desire to conciliate the wishes and to meet the feelings of the more immediate representatives of the agricultural interest. If the measure be carried—that is, immediate instead of deferred repeal—I shall accept the amendment (though my conviction of the policy of my measure remains unchanged), and yield to the opinion of the majority of this house, though it is totally impossible I can answer for the effect of such a change in the passing of the measure. I prefer the deferred to the immediate repeal on this, among other grounds, that the Government intend to accompany it by other measures. I am told that, at the end of three years, we shall have a panic. I don't see any panic now at all events (loud opposition cheers). I am strongly of opinion that our protracted debates have had a great effect in depressing the price of wheat (renewed opposition cheers). I have a very strong impression that every quarter of wheat which is now sold, is 1s. 6d. or 2s. less than would be received for it if this measure was once carried,—it being quite notorious that there is no great amount of supplies in other parts of the world, and that since we began this debate the exportation of grain in those countries was prohibited. I can't help thinking that the tenant farmers will have to look forward to a degree of competition, which will be very limited, and when once the mind of the legislature is declared, and that we have a settled trade in corn, there will be an immediate increase of price (cheers from the Opposition). Considering, too, that we accompany this measure with another for affording facilities for the drainage of land (a cry of "they won't be accepted from the protectionists"). There is no compulsion to accept them, but if they are accepted, there will be an opportunity in cases of settled property of raising money for improvements on more moderate terms than it can be produced at present. I cannot help thinking also, that as there is a knowledge there is to be a competition at the end of three years, the minds of landed proprietors and of tenants will be directed to the improvement of land, and that at the end of three years, partly by the aid of public money, and partly by the exertions of individuals, we shall place ourselves in a more favourable position to compete with the produce of foreign countries than if we opened the ports immediately with the possibility of a good harvest all over the Continent before us. We don't think there will be the panic some apprehend at the end of three years. If the foreign corn grower thinks he can overwhelm our market at a duty reduced from 4s. to 1s., I think he will be very much mistaken. If there should be a great demand here, the result will be a rise in the price of land in foreign countries, a consequent rise in the cost of production, and diminished advantages to the foreign producer. These were the general reasons which induced her Majesty's Government to introduce this measure. They will do what they can to carry it; but, again, I say, if another proposal is approved of, they will not from pique or mortification abandon their own measure, but will give effect to that so amended by those who are the best judges of the plan most conducive to the agricultural interest (cheers).

Mr. G. PALMER thought the ground for proposing the Government measure untenable. It chiefly rested on the failure of the potato crop in Ireland. Some of the witnesses said that crop was one half, others one-third below the average. Now, if we take the mean, it would give us a crop only one-sixth below the average. The right honourable gentleman condemned the threatened agitation of the honourable member for Durham. Was there a doubt that agitation would never cease whilst a change remained to be demanded (protectionist cheers)? The right honourable gentleman assumed the protectionists were in favour of immediate repeal. The only ground for this assumption was, that the agriculturists demanded, if sentence of execution was pronounced against them three years hence, they should prefer it to be executed at once. But he was totally opposed to the repeal of the present protection, let the proposal come from what quarter it might (protectionist cheers). Still further was he from wishing that the agriculturists should become their own executioners. The honourable gentleman proceeded for some ten minutes, but the chorus of groaning kept up by the Opposition, and the counter cheering from the ministerial benches, prevented one sentence from reaching the gallery.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL: If the committee will allow me, I will attempt, without discussing that question which has been discussed so many times, and which may be discussed again

on the second reading of the bill, to state to the committee my views on the various propositions now before us. I will take this course, because reference has been already made to one of those propositions, and I think it may be most convenient, under these circumstances, to take a view of the whole of the amendments in question. But before I do this I am anxious to explain, with regard to a statement of the hon. member for Somersetshire, to the effect that I had maintained that the agricultural party were not willing to allow that there should be a suspension of the Corn Laws during a time of scarcity. Now, I never said so. My statement was, that supposing that famine was not so near as had been anticipated—supposing that the potato crop had not failed, as was imagined, that there now existed a good opportunity for the settlement of the question of the Corn Laws, and that we ought not to wait for a time of greater scarcity. That is the view with which I looked upon this proposition. I do think that we are at a time when it is most desirable to obtain a settlement of this question (hear). Now there are various propositions made as amendments upon the plan brought forward by the right honourable baronet. Among the rest, the noble lord member for Lincolnshire (Lord Worsley) has alluded to a plan to which I was attached, the plan of a fixed duty of 5s. per quarter. Now, I do not think that the objections which have been made to a fixed duty on its own merits are objections fatal to that proposition. I have never considered if we had a duty of 5s. or 8s. per quarter that the prices would be raised in the same proportion. I rather lean to the opinion of the hand-loom commissioners, to the opinion of such men as Mr. Senior and Mr. Jones Lloyd, as being nearer the truth, when they state that a duty of 5s. on imported wheat would probably raise the price about 1s. per quarter; but I should not wish to vote at the present time for a proposition which would not be a settlement with respect to the Corn Laws. I do think that a fiscal duty of even 8s. in 1841, or a fixed duty of 5s. during the last year, would have been a settlement for a number of years. I believe there would have been a regular trade in corn, and such large importations that those who complain of the present law would have been satisfied with that arrangement. But I would not permit myself to vote for a proposition at the present time which would be likely to continue agitation, and keep the farmers in a state of prolonged uncertainty (hear, hear). Having been told in 1842 that the act of that year was a final settlement of the question, and having been told in 1846 by the authors of that act that it was a complete and signal failure—that the sliding-scale, far from being a scale which, as it was once represented, would provide for years of scarcity as regularly and exactly as for years of abundance, was, on the contrary, in the very first year of difficulty found to be a sliding-scale which would not slide at all, and therefore one which must be abandoned—after that had taken place, if any plan of protection were to be introduced as a plan of perfect settlement, and they saw, as they would see, the League reinforced by numbers who would consider it as the conquering cause—the triumphant flag—the farmers, still more anxious and uncertain, still more ignorant in what manner to make bargains with the landlords, still more doubtful as to what would be the probable scale of prices for a number of years were all these effects to follow, as they would follow such a course, you would have but a renewal and a continuance of violent agitation (hear, hear, hear). Therefore, while I regret that my noble friend did not in former years concur with me that a fixed duty should form the ground of settlement of the question, I cannot say to him, or to any one who is now convinced that that should effect the settlement, that it would be advantageous to the agricultural, or indeed to any other interest. I need not, of course, notice the proposition for the continuance of the modified sliding scale for three years. With respect to the proposal for the continuance of the duty beyond three years, I think it is liable to the same objections as those I stated to the fixed duty. It would continue agitation; it would be the cause from this time to the general election, and from the general election for a long time afterwards, of disunion, heart-burnings, and discord between the different classes of the community; and we should have little chance of seeing honourable gentlemen arrive at that consummation so much to be desired of a general acquiescence in, if not a general agreement on, a plan of settlement (hear). I next come to the proposition before the house—the proposition of the hon. member for Wolverhampton—who now proposes that the duties on corn should forthwith cease. Now I must say, comparing the two propositions as they were made by two independent members of this house, that I should consider the proposition of the honourable member (Mr. Villiers) both more wise as an abstract and more effective as a practical proposition than that of the right honourable baronet (Opposition cheers). I consider it so, because I do think that instead of that which has been and may again be the condition of the country—when the home harvest has been abundant, and plenty of low-priced corn could have been brought in from abroad—that the present time, foreign stores being almost exhausted by the great demand upon them from Belgium and other countries, and the harvest of last year being not of a quality so good as to make it likely that there would be any great depression of prices during the present year—that such being the case, I repeat that I do consider that at the present time, were the Corn Laws to be immediately repealed, no panic would follow that repeal (hear, hear). The right honourable baronet said, and most truly, that there had been no panic in consequence of his proposition, and yet his plan would let in corn, for some months at least, at a duty of 4s.; and I, for one, do not think that that amount of duty would make the difference between panic and no panic (hear, hear). If there be no panic at the prospect of a duty of 4s., there could not be any panic at the prospect of immediate repeal (hear, hear). But if you had that repeal, there would be no longer any question on the subject; the farmers would at once apply their minds to that which your present laws have prevented—to the consideration of the means of drawing from the soil the largest amount of produce by means of the utmost exertion of intelligence, of activity, and skill, and all those qualities which we know it is the effect of monopolist, restrictive, and protective laws to relax and enfeeble (hear, hear). But if there is to be protection, varying from 10s. to 4s. the quarter, I think it is not likely that there will be the same amount of exertion, that that protection will be counted on for a time, and that there will be speculation, nursed and kept aloft, as to what may happen in 1849, some speculating upon that being a period when there will be a great influx of foreign corn, and the delay and anticipation giving rise to endless irritation and excitement (hear, hear). For these reasons, and others—because there are others which I will not trouble the committee with—for these reasons I think as a proposition, taken by itself, the proposition of my honourable friend to be ab-

stractedly the best. But the case I have now to consider is the case of a Government proposing a plan for the settlement of a great question on which hitherto there has been a great resistance on the part of this house, and on which there may still be some resistance and opposition on the part of the majority of the other house of Parliament (loud and significant cheering from the protectionists). I am not aware of the view which the other house may take of this subject. I must listen, therefore, to what is said by the Prime Minister, and to his plans for the settlement of the question. He has undertaken it, and did he bring forward a mere abstract scheme, were it objectionable, I might favour an amendment, and demur to the proposition. But he has undertaken it in such a way as that three years will produce a certain and complete settlement of the question. He has told us that he had reasons which induced him to prefer his own proposition. I own I do not think that these reasons are conclusive. For example, he talked of his plan being more favourable than total and immediate repeal to the landed interest. I will not say what view the landed interest may take of it, but I more and more concur in the opinion that the farmers do not at all value the three years' reduced protection. I think the reasons which the right hon. baronet gave in respect of the Canada corn bill only confirm the view which we took at the time of the impolicy and danger of introducing a bill to confer a monopoly on a single colony, which it never had before, and which you could not withdraw without leaving the feeling rankling behind that injustice had been committed. But, Sir, quite apart from these minor considerations, the right honourable baronet makes another statement: he says that, although, were the house to decide by a majority in favour of immediate repeal, he would then use his best efforts to promote the success of the measure so amended, yet he asserts that he will not answer for the result, and he states likewise, and a most important statement it is, that in his opinion if he had brought forward a project of immediate repeal, instead of the measure which he has introduced, that he should have failed in his endeavour to settle the question (hear, hear). I never think it right to vote in this house for any measure or resolution which I should not wish to see succeed (hear). The proper way to consider any motion I take to be, to ask oneself the question, "Should you desire to see this succeed?" Now, if the honourable member for Wolverhampton should have a majority, and I should be one of that majority, I should have in terms a better settlement of the question than the right honourable baronet proposes (cries of "hear, hear"). But looking at the comparative advantages of the two courses, I, for my own part, say that I will not incur the responsibility of assenting to the motion of the honourable member for Wolverhampton (hear, hear). It is far better, in my opinion, to promote the measure of the First Minister of the Crown, and I believe if the house carried it by so great a majority as voted for the committee, that the Upper House will accept it more readily as a measure of that Minister. I feel, too, that it will be regarded with a degree of confidence which would not have been extended to the other measure, which must have been regarded as in some degree objectionable as being the offspring of the Anti-Corn-Law League. I consider the carrying of this measure by the present Parliament without any conflict of interests, as of the greatest possible advantage. I believe that after it has been carried there may be some excitement in the country, which will, however, subside, and the different classes of society will be better reconciled afterwards than they have been for many years past (hear, hear, and cheers). Speaking, besides, on the Corn Law to any one who possessed a feeling for the institutions of the country, that was a most important consideration, because it is impossible not to see that a great political agitation prevailing on this subject for a length of time, may extend itself to other matters, and be directed to other purposes. I wish, most certainly, to see the question settled in the best possible manner, and I think on the whole that the way most conducive to its best and most effectual settlement, is to support, against every amendment, the proposition of her Majesty's Government (cheers). I do not consider that the question should be looked on in an abstract light alone, but that its settlement should be regarded with due reference to the time and to the circumstances of Parliament. I beg leave, however, to notice the statement made to-night by the right honourable gentleman opposite; who said that if he proposed the immediate repeal he thought the proposition would have failed. I understood him on a former night to state his regret that I had not undertaken to make that proposition (hear, hear). I was surprised to hear that statement, for though I believe the right honourable gentleman would have given me every support to any measure I brought forward, which he conceived to be for the public good, yet I think he must have heard, since that time, objections and statements strong enough and numerous enough to have convinced him that those who would have followed him, and supported me in office, on such a proposition, would have been a very small number indeed, as compared with the 112 members who have now voted with the right honourable gentleman (hear and cheers). I must fairly say that I do not believe there would have been more than 40, or perhaps 50, members to have voted with me (loud cries of "no, no, not so many"). Some honourable members say I am making an exaggerated estimate of the number even at fifty; but, at all events, be that as it may, I do not believe if all the members of the present Cabinet had given me their support, there would have been a sufficient number to have obtained for me a majority on my first proposition for going into committee (cheers from the protectionists). My honourable friend stated to-night that he understood me to say that I should be very sorry to see a dissolution of Parliament, because I believed a dissolution would not have given us a majority for the repeal of the Corn Laws. My honourable friend has not rightly understood me. I said I thought, as I still think, it desirable there should be no dissolution of Parliament on this question. I think all the statements which have been made to the effect that this House of Commons is not competent to decide the question of the Corn Laws, are founded on ignorance and misapprehension of the principles of our constitution (cheers). I consider that when a Parliament has been elected, it is to provide for all the most important affairs of this country, whether foreign or domestic, according to the best of its judgment and discretion (hear, hear). I cannot conceive any assertion to the effect that this Parliament is not competent to decide the question of the Corn Laws, which would not lead to the doctrine that the house was not competent to decide any question of great importance, unless it had been expressly elected by the people for the purpose of settling it (cheers). That would be a most democratic doctrine, and it would almost lead to annual Parliaments at once (cheers), and to the conviction that

unless elected with that object, members of the house were not justified in giving their votes on any great question whatever (hear, hear). I speak now of the general powers of the House of Commons, the exercise of which for greater objects is undoubted and undeniable. A great question arose after the settlement of the House of Hanover on the throne, and the Parliament elected for three years considered itself justified in prolonging its existence to seven years, for the purpose of saving the country from confusion and anarchy (hear). Will any one say that the House of Commons, which could prolong its existence from three to seven years, could not settle such a question as the Corn Laws (hear)? The question which arose on the union of Scotland and of Ireland were cases in point equally analogous. As to the question of engagements of particular members with their constituency, and with regard to considerations affecting their private honour and public character for consistency,—I will not meddle with the matter; I am now merely speaking of the principles of Parliament. It is my view that this house, as at present constituted, is perfectly competent to settle the question of the Corn Laws, and unless there were very great and very general national feeling evinced on the subject, I believe that no person is entitled to contradict that assertion. If I am asked, why I think it desirable there should not be a dissolution, I reply, that I think it desirable to avoid it; not that there would not be a Parliament in favour of the Corn Laws—for my belief is that there would be a majority in favour of repeal—but that I believe that majority would be obtained by the greatest collisions of opinion, and by the exhibition of much angry feeling at the elections (hear, hear, hear). I think, Sir, a majority so elected would hardly have the weight with the other house of Parliament which the majority of the present house is likely to exercise. I think the whole question, in the event of a dissolution, would be made, much more than it is at present, one of discordance between all classes; that many more men would be prepared to stand to pledges they had given in defiance of their better and more calmly considered opinions, and that the country would be plunged into an agitation highly injurious to its best interests (cheers). For these reasons, Sir, I am going to take that course—the only course which it seems to me, after deeply pondering over this matter, and reflecting over it to the best of my abilities, that I ought to take which I believe to be my duty to my country—namely, to vote with her Majesty's Government against the present amendment (cheers); and not only against this amendment, but against any other to be proposed hereafter in committee (loud cheers). I shall be prepared to vote with her Majesty's Government not only on this but in every stage of the bill; and I think the interests of the country deeply involved in the immediate, complete, and tranquil settlement of this question (loud cheering from both sides of the house).

Sir WILLIAM JOLLIFFE rose for the purpose of saying a very few words with regard to the vote which he was going to give. He had always consistently voted against the propositions of the hon. and learned member for Wolverhampton, and it was still his intention to vote against him, but without some explanation of the opinions which he (Sir W. Jolliffe) held on the subject might be misrepresented. He still cherished the hope that the measures brought forward by the Government might be defeated, but at the same time he could not help asking whether, if any change was to be made, the time was not now come when it could be made without the least danger to the country. At present the farmers were in a flourishing, and, he might say, a happy state—a state which was about to be overturned in a gradual and insidious manner. He should vote against the hon. member's proposition, because, although the Government measure had neither justice nor common sense to support it, there would be greater advantage in defeating the scheme of the hon. and learned member for Wolverhampton than in defeating the Government on such a question.

Mr. HUME hoped that the speech of the hon. member who had just sat down would show those who were about to divide the Liberal ranks the risk of such a division. He thought that, whatever opinions those of his own party might entertain, they ought, under existing circumstances, to support the measure of her Majesty's Government.

Mr. BORTHWICK (amid loud cries of "oh, oh," which rendered him almost inaudible) said, that as many hon. gentlemen were anxious to address the house, he should, without further preface, at once move the adjournment of the debate (great uproar).

The Marquess of GRANBY would only say a very few words. The noble lord the member for Lincoln had said that the house was in a situation to settle this question. Now the noble lord had admitted that if he had undertaken the Government he would not have been enabled to have carried the present measure through the house by a majority of above 40 members. The noble lord, therefore, was not in a position to have carried the measure without an appeal to the country, and he asked the house whether the opinion of the house or of the country was satisfactorily ascertained under existing circumstances? He maintained that neither the opinion of the house nor of the country was properly collected at present, and therefore he considered that some other steps must be taken to ascertain it.

After a few words from Mr. BORTHWICK, Lord WORSLEY rose to explain. He feared his noble friend (Lord John Russell) had misunderstood what he (Lord Worsley) had said in an earlier part of the evening, when he declared his intention of supporting the proposed duty of 5s., not as a measure of protection, but as one from which a revenue would be obtained. He would also take the opportunity of declaring that he saw nothing inconsistent in those opinions, or in the vote he was about to give, with the speech quoted by the hon. member for the city of Durham, Mr. Bright (hear).

The Earl of MARCH said that the house was in such a state of confusion that they seemed to have forgotten the question before the committee. He understood that his hon. friend the member for Evesham had moved that the chair man should report progress and ask leave to sit again.

A vote was then taken on the motion for adjournment.

The numbers were—
For the motion 70
Against it 227
Majority 157

Lord J. MANNERS reminded the noble lord the member for London of a time when the Whig government of a former day was afraid of an appeal to their constituency. He knew not what were the noble lord's opinions as to the popular constitution of this house; but should the noble lord, in his anxiety to prolong the life of that Parliament, wish to propose a decennial duration, he (Lord J. Manners) should be one of the first to vote against him. If the private honour of 150 or 200 members of Parliament was compro-

mised, could it be hoped that by a constitutional fallacy their public honour as a public assembly could be maintained (cheers)? If he had wanted any justification of the course which the great minority of the House of Commons had adopted, he should find it in the speech of the noble lord; and he would ask the house, after such a speech, after such arguments, whether they could refuse to adjourn for any number of nights that hon. members might choose to discuss the question ("oh, oh," and cheers)? He could conceive no such arguments in favour of the motion of the hon. member for Evesham, as those which had been heard from the noble lord; and after such a speech as that of the noble lord, so long as the hon. member for Evesham chose to divide the house on the question of adjournment, he (Lord J. Manners) would divide with him (hear, hear).

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said he was sorry he had incurred the displeasure of the noble lord (laughter), but really the penalty of adjournment seemed too heavy for merely a speech of his (Lord J. Russell). There might, however, be one advantage from such a course, for according to the published opinions of the noble lord, so far as he could collect them (loud cheers, which drowned the conclusion of the sentence). The noble lord had formerly considered protection as necessary and beneficial, but the noble lord on being elected into a new Parliament, had then considered it his duty to vote that protection an evil. But now the noble lord, to judge from a letter he had published, was of opinion that it was good, and that the Corn Laws, instead of being changed, should be maintained (hear, hear, and laughter).

Sir A. BROOKE complained that several Irish members had waited for 13 nights, wishing to speak on this question, but never getting an opportunity. This night, the whole time had been occupied by the hon. members for Durham, Manchester, and Wolverhampton, by the noble lord the member for London, and the right hon. baronet the first Lord of the Treasury, so that those who were in favour of protection had been prevented from speaking. Under these circumstances, he thought the call for a division very unfair, and should move that the house do now adjourn (laughter)—that this debate be now adjourned.

Sir R. PEEL said, if they came to a vote now, it would not close the question on the resolution. There were other amendments before the house, but probably the best course would be to dispose first of the amendment of the hon. gentleman.

Mr. FERRAND said he was prepared to justify the course they were pursuing that night, by reference to a speech of the right hon. bart., delivered on the 31st of January, 1840 (laughter, and cries of "oh, oh"), in the debate on the vote of want of confidence in ministers. Substitute the name of Stanley for that of Howick, and the exactness of the application was perfect. The hon. member then read the passage referred to, to the effect that Lord Howick had quitted the ministry of Lord Melbourne, because he had no confidence in its principles or professions. He concluded by moving that the chairman do now leave the chair.

Lord J. MANNERS assured the noble lord that if he would have the kindness to refer to his published letter with greater care than he seemed to have done, he would perceive that the inferences he had drawn were not justified.

Mr. M. J. O'CONNELL thought it too bad they should have nothing but quotations from former speeches. What had a speech on a vote of want of confidence to do with the question that the chairman report progress? He should not protest against it, but that he felt the character of this house would be lowered in public estimation. Let not hon. gentlemen opposite pursue this course, or their compact minority would speedily dwindle into a contemptible band of 70.

Mr. G. BANKES protested against the manner in which the observations of the hon. member for Essex had been received.

After a few words from Lord C. HAMILTON,

Mr. FERRAND said he was ready, not only with one quotation, but with fifty (great laughter). He was determined to proceed, and hold up the hon. bart. to the scorn and derision of the country.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL remarked that the discussion now going on did not bear upon the question of the immediate or deferred repeal of the Corn Laws. He would suggest that the motion be withdrawn, and the chairman report progress and ask leave to sit again, by which course hon. gentlemen would have an opportunity of expressing their sentiments.

The Chairman then reported progress, and the debate was adjourned.

TUESDAY.—ALLEGED FRAUDULENT OBJECTIONS IN THE REGISTRATIONS.

Mr. NEWDEGATE rose to submit the motion of which he had given notice, but, owing to the information which he had since received, he was induced to alter the terms of his motion, which would now stand thus:—"That it be an instruction to the Select Committee on the petition from Cheltenham, presented on the 27th of February, that they do inquire into the alleged organised and extensive system of fraudulent and vexatious objections to the votes of a great number of duly qualified electors for the northern division of the county of Warwick, the northern division of the county of Stafford, and certain divisions of other counties, to be returned on the registration of the said counties." His complaint was, that this organised system was not only practised in one, but carried to an immense extent in many counties, to the great annoyance and expense of the parties against whose right to vote the objections were made. Those whom he represented had been attacked, apparently more for the purpose of putting them vexatiously to expense than for any other object, and as a committee had been moved for by the honourable member for Cheltenham, for an analogous purpose, he did not think there was any impropriety in his endeavour to include this subject in their inquiry. That house had always considered fraudulent interference with elections as a breach of its privileges, and tribunals were created in the house to try such cases. How much more necessary was it to inquire into the interferences with the registrations! They had the highest authority for the opinion that the battle of the constitution was to be fought in the registration courts (hear, hear). He had already, on a former evening, stated to the house the ground of his present proceeding. A great number of objections to the votes of electors for North Warwickshire had been served, which were all signed by one person, a resident at Coventry, and the greater part of which altogether failed on their merits. The most remarkable instance of these objections had, however, occurred at Birmingham, where, in two parishes alone, no less than 700 notices were

served, all signed by the same person who had signed them at Coventry. As he had already stated, the postmaster of Manchester had had no less than 30,000 notices of objection posted in his office in one night. He (Mr. Newdegate) believed that he should be able to trace a connection between these cases of the service of notices and certain gentlemen who were members of the Anti-Corn-Law League; he could mention in particular the names of Messrs. Ackland, Morris, Beswick, and Bury (as we understood); and he thought he should also be able to show that the League had employed a person not of the best character to sign a great number of notices, he being a voter for North Warwickshire. It was observable that in most of the instances of which he complained, the parties served with notices were persons of large property, and those were selected who were resident at the greatest distance from the northern division of Warwickshire, and on whom, therefore, the greater expense and inconvenience would be entailed. The person used as the instrument of this organised annoyance was named Worthington, a person of no property, and who was almost labouring for the means of subsistence; but after a great number of his objections had been tried, and an immense number of persons had been obliged to appear (200) notices having been served, the agent of the League ordered their objector to leave the court, and said he would not pay any more expenses (hear). It was manifest that if such a system as this was to be pursued the franchise could never be maintained; year after year persons would be brought from great distances (some in the cases he referred to came from Wales and the Isle of Wight) for the purpose of defending their votes against these objections, and they would then find them abandoned, while they were themselves unable to obtain even the small compensation which the law allowed for expenses (hear). The hon. member then proceeded to state that the party he referred to, William Worthington, who had signed these notices of objection, had been examined in court as to the genuineness of his signature. He swore to it in several cases; but that afterwards, on a man named Stafford being produced, who stated that he himself had written the signatures under Worthington's direction, Worthington retracted his former statement (hear, hear, hear). A similar system of organised vexatious objections to that he had referred to as existing in North Warwickshire had been pursued elsewhere, and he pledged himself to trace it to the Anti-Corn-Law League. The hon. member for Stockport the other night said that the interference of the League with the franchise was a benefit, inasmuch as it extended the ancient franchise; but how came it that their new qualifications were given exclusively to those who favoured them, while their wholesale objections were made to those who were opposed to them? The system was, in fact, one of a most grievous character, and if it was intended by the Anti-Corn-Law League that it should be pursued in those counties which had been threatened by the hon. member for Stockport, it could only end in their utter disfranchisement (hear, hear). He hoped that the right hon. baronet at the head of the Government, after what he had said the other night, would offer no opposition to such an inquiry. It behoved the right hon. baronet to show that there was no collusion between himself and the League; but out of doors a deep impression prevailed that the Government had not been altogether uninfluenced in their recent course by an agitation which had been maintained by such practices as he had described. He trusted, therefore, that the right hon. baronet would not lend himself to the avoidance of this inquiry. It was no question between the protectionists and the Anti-Corn Law League; but it was a question between the house and the League, whether the house would allow its franchises to be tampered with by that association. The hon. member concluded by proposing his motion.

Mr. FERRAND seconded the motion.

Mr. R. YORKE thought the committee should have its attention confined to the inquiry which it had been specially appointed to conduct.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE was of opinion that the house could not adopt the motion. He perfectly agreed with the hon. gentleman (Mr. Newdegate) in thinking he had no light case, that case consisting of charges of perjury and the prosecution of a system of annoyance to electors. But what had the house to do with that or the committee to which the honourable gentleman proposed the investigation of his charges should be referred? That committee was appointed to inquire into a breach of privilege which had taken place by the addition of signatures, alleged to be fraudulent, to a petition presented to that house. But he did not see how this was a breach of privilege. A man committing perjury in a revising barrister's court was amenable to the law. Neither was the alleged annoyance to which electors were subjected by the service of notices a breach of privilege. He knew not under what denomination of offences it would come. It was, no doubt, very harassing to electors. But it was part of the whole system of registration (cheers) with which he had so often found fault in that house, though he could not get hon. gentlemen to agree with him—they were so proud of the existing law. Now, however, they began to feel the inconvenience of a system which had been pursued in reference to elections in boroughs, by urging objections on the score of nonpayment of rates and taxes. Now it was beginning to fall on the counties, on the tenants-at-will; and hon. gentlemen were now complaining. There was no case of breach of privilege, and no occasion for interference. The hon. gentleman might, if he liked, move for a committee to inquire into the whole system of registration, and take steps for amending the Reform Act; and he (Mr. Duncombe) would be happy to assist him; but he did hope the right honourable baronet (Sir R. Peel) would not give his support to the motion of the hon. gentleman. His (Mr. Duncombe's) name had been put down on the committee to which it was proposed to refer this additional matter for inquiry; but if that course were adopted, he should certainly decline serving upon that committee.

Mr. NEWDEGATE begged to state, in reference to the suggestion that proceedings might be taken at common law on a part of the case, that he and his friends had no wish to prosecute the unhappy tool of the Anti Corn Law League, in carrying out the system it had organised. (Cries of "Spoke, spoke.") The committee, on which had been imposed the duty of instituting inquiry into the forgery of signatures to a petition traceable to that association, seemed best suited for pursuing a further inquiry relating to the same body and its interference with the elective franchise.

Mr. ADDERLEY thought there was an analogy between the subject which the committee had been appointed to investigate, and that to which it was proposed its inquiries should be extended. He had himself observed a similar invasion of the privileges of electors in the northern division of

Staffordshire. Encroachments on the privileges of electors had a close resemblance to attacks on the privileges of the house. A bill had been drawn up on the subject by a friend of his, and he hoped some investigation would take place before its introduction. A petition had been entrusted to his charge in which the electors by whom it was signed complained that parties who had been for a number of years on the register, and whose right admitted of no dispute, had been served with notices, and that no fewer than 2000 of these had been issued this year, signed by an inhabitant of the county, but posted at Manchester (cheers).

Mr. WAKLEY considered the present system of registration a bad one. Under it the most fraudulent practices frequently took place. But the matter was certainly of too much importance to be incidentally referred to a committee to consider another subject with which that of the system of registration had no legitimate connection. He trusted the motion would be withdrawn. The question which had been raised was of great importance. The Government, he was sure, would feel prepared to lend their aid in the correction of the system, which could not be effected in the clumsy way now proposed. The honourable gentleman dealt very hardly with the Anti-Corn Law League. He had charged a man with forgery, and yet adopted the testimony of that man (cries of "no, no"). Yes, he took that testimony as sufficient to warrant him in accusing and condemning the League; and so lightly and delicately had they dealt with that man, that though he is charged with atrocious crimes, they had done nothing to bring him to justice. He (Mr. Wakley) could not take such testimony. The question with reference to the registration system was one which he trusted the Government would take up on some early occasion, and into which it would be of advantage to institute an inquiry by a committee.

Sir R. PEEL: When this question was brought under the notice of the house, I stated that in my opinion it was not advisable to devolve on the committee appointed yesterday any other inquiry than that which had been specially referred to it, but that it would be infinitely better that the committee should direct its attention exclusively to the alleged breach of the privileges of this house. That opinion I still maintain. It is very easy for the hon. gentlemen to make an insinuation of collusion between a Minister of the Crown and an honourable gentleman a member of the house (hear, hear). There is not the slightest foundation for the honourable gentleman's remark, which is of such a kind as to place an individual in my position in this situation, that I am obliged to give it an answer, or pass it by, though were I remaining silent there may probably be persons who would in these times draw injurious inferences. And, therefore, rather than such inferences should be drawn, I tell the honourable gentleman, that neither on the subject of the Corn Laws, nor on any other public subject, or private subject, had I any communication, direct or indirect, with the Anti-Corn Law League, or with any member of the Anti-Corn Law League, so far as I remember (hear, hear). The honourable gentleman founds his surmise upon what passed the other night, in consequence of a reference made by the honourable member for Shrewsbury (Mr. D'Israeli) to an imputation from which I thought at the time I had relieved the honourable member for Stockport (Mr. Cobden). At any rate there could be no concert between myself and the members of the Anti-Corn Law League, for it was on the hon. member for Shrewsbury's allusion to the circumstance that spontaneously, and as any gentleman would (cheers), I rose to declare the fact that I had long before stated that the imputation did not rest on the hon. member for Stockport. That is the circumstance on which the hon. gentleman founds his insinuation. I repeat again that I do not recollect holding any communication with any member of the Anti-Corn Law League. I now come to the real merits of the question. I understood the hon. member for Staffordshire to state that some person not connected with the county objected to voters upon the list. I thought it a gross abuse. If it is alleged that the party in question objected indiscriminately to some thousand or two voters, the tendency of such a practice is to interfere with the privileges of the electors; and the Anti-Corn Law League, or any other body that employs such party, in giving its sanction to such proceedings, pursues a course which ought not to be pursued (cheers). I retain my objection to the transference of this inquiry to this committee; but if, as I understand, the right hon. gentleman has a petition on which his allegations are founded, it may be a question for him whether or not he may not propose the appointment of a committee of inquiry into that matter.

Mr. SPOONER said, the person who had been described as the agent of the League in the registration courts, had his costs paid by the League in all the cases that were given against him, and therefore no doubt could be entertained of the character in which he acted. The man who signed the objections lived in a very remote part of Birmingham, but every one of the objections applicable to that district came through the post-office at Manchester (cheers). They were posted at Manchester so late, that they could not be forwarded in time for delivery before the last legal day for service expired; though the notices were good in law, if posted in such a manner. This was a matter which required investigation. He had been objected to himself, and had only time enough left to give instructions to his solicitor to appear for him in defence of his franchise.

Sir G. GREY hoped the inquiry if gone into, would not be narrowed to the facts alleged (cheers). It should extend to the whole working of the Registration Act. He had before expressed the opinion that the provisions of that act exposed voters to very vexatious proceedings. Objections of much force had been stated from the Opposition side of the house; but there was no remedy. He thought it but a just arrangement that those parties who had once established their right to vote should not be liable to have their right challenged from year to year. The evil was then more felt by hon. gentlemen on that side of the house (cheers). The shoe now pinched on the other side. He trusted this inquiry, when instituted, would be carried out with a view to remove the sources of vexation, which parties of different political opinions avail themselves of not for honest purposes, but for the mere sake of annoyance (cheers).

Mr. D'ISRAELI wished, as his name had been very unexpectedly brought into the discussion, to say a few words in explanation. It had been stated, that some observations which fell the other evening from the right hon. gentleman (Sir R. Peel), were called forth by an allusion he (Mr. D'Israeli) had made in the course of discussion—as if in something he had said he had been ripping up old grievances. He had made an allusion in the most legitimate spirit of debate. The hon. member for Knaresborough (Mr. Ferrand) was accused of charging the Anti-Corn Law League with abetting assassination. The hon. member for

Durham (Mr. Bright) intimated, that if they could have fixed that charge on the hon. member for Knaresborough, they would have prosecuted him. On hearing this statement, he (Mr. D'Israeli) reminded the house that a similar charge had been made in that house by the right hon. baronet (Sir R. Peel). He had read that the hon. member for Stockport, considering the charge unretreated, had declared it utterly impossible that he could hold communication with the Prime Minister (cheers). Therefore the house would see that he (Mr. D'Israeli) had not been ripping up old grievances. The right hon. gentleman said to-night that he had taken the first opportunity of putting himself right, it having been supposed that he had thrown out such an imputation. But he (Mr. D'Israeli) begged to remind the right hon. gentleman, that he referred to the very same circumstance last year, under circumstances, too, of excitement. The right hon. gentleman did not then show that extreme alacrity in putting himself right for which he had taken credit.

Sir R. PEEL said—I wish to refer to what I did say on that occasion. The hon. member for Stockport had stated, "in what I said, I intended—and I believe everybody understood what I meant—to speak of the right hon. baronet at the head of the Government; I used the words 'individually responsible,' as the right honourable baronet uses the personal pronoun when he says, I passed the tariff, and you supported me. I treated the right honourable baronet as the Government." I followed the hon. gentlemen in the debate, and I then said, "I am bound to accept the construction the hon. gentleman puts on the language he employed, but he uses the words in a marked manner, and others put a different interpretation upon them, and thought that by 'individual' he meant 'personal.' I admitted at once my error, and if any one at the time had intimated to me that my reparation was not sufficient, I would at once or on some other day, have taken the opportunity of stating what I did mean; the facts of the case justified me in the impression, that I meant at the time to withdraw the imputation.

Mr. W. ELLIS said, the system of making objections had been acted on for many years past; he had himself been objected to during the last year. On inquiry it would be found that no less than 2000 had been so objected to, and all the objections proceeded from the Conservative party (hear, hear). If the Anti-Corn Law League had adopted the same system, they had only acted on the example of the other party.

Lord SANDON said the system was an improper one, and he did not care with which party it originated. At present every man was bound to be at his town or country residence a certain time of the year to protect his vote; if absent, it was endangered. That was an unconstitutional impediment to the free enjoyment of the elective franchise. In Lancashire, 2000 objections had been sent, and they all came through the Manchester post-office (hear, hear); they were scattered over a period of three weeks, and the result had been that many gentlemen of undoubted property had been struck off the list. He hoped this system would be put an end to.

Mr. LAWSON said the right hon. baronet had told them that he was of the same opinion to-day as yesterday, and appeared to think that such an assertion would hardly find credit with the house, for he had repeated it twice. ("Oh, oh!" and laughter). He hoped, on other occasions, the right hon. baronet would be holding the same opinions as on the day before. ("Oh, oh!" and "Question"). He was glad to hear the right hon. baronet deny that he had any connection with the Anti-Corn Law League; but, from what they had seen this session, he thought the hon. member for Warwickshire had some cause to imagine such a connection might exist; but as it had been denied, of course he and other gentlemen were bound to believe there was none.

Mr. BROTHERTON said, formerly the hon. gentlemen were the objectors; in his own borough 700 objections had been served, his own vote being among them. He had been objected to for four years successively. He should be glad to see the system rectified; indeed it had rectified itself to a considerable extent. When it was found by gentlemen on this side of the house that they could get no redress from the house, they adopted the same policy. "When bad men combine, good men must unite" (hear). He thought the Anti-Corn Law League had done much service by the exertion they had made; they had also endeavoured to create a constituency in the different counties, and they might depend that if the League was not put down, by enacting the immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, it would go on to an extent that honourable gentlemen opposite would not like. The right honourable baronet had shown more foresight as to the mode in which the League was to be put down. The upper men in the employ of the manufacturers of Lancashire were purchasing cottages and freeholds, and felt pride in having a voice in the representation of the county; they would send up men who would enact such laws only as were just, and for the good of the whole community. No part of the quarter of a million fund was expended in anything connected with the purchase of freeholds; they were bought by persons who had saved money to do so, and who had as great a right to the franchise as the owners of the largest estate (hear).

Mr. FERRAND said they did not quarrel with making good votes, but to sending objections to votes known to be good before, which was quite the reverse. The same system of objecting had been carried on in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and the noble lord (Morpeth) was returned in consequence of the wholesale objections that had been made against the voters of that district; his vote had been objected to for four years in succession, and he could get no redress till he threatened to bring an action against the objecting party for the costs he was put to. The same system had been carried on in every county, and if the League was permitted to pursue this course, in a few years they would swamp all the *bona fide* voters, and be able to return members who would not represent the honest electors, but would be returned by a minority, the majority of voters having been destroyed by a wholesale system of perjury and forgery.

Mr. F. MAULE said, the members on his side of the house had for years tried to get this grievance remedied; but as the shoe did not pinch their own feet, they could get no assistance from the other side. Now the system came home to them, and he hoped an inquiry would be made into it, both in Ireland and Scotland, as well as in England.

Mr. PACKE said, in the county he represented (Leicestershire), 1500 objections had been made in this manner.

Mr. C. BULLER said he differed in opinion from hon. gentlemen on both sides of the house. He did not see the necessity for this inquiry at all (hear, hear). They had arrived at a stage far beyond inquiry. Every person on both sides of the house was quite convinced of the enormity and

extent of the evil, and was perfectly prepared to give a favourable reception to the remedy. He did not know whether it would be a proper amendment to move upon the motion of the hon. member for Warwickshire, but he confessed he felt inclined to move that leave be given to the hon. and gallant member for Staffordshire to bring in the bill he had got in his pocket (hear, hear, and laughter). There were, no doubt, cases in which inquiries of this kind were necessary to lay the foundation of legislation; but they had often seen them entered into for the purpose of preventing legislation (hear, hear), and the house might fall into this evil on the present occasion. The abuse was acknowledged to exist, and to exist on both sides; they had followed the laudable example set them by the gentlemen opposite. The extent of the abuse had often been deplored by them, yet, year after year, when they brought in measures to prevent these abuses, the gentlemen opposite, as much those below the gangway as above it, denied the evil and opposed the remedy (hear, hear). He was delighted to see that the example set by the hon. gentlemen behind the Treasury benches was imitated by the hon. gentlemen below the gangway; they did not blush to get up and repeat, as their own, the very doctrines those around him had formerly asserted. Now, let them have no more recrimination (hear, hear); there had been a great deal of sinning on both sides, from the time of the Charles-street Society down to that of the Anti-Corn Law League (hear, hear); the tactics of that society had been only perfected by the agency, agility, and capital of the League; but as it was a bad practice, imitated from each other, let them put an end to it; it was a practice detrimental not to party alone, but to all representative Government and the best interests of the country. He believed they would find in the bill of the noble lord (Lord J. Russell) an attempt to remedy this abuse, and as it was the fashion to adopt their measures on the other side (hear, hear), he could not recommend a better course than to adopt that measure and put an end to the evil.

Lord INGESTRE perfectly concurred in the observations of the hon. and learned member for Liskeard; the effects of the abuse were fatal to the constituency at large. He thought a name once placed on the list and properly proved ought to remain there.

Mr. C. WOOD said, the hon. member for Knaresborough had complained of the objections served in the West Riding of Yorkshire, but the hon. member had been himself as great a sinner in this way as any one (hear, hear). On one occasion a great number of notices of objections were sent, signed by the hon. member himself (hear, hear), and one of them was delivered to his own uncle (hear, hear, hear, and laughter) whom he knew to have as good a vote as any one in the West Riding.

Mr. FERRAND.—When?

Mr. C. WOOD could not say in what year; did it signify in what year it was? The fact was so, and he did not suppose the hon. gentleman would deny it, for an hon. gentleman was present to whom a notice was sent, signed by the hon. member (hear, hear). He thought the hon. member should be more cautious in the accusations he brought against others. With regard to the West Riding, it was not true that the objections were made by the Anti-Corn Law League; there were registration societies in that district, conducted by respectable men, belonging to both parties, and they made the objections and defended them. The system of registration had become such, that it could only be worked by such bodies; a single voter could not defend his franchise unless he belonged to one or other of the great parties. This was a great practical grievance which called for a remedy.

Mr. FERRAND begged the indulgence of the house while he replied to the personal attack just made on him by the hon. member. When the hon. member talked of what took place several years ago, he should have said that he had just been prompted by some one within the last half-minute; the hon. gentleman would not deny that.

Mr. C. WOOD: I do deny it most distinctly (hear, hear).

Mr. FERRAND: The hon. gentleman had insinuated that he had been objector-general to votes in the West Riding; that he had made objections to a great number of votes. In that division he was, as chairman of the Registration Committee, called upon, and he did sign notices of objection; but at all times when doing so he had stated distinctly, that nothing should induce him to be a party to the objecting to votes unless good grounds were shown for the proceeding. He had objected to the vote of the hon. member for Bradford, his (Mr. Ferrand's) relative, and he had done so for this reason—that a person for three years in succession had objected to his (Mr. Ferrand's) vote, had received a silver teapot for his services, towards the payment of which his relative had been a subscriber (Great laughter). He (Mr. Ferrand) had then, incensed at this, declared that if he received in the fourth year another objection, he would, in retaliation, object to his relative's qualification (laughter). It was on that ground alone that he had so acted, and he considered that he was fully justified (hear, hear, and laughter).

Mr. WORTLEY was enabled, fully, to confirm the statements of the hon. member for Halifax touching the system which was being carried on in the West Riding of Yorkshire. He (Mr. Wortley) had his own vote objected to three years running; on the last occasion, the notice being signed by a person bearing the name of Ashworth, and coming from Manchester, and emanating, it might therefore be concluded, from the Anti-Corn Law League. ("No, no," from Mr. Bright and others). So totally unjustified, and so vexatious were these notices, that he had at last threatened to bring an action against the interfering parties to recover the costs of defence, and if he had not himself been a member of the bar, such was the course which he would have adopted. It would give him great pleasure to see an end put to the system and facilities given to recover the expenses of the defensive litigation. In dealing with the matter, the house should not lose sight of the subject of the creation of votes (hear, hear). The West Riding had recently been the scene of an experiment in that way, and it had been so far successful, that by the means of the Anti-Corn Law League some 2000 new votes had been added to the previously existing registration. Were these, as he did not say they were not, *bona fide* votes, there could be no dissatisfaction, but the prevailing opinion in the district affected he could assure the house was, that directly the reverse was the fact. Such a case as this had been, it was rumoured, of frequent occurrence. A gentleman, having influence over a body of workmen, and who lets cottages to them to rent, persuaded them to enter conjointly into the purchase of a covenant, the agent of the Anti-Corn Law League being called upon to negotiate the transaction; the proprietor of the cottages lent the necessary funds to the workmen, took

a promissory note for the payment, and stopped the interest from the weekly wages. Such a system as that could not be got in the revising barrister's court, or at any rate not without extreme difficulty. To the truth, however, of the report, he was far from wishing it to be understood that he pledged himself.

Mr. BRIGHT desired to assure the hon. member for Bute-shire (Mr. Wortley), that Mr. Ashworth, of the Anti-Corn-Law League, had taken no part in the signature of the objection which it was mentioned had been received by the hon. member. With respect to the creation of freeholds, he (Mr. Bright) was enabled with equal confidence to declare that the Anti-Corn-Law League had not only never recommended the creation of such votes in the way alluded to, but had consistently, both in the speeches of its lecturers and in its authorised writings, given the public to understand that such votes were untenable, unjust, and in defiance of every fair principle of registration founded upon the possession of property (hear, hear, hear). He knew of no instance of such a vote having been obtained through or with the approbation of the Anti-Corn Law League. The advice of the League always had been, and still was, with the view of inducing every man to save as much money as would qualify him, by a *bona fide* purchase of a sufficient amount of property; and he (Mr. Bright) defied any man in the house or elsewhere, who cared for the spirit of the institutions of the country, so far as these were valuable, to say that a freehold, possessed on that principle, was injurious, or could, in any degree, be interfered with (loud cries of "hear, hear"). It was refreshing to see that when hon. gentlemen opposite were in *extremis* as to the Corn Law, they found some consolation for that which was gone and passed away in a testy examination of the organisation of the League. The case which the hon. member for Warwickshire spoke of had been dealt with in the newspapers, and had even been dilated upon in the speeches of the hon. member; but since that, the hon. gentleman, either at Willis's Rooms, or at 17, Old Bond-street, had joined in the adoption of a resolution, by which the protectionists declared that they would fight the League with its own weapons (laughter). The hon. member for Knaresborough, with not an unusual lack of caution, had made a statement relative to the West Riding. He (Mr. Bright) could only say, that if the hon. gentleman went to the proper offices, and consulted the proper papers of the registration for the West Riding, of protectionists and Free Traders, he would find, that in the last year the monopolists made a far larger number of objections to Free Traders, than the Free Traders did to monopolists. [Mr. Ferrand.—What did they do the year before?] The hon. member could not deny that. He (Mr. Bright) had once been called from Northumberland and once from Scotland to defend his vote. The agricultural party had well obeyed the injunction of the right hon. baronet to register. As had been said by the hon. member for Shrewsbury, "How we did register!" (laughter)—and how could they find fault with the League for acting in self-defence (hear, hear)? He had been told that the other day a noble duke, through his agent, put four sons of a farmer, with the farmer himself, into one lease, with the object of gaining so many more votes; and he had also heard that in Scotland another noble duke had taken the means to give nineteen persons the power of voting on one farm. So long as the monopolists were fighting a battle against the country, and so long as they thought there was a chance of obtaining power, there was nothing which went against the spirit of registration which they would not do—no conduct too unscrupulous they would not practise. Now the tables were turned, and the game was up (hear, hear, and cries of "Oh!") They had warred against the general interests and common sense, and now they were a broken party. The Free Traders, on the contrary, were a compact body, with an invincible principle which they were determined should be the basis of legislation, and to secure the presence of a majority in the house to vote for the abolition of the Corn Law, there were no means which the law allowed, and which justice sanctioned that should be left untried (hear, hear). They had made up their minds to do that, but they would go with the Government in any proposition to give the proper advantages and defence to the honest elector. By every new change which was to make the system a better system the Free Traders would gain. Hon. gentlemen might seek to revenge themselves on the League, but the fact had gone forth to the world that the law was as good as dead, and not all the spee-ches they could muster—not even those of the hon. member for Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate), solemn as they were, would ever wake from the grave that which, with all due ritual, had been buried (laughter).

Mr. S. O'BRIEN regretted that anything had occurred to disturb the celestial serenity of the hon. member who had just spoken (laughter). The evil to which attention was being drawn was a plain one, and should be dealt with. None could deny the existence of an extensive association, with enormous funds at its command, one of the great objects of which was systematically to interfere in the registration of every county in the kingdom. The effect was to marshal every county into two parties—to fight the battle of registration by subscription—and to injure most deeply, as a necessary consequence, those who were unwilling to go to extreme lengths, either on one side or the other, in politics (hear). The matter was not introduced at the present moment, because, as the hon. member had facetiously said, the Corn Law was dead, but they brought it forward to the notice of the house because they saw an association, a vast money-power, such as he had described, interfering in an unconstitutional manner with constitutional rights, and which was either to be left to its evil operation, or to be effectually encountered, to be met by a similar association, thus perpetuating a similar evil (hear, hear). They asked the house to decide the case between them. That was the question before them. As to the resolution passed at Willis's rooms, he had not heard any hon. gentleman on that (the ministerial) side of the house, propose or approve of the adoption of any such system as the creation of false votes (hear, hear). The contest was unfair; on the one side an enormous money power at work, and on the other no such thing (hear, hear).

Mr. E. ELLICE, Jun., understood hon. gentlemen opposite to complain not that it was necessary a battle should be fought, but that the weapons provided were unequal (hear, hear). In the county with which he was connected, the system condemned so loudly existed in full force, but practised by the party in whom the complaint originated. There a Conservative registration association was formed by all the county men, the end sought after being to destroy, as far as was possible, the preponderating power of the reformers,—a wealthy party attempting to suppress freedom of opinion in the district boroughs, which were composed of the poorer

classes (hear, hear). The evil was in Scotland incalculable, for unless assistance was afforded to the poor voters to go 20 miles to the Sheriff's Court, and defend his qualification, his name was struck off the list. If the hon. member for Bute-shire doubted the existence of fictitious votes, he had only to examine the evidence taken before a committee of the house, asked for some years ago by the hon. member for Cokermouth (Mr. Horsman), to convince himself of the fact being as had been stated. It would give him (Mr. Ellice) great gratification to see a corrective measure emanate from the Government.

Mr. BORTHWICK thought that an interference with the registration, in the manner in which the League interfered, could have but one object; that object was, most unquestionably, unconstitutional, and justice demanded that a check should be given to the system. If the electoral body were left alone, its opinions would be more clearly expressed; as it at present was, an unnatural amount of opinion on the wrong side was induced (laughter).

Mr. O'CONNELL wished to say one word only—one word for Ireland (hear, hear). He understood the complaint was that frivolous and vexatious notices of objections were served, necessitating the taking of long journeys by the *bona fide* voters, for the purpose of proving the qualification. Now in Ireland, by the Irish law, it was not necessary to serve such objections, for every voter must go and state his case without any notice whatever. He must travel 20 miles, and in the county which he (Mr. O'Connell) represented, 50, to put his case on record, and if he failed to attend and personally prove his qualification, he could not exercise his right to vote. There was no necessity for any notice of objection; if any body questioned the vote, the case must be heard to the satisfaction of that individual.

Mr. FERRAND.—Is that annually?

Mr. O'CONNELL.—No, not annually; and that was another grievance; for the consequence of the registration system in Ireland was to afford facilities to the committing of fraud; so that the thing was worse. In the county which he represented, in three or four populous parishes there was not a man who could register a vote without travelling fifty miles or more, first, as in a case of ejection, to substantiate his right. And what was the result? He represented a county with a population of 735,000, and only 2300 were on the registry. He stated these things as useful to know in an inquiry. They were evils which, years ago, he had urged in vain to gentlemen on his side of the house. He was not aware if he might entertain a hope of meeting with better success from the powerful party (laughter) on the opposite side; but, if not, he would content himself with having exposed what was, practically, a grievance (hear, hear).

Mr. M. MILNES said, he should not have risen but for the assumption of the hon. member for Liskeard (Mr. C. Buller), who had attempted to lay down the position that the guilt had been equal on both sides of the house, or, if possible, greater on his (Mr. Milnes's) side. This position he disputed. If the protectionist party had chosen to avail themselves of such means, they could have beaten the Anti-Corn-Law League out of the field. One nobleman, in the county in which he lived (Lord Harewood), alone could have done so. But he rejoiced that the laudroids of England had never encouraged so unworthy a practice. The true spirit of the constitution, as to county registration, did imply residence; and he could only say that, if the large sums collected by the Anti-Corn-Law League were devoted to the sole purpose of enabling the farmers of England to give Anti Corn Law votes, it would prove rather an expensive proceeding; it would be difficult for the League to accomplish this object by their half million or quarter of a million of money. It was alleged that this money was to be spent only in facilitating the obtaining of votes. They all knew what facilitating votes was; that it could not be certain that the agents appointed throughout the country would carry on their operations in a legal way; and how the 2000 votes, could have been added to the register of the West Riding of Yorkshire by a fair means he could not understand. He trusted that a remedy for this evil would be provided by the legislature, for in his opinion it was only by a legislative proceeding that any good could be done, and he thought the proposition of his honourable friend the member for Staffordshire would rather embarrass than lead to any good result.

Lord J. RUSSELL said, he had always thought that the serving of hundreds of objections to votes, without inquiring whether there was a ground of objection or not, was a very great abuse, and some years ago he had introduced a bill into the house, providing, as he thought, a remedy—that, wherever an unsuccessful objection was twice made to a vote before the registration court, that vote should not be liable to be again questioned, unless some alteration had been made,—as that the amount had been diminished, or the freehold had been parted with. That was his remedy, and he considered that it was an abuse which ought to be remedied by Parliament. He did not see that it made any difference whether this was done by the Anti-Corn-Law League, or by any other persons. Would hon. gentlemen say that this ought not to be done only because the Anti-Corn-Law League did it. He would not say that this was wrong if done by the Anti-Corn-Law League, and leave it to be done by any other political party. He thought, with the honourable and learned member for Liskeard, that there should be a general remedy, to prevent any party, for any purpose, from interposing vexatious delay and expense, which had the effect of unjustly disfranchising a great number of voters. The hon. and learned member for Bute (Mr. S. Wortley) had alluded to the creation of fictitious votes, and he (Lord J. Russell) believed the practice prevailed nowhere to a greater extent than in Scotland, where men not worth 5s. a year in land voted as if possessed of 10l. a year, and many elections had been carried by such votes, and not by the property in the county. That was a practice which ought to be corrected, and he hoped that whatever remedy should be applied would be a general remedy, and not for any particular purpose, or directed against any particular body. As to parties being encouraged by the Anti-Corn-Law League to purchase freeholds, and to become voters, if, as the hon. member for Bute stated, in Yorkshire, men who had no real property in the county had votes, that was a fraud, and ought to be stopped; but, on the other hand, if a man gained 50l. or 60l. by his own industry, and chose, at the instigation of the Anti-Corn-Law League, or any other body of men, to purchase land, and established his right to a vote, he (Lord J. Russell) said that such a vote was as good as any other (hear). The honourable member for Pontefract (Mr. M. Milnes) had said that freehold votes implied residence; but he (Lord John Russell) denied this, and the right hon. baronet would recollect that, in considering all the points which arose in the discussion on the Reform Bill, that point was well considered, and it

was deliberately determined that the right of non-resident voting had been exercised at all times, and he (Lord John Russell) was always opposed to any plan for disfranchising non-resident voters.

Mr. M. MILNES, in explanation, said he had not denied the right of non-residents to vote, but had said that it was not a constitutional exercise of the franchise.

Mr. HUME said his vote had been objected to for three successive years. He hoped the time had come when there was a disposition in both parties to look fairly at the subject, and that they might have as many votes as possible who were honestly entitled to the franchise; for he was anxious to create protectionist as well as Free Trade voters. With this view, he hoped that, as the matter was before the house, the Government would bring in a bill, as they had ample evidence before them.

Mr. AGLIONBY said, with respect to the crimination and recrimination upon this subject, he thought one party had been as much to blame as the other. The only question to be considered was, whether they should proceed by inquiry, or by bringing in a bill. He hoped that the admissions made on all sides would preclude the necessity of a committee; both sides seemed anxious that a bill should be brought in. But he warned whoever brought in that bill never to attempt to tamper with the registration, which would not remedy the abuse. Much might be done by simplifying the suffrage, and more by extending the suffrage; they would do little good if they did not largely extend the suffrage, stopping not much short of household suffrage. He agreed with the noble lord, that the moment a created vote was actually made it was as good as any other; but supposing the Anti-Corn Law League—he put the supposition in their case not by way of complaint, but of illustration—supposing that or any other body, with large funds at command, were to employ them in procuring votes to a great extent throughout the kingdom. They did not purchase votes, but they persuaded people to purchase votes; so far, so good; but suppose some great body persuaded people to purchase votes, they would get a set of machines for their own purposes. Their object might be good or bad; he believed the object of the Anti-Corn Law League to be a good one: but if it might be employed for a good purpose, it might be abused for a bad one. Every voter so made would be, *pro hac vice*, a mere machine in the hands of the makers, for there could be no guarantee. Was it to be believed that a voter so made would immediately turn round (hear)? Any large body, with money, going through the country, employing their funds for a bad purpose, might put a set of tools upon the register (cries of "no, no")—he did not mean to use the word "tools," and he retracted that word; he meant merely to say that such persons would vote as they were desired to vote. He would legalise votes so largely that there could be no motive to create votes.

Lord EBRINGTON rejoiced to hear what had fallen from the honourable member who had just spoken. He had been anxious to state, with reference to the question of the Corn Laws, a burden which fell upon real property. It was necessary that associations should be formed to defray the expenses which offered an impediment to a poor man buying real property, consisting not only of stamps to the revenue, but lawyers' expenses, owing to legal formalities. An association was obliged to be formed to enable a poor man to obtain what all were desirous he should get.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said he begged to withdraw his motion.

The motion was accordingly, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. C. BERKELEY moved that the following members be upon the select committee on the petition from Cheltenham in favour of a repeal of the Corn Laws:—Mr. Craven Berkeley, Mr. Bright, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. T. Duncombe, Mr. Ferrand, Mr. R. Colborne, Sir R. H. Inglis, Mr. R. Yorke, Mr. Repton, Mr. M. Gibson, Mr. F. Mackenzie, Mr. C. Villiers, Major Beresford, Lord Worsley, and Mr. Bankes. The hon. member begged the members of the Anti-Corn-Law League, who were members of the house, to understand that he was influenced by no motive of hostility to them in moving for this committee. He thought it was a rule, not only in private but in public life, that where fraud or imposition was alleged, it ought to be traced up. Long diatribes had been directed against him, charging him with being actuated in moving for this committee by general hostility towards the honourable member for Durham, because he had moved for a committee on the Game Laws, and other allegations much too contemptible to mention. He utterly denied that he was influenced by hostility to the gentlemen of the League, or to any other person whatever.

Mr. BROTHERTON recollected that another committee, which had done little or no good, had cost the country from 300l. to 400l., and he was afraid that this committee would cause expense without any good whatever.

The motion was agreed to.

ADJOURNED DEBATE.

The house resolved itself into committee of the whole house, Mr. Greene in the chair, and the adjourned debate was resumed.

Mr. G. BANKES said the right honourable baronet had, in a late speech, made an allegation and drawn an inference, in both of which he had reason to believe the right honourable baronet was entirely mistaken. The right honourable baronet had alleged that the honourable member for Somerset (Mr. W. Miles) had said in his place, that he was decidedly in favour of the immediate and entire abolition of the Corn Law in preference to the proposition of the Government. He was not in the house himself at the time when his honourable friend spoke, but hearing that such an inference had been drawn, he asked his honourable friend whether such was the fact, and had been told directly the contrary, and that his honourable friend had not used any words from which such an inference could fairly be drawn. The right honourable baronet proceeded to say that no one of those who sat near the honourable member for Somerset had expressed any dissent from that allegation, but of course they could not have expressed any dissent, if no such allegation was made. His hon. friend was at this time absent, he was happy to say, on account of a joyful occurrence in his family; but with respect to the other absence to which the right hon. baronet did allude, and alluded in the absence of his hon. friend, he was sure the right honourable baronet—who had spoken apparently with some humour as to his having shown the tactics of a skilful leader—would be sorry to hear that it was caused by the death of his nearest relative. He was sure the right honourable baronet was quite unaware of the cause of his honourable friend's absence on the occasion referred to; nor could the right honourable baronet have made the attack on his honourable friend with respect to the part he had taken as to the remission of the duty on grease, if he had remembered all the circumstances of the case. The right honourable baronet said there would be a

great advantage to Ireland in the immediate abolition of the Corn Laws. If that were so, he could not understand why the right honourable baronet, when he found such general assent in that house, did not proceed to open the ports at once, and thus secure the means of affording greater relief to Ireland. The right honourable baronet had said that the reason why the ports were not opened in the first instance was, that if they had been he would not have had the power to shut them again. Why the right honourable baronet should have thought he would not have had that power, with such a majority at his back, he (Mr. G. Banks) did not see. But, at all events, if it were really the fact that Ireland would derive so much greater benefit from such a course, why not open the ports now? The honourable member for Wolverhampton said all the corn that might have been entered for consumption had now been re-exported; but he had made inquiries on this subject, and from a letter he had received from a member of one of the most eminent commercial firms, it appeared that the amount of corn in bond on the 5th of January was 1,075,000 quarters, while at the expiration of a month, on the 5th of February, that quantity had been increased by 168,000 quarters, making a total of 1,243,000. The letter further stated, that the arrival of supplies in this country continued, while the shipment to foreign ports was very trifling. He wished to allude to a statement made by the honourable member for Durham in a former debate, to the effect that the Duke of Rutland had paid, for damages done upon 389 acres of land, the enormous sum of 1000*l*. He had the best authority for saying that this was entirely incorrect, and that the sum was really paid for damage done upon a large estate. Last night the noble lord the member for London, when answering some of the allegations of that (the protectionist) side of the house, with respect to the propriety and expediency of passing this measure in the present Parliament, had, by altering the terms of the argument, gained a great advantage, because he had assumed that the protection party had questioned the competency of the house to deal with this subject. Now that was a very different thing. It might be difficult to question the competency of the house, when it appeared in the elementary books of the constitution that Parliament was omnipotent. But the propriety and expediency of a Parliament dealing with a measure for which there was no necessity might very well be questioned, and particularly when there were circumstances which rendered it inexpedient and improper for the existing Parliament to deal with the measure. If the noble lord would take the words as they were spoken, confining them to expediency and propriety, not competency, it was probable that the noble lord himself would not differ in opinion as to the impropriety of a measure like this being carried by a large majority, every one composing which was pledged to the opposite course (loud cheers, and cries of "no, no"). Well, he would give them the odd number between 97 and 112, and perhaps that would be as many as were specifically pledged. The noble lord had alleged that the peers would regard with greater attention a measure passed by the present Parliament; but how that could be, he (Mr. Banks) could not perceive, when the House of Lords were cognisant, by the votes of the Commons, how often they had recorded an opinion adverse to the measure. He could find no valid reason against the dissolution which had been so often demanded; it would appear indecent in the eyes of the country that the measure should be passed by a majority which had changed their opinions, and he trusted the House of Lords would insist upon appealing to the people, to ascertain whether they really and truly desired the measure, upon the ground that they (the Lords) might be sanctioning that which the constituencies of the country might hereafter repudiate. He preferred even the scheme propounded by the Government to the proposal of the honourable member for Wolverhampton, because, before the proposed term of three years should have expired, an appeal to the constituency would be had. For his own part, he should be satisfied when the voice of England had been really and unequivocally declared (hear, hear); but considering the immense majority that had been sent to Parliament against the principle involved in this measure—larger, he believed, than upon any specific question before—he had no reason to suppose that the people had changed their mind—unless, indeed, he was to be guided by the petitions; and the house had already had specimens of the manner in which they were got up (hear, hear). The honourable member concluded by expressing his sense of the importance of the alteration proposed to be made in the law of settlement, which he hoped would very shortly be laid on the table.

SIR ROBERT PEEL said that there was one part of the speech of his honourable friend which had surprised him very much. In the course of the few observations he (Sir Robert Peel) had made the other night, he had assumed that the honourable member for Somerset had intimated the opinion that immediate repeal, if the Corn Laws were to be altered at all—not expressing that opinion abstractedly in favour of repeal, but assuming that the Corn Law was to be extensively altered—was preferable to deferred repeal. He (Sir Robert Peel) had assumed that, first, because he thought he had heard with his own ears the honourable member utter that opinion (hear, hear), and had observed him turn round to honourable gentlemen in his neighbourhood, and receive, as he (Sir R. Peel) thought, their assent. He had assumed this likewise, because he had put that construction upon the speech in the presence of the honourable member for Somerset himself. He (Sir R. Peel) had spoken two nights after the honourable gentleman had put that construction upon his words, and the honourable member permitted him to do so without dissenting in the slightest degree from that construction, nor had any other honourable member intimated that there was any mistake in it. Those were the circumstances, and yet he now heard that he had made a complete mistake, for not only had the hon. member for Somerset not expressed his preference for immediate repeal, but was in favour of the Government measure. He owned he had never been in greater error.

Mr. BANKES shortly explained.

Mr. BRIGHT repeated his statement regarding the sum paid by the Duke of Rutland for damage done by game; adding that the estate to which he had alluded was near Bakewell, in Derbyshire, and comprised about 3700 acres.

Mr. C. W. HOWARD shortly expressed his intention to support the Government measure. He had no faith in the predictions of injury to result to the farmers; and he had that reliance upon the skill, industry, and perseverance of those in the north of England, which assured him that they would find in the general prosperity of the country a better protection than any the legislature could give. With respect to the question immediately before the house, he regretted that the right hon. gentleman had not taken the

advice of the noble lord, for he thought that farmers had now had sufficient experience of attempts to raise their prices, and that there never was a time more favourable for the repeal of the Corn Laws (hear, hear).

SIR JOHN HAMMER strongly deprecated the protraction of the debate, as being most prejudicial to the country (hear, hear). If he could look upon the question purely abstractedly, his vote would be for total and immediate repeal; but he was bound to look at the practical position of the Government in dealing with the subject; and therefore, although his constituents were most anxious for total repeal, and he had presented petitions from the town he represented, from their town council and chamber of commerce, for that measure, he felt it right to dissent from them in this respect, and he should give his cordial support to the Government (hear, hear).

Mr. MOFFATT said he had no explanations to give, having been recently sent to that house to support every relaxation in the Corn Law. He warned the protectionists against the course they were taking in delaying this question, as being detrimental to their own interests as well as those of commerce. Let them look at the corn markets of the kingdom, and they would see everything now paralysed, and a vast amount of capital locked up. He put it to them if they were acting wisely.

Mr. FINCH did not mean to say that he approved of the Government proposal, but he preferred it to that of the hon. member for Wolverhampton, for he would, at least, maintain the three years' modicum of protection, for if during that time any great distress should occur, the legislature would have the opportunity of retracing their steps. He contended that under the protective system the agricultural interests had prospered to a most remarkable extent in this country, and that the practice and science of agriculture had of late years progressed to an unexampled degree. He ventured to assert, and he said it advisedly, that in the whole world there was no other country so well cultivated as England (hear, hear). The English breed of cattle was decidedly the best in Europe, as was attested by the fact that the agricultural societies of Belgium, Prussia, and France were continually in the habit of sending over to this country for animals to improve their own stock; and our soil was tilled with a degree of taste, science, and skill, no parallel to which was to be found in other lands (hear, hear). All this was the work of the industrious tenant farmers of England; and he must say that he thought it was a little too hard that not only were their interests to be disregarded, but that their reputation should be run away with as it had been by honourable members on the other side of the house, and that they should be spoken of as though they were nothing better than lazy drones (hear, hear, hear). With respect to the contemplated abolition of the protective system, he would convey his opinion of it in a very few words, by observing that he regarded it as the most ruinous measure that had ever been introduced into that house. Its consequences would prove to be most disastrous to the farmers; for let hon. gentlemen disguise the fact as they might, there could be no doubt but that the immediate and inevitable result would be to throw our ports open for such an inundation of foreign corn as would completely glut the market, and render it impossible for the home grower to enter into competition with the farmers of the Continent (hear, hear). He regarded the ministerial scheme as objectionable enough in all conscience, but he was yet more strenuously opposed to the proposition of the honourable member for Wolverhampton. The indecent haste with which, even under the ministerial system of proceeding, they were hurrying the measure for the abolition of the Corn Laws through the house, had already excited the indignation of the country (loud laughter); but if the honourable member's motion for immediate repeal were carried, the consequences would be yet more calamitous, and the indignation of the country still greater. What a moment they had chosen to propose this measure, when the question of peace or war with America was trembling in the balance ("hear, hear," from the protectionists). When it was important to secure the loyalty of the Canadian people, they treated them with injustice and contumely; and it would not be surprising if they should exhibit towards this country a measure of indignation greater even than that expressed by the insulted British agriculturists (cheers from the protectionists). He complained of the manner in which this measure had been hurried on. He conceived that, in the first instance, they should have the financial statement laid before them. From the language held by the right honourable baronet in former times, it was to be expected by the agriculturists, if a change of this kind took place, that the malt tax would be abolished (hear, hear). It was desirable, therefore, to see the financial statement, to ascertain whether these hopes could be realised (hear). If compensation to the extent of 500,000*l*. was to be given to the agriculturists—if 500,000*l*. were to be voted to the navy—if money was to be granted for Ireland, and about half a million more for other purposes—he did not think, when they came to wind up the accounts of the next quarter, there would be a surplus of two and a half millions of revenue over expenditure. Therefore, there was a greater chance that there would be an increase of taxation at the end of three years, than that an expectation could be held out that the malt tax would be taken off ("hear, hear," from the protectionists). It should be recollected that they were in a precarious state with regard to America, and he conceived it to be one of the maddest schemes that ever was thought of to propose to open the ports and establish a Free Trade with the chance of a war taxation (hear, hear, from the protectionists). The consequence would be that they would have a ten per cent. property-tax, a house-tax, and a beer-tax (hear). However, if a measure of the kind were to be passed, he would prefer the measure as brought forward by the right hon. baronet to the measure proposed by the amendment (hear, hear).

Mr. WARD was understood to say, that not one syllable of the speech of the honourable gentleman who had just sat down, with the exception of the last sentence, bore on the question before the house (laughter). This was particularly hard on the house. The hon. gentleman had an opportunity of being heard in the course of the debate; but it would seem that he then forgot one-half of his arguments, that the other half occurred to him afterwards, and that he took this opportunity of inflicting it upon the house (laughter). Some of the honourable gentleman's commercial principles were so untenable and so unsound, that it was impossible to avoid giving them a reply; but in referring to them, he (Mr. Ward) should abstain as much as possible from going at present into any other part of the subject. When the honourable gentleman talked of the repeal of the malt tax as a boon to the agricultural interest, let it be recollected that ninety-nine parts of a hundred of that tax were paid by the consumer at present. But if they repealed the malt-

tax, they must substitute a property-tax, and let them recollect how much of that would go out of the pocket of the farmers ("hear, hear," from the Opposition.) Yet that was one of the boons that the farmers' friends wished to confer on them (cheers from the Opposition). There was a Spanish proverb, "God preserve me from my friends;" and it might be said by the farmers, God preserve us from the friendship of the honourable gentlemen who talked of the repeal of the malt tax as a boon to us (Opposition cheers and laughter). The honourable gentleman had said that this Parliament was utterly incompetent to decide this question. Now, what the Reform Bill did for the rotten boroughs the present measure would do for the Corn Laws. There was, however, this difference between them; for six years this question has been discussed; now facts were every day forcing themselves upon the common sense of both sides of the house, leaving the Parliament free to legislate on this subject (hear). He (Mr. Ward) would now come to the question of his honourable friend (Mr. Villiers), and he would confess that he never gave a vote on any subject with more difficulty and doubt than he felt on this subject. He entirely concurred in every word of the wise and statesmanlike speech that was delivered on the preceding night by his noble friend the member for London (Lord John Russell). If he (Mr. Ward) thought that his vote would endanger the present bill, or that by giving it he would run any risk of depriving the country of the great benefit which had been placed within its reach by the measure of the Government, he would not vote for his honourable friend's amendment (cries of hear, hear, hear). He told him in the first instance, if the right honourable baronet said he would be no longer responsible for the success of the measure if an amendment of this sort for immediate repeal were carried, he (Mr. Ward) would, for one, take the measure of the Government. He had no sort of influence pressing on him from outside, for his constituents were satisfied with the measure which the Government had proposed, and were anxious to see it carried out. But he (Mr. Ward) formed his opinion solely on grounds that had presented themselves to him in that house. If he saw, on the part of honourable gentlemen opposite, the slightest disposition to meet on a middle ground, and not to carry on the most factious opposition that he had ever seen during his experience in that house (hear, hear, from the Opposition)—if he saw any intention on their part to regard the decision of the other night as a final decision on this subject, then he would say he would give the measure of the Government all the support he could. But when he looked to the conduct of the honourable members opposite, he found a justification for voting for the amendment of his honourable friend (Mr. Villiers), for he saw they looked upon the decision of the house as nothing, and that they would be satisfied with nothing less than a fresh appeal to the constituencies (hear, hear, hear). Had those who concurred with his honourable friend any right to abandon one half of the position they now occupied when such extreme opinions were urged by gentlemen on the opposite side of the house (hear, hear)? When they said that for three years this was to be the constant theme of agitation, and that nothing but an appeal to the constituencies would satisfy them, those who concurred with his honourable friend (Mr. Villiers) were bound to keep the ground they had at present (cheers from the Opposition). And though his (Mr. Ward's) noble friend, the member for London, acting on a high and honourable feeling, felt himself bound, after what had passed with an august personage, to take the Government measure in preference to any other, he (Mr. Ward) held that, as an independent member of that house, who concurred with the Anti-Corn-Law League, and thought they had done inestimable service to the country—he was equally bound to follow his honourable friend (Mr. Villiers) in the course he proposed to take to make the repeal immediate (cheers). He (Mr. Ward) did not pass the whole week in that house. He passed a portion of the week in a less heated atmosphere than he breathed there. He mixed with men in the country who had nothing to do with their party questions, and he could say that the tenant farmers in many parts of England—men who differed with him for the last 10 years on this question of protection—were now all rejoicing at the largeness of the majority by which the question was decided; for they said they hoped this would settle it (hear, hear). They said they trusted they would not have an agitation kept up for three years—that they would not have to endure that protracted uncertainty, but that they would be looking—not to a dissolution, or to a new battle to be fought—but to Michaelmas next, like practical sober men as they are, to enter into new arrangements with their landlords to meet the new state of things that had arisen from the proceedings in that house (cheers from the Opposition). That was the general feeling that prevailed almost everywhere through the country, amongst men who were not tainted by the atmosphere they breathed in that house, who did not spend their time in clubs discussing those questions, or in ransacking *Hansard* for quotations from speeches, to prove a thing that was admitted, that the opinions of public men on the Corn Laws had undergone a change (hear). It was said by some of the honourable gentlemen opposite, "If we are to have the repeal, let us have it at once." A great many of them said so; he had the pleasure to hear that opinion generally expressed; but "a change came o'er the spirit of their dream" (laughter), and they did not now recollect the sentiments they had expressed but a few weeks ago (loud cries of "hear, hear"). If they would consult their own interests, get rid of the party feeling that influenced them, and look at the question in a plain and practical point of view, they would see that the worst service they could do themselves, as landowners, was to keep this question open (hear, hear). By doing so they had been literally cutting their own throats, and the result would prove that those with whom he (Mr. Ward) acted were right, and that the gentlemen opposite were wrong. Let honourable gentlemen opposite remember, that in all their future arrangements with their tenants their own speeches would be quoted against them (laughter and cheers from the Opposition). For instance, their tenantry might hereafter say to the members for South Durham and Somersetshire, and to other honourable members—"You told us that we should be all destroyed; root and branch, that we had no chance of competing with the Poles, and other foreigners—that English capital and science would go for nothing—how then can you expect men to enter upon a competition which you yourselves proclaim to be so unfair that the race is decided before it is run" (hear, hear). From his (Mr. Ward's) experience, he felt convinced that the people were inclined to say let bygones be bygones; and were desirous to have this question settled without any unnecessary or protracted delay (hear, hear). That was the plain question on which they had to give their votes, and that was the ground on which he would give his vote in favour of his honourable

friend's amendment. He did not think he risked the measure of the Government by giving that vote. If he thought so, he would vote in favour of the Government measure, for he thought it would be a great boon; but it would better answer its own ends if it at once came into operation (hear, hear). He, therefore, would record his opinion in favour of the amendment of his hon. friend (cheers).

Mr. LIDDELL said, the two grounds on which the proposition of the honourable member for Wolverhampton were sustained were these:—first, that there was an impending famine in Ireland, and that an additional supply of food was necessary for that country; and secondly, that considering the state of the corn in the whole universe, and that no superfluity of corn existed anywhere, and also considering the failure of the potato crop, and that the price of the Continental market was more equalised with the market in this country than at any other period, it was a safer thing now on the part of the agricultural interest to consent to the immediate repeal of the Corn Laws than to wait for three years, when they would have greater difficulties to contend with, and when greater preparation would be made in the foreign market to send in supplies of corn to this country. Now, with regard to the question of the alleged impending famine in Ireland, he (Mr. Liddell) said, for himself, and he might say the same thing for those who surrounded him, that if the Government came forward and said it was necessary to provide against that danger, the gentlemen on his side of the house would have no objection to suspend the Corn Law, for the purpose of removing that danger (hear, hear, hear). He was sure they would consent to any modification or suspension of the law that would have the effect of removing evils of so disastrous a nature as were said to be apprehended in Ireland; but the Government, on whom the responsibility rested, had taken a different view of the subject, and they had not called for the suspension of the law or the immediate repeal of the law on any such ground (hear, hear). They considered, no doubt, that in calling for a supply of public money to be expended on public works in Ireland, and taking the measures they had adopted to give an additional supply of food to the people of that country, they had done their best to guard against the impending evil (hear, hear, hear). He could not consent to an immediate repeal of the Corn Laws from any apprehension of the danger of famine in Ireland. With regard to the second point, as to the deficiency of a supply of corn in the Continental markets, and the assimilation of prices which now existed in the markets of this country and the Continent, he would only say that this point, considered by itself on this narrow ground, would, *per se*, be a strong argument in favour of the motion of the honourable member for Wolverhampton. This consideration, however, no doubt received the attention of her Majesty's Government, because they adopted their present proposition of moderate protection. But no one would tell him that they could not get a large supply from those countries at low prices in average years. He had been informed that they could get as much wheat shipped from the Baltic at the lowest possible freights, and, as an instance of this, he had been informed that wheat had been conveyed from Bremen to Newcastle at a shilling a quarter (a cry of "No"). He had this from unquestionable authority, and he was satisfied that the statement was true. The reason of this low charge of freight was, that coal was taken out to the Baltic, and wheat was brought in return, rather than let the ship return in ballast. He did not attempt to derive any important consequence from this, but he merely stated it as a fact. Under all the circumstances of the case, he thought that it was proper that before repeal there should be two or three years experience as to what would be the character of the foreign corn trade, so that ample opportunities would be afforded of making arrangements between landlords and tenants, and above all for the sake of those of the latter class holding leases. He should also oppose the amendment, as the Government proposition appeared to adhere more nearly than that did to the principle of protection.

Mr. HUTT wished to correct a geographical error into which his honourable friend had fallen. His honourable friend stated that Bremen was on the Baltic, whereas it was much nearer to this country.

An Hon. Member on the protectionist bench asked where it was.

Mr. HUTT replied, that if he was rightly informed Bremen was situated on the Elbe, which fell, not into the Baltic, but into the North Sea or German Ocean. If such a proceeding as had been referred to had taken place, the ship must have been on a voyage of discovery, and was glad to take in any cargo. He must, therefore, congratulate his hon. friend on the discovery of a mare's nest.

Mr. PETER BORTHWICK was anxious that this debate should be protracted, as he wished to hear more reasons from the Treasury bench than he had hitherto heard, which operated to induce the Government to make such a great change. He had the authority of Mr. McCulloch, in his work on taxation, published in the year 1845, for stating that the injurious influence of the Corn Laws had been most stupidly and factiously exaggerated. Before hon. gentlemen had asked him to agree with them in favour of Free Trade, they should have shown him that other countries with which Free Trade was proposed to be established were as heavily taxed as England. It was said that the principle of Free Trade was common sense, but while he admitted that such was the case in the abstract, he felt that this country was placed in such a highly artificial state that such abstract principles could not be made applicable to her. The trade of Great Britain stood shackled on the right hand by domestic taxation, and on the left by foreign tariffs. There never was a grosser insult to the doctrines of Free Trade than the assertion that the abolition of protective duties by England under her peculiar circumstances, while they were maintained by other European nations, was deserving of that name. He would rather be convinced by one year's practical experience, than by all the arguments which he had heard from the right hon. baronet, and he would therefore have given his support to the Government if the proposition had been an immediate but temporary opening of the ports to meet the distress existing in Ireland. The hon. member for Stockport had told them (the protectionists) to study political economy, but he found that there was not a single writer on that science who sanctioned the present policy of the Free Traders. They all agreed with the noble lord the member for the city of London, that it was absolutely necessary for every sound and wise government to sustain a preponderating influence in favour of land. Absolute Free Trade was a dogma of the Anti-Corn-Law League alone, and until some other authority was shown to him in its favour, he should decline recording his vote in favour of it.

Mr. HUME, amidst some cries for a division, said he must say a few words in reply to the honourable member who had just sat down. The honourable member for Durham (Mr. Bright) had congratulated himself that protection was dead and buried; but it seemed to have risen again, not exactly like a giant refreshed, in the person of the honourable member for Evesham (laughter). That honourable member, amongst many other curious observations, had said that not one of the writers upon political economy, had written upon the policy of the right hon. baronet. How the deuce could they write upon it (laughter)? The right hon. baronet, much to his (Mr. Hume's) satisfaction had come forward with a most comprehensive plan, and he did not at all wonder that the honourable member had not been able to find in his library (a laugh) any authority upon the subject. Protection, said the honourable member, was considered robbery by no one. He (Mr. Hume) asserted that protection was robbery; and that the landed interest would never have been able to have imposed additional and unnatural prices upon the food of all the other classes in the state, if the House of Commons had not formerly been composed of agricultural proprietors (hear, hear). Until a few years ago no individual could sit in that house unless he had a qualification in land; and it was not to be wondered at that agricultural proprietors should have established the doctrine when the power was exclusively in their own hands. This, however, was not the question. The question was, whether the laws of this country should be equal, and whether there was any justice in permitting one class—those who possessed the land—to tax all the other classes. This was the effect of protection; and therefore he denied the justice of protection. The whole object of the right honourable baronet's policy was to remove this injustice, and to give to all classes equal rights with regard to food. This measure would not lower prices, but it would equalise them all over Europe. Ninety years ago, when the ports of Holland were free, the average price of wheat was upwards of 47s. 6d., from which there was not much, if any, variation in England. He had a right to expect that as improvements took place, prices throughout the world would be cheaper; and why should not England be placed in the same situation? He did not believe they would fall more in England than elsewhere, and he was certain we should have our food at the same prices as other countries. And why should we not? Was it just to see every year fifty millions of exports, created by our artisans, and those artisans obliged to pay higher prices for their provisions than those of any other country in the world whose products came into competition with theirs in foreign markets? The artisans of England, of France, of Belgium, and of America, would, by this measure, be placed as nearly as possible upon the same footing as regarded food. The labour of our workmen, therefore, would find its reward in neutral markets: thus the country would be benefited, whilst our artisans would not suffer from inequalities in the price of food (hear, hear). The late debate had exhibited, as it appeared to him, an amount of selfishness which he did not suppose to exist among gentlemen on the opposite benches. The house had heard of nothing from them but an anxiety for the landed interest, as if they paid all the taxes necessary for the support of Government, whilst they paid only a fraction. But he would ask whether it was becoming in them to wish to put their hands into the pockets of every other class, which he contended they did. He might be told that this was an unfair statement; but he was prepared to support it. The income tax of five millions annually was assessed upon 200 millions of property. Of those 200 millions, the whole land of England was assessed at only 32 millions, manufactures at 41 millions, and trade at 50 millions. Yet, although the land was assessed at less than trade or manufactures, the claim was made that all the other interests should pay to it a higher price for their food. He would now come to the immediate question, as to how he should vote, this evening. He looked upon the measure of the right hon. baronet as a comprehensive scheme. It was not confined to corn, but it embraced the whole tariff, except a few articles. It was a greater, more extensive, and more useful scheme than he had anticipated, and he was not willing to risk, in any way, its failure. He had, therefore, determined to vote with the right hon. baronet, whose measure he would take now, and see how much more he could get afterwards (derisive cheers from the protectionists). He advised his hon. friends near him to adopt the language which was used when the Reform Bill was before that house, and take the measure, the whole measure, and nothing but the measure (hear, hear). He was sorry he could not on this occasion vote for the amendment, but he should not be considered the less a Free Trader, for he had supported every proposition made for the abolition of the Corn Laws. He still believed also that total and immediate repeal would be the best course in every way; but fearing that any attempt at interference might risk the whole arrangement, he should give his support to the measure proposed by the right hon. baronet.

Lord G. BENTINCK said the honourable gentleman (Mr. Hume) had asserted the landed interest could not be content with their fair share in the Government of the country. If they had their fair share of it, there would be very little doubt how the measure now under discussion would go in that house (protectionist cheers). If the honourable member meant to say the landed interest wished not to bear their share of the burdens of the country, he (Lord George Bentinck) could easily show that so far from not bearing their fair share of the taxes, they bore a much larger proportion than their fair share (cheers from the protectionist benches). The honourable member said the landed interest was assessed to the income-tax at 32 millions. He (Lord G. Bentinck) believed it was assessed at more, and that 37 millions was the amount. Then it paid fifty-two hundredths of all the poor rates, whilst the others paid but forty-two hundredths. With regard to the motion now before the house, whether they should consent to an immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, or accept the proposal of her Majesty's Government, he took leave to say that his honourable friends around him had been much misapprehended on this subject. It had been alleged that his honourable friend (Mr. Miles) had stated on behalf of the agricultural interest, that the farmers of England would prefer an immediate repeal to a repeal in three years, as proposed by the right honourable baronet. This was correct, but his hon. friends did not consider repeal quite so certain at the end of three years (cheers from the protectionists). They might receive "a heavy blow and great discouragement" in the desertion of their leaders. They had been told by the noble lord (Lord John Russell) that if he had accepted the Government, he would have been in a minority of 40. He could assure his noble friend that he (Lord G. Bentinck) cordially concurred in the accuracy of that statement, for being in London during the short interregnum which had occurred,

he must say that this was just the sort of sentiment of many gentlemen who voted differently now, whose support his noble friend would not have received. And, perhaps, if the country were appealed to now, gentlemen would be returned of the same mind as when her Majesty made the appeal in 1841 (protectionist cheers). They (the protectionists) had received a check, and had been repulsed for a moment, but they did not think themselves half beaten yet. Napoleon used to say the English army never knew when it was beaten; and he (Lord George Bentinck) trusted the same result would be found with his honourable friends (much cheering from the protectionists). It might be through ignorance, but it was still their intention to fight the battle from pillar to post; and if they were defeated again, as they were on Saturday morning, they would retreat and rally their forces (cheers). They would carry this question before the country; they would keep in the minds of the constituencies the manner in which honourable gentlemen round the Treasury bench had discharged the trust reposed in them; and he thought, before they had done, they should drive her Majesty's ministers to have recourse again to the opinions of the people (renewed cheers from the protectionist benches). They did not despair of eventual success (hear, hear); and this was the reason why it was perfectly consistent with the opinions of the farmers and the landed interest of England that it was better to have an immediate repeal than total repeal at the end of three years. They knew that in the interval the members of that house must be returned to the people, and they hoped to restore things to what they were before (protectionist cheers). With respect to the prices of corn, which had been referred to, he would quote a few figures from Porter's tables derived from the *Prussian Royal Gazette*. For the 18 years, from 1820 to 1837 inclusive, the average price of corn in the ports of Prussia was 25s. a quarter; and if the freight to London was taken at 6s. more, the price would be 31s.; but in the course of that long period there were five consecutive years, from 1833 to 1837, when the average price was but 29s., and five other years, from 1823 to 1827, when the average price was 20s. 1d. (cries of "hear, hear"). These figures (said the noble lord) show that wheat can be imported at a very low price when the Corn Laws are entirely repealed. I have other communications, one from Mr. Taylor, from Yorkshire, who has been 40 years in the corn trade, and whose respectability, I have no doubt, my noble friend opposite (Lord Morpeth) will confirm. He says he has purchased beans at 10s. 6d., oats at 7s. 6d. to 8s., and wheat at from 18s. to 23s. a quarter at Hamburg. Another statement, in confirmation of my honourable friend, the member for Northumberland, is from Mr. Goater, who has been 40 years in the trade (hear). He says he has purchased in Holstein several thousand quarters of good wheat, as fine as could be grown, at prices varying from 18s. to 21s. 6d. Freight was 3s. 6d. a quarter. Taking the highest price at 24s. 6d., it will be clear to the farmers at what sort of price wheat can be brought into competition with his. There is another paper from Norfolk, from Messrs. Reardon and Co. In the very last year they say they purchased 807 quarters in Hainault, at 26s. 4d. Taking all expenses at 6s would give the price here at 32s. 4d.; and that is the price at which, in June last, wheat weighing 62½ lbs. to the bushel was imported into the port of London. If gentlemen will take the trouble to add the present duty of 17s. to the cost of that corn at Mark Lane, they will find the importers can afford to pay the 17s. duty, and clear 14s. profit (cheers from the protectionists, and cries of "no, no," from the Opposition). I challenge any honourable gentleman to disprove that statement. Well, then, is not that a pretty strong proof that, according to the measure introduced by the Government, who think so much of taxing the people, and who pretend that even if the people of Ireland were starving they could not think of coming to this house and asking the people of this country to pay 17s. a quarter on foreign wheat, it is clear into whose hands the difference between a 4s. and a 17s. duty will go (protectionist cheers)? I am going now to refer to a fellow labourer of mine, one of your committee, who, to get up a little diversion (though I can't exactly see what it has to do with the subject), stated the damage paid for by the Duke of Rutland on the score of game. It is right I should inform the house that the witness in question was a Quaker (much laughter). I entertain no disrespect to the order of Quakers; but so great was the aversion of this gentleman to shedding blood, that he went even farther than those gentlemen at Reading, who were disinclined to thank the British army for their services in India (expressions of disapprobation). Though this gentleman admitted the Duke of Rutland to be a kind man, that he would not allow a poor man on his estate to want for anything (protectionist cheers), though he admitted he was a nobleman who could not find it in his heart to turn off a farmer, though he was a bad one, because his ancestors had long been on the estate (renewed cheers)—but still this gentleman had such an aversion to bloodshed, that he could not for the life of him understand what possible delight could be taken in spilling the blood of partridges and pheasants (laughter); and such was his prejudice on the question of damage, that he could not see anything in the true light, for he went the length of saying that the damage done by game, even to meadow land, was 30s. an acre (renewed laughter); and when I took the liberty of cross-examining him I found that the land itself was letting for 25s. an acre (cheers from the protectionists). I can inform the honourable gentleman also, on the authority of my noble friends the sons of the Duke of Rutland, that he was not satisfied with a valuation of 9541. in 1848, and of 9541. in 1841, and having appointed new valuers, they set down the damage at 200l. or 300l. I trust, then, I have answered my fellow labourer in the game committee as to the charge which he brought the other evening (loud cheers from the protectionists).

Mr. COBDEN—The speech of the noble lord illustrates the narrow spirit in which this debate has been conducted; for half of it was consumed in showing how cheap corn would be if the present duty was abolished, and the other half in reference—I believe a disorderly reference—to the proceedings of a committee which has not yet reported (hear, hear). I pass over the very courteous reference to my honourable friend the member for Durham, and I shall say again, what I before urged as to the first part of the noble lord's speech, that those announcements will be received by the people with great exultation, mingled with some indignation at the present amount of injustice which has been practised on them by preventing them hitherto from having the corn they want as cheaply as it could be supplied (Opposition cheers). The noble lord says foreign corn can be imported at 31s. to 32s. a quarter. But he is underbid. The hon. member for Sunderland says he purchased it for 25s. (hear, hear, and a laugh). And I believe

there is not a railway navigator who is not now determined that when corn can be imported free of duty he will have all his supplies from the honourable member for Sunderland (much laughter, in which Mr. Hudson joined). Now, Sir, the question before the house is a very narrow one, and I promise not to deviate from the strict discussion of it—it is whether there shall be an immediate repeal of all duties, or whether they should be abolished at the end of three years. Now I would say, in reference to the motion of my honourable friend the member for Wolverhampton, that I think it unfortunate he should have brought it forward at this time; but I believe there is no other way, consistently with the forms of the house, in which it could be brought forward—it must be taken now or not at all (hear, hear). I believe if this discussion had come at a period when the temper of the house was in a better state for calmly considering the proposition, and when those below the gangway are more reconciled to the inevitable passing of the right hon. gentleman's measure—I believe there would be an unanimous feeling in favour of immediate, as contradistinguished from deferred repeal (hear). I don't include amongst those who would receive such a proposition with satisfaction, the land agents. Most of the men paraded at various protection societies as farmers are land agents ("No," from the protectionists). I have paid some attention to your proceedings, and I repeat that the generality of your speakers have been land agents or auctioneers. I have been at meetings in almost every county, and when I have asked one of your professed farmers whether he was not a land agent, the burst of laughter which followed instantly, confirmed my suspicion (hear, hear). Land agents and auctioneers have a sinister interest in delaying the immediate settlement of this question, for from the failures and embarrassments amongst the farmers they derive some of their emoluments. But I challenge any honourable gentleman, who is a representative of farmers in this house, to get up and say that the farmers do not prefer immediate to postponed repeal (cheers). Then what is the ground for resisting this motion put forward by those opposite—that the question is not to be settled by the division we are now about to take? If anything could justify my honourable friend's motion it is the assertion that the battle is not now decided (hear, hear, hear). The noble lord says his party is not thoroughly beaten; that they will keep up the fight from post to pillar, and from pillar to post. The noble lord says that Napoleon exclaimed as to the English, "they know not when they are beaten." But I must remind the noble lord that it is by Englishmen and not Frenchmen that he and his party have now been beaten (much Opposition cheering). This declaration, then, is a strong confirmation of the motion of my honourable friend. What is the object of that motion? That we should keep the same position, the same impregnable position by which we have been enabled to beat, and soundly beat, the noble lord and his party (cheers). The honourable member for Montrose chides us for supporting this motion, and says that we are thereby disuniting our friends. On the contrary, that motion is founded on the bond of our union (cheers). I say this with deference; for no man has more right to speak on this question than my honourable friend the member for Montrose, who fought the battles of Free Trade in this house long before it was the fashion to do so; and I for one can never consent to rob him of the laurels to which he is justly entitled. But I ask him now to say whether the question of Free Trade would ever have occupied the position in this house it now does, if it were not for the Free Trade organisation out of doors (cheers and counter cheers)? The honourable gentleman must have too keen a recollection of the unseemly sounds which greeted his ears when he ventured to utter the name of corn, not to be satisfied that it is only by the powerful organisation, founded on open discussion, out of doors, that the question of the Corn Laws ever obtained a fair hearing in this house. And now, if we depart from the principle which we have hitherto maintained, and which alone has enabled us to hold together, if anything could arise which would have the effect of disbanding and dispersing us, that the people should lose their confidence in those who hitherto guided them, and that that wholesome pressure from without which regulated the views of many in this house, were withdrawn—I ask, if such a state of things were to arise, what chance would there be of your carrying your Free Trade measures to a successful issue (hear, hear, and cheers)? Well, then, my honourable friend is entitled to the thanks of the Free Traders out of doors for having brought forward this motion, and everything which has occurred in the debate has justified his determination. It was already said by the honourable member for Dartmouth that everybody who had spoken approved of the motion. All are about to vote against it—some on one ground, some on another—but not on the ground that we are wrong. Now, I say, when we are right in principle, we can never be wrong in the eyes of the country (loud cheers). The noble lord the member for the city of London takes exception to this motion, because he could not do anything that would endanger the measure of the right honourable gentleman at the head of the Government (hear, hear). In the first place, I don't see there is any such danger, seeing all the gentlemen opposite (the protectionists) are in favour of the retention of the duty for three years, avowedly on the ground that they hope to keep it on in perpetuity or to recover their last protection. Now I beg to ask my friends around me, has the right honourable gentleman given us any guarantee that he will secure his proposal shall pass into a law? I perfectly understand the cautious hint thrown out at an early part of this discussion, that the right hon. gentleman is less able now than he might have been at a former period, to predict what will be the fate of the measure in another place, and if I understand the language of those below the gangway, they look to the rejection of this measure elsewhere. Now, seeing the right hon. gentleman does not and cannot give us any guarantee that the measure will pass into a law, we are not in a position to entertain the question of surrendering up the principle which has united us out of doors, and enabled us to occupy the position in which we now stand (cheers). I admit the measure of Government to be very little inferior in principle to that which we advocate. I will not for one moment attempt to undervalue its importance (cheers). I have stated out of doors what I now repeat, that it gives us 17s. 6d. in the pound, and that we have good security for the other half crown. I said that neither the Free Traders nor their leaders desired the least obstruction to the passing of that measure. The right hon. gentleman has played agitation by his proposal. The country is tranquil. The country is in suspense, waiting the passing of this measure; but the country is only waiting to see if the measure can be passed (loud cheers). The question is now transferred to the arena of this and of another house, to be finally disposed of. I will say this as to out doors' agitation, that if

the measure was passed and acquiesced in it would be impossible to maintain or excite any intense agitation against the law (cheers). Now, I am perfectly frank (hear, hear). The law would have little more than two-and-a-half years to run, and the English, who are a practical people, would say, "What is the use of creating an agitation as to a principle which is acknowledged in the act; the act provides for the extinction of all duties, and though we would prefer that this should be done at once, yet before an agitation could be excited, so as to tell at an election, the law will have expired" (hear). But you (the protectionists) have placed things on a totally different footing. You have justified what I thought a somewhat impetuous remark of my honourable friend the member for Durham. You have rendered the course we propose imperative. You tell us you will not pass this measure if you can, and if it is forced on you, that you will go to another election to undo it. I say that is the desperate course announced by 100 gentlemen opposite (cries of "more"). No, I don't think you are more (cheers). But there are 100 of you determined in the desperate course of taking any steps consistent with the forms of the house, and consistent with honour, not only to frustrate this measure—which you cannot do—but also at the first convenient opportunity to place the Government in a minority (cheers from the protectionists). I see danger to the right honourable baronet's measure in that, and I can foresee, too, the chances of some little delay in another place. There are motions now on the paper which, if brought on during the progress of this measure, may throw the right honourable baronet into a minority (loud protectionist cheering). I can see the possibility of Government being out of office before its measure passes through this house (cheers again). I do not know whether their tenure of office be worth six weeks or two months' purchase (enthusiastic protectionist cheers). But still I do not see the policy of the course you are adopting in your attempts to turn the right hon. baronet out. However, that is your business, not mine. Mine is to keep this question wholly out of your power and your reach to touch it. I say that this question with the country is safe. While we are united in principle, no power on earth can prevent us from carrying the total abolition of the Corn Laws (hear, hear). And it is because I foresee danger—because I foresee a course of factious policy adopted towards the present ministers—a course to which I for one will not lend myself (cheers)—it is because I see in all these insidious amendments, and in the amendments spoken of in another place, not only so many dangers, traps, and pitfalls laid for this measure—it is, therefore, I say, that I am anxious we should preserve ourselves intact with the country; and if you (addressing the protectionists), if you do defeat this measure, nay, alter or even tamper with it, then will we fall back upon the country ten times stronger than before (loud cheers). After the division upon this question I shall support the ministry—support them cordially, heartily—I shall not be absent from a division or a debate; and now I shall say to honourable gentlemen opposite, to those who, because they have taken an enlightened view of the interests of the country, have greatly, I doubt it not, to the sacrifice of their own feelings, given their support to the measure of Government, when they see that with us of the Free Trade party there is no disposition to obstruct, but every disposition to assist them—that our policy is formed to attain the end which they as well as we have in view—then I would express to them my hopes that if we unite cordially, and if any accident should cause a dissolution, I say, I hope we shall find that those honourable gentlemen opposite who have stood by Government, will, more particularly when they have ascertained that this attempt to conciliate the protectionists by granting them a three years respite, has failed, that instead of diminishing, it has increased the intensity of their opposition; when they see, and the country sees, all sorts of factious opposition resorted to, then I hope that the honourable gentlemen on the other side of the house, who support the measure, will come to this conclusion, that when we do go to the country—if go we must—we shall all go united, with but one principle—with not a vestige of the old spirit of Whig or Tory remaining—determined manfully to struggle for and hopefully to abide the final settlement of this great question by the voice of the country (loud cheers). As to the comparative benefits of a total repeal three years hence—so far as the means are concerned—my opinions are known, and I will not now reiterate them; I hope that after this question has been fully debated, when it is seen that the measure is inevitable, I hope, notwithstanding all this irritation and recrimination, that the farmers, looking at the matter coolly, will come to the decision that an immediate repeal is best for their interests, and believing this, I do not despair that even after the measure is carried—we may, by a short bill subsequently introduced, be able, even in this session, to carry that immediate repeal (loud cheers and laughter from the protectionists). Do let honourable gentlemen reflect on what they are going to do. They are about to promote, to compel, the continuance of our agitation. Let them bethink them if they are in a fit position to abide the contest (cheers). Why I, as one of the members for the League, shall be almost ashamed to enter the field with the odds so fearfully against my opponents (laughter and cheers). Broken, dispirited, without leaders or council, I confess I do not think you will put us to much trouble (laughter) in the way of agitation. Why, the ghost of the League, should it be dissolved, will be more than a match for the flesh, blood, bones, and sinews of protection (cheers and laughter). Take a clear view of the case. I hope that view will be taken here—nay, even in another place; and that a better decision will ultimately be come to. And if the House of Lords will take my advice (loud protectionist laughter)—if they will in another place, instead of taking your advice, take mine; if they will graciously say the country seems to prefer immediate Free Trade, and we will pass a measure accordingly; if they say this, then the upper house will be doing much to restore itself to the estimation of the country (cheers, and "oh, oh"), and the country in return will echo the exclamation, already so famous, "Thank Heaven, we have a House of Lords" (hear, hear)!

Sir T. D. ACLAND blamed the League for the ungracious and ungenerous eagerness with which it sought—even after its principles had been conceded, and the victory placed within its grasp—to set about the work of gathering up the spoils. What could it matter to them if the final change be deferred for a poor two years and a half—if, indeed, there did not happen, what he certainly did not expect, a great change—a great revolution, which could arise from no other source than from the discovery that they had been in error. Unless some such revolution took place, this measure once passed, it was not likely that things would revert to their former condition (hear, hear). Why did they, then, so dis-

gracefully exult when they had attained their object? Why did they so proudly and imperiously interfere to dictate the exact terms upon which the trace was to be concluded (cheers)? He was aware that a difference existed among farmers and landlords as to the three years. For his own part, he thought that the time in question would serve to smooth the way to the new state of things, and he would be very glad to take advantage of the experience of the effects likely to flow from Free Trade which it would afford, to enable him to make arrangements with his tenants. After this division he did not wish to interfere with the right hon. baronet in carrying out the details of his plan. It was his and his alone. If it succeeded let his be the credit; if it failed, let his be the responsibility (hear, hear).

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE had on a former occasion stated that he would support the ministerial measure. He was aware that in acting upon this resolution he would be giving an unpopular vote, but he wished to give a practical one (cheers). The right honourable baronet had stated that he could not be responsible for the success of this great measure, should the amendment of the honourable member for Wolverhampton be agreed to (hear). He added, that if the proposition came from their own side of the house he would be happy to accommodate the protectionists (cheers and laughter). Heartily wishing that such a proposition had arisen from such a quarter, he would yet be obliged, as it had not, to vote with the right honourable baronet for the measure as it stood. He felt that were he to desert the Government now, the right honourable baronet would have the right to say to him, "You left me on the question of the repeal of the Corn Laws, when you knew that our proposition amounted to deferred repeal. You have no right to require us to stand by another part of the plan—the retrospective alterations in the law of settlement (hear, hear). True, the protectionists had at first said that they did not want the three years' grace; but when put to the test, they would go out—they who were every day abusing and vilifying him—with the right honourable baronet. Really he feared that the right honourable baronet would hardly be safe in such company (loud laughter). It would hardly be safe for him to go into the lobby with them (laughter). He was sorry that the honourable member for Wolverhampton had brought forward this motion. It was said it was done to satisfy the conscience and honour of the League—they said they were pledged to vote for Free Trade. Why so was he. He had so voted, he had been so pledged long before the League members came into the house (cheers). Looking at the matter in a practical point of view, he felt that however unpopular the League might make his vote, still it was his duty to go out with the minister (cheers).

The Earl of MARCH was at a loss to know into which lobby some honourable members could go with safety (cheers and laughter). The honourable baronet opposite told them that the right honourable baronet would not be safe in their lobby, but he (Lord March) should think, from the circumstances which had taken place within the last few years, that the right honourable baronet the Home Secretary was not safe in the same lobby with the honourable member for Finsbury (cheers and laughter). However he might venture to assert that the right honourable baronet at the head of the Government would not meet with any great degree of personal inconvenience from the honourable members who sat about him (a laugh). He would not have risen had it not been for the pointed remarks of the honourable member for Stockport with respect to his noble relative. The hon. member had stated that his noble relative had declared in another place that he was for an immediate as well as total repeal of the Corn Laws. That statement he begged leave most distinctly to deny (loud cheers). He had the best reason for knowing that what his noble relative really said was, that he thought it better to have a total and immediate abolition of all duty on corn, rather than a diminishing duty for three years, and then a repeal of all protection, supposing that the present measure was inevitable, and that the proposal of her Majesty's Government be carried (hear, hear, hear). But his noble relative felt that the measure could not be carried, and entertaining that belief he was of opinion that it would be the height of folly to advocate an immediate and total repeal of the Corn Laws. What reason had his noble relative for believing it could not be carried? One of the strongest was contained in the statement of the noble lord the member for London, who last night expressed his firm belief that if he had been in power, and had proposed a measure precisely similar to that brought forward by the right honourable baronet, he would have been in a minority, even though he had been supported by that right honourable gentleman in his individual capacity as a member of the House of Commons (hear and cheers). In expressing that belief, the noble lord in effect said that the majority of the House of Commons was opposed to this measure of the right hon. gentleman (cries of "no, no"). It was clear that the case was so from that statement. The country certainly was against it. Let the house look to the result of the recent elections in proof of that. Let them look to the returns for two divisions of Nottinghamshire, for Gloucester, and for Westminster (oh, oh, and great laughter). Hon. gentlemen might laugh, and think that he had forgotten that the honourable and gallant officer who had been returned for Westminster voted with the Government (hear, hear, hear). Certainly not; he knew it well, but he referred to that election because it proved that the people of Westminster were better gratified—were in fact delighted to return the honourable and gallant officer whose principles they were acquainted with—rather than the gallant officer, a great friend of his (Lord March), who professed one principle in 1841 and another in 1846 (cheers). The electors preferred a man who adhered to his opinions and pledges and did not deceive them (hear, hear, hear). The hon. member for Stockport said he would fight the ghost of the Anti-Corn-Law League against the flesh, and blood, and sinews, of the protectionists (laughter). To that contest he challenged the hon. gentleman (loud cheers and laughter). Did the hon. member, when he made that offer, recollect the position in which he placed the body he so ably represented in that house? Did he forget that before he could produce the ghost of the League, he must entirely annihilate its substance (hear, hear, and laughter)? What he gave the hon. member for Stockport every credit for consistency, and believed he was actuated in his course of conduct by a desire for the welfare of his country, he could not but say that it was most inconsistent for a Government brought in on the principles of protection to British industry, by a majority of 91, to bring forward a measure for its destruction, and that they ought first, in common honesty, to appeal to the people of this corn (hear, hear).

Mr. HUDSON rose, but was for some time inaudible, in consequence of cries for a division. The honourable member was at length understood to say that he would not have

risen but for the remarks of the hon. member for Stockport, who, in the course of his speech, had, he was sure unintentionally misrepresented what had fallen from him on a previous occasion. He (Mr. Hudson) had stated most distinctly, over and over again, that he believed the probable average price of corn in the year 1849 and subsequent years, would be from 35s. to 39s. a quarter, and not 25s. as had been stated by the hon. member. He could not imagine how the hon. member had fallen into the mistake after the pains he had taken in reading over the reports of the debate; but he (Mr. Hudson) could assure him that he never had placed so low an average on the price of corn. The conduct of the League, which had excited the jealousy and indignation of the people of England, was most reprehensible in withholding the knowledge of the fact, that whilst all duties were to be removed from the importation of agricultural produce, manufactures continued to enjoy protection. The hon. member for Montrose would tell the house that the silk-weavers had plundered the public. Certainly, if there had been any plunder in the case of those duties, the manufacturers had enjoyed the advantages of it as much as the agriculturists (hear, hear). With respect to the assertion, that the farmers of England would prefer an immediate and total repeal to the measure proposed by the right hon. baronet, he could only say, that he had some knowledge of the feelings of the large holders of land, and knew they gave a decided preference to the relaxed protection for three years, because it would give them an opportunity of preparing for competition. He hoped the Government would consider, meantime, the propriety of removing some of the burdens on the landed interest, more particularly he would specify the malt-tax (hear, hear). He would be enabled to prove to the house that it would be the greatest boon to the farmer to be permitted to malt his own barley, and in saying so he spoke independently, for he was much more largely engaged in commerce than in land.

Lord WORSLEY, who rose amid loud cries for a division, was understood to say that he was acquainted with many persons who were extensive farmers of land, and as far as he could ascertain their opinions on the subject, he believed that their wishes were that the repeal of the Corn Laws, if carried at all, should be immediate. He believed that they now anxiously wished that there should at last be a settlement of the question (divide, divide).

Colonel SIBTHORP wished to say a few words before the committee divided. As some of her Majesty's ministers were still without seats in Parliament, he would, in the exercise of that Christian charity which was due even to the right honourable baronet and his cabinet, suggest to the house the expediency of restoring the elective franchise to Sudbury (loud laughter). In the bill to be brought in for that purpose, it would be necessary to insert a special provision, enacting that the borough of Sudbury should return to Parliament those ministers who had been rejected by the other constituencies of England (hear, hear, and laughter).

Mr. WAKLEY: I regret exceedingly, Sir, to find that the honourable and learned member for Wolverhampton persists in dividing the house upon his motion. However much I may approve of his intentions, and however highly I may commend the purity of his motives, I cannot conceive a more inexpedient course can be pursued by any member friendly to the measure of her Majesty's Government than by dividing the house upon this question. I believe that he has taken this step in conformity with pledges given elsewhere, and, therefore, that the honourable and learned member does not feel at liberty to abandon the course which he is about to pursue. I feel, however, that it is a most unfortunate step, because out of doors it may have the effect of producing an impression that there is on the part of those who are friendly to the measure of the Government a divided opinion on this great question. But, Sir, there is no division among them (hear, hear), and I think that the country will find that those who go out into the lobby with the honourable and learned member for Wolverhampton are the most earnest, the most serious, and the most strenuous advocates of the measure of the Government (cheers). Honourable gentlemen opposite may imagine that a different opinion will obtain among the people. But how little do those gentlemen know of public opinion. So mistaken are they upon the bearing of public opinion on this question, that a noble lord who addressed the house a few minutes ago claimed Westminster as a proof that public opinion was in favour of the party to which he belongs. Why, Sir, there were two candidates for Westminster, one of whom had long been a determined repealer of the Corn Laws; the other, one who had received some new light on this question (hear, hear, and laughter). Whom did the electors choose? They chose not the man who had taken a transitory view of the question, but him who had for years been the steady friend of a repeal of the Corn Laws. The Whigs, also, have no right to claim that election as being in favour of their views. They have no right to set up such a claim, because at the last general election, when three candidates presented themselves to the constituency, representing the Tory, the Whig, and the Radical parties, the electors of Westminster chose a Radical, and they have chosen a Radical now. I beg the house to understand that Radical principles are on the advance and in the ascendancy. I regret that the motion of the hon. and learned member for Wolverhampton has been made, but chiefly on the ground that an impression may exist out of doors that a division of opinion prevails among the supporters of the Government measure. I can assert, however, without fear of contradiction, from my intercourse with the middling and working classes of society, and the impression is all but universal that the right hon. baronet, the first Minister of the Crown, has done all he could in introducing his measure in its present shape (hear, hear). But one hon. gentleman opposite says—"We must go to the country;" another says—"You must go to the people." Why, you know perfectly well that you will not go to the people. If you do, let your elections be determined by a show of hands (hear, hear, hear). You will not do that. Do not speak, then, of going to the people, because they have hands as well as you (a laugh). You deny to the unfortunate being whose labour goes to create food a voice in the election of a member to represent him in this discussion, and I am sure from what I have seen that the voice of the people is against you (question). If hon. gentlemen wish that the discussion of this topic should be deferred, I am quite willing to sit down. The honourable member concluded by imploring honourable gentlemen opposite not to offer any opposition to the measure of the Government, but allow it to take its course.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said the noble lord the member for Lincolnshire (Lord Worsley) had declared that the opinion of the tenant-farmers of this country was in favour of the immediate repeal. He admitted that in the bitter

disappointment some might feel at the mad and unaccountable change they had witnessed in the opinions of those in whom they had trusted, such expressions might have fallen from them, but he distinctly denied that the tenant-farmers were now of opinion that total and immediate repeal was any more desirable now than it had been for many years past. With respect to what had fallen from the honourable member for Finsbury, he firmly believed that a radical and democratic feeling was rising in this country, and he told her Majesty's ministers that it might grow in a class where they did not expect to find it ("oh, oh," and confusion).

Mr. VILLIERS replied. The hon. member for Warwickshire disputed that the farmers were in favour of immediate repeal. Would the hon. member be content to decide the point by reference to the opinions expressed in that newspaper, which was said to be expressly the organ of the tenant farmers, the *Mark Lane Express*? In referring to the speech delivered by the hon. member for Northamptonshire (Mr. Stafford O'Brien), that paper said, they had, after mature consideration, come to the conclusion that the honourable gentleman and his friends were entirely mistaken in supposing the Corn Law to be a tenant farmer's question. He did not rise to speak on his amendment, because the merits of the proposition were not disputed; he would state his motives for proposing it. He certainly had been assailed for doing so from quarters whence he had little expected attack (hear). The honourable member for Finsbury had recommended a show of hands as the best mode of ascertaining the sense of the country; and he had been not a little surprised at hearing similar advice from the honourable member for Montrose and others. He would not inquire what might be the view of these honourable members in separating from the course which the great majority of their party deemed expedient; but if any inscription were to be placed on their monument, he would suggest that it should be written as for men who had done some little good to their country by disregarding the opinion of their friends. He would not say anything against those members who thought it right to support the measure of her Majesty's Government in preference to his amendment. He thought they were quite right to exercise their judgment in the matter, and if they thought they would support the cause of Free Trade better by doing so, they were quite right to vote for the measure of Government. Everything that had fallen from any body had shown that his proposition would be an amendment, and in justification of his motion he must say that he had every reason to believe it would not do any harm to the measure before the house, and would be well supported. He was astonished to hear the reason urged by the noble lord the member for Lynn for him and his friends not supporting it. From the moment this session began he had given notice of his amendment, and he had been told by them that he did not mean to bring forward the motion, because he knew that they would support it. This was not only what they had told their friends in private respecting his intention, but what they had circulated in every part of the country where they possessed either authority or influence. The farmers were told that protection could be still maintained. Now was that a way to prepare them for the change which was about to take place (hear)? If the noble lord the member for Lynn persuaded the farmers that the old protection might be maintained, would that be as good a way to prepare them for the change as if they were induced to invest capital in the cultivation of their farms, and adopt a better system of agriculture (hear, hear)? If farmers believed that the old protection could be maintained, it would have the effect of preventing them from preparing for the change which was about to take place, and if foreigners believed that the Government measure would be successful, and prepared themselves for it, then the transition would be more serious to the farmer (hear, hear). He could not suppose that honourable members opposite believed that they could retain the old protection, and the tenant farmers he knew did not believe it (hear, hear). An acquaintance of his was at a large market town on Saturday last when the intelligence of the division arrived, and it did not, he was informed, cause the least interest amongst the farmers, nor was it once mentioned at the market dinner. And why did the intelligence possess so little interest for the farmers? Because they believed the Government measure would be carried, and all they were now desirous of was to see the question settled (cheers). When the noble marquess, whom he did not see in his place, was returned for Gloucestershire, the other day, he presided at a meeting called for petitioning for a continuance of protection to agriculture, and so strong was the feeling in the town in favour of Free Trade, that they would not allow the meeting to separate without adopting a petition in favour of Free Trade (cheers).

The committee then divided, and the numbers were—

For Mr. Villiers's motion 78

Against it 267

Majority against the motion 187

The CHAIRMAN reported progress and obtained leave to sit again on Thursday.

* * For Remainder of Debate see our Regular Paper.

MISCELLANEOUS.

JOHN COLLETT, ESQ., M.P., AND THE GAME-LAWS.—This gentleman is as great an object of terror to the game-preservers as Mr. Cobden to the Duke of Richmond, and we fancy a recent act of his, relative to these laws, will not diminish his character in their eyes. In a recent number of the *Hampshire Independent* appeared an account of a little boy, aged eleven, being sentenced by the Bench of Magistrates at Romsey, for worrying a hare, to pay a fine of 10s. and costs, and in default was committed to Winchester Bridewell. This attracting the attention of Mr. Irwin Willes, a solicitor, residing in Maddox-street, Hanover-square, he addressed Mr. Collett a letter on the subject, and within a very few hours was requested to wait upon him. Upon an interview with that gentleman, after expressing his abhorrence of the case, he requested Mr. Willes to proceed immediately to Winchester and release the infant poacher from confinement. Mr. Willes on reaching the Bridewell found that the child had not been committed there (the bench having determined not to enforce the penalty until after the expiration of ten days, and then only at the desire of the prosecutor, Sir John B. Mill, Bart.). Struck by the appearance of three fine youths, aged 16 and 17, who were inmates of the Bridewell, on account of breaches of the Game Laws, and learning that their conduct in prison had been unexceptionable, he mentioned their case to Mr. Collett. That gentleman no sooner heard of it than he dispatched Mr. Willes instantly to Winchester, and within a few hours the youths were released from the Bridewell, and restored to their

parents. The fines and costs in these cases amounted to 3l. The gratitude of the poor fellows at their unexpected discharge was unbounded, and blessings loud and deep were heaped upon the head of the hon. member for Athlone for his sympathy for their misfortunes, and his liberality in their behalf.—*The Sun*.

A CONVERT TO FREE TRADE.—In Mr. Evelyn Denison's speech at the South Nottinghamshire nomination, he said—Some one might say, you tell me of changes among statesmen, can you show me any change among farmers—among steady practical men? Mr. Denison would try to find them one, and without going out of their own district (cheers). Suppose, he said, if he showed them a gentleman of ancient family, the owner and cultivator of a patrimonial estate, of bad land, strictly entailed, and having a family of children to provide for. Well, that's just the man who would be first to suffer by the new law. So thought the gentleman in question. Alarmed at Lord John Russell's duty of 8s., he galloped over all the country (as many of you have been galloping lately) to oppose the ruinous scheme of the Whigs; something more—he wrote a pamphlet on protection, which was highly applauded by that gentleman's authority, Mr. Alison, the historian of Scotland. The election over, two good Conservatives returned, my friend next thought that the best thing he could do for the cause would be to answer their opponents of the Anti-Corn-Law League. He collected their pamphlets and their speeches, &c., and retired with them to his study. But the process of refutation took another course; instead of his refuting the pamphlets, the pamphlets converted him. The pen fell from his hand, and Mr. Neville, who stands at my right hand, is so convinced of the justice of his views, that if any gentlemen there present was alarmed, and had a property of medium extent to sell, he believed he should not misrepresent Mr. Neville, when he said that he (Mr. Neville) would be happy to buy it at thirty years' purchase on the present rental.

FOREIGN CORN.—The Commissioners of the customs have issued instructions to the collectors and comptrollers of the revenue, at every port throughout the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to prepare and transmit to the examiner and principal comptroller of accounts, with the least possible delay, the undermentioned accounts, according to an approved specified form, so far as the same relates to their respective ports, viz.:—A return showing the number of quarters of foreign corn, meal, and flour, remaining under the Queen's lock on the 12th of February, 1846, instant, together with the total quantities of the same imported by each individual. The return alluded to is to contain the quantities of corn of various kinds, meal and flour, not the produce of the British possessions abroad, held by each importer on the day mentioned, and is to consist of distinct and separate accounts, containing the numbers of quarters and bushels of wheat, barley, oats, peas, beans, Indian corn, or maize, wheat flour and oatmeal, respectively. The principal officers before mentioned at the various ports of the kingdom, have also been directed to prepare and transmit to the Registrar-General of Shipping, with the least possible delay, the undermentioned account, according to an approved specified form, so far as the same relates to their respective ports, viz., a return of the number of ships laden with foreign corn entered inwards at the ports of the United Kingdom, between the 5th day of January, 1845, and the same date in the present year, specifying the kinds and quantities of corn, the ports of lading and the ports of discharge, and whether in ships of the United Kingdom or in vessels of any other nation, and to what nation they belonged.—*Times*.

THE TIMBER DUTIES.—SUNDERLAND, FEB. 23.—The shipowners of this port being, like Sir Robert Peel, ashamed of the opinions recently expressed to the legislature by the committee of the General Shipowners' Society, have set on foot a petition in favour of even a more extensive change in the timber duties than is proposed by the Government. The petition, which has already been signed by many of the largest and most influential shipowners and merchants of the port, is as follows:—"To the Hon. the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled. The petition of the undersigned shipowners of the port of Sunderland, humbly sheweth—that your petitioners, since the conclusion of the reciprocity treaties, have been unprotected in their intercourse with foreign nations. That your petitioners, therefore, consider that they cannot in justice be called upon to contribute to the protection of other interests. That your petitioners are of opinion the heavy duty now levied on foreign timber is of that description, as it raises the price of British and colonial timber used in the construction of vessels; and this extra element in the cost of vessels falls heavily on the shipowners, since, besides the interest on the extra capital invested, there are to be added the heavy items of insurance and annual deterioration in value from natural decay. That your petitioners, from the circumstance of the colonial timber being better adapted to a greater variety of purposes than foreign, do not consider that the colonial trade would be materially affected by the removal of this duty; but, on the other hand, that a greatly augmented trade might be carried on with distant foreign countries where the present high duty acts as a virtual prohibition. Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that your hon. house will wholly remove the protecting duty on foreign timber."

THE FOREIGN CORN GROWER (by James Pillans, in the *Mark Lane Express*).—As regards the cost of growing corn abroad, at least in Italy (which must enjoy equal advantages with Poland, if we may judge from Italian wheat at the shipping ports being quite as cheap as Polish in the ports of the Baltic), it varies little, if at all, from the rate in England. It is true the agricultural labourer in Italy gains only 8d. to 10d. a day; but it is well known he does less work than the English labourer by one-third or upwards; and the price of all agricultural implements is greater in Italy than in England. The taxes which bear directly on the land in the corn-growing districts of Italy amount to 24 or 30 per cent.—in some cases are even higher. Here the advantage appears on the side of the English landowner; and when it is considered that the intelligence and energy which have hitherto been applied with us to manufactures alone are now being directed to agriculture, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that England henceforward will be able to grow corn on more favourable terms than any country in Europe.

Printed at the Whitefriars Printing-office, Bouverie-street, in the precincts of Whitefriars, in the City of London, by JAMES GOSNEY, printer, of Number 7, Ridgmont-place, Hampstead-road, in the County of Middlesex, and also of Number 4, Fairfield-place, Chesham-hill-road, in the parish of Manchester, in the County of Lancaster, and published at Number 67, Fleet-street, in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, in the City of London, by ABRAHAM WALTER PAVLTON, of Number 67, Fleet-street aforesaid.—Saturday, March 7, 1846.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 129.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, MARCH 14, 1846.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

LANDLORD CURIOSITY, AND MINISTERIAL DISCRETION.

Our readers must have been highly diverted, and the public in general have, no doubt, been greatly edified, by the very characteristic and instructive incident which, on the night of yesterday week, enlivened the tedium of Parliamentary discussion. The protectionists, speaking by the lips of Lord George Bentinck and Mr. Finch, were, it will be remembered, extremely anxious to get Sir Robert Peel to put a price on their corn. Never was so eager and pertinacious an importunity. "Had the honourable baronet at the head of the Government made up his mind" as to what wheat would fetch, when the new law came into operation? "Was he able to form any calculation as to what the price of corn was likely to be?" He must see that the demand was reasonable. He had had time enough, over and over again, to go into the investigation, during the six weeks that his bill had been about. What was the result of his researches? How many shillings, now, per quarter, could he undertake to guarantee? Or could he give some sort of general "estimate?" Could he name a figure as likely to be somewhere near the mark? It was no mere speculative curiosity that prompted the query. The highest interests of Britain were at stake. Agriculture would be all at sixes and sevens, without a Parliamentary selling price for wheat. The very rent of land turned on it. "How could they," as Mr. Finch emphatically asked, "in the absence of information on this subject, enter into any satisfactory arrangements with their tenants?" How could they "be in a position to tell them what their RENT in future was to be?"

Alas! it was but a vain "pursuit of knowledge under difficulties." Do what they would, they could not get to know. The dull, unfeeling Premier either could not, or would not, tell. He "could not answer the question of the noble lord." He had not the least idea what their selling price was going to be, and it was no use asking. "If he were asked to guarantee what hereafter would be the price of wheat, he could only say that he could give NO SUCH GUARANTEE." Not so much as an "estimate" could he venture on—"it was utterly impossible." Quite true was it, as they reproachfully reminded him, that he had said something, in 1842, about "some such price as fifty-six shillings"—but that was the very reason why he could not commit himself now; "it was because of his courage, in 1842, that he hesitated now." Since 1842, he had had his three years' experience. He had left that line of

business altogether, and must positively decline ever acting again as land-valuer and appraiser. Really, honourable gentlemen must excuse him. It was impossible to mind the corn market and the empire at the same time. Honourable gentlemen must please attend to their business as corn manufacturers, dealers, and chapmen, and leave him to attend to his business as statesman.

It is pleasant to be able to add, that the inquisitive agricultural mind was not altogether put off with these very unsatisfactory negatives. Our protectionists did get something positive at last, though not in the quarter to which their suit was more especially addressed. Mr. Villiers kindly interposed to do them a good turn, and volunteered a suggestion which, we will venture to say, will, if judiciously carried out, answer every essential purpose of the querists: "If honourable gentlemen wanted to know what would become of them when protection was withdrawn, why, he would tell them—they would be obliged to look after their property; they would cultivate it much better, and perhaps be richer and better men."

It is, however, we think, perfectly practicable to give a direct and explicit answer to the landlord query, which the honourable member for Wolverhampton's general admonition seems to evade rather than to solve. What will the landlords' corn fetch under the Free Trade régime? Why, it will fetch exactly what it is worth. The misfortune is, they want more for their corn than it is worth. For these thirty years past, and more, they have been doing nothing else than devising expedients to make their corn sell for more than it is worth, by forcibly preventing people from dealing at any other than their own shop. No wonder they are puzzled. They have never been used to fair market prices. The notion of honest trading puts them quite out of their calculations. They cannot in the least comprehend the come-down, from the stilts of protection to the level ground of vulgar supply and demand.

May we suggest one consideration that strikes us as fitted to soothe the agricultural feelings, under the rebuff which a cold-hearted and worldly-wise Premier administered to an illicit curiosity? Suppose he had been malicious enough to indulge his old friends with an "estimate!" What an opportunity for gratifying vindictive and angry feeling—were his nature susceptible of an impulse so ungenerous! He had nothing to do but name some extraordinarily and alarmingly low figure—and where would they have been then? Fairly pinned. There would have been no getting out of it. They must have accepted the Peel valuation, as asked for; and acquiesced, without more words, in the Peel estimate of prices, with rents to match. Happily, the minister was merciful, and scorned to take advantage of the simplicity even of the men who brand him with "perfidy." It is still an open question for them. They are still their own men, and may do the best they can for themselves. They can talk the matter quietly over with their tenantry. There is yet a wide margin of hope and possibility. We are quite sure they will be for looking on the bright side of things, when the time really comes for the dreaded adjustment of rents. We should not be surprised to see them take a decidedly sanguine view of the prospects of the corn market, and the capabilities and resources of rent-payers. We confidently expect, that from the moment the new Corn Law gets fairly on the statute-book, they will begin to please themselves with the discovery that, after all, prices will not be much the worse, and that rents may very well remain for the present as they are.

This little Parliamentary episode is really, in every way, most instructive. We feel infinitely obliged to Lord George Bentinck and Mr. Finch—

to the latter gentleman, in particular, who is a fine specimen of that invaluable class of men who blurt out, with a sort of blundering honesty, things which the discreeter portion of protectionist mankind content themselves with privately thinking. It can never again be said, after this, that "protection" is not meant to raise prices, and that artificially high prices are not coveted for the sake of artificially high rents. The design, and the motive, are now avowed. To fix the price which corn is to sell at—and fix it high, in order that rents may be high, too—is now the openly-declared intent of protectionist legislation. We have it from the landlords' own lips. They tell us, in their places in Parliament, that a statesman's first business is to make wheat sell well, in order that wheat-growing land may let well. There is no disguise or mystification about it. "You, Sir Robert Peel, Prime Minister of the British empire, are making a new Corn Law; now, we, the legislators of the British empire, deal in corn, and in the land on which corn is grown; and we particularly wish to know what prices we are to get for our corn, and what rents those prices will enable our receivers to pay us." We are obliged to you, Mr. Finch. You have knocked the right nail on the head, Mr. Finch. You did not mean it, Mr. Finch, but you have clinched our case.

Did it never occur, we wonder, to our landlords, to ask, themselves what they would think if the "cotton lords"—whose aggregate amount of annual production is on some such scale as their own—were to press Prime Ministers with this sort of questioning? What price does Sir Robert Peel consider calicoes likely to sell at? How much per yard will he guarantee for shirtings? And can he form any calculation, or give any estimate, with reference to muslin? Will he please be so good as to say, because in the absence of information on these subjects the cotton men cannot possibly be in a position to ascertain their profits, adjust their expenditure, and regulate the portions of their daughters. Were the cotton men mean enough, silly enough, and audacious enough, to talk in this strain, our landowners would perhaps be able to appreciate the sordidness and impertinence of wresting the powers of legislation to serve trading purposes, and calling on the Prime Minister of a mighty empire to officiate as a sort of general factory foreman.

We heartily congratulate the farmers on the result of this curious legislative interlude. They may now see—those of them who have yet anything to learn on this subject—what exactly it is that the "farmers' friends" really mean;—high prices by Act of Parliament, or a Parliamentary promise of high prices, to afford leverage for raising rents. We especially congratulate them on the final stop now put to this hoax of Parliamentary prices. The delusion is now, once for all, exploded. Politics and agriculture are divorced. The Prime Minister formally declines acting any longer in the capacity of land valuer. Farmers will never again have to pay, out of their capital, rents adjusted by a fragile Parliamentary promise. There is no such promise now in existence. The Premier refuses to interpose so much as an estimate, or a guess, between the hirer and the letter of arable land. The two parties meet on perfectly clear and equal commercial terms—with not even a conjecture of "some such price as fifty-six shillings" to mystify the commercial character of the transaction. Renting a farm will, in future, be like renting a cotton-mill;—the lessee will look at the actual, natural state of the markets, make his calculations, and strike his bargain accordingly. Rarely has a statesman rendered a better service to his country, by the display of knowledge and foresight, than Sir Robert Peel has now done by a plain confession of irremediable ignorance.

NEXT WEEK.—ANOTHER MONSTER DEBATE THREATENED.

The unexpected rapidity and facility with which the House of Commons has affirmed, in committee, without exception, every item of the Ministerial scheme, must not lead us to fancy that we are at the end of the business yet. Monopoly, it is generally understood, has still a vast deal to say for itself—has a prodigious fund of talk bottled up in reserve, wherewith to deluge a patient and long-suffering public. The second reading of the Bill, founded on and embodying the resolutions of the committee, is fixed for Monday night—when, if rumour speak truly, we are to have another monster debate, another experiment in the art of talking against time. There are, it is said, to be more crushing exposures of ministerial “inconsistency”—more select readings from *Hansard*—more denunciations of the “perfidy” which a recreant and apostate Premier has practised on a confiding and betrayed “interest”—more lamentations over the setting “sun of England”—more “whinnings” at the cruelty which compels agriculturists to manage their own business like other folks—more parroting of fallacies, at which even fustian-jacketed operatives have almost left off laughing—and more exhibitions of that statistical skill and science which conjure up the pleasing, though, we fear, baseless visions of a bread “inundation” from *Onoko* and *Tamboff*.

Now, we would take the liberty of suggesting to our Free Trade friends in Parliament, the advisableness of allowing all this to go on with the least possible amount of interruption on their part. Discussion is now a pure work of supererogation. The country wants only to have the bill *passed*—and it will pass the sooner, the less is said. The question has reached a point at which nothing possibly can be said, on the one side, which the common sense of the country will not instinctively and intuitively meet with the proper answer; and nothing can very well be said on the other which the same common sense will not have already anticipated. If there is to be a debate, we would like it to have very much of the character of a debate on the truth or falsehood of the multiplication table. Let monopoly talk itself tired—and the business will be over the sooner. Let no stimulants be administered, to prolong the sick life of an effete controversy. The clock will run itself down, and stop in due time, if nobody winds it up again. “Give them rope,” is our advice. A cold and impassive silence is really the only reply to make, at this time of day, to the blundering sillinesses which constitute the staple of protectionist oratory.

The whole affair may now safely be left with the reading public; that is, with that fractional portion of the reading public for whom the argument, as an argument, possesses sufficient interest to render protectionist speeches readable. The case is one on which fustian jacket is perfectly competent to adjudicate, without prompting. For every variety and sub-variety of the monopolist logic, fustian jacket will be ready with a short and sharp answer. To the deprecated “dependence on foreigners,” and the query, “What will you do in case of war?”—fustian jacket will only say—“The more dependence the better—the dependence being mutual, and mutually beneficial, and the surest preservative of peace.” For the “inundation” nonsense, fustian jacket will have only a smile, or a sigh,—according as he hopefully takes the predicted inundation for true, or sorrowfully fears that it may turn out too good to be true. On “wages” fustian jacket will probably not be called upon for any opinion whatever. Of “peculiar burdens” likewise, we do not anticipate that very much will be said—that ground having latterly been marked “dangerous.” Could one ever feel secure in prophesying, that landlordism will act discreetly, and not commit itself, we should venture on a pretty confident prediction, that little or nothing more will be said to set the industrious classes of the British people comparing notes on the question of taxation, overhauling fiscal legislation, and examining into their own “peculiar burdens” under landlord protection.

On the whole, we are sure that nothing will be lost by our Parliamentary friends keeping themselves pretty much in the background, from now until the passing of the bill. So many speeches saved will be simply so much time gained. Free Traders have nothing to do with the next week's debate, so far as we can see, but to take care to be present, *in full force, from the first word to the last*—ready, on the shortest notice, to bear their part in the division, and to send up the question to the peers, backed by an overpowering array of those statistics of the division lists, which are the sort of facts and figures best fitted to interest their lordships' attention, and sway their lordships' deliberations.

FREE TRADE IN FRANCE.

We have already briefly noticed the first meeting of the Association formed at Bordeaux to promote the freedom of commerce. We are now about to give a more full and complete report of the proceedings, to show that the society has been instituted not in a spirit of imitation, but in consequence of the progress of sound principle,—that it is not based on the study of what has been said or done in England, but on a profound investigation of the commercial and industrial condition of France. The meeting was held in the large Concert-room of the theatre; from 500 to 600 persons were present. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed, and the sum of 50,000 francs was subscribed in the room.

The chair was taken by M. Duffour-Dubergier, mayor of Bordeaux and President of the Association, who opened the proceedings with the following address:

DISCOURS DE M. LE MAIRE.

“Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera! telle est la devise du sage, et c'est celle que nous vous proposons de mettre en pratique.

“Jusqu'ici, messieurs, nous nous sommes bornés à nous plaindre, et il y a cinquante ans bientôt que nous nous plaignons sans succès; on ne nous écoute pas; bien mieux, on a presque l'air de nous dire qu'on est fatigué de nos doléances.

“Aussi, messieurs, venons-nous aujourd'hui vous engager de vous joindre à nous, pour réclamer comme un droit ce qu'on n'a pas voulu accorder à nos prières.

“Oui, messieurs, assez et trop longtemps nous avons été sacrifiés à des intérêts particuliers, à des préjugés surannés. Le jour de la lumière et du redressement des torts est venu!

“Pour réussir, il ne faut que nous grouper, car nous sommes les plus nombreux, les plus forts, et nous avons pour nous la raison et la justice.—Que voulons-nous, en effet? C'est que chacun fasse ce qu'il sait faire, ne fasse que ce qu'il sait faire, et qu'il échange le produit de son travail contre celui qui lui offre le plus d'avantage, c'est-à-dire celui qui lui est offert en échange en plus grande quantité et en meilleure qualité.

“Assés et trop longtemps on s'est occupé des producteurs; c'est comme consommateurs et en leur nom que nous réclamons justice.

“Tout le monde ne produit pas, mais tout le monde consomme, et parmi ceux qui produisent, beaucoup produisent mal, c'est-à-dire chèrement et en mauvaise qualité.

“L'intérêt des consommateurs, c'est-à-dire de la masse, c'est d'avoir des objets, bons et à bon marché, et leur droit est de les prendre là où ils les trouvent à leur convenance.

“Et qu'oi! messieurs, est-il bien possible que ce soit en France, dans ce pays où tout le monde parle de liberté, où l'on a fait dix révolutions pour la conquérir, où l'on a tout nivelé, que l'on ose fouler aux pieds le droit le plus juste, le plus naturel d'un citoyen libre, celui d'employer son argent, des bras comme il l'entend, celui d'acheter ce qui lui plaît et où il lui plaît.

“Vraiment, plus on y réfléchit, le plus on voit que

ADDRESS OF THE MAYOR.

“God helps those who help themselves.” Such is the motto of the wise, which we intend to put in practice.

“Hitherto, gentlemen, we have limited ourselves to complaint. For nearly 50 years we have complained in vain; let us to day engage you to join us in claiming as a right what has been refused to our prayers.

“Yes, gentlemen, long enough, and too long, have we been sacrificed to private interests and superannuated prejudices; the day of intelligence and redress of grievances has arrived.

“To succeed, we need only combine; for we are the more numerous—we are the stronger, and we have reason and justice on our side. What is it that we ask?—that each should do what he knows how to do, and not attempt that which he does not know how to do; and that he should exchange the produce of his labour with him who offers him the most advantageous terms—that is to say, with him who offers the largest quantity and the best quality.

“Long, and too long, has attention been exclusively paid to producers; it is as consumers, and in their name, that we demand justice.

“All do not produce, but all do consume; and among those who produce, there are many who produce badly—that is to say, at a high price, and of inferior quality.

“The interest of consumers—that is to say, of the mass of mankind, is to have good articles at a low price, and they have a right to take these where they can conveniently be had.

“Is it then possible, gentlemen, that in France, a land where all boast of freedom, and where there have been ten revolutions to win it—where everything has been levelled—that man should dare to trample on the most just and natural right of free citizens, that of employing their capital and labour as their intelligence directs

l'esprit humain n'est qu'un composé d'absurdes préjugés.

“Il y a cinquante ans que nous lutons pour des utopies, que nous réclamons des libertés qui ne nous profitent en rien, et dans le même moment nous acceptons et supportons patiemment que la première de nos libertés, la plus naturelle, la plus simple, la plus utile, nous soit ravie, celle d'employer notre argent comme bon nous semble et au mieux de nos intérêts. Nous nous bergons de chimères et la réalité nous échappe.

“Et pourquoi n'en serait-il pas entre nations comme entre les individus d'une même nation?

“Pourquoi s'il y a des cordonniers, des tailleurs, des tisserands, et si chaque citoyen ne fait pas lui-même ses souliers, ses habits, ses vêtements, pourquoi chaque nation n'aurait-elle pas aussi sa spécialité?

“Pourquoi, si la division du travail, celle des industries est bonne parmi les individus d'une même nation, ne serait-elle pas bonne entre les peuples? Bien mieux, si le principe est bon entre individus, à plus forte raison doit-il être bon entre peuples, car l'aptitude des individus à telle ou telle profession ne dépend que de l'habitude et du travail, tandis que celle des peuples à telle ou telle industrie, tient la plupart du temps au climat, ou à des causes naturelles qu'il ne dépend pas de nous de changer.

“Ce qui est vrai dans un cas, l'est donc à plus forte raison dans l'autre, et cependant nous admettons la spécialité des industries entre individus, et nous la rejetons entre nations, alors qu'ici la spécialité est basée sur les lois immuables de la nature.

“Il faut donc le reconnaître, messieurs, l'intérêt de la masse de consommateurs a été sacrifié à l'intérêt de quelques privilégiés, et c'est au nom de cet intérêt de la masse que nous venons protester contre cette injustice et réclamer le droit de la liberté des échanges.

“Il est vrai qu'on a su colorer cette usurpation des droits naturels d'une apparence de raison. Il faut, dit-on, qu'un peuple se suffise à lui-même; il faut favoriser le travail national.

“Mais cet argument n'est pas spécieux, car on pourrait tout aussi bien dire que chaque individu doit se suffire à lui-même; mais de là résulterait la confusion des industries; dès-lors, plus de division de travail et partant la barbarie. Et quant au travail vraiment national, il ne peut y en avoir d'utile que celui qui est basé sur la nature du sol et du climat; tout industrie qui ne vit qu'à l'abri du privilège est nuisible et fatale, car elle empêche la véritable, la bonne industrie, celle que la nature favorise, de se développer autant qu'elle le ferait si elle pouvait échanger son trop plein contre les produits de l'industrie étrangère: ce ne serait pas la cessation d'un travail national, mais bien la suppression d'une industrie parasite au profit d'une industrie vivace qui fournirait dix fois plus de travail, et emploierait dix fois plus de bras, et mériterait seule à cet égard le nom d'industrie nationale.

“J'en ai dit assez, messieurs, pour vous faire comprendre le but de l'Association pour la liberté des échanges: c'est l'association des consommateurs contre quelques producteurs, privilégiés; c'est l'affranchissement de la masse; le triomphe d'un droit inné; la liberté que doit avoir chacun d'employer son argent et ses bras de la manière qu'il croit le plus utile à ses intérêts.

“Il semble, messieurs, qu'il suffise d'exposer cette doctrine pour assurer son succès; et, cependant, il n'en est pas, il faut le dire, qui ait été plus controversée

them,—that of buying what they please and where they please?

“Verily, the more we reflect, the more we find that the human mind is a mass of absurd prejudices.

“During 50 years we have been struggling for visionary objects, demanding franchises which profit us nothing, and at the same time allow the first, the most natural, the most simple, and the most useful of our liberties to be left from us—that of employing our wealth as our inclinations and our interests direct. We amuse ourselves with fancies, and realities escape us.

“Why should it not be between nations as between individuals of the same nation?

“Why, if there are shoemakers, tailors, weavers, and that each citizen does not make his own shoes, clothes, and shirts—why, I ask, should not each nation have its special branches of industry?

“Why, if the division of labour is good for individuals of the same nation, should it not be good for nations themselves? If good for individuals, *a fortiori* it must be still better for nations, since the aptitude of individuals for this or that profession depends on habit and practice, while the aptitude of nations for a special branch of industry depends on climate or other natural causes beyond human control.

“What is true in the one case is consequently still more true in the other; yet we accept special pursuits for individuals, and reject them in the case of nations, where they rest on the immutable laws of nature.

“We must confess, gentlemen, that the interest of the masses has been sacrificed to the interests of the privileged classes. It is in the name of the interest of the masses that we come to protest against injustice, and to claim Free Trade as a right.

It is true that this usurpation has been excused by plausible pretences. We are told that a nation should depend on itself, and that we should favour our national industry.

“But this argument is not even specious; it might as well be said that every individual should depend on himself; but thence would result confusion in industry, the cessation of the division of labour, and perfect barbarism. A truly national industry must be based on the nature of the soil and the climate; every industry which can only be supported by protection is injurious and fatal, for it prevents the development of the really advantageous industry, by preventing the exchange of its surplus for the products of foreign industry; free exchange would not be a cessation of national industry, but rather the suppression of a parasitical branch of industry for the advantage of a healthy branch of industry, which would afford ten times as much employment, occupy ten times as many hands, and alone would merit the name of national industry.

“I have said enough, gentlemen, to explain the object of our association: it is an association of consumers against some privileged producers; it is the enfranchisement of the masses; the triumph of innate rights; the freedom that each should have to employ his capital and his labour as best accords with his interests.

et dont la réalisation ait à surmonter plus d'obstacles; et la raison en est facile à comprendre, c'est, qu'elle a à lutter contre les intérêts individuels; or, les individus intéressés se groupent, s'entendent, forment corps, tandis que la masse est isolée, dissimulée sur le sol, et ne comprend même pas son véritable intérêt.

"La mission de l'Association est donc de l'éclairer, de dissiper les ténèbres dont on a cherché à obscurcir la vérité, et de rendre compactes et collectives des plaintes isolées, qui n'ont, jusqu'à présent, obtenu des gouvernements que des dénis de justice, et, j'ose presque le dire des dédains.

"Mais quelques justes que soient nos réclamations, il ne faut pas espérer vaincre sans combat.

"Il faut du zèle, de la persévérance; il faut plus que cela, il faut de l'argent, beaucoup d'argent, et la réunion d'aujourd'hui a spécialement pour but de vous en demander.

L'appel fait à votre patriotisme ne restera pas sans fruit: Bordeaux a toujours défendu les principes que nous soutenons. Sa chambre de commerce a, depuis cinquante ans, soutenu le dogme de la liberté des échanges; aujourd'hui qu'il faut agir, les Bordelais, nous l'espérons, ne reculeront pas; ils se montreront dignes de la grandeur de l'œuvre que nous sommes appelés à propager, et justifieront le choix qu'on a fait de leur ville pour y établir le berceau de l'association humanitaire de la liberté des échanges.

"Mais je laisse à une bouche plus éloquente que la mienne le soin de vous exposer les besoins de l'Association et l'emploi qu'elle entend faire des fonds que vous mettez à sa disposition, et je me hâte de rentrer dans mon sujet.

"L'œuvre que nous entreprenons demande, comme je le disais, du zèle et de la persévérance; comment en serait-il autrement lorsqu'il faut en quelque sorte faire l'éducation de tout un peuple? Voyez à cet égard ce qui s'est passé en Angleterre. Il a fallu dix ans de lutte pour obliger le gouvernement à entrer dans la voie des concessions. Que dis-je, dix ans! Il y en a cinquante et plus qu'Adam Smith a professé les principes que nous soutenons aujourd'hui. Il y en a trente bientôt que j'ai entendu en Angleterre le peuple crier contre le *corn-bill*, et que j'ai vu afficher et colporter des pétitions, où l'on réclamait son abolition, et cependant il faut le dire, l'Angleterre était mieux préparée que la France à recevoir ces idées; les moyens de les y répandre sont plus faciles chez nous, car on y lit, on discute davantage, et les masses se groupent plus facilement et avec moins de dangers. Il ne faut donc pas nous faire illusion, c'est une œuvre immense que nous entreprenons; mais, je ne crains pas de dire qu'elle est aussi glorieuse qu'elle est immense et je remercie pour ma part l'Association d'en avoir choisi pour son président. Elle a compté sur ma bonne volonté, comme moi je compte sur le zèle de mes collègues, et, Dieu aidant, j'espère qu'avec de la persévérance nous atteindrons le but que nous nous proposons.

"Mais pour l'atteindre, la première condition est de faire faire nos petits intérêts personnels, d'ajuster tout préjugé, tout esprit de parti. Il faut, avant tout, que le gouvernement sache bien que nous ne voulons employer que les moyens légaux de la persuasion; qu'il n'a donc rien à redouter de nous, parce que nous voulons l'ordre, le repos, la paix, l'aisance générale, et que nous savons que tout cela n'est pas possible qu'avec sa stabilité. Loin de chercher à l'affaiblir, il nous trouvera disposé à lui prêter appui.

"It seems, gentlemen, enough to enunciate this doctrine to ensure its success, and yet we must confess that no doctrine has been more controverted; there is none of which the realisation has had to surmount more obstacles, and this for a reason which is easily understood, because it has had to grapple with personal interests. Now interested individuals combine, consult, and form compact parties, while the masses are isolated, spread over the land, and often ignorant of their true interests.

"The mission, therefore, of our association is to enlighten, to dispel the darkness by which truth has been obscured, to collect and combine the isolated complaints which have hitherto received from the government only denials of justice—I might almost say disdain.

"However just may be our claim, we cannot hope to conquer without a struggle.

"We must have zeal, we must have perseverance, and more than that we must have money—much money; and the special object of our meeting to-day is to raise funds. The appeal made to your patriotism will not be fruitless. Bordeaux has always defended the principles which we maintain. Its Chamber of Commerce has maintained the doctrine of Free Trade for 50 years, and now, when we must act, the men of Bordeaux will not hold back.

"I leave to a tongue more eloquent than mine the task of explaining to you the wants of the association, and the use we intend to make of the funds which you will place at our disposal, and I return to my subject.

"The work which we undertake demands, as I have said, zeal and perseverance; how can it be otherwise when we have to undertake the education of an entire people? See what has occurred in England. It required ten years to force the government to yield. What say I? Ten years! Fifty years and more have elapsed since Adam Smith maintained the principles which we maintain this day. For thirty years I have heard the English people cry out against the Corn Laws; I have seen them sign and present petitions demanding its abolition, and yet I must say that England was better prepared to receive these ideas than France. There are greater facilities for their diffusion there than here; the English read more, discuss more, and masses meet there with greater facility and less danger than here. We must not, therefore, deceive ourselves; the work we have to undertake is immense; but I do not hesitate to say it is as glorious as it is immense, and I feel grateful to the association for having chosen me as its president. It has counted on my good will; I too rely on the zeal of my colleagues, and with the help of God, I trust that we will attain the end at which we aim.

"But to succeed, our first consideration must be to lay aside our petty personal interests, to abjure all prejudice, and all party spirit. Above all things we must show the government that we mean to employ none but legal means of persuasion; that it has nothing to dread from us, because we desire order, tranquillity, peace, general comfort, and that we know that none of these are attainable without its stability. Far from seeking to enfeeble it, government will find us disposed to lend it our best support. We must show that when we

"Il faut qu'il sache enfin qu'en attaquant le privilège, nous n'entendons pas attaquer le revenu des domaines, mais bien en favoriser l'augmentation en développant la consommation des objets qui en font la base, et en attirant chez nous des produits qui en sont exclus aujourd'hui et qui ne paient, par conséquent, aucuns droits au fisc.

"Espérons donc, messieurs, que le gouvernement, loin de nous voir avec crainte, nous favorisera dans nos efforts, qui tendent à répandre l'aisance dans nos villes et nos campagnes, et à consolider le système de la paix. Oui, messieurs, la paix! car il faut bien le reconnaître, un des plus grands fleaux du système protecteur, c'est de favoriser, d'entretenir les haines internationales, de voir partout des rivaux, jamais d'amis: c'est le système de l'égoïsme, de l'isolement érigé en principe, tandis que notre système a précisément pour but de renverser les barrières qui séparent les peuples, d'unitier leur intérêts qu'ils ne forment plus qu'une association de frères, et que la guerre, résultat de l'antagonisme, devienne à jamais impossible.

"Ainsi se réalisera ce rêve des philosophes, la paix universelle, et nous viendrons ainsi en aide à la pensée royale qui, depuis quinze ans, lutte contre les préjugés, les rivalités, l'antagonisme, pour maintenir la paix européenne, si souvent menacée par les mauvaises passions et l'ignorance des masses exploitées par des ambitieux ou des égoïstes intéressés. Ainsi se réalisera enfin ce vœu philanthropique et généreux que j'ai en le bonheur, il y a quelques mois, d'entendre sortir d'une bouche auguste, et qui résume en peu de mots le but de notre association, et doit désormais devenir notre devise. 'Que chaque citoyen français puisse se procurer au meilleur marché possible le plus de jouissances possibles.'

"Vive le Roi!"
"Vive la liberté des échanges!"

(We shall publish the eloquent speech of M. F. Bastiat, with a translation, in our next Number. We are sorry that our space compels us to defer it.)

ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.—STAFFORD.—When a vacancy was created in the representation of this borough by Captain Carnegie's acceptance of office as a junior Lord of the Treasury, a large number of the independent electors applied to Mr. Lawrence Heyworth to become a candidate. He consented; but before the day of nomination arrived, he had reason to fear that he might be involved in the bribery and treating for which Stafford has an unenviable reputation; and having tendered to his committee a sum sufficient to defray the legal expenses already incurred, he retired from the contest. On this the Free Traders requested that Mr. E. Watkin, of Manchester, would allow himself to be proposed, in order that some opportunity should be afforded for the manifestation of public opinion. Though quite unprepared, Mr. Watkin complied with the solicitation; and at the same time the protectionists brought forward the notorious Dr. Sleight. At the nomination, the show of hands was decidedly in favour of Mr. Watkin; but being unprepared with a legal property qualification, he declined to go to the poll, so that the contest lies between Captain Carnegie and Dr. Sleight. The polling takes place this day (Friday).

MR. CHARLES MACKAY.—On Friday last the Senatus Academicus of the University of Glasgow, by a unanimous vote, conferred upon Mr. Charles Mackay, the author of the "Hope of the World," "The Salamandrine," and other poems, the degree of LL.D.

THE PREMIER AND THE FARMERS.—Mr. W. Cross a respectable farmer in the neighbourhood of Dover, a few days since addressed a letter to the Premier, in connection with the proposed new plans of protective duties, in which he respectfully submitted, that, were the Income Tax levied on farmers according to the profits derived from their farms, instead of, as now, on half their rental, this would be one of the best methods that could be adopted to afford compensation for the withdrawal of protection from agriculture. Mr. Cross instanced his own farm as having yielded little or no profit for several years past. To this letter, Mr. Cross received, by return of post, the subjoined pithy reply.—"Downing-street, Feb. 4, 1846. Sir,—I am desired by Sir Robert Peel to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday. Sir Robert Peel trusts that your farm will be more profitable under the law which he has proposed than it appears to have been under a system of high protective duties. He has no intention of making any alteration in the Income Tax. It is clear that, in such a case as yours, there could be no claim for compensation, as a change in the law can hardly operate to your injury.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant, W. H. STURGEON."

attack protection we do not attack the revenue, but that we favour its increase by developing the consumption of articles subject to impost—by attracting to our ports commodities which are now excluded, and consequently pay no duty.

"Let us hope, then, gentlemen, that the government, instead of viewing us with fear, will favour our efforts, which tend to diffuse comforts through our towns and villages, and to consolidate the system of peace. Yes gentlemen, peace! for it must be granted that one of the greatest curses of the protective system is to cherish and encourage international enmities, to see rivals everywhere, and friends nowhere. It is a system of selfishness, of isolation raised into a principle; whilst our system has for its object to throw down the barriers which separate nations, so to unite their mutual interests as to form an association of brothers, and that war, the result of rivalry, should be henceforth impossible.

"Thus will be realised that dream of philosophers, universal peace, and we shall thus aid the royal sentiment which for 15 years struggles against prejudices, against rivalries, against enmities, to maintain the peace of Europe so often menaced by the bad passions and ignorance of the masses, worked upon by the ambitious for the promotion of selfish interests. Finally, then will be realised the philosophic and generous sentiment which I heard uttered some months ago by an august mouth, and which so briefly explains the object of our association that we might take it for our motto—'May every French citizen be able to procure the greatest possible amount of comfort at the least possible expense.'

"Three cheers for the king!"
"Three cheers for Free Trade."

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION OF 1846

Eighth Week, ending Saturday, March 14.

The Corn Law amendments, of which we gave transcripts last week—amendments which threatened us with fixed duties and fixed minimum sliding scales—all disappeared on Friday night week, like snow under the influence of an April sun. The protectionists began to show symptoms of consciousness that they were, somehow or other, acting a feigning part, and that the delay of the Government measures was really injurious to the best interests of the country. So, they abandoned their opposition, not, however, without much talk, especially from that "great man," Lord George Bentinck, who, on behalf of his country and the turf, has had to endure the brunt of many a *qui tam* action. He insisted that Sir Robert Peel should inform them what would be the price of wheat under the new measures of the Government. This question is a perfectly legitimate one for a protectionist to ask. They have been brought up in the idea that an Act of Parliament can secure a given price for grain; and it is really a "crucifying of the flesh" to abandon the notion. Sir Robert Peel, in 1842, expressed himself cautiously; but still he held out the hope that, so far as law could affect it, his sliding scale, which he was then proposing, and which he now abandons, would keep prices fluctuating between 54s. and 58s. But he is not so courageous now. Ever since 1815 the hopes of the lawmakers have been falsified; we have now to try how prices will work when freed from the intermeddling of the Legislature. But though Sir Robert Peel declined to prophesy what would be the probable range of prices under his new measures, he expressed an opinion that protection had worked occasionally in an injurious way even for the protectionists themselves, for the exclusion of foreign corn frequently rendered prices lower than they might otherwise have been, as in 1835, when the average was 39s. In truth, protection, by confining our agriculturists to one market, enables them to obtain an unnaturally high price in scarce seasons, but punishes them by giving them a low price in superabundant seasons.

Mr. Finch, the hero of Rutlandshire, was not satisfied with the answer of Sir Robert Peel. The Free Traders, he thought, ought to know better. So he called on Mr. Cobden to foretell. Mr. VILLIERS took up the question, and answered it happily. An importunate beggar having succeeded in obtaining a dole, was asked what he would have done had he not got it. "Why," replied he, "I should have been obliged to work!" So, as Mr. Villiers told Mr. Finch, if protection were withdrawn, he would have to *work*—to look better after his property, and the result would be, that he would be a better, a richer, a happier man!

Opposition being all withdrawn, the resolutions were severally put and agreed to. And here it may be as well to refresh the memory of our readers as to the Parliamentary process. A simple bill is introduced at once. The member who has it in charge makes a statement, and asks leave to bring in the measure. If this be granted, and the bill is already prepared, it is frequently brought in on the same evening, and read a first time. Then, there are the stages of second reading; going through committee; and third reading. But bills relating to taxation, customs' duties, public money, and so forth, have a more protracted course. Thus, when Sir Robert Peel proposes to make a great fiscal change, or to impose a new tax, he moves that the house should resolve itself into "a committee of the whole house." The SPEAKER quits the chair; the chairman of committees takes his place at the table; and Sir Robert Peel makes his statement. Should this prove to be an important one, it is usual for the committee to be adjourned, in order to give time for due consideration. The next stage is the committee's passing resolutions, affirming the expediency of making the proposed alterations. These resolutions have afterwards to be reported by the chairman of committees to the SPEAKER; and it is not until the report of the resolutions is affirmed, that leave is given to bring in a bill or bills, which have to go through all the usual stages of first, second, and third readings, with the intervening one of considering all the clauses in committee.

This gives room for protracted discussion; of which the protectionists have amply availed themselves. After Sir Robert Peel had made his statement on the Corn Laws and the customs, a fortnight was given for consideration. Then came the three weeks' debate as to whether or not the SPEAKER should leave the chair, in order to permit the house to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, with the view of passing the necessary resolutions. This being over, and the house in committee, a long debate may arise on the resolutions. Should they be successfully carried, another debate may arise on the reporting of the resolutions. Parliament met on the 23d of January, yet leave has not yet been obtained to bring in bills embodying the Government measures, with the exception of the one on corn, the second reading of which is fixed for Monday, and on which it is expected that there will be another debate of a week. But Friday night (last night) will probably see some further progress made with the remaining measures.

In the rambling discussion of Friday night week, Indian corn became a prominent topic, and Lord George Bentinck rose to express his conviction that the right course, with respect to Ireland, would have been for the Government to have bought up the Irish oats on the spot, instead of allowing them to be exported, and then have distributed them to the poor. The Premier pinned him to this point. What

would have been the effect of such a step? These oats are now exported to England for the consumption of Lancashire, Scotland, and Wales. Now what would have been the condition of the population in those parts of the kingdom had they been forced to bid against the Government for their food? Moreover, the price of oats would have been raised to the Irish people by such a proceeding; that is, of all oats not bought up by the Government. Sir Robert Peel informed the House that 100,000L had been expended in the purchase of maize for the relief of the Irish people. Mr. William Miles, who has a majestic way of looking at matters, in the course of the discussion on maize remarked that the United States produced annually seven hundred millions of quarters of that grain. Between this and the Tamboff wheat what have we to expect? Mr. Miles has a peculiar knack of blundering in his statistics. The laughter which his seven hundred millions of quarters created roused his faculties, and he corrected himself by substituting bushels for quarters, which, as he said on Monday night, was equivalent to eighty-seven millions of quarters.

The rapidity with which the resolutions were passing on Friday alarmed Lord George Bentinck, and other large-minded men. Further progress was therefore stopped till Monday, with the understanding that there was then to be a debate on Indian corn.

On Monday Mr. O'Connell brought before the house the subject of the distress now existing in Ireland, and pointed out the results that might ensue if speedy measures were not taken by Government to provide an effectual remedy. In reply, Sir Robert Peel re-stated the nature of the precautions which the Government have adopted; providing work, food, and placing grants of public money at the disposal of the grand juries. But though the efforts of the Government were not inconsiderable, spontaneous charity must, after all, be the main reliance of the destitute, and they confidently expected that the landed proprietors will contribute their aid. The Treasury also, as soon as the resolution is passed, will permit the introduction of Indian corn, buckwheat, rice, &c., at the reduced nominal duties, taking the usual precaution of a bond from the importers, to secure the payment of the higher rates, in case the measure should not become law. We must do the protectionists justice so far as to say, that they cheered the proposal of the Prime Minister to permit at once the introduction, for a limited period, of Indian corn, in order to mitigate the distress in Ireland. But it was a wholly different thing to allow that importation to become permanent. However, before we come to the discussion on Indian corn, we must notice a little preliminary incident. When Mr. Greene, the chairman of committees, appeared at the bar, and brought up the report on the resolutions which were agreed to on Friday, that amusing gentleman, Sir John Tyrrell, rose, and

"Trusted that the house would not think he unnecessarily occupied its attention while he took the liberty of reading a letter he held in his hand. He had no wish to interpose needless delay, and should therefore at once give the contents of the letter. The honourable member for Stoke-upon-Trent (Alderman Copeland), the other night, had made a statement which evidently produced such a strong impression upon the right honourable baronet (Sir Robert Peel) that he cheered it most vociferously (loud laughter), and his supporters on the opposite benches joined heartily in chorus (hear, hear). The letter he held in his hand referred to that statement, and for the contents of it he (Sir J. Tyrrell) would vouch, and would communicate privately on the subject with any honourable gentleman. It was from an Essex farmer, one of a body considerably alluded to in the course of these discussions. He began his letter thus:—'I see that Alderman Copeland mentioned on Friday night' (cries of 'order, order'). He supposed he was out of order in giving the name—'I see,' said the writer, 'that the hon. member for Stoke-upon-Trent' (laughter, and cries of 'order'). He did not know how he was out of order.

The SPEAKER—No letter can be read taking notice of a debate in this house.

Sir J. TYRRELL would put it in another form: "I see that it has been asserted by a member of a corporate body (laughter) that a farm in Yorkshire, containing nearly 900 acres, has lately been let to a farmer from Essex, at an increased rent of 200L per annum, and that he preferred such facts to all the arguments and eloquence on the opposite side. I am fearful this statement will injure our cause (laughter), and as I know the facts of the case, having been requested to look over it for my friend who hired it, I am induced to furnish you with the circumstances of the case, and shall feel obliged by your mentioning them as soon as you can in the House of Commons, and you will do our cause much good, as you will find our worthy alderman had not stated the whole facts of the case. This farm had been let in 1882 at a reduced rent of 200L, making the rent 1200L, having been previously 1400L. The person who has now hired it did at last agree to give the old rent of 1400L, the company to whom this property belongs having determined to take no less than that rent. But my friend has now hired it on such conditions as to make the present hiring far preferable to the old one. The landlords are now bound to expend a considerable sum, estimated by their surveyor at about 2000L, in erecting new buildings, fences, to find all tiles for draining, to allow 60 acres of grass to be broken up and converted to arable, and this farm being of a fine rich, deep staple, the tenant is also allowed to farm on the five-course system, taking oats after wheat, which the old tenant was debarred from doing (hear, hear). But above all, a clause is to be inserted in the lease, that in the event of agricultural protection being withdrawn (cheers), that the tenant is at liberty to quit the farm by giving notice, (cheering), in the event of its operation being to reduce the prices of his produce; and should his landlords not agree to let it to him on such terms as he might feel safe in continuing the occupation, he would be at liberty to leave it." Such was the letter of the Essex farmer, and he (Sir J. Tyrrell) regretted that the hon. member for Stoke-upon-Trent was not in his place that he might have read it; he would have seen that his statement, though not exactly true, was extremely well invented. The fact was, that if you gave some things the slightest twist their appearance was entirely altered. The

hon. member for Stockport was not in his place; he had alluded to another Essex farmer, and had made a statement with just about as much foundation. However that hon. member was not present (cries of "here he is").

The laughter which accompanied this statement was very great. The Essex baronet could not perceive that, like a swimming pig, he was cutting his own throat with every sentence.

But a much more important statement was made. Mr. Liddell intimated that he will abandon his threatened opposition to the reduction of the duties on timber. He came to this determination because he had reason to believe that the shipping interest were in favour of the measure of the Government with respect to timber. It was singular that this part of the Government scheme should have been opposed by the shipping interest; for the high price of timber employed in the building of ships is at present the heaviest drawback on the British shipowners; and were the duty repealed, or greatly diminished, it is the common opinion amongst ship-builders that ships could be built cheaper in England than in any other part of the world. Moreover, it was demonstrated, if we remember right, in the course of Parliamentary discussion, at any rate it is demonstrable, that pretty nearly whatever number of ships were thrown out of the Canada trade would be employed in the trade with the north of Europe. However, Mr. Liddell has withdrawn his motion. This is one more instance to be added to the many others of the return of the people of this country to sounder notions of economic science.

The resolutions which were agreed to on Friday night, in committee on corn and customs, having been brought up,

Mr. Miles drew attention to Indian corn, which, of all the cereals, ranked next in importance to wheat, and the production of which in the United States was equivalent to 87,000,000 quarters, capable of being introduced into this country at a cost of 20s. the quarter. It would, therefore, enter into active competition with our agricultural produce, as food not merely for stock but for man, and would seriously affect the English farmer. He did not intend to move any amendment, because he was willing that Indian corn should be admitted for a temporary period, duty free, in order to mitigate the distress in Ireland; but he protested against the repeal of the duty being rendered permanent.

Mr. Cardwell thought that the apprehensions of Mr. Miles were exaggerated, and remarked upon the importance of endeavouring to introduce among that large portion of the Irish people whose staple food has hitherto been the potato, a taste for a nutritious grain, which, in combination with opportunities for obtaining employment, might be the means of effecting a great social change in Ireland.

A conversational discussion ensued, joined in by a number of members, during which Colonel Sibthorp, on hearing that the average wages of the Irish peasantry were only 2s. 4d. a-week, exclaimed, "The Lord have mercy on the people!" And Mr. Bright warned the agriculturists that their absurd opposition placed them in danger of losing not merely their Corn Law but their characters.

Sir John Rae Reid, who has been a Governor of the Bank of England, and is a great "city" commercial man, also stated that the protraction of the debate on the Corn Laws and the Tariff was paralysing trade and commerce, and urged the house to bring it to a close as speedily as possible. He was himself convinced that the measures of the Government were for the general benefit of the British empire.

Sir John Rae Reid was followed by another commercial authority, Mr. Labouchere, who, though not blaming the Government for imitating former precedents in appropriating public money for the purchase of food, in order to mitigate the present exigency in Ireland, protested against the principle as a dangerous one. One member, Lord George Bentinck, had told them that they ought to have bought up Irish oats. But no Government ought to act the part of a merchant. Burke, in his "Thoughts on Scarcity," had long ago pointed out how fatal it was for any Government to teach a people to rely on them for sustenance; and the soundness of the doctrine was unquestionable. Let them open the channels of trade and commerce; and in the introduction of such a grain as Indian corn, raise the bulk of the Irish people higher in the scale of social existence. He concurred with Sir J. R. Reid in deprecating further delay as most injurious to all our commercial and manufacturing interests.

The discussion, which turned on Indian grain, the duties of Irish landlords, and the extent of the potato rot, was closed by Lord George Bentinck, with some details of experiments on potatoes intended for seed. The report on the resolutions on the different corn duties was received and confirmed.

The House then went into committee on the resolutions for reducing the various duties in the Customs, which are included in the new tariff proposed by the Government. It was agreed that all opposition should be withdrawn, any objections to controverted items, as brandy and silk, being reserved to the bringing up of the report. The second reading of the Corn Bill is appointed for Monday next. But the discussion on the tariff did not pass without one interesting discussion. The interests of literature formed the topic of the night. Mr. Ewart proposed an amendment, when the article "books" was cited in the tariff, to the effect that the duty upon foreign books, the production of foreign authors, should, in Parliamentary phrase, henceforth cease and determine. There is no doubt that the Government made a most clumsy defence. Notwithstanding that Mr. Ewart had duly entered notice of his amendment, it would have seemed as though her Majesty's Ministers had been completely taken

by surprise. No sooner was intelligence conveyed "up stairs," that the Government were a little embarrassed, than Mr. D'Israeli, and a compact body, entered the house, and took up their stations "under the gangway." After considerable discussion, during which Mr. Ewart intimated his intention of pressing his amendment,

Mr. Curteis rose, and said that if Sir Robert Peel were placed in a minority, as he seemed likely to be, he would be justified in throwing up his whole commercial scheme. He expressed his surprise that any member of the Anti-Corn-Law League should attempt to embarrass the Government.

Sir Robert Peel felt much obliged to Mr. Curteis for the spirit with which he had spoken. But he was perfectly aware that, having undertaken this task, he would have many difficulties to encounter. It would, however, be a great thing to bring it to a conclusion; and even if placed in a minority on this point he would not abandon the Government measures. But he hoped that members would look at them in the light of a comprehensive plan, and recollect that considerations of revenue frequently prevented for the time the adoption of propositions of which the principle was approved.

Mr. Gisborne and Mr. Wyse advised Mr. Ewart not to press his amendment, and to this appeal,

Mr. Ewart consented, feeling that the opinion of the house was with him, and that the question would be successful next year.

Mr. D'Israeli sarcastically assured the Government that they need not now be afraid of being placed in a minority until the great and comprehensive scheme was passed. Tomorrow they would repent of their decision; but when the public inquired why they could not indulge in the luxury of a foreign author at a cheap rate, they would be told that it was because the Government was in danger of being placed in a minority, and was rescued by an "Opposition" which supported instead of opposing them, but which was only aiding them to their ruin.

The amendment having been withdrawn, the discussion on the other articles was proceeded with. Towards the close of the discussion upon the article of wool, Lord John Russell remarked that as the duty upon corn was to terminate at the end of three years, so also should the remaining duty of 10 per cent. on woollen articles. The Premier received the suggestion favourably, and left us with the impression that his idea was that every vestige of protection is to be swept out of the customs books of England. He is completely confirmed in his system, and takes every opportunity of declaring that he is determined to adhere to it at all hazards. All this is most significant, as affecting the decision in the House of Lords.

Ultimately the whole of the tariff was gone through on Monday night. We now, therefore, begin to see our way. The Corn Law Bill is in the house; and it is to be hoped that the remainder will speedily follow.

PLYMOUTH FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION.—FREE TRADE AND PEACE.—On Thursday evening, the 26th ult., the Rev. W. J. Odgers, Unitarian minister, of Plymouth, and the President of the Mechanics' Institute, delivered an admirable lecture to this Association on the tendency of Free Trade to promote universal peace. The hall was crowded with a highly respectable audience, many of whom were not members of the Association, and the lecture was listened to with the greatest attention, the audience frequently testifying their pleasure and approbation by the most enthusiastic applause. W. Burnell, Esq., was in the chair, and briefly opened the business of the meeting, after which he introduced the lecturer. The Rev. W. J. Odgers then addressed the audience in a speech of great power. He considered the progress of international communication by steam and the rapid advancement of Free Trade principles as two great movements which were proceeding simultaneously to the accomplishment of the same grand object, "the weaving over the whole earth a web of mutual relations and dependencies, which, growing stronger and broader every year, must at length bind nations together in the bonds of peace." He then went forward into his subject, which he treated at great length, and enforced by a copious variety of argument and illustration. The rev. gentleman's speech was eloquent throughout, and frequently elicited the applause of a gratified and enlightened audience. At the close of the address, Lieut. J. D. Haswell proposed in glowing terms a vote of thanks to the lecturer, which was cordially seconded by Mr. Edward James. The vote was greeted with the heartiest applause, and a gentleman proposed that the lecture should be printed in a separate form, if the Rev. Mr. Odgers would consent to it. The rev. gentleman said he had no objection, and having acknowledged the thanks so kindly voted to him, a similar proposition was passed to the chairman for the able and impartial manner in which he had performed his duties, after which the meeting broke up.

THE ALLOTMENT SYSTEM AT REDDITCH.—The hon. R. H. Clive has given directions for the division into garden allotments of about 20 acres of valuable land in the immediate vicinity of Redditch. To prevent any supposed partiality in the distribution, the various lots were drawn for in the National School-room, at Redditch, on Monday week, under the immediate superintendence of John Maughan, Esq., the respected steward of the hon. R. H. Clive. Upwards of 140 persons have thus been supplied with ground, at a cheap rent, to grow sufficient vegetables for their families. There were many more applicants than could be accommodated; but Mr. Maughan held out the hope that if the present experiment was found to work well, Mr. Clive would be disposed to extend it.—*Worcester Journal*.

Sir Robert Peel has shown a disposition to detract from the grace of large and liberal concessions by paltry reservations or postponement; and, on the principle of "like master like man," Sir James Graham, in his very small way, cannot help imitating the Premier's policy. The abolition of bone crushing is not to be total and immediate, but the practice is to be continued for three months in several workhouses.

Among the Chinese no relics are more highly valued than the boots that have been worn by an upright magistrate.

OUR FINANCIAL SYSTEM.

(From the Times.)

The papers laid on the table of the House of Commons on Monday night, and ordered to be printed, exhibit some very interesting results.

The first of these is an account of the number of vessels, the amount of tonnage, and the number of their crews, on the 31st of December in each year, from 1820 to 1844.

In 1820 the number of vessels was 25,374, the tonnage 2,648,593, the number of men employed 174,514. In 1841 there were 30,052 vessels, of 3,512,480 tons, manned by 210,198 men. In 1844 there were 31,320 vessels, of 3,637,231 tons, and 216,350 seamen.

The number of British vessels entered inwards in 1832 was 10,762, whose untold burden was 1,936,846 tons; the foreign vessels were 3,865, of 561,047 tons. In 1845 the number of British vessels was 15,364, and their tonnage 3,669,853; the number of foreign vessels 7,895, and their tonnage 1,353,735.

The declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported from the United Kingdom to foreign countries and our colonial possessions was in—

	£
1827	36,860,376
1841	51,634,623
1842	47,381,023
1843	52,279,709
1844	58,584,292

The net revenue of the Customs, and the amount of duty received from corn, from 1839 to 1845, were as follows:

	Revenue.	Corn Duties.
	£	£
1839	21,583,997	1,098,858
1840	21,784,499	1,156,636
1841	21,898,844	568,340
1842	21,025,145	1,363,969
1843	21,033,717	758,293
1844	22,504,821	1,098,382
1845	20,196,856	367,008

With respect to the silk trade, the returns are extremely full, but we have only room for one or two extracts. The quantity of silk of all kinds entered for home consumption in 1814 was 3,119,974lb., in 1844 it had risen to 4,011,048lb., but in 1844 it had only reached 4,522,351lb., while in 1844 it amounted to 6,208,021lb.

The declared value of British silk goods exported from the United Kingdom in each year between 1826 and 1845 exhibits since the year 1825 a comparative decrease. The value of the silk exported in 1826 was 168,801l., but in 1835 this amount had increased to 973,786l.; in 1837 it had fallen to 503,673l.; and although from that time the value declared continues to increase, it had in 1845 only reached 764,424l.

The quantities of foreign silk manufactures retained for home consumption since the removal of the prohibition upon them in 1826, exhibit a gradual rise from 115,278lb. in 1827, to 410,153lb. in 1845.

The table respecting wool and woollen manufactures is especially interesting, but we have only space to give a few of the results, which prove that an increased importation has had the effect of increasing instead of lowering the price of domestic produce. In 1824 the number of pounds of foreign and colonial wool imported was 22,544,485; and the price of Southdown wool 1s. 3d. a pound. In the following year the duty upon colonial wool was removed, the import increased to 43,816,966lb., and the price of Southdown wool simultaneously rose to 1s. 4d. a pound. During the next 20 years the price fluctuated from 6d. to 1s. 8d. a pound, and in 1843 it was at 11½d., with an import of 47,785,061 pounds. In 1844 the duty upon foreign wool was entirely removed, the quantity entered for consumption increased to 65,079,524lb., and the price of English wool rose at once to 1s. 2d. In 1845 the amount imported had further increased to 76,828,152lb., and the price of domestic wool had risen to 1s. 4d.

Between 1831 and 1845 the declared value of British exports of woollen manufactures had risen from 5,389,124l. to 8,741,728l.

In 1842 the total amount of revenue, exclusive of the corn duties, was 32,178,814l.; in 1845 it was 33,415,431l., although during that period the amount of Customs and Excise duties remitted was 5,197,074l.

The amount of reductions in the public expenditure effected by the repeal of the duties on auctions and glass, in 1845, is not less than 52,636l.

A number of extracts from the letters of glass manufacturers in every part of the kingdom, stating the immense increase of consumption consequent upon the removal of the glass duty, is appended to the important paper from which we have made these extracts.

RESULTS OF THE FREE TRADE POLICY.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

A few days since Sir Robert Peel moved for the production of a number of accounts relating to the shipping, revenue, and the exports and imports of the United Kingdom, calculated to illustrate the effects of some of the most important changes which have taken place in our commercial legislation, from the commencement of Mr. Huskisson's reforms to the present day. The paper containing these several accounts was published yesterday.

As a display of commercial facts the paper moved for by Sir Robert Peel is one of the most important that has been presented to the public for a long time. Not that there is much, if anything, that is new in it, but that most of the great arguments of experience by which the triumph of Free Trade principles has been achieved are here marshalled in all the imposing array of an official review. Every line is an argument in favour of the Minister's policy, and every page refutes hundreds of fallacies, many of them so long interwoven, as it were, with our most cherished national prejudices and maxims.

We know not if we have been indebted to the childish and absurd petition of certain shipowners, against the introduction of good and cheap timber, for the timely production of these papers, but the accounts open with an unanswerable reply to the complaints of this class of inveterate monopolists. Shipowners are the only class of mercantile men who have fairly and perseveringly contested with farmers the character of being the most aggrieved men on earth. They too, like the farmers, have divided their anxieties between the care of the Legislature and the dread of the elements. Ever since a shipowner owned ships he has been an aggrieved man—hastening on to destruction. For the last twenty years, since Huskisson relaxed the navigation laws, the continuance of which threatened destruction to our commerce, this class of men have beset Parliament year after year with

new representations of their woes and their wrongs, till at length we really believe they have got the world and even some of themselves to give credence to their statements. But what tale does the statistics of the Premier tell? Why since the period when the death-warrant of this interest was signed by Mr. Huskisson, in 1824, notwithstanding the yearly ruin falling on the poor shipowner, we find that, independent of all the ships built to replace those lost at sea, the entire shipping of the country has increased more than one million of tons! The following is the comparison of the property of this class, possessed in 1824 and 1844:

	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Men employed.
1824	24,776	2,559,887	168,637
1844	31,320	3,637,231	216,350

What disinterested men must these be, to increase so much their investments in a constantly losing trade!

But these gentlemen have not only so largely increased their stock of ships, but these accounts show that they have also been driving a most active trade. The tonnage of ship-plug entered inwards and outwards from our ports has, even since 1832, increased more than one hundred per cent.!

The following is the comparison:

	Ships entered inwards.	Cleared outwards.
	Vessels.	Tons.
1832	14,627	2,497,893
1845	23,859	5,023,588

True, says the grumbling shipowner, navigation has increased enough; but the Danes and the Prussians, the Americans and the Dutch, trade to our ports on the same conditions as our own "native ships," and run away with all the trade. But what says the Minister's facts? True it is that the entries inwards and clearances outwards of foreign shipping have increased each about 800,000 tons; but the entries inwards of British ships have in the same time increased no less than 1,700,000 tons, and the clearances outwards 1,300,000 tons. The comparison from these returns is thus:

	SHIPS ENTERED	OUTWARDS.
	British.	Foreign.
1832	1,936,846	561,047
1845	3,669,853	1,353,735

	SHIPS ENTERED	INWARDS.
	British.	Foreign.
1832	1,637,093	466,333
1845	2,947,257	1,361,940

	Increase ..	792,688
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The last 20 years has been a period of constant, unvarying ruin to the shipowner—sometimes a little more, sometimes a little less—but still always of ruin; nevertheless they have added to their tonnage by nearly fifty per cent., and while they have been driven from the field by the competition of Danes and Prussians, they have nevertheless managed to sail two additional ships for every one that their competitors have forced into our trade. And what an astounding fact for these grumblers against foreign competition to know, that for every additional ton of foreign shipping that has been forced into the British ports under these acts of reciprocity, they, the British shipowners, have forced into foreign ports more than two additional tons of British shipping! While 805,607 tons of additional foreign shipping have brought cargoes into our ports, 1,732,907 tons of British shipping have carried cargoes from here to enter their ports. Mr. Liddell has displayed a sound discretion in abandoning the case of the malcontent shipowners, who think a carrying trade can be best improved by narrowing traffic and throwing impediments in the way of commercial intercourse.

So much for the shipowners. Then comes a table exhibiting the value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported in each year since 1827, distinguishing the proportions shipped to each of the chief quarters of the world. By this table it appears that the value of our exports, which in 1827 was only 36,860,376l., has increased until it last year amounted to 58,584,292l. In this increase we at once discover the great source from which new employment for an increasing population has been derived. What facts of immense social importance crowd upon the mind in contemplating this additional demand for more than twenty millions of value of our goods! How many families, who would otherwise have been steeped in pauperism, burthens to their country, have, by this employment, been raised into respectable and useful members of society! How much crime and misery have been saved, how much benefit diffused by this employment! But how could this increase of trade have been secured, except by those means which Mr. Huskisson took to reduce the cost of our products, by the reduction of duties on all raw materials, and on the chief articles which constituted our imports? Cheap wool and cheap flax were necessary to make the cheap woollens and linens which would secure a market abroad. Cheap coffee and other produce, received in payment of our exports, were equally necessary to secure their consumption here. And, above all things, a free navigation was necessary to facilitate that intercourse.

But this table exhibits a fact, often referred to by Free Traders against the principle of protection, which is not very tasteful to the self-love and prejudices of our countrymen, who deem all the world besides as deserving of so little consideration as compared with our colonial empire. For the sake of the trade to our colonies, no sacrifice has been regarded as too great. England has been always represented as repaid for the high price paid to Canada for bad timber, and to the West Indies for sugar, by the enormous amount of our goods taken by those colonies. Exports and foreign trade have been in the popular mind as much associated with colonies, timber, and sugar, as wages are with labour. A column in the table before us exhibits the proportion of our whole exports to those colonies in each year, and proclaims the unwelcome and humiliating truth to British prejudice, that while even in 1827 they amounted only to about 15 per cent. of our whole exports, in 1844 they little exceed 8 per cent., and that in fact they are the only markets to which, with all the care and protection bestowed upon them, our exports have remained stationary, the average of the last three years not being quite equal to that of the first three years of the period. The comparison between the first and last year of the period of the amount of our exports to the different divisions of markets is as follows:

	1827	1844
Northern Europe	28,533,563	21,328,797
Southern Europe	5,915,751	11,291,338
Africa	671,481	1,615,580
Asia	4,799,432	11,273,721
United States	7,018,272	7,938,079

British North America and West Indies	4,099,572	5,522,238
Foreign West Indies	907,369	1,173,931
Central and South America, including Brazil	4,664,419	5,433,738

Total	50,900,777	57,857,122
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What pretence can now be found to reconcile the English public to continue to pay a high price for bad timber, or a price for their sugar at least 50 per cent. above their Continental neighbours?

Sir Robert Peel appears to have been roused by Mr. D'Israeli's flight—or, perhaps, we should say descent—into the region of statistics. The member for Shrewsbury, getting out of his element, found himself bewildered by the statistics of the import and consumption of silk, when, substituting figures of arithmetic figures of speech, he held that the reduction of the silk duties had been a palpable failure. He quoted figures to show that the trade had fallen off. It is plain that Mr. D'Israeli had been hoaxed into the belief that Free Trade had converted our silk manufactures from what they were 20 years ago into a manufacture of a material the mere refuse of silk. The monopolists constantly assert that all the increase in the silk trade has been in what is termed "waste knubs and husks." It is quite true that in this, as in all branches, our trade has increased. But Sir R. Peel here gives us an account separating this description of silk from the fine raw silk, and showing the imports in each year since 1814. An abstract of that table, giving the quantities consumed in decennial periods, is attached, the result of which is as follows:

AGGREGATE QUANTITIES CONSUMED IN TEN YEARS.

	Raw Silk.	Waste and Husks.	Thrown Silk.
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
1814—1823	15,214,245	585,906	3,608,872
1824—1833	32,916,995	2,891,515	3,742,825
1834—1843	37,425,114	1,924,815	2,657,189

AVERAGE IN EACH YEAR.

1814—1823	1,521,424	58,591	360,887
1824—1833	3,291,699	289,151	387,284
1834—1843	3,742,511	1,92,481	265,718

IN ONE YEAR.

1844	4,021,808	1,775,855	410,358
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Mr. D'Israeli is quite right in saying that the consumption of "something called waste and husks, a sort of refuse," has increased; but here also is the undoubted fact that the fine raw silk, the annual consumption of which, in the 10 years prior to the reduction of duty and the removal of the monopoly to the Spitalfields manufactures, was only 1,521,424lbs., had increased, in 1844, to 4,021,808lbs.!!

Sir Robert Peel follows up this display of the success of these measures by a still more startling evidence of the benefits of competition. When we had dear silk, and highly protected silk goods, we might force our people at home to purchase them, but we could command no foreign trade. Hence, if the home trade was bad, Spitalfields had no other resource than public charity; no foreign markets to fall back upon. But with Free Trade and cheaper goods, a foreign trade has rapidly risen in silk goods, as in all others. In 1826, by the tables before us, our exports of silk goods amounted only to 168,801l.; and in 1845 to 764,424l. But the most curious fact shown by this table is, that, with the single exception of the United States, we now export a larger quantity of silk goods to France than to any other country in the world, and more than to all our colonial possessions together; another very unkind cut to John Bull's colonial prejudices.

The Minister next goes on to show the result of the reduction in the timber duties in 1842. We recently alluded to this subject in detail, and shall again have occasion to do so when the timber duties come to be discussed. Under the reduction of duty a rapid increase of consumption has followed. The following is the comparison of the three years in which the low duties have been in operation:

TIMBER ENTERED FOR CONSUMPTION.

	Colonial	Foreign
	Deals, Batten, &c. Loads.	Deals, Batten, &c. Loads.
1843	347,366	605,994
1844	398,194	551,994
1845	498,891	797,490

The duty received has rapidly risen at the reduced rates, thus:

1843	£64,495
1844	891,392
1845	1,042,105

Thus, while the consumer is benefited, the revenue progresses by the increased consumption.

Sir Robert Peel next furnishes the statistics connected with the import of wool, and the various changes in the duty upon that article. In an elaborate article upon the new commercial policy of the Government, published in the *Chronicle* at the beginning of the recent debate, we laid all these particulars in minute detail before our readers. At the duty of 6d. per lb., in 1823, we imported 19,300,725 lbs. of foreign wool; at that period the price of English South Down wool was 1s. 3½d. the lb., and that of Kent wool 1s. the lb. In 1824 the duty was reduced to a nominal rate, and in 1844 removed altogether. What has been the result? In 1845 the quantity of foreign wool imported was 76,828,152 lbs. (about four times the supply of 1823); the price of English South Down wool was 1s. 4d., and that of Kent wool 1s. 3d. Just imagine what increased employment the consumption of that additional quantity of material has afforded to our people, and to the injury of no existing interest! The export of woollen goods has increased from £5,636,586 in 1823 to £8,741,728 in 1845.

This interesting and important paper concludes by some statements exhibiting the great benefits which have resulted from the repeal of some of the excise duties, and especially of that upon glass. A statement is furnished of the particulars of the reductions effected since the repeal in 1845 of the duties on auctions and glass, in the Excise establishment. The salaries thus saved to the public amount to no less a sum than £52,636 per annum. At the same time, the most gratifying fact is announced, that most of the officers so discontinued have been selected to fill other situations which have fallen vacant, and that no new appointment will take place till every displaced officer has been taken back into active employment.

In conclusion, we must repeat, that this document contains a mass of facts which vindicate not only the wisdom, but also the benevolence of Free Trade; which prove that it has been, as far as applied, an unalloyed benefit and blessing. The importance of such a document at this time will fully justify the length which we have considered it.

HOW CAN LAND BEST BE RELIEVED?

(From the Economist.)

In an article under this title, in the *Economist* of the 21st ult., we endeavoured to show to what extent the agricultural class as a body, and land as a property, have been relieved from public taxes and local burdens during the last thirty years, by the increase which has taken place during that period of the manufactures and commerce of the country, first, by the means they have afforded of providing profitable employment for the whole addition to the population which has taken place; second, by the relief which a distribution of the public taxes of the country over a greater number of persons has afforded to each, and to the agricultural class as a body in particular; and third, by the relief which land has obtained, by the greater amount of all other real property during that period, and consequently the greater proportion of all burdens which such property bears. The *Union Magazine* for the present month contains an article based on the same facts to which we alluded in our paper of the 21st ult., but worked out in greater detail, so as to show the exact results of the operations of all these causes. Following our former remarks, and the calculations submitted by the writer in the *Union*, we now propose to place these results before our readers, as showing in a stronger light than any which we have yet seen, the enormous advantages which land as a property, and the agricultural class as a body, have derived from the rapid increase of our commerce, and our manufacturing system—advantages of which that class has hitherto been so unconscious as rather to regard these rising interests as dangerous rivals than profitable allies.

In looking to the relief which land has experienced by the absorption of the surplus population in manufactures, it is necessary to refer to the fact that in the beginning of the present century the maintenance of the poor was becoming a charge which threatened the annihilation of rent altogether. The increase of this charge in the sixty-eight years from 1750 to 1818 is thus shown by a recent Parliamentary return. The sums raised in England and Wales, for the maintenance of the poor, were, at the respective dates, as follows:

	£		£
1750	730,137	1803	5,384,205
1776	1,730,317	1814	8,388,974
1785	2,167,750	1818	9,320,000

It is thus apparent that a rapid inroad was being made in the rent of property—an evil of itself so great, that had no means arisen to have relieved land from the threatened danger, the State must have adopted some expensive plan of doing so. But whatever plan might have been adopted, it must be obvious that it could only have been a temporary relief. Another surplus number would soon have risen up, and sooner or later the whole value of the land would have been swallowed up, either by the expense of emigration, or for the support of the population at home. For the land there was no escape, except by an increase of those occupations which would profitably employ the people. To this end our manufacturing system, happily for the land, rose into importance just in time to avert the catastrophe with which land was threatened.

As noticed in our former article, we find by the last census returns that the proportions of the population engaged in agriculture and otherwise were, in the different years, as follows:

	Engaged in agriculture.	Other pursuits.
1811	35 per cent.	65 per cent.
1821	33	67
1831	28	72
1841	22	78

In the first ten years of the period in question only two per cent. of the population was transferred from land to other pursuits; in the second ten years, five per cent.; and in the third ten years, six per cent.; making in the whole period thirteen per cent. of the population which have been transferred from a dependence upon agriculture to other pursuits.

Taking the two extreme periods, we then find the population of Great Britain at each divided in the following proportions:

	Employed in agriculture.	Otherwise employed.	The whole population of Great Britain.
1811	4,408,880	8,187,923	12,596,803
1841	4,145,775	14,698,659	18,844,434
Decrease	263,105	Increase 6,510,736	Increase 6,247,631

We thus see that while the whole population increased by 6,247,631 persons, or 49½ per cent., the population employed in agriculture actually diminished by 263,105 persons. If agriculture had maintained its own share of the increase during that period, the distribution of the population in 1841 would have been as follows:

	Employed in agriculture.	Increase to 1841.
1811	4,408,880	49½ per cent.
Otherwise	8,187,923	12,596,803
Total	12,596,803	Total 18,844,434

Which comparison shows that, while land at this time furnishes employment to 2,445,501 persons fewer in proportion to the whole population, that that number have found occupation in other pursuits.

We are very apt to underrate the importance of evils which have not really been experienced, but which, by the timely interference of some agency, have been averted. It is, however, clear, that but for the increase of our commerce and manufacturing system, which have absorbed not only the natural increase of the numbers belonging to them, but which have relieved the land of its whole increase of population during the last thirty years, the rents and profits of land would by this time have suffered a great reduction for the maintenance of an idle and unemployed population, which, on the contrary, have been converted into valuable customers as consumers of the produce of the soil. By this means the danger which threatened the absorption in time of all rent has been averted, and that which constituted the danger converted into a positive good.

It will be useful now to follow out the effects of this new distribution of the population upon the general taxation and local burdens borne by each class. In a former article we have shown that the general taxation of the country amounted, in the year 1811, to 65,173,545, or at the rate of 37. 10s. 3d. to each person of the whole population of the United Kingdom; while in 1841 the general taxes amounted only to 51,911,588, or at the rate of 17. 18s. 10d. to each individual of the United Kingdom. The writer in the *Union* then shows the proportion of the taxation contributed by each class at the two periods as follows:

	Taxation.	Rate per head.	Agricultural population.	Their proportion.
1811	65,173,545	£ s. d.	10,167,023	15,982,190
1841	51,911,588	1 18 10	14,698,659	8,049,709
Less contributed by land				7,932,481

	Taxation.	Rate per head.	Other population.	Their proportion.
1811	65,173,545	£ s. d.	10,167,023	28,760,070
1841	51,911,588	1 18 10	14,698,659	28,339,897
Less contributed by other classes				230,182

Of the reduction of the taxation, therefore, amounting to 13,261,957*l.* between 1811 and 1841 for the whole of the United Kingdom, the agricultural class in Great Britain has profited to the extent of 7,932,481*l.*, while the other class, comprising the rest of the population of that part of the United Kingdom, has profited only by 230,182*l.* "If," says the writer in the *Union*, "the general taxation of the country had been borne, in 1841, in the same proportion by the agricultural class, and the rest of the community, as they existed in 1811, the former would have contributed thereto 12,798,059*l.* instead of 8,049,709*l.*, and the latter would only have contributed 23,791,547*l.* instead of 28,539,897*l.* Thus, by the increase of numbers which had found occupation in manufactures, commerce, &c., the landed interest, as a class, was relieved of taxes, on this account only, of 4,748,350*l.*"

Passing on to the consideration of local burdens, we extract from the *Union Magazine* the following calculations bearing on this branch of the subject:—

"The operation of the property and income-tax also exhibits, in a striking manner, the relief which land has experienced, in the proportion of the general burdens of the state which it is called upon to bear. In 1814, according to the Parliamentary papers of that year, we find that the whole amount of income derived from real property of various kinds was 57,129,047*l.*, proportioned as follows:—

Land	£37,666,347 or 66 per cent.
All other kinds of property	19,462,700 or 34 per cent.
£57,129,047	100

"In 1843, according to a Parliamentary return of last session, the income from real property had increased to 95,284,497*l.*, proportioned as follows:—

Land	£45,753,615 or 48 per cent.
All other property	49,530,882 or 52 per cent.
£95,284,497	100

"Thus, while land alone, in 1814, contributed 66 per cent. to the property tax, and all other property only 34 per cent., notwithstanding the increased value of land from 37,666,347*l.* to 45,753,615*l.*, per annum, other kinds of property have risen into existence, chiefly the result of manufacturing and commercial enterprise, to share the burdens of taxation with the land, so that the latter now bears only 48 per cent., instead of 66 per cent., as in 1814, while the former bears now 52 per cent., in place of 34 per cent. in 1814.

"According to a Parliamentary return, the property-tax under schedule A yielded, in the year ended 5th of April, 1843, 2,150,412*l.* Had this sum been contributed by land and other property in the proportions which they bore to each other in 1814, the sum charged on each would have been:—

On land, 66 per cent.	£1,419,271
On other property, 34 per cent.	731,141
£2,150,412	

"But, instead of which, this tax has actually been contributed in the following proportions:—

By land, 48 per cent.	£1,033,193
By other property, 52 per cent.	1,117,220
£2,150,412	

Thus showing that, in this item, the relief which 'land,' as a property, has experienced by the increase of other classes of property, is equal to 386,079*l.* annually.

"But to pass from general to local taxation, we will now consider the effect which the creation of so much real property, other than land, has had in relieving the land from the charges of the Poor Rate, County Rates, and other local burdens. In 1814, the whole amount levied for the relief of the poor was 8,388,974*l.*, which was charged on land and other property, in the following proportions, assuming that property was rated for local purposes in the same proportion as to the property and income tax:—

Land, 66 per cent.	£5,536,719
Other property, 34 per cent.	2,852,255
£8,388,974	

"The amount levied for the poor's rate, in 1843, was 6,552,890*l.*, which, according to a similar principle, was apportioned as follows:—

On land, 48 per cent.	£3,145,368
Other property, 52 per cent.	3,407,522
£6,552,890	

showing that land has actually been relieved during that period, under the head of poor rate, to the amount of 2,291,321*l.*, while other property contributes the sum of 555,247*l.* more at present than in 1814. The present amount of poor rate, levied now in the same proportion as in 1814, would be charged thus:—

On land, 66 per cent.	£4,324,905
On other property, 34 per cent.	2,227,984
£6,552,890	

which, when compared with the proportions really charged, show that land has been relieved of its relative share of this burden, by a sum equal to 1,179,518*l.*, which sum has been transferred to the relative proportion of this charge borne by other property. Again, with respect to the county rate, we find a similar result. In 1814, the amount levied for 'county rate' was 573,504*l.*, which was contributed in the following proportions:—

By land, 66 per cent.	£378,510
By other property, 34 per cent.	194,994
£573,504	

In 1843 the sum levied for this rate was 1,003,651*l.* in the following proportions:—

On land, 48 per cent.	£481,753
On other property, 52 per cent.	521,898
£1,003,651	

But which, if levied in the same proportions as in 1814, would have been contributed:—

By land, 66 per cent.	£662,408
By other property, 34 per cent.	341,243
£1,003,651	

which shows that land contributes now relatively less to this object, by the sum of 180,657*l.*, than in 1814, and that other property contributes relatively more by that sum. Every other local rate, chargeable on real property, has undergone during that period, a similar relative change in favour of land.

"Leaving out of view altogether the actual reductions of burdens, for general and local objects, which have taken place during the last 30 years, as not so distinctly traceable to the immediate influence of extended commerce and manufactures, we will now sum up the relative difference which now exists in the proportion of those charges which attach to those employed in agriculture and the rest of the community—to land and other property now, as compared with 1814—which has been caused entirely by an extension of our trade, the additional employment it has afforded, and the new property which it has called into existence.

AGRICULTURAL CLASS, AND LAND.		Proportion of burdens actually contributed in 1814.	If contributed in the same proportion as in 1814.
General taxation	£8,049,709	.....	£12,798,059
Property tax	1,033,192	.....	1,419,271
Poor's rate	3,145,388	.....	4,324,906
County rate	481,753	.....	662,408
	£12,710,042		£19,204,644

Annual relative saving to land, over and above the actual reductions of burdens	£6,494,602
£19,204,644	

ALL OTHER CLASSES AND ALL OTHER PROPERTY. Proportion actually contributed in 1843. If contributed in the same proportion as in 1814.

General taxation	£28,539,897	£23,791,547
Property tax	1,117,220	731,141
Poor's rate	3,407,502	2,227,984
County rate	521,898	341,243
£33,586,517		£27,091,915
Annual additional relative sum contributed		£6,494,602

"We thus arrive at the remarkable fact, that not only has the land been relieved of the maintenance of its own natural increase of population, amounting, in the last thirty years, to no fewer than 2,445,501 persons, but land, as a property, and the agricultural class, as a body, have been relieved of taxes, general and local, to the extent of no less than 6,494,602*l.* annually, wholly and entirely by the increase of our commerce and manufactures, which have afforded profitable employment to such an increased proportion of the population, and which have led to the creation of so much additional fixed property in various ways, which has shared with land all the burdens chargeable upon real property."

This sum, however, of 6,494,602*l.* represents only the "relative saving to land over and above the actual reductions of burdens," but the calculations furnish all the materials by which we can compute the actual increase of rental and diminution of general taxes and local burdens which have occurred between the two periods in question:

In 1814 the rent of land returned to the income tax	£37,666,347
In 1843 it had increased to	45,753,615
Increase of rent	£8,087,268

TAXATION AND LOCAL BURTHENS.		8,087,208
Share of general taxation in 1811 ..	£ 15,982,190 In 1841	£ 8,049,709
Poor rate, 1814 ..	5,536,719 In 1843	3,145,368
County rate, 1814 ..	378,510 In 1843	481,753

Reduction of taxes and local burdens	11,676,850
£10,220,569	
21,897,419	

Thus while the rental of this country has increased by 8,087,268*l.*, the general taxes and local burdens contributed by land as a property, and the agricultural class as a body, have been diminished by 10,220,569*l.* annually, independent of the numerous special exemptions from particular taxes which have during that period been extended to this class.

We sincerely trust that the inquiry which has now been awakened upon these subjects will convince landowners how much their true interests are bound up with an uninterrupted progress of the trade and manufactures of the country by which alone a profitable occupation can be found for the increasing population and the capital of the country, to the general benefit of all, and that from this source they will find the safest and surest relief of their existing burdens.

REGISTRATION APPEALS.

COOGAN v. LUCKETT.

Mr. Wellsby for the Appellant; Mr. Grove for the Respondent.

CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL.—This must be a question of fact if anything can be a question of fact: the revising barrister has come to a conclusion, and he has not stated any facts that enable us to say that he is wrong.

MR. JUSTICE MAULE.—The principle in this case is not one of law, but a convenient using of fact. It might as well be called a principle of law to say that several surveyors were called in to form an estimate, and that they were all of opinion that this was a clear annual value of 10*l.* There is clearly no question of law in this case; and therefore the decision ought to be affirmed.

MR. JUSTICE CRESSWELL concurred.

MR. JUSTICE ERLE.—I think the test for annual value is that which I have endeavoured to express once or twice—what the premises will let for fairly under ordinary circumstances, deducting what the tenant ordinarily had to pay. That is the principle laid down frequently; and I think it is applicable in this case.

Decision affirmed.

BISHOP v. SMEDLEY.

Mr. Arnold for the Appellant; Mr. Merewether for the Respondent.

CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL.—It appears to me, the decision of the revising barrister was proper under the circumstances of this case. The 36th section of the Act says, that if the occupier's name is not on the rate, he may insist on having it put on; and if there is a refusal, it shall be a sufficient claim to have the right to put it on, if he actually pays or tenders the full amount of the rate then due for that purpose. It is perfectly clear he did not actually pay, and it seems to me as clear that he did not tender the full amount of the rate due for that purpose; for it appears to me when he called upon the overseers, and after inquiring whether any rates were due, the overseer saying he did not know, when he tells the overseer that he is prepared to pay what is due, and the overseer says, "I will submit," if he goes away and never comes again, it seems to me he goes away on the mutual understanding that the overseer is to look into the book and see what it is, and that when he comes again he shall know what it is. The case goes on to state that he never made any further inquiries. Therefore, the parties are to each other *re infesta* in the position of having begun a transaction and not having come to a conclusion. Therefore, it is enough to say, without going into the two points made by the revising barrister, that he has decided the case rightly; and as we have not felt any doubt in the case, in point of law, the decision must be affirmed with costs.

COOKE v. LUCKETT.

Mr. Wellsby for the Appellant; Mr. Grove for the Respondent.

CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL.—The alteration being made in the statement of the case for your determination has relieved it, as it appears to me, of some difficulty. It appears now that the learned gentleman, the revising barrister, thought that the mistake of No. 3 for No. 4 was one that brought the case within the 75th section of the Registration Act, as one of inaccurate description; he thought that it was an

amendable mistake, and held so under the powers of the Act. A doubt was raised whether it was such an alteration, and he thought it was; and therefore, so far as that part of the question is concerned, there is an end to that; and the only point to consider is, whether the facts show the appellant had been called upon *bona fide* to pay, and had done so in respect of such premises, which premises we must now take as rightly described. The facts showed that the tenant's name was upon the rate, but that having agreed with his landlord to give a larger sum of money for the occupation of the premises, it was on the landlord's part agreed that he would pay all the parish rates and some of the taxes. It appears to me that the payment of them by the landlord is *bona fide* under the circumstances of the tenant being rated, that the tenant is *bona fide* called upon to pay in respect of such premises the rates of the parish, and that he has actually *bona fide* paid the same. I cannot understand that the words "*bona fide* called upon" means of necessity a personal call, or a personal demand of the rate; but it appears that the tenant's name being upon the parish rate, he is the only person who can in law be called upon by the parish officers to pay the rate. He is the person who must either answer it by actual payment through himself or through some other person, and he is liable to a distress from having his name upon the parish rate book; and therefore it seems to me he is called upon in law to pay the rate. There could be no greater notoriety than the actually calling at the door and asking him to pay the rate in consequence of seeing the name already in the rate book—therefore it seems to me to satisfy these words. He is called upon to pay it in person or by deputy—not necessarily by his own hand. It is stated he did actually pay, and as the words are satisfied, the decision is wrong, and must be reversed.

Mr. JUSTICE MAULE.—I think also this decision must be reversed. I think there was a *bona fide* payment of the rate, and that the appellant was *bona fide* called upon to pay the rate within the meaning of section 75 of the Registration Act. It is by no means clear that it is necessary, in order to support his vote, to have recourse to that section, because I incline to think that without the assistance of that section, on a due construction of the 27th section of the Reform Act, the vote might have been properly allowed. The Reform Act is not entirely in the dark with respect to the purpose and intent of the different provisions of that Act. In section 27 of that Act the elective franchise is conferred upon persons occupying 104 houses. There might be set up an occupation for the purpose of the franchise, where they were not *bona fide* occupiers entirely, and it may well be that they should be willing to take the benefit but not to incur the burthens of that occupation; and therefore the section requires, amongst other things, that the party shall be rated and pay the rates,—not merely the putting himself on the list of 104 householders for the purpose of the franchise, but that he shall also submit to the liabilities of such a person in respect to the matters in the ordinary and usual course, such as having to pay rates. Further, another object may be that he shall be the person who shall be called on by the parish, and those who have to make the rates as the person occupying the property, and to a sufficient amount. In order to effect that purpose, the 27th section says he must be rated, and that he must pay the rates. We have had several cases on the question of what payment of a rate amounts to, and it has been contended it must be paid by the very hand of the person liable to pay it. Now, generally speaking, the thing required to be done by the statute, or the law, need not be done in his own person unless there is some sufficient reason for it; and it clearly is of the least necessity that the payment should be made by a particular person by his own hand; because, if the money comes out of his pocket and goes into the pocket of the person entitled to receive it, it seems perfectly immaterial whose hand it is that conveys it—the party paying and the party receiving being the same. Possibly we might quote cases in which the difference arises, but there is no difference arising out of the intermediate adventure of the money in transitu. Therefore, there is no doubt that a person who gets another to pay for him out of his funds and allows it to another person in account, is the person who, within the meaning of this statute, pays the rate. This is meant to exclude a gratuitous payment by some person of that kind, who does not pay as the agent of a party liable, or out of his funds, or to be repaid by him; but a person who pays voluntarily a sum which he is in no way under a pecuniary contract to pay, but pays it so as to fall within some of the mischief intended to be prevented by Parliamentary law. But there cannot be a doubt that a payment which has been procured by the services of any other, *bona fide*, and which one man gets another to pay for him, is a payment by the person who has recourse to that means of making it. Here there was a complete payment within the sections of the Reform Act and the Registration Act. The main question that turns upon this is, whether the applicant can be said to have been, *bona fide*, called upon to pay. Now section 75 of the Registration Act, is not necessarily a new law in all cases; it may be that it helps some new cases that would not hold by the 27th section of the Reform Act, but no doubt it is meant to apply to many cases in which that section of the Reform Act would apply without its assistance; but the 75th section is to relieve doubts that may exist in cases that ought to be decided in favour of the franchise independent of the new enactment of the statute of Victoria: and it is to facilitate the decision of such cases, and to relieve the obscurity, and to enable the court and the revising barrister to come rapidly and easily to the conclusion he ought to have arrived at, and would have done so, but with difficulty, under section 27. And therefore, that being the case, it must necessarily happen that there are many cases in which the decision would have been the same if the statute of Victoria had not been passed; and I am inclined to think this is one, and that within the 27th section the appellant was rated for No. 3, which was called by mistake No. 4, as if it had been, that "a house in Black Lane" had been put instead of "Red Lane," which would come I think within the 27th section; and if that be so, then no doubt could arise with respect to the words, "*bona fide* called on," for they are not in section 27, and not being so in the 27th section of the Reform Act, that therefore throws great light on the term in the section of the Act of Victoria; because that section is intended in the cases where there is innocent error and mistake—without *mala fide* by substituting that which is substantially the same, in effect, as a formal compliance which is required by the 27th section, and a compliance would be to substitute that for a formal compliance which is the same in effect but not in form. Now what is the effect of being distinctly and accurately rated? Why, it is intended that it may effectually draw the attention of those parties whose business it is to be informed of the matter who it is liable to pay the rate, and this is done by putting that person on

the rate to inform him also that he is to be called upon in respect of occupying certain premises, to pay a certain sum of money, being assessed by authority of law, and that such amount he is called upon to pay to the overseers. All that is the effect of accurate rating; and the statute of Victoria says, that when there shall be inaccuracy, which there possibly may be, that is to be removed: not in all cases of mistake, but in such cases only where the substance has been complied with, not in those in which he shall either be on or off the rate, for there may be some cases where the rate did not show that the voter or claimant was called upon to pay so much to such persons; and you may take the call and the rate together, and say he was *bona fide* called upon by the rate, together with some other information he had received, so as to exclude everything from the case except a fraudulent mistake, so as to make the liability acknowledged by the claimant, and to make it notified by calling upon him. It may be error, and I am strongly inclined to think the law on that point to be defective; the rating is not merely that he may know to whom he is to pay the amount, for that may be helped; if the overseers be in earnest in the matter by, calling upon him, and thus effectually give him the information,—it shows us merely the demand that the overseers might make, but it amounts to something a great deal stronger than that, namely, to the imposition of a duty on the part of the person to pay it, and a notification to him that he is to pay it. Not simply calling upon him, but writing in the paper that he is to pay so much per annum, and notifying to him and the rest of the world publicly, and in such a way, that if he does not pay it, he is liable to be distrained for it. I am sure that it is stronger information than the knocking at the door of the party, and saying, "be so good as to pay me so much money." Therefore the revising barrister conceived that he was called upon to answer a question quite independent of what passed between the overseer and the landlord—the question, namely, that he was called upon *bona fide* to pay the rate; and that being so, he has actually paid it. Though the money is not actually disbursed by him, it is received by those entitled by law to receive it, and I think he has been *bona fide* called upon, and has *bona fide* paid the money; and therefore his name must be inserted on the register. The rest of the court concurred, and the decision of the revising barrister was reversed.

BAYLEY v. OVERSEERS OF NANTWICH.

Mr. Cockburn, Q. C., for the Appellant; Mr. Wellsby for the Respondent.

CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL.—The case has been referred back to the revising barrister to certify whether any objection was made before him as to the address of the notice of claim to the overseers of Nantwich being the proper address: he has certified that no such objection was made; and as it was admitted that all the provisions of sections 100 and 101 of the Registration Act had been complied with, the sole point referred to us was whether the duplicate notice of claim properly stamped was conclusive evidence of its being in time? This was decided in the case of notice of objection, and there is no distinction to be taken between the two cases: we therefore think the decision of the revising barrister is wrong, and that the same must be amended and be reversed, and the names of the 25 claimants inserted in the list of voters.

Decision reversed.

CROUCHER v. BROWN.

Mr. Serjeant Kingleke for the Appellant; Mr. Russell Gurney for the Respondent.

CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL.—The question appears to me to turn upon the proper construction of the 32d section of the 2 Wm. IV., c. 45; and I am unable to read that in other way than by seeing a marked distinction made between the burgess or freeman of an ordinary borough, and the freeman and liveryman of the city of London. The very first observation that arises is, when speaking of other boroughs or cities than London, using in the alternative the word burgess or the word freeman, though one would be synonymous with the other; but when speaking of London, it couples with it the character of freeman and also of liveryman: therefore I should say on the first inception of the case, when it is speaking of a right to vote of a burgess or of a livery and freeman, it couples with the character of freeman the necessity of also having the character of liveryman; it makes the right to vote depend upon both. If you carry your mind through the enacting part of the clause, you will find the distinction is thoroughly kept up. It goes on to say, "he shall be entitled to vote in such election provided such person shall be duly registered according to the provisions hereinafter contained," which do not mean expressly to point to the proviso to this section, but to the general provisions in the act, for the registration of cities and boroughs. And then it goes on to say "that no person shall be so registered in any year unless he shall on the last day of July in such year be qualified in such manner as would entitle him then to vote if such day were the day of election, and this act had not been passed; nor unless where he shall be a burgess or freeman, or freeman and liveryman of any city or borough"—still pointing to the distinction, burgess or freeman of any city but London, and liveryman and freeman of London, "where he shall have resided for six calendar months, &c." Then follows the clause which relates only to other boroughs than London, and then it drops the words liveryman and freeman, and only uses the words burgess and freeman. It contains a provision that applies to contributory boroughs; and therefore, not applying to London, it did not want the word. Now you come to the proviso, and you find the same distinction, "Provided always, that no person who shall have been elected, made or admitted a burgess or freeman since the 1st day of March, 1831, otherwise than in respect of birth or servitude, or who shall hereafter be elected, made or admitted a burgess or freeman, otherwise than in respect of birth or servitude, shall be entitled to vote as such in any such election for any city or borough as aforesaid, or to be so registered as aforesaid." That exception, which is the disfranchising exception, is in force with respect to the city of London, where you find in the other part of the clause it has considered the double character of liveryman and freeman to be necessary to give the right to vote. Look again at the schedules, and you find the same distinction prevails. In the schedule K, of the 2 W. 4, c. 45, the notices all show in the language they use, that the double character of liveryman and freeman is necessary: "I hereby give you notice that I claim to have my name inserted in the list made by the clerk of the company of —, of the liverymen of the said company of —, entitled to vote in the election of members for the city of London;" and the second says, "The following persons claim to have their names inserted in the list of persons entitled to vote as freemen of the city of London, and liverymen of the several

companies herein specified, in the election of members for the city of London;" and the same with number three. Therefore when you come to the words at the end, "entitled to vote as such," it appears to me the revising barrister came to a right decision when he held that with respect to the qualification, it offered only to burgesses or freemen, and was not to include the right of those who claim to vote for the city of London. It has been asked, why there should be that distinction? I am unable, perhaps, exactly to point out why it should be. It might be thought perhaps, that in London, companies being very various and numerous, that is a sufficient check against any of those malpractices which might take place in other boroughs where the whole depended upon the will of the corporation. Such might or might not be. That appears to me to be the construction of the Act, and I think the revising barrister was right.

Decision affirmed.

LUCKETT v. BRIGHT.

Mr. Grove for the Appellant; Mr. Wellsby for the Respondent.

CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL.—The question put, I conceive, is whether the revising barrister was wrong? And, looking to the facts of the case to see whether he ought, on that state of facts, to have come to a different conclusion; in the first place you have all of these claimants clothed with the character of tenants; there is a lease made to them, and the case finds no other person as the landlord, and no other person to whom the rent is paid. Being tenants, we are then told of the mode of their occupation, from which it appears that they are there just as often as they wish, not only for their own business, but some other particulars are told us which we are not to inquire into. We cannot inquire how the business of the association is carried on, and we cannot say that this was an occupation neither by themselves or by some persons whom they let into possession, whether jointly with them, or severally from them. The names, therefore, were rightly retained on the list.

Mr. JUSTICE MAULE.—I am of the same opinion. The barrister has found that the voter was the occupying tenant of certain premises, and the appellant, upon the point reserved, asks us whether we can say the barrister was wrong in coming to that conclusion? The case shows that the premises were let for 200l. a year to five persons, of whom the voter in question was one; the use of the premises was by the five persons and other persons admitted with them, for some purposes, using it for any purpose that they thought fit, and whenever they thought fit. They used it first for themselves in doing their own business, which could not be done by others, and which, therefore, they were obliged to do personally when in London. The house seems to have been in charge of some servants, who were the servants of the association, of whom the defendant and his co-lessees were members; and it was used by the voter and the others who were engaged jointly with the voter in some pursuit which was the object of the association; and from these circumstances the barrister says they occupied as servants. Can we say he was wrong in that conclusion? It seems to me it was by no means an unreasonable conclusion upon the facts; and, therefore, I think the decision ought to be affirmed.

Mr. JUSTICE CRESSWELL.—I think the revising barrister was right in retaining these names on the list. The material question for us is, whether he was justified in finding that the parties occupied this house as tenants. It is stated on the case expressly that the respondent and certain others were lessees at a certain rate, and therefore were tenants of the house, and undoubtedly had a right to occupy the house. There does not appear, therefore, anything in the case to show that they have parted with their right to turn everybody else out at any moment they think fit. It does not appear that any persons came into the house at any time without their consent. They are said to be the joint subscribers to the same fund, out of which the servants are paid who have the superintendence of the house. These servants are reported to be the servants of those persons who subscribe to the common fund. That shows that they are in the same position as the agents of any other person, and could have no right to be there a moment longer than the lessees chose; therefore the respondent reserved to himself the right to remain in the house as long as he pleased, not only for the business of the association, but for his own private business. There is nothing to deprive the revising barrister of the opportunity of finding that they occupied the house as tenants, and that therefore the finding was correct.

Mr. JUSTICE ERLE.—I know of no definition of the word "occupation" that can prevent the facts here found from amounting to occupation.

Decision affirmed.

SCOTCH LAW OF ENTAIL.—We learn by an announcement which appears in our advertising columns, that the landlords of Scotland are in earnest upon the subject of entails. A requisition for a public meeting of landed proprietors to consider the subject has been headed by the name of the Marquis of Breadalbane. It invites the proprietors of entailed estates in Scotland to meet together, "for the purpose of considering the great national evils connected with the law of entail, and the propriety of an immediate application to the legislature thereupon." The landlord proprietors have the warm wishes of the community for their success; for, as we have attempted to show above, however much these unnatural laws press upon the owners of land, they weigh with double injury upon all other classes.—*Glasgow Argus*.

A lady once asked a gentleman what wit was like? To which he replied, "Like your ladyship's bottle of sal volatile—poignant at the first opening; but on being too much handed about, loses all its flavour, and becomes quite insipid."

CONSIDERATE.—When Sir Robert Peel brought forward his new grand commercial scheme, he kindly allowed the lapse of ten days, in order that the House of Commons might have full time to recover from the speech Mr. D'Israeli made on that occasion.—*Punch*.

A printer at Wurtzburgh has been arrested for printing an almanack in 1842, in which the name of the Bishop of Wurtzburgh is placed before that of the King and Royal Family of Bavaria.

IMPORTATION OF CATTLE.—By a return obtained by Mr. Gogan (Dublin), printed on Monday, it appears that the importation of "live cattle" into the United Kingdom from foreign countries, for the year ending the 6th of January, 1846, was respectively as follows: Oxen and bulls, 9782; cows, 6502; calves, 586; sheep, 15,847; lambs, 112; swine and hogs, 1598.

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 deficient of the following numbers:

67, 70, 76, 93, 103, 104, 107.

Any reasonable sum will be paid for the numbers, or any of
 them.

They may be addressed to the care of Mr. Gadsby, Newall's
 buildings, Manchester, and should be accompanied by a
 letter from the senders, which shall be promptly replied to,
 with payment.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending
 Wednesday, March 11, 1846.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from
 Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on
 Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the
 LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding,
 but are included in the list of the week following.

As the regulations of the Post Office require that
 the Christian Name of the party to whom Post
 Office Orders are sent should be given in full, sub-
 scribers are respectfully requested to procure their
 Orders in future for **GEORGE WILSON, League**
Offices, Manchester, or ABRAHAM WALTER PAULTON,
67, Fleet-street, London.

*Lord, John, Bacup	£	s.	d.
Cheetham, John, Staleybridge	100	0	0
*Matley, R., Hodge, near Mottram and Manchester	100	0	0
*Ashton, Samuel, Pole Bank, Hyde	100	0	0
*Ashton, James, and Brothers, do	100	0	0
*Smith, John Benjamin, Cotton Court, Manchester	100	0	0
*Barnes, J. R. and Son, Farnworth, near Bolton	100	0	0
Carlton, James, Mosley-street, Manchester	50	0	0
Benson, Robert, 6, Sussex-sq., Hyde Park, London	40	0	0
*Randall, Messrs., Hibbert, & Sons, Godley, nr Hyde	40	0	0
*Thorneley, A. W.	40	0	0
*Chadwick, John, and Brothers, Eccles, nr Manchester	10	0	0
*Chorlton, Robert, and Sons, 7, Blackfriars, do	10	0	0
*Andrew, Wm., Hall-street, Stockport	5	0	0
*Fletcher, Solomon, York-street, Manchester	5	0	0
*Hutchinson, Thomas, 21, Bridgewater-place, do	5	0	0
*Shawcross, E., Shepherd's Court, Deansgate, do	5	0	0
*Haworth, Messrs. James, and Brothers, Bacup	5	0	0
*Morgan, Sus., Parkfield Cottage, near Stone, Stafford	5	0	0
*Darbishire, C. J., Bolton	5	0	0
*Dushon, Joseph, Tib-street, Manchester	5	0	0
*25 Spinners and 8 Stretchers in the employ of Messrs.			
A. and G. Murray, Old Mill, Manchester	4	5	0
*Lockett, Wm.	4	0	0
*Bates, Wm., Oakenshaw, near Accrington	4	0	0
*Loyle, Joshua, Bacup	4	0	0
*Lewis, Edward, Brown-street, Manchester	4	0	0
*Ainsworth, Thomas, Eccles, near do	4	0	0
*G. E. (per Wm. McCall), do	2	2	0
*Hastings, Robert, Kildare Park, near Ellesmere	2	0	0
*Hastings, Wm., Oldham Road, Rochdale	2	0	0
*Ashworth, Thos., James-st., Thomas-st., Manchester	1	1	0
*Hough, Wm., Bishop Blaize, Stockport	1	1	0
*Davies, Wm., 96, Hardman-street, Manchester	1	1	0
*Spencer, Samuel, Accrington	1	1	0
*Greaves, John, 3, Brunswick-street, Leeds	1	1	0
*Scholes, Joseph, Hollinwood, near Manchester	1	1	0
*Schofield, Joseph, do	1	1	0
*Billingall, J., and Friend, 33, Chapman-st., Oldham-rd., Manchester	1	0	0
*Hulme, Robert, Shelburn-st., Strangeways, Manchester	1	0	0
*Ashworth, Henry, Clough Fold, Ravenhall, do	1	0	0
*Jackson, W., 36, New Bridge-street, Cheetham, do	1	0	0
*Bryden, James, 10, Byrom-street, do	1	0	0
*Davies, Thomas, 19, Bridge-street, do	1	0	0
*Jackson, Jonathan, Ardwick, do	1	0	0
Sykes, Thomas, Jersey-street, do	1	0	0
J. B., do	1	0	0
*Whittaker, John, Bridgend, Mill, near Rochdale	1	0	0
*Pilling, John, Joiner, Newchurch, do	1	0	0
*Lord, John, glazier, do	1	0	0
*Smith, Ebenezer, Market-street, Sheffield	1	0	0
*Bates, John H., Oakenshaw, near Accrington	1	0	0
*Nield, W., Ransden-row, Rochdale	1	0	0
*Redpath, David, 36, Nicholson-street, Edinburgh	1	0	0
*Archibald, David, 45, Princes-street, do	1	0	0
*Orr, Charles F., 7, Stafford-street, do	1	0	0
*Hindmarsh, Henry, Alenuth, near Alnwick, N.B.	1	0	0
*Sanders, James, whitesmith, Wickswood, Derbyshire	1	0	0
*Stevens, Charles, Twotower Paper Mills, Hemel Hempstead, Herts	1	0	0
Ogden, John, Birch-lane, Dukinfield	0	10	0
Anderson, T., 37, Canal-st., Minshall-st., Manchester	0	5	0
Miner, Thomas, 132, Deansgate, do	0	2	6
Small Sums	0	3	0
Warrington, W.	0	1	0
*Pierford, John, Mayor	0	1	0
*Bullock, Joseph	0	1	0
*Broad, Thomas	0	1	0
Hunt, Peter	0	10	0
Sheldou, Thomas	0	5	0
Cumulative Edward	0	5	0

Haslingden.

*Denn, Messrs., & Crankshaw, Carr Mills	2	0	0
*Rawthorn, Henry, Dearden Gate	1	0	0
*Starr, Robert, do	1	0	0
*Haworth, Richard, Holmes, near	1	0	0
*Worsick, J. and T., Holden Mill	1	0	0
*Booth, Sidney	1	0	0
*Rawthorn, Wm., Dearden Gate	1	0	0
*Pilkington, George, Church-street	1	0	0
*Black, Samuel, Clough End	1	0	0
*Ormerod, Henry	0	12	0

Hindley, nr Wigan.

*Bleasdale, J., Hindley	0	10	0
Gregory, John, do	0	5	0
Anderton, John, do	0	5	0
Marsh, Wm., do	0	5	0
*Sharples, Eliz., do	0	5	0
Aspinall, S., do	0	2	6
A Friend, do	0	2	6
Small Sums, do	0	2	0

Liverpool.

*Yates, Messrs., Cox and Co., Brunswick street	40	0	0
*Mongredien, A., Clement's-Jail, London	40	0	0
*Riley, James, 5, Exchange-st. west	20	0	0
*Earle, Wm., 15, Water-street	20	0	0
"A Friend to Total and Immediate Repeal," per Rawlin and Son	20	0	0
*Romilly, Henry, 7, Water-street	20	0	0
*Mellor, Andrew, do	20	0	0
*Abbott, Robert, Elliott-street	10	0	0
*Butler, J., Greenfield House, West Derby	10	0	0
*Smith, Harrison, Temple-place	10	0	0
*Higgins, Charles, Seal-street	5	0	0
*Ashton, George, Seaford, near	4	4	0
*Thom, Rev. J. H., Oakfield	4	0	0
*Morris, Thomas, 80, Lord-street	4	0	0
*G. C.	2	0	0
*Graves, John, Sweeting-street	2	0	0
*Travis, John, 98, Falkner-street	2	0	0
*Rangh, D., Parr-street	1	0	0
*Elliott, Joseph, Paradise-street	1	0	0
*Wilkinson, R. R., 47, Whitechapel	1	0	0
*Bagshaw, J., 95, Church-street	1	0	0
*Stevens, Joseph, Park-road	1	0	0
*Howe, Charles, 154, Scotland Road	1	0	0
*Warrington, R., 83, Upper Stanhope-st.	1	0	0
*Owen, Elias, 262, Scotland Road	1	0	0
*Fox, George, 73, Stanhope-street	1	0	0
*Fisher, T., Rampside Hall, Ulverston	1	0	0
*Lupton, J., Coppens-hill	1	0	0
Jones, Evan, Liscard	0	10	6
Oldham, G., Coppens-hill	0	10	6
E. S., per Mr. Baugh	0	10	0
*Taylor, James, 3, Mill-street	0	10	0
Miller, Alexander, 4, Harrington-street	0	8	0
A Friend, per Mr. Baugh	0	5	0
A Friend, do	0	5	0
Sayer, Wm., 23, Green-street	0	5	0
Riding, John, 1, Cambridge-street	0	5	0
Schwartz, H., 63, Christian-street	0	5	0
Miller, Thomas, St. James's-street	0	5	0
Holden, O., Old Hall-street	0	5	0
Hay, George, Dawson-street	0	5	0
Room, Fletcher, 13, Egerton-street	0	4	3
Ewart, John, Franklyn-place	0	4	3
Scutfield, W. D., Bold-street	0	4	0
Baskerville, Thomas, Concert-street	0	4	0
Tickle, Henry, 21, Bond-street	0	4	0
Rimmer, James, 82, Boodle-lane	0	4	0
Duffy, James, 184, London-road	0	4	0
Jones, John, May-street	0	4	0
O'Neill, John, 2, Tyer-street	0	4	0
Townley, J. B., 8, Beresford-street	0	2	6

Halifax.

*Crossley, Messrs. John and Sons	60	0	0
*Taylor, Messrs. T. & Son, Ovenden, nr	40	0	0
*Whitworth, Messrs. John and Wm.	40	0	0
*Foster, Messrs. John and Son, Queens- head, near	20	0	0
*Eastburn, Robert, Green Mount	10	0	0
A Friend, per W. Morris	10	0	0
*Morley, Moses, Sowerby Bridge, near	10	0	0
*Denison, Messrs. J. and Son	10	0	0
*Holland, Messrs. S. & J., Brighams, nr	10	0	0
*Ormerod, Messrs. John and Sons, do	10	0	0
*Whiteley, George	10	0	0
*Chappell, Joseph	5	0	0
*Birling, Rev. John	4	0	0
*Hoyle, Messrs. W. and R.	2	2	0
*Wheatley, Richard, Brighams, near	2	0	0
*Wheatley, Joseph, do	1	1	0
*Crossley, John, do	1	1	0
*Greaves, James, Luddenden Foot, nr	1	0	0
*Bainforth, John, Northburn, near	1	0	0
*Haigh, Hugh, Greenland, near	1	0	0

Helden- bridge.

*Riley, John, Breatley, near	30	0	0
*Holme, Wm. and Brothers	18	0	0
*Hinchliffe, Wm. and George	15	0	0
*Akad, J. & Sons, Kershaw House, near	10	0	0
*Gunkreper, James and Sons	9	0	0
*Hodgson, James, Stubbings House, near	9	0	0
*Cockroft, Wm.	3	0	0
*Patchett, Thomas	3	0	0
*Baker, Thomas and Wm	2	0	0
*Slater, Wm.	1	10	0
*Hoskell, John	1	0	0
*Singer, Hugh	1	0	0
*Foster, Wm., Rodwell Head, near	1	0	0
*Sutcliffe, Wm., Midgehole, near	1	0	0

Sheffield.

*Turton, Messrs. Thomas and Sons, Spring Works	50	0	0
*Butcher, Samuel, Mayor, Eyre-lane	50	0	0
*Coxley, Messrs., and Pearson, Kellam	10	0	0
*Hool, Francis, Meeting-house-lane	10	0	0
*Smith, Wm., Dean House	5	0	0
*Stevenson, Messrs. J. & J., Norfolk-lane	5	0	0
*Greaves, Edward, Park	4	0	0
*Workmen at Joseph Rodgers and Sons, Norfolk-street	2	2	0
*Johnson, George, Porter-street	2	0	0
*Jackson, Wm., Bank-street	2	0	0
*Wood, Hugh, Norfolk-row	2	0	0
*Hall, H., The Mount	2	0	0
*Ashberry, P., Bowling-green-street	2	0	0
*Crookes, Messrs., Roberts, & Co., Porter- street	2	0	0
*Kitching, John, Darnall Hall	1	1	0
*Ackroyd, Samuel, Upperthorpe	1	0	0
*Bridgeford, John, Iris Office	1	0	0
*Dyson, Zacharias, Upperthorpe	1	0	0
*Adair, T., 72, West-street	1	0	0
*Charles, Messrs. J. and W., Kellam-st.	1	0	0
*Broadhead, Messrs., and Atkin, Love-st	1	0	0
*Smith, H. B.	1	0	0
*Butterworth, J., Black Swan, Fargate	1	0	0
*Reamont, P., Canal-wharf	1	0	0
*Unwin, Philip, Burgess-street	1	0	0
Rodgers, C. W., Lambert-street	0	10	0
Whitehead, Messrs. J. & J., Westbar Green	0	10	0
Walker, Wm.	0	5	0
Taxton, Wm.	0	5	0
Houson, Henry, Snig Hill	0	5	0
Lingard, Joseph, White Swan, Westbar	0	2	6
Hindsworth, Wm., Snig Hill	0	2	6
Barker, Joseph, do	0	2	6
Barton, Henry, Lambert-street	0	2	6
Green, Elijah, Shepherd-street	0	2	6
Steele, Jesse, Westbar	0	2	6

*Baxter, Wm.	30	0	0
*Baxter, Edward	30	0	0
*Baxter, David	30	0	0
*Baxter, Wm. G.	30	0	0
*Baxter, John G.	30	0	0
*Brown, Messrs. James and Wm.	20	0	0
*Mlin, T. W.	10	0	0
*Neish, Thomas	10	0	0
*Small, Wm.	10	0	0
*Lowson, Messrs. John and Son	10	0	0
*Walker, J. and H.	10	0	0
*Newall, George, H.	10	0	0
*Pirie, A. and A., Cowgate	0	0	0
*Neish, James	5	0	0
*Clark, Wm.	5	0	0
*Mitchell, John, Cowgate	5	0	0
*Laming, John	5	0	0
*Kinnond, Peter	5	0	0
*Collier, Wm.	5	0	0
*Kinnonds, Messrs. Hutton and Steele	5	0	0
*Watson, Patrick	4	0	0
*Sturrock, John, banker	4	0	0
*Wrougham, Wm.	3	0	0
*Cable, Joseph	2	0	0
*Moir, John	2	0	0
*Turnbull, Hector	2	0	0
*Douglas, T., flax spinner, 8, King-street	2	0	0
*Lipman, Messrs., and Hamel	2	0	0
"A Free Trader"	2	0	0
*Baxter, Edmund, writer	2	0	0
*Haddon, John, Cowgate	2	0	0
*Paterson, James, do	2	0	0
*Todd, James	1	0	0
*Robertson, Francis, manufacturer	1	0	0
*Bennie, Andrew	1	0	0
*Lukie, James, manufacturer	1	0	0
*Hamilton, A., druggist	1	0	0
"A Friend to Free Trade"	1	0	0
Walker, P. G.	0	5	0

*Tweeddale, Jacob, and Sons, 56, Wood-street, City	50	0	0
Wood, Western, 25, Lime-street, City	10	0	0
*Flanders, W., 2, Up Woburn-place, Tavistock-square	10	0	0
Mr. B.	10	0	0
*Salway, Col. Henry, Egham Park, Egham, Surrey	10	0	0
*Le Man, P., 15, Threadneedle-street, City	10	0	0
*Cogan, Capt. J. B., Upper Mall, Hammersmith	10	0	0
*Curtis, Mr., per R. Cobden, Esq., M.P.	6	7	6
*Goldsmid, S., 2, Copthall Chambers, Throgmorton-st	5	5	0
*Hoyle, Messrs., and Hanson, 88, Wood-street	5	0	0
J. W.	5	0	0
Braggiotti, D., 32, Lombard-street	5	0	0
*Waterloo, James, 5, Gloucester-terrace, Hoxton	5	0	0
*Graham, Professor, 9, Torrington-square	4	0	0
*Carter, Edward, Smith's Distillery, Thames Bank	2	2	0
*Child, T. S., Wootton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire	2	0	0
*Wood, Charles, Stock Exchange	2	0	0
*Berry, Kemp, 4, Tyndal-place, Islington	2	0	0
*Clark, Benjamin, 57, Brook-street, Grosvenor-square	2	0	0
*Brown, Jas., Orchard House, Carlisle, Lanarkshire	2	0	0
*Bell, J. L., Walker Ironworks, Newcastle-upon-Tyne	2	0	0
*Bell, Thomas, Wylam Ironworks do	2	0	0
Bell, John, West Grange, by Culross, N.B.	2	0	0
*McClelland, George, Ford Bank, Wigton	2	0	0
*Cobb, Preston, Sutton House, near Milton	2	0	0
Culliford, Joseph, Murton-street, Sunderland	2	0	0
*Holdsworth, Joseph, 424, Crown row, Mile End-road	1	1	0
*Wordsworth, Chas., Paper-buildings, Temple, 3d Sub.	1	1	0
*Wait, James, Milthorne-place, North Shields	1	1	0
*Fargham, Thomas, 96, Smallbrook street, Birmingham	1	0	0
*Wynn, A. and E., 121, Granville-street, Sheffield	1	0	0
*Clarkson, R. and J., Dewsbury Moor, Dewsbury	1	0	0
*Scholes, Joseph, Pendlebury, near Manchester	1	0	0
*Falkner, Brothers, Stevenson-square, do	1	0	0
*Jefford, John, surg on, Bridport	1	0	0
*Kingston, George, Malton	1	0	0
*Rowell, George, Carlisle	1	0	0
James, Edward, Exeter	1	0	0
*Sanders, T. W., Church-street, Whitley	1	0	0
*Swan, Samuel, 24, Kirkgate to, Leeds	1	0	0
*Rosewall, James, Penzance	1	0	0
*Thorneley, T. J., Burton-on-Trent	1	0	0
*King, Henry, Oakley, near Haslingden	1	0	0
*Conlson, John, jun., Penzance	1	0	0
*Neale, Messrs., and Sturges, Swan's Mill, Leicester	1	0	0
*Thomas, J., Winnall's Hill, nr Coleford, Gloucesters.	1	0	0
Thomas, J. T., Coleford do	1	0	0
*Hutchinson, W., Brighouse, near Huddersfield	1	0	0
*Acland, Mrs., Seville-place, Clifton, Bristol	1	0	0
*Caldender, Brothers, 14, Stirling-square, Glasgow	1	0	0
*Hargreaves, Wm., Liverpool	1	0	0
Hunter, Mrs., Highgate	1	0	0
*Wansley, Mrs. Wm., Norwood Green	1	0	0
Harrison, J. O., Hereford	1	0	0
*Gilchrist, W., farmer, Russell Maine, Cupar, by Fife	1	0	0
*Butcher, James, 55, Turnmill-street, Clerkenwell	1	0	0
*Aspland, Sydney, Temple	1	0	0
*Carter, D., jun., 65, Blackman-street, Borough	1	0	0
*Burder, G. F., 43, Noel-street, Islington	1	0	0
*Stanbery, J. T., 2, Robert-terrace, Chelsea	1	0	0
Goodbourne, Thomas, 15, Charles's-place, Hoxton	0	5	0
Todd, George, 24, Tower-street, Long Acre	0	3	6
Henshaw, Joseph, 83, Leonard-street, Shoreditch	0	2	6

the present period, and to continue the same from time to time till all have appeared.

These lists, it may be well to state, are to contain only the gross amounts promised, and have no reference whatever to the instalments, which should be forwarded separately.

A few additions to the list of treasurers have been made since last we published it, which we subjoin :

Andover—James Baker, Esq., Prospect House.
 Ashton-under-Lyre—Thomas Mason, Esq.
 Aylesbury—J. P. R. Payne, Esq.
 Alawick—Thos. Duncan, Esq.
 Ayr—J. Kinross, Esq.
 Annan—Alex. Dounie, Esq.
 Annersham—E. West, Esq.
 Beaminstor—Mr. Jos. Tite, Clenham Mill.
 Bath—Admiral Gordon, R.N., Nelson-place, Norfolk-cres-cent.
 Barnsley—J. S. Parkinson, Esq., Linen manufacturer.
 Belper—Mr. J. W. Hancock.
 Bromsgrove—W. A. Greening, Esq.
 Bridgewater—William Browne, Esq.
 Burton-on-Trent—J. N. Hanson, Esq.
 Bristol—George Thomas, Esq., Great George-street, street.
 Burnley—Geo. Holgate, Esq., jun.
 Bridport—J. P. Stephens, Esq.
 Barnard Castle—Mr. Wm. Raine, Horse Market.
 Brighton—Isaac Gray Bass, Esq.
 Bury—James Kay, Esq., woollen manufacturer.
 Boston—Mr. Robert Stevenson.
 Cleckheaton—Geo. Anderton, Esq.
 Cambridge—Chas. Newby, Esq., 55, Regent-street.
 Crediton, Devon—Edward Davy, Esq.
 Crayford, Kent—Henry Gould, Esq.
 Carlisle—J. Forster, Esq., Caldewgate.
 Colne—Mr. T. T. England.
 Chorley—Mr. James Wallwork.
 Carmarthen—Henry Norton, Esq.
 Chapel-en-le-Frith—J. Carrington, Esq.
 Congleton—J. Broadhurst, Esq.
 Carnarvon—William Turner, Esq., jun.
 Devonport—Samuel Oram, Esq., Market-street.
 Derby—Messrs. Boden and Moyley.
 Dundee—Edward Baxter, Esq.
 Doncaster—Mr. Robert Milner.
 Dunbar—James Wilson, Esq., Belhaven.
 Dartmouth—North Clift, Esq.
 Darlaston—Charles Green, Esq.
 Dufferin—Mr. R. Robertson, Draper.
 Edinburgh—Messrs. Arch. Thomson and Co., 255 High-street.
 Exeter—Mr. Samuel Maunder.
 Eynsford, Kent—Mr. H. Rogers.
 Falkirk—John Smith, Esq., Writer.
 Forfar—Mr. Wm. Sturrock.
 Gateshead—Geo. Crawshaw, Esq.
 Garstang—Dr. Bell, Chapel-street.
 Glossop—John Kershaw, Esq.
 Gloucester—Samuel Bowly, Esq.
 Horsham—James Agate, Esq., North Parade.
 Halifax—Mr. Thomas Denton, Old Market.
 Hinkley—Mr. Thos. Payne.
 Holywell—Thos. Mather, Esq., Glyn Abbot.
 Hastings—Mr. Thos. Ross, Jun.
 Hazel Grove—Mr. T. Wharmby.
 Huddersfield—Foster Shaw, Esq.
 Hull—Joseph Jones, Esq.
 Hawick, N.B.—Mr. George Easton.
 Idle, near Bradford, Yorkshire—Mr. Wm. Russell.
 Inverness—Donald Fraser, Esq., jun.
 Jedburgh—Geo. Hilson, Esq., Manufacturer.
 Kendal—Geo. Charnley, Esq.
 Kelsae—Mr. Alexander Dodds, Grocer.
 Knaresborough—Mr. Thos. Adlyman, High street.
 Keighley—J. Craven, Esq., worsted spinner.
 Kirkcaldy—Mr. Robt. Bryson.
 Knutsford—Henry Long, Esq.
 London—A. W. Paulton, Esq., at the offices of the League 67, Fleet street.
 Luton—James Waller, Esq., merchant.
 Lock—Thos. Birch, Esq.
 Lancaster—George Jackson, Esq.
 Leicester—J. D. Harris, Esq.
 Leighton Buzzard—Thomas Price, Esq., Newtown.
 Leominster—Mr. J. V. Chilcott.
 Landport, &c.—Mr. Thos. Ross.
 Lichfield—Dr. Rowley, M.D.
 Liverpool—Jas. Mathewson, Esq., John Taylor Crook, Esq.
 Leeds—Samuel Birchall, Esq., woolstapler.
 Macclesfield—near Bridgend, Glamorganshire—Mr. Jos. Crayne.
 Manchester—Mr. James Jones, at the offices of the League, 6, Newall's-buildings, Market-street.
 Maidhead—Mr. Thomas Woodcock, draper.
 Maidstone—Richard Nelmes, Esq., 109, Week street.
 Maldon—G. W. Digby, Esq.
 Middleton, near Manchester—Mr. Daniel Burton.
 Montrose—Mr. John Muckart.
 Mottram—Mr. Saml. Oldham.
 Newcastle-upon-Tyne—George Crawshaw, Esq., and Mr. Daniel Liddell, Carlisle-street.
 Nantwich—Mr. Philip Barker.
 Newcastle-under-Lyme—Mr. Elias Shaw.
 New Mills—John Yates, Esq.
 Oldham—John Platt, Esq., Hartford Ironworks.
 Osett, near Wakefield—Mr. Frank Feanside.
 Potteries, The—Francis Wedgwood, Esq.
 Poole—G. R. Penney, Esq.
 Pontefract—Mr. W. Kidd, news agent.
 Pateley Bridge—Mr. R. Harker.
 Plymouth—Jno. Symons, Esq., Kinterburg-st.
 Reigate—Mr. Thomas Dann.
 Ramsgate—Mr. Henry Scott, 57, Queen-street.
 Salisbury—Jno. Lambert, Esq.
 Sevenoaks, Kent—John Clark, Esq.
 St. Columb—Mr. W. Brown, 3, Fair-street.
 Scarborough—Isaac Stickney, Esq.
 Sheffield—William Hargreaves, Esq., Merchant.
 Skipton—J. B. Dewhurst, Esq.
 Southport—Richard Johnson, Esq.
 Stockport—Mr. J. Heginbotham, Millgate.
 Stribourne, Monmouthshire—Rev. Richard Jones.
 South Shields—Mr. James Bell.

Stourbridge—Mr. E. Baylie.
 Strood—Mr. John S. Cobb.
 Swaffham and West Norfolk—Arthur Morse, Esq., Swaffham.
 Swansea—Mr. Joseph Rutter.
 Stroud—Mr. T. Parsons.
 Stirling, Robert Smith, Esq.
 Sunderland—Mr. Edward C. Robson, Frederic-street, Bishopwearmouth.
 Stockton-on-Tees—J. B. Clepham, Esq.
 Shepton Mallett—W. Richardson, Esq., Woodbourne Cottage.
 Staleybridge—Henry Bayley, Esq.
 Sudbury—Colonel Addison.
 St. Austell—The Rev. Jas. Cope.
 Todmorden—W. Haworth, Esq., North View.
 Tewkesbury—Mr. Benjamin Harris.
 Thetford—Mr. Henry Brown.
 Westminster—Mr. H. Hastings.
 Wednesbury—Benjamin Round, Esq.
 Wareham—J. Pike, Esq., Merchant.
 Westbury—N. Overbury, Esq.
 Wigan—Thomas Taylor, Esq., Spinner, and Mr. Thomas Wall, Bookseller.
 Wirksworth—Mr. B. Street, White Lion Inn.
 Wakefield—Charles Morton, Esq., Whitwood Colliery.
 Whitechurch—Mr. Richard Thomas.
 Weymouth—Mr. Charles Pope.
 Westbromwich—J. Spittle, Esq.
 York—Thomas Swales, Esq., Lawrence-street.
 Yarmouth—Mr. John Fish, Denes.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE MOVEMENT IN FRANCE IN FAVOUR OF FREE TRADE.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

London, 11th March, 1846.

SIR,—As no small difference has been expressed in Parliament upon the views of the French upon Free Trade, I beg leave to offer to your readers the result of personal inquiries in Paris, and in several departments, on the subject, during the last eight months, with some reasons in support of it.

That result is, a strong conviction that public feeling in France is *beginning* to be roused in favour of a change from the system of protection hitherto in force.

These are my reasons :

Before the present crisis in England, and in the *United States*, the alarming decay of the French shipping had compelled the Government to do something for its relief. What it did was, to call upon the three general Councils of Trade, Agriculture, and Manufactures to give their advice on the point—whether foreign iron should be admitted duty free for ship building.

These Councils met in December, and sat till the 15th of January last, and with a *large majority* declared themselves in favour of the admittance. The motives of the Government in calling these Councils together on this topic, and their original report to this effect, were published in the *Liberté du Commerce*, of which I send you a copy.

The decline of the merchant shipping of France, which has led to this conclusion, is thus pointedly stated in the report :

"Here is a brief statement of the revolution our trade has undergone since 1827 :

"In 1827 we had *three* merchant-ships of 800 tons each; we have now none. We then had *two* of 600 tons each; we have now but one of that size. We had 13 from 500 to 600 tons; we have now only 6. We had 38 of 400 to 500 tons; we have now but 33. We had then 186 of 300 tons; we have now but 179. We had 570 of 200 tons; we have but 436 now. All our other shipping, including our coasters, are sinking in the same way."—(*Liberté du Commerce*, p. 30.)

The document which I quote, explains the various causes of this astonishing fact; and the conclusion of the Councils is, that "foreign iron ought to be imported free of duty, as one remedy."

On the same occasion the Government called for an opinion as to the admittance of the foreign article to make *steel*, with a similar result.

There these two topics stand at present; namely, the Government has yielded to the distress of particular interests, and a mixed body of men of business and property urges warmly upon the Government the advantage of Free Trade in two great articles of foreign produce to relieve this distress.

It is said that the Government will not bring these subjects before the Chambers this year, for reasons unconnected with the subject in question.

On another article, *salt*, an analogous discussion took place last year in the Chamber of Deputies; and it is revived this year. This occurred on the motion of M. Demesmay for lowering the duty; and this gentleman's numerous essays and speeches on the subject, which I now send you, with the report of M. Dussauret, a ministerial member of the Chamber, added to them, contain a strong argument in favour of the Free Trade principle.

M. Bastiat's remarkable book upon our League is familiar to you. It is absolutely prophetic as to our proceedings of December and January; but it is written in terms of despair for the good cause in France.

The zealous author of this book might have been bolder. He has himself been received honourably into the Institute of France since its publication—and along with what we see above, it has stimulated his own countrymen in the south west of France to form a *League*.

If such a society had rested there, it might be said that the personal influence of M. Bastiat, and the interest of the vine growers of Bordeaux, had created a mere local movement.

Not so; I believe that in Marseilles a similar society is forming; and I know that in Paris another is formed under

the very best auspices, and with the prospect of combining the more diverse classes in its operations. This has just occurred; and I assert as a fact, that individuals of the greatest character, not *theorists*, hold this movement in Paris to be extremely important.

It deserves also to be had in mind that the Chamber of Peers in France, so early as in January last, listened without disfavour to one of the warmest appeals ever made in any assembly, for the adoption of Free Trade.

I allude to the speech of the Duc d'Harcourt on the 12th of January—twice republished since.

That speech, with a reply to it, by M. Fulchiron, may be found in the *Liberté du Commerce*, above quoted; and whilst M. Fulchiron deprecates an immediate and total change, he holds the principle of Free Trade to be good in itself, and he abandons *prohibition* as essentially bad.

But advocates of Free Trade have declared themselves from a very different class.

The *Populaire* is the organ of a numerous body of reflecting workmen in Paris and elsewhere in France. It is a great satisfaction to find such a body loud in its praise of our present efforts.

Permit me to call your attention to the *Populaire* of Paris of the 25th February, and to ask a corner in THE LEAGUE for its leading article.

Publish it in French in your front columns, and you will do much to remove some of the *bitterness*, still too prevalent among our neighbours towards us, on many topics.

I have trespassed too long on your time; but if your acceptance of these hasty remarks should give them some value, I will repeat my communication with details of the constitution of a new society formed a few days ago in Paris, to represent the various interests of the north of France, and which I believe is of a character to promote these interests by an enlightened view of Free Trade. The north is one of the strongholds of protection in that country, as here of freedom. We have won the race by the spread of knowledge through the efforts of our northern men. The Frenchmen of the north are seeking knowledge too; and my object next week will be to show how it must lead them to the same goal.

A RESIDENT IN FRANCE.

* La Liberté du Commerce is to be had at Mr. E. Wilson's, Royal Exchange, price 1s. 6d.

AGRICULTURE IN WARWICKSHIRE.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

Leamington, March 3, 1846.

SIR,—The alarm of the effects of the Anti-Corn-Law measure of the Government attributed to the farmers of this county led me to inquire what rent is paid for land in Warwickshire?

Small lots, styled "accommodation lands," are let as high as 4*l.* for arable, and 5*l.* for pasture; but the average rent of land let in larger farms appears to be under 2*l.* per acre. The soil in this part of Warwickshire (as the fine oak timber indicates) is deep, and, with good cultivation, productive. In a few rare instances, the farmers plough as deep as 9, and even 10 inches, but 5 inches is more common; and the very name of a subsoil plough seems unknown.

Twelve sacks of wheat per acre is considered a good crop—a very small amount of produce for such strong land, which undoubtedly might yield more abundant crops.

The protectionist members of Parliament assert that the labourers are opposed to a repeal of the Corn Laws. The average wages of agricultural labourers in this part of Warwickshire is 10*s.* per week, from which for house-rent, increased by town-rates, in the case of a man with a family of five children, you must deduct 3*s.*, thus leaving for provisions and all other expenses, only 7*s.* per week. Ask the labourer if he fears a reduction of wages by the admission of foreign grain? His reply is, that he looks for a reduction of price in various articles of consumption, and that, as the farmers now employ fewer hands than their land requires, they feel confident that their labour will be at least equally in demand; and they hope that, stimulated by increased competition, the farmer will employ more manual labour, in order to raise from the soil a larger amount of produce. The labourers are quite above the ignorant prejudices, once prevalent in some English counties, against machinery, as they observe, that on farms where threshing-mills are used, more hands are employed than where the grain is threshed by the flail.

From some tenant farmers themselves, when asked if they feared a repeal of the Corn Laws, I received this answer:—"We have been led to believe it will injure us; but what we fear most is the uncertainty of markets by the three years Government plan. We would rather know at once what is to happen."

From these replies, Sir, we may fairly infer that the labourers are in favour of an immediate repeal, and that the tenant farmers, admitting that a repeal is inevitable, are most anxious that the change should be immediate.

Allow me to take this opportunity of asking you to correct a slight error in a letter on "Labourers' Wages in Surrey," inserted in THE LEAGUE of the 7th ult. Instead of "with bread at 10*d.* per gallon," it should have been "with bread at 1*d.* per gallon, more of our earnings is expended on bread than when at 1*s.* per gallon."

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
 A PROPRIETOR OF LAND IN SCOTLAND ON A VISIT
 IN WARWICKSHIRE.

TO FARMERS.—THIS IS THE TIME.

In a town in Somersetshire, some months ago, I met two gentlemen, inquiring into the state and prospects of the potato crops in that country. They had met by accident, in the same way that I had met with them. We staid together at the same inn, and during our stay I ascertained that one of them was collecting information for Government; and the other was providing the correctness of information which had been sent to the Potato Society by a Somerset Society, of which Mr. W. Miles is a leading member.

Having turned my own attention to the potato disease

in that country, I was willing to hear from each of the two gentlemen what they had learned of it, and I found that both had ascertained the same class of facts in the same places that I had; and I knew that both of them sent to their respective employers the same kind of facts which I had become informed of—namely, that the potatoes were fatally diseased in Somerset; that in all the chief potato-growing districts in the eastern parts of that country there were not more sound ones in November than the quantity of seed-plants put into the ground last spring; that taking a crop of 80 sacks to the acre, 70 sacks were more or less diseased; that the best of the diseased ones were sold for 1s. a sack for pig feeding, and 9d. a sack for starch making; that potatoes were the chief article of diet with the peasantry in Somerset: most of the working people, in the east and northern parts of the country, living on potatoes entirely in ordinary seasons, but that there was an impending, imminent, and unavoidable scarcity this season.

How Mr. Miles has managed to dress up his statistics in the House of Commons, so as to deny the failure of the potatoes in Somerset, I know not. But I do know that, apart from any reports sent to the protectionists by the gentleman just alluded to, Mr. Miles's Society in the first instance applied to the churchwardens of parishes to get the information for the society. I have before me, while writing, copies of some of the returns made by churchwardens; and a letter accompanying those copies of returns says, that few things ever uttered in Parliament have at any time shocked conscientious men in the parts of Somerset referred to, more than Mr. Miles's denial of the potato failure there. And his denial is the more noticeable that the persons most shocked at it are nearly all political friends of his own—persons who once dreaded Free Trade, and still have fears that agriculture cannot stand on its own feet, yet who believe nothing is so likely to damage their cause as the falsification of facts so notorious in their own county as the rotten potatoes.

Letters which I have received on the subject ask why such statements are suffered to go uncontradicted. But the reply is simply this; the alleged facts of the protectionists are self-destructive; and their arguments have been refuted over and over again. It is but to reap stubble to go to work with them now.

The question with which we have now to do is the question of time. Those who once defended monopoly have taken up the question of principle, and have abandoned its defence; and not only so—they are its assailants. Nothing is left for us to settle but the question of time. And this is the time.

Though the ill-humour of the representatives of monopoly in Parliament prompted them to say they would rather have repeal immediately than have it for certain three years hence, while their ill-regulated Parliamentary conduct has since led them to retract that and contradict themselves, the tenant farmers are growing in number who say they will rather have immediate repeal; and their opinions are uniting and flowing in a stronger, wider, and more direct current to the point of final and immediate settlement every day.

I saw a member of the farmers' club this week—a society embracing many of the leading farmers of England, Mr. Baker, of Writtle, being either its originator or one of its originators, and nearly all the members being persons holding the same opinions on protection as Mr. Baker; and the subject at present engaging the attention of the club is a reform of the terms upon which tenants hold farms from landowners. A committee of the most sagacious members has been appointed to devise a scheme of leases best calculated to ensure the safe and profitable occupancy of the land. As private individuals, they still speak of protection when they meet; but they see it to be hopeless, and feel that to struggle for it is to waste that strength, and time, and opportunity, which should be turned to a practicable and profitable account in obtaining better terms with the landlords.

Farmers know how difficult it is to approach a landowner to make a bargain in ordinary times. They are therefore happy to hear the landlords say that new bargains must be made and old ones adjusted. A farmer can go to market and sell his corn, or buy a horse, and be at least on an equality with the corn-dealer and the horse-dealer—he will probably think himself superior to both; yet even with those men he feels he must be keen in perception and ready in action to take advantage of any varying humour in making a bargain.

Keeping off the one act of a farmer's life—that of taking a farm—no class of men in England are so habitually used to buy and sell according to varying humours, low spirits or high spirits, as the farmers. They are so far removed from their landlords in the social scale, and being only able to approach them on business through agents, which agents are the paid servants of the landlords, that the taking of a farm is an exception to every other trade-like transaction of their

lives. The landlord is so high above them; so many persons are seeking to have each farm that is to let; it is so beset in its tenure with covenants; there are so many nets in which they may be caught, and so few loop-holes to escape by; they are taught (that is, they have been) to depend so much on what the landlord will do for them and for agriculture, in his political character, that they never once appear as the dictators or independent negotiators in a bargain for a farm; they are from beginning to end the humble recipients or expectants of favours; the very first favour being the getting of the farm on any terms, even though he had a bad bargain.

Now, when farmers hear their landlords crying out that the removal of the Corn Law will cause them to enter upon new terms with their tenants, and that they must do so; that they will do so because, yet only because, they must; and when the farmers see, as see they do, and feel it, and believe it, and swear to it, that the Corn Law will inevitably be repealed, they say, and it is natural, and just, and logical, that they should say, "Let it be done at once; this is the time."

This is the time. And were there no other reasons to make the farmers think so than the one now mentioned—the desire of getting their landlords to make new bargains, or amend the old ones by liberal covenants, while the landlords happen to be in a humour so to do, it would be a sufficient reason for the tenants to say, this is the time; for never in the annals of agriculture did the owners of land profess to be more compassionate towards the hirers and the workers of land than now; never did they promise to be so full of justice, so overflowing with conscientiousness as they will be if the Corn Law is taken from them. For then, say they, the farmers will be suffering; and they must suffer to relieve the farmers.

A few have said, perhaps prophetically of the greater number, that the farmers will be ruined, if they are to be ruined, before any abatement of rent is made. If there be any truth in this, it should only make the tenantry the more eager for an immediate settlement.

This is the time, because a year of prosperous trade has so enlarged the consumption of home-grown provisions that prices cannot fall, nor any very hurtful panic arise, though the importation should be immediate.

This is the time, because foreign corn growers have little to sell, and what they have to sell is already rising in price, in anticipation of our Corn Law being abolished.

This is the time, because with lingering monopoly and bad harvests there may be bad trade and shaken credit, which always accompanies bad trade, and a stagnation in all national enterprises which always accompanies shaken credit—there may be all these in 1849; and if there be, the farmers having high prices, inferior grain, and the smaller quantity peculiar to a bad harvest, there will be a panic the most disastrous ever known to farmers when the free importation does begin.

This is the time, because if the repeal is delayed for three years, the foreign corn grower has three years notice to prepare for competition in the British markets.

This is the time, because, if the British farmer should have favourable seasons and good harvests for the next three years, he will be at liberty to make the most of his land, and of the seasons, and of those facilities to feed cattle, and of the manures to be produced by an increased number of cattle, which the Prime Minister has said will profitably supersede the prodigious expenditure for artificial manures; whereas, if the question remains unsettled for three years, his new arrangements with his landlord will also be deferred, his new arrangements upon his farm will be deferred, no decided steps will be taken; no money will be invested in the drainage of his farm, and he will be, in 1849, in a worse position than he is in now, with the foreigner prepared to compete with him by a three years' notice, and the advantageous position which he now occupies with respect to his landlord frittered away.

This is the time, because nothing has hitherto retarded the profitable cultivation of the land so much as the continued expectation of Parliament doing something which it cannot do; and because Lord George Bentinck and some other members who act with him have declared that they are in favour of the three years rather than the immediate repeal, because they will not cease to agitate by every means in their power to have the present Corn Law restored. Other members have said they will endeavour during the three years to make the low duty perpetual. And the League, on the other hand is pledged not to cease in its operations so long as a fraction of a protective tax on corn exists. Consequently the farmers will be kept in the turmoil of agitation for three years longer, that such men as Lord Geo. Bentinck, who throw the dice again and again when they have lost all, may try for another chance—not to restore the Corn Law (as well may they seek to restore

the age of pack-horse travelling instead of railroads), but to take whatever chance turns up in the meantime for themselves as politicians in Parliament.

This is the time, because the League is pledged to dissolve when all Corn Laws cease to exist, and not until then; and because the proprietors and occupiers of land have not yet lost the representation of the counties, most of which they will lose before 1849 comes to a close, if the Corn Law keeps the League in existence so long.

Other reasons might be given for saying this is the time; but they refer more to landlords and others than to farmers. I will only now say farther, that this is the time because not all the landowners combined, to say nothing of the fragments of parties, will delay the time beyond 1849—it is not in the power of political confederacy to do so, and we are all three years younger now than we shall be then.

ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH.

AMERICAN AGRICULTURE.

We find in an American paper, received by the Hibernia, a return made by the Marshal of the State of New York of the quantity of every kind of grain, per acre, growing in that great state last year, which ought to go far to remove the opinion that the whole of the United States is a region of exuberant fertility, in which the farmer has only to throw the seed into the ground and in the autumn to reap a harvest much heavier than can be obtained from the exhausted soils of Europe. The State of New York extends some four or five hundred miles into the interior, and includes much of the best land which is to be found to the east of the Alleghany mountains; and yet it will be seen from the following returns, that the yield of wheat, oats, and barley, per acre, throughout the whole of this state, is scarcely half the yield, on the average, of this country, and not more than one-third the quantity which is frequently raised in the best cultivated districts of Norfolk, Lincoln, and the Lothians. The following is the table:

Aggregate of the agricultural statistics of the State of New York, furnished by the returns of the marshals employed in taking the late census:

Acres of improved land in the state	11,767,276
“ barley under cultivation	192,503
Bushels of barley raised	3,108,704
Acres of peas under cultivation	117,379
“ rye sown	317,099
Bushels of rye harvested	2,936,322
Acres of oats sown	1,026,915
Bushels of oats harvested	26,323,051
“ peas raised	1,761,503
Acres of beans under cultivation	16,231
Bushels of beans raised	162,187
Acres of buckwheat under cultivation	255,495
Bushels of buckwheat raised	3,631,679
Acres of turnips under cultivation	15,322
Bushels of turnips raised	1,350,332
Acres of potatoes under cultivation	255,762
Bushels of potatoes raised	23,653,418
Acres of flax under cultivation	46,030
Pounds of flax raised	2,897,062
Acres of wheat sown	1,013,655
“ wheat harvested	958,231
Bushels of wheat raised	13,391,770
Acres of corn sown	595,134
Bushels of corn harvested	14,722,114

From the above table it will be seen that the total yield of wheat on 1,013,655 acres was 13,391,770 bushels, or, as near as possible, 13 bushels to the acre. Now it is generally estimated that the yield of wheat in this country, taking the bad lands as well as the good, is about 24 bushels to the statute acre, and it is well known that from 36 to 40 bushels per acre is commonly raised in the best districts of England and Scotland. Granting, therefore, that the American does get his land considerably cheaper than the English farmer, the remarkable inferiority of the produce much more than compensates the latter for this difference. There is no reason to believe that the produce of the state of New York, which contains every variety of soil, and includes among other districts, the fine wheat-growing country of the Genessee, is inferior to any of the states east of the Alleghany mountains. We know, from General Washington's letters, that the yield of wheat in Virginia was as small sixty years ago as that of New York is at the present time, and the same observation applies to all the Atlantic states. To obtain returns resembling those raised in England, in quantity, it is necessary to cross the mountain, and to descend into the great valley of the Mississippi. There crops are grown which would be called abundant even in England, but it must never be forgotten that these crops, when raised, have to be conveyed from 800 to 1000 miles, along rivers, lakes, or canals, before they reach the ocean, to say nothing of the freight between the shipping ports and this country.

The yield of wheat is not smaller in proportion than that of most other varieties of grain. It will be seen that the average of barley is not more than about thirty bushels to the acre, which is less by 15 to 20 bushels than the average of that raised in Norfolk and Lincolnshire; and the yield of oats is not more than about 26 bushels to the acre, which would be thought a very poor return in any of the oat-growing districts of England. Even of Indian corn, which may be considered the peculiar grain of America, the yield would be considered very moderate in this country.—*Liverpool Times*.

FREE TRADE IN DENMARK.—By a decree issued under date of the 28th ult., the import duties on cotton manufactured goods, shawls, handkerchiefs, unbleached linen, drugs, &c., into Danish ports, have been considerably reduced; and it is confidently expected that a further modification will take place in the heavy imposts upon nearly all manufactured articles, levied for the sake of protection. The value of land in Denmark has increased more than 50 per cent. during the last 20 years—a circumstance from which English farmers will surely extract some comfort; for if rents rise on that side of the water whilst falling on this, we cannot see that the competition of the foreign grower will be any very fearful matter.

AGRICULTURE.

MONOPOLIST FALLACIES.

The arguments of the protectionists have latterly become so stale, flat, and unprofitable, their statistical facts have been so invariably found to be—to use a polite paraphrase—the reverse of true, and their predictions have ever been so entirely falsified by events, that in the midst of the important and exciting topics of the last few months we have not thought their few attempts to argue their now forlorn hope worth notice. There has been, it seems, a pamphlet, published under the auspices of the Central Society, for the encouragement of British indolence, which the protectionists think a great card in their hands. It is entitled, “Free Trade Fallacies Refuted, by W. Hainworth, a Tenant Farmer,” and purposes to refute the arguments, displace the data, and deny the conclusions of Messrs. Morton and Trimmer’s able exposure of the ill effects of protecting duties on the profits of agriculture. Mr. Hainworth is a tradesman and a farmer of Hitchin, Hertfordshire, whose *debut* in public life was at the Protection Society, at St. Alban’s, in February, 1844, where he comforted the frantic and foolish lords and squires there assembled—some of whom by-the-by have since shown symptoms of recovery—with a most imposing array of figures to prove non-existent “facts,” and establish the truth of “impossible things.” He was naturally a great light, and it appears that he has been selected by the 17, Bond-street publication committee to write a book. The rapid progress of opinion and legislation adverse to “protection,” would have left Mr. Hainworth’s tract—written not in the best English—in its natural condition of obscurity, had not his attack on Messrs. Morton and Trimmer induced those gentlemen to use his fallacies as the means of reinforcing upon the farming community the soundness of their previously published conclusions. We cannot on this occasion enter into any detailed examination of the fresh evidence which Mr. Hainworth’s blundering arguments have enabled Messrs. Morton and Trimmer to adduce in support of the proposition that Free Trade will increase the profits of farming—that is, good farming; but we take the opportunity of urging every tenant farmer to get the two pamphlets of Messrs. Morton and Trimmer, judge of their arguments for himself, and then soberly and like a man of business, see whether he cannot turn them to practical account upon his own farm. The time is now at hand which lords and squires have pretended to be big with ruin to tenant farmers. They will tell a different story when the tenants come to ask for reductions of rent; and it will not do for farmers any longer to shut their eyes to the real position, the difficulties, and advantages of British agriculture. They must be up and doing. The squires may live in “a fool’s paradise” for the next three years; but that won’t do for the farmers. They are under positive engagements to pay rents calculated on a scale of prices they never had received constantly, and never will obtain, except by accident. The landlords have in their hands that fearful engine of oppression and injustice, the law of distress; and the farmers can only retrieve themselves from the false position in which they have been placed by reliance on the delusion of protection. Farmers can and will do well enough, provided they can get real and permanent possession of their own farms, free themselves from the semi-feudal burdens of their landlords, and apply themselves with perseverance and skill to the development of the vast and hitherto latent fund which the soil contains. For these objects they must set about a business-like examination of the real incidence of protection on agriculture, and see what alteration of system an intelligent self-reliance would dictate. As an aid to that practical examination, they will find Messrs. Morton and Trimmer’s two pamphlets most useful.

THE HORRORS OF ABUNDANCE.

If it were possible to feel anything like compassion for men who place themselves in such false positions as the public advocates of monopoly are now in,

we might pity the sorry figure the protectionists make in their pitiful opposition to the details of Sir Robert Peel’s measure. Out of the House of Commons, the monopolists are obliged so far to conform to public opinion as to say they don’t want to profit by artificial scarcity. Thus Mr. Sanford, once the Whig member, but who now seeks to re-construct his political fortunes on the protectionist delusions wherewith the constituency of West Somerset is supposed to be imbued, said, at a public meeting of monopolists, at Taunton, got up to call upon Messrs. Dickinson and Acland to resign, as Peel converts, said:

“It had been stated that they wished to prevent the people from being fed (no, no); now this was a groundless and scandalous attack upon the protectionists, who were the last men to stand in the way of the people being fed (hear). But if famine and distress had arisen—and he feared that such was the case in one part of the kingdom—he fearlessly asserted that the measures of Sir Robert Peel would be the means of preventing the people being fed. If there was famine in some parts of the kingdom, it would be at least two months before the measure of the Minister, if he carried it, could take effect. Could it, then, be a remedy for the famine? And if Sir R. Peel and his Government really were of opinion that there was starvation among the Irish, through the potato blight, they ought to have at once opened the ports for a temporary purpose; whereas they had delayed the importation of corn, instead of giving food at once to the famishing people. This was one reason why he was opposed to the new measure. But there was another reason, that if they were not to have a fair protection—such as he believed the sliding scale gave them—then he (Mr. Sanford) was a total repealer at once. He would not have it said that they had protection, when they derived no advantage from it.”

And even these monopolists “no, no’d” the imputation of a wish to prevent the people being fed, and “hear, heard” the defence which alleged such an imputation as a “scandalous attack” upon the protectionists. Now, without stopping to contrast Mr. Sanford’s declaration, that the protectionists “were the last men to stand in the way of the people being fed” with his assertion that the sliding scale—admitted on all hands to keep the people at times on the verge of famine—afforded the only fair protection to the landed interest, we may refer to the remarks of Mr. Miles, the monopolist member for West Somerset, who thus spoke in the House of Commons, on Monday night, in opposing the importation of Indian corn:

“He would now refer to the subject more directly before the house. The properties of Indian corn, or maize, were little understood in this country; but he trusted that the agriculturists of England would now begin to understand it. Maize was in itself, as to its quality, in cereal crops next to wheat. If they took a bushel of maize it was equal to $1\frac{1}{4}$ bushels of barley, and to 3 bushels of oats. As to nutritive properties, that was the relative proportion between Indian corn and oats and barley. But how did it stand as to wheat? There could be no doubt Indian corn would be used largely instead of barley and oats. He understood from a friend of his, that Indian corn could be brought to the port of Liverpool under 20s. per quarter. They were told that competition would have the effect of stimulating agriculture, but the agriculturists would by the present resolution be placed in this position, that whereas they could compete with foreigners in wheat, barley, and oats, with regard to Indian corn they could carry against them no competition at all. Mr. Cobbett had tried to introduce Indian corn into this country, but, from the temperature, had completely failed. This article appeared to require a temperature of about 70 in one month, and of about 75 or 80 in the other months. He had tried to cultivate it in the West of England rather largely, but he had only succeeded in ripening the maize once in three years. So it was quite impracticable for the English farmer to compete with the American grower. The great western States of America as well as the southern were very well adapted for its growth, but what he wanted to inquire was, whether its introduction into this country would only interfere by competing with barley and oats? He said no. It would enter very seriously into competition with wheat. If the house looked to the quantity of wheat consumed in this country and America, they would see how completely it served as a substitute for wheat. Here the consumption of wheat was one quarter for each individual, whereas in America each individual merely consumed three and a half bushels (hear). Now, what could be the reason of this? Labour was better; employment more abundant; wages higher; and wheat bread cheaper than in England. It arose solely from the constant use of Indian corn instead of wheat.”

Here we have a significant commentary on Mr. Sanford’s rash assertion, that the protectionists are “the last men to stand in the way of the people being fed.” The redoubtable Mr. Miles then proceeded to descant on the horrible possibility of 700,000,000 of bushels of Indian corn being imported into this country; and he added—

“Now, when they looked at the immense quantity produced in the United States, when they remembered that the temperature of that country was particularly fitted for it, and that the temperature of this country did not suit it; that in America it was useful in cleansing the land, and that it could be brought into the English market at the price of 20s. per quarter, duty paid; they were bound to look at its effect, not only upon oats and barley—much of which it would supersede—but they ought also to look at its effects upon wheat itself.”

And afterwards—

“He (Mr. Miles) thought he had shown that maize would enter not only into animal but human food, and would, in a great degree, supersede the use of corn (hear). And that it would be impossible for the English farmer to compete with the American at all in the production of maize (hear, hear). It was idle to talk of stimulating the farmer’s industry by the free action of prices in the market, when a positive natural impossibility was interposed against his production of the competing article.”

Now, this is gross, perhaps wilful, agricultural ignorance. We should assuredly rejoice to see the potato-fed rural population of West Somerset and the other half-cultivated districts of England elevated into an Indian-corn-eating people; yet it is not so much directly as indirectly that the free importation of Indian corn will cheapen human food. Maize will, we dare say, be used to some extent in the manufacture of bread, but its great value will be for feeding stock, cattle, sheep, pigs, and thus by increasing the supply of manure, thereby furnish the means of increasing the production of wheat. Object to the importation of maize because the farmer can’t grow it in this country!!

Why, a farmer who thrashes with a steam engine might as well be told that he shall have no coals unless he can dig them on his own farm! This is just the narrow, one-eyed view always taken by the protectionists; they seem to have no knowledge of the vast capacity for increased production which exists in our soil; they seem to be unable to comprehend the idea of an increased proportional return derived from additional outlay. The great problem of produce husbandry is, how to keep the largest quantity of stock at the least cost; and the free admission of all kinds of grain, pulse, and so forth, offers the readiest, perhaps the only solution. Speaking as farmers, looking to make the greatest possible amount by farming, we say Indian corn and other grain cannot be too cheap. If instead of 20s. a quarter, as Mr. Miles with such a sorrowful face predicts, it should turn out that we can import it at 18s. a quarter, nobody should rejoice more than the farmers, as they will be able to increase their stock. When Free Trade has really come into operation, we have no doubt that the live stock kept by the average farmer will be as three to two compared with his present stock; but should it turn out that he can profitably double his stock, he will not only increase the growth of grain on his farm by the manure from the extra stock, but he will also increase the supply of meat. We say emphatically, that Free Trade will cheapen the food of the people at the same time that it increases the profits of the farmer. Will the House of Lords interpose their suspensive veto between the nation and such benefits?

IMMEDIATE FREE TRADE.

If there be one thing more than another which the tenant-farmers should deprecate, it would be the proposed suspension, for three years, of the total abolition of duties on imported grain. We can understand a tenant-farmer, who for thirty years has been told by his landlord, and his landlord’s members of Parliament, that foreign corn can be brought to this country and sold for next to nothing, being alarmed by the bugbear, just as we can understand that an ignorant child, who has been frightened by its nurse’s ghost-stories, should be afraid to be left in the dark; but how the tenant-farmer is to be benefited by three years of uncertainty, three years of alarm—three years, during which he can make no safe calculation, or come to any adjustment with the landlord, it passes our imagination to conceive. Every man of ordinary judgment, who is acquainted with agriculture, says that, if Free Trade is to be, let it come at once. Peel converts and protectionists agree in this, if in nothing else. Thus we find Colonel Wood, member for Brecon, saying in his place in the House of Commons:

“He had voted for every Corn Bill for the last fifty years, and he admitted that every one of those Corn Laws had been a failure. He repeated it. From the year 1815 to the present time every Corn Act had been a failure. He would now tell the House why he should oppose the present and any amendment, that should be introduced upon the measures of the right honourable baronet. He would oppose every amendment because he wanted the present measures of the Government to pass. He trusted also that these measures would soon go to the other House of Parliament, and that no amendment would there be introduced in them. No—he did wish that one amendment should be introduced in the upper house. He did not want to monopolise all the good legis-

lation to that house. He was desirous that some room for improvement should be left to the House of Lords, and he trusted that they would introduce into the measure a clause by which the repeal of the Corn Laws should be immediate."

So Mr. Sanford, the would-be monopolist member for West Somerset, speaking at a monopolist meeting at Taunton said:

"As he was addressing a number of tenant farmers, he would ask them if it could be expected that the landlords would begin to make arrangements to meet the altered state of things, before they saw what the effect of the measure would be. Now three years would be a short time for any landlord to take an average, that being the time to be allowed before all protection ceased; but it would be necessary, after this three years was expired, to take three years more under the total free corn trade system, in order to see what the average was, so that there must be six years at least, under this precious measure, brought in by the Conservative Minister, before the agriculturists could see what the effects were like to be."

These three years of uncertainty may be very pleasant to the squires, who are deluding their tenants with all sorts of false hopes, of re-establishing protection or making the proposed temporary scale permanent; but what say the farmers? Let the farmers only exercise their wits, and they will be at no loss to perceive a very sufficient cause why the political squires cling so tenaciously to this remnant of monopoly.

The monopolist landocracy is not just now in very good odour with the public; their grasping selfishness is thoroughly understood by all but the farmers, and the farmers have been very generally made to see that if there be profit from monopoly, the landlord has got the lion's share. Now, if a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws should take place at this time, the squirearchy would be hard up for an election cry at the forthcoming general election. And more than that, farmers instead of being satisfied, as the squires now expect they will be satisfied, with the harmless pledge on the part of the county members, to do all they can to retain or recover protection, will be very apt to talk about Game Laws, leases, the law of distress, tenant rights, and various other uncomfortable rural topics which the most purblind county member must see looming in the distance. It is to stave off these things, and so retain their political influence over their tenantry until they can re-organise their forces, that the landed oligarchy has imposed upon Sir Robert Peel the three years' continuance of the sliding scale, as a condition to the passing of his measure.

REASONS FOR IMPORTING CATTLE FOOD.

The present high price of meat, which is seriously injurious to the consumer, is not, as some have supposed, vastly advantageous to the grazier.

The following remarks on the Smithfield cattle market, which appeared in the *Mark Lane Express* of last Monday, though with a different object, show most conclusively that a constant and regular supply of cheap provender in all seasons is essential to the gain of the farmer and the comfort of the consumers of meat:

"It has been asserted (says the writer) that production has not kept pace with the demand; and this assertion is supported by instancing the falling-off which has taken place in the arrivals of beasts and sheep for the metropolitan market since the commencement of the present year: hence it has been assumed the graziers are obtaining enormous profits, to the injury of the great masses of people."

This assumption is not warranted. That there has been a deficiency of sheep is admitted, though their quality; from the abundant food of the past summer, "has seldom or never been equalled."

"Without, therefore, attempting to assert for one moment that a numerical deficiency has not existed in the supplies of sheep, we at the same time deny that the graziers are obtaining those large profits which some parties would make it appear. For instance, the great scarcity of turnips, &c., experienced during the whole of 1844 and a portion of 1845, caused the prices of natural and artificial food to rise enormously high, as much as £14 per 1000 having been paid for linseed cake. This scarcity of pabulum had another effect, equally injurious to the interests of the flock masters—that of compelling them to dispose of their sheep in this and other markets, often in a half-fat state, at ruinously low figures. When, therefore, the period arrived at which store animals are usually purchased, many graziers, owing to their deficiency from the causes above assigned, and the consequent high rates at which they were held, were compelled, from circumstances over which they had no control, to have fewer animals on their farms than could by possibility consume the immense produce of last year's green crops; such, too, is the case at this moment, and, as a striking illustration of our remarks, we may state that many farmers who require the land for spring corn are positively driving their turnips away to those who will eat them off. What, then, we ask, has an abundant season done for the grazier? Has it increased his returns? Certainly not."

At this moment the prices of store stock of every kind are so high, that notwithstanding the actual abundance of food, there is not the least chance of any profit being derived from grazing during the present year.

PROTECTION TO AGRICULTURE.

It is to protect the farmer against foreign competition that, as it is said, the Corn Laws have been enacted;

yet, in the following act of wanton destruction, the farmers were the real sufferers:

"CUSTOM HOUSE DESTRUCTION OF DAMAGED WHEAT.—This week a quantity of foreign wheat, which had been imported by Messrs. Philipotts and Co., of this port (Gloucester), but which has since become damaged, so as not to be worth paying 17s. duty upon, was destroyed under the supervision of a very active Custom-house officer, by throwing it into the river Severn, and by keeping a very close official watch until it was carried away by the stream, or so intermixed with the mud that it could not be in any way used."—*Gloucester Journal*.

Now, had the trade in corn been free, this damaged foreign wheat would have been sold at a low price, and ground up for feeding cattle and pigs; and many hundreds of such chances for the farmer would occur in every year. We know an instance in which a good farmer, occupying a large farm, made a very considerable sum of money in a particular year from having had the opportunity of purchasing a cargo of damaged lentils, at a very low price. They were apparently so much injured by sea-water that nobody would look at them, supposing cattle would not eat them; but the farmer we allude to made the venture, and by spreading and turning the lentils in a barn, he so dried and sweetened them, that when ground, his beasts eat them readily, and fattened quickly. We have heard him say, "that was the best year's farming he ever had."

A BUSINESS VIEW OF THE CORN LAW DEBATE.

The following extract from the *Mark Lane Express* review of the corn trade, shows the way in which those who write for men of business regard the present position of the Free Trade question:

"It appears that the ministerial plan is preferred to a repeal of all duties on grain. The other amendments have been disposed of in an equally summary manner, and it is now pretty certain that the measure—as first proposed—will, ultimately, become the law of the land; a month or six weeks may, however, elapse before the final settlement, and during that interval the trade will probably remain in a state of depression: indeed, even if the success of the bill were placed altogether beyond doubt, the fact that the new scale of duties cannot, under any circumstances, come into operation for several weeks, must act as a serious inconvenience. We have on former occasions intimated, that though unforeseen events of a political character have hitherto prevented the advance in the price of wheat, which, from the indifferent result of the harvest and the disease in the potato crop, all parties engaged in the trade confidently expected would have occurred, still we can see no reason to alter our opinion as regards the facts of the case. The shortness of the produce of wheat, and the disorder which has affected potatoes, may have been made the most of for party purposes; still it cannot be denied that these two principal articles of food suffered so much from the excessively wet weather experienced during the summer and autumn, as to afford just reason for concluding that both will run short before the time can come round for gathering another crop. With respect to potatoes there is also ground to apprehend that the malady may not prove temporary; indeed it has been recently proved, by carefully conducted experiments, that the diseased potatoes when planted—though they vegetate freely—do not yield a sound return, the young tubercles exhibiting the disorder of the seed at an early stage of their growth; we maintain, therefore, that abundant cause exists for surprise at the present position of affairs, and that there is every prospect of business assuming a more healthy tone so soon as the long protracted discussion on the Corn Laws shall have been disposed of in one way or the other."

We know from other sources that men largely engaged in the domestic corn trade believe that that trade will not assume the healthy tone so desirable for farmers' interests until the expiration of the three years of uncertainty proposed by Sir Robert Peel, in obedience to a dominant landocracy, to be inflicted upon the community.

FISH ALIVE, ALIVE, O!

It seems that even the "coroneted fishmonger," who cried out so woefully against the admission of foreign salmon, will, after all, suffer no damage even to his own sordid and selfish interest. We find the following evidence that Free Trade is ultimately the best for the protected interest:

"PRICE OF SALMON IN THE NORTH.—The Duke of Richmond's salmon on the Spey are selling at the high price of 2s. 6d. to 3s. a pound in the neighbourhood of the fishing grounds."—*Inverness Courier*.

TRADE WITH RUSSIA.—We have the important fact we are about to communicate from a confidential authority, in which we place the most implicit confidence, and from which it will appear that the effect of the development of the future commercial policy of the British Government is working away abroad, sooner, perhaps, than was generally anticipated by our merchants and the public. We learn from St. Petersburg, notwithstanding recent assurances from high quarters that nothing would be done with the Russian tariff for this season at least, that it is more than probable that, in the course of a short time, a few days, an announcement of considerable reductions in the duties of the leading exports, and on many imports, will be made. These reductions, we are assured, will take effect this season. —*Hull Packet*.

Some of the newspapers are getting absolutely demented in their attempts to struggle into fame and circulation. One has offered to give globes to their subscribers; a second *piano-fortes*, and a third *two thousand pounds*.

REVIEW.

A Summer Ramble in Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland. By J. W. Massie, D.D., &c. London: Snow.

The circumstances under which this work appears before us, must to some extent disarm criticism. Ill health compelled Dr. Massie to make a Continental tour, and his congregation raised subscriptions to facilitate his journey. On his return, he delivered a course of lectures on the countries he had visited, and the substance of these lectures is incorporated in the volume before us. Dr. Massie is a zealous minister of the congregationalist persuasion, the first sect which proclaimed liberty of conscience; but he carries his hatred of intolerance to an excess which renders him intolerant in his turn. We regret that too large a portion of his volume is occupied by tirades against the church of Rome, which are perversely introduced in the midst of graphic descriptions and clever historical dissertations, so as to infect every association with the bitterness of controversy. We regret this, because we find in the work elements of excellence, which ought to have been dis severed from such a connection. Dr. Massie is a shrewd observer, and a clever describer; to the descriptive part of his work we shall therefore confine our attention, and leave others to debate with him on the points at issue between Rome and Geneva.

The account of Namur, a city historically associated with the memory of Louis XIV. and William III., is a clever sketch of a Belgian manufacturing town:

"Namur is to Belgium what Sheffield is to England; the cutlery of the Netherlands is made there. Seraigne, more like a street for continuousness than a town for architecture, nearly a mile in length, stretches along upon the river Meuse between Namur and Liege. An old episcopal residence, in which the prelate princes of Liege resided in the times of feudal power and grandeur was a few years ago turned into the vestibule and front section of a magnificent factory for casting and constructing machinery for almost every mechanical purpose; whether for peaceful arts, or as implements of destruction. The palatial gardens,—no longer the luxurious retreat of lordly churchmen, but now made the storeroom or depository for crude and manufactured iron, and occupied with heaps of coal,—have altogether lost their episcopal aspect; and, while yielding to the darkening and sombre influences of some fifty wide-mouthed chimneys, and their issuing flames or smoke, the prelate dignity of the scene may seem to have disappeared—but a no less intellectual and industrious destiny prevails. Ingenuity and patient labour here preside; while nearly every description of iron-work is fabricated, from the heaviest and most potent engine to the most complicated or refined instrument of utility—from the monumental lion which crouches on the field of Waterloo, to the lady's penknife, which is deposited in her reticule. The vast pile of building forms a town within itself. The establishment possesses a great advantage in being placed over the bed of coal from which its exhaustless supply is dug; and the fuel being raised within the limits of the factory, and close to the furnaces near to which the mineral ore is found, the labour is much diminished compared with many English foundries. The workshops of the craftsmen are situated upon the line of railways on the banks of canals leading to the river. The blast furnaces, puddling furnaces, forges, and rolling mills, are on the opposite bank of the river from the houses of the operatives; but they maintain their intercourse between home and the shop by boats provided for their convenience and at their command."

"John Cockerill, as a prince among mechanics, was in partnership (a strange association, and uncommon for the trader,) with the late King of Holland, as an engine-builder and machine-maker, which gave celebrity to this large establishment. There have been, and I presume there are still, 3000 employed in these works, receiving on an average about 2000*l.* in weekly wages. Cockerill sought to extend his connections and mechanical fame, especially in regions where manufacturing skill was precious. He died at Wursaw, leaving his wealth to his heirs, and his name on many Continental locomotives."

"A company have undertaken the management of his extended works, and employ an equal number of men in the same branches of manufacture: making not merely implements of destruction, as used to be the case at the Carron Works in Scotland, but also some of the first-rate locomotive engines for Prussian and other European railways, which are rapidly multiplying. The cotton factory is also thence supplied with spinning-jennies and other machinery. Thus the school of Cockerill competes with the shops of Sharpe, Roberts, and other prime mechanists in England. The elements and occasion of Cockerill's success sprang from a source which working men were not quick enough to discern—at least they did not soon enough discover and remedy the mistake. The law which short-sighted monopoly had enacted, as it was considered for the protection of the machine-maker in England, preventing the exportation of machinery from this to Continental countries, gave the stimulus and premium to enterprise in these countries. For a while the smuggler profited by the interdiction, and gambled on the chances of detection. The machine of human thought, the mysterious engine of the busy mind, revolved its powers and principles in contrivance and imitation for production and supply. No law could contravene the laws of nature and the gifts of God. Genius can summon its resources from Indus to the Poles, and self-interest has power enough to bind the winds and seas, fire and vapour of smoke. Monopoly was defiled, and at length subdued."

"John Cockerill, and his friends, and men of like spirit, exported the men of thought and genius from England, who went forth and became the tutors of the men of Belgium. It was not enough to work and execute plans; they had literary and mechanical institutions in Cockerill's works and in others, for the training of handicraftsmen, who received their instruction from English mechanists, and who have now filled the whole of the workshops of Belgium with workmen and men capable of managing all kinds of machinery, and of inventing, as well as producing the manufacture of machinery such as will very nearly compete with your most skilled engine makers of England."

Cologne fares hardly at the Doctor's hands, and we think that the picture would be more perfect if the shadows were less dark:

"Cologne itself contains a population of about 65,000, or from that to 70,000 people. As a town, it is one of the least inviting, the least handsome or spacious of all the cities I have visited anywhere, to be an ancient and a large city—the resort of imperial and commercial wealth, as well as ecclesiastical domination. The streets are narrow and mean; they are as contracted and impassable as the streets that I saw in the obsolete and decayed cities of the East, where the light of the sun never shone upon the pavement; the houses having been reared so high as to keep out the sun, even though it was vertical. It might have been deemed the design of architects and civic authorities, from the days of Agrippina till the time when Hanseatic prosperity declined, to keep out the beauties of heaven and the balmy breath of day from the pavement upon which the passenger trod. The streets of Cologne have been compared very fitly, by a Scotch writer, to the streets of the Old Town of Edinburgh,—to the West Bow, the Cowgate, the Grass Market, and various other places. The associations which these allusions will recall to a *quondam* visitor of Auld Reekie, at the hours of nine and ten o'clock, p.m., when the régime of malarious sewerage and loathsome effluvia gave character to the streets, however unavailing, will fitly represent the filthiness of Cologne. The poetry of Coleridge will better complete the picture than my harsh prose:

"Ye nymphs who reign o'er sewers and sinks,
The river Rhine, it is well known,
Doth wash your city of Cologne;
But tell me, nymphs, what power divine
Shall henceforth wash the river Rhine?"

I may only add, that, to my apprehension, the Cologne seemed to prefer the luxury of carrying their sewers and sinks upon the surface of their streets, to any under-ground excavations and conduits which sanitary refinement might suggest. You may conjecture what would be the effluvia passing through a town with such accommodation. This ancient seat of power and commerce has, however, many circumstances connected with it of an historical character to excite an interest in it."

The view from Ehrenbreitstein "the broad stone of honour," above Cologne, is portrayed with great spirit and fidelity. On this elevated rock, the Doctor was raised above the sphere of theological differences, and was free to follow the impulses of his better genius:

"From the top of this fortress the spectacle is magnificent and enchanting. Certainly the scene down the Rhine and up the Moselle, along the banks of the Rhine, and all across the valley through which the Rhine flows, is the richest of all the scenes your eye can rest upon or survey. The well-wooded plains here and there; the vineyards in all their beauty; the corn-fields (it was one of the most productive seasons I fancy that Germany had witnessed)—the ripened crop of corn-fields waving in their golden beauty, inviting the scythe of the mower; whilst the sun rested with its chastest and yet richest rays upon the radiant scenery, and threw back those rays reflected from the glassy streams that flowed along. The Moselle was seen taking its course quietly, unostentatiously, but very determinedly, with a kind of independence, as a parallel and concurrent river, by the side of the Rhine, and they flowed down the channel together as twin streams, proving for miles and miles that they were able to maintain their individuality, though ultimately they were to be wedded and rendered indivisible for their future course. I crossed the bridge which passes from Coblenz to the Petersburg fortress; just below this point the contemplative tourist will often linger, to mark the superb view which may there be obtained of Ehrenbreitstein. The weather was bright and yet calm, presenting a midday scene of voluptuous indulgence and tranquillity. I could realise all that the 'Pilgrim of the Rhine' has given as his impression. 'There stood the old herdsman leaning on his staff, and the quiet cattle knee-deep in the gliding waters. Never did stream more smooth and sheen, than was at that hour the surface of the Moselle, mirror the images of pastoral life. Beyond, the darker shadows of the bridge and of the walls of Coblenz fell deep over the waves, chequered by the tall sails of the craft that were moored around the harbour. But clear against the sun rose the spires and roofs of Coblenz, backed by many a hill sloping away to the horizon. High, dark, and massive, on the opposite bank swelled the towers and rock of Ehrenbreitstein, a type of that great and chivalric spirit—the honour that the rock arrogates for its name, which demands so many sacrifices of blood and tears, but which ever creates in the restless (unsanctified) heart of man a far deeper interest than the more peaceful scenes of life by which it is contrasted. There still, from the calm waters, and the abodes of common toil and ordinary pleasure, turns the aspiring mind. Still, as we gaze on that lofty and immemorial rock, we recall the famine and the siege, and own that the more daring crimes of men have a strange privilege in hallowing the very spot which they devastate!"

"Below, in green curves and mimic bays covered with herbage, the gradual banks mingled with the water; and, just where the bridge closed, a solitary group of trees, standing dark in the thickest shadow, gave that melancholy feature to the scene which resembles the one dark thought that often forces itself into our sunniest hours. Their boughs stirred not; no voice of birds broke the stillness of their gloomy verdure; the eye turned from them as from the sad moral that belongs to existence. Here, at the confluence of the rivers, the Roman *Castrum* was entrenched—hence the name Coblenz; and, in the middle ages, the Electors of Treves found a stronghold and a refuge; here Marshal Bellerophon and a French army in vain carried on the siege and assault, conducted by Vauban under the personal auspices of Louis the Fourteenth; and here, again, the soldiers of the Revolution reduced the Prussian garrison, in 1793, to the most humiliating extremities, when, during the straits of the siege, where they were besieged, a cat's head was sold for five shillings, and a pound of horse flesh was bought for tenpence, or thirty kreutzers. It then fell into the hands of the French, who, before they evacuated its garrison, blew up its shattered walls and tower of victory, on which the iron shiver for years had poured in vain."

The floating-baths, and floating-mills of the Rhine, suggest improvements which might be beneficially adopted on many of our British rivers, and we have never found them more lucidly and accurately described than by Dr. Massie:

"Another arrangement which I observed appears worthy of notice, and might be initiated with beneficial results to the community in Britain and other countries. I allude to the floating-baths, which abound on the Rhine, and serve for more extensive purposes than individual comfort or profit—cleanliness and health. They seemed to be regarded as a part of the national economy. The youth of the localities resorted to them as a sort of gymnasium; and especially the young men, who anticipated employment in the army, assembled at them for daily discipline, and were taught to swim, under the direction of men appointed by the authorities for such a purpose. There are inclosures with awnings and shades, platforms, floating beams, buckets, and ropes, to afford every facility and inducement for the healthful exercise. The rope was held by the hand, or girt around the waist, and the floating beams were moved to and fro, so that the novice might try his attainments, or be sustained in courageously venturing beyond his depth, and become ultimately independent, and capable of casting aside all aids; and, plunging headlong into the stream, might dash forward with the freedom and indulgence of a pastime. Swimming is practised, not as a momentary recreation, but as part of a regular training, in which hours are spent. I think that, were there more bathing among ourselves, there would be more health; and were our youth more extensively taught to swim, there would be less fatality attending accidents, whether in rivers or at sea.

"My attention was attracted to the operation of the river flour-mills, which are numerous on this majestic stream, and might be advantageously employed in other regions. Immediately contiguous to the bridges of boats, and in other parts, I suppose the more equable channels of the river, these floating mills are moored, and kept in daily occupation. Their tacklings were fastened to anchors and powerful chains, or attached to the floating bridges. They were worked by external paddle-wheels, not dissimilar to the paddles of a steam-boat. The constant downward current of the river acted from without with the same effect as steam from within does, in the propulsion of the sailing vessel. Thus the corn is ground by the operation of a generally equal force; which I believe, is always preferred by the miller. I counted as many as ten, and, in some places, as many as seventeen mills of this description at one station. A smaller number, however, repeatedly occurred; and all the grain was brought in boats to a platform in front of the mill, and was returned to the storehouse on the banks of the river with the greatest facility. I do not know why such a mechanism should not be adopted, not alone on rivers, but also where the tide flows and recedes. The rise of the tide, flowing one way, might revolve the wheel; and the tide falling, sending the current out, might work it in such a manner as almost to secure a constant power; the engine being capable of reverse action, on the same principle with the engine of a steam-boat. Even in firths, or at the embouchures of rivers, independent of wind or steam, the miller's work might continue with but short intermission. I have adverted to these mills, not because I know much of the mechanical arts, or can profess to teach practical men; but as it is possible some intelligent mechanics, from the suggestion, may develop what will profit or improve with far more readiness and sagacity than I can display."

Notwithstanding the pressure on our space, we must make room for the history of the Free Trade League of Mayence:

"Mayence boasts celebrity for other incidents in European history, which are interesting to all, and which may even yet become the source of moral and popular power. The first which I would mention is not only for the locality the most important, but recognises within its operation principles of a just and wise political economy for all nations, applicable to all times, and promoting good will among all the tribes of the earth. *Free Trade* was first recognised by the citizens of Mayence, and first realised, through their instrumentality, among other cities upon the Rhine. Walpolden was a citizen of Mayence, who suggested the confederation of cities; which led first to the formation of a Rhenish, and then of the famous Hanseatic League. The union which he recommended was to secure advantages which should be common to all, and which they should share in spite of feudal or baronial power. Their plan was, to free commerce of the oppressive exactions enforced by knightly highwaymen, whose fortresses were a refuge to the plundering robbers too proud to work, and too selfish to consider the claims of justice or the rights of fellow-men. The whole Continent was at that time overspread with these haunts of rapine and excess. The Rhenish confederacy united for purposes of commerce, and, through Walpolden, obtained the counsel and sanction of the emperor Rodolph of Hapsburgh. To effect their object, they assailed these fortresses, unroofed their castles, and sent their feudal chiefs forth to other regions. To this movement has been ascribed the numerous and far-spread ruins of castellated buildings on the Rhine. Their picturesque grandeur serves a far more harmless, and even a more beneficial purpose now, in variegating the scene, and associating the present with memorials of the past, than, as the habitations of chivalry and martial parade, they could have done in their best days. They are landmarks now for the navigator and adventuring trader; but then they excited terror, and repressed commerce by their signs of life and occupation, when the feudal chiefs employed their menials to intercept and plunder the vessel of the merchant who sought the gains of trade. The tourist, in search of the picturesque, and the mariner, can alike look on them now with undisturbed composure.

"The Rhenish League was a precedent for the subsequent Hanseatic League—a confederation of the Hanse, or free towns of the Continent—to which I may again refer. But it was also founded much in the spirit, and for objects very similar with the designs of a more modern confederacy, whose combined energies will do even more for the world than did Walpolden and his condottieri. Though they may not leave so many fragmentary ruins to excite the admiration of future travellers, or fill the page of history with scenes of carnage and spoil, and tales of heroic bravery in dismantling the beautiful, magnificent, and picturesque mansions of lordly barons; yet the principle and process of *Free Trade* will have its achievements, its conquests, and its laurels; overcoming feudal tyranny and territorial domination; setting free the channels of commerce, the energies of men, and the wealth of nations."

Our last extract shall be the description of Berne, a city dear to all lovers of freedom, from its venerable associations with the patriots of old:

"Standing on an isthmus made by a curve of the Aar, 1800 feet above the level of the sea, and surmounted by a wooded summit, it bursts into view, to the surprise and de-

light of the tourist; and, encircled by this line of dark, of water rapidly rushing on its flanking sides, its mass of piled buildings, heaped, thrust, and pinnaled, stands out to view, surrounded by leafy and cultivated pastures and meadows, rising like terraces, one above another, from the river to the tall houses above. The contrast made more gratifying—it will startle the curious by its beauty and advantages.

From the ramparts, the Alpine attractions, in their distant snow-clad peaks, which invite to farther wanderings, appear in great grandeur. Were I to name more than the Jungfrau, the Eiger, the Wetterhorn, the Monch, and the Schreckhorn, would be to bewilder the imagination amidst nature's richest magnificence; while the expanding banks of the blue and lovely Aar, curling and murmuring far below, contrast with the grey sandstone habitations of the citizens, which rise to the height of six or seven stories, with crowded inhabitants from cellar to garret. The new bridge completed, gives a more modern and improving aspect to the city. More like a fortification than a republican town, it remains as a monument of the law of the strong hand, which prevailed in the times when Berne was chosen for defence rather than commerce. It is now the chief place for the residence of foreign ambassadors to the Swiss Diet; and is the centre of the most populous and wealthy of the cantons. The chief part of the town is the main street; and its houses extend over the foot-pavements, forming pillared arcades similar to those of Chester, but less roomy. These arches are filled by shopkeepers' goods, as in a lengthened bazaar; and thus the street is almost an impassable thoroughfare. The only means of enjoying ventilation for the inhabitants are their higher windows, which are furnished with cushions and balconies. The middle of the street is intersected, from end to end, by a channel large enough to be called a rivulet, which is supplied with copious streams thrown out continually from the fountains, surmounted by figures of bears, and men in armour, which at intervals, from top to bottom, are placed in the Rue Grand.

"The Bernese do not excel in their toilette. Their costume is simple, if not rude, and does not indicate a wide commercial intercourse with other lands. The women wear jacket and petticoat of coarse woollen, brown or blue, and the men have coat and trousers of the same stuff. The ordinary male and female attire, from head to heel, is made by themselves, of home manufacture, excepting a few holiday trappings, which their shops furnish. The women wear on the neck a black cotton velvet lapet, bound loosely under each arm, from back to breast, by a steel chain; and decorate their heads with bows of black ribbons and broad black lace. The whole people are accustomed, men and women, to laborious country toil; and are cleanly, comfortable, and contented. The conjecture was warranted, that they make or mend their own shoes, as well as prepare the coarse fabrics for their clothing at their cottage fire-sides, by the exposure and purchase of pieces of leather at the market. Zeiglockenthurm, an ancient tower, stands in the middle of the main street, like Temple bar, London; a tall block of masonry, dating from 1191, which had been a portal in the walls prior to the extension of the town. Its eastern side is furnished with the dial of a clock. The remarkable performance of its functions would not much interest those who treat such mechanism as *toyish*, rather than indicative of early progress; yet I will venture a brief description for my young friends. A strange whirring sound, a minute prior to the striking of the hour, gives notice of what follows. A variety of puppets, adjoining the dial, assume their functions; a cock flaps his wings, and crows; a king waves his sceptre; a troop of bears march round in procession; and the clock—strikes the hour. The crowing, flapping, waving, and marching then again follow; and silence reigns for another hour.

"Beyond the western gateway of the town, contiguous to the public promenade, is a well-constructed bear-pit, in which the fattest and largest bears, as sinecurists, are fed and pampered at the state's expense. The Bernese authorities have always shown great respect for sinecure pensioned bears. I wish the English authorities had never kept or upheld any worse sinecured and pampered pensioners. The tradition of the bears is unique in Bernese history; but, at the beginning of the last century, an old lady dying, without near relatives, bequeathed her fortune of 60,000 livres to them. The will was disputed by some distant relative of the deceased; but the cause of the brutes was so ably pleaded by one of the most distinguished members of the bar of Berne, that the plaintiff was nonsuited. The bears, declared the rightful heirs, were taken under the guardianship of the supreme council, who, treating them as wards of Chancery, or minors, administered their property. In order to maintain the succession to the estate, a pair of young bears was always reared, in case of the demise of the elders; and, to prevent too large an increase of the race, all that were born beyond this were fattened to furnish a dainty for the civic feasts of the Bernese burghmasters. The bears, however, did not long enjoy their fortune. The French revolution broke out; and its sweeping consequences, not confined to crowns and kingdoms, descended even to bears. The French army, having defeated the Swiss in several engagements, entered the town, (in 1788,) and immediately took possession of the treasury. Eleven males were despatched to Paris, laden with specie found in it; two of them bore away the birth-right of the bears, amounting at the time to about two millions of francs. The bears themselves were led away captives, and deposited in the Jardin des Plantes, where one of them, the celebrated Martin, soon became the favourite of the French metropolis. When, after a series of years, the ancient order of things was restored at Berne, one of the first cares of the citizens was to replace and provide for their ancient pensioners. A subscription was raised in consequence, and a small estate purchased; the rents of which, though diminished from various causes, are appropriated to their support. The cost of keeping them amounts to between 600 and 700 francs per annum; and well-grounded fears are entertained that modern legislators, forgetful of the services rendered by Bruin for so many centuries, in figuring upon the shield of the canton, may soon strike him off the pension list."

We take leave of Dr. Massie, with greater admiration of his powers than of his prudence; controversial theology is bad seasoning to a book of travels, especially when no care is taken to sooth down condemnation by the more gentle feeling of pity for human error. With this exception, however, the tone of the book is vigorous and healthful, the descriptions very vivid, and the course of the narrative easy and flowing. A little less of controversy, and a little more of Christian charity, would have rendered it as acceptable a companion and guide in a Continental tour as could well be desired.

UNITED STATES.

LIVERPOOL, THURSDAY.—The arrival of the New York packet-ship Rochester, Captain Britton, at this port to-day, has put us in possession of papers five days later than before, to the 21st. inclusive.

The debate upon the Oregon had been resumed in the Senate, but not yet brought to a conclusion. The speakers were for the most part on the pacific side of the question, but the arguments possess but little novelty.

The new Tariff, or Customs' Duties Bill, had been introduced by Mr. Walker, Secretary of State.

The steamer Cambria arrived at Boston on the 18th inst. She sailed hence on the 4th of February, and carried out news a whole month later than before, and news, too, it will be remembered, of the most intense interest. It was expressed to New York in 7½ hours, and caused a great sensation. The *New York Herald* observes:

"The news is of the highest importance, both in a political and commercial point of view, and as it spreads through the south and west, must have a very favourable effect upon business matters generally, and upon the prices for our principal staple productions particularly. The bill introduced into Parliament by Sir Robert Peel, in relation to a reduction of duties upon the importations into the United Kingdom, met with universal favour, and had a very good effect upon trade in the manufacturing districts throughout the country. In many instances large purchases of the raw material had been made, and arrangements commenced for extending the produce of the loom. Should this bill of Sir Robert Peel be completed, and become a law, the effect upon the most important interests of this country will be as great as on those of Great Britain; it will cement the interests of both countries more firmly than they have ever yet been, and the political differences must be very much softened down by the increased liberality that characterises the commercial systems of the two nations.

"The attention of the commercial classes of Great Britain is turned to this country, in expectation of a reduction in our tariff. There appears to be a determination in Parliament to bring down the tariff of Great Britain to the lowest point, and it is expected that a reciprocal movement will be made in reducing the duties on the manufactures of Great Britain, imported into this country. The two Governments have before them bills for the reduction of the tariff, and it is due to that Government that the most liberal compromise in our commercial system should be made. The bill proposed by Mr. Walker would be highly satisfactory to the commercial classes of Europe generally, and Great Britain particularly; and after the reported reductions made in the duties on American produce in England, it is but just, it is but fair, that some concessions should be made on our side. Reductions have from time to time been made in the British tariff upon our products, without a corresponding reduction, or even the slightest reduction, on the part of our Government; and notwithstanding these repeated disappointments, the Government of Great Britain have proposed another reduction, before the first change has been made in our tariff. In the face of these facts, it becomes necessary that immediate measures should be taken to adopt at once Mr. Walker's bill, and place the tariff upon the most liberal foundation."

Referring again to the state of the Oregon negotiations, the same paper observes:

"The political news, also, possesses great interest, as it must give confidence in the permanency of our peaceful relations with England, and do away with many of those fears and alarms which have for the past year had such a blighting effect upon commercial affairs. The remarks of Sir Robert Peel indicate an intention on the part of the Government to settle the Oregon question by negotiations, if possible; and his allusion to the course pursued by Mr. Pakenham, in refusing the offer made by Mr. Buchanan, is pretty good evidence that had the offer been submitted by Mr. Pakenham to his Government, it would have been very favourably received, and perhaps have been accepted. Mr. Pakenham therefore deserves the censure the Prime Minister gave him in Parliament, as the difficulties that have grown, and those that may grow out of this question, can be attributed entirely to the refusal of the last offer of Mr. Buchanan by Mr. Pakenham, without consulting his Government."

(From the *New York Tribune*, Feb. 20.)

The news from Europe, by the arrival of the Cambria steamer, is of the highest importance, and was received here with the greatest joy. The British Government is determined on peace, which is proclaimed in the speech from the throne, and by Sir R. Peel in the House of Commons. This news is altogether unexpected, and so much better than was anticipated, that it had an instantaneous effect to advance the price of stocks, and to inspire confidence. The proposal to reduce the duties of American produce is all we can wish: those articles most important, such as beef, pork, and Indian corn, are to be admitted free or nearly so. These are the leading articles that the Continent of Europe cannot compete with us in, and which we can supply to almost any extent. The debates in Congress will be very much affected by the news, and it is believed will be shaped to a speedy and happy issue. The spring trade has commenced; merchants are here from the south and west; the auctioneers have commenced their spring sales, and our hotels are fast filling up. The weather has been quite stormy and severe, and the rivers remain closed; happily, however, the railroads have not been obstructed, and travelling has continued uninterrupted.

(From the *Express*.)

The intelligence we consider in some respects of more importance than any we have received for many years. The proposition of the British Ministry to reduce the duty on many of the most important articles imported from the United States is all that could be wished. The reduction is on the very articles that the most experienced men in this country would have selected, if they had had the opportunity to frame the bill. One of the most important is that of Indian corn. This is the species of grain that is raised in immense quantities in this country. By the census of 1840, the product of a single year was over three hundred and seventy-seven millions of bushels, and the largest yield was in the state of Tennessee. In the growth of this description of grain, no country on the globe can compete with us. We have, in fact, a greater monopoly in the growth of corn than we have in that of cotton. The duty is now 1 cent a bushel, and by the proposed law is to be admitted free. The admission of pork and beef from this country, free, is an important event. Beef is already shipped from here in great quantities, and has become in high favour. Pork is also shipped freely from this country. The reduction of duties on butter, candles, cheese, cloths, hams, hops, rice, and tallow is sufficient to allow very large shipments to be made. The duty on wheat, which is now 2s. sterling, or 15 cents a

bushel, is to be reduced to 6d, or 12 cents a bushel, and a corresponding reduction in flour.

The intelligence, in a political point of view, is of the highest importance. Notwithstanding all the boasting and swaggering from this country, the Government of England are determined on peace.

The Queen's Speech is decidedly pacific, and Sir Robert Peel's is, if possible, more so. It is now certain that war must come from this side of the water, if at all.

FAMINE IN IRELAND.

DUBLIN, MARCH 10.—The subjoined remarkable statement was unanimously agreed to at a meeting of the magistrates, clergy, and respectable farmers of the parish of Kilmone, county of Clare, held in the National School-house of Newhall on Friday, the 6th inst. Mr. John Macdonnell, of Newhall, in the chair, for the purpose of urging on the members of the Scarcity Commission the necessity of affording immediate relief to the destitute unemployed poor of the district:

"That there are in this parish 100 families and upwards in great want. The failure of the potato crop, the high price of potatoes in Ennis market (5d. yesterday), the want of resident gentry to employ the people—all combine to spread distress and misery throughout this neighbourhood.

"That about 100 acres of the rich alluvial corcas land adjoining the estuary of the river Fergus have been cultivated during the past year by the labourers of this parish, the entire produce of which has been lost.

"That at the present moment there are in this parish more than 50 families in a state bordering on extreme destitution; or, in other words, that they frequently cannot procure even one meal in the 24 hours of the cheapest food, as they are without money, credit, or employment.

"That in another month we shall have an additional number of 50 families and upwards in similar destitution, and that before the 1st of next May more than the third part of the inhabitants of this parish will have to depend, in order to sustain life, on the employment afforded by public works, or the relief given by humane landlords.

"That the extensive farmers of the parish have lost almost the entire of their potatoes—hence the poor are excluded from the extensive charities hitherto given in the agricultural districts—hence likewise a great diminution of the employment heretofore afforded by the farmers to the neighbouring poor.

"That there are not in this parish provisions sufficient, at an average, to feed the inhabitants for a month."

A parish priest (the Rev. Mr. Lynch) in the county of Clare, has addressed a letter to a local paper, which gives a very gloomy account of the condition of the people in the district over which he is placed:

"The potatoes (says the rev. gentleman) are all but gone in this district, while the people have no employment, for, as there is neither resident landlord nor agent in Kilmone, they are left to their own resources. What will the public think when they are informed that in one parish (Kilmone) there are more than 12,000 acres Irish to which the hand of industry was never applied, not from any want of disposition on the part of the people, but from an unaccountable and insane apathy on the part of the landlords? What then are the people who are so neglected to do? Their food is nearly exhausted, and yet they have no employment in a district where industry is required in every form, whether it be in repairing of roads and bridges, making fences, clearing land, &c. Meetings have been called in other baronies and money applied for to meet the approaching famine, and why not hold a meeting in this barony? I would suggest the prudence of doing so, before a scene of anarchy may be acted which would be deplored by every lover of peace and religion. *Principis obsta* was never more applicable than at the present time. It is a very dangerous experiment to try the patience of a hungry populace."

FREE TRADE CONTAGIOUS.

(From the *Spectator*.)

The protectionists are probably in the right when they maintain that Foreign Governments will not take off their restrictive or prohibitive duties on English produce because we take off our restrictive or prohibitive duties on theirs. But the protectionists are wrong when they infer that restrictive or prohibitive duties on English goods will therefore remain as stringent after we have liberalised our tariff as they are at present. The Free Trade policy of England may work as an example, although foreign Governments do not reduce the duty on English cottons in order to reward Englishmen for abolishing the duty on their corn. For example—the best argument against the English Corn Law is that it creates scarcity by artificial means: it is the Corn Law that we have to thank in great part for the extent to which the potato has become a substitute for bread: under the Corn Law the food of the people has deteriorated in quality. A parallel case is at this moment engaging the attention of the French chambers. For many years the consumption of butcher-meat in France has been decreasing. In 1830, the annual consumption of meat was 124 kilogrammes per head; in 1840, it was only 11 kilogrammes: in the course of ten years the consumption of meat by the French population has diminished 11 per cent. This appears from official documents published by the Minister of Commerce in 1842. The chamber of deputies proposes to check this deterioration of the popular aliment by reforming the duties exacted by municipalities on all cattle brought into towns. While other deputies were dealing with the evil much after the fashion of our protectionists, M. de Lamartine struck at its root. He traced the increased price of meat and its decreased consumption to the duties levied at the frontier on imported cattle. M. de Lamartine has thus indissolubly associated in the public mind of France two ideas—scarcity of animal food, and duties on the importation of foreign cattle to protect French graziers. The duties on imported cattle are about to become as odious in France as the duties on imported corn in England. The example set by England in the abolition of the Corn Law will be quoted in support of the abolition of the French restrictive duties on foreign cattle. Swiss and Belgian graziers will be permitted to compete on equal terms with French graziers in French markets, and French graziers will insist upon being allowed in like manner to purchase their cattens of foreign manufacture if they can get them cheaper than at home. Not to favour England will the duty on foreign cattle be abolished in France; but its abolition will on the one hand be accelerated by the repeal of our Corn Law, and on the other it will accelerate the free introduction of our manufactures into France.

MISCELLANEOUS.

We understand that Sir Robert Peel's new sliding-scale finds very little favour in this neighbourhood, the general feeling of the farmers being that, if they are to be subjected to competition with the foreigner, the sooner the measure comes into full operation the better. They say, and with truth, that they are much more likely thus to enter into satisfactory arrangements with their landlords than if they are for the next three years to be mocked with a show of protection, which shall serve no other purpose than to afford an excuse to those who may feel a disinclination to accommodate themselves and those dependent upon them to the new state of things.—*Salisbury Journal*.

The *Austrian Lloyd's*, published at Trieste, states that three eminent engineers, of France, England, and Austria, are about to meet at Paris, to agree upon a plan for forming a canal across the Isthmus of Suez. We believe that this is entirely incorrect as relates to England, which has no interest in the formation of such a canal, though it would derive great advantage from the formation of a railway from Cairo to Suez.

The anticipated repeal of the Corn Laws does not seem to create much alarm among the owners of the soil. A parcel of copyhold arable land has just been sold at 90s. per acre, at Donington, near Boston. The quality is not very good; and the price, with the court fees, will be about 100s. per acre. The purchaser was Mr. Cragg, supposed to be for Earl Brownlow.

The cost of the French War Department this year is 325 millions of francs, or about thirteen millions sterling, so that it seems that the luxury of making razzias on the poor Arabs is rather an expensive one.

An Irish paper mentions the case of a sick man, at Thorndegate, who, in a fit of delirium, got up and ate several bank notes by way of disappointment to his expectant heirs.

A Liverpool Tory paper speaks of the Reform Bill as a measure carried by "the congregated ruffians of England." Three-fifths, at least, of the constituency of Liverpool, would have had no votes but for the measure thus denounced.

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The Society's Offices will be open for receiving subscriptions and the general transaction of business, every Tuesday and Friday evenings, from 6 to 9 o'clock.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, *Saturday Morning*, March 14, 1846.

PROGRESS OF FREE TRADE ON THE CONTINENT.

The movement in favour of Free Trade in France advances with a rapidity and an enthusiasm which could hardly have been anticipated. A popular journal laments that France had not taken the initiative in the enfranchisement of commerce, which it regards as the greatest social triumph that can be obtained by a nation. Lamartine, the poet of Christianity, and the most eloquent orator in France, has vindicated his high intellectual claims by taking the lead in the attack on monopoly. In another part of our paper we have inserted the practical and sound speech of the Mayor of Bordeaux, at the Free Trade meeting in that city; but we cannot pass over some of the powerful statements of the effect of protection on French industry adduced by M. Lamartine, during the discussion of the import duties on cattle, in the Chamber of Deputies:

"Those whom legislation should favour, (he exclaimed) are the masses that suffer from hunger! Our duty is to provide the workman's morsel of meat at a low price. If the nutriment of the people, and especially meat, be bad, unwholesome, often insufficient and always dear, where lies the fault?—In our short supply of cattle and of provender, and consequently in the high price of meat in our markets. In a family consisting of a husband, a wife, and two or three children, if the wife wishes to have a bit of meat for dinner, she must expend the day's wages on its purchase.

"The source of the evil is the systematic dearth and scarcity of cattle in France, produced by your tax upon their import; in this system you must seek your remedy, when you seriously propose to raise the standard of food for the working classes.

"I believe that such questions which affect the very life of our countrymen have a right to interest you as much as political questions. But they must be themselves political questions in an assembly where the support of the working classes and the comfort of the population must ever be the most interesting of political considerations. I repeat it questions of the supply of food are questions of life and death for a legislature.

"You import about 35,000 head of cattle, which pay a duty of 50 millions of francs. What is the result? You are levying a tax of 50 millions on the labour, the wages, the comforts, the very life of your industrial population. Is this the policy of statesmen, or the policy of hucksters?

"You make bread dear, wood dear, iron dear, meat dear, when lowering their price would people your territory. Is this economy? * * *

"True political economy should have its morality; the low price of necessities for the people is its virtue—a systematic raising of prices is its crime.

"Every time that you vote a higher price for the necessities of life to producers against the poor consumers, you are voting for privation, for misery, for suffering, for nakedness, for famine, for disease, and for death itself.

"Let a unanimous League of justice and benevolence be formed against this false economy. It is when we are discussing the life, the food, and the comfort of the people that great thoughts come from the heart; and I will add, great truths also. Know you what is the truth in all those questions of taxes, duties or imposts on the dwelling, the clothing, and the food of the people? Know you what is the truth before God and man, before philosophers as well as economists, before reason as well as religion? I will tell you in one sentence—it is *cheap support of life, cheap conditions of existence for the people.*"

We rejoice to see the greatest of living poets thus eloquently pleading the cause of the people in the sacred names of justice, humanity, and the brotherhood of nations. This is the true utility of genius; and this also is its highest glory.

Among the Free Trade pamphlets sent us from France, there is a speech delivered by the Duke d'Harcourt, in the Chamber of Peers, which has been widely circulated and justly admired by our neighbours beyond the Channel, from which we must take some striking passages:

"Providence, in its wondrous wisdom, has spread the riches of the earth's produce in different climates, to force men to go in search of them, and form intercourse with each other by mutual exchange. To restrict such exchanges is to violate the laws of Providence.

"Barbarians are barbarians only because they have no wants, and no intercourse. Free Trade, then, is civilisation; and prohibition is barbarism.

"Archimedes said, 'Give me a resting point, and I will move the world;' and we say confidently, Give us Free Trade, and we defy religious animosities, national hate, war, famine, poverty; all those evils which are the ordinary heritage of suffering humanity, to perpetuate their pernicious existence. * * *

"We have a magnificent spectacle before us in England, a parallel to which cannot be found in history; it is that of the League, which has been formed, not merely to repeal the Corn Laws, but all those duties, falsely called protective, but which should rather be called tariffs of oppression; for while they protect the few, they oppress and crush the many.

"When we reflect on the obstacles it has had to subdue and the enemies it has had to combat, it is impossible to withhold our just tribute of applause to a nation which has made such heroic efforts for the good of mankind. Statues should be erected to Mr. Cobden as a benefactor of mankind!"

We quote these passages because they show that the Free Traders of France are able to command an audience, and to enlist large sympathies in their cause. Meetings have been held to inculcate these principles in the great cities; the press has, to a great extent, abandoned the narrow prejudices which led a great number of journals to support restriction; and the newspapers devoted to the cause of monopoly in France, are almost as few and as unimportant as the Mrs. Harrises and Mrs. Gamps of England.

The progress of Free Trade in Germany is as steady, though not so rapid, as in France; in fact, the Zollverein, apparently established to support the protective system, contains in its inherent elements principles destructive of monopoly. It secures internal freedom of trade so far as its association extends. To establish perfect Free Trade is nothing more than to include the civilised world in one Zollverein. The experiment successfully tried on a small scale not only suggests such an extension, but gives an irresistible impulse to its realisation. It is gratifying to find that the Continental nations which followed England's bad example in restrictions, exhibit equal readiness to imitate her wiser policy of relaxations.

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. Mar. 7	MON. Mar. 9	TUES. Mar. 10	WED. Mar. 11	THUR. Mar. 12	FRI. Mar. 13
Bank Stock	269	269	269	210	211	..
3 per Ct. Red. Ann. ..	95	95	95	95	95	95
3 per Ct. Con. Ann. ..	97	97	97	97	97	97
34 per Ct. Red. Ann. ..	97	97	97	97	97	97
Long. An. Ex. 1860 ..	16	16	16	16	16	16
Cons. for Acct.	95	95	95	95	95	95
Exc. Bills, p.m.	35	34	36	37	37	..
Ind. Bils. m. 1000/ ..	36	37	..	..	..	..
Venezuela 2 per Ct. ..	44	..	..	..	..	..
Do. deferred.	13	..	..	13	..	..
Belgian 4 per Ct.	97	97	..	..	..	..
Brazilian 5 per Ct.	83	84	..	..	..	..
Chilian .....	..	99	..	99	..	..
Columb. ex. Venez. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Danish	89	..	..	..	..	..
Dutch 4 per Cent. ....	..	94	..	95	94	94
Dutch 2 1/2 per Cent. ..	59	59	58	59	59	59
Mexican	31	30	31	31	..	31
Peruvian .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Portug. conv. ....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Russian 5 per Cent. ....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Spanish 5 per Ct.	25	..	..	..	..	36
Do. 3 per Ct. ex. dv. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MONDAY, MARCH 9.—With a short supply of wheat, both by land carriage and coastways, factors are unable to establish an advance over last Monday's prices. In the morning, 1s. to 2s. more money was asked, but buyers were unwilling to accede to the increase in price, and the market closed without alteration from last week. Fine wheat was easier to sell. There is rather more inquiry for bonded wheat, but prices continue the same as of late, without much actual business passing. Barley is in short supply, and fetches 1s. more money than last Monday for all descriptions. The arrivals of oats are also small. The vessels which brought the last large supply from Ireland are coming on demurrage; this causes inferior corn, of which the supply chiefly consisted, to be offered on late terms; but fine oats, both English and Irish, will sell readily at rather higher rates. Of beans and peas there is a fair quantity on sale; the former maintain their value, but the latter are difficult to quit.

S. H. LUCAS.

	BRITISH.	Per Imperial Quarter.
Wheat, Essex,	Red 54 to 60	White 58 to 66
Kent, & Suffolk	49	58
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire ..	47	54
Scotch, .....	..	..
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feed ..	..	22
Do. Ditto .....	..	24
Scotch Feed	25	26
Limerick .....	..	24
Do. Ditto .....	..	25
Cork .....	..	24
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black ..	..	23
Silgo .....	..	22
Galway .....	..	21
Barley .....	..	26
Beans, Mazagan	New 31	33
Do. Harrow	33	37
Do. Small	39	40
Peas, White .....	..	38
Do. Grey	30	32
Flour, Town-made	per sack of 280 lbs.	45
Do. Norfolk and Suffolk .....	..	46

	FOREIGN.	FREE.	IN BOND.
Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed	58 to 66	54
Do. Rostock	56	60
Do. Stettin	52	58
Do. Hamburg	52	57
Do. Odessa	48
Do. Odessa Polish	50
Do. Russian	50
Do. Ditto	51
Do. Spanish	51
Do. Blanquillo	60
Do. Australian	60
Barley, Grinding	27	28
Do. Distilling	29	31
Oats, Archangel	21	25
Do. Danish
Do. Swedish	22	24
Do. Stralsund
Dutch Feed	22	23
Do. Brew	25	23
Do. Poland	28	29
Do. Black	25
Beans, Egyptian	34	36
Peas, White
Do. Ditto Boilers	42	..
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 196 lbs.	34	36
Do. United States	36	37
Do. Dantzic	28	30
Do. Australian, per sack of 280 lbs.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from Mar. 2 to Mar. 7, 1846, both days inclusive.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas.
English	4417	4019	2492	1247	710
Scotch .....	..	36	422	..	..
Irish .....	..	..	2735	..	..
Foreign	11300	..	2796	2439	1314

Flour, 4028 sacks; 8513 barrels.

FRIDAY, MARCH 13.—What English Wheat appears in the return arrived in time for Wednesday's market, and was nearly all sold on that day at quite the currency of Monday. To-day there is scarcely any offering; but what there is sells at the same prices as before. About 12,200 quarters of Foreign Wheat have arrived. This trade continues dull; but prices are not lower than of late. Barley has come forward sparingly, and sells on Monday's terms; there is not much life in the trade. Only one small vessel from Ireland has arrived with Oats this week. The Foreign are being landed in bond, so that the supply of corn for consumption is very small; and added to that of inferior condition. The market is bare of Oats generally, and holders are asking more money than on Monday; but it is not easy to effect sales, and quotations cannot be altered. Beans and Peas as on Monday.

S. H. LUCAS.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 6th of March to the 13th of March, both inclusive.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	7370	..	12200
Barley	4390	..	120
Oats	5040	..	5150

Flour, 4800 sacks.

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
a. d. s. d. a. d. s. d. a. d. s. d. a. d. s. d. a. d. s. d. a. d. s. d.						
31st Jan.	54	8.31	3.21	10.32	6.35	6.35
7th Feb.	54	3.30	10.21	7.34	2.35	9.35
14th "	54	9.31	6.21	9.32	7.34	9.35
21st "	55	0.29	11.21	6.32	10.34	9.34
28th "	54	6.20	7.21	5.33	4.34	2.35
7th March ..	54	10.29	3.21	10.33	6.34	11.33

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending March 10, 1846.

	Qrs.	Price.		Qrs.	Price.
Wheat	3820	58s. 10d.	Eye	15	27s. 4d.
Barley	3486	30s. 5d.	Beans	1312	34s. 9d.
Oats	1851	20s. 2d.	Peas	776	38s. 1d.

Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks. Wheat, 54s. 6d.; Barley, 30s. 3d.; Oats, 21s. 8d.; Rye, 33s. 1d.; Beans, 35s. 0d.; Peas, 35s. 6d.

July. Wheat, 18s. 0d.; Barley, 18s. 0d.; Oats, 18s. 0d.; Rye, 18s. 0d.; Beans, 7s. 6d.; Peas, 7s. 6d.

Stock of Corn in Bond, Feb. 5, 1846.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.	Flour.
In London, 424256	13765	48950	..	534	1351	115436	..
Unit. King. 1061780	74467	82510	..	4757	4175	685914	..

MEAT MARKET.

The trade good upon the whole; but a heavy sale of Mutton owing to high prices.

PER STONE OF 8 LBS. BY THE CARCASE.

Prime Beef ..	4s	0d to 3s	8d	Medium Mutton	4s	2d to 4s	0d
Middling do.	3s	6d to 3s	4d	Veal, from ..	5s	0d to 4s	8d
Plain, or inferior Beef ...	3s	0d to 2s	10d	Small Pork ..	5s	0d to 4s	10d
Prime Mutton	4s	10d to 4s	4d	Lambs, or inferior Pork ..	3s	6d to 3s	0d

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MARCH 6.

BANKRUPTS.

J. Shaw, Exeter Street, Knightsbridge, victualler. [Mr. Macphail, Wilmington-square.
J. Hawkins, Hurst, Berkshire, butcher. [Mr. Rushbury Mitre Court, Ely Place, Holborn.
B. L. M. Rothschild, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, diamond merchant. [Messrs. Dickson and Overbury, Old Jewry; and Mr. Teague, Crown Court.
R. Blacklocks, Lydd, Kent, innkeeper. [Messrs. Baddely, Leman Street.
Ann Martin, Sturminster Newton, Dorset, linen draper. [Messrs. Sales and Turner, Aldermanbury.
T. Lupton and W. B. Lupton, Leeds, flax spinners. [Messrs. Wiglesworth and Co., Gray's Inn.
W. Bond, jun., Manchester, stretcher. [Messrs. Cornthwaite and Adams, Old Jewry Chambers.
J. McGibbon, Liverpool, boot and shoemaker. [Mr. Oliver, Old Jewry.
T. Maguire, Birmingham, draper. [Messrs. Motteram and Knowles, Birmingham.
J. D. C. Wheeler, Torpoint, Cornwall, victualler. [Messrs. Surr and Co., Lombard Street.
S. Boord, Bristol, woollen draper. [Messrs. Linklater, Leadenhall Street.
J. Clough, Huddersfield, chemist. [Mr. Cumming, King Street, Cheapside.
B. Clark, Leeds, corn factor. [Messrs. Mitton and Co., Southampton Buildings.
G. Williams, Bristol, watchmaker. [Messrs. Hornby and Towgood, St. Swithin's Lane.
J. Hastings, Tredegar, Monmouthshire, draper. [Mr. Cattlin, Ely Place.

DIVIDENDS.

March 27, J. and J. Kesteven, Strand, mercers—J. and T. Batt, Old Bond Street, silk dealers—R. T. Jones, Oxford, chemist—E. Knyvett, Great Stanmore, Middlesex, music teacher—March 31, J. M. Leader, Oxford Street, coach builder—March 26, W. Farnon, Farringdon Street, victualler—W. Hay and J. A. Titterton, London Road, oil and colourmen—April 1, T. Moger, Holborn Hill, and Coventry Street, poultryer—T. Mortimer, East Lane, Walworth, victualler—March 30, S. Cullen, Nottingham, chemist—March 31, J. Harford, Bristol, and Ebbw Vale and Sirhowy, Monmouthshire, ironmaster—April 2, J. Townend, Honiton, Devon, and G. Brooke, Wimpole, Devon, bankers—March 27, F. Fothergill and J. M. Innes, Bell's Close, Northumberland, lamp-black manufacturers—T. Wilkinson, Hartlepool, Durham, draper—W. Walker, Birmingham, hatter—March 28, C. Bum, Birmingham, gilt toy maker.

CERTIFICATES.

March 27, R. E. Walker, Liverpool, shipbroker—T. Hodgson, Liverpool, bookseller—Sarah C. Fry, Margate, stationer—L. Jones, City Road, draper—E. P. Harding, Gravesend, hosier—W. H. Blackmore, Dean Street, Soho, plumber—J. Robinson, Leeds, cloth merchant—C. W. Davies, Holborn, upholsterer—W. Farnon, Farringdon Street, victualler—March 31, R. Headington, Bath and Liverpool, laceman.

SCOTCH SEQUESTERATIONS.

J. Watt, Dundee, spirit and tea merchant.

TUESDAY, MARCH 10.

CROWN OFFICE.

MEMBERS RETURNED TO SPRING IN THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT.

County of Nottingham (Northern Division).—William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, Esq., commonly called Lord Henry Bentinck, in the room of Henry Gally Knight, Esq., deceased.
Borough of Bridport.—Alexander Baillie Ross Wishart Baillie Cochrane, Esq.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

J. Collinson, Alleton and Bradford, Yorkshire, worsted spinner.

BANKRUPTS.

W. Harding, Edward Street, Portman Square, turner. [Mr. Mordaunt, Bolton Street, Piccadilly.
W. J. Harris, High Street, Southwark, tailor. [Mr. Wellborne, 31, Tooley Street.
J. Sewell, Great Dunmow, Essex, grocer. [Messrs. Wade and Pennington, Frederick's Place, Old Jewry.
E. Morgan, Lisson Street, Marylebone. [Messrs. Bicknell's Manchester Street, Manchester Square.
S. Pritchett, and J. P. Oridge, Charlbury, Oxfordshire, glove manufacturers. [Mr. Patten, Ely Place, Holborn.
W. J. Idenden, Salmon's Lane, Limehouse, tailor. [Mr. H. Taylor, Church Street, Spitalfields.
W. F. Brewster, late of Bath, but now of Trumpington, Cambridgeshire, chemist. [Mr. Wilkins, Fumival's Inn.
J. Blundell, Wigan, Lancashire, pawnbroker. [Mr. Barrow, Wigan.
J. Rayner, Stanningley, near Leeds, cloth manufacturer. [Mr. Walker, Fumival's Inn.
A. Nichol, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, ship broker. [Messrs. Chisholme and Co., Lincoln's Inn Fields.
T. Harding, Lichfield, schoolmaster. [Mr. W. H. Reece, Birmingham.
C. Goldsmith, Bristol, saddler. [Mr. Weeks, Cook's Court, Lincoln's Inn.
W. Dale, Liverpool, bricklayer. [Messrs. Vincent and Co., Temple.
R. Foulkes, Soughton, Flintshire, cattle salesman. [Messrs. Bridger and Blake, London Wall.

WHEAT IMPORTED FROM CANADA.—It appears from a return issued by the House of Commons that the quantity of wheat and wheat flour imported into the United Kingdom from Canada, in the year ending 8th of January 1846, was 229,241 quarters (certified as the produce of Canada, under the Act 6th and 7th Victoria, c. 29); three quarters of foreign wheat were also imported from Canada, making a total of 229,244 quarters.

MORE SPANISH WHEAT AT RUEL.—Messrs. Grut, Helmsing and Co., of this port have received another cargo of the Spanish white wheat, equal in weight and quality to the first cargo, the arrival of which, a few days ago, created so much interest, and which experienced a great demand both for grinding and sowing—Hull Packet.

Approved -- Saturday, March 11, 1940.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 130.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, MARCH 21, 1846.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newell's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

*By order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.*

THE IMPENITENT FACTION.

Monopoly shows worst as it comes nearest its end. The old sinner is impenitent to the last. Not a sign of grace, or discretion, as the death-hour visibly approaches—not a vestige of repentance, amendment, or decent and half-virtuous regret—not a trace even of the shame with which detected and disabled vice is wont to view the unrolled catalogue of the misdoings of a life-time. Landlordism's last demonstrations are its worst. Nothing but maudlin whinings over the loss of ill-gotten gains—hypocritical sympathies and crocodile tears for the lowlier victims of a dishonest and hateful system—and blind, mad endeavours to lengthen out a losing fight, whose eventful issue is as certain as is the rising of to-morrow's sun.

If the faction were purposely bent on making the very name of "protection" detestable in the ears even of the most moderate and unimpassioned classes of the community—on concentrating upon itself, its leaders, and its cause, the *maximum* amount of odium and contempt of which the cool and quiet British commercial public is capable—the work could not be done better. Our protectionists are not merely offending and irritating—they are sickening and disgusting—the country. Commerce is at a stand still; industry is paralysed by a baneful uncertainty as to duties and prices, which cripples both buyer and seller;—and commerce and industry perfectly well know who they are that have "done it all." That commercial and industrial activity, which is the very life of the people of these islands, has been suspended for these two months past, awaiting the fate of those legislative measures which are henceforth to be the basis of its operations and development;—yet still these men go on with their spiteful or silly obstruction of an inevitable result—debating and dividing on the minutiae of a tariff, every item of which is safe in an irresistible and irreversible majority. It is all in vain that "the great commercial houses in the city of London, almost all the merchants connected with the East India trade, and with the direction of the Bank of England," and other recognised representatives of the commerce by which England lives, urge, by their united petition, "*the expediency of arriving at a decision, on account of the stagnation and embarrassment to which delay exposes so many valuable interests.*" What care they for the stagnation of a commerce, and the embarrassment of an industry, of which they can never speak two consecutive words without exhibiting an almost babyish ignorance—what care they, so that

they may but annoy and harass a Free Trade Minister? It is in vain that they are warned of the ruinous losses which their Parliamentary sport is daily and hourly inflicting on the poor hoaxed and gulled "British farmer"—whose market they are spoiling with uncertainty and panic—who, at this moment, is actually mulcted, in hard cash, of some shillings on every quarter of corn that he is unlucky enough to be obliged to sell at those depreciated prices, for which he has to thank his "friends," and his friends' ridiculous predictions, of a chimerical "inundation" and an impossible cheapness. They heed it not, so that they may but tease "Peel," and vent their hoarded spleen on a minister who has dared to renounce his allegiance to their sordid and shabby "interest," and give it to the Queen and the people.

With Ireland in its present state, the conduct and temper of the protectionists are really horrible. Famine and pestilence are advancing in that wretched country with terrific rapidity. Already has the Home Secretary found it necessary to come down to Parliament, with the darkly ominous application for "*leave to bring in a bill to make temporary provision for the treatment of destitute persons affected with FEVER in Ireland.*" The Minister, especially responsible for the peace, health, and life of the country, publicly avers before the representatives of the people, with the emphasis and authority of a man holding in his hands official chapter and verse for every syllable of what he utters, that a calamity of unexampled extent and awfulness is at the very door. He declares, that "*distress now pervades the whole of IRELAND;*" that "*it is to be found in every province, in every county, in every union or more minute subdivision, almost in every parish in Ireland;*" and that, as the direct consequence of this all-pervading distress, "*in all the provinces, in almost every county, and in various localities of different counties, DYSENTERY, to a very formidable extent, has made its appearance, attended by FEVER in many instances,*"—and justifying, in the judgment of the Lord-Lieutenant, "*AN APPREHENSION THAT THE FEVER WILL BECOME GENERAL.*" All to no purpose. It goes in at one ear and out at the other—with no other visible result than that of confirming the faction's obstinacy in a course which, as is felicitously suggested by one of themselves, "*may almost appear inhuman.*" If Government would only be so good as to *buy their corn* to feed Ireland, that would alter the case; they would then have no objection to believing in the famine—the hucksters! History will record, with indignant amazement, that in the year 1846, there were men who deemed it not unfitting the character of English Christian gentlemen, to deprecate an "inundation" of food, when four millions of people were pining in destitution, and had actually begun to die off in pestilence—and who, in the face of as hideous a calamity as ever visited these islands, whine beggar-like for "*two years longer*" of protection from beef and mutton, and suggest "*the introduction of a sliding scale on the importation of foreign cattle,*" to secure them the full benefit of "*the destruction caused by murrain and sheep-rot.*"

And there is nothing to be got by it. The protectionist opposition have not even the wretched apology of a possible success in their evil work. Not the shadow of a chance of success have they—and they know it; that is, those of them know it who are capable of knowing anything. They know that they are forsaken by the public—even by their own protected agricultural public. They know that no living statesman owns them, or their cause, any longer as his. They know that no imaginable "appeal to the people" could turn their minority into a majority. They know that not a particle of

genuine unbought popular sympathy is with them. They know that they can't throw out the Bill—and that if they could, they would only throw the country into a confusion from which they and their class would never again emerge as a great power in the state. They know that the Bill will *pass*, and pass *now*—and that if it did not, the only consequence would be, that a Bill they like still less would pass by-and-bye. We don't believe they wish to throw out the Bill; if they did wish this, they would send it to the Lords without more words, where alone it possibly can be thrown out. The obstruction cannot answer any purpose—is not meant or expected to answer any purpose—but a mischievous one. It is all a piece of mere factious spite—or of mere pudding-headed stupidity and doggedness.

The League have often been reproached, by those extremely good-natured and temperate friends who love to saunter leisurely in the rear of a great popular movement, with "violence," "harsh imputation of motives," and the like. Any attempt to take off the edge of such criticism on our sayings and doings would now be a sheer work of supererogation. The world can judge—and the world does judge. The quietest, soberest, discreetest, most sedate, and least impulsive classes of the English people are now learning for themselves to scorn these men's imbecility, abhor their sordidness, and loath their canting hypocrisy. We tell the protectionist faction, that every step they take in their course of heartless and brainless resistance to a measure which the intelligence of the country approves, and which the exigencies and will of the country imperiously demand, only sinks them and their order deeper and deeper in the mire of public contempt and disgust.

IRELAND AND THE CORN LAWS.

Far be it from us to deny the purity of Mr. W. Smith O'Brien's patriotism. He has asserted it so loudly and so frequently, that there ought to be no doubt about the matter; but we may be permitted to lament that he is an Othello in his politics, and that he loves Ireland "not wisely," however he may be said to love his country "too well." To ordinary minds, import of food would seem the proper remedy for famine; but the descendant of Brian Boru is not an ordinary man; and he therefore avers that the export of provisions is the great cure for scarcity. He is quite pathetic on the horrible results that will follow from Irish wheat, oats, and barley, being kept to feed hungry peasants, instead of being sold in England to pay the rents of rapacious landlords. His remedy for distress is to send away stock, his cure for scarcity to diminish supply. The novelty of this plan deserves the praise of ingenuity, and the plainness with which it was stated has at least the merit of candour.

Lugubrious assertions in menacing tones, like a doleful ditty set to a martial air, are so ludicrous from their incongruity, that they unfortunately do not command their fair share of public attention. The lament over the probable diminution of Irish exports failed to awake the sympathies of the compassionate, or to rouse the fears of the timid. Some very obstinate people found consolation in the belief, that if Irish corn should not be sent to England, it might have some chance of being consumed at home; and they were not so deeply grieved as they ought to have been at the probability of the labourer having a loaf, even though, at this crisis, the landlord should have a trifling loss. We regret that such obduracy should be found; we are grieved that the wisdom of encouraging the export of provisions from a country where the supply is already insufficient should have appeared to a

vast majority such consummate folly as not even to merit a word of refutation. The economist from the banks of the Shannon is unfortunately without honour on the banks of the Thames. In their simplicity, people here have got to believe that imports have more to say than exports with the prosperity of a country; they have got a tradesmanlike habit of looking to their incomings as well as their outgoings; but then they do not wear fools' caps, nor deliberate on the shape of their peaks in the midst of a starving population. Living in 1846, they do not see the virtue of going back to 1782; they do not believe that exploded fallacies derive any merit from antiquity, or that a mischievous system should be continued because specious sentences in its defence can be silyly taken from the writings of the eloquent deceased.

We, however, like Mr. W. Smith O'Brien, feel some anxiety about Irish exports; the sooner that Irish patriots follow O'Connell's example, and send away their fallacies of protection, their prejudices in favour of high prices, and their prizes on the export of the food for the want of which their countrymen are famishing, the better will it be for themselves and the country. From the very beginning of Free Trade agitation, O'Connell has earnestly protested against the taxing of the people's food, and has given the invaluable aid of his eloquence and his energies to hasten the liberation of commerce from its trammels. Ireland has had too many proofs of his tried sincerity, his persevering patriotism, and his experienced sagacity for us to fear that any other leader can weaken the influence of his counsels, or lessen the force of his recommendations.

FREE TRADE ABROAD.

SPEECH OF M. FREDERIC BASTIAT, AT THE FREE TRADE MEETING IN BORDEAUX.

We give insertion to M. Bastiat's speech, according to our promise, not that we exactly agree in all its views or sentiments, but simply because we are anxious to show in what light the proceedings of the League are regarded by an intelligent foreigner, whose attainments and position give his sentiments a powerful influence over the minds of his countrymen.

DISCOURS DE M. FREDERIC BASTIAT.

"Messieurs, — En présence d'une assemblée si imposante, qui réunit dans cette enceinte tant de lumières, d'esprit d'entreprise, de richesses et d'influence, vous ne serez pas surpris que j'éprouve une émotion insurmontable, et que je commence par réclamer votre indulgence. Je parais devant vous, messieurs, pour me conformer aux dispositions prises par notre honorable président. Eussions-nous à notre tête un chef moins expérimenté, il faudrait encore nous soumettre à sa direction, car mieux vaut un plan même médiocre que l'absence, ou, ce qui revient au même, la multiplicité des plans. Mais puisque l'Association a eu le bonheur de remettre la conduite de ses opérations à un de ces hommes rares, à la tête froide et au cœur chaud, qui tire plus d'autorité encore de son caractère personnel que de sa position élevée, il ne nous reste plus qu'à marcher au pas, sous sa conduite et dans un esprit de discipline volontaire, à la conquête du grand principe que nous avons inscrit sur notre bannière : *La liberté des échanges* !

"Messieurs, la première épreuve par laquelle est condamnée à passer toute grande entreprise, c'est le *décapement* qui s'attache toujours à la pensée généreuse qui cherche à se traduire en fait. Grâce au ciel, la valeur individuelle et l'ensemble imposant des noms qui figurent ce soir au bas de notre acte de société, imposent une telle vigilance. On dira bien, on a déjà dit que notre Associa-

ADDRESS OF M. FREDERIC BASTIAT.

"Gentlemen, — In the presence of so imposing an assembly, comprising so much intelligence, spirit of enterprise, wealth, and influence, you will not be surprised at my feeling insurmountable emotions, for which I claim your indulgence. I appear before you, gentlemen, in conformity with the arrangements made by our chairman. Had we met under a less experienced chief, it would still be necessary to submit to his directions, for even an imperfect system is better than the absence, or what comes to the same thing, the multiplication of plans. But since the association has had the good fortune to place its operations under the guidance of one of those rare individuals with a cool head and a warm heart, who derives more authority from his personal character than from his elevated position, it only remains for us to advance steadily and in a spirit of voluntary discipline to the establishment of the great principle which we have inscribed on our banners — *FREE TRADE*.

"Gentlemen, the first difficulty, through which our great enterprise is doomed to pass, is the necessity of excision from slaughter, always necessary for a generous thought about to realise itself in action. Thank Heaven, the individual value and the imposing assemblage of the names which will be subscribed to our deed of association this evening, must impose silence on malevolent insinuations. It may

tion est une copie, une pâle copie de la ligne anglaise; mais, est-ce que les hommes de tous les pays qui tendent au même but ne sont pas amenés à prendre des moyens analogues? Non, nous ne copions pas la ligne, nous obéissons aux nécessités de notre situation. D'ailleurs, est-ce la première fois que Bordeaux élève la voix pour la liberté des échanges? La chambre de commerce de cette ville ne combat-elle pas, depuis longues années, pour cette cause? Cette cause n'était-elle pas un des objets de l'union vinicole qui s'est fondée dans la Gironde? Si tant de nobles efforts ont échoué jusqu'ici, c'est qu'ils s'adressent à la législation qui ne peut que suivre l'opinion publique. C'est donc pour poser la question là où elle doit être préalablement vidée, devant le public que nous nous levons aujourd'hui et en cela, si nous imitons quelqu'un, c'est notre adversaire, le monopole. Il y a longtemps qu'il fait ce que nous faisons; il y a longtemps qu'il a ses comités, ses finances, ses moyens de propagande, qu'il s'empare de l'opinion, et par elle de la loi. Nous l'imiterons en cela. Mais il y a une chose que nous ne lui emprunterons pas, c'est le mystère de son action. Il lui faut le secret, il lui faut des journaux achetés par dessous main. A nous, il nous faut l'air, le grand jour, la sincérité.

"Et puis, quand nous imitons la ligne en quelque chose! Sommes-nous dispensés de bon sens et de dévouement parce qu'il s'est rencontré du dévouement et du bon sens en Angleterre? Oh! plaise à Dieu que nous empruntons à la ligne ce qui fera sa gloire éternelle! Plaise à Dieu que nous apportions à notre œuvre la même ardeur, la même persévérance et la même abnégation; que nous sachions comme elle nous préserver de tout contact avec les partis politiques; grandir, acquiescer de l'influence, sans être tenté de la détourner à d'autres desseins, sans la mettre au service d'aucun nom propre. Et si jamais notre apostolat s'incarne dans un homme, puisse-t-il, à l'heure du triomphe, finir comme finit Cobden. Il y a deux mois, l'aristocratie anglaise, selon un usage inviolable, voulut absorber cet homme. On lui offrit un portefeuille; M. Peel est lui-même le fils d'un manufacturier, et Cobden pouvait voir, en espérance, son fils premier lord de la trésorerie. Il répondit simplement: 'Je me crois plus utile à la cause en restant son défenseur officieux.' Mais, ce n'est pas tout. Aujourd'hui que la ligne l'a placé sur un piédestal qui l'élève plus haut que l'aristocratie elle-même, aujourd'hui qu'elle a remis en ses mains des forces populaires capables de tenir en échec les whigs et les Tories, aujourd'hui que de toutes parts ses amis le pressent de faire tourner cette immense puissance à l'achèvement de quelque autre grande entreprise, aucune passion, aucune séduction ne peut l'émouvoir; il s'apprête à briser de ses mains l'instrument de son élévation, et il dit à l'aristocratie: 'Vous redoutez notre agitation, vous craignez qu'elle ne se porte sur un autre terrain; la Ligne s'est fondée pour l'abolition des monopoles. Abolissez-les ce matin, et, dès ce soir, la ligne sera dissoute.' Non, jamais, depuis dix-huit siècles, le monde n'a vu s'accomplir de plus grandes choses avec une si adorable simplicité.

"Mais si la ligne nous offre de beaux modèles, ce n'est point à dire que nous ayons à copier servilement sa stratégie. A qui fera-t-on croire que les hommes graves dont je suis entouré, des négociants rompus aux affaires et versés dans la connaissance des mœurs et des institutions des peuples, n'aient pas compris tout d'abord en

be said—indeed it has been said, that our association is a copy, and a poor copy, of the English League; but are not the men of all countries who aim at the same object obliged to employ analogous means? No; we do not copy the League, we yield to the necessities of our position. Besides, is this the first time that Bordeaux has raised her voice to demand Free Trade? Has not our Chamber of Commerce laboured in the cause for many years? Was not this cause one of the objects of the union of the wine-growers founded in the Gironde? If so many noble efforts have hitherto failed, it is because they are addressed to a legislature which is impassive to public opinion. It is to moot this question where it must be primarily considered, before the public, that we come forward this day; and thus, if we imitate any one, it is our adversary—monopoly. It has long done what we are doing; it has had its committees, its finances, its means of spreading its doctrines, that it might first take hold of opinion and then of legislation. We will imitate it in this course. But there is one part of its policy which we will not borrow, its mysteriousness of action. It requires secrecy, it requires journals purchased by underhand bribes. We require publicity and sincerity.

"Even if we should imitate the League in some things, what then? Are we to abandon zeal and common sense, because zeal and common sense are found in England? God grant that we may borrow from the League that which will constitute its eternal glory. God grant that we may bring to our agitation the same ardour, the same perseverance, and the same disinterestedness; that we, like it, may avoid contact with political parties; that we may increase and gain influence without being turned aside to other designs, and without rendering ourselves servants of any individual name. And should our mission ever be incarnate in a man, may he, in the hour of triumph, end as Cobden is ending! Two months ago, according to its usual custom, the English aristocracy endeavoured to absorb this great man. He was offered office:—Peel himself is the son of a manufacturer, and Cobden might hope to see his son First Lord of the Treasury:—his simple reply was, 'I believe that I can best serve the great cause I have undertaken by remaining its official defender.' But this is not all: at this moment, when the League has placed him on a pedestal higher than the aristocracy itself; when it has placed in his hand popular power capable of holding both Whigs and Tories in check; when on all sides his friends solicit him to turn this mighty force to the achievement of some other great enterprise, no passion, no temptation, can move him: he is ready to destroy the means of his elevation; he says to the aristocracy, 'You dread our agitation, you fear that it will extend to some other field of action; the League has been founded for the overthrow of monopolies; abolish your monopolies this morning, and before night the League will be dissolved.' Never during 18 centuries has the world seen such great objects achieved with such admirable simplicity.

"But if the League offers us a noble example, we are not, therefore, bound slavishly to adopt its tactics. How could it be believed that the grave men by whom I am surrounded, merchants trained in business, and versed in the manners and institutions of nations, should not com-

quoi notre association diffère de la ligne anglaise?

"En Angleterre, le système protecteur avait deux points d'appui: l'erreur économique et la puissance féodale. On conçoit sans peine que l'aristocratie, tenant en main le privilège de faire la loi, et avec lui, pour ainsi parler, le monopole des monopoles, les avait établis principalement en sa faveur.

"Lors donc que des réformateurs véritables, non plus des Huskisson et des Baring, mais des réformateurs sortis du peuple, se sont levés contre le régime restrictif, il se sont trouvés en face d'une difficulté dont heureusement notre voix est débarrassée depuis un demi-siècle.

"Il s'agissait bien, comme chez nous, de réformer la loi, de détruire le monopole; mais leurs adversaires avaient seuls le droit, non point seulement le droit actuel, mais le droit exclusif, héréditaire, féodal, de faire la loi, de décréter la chute ou le maintien de leur propre monopole.

"Il fallait on arracher à l'aristocratie la puissance législative, c'est-à-dire faire une révolution, ou la déterminer, par la peur, à abandonner la part du lion qu'elle s'était faite à elle-même, par l'exploitation légale des tarifs.

"La ligne résolut, dès le premier jour, de rejeter les moyens révolutionnaires. Il ne lui restait donc qu'à instruire le peuple de la vérité économique, à lui faire comprendre l'injustice dont il était victime et à lui en donner un sentiment assez vif et assez pressant pour le porter jusqu'à l'extrême limite de la légalité, et pour ainsi dire jusqu'à ce degré d'irritation au-delà duquel il n'y a que convulsions sociales.

"Mais, si le poids que les ligueurs avaient à soulever était énorme, si énorme qu'on comprend à peine qu'ils n'en aient pas été effrayés, il faut dire que cette difficulté même mettait en leurs mains un puissant levier. Les mots magiques: liberté, droits de l'homme, oppression féodale, venaient naturellement se placer dans la question économique, lui enlever son hérédité et lui faire trouver le chemin de la fibre la plus vibrante du cœur humain.

On parlait aux cœurs; on parlait même aux estomacs, car, par une coïncidence qui s'explique naturellement, il arrivait que la part de l'aristocratie terrienne dans la protection pesait sur tous les aliments et principalement sur le pain.

"Cette situation étant donnée, on comprend les procédés de la ligne. Meetings monstres, souscriptions monstres, appels au peuple, éloquence passionnée, inscriptions incessantes des ouvriers sur les listes électorales, enfin toute l'agitation nécessaire pour mettre aux mains d'un seul homme, Cobden, des forces populaires capables de faire capituler la puissance réunie des whigs et des Tories. Hé bien! qu'a de commun cette situation avec la nôtre? Si, comme les Anglais, nous avons un préjugé économique à détruire, avons-nous comme eux une puissance féodale à combattre? Avons-nous 89 à montrer toujours au bout de nos efforts, comme notre *ultima-ratio*? Non, 89 a passé sur la France. Nous avons des pouvoirs publics qui empruntent à l'opinion la pensée de la loi; c'est donc sur l'opinion que nous devons agir, notre mission est purement enseignante; ce que nous demandons c'est ceci: Le droit de propriété est-il reconnu en France? Avons-nous ou n'avons-nous pas la propriété de nos facultés? Avons-nous ou n'avons-nous pas la propriété de notre travail? Si nous l'avons, comment se fait-il que cette chose, qui est le fruit de nos sueurs, cette chose que je puis consommer directement et détruire pour mon usage, je ne la puisse pas porter sur quelque marché

prehend at once the difference between our association and the English League?

"In England the protective system had two supports, economic error and the feudal system. It is easy to conceive that the aristocracy, holding in its hands the privilege of making the laws, and with it what may be called the monopoly of monopolies, should have made laws in its own favour?

"When, therefore, the true reformers—no longer the Huskissons and the Barings—but reformers sprung from the people, rose against the restrictive system, they found themselves in the presence of difficulties from which we have been free for more than half a century.

"The reform of the law and the destruction of monopoly was their object as it is ours; but their adversaries alone had the right, not merely the actual right, but the exclusive, hereditary feudal right, to make the laws which should decree the fall or the maintenance of monopoly.

"It was necessary either to wrest legislative power from the aristocracy, that is to say, effect a revolution, or by an array of moral force to compel it to abandon the lion's share which it had arrogated to itself in the construction of the tariffs.

"The League resolved from the first to reject all revolutionary measures: its only course, therefore, was to instruct the people in economic truths; to explain the injustice of which the nation was the victim; to inspire sentiments sufficiently strong and sufficiently pressing to carry men to the extreme limits of the law; and to produce what we may describe as that degree of impatience beyond which there only remains social convulsion.

"But if the weight which the Leaguers had to raise was enormous—so enormous that we can scarcely comprehend how they were not daunted by it, we must also say that this very difficulty was a powerful leverage in their hands. The magic words, liberty, human right, feudal oppression, were naturally blended with an economic question, to deprive it of its heritage, and to make it touch the most vibratory chords of the human heart. The Leaguers addressed themselves to the hearts and even to the stomachs of their readers, for by a coincidence easily explained, it happened that the share of the landed aristocracy in protection weighed heavily on the food of the people, and especially on bread.

"This situation being understood, we can comprehend the proceedings of the League. Monster-meetings, monster-subscriptions, appeals to the people, passionate eloquence, continued registrations of operatives as electors; in fine, all the agitation necessary to place in the hands of a single man, Cobden, an amount of popular force sufficient to compel the united Whigs and Tories to capitulate. What similarity is there between this situation and ours? If, like the English, we have an economic prejudice to destroy, have we also a feudal power to combat? Have we an '89' to point to as the term of our efforts and our *ultima-ratio*? No, '89' has passed for France. Our public powers base their principles of law on public opinion; it is on public opinion, therefore that we must act; our mission is purely educational. What we ask is this. Is the right of property recognised in France? Have we pro-

que ce soit dans le monde, pour ly troquer contre une autre chose qui est plus à ma convenance, on du moins comment se fait-il que je ne puisse pas rapporter en France cette autre chose qu'on a consenti à me donner en échange ?—Parce que, dit-on, cela nuirait au travail national.—Mais en quoi ? un cent mille toiles de ce genre peuvent-ils jamais porter atteinte au travail national, puisque tout travail étranger que je fais entrer dans le pays implique un travail national que j'en ai fait sortir ? Je sais bien que le commerce ne se compose pas ainsi de trocs directs entre le producteur immédiat et le consommateur immédiat ; mais tout ce vaste mécanisme qu'on appelle commerce, ces navires, ces banquiers, négociants, marchands, ce numéraire, peuvent-ils altérer la nature intime de l'échange qui est toujours troc de travail contre travail ? Qu'on y regarde de près, et l'on se convaincra qu'ils n'ont d'autre destination et d'autre résultat que de faciliter et multiplier à l'infini ces échanges.

"Ainsi, si nous n'avons pas le levier populaire que la ligue anglaise a mis en œuvre, il ne nous est pas nécessaire. Nous n'avons point à exalter les passions démocratiques jusqu'à les rendre menaçantes. Nous n'attaquons pas les intérêts d'un corps de législateurs héréditaires ; la seule chose que nous ayons à combattre, c'est une erreur, une fausse notion, un préjugé profondément enraciné dans les esprits, et que développe sur sa tige ce fruit empoisonné, le monopole. Nous n'attaquons pas même spécifiquement telle ou telle restriction en particulier. Comme le laboureur n'arrache pas un à un tous les joncs qui infestent sa prairie, mais il la saigne, il en détourne l'humidité malsain qui leur sert d'aliment, nous attaquons dans les intelligences le principe même de la protection qui nourrit tous les monopoles. La tâche est immense, sans doute, mais ne trouvons nous pas de puissants auxiliaires dans les faits qui s'accomplissent autour de nous ? Les États-Unis sont sur le point d'affranchir les importations. Qui n'a lu le message du président Polk et l'admirable rapport du secrétaire Walker ? Le Zollverein suspend les réunions où devait se décider l'élévation de ses tarifs. Et que dirai-je de la grande mesure de sir Robert Peel, précédée d'expériences si répétées et si décisives ? A ce propos, qu'il me soit permis d'exprimer ici le profond regret qu'on éprouve les amis de la liberté commerciale, quand ils ont vu, dans cette magnifique conception, des lacunes et des tâches contraires à l'esprit de son imposant ensemble. Comment le grand homme qui a aspiré à la gloire de cette réforme n'a-t-il pas voulu que le monde, et l'Angleterre surtout, en recueillît tout le fruit ? Pourquoi a-t-il placé dans l'exception les vins, comme pour attester qu'un moment même où il rejetait la déception de la réciprocité, il en voulait retenir quelques lambeaux ?

"Done l'Angleterre, les États-Unis, l'Allemagne, l'Italie même s'avancent vers l'ère nouvelle qui s'ouvre à l'humanité. La France voudra-t-elle se laisser retenir, par quelques intérêts égoïstes, à la queue des nations ?

"Proclamons le principe de la liberté, et laissons au temps d'en tirer les conséquences. Demandons la réforme, et laissons aux monopoles le soin de la modifier. Il est des personnes qui reculent devant l'association parce qu'elles redoutent la liberté immédiate. Ah ! qu'elles se tranquillisent ! Nous ne sommes point des législateurs ; la réforme ne dépend pas de nos votes ; la lumière

perçut en our natural powers ? Have we property in the work of our hands ? If so, how happens it that articles, the fruit of my toils, which I may consume directly or destroy at my pleasure, I cannot carry to any market in the world to exchange for articles which suit better my convenience ? Because, it is said, this would injure national industry. But in what way ? a hundred or a thousand exchanges of this kind could not injure national industry, for every article of foreign produce which I import, implies an article of national produce which I export. I know that commerce does not consist in the immediate barter between the direct producer and the direct consumer ; but all this vast mechanism which we call commerce—ships, bankers, merchants, shopkeepers, accounts—can these alter the very essence of commerce, which is but the barter of one product of labour for another ? Look close, and you will be convinced that they have no other destination, and no other result, than to facilitate and to multiply exchanges.

"Thus, if we have not the popular lever possessed by the English League, we do not require it. We want not to raise democratic passions until they become menacing. We attack not the interests of a body of hereditary legislators ; all that we have to combat is an error, a false notion, a prejudice profoundly rooted in the mind, and which produces in its growth the poisoned fruit of monopoly. We do not attack any special or particular restriction. As the labourer does not pluck up one by one the rushes which infest his fields, but drains off the injurious moisture which supports them, so we attack in the mind those principles of protection which are the aliment of monopolies. The task, no doubt, is immense, but do we not find powerful auxiliaries in the events which are taking place around us ? Are not the United States about to emancipate their imports ? Who has not read the message of Mr. President Polk, and the admirable report of Mr. Secretary Walker ? The Zollverein suspends the meetings held for raising its tariffs. And what shall I say of the great measure of Sir Robert Peel, resulting from such reiterated and decisive experience ? And here let me express the profound regret which the friends of commercial freedom have felt at finding in its details defects and faults adverse to the general spirit of its imposing plan. How is it that the great man who aspires to the glory of this reform has been unwilling that the world, and England in particular, should not gather all its fruits ? Why are wines an exception, as if to show that at the moment he rejected the deception of reciprocity, he wished to retain some of its fragments ?

"England, the United States, Germany, Italy itself, advance towards the new era which is opening for humanity. Shall France be content for selfish interests to remain behind other nations.

"Let us proclaim the principle of liberty, and leave time to develop the results. Let us demand reform, and leave to monopolists the care of moderating it. There are persons who shun this association because they fear immediate freedom. Let them be tranquil. We are not legislators ; reform depends not on our votes ; intelligence will not spread immediately, privilege will have sufficient time to take care of itself. This movement should be its warning, and should lead it to consider the

ne se fera pas instantanément et le privilège a tout le temps de prendre ses mesures. Ce mouvement sera même un avertissement pour lui, et l'on doit le considérer comme un des moyens tant cherchés de transition.

"Je ne puis me défendre d'une profonde anxiété quand je pense à ce qui va se décider bientôt dans cette enceinte. Ce n'est pas seulement l'affranchissement du commerce qui est en question. Il s'agit de savoir si nous entrerons, enfin, dans les mœurs constitutionnelles. Il s'agit de savoir si nous savons mettre en œuvre des institutions acquises au prix de tant d'efforts et de tant de sacrifices. Il s'agit de savoir si les Français, comme on les en accuse, trouvant trop longue la route de la légalité et de la propagande, ne savent poursuivre que par des moyens violents des réformes éphémères. Il s'agit de savoir s'il y a encore parmi nous du dévouement, de l'esprit public, de la vie, ou si nous sommes une société assoupie, indifférente, léthargique, incapable d'une action suivie, et tout au plus animée encore par quelques rares et vaines convulsions. La France a les yeux sur vous, elle vous interroge, et bientôt notre honorable président proclamera votre réponse !"

SPANISH IDEAS OF FREE TRADE. (From the Madrid Eco del Comercio.)

The English League which commenced in the year 1839 with three individuals, proclaiming the freedom of trade, has gathered *spolia opima*. It is now generalised, and in complete and harmonious organisation throughout the United Kingdom, with funds at its command which maintain innumerable halls, public schools, and travelling orators who teach the true doctrines of political economy. The influence of these societies, and of the instruction which they have scattered, has penetrated to the very core of the English Government. Thus is explained the fact, that not only are the Reformers (Progressistas) its supporters, but the Minister, Peel, with his "Tory" Cabinet (of which no less a personage than the Duke of Wellington is a member)—or, what amounts to the same thing, those who a short time ago were the causes of commercial prohibition or restriction, are at present those who defend in Parliament and the press that freedom which we desire, but which our Government despises and disregards, without considering that the march of enlightenment and the spirit of the age develop, more quickly than it would wish, the humane doctrine which teaches mankind to create wealth, to distribute it, to circulate it properly, and to consume it by means of internal and external freedom of trade.

The Custom-house Union or Confederation of the north assembles in order to correspond with the Convocation of the English Cabinet, or rather with the opinion of the English nation. France is disposed to discuss spontaneously this most seriously important affair. At Bordeaux there has just been formed an association of capitalists, commercial men, and celebrated writers on politics and political economy, presided over by the mayor of the city, who is appointed by the Crown, and having for the result of its first meeting, or at the very moment of its establishment, a subscription exceeding 50,000*fr.* for the purpose of carrying on the preliminary labours. But let us examine, before going any further, the speech delivered by the mayor from his presidential chair, he having spoken the first, in order to make known the objects of the association.

In the most effective terms that the completion of his liberal conviction produced, he declared, that "he had accepted the presidency in order to record the sufferings of France, so long undervalued, the petitions which always remained without having any influence with the Government, the unknown general rights which resulted in no other reception than a cold disdain." Thus did this functionary declare himself, whose elevated position and nobleness of character gave to his words, at once firm and serious, a characteristic sanction, which produced the most lively sensation in the assembly. So says the *Indicateur*, the Progressista journal of that commercial district.

Well, then, is not this question, which so much affects our position and our finance—which is so much discussed in this unfortunate nation, and which has so often occupied our own attention and that of the *Guia del Comercio*—is not this question, I we ask, worthy of being brought upon the theatre of discussion ? Will it not move the trade of Madrid, the capitalists that exist in the court, and the numerous proprietors who hold immense tracts of uncultivated land, and who live on the Treasury and the rents of the Royal patrimony, because their own are not sufficient to maintain them with decency, for want of production and consumption ? Are these blind courtiers—these strenuous paladins of monopolies and privileges—perchance ignorant of the fact that freedom of trade would in a short time procure them infinite riches and more means of luxury and ostentation than many well-known princes and monarchs are able to raise ? Know they not, at the same time, that by constituting their own happiness and that of their families, they would augment the general prosperity, by insuring to the Government larger rents and receipts to the Treasury, without having to resort to ruinous expedients, to scandalous oppressions, to uncon-

most desirable means of transition.

"I cannot escape from deep anxiety when I reflect on what is to be decided in this assembly. It is not merely freedom of trade which is in question. We are discussing whether we shall at length adopt constitutional habits—whether we shall give effect to the institutions acquired by such great efforts and mighty sacrifices—whether the French, as they are accused of doing, finding the path of legality and persuasion too long, seek only ephemeral reforms by violent means—whether there is still among us devotion, public spirit, energy, or whether we are a drowsy, indifferent, lethargic society, incapable of continuous action, and only to be animated by rare and vain convulsions. France has its eyes on you, it interrogates you ; and our honourable president will soon proclaim your reply."

ceived systems, and to the evil example of creating a set of idlers in order that half the Spanish people may be moved, and may be continually oppressing and plying into the status of the other half, who vainly labour to maintain themselves and the former ?

And will the Government of the country, which, one ought to suppose, is on the *qui vive* and alive to what is going on—which, one ought to believe, measures circumstances and events—which is acquainted with history—which is informed of facts—which has studied systems—will this Government remain, as hitherto, paralysed, acting as if it does not perceive what has taken place in the United States of America, in Holland, in the Hanseatic Towns, and in all the nations and countries that have passed by Free Trade ? Will it choose to live, as hitherto, fenced in by its prohibitions, restrictions, limitations, and monopolies, in everything resembling those barbarous Governments, which make a monopoly of everything except the air they breathe, and turning its back upon the European enlightenment which pours down like a torrent upon the nation, and infiltrates of necessity the minds and conviction of all those who are able to read and make a right use of their reasoning powers ? We shall see. Our cheeks glow with shame when we reflect that all are preceding us in the path of reform and perfection, and that the Spanish nation, after having been the first to receive the baptism of enlightenment—after having known before all the influence that is possessed by entire freedom of trade in cherishing the general wealth, whose branches constitute agricultural, industrial, and commercial produce—after so many sacrifices have been made for the idea of harmonising the necessary reforms with the firm fixing of the crown upon the brow of Isabel II.—it is sad, very sad and afflicting to think that we remain distanced, and are the constant sport of the ambitious designs of foreigners, of those same kings who, in our days, grovelled in the dust, and who were rescued from their misfortunes and persecutions by those who now write these lines, and those who like us made heroic sacrifices and shed rivers of blood, in order that they may now abuse us, bind us hand and foot, and hinder us from being happy and independent. Ah ! we cannot forget how the *Journal des Débats* (the reputed organ of Louis Philippe) would have insulted us (General Narvaez and MM. Mon and Martinez de la Rosa being in the Cabinet) with the disgusting, filthy, and repugnant words we are about to quote, and which it published with impunity :—"In Spain" (said the ribald writer) "there is nothing established but robbery." Shame ! shame ! a thousand times shame upon those who then ruled us !

We shall return to this all-important question, and prove that immediately an attempt is made to traverse Spain by internal communications for the conveyance of produce and goods from one extreme of one sea to that of another, Spain will be the richest nation of the world by adopting absolute freedom of trade.

The *Courrier de Marseilles* has the following remarks on the restrictions on French commerce :—

"The principles of commercial liberty have at last outstepped the limits of theory, and entered into practical existence ; confined till now within scientific bounds, to-day they occupy the first place in political debates. Commercial liberty ! This cry, uttered in a corner of England, was caught up from mouth to mouth, and the universal shout resounded in the councils of the crown ; a great statesman chose it as the motto of a new system of policy, under which are ranked the better part of the British Parliament.

"England reduces her tariffs, lessens her entrance duties, and suppresses them almost entirely on raw materials. Is not the position evident at first sight, which this state of things will assign to British commerce over all the markets of the world, when it meets concurrence from the commerce of other nations ? English commerce, by combining the prices of buying and selling, need not let any customs duties enter into its calculations ; French commerce will have to calculate 10, 15, 25, and even 50 per cent. on merchandise entering France ; the former, therefore, can bid higher prices than the latter, and, therefore, command the market, choose the best quality and those best adapted to their wants, and thus maintain and increase their supremacy.

"This motive is enough of itself to force all the nations of the globe to walk in the path that England has marked out.

"Our tariffs pretend to favour our mercantile navy, and their first step is to prohibit foreign bottoms ; they thus refuse the principal element of success to all commercial enterprise, cheap materials. Not content with obliging the owners to build their own vessels in France, the duty on the different articles necessary to their equipment, such as ropes, chains, anchors, &c., is so heavy that it almost amounts to a prohibition ; and they do not stop here, for they impose a heavy duty on the materials of which these articles are composed, such as hemp, cotton, iron, brass, &c. Thus our tariffs tie down our mercantile navy in the very cradle ; but, if in spite of them, it yet breathes a little, and, with hands and feet tied, still exists, our laws say—weigh anchor and we will protect you. And then those boasted protections in favour of the mercantile navy appear, consisting in taxes so heavy, that they most completely hinder a vessel leaving a French port unless she is certain of a return cargo ; and if the voyage does not answer the expectations of the owner, his vessel lies idle, paralysed by the competition of foreign vessels, until the chances of commerce procure him a modest freight to enable him to steer homewards.

"This is all that can be derived in the way of benefit from the navigation taxes. And of this profit, who pays the expenses ? It is French industry, as they are obliged by law to import the raw materials in French vessels, paying double freight to what a foreign vessel would ask, or even a French vessel, if she was not tied down from her very birth by our tariffs, which alone are the cause of her inferior station. And what is the result ? That the produce of our manufactures is dearer, and the consumption restricted both at home and abroad, that less materials are in requisition, and navigation lags ; and thus protection proves a bar to our activity.

"Is it not the same in the whole system of French industry ? Would our woollen tissues require protection duties if the raw materials were not cut to the very core by enormous duties ?

"The same may be said as regards our sugars.

"It is thus that the protection laws, deriving one from the other, are noxious to the interests they are meant to protect, and tend to retard industry, and the prosperity of the country."

The *Courrier Français* observes, that

"It is now a long time since political economists told

their Government, if they granted liberty of commerce to their subjects, that they would guarantee in return the disappearance of every motive of trouble and disturbance, and that they would establish a golden age and a reign of peace. Those political economists were regarded as Utopians, but events are now beginning to demonstrate that they were right. War retreats in face of commercial liberty. We have this day received accounts from America, in which political economists will find an admirable confirmation of the excellence of their principles, and in which they will see the announcement of a signal victory which the application of those principles is on the point of giving to the cause of peace. The announcement in America of that great measure which put an end to the old system of political economy in England, and inaugurated in the world the era of commercial liberty, caused a real revolution in public opinion both at Washington and at New York. Warlike ideas were immediately laid aside, even by the most ardent adversaries of England. The language of the press, previously so menacing, became completely pacific. The affair of the Oregon may consequently be considered, if not arranged, at least in a fair course of settlement. That, we repeat, is a victory of which the friends of commercial liberty may justly be proud. For our part, we find in those great events which have arisen on our Continent an additional reason to rejoice at this victory gained in America by commercial liberty.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE-TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE
SESSION OF 1846

Ninth Week, ending Saturday, March 21.

The conduct of the protectionists is as little to be calculated on as the results of a protective law. After behaving, last week, with something like a show of deference to public opinion, they commenced, on Friday last, a new course of obstruction, which has had the effect of delaying the whole public business of the country. If the section "under the gangway" were composed of men having weight, character, and influence, it would be as indecorous as absurd to complain of pertinacious opposition. This is one of the "prerogatives" of a representative assembly; and it is frequently one of the last resorts, when liberty is struggling with despotism. But to justify an unavailing pertinacious opposition, certain important elements are requisite. There must be MIND and CHARACTER; reason must be able to point to a future, when its influence will predominate over mere numbers; and FAITH must assert its power, declaring that though now the car of a political juggernaut may pass over the bodies of its victims, a time is coming when the idol shall "bite the dust," and the car supply materials for its own self-sacrifice.

Nothing of this sort animates the opposition of the protectionists. Go where you will—at No. 17, Old Bond-street, or the Carlton Club, in the lobbies of the house—the language is, if protection be removed now, it is removed for ever. This, as Mr. CORDEN told them, indicates in the protectionists a sad lack of faith in their principles. If, like the Free Traders, they had faith, even as a grain of mustard seed, they would submit to the passing of the present measures, in the confident hope that truth and reason will produce their natural reaction. But they have no such faith—no such hope. Their characters and their arguments have a common sympathy, and a natural relation.

For, after all, who are the leaders of the opposition to the measures of the Government? Lord George Bentinck is the only conspicuous member, connected with the aristocracy, who resists pertinaciously. Yet the public character of Lord George Bentinck, correct and respectable as it is, has nothing about it to conciliate public regard. He is favourably estimated in clubs and coteries; and he is admitted to have done something towards purifying the turf from associations as disreputable as unprofitable. All men who keep betting books owe a debt of gratitude to the noble lord, who has sedulously laboured for years to elevate gambling into scientific process. And though, after eighteen years of silence in Parliament, he has only now found his tongue, it only confirms the popular opinion that no man, at any period of his life, need despair of becoming noticed and noticeable. Lord George Bentinck is, in fact, a living type of protection; the great principle of which is, obtain adventurous advantages by any means you can, and assert your right to 80s. or to 58s., by law, as sturdily as you urge the necessity of honourably acquitting obligations at Tattersall's.

Who else of the aristocracy take a lead in opposition? Mr. Miles, wealthy as he is, respectable as he is, belongs not to the aristocracy. He is an off-shoot of the commercial interest, more especially connected with the West India trade, when law sanctioned a free importation of blacks from the coast of Africa, and rendered traffic in bodies and souls, blood and tears, a legitimate source of commercial profit. Mr. Miles is not himself a bad man—by no means; he is kindly, worthy, and respectable. Yet he occupies a leading position as one of the "FOODMETERS" of the House of Commons; he begrudges the free admission of Indian corn, lest it should lower rents, and give the people too many puddings. Then again we have Mr. Stafford O'Brien, a really clever young man. There are a number of "O'Briens" in the House of Commons, all more or less related; and who, in the true spirit of western or southern Irish feeling trace their origin to some king of the "O'Brien" tribe, who used to leap over the bogs with bare legs. This foolish adherence to "descent" is one of the absurdities of aristocracy—shared, as Pope, laughed at in painting by Hogarth, and ridiculed by every man of common sense. Yet "descent" is an important element in character—all other elements being present. Of Mr. Stafford O'Brien, we can

only say that he is a clever, smart young man, very gentlemanly in his manner, and very intelligent in his mode of expression, but all of whose speeches betray a latent conviction that, so far as protection is concerned, *he feels himself on the wrong side of the box!*

Who else have we on the side of protection? The great Mr. Peter Borthwick; the clever Mr. Benjamin D'Israeli; the amusing Colonel Sibthorp; and lastly, the droll Sir John Tyrrell? Nay, we have Mr. Bankes, who can perform the feat of speaking for two hours, without saying anything. Who else? Lord John Manners, whose "dream of life" is the abolition of the laws of mortmain, the change of monasteries for manufactories, the revival of the "Book of Sports," and the substitution of cricket for composure on Sundays. And, not to speak of Mr. Newdegate or the Marquis of Granby—darkling scintillations of protectionist light—we have Mr. Spooner, whose somniferous face is the brightest reflection of his colleague's beard, and whose incessant advocacy, in public and in private, of the currency crotchet, proves that the biggest bore in England may be made of "Brummagem" brass.

Mr. Spooner was the lion of Friday night week. The resolutions which had passed through committee had to be reported—a process which, on ordinary occasions, is but the work of a few minutes. The chairman of committees appears at the bar; he reports that certain resolutions have been passed in committee, which he has been ordered to report to the house; and then the clerk at the table reads the resolutions *seriatim*, which are usually affirmed, without a word of remark. But the protectionists have taken the somewhat unusual course of objecting to the report of almost every resolution. Mr. Spooner led the way on Friday night week. His object, however, was merely to make that currency crotchet speech, which the house, on a former occasion, had unceremoniously "burked." Mr. Spooner is one of those men to whom Shakespeare's phrase of "most forcible feeble" strictly applies. His manner is intensely energetic and redundant; his matter the most unimpressive and inconsequential that can be conceived. Mr. Muntz, his colleague, always receives far better attention in the house. Part of this is owing to his long beard, and his eccentric manner: but the greater part to a sort of sturdy honesty which seems to tower over even a gross deficiency in logic. The discussion on Friday night turned on "bronzes," "buttons," "cheese," and "manufactured cottons;" and in the repeated divisions the Government were steadily supported by large majorities.

Before the business was commenced on Friday night, Sir James Graham obtained leave to introduce a bill to provide, temporarily, against the fever, a consequence of famine, now breaking out in Ireland.

So little progress having been made on Friday night, the second reading of the Corn Bill was postponed, and ultimately fixed for Monday next, in order to allow the tariff to be proceeded with. The best way of exhibiting the nature of the opposition will be a selection of the "points" which have been raised during the debate.

On Monday night, Lord George Bentinck, with a somewhat sarcastic view, inquired if the Government could reduce to any great extent the Custom House establishment, as a consequence of the reduction of duties. Sir R. Peel made an important reply:

"I hold in my hand (said he) an account, applicable to some of the principal ports of the empire, of the number of ships with cargoes from abroad arriving and entered. I am so desirous of affording every information, that I should rather wish to move for an account, applicable to all our ports, of the number of ships arrived and cargoes entered in different years; but at present I must content myself with the result in a few of the ports; and I will state what has taken place contemporaneously with repeal and reduction of customs' duties. The comparison is between the years 1842 and 1845, and it will be seen, that, both in the number of ships and the entries, there has been a considerable increase in the following six ports of the empire:

Ports.	Years.	Ships with Cargoes from Foreign Ports.	Number of entries.
London	1842	6370	484,000
	1845	7521	567,000
	1842	3285	188,000
Liverpool ..	1845	3900	220,000
	1842	612	22,000
Newcastle ..	1845	908	30,000
	1842	261	21,700
Dublin	1845	307	30,219
	1842	312	7,700
Dundee	1845	415	9,600
	1842	280	22,000
Glasgow	1845	418	30,700
	1842		

My noble friend will see, therefore, that there has been an immense increase in the foreign trade of the country (loud cheers); that a much larger number of ships have arrived, and that there has been a vast addition to the entries. That circumstance alone, as I remarked, would prevent any decrease in the establishment of the custom-house, because the greater the number of vessels the greater must necessarily be the superintendence. Therefore, though we may not have the same advantage in the customs as in the excise, there has, in fact, been a corresponding advantage of a more important description" (much cheering).

Mr. Plumptre raised a debate on the reduction of the duty on hops, which terminated in the following manner:

For the resolution	91
Against it	44
Majority	—17

The next important item on which a debate of consequence arose was that of SILK. Mr. Bankes, the Dorsetshire Tory, and Mr. Brocklehurst, the Macclesfield Whig, combined on this occasion. There were, of course, a few jokes—such as they were. Mr. Wynn Ellis taxed Mr. Brocklehurst with smuggling; Mr. Brocklehurst regretted

that he was unable to convert a shoemaker into a milliner. Mr. Newdegate, in his usual somniferous tone, declared that if anything could rouse him it would be the wrongs of the silk weavers. These are the principal *faceties*. But the facts speak for themselves. In the following years these were the quantities of raw, waste, and thrown silk imported into the United Kingdom, in lbs.:

	Raw.	Waste Knobs and Husks.	Thrown.	Total.
1821 ..	1,864,513	105,047	360,248	2,329,808
1822 ..	1,993,764	64,921	382,278	2,441,563
1823 ..	2,051,895	62,302	363,864	2,488,121

The duty then being on raw silk, not the production of the British territories in the East Indies, 5s. 6d. per lb.; waste silk, 4s. per lb.; thrown silk, not dyed, 14s. 8d.; thrown silk, dyed, 2l. 5s. 6d. But in the years, 1842, 1843, 1844, when the duty was reduced as follows:—On raw silk, 1 l. 20; waste silk from foreign countries, 1s. 3-5d.; thrown silk, not dyed, ditto, 1s. 3-5d.; thrown silk, dyed, ditto, 2s. 1 l. 5d.—the quantities stand as follow:

	Raw.	Waste Knobs and Husks.	Thrown.	Total.
1842 ..	3,936,714	1,434,093	363,997	5,735,804
1843 ..	3,649,747	1,495,457	334,835	5,480,039
1844 ..	4,021,808	1,775,855	410,358	6,208,021

It was upon these figures that the protectionists endeavoured to show that the silk trade had been injured since the modification of the duties. But, further, we not only now export large quantities of silks, but it is important to mark the countries to which we export them. France will be found, for a large amount, amongst the number. Although it be true that we import manufactured silks largely and progressively, yet this cannot thrust aside the evidence derived from the almost incredible increase in the quantity of raw silk imported. The truth is, that the imports consist chiefly of fancy goods from France or India, which have some peculiar quality of taste or design to recommend them, and even of these a large proportion (especially of Indian bandannas after being printed in this country) is re-exported. These facts may be left to speak for themselves.

The only important speakers on the question of silk, were Sir George Clerk and Sir Robert Peel. Sir George Clerk, in answer to Mr. Bankes and Mr. Brocklehurst, pointed out that the silk weavers have from time to time been distressed; but is this true only of silk weavers? In 1812, in 1816, under the protective system, were not their sufferings tenfold greater than at present? Mr. Bankes had made a most unfair comparison between the rate of wages now and formerly; because silk weavers are paid by the piece, and beyond all doubt the labour required to produce a yard of silk now is trifling in comparison to what it used to be, when the weavers employed the same description of loom as had been in use amongst the French refugees—therefore you must not measure the wages of the operative by this standard. Sir G. Clerk found, by the report of the factory commissioners for 1843, that there were loud complaints of the mill-owners for want of hands. When labour, then, was in such request, could it be ill-remunerated? Mr. Powell again states that a sufficient number of workmen cannot be found to do the necessary work.

Sir Robert Peel enforced similar views; and he was followed by that rather extraordinary person, Mr. D'Israeli, whose reputation is certainly not advanced by dabbling in statistics. Perhaps the most powerful answer which could be made to the speech of Mr. D'Israeli, is the following extract from the conclusion of that speech, followed as it is by the results of the division:

"The manufacturers had made no complaint—had found no fault with the measures of the Minister, for the very same reason that honourable gentlemen opposite were equally indulgent. They wanted the bill for the repeal of the Corn Laws to pass (loud cries of "hear, hear"). He trusted, however, that the manufacturers of England, and honourable gentlemen opposite, would show to the right honourable baronet that there was yet some sympathy with the working classes of this country, and that economical blunders would not pass without criticisms when there was not some great object to prevent persons from being critical (laughter and cheers)."

The house divided—

For the amendment 114

Against it 220

Majority against the amendment .. —106

On Tuesday night the protracted proceedings were resumed—not, however, without an ebullition from Mr. Stafford O'Brien, unworthy of his intellect and of his position. It so happened, that on Tuesday, Sir Robert Peel was not in the house by 20 minutes to six, although five o'clock is his usual hour. Mr. Stafford O'Brien got up, and with an air which is certainly not common with him, complained that the Government were not introducing their "other" measures, which were to "accompany" the repeal of the Corn Law. It would seem that the honourable member for Northamptonshire wishes Sir Robert Peel to introduce the bills for the relief of the agricultural interest which are to accompany the Corn Bill, before the house is called upon to decide upon the great measure. He is in doubt, forsooth, as to the latitude which is to be allowed to the word "accompany." So then, the commerce of Great Britain is to be kept in perpetual embarrassment on account of the word "accompany." This special pleading appears worthy of an Old Bailey barrister of a very low stamp, rather than of a member of the House of Commons. Surely the Government have announced, and the majority have over and over again pledged themselves to accept, their scheme in all its bearings. Now Mr. Stafford O'Brien complains that only one section of the great measure has been submitted to the house. Why, if his real wish be—which it is not—to arrive at the second and third sections, he has but to abstain from throwing

needless embarrassment in the progress of the first through the house. It is physically impossible for the Premier to proceed with three measures at once, unless, like Cerberus, he had three heads. It is a pity that so clever a man as Mr. Stafford O'Brien should be degraded to a service like this. If Mr. Peter Borthwick had the pluck, it would better suit his position.

The first of the petty divisions of Tuesday night took place on the article of French brandy. We have always watched with deep anxiety the reduction of the duties on articles of French produce, as it is our firm conviction that there are few national objects of such deep importance as binding the two countries together by the ties of mutual interest. The insensible and gradual extension of commercial intercourse between the two countries is of more value than all the parchment treaties that have ever been signed by the diplomatic agents of France and Great Britain respectively. Connect Lyons and Manchester, Bordeaux and Liverpool, Marseilles and Bristol, by the indissoluble chain of "the ledger," and war-parties and jealousies will be heard of no more, or only heard of to be laughed back into oblivion. Mr. Cardwell gave the statistics to the house of our export trade to France. They run:

1832	£602,000	1834	£1,100,000
1833	£488,000	1845	2,556,000

The extension of such a trade as this, and its beneficial effect on both countries, is not a mere financial move; it is a political measure of the deepest importance. It means such a union of the two mightiest nations in the world as will enable them to dictate peace, civilisation, and good order to the rest of mankind. The ministerial measure was carried by 64 to 35.

The rest of the ministerial measures might have been expected to pass without opposition. But, no! on foreign cattle Mr. William Miles, as a matter of course, stood up to oppose the remission of the 1*l.* duty. Colonel Sibthorp seconded the amendment, and took the opportunity of bringing the question of his jocosé proposition to Sir Robert Peel to send Mr. Gladstone down to Lincoln to contest the city against him (Colonel Sibthorp) under the notice of the house, as immediately bearing on the topic under discussion. Sir R. Peel rose to demonstrate the fallacy of all these apprehensions of an inundation of foreign cattle. The right honourable baronet recalled to the recollection of the house the predictions that had been hazarded on the subject of salt pork, when it was calculated, at the time of the tariff of 1842, that 100 sows in the Mississippi provinces would produce, in the course of a given number of years, 232,000,000 of pigs. Now, in the teeth of this it was found that the contract price of salt-pork per tierce of 320 lbs., which, in 1843, was 3*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.*, was in the present year 6*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* Was it not probable, looking at the result of the last three years, that a continuance and increase of the prosperity of the country would increase the demand, and therefore the price of meat? Considering, moreover, the advantages which the agriculturists would have in the increased facilities for fattening cattle, he felt bound to adhere to his original proposition. A solemn charge was made by Sir John Tyrrell against the Premier, proceeding by implication, perhaps, but still a charge; it was to the effect, that Sir Robert had been the cause of the disease which had affected the cattle of Great Britain for the last three years.

Mr. Peter Allix, one of the members for Cambridgeshire, made a most vigorous defence of the duty on clover seed. The measures of the Government, according to him, were to abolish the 50*l.* electors, to banish the rural gentry from their paternal mansions, and to extinguish the sun of England. It was impossible to witness a respectable-looking gentleman like Mr. Allix making such a speech, without a touch of sympathy for the idle fear, and a consideration for the stupid apprehension. Of all classes of men, country gentlemen are perhaps the most imbecile; and we have to humour some of them, just as a mother does a sick child who has the measles, or the scarlet fever. Yet in all these, discussions, it is impossible not to feel that there is a certain class of members in the house, who, when they come forward, affect us with feelings precisely similar to those with which we see a mummy neatly unrolled by Mr. Pettigrew, before the Asiatic Society. They are things of a bygone day, crustaceous formations of a preliminary era; they have nothing to do with the present, most assuredly will never be heard of in the future—they belong to the past. Of this class are Mr. Buck, Sir Charles Knightley, and some few others. Sir Charles Knightley, the representative of an ancient family, came forward on Tuesday night to inform the house that an iron steam-boat company was in process of formation, to establish a cattle traffic between London and St. Petersburg. St. Petersburg and Moscow were to be connected by a railway—branches of course were to be run into Central Asia, and the sheep and cows from the steppes and the wall of China, were to be conveyed bleating, lowing, and recalcitrating, to our markets, to the utter confusion of the British farmer.

All the talk on ruin proved useless—the division on foreign cattle was for Government—111, against 72; majority 39.

Tanned hides were the next article upon which it was thought advisable to divide the house. Mr. Lawson, the "other" member for Knaresborough, was the bold, bad man who did the deed. Sir John Tyrrell seconded the motion. The honourable baronet, in the course of his speech, possessed the house of a pitiable calamity which had befallen ten aged men. These unfortunate individuals, it would appear, had been in the employment of a carrier—if we understood Sir John Tyrrell aright—and recently, in consequence of Sir Robert Peel's proposed alteration in

tanned hides, had been dismissed from their employment. They had all and several attained an advanced period of life far beyond the usual span which is allotted to mortals; indeed, when they had reached the three score years and ten of the Psalmist, they must have been in the full vigour of middle age, for they were now, all of them, "upwards of one hundred years old." A very remarkable case of longevity; more remarkable still is it, that they should have met by accident in the service of the same carrier.

Now, however, they were cast on the world, and, as Sir John Tyrrell feelingly remarked, at that advanced age it was scarcely probable that they could turn their thoughts to the acquisition of any fresh skill. However, their longevity could not save them from the ruthless Premier. The division on tanned hides was for Ministers—130, against 74; majority 56.

The next question was that of timber. Mr. Mitchell proposed and withdrew an amendment on the subject. This is, however, merely preparatory to a six hours' debate on the subject, which is to come off on Friday, as Sir Robert Peel has arranged matters. Then the Premier will be able to fix the debate on the second reading of the Corn Bill for Monday. "Of course," said Sir Robert, "all this with the understanding that the speeches of the honourable members would be so shortened as—"

The remainder of the Premier's sentence was drowned in shouts of laughter. No wonder: the talk has been the most inexorable thing ever known. But a noticeable speech from Lord George Bentinck deserves attention. He broke out with a threat that the House of Lords will not pass the Government measures:

"As far as he (Lord G. Bentinck) was informed, there was just ground for hoping, that whatever might be the conduct of hon. members on that (the Ministerial) side of the House of Commons, however much they might abandon their principles and desert their party (hear, hear), there was another House of Parliament which would not so disgrace itself (cheers from the protection benches). If the other house should reject this measure, and there should be an appeal to the country, then, judging from the results in Gloucestershire and Northamptonshire, and, above all, in his own native county (renewed cheers), the party that had honestly stood by its pledges, and not broken faith with the constituency, nor taken part in breaking the faith of Parliament, would come back to the house greatly strengthened by that constituency, which had been so betrayed in the present session (hear, hear)."

Then again Mr. Villiers spoke, with his usual terseness and ability.

Mr. VILLIERS said that the honourable baronet (Sir John Tyrrell) certainly was innocent of having produced the panic of which he complained when the last tariff was passed, for if he remembered rightly, the honourable baronet had addressed his constituents on the occasion, giving them the benefit of his practical knowledge on the subject, which was certainly calculated to allay their fears, for he assured them that he knew that American sheep were of that description that anybody could read the newspapers clearly through them (a laugh), and that more than half the pork would be choked on the voyage (a laugh). Now as they had not much benefit as yet from the tariff, he was not prepared to say that the hon. baronet's information was not correct (laughter); if such was the case, why should he be so much alarmed now (hear, hear)? and if the panic was such an evil, why should he endeavour to produce it? and if it did exist, he asked who had produced it (hear, hear)? Why, he did not hesitate to say the honourable gentlemen opposite; it was just such speeches as they had heard from the honourable member for Somerset and the honourable baronet that produced it (hear, hear). This was a matter worthy of notice; for if it was impossible to draw their attention to the great interest the people had in the abundance of the necessities of life, and if nothing could induce them to withdraw their opposition on that ground—let them reflect upon the injury they were inflicting on the very interest which they pretended to represent (hear, hear). What is the effect of predicting every calamity to follow from this measure? Why, that it depreciates the produce of the articles in question (hear, hear), and at this moment there is not the least doubt that prices are kept down by the delay that is occasioned by the motions and speeches of hon. gentlemen opposite (cheers and "oh, oh"). Hon. gentlemen opposite may cry "Oh," but the fact was as he represented it; and he knew on the authority of persons in the trade, that a serious loss is being sustained by them owing to this measure being suspended (Oh). Well, honourable gentlemen will have the opportunity of knowing the fact soon, and it will be seen whether he or they were right (hear, hear). They knew perfectly well that the measure would pass (hear, hear), and it will be seen then whether the price of foreign wheat would not rise higher than it was at this moment (hear, hear); he put it to the honourable member for Somerset, who treats every appeal on the score of general interest with indifference, to look at the enormous injury he is inflicting upon the farmers, and the dealers whose interests he affects to represent (hear, hear). He was bound to say that the honourable gentleman, the member for Somerset, puts the interest of the consumer entirely out of consideration, for he treats the measure as one of gratuitous mischief wantonly inflicted upon the producer, and assumes that there are no interests, no wants to be consulted or satisfied by its passing. Throughout his and the speech of the hon. member for Essex, not one syllable has been said as to whether the poor had access to meat now, or whether the reduction of duty might not give it to them (hear, hear), and that in face of the complaint throughout the agricultural districts, that the poor hardly ever touch meat from one year's end to the other (hear, hear). He did not mean that they did not have bacon, still they paid a dear price for it; and that was especially enumerated by the honourable member for Somerset as one of the articles that in future would be too cheap (hear, hear); and this is the year, too, that we have heard the labourers complaining that for 40 years they have never touched a morsel of meat owing to its price (cheers and cries of "oh, oh"). Why it is notorious that the agricultural labourers cannot consume meat in their families (hear, hear); and if it was not, the rate of their wages would show that it was impossible; and yet here they were endeavouring to make this food dear and scarce (hear, hear). He really knew nothing more astounding than to

sit here in what was called a Christian assembly—an assembly of gentlemen, who are not apt to underrate their own benevolence, and whose kind care for the poor nobody was allowed to question (hear, hear); and to hear one after the other depicting the horrors of plenty, and endeavouring to raise the price of subsistence to the poor (cheers). Who could have supposed, after all the display of feeling last night about milliners and dressmakers, and the night before about the poor framework-knitters, who were said to be starving, that to-night the same gentlemen would be using the same exertions to deprive them of wholesome food; and if their wages were low, thereby to make their sufferings more intense (hear, hear)? Their condition was described to be actually bad, and had been so for years. To prevent food being cheap, therefore, was a positive evil to them as they were (hear). Really to hear the hon. member for Cambridge and the hon. member for Somerset, last night, one would suppose that the poor depended for life upon clover, and never desired to eat bacon (hear, hear). The honourable member for Essex was quite pathetic about protecting clover on account of the poor, and the honourable member for Somerset is horrified at the abundance of bacon that might be poured into this country from America (hear, hear). He believed that the hon. gentlemen were confounding themselves with the poor when they talked about clover. It was they that were always living in clover (a laugh)—while the poor would be happy to exchange all the clover they had for all the bacon they could get (hear). The hon. member for Rutlandshire said he expected to have fair play as the head of Free Traders, and he (Mr. Villiers) hoped the hon. member would give them credit also for common humanity, for that was their reason for advocating a change of system, to enable the poor to escape at least from scarcity of food (hear). The hon. member for Rutlandshire had turned to this side, to have his fears about this measure allayed; but really his own political economy ought to have done that for him without their help (hear, hear)—for when is the time that he says he apprehends this danger from removing the duty? Why, when the prices are low here—that is the time, he says, when swarms of cattle will come in, that is, when the market is bad; he does not want a duty when the price is high—only when it is lower than in other countries. Surely the honourable gentleman's own sense could assure him that unless the price was higher here than in other parts of the world, the cattle would not come here at all (hear, hear). The honourable gentleman the other night wanted to know what would be the price of his wheat if the Corn Law was repealed, and now he wants to know what his cattle will fetch. Surely it is enough to console him for to-night when he reflects that if the worst happen, it must be higher here than in any other part of the world, for its being so is the inducement for it to come (hear, hear). This, however, is particularly the time that the honourable member apprehends danger from the change, and why? Because he says the cattle have had the murrain, because mutton is unusually scarce, because people have less in this country than usual; this is the time, he says, that the consumer should be especially precluded from getting it elsewhere (hear, hear). Really do let the honourable gentleman reflect upon the chance he would have of satisfying the consuming public of the justice of such a reason; and now, having, with his friends, eased their consciences by raising their voice against a plentiful supply, he did hope, for the credit of the house, that they would not press this singular motion to a division (hear, hear).

TRADE OF THE PAST AND PRESENT YEAR.

(From the Economist.)

The general result of the official tables of trade and navigation show that the commerce of the country in 1845 far exceeded that of any other year on record, not even excepting 1844. The consumption of all the great articles of importation has considerably increased; and the amount of our exports, though not much in excess of 1844, shows a great increase on previous years. Our foreign shipping shows an increase of no less than 792,274 tons inward, and 629,131 tons outward, even when compared with the trade of 1844.

The comparison which these tables furnish for the last three years of the quantities of the chief articles of trade consumed in each year is as follows:

	PRODUCE ENTERED FOR HOME CONSUMPTION.		
	1843.	1844.	1845.
Sugar	4,037,921	4,139,993	4,489,696
Coffee	20,031,422	31,301,297	34,318,095
Tea	40,364,357	41,369,351	41,163,135
Butter	148,295	180,955	249,118
Cheese	166,563	212,305	268,546
Grain	1,237,751	2,533,631	1,244,673
Flour, &c.	432,112	716,896	699,450
Cattle	2,100	8,007	4,126
Wine	6,287,003	7,077,451	6,986,845
Timber	1,365,625	1,543,000	2,009,721
IMPORTED DUTY FREE.			
Wool	49,214,093	63,713,761	76,828,152
Silk	3,773,171	4,566,536	4,871,632
Cotton	6,010,053	5,708,851	6,442,176

The comparison of the total value of the chief articles of manufacture exported is as follows:

1843 ..	41,812,000	1844 ..	50,642,306	1845 ..	51,471,030
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The comparison of the navigation of the kingdom during the same time being—

	Ships entered inwards.	Ships entered outwards.
Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1843	3,825,422	3,777,209
1844	4,214,304	3,880,486
1845	5,023,598	4,220,197

Such are the general outlines of the results furnished by these annual accounts—results which have fully confirmed the hopes entertained at the beginning of last year. In summing up the prospects then before us, there appeared an unusual combination of circumstances to contribute to our prosperity, without any one important disturbing element. We regret that it is not now in our power to congratulate the country on similar prospects.

Abroad, as well as at home, there are many circumstances which cannot fail to exercise an injurious effect upon our general trade, and upon the employment of at least some portion of our people.

In the first place, the failure of the last harvest, and the consequent high prices of provisions throughout Europe, have already been found to exercise a most injurious effect upon the consumption of all other articles. Upon those Continental markets we are dependent for the consumption of between forty and fifty per cent. of our whole exports. In

1844, out of the entire amount of 58,584,292*l.*, which our exports reached, our Continental trade took no less than to the value of 25,000,000*l.* Of cotton goods and yarn alone, our exports to the Continent are equal to 12,000,000*l.* a year—being nearly one-half of the whole of our foreign trade in those goods. It is impossible, then, that any material cause of depression should exist in those countries, without being immediately and injuriously felt in our manufacturing districts. If, then, we look to our great markets in the East, the prospects are not much more promising. In British India, the enormous expenditure which must attend the war into which we have entered, has already cut off from that branch of our commerce a considerable portion of its pecuniary dependence. In China, the same complaint still exists, and even in a more aggravated form of the inadequacy of returns for our shipments; and the heavy losses now being sustained on the limited imports from that market, being in reality a reduction of the profits apparently made on our exports, will at least offer no inducement to extend transactions to that market. Again, in the important markets of South America, our prospects are by no means more encouraging. The war which has so long interrupted our trade in the La Plata, still continues. Our relations with Brazil are more unsatisfactory than ever, with no chance whatever of an improvement as long as we pursue our present policy. We say it, on the best possible authority, that no treaty either of amity or commerce will be concluded with that Government as long as we persist in maintaining the Act passed at the close of last session, assuming for our Courts of Admiralty a jurisdiction over Brazilian subjects and ships, and as long as we persist in the exclusion of their sugar. Again: those markets are so dependent upon the Continent of Europe for the consumption of their produce, that they cannot but be affected by the depression which, less or more, is felt in every Continental country. The United States and British America alone offer to us at present any good prospect of an increased trade. The former market will, however, be in some measure unfavourably affected by the greater or lesser probability of hostilities. At present we are not disposed to consider that an important element in the business of this year. The probability of a modification in their tariff, of which we elsewhere give an outline, appears to us a full set-off against that risk. The great demand for American produce, for European consumption, cannot fail to induce a larger import of goods in return; and this being generally their cheapest market, we may reasonably expect an increase of our exports to that quarter.

The activity and prospects in the British American timber trade, must, if not suspended by the deferred operations of the new proposed timber duties, lead to an increase of our exports in that quarter.

Turning from our foreign to our home markets, we find matters little more encouraging. Ireland is a large market for the manufactures of England, and the failure of their potato crop and the high price of food must materially reduce their demand, not only for clothing but also for other articles of consumption. All these causes acting together, cannot but diminish demand in our manufacturing districts, and the employment of large classes of our own people, which diminished employment must again act prejudicially upon our own internal consumption. But the circumstance at home, which in our estimation most threatens to interfere with our recent prosperity, is the disturbance which has already been created in the capital of the country, for the present and future construction of railways, and which every day, for an indefinite period, must rather aggravate than ameliorate. This is by far the most alarming feature in our future prospects, and one which we freely admit it is extremely difficult to deal with. The rapid conversion of the floating capital now available for the trade of the country into fixed capital in railways, and that for a considerable period, entirely unproductive even of interest, must cause its abstraction from other pursuits to an extent which we frankly own to be the subject of the greatest solicitude. We think there can be no doubt that the inconvenience recently experienced in all branches of commerce, even with regard to money matters, has been greatly aggravated by the suspension of transactions since the proposed changes in the tariff were known. And it is to be expected that a favourable reaction will take place, as soon as these measures have been so far passed as to enable business to be resumed at the new rate of duty, which we hope may be the case before this reaches our readers. For some time, at least, an unusual activity may be expected, while exhausted stocks are being replenished, and provision made for the spring trade.

We must not, however, lose sight of the fact, that at this time we are committed to an expenditure of capital to the amount of nearly *seventy millions* for the construction of railways, independent of the numerous schemes now before Parliament;—that an absorption of capital in this one channel is at this moment going on, at the rate of little less than *two millions* in each month—all of which must remain unproductive for a considerable time to come. That a large portion of the schemes at present before Parliament will pass in the course of the session, there appears little doubt. The struggle then which will take place among all these undertakings, to obtain the requisite capital to carry them into operation,—the attempts to raise by loan a portion of their capital, and the repeated calls, month after month, from the shareholders, who, having embarked so much, will make the greatest efforts to continue their payments to avoid the sacrifice of those already made; all these circumstances present an amount of future embarrassment, which we own it difficult to see the end of.

Suppose that for three years consecutively we received no returns for *one-half* of our exports, what would be the consequence? We all know what effect was produced, in 1837, by the interruption to the regular returns for the credits given to the United States. The abstraction of floating capital from other purposes, for the construction of railways now in prosecution, will be about equal in amount to the half of our exports in three years. But then the common reply is, that the one is expended in the country—the other out. Such is not the case. If one man manufactures goods to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds, the whole of their cost is, in the first instance, expended in wages and in other ways in the country; if he exports those goods, and his capital is not replaced by remittances, it is so much entirely abstracted from the available capital of the country, notwithstanding their whole cost went in the payment of wages and otherwise. So, precisely, if another man expends a similar sum in the construction of a railway, the whole money is expended in wages and materials in the country; but the capital itself is never replaced to the country. The most that can be said, even after it is paying a good dividend, is, that so much floating capital has been converted into so much fixed capital. The same, however, might be said if the ma-

nufactured goods which had been exported were sold in Brazil, and the money invested there in a mine, yielding a revenue to its owner in England. As regards the effect upon the available capital of the country, there is not the slightest difference between making a railway at home, or exporting manufactured goods, selling them in a foreign country, and there investing the money in some security bearing interest to the owner at home.

There can, therefore, be no doubt that capital must become scarce, and the rate of interest higher during a considerable period to come; and that the general trade of the country must feel the inconvenience which must necessarily attend such circumstances. There is every reason to believe that imports generally will be received on a considerable scale during the year, and therefore the circumstances to which we have adverted, will probably be felt rather in producing low and unremunerating prices than in any very great diminution of the extent of the trade.

The present measures which are before Parliament, will, no doubt, lay the foundation for great future prosperity, and they will have an important effect, even in the present year, in assisting to avert other obvious dangers to which we are exposed; but we must not expect their full benefits for some time to come.

NEW DUTIES.—The House of Commons having passed the following resolution, substituting new rates of duty on the articles therein expressed, viz.—Resolved, that in lieu of the duties of Customs now chargeable on the articles undermentioned, imported into the United Kingdom, the following duties shall be charged—viz., buckwheat, the quarter, 1*s.*; maize or Indian corn, the quarter, 1*s.*; meal, the cwt., 4*s.*; rice, the cwt., 1*s.*; ditto of and from a British possession, the cwt., 6*d.*; ditto rough and in the husk, the quarter 1*s.*; ditto, rough and in the husk, of and from a British possession, the quarter 1*d.*; the Commissioners of the Customs' Department have received intimation from Mr. Cardwell, secretary to the Treasury, stating that he has been commanded by the Lord Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, to desire that they will admit the said articles at the new rates of duty specified in the said resolution, until the 1st day of August next, or until Parliament shall otherwise determine; taking, in each case, bond from the importers, to pay the duties hereafter chargeable, in the event of the duties imposed by the said resolution not being sanctioned by Parliament. This communication, accompanied by a copy of the order of the Government, has been transmitted to the principal officers of the revenue at every port throughout the kingdom, with instructions to take care that the directions contained therein be duly obeyed. The new duties, subject to the provisions mentioned, will be put into operation forthwith, or are even now in force throughout the united empire, with respect to the articles specified. The following is the copy of the new form of bond arranged for the purpose:—"Know all men by these presents, that we (parties' names) are held and firmly bound unto our Sovereign Lady Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen Defender of the Faith, in the sum of (double the amount of the difference of duty) pounds of good and lawful money of Great Britain, to be paid unto our said Lady the Queen, her heirs and successors, to which payment, well and truly to be made, we bind ourselves, and every of us, jointly and severally, for and in the whole, our heirs, executors, and administrators, and every of them, firmly by these presents. Sealed with our seals, dated this — day of —, in the ninth year of the reign of Her Majesty, and in the year of our Lord 1846. Whereas, by an act of Parliament made and passed in a session of Parliament holden in the 5th and 6th years of the reign of her present Majesty Queen Victoria, intitled "An Act to Amend the Laws for the Importation of Corn," it was amongst other things enacted that there should be raised, levied, and paid, to her said Majesty, upon all corn, meal, or flour, entered for home consumption in the United Kingdom, from parts beyond the seas, the several duties specified and set forth in the table annexed to that act, which said duties by the act of the 8th and 9th Victoria, chapter 90, section 3, are to be raised, levied, collected, and paid, in such and the same manner in all respects, as the several duties of customs mentioned in the said act are directed to be raised, levied, collected, and paid. And whereas, a resolution of the House of Commons was passed in the month of March 1846, that in lieu of the duties of customs now chargeable on the articles undermentioned, imported into the United Kingdom, the following duties shall be charged (the general rates above mentioned are here specified, and need not be repeated). And whereas the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, by Mr. Cardwell's letter, have directed the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Customs to admit the said articles at the new rates of duty specified in the said resolution, until the first day of August next, or until Parliament shall otherwise determine, taking, in each case, bond from the importers to pay the duties heretofore chargeable, in the event of the duties imposed by the said resolution not being sanctioned by Parliament. And whereas (quantity) quarters of (article, with each particular of importation, &c., specified) have been imported, which said (quantity again) quarters of (articles again) the said (parties' names) intend to enter for home consumption, upon payment of duty, under the said resolution, upon bond being entered into, with the condition hereinafter mentioned. Now the condition of this obligation is such, that if there shall be, on demand, paid to the collector and controller of Customs, at the port of —, the difference of duty between the duty charged by the said act of the 5th and 6th Victoria, chap. 14, and the duty paid under the said resolution, or the difference of duty charged by the said act and the duty which Parliament may otherwise direct to be levied upon the said articles, then this obligation to be void, otherwise to be and remain in full force and virtue." The bond then concludes in the usual form.—*Times*, March 16.

COLONEL THOMPSON.—It is now certain that Mr. Leader will sit for Westminster only until the end of the present Parliament. We earnestly trust that Westminster will again right itself in public opinion. Some electors, we believe, entertain thoughts of Colonel Thompson. We could earnestly wish to see him returned as member for that ancient constituency. As the father of the Free Trade movement—as a consistent Radical Reformer—as a man of high integrity, indefatigable energy, and great political sagacity—he would confer honour upon any borough, and deserves to be returned by the most influential in the empire. We would not peril his prospects in any other place; but it certainly strikes us most forcibly that Westminster is the proper post for Col. Thompson; and that Colonel Thompson is the right man for Westminster.—*Nonconformist*.

LIVERPOOL ANTI-MONOPOLY ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the members and friends of the Liverpool Anti-Monopoly Association was held on Monday evening, 9th inst., at the Concert-hall, Lord Nelson-st. The chair was occupied by William Brown, Esq. The hall was well filled, and upon the platform we observed the following gentlemen:—C. Holland, Esq., E. E. Rawlins, jun., Esq., James Mellor, Esq., Thomas Bolton, Esq., Richard Shell, Esq., Daniel Mather, Esq., John Finch, jun., Esq., G. Crossfield, Esq., Charles Robertson, Esq., Samuel Tomkinson, Esq., F. Boulton, jun., Esq., Samuel Bulley, Esq., Isaac B. Cooke, Esq., John Taylor Crook, Esq., Lawrence Heyworth, Esq., the Rev. John Robberds, and C. E. Rawlins, Esq.

The CHAIRMAN, in opening the business of the evening, said it was usual with the council of the association once a year to make a report to those gentlemen who supported that association, and to state to them what their proceedings had been for the past year. It had been delayed on that occasion rather later than usual, in consequence of the great quantity of labour that had devolved on the officers of the society in attending to the registration through the months of December, January, and February, and that must be the excuse to the members for not bringing before them the report at an earlier period. It would not probably be out of place for him (the Chairman) to take a short review of passing events since they last met. They then had great sources of congratulation; but on the present occasion they had still greater sources of congratulation in the measures which had been laid before the country and before the world by the Prime Minister (cheers). He and his Cabinet had placed before the world, in the fullest sense of the word, a full and unqualified adhesion to freedom of trade. It required no little moral courage on the part of Sir R. Peel to perform that duty to his country and to mankind, when the consequence was that it threw from him many of those old friends who had been his supporters for years—when it shivered a party at one time all but omnipotent, and when he ventured to throw himself on the mercy of his opponents (applause). To their immortal honour, instead of seeking to embarrass his measures by petty struggles or vexatious divisions, they came boldly and fearlessly to his rescue. It was incumbent on them not to forego their principles, and therefore Mr. Villiers found it necessary to bring forward his annual motion for the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. Seventy-eight of their friends supported him on that occasion; but others, not less sincere, were afraid of periling the great measures of the administration by leaving Sir Robert Peel in the minority; the consequence was that they voted with the Premier, and enabled him, by a large majority, to carry the first stages of his measure. It must be a matter of very serious regret to them all, that instead of the House of Commons being an arena for the discussion of the affairs of the nation, it had been made an arena for vituperating and abusing the Minister, who honestly and conscientiously did his duty to his country (loud applause). Nothing but honest and conscientious motives could have induced him to place himself in the perilous situation in which he had, and therefore they ought to give him credit for sincerity and truth (hear, hear). It was understood that, although he was perfectly safe as regarded his measures in the Commons, he might be defeated in the Lords; but before he alluded to the Lords, he (the chairman) would just allude to what had been said by one of their former representatives, who had been quoted as an authority by their opponents. Mr. Huskisson was advocating one of his Free Trade measures, and there was a great deal of opposition to it, when Canning got up, with all that eloquence, and all that force of reasoning of which he was capable, and said, "Is it not doctrines and aspirit such as yours, which have, at all times, been at work to stay public advancement, and roll back the tide of civilisation—a doctrine and a spirit actuating the little minds of men, who, incapable of reaching those heights from which alone an extended view of human nature can be taken, console and revenge themselves by calumniating and misrepresenting those who have toiled to those heights for the benefit of mankind?" He (the chairman) had adverted to the sentiments of Mr. Canning, and he might probably advert to what Mr. Huskisson had said amongst the last words of his life. He said, "It was his unalterable conviction that they could not uphold the existing Corn Laws with the existing taxation, and increase the national prosperity, or preserve public contentment; but that those laws might be repealed without affecting the landed interests, whilst the people would be relieved from their distress he never had any doubt whatever." He (the chairman) was the more disposed to bring this under the observation of the meeting, because Mr. Huskisson had been arrayed against them as a protectionist. Now, he begged to ask them if there was one word of protection in what he had just quoted, or rather if there were not the very condemnation of it. It was said that when the Government measure was sent up to the House of Lords, various amendments were to be proposed. One, that they should have a permanent and fixed duty; another, that they were to have a permanent and fixed duty, but the proceed to go towards the payment of the poor-rates with the view of relieving the landed interest of part of their mistaken burdens (cheers). Another, that the present sliding scale, as proposed by the Prime Minister, should be made permanent. Another, that they would pass the present intended law, on condition that the subject should be taken up again three years hence and discussed. He (the chairman) was quite sure that not an individual who heard him would be willing to submit to any such conditions. It therefore behoved them, in public and in private, and by every means in their power, to convince the Lords, and to show Sir Robert Peel, that if they did attempt to force such measures on the country they would gain nothing by the movement. For the sake of peace and harmony they might submit to the Corn Laws being repealed for three years, but if they must have a new Parliament, those culprits would be led to instant execution (loud cheers). A reverend gentleman of the name of Yateman—the Rev. H. Yateman—made a flowery speech the other day in Dorsetshire, where the high sheriff took the chair. He (the chairman) was willing to suppose that the press must either have misrepresented or misunderstood the reverend gentleman, for he could not suppose that one of his cloth could endeavour to mislead the public. He stated that the United States produced fifteen millions of quarters of wheat, that the consumption of the country was only five millions, and that they could overwhelm us immediately with sending us ten millions of quarters. Why, the consumption of the United Kingdom was only twenty millions of quarters! Such statements, so put forth, would be believed by men who would not inquire into the facts, and it was unjustifiable for a re-

verend gentleman to send forth such statements to the public. Well, what would he (the chairman) would say, "I hope the policy of this country ever will be an extended and liberal commercial policy with all, but entangling tariffs with none." The effect of their Free Trade measure had caused the German confederation—the Zollverein—to pause in making any alteration in their tariff unfavourable to England; France was establishing Free Trade clubs, and Russia, who contemplated some rise in her duties, had been arrested in her progress, and the evident tendency now was downwards (applause). Before he sat down he begged permission to correct an error which he made on the last occasion that he addressed them—an error, however, which made altogether against his own argument. He stated that the North American colonies and the British West India Islands had a commerce more important than they really had. Instead of the exports to these places being 9,400,000, and falling off to 8,500,000, the exports in 1835 were 6,500,000, and had fallen off to 5,500,000, being one million in favour of what their opponents seemed to value so much—protection (loud cheers). The chairman then called upon the honorary secretary to read the report.

Mr. C. E. RAWLINS said, when he looked around the platform, he missed the presence of one man on the present occasion whose name had always been associated with human progress and improvement—he meant Mr. Rathbone. A note, however, had been received from him that afternoon, saying that a prior engagement of long standing had prevented him from having the pleasure of attending the meeting (hear, hear). Mr. Rawlins then proceeded to read the report, a voluminous and interesting document, containing an able sketch of the history of the course of Free Trade during the last year of success and triumph. We have only room for the following extracts:

"The year 1845, the fourth of the existence of the Anti-Monopoly Association, and the seventh of that of the Anti-Corn-Law League, has been distinguished by a progress more than usually rapid in the attainment of the object which has united us together, namely perfect freedom of trade.

"In alluding to this result we, as the council of your association, have endeavoured faithfully to exercise the trust you reposed in us, to the fullest extent of our power.

"In addition to the ordinary means of agitation, by the distribution of tracts, and the assembling of public meetings, we undertook, in March last, the care of the registers for the borough, the Liverpool polling district for South Lancashire, and the Birkdale and Birkenhead districts for South Lancashire; and we have also been in communication with the Council of the League, relative to voters having qualifications in other districts or counties, but residing in our own.

"Finding that the purity of the register greatly depended on the thorough honesty of the men who were returned to serve in a public office, we issued an address to our fellow-townsmen last Easter, entreating them only to elect men who would faithfully administer their trust, without using it for the benefit of any political party or class. This call was at once responded to, and the result of the poll was the triumph of our candidates. A further object ought to be made this year, to place the voters on an equality with respect to parties. More than this we neither ask nor desire.

"The results of our registration labours have been very successful.

"**Borough Register.**—We have made a thorough revision of the borough register, and by objecting to a large number of bad votes, dead votes, and false & duplicate votes (a work which received the approval of the revising barrister), we have ensured that in every decision upon an election shall be in accordance with the unbiassed opinions of the community at large, on the subject of Free Trade.

"**County Register.**—**SOUTH LANCASHIRE.**—We have improved the district of South Lancashire, by placing on the list 43 new electors, 39 of whom were induced to purchase qualifications in shares. All these names were objected to by the magistrates' party, and struck off by the revising barrister. We were equally successful, however, against his decision to that of the Court of Common Pleas. The court not only restored the names, but Chief Justice Tindal characterised the desire for qualifying as a county elector, by a bona fide investment of property, as highly commendable. The same efforts have been made in other districts of the county with equal success. We have thus secured the return of our townsman William Brown, Esq., and the Hon. C. P. Villiers, by a working majority of 3000 votes.

"**SOUTH CHESHIRE.**—For the Birkenhead polling district we placed on the present register 109 voters, and are in possession of 344 claims for next register, of whom 244 qualified by share property at our instigation. The total number of Free Trade claims now ready for the coming register on the whole division, is upwards of one thousand, which will render the county perfectly safe on a contest after next December.

"In both counties we successfully objected to a large number of spurious votes.

"During the past year our members have very greatly increased. In 1842 they numbered 340; in 1843, 271; 1844, 404; and in 1845, 595.

"We have to regret the retirement of Thos. Thornely, Esq., by his own special wish, from the responsible office of president, which he has filled from the commencement of the association. He has, however, consented to act as one of the vice-presidents, should the numbers continue to desire his services. Our thanks are due to Mr. Thornely for the attention which he has invariably given to the interests of the association, and his consistent advocacy of it, both in and out of Parliament.

"It is hardly to be regretted that so bold and comprehensive an association, as that proposed by Sir Robert Peel, should be defeated, in the execution of a still lingering prejudice in favour of the sliding scale. It is opposed to his experience of the sliding scale of 1828, which he altered because it did not accommodate itself to the wants of the community, and to that also of his own scale of 1842, which, as Sidney Herbert confessed, 'would not slide,' when it was required. It is inconsistent with all the Premier's own convictions in favour of entire freedom of trade; and, above all, it is unjustifiable in the prospect, to which no one can be blind, than Sir Robert Peel himself, of an impending scarcity of food. Alluding to the destruction of the potato crop in Ireland, he declared, 'that at an early period of the autumn he was of opinion that it was impossible to meet the emergency without a suspension of the duties of corn and provisions. On the 17th Nov. he said, that the evil was unchecked, and that it was fast spreading itself among the people. Mr. Peel's own desire of provision, as I the difficulty to be met was to deal with the evil, without waiting its further progress. Subsequent information has confirmed his worst fears, and he looks forward to the month of May with the greatest apprehension. And yet, in the face of an impending famine among large tracts of the people the year, which deficiency of seed potatoes, or a decay in those preserved, may probably render a still more extensive, he proposes a law, which must have the effect of limiting the supply of food, or at all events, of augmenting its price. In plain words, he proposes to tax the food of the people, and to increase, in some parts, actually suffering starvation. And this is the evidence of his desire, without favour or undue partiality, to suggest that which is just—to terminate that conflict which all must regret, and to remove the cause of the social and sectional divisions between different classes—not to increase pauperism—and, is conclusive to the spread

of morality, by diminishing those temptations to crime which arise from poverty and distress—can that law be just,' which has a tendency to limit the abundance of food, on which these blessings depend; and which will be productive of appalling evils in proportion as it effects its own object? If this scheme of a new sliding scale be not abandoned now, and if one-half the evils which may fairly be anticipated should arise, we believe it cannot survive the three years of its destined existence. Like a kindred measure of compromise with injustice—the apprenticeship system in the abolition of negro slavery—it will assuredly be annihilated by the indignant voice of the people.

"What the agricultural interest (meaning those by the real cultivators of the soil) have really most to fear, is a day in the final settlement of this question. There will be no adjustment of rents and leases while the change is in process. All the disadvantages of a sudden repeal are thus insured to the farmer, without any of its corresponding advantages to himself or the community. The evil may not be felt during 1846, because security throughout Europe, preventing under any circumstances extensive importation, may prevent its operation. But during 1847, stocks of foreign corn, prevented by the sliding scale from gradual importation, will, in all probability, accumulate in foreign ports, and, on the sudden fall of duty in 1849, be poured on the market, unannouncedly lowering the price, to the great injury of the English producer.

"On these two grounds, then, first, injustice to the consumer by the continued imposition of a duty for three years longer on the importation of food, unjust under any circumstances, but more essentially so in the face of impending scarcity; and, secondly, that protracted repeal, especially when accompanied by a sliding scale, will be a serious injury to the home producer—we must express our strong disapproval of this part of Sir R. Peel's scheme.

"On the motion that the house should go into committee on the measure, Mr. Miles, M.P. for East Somerset, moved a direct negative; but, after three weeks' debate, the amendment has been lost by a majority of 97 votes.

"When in committee, Mr. Villiers moved his amendment for the total and immediate repeal; but the peculiar circumstances induced many strong advocates for this mode of settlement to vote against him, lest it might endanger Sir R. Peel's measure in its subsequent stages.

"Seventy-eight members, however, have asserted the principle, which, in its simple unity and justice, has been the secret of the success of the League. But, failing this, they have now determined to give their strenuous support to the Ministerial measure—a determination to which we accord our most unqualified approval.

"National revolutions have generally been bought with the price of blood; they have too often resulted only in the substitution of one despotism for another; they have almost always been confined, in their effects, to a single country. We are on the eve of a revolution precisely the reverse. It has been peaceful in its operation; it will be world-wide in its blessings. All honour be to the League that has prepared us for the change. This League was born in contempt—it rose, amidst sneers and contumely, into popular favour—it has triumphed amidst the acclamations of its once most violent opponents. We must agree with those who look upon the past existence of the League as an evil, only justified by a still greater one. It may be, that gentle and peaceful agitation is as necessary to the salubrity of the political atmosphere as that of the material world; nay, that its severest storms have the same utility in the economy of the one as of the other. If so, the League has proved not an evil, but a good. It is certain that it has used its vast influence for high and noble purposes. In all respects it has been an intellectual agitation. Its magnificent bazaar, rightly considered, have been expositions of the triumph of mind over matter. Its tracts and lectures have embodied the soundest doctrines of moral and political science. With the knowledge of the true principles of international intercourse, it has infused an intense love of international peace. It has awakened the most generous emotions of the national heart. If it has curbed the power of the aristocracy, it has purified the press, and exalted the people. On every suitable occasion it has repudiated the doctrine of physical force. It was not the League, but a minister of the Crown, who, while acknowledging that its agitation was 'not of force, but of reason,' said, that if reason were not yielded to, 'some day force might be added.' The League has never for a moment lost sight of the efficacy of its weapons of the justice of its cause. And when it has fulfilled its mission—when its mighty organisation shall have ceased to exist with the enormous wrong which called it into being, the names of its leaders—no less wise than powerful—Colcland and Bright, and Wilson and Villiers—will long be remembered as benefactors to their country and mankind."

Mr. Rawlins concluded by moving the adoption of the report.

Mr. J. T. CROOK, one of the treasurers, said their worthy secretary had moved that the valuable document just read be adopted by that meeting, as the report of the council of the Anti-Monopoly Association, and it gave him great pleasure to second the proposition that it be printed and distributed amongst the members, for he was fully convinced that a document of that nature would be instructive to the world. He hoped, however, that they would allow him to include in it the treasurer's accounts, as being highly important also. It was well they should be published, because, though the League might be dissolved after the Corn Laws were totally repealed, the Liverpool Anti-Monopoly Association remained until Free Trade in everything was obtained (loud cheers). Mr. Crook then read an abstract of the accounts, from which it appeared that the balance in hand was only £2. 3s. 9d.

The motion was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Thos. BOLTON moved the thanks of the meeting to the council of the association. In doing so, he congratulated the meeting on the prospect of Free Trade in corn. He much regretted that anything in the shape of a sliding scale should be extended for three years, and should have wished instead of that, something like a permanent duty of 4s. (No, no). He believed that Sir Robert Peel could not have carried on his Government had he tried for total and immediate repeal. Lord John Russell himself could not form a Government with any chance of carrying such a measure; he would never have been able to secure such a majority as Sir Robert Peel had gained for his—97; and they must all agree that Sir Robert had proposed the most liberal measure he could get his party to consent to adopt; and when all could not be got that was wanted, it was best to take the next best thing they could get. For his own part, he thought that a very small fixed duty would be necessary upon wheat, if only to pay the landing waiters' charges (cries of "no, no; no duty whatever.") Mr. Bolton then took a short review of the corn trade since the year 1815, and again reminded the meeting that if all things were admitted free of duty, the expenses of Government could not be paid (cries of "Put a direct tax upon property." Much cheering.) He would just remind them that an inquiry was going on before Parliament as to the charges upon landed property, and there was one thing he should like to learn from that inquiry, and that was, why the people of England should pay 40 per cent. more for their food than the people of other parts of the world (loud cheers)?

Mr. D. MATHER seconded the motion, and he hoped the meeting would direct their serious attention to that part of the report which had been read to them, with reference to the repeal of the Corn Laws. He would remind them that it was not a total repeal they were going to have, neither total nor immediate; and he hoped they would never cease to agitate the question until they succeeded in getting the total and immediate repeal. They must not think of being

satisfied with a sliding scale, or even a sliding duty (cheers) for so long as that one sliding scale and one sliding duty, and that some future minister would raise it to two shillings, and another might make it three. Suppose the Duke of Richmond were to come in to-morrow, what would he not do? He urged them to go for total and immediate repeal. They could register cotton and other articles without a duty, and what matter if they were not registered, so that they had plenty to put into their bellies, what was the use of registering it (laughter and cheers). As to the sliding scale, it was all sliding nonsense (laughter). The Premier and all the Ministers had been converted, because the people were going to be starved, and yet they clapped on a duty of 10s. to 11s. That was like knocking their own heads on the wall. He could not see the use of their proposing anything of the kind. Sir Robert Peel had ample means of passing the measure if he chose. He was delighted to find Mr. Colcland and Lord Morpeth had voted for the total repeal. Lord J. Russell had objected to it because he thought it would put Ministers in a fix; but Lord Morpeth did not think so. He was the man who would stand by them, but they could not put the slightest trust in Lord John Russell (cheers).

The CHAIRMAN said that, as they had elected him to the office of President for the next year, he would endeavour to discharge his duty faithfully; but unless the Council were sustained with large funds, he was afraid they would not be able to get on so satisfactorily as might be wished (hear).

Mr. LAWRENCE HILWORTH proposed the next resolution, which was to the effect, that while they steadily adhered to their object of total and immediate repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws, and of all differential duties, and on this occasion renewed their determination never to dissolve their association until protective duties were annihilated, they nevertheless approved of the policy which induced Mr. Villiers and the 78 members who voted with him, after failing in their endeavour to carry into effect their great principle in the House of Commons, to give their hearty support to the modified but still comprehensive measure proposed by Sir R. Peel.

Mr. RICHARD SHEIL seconded the motion.

The CHAIRMAN begged to make one observation. He thought, from the remarks made by several of his friends, that they did not sufficiently understand the embarrassing position in which the Premier now stood. He had a difficult position to sustain. He was, as he (the Chairman) believed, as honest a Free Trader and as much disposed for total and immediate repeal as any man could be (cheers). But he also believed that it was a matter of policy on his part to frame his measure as he had framed it, in order that he might have a reasonable hope of getting it through the House of Lords; and unless he had so framed it, he would have had no hope of carrying it through at all. He appealed to the meeting, as men of business and reflection, whether it was not better to sustain the measure Sir Robert Peel had brought forward, than to be thrown into two years' further agitation (hear)? With this view he hoped that on every proper occasion they would express themselves firmly and resolutely, and sustain the measure of Sir R. Peel until they got it fairly through the House of Lords (hear, hear).

Mr. C. E. RAWLINS reminded the meeting that Mr. Bolton was the first mayor of Liverpool who thought it consistent with the duties of his office to call a town's meeting at such a time and such a place as would suit the convenience of the working classes of this town (hear).

Thanks were voted to the Chairman, and the meeting broke up, after giving three cheers for Free Trade.

REGISTRATION APPEALS.

PARIENTE v. LUCKETT.

Mr. Wellsby for the Appellant; Mr. Grove for the Respondent.

CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL.—I think the information derived by the overseers is to be thrown overboard. What the overseers thought proper to say—indeed, what they came forward to say, though they came forward as a body corporate, is of little weight, for a few overseers are not to be listened to when we are explaining a written instrument. We are to give that written instrument a reasonable construction, and not by considering any other instrument of the same nature. When there was a column following the first name, that was to be filled up with the following name. It seems to me, certainly, that this construction must follow, that you must supply the name of Joshua Pariente as it appears in the preceding column. You find the numbers two and three in the margin, and Haynes's name and Pariente's name are put in the same subject-matter of rating; there must have, therefore, been some sense in Pariente's name being put there. It must have had some meaning, and I conceive it could have had no other than that of supplying the blank in the column in the same way as Haynes's name, and applying it to the same subject-matter to which they are both rated. Therefore they ought to be restored.

Mr. JUSTICE MAULE.—With respect to the first rate, it is conceded that the person rated has done all to enable him to come within the 30th section of the 2d William IV, chapter 45. That section gives this benefit to the claimant upon his doing all that is required without anything being done in compliance with it. Then with respect to the subsequent rates, the question is, whether the claimant is rated? That is to be decided by looking at the rate, without looking to anything that was said by one of the overseers; for the overseers said they put his name on the rate in consequence of his claim, but without any intention to rate him for anything. They might have done all they did without any intention to rate him; they might have had an intention to do as much, and he would have no right to complain against them for not doing what they had done; yet they might have had no intention to confer any franchise which he wished to have. Whatever their intention was, they have done their duty when they might not have had an intention to do it. It is lucky for them to have done what they did, though they might have had an intention of omitting to do what they were bound to do, though it was done *foro conscientia*; they may have this consolation, they have not done the mischief they intended to do. The opinion of a witness with respect to what is the proper effect of a written instrument, is clearly admissible; and it seems to me the whole thing is otherwise beyond doubt, for the construction of the document is very plain. The barrister seems to have been actuated by an anxiety to do justice between the parties, and has done something he ought not to have done.

The rest of the court concurred. Decision reversed.

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TWENTY TRACTS AND SPEECHES ON FREE
TRADE. By Earl DECK, Messrs. VILLIERS, CORDEN, PRIOR, GIBSON,
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Any of the above may be had at 6s. per 100.

*Jessop, T. and Sons, Pond Works	..	50	0	0
*A Friend, per Edward Smith	..	20	0	0
*Drabble and Sanderson, Spring-street	..	10	0	0
*Birks, Thomas, Pond-street	..	10	0	0
*Anti, Curry	..	10	0	0
*Parker, S. and Son, Broom Grove	..	10	0	0
*Thompson, Corden, M.D., Norfolk-st.	..	10	0	0
*Appleby, Charles, The Mount	..	8	0	0
*Wall, James, The Hills	..	5	0	0
*Hutton, W. and Son, High-street	..	5	0	0
*Hawthornth, J. W., Arundel-street	..	5	0	0
*Leader, R., jun., Independent Office	..	5	0	0
*Nanson, E. and J., Bridge-street	..	5	0	0
*Peace, Charles, Eagle Works	..	5	0	0
*Spear, Messrs. & Jackson, Saville Works	..	5	0	0
*Mappin, Josh., Norfolk-street	..	5	0	0
*Wostenholm, G., Rockingham-street	..	5	0	0
*Walker and Wall, Exchange-street	..	5	0	0
*Carr, John, Paradise-square	..	5	0	0
*Stevenson, J., Allen-street	..	3	0	0
*Smith, Wm., jun., Bank-street	..	2	2	0
*Frith, Peter, Arundel-street	..	2	0	0
*Leader, Robert, Pitmoor	..	2	0	0
*Ashton, Richard, South-street	..	2	0	0
*Hobson, Josh., Arundel-street	..	2	0	0
*Hoebuck, Jonathan, Saville-street	..	2	0	0
*Roberts and Mettman, Barker Pool	..	2	0	0
*A Friend, Townhead-street	..	1	0	0
*Moore, Samuel, Woodside	..	1	0	0
*Ballans, J. N., Angel-street	..	1	0	0
*Frost, Samuel, Broad-lane	..	1	0	0
*Liddell, E., Bank-street	..	1	0	0
*Brookes, W. and Son, Rockingham-st.	..	1	0	0
*Davenport, Brothers, 12, Rockingham-st.	..	1	0	0
*Thompson, E., Union-street	..	1	0	0
*Merritt and Roberts, Duke-street	..	1	0	0
*Atkin, Henry, Howard-street	..	1	0	0
*Lingley, J. and Sons, Wicker	..	1	0	0
*Parker and Linley, Union-street	..	1	0	0
*Wilks, T. and Co., Eagle Foundry, Park	..	1	0	0
*Parkes, David, Charles-street	..	1	0	0
*Brown, James, Division-street	..	1	0	0
*Smith, Josephus, 14, South-street	..	1	0	0
*Steer, W., Castle Fields	..	1	0	0
*Hall, J., 31, High-street	..	1	0	0
*Darby, John, 10, Cavendish-street	..	1	0	0
*Turner, John, Harvest-lane	..	0	8	5
*Innocent, John, Campo-lane	..	0	5	0
*Omixon	..	0	5	0
*Ashmore, James, South-street	..	0	5	0
*Oakes, H., do	..	0	5	0
*Dalson, G., Wellington-street	..	0	5	0
*J. B.	..	0	5	0
*Cadman, John, South-street	..	0	4	0
*Hall, S., Bright-street	..	0	4	0
*Morforth, J. at S. Frost's, Broad-lane	..	0	4	0
*Smith, H., Occupation-road	..	0	4	0
*Taylor, Brothers, Burnt-tree-lane	..	0	3	0
*Davy, J. S., Bridgehouses	..	0	2	6
*Ryalls, John, do	..	0	2	6
*Beckett, Alfred, Osborne-street	..	0	2	6
*Hoyle and Goddard, do	..	0	2	6
*Raynor, J., Harvey-lane	..	0	2	6
*Oakes, M., do	..	0	2	6
*A Friend to the League	..	0	2	6
*Wheelhouse, J., Occupation-road	..	0	2	6
*Mason, W., Campo-lane	..	0	2	6
*Symmons, S., do	..	0	2	6
*Greenwood, C., do	..	0	2	6
*Wright, David, do	..	0	2	6
*Copley, R., do	..	0	2	6
*A Friend, Townhead-street	..	0	2	6
*A Friend, South-street	..	0	2	6
*Walton, David, do	..	0	2	6
*W. B., Wellington-street	..	0	2	6
*Goddall, W. A., South-street	..	0	2	0
*Atkinson, C., do	..	0	2	0
*Small Sums	..	0	6	6

Sheffield.

Leeds.

Kirkcaldy &
vicinity.

	*Lupton, Arthur, North-street	..	50	0	0
	*Hammond, Messrs., and Son, Lowfold	..	20	0	0
	*Taylor, Messrs., Wordsworth and Co., Holbeck, near	..	20	0	0
	*Austin, Joseph, Albion-street	..	10	0	0
	*Scholefield, Wm. Mill-hill	..	8	0	0
	*King, Edward, Albion-street	..	5	0	0
	*Heycock, Edwin, Park-square	..	5	0	0
	*Newton, Messrs., and Taylor, Water-ls	..	5	0	0
	*Herries, Robert, East-street	..	2	2	0
	*Wickstead, Rev. Chas., Blenheim-square	..	2	2	0
	*Dickinson, R. C., Cookridge-street	..	2	2	0
	*Dickinson, T. S., do	..	2	2	0
	*Hetherington and Thompson, Steander	..	2	2	0
	*Foster, Messrs., and Dary, Hunslet	..	2	0	0
Leeds.	*Asquith, W., Bagby	..	1	1	0
	*Collett, Messrs. & Brown, Basinghall-st	..	1	1	0
	*Bro, Joseph, St. Paul's-street	..	1	1	0
	*England, G. W., Commercial-street	..	1	1	0
	*Mortimer, Messrs. and Co., Mortimer-st	..	1	1	0
	*Neil, John, Dock-street	..	1	1	0
	*Kirk, John, Meadow-lane	..	1	1	0
	*Wood, John, Colbourn-street	..	1	1	0
	*Smith, John, 16, Briggate	..	1	1	0
	*Parkinson, J. spirit merchant, Yeadon, nr	..	1	0	0
	*Parkinson, Thomas, do	..	1	0	0
	*Bley, Joseph, Bentham Park	..	1	0	0
	*Gault, Jonas, and Son, Wortley, near	..	1	0	0
	*Gilston, James, Briggate	..	1	0	0
		*Scates, Rev. Thomas, York-place	..	0	10	6
	*Napier, Jacob, Elmwood-terrace	..	0	10	0
	*Fergus, J.	....	80	0	0
	*Swan, P. D.	....	40	0	0
	*Aytoun, James	....	20	0	0
	*Anderson, George	....	20	0	0
	*Laudale, David	....	20	0	0
	*Russell, Alexander, and Son	....	20	0	0
	*Lockhart, Nisiam, and Sons	....	15	0	0
	*Hutchison, Robert, and Co.	....	10	0	0
	*Bowie, James, of Balbie	....	10	0	0
	*Russell, William, and Co.	....	10	0	0
	*McDonald, Archibald	....	5	5	0
	*Wotherspoon, William, and Son	....	4	0	0
	*Beveridge, Mrs. George, Dysart	....	4	0	0
	*Heron, Robert, and Co.	....	3	0	0
	*Greig, Peter	....	3	0	0
	*Melie, Thomas, and Sons	....	3	0	0
	*Ireland, James, and Co.	....	2	0	0
	*Ray, T. and J.	....	2	0	0
Kirkcaldy & vicinity.	*Sharp, James	....	2	0	0
	*Henderson, D. W.	....	2	0	0
	*Lornie, John	....	1	0	0
	*Anderson, John	....	1	0	0
	*Russell, John, spirit dealer	....	1	0	0
	*Anderson, Thomas	....	1	0	0
	*Henderson, Robert	....	1	0	0
	*Stenhouse, Andrew	....	1	0	0
	Galloway, James, Baker-st., Clairtown	..	0	10	0
	Smith, John	..	0	8	0
	Williams, Andrew, Lochty Bleachfield	..	0	5	0
	Rigney, Martin	....	0	1	0
	Gow, Alexander	....	0	4	0
	Kinnmonth, William	....	0	4	0
	Smith, Philip	....	0	4	0
	Hutchison, Alexander	....	0	4	0
	Smith, Mrs.	....	0	4	0
	Ferguson, John	....	0	4	0
	Stewart, Robert	....	0	4	0
	Whyte, Thomas	....	0	4	0
	Hutchings, W.	....	0	2	0

General near Leeds.	*Burnley, Thomas	10	0	0
	*Thornton, Benjamin	10	0	0
	*Bewthorpe, Wm. and Sons	10	0	0
	*Sawley, J. and E. and Co.	6	0	0
	*Hoskins, William	5	0	0
	*Hoskins, J. and F. Birkenshaw, near	5	0	0
	*Hoskins, Fish and Co.	4	0	0
	*Hoskins, J. and F. Birkenshaw, near	2	0	0
	*Hoskins, Birkenshaw and Co.	1	4	0
	*Hoskins, J. and F. Birkenshaw, near	1	0	0
Kilnburn, in the town-ship of Lockwood, &c.	*Taylor, Joshua	1	0	0
	*Hoskins, John and Son	1	0	0
	*Johnston, Josiah	1	0	0
	*Hoskins, Thomas	0	10	0
	*A Friend, per Wm. Crowther	0	8	0
	*Hoskins, Samuel	0	8	0
	*Hoskins, Thomas	0	4	0
	*Smith, Josiah	0	4	0
	*Ellis, Benjamin	0	4	0
	*Steele, John	0	4	0
Barnsley District.	*Kershaw, Samuel	0	4	0
	*Hoskins, Henry, Birkenshaw, near	0	4	0
	*Sandilands	0	6	0
	*Sutton, J. Messrs. J. and Son	1	4	0
	*Senior, Matthew and Sons	1	4	0
	*Sutton, J. William, jun.	1	0	0
	*Sutton, J. Messrs. John and Son	1	0	0
	*Sutton, J. William, sen.	0	12	0
	*Sutton, J. Jeremiah	0	12	0
	*Walker, James	0	12	0
Boston.	*Sutton, J. George	0	6	0
	*Sutton, J. John, jun.	0	6	0
	*Oddy, Chris., sen.	0	6	0
	*Sutton, J. Samuel	0	4	0
	*Ritchards, John	0	4	0
	*Barby, John	0	4	0
	*An Enemy to Monopoly, per Mr. Harvey	2	0	0
	*Hindle, W. James	1	0	0
	*Jubb, George, Thurgoland	1	0	0
	*Poles, William, Wentworth	1	0	0
Ricardo, Ralph, and Sons, Champion Hill, Camberwell	*Biran, B.	0	10	0
	*Beardshall, W., jun.	0	10	0
	*Cooper, Henry	0	8	0
	*Henderson, Joseph	0	6	0
	*Moore, Francis	0	5	0
	*Steele, Erasmus, jun.	0	5	0
	*Benson, John	0	5	0
	*Hart, Charles	0	5	0
	*Hart, John	0	5	0
	*Mann, James	0	5	0
St. James's, London.	*Helding, Francis	0	5	0
	*Jackson, Josiah	0	5	0
	*Cooper, Henry	0	5	0
	*Green, Thomas	0	4	0
	*Baldwin, Joseph	0	4	0
	*Bark, W.	0	2	6
	*Sandilands	0	4	0
	*Stevenson, Robert	1	0	0
	*Gibson, John, South-place	1	0	0
	*Darby, C. H., High-street	1	0	0
St. James's, London.	*Morrison, John, Market-place	1	0	0
	*Howdon, W., engineer	1	0	0
	*Baker, W., Worgate	0	10	0
	*Sharp, T., Witham Town	0	5	0
	*Smith, J., fellmonger	0	5	0
	*Whitson, A.	0	2	6
	*Mouna n, H., musician	0	2	6
	*Ricardo, Ralph, and Sons, Champion Hill, Camberwell	20	0	0
	*Baker, G., 4, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52, 54, 56, 58, 60, 62, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 90, 92, 94, 96, 98, 100, 102, 104, 106, 108, 110, 112, 114, 116, 118, 120, 122, 124, 126, 128, 130, 132, 134, 136, 138, 140, 142, 144, 146, 148, 150, 152, 154, 156, 158, 160, 162, 164, 166, 168, 170, 172, 174, 176, 178, 180, 182, 184, 186, 188, 190, 192, 194, 196, 198, 200, 202, 204, 206, 208, 210, 212, 214, 216, 218, 220, 222, 224, 226, 228, 230, 232, 234, 236, 238, 240, 242, 244, 246, 248, 250, 252, 254, 256, 258, 260, 262, 264, 266, 268, 270, 272, 274, 276, 278, 280, 282, 284, 286, 288, 290, 292, 294, 296, 298, 300, 302, 304, 306, 308, 310, 312, 314, 316, 318, 320, 322, 324, 326, 328, 330, 332, 334, 336, 338, 340, 342, 344, 346, 348, 350, 352, 354, 356, 358, 360, 362, 364, 366, 368, 370, 372, 374, 376, 378, 380, 382, 384, 386, 388, 390, 392, 394, 396, 398, 400, 402, 404, 406, 408, 410, 412, 414, 416, 418, 420, 422, 424, 426, 428, 430, 432, 434, 436, 438, 440, 442, 444, 446, 448, 450, 452, 454, 456, 458, 460, 462, 464, 466, 468, 470, 472, 474, 476, 478, 480, 482, 484, 486, 488, 490, 492, 494, 496, 498, 500, 502, 504, 506, 508, 510, 512, 514, 516, 518, 520, 522, 524, 526, 528, 530, 532, 534, 536, 538, 540, 542, 544, 546, 548, 550, 552, 554, 556, 558, 560, 562, 564, 566, 568, 570, 572, 574, 576, 578, 580, 582, 584, 586, 588, 590, 592, 594, 596, 598, 600, 602, 604, 606, 608, 610, 612, 614, 616, 618, 620, 622, 624, 626, 628, 630, 632, 634, 636, 638, 640, 642, 644, 646, 648, 650, 652, 654, 656, 658, 660, 662, 664, 666, 668, 670, 672, 674, 676, 678, 680, 682, 684, 686, 688, 690, 692, 694, 696, 698, 700, 702, 704, 706, 708, 710, 712, 714, 716, 718, 720, 722, 724, 726, 728, 730, 732, 734, 736, 738, 740, 742, 744, 746, 748, 750, 752, 754, 756, 758, 760, 762, 764, 766, 768, 770, 772, 774, 776, 778, 780, 782, 784, 786, 788, 790, 792, 794, 796, 798, 800, 802, 804, 806, 808, 810, 812, 814, 816, 818, 820, 822, 824, 826, 828, 830, 832, 834, 836, 838, 840, 842, 844, 846, 848, 850, 852, 854, 856, 858, 860, 862, 864, 866, 868, 870, 872, 874, 876, 878, 880, 882, 884, 886, 888, 890, 892, 894, 896, 898, 900, 902, 904, 906, 908, 910, 912, 914, 916, 918, 920, 922, 924, 926, 928, 930, 932, 934, 936, 938, 940, 942, 944, 946, 948, 950, 952, 954, 956, 958, 960, 962, 964, 966, 968, 970, 972, 974, 976, 978, 980, 982, 984, 986, 988, 990, 992, 994, 996, 998, 1000			

George Thomas	£250	0	0
Joseph Eaton	250	0	0
Edward Thomas	250	0	0
William Tohill	250	0	0
Edward Kidd	100	0	0
Nash and Co.	100	0	0
James Clark	100	0	0
Thomas Sanders	100	0	0
William D. Willis	100	0	0
H. O. Willis	100	0	0
J. S. Fry and Sons	100	0	0
Alfred Thomas	100	0	0
Charles Tohill and Co.	50	0	0
Robert Bruce	50	0	0
James Jenkins	50	0	0
Harman Visger	50	0	0
S. P. Jackson	50	0	0
Samuel Long and Sons	50	0	0
Thomas Frupp and Thomas	50	0	0
Barnes, Staples, and Co.	50	0	0
A Friend, per G. Thomas	50	0	0
George Jones	50	0	0
Wm. Terrell and Sons	50	0	0
Robert Charleton	25	0	0
W. H. Somerton	25	0	0
Francis Tuckett	25	0	0
Philip D. Tuckett	25	0	0
Joseph Rake	25	0	0
Daniel Wheeler	25	0	0
John B. Estlin	25	0	0
James Hall	21	0	0
A Friend per G. Thomas	10	0	0
A Friend	10	0	0
William Butler	10	0	0
Joseph Reynolds	£30	0	0
Thomas Reynolds	25	0	0
Henry Tuckett	25	0	0
Thomas Rankin & Son	25	0	0
Received since the Meeting.			
T. and H. J. Mills	£10	0	0
William Knowles	5	0	0
Thomas Bale	2	10	0

LEICESTER SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following gentlemen have signified their intention of subscribing the amounts which appear attached to their respective names:

£	s.	£	s.
Riehl, Harris and Sons	500	0	0
John Biggs and Sons	500	0	0
T. Stokes and Nephews	200	0	0
Brewin and Whetstone	200	0	0
Joseph Fielding	100	0	0
J. Ellis and Son	100	0	0
Whetstone and Gittens	50	0	0
D. Orange and Co.	50	0	0
N. Corah and Sons	50	0	0
Charles Billson	50	0	0
Thomas Biggs	50	0	0
Alfred Burgess	50	0	0
Stone and Paget	50	0	0
N. Westermann	50	0	0
R. Carter and Son	50	0	0
Joseph Underwood	50	0	0
R. Marston and Co.	50	0	0
Frisby and Chawner	50	0	0
C. Bedells and Co.	50	0	0
Thos. Sunderland	25	0	0
Fielding and Hay	25	0	0
Hull and Shenton	25	0	0
John Baines	25	0	0
R. and G. Toller	25	0	0
Jos. Cripps	25	0	0
Higgins and Coleman	20	0	0
T. Sargeant and Sons	20	0	0
W. K. Eames	20	0	0
Rev. G. Legge, LL.D.	10	10	0
E. Newton	10	0	0
Hiffe and Breward	10	0	0
William Bates	10	0	0
Rev. C. Berry	10	0	0
Mr. Clarkson	10	0	0
Charles Bowmer	10	0	0
J. and J. Harvey	10	0	0
T. and W. Archer	10	0	0
Joseph Swain	5	0	0
T. Thompson and Son	5	0	0
J. Burton and G. Small	5	0	0
Geo. Vicars and Son	5	0	0
Samuel Baines	5	0	0
W. and G. Baines	5	0	0
Robert Palmer	5	0	0
J. W. Noble, M.B.	10	0	0
J. Whitmore	10	0	0
S. Kirby	10	0	0
C. B. Robinson	10	0	0
T. Paget	10	0	0
J. and G. Thorp	10	0	0
W. E. Hutchinson	10	0	0

THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

The Council have, we believe, determined upon advertising upon a somewhat extensive scale the promised subscriptions to the League Fund, and to continue the same at intervals, in order to show the progress of the fund towards completion. To do this effectually, they seek the assistance of the local committees and treasurers, who have been requested to send a list of all the subscribers up to the present period, and to continue the same from time to time till all have appeared.

These lists, it may be well to state, are to contain only the gross amounts promised, and have no reference whatever to the instalments, which should be forwarded separately.

A few additions to the list of treasurers have been made since last we published it, which we subjoin:

Andover—James Baker, Esq., Prospect House.	Ashton-under-Lyne—Thomas Mason, Esq.	Aylesbury—J. P. R. Payne, Esq.	Alwicks—Thos. Duncan, Esq.	Ayr—J. Kinross, Esq.	Aman—Alex. Doumie, Esq.	Amersham—E. West, Esq.	Barnstaple—Mr. Jos. Tite, Cleham Mill.	Bath—Admiral Gordon, R.N., Nelson-place, Norfolk-cres-cent.	Barnsley—J. S. Parkinson, Esq., Linen manufacturer.	Belper—Mr. J. W. Hancock.	Bromsgrove—W. A. Greening, Esq.	Bridgewater—William Brown, Esq.	Burton-on-Trent—J. N. Hanson, Esq.	Bristol—George Thomas, Esq., Great George-street, street.	Burnley—Geo. Wolgate, Esq., jun.	Bridport—J. P. Stephens, Esq.	Barnard Castle—Mr. Wm. Runc, Horse Market.	Brighton—Isaac Gray Bess, Esq.	Bury—James Kay, Esq., woollen manufacturer.	Boston—Mr. Robert Stevenson.	Bolton—John Deon, Esq., Silverwell House.	Clackhoughton—Geo. Anderson, Esq.	Cambridge—Chas. Newby, Esq., 55, Regent-street.	Credford, Devon—Edward Day, Esq.	Crayford, Kent—Henry Gould, Esq.	Caliside—J. Forster, Esq., Coldewgate.	Colne—Mr. T. T. England.	Chorley—Mr. James Wallwork.	Charnham—Henry Norton, Esq.	Chapel-en-le-Frith—J. Carrington, Esq.	Conington—J. Broadhurst, Esq.	Canarvon—William Turner, Esq., jun.	Devonport—Samuel Oram, Esq., Market street.	Derby—Messrs. Boden and Morley.
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Dundee—Edward Baxter, Esq.	Doncaster—Mr. Robert Milner.	Dunbar—James Wilson, Esq., Belhaven.	Dartmouth—Nash Clark, Esq.	Darlington—Charles Green, Esq.	Dunfermline—Mr. R. Robertson, Draper.	Edinburgh—Messrs. Arch. Thomson and Co., 255 High-street.	Exeter—Mr. Samuel Maunder.	Eynsford, Kent—Mr. H. Rogers.	Falkirk—John Smith, Esq., Writer.	Forfar—Mr. Wm. Sturrock.	Gateshead—Geo. Crawshaw, Esq.	Garstang—Dr. Bell, Chapel-street.	Glossop—John Kershaw, Esq.	Gloucester—Samuel Bowly, Esq.	Horsham—James Agate, Esq., North Parade.	Halifax—Mr. Thomas Denton, Old Market.	Hinckley—Mr. Thos. Payne.	Holywell—Thos. Mather, Esq., Glyn Abbot.	Hastings—Mr. Thos. Ross, jun.	Hazel Grove—Mr. T. Whannely.	Huddersfield—Foster Shaw, Esq.	Hull—Joseph Jones, Esq.	Hawick, N.B.—Mr. George Easton.	Idle, near Bradford, Yorkshire—Mr. Wm. Russell.	Liverpool—Donald Frazer, Esq., jun.	Jedburgh—Geo. Hilson, Esq., Manufacturer.	Kendal—Geo. Chanley, Esq.	Kelso—Mr. Alexander Dodds, Grocer.	Knarborough—Mr. Thos. Addyman, High-street.	Keighley—J. Craven, Esq., worsted spinner.	Kirkcaldy—Mr. Robt. Bryson.	Knutsford—Henry Long, Esq.	London—A. W. Paulton, Esq., at the offices of the League 67, Fleet street.	Luton—James Waller, Esq., merchant.	Leek—Thos. Birch, Esq.	Lancaster—George Jackson, Esq.	Leicester—J. D. Harris, Esq.	Leighton Buzzard—Thomas Price, Esq., Newtown.	Leominster—Mr. J. V. Chilcott.	Landport, &c.—Mr. Thos. Ross.	Lichfield—Dr. Rowley, M.D.	Liverpool—Jas. Mullineaux, Esq., John Taylor Crook, Esq.	Leeds—Samuel Birehall, Esq., woolstapler.	Maesteg, near Bridgend, Glamorganshire—Mr. Jos. Crayne.	Manchester—Mr. James Jones, at the offices of the League, 5, Newall's-buildings, Market-street.	Maidenhead—Mr. Thomas Woodcock, draper.	Maidstone—Richard Nemes, Esq., 109, Week street.	Maldon—G. W. Digby, Esq.	Middleton, near Manchester—Mr. Daniel Burton.	Montrose—Mr. John Muckart.	Mottam—Mr. Saml. Oldham.	Mitcham and Tooting, Surrey—Mr. Richd. Aitken.	Newcastle-upon-Tyne—George Crawshaw, Esq., and Mr. Daniel Liddell, Carlisle-street.	Nantwich—Mr. Philip Barker.	Newcastle-under-Lyne—Mr. Elias Shaw.	New Mills—John Yates, Esq.	Oldham—John Platt, Esq., Hartford Ironworks.	Osselt, near Wakefield—Mr. Frank Fearnside.	Potters, The—Francis Wedgwood, Esq.	Poole—G. R. Penney, Esq.	Pontefract—Mr. W. Kidd, news agent.	Pateley Bridge—Mr. R. Haiker.	Plymouth—Jno. Symons, Esq., Kintburg-st.	Reigate—Mr. Thomas Damm.	Ramsgate—Mr. Henry Scott, 57, Queen-street.	Salisbury—Jas. Lambert, Esq.	Sevenoaks, Kent—John Clark, Esq.	St. Columb—Mr. W. Brown, 3, Fair-street.	Scarborough—Isaac Stickney, Esq.	Sheffield—William Hargreaves, Esq., Merchant.	Skipton—J. B. Dewhurst, Esq.	Southport—Richard Johnson, Esq.	Stockport—Mr. J. Heginbotham, Millgate.	Sichow, Monmouthshire—Rev. Richard Jones.	South Shields—Mr. James Bell.	Stourbridge—Mr. E. Baylie.	Stroud—Mr. John S. Cobb.	Swaffham and West Norfolk—Arthur Morse, Esq., Swaff-ham.	Swansea—Mr. Joseph Rutter.	Stroud—Mr. T. Parsons.	Stirling, Robert Smith, Esq.	Sunderland—Mr. Edward C. Robson, Frederic-street, Bishopwearmouth.	Stockton-on-Tees—J. B. Clepham, Esq.	Shepton Mallett—W. Richardson, Esq., Woodbourne Cot-tage.	Staleybridge—Henry Bayley, Esq.	Sudbury—Colonel Addison.	St. Austell—The Rev. Jas. Cepe.	Todmorden—W. Haworth, Esq., North View.	Tewkesbury—Mr. Benjamin Harris.	Thetford—Mr. Henry Brown.	Warrminster—Mr. H. Hastings.	Wednesbury—Benjamin Pound, Esq.	Wareham—J. Pike, Esq., Merchant.	Westbury—N. Overbury, Esq.	Wigan—Thomas Taylor, Esq., Spinner, and Mr. Thomas Wall, Bookseller.	Wirksworth—Mr. B. Street, White Lion Inn.	Wakefield—Charles Morton, Esq., Whitwood Colliery.	Whitchurch—Mr. Richard Thomas.	Weymouth—Mr. Charles Pope.	Westbromwich—J. Spittle, Esq.	York—Thomas Swales, Esq., Lawrence-street.	Yarmouth—Mr. John Fish, Denes.
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Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE.—We understand that a requisition was forwarded to this gentleman on Saturday last, signed by many of the leading members of the Conservative and Liberal parties in Wigan, requesting him to allow himself to be placed in nomination as a candidate for the borough, in the place of the Hon. Mr. Lindsay, who has resigned. It is generally expected that Mr Gladstone will accept this invitation, and that he will be returned without opposition.—*Liverpool Times*.

The Duke of Newcastle has addressed another letter to "his countrymen." His grace's plea for doing so is the "encouragement" he received on the former occasion. The subject of the present letter is the downfall of our agricultural system. It is a "very melancholy and gentlemanlike" production, and is well calculated to "raise the waters" in the eyes of the British yeomanry.

A GLANCE AT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

By REUBEN.

Last Monday was a cold, ill-tempered day. Towards four o'clock, as the Lords and Commons of England, not already within the walls of Parliament on railway committees, came down Parliament-street and passed Westminster Hall, some to the entrance to the House of Commons, and others to the doorway of "another place," some riding in the storm, with spurred and booted grooms after them, as if they were going to "another place," farther off than the House of either Lords or Commons; some cabbed and covered up, with outside tigers holding on their laced hats, and laced hats refusing to be held on; some coming along the foot-pavement on such conveyances as nature gave them, of whom the Prime Minister was one; but even he, stepping out to escape the coming storm, which had gathered wind, rain, hail, chimney-pots, tiles, plaster, glass, straw and dust, and was about to hurl them on the heads of every man, woman, child, and member of Parliament within reach—a kind of atmospheric Ferrand; even the Prime Minister, seeing what was to come, walked faster than his usually solid, grave, dignified pace. Such, at four o'clock on Monday afternoon, was the weather in Westminster, as the collective wisdom of the nation was collecting through the different channels of the West-end, but directly through Parliament-street.

It is at all times a sight worth seeing, that of the arrival at the doors of Parliament of the picked men of the nation. How oddly they come! how oddly they look! Now the tall man, now the short one. Now a venerable gray beard; and now a beardless bread-and-butter looking boy—*boys* I should say; for the number of Parliamentary youths astonishes the stranger more than anything he will see or hear in the house. Now there is the dark-featured, strong-bodied borderer, Sir James Graham; and now the tall, sprightly Sydney Herbert, of Wiltshire. A Lord Something, of brief stature, with hunch back and white gloves, is followed by some other lord, whom every on-looker at once declares to be a fine specimen of an Englishman. But both are Englishmen, and what of it? Both have votes in the house, and both are the nominees of one duke.

But Monday was a day upon which the members passed into the house almost without criticism—an uncommon thing, certainly; but it was a day upon which country stragglers in London, who usually form four-fifths of the line of critics on the opposite pavement, could not keep their places, as the wind and Westminster Abbey raved and roared over that particular part of the street, as if they would close and grapple, and the one throw the other down. They did come to blows, but the Abbey only shook itself, and tossed the storm into the street below—in which, while I was there, on my way to the House of Commons, to try to obtain an entrance to the Speaker's gallery, it seemed to be playing a kind of overture to the performances which were afterwards to be witnessed within the house, as if in anticipation of who were to speak, and of their manner of speaking.

There was the bitter gust, whistling from all points of the compass, insinuating itself into every street, lane, alley, and spider's hole; now buffeting the lords on the back who might happen to be passengers, and then smiting poorer men in the face, biting the very noses of the cabmen as if it would be satisfied if it could bite a nose off. Now whizzing round the cold bronze of Caning's statue, now rushing upon the pavement opposite, as if it would take the official papers out of Sir Robert Peel's pocket, and then whistling among his feet, as if it would trip him up, because he held the papers fast. The scowling cloud which gave forth this gust, and which, to look at, was enough to make ordinary mortals feel that nothing but bitterness could come out of it,—this weather-sour fraction of discontented nature played in the overture an epitome of what Mr. Ben D'Israeli had been, and was again to be that night.

Again the wind would cease, and all nature would seem to be empty for a space—as empty as some gambler's pocket; then, in a moment, the storm was high again, raised as suddenly as a gambler "raises the wind." Once more it would be dead still, and again it would move and stop, and rush on and turn the corners and come back again, and wheeze inharmoniously, as if it were fore-shadowing even at greater length and with more precision than an overture foreshadows an operatic performance, the inharmonious sentences of the forthcoming speeches of the new orator, Lord George Bentinck.

Again the gale would recommence loudly, and continue loud yet unstable in its noise, softening where it was expected to be strong, bursting with strength where one expected to hear it soft, as if it were already re-echoing George Banks, who was not yet on his feet.

The rain came on and poured, as if the tempest had

taken the Thames from its bed to carry it away, and the Thames was not willing to go any farther. I listened no longer to the elemental strife. It had been announced that the Speaker was at prayers, which announcement opened the doors of the committee-rooms as a knife cuts the straw band of a potato sack, and straightway there came rolling out upon the street dozens and scores of railway witnesses, engineers, attorneys, barristers, clerks, and reporters. I went to look for some member who might oblige me by obtaining a Speaker's order, and though not fortunate enough to see one for nearly an hour and a half, a gentleman who has more than once been kind enough to put himself to some trouble to obtain this favour for me did so again.

The time was not lost. Indeed, I know of no other spot in London, or out of it, where an hour or two may be more agreeably, usefully—I might say philosophically—employed than in the lobbies of the House of Commons, through which the members are passing in and out, and in again every minute; and in which persons are standing in rows waiting to see their own member, or some one known to them, to get an order, or to deliver a message, or a letter, or a petition, or some papers which are to cram, as a silkworm is crammed with mulberry leaves, some George Banks or Lord George Bentinck, who is to spin a silk-yarn speech, and has not got the material all at hand from which to make the speech.

Standing in the lobby for an hour or two with a companion, such observations as the following were exchanged:

"That gentleman carrying the black leather box in his hand, who is he?" "Do you mean that genteel man, slender, rather young, with light coloured hair?" "Yes." That is a member of the Government, Mr. Cardwell. He will perhaps speak to-night if he is not too hoarse; but he has got a bad cold. He is a good speaker, and has the promise of a statesman in him."

"Some of those men standing near that door are weavers, or pretended weavers, from Spitalfields. The silk question is expected to come on to-night if there is not too much debate on the items of the tariff before silk. We shall very probably see Lord George Bentinck, or Peter Borthwick, or D'Israeli, or George Banks, or perhaps old Spooner of Birmingham, or Squire Newdegate, of Warwickshire, come and speak to them; they have sent into the house for somebody. I heard of a lady some time ago; she is the wife of one of the members of a borough, not over sixty miles from here; she has a certain kind of regard for the poor, and visits them in their own houses. Her chief object is to teach them not to waste anything, and particularly not to waste the skins of the potatoes; to show, that though a lady, she can eat a potato with nothing but salt to it, and very little of that; she eats a potato at their dinner table, with just the least thing in life of salt to it; and to show that poor people may eat the potato skins, she eats the potato with the skin on it. Now, those kid-gloved lords—here is Lord George Bentinck; that is he in white gloves; rather a good-looking man when his hat is on; he is well whiskered, which shows favourably as he stands now; but he has an indifferent head, so far as the intellectual or moral power of it are indicated, which you can see when his hat is off. Those lords in kid gloves, hunting after the Spitalfields weavers, remind me of the lady who eats the skins of the potato; she, submitting to a kind of gastronomic martyrdom for five minutes out of the twenty-four hours; they, opening their mouths to be crammed with the statistics of the silk-trade and the sorrows of poor men, 'for this night only.' The lady could no more digest a meal of potato skins, day after day, than could those men who have suddenly become the weavers' advocates, take in, understand, and intellectually digest, the statistics of the silk trade. It is a mere sham. The only thing in their favour is, that they have not intellectual capacity enough to know when they are blundering, as we shall hear if we get into the house to-night, and the house should get as far through the tariff as the article silk."

"What reason have you for saying those are not real weavers?"

"I do not say but they have been weavers. I call them pretended weavers, because they pretend to represent the weavers, and they only represent a few, and these not the most intelligent or most industrious. Moreover, they are not working men at present. They are in the pay of the corn monopolists to get up opposition to the Free Trade scheme of Sir Robert Peel. At the meeting held lately at Bremhill, in Wiltshire, where so many labourers and their wives attended, and told how poorly they were paid, how poorly fed, poorly lodged, and poorly clothed, one of these pretended Spitalfields men attended from London, sent down by agents of the monopolists here, and endeavoured to draw the attention of

the poor people there from the question of large loaf or little loaf, to that of machinery. He insisted that it was the threshing mills that had caused the misery of Wiltshire; and the blockhead said *that*, not knowing that threshing mills were very little in use. But the people shouted—"No, it ben't the machines; it be the Corn Laws that make little trade, little wages, and little loaves of bread. Don't come to tell we that we have nothing to do with the Corn Laws; we has more to do with 'em than any body, for we live on bread, and get nothing but bread!" And they at last drew him from the platform, and told him that they were determined to act peacefully, and not to be led by the like of him into mischief, to break machines, and get themselves hung, or transported. So the man decamped. But within a few days, he was at a meeting at Birmingham, and in a few days after at a meeting at Macclesfield—always in the character of a working man, and instigating the working men to follow after some other object than that which they were met about, the Corn Law. The purpose of the monopolists in paying the travelling expenses and the wages of this man to get up a crusade against the threshing-mills rather than the Corn Laws was plain enough. They were so well prepared to make use of such a perversion of the popular excitement, that two of the least discreet of them did make use of it, though it had never occurred. Mr. J. Benett, one of the members for Wiltshire, and a leading protectionist member, had been so well prepared for what had been expected to follow the employment of such agents of the Central Protection Society at Anti-Corn-Law meetings, that he could not resist the temptation of standing up in the House of Commons and accusing the League of sending persons to Bremhill to incite the Wiltshire labourers to break machinery! And the Duke of Richmond's brother, in imitation of John Benett, said the same thing, and something worse, in the House of Lords. Now there, before us, in the lobby of the House of Commons, are some of those men, speaking to, and feeding, and cramming, as they would pigeons with peas, the members who are getting off the parts of poor men's friends for a night or two, that they, the said members, who are getting off the parts, may, under cover of this new disguise, continue to pick the national pocket and the weaver's cupboard.

"Why have those weavers, or pretended weavers, or whatever they may be, not given information to the monopolist members before this time? This does not seem a convenient place for such business."

"No doubt they have before. But they have come now to get into the gallery, and have perhaps brought something which was forgotten before."

We read of an animal which can be schooled to betray its fellows into a snare, by lavishing a spurious affection on them. This animal is not without excuse; it finds that its new masters have fed it better than it was fed before, and it is willing to lead as many of its kind as its arts can compass into the enjoyment of the same advantages with itself. Moreover it is not a man; it is only a four-footed beast. But there are men, the Pariah dogs of mankind, who for a bellyful to themselves will betray their fellows into the hands of those who have starved, will starve, and can only live by starving them.

Pots, pans, tin kettles, where are you all, that such dogs can go along the streets without one of you at their tails?

After passing a policeman, who asked me if the order I had was for the Speaker's or for the stranger's gallery, and being directed by him up a particular stair when I had said the Speaker's gallery, I went up that stair and another, and along a narrow passage, through a barrier, which was lifted to admit me along the passage still farther to another barrier, where the order was asked for and delivered up; then through some place wider than a mere passage, with a table in it, a chair and a stove; then through a door-way into the region of the bude lights, beneath which I could indistinctly see the Opposition benches well filled with Opposition members. A voice was speaking, which I knew to be the somewhat thin, but clear and melodious voice of Sir R. Peel. In a few minutes I got a front seat. After Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Plumptre, of Kent, rose to urge that the excise duty should be taken off hops of home growth, and that the import duty on hops of foreign growth should not be reduced. All that was said by him, and by those who followed, has been before the public since Tuesday morning; and if it had not been so there was nothing in it requiring notice from me. A division took place on this question of hops, at least I read next morning that a division took place. All I know of it is that the Speaker ordered strangers to withdraw, and that two officers of the house pushed the strangers out into the place before-mentioned, where stood one table, one chair, and a stove. It seemed to be the desire of most of them to remain as near the door as possible, to be the first to re-enter; and some to make sure of not being pushed too far out, laid hold of the

stove and burned their fingers. In this way five or six or seven minutes passed over, and the green door was opened again, and we got to our seats; some to the front, who were behind before, and some to the back seat who were in front at first.

The clerk at the table read a number of articles from the tariff list, which, with the exception of straw plait, did not cause a remark, and that very little, until the article of silk was named. Shoes, for instance, in their different varieties, were specified, but met no opposition; which was attributable, I believe, to the fact that the 240 opponents of the tariff are corn growers and not shoemakers; and partly also to the fact that the shoemakers have not gone up to the monopolist corn growers as a few of the silk weavers have done, to deliver themselves into the hands of the bread taxers, for the bread taxers' own sakes.

On the silk subject, Mr. Bankes, who moved that silk be omitted from the tariff, evinced much sympathy with the meetings of the weavers. I know a place not far from Kingston Hall, where working men would meet, but dare not (in the parish of Sturminster Marshall, Mr. Bankes's own property), where they do not earn one-half of the wages of the silk weavers, poorly paid as the weavers often are. It is an odd thing for the squire of Kingston Hall to come to Parliament as the weavers' friend. I have the authority of the medical gentleman who relates the circumstance, to publish the following:

"It is, as I may say, within the shadow of Kingston Hall that I was sent for some time ago to see the family of a working man, some of the children being ill. I was sent for as medical officer of the Poor Law Union. I am not that now; but I was then. I found the family without bedding, and almost without covering of any kind, even to lie on the floor with. I saw the husband at work in the fields, and he told me he had no money, and had none to get. His wife said the same thing. I inquired of his master, who farms a large breadth of land, near Sturminster Marshall, and he said the man was a very industrious and sober man, that he thought the family was only so poor because they did not manage well, but that he was not so badly off as he said; he had 8s. a week; this was pay day, and he had a month's wages to get—32s. I then returned, and asked the man why he had imposed on me, saying, they had no money to get anything for the children that were ill, and had no money to receive, when, in fact, he had 32s. to get that very evening. The man said it was more than he knew of if he had 32s., or any number of shillings to receive.

"I thought this very strange; and as I had time to make the inquiry, I made it. Going back to the farmer's house, I said, it is within a little of the time of paying your men; if you please I will just stay and see that man convicted of a falsehood with my own eyes; he still says he has no money to receive, and has not received any. What can the man mean?

"Why" said the farmer, he is a very good, industrious, quiet man, himself—a very good man, but they don't manage at home, some way. Our people hereabout are always running out of provisions before they get their money; and, you see, we are obliged to get credit for them. Nobody would trust them if we did not go security. So I dare say the man has some shop debt to pay with part of his wages. But come into the parlour, Sir; come in and take a glass of wine; you cannot stand all that time at the door.

"I saw the drift the matter was taking, and resolved to get to the bottom of it. I did not go in. I stood to see the men paid; and when the farmer was at last obliged to tell me that he sent his men to the shopkeeper, his brother-in-law, who paid them, I said I would go there. I did not know then, but I soon afterwards discovered that a messenger had been sent to the shopkeeper, to put him on his guard as to me. I was pressing invited into the parlour to a glass of wine, or any thing else, as at the farm-house. I declined. The result was, that the man had nothing to get; instead of 32s. to receive, he was about 15s. in debt, and had been so for a long time, after paying his month's wages.

"All the men were obliged to deal there. All were led into debt just enough to bind them to that shop. They could never get clear, consequently they had to take any articles of provision, of whatever inferior quality, at whatever extravagant prices they were offered at, and could not refuse. Moreover, they were bound to the employer by the same means, obliged to bear any insolence or oppression because they could not leave him: this debt of 15s. was as a chain upon their necks. The man said to me after leaving the shop, 'Now I have got 32s., or the worth of 32s., for my month's work? And he said he would have left that master if he could have got rid of this shop debt; but he had not been able to pay it, and he feared he never would.

"His account of losing his furniture was, that he had once resolved on seeking work with another master, and left this one. This master to prevent him,

resorted to the usual custom of sending round to the farmers a message requesting they would not employ this man. They, as is usual, in such cases, did not give him work. He was soon glad to go back and beg the pardon of this one, and seek to be taken on again, for his large family of children, and himself and wife, were starving. But no: he could get no work there; he must go into the workhouse. So to qualify the family for the workhouse, they must sell their furniture. That was sold, and the money spent; and as they were about to go to the union, the farmer came and said—'You need not go; I require a hand, and will give you work.' Had the man refused to take this work, he would have been proceeded against as a rogue and a vagabond, for refusing to maintain his wife and family. And this was his punishment for having dared to leave one master to look for another."

Now this took place within the shadow, not literally, but almost literally, of Kingston Hall, Mr. Bankes's residence. And in that part of Dorset, it is a custom notorious to everybody, that men are thus compelled to work for any master, for any wages, bearing any oppression that may be offered to them.

Next to the oddity of Mr. Bankes coming out of Dorset—and, of all places, out of the north-eastern parts of Dorset, to be a poor man's advocate in London, is that of Lord George Bentinck, who followed him in the debate, lamenting the increase of female prostitution, which would follow, he said, the increased importation of French silk dresses. But of this, no more for the present.

AGRICULTURE.

HUSBANDRY RECOVERING FROM "PROTECTION."

The practical and rational tone which all discussions on agriculture amongst farmers are now assuming, fully bears out all we have said as to the direct and immediate value of Free Trade to the business of husbandry. Lords and squires may whine and cant about their fears for farmers, or their sympathy for labourers, and may asseverate that the cultivation of land will go back, and the demand for rural labour fall off, in consequence of a Free Trade in corn, but nobody believes them. Their cry of "wolf" has been too long continued to excite any other feeling than that of pity and contempt towards such purblind politicians. Farming land become worse cultivated! Rural labour less in demand! Why, the very propositions excite a smile with those who know what is the present state of English farming, and the actual demand for agricultural labour. The land is not now half cultivated. The amount of labour employed is scarcely sufficient for a system of half cultivation. Yet there is an abundance of labour seeking, longing, begging for employment; there is capital to any amount ready to be employed in farming wherever land can be obtained on lease, free from obsolete rules, and landlord-imposed burdens. Hear what the farmers say upon this subject. Our readers are probably aware of the character Norfolk has attained for improved farming—and justly, for the average cultivation of Norfolk is high, very high, as compared with other counties—yet in Norfolk land is not nearly as well cultivated as it ought to be with a view to profitable farming; and there is generally believed to be in that county a superabundance of the agricultural population; that superabundance, however, is only apparent, for the general adoption of very moderate improvements amongst the Norfolk farmers would demonstrate that there is no superfluity of labour. And the farmers are aware of these things. A striking illustration of this is to be found in a very interesting discussion at the North Walsham Farmers' Club, which we find reported in the *Mark Lane Express*. The subject of discussion was, "On increasing the demand for labour"—a topic evidently suggested by the supposed superabundance of rural labour to which we have alluded.

The following extracts form, incidentally, complete answers to the Parliamentary harangues of the monopolists, the self-styled "farmers' friends," the professing patrons of the agricultural labourers. The first speech we find reported is that of Mr. Gower, who said:

"Of the amount of agricultural labour in East Norfolk I

cannot speak definitely, and will merely affirm that the average is low, considering the nature of the soil, which is, generally speaking, suitable to almost any rotation. I would earnestly impress the members with the belief that capital employed in labour is a most profitable investment indirectly, as well as immediately, for by increasing the means of the labourer, it enables him to buy more of the farmer's produce. I would suggest the following alterations in farm practice—green cropping and stall feeding. It is an undeniable fact, that double the quantity of stock may be maintained by feeding them in open yards, or, what is still more preferable, in covered boxes or stalls, and the extra manure thus made would amply repay the extra labour."

And he referred to his own practice, thus teaching by example:

"I would beg to refer you to our report of last year for a system of cropping. I have begun in earnest to carry out that system, and shall have a piece of rye after wheat ready for sowing at the end of next month, which I intend to follow by tares, thus securing a succession through the summer, and I think I may say that by this plan I shall employ two men and two boys extra for 26 weeks."

He then mentioned some of the obstacles to good farming, which our readers will recognise as amongst the evils we have designated as landlord-imposed burdens:

"Another important improvement and source of increased employment for the labourer is the better management of our fences, which have hitherto been great obstacles to good farming, as it is very evident they injure the crops in their vicinity, and are nurseries for weeds which are continually fouling the land. When we consider the fact, that in every 100 acres of land there are 10 in fences, it will be seen how desirable it is to do away with half of them. I may be told that the landlord may object to these alterations; but I believe this will rarely occur, as I am bound to say my experience has taught me the gratifying fact, that the landlord will always appreciate the efforts of the tenant to provide full employment for the poor. I am aware this question opens a wide field for discussion on the restrictive clauses of leases, and I do hope the enlightened spirit of the age will tend to simplify these. I do not intend to enter into this subject; but surely it would be sufficient security for the landlord if the tenant be restricted from taking two white straw crops in succession, except when the land has laid more than one year in grass, and if he be required to consume the produce upon the farm."

We suspect Mr. Gower spoke rather in the spirit of prophecy than of the actual system, when he said landlords will not oppose the removal of obstacles to good farming. Landlords will not object to remove the obstacles their prejudices offer to good farming when they find they cannot otherwise keep up their rentals. Till then, we doubt.

Mr. Cubitt, who is himself a capital farmer, said:

"I am aware that I am in the presence of many farmers whose example I might well follow, but I'll defy any practical man to go through the eastern part of this county—yes, even this far-famed county of Norfolk—without seeing thousands of acres most slovenly cultivated for the want of additional labour. To improve the condition of the labourers we must endeavour to keep them fully employed at fair wages, without which all other attempts will be perfectly futile; and I cannot but think it would be to the interest of every farmer in this county to allow each of his labourers a few rods of land for the growth of vegetables. Such a system judiciously carried out would tend more than any other to improve the character and the morals of the agricultural labourers, and I think it would assist in destroying the influence of that greatest of all his enemies—the village beer-shop. But there is another point worthy of attention. It ought to be the duty of every employer to watch over the interests of his labourers, and he has various opportunities of adding to their comforts with but little pecuniary inconvenience to himself; and depend on it, if a farmer expects to have good and faithful servants, he must first teach them that he feels interested in their welfare, and he will then achieve an object of no small importance to his own individual interests."

Mr. Cubitt then adverted to the question of the demand for labour, saying:

"I conscientiously believe that if all the land in this county was properly and profitably cultivated there would at the present day be a very great insufficiency of agricultural labourers. I shall commence with the root culture, and I challenge any practical farmer to ride through the more fertile districts of this county without seeing a great annual loss in the turnip crops, arising from ineffectual tillage and the want of manual labour, a loss amounting on some farms to many tons per acre, which would more than repay the proper cultivation of the whole crop (manuring excepted). A heavy crop of turnips cannot now be grown where land has been long cultivated with that plant (as in Norfolk) without great care and trouble."

This points to the fact we have more than once mentioned, that there is a too close and bigotted adherence to the four-course system in districts where the farming is far above the average.

Amongst many other useful and practical suggestions, Mr. Cubitt thus mentions the importance of stock-feeding, and the landlord-imposed obstacles to its extensive adoption:

"Every farmer has become aware of the advantages of box or stall-feeding, but I regret that that excellent system is not likely to become general amongst tenant farmers without the assistance of their landlords, for the majority of farm buildings in this neighbourhood are now one of the chief obstacles to good farming, being not only dilapidated, but constructed in such a manner as to tend more to the destruction than the preservation of the manure. In feeding cattle, I would recommend every farmer to make himself acquainted with the valuable properties of linseed (boiled) and mixed with cut hay, straw, chaff, or other provender; it makes ex-

cellent food in addition to turnips, is generally relished by all descriptions of stock, and enables him to keep an increased quantity."

And he afterwards, with reference to the same subject, added:

"I would call your attention to the unprofitable manner in which our artificial grasses are consumed. Where artificial grass is required for fattening purposes, it might be cut up and mixed with a portion of boiled linseed: and at the early part of the season it is advisable to cut and mix dry provender with green food. This plan, more than all others (of mixing our grasses) would prove a great saving, and increase the demand for labour."

Mr. Mott, who stated himself not to be a farmer, gave a very interesting account of some contrasts in farming he had met with in Dorsetshire. After giving some detail of the Rev. Mr. Huxtable's management of a farm of 230 acres, on which he pays 12*l.* a week for labour, Mr. Mott observed:

"We ought all to be much indebted to Mr. Huxtable for making these experiments, for they plainly show that capital may be applied, and labour profitably employed, from an improved system of farming; and I think you will all allow that these experiments on grazing are of the greatest value just now, when, from the depreciation which may take place in the price of corn, the attention of the farmer must more than ever be directed to that which is the most important and the most profitable."

Can we have more direct testimony to the fact that protection has prevented the farmer from directing his attention "to that which is the most important and the most profitable?" And in the following reference to the Blackmoor Vale, we learn the more ordinary aspect of the state of Dorsetshire farming. Mr. Mott said:

"In the Vale of Blackmoor (a few miles from Mr. Huxtable's) a friend of mine has some farms quite saturated with water, which he proposed to one of his tenants to drain, either finding all the labour himself and charging five per cent., or finding the tiles if he would find labour. Both propositions were declined, as the farmer was perfectly satisfied to go on as he had done for the last twenty years. Now, I would ask, is such a man fit to be a farmer? Do you think such a man, even if our worst fears are realised, can possibly be benefited by such a system? Would he not reap thirty per cent. by laying out his five per cent.? In other words, would not the demand for labour be profitably increased? Protection certainly has not benefited, and never can benefit such a man; and I fear he is by no means a solitary instance. But mark the consequences: Here is a man, with the labourers around him culling (as Mr. Huxtable has justly observed) for labour and for bread; and he refuses to employ them, even when it might be done profitably to himself. The labourer is willing and anxious to work, but there is no one to hire him. A large supply and no demand; and what is the consequence? The labourer is half-starved, and the land is half-cultivated. His miserable cottage and poverty-stricken appearance in many parts of the county too plainly show that the rate of wages is generally very far below the average of the best cultivated districts. It is evident that such a state of things must continue wherever such a miserable system prevails. The land must be uncultivated, the tenant impoverished, the labourer degraded, until the agriculturist becomes persuaded, by the success of repeated experiments, that capital may be safely invested, and that alteration in his practice may be profitably made in order to increase the demand for labour."

How much more of this is really attributable to the landlord than the farmer, we shall not now stay to distinguish; but in truth, monopoly—hopeless, helpless reliance on monopoly,—is the great cause of the backwardness of English agriculture.

AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY.

FLAX CULTURE.

Already agriculture gives signs that the incubus of "protection" is being loosened. Even now, with a prospect of revisionary Free Trade, farmers are making up their minds "to do something." They have ceased to regard the dreary and mindless orations which the New-degates, the Lord George Bentincks, and that sort of men persist in inflicting on the House of Commons. Many and various will be the resources which farmers in different localities will find to be within their reach when they have fully learnt to depend upon their own exertions, rather than an Act of Parliament, for profit. Now, besides the improvements which may be made in the existing system, there is a new branch of husbandry of almost universal application, which is attracting very much of the attention of the more intelligent gentlemen and farmers; we allude to the culture of flax. The persevering advocate of flax growing, Mr. J. Warnes—who pleasantly enough calls himself a protectionist, from advocating the culture of an unprotected article as the means of redemption for "protected" farmers, we presume—is now in London making another vigorous movement to bring the advantages of a flax crop before the agricultural community. He feels that this is the time when farmers are prepared to adopt new plans, and to seek from their own skill that protection which monopoly never afforded them. That gentleman has favoured us with two letters, which have been addressed to him on the subject since the publication of his letter, a few weeks since, in *THE LEAGUE*; they

show that men of the right sort are considering the subject. The first letter is from Mr. George Hope, the well-known Free Trader, of Fenton Barns. It is as follows:

Fenton Barns, 11th March, 1846.

SIR,—I notice in *THE LEAGUE* that you purpose publishing a volume on the cultivation of flax, &c. If I will be able to get the book through any Edinburgh bookseller, you may put me down for a copy. Some 10 years ago I grew nine imperial acres of flax, but the difficulty of obtaining labour in this part of the country made it two years before I could turn it into cash. In the end I had to put up a simple machine, driven by a horse, to aid the scutching, or I would not have got it done at all. The flax was sold at Perth and Dundee, where it fetched the very top price, if I remember right, 60*l.* per ton. I also sold the seed at a high price; the quality being excellent, it was re-sold for sowing. I found the trouble of personal superintendence greater than I could afford, in the cleaning of the flax, but were it made a trade and aided by machinery, the cultivation of it would pay the farmer handsomely, as, after deducting all expenses, it left a clear profit of 15*l.* per imperial acre, which was certainly good, considering I was a novice at the business. Your efforts to call the attention of the community to this source of industry, entitle you to their warmest thanks; accept of mine, and believe me, Sir, respectfully, your most obedient servant,

John Warnes, Esq.

GEORGE HOPE.

This is practical and decisive testimony to the advantages of a crop of flax; it also points to the only difficulty in the way of a very general adoption of flax growing, viz., the deficiency of men skilled in the preparation of the fibre for market. To remedy this is the point to which Mr. Warnes is now directing his efforts. Of his plans for that purpose we shall say a word or two presently.

The following is the second letter we have referred to; it is from a gentleman of Manchester, Mr. C. Rigg:

Office, Dickinson-street, Manchester, Feb. 18, 1846.

DEAR SIR,—Your obliging letter of the 16th inst., and interesting accompaniments, reached my hands this morning; the receipt of which I hasten to acknowledge, and thank you, most cordially, for your polite attention to my inquiries.

Although I am neither a grower of flax nor a manufacturer of linen—yet, from the experience of a long life devoted to commercial pursuits—a sincere love for my country, and my kind—and being not an inattentive observer of what has been enacted around me—I have always regretted that flax culture has never been made a prominent national object. In Ireland, in the days of Isaac Corry, it was so made; but, unfortunately, the linen trade was strangled by protection. And why? Because the protectionists were bats and moles, similar to the bats and moles of our own day, and could not (or would not) see the difference between encouragement and protection.

As regards the beneficial effects which would result to agriculture, and the linen manufacture, no object can be of more national importance than the growth of flax.

With the exception of a portion of wool, all raw materials for our textile fabrics, are drawn from abroad. Our climate is unfavourable to the existence and labours of the silkworm. Cotton is a plant of other regions; but for the culture and growth of flax many large tracts of land in the United Kingdom are pre-eminently favourable. In fact, flax will grow in ordinary seasons, and come to perfection, on most soils of the United Kingdom, if properly attended to. To show that it is not a very coy plant, it will grow to a considerable height from seed put between the folds of an old and much worn wetted blanket (in a similar way that cress and mustard are reared on ship-board, for salad.)

I am fully persuaded, from all I have read, heard, and seen, relative to the flax plant, that by the aid of chemical science, and with proper management, its cultivation will repay all and every outlay and attention bestowed upon it; and beyond this, that it will yield to the cultivator larger profits than those derivable from the growth of corn; or, indeed, from any other vegetable substance whatsoever.

Whenever the time arrives—and may it soon arrive!—that flax growing and the linen manufacture meet with the encouragement their importance demand, in a national point of view—it may then be truly said that agriculture and manufacture go hand-in-hand; and foreign countries will soon learn, and understand, the value and effect of this union.

With very few exceptions, neither agricultural nor manufacturing skill, capital, and industry, have ever been brought to bear with sufficient power on the culture of flax, and the manufacture of linen.

Our manufacturing appliances have brought to gigantic growth both the silk and cotton fabrics—the raw materials of which are brought to us from foreign climes. And how does it happen that we are such large importers of linen cloth, as well as of flax, which could be grown at home; and which, in the preparation for the loom, would give employment and bread to tens of thousands of our parish-fellows?

If the landowners and the occupiers of land will but respond to the call of the manufacturers of home-grown flax, properly prepared, and suitable for the loom and the twine craft, our merchants (among whom the writer presumes to class himself) will soon turn back the tide of linen imports, by the overwhelming flow of British exportations.

Believe me, dear Sir, your most faithful and obdt. servant,
C. RIGG.

To John Warnes, jun., Esq., Trimmingham, Norfolk.

That flax is a highly profitable crop seems to be generally admitted; but a notion has got into the heads of the landowners that it is a scouring crop, and therefore its growth is almost universally prohibited by the agreements under which the tenant farmers of England hold their farms. This notion is, however, altogether erroneous. When the land is in good heart, it has been found that not only does a crop of flax not exhaust the soil, but that in fact it is a very good preparation for wheat. Mr. Warnes, and other flax-growers of Norfolk, have found that their wheat and barley crops, after flax, are at least as heavy as when they fall in the usual

routine of the four-course system; that when flax culture is carried on in connection with linseed-feeding (as it ought always to be), there is no crop which affords such an abundant source of reproduction. The manure made from boiled linseed is as superior to oilcake manure as oilcake manure is to the ordinary straw-yard manure. Instead, therefore, of flax exhausting the soil, there is no more ready way of increasing the fertility of the soil than by growing linseed and consuming it upon the farm. And here again we meet with an instance of the benefit to the farmer of the access to cheap grain when the corn trade is free. Not only is the feeding properties of boiled linseed and chaff greatly increased by the addition of a certain portion of barley, rye, or maize meal, but the cattle, being induced by the admixture to eat more than they would of linseed alone, become fat more quickly. This is the grand point for the farmer. Quick feeding is profitable feeding; slow feeding, the reverse. Flax, then, will furnish the means, not merely of keeping up, but of increasing the fertility of the land. But then the full profit of the crop depends upon the preparation and sale of the fibre. The mode of preparing the stalk is by steeping it in water so long as to separate the woody portion from the fibre without injuring the tenacity of the latter. Some skill and observation, the results of experience, are required for conducting that operation. The stalks having been then dried and bleached, are scutched—that is, beaten either by hand or machinery to separate the woody parts from the fibre. This part of the work also requires some skill; at all events, some instruction from those accustomed to the art.

These operations may be either carried on by each grower upon his own premises, or the grower may sell the stalks of his flax, after he has beaten out the seed, to flax dressers, whose business it is to prepare the fibre for market. And the latter, we think, is the plan which will best suit the business of the farmer, and most tend to promote the growth of flax. The best practical means of providing for both are those suggested by Mr. Warnes. He says men are wanted who understand the growth and subsequent preparation of the fibre for market; and the way to supply that want is to establish a society for training workmen in the art. This must be effected by an extensive co-operation amongst those who would promote the improvement of agriculture and encourage new means of profitably employing our rural population. For the latter object, flax dressing has peculiar advantages; it is performed under cover, in the winter season, when other work is scarce; and women and boys may earn good wages at the employment. A society being formed, a committee might hire a farm in a central situation, where the growth and preparation of flax would be the primary objects. To this establishment, conducted of course by persons skilled in the art, men would be admitted for the purpose of learning the business, so that in a very few years skilled flax dressers would be found in every district. In order to render such a model flax farm complete, the best modes of using the seed for feeding should be in constant operation; and thus men, alive to the full value of the flax culture, would be regularly furnished to all farmers or landowners who might wish to adopt it. This is one of the directions agriculture will take from the impulse Free Trade must afford, and is a signal instance of the utter folly of supposing that agricultural activity and rural skill can be promoted by a system which prevents farmers from relying on their own industry for success.

WHY IS THE DELUSION KEPT UP FOR THREE YEARS?

It is plain that farmers have got over their fear of Free Trade—that like men of business they are preparing to accept the benefits, and guard against the difficulties of a new order of things. This is obvious from the *Mark Lane Express* review of the present state of the corn trade:

"Though the opposition to Sir Robert Peel's new Corn Law has not been carried on so vigorously this week (several of the amendments, of which notice had been previously given, having been withdrawn), still it is very probable that the final settlement of the measure may be delayed for some weeks longer, and the trade be kept in a state of suspense. The wants of the millers have now become so pressing, that they can no longer do without old wheat; and it is pretty clear that, when the liberation of bonded does take place, a very extensive demand may be reckoned on. We are, consequently, disposed to think that, happen what may, the present value of bread-stuffs will be maintained; and we feel confident that, within a comparatively short period after the release of the lock wheat, any slight depression which may thereby be occasioned will be recovered. Judging from the firm tone which sellers have recently assumed at the markets in the agricultural districts, it may be inferred that farmers take the same view of the subject; indeed, no one seems anxious to sell at present rates. On the other hand, considerable unwillingness continues to be displayed by merchants and millers to purchase largely; many still doubting the wisdom of going into stock in the present bare state of the markets. The advance of 1*s.* to 2*s.* per qr., which has been established since our last, has certainly been paid very reluctantly, but the absolute necessities of buyers have

obliged them to accede to the terms of sellers. A rise under such circumstances is much more likely to be maintained than one caused by speculation; the upward movement having, in the present instance, been wholly produced by the supplies falling short of the quantity required for actual and immediate consumption."

This, like all business views of the corn trade, shows how closely the farmer's interest is identified with a steady non-speculative demand, and how much he is injured by the fluctuations and uncertainties caused by monopoly.

We believe there are not two opinions amongst farmers as to the advantage of immediate over deferred Free Trade in corn. Hear what the *Norwich Mercury*, a journal deriving its agricultural intelligence from the best sources, says upon the subject :

"The corn trade, as might be anticipated from the political movements, has been in a most torpid state, and will probably remain so, until the great question of Free Trade be settled. There seems but one opinion, now that the result of the debate is known, as to the policy of having it immediate, instead of the deferred plan of the Government. We question, however, if those most interested in it—the tenants—will stir in the matter; and indeed there is but little encouragement to do so, after the great majority in the House of Commons against Mr. Villiers's proposition for total and immediate repeal, the debate on which proves, we think, that the sense of the house is exactly contrary to its vote. It is admitted now to be a sop to the upper house, a boon to the landlords, which we fear will be given AT THE TENANTS' EXPENSE."

ANTI-FEUDAL MOVEMENT.

It seems that the proprietors of entailed estates in Scotland have discovered that in retaining the fetters of feudalism on land, they are in fact restricting their own enjoyment of their own property. Landowners will become more and more aware of that truth, as soon as the delusions, kept up, perhaps, rather than created by the Corn Laws, have been completely dissipated. The following paragraph marks an important and hopeful movement amongst the Scotch landowners :

"THE LAW OF ENTAIL.—A meeting of the proprietors of entailed estates in Scotland was held in the Hopetoun Rooms on Thursday, for 'the purpose of considering the great national evils connected with the law of entail, and the propriety of an immediate application to the legislature thereupon.' The meeting being a preliminary one, the representatives of the press were not allowed access to it. We have, however, been furnished with the following outline of the proceedings:—Sir David Baird, Bart., in the absence of the Marquis of Breadalbane (from whom a communication was made to the meeting) was called to the chair, and gave a lucid statement of the injurious effects of the law of entail in preventing free commerce in land, and particularly as preventing those improvements now rendered necessary to meet the expected competition of foreign corn, and the adjustment of rights between landlord and tenant. As was to be expected, when a subject of such momentous interest was brought before them for the first time, there were different opinions stated by the proprietors present, as to the proper mode of following up the movement. We understand, however, that a unanimous resolution was entered into, remitting to a committee, of which the most noble Marquis of Breadalbane was to be chairman, and Sir David Baird, Bart., the convener, to consider as to the best mode of seeking a legislative remedy for the evils of the entail law, and to call other and more extended meetings as they might deem proper. The meeting, which was pretty numerously attended, lasted about two hours; and only one feeling was expressed as to the great national evil inflicted by the law in question; and subscriptions were entered into for carrying forward the movement, and defraying the necessary expenses."—*Edinburgh Witness*.

The present state of the great mass of English landowners proves that the cumbrous machinery of settlements and entails has only preserved to aristocratic families the shell, and not the substance, of a large domain.

So general and heavy are the incumbrances upon the estates of the landed proprietors, that with the appearance and burthens of ownership they are little more than receivers and distributors of (nominally) their rents. In many cases, the political influence which the control of the property gives is by far the most beneficial part of the nominal owners' share of an estate. Hence the desperate struggles to retain monopoly and high rents by means of artificial scarcity. Indeed, the intensity of any landowners' protectionist ardour is a pretty good indication of the extent of his incumbrances. All the high-flying "farmers' friends," with very few exceptions, are chin-deep in mortgages; to expect improvement of land in the hands of such men is to expect to gather grapes from thorns. There is nothing to be done with them but to deal with them as with other insolvents, that is, to sell the estates, and distribute the produce amongst the creditors. In most cases, with good management, a surplus would remain which might be really their own, and wherewith they would be far more happy and useful members of society.

AGRICULTURAL CORRESPONDENCE.

The following calculations, which have been forwarded to us by a correspondent, are said to have attracted some attention in a midland county. We offer them to our readers as evidence, that farmers are now beginning, like other men of business, to scruti-

nise and investigate the circumstances which affect their own business:

FREE TRADE v. PROTECTION.

No. 1.—100 acres of poor land, with protection, farmed under the old system. Wheat, 7s.; Barley, 3s. 6d.; Oats, 2s. 6d.; per bushel. The rent 15s. per acre.

	£	s.	d.
25 acres, fallow .. .. .	..	..	..
25 " wheat, 4 loads per acre, 100 loads, at 35s. ..	175	0	0
25 " seeds, beans, or tares, less expenses	25	0	0
25 " oats, 4 qrs. per acre; or, barley, 3 qrs., 4l. per acre	100	0	0
100	300		

Year's rent, 100 acres, at 15s., 75l., rates and taxes, 25l. .. £100 0 0
Keep for three horses, 75l.; wages, two men, 50l. .. 125 0 0
Capital employed, 500l.; interest 15 per cent. .. 75 0 0

No. 2.—The same, with Free Trade, supposing wheat reduced to 5s.; barley, 2s. 6d.; and oats, 2s. per bushel. Rent 10s. per acre.

	£	s.	d.
25 acres, fallow .. .. .	..	..	..
25 " wheat, 100 loads, at 25s.	125	0	0
25 " seeds, beans, or tares	25	0	0
25 " oats, 4 qrs.; or, barley, 3 qrs.; 3l. 4s. per acre ..	80	0	0
100	230	0	0

Year's rent, 100 acres, at 10s., 50l.; rates and taxes, 18l. .. £68 0 0
Keep, three horses, 60l.; wages, two men, 40l. .. 100 0 0
Interest on 450l. capital employed, about 13½ per cent 62 0 0

Capital employed, with protection, £500 .. profit £75 62
" " Free Trade 450 .. " "

Capital less, with Free Trade .. 50 .. profit less 13
15 per cent on 450l., .. £67 10 0
Profit 62 0 0

Loss by Free Trade .. 5 10 0

No. 3.—100 acres of poor land, under protection, farmed on an improved system, with wheat 7s.; barley, 3s. 9d.; oats, 3s. On lease for 21 years, thorough drained. Rent, 1l. per acre.

	£	s.	d.
25 acres, fallow, seeds, tares .. ..	..	..	..
25 " barley, 5 qrs.; 125 qrs. at 30s.	187	10	0
25 " beans, seeds, or tares, 4l. per acre	100	0	0
25 " wheat, 6 loads; 150 at 25s.	262	10	0
100	550	0	0

Year's rent, 100l.; rates and taxes, 25l. .. 125 0 0
Keep, four horses, 100l.; wages, four men, 100l. .. 200 0 0
Loss by feeding stock for manure .. 50 0 0
Interest on capital employed, 1000l., at 17½ per cent 175 0 0

550 0 0
* This was 100l., and interest 12½ per cent., 125l.

No. 4.—The same, under Free Trade, supposing the price of wheat reduced to 5s.; barley, 3s.; oats, 2s. per bushel; and corn rents 15s. per acre.

	£	s.	d.
25 acres, fallow, seeds, tares, &c. .. ..	..	..	..
25 " barley, 5 qrs.; 125 qrs. at 24s.	150	0	0
25 " seeds, beans, or tares, 3l. per acre	75	0	0
25 " wheat, 6 loads; 150 at 25s.	187	10	0
100	412	10	0

Year's rent, at 15s. per acre, 75l.; rates and taxes, 15l. .. £90 0 0
Keep, four horses, 60l.; wages, four men, 100l. .. 160 0 0
Interest on capital employed, 800l., at 20½ per cent 162 10 0

Capital, with Free Trade £800 .. interest 20½ per cent. 162 10 0
" " protection 1000 .. " 17½ "

In favour of Free Trade 2½ per cent.

The calculation in No. 3 is made, supposing the farmer to lose 50l. in feeding stock for the sake of the manure; and I feel quite satisfied that if the system was carried out fairly, it would prove still more in favour of Free Trade principles.

A rise in the value of corn increases the cost of producing; it therefore does not give the farmer the increased profit that might be supposed at first sight, especially when corn is consumed to a great extent in feeding stock; then the high price produces a loss upon the stock fed, much greater than the gain upon the corn sold.

A REAL INUNDATION OF FOOD (NOT FROM TAMBOFF)

FREE OF DUTY.—ALARMING TO THE PROTECTIONISTS.

—The East of Fife Agricultural Society's Show, which lately gratified the good people of that district by a very magnificent display of animal obesity, was succeeded as usual by a dinner, at which the principal speakers were Sir Ralph Anstruther, Lord W. Douglas, Mr. Gillespie Smyth, &c. At, or after, this dinner, a statement was made of a very striking character, on which the editor of the *Fife Herald* has the following remarks:—"One of the most remarkable incidents of the evening was a statement of an extraordinary nature by Lord William Douglas, which, when made public, will most assuredly startle the country from one end to another, as it certainly did those who listened to it at the meeting. His lordship gravely stated that he had, on the previous day, received from his son, who is at present at Constantinople, a letter with the marvellous intelligence that, in a district where famine had for some time prevailed, the people had been providentially saved by a fall of manna which covered the ground to the depth of about two inches. (Pro di-gi-us! exclaims our P. D. This, if it came near ourselves, would be far worse for the 'agricultural interest' than the repeal of the Corn Laws!) It was further stated that the son had partaken of this singular species of food. Lord William, however, does not anticipate that any phenomenon of this extraordinary description will visit this country, and ergo the landed proprietors and the farmers must trust to their own resources."

The general belief in the political clubs is, that the measures of the Government, for the immediate reduction and eventual abolition of the duty on foreign corn, will be carried in the House of Lords by a majority of from 25 to 30.—*Observer of Saturday*.

The net income of the property and income tax, as appears by a Parliamentary paper, published on Friday, was, in the year ending the 5th April, 1844, in Great Britain, 5,372,780l. 12s. 6d.; and in the year ending the 5th April last, 5,303,591l. 10s. 1½d.

REVIEW.

The Life and Correspondence of the Marquess of Wellesley. By R. R. R. Pearce, Esq. London: Bentley.

In these instructive and amusing volumes, Mr. Pearce has given a very able summary of the life of a statesman, whose reputation and rewards have been very inadequate for the services he rendered his country. This is in some degree owing to the fact that the most brilliant part of his career, his Government of India, was contemporaneous with a war which taxed all the energies and engrossed all the attention of the British nation, and that his less conspicuous, but not less useful services, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, were blended with discussions which had little attraction in themselves, and less importance in their consequences. Referring our readers to the work itself for the details of Lord Wellesley's laborious career, we shall merely regard him as an enlightened friend of education and Free Trade, at a time when neither of these great principles met favour from men in power.

As a patron of education, Lord Wellesley's most conspicuous exertions were his efforts to establish the college of Fort William in Calcutta. His preface to the regulations intended for that institution are as creditable to him as they are disgraceful to the monopolist who then ruled in Leadenhall Street:

"Whereas it has pleased the Divine Providence to favour the counsels and arms of Great Britain in India with a continued course of prosperity and glory; and, whereas, by the victorious issue of several successive wars, and by the happy result of a just, wise, and moderate system of policy, extensive territories in Hindostan, and in the Deccan, have been subjected to the dominion of Great Britain, and under the Government of the Honourable the English East India Company, in process of time a great and powerful empire has been founded, comprehending many populous and opulent provinces, differing in language, manners, and habits, and respectively accustomed to be governed according to peculiar usages, doctrines, and laws; and whereas, the sacred duty, true interest, honour, and policy of the British nation require that effectual provision should be made at all times for the good government of the British empire in India, and for the prosperity and happiness of the people inhabiting the same; and many wise and salutary regulations have accordingly been enacted from time to time by the Governor-General in Council with the benevolent intent and purpose of administering to the said people their own laws, usages, and customs in the mild and benignant spirit of the British constitution; and whereas, it is indispensably necessary, with a view to secure the due execution and administration of the said wise, salutary, and benevolent regulations in all time to come, as well as of such regulations and laws as may hereafter be enacted by the Honourable the English East India Company that the persons exercising high and important functions in the government of India should be properly qualified to discharge the arduous duties of their respective offices and stations; should be sufficiently instructed in the general principles of literature and science; and should possess a competent knowledge as well of the laws, government, and constitution of Great Britain as of the several native languages of Hindostan and the Deccan, and of the laws, usages, and customs of the provinces which the said civil servants respectively may be appointed to govern; and whereas, the early interruption in Europe of the education and studies of the persons destined for the civil service of the Honourable East India Company, precludes them from acquiring, previously to their arrival in India, a sufficient foundation in the general principles of literature and science, or a competent knowledge of the laws, government, and constitution of Great Britain; and many qualifications essential to the proper discharge of the arduous and important duties of the civil service in India cannot be otherwise fully attained than by a regular course of education and study in India, conducted under the superintendence, direction, and control of the supreme authority of the Government of these possessions; and whereas, no public institution now exists in India under which the junior servants appointed at an earlier period of life to the civil service of the Honourable the English East India Company, can attain the necessary means of qualifying themselves for the high and arduous trusts to which they are respectively destined; and no system of discipline or education has been established in India for the purpose of directing and regulating the studies of the said junior servants; or of guiding their conduct upon their first arrival in India, or of forming, improving, or preserving their morals, or of encouraging them to maintain the honour of the British name in India by a regular and orderly course of industry, prudence, integrity, and religion; the most noble Richard Marquess Wellesley, Knight of the illustrious Order of St. Patrick, &c. &c., Governor-General in Council, deeming the establishment of such an institution and system of discipline, education, and study, to be requisite for the good government and stability of the British empire in India, and for the maintenance of the interests and honour of the Honourable English East India Company, his lordship in council hath therefore enacted as follows."

The rules which followed were truly excellent, and show a thorough acquaintance with the deficiencies of the Company's government and servants, and with the exigencies of British India. But this accuracy and extent of knowledge was a great cause of the failure of the plan:

"Both the college and its founder were, however, doomed to meet with the most severe disappointment. The Court of Directors, while professing to applaud the design and unequivocally sanction the principles on which Lord Wellesley had acted, for some reason never sufficiently explained, ordered the college to be abolished. The greatness of the expense was the excuse put forward; but the truth appears to be, that the men of mere facts, figures, and money-bags, were not reasoned out of their predilection for the old routine of mere mercantile utility; they had not sufficiently entered into Lord Wellesley's enlightened and comprehensive views for uplifting the character of the natives of India,

and we fear we must add, that they were actuated by some small personal piques, because the governor-general had attempted to execute, on a scale of such magnitude, so grand a design, without previous authority from Leadenhall-street."

Lord Wellesley wrote in the strongest terms on the subject to Lord Dartmouth:

"I think it proper to apprise your lordship (and I leave it to your discretion to use the information as you think fit) that if the Court should ultimately abolish this institution, it is my fixed and unalterable resolution to propose to Parliament, immediately after my return to England, a law for the restitution of an establishment which I know to be absolutely requisite for the good government of these possessions. So convinced am I of the necessity of this institution, that I am determined to devote the remainder of my political life to the object of establishing it, as the greatest benefit which can be imparted to the public service in India, and as the best security which can be provided for the welfare of our native subjects. The East India Company can afford the expense of the institution. If, however, this proposition be contested, on just grounds, the public ought to indemnify the Company for the amount of the charge. Without such a system of discipline and study in the early education of the civil service, it will be utterly impossible to maintain our extensive empire in India."

His expressions to Lord Castlereagh are even stronger:

"I repeat to your lordship the assurance of my unqualified contempt and abhorrence of the proceedings and propensities of the court of directors, and of my determination to withhold any public reprehension of the wickedness of that graceless faction until I shall be enabled to claim the justice of my king and country in my place in the House of Lords, before a tribunal with whom is righteous judgment."

Mr. Wilberforce not unjustly attributed the opposition which Lord Wellesley met to the hostility of the Court of Directors to the diffusion of Christianity in England. Those who have read the life of Henry Martyn will be at no loss to understand the opposition which the monopolists of that day offered to the presence of pious missionaries in India. Mr. Wilberforce writes:

"MY DEAR LORD W.—Notwithstanding your obliging permission to me to break in upon you to day, intimated to me last night by Mr. Wellesley, yet knowing that just now your time and mind must be so fully occupied, it must naturally arise rather from your friendly disposition to comply with my request than by your own desire, I have resolved not to intrude on your lordship in person; but merely to send you a few lines, which cannot, like a conversation, draw on into a length that was unintended. That I may trespass on you as shortly as possible, I will confine myself to what requires immediate mention, and is, indeed, indispensable."

"I know not whether your lordship has heard of the unreasonable clamour that has been raised by the Anglo-Indians in the House of Commons, against all, even the most prudent, attempts to convert the natives of India; and more especially against missionaries. Now let me hope—a hope which I share with, I am glad to say, a considerable number of men in the House of Commons, and with many more out of it—that your lordship will to-morrow use your just authority in putting to flight these vain fears. The rather because the alarmists are enemies of the system which your lordship certainly established, and which I trust you will confirm and revive—that, I mean, of diffusing useful knowledge of all sorts among the natives of India; and I confess for my own part that I have always held and still retain the opinion that education, the translation and diffusion of the Scriptures and advancement in general knowledge, would be far the most powerful agents in the great work of Christianising the natives of India. Your weight, thrown into the right scale, will make it preponderate."

"I will only add, that your lordship can scarcely conceive (if I may judge of the House of Lords from the general condition of the members of the House of Commons) how ignorant their lordships in general are likely to be respecting India, and therefore how little they are qualified to ask questions in committee. When your lordship can attend, I hope you will now and then look in, and there also prevent the examination from being rendered the excuse for condemning the population of India to ignorance and darkness so long as they continue under British rule. I remember my assurance. I break off, assuring your lordship that I am, my dear Lord W., your lordship's very sincerely,

"W. WILBERFORCE."

Mr. Pearce dwells more briefly than we could wish on the great measures of Free Trade established by Lord Wellesley in British India, which exposed him to much calumny and persecution from the monopolist Court of Directors, and were not appreciated by the incapable successors of Mr. Pitt. At a later period Lord Wellesley came forward as a firm opponent of the Corn Laws, and his conduct at this crisis is justly appreciated by his biographer:

"On the termination of hostilities with America and the Continental war, the blockades which had disarranged the commerce of the whole world, and committed havoc on all regular trade, were removed. Commercial intercourse between nation and nation, it was hoped, would return to its former channels, and peace permit industry and enterprise to exert themselves without hindrance or limitation. A vast artificial system had grown up under the restrictions of rigid blockades and acts of non-intercourse. From the year 1804 to the year 1814 the average price of wheat in England was 90s. per quarter. The landed interests were resolved, if possible, to keep up this scale of prices; and anticipating that the markets would soon be glutted with foreign corn, which could be sold at a much cheaper rate, they made preparations in the Legislature to regulate the corn trade by law. On the 10th of June, 1814, a committee of the House of Lords was appointed to investigate the circumstances of the Corn Trade; in seventeen days from that date they made their report, recommending restrictions on importation. The committee were, on the 27th of June, instructed to examine witnesses on the question, and make a second report. The result of the labours of the committee was, that they recommended that so long as the average price of wheat was under 80s. per quarter, the ports should be completely closed

against supplies from other countries—that till the average price of wheat attained the pivot of 80s. foreign corn should be absolutely prohibited. This was considered by the agriculturists as a very reasonable proposition,—80s. per quarter for wheat being accounted a very "low figure." Some of the witnesses were of opinion that the ports should be shut against foreign grain till the price of wheat was 90s. per quarter; and out of sixteen agricultural witnesses examined before the committee, but four suggested a lower standard than 80s. The second report on the corn trade was presented on the 29th of July, 1814; but the country had not yet felt the evils of peace, the session closed without any other legislative proceeding relative to corn than the repealing the 54th of George III. c. 69, by which a bounty was given on its exportation.

"The recommendation of the Lords' committee produced violent tumults in the metropolis, in the large towns, and in the manufacturing districts. Public meetings were held to petition against its adoption, and the whole country was in a state of dangerous commotion."

"The average price of wheat in some months of the year 1811 was as low as 66s. and even 60s. The agriculturists became alarmed. Again, they declared, was impending over British agriculture; and early in the session of 1815 a bill was brought into Parliament, giving effect to the recommendations of the committee of the previous session, and fixing 80s. per quarter as the point at which importation could be permitted,—positively prohibiting all foreign corn as long as prices were below that mark."

"The manufacturing population petitioned and remonstrated; but as neither Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, nor the other great seats of commercial enterprise, were then represented in Parliament, their expostulations were unheeded. Riots took place in many places, and a strong feeling of discontent and disaffection to the Government was manifested in different parts of Great Britain."

"The bill was warmly contested in Parliament, but the influence which the nomination boroughs secured to its promoters in the House of Commons enabled them to command decided majorities in its favour. At an early stage of the Corn Bill in the House of Commons a division took place on the proposition that 74s. should be substituted instead of 80s. The motion was negatived by an overwhelming majority; there being 35 votes for it; against it 154. On the 3d of March, the vicinity of the Houses of Parliament was thronged by a vast multitude in a high state of excitement. Several members were stopped and interrogated: some were roughly handled; and the houses of many of the advocates of the new regulations were visited by the populace. The military were called out; and it required great exertions to keep the streets clear. On this evening (the 3d of March) the gallery of the House of Commons was closed against strangers. Another attempt was made to mitigate the stringency of the law by making 74s. the standard instead of 80s. There were, however, but 77 votes in favour of the proposal, and 208 against it. On the 8th of May, on the bringing up of the bill, the advocates of Free Trade made another attempt to throw out the bill. An amendment was moved that the bill should be read that day six months, and it was supported by many able speeches; but the amendment was lost, there being, 50 for it, 108 against it. A final effort was made to substitute a lower pivot price than 80s., leaving it to the house to determine what the precise sum should be: 78 members supported this motion, and 184 opposed it. On the 10th of March, the last attempt was made to arrest the progress of the bill; 77 voted for throwing out the bill,—245 for it. The Corn Bill passed the House of Commons by a majority of 168."

"In the House of Lords the measure passed with less difficulty. It was sanctioned by the Upper House on the 20th of March by a majority of 107;—there being 21 non-contents; among whom was the Marquess Wellesley. His lordship had, in his conflict with the Court of Directors while in India, exhibited a steadfast adherence to freedom of trade; and he opposed the Corn Bill of 1815, on the ground that it was wrong, on principle, to place restrictions on the supply of food, and that the general happiness was best promoted by leaving commerce free. The arguments against prohibitions or restrictions on the importation of corn are most summarily summed up in the well-known protest drawn up by Lord Grenville and the Marquess Wellesley."

Lord Wellesley lived to see the monopoly of the India Trade destroyed, and we feel our respect for his memory increased by having our attention directed to that subject, at a time when the still greater grievance of monopoly of food, which he so steadfastly resisted, totters to its fall.

CORN DUTIES—It will be recollected that, soon after Parliament met, Sir Robert Peel held out that so soon as the resolutions which he had to propose for the reduction of duties were passed in committee of the House, the new duties would come into operation; but subsequently, he stated that he was in error in making the promise, as the old duties must remain in force until the Bill for reducing them obtained the royal sanction. Technically, Sir Robert was quite right; but he has since departed from his own technical rule by agreeing that all the articles to which his new tariff applies, with the exception of wheat, barley, and oats, shall be admissible at the new duties from the date of the resolutions passed in committee being reported; and, as that has been done, the articles, with the above exceptions, are so admissible at the present moment. Indian corn, buckwheat, and rice, then, may now be imported and let out of bond at the nominal duty of one shilling; and a Treasury order to that effect has been issued.—*Londonderry Journal*.

FREE TRADE ORGANISATION IN MARYLEBONE.—A public meeting of the electors of the borough of Marylebone, resident in St. Pancras, took place on Thursday evening, the 12th inst., in the Bedford Saloon, Bedford Arms, High-street, Camden-town, for the purpose of forming an organisation in favour of Free Trade, and securing the return of two Free Trade candidates at the ensuing election, by a new and united Borough Reform Association. Joseph Ivimey Esq., of Amphill-square, presided, and was supported by Messrs. Douglas, Dyke, J. Wells, Clarke, Vince, Aldis, and other well known reformers of the district. Delegates also attended from Marylebone and Paddington; amongst them were observed Messrs. J. Williams, H. C. Wilson, W. Kennett, John Loveridge, Charles Nixon, J. Savage (Titchfield-street), Thorne, Swaine, &c. &c.

TIME WORKS WONDERS.—It is remarkable that the majority in favour of Sir Robert Peel's measure of total repeal is the same almost to a unit as that with which the same Parliament rejected Lord John Russell's eight shillings duty!

PLYMOUTH FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION.

TESTIMONIAL TO MR. SYMONS, THE HON. SECRETARY.—On the 11th inst., a large and highly influential meeting was held at the Plymouth Mechanics' Institute in compliance with a requisition from the respected President, C. B. Calmady, Esq., for the purpose of taking into consideration a proposition which that gentleman had to submit. The company generally were unprepared as to the object of the meeting, which was that of presenting a testimonial to Mr. Symons, the honorary secretary of the Association, for his valued and zealous services; but when they were made acquainted with its purport, they welcomed it with their most cordial approbation, and the only matter discussed in reference to it was as to the most effective way in which it should be carried out. In the course of the evening one or two other matters were touched upon incidentally—the members congratulated each other on the progress of their opinions—they excited each other to further exertion in the good cause—they declared that their work was not yet finished, but only commencing; and it was evident that they are determined to proceed with decision in unshackling our trade, and in giving greater freedom to our institutions. This is scarcely to be wondered at; the protectionists compel the continuance of the League and of those other bodies that have sprung up in opposition to monopoly; and we question whether they will not yet have great cause to regret the partial continuance of their unholy laws, even for the space of three years.

The Chairman opened the business by saying that he had taken the liberty of asking their attendance in order that they might take into consideration a proposition which he wished to submit to them with regard to the services of their excellent Secretary, Mr. John Symons (cheers). That was the sole object of this meeting; and he felt that they must be unanimous upon two points—that he had done his duty efficiently, and that he had also done it gratuitously (loud cheers).

After farther enlarging on the valuable services of Mr. Symons, the Chairman called upon other gentlemen to address the meeting—an appeal, which was responded to by W. Burnell, Esq.; Lieut. J. D. Haswell, R.N.; the Rev. W. J. Odgers; G. W. Soltan, Esq.; Mr. Friar, Mr. Blackwell, and other gentlemen zealously devoted to the good and prosperous cause, in behalf of which the Association was formed. The Rev. C. Aldrick, a clergyman of the Church of England, read an admirable paper, expressive of the change which his mind had undergone on this question, entirely through the reasoning and information promulgated by the League, and that Association. The opinions of the rev. gentleman were expressed with great vigour and with much firmness, and the candour of his remarks led to frequent and enthusiastic cheering.

By unanimous concurrence, a committee was named to consider the most appropriate method of expressing their hearty estimation of Mr. Symon's disinterested and incessant efforts to promote the efficiency of the Association and the success of the cause. It was suggested that some honourable token, expressive of their gratitude and esteem, should be presented to Mr. S. at a general tea-meeting, of which due notice would be given, and at which it was hoped that they might both congratulate their secretary, and themselves, and the great interests of this country, on the general recognition of their principles, and the ultimate success of their efforts in agitating Free Trade.

AN ACT FOR THE ABOLITION OF "HANSARD."—We have determined, for good reasons, to draw a bill, which we beg Sir Robert Peel, the Cabinet, and Parliamentary converts to Free Trade at large, to accept. We shall not trouble them with this little bill. Unlike little bills in general, it is calculated to give them pleasure, and no doubt they will gladly pass it. Here it is: "Whereas, it is expedient that on divers subjects, topics, and principles of legislation, Members of Parliament shall, upon rational conviction, or on other grounds or inducements which need not here be alluded to, change and alter their minds, speak and vote contrarily to their former professions, and veer and turn about in such manner as to them shall seem good and convenient, and that without let, molestation, or hindrance. And whereas, when disposed to make such change, the fear and dread of being twitted with inconsistency, and subjected unto irony, sarcasm, and ridicule on account thereof, is a serious let, a grievous molestation, and a strong hindrance to the accomplishment of this their design. And further, whereas any record or document containing and setting forth their said former professions, and the speeches, declarations, or votes, which they have made or given in time past, doth help and enable any evil or maliciously disposed person or persons so to twit and ridicule them, and overwhelm them with sarcasm and irony. And whereas during a late debate numerous and several hon. members have been, after this fashion, by that kind of persons, twitted, ridiculed, and sarcastically and ironically reviled to their great annoyance and discomfort, and to the infliction on them of a heavy blow and a great discouragement, by reason whereof they are well nigh unable to show their faces."

"And lastly, whereas there existeth a certain record or document of Parliamentary Debates, commonly called *Hansard*, which unhappily hath furnished the means and occasion of citing, quoting, raking up, and casting in their teeth their former speeches, votes, and declarations aforesaid; and which, if it continues to exist and be in being, will afford a like handle on future similar occasions which may be confidently expected to occur. Now, in order to prevent and render impossible hereafter for ever such injuries and vexatious revival of things past, to the discomfort and detriment of hon. members, and in particular to the affixing on them of the odious nickname of Rat; and also for their encouragement in the due and fitting change of their opinions."

"Be it therefore enacted; and it is hereby enacted, That the said record or document of Parliamentary proceedings called *Hansard* be forthwith, altogether, and entirely suppressed, discontinued, abrogated, and utterly abolished; sufficient and reasonable compensation to the printers thereof having been rendered."—*Punch*.

"PROTECTION."—Sir James Graham's annual let of grazing parks took place last week, and although the quantity of land offered for competition was considerably less than last year, the total rental obtained exceeded that of last year by upwards of 100%. This, in the face of Sir Robert Peel's new tariff! Who shall say that our "cocks of the north" are afraid of competition, or that they apprehend we shall be "dependent on foreigners for our supplies?"—*Carlisle Journal*.

OLDHAM.

REPRESENTATION OF OLDHAM.—On Monday evening a well-attended and highly respectable meeting of the friends of Free Trade, convened by circular, was held at the King's Arms Inn, Town Hall Place, for the purpose of selecting a gentleman suitable to become a candidate for Oldham on Radical and Free Trade principles. About one hundred gentlemen were present, the greater proportion of them electors. Scholes Brierley, Esq., hat manufacturer, was called upon to preside. Jonathan Mellor, jun., Esq., earnestly recommended the Liberals of the borough to be united above all things in their choice of a candidate to represent the borough in the room of General Johnson, who was expected to resign. He was extremely sorry to see the Radical and Free Trade party very much divided in their opinions as to the suitability of a candidate, but he denied that there was any truth in a rumour that had been circulated to the effect that he had identified himself, so far as support went, with the friends of Mr. John Cobbett.—William Simmons, Esq., hat manufacturer, introduced the name of John Whittaker Esq., of Higher Hurst, Ashton-under-Lyne, as a likely gentleman to be invited as a candidate, and after commenting in commendatory terms on the qualification of Mr. Whittaker, concluded by proposing that he be invited to become a candidate. John Bentley, Esq., of Greenacres Moor, seconded the motion. John Phillips Brierley, moved that the report of a sub-committee appointed at a previous meeting, recommending Lawrence Heyworth, Esq., of Liverpool, as a suitable gentleman for a candidate, be adopted.—Mr. James Butterworth, draper, of Greenacres Moor, seconded the motion. Mr. Radcliffe, solicitor, secretary of the Free Trade committee, read a communication received from Mr. Heyworth by the Radical Election Committee, explanatory of his political views. Mr. Wrigley, the secretary of the Radical Election Committee, stated, by request of parties present, that that committee had twice determined that W. J. Fox, Esq., of London, was the most suitable gentleman to become a candidate on thorough Radical and Free Trade principles. Mr. Radcliffe read the communication received from Mr. Fox by the Radical Election Committee. Abraham Wild, Esq., of Marlam Mill, proposed that W. J. Fox, Esq., of London, should be invited to become a candidate. Mr. James Chadwick, of Lees Road, seconded the motion. On the suggestion of Mr. Bailey, the letters received by the Radical Election Committee from John M. Cobbett and James Holladay, Esqrs., were read. Mr. Wrigley stated that letters had also been received from Messrs. Surge, Miall, and Vincent, but he had not them in his possession then. Mr. A. F. Taylor, of Haggate, Royton, observed that the friends of Mr. Fox had brought that gentleman forward solely with the object of uniting the Liberal party together. Mr. James Bailey, of Oldham, remarked that he extremely regretted the divisions that had taken place in the Liberal party, but as it was very desirable that they should have a townsman as a candidate on Radical principles, he would at once propose that James Holladay, Esq., be invited to become a candidate. Mr. E. Barlow, publican, seconded the motion. The various motions being put to the meeting, and a show of hands taken, the numbers were; for Mr. Fox, 46; Mr. Heyworth, 7; Mr. Holladay, 4; Mr. Whittaker, 4. The chairman declared Mr. Fox to have the majority, and in making the announcement pledged himself to do all in his power to secure his return. Jonathan Mellor, jun., Esq., recommended the propriety of each of the three Radical Election Committees appointing two or three persons from each to canvass the borough immediately, and ascertain which of the three Liberal candidates would have a majority, and that it should be arranged that the one who would be likely to obtain the greatest support should be then supported by the whole body of the Liberal party. Mr. Arrowsmith seconded the motion; and after some discussion, in which Messrs. Bailey, B. Barlow, Taylor, and Dransfield took part, the motion was rejected on a show of hands, by a large majority against it. On the motion of Daniel Collinge, Esq., the following gentlemen were appointed a sub-committee to prepare a requisition to W. J. Fox, Esq., Messrs. Wrigley, S. Brierley, A. F. Taylor, John Holden, M. Scholesfield, and J. Heap. The proceedings terminated by a vote thanks to the chairman.—*Manchester Times of Friday.*

THE
FREE TRADE INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION.—

DIRECTORS.
A. W. Paulson, Esq.,
Richard Potter, Esq.,
William Davies, Esq.,
William Wilson, Esq.,
R. G. Wilford, Esq.,
Sidney Smith, Esq.,
Charles Swaisland, Esq., Grayford.
TRUSTEES.
Dr. Thomas Price, 7, Fitzhugh-terrace, Islington.
George Thompson, Esq., 6, Waterloo place.
Captain Coggin, Upper Mill, Hammer-smith.
SECRETARY.
Messrs. Prescott, Grote, & Co.
Josh. Trimey, Esq., 26, Chancery-lane.
CLERK.
Mr. Frederick Farrand, Priory Villa, Peckham.
SECRETARY.
Mr. Alfred Leach Saul.

Prospectuses may be obtained, gratis, on application at the Society's Office, East Temple Chambers, Whitechapel street, Fleet street. The Rules (6d. each) are now ready, and may be had as above.
Persons desirous to join the Society are requested to make application immediately.
The Society's Office will be open for receiving subscriptions and the general transaction of business, every Tuesday and Friday evenings, from 6 to 9 o'clock.

THE
FREE TRADE INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION.—
As the Second Subscription is about to be called for, parties intending to avail themselves of the benefits of the Association are requested to make application for shares immediately. Until the Second Subscription is called in, shares can be obtained on the same terms as those which have been already taken up. Attendance at the Office, East Temple Chambers, Whitechapel street, Fleet street, every Tuesday and Friday evenings, from Six to Nine o'clock.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, March 21, 1846.

We once more beg to impress upon the minds of our readers that the time has not yet come when it would be safe to relax our exertions or abate our vigilance. The policy of the protectionists is to delay the progress of the measures now before Parliament until sheer weariness of watching may produce popular apathy, and thus furnish an excuse either for rejecting the Ministerial proposals, or so mutilating them as to destroy their efficacy. It is now certain that the Bill for repealing the Corn

Laws will not reach the House of Lords in time to pass before the Easter recess, and monopolists hope that the protraction of a settlement will produce a kind of careless anxiety to get rid of the contest on any terms:

For even with goodness men get discontent,
When times are out of joint and virtue spent;

These tactics, openly and avowedly adopted by our opponents, point out to us the course which we must adopt. Perseverance, steady and continuous perseverance, can alone ensure final success. Any sign of wavering on our parts would stimulate the monopolists to some great effort to disappoint our hopes, and dash away the cup at the moment it approached our lips. Let us then remember that "the end is not yet." The harbour is in sight, but it is not yet safe to drop the anchor; there are rocks and shoals to be passed, before we can reach sure holding ground. Our pilots are watchful, our officers are steady; let not our crew give way to premature indulgence of triumph. It may be that the resistance we have yet to encounter may be greater than even the monopolists themselves have yet ventured to anticipate; but we may be assured that its strength will be exactly proportioned to our state of preparation. If we exhibit such an array of force, spirit, and determination, as to render the issue certain, the struggle cannot be protracted; but if we appear supine and acquiescent, the monopolists will not fail to profit by the opportunity. "While men slept the enemy sowed tares;" let us, therefore, not sleep, "but keep our loins girt, and our lamps burning."

The monopolists are avoiding the final issue; they see that now the cause of truth and justice would be sure to triumph, but they also know that popular excitement is in its nature transitory, and that a people is in most danger during a period of reaction. We must show them that the demand for "Free Trade" is no sudden ebullition of passion, but the result of deep-rooted conviction and strong principle. Truth is the same to-day that it was yesterday, but zeal in the advocacy of truth is liable to fluctuations. The Free Traders have hitherto been as remarkable for their steadiness as for their sincerity; they have only to maintain their position, and the overthrow of monopoly will be complete, speedy, and ir retrievable.

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. Mar.14	MON. Mar.16	TUES. Mar.17	WED. Mar.18	THUR. Mar.19	FRI. Mar.20
Bank Stock .....	..	211½	212	212½	113	..
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	..	95½	95½	96½	96	95½
3 per Ct. Con. Ann.	96½	95½	95½	96½	96	95½
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	107½	107	107	107	107	107
Long An. Ex. 1860	107½	107	107	107	107	107
Cons. for Acct.	96½	96½	96½	96	96	95½
Exc. Bills, pu.	34	34½	33½	35	29	..
Ind. Bds. un. 1000l.	40	..	..	..	..	..
Venezuela 2 per Ct.	4½	..	..	..	..	..
Do. deferred.	13½	..	..	13½	..	..
Belgian 4½ per Ct.	13½	..	..	97½	..	..
Brazilian 5 per Ct.	..	83	84	83	..	..
Chilian	99	..	..	99½	99	..
Colomb. ex. Venez.	..	..	88½	..	..	..
Danish .....	..	95	95	91½	94½	94½
Dutch 4 per Cent.	60	..	..	59½	..	59½
Dutch 2½ per Cent.	31½	31½	31½	31½	31½	31½
Mexican .....	..	36½	37½	36	..	..
Peruvian .....	..	..	..	109	..	..
Portug. conv.	..	..	..	26	26	25½
Russian 5 per Cent.	26½	26½	26	26	26	25½
Spanish 5 per Ct.	36½	36½	36	36½	36½	36½
Do. 3 per Ct. ex. dv.	..	..	..	..	..	..

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MONDAY, MARCH 16.—We are to-day again moderately supplied with English Wheat, both coastways and by land-carriage. Fine dry White Wheat fetches 1s. more money than last Monday, but all other descriptions sell at the same prices as on that day. In Bonded Wheat the transactions continue to be to a very limited extent, without alteration in price. The arrival of Barley to this morning's market is not large; the best samples sell readily at last week's prices, but inferior qualities hang rather heavily on hand. Altogether there are about 22,000 quarters of Oats in the return; of these about 8000 are Foreign, and are being landed in bond. The trade is not very active, and it is impossible to effect an extensive business; but the prices obtained are rather higher than last week. Beans and Peas in fair show, with no alteration in value. S. H. LUCAS.

	BRITISH.	PER IMPERIAL QUARTER
Wheat, Essex,	Red 54 to 60	White 58 to 66
Kent, & Suffolk	49	58
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire	47	54
Scotch .....	..	54
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feeds	22	21
Do.	22	25
Ditto	22	25
Ditto	22	25
Scotch Feeds	26	26
Lincolnshire	24	25
Ditto	27	29
Cork .....	..	..
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black	21	23
Sligo	29	24
Galway	19	21

Barley	36	39
Beans, Maragan	New 31	31
Harrow	33	37
South	39	40
Peas, White	38	42
Groy	30, 32	32
Flour, Town-made	per sack of 250 lbs.	45
Norfolk and Suffolk .....	..	46

FOREIGN.

	PRICE.	IN BOND.
Wheat, Danzig, high mixed	58 to 65	54
Rostock	56	60
Stettin	52	58
Hamburg	52	57
Olesna	48	50
Odessa Polish	50	51
Russian .....	..	..
Ditto .....	..	..
Spanish	51	60
Algarve	56	62
Australian	60	69
Barley, Gristling	37	23
Distilling	20	31
Oats, Archangel	24	25
Danish .....	..	..
Swedish	21	24
Stralund .....	..	..
Dutch Feeds	22	23
Brew	27	25
Polands	29	24
Black .....	..	..
Beans, Egyptian	34	36
Peas, White .....	..	..
Ditto Boilers	42	..
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 166 lbs. ..	35	..
United States	36	37
Danzig	28	30
Australian, per sack of 250 lbs. ....	..	..

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from Mar. 9 to Mar. 14, 1846, both days inclusive.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas.
English	9588	5577	7584	1703	709
Scotch	30	680	138	..	10
Irish .....	..	..	5389	..	..
Foreign	18929	140	800	3540	1557

Flour, 6459 sacks; 1635 barrels.

FRIDAY, MARCH 20.—During the week 25,000 quarters of Foreign Wheat have arrived to this market. Of English Wheat there is not much fresh up. There is no alteration in the value of either English or Foreign from Monday. The trade continues dull. Very little Barley has arrived; and what is on sale fully supports Monday's prices. Several vessels, with about 12,000 quarters of Oats from Ireland, are reported in time for to-day's market. This is a considerable proportion of what was on the way from Ireland; so that the quantity at present coming is very limited. From Scotland also but few shipments are now being made. The trade to-day is dull; but is, more money asked than on Monday, and what sales are effected are at fully 6d. over the prices of that day. There is no alteration in the value of Beans or Peas. The duty rose yesterday 1s. each on Barley, Beans, and Peas. S. H. LUCAS.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 16th of March to the 20th of March, both inclusive.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	2160	..	25000
Barley	970	..	..
Oats	2170	11500	690

Flour, 1020 sacks.

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending March 17, 1846.

	Qrs.	Price.		Qrs.	Price.
Wheat	7281	59s. 6d.	Rye	27	36s. 0d.
Barley	4590	50s. 5d.	Beans	14½	34s. 10d.
Oats	18213	22s. 11d.	Peas	715	35s. 0d.

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d.						
7th Feb.	54	3	30	10	21	7
14th "	54	0	31	6	21	9
21st "	55	0	29	11	21	6
28th "	54	6	29	7	21	5
7th March	54	10	29	3	21	10
14th "	54	3	29	4	21	9

Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks. Wheat, 54s. 7d.; Barley, 29s. 11d.; Oats, 21s. 8d.; Rye, 35s. 5d.; Beans, 34s. 11d.; Peas, 34s. 10d.

Duty. Wheat, 18s. 0d.; Barley, 9s. 0d.; Oats, 6s. 0d.; Rye 9s. 6d.; Beans, 8s. 6d.; Peas, 8s. 6d.

Stock of Corn in Bond, Feb. 5, 1846.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.	Flour
In London, 424256	13765	48060	..	534	1351	115436	Cwts.
Unit. King. 1061780	74467	82619	..	4757	4175	685814	

MEAT MARKET.

The supply of Beef being inadequate to the consumption very much advanced the price this week.

	PRICE OF 8 LBS. BY THE CARCASE.
Prime Beef	4s 0d to 3s 8d
Middle Mutton	4s 2d to 4s 0d
Middling do.	3s 6d to 3s 4d
Plain, or info.	3s 4d to 3s 2d
Prime Mutton	4s 0d to 3s 8d

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MARCH 13.

BANKRUPTCY ANNOUNCED.

Henry Pearson Coles, of Suffolk, innkeeper.

BANKRUITS

Joseph Scholesfield, Cheapside, cutler. [Messrs. Reed and Langford, Friday street.

Miles Griffith and Philip Pearson, of New Bond street, tailors. [Messrs. Wood and Fraser, Dean street.

Thomas Hubert, Hungerford Market, Strand, lighterman. [Mr. Tribe, Barge-yard-chambers, Bucklersbury.

J. E. West and H. Tennant, Leeds, stock brokers. [Mr. H. Walker, Farnival's Inn, London.

A. Shipton and J. W. Jenkins, Painswick, Gloucester, clothiers. [Mr. W. T. Paris, Stroud, Gloucestershire.

Thos. Sutton, jun., Atherstone, Warwickshire, draper. [Mr. Wratlaw, Rugby.

W. Hading, Stockport, cotton manufacturer. [Mr. J. Coppock, Cleveland-row.

D. Broadhead & A. J. Halcro, Leeds, stock brokers. [Messrs. Williamson and Co., Gray's Inn, London.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

R. Stevenson and Co., Glasgow, sewed muslin manufacturers.

J. Robertson, Glasgow, iron merchant.

TUESDAY, MARCH 17.

CROWN OFFICE.

MEMBERS RETURNED TO SERVE IN THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT.

Borough of Stafford.—The Hon. Sir James Thomas Carnegie, one of the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury.

Borough of New Wiltshire.—Hugh Neville, Esq., one of the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury.

County of Mayo.—Joseph Miles McDonnell, Esq., in the room of Mark Billo, Esq., who has accepted the office of Steward of her Majesty's Chiltern Hundreds.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

Peter Orr, Kilmarnock, skinner.

James Cowper, Broomelton, farmer.

Henry Reid and John Reid, Greenock, drysalter.

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THE LEAGUE.

No. 131.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, MARCH 28, 1846.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newalls-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

PLAIN HINTS TO ALL PARTIES.

We are afraid the people and the protectionists do not, even yet, quite understand one another. There is a mistake somewhere—a twofold and mutual mistake—pregnant with very serious consequences, to at least one of the parties concerned. On each side there is a disposition to take things for granted; and things taken for granted are apt to turn out unpleasantly. The people are too easy about the Bill—and the protectionists are too easy about the people. Agitation has had a lull, since Sir Robert Peel took the Free Trade business in hand; and the landlords flatter themselves they have seen the worst. They do not discriminate—they mistake the quiescence of confidence for that of indifference—the repose of conscious power for lassitude and weakness—a momentary halt for a final retreat. Because we feel ourselves so sure of our revolution that we can afford to take it composedly, they fancy we are willing to let them off, and go without our revolution. As they have neither been tossed in a blanket, nor brushed into the Thames, they take heart and play their antics—and, “thank God,” they have not been in a hurry—and don’t mean to be in a hurry, for who knows but the chapter of accidents may turn up something to their advantage?

We warn both parties *not* to be too sure. The people will do well not to take for granted anything about the Bill that it is not in their own power to realise. It is anything but certain that the Bill will pass. To be sure, Sir Robert Peel has made a Government measure of it, and the Premier has got a reputation for passing his measures; but we have nothing that can be called a guarantee for the passing of *this* measure. Sir Robert Peel can give us no sort of assurance that his Bill will encounter, unharmed, the ordeal of that “other place” to which it will be forwarded some time between now and next Christmas. Sir Robert Peel’s jurisdiction does not, in the estimation of some of our best and most modern political geographers, include that “other place.” The Duke of Richmond, the other day, on catching the words “Corn Bill,” “repeal,” and “delay,” as read from a petition, interjectionally ejaculated, “*I do not say that it will pass at all;*” and we, for our part, are not prepared to contradict very positively the vaticinations of a prophet who possesses, we know not what power, of verifying his own prediction. We “do not say that it will pass at all;” i.e., that Sir Robert Peel’s Bill will pass at all. We can only say, that we can’t say. We only know, that there is no knowing. The Bill has a long way to go yet before reaching the haven of the

statute book, and there is no counting and measuring chances. We never heard yet, on reliable authority, that a majority of lordly votes would so much as affirm the second reading—to say nothing of the dangers of the Committee, at which stage proxies go for nothing. It is quite certain that the opposition will be very numerous, very fierce, and very reckless—and will enjoy, in Lord Stanley, the leadership of a chieftain pre-eminently qualified for heading a mad party in a mad policy. It is also certain, that a meeting of the protectionist peers has just been held, the temper of which would appear to have been very much the same with that of the men who “thank God” for their own obstinacy, and hold themselves “justified in resorting to any Parliamentary form to get rid of the measure.” On the whole, we advise the people to make sure of nothing—to believe nothing till they see it—and prepare themselves meanwhile to act on the instant, as occasion may require it.

To the landlords likewise we would offer a word in season. It may not be, indeed, a very hopeful task, advising Messieurs the protectionists to be rational. Yet there are degrees and individual diversities in all collective psychological phenomena; and it is just possible that the good seed of cautionary suggestion may fall, here and there, on good ground. Possibly it may not be altogether a waste of time to attempt interpreting, for the benefit of protectionist honourable gentlemen and noble lords, the real significance of those indications of public opinion and temper which they are so dangerously bent on reading the wrong way. We warn them not to mistake the import of the present lull:—there are in it, and beneath it, all the elements of a storm brewing—of such a storm as the oldest man among them has never been out in yet. That the country takes the present delay so quietly, is because the country has not the particle of a doubt but it will all come right by and by. We are not particular for a week or two, more or less, because we look on the eventful result as a fixed thing. It never occurs to us to doubt that what Sir Robert Peel, and Lord John Russell, and every man with a statesman’s name and fame among the adherents of either of these party chiefs, are unanimously agreed on, is certain of coming to pass;—and if it were not, we have, behind and underneath our faith in Peel and Russell, an absurd, self-relying faith in our own strength and the inevitable course of events. Now, this is a decidedly dangerous temper of mind to take liberties with. When, for weeks and months together, the total repeal of the Corn Law has stood foremost among the certainties of the people’s political creed; when popular expectation has become familiar with the total repeal of the Corn Law as with a thing that is as good as done; when the very certainty and nearness of repeal have already begun to suspend or relax exertions that seem to be no longer in requisition;—then, we say, let all lords and men take care how they thwart so ripe a national purpose, so strong and self-collected a national will.

If their lordships of the Upper House have it in contemplation to throw out this bill—or to “amend” it, which would come to exactly the same thing—they will do well to prepare themselves for very disagreeable consequences. In the event of the Peel measure not becoming law, there will be such a revulsion of public feeling as England has not seen yet—not even in those Reform Bill days which a few of their lordships may happen to retain in fresh remembrance. The people had never felt so sure of the Reform Bill as they feel now of the Free Trade Bill. The people had never felt the Reform Bill to be already as good as passed, as they have now, for upwards of two months, felt the Free Trade Bill to be as good as passed. There never was such

a union of parties in favour of the Reform Bill, as there is now in favour of a Free Trade policy, that arrays on one and the same side all the first-class statesmen of the country, and the entire commercial and industrious public, without a shadow of distinction between Whig and Tory; or between capitalist and operative. There never was such unanimity for the Reform Bill, as that expressed and represented by the deputations from Lancashire that have visited London within the past two days. And there never was the same physical and social necessity for the Reform Bill which there is for abolishing a prohibitory food tax in the face of famine. We tell the protectionists—as they were told not long since by Mr. Cobden—that there is opinion enough on this question to change the constitution of the country. Let them look to it, that this stupendous, but as yet quiescent, mass of moral force be not stimulated into active and antagonistic self-assertion.

Assuming that if it visibly came to be a question between protection and the “order,” our protectionist peers would mostly be for letting protection go, and standing by their order, we beg to give them early notice that this is the question. The rejection of the Government measure by the House of Lords would bring us at once to the broad practical issue,—which is the stronger, the House of Lords, or the empire *minus* the House of Lords? There would be nothing to break or divide the force of that reactionary movement which would instantly set in against aristocracy as a political power. It would be, *the Lords against the country, and the country against the Lords*. The case would be terribly distinct and simple. The Lords would stand ALONE. The sympathies of no one class or party in the country would be with them. They are, essentially, a class by themselves. No other class is mixed up with them. Lords are only lords. They have no merchants, no manufacturers, no middle-class men among them. They are all landowners, and only landowners. If rumour be correct in stating that “the duke” has, in a quiet way, pressed on their lordships’ attention the dire possibility of a NEW REFORM BILL as the penalty of obstinacy, rumour has certainly done great honour to the duke’s sagacity. No institution, or constitution, on the face of the earth could stand the stress of such a struggle as would commence in this country, from the hour in which the House of Lords should declare itself *Non-content* with the Bill for giving hunger and industry their own.

THE LANDLORDS’ CHIEF DIFFICULTY.

The progress of the great Parliamentary talking-match against time does not present any noticeable points. Since the house disposed of the political philosophy of those distinguished statesmen who rest England’s “maritime supremacy” on bad ships and little trade, things have gone on rather heavily. A tedious succession of nobodies have duly mouthed, with dismal uniformity, their several and respective nothings; and we may fairly hold ourselves exonerated from the worse than Egyptian toil of endeavouring to make something out of nothing. Even the Free Trade speeches, excellent as they were in themselves, of Mr. Fox Maule and Mr. Hawes, can scarcely be regarded as having materially helped forward the business of the house and the country. In the present state of the question, “constitutional silence” seems, on the whole, the best contribution that our best friends can make to the public cause.

One speech of the week deserves, however, to be named, as standing out in relief from the general blank and negation of practical interest. Mr. Francis Baring, on Tuesday night, offered a really useful and timely aid to the progress of business.

Mr. Baring asked the protectionists a question which, it is evident, has stuck by them ever since, and which they will probably continue to ponder over, not altogether without benefit to themselves and the public in general. He "*begged to ask them what THEY proposed to do with regard to this Corn Law?*" Let us have your plan, gentlemen protectionists. You will not have Peel's Bill—you will not have the League's Bill—*what will you have?* Suppose you were in office to-morrow, what would you come down to Parliament to propose the day after to-morrow? By your own admission—an admission which you have only begun retracting since its inconvenient consequences have suggested themselves—you must do *something*. By your own admission, the sliding scale of 1842 will not exactly do now. You have confessed, that with famine in Ireland, Sir Robert Peel would have been justified in suspending—or was, rather, bound to suspend—the sliding scale that won't slide. You would have indemnified him if he had suspended it. You have condemned him because he has not suspended it. You are ready to help him in suspending it now—at least, the other day you said you were. Well, then, if you come in, the sliding scale of 1842 goes out, for a while;—and what do you mean to put in its place? You can never restore it—for its suspension would be its condemnation. Suspend the sliding scale, and you deny its self-acting power—the only merit which it was ever pretended that it possessed. Suspend the sliding scale, and you must give us a new Corn Law of some sort or other;—now do tell us, *of what sort*. "Condescend to be intelligible."

If the faction were honest and in earnest, this would be decisive. It is plain that if Mr. Miles or Lord George were Prime Minister to-morrow with a working majority of Tyrrells and Finches, he would by-and-bye begin to do exactly what his predecessor had done. The moment responsibility really pressed, he would show himself a perfect Peel for perfidy. Tyrrell would turn traitor, and Finch himself would finch. No help for it. The Peel premises, which are FACTS, would necessitate the Peel conclusion. The moment they began breathing official atmosphere, they would inhale the "Free Trade influenza." It is only a question *who* shall do it, and *when* it shall be done;—done it must and will be. The difference is only a little sooner, or a little later—this year or next year—the spring or the autumn—by this Parliament and Cabinet, or by another;—in a time of comparative national quiet, or amid the crash of confusion of a political hurricane. The protectionist Premier's three months' experience—one only wishes he could have it free of cost to the empire—would come to exactly the same thing as Sir Robert Peel's three years' experience: protection would go all the same—only some other things quite as valuable would go with it.

IRELAND AND THE CORN LAWS.

It was with mingled feelings of regret and surprise that we felt ourselves compelled to annul last week on the advocacy of the Corn Laws by Mr. W. Smith O'Brien. Another Irish member has adopted the same course since our last publication, whose exhibition gives us no pain, as the very best of causes would have been dishonoured by his advocacy—and no surprise, for his career has been marked by the most perfect consistency. The right honourable Frederick Shaw, representative of the Dublin University, has been the unvarying supporter of Corn Laws and coercion bills—of protection and proscription—of prizes to landlords, and penalties to tenants—of ascendancy for one class and degradation for another—of the despotism of the few and the oppression of the many; so that it needed not the notorious disregard of his arrogant pretensions by the Premier to explain his opposition to any and every measure designed for the general benefit of the Irish people.

So jumbled in his cranium meet
The subjects, he must often doubt
Whether this year, 'twas bonded wheat
Or bonded papists they let out.

There were, however, a candour about the Shaw

system of policy, a simplicity in his theory of economic science, and a truthfulness in his exposition of his system of Government, which merit attention, if not approbation. Irish destitution is, in his view, a matter of periodical recurrence; and, therefore, he declares that relief must be unnecessary. Like the eels in the fable, the Irish are as used to be starved alive, as the fish were to be skinned alive; and, therefore, the application of a remedy is superfluous. In his opinion there has been a prescriptive right established for famine, and a vested interest created for fever; and if the two pestilences have been this year a little more destructive than usual, he deems that their excesses deserve no more reprobation from Englishmen than wholesale ejections have received from Lord Brougham. It is only a question of the lives of a few thousand peasants, more or less; a matter far too trivial to interfere with the weightier matters that press upon the mind of a Dublin Recorder, or an English ex-Chancellor.

The representative of a University is generally taken as a type of the intellectual standard of the place of learning that has made him its choice. The Lord help Trinity College if its member be ever taken as a measure of its capacity! He says that fever in Ireland is to be attributed to want of employment, and not to want of food! There is not a child in an English Sunday School who could not tell him that employment is only valuable as a means of purchasing food; and that want of employment and want of food are perfectly identical. It would be time to despair utterly of Ireland if Mr. Frederick Shaw were taken to represent its intelligence, and Mr. Smith O'Brien its patriotism.

But Mr. Shaw supports his views by a reference to authorities; he quotes Mr. Justice Torrens, who declared at Omagh that "he had not been greatly struck by any appearance of starvation or misery." Rolling in a comfortable carriage over the excellent roads of the county Tyrone, and escorted by policemen, javelin-men, and the retainers of a high-sheriff, it is not at all probable that such an amount of misery would be brought within the sphere of observation as would greatly strike the mind of Mr. Justice Torrens; and if, according to the theory of Descartes, magnitude of external object requires equal magnitude of mind to afford due susceptibility, we should not be at all surprised to learn that the effect of the *striking* on the mind of Mr. Justice Torrens was in something like an inverse ratio to the misery which he witnessed.

The next witness is Mr. Lefroy, the member for Longford; but he gives adverse evidence, for he allows the admission to ooze out that "precautions are necessary,"—not such precautions as those with which the name of Lefroy is apt to be associated, against too great comfort in farmers, or too great respectability in tenants,—but precautions against actual famine, and the perilous counsels of starvation.

The letters of the unnamed clergymen read by the learned Recorder must be taken, like all anonymous statements, as destitute of any weight from external evidence. Let us then glance at their internal value. A clergyman of the established church (we should be glad to know his name), residing near Fermoy, declares, "*My own potatoes are very good*; and several persons whom I saw opening pits, *told me* that theirs were very good, also." The excellent man!—quite content with hearsay for the supply of his poor neighbours, but resolved to have ocular demonstration for his own store! Now, in this very town of Fermoy, several meetings have been held, at one of which at least Lord Mountcashel (no great friend to Free Trade), was present, and took an active part in the proceedings, when resolutions proclaiming a terrific state of destitution in the town and neighbourhood, and a still more terrific prospect for the coming summer, were unanimously adopted. Where, then, was this pious clergyman, whose own potatoes were *very good*? Why was not his voice raised to give hope in the midst of despair? How beautiful upon Kilworth mountains would have been the feet of the bearer of such glad tidings! The yale of the

Blackwater would have rejoiced, and the dell of the Funchoon would have reflected its gladness! But this anonymous clergyman appears to be one of those who proclaim evil with the sound of a trumpet, and love to whisper announcements of good into such sympathetic ears as those of Mr. Frederick Shaw. There are so few Presbyterian clergymen in the south of Ireland, that the correspondent of Mr. Shaw, under this title, is sure to be identified, and to furnish a theme for laughter unextinguishable as that of Homer's gods. We say for laughter, because the ludicrous and the melancholy have a strange propinquity in their sympathetic associations. Democritus and Heraclitus have their representatives in every human bosom.

Si credas utrique
Res sunt humanæ flebile ludibrium.

"The mournful laughing-stock" of the poet would be as perfectly exemplified in the presbyter's letter, if we could be quite sure that the extracts were not garbled; but on this point we have a doubt, and we give the unfortunate man the benefit of the doubt.

Mr. Shaw informed his hearers, or rather his readers (for we cannot believe that the speech before us was really spoken in a legislative assembly, and are disposed to believe that reporters have formed a conspiracy against recorders), that he was no political economist—a fact which it needed no ghost to tell us,—but he added that he was a man of common sense, and forthwith set himself to refute the assertion most satisfactorily. He compared the keeping of Irish corn at home for the support of the people to the case of a butcher keeping his meat to feed his family; and the mischievous reporters assert, that amid the collective wisdom of the British nation were to be found such arrant blockheads as those who could cheer the comparison. Every-body knows, that for every joint of meat the butcher exports from his shop, he imports other articles of consumption or the means of purchasing them; while for the quarters of corn exported from Ireland, the producing peasantry literally import nothing. So far as Ireland is concerned, the whole question turns on the interest of the producers,—a very different interest from that of landlords, as the demand for a coercion bill proves, unfortunately, too well,—and we need go no farther than Mr. Shaw himself, to prove the consequences of the Corn Laws on the condition of Irish producers, when he tells us that they are subject to periodical visitations of scarcity, of which the present famine is but a slight aggravation.

While we write, the copy of a petition for the continuance of the Corn Laws, from certain grand jurors of the county of Tipperary, has been placed in our hands. Now it is a singular but not inexplicable coincidence, that the petitions in favour of the Corn Laws from the South of Ireland have emanated from the landlords in the disturbed districts, while not one has come from a locality in which peace and order have been maintained without interruption. Of the three names that appear in the Parliamentary return, two, we believe, represent properties in other counties. We should like to know how these names happen to be influential for protection in Tipperary, and of no avail in Cork and Waterford? It is significant to find that Corn Laws are most supported where coercion bills are most earnestly sought; and we leave our readers to ponder on the fact that those who are the most opposed to exchange of produce are also most averse to exchange of thought; and that the supporters of restriction on trade are also the clamourers for restriction on every principle that deserves to be considered a constituent of freedom.

THE AMERICAN FREE TRADE LEADERS.—We have the pleasure to announce the receipt by the League of a gratifying present from America. Henry Gourdin, Esq., of Charleston, South Carolina, has presented to the Council the busts of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun and the Hon. George Macduffie, the Villiers and Cobden of America. These busts of the distinguished leaders of the Free Trade party in America, and the advocates of peace, have been placed in the Council Room, surrounded by the various portraits of their cotemporary labourers in the same good cause in England. We hope this is the commencement of a collection of distinguished Free Traders of all nations.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE
SESSION OF 1846.

Tenth Week, ending Saturday, March 28.

The new farce of Protectionist *tactique*, the title of which is *Never say Die*, continues to be played nightly in the House of Commons with a most unsuccessful yet most persevering run. Sometimes the benches are crowded; more frequently they are empty, unless when a vote is required, and then a powerful majority musters, to give to the house and the country an emphatic declaration of opinion. But the minority receive each successive defeat in the same sense that the actor who was playing Richard the Third on a barn door, Bosworth Field, received an *encore*—he got up after he was killed, to gratify his audience by being killed over again. The whole thing would be very funny if it were as harmless as Richard's duplicate death. But when the bankers, the merchants, the manufacturers, the traders, of London, Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, and all our other great towns, are pouring into the House of Commons petitions complaining of the mischief which the unnecessary delay is causing, it is scarcely possible to keep temper at witnessing the desperate conduct of a desperate faction. Had Mr. Villiers and his supporters pursued a similar line of conduct on any occasion during the last seven years, the section "under the gangway" would have uttered frantic outcries, and branded their conduct with all the terms of a copious vocabulary. Even on occasions when the certainly modest request was preferred, of prolonging an Anti-Corn-Law debate for a day longer, in order to allow members who had not yet spoken an opportunity of expressing their opinions, there used to be vociferous shouts for a division; and the "gangway section," in particular, poured out such epithets as "factious," "indecent," "vulgar," and so forth. Now, they have had two clear months, and yet show no disposition to submit to the constitutional will of a majority. Let them beware of setting the precedent of a REVOLUTIONARY practice, the imitation of which, at some future period, may show how possible it is to "better the instruction" given by the protectionist faction.

Compare the conduct of the Anti-Corn-Law League, as exhibited by its supporters in the House of Commons, with that of the Miles and Bentinck clique on the present occasion. The Anti Corn-Law League invariably submitted to the expressed will of a majority. In so doing they acted most constitutionally, and proved how truly conservative are those reformers who rely on the force of argument and the power of truth. Their renewed discussions were certainly most distasteful to those who are now the "gangway" revolutionists. But though they persevered in *bringing them on*, they also allowed them to go off. The debates ran their constitutional course. They were commenced, and they were finished. Motions were made; speeches were delivered; a division was called for; and Mr. Villiers and his friends were defeated. Then, "strong in faith," and "hoping against hope," they submitted to legislative will, and turned to the country. With perfect and humble reverence be it said, there is, though of course in a far inferior degree, an analogy between the course of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and that of the first propagators of Christianity. The leading language of both was "submit to those who are in authority," even though they brand your doctrines as absurd, and your conduct as wicked. But continue your peaceful exertions until the moral atmosphere is charged with your doctrines. If Cæsar repulses you, retire respectfully from his presence; and continue your argument with the subjects of Cæsar. Then, when you have triumphed in the country, return once more to the palace. Appeal again unto Cæsar. It may be that his heart will be opened; and that fact, experience, and truth, may lead him to kick his idol into the fire, and become a leader in your ranks.

What is the course of the section "under the gangway?" Literally that of mere desperadoes. It would be absurd—nay, a little too much of the ludicrous—to compare Lord George Bentinck to Milton's "Satan"; for it is not recorded in "Paradise Lost" that he wore white kid gloves, a little soiled, though we have not the least doubt that he has often won bets at Epsom and Newmarket. Yet, on Friday night week, in his speech on the timber duties, Lord George uttered, in hissing accents, a furious speech, the burden of which was, "Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven!" For the sake of protection he would have war with France, war with the United States, war for Oregon, war for anything, war with everybody. He scarcely disguised his object by adopting the correct phrases about "thundering broadsides," "language not to be understood," (a blunder which caused a great laugh, and which he corrected by saying "not to be misunderstood") and other warlike epithets. The undeniable construction of the speech of Lord George Bentinck, on Friday night week, was clearly this: Let us get this country into a desperate struggle with other nations, and then we will have a chance of at once thinning our surplus population, and of maintaining high rents for a long time to come.

The whole conduct of the protectionists is worthy of such a leader. They have no other idea than that of "obstruct, obstruct, obstruct." Their speeches, they believe, will find their way, like so many hopping toads, to the House of Lords, and, in particular, will sit down at the ear of that pacific Eve, Lord Stanley, and persuade him to pluck the fruit which may bring ruin on our world; for, be it known, that Lord Stanley thinks that he has been politically extinguished by Sir Robert Peel, forgetful of much that may be attributed

to his own petulance and his pride. So he is waiting in senatorial dignity for the expected opportunity of finding out a new way of paying old debts. He may be stimulated to try if he can upset the present political stage-coach, in order once more, to run his own "Derby Dilly" in its stead. Never mind commerce. Never mind trade. Never mind manufactures. Give us a row—the vernacular meaning of appealing to the constituencies. Let not our readers suppose this to be too strong. The madness of faction is much stronger. It touches, as the protectionists think, the interest of their breeches pockets; and so, with Lord John Manners, they sing—

"Let trade and commerce, laws and learning, die,
But give us still our *corn nobility*."

We are sorry that truth compels us to say that the language and conduct of the Whig party gives some encouragement to the protectionists. For, though they are heartily supporting the ministerial measures, their whole tone and temper, their language and their acts, amount to this:—Let us get the Corn Bill passed, and then an early occasion will arise for a motion which will upset the Government of Sir Robert Peel. The protectionists take advantage of this, and they hope that by protracting the debate, the occasion will arise *before* the Corn Bill has passed. Meantime, Sir Robert Peel, conscious that by his *inconsistency* he has saved the aristocracy from ruin, and the country from the dangers, of an ultimate revolution, patiently, devotedly, determinedly, perseveres, as if he had made up his mind that the present ministerial schemes were the fulfilment of his present mission, and that he will dignifiedly retire when what he himself has termed his "great undertaking," has been accomplished.

Of the debate, on Friday night week, on the timber duties (which terminated the *initiatary* discussions on the tariff) we are not disposed to take any notice. The leading point was the violent and inflammatory speech of Lord George Bentinck. Its characteristics were the practical speech from Mr. Warburton, and the sensible one from Mr. Charles Bulwer. If nonsense could ever comprehend sense, these two speeches might have been conclusive. But a division was necessary. For the Government measure there voted 233; against it 109, giving a majority of 123. Then permission was given to introduce the bill or bills embodying the tariff.

On Monday, Earl Grey, in the House of Lords, raised an important debate on the state of Ireland. The attendance of peers was numerous; and Earl Grey, who, as Lord Howick, in the House of Commons, used to support the motions of Mr. Villiers and Mr. Cobden with great power, clearness, and force of argument, did not lower his reputation on the present occasion. His speech contained many boldly uttered truths, which the House of Lords is not in the habit of hearing. But after a lengthened debate, the noble lord's motion was rejected by 61 to 17.

In the House of Commons, the second reading of the Corn Bill came on, when, as had been announced, an amendment was proposed, on which it was understood there was to be a *week's* discussion. On this occasion there was a slight change of performers. The amendment, that the Bill be read "that day six months," was proposed by

Mr. Eliot Yorke, the brother of the Earl of Hardwicke, and one of the representatives for Cambridgeshire. It will be recollected that the Earl of Hardwicke held a situation in the royal household, which he resigned when Sir Robert Peel announced his measures. Now, so long as the Earl retained an official position, his brother, the county member, defended the Government, and got himself into much trouble with his constituency; and to do some of the farmers and landlords of the Cambridgeshire fens justice, they are about as troublesome a set of protectionists as may be found. The reason is at hand. They believe that if protection be withdrawn, the sea will not merely break down their dykes, but flood their low levels, sowing "wild oats" over their property. The Earl of Hardwicke having gone into opposition, his brother goes also, and makes up for his former advocacy of Sir Robert Peel by the bitterness of his present attack on him. "The right hon. baronet," said Mr. Eliot Yorke, in a fluent, dippant, schoolboyish speech, looked to posterity for his indemnity, and there was no doubt but that the future historian would give him his due. He would be represented as a man who had been trusted on account of his professions by a great party of his countrymen, but whom that party had been obliged to abandon on account of his subsequent withdrawal from every one of these professions. It would be said of him—

"He stood alone, a renegade
Against the party he betrayed;
He stood alone amidst his band,
Without a trusted heart or hand."

This sort of vituperation from the small fry of the protectionists must often remind Sir Robert Peel of the Fool in King Lear:—

"Lear.—O me, my heart, my rising heart!—but down!
"Fool.—Cry to it, Nuncle, as the cockney did to the eels, when she put them i' the paste alive; she rapped 'em o' the coxcombs with a stick, and cried, 'down, wantons, down.' 'Twas her brother that in pure kindness to his horse butchered his hay."

Omitting all mention of the small arguments of the small men who spoke on Monday night, we may mention that Mr. McGeachy, the Conservative member for Honiton, made a sensible speech in support of the Government. But the following deserves particular perusal. Mr. Fox Maule, eldest son of Lord Panmure, is heir to a vast agricultural property; yet see what he says:

Mr. Fox MAULE hoped the house would allow him to introduce a few observations upon this question. He did so

from feeling it was right that those who were connected solely with the landed property of the country, and who had nothing else to look to, ought to state the grounds upon which they supported the proposition of her Majesty's Government. He could not say of that proposition that it had his entire and cordial approval, because it did not go to the extent he wished it to proceed. It fell short of that which he considered requisite to remedy the difficulties it was proposed to meet; but nevertheless, such as it was, he for one accepted it with gratitude, and he should endeavour to give it his most cordial support (hear, hear). He had listened to the honourable gentleman who proposed the amendment, and he confessed he felt some difficulty in accounting for the statement he had made with reference to the feelings this measure had created, not only in the breasts of landlords, but in the breasts of farmers and agricultural labourers on this side of the Tweed. It had been his duty, ever since the measure had been proposed, to investigate the feelings which existed towards it in that country, and among that class to which he more immediately belonged; and he had no hesitation in publicly declaring that the result of that investigation had been this—not only was there no panic among the landlords, or among the farmers, but in spite of all that had been said, agricultural arrangements were proceeding with an increased activity from day to day. He would state to the house, in reference to the observations which had fallen from the other side, a practical example of that which he had mentioned. When this proposition was first made, a document was laid before a public meeting emanating from one to whom, however he might have sometimes differed upon the means he took to advocate this question, he had no hesitation in saying the country was under a very deep debt of gratitude for his exertions. He meant the honourable member for Stockport (hear, hear). The letter which that hon. gentleman addressed to the farmers of the kingdom, shortly after this measure was proposed, had been widely canvassed in his (Mr. F. Maule's) county, at many of the largest markets there; and within ten days after the right honourable gentleman at the head of the Government had developed his measures, the farmers, who he would not say were in the first instance anxious for it, but after having seen and heard the arguments in their support in that letter, they came to the conclusion, that instead of their being put off for three years, their interests would have been best consulted had the abolition of the Corn Laws taken place at once (hear, hear, hear). Such was his own conclusion, and he must say that he looked with regret upon the proposed measure of the Government, because it contained provisions for maintaining the present Corn Laws for a further period of three years, and he also looked with regret upon the time which had already intervened since the right honourable gentleman had proposed this measure, and which he feared must yet intervene before even the measure of the right honourable gentleman could be carried into effect (hear, hear). He could not but remember that on the 1st of November last the right honourable gentleman had proposed, on account of the apprehended scarcity, both in Ireland and in this country, to open the ports for the free admission of foreign grain. We had now arrived at nearly the end of March, and still there was no decided prospect of even the partial remedy of her Majesty's Government being carried through that house of Parliament. He had certainly anticipated, and had hoped, before that house should separate for the Easter recess, that the measure would at any rate have passed that tribunal; but he regretted to think that, during the next week, they were to have mixed with that debate another subject of the deepest importance to a neighbouring country; and the experience which he had had of Irish debates forbade him to hope that the present measure would be read a third time in that house before the Easter recess (hear, hear, and a laugh). Under all the circumstances, he could not anticipate that before the end of May, at least, any advantage could be expected to accrue from it. He could not find fault with the length of time which the discussion of that subject had already occupied, for every one had a right fully to speak on so important a subject, particularly if he felt that his interests were affected. The landlords had stated that it was a question in which they were deeply concerned. He (Mr. F. Maule) must say he believed that in his county the interests of the landlords would be as safe after this measure should become law as they were at present; and he not only believed that the alarm which they expressed now was groundless, but he was surprised at the conduct of many of those who had (if he might use the expression) the very groundlessness of it under their own immediate eyes. He knew one noble lord who had withdrawn his proxy from the Government, and had given it to the noble duke who led the protectionist party in another place, and yet he knew at the same time that ten days after the right honourable baronet had made his proposal known to the country the noble lord had let two farms upon his own property at an increased rental (hear, hear, hear). He stated the fact, because one fact was worth a bushel of arguments (hear, hear). One farm was renewed for a period of nineteen years. Previously the rent was 480*l.* a year. Ten days after the right honourable baronet's proposal was made known, a rent was offered for the ensuing nineteen years of 570*l.* per annum, being an increase of 90*l.* a year (hear, hear). Hitherto the rent had been paid half in grain and half in money; the whole increase of rent was conditioned to be paid exclusively in money (cheers). The other farm was let within a few days afterwards. He was not acquainted with the precise details, but he was within the mark when he stated that it had been let at an increased rent of 20 per cent. He had consulted nearly the whole of the land agents in the large county of Perth, and they could not inform him of one single instance within their knowledge where the lease of a farm having expired the offers on it had not risen, and the increased offers had not been accepted by the landlords (hear, hear). He observed that a few days ago a petition had been presented in another place from the county of Haddington against the proposed measures of the Government, and yet he knew that so far from having been depressed in value, a farm in that county had not many days ago, been let upon a new lease at the enormous price of five guineas an acre. These facts concurred to make him think that if the whole agricultural interest of Scotland were fairly to consider the proposed measures, the result would be that they would look forward to the issue of the principles of Free Trade as to one which would enable them to stand in a much improved condition with reference to the other classes of the community (hear, hear). He looked upon those measures of her Majesty's Government as calculated to sooth and calm the feelings of irritation which might exist in our own community; but he looked also upon those measures of commercial freedom as calculated to reach to a far greater extent, and to secure

peace between nations and throughout the world (hear, hear). Let them look to America, and he would ask to what did they attribute the changed tone of America? He attributed it, first, to the calm and dignified manner in which all parties in this country had treated the subject in dispute; but he equally ascribed it to those measures of freedom of trade and commercial liberty which had emanated from her Majesty's Government, and which he was sure would be found by all parties, whether extended to America or to any other country on the face of the globe, to be their best security for peace, whilst they would eventually secure to this country an abundant supply of all articles which entered into the food, and conduced to the comfort of the people (hear, hear).

The adjourned debate on Tuesday was marked by two or three good speeches. Mr. Hawes, member for Lambeth, gave an able and elaborate review of the whole influence and effects of Corn Laws and a protective system, demonstrating by figures and facts their inutility as well as mischief. Sir John Hamner, also, descendant of a celebrated SPEAKER of the House of Commons—

(“Illustrious age! how bright thy glories shone
When Hamner filled the chair, and Anne the throne”)

speaking as a landed proprietor, condemned the Corn Laws. Mr. Francis Baring, too, (he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Whig administration) warned the protectionists against the folly and madness of endeavouring to force on a dissolution of Parliament on such a question as this. But only conceive Mr. Shaw, the Recorder of Dublin, after denying that there was any famine in Ireland, from a failure of the potato crop, talking in this strain:—But the right hon. baronet at the head of her Majesty's Government had changed his opinions, and in the words of the poet:

“Ban, ban!—Cú—Caliban,
Has a new master—Get a new man.”

(Renewed cheering and laughter from the protectionists.) No wonder they cheered and laughed. Mr. Shaw is a judge; and if he goes on in this style, he might possibly emulate that celebrated judicial wag, Lord Norbury, who could make a poor fellow burst out laughing, on whom he was passing sentence of death.

But there is one speech which was delivered on Tuesday night deserving preservation. Mr. Rashleigh, head of the ancient Cornwall house of Rashleigh, spoke in the following enlightened way:

MR. RASHLEIGH should like to ask the First Minister of the Crown if he was prepared to agree to all the unconstitutional demands made on him by the Anti-Corn-Law League on the opposite benches. There may be other anti-law leaguers, as well as Anti-Corn-Law leaguers, and if this measure of the Government passed, it could be looked upon as nothing but a bonus to other agitators. The right hon. baronet below him (Sir J. Graham) smiled at that; but the Secretary for the Home Department had no right to smile (laughter) at the great question before them (ironical cheers and laughter from the Opposition benches). Honourable members opposite might smile, but they would not put him down by that course, nor would the important interest which he advocated be put down by the honourable member for Stockport, and the crew behind him (laughter, and ironical cheers from the Free Trade members). He held in his hand a speech of the right honourable baronet at the head of the Government, made in June, 1844, not twenty-one months ago, a portion of which he should read to the house, in order to show what a change had taken place in the opinions of the right honourable baronet within the short space of time which had elapsed since that speech was made. Here the honourable member read an extract from a speech delivered by Sir Robert Peel in 1844, in which the right honourable baronet urged, in very strong terms, the expediency of not applying the rigid rules of political economy, in all cases, to a state of society such as that which exists in this country. He (Mr. Rashleigh) declared it to be his opinion that it was the duty of the house and the country to call upon the right hon. baronet and ask him the reason for his tergiversation (hear, hear, from Colonel Sibthorp). He recollected the time when the motions of the hon. member for Stockport were treated with silent contempt in that house, and defeated by large divisions. That was the constitutional way of dealing with unconstitutional propositions (ironical cheers and laughter). It was some consolation, however, for him to think that the present measure would be treated in the other house in a manner very different from that in which it had been received here. He called upon the right reverend prelates to defend the altar (laughter from the Opposition). Aye, the altar, the throne, and the cottage (renewed laughter from the same quarter). He did not know why honourable members opposite should laugh. He lived at some distance from their smoky regions; but their long chimneys were high in the horizon of his memory (ironical cheers). The right hon. baronet, the First Minister, in introducing the present measure to Parliament, had stated that the Cornish miners were now so well off, that they were able to invest a portion of their earnings in feathers, and actually enjoyed the luxury of a feather-bed. Even admitting this to be the case, it was no argument in favour of the right hon. baronet's measure, as it was much better to let well alone, than to run the risk of losing what we had by grasping after more. He should like the hon. member for Stockport to come down into the county of Cornwall. He would not poison or hang the honourable member, and he would be proud to show him the state of the peasantry in that country. He should not be able, perhaps, to place the honourable member in a feather-bed, because a feather-bed was not exactly what the peasantry would prepare for him. He could tell the right hon. baronet, that if he determined to carry the reductions on copper ore into effect, he would soon ruin the classes whom he said now laid out their surplus earnings in feathers. He had a letter from a gentleman who had been in the habit of employing from 2000 to 3000 persons daily, and who expressed his entire disapprobation of the Government measure. He would not further occupy the time of the house. He might have used some hard language, owing to his want of experience in addressing the house; but he could assure honourable members that he was not ashamed of what he had said. It was painful to him to oppose the right hon. baronet; but he could not consent to be dragged through the muck and mire of expediency to support his new-fangled notions.

But for a few characteristic incidents, the continued debate on Thursday night would have been the dull and dreariest in the interminable list of dull and dreary nights. First, there was shallow Mr. Banks—a veritable “Justice Shallow”—testifying his deep sense of constitutional responsibility by inventing new pretexts to delay the progress of the Corn Bill. He moved that a Select Committee be appointed, to which should be referred the consideration of the entire Law of Settlement. To this, Sir James Graham and Sir Robert Peel replied, that there was already a bill in the House, the second reading of which would afford an occasion for discussing the entire question. This appeared so reasonable, that Mr. Colquhoun and Sir R. H. Inglis begged Mr. Banks to withdraw his motion. The “Justice Shallow” of Dorsetshire consented, not, however, without betraying the spirit in which he has brought it forward. He would avail himself, he threatened, of every available opportunity of raising a discussion on the Law of Settlement, before the Corn Law Bill passed that House. The meaning of this is, that he will take every opportunity to delay the measure. This is the spirit of those who arrogate to themselves all the loyalty, all the constitutionality, all the respectability, and all the responsibility, of the empire.

The resumed debate was taken up by Mr. Finch; and to those who have never heard Mr. Finch, our description of him may appear coloured. Yet it is not so. The look of the man is quite enough. There is a pert conceit playing about his lips; and the atmosphere around his face is charged with a most prodigious amount of self-esteem. But he is excessively voluble; and he mistakes this for talent. His words roll out of his mouth, like potatoes pursuing one another out of a sack that a man is emptying; they run, here and there and everywhere, swift as the “arrowy Rhone,” but not like it, to termination. He talked, and talked, and talked, and talked, until the Opposition benches became deserted, with the exception of Mr. Hume. But even Mr. Hume could not stand the chilling blasts of empty benches, though the fiery torrent of Finch was struggling with the frozen regions. He crossed over to the ministerial benches, in order to feel the comfort of having a shadow. Then on the Opposition benches there remained nothing but a HAT. The owner of the hat, Mr. Hawes, was ensconced behind the chair of the SPEAKER, enjoying a snug *tete-a-tete*. But the hat tried to supply the absence of its master. It stood on its crown, on the front opposition bench; and, like the kettle, in Mr. Dickens's tale of the “Cricket on the Hearth,” leaned forward, so as to catch with open mouth the great points of the Finch Speech. Yet the hat was not like the kettle, for it showed symptoms of intelligence: now and then you might almost imagine that it raised itself up, as if muttering of Finch, as Pope did of Henley:

“How fluid nonsense trickles from his tongue.”

But the hat was at last released from its sufferings. Its owner approached the empty benches, and put it on his head. There seemed a strong feeling of satisfaction in the hat as it felt itself over a head with brains. It needed all the comfort; for just before it was released, Mr. Finch had threatened that if ever the hat appeared there again, all alone by itself, he would punish it by a four hours' speech!

The rest of the night was worse than a *hatti scherif*. Small men spoke; and they spoke small. There was one exception. Mr. Charles Buller rose; and he put some intelligence into the matter. But his speech was drowned by Lord George Bentinck, who reproduced his figures and “calculations.” He did more. He compared ministers to pirates who had scuttled and ran ashore the good ship Protection, but he and his gallant crew will fetch her off the lee-shore, and tow her into port. Marvellous impudence, did we not know that a training on Newmarket, and at Tattersall's, is the very best school for unblushing impudence. But something more transpired in the course of the night. Lord George has been trying to strike a bargain with ministers, that if they will postpone the Corn Law Bill till after Easter, the protectionists will support the Coercion Bill—if not, they will oppose it! This is the political morality of the party which struggles to live at the expense of the public, and has for a leader a *qui iam* hero.

The debate, it is understood, is to terminate on Friday (last) night.

THE PEERS AND FREE TRADE.—A meeting of peers, very numerous attended, took place yesterday (Wednesday), at the Clarendon Hotel, at which it was unanimously resolved to oppose, by every constitutional means, the progress of the Government Free Trade measures in the House of Lords.—*Post*.

SPECIAL EXCEPTIONS IN FAVOUR OF LAND.—Besides all the great exemptions from taxation with which agriculture is favoured, and which are well known, there are many lesser ones seldom if ever noticed. For instance, in this town (Preston) grain has been permitted to stand in the market free from time immemorial; and when the Corn Exchange was erected in 1824, at an expense of 12,000*l.*, the whole of the pavement area was reserved for corn without any charge, and has been so occupied ever since. For several days in the week, our large central market place is filled with carts, laden with hay and straw; but these all stand and sell, without a farthing of charge. Where can such indulgence and favours be found in favour of any of our manufactures? The rate for the improvement of our borough is usually divided into two, the “paying rate” and the “lighting rate.” All the land included in Preston is contiguous to the town, yet it is free from the lighting rate, which is 6*d.* in the pound, the other being only 4*d.*, though buildings pay for both in situations where the one gets as little benefit of the paving as the other may seem to do of lighting. These little matters show the spirit of former times, and how land, instead of being “burdened,” has indeed been the object of special favours.

IMPORTANT DEPUTATION TO SIR R. PEELE.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

It has seldom fallen to the lot of an English Minister to receive a deputation, so important, in whatever light it may be viewed as that which yesterday waited upon Sir Robert Peel from Manchester. This deputation, which was accompanied by Mr. Gibson and Mr. Brotherton, consisted of Mr. Thos. Bazley, the president of the Chamber of Commerce; Mr. J. A. Turner, president of the Commercial Association; Mr. Edwd. Tootal, and Mr. Wm. Stewart, three of whom alone are the employers of no fewer than ten thousand work-people, and to whom, therefore, at the lowest estimate, thirty thousand human beings look for their weekly subsistence. This deputation waited upon Sir Robert Peel, on the part of all the bankers, of fifty-five members of the town council, and of more than a thousand of the most influential manufacturers and merchants of Manchester and its immediate vicinity, whose aggregate capital employed in the trade of the country exceeds thirty millions sterling, who are directly the employers of one hundred and twenty thousand persons, and on whom nearly four hundred thousand of the surrounding population rely for their daily food—to request the Minister to present their petition to the House of Commons, praying for an immediate passing of the measures now pending before Parliament. This petition originated and was completed within twenty-four hours, having received the signatures of eleven hundred and twenty-two of such men as we have described, and of all shades of political opinion. High Conservative, moderate Whig, and ultra-Radical were unanimous upon this occasion. The ruinous disasters which appear to impend over them and the surrounding population, by the protraction of those debates in Parliament, have sunk all other considerations. The pertinacity of a reckless minority, which impedes, by every vexatious contrivance, the progress of those great commercial questions, has levelled every distinction of political party in those great districts of trade, where merchants and manufacturers are threatened with the most serious embarrassment, and their numerous dependents with starvation.

It is two months to-day since the great commercial reforms introduced by Sir Robert Peel were received by the nation with universal acclamation. Since then the news of their introduction has traversed the Atlantic, has carried “a message of peace” and future hope to the interior of the American Continent; and we have received back in this country assurances of friendship and mutual good offices. Yet it was only last night that the bill for the first of those measures reached the second reading in the House of Commons. Three weeks were occupied with a single debate; and several weeks more have been wasted under the pretence of protecting and defending the interests of silk manufacturers, timber merchants, and other traders, all of which are suffering the most severe losses by the delay, and whose only desire is for the speedy adoption of the ministerial proposals. Lord Worcester, Lord George Bentinck, Mr. D'Israeli, and Mr. Borthwick are the obstructives, who set up their authority as the guardian of commerce, in spite of the remonstrances of Manchester, Liverpool, and London. Majorities of ninety-seven, one hundred and two, and one hundred and thirty-three, against all their amendments in Parliament, and general consternation at their proceedings on the part of the country, appear to weigh but little with them. Their sport, for such it is evidently to them, they appear determined to have at whatever cost to the country.

The embarrassment which has been caused by the suspension of all commercial transactions for so long a period, has been and is felt severely in all branches of business, and in all the large trading towns in the kingdom. In London and Liverpool it would be difficult to calculate the losses which have arisen from the monetary derangement consequent upon the interruption to the usual transactions of trade and exchange of commodities. But when we go to the manufacturing districts, difficulties and consequences of a much more serious character present themselves. There it is not alone the balance sheet of the merchant at the end of the year that is affected by the interruption to business; it is not there a mere question of profit or loss to the wealthy trader; there the stagnation of trade and the cessation of demand involve the very existence of millions of our toiling people, and ultimately the peace of society and the security of property. It is difficult for those at a distance to realise to themselves the extent of individual suffering and public danger which attend any material cessation of the usual demand for labour in those districts. The ministers who had the responsibility of the public peace in 1842, have not readily forgotten the alarm which existed in that year. The merchants and manufacturers who lived in the midst of that distress, are above all things solicitous to avoid its recurrence. For two months past they have been struggling against accumulating stocks, in the daily hope of confidence being restored to trade by the final passing of these measures. But week after week has only brought its disappointment, until at length a material contraction of production has been a matter of necessity which can no longer be postponed.

The deputation which waited upon Sir Robert Peel yesterday furnished the Minister with facts, carefully collected from the official accounts of the town of Manchester as to the condition of its population in 1841, the last period of a general stagnation of business, which afford strong evidence of the sufferings then endured, and which must again be experienced in an aggravated form, if from a continued suspension of confidence no relief is afforded to trade. In that year, in Manchester and its immediate suburbs, there were 5492 untenanted buildings, usually containing about 27,000 persons; there were 681 empty shops and offices; and 116 mills, engineers', and other works closed up, representing property, in the whole, which stood assessed in the town books at 87,094*l.* a year, and the real rental of which exceeded 100,000*l.* During that period the weekly consumption of coal in the town of Manchester was less than usual by 2620 tons, of which 620 tons are calculated to have been used less in business, and 2000 tons less for private domestic consumption. These are the grave facts by which some faint idea can be formed of the sufferings of a population amongst whom such a change had occurred. But had as Manchester was at that time, the condition of Stockport, Bolton, and other surrounding towns was infinitely worse.

It is scarcely necessary for us to dwell upon the great importance of confidence for the success of commerce; or to show how impossible it is that that necessary confidence should exist as long as those great questions on which so much depends are in any degree uncertain. Further delay and doubt threaten another visitation of all the sufferings of former years; but if these misfortunes are again to be endured by the country, we trust that the Government will not

incur any of the odium attached to them, by interposing any business whatever which can delay the final settlement of these questions, or fail to use every means in their power to bring them to a close. They have a powerful majority in Parliament—they have already exhibited forbearance enough to a mere obstructive minority—to whom further concessions will only be made at a severe sacrifice to the whole community. We trust, therefore, they will use every means which their influence and their majority place within their reach, to meet the prayer of the petitioners from Manchester and other parts of the kingdom, and thus avert that widespread distress, the approach of which is creating so much alarm and dismay.

FREE TRADE VINDICATED BY FACTS.

(From the Economist.)

In our last number we referred to a remarkable array of facts, produced in an official return to Parliament moved for by Sir Robert Peel, showing the operation of some of the chief Free Trade measures which have been adopted during the last twenty years. The first accounts relate to the shipping and navigation of the British empire. The following are the tables:—

AN ACCOUNT OF THE NUMBER OF VESSELS, with the Amount of their Tonnage, and the Number of Men and Boys usually employed in navigating the same, that belonged to several Ports of the British Empire, on the 31st December in each Year, from 1820 to 1845.

Year.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Men.	Year.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Men.
1820	25,374	2,648,593	174,514	1833	24,385	2,634,577	164,000
21	25,636	2,560,203	169,179	34	25,055	2,716,100	168,061
22	24,642	2,519,044	166,333	35	25,121	2,783,761	171,020
23	24,542	2,506,760	165,474	36	25,820	2,792,645	170,637
24	24,776	2,559,587	168,637	37	26,037	2,791,018	173,506
25	24,290	2,553,682	166,183	38	26,690	2,890,601	178,583
26	24,625	2,635,644	167,636	39	27,745	3,068,433	191,283
27	23,196	2,460,500	151,415	1840	28,992	3,211,538	201,340
28	24,09	2,518,191	155,576	41	30,052	3,512,480	210,198
29	23,458	2,517,000	154,808	42	30,815	3,619,750	214,699
30	23,721	2,531,819	154,812	43	30,983	3,588,387	213,977
31	24,242	2,581,064	158,422	44	31,320	3,637,231	216,350
32	24,435	2,618,068	161,634	45	not yet completed		

Custom House, London,
6 March, 1846.

JOHN COVEY, Registrar.

RETURN OF THE NUMBER AND TONNAGE OF VESSELS, distinguishing British from Foreign, employed in the Foreign and Colonial Trade, which entered Inwards and cleared Outwards from Ports of the United Kingdom, in each year from 1832 to 1845, exclusive of Vessels in Ballast.

Years.	Entered Inwards.					
	British.		Foreign.		T-tal.	
	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.
1832	10,762	1,036,846	3,865	561,047	14,627	1,497,893
33	10,980	1,090,530	4,490	648,911	15,470	1,639,441
34	11,678	1,108,492	4,870	732,886	16,548	1,841,378
35	11,740	1,203,026	4,701	749,808	16,441	1,952,834
36	11,644	1,230,173	5,959	882,194	17,603	2,112,367
37	12,252	1,246,300	5,861	869,519	18,113	2,215,819
38	12,890	1,464,020	6,749	1,037,234	19,639	2,501,254
39	13,348	1,556,533	8,766	1,200,935	22,114	2,757,468
40	14,370	1,807,367	8,355	1,207,440	22,725	3,014,807
41	14,119	1,900,740	7,430	1,081,350	21,549	2,982,090
42	13,821	1,890,838	5,851	974,392	19,672	2,865,230
43	13,064	1,910,528	5,600	1,005,804	18,664	2,916,332
44	14,681	2,087,437	7,247	1,143,887	21,928	3,231,324
45	15,904	2,669,853	7,895	1,353,735	23,799	4,023,588

Years.	Cleared Outwards.					
	British.		Foreign.		Total.	
	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.
1832	9,667	1,637,093	2,975	436,333	12,642	2,103,426
33	9,244	1,643,894	3,437	523,903	12,681	2,167,797
34	9,734	1,640,274	3,447	545,285	13,181	2,185,559
35	10,158	1,711,091	3,935	625,939	14,093	2,337,030
36	10,216	1,828,501	4,438	667,016	14,654	2,495,517
37	10,614	1,861,121	4,912	716,897	15,526	2,578,018
38	11,471	2,584,246	5,733	858,062	17,204	3,442,308
39	11,952	2,197,014	6,472	898,738	18,424	3,095,752
40	12,964	2,408,792	6,776	983,834	19,740	3,392,626
41	11,243	2,624,690	6,618	918,776	17,861	3,543,466
42	15,197	2,734,558	6,205	956,591	21,402	3,691,149
43	15,205	2,727,306	6,774	1,026,063	21,980	3,753,369
44	13,842	2,604,243	7,200	1,075,823	21,042	3,680,066
45	14,515	2,947,257	9,266	1,361,939	23,781	4,309,197

Statistical Department, Board of Trade,
9 March, 1846.

G. R. PORTER.

There is no class which has more pertinaciously clung to the principles of protection and restriction than the shipowners of this country, from the period when the celebrated Navigation Act was finally passed by the 12th of Charles II. That law enacted that no produce should be imported from Asia, Africa, or America, except in British ships, and established higher rates of duties on all goods imported in foreign ships from other parts of Europe, than if imported in British ships. This law was retained without change until 1815, when the condition of our relations with the United States rendered it impossible to maintain it against that country. The large trade which existed between this country and the United States, while the latter were colonies of the British empire, continued to increase after the independence of that country was established; but in regard to their shipping they lost the privileges which they possessed as colonies, and were placed on the same footing as foreign countries. The consequence was, that American ships coming to England were obliged to sail in ballast, to return with a cargo, while English ships carried cargoes both ways. To obviate the disadvantage to which American ships were thus exposed in the competition with British, the American Government passed a law placing British ships under the same disabilities in entering American ports that American ships were exposed to in entering British ports. The consequence of these mutual restrictions was, that all American produce was brought to this country in British ships, while all English goods were carried to America in American ships; the vessels of the respective countries passing one way in ballast, and thus exactly double the number of ships were required for the trade between the two countries; or, in other words, the produce of each country became chargeable with double the expense for freight to the consumers in each respectively. This reciprocal folly lasted until 1815, when it was terminated by a treaty, by which each country ceded to the other all the privileges enjoyed by its own ships.

No farther alteration was made in the Navigation Act till 1823. In that year Prussia instituted differential duties against our ships, similar to those which existed against

their ships on entering our ports, which caused a great clamour amongst our shipowners. Mr Huskisson then saw that it was in vain to attempt to maintain our Navigation Act any longer. To have negotiated with Prussia alone, as we had already done with the United States, only left the same to be done with every other country, sooner or later, whose shipping was injured by our laws. Mr Huskisson, therefore, in the same year, proposed the Reciprocity Acts of 4th and 5th George IV., authorising his Majesty, by order in council, to repeal all discriminating duties on the ships of those countries which should enter into treaty with us to admit our ships on similar conditions. Since that period we have concluded treaties of reciprocal navigation with—

Prussia	Lubeck	Brazil
Denmark	States of La Plata	Austria
Hanover	Columbia	Russia
Oldenburg	Holland	Portugal, and prior
Mecklenburg	France	to that time with
Greece	Sweden & Norway	the
Bremen	Mexico	United States
Hamburg		

From the time the Reciprocity Act of 1823 passed, to the present day, the shipowners have never ceased to assert that that act had brought ruin upon the trade. The "Cornhill Committee" have published their annual reports, ever complaining of the ruinous consequences of foreign competition, and at their instance numerous Parliamentary investigations have been made into their alleged distress. The object of the tables given above is to show how much truth there has been in these assertions, and to exhibit the real consequences of the measures of 1823.

The first table shows the quantity of shipping possessed at the end of each year from 1820 to 1844. In 1823 the whole registered tonnage amounted to 2,506,760 tons. From that time to 1844, independent of replacing all the ships which were during that period lost at sea, we find the registered shipping amounted to 3,637,231 tons, showing an increase of no less than 1,130,471 tons, or rather more than 45 per cent. during the period. This fact is calculated to contradict the assertion which has constantly been made as to the ruinous diminution of the shipping trade. But the best test of the two principles—that of restriction or Free Trade—will be to compare the progress of British shipping for the last twenty years prior to the change of the law with the twenty years immediately succeeding it. In 1804 the registered tonnage amounted to 2,268,570 tons; in 1823, it had increased to 2,506,760 tons, or by 238,190 tons, being rather more than 10 per cent. The comparison may be thus stated:

Period from 1804 to 1823, under the Navigation Act and restriction policy.		Period from 1823 to 1844, under the Reciprocity Act and Free Trade policy.	
Tons of Shipping.		Tons of Shipping.	
1804 .. Tonnage ..	2,268,570	1823 .. Tonnage ..	2,506,760
1823	2,506,760	1844	3,637,231
Increase of tons .. 238,190		Increase of tons .. 1,130,471	
or 10 per cent.		or 45 per cent.	

We have thus the astounding fact before us, that while British shipping of this country, under the protective policy, from 1804 to 1823, increased only by 238,190 tons, or 10 per cent. in a similar period, from 1823 to 1844, under a Free Trade policy, it increased by 1,130,471 tons, or 45 per cent; and yet the latter is the system which the practical men of the times have vehemently denounced as the ruin of the shipping interest!!!

The next tables above show the number and tonnage of shipping entered inwards and outwards, distinguishing the proportion of British and foreign in each year since 1832. In this return there is an important misprint in the Parliamentary document, which represents this account to be "inclusive" in place of "exclusive," of ships in ballast, which we have corrected. A reference to the annual tables presented to Parliament will show that this is a mere error. We wish this account had extended back to 1823, when the law was altered, as the results would have appeared even more striking than they are. As it is, we find the comparison between the two periods to have been as follows:

	1832.		1845.	
	British Shipping.	Foreign Shipping.	British Shipping.	Foreign Shipping.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
Entered inwards ..	1,996,846	561,047	3,660,851	1,353,735
Entered outwards ..	1,637,093	466,333	2,947,257	1,361,940
Total tonnage ..	3,573,939	1,027,380	6,611,110	2,715,675
COMPARISON.				
	British Shipping.	Foreign Shipping.	British Shipping.	Foreign Shipping.
1832	3,573,939	1,027,380		
1845	6,611,110	2,715,675		
Increase ..	3,037,171	1,688,295		

So that, after all we have heard of the prejudicial effects of the competition of foreign shipping, it appears that while the whole tonnage of that class has increased by 1,688,295 tons, that of our own shipping has increased by no less than 3,037,171. It has been attempted to account for this contradiction of the usual assertions with respect to the decay of the shipping interest, by saying, that the great increase of British shipping is caused by the repeated voyages of Continental passenger boats, especially of those in the Channel. This, however, cannot be the case, because those vessels clear in ballast, and do not carry cargoes, and consequently are not included in those accounts. Who, then, has benefited most by the Reciprocity Act of 1823—the British shipowner or the foreign shipowner? If the law had remained as it was, English ships must have been excluded from carrying goods to the United States, to Prussia, and, sooner or later, to all countries whose ships were excluded. It is, therefore, an easy calculation to determine which party has benefited most by the change which took place in 1823. Since 1832 only, foreign shipping with this country has increased by 1,688,295 tons; but our own shipping with foreign countries has increased by no less than 3,037,171 tons. Which party, then, has been most benefited by those treaties which provided for both parties open ports in each other's country? While this extraordinary increase has been going on, what has been the language of the shipowner? In 1834 their reports say—"The long continued and still existing depression of the shipping interest—the partial productions and great aggravation of distress caused by continual changes in our navigation system—the utter impossibility of the successful maintenance of an unrestricted competition with foreign navigation—the gross injustice of the imposition of peculiar and exclusive burdens on maritime commerce, for purposes purely national, while exposed to that competition—the declining quality and estimation of British tonnage—the embarrassment, decay, and ruin of the British shipowner—may now be viewed as incontrovertible positions." Such has been the

language of this class, while they have been doubling their property and their trade in shipping; and whenever a minister has proposed to rescind the burdens of which they have complained, by reducing the duties on timber and provisions, he has met with no more inveterate opponent than the shipowner. The shipowners have generally pretended to a claim for protection, on the plea of supporting the colonial interests; but in their report issued in 1841, so forgetful were they of that interest, that they proposed to charge a duty on the registration of colonial built ships as a protection to themselves.

The next table in these returns is—

STATEMENT OF THE REAL OR DECLARED VALUE OF BRITISH AND IRISH PRODUCE AND MANUFACTURES EXPORTED FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM TO DIFFERENT FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND COLONIAL POSSESSIONS, IN EACH YEAR, FROM 1827 TO 1844:

	Total.	Central and South America, including Brazil.	Foreign West Indies.	British North America, and British West Indies.	United States.	Asia.	Africa.	South-em Europe.	North-em Europe.
1827	36,860,376	4,004,319	907,309	4,980,572	7,018,272	4,760,452	671,488	5,945,701	8,533,263
28	36,483,328	4,181,060	818,066	4,980,748	5,810,315	4,892,408	716,926	5,592,788	8,243,082
29	36,322,057	4,290,360	900,882	5,193,808	4,831,315	4,821,350	828,720	5,592,788	8,243,082
30	37,927,401	5,188,362	938,882	4,605,381	4,605,381	4,450,396	960,292	7,233,587	8,346,118
31	38,383,768	5,019,369	1,000,004	4,071,276	6,032,346	4,406,444	863,292	7,233,587	8,346,118
32	38,183,008	4,572,247	1,170,684	4,155,353	6,032,346	4,235,483	880,753	6,286,949	7,876,570
33	38,331,413	4,542,360	998,786	4,080,139	6,032,346	4,235,483	880,753	6,286,949	7,876,570
34	41,288,326	5,177,671	1,270,302	4,351,039	6,032,346	4,235,483	880,753	6,286,949	7,876,570
35	47,030,670	4,577,671	1,192,881	5,345,008	6,032,346	4,235,483	880,753	6,286,949	7,876,570
36	43,088,572	4,577,671	1,192,881	5,345,008	6,032,346	4,235,483	880,753	6,286,949	7,876,570
37	43,088,572	4,577,671	1,192,881	5,345,008	6,032,346	4,235,483	880,753	6,286,949	7,876,570
38	43,088,572	4,577,671	1,192,881	5,345,008	6,032,346	4,235,483	880,753	6,286,949	7,876,570
39	43,088,572	4,577,671	1,192,881	5,345,008	6,032,346	4,235,483	880,753	6,286,949	7,876,570
40	43,088,572	4,577,671	1,192,881	5,345,008	6,032,346	4,235,483	880,753	6,286,949	7,876,570
41	43,088,572	4,577,671	1,192,881	5,345,008	6,032,346	4,235,483	880,753	6,286,949	7,876,570
42	43,088,572	4,577,671	1,192,881	5,345,008	6,032,346	4,235,483	880,753	6,286,949	7,876,570
43	43,088,572	4,577,671	1,192,881	5,345,008	6,032,346	4,235,483	880,753	6,286,949	7,876,570
44	43,088,572	4,577,671	1,192,881	5,345,008	6,032,346	4,235,483	880,753	6,286,949	7,876,570
45	43,088,572	4,577,671	1,192,881	5,345,008	6,032,346	4,235,483	880,753	6,286,949	7,876,570

Statistical Department, Board of Trade,
9th March, 1846.

G. R. PORTER.

This table exhibits the gratifying fact that notwithstanding all the difficulties with which this country has had to contend, from bad laws at home, and hostile tariffs abroad, we have nevertheless been able to increase the amount of our exports, in actual value, from 36,860,376*l.* in 1827, to 58,584,292*l.* in 1844; which has been accomplished entirely by the unprecedented progress which, during that period, we have made by the improvement of machinery, the application of science, and other means, all combining to a greater economy of production. The extent to which this has taken place will be best seen by comparing the official value, which being taken at the same fixed rates, represents the comparative quantity at any period, and the real or actual value, which has relation to the price at the time. In 1827 and 1843 the comparison of these two values was thus:

	Official Value.	Real Value.
1827 Exports ..	62,050,008	36,860,376
1843	131,833,391	58,584,292

While therefore the quantity of goods exported, exhibited considerably more than doubled in the period, yet so great has been the reduction of prices that the aggregate real value has increased little more than forty per cent.

The divisions of our exports to various countries, exhibited in this table, furnishes extremely valuable illustrations of some of the great arguments at present contended for in commercial legislation, and cannot fail to correct some of the most prevalent and popular errors. The increase to the various markets is thus shown:

	1827.	1844
Exports to Northern Europe	8,533,263	14,926,707
Southern Europe	5,945,701	11,294,388
Total to Europe	14,478,964	26,221,095
Africa	671,488	1,615,530
Asia	4,760,452	11,273,721
United States	7,018,272	7,938,079
British North American Colonies and British West Indies ..	4,980,572	5,522,288
Foreign West Indies	907,309	1,173,931
Central and South America, including Brazil	4,004,319	4,439,508
Total	36,860,376	58,584,292

It will be observed that the largest actual increase has taken place to the Continent of Europe, being 11,442,221*l.* out of the whole increase of 21,723,916*l.* This fact shows how little influence the hostile tariffs of the various Continental countries have had in restraining our exports, when met by relaxations of those restrictions which affected our imports. And this is even more remarkable if we examine the particular countries to which the greatest increase has taken place. The countries which have pursued the most stringent protective principles, and created the most hostile tariff against us during that period, have been France, Russia, Prussia, and Germany (the Zollverein), and Belgium. But these are also the countries in respect to

Belgium, first the great reduction, and finally the entire removal of the duty on wool, flax, and hemp, the reduction of the duty on sugar, and the operation of the Corn Law, which led to a huge importation of grain for several consecutive years, have all tended materially to increase the amount of our exports in return for our increasing imports. The following table shows the progress of our exports to those countries during the period in question:

	1827.	1844.
Exports to	£	£
France	446,952	2,656,259
Russia	1,408,970	2,128,425
Prussia	171,368	505,364
Germany	4,651,618	6,151,523
Belgium, included with Hol- land, but in 1833	750,059	1,471,251
	7,434,937	12,913,348

Here, then, we have an increase of exports amounting to nearly five millions and a half, merely as the result of relaxations in our own tariff, and in spite of the numerous hostile laws which those countries have enacted against our commerce. We have in this fact the best answer to that class of politicians who have faith only in diplomacy and reciprocal treaties, and who deny that we can "fight hostile tariffs by free imports." This school of politicians tell us that our trade with France can only be increased by negotiation and treaty. The facts before us form the best reply to their theory, and the whole proves incontrovertibly the truth of that rule, which directs a government to take care of its imports, with a feeling of full security that its exports will care for themselves.

The greatest relative increase is apparent in our exports to Asia. This is made up almost entirely between the trade to our own East India possessions and to China, which are both very striking examples of the benefits of free and unrestricted commerce. Our exports to India remained almost stationary for many years prior to the entire opening of that trade to private enterprise, at the last renewal of the East India Company's charter, the effects of which may be dated from 1834. The progress of the trade to these two markets has been thus:

	1827.	1844.	1844.
Exports.	£	£	£
East India and Ceylon ..	3,662,012	2,578,569	7,665,666
China	610,637	842,852	2,305,617

The great reductions of duties on our goods into China is another striking illustration of how far a country can "fight hostile tariffs by free imports." The Chinese are making the experiment, and it is quite obvious that this free admission of British manufactures will compel us to reduce the exorbitant duties on their teas. Meantime they even succeed, to a great extent, in increasing their exports. Our imports from China have rapidly increased during the last three years, as a mere necessity arising from our exports. Of tea our import has increased since 1842 more than 10,000,000 of lbs., and of silk the increase has been greater. It has been as follows:

	bales.	1841	bales.
1842	1,951	.. ..	3,782
1843	2,651	.. ..	11,358

And in the present year it will be about 18,000 bales.

But while these tables speak so strongly in favour of Free Trade, they furnish evidence as strong against a reliance on the protection system. There is no branch of our trade for which such domestic sacrifices have been made as for that with our North American and West India colonies. For their encouragement this country has submitted to the greatest sacrifices. Canadian timber and West India sugar have been the greatest drains that the productive industry of this country has had to contend against. For the encouragement of these interests sacrifices amounting to many millions a year have been almost cheerfully submitted to, under the impression that they formed the foundation and guarantee for our chief export trade. These returns show that during the whole of the period under review, our exports to these colonies have been stationary; the average of the three first years being 5,051,799l., and of the last three years 5,026,980l.; and it is for this trade that this country has been called upon to sacrifice a sum annually, which, prior to the reductions of duties in the last two years, was variously estimated at from 5,000,000l. to 7,000,000l., in the direct price paid for sugar and timber, and independent of the indirect loss sustained by interfering with other great markets.

REVENUE.

The next table in these returns is a

STATEMENT OF THE NET REVENUE OF CUSTOMS in each Year, from 1839 to 1845; the Amount of Duty received on CORN, and the REVENUE exclusive of the Duty on CORN; showing also the principal Duties of Customs repealed and reduced in each Year.

Years.	Revenue.	Duties re- ceived on CORN.	Revenue ex- clusive of CORN.
	£	£	£
1839	21,583,907	1,088,858	20,495,049
1840	21,784,199	1,156,636	20,627,563
1841	21,888,841	568,310	21,320,531
1842	21,025,145	1,364,969	19,660,176
1843	21,033,717	758,273	20,275,444
1844	22,504,821	1,094,382	21,410,439
1845	20,196,856	397,004	19,799,852

Note.—Estimated Loss of Revenue by reductions, &c., in the Tariff:

1841. Rice in the husk, oil from the kingdom of the Two Sicilies	£ 21,170
1842. Coffee, hides, indigo, oil, seeds, timber, liquorice, mahogany, turpentine, and export duties ..	1,338,122
1843. Cork, wood, timber, and other articles ..	171,521
1844. Coffee, currants, wool, and other articles ..	286,431
1845. Sugar	£1,300,000
Cotton wool	680,000
Coal, export duty	118,000
Minor articles	320,000
	2,418,000
	£4,235,244

In estimating the effects of changes in the tariff upon the revenue of the country, it has been found necessary to exclude the amount received from corn under the operation of the sliding scale. The corn duties hitherto have avowedly been for the object of protection, and not for revenue; and have been so regarded in their operation that no reliance could be placed upon them. The above account shows that between 1839 and 1845, reductions of customs' duties have taken away equivalent to £4,235,244l., while the amount of revenue received has only diminished by the sum of

798,015l. While the public have benefited by the reduction of the prices of commodities to an amount represented by import duties equal to £4,235,244l., the consumption of these and other commodities has so much increased as to leave a deficit of only 798,015l., to be supplied in other ways on account of these reductions. Besides this direct advantage, arising from the relaxations of duties, the country has had all the benefit of the increased amount of trade to which an extended consumption, import, and consequent export of our goods have led. The great evil of indirect taxes is, that they limit and interfere with the industry of the country, and the creation of the means for paying them. There is no indirect tax that does not in one way or other take much more from the pockets of the people than it places in the Exchequer; and it is on this account that reductions of duties always yield so much more advantage to the public than they impose loss upon the state. The tables before us show that if we are directly taxed to the extent of 798,015l. to make up a deficit in the revenue, the nation has a fund of at least £4,235,244l. arising from the reduction of duties, from which that direct tax can be paid.

The next table in the return is—

SILK.

RAW, WASTE, and THROWN SILK,
Entered for home consumption in the United Kingdom.

Years.	Raw.	Waste, Knots, and Husks.	Thrown.	All sorts
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
1814	1,591,235	29,234	586,505	2,119,974
1815	1,099,565	27,971	377,822	1,475,358
1816	873,111	4,162	210,758	1,088,031
1817	1,314,051	49,955	294,553	1,658,559
1818	1,144,881	86,940	391,166	1,622,987
1819	1,116,097	71,311	311,125	1,538,533
1820	1,022,799	91,883	309,053	1,423,735
1821	1,064,513	105,047	309,218	1,478,778
1822	1,093,764	61,921	382,873	1,538,558
1823	2,051,995	52,362	363,864	2,468,221
1824	3,414,520	133,257	463,371	4,011,148
1825	2,848,506	190,120	559,042	3,597,668
1826	1,064,188	(included with raw)	289,325	2,253,513
1827	3,759,138	(included with raw)	451,015	4,210,153
1828	4,102,550	(included with raw)	385,212	4,487,762
1829	3,771,969	(included with raw)	172,429	3,944,398
1830	3,055,832	585,013	436,535	3,977,380
1831	3,401,445	600,656	514,240	4,516,341
1832	3,938,795	641,381	268,367	4,768,543
1833	3,816,750	1,094,692	195,669	5,107,111
1834	4,151,008	1,382,872	251,578	5,785,458
1835	4,372,501	1,508,731	294,338	6,175,570
1836	3,730,427	875,781	213,368	4,819,576
1837	3,683,739	960,147	211,470	4,855,356
1838	3,483,363	1,042,655	220,910	4,746,928
1839	3,860,680	745,243	288,951	4,895,204
1840	3,209,855	1,379,314	267,333	4,856,502
1841	3,936,714	1,434,663	393,977	5,765,354
1842	3,649,747	1,495,457	334,835	5,480,039
1843	4,021,908	1,775,855	410,358	6,208,121

Aggregate quantities entered for consumption. In the				
10 years 1814-1823 ..	15,214,245	585,906	3,608,872	19,409,023
Do. 1824-1833 ..	32,916,905	2,801,515	3,872,828	39,591,248
Do. 1834-1843 ..	37,425,114	11,924,815	2,657,189	50,007,118
Average annual consumption. In the				
10 years 1814-1823 ..	1,521,424	58,591	360,887	1,940,902
Do. 1824-1833 ..	3,291,690	280,151	387,283	3,959,124
Do. 1834-1843 ..	3,742,511	1,192,481	265,719	5,200,711
Consumption of the single year 1844 ..	4,021,908	1,775,855	410,358	6,208,121

The alterations in the rates of duty during the period have been as follows:—

	Raw.	Waste, Knots, &c.	Thrown, not dyed.	Thrown, dyed.
	per lb.	per lb.	per lb.	per lb.
To July 5, 1819.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	£ s. d.
Bengal	4 2	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
Other East India ..	6 3	3 11 1/2	.. ..	2 5 6
Indian, &c.	5 6	3 4	.. ..	.. ..
From July 5, 1819.				
British East India ..	4 0	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
Other parts	5 6	4 0	.. ..	.. ..
From Mar. 25, 1824.				
All sorts	0 3	0 3	.. ..	.. ..
From July 5, 1825.				
All sorts	0 3	0 3	.. ..	.. ..
From Nov. 15, 1825.				
All sorts	0 3	0 3	.. ..	.. ..
From July 5, 1826.				
All sorts	0 1	0 1	.. ..	.. ..
From July 5, 1829.				
All sorts	0 1	0 1	.. ..	.. ..
From May 15, 1840.				
From July 9, 1842.				
All sorts	1 1-20d	Col. 6 3-10d	6 3-10d	1s 0 3-5d
		For 1s 0 3-5d	1s 0 3-5d	2s 1 1-5d
				Same as

From March 19, 1845.

All sorts Free .. Free .. Free .. July 9, 1842
* Singles, tram and organzine, and crape.
† Singles and tram, organzine and crape.

Great pains have been used to produce an impression that the whole increase of the consumption of silk has been of "waste, knots, and husks." No doubt there has been an enormous trade created by the free introduction of these inferior parts of silk of which the country was entirely deprived under the high prohibitory duties which formerly existed. In the ten years prior to 1823, we consumed only 58,591 lbs. per annum of this raw material, at a duty of about 4s. per lb. In the single year of 1844, at a nominal duty, our consumption was no less than 1,775,855 lbs. Taking even this small item of the silk question, it would not be easy to find a stronger example of the benefits derived from the free introduction of raw materials. When it is considered how much employment has been derived from the free introduction of even this refuse, and the valuable branch of trade which has been created from it, we can form some idea of how much even the revenue is indirectly benefited by the additional consumption of other articles which is promoted by relaxing such duties.

But independent of this new branch of trade, we find that the consumption of thrown and raw silk has been considerably more than doubled during the period in question. Thus:

	Average annual consumption.	Consumption
	1814 to 1823.	1844.
Raw silk	1,521,424	4,021,908
Thrown silk	360,887	410,358
Total raw and thrown ..	1,882,311	4,432,266

The next table in the return is—

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DECLARED VALUE OF BRITISH SILK GOODS Exported from the UNITED KINGDOM, in each Year from 1826 to 1845, both inclusive.

Years.	France	Other countries in Europe.	United States of America	Mexico, S. America, and West Indies.	British Possessions in America and the West Indies.	Africa, Asia, and Australia.	Total.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1826 ..	1,498	49,477	27,365	56,518	19,523	11,199	164,891
27 ..	4,661	50,466	67,111	61,057	23,352	18,757	236,344
28 ..	11,009	61,825	46,587	80,346	24,936	31,138	255,871
29 ..	32,047	70,064	58,889	50,743	36,069	20,324	267,080
1830 ..	31,808	95,196	135,057	69,015	100,312	25,692	521,010
31 ..	43,462	75,252	237,985	67,916	120,521	33,748	678,874
32 ..	75,187	103,113	92,235	97,591	113,561	46,004	528,691
33 ..	76,525	119,308	251,278	108,450	129,316	51,527	737,404
34 ..	60,346	113,894	200,306	106,191	102,487	53,974	617,199
35 ..	45,612	157,762	57,010	67,062	116,421	48,890	593,786
36 ..	43,160	82,850	521,301	75,026	122,990	61,495	917,822
37 ..	43,141	81,007	109,629	73,325	113,514	79,963	508,578
38 ..	56,598	81,214	318,506	65,675	111,109	114,178	777,280
39 ..	44,628	66,463	410,093	96,681	175,217	75,036	868,118
1840 ..	48,807	68,476	274,159	140,974	162,110	98,122	792,648
41 ..	117,353	72,314	306,757	107,601	110,317	68,522	788,894
42 ..	181,924	75,779	81,243	98,988	98,305	53,462	599,185
43 ..	184,222	106,876	164,283	120,026	62,509	66,066	667,954
44 ..	159,680	110,125	180,698	117,594	109,191	8,847	736,152
45 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	761,429

Office of the Inspector-General of Imports and Exports, Custom House, London, 7 March, 1846. W. IRVINE.

Trades that exist only by the aid of protection cannot command a foreign market; for if their cost of production be so high that they cannot withstand foreign competition at home, when their rivals must incur the expense of transport to meet them, it is quite clear that they will be less able to do so in the neutral markets of the world when each party incurs the same charges. If, on the other hand, a producer can successfully compete in neutral markets, it must be clear that protection in the home market is a mere form and dead letter. All branches of industry, therefore, which subsist only by the aid of protection are exposed to much more serious reverses than those which are in such a natural state that they freely compete with other countries. When the silk trade of this country was dependent only on the monopoly it possessed, the slightest derangement of the home market, by a change of fashion or otherwise, at once deprived it of its whole reliance, and involved all connected with it, both masters and operatives, in the most severe distress; while other trades under similar circumstances could fall back upon their extensive foreign markets, and by a comparatively slight reduction of prices induce so much greater a demand there as materially to mitigate the temporary depression of the home market.

As soon as the silk trade was exposed to competition we find an export demand coming into existence. In 1826, when foreign silks were first admitted, the whole of our exports amounted only to 168,801l., in ten years they reached 917,822l., and in 1845 they amounted to 761,429l. It has, moreover, been a matter of notorious fact, that no cases of distress have existed in Spitalfields since 1820 in any way to be compared with the periods of suffering and depression which existed prior to that time. It is not the least encouraging evidence of the advancing state of this branch of industry, that our largest market for exports is the United States, where the French, German, and Swiss manufactures come in direct and equal competition with us. And it is still more gratifying that the next largest market we possess is in France itself, the country of our greatest rivals, which takes more of our silk manufactures than all our colonial possessions together.

Connected with our exports to France, the next table in these returns brings to light an interesting principle in commerce. The table is:

AN ACCOUNT OF THE QUANTITIES OF FOREIGN SILK MANUFACTURES retained for Home Consumption in the United Kingdom since the removal of the Prohibition (5th July, 1836). Silk Manufactures of Europe entered by Weight.

Years.	Quantities retained for home consumption in the United Kingdom.	Years.	Quantities retained for home consumption in the United Kingdom.
	lbs.		lbs.
1826 ..	48,301	1836 ..	180,078
1827 ..	115,278	1837 ..	172,860
1828 ..	169,469	1838 ..	217,067
1829 ..	121,585	1839 ..	256,851
1830 ..	126,314	1840 ..	243,216
1831 ..	148,479	1841 ..	248,902
1832 ..	144,956	1842 ..	237,460
1833 ..	142,267	1843 ..	267,673
1834 ..	166,261	1844 ..	285,125
1835 ..	160,810	1845 ..	310,153

Since the removal of the prohibition on French silks, the quantity imported has steadily increased each year; while our exports to France have also steadily, but more rapidly increased, showing that, under a perfectly natural and Free Trade, different countries would import from each other different descriptions of the same kind of goods, for which each had the greatest advantage in the production. While France sends silk goods to England which are preferred on account of their better designs or colours, England sends to France other descriptions of silk goods, which have either cheapness or durability to recommend them. It is not too much to say, that the import of silk goods of one kind from France, actually promotes the export of British silks of other kinds to France.

TIMBER.

The next table in these returns relates to the operation of the timber duties from 1840 to 1845.

AN ACCOUNT showing the Quantities of SAWN and HEWN TIMBER, the Produce of the British Colonies and of Foreign Countries respectively, entered for Home Consumption in the United Kingdom, in each Year from 1840 to 1845 inclusive.

		BRITISH COLONIAL:			
		Deals, Battens, &c., sawn or split.		Timber hewn.	
Years.	By measure-		Masts		By meas.
	By tale.	ment.	by tale.	Number.	
	Gt. huuds.	Loads.			Loads.
1840 ..	52,230	3	8433	644,512	
41 ..	50,594	3	7546	619,857	
42 ..	15,134	170,783	1845	418,939	
43 ..	—	347,366	—	605,994	
44 ..	—	398,194	—	551,994	
45 ..	—	498,891	—	797,490	
FOREIGN.					
1840 ..	42,872	6,532	14,104	172,628	
41 ..	37,479	2,525	11,375	136,165	
42 ..	27,079	57,788	5,052	108,388	
43 ..	661	229,222	—	121,812	
44 ..	279	321,439	—	202,209	
45 ..	201	312,965	—	282,928	

AN ACCOUNT OF THE AMOUNT OF DUTY received in the United Kingdom on TIMBER (except Staves), in each Year from 1840 to 1845 inclusive.

Years.	Foreign.	Colonial.	Total.
1840 ..	1,222,688 ..	453,805 ..	1,676,493
41 ..	1,012,255 ..	452,509 ..	1,464,764
42 ..	809,055 ..	122,795 ..	931,851
43 ..	575,735 ..	68,750 ..	644,485
44 ..	820,423 ..	71,069 ..	891,492
45 ..	947,843 ..	91,262 ..	1,039,105

Office of the Inspector-General of Imports and Exports,
Custom House, London, 10th March, 1845.

WILLIAM IRVING.

The change in the mode of measuring timber introduced when the duties were altered in 1842, renders it difficult to institute any accurate comparison between the years immediately before and succeeding, as to quantity. However, since the reduced duties came into full operation, the import and consumption of timber have rapidly increased, and the revenue is quickly recovering its former amount. The comparison of the consumption and the revenue of 1844 and 1845, the only two years in which the new duties have been fully in operation, is as follows:

	Colonial Timber.	Foreign.	Total duty
	Deals, &c. Hewn.	Deals, &c. Hewn.	
	loads.	loads.	£
1844	398,184	551,994	321,439
1845	498,891	797,490	342,965

WOOL.

The next table in these returns is a

RECAPITULATION OF THE RATES OF DUTY chargeable on FOREIGN and COLONIAL WOOL, the Quantities thereof Imported, the PRICES of SUCH WOOL, and the DECLARED VALUE of the Declared Value of British WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES Exported in each Year, from 1818 to 1845.

Year.	Foreign Wool Imported	Colonial Wool Imported	Total Wool Imported	Price of Foreign Wool per lb.	Price of Colonial Wool per lb.	Declared Value of British Woollen Manufactures.	Total.
1818	1,172,139	—	1,172,139	—	—	£	£
1819	1,639,599	—	1,639,599	—	—	£	£
1820	1,543,795	122,229	1,666,024	—	—	£	£
1821	1,616,896	243,551	1,860,447	—	—	£	£
1822	1,839,293	198,415	2,037,708	—	—	£	£
1823	1,888,886	502,889	2,391,775	—	—	£	£
1824	2,217,310	416,915	2,634,225	—	—	£	£
1825	2,165,282	351,984	2,517,266	—	—	£	£
1826	2,110,753	1,232,069	3,342,822	—	—	£	£
1827	2,522,712	562,590	3,085,302	—	—	£	£
1828	2,628,121	1,607,938	4,236,059	—	—	£	£
1829	1,908,629	1,877,020	3,785,649	—	—	£	£
1830	3,306,173	2,002,141	5,308,314	—	—	£	£
1831	2,110,753	2,541,936	4,652,689	—	—	£	£
1832	2,558,129	2,461,191	5,019,320	—	—	£	£
1833	3,161,537	3,611,896	6,773,433	—	—	£	£
1834	3,770,932	3,770,932	7,541,864	—	—	£	£
1835	3,770,932	3,770,932	7,541,864	—	—	£	£
1836	3,770,932	3,770,932	7,541,864	—	—	£	£
1837	3,770,932	3,770,932	7,541,864	—	—	£	£
1838	3,770,932	3,770,932	7,541,864	—	—	£	£
1839	3,770,932	3,770,932	7,541,864	—	—	£	£
1840	3,770,932	3,770,932	7,541,864	—	—	£	£
1841	3,770,932	3,770,932	7,541,864	—	—	£	£
1842	3,770,932	3,770,932	7,541,864	—	—	£	£
1843	3,770,932	3,770,932	7,541,864	—	—	£	£
1844	3,770,932	3,770,932	7,541,864	—	—	£	£
1845	3,770,932	3,770,932	7,541,864	—	—	£	£

Statistical Department, Board of Trade,
9 March, 1846.

• R. PORTER.

Rates of Duty on Foreign Wool.

Year.	Duty per lb.
1818	0 3d. per lb.
1819	6 "
1821	1 "
1822	0 1d.
1844	free

We have so often remarked upon the interesting and important facts contained in this table, and which must be so familiar to our readers, that we do not think it necessary to do much more now than furnish the return itself. It may be well, however, to draw attention to the remarkable decline in our export of woollens in 1819 on the imposition of the high duty. The trade of 1818, the last year of the low duty, has never entirely been recovered in amount till 1844; this is a striking example of the danger of interfering with any branch of industry. It is also very remarkable that with the imposition of the high duty of 1819, although the import fell off immediately by more than thirty per cent., yet the price of English wool fell from 2s. 6d. to 1s. 7d. per lb.; and throughout the whole period it will be observed that the highest price for English wool has been co-existent with the largest imports, while the smallest imports have co-existed with the lowest prices for home-grown wool. The importation of wool last year exceeded that of 1842 by nearly thirty millions of pounds; but in 1842 home-grown wool was worth only 11½d. per lb., which in 1845 was worth 1s. 4d. per lb.

The next table shows the

NET PRODUCE paid into the Exchequer, of the REVENUE of CUSTOMS (exclusive of the Corn Duties) and of the REVENUE of EXCISE, in the Years 1842, 1843, 1844, and 1845, with the Amount of duties remitted in those years respectively.

	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.
Net produce of the Customs, exclusive of Corn Duties	19,661,163	20,275,424	21,406,439	19,829,818
Net produce of the Excise	12,517,646	12,877,528	13,308,050	13,585,583
Duties remitted—				
Customs	1,398,122	171,521	286,431	2,418,000
Excise	—	—	70,000	913,000
Total amount remitted, Customs and Excise ..	1,398,122	171,521	356,431	3,331,000

An increased duty of 1s. per gallon on spirits in Ireland was imposed in 1842, and repealed in 1843.

Ed. CARDWELL.

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, 9th March 1842.

While taxes to the amount of 5,197,074l. have been remitted, the actual receipts of the Exchequer have been reduced only by 1,236,617l.

This interesting and highly instructive document concludes by a statement of the reductions effected in the expenses of the excise department, since the repeal, in 1845, of the duties on auctions and glass, and with some correspondence from glass manufacturers relating to the improved condition of that trade, and the great increase in the demand consequent upon the repeal of the duty. The saving by reductions in the establishment amounts to no less than 52,636l., in reference to which it is stated that most of the officers discontinued in consequence of these reductions have been provided for, and the remainder, it is expected, will all be employed within the next six months, to supply vacancies which occur.

THE COMMERCE OF ROME.

(From a Correspondent of the Daily News.)

ROME, MARCH 12.—That "amusing print" the *Diario di Roma*, which, as you know, is merely a recital of church ceremonies, chronicled with chamberlain precision and Chinese solemnity, published, last week, in a fit of generosity, the balance sheet of the Savings' Bank for February. The lity were thus informed that during the past month a sum of 30,103 dollars had been lodged by them, while only 16,332 had been withdrawn; a palpable hint to be joyful at such evidence of their prosperous condition under the ecclesiastical system of rule; as if they did not know this exceptional surplus to be a simple derivative from the disturbances of foreign opulence during carnival, and a casual result of the circulating medium being freely lavished among tradesfolk by these northern revellers, far from being an index to the sustained healthy condition of remunerative industry. This topic I have touched on before, and may resume with effect. The middle classes, the *proletaires*, and operatives having been utterly overlooked in the dominions of the church (with, thereunto, the ignoble connivance of the aristocracy); uniformly snubbed and crushed since the days of Rienzi.

The declamations of Young Italy may or may not be all froth; but Arabic figures cannot be dealt with in the fashion of rhetorical flourishes; the whole question may resolve itself into a simple study of the balance sheet of Roman trade. Let your readers (matter of fact people) pause at each separate figure, and then sum up their impressions from the general *comp-dell* of the following cartoon, which has not been painted in the Vatican.

1. *Cotton tissues*.—The population pays for every yard in use, hard cash to the looms of England, Switzerland, and Mulhausen. Two millions of dollars (exclusive of smuggling) are ascertained to be lost on this item. The only attempt to manufacture a coarse description of cotton stuffs was made in the workshop at Dioclesian baths, and in the arsenal of galley slaves at Civita Vecchia. The paupers preferred begging, and the only "cotton lords" left are the latter gentry.

2. *In Woollens*, things are not quite so bad, though the staple is miserably cared for. Alarmed some years ago at the enormous outgoings of money to purchase foreign broad cloth, the present Pope's advisers suggested the exploded system of bounties, a certain sum was ordered to be paid to the manufacturers according to quality as well as quantity. The result was, that the trade appeared to revive.

1836	there were in operation	28	manufactories producing	31,526
1837	.....	36	.....	48,492
1838	.....	46	.....	67,165
1839	.....	44	.....	63,810

But the force of bounties could no farther go. The thing had been worked up-hill to the utmost of its capacity; smuggling increased and the bounties were jobbed; last year Peel's policy of reducing the tariff was adopted; and at the fair of Sinigaglia, the quantity of foreign cloth admitted at reduced rates doubled in amount, and kept up the produce to the papal treasury; but several factories have since been discontinued, and much misery has ensued. It must be added that the intelligent manufacturers blame Government for not giving them such powers as are supplied in France by the system of *livrets*, a matter not understood in England, but absolutely necessary here whenever workmen are congregated in bodies. Meantime, the Roman States export raw wool to the amount of 260,000 dollars, and import the same spun or woven to the amount of 490,000 dollars.

3. *In Silken tissues* these states could supply all Europe with common painstaking. The whole campaign might be planted with mulberries, if the landowners had the slightest wish to improve their enormous tracts. The women spin enough to save a portion of the loss, which is thus—

Raw silk exported, in value 489 dollars.
Spun silk 515,651
Woven silk, imported, in value 237,554

4. *In Flax and Hemp* the balance of trade is actually in favour of Rome, and that to an unexpected extent, so as to cover the whole loss of the cotton imports. The spinning and weaving of linen is attended to, not in manufactories, but in the homesteads of the cottagers, and without any encouragement or interference of Government. The women here again redeem the laziness and incapacity of the men. For, particularly on the other side of the Apennines, the old habits of the peasantry have survived, and though no longer is part of Macaulay's description true—

"When the oldest cask is opened,
And the largest lamp is lit;
And the chequers glow in the embers,
And the kid turns on the spit."

If no longer—
"The good man mends his armour,
And trims his helmet plume;"

Still—
"The good wife's shuttle merrily
Goes flashing thro' the loom."

5. *In wax and honey* the imports surpass the exports by 140,000 dollars. This is absolutely shameful, and shows how little the fourth book of the *Georgics*, or the good old man of *Æbalia's* example has done for the degenerate agricultural mind.

6. *The fisheries* are in as miserable a state of neglect as in Ireland. St. Peter appears to have only bequeathed his ring (*anulum piscatoris*) to the Pontiffs. 400,000 dollars are paid in hard cash to us English, for fishing the cod banks of Newfoundland, to enable the Romans to keep Lent, which they do very badly.

7. *In the matter of oil* only think of a country where the olive has but to be planted to spread its silver leaves in the sun and give abundant returns, actually importing foreign oil from the other Italian states, particularly its neighbour Tuscany, to the amount of 320,000 dollars. Most of the land thus mismanaged is in the claws of the church. To be badly off for soap is a still more blameable condition, arguing arant laziness: this article is imported to the extent of 100,000 dollars.

8. *Corn* shall form a chapter to itself in a future communication. This is the monster grievance, and ought not to be dealt with perfunctorily.

9. *For Gums, Resins, Fruit, Wines*, the absolute loss on the balance of import and export is 130,000 dollars.

10. *Colonial produce*—tea, coffee, sugar—are of course on the wrong side of the ledger; but not an attempt has been dreamt of to imitate the French and German beet-root factories, though this vegetable, planted lately in the fat ground near Aricia, produced roots varying in weight from ten to thirty pounds! It might as well rot on Lethe's wharf as on the banks of the Tiber, for all the Government cares.

11. *In the matter of Cheese and Butter*, fancy an agricultural country importing these two articles from its neighbours to the amount of 85,101 dollars, and at the same time exporting cows and oxen to the extent of 100,000 dollars.

12. *Iron, brass, tin, lead, and zinc*, are all imports; yet are there abundant indications of iron and lead mines of iron at Viterbo, at Tolfa, at Monteleone, and coal beds unworked. The Government prefer bringing this all-important article from Elba of the Florentines. Some praise is due to Gregory for the iron works established at the falls of Tivoli and Terni, but the rule subsists more gloriously because of the exception.

13. *In Straw Bonnets* the industry of the women again exhibits a slight compensation in an export of 120,000 dollars.

14. *I have not been able to get at the returns of the doll and crockery trade*, but a large balance is here against Rome; though one of its small dependencies, *Livorno*, had formerly the glory of giving its name to this most profitable branch of industry.

15. *In the article of Delli Arti* the export is of course on the side of Rome, but to amount far less than would be supposed—a mere trifle over 100,000 dollars. These are a few data on which to found an opinion as to the value of church government and the exclusion of laymen from the management of temporal affairs; and further, while such an aggregate of poverty is necessarily accumulated in the Roman States, with what face can the ecclesiastical rulers of the benighted land refuse the offer of capital for the construction of the railroads? Let Europe judge.

ECONOMICAL BLUNDERS.

(From the Nonconformist.)

The difference in a fortress between the day before surrender and the day after, is not more marked than the fallen estate of the protectionists in Parliament. Blasts of the oratorical trumpet that would once have called out the overwhelming array of banded monopolies, now are quashed harmless under majorities of seven to three. The wonder does not seem so much that this should exist as that it should not have been before. What is this has happened, that makes folly now of what was statesmanship and wisdom a few short months ago?

The last fight has been on the timber duties; a rich subject, and which has been treated accordingly. But why was not the whole craft and mystery as well understood twelve months ago? A band of mercantile gentlemen stand forward and say, "Enable us to get 5l. 10s. a load for timber instead of 4l., and you shall see how curiously we will get you timber for the dearer price. We will not put sixpence into our pockets except in the way of trade. Our rate of profits on the capital employed shall not be greater than that of anybody else; only we will go the long voyage instead of the short, and bring you the bad timber instead of the good. And the reason why you must do all this for us, because we are Englishmen, and make the timber in a place we call a colony; and if you were to get the other timber instead, you must get it of Prussians or Norwegians."

Upon which, it is not clear, now that the nine days of political blind-puppyhood are over, that if the other course were taken, the consequence would be, that instead of 5l. 10s. being given to the dealer in bad timber, Jobson, the 5l. would be given to some British manufacturer or dealer, Johnson, to create the goods which would be given for timber of the same intrinsic goodness to the Prussians or Norwegians, and that the 10s. would be given to some other British manufacturer or dealer, Jackson, for something over and above, to the use and enjoyment of the original owner of the 4l. 10s.? If there is any doubt whether Jobson gets it instead, propose to destroy some existing trade by a new duty, and see whether the Johnsons will not cry out. If there be any doubt of the existence of the Johnsons, ask the consumer to point out the dealers from whom he stops the 10s., if it is to be given to Jobson, and see if they do not join the Johnsons' cry. So that Johnson and Jackson are to lose to a pennyworth the custom which Jobson is to gain; and the consumer, Bull, who pays for all, is the same thing; he is to give him 10s. for nothing, instead of getting what Jackson used to give him. The world has been a long time in finding this out.

The fraud, therefore, when stripped to the skin, amounts to this: "Give us for an article more than you could get it for elsewhere; and there shall be an exact balance,—not the fraction of a grain or loss to industry in the aggregate; saving always this one triviality, that you the payer of the excessive price shall get nothing for the excess. Pay us more than you ought, and we will promise you that neither you nor anybody else shall get anything for it in return. It shall be clean lost and thrown into the fire. And for all this we will make a hubbub in Parliament, and call on heaven and earth to witness our solemn warnings and our deep despair."

It might be supposed the force of folly could no further go; but there is a lower depth. In rear of these statesmen, there is a reserve of philanthropists, sorrowing over the sad estate of "British Industry," if there is to be no more taking from it at one end and giving at the other, with a loss to the industrious classes in their character of consumers besides. For if the industrious classes are not the greatest consumers of foreign produce, they are some consumers, and would be more if they might. So that the plan amounts to taking water in a bucket from one end of a pond to put in at the other, and spilling half by the way. Jobson's workmen are to cry out for taking the work from Johnson's men and Jackson's, and so on to the greatest extent found possible; and the result is to be called protection to British Industry. The working classes by this time understand this as well as anybody, or a huge expenditure of the parts of speech has been made for nothing.

It is pleasing to see a man like Lord Ashley escaping timely from such a perplexity. It was Mr. D'Israeli, was it not, who was last reported as saying something about "economical blunders?"

TRADE OF LEICESTER.—The delay with respect to the ministerial measures has produced a most injurious effect here. Many wool-combers and others are out of employment, and many hands who are not so have limited work. Not only are manufacturers affected, but the general trade of the town is suffering, and much indignation is felt at the needless hindrances to which the measures of government are subjected.

The Queen has presented a pair of milk-white Cashmere goats, part of a flock sent to her Majesty by the Shah of Persia, to the 23d Welch Fusiliers, to replace the venerable Cambrin goat which accompanied that gallant regiment, and which lately died at Barbadoes.

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 LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding,
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*Cable, Collier, 209, Stone-street, Chelsea	0	2	6

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* It is the first article in a book published at Mr. Wilson's Royal Exchange, entitled '*Liberté du Commerce*.' Price 1s. 6d. The Duc d'Harcourt is a rich landed proprietor. Upon a similar topic, in 1845, he said that he was 'an owner of iron forges and forests; and not at all disposed to ruin himself by way of exportment. At least he was *disinterested* when he wished the tariff to be changed.' (10th June, 1845.)

Joseph Acton, Wigan	100	0	0
George Gibson and Co., Arbroath	100	0	0
E. Lombe, Great Milton, Norwich	100	0	0
Arthur Morse, Swaffham	100	0	0
Crossfield, Brothers, and Co., Horsham	50	0	0
Jarrow Chemical Company, South Shields	50	0	0
Renny, Sons, and Co., Arbroath	50	0	0
E. Sykes and Sons, Lindley, near Huddersfield	50	0	0
John Hutchinson, Sunderland	30	0	0
John Patten and Son, Alloa	30	0	0
A Friend to the Agricultural Labourer, Sunderland	25	0	0
J. and W. Archibald, Alloa	25	0	0
D. and F. Lambert, do.	25	0	0
Thomas Bell, Donk Alkali Works, South Shields	25	0	0
J. P. Packer, Upton Lovell, Herefordshire	25	0	0
E. J. Waterhouse, Lindley, near Huddersfield	25	0	0
George Canning, Arbroath	20	0	0
John Arkcoll, Maidstone	20	0	0
James Johnson, M.D., Bare, near Lancaster	20	0	0
A. J. Moore, Bridge-street, Sunderland	20	0	0
A. G. Rahm, South-street, do.	20	0	0
Thos. Robson, Cumberland-terrace, do.	20	0	0
Thos. Thompson, Villiers-street, do.	20	0	0
Robert Vint, Herald Office, do.	20	0	0
Joshua Wilson, Frederick-street, do.	20	0	0
Henry Wilson, Twickenham place, do.	20	0	0
Jonathan Freeman, Newcastle-on-Tyne	20	0	0
E. Swinbourne, Troutbeck Bridge, Kendal	20	0	0
James Walter, Luton	20	0	0
John Jubb, do. Batley	15	0	0
Michael Shead and Son, do.	15	0	0
Alexander Mann and Son, Arbroath	15	0	0
William Park, Southell, Greenock	10	10	0
William Andrew, do. Arbroath	10	0	0
Charles Anderson, do.	10	0	0
Joseph S. Brown, do.	10	0	0
William Johnston, do.	10	0	0
Armedy Lawson, do.	10	0	0
David Loring and Son, do.	10	0	0
Robert Main, do.	10	0	0
Amicus Herald Office, do. Whitehaven	10	0	0
William Nicholson, do.	10	0	0

'Private interests have hitherto prevailed against Free Trade; but the nation is ready to adopt it. It is the grand question of modern times.' The ancients were our superiors in letters, and the fine arts. But a privileged few only shared that superiority, whilst the millions were ignorant slaves. Christianity has rescued them from their degradation; and it remains for us to carry out the doctrines of Christianity, by making our laws conform to them. These doctrines are yet to be better than mere theories with us. Religious liberty, civil liberty, commercial liberty, are all refused with disdain by the monopolisers of every degree. They know well that the best means of getting the most money out of the nation is to set class against class. They do not know that the true germ of civilisation, perhaps the only universal one, is Free Trade. There is no mistake in the argument establishing the triumph of Free Trade. They are these: first, mutual wants must lead to communication between man and man; and, secondly, without mutual wants, the earth would become a silent solitude. The more wants men have, the greater must be their intercourse, and the steadier their progress. Providence, in its wonderful plan, has infinitely varied the productions of different countries, in order to compel their inhabitants to seek each other out. To put obstacles in the way of that intercourse, is to oppose the course of Providence. Savages are savages only because they live apart from us, and have no wants. Free Trade, then, is civilisation; and prohibitions are real barbarism. Archimedes said, that with a fulcrum he would move the earth. I venture to assert, that with Free Trade at my command, I could defy religious animosities, war, famine, poverty—to overturn the old lot of man.

'No will Free Trade make food and clothing the cheaper; it will improve means of subsistence, and increase their intelligence, because it will give them time for the one, and incline them to the other. It is in vain to open schools if the scholars are starving. But feed them well, and they will rapidly acquire all the knowledge you can offer them.'

'The industry of man is in an eternal ferment. Its last result is, over abundant production. Consumption has its natural limit; production has no bounds. England and Belgium and France have all reached the last point of consumption in several articles. One two neighbours admit this fact; and half France does the same thing when year after year complaining bitterly of the tariff, which cuts them off from the proper remedy—access to foreign markets. The whole civilised world, with its natural, instinctive view of the truth, perceive this to be the case; and, therefore, it is now eagerly seeking an outlet in all quarters for its overabundant abundance. Unhappily the Government of France, well as it knows all this, is bound hand and foot by our monopolists.'

'There is, however, one example near us, which we ought to follow. It is passing in England surpasses in grandeur all that is recorded in history—the struggle of the League to emancipate industry. The British Free Trade League is making prodigious strides. And when we reflect upon the obstacles in its way—upon the private interests opposed to it, and upon the power of a once resisting Government, we are bound to do justice to a nation capable of such an effort. Mr. Cobden deserves to be enrolled among the benefactors of mankind for his share in this prodigious success. On our parts, instead of fostering a blind, unprofitable hate towards our neighbours, let us imitate their great deeds—let us become free, like them—above all, let us become Free Traders. All the rest will follow.'

'This is a faithful translation of a small part of the speech of a French duke, on the 12th of January last.'

A RESIDENT IN FRANCE.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

"Blessed is he that considereth the poor."

SIR,—Permit me once more to state, through the medium of your "great fact" paper, that another of the real friends of the peasantry has sent me a sovereign for the poor of our province. Many thanks to E. S. W. I am right glad, that while many Free Traders have sent me various sums of money for the peasantry, so few have requested me to give them money. Food, clothing, firing, beds, and bedding, are at all times a great blessing to the degraded and famishing sons and daughters of toil; but they are so ignorant, and too many of them are so inferior in moral and mental elevation to others of the same class in the manufacturing districts, that they do not know how to use money when they have it. They are in very deed a degraded and ruined class of men, women, and children. They have too long been left to the tender mercy of those who maintain that the best way to keep the poor in order and obedience, is to pay them low wages, and to keep them ignorant. I hope the important information in relation to the condition of our peasantry, and the low wages paid them, which I have forwarded at his own request to Edward Galsdon, Esq., Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, will be published. I have now the high honour of being publicly abused by a protectionist farmer in the county of Bucks. Yes, the worthy gentleman has said in public company that I ought to be burnt for the part which I have taken in the cause of suffering humanity and justice. I hope the valiant yeoman will not entangle himself in his own net. I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

W. FERGUSON,

King's End, Bicester, March 25.

Mr. Gordon, of Naish House, East Somersetshire, has addressed to the Editor of a London paper the following letter, which, with something of an Irish blunder, is headed "The Frightened Farmers":

"Naish, East Somerset, March 13, 1846.

"Sir,—You inserted, a few days since, a circular forwarded on the 14th Feb., to above sixty of my tenants here, offering to take their farms, at Lady-day, off their hands, if they felt alarmed at the repeal of the Corn Laws, and would give notice before the 18th February.

"I apologise to you for not having informed you of the result, namely, that although at Mr. W. Miles's threshold, and most of us his supporters, not one accepted.

"If panic ever really did exist, it is fast dying away among the farmers.

"That it is also among the landlords, may be gathered from the fact of persons applying to myself for land, who had to leave their holding under the members for East Somerset and Bristol, as they stated, from their being desirous to farm it themselves. I am about to follow their good example on land that ought, but won't go out of cultivation."

"Courage, Protectionists! Does not this speak more volumes than Hansard himself?"

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"J. A. GORDON"

THE TRUE WEALTH OF ENGLAND.—The great internal resources of this country depend on its minerals; a bag of coals would not be so comfortable a thing for the Lord Chancellor to sit upon as the woodsuck, but much more emblematical of the wealth of England. It is the coal, and not the wool, that has made England what it is, and our mineral resources both in coal and iron are yet in their infancy. We have just touched on the fringe of our mineral wealth, something like the cultivation of New South Wales as compared with what it may be. The great increase of railway communication will tend to develop these resources beyond all conception; but any want of uniformity in the gauge will tend to diminish that development.—Capt. Law's Evidence upon the Gauge Commission.

ANOTHER GLANCE AT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

BY REUBEN.

YOUNG MEMBERS—THE MARQUIS OF WORCESTER.

Of the youthful members of the House of Commons, whom we see sitting as representatives of farm-yards, or rising to address the house as the instructors of commercial men on commercial policy; or stretched on the benches of the gallery asleep, as if worn, while yet in the bud, with legislative toil; or skipping arm-in-arm through the lobbies as bosom friends, happy upon the threshold of a pleasant time of life; or standing at the bar in clusters, caring little more for the calls of "order at the bar," from the Speaker, than they cared a year or two ago at college for the calls of the proctors to prayers; listening, it may be, to what the railway king, who stands in the midst, tells them of the chances of scrip being hatched into golden dividends by the committees which sit on scrip as hens sit on eggs—the king, proud to have young lords to listen, and the young lords pleased to have an adviser so respectable in adventure and success as the king of railways; or listening, it may be, to equally confidential and acceptable advice from Lord George, king of jockies, who hints to them how to hedge, and having hedged, how to lay against their own favourites, and win enough to live like lords;—of all the youthful members whom we see sprinkled among the old ones, making an old House of Commons look like a young one, the most noticeable are the sons of the dukes recently withdrawn from school, and brought to London to adorn the drawing-rooms, and legislate for their fathers' corn fields, game preserves, dog-kennels, grease and lard, kitchen-stuff, and all the other elements of ducal grandeur—Temple Grenville, Churchill, Lennox, Bentinck, and Somerset.

Of these the last, who is the heir of the Duke of Beaufort—the handsome, reputedly intelligent, and youthful Marquis of Worcester, deserves special notice. He was sent in the room of the Hon. Francis Charteris to represent protection to the cheese, grass, tenants-at-will, and foul cultivation of Gloucestershire. Mr. Charteris is the grandson of the Earl of Wemyss, a Scotch nobleman, owning a good estate in the well-known agricultural county of East Lothian; and having, as near neighbours, and, I believe, tenants, Mr. Hope of Fenton Barns, and his son, the author of the prize essays, which pleaded so well for Free Trade, for the sake of the farmers. Lord Wemyss has also landed property in Gloucestershire, which, together with his Tory connection, obtained for his grandson a seat in Parliament in 1841 for one of the divisions of that county. And there can be little doubt that the superior cultivation of their Lothian estates by tenants paying rents according to the prices of grain, and not a fixed sum of money, holding on lease, making the land a profitable investment for capital, without reference to the Corn Law, most of them repudiating protection as being not only worthless, but a positive evil,—there can be no doubt that with such an estate so cultivated in Scotland, with another estate badly cultivated, and low rents badly paid, though the soil is naturally good, in Gloucestershire, where the tenantry have been almost unanimous, and those of them who have been the worst farmers have been the loudest, in calling for protection;—there can be little doubt that these circumstances had a strong tendency to make the Charteris family Corn Law repealers, even before Sir Robert Peel declared a change in his opinions.

But Mr. Charteris had also learned that in Gloucestershire a practical agriculturist, who repudiates protection, who has striven against it, and torn the delusion to shreds and exposed it to the world, both by his pen upon paper and by his plough in the land, by his intellect as a theorist, and by his capital as a practical farmer—I mean Mr. Morton, of Whitefield farm; Mr. Charteris knew that Mr. Morton was producing the best of crops easily where the worst had grown with difficulty under the Gloucestershire system; that his landlord, Earl Ducie, had laid out 7000*l.* on the permanent improvement of that farm for which Mr. Morton paid five per cent. of augmented rent; and that he, the tenant was working the farm with a capital of 4000*l.*; while under the old system, which gave but a bare living to the farmer and no profit, the working capital was barely 700*l.*; that where a man, a boy, and two women were employed, and paid the meagre wages of a county over-run with pauperism, twelve men and a proportionate number of women and boys are employed now, and are paid wages according to the worth of their work, and not according to how little they could live on without falling on the poor rates. Mr. Charteris had learned these facts; also that while Whitefield farm employed in proportion to its acres two and a half times more labourers than England could give to agriculture, its rateable value for poor's rates had been tripled. Knowing these things, and others equally valuable, which we need not stop to particularise now, Mr. Charteris

changed his opinion on the question of protection to agriculture; and having, like many older and more experienced men, given a pledge in 1841 to preserve the Corn Law, he resigned his seat rather than vote for it again, and the Marquis of Worcester is sent up in his place to vote for protection.

The marquis has already voted several times, and has spoken once. High expectations were formed, and by some are still held, of his speaking qualities. Seldom has the House of Commons bent down its head and listened, and been more complimentary to a young marquis than to him; but seldom has a young marquis made so poor a beginning.

But his ability to speak is not the question with us, it is his ability to protect the farmers. And protect them from what? Let us see.

Besides the fifteen or twenty miles of green fields, foul ditches, scrubby hedgerows, excellent land, in a state of deplorable mismanagement, with a pauper population on it in Gloucestershire—a district not surpassed in all England for its fox-hunting—the Duke of Beaufort, who is its owner and fox-hunter, possesses a large estate in the neighbouring shire of Monmouth. This Monmouth estate is large enough to give him the power of returning his brother as a county member, and to bring him in upwards of 50,000*l.* a-year of rent, although it is very defectively cultivated.

This is the ancient family estate of Ragland; and Ragland Castle is famous, not alone in the history of the Duke of Beaufort's ancestors, but in the history of England. No circumstance connected with Ragland Castle, however, in history, equals in interest the tradition that it was here that the discovery of the power of steam was first made. The discoverer and first experimenter was a Marquis of Worcester, ancestor of the Somersets of the present day. But this is digressive; to the subject now before us.

The most striking characteristics of the Ragland estate at the present time, are the necessity for drainage, the facilities for drainage, and the utter absence of drainage; the consequent feebleness of grain crops on strong loamy soils; the coarseness of meadow pastures; the insufficiency of winter feeding for live stock; the poor and profitless condition of the live stock; and the similitude of the farmers, and the farm-labourers, to the poor live stock. I may add, as another characteristic, the ditches with their weedy wastes varying from three to ten yards wide, which occupy more land as absolute waste than would pay all the local taxes.

Now it so happened, a few years ago, that one of the tenants more adventurous than the rest drained some of his fields, imperfectly it is true, yet so beneficially as to add greatly to the fertility of his farm. He is now able to grow excellent Baga turnips (Swedes) and feed winter stock. He produces manure therefrom, and has a large increase of all kinds of crops in return; not extraordinary crops compared with what are taken from similar soils elsewhere; indifferent, compared with Mr. Morton's produce on Whitfield farm, in Gloucestershire; yet great, compared with anything produced in Monmouthshire, under the common agriculture of Monmouth—the system, or rather the systemless waste, of Ragland.

The tenant now under notice also dressed up his hedges, scoured out his ditches, levelled down the banks, made compost of the earth he found there, and, in a word, improved the farm by venturing to obey some of the axioms and recommendations of the Royal Agricultural Society.

What followed? the agent of the duke demanded an advance of rent—the tenant holding, as all the others do, at will. This demand led to a disagreement—to the threat of being served with a notice to quit, and ultimately to the appointment of a land valuer to value the farm, who set the fair rental at fifteen shillings per acre more than was previously paid, which augmentation of fifteen shillings per acre is now paid—a warning to all other farmers not to drain their land, not to grow winter food for stock, not to produce manure to fertilise their fields, not to attempt to save the manure now running to waste, not to clear out the foul ditches, not to level down cumbrous banks and make compost, not to attempt to follow any of the instructions of the agricultural societies—an unmistakeable warning to avoid joining in the progress of the age—an injunction not to attack, contend with, and overcome the obstinacy of the uncultivated earth, but to preserve its stubborn strength, to be in everlasting battle with it, and to remain content to be always getting the worst of the battle.

Speaking of the Duke of Beaufort merely as a man, I do not think he is blameable for unfair treatment of the tenant. He is seldom in Monmouthshire, save when with the hounds or with his agents—when either hounds or agents, or both, fill his ear to the exclusion of any farmer's voice. But as a landlord he is blameable. He does as a landlord, from mere negligence, or permits to be done, what he would not do as a man.

Nor does it follow that the agents are intentionally unjust and hard bargaining men. They are expected to pay in a certain amount of money into the duke's account at the bank. On the vast estates, in the absence of everything like systematic management, repairs to farm buildings are only done in a patchwork style, all are needing to be renewed, and most are getting some patches put on. Where least money is received, most is often taken to do those imperfect repairs. Thus money must come from some other part of the estate; and the agents are driven to the necessity of getting the most money out of those who can pay best.

It is a miserable kind of management, and makes the duke and his agents sink in the esteem of those with whom they should stand well. It makes the duke, who is reputed to be a generous man, seem to be a hard man. It makes the agents do what, if kept to their natural inclinations, they would scorn to do; and it need not be surprising if a long practice of this kind at last leads some of them to be insensible to wrong.

The Marquis of Worcester, and his father, who sent him to Parliament to uphold what they call protection, are thoroughly wrong as to what is protection, and fatally wrong for the sake of their own property, in allowing their tenantry to suffer for the want of real protection—for the want of secure tenures. But this is the time, and we are now in the midst of the events, when and through which it is proper to turn their attention to what protection is, and what it is not.

For this purpose have these remarks been written, and given for the public perusal.

MR. RASHLEIGH.

This gentleman is one of the members for Cornwall. He was one of four or five who jumped to their feet simultaneously to address the house on Tuesday night about 9 o'clock. That is the time of the evening when there is most competition for the "Speaker's eye;" in other words, when there is most desire to speak. In the early part of that evening, after Lord Pollington, who resumed the debate, sat down, nobody rose for some minutes, so sure was every one of having an empty house to speak to, if speaking between 6 and 8 o'clock. And the members did thin away to fewer than 40 before 7 o'clock. But no one had an interest in moving that the house be counted; so it was not counted out; and Mr. Plumptre, an elderly man, of spare figure, who was the first to rise after Lord Pollington, made a long empty-belly speech to an empty house. The man, the speech, the purpose of the speech, the place, the time—all were suggestive of famine.

Towards nine, when the house began to fill, the desire to speak increased. Sitting where I was, the faces of all who sprung upon their feet were not visible, and if they had been visible, I am not sufficiently acquainted with them to know their names. All I could see and understand was, that one of the bodies which had sprung up, remained up, that the others sat down, and that this one threw itself round about in a violent twirl, with its face to where its back was at first, and then righted itself, as if it had been a cable in a stormy sea; that the same instant it threw out its arms and dived forward, and bent itself down, and screamed at the highest pitch of its voice something about feather-beds. Then it stretched itself up, and shook its head, and clenched its teeth, and spoke while its teeth were clenched; then it threw its arms forward, somewhat in the manner of a windmill which has almost stopped, but which bounds on afresh with a new gust of wind, and pointing to somebody opposite it, said, "No; I live among the green fields, not among your smoky chimneys." It then twisted round, and spoke with its face where its back had been, and wheeled round again, and continued so to do, until its voice sunk from exhaustion, and it spoke feebly and low, and told of the time when it would have willingly lost one of its limbs for Sir Robert Peel, but that it would not do so now; and so it sat down. Next morning I found by the newspapers that this curious exhibition had been made by the gentleman whose name stands at the head of this paragraph.

SIR JOHN TROLLOPE.

Previous to the wild man of Cornwall's exhibition, and during the time when the house might have been said to be at low water—the tide being run out, and the shallows left bare on the protection benches, a dignified personage, with a sonorous and finely modulated voice, rose from the front seat, and spoke in favour of protection—proof that whatever appearances may have been, the tide, which awhile before swept the members from the house, had not left shallows, and shallows only on the protection seats. He was the most fluent speaker, and delivered the arguments for protection in the best-arranged style which it has been my fortune to hear. I did not know until next morning who this speaker was, as no one near me could tell his name; but that name, I saw by the newspapers, is Sir John Trollope. Sir

John is one of the members for Lincolnshire, and is, I hear, reported to be a man of talent. He may be so, and be greatly in error on the subject of the Corn Law. He evidently clings to it from other causes than a belief in its indispensableness. Towards the conclusion of his speech he said that rather than suffer the taunts applied to the landowners by opponents of the Corn Law, he, for one, would give it up; if its existence depended on his will, it should at once cease to exist. There is no shame conveyed in a taunt to a sensible man if the taunt is not deserved. Such a man as Sir John Trollope must feel the sting all the more that he knows the monopolists, who rob the working bees of their honey, lay themselves open to the sting, and should be stung, and will be stung.

THE EARL OF MARCH, LORD GEORGE, AND THE "LITTLE PATRIOTIC BAND."

Neither so sensitive, nor sensible, is the heir of the house of Lennox. Whatever merits he may have, he has not the merit of Sir John Trollope, of being ashamed of a bad cause. Extravagant self-esteem is the leading characteristic of his ducal parent, and a goodly share of it is his. Allied with Lord George Bentinck in horseracing, betting, and "hedging," the Lennoxes, like his lordship, are "up to a dodge or two," and are not particular as to what people will think of them. Laws which have been made to suppress gambling, some of them wilfully break; and having broken them, they "protect" themselves by their legislative influence in getting an act passed (the *qui tam* actions act) to save themselves from the consequences. In the annals of barefacedness there is no parallel to that act. For law-breakers to associate in Parliamentary strength, and pass an act of indemnity for themselves, may be quite in accordance with the spirit of what they call "protection;" but if the phrase "unconstitutional" means anything, it means that the legislature is not to be perverted to save delinquents from the consequences of delinquency. The Duke of Richmond was the mover of the *qui tam* actions bill in the Lords, and it was supported in the Commons, and carried through, chiefly by that "little patriotic band," as Lord George Bentinck calls himself and co-obstructors of the Government sitting below the gangway. There is a delinquent to be hanged on Monday morning, at the Old Bailey; and he, doubtless believing that a man may be put to better uses than that of hanging, would be very glad if he could get into Parliament, and have friends enough there to hasten a bill through both houses before Monday morning, to save him from Jack Ketch. It was alleged in favour of the *qui tam* actions bill, that the persons who were proceeding against the honourable and noble delinquents who sought the "protection" of their fellow legislators, were persons of indifferent reputation; but Jack is not remarkable for his high reputation; and in that respect the man now in Newgate would go to Parliament for "protection" on equal terms with those who have gone before. Not that it is insinuated for a moment that gamblers, "bonnets," "legs," "hedgers," &c., &c., &c., are to be compared in guilt with an assassin—far from it. The cases are only mentioned together to enable us to say, that all law-breakers would pass acts of indemnity to "protect" themselves from the consequences of breaking the law if they could; and that it is, therefore, the interest and the duty of the moral and the well-disposed of mankind to prevent them, when, by some mischance, such happen to have the Parliamentary power. There are some men—let us hope many—to whom shame would be a sufficient preventative, even if they were inclined to protect themselves by legislative influence from the consequences of breaking the law. But with that "little patriotic band," of which Lord George is the centre, below the gangway, and to which he now stands godfather, shame, or even a moderate amount of modesty, is not an attribute.

Of course, in this remark, men of respectable moral character—such as Sir Robert Inglis, and Sir John Trollope—are not included, though they are below the gangway, and sit upon the skirts of the "little patriotic band."

LORD EBRINGTON.

This young nobleman spoke in favour of Free Trade on the same evening that the members, whom I have mentioned, spoke on the other side. His lordship is not an effective speaker. His matter reads well, but he is so unready as to be at times painful to listen to. He deprecated the three years of a sliding scale which is proposed by the Government, and pointed out some burdens—real burdens on land, which neither the Government nor the monopolists have taken into consideration—the legal expenses on the transfer of property. The barrier which such expenses have raised against the acquisition of small freeholds has been, and is, detrimental to national progress in a high degree—so far as national progress depends on an extension of the fran-

chise in the counties to the men of intelligence, industry, and small means, who have hitherto been shut out from it, but who, instructed by the League, are now associating to obtain the franchise by obtaining small properties. Altogether Lord Ebrington's speech contained valuable suggestions. But it is nothing new in this paper to show that the heaviest burdens on agriculture are the lawyers and agents, who being paid servants of the landlords, ride on the backs of the farmers like so many old men of the sea, and will not be shaken off.

MEMORIAL TO SIR R. PEEI.

GLoucester, MAR. 21.—Moved by Mr. Councillor Kimberley, and seconded by Mr. Alderman Taylor, that an address be transmitted to Sir R. Peel through the Town-clerk, and that the city seal be attached thereto:

"TO THE RIGHT HON. SIR R. PEEI, BART., FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY."

"The Address of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the City of Gloucester, in council assembled."

"We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the City of Gloucester, in council assembled, impressed with a deep sense of the importance of the Government measures, now before Parliament, for relaxing the duties on corn and provisions, with a view to their eventual abolition, as well involving a general reduction in our commercial tariff, avail ourselves of these means respectfully to tender you, as their responsible projector, our cordial and entire approbation of the principle on which these measures are founded."

"Comprising, as this corporation does, individuals of various shades of political opinion, we are nevertheless unanimous in our admiration of the boldness, justice, and equity of the proposed changes, and of their complete adaptation to the spirit of the age, and to the ends thereby proposed—namely, the increased happiness, and comfort of all classes of her Majesty's subjects."

"It is not the practice of this corporation, as a body, to identify itself with general political questions, but there are occasions which seem to justify a departure from the usual course; and we deem the present an opportunity which our strong sense of the immense importance of the Government proposals will scarcely allow us to forego, of testifying our high approval of them, and of cheering on the first Minister of the Crown in his glorious yet difficult career of carrying them forward to a successful issue."

"We are fully sensible of the many painful struggles which must have preceded the proposal of measures involving principles in direct opposition to the views of a large influential section of the Government supporters; but we offer our respectful homage to the moral courage and independence which could disregard that support, and appeal to the higher tribunal of public opinion, dispassionately expressed through its representatives in Parliament. It is our anxious hope that these measures may speedily become the law of the land. We believe their tendency to be, to secure at home social and political contentment, active employment, health and wealth; abroad, to annihilate prejudice, to increase goodwill towards this country, to remove the barriers to a free exchange of labour and natural products; and thus, by promoting a universal treaty of amity and commerce, to secure that which must almost inevitably flow from it—the blessings of universal peace."

THE PROTECTION CHIEFS.—Among the many delusions of the present day, there is no one, unfortunately, more prevalent than that the protectionist party in Parliament, however compact in itself, is without leaders. We believe we are in a position to say that this supposition is utterly devoid of foundation. In the House of Commons the question is already settled. Lord George Bentinck has shown the truth of what we have often urged, that circumstances produce men. Those who have only served in the political ranks are called into command by some sudden emergency, and contrary, perhaps, to their own previous belief, are found capable of leading, and of doing so in a manner that throws into the shade the former conventional leaders of party. The speech of Lord George Bentinck—the first in which he took a prominent place in debate—on the 27th of last month; the numerous occasions on which he has since spoken; his patience in wading through the most uninteresting of all reading, Parliamentary blue-books; his skill in extracting from these volumes of mere words, for the most part, all that they contain of facts; his arrangement and combination of the truths to be found in them; his skill in bringing such truths to bear on the subject under consideration; and the thoroughly English spirit with which he declares that "he is not ashamed to hoist the colours of protection;" all concur in establishing Lord George's claim, or rather that of his friends on his behalf, to the position of leader of the British party in the Commons. But this point is tacitly admitted, even by men opposed to the protectionists. It is in the House of Lords that we are hourly taunted with having no leader. Even the most virulent of the Whig journals allow that we have a party—a strong and resolute party—in that House; but they lose no opportunity of throwing it in our teeth, that there is no noble lord, of talent and energy, suited to the crisis, to give direction to the power that we possess. We feel authorised in declaring that this insinuation is perfectly groundless. Lord Stanley is able and willing to lead on his noble phalanx to the victory that British industry will yet achieve in the House of Peers. The few words that his lordship delivered on Friday night are conclusive evidence of what he believes may be done; and we think we know enough of what other noble lords feel on the subject to say, without fear of contradiction, that they are content to leave the mode in which it shall be done to the zeal and ability of Lord Stanley.—*Morning Post*.

REPRESENTATION OF SOUTH LANCASHIRE.—We think it right to state, for the information of our readers, that there is considerable probability of an early election for the southern division of this county. Within the last few days, rumours which had previously been in circulation of an intention on the part of Government to create several additional peers, have acquired greater probability and consistency. It is now pretty generally believed, that after the bill for altering the Corn Law has passed the House of Commons, several individuals, now or recently in that house, including Lord Francis Egerton, Lord Lincoln, and Lord Ashley, will be called to the upper house, in order to assist in carrying the great measure through that assembly. We give the statement as it reaches us; not vouching for its truth, but, at the same time, with a strong impression that there is at least some foundation for it.—*Manchester Guardian*.

AGRICULTURE.

THE "PROTECTED" LABOURERS.

With effrontery surpassing that of the roguish horsedealer, who pointed out the lame leg of a horse for sale as one of the animal's best points, the monopolists have lately pretended that "protection"—that is, dear grain and short crops—was essential to the welfare of the agricultural labourers. Nothing is further from the truth, but it serves to divert attention from the real objects and effects of the Corn Laws; and therefore monopolist after monopolist reiterates the oft-exposed falsehood.

Perhaps there is no county in England where the farmers have so entirely relied upon the Corn Laws as in Wiltshire. A large portion of the county consists of light but fertile land, held generally in large farms, the occupiers of which, though often men of considerable capital, almost without exception hold too much land for the capital they employ; their profit, therefore, according to the actual system, is derived from a moderate acreable produce on a large breadth of land. They thus produce grain at considerable cost, and require high prices to "remunerate" them. They have a large surface of land to plough, to manure, and to sow. They pay rent—and Wiltshire rents are high—tithes, rates, and taxes, for many acres. Their outgoings, calculated at per acre, are as great as if, with one exception, the highest and most elaborate system of culture prevailed. Indeed, more so, for more seed is required to be sown on the Wiltshire system than would be necessary if the land was more highly cultivated. If the Wiltshire farmer with the same capital had less land, the only additional outlay per acre he would make would be in extra labour. He must raise better turnip and green crops; he would feed some bullocks, or milch cows, or breed neat stock; and he would fatten off some of his wether sheep.

Root-hoeing, manure drawing, cattle serving, and so forth, which such a change implies, would undoubtedly require the employment of more manual labour than the Wiltshire farmer now deems necessary, but that would be a most profitable outlay, for the increased produce per acre would much exceed the increased cost.

Now, when "protection" shall be finally abolished, the Wiltshire farmers must, and will, rely less upon the price, and more upon the quantity of their crops, and they will necessarily adopt a higher system of farming.

Both landlords and tenants will probably be less anxious for large occupations. To put the difference in a tangible form, let us contrast the high and the low farming. The Wiltshire farmer has a capital of—say 4000*l.*, and he takes a farm of 800 acres, thus employing 5*l.* per acre. Throughout the county, for one farmer who has more capital than 5*l.* per acre, there are five who have less. But take 5*l.* per acre as representing the average of Wiltshire farming, and it will be obvious that by means of that capital—in the case we put—the rent, tithes, rates, and taxes of 800 acres must be paid, that quantity of land must be ploughed, manured, sown, and harvested; and we know that, practically, the only means by which it can be manured at all by means of a capital of 4000*l.*, is with a flock of sheep kept on "the downs" in the day, and folded at night on the arable land. No beasts will be fed or bred, no sheep fattened, the turnips will not exceed 4 or 5 tons to the acre, and the number of labourers employed will be comparatively small. The acreable produce of grain will be small, very small, compared with what the land under a different style of farming is capable of producing. The witnesses examined before the various agricultural committees have never set the Wiltshire produce of wheat at more, upon an average, than about 22 bushels per acre, and other grain in proportion. Had the farmer with a capital of 4000*l.* taken four instead of eight hundred acres of the same kind of land, he would have saved half his outgoings for rent, tithes, rates, taxes, seed, and ploughing; and let him employ the same number of men upon his smaller farm, and he may not only in many instances grow nearly or quite double his present produce per acre, but he may grow grain more frequently on the same land than he can with the larger farm. Besides, there will be the profit upon stock. As

far as the farmer is concerned, he will carry on his business with much greater success as soon as the necessity of growing large produce shall have taught him not to take too much land.

But if such a change of system as Free Trade will inevitably introduce is best for the farmer, how is it for the labourer? Why, with provisions at lower prices, there will be a greater demand for his labour, and, as a necessary consequence, his wages will rise. The Wiltshire labourers seem to be aware of this. Nothing has been more remarkable, during the progress of the Free Trade agitation, than the meetings of Wiltshire labourers to petition Parliament, or memorialize the Queen, for a Free Trade in corn. The peaceable, rational, earnest demeanour of these humble men, gathered together by the hill side, or under the broad oak, in the moonlight of a winter's night, to raise their voices for untrammelled industry, is a spectacle of no ordinary import. When the truths of economical science are thus practically enforced, dare the Government disregard the signs of the times, in blind obedience to the selfish suggestions of an ignorant landocracy? To that question Sir Robert Peel has given the statesman's only answer—No; emphatically, No.

The following paragraph records a meeting of labourers which took place a week or two ago, in Wiltshire:

"MEETING OF LABOURERS ON LOCKERIDGE DEANE.—On Tuesday evening a meeting of 'protected' Wiltshire labourers took place on Lockeridge Deane, near Marlborough. Many of the cottagers in the neighbourhood of Kennet, Lockeridge, and Overton, having lately received printed papers issued by the Protection Society, setting forth the evils of Free Trade, and having been told by the farmers that protection was for their benefit, and therefore ought to be continued, decided on holding a meeting to discuss the subject, and requested Mr. Edwards, of Marlborough, and Mr. Westell, schoolmaster, of the same place, to attend and explain to them the true bearings of the question. Accordingly, on Tuesday evening, at one o'clock, the Deane, which is a hollow, spotted over with those singular stones, which, at a distance, from their resemblance to sheep, are called 'grey wethers,' was thronged with hundreds of men, whose white smockfrocks literally glittered in the bright moonlight, and made an impressive picture among the old grey stones—memorials of bye-gone days. The addresses of Messrs. Edwards and Westell were listened to with intense interest, the labourers every now and then breaking on the solemn stillness of the night, which was otherwise only interrupted by a single human voice, with loud shouts of approval, which were caught up by echo on the other side and sent back again, reverberating over the Deane. The strongest feeling in favour of Free Trade was manifested, and it is not too much to say that, in this neighbourhood, the 'Glory of Protection has departed,' never more to return."—*Wiltshire Independent*.

If the reader knows the district, he will understand the picturesque effect of such a meeting. If not, let him imagine a hollow between the Chalk hills, filled with masses of grey "Sarsen" stone, protruding through the short natural turf, surrounded by wide tracts of "downs," used only as sheep walks, though capable of being highly and profitably cultivated, and by open arable fields which every labourer in the district knows to be only half cultivated. Let him recollect that 7*s.* and 8*s.* a week form the ordinary wages of an adult labourer; that there is little employment for women and children, and that this state of things arises from a low, an unnaturally low system of cultivation, occasioned by a law passed by a legislature of dominant landowners, to increase their own rents by enhancing the price of the labourer's food, and diminishing the demand for his labour. Will he wonder at shouts of approval which greeted the Free Trade speakers? May the echoes reach the ear, and act upon the minds of those of the English Oligarchy, who still struggle to maintain their artificial scarcity! On these very spots, according to local tradition, the aborigines of this Island were accustomed to assemble under the guidance of the Druids for worship, and to concert resistance to the Roman invaders; and from that hour to this, hundreds on hundreds of acres of land have been untouched and unimproved by the hand of man. Now the peasants assemble there to demand the removal of those laws which restrict the freedom of British industry, and retain the soil in a state of nature.

We understand that the Wiltshire labourers are about to celebrate at Avebury, where their first meeting occurred, the partial triumph of sound principles which Sir Robert Peel's measure affords. We shall look with great interest for the proceedings of that meeting, for it is plain the Wiltshire labourers, by a reaction from the very extremity of their depression, are about to take the lead in the elevation of their class.

A DUKE ON POTATOES.

It has pleased the landed aristocracy to take our potato grounds under their especial protection, and to examine, with all the acumen of hereditary wisdom, the symptoms of the potato disease—its causes and its remedies. The why and the wherefore of such condescending beneficence it boots not now to tell. Perhaps the failure of potatoes, upon which so many of our agricultural labourers live, has somewhat unmasked the position of those "who withhold corn from the people," who pass laws to create an artificial scarcity of grain to keep up rents. But let that pass. Dukes and lords do care for our potatoes; and perhaps we, the commonalty of England ought not to inquire too minutely into the source of such "a crowning mercy."

It seems that the monopolist Duke of Portland has been experimenting on potatoes; and, as the result of his investigations, promulgated to the world "that quicklime is a protection against the consequences of the disease;" and of course such an authority could not be gainsaid. Quicklime preserves potatoes: it is so, there can be no question, for the Duke of Portland has said so. It matters not that scientific men, or practical men, quicklimed their potatoes without staying the disease; their experiments go for nothing. What can such things weigh against the authority of a duke? But then another duke, the Duke of Rutland, has also failed to protect potatoes by the use of quicklime. Now the Duke of Rutland should know something about potatoes, for he declared publicly, at an agricultural meeting, that he "highly relished" the humble esculent. The question therefore assumed a serious aspect. So long as there was a duke on the one side, and only all the trading potato growers and men of science on the other, the truth could not be in doubt; it must be with the duke. But when the popular experience became fortified by that of another duke, who could decide the question? This state of things was awful to contemplate. The potato-fed community was about to be split into two factions; the pelting of decayed potatoes might have been fearful; when, lo! "Scott Portland" relieves the public, startled by this collision of authorities, with the following truly ducal explanation:

"As I know that my authority has been extensively circulated in favour of quicklime as a protection against the consequences of the disease which has prevailed in the potato-crop, and I heard yesterday from the Duke of Rutland that his experiments have not been equally successful, I feel it a duty to society to prevent persons from being misled by the general terms in which I have circulated the result of the experiments conducted here."

Mark, reader, the peculiar conditions under which quicklime will stay the progress of the potato disease. The magnate of Wellbeck says:

"It is quite true that the lime used here has been invariably successful, but it is the MAGNESIAN LIME which abounds in this neighbourhood. In its caustic state it is fatal to vegetation. Barren spots are to be seen in many places on the forest, where lime heaps were placed more than thirty years ago. It is therefore easy to account for the effect of this lime in stopping the propagation of the disease."

And of vegetation together, his grace might have said. His grace then proceeds:

"The lime used by the Duke of Rutland I understand to have been the Crichton lime, which is very pure lime, and has no such destructive qualities. It is, therefore, only necessary to state the distinction to account for the difference. Charcoal is quite as effectual as the magnesian lime."

The explanation as regards lime is quite satisfactory, for it shows that both dukes are right. Of course it was impossible that a duke could be wrong when all was known, but we fear his grace of Portland had forgotten his logic—if he ever condescended to learn logic—when, having discovered that some quicklime "stops the propagation of the potato disease" by destroying vegetative power, he promulgated, in "general terms," that "quicklime is a protection against the disease."

If the faith of the British commonalty in dukes had been less steadfast than it is, this might have shaken our national belief that dukes are infallible. The fault, however, is that of the "rascal commons," who ought to have known intuitively what the ducal oracle meant. And it is with a view to prevent future misconstructions of the "authority" of the lord of Wellbeck that we venture to ask, with all humility, whether, when the Duke of Portland says, "charcoal is quite as effectual as the magnesian lime," he means ignited charcoal? for, should charcoal fail, and no duke discover the failure, the potato-growing community may be again apparently at issue with a duke.

THE GAME LAW.

The important events which have recently occurred have to some extent diverted our attention from the pressure of the game laws and game preserving on the agricultural community; but there has been no diminution of that pressure. Here and there a landowner, more reasonable than his fellows, is giving up the game

nuisance; but upon the whole we apprehend the evil to be on the increase.

A few are throwing the hares and rabbits overboard, in the hope of lessening the public demand for the repeal of the game laws; as, for instance:

"The youthful Earl of Stamford and Warrington has, much to his credit, given the tenantry on his extensive estates permission to destroy the hares and rabbits."—*Provincial Paper*.

But, independently of the indirect and social evils produced by the existence of a system of game laws, the actual destruction caused by pheasants is very great, as witness the following:

"A brace of pheasants were lately killed in the parish of Bradwell, near Coggeshall, Essex, the crop of one of which contained 756 grains of wheat and barley, the other 928 grains, besides other small seeds."—*Essex paper*.

On many farms the pheasants which are daily fed at the tenants' cost, must be counted by hundreds; let a simple multiplication sum be worked on these dates, and let the public note the result. Farmers know it, and write under the infiction. The following extract, from the *Mark Lane Express*, shows the opinions of farmers on the subject:

"DAMAGES CAUSED BY HARES AND RABBITS.—The farmers of the Isle of Wight are quite in ecstasies at the Duke of Richmond and Lord Ashburton having declared 'that hares were vermin, and alike injurious to the crops of the tenant and the trees of the landlord.' It is calculated that a farm of 500 acres keeps at least 1000 hares, which will eat as much as 200 sheep, at 17s. 6d. each, or onesheep to five hares, at 3s. 6d. £175 0 0
Waste caused by hares in feeding equal to one
quarter 43 15 0
£218 15 0

Every hare on a farm eats and wastes the value of 4s. 6d. at least, and every rabbit costs the farmer at least 2s. per annum."

THE ELECTRICAL MINISTER.

A great sensation has lately been produced at Paris by the wonderful feats of a young lady, a Mademoiselle Angelique Cottin, who appears to be a sort of torpedo in petticoats. Chairs and tables fly across the room on a touch from her apron, when she is charged with the fluid, and she can be attracted or repulsed at will by the magnet.

It is, perhaps, not generally known that we possess a similar but much more wonderful phenomenon amongst us. What is Mademoiselle Cottin's performance in this way to Sir Robert Peel's?

The following detail of experiments proves his infinitely greater powers of attraction and repulsion:

EXPERIMENT I. The Premier, after being very heavily charged indeed during the late debate, being placed on the Conservative benches by a single speech, succeeded in violently throwing from him one-half of the Conservative members, quite to the opposite side of the house. Notwithstanding the tremendous efforts made by Sir Sidney Herbert and Sir James Graham to hold these gentlemen in their places, the shock was so great that they were almost knocked over themselves by the violence with which the protectionists flew across. Mr. Ferrand was flung with a tremendous shock against a knot of Free Traders, and talked so very widely that it was feared he had sustained a concussion of the brain. He is not yet quite recovered.

EXPERIMENT II. Sir Robert, being again charged the night after, was found to possess the power of attracting the League members, in the same proportion as he repelled the gentlemen of the Central Agricultural Society in Bond-street. Mr. Cobden was drawn right across the house, apparently without the least power of resistance.

EXPERIMENT III. Sir Robert, being again charged, was put *en rapport* with Lord George Bentinck and Mr. D'Israeli by means of silk (generally a non-conductor). Notwithstanding he drew the honourable members into a slough of absurdity, and fixed them so tight in a dilemma, that they were quite unable to get out of it—until Sir Robert left the house.

EXPERIMENT IV. Sir Robert being again charged, and a quantity of arguments presented to him by the member for Northamptonshire, these, though considered particularly strong by those who selected them, were at once broken to pieces, one after another, by a single sentence of Sir Robert's. A gentleman of great scientific acquirements, who has watched these experiments, assures us that Sir Robert is quite as powerful as the electric eel, and if possible, more slippery.

Encouraged by the success of the Premier, Mr. D'Israeli has announced his possession of similar powers. He attempted, when fully charged with sarcasm, and facts from McCulloch's Commercial Dictionary, to electrify the House. The attempt was a total failure, and Mr. D'Israeli is accordingly pronounced to be an impostor.—*Punch*.

REPRESENTATION OF BRIDPORT.—A petition, duly recognized, was presented on Monday night in the House of Commons against the return of Mr. Cochrane for the borough of Bridport. The petitioners allege gross bribery, and pray a scrutiny. It appears the majority of one will little avail the honourable member, as numerous cases of barefaced corruption of votes have come to light. The most confident expectation prevails in Bridport that Mr. John Romilly will be, within a month, what he ought to have been originally, the "sitting member." The acts of bribery are reported to compromise seriously some of the chief partisans of Mr. Cochrane.—*Morning Chronicle*.

THE SEASON.—While the European papers are filled with paragraphs containing evidences of the extraordinary precocity of the season, there are letters from North America which exhibit a singular contrast with the former statements. In certain States of the Union, we are informed, and principally in North Carolina, Massachusetts, and Kentucky, the weather has been more severe than any experienced at the same season since 1712.

We are glad to announce, that at a numerous assembly of the Oxford Circuit bar mess, on the 18th inst., the resolution against reporting was sustained by a very large majority.—*Morning Chronicle*.

REVIEW.

Contarini Fleming, and Alroy. Romances by B. D'Israeli Esq., M.P. London: Colburn.

The republication of these admirable works, in which genius seems to revel in its own exuberance, and the creative power of a poetic mind to have called worlds of thought into existence with greater facility than the slaves of the lamp raised their gorgeous palaces, has led us to contemplate the political position of the author, and to contrast the high principles developed in *Coningsby* and *Sybil* with the very inferior practice of the member for Shrewsbury. Like his own Alroy, Mr. D'Israeli has proved false to the star of his own destiny; having appealed to the best feelings of the country, and proclaimed that the sublime of morality ought to be the essence of sound policy—having shown that the system of protection was a device of the tricksters that endeavoured to pass themselves for statesmen—having pointed to the vacillations in Lord Boringbroke's career which deprived of all influence the greatest amount of talent that had ever centred in the person of an English politician, he has declared himself an infidel in his own mission by becoming a partisan of the system he condemned, and an expounder of the principles which he denounced.

There is no greater mistake than that which is made a prominent rule of action in *Vivian Grey*, one of the author's earliest and most successful works, that tact and cleverness in forming a party are essential to success in political life. True genius is independent of party; Grattan paid Lord Chatham the highest compliment that a statesman could receive when he declared that "he stood alone." Moral power in his case was quite independent of numerical strength; he commanded majorities, for there was a severe dignity in his independence, a wizard power in his strength of will, which for a time gave to his behests the resistless force of Fate. He too fell beneath the trammels of party. The Lilliputians chained down Gulliver; Chatham's second administration was the sad exhibition of the convulsive throes of a giant, cribbed, cabined, and confined, by the most ordinary of mortals; he was a Sampson, making sport for the Philistines.

The greatest of philosophic poets, and the most dramatic of satirical writers, could conceive no punishment more severe for the tyrants of his day than that they should have a full conception of the moral excellence which they had abandoned for ever. Persius rising to a height of ethical dignity unmatched in the whole range of classical literature, pronounces as his anathema on the Neros, the Domitians and the Caligulas:

Virtutem videant, intabescantque relicta.
"May they see Virtue and pine for her deserted."

But the inconsistency between sublime precept and erratic practice, has consequences that extend beyond the individual. It is an unjust, and a dangerous trifling with the moral elements of public opinion. Eternal truths are proclaimed with all the dignity belonging to conscious power; delinquencies of past and existing statesmen are exposed with a fearless severity which implies the assertion of innate superiority. The voice of the prophet stirs all the sympathetic emotions by which intellectual sublimity and moral excellence are appreciated; we look for the voice of the prophet, and we hear the conventional tones of the advocate. We expect some eternal maxim, and we receive a fugitive epigram; we seek the teaching of the philosopher, but we find only the patent fallacies of the sophist. "O Lucifer, son of the morning, how art thou fallen!"

Long and fondly as we have admired the Tale of Alroy, the greatest impersonation of the theocratic principle developed in a human personage which the history of fiction can display, we rise from our last perusal of its pages with a conviction that it is one of those conceptions predestined to immortality. David Alroy, the prince of the captivity, becomes lord of Asia by appreciating and holding fast to the eternity of principle with which his destiny is involved; but he barter principle for a low, mean, and miserable existence—his star culminates in the horizon, and he sinks into the despised captive of a dungeon. But this is a moral as well as a historical truth. There is an iron which enters into the soul, more torturing than the chains which manacle the body; there are fetters for the mind, more galling and more degrading than those which the jailer rivets on the hands and wrists; they are linked indissolubly to the inner man, when integrity parts from genius, and consigns the high trust to the hazards of a temporary and paltry expediency—

And the clankless chains have bound thee,
And the silent spells surround thee;
And the curse hath gone together
O'er thy heart and brain—now wither.

It is painful to see the author of Alroy lending himself to the advocacy of monopoly; and to say the truth, there is a little of the ludicrous in the incongruity between his cultivated powers and that strange development of intelligence, called "the agricultural mind." We cannot see him in the

midst of the protectionists without thinking of Nebuchadnezzar grazing among the oxen. When he is cheered by his anomalous supporters, we expect him every moment to turn round and enquire, "What meaneth this bleating of sheep, and this lowing of oxen in mine ears?" and in spite of all that has happened, we look back to his perpetrating some such severance of the unnatural connection in the course of the session.

Free Trade and Artistic Design, from the Art-Union, for April 1846. (Unpublished).

We have been permitted to use this article, from which we shall make a few extracts, which require neither introduction nor comment. The following is a good description of the protection system:

"The object of protection is to prevent competition, and the consequent diminution of profits. We do not say the diminution of prices, because high prices are very far from being identified with high profits; before price can be a measure of profit we must know the cost of production, for profit is obviously the difference between the cost of production and the price obtained for any given article. Cheapness of production is, therefore, an important element in the estimate of profits, and, therefore, in the estimate of wages. For it is quite clear that wages must be paid out of profits, since they could not possibly be paid out of losses. Now, let us for the sake of argument grant that a system of protection can be so stringently maintained as to prevent all foreign competition, and that the operations of the smugglers can be effectually prevented by a revenue police, we say that there are two evils necessarily resulting—the loss of markets abroad, and the raising up of formidable competition at home. Protection is a virtual abandonment of the foreign market, for how can we meet those on neutral ground with whom we declare ourselves unable to compete in our own markets? We can export no articles except those which we produce cheaper than foreigners, unless we choose to buy and sell, and live by the loss; a process which is recommended in schools of sentimental economy, but which political economy discards as preposterous. If, on the other hand, we can so diminish the cost of production as to compete with foreigners in neutral markets, we must be far more than a match for them at home, and protection is utterly useless—it becomes a mere idle mockery.

"Take it, then, either way, so far as export trade is concerned, if protection enhances the cost of production it is mischievous by excluding us from foreign markets; and if it does not enhance the cost of production it is utterly and wholly unavailing."

We are pleased with the following remarks on the subject of wages:

"Whatever raises the cost of production enhances the price of an article, and whatever raises price must of necessity diminish the consumption, and, consequently, the demand. Now, as goods are produced only to be sold, it is evident that a combination to raise wages in any branch of labour is a combination to limit the demand for labour in that branch of industry; and, therefore, the unionists must go a step farther, and limit the supply of labour. Now, they have done so in several instances, but they have never succeeded, and they never can succeed. If they fix such a tariff of wages as to leave little or no margin of profits for the manufacturers, no capitalists will embark in their business, so far as the power of the unionists extends. But Great Britain is not a single town, and no trades' union can exercise the sway of imperial legislation; the capitalists prevented from embarking in trade on the banks of the Thames may seek the banks of the Irwell, the Derwent, and the Mersey. In point of fact the competition from which the weavers of Spitalfields now suffer most is not that of Paris or of Lyons, but the competition of Manchester and of Macclesfield.

"We have now shown that the effect of protection is to destroy the foreign market and to provoke a most injurious competition in the home market; but this is not all: in the insensate struggle to maintain the rate of wages by artificial means, the natural means—that is, the artistic improvement of the manufactured article—is entirely neglected. The natural constituents of a rate of wages are skill, time, and toil, and of these skill must always bear the highest price. The unfortunate condition of the frame knitters and the hand-loom weavers is chiefly owing to the fact that the mystery of their art can be learned with great ease, and that the employment is of such a nature as to be possible to the young, the infirm, the sick, and the untrained. It is not long since some scores of Irish labourers, coming over to reap the harvest and failing to obtain employment, at once became hand-loom weavers, and thus largely added to the numbers and the misery of that unfortunate class. When, therefore, we urge the importance of raising the artistic standard of instruction for the operative classes, we are also contending for their obtaining higher wages and more permanent remuneration."

We shall conclude by extracting a portion of the remarks on the silk trade:

"It is but justice to say that the immense majority of the manufacturing classes have shown at this crisis that confidence and self-reliance which we have endeavoured to recommend. There is probably no class of operatives to which the withdrawal of protection might have been expected to appear more formidable than the watchmakers of Clerkenwell, and yet they all joined in a petition for Free Trade. There has indeed, been one exception to this rule; petitions for protection being continued have been presented from a minority of the persons engaged in the silk trade, and yet there is no trade in England that has suffered so severely from prohibition and protection.

"The silk trade has suffered from two schools of sentimental economy: the Spitalfields school, and the Macclesfield school. When the facilities of weaving by the application of machinery, as in the jacquard loom, were so increased that the time and toil required for producing any definite length were reduced to one-third, the economists of Spitalfields believed it possible to maintain the price of production in spite of the immense change in the cost of production. But two could produce, and the result of the attempt was to drive a large proportion of the silk manufacture into the north of England. The Macclesfield economists took a still more absurd dogma for their guidance: they held that it was the duty of Government to provide them a market, irrespective of the value or the merit of their goods; Mr. Brocklehurst, who is the leading professor of that species of economic science, which has no disciple beyond the limits of the borough of Macclesfield,

can confirm our assertion, that wherever this aboriginal school had influence, artistic design was not merely unknown, but was deliberately rejected. Had not Mr. Brocklehurst taken the unfortunate step of opposition to Sir Robert Peel's tariff, on the ground of the inequality of Englishmen to compete with Frenchmen, we should never have dreamt of making any direct reference to him or to his establishment. But he has challenged an inquiry which he must meet. We ask, then, what artists has he employed? What reward has he paid? What original taste has he developed? What design has his large establishment developed? The fact is that on original design several large establishments which we could mention do not together expend one-half of the sum which is paid to artists by some of the smaller manufacturers of Paris, Lyons, and St. Etienne. They ask to be protected in a systematic discouragement of British progress in the art of design, and they have the hardihood to declare that they speak in behalf of British industry. We tell them, what indeed they know full well, that skill is a greater element than toil in the profits of British industry, and that those who discourage the development of skill are the very worst enemies of the operative.

"We can relate an illustrative anecdote, and appeal to the Macclesfield economist for the truth of the facts, which came within his own knowledge. A certain West-end house, obtained a design from Paris, and sent it to be realised at a large English establishment; the design was one which required very little skill to adapt it to the jacquard, but it was done so clumsily and so badly that the result was perfectly detestable. Complaints were made, and the answer was, 'You can get no better article without smuggling.' Now, the answer was simply a downright falsehood: in the establishment of the late Mr. Schwabe, at Manchester, we have seen patterns five times more complex placed on the jacquard without difficulty. There may be some undiscoverable advantages in a system of protection, but assuredly it is no advantage to maintain noodles as heads of houses, and botches as operatives.

"The plain fact in the silk trade is, that we do not fail so much in backwardness in design as in the realizing of design; the existence of protection was a constant incentive to avoid preliminary expense, and to slur over difficulties. The quantity of the work turned off, not its quality, determined the character of the workman. The operative was protected, not from the competition of low wages, but of high wages; in the economy of Spitalfields and Macclesfield it was a crime to be too industrious, too skilful, and too intelligent. We have long felt weary of such mischievous nonsense, and we are glad that it has come to an end. We have been paying a premium on the import of foreign designs, and establishing a prohibition on the production of native designers. We have been sacrificing the real interest of British Art to the pretended interest of British Industry. Art now takes its fair stand in a free market. We say to the British manufacturers,—You can only meet foreign designs by English designs,—you must cease to be imitators,—you must begin to be originators,—you have felt the snuggler to be more than your match while you depended on France for patterns, but a more complete competition will drive you from the field, unless you develop the resources which are notoriously at your command.

"It is neither our duty nor our object to vindicate the policy of Sir Robert Peel—political considerations come not within our peculiar sphere. But we have long felt that the restrictions on the importation of artistic excellence from abroad furnished at least a pretext for discouraging artistic ambition at home, and that the opening of our ports to foreign rivalry must force the encouragement of domestic powers to meet the contest. Few years, probably very few months, will elapse when the excellence of the British school of design will not be far behind the excellence of the British schools of engraving, of painting, of modelling, and of sculpture.

"If fashionable consumers in England have evinced an unpatric preference for ornamental articles of foreign manufacture, they can plead in excuse that our prohibitory and protective laws proclaimed the inferiority of our own productions. Our legislation fostered a desire for foreign silks and foreign paper-hangings, not merely by creating the perverse longing which all feel for what is forbidden, but by tacitly admitting that the exclusion was a proof of superior excellence. English Art was thus doubly discouraged: relying on protection, the producer refused to stimulate design; deceived by exclusion, the consumer regarded the inferiority of English patterns as an article of national faith incorporated in acts of Parliament. It would lead us too far away from our immediate subject to show the connexion between the system of excise and the system of protection, but what we have elsewhere said on the glass trade will sufficiently prove that the injuries, which being subjected to the excise brings on any branch of manufacturing industry, cannot be compensated by any amount of protection, however excessive. We have been legislating against art, enterprise, and invention, and it is assuredly high time that we should seek to advance on some road less dangerous."

In consequence of the press of matter, we are compelled to defer our notice of the Compound Atlas until next week.

INDIAN CORN BREAD.—Bread baked from Indian corn (maize) is coming rapidly into vogue in our city (Glasgow), and several bakers are doing a brisk business in it already. At the meeting of the Philosophical Society, on Wednesday night, Dr. R. D. Thomson read an able paper on the nutritive qualities of Indian corn, which he ranked very high; and at the same time exhibited various kinds of bread and biscuit which had been baked from it by Mr. Wilson, Gordon-street. Some of the specimens were mixtures of maize and wheat, and maize and rice, in which state the loaves can be better fermented than when the maize is used alone. The bread and biscuits were very palatable and pleasant. Various uses to which Indian corn flour may be applied in domestic cookery were described, and some of them illustrated, on the occasion. In any form it is incomparably more nutritious than potatoes, and may with the smallest amount of trouble and expense be made an agreeable dish.—*Scottish Guardian.*

A paragraph has appeared in one of the Newcastle papers, stating that William Brown, Esq., of Liverpool, had purchased the estate of Ford Castle, Northumberland, from the Marquis of Waterford, for the sum of 300,000*l.* We have the best authority for saying that Mr. Brown, of Liverpool, has made no such purchase, though it is quite possible that the estate may have been sold to a gentleman of the same name.—*Liverpool Times.*

THE FREE TRADE INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION.—

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Persons desirous to join the Society are requested to make application immediately.

The Society's Offices will be open for receiving subscriptions and the general transaction of business, every Tuesday and Friday evenings, from 6 to 9 o'clock.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A TOUR: A SUMMER RAMBLE IN BELGIUM, GERMANY, AND SWITZERLAND.

By J. W. Massie, D.D., M.R.I.A. (of Manchester), author of "Continental India," "The Irish Church and Ireland," &c. &c.
London: J. Snow.

Dr. Massie is a Nonconformist minister: his health having failed in the discharge of his duties, change of scene was prescribed by his medical attendant. The doctor, however, at the wishes of the patient, but the "resuscitation" often did not obstruct till removed by the affectionate solicitude of a generous and kind flock. Dr. Massie therefore started on his trip, made the usual tour through Belgium, visited the Spa adjacent to the Rhine, and passed on as far as Geneva, by way of Switzerland and its return was through Germany, to the Rhine, and thence to the sea. He accompanies the reader no further than Leipzig, from lack of space; the volume having swelled to upwards of five hundred pages, and the latter portion being briefly dismissed, except a few reminiscences of father. On returning to his flock at Lower Broughton, Dr. Massie gave them an account of his tour, and of the various scenes and persons which he had seen. He would seem, after the fashion of Mr. Buckinghams's sermons, to have given abstracts, rather than full descriptions, in some journals, and finally, Dr. Massie, at the request of friends, undertook to write an account of his tour, which forms the portion of volume before us. In a preface the author states that the book is not a mere book-nugget, but a record of his own experiences. The book is not a mere book-nugget, but a record of his own experiences. The book is not a mere book-nugget, but a record of his own experiences.

The more proper topics of the tourist—incident, description, and remark—Dr. Massie is able to give some variety to an exhausted field, by his peculiar object, which was to "indicate how these (foreign) scenes and associations strike a Christian." His comments on the facts he observed he makes the vehicle of his lecture, but he has not the position naturally introduced him to a class with whom the ordinary run of tourists have nothing in common; and he exhibits a good deal of information respecting the condition of the Protestant congregations in Belgium, Germany, and Geneva (which stronghold of Calvin is now a pure Unitarian establishment), and of the various persons and scenes which he saw. His object was to indicate how these (foreign) scenes and associations strike a Christian. His comments on the facts he observed he makes the vehicle of his lecture, but he has not the position naturally introduced him to a class with whom the ordinary run of tourists have nothing in common; and he exhibits a good deal of information respecting the condition of the Protestant congregations in Belgium, Germany, and Geneva (which stronghold of Calvin is now a pure Unitarian establishment), and of the various persons and scenes which he saw.

The author says that, from the first, he meant to indicate how the scenes and associations strike a Christian. He has not the position naturally introduced him to a class with whom the ordinary run of tourists have nothing in common; and he exhibits a good deal of information respecting the condition of the Protestant congregations in Belgium, Germany, and Geneva (which stronghold of Calvin is now a pure Unitarian establishment), and of the various persons and scenes which he saw.

Many publications have recently issued from the press which once read may be laid aside. The volume before us will be one of permanent interest, as it is one of valuable information and of pleasing instruction. By the casual reader it will be approved, but by the student it will be highly prized. It is a work, apart from all adventures, possessing great intrinsic merit. It is in every respect worthy of the author. His strong faculty of discrimination, his sound judgment regulated by the best principles, his historical knowledge, and his love of research, have enabled him to put his finger on the work to which reference he has made with confidence. He has represented the historical facts which took place in the towns and cities through which he passed with a vividness of description which cannot fail to establish a strong association in the mind of the reader. Dr. Massie's love of research and his love of truth have enabled him to put his finger on the work to which reference he has made with confidence. He has represented the historical facts which took place in the towns and cities through which he passed with a vividness of description which cannot fail to establish a strong association in the mind of the reader.

The *Examiner* (Glasgow), January 24th.
Despite the nausea induced by the task recently, we dared to hope when we saw the author of *Continental India* among the travelling hosts, that he would give us something pleasing and profitable, and, accordingly, we set to his volume at a devoted time in right good earnest, and with an excellent appetite, which increased as we proceeded. Our readers will recollect that, about a year ago, we gave some extracts from lectures delivered by Dr. Massie on his return from his travels. We continue to be gratified by the good, by medical advice, for the benefit of his health. The volume before us, amongst a host of other facts, contains the substance of these lectures, but in a new and greatly improved form. We do not mean to say too much of the volume at present, as we intend to give occasional extracts to our readers, and to put it to the test of their own judgment. We must say that we have never read a book of the kind with greater delight. Indeed, so much were we satisfied that we were in extreme danger of losing sight of its small defects and the sterling excellencies which it contains, that we were obliged to pause and reflect. The admiration of curiosity, whether there are any others, is not bounded. He has surveyed the countries described with the eye of the Christian philosopher, and, without introducing his remarks, he at once rebukes idolatry and sorcery.

The *Witness* (Glasgow), March 14th.
The observation of our author was given mainly to those things which the common run of tourists are apt to overlook—the trade, the manufactures, and the religious condition of the countries he passed through, so far as he had opportunities of observing it. He is a sincere and a true worshipper of truth, and he is not a mere observer of the things which he sees, but he is a student of the things which he sees. He is not a mere observer of the things which he sees, but he is a student of the things which he sees. He is not a mere observer of the things which he sees, but he is a student of the things which he sees.

The *Univers*, February 5, 1846.
In the midst of a crowded and noisy city, it is most refreshing to stumble over something so solid and sterling, and we are truly glad to have been much gratified with the perusal of Dr. Massie's interesting volume. He is an acute observer of men and things, and his reflections are of the very

flowings of a philosophic mind, imbued with a deep and widespread benevolence. His descriptions are always in a deep and earnest, and sometimes glowing and graphic. Of the truth of this the following extract, taken at random, will be a sufficient proof, and we have chosen it in preference to the equally equally of the present condition of the great world, which is the present condition of the great world. We are now everywhere existing—Another very interesting feature in the work is, the very apt, topographical description which is so beautifully woven into the work of the author, giving a richness and variety to the account, and making it so interesting and instructive. Our author, too, has frequently brought his graphic descriptions to bear upon the subject of his narrative, standing out as so many rays of light, and thus avoiding any thing like a wearisome monotony either of style or matter. Our ill-fated space will not allow of a more lengthened notice, but we cannot close our remarks without recommending our unqualified praise of this very interesting and instructive volume, and we feel assured that the scholar and the unlettered will alike be benefited and gratified by its perusal. We cordially wish it a large circulation: we are sure it deserves it.

The *Liverpool Mercury*, February 18th, 1846.
A most interesting volume. The author has accurately observed the points of interest, not only in the places, but the people among whom he has "rambled." The chief value of this book consists in the estimate which it enables the reader to form of the present condition of the great world, which is the present condition of the great world. We are now everywhere existing—Another very interesting feature in the work is, the very apt, topographical description which is so beautifully woven into the work of the author, giving a richness and variety to the account, and making it so interesting and instructive. Our author, too, has frequently brought his graphic descriptions to bear upon the subject of his narrative, standing out as so many rays of light, and thus avoiding any thing like a wearisome monotony either of style or matter. Our ill-fated space will not allow of a more lengthened notice, but we cannot close our remarks without recommending our unqualified praise of this very interesting and instructive volume, and we feel assured that the scholar and the unlettered will alike be benefited and gratified by its perusal. We cordially wish it a large circulation: we are sure it deserves it.

The author is well known to many of our readers as the highly-esteemed minister of a Congregational Church of Independents, and as a patriotic, liberal, active, ardent man, who devotes himself to the advancement of the rights of the oppressed, and the amelioration of the condition of the labouring poor. Dr. Massie has in many instances judiciously availed himself of the labours of other tourists in filling up his own admirably accurate sketches, and has interspersed a considerable amount of civil and ecclesiastical historical information. The present state and past history of the countries which he has travelled through, he has suggested many interesting topics, on which, as a Christian philosopher, an ardent friend to civil and religious liberty, and an opponent of the awful desolating butchery of war, he has made characteristic and suitable remarks. The account which Dr. Massie has given of the places particularly connected with the history of Luther is highly interesting, and is the whole of the volume. The route which he took was rich with scenic beauty and historical associations; and he appears to have had his mind vividly impressed with the diversified beauties of the countries through which he travelled, and his memory stored with important facts relating to their history. It was not without justice, we think, that he has not only, but with the zest of an intelligent mind, determined to enlarge its boundary of knowledge to the utmost which opportunity and capacity would allow. Thus he has been able to produce a work which must be a favourite with all classes of readers, containing admirable graphic descriptions of beautiful scenery, and of the most interesting historical and religious associations, and the descriptions are such as none but a person of taste and genius could describe. It also abounds with notices of public buildings, remarkable places, pleasing incidents, historical recollections, and vivid representations of the most interesting scenes and persons. We predict for this work a very favourable reception and extensive circulation.

The *Methodist New Connexion Magazine*.
It is therefore with cordial satisfaction that we welcome the volume of Dr. Massie. He has traversed some of the most interesting portions of Europe, and he has not only seen the most interesting scenes, but he has seen the most interesting people. It is with the impressions that such an observer as Dr. Massie receives, that we want to be acquainted with, and we feel a peculiar interest in the statements which he makes in reference to the moral and religious condition of the people, a topic of infinite moment, viewed in connection with the history of the Christian Church. But, whilst such matters are so much before us, we beg to assure our readers there is an abundance of materials of a more earthly character. An insight is given into the temporal circumstances of the people, their occupations, and especially the extent of their manufactures, are exhibited in their due proportions. Dr. Massie is not only a minister, but he is a writer of a Christian minister, he is not ashamed to avow his love of freedom, of political, commercial, and religious. Continental scenery is also graphically described; as are also continental towns, their churches, their antiquities, and their institutions. The volume is a most interesting and valuable work, and we predict for it a very favourable reception and extensive circulation.

The *League*, March 11, 1846.
Dr. Massie is a zealous minister of the Congregationalist persuasion, the first sect which proclaimed liberty of conscience, but he carries his hatred of intolerance to an excess which renders him intolerant in his turn. We regret that he has not been more judicious in his selection of his subjects, which ought to have been selected from such a connection. Dr. Massie is a shrewd observer, and a clever describer; to the descriptive part of his work we shall therefore confine our attention, and have others to debate with him on the points of his intolerance. He has seen the most interesting scenes, and he has seen the most interesting people. It is with the impressions that such an observer as Dr. Massie receives, that we want to be acquainted with, and we feel a peculiar interest in the statements which he makes in reference to the moral and religious condition of the people, a topic of infinite moment, viewed in connection with the history of the Christian Church. But, whilst such matters are so much before us, we beg to assure our readers there is an abundance of materials of a more earthly character. An insight is given into the temporal circumstances of the people, their occupations, and especially the extent of their manufactures, are exhibited in their due proportions. Dr. Massie is not only a minister, but he is a writer of a Christian minister, he is not ashamed to avow his love of freedom, of political, commercial, and religious. Continental scenery is also graphically described; as are also continental towns, their churches, their antiquities, and their institutions. The volume is a most interesting and valuable work, and we predict for it a very favourable reception and extensive circulation.

The *Liverpool Courier*, Wednesday, Feb. 18, 1846.
Dr. Massie is already favourably known as the author of "Continental India." His reputation is not likely to suffer by the publication of the present volume, which is a most interesting and valuable work, and we predict for it a very favourable reception and extensive circulation. The volume is a most interesting and valuable work, and we predict for it a very favourable reception and extensive circulation. The volume is a most interesting and valuable work, and we predict for it a very favourable reception and extensive circulation.

TO COUNTRY SUBSCRIBERS.

Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, March 28, 1846.

From all quarters of the country we receive complaints of the depressed condition of trade and commerce, and of the diminution of employment in almost every branch of British industry. The gloom over all the markets continues to increase, and the chief cause of the depression is the uncertainty produced by the delays which have been interposed to the passing of the ministerial measure. Every one is weary of an interminable debate dragging its slow length along without eliciting a single new fact, or producing any variation of thread-bare fallacies. Voltaire is said to have lent the same volume of a work to a French nobleman eleven times in succession, and at length to have inquired how he liked the perusal. The nobleman, who believed that he had

been all the time studying a continuous series, declared that he had found it very amusing; but added, *il me semble, qu'il se repete quelquefois*. The protectionists *se repentent* with a vengeance! Even though like Finch, they have to address empty benches, or like the magnanimous Borthwick, they have to encounter significant hints of impatience, they still continue to pour forth the same "weak, washy, everlasting flood," until the diluted stuff has quite sickened our stomachs. Now this may be sport to them, but is death to us. The business of the nation ought not to be suspended that lordlings should indulge in small talk, or agricultural orators prove that they differ from their sheep and oxen in possessing the faculty of speech, though in few other particulars. The leading merchants of Liverpool and Manchester have applied to the Premier to put an end to a dull farce, which renders the British legislature the mockery of Europe, and exposes the British empire to the perils of a commercial crisis.

It is true that the debate has rendered the old fallacies of monopoly utterly odious and contemptible. Even the monopolist press has ceased to hound on the aspirants to oratorical fame, after the lamentable exhibitions which have taken place. But when it is manifest that we are merely witnessing a "talking against time," and that no other object is sought than factious delay, we must protest in the name of common sense, and common decency, against such a scandalous waste of public time, and such egregious trifling with public patience.

We have had the "mad Parliament," the "pensioned Parliament," and the "puzzled Parliament," recorded in our annals, but the "prating Parliament," is worse than any of the three, and deserves to be indicted as a common nuisance.

THE NEAPOLITAN TARIFF.

(From the *Manchester Guardian*.)
We announced on Wednesday last, on the authority of a letter from Naples, the speedy issue of a new tariff, by which the duties on English manufactures would be considerably reduced, and the commercial intercourse between the two countries greatly extended. We have now the satisfaction of stating, that this first step by any foreign power, in imitation of the course pursued by the British Government, in the amelioration of fiscal and commercial legislation, has now been made. The royal decree announcing the new tariff was made public on the 11th inst.; and it establishes, as we expected, very considerable reductions in the duties on the leading articles of import from this country into the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

The following particulars are derived from a letter received by a house in this town, dated Naples, March 12:
"The question of the tariff is at last decided; and yesterday the royal decree was made public."

The following are the reductions in the tariff on textile manufactures, as deduced from the amount of duty, as stated in Italian money:

The duty on cotton yarns is reduced one-third.
On cotton cloths, grey and white shirtings, &c., the duty is reduced about one-half.

On printed cottons, the reduction of duty will amount to about 6s. per piece, or one-half the existing duty.

On mixed cotton and worsted goods, and on worsteds, the reduction will amount to about 5s. per piece.

On silk goods, and goods mixed with silk, the duty will be reduced one-third.

We are indebted to another letter from the following particulars of the new duties on a few of the most important articles of export from this country. As the duties were stated only in Neapolitan measures and money, which are rather difficult to reduce to English denominations, we may have made some errors, and therefore give them both ways:

Prints (including handkerchiefs), 80 grani per square canna = 4d. per square yard.
Bleached cottons, 45 grani per canna = 2½d. per square yard.
Plain linens, 100 grani per canna = 7½d. per square yard.
Figured linens, 110 grani per canna = 5½d. per square yard.
Fustians, velveteens, &c., plain or striped, 170 grani per canna = 7½d. per square yard.
Cotton twist, 17 ducats per cantar = 3½d. per lb.

It was stated in the letter from which we derived our information last week, that the proposed reductions would prove a serious blow to the Neapolitan manufactures. As it might be supposed that these manufactures, for the benefit of which the Neapolitan government and people have sacrificed so much, were of great importance, we copy the following notice of them from Mr. GREGGON'S Commercial Statistics:

"We scarcely know of any country where the manufactures of woven goods, unless it be silk, are less adapted either to the genius of the people, or to local circumstances. The kings and governments of the kingdom, allured by specious statements made, not by Neapolitans, but by English, French, and German adventurers, have, however, enforced a system of commercial legislation for the purpose of creating and maintaining woolen, cotton, and other manufactures, for which the whole country has paid dearly, and by which the contrabandists, foreigners as well as Neapolitans, have gained enormous and regular profits."

"A mere enumeration of factories on paper will appear important to those who do not comprehend the comparative value of such establishments, and of the circumstances under which they are maintained. We know of establishments in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Staffordshire, and Lancashire—in Westphalia, and we may include Switzerland, which, according to our knowledge personally, and the best information obtained in England and the continent, and in Naples and Sicily, are singly of more importance, not in the number of pieces, &c., produced, but in their intrinsic value, independent of premiums and protective duties, than all the woolen, cotton,

linen, and hardware manufactures respectively, of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. We believe from our estimate the ordinary course cloths made by the peasants for themselves, and the ordinary works of blacksmiths and other tradesmen."

All the preceding duties are subject to a discount of ten per cent.

THE PORTUGUESE TARIFF.—We learn, by letters recently received in this town, that a commission is sitting in Portugal, for the purpose of revising the commercial tariff of that kingdom. In what spirit, or with what particular views, this revision has been commenced, we have no means of judging. It can scarcely be intended to make more stringent that tariff which is rapidly ruining the wine-growers of the Douro; and yet the present statesmen of Portugal are so far personally interested in manufactures, that we feel no confidence in their intentions to promote a more liberal commercial policy. Probably the lapse of a short time will develop their intentions.—*Manchester Guardian*.

A GAME LAW HERO.—At the Leicestershire Assizes, on Monday, two men named Rolleston and Hales, were charged with being on land in the parish of Evington, during the night, armed, for the purpose of destroying game; and as the evidence was distinct, they were sentenced to twelve months, hard labour each. Fouldes, game-keeper to G. A. L. Keck, Esq., of Houghton, during his cross-examination, was asked by Mr. Kenneth Macaulay, who defended the prisoners, how many offenders against the Game Laws he had taken? He does not appear to be more than 40 years old, if so much, but his reply was, "Two hundred and twenty." This Mr. Keck is a staunch monopolist, and rigid game preserver. He seldom resides at his seat here; and neither farmers nor labourers speak well of him, but the Petty Sessions are continually being occupied with his game cases, and the county is put to immense expense in their punishment of the offenders.

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. Mar. 21	MON. Mar. 23	TUES. Mar. 24	WED. Mar. 25	THUR. Mar. 26	FRI. Mar. 27
Bank Stock	212½	..	..	..	210	210
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.
3 per Ct. Con. Ann. ..	96½	..	..	..	96	96
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	96	96½	97½	..	..
Long. An. Ex. 1860	103	103	103
Cons. for Acct.	96½	96	96	96	96
Exc. Bills, pm.	25	25	27	28	30
Ind. Bds. m. 1000l.	28	30	30	..	28
Venezuela 2 per Ct.	41	..	..	..	44	..
Do. deferred.
Belgian 4½ per Ct.
Brazilian 5 per Ct.	84	83	..	..
Chilian	90½	..	90½	..	..
Columb. ex. Venez.
Danish	80	80	..	..	..
Dutch 2½ per Cent.	59½	..	59½	59½	59½
Dutch 4 per Cent.	94½	94½	94½	94½	94½
Mexican	31½	31½	31½	..	31
Peruvian
Portug. conv.	57½	57½	..	..	..
Russian 5 per Cent.	108½	..	108½	109	..
Spanish 5 per Ct.	25½	..	..	..	25½	25½
Do. 3 per Ct. ex. dv.	37	36½	36½	36½	36½

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MONDAY, MARCH 21.—Of Wheat, Barley, and English Oats, the arrivals during the past week have been only moderate, nor are they much increased this morning. The choicest samples of English Wheat fetch 1s. more money, but inferior samples are dull of sale and no demand. The quantity of Foreign Wheat continues to increase; 26,782 qrs. have come to hand in the week: there is no alteration to notice in the value of it, but the trade is dull. Barley barely supports last week's prices, but quotations remain the same. About 17,400 qrs. of Irish Oats appear in the return, and in addition there are two or three vessels fresh up to-day. Altogether the show of samples is large, but the attendance of buyers is pretty good, and stocks being low in the hands of consumers and dealers, holders ask more money than last Monday, and the sales are at full prices; a very considerable business might be transacted at the rates of this day's week. Beans and Peas are in short supply, and fully as dear.

S. H. LUCAS.

BRITISH.		Per Imperial Quarter	
Wheat, Essex,	Red 54 to 60	White 58 to 66	
Kent, & Suffolk	49 58	56 63	
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire ..	47 54	54 62	
Scottish .....	..	..
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feeds ..	..	22 24	
Ditto .....	..	22 25	
Ditto .....	..	22 26	
Scottish Feeds	25 26	Potato 28 29	
Limerick .....	..	24 25	
Ditto	Fine New 27 29	Old Fine none	
Cork .....	..	24	
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black ..	..	21 23	
Sligo .....	..	22 24	
Galway .....	..	19 21	
Barley .....	..	26 33	
Beans, Mazagan	New 31 33	Old 38 40	
Harrow	33 37	..	
Small	39 40	..	
Peas, White .....	..	Boilers .. 38 42	
Grey	30 32	Maple .. 32 34	
Flour, Town-made .....	..	per sack of 280 lbs. 45 50	
Norfolk and Suffolk .....	..	43 46	

FOREIGN.		FREE. IN BOND.	
Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed .....	..	58 to 66	54 60
Rostock .....	..	56 60	54 54
Stettin .....	..	52 58	50 54
Hamburg .....	..	52 57	50 52
Odesa .....	..	48 50	..
Odessa Polish .....	..	50 51	..
Russian .....	..	..	..
Ditto .....	..	..	..
Spanish .....	..	54 60	..
Blangillo .....	..	56 62	..
Australian .....	..	60 69	..
Barley, Grinding .....	..	27 28	..
Distilling .....	..	29 31	..
Oats, Archangel .....	..	24 25	..
Danish .....	..	..	..
Swedish .....	..	22 24	..
Stralsund .....	..	..	..
Dutch Feeds .....	..	22 23	20 21
Brew .....	..	26 27	23 25
Polands .....	..	28 29	24 25
Black .....	..	22	..
Beans, Egyptian .....	..	34 36	..
Peas, White .....	..	..	..
Ditto Boilers .....	..	42	..

Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 100 lbs.	31	36	
United States	39	37 38	39
Dantzic .....	..	..	..
Australian, per sack of 20 lbs. ....	..	..	..
Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from Mar. 15 to Mar. 21, 1846, both days inclusive.			
Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Peas.
English	5925	632	1016
Scotch	9	211	..
Irish .....	..	1743	..
Foreign	26782	690	1300
Flour, 4000 sacks; 1287 barrels.			

FRIDAY, MARCH 27.—There has been again a short supply of every kind of Grain since Monday; not a single article, the trade generally has been in a panic. The demand for English Wheat is fully equal to the supply; and the statement made by the Duke of Wellington in the house last night, that the Corn Bill will not come before the Lords before the end of April, makes holders of fine dry Wheat firm at rather over Monday's prices. In Bonded Wheat there was no more passing on Wednesday than for some time before; but to-day the demand is not quite so brisk. There is no attention to notice in the Barley trade. A shilling more money than on Monday is asked for Oats, and in some instances is obtained; but for the most part an advance of more than 6d. cannot be made. Sellers at smaller improvement have done a very fair business. Beans and Peas the same as on Monday. A cargo of Indian Corn has been sold to-day at 3s., for shipment to Ireland. There was no alteration in the duties yesterday.

S. H. LUCAS.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 23rd of March to the 27th of March, both inclusive.			
Wheat	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Barley	2190	..	5020
Oats	1990	..	..
..	2160	1360	..
Flour, 1680 sacks.			

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending March 24, 1846.					
	Qrs.	Price.		Qrs.	Price.
Wheat	4381	58s. 3d.	Rye	95	35s. 2d.
Barley	3366	31s. 5d.	Beans	1290	34s. 0d.
Oats	13554	23s. 5d.	Peas	604	34s. 1d.

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending													
		Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Rye.		Beans.		Peas.	
		s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
14th Feb.	....	54	9.31	6.21		9.32	7.34	9.35	7.				
21st	"	55	0.29	11.21		6.32	10.34	9.34	3.				
28th	"	54	6.29	7.21		5.33	4.34	2.35	2.				
7th March	....	54	10.29	3.21		10.33	6.34	11.33	7.				
14th	"	54	3.29	4.21		9.34	2.35	2.34	9.				
21st	"	55	1.29	10.22		0.33	10.34	4.33	4.				

Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks. Wheat, 54s. 9d.; Barley, 29s. 9d.; Oats, 21s. 9d.; Rye, 35s. 4d.; Beans, 34s. 8d.; Peas, 34s. 5d.

Duty. Wheat, 18s. 0d.; Barley, 9s. 0d.; Oats, 6s. 0d.; Rye 9s. 6d.; Beans, 8s. 6d.; Peas, 8s. 6d.

Stock of Corn in Bond, Mar. 5, 1846.							
	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.	Flour.
							Ctals.
In London,	442560	17299	61192	..	6144	3492	112976
Unit. King.	1138950	82919	96983	..	13413	8127	897355

MEAT MARKET.			
Trade upon the whole dull, although prices were maintained.			
PER STONE OF 14 LBS. BY THE CARCASE.			
Prime Beef ..	4s 0d to 3s 8d	Middle Mutton 4s	2d to 3s 10d
Middling do.	3s 6d to 3s 4d	Veal, from ..	5s 0d to 4s 4d
Plain, or inferior Beef ..	3s 2d to 2s 10d	Small Pork ..	5s 0d to 4s 8d
Prime Mutton 4s	6d to 4s 4d	Large, or inferior Pork ..	3s 8d to 3s 0d

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MARCH 20.

BANKRUPTS.

James Kirkup, Rotherhithe, coal merchant. [Mr. Hodgson, Broad-street-buildings.
William Collins, Rugby, Warwick, tailor. [Mr. Burbidge, Hatton-garden.
James Bryant, Mafelford, Sussex, draper. [Messrs. Seles and Turner, Aldermanbury.
Isaac Harris, Croydon, Surrey, clothier. [Mr. Jacobs, Winchester-buildings, Great Winchester-street.
Henry Ward, Widdford mill, Gloucestershire, paper manufacturer. [Mr. Bond, Leeds.
William Stone, Wood street, Freeman. [Mr. Lloyd, Milk-street, Cheapside.
Richard Ellison and John Goodworth, Barnsley, Yorkshire, linen manufacturers. [Mr. Bond, Leeds.
Joseph Whalley and Charles Whalley, Liverpool, seed-men. [Mr. Neal, Liverpool.
Richard Barnes, Preston Leigh, Gloucestershire, coal dealer. [Messrs. Newman and Co., Cheltenham.
Cornelius Brady, Ashton, Birmingham, commission agent. [Mr. Harding, Birmingham.
Richard Edwards, Huddersfield, woollen draper. [Mr. Bond, Leeds.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

Thomas Fairbairn, Edinburgh, banker.
William Davison, Glasgow, smith.
James Sharp and John Thompson, Meadowside, Lanarkshire, calico-printers.
John Cromie, Glasgow, baker.

TUESDAY, MARCH 24.

BANKRUPTS.

J. Giro, Moorgate-street, City, merchant. [Mr. Peile, Great Winchester-street.
C. H. Waters, Queen's-row, Picnic, dealer in pictures. [Mr. Burbidge, Hatton Garden.
J. Thompson, Norwich, grocer. [Mr. Storey, Gray's-inn-place.
W. Morphey, Sevenoaks, Kent, draper. [Messrs. Reed and Langford, Friday-street, Cheapside.
J. Perkins, North-place, Gray's-inn-lane, jeweller. [Mr. Clark, Finsbury-place.
Thomas Peirson, Warwick-cott, Holborn, money-scrivener. [Messrs. Bell and Co., Bow Churchyard, Cheapside.
J. Brett, Luton, Bedfordshire, sheep-salesman. [Mr. Wilkinson, Nicholas-lane, Lombard-street.
R. Ellis, Richmond-street, Soho, carpenter. [Messrs. Carlton and Haynes, Palace-chambers, St. James's-street.
A. B. Innell and A. Cooke, Little Queen-street, Holborn, varnish-manufacturers. [Mr. Stuart, New-inn, Strand.
M. Cubitt, High Holborn, builder. [Messrs. Smith, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane.
G. Prince, Romsey, Hampshire, wine-merchant. [Messrs. Watson and Co., Falcon-square.
W. Bull, Adde-street, City, cloth merchant. [Messrs. Sudlow and Co., Chancery-lane.
J. Riding and J. Fielding, Leyland, Lancashire, cotton manufacturers. [Messrs. Milne and Co., Temple.
J. Rishton, Huddlesden, Lancashire, cotton-spinner. [Mr. Fox, Finsbury-circus.
J. Gibson, Manchester, veterinary surgeon. [Messrs. Williamson and Hill, Verulam-buildings, Gray's Inn.
J. Riddall Wood, Manchester, varnish maker, Manchester. [Messrs. Milne and Co., Temple.
J. Taylor, Hereford, carpenter. [Mr. Greenwood, Birmingham.
M. Smith, Birmingham, iron-founder. [Messrs. Smith and Co., Bedford-row.
P. Crispin, Bristol, carpenter. [Mr. Hinton, Bristol.
E. Williams, Northop, Flintshire, draper. [Messrs. Vincent and Sherwood, Temple.
J. McAlister Houston, Paisley, commission-agent.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 132.—Vol. III.]

SATURDAY, APRIL 4, 1846.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

THE NEW PROGRAMME OF ENGLISH STATESMANSHIP.

"My object has been to mitigate monopoly—to increase the demand for industry—to remove restrictions upon commerce—to equalise the burdens of taxation—to ameliorate the condition of those who labour."—Sir Robert Peel's Speech of March 27, 1846.

In another part of our paper we give the admirably earnest and powerful speeches with which, on the night of yesterday week, Sir ROBERT PEEL and Sir JAMES GRAHAM terminated the otherwise weary and unprofitable debate on the second reading of the Corn Bill. When we say, that we have rarely felt equal gratification in placing upon record any spoken words of public men, we are confident that we only express the sentiments with which those speeches have already been read by many thousands of our countrymen, and will be read again and again by all who are capable of appreciating clearness of thought, generosity of feeling, and manly force of utterance, and who know the immense value of official advocacy in giving diffusion and permanence to sound principles. The importance of those two speeches cannot possibly be over-rated. The doctrines expounded by the Ministerial champions of industrial freedom may be already sufficiently familiar to a large portion of the public—but they are comparatively new to a vast number of persons in the ruling and influential classes of English society, to whose minds economical truth has only begun to find access since it has borne the stamp of official authority. It is most cheering to contemplate the wide and rapid diffusion ensured to sound principles of social and political science, when thus enunciated from a quarter where words are "great facts"—where the thought of the individual has power to shape itself into national enactment, and exerts a sensible sway over the opinions and the destinies of the mass of mankind.

The characteristic feature of the two ministerial speeches of last week is the sympathy they evince with the wants and interests of the industrious classes, and the broad, hearty recognition of working men's rights, as constituting a governing element in the deliberations of the legislator, and the policy of the statesman. The Premier and the Home Secretary show that they understand and feel their true position as champions, in this grand national controversy, of the rights of the many against the selfish and insolent aggressions of the few. They rise to the heights, and go down to the depths, of their great argument. In a tone and

spirit worthy of men who are fighting the battle of over-taxed and "peculiarly-burdened" labour, against titled, privileged, and usurping idleness, they boldly identify themselves with the policy that would lighten the poor man's toils, untax his hunger, multiply his resources, and widen his command over the means of comfort, enjoyment, and improvement. This is their Cabinet question—"TO MITIGATE MONOPOLY, TO INCREASE THE DEMAND FOR INDUSTRY, TO REMOVE RESTRICTIONS UPON COMMERCE, TO EQUALISE THE BURDENS OF TAXATION, TO AMELIORATE THE CONDITION OF THOSE WHO LABOUR." This is the test to which they submit existing institutions and enactments—their operation on the every-day interests and enjoyments of the many. "Why," asks the Home Secretary, on behalf of his clients, the working and eating millions of the British people, "should the consumer and the receiver of wages be required to pay for their daily bread a larger price than, if the trade were free, they would have to pay? And he reiterates, with the increased emphasis arising from strengthened conviction, his assertion of that foundation-truth in social economics which was already so much indebted to his able and enlightened advocacy—the beneficial operation of cheap bread on the wages, the health, and the morality of the working classes:

"The manufacturing population of this country are quite right in believing that high prices produce low wages, and artificially enhance the cost of provisions. I could produce abundant evidence to show that the opinion is no longer confined to the manufacturing classes alone. The agricultural labouring population begin to be of the very same opinion. I could produce, were it not that I fear to trespass too far upon your attention, the clearest evidence to show the diminution of crime as prices fall, and its rapid increase as they rise; and, what is of the greatest importance of all, I could show you that MORTALITY increases in the same proportion as the price of bread, while, vice versa, when provisions are cheap, mortality declines."

In the same generous and statesmanlike tone, Sir Robert Peel dwells on the social and moral aspects of commercial reforms that tend to the cheapening of the poor man's food. His landlord and aristocratic auditors "may laugh at it if they please," but he is in earnest; official experience has taught him certain great, all-pervading truths, to which he must enforce the homage that they have already exacted from himself:

"I know I am appealing, and I appeal with confidence, to your generosity; do you not admit with me, that the social condition of those millions, whether manufacturing or agricultural labourers, who earn their subsistence by the sweat of their brow, is, in the present condition of this country, of the very first importance—that it is an object of the deepest moment? Have you read the report of the health of towns commission? Are you not deeply convinced that some effort must ere long be made to improve the social condition of that great mass of the population who earn their bread by labour in the manufacturing districts? Believe with me, that the first foundation of social improvement is abundance of food. Believe with me, that make what efforts you will to implant habits of cleanliness, to improve education, to purify the dwellings of the poor—believe with me that the first step towards permanent social amelioration is abundance of provisions. Wherever there is suffering from scarcity, or the apprehension of scarcity, either the suffering or the apprehension so depresses the spirits of those who have to earn their bread, that it is in vain to inculcate cleanliness or to improve habitations, without doing what we can to ensure abundance of food. I say this, you may laugh at it if you please, but the experience of the last three years, and the experience of the three preceding years, read a lesson to us which we ought never to forget, as to the effect produced on the social condition, the habits of life, and the happiness of the working classes, comparing the years of abundance with those of scarcity."

And these are not mere sounding generalities, of the sort that run so glibly off the tongues of the dilettante philanthropist. The Premier gives, not eloquence and sentiment only, but thought to the rights and interests of those whose cause he so impressively pleads before the tribunal of legislation and opinion. He has taken pains to realise to his own mind—and he would have the legislature realise to its mind—the actual details of those hard conditions which pervade and environ the labouring man's life. He goes into the statistics of the peasant's case; opens the budget of toiling,

struggling, and enduring poverty; gives us, from "the actual return of the consumption of a labourer having a wife and one child, and receiving ten shillings a week in the summer, and nine shillings in the winter," the facts and figures of that painful cottage economy which has to work the problem of making out life on these scant resources. So much for rent—so much for candles and soap—so much for bread, bacon, salt beef, butter, and cheese—so much for tea and sugar—leaving so much for "shoes and necessaries of that kind, which must have been difficult enough to obtain." And then, after enumerating the heavy deductions to which a well-nigh omnipresent taxation subjects this meagre revenue and parsimonious expenditure, the soap is taxed, the butter is taxed, the tea is taxed, and the sugar is taxed." Our poor man's financier dwells with kind-hearted satisfaction on those alleviations of the burden which his own policy has effected, and appeals to the human sympathies of his auditors, to include further among the exemptions, the chief article of all:

"We have now removed the duty on the bacon and the salt beef; we have diminished the duty on butter, and we have diminished the duty on cheese;—can you repent having done this?"

But—

"You will find, where wheat does enter into the subsistence of the people, that by far the greatest portion of the weekly income is expended in the purchase of wheat and flour. There is something for tea and sugar, a little for tobacco perhaps, but more than half the earnings is consumed by wheat. Well, supposing the effect of your measures is to cause some reduction in the price of wheat, JUST ASK YOURSELVES THE QUESTION—ARE YOU NOT MOST MATERIALLY ADDING TO THE COMFORTS AND ENJOYMENT OF MILLIONS? Let me assure you this is by far the most important part of the question."

There is no withstanding this. A policy which thus boldly and broadly bases itself on the first elements of social and political justice, and appeals direct to the common human sense of right, is irresistible. No mere majority of an oligarchical land-owning legislature—though it happens, by the way, this time, that the majorities are thus far all on the right side—can make head against the statesman who, in the sight and hearing of an intelligent and instructed people, puts the rights of industry and hunger in the foreground of his political philosophy. We feel deeply grateful to Sir R. Peel for this speech. It is a speech in the highest degree honourable, both to himself individually, and to that spirit of the age of which, in reference to some of the most vital questions of our domestic policy, the Premier may be regarded as the exponent. After all, England does successfully assert her old prerogative of "teaching nations how to live." These lessons of the English Premier will go far and last long—longer, in their silent, world-wide operations, than the fame even of the Indian victories. They are lessons for the world, and the world will hear them. There is no measuring that vast futurity of good which lies enwrapped in the simple, but great and quickening truths of economical science, which the voice of the Prime Minister of Great Britain has now stamped with a title to universal empire over the mind of nations and the policy of Cabinets.

A SPORTING STATESMAN.

"The hour finds, or makes, the man," say certain philosophers on history; and whenever there is work to be done, somebody always turns up to do it. The aphorism is, it must be universally felt, strikingly illustrated in the present condition of the protectionist cause. The task of spinning out, by interminable factious delays, the last expiring moments of a vicious monopoly, which the united statesmanship of the empire has condemned, and which the House of Commons, by majorities which no possible or conceivable casualty can reverse, has ordered for execution, is not one that every

English gentleman would undertake. The Mileses and Bankeses, the O'Briens and D'Israelis—the men who have social, political, or intellectual reputations to take care of—naturally enough decline the mean and miserable office of obstructing, for mere obstruction's sake, a measure whose fate, so far as one House of Parliament is concerned, has been already superabundantly decided. They have fought their very best for the principle of protection—the day has gone against them—and they have the grace and sense, the respect for public opinion, and the self-respect, to abstain from a frivolous and vexatious squabbling about details. Accordingly, the Mileses and Bankeses, the O'Briens and D'Israelis have no alternative but to submit to be superseded, and resign the vacant leadership of the "country party"—with what mingled emotions of shame, indignation, and contempt, we have not data for exactly analysing—into the hands of Lord GEORGE BENTINCK.

"Who is Lord George Bentinck?" all the world have latterly been asking—as this man's audacious and mischievous extravagancies have fastened public attention on a name strange to such newspaper readers as do not happen to be in the habit of consulting the column of "Sporting Intelligence." The most convenient and comprehensive answer, perhaps, that one could make to this now highly interesting query is,—inquire at Tattersall's, inquire at Newmarket, inquire at Epsom and Doncaster; ask the jockeys, ask the trainers, ask the stewards of races and clerks of race-courses. Only, as it is, in all probability, a thing quite out of the way of some 99 out of every 100 of our readers to follow up this line of investigation for themselves, we must be a little more explicit. Lord G. Bentinck, then, be it known to all whom it may concern—that is, to the whole commercial, manufacturing, farming, shop-keeping, and artisan public of the United Kingdom—is the recognised head of what is dimly known to, or imagined by, industrious and sober-minded people, as the "sporting world." His racing stud, we have always understood, is considered by competent persons to be about the finest in Great Britain. A more perfect judge of horse-flesh is probably not to be found within the four corners of the empire. His betting book is universally reputed to reflect the utmost credit on its noble author's skill and science in that department of literature. As an employer, and remunerator of native jockey industry, his name stands proudly pre-eminent above all his contemporaries. To which may be added, that as an umpire in all difficult cases of sporting honour and conscience, he bears, we believe, the very highest character for judicial intelligence and impartiality. Take him all in all, we may say that Lord George Bentinck is to the British turf what Mr. Hudson is to railways.

To affairs of State, this eminent and accomplished sporting character has, until quite recently, been a stranger,—as is, indeed, sufficiently evident to any one capable of the mental and moral exertion of critically studying those remarkably silly, and blundering, and coarsely vituperative harangues which have signalised his lordship's entrance in public life, in this nineteenth year of his Parliamentary existence. For eighteen years and more, that the new protectionist chief has had a seat in the House of Commons, his name has never been before the public in any political capacity. Catholic emancipation, negro emancipation, Parliamentary reform, church reform, education, Poor Laws, Irish questions, foreign questions, colonial questions—all have failed to present themselves to his lordship's mind in a sufficiently interesting shape to furnish a counterpoise to the attraction of more congenial occupations. At length, the needful stimulus is applied in the form of a Ministerial scheme for giving industry its own; and the king of the race-course and the jockey club finds scope and exercise for his higher powers in the last desperate defence of a condemned and falling monopoly. Landlordism in extremis calls him out, and makes a new man of him. All at once, the affairs of the stable are postponed to those of the State—

Newmarket and Epsom are forsaken for St. Stephen's—the betting book gives place to the blue book—the interest of the turf yields to that of the tariff—and an ambition which had, for half a life time, contented itself with the honour and glory of running the best horses in England, aspires to the nobler task of keeping the trade and industry of the country for a few weeks more in a syncope of uncertainty and unsettlement.

Pleasant, this, to the people of England—the sober, industrious, regular, frugal, and moral, middle and working classes, who make and keep England—to be obstructed and harassed in their honest callings, for weeks and months together, because a sporting lord takes it into his head to play at politics, instead of attending to his proper line of business! Seriously, we do not wonder that the older and more respectable protectionist leaders seem ashamed of their self-elected "guide, philosopher, and friend." They must heartily wish the business over, and be anxious to have done for ever with the disagreeable necessity which compels their temporary endurance of political chieftainship that is enough to ruin any cause, and to bring irreparable disrepute on any party.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION OF 1846.

Eleventh Week, ending Saturday, April 4.

This has been literally a *lost* week, so far as Free Trade and the commercial measures of the Government are concerned. The Corn Bill having passed its second reading, might have gone through committee this week, and been read a third time before Easter, for the protectionists have begun to exhibit some symptoms of a consciousness that the public—even the agricultural public—are getting impatient for a determination one way or the other. But with an obstinacy worthy of something better, Sir R. Peel has chosen to force on the first reading of the Irish Coercion Bill. Monday was passed in its discussion. On Tuesday, "no house." On Wednesday there was another debate on Ireland, on a pet scheme of Mr. Poulett Scrope, who, in a humane spirit, wished to read a second time and carry a bill for the relief of the indigent poor in Ireland; but which he withdrew, finding the general feeling to be against him. Thursday was occupied by votes of thanks, in both houses, for the great victories on the banks of the Sutlej, by which the Sikh power has been broken up, and the Panjab placed within our control; and after that was disposed of, there was a mass of miscellaneous matters. And Friday is fixed for the Irish Coercion Bill, with little prospect of a termination of the debate.

The second reading of the Corn Bill was carried, as our readers are aware, on Friday night week, or rather on Saturday morning, by a majority of 88, in a smaller house than that by which the Government measures were originally affirmed. The diminution of the majority arose simply from the fact of there being fewer members present, the ratio of proportion being maintained. In the February division, the numbers were 337 to 240, majority 97; in the division of last week the numbers were 302 to 214, majority 88.

There were three good speeches delivered on Friday night, the orators being Sir James Graham, Sir R. Peel, and Lord Palmerston. Sir James Graham very skilfully directed attention to the fact of the increasing number of applications daily made to the Commons' Inclosure Commission for liberty to bring under cultivation large tracts of waste land—a practical conclusion against the allegation that the repeal of the Corn Law will throw any portion of the soil out of cultivation. And he had a happy hit at Lord George Bentinck. A bill has been introduced into the House of Commons to empower a company to reclaim from the sea a large portion of the estuary of the Wash; and on the back of the bill, which provides for the application of half a million of money, is to be found the name of Lord George Bentinck! It is really amazing how men can have the presumption to come forward and babble night after night, and week after week, on ruin to the landed interest, at the very moment that they are interested in speculations, on which they fearlessly propose to expend large sums of money, in order to rescue land from the sea, and add it to that already under cultivation. Lord George Bentinck smiled, like one trying to wriggle impudently out of a "fix," as Sir James Graham turned to him, and asked him what was his estimate of the future probable price of wheat, when, in the face of a repeal of the Corn Law, he was concerned in an adventure like this.

Sir Robert Peel made another of his able and elaborate speeches, from which it may be gathered that he is determined to carry his measure, if possible, and that he looks forward to its being the last act of his present official career. "Sir," said he, addressing the SPEAKER, and alluding to the probability of his removal from office, "when I do fall, I shall have the satisfaction of reflecting that I shall not have fallen because I have shown subservience to any party. I shall not fall because I have preferred the interests of party to the general interests of the community. I shall carry with me the satisfaction of reflecting, that during the course of my

official career, my object has been to mitigate monopoly, to increase the demand for industry, to remove the restrictions upon commerce, to equalise the burden of taxation, and to ameliorate the condition of those who toil."

Lord Palmerston closed the debate in an able, skilful, and effective speech, in which he strikingly indicated the influence which perseverance and success in the advocacy of the repeal of the Corn Laws has had on the more liberal of the Whig party. The leaders of the Ministerial or the Opposition divisions of the House of Commons are usually in the habit of referring to their supporters as *friends*—"my honourable friend," the member for So-and-so. A ludicrous instance of this habit was given by Mr. Bankes, when he first went into opposition this session. He was always accustomed to term Sir Robert Peel "my right honourable friend, the First Lord of the Treasury." But on the proposition of the Government measure for the ultimate repeal of the Corn Law, Sir Robert Peel was no longer the political friend of Mr. Bankes. Yet so strong was the effect of habit, that Mr. Bankes, in his first speech, kept continually saying "my right honourable friend"—"the right honourable gentleman at the head of her Majesty's Government!" The house smiled, Sir Robert Peel smiled, and at last Mr. Bankes was obliged to laugh himself. Lord Palmerston gave another illustration, not ludicrous, but significant. Formerly Mr. Cobden or Mr. Bright were referred to as "the honourable member for Stockport," or "the honourable member for Durham." On Friday night week, Lord Palmerston said that the change of opinion and policy on the subject of the Corn Law, which the Government have so practically exhibited, was to be traced, not so much to the experience of the last three years as to the effect of the debates of the last four sessions; and—turning round to Mr. Cobden, who sat behind him,—to the exertions of "my honourable friend, the member for Stockport."

Mr. Stuart, the Queen's Counsel, whom it has pleased the Duke of Newcastle to return for Newark in the room of the Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Gladstone, made his first legislative appearance on Friday night, and spoke a speech which fully justified the ducal discretion. Mr. Stuart is a Scotch member of the bar, retaining a strongly marked Scotch accent, though he has been long in this country, and is advanced in years; and has succeeded so well in his profession as to be very well off. He certainly will not wreath a laurel for himself by his efforts in the House of Commons. You can perceive that he is a kindly sort of man, fluent, dexterous in making mere legal points, but without the smallest capacity for generalisation. He made a long speech, of which it may be said, truly and positively, that the gist was this:—Mr. Cobden once called the landed aristocracy "*boobies*." To repeal the Corn Laws will be to overthrow the preponderance of the landed interest, and therefore will effect the object of Mr. Cobden, which is to "terminate the empire of the boobies" (Mr. Stuart's own words, which convulsed the house with laughter). But to "terminate the empire of the boobies" is Jack Cade legislation. The House of Commons should never listen to a mob. It should be calm, dignified, and impartial, &c. &c. &c. &c.!

The second reading of the Corn Bill being carried, the next stage is that of committee. This should have come on in regular course on Monday night; but, unfortunately, the Irish Coercion Bill, which has come down from the House of Lords, stood in the way. The Government were determined to press the first reading, and the Irish Liberal members were as determined to resist it. It was urged on Ministers that the Corn Bill was of far more importance. The greater portion of Monday night was spent in discussing whether or no the Corn Bill or the Coercion Bill should be taken first. Sir Robert Peel seemed uneasy and fidgety, as if he had placed himself in a false position by the obstinacy of adhering to the determination of bringing on the Coercion Bill. Lord Worsley, the son of the Earl of Yarborough, and a staunch supporter of the agricultural interest, stated that the delay of the Corn Bill was injurious even to the farmers—"it was the duty of the house," he said, "towards the agriculturists, in particular, and also towards the trading interest, that there should be no further delay in the settlement of the long agitated question of the Corn Laws." Mr. Cobden also deplored the determination of the Government as a calamity both to England and Ireland. He gave Sir Robert Peel full credit for sincerity in his desire to convey his measures; but his present resolve held out little hope of seeing the Corn Bill pass through the house before Easter. All this must have had some effect; at all events, the debate on the Irish Coercion Bill was adjourned, and on Tuesday there was "no house!"

In consequence of the peculiar interest and importance attached to Friday night's discussion, we subjoin at full length the speeches of the Home Secretary and the First Lord of the Treasury, with a summary of the others.

DEBATE OF FRIDAY, the 27th ult.—SPEECHES of SIR J. GRAHAM and SIR R. PEEL.

In the House of Commons, the adjourned debate on the second reading of the Corn Importation Act was resumed. Sir J. GRAHAM said: I am very unwilling to prolong needlessly a debate which has been thus protracted, and which, I believe, the public at large are most desirous to see concluded by some decision, be that decision what it may (hear, hear). But, having failed in the course of yesterday evening to obtain that opportunity of addressing you which I was desirous of obtaining, I do not think it would be proper that this discussion should be adjourned without my advert- ing to some of the observations and arguments made and ad- duced during this debate. And, in the first place, I will no-

tice the petition which has just been presented by the hon. member for Stockport. I can assure the house that I was not cognisant either of that petition or of the petition presented by the noble lord the member for Lynn, before they were presented, having emanated from a portion of my tenantry taking different views of this question. I may be permitted to assure the house, that neither directly nor indirectly have I, myself, or by my agents, interfered in the slightest or in the remotest degree with the free expression of opinion among my tenantry (cheers); and that I have never attempted to fetter the exercise of their own independent judgment—feeling, as I do, that they as tenants, have as deep an interest in this matter as have the landlords; that they, equally with myself, are entitled to the freest expression of their honest opinions (cheers). I will now, with the permission of the house, at once proceed to advert to the speech which closed the debate of last night—I mean that of the noble lord the member for Lynn (Lord G. Bentinck). I will dispose of the peroration of that speech with but one remark. It appeared to me, when stripped of the metaphor which accompanied it, to consist almost entirely of that personal and violent invective which, I regret to say, marked the greater portion of the speeches delivered on this side of the house against the measures of her Majesty's Government ("hear, hear," from the Opposition benches). Now, having plainly avowed a great change in my own opinion on this subject, I should not be guilty of the presumption,—I will not say, I might say, of the impertinence,—of commenting, with anything like irony, on the maintenance, on the part of hon. gentlemen sitting on this side of the house, of the opinions which at one time I sincerely, in common with them, entertained, and which, up to a late period, I advocated. Neither will I say, for I could not say with truth, that I am not deeply grieved by the expression of the loss of esteem on the part of hon. members with whom I have acted for so many years, and in whose support and friendship, under trying circumstances, I have often rejoiced (cheers). When I made up my mind, from a deep sense of public duty, to act in concert with my right hon. friend at the head of the Government, and upon consideration of a pressing public necessity, as it appeared to me, to present these measures to Parliament as a servant of the Crown, I did anticipate, I foresaw with pain, all and everything that has taken place on this occasion with reference to the conduct of my hon. friends on this side of the house. But the necessity demanded the sacrifice, and I made it (cheers). I was prepared, I am prepared, on public grounds, regardless of all the taunts, regardless of all the obloquy which might be attempted to be heaped upon me, to meet the present emergency by my co-operation in the maintenance of the measures which are under discussion, and which, in my conscience, I believe are indispensable to the public good (cheers); and although it would be affectation and useless to deny that I am and have been moved by many of the observations made by gentlemen and noblemen whose former friendship I have valued, yet, steadily, firmly, and fearlessly, I hope to be enabled to discharge that public duty which I have undertaken (cheers). I shall unflinchingly persevere in that course, consoled for present mortification by this single reflection,—that the time, as I believe, is not far distant when the country gentlemen of England will be satisfied, and will acknowledge that her Majesty's Government has not betrayed their interests (cheers); and that those interests will hereafter be reconciled, in fact and in opinion, with the interests of the great body of the community, whose peace, whose welfare, whose prosperity, whose more easy means of subsistence, it is the object of this bill to promote—an object which, as I conscientiously think, this bill, if it receive the sanction of Parliament, will not fail to accomplish (cheers). I will now advert to some of the arguments of the noble lord, and I may be wrong, but certainly it does occur to me, that the arguments which he adduced in opposition to this measure are precisely the arguments, the most cogent, the most stringent and unanswerable, which the opponents of the sliding scale have, from time to time, urged against that system (hear). I will begin with the position first taken up by the noble lord; he is very anxious to gain some opinion from the Treasury bench, and failing in that, he stipulates, himself, as to what will be the prices of wheat with a Free Trade in corn. With a view of forming an estimate, he went through this extraordinary process; he takes certain seasons when the prices of wheat were, in England, remarkably low, being, I think, in 1830, somewhere about 45s., and in 1835, 39s. a quarter; and then in these circumstances he takes the prices of wheat on the Continent at the same moment, and from this estimates at what wheat could have been imported into this country with a profit. Now, the great argument against our restricted Corn Law was, that whilst there was an unsteadiness in its operation in varying times and varying seasons, the demand was most unequal and uncertain, and it is quite clear that the price of wheat on the Continent of Europe mainly depends on the demand in the British market. The price in 1835 and 1836 being unusually low in England, the effect on the Continent was this—a glut was produced in the foreign markets, from which our supplies were usually drawn, and the price there also was consequently low; and the noble lord under these circumstances draws the inference that wheat might then have been imported at a price of something like 30s. a quarter. I leave it to the house to say whether it is a safe inference that, in *communibus annis*, such would be the case. A great argument in favour of a steady annual demand on the Continent of Europe, our supply being deficient, is this—that while, in this country, from our increasing population, there is an increasing difficulty in finding an adequate home supply, the demand from abroad is annually increasing, and the result will be not so much to lower in this country as to raise the prices on the Continent, thereby equalising the prices here and abroad, and effecting this great object,—securing the people of England in years of deficiency against a sudden and extravagant rise in price (hear, hear). Their commercial rivals will, at the same time, not only have an extended trade with England, by means of an exchange of commodities, but steady prices and a guarantee against any ruinous fluctuation. What had been the fact in the years 1835 and 1836 was therefore no groundwork for estimating the prices then as the uniform prices at which wheat could be imported into this country. It is only a demonstration of the uncertainty of the demand here and the effects of that uncertainty abroad. The noble lord then proceeded to argue with reference to steadiness of prices, and he produced a table which I think remarkably illustrates another great defect which, as has been pointed out by the enemies of that sliding scale, is inherent in the present system of Corn Laws. That table demonstrates more clearly than I have ever yet seen it shown, that the great fluctuation in prices on the Continent depends on the demand from England. The table of fluctuations he brings forward shows, unequivocally, that exactly

in proportion to the proximity to England, and the uncertain demand in England for wheat, has been the fluctuation in foreign corn. The table of fluctuations in the markets of Antwerp, Amsterdam, Dantzic, Hamburg, and Odessa, which are the ports from which we draw the required supplies almost wholly, prove the case; and to complete the demonstration, the noble lord dwelt upon the fact that in Bordeaux the fluctuation was least. Now, it is notorious that we have no trade whatever in corn with France. Is not the inference to be deduced from this as I have stated (hear, hear)? And what is the consequence of this? We convert our natural, our best customers, not only into commercial rivals, but into enemies. When they have abundance their markets are glutted, and they find ruinously low prices; and under other circumstances the uncertainties of the corn trade are such that they come to the conclusion that they can place no reliance on it. They then form hostile tariffs; they impose high duties on our manufactures, and they relinquish our corn trade in despair, as not only not producing to them good, but as inconsistent with their national safety. I say again that our Corn Law legislation has solely tended to create these fluctuations in the foreign markets, and that has always appeared to me the strongest reason why the system should be altered (cheers). The noble lord then proceeds to comment on what he terms the evenness of prices in England since the passing of the law in 1842. I have already stated to the house that that very evenness of prices in the present year appears to me delusive. It is well known that in no one year, in the memory of the oldest farmer, was there such inequality with respect to the quantity of corn as in the present year (cheers). I do not exaggerate when I say that the price of wheat of last year varies from 48s. to 72s., and, knowing that this variation in our markets was on account of the slow and imperfect operation of the sliding scale in a great national emergency, I for one was distinctly persuaded that an alteration in the system was called for (cheers). The noble lord has said he was sorry to observe that the importation of foreign corn which has taken place was generally in foreign ships. Why, that is one of the leading objections on the other side. There is no disputing that British ships are not to be had; as the noble lord remarked, the freight of British ships for the conveyance of corn is higher than of foreign ships; and the corn trade being uncertain and irregular, the inevitable consequence is that the importation of corn is more usually in foreign than in British ships. This very circumstance, therefore—this encouragement of foreign shipping at the expense of British shipping—is, among other reasons, why the existing Corn Laws have been condemned (hear, hear). The noble lord then goes on to state that the farmers throughout Great Britain look with dread and consternation upon this measure (cheers from the protectionist benches). The petition which has this evening been presented by the honourable gentleman, the honourable member for Stockport, clearly shows that the statement of the noble lord is incorrect, inasmuch as it demonstrates that all the farmers do not so regard it (cheers from the Opposition). Many hon. members, with equal confidence, have declared that the result of the adoption of the bill must be to throw immense tracts of land out of cultivation, and the hon. gentleman who moved the amendment (Mr. Yorke) has asserted that another effect of the passing of the measure will be that drainage will be suspended, and that agricultural improvement will be brought to an end. Now, I must beg leave to observe, that to the best of my knowledge the panic to which the hon. member for Cambridgeshire has adverted is much more confined to within these walls than hon. gentlemen are ready to admit (hear). I do not believe that either landlords or farmers, if they be not exposed to the dangerous atmosphere of this house, at all partake of this panic (hear, hear). An hon. gentleman opposite referred recently to the case of a gentleman in Somersetshire, who had, in consequence of the announcement made by Government, offered to all his tenants to release them from their engagements; and the 60 tenants to whom that offer was made, with one exception, at once rejected it. This criterion, by which to judge of public opinion is a very satisfactory one; and when men, having large capital involved in the cultivation of land refused the offer which would enable them to withdraw that capital, they gave very conclusive evidence of their satisfaction with the change which late events had conspired to make in their prospects (hear, hear). I must contend, on the other hand, that when, at the present moment, farmers enter into new contracts, upon no reduced terms, they evince that they have no alarm whatever as to the probable effect of the Corn Law now under consideration (hear, hear). And as it is a matter of very great importance that the statements of the existence of apprehensions should be refuted, and that no such impression as that spoken of should continue on the public mind, the house will, perhaps, permit me to lay before it some facts which have come within the range of my own observation. If I were to mention any of the farmers of Great Britain as especially distinguished for sagacity, and skill, and intelligence, I would assuredly name, without hesitation, the farmers of the East Lothian of Scotland (hear). Now I have the permission of Lord Belhaven to read to the house a letter, dated February 25th, containing information from the Earl of Wemyss. Lord Belhaven writes thus:

"I have been on a visit to Lord Wemyss for some days, and have had an opportunity of learning the opinions of the East Lothian and Berwickshire farmers to a considerable extent. Lord Wemyss's property in this county is, with one exception, the largest in it; and his factor, a clever sensible man, tells me that there is not a farm in this county or Berwickshire now to let that there are not more offers, and higher offers too, than he ever saw made for it, and by men of skill and capital. I asked how he accounted for this? His answer was, 'the corn question is now considered as settled, and the prospect held out of getting the land drained by the landlords instead of having to lay out the money themselves as formerly, has created a general feeling of confidence among all intelligent farmers.' One gentleman of this county stated, that on a property in Berwickshire, on which he was trustee, he had five offers from men of known character as first-rate farmers, the amount of which was 100 per cent. above the present rent. (This is since the introduction of this bill by my right honourable friend.) These are facts which are worth all the arguments one hears, coming, as they do, from the greatest corn-growing district in Scotland."

Now I heard somebody behind me allude to East Gloucestershire, East Gloucestershire, it is said, has unequivocally declared itself. But I understand that my right hon. friend, Sir George Warrender, had intended to bring forward the protection question in East Lothian; but he wrote a letter withdrawing the protection candidate, and that East Lothian has declared itself against the Corn Laws there can be no doubt (hear, hear). Now, with regard to the Isle of Ely. I have heard it argued that this is a proposition for throwing land out of cultivation. The hon. member for Huntingdon said that fen land must relapse into its primitive wildness, and the hon. member for Cambridge said that the effect of

the panic which the measure has created will be, that improved cultivation must be suspended. Now, for *idem* (as we understood) has likewise given me permission to read the following letter:

"I received a letter from the Duke of Bedford, a day or two ago, with the following postscript: 'I received a letter this morning from my Cambridgeshire steward, to inform me that he had just let two farms for me, to very intelligent men, father and son, with ample capital, at an increase of 1800 a year on their present rent. The agreement has been made since Peel's measure was introduced.' Such facts as these seem to me to be worth more than hosts of figures and columns of statistics."

Now we have been hitherto looking only at the tenants and occupiers of land; but what will be its effect upon the fee simple of the land if the measure should pass? I know that land surveyors have mentioned extravagant offers to me, and have avowed opinions that have astonished me with regard to the effect which would be produced upon the value of land. I am told by a noble lord that there is a farm within 30 miles of his property, without a residence, and not in very good condition, the rental being 650*l.*, and under the circumstances of its position and its proximity to a railroad, it was supposed there would be an increase in its value, and he had been advised to ask 32 years' purchase for the farm. For five years he never got any one to make any offer to purchase; but within the last three weeks an offer had been made for the purchase, coming up to the full demand; and it is expected that the bargain will be struck. Then will any land be thrown out of cultivation? It is very difficult to ascertain this point; but there is a fact which goes beyond all speculation. If it is probable that land will be thrown out of cultivation, no man out of Bedford would go and purchase land. Is the house aware of the working of the Enclosure Commission? Last year, in the early part of it, there were few applications for enclosures, and to a small extent. Now I will read to the house what have been the applications to the Enclosure Commissioners for the last six months; and I repeat that no man in his senses could make an application to enclose land, if land was expected to be thrown out of cultivation. Now, in September last, the applications were for 2290 acres, and in October the number of acres was 4588. That was under protection, and at that time there was no idea of any alteration in the Corn Laws. But, in November, there was pregnant evidence in many quarters that a proposition would be made to Parliament for a material alteration in those laws. Did that circumstance check applications to the Commissioners of Enclosure? I have stated that the number of applications, in October, were for 4588 acres; in November, they were 7147; in December, 7205; in January, 5600; in February, 3595 ("hear, hear," from the protectionists). In March, down to the 7th of the month, there has been one application for 150 acres, and within the last fortnight there has been an application from the county of York to enclose Bowes Moor, a common of inferior land, very inferior land, to the extent of 14,000 acres; and another application has come from Taunton Dean, Somerset, to enclose 2500 acres; that is, within the last fortnight, applications have been made to enclose no less than 16,500 acres (hear, hear). So much for land being thrown out of cultivation. Now, I beg the attention of the house to a bill now in progress and before Parliament; it is entitled, "A bill for enclosing and reclaiming from the sea certain tracts of land, forming part of the great estuary called the Wash" (laughter, and cries of "hear, hear"). This is not a question of throwing land out of cultivation, or of enclosing waste or common land, but it is a question of getting property out of the sea; and, by industry and the application of capital, bringing land into cultivation out of the sea itself. Whose names are at the back of this bill? Why, I find the first name is that of Lord George Bentinck (a laugh); the second that of Viscount Jocelyn; and the third that of Mr. Bagge, one of the members for the county of Norfolk. This bill was brought in in the present year, when the plan of the Government was known, by the noble lord himself. The capital sought to be invested in this undertaking is 500,000*l.*, the power being taken of borrowing 200,000*l.*; and amongst the subscribers, the first name I find is that of "William George Frederick Cavendish Bentinck, commonly called Lord George Bentinck; and of the Directors of the Company, the first is William George Frederick Cavendish Bentinck, commonly called Lord George Bentinck; the others are Sir William John Henry Browne Folke, the mayor of Lynn, and others. Now, on another occasion the rights of the Crown interposed an obstacle, and there was a negotiation between the parties on this point; but the issue did not lead to a satisfactory conclusion; but here, in this bill, there is an admission of the rights of the Crown, and there is a clause charging the property of the company with the payment of 1 per cent. to the Crown upon all outlays and expenses, which is expressly stated to be intended as compensation for 30,000 or 40,000 acres. Now the noble lord will permit me to put a question to him, which he has often put to my right hon. friend. What is his estimate of the price of wheat under the new measure? (hear, hear). I have no doubt that he must have made a most perfect estimate of the price of wheat; and he will, therefore, allow me to ask him what is his estimate of the future price of wheat which has induced him to embark in this enterprise? It is now, Sir, my painful duty to turn to a more serious part of the great question; the house will anticipate that I allude to the state of Ireland. I heard with great pain, and with surprise, the statement of the noble lord (Lord G. Bentinck), that, in his opinion, in which every day's experience confirmed him, the potato famine in Ireland was a gross delusion; he said, I think, that a more gross delusion had never been palmed upon the country by any Government (hear); and the noble lord proceeded to argue, that because the average price of potatoes throughout Ireland was only 4*d.* a stone, there could not be any famine in that country. Now I must have failed in my endeavour to show the house what is the real state of Ireland, if it can believe that the average price of potatoes is any criterion of the state of destitution in that country. I may observe, in passing, that 4*d.* a stone in Ireland is nearly double the price of potatoes at an ordinary period; and that when you take the difference between 2*d.* and 4*d.* a stone for potatoes, it is an increase in the price of an article of food of 100 per cent., a difference between plenty and want, I might almost say, between life and death. Now the noble lord also commented upon the fact of some small imports from Ireland. What is the inference from that? He seems to draw the inference that there is no destitution in Ireland. But it is a consequence of the high price of potatoes in England and Wales, where the failure of the potato crop is almost as great as in Ireland itself. High prices will attract the supplies to the richer from the poorer country, and it is quite sufficient to account for these imports by the desire to gain something from the small remnant of the crop whilst it remains good. But the view taken by the noble

lord may have been taken under an imperfect acquaintance with the condition of the country. He is, however, supported by the high authority of an Irish member, the member for the University of Dublin, and the recorder of Dublin, recently returned from Ireland, and who has told the house that the accounts of the scarcity are the grossest exaggerations.

Mr. SHAW: No, I said, "Great exaggerations."

Sir J. GRAHAM: Well, great exaggerations. I hope the house will bear with me if I detain it by reading some extracts upon this point, which assume an aspect of peculiar importance, for I must confess it was reading these details in October which convinced me then, as I am convinced now, that a discussion of the Corn Laws in the present session of Parliament was inevitable (hear). The right hon. gentleman (Mr. Shaw) referred to the statements made by Mr. Lindley and Dr. Playfair, in November, consisting, in his opinion, of gross exaggerations.

Mr. SHAW: Great exaggeration.

Sir J. GRAHAM: Great exaggeration, I beg pardon of the right hon. gentleman; that report was made to the Government in November. That report, however, was not the circumstance which first alarmed me. I happened, in October, to be residing in Cumberland, and I received a letter from the secretary of the Agricultural Society in Ireland, which includes a great number of the nobility and gentry of the country. Now that letter which I received from the secretary of this society was dated October 23d, and the house will see how far Dr. Playfair's report (which the right hon. gentleman accuses of great exaggeration) corresponds with this letter:

"Sir,—I beg leave to send you an extract from a Dublin morning paper, which will give you a correct account of the measures which the council of this society have adopted, respecting the prevailing disease in the potato crop. I beg leave also to state that when I issued a circular, about a month since, to the secretaries of 120 local societies in connection with the central one, I got several answers from persons stating that the disease was not then apparent in their immediate neighbourhood, but I have since received letters from most of them, stating, that upon digging the crops, they found the disease in almost every quarter, and I may safely say at present that there is not a county in Ireland that is not more or less affected by it. Since my return from the cattle-show at Ballinasloe, my office has been filled with specimens of the diseased potatoes from all quarters, which prove not only the similarity of the disease, but the great and uniform extent of it. The council of this society have directed their labours to two objects. First, to obtain the latest and most accurate information respecting the actual nature and extent of the disease, in the different localities, through the machinery at our command, and to transmit the same from time to time to the Irish Government at the castle; secondly, to institute the series of experiments within described, under the direction of Professor Kane, for the purpose of deciding upon saving the remnant of the crop, which now undoubtedly appears to be in the greatest jeopardy. The result of these experiments shall be carefully matured and communicated. I shall barely add, Sir, that the greatest panic appears to exist in all parts of the community, and those who know the country best are most puzzled how to act. One thing, however, I think is certain, that enough has already transpired to justify the most prompt and energetic measures on the part of the public and the Government."

(Hear, hear.) Now this gentleman says he was very much alarmed; and I ask the house, was it not the duty of the Government to take measures for regulating the supply of corn to the United Kingdom? But this was not all; there came, enclosed in the letter from the secretary, another from the co-league of the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Hamilton). That letter, which is addressed to the secretary to the Agricultural Society, is dated the 18th October, and was forwarded to me, if I mistake not, in the letters from the secretary:

"My dear Sir,—I am sorry it will not be in my power to attend the special meeting of the council this day. If, as I apprehend, the accounts from the different parts of Ireland concur in representing the failure in the potato crop as at all general, I think it would be advisable that the council should take means for bringing the subject before the Lord-Lieutenant, in the hope that Government might take some steps to make provision against the imminent famine. I am aware that some time since inquiries were made through the constabulary by Government, but the character of the disease is so peculiar, and the mode of its operation so unexpected, that the apparent state of the crop of potatoes a fortnight ago affords very incorrect information as to its real state at the present moment. Probably the council could not do better than to instruct you to prepare a digest of the information which may have come in from the local societies, such as could be presented to Government; and if they were to meet again next week, say on Thursday next, they might then enter into communication with the Government on the subject. I name Thursday, for I think during the next few days when the people are beginning to dig their crops, much accurate information will reach you; and it is most desirable that when we communicate with Government the fullest and most accurate information should be afforded to them."

This representation was made in the month of October last by the secretary of the society, and such was the urgency of the cases that that gentleman thought it necessary to address himself personally to me on the subject in the letter which I have just read. Having gone through all that I think it necessary to bring under the notice of the house in the way of information received during the autumn, I propose shortly to state the most material portions of the information which has recently reached our hands. The noble lord the member for Lincolnshire (North, as we understood) has told the house that there could not be a grosser fabrication than that which represented the danger of society as immediate and pressing. In my opinion, one of the best answers which can be offered to that broad and sweeping assertion is to read a statement which is dated the 19th of March, and was addressed by the Commissary at Waterford to the Commissary-in-Chief at Dublin. It is in these words:

"The price of potatoes is so high, and they are of so bad a quality, that they are no longer used in the poorhouse here, bread being substituted. Nearly all the potatoes on the quay come in coasting vessels from the county of Wexford, where it appears the soil is sandy, and where the mayor informs me the disease has done very little injury; but the price is 6d. per stone of 14lbs., which is quite beyond the reach of the poor. I can bear witness to the fact, that in the immediate vicinity of this place a proportion of one-third to one-half—and in some cases, the whole—has been found totally injured, festid, and fit only for the dung-hill."

This, I am sure, the house will agree with me in thinking forms a most important part of the documents which I have to lay before them; and I have now to call attention to that which discloses the most formidable portion of the whole evil—namely, the probability that not only the produce of the past year has failed, but the seed deposited in the ground already shows evidence of being tainted.

"Some of the crops of potatoes planted in January have been examined, and the seed has been found to have generally rotted. The ground will most probably be turned up in April, and sown with oats or barley."

I will now, with the permission of the house, direct attention to the condition of the people in the island of Achill. The

information derived from that place is founded upon the statements made by one of the coast guard, resident upon the island; his communication is dated the 1st of March, and these are the terms in which he writes:

"I regret to have to report to you a further unfavourable account of the potatoes in this district, in the southern part of which, I may say, they are, literally speaking, totally gone, the peasantry having now discovered, on opening their pits, the true state of them. I witnessed on Friday last that in many, instead of picking them by hand, they actually shovelled them out. On my return from Keel yesterday evening I found a great number of persons (from 50 to 60) waiting to complain to me of their misfortunes, which I assure you are great indeed; one person, with a family of six children, stated his crop to be now reduced to about six creels (8 cwt.)"

Now, there we have a document which to my mind speaks volumes. But this is not all; we have reports from 2000 electoral districts belonging to unions, and these being made up to the 15th of February, state that there is every prospect that the whole of the forthcoming crop will be seen to be in a state of decomposition. The house will now, I trust, permit me to read this statement, which is very brief, but, in my opinion, extremely important:

Proportion of the Potato Crop Lost.	Number of Electoral Divisions in which the annexed Proportions of the Potato Crop were returned lost, condensed from Constabulary Reports of	
	Jan. 15, 1846.	Feb. 15, 1846.
Between 8-10ths and 9-10ths ..	3	2
" 7-10ths and 8-10ths ..	97	123
" 6-10ths and 7-10ths ..	124	184
" 5-10ths and 6-10ths ..	11	14
" 4-10ths and 5-10ths ..	640	673
" 3-10ths and 4-10ths ..	613	657
" 2-10ths and 3-10ths ..	283	252
" 1-10th and 2-10ths ..	156	137
Not exceeding 1-10th ..	113	102
No loss ..	9	6
Not returned ..	3	2
Total number of Electoral Divisions ..	2032	2052

In the whole, then, of those electoral divisions, more than half of the entire crop has been absolutely destroyed. I am aware how often it is said that there has been no increase of this taint amongst the potatoes, and therefore I should wish, if the house will allow me, to advert to some fresh evidence of the fact from another part of Ireland. I find in a letter from Sligo, addressed by Col. McArthur to the commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, which bears date the 14th of March, that the scarcity in that neighbourhood is of the most alarming character. From the statements of Col. McArthur it appears that the supply of food for the people in the neighbourhood of Sligo is at the present time one-third less than it was at the corresponding period of last year, and that the prices of potatoes in the towns between Sligo and Dublin had risen 25 to 50 per cent., clearly establishing the fact of a deficiency. Accounts from Carrick-on-Suir, dated the 1st of March, give the same melancholy picture of the existing state of things, and prove, beyond a doubt, that the progress of the rot is in every point of view most alarming. In one case there were 1500 barrels of potatoes in pits, and with the exception of two barrels they were all putrid. I now propose to read an extract or two from the report of a meeting which took place in the county of Cork, when Lord Mountcashel presided. At that meeting the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, that the local committee be requested to use their utmost diligence in ascertaining the funds necessary to support the people in their respective districts until the 10th day of August next, and that the landlords be called upon to meet the exigencies of the case, by subscribing a rational proportion, according to the value of their respective estates, based on the Poor Law valuation."

The following letter, addressed to Lord Mountcashel, was also read at the same meeting:

"My Lord,—I have examined the potatoes in the pits, and find them getting worse every day since the beginning of the month; I may say, nearly one-third gone. On examining those in the lofts, I find them worse than those in the pits—nearly one-half gone. I am sorry to say, on examining four different kinds planted on the 13th of February and following days, they are getting into a state of decay faster than the above—even those shooting out are puny and stunted. If all now growing come to maturity, they will not be above one-third of a crop."

"March 10, 1846. "D. M. Kissick."

At this meeting the following observations were made:

"This was very serious indeed, and brought them to the consideration of the future. What was to become of them next year? It would appear that the potatoes were gone. If they planted rotten potatoes, they would not grow, and the consequence would be the total failure next year of what the Irish people depended on for food."

I do not wish to prolong the present discussion by referring to any more documents; but I have before me one statement from Mountmellick, which I cannot refrain from reading to the house. It consists of resolutions agreed to at a meeting of the Board of Guardians, held on Friday, March 20th:

"That at the meeting of the board this day a number of decent poor married women made application for relief; their families amounted to the number of 80 human beings, without food or sufficient employment; those poor people have houses or cabins, and, if their whole families were to accept of temporary relief in the workhouse, their residences and furniture would be lost to them. Feeling the pressure of want and destitution now so general in this populous town and neighbourhood, we feel it our bounden duty to bring this matter under the consideration of the Executive Government and the Poor Law Commissioners, in order that some mode may be devised or pointed out, whereby relief may be given by a supply of cheap food, either gratuitously or at a cheap rate, to meet the present exigency. The poor persons who applied to the board this day form but a very small portion of those who we know are now in great distress, and actually subsisting on food made from the wash of a starch-yard, only suited for, and considered indifferent, food for pigs."

Mr. SHAW observed, that this proved nothing with respect to potatoes.

Sir J. GRAHAM resumed: Does it not show the utmost degree of want? Try it by any other test you please, but, do what we may with the statement, we can arrive at no other conclusion than this, that it proves an extreme condition of human suffering; an amount of suffering not limited to any one district in Ireland, but spread over the whole of the country. So recently as last Monday a deputation from Limerick waited upon the Lord-Lieutenant. That deputation consisted of the Mayor of Limerick, of Mr. Roche, Mr. Monson, and others. The deputation was of high respectability, and their statements deserved the most serious attention. They represented that there was the utmost distress not only in

Limerick, but in Clare, and though, contrary to all principle, they solicited aid at the hands of the Government, they did so upon this simple ground, that the people were actually starving, and that if relief were not immediately given, the most fatal results must ensue. This, be it remembered, is in the month of March;—already the city of Limerick is asking for money out of the public purse, and at a moment like this the Recorder of Dublin tells us that the distress is not so great as we imagined. But then the learned Recorder makes a fearful admission. He tells you that things are not much worse than they usually are at this time of the year; that is, that dysentery, fever, and famine are in all years prevalent at this season. Well, then, this is so true that the right hon. and learned Recorder, acting upon a deep conviction of that which he thought would be the best for his countrymen, takes credit to himself for supporting a measure calculated to afford temporary relief by a grant out of the British Treasury, while he informs you in the same breath that the evil is of a uniform and permanent character—that, in fact, it returns year by year. He tells you that he cannot comprehend the connection between the Irish case and the proposition of the Government, although year by year the condition of the people in Ireland reaches a fearful point of fever, dysentery, and death. Notwithstanding all this, the Recorder of Dublin would say that no extraordinary case has been made out on behalf of the people of Ireland, and that the whole difficulty might be met by a grant out of the public purse. Now, I confess that I am, for one, not prepared to recommend that the people of England shall be called upon to bear the whole expense of this calamity. The people of England suffer already from the rot in the potato, though that rot does not constitute their sole food (hear, hear). This is a subject regarding which we talk much of authorities. Now, I assure I need not cite instances to show that in cases of great pressure the practice of the executive Government in this country has been to relax the laws which regulate the importation of food; and, though I am not prepared to quote the exact words of Adam Smith, yet we all know that his opinion is in favour of a perfectly Free Trade in corn (hear, hear). Then there is also the authority of Burke, from whom no one is more entitled to the respect of those who desire to legislate upon sound and comprehensive principles. The passage which I should wish to quote is contained in Mr. Burke's *Dissertation on Scarcity*, and though an hon. member in the course of this debate favoured the house with several extracts from that work, yet he avoided that to which I should like to call attention. He quoted round and round it; but he did not give us the passage itself. I shall merely attempt to quote from memory, for I have not furnished myself with the exact words of the author. The following is the passage to which the right hon. baronet referred:—"So that, in my opinion, there is no way of preventing this evil, which goes to the destruction of all our agriculture, and of that part of our internal commerce which touches our agriculture the most nearly, as well as the safety and very being of Government, but manfully to resist the very first idea, speculative or practical that it is within the competence of Government, taken as a Government, or even of the rich, as rich, to supply to the poor those necessities which it has pleased the Divine Providence for a while to withhold from them. We, the people, ought to be made sensible that it is not in breaking the laws of commerce, which are the laws of nature, and consequently the laws of God, that we are to place our hope of softening the divine displeasure to remove any calamity under which we suffer, or which hangs over us." Those are noble principles, and those principles amongst other grounds lead me to defend the principle of the bill. But the learned Recorder of Dublin says, that we have betrayed our party, and that we are inexcusable for that. I do not blame hon. gentlemen for adhering to opinions which we have given up; but the learned Recorder, in consequence of our having given up those opinions, thinks himself entitled to cast our horoscope. He tells the world that we are a falling Government, and, sitting behind us, he acts upon a conviction that we are falling, and therefore he kicks us. If a protection Government be hereafter formed, then I hope that the right hon. and learned gentleman will obtain for himself a more satisfactory settlement of the Recordship (cries of "Oh, oh!" and "Hear, hear, hear"); and a retiring allowance, such as it would not be in my power to support (Oh, oh). The learned Recorder of Dublin often said that he never looked for Parliamentary place or patronage; but yet, if a protection Government were formed, the vision of the Irish Secretaryship might again flit across his fancy; and, should he obtain that office, I hope that under the benign influence of his administration the people of Ireland may enjoy all the advantages of which their condition is susceptible. At all events, whether now, or at whatever time the learned Recorder may give utterance to any reproaches of us, I cannot fail to know the feelings which animate him (hear, hear); and, knowing those feelings, his censure sits tight upon me. I infinitely prefer his open hostility to his smouldering resentment (hear, hear). Then, Sir, the hon. gentleman the member for the University of Oxford, stated his opinion that this measure was inconsistent with the interests of the tithe-owners. Nothing could be more accurate than the statement which the hon. member made, that under the Commutation Act, that tithe is an invariable quantity, though the price is variable. In my opinion, the very accuracy of the statement disposes of the question so far as the tithe-owners are concerned. Under the Tithe Commutation Act an invariable quantity is secured; whatever may be the change of cultivation, the only variation is in the price. Now, observe: before the Tithe Commutation Act, the tithe-owner was not only exposed to a variation of price—because, if he took his tithe in kind, he was liable to the variation of price—but also to a great variation in quantity; whilst under the Tithe Commutation Act, he is free from that variation in quantity to which he was before exposed, and he is liable only to that variation of price from which he was not before exempt (hear, hear). That is my answer to the objection of the hon. gentleman the member for the University of Oxford. But let us consider the case of the tithe-payers, and if there be any hardship in the case, the tithe-payers are more affected than the tithe-owner. Unlike the tithe receivers, the tithe-payers have to pay a fixed quantity, and even if the land be thrown out of cultivation, the quantity they have to pay will not be affected though the variation in price will be provided for in a measure, since there is every year an adjustment of price, based on the averages of the last seven years. I am free to confess, Sir, that my answer to the tithe-payers is not so complete as my answer to the tithe-owners; but upon the whole, I believe they will both find that they have had an equitable settlement; and it must be remembered that the Tithe Commutation Act is greatly in favour of the landed proprietors. Till the passing of that Act, whatever was the increase in the quantity of produce, the tithe-owner partook

of it; the title-owner was in fact copartner with the owner of the soil, and partook of the increased produce without sharing in the outlay necessary to make that increase. Prospective under the Title Commutation Act that copartnership is dissolved, and the landowners now enjoy exclusively the permanent advantages arising from the outlay of capital. On the whole, then, I think that the arrangement may be regarded as equitable to all parties, and I do not see why the title-owners should offer any obstacles to the progress of this measure. But the hon. member for Oxford put the case as a dilemma. If the prices should not fall, he asked, what is the object of this bill? and if the price falls, where is the equity of this measure? Now the Corn Laws are always open to another dilemma:—the present Corn Laws either affect the price of one of the first articles of necessity, or they do not so affect it. If they do not affect prices, I wish to know why is there all this resistance to any change? It cannot be denied that they turn our foreign customers into rivals—that they cramp our foreign trade—that they disorganise the home market—that they cause internal commotion—that they set class against class—that they cause heartburnings amongst a large portion of the community; and that they produce, I may almost say, an endless interruption of domestic peace. If they do not affect prices, wherein consists the injury done to the landowners (hear, hear)? But if they do cause a permanent enhancement of price, then arise the interests of the consumers and of the receivers of wages; and they may say, "Why do you make us pay a larger price than we ought, and then we should otherwise pay for our daily bread, whilst at the same time you diminish our means of purchasing food" (hear)? I will now refer to the damage likely to arise to agriculture, and I must here say that the prosperity of the home trade has been almost invariably concurrent with the improvement of the land, with the prosperity of agriculture, and, speaking generally, with the reduced price of food; and upon this point I cannot resist quoting to the house a short passage from a work on this subject, in which the writer states the argument upon this point so tersely and so ably, that I cannot hope to present it in so effective and so clear a manner. In the neighbourhood of the manufacturing towns the importation from distant places has received a great and a progressive increase. Manchester and Liverpool now draw their supplies of agricultural produce from Ireland, from Scotland, and from the northern counties of England; and simultaneously with that increased importation of produce from a distance, there is an increased price in the neighbourhood of the towns; and so far from its being a consequence that the value of land in the neighbourhood of the towns should fall, the very reverse is the fact. The case, however, is so ably put in the work of Mr. Wilson (hear, hear) on the influence of the Corn Laws, that, with the permission of the house, I will read what he says:

"Of late years the facilities of steam-navigation have enabled the producers in Ireland, Cumberland, and elsewhere, to send the fruits of their industry at cheaper and easier rates to Liverpool, Manchester, &c.; but, while we find that, in the former places, these facilities have tended to improve the value of property, and the general condition of the producer, yet they have in no way tended to reduce the value of property or the condition of the producer in the neighbourhoods of the latter places. Without these additional supplies, the consuming ability of the large towns would have been abridged to a smaller quantity of food; but, with such additional supplies of such articles as can be best brought from a distance at a cheaper rate, a largeness of ability to consume other articles, which are not so easily transported, is obtained by the community, in the production of which the immediate producers find an occupation as profitable as before, and thus the whole community of producers and consumers is equally benefited."

And here he gives an application, to which I would call the especial attention of hon. members:

"There is no more reason why the consumer in Great Britain should not be benefited by the producer of the Continent, without injury to our own property, than that the consumers in Liverpool and Manchester should be benefited by the producers in Ireland and Cumberland, as has been shown, without lowering the value of land in the immediate neighbourhood."

This argument, I confess, appears to me to be conclusive and unanswerable (hear, hear). Now, Sir, there is only one other point to which I am anxious, with the permission of the house, to direct the special attention of hon. members; it is the important question of the bearing of the price of corn on the rate of wages. I have stated on former occasions to this house my deep and firm conviction with regard to the manufacturing population, and there has been strong evidence to confirm my views,—that so far from high prices producing high wages, the very converse was true, and that low prices produce high wages, and high prices produce low wages. I allude to the evidence given before the Hand-loom Commissioners, and I can refer to evidence given in Scotland, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, by the hand-loom weavers in the county of Warwick, and last of all by the silk-weavers. The first evidence to which I refer is that of a Scotch witness, taken by Mr. Symonds, the assistant-commissioner, in the south of Scotland, for inquiring into the condition of the hand-loom weaver; and on the result of that evidence Mr. Symonds reports, that the only measure desired by the weavers, and thought desirable by the manufacturers, was the repeal of the Corn Laws. They considered the continuance of that tax, by increasing the price of food, and diminishing the amount of employment, as grievous and impolitic. Next let me refer you to the evidence of two hand-loom weavers themselves, given to Mr. Chapman, the assistant-commissioner in the West Riding. Charles Fletcher was asked, "Have you considered the causes of your distress?" and his reply was, he had, and that he attributed the decline, in a considerable degree, to the operation of the Corn Laws. He was then asked, "In what way did you come to that opinion?" and his reply was, that they prevented the exchange of our commodities with other countries, and that their repeal would open the woollen trade to the whole Continent. He was further asked, "Is there any other way in which the weavers are affected?" and he replied, he thought the weavers were peculiarly affected, for the less income they had, the less they could spend on bread. When was then 3s. 4d. a stone. A man with a family required two stone or two stone and a-half. Now, he had known it occasionally as low as 2s. a stone; and it ought not to be so high. James Cormack declared that there was more than one cause; but the chief he should say was the Corn Laws, for the duty on foreign grain tended to cramp commerce, and it also caused them to eat bread dearer than they ought to do and than the people of other countries do, and obliged them to consume more of their small earnings in buying bread, so as to leave little for the purchase of anything else. And this, Sir, has been the effect on the home market; high prices have destroyed the demand for many manufactured articles.

This has been followed by the mills working short time, by the suspension of labour, and by universal distress throughout the manufacturing districts. The hon. member for Rutlandshire last evening felt the force of this so cogently that he proposed, as an act of justice to the working classes, that there should be, and he declared there ought to be, a sliding-scale of wages as a relief from the sliding-scale in the Corn Laws (hear); and not only that there should be fixed a *minimum* rate of wages, but that the rate should be adapted to the high price of corn; such was the proposition gravely made by the hon. member for Rutlandshire, who thought it unjust to enhance the price of corn without establishing a scale of wages. I am ashamed to trouble the house any longer, otherwise I could cite much more evidence from the report of the hand-loom weavers' commission of workmen in various trades, whose evidence is given in their own words; but I am certain that I do not misrepresent the character of that evidence when I say that the manufacturing population generally look upon the Corn Laws as enhancing the price of food, and at the same time diminishing the rate of wages. And now, Sir, I come to the consideration which I own operates most powerfully on my judgment. I cannot overlook the fact, that the Government of this country, is, in practice, vested mainly in the landowners, ("hear," and "Oh"). The other house of Parliament is composed almost exclusively of landowners; and there is in this house a great preponderance of the landed interest, (hear, hear). A Government so based and so conducted cannot long maintain any influence in opposition to the great body of public opinion; such a Government to be safe, must make it evident to all that its rule has been impartial legislation (hear, hear); and now, when we consider the concentration, the union, the intelligence, the growing numbers, and the increasing proportion of the manufacturing population, who have, if not a universal, a very general opinion deeply seated in their mind, that the Corn Laws do enhance the price of bread, and do at the same time lower wages—that they make the manufacturing workmen pay more and receive less. If you persist in maintaining such laws, you may depend upon it that the population will not place confidence in the impartiality of your legislation. The people, upon this point of their daily food, will not at all times listen to reason; they cannot be cajoled by fallacies (cheers, and counter-cheers from the agricultural members); and I am satisfied in my own judgment, that they are not wrong in their opinion. They are right in their opinion, that with the manufacturing population of this country high prices are concurrent with low wages, and they are placed in a most unfair position when the price of bread is artificially enhanced, and at the same time the means of obtaining it are decreased (cheers). If, Sir, time would permit, I could give you conclusive evidence, which I have before me, that this opinion is no longer confined to the manufacturing population. I could show that the agricultural population are beginning to be of the same opinion (hear, hear). I could produce evidence to show that there is a diminution of crime when prices fall, and that there is an increase of crime when prices rise. I can show that distemper and mortality also increase in proportion to the rise in the price of food, and that they decrease as the price of food diminishes. It has been already proved that though the wages in agricultural districts do to a certain extent rise with the price of corn, they never rise in the same proportion as the price of food (hear, hear). I have shown, then, the unanswerable opinion of the manufacturing population. I have said that the same opinions prevail in many districts among the agricultural and rural population. I am bound to say that I cannot declare the conclusions drawn by the manufacturing population to be unsound and untrue (hear, hear, hear); and believing them to be sound and true, and that it would be dangerous to the permanent domestic peace of the country, and that it would not be safe to resist all consideration for this opinion, I shall give my hearty and my unhesitating support to the bill now before the house (loud cheers). But I think it necessary, perhaps, that I should say, with reference to our domestic peace, there is no time to be lost (hear, hear), and that with reference to our foreign relations the measure and the time are decidedly politic. Nations trading with each other are bound over in heavy responsibilities to keep the peace. Governments may be prone to war, but if commerce be free, and if there be extended ramifications promoting the social enjoyment of each, they will consider their common good; and whatever may be the disposition of Governments to war, a people whose daily comforts are ministered to by other nations will be the friends of peace; and thus the peace of the world will be best preserved, when commerce shall extend her benefits to the great body of the people (hear, hear). The hon. gentleman who moved the present amendment made a quotation from a modern poet, and then sat down. I will, following his example, of ending with a quotation, and though mine will not be exactly from a modern poet, still it will meet the tone and the spirit in which this measure is proposed (hear, hear). In Pope's *Windsor Forest* there are some lines so beautiful and so appropriate to the subject of this freedom of trade, and so real a description of the measure we propose, that I may be excused for quoting them. Looking forward as he then did to the happy days when London should be a free port, he apostrophises that noble river, the Thames, which is the channel to bring to this metropolis the commerce of the world, in these words:

"The time shall come when, free as seas or wind,
Unbounded Thames shall flow for all mankind;
Whole nations enter with each swelling tide,
And seas but join the regions they divide;
Earth's distant ends our glory shall behold,
And the new world launch forth to meet the old."

(Loud cheers). That is a real description of the measure which we are now discussing; and I say again, let that vision be realised, as I am convinced it will be, by giving a second reading to this bill (loud cheers).

Mr. STUART had heard with the deepest regret the attack which Sir James Graham had so unfairly made upon that right hon. gentleman. He was not surprised at hearing Mr. Cobden express his opinion that the Government of this country was so overridden and oppressed by the landed interest, that it was unable to bring forward measures which were deemed expedient and wise; but he did not expect to hear the same doctrine avowed by a Secretary of State; and that, too, for the purpose of coercing the opinion of the House of Commons. He then proceeded to argue that there was no necessity for passing this bill, but a strong necessity for throwing it out. Hitherto, the whole course of our legislation had been devised for the protection of agriculture. What valid reason had been advanced for the abandonment of that protection? Sir J. Graham had said that the landed interest must yield on this subject, because

public opinion was against them. He denied the fact. The repeated iteration of the fallacies and falsehoods of the Anti-Corn Law League ought not to be mistaken in that house for the opinion of the manufacturing districts; and he complained that Government had given its sanction to so mischievous a mistake (hear). Mr. Cobden had succeeded in his mission of terrifying the Government; and the proof of it was visible in the introduction of this bill to cut down the influence of the landed interest. Mr. Cobden had declared his intention of putting down the empire of hoobysism. What did that mean? What else than that the house should be subservient in its legislation to the clamours, but not to the sober judgment of the manufacturing population—the very advice which Sir J. Graham had intimated that night with so much warmth and eloquence. He called upon the house to resist this Jack-Cade system of legislation, and not to take their laws from the mouths of mobs in fustian jackets.

Mr. BOUVIERE was opposed to the existing Corn Laws, because they were unjust in themselves, and produced scarcity, pauperism, and crime, and should gladly support the present change in them, which was required by every consideration of wise policy and sound benevolence. A due regard to their own interests, as well as to the peace and harmony of society, ought to induce the landlords of England to accede to this measure; for the agricultural labourers, on whose well-being their own well-being mainly depended, were much worse off now than they were before these Corn Laws were enacted. He proved this by quoting Arthur Young's description of the condition of the peasantry of Wiltshire in his day, and by comparing it with their condition at present.

The Marquis of WORCESTER and Mr. D. GARDNER expressed their intention of voting against the Ministerial measure, on account of its injurious effects on British agriculture.

Mr. MILDMAJ urged, that this bill was not necessary, and, if necessary, was not safe. As a merchant, well acquainted with the shipping interest, and the condition of trade in foreign ports, he could not express the astonishment which he felt at the extraordinary proposition of Sir R. Peel, for the annihilation of all duties on the importation of foreign corn. He must oppose it because it was not accompanied, to use the words of her Majesty's speech, "by such precautions as would prevent loss to the revenue, or injurious results to any of the great interests of the country."

Sir R. PEEL: Sir, I think the hon. gentleman who spoke last (Mr. Mildmay) appears to have repented of the neutrality which he observed on a former occasion, and resolved to make up for that neutrality by the sharpness of his present attack. In the course of this evening I was told by a young member, the representative for Newark, that so far as this debate has been concerned, I have been treated with particular forbearance (a laugh). Well, then, I think I might have expected that, at any rate, I should have escaped attack for the simple action of presenting a petition to the house. I did, it is true, present two petitions—one from Manchester—another from Liverpool; and the hon. gentleman is so capacious, that he finds occasion from their presentation to make an attack on me (hear, hear). All I did was to state the prayer of those petitions, and who the parties were from whom they proceeded. Those parties are connected with the manufacturing and mercantile interest, and I think the hon. gentleman, on the ground of community of occupation, might have allowed them quietly to speak for themselves (hear, hear). The petition from Manchester was signed by the President of the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, a body entertaining very strong political opinions (hear, hear), and many of the members of which have been connected with that agitation which has been proceeding on the subject of the Corn Laws; but in order to show the unity of opinion upon this subject, whatever the difference of political opinion, that petition was also signed by the President of the Commercial Association, a body entertaining political opinions of an opposite tendency (cheers). They also came to the same conclusion as did all the bankers of Manchester, I think, without exception (cheers), and as did the vast majority of the manufacturers of that town connected with great manufacturing establishments (cheers). They concurred in petitioning this house, not attributing the stagnation in trade, which the hon. gentleman says exists, to the delay which has taken place in this house in passing these measures exclusively, but stating that stagnation and embarrassment in trade do exist and will continue until the decision of this house shall be finally pronounced, and praying, therefore, that this house, at as early a period as may be consistent with mature deliberation, will pronounce its final judgment on this measure (cheers). Sir, the hon. gentleman is a proof of how exceedingly difficult it would be to devise any measure connected with the Corn Laws which shall please all parties (hear, hear). But I think the hon. gentleman stands almost alone in this house upon this question. The hon. gentleman who so violently attacks the measures of the Government says, if we had proposed a cautious measure of this nature,—that the scale of duties which I propose to exist for three years should be carried into execution, and at the end of that period there should be a fixed duty,—he would have been inclined to vote for such a proposal. He has not quite made up his mind whether he would vote for it or not, but still he is so favourably disposed towards it that he thinks he should have been inclined to adopt it. Well, I think he is the only man in the house who would have supported that proposition. Then the hon. gentleman made another charge against me which I am surprised at—he says, that every Irish member ought to be indignant with me on account of the delay that has been interposed in affording relief to the Irish people. Indignant with me, indeed (loud cheers)! Sir, I am not conscious of having omitted any opportunity of providing that relief which I thought the natural and efficacious relief (loud cheers). Circumstances may have opposed obstacles in the way of the fulfilment of my own desire; but that the hon. gentleman can have any right to rouse the indignation of Irish members against me, individually, for interposing delay, is what I could hardly have expected to hear from any member in this house (cheers). Sir, I am exceedingly unwilling, in the present stage of this protracted debate, to trouble the house with any matters partaking at all of a personal nature. If I were a private individual, I would pass by all the accusations that have been preferred against me. I am so conscious of having acted throughout from pure and honourable motives (loud cheers from the Opposition benches)—I am so supported by the conviction that I have abandoned no duty and betrayed no trust—(continued cheers from the same quarter, followed by ironical shouts from the protection benches). Well, if it is your impression that I have (turning to the protectionists), at least, after the accusations that have been preferred, you will concede to me the privilege of defence, and listen with patience to the answer

I have to make to them (loud cheers). Observe, throughout these debates I have not quarrelled with any one for offering his decided opposition to the opinions I now profess. I have respected in others the maintenance of their former opinions. I knew not by whom the measures I proposed would be supported on this side of the house. I can say, with truth, I tried to influence no one. I have listened to the attacks made on me with sorrow, but not with anger. I think it natural that hon. gentlemen should retain their former opinions; if they do not respect in me that privilege which I concede to them, at any rate, I entreat them, from a sense of justice, to hear with patience my defence against the attacks which have been made against me (loud cheers). As I said before, if I were a mere private individual, strong in the conviction that I have acted from nothing but a sense of duty, and from pure and honourable motives, I would have let those accusations pass by; but I am not in the situation of a private individual, and it is right that, as a minister of the crown, I should vindicate the course taken, as a minister, from the charges which from time to time have been brought against it. Sir, I know it is not regular to refer to former debates, and I will not make express reference to them; but I am sure the house will permit me to refer in general to questions that have been put to me, and charges that have been made, since I had the opportunity of last addressing them on this question. It was said in the course of the last debate that I had expressed an opinion that the charge of this measure for the adjustment of the Corn Law would have been committed with much greater propriety to other hands than to mine, and yet it was observed that I had proposed to the cabinet to undertake the conduct of this measure, and that if the cabinet had been unanimous the conduct of it would have been committed to my hand—that there was an apparent inconsistency between the opinion that it would have been better to commit it to other hands and my undertaking, had the cabinet concurred with me, to make the permanent adjustment of this question a consequence of the suspension of the law. Sir, the facts are correctly stated. I did give an opinion that it would have been infinitely better, under all ordinary circumstances, that others more entitled to the credit of the success of this measure should have had the conduct of it; and yet it is perfectly true, that in the Cabinet I did propose, if the Cabinet had concurred with me, to undertake the proposition of this measure to Parliament. I did so under these circumstances:—On the 1st of November, in concurrence with my right hon. friends the Secretary of State for the Home Department and the Secretary at War, I proposed, on account of the reports from Ireland, to take the precaution against impending danger which I thought was the natural precaution, namely, the suspension, either by order in Council or by Act of Parliament, of those laws which prohibited the import of foreign grain. I renewed that proposition towards the close of the same month. I believe if the measure proposed to the Cabinet had been simply a suspension of the law, with a guarantee that the existing scale of duties should revive, I do not believe that there would have been any serious difference of opinion in the Cabinet—at least I am not certain there would. I think there might have been a difference of opinion as to the extent of the danger in Ireland; but I think it possible that if the measure proposed had been merely suspension with a guarantee on my part that I would at the termination of the suspension propose the continuance of the existing law, I am not sure there would have been any difference of opinion. But I did distinctly refuse, and I admit it here, I did distinctly refuse to undertake to guarantee the revival of the existing law at the termination of the suspension, and I did it on grounds which I will now state. As I said before, I thought suspension was a becoming and necessary measure. The right hon. gentleman the member for the University of Dublin says we were deluded by accounts from Ireland, and yet he admits that he himself was alarmed by the accounts in October, and the prevailing feeling in Ireland was that of alarm, representations having been made by bodies connected with the agricultural interests of that country setting forth the danger. It is very easy for individuals to neglect those reports; but what is a Government to do that is responsible for the well being of the country—deeply responsible, if famine and disease should come and no precautions taken—what is a Government to do receiving such reports from all quarters, from the highest authorities, from private individuals, from parties the most disinterested? The alarm may be unfounded—precautions may be superfluous; but do you think that when there is good ground for expecting general and wide spread famine, Government ought to neglect to take precautions under such a state of affairs? I, for one, would not undertake the responsibility of Government if I thought I was compelled to neglect the precautions which such a state of things required. The right hon. gentleman says we were deluded. I deny the fact altogether. I have the firmest conviction now that the impressions under which I acted in November will all be realised; but suppose we are deceived,—why, are we to sit calculating in Cabinet how much of diarrhoea, and dysentery, and bloody flux, a whole people can bear without making it necessary to provide a remedy (loud cheers)? The precaution may be superfluous; but what is the danger, should the precaution be required (hear, hear)? Is it not better to err on the side of precaution (hear, hear) than on the side of the neglect of it? I say now, that with the reports that were received by the Government, we should not, in my opinion, have been justified in neglecting that precaution, and therefore I advised it (hear, hear, hear). Of course, the question arose, what will you do when the period of suspension shall have terminated? And it was a most important question; it was, will you, on that termination, undertake to guarantee the revival of the old law? I said at once I could not, and for many reasons. In the first place, in the last session of Parliament, I expressed a decided opinion that you could not long continue to apply different principles with respect to protection to agriculture from those you had applied to other interests. I am told that I surprised every one with the present measures (hear, hear). I say that in the last session of Parliament, I spoke in the debate on the resolutions of the hon. member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Villiers). I opposed those resolutions, but I stated that I could not defend the existing law upon many of those grounds on which it had been defended; I could not say that I thought the rate of wages had varied with the price of corn; I could not defend the existing law on the ground that we ought to be independent of foreign supply. I stated expressly then, that in my opinion the same principles which governed your ordinary commercial policy must be applied at no remote period to agriculture. I was followed by the noble lord then the member for Sunderland, the present Earl Grey, and he stated expressly that I had made no objection to the first two resolutions; but I will quote his own words. "The noble lord said, 'There was not a word in the speech of the right hon. baronet contrary to the two first resolutions,

and had the last resolution been worded to the effect that it was expedient all restrictions on the importation of corn should be gradually abolished, the right hon. baronet's speech would have been an unanswerable one in support of the motion." That was the statement of Lord Howick; but what was the resolution of the Protection Society in the month of December last? Was the declaration of opinion on my part so sudden and unexpected? I find the Protection Society in December last coming to this resolution, which was embodied, I think, in a petition:—"That in consequence of the declarations made by several of the leading members of her Majesty's Government in the last session of Parliament, indicating that further reductions will be made at no distant period in the already greatly diminished amount of protection to agriculture, and in consequence of the interpretation put upon those declarations, an impression has been created, whether well or ill founded, calculated to destroy all confidence in the stability or existence of the present Corn Law, and to arrest the progress now making in the permanent improvement of the inferior soils of the country. That was the resolution of the Protection Society before they were aware of the measures of her Majesty's Government. (Mr. Hudson here was heard to make some observation, which was followed by loud cries of "Order.") The hon. member for Sunderland will have an opportunity of speaking during the debate, and I hope he will abstain from interrupting me (loud cheers). I repeat therefore that when the question was put, whether I would undertake to guarantee the revival of the existing law on the termination of the temporary suspension, I distinctly said I could give no such guarantee. The revival of the existing law on the termination of the suspension must have implied the permanent continuance of that law; it must have aroused every energy in defence of it. Lords, Commons, and constituencies must have united for the permanent continuance of the existing law. It was impossible that I could have been a party to any such attempt (loud cheers). Another ground on which I declined to guarantee the revival of the existing law was this: I thought the very fact of the suspension of the existing law would make it almost impossible to induce Parliament to consent to the revival of it. The law had worked tolerably well during the three preceding years, but in the first period of pressure it is suspended; on the proposal being made to revive it, the suspension would operate as an impeachment of the adequacy of the law itself on similar emergencies (hear, hear). It has been justly said, that when the noble lord (Lord John Russell), seeing the difficulty there might be in maintaining a fixed duty in the event of scarcity, proposed to lower it, or to give the Crown the power of suspending it by an Order in Council, I made a decided objection to concur in such a vote; I said it would be futile, because the Crown having once exercised the power of suspending the fixed duty on the importation of food, I felt assured in the present state of public opinion on the subject of the Corn Laws, it would be most difficult under any circumstances again to impose that duty (hear, hear). In this case the difficulty would have been exactly the same, or only with this difference—that the fixed duty being much lower, the impeachment of that duty would not have been so great (hear, hear). In this case the proposal would have been, the sliding scale having failed on its first exposure to a severe trial, after its suspension, to have re-enacted the principle in all its details. I do not believe that this proposition could have been maintained (hear, hear). And at what period was this revival of the existing law to have taken place? The duty might have been suspended till September next; in the month of July, a month before Parliament separates, what would have been the state of the house when the question would have been asked, whether the suspension should continue, or the old law be revived? Suppose there should be apprehensions which I have entertained, and do still entertain, that this potato disease is not a mere temporary calamity; suppose we have good, if not certain grounds, suppose we have probable grounds for believing that the potato crop of next year will be affected; supposing there was, as there will be, disease in Ireland in July next in consequence of this disease, could the proposal under such circumstances be made in July next that the old law should be revived (hear, hear)? And suppose you have such a July next year as you had last; suppose you have continued rains, a cold unfavourable season, such a July as you had last year, one that made "the boldest hold his breath for a time" (hear, hear), could you, under such circumstances, guarantee the revival of the old law (hear, hear)? Sir, I am not insensible to the progress of public opinion (loud cheers). I do not say you ought to yield to that public opinion if it is against your own convictions; but I say that that man is utterly unworthy of holding office who would disregard the progress of public opinion, in considering the question whether or not the existing duties should be continued after such a suspension of them, or who, upon such a question as the Corn Laws, thinks that the state of public opinion can be utterly disregarded (hear). It has been stated that the Corn Laws were suspended in 1765, and again in 1793, and that they were afterwards re-enacted, and that the precedents are all in favour of their re-enactment. But can any man be so blind to the progress of public opinion on the subject of the Corn Laws since 1765 as to suppose that we can exactly apply that precedent, as to suppose that because the Legislature could re-enact the Corn Laws after a suspension in 1765, therefore we can do so now (cheers)? If you were to act upon that principle, if you were to rigidly apply such Parliamentary precedents without reference to the state of public opinion, you would involve this country in the course of a month in inextricable confusion (hear, hear). I am unwilling to make any statement now; but as I foresaw, when this proposition was made, it would break up the Government, and as I have the permission of her Majesty to give any explanation with respect to the causes which led to that dissolution of the Government, I will, rather than enter into any statement, read to the house the declaration I made of the ground on which I acted, and which, as I foresaw it would be of great importance, I made at the time in writing; that statement of my opinions I will now read. This was on the 26th of November, after the Government had instituted an inquiry into the apprehended scarcity, and taken precautions against the spread of fever that might be the consequence of that scarcity; in the instructions then issued, my right hon. friends cordially concurred. But I foresaw that the issue of those instructions would compel a suspension of the law restricting the importation of food. This is the very point: did I undertake after that suspension to propose to Parliament the adjustment of the Corn Laws? I did, and under these circumstances: I could not propose the revival of the existing law, and I thought some slight alteration, some new sliding scale with small modifications of the old one, would be utterly unavailing. I believe that the adjustment of the Corn Laws was the legiti-

mate consequence of the suspension of it, and I did undertake to do that which, under ordinary circumstances, I thought might be better done by others; I did undertake to meet the existing emergency, and to become responsible for all the consequences of the suspension; and I read this statement to my colleagues previous to the dissolution of the Cabinet:

"I cannot consent to the issue of these instructions, and undertake at the same time to maintain the existing Corn Law. Slight modifications of the existing law, as the consequence of these instructions, or immediately following them, would in my opinion answer no good end. The proposal of them would add to the difficulty of defending that portion of the Corn Law which it was sought to maintain. I think we ought to suspend the operation of the existing law for a limited period. There is conflicting evidence as to the degree of pressure from the scarcity of food, but there is that probability of severe pressure a few months hence that would in my opinion amply justify the precautionary measure of unrestricted import. We have written authority which would justify it; written authority which, should the anticipations of those from whom we receive it prove correct, would impose on us a heavy responsibility for having neglected a precaution which has been taken in former periods of scarcity in this country, and by some countries in Europe within the last few weeks. But, independently of these considerations, the issue of these instructions fully justifies, if it does not require, the temporary removal of impediments to the free import of corn. They contain a proof not only that the crisis is great—not only that there is the probability of severe suffering from the scarcity of food, but the proof that we are ourselves convinced of it. It appears to me that the suspension of the Corn Law would be the course most consistent with these instructions. I will not refer to the preceding discussions in the Cabinet, but the issue of these instructions placing on record our deliberate conviction as to the possible extent of the evil with which we may have to contend, is a new event. By acting now, the lapse of time since we last met in Cabinet would be accounted for. I am prepared for one, to take the responsibility of suspending the law by an Order in Council, or of calling Parliament at a very early period, and advising in the speech from the throne the suspension of the law. I conceal from myself none of the difficulties that attend a suspension of the law. Suspension of the law will compel a very early decision on the course to be pursued in anticipation of the period when the suspension would expire. Suspension will compel a deliberate review of the whole question of agricultural protection. I firmly believe that it would be better for the country that that review should be undertaken by others. Under ordinary circumstances I should advise that it should be so undertaken, but I look now to the immediate emergency, and to the duties it imposes on a Minister. I am ready to take the responsibility of meeting that emergency, if the opinions of my colleagues as to the extent of the evil and the nature of the remedy concur with mine."

(Cheers). I therefore thought that the adjustment of the Corn Laws was the natural consequence of the suspension; I felt that it would be inconsistent with my duty to suspend the law and then run away, leaving others to deal with the consequences of that step (cheers); and I was prepared, seeing the natural and legitimate consequence, notwithstanding my declaration that under ordinary circumstances it would have been better for others to have undertaken it, to undertake the responsibility of that adjournment myself. If there be any inconsistency, therefore, in the declaration of opinion as to the course which I should have thought it best to pursue under ordinary circumstances, and the course which I was ready to pursue in order to meet the great and pressing difficulty, I forbear from saying more on that inconsistency, but I confess I think the course I took was the natural and fitting course for a Minister to take (cheers). Well, I was in a minority in the Cabinet; I despaired of success; and therefore the Cabinet was dissolved (hear). My honourable friend the member for Dorset blamed me very much for addressing a letter to her Majesty, after resigning, stating the course I intended to pursue on the appointment of another Government. He says that was a most unconstitutional and a most unusual act. Unusual I admit it to be, but the circumstances were altogether unusual (hear, hear). Unconstitutional I cannot admit it to be (hear, hear). That a Privy Councillor should state to his Sovereign what course under very peculiar circumstances he was prepared to pursue I cannot admit to be unconstitutional. A peer has a right to seek an audience of her Majesty, and tender his advice; a Privy Councillor has a right to do so also. True, my official relation to her Majesty had terminated; I was no longer a Minister; but being a Privy Councillor I conceive I had a perfect right to intimate to her Majesty—I did it with a view of preventing embarrassment—having advised certain measures, having been prepared to propose them as a Minister, I had a right to state what those measures were, and that, as a private member of Parliament, I would give to them a cordial support (hear, hear). And what were the circumstances under which that assurance was conveyed? My hon. friend says that I prevented the formation of a Conservative Government—of a protection Government, I mean. I did no such thing. [Mr. G. Banks.—"What I said was, that you prevented a dissolution of Parliament."] The circumstances under which I wrote that letter, which my hon. friend complains of as unconstitutional, were these—(Mr. G. Banks.—"I beg pardon, I did not say unconstitutional.") Oh, then, the whole matter falls to the ground, (A laugh.) [Mr. G. Banks.—"I said it was unprecedented and dangerous as an example."] Well, that is very like unconstitutional (hear, hear, and a laugh). An hon. member, I think, told the house that he did not say "gross exaggeration" but "great exaggeration" (laughter), and now my hon. friend tells us, that he did not say "unconstitutional," but "unprecedented and dangerous." Unprecedented! and were not the circumstances unprecedented (hear, hear)? I felt it my duty—my right hon. friends around me took the same view, and felt it their duty—to quit her Majesty's service; it was distinctly intimated to me that those of my colleagues who differed from me were not prepared to form a Government themselves, nor yet to advise the formation of a Government upon the principle of protection; the noble lord (Lord J. Russell) and Lord Lansdowne declined to undertake the Government, until they had an assurance that others, who must be presumed to have a majority, were not ready to undertake the Government. Her Majesty sent for the noble lord opposite; the noble lord was in a minority of 90, and it was proposed by her Majesty to him that he should undertake the formation of a Government;—the circumstances were unusual; but I ask any man to judge whether, under such circumstances, the course which I took in giving an assurance to her Majesty that the measures on the subject of the Corn Law which I was willing to propose as a Minister, I would cordially support as a private member of Parliament, was either justly blameable or dangerous to the State (loud cheers). Of course the noble lord was entitled to ask, "What are my prospects, I do not say of carrying on the Government permanently, but of adjusting the Corn Law? Nothing could induce me to undertake it excepting the prospect of success; what is the support I may expect?" I anticipated

any such question, by enabling her Majesty to inform the noble lord of the course I had myself taken; and as others were not prepared to form a Government, I felt it my duty to intimate to her Majesty that I would cordially support the measures I had advised in office. If it is unprecedented, it is because the circumstances are unprecedented; but I see nothing in it either blameable or dangerous in the slightest degree as an example (hear, hear). But my hon. friend says, he did not object to it as impeding the formation of a protection Government, but as preventing a dissolution; and my hon. friend, and others have blamed me for not advising a dissolution of Parliament. In my opinion it would have been utterly inconsistent with the duty of a Minister to advise a dissolution of Parliament under the particular circumstances in which this question of the Corn Law was placed. Why should it be so utterly impossible for this Parliament to deal with the present proposition? After its election in 1841, this Parliament passed the existing Corn Law, which diminished protection; this Parliament passed the tariff, destroying altogether the system of prohibition with respect to food; this Parliament passed the Canada Corn Bill; why should it exceed the functions of this Parliament to entertain the present proposition (cheers)? But, upon much higher ground, I would not consent to a dissolution. That indeed, I think, would have been a dangerous precedent (hear, hear, hear), for a Minister to admit that the existing legislature was incompetent to the entertainment of any question; that is a precedent which I would not establish (loud cries of "hear, hear"). Whatever may have been the circumstances that may have taken place at an election, I never would sanction the view that any House of Commons is incompetent to entertain a measure which is necessary for the well-being of the community (hear, hear). If you were to admit that doctrine you would shake the foundations on which many of the best laws are placed (hear, hear). Why, that doctrine was propounded at the time of the union between England and Ireland, as it had previously been at the time of the union between England and Scotland; it was maintained in Ireland very vehemently, but it was not maintained in this country by Mr. Fox. It was slightly adverted to by Mr. Sheridan at the time when the message with regard to the union was delivered. Parliament had been elected without the slightest reason to believe it would resolve that its functions were to be fused and mixed with those of another legislature, namely, the Irish Parliament; and Mr. Sheridan slightly hinted it, as an objection to the competency of Parliament. Mr. Pitt met that objection, at the outset, in the following manner. Mr. Pitt said:

"The first objection is, what I heard alluded to by the hon. gentleman opposite to me, when his Majesty's message was brought down; namely, that the Parliament of Ireland is incompetent to entertain and discuss the question, or rather, to act upon the measure proposed without having previously obtained the consent of the people of Ireland, their constituents. This point, Sir, is of so much importance that I think I ought not to suffer the opportunity to pass without illustrating more fully what I mean. If this principle of the incompetency of Parliament to the decision of the measure be admitted, or if it be contended that Parliament has no legitimate authority to discuss and decide upon it, you will be driven to the necessity of recognising a principle the most dangerous that ever was adopted in any civilised state—I mean the principle that Parliament cannot adopt any measure new in its nature, and of great importance, without appealing to the constituent and delegating authority for directions. If that doctrine be true, look to what an extent it will carry you. If such an argument could be set up and maintained, you acted without any legitimate authority when you created the representation of the Principality of Wales, or of either of the counties palatine of England. Every law that Parliament ever made, without that appeal, either as to its own frame and constitution, as to the qualification of the electors or the elected, as to the great and fundamental point of the succession to the crown, was a breach of treaty and an act of usurpation."

Then, Mr. Pitt asked, if they turned to Ireland herself, what would they say to the Protestant Parliament that destroyed the exclusive Protestant franchise, and admitted the Roman Catholics to vote, without any fresh appeal? He went on:

"What must be said by those who have at any time been friends to any plan of Parliamentary reform, and particularly as have been most recently brought forward, either in Great Britain or Ireland? Whatever may have been thought of the propriety of the measure, I never heard any doubt of the competency of Parliament to consider and discuss it. Yet I defy any man to maintain the principle of those plans, without contending that, as a member of Parliament, he possesses a right to concur in disfranchising those who sent him to Parliament, and to select others, by whom he was not elected, in their stead. I am sure that no sufficient distinction, in point of principle, can be successfully maintained for a single moment; nor should I deem it necessary to dwell on this point in the manner that I do were I not convinced that it is connected in part with all those false and dangerous notions on the subject of government which have lately become too prevalent in the world."

Mr. Pitt contended, therefore, that Parliament had a right to alter the succession to the throne, to incorporate with itself another Legislature, to disfranchise its constituents, or associate others with them. Why, is it possible for a Minister now to advise the Crown to dissolve Parliament, on the ground that it is incompetent to entertain the question, what this country shall do with the Corn Law (hear, hear)? There could not be a more dangerous example, a more purely democratical precedent, if I may so say, than that this Parliament should be dissolved on the ground of its incompetency to decide upon any question of this nature. I am open to the charge, therefore, if it be one, that I did advise her Majesty to permit this measure to be brought forward in the present Parliament (hear). Now I am not aware of any other matter of mere personal character brought forward against me; there is no one part of my personal conduct, of which I am not ready to give a full explanation (cheers); if I have omitted any, it has been unintentionally, and if any honourable member has any question to put to me, I will answer it (renewed cheers). Then I come to the question itself—Is it for the public interest—is it advisable, that, under the present circumstances of this country, in the present state of public opinion, we should now either refuse to modify the law, in order to meet the case of Irish distress, or that, having modified it, we should have a new Corn Law, or that we should try to adjust permanently this question? The hon. gentleman who spoke last says, "You might have dealt with maize and nothing else; maize is the food the Irish people require, and why not admit maize and nothing else?" Why, if you want to undermine this Corn Law effectually, it will be done by taking such a course as that—by holding out to a people suffering under severe privation that maize is food good enough for them, and that the law as to maize shall be altered; but that as to wheat, barley, and oats, you will not permit a letter of the law to be touched (hear, hear). If you were to venture to make such an experiment upon public opinion, you would rouse a storm of indignation against the law you attempted to maintain such as would

make it impossible to maintain it (cheers). And what is it you would do with respect to maize? There is a duty of 8s. on it now. Our doctrine is, that the Government cannot support the people of Ireland; that we can do nothing without earnest local exertions; we all say that those local exertions ought to be made, that the duties of charity are imperative though they cannot be legally enforced, that it is the duty of the landlords of Ireland, and of all classes possessing property, to co-operate with us in mitigating the evils of this great calamity. It is all very well for us to pay the duty upon maize or oats, paying with one hand and taking with the other, as we distribute it to the people; but what are we to say to those whom we are inciting to acts of charity? Are we to say to them, that potatoes are failing, and other food must be supplied, but that they shall pay an 8s. duty upon maize, and an 18s. upon wheat, and there shall be no relaxation of that law? Say what you will about this Irish distress, mitigate it as much as you please—do you think it would be possible (even with the extent to which you cannot deny that it exists), to vote half a million of money from the English treasury for the support of the Irish people, and to incite Irish proprietors to acts of charity, and to the purchase of food for the support of the famishing people, and yet, in the face of every country in Europe that is at this moment threatened with scarcity, Holland and Belgium, the Russian provinces, and within these four or five days the whole kingdom of Bavaria, and after they have adopted that which the heart of every man tells him is the natural precaution to take, namely, the removal of impediments to the free import of food; yet you say that you will make no relaxation whatever in the existing Corn Laws (cheers)? I believe that would be hardly possible. The right hon. gentleman, the member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Shaw), says he cannot deny that there does exist a great scarcity in Ireland. I took down his words. What said he? He said, "I cannot deny that there is a great scarcity, and also that there is great danger of disease; but these are common things in Ireland,—this is the normal state of Ireland" (hear, hear). "A large portion of the Irish people," said he, "are always living on the verge of destitution. There has been no year in my recollection when the same statement as to disease might not be made" (hear, hear). Well, be it so; that, you will say, goes some way to nullify the argument in favour of the present proposition. But, in the face of that declaration, will you tell me that this is a labourer's question? Will you say that the maintenance of protection is for the benefit of the Irish agricultural labourer, if protection has brought him to this (hear, hear)? In that part of the United Kingdom which is almost exclusively agricultural, which may be said to depend on agriculture, has protection brought you to this—that, speaking of the agricultural labourers, a large portion of the Irish people are "always living on the verge of destitution"? Is it true, "that there has been no year within your recollection when the same statement might not have been made"? Well, be it as you say. Admit that this is the permanent, the usual state of Ireland,—does that afford any strong argument for the maintenance of the existing Corn Laws (cheers)? But you will answer, if that has been the permanent state of Ireland, why did not you introduce this measure before (hear)? Surely, however, that is no reason against our doing it now (cheers). You are so pressed by the force of the argument, that the only answer you can make is, "Why did you not do it before?" Well, no doubt we might have done it before. Perhaps we have neglected at former periods our duty; but is that any reason why we should neglect it at present? If you have a potato-fed people, and consequently many millions depending on the supply of an article of food like the potato, subject to such diminution of quantity and deterioration of quality as we have been visited with in this year,—if that be the permanent state of Ireland, does it not afford a paramount reason for attempting to effect some permanent change, and not merely supplying a temporary remedy (cheers and cries of "hear")? I think to do nothing would be impossible (hear, hear). To modify the existing law—to propose as a permanent system such a change in the law as that proposed by the honourable member for Southampton—a sliding scale for three years and then a fixed duty—such a change as that would only encourage agitation on the one hand, while by the agricultural body it would be rejected with scorn—laughed at—scouted. Such an arrangement would effect no good, produce no benefit. Then what is left? Is there any alternative but trying to lay the foundation for an ultimate adjustment by repealing those laws (hear, hear)? My firm conviction is, that it is for the interest of all, of the agricultural interest in particular, that this in the present state of affairs is the safest course (hear, hear). The hon. member for Newark asked me repeatedly whether I meant to ruin the agricultural interest? Sir, I attach the utmost importance to the prosperity of the agricultural interest (a general cry of "oh!" and ironical cheers for the protection benches). Why, I don't know for what reason I have not as much right to feel an interest in the prosperity of agriculture as any of those who received that sentiment with scorn (hear, hear). Why, what possible interest can I have to injure that interest (loud cheers)? I attach the utmost importance to it. I think, for great political reasons, it is of the utmost importance that the agricultural interest should have great weight and authority in the government of this country. I think, with Burke, that land is the safest basis of political power in this country. He says, "All the writers," and he quotes Aristotle as speaking of the Grecian States, and Cicero as speaking of Rome, "all the writers on politics have attached the utmost importance to land, and have declared that it is the safest basis of a sound and permanent Government." I concur in that opinion, and deeply should I deplore the day when the landed interest of this country would be excluded from its full share in the councils and the legislation of this country. But Burke adds, with equal truth, that fortunately for this country, land has directed its councils, the reason being that the landed aristocracy and landed proprietors have never been as a class dissociated from the general interest, but subjecting themselves to the influence and the progress of public opinion, and proving their unity of interest with all (loud cheering). Why, that is just the question. By what means shall we secure the continuance in their just influence of the landed interest in this country? Is it by maintaining your privileges on the ground of the exclusion of food (a cry of "Oh!" from the protection benches, answered by cheers from the Opposition)? Well, then, on the ground of taxation on the importation of foreign corn (hear, hear). I will call it by which name you wish; it is not, certainly, the "exclusion" of food (hear, hear). But the question is, will it more conduce to the permanent, just, and legitimate influence of the land in this country than these Corn Laws should at length be repealed, or that they should

be continued in all their integrity (hear, hear)? Now, my firm conviction—accuse me of treachery if you please—is, that you will fortify and maintain the influence of the land by this arrangement, rather than, in the present state of public feeling, by insisting on maintaining the present laws (cheers). Look, by way of instance at the tax on butter. That, at any rate, is not a tax of 100 or 500 years' standing. The taxes on butter and cheese were introduced within the last 20 or 30 years. Why should the removal of those taxes be construed into any assault on the privileges of the landed interest (hear, hear). Let us consider the bearing of this question of the Corn Laws on the great interest of this country, upon the land and the landed aristocracy, the legitimate influence of which I hope to see maintained for ever. We have to deal with a population which by the last census, that of 1841, consisted of about 10,000,000 of people. I am excluding Ireland, though, if I took in the population of Ireland, it would greatly fortify the argument. Our population, now increased to more than 20,000,000, was in 1841 19,000,000. Now, how is that population divided? You have of the agricultural interest about 1,500,000 persons, not including women and children. You have of landed proprietors, of farmers and occupiers, and male and female labourers above and under 20 employed in agriculture, about 1,500,000. You have of labourers employed in other occupations 761,000, including all those classes of labourers, the miners and quarriers, and so on. Then you have of persons engaged in commerce, trade, and manufactures, 3,110,000; 200,000 belonging to professions, or educated persons following miscellaneous pursuits; 511,000 returned as independent persons, living on their own property; and 200,000 paupers, lunatics, and so on. Well, now, what a large proportion of that great mass of population of 19,000,000 consists of persons who earn their subsistence by the land. Of those, what an enormous proportion there must be of persons whose families subsist on wages below 30s. a-week! Now, just consider how taxation, apart from food, bears on that class of the people (hear, hear). You raise about 32,000,000*l.* by the Customs and Excise. Let us take the articles which enter into the consumption of a family living on less than 30s. a-week. I have returns here of the articles in weekly use by families of that class. What are they? They are, butter, cheese, a little meat, bacon, lard, candles, soap, and a little tobacco. Now, it cannot be denied that there is scarcely one of these articles that is not taxed. It is, in my opinion, inevitable that you should raise a great portion of your taxes by indirect taxation, and whilst you do that the burden must be unequal (hear, hear). It is my belief that you have established a great claim upon the confidence and the gratitude of this country by the course you took some time since as respects the public burdens. You did take on yourselves the annual contribution of 5,000,000*l.* by means of the income-tax, that you might relieve the labouring classes (hear, hear). Now, in order that I may be perfectly accurate, I have here an account of the consumption of a labourer receiving 10s. a-week in the summer and 9s. a-week in the winter. It is an actual return of the consumption of this man and his family—he had a wife and one child. It appears that he bought four gallons of bread, a pound and a-half of cheese, some bacon, some salt beef, some butter, some tea, some sugar, some, candles, some soap. Now, with the exception of candles, the duty on which we removed recently, every one of those articles is subject to taxation (hear, hear, hear). By the present tariff we have removed the duty on bacon and on salt beef, and we have diminished the duties on butter and cheese. I ask you, can you repent of having made these alterations (cheers)? The man of whom I am speaking died; he left a widow, and the child survived. The widow earned 4s. 6d. a-week, and the guardians allowed 1s. 6d. a-week for the child. Now, this was her weekly expenditure.—She paid for rent 1s. 6d. a-week; candles and soap, 4s. 4d.; butter, 2s. 4d.; tea, 1s. 4d.; sugar, 2s. 4d.; leaving 1s. 8d. for firing, shoes, &c., which it will be admitted it must be very difficult to buy out of such a sum. Even here we see the pressure of taxation on this woman. Soap is taxed, butter is taxed, tea is taxed, sugar is taxed (hear, hear). Now, I will also take the weekly expenditure of a person spending more wages,—of a Yorkshireman,—living more comfortably, and spending more money. These from which I am quoting are *bona fide* instances of expenditure. This man earned 15s. or 16s. a-week, of which he spent 14s., and it was thus applied:—Meat, 2s.; sugar, 7d.; yeast, 3d.; candles, 3s. 4d.; butter, 8d.; soap, 3d.; tea and coffee 1s. 6d.; oatmeal, 7s. 4d. These items of expenditure amount together to 6s. 1d. per week. And in wheat the weekly expenditure was 8s. out of the 14s. Every week he has to buy 3 stone of flour, which would cost of late years 2s. 8d. per stone, making the weekly expenditure in flour 8s. The remainder, therefore, is 6s., for we find that, in the class of which I speak, where wheat is the chief food, by far the greater portion of the weekly expenditure is in the purchase of wheat alone. There will be something in tea, something in oatmeal, something in tobacco; but always more than one-half is in flour. Well, then, supposing the effect of this law is to cause some reduction in the price of wheat, pray let us ask ourselves this question:—supposing that such is the effect, are you not thus materially adding to the comforts and to the enjoyments of millions of your fellow-subjects (cheers)? Let me assure you that this is by far the most important part of the question (cheers). It is impossible to deny—you know that I gave you credit for it—the real sympathy which you have for the interest and the condition of the working classes of this country. Yes, I don't agree at all with those who make imputations against you—against your humanity; and I do believe, that among the gentlemen of England there is sincere sympathy with the suffering of the poor, and much of an honest desire to make better the condition of the working classes. I would almost say that there is more than among any other class (cheers). And I do ask you to follow me in this calculation, and to consider this question in the light in which I have put it. You cannot increase direct taxation with any very great effect. I believe you would if you could (hear, hear). You raise 7,000,000*l.* on stamps, 5,000,000*l.* on the property tax; you raise 4,000,000*l.* from the assessed taxes, and there are limits to raising more. If you add to the Income-tax, you are not benefiting the poor (hear, hear). You may easily increase the taxation on capital, but in thus burdening the rich, may you not be injuring the poor more than by indirect taxation (hear, hear). Adam Smith says, "The first maxim with respect to taxation is, that every man contributes to the taxation of the state in proportion to the revenue which he enjoys under the protection of the state." Can we now say that we are able to act on that principle? I doubt it. I doubt whether, in that case, taxation as we have does not fall heavier on the poor than it does upon us—the richer men (hear, hear); and it is because they have not the same means of avoiding it; they cannot

leave the country, as we can. They cannot resort to a country where the rate of taxation is less. They are fixed to the soil, to the labour from which they can alone derive subsistence; and, therefore, I say the burden of such a taxation does fall more heavily upon them than upon us (hear). If you increase your assessed taxes, or your stamp duties, or your income-tax, it by no means follows that you are thereby doing a benefit to the poor; and, therefore, indirect taxation, in reference to these circumstances is more advantageous than direct taxation. But, then, look how many of the articles which enter into weekly subsistence are already highly taxed. And then comes the question of rent. It consists of more than one-fourth of the whole; and, certainly, when you say that there will be a reduction in rents—and the danger is, there will be also some reduction in the prices of wheat—you do not express a very extended sympathy with those with whom corn is an article of such primary importance. The noble lord the member for Lynn (Lord George Bentinck) would have me say what was my calculation with respect to the future price of corn; I had repeatedly declined (hear, hear). I know not how it is possible for any human being to make a calculation of the probable price of corn hereafter (hear, hear). But the noble lord said, as you would not answer that question, there is another which you shall answer; and he said that in the year 1835 the price of wheat on the average for the year was 39s. a-quarter. I may have made a mistake in mentioning the year, but, of course, I meant the year in which the average was 39s.; that was in 1835. And the noble lord says that he insists on telling me what would have been the price at which corn could have been imported, supposing that there had been no duty, in the year 1835. I then said to the noble lord that I am not prepared to admit that in that case there would have been a reduction in the price of corn; I am not prepared to admit, as a necessary consequence, if there had been established for some time previously a Free Trade in corn, that there necessarily would have been in the year 1835 a lower price than 39s. That was my statement; and does the noble lord think it a monstrous one, because he has got a list of some quarters of corn which have been brought into this country at 39s. (hear, hear)?

Lord G. BENTINCK: They were returns which I read. Sir R. PEEL: I do not doubt the accuracy of them; but it is completely beside the question (hear, hear). It is no sort of proof whatever, because in the year 1835 you bought at Danzig certain quarters of corn at this price, that, therefore, had Free Trade existed, it could have been imported at less than 35s. (hear, hear). I will give the noble lord my reasons for maintaining my proposition, in opposition to his. I say there is no arguing, on this point, from the prices of corn upon the Continent in any given year when the markets of this country have not been freely opened (hear, hear). The noble lord relies on Parliamentary returns; I also rely on Parliamentary returns. You say that Mr. Jacobs, a man of great knowledge and of great experience with regard to the Corn Laws, was sent, in the year 1827, to the Continent to report upon the state of the foreign markets. You will find in Mr. Jacobs's report this principle laid down. He says, that in consequence of your excluding foreign corn by your high duties there was an accumulation in many ports (hear). He then goes on to say, "It is this accumulation, not the supply which would regularly reach us, were no prohibition in existence, that depresses the agricultural interests by the exaggerated representations of its amount when we have abundant harvests, and by the too rapid influx whenever the harvests here are deficient. I cannot think that in the year 1822 and 1823 wheat would have sunk so low as 38s. per quarter, if the ports had been opened to foreign grain, and the surplus of Continental Europe had been sent to this country each year as it arose. The penning up of wheat in countries of small extent soon creates a glut in such countries, although the quantity really accumulated there may be very minute, and such as if distributed here would produce no sensible decline in price. A few thousand quarters of wheat, for instance, in Holstein, Mecklenburgh, or Denmark, for which there was no foreign market, would reduce the price even below half the cost. Needy sellers must take what is offered, and reluctant buyers will offer a very low rate. A small sale fixes a price in such cases." Then the British consuls were required, in 1841, to state what quantity of grain of each kind could be exported to England from the countries in which they respectively resided, if the trade in corn were made constantly free at a moderate duty. What were the answers upon those returns? The general average was 40s. 6d. free on board; the general average of freight was 4s. 3d. At these four ports the average price, free on board, and the average freight per quarter, were as follows:

		Average price free on board.	Freight per quarter.
		s. d.	s. d. s.
Petersburgh	..	39 1	4 5 to 5
Dantzic	..	40 0	3 6 to 4
Stettin	..	40 0	4 0 to 5
Hamburg	..	35 to 40 0	2 6 to 5

Relying, then, on the opinion of Mr. Jacob, and on these returns, I again repeat I am not prepared to admit that with Free Trade in corn the price of wheat would be reduced below that of 39s., which was the price in 1835. In the year 1822, of which Mr. Jacob speaks, and in the year 1835, what were the facts? You had no foreign imports whatever (hear, hear). You completely excluded foreign corn. It was not foreign competition that depressed your prices; but, with full protection, you had in 1822 prices at 38s., and in 1835 at 39s. In 1822 you moved for a committee on agricultural distress. You stated that the agricultural interest was suffering so severely that it was necessary to inquire what remedies could be applied; and therefore observe the complete exclusion of foreign corn does not insure you either from depressions of prices, or from agricultural distress requiring Parliamentary inquiry. In 1835, also, there was no foreign competition; but the depression of price to 39s. was caused entirely by the abundance of your own harvest. In 1836, as in 1822, it being impossible in either case to allege that the competition of foreign corn had either produced depression or caused distress, a Parliamentary committee was appointed to consider what remedies could be devised. Looking at the population, looking at the taxes imposed on articles of daily consumption, considering what immense masses of people are dependent for the subsistence of their families on earnings amounting to less than 30s. a week, how great a part of their expenditure was on bread, and of what great importance the price of wheat was as regards their domestic economy, could you do anything more to benefit their social condition than to give them the assurance that they shall have provisions at a moderate price? There might be no great depression of price; but if Free Trade in corn give you a guarantee against such variations in price, that guarantee would be an inestimable advantage. Supposing

the price of corn not depressed below 50s. or 54s., yet if you take a guarantee by extending the means of supply that the price will not rise above 70s. or 80s., you will confer an inestimable advantage upon the working classes (loud cheers). The honourable gentleman cannot surely share in the alarm which has been expressed on this point, because he has himself proved that a more extended supply of cotton and indigo tends to steadiness of price. Supposing, it is said, our supply of wheat should fail, and other countries should combine to refuse to supply us with food, what should we have to rely on? But other interests will arise, and if the new tariff and the new Corn Law should pass the legislature, I think it is impossible to apprehend that there would be a combination of foreign powers. I doubt the fact. Taking the whole of the measures together, I do not apprehend the existence of a scarcity from a combination of foreign nations. It is said that I have in view the interest of the manufacturing classes. I think you cannot deny that those who are connected with our commerce and manufactures, and who earn their subsistence by their daily labour, have a direct and immediate interest in a moderate price of corn. But the fair claim of the agricultural labourer I also admit. I say the farmers and agricultural labourers have an equal interest in this question with those engaged in commerce, and with the other classes of the community, and if we continued under a system of protection, could we expect a prosperous and contented class of agricultural labourers in this country? Can we say that throughout the country the condition of our agricultural labourers is such? ("Yes," from Colonel Sibthorp). I say "No." But it is said that the wages of the agricultural labourer vary with the price of food in the same way as those of the manufacturing labourer; I deny it altogether (hear, hear). In the case of the manufacturing labourer his wages are more likely to vary inversely with the price of food; and as to the agricultural labourer, there is no direct connection between his wages and the price of wheat. If it is not so, account for this:—If the wages of the agricultural labourer vary in a direct ratio with the price of wheat, why should wages be 13s. 10d. in Kent, and 13s. in Lincolnshire? In the purely agricultural district of Wilts wages are about 13s., I think; in Kent, the wages of the agricultural labourer are high—not less than 13s. Now come to districts purely agricultural, and the most removed from the influence of manufactures; take the counties of Somerset, of Wiltshire, of Cornwall; I say as you advance from these purely agricultural districts towards the manufacturing districts, you will find the price of agricultural labour increase (hear, hear). You will say that there is a sympathy between the agricultural and the manufacturing interests (hear, hear). In the south-west of England, which is purely agricultural, the wages of labour are extremely low; as you advance towards the midland counties,—in Nottinghamshire, for example, the wages are 14s. In Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire, you will find they vary. What stronger proof can you have, that the prosperity of our manufactures not only create a demand for agricultural products, but seem to affect the wages of the agricultural labourer? But take the agricultural districts of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the south-west of England, and tell me whether there is any direct ratio between the price of wheat and wages. [An hon. member said "Lincolnshire."] There great skill is required; it is not naturally fertile, but brought into fertility by mere skill and capital, and skill and capital have had there the same effect as in the manufacturing districts; they have raised the price of agricultural labour. That is what I want to show. Two circumstances affect the wages of the agricultural labourer, skill and capital, as applied in Lincolnshire, and as they are applied in the manufacturing districts. [Colonel Sibthorp made some remark.] In Wilts, Devon, and Dorset, with a protection of 18s. a-quarter, corn does not vary, and yet the ratio of wages varies; and I think the gallant member, without much exertion of his logical faculties (a laugh), must see that there are other causes for the increase of the wages of labourers. But can you say that, in the purely agricultural districts, the condition of the labourer is as we would wish it to be? I appeal to you, and I feel confident that you will answer the appeal,—do you not admit that the social condition of millions, agricultural or manufacturing, is one of paramount consideration in the present state of the country (hear)? Have you read the sanitary reports? Are you not convinced that some efforts should be made to improve the social condition of the great mass of the population? Our first object should be their social improvement, and whatever efforts you may make by promoting increased cleanliness, by education, by providing comfortable cottages, the first attempt at social improvement should be by providing abundance of food (hear, hear). If there be either the suffering or the apprehension of scarcity, you cannot expect that people who have to bear that trial will come to be educated, or will improve their dwellings. The first decision you must come to is to increase the supply of food. The experience of the last three years and of the three preceding years do read a lesson to us, which we ought never to forget, as to the effects which are produced upon the social condition and the moral habits of the working classes, comparing years of abundance with years of scarcity. Now, in the purely agricultural districts, is it possible to say that the rate of wages bears any direct ratio to the price of wheat? ("It does," from Col. Sibthorp). I will demonstrate that it does not. I do not mean to say that there is not some variation; that where wheat is high, there is not an occasional increase of wages; but I will demonstrate to you that the rate of wages does not vary in any proportion to the variation in the price of food. Take all the counties. I will quote no figures which I shall not be ready to communicate to any gentleman connected with the county referred to. Now let us take the seven years from the year 1837 to the present time. I requested to have an account, drawn up from actual payments for particular farms, of the wages actually paid to agricultural labourers from 1837 to 1844 inclusive. I will begin with the prices of agricultural labour from 1837 to 1844 inclusive, at Sudbury Union in Gloucestershire. The labourers there received during that time money and also beer. Here I have the account of their wages for a summer week and a winter week during each of those years. Now, since 1837, the price of corn has varied very much. Even in the present year the price of wheat has varied from 45s. 1d. to 58s. 3d., and the variation in the prices since the year 1837 has been very considerable. The price of wheat in 1837 was 55s. 10d. a quarter; in 1838, it was 64s. 7d.; in 1839, 70s. 8d.; in 1840, 66s. 6d.; in 1841, 66s. 4d.; in 1842, 57s. 3d.; in 1843, 50s. 1d.; in 1844, 51s. 3d.; in 1845, 55s. 10d. (hear, hear). Therefore the price of wheat varied in this period from a minimum of 50s. 1d. to a maximum of 70s. 8d. Now I know that writers on political economy have said that the ultimate tendency of wages is to accommodate themselves to the price of food, but

I do not believe it (hear, hear). At any rate they only say the ultimate tendency, but I should like to know what consolation that is for a man who is passing 10 years of his life without any variation of his wages for the better, in proportion to the rise of the price of food, that the ultimate tendency of the two things is to approximate (hear, hear)? What consolation is it to find the price of corn 70s. 8d. in 1839, and 50s. 1d. in 1843, but that he must not despair; and that his wages will approximate in time to the price he pays for his food? What is the use of such a tendency to him? But I do not believe in the tendency even (hear, hear). I think the tendency is rather a tendency to substitute potatoes for wheat as the food of the working man (hear, hear). I am not trying to answer acrimony for acrimony, but to lay before you what I believe to be the real state of things in this country. In this view, what is the allotment system which we adopt, and many of us put in practice so benevolently? Taking individual cases it is, no doubt, productive of great advantage to the labourer. I believe every one of us is trying to introduce it so far as he has the means, and undoubtedly the system is a great comfort to the labourer—a comfort to him independently of other considerations, such as that it attaches him to the soil, it makes him a landed proprietor, it awakens him to the value of peace and social order. But what is it as a system? Is its effect to raise the price of wages? Is it not rather to substitute an Irish peasantry for the English labourer? To substitute potatoes as his food instead of wheaten bread? You will find it will be so—that potatoes are substituted for wheaten bread as that system increases, and that you will have here that great calamity which you have in Ireland, though in an ameliorated shape. I should think it a great calamity that potatoes should be substituted for wheat as the food of the labourers in this country; and I believe that to imbue the labouring population with a taste for better food would be to confer on them a much greater advantage (hear). I therefore think that the allotment system may be productive of evil effects if it increases too much. But, mark this, just in proportion to the depressed condition of the labourer is the sum he has to pay for wheat. The labourer who has an allotment has, as we know, so much the more to help out his wages with, and to pay for his wheat with. Allotments, therefore, have a tendency to benefit the labourer. I have only been speaking as to what is the ultimate effect that the system may have to substitute potatoes for wheat, as the food of the labouring classes. I have taken the variations in the price of wheat; I will now take the variations in the rate of labour for the same period as before, the last ten years, but I must remark that the tables I am about to cite do not show the whole amount of wages earned, for in harvest time some additions are usually made by the labourer to his earnings. These, however, are made every year, and therefore may be struck out of the table for the purpose of considering the variations in the rate. From the same union of Sudbury, in Gloucestershire, I have an account of the prices for winter and summer averages. In 1837 the average payment was 9s. in money and 1s. in beer per week. The total average of weekly wages for winter and summer, in 1837, was 10s.; in 1838, 11s.; in 1839, 11s.; in 1840, 11s.; in 1841, 11s.; in 1842, 11s.; in 1843, 10s.; in 1844, 10s. Therefore, while the price of wheat varied from 75s. to 51s. a quarter, the rate of wages varied only from 10s. to 11s. in this union. From Blandford, in Dorsetshire, we had this reply:—"The statement on the other side was given me by four different yeomen. It is only the first-rate labourer that gets 9s. in these parts, unless at piece work or extra times; and then if the extra hours were reckoned up which the men work at piece work, I do not think it would average more than 8s. to 9s. with the best men." Now, at that place the average wages were in 1837, 7s.; in 1838, 8s.; in 1839, 8s.; in 1840, 8s.; in 1841, 8s.; in 1842, 8s.; in 1843, 8s.; in 1844, 8s. Therefore, whilst the price of corn had varied from 70s. 8d. to 51s. 1d., it was 48s. 6d. in 1836; wages have only varied from 7s. to 8s. a week (hear, hear). There were extra earnings, such as piecework, harvesting, &c., as I am aware; but those, for the reason I have given, I do not reckon; they might probably amount to 1s. more each week. That is the statement of one of these yeomen near Blandford. Another farmer states that wages in 1837 were 7s.; in 1838, 7s.; in 1839, 8s.; in 1840, 8s.; in 1841, 8s.; in 1842, 8s.; in 1843, 8s.; in 1844, 8s.—a variation of only 1s. in the rate of wages, notwithstanding the great variation in the price of wheat during the same period. I will take the rate of wages again. In Cornwall, in the union of Bodmin, a person writes, "In reply to your letter of the 8th inst., I beg to state that the rate of wages in this union has not varied from 1837 to 1844. Labourers have been in the habit of receiving 8s. or 9s. per week during the whole of this period. Those who have had 9s. per week have been supplied with wheat by their employers at 8s. per imperial bushel, and barley at 4s.; whilst those who have received 8s. per week have had to pay 6s. 8d. for wheat, and 3s. 4d. for barley, whatever may have been the price of grain" (hear). Then from Barnstaple there is this communication:—"I have inquired of several farmers residing in various parts of this union the amount of agricultural wages during the years from 1837 to 1844 inclusive, and have ascertained that, in general, the sum paid was 8s. per week; some few farmers gave 9s.; but a much greater number only 7s. No rise or fall appears to have taken place during the eight years in question, except that in very dear seasons some employers supplied their labourers with corn at a reduced price; but I am inclined to think that they were not very numerous." I will now take East and West Suffolk; and first, East Suffolk. "The variation of wages in this neighbourhood has been from 8s. to 10s. a week from 1835 up to the present time; and within that period the price of flour has varied from 1s. 3d. to 2s. 10d. the stone of 14lbs." That is to say, the wages increased one-fifth, while the price of flour had more than doubled. The communication proceeded, "The supply of labour is greater than the demand in this neighbourhood; and the price of labour is, in fact, what the farmer chooses to give; but he invariably raises his wages and lowers them with the price of corn (cries of "hear"), though never in the same proportions. Consequently the poor are better off with low than with high prices. You will at once see that 8s. a-week with flour at 1s. 3d., is better than 10s. a-week with flour at 2s. 10d., supposing the man's family to require from two to three stone of flour weekly." Now that is the state of things in East Suffolk. Next I will give you West Suffolk. The writer says, "The general wages paid by the farmers of this parish have fluctuated from 9s. to 10s. per week, but the men employed at task work, such as threshing, &c., have earned from 1s. to 2s. per week in addition. This variation in the rate of wages has certainly been caused by the fluctuations in the price of corn, but when wheat was selling at 20s. per comb—a comb is half an imperial quarter—"I do not remember

that wages were below 9s. per week, and when the farmers were realising 35s. per coveb, 10s. per week was generally the amount of wages given. The result of my experience is, therefore, to show that although wages fluctuate in a trifling degree, with the price of corn, yet they do not rise or fall in proportion to such price, and therefore, that the labourers are best off when the prices are lowest" (hear). There are occasionally extraordinary additions made to the labourer's earnings, and in harvest time his earnings are always increased; but these additions apply to all years alike, and therefore I have not reckoned them. Have I not then proved that it is impossible to gainsay that the present generation—the existing race of labourers—cannot be benefited in any way by a direct ratio between the price of food and the rate of wages. Again, I say, I doubt the position that ultimately even there is any tendency between the two to approximate. But if I have shown that in these eight years—a great period in a labouring man's life (hear)—no rise at all in wages has taken place proportionate to the rise in the price of corn, I think I have shown so far that the rate of wages has no such connection with the prices of food as to rise with them, but rather directly the reverse (hear). I think I have succeeded in demonstrating that the low price of wheat operates almost immediately in favour of the agricultural interest. I put this to you in perfect good faith and sincerity. Do you think that you can maintain this system of protection much longer? and above all things are you not assured that we cannot maintain the existing law upon the ground of its being advantageous to agriculture? Adam Smith, whose name has been too often mentioned in the course of these discussions, tells his readers, and proves to the satisfaction of every impartial and intelligent man, that the rate of wages depends upon the country being in a prosperous condition. When there is abundance of capital, large profits, an active and healthy condition of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, then will the rate of wages be high, and when the opposite state of things happens to prevail, then will the rate of wages be in a depressed state, and the working classes reduced to comparative poverty. General prosperity and not legal enactments produce a practical effect upon the rates of wages. It is by removing restrictions on manufactures and commerce that you create a demand for labour, and not by raising the prices of food. Make the subsistence of mankind difficult of attainment, and you take a guarantee against the rise of wages. But remove restrictions upon agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and then you save yourselves from the necessity of constant interference for the purpose of regulating the supply of food. I do not overlook how, in some quarters, it has been alleged that there exists a panic about taking land. It has been shown that in England no such panic exists. In many parts of Scotland it has also been shown that nothing of the sort prevails. Even very recently as many as eleven farms in Roxburghshire were let at an increase of rent. In those parts of the country, where agriculture is most skilfully pursued, there does the least alarm prevail. For bad farming this protection ought to be permanent; but where skilful farming exists nothing of the sort is necessary. Of course, in some parts of the country there must be suffering, and in certain places there will be tenants without sufficient capital; but compare the advantage of protecting so very small a minority with the general happiness and prosperity of the nation, compare it also with the comfort to your own minds which must arise from the consciousness of your not being responsible in times of distress for the food of the people. Adopt a course of unrestricted legislation, and then you need not fear that the operations of nature will be imputed to any other than their true origin. Leave trade free and you will not be held responsible for untoward events over which we have not and of necessity cannot exercise any control. Looking, then, at the compensation which this measure furnishes—I do not mean compensation in the way of small equivalents, but on the contrary, I refer to the security and the permanency of the law—looking to the advantages which the change now proposed must confer upon the labourer; looking to the benefits it will confer upon yourselves; I mean not merely the more obvious advantages likely to arise to your estates, but the less evident effects in the improvement of your position—seeing that you will be elevated by making this concession—I think I am not acting as the enemy of that interest, with which my own is so intimately connected when I recommend this bill to the acceptance of the house (hear, hear). I repeat that that which I advise is for the true interests of every class. I ask you, do you feel secure; and if you foresee that the present system cannot long be maintained, why will you not take advantage of a favourable time for effecting a change that very soon must come? You say that the present time is one of prosperity. Is not that a most powerful reason for making this concession? At the present moment you are free agents. An hon. member said, that there was nothing to apprehend this year, nor anything next year. Then you will not go the length of saying that you are safe for more than two years. Can there be a better proof that the present is not an unfavourable moment for effecting the alteration which this measure is intended to accomplish? Again I ask you how long do you think you can maintain the system of protection? I know, and we all know, that it cannot be made permanent consistently with that degree of good-will and harmony without which a nation cannot be happy and prosperous. No doubt the immediate cause of this measure is the sad calamity which has befallen Ireland. It has forced upon you the consideration of the corn question. But suppose that you suspended the Corn Laws, what could you have done when the time of suspension was at an end (hear, hear). I have not overlooked the circumstance that respecting this Bill it has been said to be a good political manoeuvre on my part. The letter of the noble lord the member for London has been described as a good political manoeuvre on his part. Now I ask what possible advantage can a bill like this confer upon me as an individual. I know that I have been taunted, and have more than once been told, that my days as a minister are numbered. But I have introduced this measure, not for the purpose of prolonging my ministerial existence, but for the purpose of averting a great national calamity, and for the purpose of sustaining a great public interest. I am quite aware of the fact that more than once I have been asked how long I can reckon upon the support of those honourable gentlemen opposite, without whose votes I could not hope to carry this Bill through the house—how long, in fact, I can reckon upon enjoying their support with respect to other subjects (loud cheers). I know, as well as those who taunt me, that I have not any right to the support or confidence of those hon. members. I acknowledge and admit that my prospects of accomplishing this measure are owing to their support. If it be passed it will be by

them. But then they give it their support on public grounds, and I feel and acknowledge my public obligations to them as a public man. I admit this, and I have studiously avoided admitting anything beyond this. I am aware of the differences subsisting between those honourable gentlemen and myself. I have no right to claim any protection or support at their hands, and I have never sought to obtain that support by any departure, in the slightest degree, from the principles I have always professed. I know that 112 members constitute the full number of those who, thinking with me on subjects of general policy, support me on the present occasion; these 112, not being above one-sixth part of the House of Commons. I am therefore not surprised that you consider my tenure of power to be doubtful. But let us pass this measure, and while it is in progress let me request of you to suspend your indignation. This measure being once passed, you on this side and on that side of the house may adopt whatever measures you think proper for the purpose of terminating my political existence. I assure you I shall deplore the loss of your confidence much more than I shall deplore the loss of political power. The accusations which you prefer against me are on this account harmless, because I feel that they are unjust (loud cheers). Every man has within his own bosom and conscience the scales which determine the real weight of reproach, and if I had acted from any corrupt or unworthy motives, one-tenth part of the accusations you have levelled against me would have been fatal to my existence as a public man (hear, hear, hear). You may think that we took too great precautions against Irish famine in the month of November. You are mistaken. Events will prove that those precautions were not superfluous; but even if they had been, as our motive was to rescue a whole people from the calamity of possible famine, and consequent disease I should be easy under the accusation (hear, hear). I do not say whether this measure will do so or not. I speak only of the motive (cheers). What weight would your accusation have even if the precautions be superfluous? I am saying, with the information we had, and the prospects which were before us, repeat the accusation that we took superfluous precautions, and I say, as Mr. Burke said when labouring under similar obloquy, and in circumstances not dissimilar, "In every accident in life, in pain, in sickness, in depression, in distress, I called to mind that accusation; and was comforted" (cheers). No, never—no reproach will attach to me even if we should have proof that the precautions will be superfluous. Before the month of July ("May" from the Opposition), it will be established to the conviction of every man, that the precautions we took were not superfluous, and that our motives were not impure. I am not speaking of a temporary measure; I am speaking of a permanent measure. When I do fall I shall have the satisfaction of reflecting that I do not fall because I have shown subservience to a party (loud cheers). I shall not fall because I have preferred the interests of party to the general interests of the community (cheers); and I shall carry with me the satisfaction of reflecting, that during the course of my official career, my object has been to mitigate monopoly (cheers), to increase the demand for industry, to remove restrictions upon commerce (cheers), to equalise the burden of taxation, to ameliorate the condition of those who labour (great cheering).

Mr. STAFFORD O'BRIEN contended that Sir Robert Peel had not made a candid declaration of the causes of his future fall from power; for it was attributable to far other causes than his desire to mitigate monopoly, and to equalise taxation. He complained that Sir Robert Peel had not stated his case fairly, because he had not stated it fully. He also protested against the unfairness of the Minister's coming down to the house and quoting a vast variety of statistical documents relative to agriculture, which nobody could answer off-hand, and which, if of any value at all, ought to have been placed before the house at the commencement of these discussions. The protection party had acted with the greatest sincerity during these debates. They had mooted the question of protection, or of no protection; and if they should be defeated upon it, nobody could accuse them of having resorted to unworthy artifice. He expressed his determination to resist this bill to the utmost.

Lord PALMERSTON observed that there had been two questions involved in this debate—one whether the Corn Laws should be repealed, and the other, whether Sir R. Peel and his colleagues were justified in departing from certain engagements which they had contracted with the Conservative party. He took the last question first, and declared that, however important political connection might be to the working of the British Constitution, he held that, if public duty pointed one way and party considerations another, an honest man was bound to stand by his country. Reverting, however, to the first question, he expressed his opinion that Government had placed the defence of their new commercial policy on too narrow grounds. They attributed their change of opinion to the experience of the last three years; he thought that they ought rather to have attributed it to the debates of the last four sessions, and especially to the able and eloquent speeches of his friend Mr. Cobden. His astonishment was not that Ministers had not changed their opinions now, but that they had not changed them sooner. He then proceeded to remind the house that years ago he had expressed a wish that the word "protection" was erased from our statute book, and his reason was, that protection meant injury to the many for the benefit of the few, with this addition, that the injury was real, but the benefit was illusory. He stated at great length the reasons which induced him to support this bill, and concluded by declaring that our example in establishing practical Free Trade in this country would be more beneficial in obtaining it throughout the world than all our past negotiations.

The house then divided, when there appeared—

For the second reading .. 302
Against it .. 211

Majority .. 88

The other orders of the day were then disposed of, and the house adjourned.

THERE IS GREAT VIRTUE IN AN "IF"—The *Liverpool Courier* informs its readers that the Duke of Portland has offered to head a subscription list with 25,000l. "If an active plan can be devised to thwart the unconstitutional proceedings of the League" In other words, his Grace has wagered 25,000l. to nothing, that the League is irresistible.—*Notts Review*.

According to a return from the Mint, the amount of the gold coined in 1845 was 16,929lb.; the silver, 617,658lb.; and the copper, 69,144.

*. Several members of the Council of the League are desirous of making complete their sets of the *Anti-Corn-Law Circular*, which was printed in Manchester, prior to the commencement of the LEAGUE paper. They are deficient of the following number:

93,

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, April 1, 1846.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

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	*Steel, Bailie	2	2	0
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	*Sawers, Robert	2	2	0
	*Monteath, James	2	2	0
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	*Hankene, Wm.	1	1	0
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	Thomson, George	1	1	0
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Stirling.	Reid, John	1	1	0
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	Scott, Alexander	1	1	0
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* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed subscriptions.

ERRATA.

In LEAGUE, No. 131, for Thomas Howitt, Dean-street, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 14, read 34.; for A. Anderson, Scarborough, 504., read A. Anderson, Norwood, Surrey; and in Stockton-on-Tees list of subscriptions, for Henry Sharp read Henry Thorpe. In list of promised subscriptions, for Geo. Gibson and Co., 1001., read 1237.

THE NEW SLIDING SCALE—ITS EFFECT ON AGRICULTURE.—What the agricultural interest (meaning thereby the real cultivators of the soil) have really most to fear, is a delay in the final settlement of this question. There will be no readjustment of rents and leases while the change is in process. All the disadvantages of a sudden repeal are thus insured to the farmer, without any of its corresponding advantages to himself or the community. The evil may not be felt during 1846, because scarcity throughout Europe, preventing under any circumstances extensive importation, may prevent its operation. But during 1847-8, stocks of foreign corn, prevented by the sliding scale from gradual importation, will in all probability accumulate in foreign ports, and, on the sudden fall of duty in 1849, be poured on the market, unnaturally lowering the price, to the great injury of the English producer.—*Report of the Liverpool Anti-Monopoly Association, 1845.*

A THIRD GLANCE AT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

By REUBEN.

SIR JAMES GRAHAM AND MR. SHAW.

When one stands upon a bridge which spans a ravine, in some woodland solitude, looking over the side of the bridge upon the leafy tops of trees, which rise up like platforms for the sunshine to light upon, as it peeps below to see what the water is doing, which is heard, but not seen; and when we look down upon the jackdaws which hover upon the tree-tops, clusters of them sitting on branches sedately, while a single one balances itself upon a twig, extending first one wing and then the other to preserve its balance, calling, "cacaw, cacaw," or "jackdaw, jackdaw;" then darting off in an instant with a dozen followers to join in a thicket of flapping wings and "ca-cawing" voices, from amongst which some birds disappear into holes in the side walls and re-appear again, and call "cacaw, jackdaw," and take their seats on leafy twigs, and there continue the cry, or listen to others uttering it; looking down upon this fraternity of jackdaws, the human spectator on the bridge, who is a kind of "stranger in the gallery," cannot for the life of him tell what all the flutter and noise is about, though he is a believer in the natural truth that all creatures by their motion or their sound express some sensation or meaning, no matter whether they be jackdaws on trees or gentlemen in Parliament.

Thus it was with me, one evening this week, at that time of the evening when there is too little daylight left to see the members of Parliament distinctly, and the bude lights are not yet turned on in full strength. Knowing nothing of what had been done, or what was doing, what had been said, or what was saying, I reached an elevated position, and looked down upon the House of Commons, and saw it more than usually full of members, and the members all in commotion. Rows of them were sitting aloft in the side galleries, looking over the front, moving their heads excitedly, and uttering sounds like "cacaw, cacaw," or "jackdaw, jackdaw;" while below, the same sounds were uttered from all sides and all seats, while some members darted up and darted down again, while others were vehemently wagging their heads and vociferating "cacaw," or "jackdaw," or some sound which my unparliamentary ears believed to be those. A few members sat gravely still, and seemed to say nothing; but only a few. Some emerged hastily from doorways, and listening, or seeming to listen, for a moment, joined in the cries. I had just caught a glimpse of a tall dark figure—a gentleman in black, whose bald head, with the black edging of hair combed up to hide a little of the baldness, as remnants of a good reputation are sometimes brought up to cover spots where character is bare,—I had just caught a glimpse of this tall figure as it sat down, and knew it was that of Sir James Graham. This down-sitting of the Home Minister was the signal of commotion; something he had said about somebody was the cause of it.

At last the tumult of sounds ceased; the members sat still; and another member of high stature, not far from the place of the first one, who had been standing for some minutes, but whom I had not seen in the dim light, began, with a strong voice, to speak. I was soon informed that this was Mr. Shaw, representative in Parliament of the Dublin University. I also discovered now that I had made a mistake in supposing that in the tumult of the house the members had been calling "cacaw," or "jackdaw," they had been calling "Shaw Shaw," "Mr. Shaw, Mr. Shaw!"

This Mr. Shaw, it seems, has declared himself bitterly against the Government, but particularly against Sir James Graham. According to what has transpired, he, at the end of 1834, when Sir Robert Peel returned from Italy and took a short hold of office, was offered a place of some kind. He declined to take any judicial place that would exclude him from the House of Commons. His ambition to be a great statesman has never been concealed; and he might have been a respectable second-seat man, at least, had he not been a bigot, and the worst of bigots, an Irish political bigot—and had he evinced some regard for other persons than himself. He is a ready speaker, with a good voice.

Nor could he, he says, take any political office which would deprive him of his Recordership of Dublin; he could not afford to lose its income. But it seems he planned a scheme by which he might get its income—and something more—and be relieved from its duties, free, able, and willing to take political office. The Whigs, however, were in power; the Tory tenure of place having been very short in 1834 and beginning of 1835. It was not until 1842, shortly after the return of the Tories to power, that he brought his scheme before them. He gave an account of it the other night, and from the way in which he gave it shape and colour he was loudly cheered, for he made its history tell against Sir James Graham. He called it an arrangement of the office of

the Dublin recordership, and several other small judicial appointments in that city, "whereby a saving of between 3,000*l.* and 4,000*l.* a year" was to be made to the public. But Sir James Graham, on rising a second time, gave the affair another shape and colour. Shaw's scheme was to get an increased allowance fixed for the recordership of 3,000*l.*, with a retiring pension equal to the present income, the salary for the office being now about 2,000*l.*, that he should, therefore, cease to receive the 2,000*l.* a year, for doing the work, and get the retiring salary of 2,000*l.* without the work to do, but to be at liberty to remain in Parliament and take any political office which Sir Robert Peel, or political fate, or even Sir James Graham might put in his way.

The job was too bad for Sir James, and he wrote to Mr. Shaw and told him so; and on Monday night told him he was at full liberty to read that letter to the house. But neither the Home Minister, nor the Recorder of Dublin, in their disputes, have said a word about the Dublin jury lists. There were people in the House of Commons on Monday night who almost expected to hear the "cat let out" about the jury lists in the O'Connell trials.

Be that as it may, Sir James Graham during last session had called Mr. Shaw his right honourable "friend." Whereupon the latter retorted angrily that he had never been his friend; that more than political and parliamentary acquaintance he knew nothing of him. And when the present session of Parliament came, and the Free Trade scheme was divulged, Shaw ranged himself with the protectionists, denied the the Irish potato disease, and accused the Ministry. Sir James Graham hinted that he was bitter on the question of the Corn Laws, because disappointment in one direction excited his hopes in another. This led Shaw to give a history of his hopes and disappointments, and make strong asseverations to the house that there was not one word of truth as to his having been disappointed in not being made secretary for Ireland. Sir James explained, however, that he had only spoken of a "prospective" secretaryship; one which he may safely count upon as his own, should the protectionists form a new Government.

When an hour and a half, or thereabout, had been consumed in such personal bickerings, the question before the house proceeded. That question was corn or coercion. After much debate, a division took place, and coercion carried the day; while corn was for a time set aside.

Had a division taken place an hour or two sooner than it did, the majority, it is thought, would have been for proceeding with corn; and it is believed that Sir R. Peel would, if thus strengthened by a vote of the house, have been quite willing to shelve the Coercion Bill for a few weeks. But so many members spoke, and some of them so long, that a considerable number left the house, and chiefly from the side where corn strength against coercion strength was ranged. Ultimately, the coercion debate was adjourned to Tuesday.

NO HOUSE—THE BATTLES IN INDIA.

But, though Tuesday was appointed for the resumption of the debate on coercion, to the exclusion of the question of corn, the debate was not resumed. There did not assemble members enough to form a house; one circumstance tending to which might be the promise of the Irish liberal members to occupy the house for at least three nights, with the defence of Ireland, even if no other members should speak, and the aversion which a large body of the English aristocracy and squirearchy have to listen to the tale of Irish wrongs, or have anything to do with Ireland, save to receive rents or tithes from it, or hold commissions or commands in its armies of occupation; or vote coercion for it to compel it to pay its rents and tithes quietly, or with only as much grumbling as shall be in a whisper; to compel it to sell its last bushel of corn, last pig, and all but its last potato, to go without a shirt, without a coat, with a straw wisp in its hat, and with barely half a pair of breeches to its limbs, that it may pay rents and tithes, the one to a landlord who pockets the money, buttons his pocket, and walks away, and says, "If the Irish grumble, pull down their houses, eject them from my estate, and hang them if they refuse to submit;" the other to a parson who also pockets the money, does not button his pockets, perhaps, but says, "I will spend it only with good Protestants—I will spend none of it upon those idolatrous Papists who pay it to me, unless it be for Protestant sheriff's officers to distract on them; Protestant constabulary to protect the sheriff's officers; Protestant soldiery to back the constabulary; Protestant witnesses to swear against the idolatrous Catholics who do not submit quietly: Protestant juries to convict them; Protestant hangmen to hang them; Protestant curates to assist me in heaping curses on them when they are hanged—all that Ireland may be Protestantised in the great principle of paying tithes to a priesthood it does not believe in!"—

Save to vote for coercion to Ireland, to obtain from Ireland submission to such aggressions as these, the English owners of Irish land and their political friends in Parliament have little inclination to sit on either side of the house to listen to the wrongs inflicted by them and their agents in Ireland. And this may have been one reason why the attendance was so thin on Tuesday, at four o'clock, as to muster only 31 members, 40 members being requisite to form a house.

But this was not the chief reason. The telegraphic despatches, published early in the day in second editions of the London morning papers, prepared London to expect before many hours details of one of the most terrible scenes of carnage known in the history of India. In a few hours the first of the details from India arrived, and every man, and woman, and, I may add, child, who had a friend or brother there, were eagerly running to the offices of the newspapers and to the newsmen to learn some particulars, however scanty, or, if possible the names of those who had fallen in the carnage.

From the fact becoming known that the *Morning Herald* had been the first to publish the details at much length in a third edition, and that the *Standard* would repeat their publication in the evening, the rush of people of all degrees to the offices of those papers was most intensely exciting. At one period towards five o'clock, it being rumoured that the *Standard* was to give the names of the officers killed and wounded, though every newsman and newsman's boy in the metropolis was commissioned to get papers with all speed for the clubs and reading rooms and reading people, there were in Bridge-street alone as many members of Parliament in carriages, on horseback, or on foot, competing to get papers, as would have made up the number deficient at the House of Commons for a house. Many more must have been at their clubs anxiously waiting for the papers, or running, riding, driving over the town to tell persons interested in India, or in the fate of the armies of India, what was not yet generally known.

The scene in Bridge-street, Blackfriars, was suggestive of reflections of deep import; not alone that some of the carriages which drew up there contained what were evidently the whole, or nearly the whole, of a family, none of whom had patience to stay at home after the first rumour while one came out to get tidings of father or brother, but who came all off in painful anxiety to ascertain if the names of the slain had yet arrived; not alone that beating hearts, which had no carriages to carry them in search of the news of battle and the names of friends supposed to have been in the battle, were as anxiously contending for the printed sheets; not alone that the friends of the lives and happiness of all mankind were eager to learn how many and whom of mankind had been destroyed, even though they had individually no relatives in the war; not alone that the greatest part of all who assembled at the *Standard* office, or any other office, to learn the news did so because they were pleased, and gloried in the rumours of the slaughter because of its very magnitude; not alone for any of these reasons, nor for all united, nor for the additional and more satisfactory one, that this action had terminated the war, was it that reflections of deep import were suggested, though all or any of those considerations were suggestive of grave reflections.

Meditative thought turned almost involuntarily from the certainty that war had been upon the Sutlej in India, to the possibility of its being upon the St. Lawrence in America; and that with an army, not composed of the half-barbarians of the Punjab, but with brothers of Saxon blood, Saxon courage, perseverance, and endurance. And what so intimately allied to such reflections as the great question of commercial freedom, of national brotherhood, for which we are struggling? What is there of equal value in that question to the certainty that it is the forerunner of universal peace? the only sure preventative of war? Let us commit some of those thoughts to paper.

THE WAR OF NEIGHBOURS—WHAT WOULD IT BE LIKE?

Standing in Bridge-street, Blackfriars, looking upon the crowd who press to get the names of the killed and wounded in India, from a newspaper supposed to be about to publish the names, it will be deemed very absurd to look along Blackfriars-bridge and imagine the London side and the Southwark side at war; the bridge the central point of the battle, the one army driving the other across the bridge, and over the bridge, into the Thames; the artillery of the strongest scattering grape and canister shot among the flying crowds of the weakest; the lancers with lances, the swordsmen with swords—riding upon the disordered rear, hewing down those that have not yet fallen, trampling to death those that are already down; rushing across to Blackfriars-street to set it on fire, bringing up heavy cannon to batter down buildings that

will not burn; retreating to their own side (supposing the citizens to have been the most powerful, and to have chastised the Southwarkians for an invasion) and breaking down or blowing up the bridge in their retreat to prevent the Southwarkians from coming over again; proceeding upon the river to scuttle, sink, or burn, or fetch away by force of arms, and call them their own, every barge, wherry, boat, or raft of timber upon which the Southwarkians could venture upon the water again, either for war or peaceful business. It would be absurd to stand in Bridge-street and suppose all this; but why? Simply because such occurrences are impossible. And why are such occurrences impossible? Because the people on the one side and on the other are one people. The traffic of the one is the traffic of the other; the bridge of the one is the bridge of the other; the barges, wherries, boats, and rafts of wood of the one, are the barges, wherries, boats, and rafts of wood of the other; the preservation of the property of the one side is equally important to the other side. It is so impossible that the two sides of the Thames could go to war and destroy each other's shops and houses, butcher each other's bodies, lay each other's streets in ashes, and make a population of widows and orphans and wounded men, to inhabit the streets of ashes and desolation, so utterly impossible is it for such a thing to happen, that it may appear supremely ridiculous to put the case even hypothetically.

Yet there was once war, even between the two sides of the Thames. The river was a division of kingdoms at a time when there was a belief not yet so dead in the English mind as it should be, that war is a glorious thing, and is only dishonourable when not successful. That was at a time when there was no oneness of interest between the dwellers on the left bank and on the right. It was at a time when the ruling principle of such commerce as was known was piracy. But even now, in the age called civilised—between nations who are the pioneers of civilisation, England, America, France, all three, or any two of them, it is quite possible for war to arise.

It is not possible that the ships of the Messrs. Baring, trading to America, could be attacked, boarded, plundered, burned, or sunk in the London docks by an armament from Rotherhithe; but it is possible that they may be attacked, boarded, plundered, burned, and sunk on the shore of America when trading there; and if so, the loss would be as great to their owners, or their insurers in London, as if they had been destroyed upon the Thames.

Then, if, in retaliation, the ships of war of England should go out, and lay themselves alongside of Boston, and throw rockets into it, and shells to blow it up, and set it on fire, and to tear the limbs from the bodies of the inhabitants, all of whom, it might be, were in favour of peace; some of whom, it might be, were the sellers or the buyers and consumers of the goods which the Barings had before carried there; some of whom might be the owners of ships lying in the ports of England, or at that moment going to the bottom of the sea, sunk by the cannon-balls of England;—if Boston should be bombarded and laid in ashes, its inhabitants left houseless, or thousands of them lifeless, the ships burned, and the docks filled only with wreck, what redress would that be to England? The English merchants would not be paid for the ships and cargoes lost. On the contrary the Americans would be still less able to pay them, even if the war was ended.

But the trade between Liverpool and America, if suspended by war, would be an act of national suicide by both countries, far exceeding in disaster anything here hinted at in regard to the port of London, or anything known in the history of warfare. To depict its consequences would be an unwelcome task; and for the present, in this paper, an impossible one.

Let it suffice to say that the inhabitants of America, who are in the closest commercial intercourse with England, and the inhabitants of England who are holding intercourse with them, are jointly as averse to war as are the inhabitants on the Southwark side and the city side of the Thames to a war between Middlesex and Surrey.

Those in America, who would not so immediately feel the consequences of war in their worst form, are the people of the Western States, who have little commercial intercourse with England, but with whom we are seeking to establish it, by getting food from them in return for our clothing and furniture, of which they are in need.

Repeal the Corn Law at once, and the Western States of America are converted into peacemakers. Defer the repeal, and let the excitement on the Oregon question proceed, and the time for joint occupation cease, and war may become unavoidable. And, if it does begin, all the battles on the Sutlej are as holiday powder fired away, compared with the results of a war with America.

Not that it is denied that the Indian battles are

great ones; they are greater, probably, than any pitched land battles that would be fought in America. A war between England and America, would be one ceaseless naval battle; the separate engagements being nothing more than a small part of the whole. It would be fought along a coast of six thousand miles, and upon an ocean field extending from the English Channel to the shores of China.

America might disable England, and England might disable America. What would be the gain to either? Let two neighbours who have lived in peace—the blacksmith and the miller—fall out and fight, and try to stab each other, and cut each other's hands off, and burn each other's houses; the miller who used to get the blacksmith's skill and iron and tools to mend his mill, trying to cut the sinews of the blacksmith's arm, so that he shall not be able to wield his hammer again, and trying to sink his hammers and his iron in the mill-pond; the blacksmith battering the head of the miller with his hammer, breaking the mill, throwing the flour into the mill-pond. What would be the gain to either if completely victorious over the other? If equally matched, would they not fight until they each cried "enough," and begin their respective business again in the mill and the smithy much poorer men, more helpless men, less useful men, less amiable men than they were before they fell out, and quarrelled, and fought, and battered each others heads?

That miller and that blacksmith are not fictitious. They may fall out. They are not now such friendly neighbours as they might be. The smith has refused to take the flour; the miller refuses to take the smith's iron-work. They dispute about a small piece of common land, of little benefit to either; and it is possible they may go to blows about it. But they would not fight—could not; their domestic households would not permit them, if the smith dealt with the miller, and the miller with the smith.

Nothing prevents that dealing but our Corn Law. Off with it at once.

THE NORTH LANCASHIRE PROTECTIONISTS AND THEIR PETITION ON THE CORN LAWS.—A paragraph, under this head, appeared in the *Guardian* of Wednesday last, stating, in substance, that a few weeks ago R. W. France, Esq., of Rawcliffe Hall, had declined to sign the North Lancashire petition in favour of protection, when requested to do so by R. Townley Parker, Esq., along with a few other protectionist landowners. In reference to this paragraph, we have received the following polite epistle from Mr. Parker, which we presume he intended for publication:

"Cuerden Hall, 22d March, 1846.
"Sir,—The inclosed paragraph has been sent to me, and, I am informed, appeared in the *Preston Guardian*. If it be correctly copied from your paper, I have to inform you, that the statement you have made is false.—I am, sir, yours, &c.

"R. TOWNLEY PARKER.

"To the Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*.
The particular expressions of this letter are quite beneath our notice; and we shall therefore content ourselves with a word or two in reference to the facts to which it relates. What it is in the paragraph that is "false," Mr. Parker does not explain, and we cannot supply the omission. Whether the call was made upon Mr. France a few days instead of a few weeks ago,—whether Mr. Parker called upon him alone, and not along with a few other protectionist landowners,—or whether Mr. France conveyed his refusal to sign in a different form of words from that detailed in the paragraph,—or upon what other incidental point the loose general denial turns,—we are left to conjecture as best we may. At all events, we may safely presume, that if Mr. Parker had not called upon Mr. France for the purpose stated,—or if, when so called upon, Mr. France had consented to sign the petition,—Mr. Parker would have had discernment enough to see, that the real fact should be distinctly stated in his letter.—*Manchester Guardian*.

BRISK TRADE, PROVISIONS LOW, A.D. 1765.—Mr. Wm Smellie, F.R.S. and A.S., late printer in Edinburgh, Secretary and Superintendent of Natural History to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, &c. &c. intimate with Principal Robertson, David Hume, Dr. Blair, Dr. Adam Smith, Lord Kames, Lord Hailes, Lord Elibank, Robert Burns, poet, Remodeller and composer of Dr. Buchan's Domestic Medicine, Translator of Buffon, &c. &c. in a letter to Dr. Buchan, author of Domestic Medicine, dated Sheffield, 1765, writes thus:—"Extreme dearth of trade, and consequent want of money, at present in these parts; high price of provisions of all sorts—these two latter are reasons of much greater weight than you are aware of, and greatly influence the sale of anything here (Sheffield). You must know, when trade is brisk, and provisions low, we are all brisk as larks in this trading country; but when the contrary happens, we are poor as rats or beggars."—*Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence of Mr. Wm. Smellie*, by Robert Kerr, F.R.S. Ed. Edin. 1811, in 2 vols. Mr. Kerr elsewhere observes of Dr. Adam Smith, the immortal author of the *Wealth of Nations*—"A book greatly more celebrated and admired than understood; and the principles which it inculcates and establishes, though almost universally acknowledged to be just and irrefragable, are still successfully opposed by the narrow mercantile system of monopoly, and the bigotted terror which actuates many respectable characters against every appearance of innovation and reform." Mark, this was penned in 1811.

SOUTH LANCASHIRE.—The requisition to Messrs. Villiers and Brown is progressing towards completion; already upwards of 7000 of the electors have appended their signatures, and this is exclusive of those received in townships which have not yet sent in their returns. It will be recollected that at the last contested election Mr. Brown only polled 6973 votes.

There were no potatoes in the Limerick market on Friday.—*Limerick Examiner*.

AGRICULTURE.

REAL AGRICULTURAL PROTECTION.

A MODEL LEASE.

That the real friends to agriculture are to be found amongst the Free Traders is now scarcely denied by any but the politico-monopolist landlords. All, except those who regard their estates as sources of political influence rather than of revenue, are following the natural direction of agricultural improvement, and seeking, with more or less of effect, to amend the tenures of their tenants. Amongst the landowners who deserve honourable mention for their sound and practical views of the requirements of agriculture, Mr. Holland, of Dumbleton, a Free Trader and a Leaguer, stands high; for to that gentleman and his condutors of the *Vale of Evesham Association*, the farming interest is indebted for the simple and equitable model lease which we now present to our readers.

It appears that about a year ago, a resolution was passed at a meeting of this Society, "that security of tenure is essential for the prosperity of the farmer, and will tend to the welfare of all other classes;" and a committee of landlords and tenants was appointed to draw up a form of lease, under which a tenant might hold his farm with the greatest advantage to himself, and with due justice to his landlord. The committee so appointed issued and extensively circulated a series of inquiries addressed to agriculturists in all parts of England; and after a due consideration of the answers obtained, the following form of lease has been submitted to the members of the association and the agriculturists at large, as one framed with due regard to the interests of both tenant and landlord. It is suggested that the lease may be altered to suit local or personal circumstances; and the committee believe "that the form will be found capable of adoption upon any land, and in any part of England."

This Indenture made the _____ day of _____ one thousand eight hundred and forty _____ in pursuance of an Act to facilitate the granting of certain Leases, between A. B. of _____ of the one part, and C. D. of _____ of the other part,

Witnesseth—that the said A. B. doth demise and let the farm unto the said C. D. his heirs, executors and administrators, all the dwelling-house, buildings, and several closes of land mentioned in the schedule hereunto annexed, and containing by admeasurement A. B. P. or thereabouts, to hold from the day of for the term of twenty years thence ensuing; yielding therefore during the said term the rents hereinafter mentioned. Except and always reserved out of this demise all coals, mines, minerals, quarries of stone and beds of gravel, timber, and trees likely to become timber, with full liberty for the said A. B. his agent or others by him authorised, with or without horses, carts or other carriages, to enter upon the said premises or any part thereof, for the purpose of working any of the said mines or quarries, or of felling or taking away the timber, or planting other trees, or for any purpose whatsoever; making reasonable satisfaction to the said C. D. for any injury or damage which the said A. B. may cause in so doing.

1. And the said C. D. doth hereby for himself, his heirs, executors and administrators and every of them, covenant, promise and agree to and with the said A. B. his heirs and assigns, in manner following: that he the said C. D. will pay to the said A. B. by two equal half-yearly payments in every year, the first being made on the 25th day of March and the other on the 29th day of September in each year the following rents, that is to say, in the first year the sum of £ _____ which sum constitutes the value of _____ bushels of wheat, according to the average price of wheat for the seven years ending on the 1st of January next preceding the date of this demise, made up and published as required by law for the purposes of the Tithe Commutation Act; and in every other year during the continuance of this demise the value of a like number of bushels of wheat according to the average price, in like manner made up and published for the seven years next preceding; the rent for each year varying with the average price of wheat during the preceding seven years.

2. And the said C. D. covenants with the said A. B. to pay all taxes chargeable upon the said premises during the said term, landlord's taxes excepted.

3. And that the said C. D. will at his own proper cost and charge repair all the house and buildings hereby demised, and also will keep in good repair all the gates, rails, pales, siles, hedges, ditches, fences, banks, bridges, mounds and drains on the said lands, the said A. B. his heirs and assigns furnishing on the said premises or within _____ miles thereof all rough timber, brick, lime, tiles and all other materials whatsoever for making such repairs.

4. And that the said dwelling house and other buildings having been valued by persons of skill at the entry on the said premises by the said C. D. at the sum of £ _____ which valuations are included in the schedule hereunto annexed, the said C. D. shall and will at the expiration of the said term or at the time of his leaving the said premises, whether it be before or after the end of the said term, deliver up to the said A. B. all the buildings so valued in good repair, and shall and will pay to the said A. B. the whole sum by which the said buildings shall have become lessened in value by reason of his neglect to repair the same; and in case any dispute shall arise with respect to the decreased value of the same, such dispute shall be referred to the decision of two arbitrators or their umpire, chosen as hereinafter provided; but the said C. D. shall not in any case be liable for any damage caused by tempest, and a reasonable deduction shall be made for the natural decay and wear and tear of the premises while occupied by him.

5. And that the said C. D. shall not sell or assign over this

lease nor underlet the lands hereby demised or any part thereof unless with the written consent of the said A. B. and shall use his best endeavours to protect from injury by cattle or otherwise all trees or quickset hedges growing upon the said lands, and shall not lop or cut any of the trees so growing, pollard trees excepted.

6. And it is hereby agreed that at any time in the sixteenth year of this demise, or in any subsequent year, the said A. B. may require the said C. D. to grow such crops on every portion of the said lands as shall be prescribed by the said A. B., he the said A. B., delivering in writing to the said C. D. the course of cropping prescribed by him; and in case the said C. D. shall object to crop the land as proposed by the said A. B. the point in dispute shall be referred to the decision of arbitrators or their umpire, chosen as is hereinafter provided.

7. And that the said A. B. shall, at all times, have power for himself, or his agent, to go upon any part of the said demised lands for the purpose of inspecting the state of repair of any part thereof, and of ascertaining the state of the management and cultivation thereof; and in case the annual renting value of the said demised lands shall have suffered decrease by reason of the said C. D.'s failing to repair or to cultivate the said lands according to the rules of good husbandry, the said A. B. may give notice to quit to the said C. D. at any time before the 25th day of March in any year, and the said C. D. shall quit and deliver up possession of the said lands on the 29th day of September next ensuing after such notice has been received by him; and in that case arbitrators, or their umpire, appointed as hereinafter mentioned, shall assess the damages to the land and buildings caused by such breach of covenant, which sum so assessed the said C. D. shall pay to the said A. B. And in case the said C. D. object to quit after receiving such notice, he may require that the dispute shall be referred to arbitrators or their umpire, chosen as hereinafter provided; and if they shall decide that the said lands have not been materially deteriorated by the management of the said C. D., such notice shall be void; and if they shall decide otherwise the said C. D. shall quit, and shall pay to the said A. B. whatever sum the said arbitrators, or their umpire, shall judge to be a reasonable compensation for the injury done to the said lands by the said C. D.

8. And that in the event of the said C. D. becoming a bankrupt or insolvent, or of his making any bill of sale or assignment of his estate or effects, or refusing to pay in full the rents herein reserved within one month after the same shall have been lawfully demanded, the said A. B. shall have power immediately to re-enter and repossess the lands herein demised, paying to the said C. D. reasonable compensation for such improvements effected by the said C. D. as have increased the annual renting value of the said lands, the amount thereof being adjudged by arbitrators or their umpire, chosen as hereinafter provided.

9. And the said A. B. covenants with the said C. D. for quiet enjoyment of the herein demised lands; and that the said A. B. shall insure all the buildings upon the said premises, provided always that in case such insurance shall be rendered void by the said C. D. having on the premises goods of a hazardous nature, or by other circumstances caused by the negligence of the said C. D., he, the said C. D., shall pay to the said A. B. the whole amount withheld by the insurance office.

10. And that the said A. B. will effectually drain at his own cost and charge every part of the said lands which require drainage, and that the said C. D. covenants to pay an additional rent after the rate of 5s. for every 100s. expended by the said A. B. from the time of the completion of the whole or any part of the drainage and during the continuance of this demise.

11. And that the said C. D. shall and will, during the time he holds the said lands under this demise, farm them in a good and husbandlike manner, and shall not break up or convert to tillage any of the land marked in the schedule annexed as pasture or meadow land without the written permission of the said A. B. or of his agent lawfully authorised.

12. And the said A. B. and C. D. mutually covenant and agree that any dispute arising in settling their respective claims in respect to any matter contained in this demise, as well as the several matters herein declared to be referable to the decision of arbitrators, shall be settled and decided by persons of skill, appointed in the following manner:—that is to say, the said A. B. shall choose one such person, and the said C. D. shall choose another to be arbitrators, who shall upon being appointed forthwith choose an umpire, whose decision, in case the said arbitrators disagree, shall be final; and should either the said A. B. or the said C. D. refuse or neglect to choose his arbitrator within a month after being required to do so by the other, then either the said A. B., or the said C. D., shall have power to choose and appoint two arbitrators, who shall decide by themselves, or their umpire; and such decision shall be equally binding on both parties, as if each had appointed one arbitrator.

In witness whereof, these presents written on this and the preceding pages are subscribed by the said parties at _____ in the county of _____ and in the presence of _____

This is indeed a great step towards "agricultural protection." It is one of the most simple and even-handed leases which has come under our observation, and deserves to be adopted as the groundwork of that reformation in the frame of leases, which is now indispensable. The forms of leases now commonly in use are practically adapted only to the state of husbandry fifty years ago. From the year 1792 till 1814, the value of land was constantly rising, and the competition for its occupation increased year by year—consequently, the object of farmers was to get farms, and the frame and technicalities of the leases entered but little into their consideration. Hence, during the period of high prices, little substantial alteration or amendment in the common forms of leases was made. In 1815, the blight of the Corn Law fell upon British husbandry; and from that time leases have almost fallen into disuse in England. Tenant and landlord have been alike afraid to bind themselves by permanent contracts under the fluctuations and uncertainties of "protection."

From this cause first commenced the yearly-tenant system, which has of late become one of grievous oppression and loss to the tenant farmers of England. Under this system, however, in the exceptional cases where leases have been granted, the old forms have been adhered to; tenants, if determined to improve their land, being too glad to escape from the perilous condition of yearly tenants to scan very closely the terms of the lease by which they obtained protection against the caprices of landlordism.

The time, however, is now come when a new system must be adopted. Farming, it is admitted, can only be conducted with success by a due application of skill and capital; and skill and capital will only be applied where the tenant is secured in the full possession of the fruits of his own enterprise and industry. Leases, therefore, must become the rule instead of the exception, and the settlement of the preliminary question of what is a fair and practical lease has thus become a necessity. The form promulgated by the Vale of Evesham Association goes far towards the settlement of that question, for it contains provisions which will amply secure the landlord against the deterioration of his property, unless through his own negligence; but we think that somewhat less of restriction on the tenant is required for the full development of the capacity of our soil for increased production.

We have numbered the provisions of this form for the purpose of ready reference, and for the sake of brevity. First, although the reservation of existing timber is not perhaps to be avoided in the actual state of farms, the power to enter to plant other trees is decidedly and seriously objectionable. The object of modern management of land should be to remove all hedgerow timber with as little delay as is consistent with securing to the owner the fair value of his trees. But all new plantings should be made upon portions of the land especially agreed upon and defined for that purpose, and which would naturally be arranged so as to afford shelter and protection to the farm, instead of, as now, obstruction to light, air, and nutriment. This is a most important point in all enclosed and timbered districts.

The next point of objection occurs in provision No. 5, by which the tenant is restricted from assigning or underletting the farm.

This opens a wide question, upon which some of our best managers of land have doubts. But a little consideration will show that the restriction is an injury, not an advantage, to the landlord; whilst it greatly lessens the value of the tenants' interest in the farm. That the tenant or his assigns should be restricted from subdividing the farm is most reasonable and proper, but where the landlord is protected against the deterioration of his property (as we shall show presently he may effectually be, by a slight addition to the form before us), into whose hands soever it may come, the restriction on assigning the farm can only tend to prevent the application of capital to the land.

Let us suppose a farm taken in moderate or ordinary condition, and the tenant to have expended in bringing it at once into a state of high cultivation so much of his capital that he is cramped and pinched for want of floating, ready-money capital. He is a man of substance, for he has invested—sunk, if you please—a large sum of money in his farm, in such acts of husbandry that, unless prevented from following out his plans of culture, he is certain to get back his money with a fair profit during the currency of his lease; but his substance is unavailable as the means of credit. His outlay has much increased "the annual renting value" of his farm, but he can't avail himself of that value to obtain a needful supply of ready money, for he can't pledge his lease. His substance cannot be made a security to his friend or his banker. An additional ten, fifteen, or twenty per cent. on his previous outlay might give a most profitable return upon his total expenditure; but he has no security to give for such addition. Like Tantalus, he starves in the midst of plenty; the profit, which is almost his, eludes his grasp, because his interest in the farm cannot be assigned.

Or, take another case, the farmer has sufficient capital for the usual routine of his business, but he has no surplus; if an opportunity of making an advantageous purchase of extra stock, of a cheap quantity of

cattle provender, of straw, or of manure should offer, there can be no doubt of the advantages direct or indirect both the farmer and the farm would derive from the transaction; and, had he the power of assigning his lease, he might, in depositing it with his banker, give security of ten or twenty times the value of the accommodation he receives. Again, the farmer or his family desire to sell the leasehold interest in the farm; and the same offered in the market, unfettered by previous negotiation with the landlord for his acceptance of the new tenant, will attract the attention of farming capitalists. In short, leasehold interests in land must become marketable, in the same way that leasehold interests in house property are now marketable, before capital will be applied to agriculture to the extent that would be most profitable to the farmer and landowner, and advantageous to the community. The provision, No. 7, seems to be effectual to guard the landlord against waste, into whose hands soever the land might come; and therefore the provision, No. 8, which is in fact a simple robbery of the creditors of an insolvent tenant, should, upon the principle that the leasehold interest ought to be marketable, be dispensed with.

The provision for arbitration, contained in No. 12, requires the addition, "that the submission or agreement to refer the matters aforesaid to arbitration, may be made a rule of the Court of Queen's Bench, or other Court of Record, upon the application of either of the parties to this demise." If this provision be omitted, and one party should refuse to refer, the other has no means of enforcing the award, except by a suit in Chancery. The provision we have added gives a summary power to enforce it, under the statute 9 & 10 Wm. III., ch. 15. This should never be omitted.

MONOPOLIST PROPHECIES.

We have again and again had occasion to remark upon the utter hollowness of the monopolist landowners. They are not faithful to their own political creed. They have not, in most instances, the excuse of mere ignorance for the foolishnesses they have palmed upon their tenants upon the subject of Free Trade. Now, there is no one who has given vent to more direful predictions as to the ruin Free Trade would bring upon agriculture, and the danger of driving land out of cultivation, though the free importation of foreign grain, than that genuine monopolist, the Marquis of Salisbury.

This marquis, although not amongst the least ignorant of his not very enlightened class, has a keen and, in a narrow point of view, an accurate regard to his own interest—that is, he knows how to turn a penny under a system of moderate farming, though he has no conception of the real capacity of land for production, and he is too hard and feudal as a landlord to give an enterprising tenant that full possession of his farm and security of tenure, which are essential to profitable farming.

However, the Marquis of Salisbury is a living instance that Mr. Cobden, usually so accurate, erred, when he said that the monopolist landocrats, by whom the industry of the nation has hitherto been trammelled, have not sense enough to enable them successfully to manage a chandler's shop; because the marquis is just fitted for that department. Had fortune and descent not made him a landed magnate, he would, unquestionably, have been eminent in the huckstering and chandlery line, for he has a quick perception of the prospect of an immediate return for a given outlay. Now, we find in the following paragraph from the *Herts Mercury* the most complete demonstration of the Marquis of Salisbury's own want of faith in his own monopolist prophecies. Let farmers remember, that the Marquis has been one who professed the most extreme apprehension, that with a Free Trade in corn, poor land must go out of cultivation, and moreover that the land referred to in the subjoined paragraph, which, now Free Trade is inevitable, he is bringing into cultivation, is not merely poor, but cold and stubborn land, difficult to cultivate, and they will hereafter know what faith to put in the pretended alarm of these protectionist landocrats:

"CLEARING OF LAND FOR AGRICULTURAL PURPOSES.—On Wednesday last, Mr. Kimpton superintended an extensive sale of timber, at Hoddesdon, comprising 2,647 oak timber trees, and 6,667 oak saplings. The timber and saplings were standing in the following woods:—Mimms Great Wood, near South Mimms, Middlesex; Cloth Hall Woods and Springs, near Baldock; Lady Grove and Wood Hall Wood, near Hatfield; Box Wood, Wormley Wood, Cow Heath and Barnoudsday, Westfield Grove and Spring, near Hoddesdon. We understand that the object of the noble owner, the Marquis of Salisbury, in disposing of this large quantity of timber, is to clear the land for agricultural purposes. We have heard that seven farms are to be created out of the land which will be thus cleared. It is scarcely

necessary to inquire whether the noble Marquis can be of opinion that Free Trade will depreciate the value of arable land, when he adopts these measures on the very eve of the downfall of 'Protection.'—*Herts Mercury*.

In the same district, other landlords are clearing woodlands for the purpose of cultivation. This is a wise proceeding, and it strongly shows that they have no real apprehension from Free Trade.

INDIAN CORN BREAD.

We confess we have always regarded Indian corn as food for stock rather than for man, and we have therefore hailed its free introduction as the means of indirectly increasing the people's food. This it will do in an eminent degree; for it is said we shall ultimately get it at a very cheap rate, and the cheaper the more stock can we keep on our land, and thus reduce the price of wheat by the increased fertility of our own fields. But we learn that maize, or Indian corn meal, makes excellent bread, and that it is coming into extensive use as an article of human food. We are glad of it; and this we say as occupiers of land, especially if not exclusively adapted for the growth of wheat.

We believe no one worthy of the name of "a farmer" has any fear of that competition which excites the sham horror of Mr. Miles and his scarcity-loving band in the House of Commons. We have been led to these remarks by a little tract we have received on the advantages of Indian corn as a cheap and nutritious article of food, by Dr. Bartlett, the Editor of the *New York Albion*, which gives ample directions for using maize in the various modes common in the United States; and we propose on a future occasion to give some extracts from it.

STATE OF TRADE AT LIVERPOOL.—The only point in connection with the corn trade of this port indicative of the opinion of dealers respecting Sir Robert Peel's measure is the growing indisposition to purchase cargoes of bonded wheat on speculation. This would seem to evince a fear for the ultimate fate of the bill now under discussion in the House of Commons, though, in the present state of the money market, it is rather difficult to judge accurately of the motives of those whose enterprises, in more healthy times, give so much animation and impetus to business. The prevailing malady no doubt depresses the energies of men in all departments of trade, and merely speculative designs are entertained with caution, or held in abeyance till affairs assume a more settled aspect. There has, throughout the past week, been an increased demand for foreign wheat for present use, and buyers from the country have continued to make large purchases at this port for transmission to their respective districts. The purchases of Irish wheat have been so considerable as to cause an advance of price to the extent of threepence to fourpence per bushel. This strengthens the belief lately entertained, to which we alluded last week and the week before, of the low state of the stocks in the principal corn-growing districts of the country. We alluded last week to the increased demand for Indian corn, consequent on the Government order for the release of that article at the low duty proposed under the new tariff. The orders for that description of grain last week were very extensive; floating or forthcoming cargoes being in great request, principally for Ireland. The reputation of Indian corn is, in fact, rapidly increasing, and there is every prospect of this and many other descriptions of nutritious and wholesome food, hitherto almost unknown in this country, coming largely into consumption. Our American brethren, who are considerably anxious to relieve our wants, and at the same time reap legitimate advantage from our necessities, have recently sent over a cargo of red kidney beans, of which not only they, but, we believe, the French and Dutch, are in the habit of cooking substantial and highly nutritious messes. These beans are, when properly prepared, exceedingly palatable, and they can now be obtained at a very low price in many of the shops of this town. Our transatlantic friends must have conceived that we were really on the verge of famine, for some smart denizen of the States has transmitted to us a cargo of lupins—a bitter, unpalatable sort of pulse, of which we do not pretend to know the use or properties, and we believe the consignee of this novel adventure is equally unenlightened. We have not yet had any arrivals of buckwheat, though we know that orders have been transmitted to Hamburg for a quantity to be sent over to this country forthwith by steamer.—*Liverpool Albion*.

SIX BUSHELS OF SPEECHES.—It appears that our member, Lord George Bentinck, during the 20 years he has occupied a seat in Parliament, for this borough, has been hiding his talents under a bushel. We had no idea his abilities extended beyond the necessary sharpness for making up a book for Newmarket. The Free Trade measures of Sir Robert Peel, however, apparently suddenly have developed them in an extraordinary degree, and his lordship may now be considered the leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons. That his constituents may be perfectly aware of his attainments, and the place they will in future occupy in the estimation of the country, as the returners to Parliament of so great a statesman, his lordship has furnished a corrected copy of his speech of the 27th of February to the *Morning Post*, which was published in that paper of the 23d instant, and to the dismay of the letter carriers of Lynn, no less than six bushels arrived by Tuesday morning's mail, directed, we presume by his lordship's orders, to the voters of the borough.—*Correspondent of the Cambridge Independent*.

PROSPECTS FROM THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS.—On Tuesday, the grass parks attached to the mansion-house of Barr, the seat of Colonel McDonall, Lochwinnoch, were let by public roup, and the yearly rent obtained for the same amounted to no less than 125*l*. above the sum for which the same ground was let last year. Similar advances have taken place in various parts of the country.—*Edinburgh Witness*.

A Mr. Smith demanded compensation from the Cork and Brandon Railway Company, for the injury which would be done to the milk of his cows by reason of the noise, steam, and smoke of the locomotives in their transit.

THE DEBATE OF FRIDAY.

(From the Times.)

Friday night went far to reduce the intolerable dulness of the week's debate. The distinguished speakers set to work like men on their subjects, and laid for the pending measure a broad foundation of reason and facts which a House of Lords will find it easier to neglect than overthrow. Novelty, of course, there could be none. What more could be said? What new thing that would not be untrue, what true thing unless it no longer was new? There is, of course, but too much truth in the sarcasms with which the late Foreign Secretary took care to spice his adhesion to the ministerial measure. All has been said times and times before. The League has said it all; Peel himself has said it. "I think," said his lordship:

"That the Government have placed upon somewhat too narrow grounds the justification they have advanced for the change that has taken place in their conduct. They have ascribed that change to their experience during the last three years. I think they would have justly explained the cause if they had imputed it to the debate of the last four sessions. I think it is not merely their experience of their own truth which has altered their opinions, but that the change may be attributed to the speeches of my hon. friend the member for Stockport, and other hon. gentlemen who have advocated, session after session, with an eloquence unanswerable, and with arguments which could not be disputed, those principles of freedom of commerce upon which the measures of Government are founded."

After a preparation which has really been years in progress, and which the crisis, if crisis it be, has only brought to a head, all that remains is the summing up of the argument. It must be rather tedious, after the splendid harangues of the counsel, the dexterous examination and cross-examination of witnesses, the elaborate arguments, the sudden surprises, the diverting episodes of a long and important trial, to listen to the very same things, collected, stuffed, and dried by the judge. Wonderful as his memory and skill may be, nothing but a *caput mortuum* of barren recapitulations can now be extracted from the cause. The harvest has been secured by the League, the gleaming is all that is left for her Majesty's ministers, or, indeed, for the statesmen of either party. Such is the rightful meed of original spirit and genius; and such, on the other hand, the penalty of those who are slow to learn, and still slower to act on their growing convictions. They may at last master the whole argument, and what is more, they may triumph over the hostility and suspicion that inevitably dog the path of the convert. They may seem not only to speak the truth, but also to believe it; yet all has been said before. The freshness of the thing is gone. The more the speaker proves his new system, the more he condemns his own long resistance. Others have discovered the new world, and deservedly given it their name. Peel and Graham are only the settlers who securely cross the well explored ocean, and comfortably squat on the now familiar shore.

One topic there was, however, which assumed a new and peculiar interest in Sir Robert Peel's hands, chiefly on account of the practical comments with which it is in his power to illustrate it. Sir R. Peel can not only enunciate principles of taxation, he has the power of following them up, and therefore every word he drops on that subject, whatever its truth, cannot fail to be important.

The Premier's first feeling on the subject is to relieve the classes whose incomes are, as he expresses it, under 9*s*., 12*s*., 15*s*., or 30*s*. a week. He points out that the expenditure of these classes is almost entirely on articles which are heavily taxed. In the lowest rank of this census, the larger part, a half, or two-thirds of the pittance goes for bread. So large a place does the staff of life occupy in the labourer's budget, that if its price rises but a little, it swallows the whole of his earnings. Sir Robert Peel, without committing himself to the opinion that the repeal of the Corn Laws will really reduce the price of bread, asks for the labourer and operative the chance of this result. What if bread should fall, he says, why should we hesitate to give so great a boon to the poor man, at so small a cost, if any, to the rich?

"Well, then, supposing the effect of this law is to cause some reduction in the price of wheat, pray let us ask ourselves this question:—supposing that such is the effect, are you not thus materially adding to the comforts and to the enjoyments of millions of your fellow-objects? Let me assure you that this is by far the most important part of the question. It is impossible to deny—you know that I gave you credit for it—the real sympathy which you have for the interest and the condition of the working classes in this country. Yes, I don't agree at all with those who make imputations against you—against your humanity; and I do believe that among the gentlemen of England there is sincere sympathy with the suffering of the poor, and much of an honest desire to make better the condition of the working classes. I would almost say that there is more than among any other class."

Nothing can be more honourable, or, we will add, more safe, than such a wish as a ruling motive of policy. A mere anxiety, however, to lighten the expenses and hardships of the poor may be misdirected, as Sir R. Peel himself takes care to intimate in this passage. As a statesman he is bound to give us a principle as well as a sentiment; and the principle which he does give, and adduces in behalf of his present measure, is quoted from Adam Smith, who says, "The first maxim with respect to taxation is, that every man contribute to the taxation of the State in proportion to the revenue which he enjoys under the protection of the State." Sir Robert then proceeds to express his opinion that we have been violating this maxim by pressing with undue severity on the poor—by taxing them beyond the proportion of their revenue.

The principle, however, is one so impossible of express application that we very much question whether it is worth anything except as an occasional check. There are times when it becomes very manifest that taxation does directly or indirectly press upon the poor, if not by adding to their expenses, yet by curtailing their means. Such is undoubtedly the case now. As the taxation of the country now stands, the poor are the sufferers. *Causa latet, res est notissima*. A burden, a fetter, a blight, is on the condition of the poor. Adam Smith's maxim, therefore, becomes a startling truth—a beacon, a rule, which, intricate and impossible as its rigorous application may be, now at all events, testifies against the actual system of the day. The poor are the least protected, and their difficulties the greatest. Taxed or not taxed, they are by position the least able to better themselves.

Nothing, however, can be more hazardous than to rest an argument on a principle of such difficult application. It will of course be said, and *prima facie* with much plausibility, that the surest way of taxing all parties according to their revenue is to tax the articles of the most universal consumption. It will be argued that the most practical plan is to levy a tax on bread, and if it should happen that any particular class will gain by the impost, we can equalise matters, and do in fact equalise matters, by charging them with some

special burthens. It may also be said, with still greater plausibility, that a tax on food must reach all classes with proportionate force, because the expenditure of the wealthy is, in fact, only an aggregation of less expenditures, the employer being the great paymaster of the employed.

Space will not permit us now to repeat the arguments by which this alleged system of fiscal equivalents has often been confuted. We only wish to deprecate any attempt to apply this maxim as a ground either for direct or for universal taxation. Sir Robert Peel himself has saved us the necessity for saying anything as to its direct application. The Income-tax, which, as far as it goes, aims at carrying out the principle, he admits to be a severe tax on the classes expressly exempted from its direct force. As for universal taxation,—that which aims to reach all classes with a sort of arithmetical fairness,—we believe that to be equally certain to disappoint itself. *Eccæ signum.* The most universal tax, that on bread, cannot be maintained, for it is found to press with double force on the labouring classes. It both directly increases their costs, and indirectly exhausts their means. A tax on food is a tax on labour, and therefore on production. It strikes at the very root of prosperity. Tax unproductive expenditure; tax luxuries, as far as they are luxuries, within certain reasonable limits; but spare the very sinews and strength of the country. Do not tax industry itself.

"PROTECTION" PETITIONS.

(From the Carlisle Journal.)

We have this week the opportunity of presenting to our readers a very "remarkable" petition.

In the House of Commons last week, a petition for "Protection to British Industry" was presented by Lord George Bentinck, purporting to be from "3000 persons engaged in the cultivation of land in the eastern division of Cumberland; and amongst those who had signed it Lord George asserted that, " (with the exception of those engaged on one farm, Cubby Hill)" it had received the signatures of "every one of the tenants of his right hon. friend, the Laird of Netherby Hall (Sir James Graham), praying the House to reject the measures of the Government." The accounts add that "the presentation of the petition created a considerable sensation."

Well, when we consider that the eastern division of Cumberland contains upwards of 5000 electors—that the petition had been hawked from farmstead to farmstead to catch the important signature of each stable-boy—that every village school had contributed its quota of names—the wonder is, not that there were 3000, but that there were not 10,000 signatures. The result which the fact furnishes—supposing the 3000 were *bonâ fide* signatures—is, that not one-tenth of the electors had signed the petition. But, when we show, as we shall do presently, that in innumerable instances the signatures were not *bonâ fide*—that they were either forgeries, downright frauds upon the legislature, or had no existence at all—the utter worthlessness of the petition as a representation of public opinion or public feeling must be manifest. Of course, Lord George Bentinck merely followed his brief—stating only what he had been told by those who instructed him; but his instructor must have known the falsehood he was trying to play off upon the house and the country; and if Lord George be an honest man, he will denounce his betrayer to the world. Some time previous to the protection petition being sent off, we heard of the fraudulent way in which signatures had been attached to it; but we could not believe that any one who had the least value for his character, as a man of honesty and truth, would venture to instruct a Member of the House of Commons to proclaim a falsehood; and we therefore declined noticing what we had heard until the proof was undoubted. That proof we have now before us, in the form of a petition to Parliament, signed by 114 of Sir James Graham's tenants, praying for a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, and denouncing the statement of Lord George Bentinck as an untruth!

The tenantry on the Netherby estate is probably one of the most intelligent bodies of agriculturists in the kingdom, and the indignation with which they read Lord George Bentinck's misrepresentation of their feelings and opinions may easily be conceived. To be held up to the world as selfish monopolists, caring only for their own interests, and as so ignorant as not to know that in freedom of trade is their only true protection, must have been galling beyond measure. A meeting was immediately held amongst a few of the most influential of them, and a petition drawn up which received the signatures of not less than 114 of the tenants in less than two days. There was not time to see the farmers in what are called the "out manors" of Sir James Graham's estate, or the number would have been swelled considerably. A few of the parties who have signed have attached to their names the amounts which they pay in rent. These amounts will speak for themselves as to the interest which the petitioners possess in the land, and show how little intelligent men fear competition with foreigners. The total amount of rental paid by the petitioners is, we believe, somewhere about 15,000*l.* per annum—nearly three-fourths of the whole rental of Sir James's estate.

Here, then, is ample proof of the grossness of the frauds practised upon the house by what are called "protection" petitions; and we shall be much surprised if this exposure of the utter worthlessness of the East Cumberland petition in favour of "protection to native industry" do not create a "sensation" much more "considerable" than that created by Lord George Bentinck's most untruthful statement.

We subjoin a copy of this remarkable petition, with a few of the names attached to it; and it is proper we should add that neither Sir James Graham nor his steward had the slightest knowledge that such a petition was in agitation. The first intimation Sir James will have of its existence will

be its presentation to the house by Mr. Cobden, who was selected for this honour, not less as a compliment to him for his great services to the country as a *real* "farmer's friend," than to show that it was by no influence or dictation of their landlord that the farmers on "the Laird of Netherby Hall's" estate have thus come forward to vindicate their claim to be considered men of common sense and intelligence.

The petition was sent to Mr. Cobden on Thursday, and would probably be presented to the house last night. The following is a copy:—

"TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

"The petition of the undersigned the tenants of the Right Honourable Sir J. R. G. Graham, Baronet, M.P., on the estate of Netherby, in the County of Cumberland,

"Sheweth,—That your petitioners are a class of men not accustomed to dabble in politics, but at the same time in this most important crisis cannot refrain from expressing their undivided opinion on the great measure now before your Honourable House: that they view the measure of the Government with the greatest satisfaction, but cannot refrain from saying that total and immediate repeal would still more heartily have met their approval.

"We beg also to state to your Honourable House, that the assertion made by Lord George Bentinck on the presentation of a petition from East Cumberland in favour of protection to agriculture, that the whole of the farmers on the Netherby estate, with one exception, had signed that petition, is erroneous and unfounded in fact.

"That some few of such farmers did sign the petition is true; but they now regret having done so, and admit that they were induced to sign it in an unguarded moment; whilst the names of others were attached to it without their knowledge or consent.

"That your petitioners look upon the great measure proposed by Government as wise, generous, and leading; and therefore pray your Honourable House to pass it into a law as speedily as possible.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

	Rent.
"William Reed, Mead Farm	£600 0
William Graham, Cubbyhill,—farms 390 acres of land.	207 9
John Corrie, Fould Mill	145 0
Irvine Reay, Brisco-hill	240 0
Frances Stockbridge, Bush-on-Lyne	350 0
John Wilkin, Randalston	330 0
Archibald Thomson, Parcels-town	440 0
Richard Carruthers, Hornick-hill	350 0
Joseph Johnston, Stone House	200 0
Mary Baxter, Fould	507 0
Jane Little, Guards' Mill	280 0
John Birrell, Guards' Farm	558 0
John Fawkes, Smalshaw-town	600 0
Robert Gibbons, Mosshead	325 0
Herbert Wilkin, Bush Farm	730 0
William Armstrong, Batimush	292 10
John Ferguson, Glinger Mill	75 0
John Johnston, Milles Braehead	160 0
Robt. Ferguson, Glinger Bank	
J. Plenderleath, Rea Clough	
W. Johnston, Shadwell Crook	
Ann Ridley, Shadwell Crook	
W. Graham, Crow's-yeat	
Wm. Nichol, Duffstownrigg	
Barbara Little, Glinger Burn	
John Atkin, Beck	
Geo. Johnston, Bogburn	
Thos. Graham, Franks-town	
Wm. Beattie, Bogburn	
Charles Graham, Bogburn	
Wm. McVitie, Bogburn	
John Beattie, Beatt's-town	
George Graham, Hills-town	
John Beattie, Moss-side	
George Bell, Calve Ilpeth	
Simon Johnston, Nether Beck	
John Blaylock, Beckside	
Robert Wilson, Beckside	
John Beattie, Croft	
John Parish, Becksides	
Thos. Graham, Beck Common	
Jas. Brown, Brown-rigg	
Lucy Wilson, Looming	
Jas. Irving, Close-gap	
Richard Peel, Braehead	
Frances Graham, Braehead	
John Livingstone, Braehead	
Richard Byers, Braehead	
George Graham, Pattenstown	
John Robson, Pattenstown	
Andrew Ward, Longtown	
Francis Lamb, Longtown	
Wm. Graham, Longtown	
Wm. Hayton, Plump.	

REVIEW.

The Quarterly Review, No. 154, *Postscript*. London: Murray.

We thought that we had done with Rigby—"Time was when the brains were out, the man would die"—but that time is not the present, for this veteran defender of abuses has again put forward his exploded fallacies, and has once more expounded the policy of preferring the exigencies of party to the interests of a people. The purpose of the article is to urge the protectionists to keep something—to grasp the rags when the robe is torn from them—to retain even the diminished sliding scale of Peel's measure rather than allow total Free Trade. He does not any longer require that no alteration should be permitted. The visions of county meetings and agricultural petitions have faded from his view. Even in his opinion, the doom of the existing Corn Laws is sealed; but he thinks that delay might afford opportunity for capitulation. He cannot bear to surrender at discretion, seeing that discretion, either moral or political, has never been the attribute either of himself or his party.

One of Rigby's recommendations has been adopted. Delay is granted. Sir Robert Peel has interposed the Irish Coercion Bill between the stages of the Corn Bill; and the result must be a long and fierce series of debates, with fresh incentives to violence, and fresh facts to be disputed brought over by every mail. We are not about to discuss the Irish Bill; the extermination of tenants and the assassination of landlords are subjects far too painful for us to quit our prescribed course to examine; but we must say that, whether viewed as a part of political expediency or national policy, the appearance of the Coercion Bill in the House of Commons at this crisis is a calamity deeply to be lamented.

Rigby's text is the speedy dissolution of Sir R. Peel's Ministry. The country has survived greater calamities, for the principles of the Ministerial measure would survive the Ministry. There are two great elements of hope presented to the Conservatives—the probability of war, and the formation of a Cabinet by Lord Stanley. There is about as much chance of the one as the other. No sane man

receives the possibility of either contingency. The plain truth is, that at home and abroad Free Trade is received as *un fait accompli*. The question is fairly placed in issue between a protectionist party and a commercial nation—between the preservation of monopoly and the existence of trade. The tactics of the protectionists have tended to bring the question to this simple issue. They demand a dissolution at a moment when all the monetary arrangements of the country would be thrown into perilous confusion by the suspension of the progress of the railway bills now before Parliament. They interpose delay, and nothing but delay, when all the great interests of the country demand an immediate settlement of a question in which not only their prosperity but their very existence is involved. Does Rigby suppose that this unparalleled exhibition of utter recklessness and undisguised selfishness is unnoticed and unknown? He has been too much accustomed to measure the moral tone of the country from the exhibitions of such patrons as a luxurious marquis surrounded by French mistresses. We tell him that neither Hertford morals nor Castlereagh principles of policy are applicable to existing circumstances; and that he but lures to their doom those whom he invites to follow him in either the one or the other. He seems to the existing public like a creature of the court of Nero, attempting to regulate the Government of Titus.

It is, however, gratifying to find that he is humiliated. The insane miser in the old picture is represented as satisfied with hoarding farthings, when his gold was consigned to the care of his legal guardians. Rigby declares that he will be content with the beggarly scraps of protection which Peel has flung almost contemptuously from the agricultural budget to gratify a greedy and a yelping pack. "Keep up, at least, a show of Corn Laws," he says; "for if that question is settled, you know not what may be hidden behind it." Now, we very much question the policy or the prudence of hinting that there are profitable abuses and lucrative corruptions veiled by the Corn Laws. To a corrupt party that may be a valid reason for retaining them; but, to an uncorrupt people, it is a further incentive to remove them as soon as possible. Taking Rigby's favourite and characteristic ground of paltry and selfish expediency, we are convinced that his recommendations would be far more ruinous to his party than injurious to the nation. He believes that "a vigorous demonstration of opinion in the Lords" would render the passage of the bill in the Commons "problematical." Perhaps so; but might there not be "a vigorous demonstration of opinion," outside the precincts of the palace of Westminster which would solve the problem very decisively?

Compound Atlas of the Ancient, Middle, and Modern Ages. London: Hall and Gower.

Although this truly national work has not yet been issued to the public, sufficient progress has been made in its preparation to enable us to form some estimate of its importance, both historically and commercially. We could wish that a less dubious name than the "Compound Atlas" had been given to the work; it should have been called the Historical and Comparative Atlas, for its distinctive merit is to set before the student at one view the ancient, the mediæval, and the modern names of countries and places. It has the further merit of setting forth more clearly than is usual in ordinary maps the natural features and geographical characteristics of the countries delineated,—particularly the course of mountain ranges, the fluvial system, as determined by declivities, and the arrangement of islands on the coast.

Students of history have long felt the want of such a work. The changes of name frequently compel them to consult several Atlases in succession before they can identify the localities to which they desire to refer; and there must, consequently, be a great saving of time when they are enabled to effect this identification at a single glance. But there is a still more important advantage arising from a comparative Atlas: the changes of name are very often our best, and not untruly, our only clue in tracing the migrations and the conquests of races, which have left few written memorials of their vicissitudes. In the Celtic, the Teutonic, and the Slavonic history, philology applied to names must ever be a most important element in determining the course of their migrations, and the extent of their conquests. Thus the first England was in the peninsula of Jutland, and the first France in the circle of Saxony.

We may also notice the importance of such an Atlas in tracing the progress of maritime and inland discovery. There are many interesting and perplexing problems connected with claims to priority of discovery which can only be solved by the accurate determination of the names which the place bore in the earlier maps. The history of civilisation is so connected with the progress of discovery, that the problems to which we have alluded cannot be regarded as mere matters of antiquarian curiosity, but as affording most useful aid in fixing the

landmarks by which we are to estimate the general progress of humanity and of human knowledge.

It is only within the last few years that the importance of mediæval history has been appreciated. In the last century, the middle ages were regarded as a long period of intellectual degradation, during which the course of civilisation was retrograde, and the triumph of barbarism all but complete. We have learned a better lesson: we have discovered that the civilisation of the old world had become effete, and that it sunk into decay from sheer decrepitude, but that there was growing by the side of this expiring system new and vigorous elements of civilisation, which, like the infant Hercules, won signal triumphs while yet in the cradle; and heralded the glorious maturity, of which we have not yet seen the full and complete development. By smoothing the path for the students of this important epoch in the annals of our race, the proprietors of the Comparative Atlas will have opened to historical students,

"Fresh fields and pastures new,"

where they may meet incalculable sources of amusement and instruction.

To a commercial nation, such an Atlas is of inestimable importance. It is a fact that has attracted too little notice, that hardly any of the caravan routes of antiquity has ever been wholly abandoned, and that the overland commerce of Central Asia traverses the same tracks that were used in the days of the Phœnicians and Babylonians. No one can read the twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel without being surprised to find in how many instances the merchants of Tyre bartered in the very marts which are now opened to the enterprise of the merchants of London. Steam has brought us back to the Red Sea, and rolled back the revolutions effected by the discoveries of Pasco di Gama. Suez has recovered the importance which it possessed as Arsinoe; and it is not unlikely that the ancient glories of Ezion Geber and Berenice may be revived at Akaba and Cosseir.

So far as we have been able to examine these maps, we must pronounce them most creditable specimens of the engraver's skill. The pains taken to secure cleanness and accuracy in the mechanical execution deserve not less commendation than the labour and research which has been bestowed on the identification of ancient names with modern places. We need not add a word more; such a work must command success, so long as commerce is valued and history appreciated.

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Persons desirous to join the Society are requested to make application immediately.

The Society's Office will be open for receiving subscriptions and the general transaction of business, every Tuesday and Friday evenings, from 6 to 9 o'clock.

THE FREE TRADE INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION.—

As the Second Subscription is about to be called for, parties intending to avail themselves of the benefits of the Association are requested to make application for shares immediately. Until the Second Subscription is called in, shares can be obtained on the same terms as those which have been already taken up. Attendance at the Office, East Temple Chambers, Whitefriars-street, Fleet-street, every Tuesday and Friday evenings, from Six to Nine o'clock.

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Any person forwarding 3s. 3d. by Post-office order to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, April 4, 1846.

The calculations of the probable result of a division on the ministerial measures in the House of Lords are, as yet, very vague, in consequence of the great number of waverers, who have not yet declared to which side they will give their adhesion. Among those who "halt between two opinions," we are informed that a considerable number of the bishops may be ranked; and we are further told that their hesitation has exposed them to considerable censure. We do not join those who attribute the doubts of the right reverend prelates to unworthy motives. It is true, that in the last century, when the Duke of Newcastle had the management of

ministerial patronage, it used to be said of a doubtful ecclesiastic—

"Between his two masters, what course can he trace,
On one side his God—on the other his Grace."

But it must be confessed that those in whose hands episcopal appointments have been vested during the last 30 years, have been guided in their choice more by considerations of public benefit than of party exigency, and that there was never a period in our history when the right reverend bench could exhibit such a strength of moral character, talent, and learning, as it displays at the present moment. We know not the causes of the doubts that are said to haunt the minds of many prelates, but we do know that the precepts and example of their Blessed Master inculcate the feeding of the hungry as the first of Christian practical duties, and that the most severe denunciations in the inspired volume are pronounced against those who create artificial famine to gratify their own rapacity.

The established church is based on law; but law derives its validity from public opinion. The alliance of the clerical body in France with an oppressive aristocracy precipitated the French Revolution, and produced that hostility to Christianity, the effects of which have not disappeared from the minds of the present generation. The real strength of a hierarchy is in the hearts and affections of the people. A church is not a fortress, to be covered by bayonets and protected by artillery. It must appeal to the feelings, not to the fears of the nation; and any clerical member of the establishment who gives support to the Corn Laws, is an enemy to religion and a traitor to his order.

We cannot believe that any such will be found on the episcopal bench. We cannot be persuaded that any of our venerable prelates will be callous to the precepts of sacred, and the warnings of profane history. They have not one duty as barons, and another as bishops. Their secular rank is subordinate to their spiritual functions, and they should therefore, in such a case as is now offered to their consideration, decide as pastors, and not as partisans.

Mediæval history relates many anecdotes of bishops who preferred their politics to their pastoral care. One of them, who headed an army in an unjust attack upon his neighbours, declared he made war as a prince, not as a bishop; upon which it was shrewdly asked, "when Satan claims the prince, what will become of the bishop?" We live in different times; the continuance of the church must mainly depend on the conduct of its ministers; the establishment must rest upon its character; and if those by whom it is directed mistake its purpose and pervert its object, they incur for the institution to which they belong the penalty denounced against the school of false prophets, and bright exceptions will not atone for general delinquency. "Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they should save but their own souls by their righteousness."

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. Mar.23	MON. Mar.30	TUES. Mar.31	WED. April 1	THUR. April 2	FRI. April 3
Bank Stock	210½	shut.	shut.	shut.	shut.	shut.
3 per Ct. Ann.	Shut.	shut.	shut.	shut.	shut.	shut.
3 per Ct. Con. Ann.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	96½	shut.	shut.	shut.	shut.	shut.
Long. An. Ex. 1860	102	102	102	102	102	102
Cons. for Acct.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
Exc. Bills, pm.	27-30	30-27	27-10	30-28	25-29	96½
Ind. Bds. in 1000f.	27-30	30-27	27-10	30-28	25-29	96½
Venezuela 2 per Ct.	..	28 pm.	22	30-28	30	..
Do. deferred.	..	13½	..	..	13	..
Belgian 4½ per Ct.	..	98½	..	99	..	..
Brazilian 5 per Ct.	82½	..	..	..	..	..
Chilian	..	97	..	96	..	..
Columb. ex. Venez.	..	..	..	16	17	..
Danish	..	..	87½	..	..	..
Dutch 2½ per Cent.	..	50½	50½	50½	50½	50½
Dutch 4 per Cent.	94½	94½	94½	94½	94½	94½
Mexican	..	31	31½	31½	32½	32
Peruvian	..	..	..	..	..	..
Portug. conv.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Russian 5 per Cent.	109½	108½	..	..	..	..
Spanish 5 per Ct.	25½	25½	25½	25½	25½	25½
Do. 3 per Ct. ex. dv.	37	36½	36½	36½	..	36½

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MONDAY, March 30.—Up to Saturday night the arrivals of every kind of grain into this port were very moderate. This morning a good show of Wheat samples, both by land-carriage

and coastways, is made on the Essex, Kent, and Suffolk stands; and fair quantities of Barley and Oats have also come to hand since Saturday. In the morning, last Monday's prices were asked for English Wheat, but millers had very cautiously, and the market closed 1s. to 2s. cheaper than this day week. Bonded Wheat remains the same as last week, without much inquiry. Barley is a heavy sale, and last Monday's rates are with difficulty obtained; the heaviest descriptions of Chevalier meet a ready sale. The chief part of the show of Oats consists of English samples, which continue to come, as they have done all this season, very light; 1s. more is asked than on Monday last, and 6d. is obtained, but the advance checks business, and the trade is flat. Beans are in fair supply, and fine qualities rather dearer. No alteration in Peas.

S. H. LUCAS.

BRITISH.		Per Imperial Quarter	
Wheat, Essex,	Red 54 to 60	White 58 to 66	
Kent, & Suffolk	49 58	56 63	
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire	47 51	54 62	
Scotch .....	..	..
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feed	25	25	
Ditto	Black	23 6	26
Ditto	Polands	New 27	
Scotch Feed	25 26	Potato 28	29
Limerick .....	..	..	25
Ditto	Fine New 27 29	Old Fine	none
Cork .....	..	..	24 25
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black .....	..	..	23 24
Sligo .....	..	..	..
Galway .....	..	..	19 21
Barley .....	..	..	26 33
Beans, Mazagan .....	..	..	31 33
Harrow .....	..	..	33 37
Small .....	..	..	39 40
Peas, White .....	..	Boilers	38 42
Grey	30 32	Maple	32 34
Flour, Town-made	per sack of 280 lbs.	..	45 56
Norfolk and Suffolk .....	..	..	43 46

FOREIGN.		PER IMPERIAL QUARTER.	
Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed .....	..	58 to 66	54 60
Rostock .....	..	56	60 50 54
Stettin .....	..	52	58 50 54
Hamburg .....	..	52	57 50 52
Odessa .....	..	..	41 50
Odessa Polish .....	..	..	50 51
Russian	soft .....	..	..
Ditto	hard .....	..	..
Spanish .....	..	54	60
Blanquillo .....	..	56	62
Australian .....	..	60	69
Barley, Grinding .....	..	27	28
Distilling .....	..	29	31
Oats, Archangel .....	..	25	26
Danish .....	..	..	..
Swedish .....	..	23	24
Stralsund .....	..	..	..
Dutch Feed .....	..	22	23 20 21
Brew .....	..	27	29 23 24
Polands .....	..	..	25 26
Black .....	..	..	..
Beans, Egyptian .....	..	34	36
Peas, White .....	..	..	..
Ditto Boilers .....	..	42	..
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 196 lbs. ..	..	34	36
United States .....	..	36	37 28 30
Dantzic .....	..	..	..
Australian, per sack of 280 lbs. ..	..	..	..

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from Mar. 23 to Mar. 28, 1846, both days inclusive.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas.
English	2576	1580	2784	664	209
Scotch .....	..	553	..	..	..
Irish .....	..	..	6395	..	..
Foreign	5044	..	8	2115	..

Flour, 1919 sacks; 1300 barrels.

FRIDAY, APRIL 3.—Only a moderate quantity of Wheat, Barley, and Oats has come to hand since Monday; most of the Essex Wheat was sold on that day; but there are still some samples exhibited on the Cornish stands, which factors find it difficult to sell, though offered on Monday's terms. There is so little business passing in Barley, Beans, and Peas, that no attention in any of them can be noticed. The supply of Oats consists chiefly of English; the market is decidedly more heavy than on Monday, but both on Wednesday and to-day, buyers have been exceedingly cautious; the prices of Oats have undergone no alteration this week. The inquiry noticed on Monday for Indian Corn does not continue with much briskness. The duties remain the same as last week.

S. H. LUCAS.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 30th of March to the 3rd of April, both inclusive.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	6020	..	3910
Barley	6540	..	..
Oats	7560	3030	2410

Flour, 5630 sacks.

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending March 31, 1846.

	Qrs.	Price.		Qrs.	Price.
Wheat	7962	60s. 2d.	Rye	134	35s. 5d.
Barley	1733	32s. 5d.	Beans	1409	33s. 10d.
Oats	2884	23s. 6d.	Peas	423	39s. 0d.

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d.						
21st Feb.	55	0.29	11.21	6.32	10.34	9.34
28th "	54	6.29	7.21	5.33	4.34	2.35
7th March	54	10.29	3.21	10.33	6.34	11.33
14th "	54	3.29	4.21	9.34	2.35	2.34
21st "	55	1.29	10.22	0.33	10.34	4.33
28th "	55	5.30	2.22	1.34	0.35	0.33

Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks. Wheat, 54s. 10d.; Barley, 29s. 8d.; Oats, 21s. 9d.; Rye, 33s. 7d.; Beans, 34s. 9d.; Peas, 34s. 1d.

Duty. Wheat, 18s. 0d.; Barley, 9s. 0d.; Oats, 6s. 0d.; Rye 9s. 6d.; Beans, 8s. 6d.; Peas, 8s. 6d.

Stock of Corn in Bond, Mar. 5, 1846.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.	Flour
In London, 442560	17299	61192	..	6144	3462	112976	
Unit. King. 1138950	82919	96983	..	13413	8127	837355	

MEAT MARKET.
Trade upon the whole rather declining, except for a chosen lamb or calf.

PER STONE OF 8 LBS. BY THE CARCASE.		BY THE CARCASE.	
Prime Beef. 3s 10d to 3s 8d	Middl. Mutton 4s 2d to 3s 8d	Prime Pork 4s 4d to 4s 0d	Small Pork 4s 0d to 3s 8d
Prime Beef. 3s 10d to 3s 8d	Prime Pork 4s 4d to 4s 0d	Small Pork 4s 0d to 3s 8d	Prime Mutton 4s 4d to 4s 0d
Prime Beef. 3s 10d to 3s 8d	Prime Pork 4s 4d to 4s 0d	Small Pork 4s 0d to 3s 8d	Prime Mutton 4s 4d to 4s 0d

THE LORDS' COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL BURDENS.—We hear that the committee on special burdens have alighted on curious information; and some of those who at last consented to the inquiry, which they had so long and so astutely resisted, begin to repent of their rashness. Perhaps the disclosures may have the effect of justifying some more conversions to the new policy.—Spectator.

If fresh brewer's grains be put down in handfals here and there about the borders on mild nights these heaps will be covered with slugs, which can be readily destroyed by a dusting of powder, quick lime, or salt.

Potatoes this week at Croom had reached the enormous price of 10d. per stone, by retail.

Fisher, Son, and Co., the Caxton Press, Angel-street, Newgate-street, London

THE LEAGUE.

No. 133.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, APRIL 11, 1846.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

WHY COMPROMISE IS IMPOSSIBLE.

This week exactly completes the seventh year of that portion of our movement which has been conducted by the agency of the periodical press. On the 16th of April, 1839, appeared the first number of the *Anti-Corn-Law Circular*—subsequently enlarged into the *Anti-Bread-Tax Circular*, and since continued in this journal.

The present is scarcely the fittest season for taking a leisurely and comprehensive retrospect of the labours, sacrifices, and successes, that have crowded this eventful period. With our great work still unfinished—still exposed to delay, obstruction, and (as regards immediate results) to the risks of political accident—we cannot afford to take our eyes off the present, and that part of the future which lies nearest to us. In alluding, on the suggestion of this interesting anniversary, to the past history of our question, our purpose is simply to enforce a lesson of present and practical application, the need of which is, we fear, even yet not altogether gone by.

Throughout the entire term of the existence and operations of the Anti-Corn-Law League, we have steadily and undeviatingly pursued one, and only one object—the TOTAL abolition of that monopoly, our antagonism to which is indicated in the style and title of our organisation. For this have we, the Free Traders of the United Kingdom, banded ourselves with a compact unanimity, and laboured with a continuity of exertion, and a zeal and prodigality of sacrifice, unexampled in the history of popular movements. To this we are irrevocably committed. With nothing short of this can we, for an instant, be satisfied. Anything and everything short of this is, to us, as nothing. Until this be realised, in an Act of Parliament, we are as we were—with our work all to do.

This totality of our demand is no mere piece of dogmatism or self-willedness on the part of those whom the country recognises as the leaders of the League. There is nothing arbitrary or wilful in it. It results from the very nature of the intellectual and moral elements that constitute the League's life and soul. It is the inevitable product and expression of those diverse, yet harmonious, principles of action, which have combined in this movement a larger amount of the intelligence and moral feeling of the country than were ever before leagued together in one common cause. This will immediately appear if we attempt to discriminate the classes of which the League is composed, with re-

ference to the ruling impulses by which they are severally actuated. These are mainly two. There are the Free Traders who regard the question from what may be called the *commercial and politico-economical* point of view—and there are Free Traders to whom it is chiefly interesting as a *moral and religious* question. There are those who seek the total abolition of the Corn Law, as logically implying and practically necessitating the extinction of the whole of the protective and restrictive system—and there are those with whom it is an affair of conscience and religion to protest against a tax on food, as intrinsically oppressive and iniquitous. There are those who intelligently deprecate, as fraught with national loss and injury, every violation of the common-sense rule of commercial interchange, "Buy in the cheapest market, and sell in the dearest"—and there are those whose moral and religious sense is outraged by the impiety of wilfully intercepting heaven's answer to man's prayer for daily bread. Neither of these two points of view, we need scarcely say, excludes the other. Our best Free Traders take both—with an habitual preference, however, of that which most accords with the profession, the circumstances, the range of experience and observation, the cast of mind of the individual. The two classes we have indicated run very much into one another. The commercial statesman, whose thoughts dwell mostly on the impolicy of fettering trade, is likewise indignant at the cruel injustice of taxing the poor man's ways and means of life; and the religious philanthropist, whose conscience is revolted by the injustice, is likewise cognisant of the impolicy. On the whole, however, the distinction is sufficiently exact. One or the other of these two principles of thought and action—the commercial and economical, or the moral and religious—is the main actuating impulse of every individual member of our great Free Trade confederacy.

Now, each of these two elements of our movement implies the totality of Corn Law repeal. The smallest remnant of the landlord monopoly violates the sound commercial principle of free exchanges, and affords a plea for a thousand other and minor violations of that principle;—a particle of unrepealed bread-tax offends the moral instinct which demands the unrestricted flow of heaven's bounties to man. Let the Corn Law be but partially repealed; let any sort of compromise be huddled up between truth and falsehood, right and wrong; and the claims of principle remain unsatisfied—the force of a movement that represents and embodies a principle remains unabated. If the League's work is not to be done now, the League goes on, with unspent powers, until it is done. And this, not because Mr. Cobden, or Mr. Bright, or the League Council, says that so it shall be. So it MUST be, in the nature of things. There is no help for it. It lies not in the power of man to deal with the force of opinion and conscience that the League embodies on any other than its own terms.

We commend all this to the especial consideration of those extremely imprudent persons, who, if one may credit the rumours floating about in the atmosphere of the clubs and the lobbies—are still amusing themselves with the fancy that it is not absolutely impossible to "adjust," as they call it, the question now before the country, on the basis of a "fixed duty." Even could one conceive of the possibility of a fixed duty on corn getting temporary possession of the statute book, it would merely leave matters as they stand. Nothing would be "adjusted," except the terms and objects of a new agitation as vigorous, as determined, and as certainly successful, as that which has already beaten down two sliding scales. Nothing would be "fixed," except the sure and swift defeat and extinction of the power that

thus linked itself with a fixed absurdity and a fixed iniquity. The commercial and economical intelligence of the country, and the moral and religious sentiment of the country—those two irresistible forces of which the League and its agitation are the expression, would still remain in unabated antagonism to landlordism and landlord law.

Whoever they may be who think of trying this monstrous experiment on the public patience, and on the power of landlordism and aristocracy to crush the spirit of the people, we are sure, at all events, they will find neither support nor sympathy at the hands of the farmers. The farmers want, above all things and before all things, a *settlement*; and there is not a farmer in Great Britain, whether of protectionist or of Free Trade principles, who will ever dream of this being a settlement. The cheat will be too transparent. The farmers have had more than a "three years' experience" of the value of landlord promises of "settlement;" and they are also, experimentally acquainted with the value of League promises. They know who *they* are that have always deceived them in the matter of Parliamentary prices and artificial Corn Laws; and they know who *they* are that have never deceived them. From the hour that protection takes any other shape than that of the "permanent sliding scale of 1842," and the "fifty-six shillings," from that hour will the farmers of Great Britain have but one wish and prayer—the total and immediate abolition of the last remnant of a system which to them has been systematic delusion, betrayal, and disaster.

Nor will the Government have anything to say to such an attempt at falsifying the great principles with which they have so manfully identified themselves. On this point we are quite easy. We do not feel it necessary to recur to those specific objections which the leading members of the present Cabinet—Sir Robert Peel especially—have so strongly and steadily urged, in past years, against that particular form of food tax, known as "fixed duty." We are contented to rest on their earnest adoption, and vigorous and enlightened inculcation of sound and just principles that include the condemnation of *every* form of a food tax. Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham perfectly understand the PRINCIPLE of our movement, and are thoroughly and heartily at one with it. Their "object" is, "to remove restrictions upon commerce"—and they will not fetter commerce with a new restriction; "to equalise the burdens of taxation"—and they will not charge the poor man with a new burden that has all the cruel oppressiveness of a poll tax; "to ameliorate the condition of those who labour"—and they will not deteriorate the condition of those who labour, by laying an impost on food, which, to the whole extent of its operation in raising prices, operates likewise to the lowering of wages, and the increase of mortality and crime. "Why," asked the Home Secretary, the very last time the Corn Law was debated, "*should the consumer and the receiver of wages be requested to pay for their daily bread a LARGER PRICE THAN, IF THE TRADE WERE FREE, THEY WOULD HAVE TO PAY?*"—and he will not stultify himself by consenting that the consumer and the receiver of wages *shall* pay this surplusage of price. "*Believe with me,*" says the Premier, "THE FIRST FOUNDATION OF SOCIAL IMPROVEMENT IS ABUNDANCE OF FOOD;" and he will not consent to narrow, loosen, and weaken that first foundation of social improvement, by artificially restricting the range from which the national supplies of food are drawn. He will not add another "peculiar burden" to those already weighing so heavily on the poor ten shillings a week labourer, whose physical and economical condition he has taken so much pains to master, and with whose

rights and interests he has shown so warm-hearted and generous a sympathy. Sir Robert Peel will not legislate, even on the small scale of a "low fixed duty," for the scarcity and dearth of the poor man's food, now that he is fresh from "the experience of the last three years and the three preceding years," and from that lesson "which we ought never to forget, as to the effect produced on the social condition, the habits of life, and the happiness of the working classes, comparing the years of abundance with those of scarcity." Nor will he be willing to deprive himself of any portion of the satisfaction he so proudly and hopefully anticipates from "most materially adding to the comforts and enjoyment of millions—of 'those millions, whether manufacturing or agricultural labourers, who earn their subsistence by the sweat of their brow.'" On this head we have not the shadow of a misgiving.

If there really are men mad enough to take the field, in the name of a fixed bread tax, against Ministers who have thus identified themselves and their policy with the rights and interests of millions, we have only to say, *the strait-waistcoat is ready*. Never was fever of the brain assuaged by prompter and more efficacious remedies than those which the country will apply to the hallucinations of the fixed-duty protectionists.

THE RAGGED REGIMENT.

If the elements of time were not, just now, of vital and essential moment to all the great national interests awaiting the settlement of the Free Trade question; if months, weeks, days even, of uncertainty and unsettlement had not an appreciable influence on the employment, the wages, and the daily comforts of tens and hundreds of thousands of the people; if this commercial and industrial country could afford to have the business of production and exchange kept at a stand-still, to gratify the selfish vanity or wrath of "the wretched remnant of an expiring faction," we should take it easily, and should have nothing but congratulations to offer to our readers at this holiday season. We should be contented to look at the men who now lead the protectionist party, and read, in their very names, the pleasantest auguries of the certain and the near doom of the protectionist cause. A mere glance at the fallen fortunes of the faction which rejoices in the chieftainship of a Bentinck and a Borthwick, were enough to reassure the confidence which, in some of the more eager of us, may have been damped by a vexing and unexpected delay, and to satisfy the country that all is and will be well.

A come-down indeed! From the "good old English gentleman," whose substantial individual worth, and long-established political influence, gave a sort of respectability to an exploded principle and a vanquished party—to the sporting lord, and the unplaced political adventurer. From Mr. Miles, and Mr. Bankes—to Lord George, and Peter! We do not hold up our hands in amazement, and ask, Who could have thought it? It is the most natural thing in the world. It was to be expected that men like those who have heretofore fought the battle of protection—men with political character and influence to lose—men who had really believed the protectionist principle to be sound in point of policy, and tenable in point of fact—should, on the contest of principle being decided against them, honourably refuse participating in a system of obstruction for mere obstruction's sake, which, on any principle, must be wrong. It is impossible to deny that the present cast of parts in the political drama has a sort of moral fitness. The business and the agents are well matched. Men who never, in all their lives—so far, at least, as the public are informed—put their hands to a piece of useful work, are appropriate instruments for obstructing the industry, and fining down the earnings, of the classes that live by labour, and lengthening out the present dreary season of commercial stagnation and embarrassment. Those much-respected politicians, but for whom the Corn Bill would have passed its third reading before the unhappy question of Irish

coercion arose, are indisputably fit and proper persons to preside over the desperate fortunes of a disgraced party, a condemned principle, and a vicious cause.

Of course, they will gain nothing by it—except that momentary gratification of spite, or pique, which is probably all they expect to gain. It only makes sure doubly sure. A cause that has visibly fallen so low can never, in the judgment even of the craziest enthusiast, make head again. The country loses much by the present delay—but landlordism loses more. The commercial and industrious classes can have no forgiveness for a faction that thus mischievously and insolently trifles, for the mere love of mischief, with the most urgent and pressing national interests. The "British farmer," in particular, may be trusted to keep it in mind. Farmers will long cherish the recollection of those "friends" who have impudently used their name to prolong and aggravate that which farmers most abhor—suspense and uncertainty; and for whose over-intimate and obtrusive friendship they will have been mulcted, during certain weeks or months of this spring, of 1846, of many shillings on every quarter of corn that it has been their misfortune to sell under a fictitious and got-up agricultural panic. Friendship of this singularly costly quality is sure to be long remembered, and duly appreciated, with precisely the kind and degree of gratitude that it merits.

THE WIGAN ELECTION CASE.

Soon after the election of the Hon. Capt. Lindsay, son of Lord Balcarras, for the borough of Wigan, a petition was presented against his return, founded on a notorious system of treating and presumptive bribery practised during the contest. That petition has been heard before a committee of the House of Commons, which has declared Captain Lindsay duly elected. We do not mean to impugn the integrity or the propriety of the decision; but if it be conformable to law, we assert that Lord John Russell's Act against treating is nothing better than waste-paper. It was established in evidence that Captain Lindsay's central committee ordered drink to be supplied at public houses in the various wards to those electors who were in his favour; that he was in the habit of attending this committee, and that he canvassed the publicans at whose houses drink was ordered in company with its members. That at one of those houses large quantities of brandy and water were supplied to electors in the presence of Captain Lindsay; that the bill for the liquor consumed at one public house (the Eagle and Child) was paid by Mr. Glover, the steward of Lord Balcarras (father of the candidate) who is not an elector of Wigan; that the treating in nine public-houses, the owners of which were examined, amounted to 269*l.*, and these were but a few out of the number known to be kept open during the election. Finally, Captain Lindsay declined to defend his seat, and, by a printed circular, disclaimed those by whom it was defended. The committee, however, has decided that he was duly elected, no act of treating having been traced to him, or an authorised agent!!! Need we add a word of comment?

A CORN LAW ANECDOTE.—Near the village of Shafton lived Sir Thomas Hamner, editor of *Shakspeare*, and Speaker of the House of Commons during the reign of Queen Anne. A curious anecdote of this celebrated character is traditionary here:—The Ministry of that day entertained an idea of laying a tax upon wheat; to this measure Sir Thomas was decidedly hostile; and being admitted to an audience, the Queen inquired, with no small degree of solicitude, why he determined to go into the country so early. "That I may prepare my lands, and please your Majesty, for the cultivation of hemp." "With hemp, Sir Thomas! and why with hemp?" "Because, and please your Majesty, I am told your Royal Majesty's Ministers are about to tax your people the very bread they eat. A man can die but once; and please your Majesty, I think we had far better hang than starve them." "I think so too," replied her Majesty; "and I will consult with my ministers, and see that my people shall not be starved. I thank thee, Sir Thomas." The measure was, in consequence, immediately dropped, and never afterwards resumed.

WHEAT IN EAST LOTHIAN.—Winter wheat continues to look well, though the keen frosts have prevented anything like growth either on it or young grass; the latter, where at all stocked, has gone decidedly back. However, this check to vegetation may be considered rather in favour of the wheat than otherwise, provided there is fair growing weather after this.—*Scotsman*.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION OF 1846.

Twelfth Week, ending Saturday, April 11.

Three months have elapsed since Parliament was assembled. It was called together earlier this year than usual; and Easter, this year, is later than usual. Yet to Easter we have arrived, without a particle of public business being transacted. Three or four temporary bills have been passed, in order to provide for the destitution in Ireland; and one or two formal votes of supply have been passed, in order to save the public service from embarrassment. But all other public business is at an absolute stand-still. The Government are partly to blame. They have, without any apparent object, interposed their Irish Coercion Bill between the stages of the regular progress of the Corn Bill. No doubt Sir Robert Peel imagined that he could induce the Irish Repeal members to waive their opposition to the first reading of the Coercion Bill; and he as doubtlessly supposed that by paying some deference to the Coercion Bill in the Commons, he may conciliate some portion of the landlord feeling in the House of Lords towards his Corn Bill. In one respect he has been mistaken; he may be deceived, or rather undecieved, in the other also. As it is, everything is at a stand-still; and there is nothing hazardous in the prediction that we are rapidly approaching a period of severe INDUSTRIAL PRESSURE, unless the causes which are producing it are removed.

The House of Lords adjourned on Tuesday, the House of Commons on Wednesday, for the Easter recess. On Wednesday Sir Robert Peel made a speech, which exhibited a consciousness on his part of the false position in which he has placed the Corn Bill and the Tariff. It deserves to be recorded.

Sir James Graham had adverted to the state of distress in Ireland, and laid on the table of the house the returns made to Government by the Scarcity Commissioners, the members of which are Sir R. Brown (the Commissary-General), Sir Robert (Professor) Kane, Mr. Twisleton, Colonel Jones, Sir J. Dombrose, and Mr. Mackenzie. These returns exhibited unequivocally the daily increasing progress of the distress. After some conversation, shared in by several Irish members,

Sir ROBERT PEEL wished to call the attention of honourable members to this, as a subject of vast importance. He hoped that no honourable member would make any immediate answer to what he was about to say, and to the appeal he was about to make; and that neither the one nor the other would lead to any discussion. He did hope that honourable members would give him credit for being influenced solely by his strong impression as to the state of the country at this present moment (hear, hear, hear). It was his belief that a great revolution was beginning to take place in Ireland by the introduction of meal the produce of Indian corn (hear, hear, hear). His belief was that they were giving to the Irish people a new taste for a better and more generous description of food than that hitherto principally consumed (hear, hear). It was found—he would entreat them to remark—that on railways, those who were substituting for the first time, an article of foreign produce, to which they had not been accustomed, for the diet they were hitherto used to—it was found that they would work longer and better than those living on that watery food—potatoes (hear, hear, hear). There had been prejudices to encounter, but these were disappearing; there had been an immense demand for the publications containing directions as to the manner of preparing this new article of subsistence, and he was happy to state that the people had found it, when properly dressed, extremely palatable (hear, hear). At present, however, Indian corn was only admitted into Ireland upon a sort of sufferance, and under the authority of an order issued by the Treasury. The measure which would fully legalize its importation was still waiting for the decision of Parliament, and he was confident that there would be increased confidence shown in the import of the article were the law satisfactorily settled, and were the raisers of the corn in the United States to find that they had the guarantee of an Act of Parliament, instead of the authority of a mere Treasury warrant (hear, hear). Let it not be forgotten, too, that we wanted foreign wheat to mix with our own (hear), at a cheaper rate than the duty of 15*s.*, which at present prevailed, and that if we could get oats and barley meal at a duty of 1*s.*, instead of 5*s.* or 6*s.*, we should have a great and desirable addition to our supply (hear, hear). He believed that there would be an immediate import of oats from foreign parts, were it settled that oatmeal would be allowed to be brought in at a duty of 1*s.* (hear, hear). At present there was no Treasury order except in favour of Indian corn and buck wheat. Uncertainty, then, would attach to all operations in other grains until such time as the house should have arrived at some decision upon the point. Under these circumstances he did hope that Irish members would read the returns about to be laid before the house with the greatest care. He was sure that the hon. members for Clare and Limerick must have received accounts of the distress which prevailed in those localities (hear, hear). He believed that if the decision of the house were known with respect to the Corn Bill, it would greatly increase the available means of supply (hear, hear). All he could say was, that if honourable members connected with Ireland could reconcile it to their sense of public duty, under any protest, and upon the understanding of any opposition to be offered to the bill for the preservation of life in Ireland, at any of its future stages—if those hon. gentlemen could allow the decision of the legislature to be taken on the first reading of that measure, with a view to the Corn Bill being then immediately proceeded with, that in that case they would be conferring a great advantage on many districts of their own country. He did not wish to provoke discussion. He was speaking under strong impressions from having just perused the returns in question relating to certain districts of Ireland, and he only asked Irish members to do the same, and then to judge for themselves, and form their own decisions (hear, hear).

Mr. HAWES remarked, that the reaction which had followed the railway excitement had produced an utter stagnation of

trade, and consequent want of employment in many of the manufacturing districts. As to the Coercion Bill, he hoped that Irish members would consider how far they could shorten the discussion upon its provisions. For himself, he opposed the bill, and would continue to oppose it by all fair and proper means; but he did hope that Irish members would have a little regard to the commercial interests of England, and endeavour to conduct the discussion on the Coercion Act so as to allow the consideration of the Corn Bill to be resumed on the very earliest day possible ("hear, hear," from Sir Robert Peel).

A discussion arose, shared in by Mr. Smith O'Brien, Mr. Caleb Powell, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Poulett Scrope, and during which Mr. Thomas Duncombe severely censured the Government for their pertinacity in forcing on the Coercion Bill, thus placing a stumbling-block in the way of the Corn Bill. Their conduct had raised doubts in the minds of the public as to the sincerity of Ministers in their commercial measures. The subject ultimately dropped, and the house adjourned for the Easter recess.

THE REVENUE RETURNS FOR THE YEAR AND QUARTER ENDED 5TH APRIL, 1846.

(From the Times.)

In estimating the finances of the empire at this moment, when the customary termination of the financial year has arrived, the inevitable stagnation of trade, consequent upon the suspended condition of the Corn Laws, and of the many articles included in the tariff, was of course to be borne in mind. This paralyzing ingredient has entered into the material of commerce for more than three months, and we had to expect, therefore, as we anticipated on Saturday, a deficiency in those items which, in the quarter's revenue, represent generally the prosperity of the country. The Customs accordingly show a decrease in the quarter of near half-a-million; and in the whole year, of near two millions and a half. The Excise shows a similar deficiency of about 300,000*l.* on the year, and about 340,000*l.* on the quarter. Against this may be set an increase of near 400,000*l.* in the Stamps, and about 90,000*l.* in the Post-office, both which items may be placed to the account of the railway mania. On the total ordinary revenue there is a decrease for the quarter of a million, for the year of two millions and a half; on the total income, 1,100,000*l.* for the quarter, and 2,327,000*l.* for the year. Of the last-mentioned sum about 300,000*l.* is merely incidental, which, being deducted, leaves an actual decrease of a little more than two millions.

These figures, however, exhibit merely the positive amount of receipts in the quarter and year ending the 5th of April, 1845, as compared with the like period in 1846. The former year was one of unexampled prosperity, great commercial activity, and unprecedented speculation. The present year, although it shows less of these signs of advancement, is nevertheless remarkable for that which is, after all, the true index of national prosperity—an excess of income over expenditure. This excess for the present year is about two millions and a-half.

It would be superfluous to particularise the many important reductions that were made in the Customs' duties in the years 1844 and 1845. Those of 1844 were but imperfectly developed in 1845, and both have produced more or less effect upon the results of 1846. The bold experiment of Sir Robert Peel has hardly yet received a proper trial. Great changes, of course, require a lengthened period to develop themselves, and it cannot be denied that the lapsed interval has been both naturally and politically unfavourable to financial prosperity.

It would be equally superfluous to mention in detail the petitions lately presented to the House of Commons from the great commercial cities of England and Scotland for a proof of the injurious effect which the uncertain state of the Customs' department has exercised upon the relations of trade during the last few months. These, which are by far the most active months of the year in all departments of commerce, have been rendered flat and dull by the protracted decision of the House of Commons on the great question which now agitates the empire. There is ample evidence in the shape of trading circulars and petitions and Parliamentary papers, that the greatest injury has been inflicted upon the ordinary transactions of commerce by the *studium immane loquendi* that has seized upon the chartered legislators of the lower house. These gentlemen may congratulate themselves upon having put a drag upon the wheels of trade, and stayed the progress of the state machine. If they can find any satisfaction in this reflection, no one, we think, will be found to interfere with their perfect enjoyment of it. But, with a view to check their pride, we must remind them that their power is limited to a temporary check. The progress of improvement will go on in spite of them, and the next quarter will probably evince, by a sudden reaction, that the protectionist *vis inertiae* is but a momentary gravitation, and that the onward impulse of national prosperity is happily far superior to their powers of obstruction.

THE CORN BILL AND THE COERCION BILL.

(From the Times.)

We cannot but view with dissatisfaction the state of public business in the House of Commons. Two more sittings, and Parliament adjourns for the Easter recess. An idle interval of ten days follows, during which the vanquished hosts of Miles and Bentinck may collect their scattered weapons, and prepare their strength for another and less inglorious field. At the same time the eager patriots of Ireland review their yet unbroken ranks, brighten the unstained armour, and give a keener sharpness to the weapons of attack. Both then, together, though not united, advance to meet their common foe, inspired with a common hatred, a common jealousy, a common spirit of revenge—with every feeling but a common cause. Side by side they fight the deadly battle against the Government of the country; and even though certain in the very moment of the final issue to fly asunder as far as pole from pole, and range themselves as of yore in open hostility, the combined attack may be followed by an unexpected victory.

This apple of discord is the Irish Coercion Bill. Sir Robert's motley band is the Corn Law majority, which, if rightly generated, might ere this have been "crowned with victorious wreaths." It is now resolved into its elements, and may hardly again be combined in compact cohesion. Last week it stood a "battered host," firm and invincible

under the standard of Free Trade. What is it now? A scattered remnant of an army, dispersed without a blow, suffering the shame of a defeat without the consolation of a well-contested field. And all this is the doing of their own general. This is the end of high aspirations and bold imaginings. How different from that other consummation so devoutly to be wished!

See what is the position at this moment of the Corn Law measure. It passed the second reading now some ten days back, and then waited only to be committed. And so it might and would have been immediately, but that just at this critical juncture ill-luck sent forth the Irish bill from the House of Lords to trouble the unanimity of the friends of corn. In accordance with Parliamentary etiquette, and on the authority of precedent, Sir Robert Peel resolved that the Coercion Bill should be read forthwith in the House of Commons. We know not whether he imagined this proceeding would pass *sub silentio*, as a matter of course. If he did, we are sure he ought to have known his opponents better. The Irish "patriots" are not the men to hold their tongues when there is a question concerning Ireland. However this may be, Sir Robert so determined, and having once said it should be so, why, of course, it must be so, and there an end. The corn was shelved—laid up in bond, and the Irish debate began. Sir James Graham made a long speech, and opened his case, not by any means so strong an one, by the way, as the Earl of St. Germans opened to the House of Lords. When Sir James had finished, the evening was somewhat advanced, and for Mr. O'Connell's convenience the debate was adjourned. The case then hung fire for three days, and on the fourth Mr. O'Connell made a long speech, followed by several gentlemen on either side, when there was a very respectable discussion. Hereupon followed two *dies non*, and again a third debate on Monday night. Last night there was no house, to-morrow will be a half-holiday, occupied probably, as usual, with a thousand subjects. Thursday is not a Government night, not to speak of its being the last before Easter. Friday commences the recess; and thus we shall have arrived at the 10th of April, nearly three months from the beginning of the session, without even a proximate termination to the debate on either subject.

What is it that has thus shelved the great measure demanded by the country? What is it that has made Sir Robert Peel play fast and loose with his own great scheme, and dodge Corn Bill and Coercion Bill backward and forward, like the balls in a juggler's hand? Nothing but a sentiment of courtesy towards the Upper House, and a love of ancient precedent as established in the lower? Now, courtesy is, doubtless, a very amiable virtue, and cannot be too much cultivated by the gay and idle. A respect for precedent, also, is a prudent quality, and useful beyond all measure to the dull and ignorant. But both are sometimes troublesome things, and highly inconvenient in the serious affairs of life. The one is apt to fritter away the energy of action, and the other not seldom clogs the wings of genius. The Premier of England we should have pronounced the most unlikely man in the kingdom to pay homage or tribute to either, to fetter himself by inconvenient forms, or to square his actions by the standard of an idle etiquette. In other days it was certainly not so. This is the first time we hear of courteous Sir Robert or old-fashioned Sir Robert Peel.

It is not, however, too late for him to retrace his steps and disentangle himself from the net of his own weaving. The thing of course cannot be done before Easter, but it may after. Next Monday week let the Government set to work in good earnest, determined to pass the Corn Bill in spite of everything, and to the exclusion of everything. Do not fear the cry of "Ireland in danger." There is no justice in it, for the repeal of the Corn Laws is an Irish measure as well as an English one. You are not disregarding the true interests of Ireland when you offer the boon of cheaper food and unshackled commerce. If the great measure were other than it is,—if it were less humane, less comprehensive, less universal, and, therefore, less Irish,—it might be another matter. But we know that it is all these, and the best proof that it is so is the conduct of the Irish members themselves. Have they not all declared to a man that they will assist the Ministry to pass the Corn Bill, and have they not done so until this one discordant element was introduced amongst them? Indeed, it needs no argument to prove that the repeal of the Corn Laws is of far greater importance to Ireland, in every point of view, than a Coercion Bill, however ostensibly necessary. We, therefore, conjure Sir Robert Peel to abandon, with all speed, an unwise determination. He must see that it is unwise. He has thrust aside the Corn Bill to make way for the Coercion Bill, and now he finds that the latter cannot make way for itself. The Irish debate, he may be sure, will be interminable; Irish debates always are. There is no security for us that, if these are to have precedence, the Corn Bill will be read a third time before this day three months. How ridiculous, then, would be the Premier's position at the end of the session! A broken party, loss of power, loss of influence, loss of character,—and all for nothing.

THE BROCKLEHURST FALLACIES.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

Protectionist fallacies are so soon to become historical that we feel it a duty to enshrine, for the benefit of posterity, the most perfect specimens of the class that fall in our way. The time will come when strong contemporary evidence will be requisite to prove that some of our most familiar argumentative absurdities did really find men to give them a grave utterance in the Parliament of 1846. During the recent debates we notice for preservation some of the choicest of these illustrations of our senatorial wisdom, but there was one which, though especially worthy of attention, was not at the time set as fully in the light as it deserved. We take the first opportunity left us by the pressure of other topics of supplying the deficiency. The argument to which we refer came from Mr. Brocklehurst, and it lies at the bottom of the question now before the country. "The fact was," said Mr. Brocklehurst, "whilst we exported 20,000*l.* worth of silk goods to France, we imported 150,000*l.* worth from the same country. So much for the boasted reciprocity!" This statement, made, it is presumed, on the authority of Custom-house returns, was put forth not so much for its own sake, as for the inference to which Mr. Brocklehurst pointed, viz.: that a country which gives 150,000*l.* to get back 20,000*l.*, is a heavy loser by the transaction.

The announcement of these figures, followed by the exclamation "So much for the boasted reciprocity," was calculated to make an impression on the protectionist mind; and, if we may judge by the cheers it called forth, it did so. "Here

are 20,000*l.* worth of goods exported, and 150,000*l.* worth imported; the large sum of 150,000*l.* spent by England in paying French workmen, and increasing French capital, whilst 20,000*l.* only comes back to England to supply the deficiency. The difference is a gift to France—a dead loss to England of 130,000*l.* in the one article of silk; and the official returns of the Custom-house attest the fact. It may be very well," the protectionists go on to say, "for political economists to assert that exports are equal to imports—this may be true in theory, but it is not so in practice." "But pray are merchants' books good in practice?" Our friend Bastiat, to whom we have referred before, and who cannot be too often quoted, asks the same question on a similar occasion; and he answers it, or rather would answer it if he had Mr. Brocklehurst to deal with, in some such way as the following:

"If there is one thing in the world which is entitled to practical authority, it is the entries of profit and loss in the ledgers of a counting-house. Depend upon it no mistake is made there; that which a merchant calls profit is profit, and what he calls loss is loss."

Now it so happened that a merchant of Liverpool freighted a vessel to the United States with Manchester goods of the value of 10,000*l.* Such was the declared value, and such the sum entered at the Custom-house. The cargo on arriving at New Orleans had incurred charges to the amount of 10 per cent., and paid duty to that of 30, making the total amount 14,000*l.* It was sold at a profit of 20 per cent., that is 2000*l.*, and produced altogether 16,000*l.*, which the consignee disposed of in buying cotton. This cotton, too, had to bear charges of 10 per cent. for freight, insurance, commission, &c., so that on reaching Liverpool, on its return, the new cargo amounted to 17,600*l.*, and this too, was the sum entered in the ledgers of the Custom-house; and to conclude, Mr. T. again realised on this return cargo 20 per cent. profit; i. e. 3,520*l.*—in other words, the cotton sold for 21,120*l.*

On Mr. T.'s books may still be seen figuring to the credit of the account of profit and loss, in other words under the head of profits, two entries, the one of 2,000*l.* and the other of 3,520*l.*; and Mr. T. is thoroughly convinced, and is likely to remain so, that he has made no mistake, and that his arithmetic is correct.

But what does the Custom-house ledger say to this transaction? It tells us that England has exported goods to the value of 10,000*l.*, and imported goods to the value of 17,600*l.*; that this country has paid to the United States 17,600*l.* and received back only 10,000*l.* The conclusions which Mr. Brocklehurst would draw from these figures is, that England has lost 7,600*l.* worth of capital, which she has given to the United States.

Some time after, Mr. T. sent off another vessel, which was also laden with 10,000*l.* worth of native produce. But the unlucky ship, after leaving the port, struck against a rock, and went to the bottom, cargo and all, and Mr. T. had nothing for it but to make on his books the two following little entries:—"Sundries. Dr. to X. 10,000*l.*, for the purchase of various articles sent out in the ship N. Profit and loss—Dr. to sundries, 10,000*l.*, final and total loss of the whole cargo."

In the meanwhile, the Custom-house officers had not been idle. They had been recording 10,000*l.* under the head of exports; and as they will never have to make a corresponding entry under the head of imports, it follows, according to the doctrine of Mr. Brocklehurst, that this shipwreck is a clear profit to England of 10,000*l.*

There is another consequence to draw from this—namely, that, according to this doctrine, a country has a very simple way of doubling its capital at any moment. To do so, it is quite sufficient that, after such capital has passed the Custom-house, it should be tossed into the sea. By such means the exports of the country will be equal to its amount of capital, the imports will be reduced to nothing, and be, in fact, impossible, and we shall gain all that the sea has swallowed up.

Besides, observe how directly the shipwrecks would tend to protect British industry. Not only the vessels which carry out English goods would never bring back foreign ones, but as the demand for English goods in the United States will be just as great after as it was before these successive losses, new capitalists would be brought into the field, new mills set to work, new artisans find employment to supply those wants which will never be satisfied. A sunken rock, a sand bank, and a raging sea, may be turned to account, and become a much better and cheaper protection to British industry than high duties and Custom-house officers. At all events, those who are for the latter, to be consistent, should be for the former also.

We would seriously recommend to Mr. Brocklehurst, Mr. Rashleigh, *et id genus omne*, to go through a course of Bastiat. It would open their minds, and allay their feverish fears; and a little plain and pointed sense in the morning would be an agreeable and useful relaxation after the lively levels of the night.

DISTRESS IN IRELAND.

(From a Correspondent of the Morning Chronicle.)

In very many places potatoes have already reached a price far above the means of that class of whom they are ordinarily the sole subsistence. If at any period of the year the amount exceeds threepence per stone, while wages are but eightpence a day, it is generally allowed to be verging upon a famine price; but in Galway, Clare, and Limerick, the price now varies from fivepence to sevenpence.

This is no impious fabrication, no profane device of the Free Traders. Such are the current prices of this week, while yet the planting of the ensuing year's crop is scarcely begun. When that operation once becomes general, there will be an increased demand, which will raise the prices considerably; and as soon as it is completed, a great proportion—fully one-half, I should say—of what now remains of wholesome provisions will have disappeared altogether, leaving a scanty remnant of unsound and decaying food to be contended for by the numerous competitors by whom the markets are already crowded with unusual frequency.

It has been stated that in Clare the poor people having exhausted all the rest of their stock, are now consuming what they had reserved for seed. To this fact I can bear testimony from personal observation, having within a few days visited a populous district in that county, where the inhabitants have been driven to that desperate resource. How they are to provide for the supply of the next year they no more know than by what means the evils of the now imminent calamity are to be softened and made endurable. Their actual condition is deplorable; the prospect before them most frightful to contemplate. No wonder that they are flocking in thou-

sands to the seaports and other places of embarkation, to escape from misery, the very existence of which is denied by men who should be the foremost to proclaim it, and arouse the sympathy of the public and the legislature in their behalf.

In the whole of the district to which I refer, divided into small farms of eight or ten acres, and extending over several miles of country, there were not ten corn-stacks to be seen. The oats had been all threshed out, and sold long ago to pay the rent. I do not wish to imitate the *Times* commissioner, by naming the provident landlords, who have thus taken time by the forelock. Exposure would not mend them, and it is not wanted to prove a practice which is too notorious to call for particular censure on any individual. But let it be remembered that it is for the benefit, and in compliance with the dictates of persons who do such things, that the existence of distress amongst the Irish peasantry is now so audaciously and perseveringly denied.

FREE TRADE ABROAD.

(From the Daily News.)

The Free Trade League is extending its fame in foreign lands, where it meets kindred spirits long imbued with the same principles, and earnestly engaged in applying them at home. It has its allies in France, Germany, and Italy, and though last not least important, in Spain also. The political degradation of that unhappy country has not yet affected them.

There are several patriotic societies established throughout Spain for the encouragement of industry and agriculture, and the dissemination of sound economical doctrines. The *Sociedad Economica Matritense* deservedly stands at the head of these. The society publishes a monthly periodical entitled *El Amigo del Pais*, devoted to an account of its sessions, and to the discussion of scientific and economical questions, with practical dissertations and suggestions on the means by which the agricultural and industrial resources of the country may best be developed. It is to be lamented that this otherwise excellent and learned publication should be so extremely deficient in that statistical information, without which the truth of principles cannot practically be tested and brought to bear upon the common sense of peoples and governments.

Several copies of this periodical having been forwarded to the head-quarters of the League at Manchester, the secretary, on behalf of the Council, addressed to Senor Don Juan A. Seoane, its principal editor, and President of the Section of Commerce in the society, a letter of acknowledgment of the compliment in February last. The March number of the *Amigo del Pais*, just received, contains a copy of this letter, with the eloquent reply of Senor Seoane. We collect from this reply that, far from being behind the age in the appreciation of enlightened economical truths, Spain has been with the foremost in their discovery and propagation. "When," says Senor Seoane, "Smith was addressing these counsels (his 'Wealth of Nations') to the disdain of the aristocracy of England, Jovellanos and Campomanes were repeating them in our country to a clergy, a nobility, and officials, who received them with applause indeed, because they dreamt not of the possible triumph of these theories." Senor Seoane might have added, that these illustrious men did more still. As statesmen and ministers they practically applied them so far as possible in their day. Strange it is, but true, that, since that passing period of a briefly illuminated despotism, Spain has lived on for half a century of retrograde existence, political, financial, and industrial; although, during one half the time at least, despotism has been displaced by the Cortes, by ascendant liberalism, and by constitutions of all shades, to be reckoned only like those of France, by the score. With the exceptions of Mendizabal when in office, and of Mon, the late finance minister, there is no evidence of a single effort being made by any of the so-called liberal and patriot statesmen of Spain, who have figured since 1808, to re-awaken the vitality of those principles which shed lustre on the absolute monarchy of Carlos III., and to the extent of their application diffused prosperity through his dominions. Those principles have slumbered in the tomb with Jovellanos and Campomanes, who had evoked them after a century of oblivion. For liberty of commerce was a fundamental law of Arragon, of Biscay, and others of the federal kingdoms or provinces of Spain; and it may be shown on other occasions how it was contended for in remonstrances against the prohibition of foreign textile fabrics so long ago as 1626. *

THE FOREIGN EXCHANGES.

(From the Economist.)

The causes which have combined for so long a period to maintain the foreign exchanges at rates so favourable to this country, are well deserving the attention both of the merchant and the politician, at this particular time. The investigation of this subject cannot fail to expose the groundless nature of the alarms of some of the opponents of Free Trade, who appear to associate a derangement of the currency with every considerable importation of grain, without any discrimination of the circumstances under which it takes place. It may also be of the highest utility in enabling the merchant to form a correct estimate of the effects which present and coming events are likely to exercise over this important element in all monetarial calculations.

It may, perhaps, be necessary, in order to render our further remarks more intelligible, that we should refer to the general principles which regulate the exchanges, and to the usual causes of their fluctuations. Every country advanced in civilisation, assumes some commodity as a standard of value, in which the prices of all other commodities are expressed. The commodity assumed as such standard of value in this country is gold, an ounce of which represents £3 16s. 10½d. of our money in account. Every sum therefore expressed in sterling money represents as many ounces of standard gold as the sum itself bears a proportion to £3 16s. 10½d.—a pound sterling being in fact a convertible term for 5 dwts. 3½ grs. of gold. In France, and in most other countries, the commodity assumed as the standard of value is silver, of which 3 dwts. 5½ grs. represent a franc, the French money in account. The *par* of exchange therefore between France and England must be determined by the relative value of silver and gold, and the proportion which 3 dwts. 5½ grs. of the former metal, or a franc, bears to 5 dwts. 3½ grs. of gold, or the pound sterling. Computed at our mint price, this quantity of gold representing a pound is equal to (within an insignificant fraction) twenty-five times the quantity of silver representing a franc; so that the *par* of exchange between France and England is twenty-five francs to the pound sterling.

There are two ways in which this relation of the franc to the pound may be changed, or, in other words, in which the rate of exchange may be altered: first, a permanent change in the relative value of the two metals, either by being produced or by being consumed for other purposes, in different proportions than formerly, will permanently alter the *par* of exchange. For example, if an unusual production of silver were to take place, and the supply to be materially increased, while that of gold remained stationary, the intrinsic value of silver, in relation to gold as well as other commodities, would fall, and the quantity of silver represented in twenty-five francs would no longer be equivalent to the quantity of gold represented by one pound sterling. Or if, on the other hand, the consumption of gold for jewellery, plate, or even for coin, were to increase in a greater proportion than the supply, and also in a greater proportion than silver, the intrinsic value would rise, and the quantity represented in a pound sterling would be more valuable than the quantity of silver represented by twenty-five francs. In either of these cases the *par* of exchange upon France would rise, and the pound sterling would represent as much more French money in account, as the altered relative value of 5 dwts. 3½ grs. of gold bore to 3 dwts. 5½ grs. of silver. The second and more usual way in which the rates of exchange fluctuate, is by the changes which take place in the balance of payments between the two countries. The *par* of exchange is fixed by the value of the respective metals in London and Paris; and as long as the exports and imports of the two countries, and claims arising from other sources exactly balance each other, the exchange will remain at *par*. The amount of bills drawn by one country will exactly balance the amount drawn by the other. But if, from any circumstance, the payments due to England by France become larger than those due to France by England, bills upon England rise to a premium, and the pound sterling then represents more than twenty-five francs. It must, however, be plain that no greater permanent change would take place from this cause than the cost of transmitting the metals themselves from the spot where the debt is due to that where it is payable. And thus it is, when the balance becomes sufficiently large to raise the premium upon bills so much above *par* that the transmission of bullion would be more profitable, that either merchants remit gold instead of bills, or, which is more usual, bankers and dealers in bills of exchange transmit bullion, and draw bills against it, which are supplied to the merchant. The transmission of bullion is, therefore, seldom for the immediate purpose of making purchases, but for the ultimate balancing of merchants' and bankers' accounts after purchases have been made.

The high rate of exchange which has been maintained so long between this country and the Continent of Europe has naturally induced us to inquire if that effect has been produced in any degree by a permanent change in the relative value of the metals. So far, however, we have not been able to discover any evidence that such has been the case. The supply of silver has not been more than usually large; and though the consumption of gold for jewellery and plate has been much on the increase of late years, yet the additional supply, including the new source in Siberia, has probably been quite as great. Mr. McCulloch, in the new edition of the "Commercial Dictionary," states the produce of the gold washings in Siberia, which, in 1830, amounted only to five pounds, to have been, in 1843, no less than 1342 pounds, being equivalent, after adding one-fifth as the quantity which is calculated is not brought to the public account, to £3,298,962. So great an increase of the supply of gold, considered alone, would have led us to expect a diminished value of this metal, and, consequently, a lower permanent rate of exchange; and, perhaps, no fact could speak more strongly to the great increase of consumption of this metal generally, than that such an effect has not been produced.

We are, however, satisfied that there have been sufficient causes of a mercantile nature in operation during the last few years, satisfactorily to account for the state of the exchanges; and it is these we now propose shortly to investigate.

For some years prior to 1839 the trade between this country and the Continent of Europe, showed a steady but slow increase. After the American crisis of 1836-37, which materially depressed the foreign exchanges, and caused a severe drain of bullion, a sudden reaction took place, the exchanges were corrected by the great reduction of our imports in 1837, and the bullion in the Bank rapidly increased from £4,048,000 in March 1837 to £10,126,000 in April 1838. During the whole of 1838 the exchanges remained steady, and there was every appearance of the trade between this country and the Continent of Europe being nearly balanced. For several years, however, prior to the close of 1838, the import of grain from the Continent had formed a most insignificant item in that trade; our entire consumption of foreign wheat having been—

1832	qrs.	1836	qrs.
1833	325,435	1837	30,554
1834	32,346	1837	244,619
1835	64,653	1838	35,207
1835	28,483		

The whole foreign wheat taken for consumption in those six years and nine months having only been 821,297 quarters. During this period, it is then evident that the trade between this country and the Continent of Europe must have been adjusted and balanced, without reference to any important shipments of grain. The wool, tallow, flax, hemp, silk, and other produce usually imported by us, were paid for to a certain extent, by our own manufactures, and the remainder by foreign and colonial produce, such as indigo, coffee, and sugar, imported by us in exchange for our manufactures exported to other parts of the globe. In the autumn of 1838, a sudden import of wheat commenced, and continued upon a large scale until the end of 1842. The quantity of foreign wheat imported from that period till the end of 1845 was as follows:

last 3 months of	qrs.	1842	qrs.
1838	1,533,878	1843	2,722,305
1839	2,634,557	1844	940,120
1840	1,999,519	1844	1,100,305
1841	2,409,754	1845	871,443

The imports of wheat which began in the autumn of 1838 amounted to 4,168,435 qrs., in fifteen months, representing a sum of not less than £12,000,000, which sum was thus added to the value of our imports without any equivalent being exported, and the balance of account was thus suddenly turned against us. The payments due by England to the Continent were larger than those due by the Continent to England; drafts on the Continent rose to a premium, and at length it became necessary to transmit bullion to balance these accounts, and to correct the exchanges. On the 6th of January, 1839, the amount of bullion in the Bank was £9,336,000; and on the 5th of December, notwithstanding

the loan from the Bank of France, it was reduced to £2,887,000. In 1840, the importation of wheat still continued upon a large scale; but notwithstanding there was an evident tendency for the exchange to turn in favour of England, by means of the increased exports of manufactures, for which a greater demand was soon experienced, partly in consequence of the reduced prices of our goods, and partly from the additional demand created on the Continent by our imports of wheat; and considerable progress would have been made in 1840 towards restoring our bullion, but for a new cause of disturbance which operated for some time in preventing it. The general fear which existed in Europe, in the autumn of 1840, of a rupture between France and England, induced the Continental bankers generally to dispose of securities in the London market, in order to increase their reserves of money. Yet, notwithstanding this circumstance, and a continued large import of wheat, and the partial repayment of the loan from the Bank of France, the bullion in the Bank of England had increased in December, 1840, to £3,511,000. In 1841, the import of wheat was still larger than in 1840, the whole of the advance of the Bank of France was repaid, but yet such was the tendency of our exports to rise up to the amount of our imports, that in December, 1841, the bullion amounted to £4,486,000. In 1842 the largest import of wheat on record took place; but notwithstanding this, our exports had increased so largely, in consequence of low prices at home, and from having created new customers abroad, that at the end of the year the bullion in the Bank had increased to no less than £10,330,000. We had thus become able to add to our usual imports from the Continent a large quantity of wheat, without causing any disturbance in the exchanges. We will shortly examine how this was accomplished, by comparing the amount of our exports to those countries in 1837, the last year prior to the commencement of these transactions, with the same in 1842, when they had continued for three years. The following is a comparison of the exports of British manufactures to the chief Continental countries at these two periods:

	1837.	1842.
Russia	2,046,592	1,885,053
Sweden	101,121	109,313
Norway	72,413	134,704
Denmark	103,448	194,304
Prussia	131,536	376,651
Germany	4,808,016	6,302,700
Holland	3,040,099	3,573,362
Belgium	804,917	1,099,490
France	1,643,204	3,193,939
Total	12,841,276	16,860,416

We thus arrive at the striking fact, that while our entire exports were undergoing a considerable diminution, as they did from 1838 to 1842, our exports to those countries from which we imported grain, increased more than £4,000,000. The exchanges were, in short, corrected by our exports rising to an equivalent to our increased imports.

With the commencement of 1843 we come to the causes which, for the last three years, have operated so strongly in maintaining high exchanges and a large stock of bullion. Independent of the large imports of grain from the Continent, our export trade, especially of cotton manufactures, was materially aided by the rapid improvement of machinery and consequent economy of production, and the low prices of the raw material, which, for the last three years, have created a consumption of those goods without any precedent in extent. In 1843 the import of wheat fell to about one-third of the quantity imported in 1842; an extended market having been made for our manufactures was not suddenly lost, and thus the reverse of the operations which took place in 1839 created a large balance in our favour to be remitted from the Continent, the exchanges became very high in our favour, and at the end of the year the bullion in the Bank was nearly 14,000,000. During the last two years (1844 and 1845) the import of wheat has continued small, compared with the years from 1838 to 1842, while the extreme low prices of our manufactures have enabled us still to sustain an export of those goods, little diminished, to the corn-growing countries, and greatly to increase them to the other markets of the world.

We therefore come to the conclusion that the high rates of exchange which have been maintained for the last three years, have been caused, first, by the sudden reduction of our imports of wheat in 1843 to about 900,000 quarters, after our trade had adapted itself to an annual import considerably exceeding 2,000,000 quarters in each of the four preceding years; secondly, to the great economy obtained in our process of manufactures by improvements during the last six years; and, thirdly, by the extreme low prices of cotton wool, especially during the last two years, the products of which constitute nearly one-half of our whole exports; and lastly, to the general prosperity of our customers on the Continent, who have been enabled to consume our manufactures to so large an extent. In 1837 the exports of cotton goods amounted to £20,598,000, and in 1844, notwithstanding the great reduction of price, they amounted to £25,805,348. In 1837 our exports of all kinds to the Continent of Europe amounted to £19,401,320, and in 1844 to £25,621,185.

The important inquiry in which all are now most deeply interested is, how far the same causes are likely to continue. As far as we can judge from present appearances, we do not think it probable that any such important increase will take place in our imports of grain as will of itself be calculated materially to affect the exchanges. The supply of cotton continues very large, and the prices fully as low as on any former occasion. Our manufactures are conducted upon a scale of perfection and economy never before equalled. So far, then, as these elements of the question are concerned, there would appear at this time little to be apprehended to lead to any reduction in the exchanges. There have, however, been some other symptoms visible of late, which would lead us to fear that some reaction in the course of the present year must be expected. During the last six months our imports of all leading articles have been, and continue to be, very considerable; while at best, our exports up to December last, were stationary; and since then, especially to the Continent of Europe, the demand for our leading articles of manufacture, and more particularly for cotton and worsted goods has been, and continues to be very limited, compared with what it was a year ago. This is to be attributed to the depressed state of some of the chief markets of Europe, partly in consequence of the scarcity and consequent high price of food, and partly owing to the unwieldy speculations into which they have entered, to construct railways to an extent much beyond their means. These causes threaten to diminish the amount of our exports during the present

season; while the large proportion of our labour employed in the construction of railways, will maintain wages comparatively high, promote a large consumption of foreign produce, and in the course of time lead to an extent of importation which our exports will not be adequate to meet. There is no immediate danger of such a disturbance as we now allude to; but the whole tendency of our trade, and the distribution of our capital and labour at this time, points to such a result, sooner or late, as highly probable, unless stringent means are used to prevent it.

CORN BILL DEBATES—1815—1846.

(From the Manchester Examiner.)

Up to the session of 1845, nothing was so distasteful to the country gentlemen as a discussion on the Corn Law. It was made a subject of repeated complaint that Mr. Villiers would not let the question rest, however great a majority had defeated the proposition he submitted to the house. During the period of severe distress, from 1838 to 1842, the sufferings of the people were often the subject of debate, and the landlords in Parliament protested against the introduction of the question of corn as one which the legislature had finally settled, and which ought not, therefore, to be re-opened. In the present session we find a complete change. The men who, some time ago, were content with the decision of a Parliamentary majority, are now resolved on a pertinacious and irritating opposition to a measure which has received the deliberate sanction of a majority of 97 votes. So long as majorities were in favour of a policy by which the nation was pillaged, and the fruits of its industry misappropriated, their decision was to be held sacred; but now, when the preponderance of votes is on the side of justice, every means of annoyance is practised which obstinacy and selfishness can devise. It has been a frequent charge against the opponents of the Corn Law, both in and out of Parliament, that they have imputed unworthy and base motives to the supporters of monopoly; and the class of persons whose charity is niggardly enough when speaking of the poor, but overflows when the rich are to be judged, have denied that the landowners have been actuated by other than patriotic, though possibly mistaken, motives in the policy they have pursued. The journals of the Houses of Parliament shall decide the question,—we ask no other evidence than is to be found in the records of the proceedings of the Lords and Commons, in the debates in the year 1815, when the Corn Law was enacted, and in the year 1846, when it will be finally repealed. No one denied that the projected Corn Law of 1815 was a most important measure; its friends said it would save the country; its opponents said that it would injure trade, and produce misery and ruin to multitudes. It was a measure demanding the most mature and unbiassed deliberation, affecting as it did the food and the industry of a whole nation. And how did the Lords and Commons, owners of the soil, treat it?

By reference to the journals of the House of Commons, we find the following narrative of the rate of travelling at which legislation, for high prices of corn and high rents, proceeded. On the 17th of February, 1815, the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider the laws which regulated the importation of corn, and on the same day, certain resolutions were reported. This report was further considered in committee on the 22d, 23d, and 24th of February, and on the 27th nine resolutions were reported to the house. The debate was adjourned to the following day, the 28th, when all the resolutions were agreed to, and a bill was ordered. On the 1st of March, the bill was brought in and read a first time. On the 3d it was read a second time and committed. It was considered in committee on the 6th, and further considered on the 8th, on which day it was reported, and ordered to be engrossed; and on the 10th of March it was read a third time and passed. Thus from the introduction of the resolutions on the 17th of February, to the passing of the bill on the 10th of March, just 21 days elapsed. We now turn to the journals of the House of Lords, and track the progress of this iniquitous measure. It was sent up to the Lords on the 13th of March, and was read a first time the same day. On the 15th, it was read a second time. On the 17th, a motion was made to hear the Corporation of London on their petition against the bill, praying for further inquiry. The Lords ordered the petition to "lie on the table," saying they had information enough, and were prepared to legislate, and on the same day the bill went through committee, and was reported. On the 20th of March, the bill was read a third time and passed. On the 23d of March it received the royal assent, and became the law of the land and of the landowners. Thus, from the introduction of the bill into the House of Lords, on the 13th of March, to the 20th of the same month, when it was read a third time and passed, just one week was allowed for deliberation, on one of the most important measures which ever passed that branch of the legislature. The royal assent was given on the 23d, and the bread of millions was made scarce and dear, by the enactment of an interested and privileged class. It will be seen from this, that just thirty-four days intervened from the first introduction of the resolutions in the House of Commons, on the 17th of February, to the affixing of the royal signature to the Corn Bill, on the 23d of March. It must be borne in mind, that during this period the country was in a ferment; and that manifestations of the hostility of the people to the odious measure, were made in every possible form. On the 6th of March, the Houses of Parliament were surrounded by police and military, to guard the members on their way to the scene of their everlasting disgrace. The lobbies and galleries of the House of Commons were cleared of strangers, with a view to conceal from public view the mode in which the landowners conducted their operations against the public weal.

The proceedings we have just narrated were connected with the passing of the Corn Bill of 1815. Let us contrast them with the doings of the monopolists in the session of 1846.

On the 26th of January last, Sir Robert Peel made a full statement of the intentions of the Cabinet with respect to the Corn Law. At the pressing request of the monopolists, he allowed a fortnight for consideration of the measure, before moving the House into Committee. On the 9th of February he moved for the Committee, and the monopolists continued the debate during three weeks, engaging the time of the House of Commons for no less than twelve nights. At least two nights were spent on the report of the resolutions. The second reading was postponed to the 23d of March, and the debate on the second reading, which commenced on Monday last, has now lasted four nights, and the division will probably have taken place as our paper is going to press. The anti-national faction who are opposing the beneficent proposition of the Government, promise, in addition

tion to past discussion, a further debate in the Committee on the Bill, and a great contest on the third reading; and there is no chance of the Bill leaving the House of Commons till just before the Easter recess. What the Lords will do with it is yet uncertain; but of one thing we may feel quite sure—they will not pass it in one week from its reception by them, as they passed the Bill of 1815.

In 1815 the people demanded delay and inquiry: they were refused both, and indecent haste marked the conduct of both houses. In 1846 the people demand that their industry shall be liberated, and starving multitudes in Ireland ask for bread; they are met by delay, by an opposition of the most factious character, and by the contemptuous denunciations of the men who for thirty years have been trampling on their most sacred rights. In 1815 thirty-four days were enough for discussion, and for enacting the Corn Law: in 1846 sixty days are spent before the Corn Law Repeal Bill can proceed to its second reading in one house of the legislature; and it is probable that six weeks more, at least, will have passed before it is read a third time in the House of Lords!

The monopolists in one house are led on by Lord George Bentinck—a member of a family which came over with William the Third, and whose greatest deeds are recorded in the annals of the turf. In the House of Lords they are to act under the orders of Lord Stanley—a man whose incapacity for business, and whose impetuosity of temper, have rendered it impossible for him to work in any administration. We leave it to any right-minded man to determine whether the interests of a great empire are to be thus obstructed by a party who can boast of no services rendered to the nation, but whose career has been chiefly remarkable for the shameless audacity with which they have persisted in pillaging the national industry, and by an unvarying disregard of every duty their position as citizens, or as members of the legislature, has imposed upon them. It may be desirable to have a privileged aristocracy, but if national well-being, and the national liberties, are worth preserving, it is high time the insolence of power manifested by the privileged classes were brought under some efficient control. It will be small compensation for the ruin of a great nation, that the territorial aristocracy should be involved in its downfall.

THE AGRICULTURISTS AND FREE TRADE.—At a meeting of the Newcastle-on-Tyne corporation, on Wednesday last, Mr. Sinton, the keeper and manager of the extensive and increasingly important cattle market at that town, presented his annual report to the town council, which showed that, during the past year, the quantity of stock sold at the market considerably exceeded that sold in the previous year; and that the demand for all kinds is now so brisk that, to use his own words, "prices have risen almost to an extreme," beasts selling at 7s. 6d. per stone, and sheep at 8d. per lb. The report concluded with this emphatic statement: "I may also take the liberty of stating, that a great difference of opinion exists in the agricultural districts with reference to the Free Trade measures now proposed, compared with what prevailed when the Premier introduced his measures in 1842. At that time the graziers became alarmed, and brought their stock to market before it was ready; consequently prices were then very low, and all kinds of stock were a drug in the market. But the Free Trade measures now proposed have not affected the prices of stock in the least. On the contrary, since they came under discussion, prices have had rather an upward tendency. Holders are firm, and no apprehension exists as to any reduction in prices." The author of this statement is in constant communication with all the large stock farmers in this neighbourhood, as well as with dealers from adjoining counties. Sir John Fife remarked that Sir R. Peel could not have a better reply than it afforded to his monopolist opponents.—*Daily News*.

THE PROTECTIONIST PEERS.—We are informed, on authority which cannot be doubted, that "the die is cast." The monopolist peers have had their meetings, one after another, and the issue is, that the march of Free Trade is to be resisted to the uttermost. Lord Stanley, never deficient in animal courage, and always forward when mischief is to be done, has undertaken so to mutilate and mangle the ministerial measure in committee that it will be quite impossible for the Free Trade party in the House of Commons to accept it when it is returned to them. Our regret, we confess, is greater than our surprise at this information. Their lordships have always been tardy learners in the school of wisdom, and therefore we may not wonder at their preserving this characteristic of their order in the present instance. And what are they to gain by playing this dangerous game with an irritated and angry people? Or rather, what may they not lose by their appalling folly? But, while such is the present intention of the lords, Sir R. Peel, we are assured, is resolute and determined on the subject. He has made up his mind that he will take no measure but his own. It is *aut Cesar aut nihil* with him. He will have all or none. The monopolists must be prepared to form an administration or face a dissolution of Parliament in the very hour when they give a mortal stab to his proposition. So stands the case at present. We speak on the authority of one engaged in playing the game himself.—*Liverpool Advertiser*.

FREE-TRADE TESTIMONIAL.—We are pleased to find that the subscriptions to the testimonial to Mr. Symons, the honorary Secretary of the Plymouth Free Trade Association are progressing in a very satisfactory manner. The members and friends of this popular movement appear to think themselves under weighty obligations to Mr. Symons for the spirited, zealous, and unceasing energy which he has always thrown into the cause, and which has kept this Association constantly before the public eye as one of the greater provincial bodies which have been instrumental in furthering the cause of Free Trade. They will therefore, we are assured, come down handsomely on the occasion, and show that they duly appreciate the exertions of their active officer. They now begin to feel, probably, under the slow movement of the Commons, and the threatened opposition to their hopes in the Lords, that they will require his services still further; certainly there is reason to fear that some active demonstration may yet be required to convince our hereditary wisdom that the people of this country will not allow themselves to be trifled with in the full attainment of their just hopes, and that nothing short of unrestricted commercial freedom will satisfy the nation. In obtaining this every one must see the advantages of an organised League, and we hope that this testimonial will be in some measure a handsome recognition of the steady services of the Secretary of our Free Trade Association.—*Plymouth Journal*.

The *Stamford Mercury* states that, so exceedingly scarce is copper money in Lincoln, some of the tradesmen have been actually compelled to give change in postage stamps.

BIRMINGHAM FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION.

LEAGUE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

(From the Birmingham Journal.)

On the evening of Tuesday, the 31st ult., a general meeting of the Free Trade Association was held at the Public Office, to receive a report from the committee regarding the League Quarter of a Million Fund, and to adopt such measures relative thereto as might be deemed necessary. There was a pretty numerous attendance.

About seven o'clock, Mr. Alderman Geach was called to the chair, who, in stating the object of the meeting, said that although Birmingham did not occupy so favourable a position with regard to wealth as Manchester or Liverpool, yet he hoped the town would not be dishonoured by the amount of subscriptions it would send to the fund. Taking into account its circumstances, and considering the difference in its capital from those towns he had mentioned, he had little doubt but the liberality of the friends of the cause would be such as to do Birmingham all honour. The report of the committee would now be read, and the minutes of a former meeting relative to the subject, which would put them in possession of the proceedings of the association in the matter.

The secretary, Mr. Clifford, then read the minutes and the report, which will be found in our advertising columns. After reading the report, Mr. Clifford said he might, perhaps, be excused making a few observations. He had heard it generally asked, and by parties, too, from whom they might not have expected it—"Why, what are we to subscribe for? The work is done; Sir Robert Peel has done it for you; and if you will but allow him time, will complete it." Now in answer to that, they had but to point to the opposition Sir Robert's measures had met with; the battling he had to do to carry them, in order to show that he required, not only support in the House of Commons, but backing up out of doors. Not only so, but when they saw fallacies, which had been exposed and put to flight over and over again, repeated with all the pertinacity of new matter, and heard the leading men of the protectionists say that the period of three years, which had been fixed upon as the time the Corn Laws should be wholly repealed, was adopted but to allow them any chance the chapter of accidents might turn up, in order to nullify that decision—when they saw all this, did it become them to slacken in their exertions? Would it be proper for them to cease their work while the matter remained in doubt? On the contrary, their best efforts were yet required in the cause: they were not asked for without reason; and they had a guarantee that these exertions would not be called for, or continued a moment longer than was necessary, in the fact that Messrs. Cobden and Bright, who had given their talents, their money, time, and even health to the cause, and who now considered a renewal of their exertions expedient, would not have done so, unless they felt convinced of its propriety. Then, again, they had the same statements and fallacies to contend against at that moment as they had at the very first. And one, which appeared very material, and frightened many, was the assertion that other nations would not follow the example of England in abolishing restrictions; but already, even in the present most imperfect state of our commercial policy, they saw that assertion refuted by the utmost gratification that had been felt in other countries at the mere announcement of a Free Trade by England; and already, to a certain extent, had France, America, Naples, and Germany, given assent to the principle of that measure. Why, if they did so now, while the plan was in its infancy, he did not think, when in all its details it was perfect, and the abolition of restriction complete, they need fear that other nations would not consult their interests by following the enlightened and honest policy of England (applause). They had heard a great deal also about competition; the fears of it had been great throughout the country, and considerable in Birmingham; but since the enunciation of Sir Robert Peel's policy it had been very much on the decrease. Take, for instance, German goods—more particularly the article of hardware. In one case he was acquainted with a manufacturer, who informed him that he had been afraid of competition; but he saw some of the articles, took them to bits, examined them, and found that they were constructed on a principle at once cheaper and as good as those made in England. What was the result? Why, he altered his mode of manufacture, and can now turn out an article cheaper and better than could be imported, and is regardless of competition from any quarter. In his words, "they had much to learn, but nothing to fear, from competition" (applause). With the talent, the skill, and the capital of England—with the many resources the country possessed within itself—it would be indeed surprising if they should feel afraid of rivalry from any quarter; on the contrary, it would have the effect of stimulating renewed exertion, of opening up new fields for British skill, capital, and enterprise, and would be followed by advantages lasting and important (renewed applause). There was only one other point to which he would allude. Birmingham was late in the field in bestirring itself in aid of the cause (hear, hear). True, other towns were exerting themselves before Sir R. Peel brought his measures into Parliament; but although these measures were carried, their obligations to assist in the work were by no means cancelled. It was never too late to do well; and he trusted that Birmingham would stand as well amongst the list of subscribers to the fund as they wished it, and would occupy such a position as would do it honour.

Mr. GEORGE SMITH then moved the following resolution:

"That the report of the committee be received and adopted, and that the committee be requested to take the earliest opportunity of completing a subscription list in aid of the Quarter of a Million Fund, and thus testify the warm interest taken by the inhabitants of this borough and its neighbourhood in the success of the measures brought forward by her Majesty's Ministers in Parliament for the repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws, and in support of the principles of Free Trade."

Mr. THOMAS GAMMON seconded the motion.

The Chairman, after explaining the conditions of a subscription as detailed in the report, read a list of subscriptions amounting to upwards of £2,500. The reading of the list was received with loud cheers.

The Chairman, in continuation, said that many other persons had expressed their intention to subscribe, but had not determined how much they would give. They had certainly done well; but a great deal more remained yet to do; and to accomplish it every man should act as if all depended on his individual exertions. In fact it was only by this that any great work was done. If this had not been the case, the public mind would never have been enlightened, nor the antiquated fallacies of many years swept away; and if it had not been this, education had never dawned upon the country, information as to all the great questions that in-

rest-its well-being had never been given, nor would that liberal and comprehensive scheme of commercial policy of Sir Robert Peel be proposed (applause). He would not join in a detraction of the Premier, because he had shown a degree of moral courage in bringing forward this measure that commanded admiration. He had come forward and acknowledged his errors; he had boldly separated from the factions of his party, he had placed in jeopardy even his political power; and had indeed temporarily lost it—all to carry out that measure, for the consummation of which they all heartily longed. He had done all this, and surely he deserved their praise and their thanks (hear, and applause). Mr. Clifford had partly anticipated him in what he intended to say; but he would counsel them to be wary of fancying that the work had been accomplished. But even supposing that it had, would it be right, he would ask, would it be fair or honest, to allow the men of Liverpool, and Manchester, and Leeds, to bear the burden—the time, the trouble, and the expense—and then sit down and say, “why, what more is there to do—the work is done? (No, no). He knew Birmingham better than to suppose they would. He had met with one singular exception, however; he had met with one man who held that it was fair to take advantage of the exertions of their neighbours, and to refuse to assist. He was glad there was only one in this mind—he wished there had been none (applause). As had been observed by Mr. Clifford, they had a great guarantee that their exertions were necessary; but there was also the expectation that this money would not be required. Of this let them rest assured, that unless a necessity existed the League would not survive a single hour. In his opinion, however, that time had not come: circumstances had placed them in a position where energetic exertion was made more imperative than ever, in order to maintain that recognition of Free Trade principles which Sir Robert Peel’s scheme so liberally manifested. It would be impolitic, in the highest degree impolitic, to allow the advantage they had gained to be lost by supineness; and that advantage could only be considered secure after the general election, which could not be far distant. It was not by any means improbable that the Lords, in their wisdom, might throw out the measure, rendering an appeal to the country necessary; but supposing that it was carried, every possible effort would be made by the protectionists to obtain a majority at a general election; and if in this they did succeed, it would not be astonishing if they attempted to cancel the measure of Sir Robert Peel, and again adopt protection. It was at the coming election that the grand struggle would take place: it was there that the Free Traders would meet folly and misstatement by honesty and truth—and there it was that the contest must be decided which should show the protectionists the hopelessness of their opposition (cheers). It was an eternal disgrace to Birmingham to be represented, or rather misrepresented, as it now was (“hear,” and renewed applause). It was dishonourable to them to have one member speaking against the measure and then voting for it, and the other both speaking and voting against it—to have one member continually against them, and the other very little, if any, better (loud cheers). One of these hon. gentlemen had been very eloquent on the question of bronze, and all the bronze men of Birmingham were, according to his account, to be ruined together. Now what, he would ask, was the great interest which was to be affected by the change? Was it large in numbers? But, even although it were, was it to be supposed that they were to be beaten out of the market by a reduction of five per cent., when, while the value was almost nominal, it realised to the revenue in one year 78*l*.—the very handsome sum of 78*l*. per annum (cheers and laughter)! He could not say whether the hon. member alluded to bronze or buttons first (laughter, and “Bronze first”). Well, he thought the reply of the Premier might have proved a settler to Mr. Spooner; but no; the hon. gentleman was up again, and at him with buttons (cheers and laughter). Why the button makers were to be ruined too. Now nothing could be more unfounded. There was a large button manufacturer sitting on his right hand (Mr. George Smith). He was not afraid of competition, nor of ruin—he had not had his orders cancelled, his workmen discharged; nor had he shut up his manufactory. He knew he had nothing to fear, and courted competition (applause). But the honourable member produced instances of German buttons, and told the house, “Here are buttons from Germany, which will put the Birmingham makers out of the market.” Now every one knew that the price of buttons was simply a question of fashion; that when first brought out they fetched a high price, and that their market value varied with the fashion, although intrinsically it remained always the same—so that the German buttons might be as good as those of Birmingham, and they might also be cheaper, merely because they were not fashionable. As for the Birmingham manufacturers being beaten out of the market, the statement was absurd, and the honourable member ought to have known so when he made it (applause). Were they content to allow such a state of matters to go on? Were they by petty differences among themselves to continue to be misrepresented (No, and applause)? The electors were disgusted, and he did not wonder at it, for when a Birmingham man mixed with the Free Traders of other towns, he felt very much inclined to hide his head, when he heard the invariable exclamation, “Why, what a pretty pair of members Birmingham has got” (laughter and cheers)! In the prospect of another election, let them not be unprepared—let them ascertain the men who had the greatest amount of electoral support—and let these men be elected. Let them sink the more paltry distinctions of party and party feeling; and let everything be subservient to this; and then, after they had attained their object, they might again revert to Whig and Tory, or to anything else they might please. It was these petty feelings that at the last election placed them in the position they now occupied; it was these feelings that gave the protectionists a chance, which otherwise they might never have dreamed of. They flattered Mr. Sturge—(laughter)—that he was the man of the people, and the result was the present disgraceful representation. He hoped such an event would never again occur. For his own part, if he thought Mr. Sturge, as a Free Trader, was likely to have the greatest amount of electoral suffrages, he would be glad to support him. He feared, however, that this Mr. Sturge did not possess; but still there was sufficient power in the hands of the Free Traders to secure the return of Free Trade representatives. In conclusion, the Chairman again pressed upon them the claims of the times, and the condition of the country, as a stimulus to renewed active exertion.

The Rev. George Dawson said he would only ask one question—whether, even admitting that the interests of buttons and bronze were affected, this at all affected the principle of Free Trade? It was impossible that any great measure affecting the whole commercial policy of the country

could be carried without injuring the interests of some classes; but where the great end was to confer general benefit, this must be borne. He perfectly agreed with all that had been said regarding the members for Birmingham—more especially with what had been said of one of them. It was really pitiable to see that honourable gentleman get up, on any question, to advocate obstruction, and repeat in silly, childish, and factious talk, his bigoted opinions and antiquated fallacies, recommending of hindrance to every great question of advancement—(cheers)—hindrance not only to a supply of food, but obstruction to religion—as he manifested on the late proposition of relief to the Roman Catholics of Ireland (loud cheers). He hoped they would hear no more from the honourable member about bronze or buttons; his statements were ridiculous, and known to be so by every manufacturer in Birmingham. He would thank the secretary to put down his name for £5 (cheers).

Mr. CLIFFORD said it might, perhaps, be as well to mention the mode they intended to pursue in collecting the subscriptions. Now since they had got it started, they intended to send a circular to all the parties in the town and neighbourhood whom they thought likely to subscribe, enclosing a form to be filled up with the sum subscribed; and to save all trouble, this form would be ready directed to the treasurer, so that they had nothing to do but put it in the post-office. This mode they considered preferable to a personal canvass, as it would enable them to reach every one, and to know exactly when the subscription was complete.

Mr. EDWARD COWPER said, perhaps he might be allowed to state what had taken place in Messrs. Fox, Henderson, and Co.’s works, at Smethwick; and it was cheering, because the movement among the men had been quite spontaneous. About a week or two ago, one of the working foremen intimated his intention of subscribing to the fund, and put down his name for several pounds; his example was followed by the other workmen; and in three days they had collected the handsome sum of £22 (loud cheers).

The Rev. R. MELSON remarked that he had seen in the papers a proposition to request Sir Robert Peel to stand for Birmingham. They might ask Sir Robert; he (Mr. M.) felt certain he would be well supported.

The CHAIRMAN said he was afraid Sir Robert would not come amongst them.

Mr. THOMAS MACKAY said it would certainly be a pity if Birmingham required to go a-begging for men to represent it—good and honest men, too. He might mention that on a recent occasion he went to Mr. Spooner in London, regarding the Friendly Societies Benefit Bill, which was at present pending in the House of Commons. “Well,” said Mr. Spooner, “what do you think of matters now?—that measure of Sir Robert’s will be the ruin of you all. Not only will it be the destruction of the button and bronze manufacturers, but it will ruin the boot and shoemakers as well.” I (Mr. Mackay) told him we were of a different opinion; that I was acquainted with several manufacturers who had now more orders than ever, and feared no competition. “Ah, it will ruin—it will destroy you,” said Mr. Spooner. “At all events, Sir Robert has lost my confidence (great laughter). I can never trust him more” (renewed laughter). After a few general remarks, Mr. Mackay continued: But I almost omitted to tell you one little incident. My friend, Mr. Sansum, who was along with me, addressing Mr. Spooner, said: “I am a very plain and blunt man, and you’ll excuse me speaking my mind. Well, Mr. Spooner, to tell you the truth, I neither like your acting, nor Mr. Muntz’s speaking—there’s the confidence to be placed in neither” (great laughter and cheers).

The resolution was then put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks was afterwards given to Mr. Alderman Geach for his conduct in the chair; which having been suitably acknowledged, the meeting broke up.

In the course of the evening several gentlemen contributed liberally to the fund, and at the close the amount of subscriptions was announced to be £2660.

The following is a list of the subscribers’ names, and the sums announced.

	£	s.		£	s.
Henry Smith	..200	0	John Webster	..25	0
Thomas Phillips	..100	0	Keeling, Brothers	..25	0
Josh. Scholefield & Sons	250	0	Samuel Messenger	..25	0
Joseph Giltott	..250	0	Brooke Smith	..25	0
John Wright	..125	0	Samuel Brown	..25	0
Timothy Smith & Sons	200	0	Robert Fletcher	..25	0
John Betts	..100	0	Joseph Collins	..25	0
Charles Clifford	..100	0	William Hayward	..25	0
Charles Geach	..100	0	John Blakeway	..25	0
Harold and Sons	..100	0	Edward Barker	..20	0
Samuel Beale	..100	0	E. W. Fry	..20	0
Thomas Whitfield	..100	0	Joseph Gaskins	..10	0
William Nutter	..50	0	Thomas Wright	..10	0
F. and C. Osler	..50	0	Thomas Prime	..10	0
John Lord and Co.	..50	0	Thomas Pinches	..10	0
Blyth and Graham	..50	0	T. R. T. Hodgson	..10	0
Neustadt and Barnett	..50	0	Rev. R. Melson	..10	0
Thomas Eyre Lee	..50	0	Thomas Walker	..10	10
William Wills	..50	0	F. & W. Southall (Don.)	5	0
W. J. Beale	..50	0	Charles Cowper	..5	0
S. A. Goddard	..50	0	A. Friend, per J. Hayward	5	0
Smith and Kemp	..50	0	George Dawson, M.A.	5	0
George Smith	..50	0	Edward Cowper	..15	0
T. H. Ryland	..30	0	Loach and Clark	..15	0

ANTICIPATING FREE TRADE.—On Saturday, the 20th ult., a fine 600-ton iron ship was launched from the building yard of Messrs. James Hodgson and Co., Liverpool. She is the first of a line of eight, to ply betwixt Liverpool and Rio de Janeiro, touching at Pernambuco and Bahia, South America. She will be fitted with the screw propeller, and a pair of 50 horse power engines as auxiliary steam power. She will be heavily rigged as a ship; her length on the load water line is 175 feet, 26 feet beam, and 17 feet deep. The christening was performed by Mr. Samuel Johnson, of Pernambuco, who gave her the name of “Antelope,” as she glided into her native element, amid the assembled multitude. A splendid entertainment was provided after lunch, at the expense of the owners, and about 375 sat down to dinner, prepared by Mr. Lynn, of the Waterloo Hotel. The vessel is consigned to the able management of Messrs. Mc Tiar and Hudfield, the well-known Rio merchants. Her owners are entirely Free Traders, including some of the staunchest, viz. Messrs. Crook, Finch, and Jevans. Messrs. Hodgson and Co., have also on hand one 1300 ton steam-vessel, iron, to trade betwixt Liverpool and New York, which will be ready for launching in about eight weeks, and it is expected that this vessel will be called the “Free Trader,” although she was to be named the Eagle. They have also just completed an iron steamer for the River Plate, and have the stocks for others for different destinations.

REGISTRATION APPEALS.

BUSHELL v. LUCKETT.

Mr. Wellsby for the Appellant; Mr. Grove for the Respondent.

CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL.—The rate in this case was made on the 28th of September, the purposes to which the rate was to be applied being referable to the thirteen weeks preceding the 10th day of December, 1844; therefore, the object of the provision was to provide for the exigencies of the parish for the interval from the 16th of September to the 16th of December. Now the question is, whether it was the rate of the parish for the time being? It appears to me to satisfy all the terms of the Act. The rate, independent of the new rate, was a rate still existing for the same purpose. No doubt if the arrears were due upon it, the parish officers might distrain and justify under the rate, if they justified at all, in the interval when the new rate was made; and, therefore, unless there is a justification under this rate, it would fall on the existing rate at the time. I conceive it never was intended in a case of this sort, where the words are general in the beginning of the clause, “every parish in which there shall be a rate for the relief of the poor,” that it should be said because the term for which it was intended to provide has expired, that therefore the rate has expired. I think the words of the act are satisfied.

Mr. JUSTICE MAULE.—I am of the same opinion. To construe the rate for the time being to exclude the rate in question, I think would be inconsistent with the plain spirit of the 30th section of the Reform Act; and would be inconsistent with the directions of that section, and what is to be understood by the words there used. That section enables a party to be put upon “the rate list for the time being;” and therefore it assumes that there always is a rate for the time being in every parish; and probably at the time of passing the Reform Act, there was no parish in England in which no rate had ever been made. In fact there always is a rate in every parish; a rate is made, and until another rate exists it is liable to be enforced at the end of its existence, or at any time. Then, as the section of the act speaks of “the rate for the time being,” it excludes the idea of there being two rates at one time as much as it excludes the idea of there being no rate at any time. It is, I think, very plain that a person under this section has always a right to be put upon some rate, and that rate is the rate last made. It is said here he ought to have demanded to be put, not on the rate made in September, but the last effectually made and published. It is not said he has not a right to call on the overseers to put him on the last made rate, but inasmuch as it was another rate, it did not become operative or capable of being enforced till after the demand made. I think such a rate as that is not a rate for the time being, and in the sense of the Act of Parliament—consequently the demand was properly made, and the appellant was entitled to succeed.

The rest of the court concurred.

Decision reversed

LUCKETT v. KNOWLES.

Mr. Grove for the Appellant; Mr. Wellsby for the Respondent.

CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL.—It appears to me this was a case properly for the amendment of the revising barrister, and comes within the 40th section; and I conceive he is right in the amendment he has made on the present occasion. That section, so far as the place of abode of the claimant is concerned, provides for two cases; first, where there is a total omission of the place of abode; and the second, where it is insufficiently described for the purpose of being complete. In both these cases the barrister is to expunge the name; but if, whilst the revision goes on, evidence is brought to his satisfaction of the proper description of the place of abode, then he is to insert it in the list. In the argument it is admitted that there is the total absence of any place of abode; and it is said the second predicament, namely, the insufficiency of the description for the purpose of being identified, must be limited and confined to a description that affords sufficient particularity; but it will not apply and comprehend a case where this description is actually wrong. It seems to me, looking to the object and intention of this power of amendment, the thing may be very safely included within the power given where the place of abode of a party is not sufficiently described for the purpose of being identified. None can say in this particular case, when you find the word Queen in the register, and the proper place of abode is Queen-street, B. oomsbury, that there is a sufficient description on the register for the purpose of identifying the party. I do not see what there is to restrain and narrow the terms of the clause intended to be literal. It seems to me that if the statute intended to comprehend every case of total omission, and every other case in which the description inserted is one by which we could not find the party, this falls within the latter, and therefore I think the decision must be affirmed.

Mr. JUSTICE MAULE.—I think this name was properly retained in the list. The barrister was bound to retain it, unless he had some duty to perform under the power given him to expunge the name. Now, the only object of the name being retained was, that the place of abode should not be called Queen when, in fact, it was Queen-square. There is a list of voters, in which the voter in question appears quite regularly upon the face of it. The barrister is asked to expunge the name, unless there is some reason given for not so doing, or some authority given him by the Act. The voter having been objected to, and notice of objection being given, it was necessary for him to prove his qualification. He did so entirely to the satisfaction of the revising barrister. It has been said that the place of abode is a part of the qualification. I do not agree to that. It means the place of abode at the time he is put upon the list. There is a proviso that he shall not be registered, unless resident within a certain distance from the borough for a certain time. It is by no means required to be put down in the Act of Parliament; so that there is no objection at all to the qualification of the voter here, and it does not fall within the powers of section 40; that requires the barrister to expunge the name of any person, if the barrister finds his qualification is insufficient in law to entitle him to vote. There is no kind of objection to the qualification here; therefore, he is not to be expunged on that ground. If his name is to be expunged at all, it cannot be because there is no qualification. It is not because the qualification is not sufficient in law as stated on the list, because it is sufficient in law. The only power given to expunge is that which arises under the subsequent part of the 10th section, which is that which imposes the duty of expunging the name. Now the objectors here must insist that the voter comes within the description, because if he does not—if he is not a person whose place of abode is wholly omitted or

insufficiently described for the purpose of identification, then the power of expunging does not arise, and he is "on the register," because he is rightly on the register. Those two powers have already been dealt with, and the third power is the only one in question. The objector, in order to bring the voter within that power, must say the place of abode is either wholly omitted, or insufficiently described, for the purpose of identification. If he says it is not an error in fact, he has no power to expunge; if he says it is so, then he "shall expunge it," wherever it exists, under the authority given by the powers of the act: that is to say, the power to expunge is not an absolute power, but it is a power to expunge unless the matter so omitted, or insufficiently described, be supplied to the satisfaction of the revising barrister before he shall have completed the revision of the list. Here, undoubtedly, it was so supplied. It seems perfectly clear the revising barrister had no power to expunge. If then he is to have a conditional power of performing that which was performed, here then power becomes void, and no longer exists. I think it is clearly within that part of the section. It is unnecessary to discuss the question, whether, in the event of the name not being supplied to his satisfaction, he had any other power beyond that which is stated: it is clear there is no power given him to expunge, unless it be qualified by supplying that which was supplied on this occasion.

The rest of the court concurred.

Decision affirmed.

IMPORTANT DEMONSTRATION AGAINST FREE TRADE.

In the Parliamentary proceedings of Friday last we find the following most important announcement:

"Mr. Grogan presented a petition from the chimney sweepers of Dublin against Free Trade."

Undoubtedly the League has got its death blow now, and the new allies whom the Richmonds and Buckinghams have enlisted in their cause will prove as effective in putting the anti-monopolists to rout as that gallant Irishman, Sir H. Gough, was in his late triumphant victory over the Sikhs. —*Kilkenny Journal*.

THE PROTECTIONISTS.—The *Augsburgh Gazette* just received says:—"In consequence of the anxiety of the public for news from the East Indies, the Or-gon question is in the meantime almost forgotten. At all events, no one takes it ill of the Ministry except the protectionist organs, for making no answer to the swaggering of the Americans, and continuing to offer its hand for an equitable adjustment. Lord George Bentinck, who is all of a sudden, as if by a magic stroke, transformed into a great statesman, and delivers his judgment, in a single speech, on all points of internal and external policy, upon trade, finance, and national education, spoke very freely last week, in the Barambas style, of the destruction of all the American seaports. I assure you, however, that John Bull infinitely prefers buying from his brother Jonathan cotton, corn, salt meat, and cheese, to destroying his towns with cannon balls, and if Jonathan has not entirely lost his senses, he will not thwart old Bull in his peaceable humour. The opposition (behind the Treasury benches) contest Peel's plan step by step; and seem to derive fresh courage from Lord Stanley's declaration that he hopes the House of Peers will throw it out; and yet the result of all their divisions on each individual point of the tariff which they thought proper to oppose ought to have rendered them more discreet; for they were not only beaten every time, but on every division the Ministerial majority was larger, and in the sequel the House of Commons adopted the *tout ensemble* of the tariff without the slightest alteration. At this moment all the articles therein included are already either entirely free of duty or admitted at the newly-reduced rates. What, however, they should take still more to heart is the almost total silence of the manufacturers and artisans affected by the alteration; even those orators who at first cried out so loudly had partly withdrawn their complaints against the intended alteration in the timber duties (since adopted), and partly ceased to complain at all. Yes, the prevailing silence of the farmers, and even of the landed proprietors, should serve them as a warning that, as these have attained conviction, it would be better to bring the affair to a termination at once, than any longer to depend upon an apparent, but, on account of its uncertainty, a useless protection. All this, however, does not restrain the landlords from continuing to struggle. On the 23d ult. Peel proposed the second reading of the Corn Bill, and a long debate ensued. The result is known. Unfortunately, the Government finds itself compelled to press forward the new Irish Coercion Bill, and on this account the business of the Corn Bill and the tariff must be postponed. There is, moreover, no hope entertained, in spite of all the prayers and complaints of the commercial world, that this affair will be entirely brought to a close before the end of May. What is intended by this delay it is difficult to ascertain, as even amongst the Opposition ranks it appears to be deemed a matter of certainty that a majority is gained in the House of Peers. It suits their purpose, however, to impute to Peel every possible act of treachery in the world; and thus their organs declare, with all the appearance of conviction, that he has already concerted with the Whigs, Radicals, and Repealers the sacrifice of the church in Ireland and the granting of repeal to O'Connell, as soon as the Corn Law battle has been won; and that consequently every bishop who may vote for the repeal of the Corn Laws will really vote for the downfall of the church. I fear, however, that this mingling of corn and church will not much avail either the corn producing aristocracy or the aristocratical church established by law. From the very circumstance that the League is constantly accused that its intention is directed beyond corn and aimed at the church, the latter might easily be enabled to direct its power against an institution the clergy of which are on all occasions pressed upon it as adversaries."

DEATH OF CHARLES SQUAREY, ESQ., OF SALISBURY.—We deeply regret to have to announce the death of Charles Squarey, Esq., of Salisbury, who died on Sunday last, in the 36th year of his age. In him the League has lost an energetic and uncompromising advocate of its principles, and society a man whose talents and exertions have ever been used to advance the intelligence and welfare of his fellow-men.

SCARCITY IN IRELAND.—The price of potatoes in Dublin has now risen to 9d. a stone for good ones, and 6d. for very indifferent ones. This is an advance of at least a hundred per cent. on the prices of last year, and yet the protectionist papers in Dublin have the heartless effrontery to assert that there is no scarcity, and that provisions of all kinds "were never more plentiful or more cheap than at this period of the year." —*Liverpool Times*.

THE CHELTENHAM ANTI-CORN LAW PETITION.

Mr. Berkeley's committee to enquire into the charges of forgery and personation in the signatures to this petition, have brought in a report as under. The facts proved are exactly as we stated them at the time, and the Committee are obliged to own as much in their report. But as there happened to be a majority of Anti-Free Trade members on the committee, the last sentence was very kindly added as a rider, as a delicate method of letting down easy to the hon. member, who has made himself so conspicuous on the occasion. Here is the report:

"That it is the opinion of this committee that an irregularity in regard to the petition from Cheltenham, as transmitted thence to Manchester, was of a nature which rendered it not capable of being presented to the House of Commons, according to the known forms of the house, that it was altered by agents of the Anti-Corn-Law League at Manchester, who were cognisant of the rules of the house; and in adapting this petition to those rules they acted irregularly, though with no fraudulent intention. It appears to your committee that the first five signatures appended to the petition sheet, as presented to the house, are not in the handwriting of the persons there named, but are transcribed from genuine signatures which were on another sheet; that this act of transcription, though irregular, is not fraudulent. It further appears that 24 names, purporting to be the signatures of other subscribers to the petition, were written by one and the same person (an elector of Cheltenham), with the sanction, as he states, of the persons named. In closing their report, your committee think this a fit occasion for expressing their regret that methods of promoting and preparing petitions should prevail, which have a tendency to bring into discredit that mode of giving expression to the sentiments of the subjects of the realm." —*Cheltenham Examiner*.

CORN FOR EUROPE.—Several shipments of Indian corn having been made from this country for various ports in Ireland, the impression prevails that on corn the duty has been or will be taken off. The shipments as already stated, are by order of the British Government, for the aid of the poor Irish who are suffering from the injury of the potato crop. Indian corn, however, will be included in the tariffs of the bread stuffs, if it shall be ascertained that Sir Robert Peel is strong enough in both houses of Parliament to reform the Corn Laws according to the principle he has laid down, but it is certain that recent experience having shown the utility and economy of our Indian corn, and as it cannot be produced by the corn-growing countries of Europe, our west will have the benefit of an extensive sale of this valuable product as every kind of experiment will be made in England to improve the manner of baking it. In other bread-stuffs it is possible that grain from the Baltic could be sold as cheaply as from this country. But if we look at the importations of our bread-stuffs into England during the months of December and January, say in the port of Liverpool alone, we are doing a heavy business even with the Corn Law in force. Of flour there was entered in those months 133,883 bls., 129,652 bushels of wheat, 188,012 bushels of corn, besides barley, peas, beans, &c. It is a doubtful policy for us to tie ourselves up by a commercial arrangement of reciprocal duties in relation to the tariff. We reduce our tariff as a national policy, and England reduces her duties on the Corn Law in conformity with the wishes of the people. The change is mutually beneficial, and operating silently to the benefit of both. There is no necessity for treaty stipulations. Independent of the double crop of corn produced in the prairies of the west, we can grow to the north several millions of bushels more than we did in 1845; and we learn that our farmers at the present season are preparing to plant many additional acres of Indian corn. —*New York Sun*.

THE BOROUGH OF WIGAN.—The following circular from Mr. James Lindsay, dated London, March 24, was delivered to the electors of Wigan on Friday last:—"Having seen in the Parliamentary proceedings that a petition from two of the electors of Wigan had been presented, on the 17th instant, praying to defend my return, I think it is due to myself and respectful to you to inform you that this course has been taken without my knowledge, and I deeply regret it. Having endeavoured to obtain what information I could, it would appear that it has been prepared by persons wholly unconnected with the town of Wigan. I accordingly sent for the agent employed by the party to defend my seat, and informed him, in the presence of witnesses, that this petition had been prepared, and he had been employed, without any sanction from me, and that neither I nor any one connected with me would be responsible in any way whatever on account of their proceedings; for, having declined to defend my return, I conceived I could not with honour encourage others to defend it for me." It is said that Mr. Gladstone has signified his readiness to become a candidate, if unopposed. —*Liverpool Albion*.

THE TARIFF.—THE NEW BOON TO ALL NATIONS.—A Dutch paper makes the following statement with respect to the new Peel tariff:—"Groningen, March 16th.—We understand that it is in contemplation to establish a direct communication between this city and London. When the great measure of Sir Robert Peel, the reform of the English tariff, has passed, as in all probability it will, the Upper House, it will have a favourable effect on the price of our productions, and in their exportation, so that a direct communication with England will be of great importance to our provinces. What an influence the general reform of the English tariff will have, is already seen by the considerable increase in the price of cattle, in consequence of the reduction of the duties on importation, and the prospect of their entire abolition in the sequel. When the greater part of our productions find easy admittance into England we shall never have to fear a want of exportation, since all our articles, if the projected reform of the tariff take place, will find a ready market in England; and even many things, which hitherto could not be thought of, may become articles of exportation, when a regular communication by steamboats between this city and London is established."

THE EMPEROR OF CHINA A FREE TRADER.—A very salutary and effective measure has just been adopted, which promises well for the increase of commerce, and to be otherwise beneficial to the Capital. Through want of rain, the grain boats from the provinces have been delayed, and the city as well as the environs have this season been exposed to much suffering. The Emperor has been prevailed upon henceforth to allow the tribute rice of some provinces to be imported by sea to Teentsin, instead of the tardy inland passage. He has also abolished the Corn Laws at Childe, and permits vessels from Fo-kein and other provinces to import rice to any amount free of duty. —*Pekin Gazette*.

THE COLONIES ARE COMING!

(From the Nonconformist.)

The course of right, like that of true love does not appear to be "running smooth." The protectionists, in one way, or other, have secured delay; the object of which, is to have time to bring up the colonies into their line of battle.

It is therefore time to begin to look after colonies. What is a colony? The colonial question is going to be inoculated upon the cam. The League, for the putting down of Corn Law robbery, is going to be transformed into a League for the putting down of colonial robbery, by the act of the enemy.

A colony is a portion of the inhabitants of a country, sent out of it to live and labour somewhere else. If Robinson Crusoe had sent his man Friday to grow yams at some distant point, or some island in sight, if such there were, Friday would have been a colony. And the rule for determining whether this colony was worth having, would have been simply whether Friday in his transportation made more and better yams than he would have done by staying at home. If on keeping Friday at home and employing him there, more and better yams could be gotten for instance by exchange with the inhabitants of the main land opposite, supposing peace to have been established;—then Friday would be a knave and Robinson a fool, if he carried his point of going forth a colonising. And doubly both, if Friday could be conceived to be of such consummate impudence, as to propose a self-denying ordinance in the shape of a tax on Continental yams, by way of enabling him to keep up the price of his.

If Friday requested to direct attention to the great and important trade which would be carried on with him in his losing colony,—the canoe-loads, for instance, of curiously tanned goats' hides, and implements framed with the help of such tools as his master alone possessed, which might be dropped down to him under charge of a shipwrecked Spaniard, for a return cargo of his yams,—his master would tell him he was an ass if he expected this to be done, when yams as good could be got by a less expenditure on the Continentals who were in the market. But civilised men are not asses, when they think they can cheat their fellows by an Act of Parliament; because the practicability of the thing is every day demonstrated, and not only that, but the consequences of the way in which the community at large have hold of the short end of the lever,—the nature of things is to do wrong, and to do right or to get it is the difficult exception.

The colonies, then, are on their way. Their trumpeters will be here by the next steamboats, to assure you,—one, that it will engage to find you with dear corn, if you will only pay for it,—and another, that you shall never be without dear sugar, unless by your own fault and obstinacy. The secret in all this to be kept, and which heaven and earth will be moved to bury under a load of words and bluster, being that all and everything in the way of encouragement given to trade and industry by the foolish process, would be given to them somewhere else by the wise one; with the advantage to the consumers, who are everybody, of having something for the difference of price instead of nothing. The history of Jobson and Johnson and Jackson, in the article headed "*Economical Blunders!*" in last week's *Nonconformist*, is applicable throughout.

This one principle runs through everything. It runs through corn; it runs through colonies; it runs through the apprehended injuries to the working classes from the employment of machinery. In fact, it is the eye-opening principle; and if we can get our eyes open, we shall put down all that can be brought against us.

THE TRIUMPHS OF DAVID HUME AS A POLITICAL ECONOMIST.—"In no long time, a hundred years will have elapsed from the day when Hume told the world, what the legislature of this country is now declaring, that national exclusiveness in trade was as foolish as it was wicked; that no nation could profit by stopping the natural flow of commerce between itself and the rest of the world; that commercial restrictions deprive the nations of the earth of that free communication and exchange, which the author of the world has intended by giving them soils, climates, and geniuses, so different from each other; and that, like the healthy circulation of the blood in living bodies, Free Trade is the vital principle by which the nations of the earth are to become united in one harmonious whole. Those who, with a reverential eye, have marked the wonders of the animal structure, and discovered beauty, utility, and harmonious purpose, where presumptuous ignorance has found uselessness or deformity; or have seen the lower animals, each working in its own blind ignorance, gregariously constructing a fabric more perfect, on philosophic principles, than human science can create, have thence drawn vivid pictures of the wisdom and goodness with which the world is ordered. May we not extend this harmony to the social economy of the globe, and say, that the spirit of activity and enterprise, harmonising with the dispersal of the different bounties of Providence in the distant regions of the globe are part of the same harmonious system; that the love of commerce and the desire of aggrandisement, which in the eye of a narrow philosophy assume the air of selfish and repulsive passions, represent themselves, when they are left to their legitimate course, as motives implanted in us for the great purposes of securing mutual dependence and kind offices, and their fruits, peace, and good-will, throughout the great family of mankind. To be the first to teach that the earth is not doomed to the eternal curse of rivalry and strife, and to open up so wide a prospect of beneficence, may be an atonement for many errors, and in the eye of good taste may justify the brief assumption of conscious superiority, in which the subject of this memoir indulged, when he desired that the inscription on his monument should contain only his name, with the year of his birth and of his death, leaving it to posterity to add the rest." —*J. H. Burton's Life and Correspondence of Hume*.

A correspondent, whose case, we fear, is not singular, says—"In the process of sowing a field of five acres, I found eight nests of young rabbits, five in each, about eight inches below the surface. This is 'stocking' a poor man's possession with a witness. It is equal to 320 animals on 40 acres." —*Montrose Review*.

If we are to have Free Trade, let it be free and unconditional. Open the ports, by all means; but open them to everything. Let the quays be as free for traffic as the Queen's highway; let us grow what we like, consume what we please, and tax us in one round sum according to each man's means and substance; and then, at all events, there can be no clashing of interests. This is the true principle of Free Trade, carried to its utmost extent; and we recommend it now to the serious consideration of Ministers. —*Blackwood's Magazine*.

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*Wardrop, Robert, do	1	0	0
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Deiner, F. W., Round Close	0	4	0
Scott, Thomas, New Road	0	4	0
White, Wm.	0	2	6
Laing, John	0	2	6
Hiddes, John	0	2	6
Brodie, Walter	0	2	6
Armistead, John	0	2	6
Douglas, John	0	2	6
Barnet, Robert	0	2	6
Turnbull, Wm.	0	2	6
Deans, Francis, High-street	0	2	6

*Paton, J. and D.	10	0	0
*Archibald, J. and R.	5	0	0
*Archibald, Robert, and Sons	4	0	0
*Monteith, Thomas, and Son	3	0	0
*Walker, Andrew, and Co.	2	0	0
*A Friend	1	0	0
*Henderson, James	1	0	0
*Harison, W. and P.	1	0	0
*Thomson, J. and M.	1	0	0
Walker, J. and G.	0	16	0
Dawson, Thomas	0	12	0
Hunter, George	0	12	0
J. F.	0	8	0
Cargill, John	0	8	0
Miller, George	0	6	0
Morrison, John	0	6	0
Pyle, Wm.	0	4	0
Shaw, Alexander	0	4	0
Philip, Robert	0	4	0

*Brettle, George, and Co., 119, Wood-street	100	0	0
*Strutt, Edward, M.P., 42, South-street	70	0	0
*Strutt, John, Derby	70	0	0
*Strutt, Anthony, do	70	0	0
*Courtauld, Taylor, and Co., 2, Carey-lane, Cheapside	60	0	0
*Stone and Kemp, 35, Spital-square	40	0	0
*Vyse, Thomas, and Sons, 3, Cripplegate-buildings	20	0	0
*Devas, W. and T., & Co., 24, Lawrence-lane, Cheapside	20	0	0
*Smith, Geo., and Son, 14, Gough-square, Fleet-street	20	0	0
Mitchell, T. A., M.P.	20	0	0
*Lee, Messrs, J. & Co., Felling Alkali Works, Gateshead	20	0	0
*Crawshaw, George, Gateshead Iron Works, do	20	0	0
*Cash, Wm., 39, Wood-street	10	0	0
Cory, Wm., and Son, New Barge House Wharf, Commercial-road, Lambeth	10	0	0
*The Eastington Association, Eastington, near Stroud, Gloucestershire, per W. Clarke	10	0	0
*Smith, James, 58, South Audley-street	5	0	0
*Pontifex, E. and W. and Co., Shoe-lane	5	0	0
Watson, John, 56, Holborn Hill	5	0	0
*Morgan, Arthur, New Bridge-street	5	0	0
*Balfour, Brothers, 72, Great Winchester-street	4	0	0
*Lowe, Thomas, Bordesley-street, Birmingham	2	0	0
*Rife, Sir John, Newcastle-on-Tyne	2	0	0
*Greenhow, Mrs., Bonwell, Westmoreland	2	0	0
*Clark, Thomas, St. Mary's Gray, Kent	2	0	0
*Phelps, Joseph, 44, Paternoster-row	2	0	0
*Seagram, Thomas, M.D., 109, Pall Mall	2	0	0
*Pole, George, 95, High-street, Borough	2	0	0
*Hubbard, C. J., Stockwell Green, Stockwell	1	1	0
*Carter, Richard, 3, Newgate-street	1	1	0
*Bendall, Richard Smith, Old Kent-road	1	1	0
*Levy, Edward, 37, Upper Gower-street	1	1	0
*Lambert, Samuel, 236, Regent-street	1	1	0
Brooks, Thomas, 13, Frederick-place, Goswell road	1	0	0
Moore, Thomas, 8, Grove-place, Brompton	1	0	0
*Robson, Harry, 3, Hamilton-place, New-road	1	0	0
Hodgson, Wm., Rastrick, Huddersfield	1	0	0
*Thornely, A. W., Wrexham	1	0	0
*Clark, Mrs., Elizabeth, Lymington, Hants	1	0	0
*Dimmore, John, Knaresborough	1	0	0
Gleig, George, shipowner, Arbroath	1	0	0
*Jones, Samuel, iron and brass founder, Littleborough, near Rochdale	1	0	0
*Chaplin, Robert, 20, High-street, Maidstone	1	0	0
*Monro, F., Cheltenham	1	0	0
*Pilkington, T., Promenade, do	1	0	0
Trangmar, Anthony, London-road, Brighton	1	0	0
*Skeggs, John, 1, Albemarle Cottages, Stoke, near Devonport	1	0	0
*Tripe, L. P., St. Aubyn-street, Devonport	0	10	0
*Johnson, Edwin, 25, Blackman-street, Borough	0	10	0
Davis, Henry, 166, Sloane-street, Chelsea	0	10	0
Henry, John, 82, High-street, Paisley	0	5	0
Willmott, Thomas, 20, Little Bell Alley, Moorfields	0	5	0
Kensett, J., 126, High-street, Guildford	0	2	6

FARM LETTING IN SCOTLAND.—Two or three farms in the vicinity of Edinburgh have lately been let, or such money rents offered for them, as would lead to the conviction that farmers consider the protection of the Corn Laws no better than a stalking horse. A small farm within two miles of this city to the south, has been let at 5l. 12s. 6d. per acre (money), and to the west even higher rates have been offered.—*Scotsman*. [In Perthshire, also, several large farms have been recently let at an advance of from 10 to 30 per cent. on the old rents.]

CORN LAWS, versus RENTS.—Notwithstanding the prognostications of the protectionists, that the proposed measures of the Government would immediately tend to a vast reduction in the rent of land, there was a farm, within a few miles of Hawick, let last week at an advance of 25 per cent. The former rent was £1000.—*Border Watch*.

A HISTORY FOR HOLIDAY CHILDREN OF ALL GROWTHS.

BY REUBEN.

The robber C—L—

How he got up when Buonaparte fell;
How, with the great lords, he in London did dwell;
How he lies now in a murderer's cell.
Let us all read the life of the robber C—L—.

Which is an authentic history of a great murderer and robber, one C. L., sentenced to death by order of her Sovereign Majesty the Queen. Written for the Newgate Calendar, and printed by permission here.

IN TWO PARTS.—PART THE FIRST.

CHAPTER I.—Of the place of his birth; of his parents; of his education; of his teachers; of his catechism; of the consolation of its precepts in the condemned cell.

C—L— was born in the ancient city of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, Anno Domini, one thousand eight hundred and fifteen. His parents were travelling tinkers, remaining neither long in London nor long in the country, but shifting from one to the other, as they felt a desire to do tinkering work in town or a desire to travel out of town.

At the time of C—L—'s birth, they occupied an old house in a low part of Westminster, close to the river side and near the foot of Westminster-bridge, which has since been burned down. They are now living in a temporary place of shelter, and have been so housed, when they are not travelling in the country, for the last ten or eleven years. Whether this is because nobody will give them a house, their characters being damaged by their loose habits of life, or whether it be that they are looked upon as chargeable with the crimes of their children, or that they, used to a migratory life, as all tinkers are, care not for a settled habitation, we cannot say. All we know is, that since their old house was burned down, eleven and a half years ago, they have not been otherwise sheltered than in a temporary shed or outhouse. And in this metropolis, there is always a strong disposition to question the respectability and honesty of people who lodge themselves in sheds or outhouses, or under waggons in the streets, or on door steps, or in the dry arches of the bridges, or among the baskets of Covent Garden market, or under the scaffolds of new buildings, or in the churchyards among the tombstones, or in St. James's Park under the trees, or who walk the streets without rest, complaining to all who will listen, that they once had a house of their own, but have none now.

Both the statute law and common law of the country pronounces such unhappy people to be vagrants; or, as they are sometimes called, rogues and vagabonds.

Such have been, and, as we are informed, such are, the unhappy parents of the notorious malefactor C—L—, now under sentence of death in her Majesty's gaol of Newgate; some of the events of whose life—the extraordinary trial of whom at the Old Bailey—the unparalleled efforts of whose relations and associates, in attempting to secure his escape, we are now about to relate.

Of the education of C—L—, save the training of him in practices of dishonesty, we know little. It is said he received some early lessons from one Robinson—Mr. Prosperity Robinson, we think, is the name the neighbours gave this teacher when we made our inquiries—and he was also at the school of one Castle-reagh, an Irishman, living in Westminster; of this, we have not ascertained many particulars. It is certain, however, that one Perronet Thompson, seeing the evil courses of the boy when in his very childhood, endeavoured to reclaim him by teaching him the catechism; but the parents, who did not desire to see the child bred up honestly, thwarted this good work, and no result was effected; at least, not then. But it is so far satisfactory to know, that since the criminal has been condemned and left to the solitude of his cell and his own conscience, and after all the petitions to save him from execution have been answered by the Right Honourable Sir James Graham, Secretary of State for the Home Department, that a reprieve cannot be granted—that he must expiate his crimes upon the scaffold; it is, we say, satisfactory to know that in the gloom of the condemned cell, in the hours of his repentance, he confesses to having retained in his memory, throughout his career of crime, some of the early impressions made on him by the excellent teacher of the catechism; and though in the seeming prosperity of his guilty course, those impressions lived within him as thorns that could not be plucked out, he feels them now in the pained conscience as balm upon his wounds.

It is said that some of his more hardened associates in vice, who have been working to effect his escape—those who attempted his rescue when before the magistrates, and again at his trial, who have got up the petitions in his favour, and who, it is supposed, will make a desperate effort, though it must be unavailing, to seek the assistance of the multitude to rescue him on the day of his execution,—it is said that nothing has mortified

these persons more than the rumours that he has repented—that he will not, as Lord G. B., one of his old companions, calls it, “die game”—and that in his hours of sorrow and repentance he confesses never to have entirely forgot his catechism, and that he draws consolation from its precepts now, when passing through the valley of the shadow of death. They say if he would put a bold face on it, and keep up his heart, and make no confessions to the governor of the gaol and the chaplain, as it is rumoured he has done, nor read the catechism or any of the books given him, to help his repentance and to ease his mind, but be ready to jump from the scaffold into their arms when he is brought out for execution—as he was expected to leap out of the dock at the Old Bailey when they gave the signal—they would still save him. But they think if he has really made a confession, and has seriously betaken himself to the precepts of the catechism which the gentleman named Thompson taught him in his youth, there will be no hope of his escape from the hands of the executioner. They say that in that case it will be “all up” with him, and perhaps with some of them, for they dread his making a confession, lest in the last dying speech and declaration which will be published, he should peach upon them, and divulge to the world how they have been sharers in his guilt.

We shall now give a few particulars of his career at its different stages.

CHAPTER II.—Of Peter Street, Westminster; of his being called a soldier's bastard; of the boys of that day; of the old man with the breeches pocket; of the shoemaker; of the soldiers; of the cupboards.

One day, when he was still a child, his father and mother were going through Peter-street, Westminster, calling, “Pots and kettles to mend!—old iron or brass to sell!” He was trudging after them, peeping into shop windows, and into houses that had their doors open, and standing behind corners, snatching the bread and butter from the hands of solitary children, when the boys who knew him called out, “There goes the young thief!” And they kept at him, calling to every one to look and see the thief. Says one noisy boy—his name was Gale Jones—“Who sneaks down the areas?” Cries another, whose name was Wooller, “Who robs the cupboard?” And then a tall farmer's boy, in a smockfrock—for even the country-people knew him by this time; his name was Hunt—he happened to be going along Peter-street at the time, answered, “Why, no one, but that there tinker's brat as robs the henroosts down with we in Hampshire,—that be the thief of the cupboards, that tinker's son.” At which a poor man, who kept an apple-stall at the corner of the street—his name was Alexander Baring—said, “I know he is a thief; not that I can say anything about cupboards or henroosts being robbed, but he has been at my breeches pocket, where he saw me put a couple of ha'pence, that I took for a pennorth of apples. I know them tinkers have brought him here to rob my breeches pocket; it is me that he has come to rob; my apple-stall and my breeches-pocket. We must, all of us, help to have him sent out of Westminster. He will not leave a ha'penny in my breeches pocket.”

Hearing which noises, the tinker turned round, and asked what the boys and the old man meant by abusing his son. Says a shoemaker, who put his head out of window, one Thomas Williams, “He is your wife's son, old fellow, and you may be stepfather. I dare say you are; but, blow me if I'd call him son, if my wife had been among the soldiers, as yours has been.” Whereat the tinker's wife was in a most violent passion. She called the shoemaker many bad names, and denied what he said. But he stuck to it stoutly, that he had seen her in Palace-yard with the soldiers, and carrying on an abhorrent dalliance with them in the very streets, and at the doors of the Houses of Parliament. And the shoemaker appealed to his neighbours if this was not true; and they said it was true, and that the old tinker was a cuckold, and did not know it. And the tinker was so enraged that they should call him a cuckold, and say that his son, C—L—, of whom he was fonder than of any other of his children, was begotten of the soldiers, that he threw down the pots and kettles which he had collected to mend, and trampled on them, crushed them, kicked them, tore them in pieces, and threw the pieces at the head of the shoemaker, and cut it open, and swore that he would have the life of some one, if they called his darling son, C—L—, a thief and a soldier's bastard.

And while he was thus breaking the pots and kettles that he had gathered together to mend, and was fighting with the shoemaker and his neighbours, his wife, still denying that she had ever been unduly intimate with the soldiers, returned, after a brief absence, with some tall guardsman at her back; and giving them the word to begin, they began, snatched up the pieces of broken pots and kettles which the tinker got from the people to

mend, and gave those same people a terrible thrashing, wounding and disabling them with pieces of their own pots and kettles. Some of the people called to the tinkers to be off altogether; that they were all dishonest alike, themselves as well as their children; that the calling of pots and kettles to mend was only a pretence to get into people's houses to steal; that they mended one hole in a kettle and made another that they might have more jobs to do, and more chances of getting into private houses to steal. The people bade them to go about their business, and they would mend their own pots and kettles when they needed mending. But the tinkers had the soldiers at their backs; and more soldiers came to help those who came at first, and the upshot of it all was, that some of the people were slain, and some wounded, and some sent to prison. But even this was not all their punishment. While the conflict was going on, and all were out of doors, or looking out of doors, the insidious young thief, C—L—, about whom they had all been quarrelling, was sneaking from house to house, plundering every cupboard that had an eatable thing in it; slinking off with loaves of bread; dipping his hands into sugar basons, and eating the sugar; his fingers into pots of butter, and eating the butter; or into basons of lard and dripping, which, if he could not eat, he carried away to those who had trained him to steal—to his dishonest parents, who liked nothing better than a row in the streets, such as this was, covering, as it did, some new attempt of theirs to live at the expense of others. While the people and the soldiers were thus rioting, C—L— and his parents were thus employed. This happened when he was little more than four years of age.

CHAPTER III.—Of his travels in the country; of his parents and the farmers; of the ogres with more heads than one; of his protecting the farmers from the ogres; of his being suspected; of his acquittal.

Soon after this, the tinkers betook themselves to the country, where, meeting with some of their migratory associates, they held a merry time of it in the woods and green lanes; a merry time, however, at the expense of the farmers.

What with sheepfolds, hen-roosts, potato-fields, rick-yards, barns with corn in them, mills with flour in them, styes with hogs in them, and sows with little pigs, hares and rabbits with skins on their backs, the skins being saleable; fields with cows in them, the cows willing to be milked in the dark; dairies with butter and cheese in them, the dairy-maids willing to have their fortunes told;—what with all those advantages for themselves, besides provender for their asses, on whose backs the pot and kettle implements were carried, and keep and scope for their dogs, they did very little tinkering work in the country. There they were chiefly engaged in fortune-telling among the farmers; and were it not that we have the clearest and most ample evidence of the facts of the delusions practised by the tinker fraternity and their imp of all mischief, C—L—, we could not believe that the farmers, farmers' sons, farmers' daughters, and farmers' wives of England could have been so credulous and pliant to imposition.

The tinkers would go to a farmhouse, and say, “You know we mended all your pots, pans, kettles, and everything else of yours that wanted mending last year and this year, and we will do so again, and we never charge anything: we make the farmers, with whom we are always good friends, a present of our tinker work. But we have heard that you have lately had some losses in your flocks, and also in your corn fields; we will, if you choose, by the use of some secrets we possess, discover the thieves for you.”

At this the farmer would be overjoyed, and would begin, and at great length relate all his troubles, past and present, and his fears or hopes for the future. Hearing which, the tinkers would take him by the fingers, look at the palm of his hand, bid him put a piece of money in their hands, and they would tell him his fortune, in addition to telling him who had stolen a sheep, or a sack of corn, or anything else he had lost.

And though almost all the farmers were pleased to think they got their tinkering work done for nothing by their good friends the tinkers, and though they would have been very slow to pay money directly and openly for tinkering, they parted with their money freely to have their fortunes told, or to have the mystery of the key and the book performed for the discovery of thieves. It mattered not that the real thieves were never pointed out; they always believed what the tinkers told them.

This is partly to be explained on natural principles. There was a farmer in Hampshire, who, when they offered to tell his fortune, smiled and shook his head, and said he would not like to entrust them with his fortune, not even to tell what it was to be. And on another occasion, when they offered to discover, either by the book and key, or by some mystical herbs which were to be boiled, (we are not with certainty informed

which), who the thieves were who had been at his corn which stood in sacks in the barn, he spake scornfully, and told them there was no need for him to employ them to tell who robbed his barn,—he knew as well as they did; and they knew well enough to be able to tell without either book or key, or mystic herbs, or any of their incantations. And he went on, and at last called them impostors; and when they became angry at that appellation, he called them worse; he said they were the robbers of his barn themselves, and he could prove it.

At which they sneaked away, threatening him for saying these words, and only looking back to shake their clenched hands at him, and grind their clenched teeth. In six months that farmer was sold up, and turned out of his farm.

There was another in Wiltshire, who expressed his disbelief in their incantations and fortune-telling. When he had done so, he made a boast of it to his neighbours, and said he had served the tinkers right. But all his neighbours were grieved to hear what he had said. They shook their heads, and looked sorrowful, and told him that something evil would most certainly happen to him.

And what they said to him was true. In less than a year he had to quit that farm. He was not sold up; he left it with some wealth. But the tinkers, who were always moving from place to place, spread such evil reports of him being a bad farmer, and a bad man, that he could not get another farm anywhere. He and his family were at last beggared, and some of them had to go into the workhouse, whilst he himself became a pauper, breaking stones on the parish roads for parish pay.

And so it was in nearly every case where any farmer doubted the honesty or the efficacy of the incantations of the tinkers. This being seen throughout the country, the people in general, and the farmers in particular, believed that there must be a spirit of prophecy, or a kind of second sight, allied with the trade of mending pots, kettles, and pans, and of dealing in old brass and iron and tin.

Thus they not only submitted to the rules and propositions of the travelling fraternity, but they sought the youthful C—L— and his parents, and eagerly crossed their hands with money to set them to befriend them, to make each of their ewes have three lambs, their corn have double ears, and their eggs two yolks; or to have it told them again and again that the robbers of their barns were not men, but terrible ogres with two heads, and some with three heads, who lived on human flesh, far away by the hills of Derbyshire; and that they came in all kinds of mysterious shapes, and stole the corn from their barns, and the butter and bacon from the pantries, and the lambs from the sheepfolds, and the eggs from the hen's nests, and the little sucking pigs from their mother sows, all to feed little children upon and grown-up people, to make them fat, that they, the ogres with two heads and three heads, dwelling beyond the hills of Derbyshire, might eat them and grow fat themselves.

Now, though the farmers never caught one of those ogres at their barns, they believed they came there; though they had never seen one anywhere, they believed that they existed, for the tinkers told them, and they always believed the tinkers. Accordingly, C—L—, being highly respected for his power of seeing in the dark, and of seeing ogres with two heads and three heads, when nobody else could see them; and of frightening them away, no matter in what variety of shapes they might come to the farm-yard, he was looked upon as the hope and protection of the farmers; and was admitted into the homes of every one of them, and treated to the best which the farm-houses could afford, and more at times than they could afford. Every morning he came out of the dark places where he spent the night, and told of the things with two heads and three heads which he had seen; and how he had driven them away; and how they would have devoured every living thing on the farm, the farm itself, the farmer also, and his wife and children, and even the farm labourers and their wives and children, and would have picked the flesh from the bones of the very leanest of the labourers, and the very fattest of the farmers without reserve, had not he, C—L—, been present in the dark to protect them.

Still the losses of the farmers continued, and increased in amount and in frequency of occurrence, until C—L— was not so popular with them as he had been. Accusations against him began to be made, and he was at last taken before the magistrates and examined. This was when he was only in his seventh year, in 1822. But the charges against him were not listened to. The tinkers said, “If accusations are admitted against him, accusations against us will follow; we must speak and act, for our own sake, in his defence.” And they did so, and persuaded all the farmers who had been robbed to speak well of him, and to lay the blame of their losses

on the ogres with two heads and three heads, who lived far away beyond the hills of Derbyshire. So zealous were the tinkers to get the farmers to speak well of him, and with such high praise, that he was not only acquitted, but his supposed good services sought after more eagerly than ever, while his popularity increased so greatly as to gain admittance for him into the highest society. Even earls, and dukes, and countesses, and duchesses, and the very king himself, sought the friendship of the wonderful boy with the second sight, who could see in the dark, and protect them from the two-headed and three-headed ogres, who came from the north, from the hills and dales over the mountains of Derbyshire.

CHAPTER IV. — *Of his friendship with the noble and the rich; of his late evenings; of his early mornings; of the hand-loom weavers; of their children and their wives; of the murders he committed.*

The fortunes of C— L— were now in the ascendant. From the meanest pilfering he rose to revel in splendid sin in the company of the noblest and richest of the land. He attended young lords to Oxford and Cambridge, not as a fag, nor to be a student himself, but as a companion, without whose society they said they could not exist. He taught them to perform tricks which we might have supposed were below the dignity of young nobles; but so pleased were they with him, that they almost grieved they were not tricksters themselves. It was here he made the acquaintance of some of those who have adhered to him ever since, and have perilled their own existence to save him. They, in turn, introduced him to the doctors and proctors of the universities, and to the dignitaries of the church, who all believed that he must be an excellent fellow when recommended as he was by young nobles.

We have heard of old Squire Elwes, the miser, sitting all the night in the most splendid saloons of the metropolis, supping with the card-playing nobility on the most costly viands, staking thousands of pounds on the chances of the cards, having a new pack at each deal, and tossing the used ones on the floor, until he was up to the knees in cards. Leaving this society, its splendour, and its recklessness, at an early hour in the morning, if it was Smithfield market day, without having gone home to change his dress, he would go out of town a few miles to meet his cattle coming to market that he might help to drive them through the streets, to save a shilling to an assistant drover! and to watch the salesman at the market that nothing less per head might be taken for them than by dint of a sharp bargain he could obtain. But the paradox in the character of this miser was far outdone by the paradox in the character of our thief, C— L—.

We have all heard of highwaymen who, when the profession of "your money or your life" was in its palmy days, used to rob the rich without mercy, and give alms without stint to the poor. Our highwayman, however, used to rob the poor without mercy, and give the proceeds without stint to the rich.

At the dawn of day, or an hour before day dawned, he would leave the gorgeous saloons of the west end, where he had spent the night with Lord G— B—, Lord W— L—, and other associates of that exalted order, with cards, dice, wine, women, and all the luxurious accessories of sumptuous sin; he would come out upon the streets charged by them to replenish their purses by the ensuing evening for more gambling and more surfeiting. They needed money, they said; money they must have; and he was the only one that could get it. What did they exalt him into their society for, asked they, when he seemed unwilling to work for them, but that he might use his tricks learned in the tinker trade to supply their wants, and be repaid therefor by the honour of having them to call him friend?

And it must be written, and written truly, that he esteemed it no small honour to be so called. Instead of going to bed in winey sleep, he would keep awake, and come out in the early morning, when the first of the industrious rise from their beds and go forth to work, and the last of the idle go to bed to sleep till mid-day; and he would peep round corners, and follow the market-men and the basket-women of the markets stealthily; and he would put his hand into the baskets on their heads and take something out, and deposit it out of sight, as the clown in the pantomime does, until he could sell it, or otherwise make money of it. He would watch the carpenter going on the early street to his work, with his basket of tools over his shoulder, his saw beneath one arm, and his bread for breakfast and dinner in a napkin under the other. He would watch where this man went to work, would see him strip off his coat and fold it, and lay his dinner in the fold. When he was plying his tools, C— L— would lift the coat, carry it to the pawnbroker, pawn it, put the money he got on it in his own pocket for his splendid associates, and the carpenter would have to work hard many a day before

he got another coat. He would do the same with the bricklayers, and the labourers of the bricklayers, and the paviours of the streets, and the scavengers, and the milkmen of the early morning; and the same with the women who sit with stalls at the corners of the streets, selling coffee and bread and butter, and water cresses, for early breakfasts.

He would go on the bridges while they were yet unloaded with the din and traffic of the day, and look over upon the barges and wherries and the one or two steamboats which had then for the first time come upon the river, as they lay dosing asleep—the barges loaded as if they would sleep for ever, the steamboats exhausted with their efforts of yesterday—with their puffing and blowing before they got used to their work—and he would see that nothing was astir there save the silent river; and he would go down the stairs to the water's edge, like a spirit that had no sound in it, and would go on board stealthily, and would steal from every one of them, and take what he stole to some receptacle for such things, carrying the money to his masters when he had added it to what he got before, and had put to it what he got after.

When London awoke to business, and the suburbs sent in the bankers and the clerks, the stockbrokers and the merchants, who dwelt there, to the city; when the shops had opened their eyes, and put away their shutters, and looked out for customers; when the Temple, and Lincoln's-inn-fields, and Chancery-lane, and Gray's-inn, and all the places where lawyers creep into when they are sleepy, gave out their lawyers refreshed and wide awake, as holes in an old house give out black-beetles; when the river turned himself on his bed, and bade the dosing craft bestir itself, and get to work; when the great thoroughfares, which had slept all night with only an occasional sound of wheels upon them, as if they were speaking in their dreams—when they woke, and began to hurl from one to the other the traffic of giants, and shops were filled with customers, and everybody was a human bee, buzzing about and making honey, then C— L— was a wasp buzzing about, too, present everywhere, stealing honey which was not his own, and stinging those who detected him, and essayed to drive him away.

At Mark Lane on Mondays, he was among the corn factors and the farmers, who were not richer of his presence. He would again meet them in the country, and again have his hands crossed with their money to tell them their fortunes, or to discover some thief who had been in their houses or their barns taking money from the secret drawers, or corn from the sacks. Go where he might, no matter whether the farmers were in prosperity or distress, he found them always ready to listen to him, to tell their fortunes and to pay him for so doing.

He would go into the large towns of Lancashire, and to the small towns also; to the towns of every other county, and to the villages and hamlets, and even to the solitary houses, the very poorest of them, and levy contributions. He would creep beneath a weaver's hand-loom, and when he saw the weaver's toes worn through his old shoes, he would lay hold of the bare toes and pinch them; and he would also make the weaver's limbs ache, and would from beneath the web in the loom pinch the weaver's belly as if a screw were worming its way through him; and while the weaver endured this trouble, but could not tell what was the matter, he would cut away a part of his web, or steal his coat, and sell it, if he had one.

He would go down the narrow streets, where dwelt the weaver population, and go into the poorest of their houses, perhaps because the poorest were most defenceless, and would look if he saw children ill of fever, or if they were left alone with nobody to protect them, their mother being out at work to earn money to buy bread for them; he would look into the cupboards and take what bread he found there; and when the children, seeing their bread disappear, screamed, he would lay them down on their meagre bed and pinch them till the flesh came off their bones, and would leave them dead, and would carry away the merest remnants of clothing and furniture to sell it, when they were dead; and would meet the tired mothers at the door, who would try to stop him; but he would lay hold of their skinny arms and twist them, and throw them down, and would take their wages from them if it was pay day, and would show them their dead children; and when the women grew desperate at the sight of the house stripped bare, and the children dead, and in their desperation tried again to do battle with him, he would throw them on their dead offspring, and would kneel on them and crush the life out of their bodies, and commit those most cruel of murders for which he is now condemned and is doomed to suffer.

And when he had left families dead or dying, and had robbed them, and had made money of the deaths and the robberies, he would come into the public streets and put his hands into the baskets of women who were

out at market, and take the little shoes out of the baskets which little children were waiting impatiently for at home, dancing this night for joy that they were to get new shoes when "mother came home from market;" but the mothers would go home without the shoes, and with less bread than enough, because it being so dear they had bought less than enough to get the little dears shoes to their bare feet, or some article of clothing to their cold backs. And the little creatures, because C— L— had robbed their mothers, would have to go barefooted and bare-shouldered in the shivering cold, and were so disappointed that their little hearts were like to break.

And when he returned to the society of the tinkers and the lords of London with the profits of his spoil, he would tell them how very poor the hand-loom weavers were; that their toes were bare; that they had not a coat to their backs; that their limbs ached; that they had pains in their stomachs, like worms screwing through them; that they lived in narrow streets, in mean houses, with fever in them; that the mothers left the children at home, and went to work to get bread for them to eat; that he looked into all the cupboards, and found only a little food in some, and in some none; that where he found any food, he brought part of it away, or if there was very little, he brought it all and turned it into money, and there was the money.

And the lords would almost weep to hear of the misery of the poor weavers, but they would take the money and put it in their pockets, and play with it in the evening, or they would go to horse-races with it, and lay wagers, and lose and win, and return and join their wives and daughters, arrayed in the dresses which part of this money bought for them—the shawls of Cashmere, the satins of Persia, and the orient diamonds, glittering like—like—the tears of weavers' wives.

And in drawing rooms, furnished and adorned with all that is most beautiful and rich found within the compass of the earth's girdle, and shining in brilliancy, as if men had gone beyond the earth for their illumination, peopled with the loveliest beings of creation, to whose grace and beauty all things minister—the female aristocracy of England, (who, we are compelled to believe could not have known that C— L—, upon whom they smiled so sweetly, and listened so intently, was the crime-maker we know him to be); but in those drawing rooms, amid those fair forms, fondled and almost caressed to wantonness, C— L— told the miserable story of the weaver population,—how he had seen ogres with two heads, and those heads living upon their flesh; how he had encountered the ogres and fought with them, and expected some day to be able to kill them. He told this, and the fair beings wept to hear what the ogres had done, and applauded to hear what C— L— intended to do to them.

And when their senses were sated with the excess of luxurious elegance, and they retired to their homes, reposing in their carriages on cushions of satin, tired with ease, C— L— was once more out in the early morning, gathering from every human being, down to the meanest and most wretched, contributions to sustain that excess of grandeur, elegance, and ease.

He would see some wretched needlewoman from whom he had filched before, when she was 18 hours a day at work to complete one of the matchless dresses for which there was no patience to wait, and whom he had reduced from a milliner to a mere shirtmaker, compelling her to make shirts at threepence each, wringing from her the odd halfpenny, turning her out of doors because she could pay no rent. Even this creature of God, broken down in body and soul, he would see sitting in the recesses of the bridge; and he would watch her well, for if she had still one penny left to get bread, he must have a share of that bread or that penny; or if she was, as there was too much reason to fear, at the fatal spot where many earthly miseries have expired, he would watch her, and catch her when wound up to that pitch of endurance where the strings of life must break—he would catch her as she was plunging into the river, that he might get a remnant of dead clothes, even from her; and her last penny if she had one. He would then throw her in, and watch her drowning struggles, to get threepence out of the shilling which the parish pays to those who take dead bodies from the river.

END OF PART THE FIRST.

A GAME LAW HERO.—At the Leicester assizes on Monday, two men, named Rolleston and Hales, were charged with being on land in the parish of Evington, during the night, armed, for the purpose of destroying game; and as the evidence was distinct, they were sentenced to 12 months' hard labour each. Fouldes, gamekeeper to G. A. L. Keck, Esq., of Houghton, during his cross-examination, was asked by Mr. Kenneth Macauley, who defended the prisoners, how many offenders against the Game Laws he had taken? He does not appear to be more than 40 years old, if so much; but his reply was, "Two hundred and twenty!"

AGRICULTURE.

LANDLORDISM'S FAIR SIDE.

HOW FREE TRADE WILL HELP THE FARMER.

We have frequently referred to the various ways in which Free Trade in corn will improve the business of farming; and, amongst others, to the improvement of the relation between landlord and tenant, which will be the speedy result of the abolition of the Corn Laws. The letter of a noble landed proprietor to his tenants, which has recently attracted some share of public attention, affords the means of illustrating this point. The Earl of Mount Edgcombe has written and published a kind of paternal lecture to his tenants, singularly suggestive of the actual state and future prospects of the farming business, so far as it depends upon the owners of the soil.

The purport of his lordship's letter is to show his tenants that the maintenance of "protection" is no longer possible, inasmuch as all public men, of all parties, who have any pretension to statesmanship, have, with more or less willingness, declared for Free Trade; that resistance and impotent rage on the part of farmers and others is altogether useless, and that nothing remains to be done but to make the best of the matter, to leave off invocations to "protection" and reliance on Acts of Parliament, and, by putting their shoulders to the wheel, show that British farmers, with enterprise and capital, can compete as successfully in the world's market as British manufacturers have done. Now this is very sensible advice, which is creditable to his lordship's judgment, as the manner in which he has conveyed that advice does honour to the kindness of his feelings towards his tenantry. Nevertheless, the letter betrays an absence of knowledge of the real wants of farmers, or an indisposition to meet the necessities of the times. Of course the high protectionists fell foul of his lordship. To see clearly that "protection" was doomed, although personally unconvinced that it is detrimental, and still viewing Free Trade with alarm, was a degree of rationality inconceivable to the "protectionist mind." The *Morning Post*, launched, on three successive days, three leading articles, intended to be savage, against the Earl's backslidings; in which such "dastardly prudence" as that of Lord Mount Edgcombe, was denounced as destructive of the "influence of his order;" and, it was pathetically urged, that if the example should be generally followed, "the ascendancy of the landed interest in the British empire is at an end;" a catastrophe "we (*the Post*) shall lament as the forerunner of the degradation of the country."

Now it is this "ascendancy of the landed interest," maintained hitherto by means of the "degradation" of the tenant farmers, which has been so prejudicial to agriculture and so mischievous to the community. Why should the "landed interest" have an "ascendancy?" Why ought the semi-feudal relations, which have hitherto subsisted between landlords and tenants for the sole purpose of maintaining that "ascendancy," to be upheld? Now that the subject is being canvassed by the public, the days of that "ascendancy," like those of "protection"—if, in fact, they are not synonymous terms—are numbered. Let us see how the Earl of Mount Edgcombe, apparently one of the best of his class, is prepared to deal with the NEW ERA.

His lordship, after stating that his health will not permit him to meet his tenants, says he cannot refrain from addressing them by letter "at this moment so interesting to the agricultural interest." He then adds:

"It is not to hold out any hopes that protection to agriculture can be longer maintained; it is decided that in a few years the English farmer will have to compete with the world."

"Nor can I so entirely get rid of my former opinions as to be able to declare that we have not great ground for alarm."

"Yet when I see, with very few exceptions, every man who can claim any title to the character of a statesman, openly commit himself to directly contrary opinions, and consider that on a question of this kind that of any man of acknowledged talent, who has laboured to ascertain the facts upon which it is formed, is worth the opinion of any number of ordinary men, particularly when his sincerity is proved by his interests being deeply involved, I cannot under such circumstances myself despair, and hope that you will not; but wait till the result is shown by experience. If, as some say, the change prove beneficial rather than injurious, I shall most sincerely congratulate those who hold leases under me on their good fortune; if the contrary, I then, after obtaining the best information and advice in my power, shall take that course which, according to my judgment and conscience,

I shall deem to be liberally just. One thing is, however, certain—all agree that to ward off these dangers we must exert ourselves. We are started in a race against all comers, and we betide the hindmost. In such a race the manufacturers have been signally victorious; and it is well for farmers to consider by what means they have succeeded."

That his lordship means to be "liberally just" we doubt not, but he must do somewhat more than the things of which he afterwards speaks, if he intends to let his tenants succeed in the "race against all comers." Although we do not know his lordship's estates, we venture to offer him the following advice. Let him discharge his gamekeepers, and give up the game to his tenants. Let him remove all the hedge-row timber with as little delay as possible; let him enlarge all the inclosures which are less than ten acres, by removing some of the fences; and let him offer every tenant, who has capital, a lease of his farm for 21 years, without any unnecessary restrictive covenants. If these things be done, and fair arrangements made about draining, where draining is necessary, we will assure his lordship that his tenants will cheerfully pay him his present rents, and put in practice the precepts of improvement contained in his letter. Of these the following is a specimen:

"That success (of manufacturers) is attributable to, not only a steady attention to their business, but also to an unceasing activity of mind. Each improvement in their respective trades is no sooner made public, than it is immediately adopted, antiquated methods are put aside, and every new discovery of science and ingenuity without delay or hesitation put into practice. Those without the activity, the talents, or the capital necessary to effect such changes, become bankrupts, and their places are supplied by others in the enjoyment of those advantages or rather necessities."

Tenants have been, his lordship says, protected from such penalties by a sort of feudal benevolence on the part of their landlords:

"Against all but tenants has this last penalty been in force, and why has it not been against them? Because other influences besides the love of money-making have been allowed to operate. The landlord feels that the tenant is bound to his estate, and he to his tenants, by ties of the heart, rarely, if ever, known to the manufacturer, or by those with whom he is connected. Far be it from me to wish those feelings should cease to exist or to exercise their kindly influence; I deem them to be the best source of the peace, and the happiness, and the strength of the community; and when I am told that we are fated to become the shopkeepers of the world, I deplore the change from the belief that with it must come the diminution of such feelings."

Oh, most tender twaddle! But let his lordship feel quite easy about these "ties of the heart," under the new state of things. "Such feelings," we can assure his lordship, have no existence, except in the imagination of his lordship's class. Tenant farmers are not very sentimental beings, especially when the change his lordship deplors will certainly bring with it a considerable increase of farming profits. That will be a sure balm for the wounded "ties of the heart," snapped by the adoption of business-like habits. Take his lordship's own statement of the chief reason why protection was no longer tenable:

"The misfortune that has tended the most to cripple the efforts of your friends (which, like most so called misfortunes, arises from a great fault) is, that the agricultural labourers have not, and do not, enjoy the comforts they are rewarded for their services are justly entitled to. Our duty as Christians, to society, and to ourselves, calls upon us, each in our station, to remedy to the utmost of our power that disgraceful evil."

And why are the labourers so badly off? Simply because the land is scarcely half cultivated; and that state of half cultivation is a part of the system of paternal feudalism, that tenure of "ties of the heart," over the possible extinction of which the well meaning peer laments.

Let it not be supposed that we undervalue a good understanding between persons so closely connected as landlord and tenant, and who really can often materially assist each other; but we desire to see that good understanding based upon a manly, rational, and business-like foundation of independence and mutual respect. This can only be under a system of long leases.

After babbling of "healthful sport on the green," and "gambling in dark manufacturing towns," in a fashion purely aristocratic, his lordship further observes:

"The power to check the ordained course of events, however, nowhere exists; the agriculturists are treated as, and now indeed are termed 'manufacturers' of corn, and to exist must, however unpalatable, adopt to a great degree the system, and submit to the same fate as their fellow-manufacturers. It must be remembered that now no capital produces to its owner so small a return as that invested in land; while in no manufacture have science and ingenuity introduced greater improvements than in that of food, and it is not only the interest, but the duty of tenants, following the example of all other manufacturers, to use every exertion, first to learn and then to put into practice these im-

provements without delay. To tenants who have succeeded to estates from their ancestors have also, frequently descended habits which it is hard to cast off. The attempt, however, now must be made."

The emphasis on the three last words is his lordship's. And in the next sentence, something in the relation of landlord and tenant less tender than "ties of the heart" peeps out. He says:

"Landlords are on their part bound to take every means in their power to make their tenants acquainted with all changes in agriculture, which from time to time experience may have shown to be improvements, and also to give them every assistance in their power by sharing on equitable terms the expense, or by in any other way aiding them to carry them out; but in return, they have a full right to expect the utmost readiness in tenants to take advantage of the assistance and information offered, and to decline a renewal of connection with men who refuse to perform their part in what is no more than their duty at a time of difficulty and danger to all."

Now, to us, this looks very like saying to tenants, who for thirty years have been told to rely on Acts of Parliament and so forth for profit, "the time is now come when you must stir yourselves like other tradesmen, or you must turn out." And that view is confirmed by the next passage:

"As I said before, in other trades, either the want of sufficient activity or of capital is followed as a matter of course by inevitable ruin, and no aid is offered; but a tenant's case as I put it, and as I hope under most landlords it would in fact stand, is far better; for if he will be but willing and active, consideration and assistance will be shown, to shield him from the disastrous consequences that naturally flow from the want of talent and capital. But I repeat, that when advice and assistance is offered and not readily accepted, the fate common to all must be expected, and cannot in justice be complained of."

From generals his lordship thus hints at particulars:

"I will not lose any time in determining on a system by which information proved to be useful, and the assistance you can fairly expect from me, may be afforded; and in the mean time confidently call your attention to the advantages which are certain to be derived from a great increase of the number of cattle fed on your estates, to the better preservation of their manure, and to under-draining."

To promote which, the tenant must first be made independent by a long lease.

His lordship next attempts to pacify his tenants with respect to the conduct of their representatives; and then himself indulges in a long string of seesaws, wherein he greatly blames Sir Robert Peel for leading the "gentry and legislators of England" to do that, which his lordship alternatively shows it was impossible for any sane legislators to avoid doing.

But his lordship's wisdom is hereditary wisdom, differing possibly from mere vulgar wisdom, and we dare say it is "all right," for at the last he comes to this intelligible and accurate estimate of the protectionist position:

"These few lines on politics have I added from the desire to soften any ill feelings that may exist amongst us. It is most desirable that whatever may be the consequences—yield we must, that we should do so with a good grace, that the agricultural body, who still may claim so high a station, should not present the undignified spectacle of struggles now so clearly ineffectual—as to have the appearance of impotent efforts of childish anger—still less of quarrels and criminalities amongst ourselves. Let us rather determine at once to unite all our energies to do our duty to the community and ourselves, by industriously putting into practice those improvements which science and experience have shown will enable us to produce from our land the greatest quantity of food at a fairly remunerating cost."

This is hopeful. When landowners as a body shall act up to the convictions expressed in Lord Mount Edgcombe's letter, they will not find tenant farmers backward. Give them a fair field, and they want no favour.

SIGNS OF LAND GOING OUT OF CULTIVATION!!!

Perhaps the most dishonest pretence urged by the monopolists against the repeal of the Corn Laws was, that land in Great Britain would thereby be driven out of cultivation. Well, Free Trade is inevitable—it is at hand. For all practical business purposes, in dealing with landed property, it must be calculated on as immediate, or almost immediate; and what about land going out of cultivation? See a few of the first evidences which we select at random:

"On Tuesday, the grass parks attached to the mansion-house of Barr, the seat of Colonel M'Dowall, Lochwinnoch, were let by public roup, and the yearly rent obtained for the same amounted to no less than 126*l.*, above the sum for which the same ground was let last year. Similar advances have taken place in various parts of the country."—*Edinburgh Witness*.

Neither free corn, nor free cattle, have prevented the "grass parks" from fetching a greatly increased rent. Again, in spite of the tariff, stock looks up:

"HIGH PRICES OF FARMING STOCK.—Among the many sales by auction which have recently taken place in this

county, we are not aware of any that have realised higher prices than at Shrawardine Castle Farm, near this town. By request from several gentlemen, we have been furnished by Mr. Tisdale, the auctioneer, with the following statement:—"Of the cows and calves, the highest price for a cow and calf was 29l. 10s.; and the average price of all the cows and calves was upwards of 26l. Waggon horses: One waggon-horse sold for 64l., one at 53l., two at 50l. each, one at 47l., three at 44l. each, and the average price of the first twelve waggon-horses was 45l. 5s.; two waggon-colts sold for 71l. Sheep: The highest price for a pen of five ewes and five lambs was 20l.; the average price of the ewes and lambs fetched nearly 3l. 10s. per couple. Rams: One two-year-old ram sold for 13l., and one for 10 guineas."—*Shrewsbury Chronicle*.

Next we have the following letter addressed to ourselves:

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

"Heath, Leighton Buzzard, March 24, 1846.

"SIR,—The enclosed is the answer I received in reply to my inquiry respecting three farms, advertised to be let in Hampshire. Such eager competition for farms, at a time when the 'British farmer' is about to be deprived of his 'protection,' shows how much danger there is of land being thrown out of cultivation. As the letter to me is private, I cannot authorise you to publish the name of the writer, but I think the fact too good to be lost.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"Wm. MORRICE."

This is the enclosure:

"March 21st, 1846.

"SIR,—In reply to your note of the 19th inst., I beg to say, I have now so many applicants for my farms, that at present I scarcely know if they are let or not. I will, however, keep your address, and if I have a vacancy in a few days I will write you again.—I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

"Mr. Wm. Morrice." "J. F. H."

Now with these and similar passages, which must strike the eye of every reader of newspapers, before him, will the most timid protectionist refuse to be comforted?

PROTECTIONIST OBSTRUCTION.

THE CORN TRADE.

The "farmer's friends" in the House of Commons are making growers, sellers, and buyers of corn, cry out lustily, "save us from our 'friends.'" The following account of the wheat market appears in the *Mark Lane Express* review of the corn trade:

"The uncertainty felt, even up to the present moment, though the matter has been before the house since the commencement of the session, how the affair may ultimately terminate, has had, and still continues to have, a most injurious influence on commercial operations. It is now certain that the third reading of the Corn Importation Bill will not take place till after the Easter recess; and in the Lords the question can scarcely be expected to come under consideration till the beginning of May; it will therefore probably be June before a definite settlement is arrived at. Meanwhile merchants, millers, and dealers are likely to pursue the same course as that by which they have regulated their operations for months past, viz., avoid buying more than just sufficient to meet their immediate wants; if therefore the supplies from the growers should about keep pace with the consumptive demand, the knowledge that upwards of a million quarters of wheat are ready to be thrown on the markets at any period the proposed alteration in the laws may be sanctioned by the upper house, must undoubtedly act as a powerful check to any advance."

And what will the wheat producers say to the following aspect of trade in general?

"CITY NEWS.—In the opinion of the mercantile classes of the city, the 'protectionists' in the House of Commons have taken the best means in their power to retard the passing of the plans of Sir Robert Peel. But scarcely one of our merchants were prepared to see such a falling off in the receipts of the Customs and Excise as is apparent in the official returns just made public. The diminution in the receipts of the two all-important branches of the revenue is solely and entirely to be attributed to the anxiety of the trading interests, to see the measures of Government passed into law before operations on their part are entered into; till, in fact, they are enabled 'to see their way clear,' as the almost every-day phrase is, when wholesale and retail dealers throughout the country are solicited for orders. It is therefore held to be of the most pressing importance, that the final decision of the legislature, upon the corn and other measures of the Ministry, should be announced at the earliest possible period. In the event of the Corn Bill being rejected by the House of Lords, and an appeal to the country being made by Sir Robert Peel, the delay that will inevitably occur must prove as prejudicial to the revenue returns in the present as it has been in the last three months."—*Mark Lane Express*.

We suspect the state of the revenue has given a quietus to lordly rejection of the bill, whatever may have been previously intended.

THE ROYAL AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.

It seems that that aristocratic body, the Council of the Royal Agricultural Society, has been moved to consider the best plan for promoting practical discussions on husbandry, at the county meetings of the society. At the council meeting, on Wednesday week, the subject was thus mooted:

"NEWCASTLE LECTURES AND DISCUSSIONS.—Mr. Thompson then moved, agreeably with the notice he had given at the previous Council, for the appointment of a committee to make arrangements for lectures and discussions on agricultural subjects at the ensuing meeting at Newcastle. He stated that one of the main reasons that had induced him to make this motion was his conviction that, although the society had been very successful in bringing together first rate exhibitions of stock and implements, it had not yet succeeded in producing a free interchange of opinion

amongst practical men, or anything approaching to adequate discussion on the disputed questions in agriculture—one of the principal arguments used to justify the laying out of so large a sum annually in premiums at the show having been that such outlay was absolutely necessary to induce practical men to assemble from distant parts of the country, and that when so assembled they would assuredly both impart and receive benefit from intercommunication and discussion with each other."

In the show yard nothing but casual conversations take place, and that chiefly between persons from the same districts:

"Whereas, he conceived the object of the society was to induce persons living at a distance from one another to practise different systems, and to compare their respective opinions, so that those who could satisfactorily show their practice to be the best, might induce others to follow their example, while they, on the other hand, might themselves be led to abandon such parts of their own system as could not rationally be defended against the advocates of other views."

The plan of lectures hitherto adopted had not elicited conflict of opinion and comparison of facts:

"The method followed by the British Association seemed best adapted to attain the object in view; and with some modifications, he thought the advantages of lectures might be combined with those resulting from the reading of papers and discussion. He considered that it would be one main point to have the lectures short, and to have it clearly understood that such lectures should be only the opening of the subject and commencement of the business of the meeting."

A committee was appointed, to work out the detail of which Mr. Pusey is chairman. We suspect such restrictions will be placed upon these discussions as will prevent their taking a turn unpalatable to the land-owners, otherwise some useful collision and communication of practical knowledge might arise from this plan.

LOOKING ONE WAY, AND GOING ANOTHER.

A correspondent of the *Farmers' Journal*, who writes to uphold "protection," makes the following statements, which for that purpose are certainly oddly used. However, that is the writer's business, not ours; for certainly we cannot complain when such arguments as the following are put forward for monopoly:

"These are, undoubtedly, very weighty reasons why the working classes of this country should have cheap bread, and prices approximate, as near as possible, to those of the old countries of Europe; the Corn Law of 1842 would, on an average of good seasons, keep our prices at 48s. to 50s. The proposed law, with the 10s. duty, will reduce them to 35s.—a reduction of about one fifth in price—and the great question is, how far it will be possible to meet such a reduction of 20 per cent. in the productive cost of corn? I am much inclined to think it can generally be met by farmers of capital and intelligence, without any lessened demand for labour, or throwing out of cultivation any very considerable proportion of arable land; but that it will tend to employ more labour, from the necessary conversion of large tracts of poor grazing land into arable, which land will give a much greater supply of food for the national wants, and an increased demand for labour. The reduction of 20 per cent. in the prices of agricultural produce will require one-fifth less capital, and lessen the general cost of production one-fifth. If the landlord lowers the rent one-fifth, he will gain as much in the lowered price of the main articles of the consumption of his family and establishment; and from the fact that on many farms (where they are partly grazing), full one half of their whole growth of corn is consumed by the farmers themselves; consequently, such low product-cost will be to their advantage as regards such half of their crop."

This is an argument we have constantly used. We hope the clouds which have obscured monopolist brains are being gradually dissipated, and that there will be a residuum of common sense yet.

INDIAN CORN BREAD.

The following extracts from Dr. Bartlett's little book on the use of maize, will teach our readers how the Americans make this grain into divers wholesome and palatable edibles:

"As an article of general domestic use it has no equal, where economy is an object to be kept in view. It is easily converted into puddings, cakes, rolls, and bread; but the cheapest mode of using it—that is to say, the way in which it will go farthest—is in the form of hasty-pudding or mush; and in this manner, when properly cooked, its advantages as a cheap food are surprising. To establish this fact, I made the following experiment:

"I carefully weighed out one pound of the meal, and gave it to a person who understood the mode of cooking it. In the course of boiling, it absorbed about five pints of water, which was added at intervals, until the process was complete. The bulk was again weighed, and gave as a result four pounds and a half. Such are the powers of expansion possessed by this kind of grain. On dividing the mass into portions, it was found to fill four soup-plates of the ordinary size; and, with the addition of a little milk and sugar, gave a plentiful breakfast to four servants and children."

"To MAKE GRIDDLE-CAKES.—Best way to make them is to use milk altogether, instead of water; two eggs, yellow and white, to be allowed for a pint of corn-meal; the milk to be a little warmed, and the whole to be well beat up with a spoon or ladle. There must be milk enough used to make the whole so liquid as that it will pour out of the saucepan on the griddle. One spoonful of wheat flour, and lard (pure butter still better) the size of a walnut."

THE GRIDDLE.—Much nicety is to be observed in the preparation of the griddle, which, as must be well known, is a flat, round, iron concern standing on three legs, and of any size. It must be made not very hot, because then it would

burn the cakes; and it must be well cleaned and greased while warm, that it may be perfectly smooth, so that the cakes may be easily turned, that they may be done brown (not burnt) on both sides: to promote their turning easily is the object of adding the wheaten flour. Be it remembered that the dough, or rather the batter, as above directed, must be well beat up and prepared directly before being cooked, though it might set an hour. This is mentioned to prevent its being supposed that it, like some other bread, would bear to be mixed overnight. The cakes are usually poured on until they spread on the griddle to the size of the bottom of a breakfast-plate. You will think this recipe rather prolix, but it is my way in all such cases to be very exact. Better be too particular than to omit any essential item."

"EGG PONE.—Three eggs to a quart of meal; no wheat flour; to be made also with milk—water would make it heavy; a spoonful of butter; all well beat together, and made up of a consistence thicker than the cakes, too thick to pour out, but just thick enough to require to be taken up with a spoon: may be baked like the cakes, immediately after being mixed; must be baked in a tin pan, which must be placed in a Dutch oven, not too hot at first, but the fire under it to be increased. The object is to have it begin to bake at the bottom, when it will rise in the process of baking, become brown on the top, and when put on the table and cut, resemble what we call pound cake. 'Hominy and ash-cakes' George Washington had cooked for his own eating to the day of his death."

"P.S.—Salt, of course, add as usual, in both cases."

FLAX CULTURE.

We recur again to this subject, because we believe that growing flax will be one of the means farmers may usefully adopt in the improved condition of husbandry, which will commence with Free Trade, to advance the fertility of the soil, to vary the rotations, and to afford winter employment to the women and children of the rural classes. With that view we give the following, wherein Mr. Warnes has put forth the principal points in favour of flax in a few pithy propositions:

"TEN FACTS CONNECTED WITH THE FLAX CROP.

"1st. Under the improved system of husbandry, flax is not an exhausting, but a highly restorative crop."

"2nd. If sown primarily for the seed, the value of the crop is equal to the average value of wheat, barley, and oats."

"3rd. Under experienced management in every department, the crop is worth more than wheat."

"4th. Flax will grow upon any soils that produce corn, and upon soils where corn will not grow at all."

"5th. It will flourish after any crop, turnips excepted, and probably carrots, or mangel-wurzel."

"6th. Flax has been grown upon my farm in the following rotations during the past six years:

Clover stubble, flax, wheat, barley.

Wheat, flax, wheat, barley.

Wheat, barley, flax.

Potatoes, flax, wheat, turnips, wheat.

Wheat, potatoes, flax, barley;

the improvement of every field being distinguishable."

"7th. This year I have already sown four acres and a half upon clover stubble. One acre upon barley stubble, instead of turnips. Three-quarters of an acre that never produced a crop of any kind, save briars and thorns; and three acres of which the previous crops were flax, wheat, and barley."

"8th. I have now six fields of growing wheat, but the most luxuriant is that of the flax, and which is also superior to any in the parish."

"9th. When wheat follows flax, much less seed is required."

"10th. One acre sown with flax to every hundred now under tillage, would produce at least 35,000 tons of Linseed more than ever was imported of oil-cake in one year, afford employment for double the present redundant population, and then not supply half the home demand for the fibre."

"From observations, and some experience, I am of opinion that clay land, such as is now allowed to lie fallow, would produce alternate crops of wheat, and flax much larger than any other rotation."

"I could adduce many additional facts in refutation of former prejudices against the flax crop, and in favour of its immediate adoption in every agricultural district throughout the kingdom; but I trust the above will suffice for the present."

"Two fundamental principles are involved in this important question:

"1st. The successful cultivation of the plant depends upon the preservation of the seed, a point hitherto not recognised either by the theory or the practice of past or present times."

"2nd. The national introduction of the crop can only be achieved through the exercise of patriotism. On this ground, then, I hold myself in readiness to co-operate with any parties, regardless of every private consideration."

"April 3rd, 1846."

"P.S. Linseed may be sown with advantage throughout the present month, and I have seen good crops from seed sown in May, but the earlier the better."

That farmers are seeking information on the subject, is evident from the frequency of such inquiries as the following, by a correspondent of the *Mark Lane Express*:

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE MARK LANE EXPRESS."

"SIR,—Last year I grew two acres of flax as an experiment; I have now just completed threshing the seed from the fibre, and am at a loss how to proceed further, as I do not know where to obtain a scutching machine to convert the fibre into flax. If you, or any of your correspondents, can favour me with information, stating the names of manufacturers of machines for the purpose I have named, with the price, you will oblige your obedient servant,

"March 23."

"A SUBSCRIBER."

"P.S.—Any additional information regarding the best method of manufacturing the fibre into flax will be appreciated."

FREE IMPORTS.

The following paragraphs show the value of free imports to the farmers:

"The Chamber of Commerce at Cork have received some very choice specimens of seed potatoes from Vera Cruz."

The *Cork Reporter* says—"Mr. D. Meagher at once had the baskets, which were closely done up in matting, removed to the Chamber and examined; each contained about three hundred-weights, and every potato was wrapped in thin blue paper. They appeared to be of a very choice kind, in excellent sound condition, and putting forth light healthy shoots. We presume they are intended as samples of what may be imported from Vera Cruz. They will remain at the Chamber of Commerce for inspection, and will be distributed for seed in a day or two."

Again:

"SEED POTATOES FROM AMERICA.—We observe by the import list that two vessels arrived last week from South America, having on board about 100 barrels of potatoes, which we understand were expressly ordered by the importers for seed. 'It was from South America the potato was first brought to Europe, and it is reasonable to suppose that seed from the indigenous soil will be highly prized at the present moment. Some years ago a small quantity of potatoes was brought from the same quarter, and used as seed by a farmer in Dumfriesshire. The produce, we are informed, turned out very superior.'"

"POTATOES IN ROSS-SHIRE.—We are glad to be able to state that the potato pits lately opened in this county are in good condition, and that there are none diseased. A great quantity has been shipped for the south, and the prices are high, from 12s. to 16s. Small quantities, however, can be got cheaper. We are within the mark, however, when we say that about 4000 bolls have been, or are in the course of being, exported from Ross-shire this year, a very unusual circumstance."—*Ross-shire Advertiser*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Worcester, Massachusetts, Feb. 28, 1846.

ELIHU BURRITT TO JOSEPH STURGE.

HONORED AND DEAR FRIEND,—I thank you with all my heart for your kind letter, and the documents you sent me by the Cambria. O how we felt disposed to shout aloud for joy, at the blessed peace-breathing, that steamer brought to our shores—the abolition of the Corn Laws! Who can predict the consequences of that measure of heroic humanity? How many fetters and iron restrictions it will loose from the necks, and hands, and hearts of millions! How the Providence of God has co-operated with you in effecting this great blessing to the world! The potato—how the base things of this world have been chosen to confound the wise, the honourable, the mighty—to overthrow dynasties! Had it not been for the defection of the potato crop, probably your long-earnest hopes would have been deferred to a distant year. Famine, then, has been a Prime Minister of Providence to give cheap and plenteous food to the future generations of your countrymen. The blessings of all the poor and bondmen of the earth will be for ever on the Anti-Corn-Law League for what they have done for man. They have proved that God always co-works with those who work by moral means, and that moral power is an attribute of his Omnipotence which men may wield to the pulling down of the strongholds of oppression and wrong. O, you have worked out a problem for the whole world, of increasing importance to the race. You have encouraged all the labourers in the field of humanity to believe in God, and throw away all other weapons but those of moral power. Slavery, war, want, sin, and misery through the world have thriven with fatal luxuriance under the reign of brute force; but at the spirit of Christ, the spirit of truly philanthropic hearts, they must bow.

Free Trade! it is verily the harbinger of the millenium. How soon it would fuse the nations into one unanimous brotherhood! Oh! it is delightful to contemplate its social and moral influence on our two countries. How soon, with the affinities of consanguinity and common language, will it make us brethren in every sense of fraternity! Why, as soon as your markets are open to our produce, it will have a transforming effect on our whole western population, in whom the war-spirit is most excitable. They will be brought immediately into the most pacific attitude toward the labouring classes of Great Britain, and they will soon begin to talk more about feeding than "licking the British." How often extremes meet. It is intimated in some of your papers that our western people are all impetuous for war with England; open your ports, and you will find them more impetuous for peace. Give them a chance to open the port-holes of their vast Egyptian granary upon your ill fed millions, and their martial propensities would be satisfied. And why will you not say to your hungry, hard-labouring people, that our rude warm-hearted westerners owe them no grudge, nor wish to do anything more to them than to feed them with *cheap bread*. Give them a chance to do this, and they will hang up their hunting rifles, and take to the hoe and plough. Nothing could be more happily conceived than your plan of sending to the citizens of our cities addresses from the inhabitants of yours, appealing for peace. This is a beautiful social movement, and will be met with enthusiasm in this country. I wish it were possible to send back responses by the Cambria, but the time has been too short to call town meetings, for the purpose of authorising addresses to our English friends. The next steamer, I trust, will carry back to your shores the proof that our countrymen will not be behind yours in sentiments and expressions of brotherhood. I hope one thing, in connection with this movement, most devoutly: that is, that every town, village, and hamlet in Great Britain, which has a namesake in this country, will send it a friendly address, as your Boston has done to our Boston. There is a something extremely interesting in this; something like a word of maternal affection from a mother to a daughter; something so personal—so calculated to stir up a home feeling. The influence of such an interchange of friendly addresses, would last for the whole generation; and lead to an intimacy—a oneness of sentiment and interest, that would strengthen the bonds of our brotherhood, and beget associations of great efficacy to the cause of peace and humanity. I enclose in this a slip, addressed to the ministers of the gospel in Great Britain and the United States, appealing to them to interchange some friendly communications to show that Christianity is as much for peace as commerce. I have printed 1000 of your addresses on my "Olive Leaves," and sent them to all our members of Congress, and hope to send you some account of them by the next steamer. They have already been published in the leading journals in New York and Boston, and will probably appear in most of the journals of the land.

REVIEW.

The Honey Stew of the Countess Bertha. A Fairy Tale. Translated from the French by Mrs. Cooke Taylor. London: How.

This little work has many claims upon our attention. It comes from the pen of the secretary to the ladies' committee of the Covent Garden Bazaar, and thus revives many pleasing associations connected with that Free Trade jubilee. It is one of the most beautiful specimens of ornamental typography which has ever issued from the press, each page being set in a framework of gold, equally novel and chaste. The chromographic illustrations are highly creditable to British art, both in design and execution. The price is moderate, and the tale itself is one of the most delightful works of fancy which we have seen for many years. But a further recommendation, hardly intended by the author, but which probably induced the translator to bring it before the English public, is, that the story may be regarded as a very clever allegorical illustration of the aphorism, that "property has its duties as well as its rights," and that one of the first duties of landlords is to provide for the feeding of the people. Imagination, as well as reason, has been brought to the aid of the great cause of Free Trade and untaxed provisions. The Countess Bertha may be regarded as a personification of those sound principles equally taught by the laws of economic science and the precepts of our holy religion, while the association of beneficent fairies or Kobolds, formed to fulfil her behests, is a lively representation of the Anti-Corn-Law League.

The agreement between the Countess Bertha and the Kobolds was made when her old castle was about to be pulled down and a new one erected, just as commercial law may be said to have originated in England when the old constitution of the Stuarts was set aside to make room for the Bill of Rights and the Revolution. The proposition of the Kobolds was made in rhyme; and to complete the parallel, it used to be asserted that the Revolution was effected by the ballad of Lillibullero. Here is the interview between the Kobolds to the Countess Bertha and her husband, Count Osmond. The fairy creatures sent a deputation to their bed-room; and we may remark, that it was under similar circumstances William and Mary received those who invited them to England:

"The Ambassador, who was at their head, was richly dressed in the fashion of the times, having on a furred mantle, a vest of velvet, pantaloons to match, and his little shoes extravagantly pointed. By his side was a sword of the finest steel, the handle of which was a single diamond. He held politely in his hand his little hat, ornamented with feathers, and, approaching the bed of the Count and Countess, who looked on with astonishment, he addressed these words to them:

"We have heard a report, noble lady and lord,

That you wish to erect a new dwelling,

As this castle no longer can shelter afford,

When tempests around it are swelling.

"We approve the design—for these ivy-clad walls,

And the weeds that each buttress have studded,

Seem no better than spouts for the rain when it falls,

So that every apartment is flooded.

"Pull the old castle down—let a new one appear—

And the Kobolds will grant you protection,

If the virtue and truth, which made this one so dear,

Shall reign there in equal perfection."

Count Osmond was too much astonished at what happened to reply to these words, otherwise than by a friendly gesture; but the Ambassador seemed quite satisfied with this politeness, and retired, after having ceremoniously saluted the wedded pair."

The Kobolds assisted in building the new castle as the mercantile interests did in urging forward the Revolution; but the former were not appreciated by the masons, nor the latter by politicians:

"One day, a mason found, on the scaffolding, a little wheel-barrow, not as big as his hand, but so beautifully made of the best rose-wood, bound with silver, that it seemed only fit to be a plaything for a king's son. The mason who had discovered the wheel-barrow showed it to his companions, and in the evening took it home to give to his little boy; but the instant that the child was about to take hold of it, the wheel-barrow began to roll away of itself, and ran out of doors with such rapidity, that though the poor mason ran after it as fast as his legs could carry him, it disappeared in a second. At the same time he heard several shrill peals of laughter, loud and prolonged, as if the Kobolds were making game of him."

We come now to the promise of the Countess Bertha, on which the story is founded:

"At the end of the third year, when the swallows quitting their nests in our eaves, bid also farewell to our climates, and when the other birds, doomed to remain in our cold northern regions, become more sad, and more scarce, the new castle, though still far from being completed, began to make something of a figure; Bertha noticing this, as she one day presided over the labours of the workmen, addressed them in these words, with her bland and melodious voice:

"Well, my good masons and labourers, do the works advance as quickly as you can make them? Winter is knocking at the door, and the Count and I are so badly lodged in our little farm-house, that we are very anxious to leave it, to live in the fine castle which you are building. Listen, my children, if you will enable us to enter in a month, I promise you, on the day when you have placed the coping stone on the highest tower, to regale you with a honey-stew; the like of which you have never tasted. And more than that, I swear, that on the anniversary of this great day, your chil-

dren and grandchildren shall receive the same treat from me, while I live, and afterwards from my children and grandchildren."

"The invitation to partake of a honey-stew—trifling as such a matter seems in modern times—was not to be despised in the middle ages; for it was the form used in asking you to a good and plentiful dinner. People said then, come and take your honey-stew with me to-morrow, as they now say, come and take your soup with me to-morrow; in both cases, the dinner was tacitly understood, with merely this difference, that the honey-stew was eaten at the end of the repast, but soup is eaten at the beginning."

The greedy Dominick, who had come into possession of the castle after a lapse of time, may be considered a representative of Lord North's monopolist administration; he withheld the Honey-stew as Lord North taxed trade. Both suffered severely for their violation of principle; and Dominick's final punishment is a lively symbol of the loss of the American colonies:

"Dominick resolved to take no farther notice of what had passed, and that day invited all his officers to a more than usually splendid banquet; indeed, the terror inspired by Dominick was so great, that at the appointed hour, although the orders had only been given in the morning, the table was served with wonderful splendour. The delicious meats, and excellent wines from the Rhine, France, and Hungary, drew forth repeated exclamations of praise from the guests on the liberality and magnificence of their General; who, however, on taking his place turned pale with rage, calling out, with a frightful oath, 'What wretch has dared to put this ammunition-bread before me?'

"Indeed the bread placed for the General, was the same as that distributed to the common soldiers, and such as Dominick had eaten in his youth.

"Every one looked to his neighbour with astonishment, unable to comprehend how any one could be bold enough to play such a trick on a man known to be so fierce, haughty, and vindictive as the General.

"Come here fellow," said Dominick to the servant, who was behind a chair, 'and take away this bread.'

"The servant obeyed with all the eagerness which fear inspired; but vain were all his exertions to remove the loaf from the table.

"My Lord," said he, after several useless efforts, 'this bread is so glued to the place, that I cannot get it away.'

"Then the General, whose strength was acknowledged to be equal to that of four men, took the bread in both hands, and in his turn, endeavoured to lift it; but he raised the table, not the bread, and after a violent exertion of five or six minutes, he fell back in his chair, exhausted with fatigue and covered with perspiration.

"A drink! a drink! fellow, and of the best," said he, in an irritated voice, holding out his glass; but he assured, I shall not fail to find out who has played this singular trick on me, and he shall be rewarded as he deserves. Dine, gentlemen, dine; I drink to your good appetite."

"He raised the glass to his lips, but immediately rejected what he had taken, exclaiming, 'What wretch has given me this infamous beverage?'

"It was I, my lord," said the trembling servant, still holding the bottle in his hand.

"What is in that bottle?'

"Tokay, my lord."

"Liar! you have poured me out water."

"It must have changed into water since it came into your glass, my lord, for I have poured out from the same bottle for the two gentlemen sitting next, my lord, and they both declare that it is excellent Tokay."

"The General turned to his two neighbours, who confirmed what the servant had said.

"Then Dominick, frowning, began to comprehend that the jugglery was more terrible than he had at first supposed; for he had imagined it to be a trick played on him by the living, while, according to every probability, it came from the dead.

"Wishing, then, to ascertain the truth, he took the bottle from the servant's hand, and poured out a glass of Tokay to each of his neighbours. The wine had its usual colour, and appeared a liquid topaz; then, from the same bottle, he poured some into his own glass; but no sooner did the wine fall there, than it took the colour, transparency, and taste of water.

"Dominick smiled bitterly at this double allusion to the lowliness of his birth, and not wishing to remain near the black bread, which seemed placed there to humiliate him, he requested his aide-de-camp, who was a young nobleman of one of the first families in Germany, to change places with him. The young man obeyed, and the General went to sit at the other side of the table.

"But he was no better off now than he had been before; whilst under the aide-de-camp's hand the bread detached itself from the table, without difficulty, and became like the other bread: every bit that Dominick took immediately changed into ammunition bread, and the wine, contrary to the miracle at the marriage of Cana, turned into water.

"Dominick, out of all patience, wished to eat something, and drew a large dish of roast larks near to him; but no sooner had his hands touched the dish than the larks took wing, flew away, and fell into the mouths of the peasants, who, from a distance, were beholding this magnificent banquet."

We need not quote many more of the historical parallels which this amusing fiction must suggest to every Free Trader; but there is one passage so vividly picturing in allegory a contest between Cobden, typified as the King of the Kobolds, and a boasting monopolist, represented by the craven knight, Hans, that we must give it insertion. We need only premise that Hans agreed to watch in a chamber said to be haunted by the Kobolds, just as some protectionists promised to encounter Leaguers in a county meeting:

"We may mention, for the honour of Sir Hans, that he had begun to sleep, when he suddenly heard a great noise in the chimney; he immediately threw a faggot upon the fire, which was almost burned down, thinking to roast the limbs of the ghosts if they decided on coming by that way. The fire blazed up anew, and the flames rose to the chimney, crackling, and sparkling, when suddenly Sir Hans saw a plank, about a foot wide, issue from the chimney, which pushed itself forward, growing larger and larger, without it

being possible to discover what had set it in motion. The plank then descended slowly in a slanting position towards the ground, and when it rested on the floor, it seemed to form a kind of bridge over the flames. At the same instant a multitude of little Kobolds began to slide down this bridge, like holiday folks down the hill at Greenwich, headed by their king himself, who, armed at all points, like the great knight Hans, seemed to lead them to battle. As fast as they descended, Hans kept pushing himself back in his arm chair, so that when the king and his army were ranged in battle before the chimney, Hans had arrived at the other end of the room, prevented by the wall from going farther, though there was still a large unoccupied place between him and his unwelcome visitors.

"Then the King of the Kobolds, having conferred in a low voice with his general officers, advanced alone into the room.

"Sir Hans," said he, in an ironical tone of voice, "I have heard you more than once boast of your great courage, and as a true knight cannot lie, I feel convinced that you spoke the truth. In consequence, I have come to offer you single combat; and having heard that you valiantly offered the Baron Willbold to conjure the spirit who haunts this castle, I have obtained from this spirit, who is one of my intimate friends, leave to take his place this night. If you conquer, the spirit, through me, engages to abandon the castle, and never to re-appear in it. If I conquer, you are frankly to acknowledge your defeat, and to give your place to Sir Torald, whom undoubtedly I shall have little trouble in defeating, as I have never heard him boast of having cut any one in two in a blow. Therefore, as I do not doubt that you will accept my challenge, behold my glove."

"At these words, the King of the Kobolds threw his glove boldly at the feet of the knight.

"Whilst the king spoke in a clear little voice, Hans looked at him attentively, and feeling certain that he was not more than six inches and a half high, felt comforted; for such an adversary did not appear very terrible; he, therefore, took up the glove with confidence, and placed it on the top of his little finger to examine it. It was a little glove, cut out of the skin of a muskrat, upon which little scales of steel had been sewed with great exactness.

"The King of the Kobolds allowed Hans to examine it at his leisure; but after a moment's silence said: 'Well, Sir Knight, I await your reply. Do you accept or refuse my challenge?'

"Sir Hans again took a survey of the champion who challenged him to combat, and seeing that he scarcely reached half-way up to his knee, he took courage from the diminutive size of his adversary.

"And what are we to fight with, my little man?" said the knight.

"We will each fight with our own arms—you with your sword, I with my whip."

"How! with your whip?"

"Yes, it is my usual weapon; as I am little, I must have something to reach to a distance." Hans burst out laughing.

"And you will fight against me with your whip?"

"Undoubtedly. Have you not heard me say it is my usual weapon?"

"And you will take no other?"

"No."

"You promise?"

"On the faith of a knight and king."

"Well then," said Hans, "I accept the challenge."

"And he threw, in his turn, his glove at the king's feet.

"It is well," said the king, who made a few steps backwards, "not to be crushed. Trumpets sound!"

"Immediately, a dozen trumpeters, who were mounted on a little footstool, sounded a warlike flourish, whilst an officer brought the king the weapon with which he was to fight. It was a little whip, the handle of which was formed of a single emerald. To the end of this handle, five chains of silver were fastened, about three feet long, each terminated with a diamond about the size of a pea. Putting the value of the material aside, the king's weapon resembled one of those whips sometimes used for beating clothes and carpets.

"Sir Hans, full of confidence in his size and strength, drew his sword.

"When you will," said the king to the knight.

"At your orders, sire," said Hans.

"The trumpets immediately sounded even a more warlike air than the first, and the combat began.

"But at the first blows he received, the knight perceived that he had been wrong in despising his adversary's weapon. Although covered with armour, he felt the blows of the whip as if he had been naked, especially where the five diamonds struck; they indented themselves into the iron of his armour as if it had been the softest paste.

"Hans, instead of defending himself, began to cry, and ran about the room, to get up on the furniture and bed, followed everywhere by the whip of the implacable king, whilst the warlike air which the trumpets had played, accommodating itself to circumstances, had now assumed the character of a gallopade. It was this same gallop, my dear children, that our great musician, Aubert, found, and without telling any one, placed it in the fifth act of *Gustavus*.

"After five minutes of this exercise, Sir Hans fell on his knees and asked pardon.

"Then the King of the Kobolds giving the whip to his equerry, and taking his sceptre, 'Sir Hans,' said he to him, 'you are nothing but an old woman, and it is not a sword and poignard that suits you, but a distaff and spindle.'

"At these words, he touched him with his sceptre. Hans felt as if a great change had taken place in his person. The Kobolds screamed with laughter, and all disappeared as in a vision."

We wish it were possible to present our readers with a copy of the clever picture of this engagement; Cobden in armour is capital, and his two squires will be readily recognised. Here we must close this little volume, which has afforded us much gratification and some instruction.

ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE, (*La Ligue Anglaise*. *Revue Britannique*; *Sixième Série*, No. 1.) Paris and London: Barthes and Lowell.

We have delayed our notice of the admirable article on the history, character, and objects of the Anti-Corn Law League, published in the *Revue Britannique*, until the Parliamentary recess afforded us sufficient space to do justice to its merits. It is from the able pen of M. Fonteyreau, a young

economist, who has already taken his place in the first ranks of economic science, a place to which he is entitled by the depth of his intelligence, the soundness of his principles, and the accuracy of his observations. We know of no foreigner who has so thoroughly appreciated the truly English character of the great Free Trade movement. He has comprehended not merely its operations, but its internal impulses. He has viewed it not merely in its physical, but in its moral and intellectual influences, and has justly portrayed it as the great revolution of a great nation, winning triumphs not for itself, but for universal civilisation; securing benefits not to its own exclusive interests, but to those of general humanity. M. Fonteyreau justly says:

"The League, whilst working for its proper object—the abolition of the Corn Laws—has not neglected the future. Whilst overthrowing the old edifice, it contemplates that which must be raised in its stead, and conceives it in its largest proportions. The men who conduct it embrace in thought the universal relations and interests of the nations of the earth. They require a system; they require a legislation which shall comprehend them all. Conceive a boundless ocean, over which every flag may float, every fleet glide, and every kind of produce be conveyed; conceive Peace spreading her wings to afford shelter to the entire world, and you will have figured to yourself the vision which these beneficent men desire to realise. To a thousand voices of rival selfishness they wish to oppose the single calm and impartial voice of reason; to a thousand interests jarring and clashing in darkness, they wish to oppose one great and recognized interest, that of the nation. In a word, to the deceptions of the existing fiscal administration, they oppose the majestic simplicity and inexhaustible benefits of Free Trade. If they have directed their principal efforts against the monopoly of the Corn Law, it is because that is the bulwark and support of all the rest."

We need not follow this able writer through his very clever history of the Corn Laws, but shall quote his account of some of the lamentable consequences which the artificial scarcity they created produced in the country:

"During the years of favourable harvests from 1832 to 1837, the number of emigrants did not exceed 70,000. In 1841, a year of dearth and scarcity, emigration rose to 116,000, and in 1842 to the higher number of 128,000; between 1838 and 1843 not less than half a million of individuals voluntarily abandoned their country. The people of Rome in times of oppression retired to Mount Aventine; Englishmen retire beyond the Ocean, and to the Blue Mountains of America; in both cases I perceive an anathema pronounced against social order. In criminal statistics we find the same gradation. In 1836 the number of criminals was 36,000; in 1843 it rose to 51,000. The total number of bankruptcies, which was 800 in 1838, amounted to 1500 in 1842, and paralysed every branch of industry. Factories were emptied to crowd work-houses. Poor rates assumed formidable dimensions. In five years they increased 134 per cent. in Manchester, 159 per cent. in Oldham, and 304 per cent. in Bolton. And whilst the country was thus depopulated by emigration, by death, and by the prison—that tomb of the living—marriages, which should have filled the void, rapidly decreased; parents died, and were not replaced by children. Let it not be supposed that these disastrous effects were confined to the manufacturing districts, for, as we have already indicated, there is a cohesive principle uniting all the members of the social body. At the moment that the Corn Laws, the vaunted *palladium* of England, raised prices to the very summit of the sliding scale, a Poor Law Commissioner found agricultural labourers, working at 4d. per day, in the midst of the most frightful destitution. Nine hundred and eleven families of labourers showed him the title-deeds of their property. They consisted of more than nine thousand duplicates of articles pledged to the pawnbroker. Thus protection murdered those whom it professed to shelter; its shade was as fatal as that of the *Upas* tree."

Take now his survey of the effect of the Corn Laws on foreign commerce:

"In one word, these restrictions raise an insurmountable barrier between countries producing provisions, and the manufacturing districts of England. The earth, the great producing power, or, as we may call it, the manufactory of corn, of wine, of cattle, no longer gave motion and activity to steam engines and spinning jennies; a separation was made between man and nature, between man and his fellows. These are not sentimental imaginations or visionary dreams; they are stern realities and simple truths. In all the propositions for reciprocity treaties of commerce made by England to Russia, Germany, and the United States, her diplomatists were silenced when the scornful finger pointed to the Corn Laws as the emblem of prohibition and isolation. They refused her iron, her yarns, her calicoes and her coals, because she refused the corn of Dantzic, of Riga, of Odessa, of Hamburg, and of New York. Reprisals were everywhere invoked to the everlasting disgrace of the political leaders of Great Britain."

The mission of the League, its orators, its lecturers, and its writers, was to teach the people:

"They teach that men are one great family, invited by Providence to the same great feast of his bounty; that the immense variety of their wants is satisfied by the immense variety of the productions of nature, in the division that is made of all social functions—such a country producing iron; such another, cotton; such another, diamonds; such another, the master pieces of engraving or painting; so that it is necessary to float all these varied forms of wealth on the same level that they may diffuse themselves freely over the whole globe. They show Holland prospering without Corn Laws, and overflowing with provisions, though its soil slips from beneath the plough, and collecting against famine a store of provisions which in the time of Raleigh amounted to 700,000 quarters of corn. They show the granaries of the United States groaning under their loads of food, and waiting but the signal to pour the rich abundance into England; they curse those laws which, as O'Connell said, 'moisten the wheels of the rich with the tears of the poor,' which condemn him to inactivity, that vestibule of famine—and to famine, that vestibule of disgrace or death. They oppose all those things; and above all, they set in contrast to

them their own deeds, their devotedness of every day and every hour to the sacred cause of truth, of justice, and of charity."

We shall now turn to his character of Mr. Cobden, which is traced with great force and discrimination:

"We have placed Mr. Cobden in the lead of the movement;—in truth the leadership belongs to him in right of his devotedness, of his talent, and of his courage. It was by no sudden effort that this supremacy of moral force was established. The League had long been growing in obscurity; and it was while maturing its growth, and vivifying its agitation, that Cobden gradually revealed himself as the hero of its struggles. The caution necessary to be exercised in the selection of means for conducting an infant agitation, the contact with enlightened minds, the information obtained during his searching enquiries into the misery of the country, prepared him to come efficiently before the public; and when, by a kind of tacit consent, the League conferred on him the leadership, he found himself fully equal to the difficult mission. The scientific ardour of Mr. Cobden then took a new course, and was transformed into an indefatigable activity for commercial freedom. There has been no great evolution of the party which has not been maturely considered by him and his faithful companions, Messrs. Wilson and Bright. There is not a victory which has not been won at the cost of a thousand efforts; there is not a struggle in which he has not shown himself ready to sacrifice his health, his interests, and even his self-love; for it will be hereafter not the least of his glories, to have set in motion so many men, and to have influenced so many minds, without exciting the jealousy, or wounding the pride of those by whom he is surrounded. In this we must see a proof of great moral superiority united to great integrity. This superiority is specially remarkable in Cobden's marvellous aptitude in using all the varied forms of action. Should a new system of tactics seem necessary, he finds unexpected resources in the calm sagacity of his intelligence; if the country is to be addressed through the press, he has at its disposal a practised pen; if Parliament is to be persuaded, his address exhibits the calm reasoning and acute exposure of sophistry, which is sure to win votes: if he is required to force conviction, he finds in his own breast the noblest sentiments of humanity, and adorns them with lively sallies of eloquence and wit. Doubtless there are orators more rich in imagery, more philosophic, more ardent, more poetic—but there is no one who better elucidates fast, and enters deeper into his subject. The traces he leaves in the mind are, perhaps, less brilliant than those left by Fox, or Bright, but they are more profound. His logic penetrates like some finely tempered weapon; it tears no muscle, inflicts no pain, but almost imperceptibly it reaches the heart and compels it to surrender. That which especially characterises the eloquence of Mr. Cobden, is the entire absence of digression; his speech is as true to the point as the needle to the pole, and never deviates for an instant. A great orator, he is above all, the orator of the League; a sound statesman, he is especially the representative of the League in Parliament; in a word, he appears to me its very personification—the actual incarnation of its movement."

Cobden's whole life has been one of labour and meditation. Beginning with humble means, he has realised a fortune; emerging from obscurity, he has won a reputation; respected and feared by the aristocracy, he has undertaken to guide an entire nation to the promised land of Free Trade. He is in the strength and prime of his age, if strength can be applied to one of those delicate organisations which is consumed by the fever of thought. His calm and meditative physiognomy, furrowed over by the deep lines of meditation and reflection, bears witness to his efforts and his struggles. He might be mistaken for a hermit, if the ardour that sparkles in his eyes did not mark him as the leader of a party. It is from the mildness of his manners and his simplicity, worthy of Franklin, that Cobden has obtained the sympathies by which he is surrounded; as it is in the earnestness of his temperament and his exhaustless energies, that the source of his influence over the masses may be found. At a distance he is admired, in intimacy he is beloved. This is not usually the effect of great talents; they usually charm you at a distance, but crush you when you come near. I may add that this admiration and sympathy of the League for its chief is often manifested in a most striking manner; ships and streets have been called after his name, and corporations have been anxious to enrol him amongst their citizens."

We shall now turn to the portrait of Mr. Bright:

"In the charming openness of his countenance, Mr. Bright exhibits the characteristic signs which reveal great talent. The inseparable companion of Mr. Cobden, he has shared with him the applauses of the nation and the fatigues of the strife;—both acting in conjunction without either being eclipsed; the one giving to the question clear and definite outline, the other affording to the picture depth and relief. Ask not Mr. Bright to convince statisticians and algebraists, or to win over a company of nervous ladies and perfumed dandies; he respects the figures of arithmetic, but he rarely uses them; and with respect to the nervous ladies, there is a manly firmness in his tones which would scare them out of their lives. No: what the young quaker wants is a mass of human beings to stimulate, an enemy to crush by sarcasm, a plea of charity to be poured in words of fire into feeling hearts. To-day he will hurl thunderbolts against the iniquities of aristocratic tyranny; to-morrow, his voice, faltering with emotion, will melt an audience into tears, whilst he describes the misery of the working classes. Behind the orator you always see the Christian, as behind the League you can discover the democrat, the apostle of international fraternity and the genuine rights of man. Thus this double source of ideas gives extraordinary amplitude to his language. In his speeches you find, side by side with philosophical inspirations, the views of an economist, the popular sentiments and irony of a Parliamentary debater;—a singular mixture of acuteness and frankness, sallies of feeling direct from the heart, sarcasms of great bitterness and even of invective, as when he dissects the political articles of the *Standard*. Mr. Bright takes pleasure in braving and defying his enemies. It is in the midst of the groanings and interruptions of the protectionists that he likes to try his strength. He loves the tempest which he knows so well how to subdue. Like Addison's angel,

He, pleased the Almighty's anger to perform,
Rides on the whirlwind and directs the storm.

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FREE TRADE CLUB, 27, Regent-street, St. James's.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the MEMBERS of this CLUB was

held on Monday, the 11th of April, 1846, at the Club House, in Regent-

street.

Major-General BRIGGS, F.R.S., F.G.S., in the Chair.

A most satisfactory report of the financial and general prospects of the

club having been read and adopted, it was

Resolved—1. That a copy of the report be printed and sent to each

member.

2. That the committee be requested to draw up a circular, to accompany

the report, calling on each member to exert himself zealously to obtain

the price of the stamp, and when paid, no charge is made for admission.

contemplated in the establishment of the club.

3. That the following noblemen and gentlemen be elected members of

the committee for the succeeding year, namely:—

Briggs, Major-Gen. F.R.S., F.G.S.,

Bright, John, Esq., F.R.S.,

Clark, William, Esq.,

Cobden, Richard, Esq., M.P.

Cogan, Captain

David, Edward, Esq.

De la Beche, Esq.,

Hizroy, Lord Charles, M.P.

Gibson, Thomas Milner, Esq., M.P.

Ivimey, Joseph, Esq.

Thanks having been voted to the chairman, the meeting dissolved.

By order of the Meeting,

JAMES ADOLPHUS MOORE, Secretary.

CIRCULAR NOTES AND LETTERS OF CREDIT.—

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3s 6d; 4 feet, 6s; ditto, bronzed, and fitted with ornaments 3 feet, 9s; 4

feet, 11s; wrought iron kitchen fenders, 3 feet, 4s 6d; 4 feet, 6s; bright

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Shares, and advanced about £10,000 to its Shareholders for the purchase of

land, which success is unprecedented in the annals of Building Societies.

At a Public Meeting, at which upwards of 1100 persons were present, held

at the London Mechanics' Institution, on Tuesday, 17th Feb., 1846, Mr. W.

Farmer, in the chair, the following Resolutions were carried unanimously:

Moved by Mr. Beal, seconded by Mr. Lovejoy.—That this meeting highly

approves of the plan on which the Second British Building and Investment

Company is established; and cordially recommends it to the public as being

based on equal justice to all, and providing for the members, desirous of

purchasing property, the greatest advantages consistent with security to

the whole body of members.

Moved by Mr. Alexander, seconded by Mr. Thomas.—That this meeting

considers the conduct of the Directors, in waiving their right to receive

or claim any advance from the Company during the first 12 months, as

highly honourable, and deserving of the sincere thanks of the meeting.

Moved by Mr. Thomas, seconded by Mr. Lovejoy.—That the meeting

approves of the plan on which the Second British Building Societies to be a

decided improvement.—Weekly Dispatch.

"He has really simplified and improved the plan on which Building

Societies are conducted."—Temperance Intelligencer.

The Prospects may be obtained, gratis, of any of the Directors, and at

the National Office, 18, St. Mark Lane, City.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 134.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, APRIL 18, 1846.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

WHIG AND TORY BRANCHES OF THE RIGBY FAMILY.

"THE 'QUARTERLY'—LORD JOHN.—If Lord John Russell's letter had not so rashly, and we now say so unfortunately, pledged himself and his party to a measure which, even with Sir Robert Peel's support, he found he could not carry—had Lord John stood on his own original ground, his own early opinions—the opinions, we believe, of Lord Grey, of Lord Melbourne, of Lord Lansdowne, of Lord Brougham—of the necessity of an effective protection (either fixed or sliding) to agriculture, there would have been no reason why there might not have been a cordial union of all classes of protectionists on the only great question that now divides the political world; and Lord John Russell might have been at the head of a government strong enough to be independent of Mr. O'Connell and the League, and to have gathered round it all the friends of the existing institutions and policy of the country. This great position Lord John giddily threw away, and has created difficulties in forming an administration capable of governing the country, of which we humbly confess that we do not see the solution."—*Quarterly Review*.—(Extracted into *Globe*.)

We should scarcely have deemed it worth while to make the above piece of mingled drivelling and roguery the text of an article in THE LEAGUE, but that we find it set forth in a prominent place in the columns of a journal which is generally understood to speak the sentiments of a section of politicians of considerable "Liberal" pretensions. If we wrong the *Globe* and its patrons, in supposing that its quotation of this choice bit of *Rigbyism* is to be taken as indicating, in a sly way, a disposition to regard favourably the suggestion of a Whig and Tory coalition on the "principle" of plundering the receivers of wages and the eaters of bread, it will give us sincere pleasure to be called upon to retract an error which has, at least, *prima facie* evidence to excuse it. As the thing stands, however, we fear we can hardly be mistaken in the conjecture, that a number of what are called "influential" and "leading" persons, of "Whig principles," would like dearly, if they could, to close with the monopolists on the Rigby terms, and patch up a bread-taxing alliance of pseudo-Liberals and Tory landlords.

The above extract from the *Quarterly Review* is, in fact, but a plain avowal of opinions and predictions which, we are well aware, have been long entertained by a class of over-clever, but desperately purblind politicians "about town," whose whole souls are wrapped up in the vulgarest and coarsest interests of party—men who, in the grandest of national struggles for the assertion of a great principle, can see nothing but the chances of finding, or making, political capital to be invested in the names of certain Pall-mall cliques. These men never dream of asking, whether such or such a line of policy be right and just in itself, and conducive to national well-being—and rarely trouble themselves about the accordance of their notions with a public opinion whose signs they are utterly unable

to discern and interpret. Their thoughts run mainly on what Rigby calls "combinations" for tripping up the heels of Parliamentary and official rivals; and the only mode in which they ever recognise the people as an element of their political calculations, is in the periodical invention of a "good cry," to practice upon popular gullibility. As a knave is, after all, "a fool with a circumbendibus," it is not surprising that these gentry are extremely apt to be taken in—are, in truth, about the most gullible of mortals.

The *Quarterly Reviewer*, well knowing his men, baits his trap to their taste. He tells them, that if Lord John Russell could only have kept himself to himself, in the month of November last, and given the go-by to his own principles and convictions, he might have enjoyed the extraordinary honour and glory of getting up a new protectionist party, on the basis of a fixed duty. Up to the hour when Lord John Russell did the boldest, honestest, and wisest act of his whole political life, he had good cards in his hands—but he "rashly" and "unfortunately" forgot which were trumps. He had a "great position," quoth the *Quarterly*—so long as nobody knew whether he had any, and what, clear opinion of his own on the first question of the age, and was unshackled by "pledges" to do the right thing rather than the wrong one;—when he came out with that ever-memorable declaration which made him, in three days' time, the most popular of English statesmen, he "giddily threw away" the said "great position." This is the story that the Tory Rigby has his private reasons for wishing the Whig Rigbys to swallow;—and they do swallow it—the cunning little Isaacs—every word;—and they fancy that some of them may be the happy instruments of repairing Lord John Russell's rash, unfortunate, and giddy act, and consummating a mutually useful and convenient alliance between the fag-ends of a pair of factions.

All a mistake, gentlemen, as the *Quarterly* perfectly well knows—as every man knows, who has an honest eye-sight, and a tolerable memory. Lord John Russell's "great position," as a statesman of whom people were not quite sure that he exactly knew his own mind, was simply the position of not having a leg to stand upon; and the "cordial union" between "all classes of protectionists" and the advocates of a fixed duty was a flat impossibility. Lord John Russell had certainly given the experiment a very fair trial. In 1841, he tried the temper of "all classes of protectionists," with eight shillings—with what success, *vide* the *Quarterly Review*, of that year, and its lucubrations on the "revolutionary Whigs." Last summer, he tried them again with "four, five, or six shillings," qualified with a "perhaps." It was all of no use. Strike high, or strike low, there was no *such* thing as pleasing them. The "friends of the existing institutions and policy of the country" had nothing to say to his lordship, or his lordship's fixed duty—not a man of them had a *vote* either for him or it. The "cordial union" is absolutely farcical. The bait is the veriest delusion that ever was hung out; and none but extremely hungry small fry would ever have had the silliness to bite. Of the morality of the scheme thus shadowed forth by the *Quarterly Review*, there is no need to speak. What a spectacle that would have been, over the departed possibility of which the Rigby imagination so fondly and tearfully lingers! The Liberal leader helping and heading the old enemies of his party, to tax the people's bread! Coalitions, at the best, are suspicious in honest and plain men's eyes—but *this* would have had INFAMY as its very basis and bond of union.

We ought, perhaps, to apologise to Lord John Russell for using his name, even hypothetically, in

connection with a nefarious project which it is utterly inconceivable that he could ever have stooped to countenance under any combination of circumstances. But it is well to speak plainly, and to tell the whole Rigby kith and kin, Whig and Tory, that so thoroughly roguish a conspiracy never could have had so much as a momentary success. The League and the people would have trampled down the unholy alliance out of sight, and out of existence, in the very hour of its consummation. Long ere this the irresistible course of events would have palsied with terror the hearts of the men who should have dared to commit themselves to this felonious scheme. Why, cannot the dreamers over a dead, buried, and forgotten fixed duty see, that even if their favourite "adjustment," as the cant phrase goes, had happened to be already in actual possession of the statute-book, it never could have kept possession? This year 1846 would have most effectually "adjusted" it. Had the League itself played traitor, nothing could have saved the eight shillings. Irish famine would, by this time, have taken the question out of the hands of all of us. No Minister—Whig, Tory, or nondescript—would ever have dared to ask the English people to pay large sums of money for the purpose of feeding those millions of Irishmen who, between now and next harvest, will have to be fed at the English people's cost—while an eight shilling landlords' tax was charged on every quarter of wheat. The public charity and the private tax never could have stood together. The fixed duty must have come off—and "once off," as Sir Robert Peel long ago said, "by whom is it to be laid on again?"

The truth is, as all the world well understands—excepting only the men who have neither hearts nor heads to know a piece of statesmanship when they see it—Lord John Russell's "rash," "unfortunate," and "giddy" abandonment of the "great position" which, in the lively Rigby imagination, he held up to the 22d of last November, was the very wisest thing he ever did, for himself and for his party. The letter to the London electors saved the Whigs from political extinction. Had Sir Robert Peel's determination to abolish the Corn Law been publicly known before his illustrious rival "pronounced" in favour of Free Trade, the whole grace and force of Lord John Russell's adhesion would have been lost. The Whigs would have ceased to be the popular and Liberal party, in any sense of the words that the popular intellect and sympathies can comprehend. Nothing would have remained to the "Liberal" bread-taxers but a *caput mortuum* of withered and defunct traditions. Lord J. Russell has shown himself to have far more of length, breadth, and depth of political view than many of those who call themselves his followers. His plain-spoken honesty has proved an immeasurably better policy than any that all the *quidnunc* cunning of Pall-mall could have devised. By his frank, timely, and effective espousal of the principles and objects nearest to the hearts of the English people, he has won for himself a really "great position" in public esteem and honour—whichever he will, we are confident, continue to occupy, long after both sliding scale and fixed duty shall have become matter of history.

THE POST TAKING MORAL GROUND.

"No case—abuse Plaintiff's attorney."—(From THE ROGUE, a Drama in many acts.)

The *Post* of Thursday morning takes a very short way with the Ministers and their Free Trade policy. Sir Robert Peel, and Sir Robert Peel's colleagues, and "the crowd by which the present ministerial policy is most vehemently and noisily approved," are rascals—and of course there's no more to be said. The Free Traders, like the little

tailor's sons in the old song, are "all rogues together"—and therefore Free Trade is, most probably, a bad thing. Let a man travel all over England "to recruit his town-worn spirits"—and, go where he will, he will find all the bad people staunch Free Traders, and nearly all the good people protectionists. Wherever he "falls in with men of gentlemanly manners, whose conversation indicates education and experience," or with "plain, homely men, who possess respect for religion and law," he "will find a large majority of such men, either directly opposed to the ministerial policy, or very much afraid that it is a great error." On the other hand, all the "riffraff" people, who "smoke cigars and drink brandy-and-water"—all the "ruffians" who wear whiskers and talk slang—all the "scoffers," who "treat all religion as mere superstition"—and all the "loose, disreputable fellows," of "dangerous opinions" and notoriously "profligate morals," are uncompromising Free Traders. On the whole, the general feeling among respectable, moral, and pious people decidedly is, that "there is something **BLACKGUARD** in the present policy of the Government"—that "there is some **GROSS RASCALITY** in the business."

Really, this is a wonderfully easy style of political writing, for those persons to whom good taste and a sense of propriety does not render it impossible. It saves a world of trouble. Calling one's political opponents "blackguards" is so much simpler than refuting their arguments. Dubbing the Free Traders "ruffians" and "rascals" is a thing so much sooner done than patching up a decent-looking case for monopoly.

We have no desire to imitate a writer whose passions thus overleap the restraints imposed by the ordinary proprieties of language, and we abstain altogether from those retorts which the well-known tastes, habits, and pursuits of some prominent persons of the monopolist party almost irresistibly suggest. But throwing dirt is not our *forte*. A writer who can do nothing better with his pen than "blackguard" a party, which has all the first-class statesmen of the country for its chiefs, and the whole mass of the sober, quiet, moral, steady-going industrious classes, for its rank and file, places himself at once outside the pale of political controversy.

We have thought it worth while to notice this coarse and silly trash, partly as it shows how very hard monopoly must feel itself driven for something to say—but chiefly because of the radically false notion of the duties and responsibilities of statesmen, implied in this and similar assaults on the chiefs of the Free Trade Cabinet. In the modern protectionist philosophy of political morals, men who hold and avow different opinions now from what they held and avowed some years ago, are *ipso facto* convicted of dishonesty—unless they *whitewash themselves by refusing to give practical effect to their new opinions* as to what national well-being demands. Second thoughts are sinful in a statesman—unless he abstain from acting on them. For a public man to find out that he has been wrong, and to say so, may, perhaps, be venial—though we are not positively sure that this is to be found in the *litera scripta* of the protectionist code of ethics;—but for a public man who finds he has been wrong, to proceed forthwith, and do what his conscience and judgment tell him is right, is "gross rascality"—there is "something blackguard" about it. Openness to conviction, when embodied in act and fact, is dishonesty; and all who approve of a statesman's learning by experience, and adopting the results of experience into his policy, are "riffraff" and "ruffians."

The aim of all this is perfectly intelligible—but we beg to tell the *Post* and its patrons that it won't do.

They are quite out in their calculations when they reckon on damaging and discrediting Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham by this sort of tirade. No doubt there is much in the public lives of these Ministers, as of others of our prominent Parliamentary politicians, which invites moral criticism and reprehension;—but this is a work demanding widely different qualifications from those which ap-

pear to be at the command of our contemporary—not to add, that after all, the characters of individual Ministers are not, at this moment, the question before the country. Public opinion and public taste will not approve the combination of the airs of a moral censor with the dialect of a fish-woman. The *Post* may stand assured that the only possible effect of its brainless and unmannerly vituperation is to strengthen and deepen—in the minds of such of the industrious classes as are cognisant of the *Post's* existence—the sense of the gratitude due to Ministers for the intelligence, earnestness, and vigour of their recent advocacy of the rights of industry.

THE EXPIRING STRUGGLES OF MONOPOLY IN AMERICA.

Monopoly has run its race in America. The monopolists of that country, aided by the English tariff, and by the eloquent declamation of Clay and Webster, succeeded for a time in mystifying and frightening Brother Jonathan into the belief that Free Trade was fraught with dangers. His natural shrewdness, however, has at length led him to discover that it is not his interest to be obliged by law to pay from 20 to 50 per cent. more for every thing he needs except food, and at the same time to sell his corn and provisions in the *cheapest* markets into the bargain. An American correspondent writes us—"The gallant struggles of the League in England have long created great sympathy here, and have given new interest to the exertions of Calhoun and McDuffie in Congress, which there is now every prospect of being crowned with success. The discussions in England have prepared the public mind here to appreciate Mr. Walker's able report, and the Free Trade measures of Sir Robert Peel have given the finishing stroke to monopoly. There is little doubt that Mr. Walker's views will be in part, if not wholly, carried out this session; but if the monopolists in Congress succeed in clipping them now, it will only lead to more extensive reductions in our tariff next session."

Mr. Walker's admirable report, showing by the most incontrovertible facts that the manufacturing monopoly costs America an annual sum equal to double the amount of the revenue of the country, has startled Brother Jonathan as much as the people here were startled by the evidence of Deacon Hume and MacGregor before the Import Duties Committee, to the effect that our corn and provision monopolies were a burthen equal to the whole expenditure of the country, including the interest on the national debt. It needs no seer to foretell that the publication of such facts in free countries like England and America, must soon be followed by the downfall of a system so prejudicial to the national interests of both. The manufacturing monopolists of America, and the corn monopolists of England, are therefore equally alarmed at the propositions of the ministers of both countries, simultaneously to abolish protective duties.

Boston, in the United States, is the stronghold of the American monopolists; and the Hon. Abbott Lawrence, the largest manufacturer in that country, holds a similar position, as their monopolist champion, with our Duke of Richmond, the champion of the corn monopoly. A pamphlet has been sent to us, containing letters addressed by Mr. Lawrence to the Hon. W. C. Rives, of Virginia, in favour of "protection to native industry," to which S. D. Bradford, Esq., a Free Trader, has had the temerity to reply; and so strong is the monopolist interest in that city, that only one of the newspapers could be prevailed upon to insert Mr. Bradford's letter. Mr. Lawrence's letters are couched in similar language to the monopolists' writings here—bold assertion and rhodomontade—which Mr. Bradford meets with facts and figures very perplexing to controvert:

"From the intimation given near the close of your first communication (says Mr. Bradford, in his first letter to Mr. Lawrence), I had made up my mind that your second would be devoted to break down, demolish, and overthrow the report of Mr. Walker, secretary of the Treasury; nor could I wonder that you should desire to do so. This public document had attracted universal attention, not only in America, but in Europe also, especially in England, where it had been hailed as the olive branch of peace, and had rendered almost

acceptable to that proud nation the high and lofty pretensions of the President's message. It had been mentioned as a most extraordinary state paper by the governor of Massachusetts in his annual message. It had charged upon the protective system, as sustained by the tariff of 1842, the greatest injustice and inequality. It had attempted to show how it enriched the few at the expense of the many; how the highest rates of duty were paid upon the articles consumed principally by the poorer classes; how oppressive it was to our commerce and navigating interest; and unjust also towards the agriculturists and planters, in limiting their markets. Mr. Walker had estimated the sum of extra taxation imposed in this manner upon the country for the particular benefit of the manufacturers, as amounting to 54 millions of dollars per annum; being equal to double the amount of the revenue of the whole United States. These are high charges, and ought to be disproved, if they can be. I hope, however, that you will pardon my freedom of speech, and impute it only to my regard for the truth, when I assure you that I have been unable to find in your letter the refutation of any one of the charges above enumerated."

Mr. Lawrence doubtless found it much more difficult to "demolish and overthrow the report of Mr. Walker" than to indulge in confident assertions, that even if Great Britain abolished her corn and provision laws, exports from America of these articles would not increase—just as our monopolists tell us that if we abolish our Corn Laws, our exports of manufactures will not increase.

Mr. Lawrence was at one time one of the largest importers of foreign manufactures in Boston. He was then a Free Trader, and a leading member of the committee appointed at the celebrated Faunceuil Hall meeting, in 1820, "to consider what measures are proper to be pursued in order to avert the calamity which must eventually flow from the passage of the tariff bill, referred to the ensuing session of Congress." He then considered, in the language of the resolutions prepared by this committee, that "the proposed high tariff and the principles on which it is avowedly founded, would have a tendency to diminish the industry, impede the prosperity, and corrupt the morals of the people." He further considered, in another resolution, "that the obvious consequence of the adoption of the tariffs would be, that the farmer must give more than he now does for all he buys, and receive less for all he sells." But Mr. Lawrence has since tasted the sweets of monopoly; he has accumulated enormous wealth by the law which obliges his countrymen to pay him a higher price for his manufactures than they could buy them at if the monopoly were abolished; and now he has the effrontery to tell them, in effect, that if the farmer were by the abolition of high bounties on domestic manufactures to give less than he now does for all he buys, and receive more for all he sells, the country would be involved in a flood of ruin fearful to contemplate. But Mr. Lawrence shall speak for himself. Referring to Mr. Walker's proposed new tariff, he says:

"The question then arises, what will be our condition after the proposed plan of low duties goes into operation? In 20 days after the bill becomes a law, it will have reached every country in Europe with which we have trade; the manufacturing market; the merchandise is shipped on account of foreigners, in many cases with double invoices, one set for the custom house, and another for the sales, so that, instead of the duty amounting to 20 per cent., it will not probably exceed 15 per cent. This has been the experience of the American importers in New York, who, previous to the passing of the tariff of 1842, had (most of them) abandoned the business, not being able to compete successfully with fraudulent foreigners. I will not say that all foreigners commit frauds on the revenue,—far from it; but I do say that enormous frauds have been perpetrated by foreigners, on the revenue, under *ad valorem* duties, and will be again—prostrating the business of honest foreign and American importers. In less than twelve months after the new plan shall have been in operation, this whole country will be literally surfeited with foreign merchandise (if it be not so, the revenue will fall short of the wants of the Government); we shall then owe a debt abroad of millions of dollars, which must be paid in coin. The exchanges go up to a point that makes it profitable to ship specie; money becomes scarce in the Atlantic cities, yet bills on England and France do not fall; the loans made to the south and west are called in; demands for debts due from those sections of country are made; exchange cannot be obtained; produce is purchased and shipped; and when it arrives at the north, it will not command the cost in the west; a paralysis will have struck the business of the country; produce will no longer answer to pay debts due at the north, and the next resort is to coin, which is to be collected and sent down the Mississippi, or over the mountains to Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Western and southern credits are cut off, as the people of those sections can no longer promptly meet their engagements. The new states, and the outer circle of the republic, are the weak points; and the first giving way of the banks is heard from those points where there is the least amount of capital. We see the storm approaching like a thunder shower in a summer's day; we watch its progress, but cannot escape its fall. It at last reaches the great marts of trade and the exchanges, having swept everything in its course; and the banks of the Atlantic cities, after a violent effort to maintain their credit and honour, are forced to yield to this Utopian experiment on the currency. I have no hesitation in stating that all this

will take place within the space of eighteen months from the time this experimental bill goes into operation; and not a specie paying bank doing business, will be found in the United States. Where will be the revenue which was to produce such a mighty sum under low duties? Where is the treasury and the secretary? and the President and his Cabinet? The treasury is empty; the secretary is making his estimates of income for 1849, and preparing to ask Congress for a large batch of treasury notes; or, perhaps, the deficit is so large that a loan may be required."

Such is the catalogue of evils which Mr. Lawrence predicts will befall his country, if he and other manufacturers are deprived of the privilege of plundering it to the tune (according to Mr. Walker's estimate) of fifty-four millions of dollars per annum. But we are much mistaken if Brother Jonathan will be scared from doing himself justice by empty alarms of the consequences, especially when he looks to this side the Atlantic, and finds that every proposed relaxation of our monopoly system from the alteration of our navigation laws to the abolition of the wool-tax last year, has been attended with monopolist prognostications of ruin to the country. And although it is proved beyond controversy that every relaxation of our protective system hitherto adopted has been attended with benefits far exceeding the most sanguine expectations, the monopolist cry of disaster and calamity from any further approximation to Free Trade is as vehemently repeated as ever. The fearful consequences predicted from the repeal of our Corn Laws and the abolition of all other monopolies are, that we shall lose our colonies; that the land will cease to be cultivated; that wages will fall; that the country will be drained of all its specie, because foreigners will not sell corn, except for gold; that the revenue will fall off, and the interest on the national debt will no longer be paid; that our venerable constitution will be endangered, the church destroyed, and eventually the monarchy overthrown. Free Traders are not frightened; they only laugh at such raw-head-and-bloody-bone attempts to terrify the simple. Their short and simple answer to such monopolist alarmists is, "Keep your hands out of our pockets, and we will take the risk of being ruined by it."

There is no charge the injustice of which the monopolists here complain more than that of selfishness. They protest that they desire to see protection extended to *all*. Mr. Lawrence is equally generous:

"I have never (says he) advocated a protective tariff for my own or the New England States exclusively, nor have those gentlemen with whom I have been associated in this cause, at any time, entertained a narrow or sectional view of the question. We have believed it to be for the interest of the whole country, that its labour should be protected, and so far as I have had to do with the adjustment of those difficult combinations embraced in a tariff bill, I have endeavoured to take care that the interests of all the states were protected, whether they were large or small. I say now to you, and it should be said in congress, and to the country, that Massachusetts asks no exclusive legislation. If Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio, the three great states, with Kentucky, Georgia, Missouri, Alabama, and Louisiana, wish to try an experiment on iron, coal, hemp, cotton bagging, sugar, &c. &c., I am ready as one citizen of Massachusetts to meet it, and await in patient submission the result, which I doubt not will be found, within 18 months, in the realisation of all I have predicted. I say again, I would not, if I could, have a tariff made for Massachusetts alone."

Generous Mr. Lawrence! You kindly offer your aid to such individuals, in other states than your own, as are desirous of plundering the community after the fashion of the cotton and woollen manufacturers, by obtaining for them like monopolies in iron, coal, hemp, cotton bagging, sugar &c. Is this what you call protection to *all*? What protection do you propose to give the growers of cotton, tobacco, rice, corn, beef, pork, and timber, the staple articles of your country? You know you can give them no protection. Your own generosity then, after all, is a mere pretence; all you want is protection to a few manufacturers, a mere fraction of the people. The offer of protection to *all* is a delusive cheat, and will by-and-by be as well understood in America (where the tariff has been already altered thirty times since 1789) as in England.

Our limits will not allow us to give further extracts from the letters of Mr. Lawrence, or those of Mr. Bradford. In fact, they are chiefly interesting to the community to whom they were addressed. There is so much similarity in the style and in the arguments adduced in support of protection, that if the words, corn, butter, beef, and bacon, were substituted

for cottons, woollens, and hardwares, and *vice versa*, they would suit either side of the Atlantic. We have, however, been gratified to see the specious and reckless assertions of the American manufacturing monopolists so ably and satisfactorily met by the facts and figures put forth by Mr. Bradford, and which cannot fail to impress the minds of dispassionate readers. Whilst Mr. Lawrence was hugging himself with the assurance that his monopoly was secure, because there was no prospect of England repealing her Corn Laws, Mr. Bradford was predicting that the triumph of the League was at hand. Says he:

"Free Trade has already obtained the total repeal of the duty on raw cotton. The next steamer may bring us the news of the total repeal of the duty on bread stuffs; and who can doubt that ere long there will be a total repeal of the provision laws?"

By a singular accident, the steamer arrived with Sir R. Peel's speech the very day the letter was published, by which the prediction was fulfilled, to the no small dismay of the monopolists.

We cannot withhold the concluding paragraph of Mr. Bradford's letter, in which all Free Traders will sympathise:

"Do what you will, you cannot destroy Free Trade, nor retard its progress much longer. Its course is 'upward and onward.' It is being adopted by the nation which General Cass informs us 'possesses already one-seventh of the whole earth, and whose Government rules over one-eighth of all the inhabitants of the globe.' It has recently overthrown the strongest, and in my opinion the best Ministry, which has existed in England for a long time, because they hesitated to repeal the Corn Laws. It will overthrow the next probably, unless they will agree to remove the restrictions on provisions, and also on tea, coffee, and sugar. It is destined to change the fiscal regulations of the whole world. The opinion is becoming almost universal that when Great Britain shall adopt a scale of duties founded on a true revenue principle, the tariffs of all other nations will soon fall before it. It does not ask whether the industrious but suffering operative dwells in the mountains of Switzerland or upon the steppes of Russia. Its philanthropy is expansive. It embraces the whole world. It assists the deserving, and relieves the wants of the suffering, wherever they may be found. It is the herald of peace and civilisation. Free Trade may be compared to an Alpine plant. It is healthy and hardy, and survives the convulsions of the severest tempests, for it depends on itself alone for support. Protection is a hot-house plant, always kept alive at a great expense, often sickly, and requiring constant attention. What wise legislator would hesitate to which he should give the preference?"

CANADA.

The following address has been forwarded to us by the Free Trade Association in Canada; and we insert it with much pleasure as manifesting the existence of a movement in that quarter which cannot fail, if perseveringly pushed forward, to issue in conferring on our colonial brethren the inestimable advantages of unrestricted commerce:

ADDRESS OF THE FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION, TO THE INHABITANTS OF CANADA.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

A crisis has arrived in the commercial affairs of this colony which demands the best energies, the devoted attention of all concerned in the welfare of its various rising interests.

That crisis has arisen from the new commercial policy of the mother country—a policy which strikes at the root of protection in every shape, exposing at once this colony and the mother country to the severest effects of unrestricted competition. To raise objections to this policy would not only be idle, but inconsistent with the objects of this Association.

Believing, as we do, that the principle of Free Trade, applied generally to the commerce of a country, is sound, and the wisest, under all circumstances, for a nation to adopt in order to secure the prosperity of all classes; believing also, (since the mother country is depriving us of the favour we have hitherto enjoyed in her markets,) that the prosperity of Canada can only be maintained by its trade being rendered *free*, allowing industry and capital to seek out their natural distribution and employment; but apprehensive at the same time that our legislature is not yet prepared to give effect by law to these liberal views, we have deemed it prudent and expedient to form ourselves into an Association for the purpose of collecting in one body all who agree in opinion with us. By this means we shall extend our influence, consolidate our views and interests, attain unity of purpose and action, and thereby place ourselves in a position to secure the ascendancy of our principles in the commercial laws of the province.

United on the basis of Free Trade, we shall respectfully but firmly demand, in the first place, the removal of all imperial acts imposing discriminating or regulating duties; in the second place, the repeal of all duties, imperial and local, levied on American wheat, provisions, or corn of any kind whatsoever; and lastly, we pledge ourselves to resist by every lawful means, the future enactment of any protective, prohibitive, or merely regulating duties—believing such to be detrimental to the general interests of society, and at variance with sound policy.

We further avow that we entertain the opinion that duties should be levied solely for the purpose of creating revenue to provide for the necessities of Government, and the extension of internal improvements; and that, for these objects, such articles only should be selected for duty as will afford it without restricting or fettering the general commerce—the carrying trade—or the agricultural industry of the country.

Declaring these to be our guiding principles and opinions, we now earnestly invite men of all classes throughout the province, to combine and co-operate with us to give them practical effect, by carrying them through the legislature. We call upon

our fellow-citizens to enrol their names upon our books, and our fellow-subjects at a distance to form branches, in connection with this central Association.

The commerce and industry of this colony, as yet in their infancy, and hitherto nourished under an unsound system of protective stimulants, will soon be left to seek out their natural channels; and fortunate will it be for our common welfare, if, by our united efforts, we now succeed in planting the principle of Free Trade in our commercial system. Then,—but not till then,—may we hope to make the Saint Lawrence the highway for the rich products of the teeming west—to develop the vast resources of this rising colony—and to secure for her people the highest possible share of prosperity and happiness.

We shall now address a few words to the Canadian agriculturist, to satisfy him that he has nothing to fear from Free Trade; but that, on the contrary, he will derive advantage from it in common with every other member of the community. We are aware the opinion prevails that protective duties enhance prices, and we shall consequently take some pains to remove this fallacy.

All writers of eminence on the subject of political economy; all close and earnest observers of the course of trade, agree in opinion that where a country is in the habit of exporting any surplus produce, the price in the market she mainly depends on, as her customer, regulates the value of the whole to the producer. Canada is in that position. She has for many years past been an exporter of agricultural produce, partly her own growth, and partly *naturalised* American; and the course of prices has ever been regulated by the value in the markets to which such surplus was sent. To prove this to the satisfaction of all reasonable men, it will only be necessary, we think, to review prices here for the last six years. We adopt this term as most likely to carry conviction to the minds of agriculturists, because it enables us to compare prices during two periods of directly opposite character. During the first period, American wheat was admitted duty free; during the latter it was subject to a duty of 3s. sterling per quarter. Let us now compare the average price of flour in the said years in the Montreal market; taking flour as our criterion, not as being better adapted to our purpose, but because the market prices are better fixed and more readily got at. We shall place these prices in parallel columns, that the principle we are contending for may be obvious at a glance, viz; that, to the Canadian agriculturist, prices are not enhanced by protective duties, but depend on the market to which his produce is sent:

Thus, when American wheat was admitted into Canada free, prices were as follows, i. e. the average of the year:		American Wheat subject to a duty of 3s. sterling per quarter:	
Average of the year:		Average prices of the year:	
1840	26s 10d	1843	25s 7d
1841	23s 5d	1844	25s 3d
1842	30s 0d	1845	27s 2d
Average of 3 years, 28s 5d		Average of 3 years, 26s	

Who now will contend, with these facts before him, that prices are enhanced by protective duties, or that such duties favour in the slightest degree the prosperity of the Canadian farmer? We call upon him, therefore, to unite with us to rid the country of such fettering duties, which plainly have no effect but that of crippling its industry, and restricting its commerce. Let him also bear in mind, that our plan, if fully carried out, will cheapen every commodity which he requires for his daily use; for, by removing all discriminating and regulating duties, we shall enable him and every other consumer, to obtain his sugar and his tea, his wearing apparel and his luxuries, wherever he can procure them cheapest.

We now proceed, in the development of our plan, to show the incalculable advantages that will result to Canadian commerce and the carrying trade, by removing all duties and restrictions from American produce.

First, we shall show the amount of produce collected annually on the shores of our great inland waters, and brought to this city for distribution to the various markets of consumption; next, the vast quantity that passes through the Erie Canal, seeking a market at New York, and other American ports; and lastly, we shall show that it is in the power of Canada to divert a large share of this latter trade through her own waters, if her people and legislature will promptly give effect to the liberal and enlarged policy which it is the object of this Association to advocate and urge:

No. 1.—Table showing the quantity of Produce brought by the St. Lawrence to the City of Montreal in the year 1845.

Pork.	Beef.	Lard.	Flour.	Wheat.	Other Grain.	Ashes.	Butter.
Brls.	Brls.	Kegs.	Brls.	Bush.	Bush.	Brls.	Kegs.
6109	723	461	590,305	450,209	40781	33,000	8112

No. 2.—Table showing the quantity of Produce carried through the Erie Canal in the year 1845.

Pork.	Beef.	Lard.	Flour.	Wheat.	Corn.	Flax-seed.	Ashes.
Brls.	Brls.	Lbs.	Brls.	Bush.	Bush.	Lbs.	Brls.
63646	7699	3064800	2517250	1620033	35803	8303960	80646

From the foregoing tables, it will be seen that the quantity carried through the latter channel is enormous, as compared with the former. It becomes then a question of vital importance, whether a portion of this trade can be attracted through the St. Lawrence. We believe that it can, because the cheapest conveyance to the sea-board and to the manufacturing districts of New England must win the prize; and who will deny that the securing of this prize is not worth our best and united exertions?

The cheapening of the means of transit is the great object to be attained; and our best practical authorities are firmly of opinion that the Saint Lawrence will be made the cheapest route as soon as our chain of inland improvements is rendered complete. They affirm that the cost of transporting a barrel of flour, from Detroit to Montreal, will not exceed 1s. 6d. to 1s. 9d. The difficulty will then be to secure a port of constant access to the sea; and that difficulty will be overcome by the early completion of the projected Portland railway; a road that will place us within a day's journey of that city, the harbour of which may be made the safest and cheapest on the Continent of America. By that route, we shall avoid the occasional dangers and inconveniences of the St. Lawrence from Montreal outwards, practically secure a longer season for trade in the fall of the year, and safely reckon on freights to Liverpool as low as those from New York. But what is equally important to the transit trade to England, is this: that by rendering our charges cheaper than those through the Erie Canal to Boston, we shall secure the transit trade to that great city, and all other Eastern markets, as well as the supplying of our sister colonies, commonly known as the lower ports. This picture may appear too

colonies offer the only safe asylum for our increasing surplus population.

It may be in vain that we prove that not only is our colonial trade comparatively small of itself, but that it does not progress in the same proportion as that to foreign countries. Where we are without the benefit of protection, it may be in vain that we show, from the best authority, that even our shipowners are far more indebted to the foreign than to the colonial trade for the employment of their craft;—it may be in vain that we prove that for every mechanic who finds employment in supplying the colonies with the manufactures of this country, at least four earn their bread by working for independent foreign markets;—and it may be of little use that we should produce evidence, which cannot be doubted, that even a majority of the emigrants who have left their native country in search of another home, have found it not in the colonies, but in foreign states. All this, we know, may be useless and in vain, as far as these inveterate monopolists themselves are concerned, whose main object is to secure the continuance of a system of restriction, on which they ignorantly believe their own immediate interests to be dependent. Fortunately, however, there is a large and enlightened public, who are now, above all things, anxious to form a correct opinion on these subjects, based upon unquestionable facts.

As might be expected, the parties who are now taking these active measures to raise in the public mind a prejudice against any further reduction of the timber duties, dwell entirely, or mainly, on the importance of the Canada market. We would not, for a moment, wish to depreciate either the importance or the value of our North American colonies. We seek for the real colonists—that is, the people who actually live in the colonies, dependent on their own industry—every privilege which we seek for ourselves at home. We altogether deny our right, or the policy, of taxing them indirectly, by imposing protecting duties upon our manufactures entering their territory for consumption. If they can obtain their clothing or their luxuries cheaper or better from another market, we contend they are entitled to do so. But what say these *soi-disant* friends to the colonies here? The overture they make amounts to a kind of compromise of the real interests of the consumers at home and in the colonies, in order that *thus* a small class shall be benefited. They virtually propose that the great mass of the community in Canada shall be taxed in the form of dear clothing, and that the large mass of consumers at home shall be taxed in the form of dear timber and dear food, in order that the comparatively small class engaged in the timber trade from Canada, and in the export trade to Canada, shall advance their own interests. These men, mostly residing at home, who call themselves the colonial interest, have objects and motives as wide apart from the real advantage of the large mass of the people in the colonies, as it is now generally admitted the labouring population at home have in the objects for which landlords have struggled to maintain dear bread. Too great a distinction cannot be made between individuals interested in colonial monopolies, of whom a large majority have never so much as set foot in any of our colonial territory, and the great mass of the population of the colonies.

As we have said, the main argument on which the defenders of the timber monopoly rely is, that at present our chief dependence for the export of our manufactures is on the colonies generally, and on Canada in particular; that "when Canada is lost to England, we shall have to pay for our timber in gold, instead of in manufactures, as at present." It is needless for us to stop to inquire how gold would be procured for such a purpose, were the emergency to arise; it is needless to dwell upon the obvious fact that if we possess gold, it can only be obtained from other countries in exchange for the articles actually produced by British labour; it will be sufficient that we should now inquire what ground there is for such an allegation. If it appeared that our main exports really found a market in the colonies, and if those foreign countries, whose produce we have either excluded or materially restricted by high duties, took few or none of our goods, it would not be a matter of surprise. But what are the facts? What, upon investigation, do we find to be the truth? Let us take the case of the timber trade by itself, and the trade with those countries from which we import that important article. The countries from which we derive our foreign timber are Germany, Russia, Sweden, and Norway. From these countries in 1844 we imported, of all kinds of timber, 536,737 loads, while from Canada we imported 928,650 loads; being, both of foreign and colonial timber, the largest quantity which, up to that period, had ever been imported in any single year. For several years the importation and consumption of timber have considerably increased, but more especially since the reduction of the duties in 1842. According to the theory propounded by the timber monopolists, the public would be led to believe that every load of timber imported from the Continent has been paid for in gold, while Canada mainly sustains the industry of Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield. But what do we find to be the facts when we turn to the Parliamentary accounts? In 1843, the last year for which such subdivision of the exports is published, it appears that out of 52,279,709*l.*, the entire amount of our exports, the British North American colonies represent a sum of 1,751,211*l.*, or little more than three per cent. of the whole. Turning to these Continental countries from which we import foreign timber, we find that in the same year our exports amounted to each as follows:

Russia	£1,895,519
Sweden	131,302
Norway	151,377
Germany, including Prussia ..	6,651,042
Total	£8,829,240

So that the colonies on which our manufacturers and artisans must chiefly rely for a market for their products, and for the benefit of which we are called upon to maintain one of the most injurious monopolies, took, in 1843, goods to the amount of 1,751,211*l.*, while those countries of which it is said they will only take "gold" for their timber, were customers for manufactures to no less an amount than 8,829,240*l.* But if we inquire into the progress which these respective markets have made in consuming our manufactures, in proportion as the importation of timber has increased, the rash assertions made by the advocates of dear timber are shown to be even more groundless. If we compare our exports to the protected timber colony, and to the restricted timber countries on the Continent, in 1833, with the same in 1843, we shall see to which we have been most indebted for that increase of trade on which our growing population have relied for employment. Referring to Parliamentary accounts, we find that in 1833 our exports to the British North American colonies amounted to 4,092,550*l.*, and to the foreign timber countries as follows:

Russia	£1,531,002
Sweden	39,449
Norway	55,038
Germany, including Prussia ..	4,499,727
Total	6,145,316

The two periods will therefore present the following comparison:

	1833.	1843.
Exports to the protected timber colonies	£2,092,550	1,751,211
Exports to the restricted foreign timber countries	6,145,316	8,829,240

We thus arrive at two most important facts in the question. The protected timber colonies now consume less than one-fifth of the quantity of British manufactures which find a market in those countries whose better timber it is sought to exclude by high protective duties; and, moreover, while the colonial market has, notwithstanding the protection it has enjoyed, actually fallen off in the last ten years by 341,339*l.*, the Continental timber countries have increased the consumption of our goods by 2,083,924*l.*

This is a fair sample of the truth of the assertions made in support of the vicious system contended for by the class of men who are now inundating the country with their "printed papers and circulars," in the vain hope of stemming the course of a wise and just policy, which consults not the private and selfish interests of a class, but which has for its object the true and lasting benefit of the whole community. We shall have abundance of opportunities, as this discussion proceeds, to show that not less groundless and fallacious are the other arguments upon which these monopolists rely.

THE "LORDS" AGAIN.

(From the Universe.)

An impression to some extent prevails that the measure of commercial reform which has been so triumphantly advocated in the House of Commons will be just as triumphantly thrown out in the House of Peers; that while the people and the representatives of the people acknowledge its commanding character, or bow to its imperious necessity, our hereditary legislators, on whom the spirit of divination descended at their birth, will eject it with little ceremony and less argument.

We cannot, however, yield to an opinion so injurious to men whose functions and whose faculties we estimate so highly. We cannot suppose them wanting in all knowledge of the history of the past, or all foresight for the future. We cannot imagine that the only lever which can move them is that very common, every-day uncanonical quality called selfishness. Heaven, in making them the lords of its creation, doubtless intended them to be the representatives of its benevolence. The prudence that has descended to them from an ennobled ancestry through many generations must still vindicate its prerogative of acting and judging rightly. Of course they feel the need of the country with considerable acuteness. With their far-spread and far-peopled possessions, living amidst the many-coloured miseries of an impoverished tenantry, and the difficulties of a raised rental, how can it be otherwise? They will not therefore deprive themselves of the privilege and the pleasure of co-operating in the promotion of a plan, large and liberal, like their own minds, and which is designed to secure to the public that permanent relief which they are professedly so solicitous to confer.

Besides, they must feel that the interest of *their order* is staked, in some degree, upon their fair and frank dealing, and for that order they have a very religious veneration. Should they fall in this trial of principle, their sin terminates not with themselves—it is imputed to their caste. It extends to their progeny, to the third and fourth generation of lordlings. They know and they weep over the solemn truth, that a new and mighty power has sprung up in the country, a power whose supremacy needs only be named to be dreaded by peer and by plebeian. The aristocracy of wealth seems likely to outbid, if not outweigh, the aristocracy of rank. Its rise, its progress, its history,—its wide-spread ramifications, its tremendous strength, may well alarm the most blinded votary of hoary old. The monied men of the kingdom—from their immense and ever available resources—have acquired an influence, which, in this business-like and bad world, the descendants of kings envy. They possess the idol before which the pride of station bends, and breathes not. They are the priests of that divinity in whom mortgaged landowners believe and tremble,—while their intimate acquaintance with the realities of this sober life—with the honesties or the trickeries of trade—has given them all the advantage they can need over those whom inclination or habit has too long and too perilously estranged from the mass of the people. These knights of the long purse have been wise in time. They have thrown themselves into the conflict of commercial freedom; not as borne along by the tide of circumstances; not as compelled by the terrors of a crisis; but actually as leaders and champions,—now, martyrs in this cause,—now, victors in the fight of humanity. They have thus—to use the old expression—covered themselves with a glory which, whether it belongs to them or not, serves their purpose well. Protection and honour are beneath it. While the very necessities of argument place their opponents in a position, as invidious in its distinctions as dangerous in its results: making them, in appearance at least, the enemies of those whom their very privileges bind them to succour: obstructors to human freedom—monopolists of the people's food. This is a character in which we imagine few would be ambitious to shine. And we hope their lordships will take timely care that none can ascribe to a sordid source either their movements or their motives. They cannot, it is true, be the originators of a scheme which has already found so many advocates, and whose leading principles have so long and so largely impregnated the mind of the country. But why should they not stand forth—if only in self-defence—as immediate abolitionists of a law that has been already doomed? They might thus secure a fund of gratitude in the breast of the people, on which—without the fear of their bills being dishonoured—they might safely draw in the great conflict—which many of them foresee—at least in those vicissitudes from which none of them is exempt.

REV. THOS. SPENCER IN AMERICA.

(From the New York Mercury.)

THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS.

The Rev. Mr. Spencer, a clergyman of the Established Church in England, delivered a lecture here some months ago on the Corn Laws, and another on temper-

ance. He has laboured arduously in his own country to remove the burdens which are imposed on the people, and has done much to diffuse correct opinions. He has written a large number of tracts, which have been widely circulated. Among the rest, is one entitled "The People's Rights, and how to get them." The directions under the last part are of the most loyal and Christian character. They are, "by deserving them;" they must use none but moral means; they must not be ambitious of law-making; they must display a deep sense of public justice, &c.

The extracts which we print below, stand under the first head, viz. "the people's rights." They are the reasonings of a strong and independent mind, which loves truth better than every thing else, and falters not though that love carries him to the bottom of a well. The thoughts require thinking to understand them, though very clearly expressed. We hope the multitudes who by endowments and combinations and legislative interference seek to do good, will see how their measures tend only to an early decrepitude in our country, and to embarrass the next generation with the great labour of undoing the bad deeds of their fathers. It is an idea worth thinking of, that the world belongs to the living generation, unembarrassed, as far as possible, by the actions of the dead.

1. *The right to earn a living with the fewest possible impediments.* The rights of industry are the most important of all rights, and an honest man will claim no other assistance than that which he can acquire by his own labour. Cobbett, in his "Advice to Young Men," says—"Start, I beseech, with this conviction firmly fixed in your mind, that being of hale body and sound mind, you have no right to any earthly existence without doing work of some sort or other; unless you have ample fortune whereon to live clear of debt; and that even then you have no right to breed children, to be kept by others, or to be exposed to the chance of being so kept. To wish to live on the labour of others is, besides the folly of it, to contemplate a fraud, at the least; and under certain circumstances, to meditate oppression and robbery. Write it on your own heart, that you will depend solely on your own merit and your own exertions." And of himself he says—"A father like ours, it will be readily supposed, did not suffer us to eat the bread of idleness. I do not remember the time when I did not earn my own living." And when he became a Member of Parliament he ascribed all his success in life to his early habits of industry. Labour and toil are, however, by no means pleasant to men in general. There are always indolent men amongst the rich who will desire to live on State pensions; and idle men amongst the poor who will try to obtain parish pay; but the Divine command applies to all without exception—"Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do." Before a man complains, therefore, of the infringements of the rights which society owes to him, let him take care to respect this right which he owes to them, that he will not be burdensome to them, but will support himself and family by his industry. He is an enemy to mankind who would claim for one part of the community a right to subsist upon the labour or property of another part: this will, in the long run, inevitably impoverish those who are compelled to pay, and degrade those who receive. All experience shows the truth of the assertion made by Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, that "Every permanent fund set apart for the support of the poor, from whomsoever proceeding, and by whomsoever administered, must needs multiply the evils it is intended to remedy."

On the other hand, he who labours has a right to demand from society that there shall be the fewest possible impediments in the way of obtaining his own living. There are natural impediments which are unavoidable, and which exercise a salutary discipline over the human race, calling forth contrivance and forethought, and promoting the vigour of body and mind. The field must be cultivated before the bread can be eaten; water must be got out of wells, metals out of mines. Long continued rain perplexes the farmer; the tempest scatters the ships of the merchant; and every man must exercise his faculties to foresee and provide against the calamities that may befall him. But whoever adds to these difficulties adds to the primal curse; and if he make those difficulties so great as to render it scarcely possible for a man to live by his labour, he takes from that curse the merciful promise that was included in it—"In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread." Legislators have ever been interfering with the rights of industry. Whatever ties a man to a particular place, or limits the number of men engaged in any trade or employment; whatever confers any monopoly or peculiar privilege on some at the expense of the rest;—whatever checks invention, meddles with machinery, or dictates the rate of wages;—whatever prevents a man from taking his labour or goods to the best market, or prevents his getting the largest amount of the necessities of life in return for his labour or goods, from any quarter of the globe;—whatever makes commerce less free than the winds which blow over all lands, or than the ocean which washes every shore, places unnecessary obstacles in the way of getting a living.

TORRINGTON.—CHARITY OF THE LEAGUE.—We are happy to record the munificence of the Anti-Corn-Law League to the agricultural labourers of this place and the neighbouring parishes. On Monday last, Mr. G. Toms, of this town, "the poor man's friend," received a great quantity of beds and bedding from the League, for his disposal to the bedless of the town and neighbourhood, of which unfortunate sufferers there are too many. The beds and bedding are of excellent quality, and such as would be no disgrace in a respectable tradesman's bedroom. Nothing could be more acceptable at a crisis like the present, when the *temper charities* are at stake, and are likely to become a non-entity. Many poor families, who have had only a pallet of straw to rest on, will now, by the League's compassion, have the pleasure of resting their bodies on a comfortable bed; and, no doubt, will every night repeat their thanks to the League for the comforts they are put in possession of. This noble present has been obtained from the League for the poor through the agency and compassionate inquiries of Mr. Geo. Toms, who has searched into and represented the distressed state of the agricultural labourers of the neighbourhood, and to whom there is much praise and merit due. Would it not be equally meritorious of the gentry of the neighbourhood now to raise a fund, and make a similar present to those who still remain bedless? *Deronsire Chronicle.*

THE REVENUE.

(From the Manchester Guardian.)

The usual returns of the revenue for the year and quarter ending the 5th inst., have been laid before the public. The returns for the year exhibit, on the whole, a favourable result; but those for the quarter are marked by the results of the stagnation of business that has prevailed during a considerable portion of the last three months, especially in those branches of trade likely to be affected by the proposed changes in the tariff. The general result may be summed up in a statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply to some questions put by Colonel Sibthorp, in the House of Commons on Monday evening:

"That last year, when he made known the financial arrangements for the year, he stated that he anticipated a surplus of 50,000,000, on the account of the year, exclusive of the sum to be derived from China, and now he found that when he should make his financial exposition of the actual surplus revenue, he should have to state that instead of 50,000,000, it amounted to one million and three-quarters, exclusive of the money from China."

Such being the facts, we saw with no little surprise in the *Standard* of Monday, an article on this subject, containing the most absurd and extravagant misstatements that have ever come under our notice, even upon this most fertile source of blundering and misrepresentation. The *Standard*, after giving the figures of the return, says:

"It may be well to compare the results of Sir Robert Peel's Free Trade policy, in a year, mark, said to be of extraordinary prosperity, with the right hon. baronet's anticipations as explained by him on the 14th of February, 1845:—I am now going to address myself to the prospects of the coming year—that year which will terminate on the 5th of April, 1846. The receipts from the Customs in this year (1845), on the 5th of April, rate at 22,500,000. * * * We are not inclined to take the estimate of Customs for the coming year at more than 22,000,000. * * * The Excise we feel ourselves warranted in estimating at 13,500,000. The stamp duties we propose to take at their present actual produce, 7,100,000. * * * On the 5th of April, 1846, therefore, we shall be entitled to make the total revenue, even if the income tax be discontinued, 51,000,000." Let us compare these anticipations with the actual results:

	Anticipated.	Realised.
Customs	22,500,000	17,664,618
Excise	13,500,000	11,886,085
Stamps	7,100,000	7,095,521
Total (minus income tax)	51,000,000	44,395,743

It would, therefore, appear, from this most sage and veracious chronicler of events, that the revenue from Customs and Excise has this year fallen short of Sir Robert Peel's anticipations by about six millions sterling.

One would have thought that the utter extravagance and absurdity of this result would have opened the eyes of the blindest dunce that ever bewildered his brains with financial statements. Unfortunately, however, the editor of the *Standard* is not only grossly ignorant on the subject of finance, but grossly dishonest on that as on all other subjects. He did not desire to ascertain the truth, or he would very soon have discovered the gross, and, in the conductor of a public newspaper, almost incredible, blunder into which he had fallen.

It is quite true that Sir Robert Peel, on the occasion to which the *Standard* refers, did estimate the produce of the Customs at 22,000,000, and the Excise at 13,500,000, provided the then existing duties were all maintained; but he proceeded to announce abolitions and reductions of taxes amounting to no less than 3,310,000, all of which have since been carried into effect; and Sir Robert diminished his anticipations of the probable produce of the revenue by the amount of the taxes which he proposed to repeal.

This, however, constitutes only a portion of the blunder into which the *Standard* has fallen. Of course, Sir R. Peel, in making his annual financial statements spoke of the Customs and Excise revenues of the United Kingdom, which the *Standard* has very ingeniously compared with the produce of the revenue for Great Britain! Every body who has even the slightest acquaintance with this subject knows that the usual quarterly returns do not include the produce of the revenue of Ireland; and, in the very paper with the article on which we are now commenting, those returns are given under their proper head of "An Abstract of the Net Produce of the Revenue of Great Britain," &c., &c.; so that the ignorance, or the dishonesty, or the mixture of both, which dictated this most extraordinary mass of blundering misrepresentation, is perfectly inexcusable.

But, notwithstanding the flagrant nature of the *Standard's* misstatements,—although all London must have been ringing with laughter on Monday afternoon at the expense of the conductors of that journal,—we find the kindred *Morning Herald* falling into errors of the same kind yesterday morning. It gives a pretended statement of the produce of the Excise, from the year 1822 to 1846, in which the three last years stand thus—

	£
1844	14,469,336
1845	12,160,111
1846!!!	12,177,112

On these figures, the *Herald* makes the following remarks:

"Now, be it remembered, that in 1845, the Premier's reduction of duty levied upon excisable articles was estimated by himself, and he certainly could have had no object in underrating the amount, at something under a million sterling. Calling this reduction, then, 1,000,000, we find that since 1844 there has been a decrease in the consumption of those articles which contribute to the comfort of the people of about 2,300,000."

Where the *Herald* got the produce of the Excise for the year 1846, we are not informed; but it must have been from somebody who can see some months into futurity. Not laying any claim to the exercise of prophetic powers, we shall not enter upon any controversy on that point. With respect to the comparison of the years 1844 and 1845, however, we have a few words to say. In making this comparison, the *Herald* has fallen into the same blunder as the *Standard*, namely, that of comparing the produce of the entire revenue of the United Kingdom in the one year with that of Great Britain in the other. But this is not the only error. The *Herald*, like the *Standard*, cannot make the simplest statement without committing a brace of blunders. The net revenue of Excise, in 1844, was not 14,469,336, but 13,308,050, whilst the net revenue, in 1845, was 13,585,582, showing an increase of about 280,000, instead of a decrease of 2,000,000.

We should hardly have thought these egregious mistakes worthy of a serious notice, had we not seen the persevering efforts made to use them for the purpose of throwing discredit upon the Free Trade measures of Sir Robert Peel. As many such attempts will, no doubt, be made by the *Herald* and *Standard*, we have thought it right to show our readers how little reliance is to be placed upon any statements of fact which may be made by those journals.

DUNDEE—CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

(From the Dundee Advertiser.)

A meeting of the Chamber of Commerce was held on Tuesday, the 7th inst., for the purpose of considering the propriety of petitioning both Houses of Parliament regarding the necessity of immediately passing the ministerial Free Trade measures. The meeting was more numerous attended than usual, even though it was a market day; and there were present the most influential merchants, manufacturers, ship-owners, and flax-spinners in Dundee. Provost Brown, chairman of the Chamber, occupied the chair.

The CHAIRMAN said, he expected that before this time they would have been in possession of Free Trade; but here they were met again to complain of delay. Things were in a state of uncertainty, and not altogether to their wishes. It was to be apprehended that the prize within their grasp might for some time longer be withheld. He was not altogether without hope of getting it in a short time, provided the country did its duty. He believed Sir Robert Peel's intentions were honest, but he was powerfully opposed by the monopolist party; and on that account he required the ardent support of the country to enable him to carry his measures. The Dundee Chamber of Commerce had frequently declared itself in favour of Free Trade, and he hoped that they would agree to do everything in their power to carry it into effect.

Mr. EDWARD BAXTER regretted the delay which had taken place in passing the Corn and Customs' Bills through the House of Commons, which was operating injuriously to the agricultural and commercial interests. Since these bills had been proposed it appeared that the rents of land on leases in England and Scotland had risen very considerably, and the land also had increased in value. This fact showed that these bills would be beneficial to the landed interest; for they tended to stimulate improvements in the cultivation of the soil, to induce competition, and would increase the amount of farming products. It showed also that the interests of the agriculturist and manufacturer were the same, and intimately blended. The delay in the progress of these bills had already had a very injurious effect on commerce. On many articles in the Tariff, as butter, cheese, wool, and timber, the duties were greatly reduced, while on others—as maize, rice, cattle, &c.—the duties were to be entirely removed. No one would venture to import these important articles of commerce, until a greater certainty was obtained as to the final passing of these bills; and trade in them was at a stand. Mr. Baxter said he had received a private letter from London, expressing doubts if these bills would pass the House of Lords, and that a protectionist Government might even be attempted. He thought such would be very short-lived; but there was a great uncertainty as to the future progress of these measures, as indicated by the great difference in the price of free and bonded wheat, amounting to 5s. per quarter on Dantzic, and 6s. per quarter on Rostock. He then adverted to the loss which would fall on the importer of Indian corn, if he were required to pay the present heavy duties which he had given bond to do in case these bills should not become law; and, after stating the pleasant and nutritious qualities of this new article of food, which he had used in his family, concluded by moving the following resolution:

"That it appears, from the accounts received from various parts of the country, and which are confirmed by the experience of the members of this Chamber, that the protracted discussions on the Corn and Customs' Bills have produced a stagnation in the commerce of the country, and a suspension of the previous activity in manufactures, which, if it be not arrested, will be attended with the most injurious consequences to all classes of the community."

Mr. T. W. MILNE could not conceive it possible that the Premier's measures should not ultimately become the law of the land. They were founded on the broad principles of justice and equity. In fact, the trade of the country was suffering most severely from the delay which had already taken place. That was one reason why they should urge upon Parliament the necessity of immediately passing those measures in order to prevent the evils which would ensue from delay. He would, therefore, second the resolution. The resolution was put to the meeting, and carried by acclamation.

Mr. ALEXANDER LOW begged to propose the second resolution,—

"That this Chamber, while it expresses entire confidence in the ultimate triumph of the principles of Free Trade, is of opinion, from the present state of the country, that every legitimate means ought to be employed for the purpose of getting the Corn and Customs' Bills passed into law with the least possible delay; and, in accordance therewith, resolves that petitions to both Houses of Parliament be prepared; that the merchants of Dundee be recommended to sign them; and that they be forwarded for presentation—the one to the House of Commons, to the Right Honourable Sir R. Peel, and the other to the House of Lords, to the right hon. Lord Kinnaird."

The resolution which they had heard would recommend itself, and therefore it would not be thought necessary that he should say much in its support. The Chamber had often spoken its mind in favour of the principles of Free Trade. He agreed with them in what they had done on that, and nothing had occurred to make him change his opinion. They had witnessed the beneficial effects on the industry of the country by the partial removal of the restrictions which had been effected by Sir Robert Peel. This was a powerful argument in favour of Free Trade, and clearly showed the difference between truth and error. They should take every step in their power to give effect to principles which would be so beneficial in their results. The repeal of the Corn Laws would improve the condition of millions of their population. He did not think any party opposed to the principles of Free Trade would venture to carry on the Government of this country. If they did, the attempt would be a failure. The working classes had already felt, and were again beginning to feel, the effects of the want of Free Trade. Several branches of business were in a state of stagnation. Provisions were rapidly rising. The price of potatoes was double of what it was last year. There were many reasons to induce them to petition Parliament to pass these Free Trade measures. The population was increasing rapidly. Without Free Trade it would be impossible to supply the people with the necessities of life. There was no way of doing that but allowing them to exchange their labour for the bread of other countries. He had full confidence in the ultimate triumph of Free Trade principles. Should the House of Lords be so far left to themselves as to refuse their assent to them, they would find, at no very distant day, that they would have to agree to a larger measure than the people were now demanding. Should the British lion be roused, the nobles of the land would find that his ire would not be directed to a defence of a continuance of their monopoly. Holding these views, and considering the position which the Chamber held, he thought it their duty to do everything in

their power to strengthen the hands of Sir Robert Peel, in order to enable him to carry his measures. He would, therefore, propose that the Chamber should give their assent to the resolutions.

Mr. THOMAS NEISH seconded the resolution proposed by Mr. Low. In doing so he felt confident it was unnecessary to say a word to ensure its unanimous approval. He had so often on former occasions addressed the Chamber on the subject of Free Trade, that he would not take up the valuable time of the meeting on the present occasion by pointing out to them how necessary it yet was to give every support to their power to Sir R. Peel for the immediate passing of his Corn and Customs Bill. Other towns were already up and doing; and Dundee should not be behind in so good a cause. Instead of attempting, however, to make a speech, he would, with the leave of the chairman, read a letter from London, dated Thursday last (hear, hear), which stated much better how matters stood than anything he could say, and would also show the meeting that, although there might be a screw loose, it was not the one many of them suspected. The letter stated that there were last week many suspicious as to the sincerity of the Premier with regard to the Corn Bill, and all kinds of whispers in circulation. He (the writer) had endeavoured to ascertain the truth; and although no admirer of Sir Robert Peel, he had every confidence that he would prove determined and upright. The Irish Coercion Bill was an ill timed interruption; but the Duke was to blame; "he had done it all," and having agreed reluctantly to the Free Trade measures, he was determined to have his own way in this matter, and have another trial of the rule of Toryism. It was very generally believed that mischief was brewing in the Upper House; and therefore every town and village in the empire should lose no time in showing every possible demonstration for the purpose of supporting Sir Robert Peel and his tariff. In again seconding the motion, he begged to observe that, as it was proposed to forward the petition for the House of Commons to Sir Robert Peel, it had just been suggested to him (Mr. Neish) that it would be better to send it direct to their own member, Mr. Duncan, with a request that he would communicate with the Premier on the subject. He thought that it might be as well to do so; and hoped that Mr. Low would agree to this alteration in the resolution.

Mr. Low had no objections to the alteration proposed by Mr. Neish. He thought that the petition should be signed by the members of the Chamber instead of being signed by the chairman only; and that the directors of the Chamber should send along with it, as had been done in Manchester and Liverpool, a list of the number of persons employed by those who adhibited their names to the petition, to the member whom they should select to present it.

Mr. EDWARD BAXTER agreed to Mr. Low's suggestion, regarding the petition being signed by the members instead of by the chairman. In the House of Lords the petition of any public body or corporation, however numerous or influential, signed by the president, was regarded as being merely the petition of a single individual.

The CHAIRMAN concurred in all that had been proposed in the resolutions, and agreed to what had been suggested by Mr. Neish regarding the petition being sent to Mr. Duncan. That gentleman had on all occasions done the town's business most cheerfully, and it would only be complimentary to intrust the petition to him at first, and to furnish him with the information alluded to; and, if he thought it proper, he could communicate with Sir Robert Peel regarding its presentation; and there was no doubt if it was transmitted to him in the manner suggested, that he and Sir Robert would arrange matters so as to bring it before the house with the best effect.

After some observations from Mr. Johnston, Mr. Neish, and others, it was agreed that the petition should be signed by the members of the Chamber and transmitted to Mr. Duncan, and that that gentleman should be requested to confer with Sir R. Peel as to its presentation.

Mr. NEISH said, there was another matter deeply affecting the interests of the Chamber, which he wished to direct their attention to, although it was not connected with the business on which they had been called. He hoped the Chairman would allow him to notice it. They were aware that Mr. Bell had been summoned out of the premises in which the present Post Office was kept. It had been proposed that the Office should be removed to a small shop in Reform-street having only one front. The present premises, although by no means equal to what the town was entitled to, or its trade required, had the convenience of two fronts. The premises to which the Post Office was to be removed, might be well enough adapted to a country village, but it was by no means what Dundee, having seventy thousand inhabitants, and the second commercial port in Scotland, required. He therefore thought that the Chamber should memorialise the Government upon the subject, without delay, and endeavour to get more suitable accommodation.

Mr. BALFOUR said that Sir R. Peel would give for answer, "Subscribe money among yourselves, and you shall have a commodious Post Office."

Mr. NEISH.—Three years ago Sir R. Peel would have refused to give anything like a repeal of the Corn Laws, but look what he is doing now (laughter). But whether successful or not, now was the time to try (cheers).

The CHAIRMAN said, he did not think it regular that the Chamber should enter into the discussion of other questions when the meeting had been called for a special purpose; but as the one brought before them was of great importance, he should submit it to the Directors, and call a meeting to consider it on an early day next week.

After giving a vote of thanks to the Chairman for his conduct in the chair, the meeting separated.

DISTRESS OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.—Meetings on the subject of relief and employment continue in the northern and western counties. Some of the grand juries decline to act under the Public Works Act of the present session. The Clare grand jury, on Friday, agreed to a resolution to the effect that it would be inexpedient to take any expensive measures under that Act, as the regular presentment sessions are so near at hand, and as steps have already been taken to provide employment extensively in this district. Sir Lucius O'Brien, the lieutenant of the county, declared that "at this moment the people are starving, particularly in villages."

Nearly one hundred horses, and other property, belonging to various coachmakers running east of the metropolis, have, within the last few days, been taken in execution for arrears of duty to the Crown. At one sale the stock horses, previously valued at 7*l.* or 8*l.* each, realised between 11*l.* and 12*l.*, which is solely attributable to the scarcity of horses of that description required for working omnibuses.—*Essex Standard.*

IRISH DISTRESS.

DUBLIN, APRIL 11.—Such is the extent of misery and suffering already produced by the failure of the potato crop, that the Tory journals here have ceased their denials; but not until Conservative landlords, such as Sir Lucius O'Brien, Lieutenant of Clare, have cried shame at the heartlessness and baseness of the conduct pursued by those journals in denying the existence of scarcity or high prices, when, as Sir Lucius remarked, at the meeting of the Ennis Poor Law Union, the people are actually starving, and endeavouring to support existence on black and fetid potatoes! I request attention to the observation of the honourable baronet, who is an excellent resident landlord, and totally incapable of sacrificing truth and the safety of the people to factious objects or personal or selfish interests. It is to be feared that there are many Irish landlords not wholly exempt from such an accusation. I have collected the latest accounts from the country, and certainly they present an appalling picture of distress and suffering. A considerable number of the resident gentry are co-operating with zeal in the benevolent work of providing against famine and pestilence; but there are many others who appear utterly indifferent to the calls made upon them at this period of calamity.

The following details are abridged from the provincial journals received this day:

FAMINE IN BALLYLONGFORD AND THE PARISH GENERALLY.—At about nine o'clock on the morning of the 6th instant some hundreds of persons assembled and repaired to the residence of the parish priest, the Rev. D. McCarthy, from whom they demanded immediate relief, which, they said, could not be postponed many days, or if so, that necessity would oblige them to resort, first to him, by slaughtering his cattle. The reverend gentleman remonstrated with them on the impropriety of their proceedings, but promised to represent their awful situation to the proper authorities. They subsequently paid similar visits to Mr. Stephen C. Sandes, of Carrigafoyle House, and also to Mr. William Hickie, of Kileton house, J. P., who, I am informed, was not a little annoyed at seeing the "*posse comitatus*" approach, as he immediately commenced a preparation for a siege, abiding his well-known motto, "No surrender;" but on being informed of their purpose, he promised to come forward as liberally as any other gentleman in the neighbourhood, and to represent their wants to the Government, upon which they returned to their homes peaceably. I have only to add, that if something be not done, in the way of providing employment, and that immediately, for the numerous starving population of this place, Providence alone can tell what consequences will follow.—*Ballylongford Correspondent of the Tralee Chronicle.*

BRAY, APRIL 7.—This day, while the board of guardians were sitting at Loughlinstown, county of Dublin, about 40 able-bodied men came together from the town of Bray, and sat down opposite the gate of the poor house. Some of the guardians went to know what they wanted, when they replied they wanted either work or relief. The guardians agreed to admit one or two of them to the board-room, when it was explained to them that the guardians could not relieve them out of the house; but were ready to admit such of them as were destitute, and their families likewise. The guardians desired those two men to go to the rest of their party and tell them this, which they did; upon which they all went quietly away. It was stated to them that a meeting would take place in Bray on Thursday next, to apply to Government to relieve the poor of that district.

COUNTY OF CLARE.—ENNIS, APRIL 9.—Potatoes are now in our market sixpence a stone for the best quality, and, as there are not any offered that are not diseased, we may add to this price an additional penny for waste. Oaten meal is two shillings and threepence a stone—that is, at the rate of eighteen pounds a ton. Very great distress, indeed, prevails.

HEADFORD, APRIL 13.—The *Galway Mercury* of Saturday, says:—"In this district, as well as others, the progress of the potato blight is exceedingly rapid, especially within the last few months. At the last market the prices reached from 4d. to 5d. per stone, and this was paid for loads not entirely free from disease. Several families have been, for weeks back, endeavouring to sustain life on bad potatoes, and many more, not having even that, are indebted to their neighbours for the means of subsistence."

CORK.—The *Cork Reporter* of Saturday, says:—"The relief committee have, we rejoice to say, thrown off the Castle incubus, that weighed like a night-mare on their energies. To day there are six depots selling out Indian meal, which arrived by the Nimrod, on Thursday, at 8d. per 7lbs., 10s. 8d. per cwt., just 2d. per cwt. over the rate the Commissary charged for the six tons he gave the committee, for he fixed the price, not at 9s. 4d. per cwt. (a penny per lb.) as expected, but at 10s. 6d. per cwt. We pray the public to remark that that price, 10s. 8d., will cover, we understand, the cost of the Indian meal, bought this very week in Liverpool, after a considerable rise had taken place in its price, and after paying the freight and charges of bringing it per steamer, while the Government, for meal ground from corn bought months since at first market price, directly imported here, charge within a mere fraction of that 10s. 8d. Was there ever anything so monstrous? Yes, there is something more monstrous still—they refused to give it to a starving people, even at that exorbitant price. The committee, besides the Indian meal, are retailing whole meal to the people at 1½d. per lb., which will meet the fears of those who think that the Indian meal alone, however cooked, may not agree with the constitutions of our people. The following letter contains the Government ultimatum in respect to supplying, or rather denying, to the starving poor of our city any portion of the Indian meal stored by the authorities:

"Castle, Dublin, April 9, 1846.

"SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 5th inst., inquiring for the information of the relief committee of the city of Cork, whether it is the intention of Government to permit them the use of Indian meal from their depot at Cork, and am directed to state in reply, that depots for the issue of Indian corn meal are now forming in the country; but it is intended to reserve issues from these depots for the more heavy pressure during the summer months, when farm labour shall have ceased, until which time it is expected that landlords and relief committees will exert themselves to meet the existing distress. These are the views of Government. The country is sure of the provision which is now collecting for them; but all parties must co-operate to reserve it for the most trying period, when it can be simultaneously applied for the relief of the whole country. Premature issues would be wasting these resources.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"J. P. KENNEDY, Sec.

"Rev. Wm. O'Sullivan, R.C.C., Cork."

CARLISLE.—The *Tipperary Free Press*, in announcing that Lord Stanley has given 100l. towards the poor relief fund at Cashel says: "His lordship is in receipt, we believe,

of about 20,000l. a year from his Irish property; and for the last ten years there has not been anything worth naming spent in Ireland."

TUAM.—Our accounts from various parts of the country are most discouraging. In some localities they have not even the seed, and in these districts best off not more than a fortnight's or three weeks' potatoes will remain after the seed. The price of potatoes in Headford market last Tuesday was, for lumpers 4½d., and good seed so high as 6d. This part of the country, which usually abounded in plenty of the best description of potatoes, has scarcely sufficient for seed. At Tuam market this day, they are selling at 5d. per stone.—*Tuam Herald.*

GALWAY.—The relief deputation appointed by the local relief committee waited on the Lord Lieutenant on Thursday, at the Castle, and acquainted his Excellency with the sad condition of the people, and the necessity of providing them immediately with food and employment. His Excellency promised immediate attention to the memorial, and caused all the officials of the Relief Commission, of the Commissariat, and of the Board of Works, to assist the deputation in their object. His Excellency urged the necessity of local subscriptions, and directed the deputation to sign the memorial, to have them responsible for the statements it contained, as it would be made public use of with all despatch. The deputation then waited upon the relief commissioners, and Captain Kennedy having accompanied Mr. Stephens to Sir Randolph Routh, the commissary-general, that gentleman promised to give orders for the Rhadamanthus steamer to load with Indian corn in Cork, to be stored in Galway, and that an officer of the commissariat department would be here on Tuesday next. Valuable assistance was rendered by the Very Rev. Dr. Kiwan in the interviews with the officials of the several departments to which the deputation were referred; he also put down his name for 20l. as his subscription to the Local Relief Fund; the Rev. Mr. Eyre and Francis Comyn, Esq., have promised a subscription of 10l. each.—*Galway Vindicator.*

PLUNDER OF A PROVISION BOAT.—On Wednesday morning, as the smack Maria, the property of Mr. John N. Russell, of this city, was proceeding from Limerick to Clare, laden with flour and Indian meal, she was boarded near Smith's Island, in the Clare river, by about fourteen armed men from a lighter, who ordered the crew (three men and a boy) into the cabin. They held possession of the vessel over six hours, during which time they took away about one hundred sacks of prime flour and twenty of Indian meal, valued at 250l. They then departed, first ordering the crew to remain at anchor at their peril, until they returned for the remainder of the cargo. This order the crew did not obey, but started instantly for Clare, and were pursued by a boat filled with armed men. Mr. Russell's agent (Mr. Reardon) at once reported the occurrence to the magistrates and police. Warrants are issued, and about 30 sacks of the flour have been recovered. Several boats that were passing at the time of this outrage were ordered to anchor, and had to remain so during the day, with the exception of the Dublin Company's boat, the Royal George, which was allowed to proceed unmolested. Mr. Richard Russell left yesterday morning for Ennis, to aid in recovering the property, and discovering the perpetrators of this audacious outrage. He returned last night, having discovered 51 bags of flour belonging to his father, hid under the ground near Harler's Cross, on the road from this city to Ennis.—*Limerick Examiner of Saturday.*

APRIL 14.—DISTRESS OF THE PEOPLE.—RIOTS IN CLONMEL.—CALLING OUT OF THE MILITARY.—The patient endurance of the Irish peasantry, with famine staring them in the face, whilst abundance of food is exported from every harbour, is, perhaps, unprecedented. I sent you a day or two since an account of an open air meeting of the famishing peasantry at Tory-hill, county of Limerick. They had determined at length to take their own case in hand, in the hope of devising some means of providing labour or food. Yet, when the Catholic priest of the parish, with one or two other inhabitants, known to be well-wishers of the poor unemployed labourers, spoke some words of admonition and hope, the thousands of starving men, women, and children, departed peaceably to their cold and comfortless cabins. Amongst the town population of Clonmel, famous for its numerous and extensive corn mills, there has been less of patient endurance. Accounts of food riots reached town this day, and are thus noticed in the *Dublin Evening Post*:

"A correspondent in Clonmel, whose letter is dated yesterday afternoon, writes to say that the greatest excitement prevails in that town, owing to an attack made by the peasantry on some carts laden with provisions, and under an escort of military. Two troops of dragoons and a party of artillery, that arrived from Cahir yesterday morning, were despatched to Marlfield Mills and Distillery, upon which an attempt at plunder had been made. Happily no lives have been lost, as the military succeeded in driving back the people without firing on them."

Another letter states that the populace had attacked some flour-mills on the River Suir, adjacent to the town, whence large quantities of flour were about to be exported for the English market.

The other accounts received to-day describe the distress as daily becoming more alarming. Read, for instance, the account given by a Conservative paper, the *Clare Journal*, of the allocation of the money subscribed by the 66th regiment. Sixty famishing beings are to be provided with employment, and the selection is made with as stringent a regulation as if some rich office or fat benefice were to be conferred by a minister of state. The people known to have one meal per day—one insufficient meal of coarse food in the 24 hours—are excluded from the fortunate number who are to obtain 1s. per day out of the labour-fund subscribed by the officers and the privates of the 66th regiment. Yet in this very county of Clare the Marquis of Thomond has a vast estate, although nothing at all like the amount of ready money possessed by Mr. and Mrs. Gerrard, of Gibbstown.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE POOR REMEMBERED.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

SIR,—The following excellent letter was addressed to me a few days ago, by a few thoughtful, feeling, and benevolent persons, in Sheffield, Yorkshire. It speaks for itself, and its contents have already spoken to the poor through my humble medium. Have the goodness to insert it in your "great fact" paper, and you will oblige,

Yours faithfully,

Bicester, Oxon.

W. FERGUSON.

Hall Carr Terrace, Sheffield, April 1, 1846.

DEAR SIR.—It is with deep regret we see the wretched condition to which the farm labourers in your district are reduced; but we rejoice that they have found such an able advocate of their cause, and benefactor (so far as you have it in your power) to relieve their distresses yourself.

We, a few friends to suffering humanity, who meet at Mr. Joseph Outram's Black Swan Inn, have subscribed 5l. 15s. 6d. towards their relief, and regret the amount is not larger.

Please acknowledge the receipt; and if it is not asking too much of you, be kind enough to give us a statement of a few such cases as you experimentally have found, and the manner in which you dispose of the trifles sent.

Yours respectfully, in behalf of the Subscribers,

N. PEACE.

P. S.—We have sent 6l. 9s. to Mr. Burrowes, editor of the *Independent* newspaper of Devizes, for the same purposes.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

"What thou doest, do quickly."

SIR,—Permit me, through the medium of your "great fact" paper, to inform my Free Trade friends that I have just purchased and given away among some of the most needy and deserving of the peasantry of our neighbourhood, about sixty bushels of potato seed. I have not yet finished this part of my daily work. In a few cases, I have rented a chain of potato land for the use of honest and sober men—yes, men who are willing to work; but, as no man will hire them, they have it not in their power to pay for a chain of land. One of these men, John Waldoek, of the town and parish of Bicester, in the county of Oxford, has a wife and five children to support out of nothing. Waldoek has been married 13 years, and has had but one whole winter's work during the whole of these years; neither has he had constant employment during the summer part of these years. It is not to the protectionists of our high church county, but to some of the Free Traders of Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, London, Dudley, &c. &c., that John Waldoek and others are so deeply indebted for the beds on which they sleep, for the bread upon which they have lived during (some of them for weeks, and others for several months) this winter; and also for their potato land, and the seed which they are now planting. Waldoek's touching and heartrending case is a fair specimen of others which I could furnish, to demonstrate that the peasantry in districts purely agricultural are what I have for seven years said and published concerning them, and that is "a ruined wreck."

I assure those friends who have put it into my power to assist those who have been made slaves by protection to an extent to which they have never been before assisted by any man, or by any number of men, in either the county of Oxon or Bucks, that I have done my best to clothe the naked and to feed the hungry. I now begin to feel the effects of walking from village to hamlet day after day, up to the ankles in water and mud, and wet to the skin, to deliver others from the jaws of hunger, and from the grasp of the winter's cold blast. I have shaken one of the strongest of constitutions to its very centre, and with the exception of my own partner, I have had no one either to encourage or to help me. The general remark made by my easy and old-fashioned neighbours has been—"I wonder who sends Mr. Fergusson money to do all this for the poor people? What business has Fergusson with the state of the people? Why don't 'em go to be soldiers? There is no work here for 'em."

The following receipt, which I received the other day for the money which I paid for Waldoek's potato land, will show what kind of education the mechanics of our district have received at the liberal hand of protectionists:

"He have reseve the som of 6 shilens of Mr. Ferkeson for chren of perturer land. "Paid.

"1846 Apriel 9."

There are as many overgrown and stagnant ditches and wild hedges in our neighbourhood as would keep scores of idle hands employed cleaning and dressing them for many months to come. But no; the health, comfort, and honesty of thousands must be jeopardised rather than that the things which are wanting should be set in order.

The most intelligent and extensive farmers with whom I have conversed in our district are most anxious that Sir Robert Peel's measure should become law without any more delay; and as to the tradespeople, they are out of all patience with the unmeaning rant and absurd cant of protectionist members of Parliament.

Permit me to thank you, sir, for the leading article in the *League* of Saturday, April 11th, 1846. That article should be published in a small tract, and circulated in tens of thousands. My own Free Trade creed embraces both of the views to which you have given a real form and living character in that article.

I seek the total abolition of the unrighteous Corn Laws, because I feel the deepest interest in whatever promotes the happiness, comfort, and elevation of man.

I am happy to add, that I am just about to send four able-bodied single young men into Cheshire, where they are to be employed at good wages as farm servants. Your's respectfully,

WILLIAM FERGUSON.

King's End, Bicester, April 14th, 1846.

FARMERS! KEEP YOUR MANURE DRY.—Suppose that any of the married men in this company was to get hold of his wife's tea-pot, after she had done with it, and was to dry up the leaves carefully, and bring them to her for her tea the next morning, I would just ask you, whether she would be likely to find out the trick or not? I imagine she would not be long in discovering the cheat; and I might venture to guess he would find out to his cost, that, if that was the way he was to keep her in tea, she would soon find out the way to keep him in hot water. Now, if the wife would feel so indignant at being supplied with tea that had been wet two or three times, how ought the farmer to feel who was supplied with manure that had been wet two or three hundred times? It is true the farm cannot fight its own battle so well as the mistress, but there is such a thing as passive resistance; and you may depend on it, that in the harvest, the farmer will be made to feel, that in cheating his land, by giving it manure which has lost all its strength, he has been, in fact, cheating himself, and that this may have a worse result even than cheating his wife.—*Mr. Blacker, at the late Market-hill Meeting.*

Thanks to Father Mathew, there was only one case of drunkenness amongst the Irish population of Manchester brought before the magistrates on the day following the national feast of St. Patrick.

An opium sale which lately took place at Calcutta produced the enormous sum of 800,000l. sterling.

MR. COBDEN'S SPEECH in the House of Commons on Friday, February 27th, 1846—Revised. Price One Penny, 16 Pages.

MR. BRIGHT'S SPEECH in the House of Commons, on Tuesday Night, Feb. 17. Price One Penny.

MR. GIBSON'S SPEECH in the House of Commons on Monday night, Feb. 18. Price One Penny. Leaving Office, 67, Fleet-street, London; J. Gadsby, Newall's buildings, and 4, Old Millgate, Manchester.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, April 15, 1846.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

As the regulations of the Post Office require that the Christian Name of the party to whom Post Office Orders are sent should be given in full, subscribers are respectfully requested to procure their Orders in future for GEORGE WILSON, League Offices, Manchester, or ABRAHAM WALTER PAULTON, 67, Fleet-street, London.

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*Massey, Thomas, Moreland-road, Burslem	1	0	0
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*Hunter, George, Side, Newcastle-on-Tyne	1	0	0
*Barrow, Roger, Claremont-place, do	1	0	0
Hills, E. S., Granger-street, do	1	0	0
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Nemo, do	0	5	0
Thomas, E. and W., Zara-street, Manchester	0	5	0
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Kirby, Joseph, Buckingham	0	2	6

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Bennett, Eli, Church-street	1	0	0
*Mills, Charles, York-street	1	0	0
*Porter, Robert, Hooley Bridge	1	0	0
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Dawson, A., bobbin turner	0	4	0

*Chambers, George, High Green House	2	0	0
*Wynne, A. and L., Bernard-street	1	0	0
*Simpson, Thomas, Duke-street, Park	1	0	0
Wood, Brothers, High-street, Park	0	8	0
Major, Mrs., Broad-street, Park	0	2	6
*Sissonite, Josh., Park	0	2	0

*Worsley, Thomas	1	0	0
*Ashcroft, Wm., Habsall near	1	0	0
Edge, Mr., solicitor	0	10	0
Dennett, Rev. James	0	10	0
Garside, Wm. H.	0	10	0
Abraham, Rev. A., Netherton, nr Liverpool	0	10	0
Kaye, Ralph, Aughton	0	5	0
Dobson, Henry, Maghull	0	5	0
Charnock, John, Burscough	0	5	0
Thomas, John	0	5	0

*"The Laird," per S. Neish	4	0	0
*Ferguson, Wm., and Son	4	0	0
*Duncan, Peter	4	0	0
*Ewan, John	4	0	0
*Bell, Thomas	4	0	0
Dundee.	2	0	0
*Jaffie, Brothers	2	0	0
*Westland, James	2	0	0
*Guthrie, James, St. Andrew-street	2	0	0
*Duncan, John, do	2	0	0
*Henderson, Wm. and Son	1	0	0
*Lawson, Alex.	1	0	0
*Petrie, David	1	0	0

*Latham, John, town clerk	2	0	0
*Johnson, Charles	2	0	0
*Broadhurst, James	2	0	0
*Johnson, Thomas, Bank House	1	0	0
Snelson, Edward	0	2	6
Mackery, Samuel	0	2	6
Bayley, Samuel	0	2	6
Thompson, Samuel	0	2	6
Whalley, Aaron	0	2	6
Snelson, George	0	2	6
Parr, Edward, draper	0	2	6
Bayley, Joseph, tailor	0	2	6
Hurrop, Frances	0	2	6
Frost, James	0	2	6
Joyce, Edward	0	2	6
Foden, Charles	0	2	6
Farrington, G.	0	2	6
Herdman, G., grocer	0	2	6
Robinson, Thomas	0	2	6
Goldkay, Joseph	0	2	6
Fillingham, Rev. Wm.	0	2	6
Barton, Nathaniel	0	2	6
Loach, Joseph	0	2	0
Loach, Peter	0	2	0
Small Sons	0	7	0

*Tothill, Wm., Stoke	40	0	0
*Charlton, James, Ashley Hill	20	0	0
*Tackett, Philip D., Frenchay	5	0	0
*Charlton, R., St. George's, Gloucesters.	5	0	0
*Davies, Thomas, St. James's-place	2	0	0
Gibson, Robert, 4, York-street	0	5	0

*Ridgway, Thomas, 4, King William-street, City	50	0	0
*Dillon, John, Fore-street, Cripplegate	40	0	0
*Brown, George, 3, Finsbury Circus	40	0	0
*Travers, Joseph, & Sons, St. Swithin's-lane	40	0	0
*Prescott, H. J., 55, Old Broad-street	20	0	0
*Prescott, W. G., 62, Threadneedle-street	20	0	0
*Moffatt, George, M.P., 85, Eaton-square	20	0	0
*Tennant, C., Sons, and Co., 101, Upper Thames-street	20	0	0
*Crompton, Henry, White House, Putney, Surrey	10	10	0
*Hodgson, Thomas, Lambeth-street, Goodman's Fields	10	0	0

*Dewar, David, Son, and Co., King's Arm Buildings, Wood-street	10	0	0
*Morley, John, 18, Wood-street	10	0	0
*Morley, John, jun. do	10	0	0
*Morley, Samuel do	10	0	0
*Burnley, John, and Sons, Batley	6	0	0
*Plater, John, Castle-street, Carlisle	5	0	0
*Silver, Thomas Temple, Woodbridge, Suffolk	5	0	0
*Edmonds, Thomas, High-street, High Wycombe	5	0	0
*McAlpine and Nephew, 63, Broad-street	5	0	0
*Venning, S. M., 12, Pancras-lane	5	0	0
*Porrett, Robert, Ordnance Office Tower	5	0	0

*The Workmen in the Employ of Messrs. Maudslays, Sons, and Field, Lambeth, per Geo. Day	4	0	0
*Hill, John, East Gate, Chichester	3	3	0
*Cook, T. A., Walker Alkali Works, Newcastle-on-Tyne	2	0	0
*The Workpeople of Messrs. S. and J. Holland, Head House, Bighouse, near Huddersfield	1	5	6
*Wilson and Ware, 11, Aldermanbury	1	1	0
*Smith, John, Elm Tree House, Haverstock Hill, Hampstead	1	1	0

*Doyd, James, jun., 59, Mark-lane	1	1	0
Curtis, Stephen, 40, Finsbury-street	1	0	0
Garney, Alfred, 19, Hedge-row, Islington	1	0	0
*Wallis, Thomas, 48, Fenchurch-street	1	0	0
*Keeley, John, 4, Sugar-loaf-court, Leadenhall-street	1	0	0
*Johnson, John, 48, St. Martin's-lane	1	0	0
*Hennell, C. H., 7, Brickhill-lane, Upper Thames-st.	1	0	0
*English, Wm., 8, Tredegar-place, Mile End Road	1	0	0
Hilton, Wm., North-street, Hailey, Staffordshire	1	0	0
*Fennell, Mr., Bury St. Edmunds	1	0	0
*Cudston, W., Bungay	1	0	0
*Hickson, Samuel, 162, High-street, Chatham	1	0	0
*Machin, R., tea-dealer, Nottingham	1	0	0
Raymond, C., 3, Finsbury-place	0	5	0
Munn, Alex., 23, Charlton-street, Somers-town	0	2	6

* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed subscriptions.

A HISTORY FOR HOLIDAY CHILDREN OF ALL GROWTHS.

By REUBEN.

Being an account of the notorious robber, C— L—, now under sentence of death. Originally written for the Newgate Calendar.

PART THE SECOND.

CHAPTER I.—Of the fortunes of the farmers not being as foretold; of his new instructions by the tinkers; of his journey in Hampshire, when he met Captain Swing, of Swing; of what happened to Hampshire.

Time to write, space to print, patience of readers to read, will not permit us to follow the career of C— L—, in all its events, incidents, turnings, fallings, risings, devices, and frauds; swindling under the guise of friendship, thieving under cover of secrecy, robbing by the strong arm of might, murdering when victims were too weak and too poor to withstand him. It would take as many volumes of large size, as we have chapters here, to contain the record of those things.

In the years of his age, 11, 12, and 13, the country people, and the farmers particularly, complained somewhat bitterly to the tinkers that their fortunes had not been truly told; that C— L— had deceived them; that in watching over them in the dark to keep away the ogres who had two heads and three heads, and who lived in the north among coal pits, black chimneys, fly wheels, spindles, shuttles, and clanking hammers, things went a missing, although he said he had allowed no ogres to come there to steal. Moreover, he said in 1825, that he had killed half the ogres of England, and so wounded the other half that they could not move from home; that they could not even move one of their wheels, nor spindles, nor shuttles, nor make their chimneys smoke, nor clank their hammers, nor go down into the coal pits, nor stir one of their ships out of the docks; he said that all the ships, like all the machinery, belonged not to men, but to ogres with two heads, and three heads, and he had so levelled them with the earth, and the worms of the earth, that they would never get up their heads again, and that the farmers would therefore live in peace and plenty; the ogres would no longer live on human flesh; they would not be able to run after human creatures to catch them, nor could they come again to the farmers' barns for corn, on which to feed the human creatures which they caught, to make them fat enough to eat; and he promised to show the farmers some of those dead ogres some day, or their heads—as a rat catcher shows the tails of the rats he kills, to get his payment.

However, he drew his payment first; and soon after, the farmers heard that the ogres were coming alive again, that ships were going out of the docks, engines were moving, wheels revolving, spindles whizzing, shuttles flying, chimneys smoking, hammers clanking, and the ogres once more putting up people to get fat for themselves to feed on, cramming them with farmers' corn, as farmers cram turkeys before drawing their necks; and hearing this, they were in great distress, and they applied to the tinkers, who in their turn applied to their little imp-of-all-work, C— L—. He pended that he did not tell the farmers their fortunes—that it was the tinkers themselves who did so; and if their fortunes had not come true as told, he could do no more than he had done.

Upon which the tinkers once more, when they came up to Westminster to cry in the streets, "Pots and Kettles to mend," held counsel together; and they agreed that the owners of the farmyards in the country, from which they pillaged, were becoming too knowing for them, and too much dissatisfied.

They agreed that they must set C— L— to work in another manner, and they must take another method of telling the farmers their fortunes; and they must not tell the same fortunes to the same men; they must promise something to all, which probably might be fulfilled. At all events, they must make a new movement, for the country people were beginning to watch their hen-roosts, pigsties, barns, stables, corn-ricks, potato-stores, and dwelling-houses, and that if they, the tinkers, did not delude them afresh, they would be themselves outwitted.

So they put C— L— under a new course of instruction in the 12th and 13th years of his age (1827-1828); and he went down into the country with some new tricks in the 14th and 15th years of his age.

In the latter of those years (1830) he was travelling in Hampshire one day, and on the road between Whitechurch and Winchester, at a village called Sutton Scotney, he made a pause, intending to renew some of his operations there. He had been in the village before, and knew every house in it, and was sure he knew every member of every family. But he now saw a person standing in the midst of a group of idle hungry men—men whom he himself had made idle and hungry. He did not know this person; but their eyes met, and they scanned each other closely—rigidly.

C— L— looked upon the stranger's face, until he looked through him. He looked until he saw that the places where eyes should have been had no eyes; that they were only holes with light in them, resembling red tinder burning in the dark. And underneath a black cloak, which covered the stranger, C— L— saw his entire body, which was nothing more than a skeleton. The skeleton put its bare, bony fingers forth, as if to shake C— L— by the hand, and the latter put forth his hand; but when he touched the skeleton's fingers, he felt that, horrid as they looked, they were not even bare bones,—they were thin matches of dry touchwood, tipped on the ends with sulphur. They spoke:

SKELTON: "Those hands are at thy service, and this (taking his head off, and opening his skull, like a tinder-box, and lighting his finger-ends thereat), these are at thy service. Thou hast come on a mission of destruction, as thou hast come before; make it short, quick, decisive, and do not let the lingering bodies of hungered life bring forth more monsters of thy engenderment as they have brought forth me. For terrible is life like mine."

C— L—: "Who are you?—and what—what is thy name?"

SKELTON: "My name is Swing. I am the embodiment of all the hunger that has been by you created. In me the essences of all the pangs of Sutton Scotney and Barton Stacey are concentrated. I am the representative of bodies worn to leanness, and in me has been deposited the dark secreties and the smouldering passions that bury and grow in hungry men's brains. Welcome enemy of human happiness and peace! Foe of life itself, welcome to Sutton Scotney! We need thee to complete the work begun."

C— L—: "What wouldst thou with me? thou wouldst not have me to commit a crime?"

SWING: "Crime! Hast thou not already laid waste the fields, and wrung the farmers' heads awry, to look at all things or at nothing, or at anything, so that they did not look at their own farmyards, to detect you and those who sent you? Hast thou not torn the very last mouthful of bread and bacon from the workers in the fields, giving them, when they dropped from hunger and the toil of labour, a cold potato for their out-field dinner? Hast thou not worn their hands to the bare bone, and their hearts to something lower and harder than a bone, by laying them lower than the beasts which are fed, or the very worms, or snails, or meanest grubs, which can feed themselves? Crime! You ask if I would allure you to commit a crime? You, who have robbed by violence, and murdered when all was yielded to you! You, who have scuttled ships and laid waste the commerce of a nation until the very grass has been rank on the wharfs and streets, and green weeds have grown in warehouses, only equalled in number and greenness by other grass and other weeds on the graves of the thousands whom you have crushed and torn the life out of. Talk of a crime, indeed! I only ask you, in mercy to the sufferers, to do your work quickly. I am here to help you."

C— L—: "You are an excellent fellow, Swing, but you mistake me. I have not the least objection to your using that tinder-box brain of yours and those touchwood fingers. I can even tell you where to go, and you shall earn my gratitude and that of my nearest relatives and best of noble friends. Go to the north, to the country of the ogres, with two heads and three heads—they are not men; you may roast them alive in blazing cotton, flax, wool, and the oil of their abominable factories, and no respectable person will say it is evil you have done. You may even take the ploughs and harrows of Hampshire with you; pull down the ruins of those ogres' dens—the factory towns—plough over the ground on which they stand, harrow it, and cast all their rubbish of engines, wheels, spindles, shuttles, hammers, forges, and everything of theirs, which you have not in the first instance burned, into the sea, and England will be as great a country as she is now, and as happy; Hampshire more happy and better fed."

But to open that tinder-box head of yours in Hampshire, where my friends, the tinkers, so often resort for a sucking-pig, a goose or two, a few fowls, and for provender to their asses; where I have so often and so successfully come to replenish the banks of the dicing tables of my noble friends and patrons in London, by using a little legerdemain among the farmers, and some boldness and force of arms among such people as those of Sutton Scotney; where also we have foretold such good fortunes to the farmers, so very often, to get them to comply with our demands, or to get them to shut their eyes and open their mouths, and catch what we would send them; to operate with your touchwood fingers and tinder-head here, Mr. Swing, would not be to me convenient. Not that I am tender in the conscience as to the sin of the thing, for I must confess I have often done as bad things myself, though not quite in the same way. What I object to is the inconvenience of setting fire to one's own house, as we may say."

SWING: "I believe you, C— L—, when you say it is not a matter of conscience with you, but convenience, not to light the torch which I offer to put into your hands; but you will be nevertheless the incendiary, and shall be known as such. This day you have come to Stacey and Sutton to steal bread, to bring away a portion of the food of the poor, who are already reduced to the most meagre diet, that the luxuriously fed, who employ you, may be still more luxuriously fed and gorgeously housed, and still more recklessly supplied with recklessly spent treasure. Now, listen to me; take one more loaf from the daily bread, leave one less potato this night, screw the worm of hunger one inch further into

the bodies of the working poor, and more stackyards in Barton Stacey than one stall—

A contemporary laugh from C— L— interrupted the sentence. He turned away, and proceeded in his usual manner to visit the flour-mills, bakers' shops, cottage cupboard, and every place else where he could fetch a morsel of food that would help to raise money for his splendid associates and noble patrons in London.

Swing also turned away, his skeleton joints aching, and the concentrated pains of all the hungry stomachs of the two villages, Stacey and Sutton, wringing in his empty framework of bones. Where he went to then was not known.

But that night, at the dead hour of the night, at the side of a wheat rick upon a farm of 1000 acres or more in Barton Stacey parish, where the farmer paid a high rent to a lordly landowner, kept three hunting horses for his own use, rode after the hounds often, and looked after his farm seldom; paid his ploughmen less than what purchased enough of bread (after C— L— had his share), and compelled them to go to the fields to plough with cold boiled potatoes in their pockets—on that farm that night, at the dead hour of night, Swing for the first time opened his skeleton head in earnest, and drew forth the burning tinder, put his sulphur-tipped fingers to it, lighted them to a flame, and put the flame to one wheat-rick, and then to another; and from that farm he ran to another; and again he did the same next night elsewhere; and again and again.

Still, day after day, he continued to meet C— L—, and to implore of him to have mercy on the Hampshire peasantry, not to reduce them to skin and bone, and a potato diet entirely, but to leave them their bread, if not the bacon and the beer, which they were once accustomed to; and he wrote letters by every post to the tinkers related to C— L—, and to his noble and exalted associates, imploring them, and sometimes threatening them, if they would not listen, but always signing his name "Swing," to have mercy on the working men of Hampshire, and not starve them by means of C— L—'s visits, and the distraction and deception which C— L— introduced among the farmers; but the noble and exalted would not listen. The poor were made hungry to make the nobles more rich. New fortunes were foretold to the farmer, and they listened not to the cries of the hungry—they were taught to have no dependence on them; but to depend wholly for the safety of their barns and rickyards on C— L—.

And the barns and rickyards were not safe. In the day time throngs of men assembled in the roadways to look upon the ashes and the wreck of the preceding night. At night, the invisible Swing made more ashes and more wreck for them to look upon next day. They had often been told by C— L—, and the tinkers his relatives, what a terrible thing it was for the ogres with two and three heads to have wheels, and spindles, and shuttles, moved by steam engines, and how marvellous it was in any human being to speak against, and sometimes to kick against, the machinery of the ogres. So they thought it must be no better for the farmers to have threshing machinery; and in their wrath against the farmers and C— L—, and against machinery, they did not discriminate between the machines of farmyards and the machines of factories. They would have destroyed all if they could; they could not, so they destroyed what was nearest them.

And the farmers who had been foretold fortunes of peace and plenty by the tinkers, were now mounted on horseback, with swords girded round them, galloping in troops with the swords drawn from the scabbards, cutting and leaving down the mobs of men from whom C— L— had stolen the means of subsistence; and these men with plough staffs in their hands, and sledge hammers, were breaking the heads of the well fed, and the doors of the affrighted. And columns of infantry, troops of dragoons, companies of artillery, with cannon and bullets and gunpowder; and judges with powder in their rigs; and lawyers in long gowns, almost as numerous as the soldiers in scarlet coats; and hangmen with ropes, and nooses, to their ropes, went down to Hampshire among the lean labourers who had been robbed of their bread by C— L—, and drove them into corners, and caught them in the ropes, and hung them up by the necks until they were dead.

About which time the nobles who danced at Almack's, and dined at Crookford's, required of C— L—, when he came up to town with the penicillitis and ha'porths of bread, and bits of bacon, and Lord, and dripping, which he had stolen for them, that they, the dancers and the dicers, might be supplied with money—the produce of these mean thefts being the perquisites of those mean nobles. About this time they hated in the quadrilles, and lifted their eyes for a moment from the dice tables, and asked what noise and disturbance that was down in Hampshire?

CHAPTER II.—Of the years of his 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20, when nobody looked to what he was doing; of the gear when he was 21, and the constable of Wolverhampton, who took him into custody; of the birth of a young giant in the land of the ogres; of C— L—'s new expedition to slay the ogres; of his meeting with the young giant; of the terrible battle they had.

(This chapter, being very long, and narratory only of recent and well-known facts, must be omitted.)

CHAPTER III.—Of C— L—'s arraignment before the magistrates by the young giant; of the evidence produced against him; of his commitment to Newgate; of his trial and condemnation; of the attempt of the more desperate of his late associates to effect his rescue; of their failure; of the uncertainty of the time of his execution.

(This chapter must also be omitted.)

CHAPTER IV.—Of the increasing uncertainty about his fate; of the erection of the gallows; of the morning of the execution; of his old friends, who went to see him knocked off; of what happened.

The uncertainty rose higher, sunk deeper, extended wider every day, and every hour of the day. A few hoped the convict would escape, millions feared he would escape, and part of both laid wagers. As the accomplished layer of wagers on the turf backs his own horse, and would not back a competitor with his own were he strong in hope that his own would win the race, but bets in favour of others because he is not sure that his own will win the race, and sometimes bets heavily against his own through secret agents, because he knows his own will not win—cannot win; so did some of the sporting lords and gentlemen—"old pals" of C— L—, bet heavily, through secret agents, that he would be hanged, though they were sincerely desirous that he should escape. Such thorough sporting men were they, so used to betting, so imbued with the spirit of gambling, that they

could not refrain from the game of chances even on the fate of a friend. And so accustomed were some of them to "hedge," to be always winners of something, to take in the green ones, and to secure a large part of a lonely income by "hedging" their bets—that is, laying privately against what they betted publicly, that they could not help "hedging" on the fate of their own friend; though backing him resolutely, they yet knew that the chances were largely and heavily against him; and they, wagering always, wagered now that he would be executed.

Thus did the confused uncertainty become more confusive. The condemnation of C— L— fell upon society like a stone plunged into still water; and each of the fresh rumours of his fate was like another stone plunged into the same water at another place, the commotion of each confusing all, and being confused by all.

At last, one evening, at the hour of twilight, men with pickaxes, with one or two spades, a waggon with two score of strong wooden posts, and as many or more strong railings of squared timber, with sharp edges—these sharp edges to be laid in such a way, when fixed on top of the posts, that those who might climb upon them to obtain a prominent seat would have at best a seat so uneasy, that they would not sit on it long. There were also iron rods of great strength, to stay those wooden barriers, by one end being bolted to the posts, and the other end sunk into the street; so that if the crowd was dense, and the temper of it warm, and its motions dangerously unsteady, it might (there being also double lines of policemen within those railings) be prevented from breaking into the open space round the gallows.

How the coincidence of legislators choosing to make the laws in the night-time, and the workmen who put up the gallows to hang those who break the laws choosing to do their work also in the night-time,—how this coincidence is to be accounted for, I cannot tell. But, as the clock of St. Sepulchre's struck half-past seven, and the darkness had closed in thickly enough to make the top of St. Sepulchre's steeple just barely visible, at that hour the men with the pickaxes began to loosen the stones in the street where it is wide, and where the wooden pavement does not reach, to put in the posts of the outer barriers; and then they laid the strong rails on the posts with the sharp edges uppermost, to make the seat uneasy for those who attempted to sit thereon.

And little ragged boys from Field-lane and Saffron-hill, and out of Turnagain-lane, and all the regions of Smithfield and the Old Bailey, came round the corners, first peeping slowly, then walking more boldly, to look at the men with the pickaxes and the hammers, and the nails and the iron rods. And those who came last asked those who came first what was going to be done. And when they were told that a man was going to be hanged, they said, "Crikey! let us get on the front rails to see him." And when they were told it would be ten hours yet before he was brought out upon the scaffold, and that the erection of the scaffold and the "fatal beam" had not yet begun, they said, "What of that; won't it be a lark to sit all night, to be in the front in the morning?"

And when midnight came, and the black scaffold was erected, and the beam above the scaffold, and the rope was fixed to the beam, and the noose was made to the rope, and Mr. Jackson had tried how it would run, and found it would run very well, other people came and took their places as near the front as they could get, and the Old Bailey began to fill.

Now, if the reader will call to mind what the shape of a funnel is, by which liquids are introduced into a bottle, and imagine what like this funnel may be, if a child gets it to play with and hammers in one side of it at the widest end, and bends the other side out near the widest end; and if the reader will suppose this funnel to be three hundred yards long, instead of five or six inches, he, standing at the mouth of it, will see something like the Old Bailey. And if he will further imagine that, where the funnel's narrow pipe joins the widening part, the gallows has got into it, and is sticking there, and will not let another drop pass into the bottle, or down into Ludgate-street, as the case may be, he will imagine a simile which is real. If, further, he will suppose that the frothy liquid poured into the funnel, which will not let it through, resembles the excited multitude, which is stuck fast and cannot get out, save by running over where more is pouring in; and again, if he will fancy a hand shaking the funnel to make it hold more, and every atom of matter endowed with the power of speech, or so much speech as shall hail its neighbour with an oath, or some known face, seen wedged amongst shoulders at the opposite side, with "Don't go too near; you'll be there soon enough," pointing to the gallows; or if he will fancy cries of "He's coming; he's coming! hats off! hats off!" when nobody is coming; and fancy what like a street would look if paved with ten thousand human faces all turned up, young and old, male and female; some of the faces red and excited, some pale and fainting, most of them dirty, and all contorted with pain suffered by twenty thousand elbows punched into as many sets of human ribs; and if the reader will imagine farther that the police have made a gangway above the first row of railings, and that among those ragged boys, who sit "below the gangway," and who have sat there all night in hopes of a good place, painful though the sharp edges be upon which they sit, that among them are the Young Englanders from the purlieus of Westminster and Piccadilly, old companions of C— L—; and among them the somewhat ancient phizzes of Ben of Shrewsbury, and Peter of Evesham, with Lord G. B., Lord W. L., and other notorious swells from the "flash kens" of the West End—all come to see an "old pal knocked off," if the reader can put all those things before his mind's eye, he may form some idea of what the Old Bailey was like on that memorable morning when the gallows was erected to end the days of C— L—.

The reader might further imagine that he saw the windows of the adjoining houses, and the roofs also, occupied by the nobles of the land (which is no unusual thing at executions), and other strangers who had gained admittance there, and were looking down on the crowd below and the gallows which was to hang C— L—, as if they were in the gallery of the House of Commons during a Corn Law debate; but we shall not press this resemblance.

We shall now leave the crowd, and the gallows outside, and proceed into the interior of Newgate, to the condemned cell.

The unhappy criminal sat up an hour later than usual on the previous evening, writing letters to his nearest relations, which he put into the hands of the turnkey, by whom they were handed to the governor. He then went to bed, and slept soundly. And having directed the turnkey to call him at six o'clock, he rose and dressed himself, and partook of a plentiful breakfast of coffee and buttered rolls. The clasp-

lain then, in the hearing of the sheriffs, asked him once more if he had anything to say before he quitted this life; and he said in an audible voice, which all could hear, "I did it." Upon which the sheriffs said, "Did what?" And he replied, "Took the coffee and bread and butter from them." And the culprit shed a flood of tears, which, when dried, he said had made him happy, and he would now die easy, and would tell all. And he then gave an account of the robberies and appalling murders which he had committed.

His arms were then pinioned, during which operation he only remarked that they need not make the ropes so tight; he had no wish to escape. And then he said, in a mournful voice, "I have been brought to this by not minding what my catechism taught me; it was bad companions brought me to this. Neighbours all, farewell!"

But as he spoke those words, an unusual sound was heard in the passage leading to the cell; feet were tramping and voices speaking. The sheriffs went out and came in again, and then they communicated to the convict that he was respited until sometime after Easter. Hearing which he fell backward; and when we left the cell, he was lying on the table.

The commotion outside, on the news being carried thither of the respite, was indescribable. The young L—xes and their father, a well-known old tinker, all associates of the criminal, were seen throwing their caps in the air; as was also Lord G. B. and the other ragged boys, who sat all the night on the sharp railings below the gangway. The greater part of the multitude, however, gave utterance to their disappointment at not seeing C— L— executed and done with. No business, or almost none, was done on that day by those interested in his fate, and very little, it is said, since.

The holidays being ended, so is this history, and C— L— still lives.

AGRICULTURE.

A PENITENT MONOPOLIST.

It is now little more than two years ago that the monopolist lords and squires, landowners of Hertfordshire, assembled their tenants together at St. Albans, to form a county "protection society."

Nowhere have fictitious statistics, erroneous reasoning, and virulent invective, been more called in aid of the "protectionist cause" than they were at the St. Albans meeting in February, 1844. And amongst the speakers on that occasion there was no one who launched forth more reckless assertions, or coarser abuse than the Earl of Essex. Yet the Earl of Essex has, at length, seen the error of his views, and with courage and manliness has come forward openly to avow the change. This occurred at the Watford Farmers' Club, of which his lordship is president; and his speech is important on two grounds: first, it marks the complete change of opinion going on amongst the aristocratic landlords and the peers; secondly, it proves the profound degree of ignorance which has hitherto existed amongst the dominant class, in this country, the landowners. The Watford Club met to hear a lecture from Mr. Clutterbuck, on "tenant rights," in which the subject appears to have been treated with much good sense; for the lecturer, after enlarging upon the benefits of improved farming, said that "in every instance where a tenant is prepared with sufficient capital, there is nothing like a good, a long, and a liberal lease."

That is a proposition we have often enforced; and we say again, that all attempts to frame any system of tenant right, *without a lease*, is a mere make-shift; and, in truth, is little more than adapting what is called "the custom of the country" to modern and improved husbandry. "Tenant right alone cannot attract capital to the cultivation of land. It may, to some extent, save yearly tenants from such barefaced pillage as they are now occasionally subjected to, but it never can give independence to the farmer, or certainty to his business; and such seems to be Mr. Clutterbuck's view, for he said, "the difficulty of the question lies in this point only, how existing tenants, who hold from year to year, can receive a guarantee for that outlay of capital, which, at the time of their quitting, may be fairly said to be unexhausted in the land, and which would fairly entitle them to compensation."

And a resolution in favour of the "consideration of tenant right" was unanimously agreed to by the club. The members then dined together, and after dinner the Earl of Essex made his recantation of monopolist errors in a speech, from which we extract the most important passages. His lordship said:

"At no period of our lives—at no period in the history of our country has it ever been, I think, so absolutely necessary for all who are connected with agriculture to exert themselves to the utmost, not only to advance themselves in the profession they have chosen, but even to keep their heads above water (hear, hear). That prop on which you have been accustomed to lean for years past, and which you have been accustomed to consider as conducive to your success—that prop, I believe, is about to be removed. That broken reed—protection, which you have long been ac-

customed to depend upon, is about to be taken from you, and therefore I think you will agree with me that if ever it was essential, it is now more than ever essential that you should exert yourselves."

Doubtless this is sound and sensible; and after the earnest part taken by Lord Essex in teaching the contrary, he deserves some credit for the acknowledgement of the now undeniable truism. But before we proceed to the noble president's analysis of the state of the farming mind, we must note the fact that the tenant farmers had pretty nearly arrived at the same wholesome conclusions two years ago, when his lordship and his fellow "protectionists" acted upon their fears, their credulity, and their want of information, by telling them "that Free Trade in corn would destroy, to a ruinous extent, all capital now vested in agricultural operations, bring desolation and misery on the agricultural labourer, and prove destructive to the landed interest;" for such was Lord Essex's language at St. Albans. His comments upon farmers must therefore be received, subject to the remark that he is a new convert. It is right here to mention, that in thanking Mr. Clutterbuck for his lecture, Lord Essex had said in the morning:

"He was ready and willing to give his word and his bond to remunerate his tenants for all permanent and unexhausted improvements, or to afford any other security to his tenants to induce them to farm in a liberal manner."

And he referred to the custom of the late Lord Leicester to require his tenants to possess capital to the extent of 10*l.* per acre. At the dinner, after the passage before quoted, Lord Essex remarked, that in all great measures, however generally beneficial, some persons usually suffer, and added:

"On this occasion there are two classes of farmers who are more liable to be injured than any others. The first class comprehends all those who have hitherto been farming without capital—men who, I should say, and I say it with greater freedom, because I believe there are none here who are in that situation—men who never should have been farmers at all; because it is clear that if there is an occupation in which, owing to the vicissitudes of the seasons, capital is absolutely necessary, it is the occupation of farming. I, therefore, frankly and freely say, that if those who are farming from hand to mouth, as it is termed—men who ought not to be farmers, should suffer from this change, however much we may be sorry for the individuals, yet we shall not be surprised (hear, hear). The next class of men is those who, having capital, possess not sufficient confidence in their own energies, or in the productive powers of the soil, to employ that capital to the best advantage."

For the last class, retirement from husbandry would be the best course, but

"There is another class who have capital, and who, I believe, cannot better employ it than by putting it on the land; for of this I am convinced, that if you behave liberally and handsomely to the land, she will return a liberal and handsome interest. Those men who have the courage to avow and to throw over their ancient prejudices, and who possess minds sufficiently enlightened to induce them to adopt all known improvements—those men, I believe, will live to see the day when those measures will confer the greatest benefit upon themselves and the country, and they will arrive at a pitch of prosperity hitherto unknown. They will find that which they have hitherto been disposed to depend upon is most fallacious; they will find that it robbed them of one-half the energy which, as Englishmen of intelligence, they ought to possess; they will find that they have hitherto been ignorant of what they themselves are capable of doing, and of what the soil of England is capable of producing; they will find themselves as ignorant in those respects as a man who, having been accustomed to go upon crutches all his life, is of what he could do if the use of his limbs were restored to him (hear); they will find that what is commonly called "high farming" as the course which they must in future pursue; that they must not fear liberally to use the great advantages of farming with sheep and artificial manures, which last I look upon as a positive gift of Providence; above all, they will find it necessary to increase their quantity of live stock; they will find it necessary to have such crops of turnips that they may still continue to keep as large an amount of sheep as they now do, and still be able to carry a third, or a fourth, of the crop to the yard to fatten bullocks, and thereby make such an increase in the quantity and quality of the dung as shall repay them (hear, hear). I believe it is more for the advantage of all of us to grow four quarters an acre at forty shillings, than three at fifty shillings. So, with regard to meat; I should wish to see so great a quantity of meat raised in this country that the farmers could afford to sell it at two thirds of the prices it is now fetching. What would be the consequence of that? Why, that those who now eat meat once or twice a week at the utmost, would eat it two or three times a week, and thus, as regards the producer, the increased consumption would more than equal the diminution in price."

Now this is just what we have so long been saying, and for which we have been so roundly abused by his lordship and his fellow monopolists. He then referred to the practice of manufacturers, saying:

"Now, with respect to the manufacturers, I believe that this measure will prove most beneficial to them, and I am firmly convinced, from the sympathy which exists between the manufacturing and the agricultural interest, that whatever is advantageous to, and conducive to the prosperity of, the manufacturer, must conduce to the interest of the agriculturist. One great cause of the prosperity of the manufacturer was this—notwithstanding he has had taxes of all sorts to contend with, and also a high tax on the raw mate-

rials which he manufactured, he has proved himself superior to all the other manufacturers of the world, and has competed with and beaten all the world; he has employed his capital liberally and skilfully. On all occasions he has adopted the new improvements in mechanics, and invariably profited by the advantages which science, in its various branches, could confer upon him. And I would venture to hold out the same inducement to you, and say, the judicious and liberal employment of capital will enable you, as it has enabled the manufacturer of this country, to compete—and that successfully—with the wide world."

True, most true, Lord Essex.

We cannot, however, avoid the suspicion that his lordship is a recent convert to "high farming" no less than to Free Trade—that he belongs to that numerous and increasing class of landowners who deem the light of agricultural knowledge to have first broken upon the rural world since the formation of the Royal Agricultural Society—look upon guano as a specific, and imagine modern machinery will do as much for the farmer as it has done for the manufacturer. Now we do not undervalue any of these things, so far as they go; but we should be false to that interest we have at heart—that of the industrious agriculturists, the tenant farmers, and farm labourers—did we not protest against the notion that there is any royal road to husbandry. Success in farming, as a business, must be the result of much steady, cautious, and persevering industry. Neither do we think that tenants whose capital does not come up to the approved standard of 10*l.* per acre ought to be regarded as men who should "never have been farmers at all." A very considerable proportion of the tenantry of England are farming with less than half that portion of capital, and it can never be supposed that they can be suddenly replaced by men of full capital, or that landlords will immediately abandon their prejudices and their systems which repel capital from the cultivation of their estates. But the capital the farmer has may be made available for increased production by adopting longer rotations of crops, keeping a smaller portion of his land in grass, and cultivating that portion more completely than he has hitherto done. By such means he may increase his stock, and gradually acquire the means of a higher system of farming. For such a style of farming, a lease is no less indispensable than for one by which the whole farm is at once highly cultivated. In many cases the landlord might take away some of a farmer's land, and thereby increase his profits, though so general is the custom of taking too much, that it would be difficult to make the ordinary farmer accede to that proposition. But to return to Lord Essex's speech. He then thus manfully referred to his former errors:

"Many of you, no doubt, have been surprised, after hearing me address you not long ago at the meeting at St. Albans on the subject of the Corn Laws—you must have been surprised, I say, to hear me express the sentiments I have just uttered (hear, hear). Gentlemen, I own—and I do so with a feeling somewhat akin to shame—that the sentiments I then expressed were adopted by me at the time when Providence first cast me among you, previous to which period I took but little interest in this subject. I found myself cast among those whose lot was fixed to the soil, and whose whole interest and prosperity were dependent on the soil, and at a moment when the subject of the Corn Laws first became most interesting. With that facility which most people are too apt to show in adopting opinions that apparently favour their own interests, I adopted the opinions of those among whom I was classed, and I take shame to myself, when I say that I did so without duly inquiring and fairly considering the subject. I continued to maintain those opinions until I saw that the question was coming to a crisis; and then I found, after deep consideration and strict inquiry, that those opinions were erroneous. I saw that the crisis would shortly arrive, when, in the House of Lords, I should be called upon to give a vote upon this question, and I then felt that my preconceived opinions, however honest they might have been, were not sufficient grounds on which to give a vote on this deeply-important subject. I felt that as a member of the House of Lords, I was bound to reconsider the question—as an honest man to give an unbiassed vote; and therefore to devote the same attention and give the same good consideration to every argument and statement made on one side of the question, as I am ashamed to say, I had hitherto given only to those on the other. The result was, that I came to the conclusion that the fears which are entertained on this subject will prove erroneous. I have already stated that I believe the new measure will be productive of great good. When I consider the progressive state of the population of this country—a population increasing a thousand souls a day—I cannot believe that the farming of this country, however much it has improved, can possibly keep pace with that increase of the population. When you consider that the first want of all people is a sufficiency of food, I think you will allow that the measure is justified by the circumstances of the times; and I would have you take my word for it, that the employment of capital, and the exercise of skill, will not be injurious, but will produce this effect—that both the employed and employer will be ultimately more happy and prosperous."

To such a frank confession every Free Trader must respond, and as frankly adopt his lordship into the brotherhood of those who seek to untram-

mel British, aye human, industry. There is one point, however, on which we wish Lord Essex had spoken as explicitly—namely, game. Our readers will remember his controversy with Mr. Horncastle his tenant, on the subject of game preserving, in which the earl having been worsted, turned the tenant out of his farm. We hope that his lordship implied his own abandonment of game preserving when he said he was ready "to afford any other security to his tenants to induce them to farm on a liberal scale." Assuredly the tenant can have no "security" unless he has complete power over the game.

GAME LAW JUSTICE.

WHO SHALL WATCH THE WATCHERS?

We have of late rather abstained from adverting to the Game Law nuisance, because we have reason to believe, from the character of the witnesses examined before the *Game Law Committee* and their opportunities of knowing the evils of game preserving, that a case so conclusively condemnatory of the Game Laws will be made out as to render their speedy abolition imperative. There is, however, a case reported in the *Bury Post* of last week, which is so characteristic that it ought not to be withheld.

It appears that Mr. Cooper, of Ingram—who was examined before the Game Law Committee last year—had reason to suspect that he was robbed by his farm servants, in connection with some other person; and, after watching for a long time, he discovered that two of his barnsmen, in concert with a man named Dodman, a gamekeeper of the Rev. Mr. Benyon's, Mr. Cooper's landlord, were the thieves. They were apprehended; and though committed for trial for the felony, Dodman was forthwith bailed by the head keeper, under their master's direction, and the man is now again prowling about Mr. Cooper's farm.

The Rev. Mr. Benyon, we understand, is much addicted to the evil habit of game preserving. The following passage, from the evidence given before the magistrate need no comment. It was stated:

"When Mr. Cooper received the information in December, he was likewise told that a cave was actually dug in a plantation near his house, which contained about 30 acres, and was held so sacred for game that Mr. Cooper was not even allowed to go into it; and if his hens laid eggs there, it was almost a trespass if the boy went in after them; and his house and other dogs, if they ventured in, were trapped. Till he made the discovery about the cave, Mr. Cooper had never once entered the plantation, knowing how sacred it was held; but in December he went in, and there he found the cave, and corn in it; he afterwards went, day after day, to the cave, and found that the corn gradually diminished, then it became replenished; still by no possibility could he find how it was got there."

Mr. Cooper, when examined, stated:

"On the 25th of March, Richard Devereux, my yardman and foreman, by my orders placed himself in a blacksmith's shop which commanded a view of the road between my barn and the plantation, and of a path in the plantation leading in a zigzag direction to a spot where a cave was dug. That cave, I should imagine, is not an old cave—it is dug about 6 feet long, 4½ feet wide, and about 4 feet deep. It is covered with spars across it, and clods and moulds are thrown over it, so that it is nearly level with the earth. It would hold perhaps about 12 or 14 combs of corn. I went to Bury market last Wednesday week about ten A.M., and from information I received I returned home a little after one. I then changed my dress, and went to my yardman, who was near the blacksmith's shop. He told me what he had seen, and went with me into the plantation, and we found there two sacks with spruce fir boughs covered over them. One of those sacks is mine, my name being on it; the name on the other is obliterated, but I have no doubt that it is also mine. They were filled with the 'spoutings' from the machine when barley is dressed. I should say the two sacks contain at the least two, if not three, bushels of the best barley. I then secreted myself in the plantation by covering myself with the sere boughs and leaves. I remained there till a little after 5 o'clock, when I saw Dodman come into the plantation and go to the spot where the sacks were concealed by boughs, and look at them, and walk round them. He then walked away. A few minutes before six I heard a gun fired in the plantation, I do not know by whom. The plantation contains between 20 and 30 acres. A few minutes afterwards James Petch came into the plantation and went towards the direction from where the gun was fired. I then could see the legs of two persons underneath the trees. In about three quarters of an hour after the firing of the gun, Dodman came up (he had then a cap on, but on his first coming into the plantation he had a hat on) with James Petch from the thicker part of the plantation to the spots where the sacks were concealed. Dodman took one of the sacks on his shoulder, being assisted by Petch to get it up, and James Petch tried to take away the other. Dodman proceeded into the thick of the plantation in the direction of the cave. Petch being a small man could not get his sack, which weighed about 13 stone, away, though he tried to do so. The direction to the cave is away from my barn. I immediately got up and went to Dodman, and laid my hands on his shoulders, saying 'There can be no mistake about this question now: I have been watching you these three months, and now, my man, I have caught you plainly enough in the very act!' I had seriously suspected Dodman, knowing that as the plantation was so sacred for game, that any thing going on there must be with the keeper's cognisance. Dodman's reply to me was, 'It is only seeds, and I have paid the man (or men) for them—I gave them sixpence a sack for them.' Sixpence would not be the value of the contents of the sacks. There was in each sack at

least a bushel of barley worth three and sixpence a bushel, and the other parts, consisting of refuse seeds, &c. was worth about a shilling. Dodman then began to abuse me, and scuffle with me. I gave a signal, which I had agreed upon to my man Devereux, who then came up. When he appeared Dodman said to him, 'Holloa, Devereux, here is some of your old seeds.' Petch had no authority from me to sell seeds, nor has any one else in my employ, from my barn. I consume them myself, boiling them with linseed for the sake of the oil, after the plan recommended by Mr. Warnes, of Norfolk. Last winter I kept a quantity of bullocks on the oil from these seeds mixed with linseed and corn. The seeds were 'fat-hen,' and poppy seeds, and seeds of all descriptions. When these seeds have been very dry and very bad I have laid them where they might exhaust themselves by growth, so that they were not carried on the land. I do not allow them to be given away or sold to the keeper for the game, because seeds do not decompose in the bodies of fowls, and when they drop their dung the seeds lie and germinate; my land is too full already of the plants, and I want to prevent the evil being extended further. On the 16th of December, when I first went to the cave, I found in it about 50 combs of colder and ordinary barley (without seeds), of which I took away a sample, now produced. These appeared as if taken from the barn floor when threshing was going on."

Mr. Cooper then identified the sacks as his, and stated that the corn stolen was worth 8s. a sack. And added:

"On one occasion, about a month since, on going to the cave I found an obstruction to my drawing the faggot from the mouth of the cave, and, on stooping down to force the faggot away, I pulled the trigger of a spring gun. The noise and smoke quite unnerved and alarmed me, but I received no shot; I was too frightened to think of looking whether shot had hit any of the trees round about. The gun was attached to one of the rafters of the cave. Dodman has the care of the plantation, and is keeper. The property belongs to the Rev. E. R. Benyon. My barn door is about 10 yards from the entrance to the plantation."

The following is from the evidence of Devereux, Mr. Cooper's foreman, who had been set to watch when the discovery was made:

"He was, by his master, stationed as a watch in a blacksmith's shop, which had a wicker window at the side, from whence he could have a full view of the path from the barn up the plantation. He went into the shop about 10 o'clock in the morning, and at about 11 he saw James Petch go into the little plantation, or, neck of the bigger one, in a direction from Mr. Cooper's barn, with a full sack on his back. Witness could not see up to the cave, nor within 40 yards of it. He lost sight of Petch, but in about five minutes he came back again towards the barn without anything on his back. In about another five or ten minutes after that he saw him come again in a direction from the barn with another full sack on his back, and go in the same direction as before. He soon returned without any sack, and went towards the barn, and witness saw nothing further going on. James Petch could not have got the sacks on his shoulders without assistance. In about 20 minutes after witness left the blacksmith's shop, and went into the plantation in the direction he had seen Petch go with the sacks, and he found them under a spruce tree covered up with spruce boughs. They were full of undressed barley. He did not examine sufficiently to see if there were any marks on the sacks. He then left the plantation, and sent off to Bury for his master. He had been in the barn about an hour before he saw James Petch go into the plantation with the sacks. James and Benjamin Petch were the two only men at work in the barn. He saw there two heaps, one of spoutings and the other of screenings. One was a small heap—the other a large one. About half an hour after seeing the sacks carried into the plantation he went into the barn, where only the two Petches were. He found the small heap of screenings gone, and the large heap of spoutings much diminished. The Petches were uncle and nephew. In the spoutings there is a portion of good barley, in the screenings very little—the spoutings would be dressed again, but the screenings would not. He should say in the spoutings there would be pretty nearly half of best barley; in a sack of them he was sure there would be a bushel of the best barley. It was considered that spoutings always threw off the largest and best barley. Witness by his master's direction was on the look out in the afternoon. About 6 o'clock he heard a gun fired in the plantation, and soon after saw James Petch go into it by the same path as before. About half an hour after Mr. Cooper gave him a call, and he went to him; he found him with Dodman near, and one of the sacks by his side. Dodman said to witness, 'Devereux, I have got some of your seeds here.' He believed this was all that passed then. Dodman said nothing about buying them. On Saturday last witness met Dodman in his walks, and Dodman said, 'Well, Devereux, we have got into smoke,' or something of that sort. Witness replied, 'I don't know much about how that is.' Dodman said, 'I don't care anything about it, because I had never any thing off the premises, except what was brought into the plantation, and that I bought (or was allowed); I saw the two sacks lying in the plantation an hour before ever I touched them; I thought perhaps it might be a trap laid for me, and for that reason I would not meddle with them till the man came. I will defy the men in the yard, or about the premises, ever to say they saw me interfere with anything upon the premises, till the men brought in this, and they told me they had leave to sell it.' He also said he gave sixpence a sack for it, which he was always allowed to give for refuse seeds. Witness did not know of there being a cave in the plantation till Mr. Cooper told him of it. He had never been allowed, nor had others, to go into the plantation."

"The magistrate, the Rev. Mr. Bidwell, said it would be his duty to send both of the parties for trial; but he was willing to take bail, themselves for 50*l.*, and two sureties for 2*l.* each, or one good surety for 50*l.*, that they would appear to answer the charge at the next Quarter Sessions."

"Ayres, the head gamekeeper to Mr. Benyon, who at his master's desire had been present at the hearing of the case, instantly gave bail for Dodman, for 50*l.*"

"Several parties came forward to offer bail for Petch; but on being questioned by Mr. Bidwell, were not considered sufficiently responsible. Amongst them, was a man who had been convicted by Mr. Cooper, for felony; of course his offer of bail was immediately refused."

Of course the taking bail was only intended for the gamekeeper's benefit. We believe Mr. Grantley Berke-

ley, and other game-preservers of the "punch-in-the-head" school, assert that the gamekeepers and game-watchers are, at all events, effective protectors of the farmers' property, or so much of it as is not wanted to feed his landlord's game. What will the vermin-protectors say to this case?

MORE MONOPOLIST EVIDENCE FOR FREE TRADE.

It seems that Lord Abingdon, like the Marquis of Salisbury, is practically giving the lie to the loudly-made "protectionist" assertion, that Free Trade will drive poor land out of cultivation. The very reverse is the truth. Here is the practical testimony of a monopolist witness:

"CULTIVATION OF WASTE LANDS.—The Earl of Abingdon has for some time past caused employment to be given to a great number of labourers, under the superintendence of Mr. Druce, an eminent agriculturist, of Ensham, Oxon, in clearing a large tract of land, thickly studded with furze and gorse, at Cumnor, Berks, situate about three miles west of the city of Oxford, known as Cumnor-heath and Cumnor-hurst, a noted warren for rabbits, and also a harbour for other game, very much to the destruction of the adjoining crops, and which from time immemorial has been lying waste. Last year his lordship caused a portion of it to be cleared for agricultural purposes, and the results of the crops then produced were highly satisfactory, so much so, that during the past winter another portion has been cleared and planted, and during the present spring it is expected that the whole of it will be brought into good cultivation. Whatever the Earl of Abingdon's opinions may be respecting the measures of Sir R. Peel, it is scarcely necessary to inquire if he entertains the notion that Free Trade will either depreciate the value of land in this country, or cause it to go out of cultivation altogether; indeed, if we may judge from the great outlay in bringing this large tract of land into cultivation, and also that it is being carried out on the very eve of the downfall of protection, it may be fairly inferred that the contrary is his lordship's opinion. This is the commencement of a system which might be most advantageously carried out in the neighbourhood of Oxford, for within a few miles of that city there are upwards of 1000 acres of land which are comparatively of little value, but might easily be made available for agricultural purposes. We allude to Port Meadow, the property of the freemen of the city of Oxford and inhabitants of Wolvercot, containing between 500 and 600 acres of as rich and fertile land as any in the county of Oxford—the meadow is fed without stint all the year round (except when under water), and is only serviceable peculiarly to those parties who can afford to stock it—the poor freemen not having even the privilege of letting their commons.—*Times*."

EMIGRATION.—For the last fortnight our quays have been daily thronged with the fine and stalwart peasantry of this and the adjoining counties, preparing to emigrate to various parts of the transatlantic world. Perhaps upon no former occasion, even before the hope of railway employment was held out to the people, and when "Government grants" for their relief were never heard of, did the number of emigrants from this quarter exceed the proportion of the present year. Besides the various large and full freighted vessels which have left the quays of Cork direct for America, several ships were despatched to the west of the county, and had no difficulty in obtaining their full complement of passengers. The *Triumph* and the *Leviathan*, two large ships chartered by Mr. Marmion, of Skibbereen, went round to Berehaven a few days ago, and have since left the shores of that bleak district with over 200 passengers. The *St. Laurence*, the *Ponzola*, the *Albion*, the *Brothers*, and some other vessels, have proceeded or are about to proceed also for Baltimore and Berehaven, localities in which the destitution of the present year has been severely felt. Three hundred persons have been ready for the last fortnight to embark from Dingle, but not being able to get a ship to visit them sufficiently commodious for their accommodation, have been obliged to make the best of their way to Cork. Several vessels now lying at Passage will sail this day, among which are (from Mr. Murray) the *Marian*, for Quebec, with 250 passengers; the *Ocean*, for St. John's, with 200 passengers; and the *Bacha M'Evors*, for St. Andrew's, with 150 passengers. From the same office the *Princess*, the *Albion*, the *Lord Glenelg*, and his *Effingham*, will start some time in the present month. The *Effingham*, now lying at Cove, is one of the largest emigration vessels ever from Cork. She registers 1500 tons, and has accommodation for 500 passengers. The *Ellen* and *Margaret*, from the office of Mr. O'Neil, Merchant's Quay, and the *Urania* for Quebec, will sail this day for St. John's, New Brunswick, with about 240 passengers. The *Thomas Hungerford*, with 126 passengers, the *Woodland Castle*, 106 passengers, the *Champlain*, with 166, and *Princess Royal*, are also being despatched by the same agent. Many of these vessels are conveying cabin passengers, comfortable farmers, who do not like the prospects of the times at home. A great number of agricultural labourers are among the emigrants from the counties of Limerick and Tipperary. The *Adirandock* for New York, the *Pallas* for St. John's, and the *Coxen*, sailed since the middle of March, chartered at the office of Mr. M'Auliffe, and containing over 600 passengers—the vessels yet to be despatched from this office being the *Brilliant*, *Try Again*, *Ohio*, *Trident*, and *Liberty*, the aggregate freight of which will be over 1200 passengers. At a moderate computation about 9000 emigrants have, or within the next month will have left this port for America. It is to be hoped their anticipations will be realised. There can be little fear, however, that their condition could be worse, or their prospects more disheartening, than those which the "potato famine" in this country, little mended by the promise of Indian corn, had occasioned.—*La faim chasse le loup hors du bois*. To starve or emigrate are the only alternatives of the people.—*Cork Reporter*.

STATE OF TRADE.—We regret to state that the trade in this district is in a very languid state, and that a failure to a large amount has occurred during the last few days, which will very much affect the small manufacturers of Horton, Clayton, and that neighbourhood. Work at Mr. Rouse's mill has been partly resumed, in consequence of the Lord Chancellor having appointed a receiver and manager, and the differences among the partners having been to some extent arranged.—*Leeds Mercury*.

THE EARL OF ESSEX AND FREE TRADE.

The first annual meeting of the Watford Farmers' Club was held on Tuesday, the 7th instant, and was very numerously attended by the landlords and tenant-farmers of the district. After the routine business an animated discussion took place relative to tenants' rights, which terminated in the adoption of a resolution to the effect that the tenant farmer is entitled to receive from the landlord, upon quitting a farm, full compensation for any capital expended in improvements. The members of the club dined together in the evening at the Essex Arms, the President of the Society (the Earl of Essex) taking the chair.

The usual loyal and patriotic toasts having been drunk, The Noble Chairman rose to propose "Success to the Watford Farmers' Club." After alluding to the practically useful character of such associations, the noble Lord said, that although hitherto political topics had been excluded, yet he trusted he might be excused if he presumed to offer a few remarks upon a question of great importance to the agricultural community, and which had recently engaged the attention of the Legislature—he need not say that he alluded to the Corn Laws (hear, hear). At no period in our lives (said the noble earl)—indeed, at no period in the history of the country, has it ever been so absolutely necessary for all who are connected with agriculture to exert themselves to the utmost not only to advance themselves in the profession they have chosen, but even to keep their heads above water. That prop on which you have hitherto depended—on which you have been accustomed to lean for years, and which you have been accustomed to consider as conducive to your success—that prop, upon which you have so long relied is, I believe, about to be removed. I say that the broken reed, protection, which heretofore you have depended upon, is about to be taken away from you. The time is coming, gentlemen, when we must assist each other. I think you will all agree with me that if it was ever essential, it is now more than ever necessary that you should exert yourselves in order to evade that which you may at present regard as a calamity to the agricultural body. Let us calmly consider what is proposed to be done; and whatever the difficulties may be, let us endeavour to meet them manfully. No doubt, by a great measure of this sort, as by all great measures, however beneficial they may be to the mass of the people at large, some persons must suffer. That is the inevitable consequence of all great changes. On this occasion there are two classes of farmers who are more liable than any others to be injured. The first class comprehends all those who have been farming without capital—men who, I say, and I say it with greater freedom, because I believe there are none here in that situation—men who never should have been farmers at all; because it is clear, that if there is an occupation in which, owing to the vicissitudes of the seasons, capital is absolutely necessary, it is that of farming. I therefore frankly and freely say, that if those who are farming, as it is called, from hand to mouth—men who ought not to be farmers—if such men should suffer from this change, however much we may be sorry for the individuals, yet we shall not be surprised. The next class likely to be seriously affected is those who, having capital, possess not sufficient confidence in their own energies, or in the productive powers of the soil, to employ that capital to the best advantage. With regard to that class, I say that if, in addition to their unwillingness to employ capital, they should also feel an unwillingness to throw over their deep-rooted prejudices, and many of those antiquated ideas which still exist in the breasts of many farmers; if they feel themselves unwilling again to go to school, and to benefit by the advantages of science and the experience of others, both of which are now so lavishly offered them; if they are unwilling to enter the race of improvement which is now so general throughout the country; to those men, I must say, as their best friend, that they should leave their profession before they lose the remainder of their fortunes (hear, hear). For if they determine to stand still while others are advancing, they will find that those who are possessed of more energy and enterprise will outrun and cast them down. These are the classes of men who will suffer most from the great changes which are about to take place. There is another class, who have capital, and who, I believe, cannot better employ it than by putting it on the land; for of this I am convinced, that if you behave liberally and handsomely to the land, it will return a liberal and handsome interest. Those men who have the courage to avow and throw over their ancient prejudices, and who possess minds sufficiently intelligent to induce them to adopt all known improvements, those men, I believe, will live to see the day when these measures from which so much of evil is anticipated by them, will be found to confer the greatest benefit upon themselves, and the country in general; and agriculturists will arrive, I think, at a pitch of prosperity hitherto unknown. They will find that that which they have hitherto been disposed to depend upon as their best protection is most fallacious in practice; they will find that it robbed them of one-half of the energy, which, as Englishmen of intelligence, they ought to possess; they will find that they have been ignorant of what they themselves have been capable of doing, and of what the soil of England is capable of producing; they will find themselves as ignorant in these respects as a man who having been accustomed to go upon crutches all his life, is of what he could do were he restored to the use of his limbs. They will find that what is commonly called high farming, is the course which they must in future pursue—that they must not fear liberally to use the great advantages of farming with sheep and artificial manures, which last I look upon as a positive gift of Providence—above all they will find it necessary to increase their quantity of live stock; they will find it necessary to have such crops of turnips that they may still continue to keep as large a stock of sheep as they do now, and still be able to carry a third or a fourth of the crop from the yard to fatten bullocks, and thereby make such an increase in the quantity and quality of the dung as shall repay them. A few weeks ago, I saw in the yard of Mr. Reed, a tenant of mine, a number of fine, fresh looking bullocks, all of which had been kept on turnips, and which seemed in good condition, and ready for the butcher, without having cost beyond the value of the turnips upon which sheep had been fed at the same time. I would willingly see the same in the yards not only of my own tenants but of all the farmers of the country; and if that were the case—"a consummation most devoutly to be wished"—we should have abundance of corn and abundance of meat, the produce of our own soil, brought to market at prices, it is true, comparatively low with the present prices, but yet, by the abundance of the article, remunerative to the producer, and at the same time cheap to the consumer. Far from maintaining that high prices are necessary for our prosperity, I believe that

the prosperity of our interest and that of our fellow countrymen depend not on the high prices of articles, but rather on their abundance. I believe, for instance, it is more advantageous for all of us to grow four quarters an acre at 40s. than three quarters at 50s. So with regard to meat, I should wish to see so great a quantity of meat produced in this country, that the farmers could afford to sell it at two thirds of the price it now fetches. What, I ask, would be the consequence of that? Why, that those who now only touch meat once or twice in the week at the utmost, would be enabled to eat it three times in the week; and thus as regards the producer, the increased consumption would more than equal the diminution in price (hear, hear). Now, with respect to the manufacturers, I believe that the measures to which I have alluded will prove most beneficial to them, and I am firmly convinced, from the sympathy which exists between the manufacturing and agricultural interests, that whatever is advantageous to the one must be conducive to the welfare of the other. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that one great cause of the prosperity of the manufacturers was, that, notwithstanding they have had taxes of all sorts to contend with, and also a high tax on raw materials which they manufactured, they have proved themselves superior to all the manufacturers of the world. And let us see why so? Why, for this simple reason—the British manufacturer has employed his capital skilfully and liberally; he has, on all occasions, adopted new improvements in mechanics, and invariably profited by the advantages which every fresh discovery in science could confer upon him. I would venture to hold out the same inducements to you as agriculturists, and say that the liberal and judicious employment of your capital will enable you, as it has enabled the manufacturer to compete, and that successfully, with the whole world. I have urged that which I think necessary to enable you, as farmers, to stand up against the coming changes. I recommend you to employ skill, science, energy, and capital. Skill and energy will not cost you anything, you may acquire skill from books, and from the publications of all sorts in which is offered the experience of others; the energy must come from yourselves. But, perhaps, you will say that capital costs something. Granted; most of you who are now present, I have no doubt, attended the meeting before dinner, at which the question of tenants' rights was very properly discussed. I need not repeat what was there said in reference to the employment of capital in agriculture. Perhaps I may be permitted, however, to observe that, as a landlord, I have long been and am still convinced that the tenant-farmers of this country are entitled to ample remuneration for all the improvements which they may make in their landlord's property (cheers). If they have put manure upon the land, or have improved the buildings, and if they leave their farms before the expiration of the value of those improvements, I, as a landlord, do not hesitate to state that they are fully entitled to be remunerated for the value of their unexhausted improvements; and I say to my tenants now, that when they are willing to make improvements in the buildings, or by increasing the value of the soil, I pledge myself that when they leave any of my farms they shall be amply remunerated for the unexpired value of such improvements as they may have made (loud cheers). I am now anxious to say a few words in reference to myself, and to the course which I propose taking at this momentous crisis. Many of you, no doubt, have been surprised, after hearing me address you not very long ago, at the meeting at St. Albans, on the subject of the Corn Laws—you must have been surprised, I say, to hear me express the sentiments I have just uttered (hear, hear). Gentlemen, I own, and I do so with a feeling somewhat akin to shame, that the sentiments I then expressed were adopted by me at the time when Providence first cast me amongst you, and previous to which I took little interest in this subject. I found myself cast amongst those whose lot was fixed to the soil; whose whole interests and property were dependent on the soil; and at a moment when the Corn Laws first became a subject of prominent interest among all those connected with the land. With that facility which most people are too apt to show in adopting opinions that apparently favour their own interests, I fell in with the view of those with whom I was classed; and I take shame to myself that I did so without duly inquiring into and fairly considering the subject. I continued to maintain those opinions until I saw that the question was coming to a crisis, and then I found, after due reflection and strict inquiry, that those opinions were erroneous. I saw that the time was approaching when, in the House of Lords, I should be called upon to give a vote on the question of the Corn Laws. I then felt that my preconceived opinions, however honest they might have been, were not sufficient grounds to give my vote on this important subject. I felt that, as a member of the House of Lords, I was bound to consider the question—as an honest man it was my duty to give an unbiased vote, and therefore to devote the same attention, and give the same good and careful consideration to every argument and statement made on one side of the question, as, I am ashamed to confess, I had heretofore given only to those advanced on the other side. The result was, that I came to the conclusion that the fears which are entertained on this subject will prove unfounded. I have already stated that I believe the new measures will be productive of great general good. I see now that we have been accustomed to regard this question only in a partial light—that we have not hitherto taken that wide and comprehensive view of it which its vast importance demands. When I consider the progressive state of the population of this country—a population increasing at the rate of 1000 per day—I cannot believe that the farming of this country, however much it has improved—and no one is more willing than I am to bear testimony to the fact that it has improved, and is still rapidly improving—still, I say, I cannot think that the farming of this country can possibly keep pace with the increase of the population. That is a strong argument in favour of the new measure. When you consider that the first want of all people is a sufficiency of food, I think that you will allow that the law is called for by the circumstances of the times; and I would have you take my word for it, that the employment of capital and the exercise of skill will not be injurious, but will produce the most beneficial effect. Every class will unite for the general good, old animosities be laid aside, and ultimately both the employer and the employed will become more contented, prosperous, and happy. The noble lord concluded by proposing "Success to the Watford Farmers' Club," which was drunk with the usual honours.

Several other toasts followed, amongst which was "The health of the Earl of Essex, President of the Association," and, notwithstanding the surprise excited by the noble lord's unlooked for declaration in favour of Free Trade, the toast was drunk with much cordiality, even by some of the more zealous advocates of protection, a compliment paid, no doubt,

to Lord Essex in his private character as a landlord. Two or three of the subsequent speakers dissented from his lordship's view of the question, but the company separated in perfect good humour.

REGISTRATION APPEALS.

KNOWLES, Appellant, v. BROOKING, Respondent.

Judgment.—CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL.—The question reserved for our determination by the revising barrister in this case is, whether the notices of objection against the name of a person being retained on the list of voters for the borough, which notices were signed by him as objector, with the addition of the true place of abode, but being another and different place from that inserted against his name on the list of voters, are sufficient? The revising barrister held the notices to be sufficient; and although the question may be subject to considerable doubt, and one of my learned brothers, for whose judgment I entertain the greatest respect, thinks differently, the opinion I have been compelled to arrive at is, that the revising barrister's decision was right. The forms of the law notices on which the precise question turns are there numbered 10 and 11 in schedule B in the Registration Act, 6 Vic., c. 18; and it is on the construction of those forms that the question must necessarily turn. But it may receive some light from the consideration of the form numbered 4 and 5 in schedule A of the same Act, and also from the form, since repealed, given in schedules H and J in the statute 2 Wm. IV., c. 45. The form in question, numbered 10 and 11 in schedule B, concludes thus: "Signed, A. B., of —," then there is "place of abode" in parenthesis—"on the list of voters for the parish of —;" and the appellant contends that these outer words operate as a direction given to the objector that he must fill up the "place of abode" by inserting it against his name "on the list of voters." But the respondent, on the other hand, contends that the words meant no more than a simple allegation that the objector's name is on the list of voters, as it was required it should be by section 17 of the statute; for it is to be observed, that the 17th section requires only that the name of the objector shall have been inserted on the list of voters for the borough, and that he shall give the notice of objection to the overseers, according to the form numbered 10 in the schedule B, "or to the like effect; or that he shall also cause to be given or left at the place of abode of the person objected to, as stated in the same list, the notice according to the form numbered" in the same schedule. So that the question substantially turns upon the construction of the form so referred to in the statute. And it appears to me that, looking to the concluding words of those two forms, they could not in any manner qualify the sense of what had preceded, namely, the "place of abode," or in any manner refer to the "place of abode" contained in the list of voters; but that the whole sentence is satisfied if the *true place of abode* of the objector at the time of giving the notice is inserted in the notice. The words between the parenthesis are only "place of abode," words which, taken absolutely and by themselves, and in their natural sense, would denote the *true place of abode* of the party objecting, for the words between the parenthesis are not "place of abode on the list of voters," which necessarily require the construction contended for by the appellant; nor are the words as "in the list of voters;" which latter form would also necessarily require the same construction. But the words within the parenthesis are simply "place of abode;" and the words that follow contain the distinction that such "place of abode" is not the "place of abode" to be found "on the list of voters;" and it appears to me to confirm this construction of the form, as in the 17th section, that gives the form of notice. The notice that is to be given to the parties, is directed to be left at the "place of abode" of the person objected to, as stated "in the list." Whereas the form itself, when referring to the "place of abode" of the objector, says no more than "place of abode;" and as that may be considered as actually inserted in the body of the 17th section, this distinction, with respect to the place of abode of the person objecting and that of the person objected to, still further sanctions the argument as to the interpretation to be put upon it. The former obviously refers to the corresponding notices in schedule A of the same Act, in cases of objections to the names of voters being retained on the register; and we hold this view of the objection is confirmed. But schedule A, No. 4, which is the form of notice to be given to the overseers, contains two columns; the one headed "Christian and surname of the voter objected to, as described in the list of voters;" the second is, "place of abode as described;" but the signature of the objector himself is only required to be "A. B." (place of abode), simply, and nothing more. In that form, the place of abode of the objector must in its natural sense be construed as the "place of abode" in which he then is, and no other; more particularly when contrasted with the requisition as to the place of abode of the party objected to, which is required to be "as described on the register." The form that immediately follows, schedule A, No. 5, leads to the same conclusion. The name and the "place of abode" of the party objected to, are required to be inserted "as described in the list;" the name of the objector to be signed "A. B., of —," (place of abode) on the register." We may finish the remainder of this form of notice, by number 5, in which the words are for the first time signed "on the list of voters." In all the preceding forms, both that given to the overseers, No. 4, and also in all the forms of notice given under the statute 2 Wm. IV., ch. 45, the signature is directed to be "A. B., of —" (place of abode), and nothing more. By the notice of objection under the statute of William, with those which direct only the form of notice of objection to be given to the overseer in the schedule A, No. 4, we are satisfied by adopting the place of abode of the objector at the time, no more than the old place of abode being required; while in the one of those cases there is certainly nothing in the reason of the thing that would call for the insertion of the very same place of abode of the objector as given in the list in the other remaining forms given by the statute. I cannot say that such an objection is made necessary by the enacting words of the statute in the forms of the schedule. The words "on the list of voters" appear to me no more than a simple allegation of the existence of a fact that has been made essential by the 17th section, namely, that the objector's name is on the "register" for the county, and the "list of voters" for the borough, as the case may be. The fact is one that may be determined by the overseers without reference to the list, or by the party objected to by inspecting such "register" or "list" that he has prepared, which they are not to do; and though it is objected that if the new description is given for the first time of the objector's place of abode, it must give rise to difficulty and confusion, it seems a sufficient answer that no real

difficulty can follow, unless there happens to be more than one voter on the same register or list having the same Christian name and surname; and if there is but one, then it must be that of the objector, and no other; and if there be but one, all the difficulty will be removed if there is a proper description, namely, in the case of the borough franchise. If therefore the identity of the objector must be made out, then the mentioning and giving the true place of abode of the objector must afford a better opportunity of inquiry and communication than the adding of the old place of abode, which it must be assumed for some cause or other is incorrect with regard to giving the notice. On the ground, therefore, that the construction above given of the form of notice appears the most natural and correct, and that it is confirmed by the heading of the forms as above adverted to, I have arrived at the conclusion that the decision of the revising barrister is right. It would be futile to enter into an examination of the relative convenience or inconvenience that should arise from this view of the case, because it appears to me that whatever may be the result in that respect, our determination ought to rest on the words of the statute.

Mr. JUSTICE COLTMAN.—I concur with the Lord Chief Justice in the opinion he has expressed on the subject of the present appeal. I am not able to go so fully into a consideration of the construction contended for, but I am, however, of the opinion held by the Lord Chief Justice, and I think it the most plain and natural meaning, and it is that which ought to be adopted; for it seems to me the words "place of abode," at the bottom of the form number 10 in the schedule B of the Act of Victoria, c. 18, in their natural sense do mean the true place of abode; and it must be so understood, unless some words of qualification are added to it. The following words on the list of voters for the parish of —, "do describe the quality of the objector himself, but not, as it seems to me, the quality of the place in which he lives. John Brooking, the objector, is truly said to be on the list of voters for the parish of St. Saviours," and it cannot be said with propriety of language, as of "Higher-street, Dartmouth, on the list of voters for the parish of St. Saviours." If the intention of the Act had been to require him to state, not the true place of abode, but that described in the list, it would have said so in plain terms, and the forms would have been "place of abode as described in the list, or to the like effect." And I have been rather led to this conclusion from the use of the terms "to that effect," in the form of the schedule A, number 4 and 5, the words used in number 4 being place of abode, as described, and the words in number 5 being place of abode, as described in the list. The reasons for the construction I have put on the forms principally in question have been already stated, and are so distinctly shown by my Lord Chief Justice that I do not think it necessary to add anything further.

Mr. JUSTICE ERLE.—I fully concur in the judgment given by my Lord Chief Justice and by my brother Colman. It was objected that the notice of objection was void because it did not contain that which is stated on the list of voters to be his place of abode. The question turns upon the proper construction of the words directing the signature in the forms 10 and 11, schedule B, in the 6th of Vic., c. 18, "A. B. (place of abode) on the list of voters for the parish of B." The appellant contends "on the list of voters" is indicative of the place of abode. By the 2d William 4, c. 45, he is required to give the place of abode, signed A. B., place of abode, and those words require the true place of abode. By the 6th of Victoria, the insertion of the name of the objector in the list of voters is the whole qualification; and the forms 10 and 11 require not only the name, but the addition of "on the list of voters." According to the reasonable construction, as it seems to me, of the words used, the two statements denote the same office as the additional words employed, though not really containing a statement as to the qualification. According to the appellant, the words, "on the list of voters," applied to the place of abode, are construed as meaning, "A. B., on the list of voters." To this there were several objections: 1st, the words must be altered before they express this meaning, for they are incapable of such an application; 2d., when so altered, they will contain a material statement when so applied to the name that is material to show the qualification; 3d., the meaning contended for could not be given to the same words, as the two Acts are in *pari materia*; and 4thly, if, to describe the place of abode was intended, those words would have been used; where they are used in both statements, the notice is referred to the last place of abode. There is no reason to say, on looking at the forms numbers 10 and 11, and what is required to be given in respect of the place of abode, that he is to give any other than his true place of abode. I cannot discover any good effect from requiring "place of abode in the list," instead of the true place of abode. If a communication is contemplated, by giving the true place of abode, where the name occurs only once, the identity is clear without any more being said; if the name occurs twice, the defect is easily remedied. For these reasons I concur in the judgment that has been given.

CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL.—My brother Maule is not able to attend to-day, but he has given his judgment to Mr. Erle, who will read it for him.

[Mr. JUSTICE ERLE then read the judgment of Mr. Justice Maule, as follows.]

This was an appeal from the decision of the revising barrister for the borough of Dartmouth. It was contended that the notices of objection which had been given to the overseers, and to the persons objected to, were sufficient. These notices concluded with the words "(signed) John Brooking, Higher-street, Dartmouth, on the list of voters for the parish of St. Saviours." The place of abode of the objector is mentioned on the list of voters referred to, as "New-road," and not "Higher street;" the fact being that, although he had offices in "New-road," his place of abode was "Higher-street." The notices were objected to, on the ground that they omitted the place of abode as mentioned in the list referred to. The Act 6th Victoria, c. 11, requires, in section 13, the overseers of every parish in the borough to make out the list of persons entitled to vote according to the forms numbered 3 and 4 in schedule B: that the Christian and surname of each person on the list shall be written at full length, with the true place of abode, and the nature of the qualification. The forms numbered 3 and 4 in question have columns for the Christian and surname, at full length, and the place of abode. Section 17 gives to any person whose name shall have been inserted in any list of voters for the borough, power to object to any other persons as not being entitled to have their names inserted on the list; and it provides that he shall give notice of his objection according to the forms numbered 10 and 11 in schedule B. The forms 10 and 11 conclude thus—"Dated this day of (Signed) A. B., of (place of abode), on the list of voters for the parish of —."

The question is, whether this provision as to the notices has been complied with; in other words, whether a notice is deficient which wholly omits all mention of the objection as it appears on the list of voters? For the appellant it was insisted that this section of the Act required the place of abode of the objector as it appeared on the list of voters to which the notice refers, and that it must appear on the notice; for in cases where there has been a mistake in the list of voters, or a change of abode since it was made out, it might or might not be necessary to add a mention of "the place of abode" at the date of the objection. For the respondent it was contended, the place of abode required to be mentioned was that at the date of the objection, and that the Act did not require any mention of the place of abode as it appeared on the list of voters. And the question to be decided depends upon the construction of the 17th section of the 6th of Victoria, c. 18, and the notice of objection therein prescribed. It may be convenient to consider the general nature and purposes of the Act in which the section in question occurs. The Act 2 Wm. IV., c. 45, "for the better representation of the people of England and Wales," contains, as incidental to the important changes it makes, certain provisions for forming the register of persons entitled to vote for members of Parliament. These provisions having been insufficient, the Act 8th Victoria, c. 18 was passed, of which the principal object was to make a new set of regulations for forming the register of voters. This Act has accordingly made many additions to, and alterations in, the provisions relating to the Registration Act of William, among which are to be noticed, first, the Act of William that gives in section 59 the power of objecting to the names of persons being retained on the list of voters in counties—not only to persons "on the register," but those who had claimed to be inserted "on the list of voters," whether actually inserted or not; while the Act of Victoria, by section 17, contains such a power of objecting to persons whose names are on the register; secondly, that in the forms given of the list of voters and claimants, and persons objected to in cities and boroughs in the Act of William, no mention of the place of abode is required, except in the cases of freemen, the rights of voting not depending there upon property; whereas, in the case of county voters, the place of abode was to be inserted; so that in the case of borough voters on the register, therefore, many voters under that Act could be described by their Christian and surname only, without any addition of place of abode. This is altered by the Act of Victoria, which requires in all cases, without exception, both in counties and boroughs, the place of abode as well as the name shall appear on the list. The third alteration is the form of notices of objection, which, under the Act of William, did not contain any statement that the objector was on the register, or was one of the claimants in a county, or was "on the list" of voters in the borough; and did not in any other manner show he was one of the class of persons to whom the right of objecting belonged. The Act of Victoria in all cases, with one exception, to be hereafter noticed, requires the objector to describe himself as "on the register" or "list of voters;" and to refer particularly to the parish "on the register" or "the list." The object of these alterations probably was to identify persons mentioned in "the list" more completely, so as to enable those whom it concerned to know in an easy and certain manner who the person named was, and to enable the party objected to, on referring to "the list," or portion of the register mentioned, to ascertain whether the objector had shown himself to have a right to object; and in case of its not appearing that he had such a right, to enable him instantly to disregard the objection, which the revising barrister would be bound to treat as not sufficient, and to call upon him to prove his qualification. The alterations are not only more adapted to effect this purpose, but they are also in conformity to the law, which in many cases has made it necessary, and which general convenience has in almost all cases made it desirable to identify the person by means of his Christian and surname, as well as his "place of abode;" and they are in conformity also with the rule which in cases of special authority or power to be exercised in writing requires the person assuming to exercise it should be one of those to whom it belongs. The former notice before referred to is an exception to the general rule, and under the Act of Victoria the forms of notices of objection require the objector to describe himself as "on the register," or "list." This confirms the view that the meaning of the form is to enable the party objected to to refer to the "list" or the "register," to ascertain whether the objector is to be found upon it. That exception is the form numbered 4 in the schedule of the Act of Victoria, which form is not a notice to the party objected to, but to the overseers of the county; and this form concludes with the words "A. B., — (place of abode)," without any statement of the objector being on the register. Now it is to be observed, the overseers have no concern whatever with the question, whether the objector is on the register or not. By the section 8 of the Act of Victoria, they are required to publish a list of persons against whom notices of objection have been given to them; and, by section 34, to bring the original notices before the revising barrister, who, and not the overseers, is to be judge of their sufficiency. The overseers have no interest or duty calling upon them to ascertain whether the objector is on the list; and a reference to it would not assist, but might embarrass them, as it might be calling upon them to refer to the list of the whole county. This view is in conformity with section 3 of the Act that requires the clerk of the peace to send to the overseer a copy only of such part of the register as relates to his parish; thus treating him as a person who could have no concern with the parts of the register relating to other parishes. It was not denied on the part of the respondent that the notices of objection in question ought to contain an assertion of the right to object; but it was contended that it was sufficiently stated in the words as contained "in the list of voters for the parish of —," and that the preceding words "A. B. (place of abode)," were intended to require a statement of the name in addition; the objector is inserted in the list with his name only, and without the addition at the time of signing the notice. It is material in this part of the discussion to observe that the immediate object of inquiry is, what is the meaning of a notice filled up according to the form? for it is such a notice, and not the form itself, that is sent to the party objected to. Want of attending to this, has, I think, produced some confusion. The form of notice has the words "place of abode" in italics, within a parenthesis; then the words "A. B."—"on the list of voters;" and this parenthesis is not to be retained in the notice when drawn, but is only meant to show the words within it are not to be the *very words* in the notice, but are only a direction as to what those words shall be. And this is manifest from the word

"of" being not within the parenthesis; so that the notice according to the form, to take an example, would run thus:—John Smith, of Broad-street, on the list of voters for the parish of St. Mary," without any parenthesis. The question is, how a notice in these words should be understood? and it is a mistake to treat it as if the parenthesis was retained. It is to be observed, the right to object given by the Act of Victoria, was not dependent on the right to be put on the list; for a party may have a right to be on the list, but he may have no right to object. If, in fact, his name is not inserted in the list, he may have no right to be put on; or if on the list, he may yet have a right to object in respect of being, in fact, on the list, the right to object being entirely dependent on some one entry on the list of voters, whether the name and place of abode be correctly stated in such entry or not. It seems to me where the construction of the form is more in conformity with general rules of law and the intention of the Act of Victoria, which requires the notices to be made out distinctly, that, if all entries on the list is that which is to be relied on as the foundation of the right to object, thus not merely giving the right of making a general assertion from which it would be inferred, but making it in conformity with the rule that prevails with respect to the objection—the power and authority by correctly stating a particular fact on which the right depends of enabling the voter to ascertain, by a simple inspection of the list referred to, whether the right to object which is relied upon, does really exist. A more minute consideration of the form of notice, drawn according to the Act, confirms this construction of the natural and obvious meaning of the words, "on the list of voters for the parish of St. Mary," following "John Smith, of Broad-street," to use the same example; and as the name of "John Smith," and "Broad-street" are mentioned on the list, the name of the objector is the person whose "name and present place of abode" is "John Smith, of Broad-street;" but whose "name and place of abode," on the list, may be the same or a different one. It cannot really be denied, in the absence of the parenthesis, the words, "on the register of voters for the parish of St. Mary," are meant to operate in like manner over the whole clause, "John Smith, of Broad-street," or it operates on no part of it; for it seems difficult to contend that they operate differently on the words, "John Smith," than the intervening words, "of Broad-street," so as to mean that the name of the voter on the list was "John Smith," but not to mean the place of abode at the time was "Broad-street;" and accordingly it was argued for the respondent, that the words, "on the list,&c.," did not import either the name of "John Smith," or the place of abode, "Broad-street," which was mentioned in the list. That is certainly a more reasonable construction than that which treats the words, "on the list,&c.," as operating on the words, "John Smith," and as having no operation on the intervening words, "of Broad-street;" which construction seems to rest on a tacit but erroneous application of the parenthesis which is found in the form, and the words of the actual notice in which it is not found; which notice is to be understood as not merely affirming that the objector is "on the list of voters," but that he has the right to object; and on referring to the particular entry, that is further confirmed by the form requiring the notices to be specified on a particular list in which the objector is to be found. If it were intended as a mere assertion of the right to object, it would be sufficient to state the objector was "on the list of voters for the borough," and, in the corresponding case, of the county, that the objector was "on the register," without seeing to the requirements of the schedule, No. 5, whether it was published. As long as the particular list is referred to, it is needful that the particular entry should also be referred to as being in furtherance of the same object. It was contended for the respondent by the construction contended for by the appellant, the voter who might wish to communicate with the objector must be prevented doing so in the case of an objector whose present place of abode was different from that on the list, as that must be the list referred to whether this difference arises from error or change. It is doubtful whether the Act contemplated any such commination; it does not authorise or require it; it imposes no duty to make, or coverts any right on the voter to make such a commination; but if it did contemplate such commination, such a case would most probably be very rare, and cases of error or change are a very small portion of the number of cases that can arise; such cases of change as would prevent the objector being reached by a letter directed to him at his place of abode, or the list must be a very small portion of the whole number of cases of error or change; and it may be observed in the case now in judgment, no such inconvenience did occur. The legislature in the more important cases of notices of objection, where, perhaps, it would be more reasonable that the voter would have a right to receive it, have considered that it is sufficient to send the notice to the "place of abode" mentioned in the list; indeed, the whole scope of the Act of Victoria seems to be that, for all purposes connected with the registration, the description on the list, with the name and place of abode, shall be taken to be the true description, and the effect of this provision will undoubtedly be, that every voter who takes an interest in the election, will take care the notices, if directed with the name and place of abode on the list, shall be forwarded to him. But, even supposing it was the object and intent of the Act to enable the party objected to to communicate with the objector, a distinct statement of the right of the objector is more important and desirable than the mere mention of the name. Though this purpose be the one which the notice was intended to effect, it may be in cases of error of places of abode. The notices should actually have the present description of the place of abode, as well as that on the list of voters; but it does not follow it shall suffice if there is a mere mention of the place of abode as mentioned on the list. An argument was drawn from schedule A, No. 5, where in the notice of objection the form was given thus: "To Mr. —, of — (here insert the name and place of abode of the person objected to as described in the list); and in the case of notice to the tenant of the qualifying property, insert his name and place of abode as described in the list." At the end of the form it is "(signed) A. B. of — (place of abode) on the register of voters for the parish of —," in the same words as the form in question, only putting "the register" for the list of voters." Here it is said the insertion of the words "as described" between the last and the first part of the notice, and the omission of the words "on the register," in connection with the words "place of abode" within the parenthesis, in the last part, shows the "place of abode" in the last part is not to be that on the register; but the insertion or omission of these words may be otherwise accounted for. In the first part, place of abode is mentioned " (place of abode) or the register of voters for the parish of —," and no such

words as "on the list of voters for the parish of —," which occurred in the last part of the notice; and which, as I have said before, alone refer to the place of abode as that mentioned on the register. In this last it would be *suspensum*, to put within the parenthesis "as described in the register," because "on the register of voters for the parish of —," means exactly the same thing. With regard to the comparative convenience in practice of the two forms, there is no doubt that of the appellant is to be preferred; it enables the party, objected to before the revising barrister, to ascertain by inspection of the notices and the list, without any extensive evidence, whether the notice is sufficient, inasmuch as under that construction it would appear the place of abode is the same as that on the register. No question at all, in fact, can be made as to its validity; whereas, if the respondent's construction is to prevail, many questions of law will probably arise as to what is a sufficient description in the notice as to "place of abode," whether county, parish, or post town is mentioned; and these will be the more numerous and formidable from the uncertainty of what the object was by the insertion of the present place of abode as required by the Act; as in all cases it must be a matter of evidence—it may be of controversy, before the revising barrister, whether the place of abode be truly stated as it appears or not. It was also suggested that the identification of the voter by his "place of abode," "on the list" was unnecessary, except in the case of two voters of the same name being on the list; but this is answered by referring to the convenience arising from the rule by the insertion of the Christian name, surname, and place of abode. All three may be necessary in some cases, and they are required in all for the sake of uniformity, simplicity, and convenience. I think for these reasons that a due consideration of the principles of law that are applicable to the case, and the general intent of the Registration Act, and the due meaning of the particular provision that relates to the notices, leads to the conclusion that the appellant's construction is the true one, and it avoids great practical inconvenience that would arise from the adoption of that of the respondent; and, consequently, the decision of the revising barrister ought to be reversed.

REVIEW.

FOREIGN VIEWS OF FREE TRADE.—*Revue Britannique; La Ligue Anglaise.* Second Notice. London and Paris: Barthes and Lowell.

We return to the consideration of this very interesting article, and commence our extracts with a description of the present position of the League:

"The League has resolved to accept no compromise. Borne forward on the shoulders of the working classes, now definitely rallied to its cause, it will address to Parliament its eternal and immutable demand, 'the total and immediate abolition of the Corn Laws.' It knows that the ports, now partially opened under the pressure of necessity, may be closed to-morrow, and that thus what may be called sliding ports would be substituted for a sliding scale; it knows that the concessions of Government may indefinitely adjourn salutary reforms, and it will continue to agitate in consequence. With respect to the landlords—those, at least, who have not adhered to the new ministerial combinations, and they are tolerably numerous—they believe that the moment is come to make a desperate resistance; and they appear equally disposed to set themselves in opposition to the League and the demands of the nation. Each, like a new Brutus, is ready to immolate the election even of a son on the altar of the Corn Laws and of protection."

We cannot allow this bitter allusion to the Duke of Newcastle to pass without a word of comment. His Grace appears to approach that mental condition which Junius Brutus simulated, and should therefore be treated with the respect which Mahomedans accord to persons in his unhappy condition. There are other points in which the historical parallel fails. Brutus sacrificed his son to public justice; the Duke of Newcastle rejected Lord Lincoln merely to preserve consistency; he only applied to his son what he avowed to his tenantry, the principle of doing what he liked with *his own*. But we resume the description of the protectionist landlords:

"Their law, which Mr. Bright has ingeniously denominated 'a law for fine weather,' is attempted to be maintained in a season of storm and tempest; but have not they themselves given the signal for reform when, pressed by Mr. Huskisson and the exigencies of an industry fully developed, they consented to a modification of the silk duties and the Navigation Act, and more recently to the financial reforms of Sir Robert Peel? They believed that the public clamour would stop short before their traditional influence and feudal dignity; they believed that they could emancipate industry without emancipating agriculture; but the one is a necessary consequence of the other. Having lightened one scale, you must lighten the other to restore the balance. Free industry cannot be maintained without perfect freedom of raw material. Now corn is the most important of raw materials, and therefore ought to be free above all others. This logic is rigorous and as inflexible as Destiny. You have abolished manufacturing tariffs, you must abolish agricultural tariffs. The day that you accepted Huskisson, you evoked Cobden."

"But this blindness of the protectionists is explained by the extent of the reforms which the League brings in its train. We have said that it assails not merely the monopoly of corn, but the whole system of commercial monopoly. Now as all parts of the organisation of a people are connected together, political rejuvenescence will follow from economic rejuvenescence. The aristocracy perceives this consequence with far more terror than sagacity. Formerly, when commerce protested against feudalism, it was appeased by protecting it, and opening to it, often at the expense of national honour, distant markets. But now commerce will have nothing more to say to protections; it deems them pernicious, injurious to the rights and interests of citizens individually, and of the nation collectively."

In conclusion, the author tells his countrymen some powerful truths expressed in very forcible language.

"We wish not now to make any formal plea in favour of

Free Trade, however useful it may be; but in conclusion we must tell the monopolists that they will not always have consumers to plunder and a country to impoverish. They have taken for their device the maxim of Herenschwand, who considered every economist as the enemy of the public welfare; and they are still, so far as progress is concerned, advanced no further than the system of the Venetian Sanuto. But in France, as elsewhere, this blockade of merchandise—which is virtually a blockade of genius and art—cannot endure for ever. The law of expansion is a universal law; it cannot yield to the French aristocracy of silk, wool, or iron, no more than to the English aristocracy of acres and of sugar-hogsheads. There was a time when the academies would not allow blood to circulate in our veins; Harvey came and the blood circulated. There was a time when ideas were not allowed to circulate freely; the revolution came, and ideas circulated. We are still at a time when the products of nature and of industry are not allowed to circulate freely; it is reserved for the League and its glorious chiefs to remove this last interdiction, and thus benefit the cause of humanity, of common sense, and of futurity."

There is one error in this very able article which we cannot pass over without notice. The author, like most of his countrymen, imputes to Pitt personally all the follies and all the infamies perpetrated by his colleagues and successors. Sad, indeed, would be the fate of his memory were he to be held responsible for the bigotry of Perceval, the fanaticism of Sidmouth, the stupidity of Portland, the despotism of Castlereagh, and the intolerance of Eldon. It is as unjust to take the Pitt Club to be an exponent of Pitt's sentiments as to infer the precepts of the gospel from the practice of the inquisition. The selfish system in commerce was abandoned by Pitt in his great treaty with France, as the selfish system in religion, so far as he is personally concerned, was abandoned at the time of the union with Ireland. But Pitt had neither the strength nor the courage which Peel has recently shown; he succumbed to the aristocratic combinations by which he was surrounded. In justice to his memory, let it be remembered that one element of the combination was a monarch never wholly free from mania, and ever exhibiting the mingled cunning and obstinacy of insanity.

The letters and diaries of Lord Malmesbury afford disclosures that should make our fathers tremble with rage and shame in their graves. At the beginning of the present century, England was literally "bribed by paupers, bullied by cowards, and duped by idiots." Pitt was a liberal in politics, in commerce, and in religion; but he believed the possession of power necessary to give effect to his liberality, and the means he employed were fatal to the end he pursued. The ambition of becoming another Pitt has been a dominant passion with our present Premier from infancy. So far as intentions go, he has selected no unworthy model; but he has advantages which his master could not command: he has an intelligent public and a patriotic Sovereign. Pitt had neither one nor the other. If he appealed to the sense of the public, some stupid cry of vulgar prejudice was sure to give the victory to nonsense; if he applied to George III., like his father, in the earlier part of the same reign, he could not trust to professions or rely on promises. Hence his career presents a sad series of miserable shifts and trumpery expedients; hence his policy was disastrous abroad, and injurious at home; hence he was the persecutor of those who held his own opinions, and the oppressor of those whose wrongs he was most anxious to redress. Thiers and his followers depict Pitt as the incarnation of premeditated wickedness; but he was wicked only because he was weak; he descended to acts in which inferior men were his masters, and was always beaten in the game. He was, when untrammelled, the advocate of Reform, Emancipation, and Free Trade; he did not abandon any one of those causes, but he adjourned them to "a more convenient season;" and to him, as to the Roman proconsul, that more convenient season never came.

The moral of Pitt's life is, that there can be no paltering with principle; no compromise with injustice; no concession to palpable wrong. We trust his illustrious disciple, who now wields the destinies of this country, will read that moral aright. We trust that he will see that bonds are no substitute for bread, or coercion for corn. He is ambitious of future fame; let him seriously reflect how his model and master stands in the estimate of the posterity which has arrived to pronounce judgment. The "heaven-born Minister" has now his origin assigned to a very different place; the "pilot that weather'd the storm" is now a blundering lubber that steered the ship into spots of danger, from which she was not extricated without sad damage and loss of cargo. A great name can only be maintained by great deeds; and no deed is great which contributes not to the good of humanity, the advancement of civilisation, and the common interests of all mankind.

The Library of Foreign Romance. Edited by J. C. James, Esq. London. Bruce and Wyld.

It is too late to inquire whether it is or is not desirable that fiction should form part of our current popular literature. The demand for it exists,—is spreading and increasing; it is an appetite which grows by what it feeds on, and we must therefore

take it for granted that the demand will in this, as in other cases, ensure supply. Messrs. Bruce and Wyld are the largest caterers for this public appetite; they have brought cheapness of production to the lowest possible point, and it is but justice to add that they have combined with it excellence of selection. Among the eighty works published in their cheap Library of Romance, there are not more than two or three on which a question of admissibility could fairly be raised, and even in these cases we doubt whether a judicious jury would pronounce a verdict of rejection.

The new series is an enterprise of greater moment. Hitherto most of the translations of French romances have been the speculations of unprincipled traffickers in depravity; they have not only selected the most licentious productions, but have deepened the impurity of their objectionable passages in their translations. Paul de Koch and George Sand have been compelled to give their worst works to the English public, while the historical romances of a host of able writers are left untouched and unknown. Now, though it cannot be denied that there is a greater proportion of objectionable matter in French romance than would be tolerated in England, it must also be added that the productions of the best writers of fiction in France are every day becoming more marked by a tone of high and pure morality; and that the licentious authors are in fact but fourth or fifth-rate writers, who substitute coarseness for strength, and indelicacy for wit. It is, therefore, a useful service to bring before the English public those French works of fiction in which moral purity is combined with intellectual power. The readers once supplied with wholesome food cannot long be induced to prey on garbage.

Romances illustrative of existing manners are the most popular productions of our day; and it must be confessed that they convey more accurate information and more definite pictures of manners than could be obtained by formal disquisitions and grave dissertation. Miss Bremer's tales afford us clearer views of life in Sweden than could be derived from all the books of travel in that country which have ever been published. Soulié's "Mysteries of the Heath" explain the condition of a barbarous race, surrounded by civilisation, more definitely and more forcibly than the report of a Government commission.

The great Duke of Marlborough used to say, that the best history of England was contained in the historical plays of Shakspeare; we too may add that the Waverley Novels have great value as guides and aids to history. Ivanhoe gives a more accurate view of the state of England, under Richard I., than the pages of Hume or Lingard; Old Mortality teaches more of the wars of the Covenanters than the works of any Scottish historian. It is in fictions, illustrative of history, that French literature has become pre-eminently rich in modern times. Dumas, Nodier, and many others, have revived the past with an intensity of vigour and life which give it all the spirit and all the interest of the present. Caroline Pichler, and many others, have pursued the same course in Germany. Even Russia has contributed to this store of historical illustration, and enabled us to comprehend something of the Slavonic and Mongolian revolutions, which have imprinted on the east of Europe a phase of civilisation essentially different from that of the west. We do not regret that there is a Free Trade in these fictions; we wish that the minds of nations should be mutually interpreted to each other. Had we more of national explanations, we should have less of national jealousies and hostilities. It was once an article of popular faith, as Goldsmith tells us, "to hate the French because they were all slaves, and wore wooden shoes;" it is still too common to view them with dislike, on account of the depravity of what are supposed to be French principles. But depraved principles are as little popular in France as in England. We have judged the French by the worst of their productions, which is just as unfair as if they had estimated English literature by the publications in Holywell-street.

It is curious that the first origin of this error was simply a blunder of translation. Marmontel, to expose the profligacy of his age, published a series of tales illustrative of the licentious manners which prevailed, and called them *Contes Moraux*. The stupid hack by whom they were "done into English," translated the title into "Moral Tales," and everybody who read lifted his hands in amazement at such specimens of French morality! Marmontel thus got credit for the very opposite to his real design; the manners he condemned were supposed to be the morals he inculcated.

The publishers of this Library of Foreign Romance have undertaken an enterprise involving grave responsibilities. The harvest before them is indeed most abundant; but never was there a crop in which tares were more profusely mingled with the wheat. The task of selection will require great care, prudence, and caution, in the editor; and will, perhaps, demand an occasional exercise of forbearance on the part of the public. Cheapness is not

valuable, unless accompanied by goodness; on the contrary, it becomes an aggravation of evil when it aids the circulation of that which is vicious and depraved.

We have only the prospectus of the undertaking before us, and that certainly promises very fairly; but as the performance may be either highly beneficial, or extensively mischievous, we shall watch the progress of the series—ready to applaud if its course shall tend to the diffusion of intelligence and virtue, and equally ready to sound an alarm should there be any symptoms of pandering to impure passions or prurient curiosity.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS.—*Felix Summerley's Home Treasury.—Tales from the German &c.* London: Cundall.

It is gratifying to find a taste for the national literature of the Nursery reviving in England; for legends and traditions form an essential part of the mind of the people, and rising intellect runs a chance of being denationalised when they are banished. Mr. Cundall deserves much credit for having decidedly set his face against those novels of the nursery which have been issued from the Minerva Press with such lavish profusion, and which, however moral in their purpose, were far from being wholesome in their influence. They had one and all a direct tendency to transform boys and girls into premature men and women; while, for their own sakes, as well as for the sake of all connected with them, it is desirable that children should simply be children. It has been sometimes doubted whether works of fancy or imagination should be placed in the hands of the young; but the faculty of imagination has been bestowed by the same Omniscient Being who endowed us with reason. He gave it to be cultivated, not to be neglected or destroyed. It is a grievous error to suppose that works of avowed fiction tend to weaken the love of truth. The entire question depends on the child's being deceived. The poet Cowper justly says:

That even the child who knows no better
Than to interpret by the letter
The story of a cock and bull,
Must have a most uncommon skull.

The novel-like stories intended to supersede our hereditary nursery literature were indeed open to this objection; they had a tendency to deceive, for they professed to be pictures of actual life. Now we hold, that an accurate picture of actual life may be and often is, more deceptive than an extravagant fiction. Take, for instance, that very able collection of stories, Miss Edgeworth's *Parent's Assistant*, and it will at once be felt that the story impresses the mind as a portraiture, not merely of actual, but of average life. Pictures of vice and crime, delineated with equal acuteness in detecting motive and graphic power in developing character, give an air of stern reality to each tale. The child's impressions are true, but the child's inferences are false. He takes neither character nor incident in its individuality, but he generalises both; and his theory becomes false, delusive, and perhaps dangerous. Who ever dreamed of such a result following from Fables and Fairy Tales? Cinderella gratifies a child's fancy, but has not the slightest tendency to pervert the reason. The pet-lamb of Simple Susan is received as a plain truth, but Jack's bean-stalk never finds a moment's credence.

In reviving the national legends of the English nursery, the publisher was fortunate in obtaining the aid of so competent an editor as Mr. Felix Summerley. He is evidently a gentleman gifted with much fancy, and trained to a pure and cultivated taste. But, what is still more important, he has carefully studied the youthful mind, and made every one of his tales stimulate the curiosity and spirit of enquiry necessary for that self-education which is in truth the only sure means of acquiring intelligence. If Felix Summerley be a real name, which we have no opportunity of determining, it is a little surprising that his name is not more frequently heard in connection with antiquarian and legendary lore. He has in these little works displayed at once a deep knowledge and a thorough appreciation of the elements which constitute the intellectual life of a nation; and he has thus made his work subservient to the preservation of the genuine English character, by teaching the value of genuine English traditions.

The illustrations of these little works belong to a much higher style of art than has hitherto been used in juvenile works; and had they no other merit than their effect on the artistic training of the eye, they would deserve very high commendation. But they have singular merit as faithful delineations of character and costume; the plates in the little volume of Robin Hood, for instance, are perfect lessons in history.

This is one of the seasons when gift-books are usually presented to young folks; and we have therefore deemed it a proper time to make some remarks on juvenile literature, especially as the subject has often been pressed upon us by correspondents. It is only justice to add that the juvenile literature of fancy as distinguished from the juvenile literature

of fiction has found favour with the rising race of booksellers, and that we have selected the meritorious publications of Mr. Cundall merely as types of a class.

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POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, April 18, 1846.

The Corn Laws continue to aggravate the fearful evils of Ireland to such an extent, that the starving population has had recourse to deeds of violence for the purpose of checking their mischievous and destructive operation. These laws offer a prize on the exportation of corn from a starving country; they give an artificial price in the English markets to pay artificial rents for Irish land; they snatch the food from the perishing, and wrest sustenance from those dying of inanition. And yet such reasoners as the O'Briens, the Shaws, and the Bentincks point to these exports—these evidences of landlord rights enforced, and landlord duties neglected—as proofs of present plenty and future sufficiency. Well may we exclaim with that exquisite and true poetess, Miss Barrett:

"The rich preach 'rights' and future days,
And hear no angel scoffing;
The poor die mute—with ardent gaze
On corn-ships in the offing."

In Clonmel and Tipperary, the famishing multitude has arrested the corn on its way to the ships; but landlordism has no bowels of compassion. Armed with the terrors of the law, it protects the export of food with cannon and with bayonets; and it calls for additional powers, under the name of a coercion, that it may be protected in spreading famine and extending fever. Had the ministerial Corn Bill passed into law before the Easter recess Irish corn would have been kept at home to feed the Irish people, and the English markets would have been abundantly supplied from other quarters. But, by the exquisitely absurd arrangement which has found favour with the legislature, millions are doomed to starve until the powers of monopolist oratory is exhausted. The speech of a Miles, or a Bentinck, is purchased at the cost of as many lives as the orator utters sentences. We protest in the name of common humanity against such preposterous and cruel trifling at a crisis of such great and imminent danger. There are yet three months of scarcity to be faced, and every hour of delay aggravates the difficulty of providing against the total desolation of an integral part of the empire. The pressure of distress in Ireland cannot be exaggerated; it already transcends every thing that words can express, and almost every thing that even the imagination can conceive. "Plague, pestilence, and famine," rage triumphant; and our liturgy has taught us to associate these with "battle, murder, and sudden death." The proverb

tells us, that "Hunger will break through stone walls," and assuredly the desperation of its excesses will not be restrained by the clauses of an Act of Parliament. You may set death as a penalty before the perpetrators of outrage, but of what avail is the menace when death in a more cruel form, and with greater certainty of operation, urges him on from behind? The very journals which raised the cry of exaggeration are now raising the note of alarm in louder tones. The reproach they bring against the Government is, that the measures of relief are suspended and delayed. The responsibility for this delay must rest somewhere, and it may be atoned for by a fearful reckoning. We therefore earnestly urge those who value the salvation of the empire, to allow of no further huxtering and truckling with the destructive agencies of monopoly. We have abundant evidence that if agrarianism slays its thousands in Ireland, landlordism is slaying its tens of thousands. There is still time for the righteous justice of England to interpose, and taking its stand between the living and the dead, to cause that the plague should be stayed. Let us have no more dawdling with worthless points of etiquette. A story is told of a Cantab who saw a fellow-student drowning, and regretted that etiquette prevented him from taking the liberty of saving him, as they had never been formally introduced; but nations must not be sacrificed to such miserable punctilios. The cry from Ireland is, "Save, or we perish!" Rescue life first, and then settle the etiquette of first readings and second readings, according to the most approved precedent that comes in your way. To the re-assembled Commons of England, and to the anxious people of England, we address the same warning. Delay, in all cases, is dangerous, but at the present crisis it involves the peril of imminent and wide-spread destruction.

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. April 11	MON. April 13	TUES. April 14	WED. April 15	THUR. April 16	FRI. April 17
Bank Stock	206½	206½	206	206½	206	..
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	95½	95½	95½	95½	94½	94½
3 per Ct. Con. Ann.	96½	96½	96½	96½	95½	95½
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	97	97½	97	96½	96½	96½
Long. An. Ex. 1860	10½	10 7-16	..	10½	10 3-16	..
Cons. for Acct.	96½	96½	96	96½	..	96
Exc. Bills, pm.	24-28	24-27	24-28	27	18-22	..
Ind. Bds. un. 1000l.	..	25-28	30	25-30	28-30	..
Venezuela 2 per Ct.	..	..	..	..	42	..
Do. deferred .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Belgian 4½ per Ct.	..	..	..	98	..	..
Brazilian 5 per Ct.	..	81½	..	81	..	..
Chilian .....	..	99½	..	..	96½	..
Columb. ex. Venez.	..	..	87½	..	..	..
Danish .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dutch 2½ per Cent.	59½	59½	59½	59½	59½	59½
Dutch 4 per Cent.	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½
Mexican	32	31½	..	32	31½	31½
Peruvian	57½	57½	58½	58	57½	..
Portug. conv.	57½	57½	110½	..	110	..
Russian 5 per Cent.	25½	25½	24½	24½	24½	25
Spanish 5 per Ct.	36½	36½	36½	36½	36½	36½
Do. 3 per Ct. ex. dv.	..	..	..	..	..	..

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MONDAY, APRIL 13.—With a very moderate show of samples on all the Wheat stands, there has been some difficulty experienced in effecting sales at last Monday's prices; as before, fine samples meet a better demand than other qualities; no change has taken place in the prices obtained this day week. The Foreign Wheat trade is excessively dull. Late rates are barely maintained on Barley, though the arrivals are not by any means large. About 10,000 qrs. of Irish Oats appear in the return; except this the quantity arrived is very trifling. Buyers continue cautious, but the sales made to-day have been pretty considerable, and the prices are the turn in favour of the seller. English Oats are very scarce. Beans and Peas are without variation in prices from this day week.

	BRITISH.	Per Imperial Quarter.
Wheat, Essex,	Red 54 to 60	White 58 to 66
Kent, & Suffolk	49	58
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire	47	54
Scotch .....	..	..
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feed	23	25
Ditto	Black	23 6
Ditto	Polands	New 27
Scotch Feed	26	27
Limerick	25	26
Ditto	Fine New 27 29	Old Fine none
Cork	24	25
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black	23	24
Sligo .....	..	..
Galway	19	21
Barley	26	33
Beans, Mazagan	31	33
Harrow	33	37
Small	39	40
Peas, White	Boilers	38
Grey	30. 32	32
Flour, Town-made	per sack of 280 lbs.	45
Norfolk and Suffolk .....	..	46

FOREIGN.

	FREE.	IN HOND.
Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed	58 to 60	54
Rosstock	56	50
Stettin	52	58
Humburg	52	50
Odesa	48	50

Odesa Polish	50	51
Russian	soft .....	..
Ditto	hard .....	..
Spanish	54	60
Blauquillo	56	62
Australian	60	69
Barley, Grinding	27	28
Distilling	29	31
Oats, Archangel	25	26
Danish	23	24
Swedish	23	24
Stralsund	22	23
Dutch Feed	22	23
Brew	27	29
Polands	25	26
Black .....	..	..

Beans, Egyptian	34	36
Peas, White	42	..
Ditto Boilers	34	36
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 196 lbs.	36	37
United States	28	30
Dantzic .....	..	..

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from April 6 to April 11, 1846, both days inclusive.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas.
English	3379	4716	1918	1270	396
Scotch .....	..	..	16348	..	..
Irish .....	..	1508	2940	16921	580
Foreign	29874	..	..	..	..

Flour, 4116 sacks; 2791 barrels.

FRIDAY, APRIL 17.—We have had a fair amount of English, and a largish one of Foreign, Wheat during the week. Good conditioned English supports late prices; but unless the quality is fair, some slight decline must be submitted to in order to effect sales. There is no alteration in the Barley trade. A few English Oats, most of which were sold on Wednesday, have come to hand during the week. The show to-day is very scanty, both of that description and of Irish; 6d. to 1s. advance from Monday is obtained. Were holders generally willing to accept 6d., a large sale might be made; but as it is, only a limited business is done. From all accounts it appears that the quantity of Oats at present on the way from Ireland is extremely limited. Beans and Peas as on Monday. The duties fell 1s. on Wheat and Barley, and rose 1s. on Peas.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 10th of April to the 17th of April, both inclusive.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	6610	..	20410
Barley	3020	..	..
Oats	4060	1180	2930

Flour, 1840 sacks.

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending April 14, 1846.

	Qrs.	Price.	Qrs.	Price.
Wheat	5116	61s. 10d.	Rye	266 36s. 2d.
Barley	3791	30s. 10d.	Beans	1502 33s. 3d.
Oats	18729	23s. 4d.	Peas	559 36s. 11d.

Stock of Corn in Bond, Mar. 5, 1846.

Wheat. Barley. Oats. Rye. Beans. Peas. Flour.

In London, 442560 17299 61192 .. 6144 5462 112776

Unit. King. 1138950 82919 96983 .. 13413 8127 837355

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
a. d. s. d. a. d. s. d. a. d. s. d. a. d. s. d. a. d. s. d.	..	..	..	..	..	..
7th March	54	10	39	3	21	10
14th "	54	3	29	4	21	9
21st "	55	1	29	10	22	0
28th "	55	5	30	2	22	1
4th April	56	9	30	7	22	3
11th "	56	0	30	9	22	3

Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks. Wheat, 55s. 3d.; Barley, 30s. 0d.; Oats, 22s. 2d.; Rye, 33s. 9d.; Beans, 34s. 11d.; Peas, 33s. 9d.

Duty. Wheat, 17s. 0d.; Barley, 8s. 0d.; Oats, 6s. 0d.; Rye 9s. 6d.; Beans, 8s. 6d.; Peas, 9s. 6d.

MEAT MARKET.

The small supply tended to keep up the prices, although trade was exceedingly heavy.

PER STONE OF 8 LBS. BY THE CARCASE.

Prime Beef .. 3s 10d to 3s 6d Middle Mutton 3s 10d to 3s 8d

Middling do. 3s 6d to 3s 2d Veal, from .. 5s 0d to 4s 0d

Plain, or inf.. Small Pork .. 5s 0d to 4s 4d

Prior Beef ... 3s 0d to 2s 6d Large, or inf..

Prime Mutton 4s 4d to 4s 0d Rior Pork .. 3s 4d to 3s 0d

THE LONDON GAZETTE

FRIDAY, APRIL 10.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

J. Whalley and C. Whalley, nurserymen, Liverpool.

J. Reding and W. N. Judd, printers, Horsehoe-court, Ludgate-hill.

BANKRUPTS

E. Foley, victualler, Stoke Newington-green. [Messrs. Dimmick and Burbey, Size-lane.]

Robt. Weatherhog and Rich. Weatherhog, farmers, Stone, Kent. [Messrs. Tripp, Adelaide-place, London-bridge.]

H. C. Langley, apothecary, Suffolk-place, Hackney-road. [Mr. Wheatley, Wallbrook.]

T. Matthews, draper, Aldgate High-street. [Messrs. Sole and Turner, Aldermanbury.]

W. Davey, coal merchant, St. Austell, Cornwall. [Mr. Smith, T. Rickards, watchmaker, Wootton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire. [Messrs. Husband and Wyatt, Gray's-inn-square.]

J. B. Oram, brewer, Birmingham. [Mr. Bartlett, Birmingham.]

M. Illingworth, W. Smith, and J. Wright, worsted spinners, Bradford, Yorkshire. [Mr. Wells, Bradford.]

C. H. Cartwright, grocer, Warrington. [Messrs. Sharp and Co., Bedford-row.]

H. Roe, jeweller, Liverpool. [Messrs. Bridger and Blake, London-wall.]

J. Knight, mercer, Preston. [Messrs. Reed and Langford, Friday-street.]

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

Fleming and Richardson, Glasgow, accountants.

J. McMaster, Ardrossan, Ayrshire, grocer.

J. Macharg, Glasgow, tea merchant.

D. M. Rose, Rarichies, Rosshire, corn merchant.

TUESDAY, APRIL 14.

C. Collins, Kidderminster, yarn maker.

BANKRUPTS.

T. Groham, Chard, Somersetshire, baker. [Mr. Church Bedford-row.]

J. Wallace, Durham, tea dealer. [Messrs. Soles and Turner, Aldermanbury.]

R. Roe, Manchester, drysalter. [Messrs. Gregory and Co. Bedford-row.]

J. Davies, Shrewsbury, mercer and draper. [Messrs. Clarke and Co., Lincoln's Inn Fields.]

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

D. Coghill, F. Coghill, and T. Coghill, Ayr, glass and china merchants.

J. Jamieson, Paisley, draper.

J. Oswald, Edinburgh, sharebroker.

P. Dawson, Dundee, draper.

EXPORTATION OF OATMEAL.—

One dealer in Wick has this season sent upwards of a thousand bolls of oatmeal to the Edinburgh market, which is a new addition to the exports from that port, and bids fair to be considerably extended.

as above said — Saturday, April 19, 1846.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 135.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, APRIL 25, 1846.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

THE DELAY.

"When the time comes, honourable gentlemen will see whether her Majesty's Government are sincere or not in the course which they have taken. I can tell the honourable member that there is no PROOF OF SINCERITY with regard to this Bill which shall not be given in the event of its failure or ALTERATION in its progress through Parliament. But I, for one, will not condescend to answer that accusation. I should have thought that the facts themselves would have been a complete refutation of it, in the mind of any honourable member."—SIR ROBERT PEEL, March 30.

We entirely believe the Premier. We accept the pledge of unflinching devotedness to the national cause, thus proudly and boldly tendered, and await its fulfilment without the shadow of a doubt or misgiving. Even the vexatious and harassing delay, of little less than a month's duration, which has intervened since these words were spoken in the hearing of England and the world, has in no way impaired the force, or perplexed the import, of those "facts" which, of themselves, are a "complete refutation" of any charge or suspicion of unfaithfulness. Sir Robert Peel is in earnest—if ever man was. It were sheer childishness to doubt the Free Trade Minister's determination to carry through, at whatever cost, a measure with which he has linked his name, fame, and fortunes—whose principle he so thoroughly understands, so heartily espouses, and so luminously and forcibly expounds—and for which he has freely made some of the largest and most painful sacrifices which conviction and the sense of duty ever exacted of a public man. Sir Robert Peel is in earnest—cannot but be in earnest. He will pass his bill—though he dissolve Parliament for it. He will pass his bill—though he create peers for it. He will pass his bill—and not any other bill that the faction may dare offer him and the country in its stead. He will pass his bill as it stands—or, it may even yet be, with a "total and immediate" amendment—the only sort of amendment his acceptance of which lies within the compass of possibility. He means the whole of what he says—and will do it. We honour unhesitatingly the Premier's draft on our confidence, and rest, with unqualified assurance of faith, on the promise, that "THERE IS NO PROOF OF SINCERITY WITH REGARD TO THIS BILL WHICH SHALL NOT BE GIVEN IN THE EVENT OF ITS FAILURE OR ALTERATION IN ITS PROGRESS THROUGH PARLIAMENT."

And the country believes this, too. And this is why the country endures—with a patience that would otherwise be inexplicable—that seemingly interminable delay which a strange and unlooked for combination of circumstances has interposed between the virtual and the formal realisation of its will. Very mortifying, very harassing, very injurious

to all public and private interests, is the present stoppage of the business of legislation, when we were so near the goal—when majorities, so large and sweeping as to be irreversible by any power of political accident, had, after debates universally felt to be exhaustive of the whole question, affirmed the Bill, both in its principle and its details, and nothing remained but to put it through its last formal stage, and send it up to "another place," stamped with the fiat of the united statesmanship and matured intelligence of the empire—then to have it thrust aside and hung up, to wait for the completion of a tedious and unprofitable formality with respect to a totally different and unrelated measure! Still, we bear it. We can ill afford to wait, yet we do wait, tranquilly relying both on the perfect integrity of purpose of the Prime Minister, and on our own power to bear him and his Bill victoriously through all obstructions.

Disappointing and vexatious as is the present entanglement of the public business, we are not disposed to speak with anything approaching to bitterness, either of the one or the other of those parties whose conflicting views of public duty have occasioned it. We freely credit both the Government and the Irish members with upright intentions, however widely we may dissent from the propriety and prudence of the course which they have respectively taken, and however deeply we must deplore the result. Of the particular motives that have induced the Premier to consent to postpone the third reading of the Corn Bill to the merely formal first reading of the Coercion Bill, we do not profess to give any precise account. Whether his intention was simply to comply with the requisitions of a customary courtesy towards the other branch of the legislature, or whether he had been led to believe that the progress of his Free Trade measures in the Upper House would be thereby smoothed and facilitated—or by whatever other motive, or combination of motives, he may have been actuated—we cannot undertake to say. We have, in any case, no more doubt that his decision was taken in perfect good faith, than we have that it was adopted on erroneous premises, and has been productive of injurious consequences. It must, in common fairness, be borne in mind, that sustained and systematic opposition to a measure on its first reading, is extremely unusual—that the formality which the Government have insisted on maintaining is one which ordinarily passes as a matter of course—and that for a minister to rescind a decision of this sort, when it has once been announced and acted on, requires an exercise of moral courage of which very few public men are capable. It was a great mistake, certainly—but perhaps not an unnatural one, and, once committed, retreat was difficult and embarrassing.

Of the conduct of the Irish members in this unfortunate affair, we must likewise speak with the candour and fairness which they are entitled to expect at our hands. We do not assume any right to condemn them for the course which, in their judgment, the duties they owe to that portion of the United Kingdom which they more immediately represent, have imposed on them. Much as we lament all that has happened, we are not aware of anything in the conduct of the Irish members which implies either the absence, or the weakness, of the highest motives that should govern public men; and it is impossible to deny that their departure from the ordinary practice of the house, in such cases, has, thus far, been incidentally productive of some highly useful results, by fastening public attention, with unwonted fixity and earnestness, on the real nature and causes of the disorganisation of society in their landlord-ridden country. We trust, however, that they will not think it ne-

cessary further to prolong this course of action, without most fully taking into account all the elements of the case on which they have to decide. Without pretending to judge for them, we may express our own strong opinion that the practical purpose of their opposition to the first formal stage of the Coercion Bill, has been already most abundantly answered. They have sufficiently marked their sense of the obnoxious character of this measure, and their determination to use every possible exertion to prevent it from becoming law; and they have brought home to the public mind and heart an amount of knowledge respecting the real condition and wants of Ireland, to which it is scarcely conceivable that any further protraction of this debate should contribute any material addition. We trust that, remembering that the Corn Bill is, at least, as much an Irish as it is an English measure—that, in fact, the necessity to which we owe its introduction now is mainly an Irish necessity—they will be able to reconcile it to their sense of duty, to oppose no further obstacle to the observance of a customary Parliamentary formality, and to reserve until another occasion an opposition whose possible and incidental advantages bear now so small a proportion to its certain and direct evils.

At the same time that we are solicitous to reassure those of our friends throughout the country, whose confidence may have been shaken by the present disappointing and mortifying obstruction, we must warn all Free Traders to be on the alert, and hold themselves prepared for all contingencies. We have no desire to take an alarmist tone for which, in truth, we perceive no real occasion—but we cannot too earnestly deprecate everything like over-confidence at a crisis so full of all kinds of contingent possibilities. The delay of the past month may, indeed, in some respects, have operated to increase the security of the Free Trade measures in the House of Lords—but there is no saying, and it is at least equally possible that the effect may have been the other way. In any case it is well not to be too sure. If anything is to be taken for granted, we say, *take the worst for granted, and be ready accordingly.* The political atmosphere is, just now, charged full with those rumours which commonly precede a storm. A dissolution of Parliament is talked of—rejection, or "amendment," by the Lords is talked of—very likely, without a particle of foundation, other than the wishes, or the fears of the talkers—still, there is no knowing. Very likely, all is right—yet it is quite possible that all is wrong. Sir Robert Peel has never undertaken to answer for his Bill passing the Lords, without a previous "appeal to the people"—nor have we. He has answered for nothing but his own unmoved and immoveable fidelity to its great principle; and we can answer for nothing but our own will and power to see that principle fairly on the statute book, let who will say nay. The people have done it all thus far—and there is no knowing but that the people's minister may find it necessary now, before all is over, to bid them finish their own work.

GRANDMAMMA'S VIEWS ON THE MANUFACTURING SYSTEM.

"The paper, after you, Sir, if you please," said a gentleman of our friend *Punch's* acquaintance, to a neighbour who was enjoying his chop, and seemed to be enjoying his newspaper, in one of the dining rooms of our metropolis. "It is the *Morning Herald*, Sir," was the response. "Oh, then," rejoined the applicant, "pray do not trouble yourself—I thought it was a newspaper." For our own part, being very much of *Punch's* friend's opinion

and liking to read only newspapers that are newspapers, it is not often that we dip into that Stygian fluid of nonsense and scurrility which runs—or rather, does not run, but dolefully stagnates—through the columns of the *Morning Herald*. But accident and temptation occasionally overrule the wisest purposes and the most settled habits; and it did so happen, on Wednesday morning last, that the chance sight of a Number of this indescribable print—containing something which presented to the eye the appearance of a leading article, stretched out to the extraordinary length of some two columns and a half—excited a curiosity, which our idleness could not resist, to learn the precise nature of this inordinate impost on the time and patience of elderly and gaitered gentlemen. So we read (if it can be called reading) the article, (if it can be called an article); and as it seems a pity that labours so onerous should be altogether unprofitable, we have thought fit to furnish the public in general with some account of our observations in a rarely-visited and little-explored region.

So far as we can make out what may be called, by courtesy, the “meaning” of a writer whose early grammatical studies were evidently superintended by a preceptor morbidly averse to the infliction of corporeal punishment—and whose logic always gives one the idea of a brain, naturally of the weakest, preternaturally obfuscated by undue indulgence in the coarser descriptions of beverage familiar to the humbler classes of metropolitan toppers—the *Morning Herald's* theory of the present state and prospects of the empire seems to be as follows: The manufacturers of Great Britain are a gang of “desperadoes and profligates,” with one “Mirabeau” Peel for their captain, and certain “Cobdens, Ashfords, and Brights” for lieutenants, —“Ashford” being the *Herald's* way of spelling the name more usually written “Ashworth.” And the said Mirabeau Peel and his profligate desperadoes described, for shortness' sake, as a huge collective “mammoth of pampered vanity and cupidity”—have entered into a vast mammoth-like conspiracy for the establishment of a new UNIVERSAL MONARCHY, the capital of which is to be Manchester. “To accomplish this object,” proceeds the dismal monomaniac, “we perceive an array of MILLIONS OF COTTON-SPINDLES under the direction of the Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, and BRIGADED and COMMANDED by Cobden, Bright, Sturge, &c, (that essence of philanthropy) ARRAYED TO MARCH and to accomplish the object—the conquest of the world”—and “TO RENDER EVERY NATION SLAVES to their capital and to their manufacturing profits.” However, the brigaded millions of cotton spindles, before finally setting out on their march to conquer the world and render every nation slaves, must make sure that they do not leave behind them the elements of a successful revolt, that would nip their hopes of empire in the bud. Tyranny, like charity, to begin well, must begin at home. The first thing, therefore, the brigaded cotton spindles have to do is “to reduce the whole agricultural population everywhere to the condition of serfs;” for it is a well-known fact that “the Free Trade array” uniformly describe the “unfortunate agriculturists” as “beings as ignorant as their cattle, and consequently fit only to be slaves to the manufacturers.” Having subjected the unfortunate agriculturists, and completed and sealed the conquest by the original expedient of actually “devouring the land, or real property of the country” (they have stomachs, these ogres, for anything), the brigaded spindles will be at liberty to proceed on their “crusade against the powers, the intelligence, the industry, and the capital of more than THREE HUNDRED MILLIONS OF CIVILISED MEN, INHABITING DIFFERENT COUNTRIES ON THIS GLOBE.” For the plan of the campaign, which we regret that our space does not allow of our giving in detail, the curious reader must consult for himself the “amusing print”—where he will likewise learn what dreadful preparations for the war are daily going on in the very bosom of certain Manchester and Glasgow families. Now we add, that the *Herald's* facts are all “learned from good authority.”

We are not familiar with the statistics of the sale and circulation of this most extraordinary literary and political phenomenon, and we find the densest ignorance on the subject prevailing in the circle of our more immediate friends. Perhaps, however, we may trust to the kindness and research of some of our readers to supply us with information on one or two points on which our curiosity is somewhat vividly excited. We should greatly like to know whether, and to what extent, Manchester and Glasgow gentlemen are in the habit of patronising this singularly enlightened and polite journal? Also, whether, and to what extent, the managers of public news-rooms in the manufacturing districts consider themselves at liberty to expend the five-pences of their subscribers in disseminating a publication, whose fitness to express and guide local opinion is so happily demonstrated by the intimate local knowledge evinced in the allusion to the great manufacturing house of “Ashford?” On some other points on which our inquisitiveness has been excited, we ask no questions, for we are sure no answer can be forthcoming. How any editor can pen such incomprehensibly stupid trash, and call it a “leading article”—how any proprietor and capitalist can draw a cheque on his bankers to pay for such leading article being written—and how any news-man can make a living by selling it when it is written—are questions on which we can only resign ourselves at once to absolute and perpetual nescience.

THE NICE YOUNG MAN.

“Let laws and learning, arts and commerce die,
But leave us still our old nobility.”
Poems by Lord John Manners.

The characteristically pompous and silly stuff which this well-meaning, but singularly weak-headed young nobleman, addressed, the other day, to the members of the “Birmingham Athenic Institute”—an association formed for the purpose of reviving old English sympathies, old English affections, old English sports, and old English everything, under a Greek name and a Latin motto—has, on the whole, received ample justice at the hand of the *Examiner*; and it would be a work of supererogation to repeat the castigation due to the inanities and impertinences of his lordship's harangue. We cannot, however, forbear a word of comment on one point, not touched by our contemporary—the nice young man's sneer at political economy and economists in particular, and philosophy and philosophers in general. Lord John Manners delivered himself to the congregated Athenics in the following strain:

“Political economy has still many abstract votaries; and it rests mainly with you, and with societies like yours, to show that the sobriety, morals, intelligence, ay, and the industry too of the people, is promoted by a fair mixture of recreative leisure and amusement with their time of toil and labour. * * * Well, gentlemen, they may call us what they please—these dry philosophers, these party politicians, we will pursue the even tenor of our way—lightening the toil, elevating the tastes, giving vigour and health to the frames of the working youths of Birmingham.”

So then, it seems, political economy and dry philosophy frown on “recreative leisure and amusement,” and hold in particular aversion whatever tends to “lighten the toil, elevate the tastes, and give vigour and health to the frames” of the working classes; that is to say, the science which expounds the laws of the production and distribution of wealth stands in antagonism to the natural and best uses of wealth—and it is the express purpose of philosophy to aggravate the toil, debase the tastes, and impart debility and disease to the frames of the working classes. Political economy and philosophy abominate the “mens sana in corpore sano,” and have a decided grudge against the working Athenic youths of Birmingham who have associated themselves for the realisation of this inestimable blessing. The Athenics may, however, be of good cheer. Lord John Manners is in the field against political economy and philosophy, and will enfranchise the degraded and oppressed victims of these common enemies of mankind with cricket matches and may-poles. David and his sling against Goliath of Gath—Lord John Manners and his bat against philosophy, though she come in the guise of *Athéné* her-

self. Lord John Manners and the Athenics will, among them, despite all “obloquy and misrepresentation,” redress the evils of “our present arbitrary and artificial state of society”—“disperse the mists of money-getting prejudice”—restore “the frankness and freshness of old English character”—and “carry this little island of ours through all straits and dangers,” &c. &c.

After all, Lord John Manners is not so silly as he seems. There is a sort of shrewdness about him, which admirably balances and corrects any over-tendency to frankness and freshness. He is quite right to be against political economy and philosophy, for political economy and philosophy are most decidedly against him. He feels himself in a false position—this sentimental monopolist—this frank and fresh bread taxer—this fine old English supporter of the shabbiest and dirtiest of legislative iniquities. He feels himself in a false position. Speaking to Birmingham men, whose industry he shuts out from its natural and rightful markets—whose wages he fines down, by enhancing the cost of that on which wages are expended—whose recreative leisure he abridges by arbitrarily increasing the difficulty of supplying those wants which wait on no man's leisure—whose amusements he invades with those chilling and heart-withering anxieties incident to suspended and irregular trade, which eat out the very faculty for being amused—whose toils he multiplies, prolongs, and aggravates by superadding to the natural and necessary cost of life the artificial cost of landlordism's black-mail—whose tastes he lowers, by curtailing time and opportunity for their culture—and whose healthful vigour he would prematurely waste away, by maintaining a cruel and vicious system which the economists, the philosophers, and the statesmen, have demonstrated to be “THE CAUSE OF PENURY, FEVER, MORTALITY, AND CRIME, AMONG THE PEOPLE!”—Lord John Manners feels himself to be in a false position;—and he makes believe to put himself right, by running out against the science that shows him to be wrong.

Lord John Manners is a young man—young enough to learn; and, notwithstanding his frivolous and empty sneer at wiser and better men than himself, we are willing to remember that he has given some signs of readiness and ability to learn. May we suggest, that he would do wisely to make at once that final election between right and wrong which, in these times, as he will not be long of finding, no public man can hope to evade. The old English philanthropy that taxes poor men's bread, and the old English frankness and freshness of feeling that plunder poor men's cupboards, are coming very rapidly to be rated exactly for what they are worth. If Lord John Manners means to qualify himself for popularity among Birmingham artisans, he must cease to sneer at truths which even artisan intelligence appreciates, to talk a rhodomontade which artisan common-sense scorns, and to give his vote and interest to a sordid iniquity against which the artisan soul indignantly revolts. The Athenics themselves will not stand it at the next anniversary. If Lord John Manners cannot put himself through an entirely new course of mental discipline—including liberal and constant doses of “political economy,” and “dry philosophy,”—he had better, to save time, trouble, and mortification, go back to the castle and the hounds, and settle down at once into a lord.

IMPORTANT DISCOVERY OF MINERAL WEALTH IN THE NORTH OF ABERDEEN.—We understand that Mr. Dixon, of Glasgow, has become lessee of part of an extensive mineral field situated near Beith. The ore proposed to be wrought is a species of Brown Hematite, yielding sometimes as high as 50 per cent. of pure iron; it exists in immense abundance, forming strata of many feet in thickness, throughout the parishes of Beith, Kilbirnie, and Dalry. In the latter parish, in the farm of Howrat, the property of Captain Blair, of Blair, it forms a strata from fifteen to twenty feet thick. We believe that the first discoverer of the importance of this mine was John Jack, Esq., manager of the Eglinton Iron Works—a gentleman whose great experience and scientific knowledge have done much to develop the immense mineral wealth of this district.—*Ayr Advertiser*.

On Friday, a party of 18 men, belonging to 30th Regiment, were obliged to make a detour of several miles, when on the march to Athol, of being able to procure refreshments at Ahsacragh.—*Limerick Examiner*.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION OF 1846.

Fourteenth Week, ending Saturday, April 25.

For anything which as yet appears to the contrary, the Easter recess might have lasted a fortnight instead of a week. The House of Commons re-assembled last Friday (week), and at once proceeded to resume the debate on the first reading of the Irish Coercion Bill. Yet, at the present moment, this debate is just as far advanced as it was three weeks ago. The Irish repeal members have taken a leaf out of the book of Lord George Bentinck; and they seem disposed to "better the instruction" which he has given. All legislative function is paralysed; the Government seems helpless; and rumour runs about, muttering ominous threats of an impending dissolution of Parliament.

The appalling condition of Ireland was part of the theme of Friday night week. In answer to an appeal from Mr. Smith O'Brien, in which he adduced evidence that the people were starving, Sir James Graham regretted the inadequacy of the remedies to meet the actual exigency, but reminded the house that the Government could not, and did not, undertake the task of feeding the indigent population of Ireland. All they proposed to do was to regulate the market price, by permitting freedom of supply, as to enable food to be procured at a moderate price. But the Government did more than this. They had provided for the possibility of the landlords of Ireland failing in their duty, and had undertaken that the grants of public money might be exceeded on the responsibility of ministers, in order to meet any possible extension of the calamitous circumstances which afflict Ireland. He appealed to Irish members to permit the first reading of the Coercion Bill, in order that they might afterwards proceed with the Corn Bill.

Similar sentiments were uttered by Sir Robert Peel. He reminded the house that a short time ago the Government had been accused of exaggeration when they pointed to the probability of a famine in Ireland. If it were possible to alleviate the calamity, no pecuniary consideration should interfere. But let them take care that by interference they might not do more harm than good. It was a hazardous experiment to undertake the feeding of a people; no Government should interfere with the natural course of supply and demand. Their great object was to enable wheat, oats, Indian meal, and other grain, to be supplied at moderate and natural prices; and for the farther mitigation of the impending calamity, the wealthy classes and not the Government were responsible.

The debate, however, went on, the only exception to a dreary night being an excellent speech from Mr. Ward, who spoke with much spirit, temper, and good sense on the subject of Ireland. He complained of the "disgraceful" state of the House, engaged as it was in the discussion of a great constitutional question. This was an allusion to the attendance of members during the night, which had been scanty. Were they, he asked, for ever to pursue this miserable and vulgar policy of coercion? They had tried it during successive years, and it had continually failed. The first vote he had ever given in Parliament had been in favour of a coercion bill; but at that time he knew less of Ireland than he did of Mexico, and he reposed confidence in the Ministry which proposed it. Universal testimony showed that the Irish endured unexampled privations—was it marvellous that patience should be occasionally exhausted, or that despair should break out into outrage? He depicted the social condition of the people, quoting Kohl's opinion as to the comparative depth of their degradation and misery, borne with religious cheerfulness and content—and was this the people whom we were called on to coerce, and to shut up every night in their hovels, under extreme pains and penalties? Their business was to grapple, not so much with the criminals as with the causes of crime; the evils of Ireland were social, not political; and the remedy for them, he contended, was not to be found in such measures as the bill before the house, but in large comprehensive plans for the amelioration of the condition of the country.

The Irish members compelled an adjournment of the debate till Monday. On Monday there was "No house." One member only was required to make up the forty, which enables the SPEAKER to retain the chair; and Dr. Bowring, who had been detained by a tardy omnibus in his way from the Bank to the House, arrived a minute too late. But the fact of there being "No house" immediately set people to speculation. It was conjectured that the Cabinet was in a crisis, and consequently that a dissolution was at hand. All this spreads about the idea that Sir Robert Peel feels the difficulty of his position, and is losing that disciplinary firmness which used to characterise him. It would be a pity for the country, in its present commercial condition, were the monopolists to deceive themselves into the folly of precipitating the contest which they affect to desire. But perhaps, after all, it may be ultimately better that the contest should come, for the raising of a nation might be the cause of securing a larger amount of ultimate advantage for the people than the blunderbores dream of.

On Tuesday, the House of Lords re-assembled, but did nothing, except that Lord Brougham made the House laugh by sneering at the House of Commons as being incapable of doing its business! In the House of Commons, however, in the early part of the evening, there occurred a matter which, as bearing on Free Trade, we must notice.

Lord George Bentinck got up, and in a solemn, lugubrious

way, intended to make a great impression, spoke to the following effect:

Lord GEORGE BENTINCK rose to obtain some explanation of a false return laid upon the table respecting the prices of Memel timber. He had moved for this document, applicable to the last six years, in the last week of January or in the first week of February, and the part which appeared to be false was dated 13th February; it was then in the hands of the Board of Trade, although it had not been laid upon the table until the 1st April. The object his lordship had in view was to throw light on a pending discussion of the timber duties, and the return showed that the following were the prices of Memel timber. [The noble lord here stated a series of figures which turned out to be, as he said, the correct prices, and not those given in the return; he accordingly withdrew them.] The following were the prices of Memel timber, duty paid, as they stood in the return of which he complained:

1840	from	£8 0 0	to	£8 5 0
1841	.....	7 15 0	.....	8 0 0
1842	.....	7 15 0	.....	8 0 0

The duty which was stated to have been paid being then 55s. per load. The average of those three years, according to the return upon the table, was 87. 1s. 1d. In the year 1842, the right honourable baronet at the head of the Government introduced his changes. He then reduced the duty by 25s., and he took off a further 5s. in 1843. The return went on to give the subsequent as the prices after the reduction of the duty:

1844	from	£5 5 0	to	£5 10 0
1845	.....	5 0 0	.....	5 10 0
1846	.....	5 12 6	.....	5 17 6

Making an average of 57. 12s. 6d. The result of the return was to show the house and the country that the consumers had gained by the remission of the 30s. duty, not only the whole amount of that duty, but 19s. 2d. over and above it; in other words, that the consumers had gained 49s. 2d. upon every load of Memel timber. He believed the fact to be that so far from this being true, the return, if correctly made out, would have shown that the following were the prices:—In 1840, 57. 10s.; 1841, 57. 5s.; 1842, 57. 5s. Showing an average of 57. 6s. 8d., with a duty of 55s. already paid. During the last three years, when the duty had been reduced to the extent of 30s., the subsequent were the correct prices of Memel timber:—In 1844, 47. 5s.; 1845, 47. 5s.; 1846, 47. 12s. 6d., showing an average of 47. 7s. 6d. Thus the consumer, on an average of three years since the duty had been reduced, as compared with the three years before it was reduced, instead of having gained, as represented in the return, 49s. 2d., being all the reduced duty, and 19s. 2d. beyond it, had really gained only 19s. 2d., while 10s. 10d. were put into the pockets of the foreign growers. Comparing the last year with 1842, before the duty was reduced, there was put into the pockets of the British consumers, not 42s. 6d., as represented by the return, but 12s. 6d., out of the 30s. of reduced duty. Out of the reduced duty of 30s. the foreigner, in 1846, was enjoying benefit to the extent of 17s. 6d., while the British consumer was a gainer to the extent of only 12s. 6d. This seemed to him (Lord G. Bentinck) a most important matter, inasmuch as the house expected to be able to rely upon the truth and honesty of the statistical documents laid upon the table, as valuable guides to legislation. He had at first contemplated the fitness of calling to the bar the subordinate officer who had made out the return, in order that he might explain how the error, or fraud, which had been imposed upon the house had occurred. It was all very well for honourable gentlemen connected with the commercial interests to slight this subject; but he (Lord George Bentinck) maintained that the misrepresentation was an important one, and it could not be denied that it had passed current with the house and the people. So striking was it, that the learned editors of newspapers had remarked upon it in leading articles, and had drawn an argument from it in favour of the reduction of duty on Baltic timber. He had, therefore, thought it right to call upon Ministers to explain how it came to pass that, after so long a delay as seven weeks, the Board of Trade had at length laid upon the table a false return, which had been most appropriately presented on the 1st of April.

Sir Robert Peel thus disposed of this "mare's nest."

Sir R. PEEL did not think that he should be justified in entering into any argument with the noble lord (cheers), but he would simply state the facts of the case as regarded the error in the return. His attention had not been called to the subject until he heard from the noble lord yesterday. Although, in one sense, documents of the kind were presented by ministers, yet, if only on account of their number, it was utterly impossible that they should undertake to be responsible for their accuracy (hear, hear). At the same time he willingly admitted the great importance of accuracy, and the parties preparing them, and not preparing them accurately, were in truth answerable. Immediately he understood that an error had been committed, he had directed that if that error were found to exist, a document not liable to the same objection should be made out forthwith and laid before the house. He believed that an accurate return would be laid upon the table to-morrow. He had also made a communication to the Board of Customs requiring to be certified in what department the mistake had been committed; to this communication an answer had been received, and the best course would perhaps be to read the letter. It was in the following form, and addressed to one of the secretaries of the Treasury:—"April 21, 1846.—Sir—In answer to your requisition, calling upon me to state in what department the error in the return of the values on Memel and Canadian timber arose, I have to regret to state that it was in the landing surveyor's department. The nature of the mistake is, that the prices were necessarily taken from the *Prices Current*, which are not official Customs documents, but a mercantile list, in which some of the values quoted include the duties, whilst others do not. The heading of the space containing the values, viz. "value in bond," led to the error. It applied only to the upper half of the columns, and not to that part in which these prices were entered, and this distinction was not observed. I have to express my regret at this error, and remain, Sir, your most obedient servant, M. Sturt.—E. Cardwell, Esq." He (Sir R. Peel) had only to add the expression of his regret that the error had occurred; he had taken the necessary steps to correct it immediately, but he must repeat that public officers must be held responsible for mistakes of the kind."

The rest of Tuesday night was spent in a kind of miscellaneous discussion on the Poor Law Commission, the Post-office, Irish railways, &c. Tuesday is an open night, for the motions of individual members; and it, of course, de-

pends on their nature whether or not the discussions on that night are of general importance.

On Wednesday, during the day sitting, there was a somewhat curious discussion, showing how fearful the "country gentlemen" are of anything which may tend to diminish their influence, or their control over the county constituencies.

Mr. Elphinstone moved the second reading of his County Elections Bill, the object proposed by which was to limit the time of polling in counties to the same period as in boroughs, namely, to one day.

Colonel Thomas Wood met the motion by a direct negative, that the bill be read a second time that day six months.

In the course of the somewhat curious discussion which ensued,

Lord Worsley, who supported the bill, adduced evidence to show that the bulk of a county constituency actually polled on the first day of an election.

The noble lord read the following statement:

Return of the number of votes recorded in County Elections in 1841, showing that a large proportion of the registered constituents recorded their votes on the first day:

	Total Votes Recorded.	First Day Poll.	Second Day Poll.
Buckinghamshire	5571	6938	1641
South Essex	5127	4218	909
Hertfordshire	6445	7919	1496
South Northamptonshire	3675	4865	850
West Yorkshire	4972	41239	8283
North Northumberland	3880	2762	718
East Cumberland	5753	5777	590
North Lincolnshire	13713	11163	2640
East Sussex	2392	4290	1012
South Derbyshire	13629	8645	2375
South Leicestershire	7593	6936	627
East Cornwall	7456	6951	495
East Norfolk	8313	6863	1450

Lord Worsley also amused the house by assuring it that he was cognisant of the fact that many county electors imagined, and sometimes attempted to act on their misconception, that as the law allowed two days for polling, they could vote on the first day for one candidate, and on the second for his opponent; and that they supposed they were deprived of a legal right when they were prevented.

Mr. Newdegate expressed his apprehensions that if county elections were limited to one day, associations, such as the Anti-Corn-Law League, would take advantage of the facilities which railways now afforded; and, by concentrating bodies of electors at particular stations, pour down upon the polling booths and decide the contest. Mr. Cobden had threatened that within three years he could unseat one hundred county members, unless they changed their principles, and acted against their own convictions and those of the constituencies which they represented.

Mr. Bright remarked that all the arguments against the present Bill resembled in colour and texture the arguments which had been used in support of the old obnoxious system, on which the present practice was admitted to be a great improvement.

Mr. Beckett Denison knew of many instances in which the result of an election had been changed by the interval afforded between the first and second day.

Sir James Graham admitted that the change to one day in boroughs, and two days in counties, had been a great improvement on the old system. But elections in boroughs extended only over a radius of seven miles; while in counties there was no specific limitation, and instanced the county of York. He did not think the Bill to be necessary, and therefore opposed it.

After some further debate—during which Mr. Escott affirmed his knowledge of corrupt practices in the night between the two days, and Colonel Sibthorp hoped that the day was distant when money would not freely circulate at elections, and Lord George Bentinck renewed his attack on Mr. Escott, for alleged abandonment of principle—the house went to a division, when the Bill was thrown out by a majority of 55 to 32.

Thursday night was devoted, in both Houses, to the introduction of the Railway Relief Bill, and the discussion of a new sessional order, for the purpose of stopping all Railway Bills now before Parliament, until it is ascertained that a majority of the shareholders are clearly in favour of proceeding; while to those who wish to withdraw from their schemes the opportunity is given of winding up their concerns. The subject does not precisely come within our range, except to notice that the "gangway section" are anxious to seize every opportunity of attacking the Government. Lord George Bentinck, on hearing the Chancellor of the Exchequer talk about appealing from "Philip drunk" to "Philip sober," got up and accused Sir Robert Peel personally, and the Government generally, as having had a great share in making the people railway drunk. And then Ben D'Israeli, the "Philosopher of Shrewsbury," should get up to repeat the same thing, and to preach an essay as to the virtues which should be possessed by a "great statesman," with a "great idea." Philosophie Ben imagines, apparently, that unborn statesmen will yet suckle from him the art of Government.

It is really becoming intolerable that a knot of pedants and puppies "under the gangway," should bestride every public question, like the Old Man of the Sea.

Late in the evening, (the railway debate lasting till past eleven o'clock,) Lord Sandon brought on a motion relative to the reduction of the duty on TEA, which was seconded by Mr. Moffat, in an able statistical speech, which the lateness of the hour alone prevented from receiving due consideration. But, from the reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, we may infer that the subject will be taken into the serious consideration of the Government.

IMPORTANT FROM BRAZIL.—PETITION TO LORD ABERDEEN.

(From the Economist.)

The question of our relations with Brazil becomes more and more complicated. Our readers will remember that, at various periods last year, we called attention to the dangerous position in which property in Brazil belonging to British subjects, dying either there or here, is placed in such an event by the expiry of our treaty. It is now a year ago since a deputation of merchants from Liverpool had an interview with Lord Aberdeen on this alarming state of our Brazilian relations. At that time Lord Aberdeen, fully admitting the importance of the case, assured those merchants that he had every reason to believe that, at that moment, a treaty of amity was on its way home, which would secure a restoration of the rights of British subjects in Brazil.

To this day no more has been heard of the Brazilian treaty; the truth being, that the disappointment felt at our continued refusal to admit their sugars, by the bill of last year, and further the passing of a law towards the close of last session, giving to our Courts of Admiralty jurisdiction over Brazilian subjects, in certain cases, under the treaty of 1826, and which Act was passed in the face of the most explicit opinion expressed by one of the greatest law authorities in Parliament, and we think we may safely say, under a considerable doubt on the part of all, that it was an Act of direct variance with the law of nations,—under these circumstances, the Brazilian Government immediately instructed the commissioners who had been appointed to negotiate the treaty in question, to suspend all further intercourse on the subject with Mr. Hamilton, until these obnoxious and injurious laws were altered.

Meantime a private committee was appointed at Rio de Janeiro, for the purpose of endeavouring, by every means in their power, to prevail on the Government to grant them the same privileges regarding the property of deceased British merchants as is possessed by the French, under treaty, and which they also possessed until the expiry of the late treaty. After spending months in futile attempts, without obtaining any concession from the Government, and living in the greatest terror of the operation of the law upon their property, this committee have addressed to Lord Aberdeen, through Mr. Hamilton, a petition, of which the following is a copy—the original, no doubt, having been received this week at the Foreign Office. The petition itself fully explains the difficulties and dangers under which from four to five millions' worth of British property is at this moment almost in a state of the most imminent danger. And for what? In order to maintain a distinction with respect to the introduction of slave-labour sugar, most ineffective for its pretended objects, and which fairly exposes us, in all our efforts on behalf of the slave, to a suspicion of insincerity and hypocrisy, and exhibits us to the whole world in the daily commission of the most glaring and flagrant inconsistencies. This has become a serious subject, which it will be impossible for the British Government to stave off much longer. The following is the petition:

May it please your Lordship,

The undersigned British subjects resident in Brazil, request permission, in the most respectful manner, to lay before your Lordship, her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the very exposed and dangerous position in which all property existing in Brazil belonging to British subjects is placed, by a certain law, entitled, "Decreto, No. 160, de 9 de Maio, de 1842, Dando Regulamento para a arrecadação dos bens dos defuntos e Ausentes, vagos e de evento," being made applicable to them, "as subjects of a nation with which Brazil has no treaty." Your memorialists beg leave to state the difference of the positions of French and British subjects. A British subject is bound to make his will according to the forms of the Brazilian law, and is further obliged to bequeath such of his property as may be existent in Brazil, wheresoever he may reside, in obedience to the tenor of the law of coheirship (*Lei de Partilhas*), which gives certain relatives of the deceased a legal claim on a certain portion of his property, and forbids its being otherwise bequeathed; but a French subject is at liberty to will his property in accordance with French law.

On the death of a British subject in Brazil—or, indeed, any part of the world, who may have left property in Brazil, whether he should have died intestate or otherwise, the local authorities claim (under the law alluded to) an intervention in the administration of it, which would render the settlement of any claim against the estate of the deceased so difficult and vexatious, that the credit of any commercial establishment which might come under its influence would, of a certainty, become seriously injured, if not ruined; but, by perpetual articles (of an expired treaty), French subjects are entirely protected from the interference of the law your memorialists have so much reason to dread and complain of; thus the French subject can offer a protection and security to property placed under his charge, no longer enjoyed by the subjects of Great Britain in this country.

If a French subject die in this country, or any other, the dispositions he may have made relative to property would be carried into execution here, by the sole intervention of the French consul; and should he have died without leaving any will or dispositions, the French consul has then the power of naming curators, &c., to administer the property, so that a French mercantile establishment, under either event (that is, whether a partner had died intestate or otherwise), would not be exposed to ruin or injury, but might continue its transactions without any interruption.

Should a British merchant die in Brazil, whether he left a will or dispositions for the carrying on the establishment with which he had been connected or not, the local authorities claim a prejudicial intervention with—and the law insists on the liquidation of—the establishment! and the vexatious proofs required, as well as the tardy attention which would be paid to them, before the most clear commercial claim would be acknowledged, would cause a virtual stoppage of payment, and lead to almost certain ruin; thus involving not only the property of the deceased, but the interests of his partners in Great Britain, and probably of others who might have trusted the establishment with the care of their property in this country.

To be as expressive of their meaning as possible, your memorialists may state to your Lordship, that a British subject who might be about to retire from Brazil, under the existence of the law referred to, would leave his property with much greater security in the custody of a French subject than under the care of one of his own countrymen. In the latter case the property would be exposed to a double risk, as either the death of the owner or the agent would equally throw it into the hand of the local authorities, whilst with the French subject, as principal or agent, no interference of the local authorities could occur.

Your Lordship's memorialists have alluded to the case of mercantile establishments, particularly, to show more evidently the risks which those in Great Britain and elsewhere run, who may trust to them as agents, as well as to prove to your Lordship how serious and prejudicial the interest of British commercial establishments connected with the trade to Brazil must be injured by these vexatious laws.

The British merchant here can no longer offer to those in Europe or elsewhere the same security against the intervention of the local authorities in local affairs as French subjects can; neither, indeed, can they do so now to the natives. A circumstance which formerly added much to support British credit in Brazil, was the practical knowledge of the natives, that although a British subject should die in this country, no interference by the local authorities would take place with his property, and his debts would be paid without subjecting the claimants on his estate to loss or litigation. Your memorialists did entertain

hopes that the security granted to French subjects by perpetual articles of treaty made between France and Brazil, within twelve months previous to the date of the last treaty made between Great Britain and this country, had been secured by the following article of the 5th article in the said British treaty:

"And, generally, it is agreed, that the subjects of the high contracting parties respectively shall enjoy in all the territories of the others, with respect to their persons, any rights, privileges, favours, or exemptions, which are, or which may be at any time hereafter, granted to the subjects of the most favoured nations."

But recent occurrences have tended to perplex them on the subject, especially the case of the late George March (a British subject), whose estate was administered for a short time by two British subjects, in accordance with the dispositions left by the late Mr. March, and under the authority of her Majesty's consul. Ultimately, however, the local authorities have interfered; and, disavowing the consul's authority, have laid an injunction on the property, named a curator, and subjected the administrators to the law of which your memorialists so much complain. A more

REPLY OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE "SOCIÉTÉ DES ÉCONOMISTES" OF PARIS.

The following letter was forwarded some time ago from the Council of the League to the Society of Political Economists in Paris, in reply to the address transmitted from that Association to the League, which has already appeared in our columns. The letter appears in the last Number of the "Journal des Économistes," and the interval that has elapsed between the transmission and publication is accounted for by the fact that the "Journal des Économistes" is published only once a month. We subjoin a copy of the original letter, together with the translation:

Londres, 18 Mars, 1846.

A Messieurs CHARLES DUNOYER, Membre de l'Institut, Président; HORACE SAY, JOSEPH GARNIER, et les Membres de la Société des Économistes, à Paris.

MESSIEURS.—Veuillez ne pas attribuer le long retard que les chefs de la Ligue ont mis à vous répondre à un manque de courtoisie de leur part, mais simplement à une grave indisposition qui, pendant plusieurs semaines, m'a tenu séparé de mes compagnons de travaux dans la cause du libre échange. En leur nom comme au mien, je vous prie d'agréer cette tardive expression de notre gratitude. Nous avons été sensiblement touchés à la lecture de votre lettre, où vous nous exprimez en termes si éloquentes la cordiale sympathie des économistes de Paris pour les *Free Traders* d'Angleterre.

Je n'ai jamais douté que, lorsque les travaux et les intentions de la Ligue seraient connus au dehors, il n'éveillassent de nombreuses sympathies au sein d'un peuple aussi généreux et aussi éclairé que le peuple de France. Si ces travaux, pendant plusieurs années, n'ont point attiré l'attention des étrangers, c'est qu'ils paraissaient n'être dirigés que vers un but spécial et n'avoir pour objet que le redressement d'un grief purement domestique. Pourtant, dès l'origine, les promoteurs de la lutte contre les lois céréales avaient tendu à une fin bien autrement noble et générale que la simple destruction d'un monopole injuste. Dans leur pensée le rappel de ces lois devait conduire à l'abolition complète du régime protecteur. Ils sentaient que le grand principe de la liberté commerciale était au fond de la querelle, et qu'à la solution d'une question toute spéciale se liait inévitablement le sort d'un système qui intéressait le présent et l'avenir, non-seulement de l'Angleterre, mais du monde entier.

Je suis charmé, Messieurs, que le retard involontaire que j'ai mis vous répondre me permette de vous annoncer que l'événement confirme ces prévisions, et que la réforme aura un objet infiniment plus étendu que n'avait paru l'annoncer son titre.—Le libre échange, non-seulement en matière de subsistances, mais en toutes sortes de produits, devient aujourd'hui la politique commerciale avouée de la nation Anglaise. Non-seulement tous nos principaux hommes d'état, abjurant un système erroné, se sont prononcés pour l'introduction pratique dans la législation Anglaise des principes de Smith et de J. B. Say; mais encore la grande charte de nos franchises commerciales, promulguée par Sir Robert Peel, a été scellée par le vote des représentants de peuple Britannique.

Je n'ai pas besoin de dire à une Société aussi éclairée que celle des Économistes de Paris, que les suites d'une révolution si considérable ne sauraient se renfermer dans les limites étroites de Royaume-Uni, et que elle est destinée à s'étendre. Vous savez aussi bien que nous, Messieurs, quelle est la vive tendance des idées justes et fécondes à se propager, et combien il est difficile, lorsque une grande nation en a fait l'heureuse application chez elle, que les autres ne soient pas bientôt entraînées à l'imiter. Aussi longtemps que les peuples ont été uniformément soumis au régime des restrictions commerciales, ils ont pu lutter sur le pied de l'égalité: chacun trouvait une sorte de protection dans l'erreur commune à tous. Mais quand une grande nation maritime s'est affranchie des liens du monopole, je ne comprends pas trop comment les autres pourraient consentir longtemps à retenir ce lourd fardeau et à demeurer placées dans des conditions de travail et d'activité si évidemment désavantageuses.

Nous espérons, Messieurs, que la société française, si éclairée, ne tardera pas à sentir les désavantages de cette situation, et qu'elle ne voudra laisser à aucune autre l'honneur de prendre sur le continent l'initiative des mesures favorables à la liberté commerciale. Il n'y a pour votre patriotisme qu'un moyen de la préparer à cet heureux affranchissement: c'est d'initier vos populations à la connaissance de leurs intérêts et de leurs droits. Il est tout à fait désirable que les saines notions économiques cessent enfin de demeurer confinées dans le cabinet des hommes qui les cultivent ou dans quelque cercle savant, et qu'elles commencent à devenir familières à la masse de vos compatriotes. Il n'est donné à aucun gouvernement, quelque excellent que puissent être ses intentions, de faire prévaloir une législation raisonnable, s'il n'est soutenu par une opinion publique éclairée. Vous devez l'avoir éprouvé chez vous, car nous ne cessons d'en faire l'expérience en Angleterre. Il y a dix ans, le gouvernement de ce pays n'eût pas même conçu la pensée de proposer au Parlement ces mesures au triomphe desquelles est aujourd'hui subordonnée la durée du cabinet de Sir Robert Peel. Pour préparer ce résultat, pour donner au peuple d'Angleterre l'intelligence de ses vrais intérêts et le déterminer à manifester constitutionnellement son vœu, il a fallu écrire, discuter, imprimer durant beaucoup d'années. Vous n'aurez pas moins à faire sans doute. Vous ne serez pas plus dispensés que nous, d'user avec énergie et persévérance de ces trois grands agents de tout progrès moral, la parole, la plume et la presse, avant qu'aucun homme d'état intelligent consente à vous suivre et à introduire le principe de la liberté dans la législation industrielle et commerciale de votre pays. Mais à qui, plus qu'à vous, Messieurs, appartient le privilège de propager parmi vos compatriotes les vérités de l'économie politique? et quelle plus

recent case has also occurred, where the local authorities at once took charge of the property of a deceased British subject—a person who belonged to the poorer class; but the circumstance equally shows the principle of the law. If the ostensible be the only real object of the law stated and complained against—namely, to afford protection by preventing embezzlement, no apparently justifiable motive can be offered for not rescinding it, so far as regards those foreigners whose Governments might be desirous to release Brazil from the responsibility.

Your memorialists trust to the penetration of your Lordship to take a full and correct view of the incalculable evils which must be entailed on British commercial interests by the novelty of the Brazilian Government establishing one principle of security for the property of the French subject, and another inferior for the property of British subjects.

Your Lordship's memorialists rely with implicit confidence that her Majesty's Government will give the subject of this memorial that consideration which it may merit.

Rio de Janeiro, the eleventh of February, one thousand eight hundred and forty-six.

London, 18th March, 1846.

Messrs. CHARLES DUNOYER, Member of the Institute and Acting President; HORACE SAY, JOSEPH GARNIER, and the Members of the Economical Society of Paris.

GENTLEMEN.—I entreat you not to attribute the long delay in answering your address to the prominent members of the Anti-Corn-Law League to a want of courtesy on their part, but to a tedious illness which has for several weeks separated me from my fellow-labourers in the cause of Free Trade. In their behalf and my own, I beg you to accept this tardy expression of our grateful acknowledgments. Your address has been read by the members of the League with the liveliest feelings of admiration for the eloquent terms in which you have communicated the cordial sentiments entertained by the economists of Paris towards the *Free Traders* of England.

I never doubted that, when the labours and the motives of the League were comprehended abroad, they would secure the sympathies of the enlightened and generous people of France. For many years those labours failed to attract the notice of foreigners, because they seemed isolated in their object, and directed to the removal of one solitary domestic grievance. But the promoters of the struggle against the English Corn Law perceived from the beginning, that in the success of their efforts was involved a far nobler triumph than that of the removal of an injurious monopoly. They foresaw that the repeal of the Corn Law would be the signal for the downfall of every protective duty—that the great principle of commercial freedom was at stake; and that not merely England, but the world at large, was now and for all future time, interested in the issue of the struggle of the Anti-Corn-Law League.

Fortunately, the delay which has occurred in answering your address enables me to congratulate you upon the recent confirmation of those views. Free Trade in corn, and every other commodity, has now become the recognised policy of the English nation. Not only have all our leading statesmen, with a wise disregard of their former acquiescence in an erroneous system, declared themselves in favour of the practical application of the principles of Adam Smith and J. B. Say to the legislation of England, but the great Charter of our commercial liberty, promulgated by the Government of Sir R. Peel, has received the sanction of the representatives of the British people.

To a body so instructed as the Economists of Paris, I need not say that this step, on the part of England, involves, as a necessary consequence, a revolution, sooner or later, in the fiscal policy of the whole civilised world. It is a maxim, applicable alike to the discoveries in moral and physical science, that nations cannot afford to stand still whilst others are advancing in the march of improvement. So long as all countries subjected themselves to the fetters of the restrictive system, they were upon an equality in the race. The folly of all was the protection of each. But when one great maritime people casts off the trammels of monopoly, it will be in vain for others who retain the burden to attempt to preserve their true position in the scale of nations.

Pardon me for adding, that if your enlightened body share these opinions, your patriotism will prompt you to endeavour to confer upon France the honour and advantages of leading the Continent of Europe in the path of commercial freedom. Be assured that there is no other mode of accomplishing this end but by instructing the people in a knowledge of their economical rights and interests. The theories which have hitherto been confined to the studies of the learned, or the circles of scientific societies, must be made familiar to the minds of the mass of your countrymen. No Government, however well disposed, can enforce a wise legislation, unless it be sustained by an enlightened public opinion. This truth is as applicable to England as to France. Ten years ago, the Government of this country could not have dreamed of being able to carry through Parliament the measures upon which Sir Robert Peel now stakes the existence of his Cabinet. It required many years of writing and discussion, of printing and lecturing, to convince the people of England of their true interests, and rouse them to a constitutional expression of their opinion and wishes. The same mighty agents in all moral progress—the tongue, the pen, and the press—must be called into wide and persevering use, before your statesmen will have the power to embody the principles of industrial freedom in the legislation of France. To whom so properly belongs the privilege of instructing Frenchmen in the truths of political economy as yourselves? What a glorious mission, to take a great nation by the hand, and lead it forward in the path of freedom, civilisation, and happiness—a path which will assuredly conduct us to that goal of Christianity, the universal peace and brotherhood of mankind! But let me not disguise from you the difficulties of the task. You will encounter the combined and active op-

noble et plus glorieuse mission pourriez-vous vous proposer que de prendre en quelque sorte vos populations par la main et de les conduire, en les instruisant mieux de leurs vrais intérêts, vers cette sainte fin du christianisme, la rapprochement des nations, la paix universelle et la fraternité du genre humain ? Ne vous faites pourtant pas illusion sur les difficultés que vous aurez à combattre. Vous allez vous heurter, comme nous, contre l'opposition active et combinée de tous ceux qui s'exagèrent les profits du monopole, et qui croient leur fortune liée à la perpétuité du régime exclusif. Vous aurez à les suivre dans les argumentations les plus subtiles, à réfuter des sophismes qui se produiront sous les formes les plus diverses et les plus compliquées, à déraciner des préjugés aussi anciens que le monde. Ne vous laissez ni surprendre, ni décourager; la vérité est douée d'une si grande énergie virtuelle ! Nous n'avons pas moins à faire que vous ; nous avons à attaquer le monopole sous sa forme la plus formidable, et pourtant nous l'avons vaincu. Pourquoi ce que nous avons si heureusement accompli vous serait-il donc impossible ?

C'est avec une vive émotion, Messieurs, que je rends à votre honorable Société l'expression des sentiments affectueux qu'elle a bien voulu exprimer au président et aux membres de la Ligue. Oui, c'est une ère glorieuse et nouvelle que celle qui est témoin de ce généreux échange de sympathiques manifestations entre les citoyens de deux peuples autrefois victimes d'une haine aveugle et d'un antagonisme insensé, mais destinés, j'en ai la ferme espérance, à ne rivaliser désormais que dans l'accomplissement de ces exploits pacifiques qui font la prospérité et la vraie gloire des nations civilisées. Recevez, je vous prie, Messieurs, de la part de mes collègues et de la mienne, l'assurance de mes sentiments de considération et de sincère estime.

(Signé)

RICHARD COBDEN.

THE RUMOUR OF A RUMOUR.

(From the Times.)

There is a rumour of an immediate dissolution; or, to speak more correctly, there is the report of a rumour to that effect. What is the ground and origin of this report—whether the wish is father to it, or the fear is father to it—whether the protectionists wish Sir Robert to think that he must resign, or Sir Robert wishes the protectionists to think that he will resign—whether an immediate dissolution of Parliament is not a mere blunder for an immediate dissolution of railways, or, after all, the report only expresses that indefinite dissatisfaction with the existing state of things which led Miss Squeers to exclaim, "I wish I was dead—I wish all the world was dead"—it is not necessary for us to decide. The report exists, and is put about with diligence. The question is propounded. Something is to be gained, it is thought, by looking upon the event as possible. As the question is forced upon us, we have scarcely an alternative but to reply. It is by no means an edifying theme. When there is nothing else to talk of, the public generally begins to talk of a dissolution, just as some men, whenever they have nothing else to do, immediately begin to think of apoplexy, suicide, and such horrors. In fact, every time within these twenty years that things have come to a standstill, there has been a report of a dissolution. Anybody, without an opinion in his head, can venture an estimate of the odds for or against that casualty.

Perhaps it is beside the question to ask who is to gain by a dissolution? The Miss Squeers who suggests the idea has probably given up all thought of gain. It is enough that somebody would lose something; or, if not damaged, will be at least disgraced; or, if not disgraced, yet stigmatised. The vision of a dozen agricultural constituencies, in addition to those which have already changed their numbers, turning out four-and-twenty "apostates," with an immense deal of pother, with much bluster and invective, and giving us in their stead four-and-twenty raw young men who have yet to apostatise, is enough to console these satisfied dreamers for the absence of any tangible advantage. Sir Robert Peel would "get it." Many speeches would be made and circulated at a penny a piece. Many prophecies would be uttered. Heaps of statistics and financial statements would be collected for the benefit of those who are ignorant of facts and not versed in arithmetic. Tamboff and New Orleans, the Vistula and the Ohio, would again become names of terror. We should have a Saturnalia of apocryphal facts and impossible estimates. In the midst of the clamour there would perhaps be a dozen victories; though, perhaps, on the contrary, there would not be one. But granting the said dozen victories, whose would be the gain, whose the loss, in the day of reckoning? What would the protectionists have gained by a dissolution?

It is due to public peace and quiet not to canvass electioneering probabilities till the occasion actually arises. It is rather an American than an English usage to keep the elective contest always on foot. Therefore we will not attempt to go through the counties, and cities, and boroughs, in anticipation of a new Parliament. We expressed at the time a gentle demur as to the wisdom and taste of Mr. Cobden's masterly and hitherto unanswered review of the British constituencies. But we certainly do not see where the protectionists can hope to find the means of turning the scale in another Parliament. Why do they not favour us with the names of the constituencies that are to settle the business? They talk of the 112. A balance of 56 changes in their favour, therefore, will be sufficient, not indeed to decide the question in favour of protection, but to bring the legislature to a standstill. Where will you get your 56? Name, name, name? How many cities and boroughs have been lately converted to the sliding scale? But your trust is in the counties—the English counties. They have already done almost their worst. They have left no margin for extraordinary efforts. All the county seats will be insufficient for the purpose.

With so little to encourage even from the most friendly quarter, what is it that the protectionists hope to gain from the dissolution? What at least beyond two or three stray triumphs, counteracted by many more defeats, and the ephemeral pleasure of agitation, misrepresentation, and abuse, of indulging without stint in false logic, false facts, false statistics, false finance, false politics during the hubbub of a general election? They would find these a poor compensation for all but certain results—either one or the other object of their wrath securely settled in the seven years' lease of a Parliament to his mind. The chapter of accidents may do much, if not to accomplish their views, at least to satisfy their vengeance, in the course of this and the following session. Peel may have fallen by his own weight before the winter of 1847. New questions may then have arisen fatal to his cause on the registry and the hustings. A dissolution

position of those who take an exaggerated view of their vested interests in monopoly. You will have to unravel sophisms the most subtle, to refute fallacies which, Proteus-like, will assume different forms; to uproot prejudices as old as France. But be of good courage; truth will enable the champions of Free Trade to surmount all difficulties. We have encountered monopoly in its most formidable shape, and overcome it. Frenchmen will never find that to be impossible which Englishmen have already accomplished.

In conclusion, let me avow the heartfelt gratification that I feel, whilst reciprocating the affectionate sentiments expressed by your Society towards the President and prominent members of the League. It is a new and glorious era which witnesses this generous interchange of sympathies between the citizens of two great nations, heretofore the victims of mutual hatred and unreasoning hostility, but destined, I fervently hope, to become henceforth rivals only in those peaceful achievements which minister to the prosperity and true glory of civilised communities. I entreat you to accept from my colleagues and myself the assurance of our high consideration and esteem, and I have the honour to remain

Sincerely and faithfully yours,

RICHARD COBDEN.

now is a dissolution on the Corn Law. A Parliament elected now will be a Free Trade Parliament; and if, for the comfort of the agriculturists, the story of the late Westminster election should be repeated a hundred times over, the result will be only more permanently, more decidedly, and more offensively adverse to the feelings and supposed interests of the aristocracy.

THE BEDFORD LEVEL CORPORATION.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

There is life in protection yet. The Easter recess has not converted all the friends of native industry. Lord Essex has succumbed; but the fens are firm. A meeting of the Bedford Level Corporation was held on Thursday last. The Duke of Bedford was in the chair, and the Earl of Hardwicke was among the speakers. At that meeting the corporate seal was affixed to a petition to both Lords and Commons against the repeal of the Corn Laws, as destructive to the prosperity of the Bedford Level.

The Bedford Level Corporation has a great faith in high prices, and a most ungrateful disregard for science. The petition attributes "the present prosperous state of the Bedford Level mainly to the encouragement given to agriculture by the restrictive duties imposed on the importation of foreign corn," and declares "that the improvements which have been effected in the drainage of the level and the cultivation of the land would not have taken place if the prices of agricultural produce had not been fairly remunerative." We could imagine a much more faithful statement of the case than this. What if we were to put the advance of science as the primary cause of the prosperity in question, and substitute for the "restrictive duties" the public spirit and enterprise of the successive Dukes of Bedford, aided by their intelligent agents, whose present representative is Mr. Tycho Wing?

It is very natural that the dying utterances of protection should rise from the fens. The inhabitants of this Bæotian region have always been staunch protectionists. They were as sturdy protectors of the fens themselves, while they stagnated over the level, as they are now of the Corn Laws. In 1630, when Sir Cornelius Vanmayden was defeated in his projects for draining the fens of Cambridgeshire by the protectionists of that day, the arguments urged against the scheme by these supporters of domestic industry were exactly parallel to those maintained in favour of the Corn Laws by the speakers at Ely. *Imprimis*, the draining, said they, was an experiment. Many had burnt their fingers in these operations, and instead of draining the fens, emptied their own estates. So with Free Trade: it is an experiment also, and therefore to be condemned. The argument that water would find its level was disregarded in the one case; the axiom that demand will regulate supply is *pooh-poohed* in the other. Again, there was in the seventeenth century the same marvellous regard for existing rights. "The fens," it was argued by the sapient defenders of things as they are, "afforded great plenty and variety of fish and fowl, not to speak of sedge, turf, and reed, which would be destroyed by draining, and none be accessible but at excessive prices." The fen-bred mallard, or mud-flattened pike of the Nene or Ouse, was sweeter to your marsh man than the fat ox of Essex or the sheep of Leicestershire, then, just as the small loaf of Level wheat is sweeter than one twice its size of Dantzic flour. Again, there was great consideration for the thousands of poor people maintained by fishing and fowling in the fens, who would be thrown out of employment by the draining of their homesteads, the swamps and flats of Outwell and Ramsey. There is the same benevolent regard for the half-fed labourer of the present day, and the same forgetfulness that the evils of scanty food and wretched wages are not aggravated by a change which promises to give more both of one and the other.

"However," says Fuller, in giving the *pros* and *cons* of the drainage and anti-drainage parties, "the generality were possessed with a firm opinion that the project was impossible to be brought to pass."

It is a pity that the science which drained the fens cannot be brought to bear upon the fen men. The steam-engine can draw off the muddy waters of the Welland or the Cam, but is powerless against the stagnant settlements of prejudice and ignorance. We may substitute corn for sedge, and barley-field for bog, but who shall so manure mind that truth shall spring in the place of bigotry, and the green crops of activity on the ground beset by the rank overgrowth of contented stupidity and unquestionable indolence?

The Earl of Hardwicke supported the petition in a speech worthy of that document and its framers. Nothing more daring in assertion or more vicious in logic has seen the light, even in the palmy days of protection, before Sir Robert announced his conversion. His lordship, however, took two or three new positions:

"The manufacturers said that they existed by means of art and science. Now he (Lord Hardwicke) replied that they could use the same language in the Bedford Level for there they existed by the very means of which the manufacturers make a boast. They existed there by art and industry; that great country had been brought into its present state of high cultivation by the art, and science, and industry of man (here, hear, hear). It was drained by the steam-engine; that great mark of the progress of human knowledge had been seized upon, not only by the manufacturers of cotton, but also by the manufacturers of wheat. Therefore they stood in the same position with the manufacturers of the north in that respect, inasmuch as their prosperity was founded upon art and science."

We are glad to find agriculture boasting that it stands on the same ground as manufactures. There used to be a disposition to oppose green fields to smoky towns, and village spires to factory chimneys. The Bedford Level, having now found out its sisterhood to Manchester, should go further, and borrow arguments instead of machines—convictions as well as steam-engines. If the Bedford Level cultivators are like the Lancashire cotton-spinners, why do they not, like them, defy the world and disclaim protection?

Lord Hardwicke himself gives us a very original answer to this natural and pertinent query:

"Let the Corn Laws be once repealed, and before long the progress of science in other countries, and the advantages we gave them for the purpose of rendering the British agriculturist powerless in raising food, would cause the millowner of Manchester to supplicate Parliament for protection for his industry, and skill, and capital (cheers). Facts would soon come forth to show that a great pressure upon the cotton manufacturing interest—caused probably, in some measure, by our sending out steam-engines to facilitate the manufacture of cotton at the very place where the raw material is grown, had been to the manufacturers a fearful notice of the risk they must run by competing unprotected with the advancing science of other countries. The cheap loaf was a sort of last hope to them. They thought if they could get a cheap loaf even for a time, they might so reduce the wages of labour as to hold up a little longer against the competition they had brought upon themselves. There might be, doubtless there were, persons connected with the Free Trade movement who had ulterior objects, but the immediate object of the movement was personal gain."

This, it must be confessed, is a new view of the subject. The fear that foreigners will manufacture is an argument against supplying them with manufactures of our making. Russia is madly bent on shirt-making—Manchester is paving the way to her own ruin by supplying her with shirts ready made. Europe has corn, but is deficient in broad-cloth—England has broad-cloth, and is deficient in corn. Suicidal England, says Lord Hardwicke, which would exchange the fabric of her looms for the grain of her foreign customer! Lord Hardwicke contrasts the disinterested motives of the protectionist peers with the selfishness of the Free Traders. Repeal of the Corn Laws is to have a tremendous effect upon prices. Wheat is to come down by the run, but somehow the great landholders are not to be affected. We have often maintained the latter half of this argument, but we do not remember having coupled it with the former. If the disinterestedness of the protectionist lords is to be supported by this pair of stools, something must come to the ground which it is not decorous to particularise. Lord Hardwicke's remarkable statement is worth preserving:

"He was of opinion that the House of Lords and the highest ranks of society were, of all others, the least interested in this question of Free Trade. Could it be believed that if his noble friend on his left, the Duke of Bedford, were to find his property reduced one-fourth, or more, in value, it would make any very material difference in his comforts as a great and a proud British nobleman—proud from his descent, but noble from his virtues? But look at the condition of the artisan; if he suffer a diminution in his earnings, what a fearful effect is produced upon his comforts and those of his family! It was on this ground that he (Lord Hardwicke) was prepared to support, in his place in the House of Lords, the present system of protection to the industry of land."

We beg to draw up a case in proportion. As the Duke of Bedford's rental from land is to his whole income, so is the price of his bread to the artisan to his whole expenditure. The repeal of the Corn Laws will diminish the value of land, says Lord Hardwicke, therefore it will diminish the Duke of Bedford's rental. But it will lower the price of bread. We cannot see how Lord Hardwicke makes out that it will, therefore, lessen the comforts of the artisan. However, Lord Hardwicke, like *Orlando* in "As you Like it," is not asked to please us—he is asked to speak. His auditory was not a very critical one. It was of the fens, fenish—and the speech was worthy of the hearers. Protection, like the early Britons, has been driven from the haunts of civilisation to swamps and inaccessible morasses, and we cannot hail in Lord Hardwicke the Prince Arthur who is to lead it forth for daring deeds against the sturdy Saxons of the League, or the traitorous band who have forfeited their nationality for the good of the country, and shaken hands with those potent invaders, common sense and sound argument.

THE MANNERS MIXTURE, OR INFALLIBLE SOCIAL SPECIFIC.

(From the Examiner.)

It is a good thing for lords to mix with labourers. It is a good thing to play at cricket and quoits. There is merit in the promotion of sports and pastimes, but nevertheless Lord John Manners is mistaken in supposing himself the regenerator of the nation.

Things might be better than they are if there were more Lord John Mannerses in the world, more cricket and more quoits, but nevertheless things as they are, are not so bad as Lord John Manners describes them. It is, however, the good fortune of Lord John Manners to be his own specific. He bewails the alienation of classes; he finds that admixture is what is wanted; and so he mixes Lord John Manners for the improvement of the social elements. At Birmingham, at Manchester, at Liverpool, the remedy, according to the words of the Apothecaries' label, is, the mixtures as before.

How great must be the happiness to a benevolent man of finding, in his own person, the remedy for a nation's evils, and that for the great work of social amelioration he has only to give the people a little more of himself. So when Lord John Manners surveys the wants and woes of the country, he has the comfort of knowing that he has only to mix to supply what is deficient, and to amend what is amiss. He confers improvement with his company. He mixes with the people, and they are better, and he is the better too, as he condescendingly explains; so that the Manners mixture is always improving, and the Lord John who regenerates Birmingham by mixing is ten times the Lord John who regenerated Manchester by mixing three years ago. As the more he mixes the greater becomes his mixing virtue, to what a pitch of perfection by due and active process of mixing must he attain!

We look upon Lord John Manners now as the circulating medium of virtue, but with a property that no other circula-

ling medium possesses, of imparting its value wherever it goes, and endowing it at the same time. The country then requires him to circulate himself actively. England expects Lord John Manners to do his duty. He must not spare himself; he must dine diligently, but and bowl assiduously, and mix copiously. As the demand, "more Manners, more Manners, the mixture, the mixture," rises, he must bestir himself to confer himself. His spirit of self-devotion is happily great. He is the very Curtius of Banquets, always ready to leap into the gulf of the chair; and the vast sacrifice he is ready to make, to give the people the inestimable good of his presence amongst them, may be learnt from this declaration at the Birmingham Athletic Institution. His lordship began with a moral:

"I have learnt one practical lesson, which has taught me that it is not well to talk to one's neighbour at dinner."

We were idle enough to think that Lord John's neighbour had resented the interruption of his feeding; and our sympathies, we confess, were with his neighbour, whom we set down to be in the right of preferring his meat to his lordship's moralising, but we were all at fault, for see what the lesson really was:

"When I introduced to my friend on my right that but for brotherhood I should have been at the meet of my father's hounds, I had no idea that he would thus introduce it as a compliment; however, I assure you that had your anniversary have been on the 15th of April, on that day, instead of the last, it would not have preceded my breakfast."

Prodigies! *Typus magnus stupens ludum Paridemque reliquit.* For the great object of mixing with the people he would even desert the hounds! This indeed is patriotism.

How great is the bounty of this nobleman! How he gives his presence to his countrymen, knowing that it is the one thing needed, and that wherever he bestows himself he effects regeneration, leaves men wiser, happier, and better. They have only to see the lord among them, and to improve.

Considering what his sense of his own patrician attributes is, he may well have written these lines:

"Let laws and learning, arts and commerce, die,
But let us still our old nobility."

Which, by the way, intimates very truly, no doubt, that the extinction of learning would be quite compatible with the survivorship of the old nobility, who could continue to exist as well as ever without laws, learning, and arts.

Lord John Manners boasts proudly of the progress he has made in national regeneration, and the announcement reads like a passage in a Royal speech:

"In the rural districts a great advance has been made; the May-pole is again erected in Kent, and cricket and other manly games are not only encouraged."

We are very glad to hear it, especially of the May-pole in Kent, though we are not without misgivings that the hop-pole may have been mistaken for it; and we cannot but regret that Lord John Manners was not a little more particular as to the whereabouts of the May-pole, as many worthy persons might be disposed to make a pilgrimage to the sign of social regeneration. We rejoice, too, at the news of cricket; but much as we prize these restorations, we do not think it necessary to their welcome and appreciation to represent the whole country as having been a cave of Trophons before the advent of Lord John Manners, and his juxtaposition with the industrious classes.

What in the world is such language as this about?

"Away, gentlemen, I say, with the cant that would have us believe all old feelings are dead—all English sympathies extinguished—all national affections chilled. There is not a sequestered nook in the lakes of Cumberland; in the mines of Cornwall; in the dim, close, hot alleys of Manchester or Stockport; in the smoky streets of your own Birmingham, in which the gallant, trustful, manly English spirit is dead. Be it ours, then, to call it forth; to exercise it, and through it to carry this tight little island of ours through all straits, through all dangers; and this, gentlemen, rely upon it, we can if we will."

It is quite unnecessary to cry, Away with the cant that English sympathies are extinguished, national affections chilled, the spirit dead, &c.; no one asserts any nonsense of the kind, and the cant, if cant there be, is Lord John Manners' cant of conjuring up a cant that he may have the glory of laying it by exorcisement.

Be it ours, says the modest nobleman, to call forth the English spirit. Bah! Pap for the million! Curds and whey for the English spirit. He sets up a May-pole, and conceits it calling forth the English spirit, and glorifies himself as a regenerator. Let him restore the fool's cap to its pristine uses, and that motley costume so symbolic of the Manners mixture, and we shall see his services requited in their appropriate honours.

THE THREE YEARS' EXPERIENCE.

(From the Topic.)

All the elements of proof lie in a small compass. It is only necessary statistically to compare the three years before, and that three years subsequent to the introduction of the new system by Sir Robert Peel. From 1839 to 1841 our foreign exports fell off from fifty-three millions in value to forty-seven millions. But in the next three years pending a reduction of duties, the value of the exports rose from forty-seven millions to fifty-eight millions. Nor was the reduction in the customs' duties unpromising to the revenue. The total amount of the various reductions effected in the three years exceeded four millions sterling; and, as many of the duties had been totally repealed, the loss could not be compensated by increased consumption. But these four millions were not lost to the revenue. On the contrary, the revenue had increased, and the returns of the present 5th of April prove that it is as buoyant as ever. Neither had these relaxations been inimical to those branches of native industry, believed to be most dependent on protection. Flax afforded a striking instance. It has been freely imported, yet, in face of a rapidly increasing foreign importation, the price has been higher. Wool inculcated the same lesson; the import duty was abolished; importation, in consequence, increased; but prices in the home market were not depressed by the competition. Foreign cattle was another example. The most alarming predictions were indulged when the prohibition on the importation of foreign cattle was removed in 1842, and foreign cattle were admitted at a small fixed duty. Have the graziers been ruined? No; in despite of an increasing importation of oxen, and sheep, and swine, prices have been unaffected, and public contracts for the supply of provisions have been higher than previously. Further, experience has shown that no concomitancy subsisted between high prices and high wages. The first comparative term of three years was a period of scarcity; food was dear, and employment being scarce, wages were depressed; but in the second term of

three years, bread was cheap, and labour being in demand, wages rose. But the most gratifying test was of a moral import. Criminal statistics showed a connection between the increase and decrease of crime, and a declining or prosperous state of the country. In 1843 there had been a decrease of crime to the extent of five and a half per cent.; in 1844, of not less than ten per cent.; in 1845, of five and a half per cent.; and the decrease of last year was especially marked in the most prosperous districts,—those of manufacturing. Thus, while the legislature had been occupied in reducing customs' duties, in other words, gradually destroying protection to native industry, the interests of the labouring classes of commerce, and of morality, had been promoted.

In this way were the former prepossessions of the Premier overwhelmed by the evidence of his own executive measures, and he was constrained to advance, if possible, at an accelerated rate, in a course productive of so many public felicities. His first steps had been marked by timidity, if not aversion, to his task; but practice seems to have reconciled, and success emboldened him. Accordingly, the new tariff is more explicit in its principles and more comprehensive in its relaxations than its predecessors. His first aim has obviously been to prepare a scheme as closely consistent with his adopted principle of Free Trade, and as extensively satisfactory as possible; and next—not to attempt too much at once—load himself with a heavier charge than he will be able to carry. Anything short of the ultimate repeal of the Corn Laws would have been scouted, as he himself admits, by the commercial and manufacturing interests, and left a reserved bid of great temptation with his opponents; while immediate repeal might have met a lion in the way in the Upper House.

A second leading principle bears emphatically on the general consumption of the masses. The Corn and Provision Laws had fallen with crushing weight on those who live by labour. The expenditure of the working man is not in luxuries, but in the necessities of life, in bread, meat, and vegetables, of which the poor consume equally with the rich; but the income of the two classes being unequally apportioned, it is clearly unjust to subject them to the same ratio of pecuniary contribution. Such, however, was the tendency of the old system, which absorbed, either through the indirect operation of protective duties, or direct fiscal imposts, a large portion of the wages of labour. In consequence, the industrious orders have not participated equally with the rest of the community in the general progress of the country; and it is to remedy this disparity of condition, as well as mitigate a gross injustice, that the policy of Sir R. Peel is directed. The resources placed at his disposal by the property-tax afforded one means of grappling with this exigency of our social state, and the projected alterations of the tariff manifestly embrace the same equitable purpose. All articles that enter into the common sustenance of the nation will be placed more within the reach of the consumer. The bread-tax is at once reduced from a protective duty of 20s. to 5s., and will expire entirely in three years. But corn from Canada, or other colonial possessions out of Europe, will be immediately admitted duty free. On all other articles, apart from grain, that constitute human food, either vegetable or animal, there will be a repeal of the import duties, including cattle of all kinds, sheep and pigs; potatoes and vegetables of every sort; bacon, fresh beef, or slightly salted; pork fresh or salted (not hams). On other articles, considered, we presume, as a species of bucolic manufactures, duties have been retained, but reduced to about one-half; namely, on ale and beer, from 42s. per barrel to 20s.; on butter, from 21s. to 10s. per cwt.; on cheese, from 11s. to 5s. per cwt.; on hops, from 94s. to 45s. per cwt.; on cured fish, from 2s. to 1s. per cwt. The duties on rice have been reduced; also those on foreign soap, and on candles the reduction is one-half of the import duty. The preference duty on colonial coffee was relaxed in 1842; and in this session, sugar, another item in general use, will be dealt with. No concession, however, will be made in favour of slave-grown sugar, but on the sugar of Cuba and Brazil there will be an abatement of 3s. 6d. per cwt. in the differential duty.

From the alterations essentially affecting the labouring classes we proceed to those affecting their employers, and which may be said to constitute the Premier's third principle of fiscal revision. His aim has obviously been equality of sacrifices. It was not with the landed interest that the protective system originated, but the commercial and manufacturing classes, who till recently, as we have already shown, very tenaciously adhered to the mercantile policy. From the latter, therefore, fully with the former, it was fair to call for concessions. In favour of the manufacturing interest, every duty on the raw materials of manufacture had been previously abandoned, with the exception of tallow and timber, on both of which relaxations are proposed. These form their compensation for relinquishing the protective duties on the coarser articles of manufacture, in wool, linen, and cotton, and for the reduction of protection on the finer description of goods, from twenty to ten per cent. At present, the duty on silks, as before stated, is called thirty per cent., but is often still higher. It is proposed to adopt a new principle in the levying of the silk duties, and to impose 15 per cent. *ad valorem*, instead of 30 per cent. Finally, relaxations are intended on the import duties on manufactured metals, dressed hides, boots, shoes, straw, plate, carriages, and paper-hangings. But for every loss the Premier has dexterously made some kind of return to the sufferers, either by affording them greater protection from illicit competition, as in the silk manufacture, or by giving them freer access to raw materials. The agriculturists are embraced in this principle of equivalents. They may suffer by the free admission of provisions and live cattle, but then, in the fattening of stock, they will save largely in their present outgoings for linseed cake and rape-cake, by the substitution of maize, on which the duty is repealed, as also on buckwheat; further, the reduction of the duties on seeds, especially clover, to about one half, will be favourable to them. Other compensations are intended in place of former invidious monopolies by the removal of special burdens, by an amendment of the law of pauper settlement, and the consolidation of the 16,000 parish authorities of England into 800 district boards.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE COSTLY DELAY.—If we were to estimate the cost to the industrious classes of this country, of the suspense arising from the procrastination of THE GREAT MEASURE, at a million pounds sterling per week, a sum equivalent to all the state taxes, we should not be accused, by any thought-

ful calculator, of attaching an exaggerated importance to the mischiefs we are now enduring.—*Liverpool Mercury.*

HEALTH OF TOWNS.—In one of the Government reports on the sanitary condition of the country, it is stated that there are more lives annually lost in England, from removable causes, than were sacrificed at the battle of Waterloo! Nor is there any reason to question the accuracy of the assertion. We ought to endeavour to realise this startling fact—to bring it home to our minds and consciences—and to take it as a basis for general and local legislation. There is a strong disposition at present to dwell on the evils of war, and to paint the horrors and miseries consequent on that frightful calamity. These can scarcely be exaggerated. It is fearful to think of hecatombs of human beings offered up to the gory god; of limbs lopped by shining steel, and bodies torn by shattering shot; and of the long train of after evils—the sad heart and sore struggles of the widow, and the untold hardships of the orphan. Such scenes and sufferings appeal alike to the feelings and to the imagination. They are striking and dramatic. Poetry enshrines them in deathless verse—Oratory proclaims them to the world in well-turned periods—and History records them on her enduring page.

But there are other Waterloos—annual Waterloos—where death strikes down his thousands as surely as in the battle-field; where men meet a far more painful end than that of the gallant soldier slain in a good cause; and where the victims, if not "unwept," are, at all events, "unhonoured and unused." Fever takes his stand in the undrained street, the narrow alley, and the crowded court, and slays his thousands and tens of thousands. But Poetry sings not of the strong mechanic stretched on his bed by typhus; oratory dwells not on the nameless ailments of the sick wife struggling with daily cares in a noxious atmosphere; and history takes no account of such insignificant units as little children poisoned by miasma from foul sewers and other receptacles of garbage. Yet there is nothing more certain than that "such things are." It has been demonstrated, over and over again, that there are districts in our large towns where fever is ever present. Eminent physicians have traced the course of undrained districts by the presence of fatal epidemics; and a higher rate of mortality, and a lower state of existence, are the acknowledged consequences of want of water, bad air, and insufficient sewerage. Let us, then, not lose sight of this "great fact," that "more people die annually in England, from removable causes, than were killed at Waterloo." Intemperance has its victims amongst all classes; but the "removable" causes here alluded to, are those from which the working and poorer classes principally, though by no means exclusively, suffer. These are, scarcity and ill-quantity of water, bad air, and deficient drainage and sewerage—the bad air, and deficient drainage and sewerage being generally consequent on the scarcity of water.—*Bristol Mercury.*

TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION UNDER THE SEA.—The British Government, by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and the French Government, by the Minister of the Interior, have granted permission to two gentlemen, the projectors of the sub-marine telegraph, to lay it down from coast to coast. The site selected is from Cape Griznez or from Cape Blancenez, on the French side, to the South Foreland on the English coast. The sounding between these headlands is gradual, varying from seven fathoms on the shore on either side, to a maximum of 37 fathoms in mid-channel. The Lords of the Admiralty have also granted permission to the same gentlemen to lay down a sub-marine telegraph between Dublin and Holyhead, which is to be carried on from the latter place to Liverpool and London. The sub-marine telegraph across the English Channel will, however, be the one first laid down. The materials for this are already undergoing the process of insulation, and are in that state of forwardness which will enable the projectors to have them completed and placed in position, so that a telegraphic communication can be transmitted across the Channel about the first week in June. When this is completed, an electric telegraph will be established from the coast to Paris, and thence to Marseilles. This telegraph throughout France will be immediately under the direction of the French government, as, according to the law of 1837, all telegraphic communications through that country are under the absolute control and superintendence of the Minister of the Interior. Upon the completion of the submarine telegraph across the English Channel, it is stated that a similar one, on a most gigantic scale, will be attempted to be formed, under the immediate sanction and patronage of the French administration. This is no less than that of connecting the shores of Africa with those of Europe by the same instrumentality; thus opening a direct and lightning-like communication between Marseilles and Algeria. It has been doubted by several scientific men whether this is practicable, and, indeed, whether even the project between the coasts of France and England can be accomplished; but it has been proved by experiments the most satisfactory in their results, that not only can it be effected, but effected without any considerable difficulty.—*Globe.*

A FUNERAL-GOING DOG.—A correspondent of the *Edinburgh Courier* tells the following dog story:—I knew a dog a few years ago, belonging to Mr. Henderson, late post-master, Fort William, which attended every funeral that took place in that village and neighbourhood. There was nothing remarkable in his appearance. He was a rough, thick-set, stout little animal, a cross between a cocker and a terrier. His master taught him nothing, nor seemed to take much notice of him. Gilliemor was his name; and a sulky, surly little fellow he was, as all the little urchins that used to play about the post-office could testify; for he had a mortal enmity to their noise, as he had also to beggars, at whom he would bark and snap furiously. He did not seem to be particularly attached to any person; nor did he care much about being caressed, neither did he associate with other dogs. The only remarkable feature in his character was his predilection for attending funerals. Whenever a funeral happened, although it were 10 miles distant; and although he had to cross ferries, rivers, and often arms of the sea, the moment the coffin appeared, Gilliemor appeared also, and never left its side until it reached the burying-ground. There he would look anxiously on while the body was being interred; and that melancholy duty over, he would immediately trot away home, or set off to attend some other funeral. He has been known to attend many funerals in different parts of the country in one day. When any person died near his master's residence, on the day of the funeral Gilliemor, as usual, employed himself in driving away the noisy children and beggars, till within a few minutes of the hour specified in the funeral letters, when he would shake himself as if dressing, and trudge away to join in the mournful procession.

DISTRESS IN IRELAND.

In our last Number we gave accounts of the state of distress in Ballymote, Bay, Glenties, Handford, Cork, &c., up to the 11th inst. when riots of a very serious nature broke out in Clonmel, and the military were called out. The following details will show that the calamity is increasing, and that provisions of a very serious nature are becoming of ordinary occurrence:

CARRICK-ON-SUIR, APRIL 15.—Letters from the town announce the breaking out of riots similar to those which have already taken place in Clonmel and Tipperary; and which, it is to be feared, are but the forerunners of more scenes of turbulence consequent upon the scarcity, or panic—it signifies but little—when together with the want of permanent employment for the labouring class. The riots occurred here on the day after those at Clonmel, which is another town in Tipperary, higher up the river. It was evidently a premeditated outbreak. The bells both of the Carrick and the Carrickbeg chapel tolled, and the mob increased to a fearful gathering of all the country round about. With this reinforcement they paraded the principal streets, and having fixed on Mr. O'Donnell's stores, rushed with one accord into it, and in a second completely emptied it. Flushed with this success, they attacked Mr. O'Neill's, and succeeded in like manner in emptying his store. They then went to Mr. Bourke's, but he had prudently sent his stock away. At last the military appeared, which checked their progress in a degree; and the stipendiary magistrate, Mr. Redmond, having read the Riot Act twice, and assuring the mob if they persevered in their outrageous course he would be compelled to order the military to fire, had, in a degree, restored quiet. Of this you may be satisfied, that neither famine nor fever had anything to say to this insurrection. It was a deliberate attempt to begin a general plunder; and whether the attack will be renewed again to-morrow, time only will tell. There is not a sufficient military force here, and the police are totally unable to repress such an audacious outbreak as the present.

CORK.—The reports from Cork are of the usual unfavourable nature. The *Southern Reporter* says:—"We have at this moment at least 30,000 people destitute in Cork, and of this number our workhouses cannot safely accommodate 3000. The labouring class has no employment, and their daily food has more than doubled in price, as will be seen by the following returns from the mayor's office:

Return of Loads of Potatoes brought to Cork Markets for six days, ending April 12, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, and 1846, with price per weight at 100 lbs.		Loads.			Whites.			Minions.		
					d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.
1841—April 12th....	873	...	31	to 4½	...	5½	to 6	...	5½	to 6
1842—do.	622	...	4½	to 5	...	5	to 6½	...	5	to 6½
1843—do.	926	...	2½	to 3½	...	4	to 4½	...	4	to 4½
1844—do.	564	...	1	to 2	...	5	to 6	...	5	to 6
1845—do.	922	...	3½	to 4½	...	5	to 6	...	5	to 6
1846—do.	467	...	7½	to 10	...	10	to 12	...	10	to 12

According to the *Constitution*, symptoms of insubordination had, it seems, manifested themselves in that town on Tuesday:

"A number of people assembled, and went, it is said, to, among others, Mr. Collins, parish priest, and demanded food. He reasoned with them, as did some of the gentry, endeavouring to dissuade them from violence, and told them that what could be done towards procuring them food should be done as soon as possible. He succeeded in inducing them to disperse; but they did so with a threat that, unless something was done soon, they would return and help themselves from his potato pits. We give this narrative as we have heard it; but we are not able to vouch for it, though we should not mention it had we not reason to believe it true."

The demands for Indian meal are daily growing stronger; but complaints of its dearth are still prevalent, as example:

"In consequence of the supply of Indian meal which the relief committee procured from Liverpool being rather of an inferior quality, for which, however, they were not to blame, they deemed it advisable to make a pressing application to the commissary for a loan of a portion of that which the Government have in store. Mr. Hewetson having kindly complied with their request, 20 tons of the best description of white Indian meal was yesterday sent to the depots established by the committee, and thus any prejudice which might be created against this wholesome article of food by reason of the bad quality of that purchased in Liverpool, will be effectually removed. The whole meal, which is also being sold at the rate of 1½d. per lb., is considered by the people much too dear, and they prefer purchasing coarse flour at 10d. per weight of 7 lbs., than taking the whole meal at 10½d. We are assured that the whole meal is by far more nutritious; and if the committee thought it advisable to make some reduction in the price, it would be a better class of food for the poor people. The demand for Indian meal is very great; and of course the fund in the hands of the committee must be proportionably diminished."

TIPPERARY COUNTY.—MORE PROVISION RIOTS ON APRIL 16.—The *Tipperary Free Press* announces the breaking out on Thursday evening, the 16th, of further riots at a place called Kilsheelan and Fethard. The accounts, which are very brief, say:

"The boats coming up from Waterford were attacked at Kilsheelan on this day by a numerous band of men, women, and children, and the miscellaneous goods with which they were laden carried off in all directions. Informations being received, the military and police were immediately on the spot; a considerable quantity of wheat belonging to Messrs. Hughes was recovered, and 13 persons made prisoners. It was a most barbaic robbery, as the articles taken were in a raw state. The stipendiary magistrate, Major Shaw, had a narrow escape; his horse having taken fright, jumped into the river with him, and swam a considerable distance."

"FETHARD, Thursday.—There was a rising here to-day, and Mr. Harvey's store attacked, from which three sacks of flour were taken; the mob attacked Mrs. Wilson's store, but were repulsed. They were finally dispersed through the praiseworthy exertions of the parish priest, the Archdeacon Laffan, and quiet restored."

The *Drogheda Conservative* severely censures that portion of the press which denies the existence of more than ordinary distress in the country, and says:

"How can any man with 6s. or even 7s. per week—and there are hundreds of labouring men working for sd. per day—get a sufficiency of food? Potatoes in this town are 8d. per stone—they are now considered a luxury by the poor. Oatmeal is on the advance, and the marketing of a few stones would exhaust all his wages; then there is rent, which is exacted weekly, with additional rigour, for the landlord dreads the famine prices as much as the poor labouring tenant. We are glibly informed, that there never was more

food in the country—more corn in store! It is of this we complain—that in the midst of plenty, so much distress should exist in this unfortunate country. The staple food of the Irish (potatoes) has failed, and the low rate of wages paid the labouring classes precludes them from obtaining a sufficiency of bread or other food. Let us take a case in point:—A labourer earns 6s. per week—he has a family of five to support out of this (we speak of towns like Drogheda). His expenditure may be reckoned as follows:

Rent, per week	.....	8	d.
Fuel	.....	0	9
One stone of oatmeal	.....	2	2
One stone meslin meal and baking	.....	1	7
Milk, &c.	.....	0	6
		6	0

"Thus, the whole of his miserable pittance is expended on procuring a scanty supply of food; as for potatoes, they are out of his reach. Now, will any man in his senses dare maintain, that the poor labouring class can live on such scanty diet? Why, the paupers in the workhouse are far better fed. As to the lodgment of the poor, we are informed, by an agent who collects the rents of 70 cabins weekly, that in almost every instance the inmates are destitute of bedsteads, blankets, sheets, and coverlets; and that he has seen several grown-up girls, who toil from early dawn to eight in the evening in the factories, lying on straw, with no other covering over them save the clothes which they wore during the day. At market on this day potatoes were 8d. per stone. Oatmeal, Indian corn, &c., are on the advance; the prospect before the poor is getting more gloomy; three long months must intervene before the new potato-crop can come into market; and in the name of an all-wise Providence, are the poor to be allowed to suffer all the accumulating horrors of privation?"

In the mean time large supplies of Indian corn and meal continue to arrive at the Irish ports. The Cork papers announce the arrival in that port on Friday of the American packet-ship *Camelia*, register 1090 tons, with a cargo (about 25,000 bushels) of Indian corn, and 10,000 barrels of meal. Money alone is all that seems to be required to render perfect the precautionary measures of Government to counteract the evils of scarcity.

EMIGRATION.—The *Waterford Chronicle* of yesterday gives returns of the number of passengers in the vessels which have left that port for America; by which it appears that 2162 persons have already emigrated, and that several emigrant ships have not yet sailed. In addition to this, three large vessels have sailed from Ross, containing, it is supposed, between the three, some 800 persons. The *Chronicle* thus comments upon these facts:

"There will have gone after the season is over upwards of 3000 individuals from this country by this port alone. Not to talk of the rearing of these people—the trouble and expense of bringing up a healthy man, woman, or child, and especially leaving out the irreparable loss to society in this country of their affections, hopes, and family ties—all now sundered and destroyed—not to talk of the countless living deaths of wholesale emigration from a feeling and warm-hearted mother country—the amount of capital taken by these 3000 is immense. Assuming that each individual expends 10l. in his passage, and before he settles; and that he has 10l. more to establish himself, here is direct taking away of hard cash to the amount of 60,000l., gone out of one of the bleeding pores of Ireland to increase the misery which is left behind. We are in possession of facts which show that many cunning landlords are sending the people away yearly, but by degrees, and not in such a manner as to subject themselves to a 'clearance' notice. If this system be continued, we shall be tempted to give names. After these things, who will blame the people for outbreaks occasioned by famine? There is nothing plentiful in the land but ruin! Employment is scarce—money is scarce—the people are being thinned—farms are being consolidated—bullock land is progressing:

"I'll fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where cows accumulate and men decay."

"Since the foregoing was in type, we have learned that 100 pigs, on their way from the fair of Fethard to Carrick-on-Suir, were seized at Thorny bridge by the country people, and carried off towards the foot of Slievenaman mountain. We have also been informed that a vast number of persons are still watching for the boats laden with provisions, in the neighbourhood of Kilsheelan, where the attack was made on Thursday."

A letter from Carrick-on-Suir, of Friday's date, says:

"Yesterday there was a meeting of magistrates, gentlemen, and merchants held in the Temperance-hall of this place, when the demands of the people of getting 1s. a day wages were yielded; and this morning 200 men were set to work on the roads, under the direction of Capt. Peebles, who has been indefatigable in his exertions to forward the intentions of the Government and to direct the labour in some useful channel; and accordingly he has selected the roads in the vicinity of the town, which are in a wretched state. Trifling as the increase of wages is, still I look on this concession as laying the foundation for other demands, which you may rely on it will give rise to other outbreaks, which it will not be in the power of the small military force stationed here to repress."

The intelligence from the west to day is of a very unfavourable character. In the district of Annaghdown, in the county of Galway, distress is represented to prevail to a most alarming extent. One account says:

"The people of the place have openly declared that if employment be not immediately given, they can no longer withstand the distress they are labouring under."

A meeting of the gentry has been held, and a petition for relief forwarded to the Irish Government. One of the resolutions adopted on the occasion thus describes the prospects of the poor as affected by the potato blight:

"Our parish was remarkable for its great and abundant crop of potatoes. It was the storehouse of the summer supply to our neighbouring towns, and we may say, county. But, unhappily, in our richest soil and best tilled crops the rot prevailed to the most awful extent, which leaves the pauper, who in other years would get provisions on credit, now dependent on a benign Government, and a very limited benevolence of his neighbours."

STATE OF TIPPERARY.—THE FAMINE.—(From the Special Reporter of the *Freeman*.)—Cahir, Tuesday, April 21.—I am firmly persuaded, that were it not for the praiseworthy exertions of the Roman Catholic clergy of this and other districts, it would be a difficult task to restrain a portion of the people, at least, from acting with violence. The clergy are going through their parishes encouraging the people to peace and perseverance, and, up to this time, they have succeeded, and I trust their efforts will be crowned

with enduring success. At the same time, if the Government do not step in and assist the local committees; I cannot say how the business will terminate. The relief at present afforded is all owing to the local committees; and much apprehension is entertained for the coming summer; and I now repeat, what I have already stated, that not only within twenty miles round Clonmel there will not be a single potato on the 10th of May, but there will not be one in the entire county of Tipperary by the end of that month, or, perhaps, before it. This I give you on the most satisfactory authority, coupled with the evidence apparent to my own eyes. * * The shop-keepers of the town have contributed very handsomely. On Sunday Mr. Bianconi, the respected mayor of Clonmel, proceeded to his newly-purchased property at Longfield, beyond Cashel, and made arrangements to give such of his tenantry as wanted it work at fair remuneration, and he also gave orders to have a sufficiency of provisions supplied to those not able to work and not having the means of procuring food. Mr. Power, of Gurteen, subscribed 200l. on Sunday, and employed over one hundred men at one shilling per day, and told the people he would do all in his power for them. I regret I cannot say as much for the generosity of landowners in the county. There appears to be a kind of drowsy apathy on the part of the landed gentry as regards the wants of the people; but amongst this class I cannot include Capt. Bernal Osborne, whose conduct on the late occasion and since has endeared him to all the county. At a place called Barnes, about three miles from Clonmel, I met 64 large drays containing 100 tons of flour, escorted by Mr. Swan, stipendiary magistrate, and two officers with a heavy body of the 13th Light Dragoons. The flour belonged to Mr. Sergeant and Mr. Grub, of Clonmel. Both these gentlemen possess large mills here (Cahir); and as they feared an attack on the drays, the dragoons were called out to escort them to Clonmel, where the provision is to be shipped for Waterford, and thence to England! There was no attempt made on the drays.

The little village of Barnes contains a great many cottages. Several persons were picking potatoes behind their houses. I went into about 20 haggards (farm-yards), where the people were engaged at this work, and I protest I never beheld anything so utterly deplorable. One sound potato there was not in every ten. The people were absolutely crying over them; and the invariable answer to my question of "What will you do?" was, "God is good; and we have hope still." The houses I mention were rather of the better sort, the occupiers possessing from two to five acres of land. The remaining portion of the houses—about 30 in number—had not a single potato at all. The people I observed picking the potatoes, told me they were endeavouring to pick out a few for seed; but, as in other places, they said that any already sown in the neighbourhood had failed, and the only hope they had for next year was oats, if they could procure the means of purchasing the seed. There never was, they said, a year, for the last fifteen, that they had such a prospect of potatoes as they had last season; but now all were gone.

The village of New Inn is on the road leading to Cashel; and in this extensive parish, with about 1500 inhabitants, you would with difficulty find as many sound potatoes as there are persons. These assertions may startle, but they are true, and beyond the power of human contradiction. There is another small village at a place called the Pass of Lough Lougher, a beautiful glen through which the direct road passes, and sweeps away round the mountain. Not a solitary potato with any person here. For two miles at either side of the road from this place to Cahir, there is not with the inhabitants even the trace of a potato. I was prepared, from all I had heard, to meet with great misery and distress; but I confess the actual reality far outstepped my worst anticipations; and at every step the horrors of increasing scarcity in the prime article of food were terribly manifested. Between Clonmel and Cahir I visited every hamlet worth calling at, and also very many isolated dwellings, and I found the same prevailing distress everywhere.

On arriving in Cahir I at once put myself in communication with gentlemen who, from their position and knowledge of the country, and the state of the people, were best calculated to afford me accurate information. The town and surrounding districts belong to Lord Glengall, who resides here. After the attack on the flour drays, a meeting of the inhabitants and gentry was held, and subscriptions entered into in order to give employment to the people. Lord Glengall, the proprietor of all the soil, gave 50l., whilst the Rev. Mr. Tobyn, P.P., contributed, out of his own scanty purse, TWENTY GUINEAS. Government has done nothing here yet, but I understand that a person has arrived from the castle to make inquiry as to the state of the people. In order to afford some temporary relief to the people, about 100 persons were put to work, making sewers, breaking stones, and repairing the streets and adjoining roads. The wages allowed are from 10d. to 1s. a day, but this is considered totally inadequate to support persons having more than one in a family—and the majority of them have five each—in consequence of the high price of provisions. I saw a number of the men at work; most of them had a pale, yellow, sickly-looking hue; and I assert, on the best authority, that the majority of these poor people subsist on one meal a day, and that previous to their being employed, they had not a meal of victuals once in forty-eight hours! As I before stated, the people in this locality are very quiet; but when the temporary relief is exhausted, there is no calculating what may occur. There are a few potatoes in the neighbouring farmers' places, but three out of every five are black (diseased), and these roots were selling here to day—bad and good, without being picked or engaged—at 8s. 6d. per barrel. The Rev. Mr. Tobyn, P.P., gave me a fearful picture of the state of his large and populous parish. Seven-eighths of the people have not a potato, and the remainder—even the more wealthy farmers—won't possess one on the 10th of May. The landlords, as a body, are doing nothing—this opinion is not of my forming—either by giving or endeavouring to procure employment for the people. Employment is all that is looked for. There are over 17,900 acres of uncultivated land in Tipperary, and most of this is highly reclaimable. Could not the people be engaged in some profitable manner on this land? The country also abounds in lead and other mines, and there are very rich veins of coal in many districts that could be worked with great advantage. I should have mentioned that Mr. Sargeant, the extensive miller of this town, subscribed 30l. to the relief fund, and the Catholic curates of the parish 10l. each. Everything is tranquil so far, but time must reveal the future.

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	Simons, Wm.	..	0	5	0
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Welshpool.	*Powell, Samuel, Gungroo Cottage	..	1	0	0
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* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed sub-
 scriptions.

ENGLAND AND AMERICA AT BLOWS FOR WANT OF BETTER TO DO.

NARRATIVE OF A SAILOR.

"To enable us to annoy the commerce of Great Britain, or to otherwise operate against her to her injury, through naval means, we would recommend that the number of her steamers like the Mississippi, but rather enlarged, should be increased to thirty, and our sloops of war to forty."—*The Secretary of the American Naval Department to the Legislature, March, 1846.*

"The bond of nations is free commerce."—*Mr. Walker, Secretary to the American Treasury, 1845.*

"Commercial intercourse is the only sure guarantee of the peace of nations."—*The League.*

"The keystone of monopoly is the Corn Law; remove it, and the whole fabric of injustice and impolicy must fall to the ground."—*Mr. Cobden.*

"We will struggle for the Corn Law inch by inch."—*Duke of Richmond and Lord George Bentinck.*

At the village of Bladen, near Woodstock, in Oxfordshire, on the 12th of July, 1810, a boy named Samuel Leech was seen by the inhabitants of that place with his face turned towards London, and his back turned on his home and on them, trudging up the green lanes with the settled thought in his head of going as a sailor-boy on board a man-of-war.

He joined the Macedonian frigate at Gravesend, and in due time was initiated into the duties of the naval service. During the first two years and five months of this lad's sea life, the Macedonian was chiefly employed in blockading the French fleet in Brest Harbour, and in harassing the commerce of the ports situated on the Bay of Biscay. A trip was also made as far as Madeira, and from thence to the coast of Virginia in America, where on board the Macedonian the conversation became common that England and America were likely to go to war with each other. They returned, however, to the coast of France, and were again engaged in the blockade and the prohibition of French commerce before they heard any positive rumours that England and America had declared war against each other. When

they heard those rumours, they, the men before the mast did not know their truth, but the conduct of the captain, who had been officially informed of the fact, indicated that he knew something not known to the crew.

He was on deck almost all the time (says Samuel Leech); the look-out aloft was more rigidly observed, and every little while the cry of "Mast-head there," arrested our attention. Thus we passed several days, the captain running up and down, and constantly hailing the man at the mast-head. Early in the morning he began his charge to keep a good look-out, and repeated it until evening. The crew of the Macedonian had no doubt that if there was to be war with America their success was certain.

On each Sunday they were dressed and paraded in their best clothes, and enjoyed a kind of holiday, the captain frequently reading the church service. On Sunday, December 25, 1812, which was also Christmas Day, they found some other work to do. A stiff breeze was blowing favourable to fast sailing; they had hardly finished breakfast when the man at the mast-head shouted, "Sail-ho!" The captain rushed upon deck, exclaiming, "Mast-head there!" "Sir?" "Where away is the sail?" The man aloft replied. Then the captain asked, "What does she look like?" "A square-rigged vessel, sir." After a few minutes, the captain shouted again, "Mast-head there!" "Sir?" "What does she look like?" "A large ship, sir, standing towards us."

By this time most of the crew were upon deck, eagerly straining their eyes to obtain a glimpse of the approaching ship, and murmuring their opinions to each other on her probable character. Then came the voice of the captain, shouting, "Keep silence, fore and aft!" Silence being secured, he hailed the look-out, who, to his question of "What does she look like?" replied, "A large frigate bearing down upon us, sir."

A whisper ran along the crew that the stranger was an American frigate, which was confirmed by the command, "All hands clear the ship for action, ahoy!" The drum and fife beat to quarters, bulkheads were knocked away, the guns were released from their confinement; the whole dread paraphernalia of battle was produced; and, after the lapse of a few minutes of hurry and confusion, every man and boy was at his post, ready to do his best service for his country, except the band who, claiming an exemption from the fray, safely stowed themselves away in the cable tier. We had only one sick man on the list, and he at the cry of battle hurried from his cot, feeble as he was, to take his post of danger. A few of the junior midshipmen were stationed below on the berth deck, with orders, given in our hearing, to shoot any man who attempted to run from his quarters.

As the approaching ship showed American colours, all doubt of her character was at an end. We must fight her, was the conviction of every breast. Every possible arrangement that could possibly ensure success, was accordingly made. The guns were shotted and the matches lighted. A lieutenant then passed through the ship, directing the marines and boarders, who were furnished with pikes, cutlasses, and pistols, how to proceed, if it should be necessary to board the enemy. He was followed by the captain, who exhorted the men to fidelity and courage, urging upon their consideration the well known motto of Nelson, "England expects every man to do his duty." In addition to all these preparations on deck, some men were stationed in the tops with small arms, whose duty it was to attend to trimming the sails, and to use their muskets provided we came to close action. There were others also below, called sail trimmers, to assist in working the ship should it be necessary to shift her position during the battle.

My station was at the fifth gun on the main deck. It was my duty to supply my gun with powder, a boy being appointed to each gun in the ship on the side we engaged for this purpose. A woollen screen was placed before the entrance to the magazine with a hole in it through which the cartridges were passed to the boys. We received them there, and covering them with our jackets, hurried to our respective guns. These precautions were observed, to prevent the powder taking fire before it reached the gun. Thus we all stood awaiting orders in motionless suspense. At last we fired three guns from the larboard side of the main deck. This was followed by the command, "Cease firing, you are throwing away your shot." Then came the order to wear ship and prepare to attack the enemy with our starboard guns. Soon after this, I heard a firing from some other quarter, which I at first supposed to be a discharge from our quarter deck guns, but it proved to be the roar of the enemy's cannon. A strange noise, such as I had never heard before next arrested my attention. It sounded like the tearing of sails just over our heads. This, I soon ascertained to be the wind of the enemy's shot. The firing, after a few minutes' cessation, recommenced. The roaring of cannons could now be heard from all parts of our trembling ship; and mingling as it did with that of our foes, it made a most hideous noise. By-and-by I heard the shots strike the sides of our ship. The whole scene grew indescribably confused and horrible; it was like some awfully tremendous thunder storm, whose deafening roar is attended by incessant streaks of lightning, carrying death in every flash, and strewn the ground with the victims of its wrath; only in our case, the scene was rendered more horrible than that by the presence of torrents of blood which dyed our decks.

wound; the other had a grape or canister shot sent through his arm. A stout Yorkshireman lifted him in his arms, and hurried with him to the cockpit. He had his foot cut off, and was thus made lame for life. Two of the boys stationed on the quarter-deck were killed; they were both Portuguese. A man who saw one of them killed afterwards told me that his powder caught fire, and burned the flesh almost off his face. In this pitiable condition the agonised boy lifted up both hands, as if imploring relief, when a passing shot instantly cut him in two. I was an eye-witness to a sight equally revolting. A man, named Aldritch, had one of his hands cut off by a shot, and almost at the same moment he received another shot, which tore open his bowels in a terrible manner. As he fell, two or three men caught him in their arms, and, as he could not live, threw him overboard. One of the officers in my division also fell in my sight. He was a noble-hearted fellow, named Van Kivell. A grape or canister shot struck him near the heart. He fell, and was carried below, where he shortly afterwards died.

Mr. Scott, our first lieutenant, was also slightly wounded by a grummet, or small iron ring, probably torn from a hammock den by a shot. He went below shouting to the men to fight on. Having had his wounds dressed, he came up again, shouting to us at the top of his voice, and bidding us fight with all our might.

The battle went on. Our men kept cheering with all their might. I cheered with them, though I confess I scarcely knew for what. Certainly there was nothing very inspiring in the aspect of things where I was stationed. So terrible had been the work of destruction around us, that it was termed the slaughter-house. Not only had we had several boys and men killed and wounded, but several of the guns were disabled. The schoolmaster received a death wound. The brave boatswain, who had come from the sick cot to the din of battle, was fastening a stopper on a backstay which had been shot away, when his head was smashed to pieces by a cannon ball. Another man, going to complete the unfinished task, was also struck down. One of our midshipmen likewise received a severe wound; and the wardroom steward was killed. A fellow named John, who for some petty offence had been sent on board as a punishment, was carried past me wounded. I distinctly heard the large blood-drops fall pat, pat, on the deck. His wounds were mortal. Even a poor goat, kept by the officers for her milk, did not escape the general carnage; her hind legs were shot off, and poor Nan was thrown overboard.

Suddenly, the rattling of the iron hail ceased. We were ordered to cease firing; a profound silence ensued; broken only by the stifled groans of the brave sufferers below. It was soon ascertained that the enemy had shot a head to repair damages, for she was not so disabled but she could sail without difficulty; while we were so cut up, that we lay utterly helpless. Our head braces were shot away; the fore and main topmasts were gone. The mizen mast hung over our stern, and carried several men over in its fall. We were in the state of a complete wreck.

A council was now held among the officers on the quarter-deck. Our condition was now perilous in the extreme. Victory or escape was alike hopeless. Our ship was disabled, many of our men were killed, and many more wounded. The enemy would without doubt bear down upon us in a few moments; and as she could now choose her own position, would doubtless rake us fore and aft. Any further resistance was therefore folly; so in spite of the hot-brained lieutenant who advised them not to strike, but to sink alongside, it was determined to strike our colours. This was done by a brave fellow named Watson, whose saddened brow told how sincerely it pained his lion heart to do it. To me it was a pleasing sight, for I had seen fighting enough for one Sabbath, more than I wished to see again on a week day. His Britannic Majesty's frigate, *Macedonian*, was now the prize of the American frigate, *United States*.

When the crew of the *United States* first boarded our frigate, to take possession of her as their prize, our men, heated with the fury of the battle, exasperated with the sight of their dead and wounded shipmates, and rendered furious by the rum they had obtained from the spirit room, felt and exhibited some disposition to fight their captors. But after the confusion had subsided, and part of our men were snazily stowed away in the American ship, and the remainder found themselves kindly used in their own, the utmost good feeling began to prevail. We set to work to cleanse the ship, using hot vinegar to take out the scent of the blood that dyed the white of our planks with crimson. We also aided in fitting our disabled frigate for her voyage. This being accomplished, both ships sailed in company towards the American coast.

I now felt myself perfectly at home with the American seamen; so much so, that I chose to mess with them. My shipmates also participated in similar feelings, in both ships. All idea that we had been trying to shoot each other so shortly before, seemed forgotten. We ate together, drank together, joked, sung, laughed, told yarns; in short, a perfect union of ideas, feelings, and purposes, seemed to exist among all hands. A corresponding state of unanimity existed, I was told, among the officers.

Soon after reaching America, Samuel Leech entered that service; and in the *United States* brig of war, *Syren*, was employed on the coast of Africa in "annoying the commerce of Great Britain, and in otherwise operating against her to her injury," doing in the spring of 1813 what the American Secretary of the Navy recommends as requisite to be done in the spring of 1846, in the event of England and America going to war.

The orders of the commander of the *Syren* was to sink, burn, and destroy all English merchantmen, and every other English vessel with which they might engage and prove more than a match for. Leech says:

"The first land we made was Cape Mount. The natives came off to a considerable distance in their canoes, clothed in nothing but a piece of cloth fastened round the waist, and extending downward to the feet."

Those people needed clothing, were desirous of obtaining it, were offered it by the merchants of Liverpool and manufacturers of Manchester, and were willing and anxious to pay for it by exchanging the products of their country, which the merchants of Liverpool and manufacturers of Manchester had a desire to obtain; but the orders to the American ships of war and to the English ships of war had been in the spirit of war, to sink, burn, and destroy the trading ships of each other's country, consequently the half-naked inhabitants of Africa had to go with such imperfect clothing as they could obtain through an obnoxious trade, and the manufacturers and all their workpeople had to do less work and subsist on lower profits and lower wages, while England nationally was so much the poorer in not having such products of Africa as she was in need of.

And why was this? Because England and France were at war; because England and America quarrelled, in so far that America would not refrain from trading with France.

Samuel Leech continues to say of the natives at Cape Mount and of the English traders:

"As we approached the shore, we saw several fires burning; this we were told, in the broken English spoken by our sable visitors, was the signal for trade. We bought a quantity of oranges, limes, cocoa nuts, tamarinds, plantains, yams, and bananas. We lay here for several days looking out for any English vessel that might come here for the purposes of trade." (After much cruising and little success), "We saw a sail standing in towards St. Thomas. Hoisting English colours, our officers also donned the British uniform. We soon came near enough to hail her; for not doubting that we were a British brig, the merchantman made no effort to escape us. Our captain hailed her, 'Ship ahoy! hallo! what ship is that?' 'The ship Barton.' 'Where do you belong?' 'To Liverpool.' 'What is your cargo?' 'Redwood, palm oil, and ivory.' 'Where are you bound to?' 'To St. Thomas.'"

Just at that moment, our English flag was hauled down; and to the inexpressible annoyance of the officers of the Barton, the stars and stripes of America supplied its place.

"Haul down your colours," continued Captain Nicholson. The old captain, who up to this moment had been enjoying a comfortable nap in his very comfortable cabin, now came upon deck in his shirt sleeves, rubbing his eyes and looking so exquisitely ridiculous, that it was scarcely possible to avoid laughing. So surprised was he at the unexpected termination of his dreams, that he could not command skill enough to strike his colours, which was accordingly done by the mate.

"After taking out as much of her cargo as we desired, we proceeded to set her on fire. It was an imposing sight to behold the wild antics of the flames leaping from rope to rope, and from spar to spar, until she looked like a fiery cloud resting on the surface of the water. Presently her spars began to fall; her masts went by the board, her loaded guns went off, the hull was burned to the water's edge; and what a few hours before was a fine trim ship, looking like a winged creature of the deep, lay a shapeless charred mass, whose blackened outlines, shadowed in the clear still waves, looked like the grim spirit of war lurking for his prey."

This was not all; but it is all of the naval engagements we have room to quote here. Those who incline to read more, as related by Samuel Leech, may find it in a book entitled "Thirty Years from Home: or, A Voice from the Main Deck, being the experience of Samuel Leech."

At the conclusion of his narratives of the two years of unnatural war between England and America—a war all the more disastrous that it was directed against the commerce of each other; all the more unnatural that each nation had an equal interest in the preservation of peace; and all the more horrible that the crews and officers of the war ships of each spoke the same language, and used that language, as we have seen in the case of the brig *Syren* and the brig *Barton*, to delude, by tricks and falsehoods, the unwary merchantmen into destruction—"annoying each other's commerce, and operating to each other's injury"—as recommended against Great Britain in this year, 1846, by the American Secretary, in the event of a devastation of war;—when Samuel Leech concludes his narrative of that war of 1812, which began because England insisted that America and France should not trade together, and which ended in 1814, when peace with France and England removed the cause of quarrel between America and England, he says:

"The Americans, as is well known, were most successful in their naval warfare (more successful than in their field warfare); but after all, that was a trifling compensation for ruined commerce, and for being brought to the very verge of national dismemberment. The losses of the British never made any distinct impression on the nation, otherwise than in teaching a tolerably sound lesson in discretion, and leading to many important improvements in naval affairs. I sincerely trust that both nations, united by a thousand inextinguishable ties, and profiting by experience, will in all time coming, avoid every description of warlike collision, and exist on the happiest terms of amity and peace."

Amen. But the extremes of the democracy of America, and the extremes of England, seem to exist beyond the pale of common sense. We have it in our power to stop the tongues of the western men of America, who speak so loudly for war; or if not their tongues, we may stop their hands. We can instantly—by the next packet, if our lords so will it—send those men to their spades and their ploughs to grow corn for us, to help us to live and make clothes and implements of labour for them. We may do more than beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-knives. The virgin steel now fashioned for bloodshed lies yet on the anvil, and it rests with us to fashion it for peace or for war, for swords or for ploughshares.

REUBEN.

DAGUERRETYPE PORTRAITS.—The improvements made in these portraits by the recent discoveries is truly astonishing. By the use of improved lenses, a much more distinct drawing is obtained, exhibiting not only the extremes of light and shade, but an easy semitone as well. But the principal alteration consists in the application of an entirely new process of colouring. Hitherto a coating of paint has been laid on, which has had an opaque and plastered appearance; but now the colours are so applied that they harmonise and blend with the metal, by which the transparent effect and the mellow softened tints of drawing on ivory are secured. In examining the collection of portraits at Mr. Beard's rooms, in King William-street, we were much pleased with some very striking likenesses of several of the leading men in the political as well as the religious world. Monsieur Phœbus is in reality a brilliant genius. It may be said of him literally that he takes a high walk in the art, and that no artist of ancient or modern days can touch him, or indeed come anywhere near him.

A MUSICAL BED.—The last novelty from Germany is a musical bed, which receives the weary body and immediately "laps it in Elysium." It is an invention of a mechanic in Bohemia, and is so constructed that by means of hidden mechanism, pressure upon the bed causes a soft and gentle air of Auber to be played, which continues long enough to lull the most wakeful to sleep. At the head is a clock, the hand of which being placed at the hour the sleeper wishes to rise, when the time arrives, the bed plays a march of Spontini, with drums and cymbals, and in short, with noise enough to rouse the seven sleepers. This unique bed becomes, therefore, the *ne plus ultra* for the wakeful as well as the sluggish.

AGRICULTURE.

LEASES AND TENANT RIGHTS.

A DAWN OF HOPE FOR THE TENANT FARMERS.

It has been pretended that the tenant farmers of England are stupid, unreasoning protectionists,—that the band of Parliamentary monopolists who talk, in the name of the farmers, incoherencies leading to doubts whether the speakers betray most of the ruffian or the simpleton, are the expounders of the farmers' opinions; yet nothing is further from the fact. The Bentincks, the O'Briens, the Mileses, and the Bankeses, the representatives and advocates of the tenant farmers!!—as much as wolves represent the sheepfold, or foxes the poultry yard; and no more. But, in truth, farmers have been, and are more entirely unrepresented than any class in this country. Landlords are the legislature, and help themselves to all that legislation can give them. The commercial, manufacturing, and trading classes, by their activity, combination, and intelligence, have, year by year, acquired greater power of enforcing attention to their interests, and their grievances; whilst fears of driving the masses to desperation, visions of riots in the populous districts, and of incendiarianism in the agricultural, have ever compelled our dominant landocracy to pay a certain degree of attention to the complaints and more pressing wrongs of the labouring classes. But who ever heard the tenant farmers mentioned in public affairs, except to cover some scheme for enhancing rents, or diminishing the charges on landed property? Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Villiers, are literally the only members of Parliament from whose speeches a stranger to rural affairs could have suspected that any diversity exists between the interests of landlords and tenants. Deep and growing dissatisfaction has long existed on the part of tenant farmers with the state of the relations of landlord and tenant, and with the law by which those relations are governed; and in proportion as agriculture has improved has that dissatisfaction been growing deeper and deeper.

Nor is this surprising when we consider that the art of husbandry, as practised by our best farmers, is of very modern origin. Fifty years ago, the farmer was a sort of appendage to an estate, who gathered, by means of a rude system of cultivation, a humble livelihood, and looked up to his landlord as almost a master. The independent cultivators of those days were the yeomen, the men who lived on their own little farms. The tenant farmer was but one degree better than "his honour's" bailiff. Now, however, the business of a farmer has become one requiring capital, energy, and enterprise, to an extent altogether incompatible with that humble bearing and dependent position formerly deemed the natural condition of a farmer, and to which the landowners would gladly tie him still. But then, if they do so, they cannot derive that increased income from their land which improved husbandry will afford; and it has now become a question, whether landowners shall reduce their rents to something like the standard of 1792, or accede to a new system in the economy of landed property which the spirit of the times demands?

Eventually, we have no doubt that the landowners will adopt the new and improved system which their own interests and those of the community alike require; but, to the actual occupiers of land, the present race of tenants, it is of vital importance that a new system should commence without delay. It has been the fashion to say that farmers are slow to improve; and it is undeniable that the soil is not usually made to produce anything like what it is capable of doing; but we utterly deny that the farmers as a class are to blame. On the contrary, farmers are vastly ahead of their landlords. The cultivation of the land is far better than, from the tenures on which it is held, and from the burdens to which it is subjected by the landlords, could have been expected. At this moment, a very large proportion of English farmers, holding their farms from year to year, have so invested their property in the soil, that they could not quit at a year's notice without sustaining very serious loss. Yet nothing stands between them and the caprice or cupidity of landlords but yearly agreements; and it must be remembered that landowners are more dangerous persons to deal with than men of business. They are full of prejudices and caprices; they are the

spoiled children of society. And then they are, as a body, profoundly ignorant of the business and requirements of agriculture. The best farmer can never be sure that some offence given to the steward, some fracas with the gamekeeper, or some political difference with the landlord himself, may not cause him to be turned out of his farm, and subjected to a heavy confiscation of property. Then there is no doubt, that after the farmer has greatly improved his farm for a few years, the landowner begins to think that he should have some share of the improvement the tenant has effected by his own capital and industry, and the rent is advanced. Thus it is that rents have been got up, and kept up, under the system of yearly tenancies. The state of the cultivation of this country is far inferior to what it might be if the tenants generally had long and liberal leases; but it is far better than can be continued with safety to the farmers under yearly tenures. The farmers are now becoming fully aware of this, and in consequence are very generally discussing the questions of "leases and tenants' rights." The following passages from a reported discussion of the sort at the *Burton-on-Trent Farmers' Club*, which we extract from the *Derby Reporter*, will show the practical way in which the farmers deal with the subject. It seems that a circular from the London Farmers' Club induced the Burton Club to depute some of its members to draw up a report on the subject; which, after stating the hazard at which yearly tenants carry on their business, proposed the following resolutions for the adoption of the Club:

"That a tenant of land from year to year, ought to enjoy a legal claim to compensation for such improvements as he shall have made during his tenancy, and for which he shall not have received the whole benefit which he is fairly entitled to claim.

"That the tenant has under a tenancy at will a fair claim to the enjoyment of his improvements for as long a period as a good farmer would require, if the length of his occupancy were made a matter of agreement beforehand.

"That impartial arbitrators chosen mutually by the landlord and tenant would, without difficulty, form a correct estimate as to what belonged to the tenant on this principle of adjustment.

"That it appears to the Club to be advisable for the general body of farmers to join in petitioning the legislature to make a law which would give to the tenant a legal right to recover from the landlord such compensation for improvements made by him as impartial and competent arbitrators would decide to be his equitable right."

This does not go to the full extent of the necessity of the case, but it goes a good way in the right direction. But why is this confined to yearly tenants? Assuming this can be effected by the legislature, which, however, is not quite so simple an affair as some persons not fully acquainted with the law of real property in this country, seem to suppose. Upon that point, however, we shall not enlarge at present. The discussion on these resolutions was opened by Mr. Bass, who remarked that as the tenant is now liable for any dilapidations he may make upon the land, he ought to have an equivalent right to recover improvements against the landlord. And he appealed to the experience of the farming body to say, "whether improving tenants compelled, from the force of circumstances, to quit their farms before they have had time to reap the benefit of their improvements, ever do receive fair compensation for them?" The tenant commonly quits under circumstances which do not conciliate towards him the good will of the landlord or his agent; and the claims for improvements are not, therefore, often considered in a friendly spirit. The time for making a safe arrangement for the tenant is upon his entry. To rely on the personal character of any landlord, however honourable, is to trust to the chapter of accidents; he may change, he may become embarrassed, he may sell his estate, or he may die, and so the property pass into other hands, at whose mercy the tenant will be. Mr. Bass said:

"The state of agriculture is changing every year, and new modes of culture are discovered by which land may be made to grow a larger amount of produce, and at a less expense, than is possible until these new means are tried. The farmer who adheres to the old system is brought into competition with others who have abandoned it, and his profits are every year becoming less. To enable him to keep pace with the forward movement, he must begin by investing additional capital on his land. Without reckoning such improvements as draining, the merely increasing the fertile power of the soil by manures cannot be done without considerable outlay. Without a stronger guarantee than he now has, the tenant-at-will cannot prudently incur a large outlay, and without such outlay he cannot prosper."

Yet landlords are averse to giving the requisite security. He added

"The longer I attend to the subject, the more I become convinced that the many impediments to proper agreements between landlords and tenants will not be overcome, except by giving the tenants a legal claim where there is no special agreement. There are impediments on both sides. Though many landlords are desirous of having their land highly farmed by their tenants, and are willing to give security for the capital invested in improvements, yet there are too many who are careless, or even averse to putting the tenant in an independent position. On the other hand there are many tenants too timid to undertake leases, and many others occupying small farms with small means, to whom it would not be advisable to grant them. Nothing but agreements from year to year, with clauses providing for compensation for improvements, would be accepted by this numerous class of tenants."

Now these last propositions are unsound. The weaker the tenant's capital, the longer must be his rotation of crops, if he is to farm well, and therefore to such tenants a lease is indispensable. But if it be meant that these tenant rights will enable the system of small capitals and yearly tenancies to be continued, then we say that they will do more harm than good, for it is only by tenants being "placed in independent positions" that any general improvement will take place.

There is, however, no practical difficulty in the way of such valuations of improvements as are proposed. Mr. Bass said:

"I have observed that in the discussion of this subject at the London Farmers' Club, none of the eminent farmers who spoke seemed to have any doubt that a just valuation of tenants' rights could always be made by competent land valuers. If a farmer has a beneficial interest in a lease, and is at liberty to dispose of it to another, there is never any difficulty in estimating its worth, and in what does this case differ from that of a tenant leaving unenjoyed improvements in a farm held at will?"

The only way of effecting it is to appoint arbitrators in each case, and he added:

"It seems to me that the whole subject relating to the mutual claims of the off-going and in-coming tenants, and of the landlord, requires a thorough revision by the legislature."

This is a position nobody can doubt, who has known anything of the management of landed property.

The next speaker was Mr. Richard Chawner, whose remarks bespeak a fuller knowledge of the requirements of agriculture than is commonly met with. He said, he must make one objection to the report, that it placed the subject on too narrow a basis by not recognising the interest of the consumer. But, in fact, that is comprised in the consideration of what is best for the tenant, who, like the consumer, is interested in growing the largest quantity at the least proportional cost. Mr. Chawner thus enforced the necessity of a lease:

"In what position then ought the tenant to be placed? First of all he requires security of tenure. He must have the security of a lease for years, say 21, renewable every seven with the consent of the contracting parties. A long connection with college property has satisfied me upon this point. No prudent man will expend his capital—no skilful man can have the opportunity of carrying out his projected improvements (the result frequently requiring years for its development) unless he be insured in the possession of his farm for a certain term of years (Cries of "Hear, hear"). The next point of importance relates to the conditions of the tenure, the covenants in the lease,—and here the same principle must be kept steadily in view—viz., the good cultivation of the soil. This may be called the landlord's right; and in order to secure it, he should have the power of entering by himself or agent to inspect the state of cultivation, and of referring any question of dilapidation or neglect of the rules of good husbandry to competent and impartial authority. The schedule which should be appended to every lease, containing the system and state of cultivation of the farm, would be a very sufficient guide to any competent arbitrators between the parties. In addition to the respectability and capital of the tenant, the ever-ruling principle of self-interest is a security to the landlord; for it is notorious that in the good cultivation of the soil, and in that only, can the tenant hope for any adequate return for the expenditure of his capital and labour (hear, hear). On the other hand, the tenant ought to be allowed the uncontrolled power over his own skill and capital; he must be allowed to cultivate his farm as he thinks proper."

This is the just and sound view of the subject, and it is that to which farmers must adhere, if they mean to effect any sufficient alteration in the present system. And this we believe is more likely to be obtained by contract than by legislative interference; and it is far better that farmers should try to improve their own contracts with their landlords than rely upon legislative aid. They have had somewhat too much of that already; and he must be but an indifferent observer who supposes our landlord legislators will, at present, consent to pass any general measure tending to promote the independence of the farmers. Mr. Chawner well said:

"We talk of confidence in landlords; but where is the confidence in the tenant, who is required to cultivate his farm according to a certain and unvarying system, to pursue the same course of cropping under all circumstances? We have but to reflect upon our changeful climate, our 'weeping skies,' the change in markets, the difficulty of procuring manures suitable for certain crops, to be convinced at once

of the absurdity of the present system. And here I would ask those objectors to the ignorance of the English farmers to reflect upon the restrictions and difficulties under which the tenant farmer has hitherto pursued his useful avocations."

That goes home to the mark; and he added:

"And now, gentlemen, I would gladly pause, but that it is necessary to consider that worst of all tenures, tenancy-at-will. Unfortunately there are circumstances under which this system will be continued; I deeply regret it, because the soil can never be cultivated according to its capabilities under such a system of tenure. Some members of our Club may consider that I lay too much stress upon the good cultivation of the soil; but I ask you to contrast well cultivated districts with neglected ones. Compare Lincolnshire and parts of Norfolk with Wilts and Dorsetshire. In the former case it is well with all interests—the owner, the occupier, and the labourer; but in the latter how true—miserably true—is the reverse. The unsatisfactory state of tenant rights may be illustrated by what takes place in courts of law. Evidence is produced for the plaintiff as to the custom of the country: equally respectable is the evidence for the defendant; but how conflicting, how totally opposed each to the other. The learned Judge, in despair, declares there is no law in the case; it must be referred, and it is, to a gentleman as remarkable for his impartiality as for his total ignorance of the subject in dispute."

And he further said:

"If this miserable system of tenancy-at-will must be continued, I would venture to make a suggestion, which, if it please neither landlord nor tenant, may at least protect the soil. It is this: As the off-going tenant seeks to do as little as possible for the farm which he quits, so the on-coming tenant schemes to pay as little as possible, and the soil (i.e., the consumer) suffers; and as every practical man knows, the farm where the tenant is frequently changed requires a constant increase of capital to restore its cultivation; 'to stay the plague,' I would place the landlord as the in-coming tenant. Let him pay the off-going tenant liberally for his cultivation up to the end of his term, and then charge the outlay upon the succeeding tenant in the shape of rent. The tenant will thus have his capital in hand to proceed at once with the cultivation of his farm. And here I would ask you to consider the difference of entering upon a farm in a good state of cultivation, and one in a dilapidated condition. I have trespassed too long upon your attention. The importance of the subject must be my excuse. It must be sifted to the bottom; it must be discussed at every Farmers' Club—aye, and at every market table in England (cheers). We take no selfish view of tenant rights; we desire, above all things, the good cultivation of the soil. If we succeed in placing tenant rights upon a secure basis, we shall equally protect the rights of landlords, and promote to the utmost of our ability the prosperity of the land we live in."

These remarks were deservedly received with much applause.

Mr. Govan said:

"He hoped to see the day when the landlord and tenant would be placed on a footing of equality. He never yet saw an agreement that he was disposed to sign, because agreements were generally all on one side; and he was satisfied that the day was about to dawn when one-sided things could exist no longer" (cheers).

Mr. Greaves advocated a legal right to be paid for improvements; saying:

"A law declaring the tenant to be entitled to just compensation for unexhausted improvements would at once effect more than would be effected by 50 years' agitation of the subject by the farmers. I am not prepared to deny that the common system of tenancy-at-will is favourable to a certain class of tenants where they hold under the best landlords; but I take the liberty to say that it is only in the case of the best landlords and the worst tenants, that it is the most favourable."

This seems to say but little for tenancies-at-will, even in the excepted cases.

He then asks:

"Can the tenant's rights be fairly ascertained? I have not the least doubt that they can; and I agree with the report of our Committee that this can only be done by a valuation made by arbitrators having a discretionary power to award compensation according to the particular circumstances under which the improvements have been made. It is sometimes said that a tenant's permanent improvements alone ought to be allowed for; but, as the report of our committee very justly argues, all improvements are more or less permanent, for there are none for which the tenant is immediately repaid. If a tenant took land for two or three years, would he expend money in manures, or lay part of it down to grass, or subsoil it, or even give it a thorough cleaning? The tenant has just as good a claim to compensation for such improvements as he has for buildings erected, or for drains laid in the soil. In one respect, I think the report of the Committee falls short of what is required to ensure good farming in all cases. It only recommends compensation in the case of tenancy from year to year; but it was very properly remarked, that in the case of a lease, farmers were obliged to remit their improvements towards its termination, and get all back which they could, and thus injuring the land and their landlords, while if they were allowed for improvements made during the latter part of the lease, the interests of all would be better cared for. By the law, as it now is, the landlord can recover for dilapidation of his land; but everybody acquainted with farming must be aware how very unequally and unjustly the law operates. A tenant may have improved his land to the amount of many hundreds of pounds, but if he has omitted to crop a single field according to the custom of the country, or has failed to repair a barn, or clean a ditch, or mend a fence, his landlord may recover from him; although, if a fair balance were struck, a large compensation would be due to the party who was actually obliged to pay it."

Mr. Bass, in reply, observed:

"The question as to the best mode of tenure was decided by the club long ago in favour of long leases. The sole object of the meeting that night was to take some specific act, and to coalesce with other clubs in petitioning the legislature to place the tenant on an equal footing with his land-

lord. For himself, he was of opinion that the whole law of land should be revised.

And

"Mr. Chawner suggested the propriety of sending a formal notice to the landlords of the district, informing them of the decision of the club, and requesting their co-operation in petitioning the legislature. He had heard many landlords express themselves favourable to the resolutions."

That some of the landlords will aid in this "agricultural movement," we have no doubt; but in the main, it must be carried out by the exertions of the farmers; and the discussion at Burton-on-Trent shows that there are men amongst them who are able and willing to work out the independence of the rural middle classes.

HOPE FOR THE SQUIRES YET.

In Scotland, at all events, the landlords are not under the necessity of abandoning their land on account of coming Free Trade in corn, as witness the following:

"GRASS FARMS AND CATTLE SALES IN SCOTLAND.—In various places in the south, grass parks are letting at a considerable advance on the prices of former years. In the neighbourhood of Dundee prices are from seven to eight per cent. higher than last year. In Perthshire, the average is from ten to twenty per cent. higher. At Clow, in the Ochils, a park of nearly twenty acres, well laid down, and for the first time depastured, brought upwards of 80l. on Monday, the 6th instant. At a sale of stock at the same place, cattle fetched very high prices. Blackfaced three-year-old widders brought from 23s. to 26s. a head; ewes, from 20s. to 25s. 6d.; Cheviot hogs, 20s. to 21s. The *Dumfries Courier* states that the far famed Closeburn annual grass let, on the estate of Sir Charles Monteath, Bart., came off at Brownhill, on the 3d instant. Those upon the western side, or Shaw's estate, commanded upwards of 16 per cent. above the last year's let, while those on the eastern, or Hall side, were only a trifling shade below a similar per centage. The same respected proprietor and eminent agriculturist, on his estate of Mansfield, Ayrshire, last week, let his grazing fields at a rise of fully 14 per cent. above that of the preceding year."—*Glasgow Courier*.

And as we have peculiar satisfaction in giving comfort and support to the agricultural mind, we reprint the following for its consolation and instruction. The lessons it conveys are, Beware of panic; and whatever you do, don't lessen your stock:

"HIGH PRICE OF CATTLE AND SHEEP.—The prices which farm stock have brought at all the markets this year far exceeds the average of many preceding years, and indeed, as regards fat sheep, the rates are wholly unprecedented. No doubt, to some extent, the higher wages for labour now current will account for so much of the rise as has been caused from the increased demand; but we understand that other causes have concurred in producing the present state of the market. The chief want in cattle is in two and three-year-olds, which are those usually bought for fattening for the market, and there is a great deficiency in the supply of these, owing to the panic caused by the tariff three years ago, which had the effect of checking the operations of many stock growers. As regards sheep, the high price is generally attributed to the great demand for England, consequent upon the extensive losses from foot-rot in many districts last year. At late markets the supply has uniformly been under that of the previous year, owing to the large sales of the six-quarters and two-year-olds last autumn; and to make up stocks adequate to the demand is attributed the rise in rents of pastures of all kinds this year."—*Perthshire Courier*.

Let us offer the farmers a word of advice: whatever dangers take place, let them never act under the influence of panic, induced by the representations of the monopolist landlords, until those landlords give evidence, real evidence, that they have belief in their own prophecies, by coming forward and offering handsome and permanent reductions of rent. Let farmers act steadily on this advice, and they need fear no panic.

FANCIFUL DISTINCTIONS.

"GUANO TRADE.—It appears from a return issued yesterday by order of the House of Lords, that in the year 1841, there were seven British vessels (and no foreign ones) engaged in the guano trade, of 1,733 tons, and engaging 87 men. In 1842, there were 11 British vessels, occupying 360 men, and 29 foreign ships, employing 59 men. In the next year, there were only 13 British (and no foreign vessels) engaged, visiting 202 tonnage. In 1844, however, there were 288 British vessels (engaging 4,343 men), and one foreign ship (with 18 men); and in 1845 no fewer than 675 British (engaging 11,434 men) and four foreign vessels (with 52 men). This return is prepared from John Covey, Registrar of Shipping at the Custom-house, and is dated the 11th ult."

Doubtless the peer—perhaps the Duke of Richmond—at whose instance this return was ordered, hugged himself with the notion that he should thereby show what an important article, to the commercial classes, foreign manure had become, and to build upon it some monopolist fallacy. These artificial scarcity gentlemen are always especial advocates of the use of guano,—against which, however, in fit circumstances we do not say a word,—probably because they imagine it to be a short cut to high produce without security of tenure or reduction of rent. But what is guano? It is ready-made, completely manufactured manure. Well, but we could import vast quantities of manure, in the form of grain, oats, barley, rye, beans, peas, maize, and so forth, for the manufacture of manure in this country—that is, for the

feeding of stock—which, during the process of manufacture, would afford profit to our farmers, and supply great additions to the animal food of the people. Yet the protectionists exult over the extension of the guano trade, and deny the farmers of this country liberty to import cheap food for their stock.

BLOOD FOR THE HARE!

"GAMEKEEPER SHOT.—Henry Jackson, head gamekeeper to Sir George Sitwell, Radshaw Hall, and who has only recently been appointed such, went out near the hall on his rounds on Tuesday night. He had not been out long before three men suddenly came towards him, and one of them fired a gun at him, but missed his aim. The same man fired again and shot him in the thigh. By some means he got into the hall, when medical aid was soon procured for him, and about a dozen of the shots extracted. Information was forwarded to the Sheffield police early in the morning, and an officer who had a knowledge of the locality and its inhabitants was promptly dispatched to apprehend the offenders, who were known by the wounded man. In the course of the day the police succeeded in apprehending four of the persons who were suspected to have been concerned in the murderous attempt. They were taken before a magistrate at Eckington, and remanded to Sheffield."—*Sheffield Mercury*.

Are these the deeds of civilised, Christian men? We know not whether the poor men who have to risk their lives in defence of the game, or those who, having been demoralised by game preserving, would madly have murdered their fellow-creature, are most to be pitied. Towards the game preservers and the upholders of the Game Laws, there can be but one sentiment, that of indignant condemnation. We are glad to see, however, that some landowners are becoming alive to the mischievousness of game preserving:

"DESTRUCTION OF GAME.—During the last season upwards of 21,000 hares and rabbits were killed upon the estates of Thomas Clifton, Esq., of Lytham, besides a large number of pheasants, partridges, and other game. We understand it is intended to thin the number still further, as Mr. Clifton is determined that the destructive ravages of game shall not be a source of complaint amongst his tenants another year."—*Lancashire Paper*.

We wish we could say the practice of game preserving was decreasing. But game preservers must have the public eye of the intelligent and humane of this country strongly directed towards them, before they will abandon their selfish and pernicious pleasures.

INDIAN CORN.

The following has been sent us by a lady, and we recommend her practical receipts as deserving of wide circulation:

"Heigham, near Norwich, April 14, 1846.

"We lived six years in New York state, and have used Indian corn almost daily for the last fourteen years in our family, which is large. I always have found that our servants, after a very short time grew as fond of it as we are. I venture to send you my receipts, which I had printed in hopes of 'diffusing' this branch of 'useful knowledge.' I sent some to Father Mathew at Cork, and he tells me he has had a few thousand copies reprinted for circulation. I have just sent a sheet to Dr. Lindley, and Mr. Gedge, of the *Bury Post*, hoping they will aid in the circulation; and perhaps you will find a vacant corner in the *League*."

A DOZEN RECEIPTS FOR COOKING INDIAN MEAL;

By a Person who has used it many years in her family.
1. Bread of Indian Meal and Flour.—2. Indian Meal Dumplings.—3. Johnny Cake.—4. Mush.—5. Fried Mush.—6. Boiled Indian Pudding.—7. Baked ditto.—8. Plain ditto.—9. Indian Meal Gruel.—10. Indian Pancakes.—11. Corn Cake, or Corn Bread.—12. Sweet Corn Cakes.—13. Light Corn Bread.—14. Plain Corn Bread.—Remarks.—15. Hominy, to make.—16. Hominy, to cook.

Yellow Indian Corn is far more nutritious, and tastes better, than White Indian Corn.

Indian Corn Meal must not be ground too fine; it generally requires to be sifted, and the coarsest bran taken out; this when boiled is good food for pigs.

Bread cannot be made of Indian meal alone: one-third of meal to two-thirds of wheat flour is quite as much as the bread will bear; more meal would make it too sweet and sticky. To make bread, take for example 7lbs. of Indian meal, and pour boiling water on it till it is all wet; it never knots like flour: then let it stand till it becomes milk-warm, and stir in one stone and a half of flour with the hands; proceed then exactly as you would with wheat bread; of course but little more water will be required. It takes rather longer to bake than wheat bread.

Indian Meal Dumplings are made exactly like suet dumplings; or if you prefer them without suet, mix them with milk instead of water; they require longer time in boiling than flour dumplings. If any is left to be cold, it is good cut in slices and fried.

Johnny Cake, which is in fact a pudding, and eaten hot, is made thus. Take about two pints of Indian meal and mix with it about one table-spoonful of melted pork lard or clear beef dripping. Dissolve one tea-spoonful of salt, and half a tea-spoonful of soda in a tea-cup, with cold water; pour milk into the meal till it forms a stiff batter; add the salt and water, and one beaten egg. Grease a shallow tin, such as is used for Yorkshire puddings, and pour the batter in. Bake it in a brisk oven for about two hours. You may make Johnny Cake without milk, by putting rather more lard in it, or if you please you may make it with milk and water, as convenient. N.B. Johnny Cake should never be made thick; an inch deep is enough.

Mush is Indian meal added into cold water, or milk and water, quite thin, and then boiled for about half an hour. It thickens very much, so that it is necessary to stir it frequently, and to add cold water occasionally. It is also called Indian basty pudding, and it is usually eaten with treacle or with milk.

Fried Mush.—If any mush be left, when it is cold stir in more Indian meal till it is very stiff; cut it out of the pan in pieces about half an inch thick, and fry it in beef or pork lard. It is excellent.

Boiled Indian Pudding.—Make a stiff batter by stirring Indian meal into a quart of milk or water. Add two table-spoonfuls of flour, three of brown sugar, two tea-spoonfuls of ginger, and two of salt. If you make it with water, mix in a little chopped suet and one egg, but with milk these are not required. Tie rather loose, and boil for three hours at least.

Baked Indian Pudding.—Boil three or four pints of milk, according to the size of the dish you mean to fill, and stir in Indian meal till it becomes about as thick as soft butter. Stir in two or three ounces of butter, and half a tea-cupful of brown sugar. Add according to taste either a little grated lemon peel, or any spice you like. Butter a shallow earthen baking-dish, and bake in a moderate oven for three-quarters of an hour, or longer if needful. When cold it will easily turn out, and this pudding is better cold than hot.

Plain Indian Pudding.—Seal a quart of milk, and stir in seven table-spoonfuls of Indian meal, one tea-spoonful of salt, one of ginger or cinnamon, and half a tea-cupful of treacle. Grease a baking dish, and bake for about two hours.

Indian Meal Gruel.—Stir a table-spoonful or two of meal into cold water; boil it till it is thickened as much as you like.

Indian Pancakes.—Mix about a pint of meal with sufficient milk or water, and one beaten egg to make a thin batter; fry them in as small a quantity of lard as possible.

Corn Cakes, or Corn Bread.—Pour boiling water with a little salt in it on Indian meal; mix it as stiff as you can with the hands; roll it into balls the size of an orange, then flatten the balls, till the cakes are about half an inch thick. Fry them in a small quantity of beef lard, merely sufficient to prevent their sticking to the pan, or burning. They are to be eaten hot, generally as a breakfast dish.

Sweet Corn Cakes.—Mix one quart of milk, one beaten egg, a tea-spoonful of salt, and half as much soda, and two table-spoonfuls of treacle. Pour this on meal and stir it well till it becomes thoroughly mixed, and stiff enough to make into flat cakes like those in the last receipt. Fry them for 15 or 20 minutes.

Light Corn Bread.—Stir four pints of Indian meal into three pints of tepid water; add one large tea-spoonful of salt; let it rise for 5 or 6 hours, then stir it up with the hand; use as much dough for each roll as can be conveniently shaped in the hand; make oblong rolls about an inch and a half or two inches thick; bake in a brisk oven.

Plain Corn Bread.—Take six pints of Indian meal, one tea-spoonful of salt, four pints of hot water, and mix thoroughly with the hands; let it stand for half an hour or more, then form it as in the last receipt, and bake it in a hot oven.

Remarks.—All kinds of corn bread require a hotter oven than flour bread.

Never grind the corn too fine, or sift it through a fine sieve; no matter how coarse the meal if the husk is removed.

The hotter the oven or Dutch oven, so that it will not burn the dough, the softer and sweeter will be the bread.

Hominy is a dish hardly known in this country except by name. It is a western word, and a dish most common in the Western States of America; it is simply "hulled corn." The way to prepare it is this: Send the corn to the mill, and have it cracked or ground as coarse as possible. If there is any meal amongst it, sift it out, and retain only the cracked corn for hominy. The mill will have disengaged the skin, so that the cook can wash it off; this should be done in cold water, rubbing it with the hands, and changing the water two or three times. Another method of getting rid of the skin is to soak the corn for about ten minutes in soda and water, or in lye, and then pound it in a mortar, but this is tedious. When the hominy is thus prepared, put it into a large pot of cold water, and boil it steadily for six or eight hours. Add hot water frequently whilst boiling, otherwise the hominy will burn and become dark. It should be perfectly white, like well boiled rice. Send it to table dry and hot.

The usual way in the Western States is to boil hominy twice a week, and set it by in an earthen vessel for daily use. When wanted for breakfast or dinner, put a piece of butter into a baking-dish, melt it, then fill the dish with hominy well mashed down; let it heat thoroughly, and it is fit to eat. Some people allow the bottom to bake, then turning it topsy-turvy in the dish, the crust serves to keep it hot.

For frying fish, use coarse Indian meal instead of bread crumbs.

For stuffing, use Indian meal instead of grated bread.

PROSPECTS OF CHEAP AND GOOD FOOD.—Amongst the matters at present exciting interest, nothing is more important, or displays more the character of the commercial enterprise of the day, than the steps now taking for insuring a future supply of food. Within a very few days, there has been rivalry between the American and Norwegian merchants in ice, turkeys, and capons, many of which have arrived in a state fit for the domestic table. Within the last three years, nearly 500,000 pine apples have been imported from the West Indies: turtle in abundance; and even preserved apricots from Port Philip, in Australia. The measures of the proposed tariff have, in many instances, been anticipated by intelligent speculators in the city, and reciprocated by agriculturists abroad. One intelligent firm in Monument Yard alone have added, within the last two years, many luxuries and necessities to the table, including pine apples and turtle from the Bahamas; new potatoes from the Azores; salmon from Labrador, imported by the Hudson's Bay Company; pork and bacon from Lisbon; preserved meats from Australia; hops, smoked beef, and tongues, from the United States, &c. The most extraordinary results, however, perhaps from anticipated Free Trade, have been in the importation of American cheese. The potatoes, introduced as novelties from the Azores last spring, have now become absolute necessities, as they are the chief source on which a future healthy crop can be looked forward to. The Horticultural Society has not been behind in anticipating the future wants of the community, by introducing several new sorts of food. Two new articles in farinaceous food have been added recently in the importation of yams and bananas. In connection with these statements, it is a matter of notoriety that the want of Irish beef and pork for ships' provisions is such, and has been so for months, that the ships could not leave port without a foreign supply.—*Leeds Mercury*.

REVIEW.

ECONOMIC FALLACIES (*Sophismes Economiques*, par M. F. Bastiat.) Paris: Guillaumin; London: Dulau.

M. Frederic Bastiat's able work, entitled, "Cobden and the League," has already introduced him to the favourable notice of our readers. He is a philosophical economist of the highest order—a man who unites profound science to active benevolence, a sincere love of truth to a firm resolution to assert its cause, and who combines a thorough hatred of falsehood with large power and resolute will to expose its delusions. The greater part of the work before us is devoted to the exposure of the fallacies of protection, which, though confuted here to the satisfaction of the great bulk of the people, have still some influence over public feeling in France, where the monopolists have been far more successful than they have been on this side of the Channel in fencing round their selfish interests by appeals to popular prejudice. But M. Bastiat does more than overthrow: he builds up. We may say of him, in a different sense from the poet—

"Diruit, edificat, mutat quadrata rotundis."

That is, he throws down sophistry, he erects the system of sound principle, and he changes the angular forms of mere superficial extent for the circular of greatest capacity. In bringing this work before our readers, we believe that an analysis of the reasoning will be more instructive to them, and more equitable to the author, than a mere selection of specimens. In this instance, quotations would too closely resemble the brick which, according to Hierocles, the Greek blockhead carried round as a specimen of his house. Instead of picking out a few bricks, we shall endeavour to give a plan of the edifice.

M. Bastiat opens the discussion by stating as the first point in issue the comparative merits of *Plenty* and *Scarcity*.

There is something repulsive to common sense and common humanity in supposing that any man would deliberately assert *abundance* to be an evil to be deprecated; and *want*, a good to be sought. But we have sad evidence that this monstrous assertion finds advocates in the press and the senate. "You will be inundated with foreign corn," exclaims Lord Stanley; "Deprive not the Irish of your markets for their corn, else they will die of a plethora when consuming at home," whines forth that most self-complacent patriot, W. S. O'Brien; "Let bread be dear, and the farmers will be rich," is the great aphorism of M. Bugeaud on one side of the water, and Lord George Bentinck on the other. It is sometimes attempted to disguise the naked wickedness of this legislation to produce want by substituting the word *cheapness* for *abundance*, and the words *high price* for *scarcity*; but the terms are obviously identical. Cheapness is merely the sign of abundance, as dearthness is of scarcity. High prices and famine prices are one and the same thing; and those who legislate to secure high prices for food are speculating in scarcity, and driving a trade in starvation. They deliberately plan the destruction of one portion of the population to extort high prices from the survivors. But we may be told that this view of the case carries the protective system to an extreme not intended by monopolists. But we say, if their principle is sound, it must sustain all its consequences; it must be valid for famine if it be valid for insufficiency of supply. The question between protection and Free Trade is simply a question between artificial scarcity and natural abundance; the extent of the scarcity is indifferent to the issue. Protection, however, has its logic, and we shall fairly state the argument by which it is supported. The producer who obtains a high price for his products, generally obtains a high profit—that is, a large remuneration for his industry. By rendering these products artificially scarce, he increases their price in the market, and therefore increases the amount of reward obtained for his labour. If, then, any special branch of industry be protected from competition, the price of its products will be thereby raised, and the remuneration of all engaged in the production will be increased in the same proportion. Apply this to all branches of production in a country, and you will secure the prosperity of all classes of producers. Such is the logic of scarcity as it is enunciated very distinctly every morning in the *Post*, and sometimes stated with great rhetorical skill. The same principles are maintained by Mrs. Harris and Mrs. Gamp, but the unfortunate creatures have not the skill to give it even the form of an argument.

We do not deny that this argument, as it has often been stated by the *Morning Post* in its special application to some one branch of industry, is specious; in fact, the syllogism is not false, it is simply incomplete. It presents the truth, but not the whole truth; and it may deceive, because the truth asserted must be present to the mind, while the truth omitted may escape the cognisance even of the imagination.

There are, in fact, two truths omitted—a lesser

and a greater; which, however, are intertwined with each other. Let us consider the lesser first. It is assumed in the reasoning that high prices are coincident with high profits, and that consequently artificial scarcity will always increase the remuneration for production. But if instead of producing one article at a profit of five shillings, the producer at the same proportionate outlay can bring three articles to market at a profit of half-a-crown, though the price of each article is lowered by 2s. 6d., his ultimate gain is increased by the same amount. This at all events shows a possibility of profits being realised on abundant production, as well as by a system of artificial scarcity, and points to a serious flaw in the logic of protection, even when applied exclusively to the interests of the producer.

But men produce to consume; every man is a consumer, as well as a producer. The logic of scarcity only regards him under the productive aspect. Let M. Bastiat state the supplementary case:

"The consumer is so much the richer, as he purchases the articles of which he is in need at a cheaper rate; he purchases them cheap in proportion to their abundance, and consequently abundance enriches him; and this reasoning extended to all consumers forms the *theory of abundance*."

M. Bastiat very justly remarks that the theory of scarcity would never have been put into opposition with the theory of abundance, had not men been misled by illusive notions of *exchange*. Were man a solitary animal, incapable of making exchanges, the theory of want would be a palpable absurdity. Robinson Crusoe in his desert island would never have complained that the fruits of the earth grew in too great a quantity, or that the chests of the seamen which floated ashore contained too large a supply of clothes. But, as Archbishop Whately has well observed, "Man is essentially a catallactic animal,"—that is, an animal which makes exchanges. For this description of man, in his economic relations, the archbishop has been severely rated by some ignorant and conceited sentimentalists, who would substitute for sound science pedantic vanities and puerile conceits. But *exchange*, as M. Bastiat shows, is the principal fact in the inquiry; and the fallacies which prevail, arise from misapprehension of its nature and import. Let us first take M. Bastiat's comparison of the theory of want and the theory of abundance as applied to an individual and isolated human being:

"If man had been a solitary animal, labouring exclusively for himself, and consuming the fruit of his toil,—in a word, if he made no exchange, the theory of want would never have been introduced into the world. It would be too evident that abundance would be advantageous to him, from whatever source it might be derived; whether it had been the result of his own industry, or of ingenious implements and powerful machines which he had invented; whether it was due to the fertility of the soil, the liberality of nature, or even to a mysterious invasion of products which the waves might have brought him from abroad and cast upon the shore. The man would never have deemed it necessary to encourage himself, to find employment for his labour, by breaking the implements which abridge his toil, neutralising the fertility of the soil, or throwing back into the sea the articles which it had brought to his shore. He would easily comprehend that labour is a means, not an end, and that it would be absurd to reject the object of labour, through fear of injuring the means. He would understand that, if he spends two hours of the day to provide for his wants, every circumstance (no matter whether it be machinery, fertility, or gratuitous gift) which spares him an hour of this toil, the results remaining the same, places this hour at his disposal to make some further addition to his welfare; in fact he would comprehend that the *saving of labour is progress*."

But exchange raises two antagonistic interests. On the one hand, it is our interest to sell dear; on the other hand, it is our interest to buy cheap. The question then arises, whether legislation is to be guided by the interests of producers, or by the interests of consumers? Now it is, in the first place, evident, that *all* men are consumers, including the producers themselves; and in the next place, it is evident that it is impossible, and idle if it were possible, to extend protection to all classes of producers. So far, then, as the greatest happiness of the greatest number should be an influential principle in legislation, the interest of the consumers and the theory of abundance are unquestionably entitled to the preference.

All legislation for the exclusive benefit of producers is obviously and essentially anti-social, being designed to restrict the supply of the wants of society. The system of protection, that of the Corn Laws, for instance, stands in this dilemma; it either excludes provisions, and thus produces artificial scarcity, or it does not. If it does, then the advocates of protection confess that they are injuring consumers—that is, the entire nation, to the utmost extent of their power. If they deny that these laws produce such scarcity, it follows that they do not raise prices, and consequently they are of no use to producers. PROTECTION, then, is EITHER MISCHIEVOUS or USELESS; there is no other alternative.

The second sophism exposed by M. Bastiat is that which confounds wants with wealth, and obstacles with causes:

"A physician, for example, does not employ himself in making his bread, fabricating his instruments, weaving or stitching his clothes. Others do these things for him, and in return he combats the diseases of his patient. The more

numerous, the more intense, and the more frequent these diseases are, the more people are willing, and indeed the more they are compelled to labour for his personal interests. In his point of view, disease, that is, the general obstacle to human happiness, is the *cause* of general prosperity. All producers make use of the same reasoning in whatever personally concerns themselves. The carrier derives his profits from the obstacle called *distance*; the agriculturist from that named *hunger*; the weaver from that named *cold*; the schoolmaster lives on *ignorance*; the jeweller on *vanity*; the lawyer on *cupidity*, just as the physician does on *disease*. It is then true that each profession has an immediate interest in the continuation, and even the extension of the special obstacle which is the object of his efforts."

Intimately connected with this sophism is a third, which attributes economic value to *efforts* instead of to results. It is the sophism of the *Post* on the necessity of employing the population irrespective of the consideration whether the employment be productive or unproductive. As this sophism, pushed to its remote but legitimate consequences, would find its full development in the fable of Sisyphus, eternally doomed to roll a huge stone up a hill, which tumbled back again so soon as it approached the summit, M. Bastiat calls the system *Sisyphism*. Let us remember the description of that hero's punishment:

"With many a weary step, and many a groan,
Up the high hill he hurls the huge round stone;
The huge round stone, resulting with a bound,
Thunders impetuous down, and smokes along the ground."

There are two systems with regard to labour; one recommends the production of the greatest amount of result with the least possible expenditure of toil; the other avers that to abridge toil and economise labour is an injury to society. The clamour against machinery is pure Sisyphism. Sentimentalists, when they hear that the steam engine saves the labour of hundreds and thousands of men, exclaim that machinery is taking away employment. Sisyphism is particularly eloquent on behalf of native industry. In Ireland it expends an abundance of bad rhetoric travestied from Ossian and Carlyle in recommending the exclusive use of Irish manufactures. Its first and last panacea for all the evils of humanity is, "give employment." Now we, who are not Sisyphists, believe it advantageous to give employment, when the labour employed leads to remunerative production; but so far as the result is unremunerating, the employment is but a rolling of the stone of Sisyphus, with the additional hardship that the toil is imposed where no punishment is merited.

But Sisyphism is a sad hypocrite; there is not one of its professors who does not exercise his intelligence to economise his own time and his own toil as much as possible. What Sisyphist, aspiring to be a statesman, does not look for a short cut to Parliament or place? What Sisyphian agriculturist does not endeavour to obtain the richest harvest by the least proportional outlay? What Sisyphist on the turf does not aim at winning as much as he can on every race? In fact, no man ever applies Sisyphism to his own individual cause. The conduct of every Sisyphist in the world is a practical refutation of his own doctrines.

We have only gone through one division of M. Bastiat's work, for which we venture to predict a permanent European reputation. We hope that the friends of Free Trade beyond the Atlantic will exert themselves to secure for it an extensive circulation in the United States. The lessons which it inculcates are not more important to France than they are to America.

The Topic, Nos. 1—4. London: Mitchell.

This is a new periodical, designed to furnish a condensed view of all the information necessary to comprehend the nature and bearing of whatever great question has the most prominent claim on public attention. The four numbers published respectively discuss the state of the Punjab, the Oregon question, the new tariff, and the condition of Poland. Each is a very fair digest of the knowledge attainable on the several subjects, written in a calm style, and with an impartial temper. We wish every success to this new literary enterprise. So far as it has gone, we find it perfectly satisfactory; but a larger experience is necessary before we can fairly estimate the skill required of the conductors in selecting subjects, or the ability displayed in their discussion.

THE COLISEUM.—To those who love to spend an evening of quiet and innocent recreation, this place continues to afford an agreeable attraction. The magnificent circular room, in which are placed the statues, forms a delightful promenade. In the evening, the whole establishment is brilliantly lighted up. The most pleasing and extraordinary feature in the exhibition is the view of London by moonlight. This is managed so well, that any one, unless previously acquainted with the place, might suppose that he was surveying the great and busy city at his feet, and that a veritable moon and stars were shining over his head. The mimic caverns of Heidelberg are well worth seeing.

VALUE OF A MARKET.—In the last six days of which we have accounts from New Orleans, there were shipped to foreign ports 21,000 bbls. flour, and corn and other products without measure, chiefly to England. Can any man suppose our western people to be such enormous fools as to sacrifice this vast market for a war about the whole of Oregon.—*American Paper*.

THE PLYMOUTH FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION.

The Free Trade Association of Plymouth has rendered good service to the cause of commercial freedom by its activity and earnestness. For several years gratuitous courses of winter lectures have been delivered under its auspices, and sound principles disseminated in a healthy and attractive form. We have just received a printed copy of the last of these lectures delivered, on the 26th of February, by the Rev. W. J. Odgers, "On the tendency of Free Trade to promote permanent and universal Peace." The lecturer has treated the subject with great eloquence and ability. We regret that our space will only allow us to give an extract or two from its pages:

MONOPOLY IN THE OLDEN TIME.

"In 1306 a law was passed prohibiting the use of coal in London, because some of the nobility and gentry complained that it infested the air with a noisome smell." Hackney coaches are said to have made their first appearance in London, in the year 1626. They were then only 20 in number for the whole of the capital and contiguous parts, and they did not ply in the streets, but were sent for, by those who wanted them, to the stables of certain inns where they stood. Ten years later, however, we find the King publishing a proclamation, in which he declares that the great number of hackney coaches of late time seen and kept in London, Westminster, and their suburbs, and the general and promiscuous use of coaches there, were not only a great disturbance to his Majesty, his dearest consort, the Queen, the nobility, and others of place and degree, in their passage through the streets, but the streets themselves were so pestered, and the pavements so broken up, that the common passages were hindered and made dangerous; and besides, the prices of hay and provender made exceeding dear. 'Wherefore,' concludes the proclamation, 'we expressly command, that no hackney or hired coaches be used or suffered in London, Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, except they be to travel at least three miles out of the same. And also, that no person shall go in a coach, in the said streets, except the owner of the coach shall constantly keep up four able horses for our service (the King's service) when required.' Such an edict as this, so insolent in its tone, so arbitrary and absurd in its exactions, enables us to measure the distance between the 16th and 19th century. Yet I am fully persuaded that to those who may be living 50 years hence, many of the restrictions which now fetter the commerce of this country, will appear little less absurd than this law about the hackney coaches appears to us. I must beg leave to offer you one specimen more of this vexatious Parliamentary interference with the trading concerns of the community. In 1363, an Act of Parliament was passed, from which the following are quotations. The preamble sets forth 'the extravagant and excessive apparel of several sorts of people beyond their estate and degree, to the destruction and impoverishment of all the land.' And then it prescribes the food and dress of different classes of the people. It enacted, that 'men-servants of lords, as also of tradesmen and artisans, shall be content with one meal of fish or flesh every day; and the other meals daily shall be of milk, cheese, butter, and the like. And the cloth they wear shall not exceed the price of two marks for the whole piece; neither shall they use any ornaments of gold, silver, silk, or embroidery; nor their wives and daughters any veils above the value of twelve-pence.'

"Further, 'Artisans and yeomen shall not wear cloth above the value of forty shillings the whole piece' (our finest cloth was then worth about six pounds per piece), 'nor the ornaments before named. Nor their women any veils of silk, but only those of thread made in England.'

"Ploughmen, carters, shepherds, and such like, not having 40s. value in goods or chattels, shall wear no sort of cloth, but blanket or russet lawn of twelve-pence, and shall wear girdles or belts; and they shall only eat and drink suitable to their stations. And whoever wears other apparel than is prescribed by the above laws, shall forfeit the same.'

"Lastly: 'Clothiers shall make suitable quantities of cloth of all the before-named prices; and mercers and shopkeepers in towns and cities shall keep due sortments thereof, so that these laws may be duly observed.'

"But the best specimen I have met with of restrictions on our inland trade, in the olden time, is that imposed by Henry III., in 1245. He proclaimed a fair to be held in Westminster, on which occasion he ordered that all the traders of London should shut up their shops, and carry their goods to be sold at the fair, and that all other fairs throughout England should be suspended during the 15 days it was appointed to last. The King's object, no doubt, was to obtain a supply of money from the tolls and other dues of the market. What made this interference to be felt as a greater hardship was, that the weather all the time of the fair happened to be exceedingly bad, so that not only the goods were spoiled, exposed to the rain as they were in tents covered only with cloth, and that probably imperfectly enough; but (the historian tells us) the dealers themselves, who were obliged to eat their victuals with their feet in the mud, and the wind and wet about their ears, suffered intolerably. Four years afterward the king repeated the same piece of tyranny, and was again seconded by the elements in a similar fashion. This time, too, scarcely any buyers came to the fair; so that it is no wonder the unfortunate merchants were loud in expressing their dissatisfaction.

"Now this is a picture of monopoly, worthy, I think, to engage the inimitable pencil even of *Punch* himself; and yet, absurd and unjust as this great Westminster market seems to us of the present day, do we not see combined in it all the elements of the larger monopolies of subsequent times? As King Henry III. caused this fair to be proclaimed that he might raise money for his own use, just so the land-holding legislators framed and supported the Corn Laws and other restrictive edicts to put money into their own pockets. As the King ordered all the shops to be closed in London, and all fairs to be suspended throughout England during the 15 days of his Westminster market, just so legislators of after times would not allow English manufactures to be purchased except at certain 'staple towns,' which they chose to fix on. The miserable condition of the dealers themselves, exposed to the wind and rain with their feet in the mud for 15 days, and the absence of customers, may serve to represent the depression, and the physical sufferings produced by monopoly in all ages. And, lastly, as the merchants and shopkeepers of London and Westminster 'were loud in expressing their dissatisfaction' at this vexatious interference with their commercial transactions, so (as I shall by and-by

show you) restrictions on a larger scale have repeatedly set nations at war.

WARS HAVE GROWN OUT OF COMMERCIAL RESTRICTIONS.

"I shall now point you to some facts to prove how, on the other hand, monopoly leads to contention, plunder, and bloodshed. In 1429, the Court of Denmark, for their own private advantage, prohibited the resort of foreign ships to fish on the coasts of Iceland; and required that they should, instead, come to Bergen, in Norway, and nowhere else, and there buy fish from the Norwegians, at their own price. The ship-owners of London, Bristol, Hull, and other places, refusing to comply with such an unreasonable demand, resorted, as formerly, to the coast of Iceland, for the fishery of cod and ling. The consequence was, that contentions frequently took place between the crews of the English and Danish ships, and damage to such an extent ensued, that an Act of Parliament was passed, in the reign of Henry VI., for the purpose of obtaining redress for the extensive plunder that had been committed, and prohibiting any Danish subjects from coming to this country to trade, until restitution was obtained. Similar contentions continued in later times to be produced by the same cause.

"As the next illustration of the tendency of monopoly, I refer to the atrocious massacre at Amboyna, in 1623. Amboyna is one of the Molucca or Spice Islands, in the eastern seas. In 1521 this island was taken possession of by the Portuguese, who practised on the natives every species of tyranny and cruelty. At the commencement of the 17th century, the Spice Islands were taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch. The natives, however, experienced very little better treatment from the Dutch than they had done from their former oppressors. Hence the inhabitants of Amboyna were continually in arms, and the country became the constant scene of strife and desolation. At a very early period after its first formation, the English East India Company endeavoured to appropriate to itself a share of the Spice trade. In 1612, the Company formed a settlement at Cambello, in this island, from which the settlers were forced to retire in June, 1614. An attempt was made to accommodate the dispute between the English company and the Dutch, relative to the right of trading with the Spice Islands, and a treaty for this purpose was concluded in London, in July, 1619. But so many disputes occurred in executing the provisions of this treaty, that the grounds of contention appear to have been multiplied, rather than reduced, and at length reached such a point, that, under the accusation of conspiring to surprise the garrison and expel the Dutch from the island, Captain Towerson, and nine Englishmen, with nine Japanese and a Portuguese sailor, were seized at Amboyna, tried, pronounced guilty, and executed. This event, known as the 'Massacre of Amboyna,' excited the greatest indignation in England, and became the subject of the most formal remonstrances on the part of the British Government.

"During the war with Holland, in 1796, Amboyna was captured by a British force under Admiral Raineir. It was restored at the peace in 1801, was taken again by the English in 1801, and was again given up to Holland, at the treaty of Paris, in 1814.

"And what was it that led to all this contention and bloodshed? It was in one word, *monopoly*. The main object of the different European powers, who endeavoured to possess themselves of Amboyna, was to monopolise the trade in cloves, the cultivation of which spice forms the principal object of industry with the natives. With the desire of keeping the cultivation of the clove-tree completely within their own power, the Dutch caused it to be extirpated from every island, with the exception of Amboyna, where they provided for a sufficient production of the spice, by compelling every native family to rear a certain number of clove-trees. In the prosecution of their plans the island was divided into 4090 allotments, each one of which was expected to support 125 trees; and a law was passed in 1792, rendering it compulsory upon the natives to make up the full complement. Such are the 'tender mercies' of monopoly! According to this statement, the number of trees upon the island amounted to 509,000, the average produce of which exceeded one million of pounds of cloves annually.

"The next evidence I shall adduce to show that monopoly leads to war, is the famous Navigation Act, framed and passed for the purpose of monopolising all the carrying trade of Great Britain. The foundation of this Act was laid during the protectorate, and the system was perfected by the 12th of Charles II. This Act provided that no merchandise of either Asia, Africa, or America, should be imported into Great Britain in any but English-built ships, navigated by an English commander, and having at least three-fourths of their crew English. The system now described continued to be steadily and pertinaciously maintained during more than 160 years, and was looked upon as a monument of wisdom and prudence, to which was mainly attributable the degree of commercial greatness to which we had attained.

"But Adam Smith very justly says, 'The Act of Navigation is not favourable to foreign commerce, or to the growth of that opulence that can arise from it. The interest of a nation in its commercial relations to foreign nations is, like that of a merchant with regard to the different people with whom he deals, to buy as cheap and to sell as dear as possible. But it will be most likely to buy cheap, when by the most perfect freedom of trade, it encourages all nations to bring to it the goods which it has occasion to purchase; and, for the same reason, it will be most likely to sell dear, when its markets are thus filled with the greatest number of buyers.'

"But what was the effect of this monopolising Navigation Act? One of its first consequences was undoubtedly the war with Holland, which broke out the year after it was passed. It is admitted also by a writer who ranks amongst the most zealous eulogists of this Act, that it 'occasioned at first loud complaints that, though our people had not shipping enough to import from all parts whatever they wanted, they were, nevertheless, by this law, debarred receiving due supplies of merchandise from other nations, who only could, and till then did, import them.' In reference to the war occasioned by the Navigation Act, the same writer (Anderson) says, 'In the year 1652 and the following year almost incredible destruction and captures were made of merchant ships, as well as of ships of war and sailors, on both sides; there having been, in only nine months of the year 1652, four general naval engagements, besides lesser ones.' And all this is to be laid to the charge of monopoly!

"I have next to refer to Mr. Colbert's famous tariff of 1667, by which the importation of all manufactures into France was prohibited. Upon this, the Dutch immediately retaliated by prohibiting the wines, brandies, and other productions of France. This commercial warfare produced open hostilities in 1672, and a war that lasted six years. All this, likewise, is to be placed to the account of monopoly!

"I may next refer to the war with Spain commenced in 1739, as another illustration of the 'tender mercies' of monopoly. The English merchants claimed the right of cutting logwood on the shores of the bay of Campeachy, in Mexico: But the Spaniards wished to monopolise this power, and resolved to annihilate the claims of the English. Great cruelties were inflicted on the crews of many of the English merchant ships, some of whom were seized and sent to dig in the mines of Potosi. Loud complaints were made by the English merchants to the House of Commons. The consequence was, that this matter of cutting logwood in the bay of Campeachy, which, as Goldsmith says, 'was considered as an object of too little importance to make a separate article in any negotiation,' finally led to a war which lasted nine years and cost us nearly fifty-four millions of money! This, again, is to be placed to the account of monopoly!

"Thus, how small a matter often leads to war! And it was an equally small matter which led to the war between this country and France, which immediately followed that between England and Spain. In reference to that war, a celebrated French historian says, 'France lost in the course of this fatal war, the flower of her youth, more than half the current coin which circulated in the kingdom, her fleet, her commerce, and her credit. It was believed (he continues), that it would have been easy to have prevented so many misfortunes, by accommodating matters with England for a small disputed territory, in the neighbourhood of Canada; but some ambitious persons, to gain importance, and render themselves necessary, precipitated France into this fatal war. The same thing happened in 1741, when the vanity of two or three people was sufficient to spread desolation through Europe.'

"We see another illustration of the blighting and hostile influence of commercial restrictions, in *Napoleon's Berlin Decrees*, whereby he declared all the ports of Great Britain in a state of blockade, and forbade all trading with us, or in the articles of our produce and manufactures. This led the English Government to adopt measures of retaliation, which, as Porter says, 'proved directly and immediately injurious to our trade, in a greater degree than all the efforts of the enemy would probably have succeeded in accomplishing.' And many who now hear me can well remember the mischief and misery occasioned by these retaliatory measures.

"I might also refer to the American revolutionary war, as having been likewise occasioned mainly by monopoly. 'Whoever,' says the celebrated Daniel Webster, of America—'whoever has looked deeply into the causes which produced our revolution, has found, if I mistake not, the original principle far back, in this claim, on the part of England to monopolise our trade, and a continued effort on the part of the colonies to resist or evade that monopoly.' And what were the consequences of that war to this country? It involved us in a debt of more than a hundred millions sterling, lost us the colonies altogether, and excited in them a hostile spirit fraught with evils, which have been ever since and will long continue to be felt."

THE HORRORS OF WAR.

"The expense of war is only one item, and a comparatively small one in the great account. The next item, and it is a larger one, is the amount of suffering produced by it. War is necessarily associated with suffering. Read the accounts just received from India, of forced marches immediately followed by fierce and protracted engagements, and then attempt to picture to yourselves the field of battle, with the 4000 killed and wounded men on the one side, and probably an equal or a larger number on the other. Bring home to yourselves only a single instance from that awful and uncounted aggregate of horrors, and how can you be unmoved by it! 'Death, come when and where it may, be it on the bed of down, or on the supporting bosom of affection—is a solemn visitation. The agonies and shudderings of nature proclaim it to be the great trial-hour of human destiny. But that hour—in the hot assault, or amidst the lingering agonies of the battle field, or where the groans of the crowded hospital are its harbingers—how does it come? No pillow of down, no supporting arms are there to receive the victim; no kind voice speaks to him; no noiseless step of affection approaches, nor looks of love hang over him, like a pitying angel's countenance; but he goes down—man as he is, with all a man's sensibility, it may be with all a man's ties to earthly home and love—he goes down amidst groans and execrations, and horrors darker than the shadow of death that is passing over him. This is but one death, such as war visits upon the human race; and yet it would not be in human nature actually to witness one such instance, without the most agonising desire to afford relief. But now, what facts are these which the history of war unfolds to us? The single campaign of Buonaparte in Russia carried death, and such death!—not to one thousand, nor to five thousand, nor to fifty thousand, but to five hundred thousand human beings. Alexander and Cæsar, it is computed, caused, each of them, the death of two millions of the human race; and the wars of Napoleon bring up the whole number of victims sacrificed to the ambition of three men, to six millions! Six millions of human beings! The aged, the young, the manly and strong, the fair and lovely, the imploring mother, the innocent child—and death, death to each one, without discrimination and without mercy! Six millions of human beings, sacrificed to but three ministers in the dark kingdom of war! But this is only an item, a single passage in the history of its fearful dominion. There have been in Christendom, since the reign of Constantine, nearly three hundred wars. What a mass of calamities, of rapine and violence, of crime and misery, is included within the brief description of these three wars, three hundred wars—what waste of the treasures of nations, what woe in the abodes of millions, it passes all human power to calculate! But all this, nevertheless, has been experienced, though it cannot be calculated or imagined. *Human hearts have felt it all.* Not one drop of this ocean of ills but has fallen, a burning drop, upon nerves and fibres that have quivered with agony at its touch."

"One who was an eye-witness to the horrors of the sacking of Moscow, in 1812, says, 'On one side, we saw a son carrying a sick father; on the other, women, who poured the torrent of their tears on the infants whom they clasped in their arms. Old men, overwhelmed by grief still more than by years, weeping for the ruin of their country, lay down to die, near the houses where they were born. No respect was paid to the nobility of blood, to the innocence of youth, or to the tears of beauty.' The late Sir Charles Bell saw the wounded in the hospitals after the battle of Waterloo, and he says, 'It is impossible to conceive of their sufferings. Turn which way I might, I encountered every form of entreaty from those whose condition left no need of words to stir compassion. I know not,' he continues, 'what notions my fellow-countrymen have of 30,000 wounded men thrown into a town and its vicinity. They still their com-

passionate emotions by subscriptions; but what avails this to those who would exchange gold for a bit of rag to bind up their smarting wounds. My heart sickens at the contemplation," he says in conclusion, "and I am obliged to turn away from this picture of human misery caused by pride, ambition, a love of military glory, and the folly of mankind, in paying adoration to their destroyers. Would not angels weep at such a scene as this? But is this all? Ah! no! Each of these dead or wounded soldiers had a mother, who had watched over his cradle, and had attended him in his sickness, and shed over him the tears of maternal solicitude. Many had wives and lovers, to whom they were dearer than the light of the sun; many had children, who had looked to them for support and protection. We may rationally suppose, that for every man who was killed or wounded in this deadly conflict, the hearts of at least ten persons—parents, wives, children, brothers and sisters, were lacerated. Oh, what hecatombs of sacrifices on the bloody altar of Moloch! How long, heads, 'will mankind continue to be accessory to such crimes, by bestowing praises upon their perpetrators? How long will it be, ere every human being will deem it his imperious and solemn duty to disseminate the principles of peace, and extend her empire?"

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

Crediton, Tuesday, April 21st, 1846.

SIR,—If any proof were wanting of the perfect indifference with which the agriculturists in this part of the kingdom regard the effect which a repeal of the abominable Corn Laws will have on the value of land (however they may in their after-dinner speeches at agricultural meetings and elsewhere pretend to regard it), the following fact will supply such proof.

On Thursday last, the 16th instant, an auction was held by Mr. Thomas Hussey, auctioneer, at the Ship Hotel, in this town, for selling the fee of a small estate in this parish, about one mile and a half from the town, belonging to John Pidsley, Esq., called Yew, otherwise Yew, containing 90 acres of land, now rented as an overland by Mr. Philip Francis (who lives on a small estate of his own, called Moore, adjoining Yew estate) at the yearly rent of 140*l.*, and whose term therein will expire at Ladyday, 1848, at which time he will have held the estate for two terms, one of 14 and the other of 10 years, which, after a smart competition, was knocked down to Mr. Francis, the occupier, at the sum of 5520*l.*, being but a fraction less than 39½ years value at the present rent of the farm.

It must be observed that scarcely any improvement can be effected on this property. Mr. Francis, who is an excellent practical farmer, and for many years following a successful competitor for prizes for sheep at the Devon Agricultural Cattle Shows, held in the Castle Yard, at Exeter, having, during his tenancy, got the estate into a high state of cultivation, as has been, without hesitation, admitted by all who looked at the property with a view to purchase, previous to the day of sale. I am, Sir, most respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. E.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

SIR,—In addition to the observations made in your paper of the 11th inst., regarding both the benefit to the agriculturist and the country to be derived from the culture of flax, it may be stated, that land in the limestone districts of Yorkshire, not found to be worth more than 6*s.* per acre to rent, has, since the discovery has been made of the beneficial culture of flax, acquired a value of 15*s.* and 20*s.* per acre, entirely owing to the benefits derived from the culture of this article, it having been found the best preparation for a wheat crop succeeding bountifully afterwards, and that the stimulus has been so great, as for even limestone lands, perhaps scarcely three inches depth of soil, producing 25 or 30 bushels of wheat per acre.

As it has been remarked, flax or line is not an exhausting crop, as during its growth it covers and smothers the land, as well as fertilises in a superior manner to any other system of management, even far superior to the benefits of a summer fallow; but as to the crop itself, the best management, preparing it for such culture, is giving to the land from one-third to half a ton of rape-cake, broken into nuts, or ground into dust, to the acre, and from which as bountiful crops of wheat have been produced as from the best clay soils in certain limestone districts in Yorkshire, alternately bearing a crop of flax, wheat, and seeds, the latter one year mown and a second year entirely for sheep pasture; that system has substituted in a great measure the necessity of using rape-seeds or dust for the next rotation of crops.

FREE TRADE MEETING IN PARIS.—From fifty to sixty of the principal representatives of the industrial interests of Paris met on the evening of Tuesday, the 14th, in the *Casino des familles*, Custom-House Street, (*rue de la Douane*), to be present at a conference on Free Trade, in which MM. Louis Leclerc, D. Polonié, Frédéric Bastiat, Alcide Ponteyraud, Joseph Garnier, and Pepin, gave utterance to their sentiments. The details and illustrations into which these different speakers entered were listened to, for nearly three hours, with the most lively interest. Before separating, the meeting unanimously adopted the following resolution: "This meeting approves the formation of a Free Trade Association, and resolves to give thereto its cordial adherence and support." At the request of the greater part of the members of this assembly, a new conference will be held in a few days, at which a greater number of the producers of Paris will be called together. This first attempt at a meeting (in front of the Custom House!) augurs well; and, besides, the question is everywhere becoming the order of the day. The Agricultural Club of the *Rue de Beaume*, frequented by the greatest proprietors of France, has likewise expressed a wish to hear from M. Blanqui an account of the struggles of the League, and its great champion Mr. Cobden. —*Journal des Economistes, Paris, April, 1846.*

SMUGGLERS.—A gentleman once asked the celebrated Abernethy if he thought that the moderate use of snuff would injure the brain? "No, Sir," was Abernethy's prompt reply, "for no man with a single ounce of brains would ever think of taking snuff!"

A Chester contemporary complains that England should be "daily and hourly bearded by a shillingleague ragabond, whom the same circumstances has made the President of the United States. This is outdoing Jonathan at his own weapons."

CORN LAWS OF ATHENS AND ROME.

ATHENS.

Attica is a promontory about fifty-four miles in length, and with an area of only seven hundred square miles, equal to a moderate-sized English county. Its surface is mountainous and rocky, but it is situate in the neighbourhood of more fruitful regions. In the well-known introduction to his history, Thucydides states that Thessaly, Boeotia, and the chief part of the Peloponnese were fertile; but that Attica was an unproductive district, on account of the scantiness of its soil. Owing to the remarkable intelligence and practical energy of the Athenians, and the excellence of their political institutions as compared with those of other Greek communities, their numbers and wealth increased and became great, notwithstanding the barrenness of their territory. In the prosperous times of Attica the population was about 520,000, of whom not less than 400,000 were slaves; which gives an average of about 700 inhabitants to a square mile. The population, however, was not equally diffused over the entire country, but a large part of it was collected in Athens, which, with its appendages, Piræus, Munychia, and Phalerum, must have contained nearly 200,000 inhabitants.

In comparing the food of an ancient with that of a modern nation, it must not be forgotten how many articles, now in general consumption, were then unknown; bread, meat, fish, cheese, with some of the commoner garden vegetables; wine, milk, and honey, formed nearly the whole range of their diet, both solid and liquid. Tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, spices, spirits, beer, butter, rice, potatoes, and oranges, as well as tobacco, were not consumed in ancient Greece or in Italy. From a very early time wheat and barley were the two sorts of grain used by the Greeks for food, as well as by the inhabitants of Palestine; oats and rye were not cultivated. The Athenians claimed the honour of having first made wheaten bread, and taught the use of it to mankind;—a topic derived from their mythological story, on which their eulogists were fond of dwelling; and in the historical age, the common or household bread of Athens was considered by gourmands as the best which was made in Greece. The staple article of food for the large population of Attica, and particularly for the slaves, who formed nearly four-fifths of the whole, was wheaten bread. The annual consumption of corn probably amounted to about 2,800,000, or 3,000,000 medimni, (556,638 quarters); and we learn from Demosthenes, who appeals to the official record, that of this quantity about 800,000 medimni (184,147 quarters) were imported by sea from foreign countries,—one-half of the imports being obtained from the Black Sea. Strabo informs us that the Tauric Chersonese, now the Crimea, was the district on the Black Sea, which supplied this corn; the flat part of this peninsula was, he states, exceedingly fertile in grain, yielding a return of as much as 30 to 1, and was inhabited by a more civilised race than the Nomads of the neighbouring region. Pericles, in his funeral oration in Thucydides, extolling the power of Athens, says, that on account of its greatness and wealth all things were imported into it from all countries; and Demosthenes affirms that no other nation in the world consumed so large a proportion of imported corn as the Athenians.

ROME.

In the first place, it may be observed, that the Roman Corn Law was, in fact, a Poor Law. The existence of slavery seems to render a poor law both unnecessary and impracticable; unnecessary, because the working classes are slaves, and therefore maintained by their masters; impracticable, because an inducement is afforded by it to emancipate old and unserviceable slaves, in order to entitle them to public relief. The number of needy freemen at Rome was, however, sufficient to render them dangerous to the Government, and to create a necessity for appeasing them by donations of food. Notwithstanding the existence of slavery in the ancient Republics, there was always a large body of indigent citizens—a wretched and hungry populace, as Cicero calls it—who exercised a most important influence upon the character and administration of the Government. Every reader of Aristotle's "Politics" knows, that all his characteristics of democracy are founded upon the preponderance and supposed interests of the poorer section of the citizens. This class existed in Rome, as in other less powerful commonwealths. Philip, during his tribuneship in the year 105 B.C., said that there were not 2000 men of property in the state. From its first introduction, therefore, the system of free gifts of corn increased rapidly. The feeling which led to its extension is illustrated by an anecdote of Piso, surnamed *Frugi* (the honest), who had always spoken against the Corn Law of C. Gracchus. After the law had passed, Gracchus, seeing him standing among those who had come to receive their allowance, reproached him for his inconsistency. Piso's answer was, that he should not wish his own property to be divided amongst the citizens; but if it were so divided, he should claim his share. The system of corn distributions was reprobated by Cicero, on account of its tendency to destroy industry; and of its large drains upon the treasury. Both Cæsar and Augustus diminished the number of the recipients of the public corn; but the improvident system, which they could not eradicate, was naturally continued by their successors. With respect to the emancipation of slaves, in order to entitle them to receive the public corn, it seems that the existence of a permanent list, and the examination which took place before a new name was admitted upon it, afforded a sufficient security against this abuse. We read, however, that many manumissions were made for the sake of extraordinary largesses of Pompey and Augustus.

Not only was the Roman Corn Law in fact a poor law, but it was a partial poor law. It was confined to the city of Rome. The distributions of corn were made only to the indigent freemen of the capital. Italy at large derived no benefit from them. Sicily is called by ancient writers (as we have already remarked) the granary, not of Italy, but of Rome. This restriction of the public bounty tended to give a disproportionate size to the capital, and to attract to it a worthless and needy multitude from all parts of Italy and the empire.

Above all, it was a poor law derived, not from local funds, or even from a taxation common to the empire at large, but from the tribute of the provinces. The corn was not purchased from the proceeds of a tax levied on Rome or Italy: it was not a poor law in which the wealthier inhabitants of a district contributed from their surplus means to the maintenance of their poor neighbours. It was a poor law in which the populace of the conquering city were maintained at the expense of the conquered cities. It was as if several hundred thousand of the poorer classes of Paris had, during the government of Napoleon, been supported by taxes levied in Italy or Germany; as if the populace of Madrid had, in the sixteenth century, been fed at the cost of Flanders and the

Indies; or as if the paupers of Vienna were maintained by a poor rate collected in Lombardy. This poor law, therefore, had neither, on the one hand, the spirit of charity, nor, on the other, the safeguards against abuse which belong to such a poor law as that which exists in Great Britain. It was a contribution wrung from the weak by the strong; not an assistance given voluntarily by the richer to the poorer classes. Being a tribute exacted by the dominant part of the empire, and being used for the purpose of appeasing the hungry population of Rome, it grew rapidly, and there was little inducement for those who administered it to check its increase."—*Edinburgh Review.*

REGISTRATION APPEALS.

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

WILLS, Appellant; ADY, Respondent.

JUDGMENT.—CHIEF JUSTICE TINDAL: There was a case which stood over among the appeals, the only one remaining, that of the borough of New Saum. It is a case which turns upon the very same points as the former case from Dartmouth, Knowles v. Brooking (given in the Number of THE LEAGUE for April 18th), in which the Court gave their judgment. We can see no difference between them. My brother Maule wishes me to say that he still retains his opinion and the view he took of that case, but the majority of the Court decide that the same judgment must be given for the respondent.

THE FREE TRADE INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION.—

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Richard Potter, Esq., Dr. James Carlisle,
William T. Levers, Esq., John Gadsby, Esq.,
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SECRETARY.
Mr. Frederick Farrand, Priory Villa, Parkham.

Prospectuses may be obtained, gratis, on application at the Society's Offices, East Temple Chambers, Whitefriars-street, Fleet-street. The Rules (6d. each) are now ready, and may be had as above. Persons desirous to join the Society are requested to make application immediately. The Society's Offices will be open for receiving subscriptions and the general transaction of business, every Tuesday and Friday evenings, from 6 to 9 o'clock.

THE FREE TRADE INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION.

The Second Subscription is now called for, and will be paid on Tuesday, May 5th, up to which time parties wishing to join the Society may take up Shares without additional entrance fees. Attendance at the Society's Rooms (East Temple Chambers, Whitefriars-street, Fleet-street), for the purpose of enrolling new members, on Tuesday, the 25th April, and Friday, the 1st May, from 6 to 9 o'clock in the evening. The First Meeting for the sale of Shares will be held on Tuesday, the 12th May, at 7 o'clock in the evening.

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Any person forwarding 3*s.* 3*d.* by Post-office order to the Publisher, 67, Fleet-street, London, will have one quarter's copies of the LEAGUE forwarded by post on the days of publication. Subscriptions for the paper may also be left with J. Gadsby, Newall's-buildings, Manchester; and the LEAGUE may be had by order of any news-agent in town or country. Subscribers who receive coloured envelopes on their papers must bear in mind that their subscriptions are due.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Morning, April 25, 1846.

We live in strange times. Lord G. Bentinck denounces gambling, and Mr. D'Israeli preaches up consistency. There would be a perfect trio if Ikey Solomons distinguished himself as an advocate of honesty. The petty impertinence, the vulgar taunts, and the malignant sarcasms with which Sir Robert Peel is assailed by the champions of protection, are so utterly contemptible in themselves, and so thoroughly naked in their motive, that they have become not merely offensive, but disgusting. Such splenetic effusions of mortified vanity and disappointed ambition are, however, not unacceptable as evidences that a bad cause always prompts bad advocacy. Lord George Bentinck has had large opportunities for studying the pernicious nature of gambling; and there are probably few legislators who could better explain the niceties of that ornithological operation, denominated "pigeon-plucking." The turf is an admirable school for efficient training in gambling morality; and as his lordship is said not to be wholly destitute of abilities, we may believe that he has profited by that course of education which has the stable for its school, and the race-course for its university. He may have obtained no honours in Cambridge, but we question not his title to the rank of senior wrangler at Newmarket. We are, however, a little surprised to find him reproaching the Premier with the encouragement of gambling. It is sufficiently notorious that the only legislative measure with which his lordship's name is associated was one intended to protect illegal gamblers against the consequences of their violation of public law. We

thought then, as we think now, that the Minister and the Parliament earned no honour for themselves by shielding aristocratic delinquency from the penal consequences of immoral and illegal practices. We believe, that had the *qui tam* actions been permitted to proceed, there would have been startling revelations of systematic frauds, so gross, that indelible disgrace would have been attached to practices which still endure, because they remain unexposed. We are, of course, bound to believe that Lord George Bentinck knows nothing of such practices, and that the holy horror of gambling to which he gave utterance, when assailing the Premier, is a conscientious atonement for the shelter he afforded to the delinquents of the turf. As we are bound to believe this, of course we must believe it; but we confess that the demand on our credulity is a little excessive.

The course adopted by Mr. D'Israeli is purely a matter of taste. Spite and malevolence are incidental to literary humanity as well as to the other forms of social existence; but we doubt the expediency of yoking intellectual strength to moral weakness; we question the utility of presenting the worst motives in the best language. Sarcastic bitterness is a very different thing from senatorial wisdom; it is the sting of the wasp instead of the grasp of the eagle. Mr. D'Israeli has been misled by his historical precedents. It is only in despotic countries that Ministers are overthrown by epigrams. Sir Robert Walpole was never in the slightest degree endangered by the quips and cranks of Bolingbroke, who, in our estimation was a greater master of sarcasm than the author of Vivian Grey himself, formidable as that gentleman may be in his own estimation. Parliamentary wasps should remember that the pain of the sting is, after all, but of brief duration; and that it does sometimes happen that these annoying insects leave their life in the wound.

The feeling with which these petty peevish personalities inspire men of plain sense and independent character was admirably stated by Mr. Bright in a speech, which we quote entire, as a specimen of manly sense and sturdy English spirit:

Mr. BRIGHT said it might be as well to remind honourable members opposite that her Majesty's Government did not intend to stop any railway companies which might choose to proceed with their bills. The noble member for Lynn (Lord G. Bentinck) had taken a most unjust and ungenerous course in laying all the distress resulting from railway speculation at the door of the ministry. Time was when the noble lord was as loud as any in the praise of the present Government, and it was only when they formed their determination to lend themselves no longer to any system to keep up the price of food that the noble lord discovered they were not worthy of his confidence (hear, hear). The great cause of railway speculation was the restriction which existed on trade. Through the operation of that restriction they had years of depression succeeded by years of excitement, when men who had carried on business with little or no profit, following as they thought the advice of the old adage, to make their hay while the sun shone, were seized with a rash and almost insane desire to obtain in one year that amount of profit which under ordinary circumstances would be spread over two or three years. After those resolutions had been passed, the investments of capital and the state of the markets would be much more steady. They would be no longer prostrate on the earth one year and elevated to the clouds another. The fluctuations which had such an injurious effect, had arisen from the interference of the house with the trade of the country, and he firmly believed they would exist no longer after the measures of Government had been carried. As to the accusations of the noble lord (Lord George Bentinck) against her Majesty's Government for having encouraged gambling speculations, he (Mr. Bright) thought the noble lord should be the very last person in that house to make such a charge. When he (Mr. Bright) first took his seat in that house, he found the noble lord, night after night, attending in his place for the purpose of watching over a bill to defend persons who had been engaged in mad speculation, and who had been implicated in very dangerous gambling, contrary to the spirit and the letter of the law (hear, hear). He thought if the noble lord were to look back and reflect a little, he would see he was the very last man in that house to set himself up as a grave authority in matters connected with speculation and gambling (hear, hear.)

THE PROTECTIONISTS AND THE CHURCH.—At a numerously attended meeting of the ratepayers of the parish of Northfleet, Kent, on Easter Monday, the proposition of the vicar, "That it is expedient to enlarge the accommodation of the church," and proposing a rate for that purpose, was negatived by a large majority; the meeting, which consisted chiefly of supporters of "agricultural protection," being of opinion, that they were already sufficiently taxed for the support of the church; and now that the Government proposed to remove from them all protection, and at the same time relieve them of some of their "peculiar burthens," they could not by any means consent to lay any additional burthens on their land, for church support or church extension.

ROYAL POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTION.—This admirable institution has been visited during the week by perfect mobs of the Easter sight-seers. There was something to suit all tastes; and amongst those which seemed to excite more extraordinary attention were the portraits of the distinguished leaders of the Sikhs, together with several of our own gallant officers, who by their talents and courage have left an undying name. The "Dissolving Views" excited nearly as much attention as the last-named pictures, as they consist of many views in the Oregon territory. This series of views is well worthy of public patronage. They are taken from sketches, made on the spot by a gentleman, who resided there for nine years, and they convey a much better notion of the appearance of the country than can be understood by reading, or by the generality of engravings. Besides these, there were lectures on Chemistry, by Dr. Ryan, and on Natural Philosophy, by Dr. Bachofner. Both gentlemen deserve great commendation for the able and pleasing manner with which they illustrate and deliver the discourse. The Swing Bell and the Diver are among the wonders of the place, and excited particular attention; more particularly the Diver, who exhibits various evolutions in the water, both above and below; more especially one in which he proved the advantages to be derived by using Wilson's patent coat, as it is quite capable of keeping three persons afloat at the same time, and does not alter the appearance of the garment. The music, conducted by Dr. Wallis, is one of the most pleasing features of the establishment; for while it pleases the ear, it gives an agreeable finish and zest to the whole. Another machine is also deserving of notice; it is for the purpose of cutting envelopes for letters, which is done with extraordinary rapidity, precision, and power. The museum is now arranged with great taste, and with a proper knowledge of what science requires, and the public are entitled to, by those who have the management. We therefore must do justice to the extraordinary exertions of the secretary, Mr. Longbottom, who devotes his whole time and abilities to carry out this truly national task, which hitherto by him has been so ably done.

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. April 18	MON. April 20	TUES. April 21	WED. April 22	THUR. April 23	FRI. April 24
Bank Stock	205½	204½	205½	205½	205½	..
5 per Ct. Red. Ann. ..	94½	95	94½	94½	95	95½
3 per Ct. Con. Ann. ..	95½	95½	95½	95	96½	96½
3 per Ct. Red. Ann. ..	96½	96½	96½	96½	97	97½
Long. An. Ex. 1860 ..	103.16	103	103.16	103.16	103.16	..
Cons. for Acct.	96½	96	96	96½	96½	96½
Exc. Bills, pm.	25	26.22	25.22	25	25.26	..
Ind. Bds. em. 1000 ..	25	26.30	..	28	30.27	..
Venezuela 2 per Ct. ..	..	..	..	42	..	..
Do. deferred .....	..	..	..	13	..	..
Belgian 4½ per Ct. ..	..	98½	..	..	..	..
Brazilian 5 per Ct. ..	..	..	82	..	..	..
Cullian .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Columb. ex. Venez. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Danish	87	..	..	..	..	..
Dutch 2½ per Cent. ..	59	59½	59½	..	59½	59½
Dutch 4 per Cent.	92½	92½	92½	92½	92½	..
Mexican .....	..	31½	31½	..	31½	31½
Peruvian .....	..	..	..	36	..	..
Portug. conv. ....	..	58	57½	57½	57	..
Russian 5 per Cent. ..	110	..	110½	..	..	..
Spanish 5 per Ct. ....	..	25½	25½	..	25½	25½
Do. 3 per Ct. ex. dv. ..	36½	36½	36½	..	37	36½

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MONDAY, April 20.—The show of English Wheat is again moderate to-day; the quality of most of it is inferior, and the trade slow, but about 1s. advance is obtained from the prices of this day week. There is another large arrival of Foreign Wheat; without any extensive transactions taking place. The maiting season is nearly over; the consequence is, that though there is by no means a liberal supply of Barley to-day, all, except the very finest description of Chevalier, are 1s. cheaper than this day week. Oats come forward very sparingly, both from Ireland and this country; there has been a large business done to-day at fully 1s. over the prices of last Monday. Beans and Peas continue the same as last week. S. H. LUCAS.

BRITISH.

	Per Imperial Quarter
Wheat, Essex,	Red 54 to 60 White 58 to 66
Kent, & Suffolk	49 58 56 63
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire ..	47 54 54 62
Scotch .....	..
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feed ..	23 25
Ditto	23 6 26
Ditto	23 6 26
Scotch Feed	26 27 Potato 28 29
Limerick	25 26
Ditto	25 26
Cork	24 25
Waterford, Young's, & Cork Black ..	23 24
Siligo .....	..
Galway	19 21
Barley	26 33
Beans, Mazagan	51 53
Harrow	33 37
Small	39 40
Peas, White	38 42
Grey	30.32 Maple 32 34
Flour, Town-made	per sack of 280 lbs. 45 56
Norfolk and Suffolk	43 46

FOREIGN.

	Per Imperial Quarter	IN POND.
Wheat, Danzig, high mixed	54 to 66 54 60	..
Ro-took	56 60 50 54	..
Statia	52 58 50 54	..
Hamburg	52 57 50 52	..
Odesa	48 50	..
Russian Polish	50 51	..
Ditto .....	..	..
Spanish	54 60	..
Manilla	56 62	..
Australia	60 68	..
Barley, Grinding	27 28	..
Distilling	30 31	..
Oats, Archangel	25 26	..
Danish	23 24	..
Swedish	23 24	..
Stralsund	23 24	..
Dutch Feed	22 23 20 21	..
Brew	27 29 23 24	..
Poland	25 26	..
Black .....	..	..
Beans, Egyptian	34 36	..
Peas, White .....	..	..
Ditto Boilers	42	..
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 166 lbs. ..	34 36	..
United States	30 37 28 30	..
Danzig .....	..	..
Australian, per sack of 280 lbs. ....	..	..

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from April 15 to April 18, 1846, both days inclusive.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas.
English	7890	4355	351	150	254
Scotch .....	..	50	350	..	..
Irish .....	..	..	1657	..	..
Foreign	22032	..	7755	2450	680

Flour, 3805 sacks; 2800 barrels.
FRIDAY, APRIL 21.—We have again to report a liberal supply of foreign Wheat, which is of course being landed in bond. Small quantities are imported by messrs. on contract. There is very little English Wheat offered; and the only substantial Barley, Beans, and Peas are purchased for immediate consumption. There are fair arrivals of English and Foreign Oats; but of Irish, the quantity cannot be held in not so large. There has been a moderate sale today, at very moderate prices; but no further advance can be established. S. H. LUCAS.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 17th of April to the 24th of April, both inclusive.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	4650	..	18120
Barley	5910	..	..
Oats	7200	6020	4000

Flour, 4570 sacks.
LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending April 21, 1846.
Wheat .. 5674 58s. 2d. Rye .. 172 34s. 4d.
Barley .. 2808 54s. 10d. Beans .. 1017 34s. 1d.
Oats .. 19446 24s. 6d. Peas .. 325 35s. 3d.

Stock of Corn in Bond, Mar. 5, 1846.
Wheat. Barley. Oats. Rye. Beans. Peas. Flour.
In London, 442500 17299 61102 .. 614 3402 112976
Unit. King. 113950 82019 96983 .. 13413 8127 897355

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending
Wheat. Barley. Oats. Rye. Beans. Peas.
s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d. s. d.
14th March .. 54 3.29 4.21 9.34 2.35 2.34 9
21st .. 55 1.20 10.22 0.33 10.34 4.33 4
28th .. 55 5.30 2.22 1.34 0.35 0.33 3
4th April .. 55 9.30 7.22 6.33 7.34 10.34 2
11th .. 56 0.30 9.22 9.33 4.35 1.33 8
18th .. 55 10.30 5.22 9.35 5.34 9.34 5
Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks. Wheat, 55s. 5d.; Barley, 30s. 2d.; Oats, 22s. 4d.; Rye, 34s. 1d.; Beans, 34s. 10d.; Peas, 33s. 11d.
Duty. Wheat, 17s. 0d.; Barley, 8s. 0d.; Oats, 6s. 0d.; Rye 8s. 6d.; Beans, 8s. 6d.; Peas, 9s. 6d.

MEAT MARKET.
The wet weather had considerable influence on the trade; otherwise prices would have been higher.
PRIME STONE OF 5 LBS. BY THE CARCASE.
Prime Beef .. 3s 10d to 3s 6d Mutton 4s 0d to 3s 8d
Middling do. 3s 6d to 3s 2d Veal, from .. 5s 0d to 4s 0d
Plain, or info. Small Pork .. 5s 4d to 4s 8d
Prime Beef .. 3s 0d to 2s 6d Large, or info.
Prime Mutton 4s 4d to 4s 0d Prime Pork .. 3s 4d to 3s 0d

THE LONDON GAZETTE

FRIDAY, APRIL 17.
BANKRUPTCY SUPPLEMENT.
G. A. Absalom, victualler, Portsea.
S. Evans, cotton-spinner, Aspin, Lancashire.
W. J. Idenden, tailor, Salmon's-lane, Limehouse.
J. H. Banks, engraver, Great Newport-street.
BANKRUPTS.
T. Bedford, baker, Croydon Common. [Messrs. Russell and Co., High-street, Borough.]
E. Sankey, surgeon, Canterbury. [Messrs. Richardson and Co., Bedford-row.]
B. Billings, victualler, Harlow, Essex. [Mr. Butt, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury.]
W. Stearns, carpenter, Princess-street, Chelsea. [Mr. Smith, New Inn, Strand.]
W. Mills, glove manufacturer, Foster-lane, City. [Messrs. Fisher and Co., Aldersgate-street.]
H. R. Morley, merchant, Kingston-upon-Hull. [Messrs. Hobden and Co., Hull.]
A. M. Beaumont, merchant, Honley, Yorkshire. [Mr. Cumming, King-street, Cheap-side.]
G. J. Jackson, sharebroker, Liverpool. [Messrs. Cornthwaite and Co., Old Jewry Chambers.]
T. Figden, shoemaker, Liverpool. [Mr. Kirk, Symond's Inn, Chancery-lane.]
A. Lord, dyer, Collyhurst, Manchester. [Messrs. Gregory and Co., Bedford-row.]
TUESDAY, APRIL 21.
BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.
C. Goldsmith, Bristol, saddler.
BANKRUPTS.
S. M. Latham, Dover, banker. [Messrs. Bridges and Co. Red Lion-square.]
R. Stephenson, Southwick-street, Hyde Park, apothecary. [Messrs. Chamberlayne and Meaden, Great Jan-street.]
T. E. Deacon, Corner Hall, Hertford, tanner. [Mr. Matthews, King William-street.]
R. Brailsford, Enfield, common brewer. [Messrs. F. and H. Palmer, Mitre-court-chambers, Temple.]
J. Biggs, Houndsditch, undertaker. [Messrs. J. T. H. Baddeley, Lemon-street.]
J. B. Crampen, Wharf-road, City-road, coal merchant. [Messrs. Parker and Co., Raymond's-buildings.]
J. and H. Pace, St. Michael's-alley, Cornhill, merchants. [Mr. N. Lindo, King's Arms yard, Moorgate-street.]
J. Salmon, Beaumont, Essex, carpenter. [Mr. Ambrose, Chancery-lane.]
J. Clarkson, Barnsley, plumber. [Messrs. Jacques and Co., Ely-place.]
J. Walker and B. Wilkinson, Leeds, sharebrokers. [Messrs. Wigglesworth and Co., Gray's Inn.]
W. Cross, Weymouth, shipowner. [Mr. Sowton, Great James-street.]
T. Taylor, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, grocer. [Messrs. Chisholme and Co., Lincoln's Inn.]
T. Allen, Littleworth, Staffordshire, hotel-keeper. [Messrs. Read and Langford, London.]
J. Topham, Brewod, road-contractor. [Mr. Turner, Wolverhampton.]
D. Antrobus, Andley, Staffordshire, apothecary. [Mr. Williams, Hanley.]
W. Bennett, Wolverhampton, tinplate-worker. [Mr. C. Brown, Bilston.]
W. Belshaw, Manchester, victualler. [Messrs. Gregory and Co., Bedford-row.]
B. Dawson, Bursill, Lancashire, wool manufacturer. [Messrs. Norris and Co., Bartlett's-buildings.]
C. Stephenson, Colne, Lancashire, worsted manufacturer. [Messrs. Johnson and Co., Temple.]
H. Fowkes, Manchester, sharebroker. [Messrs. Milne and Co., Temple.]
D. Johnstone, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Manchester, joiner. [Messrs. Gregory and Co., Bedford-row.]
H. L. Fitzjames, Walcot, Bath, furrier. [Messrs. Webb and Son, Bath.]
H. Hutchinson, Liverpool, merchant. [Messrs. Sharpe and Co., Bedford-row.]
W. Kelly, Chester, brewer. [Messrs. Humphreys and Co., Chancery-lane.]
J. R. Croft, Liverpool, commission merchant. [Messrs. Vincent and Co., Temple.]
G. J. Hughes, Liverpool, commission merchant. [Mr. Wilkin, Furnival's Inn.]

BRITISH CONSULS OFFICE, PHILADELPHIA.—Know all Persons to whom these presents shall come that I, GILBERT ROBERTSON, Esq., his Britannic Majesty's Consul, do hereby certify, that R. WATSON, Esq. (who attests to the efficacy of

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(IN RESTORING HAIR).

is Mayor of this City, and that M. RANDALL, Esq., is Treasurer of the Court of Common Pleas, to both whose signatures full faith and credit is due. I further certify that I am personally acquainted with J. L. INGLIS, Esq., another of the signers, and that he is a person of great respectability; and that I heard him express his unqualified approbation of the effects of OLDRIDGE'S BALM, in restoring his Hair. Given under my hand and seal of Office, at the City of Philadelphia, December 29, 1825.

(Signed) GILBERT ROBERTSON
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THE LEAGUE.

No. 136.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, MAY 2, 1846.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

THE FREE TRADE MINISTER COMPLETE.

"The progress of the discussion, the lapse of time, and intervening events, have more strongly confirmed the feeling with which I spoke when I proposed the permanent and final settlement of the corn question. I will not deny that, during the debates on the question, my opinions on the subject have undergone a change, and it is this—that restrictions, which I at first believed to be impolitic, I now believe to be unjust. Consequently, the sense of their injustice PRECLUDES ANY COMPROMISE ON MY PART. That which I have proposed, both as to the amount of duty, and as to the continuance of that duty, is ALL I AM ABLE TO OFFER; and in answer to those injurious suspicions, I think it enough to say that I shall be perfectly ready to testify, BY ANY PUBLIC ACT, the sincerity of my intentions."—SIR ROBERT PEEL, April 27.

We were sure it would be so. The affinities of truth with right—of policy with justice—of sound economical doctrine, with broad and honest moral principle are too close and all-pervading, not to force themselves on the mind that has once heartily espoused either the one or the other half of this great dualism.

There is no such thing as partitioning off the domain of intellect from that of morals. Whatever holds in the one, will by-and-bye be seen to hold equally in the other. Force of moral volition is next of kin to clearness and fulness of intellectual perception; and a great truth, once fairly apprehended and comprehended by the understanding, will gradually surround itself with all the sanctities of ethical obligation, and become transfigured into a great duty. Those who have watched Sir Robert Peel's public course, since his first unreserved and practical adoption of Free Trade principles, and noted the course of thought indicated by his successive Parliamentary defences and expositions of those principles, must have perceived the traces of that mental process, whose final result was announced to the world on Monday night. The last stage of one of the most remarkable and important political conversions on record, is now finished—the FREE TRADE MINISTER is now complete.

These words of the Premier's evidently come from a great depth of conviction. He is now at the root of the matter. His opinion has become a principle. He has long since believed monopoly to be impolitic—he now sees and feels it to be unjust. Before, it was a gross mistake—now, it is a monstrous fraud. Before, it was a grievous mischief—now, it is a crying oppression and iniquity. Before, he would not compromise the totality of its abolition—now, he cannot. "THE SENSE OF ITS INJUSTICE PRECLUDES ANY COMPROMISE." The thing is wrong—and there is no more to be said.

This is better even than "experience"—clear and cogent as is that experience of the last three years, or the last six years, which Ministerial lips have so lucidly expounded and illustrated. A con-

viction thus grounded and fortified is far more to be relied upon than one that rests on the basis of mere induction from an accumulated mass of exterior facts. It is simpler and grander. It goes deeper down. There is more of motive force in it. All men understand it. All men can put faith in it. It is something to build on. There can be no mistake about it. It excludes uncertainty, and repels modification. It is essentially intolerant of negotiation, compromise, and "adjustment." Policy and expediency have their shades and degrees—and very puzzling these are to the common eye. There is always a latitude of choice—a margin open for "arrangement"—a question of a little more or a little less. Morality is absolute and unqualified—speaks only in the imperative mood. When we come to a question of right and wrong, there is an end of choice—the answer must be a simple Yes or No.

This is the view which we of the League have always taken from the first. We have ever held that monopoly was a wrong, in any and every of its actual or possible shapes and forms—and that neither truce nor treaty could be made with an iniquity. And our steady and unwavering assertion of that principle of social justice, of which the totality of our demand is the obvious corollary, has been our sheet-anchor through all that storm and stress of Parliamentary conflict and popular agitation in which we have been working for upwards of seven years. We cannot express in too strong terms the satisfaction we feel at seeing this broad and plain view of the matter publicly and solemnly authenticated by the First Minister of the Crown. In any other sort of advocacy we have never been able to place much faith. The men who say, "A moderate or fixed duty would be a good enough thing in itself—perhaps the best thing, if we could only get it passed quietly—but we don't so much care about it; and as no other alternative seems open, why, suppose we say 'total repeal,' as anything is better than the sliding scale," are not the champions to be relied upon in those moments of difficulty and peril, which try what men are made of. Give us the man who says, "The landlords' tax on the people's bread is essentially and intrinsically UNJUST, and I can make no terms with injustice—I am precluded from a compromise with wrong." This is the man to brave the storms of open enmity, and baffle the chicane of treacherous intriguing, and lukewarm partisanship, and carry the people's cause, through all difficulties and obstructions, to a triumphant consummation.

It was hardly necessary for Sir Robert Peel to assure us, in so many words, that he "will be perfectly ready to testify, by any public act, the sincerity of his intentions." That is a thing of course. It is already sufficiently implied in the very nature of his present convictions. The moral protest against monopoly, as not only an impolicy, but an injustice, tells us all we desire to know. The vigorous denunciation of the wrong is pledge enough of the energy and effort needed for its extirpation.

This is a most timely and cheering manifesto from our Free Trade Minister. It makes our way very clear before us. It dissipates a host of perplexing rumours, and "reports of rumours." We see exactly where we are. What will the Lords do, and what will the Rigbys do—what curious and cunning scheme of "adjustment" has been, or may be, concocted among the select and secret committees of Pallmall—are questions now of extremely slender moment. We know the worst. There would, undoubtedly, be great temporary inconvenience in the protracted delay consequent on a Parliamentary success of the monopolists; but nothing more. Not the shadow of a shade of doubt overhangs the final issue. We have now got the Pre-

mier's ultimatum—the Bill, and the whole Bill, or SOMETHING BETTER than the Bill—something more thoroughly in accordance with those views of the morality of the question which the author of the Bill has now deliberately espoused, and which would constitute the basis of his "appeal to the people."

We can remember no fact or utterance of any English minister more strongly entitling him to an unreserved and entire popular confidence, than this of Sir Robert Peel's. He throws himself loose of all other reliances; casts away all other aids; plants himself and his policy firmly on the eternal rock of PRINCIPLE—and leaves the people to do the rest. And perhaps, after all, the people may have to do it. Nobody knows. It was, no doubt, a highly prudent and politic declaration of the Premier's—but only in that largest sense of the word, in which courage is prudence, and honesty policy. This bold and broad assertion of principle, this resolute refusal of compromise, while it gives him invincible strength with the country, may not by any means strengthen him in Parliament. It will be beyond measure offensive in many quarters where he might else have counted on quiescence or co-operation. It will raise up against him not a few bitter and determined enemies. Those who have hitherto amused themselves with the dream that he might be induced to allow certain protectionist modifications of his bill, and who have accordingly given him a dubious and half-hearted support, are now once for all undeceived, and we may look to see their precarious friendship changed into settled and vehement hostility. It now remains for the people of the United Kingdom to show themselves worthy of the Minister who, first among English statesmen, has enunciated the highest of social and political truths from the seat of official authority—staked official existence on the successful realisation of popular rights—and pledged the uttermost resources of official power to the subversion of an old-established and deeply-rooted public wrong.

PROTECTION TO NATIVE INDUSTRY IN SHETLAND.

The case of the Shetlanders, to which Mr. Forster and Mr. Milner Gibson so urgently besought the attention of the House of Commons on Wednesday last, is one of the completest and most palpable illustrations we know, of the iniquitous cruelty of that monopoly which bestrides the industry of these realms like a night-mare. There seems no escaping from landlordism anywhere. This baneful power pervades the entire circuit of the Queen's dominions with a sort of malignant omnipresence, and makes its detestable domination felt, in full force and potency of mischief, even at the *Ultima Thule* of the empire.

It is a very simple story—the case of these hardy and honest islanders. Their soil is poor, their climate cold and ungenial, their agriculture rude and unimproved, and incapable, even in ordinary years, of feeding more than half of their little population of 32,000 souls. They are miserably ill off for corn—have next to no money—and manufacture nothing for the foreign market. Yet they are far from destitute of native wealth, and are very rich in native industry—if they could protect this from being "protected." Their seas swarm with excellent fish; and they have the stoutest hearts, the strongest and skilfullest hands, and the best tackle of any fishermen in her Majesty's dominions. And they have—or might have—the best of customers for their fish. It seems that Shetland fish is particularly relished in Spain, and that Spain is ready and willing to take it to any amount. But as Spain, too, is short of money, and

bare of manufactures, the transaction can be completed only on one condition;—the Shetlanders must take out the price of their fish in corn and flour—commodities in which it so happens that Spain is particularly rich. There is an obstacle, however. The landlords stop the way. Landlordism keeps a Custom-house in Shetland (under the same roof with her Majesty's commissioners,—steps in between these two parties, just as the mutually gainful and necessary barter is about to be consummated—and says to each, *No, you shan't*. Spain shall not have the fish, and Shetland shall not have the corn, except on terms which neither Shetland nor Spain can conveniently comply with. There is a little trade done, it seems, between the two. Some eight or ten sail of Spanish vessels are in the habit of annually sailing northward for a cargo of fish, but they carry no corn. At this very moment, we are informed, "*a vessel from Spain is now actually on the way to Shetland, in ballast, to load a cargo of fish, and would have taken a cargo of flour could the repeal of the Corn Laws have been depended upon.*"

Why landlordism does this—what claim landlordism has on the Shetlanders, that it refuses them the right of exchanging their fish for other people's corn—landlordism does not say. Oppression is never fond of exhibiting its title deeds. Our landlords have done nothing to further or facilitate this native Shetland industry. They do not catch the fish, nor find the boats and tackle. They have never so much as given the Shetlanders a new idea in the art and science of fish-catching. Shetland industry is altogether "native," in the strictest sense of the term. Shetlanders know nothing even of the existence of the landlords, except through the medium of the law that prohibits Shetland from buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest—that chains down Shetland industry, and takes toll of Shetland hunger. Possibly, some of them may have heard the name of RICHMOND, the chivalrous protector of the Great British fish interest—but all that these fishermen really know about the fish protection, is, that they are disabled from earning and eating bread.

This standing case of grievance and oppression has lately received a fearful aggravation in the shape of failing corn crops, and rotting potato stores. In the document read to the house on Wednesday, by Mr. Forster, we are informed, that

"Letters recently received from Shetland all concur in stating that the islands are on the brink of famine. The crops of corn, at no time adequate to the subsistence of more than half the population (about 32,000 souls), were very ill got in last season; and to add to the calamity, the stock of potatoes which the people are in the habit of keeping in pits during the winter, and on which they rely in a great measure for sustenance during the spring and early part of the summer, have been found, on opening the pits, nearly all destroyed by rot."

Accordingly, the Shetlanders have petitioned Parliament for relief. A more moderate and simple petition Parliament never saw from a distressed interest. There is not a particle of mendacity about it. The poor Shetlanders' prayer is not for grants of money out of the taxes, nor for loans to promote public works and private employment. Poor as they are, they seem perfectly able to manage the interest on their own mortgages—and they are absolutely silent on the subject of portions for their daughters. Nor do they say a syllable about protection for their fish. The people of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, may buy fish where they will, and at what price they can, and Shetland will make no objection. There is nothing eleemosynary in the relief prayed for by our brave Shetlanders. They only ask to be allowed to do what they will with their own, and dispose of the products of their native industry to the best advantage. If they could but buy their bread, as they are ready to sell their fish, at the honest market price of Europe and the world, they would be absolutely without a grievance to complain of.

Such is the Shetlanders' petition. As it is respectfully and constitutionally worded, the House of Commons has no objection to receive it, and has even gone the length of permitting it to lie on the table. But any attempt to discuss it, to press and

enforce it, to bring home its simple facts and logic to the House's understanding and conscience, is ruled to be "*wasting the time of the House.*" The recital of this touching narrative of cruelty and wrong was, it seems, received with "*expressions of impatience from the protectionist benches, which were very much crowded*"—crowded not with a view to the better protection of native industry in Shetland, but to trip up the heels of a Free Trade Government on a factory and philanthropy question.

Well might Mr. Milner Gibson ask, in his excellent speech on the subject, "*whether this Shetland case was not quite conclusive with reference to the corn question?*" Every honest man's answer will be, *Yes; quite conclusive*—conclusive not only with reference to the corn question, but with reference to the moral pretensions of Corn-Lawing landlords as protectors of "native industry."

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION OF 1846.

Fifteenth Week, ending Saturday, May 2.

On Friday night week the protracted debate on the Irish Coercion Bill produced some remarkable and noticeable "circumstances and accidents." First, Mr. Smith O'Brien intimated to the House that he had been privately coquetting with Lord George Bentinck, the object of both being a double defeat, to be brought about by a disgraceful coalition—Lord George Bentinck is one of those who say that the Coercion Bill is essential, imperative, and should be passed without delay. His principles of protection, he loudly protested, did not lead him to protect "the broad day assassin or the midnight murderer." Yet to effect the paltry, miserable advantage of annoying Sir Robert Peel, and still farther protracting and delaying the Corn Bill, Lord George Bentinck did not hesitate to enter into a private correspondence with Mr. Smith O'Brien, the object of which was to defeat the Coercion Bill, which the noble lord is panting for, as well as the Corn Bill, which he deprecates! Alas, for this country, if it is any longer to be governed by men whose political morality is infected by the flavour of the turf! Lord George Bentinck has never, of course, been an agricultural labourer; but the art, the science, the *mystery* of "HEDGING" is quite familiar to him.

On the "order of the day" for resuming the debate on the Irish Coercion Bill, Mr. Smith O'Brien made a long speech, in the course of which he avowed that he was not a Free Trader, but an advocate of a fixed duty; and concluded by the following question:—"Although he was not prepared for a total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, yet, looking at the existing necessities of the people of Ireland, he considered the crisis must be met by admitting oats and wheat free of duty till the next winter; and he begged to ask the noble lord (Lord G. Bentinck) whether he and his friends would consent to suspend for three months the operation of the present Corn Laws, so as to admit those descriptions of grain, free of duty, into Ireland?"

Lord George Bentinck was "under the gangway," waiting for the question. He commenced his reply in this way:

"Under ordinary circumstances, it would not be fair towards an independent member of this house to ask him what course he would assent to with regard to particular measures introduced by her Majesty's Ministers. But under the peculiar circumstances in which we are placed, when we have a minister endeavouring to govern the country with but 112 members who place confidence in him, and when the party with which I have the honour to serve numbers 240, which with the Irish members constitute a majority of this house, I think the hon. gentleman (Mr. W. S. O'Brien) is entitled to put the question to me, and I will endeavour to give him a frank and an honest answer (hear, hear). The question put to me is this—Whether my friends around me would support her Majesty's Ministers were they to introduce a measure, not for the abolition but for the suspension of the Corn Laws as regards Ireland for a few months?"

And then he went on to say, in effect, if not precisely in terms, that though disbelieving in the universality of Irish distress, he and his friends were nevertheless prepared to adopt what, on his own showing, was the needless and useless proposition of opening the ports for three months—not in Great Britain, no!—but in Ireland!

In the course of the discussion, Mr. O'CONNELL, true to his principles, thus mildly but emphatically rebuked Mr. Smith O'Brien:

"Sir, I was sorry to hear my honourable friend, the member for Limerick, so adverse to the total repeal of the Corn Laws. My conviction is that nothing can do good to Ireland but that repeal (loud cries of "hear, hear"). The existence of the Corn Laws has done us no good (hear, hear). Can any man contradict that (hear, hear)? They have been concomitant with increasing misery—concomitant with increasing destitution; and therefore, if any man praise the Corn Laws to me, he must draw on his imagination, for as to Ireland the facts of the case are against him (hear, hear). Corn Law repeal would increase manufacturing enterprise, it would raise wages—agriculture cannot raise them—the Corn Law has not raised them (hear, hear, hear). They say the Corn Bill was passed to keep up wages. Is there any country where wages are so low? Notoriously none. The only chance of raising them is in the repeal of the

Corn Laws, and I wish to Heaven you would set about it at once (hear, and cheers)."

Mr. Smith O'Brien, after this, had the singular infelicity to get up, and ask Sir Robert Peel if he would substitute a three months opening of the ports for a total abolition of the Corn Laws! Here is the question, and the answer:

MR. SMITH O'BRIEN: Perhaps the right honourable gentleman would tell me whether he has made up his mind as to my question? If not, I shall repeat it on Monday.

SIR R. PEELE: Though somewhat indistinctly put, I can answer the question at once, and without hesitation. The honourable gentleman wishes to know, as I take it, whether I am willing to substitute for the measure of the Government, leading ultimately to the utter abolition of the Corn Laws, a proposal for a suspension of those laws for three months. As regards Ireland, I say at once I can consent to no such proposal (loud cheers).

After that, we had Mr. Cobden, and every word of his telling speech must be read:

MR. COBDEN: I think we have rather lost sight of the origin of this discussion. This somewhat irregular discussion arose from a question put by the honourable member for Limerick to the noble member for Lynn, in consequence of a private communication which took place between them (loud cries of "hear" from the Opposition). The question was this—whether the noble lord and the party acting with him were willing to vote for the suspension of the Corn Laws for three months, and that immediately, and to make that suspension applicable only to Ireland? Now we have another proposition before the house, not to suspend, but to abolish the Corn Laws (loud cries of "hear" from the Opposition); and I presume that the proposal of the honourable member for Limerick is, that, instead of their abolition as to England, Scotland, and Ireland, we should substitute their abolition for three months in Ireland alone (loud cries of "hear" from the Opposition). Now, I beg in the first place to say that, before the honourable member for Limerick and the noble member for Lynn, there are other parties to be consulted as to this proposition. There are the people of England (loud cheers from the Opposition). I do not mean the "country party," but the people who live in towns, and who will ultimately govern this country. I tell him (loud ironical cheers from the protectionists) the English people, the Scotch people, and, I believe, the Irish people, too, are determined not to be content with the suspension of those laws, but are bent on their abolition (loud cries of "hear," amongst others from Mr. O'Connell). I think this matter has been taken out of the hands of this house altogether; and I rejoice that this question of the Corn Laws can no longer be affected by the manoeuvring or private communications or compacts of any members of the legislature (cheers from the Opposition). It has been disposed of and settled out of doors; and though artifice may delay the measure of Government, though it may occasion great anxiety out of this house, the more certain is the bill to be carried (loud cheers); and the only proposal which can be successfully substituted for that of the Government is the total and immediate repeal (renewed cheers). When I hear the noble member for Lynn talk with a complete unconsciousness of past arguments which have been utterly refuted—showing an obtuseness which I can only account for by supposing that for several years past he has given his attention to subjects wholly unconnected with public affairs (much laughter from both sides)—when I hear him boast that he is backed by 240 of the gentlemen of England—while I hear them cheer him while he is giving such proofs of utter delusion as to the state of public opinion on this subject, I do feel anxious that the right honourable baronet should, if possible, appeal to the country (loud cheers from both sides), if it could be done without great inconvenience to the trade of the country and great derangement of the business of this house (ironical cheers from the protectionists). I say I wish the right honourable gentlemen could appeal to the country, and the country would make a moral example of the gentlemen below the gangway, which they little anticipate (loud and long-continued cheers from the Opposition). Now, as to the proposition of the honourable member for Limerick, has that honourable gentleman considered the practicability of opening the ports in Ireland, and keeping them shut in England? Is he ready with another measure, or can he give us the details of a bill to be brought in by the honourable member for Limerick and by the noble member for Lynn (loud cries of "hear, hear" amongst others from Sir R. Peel)? I suppose he has planned some contrivance for preventing the introduction of provisions from Ireland to England; because if he has not, seeing that there is no Custom-house at present between the two countries, there is no possible means of preventing the free circulation of corn from one to the other, and substituting for that brought from Ireland to this country the wheat of America and the Baltic (loud cries of "hear, hear"). The noble lord told us that what they wanted in Ireland was money, and not provisions, and I heard the settlement re-echoed on this side. Why, if I understand the accounts rightly, there is a failure, a positive deficiency of the staple food of millions of the people of Ireland ("hear, hear" from Mr. O'Connell). I presume that no one here will now deny that. Well, how is money to supply that deficiency of food? Why, if they could change into ingots of gold their perishing potatoes it would not feed the people. There is plenty of corn, an honourable member below me says, and it is sent to England. His proposal is to keep in Ireland this food for the people. But if we have a million of people here depending on the provisions to the value of 10,000,000/- exported from Ireland, and that supply is kept back, of course the million in England must want food (hear, hear, hear). But the honourable member for Limerick leaves out of his consideration the people of this country; nay, more, he would interfere with their free access to food wherever it can be procured, for he would continue the bread tax in England, while he opens the ports in Ireland (hear, hear). I am not about to detain the house with any arguments as to the Corn Laws, nor shall I attempt to show that Ireland would benefit by their abolition. When I laboured out of doors for the total repeal of those laws, if I wanted a stronger appeal than another, I felt I could always quote with the most effect the state of Ireland. We hear of the people there living on water-cresses, sea-weed, and turnip-tops. Can we have a stronger proof that the Corn Laws have been of no use in improving the condition of the people, and that their repeal can do them no harm (cheers)? I agree with the honourable and learned member for Cork, that the repeal of the Corn Laws would afford the best possible chance of introducing manufactures into Ireland. Give Ireland Free Trade in corn and other provisions, and the people must be idle (which they are not)—they must be slothful and unenter-

prising (which I utterly deny)—or they will avail themselves of the west coast of Ireland and its magnificent streams and waterfalls for the establishment of those manufactures with which they can purchase the provisions to be wafted to their shores across the Atlantic (cheers). I am most anxious not to take up the time of the house by making any lengthened observations so as in any way to impede the progress of the great measure on the Corn Laws. I have intruded little in these debates, and deeply regret that the measures before the house have come to a dead lock (hear, hear). I am quite sure that the people of England are utterly puzzled and perplexed at the present state of things. I am almost as much so myself (hear, and a laugh). During the recess I was called on to hold great public meetings in Manchester and in London, to remonstrate as to the present position of the Corn Laws. I asked, "remonstrate with whom?" I declare, on my honour, I can't tell now with whom we could fairly remonstrate. I can't blame the Government; and even if I were disposed to do so, I can't agree to add to the weight of censure heaped on them with an unsparing hand (hear, and a laugh). I have no right to blame the members for Ireland; and inasmuch as I claim for myself the right of deciding what course I shall take in opposition to measures introduced into this house, I consider them entitled to judge for themselves how far they may be entitled to resist the first reading of the Coercion Bill (loud cheering). I deeply regret, however, the obstruction which has taken place. May I remind the honourable member for Limerick that the Liberal members on this side are quite as near in alliance with him for the good of Ireland as the noble member for Lynn and his supporters (cheers from the Opposition). It is rather hard to hear censures dispensed on the Liberal members in the same breath in which compliments are paid to the noble lord and his followers. I do hope that, on this side at all events, there will be good humour and cordial feeling (hear, hear, and a laugh), and I don't despair that on another evening we shall make some advance in the Corn Bill; in the passing of which I believe sincerely Ireland is more interested even than England (much cheering).

Mr. Cobden's speech produced a marked effect on the House; and Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, and other occupants of the Treasury benches, were amongst the most emphatic of the cheerers. Happening to be closely observing the House, we feel convinced that Sir Robert Peel did not cheer the particular sentiment which provoked the subsequent personal altercation. The secret of the whole affair is this. Mr. Miles, Mr. Newdegate, and others of the protectionists, were terribly annoyed by the speech of Mr. Cobden. Meantime, Lord George Bentinck had retired "up stairs," to refresh himself, after his speech on the terms of the "Holy Alliance." We are not quite sure that Mr. D'Israeli was in the house during the whole of Mr. Cobden's speech; we rather think that he was brought down while the member for Stockport was on his legs, and eagerly informed by Mr. Miles, Mr. Newdegate, and others, that Sir Robert Peel had committed the unpardonable audacity of cheering Mr. Cobden's definition of "the people," as being those who lived in towns! Of course, he was told that he must get up, and try his hand once more at flaying a Prime Minister. We were struck by the peculiar loudness of the tones of Mr. D'Israeli, so different from his usual cool, cold, sneering style: it looked as if he had suddenly imbibed an impulse, and was exotically excited. This, however, is an exoteric matter, and be it as it may, Mr. D'Israeli proceeded to pin the First Lord of the Treasury in the following style:

MR. D'ISRAELI: Before we go to a division on this question I wish to say a few words with reference to a circumstance which occurred during the discussion. I cannot help noticing an observation made use of by the honourable member for Stockport, relative to a subject which in any time or in any place is well deserving of notice. I therefore think I may be permitted to advert to it in a few words. In making that observation the honourable gentleman has favoured us with a definition—which, if public men were to indulge in very often, might be considered advantageous. He did more. He has threatened us with imputations (hear, hear), he has held up to us the terrors of popular reprobation (hear, hear), and has imitated the conduct of many great examples in not shrinking from adding a definition of that with which he has menaced us (hear, hear). The authority he has followed is familiar to all of us—even its locality is recollected—but I can inform the honourable member that the street in which the three celebrated individuals who conceived they were the people of England lived is not any street in Stockport (hear, hear, and laughter). We are told by the honourable gentleman, without the slightest exception—without the least modifying qualification, that the people of England are the people who live in the towns, and that definition was loudly cheered by one gentleman, the expression of whose opinion or of whose feelings must always make a great impression on this house and throughout this country ("hear, hear," from some hon. members behind Mr. D'Israeli, and cries of "no, no," from Sir R. Peel and several hon. members near him). I say, sir, the right hon. baronet the first minister of the Crown, at the moment that the hon. member for Stockport held up what he called the country party (renewed cries of "no, no," from the same quarter). I repeat it—I say again that the first minister of the Crown—at a moment when the country party was threatened by the hon. member for Stockport with the indignation of the people, when that threat was followed by a neat and terse definition of what the people are—namely, that they are the persons who live in towns—cheered that definition (expressions of dissent). Yes. There was a very warm cheer from the first minister of the Crown (no, no). The right hon. baronet immediately cheered that expression. The circumstance struck me at the time; for it came from the same right hon. individual who was once so proud of being at the head of the gentlemen of England (loud cries of "hear, hear" from the protectionists). At the moment that the hon. member for Stockport, in a tone of menace, threatened the country party with the control of public opinion, and said that a powerful sentiment of indignation would arise among the people of England at their conduct, in the most frank and open spirit he gave them his definition of what the people were, as being the inhabitants of the towns. The right hon. baronet cheered that sentiment—he accepted that definition:

While Mr. D'Israeli was proceeding, and evidently warm-

ing into a furious speech (for, as we have already remarked, he was more impetuous than usual), Sir Robert Peel rose, and raising his hat, exclaimed, in a very marked manner: "That I totally deny!"

Mr. D'Israeli, thus arrested, in the full swing of his speech, paused, and said: "If the right honourable baronet means to say that anything I have said is false, of course I cease—I sit down."

In justice to Mr. D'Israeli, we must remark that Sir Robert Peel's interruption was far more significant than the reporters have indicated. In all the newspapers, Sir Robert Peel is reported as saying, "I totally deny that," which to a reader looks comparatively harmless. But the actual words were, and they were uttered in a very marked manner, "That I totally deny!"

We need not enter into the particulars of the various speeches which followed. The Parliamentary quarrel was succeeded by a Parliamentary reconciliation; and Mr. Cobden gave the following explanation of the meaning of the phrase which had excited the "scene":

Mr. COBDEN begged to remind the house that the language used by the hon. member for Sirewsbury, which had been adopted by the right honourable baronet, had not been used by him. That language was not his (hear, hear). What he said was, that the majority of the people ought necessarily to control the minority, and he was strictly correct in saying that the majority of the people—the bulk of the constituencies—lived in towns. In all constitutional states that would necessarily be the case (hear).

The debate on the Irish Coercion Bill was adjourned from Friday till Monday. On that night, Monday, Sir Robert Peel spoke: and uttered the following emphatic declaration as to his intentions with respect to the Corn Bill:

"I need hardly," said Sir Robert Peel, "refer to the ungracious surmise which I heard held out during the debate, that the Government had become indifferent to the progress of the Corn Bill, and had interposed this discussion with the view of defeating or delaying the bill I have mentioned (cries of "No, no," from the Opposition). I heard some honourable gentleman say that, though he did not think this himself, such was the public opinion. I declare (without any unnecessary protestation as to the sincerity of my conviction), that I hope it is sufficient for me now to state, that the progress of discussion, the lapse of time, and intervening events, have more strongly confirmed the opinion I entertained as to the necessity of the permanent and final adjustment of the Corn Laws (loud and long-continued cheers from the Opposition). I will not deny that my opinion on this question has lately undergone much change; but it is that restrictions which I first believed impolitic I now believe to be unjust (cheers). Consequently, my sense of their injustice precludes any compromise on my part (renewed cheers). What I proposed in the shape of the amount of duty, and as to the time of its continuance, is all I am enabled to offer; and in answer to those injurious suspicions which have been expressed, I think it enough to say that I am ready to attest, by any public act or declaration that is thought necessary, the sincerity of my motives (loud and long-continued cheering). So far then from urging the uniform usage of Parliament, with respect to such a bill as this, as a ground of obstruction to the commercial measures which Government has proposed, I have no wish to defer for a single day the final decision as to those measures (cheers)."

Another adjournment took place on Monday, but with the understanding that another night would terminate the discussion on the first reading of the bill for the Protection of Life and Property in Ireland.

In the House of Lords, on Tuesday, Lord Brougham delivered the following significant speech:

LORD BROUGHAM called the attention of the noble and learned lord upon the woolsack, and also of the noble duke (the Duke of Wellington), to a motion he was about to make for five returns connected with the question of the importation of corn from Ireland. The production of these papers could not be objected to, because they had already been produced in the other House. It might naturally suggest itself to noble lords that he was rather premature in moving for returns which went to affect the discussion they were about to have upon that most important measure, the Corn Bill, which, he perceived by the votes of the other House of Parliament, had at various times and in different manners occupied its attention during many weeks of the present session. It was a measure which he perceived from the same votes—for of course he could only look to the votes for information—had made no considerable progress in that house. The state into which the business of the country had been brought, according to the votes—which were the only records he had access to by the constitution of the country, by the law of Parliament, and with the most perfect regularity he was bound to admit, was such that in the foreign capital from which he had lately returned he had heard grave doubts expressed respecting the expediency of our system by persons with whom no doubt he differed upon nearly all political questions. He had in vain defended our system against his friends at the French bar, and among French politicians. He had argued with them, that what they looked upon as the radical defect and vice of our system was only of a passive, temporary, and accidental nature—that it must be accounted for by the varied caprice of fortune, which placed certain men in certain positions of which they availed themselves, affecting to be a measure which in their hearts they hated, or affecting to be against a measure which in their hearts they loved, complaining only that it did not go far enough, but using their position for the purpose of postponing it. He had given this explanation to his friends in France of the present state of things with regard to the Corn Bill. "But," said they, "facts are against you; you do not get on; your business is stopped; there is an utter incapacity to carry on the business of the country; and how long is it to last, or what is to happen, who can tell?" His other answer had been this: the nature of the British constitution, and its singular excellence, is, that wherever there shall happen to arise any temporary

mischiefs from the friction of the parts of the machine, or any resistance in the medium through which it moves, there is in that great political engine—the perfection of human polity, as he firmly, conscientiously, and seriously believed—a well-regulated constitutional monarchy, acting by means of a well-regulated representative system—a *vis mediatric*, a power of re-adjustment, self-corrective and adaptive, which never failed to get rid of any temporary obstruction, and to restore harmony in the working of the great machine. Their lordships possessed a power within themselves of applying the corrective, and of administering an effectual remedy. If in any quarter, of whatever colour of politics, the desperate hope was entertained of frustrating the intentions of Parliament, and of the country, by endless and vexatious delays, or of postponing the arrival of that great, and, in his conscience he believed, most salutary measure into their lordships' house till it should be too late to discuss it (for without ample discussion God forbid it should be carried) this session, then the remedy was in their lordships' own hands, for they had the power of anticipating the discussion, and of coming to a deliberate and well-considered opinion. And if, in the course of a fortnight, he should, by having recourse again to the votes, still find the same obstruction to this, and indeed to all business elsewhere—for it was not to the Corn Bill, but to all other business that the obstruction referred—he should deem it his bounden duty, as their lordships had the unquestionable right, to bring on the subject for discussion without waiting for the bill; and thus give noble lords an opportunity of discussing, and deliberating, and pronouncing their opinion upon the general principle of that great and most important commercial change. And when their lordships, after discussion, should have pronounced a favourable opinion upon the principle, as he earnestly hoped and confidently expected would be the case, then he might venture, without any gift of prophecy, to foretell that the passage of that and other measures would no longer meet with obstruction elsewhere. With the view, therefore, of preparing for the discussion—which might be wholly unnecessary, but which might also become absolutely necessary—he took leave to move for the returns.

The House of Commons on Tuesday, was engaged in a discussion on the conduct of Mr. Smith O'Brien, who had deliberately refused to attend a Committee, on the plea that as an Irish member he would only attend to Irish affairs. This was adjudged to be a contempt of the jurisdiction of the house; and he was allowed till Thursday to consider whether or not he would submit, or else take the consequences.

The care of Lord Ashley's Ten Hours' Bill has devolved on Mr. Fielden; and on Wednesday the second reading came on. The "gangway" section have been making great exertions to bring up country gentlemen to vote on this occasion—the only object being the impotent and contemptible one of finding, if possible, another occasion for injuring the Government.

On Wednesday, after the disposal of a mass of railway and other business, the order of the day for the second reading of the Factories Bill was proposed.

Mr. Hume urged the inconvenience of proceeding with the bill at a period when so much private and public business remained for consideration, and pressed Mr. Fielden to withdraw it for the present, and to obtain the assent of the Government to its being brought forward on some future Government night.

A desultory conversation arose, during which Sir Robert Peel intimated an opinion that he could not assent to any arrangement of the nature proposed. Various members having urged that the debate should proceed,

Mr. Fielden rose, and, in a speech of considerable length, moved the second reading of the bill.

Mr. Ainsworth seconded the motion, referring to the progress of public opinion on the subject, and suggesting that a compromise might be effected by which the duration of factory labour might be limited to 11 hours.

Mr. Hume, after arguing that the bill would be an unjustifiable interference with the freedom of commerce and trade, and an undue restriction on the employment of labour, moved that the bill be read a second time that day six months.

Mr. Ward seconded the amendment.

Sir George Strickland urged the expediency of regulating factory labour to the extent proposed by the bill, which he consequently supported.

Sir James Graham assigned reasons why the Government had determined to support the amendment. In our four great staple branches of manufacture, the cotton, woollen, silk, and linen, there were half-a-million of people employed, the amount of wages paid weekly was about a quarter of a million sterling, and the proportion to our whole annual exports borne by the exports of these four branches was no less than three-fourths, amounting to from 35,000,000*l.* to 40,000,000*l.* An error, therefore, would prove of vital importance. They were told not to treat this question as one of pounds, shillings, and pence. But capital, profit, and wages all resolved themselves into pounds, shillings, and pence; and they could not treat it otherwise than with reference to acknowledged principles. A diminution of one-sixth in the hours of labour would amount to a tax of 16 per cent. on the capital employed; and they could, therefore, only uphold wages by raising the price of the article manufactured. But the competition in foreign markets rendered this impossible, and the reduction must inevitably fall on wages. It was the hard lot of a man that "in the sweat of his brow he should eat bread," and as the only capital of the working man was his labour, let them beware lest, with the purest motives, they were not attempting to aggravate the condition of the working man. In France, the United States, Prussia, Austria, and other continental countries, the hours of factory labour were as long, or longer, than in this country; and we could not maintain with them an unequal struggle, burdened as we were with many restrictions.

He believed that the repeal of the Corn Law would effect more good to the working population, believing as he now did that it was not merely unwise, but unjust. On this subject he had changed his opinion, and had been exposed to some obloquy on account of it. But having had an opportunity of calmly reviewing his judgment on this matter, he was more and more convinced that the Corn Law was the great obstacle to the prosperity of the capitalist and the welfare of the working classes. On these grounds he joined in opposing the bill.

Mr. Mark Philips expressed his satisfaction with the statesmanlike speech which had been delivered by Sir James Graham, and urged the practical objection to the interference with adult labour.

Mr. Banks then moved the adjournment of the debate, which after some conversation was agreed to, being fixed for Wednesday week.

On Thursday, Mr. Smith O'Brien, still persisting in his refusal to obey the order of the house to attend a committee, was formally committed to the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms. The remainder of the evening was occupied by business of a varied nature. Mr. Hawes gained a victory over the Government on the subject of the long-disputed Danish claims; carrying a motion for compensation by a majority of 18. Mr. Bouverie also obtained the appointment of a select committee, to inquire into the condition of labourers employed on railways and other public works, and to devise ameliorative measures.

In the House of Lords, the Lord Chancellor proposed the second reading of the Government bill, called the Religious Opinions Relief Bill, the object of which is to repeal the various penal statutes which still slumber on the statute-book, against Papists, "recusants," Dissenters, and so forth. The introduction of such a bill, and its reception in the House of Lords, is a very striking proof of our progress. The Bishop of Exeter gave a slight note of opposition; but generally speaking the peers indicate that they have moved with the rest of the world on the subject of toleration. It is to be hoped that they will exhibit equal liberality on the subject of corn.

NOMINATION FOR THE FALKIRK DISTRICT OF BURGHS.

FALKIRK, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29.—The nomination of candidates for the representation of the burghs of Falkirk, Airdrie, Hamilton, Linlithgow, and Lanark, took place here to-day, upon a hustings erected on a vacant space of ground called the Calender-Riggs, fused occasionally as a market-place for the sale of cattle. A good deal of interest was excited on the occasion, and but one feeling seemed to prevail, that Lord Lincoln ought to have taken the pledge prescribed to him—namely, that he should retire in Mr. Wilson's favour when a general election took place. The Liberal interest is divided to some little extent. Many are willing, under present circumstances, to give Lord Lincoln the benefit of their suffrages on account of the position he occupies in the present Ministry; but the great proportion of the Free Trade electors are determined to adhere to Mr. Wilson, the man of their choice, as they maintain that while Lord Lincoln goes along with them in the repeal of the Corn Laws, he will not be so fair an exponent of their views on other great questions of civil and commercial liberty.

The canvass has been prosecuted with great vigour, short as is the time since the candidates came into the field. According to Mr. Wilson's party, that gentleman has a majority of 100, as regards those electors who have pledged on both sides; but as there are fully more than 200 of the constituency who at present stand neutral, it is difficult to say who will be the successful candidate. The protectionist party are said to be united in their support of Lord Lincoln; and it is reported that all the influence of Lord Lincoln's father-in-law, the Duke of Hamilton, will be brought to bear on the constituencies of Hamilton and Lanark, in favour of his noble relative.

The two candidates, Lord Lincoln and Mr. Wilson, appeared on the hustings shortly after 12 o'clock, surrounded by a large body of friends. The crowd assembled on the occasion would not number much above 500 persons, who gave the candidates a fair and impartial hearing.

After the Sheriff had read the writ, and the Act against bribery and corruption,

Colonel HAMILTON, of Cairnhill, came forward and proposed Lord Lincoln, whose nomination was seconded by Bailie Swin, of Hamilton.

Provost DAWSON, of Linlithgow, seconded by Dr. Hamilton, Airdrie, nominated Mr. Wilson, of Dundee.

Lord LINCOLN then presented himself, and was but coldly received. His lordship commenced by referring to the position which he occupied as a member of the Cabinet, and the absolute necessity there was for strengthening the hands of the Government at the present moment by sending him to Parliament. He declared that he had no knowledge of the requisition which had been sent by so large a body of the electors some time ago to his opponent, Mr. Wilson, else he would not have come forward. In reference to not agreeing to the condition which was asked of him, that in the event of his receiving the support of Mr. Wilson's requisitionists, he would retire in that gentleman's favour when a general election occurred, his lordship stated that his sole objection to such a pledge was, that it would impose a condition on the constituency which was unconstitutional, inasmuch as it would prevent them, if they should be pleased with the manner in which he discharged his duties, from again asking him to come forward at a general election, which, however, he had no intention of doing. It could not be unknown to them, it was known to the whole world, and he wished to make no secret of the matter, and his colleagues did not wish to make any secret of it, that the force of the Government had been greatly weakened by their adopting measures of Free Trade. Nobody could read the newspapers without observing that the Government were not supported by the large body that used formerly to support their measures, and it could not fail to be observed that a great proportion of that party were bent, not only on defeating Free Trade measures, but on frustrating their passing. Was it not a fact, that within these few days an alliance had been attempted to be formed between the agricultural protection party in the House of Commons, and the repealers

of Ireland? Nobody could have failed to see that an attempt of this kind had been made, and was in progress of completion, unless others should come forward and support ministers (hear, hear). Could anybody witness these things without seeing that nothing but the position in which the Government found themselves placed towards the country and towards the Queen, could induce them to persevere with these measures? Could anything be more painful, more irksome, and more onerous, than the position of the Ministers of the Crown at the present moment? They had not placed themselves in that position from a regard to any selfish object, or from a regard to any private feeling, or from any wish to retain power. For what, then, had they placed themselves in this position? It was done from a conscientious conviction that the measures which they had proposed were essentially necessary for the interests of the country. It must, however, be borne in mind that the protection party had more than once thrown it in the teeth of the Government that the country were not with them. They say, look at the election of South Nottingham. There their Irish Secretary was defeated by a considerable majority. Look at their Colonial Secretary. He was unable to obtain his re-election. The protection party say that in both these instances the members of the Government were defeated by the protectionists. Now he would come to the third instance. Did not the protectionists point, and with still greater force, to the defeat of Captain Rous in Westminster? Do they not say, Here was a man who professed himself an advocate of Free Trade measures? (A voice from the crowd—"He was a turncoat, as well as yourself.") They might call him (Lord Lincoln) a turncoat. He could assure them that such a phrase passed him unheeded and unconcerned (hear, hear, hear). He had not the slightest hesitation in avowing that he was not always a Free Trader, and therefore he gave the person who had made use of the term the full benefit of his observation (hear). But he was referring to the case of Captain Rous. Captain Rous was defeated, and he was defeated by the union of the protection party with the extreme Free Trade Liberal party (hear, hear). The protection party in Parliament pointed, and with justice, to such a victory, and said, "Was this a proof of the desire of the country for Free Trade measures?" It was true that there was a love for Free Trade, but the country loved individuals more. Could it be possible that if the country were so interested in the progress of Free Trade measures as was said to be the case, they would reject him who was not only able to give as much assistance as another in carrying them out, but who also, from his connection with the Government would be able more efficiently to do them service? This was the manner in which the protectionists reasoned upon the subject, and the use they made of the rejections he had referred to (hear, hear, hear). He had very little doubt that Mr. Wilson's powers and abilities were greater than his; but he did say that it had been proved, at this particular juncture, that the Government now in power was the only one which would be able to carry these measures out ("hear, hear," and "Oh.") When it was found that the interests of the country demanded these measures, which could no longer with safety be postponed, did not the present Government endeavour to hand over to others the power to carry them into effect? And what was the result? They were unable to do so. Lord John Russell himself had since stated, in the House of Commons, that he would have failed if he had attempted it. This being the case, he (Lord Lincoln) must ask, was it wise, in reference to these measures, to reject a member of the Government? Lord John Russell had failed, and it was proved that he could not carry them. Was it wise to reject a member of the Government, when by so doing they were destroying the moral effect which must attend the re-election of a member of the Cabinet as a representative in the House of Commons at the present moment? He was sure that if they were playing the game of the protection party, they could not play it more effectually and better than they were now doing (cries of "No, no," from the crowd). He heard a voice saying "No." But he would appeal to them whether, if Lord George Bentinck, or any of those acting with him in the House of Commons, were to dictate the course which a constituency like this should pursue, where he knew that the majority of the Free Traders was so great, they would not desire that they should take that course which had been taken in Westminster, and when they had two Free Traders to deal with, that the electors should reject the one connected with the Government and take the other? He besought the electors to consider the consequences that must attend his rejection. He was confident that his anticipations would be realised and that they would find that the Government measures would be retarded, he should not say even for a time, but absolutely defeated. He was confident that if the result of the election should turn out to be that Mr. Wilson was returned, however much the Free Traders of Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, and other places, at other times might rejoice, on this occasion they would deeply regret it. He was confident that in these great marts of commerce there would be lamentation and regret. He was equally certain that it would be the cause of joy and exultation in No. 17, New Bond-street ("hear, hear," and laughter). He would not, he was sure, ask any man to waive his political opinions to him. He would not do it himself to any man; and he would ask no man to do what he himself was not prepared to do; but he must say that no political opinion would be compromised by this course, and he was quite confident that if the electors took the course which he recommended, they would be furthering in the only way which they possessed the measures which they had so much at heart. Had he been addressing another constituency, he would have entered at some length into the question which was now before the House of Commons. He did so when addressing the constituency of South Nottingham, before he was defeated, because he felt that it was his incumbent duty to endeavour to convince them, however feeble might be his efforts. He felt, however, that the constituency he was now addressing required no conviction. He knew that they were satisfied of the importance of the measure of Free Trade, and, therefore, he felt that it would be a mere waste of time. An elector had called out to him that he was a turncoat, and Mr. Wilson, in his address, had stated that he was no new convert to Free Trade. He (Lord Lincoln) knew that such was the case, and he supposed that he meant to draw a contrast between himself and him (Lord Lincoln). If such was the case, he would say that he thought that if they taxed him with being a turncoat and a convert to Free Trade, they ought to bear in mind the sacrifices he had made in the matter, and that before they used it as a term of reproach they ought to consider what were the motives which could possibly influence him in changing his opinions. If there was any man amongst

them who could assign any motive of a personal and improper character, they might brand him, if they would, and kick him out of the town (applause). Why, every interest connected with the maintenance of power, every interest in regard to his personal friends, every interest in regard to a constituency that he respected and loved, every interest of a domestic and private kind was at variance with the step he took (hear, hear). But he would not ask them to attach too much importance to that. He would not ask them to acquit him of any improper motives because his interests were all one way while his conduct was another; but he did say, that even as regarded this election the fact of his being a convert to these measures did not make him less fit to be the representative of these opinions than Mr. Wilson (hear, hear); and for this reason, that most frequently in public life nineteen-twentieths of the men who went into Parliament adopted their principles, not from accurate observation and study, but because they were brought up in a certain society, and because they were educated in those principles. If the men who have been brought up in these principles have subsequently, after mature reflection and study, and after testing them by observation and experience, changed their views without any appearance of corrupt and improper motives, he thought that was rather an additional reason, not only of the proof of the soundness of these principles, but a security that he was a fit and proper person to carry them into effect. Lord Lincoln then said that he had entered into this contest believing that he was acting in accordance with the wishes of the electors unanimously, or something nearly so. He concluded by requesting those who had promised to support him at the poll to come early on Friday morning, and to bring their friends along with them, and said that although the contest would be a close one, he had every reason to anticipate success.

MR. WILSON, who was received with great applause, made some introductory remarks as to the poor effect which the remarks he intended to make would have upon the meeting, coming, as they did, after the able address of the Earl of Lincoln, who was not only high in rank, but held the distinguished position of a Cabinet Minister. (A Voice: "It's not men, but measures that we want.") As, however, the electors who had been so kind as to put him in this position had not asked him to make any apology for them, he considered that he now stood in the high position of being for the first time on an equality with his lordship, as they were both seeking the same thing—the suffrages of the electors (cheers). The noble lord having stated his claims, it was now his (Mr. Wilson's) duty to do the same; but, before doing this, it might be necessary that he should say a few words on the position in which they respectively stood, as a great part of this contest, particularly as regarded Lord Lincoln himself, was in reference to the relation in which they stood to each other. He hoped and trusted that he would be able to show that this contest was not of his seeking. It had been already stated, but he would take the liberty of stating it to them again, that a requisition from the electors of five different burghs had been presented to him some months ago. That requisition, so numerously signed as to secure, in his opinion, his election, asked him when a dissolution took place—a vacancy was not the word, but he considered them the same thing—to allow himself to be named as a candidate for their suffrages. In answer to this requisition, he sent a letter to each of the electors, stating that he agreed to pledge himself to come forward whenever they required him to do so. Things remained in this position till Monday week, when an application was made to him on the part of the friends of Lord Lincoln, but not by himself, that, in the event of the late member, Mr. Baird, resigning his seat, he (Mr. Wilson) would waive his claim upon the electors at this time. The arguments used to induce him to do this were, in the first place, that Lord Lincoln was a Cabinet Minister, and that being a Cabinet Minister without a seat in the House of Commons, it was of great consequence that he should have a seat, so as to enable the present Government to carry through their Free Trade measures. His (Mr. Wilson's) answer at once was that for himself, he had not the slightest objection; but the question was, would the constituency go along with him? In order to ascertain this, he consulted the electors in the different burghs who had signed the requisition, and in three of the burghs it was carried unanimously to allow him to waive his privilege for the present in favour of Lord Lincoln. In two of the burghs there was a slight difference of opinion, but a motion to the same effect was ultimately carried by a majority. In allowing him to waive his claims for the present, they attached to it a condition, that his lordship should pledge himself not to come forward when a general election took place, as it was their intention to give their suffrages to a candidate whose principles were more in accordance with their own upon questions of general politics. After being through all the burghs, he (Mr. Wilson) called upon Lord Lincoln and communicated to him what had passed, and pointed out to him the condition to which he had alluded. His lordship frankly and immediately said, that that was a condition with which he feared he could not comply. He asked his lordship to reconsider the matter, because, if that was to be his answer, he was afraid that the arrangement would be broken up. The next morning he received a communication from his lordship, reiterating the same statement—that he still held that it was his duty to decline such a pledge. He was glad, however, to hear from what his lordship had stated in the address which he had just delivered, that he had now no intention to offer himself again as a candidate for those burghs. (Lord Lincoln—"I said so throughout.") He wished his lordship had stated to him (Mr. Wilson), when he applied to him what he had now stated; he would have felt it to be his duty to have communicated it to the constituency, and he would almost take upon himself to say that they would have so modified the written pledge, and allowed the field to be left open for Lord Lincoln. (A Voice—"Leave it yet.") He would therefore leave it with them to judge of the causes which had led to this contest. He thought that the pledge which was asked of Lord Lincoln was nothing more than reasonable. He was not so versed in court punetilio as to see the difference between his lordship saying that he would not stand and that he had no intention of standing (a laugh). He thought it was a distinction without a difference. He could assure them that he did not wish to say a word that would hurt the feelings of Lord Lincoln, in waiting upon whom he had received every courtesy and respect. He considered it right that he should now say a sentence or two upon his own political views (hear, hear). He would give his assistance to every thing which would tend to promote the spread of civil and religious liberty (tremendous cheering). With regard to the great question that was now agitating the country—that of Free Trade—it had his most hearty support.

He considered that they were all under a debt of great gratitude to the present Ministry, who had come forward with this bold measure—the boldest measure proposed in this country since the Reform Bill; and he hoped and trusted that, notwithstanding all the drags which were put upon it, it would yet come out of the House of Commons unscathed. (A Voice—"What length will you go in extending the franchise?") He would answer that question by and-by. While he thought they were under the deepest obligations to the present Ministry for proposing so enlarged a measure of Free Trade, he thought it would not do to leave the subject without expressing regret that they had not gone farther. But it was not the present Ministry that were entitled to all the honour connected with these measures. They must go farther back. They must go back to the people, who had brought their weight to bear upon the question. That great body, the Anti-Corn Law League, were the chief instruments in carrying this matter forward (cheers). In fact, that League had set up a new sort of representation in opposition to the representation of the House of Commons: and the members of that League formed a body which acted so energetically on Government, that they found there was no resisting it. And then there also came to the assistance of Government an ally of a very extraordinary kind in the shape of a failure in the potato crop; so that Ministers were obliged to consider the subject, and to devise the present measures. He thought that Government ought never to have clogged the measure for the repeal of the Corn Laws with the condition of three years. They ought to have repealed them at once (cheers). More than that, he would have had them to include, in this present bill, all the protective duties which exist, as protection was the worst of all ways to raise a revenue. He would also have all the import taxes taken off every article of food; especially of such articles as tea and sugar. He was also opposed to that clause in the Irish Coercion Bill, which declared that all parties who were found out of their houses between sunset and sunrise, and who were not able to give a reason for so being out of their houses, should be subject to such a heavy punishment as transportation (hear, hear, and cheers). He considered that this was unduly interfering with the liberty of the subject, and was actually a sort of forging fetters for the people of Ireland (hear). Other laws should be adopted for the state of Ireland than these. Mr. Wilson went on to say, that he claimed their suffrages because he knew that his political opinions were more in harmony with theirs than those of his lordship; and that it would be altogether an anomaly for such a Liberal constituency to return as their representative a Conservative. Mr. Wilson then answered the question put to him as to the extension of the franchise; and stated, that while he was for an extension of it beyond the present 10% qualification, he had not made up his mind as to the exact length he would go. He concluded amidst great applause.

The sheriff then called for a show of hands, when only about a dozen were held up for Lord Lincoln. A poll was demanded, on the part of his lordship, by Colonel Hamilton, and the polling was fixed by the sheriff to take place on Friday.

At this stage of the proceedings a person asked Lord Lincoln what length he would go in the extension of the suffrage; to which his lordship at once frankly replied that he would not extend it farther than it was at present.

The assemblage then quietly dispersed.

STATE OF THE MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS OF LANCASHIRE.

(From a Correspondent of the Times.)

MANCHESTER, APRIL 25.—There is a whisper floating here that it is the intention of the "protection" party, by means of an unholy alliance, to extinguish the Ministerial Corn Bill and Tariff.

If there be truth in this rumour—which Heaven forbid!—then will there be, for once at least, a fatal realisation of the truth of the well-known phrase, "*Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat*."

It is difficult to believe that men professing to be enlightened, as the "protectionists" do, and pretending to be acquainted with the condition and the wants of the country, would venture to exhibit so besotted a state of mind as to arrest—for that is all they could do—a measure, the justice and necessity of which have been proved and re-proved at least a thousand times, by men of all ranks of life, and which could be enforced again and again, with the eloquence of truth and nature, and with a withering sarcasm, by thousands of our horny-handed and fustian-jacketed operatives in this district. Were it not that we have the history of the Reform Bill before our eyes, and the absurd and futile obstructions thrown in its way by men said to possess hereditary wisdom, we could scarcely give credit for a moment to such a report. But well recollecting that period, and witnessing the escapades of dukes, earls, and barons, who all anticipated revolutions and commotions which never existed anywhere but in their heated imaginations, we are disposed to place reliance on the statement that the monopolists intend to overthrow the Bill.

If such folly and wickedness be contemplated, the protectionists must have most erroneous views as to the condition of the manufacturing districts, and, like the ostrich in the hour of danger, must imagine that, by shutting their eyes to coming evils, they will thereby escape from their consequences. Before such an act was perpetrated, would it not be wise in some of them to visit this hive of human intelligence and industry, that an honest report of "the goolly land" might be prepared for the emergency? To see with their own eyes and hear with their own ears would doubtless be exceedingly inconvenient, as staggering facts and alarming statements, painfully true, might derange impending orations and produce some serious conversions. But if the protectionists will not examine for themselves into the state of the northern manufacturing districts, let them "lay not the flattering unction to their souls" that all the rest of the Kingdom are as blind, and partial, and indolent as themselves. To the great mass of the enlightened and liberal-minded people of England (in whom may be comprised men of every political shade of opinion) the state—the fearful state of the manufacturing districts, is fully and accurately known.

So long as the labouring community in this district are provided with full work and liberal wages they are contented and happy. A more peaceable, industrious, and honest population is not to be found within her Majesty's dominions. But deprive the people of employment and the means of subsistence, expose them to poverty and disease, and crime will not lag behind. Hunger is said to break through stone

walls. How wise must be the policy of that Minister whose object is the maintenance of honest employment for our ingenious and able-bodied artisans and operatives, the continuance to them of good wages in return for their labour, and the plentiful supply of sound, wholesome and cheap food! In these gifts the Minister would form the best and cheapest defence of this and every other part of the nation, and without them the tranquillity of no populous manufacturing district can be preserved.

It may have been inferred, from the dead calm that appears to pervade all classes in respect to the great Ministerial measure of the session, that no public interest or anxiety is felt on the question. If such a notion prevail in any influential circle, a great error has been fallen into. The interest, the anxiety, the intense desire on the subject, are strong and powerful as ever; and it would have been strange indeed had it not been so; for the struggle here has not been one of party, but of principle. After the first week's debate in the Commons on the measure, some impatience was exhibited from the frivolous nonsense dealt forth by tenth-rate "Protection" orators; but, as it was felt that these gentlemen were indulging in a sort of last-dying speeches, charity and patience were extended to them with a liberal hand, in the hope that the force of opposition would soon pass away, and be followed by a measure of substantial justice.

The people here now appear to be in the transition state, from the passive to the active mood. Surprise and indignation seem to be spreading; and, if trickery or procrastination be tried as a hoodwink, the united voice of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire, will reverberate among the valleys and hills, that the sound will be heard within St. Stephen's, as on memorable occasions gone by.

Then, with reference to the League. A notion has been entertained that that organization is virtually extinct, and that its resuscitation would be impossible. "The wish is father to the thought." The League had never more vital elements within it than at this moment. Let the "Protectionists" kick out Peel's bill, and the League, in 48 hours afterwards would be reanimated and full of vigour "as a giant refreshed;" its strides would be over the length and breadth of the land; if a quarter of a million fund should not be sufficient, a half million, or a million fund would be raised to meet monopoly in its strongholds, and to vindicate the justice of Free Trade. This is no idle boast, as the Protectionists and their allies would soon find to their cost. The vast population in the manufacturing districts have set their hearts upon freedom from monopoly; and from the achievements of the past an opinion may be formed as to the successes of the future.

The opposition hitherto given to Sir Robert Peel's bill, too frequently "frivolous and vexatious," has been productive of extensive mischief. The staple manufacture of this district has been almost paralysed, and both masters and men have been driven nearly to the verge of ruin. The delay has been detrimental to all classes, and if much longer continued the effects will be disastrous. On all sides do we hear that the stagnation in trade will increase in proportion as the Corn Bill and the tariff are delayed. Manufacturers, merchants, and shopkeepers are haunted with uncertainty and indecision, not knowing, in this doubtful state of things, what to do for the best.

A gentleman here, very extensively engaged in manufactures, communicates as follows:—"The present state of trade is much depressed, there being no demand. The spinning department is a good deal depressed, compared with the last year; still, that may be considered to be about the best part of the cotton trade. The hands, generally speaking, are pretty fully employed, with the exception of hand-loom weavers; nor is there any alteration in wages. In the present state of the market, parties who have to manufacture even by power have great difficulty in maintaining their ground. There seems to be a deep regret that the progress of the Ministerial measure is so much retarded, as the delay tends to depress manufactures. It is thought that, if it were to pass into a law, a revival of trade would immediately follow; but, on the other hand, if it be delayed too long, there is very little hope of experiencing a brisker trade before the latter end of the year."

Another letter from a leading merchant, with no strong party predilections, has the following passage:—"That the present Free Trade measure before Parliament tends to depress there can be no doubt, arising from the uncertainty as to its results. But eventually, if passed, it is the opinion of parties in political society, whether Whig or Tory, that it will do a great deal of good; and the majority are anxious to have it passed."

It is proper to add, that at present there are upwards of 1500 hand-loom weavers in this town entirely unemployed. A communication made by two of the unemployed weavers to the writer of this letter is as follows:—"The present statement is to inform you that there is a great number of hand-loom weavers thrown on the streets for want of employment. The workpeople of Messrs. Aspinall, Turner, and Co., are 200 in number, all idle; of Messrs. Swainson and Birchwood, 300, all idle; of Messrs. George Faulkner and Co., 300, all unemployed; of Messrs. Peter Dixon and Sons, 400, a few employed. The fabrics of work manufactured by these gentlemen are chiefly coarse handkerchiefs, buff checks, and occasionally coarse gingham. We are told that our misery at present is caused by Sir R. Peel's measure in the House of Commons not taking its proper effect."

Such is the present state of this populous district. It is placed in imminent peril, and the consequences no man can predicate.

One word as to the result of Sir R. Peel's measures. Should the bill be passed, the effect would immediately be seen in the restoration of trade to general activity, in the employment of all classes of the working community, and in the diffusion of content and happiness among all ranks of the people in the manufacturing districts. On the other hand, if the bill should be thrown out, or further delayed, there would be no outbreak, no resort to physical force or violence, no tumult or outrage. The men who have guided the Corn Law agitation have taught a higher class of political ethics than dependence on riot and insubordination. Their appeals have constantly been to the mind, to the judgment, the reason, the entire thinking powers of their auditors. But, if the bill be thrown out we shall not be in a quiet or tranquil state; there will be no supineness, no inertness. The mottoes will be, "England expects every man to do his duty," "Up, Guards, and at 'em!" The intellects of the district will be in arms; a moral commotion, a mighty revolution will be heartily and simultaneously embarked in; and who of the Buckingham or Richmond faction will be powerful enough to arrest the headlong torrent? The struggle there will be, not for repeal in three years, but for total and

immediate repeal. The cry will be for present, not procrastinated justice; and the victory will be decided in favour of the many, as surely as triumph has already crowned their exertions.

It is to be hoped, however, that the folly and hopelessness of arresting public opinion will be abandoned, and that decent submission to a force so irresistible will at length be resolved upon. By continuing their crusade, the protectionists can gain nothing but odium, contempt, and defeat. The people are too many for them; and the claims of justice are too powerful and too highly prized by the industrial millions of Great Britain to be given up, with regretful feeling, at the summons of a select party of men, whom a breath has made, and whom a breath can unmake.

FOREIGN NATIONS AND FREE TRADE.

(From the Times.)

The Continent of Europe and the United States are infested with one class of politicians and political writers, whose blind and ignorant hostility towards this country has led them first to ascribe to the Government of England certain general characteristics, infinitely remote from the true spirit of our policy; and, secondly, to shape all the incidents of our history to fit their preconceived errors. To support the doctrine that the views of the British Cabinet are invariably dictated by the most long-sighted cunning to the most selfish ends, these wretches indulge themselves with unlimited perversion of fact, and they invent the strongest theories to account for their construction of the simplest occurrences. According to this absurd class of observers, Great Britain made war upon the Chinese solely to enforce the sale of opium in the Celestial Empire, and it was not Sir Henry Pottinger, but the French Envoy, who opened the five Chinese ports to the trade of all nations. The Right of Search Treaties were crafty conventions, framed solely to enable British cruisers to harass the commerce of all other states. The emancipation of the negroes was a scheme for improving the cultivation of sugar and cotton in India by the voluntary sacrifice of 20 millions of money and the destruction of the permanent prosperity of the West Indian colonies. The late campaign upon the Sutlej was not the result of an unprovoked aggression by the Sikhs, but of the grasping designs of England upon the Panjab. So that, by dint of misstatements and misconstructions, the most glorious, humane, and praiseworthy traits of our history are obscured, and an attempt is made to throw suspicion upon each of those great changes in national policy which have of late years originated with England, but which are destined to make the circuit of the globe when they have triumphed over the prejudices of less enlightened communities. The onward course of this country is, indeed, by no means affected by these childish cavillings of our foreign detractors. We have no fear but that the best men of our own contemporaries and of all time will do justice to the services which England has rendered in this generation to the interests of freedom, religion, civilisation, and humanity. As long as public opinion at home is enlightened, and the public conscience sound, we care as little as any people ought to do for the censure or applause of the world; but we are conscious, and we may reasonably regret, that the complete accomplishment of the great public objects we have in view is sometimes postponed by the imperfect comprehension or the unfounded mistrust of other nations.

These remarks may be applied with particular cogency to the progress of Free Trade in foreign countries, and to the impression which the measure now before the House of Commons has produced in the world. It has at once stultified all the predictions and belied all the arguments of the Continental protectionists with reference to the policy of this country, and it has shaken the ground beneath them at home. After having denounced in every shape those commercial treaties by which England was, in their opinion, seeking to compass the destruction of every country with which she has an established trade, they see her, disdainful to make a mere political bargain where the laws of commerce insure her success, strike down the barriers even of protection, whilst they are still hugging the chains of prohibition. The competition which they dreaded before becomes infinitely more formidable since the industrious classes of England are to be supplied with food at the same rate as the rest of Europe. The protection which we are removing is not so much protection to the British farmer as to the foreign manufacturer; and instead of imitating our example, or the example of the unprotected manufactures of Switzerland, there never was a time when foreign Governments have been more likely to encounter a vigorous resistance to a reform of their tariffs.

But these delusions, these mistakes, and these pernicious remedies for artificial diseases, will ere long be corrected and discarded by the force of example, truth, and time. The whole argument against Free Trade is already narrowed from a general defence to a special plea. Some few years back the laws of public economy were themselves denied, and their application altogether resisted. But experience, and, above all, the example of this country in a variety of public and private transactions, have put down these absurdities. The defence of protection is now conducted by what the lawyers call confession and avoidance. Its foreign partisans do not venture to deny its general advantages, and they acquit England of any intention to commit a deliberate suicide; but they allege some peculiar obstacle or disqualification for the introduction of Free Trade measures amongst themselves. Free Trade principles have supported the public revenue in England, lowered prices, kept up wages, extended trade, and opened a new era of greatness to the people of this country; but the German minor States shrink with alarm from the moderate suggestions of commercial reform made by the Prussian Government. The Russian official journal declares that a long course of rigorous protection is an indispensable preparation for the dangerous indulgence of Free Trade; and that until the Emperor has created a Manchester by bounties and prohibitions, a premium shall be indirectly given to the cultivation of her agricultural produce elsewhere; so that, like the dog and the shadow in the fable, he drops the solid interests of the empire to grasp at a system of imaginary and fallacious improvement. In France, upon two recent occasions, the Minister of Commerce and of Finance have held language which, indeed, we expected from them, but which their colleagues, M. Guizot and M. Duchatel, must have blushed to hear. They are not even capable of understanding the principles which they reject. No doubt they may appeal with effect to the interests which predominate in the Chamber of Deputies and in the electoral body. No doubt they may pay for the political support they receive by sacrificing the practical interests of the community to the inordinate pretensions of capitalists

enriched by the system of prohibition, and of men who themselves declare that without prohibition they should be nothing. But at no distant period the real interest of the consumer and of the people will be better understood. The French nation will inquire what it is that constitutes the difference between themselves and their neighbours, and makes prohibition so indispensable on one side of the Channel and Free Trade on the other. They will ascertain that in England a vast system of financial reform has been in progress for many years, by which the burden of many millions sterling of taxation has been removed from the people, from the necessities of life, and from raw materials. They will remember that since the Revolution of July no remission of taxation whatever has taken place, with the single exception of the duty on the sale of wine in 1831, though during the whole of that period the prosperity of the country and the public revenue have gone on to increase. A private member of the Chamber of Deputies recently brought forward a measure for the reduction of the salt duty from 3d. to 1d. per kilogramme; and so irresistible was the case he established, that in spite of the Minister of Finance, the Chamber adopted the proposal. For the first time for many years the interest of the consumer has thus been boldly and fairly pressed upon the French Legislature. M. de Lamartine, more especially, has distinguished himself by the enlightened sagacity with which he has taken up the cause of the labouring population; and we have no doubt that if he will apply his eminent capacity and his independent character to promote the application of a more liberal commercial policy, he will render the greatest services to his country.

It is true that we confidently anticipate that Free Trade will secure great advantages to this country, and we are far more anxious to make those advantages our own than to obtain the assent of foreign nations to the principles we profess. This is now the extent of those interested and designing views which some of those nations impute to us. We invited them to accompany us; upon their refusal, we condemn them to follow us. They will seek in vain to strengthen the bolts and bars of protection. The wall of China would not save them now; for men will not always believe that the welfare of society depends on making things artificially dear which are naturally cheap, or on raising obstacles to the free intercourse of mankind, to which they mainly owe whatever of wealth, enjoyment, and civilisation they already possess.

THE O'BRIEN AND BENTINCK COALITION.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

The well-timed and most effective speech in which, on Friday night, Mr. Cobden brought back the wandering attention of the house to the real question before it, and did prompt and sharp justice on the authors and the objects of the O'Brien and Bentinck convention, may, probably, have a use beyond the immediate occasion. Other parties, besides the honourable members for Limerick and Lynn, are too much in the habit of "leaving out of their consideration the people of this country;" and the very dangerous blunder of rather losing sight of the origin of the discussion" which has been so long dragging about, and seems still to have an indefinite futurity of duration, is one to which circumstances offer just now so many plausible inducements, that we must lay our account with seeing the weaker-headed sort of politicians altogether unable to sustain a concentrated attention to the facts before their eyes. We must, in common kindness, recall these wandering wits, and brush up these cloudy memories—for the consequences might be serious of carrying this kind of forgetfulness too far. It is really a work of charity no less than of patriotism, to keep perpetually present to the protectionist mind that unaltered and unalterable state of facts on which the responsible heads of the party will eventually have to form a judgment. They will have their attention brought back, one of these days, to the "origin of the discussion"—either by Sir Robert Peel and the House of Commons, or by the League, the constituencies, and the country; and it is highly desirable that their attention should not, in the meantime, be suffered to wander so far as to require a harsher and more disagreeable species of memento.

We beg then to remind all those extremely imprudent persons who dream that the question now before the country is susceptible of some cunning sort of compromise, or "adjustment," that the whole business has long since been taken out of their hands altogether. As the discussion now lingering through Parliament had not its origin in any Parliamentary party, or combination of parties, it lies not within the power of party men to settle it by private compact among themselves. It is not a thing to be "arranged." Mr. D'Israeli's "gentlemen of England," and Lord George Bentinck's patriots who "reign in the heart" of Ireland, did not set this question going, and cannot stop it or turn it aside now that it is going. Parliamentary parties did not create that revolution of opinion which has prepared the people of the United Kingdom to expect and demand a legislative revolution to match; nor can they control that fearful necessity which has given sudden development and maturity to a force that might else have taken another year or two to finish its growth. The question is not theirs, in either of its great elements—and any pretension on their part to dispose of it by way of "arrangement," is a sheer impertinence. After all their arrangements are completed, they will discover that "there are other parties to be consulted," namely, those who, whether living in towns or villages, buy and sell, and receive wages, and pay taxes, and eat bread, and have votes, and make Houses of Commons, and are, *de jure* and *de facto*, the rulers of the empire in the last resort. For the answer which these "other parties" would make to that question on which the fanatics of the protectionist faction pretend a desire to ascertain their opinion, we are contented to refer to Mr. Cobden's well-remembered analysis of the state of the constituencies, the data and results of which have not yet been confronted by any counter-statement or calculation that has chanced to come under our observation.

The perfect and unhesitating conviction felt by those who have most carefully studied and best understand the great practical problem of electoral dynamics, as to the results of that "appeal to the people" which would instantly ensue on any serious attempt at compromise, is the chief source of the somewhat deceptive quiet which the country now exhibits. The people take things easily, partly because they have a good deal of faith in Sir Robert Peel—mainly because they have an undoubting and absolute assurance of faith in their own power to supply all Sir Robert Peel's political or moral deficiencies. We had much rather not be appealed to, because the appeal would be a costly and unenjoyable procedure, and time presses; and we do not expect to be appealed

to, because the Premier really has (generally speaking) a very happy way of managing these things, and there is a prevalent impression that the protectionists have tolerably prudent men among them, in that "other place," where alone imprudence could have any practical consequences. Still, the feeling is—if it must be, let it be. If they are ready, we are ready. If they will have it so, they shall have it so. And though we have the shortest political memories and the best hearts of any people on the face of the earth, have the smallest possible spice of vindictiveness in our composition, and are fond of economising our expenditure of the ways and means of moral and political warfare—still, there would be a sort of satisfaction in "making a moral example of the gentlemen below the gangway," the idea of which tends to abate the repulsiveness of this onerous and disagreeable necessity.

For our own part, we enjoy, on the whole, a hopeful and comfortable faith that all this is sufficiently well understood by those with whom the responsibility really lies. We are not without our apprehension, at times. The present signs of public opinion and feeling are so liable to be misinterpreted, that the possibility at least of an erroneous construction being put on them is an element which cannot be safely excluded from our calculations. We are alive to the risk which exists of the repose of conscious strength being mistaken for indifference and lassitude. The subsidence of agitation, where activity is felt to be superfluous, may very possibly be confounded, in some quarters, with "reaction." Yet we must allow, that any very serious and painful apprehensions on this score contain an implied imputation on the judgment and patriotism of those with whom the question really rests, which cannot be justified in the absence of direct evidence. Where the consequences of a false step would be so palpably and so gratuitously mischievous, it is but fair to presume on the exercise of at least an ordinary amount of discretion. Moral equity, no less than constitutional decorum, indicates the propriety of assuming that a body of legislators, charged with so vast a responsibility, cannot be found greatly wanting in the first and most elementary of political virtues. At the same time, we must warn the Premier, that there ought to be no needless experimenting on the prudence and sagacity even of the most august tribunal of the empire. Computations with an unknown quantity for one of their elements are intrinsically uncertain and deceptive. A prudent minister should beware of making superfluous exactions of the prudence of others, whose means of correct judgment are necessarily inferior to his own.

MORE NEW CONVERTS.

(From the Economist, April 25.)

It afforded us great pleasure, last week, to allude to the sound reasons which Lord Essex adduced for his conversion to the principles of Free Trade. But we have been even more struck by the singular ability and clear comprehension of those principles, as exhibited by another recent convert, contained in a letter addressed by the Rev. Christopher Nevile to Mr. Alison. This letter is a remarkably clever and racy production, of less than fifty pages, in which the writer, who had acquired some considerable reputation as an advocate of protection, gives an account of the process of observation and reasoning by which his convictions became changed, and by which he furnished himself with the most unanswerable arguments to all the fallacies of protection. For the space occupied, we have seen no production which has in a more satisfactory manner disposed of all the leading errors and prejudices against Free Trade. Mr. Nevile adopts as his motto, "*Change of opinion is not inconsistency*," and we are satisfied that no one will read this pamphlet without being convinced that, in the writer's case, change has only been in accordance with the enlightened convictions of a powerful and vigorous mind, which has with felicity grasped at the truth and thrown error aside. It appears that, five years ago, Mr. Nevile published a pamphlet in defence of protection, which had a flattering reception from Mr. Alison and others. After a laborious inquiry, we have understood with a view of following up his first pamphlet in further attempts to defeat Free Trade doctrines, Mr. Nevile has found their truth to be irresistible, and his opinions are "entirely changed." He says to Mr. Alison:

"I address my recantation to you, on grounds which, perhaps, may surprise you. I trace my conversion to an attentive perusal of your works. I am indebted to the most distinguished protectionist writer for my conviction that our protective system has been most injurious to the country."

The process by which Mr. Nevile first doubted the accuracy of his former opinions, and at length fully embraced his "new views," is strikingly expressed in the following words:

"A review of our position was enough, indeed, to shake my faith in my political system. I found great distress existing; the only assignable causes by the advocates of protection, being over-production and over-population. And under what circumstances were we placed? An overflow of capital, driven abroad, to our ultimate loss, for want of profitable employment at home—an immense number of workpeople, especially agricultural labourers, in vain seeking employment—millions of acres of land uncultivated, and many millions capable of great improvement—the markets apparently glutted with manufactured articles we could not consume, and with agricultural produce which could not be sold; I asked myself how could any nation be reduced to anything like distress with a superfluity of every element of prosperity and comfort? An answer there must be; but I could not find it then. I now believe it can be found. The word is monopoly. I have become convinced that protection to native industry, where it has had any effect at all, has been disastrous in its consequences, and has been indeed 'the bane of agriculture.'"

Mr. Nevile draws a clear and striking contrast of the actual free competition, notwithstanding a nominal protective duty, which has existed with respect to our manufacturers, and the real and operative monopoly which the owners of the land have unwisely secured to themselves, and shows in what way competition has been so favourable to the advancement and prosperity of the former, while monopoly has been so injurious and destructive to the latter; and he happily exposes the great fallacy and error of referring the prosperity and existence of a pursuit to some nominal price, as the lowest at which production can be repaid. In all such reasoning, the power of economising processes, of increased quantity, and of generally improved management, are entirely excluded from the calculation. From Mr. Young's calculations of the price necessary to repay production in 1814, downward to those made by land-owners of the present day, there has never yet been one of them realised; for, in spite of every impediment and inducement to the contrary, still agricultural improvements have to a certain extent gone forward. That they have not done so to an extent equal to

other branches of industry, we are indebted entirely to the system of protection with which, unfortunately for themselves, the proprietors of land have had the legislative power to burthen their properties. Had the same "baneful principle" been applied to manufactures, the result would have been the same:

"If the first twenty or a hundred cotton mills erected had been protected from competition, can any one conceive that our machinery would have improved as rapidly as it has done? It would have been easy to show that, after calculating the cost of raw material, wages, with profits, interest, &c., that a yard of cloth could not be made under a certain price, and that price might have been artificially sustained. It is evident what the consequences would have been. It has, however, been open for any man with capital and skill, to build a mill and manufacture cloth, and the price was regulated, not by what all could make it for, but by what any one individual could afford to sell it at; any improvement in machinery, any economy in the manufacture, must eventually be adopted by all parties, or they could not sustain themselves in the market. The moment they were undersold, their business was at an end. The duties levied on foreign goods were of no avail, for the competition at home was unlimited.

"How different has been the case with our agriculture! The legislation was in the hands of landowners: they calculated the cost of growing wheat, and they advanced the duties on foreign corn so as to exclude it under that price. The land could not be multiplied, and the inevitable consequence was, they acquired a monopoly of the market. According to the well-known principle, it might have been expected that agricultural improvement would be slow. Necessity, the great mother of invention, being removed, the probability was, that the progress in the cultivation of the soil has been retarded. Has it been the case or not? Has British skill, capital, and industry, produced its corresponding effects in the production of food? Has the landowner, who is the real manufacturer, however indirectly, has he made the fullest use of all the means at his disposal? I will take an answer from yourself, the most able writer on the side of protection. I could confirm your testimony by numerous quotations from members of the Agricultural Protection Society."

This extract really explains the whole secret of the rapid progress and prosperity of our manufactures, and the stationary and depressed condition of our agriculture. The landowner who goes to Parliament and votes for protection to land, virtually offers a premium or encouragement to the occupiers of his land for indolence and neglect. He virtually and voluntarily deprives himself of all the advantages which would arise from an active exercise of ingenuity and economy; while he introduces a new and additional element of uncertainty, wholly inseparable from all artificial systems, and especially such as impose great abuses upon society, which deters the free application of capital. From these causes the landlord has injured himself infinitely more, in the mere amount of rent which he now receives, than any advantage which he has obtained by restriction. We have not the slightest doubt that had the trade in corn been perfectly free since 1815, the rents of lands and the profits of farmers would have been much higher than at present, while the price of food would probably have been little more than half its present rate. This is exactly what has been the case in manufactures, by the operation of the principle so well explained by Mr. Nevile. High rents and high farmers' profits are not inconsistent with cheap food.

Mr. Nevile disposes, in a most satisfactory way, of all usual pleas set up for protection in the shape of special burdens:

"The tithes never belonged to the landowner. The land has been bought and sold liable to this payment, which has recently been converted into a mortgage." "The titheowner is in the situation of a mortgagor; and the tithes are, therefore, no tax whatever in growing corn on this tract of land." "The highway-rates are wholly made up of labour." "And these rates would, therefore, accommodate themselves to any diminished scale of agricultural prices; besides, good roads are conducive to the profitable occupation of the land." "The expense of improved implements might, with nearly as much justice, be brought forward as a tax or an impediment to producing corn at a lower price." "The poor-rates are not peculiar to land; all real property is equally charged." "It is true that the capital engaged in manufactures is not rated to the poor, neither is that employed in agriculture. And if the protectionists are justified in their assertion, that for every pound embarked in manufactures, 15l. are engaged in agriculture, the less we say on that score the better." "The malt-tax falls upon the consumers, and not upon the growers, and cannot be considered a burden upon the land in particular."

The indirect taxes, amounting to about 36,000,000*l.*, out of 48,000,000*l.*, are "levied upon production or consumption of the whole nation, and are by no means paid by the landed or agricultural classes in particular." To the common argument, that protection becomes needful in consequence of the national debt, Mr. Nevile gives the following unanswerable reply and apt illustration of his reasoning:

"If the price of any article is artificially raised to enable the producer to pay his share of any national debt, that process must necessarily render the consumer less able to pay it. Suppose a community consisting of A, B, C, D, E, and that A produces corn, B cloth, and C hardware, and that they owe a joint debt to D and E. If all these articles are protected, and the prices raised, the protection is nugatory. If corn alone is artificially raised in price, it is unjust; but in neither case can the joint power of A, B, and C, to meet their common debt be increased. If in this country we should assume that there are 100 trades, and 100 commodities, and each were equally protected, it must be evident that the artificial price created is of no advantage to any one party, as he will lose as much in the 99 commodities he buys, as he can gain in the one he sells. If the protection is unequal, it will enrich one party and impoverish another in proportion; but the wealth of the whole will not be increased. So far from it, it is very possible, that by attempting to force the capital, the skill, and industry of the country into particular channels, which they would not take in their natural course, the whole trade, commerce, and prosperity of the community may be impeded. The national debt does not fall upon any particular individual or kind of property, but it is mainly paid, and must be paid, by a tax upon the general articles of consumption; and the advocates for Free Trade may and do use the argument, that our immense debt is a reason in favour of, not against, the most unlimited Free Trade."

Mr. Nevile replies in a clear unanswerable way to the general fallacy, that if we do admit corn from other countries, they will not buy our goods, but *will* be paid in gold. He shows that as gold is not a production of this country, it can only be obtained in exchange for something that is, and that a payment in gold is, therefore, though indirectly, as much an exchange for the produce of this country as if we gave them calico of Manchester or the cloth of Leeds. But perhaps one of the most useful points discussed in this valuable little pamphlet is the objections raised against Free Trade on account of deeply-mortgaged lands. Mr. Nevile shows that the case of such a landowner is not so desperate as at first sight it would appear. We have always entertained an opinion that one of the best things which could happen to large landed proprietors with deeply-mortgaged estates, would be the necessity to which they would be driven to sell some portion, as the only means of clearing and rendering more profitable the remainder.

FREE TRADE CLUB.

TRUSTEES.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Radnor.
The Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers, M.P.
John Lewis Ricardo, Esq., M.P.

COMMITTEE.

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White, William, Jun., Esq.

BANKERS.

Messrs. Ransom and Co., Pallmall East.

SECRETARY.

Mr. James Adolphus Moore.

ANNUAL REPORT.

The committee of management, in accordance with the rules of the club, now renders an account of its stewardship for the past year.

The estimate for receipts and expenditure laid before the general meeting of the members of the club, on the 19th of May, 1845, contemplated an expenditure for the year 1845, of 1772l. 10s., and receipts amounting to 2430l. 6s. The receipts were calculated upon the then charges for entrance-fee and annual subscription. Since that time, however, a large reduction has taken place in the anticipated income, in consequence of a considerable number of persons, originally offering as members, not have joined the club. The result has been that the actual receipts have fallen short by 561l. 15s. of the original estimate.

The current disbursements of the year fell within the estimate, but the purchase of plate, linen, and cutlery, which was rendered necessary in August last, when the household management was transferred from a steward, who had contracted to provide these articles, to the house-committee, created an extra expense of 472l. 10s. 3d., to meet which there was cash in the hands of the bankers, 341l. 14s. 2d., and arrears recoverable of 170l. 2s., making a total of 511l. 16s. 2d., showing a balance in favour of the club of 397l. 5s. 11d. The property of the club at that period was 419l. 14s. 6d.

The number of subscribers, at the end of the year 1845 was two hundred, but the committee felt confident that as the objects and advantages of the club became more widely known, its numbers would rapidly increase; and, during the present year, they have found their expectations realised, 120 members having been admitted, makes the number this day, 320.

On the 31st of March, 1846, after clearing off all liabilities, there was a balance in hand of 397l. 13s. 5d., and 336l. to receive, which affords a gross sum of 733l. 13s. 5d. towards the expenditure of the current year.

The committee feel assured that the foundation of a most valuable institution is laid, and that the rapid increase of members will soon ensure the results which its originators contemplated.

Such an increase is confidently expected, the Committee relying on the exertions of the members to aid in the accomplishment of this object, which will render the club one of the most prosperous and useful institutions in the metropolis.

(Signed) JOHN BRIGGS, Chairman.

27, Regent-street, St. James's, 6th April, 1846.

OBJECTS OF THE CLUB.

The Free Trade Club has been established for the purpose of bringing into more immediate and friendly contact those who are interested in procuring for British capital and industry emancipation from the restrictions which have been placed upon their productive powers. Many distinguished and highly respectable advocates and supporters of commercial freedom are spread over the country, at great distances from each other. The Free Trade Club offers to all these the opportunity of inter-communication in reference to the evils produced by monopoly in their several professions and localities, as well as for concerting the means of more effectually bringing their grievances before the legislature of the country.

One of its immediate objects is, to afford a place for the daily meeting of members of Parliament and other friends of the cause in the metropolis, where they may have an opportunity of seeing their friends from different parts of the country, when they visit London.

The terms of admission have been reduced to a scale much below those of any similar institution: the members will obtain the usual accommodations of a London Club, and a supply of all ordinary refreshments at moderate prices.

It is the intention, also, of the Committee to make such additions to their present library, from time to time, as shall make that department of the club attractive and valuable to those of the members who may desire to refer to the best works on social and economic science. Donations of books, suited to the objects of the club and the pursuits of its members, are respectfully requested, and will be gratefully acknowledged. Attention to this feature of the Free Trade Club and the liberal co-operation of its members and friends, will, it is trusted enable the committee to realise the intentions which have been cherished from the period the club was originated. The want of a good library of reference has long been felt by every one interested in the cause of Free Trade.

The committee have now only to state that according to Rule V. of the Articles of the Club, which is inserted below, such gentlemen's names as may be transmitted to the secretary, with the recommendation of members, will be submitted to a ballot, and on their election they will be immediately apprised. Should the reduction in the terms of admission lead (as it is confidently anticipated) to a large increase of members, it is the intention of the committee to submit proposals for rendering the club still more efficient for its great objects.

As this club is formed for a specific purpose, it must be well understood that no gentleman is eligible as a member, who is not opposed to the principle of all protective and differential duties. To this he will be pledged by his application to be admitted as a member.

TERMS:

RESIDENT MEMBERS (within fifty miles of London),	£ s.
Entrance Fee	5 5
Annual Subscription	2 2

NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS, (beyond fifty miles from London), Annual Subscription 2 2
* * No entrance fee is required from non-resident members.
RULE V.—Each candidate for admission shall be proposed as a *Free Trader*, by one member (on personal knowledge), and seconded by another; and the candidate's name and usual place of residence, his rank, profession, or other description, must be forwarded to the secretary at the time of application.

Foreigners may be admitted by the committee for one month, without payment: after which period they may be admitted for the further term of one year, on payment of the annual subscription.

It is suggested, for the convenience of members, that they should leave with the secretary orders on their bankers, or agents in London, to pay their subscriptions to the bankers of the club, on the 1st of January in each year.

Blank forms of such orders will be supplied by the secretary.

N.B.—The situation of the present house is peculiarly convenient for country members—intersecting, as it does, the great thoroughfares of Piccadilly and Regent-street; public conveyances to all parts of the town and its suburbs pass the door at all times of the day and night.

A list of sleeping apartments in the immediate neighbourhood of the club is kept by the secretary, and members intending to come to town can, by writing to him, and stating particulars, have an apartment engaged, and ready for them on arrival.

MEETING OF CORN FACTORS IN MARK-LANE.

(From the *Globe*.)

A very numerous meeting of corn factors, and other persons connected with the corn trade, was held on Monday in the large room of the Corn Exchange, Mark Lane, immediately after the business of the market was concluded. Its object was to take into consideration the present deranged state of the corn trade, and the extensive injuries inflicted on the interests of both importers and purchasers by the continued delay of the Corn Bill. Several statements, illustrative of this state of things, were made by some of the oldest and most extensive factors, who represented that the overloaded state of the granaries, and the continued arrivals, without any immediate prospect of clearance, keep the foreign trade in a state of stagnation. After an animated discussion, it was determined to embody the views of the meeting in a memorial; and a deputation was appointed to wait on Sir Robert Peel, to urge on the right hon. baronet the necessity of pressing through Parliament the measures agreed upon by his Government, and sanctioned by the House of Commons, with all possible despatch.

This movement on the part of the corn trade of London will produce similar demonstrations from the provinces. The corn trade at present suffers partially. The full measure of its embarrassments and losses has not yet been poured upon the market. The manufacturing and commercial interests are now chiefly affected. Every week supplies additional proofs of the stagnation to foreign and domestic trade, which delay in proceeding with the measure has caused to the manufacturer of, and trader in, our staple commodities.

But further delay will produce injury upon the class which the protectionists blindly intend to serve by their obstructive policy. Suppose that they succeed in keeping the bill in the House of Commons until the commencement or middle of June. The price of grain is remunerative at present; and no quantity now in bond, or that can be brought in from abroad, will have any considerable effect upon it. But if the present accumulations should continue in bond until a few weeks before harvest, and if all the grain and flour which will arrive in the spring months should go into bond, instead of passing into consumption, the whole quantity accumulated before the bill can leave the House of Lords will then be poured into the market, and will necessarily have the effect of greatly depressing prices. Let the farmers be wise in time. Of all classes they are most immediately interested in protesting against delay. Their "friends" will, if allowed to proceed in the course they threaten, prove their worst foes. The remunerative prices in which they now rejoice are delusive. A reaction is at hand—caused by the very policy which they think will protect and preserve them—which will assuredly lay bare the fallacy, and show them the refuge of lies in which they were taught to trust.

FREE TRADE.—MEMORIAL OF COTTON-SPINNERS.

The following is a copy of the memorial which has been forwarded to Sir Robert Peel, Bart., &c. &c., as agreed upon at the last general meeting of the operative cotton-spinners of Manchester:

To the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M.P., &c. &c., the Memorial of the Operative Cotton-Spinners of Manchester and Salford, Sheweth,

That your memorialists are cotton-spinners in the boroughs of Manchester and Salford, and deeply interested morally, physically, and mentally, in the prosperity of the manufacturing and commercial enterprise of the country, inasmuch as their capabilities to procure the comforts and rational enjoyments of life depend upon the healthy state of trade in these districts.

That your memorialists have long entertained the views, that an extension of the trade and manufactures of England would be conducive to the well-being of the whole of the community, whatever branch of trade or other pursuits in which they are engaged.

That therefore your memorialists viewed with extreme satisfaction the enlightened wisdom and liberal philanthropy under which the measures of her Majesty's Government were introduced into the House of Commons—the tariff of 1846—more especially the bill for the admission of foreign corn free of import duty; by which, in the opinion of your memorialists, the condition of the whole of the inhabitants of this country would be materially benefited. That, independently of the personal advantages which would arise from the development of freedom of industry, your memorialists view the whole scheme as a progressive step from the old notions of society, which limit man's inventive facilities, and thereby obstructed and retarded the progress of free intercourse with our fellow-man, to the detri-

ment of all classes of the civilised world; and more especially the happiness of your memorialists.

That your memorialists have, for many years, witnessed with regret the misery and destitution, and in too many instances, the immorality of the working class of this country, evils which, in the opinion of your memorialists, have been fostered and extended by the restrictions on trade and commercial intercourse with other nations, which the measures of her Majesty's Government are calculated to remove. Your memorialists view with great alarm the injurious effects upon trade, which the delay of the passing of the Corn Bill is now causing, and firmly believe, that further obstruction will materially injure, if not ruin, the prospects of your memorialists, inasmuch as commercial confidence is to a great extent destroyed by the uncertainty which prevails as to the motion of the settlement of the whole question.

Your memorialists, therefore, most respectfully but firmly recommend that you will, without further delay, insist on the immediate passing of the Corn Bill, believing as they do, that every argument that can be urged against it has been heard, and that all attempts now making to delay the settlement of the question are dictated by a desire to retard, rather than to reason on the merits of the subject, as affecting the industrious community of England.

Your memorialists further beg most respectfully to state, that they are quite prepared to stand by your Government, and, if need be, to defend the Queen and her responsible advisers, from the factious attempts that are now making to alienate the people from their Queen and her Government.

Signed, on behalf of the meeting,
GEORGE JOHNSON, Chairman.

DISTRESS IN IRELAND.

DUBLIN, APRIL 28.—The *Clare Journal*, which reached Dublin to-day, brings the following circumstantial and substantiated account of the destitution of a portion of the people on the western coast of the county of Clare. Can anything be more harrowing than this detail?

"Kilmurry Ibrickane, April 24, 1846.

"Two copies of the following memorial, from about two hundred poor housekeepers, a list of their families, averaging about one thousand souls, have been forwarded—one to the Relief Commissioners, and another to the Lord Lieutenant:

"The humble Memorial of the poor resident cottiers on the ploughlands of Cleenogarnane and Clohane, in the parishes of Kildard, and barony of Ibrickane.

"Humbly Sheweth,

"That in consequence of the mysterious affliction of an all-wise Providence of the potato crop, memorialists (from the swampy nature of the soil of these localities) have, by the potato rot, been deprived of all means of subsistence for themselves and families, and are at present the most miserable beings on the face of the earth.

"That a road was passed by special sessions presentment, 1st Vict., chap. 21, and for which a sum of 450l. was granted to give relief on the premises—that said road, leading from George O'Neill's by Lough Donnell to Clonahinchey, was approved of by the civil engineer.

"That in daily expectation of relief on the premises by opening of said road, memorialists have, from time to time, pawned all their day and night covering, and are at present suffering from cold and hunger in a state too much for human endurance.

"That memorialists would long since have taken refuge in the poorhouse, but, being under the impression that they would have neither house nor home on their return to shelter themselves and families, and would, consequently, for evermore go to ruin.

"That the memorialists respectfully, yet fervently, crave your honourable board will be graciously pleased to take their wretched condition into consideration, and order such immediate relief on the premises, as may be the means of saving the lives (if not of memorialists) at least of their starving families, and for which memorialists will ever pray.

"Being the nearest resident magistrate, I regret to have to state that this memorial is too true, and that it rather underates the state of destitution the poor are in.

"BURTON MACNAMARA, J.P.

"As magistrates of the barony above-named, we have made inquiry into the condition of the memorialists, and find, that some local public work is actually necessary for their sustenance and support.

"FRANCIS G. MORONY, J.P.

"THOMAS H. MORONY, J.P.

"THOMAS MORONY, sen., J.P."

DUNGARVAN, APRIL 23.—Under this date a correspondent of the *Waterford Freeman* writes as follows:—"On Tuesday a crowd of labouring men presented themselves at the Reverend Dr. Heally's door, and called on him to get them work. The Doctor exhorted them against the commission of any violence or breach of the public peace, and assured them that every one of them would be employed on the following day, at one shilling per day. The 'Tipperary boy,' from the thick of the crowd, cried out that a shilling a day was too low, and called on the people not to work for less than 1s. 6d. per day. At the request of Dr. Heally, the 'peelers' were sent for, and 'my bould Tipperary boy' was marched into 'quod,' where he remained till the temperature of his cell reduced his excited and foolish notions and feelings to the standard of cool reason; and after expressing compunction for his conduct, and promising to behave himself like an honest and peaceful man for the time to come, he was discharged. Many believed him to be an incendiary. The demand for the Indian meal here is most pressing and extraordinary, so much so that two or three hundred persons are waiting to be served every morning opposite the house in which it is retailed. The accounts from the surrounding districts relative to the condition of the peasantry are heartrending and alarming in the extreme. In Killmongford, Kilsentny, Comeragh Killnafrehan, &c., the stock of potatoes is consumed, and the inhabitants of these places are now using their seed potatoes, which will last them but a very short time; this is the case with many of the farmers, but the condition of the cottier and labourer is far more deplorable. Some of them had no potatoe gardens tilled at all, on others they failed; they have no relief committee to get them 'meal or malt,' and are left to their fate—to starve, perish, or plunder. A carrier from this town, as he was coming from Clonmel, a few days since, called into a house which he saw convenient to the roadside, for the purpose of lighting his pipe. It was ten o'clock in the morning, and there were five or six little boys and girls squatted on the floor of the wretched house, crying. 'Have you any fire?' said the carman. 'No,' replied the father of the children, 'and what is worse, I have not a morsel of food to give them poor children whom you see there bawling with hunger, nor can I get work to earn it.'

ADVANCES OF FAMINE.—The time has arrived when it can no longer be denied that upon the efforts of those who have the means depend whether we are to have an unemployed population, and famine and pestilence, or an employed population, and plenty and health. Our people, in the depth of their privations, have marked their repugnance to the in-door relief which even the Poor Law affords, and they have—by long and weary travelling to England and elsewhere in search of employment—given the most convincing proof of their mainly desire to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow.—*Western Star Conservative Journal*.

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 Wednesday, April 29, 1846.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from
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 LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding,
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A JOURNEY TO THE MEADOWS OF HERTFORDSHIRE.

No. I.—GETTING OUT OF TOWN.

Persons acquainted with the thoroughfares of London know that they are sometimes choked, blocked, or locked with their traffic. It is as difficult to ascertain, when a lock occurs, which of the draymen shouting, cabmen whipping, or butchers' boys "chaffing," has been the cause of the stoppage, as it is to discover who have caused the lock in the political world. But there is a lock in the political world. Never was the line of street, from St. Paul's to Temple Bar, more completely and inextricably choked, by its vehicles locking together, than is the Parliamentary thoroughfare at this moment, by which bills travel from the House of Commons to the House of Lords, and from the House of Lords to the House of Commons. And yet in the line of Fleet-street, and Ludgate-hill, with the crossing of Farringdon-street, there are occasionally lockages in the traffic so inextricable that the most skilful of the police are baffled in making a clearance; and no clearance is made until some unlooked-for condescension on the part of a few drivers, who back out, leads to a general movement forward, as the unlooked-for perseverance of a few jolly waggons, "all of a row," with their ponderous vehicles from the country—a "country party" in the street, formidable enough to obstruct the traffic, dogged enough to get into a fix and remain in it, led at first to the stoppage.

Being a passenger the other day for the country, to obtain a glimpse of the spring, the fresh green of grassy Hertfordshire, the new buttercups and daisies among the grass; the suckling lambs and their fleecy mothers among the buttercups and daisies; the farm fields, with new crops upon them; the farmers, with new notions in their heads about their fields and crops of corn; and, perchance, the lord of Essex, or his park and mansion, or his farms, who has become a kind of League lecturer, putting new notions into the heads of farmers about crops of corn, and Corn Laws, and competition with foreigners;—being a passenger for the country on the outside of one of those "busses" which gathers from the multitudes of the metropolis, one by one, the railway passengers, and transfers them by the score to the mouth of the iron giants, who swallow them by the hundred, I got fixed in one of those locks in the street which are unpleasant at any time, and particularly so when one's appointment is with a railway train. Still, it was not all lost time. Having nothing to do but to look and listen, to sit and see, I looked and listened, and sat and saw; and the parallel between the street police and the political police in urging onward the loads which would not be urged onwards, seemed to be remarkable enough to justify me in drawing my pen on the subject, as some of them drew their batons, or as others have been drawing, or threatening to draw, their pistols.

There were several waggons loaded with grain or with flour. From their bulk, they were conspicuous among the other vehicles. They had come down the street, and were warned in their progress by others loaded with straw crossing from the bridge, and halted at the crossing. One or two butcher's boys in light carts, whether in joke or in earnest I did not know, demanded that the policeman should turn the corn-loaded waggons back, and allow them, the said boys in the carts, to get past, they being charged with the safe and early delivery of joints of meat for that day's dinners, to those rich enough to have prime joints of meat sent home in light spring carts. But though these impetuous youths, with all the volubility of tongue, all the forwardness, most of the impudence, and some of the "chaff" and the "sling" peculiar to them, insisted that the police should make the corn-loaded waggons go backward to let them and others in light vehicles get on, no such counter movement could be effected. I do not know that the street police said, but they might have said, as one of the political police did—one not unknown in Fleet Street and elsewhere, for his services in clearing a passage for obstructed traffic, "that as well might the corn resolutions of the House of Commons move backwards, or be turned aside, and left in the siding, as to think that those ponderous corn waggons, each with a tonnage of loading, should be backed up hill to let butcher's boys, and the light fry of vehicles go by."

I say, I do not know that the street police spoke thus; nor am I sure that the political policeman, to whom I allude, as celebrated for his services in clearing obstructed thoroughfares, used the comparison as it is given here; I rather think it is reversed from him: at all events, whether speaking of corn-loaded wagons in the streets, or corn-charged resolutions in Parliament, he said it was impossible that they could remove backwards, or even be set aside, to make room for butcher's boys, or the butchers themselves, who had come whip in hand at an impetuous pace into the street, getting into a fix by their impetuosity, and only stopped from running over some one (some of those poor Irishmen with heavy loads on their backs) by being stopped in their head-long career.

And speaking of Irishmen with loads on their backs, I am reminded that in the street-stoppage the humblest carrier of a load fares worst when he cannot get along. He has not

only to bear his burthen and make no progress, but very often, and particularly if an Irishman, and known to be one, he has to bear the "chaff" of the thoughtless, and even the back-handed cuts of the impetuous boys, who have whips in their hands, and who drive, or attempt to drive, others that they themselves may get along.

I cannot say that I observed any Irish gentleman with his cab and his tiger, though gentlemen with cabs and tigers were there, who at a moment when there was some hope of an early extrication, drove into the confusion, to the locking up of himself and the hindrance of all who were about to move; and yet there were cases not unlike this, of vehicles being driven in which might have been kept out for no purpose apparently but the strange satisfaction of being locked up, to the great annoyance of those seriously active in clearing the thoroughfare, and to the pleasure of their own drivers—if pleasure it could be—of being in the midst of confusion, delay, angry words, and personal accusations.

Of which there were enough to serve all the streets of London, including Billingsgate-market, for as long a time as the length of a session of Parliament.

Some brewers' drays, loaded with beer, had stopped the countrymen loaded with straw; or, which amounted to the same thing, the men of straw would not move, because they said—and swore it as they said it—that the brewers stood in their way, and that they had done nothing to be called on to make way for the heavy waggons of the millers and the corn merchants, which were coming down Fleet-street, and were blocked there.

The police took hold of the reins and led horses, drivers, and vehicles where they found an opening, whether the drivers assented to it or not. They did so even against the loud protests of such drivers, that they were not to be led in that way by the "Peelers" (a phrase more commonly applied to the police in London than any other), yet allowing themselves to be led notwithstanding.

Then one driver shouted to another, that the lockage and confusion had been all that other driver's fault; and that other retorted the accusation; and cabmen shook their whips at one another, and gave significant hints of what each would do to each, if they had not happened to be where they were. And the drivers of such light vehicles as those we see in every street, with soda water and ginger beer, interfered with the stormy cabmen to quiet them, but made the confusion greater by adding new elements of discord. The tradesmen of the streets had their business suspended; customers could not approach the shops; or if they were in, they could not move out; and passengers who could move on some parts of the pavement were obstructed at others, and could not proceed on such business as they had intended to proceed upon. The very dogs of the street seemed to join in, and add to the noise and confusion by their barking; and to the great hindrance and annoyance of those actively engaged in effecting a clearance, men, snarling more snappishly than the dogs, barked at and found fault with everything and every body that was engaged doing something useful. Were it not a daring flight of imagination almost equal to that of the author of the "Revolutionary Epic," one might have thought that some snarling dogs had been bitten by some other dog labouring under Peelphobia—that sad looking dog for instance, which was unmuzzled at Shrewsbury in 1841, and became Peelphobious two years after, and bit the hand that he begged a bone from.

But a riddance was made at last, and the lighter carriages were obliged to give way to the heavier, and the heavier moved on and got out of the way; and we at last reached the railway station too late for the train.

But as there were other trains, and other means of getting into the green meadows of Hertfordshire, I ultimately got there; and if there should be nothing better next week to fill these columns, I may contribute to two or three of them such posies of cowslips and daisies, and buttercups, as I have found in the fields, with such other field and farm-yard affairs as possess any interest for readers engaged in the emancipation and advancement of English agriculture.

ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH.

THE PIN TRADE.—There is much talk amongst scientific persons, and those to whom the welfare of our own manufacture is of interest, respecting the improvements recently made in pin making; improvements which have already caused preparations for closing many large works on the Continent. The machinery by which the new pin is made, to which Mr. Kirby, of Newgate-street, the holder of patent, has given the name of "Regina," is of the most extraordinary character. Strings of wire enter it upon the one side by thousands, and almost immediately appear at the other, as pins in the most perfect form, literally headed and pointed to a degree of perfection, defying microscopic power to detect a fault in shape and finish. The sticking of the pins into paper is likewise completed by the same machinery in as incredibly regular and rapid order; and it is a curious fact, and not the least gratifying, that, although the latter operation is accomplished by this invention, the great demand caused by the enormous reduction of the price of the pins necessarily calls together three times the number of female assistants for their "preparation" and "making up," and at more remunerative wages than by the old system.—*Globe*.

THE FALKIRK BURGHS.—The constituency of these burghs, which have now to elect a member in the room of their late representative, Mr. Baird, of Gartsherrie, amounts to 1408, distributed as follows:—Falkirk, 440; Airdrie, 302; Hamilton, 313; Lanark, 251; Linlithgow, 100. The nomination takes place at Falkirk. In July, 1841, when Mr. Baird was elected, the number of electors was 1303, of whom no more than 912 recorded their suffrages. The numbers at the close of the poll were—for Mr. Baird, 482; for Mr. Gillon, of Walhouse, 430; majority in favour of Mr. Baird, 52.—*Scotch Paper*.

AGRICULTURE.

AGRICULTURAL WILL-O'-THE-WISP.

A MONOPOLIST CROAK FROM THE FENS.

One of the last, perhaps the very last, petitions which will ever be made in favour of that flitting and mischievous illusion, "protection," has lately exhaled from the fens. At a meeting of the corporation of the Bedford Level, held at Ely, when the Duke of Bedford was in the chair, and the Earl of Hardwicke, and his brother, Mr. Yorke, one of the members for Cambridgeshire, were present, after the business was over, which, the report tells us, "occupied a very short time"—(how true it is idleness leads to mischief!)—a Mr. Layton got up and proposed a petition by the corporation "not to alter or repeal the present Corn Laws." The Earl of Hardwicke disclaimed all previous knowledge of the petition; but not so his brother, Mr. Yorke, for whose benefit the scene was obviously got up. Our readers will recollect that some time in last autumn Lord Hardwicke gave utterance to sentiments on rural affairs which the local monopolists thought betrayed an intention to leave monopoly in the lurch; and his brother, Mr. Yorke, was so enigmatical and pragmatical upon the subject of the Corn Laws, that his constituents—monopolist and anti-monopolist—combined to exhibit their supreme contempt for him, and to testify their just appreciation of his doubtful dodges and shallow artifices. Now there can be no question, that at the period we refer to, both Lord Hardwicke and his cadet, Mr. Yorke, had prepared, or were preparing, to cast their lot with Sir Robert Peel, and to cut themselves adrift from monopoly—that foundering hulk. But suddenly the lord and his shadow took a short turn, returned to their vomit, swallowed all their semi-Free Trade words, and the one resigned his court lackeyship, and the other stuck to his county seat. Whether the Premier refused some monstrous demand on the part of the lord—for his lordship is a very likely man to rate his own importance in a proportion inverse to that at which it would be rated by others—or whether the snug family seat in the pocket county was deemed too valuable to be lost—we cannot say. But whatever be the cause, both lord and brother have now re-appeared as flaming monopolists. The petition, suddenly presented, pistol-like, to the Level corporation, was a means intended to induce the farmers, squires, and squireens of Cambridgeshire not to turn out Mr. Yorke at the next election. Will the dodge succeed?

However, as the last of a species soon to become extinct, it may not be uninteresting to our readers to have a few passages of the petition, and the speeches by which it was supported, presented to their notice. Like the unrolling of a mummy, it is, however, a somewhat nauseous task; and its disgusting character is not redeemed by its usefulness—for these monopolist fallacies will soon die of sheer exhaustion. Like rushes on land which has been drained, though they seem to live unharmed for a brief season, nothing can long maintain their noxious vitality. As a relic of a former world of thought, or rather no-thought, this last croak of monopoly is not the least curious. It retains to the last the distinctive characteristics of its kind. It is literally a bundle of fallacies; its conclusions seem naturally not to follow from its premises. In a word, it is a monopolist plea for monopoly. What more can be said?

The petition begins by stating that the corporation was founded in the reign of Charles the Second, to drain the fens:

"That owing, as your petitioners believe, to the low prices of agricultural produce in this kingdom, and other discouraging circumstances, the embankment and drainage of the Level made slow and unsatisfactory progress for the first century and a half, after the establishment of the corporation, but that within the last fifty years many millions of capital have been expended in the improvement of the drainage of the Level, by which very extensive tracts of land have been brought into cultivation, and the Level is becoming one of the most fertile provinces in the kingdom; yielding annually, as your petitioners believe, much greater quantities of wheat than are produced from any lands of similar extent in her Majesty's dominions."

So far so good. But do the monopolists of the fens suppose all the rest of the inhabitants of the kingdom to be as slow-witted as the dwellers in their Bosotia—so little read in the history of the county as to take the following as a logical sequence?

"That your petitioners believe that the present prosperous state of the Bedford Level is mainly to be attributed to the encouragement given to agriculture by the restrictive duties imposed on the importation of foreign corn, and that the improvements that have been effected in the drainage of the Level and the cultivation of the land would not have taken place if the prices of agricultural produce had not been fairly remunerative."

That monopoly has not encouraged agriculture is now admitted even by the monopolists. Besides, why, in spite of the great natural fertility of the fens, is their cultivation so generally inferior? They have been reclaimed, it is true; but we ask any farmer, who is a farmer, whether they are more than half cultivated? Of Peel's measures the petition says, that

"If carried into a law they will be attended with most disastrous consequences to the landed interests of this country, as well as to all classes of the community dependent upon them, and more especially to the small farmer and the labourer."

So said the older fenmen of the period of marsh and morass; and their resistance for a time was a great impediment to the reclamation of the fens; and the petition concludes with this bouncing *non sequitur*:

"That the protection afforded by the Corn Laws against the importation of foreign grain, while it has been beneficial to the agriculturist, has been instrumental to the welfare of all other classes of society, since, during the existence of those laws, large masses of capital have been created by those engaged in manufacturing and commercial pursuits; our foreign and home trades have been placed in a state of unexampled prosperity; and this nation has risen to a degree of wealth and splendour unparalleled amongst the various States in the habitable globe."

But our manufactures and commerce have flourished, so far as they have flourished, in spite of the Corn Laws. Indeed, as the system of restriction of which the Corn Laws form the key stone has been weakened, national prosperity—agricultural as well as trading—has tended to increase. Mr. Layton and Mr. Ball, the mover and seconder, seem to have contented themselves with the simple assertion, that the reasons Sir Robert Peel has given for his measure—which nine-tenths of the community deem unanswerable, and which certainly have not been answered—according to the fen lights, should have induced him to give "greater protection." Who shall estimate fenman logic? Mr. Ball said:

"What so proper as to appeal to the House of Peers, and ask that body if the opinions and arguments of the last thirty years were all to be abandoned in one moment, because a power was rising up not recognised by the laws, threatening to sweep away the rights of the British community, and abolish all that it had long been thought necessary to preserve?"

Fancy the rights of the British community being swept away with the Corn Laws! We always supposed those rights to have had root in deeper and more wholesome soil. But so it is with the monopolists; they ever try to hitch their rotten cause on to something else—just as an auctioneer lots an article nobody cares for, with some useful ones—and hope to carry on their rottenness under cover of that to which they have appended it. But that won't do now—the trick is found out. Lord Hardwicke, however, out-spoke the other fen monopolists, for he thus argued the case of monopoly on local grounds:

"There was no part of the British dominions, which, from its position, had more right to express a strong opinion on this question than the Bedford Level, inasmuch as there was no part of the country in a position resembling it. The manufacturers said that they existed by means of art and science. Now he (Lord Hardwicke) replied that they could use the same language in the Bedford Level, for there they existed by the very means of which the manufacturers made a boast. They existed there by art and industry; that great country had been brought into its present high state of cultivation, by the art and science, and industry of man (hear, hear). It was drained by the steam engine; that great mark of the progress of human knowledge had been seized upon, not only by the manufacturers of cotton, but also by the manufacturers of wheat. Therefore they stood in the same position with the manufacturers of the north in that respect, inasmuch as their prosperity was founded upon art and science."

If they stand in the same position as the manufacturers, why is it they do not repudiate monopoly as the manufacturers do? And read this, oh people of England, as a specimen of hereditary wisdom and aristocratic information:

"That was the ground which he took as a supporter of the principle of protection. And he was satisfied, upon looking carefully at this question, that the manufacturer of Manchester, before many years of his existence had passed, would be the man to come to Parliament to ask for protection for the produce of his mills. Let the Corn Laws be once repealed, and before long the progress of science in other counties, and the advantages we gave them for the purpose of rendering the British agriculturist powerless in raising food, would cause the mill-owner of Manchester to supplicate Parliament for protection to industry, and skill,

and capital. Facts would soon come forth to show that a great pressure upon the cotton manufacturing interest, caused probably in some measure by sending out steam-engines to facilitate the manufacture of cotton at the very place where the raw material is grown, had been to the manufacturers a fearful notice of the risk they must run by competing unprotected with the advancing science of other countries. The cheap loaf was a sort of last hope to them, they thought if they could get a cheap loaf even for a time, they might so reduce the wages of labour as to hold up a little longer against the competition they had brought upon themselves."

That is not to be surpassed. There were, however, a few rational men present, one of whom, Mr. Gay, in opposing the petition, said:

"If it were certain that agriculturists had gained by the Corn Laws, then the owners of land had a right to call upon the legislature not to repeal those laws. But were they not begging the question? Had not agriculturists reaped the benefit from circumstances independent of the Corn Laws? True, the land did bear peculiar burdens; but it was rather their duty to get those burdens removed, than to insist upon protection, in opposition to the interests of those who were not directly connected with the land. If the Corn Laws had produced benefit to the agricultural interest, to what extent had other interests been damaged? If it had raised the price of corn, although the farmers had put more money into their pockets, they had extracted it from the pockets of others. No doubt the owners and occupiers of land must fear any change in the present system, for they had embarked their capital in the purchase and cultivation of land, and were naturally fearful lest any alteration should damage them. He once thought protection was necessary, but like the 120 spoken of, he had changed his mind, and was inclined to think that farmers had not reaped any benefit from the Corn Laws."

And this is the view of sensible men who were once protectionists. But we have before stated what was the real object of the petition.

WHAT DO THE FARMERS SAY?

Perhaps there is no class of tradesmen who suffer more from the prolonged opposition of the monopolists to Sir Robert Peel's Corn Bill than the farmers; and they and their real organs hesitate not to speak of the obstruction and the obstructives in terms of strong disapproval. Now, the eventual success of Free Trade measures is no longer doubtful; and though a temporary delay may serve the purpose of politicians who fight their party fight by means of jockey lords, and men of that sort, it can do nothing but harm to those who live by their industry rather than their wits, and especially to the farmers. Let us hear what the *Mark Lane Express*, the only cool-headed upholder of monopoly amongst the professed "farmers' friends'" organs, says on the subject. Indeed, so absurd are the speculations of most of the "farmers' friends'" newspapers which advocate monopoly, that we doubt whether they ever heard a real live farmer speak, except in the presence or under the dictation of the landlord. They appear to have about as deep an insight into rural affairs as those who would take their notions of the British peasantry from the labourer and peasant, as represented on the London stage, have of the condition of the agricultural working classes. Let the farmers judge whether the following passages from the *Mark Lane Express* do not convey a far more accurate idea of the actual state of affairs than the bombastic twaddle of landlord-inspired organs:

"Whatever view parties may take of the commercial scheme proposed by Sir Robert Peel, none will be disposed to dispute the evil consequences arising from the delay now taking place in the progress of the measure to an issue, be that issue what it may. Trade and commerce are now experiencing a taste of the paralysing effect under which agriculture has suffered since the advent of Sir Robert Peel to office in 1841. So soon as the plan of the Premier for altering the Corn and Provision Laws was propounded to the Legislature and the country, at the beginning of the session of 1842, no one who was not wilfully blind or lamentably obtuse could doubt the ultimate result of such measures. It was the beginning of a system, the complete establishment of which at no distant period was as certain as the relation of cause and effect. We feel convinced that, if the opinions of all the intelligent farmers in the United Kingdom could be ascertained, there is not a tithe of them but would admit that, when the question of outlay, dependent upon time for return, occurred in the course of his business, a doubt would intrude itself on his mind of the permanency of the new state of things; in fact, that he perceived that the concession made to Free Trade principles was but an earnest of a yielding up of the whole. There can be no question that, during the last three years, considerable expenditure has been made upon improvements in the soil; but if these could be minutely analyzed, we believe they would be found to be principally made by the owners of the soil, who foresaw the necessity of preparing themselves for a change of circumstances."

The farmers, he says, show no disposition to take an active part against Free Trade, but remain in a state of quiescence; and, in truth, it has ever been so, except when they have been goaded or cajoled into temporary activity by the landowners. The landlords know, however, that the cry of "wolf" has been made too often, and that it would not make any impression now. The writer then speculates on the progress of the measure now before Parliament, and gives it as his deliberate opinion that the House of Lords will pass it:

"It seems to us that the delay which is now taking place, and which retards the bill in its progress to the

Upper House, is a circumstance rather calculated to increase the chances of its being passed by the Lords. We incline to the opinion that the longer time the members of the Upper House have to consider the measure, provided no change takes place in the Commons, and no active resistance is made by the landed interest, both land lord and tenant, the more probable it is that the number of the supporters of the Ministerial measure will increase. We know that the 'farmers' friend' journals assume to repudiate this view, and foster false hopes as much as they can, encouraging the farmer to believe that the Government scheme will be rejected by the House of Lords."

But this, like most of the statements of the "farmers' friends," will probably prove a delusion. The writer then cites, as evidences in support of his view, some passages from the *Bankers' Circular*, a thorough-going monopolist print, which are to this effect:

"We have been credibly informed that every resident Hertfordshire nobleman, except one, is prepared to support the Minister's Free Trade measures in the House of Lords; and a curious exhibition they will make of their sense and consistency when they have done so. Some time about Christmas the Hertfordshire noblemen and gentry assembled in county meetings to put down Mr. Cobden and his confederates, so far as their interference with the electoral franchise is concerned; and we inserted a resolution, moved by Lord Dacre, setting forth their intention. This interference was nothing more than a means to an end; and a means too, however unjustifiable and unconstitutional it may be, which noblemen of both parties had frequently before resorted to for the same purpose—viz., the acquisition of political power. Cobden was but following their example; and when he found, by such meetings as the Hertfordshire, that his proceedings had alarmed the aristocracy, there was no measure to his expression of delight that he had touched a spring that had produced such an effect; which, he said, would only stimulate him to further similar exertions till he had accomplished his object. The Minister, however, suddenly proposes to grant him all he asks."

And afterwards the wailing monopolist (the *Circular*) adds:

"This, if rumour speaks truth, is the exhibition of Hertfordshire valour, consistency, and judgment, in the persons of her noblemen."

Now we are not disposed to fight the battle of the Hertfordshire landocracy; but we must say that though, as a class, they may be violent, puerile, ignorant, and selfish, they do not materially differ from the landocracy of other counties. And the inference drawn by the *Mark Lane Express* is inevitable. He says:

"Four months" have, it seems, produced a wonderful effect on the Hertfordshire members of the Upper House. Is there any reason to suppose that the 'conversion' is confined to Hertfordshire? Is it not fair reasoning to presume that the like 'change of opinion' may have taken place in noblemen residing in other counties? and who can tell how far the 'contagion' may have spread?"

There may not be many of the landowners who have the moral firmness to avow the error of the opinion they had taken up without examination, and acted on through life, as Lord Essex lately did; yet there are many who will quietly make the same "short turn," which has been made by the "brains of the aristocracy," if, as the lawyers say, "any such there be."

THE BRITISH LION TO THE LORDS.

A correspondent of the *Mark Lane Express*, who signs himself "An Essex Tenant," sends a memorial to the House of Lords as a specimen of the way in which the "British lion" should address the lion's protector, the House of Lords. A passage will put our readers in possession of the force and eloquence of the "lion" language. The memorial or petition, after stating that the country does not demand Free Trade; that the agricultural interest is intensely anxious to oppose Sir Robert Peel's measure; that the farmers are not acquiescent; and sundry other assertions, for which his lionship has obviously drawn upon his imagination; thus powerfully proceeds:

"There is hardly one in a thousand who does not anticipate the sanction of your lordships to that measure *but with horror*; and my lords, were low prices for agricultural produce now prevalent, England at the present moment would be as *distracted as ill-used Ireland*; every element of disorganisation and discontent is only repressed by the present state of the averages. Let the Premier's Bill but pass your lordship's house, and the present averages fall but 10 or 20 per cent., and *anarchy and discontent would evoke the same foul spirits of mischief and of evil which always attend, and are ready to do their bidding; and having marshalled the victims of Free Trade and injustice into one united and compact phalanx*, tremble, my lords, to anticipate the direction that mass of discontent and poverty might pursue. Hitherto, my lords, the attachment of the landed interest to the church and to the throne has been proverbial. Will not the pauperisation of that interest diminish the ability to maintain the expenses of the one, and the interests of body and soul *clash fearfully in upholding the other*? My lords, agitation receives the laurel of victory; and discharged now by the party in whose service she has been so successful, she will give her services to the party she has plundered; and those two great interests, which united might defy the jealousy of a world, will feel towards each other a malignant hatred, a flame so intense and scorching that will blast every kindly feeling towards each other; the usual consequences of internal distraction and social disruption will exhibit to the world a national picture, over which angels might weep—a scene at which the patriot will tremble; and there will follow consequences from which the agricultural interest imposes its deliverance at your hands. *Within your lordships' house there is many a noble brow that wears its coronet bejewelled*

by untarnished honour and consistency. Thank heaven, there is many a heart guiltless of perfidy and wrong, strong for the coming contest for our country's safety; and your reward, my lords, either in triumph or defeat, shall be a nation's gratitude, and the yet more glorious approval of your own unbiassed consciences. Under the fostering care of your lordship's house, England has triumphed over foreign foes, and trampled on the flag of every enemy; in the nineteenth century of our country's greatness the mighty junction is to be solved. Will your honourable house, supported as it is by all that is great and powerful, succumb to that foul confederacy whose avowed object is to humble, nay, to tread the hereditary peerage in the dust? May heaven avert so terrible a catastrophe!"

Oh, British lion, British lion, how can you utter such burning words? How can you say such fierce things of the betrayed "agricultural interest?" represented as that interest, when advocating monopoly, is, by political lords, mortgaged squires, roaring land-agents, and the most subservient class of yearly tenants whose capital is absorbed by the protective system into the landlord's pocket. After reading this effusion, we rubbed our eyes to see whether we had not misread the signature as "An Essex Tenant" instead of an "Essex Calf," for certain it is that the beatings of the poor animal leads to the suspicion, that in this case the skin only is that of the lion, and that the creature covered by it is of a less ferocious and less generous class.

AGRICULTURAL COMMON SENSE.

When the history of the decline and fall of the corn monopoly comes to be written, the *Harleston Farmers' Club* will deserve honourable mention as amongst the earliest agriculturists who repudiated protection and the claim to live upon profits derived from artificial scarcity. The following brief account of the last meeting of the Club, which we extract from a local journal, shows that the Club is still keeping the lead of the majority of Farmers' Clubs in England:

"HARLESTON FARMERS' CLUB—Fifth Meeting for 1846, April 8th.—Subject: 'The Cost and Value of Protection to the Farmer; the Statistics of the Question rather than the Principle.' Previous to the discussion it was decided, at the unanimous wish of the members present, that the terms of the question should be altered. It was considered that any arguments founded on a comparison of protected with Free Trade prices of corn would probably be deceptive, because it is not accurately known what portion of the former have been owing to the law, or what share of any depreciation in the latter may be due to its repeal. The principles of Free Trade in general, and of Free Trade in corn in particular, with the past effects of protection on agriculture, and particularly on the tenant farmers, and the probable future effects of Free Trade on these interests, were therefore discussed, instead of the cost and value of protection statistically considered. After an interesting and protracted debate, it was unanimously decided—That a Free Trade in corn will benefit the nation without injuring the agricultural interest, provided those requests of the farmers for the repeal of the malt-tax, for an improved tenure embracing more liberal covenants, and the other just claims on the legislature and the landowners which this club has always advocated, be at the same time conceded. The club desires also to express its opinion, that the proposed Government measure *errs in not making Free Trade total and immediate, believing that the delay of three years will act injuriously in deferring the settlement of these necessary arrangements.*"

LEASES IN THE OLDEN TIME.

The following curious extract from an old book has been sent to us by a correspondent, and bearing, as it does, upon the vital question of leases, now so much agitated amongst farmers, will be interesting to our agricultural readers:

"AGRICULTURE LEASES, 1688.—The right honourable Henry Lord Delamer and Earl of Warrington's advice to his children." His lordship was born 1651; lived in the reigns of kings—Charles I. and II., James II., William and Mary, in which latter he was made Earl of Warrington and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"To my dear Sons.

"In the management of your estate" (Delamer Forest, Cheshire), "take these directions along with you. In the letting of your demesns or other farms, it being supposed you will get the best rent you can, it seems advisable to let them for *twenty-one years*; and as often as you can take a fine of about a year's value, and then the yearly rent to abate proportionably to what the fine and interest of it will amount to at the end of the term. For as by this you can be no looser if your rent be duly paid, so it is the most probable way to have it well paid, in regard that if your tenant be behind with his rent, if it be not above a year, this fine will set you right. In the next place, the payment of the fine is a strong argument of the ability of your farmer; and besides, a rent that is less than the full worth of the farm is better paid, than when it is at the utmost value. And farthermore, by paying of a lesser rent, farmers are encouraged to make improvements, whereby your rent is not only better secured, but also at the expiration of their lease the farm is better for it.

"In the next place, tie your farmers to repairs, for they will do that for sixpence, which they will set down to you at eighteen-pence.

"And because plowing is the destruction of most farms, bind out your farmer from ploughing either meadow or any other ground that is not proper to be broke up. In the next place, let at least one half of the rest of the ground be improved only in pasture. Then oblige him to muck or manure at least a third part as much as he ploughs every year; and if he break up any ground that he has already mucked, then for the remainder of his term that he muck every year such ground as he has already broken up; and by this means"

(1688) "your farm will be as good a pennyworth at the end of the term as when he took it. Besides these general rules, I can prescribe you none, save to take good security for the performance of his covenants, and to appoint some person to see whether he fail in any of them.

"As for such part of your estate as is upon leases for lives or years, my opinion is, that if all of it were for leases of twenty-one years, it would be best for tenant and landlord. First, because it would put the tenants upon some sort of industry, which is too much neglected by such as have leases for lives. And secondly, because the landlord would be at a certainty, and accordingly he knew how to dispose his affairs. Therefore, if you renew such leases, as are upon years, let it be again for years; and if you lease any that fall out of lease, let them also be for twenty-one years.

"Then, as to renewing leases for lives, if one life is to be added to two yet remaining, take two years value to do it, unless one or both of the remaining lives be very aged or inferior, for then you may expect half, or a year's value more, as the case may fall out. If but one life remain, and two more are to be added to it, then take five years' value, unless extreme age and infirmity alter the case. For the changing of a life, take one year's value, unless the aforesaid objections lye in the way. But never change any life save where there are three lives in the lease, neither add one life when one only remains, unless upon an extraordinary consideration. Now, as to the value of a tenement, my intention is what it is worth when your old rent and services are deducted; for if those be not abated out of the value, you make your tenants pay for what they have not; and secondly, your treatment of them would be unequal; because some are much higher rented than others, and an equal hand gives great content to tenants.

"Tenants may well afford to give these rates, and grow rich by their landlord, because they are under the worth of what they would take of a stranger. And if the tenants will keep their leases full, landlords may afford to take these rates, though under the true value. And that you may as well feel the real advantage, as have the reputation of such an estate, as I hope by God's blessing to leave you."

"London: Printed for John Lawrence, at the Angel, and John Dunton, at the Raven, in the Poultry, 1694."

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

5, New-street, Covent Garden.

SIR,—Observing an article in your paper of last week, upon Indian corn, in which it is stated that "bread cannot be made of Indian meal alone: one third of meal to two-thirds of wheat flour is quite as much as the bread will bear," I take the liberty of sending you a specimen of bread made from Indian corn in the ratio of seven pounds of Indian meal to one pound of flour. I have also made bread entirely of Indian corn, although it has not given such general satisfaction as that made partly of English flour.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

THOMAS INGLIS.

[We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the two small loaves referred to above, and to assure our readers that we found them equal to the best wheat bread we ever ate.—ED. LEAGUE.]

THE CORN LAWS.

No crescat populus, scribit Malthusius ardens;
Ut quoque decrescat Lex Cerealis adest.

Pœna olim capitis populum decrescere fecit;
Nunc ceteri laud aliter Lex Cerealis idem.

Trinity College, Cambridge. C. DE LA PRYME.

Which may perhaps be thus rendered:

Malthusians write with earnest pen—
"Don't multiply, ye sons of men!"
Th' obedient Corn Law waves her mace,
And checks the propagating race.

Once on a time this swarming world
Was thinn'd by gibbet, sword, and flame;
But now the Corn Law, flag-unfurld,
Goes forth and perpetrates the same.

(P. D.)

THE NEW TARIFF.—The Commissioners of the Customs Department have issued instructions to the collectors and controllers of the revenue at the several ports and places throughout the United Kingdom, to prepare and transmit to the Inspector-General of Imports and Exports, with the least possible delay, the undermentioned accounts, so far as the same relate to their respective ports, viz.:—A return of the quantity of each description of goods ordered for consumption, free of duty, or upon payment of a decreased rate of duty, in pursuance of the resolutions of the House of Commons, and in accordance with their orders to those officers in March last, to carry such resolutions into immediate effect, distinguishing those cases in which bonds have been required from the importers to pay the duties heretofore chargeable, in the event of the repeal or reduction of duty not receiving the sanction of Parliament. It will be recollected that the first resolution of the house, and the Treasury order consequent upon the same, had reference to the admission of maize, or Indian corn, meal, buck-wheat, and rice, at new and reduced rates of duty, on a form of bond, adapted and framed for the purpose, binding parties to pay the former rate of duty, or difference of duty on the articles so delivered, in the event of the resolution not passing into a law, and which appeared in full in our columns at the time; and the second comprised the general revision and alterations of the tariff, admitting numerous articles of foreign produce and manufacture, free of duty, and a large number of others at reduced rates of duty, upon the terms or conditions of the parties availing themselves thereof, abiding the ultimate decision of Parliament in the matter. The return is to be made up to the 8th instant inclusive. Whether this return be required for Parliamentary purposes, or for the especial information of the Government, does not appear, as no mention is made in the requisition of the purpose for which the same is required.

It is with sincere regret that we announce the death of Mr. John Workman, of Belfast, which took place on Friday, the 3d of April. From the commencement of the League, Mr. Workman had been one of its most zealous, active, and consistent members.

REVIEW.

FALLACIES OF PROTECTION.—(*Sophismes Economiques, par F. Bastiat, &c.*) Paris: Guillaumin; London: Dulau. Second Notice.

M. Bastiat very justly observes that many exploded fallacies are abandoned by the advocates of protection in their words, and maintained in their actions. The most important of these is the fallacy of "the balance of trade," which lies at the basis of the pernicious mercantile system, which has been so long the bane of civilisation and the main impediment of human progress. According to this theory, a nation is in the course of being impoverished when the value of her imports exceeds that of her exports. If a principle be sound in itself, it must be valid in the widest extent to which it can be carried. Suppose, then, that the country exported everything, and imported nothing;—we should like to know who and what is to pay for the exports? The blunder is simply that the protectionists do not see that imports are the price paid for exports, and that a check upon imports must depreciate the returns for the goods exported. The theory of the balance of trade is just the reverse of truth; the excess of imports over exports is the precise measure of the profit that the nation makes by its system of exchange, just as the profits of a merchant are measured, not by the quantity of the goods he sells, but by the amount of what he receives in return.

If it be once acknowledged a sound principle of legislation that the State should artificially encourage producers without any regard to the interests of consumers, there is no assignable absurdity which may not be deduced from such a thesis. M. Bastiat best exposes the fallacy in the following clever parody of protectionist petitions:

To the Right Honourable and Honourable the Members of the Legislature, the petition of the Manufacturers of Candles, Tapers, Lamps, Chandeliers, Candelsticks, &c., and the producers of Tallow, Oil, Resin, Alcohol, and all other matters employed in giving light.

Humbly Sheweth,

That your Right Honourable and Honourable protectionists are in the right road. You reject abstract theories; abundance and cheapness have no charms for you. The fortunes of the producer are your only care. You wish to save him from foreign competition; in a word, you wish to reserve the national markets for national industry.

We are about to offer you an admirable opportunity of applying your—what shall we call it?—your theory? No, nothing is more deceptive than theory. Your doctrine? your system? your principle?—But you love not doctrines; you have a horror of systems; and, with respect to principles, you deny the very existence of one in social economy;—let us, then, call it *your practice*—your practice, without theory or principle.

We endure the horrible competition of a foreign rival, placed, as it appears, in conditions so superior to ours for the production of light, that he inundates our national markets at an extravagantly low price: for so soon as he appears, our sale is at an end—all the consumers apply to him, and a branch of French industry, having innumerable ramifications is at once struck with the most complete stagnation. This rival, which is no other than the Sun, wages such desperate war against our interests, that we suspect him to be instigated by perfidious Albion, inasmuch as he withholds from that haughty island much of that radiance with which he overwhelms our ill-used France.

We pray you, therefore, to pass a law commanding the closing of all windows, skylights, ventilators, fanlights, curtains, shutters, blinds, doors, and, in a word, the shutting up of all openings, apertures, and holes, by which the light of the sun is allowed to enter into houses, to the prejudice of the thriving branches of industry with which we flatter ourselves that we have enriched the country, as it would be ungrateful for the country to expose us to such unequal rivalry and competition.

We pray, noble lords and gentlemen, that you will not mistake our petition for a joke, and that you will not reject it without at least listening to the reasons which we can adduce in its support.

In the first place, if you close the ports against the free admission of natural light, and thus create a demand for artificial light, what branch of industry is there in France which will not gradually feel the benefits of the protection?

If more tallow be consumed, more sheep and oxen will be required; artificial meadows will, in consequence, be multiplied—meat, wool, hides, and especially manure, that basis of all agricultural prosperity.

If more oil be consumed, the cultivation of the olive, and similar trees, will be indefinitely increased. These rich and exhausting plants will enable us to profit by the increased fertility which the multiplication of cattle will give to the land. Our moors and wastes will be covered with the resinous trees. Countless swarms of bees will collect honied treasures on your mountains from those flowers which now

"Are born to blush unseen,
And waste their sweetness on the desert air."

You will realise everywhere the poet's description of an Irish Eden—

"The bees performing the air with music,
All for to adorn sweet Castle Hyde."

In short, every branch of agriculture will receive incalculable extension.

It will be the same with navigation: myriads of ships will sail to the whale fisheries, and in a short time we shall have a marine capable of sustaining the honour of France, and responding to the patriotic susceptibilities of the undersigned petitioners, candle-makers, &c.

But what shall we say under the head of Paris? See the gilding, the bronze, the crystals in chandeliers, in lamps, in lustres, in candelabra, which will shine in spacious ma-

gazines, compared with which the show-rooms of the present day are no better than cobblers' bulks.

There is no class in society, even if we go to the gatherer of resin on the top of his sand hill, or the sad miner at the bottom of his pit, whose wages and comforts will not be increased by conceding our prayer.

Reflect upon this, noble lords and gentlemen, and you will be convinced, that there is not a single Frenchman, from the wealthy banker of Auzin down to the humble vendor of matches, whose condition will not be ameliorated by your granting our humble petition.

We foresee your objections, noble lords and gentlemen, but there is not one of them which you will not be compelled to take from the books of the advocates of commercial freedom. We venture to defy you to utter a word against our claims which does not instantly turn against yourselves, and the principles by which your policy is directed.

Will you tell us, that if we gain by this protection, France will be no gainer, because the consumer must defray the expense?

We will answer you:

You have no longer a right to invoke the interests of the consumer. Whenever he has come into competition with the producer, you have sacrificed him without any regard to circumstances. You have done so to encourage industry, to enlarge the field of employment. For the same reason you should do so now.

You have yourselves anticipated the objection. When you were told "the consumer is interested in the free import of iron, coal, sésame, cheese, yams, and wets"—"Yes," you replied, "but the producers are interested in their exclusion." Well, then, if consumers are interested in the free admission of natural light, the producers of artificial light are interested in its exclusion.

But you will say, the producer and the consumer are the same. If the manufacturer gains, the farmer will gain likewise. If agriculture prospers, it will create a demand for the shopkeepers. Well, then, if you confer upon us the monopoly of lighting France during the day, we will buy more tallow, charcoal, oil, resin, wax, gold, silver, bronze, crystal, glass, to support our industry; and furthermore, we, and those from whom we derive our supplies, as we become enriched by our gains, will consume more, and will diffuse prosperity through all branches of national industry. Will you say that the light of the sun is a gratuitous gift, and that to refuse gratuitous gifts would be to reject wealth itself, under pretence of encouraging the means of its acquisition?

But take care that you do not destroy the very essence of your policy; hitherto you have always rejected foreign produce because cheapness brought it near to a gratuitous gift, and your prohibition became more stringent the nearer it approached a gratuitous gift. To obey the exigencies of other monopolists, you had only a half motive; to grant our demand, you have a complete motive; and to reject us on the precise foundation on which we are more firmly founded than all the others, would be to establish the equation

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that is, continued multiplication is equivalent to subtraction, or in other terms, to heap absurdity upon absurdity.

Nature and industry combine in different proportions, according to soil and climate, in the creation of a product. The part which nature takes is always gratuitous; it is the part taken by labour that fixes value and determines price.

If an orange of Lisbon sells for half the price of an orange grown at Paris, it is because a natural, and therefore gratuitous heat, effects for the one what the other owes to artificial and costly heat.

Hence when an orange comes to us from Portugal, it may be said that one half is given to us gratuitously, and the other half at a price; or in other terms, that, relatively to Paris, we get the orange at half-price.

Now it is precisely on this *semi-gratuitousness* (excuse the word) that you found your arguments of exclusion. You say, how can national industry sustain the competition of foreign industry when the former has to do every thing, and the latter has only to do half the work, the Sun taking charge of the rest? But if *semi-gratuitousness* determines you to oppose competition, why should *complete gratuitousness* induce you to admit competition? Either you are no logicians, or you ought, when you reject *semi-gratuitousness* as injurious to your national industry, *a fortiori*, and with double zeal, reject perfect gratuitousness.

Once more, when a product, coal, iron, cheese, or manufactured goods, comes from abroad, and we can acquire it with less labour than we could produce it ourselves, the difference is a gratuitous gift bestowed upon us. This gift is more or less considerable, according as the difference is greater or less. It is the fourth, the half, or three fourths of the value of the product, if the foreigners ask us but three fourths, one half, or one fourth of the price we should otherwise have to pay. It is as complete as it can be, when the giver, as is the case of the Sun with light, asks us for nothing in return. The question then is, and we state it formally, whether you desire for France the blessings of gratuitous consumption, or the advantages of expensive production? Choose, but be logical; for whilst you reject, as you do, coal, iron, cheese, and manufactured goods, in proportion as their price approaches zero, it is a monstrous incongruity to admit the light of the sun, the price of which is at zero all the day long.

Were a similar petition prepared in England, we doubt not that Lord Stanley would present it to the peers, vouching for the respectful tenor of its language, and the constitutional justness of its arguments:

"You laugh—'tis well—the tale applied
May make you laugh at t'other side."

Put corn for light, and Tamboff for the Sun, and you have the noble lord's memorable speech, only greatly improved in temper, and much strengthened in the cogency of its arguments. In fact, the light-taxers in England could quote the window-duties as a precedent, and they might also use the argument of independence of foreigners, whose caprice may induce them to withhold supplies by referring to the scurvy treatment we frequently receive from the Sun during the fogs of November. It is impossible to leave the case for protection more clearly stated; and here we shall pause for the present, but we shall return to M. Bastiat again, for every time that we consult his volume, it affords us fresh and equal pleasure and profit.

The True Grandeur of Nations: an Oration. By CHARLES SUMNER, Esq., Boston, Massachusetts. London, Smith.

This eloquent oration, advocating the principles of universal peace, and denouncing the barbarism of war, was delivered in the principal church of Boston, on the festival commemorating the anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence. It was no small proof of confidence in principle,—no slight exhibition of moral courage, to seize such an opportunity for denouncing those appeals to popular prejudices and vulgar passions, by which a party in the United States have endeavoured to force their country into hostile collision with Great Britain. He has, however, proved himself equal to the occasion; and we doubt whether any anniversary oration has ever been pronounced in Boston exhibiting so large a combination of brilliant eloquence with resistless argument.

As the work has been republished in England, at a cheap rate, and is likely to obtain a wide circulation, it is not necessary to give any formal analysis of its contents; we shall, therefore, only make a few extracts, which require neither introduction nor comment. The first we have to bring before our readers describes the *honourable* nature of peace:

"IN OUR AGE THERE CAN BE NO PEACE THAT IS NOT HONOURABLE; THERE CAN BE NO WAR THAT IS NOT DISHONOURABLE. The true honour of a nation is to be found only in deeds of justice and in the happiness of its people, all of which are inconsistent with war. In the clear eye of Christian judgment, vain are its victories; infamous are its spoils. He is the true benefactor and alone worthy of honour who brings comfort where before was wretchedness; who dries the tear of sorrow; who pours oil into the wounds of the unfortunate; who feeds the hungry and clothes the naked; who unlooses the fetters of the slave; who does justice; who enlightens the ignorant; who enlivens and exalts, by his virtuous genius, in art, in literature, in science, the hours of life; who, by words or actions, inspires a love for God and for man. This is the Christian hero; this is the man of honour in a Christian land. He is no benefactor, nor deserving of honour, whatever may be his worldly renown, whose life is passed in acts of force; who renounces the great law of Christian brotherhood; whose vocation is blood; who triumphs in battle over his fellow-men. Well may old Sir Thomas Brown exclaim, 'The world does not know its greatest men'; for thus far it has chiefly discerned the violent brood of battle, the armed men springing up from the dragon's teeth sown by Hate, and cared little for the truly good men, children of Love, 'Cromwells guiltless of their country's blood,' whose steps on earth have been as noiseless as an angel's wing."

The application to nations of the Rule of Right recognised in the case of individuals, is very ably put:

"Who has told you, fond man! to regard that as a glory when performed by a nation, which is condemned as a crime and a barbarism, when committed by an individual? In what vain conceit of wisdom and virtue do you find this incongruous morality? Where is it declared that God, who is no respecter of persons, is a respecter of multitudes? Whence do you draw these partial laws of a powerful and impartial God? Man is immortal; but States are mortal. He has a higher destiny than States. Shall States be less amenable to the great moral laws? Each individual is an atom of the mass. Must not the mass be like the individuals of which it is composed? Shall the mass do what individuals may not do? No. The same moral laws which govern individuals govern masses, as the same laws in nature prevail over large and small, controlling the fall of an apple and the orbits of the planets. It was the beautiful discovery of Newton, that gravity is a universal property of matter, a law obeyed by every particle in reference to every other particle, and connecting the celestial mechanism with terrestrial phenomena. So the Rule of Right, which binds the single individual, binds two or three when gathered together—binds conventions and congregations of men—binds villages, towns, and cities—binds states, nations, and empires—claps the whole human family in its sevenfold embrace; nay more:

'Beyond the flaming bounds of place and time,
The living throne, the sapphire blaze,'

it binds the angels of heaven, the seraphim, full of love, the cherubim, full of knowledge; above all, it binds, in self-imposed bonds, a just and omnipotent God. It is of this, and not of any earthly law, that Hooker speaks in that magnificent period which sounds like an anthem, 'Of law no less can be said, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world; all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, the greatest as not exempted from her power; both angels and men, and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy.'"

The distinctions between true and false patriotism are ably drawn:

"I do not inculcate an indifference to country. We incline by a natural sentiment to the spot where we were born, to the fields which witnessed the sports of childhood, to the seat of youthful studies, and to the institutions under which we have been trained. The finger of God writes in indelible colours all these things upon the heart of man, so that in the dread extremities of death, he reverts in fondness to early associations, and longs for a draught of cold water from the bucket in his father's well. This sentiment is independent of reflection, for it begins before reflection, grows with our growth, and strengthens with our strength. It is blind in its nature; and it is the duty of each of us to take care that it does not absorb the whole character. In the moral night which has enveloped the world, each nation, thus far, has lived ignorant and careless, to much extent, of the interests of others, which it imperfectly saw; but this thick darkness has now been scattered, and we begin to discern, all gilded by the beams of morning, the distant mountain-peaks of other lands. We find that God has not placed us on this earth alone; that there are other nations, equally with us, children of his protecting care.

"The curious spirit goes further, and while it recognises

an inborn sentiment of attachment to the place of birth, inquires into the nature of the allegiance which is due to the State. The old idea, still too much conceived, is, that man is made for the State, and not the State for man. Far otherwise is the truth. The State is an artificial body, intended for the security of the people. How constantly do we find, in human history, that the people have been sacrificed for the State; to build the Roman name, to secure to England the trident of the sea. This is to sacrifice the greater for the less; for the fleeting possessions of earth to barter the immortal soul. Let it be remembered that the State is not worth preserving at the cost of the lives and happiness of the people.

"It is not that I love country less, but humanity more, that now, on this national anniversary, I plead the cause of a higher and truer patriotism. Remember that you are men by a more sacred bond than you are citizens; that you are children of a common father more than you are Americans."

We shall conclude by extracting the noble peroration:

"Let it not be said that the age does not demand this work. The mighty conquerors of the past, from their fiery sepulchres demand it; the blood of millions unjustly shed in war crying from the ground demands it; the voices of all good men demand it; the conscience even of the soldier whispers 'Peace.' There are considerations, springing from our situation and condition, which fervently invite us to take the lead in this great work. To this should bend the patriotic ardour of the land; the ambition of the statesman; the efforts of the scholar; the persuasive influence of the press; the mild persuasion of the sanctuary; the early teachings of the school. Here, 'in ampler ether and diviner air,' are untrodden fields for exalted triumphs, more truly worthy the American name, than any snatched from rivers of blood. War is known as the *Last Reason of Kings*. Let it be no reason of our Republic. Let us renounce and throw off for ever the yoke of a tyranny more oppressive than any in the annals of the world. As those standing on the mountain-tops first discern the coming beams of morning, let us, from the vantage-ground of liberal institutions, first recognise the ascending sun of a new era! Lift high the gates, and let the King of Glory in—the King of true Glory—of Peace. I catch the last words of music from the lips of innocence and beauty:

'And let the whole earth be filled with his glory!'

"It is a beautiful picture in Grecian story, that there was at least one spot, the small Island of Delos, dedicated to the gods, and kept at all times sacred from war, where the citizens of hostile countries met and united in a common worship. So let us dedicate our broad country! The Temple of Honour shall be surrounded by the Temple of Concord, so that the former can be entered only through the portals of the latter; the horn of Abundance shall overflow at its gates; the angel of Religion shall be the guide over its steps of flashing adamant; while within, Justice returned to the earth from her long exile in the skies, shall rear her serene and majestic front. And the future chiefs of the Republic destined to uphold the glories of a new era, unspotted by human blood, shall be 'the first in Peace, and the first in the hearts of their countrymen.'

"But while we seek these blissful glories for ourselves, let us strive to extend them to other lands. Let the bugles sound the *Truce of God* to the whole world for ever. Let the selfish boast of the Spartan women become the grand chorus of mankind, that they have never seen the smoke of an enemy's camp. Let the iron belt of martial music which now encompasses the earth, be exchanged for the golden cestus of Peace, clothing all with celestial beauty. History dwells with fondness on the reverent homage that was bestowed, by massacring soldiers, on the spot occupied by the sepulchre of the Lord. Vain man! to restrain his regard to a few feet of sacred mould! The whole earth is the sepulchre of the Lord; nor can any righteous man profane any part thereof. Let us recognise this truth; and now, on this Sabbath of our country, lay a new stone in the grand Temple of Universal Peace, whose dome shall be as lofty as the firmament of heaven, as broad and comprehensive as the earth itself."

GOD'S LAWS VERSUS CORN LAWS.

A LETTER TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, FROM A DIGNITARY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.
(From *Tail's Magazine*.)

The title of this tract is not more remarkable than its contents, and the quarter whence it emanates. To find "a Dignitary of the English Church," one who proclaims himself, by inheritance and education, a Tory, denouncing the Corn Laws to his ecclesiastical superior, as directly opposed to the laws of God and the well-being of man, is a pregnant sign of the times, and we would fain hope an earnest of improvement.

The "Dignitary," a man of learning and piety, who deeply feels the responsibilities of his order, has, as appears from every paragraph of his letter, taken a comprehensive and philosophic view of the social and political history of the most remarkable nations of antiquity, and has also kept pace with the development of opinion in his own age. But he starts from a higher point than can be assumed in mere human reasoning; from the direct commission and trust of the Creator, as revealed and committed to our first parents, to "replenish and subdue the earth, and to have dominion over it." This commission, originally given to Adam, and never revoked, was renewed in the charge given to Noah; and it is broadly contended:

Under the terms of this commission, a right seems to be given to all men to partake of all the fruits of all the earth, provided they be willing to earn it with the sweat of the brow; and that no human legislation can interfere with this vested right of every individual, without violating God's law; and that all attempts, either direct or indirect, to limit this great end, can originate only in violence and tyranny—at least, not till the terms of the commission be thoroughly fulfilled, and the whole earth be subdued and replenished.

The letter sets out strenuously arguing that it is highly proper and decorous, nay, the bounden duty of the ministers of the church, and especially of the lords spiritual in their place in the Upper House of Parliament, to interfere in such questions as Corn Laws; and to use their utmost sagacity and wisdom in correcting what is amiss in legislation, and amending what is defective. The clergy and men of all ranks are roundly told:

Should, then, in a community leavened apparently by the great truths of the Gospel, and acknowledging Christ's ministrations as an important element in its constitution, certain principles prevail, and practices be grafted thereon, which tend to add to the wealth of the rich, and to diminish the narrow comforts

of the poor; it appears to me that the ministers of God, who, by their arguments, maintain, or by their silence connive at, such principles and practices, betray the cause of the poor, whom it is their essential duty to protect, and are in great danger of ceasing to be "the salt" of the social mass.

Believing, as I do, that the Corn Laws, which, for a generation of thirty years, have regulated both the price and quantity of food in Great Britain, have tended, and do still tend, to increase the wealth of the rich, and to diminish the comforts of the poor, it is my bounden duty to profess publicly this belief, and to attempt to relieve our poorer brethren from the pressure which these laws seem to inflict upon them.

Throwing a rapid glance along the current of sacred and profane history, from the beginning of the world until the appearance of our Saviour on earth; the doctrines and principles which he promulgated, and the enlightened and humane civil institutions which, though still very imperfect, have grown out of the Christian system, are ably and eloquently contrasted with the principles of policy which regulated even the most illustrious and highly civilised nations of antiquity.

Limited as is our space, and though this Letter contains much that is more apt for what we conceive its main object, —namely, forcing thought, if not absolutely carrying conviction, into high places,—we must quote one passage, which, among many others, must show the "protectionists" that the "Dignitary" is something different from those most useful labourers, in their own sphere, the Anti-Corn-Law orators, whether of the hustings or the platform. He reverts to the principles and labours of the early apostles and disciples, the first Christian missionaries, and thus strikingly presents the contrast:

The natural man, the selfish creature, as known to us from actual experience, and as we find him faithfully depicted in profane history, acts upon principles directly the reverse of these. He loves his own locality with an instinctive feeling. He was steadily against all attempts to enlarge the sphere of his local attachments. His home, be it ever so homely, is his paradise. Within that narrow limit, he cherishes these prejudices which have grown with his growth, and strengthened with his strength. He values all his petty privileges in proportion to their exclusive character, and resolutely resists any attempt to communicate them to others; and if he is a member of the more favoured class of the community, values his position, not according to his own real elevation in the scale of humanity, but according to a fictitious standard of his own invention, of which the favourite test is, the graduated depression of all placed below him.

On such selfish principles were constituted the world-famous constitutions of the ancient states of Greece: Sparta itself, that wonderful creation of the human intellect, presents us with a view of the most vigorous attempt ever made by man to fix within narrow limits energies which never can be permanently thus controlled, to cast all minds in one unvarying mould, and, as it were, to stereotype an everlasting imprint of social life. There were many points in this system which a disciple of Malthus would gladly reproduce. Sparta had an aristocracy as fixed in its dimensions as the everlasting hills which looked down upon her mean-looking capital. Into her sacred band no new blood could possibly be infused,—no merits, however great, or whatsoever might be their nature, could entitle a Spartan, not legitimately descended from members of the privileged class, to have his name registered among the blood nobility of Sparta. Her middle class was limited in number, and her laws positively forbade any increase of its constituent members. The first-born male of every Peloponnesian family was alone regarded as the representative of his class. His brothers, debarred from marriage, were compelled to serve labour on his territorial lot, without any hope of improving their position, except by the death of their brother without male offspring. The lower classes were represented by the Helots, slaves of the lowest description, without any social rights, without property, and whose numbers were kept down to suit the exigencies of the times by private assassination and public massacres. It has been supposed,—and the supposition is partly borne out by tradition,—that Lycurgus borrowed some of his institutions from Moses. The only conservative principle, in this exclusive state, was the exemplary self-denial of the aristocracy. Its members were contented to forego all the luxuries of life, and to restrict their wants, as far as the body was concerned, to a provision for sufficient protection against cold, hunger, and thirst; they were, literally speaking, contented "with food and raiment." A Spartan noble, for centuries, lived as plainly, if not more so, than the lowest Helot of the community. Such self-denial was not without its reward; for the power of the Spartan aristocracy flourished for a period of time, of which we have no similar example in the histories of ancient states. To secure power, the desire of which is the last infirmity of noble minds, they voluntarily resigned those sensual enjoyments which ignoble minds regard as most to be desired. Even the fall of Sparta had nothing abrupt or destructive in its results. She died of a gradual decline, without any dangerous convulsion, without any intestine war of brother against brother, or wholesale massacre of citizens by kindred hands. But Sparta fell "without a sign;" her greatness is really the "*magnum nominis umbra*" of the poet, recorded in books alone, and not leaving the impress of her mind upon the history of man. She stands alone,—her pedigree begins and ends with herself; she had no ancestors, and left no successors.

Athens was less exclusive in her institutions: her population consisted not of the pure Cæropian race alone, but was an amalgam of almost every tribe in Greece: repeated revolutions had fused most of her free inhabitants into a compact democracy, instinct with life, and boundless in ambitions; her movements were consequently less cramped, and her activity more decided than those of any other free state of ancient Greece. At a period almost antecedent to the regular history of the race, Athens had sent forth colonies, which in time swelled out into the fair proportions of the Hellenic states of Ionia; nor did she, to the latest period of her power, cease to act upon the same principles, and to send her surplus population to distant shores. But she could not transfer her affections to her transplanted children. Her care was limited by the boundaries of Attica and a few neighbouring islands. Thus to her colonies she was an unkind stepmother—to her acquired subjects a cruel and despotic mistress. She thought that the brute force at her command would enable her to defy the discontent of those dependents, to whom she denied equal rights and privileges; that, by the superiority of her fleets, she might safely domineer both over her colonies and conquests, and make them her slaves and tributaries. But she drew the reins too tightly; they snapped in her hands; the fleet of her dependents went over to the enemy. Her naval supremacy was thus overthrown; and she fell amidst the horrors of a home-war and civil bloodshed, with a suddenness in direct contrast with the slowness of her ascent. But she did not fall without a sign. The sons whom she had cherished in the days of home-life, left the impress of their minds on all succeeding ages; and she still lives in her orators, poets, historians, and philosophers, and in the remains of her marble wonders, whose ruins still breathe. After many a bloody struggle, not without glory, Athens gradually subsided into the peaceful teacher of her ruder conquerors, the favourite seat whence the ancient world derived its intellectual knowledge, and finally, the pride and glory of the unchristianized world.

The wisest of her sons amused themselves with constructing systems of policy, in which all the advantages resulting from social and political life were to be secured, and all the evils avoided. But as they knew not of the high mission of man, they could never raise their imaginations beyond the contemplation of a territory limited in quantity, and consequently of a body of citizens limited in number. The necessary operation of what we now call the Malthusian law was perfectly well known to them; and that the principle on which they acted would necessarily prove fatal to any prosperous community formed on the very narrow basis on which alone they professed to found their systems, were not some means taken to counteract this principle,

and to keep the number of citizens within the prescribed limit. It grieves me to write, that although both Plato and Aristotle hint at certain anterior measures which might palliate the evil, they teach openly, that the only effectual remedy against its ultimate certainty, was the destruction of superfluous infants, before they can appreciate the gift of life.

Still there was an authority even in their days which might have taught them a better lesson. That authority the majority of their countrymen regarded with something of the veneration with which we regard the Holy Scriptures. Old Homer, had they consulted him, would have told them of lands untilled by the hand, untrodden by the foot of man, which waited for nothing but man's labour to change them from a howling wilderness into smiling gardens, which would have furnished her with ample domains, ready to be occupied by that superfluous population which was the source of their difficulties, and against the evils supposed necessarily to result from which they knew of no better remedy than the destruction of their own children, the continuous removal of the genial spring from the course of the year.

But the high attitude which England is called upon to assume as a colonising country, possessed of means and resources, such as the world never before saw, for executing the commission originally given by the Creator to man, is less to our immediate purpose than the narrower but more pressing question of Free Trade. It is enough that the subject of colonisation is ably treated, though only on general principles, and illustrated by examples drawn from the history of the greatest conquerors and colonisers of the ancient world. One sentence from a brief and masterly sketch of the Norman Conquest we copy as an indication of the general spirit of the "Letter."—"It must be confessed that the period of the Norman domination is marked by events which, however pleasing they may appear in the eyes of a mediæval enthusiast, have no charms for the truly benevolent man, who wishes to improve the great body of his countrymen."

But setting out with better principles, and with nobler ends than ever yet animated conquerors, and possessing unrivalled means and advantages, which are proudly enumerated, the "Dignitary" exhorts his countrymen to fulfil the high destiny for which Providence seems to have selected this favoured land, and to become the beneficent agents in the great works of peopling and civilising the world. There is, however, one great but not insurmountable obstacle to the accomplishment of an object in which it would be glorious even to co-operate, namely, our restrictive commercial policy, and the condition to which it has reduced our industrial classes; our laws that are opposed to God's laws. This obstacle, which the reasonings and persuasions of this Letter must tend to remove, is thus treated:

As far as human reason can infer, as far as experience can lead us to conceive, there is but one visible obstacle to prevent us from fulfilling so glorious a duty; and this obstacle has been thrown across our path, not by any necessity imposed upon us by the physical laws of the universe, nor erected by the ingenuity of human enemies, but deliberately built up by our own suicidal hands. We, the favoured, the energetic, the patient, the hard-toiling inhabitants of this realm, so powerful for good, so abstemious from evil, able to produce to an unlimited extent all the other necessities of civilised life, and to part with them as a medium of exchange, cannot and do not produce a sufficiency of wholesome food for the healthy maintenance of our existing population.

The Legislature in an evil hour passed laws, which, however wisely intended, have eventually prevented us from supplying this deficiency in proportion to our wants. I need not recapitulate to your Grace the history of our Corn Laws; most probably, it is better known to you than it is to me. But your Grace must well remember the memorable year when they assumed their present form, and the instinctive hatred with which their enactment was regarded by those who have since that time been called "the masses." The Bill, against which, in its every stage, those poor people published their turbulent and riotous protests, passed into a law.

Its proposers and supporters affirmed that it was imposed upon them by necessity; and, to a certain extent, perhaps it was so. We were told that it was necessary in our transition state from almost a universal war to almost a universal peace; to save the landowners from certain ruin—to lighten the burden of the national debt—to enable us gradually to descend from the false position into which we had been inevitably brought by our isolated existence of so many years' continuance, and especially by the fearful debasement of our legal currency. It was more than hinted that were only time allowed, all might be rectified, and we might again safely and gracefully descend to the level of other nations.

With the truth or fallacy of these arguments, it is not my present intention to deal. But I know this, that since that period a generation of men has passed away, that the Corn Laws are still in force, although mitigated in their stringency, and that the arguments adduced for their continuance, are of that character, which, if unrefuted must render the laws perpetual, cripple our ever-elastic energies, arrest us in our onward course, and render our statesmen the by-word and scorn of future generations.

The "Dignitary" next sets himself to combat the hackneyed arguments of the protectionists, and to demolish, in particular, the thrice-refuted fallacies, which our readers have so often seen knocked upon the head during the last dozen years. But we have little to say on this section of the "Letter," save to express a fervent hope that, for the common good, it might take effect in quarters where Colonel Thompson and the League might in vain raise their voices. This hope is indeed one main ground of our satisfaction at the appearance of this remarkable pamphlet. The writer at once gives up the point of the labouring population being fed as generously as he would have them fed from the produce of our home territories; and roundly denies the necessity of any restrictions. His working man's dietary, or his definition of what "wholesome food" is, would really go far to make the country deserve its old appellation of "Merry England."

"Wholesome food," (he says,) according to my definition, ought to consist of a diet, of which bread made of the ground seeds of the more generous cerealia, ought to constitute a large element; and this bread might, to a certain extent, be partially displaced by preparations of the seeds of leguminous plants. But along with this farinaceous food, there ought to be consumed a fair proportion of animal substances, whether in the form of milk, butter, cheese, flesh, fowl, or fish. I have no hesitation in adding, that there should also, in the case of hard-working men, be a due allowance of fermented liquor, the soul of the seeds of the cerealia, or of fruit-trees, in the shape of cider, wine, beer, porter, &c. This will be recognised all over Europe as the Englishman's bill of fare.

Such was the food of the patriarchs,—the kid, the calf, the lamb taken from the fold, milk in its various forms, and especially bread, without which Jacob and his children could not live comfortably, with all their numerous flocks and herds. Such was the food which Melchisedec brought forth to refresh the wearied servants of Abraham. He refreshed them with bread and wine, God's best earthly gifts to his creatures. The priests of the old world, under every dispensation, approached the altars of their gods with similar offerings.

Old Homer allowed no other food to his warriors before Troy but the generous diet of bread, what we call butchers' meat, and wine. And the riotous suitors in the Odyssey revel on the same substantial courses. The harvest food of even his rapiers was the roasted ox and newly-baked scones, and his very ploughmen received, at regular intervals, a refreshing draught of wine.

Herodotus states as an historical fact, that the warriors of Egypt received, among other perquisites, a daily allowance of bread, butcher's meat, and wine; even her very bondsmen, when tasked hardest to their work, were allowed to revel in the luxuries of the flesh-pots.

We call this sound and admirable doctrine; and some remarks follow about the physical condition of the Irish, and the poor of the North of Scotland, which we gladly hail from the pen of a "Dignitary of the English Church;" though such language about the people's food, or want of food, might, forty years since, have qualified a man for Botany Bay. The conclusion is:

It is therefore a gross fallacy to affirm, that the agriculture of these islands furnishes its population with a sufficient quantity of wholesome food. The utmost that can be said under this head is, that it does provide a sufficiency for the consumption of the easier classes.

Instead of favouring what are called the Malthusian doctrines, the "Dignitary" contends that a numerous and increasing population—where religion and morality, wise legislation, and an enlightened system of civil policy fulfil their great purposes—is to be regarded as a special blessing of Providence, as a token of the divine favour. This, he holds, is the doctrine taught in the Scriptures, and corroborated by profane history. Thus it is stated, that

Sparta was ruined by the want of Spartans of the ancient stock. So also Athens and Carthage fell because their citizen population did not increase in proportion to their ever-increasing number of imperial subjects. Rome was in some degree either wiser or more fortunate in this respect; but even Rome, with much greater advantages, and with more liberal principles, showed alarming symptoms of a similar disease, and tried various means of remedying the gradual decrease of real Romans.

What but God's judgment has smitten the regions once ruled over by the great monarchs of Assyria, Media, and Persia, with sterility and barrenness—sterility in their soil and barrenness in their families? We read in the pages of Herodotus of the almost incredible productiveness of ancient Babylonia. "This," writes the father of history, "this is the most fertile of all the regions with which we are acquainted in its crops of cerealia. It does not attempt, however, to produce vines, figs, and olive trees; but in grain crops it is so fertile, that, on an average, it returns its seed two hundred-fold, and in favourable seasons even three hundred-fold."

In another passage he states, that this province alone, after feeding its own great population, could spare enough to supply with food all the public establishments of the empire for four out of the twelve months of the year. Now this same district barely furnishes the necessities of life for two or three paltry cities, and for a few wandering tribes of Arabs, who have located themselves among its mighty ruins. If we look at Asia Minor, especially at the portion occupied by the Ionian Greeks, which was pronounced by Herodotus to enjoy the most genial climate and the most fertile soil known to him, we see the same astounding result. Its spontaneous fertility, its natural advantages, have been counteracted by some causes powerful enough to prevent its few and scattered inhabitants from deriving any corresponding benefit from their happy location, and, which is more to my purpose, from continuously decreasing in number. In Palestine, and all through Syria, the population is evidently dying away; and the land now very partially cultivated, will apparently be soon left desolate. Even in islands like Cyprus and Crete, the same course of things is discernible. Cyprus, when under the Venetian government, had a population of 1,500,000 souls, when for a certainty it could trust to nought but its own soil; now that it has become a part of the Continental dominions of the Osmanlis, it with difficulty feeds 60,000 human beings. The Osmanlis in Europe, Asia, and Africa, are daily decreasing in numbers; and Turkey, in the words of Lamartine, is dying for want of Turks. Our islands, on the contrary, are yearly adding some three or four hundred thousand souls to our population, and no improvement in agriculture can possibly enable our farmers to increase the quantity of marketable food in proportion to the call for it on the part of our increasing population. Even the series of bad harvests which preceded the summer of 1841, and the consequent distress, might perhaps have checked for the time, but did not prevent, our continuous increase in numbers. Time will therefore, in spite of all obstacles, in a few years virtually repeal the Corn Laws, and compel us to derive no small portion of our daily bread from other sources than the British soil.

The peculiar advantages which landowners, as a class, possess, are not overlooked in the "Letter;" while of those protective laws which, in 1814, might have been necessary, as temporary measures, it is said:

The transition from a state of almost universal war to a state of peace as almost universal, required delicate management; and the extraordinary legislation of the day, which placed us in a very invidious light to the rest of the world, was, it may be held, a prudent precaution to secure us from great and imminent evils. No sound-minded politician of that day ever dreamed that they were to be one of our sacrosanct institutions, to be non-removable and perpetual. The constant struggle against their continuance, the war of words which was ever maintained upon the subject, ought to have acted as a full and sufficient warning to the agricultural interest, that they were but the result of a temporary policy, and not to be regarded as the sacred and unalterable code of the Medes and Persians. If the landholders obstinately refused to accept these continuous warnings, we may regret their folly, but cannot deeply sympathize with the sorrows which may be the result of such chronic blindness.

I have read that Sir Robert Walpole once described the landed interest as a sheep which, when seized by the shepherd, submitted to its fate without a struggle, and silently yielded up its rich fleece. But the same great statesman's rustic symbol of the mercantile and commercial interest, was what an Orientalist would call "the father of our hams and bacon," who, when rough hands were laid upon him, disturbed the neighbourhood with his unmusical clamour; and, after all, however closely the instrument was applied, yielded only a few useless bristles to the shearer. In our days we have witnessed a change as wonderful as any celebrated by Ovid: the silent sheep has become the loud grunter, and ceases not to disturb our social system by her discordant bleatings.

The advantages which landlords have derived, and must continue to derive, from railroads, are not forgotten; and wonderfully little sympathy is displayed with aristocratic disgust at the pestilent vulgarities of smoky manufactories, steam-engines, and a besmirched industrious or an upstart wealthy commercial population. What follows, if coming from a less sacred source than a Church Dignitary, would be thought to smack of stark radicalism:

I must confess that I feel little sympathy with the morbid feelings of a nobleman or gentleman, who, after passing half his time in London, and mixing there with its busy population, content to walk, or to ride, or drive, amidst a continued throng, then retires to the country for the remainder of his year, to have his nerves shattered and his equanimity disturbed, should two or three strangers be found wandering among the splendid scenes of his ample domains. It is the invasion of these sacred retreats, so dear to the pride and even to some better feelings of the aristocracy, that makes a manufactory an odious sight, and a railway a source of fear to many men otherwise benevolent and beneficent.

The progress of Great Britain to imperial power, presents a strong contrast in the effects produced on the home provinces, when compared to the similar advance of Rome to a similar imperial greatness. The victories of Rome were accompanied by the constantly-increasing desolation of Italy. In proportion to the extent of the empire, the arable land, the olive yards and vineyards, gradually began to disappear; not because their cultivation was unproductive, but because the ground was wanted for the villas, the parks, the hunting forests of the more than royal aristocrats. Their insane substructions, their boundless fish-ponds, their woodlands, their

spacious gardens, with their profusion of all rare plants that could either delight the scent or charm the eye, drove the tiller of the ground from their immediate vicinity, whether pleasant spots on the lower or upper sea. And where nature was less adapted for such pleasant seats, the shepherd reigned supreme, and covered the hills of Apulia and Lucania with countless flocks, which were maintained with little expense, and managed principally by slaves.

England, the empress of the commercial world, and with wings capable of wafting her to the remotest parts of the earth, is tethered by cords from which she cannot break loose to her Island Home. The mass of engines which the present generation has either inherited or created, the iron-stone and coal mines in various districts, the railroads over which she can so easily convey her produce to the seashore, furnish the capitalist and labourer with facilities and capabilities which they would in vain seek to realise in other regions. And the very density of the population, which is no small constituent in the elements of her productive power, is compelled, as it were, in proportions still more dense, to spread around certain centres. Hence the continuous process which threatens to convert England into great operative factories and bleaching greens; to make it everything but a rose bed, or a park residence for exclusive proprietors.

But, if this be the case, why should our splendid aristocracy, who have nothing but local prejudices to tether them to certain spots, not remove themselves, if they cannot abate the increasing nuisance? The progress of manufacturing industry will daily enable them more and more to put money in their purses, and to go forth and establish spacious parks, inviolable preserves, in the wilds of Canada, the steppes of Australia, or the boundless plains of Southern Africa. I see no reason why a powerful nobleman, who now rejoices in the preservation of hares and pheasants should not be more ambitious in this line. A preserve of wolves, grisly bears, moose deer, not to speak of smaller game, in Northern Canada, would really be aristocratic, or even royal.

This remarkable Letter closes with a view of the Revolution produced in this country by the Emancipation of the Catholics and the Reform Bill; changes not less mighty or important in their consequences, that they have been quietly accomplished, and are silently doing their work. But hopeful and cheering conclusions are drawn; and, in substance, we are told that, morally and physically, the British empire never stood among the nations of the earth in so powerful and noble an attitude as at the present time. The Tory party—what was deemed Sir Robert Peel's party—are, in this pithy paragraph, shown the folly of the senseless clamour, and more senseless invective, in which they are indulging against that great Minister and his Liberal colleagues:

The statesman who would attempt to steer the commonwealth by the principles and through the channels of the unchanged constitution, would undoubtedly strike upon shoals and rocks not marked on the older charts, and experience storms and whirlwinds where his predecessors had been favoured with regular trade winds and fixed monsoons. To attempt, therefore, to bind down any of our living statesmen by any declaration made by them under our former political system, smacks strongly of insanity. All taunts, also, and slanderous invectives against the statesmen of either party, because their present course of action may not be in strict consistence with previous expressions of opinion, are mere idle talk, not worth a wise man's consideration.

The ecclesiastical order is also admonished of its present duty; and the necessity of the school and library for the working classes is as distinctly recognised as that of the church. But, returning to the original point; before the blessings anticipated can be realised, "the Corn Laws must be abolished," and "the sooner the better." Their present existence on the statute book is considered "a disgrace to our legislature;" and once more, therefore, a voice is raised in solemn warning.

Steps in wrong directions often place men in difficult positions, whence either advance or retreat may be accompanied with some risk. We cannot advance, nor can we stand still; retreat therefore is our only resource. Any attempt on the part of our aristocracy to give battle in their present position, will expose them to something worse than defeat; for assuredly a temporary victory, on this point, would in the end prove more fatal than many defeats. They are in the wrong, and we know, as a general truth, that a continuous struggle against wrongs terminates not with their correction, but involves the wrongdoers in imminent danger. I can assure your Grace, that there are many bad citizens, who contemplate with pleasure the continued resistance of the aristocracy to measures which millions regard as necessary to their very existence. May God in his mercy avert any continued struggle between the many and the few on this point, and may we never see our glorious aristocracy worsted in a sordid attempt to increase their wealth at the expense of the poor! Your Grace will remember the rebuke which Dr. Johnson administered to a Sir Thomas Robinson, who expressed his fears that corn imported from Ireland might prove prejudicial to the English corn trade. "Sir Thomas," said the Doctor, "You talk the language of a savage. What, sir! would you prevent any mass from feeding themselves, if by any means they can do it?" The great mass of our people are being rapidly convinced that "they can feed themselves by honest means," and will assuredly regard the man who may attempt to prevent them from doing so as a savage.

The Dignitary—and we can assure our readers that this is no sham designation—denies all connection between what he regards as Tory principles and the odious and impolitic Corn Laws. And we must acknowledge that the pure high-bred Whigs, until a new light lately broke upon them, have been quite as wrong-headed on this point as the Tories.

We have deemed this Letter entitled to more space than it is usual to bestow on a pamphlet of the day, from the belief that, coming, at the present crisis, from a Tory and a Churchman, it is calculated to do much good. The writer, while he stirs the stagnant and sluggish waters, also contrives to throw oil upon the angry surges which threaten to submerge the vessel of the State. That besides fulfilling the higher functions of a peacemaker, he is an accomplished scholar and a philosophic student of history, accustomed to view moral and political questions from a calm and commanding position, must be apparent to every one who reads even the above garbled passages from his Letter. And surely the solemn protest and recorded testimony of such a man must forcibly come home to those of the self-styled protectionists who are not altogether deaf to the voice of Christian charity, nor yet to that of reason and experience.

THE NEW TARIFF;

ITS EFFECT ON BRITISH MANUFACTURED ART.

(From the Art Union.)

The principle on which the new tariff is based may be simply stated as consisting in the removal of all taxation from raw material, and the imposition of such duties on manufactured goods as may contribute to the revenue without being either prohibitory or protective. Now, in all questions connected with production on the one side, and revenue on the other, it is almost impossible to avoid discussing economic questions; and, though the view which we mean to take of the tariff is purely artistic, it would be impossible to make such a view clear and intelligible if the economical relations of the subject were wholly disregarded. It is better

to meet direct a difficulty which cannot be avoided; and, therefore, instead of incidentally discussing the grounds of distinction between raw material and manufactures, we shall set out by a direct explanation of the grounds on which a difference is established, not for the purpose of justifying premiers, parties, or parliaments, but for elucidating the principles of plain common sense.

Raw materials should not be subjected to taxation, for the simple and obvious reason that whatever diminishes the supply of material acts as a prohibition on the industry to be employed in its manufacture. A tax on the import of wool would at once lessen the amount of employment given to combers, spinners, weavers, and cloth-dressers; but as food is a raw material in every kind of manufacture, being worked into the thews and sinews of the operative, it appears, on the first aspect of the matter, that a tax upon food, so far as it is enforced, acts as a prohibition of manufacturing industry, and a consequent diminution of the amount of employment distributable among the working population. On the other hand, it may be urged that corn being virtually a manufacture from the soil, produced by farmers and labourers, in the very same way that calicoes are produced by the owners of factories and their factory-hands, the incentive given to the production of food at home supplies a compensating amount of employment to the agricultural population. As we are not about to enter on any discussion of the Corn Laws, we need only say here that discouragement by taxation is a very different thing from encouragement by protection; the former is a positive and obvious evil; the latter, a very questionable and doubtful good. Indeed, we should not have referred to the corn question at all, only that any examination of the tariff from which that question was wholly excluded, would too closely resemble a representation of "Hamlet," with the part of *Hamlet* omitted by particular desire.

Raw material, then, ought not to be taxed, because such an impost limits employment and diminishes the amount of means for the application of industry. But taxation must fall somewhere; the interest of the national debt and the cost of our extensive and expensive civil, military, and naval establishments, must be maintained; under this necessity, we think that duties may fairly be levied on the import of manufactured goods, because all taxes are ultimately paid by the consumer, and the consumers of imported manufactures belong to a class of society the best able to bear the burden of fiscal imposts. Taxes on imported manufactures may be levied for the sake of protection, for the sake of revenue, or for both purposes combined in different proportions; but it is important to bear in mind that the objects of a protective tariff and a revenue tariff are not only inconsistent, but are directly opposed to each other. The design of protective duties is to exclude, that of revenue duties to invite, imports. When, therefore, any advocate for high import duties argues at one time for the sake of protection to native industry, and at another for the sake of the public revenue, he is manifestly contradicting himself, and demolishing with one course of reasoning the arguments he has endeavoured to establish with the other. It is, indeed, an evil incidental to revenue duties that they must, to a certain extent, be protective; and, therefore, in every tariff for revenue purposes it is important to fix the scale of duties so low as not to discourage consumption. The less that consumption is, the less will be the import; and the less the import, the less will be the revenue.

Now, the rate of duty fixed by the new tariff on the import of manufactured goods is in nearly all cases so low as to be utterly worthless in a protective or prohibitory point of view; there would not probably be a yard more of French silks, muslins, or laines imported under a system of perfect freedom, than at so moderate a rate of duty as ten per cent.; and there is probably no class of manufacturers—always excepting the disciples of the Macclesfield school of political economy—who would object to having this incidental shadow of protection altogether abolished, so far as their own private interests are concerned. It must, therefore, be clearly understood that these duties are maintained solely and exclusively for the purposes of revenue, and that they must cease with the exigencies which have called them into existence.

The distinction between raw material and manufactured goods, though apparently simple, becomes a little complicated, when we reflect that the product of one branch of manufacture becomes the raw material of another. Organsilk is the product of the throwster, but it is the raw material of the weaver; rectified spirit is the product of the distiller, but the raw material of the varnish maker; flour is the product of the miller, but the raw material of the baker. Hence arises the inherent injustice of every protective tariff: if it served one class, it seriously injured many others; if it stimulated one branch of production, it stunted and blighted several other branches. We say nothing here of the injury done to consumers, because that is sufficiently obvious; but, looking to artistic as well as to economic results, there is an obvious want of logic in every protective tariff: for, while it encourages the industry where the article was a product, it discourages the industry where that product became a raw material. But there are many materials which are used in manufactures, not singly, but in combination with others. In such a case, protective duties levied on one portion of the materials discourages the consumption of the rest, and thus becomes a tax on whatever branches of industry may be engaged in their production. There was a singular example of this incidental effect of protection in the old wool duties. To make good cloths from English wool it was necessary that it should be combined with the fine wools of foreign growth; but, when a tax was laid on the import of foreign wool, the price of the proportion necessary to be combined with English wool was so high as to interfere with the progress of manufacture, and thus the demand for wool of English growth was lessened by the very system devised for its protection. At length the duty on foreign wools was abolished, and the immediate consequence was, that the demand for English wool greatly increased, and its price rose in the market. We may mention, as further illustrations of this point, the injury which the weavers in the south of Germany suffer from the imposition of a duty on yarn, and the backward state of agriculture and ship-building in France, chiefly owing to the maintenance of a heavy protective duty on raw and wrought iron. This is a matter of great importance in reference to the proposed revision of the tariff; as, on the one hand, the incidental evils of protection fall on the most remote and apparently unconnected branches of industry; so we may reasonably expect that the benefits of relaxation will have an equally wide range, and will manifest their stimulating influences in quarters never suspected of having been subjected to discouragement. The abolition of the duty on drugs and dye stuffs last year has led manufacturers

to try experiments on the mercantile value of the liberated articles, and several of them already have been found available for useful purposes to which they were not previously known to be applicable.

ON THE EFFECT OF COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURES IN RESPECT TO POPULAR INTELLIGENCE.

So favourable, then, to intelligence, both directly and indirectly, are the social relations which obtain in towns and great cities. Our next point is, that cities owe their origin to handicraft and traffic, and that it is the effect of commercial habits to give great comparative expansion and discipline to the intellect.

Wherever men are employed in trade and manufactures, the diversity of their occupation must, in itself, suggest varied thought, and stimulate to some degree of mental effort. It is true, as the arts advance, men become intent on dispatch, which is best realised by a division of labour, and the effect of that process is to separate artisans into classes, leaving only a narrow province to each. But this method of proceeding must have its limits, and where most acted upon, each man knows full well what his kindred craftsman is doing, though that section of labour may be one in which he has himself no share.

It is also in the nature of machinery that it should, at least in many cases, greatly lessen the demand on the spontaneous ability of the workman. Results which once depended in a great degree upon his individual skill, are made to follow, and with more certainty, from the action of the instrument which he is now required to superintend. But the action of that machine is as a constant lesson on human ingenuity. It shows what the ingenuity has done, and suggests what it may do. Less demand may be made on the manual skill of the mechanic, but that does not prevent his thoughts from being familiar with a wide range of ingenious operation. If an old man, he will know something of the history of his craft, and of others carried on about him; and in many cases his mind will be a chronicle of the inventions which have so greatly changed the processes of manufacture since the years of his boyhood. His thoughts, we may be sure, will not be those of one who has learnt to look upon the world as doomed to stand still. He lives in the midst of the skill and enterprise of his country; and he necessarily hears much concerning the skill and enterprise of other countries. In his mind, the leading idea in regard to society is that of progression—onwardness, and not, as in the case of the peasant, who, whatever he may see of change in the nature of his implements, is disposed to look on matters about him as doomed to be in the main as they have been. In the view of the one, change is generally regarded as hopeful; in the view of the other, it is an object of dread, as being too commonly identical with mischief.

If there are causes in connection with commerce which operate thus favourably on intelligence in the case of the humbler classes, to whom it furnishes employment, there are of course others of a much higher description, which affect the merchant, and the capitalist. Such men, as we have already observed, possess a direct interest in knowing, more or less, the natural and the artificial of all lands, and in weighing the knowledge thus acquired, in order that it may be turned to the best account. In the wide and venturous traffic which engages such heads, the greatest consequences are known to depend on the possessing, or the not possessing, such knowledge and discernment. Hence the intricacy which belongs to social policy when taking its texture from the relations of commerce; and the causes which naturally contribute to give such caution, and compass, and vigour to the genius of the ministers of commercial states, exert a similar influence over the people generally in such states. Questions by no means simple in their nature, are always rising to the notice of such a people. In such communities, accordingly, the power of making the difficult plain is of great value. It is only by means of the many that the few can hope to see their plans carried into effect, and this necessity devolves upon them the further necessity of becoming effective teachers of the many, and teachers of as much promptitude as vigour, the many with whom they have to deal being always immediately about them.

But whatever may be the result of a comparison between the men who have become rulers in commercial states, and those who have distinguished themselves as members of a landed aristocracy, no comparison can be made between the intelligence of the society at large with which these two classes of great men have stood respectfully associated. We repeat, the people of a large commercial city feel necessarily much more than any other people, as citizens of the world. They see that their interests depend, not on themselves merely, nor on their immediate neighbours, but on the relations which they may possess sufficient wisdom and power to maintain with the ends of the earth. No nation wanting in the capacity to look thus abroad, can ever become great in the history of commerce: and the continuance of such greatness, if once realised, must depend on the continuance of that capacity—the fear being, in the case of such a people, as in the case of a prosperous individual, that men will learn to place an undue reliance on their supposed sagacity; that familiarity with change will beget an undesirable tendency towards change; and that the success which has resulted from caution, may be followed by disaster, as consequent upon presumption. It is true, in a great degree, of states, as of men, that they think all power mortal except their own.—*From the Age of Great Cities, by Robert Vaughan, D. D.*

THE BRITISH LION.

The British Lion for a long time good-naturedly consented to associate, as guarantee of respectability, with a lady called Britannia, who used to sit with a tea-board and toasting fork, on the reverse of our copper coins. At last he left the aforesaid lady, and never afterwards did anything under a shilling, but now, as a royal animal, prefers crowns and half-crowns. His aristocratic predilections are natural enough, for an illustrious personage always has him in her arms, and often exalts him above her crown.

With our jolly tars he was an especial favourite. They fought for him—swore by him; the main was their home, and they allowed their tails to grow to show their relationship; and when they did put their claws, or, as they called them, grappling irons, upon anything, they never let go but with their lives, at the same time striking terror into their enemies with the loud roar of their cannon, for they were never known to leave off without going the whole animal.

The Law, when it puts its paw upon any property, the re-

covery of which is doubtful, calls it putting a Lien upon it, meaning that it intends to have the Lion's share, but, with its usual chicanery, it alters the spelling, to avoid an action for libel.

In social life we have nothing to designate great ability, power, *célat*, or any distinguishing mark in a man from his fellows, except by calling him a Lion.

This is the poetical side of the picture, but as faithful historians we must say that in reality he has made a sad beast of himself; for since peace has been proclaimed a virtue, and war a vice, all regard to decency seems to have left him, and he associates with shocking low company, and it is quite melancholy to see one, once so noble, in his imbecility and degradation.

Of late, he has condescended to do anything for employment, actually cudging from door to door, with a very extraordinary horse, who carries a horn—an animal without a character from his last place; in fact, nobody as yet has found out where such an impossible beast could come from, being nothing but a horse marine. The poor Lion, as if really ashamed of his downfall, carries about with him a ribbon, on which is written a kind of deprecatory apology, running thus:—“*Honi soit qui mal y pense.*” This makes it worse and worse. Where did he learn French? Why not put it in plain English, as a British Lion should do? The English will beat the French at any time!

You may now see him sometimes, covered with gold, like a ginger-bread toy at a fair; at other times hanging about a public-house door, playing the fool, with his face painted red or blue, according to the landlord's fancy; for which indignity he is allowed the full swing of the place, as he attracts custom to the house, and no doubt gets dreadfully drunk at times, as he cuts strange gambols, such as standing on one leg, and other ridiculous antics.

Every paltry tradesman, now he finds he is to be had cheap, engages him to tout for customers to his petty shop.

The quack doctor employs him to stand sentry over a box of boluses, to physic his friends, instead of piles of cannon-balls, as formerly, to physic his enemies, and he is complaisant enough to make a face, as if he felt the effect of them.

The brushmaker, who wishes to recommend his bristles, places him in front of the shop, with his whiskers, or smellers, extended in the most ridiculous manner.

The hairdresser, who has very little respect for Lions or any kind, except in the way of wigs, employs the poor beast merely on account of his fine head of hair, to attract his customers. It is very amusing to see the old brute with his hair in full curl and his whiskers trimmed *à la mode*; but such, indeed, is the melancholy fact.

The dentist borrows his valuable aid, and most ungratefully satirises him at the same time, by making him show his teeth, as an advertisement, so long after he has ceased to bite, leading people to imagine that they can procure as good a set by entering the shop of his employer.

Indeed, he has so un-Lionified himself as to go into the service of the milliners; and, above all, French milliners. Here he stands over the brass-plated door of some corset-maker to Her Majesty, continually smiling and simpering, so as not to alarm the fair creatures who swarm to the shape-makers; but his attempt at amiability and softness is most ridiculous. A smile on a face never intended to express anything but fierceness! You might as well try to turn a duelling-pistol into an *Eau de Cologne* bottle.

Thus, according to the trade of his employer, does he befool himself to the very great degradation of his once-honoured name; in fact, he has turned from a warrior into a warehouseman; his roar is no longer feared, for, instead of his once-dreaded note of preparation, in answer to an insult, a complimentary one is sent to the offender, who is invited to come and stop a few days, and talk the matter over, and who returns laughingly with a very different bellyful to that which would have greeted him in days of yore. He now settles all quarrels with soft words instead of hard blows.

The consequence of which is, that numbers of small animals, that did not know they had voices before, encouraged by his tameness and silence, try their feeble crows and growls, and flatter themselves that their pigmy attempts sound as powerful as the thunder-like roar of the once noble British Lion.—*By Alfred Crowquill, from "Our Own Times."*

USES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

I wish, for my own part, there were no such thing as political economy. I mean not now the mere name of the study; but I wish there had never been any necessity for directing our attention to the study itself. If men had always been secured in person and property, and left at full liberty to employ both as they saw fit, and had merely been precluded from unjust interference with each other—had the most perfect freedom of intercourse between all mankind been always allowed—had there never been any wars, nor (which in that case would have easily been avoided) any taxation—then, though every exchange that took place would have been one of the phenomena of which political economy takes cognisance, all would have proceeded so smoothly, that probably no attention would ever have been called to the subject. The transactions of society would have been like the play of the lungs, the contractions of the muscles, and the circulation of the blood, in a healthy person, who scarcely knows that these functions exist. But as soon as they are impeded and disordered, our attention is immediately called to them. Indeed, one of these functions did exist for several thousand years before it was even suspected. It is probable that (except perhaps among a small number of curious speculators) anatomy and physiology would never have been thought of, had they not been called for in aid of the art of medicine; and this, manifestly, would have had no existence, but for disease. In like manner it may be said to have been disease, actual or apprehended—evils or imperfections, real or imaginary, that in the first instance directed the attention of men to the subjects about which political economy is conversant; the attention, I mean, not only of those who use that term in a favourable sense, but of those no less who hold it in abhorrence, and of our ancestors who never heard it. Many, no doubt, of those evils have been produced or aggravated by the operation of erroneous views of political economy, just as there are many cases in which erroneous medical treatment has brought on or heightened diseases; but in these, no one will deny that it is from correct medical views we must hope for a cure.

And you may add this remark, that the greater part of those who do in this way induce disease, are such as make no pretension to the medical art, nor entertain any respect for it; they are often the foremost to declaim against the

folly of trusting in physicians—of dosing one's self with medicines—of tampering with the constitution; and think themselves secure from any such folly as long as they abstain from the use of anything that is called a medicine; while perhaps they are actually tampering with their constitution by an excessive use of spirituous liquors, or of other stimulants, not bearing the name of medicines, but not the less powerful in their effects on the human frame. In like manner, you may observe many have ventured boldly on measures tending to produce the most important results on national wealth, without suspecting that these had anything to do with political economy, because the name of the science was carefully avoided. Buonaparte detested that name. When he endeavoured by all possible means to destroy the commerce of the Continent with this country—means which brought on ultimately the war which ended in his overthrow—there is no doubt he believed himself to be not only injuring us, but consulting the best interests of his own dominions. Indeed, the two ideas were with him inseparable; for all that he himself had ever acquired having been at the expense of others, he could not understand how we could gain, except by their loss. Yet all the while, he was in the habit of saying that political economy, if an empire were of gravitate, would crumble it to dust. That erroneous political economy may do so, he evinced by the experiment he himself tried; but to the last, he was not aware that he had been in fact practising such a system.—It had been practising political economy in the same sense in which a man is said to be practising medicine unskillfully, who through ignorance prescribes to his patient a poisonous dose.

Anatomy and physiology, though, as I have said, they probably owe their rise to medicine, as that did to disease, are yet universally acknowledged to be among the most curious and interesting studies, even for those who have no design to apply them professionally in the practice of medicine. In particular, they are found, the more they are studied, to throw more and more light on the stupendous wisdom of contrivance which the structure of organised bodies displays;—in short, to furnish a most important portion of natural theology. And it might have been anticipated, that an attentive study of the constitution of society should bring to light a no less admirable apparatus of divinely-wise contrivances, directed no less to beneficial ends;—that as the structure of a single bee is admirable, and still more so that of a hive of bees, instinctively directing their efforts towards a common object, so the Divine Maker of the human body has evinced no less benevolent wisdom in his provisions for the progress of society;—and that though in both cases the designs of Divine Wisdom are often counteracted by human folly—by intemperance or neglect, as far as relates to the body—and by mistake or fraud in respect of the community—still, in each case, attentive study may enable us to trace more and more the designs of a wise Providence, and to devise means for removing the impediments to their completion.—*Archbishop Whateley.*

JOURNAL OF THE REV. W. ROBERTSON.—Not the least among the curiosities of Seville is the tobacco manufactory. Tobacco is one of the royal monopolies, and it is manufactured in a palace. A very cursory glance at this singular establishment will afford some idea of the great value of this monopoly. It is a noble and stately edifice, of a quadrangular form, 600 feet in length by 480 broad. It is surrounded by a moat, and approached by a drawbridge, like a regular fortification. Soldiers are continually on duty at the entrance and in the courts; all the work people are carefully searched every night on leaving the establishment, and no cloaks are permitted within its precincts—all precautions against the abstraction of the precious weed. It employs no fewer than 5000 hands. Of these, 3000 are women; almost all of whom are employed in twisting cigars. Of the 2000 men, a great proportion are similarly occupied; while a considerable number are employed in the manufacture of all the different articles and implements which are required in the establishment. Women are preferred for the manufacture of cigars, as lightness and delicacy of touch are of importance in this branch of the business. Two immense halls are set apart for the cigar twist—one for the men, and the other for the women. The largest of these, in which 3000 women are seated, busily engaged in rolling up the fragment leaf, each with a little basket of bread and fruit beside her for dinner, presents a very extraordinary spectacle. The work is performed with amazing rapidity, and a single individual will roll up from 500 to 600 cigars per day. The time of labour is from 7 o'clock A. M. to 4 P. M. One part of the process is sufficiently disgusting, but out of consideration for the lovers of cigars, we refrain from mentioning it! We saw the whole process of manufacturing snuff. The tobacco leaves are first steeped in a decoction of Brazilian tobacco, plums, walnuts, lemon-peel, &c.; the heart stalks are then removed, and the leaves twisted into ropes, and coiled up in tight packages. These are pressed by a machine, not unlike a large cheese-press and are then stored up for six or eight months to ferment. Afterwards they are uncoiled, and chopped into small pieces by a very clumsy set of hammers worked by mules. When chopped sufficiently, the tobacco is conveyed to the mill and ground into snuff. The stems and heart-stalks are, I believe, manufactured into a coarser article. When the wind blows in a particular direction, it is said that this establishment may be nosed at a league distant. There are five royal tobacco manufactories in Spain, of which this at Seville is the largest. The quantity of cigars consumed by this nation of cigar smokers is prodigious. Spaniards are decidedly the greatest smokers in Europe. All Spaniards smoke, and all smoke cigars. The pipe is comparatively unknown. The cigar gleams betwixt the lips of the haughty noble and the poor muleteer. Like death, it levels all distinctions; all are alike subjected to its sway. It overpowers the odour of garlic in the poor man's hut, and mingles with the rich perfumes of the halls of the wealthy.—*Tait's Magazine.*

JACOBINISM OF THE RICH.—The origin and foundation of property, is labour. The proposal to keep up rent by restrictions, virtually includes the essence of personal slavery; which consists in obliging one man to labour for the benefit of another without an equivalent. The landlords may have a property in their honest rent; but they have not a property in the power of adding to it by violence.—*Catechism on the Corn Laws.*

RECIPROCITY FALLACY.—Reciprocity is having two good things instead of one. But if we cannot have both the good things, it is no reason why we should reject the one we may have. The fraud of “reciprocity,” therefore is like saying, “Don't take the half-crown you may, unless somebody will give you another for taking it.”

J. Patrick, Paisley, manufacturer.

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ABORIGINES' PROTECTION SOCIETY.—The Ninth ANNUAL MEETING of this Society, the object of which is to promote the well being of Natives and Settlers in the British Colonies, will be held at Grosby Hall, Bishopsgate-street, on MONDAY, the 18th of MAY, at 8 o'clock.
The attendance of the Friends of the Society is earnestly requested.
Cards of Admission may be had at Smith, Elder, and Co.'s, 65, Cornhill; C. Gilpin's, 3, Bishopsgate-street without; Hatchard and Co.'s, 187, Piccadilly; and at Grosby Hall.

THAMES TUNNEL.—Brilliantly lighted with "Lowe's" Patent Naphthalized Gas, is open as a thoroughfare day and night—Toil, One Penny.
National Tableau of Public Interest, which has been Eight Months in Preparation.

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RICHARD COBDEN, ESQ., M.P.—The ENGRAVING OF THE PORTRAIT OF RICHARD COBDEN, ESQ., M.P., engraved in the highest style of art by F. C. Lewis, Esq., engraver to the Queen, is NOW READY. The Portrait has been produced under the patronage and sanction of the Council of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and is the only authentic engraved portrait published. The likeness is a most characteristic one, and has received the unqualified approbation of Mr. Cobden's personal friends.
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Uniform with the above, Mr. Agnew has published a series of Portraits of the Members of the Council of the League, all of which are engraved in a fine and finished style. The following are now ready:—
Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P. John Bright, Esq., M.P.
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Arrangements have also been made to publish the Portraits of William Brown, Esq., of Liverpool.
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All executed the same size, and forming one of the most interesting Gallery of Portraits ever brought before the public. The Portrait of WILLIAM BROWN, Esq., which is being engraved by James Thomson, Esq., of London, will be ready, and, along with standards, 3 feet 9s.; to be forwarded their names without delay, to secure good impressions.
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FENDERS, STOVES, and FIRE-IRONS.—The largest assortment of Stoves and Fenders, as well as General Ironmongery in the world, is now on sale in a Saleroom, at the late RIPPON and BURTON'S extensive warehouses. Bright steel fenders, 4 feet, from 30s each, ditto, with ornamental ornaments, from 60s.; iron fenders, 3 feet, 4s. 6d.; 4 feet, 6s. 6d.; 5 feet, 8s. 6d.; 6 feet, 10s. 6d.; 7 feet, 12s. 6d.; 8 feet, 14s. 6d.; 9 feet, 16s. 6d.; 10 feet, 18s. 6d.; 11 feet, 20s. 6d.; 12 feet, 22s. 6d.; 13 feet, 24s. 6d.; 14 feet, 26s. 6d.; 15 feet, 28s. 6d.; 16 feet, 30s. 6d.; 17 feet, 32s. 6d.; 18 feet, 34s. 6d.; 19 feet, 36s. 6d.; 20 feet, 38s. 6d.; 21 feet, 40s. 6d.; 22 feet, 42s. 6d.; 23 feet, 44s. 6d.; 24 feet, 46s. 6d.; 25 feet, 48s. 6d.; 26 feet, 50s. 6d.; 27 feet, 52s. 6d.; 28 feet, 54s. 6d.; 29 feet, 56s. 6d.; 30 feet, 58s. 6d.; 31 feet, 60s. 6d.; 32 feet, 62s. 6d.; 33 feet, 64s. 6d.; 34 feet, 66s. 6d.; 35 feet, 68s. 6d.; 36 feet, 70s. 6d.; 37 feet, 72s. 6d.; 38 feet, 74s. 6d.; 39 feet, 76s. 6d.; 40 feet, 78s. 6d.; 41 feet, 80s. 6d.; 42 feet, 82s. 6d.; 43 feet, 84s. 6d.; 44 feet, 86s. 6d.; 45 feet, 88s. 6d.; 46 feet, 90s. 6d.; 47 feet, 92s. 6d.; 48 feet, 94s. 6d.; 49 feet, 96s. 6d.; 50 feet, 98s. 6d.; 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THE LEAGUE.

No. 137.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, MAY 9, 1846.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newalls-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

THE REAL QUESTION FOR THE COUNTRY.

"The real question for the country is, ARE THESE RESTRICTIONS CONSISTENT WITH JUSTICE? That is the question—that is the only question."—SIR ROBERT PEEL, May 4.

"I have satisfied myself that this law is injurious, and further, that it is UNJUST to the great body of consumers."—SIR JAMES GRAHAM, April 23.

"THE LAW OUGHT TO LOOK EQUALLY ON ALL."—LORD JOHN RUSSELL, May 4.

We have again to discharge the grateful task of recording the fearless and full-toned utterance, by our leading statesmen, of those great and all-commanding principles which, when enunciated by official lips, and clothed with the prestige of official authority, sensibly influence the destinies of a people, and—if less appreciably, not less really—govern the public opinion of the world. Again has our Free Trade Minister, concurrently with the ablest of his colleagues, and with the most distinguished of his political opponents, declared the landlords' law of artificial famine to be not only impolitic, but intrinsically UNJUST—and, as such, not admitting of any of those cunning devices of compromise or "adjustment," by which your over-clever politicians think to patch up a truce between right and wrong. The Premier keeps to the cardinal point of the whole question, and is determined that others shall keep to it. He "adopts, and deliberately repeats, that expression" which has carried dismay and confusion into the Rigby camp, and sent a thrill of joy through every honest man's heart. Here he takes his stand—on the solid rock-foundation of moral right and justice. Here he fortifies himself—ready for all contingencies. Monopoly is unjust, and there can be no making terms with a moral wrong.

It is of no use asking, "How is it you never found this out before?" He owns at once, he ought to have found it out before. All that can be reasonably said on this head he grants, with a manly candour and straightforwardness that must command respect even where it does not at once silence criticism. He "admits that he ought to have seen that these restrictions were unjust some years ago." He is "sorry that this conclusion was not fixed on his mind at an earlier period." He regrets greatly that he can make no pretension to political and ethical infallibility, and that truth comes to him by the way of experience and reflection, rather than by intuition. All perfectly true—and all perfectly beside the question. "The question really for the country is not a personal one, as to what period a man ought to entertain a particular opinion; the real question for the country is, ARE THESE RESTRICTIONS CONSISTENT WITH JUSTICE?—that is the question—that is THE ONLY QUESTION."

Sir Robert Peel's speech of last Monday night (which appears in another part of our paper) will have been read with the liveliest satisfaction in every part of the country. It is, in all respects, the speech of an accomplished statesman, and of a wise, far-seeing, and earnest man. Even apart from its great intrinsic value, it derives a special interest from the circumstances under which it was delivered. It was worth noting, that this able and elaborate exposition of the ethics of economical reform was an *impromptu* effort. The Premier was taken by surprise. The discussion so indiscreetly raised by the blundering lord whom the protectionists are obliged to put up with as a *pis-aller* leader, had not been expected to arise before the debate on the third reading; and there was no time for that preparation which the Minister's sense of the importance of the subject would otherwise doubtless have induced him to bestow. No particular preparation, however, was needed. He did excellently well without it. Nothing helps advocacy like a good cause and a strong conviction. A ready clearness of thought, and force and ease of diction, are the natural consequences of the earnest adoption of a great principle. Truth has a very quickening efficacy on the mind that intelligently and heartily espouses it. We have more than once observed, that since Sir Robert Peel has given in an unre-served allegiance to the principles of commercial freedom, he has seemed to have a more perfect mastery over his own powers, and to be capable of doing fuller justice to a mind naturally acute and vigorous. It does not surprise us that he found it one of the easiest of tasks to vindicate, on the shortest notice, the position that artificial restrictions on industry and hunger are both politically and morally wrong.

The argument is, in truth, of the simplest. "The restriction upon the import of food—that is, the increase of the natural price of food by legislative enactment"—in other words, the imposition of artificial difficulties in the way of life—contradicts the common sense, and offends the common conscience of mankind. "The presumption—the natural presumption" of human judgment and feeling is altogether against it. If defensible on any ground, it must be on the ground of "some great public reason connected with the public good;"—to set up a private reason, based on the interests, or supposed interests, of a class were adding insult to injury. Now, is there any such public reason for taxing the people's bread? The Premier was once of opinion, with other statesmen of his time, that there were such public reasons, of sufficient force to overbear the natural presumption against restriction, and to make that right which otherwise were wrong. He has now carefully re-examined them, one and all—re-examined them under circumstances presenting the strongest imaginable inducements to conclude, if possible, in favour of their validity—and he finds himself constrained to admit, that they are, one and all, sophisms and fictions. The "independence-of-foreigners" fallacy; the "wages" fallacy; the "burdens" fallacy; the "agricultural-interest" fallacy—every one of these is a demonstrated falsity in point of fact, or a palpable absurdity, in point of logic. There is, therefore, nothing to take the case from under the jurisdiction of the common sense and conscience of mankind—nothing to break the force of that indignant condemnation which the voice of public morality pronounces on all attempts artificially to curtail poor men's wages and means of existence. Not being demonstrably necessary on public grounds, the bread tax is demonstrably unjust and iniquitous. "It is because I cannot with truth allege that if you establish Free Trade in corn, you will thereby render us dependent upon

foreign nations for a supply of food—it is because I do not believe that the rate of wages varies directly with the price of corn—it is because I cannot persuade myself with respect to the farmer, that the continuance of protection is necessary to agricultural prosperity—it is because I cannot establish these facts, that I have come to the conclusion that the natural presumption in favour of unrestricted import ought to prevail; therefore it is, I think it UNJUST to continue the legislative restriction.

Well might poor Lord George Bentinck complain that "a new feature and a new character have been given to the discussion of this question." What is to be said against this? And—what is more to the point—what is to be DONE against this? Do the men live (at large) that would dare join issue with a Minister who thus appeals to the country on a plain, broad question of moral right and wrong?

We might abstain from detailed comment on a speech, every word of which is sure of commanding the attention due both to the intrinsic importance of its subject-matter, and the position and reputation of the speaker. But we must express the especial gratification we have derived from the truly noble tone and spirit in which Sir Robert Peel adverts to the influence of England's example on the opinion and legislation of other nations. It is quite true, as he is well aware, that a Government like that of France may for a while be "controlled by a predominant influence in the Chambers, supported by those who are interested in the maintenance of restriction"—this is a subject on which our Free Trade Minister can speak feelingly. But he has a generous confidence in the power of truth and justice to counter-work and overthrow the domination of the oligarchical sordidness that would make a nation pay black-mail to an "interest." He has faith in PRINCIPLE, and in the FUTURE. He "believes that in France and other countries, the interests of the great body of the consumers will, at no remote period, be recognised." He can, indeed, give no guarantee that it will be this year, or next year; but the time will come—is coming. Already he sees the heaven of truth and sound principle at work—and he knows that it must, in the nature of things, work on till it shall have leavened the whole mass. He points with delighted satisfaction to those "societies in France, formed of intelligent men," who are preparing the way for the future Free Trade Minister of that country—and he has full faith that, after all, on the whole and in the long run, the intelligent men are too strong for the dunces. He has the proud confidence, too, which befits an English statesman, in the moral power of England over surrounding nations. He is "confident, that if we set them the example"—"if we adopt the motto of ADVANCING in commercial freedom, instead of receding"—then, "notwithstanding temporary obstructions, the influence and example of England will prevail." In the mean time, we are not to make our knowledge wait on their ignorance. Right is right, whatever France may happen to think of it. If France and England cannot yet agree to adopt the policy which is good for France and England, that is no reason why England should not adopt the policy which is good for England. "If the double benefit cannot be got," of a joint abolition of restrictions, and mutual freedom of intercourse—at all events, "let us not pay a higher price for a worse article, because we cannot induce France to buy a good article at a cheap rate;—words which go straight to the root of the miserable "reciprocity" fallacy that would make England the humble copyist of other nations' blunders.

This is worth having worked seven years for. Speeches like those of Sir Robert Peel and Lord

John Russell, on Monday night last, are of the class that guide the public opinion, and mould the public policy of the world. Such utterances by the statesmen of a great country are very fruitful of results. There is a vast futurity in them. They go far to make that history of which they are prophetic anticipations. They do much to hasten the full flow of that tide of which they indicate the direction and the force. The sentiments and convictions recently avowed by every public man standing in the front rank of English statesmanship, mark the advent of a new era of Government and legislation, whose motto is "ADVANCE!" and whose consummation will be, "ENGLAND'S TEACHING THE NATIONS HOW TO LIVE."

POLITICAL ECONOMY, AND SHORT HOURS OF LABOUR.

Many of our readers will have observed with interest the proceedings of the second annual meeting of the Birmingham "Association for the Abridgement of the Hours of Labour," held on the evening of yesterday week; from which it appears, that public opinion in that town has recently been directed, with much earnestness and a considerable degree of success, to the important social object of diminishing the duration of the labour imposed on assistants in retail houses of business, by inducing shopkeepers to adopt earlier hours of closing. Although the subject is one which must possess deep interest for every friend to the well-being and improvement of the industrious classes, we might not have thought it necessary to advert here to a question not directly within the scope of our own labours, but that certain expressions, used on the occasion by our respected friend Mr. Scholefield, appear to us to convey an erroneous and depreciatory estimate of the practical value of those great principles of economics, of which he is well known to be a zealous and efficient supporter. In the course of a speech marked by kindly and generous sympathies with that sadly overworked class, whose cause he was pleading, Mr. Scholefield declared himself as follows:

"He was sorry to say that in his views upon this question he differed with many, with whom, on subjects of public policy, he usually concurred. He agreed in their opinion that the science of political economy did contain within itself a remedy—more or less complete—for the evil complained of. He believed that its principles, rightly understood and wisely applied, would satisfactorily abate, if they did not entirely remove that evil. But he was far from being so bigoted in his views as not to admit that he might be in error; and whether or not, he could not but admit that a very small portion of the community concurred in them; so small a portion, indeed, that their practical application, perhaps for many years to come, was a mere dream. If so, was he to be told that he must wait? Must he defer action till hundreds and thousands more of his fellow creatures had sunk under their grievous toils? Must he wait till he had converted the sceptics to the truths he himself fancied he saw so clearly in the science of political economy? No, he would do no such thing. Some change must be made, and at once, if counsel and persuasion would not do, they must try the effect of public opinion. If that failed, they must resort to legislative enactments, legislative compulsion. There was no time left them to fight for the abstract truths of political economy."

We cannot help thinking, that on further reflection, so sound and enlightened an economist as Mr. Scholefield will be disposed very considerably to modify the sentiments here expressed. It strikes us that he commits two very serious errors;—first, in suggesting a resort to "legislative compulsion," to effect that which mere legislative compulsion never can effect, but at a cost of police force and espionage that public opinion in England would refuse to endure—and next, in underrating the practical power of political economy to redress the class of social evils which he so feelingly deplores. Mr. Scholefield does not seem to us to put sufficient faith in that remedial action of sound and just economical legislation which, in the abstract, he admits it to possess. The process by which commercial liberty tends to abate the social evils resulting from an overstrained and excessive competition among employers and workpeople, is represented by him as being much more tardy and precarious than we believe it really is. When Mr. Scholefield says, that the "practical application" of the science of political economy to the removal of these evils must be regarded, "perhaps for many years to come," as "a mere dream," he does political economy the

injustice of overlooking what it has actually achieved in this direction, under circumstances by no means favourable to the full development of its natural tendencies. He seems to forget that in Manchester political economy and economists have already secured for young men employed in warehouses, and counting-houses the precious *weekly half-holiday*, on the Saturday afternoon—when their time is all their own, for self-improvement, recreation, healthful rest, or more healthful activity, of mind and body. Perhaps, too, our friend is not aware, that the leading political economists of that home of political economy are, at this moment, among the most active promoters of the early hours' system in shops. All this, be it observed, without any of that "legislative compulsion" which Mr. Scholefield so hastily and unwisely invokes, to accelerate a result which will naturally and inevitably work itself out, as the public mind is prepared for it, and as circumstances render it practically feasible and safe.

The experience of Birmingham itself might sufficiently suggest how very needless it is to look to legislative compulsion to supply the supposed deficiencies of political economy. All that has been done—and, seemingly, well done—in Birmingham, has been done according to the most approved principles of political economy; and only because it has been so done, is there ground for believing in the permanence and extension of the social reform thus commenced. The committee of the association, in their report, "have the greatest pleasure in announcing, that those tradesmen" who have adopted the early hours' plan, "*far from complaining, have every reason to be well satisfied with the alteration, as they find that their business can be done in less time than has been the custom; and that so far from being diminished, their business has increased.*" In that case, they will of course persevere in an experiment at once lucrative and agreeable; and their example will find imitators. Does Mr. Scholefield think that, if they had not "reason to be well satisfied with the alteration," either public opinion or legislative compulsion would avail, to give it permanence? The change works well, and bids fair to grow from the exception into the rule, simply because political economy pronounces in its favour. We entreat our friend to put a full and unreserved confidence in his own principle, that "*the science of political economy does contain within itself the remedy*" of all evils resulting from those grievous misapplications of time and labour which he so justly laments.

There cannot be a greater mistake than to regard political economy as unfriendly, either in theory or in practice, to the abridgment of the hours of labour. It is not the economists, but the protectionists—the *Sisyphists*, as our French coadjutor, M. Bastiat, happily designates them—who would aggravate the burden, and lengthen out the duration, of labour. It is they who render the business of production and exchange artificially toilsome, and compel the artisan and the shopkeeper to do more work for the loaf, or the shilling, than need be. Political economy is always for abridging and minimising labour. "Buy in the cheapest market, and sell in the dearest"—what, after all, does this mean but "Take life as easily as may be, do no needless work, make a little labour go a long way, make a few hours do the work of many, and reserve the rest for recreation and self-improvement?" Such is the direct practical tendency of all sound economical legislation—to diminish the sum of human toil, and abridge the hours of labour. The best and most efficient abridger is the legislator who removes those restrictions on trade and industry which artificially lessen the exchangeable value of labour, and which compel the labourer to expend more than he need of this great first commodity.

For our own part, we believe that those most important social reforms which Mr. Scholefield has so much at heart will come much more certainly and rapidly than he appears to expect, when the liberation of commerce and industry shall have made the conditions of the Englishman's life easier than they are at present. As trade extends,

and as the demand for clerks, porters, artisans, and all kinds of labourers extends with it, the industrious classes will be more their own masters; they will be better able to make their own terms with the capitalists—to give less, and receive more. This early-closing movement, be it remembered, was born of commercial prosperity—of that prosperity which opened on us in the year 1844, with abundant harvests and cheap bread—and its life and power are altogether dependent on the continuance, the extension, and the security of commercial prosperity. The real thing to be done, with the view of abridging the hours of labour in this country, is not so much to suggest incentives and inducements (which nature has already provided most abundantly) as to *give facilities*. We all love leisure, and would gladly have much more of it than the present conditions of industrial life in England afford to any class of working men. What we want is such an addition to the market value of labour as shall make ten hours go as far as twelve, and eight hours as far as ten—which is exactly the object and tendency of the science of political economy.

THE PROGRESS OF LEAGUE PRINCIPLES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES—THE SPANISH FREE TRADE LEAGUE.

We trust the triumph of our principles at home will shortly bring our labours to a close; but our joy and rejoicing on that account are not confined to the happy results achieved in our own country. The honest pursuit of truth and justice have attracted the sympathy of the wise and good of all nations, who see in the great principles advocated by the League the dawn of that millenium of peace and brotherhood, of liberty and civilisation, for which they have hitherto sighed in vain. Our communications with our brethren in America, France, Germany, Holland, and Spain, all breathe the same spirit—all are animated by our example, and rejoice in our success as the harbinger of their final triumph in the same course.

There are few communications which have given us more pleasure than those with our friends in Spain, because that is the country from whence we least expected to hear that our principles had taken root, or to see a periodical devoted to economical questions, giving details of the League Bazaar at Covent Garden, extracts from THE LEAGUE, accounts of its proceedings, the speeches of Cobden, Villiers, Bright, Fox, &c. It is gratifying to see that even in that benighted country there are an enlightened few who perceive that, under their existing monopoly system, Nature has lavished her bounties in vain on their rich and beautiful country, and who are struggling for that commercial freedom which presents the best means of securing its moral and political regeneration. Our readers will sympathise with the efforts of the Spanish Free Traders, and we doubt not will read with much interest the following translation of the admirable letter, addressed to the Secretary of the League by Don. Juan Antonio Seoane:

Office of the *Amigo del Pais*, Madrid, 30th March, 1846.
TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ENGLISH ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

My dear Sir,—I have received your esteemed letter of the 23d of February, from which I perceive, with much satisfaction, that my exertions in defence of the principles of the Economical Society of Madrid have called forth a sympathising and approving voice in the illustrious English League. Being charged by a twice-repeated election with the direction of the periodical of this society, no other testimonial, after theirs, could be more flattering to me than that of the Association of which you are the worthy Secretary.

Plunged into a career of selfishness by the avarice of the powerful classes, both countries have, for many years past, known no other feeling than that of rivalry, no other aim than that of the ascendancy of one upon the ruins of the other. Nevertheless, during the fierce struggle maintained to uphold the privileges of the few over the subsistence and the well being of the many, there appeared in both countries enlightened men who, elevated by their genius and their love of mankind above the common notions and practices, demonstrated, logically as well as eloquently, that if the moral code has taught the brotherhood of man, economical science proves its pecuniary advantage.

When, amidst the disdain of the aristocracy of England, Adam Smith promulgated these principles, Jovellanos and Campomanes repeated them in our country to a clergy, a nobility, and officials, who applauded them from time to time because they never dreamt of the possibility of the triumph of these theories. The Economical Society of

Madrid was founded, like all others in this kingdom, to spread this new mode of teaching over all parts of the country; and from its commencement it has not relaxed in its patriotic task.

At that time the inalienable civil and ecclesiastical tenure entirely shut out the commercial classes from two-thirds of the territorial property of Spain. The energetic voice of Jovellanos was raised, and, supported by the powerful influence of this association, the fetters were broken which bound the land to the privileged bodies; and the source of human subsistence was restored to freedom of traffic. These same classes possessed, in the tithes, the most valuable, perhaps the only, portion which the cultivator could carry to market, after satisfying the first wants of his family. The reiterated votes of the Economical Society of Madrid tended to incline the balance in favour of the abolition of that loathsome tillage, the tithes, when they were under discussion in the Parliament. The restrictions which impeded the internal freedom of trade in articles of food were abolished by the force of public opinion, enlightened by the labours of this society; and there has been scarcely any administrative abuse got rid of, whose existence had not been previously undermined by its continued representations. Nor is there an existing abuse, the abolition of which has not been repeatedly called for.

Still the Society is of opinion that little has hitherto been accomplished for the freedom of the commerce of the world, as long as the sale of its products remains cramped by restrictions avowedly in favour of the monopoly of particular interests. Spain presents to the world a scandalous neglect of her most important interests while the rich and abundant produce of her fields lies valueless in the storehouses, or anxiously begs for the lowest pittance in her markets. The easy and steady export of her natural products will be the basis of the economic regeneration of Spain.

England may with advantage secure to herself the benefit of this exportation. She can obtain from us better and cheaper corn than that of the United States, or the North (of Europe). The price of a quarter of wheat, in most parts of Spain, is 25s.; whereas in the London market it sometimes sells at 70s. the same measure. A difference of 45s. is a wide margin, from which may be abated one-third for the advantage of the English people, another third for the benefit of Spanish agriculture, and the remainder for the encouragement of internal transport, and the navigation of both nations.

Selfish interests, in both countries, oppose themselves to the immediate attainment of such immense results. But the mask has already fallen; knowledge has united the people to put to flight the birds of prey, who, under the pretence of representing the national feelings, feed upon the real substance of the thinking classes and of the people.

The press and the spirit of association will exact justice from economical as well as from other tyrannies. The people will not travel backwards at the whim of a handful of landed or manufacturing monopolists. Wise men recognise constant progression in the operations of nature; and in this constancy, the eternal and incontrovertible law of civilisation in the moral, as of attraction in the physical world; but they have never found a sliding scale of duties on the introduction of grain, nor any system of prohibitions for the real or pretended protection of manufacturers of cotton.

Sound principles are gaining ground in public opinion in Spain; and a short time since, a mercantile association was formed, whose chief object is to promote freedom of trade, as you will have seen in their newspaper, "*La Guía del Comercio*," which has been sent to the League by the editor, D. Casimero Rufino, who also desires to enter into correspondence with you.

We have watched with much anxiety the progress of the new Corn Law proposed by Sir R. Peel, and the discussion consequent upon it; and we deplore the delay of a measure so eminently beneficial to the well-being of the people and the prosperity of the country, as well as to the interests of those nations who have intercourse with it. We hope, nevertheless, that the principle of Free Trade in corn will speedily be adopted, and that upon this basis the peace of England will be firmly maintained with a people born to be their brothers and their friends.

My enlightened associates in the editorship of the "*Amigo del País*" participate in these sentiments, and deserve equally with myself the consideration of your Association; since each one in his sphere labours for the development of Spanish prosperity, by the means of economical freedom. In all countries great obstacles oppose themselves to the regeneration of nations. Everywhere the powerful classes cling to the remains of ruinous privileges acquired by force, or intrigue, during a barbarous and uncultivated social state; but enlightened men of different nations, uniting under the same banners, moved by a common conviction, will struggle against these degrading abuses, these powerful obstacles; since, whatever may be the differences which separate them on other points, there is among them all one universal religion, which is, faith in the triumph of civilisation and improvement.

For this holy purpose I shall have the greatest pleasure in entering into a mutual correspondence with you as it may suit your convenience.—Yours very truly,

JUAN ANTONIO SEOANE.

The abolition of monopoly in England will be a memorable epoch, and must facilitate its abolition throughout the world. The barbarous warfare of the sword has ceased in Europe to waste and destroy. Will nations continue the folly of injuring

each other by a war of tariffs, equally mischievous with cannons and bombshells, in destroying the development of their natural resources? We believe not. The signs of the times portend the commencement of a moral revolution, which will not cease until the principles of commercial aggression and retaliation are laid in the dust. We have already had the pleasure of recording the formation of a Free Trade League in France—Spain has followed the example set by her neighbours, and has established a "*Mercantile Confederation*" for the same objects. It is a good omen that the leaders of the confederation are not insensible of the difficulties before them, because it shows a determination to persevere to the end. We encourage them to proceed in their good work, never doubting that their labours will be finally blessed with success.

The following encouraging letter has been addressed by the Secretary of the Spanish Mercantile Confederation to the Secretary of the League, inclosing the rules of the confederation:

SPANISH MERCANTILE CONFEDERATION.

Secretary's Office, Madrid Mercantile Society,
Madrid, March 25, 1846.

DEAR SIR,—This Board of Direction, justly appreciating the extraordinary efforts of the English League against every class of monopoly, has been apprised of your communication to our mutual friend, Don Juan Antonio Seoane, whom it appears you have stimulated to the advocacy of the same principles of political economy which the League promulgates.

For your satisfaction I beg to say, that having already resided for some time in England, similar sentiments have long been entertained by myself. To these I have not ceased to give expression through the medium of my periodical, the *Guía del Comercio*, since January, 1842. The country, however, has never responded to my impressions until January of this year, when, as you will see by the circular and regulations inclosed, the Spanish Mercantile Confederation was constituted.

The Directory of the Confederation desires me to offer to yourself and to the League, in their name, an expression of that mutual sympathy which ought to animate our endeavours to obtain the glorious triumph of our common principles; principles which the Spanish nation held in practice in its province of Arragon, until the discovery of America, when the House of Austria arbitrarily proscribed them from our land. We trust, however, that we shall ere long recover the benefits of Free Trade with moderate tariffs, so as not to exclude any of the known products of the world. For so arduous an enterprise, and in a country like ours, you may easily conceive how many obstacles this Board will have to encounter.

I am desired, therefore, to place myself in communication with you, in order to express the concurrence of their sentiments with your own, and their anxious desire to enter into an explanatory and advantageous correspondence. With this motive I have great pleasure in placing myself at your service, and remain, &c. &c.,

CASIMERO RUFINO, General Secretary.

To Joseph Hickin, Secretary of the Anti-Corn-Law League, Manchester.

(INTRODUCTORY PREFACE TO THE RULES OF THE SPANISH MERCANTILE CONFEDERATION.)

MADRID MERCANTILE ASSOCIATION. THE COMMERCE OF SPAIN.

The peace in which the nation reposes, and in the preservation of which the commercial classes are more interested than any other—without which there can be neither order, enterprise, nor trade—induced the commercial body of Madrid in January, 1844, to establish a Society based upon the interests of every class of its members.

The benefits to be derived from the spirit of association and enterprise are now well understood by all enlightened countries of modern times. Among all the societies which in our own country have fulfilled the moral and patriotic objects of their founders, the meed of justice is due to the Mercantile Society of Madrid. Its labours and persevering exertions, during the two first years of its existence, have been fully appreciated and approved by the sympathetic and spontaneous incorporation with it of the commercial bodies in the various cities and districts identified by the same objects of pursuit with that of the metropolis.

Still there is an imperative necessity for the formation of a body practically acquainted with the necessities of our commerce, and the utility of drawing closer, by the bonds of an effective union, its various branches and interests; and which should be qualified to assist the Government with its advice, whenever it may think proper to consult them upon its measures. This is a serious defect—particularly that of the want of a central board of direction—which has become very evident to this and similar societies desirous to throw off the weakness and injurious isolation incident to their present management. This has been very appropriately manifested, among other bodies, in the commercial chamber of Bilbao, in its exposition of Sept. 27, 1844, and by that of Cadiz, of Jan. 16, 1845; from which we quote:

"The commerce of Spain will never attain prosperity without an intelligent and central directing body, capable of urging upon the Government a more serious consideration of the commercial question than we have hitherto had, on account, perhaps, of its

own disunion, or in consequence of the political disturbances which have distracted the attention, both of governors and governed, from the spirit of the age. During this epoch, more especially, commerce has been like an orphan abandoned to its fate; although in meetings, and before tribunals, it has sometimes met with reproaches, or expressions of barren sympathy."

Actuated by the recognition of this lamentable evil, and stimulated at the same time by various communications, and by mercantile bodies and meetings in several of the principal districts and towns, the directing body of the Madrid Mercantile Society resolved to name a committee of its own which should occupy itself in framing and proposing some regulation for the advancement and combination of the before-named elements. This honour was delegated to Seniors D Alejandro Pena Arillanjo, D Pablo Martinez, and D Casimero Rufino; who, after several meetings, and amidst many obstacles and difficulties in the compilation of each article, at length, in the course of last year, completed its task. It was then presented to the Direction; and having been again discussed and modified, was finally approved.

To give solidity and firmness to this great association, and to avoid its exposure to the dangers of apathy and disunion, the rivalry or indifference of its members, which have always been the ruin of such associations, it has been provided, that no involuntary labour shall be required, nor any, even the most insignificant personal expense incurred, without immediate payment from the funds of the Society.

One of the questions most debated, was that of the fitting title to be adopted by the new association; that of the Spanish Mercantile Confederation was at length approved of. Its objects and aims are solely to combine for the defence of its associated branches from all injustice affecting the exercise of their commercial functions—to promote the diffusion of knowledge, the improvements and prosperity of commerce through the peaceful medium of the most illustrious men to be elected from each of the provinces of the monarchy, and sent to the Directive Council in the Metropolis.

Necessity and expediency have every day the more forcibly urged the formation of a society to organise the various commercial bodies for the promotion of the common interest, and to protect and defend the rights of each one in particular. This union once effected, much will be done to render Spanish commerce powerful for the welfare of the country and of the mercantile classes.

To the Madrid Mercantile Society is due the glory of having promoted and established this organisation. It now rests with the commercial classes to complete the work. Let every merchant and tradesman, whatever may be their rank concur in enrolling their names, the class and extent of their business, and the province and population where their establishments are situated. Let them cast aside mere personal and class interests in support of this project—let them join this Confederation, which, avoiding political objects, will confine itself exclusively to the careful promotion, by legal means, of useful reforms for the general good. The apathy which benumbs our commerce, must be thrown off, as well as that careless indifference and inactivity, so fatal to its prosperity. A united and compact body once formed will soon find itself respected and possessed of that influence which belongs to commercial men in the mercantile age in which we live.

THE FREEHOLDERS' BUILDING SOCIETY, MANCHESTER. —(From a Correspondent.)—I attended the meeting of this Society last night. It was their fifth monthly meeting, and was held in the Corn Exchange, the largest room in Manchester, except the Great Free Trade Hall. On entering the building, I was struck with amazement. There were nearly 700 persons present, all on the *qui vive*, either paying or receiving subscriptions. The walls, four square, were covered with printed bills, such as "Nos. 1 to 100 at this table," "Nos. 101 to 200 at this table," and so forth, of which there were 50, so that there were 50 stewards receiving money. The regulations were admirable. Though nearly 4000*l.* was received in sums from 10*s.* and upwards, no confusion prevailed, and the whole was done in little more than an hour. Instead of names, the members are distinguished by numbers from 1 to 1000, holding in the aggregate upwards of 7000 shares! Notwithstanding that a premium of 4*s.* per share was charged for new shares, yet 200 were taken up last night, in addition to the branches, of which there are ten; 71 shares were sold last night. Only imagine a sum of 4000*l.* being received every month, in one Society alone, for building purposes! Where will monopoly be ere long?

REPRESENTATION OF MONMOUTHSHIRE.—A requisition is in course of signature, calling on Captain Edward Somerset to offer himself, in the protection interest, as a candidate for the representation of the county of Monmouth. Lord Granville Somerset, aware of the active canvass carried on against himself, has already issued an address to the electors, in which he says: "I am unwilling to disturb the county of Monmouth, when Parliament may continue for a considerable time. But I am fearful lest my silence should be misconstrued. I now, therefore, take the liberty of informing you that when the time to enter upon a contest shall arrive, I shall appeal to you to decide upon my merits as your representative."

MR. BAILLIE COCHRANE'S DEFEAT.—Mr. Cochrane's defeat has not been taken so graciously by his followers as by the honourable gentleman himself. Some of the more obstreperous of his political supporters at Bridport could not restrain their indignation against the witness Walsh, whose evidence, it may be remembered, disposed at once of the enquiry before the house. On this individual entering one of the Conservative public houses, shortly after his return from London, he was assailed by groans, and thereupon a row took place, in which every article in the room was broken. The next day Walsh's effigy was burnt, and his windows broken. Some other parties retaliated by breaking the windows of Mr. Cochrane's supporters. Appeals have been made to the several magistrates, and on Monday last, eleven persons were severally fined 10*s.* each for their share in the disturbances.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE
SESSION OF 1846.

Sixteenth Week, ending Saturday, May 9.

On Friday the Coercion Bill was removed out of the way of the Corn Bill, the first reading having been carried by a majority of 274 to 125. On Monday, after votes sanctioning pensions to Lord Hardinge and Lord Gough (the House of Lords passing similar votes on Tuesday), the Corn Bill came on for discussion. The question was, that the house should resolve itself into committee on the Corn Importation Bill, whereupon

Lord George Bentinck rose, and remarked that a new feature had been given to the discussion since the measure had been introduced. Sir Robert Peel had declared that the restrictions which he once considered were impolitic, he now believed to be unjust. It was proper, both to him and the house, that he should have an opportunity of explaining the grounds which had produced such a change during the last three months. They might be charged with producing stagnation of trade by these delays; but the charge was applicable, not to those who opposed, but to those who proposed, the change in the law. But it was alleged that the farmers were anxious for a settlement. That was true, if affirmed of their desire for a rejection of the measure. They certainly did not anticipate by it to obtain higher prices for their corn; if they did so, in the face of an importation of 1,500,000 quarters of foreign wheat, they must be what Lord John Russell had once described them to be, as dull as the clouds they tread upon—

Lord John Russell rose, and, interrupting the noble lord, explained that he had never applied such an epithet to the farmers of England. He had merely spoken of those who had termed him an enemy of the farmers, because he had proposed an 8s. duty.

Lord George Bentinck resumed, arguing that a large importation of foreign grain must necessarily produce a great precipitation of price, and that notwithstanding the alleged famine and stagnation, more corn had been sold in the 288 grain markets of this country during the four months of the present year, than in the four corresponding months of the preceding one. The fluctuations of price in the markets of the Continent, not merely in wheat, but in rye and oats, the food of the people, greatly transcended the fluctuations in this country under the operation of the sliding scale; and Mr. Huskisson, up to the last year of his life, had advocated the essential importance of steadiness of price. Our example had not yet "shaken Prussia;" France, to judge from the language of M. Guizot, and other public men, was not likely to abandon, with us, protection to native industry; the last news from the United States were not favourable to the adoption of our new commercial policy; while the potato famine in Ireland receded as we approached the predicted periods. The Irish markets had been disturbed by the false alarm raised by the Government; but it was subsiding, and prices were settling downwards. All these allegations the noble lord supported by figures, citations, and private documents; and concluded by moving, as an amendment, that the house go into committee that day three months.

Sir Robert Peel expressed his surprise that after the ample details furnished from the Scarcity Commissioners any gentleman should get up and deny the existence of distress in Ireland. No doubt it was not universal; but there was distress to an unparalleled extent, and disease, arising from deficiency of food. To check this, the Government were purchasing provisions, but the fund which supplied the means was taxation. Lord George Bentinck charged them with propagating delusion on the subject of Ireland; yet the noble lord was willing to be a party to a three months' opening of the ports in Ireland, to remedy a distress in the existence of which he did not believe. They were blamed with taking superfluous precautions; but this Irish case would not be confined to the present year; and had they neglected their duty, the censure upon them would have been ten times more severe. Adopting and deliberately repeating his affirmation, that the restrictions on the importation of grain, which he once believed impolitic, he now considers unjust, he proceeded to show why he thought them incompatible with justice. No doubt he should have found this out earlier; and he admired those who from the outset have an intuitive perception of what constitutes true principles and policy. But when a man changed his opinions, why should he not have the manliness to avow it? That was dishonesty, where conviction was concealed from a regard to personal consistency. But the question was not a personal one—it was national. Restrictions on the importation of wheat was not of general importance even to the agriculture of this country. Drawing a line from Inverness to Southampton, the wheat-growing districts would be found chiefly on the east side; and the western side of the island, as Lancashire, had no interest in restriction. The great defect of Irish agriculture, and even of this country, was the want of capital; and the delay of a final settlement of the Corn Law question prevented its application. In no country more than in this, with its ancient habits and mixed monarchy, was there greater importance to be attached to the maintenance of a territorial aristocracy. But the question was, whether or not the maintenance of restrictions on corn was essential to the existence of a territorial aristocracy. Burke had descended on the just influence which the English aristocracy derived by its wise deference to public opinion. In a former debate, Mr. Banks had compared him (Sir Robert) to Turgot, and regarded him as the precursor of a revolution.

He accepted the comparison as a compliment; for it was the French aristocracy who had themselves precipitated the revolution, by their resistance of all change, and their maintenance of exclusive privileges, when the necessity and the reason for them had passed away. The growth of our manufactures, and the increase of our population, had brought about a state of things, when the continued maintenance of restrictions on the importation of corn were no longer compatible with justice; and he, therefore, thought that their removal would as much strengthen the aristocracy as it would benefit the country. He had not affirmed that France was ready to change her commercial policy, in imitation of our example. He relied on the prevalence of good sense. Ultimately the interest of the great body of the consumers would prevail, and they would come to see the folly of buying dear and bad hardware, cotton, and linen, instead of cheap and good. A similar feeling was growing up in the United States—in fact, there was a movement of the public mind in every commercial country on the subject of Free Trade, which our example must impel. But even if we were not met by reciprocal advances on the part of other countries, we suffered no harm by relaxing our restrictions. Direct trade was better than indirect; but even if we exported gold in return for our imports, that gold must be obtained elsewhere in exchange for some other production. He concluded by emphatically expressing his confidence in the truth of Free Trade principles, and their ultimate progress.

Mr. George Banks deplored the tardy conversion of Sir Robert Peel, whom he had formerly compared, not to Turgot but to Neckar, as being in possession of similar virtues and weaknesses, and feared that his concessions to public opinion would lead to further and more disastrous changes.

Lord John Russell thought that whatever of argument the speech of Mr. Banks possessed, resolved itself into an objection to any change of opinion on the part of Sir Robert Peel. In *Gil Blas*, the assistant to Doctor Sangrado objected to the perpetual bleeding and hot water, as never effecting a cure, but always ending in death. Doctor Sangrado admitted this, but replied that he had written a book, in which he had proved bleeding and hot water to be the only infallible cure for all diseases, and he could not, therefore, change his practice. He was no admirer of the wisdom of Neckar, but it was not that minister, but the aggressions on and the impatience of the French people which led to the revolution. The safety and security of the aristocracy in this country depended on their wise deference to public opinion, and this was compromised when they maintained a law adverse to the interests of the community, and the repeal of which was viewed with so much unnecessary alarm. There had always been a wide difference between the opinions of Sir Robert Peel and such of his former supporters as now assembled "under the gangway." If not, why had he undertaken his first Free Trade experiment? If it were their destiny to teach the nations of the world how to live, let them deeply consider which of their laws and institutions were incompatible with the general welfare. Be wise beforehand; let them be taught by Catholic emancipation, the Reform Bill, and the Corn Bill; stand by institutions which are good, and give up or correct those which ought to be abolished and amended; and by that great example earn the universal title of a wise and understanding people.

Mr. D'Israeli said they did not blame the Government for the precautions which they had undertaken, but for the new commercial policy which they had proposed. The space was so short, between the last and not the least able of the protection speeches of Sir Robert Peel, and the development of his Free Trade schemes, that it was not to be wondered that they were not prepared to follow him. The speech delivered that night by the First Lord of the Treasury had not been heard for the first time. It had been delivered in different localities, and by master hands, in Stockport, in Durham, and in that classic theatre, whose representations must necessarily influence exhibitions elsewhere, and consequently it might be expected that the inferior company would adopt the popular performance. He felt this when Sir Robert Peel was tracing that picturesque line across the country; he thought of rival railways, and said this must be the line of the member for Stockport. The real question was, whether or not the measures of the Government would displace capital and labour; if they did not, he would abandon his opposition. But he insisted that they would have that effect. The capital accumulated under protection was lent by Lombard-street bankers to Lancashire manufacturers, and they must not forget what fostered their infancy, even if they had outgrown the support. He admitted that a protective policy could not be supported on isolated and petty arguments, as peculiar burdens; if they could not make out a complete and overwhelming case, they had none. But the territorial aristocracy, under which public liberty had grown up, did not comprise the whole of the landed interest. That embraced a large body of the people. Since the time of Walpole, a considerable proportion of the soil of England had passed into the hands of individuals from our great seats of industry; and this investment of capital showed that there was nothing alien in our laws to the free and ready occupation of land in this country. Colonel Torrens, in his series of pamphlets, called "The Budget," had started the subject of the circulation of the precious metals—a moot point amongst political economists; and an acute thinker, Mr. John Mill, had come deliberately to the conclusion that hostile tariffs must be met by hostile tariffs—that the only legitimate basis of exchange was reciprocity. A country, with great capital, might go on unhurt for a time; but ultimately we must exchange more and more of the labour of this country for a decreasing amount of foreign productions.

The gallery was cleared for a division, but none took place, and the house went into committee. It was understood that this was owing to a mistake, the SPEAKER not having heard a motion for the adjournment of the debate.

When the house was in committee, and Mr. Greene had read the first clause of the bill,

Lord George Bentinck moved that the chairman report progress. On this there was a division:

For the motion	85
Against it	181

Majority against it 96

Mr. P. Bennett then moved that the chairman report progress, and "don't" sit again. This created great laughter. He corrected himself by saying "report progress, and ask leave to sit again." Another division took place, when the numbers were 166 to 55.

Another motion for adjournment was made by Mr. Packe, on which

Mr. Charles Buller asked what was the object of these repeated motions? The house ought to come to some understanding on the subject.

Colonel Sibthorp disclaimed anything in connection with "understandings." Their course was straightforward. He had moved for returns which had not been produced.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer explained that the production of the returns required time.

Sir Robert Peel suggested the withdrawal of the motion, on the understanding that the Committee should not proceed that night. This was ultimately acceded to.

On Tuesday the house went into committee on the bill; and after passing wheat and barley, on arriving at "oats," Lord George Bentinck got up, and delivered another violent tirade, terming Ministers "political prostitutes," and using other phrases not very decent. He affirmed that the reduction of the duty on oats would ruin the agriculture of Ireland (as if Ireland were a rich prosperous country!), and accordingly moved that "oats" be omitted. Unluckily for the sagacity of Lord George Bentinck, it turned out that the effect of the amendment, if it were carried, would be quite the reverse of what he intended. It would admit oats without the payment of even the nominal duty of one shilling. This was a galling discovery. Lord George was obliged to abandon his amendment, and though he substituted for it an amendment to omit the whole clause, wheat, barley, oats and all, he abandoned that also; and in spite of an abortive attempt to get up a debate, the Corn Importation Bill, and afterwards the Customs' Bill, triumphantly passed through committee, amid great cheering.

There was nothing in the business of Wednesday or Thursday requiring specific notice from us, though in itself intrinsically important. We trust that next week we shall have the satisfaction of reporting the passing of the Corn Bill in the House of Commons.

We here give at length the speeches of Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell, delivered on Monday night. They will both amply repay perusal.

SIR ROBERT PEELE'S SPEECH.

SIR R. PEELE.—Sir, I shall in the first place notice that part of the noble lord's speech, the concluding part of it, in which he referred to the position and circumstances of Ireland. I certainly little expected, after the information that has been laid on the table of this house by Her Majesty's Government, information not given on any unfair selection, as the noble lord states, but the full and entire reports which have been received from the Scarcity Commissioners appointed by her Majesty's Government,—I did not expect that any hon. gentleman would deny those allegations (hear, hear). Sir, I know that scarcity is not universal throughout the kingdom; I know there are parts of the country in which the disease affecting the potato does not exist, or not to that calamitous extent in which it exists in other parts; and there may be gentlemen writing from Ireland that in the markets in their immediate vicinities there has been no great rise in the price of potatoes. You may multiply those letters from particular countries where the disease has not prevailed, but they will be no contradiction to the fact that sickness does exist in that country, growing out of the scarcity of food (hear, hear);—that there exists in many parts a scarcity of food almost to an unparalleled extent, and that the remedy her Majesty's Government are now applying is the purchase of food in order to provide subsistence for the people, who would otherwise be subjected to the greatest privation (hear, hear). And out of what source does this money come which is thus applied to the purchase of food? Is it from any great fund at the command of her Majesty's Government applicable to the purchase of food for the subsistence of the people of Ireland? No; the source from which the purchase of food is made is the general taxation of the people of the United Kingdom (hear, hear). "But," says the noble lord, "some 60 tons of potatoes have been shipped from Ireland for the supply of Liverpool and Bristol," and the noble lord asks us why we did not go into the markets and purchase the quantities so shipped? Is the noble lord ready to intercept the natural supply of food to this country, and pay for it out of the taxation of the people? Does he charge us with indifference in not having purchased the food sent for the ordinary supply of the people of this country? There are, no doubt, some markets in which there has been a reduction in the price of food; but, owing to what circumstances? (hear, hear). Solely from the purchase of Indian corn and meal, which this house has permitted to be imported duty free into Ireland, and which has checked the price of potatoes; it is to the purchase of this Indian meal that the public money has been applied (cheers). Sir, I refer to the reports that have been received from Ireland:—is there a universal conspiracy on the part of the people of Ireland to misrepresent the facts of the case, as to the state of famine and the apprehensions of disease, and to say that no such famine and no such apprehensions of disease exist? We have not withheld from the knowledge of the house any information that has reached us on this subject, and the house must judge whe-

ther we are justly chargeable with exaggeration of facts for the purpose of facilitating the passing of the Corn Bill (hear, hear). The noble lord says that by the adoption of these measures we are countenancing delusions. Sir, that is a heavy charge (hear, hear); but how, then, came the noble lord himself to consent to this extraordinary measure—that he would permit, for the period of three months (great cheering), the importation of food into Ireland to be free (cheers)? Was not the noble lord ready to give his consent to that measure (cheers)? Yet the noble lord not only believes that it would be no remedy for the distress, but he denies there is any foundation for the allegation of the existence of famine in Ireland (“hear, hear,” from the protectionists). If that is the case, what could induce the noble lord willingly to consent to so extraordinary a measure (loud cheers), one, too, which he believes would be no remedy—the relaxation of the duty on the importation of corn and provisions into Ireland (cheers)? If it is the duty of the legislature to undecieve the people, and not to countenance delusions, it is clearly incumbent on those who think with the noble lord to resist the application of so extraordinary a measure (“hear, hear,” from Lord G. Bentinck). I do not understand the noble lord’s cheer; this is what the noble lord says—“I believe that the importation of foreign provisions duty free into Ireland would be no remedy whatever for the present evils; I believe what the people of Ireland want is money with which to purchase food, not food without money (hear), but still I will give my consent to the free importation of food.” Well, but the noble lord thinks there is no particular necessity—that is, not any necessity—for resorting to any extraordinary measure. He thinks the resorting to an extraordinary measure is countenancing and exciting delusion, and has kept up the price of food (hear, hear). Yet he says he is ready to countenance that delusion by permitting, for three months, the free importation of food into Ireland (cheers). Am I wrong in saying the noble lord is ready to consent to that measure? And on what grounds is he ready to consent to it? Because the Irish members wished it! Well, the Irish members only wished it under a strong impression on their part that there is a necessity for it (hear, hear); and if nearly all the Irish members do represent that there is such an alarm of scarcity in Ireland that it is necessary to make a temporary provision for it by suspending the law imposing a duty on the import of foreign food, does the noble lord believe that those Irish members, on whose expressed wish on the subject he is ready willingly to consent to the measure, have entered into a conspiracy to delude the house into a belief that this sickness and scarcity exist? I certainly infer that the noble lord must have had a strong impression himself that there is such a scarcity as to justify such an extraordinary measure, because the noble lord did not profess any readiness to yield to the opinions and wishes of the Irish members on another subject (cheers). The impressions and wishes of the Irish members were against the Coercion Bill, but the noble lord resisted them; he thought the necessity for the Coercion Bill was established, and against the wishes and opinions of a majority of the Irish members, he acted on his own opinion, and refused his consent to the rejection of the measure (hear, hear). Therefore, if the noble lord thinks no case for it has been made out in Ireland, why is he willing to consent to a temporary suspension of the duty on foreign provisions imported into Ireland (hear, hear)? Why does he do so, if it is countenancing delusion,—if it is calculated to raise prices and to aggravate the evils of the present calamity (cheers)? Sir, you will find this Irish case is not limited to the present year; as far as Ireland is concerned, you will find the temporary suspension of the duty will not be sufficient; you will find that in the course of the present year a much smaller quantity of land has been planted with potatoes than in former years; you will find that this arises first from the unwillingness of the farmers to let their land in conacre for fear the rent should not be received, and partly from the apprehensions of the cottiers and peasants that the same disease which has affected the potatoes this year will affect them in the next (hear, hear, and cheers). You must calculate on the probability that the pressure will extend beyond the month of August next, and that in the next year, as in this, there will be a deficient supply of food; therefore, as far as Ireland is concerned, I absolutely deny that there has been any exaggeration on the part of the Government. I peremptorily deny that there has been any intentional exaggeration for the purpose of facilitating the passing of any measure. A Government seeing the progress of the disease, and being responsible for the protection of the people against famine and scarcity, has a high and important duty to perform; if that Government was known to have neglected any reasonable precaution against those evils, any precaution by which they might have been obviated, one universal condemnation would be pronounced against it, and only at the risk of such condemnation could the executive Government have neglected such precautions; in such a case, the censure you lavish on us—and most unjustly—for our superfluous precaution, would be levelled with ten times more force, because with ten times more justice, if we had presumed that all these statements were untrue, and had neglected the precaution of increasing the supply of food in Ireland. Sir, the noble lord says I stated the other night, that in the course of this discussion the opinions I entertained on this subject had undergone a change; and that the restrictions which I some time believed to be impolitic I now believed to be unjust (hear, hear). Sir, I adopt, and deliberately repeat, that sentiment (cheers). I believe these restrictions on the importation of foreign corn are unjust (cheers). The noble lord may have a right to blame me for not having made that discovery at an earlier period (“hear, hear,” from Lord George Bentinck and the protectionists); he may say I ought to have seen that these restrictions were unjust three or four years since (hear, hear); well, I admit it (cheers)! I admit that those who, having an intuitive perception of what is right respecting matters of commercial policy—that those who, after giving a patient and deliberate consideration to the subject, have adopted the right course.—I admit that they, and not others who at a later period have adopted their sentiments, are entitled to all the credit of the policy that has been pursued (hear, hear). But it is the duty of those who see reason to change their opinions to have the manliness to avow them (loud cheers). This is dishonest—to be convinced, and yet try to consult your credit for consistency by being unwilling or afraid to admit the change. I am perfectly willing to admit that by making the change I disentitle myself to the confidence of the noble lord (“hear” from the protectionists). But the question the country really has to consider is not a personal one (cheers); it is not as to the period up to which men have entertained particular opinions. The real question is, are these restrictions consistent with justice? That is the question, the only question, we have to consider.

Punish me, if you will, for not having discovered that sooner; let the discovery disentitle me to your confidence; but you cannot, on account of the personal imputation, escape the necessity of arguing the questions—are these restrictions politic, and are they just (cheers)? I do not think, then, they are consistent with justice; the noble lord says he has a right to hear from me the grounds on which I entertain that opinion. Sir, I had no reason to believe this discussion would come on to-night; I thought a debate would take place on the third reading; but I had not the slightest reason to suppose that the noble lord in the exercise of his discretion would have made a demand on me at any period of this discussion for the grounds of my opinion. But, as the noble lord requires me to do so, I will assign the grounds upon which, after mature consideration, after hearing these debates, and even after having listened to the speeches of the noble lord himself, I have come to the conclusion that these restrictions are not politic, and are not consistent with justice (hear, hear, hear). I do not think we can defend the restrictions on the importation of food, that is, an increase of the natural price of food by legislative intervention, except upon some great public reasons connected with the public good. I think the presumption is against these restrictions; the presumption, and it is a natural one, particularly in this House of Commons, which has adopted the principle of freedom from restrictions in respect to almost all other articles of import, is in favour of an unrestricted import of food; but even consistency on the part of this house requires that the same principle which has been applied to almost all other articles of foreign produce should be applied to food also, unless you can establish some clear distinction, some reason founded on the general and permanent welfare of the country, distinguishing the article of food from other articles of manufacture and produce, and showing that it is for the general interest of the community that this restriction should be maintained (hear, hear). And it is because I cannot with truth allege my belief that by establishing a Free Trade in corn you will thereby become dependent on foreign nations for that supply,—it is because I do not believe that the rate of wages varies with the direct price of food—it is because I cannot persuade myself that the continuance of this protection is necessary to agricultural prosperity—it is because I cannot establish these facts, I have come to the conclusion that the natural presumption is in favour of unrestricted import; therefore it is I think it unjust to continue the legislative restriction. I have listened to the argument, that because in this country we have a very heavy taxation there is a reason for the continuance of the restrictions on the import of food. But on mature consideration and reflection I believe that argument to be totally without foundation (cheers). I believe it is impossible to assign a high rate of taxation as a valid reason for maintaining the Corn Laws (cheers). I believe it to be illogical to contend that because the great mass of the community are heavily taxed, and necessarily heavily taxed, in respect to the consumption of all other commodities, therefore this is any good reason to lay a tax on the importation of wheat (loud cries of “hear, hear, hear”). I cannot contend that by increasing the range from which you draw your supplies of food, by bringing your food from the United States and the Continent of Europe, by increasing the number of countries in different latitudes which can feel an assurance that the British market will be open to them, and that there will be no operation of a sliding scale to excite their produce when it has been brought to our markets—I cannot contend that this dependence upon foreign nations constitutes a reason for maintaining those laws any longer (cheers). Now, look at the different classes of the community—take first the manufacturing population—is it just towards them to continue these restrictions? Can we maintain in argument that the great mass of the population who depend for the means of purchasing subsistence upon daily labour, and are employed in manufactures—can we say that they are interested in the maintenance of these laws? If you tell me that the maintenance of these laws will ensure them a more abundant supply of corn at a lower price—not in this or the next year, but I give you the greater latitude—if on a series of years you show me that the maintenance of these restrictions will ensure that abundant supply at a lower, or, if you will, at an equal price, I admit that is an argument for continuing them. But I doubt whether that is the case (hear, hear). And when I am constantly asked what will be the price I calculate of wheat in future years, and told that I am disturbing the Tithe Commutation Act, which was founded on a price of 56s. the quarter, whereas the price of wheat may fall to 48s., I think these questions afford a strong presumption in the minds of those who put them that the unrestricted import of foreign corn will have a tendency to reduce the price of wheat. The apprehension that the Tithe Commutation Act will be permanently deranged by permitting a free importation of wheat must proceed on the assumption that the calculation on which it proceeds is erroneous, and that wheat will probably be lower rather than higher. With respect, then, to the great manufacturing population, can we contend that it is for their interest that the price of wheat should be enhanced by restrictions on its import (cheers)? I do not believe that the price of wheat will be enhanced by the removal of these restrictions (hear, hear). I do not believe that the removal of the restrictions will have a tendency to increase fluctuations (cheers). I therefore believe that the great mass of the manufacturing population will be doubly benefited by the removal of these restrictions; first, by increasing the demand for these manufacturing articles upon which their labour is expended; and in the next place by giving them from the wages they receive a greater command over the necessities and comforts of life (cheers). So far then as that part of the population is concerned, I cannot maintain these restrictions in order to consult their interests. But now, with respect even to the agricultural body itself, immediately engaged in the production of articles of food. With respect to maize there is no contest, nor is there any great contest about barley, and there only remain wheat and oats. Let us then consider how much of this country are districts producing wheat. I apprehend that the wheat plant requires exposure to the sun, and if you were to divide Great Britain by a line drawn from Inverness to Southampton, I think you would find the wheat growing districts to be in a great extent to the eastward of that line. I don’t mean to say that to the westward, in Shropshire and Somersetshire for instance, you won’t find wheat-growing districts. But, speaking generally, both in Scotland and England, I think you will find the wheat-growing districts to the eastward of a line drawn as I have described. I don’t apprehend that the districts to the westward, I don’t apprehend that even the agricultural districts of Lancashire are interested in the prohibitions on the importation of wheat. I think that the wheat growing districts of this country are,

comparatively speaking, those lying exposed to the sun on the eastern coast, with the freedom from the humidity of the western coast; and it would be difficult to show that even the agricultural interest is directly concerned in increasing the price of wheat (cheers). Now, let us take Ireland—the noble lord himself read me a pretty strong lesson, that Ireland is not much interested in the continuance of these restrictions. The noble lord, on a former night, described the position of the Irish farmers to be this—he said that Lord Essex had declared that the farmers who had a large capital and much skill might contend against unrestricted import; but speaking of farmers without capital and without much skill, it would be difficult for them to contend against unrestricted import. The noble lord said that there are 500,000 farmers in Ireland, and that they all answer the description, speaking generally, as a mass of persons, without capital, and certainly without skill. What has protection then done for them (loud cheers)? It is true that there are 500,000 persons employed in the promotion of agriculture in Ireland, with all their families depending on them, and at the present moment they are farmers without capital? If it can be asserted of them as a class—I do not say universally, for, of course, exceptions to such a description are to be found—if it can be asserted generally of the farmers of Ireland as a class that they are men without capital, can we contend that the system of protection has been to them a benefit (hear, hear)? Why, to make the assertion that they have realised no capital is a very strong proof that protection has not been for their benefit (cheers). And then, with respect to the agricultural labourers in Ireland; can we contend that protection has ever operated for them advantageously, or that to them it has ever been beneficial (hear)? There is direct proof to the contrary. If you state that the agricultural labourer is in distress—that he is suffering from scarcity and disease in many parts of the country, what is the answer from the advocates of protection? Why, that it is nothing extraordinary, that it is nothing unusual, nothing out of the common course of nature, that every time it is the same (“hear, hear,” from the Opposition benches). We are told, further, that there are six weeks in every year in which the agricultural labourer finds it impossible to make the two ends meet. His potatoes fail in June or early in July, and he then finds the greatest difficulty in procuring the substitute by which to sustain life. Well, if that be the normal state of the Irish agricultural labourer, if that be not the exceptional case for which we are contending, if that be the ordinary condition, and if you say that therefore we are not justified in adopting any extraordinary remedy, can we contend that protection has been greatly for the benefit of the agricultural classes in Ireland (hear, hear). Take it as you will, if the present is an exception to the rule, in that case our remedies are justified. If, on the other hand, you state that there is always prevailing throughout the country during two months in the year destitution and famine—supposing this allegation to be correct, can you have a stronger impeachment of that state of the law under which hitherto the Irish agricultural classes have existed (cheers from the Opposition benches). I have thus attempted to show, and I, at least, am of that opinion, that the continuance of these restrictive laws is disadvantageous for the manufacturing interests, and for the interests of that class in Ireland, which is immediately connected with agriculture. And now, with respect to the agricultural classes here,—I do not mean to maintain that this change in the law will be altogether unaccompanied by distress (“hear, hear,” from the protectionist benches). I cannot deny that so great a change cannot be made without involving it in some distress; I wish, indeed, it were possible to make any alteration in any great system of law without subjecting some class to some distress. But, is it not the fact, that the parties who will be the most distressed will be those who have not science, and skill, and capital? It would be impossible permanently to maintain a law which could not be shown to be advantageous to men of capital and skill, and only to be maintained in order to give the means of subsistence to those who have not capital and skill. Nor should we be justified, as a permanent system, in maintaining these laws, and taking the food of the great body of the community, on the allegation not that they were necessary for the protection of agriculture, were science and skill applied to agriculture, but that they were necessary for the protection of those who had given in their adherence to the old system, and had unlimited means by which they could better it (cheers). And if you cannot permanently maintain it, my firm impression is, that the sooner you make known to the country what is your ultimate decision the better (hear, hear). Why, I believe also the agricultural interest is of this opinion (cheers from the Opposition benches). Yes; I believe the agricultural interest is most desirous of ascertaining the ultimate decision of Parliament with respect to the permanent system finally to be adopted. That is my decided impression (hear, hear, and cheers). I believe that the agriculturist with capital and skill, not only derives no advantage from these laws, but that he is subjected to direct injury. I consider that he has no interest whatever in the maintenance of these laws. I do not deny that there are cases in which, from the absence of capital and skill, there may be, and probably must be, some temporary suffering; but what I do deny is, that you could defend a permanent system of protection on the alleged necessity of protecting that class. And if you cannot base it, as a permanent system, on that ground—if those laws are not for the advantage of capital and skill as applied to agriculture, their duration is, I believe, necessarily temporary; and, if temporary, sooner, as I said before, a permanent arrangement is made the better (loud cheers from the Opposition; and cries of “No, no,” from the protection benches). This is the argument; the hon. gentlemen who interrupt me may have reason to show that this argument is either not conclusive or that it is fallacious; but that is the ground on which I maintain the opinion that an early settlement of these laws is absolutely required. The noble lord says, that a Minister of England would do well to adopt the language of the Minister of France, if he would see the advantage of upholding a territorial aristocracy—the maintenance of a territorial aristocracy being essential to the preservation of the Conservative principle of legislation. Now I am disposed to adopt the doctrine of that French Minister—of M. Guizot. I believe it to be of the highest importance that a territorial aristocracy should be upheld—and that in no country is it of greater importance than such should be the case than in this country, peculiar for its constitution and the character of its people (cheers). I trust that in England a territorial aristocracy, invested with just powers and authority, will long be maintained. I am convinced that it is essential to the purposes of good Government, and I am also convinced that a timely concession in a

certain state of public opinion and of society would be the most effectual way of maintaining the legitimate authority of a territorial aristocracy (hear, hear); and if I thought that the continuance of this protection was essential to the maintenance of that territorial aristocracy, I should see in that fact a very strong reason for the preservation of protection; but I must see whether it be for the real interest of the territorial aristocracy to attempt to maintain its authority by continuing restrictions on our commercial policy. The question is, will the just and legitimate influence of the landed aristocracy be best maintained by consenting to forego, or by insisting on the maintenance of this protection? My firm belief is, that it will more increase the just influence of that body now to forego protection (cheers from the Opposition benches). Why, of all the authorities on the subject, there is not one who dwells more upon the importance of a territorial aristocracy, upon the necessity of maintaining the authority of the aristocracy in this country, or who dilates more philosophically upon it, than Mr. Burke. He says that it is essential that a territorial aristocracy should be maintained in this country; he says that the aristocracy has at all times taken the lead in all measures of reform; and that, on the other hand, it is the great strength and support of conservative government. He asks, how is it that the territorial aristocracy of England has so long maintained its position? and he says that it is because it has always and invariably identified itself with the people, because it has never pertinaciously insisted on the continuance of privileges when the time for foregoing those privileges had arrived. He draws a contrast between the aristocracy of England wisely consulting public opinion, relinquishing its privileges when called upon to do so, and the territorial aristocracy of France, insisting on the retention of its privileges when, from the course of events, those privileges could no longer be concealed. In a former debate my hon. friend the member for Dorsetshire, thinking, perhaps, he was uttering a severe sarcasm, though I took it as the highest possible compliment, compared me to a Minister of France, to Turgot; and he thought I was laying the foundation of a revolution in this country by adopting and applying the principles of Turgot. Has my honourable friend so read history as to think that the doctrines of Turgot led to the French Revolution? Does my honourable friend think that, if the aristocracy had not acted as it did—if it had not insisted on the *corvées* and on the other privileges of the order, the doctrines of Turgot would have precipitated the French Revolution (hear, hear)? Does not my honourable friend feel that it was this conduct of the aristocracy, this asserting of bygone rights and immunities, rather than the doctrines of Turgot, which paved the way to that revolution (hear, hear)? I do not refer to the privileges of aristocracy because I think they will be destroyed by conceding Free Trade in this country. I truly believe, speaking of the territorial aristocracy generally, that they will receive no injury from such a policy. I make exceptions; but speaking generally of the interests of land in this country, I do not believe that the value of land, that the privileges of land, or the influence of land, will now be diminished by acceding to that policy (cheers from the Opposition). And if it will not, I am sure you are establishing only a new claim on the affections and the sympathies of the people by making a willing sacrifice. If it is demonstrated that these laws are for your benefit, then you are wise to maintain them; but if you have the conviction that agricultural prosperity and the value of land and of agricultural produce is closely interwoven with manufacturing prosperity, then, in this country, in this complicated state of society, you cannot without serious danger to the land, fix a great and lasting charge upon the manufacturing population (hear); and if you would avoid that, then, I say, better for the interest—the extended permanent interest of the territorial aristocracy to make this concession fairly and at once (cheers from the Opposition benches). There are many privileges that the aristocracy have had that have been voluntarily abandoned, and without any loss of influence whatever. How long is it since one of these privileges was that the land alone should form a qualification for a seat in this house (hear, hear)? That was one of the ancient privileges of aristocracy, and you might argue that the abandonment of that was destructive to the influence of a territorial aristocracy (hear, hear). The constitution and long prescription had required that the sole means of entering this house was by the possession of land; you found that the law was avoided, and that it was insufficient for the purpose; you voluntarily relinquished it, and by relinquishing it has the influence of the aristocracy been diminished (hear, hear)? Was not this a proof, among many others, that power has been secured to you by a timely abandonment of nominal privileges much more than by a pertinacious adherence to them (hear, hear)? Well, now, for some months, for two or three months, we have had before us an expectation of this great change; the country has had a fair knowledge that, if this law should pass, there will, on the 1st of February, 1849, be a duty of 1s. only applicable to the import of foreign corn. The people of this country, it must be remembered, are a reflecting and provident people; they look forward; and, I ask, has the interest of land, in consequence of the announcement of the contemplated change, been injuriously affected,—are farms out of lease, has there been less demand for them than usual? Is there not a conviction, on the part of the tenant, about with capital and skill to enter a farm, that there has not been, for the last ten years, a period in which he could enter on his occupation with greater advantage than at this moment (hear)? There must be in this house many gentlemen who have lately had farms to lease. Have the offers for them diminished? Is there any necessity of letting them at lower rates? As I said long ago, before this change was imputed to me, I think agricultural is to such an extent interwoven with manufacturing prosperity, that it is more dependent on that than on anything else. Reflection has confirmed me in that opinion, and I think it is for the permanent welfare of the agricultural interest, that we should lay the substantial and certain foundation of manufacturing and commercial prosperity (hear, hear, and cheers). The true interests of the land must be co-existent and consistent with the prosperity of commerce and manufactures. In point of fact, agricultural prosperity cannot exist without commercial prosperity. In all relaxations of commercial restrictions we lay the foundation for improved commercial and manufacturing prosperity, and, therefore, on that account I look forward to their direct operation on land, and I feel satisfied you will find that the value of land will increase with the removal of these restrictions and with the new claims which, by giving your consent, you will have to the sympathies of the people (cheers). And as to these laws, I believe that, with respect to the greater portion of the community, not only have they no direct interest in their con-

tinuance, but that their wishes are directly to the contrary, and that, on that account, such laws are only to be maintained at the expense of protracted and harassing strife (cheers). I believe that the repeal of these laws is the interest, direct and indirect, of the agricultural classes also. I cannot acknowledge that they are necessary to the extension of scientific agriculture, and as I cannot assign that reason for the maintenance of restrictions, I come to the conclusion that the natural presumption is in favour of an unrestricted trade in corn, that it would be unjust as well as impolitic to continue longer the existing prohibitions (cheers). After the best reflection I can give to the whole of the subject, therefore, I now deliberately repeat what I said before,—that restrictions which at first I believed to be impolitic I now believe to be unjust (cheers). I am sorry that this conclusion was not fixed in my mind at an earlier period (ironical cheers from the protection benches). Yes, the hon. gentlemen who cheer me retain their former impressions. I dare say their views are more just than ours. But, even, although I should pay the severe penalty of losing their confidence, it is my duty to avow that my sentiments have undergone a change, and not persist in defending restrictions which I cannot think are consistent with justice. The noble lord has referred to the relaxation of restrictions by foreign countries, and has said that the promises I made two or three months ago that other countries would follow our example and relax their restrictive system have not been fulfilled. Why, considering that we are now only going into committee on the bill (cheers), considering we are told that the law will never pass, and that it is confidently expected that here or elsewhere it will be defeated (cheers from the protectionists), the noble lord cannot expect that when the bill has only been read a second time, foreign countries should relax their restrictive systems. But I did not promise that your legislation would be immediately followed by such results. I prophesied that other countries would in time follow your example, but I did not say they would do so at an early period. There are, however, countries that have shown a willingness to adopt your course (cheers). Since I made the declaration in favour of a more liberal commercial system, the Two Sicilies have made an alteration in their commercial code (cheers, ironically taken up by the protectionists). That is a small country, I admit, but is it not a convincing proof that you have made some progress already, and that the charge made by the noble lord is an unfair charge to be made? With respect to France, the noble lord said, I promised that France would adopt our principles. I said no such thing. I said this—that I gave credit to the French Government for being too enlightened to wish to persevere in all their present restrictions on British articles of manufacture, but that I believed that Government would be controlled in both Chambers by the influence exercised by those who were interested in upholding the present restrictions (cheers). But I said that ultimately the opinion of the Government, backed as it is by that of many intelligent men in that country, would prevail over these interested parties, and lead the way to a more liberal commercial code. That is what I said, and all I said. I did not promise that there would be an immediate alteration in the law. What I said then I now believe. I believe that in France the interests of the great body of the consumers will at no remote period prevail, as they should prevail, over the interests of the few; and I believe now, that if you adhere to your motto of advancing in your commercial relaxations, France will follow your example; but that if, instead of advancing, you recede, your example will be much more powerful in an opposite direction. I know that societies have been formed in France to introduce into commerce and manufacture a freer system. They will be able to show that it is not for the advantage of the great body of the consumers that they should buy dear and bad hardware, dear and bad cotton, and dear and bad linen. They will be able to show that the great mass of consumers in France will benefit by obtaining instead the cheaper and better articles of this country. But I never promised, knowing as I did the strength of the interests in the French chambers, that those interests would at once yield to the influence of reason (cheers); that on the approach of an election the Ministers of that country would adopt our principles. But if you set them the example we now propose, this example will prevail—the truth of these principles will be discovered in France—the interests of the great body of the people will be understood, and, being understood, they will prevail (cheers). Well, in the United States, I believe they will prevail there also. I don't say immediately, but I know this, that a movement is taking place in the public mind in every country (cheers); and that the example of England, as it told most powerfully in favour of restriction, will now be the strongest argument in favour of relaxation. But if we now retrograde—if we say we are convinced that we have been wrong in the steps we have already taken, then we shall continue in every country the system of restriction. The noble lord said, that if we got the corn of France and the timber of Prussia, the great consideration was, what we should get them to take in return. Why, suppose they took nothing in return, what should we suffer from that (cheers and counter-cheers from the protectionists)? On what principle does the noble lord think foreign commerce is carried on? When we buy the brandies of France they are not given to us—something is given in exchange for them. We cannot take the silks of France, the timber of Prussia, and the corn of Prussia, without paying for them—there is no mode of making purchases but by giving an equivalent for them,—but, do you send out gold to those countries now? I have not seen any diminution in the gold of the Bank of England that could be attributed to this cause. If there has been a decrease in gold, it has been from our internal concerns. I have not seen that any great quantities of it have gone to Prussia. What will astonish you still more perhaps is, that I wish it had (cheers). This country would be able to command a sufficient quantity of gold if it were required in the steady and legitimate course of trade. When a regular commerce is carried on there can be no drain of gold, and even if they take nothing but gold we can only procure that by transmitting our manufactures for that gold, and then purchasing corn and timber with it. I should not be alarmed, therefore, if there should be an export of gold from this country, knowing that we shall obtain that gold by exchanging our manufactures for it. No such export can take place as will derange our internal affairs, or derange the stability of our commerce. By permitting a freer access to the brandies and silks of France, I am persuaded that we shall inflict no wound on the commerce of this country, even if France should not adopt the same with reference to our manufactures. We shall be able to get a better and a cheaper article by introducing French brandy, and we shall enable our own population to apply what they save to the purchase of other articles of consumption. Of course, if France could see her

advantage in making a corresponding relaxation in her tariff, then I admit that direct commerce is better than indirect—that it is better to exchange immediately than to carry gold for the produce of other countries. But if we can't have the double advantage, don't let us refuse to have the single (loud cheers). If we can't have the good article cheaper, do not let us refuse to avail ourselves of it because our neighbours will not do the same. Sir, I have that confidence in the example of England, that when it is seen to be in favour of commerce, and not in favour of restriction—when the public attention in different countries is called to it—I still retain the impression, that at no remote period this principle will ultimately prevail. I therefore reiterate the advice I have given before, that England should take for her motto, and the indication of your intentions—"Advance, and do not retrograde in the course of your commercial policy." (The right hon. baronet resumed his seat amid loud and continued cheering).

MR. BANKES then addressed the house, and was succeeded by

LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

LORD J. RUSSELL: The hon. and learned member who has just sat down (Mr. Bankes) has declared that he did not mean to taunt the right hon. gentleman opposite (Sir R. Peel) with changing his opinion, and has stated that he believes that change of opinion to be sincere. At the same time I must say, that the speech of the hon. and learned member was so much wanting in argument, and consisted so much of a repetition of what I considered taunt against the right hon. gentleman opposite, that I do consider that that does form the staple of the objections which are felt to the course which the Government is now pursuing (hear, hear). I cannot but ask, supposing the right hon. gentleman—as I think we may in justice to him suppose—to be sincere in the opinion he now professes, I cannot but ask, what course it was possible for him to pursue? Diminish, as much, as you please, the scarcity and disease of potatoes in Ireland, still you must admit that in some parts of that country there does exist great distress. We have readily agreed to grants for the purpose of relieving that distress, and have admitted that relief was required by some extraordinary measure. Such being the case, those who are in favour of a change of the Corn Laws would have argued—it is impossible for them not to have so argued—that this formed an additional ground for taking into consideration the Corn Laws (hear, hear). It would have been said that large sums of public money would have been laid out in, and a great portion of the taxes applied to the relief of the people of Ireland, in cases where they are suffering from want of food, and yet you still maintain a law by which food is not admitted here from foreign countries ready to send it us (hear, hear). If the right hon. gentleman opposite had thought that these Corn Laws ought to be maintained under all circumstances, he might have made an argument for their maintenance; but if such is not his opinion—if he feels that these laws could not be maintained to the advantage of this empire—how intolerable would have been the position of the right honourable gentleman, if he had attempted to defend these laws, and had asked only for temporary remedies and temporary grants for relief (hear, hear, hear). What other course could the right hon. gentleman, as the Minister of a great country, take—holding the opinion he professes, and I believe sincerely entertains, that this question ought to be finally settled—than that which he has taken (hear, hear)? No doubt this is not consistent with the course he took before, and the hon. and learned gentleman says, with great satisfaction, "I see no reason to change my opinion." I think we have heard arguments in variety for the last few years, which I need not endeavour now to repeat, sufficient to show that these Corn Laws have produced great evils in this country, and that in times of distress, when food was dear, mortality and crime have increased in proportion to the dearthness of food (hear, hear). I know but one example like the consistency which the hon. and learned gentleman would seem to recommend, and that is contained in the novel of Gil Blas. I recollect that Gil Blas, when assistant to Dr. Sangrado, says to his master, "I have now been your assistant for some months, and I see that every case ends fatally; we have tried bleeding and hot water whether the patient was a young person or old, whether the illness was sudden or of long standing, and the termination has always been the same; we have effected no cure; our treatment has only increased the disease, and ended in death." And then Dr. Sangrado replies, "It is quite true; there is not a case in which we have effected a cure; my treatment seems to have no good result; but I have written a book to show that it is the only cure, and therefore it is impossible to change it" (cheers and laughter). The hon. and learned gentleman seems to be alarmed at the prospect of evils approaching us, and it appears that he has found a great likeness between the right hon. gentleman opposite and Neckar. I confess I do not see those points of resemblance to which the hon. and learned gentleman has alluded, or any resemblance between the abolition of the Corn Laws and the commencement of the French Revolution, though I am no admirer of his wisdom, firmness, or talent. I believe that the cause of the French Revolution was the oppression of the French people, and I entirely agree in those observations which the right honourable gentleman quoted from Burke, to the effect that the safety and the security of the aristocracy of this country depends on their wise observance of public opinion, and their determination not to maintain laws which the country feels convinced are injurious to it (hear, hear). I wish to maintain the landlord aristocracy, and I do not wish to see them supplanted by any other class of the community; but I think, with respect to these Corn Laws, that if the aristocracy went on from year to year maintaining laws which it could be shown had the effect of raising the price of corn grown on their own land, and thereby tending to increase their income: and if, as might be the case, the majority of the community came to be of opinion that the aristocracy were acting from such motives, there would then be no position so dangerous to them as the obstinate maintenance of those laws (hear, hear). And when these Corn Laws are done away with—when that date of February, 1849, arrives, in what respect will the landed aristocracy be in a worse position than they ought to be according to equity and just laws (hear, hear)? They will not have any disadvantage by being deprived of the protection which other classes of the community have. The law is, generally speaking, to be equal to all (hear, hear). The aristocracy are not to have the advantage of protection for corn; neither are the manufacturers or commercial men to have protection or prohibition with reference to articles in which they deal. There is not, in that respect, therefore, to be any inequality. All parties are to be placed on equal

terms; and with respect to other matters, I do not know any country in the world where any class has a position at once so honourable, so advantageous, and I would almost say, so easy to fulfil as the English landed aristocracy (hear, hear). They are in the possession of great property, which has been increased enormously since the time when manufactures and commerce, towards the end of the last century, took a great start and made great progress (hear, hear). They have the advantage of competing for political power with all the other classes of the community, and they are able to obtain places in the House of Commons, whilst they nearly possess the whole of the House of Lords; and they have the further advantage which a civilised community, such as is to be found in this country, always carries with it (hear, hear). I must say that I do not know that there is any class in any country in the world which the English landed aristocracy have to envy (hear, hear); and if I were asked with respect to their political power, I should say, that while they competed with other classes of the community, which likewise have acquired wealth, and likewise have intelligence, and are fitted to rise to the highest posts which British subjects can occupy under the constitution, the English aristocracy need to be proud to fill no other situation than that, which their own ability, exertions, and industry, and those of their forefathers, enable them to do. The honourable and learned gentleman seems much alarmed at the idea that the country will have to pay very dearly for this boon of the abolition of the Corn Laws, and he appears afraid that we shall part with all the gold in the country. Wheat is to be brought from other countries, and it is said that the foreigners will take nothing but gold in exchange. But gold must be obtained somewhere: and so, if we have gold, we must give manufactures in exchange for it. But then it is contended that we do not know the price that must be paid for gold; but, for my part, I think that matter may be safely left to the manufacturers, who will know the price which gold naturally should bear (hear, hear). Therefore I say that any alarm of that kind is really preposterous. In point of fact there has been for several years a great quantity of wheat imported; at first there was an exportation of bullion and of specie, but after two or three years the course of trade became regulated, the export of our manufactures has increased, and these manufactures have been taken in exchange for corn. Such will be the result when trade is constantly carried on, as will be the case under the law which the right hon. baronet has proposed (hear, hear). And now, Sir, I must say a few words on the question with regard to which the hon. and learned gentleman has also spoken, namely, as to the division which has taken place between him and those who follow the noble lord the member for Lynn, and those who still follow the right honourable gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, and I must say, I do not think this difference of opinion has arisen for the first time during the present year (hear, hear). Whatever may be said, a difference of opinion has existed. It has appeared to me for years that the opinions of the right hon. gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, the opinions of the right hon. gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and the opinions of others who now act with them have been exceedingly different from the opinions of the hon. and learned gentleman who has just spoken, and of others who have acted with him during the present session. Accordingly we have seen, from the first commencement of the ministry, that there has been this great difference of opinion between them. The right honourable gentleman, the First Lord of the Treasury, said, at the beginning of the present session, that the experience of the last three years of Free Trade, in certain articles, has convinced him of the propriety of proceeding in the same course; but if the right honourable gentleman had been a friend of the protection so common on the part of the great body who vote for the maintenance of the Corn Laws, why were those experiments in Free Trade made? What could have induced those experiments in the commercial policy—the enlightened and the enlarged policy, as I think, but at all events, the commercial policy opposed to the views of the hon. gentlemen below the gangway? We have seen, in the course of the last few years, whether, with respect to this commercial policy, or the Canadian Corn Bill, or on religious questions, such as the Maynooth Bill, that there has been a great difference of opinion between the Government and those who, before they succeeded to office, were their most active and cordial allies. What is the conclusion to be drawn from this? The conclusion is, that though there was a union to put an end to the late Government—though there was a combination, there was no party united in their views of public policy. Therefore, I think for the public interests, it is better, far better, that the right hon. gentleman should entertain his views of public policy, and that those gentlemen should fairly declare their views and the opinions they honestly entertain, and vote against the right hon. baronet (hear, hear). The hon. and learned gentleman who has just spoken has referred to an association—meaning what is commonly known by the League, and of another association existing across the channel, with another object—the repeal of the legislative union. Now, I do beg the hon. and learned gentleman to consider a little—as he has so strong a dislike to yielding to associations, as he does not approve of the course of policy which has been agitated in our market places, and in our streets for years, and as he thinks it wiser that improvements should commence with Parliament, and should be sent as law at once among the people rather than that they should be the consequence of popular agitation—as I collect that to be his opinion—I wish that he, and those who act with him, would consider the experience of late years. For many years we contended for the question of Parliamentary reform. I remember, Sir, that I said in this house, if we did not allow it to flow on with the river, we must expect it to rush like the torrent. I was laughed at for that expression; it was said to be an absurd and ridiculous expression. But when the Reform Bill was introduced, the popular fury rose to such a height that it would consent to nothing but the bill; and it was then seen that it would have been wiser to have made some concession to the previous agitation. And, with regard to the subjects which may arise when the question of corn shall be settled, especially with respect to that country to which the noble lord the member for Lynn, and the hon. and learned gentleman have alluded, I hope that he and others will consider whether there may not be measures which it will be wise in Parliament to enact, before we are dictated to by popular agitation (cheers). Of this I am sure, that if we mean, as I trust it is our destiny, to give a great example to the nations of the world—to teach the nations of the world how to live—we, the House of Commons, ought most deeply to consider which of our institutions and laws are founded upon truth, upon reason, and upon justice (cheers). You find fault with the

right hon. gentleman for now declaring the Corn Laws to be unjust. Why are they unjust? Because they are restrictions; and if they are not authorised and justified by the general safety and welfare of the country, we ought not to uphold what are otherwise unjust laws. And, if there are other laws which stand in the same position, do not wait till agitation shall render a change inevitable. Be wise beforehand (hear, hear). Profit by the example of Catholic emancipation, of the reform in Parliament, and of the Corn Laws, and endeavour to secure what alone can be maintained. Stand by the institutions that are good, and give timely correction to abuses which are unworthy of your support. This is the way, I am convinced, by which you will give a great and noble example, and by which, in the sight of all nations, it will be said "Truly this is a great nation, this is a wise and understanding people (hear, hear)."

THE CONDITION OF OUR WEST INDIAN COLONIES.

To the Editor of the Economist.

Sir,—In a circular which I addressed in May, 1845, to the shareholders of the Jamaica Railway, I said:

"I am deeply impressed with the conviction that the falling off in the aggregate production of the Island staples, may be traced to many concurring causes besides that of the abolition of slavery. I apprehend, that the want of the necessary capital, on the part of resident proprietors—the want of confidence on the part of absentees (resulting from deficient crops, the natural effects of the great social changes which have been so recently brought about)—the numerous instances in which estates are the subject of legal proceedings—and, above all, the inexperience of the bulk of the community, as to the most economical mode of applying free labour, added to the comparatively small progress which has been hitherto made in agricultural science have, one and all, so overlaid and entangled the question of comparative cost between the two systems, that the solution of this most important and interesting problem, by a deliberate, and careful, and practical analysis of every branch of the subject, has yet to be attempted.

"Connected, as it is, with the success of the railway, as well as of other projects for benefiting the island, I have determined on devoting a few months of prospective leisure to the task. With this view, I have engaged the services of Mr. Thomas Dickon, of Thorsey, near Caistor, Lincolnshire, a gentleman who has been long and extensively known as an experienced and scientific agriculturist, and who will accompany me to Jamaica. With his assistance, it is my intention to ascertain, by personal observation, the actual condition and present mode of cultivating estates; and it will be our united endeavour to apply to the necessities of tropical agriculture the results of practical experience in this country."

I will now submit as briefly as I can the result of our observations in Jamaica. For the sake of clearness, I will address myself *seriatim* to the various causes which I had previously imagined as having a concurrent influence in the decreased aggregate production of the island.

The abolition of slavery has, of itself, had a considerable effect; because with it the artificial system of *production without profit* has received a serious check. I need not trouble you with any explanation of the causes which made the original cultivator of a sugar estate by slave labour dependent upon the English capitalist for the necessary means; or the temptation which was held out, by the facility with which such assistance was procured, to injudicious investments. It is enough for my purpose to state the fact that a very large portion of Jamaica estates were constantly under mortgage to English merchants, whose annual emoluments in the shape of interest, commission, freights, and overcharges on supplies, were so great, as to reconcile them to the improbability of their being repaid the principal money; while the planter had no alternative but to continue the cultivation possibly with the hope of ultimate independence, but certainly as the only means of propitiating his creditor, and saving himself from foreclosure and ejectment. So long as slavery existed, he contributed, by the labour of his slaves, to the production of the estate. Abolition deprived him of this, and left him a mere incumbrance on the mortgage. The latter received an instalment of the debt in his share of the 20 millions compensation fund, and finding himself the only responsible party in the transaction, declined to incur the hazard and expense of working the estate by free labour. The result of all this has been, that a large number of estates have been abandoned, which, under a sounder system, would never have existed.

As somewhat analogous to the preceding may be cited the cases of numerous estates, where joint-ownerships—receiverships in chancery—life interests—and other similar predicaments, have only begun to operate seriously when a stop was put to their being worked by slave labour. Any one acquainted with Jamaica will be at no loss to adduce instances in every parish where the finest properties are rendered wholly unproductive by some one of the aforementioned causes, and which might be advantageously cultivated, could the legal difficulties be removed.

Another serious drawback upon the cultivation has been found in the long and unexampled droughts to which the island has been exposed during the last ten years. The effects of these visitations have no doubt been aggravated by the fact of their occurrence at the time when the transition from slavery to freedom had unhinged the usual relations of society, and had beyond all dispute (for a time at least) deprived the planters of that labour which was indispensable to the efficient cultivation of their estates. It will be readily understood how two such powerful causes have combined to dissipate the available means of the planter, and bring about the inevitable abandonment of the cultivation.

Here, then, we have important elements of decreased production, which, although called into action by the substitution of free for slave labour, have really nothing whatever to do with the comparison of the relative cost of either system. Let us now proceed to examine the arguments and position of those who are unaffected by any of the preceding contingencies.

It is alleged by the Jamaica planters, and reiterated by the absentee proprietors, that it is difficult to secure a supply of labour on sufficiently reasonable terms to work the estates to profit; and that it is utterly impossible to secure continuous labour from the negroes at any rate of wages; that immigration is consequently indispensable for the purpose of meeting this double difficulty; and it is made a ground of complaint, that while they are threatened with an increased competition in the home market, they are so hampered by government restrictions as to be prevented from increasing their population to any sensible extent.

During our recent sojourn in Jamaica, Mr. Dickon and I, either together or separately, visited 18 out of the 22 parishes into which the island is divided. Our avowed object was to make inquiries respecting the system of cultivation and manufacture of the staples, and the all-important question of the supply of labour, confining myself, for the moment, to

the latter topic. We found that, although everybody was ready to bear witness to the generally acknowledged want of labour in his district, the cases were exceedingly rare, indeed, that I could actually enumerate them), where our informants spoke from their own personal experience; and in these cases a little inquiry sufficed to show that the unwillingness of the labourers to work upon the estates might be traced to either inability to pay the wages, or some difference of opinion as to the rate.

The best evidence which I can adduce of there being no general disinclination on the part of the negroes to work, is the fact, that we met with more than one instance where they had continued to labour on the estate without having received their wages for many months, but were depending on the honour of their employer to pay them out of the first money which came into his hands. We also found that from some parishes, where the circumstances of the planters were the most reduced, the negroes had migrated to others, some 30 and 40 miles distant, in search of employment—not so much for increased wages, as for the sake of securing regularity in their payment.

It must, however, be recorded that, in some districts, we found that the labourers had, in the month of August after the anniversary of emancipation, and for a week or ten days immediately subsequent to the vernal and autumnal rains, almost universally absented themselves from their labour on the estates.

It is impossible to deny the great evils to which such an interruption must subject the planter; but even these are certainly to be mitigated, and, I believe, effectually overcome by a greater regard than is at present paid to providing continuous employment, whereby many portions of the cultivation might be more economically and efficiently performed than they are at present, and by the payment of such money-wages as will induce the labourer to value his place more than his provision ground.

But I shall be met by the assurance, that the cultivation of sugar will not admit of paying higher wages than 1s. or 1s. 3d. per diem. Let us examine for ourselves. The materials are not always at hand to analyse the outgoings of a Jamaica estate; but I happen to have before me the particulars of one of the estates which we visited, and which bears so fully upon this head, that I shall be excused for giving them at length. It will be seen that they fully corroborate the accounts already published by the Jamaica Agricultural Society respecting Denbigh House Hall and Seville estates.

ACCOUNT OF ACTUAL EXPENSES OF MONEY MUSK ESTATE IN THE PARISH OF VLER, JAMAICA.

For 30 Acres of Plants.

Ploughing, three men per acre; opening plough holes, 30; dropping manure and planting, 26; carrying out manure, 15; first cleaning and supplying, 12; second cleaning, 8; third cleaning and banking, 14; trashing (if heavy lodges), 10 3,540

For 200 Acres of Labourers.

First turning trash and moulding, 8 men per acre; cleaning and supplying, 7; cleaning and moulding supplies, 5; booting (lightly), 4 4,800

For 30 Acres Guinea Corn.

Planting, 2 men per acre; singling and moulding, 10; supplying and drawing suckers, 12 720

Billing 60 acres pastures, at 2 men per acre 120

Employment during Crop.

About the works—say, total for crop, 16 weeks .. 2,720

Cutting canes, 25 per diem 2,000

Tying canes and loading wains (inferior hands) .. 2,000

Children drying trash, 10 for 16 weeks 800

Wain-men and boys, 10 per day 192

Wagoner and boy 1,040

1 head carpenter and 3 assistants 9,592

1 wain-man and boy out of crop 400

2 cattle boys for 365 days each 730

3 grass cutters for 260 do 780

1,910

Total 20,642

Cost of 15,636 days' labour, at 1s. 781 16 0

— 4,206 — at 6d. 1,053 0 0

— 800 — at 4½d 15 0 0

Total cost .. Sterling 901 19 0

Add the following general charges in Jamaica old currency:

Coopers raising and heading 200 hhd. at 3s. 4d., and 60 puns. at 5s. 48 6 8

Carpenter 200l., 3 masons 50l., blacksmith 20l. .. 270 0 0

Watchmen 40l., domestic servants 180l., mason work 50l. .. 270 0 0

Coppersmith work 40l., wharfage 100l., ranger 20l. .. 160 0 0

Medical attendance 25l., cattleman 20l., mill timber, 10l. .. 55 0 0

Staves, puncheons, packs, deals, and smiths' coals .. 290 0 0

Nails, rivets, tools, &c., 17l., sundries for steam engine, 20l. .. 57 0 0

Beef, pork, lard, &c. &c. 105l., lamp and punt oil, tallow, &c., 48l. .. 153 0 0

Taxes 240l., 10 head cattle purchased 180l. .. 420 0 0

All salaries, attorney included .. 360 0 0

Currency 2,163 6 8

Sterling 1,262 0 0

Add for day labour .. 901 19 0

Total expenditure .. £2,163 19 0

Estimated value of 200 hhd. sugar at 30l. .. £6,000

currency .. 1,080

Ditto of 60 puns. rum at 18l. do. .. 1,080

Currency 7,080—or £4,248 sterl.

The foregoing valuations of the produce are too low, but I adhere implicitly to the original figures.

Here, then, we have a gross revenue of 4,250l. sterling, produced by 20,642 days' labour, at rates varying from 1s. and 4½d. per day, and costing in the whole the sum of 900l. Without going into the questions of how far the net proceeds of the estate might have been increased by the sale of corn and cattle, which form items on the debit side, or how far the labour actually employed might by the more extensive use of implements have been economised, I think it may be safely asserted, that if necessary the daily wages might have been augmented from 50 to 75 per cent. without subjecting the proprietor to anything like loss in his cultivation.

The estate in question has no peculiar advantages beyond those by which it is surrounded. It was at the time of our visit under the charge of the son of the proprietor, and although suffering from many portions of the prevailing system, its general condition and appearance were among the best which we witnessed. We were assured that the only labourers employed were the former slaves on the estate.

We are again told that no amount of wages will secure continuous labour. This assertion was not borne out by what we saw upon several estates, and certainly it is com-

pletely refuted by our experience in the construction of the railway between Kingston and Spanish Town. We employed for upwards of a year an average of 500 men, without experiencing at any time any difficulty from interrupted labour. I shall be told that we paid exorbitant wages, and that the work was such as suited the tastes of the negroes from its nature and novelty. True, we paid 2s. per diem, but we took care to accompany it with strict and constant supervision, and we found our account in substituting the pick-axe, the shovel, and the wheelbarrow, for the worn out hoe and little wooden bowl, whereby we secured the removal of 10 cubic yards of earth as the daily task, and for which we should have had to pay something like 3s. 6d. in England. I cannot well imagine what there was in either the nature or novelty of the work to make it more inviting than the labour on an estate, or on their own provision grounds. The only coercion we used was the certainty of dismissal for absence, and we found it work well.

The capital which some would suggest should have been devoted to the economy of manual labour—to the erection of steam engines—the laying down of tramways—the importation of skilled agricultural labourers and artisans—to the judicious management of cattle—the more perfect and scientific tillage of your soil, and the more economical manufacture of your produce—has been devoted to the importation of human beings—to, in short, a modified species of slave trade. You have staked your existence on physical strength—you have asked for and obtained "liberty to compete"—you have had a clear stage, and you must look for no favour. Look around you. Your first competitors are the East Indians, with their labour at 3d. per day; your next, the planters of Java, China, and Manilla, with their millions of populations; your next, those of Cuba and Brazil, with their crowds of African slaves, whose thews and sinews are so many more marketable machines, to be used and used until they snap, and are replaced by others.

I refrain from urging, with the force which the subject merits, the injustice which any scheme of immigration, by means of public taxation, must inflict upon the mercantile classes in the towns, or on those planters who look to other appliances than manual labour for the cultivation of the soil; and above all, on the present labouring population, who already pay 3-5ths of the duties on imports, and who are to be further taxed for the mere purpose of creating their own competitors. I will rather ask, Who can magnify the evils of a system of small holdings and separate self-dependence when once created, or who can set bounds to the demoralising effects which the introduction of a large body of Pagan Hill Coolies is to have upon the nascent Christianity of the negro race?—or what can guarantee the island (for the laws do not) against a general defection on the part of the Coolies after the first twelve months, and their becoming an idle and dangerous body of vagrants, loiterers, cursing the land? It will be in vain that the colonists shall seek to rid themselves of their presence by incurring the vast expenditure of their removal. The pollution of their vices will have been already sown broadcast, and cannot fail to yield a corresponding harvest.

If, then, we look at immigration as a remedy for high wages and interrupted labour, we find it unavailing—as a means of enabling the planter to sustain increased competition, a broken reed—or as a financial operation, an unwise investment. We find it too depending on injustice for its accomplishment, and involving in its operation an amount of social evil which it is sickening to contemplate.

In my next letter I will endeavour to trace some of the real difficulties which beset Jamaica interests.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM SMITH.
London, 30th April, 1846.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, May 6, 1846.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

As the regulations of the Post Office require that the Christian Name of the party to whom Post Office Orders are sent should be given in full, subscribers are respectfully requested to procure their Orders in future for GEORGE WILSON, League Offices, Manchester, or ABRAHAM WALTER PAULTON, 67, Fleet-street, London.

	£.	s.	d.
*Miller, Thomas, Preston	100	0	0
*Lees, Wm. and Co., Blackburn	100	0	0
*Miller, Henry, Preston	40	0	0
*Marshall, Henry, M.P., Stockport	40	0	0
*Crosley, John, and Sons, H. Helen Bridge	30	0	0
*Vines and Williams, Brown-street, Manchester	20	0	0
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*Sagden, Joseph, Chesham-street, Rochdale	5	0	0
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*Wright, Robert, Briggate, Leeds	1	1	0
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A Few Friends, per Charles Souter, White's Place, Montrose, N.B.	0	13	0
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Milner, J. B., 11, Todd-street, Manchester	0	5	0

Hull.	*Bates, Elv, West Hill	10	0	0
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	*Shaw, Wm., woolstapler, Westgate	2	0	0
Hudders-	*Briggs, John	1	0	0
field.	*Redburn, John, Leeds Road	1	0	0
	*Thames, Wright, Kirkburton	1	0	0
	*Pitt, Robert, do	0	4	0
	*Gibson, Wm., King-street	0	2	0
	*McPhail, Dargald, and Co., Greenhead	50	0	0
	*Crum, J. and W. and Co., Cochrane-st.	30	0	0
	*Young, John, jun., Ingram-street	20	0	0
	*Gibson, Wm., Nile-street	20	0	0
	*Stewart, Robert, 37, West George-st.	20	0	0
	A Friend, per W. Buchanan, St. Vin-	12	0	0
Glasgow.	cent place	12	0	0
	*Anderson, John, 20, Renfield-street	12	0	0
	*Stirling, George, 28, Indirect-street	10	0	0
	*Laurie, James, 31, Montrose-street	10	0	0
	*McClelland, James, 123, Ingram-street	10	0	0
	*Couper, James, Exchange buildings	10	0	0

*Bryson, Robert, Wilson-street	8	0	0
*Mitchell, James, Miller-street	6	0	0
Orr, Robert, 34, Elm Bank Crescent	5	0	0
A Friend, per Alex. Smyth, 20, West George-street	5	0	0
*Finlay, R. G., and Brothers, Montrose-street	5	0	0
*McLaren, Wm., Camberlriggs	4	0	0
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*Naimson, Alex., 5, St. Andrew's-sq.	3	3	0
*Lancaster, George, Printfield, Furnistown	3	0	0
*Hamilton, John, Stockwell-street	3	0	0
*Allen, Alexander, Camberlriggs	2	0	0
*Kerr, Malcolm, Queen-street	2	0	0
*White, Wm., 73, do	2	0	0
*Young, George, 163, Ingram-street	2	0	0
*Glanias, George, Springfield Court	2	0	0
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*Barr, Robert, Griffe Grove Mill, Bridge of Weir	1	10	0
*Anderson, Messrs. and Co., 157, Tron-gate	1	1	0
*Henderson, Peter B., George's-square	1	1	0
*Bow, Wm., 48, London-street	1	1	0
*Boyle, Wm., 52, Hutcheson-street	1	0	0
*Bannantyne and Ferguson, 46, Renfield-street	1	0	0
*Workers of W. and A. Taylor, Millend	1	0	0
*Barclay, Wm., 66, Argyle-street	1	0	0
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*Campbell, J., Renton, Dumbartonshire	1	0	0
*Chalmers, Thomas, 161, Tron-gate	1	0	0
*Phillips, Thomas, 35, Glassford-street	1	0	0
*Miller, Joseph, 395, Argyle-street	1	0	0
*Ingles, Thomas, 649, Gallowgate	1	0	0
*Caird, John, 320, Renfrew-street	1	0	0
*Aked, J. S., Springfield Court	1	0	0
*McDonald, David, 134, Tron-gate	1	0	0
*Robertson, A. and W., 169, do	1	0	0
*Stuart, Wm., 18, Hutcheson-street	1	0	0
*Alexander, James, 99, Glassford-street	1	0	0
*Mure, G. W., 46, Gordon-street	1	0	0
*Rigg, Arch., 55, Buchanan-street	1	0	0
*Muir, David, Kilwinning, Ayrshire	1	0	0
*Turner, James, Stirling-street	1	0	0
*Russell, Alex., 51, North Hanover-st.	1	0	0
*Salmon, John, Wilson-street	1	0	0
*Kirkpatrick, Robert, 15, Hutcheson-st.	0	4	0
*McCall, H. and Son, Glassford-street	0	4	0
*McTear, Andrew, Argyle-street	0	4	0
*Gardiner, Wm., Buchanan-street	0	4	0
*Wilson, And., Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway Office	0	4	0
A. M. K., Miller, 189, Tron-gate	0	4	0
*Dawson, C. H.	0	60	0
*Rennie, Tetley, and Co.	0	50	0
*Salt, D., and Son	0	30	0
*Bateman, Daniel, and Sons	0	20	0
*Russell, J.	0	20	0
*Oxley, George	0	20	0
*Craven and Harrop	0	20	0
*Garnett, James	0	20	0
*Smith, Samuel	0	20	0
*Free Trader	0	10	0
*Armitage, George, and Co.	0	10	0
*Law, James	0	10	0
*Douglas, Wm.	0	10	0
*Harrison, Benjamin	0	10	0
*Brown, Henry	0	10	0
*Aked, Thomas	0	6	0
*Passavant, Ph. and Co.	0	5	0
*Leeming, J., and Son	0	5	0
*Berry, Benjamin	0	5	0
*Allen, E. and R.	0	4	0
*Clapham and Whitaker	0	4	0
*Steel, Wm.	0	4	0
*Smith, M. and S.	0	4	0
*Bottomley, Samuel	0	3	0
*Wilkinson, Wm.	0	3	0
*Holden, P. K.	0	2	0
*Byles, Wm.	0	2	0
*Scott, Rev. Walter	0	2	0
*Acworth, Rev. James	0	2	0
*Stowell and Sugden	0	2	0
*Miller, John	0	2	0
*Wilson, Christopher, and Brothers	0	1	0
*Dinton, Wm.	0	1	0
*Droglan, John	0	1	0
*Duffon, Joseph, and Son, Pudsey, near	0	1	0
*Wade, Wm., Chapel Town, do	0	1	0
*Kempsey, Mr., do	0	1	0
*Womersley, R., Marsh, do	0	1	0
*Moss, Charles, do	0	1	0
*Stansfield, Geo. and Co., do	0	1	0
*Walker, J. T., Lane End, do	0	1	0

*Waguelin, T. M., 7, Austin-friars	20	0	0
*Weymouth, H., 17, Bryanstone-square	10	0	0
*Jerram, J., Fenchurch-buildings	10	0	0
*Harrison, F. and Co., Bow Churchyard	6	0	0
*Fennings, R. L. and J., Fennings's Wharf, Tooley-st.	5	5	0
*Bateman, Dr. J., East Lida-road	5	0	0
*White, Henry, 87, Lower East Smithfield	5	0	0
*Woodfill, G., Angel-court, Skinner-street	4	0	0
*Miller, John, of the firm of Miller and Arthur, Leith	1	1	0
*Melluish, Wm., Blackheath-hill, Blackheath	1	1	0
*Bennett, G. W., Tranquil Vale, do	1	1	0
*Shove, W. S., do	1	1	0
*Post, Jacob, 15, Lower-street, Islington	1	1	0
*Webb, C. J., 440, Oxford-street	1	1	0
*Brewin, W., Denmark-hill	1	1	0
*Harding, J. G., 96, Albany-street, Regent's-park	1	1	0
*James, James, 3, Benthick-street, St. James's	1	1	0
*Shove, John, Lewisham, Kent	1	1	0
*Hamblin, John, 19, Welbeck-street, Lenark	1	1	0
*Paine, John, 10, Parade, Birmingham	1	1	0
*Dennis, Charles, 10, George-street, Piccadilly	1	1	0
*Brown, J., 17, Upper George-street, Bryanstone-sq.	1	1	0
*Harbert, C., 20, Clippstone-street, Marylebone	1	1	0
*Dennis, Wm., Little Pultney-street, St. James's	1	1	0
*Shea, John, 59, Aldermanbury	1	1	0
*Nowell, W. H., 7, Brick-lane, Whitechapel	1	1	0
*Merryweather, F., 42, Bedford-st., Commercial-road	1	1	0
*Prowse, J. S., Conduit Vale, Blackheath	1	1	0
*Boys, Captain, 12, Holwell-place, Blackheath-road	1	1	0
*Naylor, Charles, solicitor, 2, Trinity-street, Leeds	1	1	0
Burr, T., 33, Cannon-st.-road, St. George's-in-the-East	0	2	6

Blairst, James, King-street	1	0	0
Scott, James, Victoria-terrace	0	2	6
McKie, Alexander, do	0	2	6
Livingston, Alexander, do	0	2	6
Beckton, Joseph, Wolverhampton-street	0	2	6
Campbell, Wm., Abbey-street	0	2	6
*Sykes, Jos., and Son, Raywell and Hull	20	0	0
*Sykes, Major, West Ella, near	10	0	0
*Thompson, Thomas, merchant	10	0	0
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*Hittison, Wm., brewer	5	0	0
*Gresham, John, Mayor	4	0	0
*Seaton, Herbert	2	0	0
*Collins, E. T., Advertiser Office	2	0	0
*Bell, W. H., merchant	1	0	0
*Meggit, Thomas, painter	1	0	0
*Spinks, John, butcher	1	0	0

* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed subscriptions.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

Great Torrington, Devon, April.

Sir,—I shall thank you to insert in your paper the account of the distribution of the beds and bedding given to the agricultural labourers of this town and neighbourhood. I should have written the account of the distribution before, but severe illness in my family has caused the delay.

Good Friday last was the day fixed on for the distribution of the League-present to the labourers of this town and neighbourhood. About 10 o'clock in the morning the labourers from different parishes round Torrington began to assemble at my house, and were there met by the Rev. James Buckpitt, Independent Minister, with T. K. Tapley, Esq., surgeon, Philip Fry, Esq., M.R.C.V.S., and a great number of other friends, with the Great Torrington reporter for the North Devon Journal, Mr. Thomas Elsworth, who gave a report of the distribution of the beds, &c., in that paper. The Rev. James Buckpitt addressed the labourers in a speech of considerable length, and under the canopy of a blue sky and a bright sun explained to them the object that the National Anti Corn-Law League had in view in thus seeking a repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws. The rev. gentleman told the labourers that the League, hearing that the agricultural labourers were in such a destitute state through me, George Toms, who had put himself in communication respecting their destitution, had induced the benevolent individuals to send them the present of beds and bedding which they had that day met to receive, and he trusted that when they (the labourers) would lay down on their beds, they would offer up a prayer for those individuals who were endeavouring to raise the present agricultural labourers from the state of starvation which they had been brought to.

The labourers heard the observations made by the rev. gentleman with tears of joy, and at the conclusion tremendous applause was given for the League and others who had assisted in any way in so good a cause. After the address, we then distributed the beds and bedding to the undermentioned individuals, labourers; and if you had only been present to witness the tears of gratitude, and the earnestness expressed by the labourers and their wives that we would be kind enough to thank the gentlemen of the League for their gifts, it would, I think, be long remembered by you.

I cannot give you the least idea the good effects that the distribution of the beds and bedding which have been given away has had upon our opponents, for since Good Friday I have had hundreds of agricultural labourers, or wives, giving me a most awful account of their destitution; many of them have brought me written statements, signed by the farmer whom they work for; others by the overseer of the parish; some by the minister of the parish. If I could only have time to take down their statements it would be a second Ireland. I will send you the different statements which I have had delivered to me, should you think it would be of any service so as to induce others to help to relieve such distress. I will with pleasure attend to it, and at any future time I shall be most happy to receive anything for those starving labourers, and will distribute the same amongst them.

Names.	Parish.	No. of Children.	Wages, &c.
John Bright	Gt Torrington	10	1 get nothing; 1s. 2d. per day; about half work.
J. Lockyear	do	10	3 dead, starved; 1s. 2d. per day; not full work.
Richard Bell	do	6	1s. 2d. per day; 4½ days' work per week.
James Short	do	4	1s. 2d. per day; about 4 days per week.
Jos. Stocker	do	6	1s. 2d. per day; full work.
James Vicary	do	4	1 get nothing; not half work.
Jas. Jeffery	do	7	1s. 2d. per day; not full work.
P. Morrish	Fristlestock	4	Full work; 1s. 2d. per day.
G. Hoare	do	5	Not full work; 1s. 2d. per day.
S. Perryman	St. Giles.	11	5 under 9 years, ill; 4s. per week, and 20s. from parish.
Rich. Scott	do	8	5 get nothing; 1s. 2d. per day.
Rich. Kelly	do	10	Very poor; 1s. 2d. per day.
Rich. Sussex	do	6	is. per week.
S. Ackland	do	2	5s. 3d. per week.
A. Bright	do	10	1 get nothing; 1s. per day.
M. Judd	do	5	Under 9 years of age; 5s. 10d. per week.
Wm. Perr	do	2	1s. per day; full work.
Richard Bird	do	4	1s. 2d. per day; about 5 days a week.
Geo. Jewell	do	8	1s. 2d. per day; ill for nine weeks.
J. Lethbridge	Roborough	6	1s. per day.
W. Banbury	Langtree	8	1s. 2d. per day; neither of his children get anything.
W. Mitchell	Shelbear	4	1s. 2d. per day; about 5 days per week.
W. Northcott	Ashroigney	6	1s. per day; 5 children get nothing.
Thos. Short	Buckland	12	7 home, get nothing; 1s. 2d. per day.
David Harry	Winkley	4	1s. per day.
John Pollard	Fristlestock	6	6 get nothing; 1s. per day; 5 days a week.
Wm. Davey	St. Torrington	4	7s. per week.
Thos. Hearn	Langtree	4	Very poor; gone to Wales to look out for work.
John Baker	Roborough	12	5 get nothing; 1s. 2d. per day; 3 days per week.
Geo. Davey	Torrington	4	Not much work; 1s. 2d. per day.
J. Hellings	St. Giles	2	5s. per week, family and self.
Geo. Judd	St. Giles	5	1s. 2d. per day.
John Bennett	Gt Torrington	12	3 get nothing; 1s. per day.
J. Curtee	Shelbear	10	1s. 2d. per day; full work.
John Curtee	St. Giles	5	1s. 2d. per day; not full work.
W. Woodman	Highampton	9	5 get nothing; 1s. 2d. per day.
A. Lutz	Buckland	6	1s. 2d. per day.
R. Wakeley	Gt Torrington	3	4s. 8d. per week.
W. Shaddock	do	3	5s. 10d. per week.
R. Peckand	do	0	4s. 8d. per week; wife.

Having so many applications from the labourers, we divided the present of the League to the greatest objects, which I trust will meet the approval of the givers.

I beg to remain, Sir, yours, most respectfully,
GEORGE TOMS.

P.S.—I should state that the labourers all have to pay rent, from 1s. to 2s. per week, out of their miserable earnings.

Charles Waterton, Esq., of Walton Hall, has determined to destroy the game within his park. This is an effectual mode of putting an end to poaching.—*Wakefield Journal.*

A FARM-FIELD RAMELE IN HERTFORD-SHIRE.

No. II.

In a farm yard, with an orchard of cherry-trees and apple-trees shaded in blossom beyond it; and a field of green pasture with cows in the pasture beyond the orchard; and a field with ploughs, and horses, and men, and women, and boys, at work in it beyond the green pasture; and other pastures and meadows of grass for hay beyond the ploughed field; and white daisies, and yellow buttercups, and cowslips, in all of them; and hedgerows in green leaf and fragrant blossoms surrounding the fields—large, rough, and rustic, though green and blooming, like the men of the fields; not free from vices, but possessing virtues, and much to be pleased with; the woods of the lord of many acres rising above the fields, and looking down upon them, as lofty above the humble shrubs of the hedgerows, as the lord who dwelt within them in his noble mansion was above the humble workers in the fields who dwelt in tiled sheds;—in that farm-yard with pools of rain-water large and foul in it, and wet dung which had been washed by the rain-water, and heaps of bean-straw and chaff upon the wet dung, and young pigs and old sows with their snouts burrowed in the straw and chaff in search of cast away beans, as some legislators may be seen in search of cast-away arguments gathering minute particles of fact with full mouths of fallacies, and swallowing all—digesting them and existing on that kind of provender scattered on the political dunghill by men who have winnowed the grain from the chaff long ago, only because it is their nature not to have a higher taste nor a higher power of discrimination in filling their mouths with chaff and dirt for the sake of the one or two grains of fact which may be there;—in that farm-yard, with the pigs in it, some of which are grown-up hogs, and are old enough to remember—if hogs have such memories or such knowledge—the time when the lord of the land on which they were bred and fed was a monopolist, which he is not now, when he was all for the confining of hogs like them to the mere grains of “native grown” corn among the chaff on the dunghill, and not as he is now, in favour of hogs getting food good and clean, that Englishmen may have enough of native-fed bacon, even if that bacon is fed on foreign grain;—in that farm-yard, in the occupation of a tenant of that remarkable lord—the Earl of Essex—I met that tenant, and had a conversation with him. And after talking on several topics, such as the making the most of the manure which lay around, much of it wasted, and converting it into a productive element of new crops, and of the rearing of hogs and the conversion of hogs into good hams and bacon, we talked of the conversion of the landlord from a monopolist to a Free Trader, and the process by which it had been done; and of the effect which the conversion of a monopolist landlord was likely to have on a monopolist tenantry.

FARMER: You know that I have always been in favour of the Corn Law. I cannot say I have changed my opinions, as Lord Essex has changed his. Probably I have not the capacity of judgment that he has; perhaps I have not seen the same arguments presented to me in the same way. He is a landlord and I a tenant. A landlord may see things differently from a tenant. If I were a landlord I might have all the high hopes for the future prosperity of agriculture which his lordship has; but I do not see what a tenant has to hope for. If he augments the produce of his land, by sinking capital in the land, he has his rent augmented upon him. If he does not improve his land, he loses by it. I see no hope for the tenant farmers.

WHISTLER: It is to be fairly expected that Lord Essex will not stop in his own exertions to advance agriculture. He says there are some tenant farmers who never should have been farmers; but there are landlords who never should have been landlords. As landed property has hitherto been managed, and must still for some time to come be managed, the landlord's services in promoting agricultural improvement are more necessary to it than the tenant's services. As tenures and conditions of agreement now exist between landlord and tenant, the power to improve the cultivation of the land is almost entirely in the hands of the landlord. But I think there is much to hope for from Lord Essex. On the question of Free Trade he adopted the opinions and prejudices of his class without inquiry, as he now confesses. May we not suppose that he has adopted the customs of his class in letting his farms on insecure tenures to his tenants, and loading those tenants with conditions as only asses are loaded—and they only so loaded by very thoughtless or very cruel boys—may we not suppose that his lordship has as thoughtlessly adopted and acted on the tenorial customs of his class, as he confesses to have adopted and acted on the opinions and prejudices of his class about Free Trade? He says, that until the Corn Law question came to a crisis, he had never given it any serious consideration, save on one side—his own side—that of protection. But when it came to a crisis, he was induced to inquire, and read, and study the arguments on the other side—the Free Trade side—to see what it was that had converted Sir Robert Peel; by which inquiry, reading, and study, he found himself converted. And listen to what Sir Robert Peel confesses the other day; and not only confesses, but proclaims as a legislative fact. “I will not deny,” he says, “that during the debates on the question, my opinions have undergone a change—and it is this; that restrictions, which I at first believed to be impolitic, I now believe to be unjust.”

FARMER: But Sir Robert Peel is not a tenant farmer, with a rent to pay. He is a receiver of rents. Now, as I said before of Lord Essex, I might think as he thinks if I were a landlord, and had seen all the Free Trade arguments as he has seen them; but as a tenant, I see nothing to hope for. Explain to me, if you can, how improved agriculture is to do the tenants any good when his rent goes up with his produce, and seldom falls with the price of his produce.

WHISTLER: This is the very point at issue between landlord and tenant; but it is not the point at issue between the League and the tenant farmers, between Free Trade and agriculture—between Sir Robert Peel, a Prime Minister, and you, a farmer. Sir Robert Peel was a statesman, and Sir Robert Peel as a landlord, is not the same. The conditions upon which you should hold your farm must be these: that

you will receive the profits of your improved agriculture for a term of years which no caprice or capidity on the part of your landlord, and no accident to his life, can deprive you of. This is and must be the first principle in all agricultural improvement. Lord Essex will do nothing to achieve that success which he foretells to the agriculturists of England, unless he adopts a system of leases liberal and long enough to secure practically to his tenants the profits of their capital and skill.

FARMER: Do not you think that if tenants-at-will were to be legally entitled to compensation for all their improvements on quitting their farms, it would be a great benefit to them—as good as if they had leases?

WHISTLER: A benefit, compared with their present state of helplessness as tenants-at-will, but not so good as a lease. I observe that farmers' clubs in different parts of the kingdom are discussing this question; and I regret exceedingly to see them wasting valuable time and a fair opportunity on such a worthless object as the improvement of tenancy-at-will. Under no form whatever, with no possible qualifications can tenancy-at-will be rendered fair and equitable to the tenant, or beneficial to the landlord, and the progress of agriculture. I will say more, that no honest landlord, if not a weak-minded or ignorant man, will seek to have tenants-at-will upon his land, to expend capital and skill and health and strength on that land. Many landlords, who are honest men, let their farms on yearly tenancies, dismissing the tenants when they think fit; but if honest, they are ignorant, having never studied the subject, as Lord Essex says he never did until the Corn Law came to a crisis; or they may be, unlike his lordship, so weak-minded that they cannot study and understand such subjects; or, unlike his lordship, they may be so inveterately prejudiced in favour of their territorial supremacy—the remnants of feudal power, that they will not yield independence and security to their tenantry even when convinced that such independence and security would be to their own advantage. And it is possible that there are some, a good many perhaps, who have used their tenancy as political instruments in the polling booth, as mercenary men use their bills of exchange, bonds, and notes, and take them to the money market to make profit of them; the profit being places of honour and emolument under Government, in the army, the navy, the church, the law courts, and the palace. But I believe the time has arrived, or it is not far off, when subservience to a political party in Parliament through the use of such men as you at the hustings will be impracticable. We may therefore hope that you tenant farmers will be looked upon by your lords as farmers employed in the advancement of the national agriculture, and not as political beasts of burden employed in the advancement of families to high prizes in the lottery of politics and plunder. And so I return to the point which I say is the one at issue between you and your landlord—that of security of tenure by a lease—and a liberal lease untrammelled by Game Law covenants; and all the other feudal covenants which you know well, but which are too numerous at present to mention.

FARMER: Do you think we are, landlords and tenants, so near that age of prosperity and general well-doing foretold by Lord Essex, as to need nothing but a repeal of the Corn Law and a system of leases? If you think so, I must say about you as I have said of my landlord, that I cannot see things as you see them.

WHISTLER: But I must take the liberty of saying, my dear Sir, that while you, like your landlord, did not read or listen to any arguments, save those on your own side of the question, up to the coming of the Corn Law crisis, you, unlike your landlord, have read nothing, or almost nothing, since, on the Free Trade side of the question. You told me that yesterday. You say that you have read the debates in Parliament during the present session, or so much of them as appears in the *County Herald*; and you complain that if the Free Traders have good arguments in favour of the farmers seeking Free Trade, they do not state them. But, Sir, the Free Traders in Parliament are done with the argumentative part of the subject; that is taken out of their hands. Their business is now to vote, to consummate by enactment, that which they have taught for years. When they were teaching, and you were not listening, that was not their fault. You should have listened to what concerned you so much. If you were to say to your clergyman, at the conclusion of the church service, “You must preach your sermon over again; I was not listening to you. I and my neighbours here were asleep; or we were playing and idling while you were praying and preaching; we must have it all over again, and the congregation must be halted here until we have it all over again,”—if you were to say that on Sunday, and every Sunday, to your parson, and go on sleeping at church, and idling, and never listening from week to week, from year to year, what would that large majority of the congregation say to you who had been listening?

FARMER: I hardly see how this applies. But admitting that it does apply, I want to know what we idle boys, the farmers, as I suppose you will call us, are to do now that we are woken up.

WHISTLER: I do not call you idle boys. You are a most hard-toiling and struggling class of men; but the best of your energies and the greatest of your struggles go for nothing. Some of them are mischievous. You must not only do new work, but you must undo some of the old. You are not “idle boys,” but you are sometimes “mischievous boys,” and you must undo some mischief by abstaining from a repetition of it. If you will let me, for a few minutes, compare you to schoolboys, I will tell you what some of you have done in Hertfordshire. A boy who was far in advance of any of you, who sought to teach you and make you equal to himself,—you, to please your master (you do not do so now when your master confesses that he was wrong and that boy was right) you, though knowing that your neighbour was a better farmer than any of you, getting the best of crops out of indifferent land, and profit from cultivation, when you were only getting loss, you counted that boy, fell on him, and abused him, and called him ill-names in the market-place. You must not do so again. Indeed you will not, for Lord Essex is now of opinion that this farmer was right, and he and you were wrong, and you only called that neighbour ill-names in the market-place, and abused him and hooted him, because you knew Lord Essex was pleased at your doing so and like some other “bad boys,” you had never been taught better. If I had nothing else to rejoice at in the conversion of your landlord to Free Trade principles than the fact that his tenants will have no interest, or supposed interest, in ill-using their Free Trade neighbours, I would rejoice; for that alone is a great gain in Hertfordshire.

FARMER: Who do you speak of as the boy so far in advance of us, and whom we ill-used; the tenant who wrote against Lord Essex about the game, and whom his lordship turned out of his farm?

WHISTLER: No: I mean Mr. Lattimore, of Wheatthamstead.

FARMER: Because I was going to say, that it was not his neighbours, the tenant farmers, that said anything against him who wrote against the game; quite the reverse. We were all too well pleased to say anything against him. And as for Mr. Lattimore, I do not think he was ever opposed by us but in a fair way. We did not agree with him, and opposed him, as we would have opposed you.

WHISTLER: But you would not listen, and hissed, and shouted him down at public meetings. You now listen to him; you now listen to me. Two years ago, though you are still of the same opinion as then about the Corn Law, so you say, you would not have permitted me to have stood here, not because this is your farm, but because the firm is Lord Essex's, to speak of Free Trade as I have been doing. The truth is, you dared not have done so. Now, my object with you farmers, is to get yourselves raised to independence as occupiers of the land; not that you may dare to differ in opinion with your landlord, but that you may be able to cultivate your land as it should be cultivated. I have spoken of leases; but a lease is not enough. It is absolutely requisite to secure you against the landlord, or his agents, or his successors, when he dies. But there are things which must be effected, through the united efforts of tenants and landlords, before agriculture can reach that healthy state predicted for it by the Free Traders years ago, and now predicted for it by Lord Essex. The rights of lords of manors over copyholders, must be qualified to allow copyholders to cut down hedgerow timber, divert springs, water-courses, or, in other words, to drain. The copyholders and their tenants being the parties interested in the improvement, and the lord of the manor, or other superior, as the case may be, having no direct interest in such improvements, the latter is a fatal obstacle in the way of progress.

FARMER: What do you think of the Duke of Richmond's Bill for charging the expense of permanent improvements, by drainage on the heirs-in-tail.

WHISTLER: The object is good; and the machinery, so far as it goes, is good. But it reaches only a very short way. And so does Sir Robert Peel's proposal to pass an act, if the new Corn Law scheme passes, to lend money from the treasury to assist in agricultural improvements. Sir Robert's intention to lend public money, as I view it, is not only useless, but bad. Where proper security is offered for money, it can be got now to improve the cultivation of land to any amount, from private individuals or from banks. If the security offered is not good, the money ought not to be lent, not alone because public money should be as carefully parted with as private money, but because, to lend money to landlords or tenant farmers who do not give such security as a private lender would accept, is to offer a bounty on the continuance of the present loose system of tenures. Private individuals lend money fast enough to landowners, when it is notoriously for their private expenditure, when it is not for the improvement of their property, but when there can be no doubt it will involve them in debt for life, and their property in bondage and bad cultivation for many years. Why then should there be any difficulty in obtaining money to improve the property? Let a tenant be properly protected from mortgages, from the landlord, and from the landlord's creditors, by a lease of twenty years duration at least. Let him be the borrower of the money, and his lease the security (I speak of estates where the landlords are already drowned in debt, and cannot borrow money). Let the tenants in this and all cases pay their rents according to the prices of farm produce. Let the lawyers have as little to do with the land as possible, but above all, let the tenant be efficiently protected from his landlord, and there is no fear but that the time will come, and come soon, of which Lord Essex speaks so hopefully when he says, he sees better times coming for landlords and tenants, and for all.

ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH.

Note.—A circular received from a member of the Burton-on-Trent Farmers' Club did not come to hand until too late by several weeks to give the opinion requested upon it for which that opinion was to be used. Yet I am obliged to the gentleman who sent me the circular; and as he suggested that some notice might be taken of it in this paper, I now do so. The foregoing dialogue with a tenant of the Earl of Essex, expresses part of my opinion on the proceedings of the Burton-on-Trent Farmers' Club, namely, that it is a waste of precious time to attempt any improvement in tenancies at-will. The resolutions were:

“That the Burton-on-Trent Farmers' Club is of opinion that a tenant of land from year to year ought to enjoy a legal claim to compensation for such improvements as he shall have made during his tenancy, and for which he shall not have received the whole benefit which he is fairly entitled to claim.”

“That the tenant has under a tenancy-at-will a fair claim to the enjoyment of his improvements for as long a period as a good farmer would require, if the length of his occupancy were made a matter of agreement beforehand.”

“That impartial arbitrators, chosen mutually by the landlord and tenant, would without difficulty form a correct estimate as to what belonged to the tenant on this principle of adjustment.”

“That it appears to the Club to be advisable for the general body of farmers to join in petitioning the Legislature to make a law which would give to the tenant a legal right to recover from the landlord such compensation for improvements made by him as impartial and competent arbitrators would decide to be his equitable right.”

In the first place, it is gratifying to see the farmers turning to the advocacy of that kind of protection to agriculture which alone can protect it—security of tenure—security to money, skill, and industry. But I can go no farther with these resolutions. So far from believing “that impartial arbitrators, chosen mutually by the landlord and tenant, would, without difficulty, form a correct estimate as to what belonged to the tenant on this principle of adjustment,” I believe that no arbitrators could do so; and moreover, that “impartial arbitrators” could not long exist under such a system. Even now the land-owners are the land-vultures of England. They are an encumbrance from their numbers, their expensiveness, their inefficiency, and frequently mischievousness, greater than anything which now impedes agricultural improvement. A sound system of leases needs no land-owners or arbitrators. Let the tenant go in free; enter on his lease with all his capital in hand, not by paying it over to a predecessor, or to the landlord, who had paid that predecessor and the arbitrators, and land-vultures. Let the tenant proceed to enhance the value of his land with this money, and let him hold the farm on such a lease as will secure him a return of the capital and interest. Let him be under restrictive clauses during the last two or three years of his lease not to exhaust the soil. If he does not renew his bargain, let him go out, leaving the farm free for another to enter upon it as he entered. He thus goes out with the repayment of his improvement in his pocket, if there was a repayment due to him. No arbitrator could settle the question so fairly, whether the

land had been improved or not, and the least rapacious of the land vultures could not settle the case at so small a cost. The new tenant would again have his own money free in his own hands, and the old tenant would have his own money to go into a new farm free, to improve it as he improved the other.

THE FALKIRK ELECTION.

The polling commenced at eight o'clock on Friday. In the early part of the day Mr. Wilson had a decided majority; but as the returns came in later in the day, his friends became less confident of success, though up to the last moment they were not prepared for the defeat of the candidate. At Falkirk, on Saturday last, the sheriff officially announced the poll as follows:

	Lincoln.	Wilson.
Falkirk	106	184
Lanlithgow ..	27	55
Hamilton	165	44
Airdrie	112	143
Lanark	96	69
	506	495

Majority for Lord Lincoln, 11.

It will be seen that Lord Lincoln's majority has been chiefly obtained in the burgh of Hamilton, where his father-in-law, the Duke of Hamilton, possesses very considerable influence. After the official declaration of the poll, Lord Lincoln returned thanks to the electors; and Mr. Wilson then addressed the constituency in a speech in which he alluded to the fact that, of 100 electors of Hamilton who had signed the requisition to him, only 42 had redeemed their promises of support; and expressed his intention of coming forward at the next election. It is stated by the *Glasgow Citizen* that Lord Lincoln declared to his committee that had he been again defeated in his attempt to obtain a seat in the House of Commons, he should have felt called upon immediately to resign his office of Chief Secretary for Ireland.

COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURES.—CAUSES OF THE RECENT DEPRESSION.—Many persons, and amongst them some who are generally well informed, are of opinion that the recent severe depression in the staple manufactures of the country has been caused principally by a falling-off in the demand for foreign markets; and we must confess, that, although not supposing this to be the chief cause of the evil, we had an impression that the striking difference between the state of the cotton manufacture in the first three months of 1845 and 1846, was, in some degree, caused by a falling-off in the exports of yarn and manufactured goods. We find, however, from the monthly circular of Messrs. Dufay and Co. of this town, just issued, that this impression was erroneous, and that, in all important articles of manufacture, with the exception of printed and dyed calicoes, the exports for the first three months of 1846, exhibit an excess over those in the corresponding period of 1845. The following are the comparative quantities of the most important articles in each period:

	1845.	1846.
Cotton yarn, 24	21,495,811	23,750,343
Plain calicoes, yds	137,919,924	143,415,089
Calicoes printed and dyed, yds ..	82,358,102	75,567,334
Cambries and muslins, yds	695,791	1,173,462
Cords and fustians, yds	370,619	542,418
Linen and cotton cloths, yds	291,935	428,273
Linen, yds	17,568,839	18,687,580
Woolleus, yds	248,703	248,555
Worsted, yds	248,555	923,119
Worsted yarn, lb	1,007,794	862,501

These facts, proving as they do, that the recent depression has been caused almost entirely by a falling-off in the home demand, exhibit in a very striking manner the injurious effects resulting from the protracted discussion in the House of Commons, and from the derangement produced by excessive railway speculations; but, at the same time, they furnish strong grounds for expecting a gradual improvement in business. During the last six months, the condition of the working-classes of this country has been, on the whole, comparatively good; and, although the purchases of dealers have been on a much smaller scale, it is by no means probable that consumption has diminished. On the contrary, judging from the deliveries of sugar, coffee, tea, &c., we believe it has been decidedly on the increase; and, therefore, the stocks of intermediate dealers must have been considerably diminished. Indeed, we believe, that they were scarcely ever known to be so low as at the present time. The dealers must, however, eventually come into the market, and take supplies, not only for present wants, but also to provide those stocks, without which, under ordinary circumstances, they cannot advantageously carry on their business.—*Manchester Guardian*.

THE SEASON AND THE CROPS.—Since our last we have had true April weather, with an occasional dash of March or February. The temperature has generally been low, out of the sun, and the rains have been both frequent and heavy. On Saturday afternoon, there was a violent storm of thunder and lightning between Liverpool and Manchester, and great quantities of hail have since fallen. Although the country has much improved to the eye, during the last fortnight, yet the continuance of wet weather is very unfavourable to the ground. In many places the oats are not yet sown, although it is at least a month after the usual time, and we have not seen a single place in which potatoes are planted in the open fields. At present, appearances are much against the productiveness of those two crops, but a few days of fine weather would still make a prodigious difference. With regard to the greatest crop of all, that of wheat, we should say that its appearance is very good in this part of the country. The grass crops, as we have already stated more than once, are unusually fine, and live stock of all kinds is in better condition than it has been in the spring months for some years. In the rural districts, nearly all the feathered visitants of spring have made their appearance. A few swallows, not enough to make a summer, may have been seen skimming over our different streams during the last week, and the cuckoo is heard, between the showers, in all the well-wooded parts of the country. Great numbers of young birds are already hatched in the copses, and a few days of warm weather would bring the hedges into blossom. The only spring visitor which has not yet arrived in this part of the country is the corn crane. The blossoms of the fruit trees have been less injured in this neighbourhood, by the early frosts, than was at first supposed, but the nights continue very sharp, so that they are not yet out of danger.—*Liverpool Times*.

AGRICULTURE.

FARMERS, IS THIS YOUR LEADER?

"We want a 'leader,' an uncommon want.
When every day and year brings forth a new one,
Till having filled all the gazettes with 'rant,'
The 'clique' discover he is not the true one."

We feel for Stafford O'Brien; and we doubt not his constituents deeply sympathise with him. In truth, the painfulness of his position is enough to melt the heart of a bullock, to say nothing of a Northamptonshire grazier.

The political monopolists, at the commencement of the present session, were in great straits for want of an effective leader. The act of defending monopoly had convinced every public man of note in the protectionist party that monopoly was indefensible. It had been thoroughly exposed in all its naked deformity throughout the length and breadth of the land. One could not get into a railway-carriage or an omnibus without hearing disquisitions on the laws governing the exchange of commodities, which, ten years ago, would have done no discredit to professors of political economy. Monopoly, which is vice in one of its most noxious forms, had been seen by the British public, and of necessity it had become thoroughly detested. Then there was the failure of the potato crop, a failure which the monopolists, notwithstanding their asseverations that there was none, well knew to be real.

But the dominant landocracy of the realm had no disposition to abandon their monopoly, because it had been demonstrated to be mischievous to the public, injurious to the operative, and, above all, ruinous to the farmer. They knew, or at all events had a suspicion, of all that before. Monopoly is not loved by the monopolist aristocracy, on account of the things about which they have talked, but for its effects, of which they say nothing—in public. It was not merely for the sake of high rents that they hugged the Corn Law with such desperate energy, as to peril their social position and constitutional power in its defence; for rents may be, and where the farmer can make a fair bargain, will be, as high, or higher, under Free Trade than under monopoly. But they wanted the high rents of the present times and the feudal power of bygone ages. They wished to receive the high rents from a dependent, servile, cap-in-hand tenantry, who would march to the poll at the command of the landlord's steward, and farm according to the capricious will of the landlord's game-keeper.

Our agricultural readers will well understand for what it was the monopolist landlords wanted to preserve monopoly, though perhaps the inhabitants of towns will scarcely comprehend its full extent. Landlordism should be seen on its own ground to be understood. They who have not seen landlordism at petty sessions, in the poachers' wing of the county gaol, in its dealings with the tenantry and so forth, know nothing about it. Nevertheless, these things are grievous, cruel realities; and such things were to be maintained. Hence, though the brains of the monopolist party had been knocked out, monopoly did not die. Then came the question of leadership. D'Israeli might be retained as a sharp-shooter, and would appear to the greater advantage from being the only man amongst the party who can pretend to sharpness. But D'Israeli, the ex-"sedition" loving candidate for Marylebone, who may be taken as an exemplar of lack-land political adventurers, would not do to lead the squirearchy. They wanted some one of more weight. The dull Bramston had tried his hand at "lard and grease," and made a sad mess of it. The duller Miles had not been very successful in his opposition to the "invasion" of foreign cattle; while Bankes, the dullest, had been saved from conspicuous failure by his very dullness. Nobody could ever see that he had any object or purpose, and his speeches were commonly supposed to relate to the objects he had in view. He is one of those who make a dark subject darker by talking about it.

At this period of monopolist despair, the commencement of the present session, Mr. Stafford O'Brien chivalrously undertook the post of monopolist leader in the House of Commons, and by his first speech in that character proved himself to be a person of some dexterity and adroitness. But his very talent proved his ruin as a monopolist leader. He had been through the last three or four years of

the Corn Law discussion, and he attempted to make a plausible defence for monopoly, *after all, and with the knowledge of all, that has been proved and admitted against it.* Moreover, his own speech proved that he was undergoing that process of conversion to Free Trade which every man of average intellect, and ordinary political honesty, who has seriously attempted to defend monopoly, has invariably undergone.

The very measure of his success in that speech, proved him to be no genuine monopolist. This would not do for his party. He was too clever, too plausible, too solicitous of finding reasons—albeit not very good ones—for monopoly. Monopolists don't want reasons. They therefore be-thought themselves of starting some man as their leader, who would not attempt to reason, who knew nothing of the subject; to whom all that had been said or written for the last seven years, for and against monopoly, was as if it had not been said or written. They wanted the freshness of profound ignorance.

Moreover, they wanted some one with recklessness enough to say all the exploded sayings; some one with all the prejudices, without the responsibility of landowning. Bramston, Miles, Bankes, O'Brien, were men of large possessions; they had a certain *status* in society; if they had the power, they had not the will to fling themselves into the breach made in the fortress of landlordism with the daring of one who would stake all upon a desperate chance. Seeing, then, the qualities—positive and negative—wanted in their leader by the monopolists, they could not look in a more likely place than the racing stable. There they sought and there they found what they wanted. Lord George Bentinck now leads the monopolist host, much to the satisfaction of the genuine monopolists.

But, farmers, is he *your* leader? Does he represent your opinions? Are you content to be represented in Parliament by the unflinching and unscrupulous defender of the Game Laws? Ask any of the farmer-witnesses examined before the Game Law Committee what *they* think of Lord George Bentinck? whether they like the courtesy, the fairness, or the accuracy of this new "farmers' friend?"

Let farmers, too, read his speeches—if they can, for truly 'tis a heavy task—"your true no meaning puzzles more than sense"—and see whether the description Sir Robert Peel gave of the speech of the new and *fast* leader of the monopolists on Irish scarcity, when he said "the multiplication of letters from parts of the country where disease does not prevail, forms no contradiction to the fact that there does exist in other parts of that country disease arising from scarcity of food."

But this has always been the game of the monopolists; they are ever looking beside the mark; and being unable to avow their real objects in maintaining monopoly, talk wildly about something else. Farmers are now becoming aware of this, and the new leader, from Newmarket, of the monopolists, will help to make it still clearer.

A GLANCE AT THE WHEAT CROP.

Whilst the monopolists in Parliament are doing all they can to prevent the abrogation of their special law to create scarcity, the wheat crops of this country are offering evidence of the precarious nature of the supply of food afforded by our own soil. Our own observation has satisfied us that upon a very great breadth of strong and cold land the wheat crops have sustained considerable injury. We do not say they may not be restored by dry and warm weather, but we are by no means confident that they will. Insects of all kinds injurious to wheat are unusually abundant from the nearly entire absence of frost during the past winter, and in many places are committing serious ravages; and the succulent state of the plant has rendered it very susceptible of injury from the sharp frosty nights which have lately occurred. We extract a few passages from local reports on the subject. The reader, however, will remember that the greatest damage was done last week, and was probably subsequent to the reports we refer to. From the Cambridge report we learn:

"That the wheat, without exception, is a good plant, and is very early; some of it is losing colour and becoming yellow, partly through the wet and cold weather, and partly through continuing so full a plant throughout the winter; a few warm sunny days would, we hope, soon restore its good looks. It usually loses colour in May; and according to the season, it is the middle of May; or even the latter end in comparison with last year, as the crop is certainly about a month earlier now than it was at this time last year."

So, in Yorkshire, we find the agricultural reporter of the *Mark Lane Express* saying:

"Of the appearance of the wheat plant, we know how illusive all remarks on this ticklish subject at this season of the year often are—how appearances for good or for evil are disappointed or thwarted by a few gaudy days, or vice versa. However, this we will certainly say, that though the breadth of wheat sown is somewhat large, we never remember a greater deficiency of plant for many years past, and we have heard elder and sound-judging farmers say their wheat never looked so ill. And, unhappily, this is not because of any temporary check to a winter-proud crop, which a few warm showers will restore; it is a thinness and baldness of plant spring up; thousands of acres have been ruined with the slug, which not being checked by the frosts of winter, and being, owing to the wet summer of last year, very numerous to commence with, have made sad destruction; this, with the hundreds of acres lost by the floods, reduces the breadth to an average; and should an unfavourable season follow, we may need as much more as the million and a quarter of quarters of wheat now in bond. Our millers have no stocks, our farmers' stocks are not more numerous than usual, and our markets are assuming a firm and lively tone."

Again in Leicestershire:

"The late heavy rains and cold temperature have had a great effect upon the wheats in dry land, and the blade has assumed a yellow tinge which is exceedingly unpleasant to the eye, but perhaps not of that ultimate consequence to the crop as many expect. In some cases, from various causes, the plant is very thin, and presents a weakly appearance; but we are glad to state that these are by no means numerous. The late rains have been a great hindrance to cleaning the crops from weeds, as on all strong land the operation of hoeing has been suspended, consequently much wheat is in a very foul state; but should we now be favoured with dry sunny weather, this work must be carried on with perseverance, and both the horse and hand hoe must be constantly in action. Upon the whole, as to the wheat crop in this county, we may conclude that it presents an average appearance, with promise of a fair yield; but, of course, at present, all is surmise as to the result."

So another report says:

"The wheat in the northern part of the county are suffering from the effect of the late rains. They have a most sickly appearance. The white snail is making sad havoc in the bean fields, whole acres having been entirely destroyed."—*Payne's Leicester Advertiser*.

Again, also:

"The state of the spring wheat begins to excite some alarm; the long continued cold and bleak weather, with rain and easterly winds, have not only checked vegetation in general, but caused a great breadth of wheat in the midland districts to turn yellow and set. We hope a change for the better is at hand."—*Birmingham Pilot*.

Such is the character of the reports of the wheat crops at the present moment. We freely admit, that on our own farm, we look at the state of the wheat plant with great apprehension, and we know that feeling is shared by our neighbours, with respect to their own wheat.

What interests are at stake on this subject! A few weeks of wet and cold, or dry and warm weather, may determine whether trade shall flourish and the people be fed, or whether bankruptcy, disease, and death, shall be the portion of thousands. Yet there are TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY MEN, calling themselves representatives of the people, who are striving by the most desperate means, and under the guidance of the most reckless and ignorant leadership, to make the nation stake all on the issue of our own harvest. To speak in language the new monopolist leader may comprehend, we ask, what would a Newmarket leg say to backing an ill-trained horse without being allowed to "hedge?" Yet this is what Lord George Bentinck and his monopolist faction would have the people do; to stake all on the result of the year's produce of one half-cultivated island, and that when failure will inevitably end in national distress.

THE VALUE OF LAND IS RISING.

The following needs no comment. It is a striking proof of the fallacious character of monopolist assertions:

Sale of the North Cove Hall Estates, in the Large Room, at the Norfolk Hotel, Norwich, on Thursday evening. The attendance was exceedingly numerous, and to a great extent represented the individual and collective respectability, as well as opulence of the sister counties. Mr. Simpson, previous to opening the sales, ventured to address his audience at some length on the all-absorbing subject of the contemplated (and he opined certain) abolition of the Corn Laws. He acknowledged that till within the last year he had been a thorough going protectionist. A three years' test however of Sir Robert Peel's measures, added to his extensive experience up to the present period in the letting and sales of landed property, he was now free, and proud to confess that sliding and other scales have fallen from his eyes, the result of which was, that he was now a thorough-going anti-protectionist. Mr. Simpson observed, from an honest and firm conviction, that rents which had been set on fair and liberal principles, within the last seven years, of "Live and let live," would be permanent, and he fearlessly stated that the years' purchase on such rentals has risen within the last six months, and in all probability will continue to rise on the settlement of the great question in respect of Free Trade in corn, &c. For the truthfulness of these statements, Mr. Simpson referred to recent lettings and sales which have been published, not only by himself, but by other auctioneers and land agents of greater eminence. Consumption and demand of an increasing population (in the ratio of about 1000 a day), the capital, skill, industry, and enterprise, in addition to the easy and inexpensive transit of the produce to the first markets in Europe, will

form such a counterpoise as will enable us to compete successfully with the miserably uncultivated lands and minds of exotic origin and worth. Instead therefore of the motto of "agitate, agitate," let us substitute that of "cultivate, cultivate," and let landlords assist improving tenants by making advances (in the nature of improvements in drainage, &c.) of the additional capital which may be required, charging for the same at the rate of 4 per cent. on that expenditure which shall be judiciously laid out. Hence the tenant farmer will reap an additional benefit of at least 10 per cent., and a permanent improvement of the value of the farm (quasi landlord) will supervene. Mr. Simpson stated that in his humble opinion Sir Robert Peel is, at least, one of the greatest, most talented, and fearlessly honest ministers that has ever "lived in the tide of times."

The following is an account of the sales:

Lot 1. The mansion called North Cove Hall, with 516 acres of arable, pasture, marsh, and wood land, was bought in at	£19,000
Sold the next day by private contract to Wm. Everitt, Esq. of Yarmouth.	
Lot 2. A freehold farm of 122 acres, sold to John Slipper, Esq., of Ashley, for	4640
Lot 3. A freehold farm, of 75 acres, producing (including the land in hand) 125f. 7s. 9d. per annum, was bought in at	3160
An offer of 3100l. was made for this lot on the following day; the selling price is now 3250l.	
Lot 4. An estate, principally freehold, comprising 180 acres of land, of first-rate quality, a gentlemanly residence and buildings, the rental amounting to 322l. 7s. 3d. per annum, bought in at	8200
An offer of 8000l. has been made by private contract, but the price now is 8500l.	
Lot 5. A small farm-house, and 17 acres of land (freehold), producing 37l. 19s. per annum, bought in at	900
850l. was offered.	
Lot 6. A freehold cottage, and 2a. 3r. 34p. of land, sold to the Rev. Charles Clarke, for	245
Lot 7. Two freehold tenements, with gardens, &c., containing together 1a. 9p. bought in at	220
Sold to Wm. Everitt, Esq., by private contract, after the sale, at 280l.	
Lot 8. Two freehold tenements, altogether containing 1a. 1r. 25p., sold to Benjamin Andrews, Esq.	305
Lot 9. Four inclosures of land, principally freehold, containing 3a. 3r. 29p., producing 13l. 6s. 2d. per annum, bought in at	300
	£36,560

The advowson of the rectory of Woodton, situate about five miles from Bungay, was offered on the same day. 3000l. were bid, but the reserve price being 3350l. it was bought in. Mr. Simpson is instructed to treat for the disposal of those lots bought in at the sale, since which he has received several applications to purchase. The proprietor, however, who is a gentleman of large landed and other property, is not at all disposed to retain those portions of the lands which form the cream of the estate.—*Norwich Mercury*.

A "FARMER'S FRIEND!"

Farmers and labourers should judge of men who profess to be their "friends" by their acts rather than their professions. Here we find the record of the acts of one, who, if his own account of his love for farmers and labourers were believed, would be thought the *ne plus ultra* friend of the industrious agricultural classes. What a pity it is that so much beneficence is purely ideal.

"RICHMOND IN SCOTLAND.—We understand that upwards of 20 individuals, small farmers and cottars, on his grace the Duke of Richmond's lands in the district of Strathogie and neighbouring parishes, have been served with summonses to remove themselves, with their families, at the first term of Whitsunday."—*Elgin Courier*.

THE LAW OF DISTRESS.

The following report brings home to the mind the injustice of the law of distress, which enables a landlord to sweep away all the effects of an insolvent tenant, to the utter exclusion of all the other creditors:

"Tuesday, April 28th.
(Before Mr. Commissioner Shepherd.)
"RE VINCENT, INSOLVENT."

"TILNEY, NORFOLK.—The Insolvent, Robert Vincent, of Tilney St. Lawrence, in the county of Norfolk, farmer, applied for his interim order and protection.

"Mr. Thomas S. Wright, Solicitor, Bond Court, City, appeared on behalf of the insolvent, whose debts are 175l. 2s. 6d. and credits but 2l. 14s. He has no property beyond his excepted articles, which are valued at 16l. 3s. On the 4th of October last he was possessed of household furniture, implements in trade, &c., of the value of 150l., and his stock in trade and goodwill as a farmer were then valued by Mr. Goddard, an appraiser, at 50l. more. On the 13th of March, in the present year, the insolvent was sold up by his landlord, Mr. Wright, for the arrears of rent which he owed. His receipts from the 25th of November to March were about 460l. for the sale of sheep, potatoes, &c. His principal local creditors are the Commissioners of the Eau Brink Estate, in the county of Norfolk, to whom Mr. Thomas Archer, solicitor, of Ely, is agent, 93l. for balance of rent; Edward Durrant, Esq., King's Lynn, Norfolk, 12l. 16s. for potatoes; Mr. Reed, basket-maker, King's Lynn, 11l. 16s.; Mr. Wm. Wright, farmer, Fring, Norfolk, 31l.; Mr. John Sutterbee, farmer, Tilney St. Lawrence, 8l.; and Mr. Wm. Wright, farmer, of Clenchwarton, Norfolk, 6l. No creditor attended to oppose."

FLAX CULTURE.

We observe that the Royal Agricultural Society has resolved to offer a prize for essays on the growth of flax. Now a full and complete account of the culture of flax, and the use of its seed, has just been published by Mr. Warnes, of Trimmingham, which should be in the hands of every enterprising farmer. The calls upon our attention since we have received the volume have prevented our noticing it in detail, which we hope to be able to do next week.

GAME AND THE GAME LAWS.

THE RURAL LEAGUE-SPOT.

It will be our duty ere long to comment with some frequency and severity upon the conduct of those who for their own selfish and puerile amusement, uphold a system of law which demoralises and disorganises the society of our agricultural districts. We need scarcely say we allude to the practice of game preserving and the Game Laws. For the present we content ourselves with placing before our readers a few illustrations of the Game Laws which have recently occurred. The first case is extracted from the *Worcestershire Chronicle*, and relates to an instance which happened on the estate of Mr. Berkeley, of Spetchley, near Droitwich, a most notorious game preserver. The form of the complaint was for an assault violence and bloodshed; being the usual and ordinary consequences of game preserving:

"At the county Petty Sessions on Tuesday, April 28th, William Allen, an assistant gamekeeper to Mr. Berkeley, was charged by William Worrell, of Droitwich, with assaulting him on the 9th instant. Before this case was entered into, Mr. Hyde, who appeared for the defendant, applied to the Bench for permission to bring before them two charges for offences against the Game Laws which he was prepared to prefer against Mr. Worrell, but as it appeared that the summonses for the assault was dated prior to the game cases, it was first entertained."

Mr. Worrell, who is clerk at the Spetchley station on the Birmingham and Gloucester railway, then deposed to the circumstances of the assault, which were as follows:

"Mr. Worrell, who lives near the station and rents land of Mr. Berkeley, is my relative. As I am in the habit of often going to his house, he has given me permission to take a near cut to the station through his fields. On the 8th instant I went to Mr. Worrell's and remained there all night. Next morning, about half-past six o'clock, I was returning to my employment, accompanied by two sons of Mr. W.; when I had got about fifty or sixty yards from the railway, Allen jumped out of a hedge, and, exclaiming, 'I have caught you at last,' knocked me down twice, and rifled my pockets, from which he took a piece of twine; after I had got up the second time I ran off towards the station, and was pursued by the defendant, who would have again struck me with a thick stick, if he had not been prevented by one of the railway servants. I afterwards went to Mr. Hiscock, head gamekeeper to Mr. Berkeley, and told him I had been grossly assaulted by one of his assistants, and if an apology was not made I should take out a summons. By Mr. Hyde: There was no person with me but Mr. Worrell's two sons. I had nothing in my pocket but a piece of twine.

"(Mr. H. here produced a piece of twine and a wire as the articles that had been taken from the prosecutor.)

"I distinctly swear I never had a wire in my possession in my life, nor did I ever set one. The wire was never taken from me. I was in the same field on the evening previous with Mr. Worrell's sons. Mr. Worrell asked me to go and look at some ewes which were shortly expected to year. It was about half-past nine o'clock. I was not there at any other time of the day."

Now, if in fact Mr. Worrell had been catching game upon his relation's farm, which he was not, could such a savage assault be justified? But when we see the master, who should have felt some of the civilising influences of education, so absorbed by a pernicious passion for game, is it surprising that his ignorant game-watcher becomes a ferocious ruffian? The report then states that

"John Worrell corroborated the evidence of the prosecutor, both as to the assault, and his being in company with him on the previous evening.—Joseph Howell, foreman at the railway station, stated that he saw the assault committed, and that he wrenched a stick from Allen's hand while in the act of striking Worrell. This witness also stated that Allen had told him and other parties that he gets 1l. from Mr. Berkeley, and 1l. from the head-keeper, upon every conviction. A porter at the station, named Jelf, also stated that he saw the assault committed, and saw Allen rifle the complainant's pockets. This closed the case for the prosecution, and Mr. Hyde found that the assault had been proved, but urged in mitigation that the defendant had acted under an erroneous opinion, that he had the power, being an assistant-keeper, to search parties suspected of having gins and other snares in their possession."

What will law-respecting people of England say to this phase of the Game Laws? To meet Mr. Worrell's statement, the game-preserver's agent called his head keeper, who was not present:

"Charles Hiscock, the head keeper to Mr. Berkeley, deposed, I saw William Worrell in a field in the occupation of Mr. Worrell, about 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 8th instant. He was walking by the side of the hedge. I saw him twice go down into a ditch, and stoop down as if he was setting wires. I desired Allen to watch him."

This, let it be remembered, was on the land in the occupation of Mr. Worrell's relation!!! The head-gamekeeper proceeds thus:

"About two hours afterwards I went into the same field and found two gins set, and a dead hare in one of them. I was about 150 yards from the complainant. Worrell came to my house on the morning of the 9th and said, 'I've been so foolish as to set some wires, I wish you could get me out of the scrape, as it will be very injurious to my character.' I said, 'My good fellow, I can't do it, it is more than my place is worth.'—By Mr. Pullen: I never had any dispute with Allen when Mr. Brown, the contractor was present; I cannot recollect that Allen accused me of giving him dead hares to put in gins for the purpose of procuring convictions.—Mr. Pullen: Did you ever give him a dead hare to put in a gin for that purpose?—Witness: I have given him a hare, but I cannot tell what he did with it.—Mr. Pullen: Tell

the truth, yes or no, did he ever put a hare in a gin by your directions?—Witness (after a long pause): WELL, HE DID.—Mr. Pullen: Do you swear you saw William Worrell in the field at two o'clock on the 8th inst.—Witness: I do."

The plot thickens reader. Recollect this Mr. Berkeley, the game preserver, gives his servants money, much money, for every Game Law conviction they obtain; and take with that fact the keeper's admission about the dead hare. Now, mark the conclusion of the case:

"Jelf, the railway porter, recalled, and examined by Mr. Pullen.—About two o'clock in the afternoon of the 8th inst., Wm. Worrell was engaged in looking over the invoices of a luggage train which had just arrived; after that he was employed in checking goods which were to go off; it is the complainant's duty to remain at the station all day, and I distinctly state that he was not absent from his business one minute during the whole of that afternoon. The Bench said that a more extraordinary and scandalous case had never been brought before them; indeed, they considered that not one word of truth had been told except by the prosecution; and Mr. Foley, in stating the decision, characterised the transaction as one which warranted their inflicting the full penalty. Allen was therefore fined 4l. 3s. 6d., and 10s. 6d. costs, or two months' imprisonment. Mr. Hyde said, that from what had transpired, he would withdraw the charges against Worrell."

Now, had Mr. Hyde's request been acceded to, the head keeper's information against Mr. Worrell for poaching, supported by the testimony of the pure and disinterested witness, Allen, would have been heard first, and the prosecutor might have been convicted of an offence against the Game Laws. But suppose the person so charged had been a mere working man, who might not have been able to prove so distinctly that he was elsewhere at the time of the alleged offence, what would have been the result? Truly this was a "scandalous" case; but our knowledge of game preserved districts compels us to say with regret, that we believe it to be by no means an "extraordinary" one.

As a pendant to the above, we extract two other game cases, reported in the *Leicestershire Mercury*.

At Loughborough Petty Sessions, on the 30th of April:

"Before the Rev. J. Dudley, and J. G. D. B. Danvers, Esq. "GAME LAWS.—Henry George and George Wilkins, of Long Whetton, were charged with trespassing in pursuit of game on land in the occupation of George Jarman, farmer, where the right to the game belonged to E. Dawson, Esq. Neither of the defendants appeared, and the parish constable proving the service of the summons, George Monk was sworn, and deposed that on Wednesday night he was 'on the look out,' and saw defendants in a field sown with dills. George had a gun. They were looking about as if in search of game; he had no doubt they were in search of game.—Mr. Dudley: 'For hares probably?'—Witness: 'They might be.'—Mr. Dudley: 'It was a place where hares might be found, I suppose?'—Witness: 'Yes, Sir.' Defendants were fined 10s. each, and costs (9s. 9d. each); in default, two months' hard labour."

Note the illegal and leading questions of the justice.

In the other case:

"William Wright, of Long Whetton, was charged with using certain engines for the purpose of taking game on the 24th of April, where the right belonged to C. M. Philipps, Esq. The information was laid by Alcroft, the head game-keeper, and George Handley, an assistant, was sworn in support of it. He said that on Tuesday morning he was in Oakley Wood, about six o'clock, and saw some snares standing. One had a hare, and another a rabbit in it. Wright came and took them up. Defendant denied the charge, and said he was collared by Handley when on the Fenner land, and taken by him down to the Hall, at Garendon, when Mr. Philipps' instructions were that a summons be taken out against him. A warrant, however, had been taken out, and he was apprehended, and kept in custody, so that he had not an opportunity of procuring witnesses. Handley, he also said, put a rabbit into his (defendant's) pocket. 'The dog worrying is the foundation of it.' Handley said the reason a warrant was taken out, was that he was afraid Wright would run away.—Defendant was fined 5l., including costs; and, in default, sentenced to two months' hard labour."

"The defendant in this case is the man who was very seriously injured by a dog being set upon him some months ago, and Handley is the person who was found guilty of setting it on him; which explains Wright's remark, 'The dog worrying is the foundation of it.'"

Now is there not a strong probability that this charge was a trumped up one? Poor Wright had not the opportunity of rebutting the charge, which Mr. Worrell was fortunate enough to possess. But when two such illustrations of the Game Laws are offered in one week in different parts of the country, is it not proof decisive of something wrong in the system?

GOOD NEWS FOR THE FARMERS.

The grievous injury inflicted upon the community by the Game Laws has at length attracted the attention of the intelligent members of the Common Council of the city of London, who on the 23rd of April last, passed a resolution to petition Parliament for the repeal of the Game Laws. The following are the remarks of the mover and seconder on the occasion.

"Mr. W. S. Hale, the chairman of the London School Committee, rose to move that the court should petition Parliament for the repeal of the Game Laws. He said it was impossible to read the details of the terrible consequences of the infamous Game Laws in the newspapers without being impressed with the opinion that the sooner they were wholly abolished the better. He rejoiced that Parliament was engaged in an investigation of the injurious

effects of the system which was adopted for the amusement of a few at the fatal expense of the many. Was it to be for a moment supposed that a man whose family were almost starving could see a hare cross his path without making an effort to supply his wife and children with food by possessing himself of what he considered as much his property as it was the property of the man of fortune, who pursued it with impunity? Some people argued that the individuals who were tried for transgression of the Game Laws were not the most moral in any part of their conduct. But what rendered them loose of morals but the existence of those cruel laws which deprived them of their liberty and dismissed their families to the workhouse for an offence which, though criminal in the eye of the law, could not be made, by any ingenuity, other than venial, regarded in a moral point of view."

"Mr. R. Taylor supported the motion, and pointed at the prisons all over the country as evidence of the demoralising tendency of the Game Laws. The chaplains who attended the gaols in which are deposited the individuals who had violated these laws, stated that they found no other kind of depravity amongst them, and that it was quite impossible to induce them to believe that they had committed any crime. Neither morality nor religion intimated to them that they had not as good a right to possess themselves of game as those who were out of the reach of necessity. It was seen in what multitudes labouring men came to town to the unions. Was it to be wondered at that the want which drove these multitudes to London should drive them to the adoption of those unlawful practices which often led to the commission of more awful offences? Let the court look at those dreadful conflicts which involved murders and terminated in executions. It was a remarkable fact, that men who are executed for the fatal consequences of those conflicts were objects of commiseration, and not of abhorrence and detestation, which marked the departure of a criminal found guilty of murder under other circumstances. The legislature were in fact, by continuing the Game Laws, manufacturing poor people into criminals."

A slight opposition was offered, and an amendment was proposed to petition for the "alteration," instead of the "repeal" of the Game Laws, but the original motion was carried by a large majority. This is as it should be. The Game Laws constitute an "injustice," with which there can be no compromise; it MUST BE ABATED.

POPULATION.—It is a cruel joke to talk about the evils of an increasing population, when that population is cut off by law from the power of selling the produce of its labour for the interest of a robber caste, who tell us plainly, that like the French noblesse, they will pay no taxes, unless they may have liberty to take the amount again from other people, and who, if speedily change of mind be not vouchsafed them, will come to the same rough end.

HOW THE MONOTHEISTS BEHAVED NINE YEARS AGO.—"On Thursday (18th March 1837) Mr. Clay brought on his motion for an alteration in the Corn Laws. As soon as Mr. Clay had finished speaking, an agricultural member (Mr. Cayley) rose with the seconder, and endeavoured to stop proceedings by counting out the House. The number was found above forty, and the seconder went on. Their first movement having thus failed, the landowners mustered kin and clan, and finally came down to the number of above two hundred. The ordinary routine of a thousand-times-repeated fallacies was put forward, and received as might be expected in an assembly where every man had made oath that he had a pecuniary interest in the question before him. At the instance of friends about me, I made repeated attempts to offer reply, as also to explain my reasons for not voting upon the actual question; but was unable to gain a hearing. Thank God, I have many better places! If I had been a jobber in a railroad or a dabbler in some monopoly, wishing to make a similar explanation, I should have been heard with reverential sympathy, to the extent that human organs could supply. Sir W. Molesworth entered upon a demonstration of the mode of operation of the competition generated by the limitation of food, which was perfect in its way, but confined to a portion of the field. Mr. Hume was received with groans and hideous laughs when he attempted to open the case of that part of the community who have not three hundred pounds a year in land; and when he proceeded to connect the question with the New Poor Law, the sounds that issued from the landed benches had a touch of the New Zealander."—*Letters of a Representative, by Col. Thompson.*

Letters from Iceland, received at Copenhagen, state that a great misfortune has befallen that country in consequence of the present eruption of Hecla: a fatal malady having attacked the cattle, from eating herbage which had been covered by the volcanic ashes. As high winds had prevailed for some time, the ashes were scattered throughout the island; and a great number of cattle, especially oxen, cows, and sheep, had perished. If the eruption of Hecla is prolonged for two months more, all the rural proprietors who have not enough hay to keep their herds—and the majority are in this condition—will be obliged either to slaughter their cattle, or to abandon them to certain death on the pastures thus poisoned by the volcanic ashes. The eruption of Mount Hecla was extremely violent. The flames which issued from the three great craters attained a height of 14,000 feet; and their breadth exceeded the greatest breadth of the river Piversen, the most considerable river in Iceland. The lava had already formed lofty mountains; and amongst the masses of pumice stone vomited by the volcano, and which have been found at a distance of three-fourths of a mile, there were some which weighed half a ton. By the eruption of Hecla, the enormous quantities of snow and ice which had accumulated for several years on the sides of that mountain have melted, and partly fallen into the river Rangen, which has overflowed its banks several times. The waters of that river, which runs almost at the foot of Mount Hecla, and which receives a large portion of the burning lava, were so hot that every day they cast upon the banks numbers of dead trout almost half-baked. Every night vivid streaks of the aurora borealis illumined the sky.

APPLICATION OF LEECHES.—The following method of facilitating the application of leeches is recommended by Dr. Reim. Let the leeches be put into a bottle filled with good beer, leaving them there until they seem to become lively. After they have been allowed to remain in this state for a few seconds, withdraw them from the liquid and immediately apply them. The process is almost infallible; even very feeble leeches, and which have lately been used, fasten as well as if they were employed for the first time.—*Gazette Médicale de Paris.*

THE DORSETSHIRE POOR.

To the Editor of THE TIMES.

SIR,—I beg most earnestly to call your attention to the accompanying correspondence which has just taken place between the Poor Law Commissioners and myself.

My letter will explain the grounds on which I made a claim for exception on behalf of the applicant, W. Soper; and the extract appended to it from the "Application and Report Book" of one of the relieving officers of the Dorchester Union, will inform you of the nature of the application.

I also beg leave to enclose two letters, one anonymous; the name of the writer of the other I desire to conceal for the reason he has given. In consequence of the representations made to me in these letters, and the melancholy announcement that the failure of the potato crop had increased the distress of the writer and his companions, I determined to take the first opportunity that offered of putting to the test the declaration made by the Poor Law Commissioners in their general order of August 2, 1841, and December 21, 1841, that out-door relief should be granted to the able-bodied in cases of "urgent necessity" with what success I leave you to judge from their reply.

Although much good has been effected in the county of Dorset, by the disclosures which have appeared from time to time in the public prints, with reference to the abject condition of the agricultural poor in that county, still the practice (it might almost be called an agreement) continues amongst labourers generally, of keeping the unfortunate labourers at a rate of wages shamefully disproportionate to his services, and barely sufficient in many instances, to save him from starvation.

Immediately on receipt of the anonymous letter above referred to, I visited the dwellings of these unfortunate persons, which are situated about 16 miles from my residence, and I found their condition to be even worse than they had represented. In two instances the family consisted of six persons—the labourer, his wife, and four children. The cottages were commodious, and in good condition; but the terms on which these men were working for their employers were as follows:—7s. per week each. Out of this pittance they were compelled to pay to the tenant, as rent for the landlord's cottage, 1s. 6d. per week; "gristing," as it is called, or wheat unfit for the markets, at 6s. 6d. per bushel; it had been as dear as 7s. 3d. for six weeks during the six months previous, which was the price, if not higher than the market price, of the best wheat sold in the county. They had fuel for the labour of cutting the furze growing on the farm, which amounts, in my opinion, to the same thing as paying for it; and potato ground at the rate of 9d. per acre. It is true that, in the year 1845, in consequence of the failure of the potato crop, they only paid 1l. 15s. as rent for a quarter of an acre; but in 1844, 2l. 5s. was demanded and paid for land to that extent.

My visit to the dwelling of these poor people chanced to be at their dinner hour, when I found that the meal they were about to partake of consisted merely of a small quantity of horse-beans and turnip tops boiled in water. I asked the wife of one of the men what she intended to prepare for her husband's supper when he returned home from his hard day's work, and her answer was, in the most cheerful tone, "Why, bless you, Sir, horse-beans and turnip tops."

I believe this to be the condition of the agricultural labourers, generally, in the west part of the county of Dorset—I know it to be so in the parish of Brettecombe and the adjoining parishes, and the case of William Soper is by no means an unusual one in any part of the county.

I do not shrink from the thousand reflections which may be passed upon me from these cases, herein exposed, having occurred on my own property. I do not profess to be a bit less culpable for the existence of such cases of misery and privation than any other landlord in the county. I have endeavoured to remedy these evils by calling attention to the injustice of the course pursued towards the labourer, and by setting an example of paying for work done in money instead of in kind, or by a species of truck. It matters not, I am convinced, whatever the rent of a farm may be, or whether a lease is granted or not; whether the price of wheat may be 30l. or 14l. per load; whether the demand for labour is abundant or not, the average amount of wages in the county of Dorset remains always the same, at 7s. per week. They appear to be fixed by custom, combination, and a tyrannical use made of the New Poor Law.

I am well aware of the odium and sneers which will be cast upon me for again thrusting these cases before the public. I am perfectly indifferent to the result. I feel convinced by bringing the aid of the press to bear upon all these instances of hardship and injustice, much good will be effected, as there has been already, and the labourer will, I am in hopes, reap the benefit.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

18, Spring gardens, May 3.

R. B. SHELDON.

THE GOVERNMENT PROVISION.—HOARDING SYSTEM.—We have been favoured in Galway with a cargo of Indian meal, which has been duly lodged in the stores of Mr. Fynn, a gentleman by whom we are assured that, so strongly built is the concern, it is impregnable to any attacks that may be made upon it, in the event of a popular outbreak.—*Galway Mercury.*

The people of Sligo are now suffering want. On Tuesday a large body of labourers walked in procession through the town, carrying two leaves on poles, and proceeded to the workhouse to ascertain from the Poor Law Guardians then assembled what relief would be afforded them. They got promises, we believe, in plenty, but unless they can live like the camelion, "their promise cramm'd," we think their case is hopeless. The guardians will do nothing for them. They can do nothing, and it is absurd to let a contrary impression go abroad. Why should the people be permitted to be "fool'd to the top of their bent?" Why should they be allowed to labour under the delusion that a board of guardians can assist them, when that board has no power to give out-door relief? and if they had, could the ratepayers bear it? We must look for aid in other quarters. Food and employment are what the people want. Cheap food can be procured by throwing open the Government granaries and distributing, at a low price, the Indian meal. Then as to employment, there is a grant of £50,000 at the disposal of the Board of Works for the relief of ALL Ireland!—*Sligo Champion.*

THE AGRICULTURAL INTEREST.—Within the last fortnight a farm at Collingbourne, Wilts, consisting of about 500 acres, the property of the Marquis of Aylesbury, became vacant. During that brief period the noble marquis has received no less than 18 applications for it from unexceptionable tenants. So much for the anticipated effects of the repeal of the Corn Laws.

REVIEW.

FALLACIES OF PROTECTION.—(*Sophismes Economiques, par F. Bastiat, &c.*) Paris: Guillaumin; London: Dulau. Third Notice.

We resume our notice of M. Bastiat's work by quoting his exposure of the fallacy of Reciprocity, which was revived by Mr. D'Israeli on Monday night, in a style that shows the worthy member for Shrewsbury to be one of the babes and sucklings of political economy, from whose mouth nothing but a miracle could "perfect praise."

"We have just seen that whatever renders transport costly in the course of the interchange of commodities is virtually a protection; or, if another form of expression be preferred, protection is in its operation identified with whatever renders transport costly."

"It is then correct to say that protection is a marsh, a slaking bog, a lagoon, a stony acclivity,—in a word, an *obstacle*, the effect of which is to augment the difference between the price of consumption and the price of production. It is at the same time indisputable that impassable roads and iron-bound coasts are genuine protecting tariffs."

"There are people—a small number, it is true, but still there are people—who begin to comprehend that obstacles are not the less obstacles for being artificial; and that our prosperity has more to gain from freedom than protection, precisely for the same reason that canals and railroads are more favourable to it than bridle-paths and bullock-tracks."

"But they say, this freedom must be reciprocal. If we throw down the barriers before Spain, while Spain does not throw them down before us, we should evidently be dupes. Let us, then, make *commercial treaties* on the basis of just reciprocity; let us concede to procure concession; let us make the *sacrifice* of buying to obtain the advantage of selling."

"Persons who reason thus are, I am sorry to say, virtually protectionists; only they happen to be more illogical than the protectionists, just as the latter are more illogical than the prohibitionists."

"I shall demonstrate this by an apologue."

"STULTA AND PUERA."

"There was once upon a time, no matter where, two towns, named *Stulta* and *Puera*. They constructed, at great expense, a road which connected them together. When this was completed, *Stulta* said, 'Here is *Puera* inundating me with her products; the matter must be taken into consideration.' In consequence, *Stulta* levied and paid a corps of *enrayeurs* (men employed to lock the wheels of carriages), so named because it was their duty to impede all the conveyances which came from *Puera*. Soon after, *Puera* had her corps of *enrayeurs*."

"After the lapse of some centuries, intelligence having made considerable progress, the mind of *Puera* was sufficiently enlightened to discover that these mutual obstacles might be mutually injurious. She sent an envoy to *Stulta*, who (omitting diplomatic forms) spoke to this effect: 'We have constructed a road, and now we block it up; that is absurd. It would have been better to leave things as they were. We should not then have had to pay, first for the road, and then for the blockade. On the part of *Puera*, I come to propose to you, not at all at once to renounce the opposition of our mutual obstacles—that would be to act upon principle, and we despise principles as much as you do—but to diminish these obstacles gradually, taking care equitably to balance our respective sacrifices.' Thus spoke the envoy. *Stulta* demanded time for reflection; she consulted her manufacturers and her agriculturists. Finally, after the lapse of some years, she declared that the negotiations were broken off."

"At this news, the inhabitants of *Puera* held a council. An old man (it was always believed that he had been secretly bribed by *Stulta*) rose and said: 'The obstacles created by *Stulta* injure our sales; that is a misfortune. Those which we have created ourselves injure our purchases; that is another misfortune. We can do nothing with the first, but the second depends on ourselves. Let us, at all events, get rid of one, since we cannot of both. Let us suppress our *enrayeurs* without asking *Stulta* to do the same. One day or other she will learn how to manage her affairs better.'

"A second councillor, a practical, matter-of-fact man, free from principles, and thoroughly imbued with the antiquated wisdom of his ancestors, replied: 'Listen not to that dreamer, theorist, innovator, Utopian, economist, and stultomaniac. We should be ruined if the impediments of the road were not equalised. There would then be more difficulty in going than in coming, in exporting than in importing. We should be, in respect to *Stulta*, under the same disadvantageous circumstances that Havre, Nantes, Bordeaux, Lisbon, London, Hamburg, and New Orleans, are in reference to towns placed at the sources of the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, the Tagus, the Thames, the Elbe, and the Mississippi; for it is more difficult to ascend than to descend the stream—(*A Voice*: 'Cities at the mouth of rivers are more prosperous than those at the sources').—That is not possible. (*The same voice*: 'But it is the fact'). Well, they have prospered contrary to rule.'

"Such conclusive reasoning made the assembly waver. The orator completed his convictions by speaking of national independence, national honour, national dignity, national industry, influx of produce, ruinous competition; in short, he carried the continuance of the obstacles; and if you are curious in the matter, I can bring you to a certain country where you will find road-makers and road breakers working together on the best terms—by the decrees of the same legislative assembly, and at the expense of the same tax payers, the one at clearing and the other at blockading the roads."

The Life and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell, M.P. Edited by his Son, John O'Connell, M.P. Dublin, Duffy; London, Dolman.

There is always a difficulty in reviewing the life of a statesman who still lives and acts amongst us, for there is at least a chance that his destined work is unaccomplished and his mission incomplete. It has, however, been the fortune of Daniel O'Connell to achieve a success which has taken its place in history, and to survive to hear what is virtually the judgment of posterity on a course of policy, commenced in sincerity, conducted with consistency, and finally brought in all honour to a triumphant

issue. We should gladly hear from himself an account of the difficulties he had to encounter, the prejudices he had to conciliate, and the misapprehensions he had to explain. Such a revelation would be a valuable lesson in mental discipline for all who may hereafter devote themselves to the service of mankind. It would tell of many errors incident to humanity; it would confess many misapprehensions, and acknowledge many mistakes, but it would show that confidence in the rectitude of a cause will eventually triumph, not only over the opposition of adversaries, but over the failings of self.

O'Connell was educated in France, during the period when the first ebullition of popular rage, set loose after centuries of oppression, threatened to render the popular cause odious to every lover of social order. Trained from his infancy in strict religious principles, witnessing the perils to which his beloved instructors of St. Omers were exposed by revolutionary violence, insulted, in company with his brother students, by the fanatics of the National Guards—for there is a fanaticism in irreligion, as well as in religion—it is not surprising that O'Connell came to Ireland a thorough enemy of democracy, and of most of the principles now bearing the name of liberal. A singular circumstance contributed to strengthen his anti-revolutionary opinions. Among those who had come over with him and his brother in the packet-boat, were John and Henry Sheares, who had not only witnessed the execution of Louis XVI., but displayed to their fellow-passengers a handkerchief which they had dipped in the blood of that monarch, as a trophy of the triumph of freedom.

The profession of the law had been recently opened to Catholics. O'Connell embraced it, and became, in 1794, a student of Lincoln's Inn. He ascribes to his witnessing the trials of Horne Tooke, Hardy, Thelwall, and their associates, his reconciliation with the principles of democracy; and he was not the only person whom the excessive spirit of persecution, displayed on that occasion, brought back to the advocacy of liberty.

O'Connell returned to Ireland on the eve of the insurrection of 1798. Friends and enemies have equally assailed him for his want of sympathy with the united Irishmen at that period; but, as Lord Plunket justly remarked, it was a Protestant, not a Catholic conspiracy. Its original leaders were as hostile to the altar as they were to the throne. The Catholic part of the insurrection, originally designed to be the episode, but rendered by circumstances the principal, was much more of an agrarian or servile revolt, than either a religious or a republican movement. The conduct of the Irish Parliament during this crisis, destroyed for ever its character as a legislature. It had become a nuisance which required to be abated; and when it committed suicide at the Union there were those who said, with equal bitterness and truth, that it had cheated the hangman.

O'Connell entered public life as an opponent of the Union. In his maiden speech he made a remarkable declaration:

"Let us," said he, 'show to Ireland, that we have nothing in view but her good; nothing in our hearts but the desire of mutual forgiveness, mutual toleration, and mutual affection; in fine, let every man who feels with me proclaim, that if the alternative were offered him of union, or the re-enactment of the penal code in all its pristine horrors, that he would prefer without hesitation the latter, as the lesser and more sufferable evil; that he would rather confide in the justice of his brethren, the Protestants of Ireland, who have already liberated him, than lay his country at the feet of foreigners.'"

There is a grave historical error in this passage. The penal laws were not imposed by the English Government; nor was their relaxation owing to the Irish Protestants. Sir Robert Walpole found it no easy task to check the rage for persecution manifested by the ascendancy in the Irish Parliament; and that ascendancy never voluntarily relaxed a single article of the penal code. Every concession made to the Catholics previous to the Union was purchased or extorted from the Irish Parliament by the interference of the English Government.

We have reason to know that many of the great men who resisted the Union to the last regretted that they did not submit to the measure when they found it inevitable, and stipulate with the Minister for a fair representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament. So far as numbers went, Ireland obtained better terms than she offered when her Parliament petitioned for a Union in 1707; but the representatives of the boroughs were mere nominees of patrons; indeed, there was hardly a borough in Ireland which possessed anything like a constituency. The sale of seats was perfectly notorious. Cashel was frequently set up to auction; and Talbot was actually introduced into a settlement for younger children. This abuse was the chief ground of the argument for repeal urged by Mr. O'Connell in 1810:

"Out of the one hundred, such as they are, that sit for this country, more than one-fifth know nothing of us, and are unknown to us. What, for example, do we know about Andrew Strahan, printer to the king? What can Henry

Martin, barrister at law, care for the rights or liberties of Irishmen? Some of us may, perhaps, for our misfortunes, have been compelled to read a verbose pamphlet of James Stevens; but who knows anything of one Gills, one Hughan, one Cackin, or of a dozen more whose names I could mention, only because I have discovered them for the purpose of speaking to you about them; what sympathy can we, in our sufferings, expect from those men? What solicitude for our interests? What are they to Ireland, or Ireland to them? No, Mr. Sheriff, we are not represented—we have no effectual share in the legislation—the thing is a mere mockery."

It was not until 1811 that Mr. O'Connell began to attract notice as an active leader in the Catholic committee. He, like many others, was duped by the belief that the bigoted obstinacy of George III. was the principal impediment to emancipation; and that the Prince of Wales only waited for an opportunity to declare himself the friend of the Catholics. He exonerated the Prince from all share in the perverse but ludicrous efforts to suppress the meetings of the Catholic committee; and laid the blame on the Lord Lieutenant and his secretary, who merely acted under orders from England. In discussing the failure of the efforts to form a Liberal administration after the death of Perceval, Mr. O'Connell stated the grounds of his confidence in the Prince Regent, who, as he stated, had given solemn pledges to the Catholics of Ireland:

"The first in rank, though not in order of time, is that communicated to the Catholics of Ireland, by his Grace the Duke of Bedford. He lives—my witness lives: what is said here will probably reach him through the public papers; and I call upon him, publicly to contradict anything I advance, which is not literally warranted by the fact. Thus, then, do I state, that in 1805, about the commencement of the Fox administration, when the Catholics, flushed with hope at seeing their late advocates in power, were about to prepare petitions to Parliament, the ministry used many means to postpone that measure. At that period, and as one of those means, his Grace the Duke of Bedford, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, did communicate to the Catholics of Ireland, the wish of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, that the question should not then be agitated; and at the same time, his decided conviction of the justice of our claims, and his decided resolution to admit them whenever he should have power to do so."

"Perhaps I can state this pledge; but I see persons before me to whom this language was held; and I am quite sure that the Duke of Bedford would never, never have conveyed one idea on the subject, if he had not his authority directly from the Prince."

"Secondly, my lord, we have had in the same year, the same pledge repeated to many Catholics, by the Chancellor of Ireland, George Ponsonby."

"The keeper of his Majesty's Irish conscience must be supposed to have had a kind of reverential solicitude for that of his Royal Highness, the heir apparent. Mr. Ponsonby does, I understand, distinctly avow the authority under which he communicated to the Irish Catholics the promise of emancipation—when, in the fulness of time, he, whom we then cherished as the early friend of Ireland, and the proudest hope, should have it in his power to rouse the enthusiasm of an electric people round his throne."

"Good God! what a prodigal waste has since been committed—not of wealth, for that, comparatively, is no more than trash—but of the cheerful and best defence of the monarch, the Irish people's love."

"The third pledge is a written one, and is in the possession of a Catholic peer, not now present. I have not the honour to be sufficiently known to the Earl of Kermarthen to have applied to him for it; but I entertained hopes of being able to procure it through a friend of mine, and of his lordship. It is sufficient to say of that pledge, that it afforded for years consolation to the Irish Catholics; and the discretion with which it was communicated, enhanced its value. I believe, my lord, I need not state to you how little doubt it could leave of the firm decision of the Prince's mind upon our question."

"The fourth and last pledge, which, for the present, I shall mention, was that given by his Royal Highness to a noble lord now present. At the conversation I allude to, that noble lord was accompanied by the late Lord Petre, and the present Lord Clifden. After retiring from the presence of his Royal Highness, the declarations which he was so graciously pleased to make, were from a loyal and affectionate impulse of gratitude, committed to writing, and signed by the three noble lords."

It was, indeed, for many years the general belief in Ireland, that the Prince Regent's violation of these pledges, and his hostility to the Catholic claims arose from female influence. The Hertford ascendancy was identified with the Protestant ascendancy; and, as was said of another royal sensualist, "new policy could not be expected at court until the advent of a new petticoat."

The year 1813 was one of deep interest in the history of the struggle for emancipation; a measure of concession received a second reading in the House of Commons, but unfortunately it was accompanied by certain "securities," of no great value in themselves, but which seemed to authorise the interference of Government in the ecclesiastical discipline of the Irish Catholic church. In the discussion of these clauses at the Catholic committee unhappy dissensions arose. There were many who thought themselves bound to abide by the decision of the Catholic prelates, there were others who claimed for the laity the privilege of free action, and these Mr. John O'Connell flippantly denounces as schismatics. It may be schism for laymen to resist prelates in matters relating to spiritual jurisdiction, but certainly laymen have some right in distinguishing between what are and what are not the legitimate objects of episcopal function; and the Court of Rome has recognised this right in wars, treaties, and negotiations with the most eminent Catholic princes not less than with Protestant

potentates. Those paragons of piety Charles V. and his son Philip of Spain, waged war against the popes without ever being suspected of the sin of schism.

The unhappy dissensions in the Catholic body tended greatly to strengthen the patrons of Protestant ascendancy in both Houses of Parliament. The Catholic aristocracy of England, aided by the amiable and learned Charles Butler, were anxious to make terms with the Government, and were probably led farther than they at first intended in the way of concession, by the intemperate zeal of the Rev. Dr. Milner, who asserted the claims of his church in terms that would have been deemed strong before the Reformation. Still, as this controversy was only a mischievous episode in the history of emancipation, we regret to see that it has been revived by Mr. John O'Connell, and revived for so mischievous a purpose as to misrepresent the new colleges in Ireland. He assumes that the education of the laity is as great an interference with the ecclesiastical discipline of his church as a share in the appointment of the clergy, and he claims the authority of the prelates against these institutions. Into controversies of opinion we need not enter, but a misrepresentation of fact is a very different matter. No one knows better than Mr. John O'Connell that the Irish colleges are not more tolerated but supported by no inconsiderable minority of the Catholic prelates.

The year 1813 closed with a manifestation of increased hostility to the claims on the part of the Irish Government, then administered by the Duke of Richmond and Mr. (now Sir Robert) Peel. Ostentatious patronage and favour were displayed to the leaders of the Orange party; juries were packed, and the purity of the bench exposed to suspicion. The trial and conviction of Magee, the editor of the *Evening Post*, for a libel, seemed intended to silence the press; but it was at this crisis that O'Connell matured a new and efficient system of agitation, destined to prove to his countrymen the truth of their own proverb, "the darkest hour in the twenty-four is the hour preceding day." Here the volume abruptly closes, but with an intimation that a continuation may be shortly expected.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDUSTRY.

At a crisis like this, when the downfall of that gigantic monstrosity, the Corn Laws, amid the firm phalanx of the corn-lords, who made so protracted a struggle to uphold it, shows the people what they can do—when the long-tried have been triumphant, let them not abandon the arms that have gained them the battle. Let them all work; but, above all, work together. There is no being (unless ill or idiotic), but has power to take part in the business of removing misery, and creating happiness; there are none who, under any other plea, can claim exemption from the bond due to the universal brotherhood to which he belongs. It is ground on which there is no neutral track—no pausing point; he who will not go forward must go back—humanity never stands still; he who will not assist at the work of regeneration, must expect to be regarded as a renegade; he who will not aid the apostles of the people, to be deemed an apostate. To gain an advantage is not all—there is much in the subsequent use of it. Public integrity must be based upon private worth; those who have stood together in the field of strife must carry their confederate strength into the field of social exertion, and strive with the same heart and zeal that they did in the battle:

Man, poor and feeble when alone,
The sport of every passing wind,
In war—in trade—in battle shown,
He's all resistance when combined.
If then, when fears or interests plead,
Combining crowds together press,
Why cannot social feeling lead
Men to unite for happiness?

A very humble home may become a beacon-light to its immediate neighbourhood. Good, like all the elements of nature, is indestructible: it may be scattered, it may be obscured, but it is never utterly lost. That so much good has been so often unavailing to its originator, is the fault of the disjointed framework of society, amid which the unworthy monopolist often wins the reward that another has earned. Many remain inert because their supposed ability, and apparent field of action, is small; but all merit has an expansive quality, and grows in capacity and skill according to the exercise it receives. But even granting that the power be small, as the most modest of these willing defaulters may allege, yet the combined power of even such workers must do much. Let them turn their attention one moment to the coral-insect. How little can each of those atoms effect! yet, by combined and persevering action, behold the coral-reefs they raise amid the mighty waters of the ocean! Happy are those spirits—and, measured by the highest standard, as great as they are happy—who give unobtrusive ministry in the cause of human improvement; who rejoice in its advancement, whether their share in the work be known and acknowledged, or not. Many such, happily, there are. The most eminent, yet most modest—or rather, considering the consequences they produce, the most considerable, yet the most unconscious—are to be found among the women of the working classes—the mothers of the rising sons and daughters of industry. Much will society owe to these patient workers, however little it may acknowledge. Men of industry—England's best and bravest men—do to them the justice you desire to have done unto yourselves. Turn to the bosom friend, the friend of your heart and health, and recompense, by your intelligent aid and devotion, the disadvantages that the present social system surrounds her with. Give to your sons and daughters equal education; endow colleges for both; your united efforts may do this, and much more. Let your watchword be education. Educate the heart; educate the reasoning and reflective faculties, not your children's only, but your own, also. It is a common error to regard education as the business of only a portion

of life, when it is, in fact, a work that must be going on throughout life. Let this great business, then, not be neglected, as it regards either the infant or the adult—man or woman. The world is by this time too wise to let one half of its mental capital lie dormant, or die, for want of cultivation and exercise; or, which is far worse, and more likely, if no high direction be given it—take a pernicious and perverse course, infecting the atmosphere it might purify, refine, and illuminate; and, instead of creating for you coadjutors in the work of happiness and improvement, plant your path with impediments to your own felicity and advancement.—*People's Journal*.

NURSERY TALE.

THE STORY OF THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS, "SUITED TO THE MEANEST CAPACITY."

There was a little lady who had 21,000,000 babies, and she wanted to get cheap bread for them, but she could not, because of the Corn Law. So she went to the Lords, and she said—

"Lords, Lords, repeal this law, or I cannot get cheap bread for my babies."

Then the Lords said to her, "Pooh! we are the landed interest; what do we care for your babies? The Tories to a man will stand by us." She went to the Tories, and she said—

"Tories, Tories, desert the Lords; the Lords won't repeal the law; and I cannot get cheap bread for my babies."

Then the Tories said to her, "Madam, we have no objection to eat dirt; we do it every day; but at present we are under the orders of the Duke." So she went to the Duke, and she said—

"Duke, duke, order the Tories; the Tories won't desert the Lords; the Lords won't repeal the law; and I cannot get cheap bread for my babies."

Then the Duke said to her, "F. M. the Duke of Wellington is Commander-in-Chief of the Army, but he is neither a maltster nor a miller. All communication to his Grace must be made through Sir Robert Peel." So she went to Sir Robert Peel, and she said—

"Peel, Peel, speak to the Duke; the Duke won't order the Tories; the Tories won't desert the Lords; the Lords won't repeal the law; and I cannot get cheap food for my babies."

Then Peel said, "the Tories brought me in, I know, but I should like to rat and cut the snobs. However, as yet there is no pressure from without, there's no great fact to frighten me."

So she went to look for a great fact; and she heard a voice saying to her, "I am ready to come to your help, if you will only get somebody to form a League, and call me into notice. There's Richard Cobden." So she went to Cobden, and she said—

"Cobden, Cobden, form a League; the League will soon become a fact; but there's no fact yet to frighten Peel, and Peel won't speak to the Duke; the Duke won't order the Tories; the Tories won't desert the Lords; the Lords won't repeal the law; and I cannot get cheap bread for my babies."

Then Cobden began to form the League; the League began to become a fact; the fact began to frighten Peel; Peel began to speak to the Duke; the Duke began to order the Tories; the Tories began to desert the Lords; the Lords set to repeal the law; and so the little lady got cheap bread for her babies.—*Punch*.

LOSS OF THE FALCO.—Letters have been received containing the announcement of the total loss of the brig *Falco*, on the coast of New Zealand, and an attack made on her unfortunate crew and the plundering the cargo by the natives. The *Falco* sailed from Boston in the early part of last year, on a trading voyage to the islands of the Pacific, having on board the new American consul for New Zealand. She touched, on her way to Swan River, King George's Sound and Adelaide, and then proceeded, after a prosperous voyage, to New Zealand. She arrived at Port Nicholson in the month of June, and sailed thence, with the Government mails on board, for Auckland, via Table Cape. On the 27th of the following month the vessel reached the Cape, and she was brought to anchor at a place called Wangawai, where, in the course of a few hours afterwards, it came on a violent storm. During the succeeding night she rode with both anchors down until about two o'clock, when the windlass broke in two by the excessive strain. Immediately she drifted through the breakers over a reef a mile in extent, and struck on a shell of rocks and sands on a steep shore. For a time the situation of those belonging to her was perilous in the extreme; every sea making a complete breach over the decks, and nearly washing them off; as the tide receded, however, the wreck was left high and dry, enabling the crew to walk ashore. Finding the vessel not much injured they returned, and were preparing to get her again afloat, when a large number of natives, in concert with the Europeans living on the island, rushed on board and committed the most disgraceful outrages. Having hemmed in the captain and officers on the quarter-deck, and threatened them with violence if they offered any resistance, they broke open the hatches, and getting into the hold commenced plundering everything that was valuable. They opened the mail bags and boxes, and scattering their contents in the hold, obtained all the Government despatches, which they tore up and destroyed. They afterwards began to strip the vessel tearing off the copper sheathing, and destroying the hull in every part with pole axes. It was evident that the work of destruction was a preconcerted plot between the whites and the natives, and that unquestionably the chief blame was to be attributed to the former, who seemed to vie with each other in their outrages. The American consul contrived at the onset of the attack to escape with a large amount of specie and papers of great value, which he had charge of, and obtain shelter in a gentleman's house, some distance along the beach. Some few days afterwards an attack was threatened by the natives to possess themselves of the treasure, but their nefarious plans were frustrated by a number of armed gentlemen, who guarded the place night and day until the arrival of a vessel to take the consul and the officers and crew of the *Falco* to their destination. The wreck was subsequently burnt.

THE CORN LAWS.—The Dukes of Buccleuch, Devonshire, Sutherland, Norfolk, Hamilton, and Bedford, the Marquises of Lansdowne, Breckinridge, Anglesey, and Ailsa, Earl Fitzwilliam, the Earls of Carlisle, Chesham, Fortescue, Essex, Fitzhardinge (we believe), and several others that might be pointed out, are all against the continuance of the present law, and will vote for the measure of Sir Robert Peel.—*Sun*.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL TRADE.

The *Liverpool Standard* of yesterday, in replying to our remarks on Wednesday last, says:

"It is a corollary recognised by every Free Trader, that when we cease to purchase from any particular country we diminish its ability to purchase from ourselves in return. The colonist of British America takes from us in manufactures the full amount of the produce—grain or timber—which we import from him. Transfer our demand for such grain or timber to the foreigner, and we by no means receive from him the equivalent amount of purchases from us in return. Thus we handed over to the markets of the Baltic, in 1842, the supply of this country with its timber."

We are glad to find that the *Standard* recognises the truth of what he calls the corollary, but what we should rather call the maxim of the Free Traders, "that when we cease to purchase from any particular country, we diminish its ability to purchase from us in return." It is, we believe, perfectly irrefragable, and forms the main foundation of the doctrine of Free Trade. It is not, however, true that British America takes from us in manufactures the whole amount of the produce we import from it. A part of that amount is taken in colonial and other produce purchased in other countries by exports of British manufactures; and, therefore, in that respect, the trade of British America is precisely like our trade with the rest of the world. The main point, however, to which we feel it necessary to advert, is the assertion, that "we handed over to the markets of the Baltic, in 1842, the supply of this country with its timber." Now, if this assertion means anything at all, it means that the measure of 1842 has destroyed the Canadian timber trade. Does the *Liverpool Standard* mean to make any such assertion? Has the Canadian timber trade been destroyed? Has it been diminished? No. The import of timber from British America is now not only larger than at any former period, but is evidently increasing with great rapidity, as the following statement of the quantities of Canadian timber imported into the United Kingdom, for the last three years, will abundantly show:

1843.....	922,047 loads,
1844.....	941,321 "
1845.....	1,290,341 "

Surely if, by the measure of 1842, we had handed over the timber trade to the markets of the Baltic, we should not find this rapid increase in the import of Canadian timber occurring just at the time when that measure might be said to come fairly into operation.—*Manchester Guardian*.

THE SUPPLY OF SUGAR.

(From the *Liverpool Times*.)

Great anxiety now prevails with regard to the supply of sugar. Serious fears are entertained that the importation of colonial and other admissible growths will fall short of the consumption, so as to leave little or none at the end of the year to meet the spring demand. The Government have been disappointed in their expectations; our colonies have not increased their production in the ratio that was anticipated, and the arrivals of foreign free-labour sugar have been comparatively insignificant—nor does the future present a more flattering prospect. A drought, of unusual severity, has visited the West India colonies, and well-informed parties calculate that it will cause a deficiency in the crop to the extent of many thousand tons. The lowest estimate of the deficiency is 15,000 tons, the highest 40,000 to 45,000—it may be safely assumed to be 30,000, or a full eighth of the usual importation from all the colonies. This misfortune will not exercise so injurious an effect on the British public, as it must have done before the admission of free-labour foreign sugar. It cannot, however, fail to raise prices, and that very considerably, because the quantity of Java and Manila, or other free-labour sugar, that can arrive for several months, is so small, as to go but a short way to compensate for the deficiency in the West India importation. There were only about 8,000 tons of free-labour sugar imported last year. Even supposing this to be doubled in the course of the present year (a result not unlikely to be attained by the close of the season), parties versant with the sugar trade, reckon upon the supplies, taken as a whole, proving quite insufficient for the now enlarged consumption. Three estimates of the probable importation of all admissible descriptions for the current year, have been shown, amounting, respectively, to 220,240, and 255,000 tons. The average of these three estimates is 238,000 tons. Last year, the consumption reached 240,000. This year, it can hardly be so low as 260,000, and may possibly be 270,000—even at present prices, with the probability of reaching 280,000, if, by any means, prices fall materially. It thus appears, that the supply is likely to prove 22,000 tons, or about eight per cent. short of the smallest estimate of consumption. In consequence of this state of the trade, prices have advanced materially during the last year, particularly for sorts adapted to the wants of the country which have become scarce, so much so, that the stock in London of West India sugar is less than what it was at the corresponding period of last year, in first hands, at this great emporium—not a single cask at Bristol, and only 98 in the ports of Clyde. The bulk of stocks now held are East India, a growth, most of which enjoys no favour with consumers.

The article of molasses is in a still more striking position, the stocks in the country being less than two months' deliveries, and the import for the year not likely to reach three-fourths of what would be required for the year's consumption, even at the present rates of delivery! The prices, as might be expected have advanced greatly, not less than 40 to 50 per cent. on the currency of the corresponding month of last year—indeed, they are higher than before the reduction of duty, which took effect on the 14th of March, 1845.

The following figures exhibit the present value, in bond, of West India and foreign sugar:

Good brown for refining.....	38s. 6d.	Fine yellow for grocery.....	42s.
Colonial.....	28s. 6d.	Free-labour.....	none.
Other foreign.....	18s. 6d.		21s.

A PROTECTED LABOURER.—VERNHAM.—A farmer here is giving only five shillings per week to his shepherd, with a wife and children. This week one died from absolute starvation; and such is their utter destitution, that the poor man had to apply to the Board of Guardians, last summer, for money to buy a coffin, in which to bury his child. He has one shilling a week to pay for the rent of his cottage out of the five shillings!—*Leamington Advertiser*, Tory and protectionist paper.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 138.—Vol. III.]

SATURDAY, MAY 16, 1846.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

THE DEBATE ON THE THIRD READING.

In another part of this paper we shall probably be able to announce that the House of Commons has passed its LAST CORN BILL—has done, once for all, with laws for “regulating the supply of food to the people”—has shaken itself free, for ever, of a responsibility beyond the power of human legislation to sustain. After a discussion of almost unexampled length, broken by intervals, which have given Parliament and the country superabundant opportunity for consideration and reconsideration, we are on the point of seeing it finally ruled, by a majority that no power of political accident can reverse, that everything which landlordism has been doing these 30 years past has been done wrong, and must be undone, and that entire Free Trade in the first necessities of life is henceforth to be the policy of Great Britain.

It only remains for our hereditary and ecclesiastical legislators to say which they prefer—Sir R. Peel's Bill now, or Sir R. Peel and the League's Bill, some three months hence. We await their lordships' decision on this issue with a calm reliance on the will and the power of the Government and the country—with a reliance which would border on indifference, but for our sense of the calamitous consequences that must ensue to the industrious classes from even a three months' delay. Sir James Graham, it will be seen, has “a very strong opinion that the measure under consideration will in a very short time become the law of the land.” It is pleasant to hear this from a quarter so likely to be well informed. We are glad to know that this is expected, and shall be delighted to find the ministerial anticipation verified by the result. For our own part, we can say nothing. It is agreeable, of course, to hope for the best—but prudent people will hold themselves ready for the worst, and believe nothing till they see it.

Our readers will excuse us—perhaps will rather feel obliged to us—if we decline troubling ourselves or them with any sort of detailed review of the discussion of the past week. The dying words of Protection are too insufferably tedious and feeble to be capable of deriving interest even from the dignity of the subject-matter and the greatness of the occasion. The last of the Commons' Corn Law debates is doomed, we fear, as a whole, to remain eternally unread. Nothing can save it. One misses even the droll and dashing absurdity that sometimes redeems nonsense itself from oblivion. Of sheer silliness

and stupidity, there is nothing to be said. The element of the absurd is not altogether absent, but it does not exist in sufficient proportions. The coruscations are too few and far between. Mr. Cayley's recitations about the “British oak,” and Mr. Miles's curious and agreeable calculations about what wheat is likely to fetch, and Mr. Newdegate's pleasantry about “the spirits of Pitt and Canning speaking” by the Cayley lips—all are insufficient to animate that ponderous mass of insipidities and platitudes.

Although the debate, as a debate, has been of a flatness and dead-level dullness that precludes comment and disavows criticism, the occasion will ever be memorable for those emphatic utterances, by our first-class statesmen, of great and fruitful truths in political ethics, for which we have so often of late had to thank her Majesty's Ministers. Both on the policy and on the morality of economical legislation, the voice of official authority is clear, full-toned, and uncompromising. The Home Secretary's exposition of the deep interest which the industrious classes—agricultural and manufacturing, capitalist and operative—have in the low and steady prices naturally consequent on a Free Trade in food, was, as usual, masterly and decisive in its logic, and pervaded by a spirit of generous sympathy with the rights and well-being of the great mass of the community. As regards the agriculturists, he showed, on evidence which landlordism dare not gainsay—the evidence collected and published by one of landlordism's own select committees—that that much-deceived and abused member of British society, the “working farmer,” has nothing to fear, but everything to hope, from the abrogation of a system which has only lured him to his ruin with tempting promises of impossible performance. And he crushed, with becoming scorn, the impudent and hypocritical pretence that the agricultural labourer has, or can have, any beneficial interest in laws that doom him to pay artificially high and fluctuating prices, out of wages which remain unvarying, or at about starvation point.

Nothing could be more overwhelmingly complete than Sir James Graham's demonstration of the action of high prices of food on wages—on the wages both of the agricultural and the manufacturing labourer, whose “interests,” as he most lucidly shows, are at all points “identical.” High prices of the necessities of life, and increased cost of living, injure the manufacturer's home market by absorbing that surplus national income which constitutes the national fund for the purchase of manufactured goods; the more we have to spend on the article of first necessity, the less remains for comforts and luxuries. The “paralysis of the home market,” thus consequent on abridged consumption, compels the over-stocked manufacturer to resort to the costly and losing expedient of “forced exportation to the foreign market.” Capital wastes away under the thriftless process, and the dwindling wages-fund ceases to yield the same remuneration as before to the labourer. The narrowed and narrowing margin of profit calls for an exacter and more rigid economy. The weaker capitalists shut up. The operatives are not so much in request as they were. Many men are looking out for one master, and competition brings down wages to their minimum. The agricultural districts, meanwhile, must keep their own poor at home; manufacturers want no supernumeraries. The peasant lingers hopeless in his parish—doomed to idleness and parish pay, or to work on wages which are not wages, but only parish pay, under another name. Thus close and inseparable is the sympathy, the identity, of interest which unites the artisan with the peasant, and both with the capitalist employer of labour. For, as our Home

Secretary so forcibly tells us, in words that call forth “ironical cheers from the protectionist benches,” and impose instant conviction on every man of sense and honesty—

“This country can no longer be regarded as an agricultural country. I repeat that if we act and legislate as if this country were purely agricultural, error lies at the very root of the argument. Whether it be for weal or for woe we have become a manufacturing and a commercial country; and we must legislate for the great commercial and manufacturing interests. I admit this, and I say that the connection between the commercial, the manufacturing, and agricultural interests, is intimate and palpable. There cannot be commercial and manufacturing prosperity without creating a demand for labour in the agricultural districts. We find a proof of this in the progress of docks, of railways and canals, and whenever the demand for labour in the seats of wealth and in the manufacturing districts is strong, labour is attracted from the most distant rural districts; and even in the rural districts, when there is a state of manufacturing prosperity, and when the price of food is low, wages rise.”

We cannot sufficiently express our delight at the manful and generous pertinacity with which, throughout his admirable speech of last Monday night, Sir James Graham keeps close to the one vital, central, and all-inclusive question—“WHAT IMPROVES THE CONDITION OF THE LABOURER?” “The question is indeed narrowed to this point. What we are to consider is not whether the interests of the landlords are maintained by the protective system—the question for deliberation, and which waits our decision, is THIS—Are laws restricting the importation of corn into this country conducive to the happiness, comfort, and welfare of the tillers of the soil—of THE MULTITUDE? That is THE WHOLE QUESTION. That is the issue we are to decide on.” It is a question of the work and wages, the comforts, happiness, and improvement, the rights of the working and bread-eating people. “This is not a measure for the producer. I mean it is not a measure for the producer alone. The great body of consumers—THE MILLION—are deeply interested in this matter, and surely it is evident that in this legislative assembly THEIR WELFARE OUGHT TO BE THE PRIMARY CONSIDERATION.”

Utterances such as these from the lips of the statesmen who wield the power and guide the destinies of the first commercial country of the world, are indeed—like the great and beneficent measure which they vindicate—fated to be “memorable in history;”—memorable, long after their immediate occasion shall have passed away, as marking the ascendancy of new ideas and principles of public policy—heralding the advent of a new era of government and legislation, in which “the prosperity, contentment, peace, and happiness of the great body of the people, WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE INTERESTS OF ANY PARTICULAR CLASS,” shall be the only recognised spirit of statesmanship. Revolutions have been made on the principle of “the people, the only source of legitimate power.” The bloodless revolution with which her Majesty's Ministers have now identified their fame and fortunes as public men, has as broad a programme of truth and principle—“THE PEOPLE, THE MULTITUDE, THE MILLIONS, THE ONLY LEGITIMATE USUFRUCTUARIES OF POWER.”

MR. NEWDEGATE'S COMMITTEE.—Mr. Wilson, president of the Council of the League, has been three days under examination before this committee. From what we have learned, we have no doubt he has succeeded in overturning the whole case which the monopolists have been endeavouring to get up against the League. The facts stated by Mr. Wilson excited much interest, and his evidence has had a great effect upon the members of the committee.

GOOD GOVERNMENT.—What is the object of all government? The object of all government is roast mutton, potatoes, a stout constable, an honest justice, a clear highway, a free school. What trash to be bawling in the streets about the Green Isle, the Isle of the Ocean! The bold anthem of Erin go Bragh! A better anthem would be Erin go bread and cheese, Erin go cabins that keep out the rain, Erin go pantaloons without holes in them.—Sydney Smith.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE
SESSION OF 1846.

Seventeenth Week, ending Saturday, May 16.

One of the greatest events in modern history is passing through the House of Commons with far less interest than a common turnpike bill. So thoroughly has the debate been exhausted, that even the House of Commons refused to receive any more; and the last reading of a most important measure has passed with an indifference scarcely credible. On Friday the discussion was a *sham* one. On Monday, the third reading of the bill was commenced; but the debate, if debate it can be called, was all on one side.

The Marquis of Granby, the eldest son of the Duke of Rutland, was selected as the leading opponent of the third reading. The most striking part of his speech was the following:

"He thought that even if the right honourable baronet was right in his opinion that the aristocracy would not be injured by the alteration of the Corn Laws, this would be a poor recompense to them for the loss of the yeomanry of England (loud cheers from the members below the gangway).

"And you, good yomen,
Whose limbs were made in England, show us here
The mettle of your pasture; let us swear
That you are worth your breeding, which I doubt not;
For there is none of you so mean and base,
That hath not noble lustre in your eyes.
I see you stand like greyhounds in the slips
Straining upon the start. The game's afoot!
Follow your spirit; and, upon this charge,
Cry—God for the Queen! England! and Lord George!"

(cheers and loud laughter). He did not believe that the measure of the Government would pass the legislature, but if it did, he hoped that his anticipations of the evils which would ensue might prove incorrect, and that the expectations of the right honourable gentleman, however vague and uncertain they might be, would be verified. The right hon. gentleman had told them that he would not consent to remain at the helm, unless that helm were suffered to traverse freely. He (the Marquis of Granby) feared that if the right honourable gentleman should succeed in altering the course of the vessel, from the praiseworthy motive of reaching the port of prosperity and plenty more directly, his fate might be that of many a mariner before him, and that, driven to leeward by tides and currents of which he had not dreamed, he might leave the vessel a helpless and deserted wreck on the barren and inhospitable shores of Free Trade (cheers from the agricultural benches). If that should happen, he would venture to prophesy that the noble lord, the member for Lynn, and his crew, would come forward and endeavour to get her off, but he feared that it would then be too late. The noble marquis concluded by thanking the house for the attention with which he had been heard, and moved as an amendment that the bill should be read a third time that day six months."

Mr. Gaskell (who resigned his appointment as a Lord of the Treasury on the promulgation of Sir Robert Peel's plans), seconded the motion; and Mr. Sheridan, who advocates a Corn Law, made the following statement as to Dorsetshire labourers:

Mr. SHERIDAN rose with great reluctance to address the house on a subject which had something of a personal nature about it, but as the honourable member for Dorsetshire on Friday last, during the discussion upon the report of this bill, had cast some reflections upon the correctness of a statement made by him (Mr. Sheridan), he trusted that he should be allowed to say a few words in his own defence. He was quite aware that he was out of order in alluding to subjects discussed in a former debate, but as a reflection had been made upon his character, and members had been indulged with an opportunity of vindication under similar circumstances, he trusted that the same indulgence would be extended to him (cheers). It would be in the recollection of the house that the noble lord the Secretary for Ireland, in reply to some observations made by the senior member for the county of Dorset (Mr. G. Banks), suggested that the honourable member would be more properly occupied in comparing the agricultural condition of the peasantry in Dorsetshire, than that of the peasantry in Ireland. With all respect to the honourable member, he must say he thought this was very sound and wholesome advice, and he hoped that the honourable member and his colleagues would take it into their consideration (hear, hear, and cheers). An honourable member for Dorset, who was recently elected (Mr. Floyer), said in reply, that as far as regarded his own neighbourhood, and other parts of the county with which he was acquainted, the statement of the noble lord, which was the statement originally made by him (Mr. Sheridan), was at direct variance with the truth. These were strong expressions, but he was sure that the honourable member who used them knew so well what was due to him (Mr. Sheridan) as a personal friend, that he could not have intended to say anything offensive. Now he (Mr. Sheridan) would not make any statement of an opposite character, nor would he say anything which would rest solely on his own responsibility, but he would produce to the house a statement made by gentlemen connected with Dorsetshire, clergymen of the Established Church. Since Friday last he had addressed letters, among other gentlemen, to the Rev. Sidney Godolphin Osborne and the Rev. William Scott, the brother of the member for Roxburghshire. Mr. Scott said in reply: "I do not understand Floyer's saying that he never knew wages so low as 7s. a week, for I have known several instances of the kind, and if you are below the mark in stating 7s. as the average amount of wages, it is only 6d. under the mark." The next document he would read was a letter from the Rev. Sidney Godolphin Osborne, who said, "I have read with much astonishment the speech of Floyer. I send you a statistical return of the Blandford Union, made three years ago, and I believe it to be true in the present year. At the time it was made I was chairman of the Union, and I tested its truth myself. In 1843 something between one-seventh and one-eighth of the whole population were paupers. The average pay of the union—the best, I believe, in the county—did not, I believe, reach 8s. a-week, including carters." His hon. friend the member for Dorsetshire (Mr. Floyer) stated that he did not actually know any case in which wages were so low as 7s. a week. Now, in addition to the letters to which he had referred, he (Mr. Sheridan) had taken the trouble to write to

the relieving officer of the Dorchester Union, who had sent him a letter in return. He must say that it appeared to him strange that a gentleman like the hon. member, the chairman of a Board of Guardians, should come forward and state that he did not know any case in which wages were so low as 7s. a-week, when day after day, week after week, and year after year, he had signed his name to the relief and application book of the Dorchester Union (hear, hear). Now, the relieving officer of that union said in his letter, "I believe that the average rate of wages in my district does not exceed more than from 7s. to 7s. 6d. per week; and I think that the extract which I send fully bears me out in that opinion." He had inquired whether there was any case in which a man working by the day was paid more than 8s. a-week?—and the relieving officer said, "I cannot point to any such case in my district." So much for the assertion that wages were not so low as 7s. a-week. But to make his (Mr. Sheridan's) case still stronger, for his character was at stake, he would cite the extract which had been sent him from the books of the Dorchester Union for the quarters ending December, 1845, and March, 1846. (The honourable member here read the names of several persons who had been relieved by the union in question, whose wages did not amount to more than seven shillings a-week.) As to the district of the Blandford Union, the wages there were on the average 7s. a week. House rent was high, the cottages dilapidated and unhealthy, and fuel scarce and dear. In the Monkton district wages were 8s.; house rent, 1s. to 1s. 6d.; but for this large gardens were attached to the cottages. About Anderton the wages were 7s. About Hilton, 7s., with low house rent. About Milpont, 7s., with house rent from 1s. 6d. to 2s. About Spetsbury from 7s. to 8s., house rent from 1s. to 1s. 6d. About Howton, 8s., house rent 1s. About Kingston from 7s. to 8s., with high house rent. Here, however, the labourers had potato ground free. Fuel, however, was scarce and dear. About Strickland wages were from 7s. to 8s.; house rent from 1l. to 3l. per annum. About Felton the wages for single men were 6s., for married men 7s.; house rent was high. Under these circumstances his honourable friend was doing him an injustice in saying that the statement which he had made in the newspapers was at variance with the truth. But the hon. gentleman went further. He mentioned that in Dorsetshire he never knew a time when the labouring population were so well off as at present. Now the clerk of the union to which reference had been previously made, stated in answer to questions put by him (Mr. Sheridan), that the number of paupers in the union was 148, while last year it amounted to 120, a statement certainly not tending to prove any increased prosperity of the condition of the labourers for this present year. But his honourable friend had gone on to say, that although there might be particular isolated spots where the wages were as low as had been described, those exceptional cases arose from particular circumstances connected with the labourers; that they were not probably up to their work. Now, in the name of heaven, how could a man be up to his work on horse beans and turnip tops (hear)? He stated, in his place in Parliament, that the labourers' cottages were so small, so dilapidated, and so crowded, that they engendered disease and immorality, that their wages were scandalously low, quite inadequate for the support of the labourer and his family. These were not his opinions alone, they were the opinions of the resident clergy and gentry in the neighbourhood, and they were also the opinions expressed at a public meeting at Sturminster by the noble lord the late member for Dorsetshire, an expression of opinion which, as he (Mr. Sheridan) believed, had cost him his seat in that house (hear). Now, it might be said, how could he, with these opinions—with these details staring him in the face—how could he, after the expression of his desire for the improvement of the labouring classes, have the courage to oppose the measure which the right honourable baronet had brought in? He would reply, that he had yet to learn that the withdrawal of all protection would have the effect of improving the condition of the agricultural labourer (hear, hear, from the protectionists). The noble lord opposite stated that the price of labour depended upon the price of corn. He did not agree with the noble lord in that—indeed, he thought that the question had been for ever set at rest. He maintained that in Dorsetshire wages never varied, whether wheat was 20l. or 10l. per load (hear), and referred to a letter from a Dorsetshire labourer, complaining of the treatment experienced by his class at the hands of the farmers, who would not allow the labourer to earn more than 7s. a week, which "made their lives bitter, and them to wish for the grave." He (Mr. Sheridan) believed, indeed, that the wages were fixed by custom, by combination, and by a tyrannical use of the New Poor Law, and he would state a case proving how the Poor Law was administered so as to affect wages. The labouring poor were often in the habit of applying to him for advice, and in February last a poor woman of the name of Randall came to state the case of her family. She was married and had seven children, the united earnings of the family amounting to 10s. per week, out of which 4l. went to pay house rent. Finding their income quite insufficient for the support of their family, her husband had applied for assistance to the union. The relieving officer, however, refused, as the applicant was an able-bodied man, and in work. He (Mr. Sheridan) wrote to the relieving officer upon the subject, and the reply was, that the case was refused by the board of guardians, Randall having an opportunity of bettering himself, which he refused, because he was unwilling to take a situation out of his own parish. Thus it was that the labourer was forced to receive these scandalously low wages. He would not be received into the union as having work, while the wages he received for that work were quite inadequate to his support. He knew that it would be said upon that side of the house that the price of labour depended upon the demand and supply (hear, hear). He quite agreed with that, and he acknowledged that by the repeal of the Corn Laws a stimulus would be given to trade, and an increased demand would arise for labour. But the change would be confined to the manufacturing districts, and would be one which would not, he conceived, at all benefit the agricultural labourer (hear, hear). He would remind the house that at this moment trade was flourishing, and labour in demand; still he would venture his life that there had not been an increase in the wages of the Dorsetshire labourer; that now, when wheat was from 56s. to 60s. a quarter, the rate of remuneration to the agricultural labourer was the same as it had been last year when wheat was 47s. (hear, hear.)

To prevent all imputation of partiality, we give the speech of Mr. Miles, premising that the entire of the debate was of the dulllest possible character.

Mr. Miles was sorry the debate had been allowed to digress into a discussion of a poor law union. He was really sur-

prised that the Government had attempted no reply to the very able speeches of his noble friend (the Marquis of Granby) and his honourable friend (Mr. Gaskell). He hoped to prove that the preservation of the present protection was essential to the welfare, not only of the landlords, but of the tenants and the labourers. He should consider, first, the working of the law of 1828; next, the present law; and, lastly, their prospects under Free Trade, as the principle was to be worked out in 1849. He wished, in taking this view, he had had the benefit of a report about to be laid on the table of the other house (that of Lord Beaumont's committee), which he ventured to say would prove that the rest of the community would be placed in the most perilous circumstances if the principle of Free Trade was fully carried out. It had been said that the cause of the present proposal was because the sliding scale had not operated, and that there was a famine in Ireland. That was the assertion, but there was no argument to prove this assertion. The year 1844 was one of extraordinary production, whilst in 1845 the corn was put up in a damp state. But what a glorious thing it was, that owing to protection they had such an ample supply in 1844 that there was four months' consumption to spare in 1845. He admitted that wheat sold at 48s. a quarter in 1844, which in the year after brought 70s. or 72s.; but he himself sold wheat in 1844 of such prime quality that it weighed 60lbs. per bushel, and was equal to the finest Dantzic for milling purposes. Nobody could say, then, the bread we were now eating in London was bad bread, and at the same time for the last two or three months very little foreign corn had been brought into consumption. The foreign corn was all waiting to be poured into the market when the 4s. duty was imposed, if it ever was (hear). Now the amount received into the revenue under the existing law, and that of 1828, was an important point, unless all indirect taxation was to be abandoned. He found that for the 13 years, from 1828 to 1842, the average revenue was 255,953l. a-year; but under the law of 1842 the average duty was 11s. 6d. per quarter, and the average price of wheat 53s. 4d. The amount received by the revenue was 69,368l.; so that under the old system the consumer had the advantages of low prices, and the state obtained a greater revenue. The Corn Laws had afforded a fair moderate protection to the producer, had been of advantage to the consumer, and had proved advantageous to the revenues of the state. All that the protectionists sought was to preserve these—all they said was, "Let well alone" (hear, hear). In considering the full effect of the proposed changes in the present system, under which such benefits were derived by the community, it was necessary to look to the results of the total reduction of duty which it was intended to make in 1849. And, first of all, let the house inquire what prices would be likely to prevail in this country when that reduction had been carried into effect (hear, hear). Her Majesty's ministers had wisely declined to prophesy on this point (hear, hear). They had refused to express any opinion on the subject, notwithstanding the information they must necessarily have at their command (hear, hear). However, any individual who took the trouble of making the inquiry could easily come to a conclusion as to the price which would exist should an abolition of all duty be carried into effect (hear, hear). It was not from Europe alone, but from America, Asia, and Africa, that the supply was to be looked for. He would prove that land in this country, under whatever system of agriculture might be adopted, whether the three and six course, or the four and five course system, could not be expected to compete with Russia and America, and that the tenant could not be compensated for the loss of protection were he to be remitted all rent whatsoever (hear, hear). It was of the most absolute necessity that the public should have a clear idea as to the value of the ingredient of rent in the consideration of the price of a quarter loaf. The rental of England was, on an average, 10s. 11d., or say 20s. an acre. Taking the produce of an acre of land under the Lincolnshire mode of cultivation, at four quarters of wheat, and estimating the value of the quarter loaf at 7d., it would be found that the ingredient in that price to be placed to the account of rent would amount to one halfpenny. That was his statement, and he should be glad if any one could show he was wrong, or contradict him. Let them now see what they had to expect from the opening of the ports. From authentic returns, it appeared that the price of wheat at Odessa in February, 1845, was from 16s. to 17s. a quarter, if to that were added 7s. 9d. for freight, the total cost of a quarter of wheat landed in London at that time would have been but 24s. 9d. In June the price rose to 20s. and 21s., the freight being still the same. In March the price of wheat at Stettin and Rostock was from 25s. to 26s., the freight being only 5s.; so that from all these parts wheat could have been sent into London at an average of 30s. a quarter (hear, hear). In summer the prices rose considerably, but never amounted to more than 34s. 9d. The quantity of wheat sent to other countries from those ports was very considerable. Mr. P. Taylor, who had extensive information on subjects connected with the corn trade, stated that three-fourths of all the wheat ground at Marseilles came from the Black Sea, and similar evidence had been given by Mr. Freyne. It would be found that the average price of wheat at Odessa, for 10 years commencing 1833 and terminating in 1843, was about 24s. 10d., the freight was 7s. 9d., which gave the whole cost of a quarter of wheat for that period as 32s. 7d. It was a curious fact that the rise and fall in prices in England and Odessa did not correspond. Thus the highest price in this country, during the year 1839, was 70s. 8d., whilst at Odessa it had not exceeded 27s. 8d. How would it be possible for England to compete with foreign countries under such average prices as those (cries of "hear")? But the competition of America was to be taken in addition to that of Europe. It must not be forgotten, in drawing the comparison between this country and America, that the latter did not as yet grow wheat for exportation, and that any of her grain which reached our market was nothing more than the surplus of her own demands. It had been shown that America could compete successfully with our farmers; that had been proved by Mr. Commissioner Halesworth (as we understood the hon. member). If the prices of Illinois and New Orleans wheat and freightage were to be taken, it would be found that eight bushels of American wheat could be landed in this country, free of all duty, at 29s. 4d., and that in the shape of flour it could be imported for 34s., which would prove more injurious to the milling interest. Although her Majesty's Government had refused to name any price under the Free Trade plan, his noble friend the Secretary for Ireland (the Earl of Lincoln), at a recent election, had ventured to predict that wheat would not exceed 48s. Unfortunately, however, the noble lord made that prediction in the presence of Mr. Barrow, who had had most extensive experience in the corn trade. That gentleman wrote a letter, in which he made the most sporting offer

(a laugh) he (Mr. Miles) had ever heard of on the part of an old corn merchant. He said he would contract to deliver 50,000 quarters of wheat at 40s. per quarter in London, as soon as the ports had been opened. If it cost but 32s., said he, then I shall make 20,000*l.* If at 48s., the loss is mine—but he offered to stake all he had in the country on the result (hear, hear). In fact, as none of the foreign averages exceed 36s., he (Mr. Miles) was inclined to assert that the future price in this country would be about 40s. That was his price (hear, hear). And now he would consider the effects of such prices on this country. He would examine its effects upon farms under the different systems of agriculture. He would not take the cases of poor lands; but would examine the result as applied to farms in the richest position, just on the borders of the fens of Lincolnshire. Let them first take a farm in Nottinghamshire under the four-course system. It was a farm of 400 acres, let at a rent of 1*l.* per acre. 100 acres were under wheat, 100 under barley, 100 under turnips and green crops, and the rest went to the support of sheep and hoggets. At the price of 52s. 5*d.* a qr., the wheat would yield 95*l.*, the barley 67*l.*, 400 hoggets, ewes, &c., 720*l.*, making a total of 2355*l.* a year. With the prices which might be expected to exist under the new system, the wheat at 40s. would produce 700*l.*, the barley at 25s. would yield 562*l.*, and the 400 hoggets and ewes 570*l.*, making a total of 1832*l.* Or, in other words, there would be a loss on 400 acres of 523*l.* a year, or of 1*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* an acre. So that here would be a loss on the farm, under the Free Trade system, of one fifth, if he were not wrong in his calculations. Suppose the rent were reduced a quarter, or 100*l.*, there would remain to the tenant, to be divided between the profits of capital and the wages of labour, a loss of 432*l.* 10*s.*, on the farm, or a reduction of 1*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* per acre. He would take another farm in Lincolnshire, under the five-course system, producing 1855*l.* The total produce, under a Free Trade system, would be 1456*l.*; so that there would be a difference to the farmer of 399*l.* Deduct a quarter of the rent, and the loss to the farmer would be 299*l.*, or 1*l.* 10*s.* per acre. The lower the quality of the soil, the higher the amount of capital required, and of labour employed on the land. If, under a system of protection, cultivation had ascended from the valleys to the tops of the hills, would it not at once commence a retrograde course under an opposite system? Take 1000*l.* as the capital of the farmer, for every hundred acres, and they would see that they were at once playing with a capital of 250,000,000*l.* How much had England benefited by the cultivation practised by the farmers under the present system? This would be seen from a return he held in his hand of the quantity of coombs sold in Norwich for the last thirty-seven years, from 1805 to 1843. In 1805 the number was 50,844, and the price 92*s.*; in 1843 the number was 241,644, and the price 48*s.*, so that the produce had tripled, while the price had fallen one-half. He had another return, showing the wages of labour employed on land in quinquennial periods. From 1785 to 1790 they amounted to 7*s.* 2*d.*, from 1835 to 1840 they were 1*l.* 6*s.* 7*d.* He admitted that in some parts of the country wages were too little; but if they went into purely agricultural districts, and not into those which had been the ancient seats of manufactures, they would find that though the price of wheat might not have gone with the price of labour, *pari passu*, yet it had notwithstanding had an effect. He had obtained another return from a Lincolnshire farmer of the rate of wages and the price of wheat for septennial periods. From 1818 to 1825 the price of wheat was 3*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.*, and the wages of labour 13*s.* 5*d.*; from 1837 to 1844 the average price of wheat was 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, and the rate of wages 12*s.* 8*d.* He would ask gentlemen to compare the average taxation paid by the British with that paid by the foreign farmer. Look at the average taxation per head in this country, and the average of general and state taxation in America. However they might cheapen bread, the rate of taxation would not be lowered essentially. He would take the state of Ohio, one of the largest western states of the union. In that territory the general taxation was 6*s.* 9*d.* per head, the state or local taxation 5*s.* 8*d.* In our own country the amount of taxation was 1*l.* 18*s.* per head, which showed at once a difference of 1*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* in the weight of imposts (hear, hear). In America, the largest part of the revenue was derived from the sale of land, the price of which had been 5*s.* per acre for some years past. This, at thirty years' purchase, would give you the splendid rental of 2*d.* an acre. In England we had an average rental of 1*l.* per acre; the poor rates and local rates were 4*s.* 6*d.* an acre, the great tithe was 5*s.* an acre, and the small tithe 1*s.* 6*d.* an acre. The whole of these charges came to 1*l.* 11*s.*, so that this left a difference in the amount of rental and of local charges, payable by the American and British farmer of 1*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* The Englishman paid in taxation an annual sum of 1*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* in addition to the local charges. With such burdens, he did not see how they could maintain any competition with their foreign rivals; it seemed to him perfectly impossible (hear, hear). It appeared by the Prussian statistics, that in the period from 1828 to 1835, the amount of grain remaining over after the internal consumption was provided for, and also after the quantity required for seed in the next year had been set apart, was 28,000,000 qrs. He need not say what they had to look for from America; in Virginia corn had been raised from the same land for a hundred years together, and he believed the same thing had occurred in other districts. But should we be enabled to send more of our manufactures to America, for unless they showed that we could do that, they went entirely on fallacious grounds, and sacrificed the hopes of the agriculturists to a delusion? About 1825 the cotton manufacture was generally commenced in America. Mr. Elsworth said: "Had the Corn Laws been absolutely repealed in 1825, the establishment of manufactures in the United States might have been prevented for many years, but no change in those laws can now materially change the interests of protection, and any alteration made would not be considered as a boon to an agricultural nation, but as a measure forced on the Government by the wants of a population increasing more rapidly than a system of agricultural protection, with a limited extent of land, can supply." He asked them, when they talked of free competition of English agricultural produce with almost untaxed America, only to apply the same maxims of political economy that they had applied in the case of English manufactures; and if they did this, they would find that the labourers would be the class most injured. To the labour fund they must go, and the class the least able to bear would be the first to suffer (hear, hear). He would next advert to another topic, which had been touched upon already by the honourable member for Oxford, whose remarks had not, he believed, yet elicited any reply; but, nevertheless, he thought it necessary that the great injury that would be done to the clerical tithe-owners (hear) should be pressed upon the consideration of the house. The noble lord, when

he brought forward a measure upon the subject of tithes, had conferred one of the greatest boons upon the landed interest they could have received; not so much as regarded the saving of money which it effected, but as the total destruction of that jarring which had so much prevailed, and the bad feeling which had existed between the clergyman and his parishioners. That act passed in 1835, and it happened that in that year the lowest prices prevailed that had been long known in England. Wheat was at 39*s.*, and he would ask honourable gentlemen who recollected that year, whether, if the Tithe Commutation Act had been calculated at 39*s.*, it would have effected its object (hear, hear)? But the tithe system had been founded upon septennial averages, and it was extraordinary to observe the little variety in the price of wheat from that time to the present, being, he believed (but he spoke from memory), about 1*s.* 3*d.* to 1*s.* 4*d.* upon the septennial average. But if the Corn Laws were repealed, the farmer would have to pay his rent charge when the price of wheat was much lower, as he had endeavoured to show it would be, than the average that had been hitherto maintained. He entreated the house to remember the state of the clerical titheowner, living probably in a parish with no country gentlemen around him, looked up to by his parishioners, and obliged to exercise acts of benevolence and charity, with probably a large family of his own dependant, and sons whom he must bring up to fill the same station in society he himself held—that of a gentleman. Take a clergyman so situated with a stipend of 300*l.* a year. If you took away one-fifth of his income, you would reduce it to 240*l.* This he (Mr. Miles) thought was a great hardship (hear, hear)—it was a hardship, first, as regarded the farmer, and afterwards most injurious as regarded the income of the clerical titheowner. There was still another topic he wished to allude to before he sat down. If all the land capable of improvement had been brought into cultivation—if all the improvements in agriculture had been tried and exhausted—and still all had failed, there had been yet a resource to fly to, which every one acquainted with the commercial history of England would see ought to be made available, before the trade in corn was thrown open. What had become of the colonies (hear, hear)? What reward was to be given to them for their honour and fidelity to their engagements? Only in 1843 an Act was passed by which Free Trade with Canada was established. Now he had certainly opposed that bill ("hear, hear" from the Opposition benches). He had opposed it conscientiously; but he was bound to say, although there were reasons against that bill, on account of the contiguity of Canada to the United States, and the difficulty of preventing smuggling, yet these reasons did not exist as regarded Australia, Van Diemen's Land, and other colonies (hear). Therefore, he thought that after those colonies had loaded the table of the house with petitions, they would think it hard to be cast off by the mother country and left to free competition with other nations, who had actually met us with hostile tariffs (cheers). The hon. member here, in allusion to the feeling engendered in Canada, quoted an extract from the speech of Mr. Sherwood, the solicitor-general, to the general effect that the result of a substitution of commercial relations with the United States, in place of those with the mother country, would bring about a change in political relations also, and if the Canadians were forced into a new sphere of political attraction, they would not be culpable for the effect. Those sentiments which were uttered by Mr. Sherwood, at a Free Trade meeting at Montreal, were, he believed, echoed by multitudes more in Canada. The question should also be viewed relatively to the quantity of our manufactures that was taken by these colonies. The hon. member here read a number of extracts from returns, to show that the increase of cotton goods taken by the British American colonies was greater than the increase in the quantity taken by the United States. It was clear that if these colonies were treated properly, and as parts of the United Kingdom, they would be bound nearer to this country, while at the same time more good would be done to the manufacturing population of this country than by throwing open the trade with countries which met your advances by hostile tariffs (hear, hear). Then there was talk about compensation; but every farmer who could do a common arithmetical sum would know how to estimate the value of that compensation, by calculating what it would amount to in his particular locality. He found that the compensation amounted to 396,000*l.*, and a reverend friend of his had taken the trouble to calculate how much it would amount to in Essex, and he asked the agriculturists to take that county as an example, and then thank her Majesty's ministers for their splendid boon. The honourable member proceeded to quote various figures, to show that the relief afforded by the measures of the Government to the agriculturists in highway rates, &c., would amount to 2*d.* per acre, while he observed that he had already shown that the loss entailed by the same measures would, as regarded a farm in Notts, be 1*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* per acre, and as regarded a farm in Lincolnshire, 1*l.* 10*s.* per acre (hear, hear, hear). He then read an extract from a letter of Alderman Copeland to his constituents, expressing the hope that other honourable members who entertained similar views, would endeavour to carry them out by voting against the third reading of this bill. He also read an extract from the pamphlet of Messrs. Morton and Trimmer, and from that, after saying that he would not quote the former speeches of honourable gentlemen near him against themselves, read an extract from an American magazine, in favour of the principles of protection as applied to the productions of the United States (hear). It was for the sake of the humbler classes, for the sake of those who, being without capital, had nothing but their industry to depend on; it was, in a word, for the sake of the labourers of England that they (the protectionists) took so high a ground in respect to this question; and hesitated not to state how resolute and unrelenting would be the opposition which they would feel it their duty to offer to the scheme of the ministry (hear, hear). Let the fate of this measure be what it might, when regard was had to the present position of the protectionist party, it must be admitted that they had discharged their duty conscientiously and with singleness of purpose, and also that they had inculcated a good moral for the guidance of those who might follow them (loud cries of "hear, hear"). Though deserted by their leaders, though forsaken by those to whom it was most natural they would look for support, they had not flinched from their colours ("hear, hear" from the county members). They were actuated by no selfish motives, for they had shown themselves as ready to consult for the interests of the manufacturers and artisans as for those of the agricultural classes (hear, hear). Although calumniated, they were yet undaunted; and although they might be possibly defeated in that house, they were still unshaken amidst the wreck of principle and party (loud cheers from the county members). It had been said that they had de-

layed this measure, but he should like to know when a question of such paramount importance had ever been brought forward in the House of Commons? It was a question which involved an entire change of the commercial policy of this great country—it was, in fact, a direct and positive transition from a system which had stood the test of years, to new and theoretic principles; and what rendered it most suspicious, and most worthy of careful analysis, was that it was brought forward by one to whom (however sincerely they might admire his immense abilities) they were, unhappily, unable to accord the possession of that political firmness and consistency, which ought to be, and were, the highest attributes of all great statesmen (loud cries of "hear, hear"). He was at a loss to think what could have induced the right honourable baronet at the head of the Government to turn his back on his old friends and on his old principles. It was idle to talk of Ireland. They (the protectionists) were willing to consent to any measure that might be considered essential for meeting the distress in Ireland; and it was foolish, therefore, to throw Ireland in their teeth (a laugh). Victory in that house might not be theirs, but, thank heaven, there was another ordeal through which this bill must pass before it became the law of the land (loud cheers from the county members, and laughter from the Opposition benches). Yes; a tribunal as yet unswayed by popular clamour—as yet unswayed by the maxims of political economy (so we understood the honourable member to say); and at that ordeal the politics of the author of this measure, and the policy on which he and his colleagues came into office, would be thoroughly sifted, and when it would appear that the system which he was now endeavouring to abolish was one of his own creation, which had not only given protection to native industry, but produced revenue and created prosperity, they would, he ventured to predict, pause before they gave their assent to such a proceeding, or at all events they would interpose between the people and that minister who now held office mainly at the pleasure of his former opponents (loud cheers from the protectionist party).

The hon. gentleman was followed by Sir J. Graham, whose speech we shall also give at full length, and we strongly recommend it to the reader's careful perusal.

SIR J. GRAHAM: The house, sir, is evidently weary of this protracted debate (cheers), and the general public longs for the opportunity of finally, as far as we are concerned, deciding that important question which now, for nearly three months, has been hanging in the balance under discussion here (cheers); and, having on several occasions before addressed you on the subject, I am most unwilling needlessly to occupy your attention; but, at the same time, I should be still more unwilling to appear wanting in respect to the noble lord and to the hon. members who have addressed you against the motion for the third reading of this bill, in speeches of considerable ability, in the course of the present evening. Sir, my hon. friend who has just sat down has observed that firmness and consistency are great qualities on the part of a minister; and, avoiding those strong terms of vituperation in which other members have indulged, he has nevertheless censured her Majesty's Ministers for tergiversation, as he terms it, on this most important subject. No member of this house has more warmly advocated the cause of my hon. friend and those below the gangway in former discussions than I have. I feel all the advantage of the qualities which the hon. member described as virtuous in a Minister; but still, sir, charged with heavy responsibility, as a servant of the crown, at a time of public difficulty, and, as I think, of danger, I have not hesitated to give effect to the opinions which I have deliberately formed on this great question which now awaits our decision (loud cheers). Sir, the hon. member has stated that he believes that this question, whatever may be its issue here, will not pass into a law on account of opposition he anticipates in another quarter. I will not venture to indulge in prophecy on that subject; but my own anticipation is, that this question, from the result of discussion both in Parliament and out of Parliament, is virtually settled (loud cheers); and my strong opinion is, that the free import of corn into this country will in a short time become the law of the land (continued cheering). Entertaining that anticipation, and having a deep interest in agriculture and in the welfare of the landed interest, I must own that I differ altogether from the noble lord the member for Lynn; and I cannot think that either the farmer or the landlord will derive the least benefit from these protracted discussions, so far at least as the immediate influx of the foreign corn accumulated into this country has been prevented by the postponement (hear). If I were obliged to put my finger on the point where I think this delay must be injurious, I should certainly say that delay is, in my judgment, calculated to affect most injuriously the farming interest and the landlords of the country (cheers). Observe, there is accumulated now a stock nearly of 1,500,000 qrs. of foreign wheat; that accumulation has been gradual and progressive. My belief is that when we met in January the portion then accumulated might have been admitted into the home market with the greatest benefit to the consumer, and without any detriment whatever to the producer. Three or four months have elapsed, and that accumulation is becoming great; the period of a new harvest is not very distant, and, if my anticipation is correct—if, notwithstanding all this protracted opposition offered, public opinion shall prevail, and this measure becomes law, the effect of long delay, as under the operation of the law which I condemn, pouring in towards the time of harvest large accumulations of grain will be that the influx will be sudden, will be large; and though from circumstances I do not believe that on the present occasion the operation of that influx will be so injurious as on former occasions, yet there is infinite danger of injurious effect being produced, as the inevitable consequence of this protracted debate. Now, Sir, before I proceed to the other topics which have occurred with reference to this measure, I should wish to clear the ground by noticing some of the points adverted to by the hon. gentleman who has just spoken. He said, I think, that the present Corn Law was a good financial measure. Now, I know that I may be charged with inconsistency on this subject generally; but, with reference to this point, I submit that I have uniformly expressed an unvarying opinion. I do not think that as a fiscal measure it is expedient to levy upon articles of the first necessity such as wheat, consumed by a population so large as ours, a fixed duty of revenue (hear, hear, hear). I do not think that as a fiscal measure the existing Corn Law is the best. The hon. gentleman then went on to say that the producers were satisfied with the existing Corn Law. I do not believe that the producers, the farmers at least, have any reason to be well satisfied with the well working of that

measure. But that, after all, is not a measure to be maintained for the producers only. The great body of consumers, the great body of the public, after all, constitute those whose interests, whose welfare, is to be peculiarly regarded (hear, hear). These forces upon my recollection a topic to which I must refer. The hon. gentleman has said, and with great truth, that gentlemen, adhering to the opinion which I myself heretofore advocated, have under present circumstances of great difficulty, maintained that opinion with great ability and manly purpose. Now, excuse me for saying that under the present circumstances they have fought this battle well; but I recollect debates which have occurred in this house before the last session, when the strong point of argument was against this measure, and I must say that until the present session the cause which these honourable gentlemen now support, not only by their votes, but also by their speeches, had not then the advocacy of their arguments (hear, hear). I will be perfectly frank to hon. gentlemen. It has been my fortune to argue this question now for many years (hear, hear). Yes, and I am about to state to you my experience in that respect. I have seen, from the force of public opinion, arguments which were urged successfully in this house some years ago, one by me, abandoned as no longer tenable by those who used them (hear, hear). I myself am conscious that when we debated this question at a former period, arguments were urged with reference to landlords exclusively—to their position—to their interests, as connected with their political position, which are now abandoned—arguments which no hon. member ventures now to urge upon this house; and which I do not believe even at the meetings in Bond-street any hon. gentleman would venture to propound (hear, hear). I am told that the issue is now narrowed to a small point which it is necessary for us to debate (hear, hear). It could not be put more clearly or explicitly than it was stated by the hon. member for Shrewsbury a few nights ago. He said the real question is, whether this measure is for the interest of the multitude (hear, hear). That, he said, was the question at issue; and the hon. gentlemen said, "If the measures of the Government have not a tendency to occasion a displacement of labour—that kind of labour which is of the most permanent character, and thereby to occasion a great social suffering, and ultimately great political disaster, then the measures are good, and he was not prepared to oppose them" (hear, hear). The question then is narrowed to this,—it is not whether the interests of the landlords are upheld by this measure; but the question as put by the hon. member for Shrewsbury, and repeated by the hon. member for Somersetshire, to-night, is this,—whether the law restricting the importation of corn into this country is conducive to the happiness, the comfort, and the welfare of the labourer and tiller of the soil (hear, hear)? I conceive that that is the only question, and that that is the issue we are now called upon to decide. The honourable gentleman who last addressed you commented, I think, upon a pamphlet by Messrs. Morton and Trimmer, and made this observation, which was very true,—that the data upon which their statements were made not being admitted, the arguments resting upon them were worthless, and he went through a great number of statistical details as to farms in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, assuming his own data. He assumed, for instance, that under the existing Corn Law wheat was raised at 52s., forgetting that even under the present restrictive law we have had the price as low as 39s. And again, he assumed, that under the altered state of the law under Free Trade 40s. would be the price, upon which ground he rested his opinion which he has not explained, and in the absence of all fixed ground for admitting any of his data I must be allowed to apply the same observation which he himself applied to Messrs. Morton and Trimmer's pamphlet,—that not admitting the data I cannot admit for one moment the arguments upon which he rested his opinion. But the hon. gentleman indulged not only in prophecy with regard to the fate of this bill—not only in inconclusive arguments resting upon the data which he assumed, but certainly the result of his reasoning was not half so fanciful as was some of the knowledge he has recently collected (hear). He has informed us that in Russia there is an annual accumulation of 28,000,000 quarters of grain over and above the consumption of the Russian people, and available for exportation (hear). Can a more forcible argument be urged in favour of this measure (hear), that year by year there is produced in Russia, over and above the consumption—my hon. friend was most specific—he said not only beyond consumption, but beyond what was required for seed and consumption, nearly 28,000,000 of quarters available for exportation? Again, what was his description of the culture of land in America? He says he has seen somewhere an account of some land in America which has been cultivated year after year for wheat without manure, and that that has been the case for a century (hear, hear, hear). If these statements are true,—if Russia has 28,000,000 quarters of grain ready at all times for exportation, and if in America they can grow wheat year after year or a century without manure, all our Corn Laws must be useless (hear). There is no restriction that can be imposed which would protect us. It is quite clear that any kind of protection would be useless to guard this country against the importation of foreign corn, and the home producer could not compete with such fertility as that, and with such boundless production. Then the hon. gentleman referred to the question of tithes, and he said that my hon. friend the member for the University of Oxford, in his absence, had touched upon this question. That observation was quite true. My hon. friend did so, and I had the honour of following my hon. friend; and I endeavoured to reply to him upon that point in a manner which to my judgment was conclusive. I am unwilling again to repeat the argument; but it is very short. So far from thinking that the present change in the law is injurious to the titheowner, I consider that the opposite is the case, and that it is injurious to the tithepayer, because, observe, the quantity of wheat to be paid to the titheowner is measured by a number of quarters of grain fixed at the time of commutation; and if the apprehensions of my hon. friend and those around him be true, that land will be thrown out of cultivation, the titheowner under that commutation is guarded against all such risk; the quantity paid to him is an immutable quantity, and is only exposed to the danger of a variation in price. But, observe—before the commutation he was liable to all those variations in price—his position was not in the least altered; but it would have been quite altered, if before the commutation the legislature had passed a law of this description. He was bound to submit to the change in price; but, by the antecedent law, he was secured against any change in quantity, and therefore I must say, that so far as relates to the tithe-

owners this bill involves no injustice whatever. The case of the titheowner appears perfectly clear, and he is not exposed to our proposed alteration of the law to the slightest risk. Now, then, as regards the colonies, I am bound to say, that my hon. friend was, as he stated, with respect to Canada, an eager opponent of the proposed alteration in the law which was to place Canada on the same footing as if it were an integral part of Great Britain (hear). Then, when the honourable member for Gateshead (Mr. Hutt) proposed last year a similar measure with respect to the Australian colonies, my hon. friend was found dividing among his opponents; and I must say with frankness, looking back to the past, and to all the discussions on the Corn Laws which have taken place in my time, that if I were to mention the discussion in which the opponents of the proposition of extending the area of our supply of corn were least successful in argument, I should mention that debate in which my hon. friend opposed the hon. member for Gateshead; for although I voted with my hon. friend, yet I am bound to state that that my hon. friend's argument did not seem to me to preponderate. Another point had been referred to by my hon. friend, who spoke of what he called the insignificant sum which had been offered as compensation to the landed interest. Now, on the part of her Majesty's Government, I absolutely disclaim that the term compensation has ever been used by them (cries of "Oh, oh"). I absolutely disclaim it. If this be a measure for the public good, then I should deem it highly disgraceful to the Government to propose, and still more disgraceful to the landed interest to accept, any compensation for the passing of a measure framed for the public good. But though the Government know nothing of any proposition of compensation; it is true that concurrent with this measure there have been brought forward by the Government some measures which are for the public good, at the same time that they are adapted to alleviate the pressure of the burdens on land. I shall refer to another branch of this most important subject—I mean, to what has been said by various members on what they called the Irish case. The noble lord the member for Lynn had said that the Government had acted with bad faith respecting Ireland, and that they had communicated to the house no information respecting the distress there but what sustained their own views, and that they had kept back other information of another kind which various parties had put in their hands, and the noble lord specified instances, and he said that the Commander of the Forces had sent different accounts from those we have laid on the table; he said also that the Poor Law Commissioner had sent us different accounts from those which we have produced; and I think he said the prison inspectors had also sent different accounts from ours. Now I have made every inquiry in the proper quarter, by sending to the Horse Guards, to learn whether any such information had been received there from Sir E. Blakeney, and I am in a condition to give that assertion of the noble lord a most positive denial. Then with respect to the Poor Law Commissioner. In the month of November last, I thought it my duty to advise the Crown to appoint a special officer, to preside in Dublin over the administration of the Poor Law in Ireland. That was in November. Since then I have been in constant communication with that gentleman. He is a member of the Scarcity Committee in Dublin. That committee makes weekly reports to the Lord-Lieutenant, and each week those reports, signed by the Poor Law Commissioner, are transmitted to me, and I think I have laid all of them (with the exception of two, which I am ready to produce) upon the table of the house, and they in the strongest manner corroborate the statements that have been made by the Government respecting the state of Ireland. It is possible that the noble lord may refer to Mr. Gulton's mission to Ireland; but he never was appointed to make any inquiries on this subject; he left Ireland in November; he did not visit any part of Ireland later than the beginning of that month, when the disease in the potatoes had not been completely discovered; he was employed during the months of September and October, he was ordered to investigate another matter, and therefore any information he may have received respecting this matter was of an unofficial character. With respect to the prison inspectors in Ireland, I do not know who were the prison inspectors in Ireland. I have written to Ireland to ascertain who they are, and what information they have furnished to the Lord-Lieutenant; and as soon as I receive it I shall not fail to communicate to the house, and the noble lord, the whole of that information. The noble lord says we have kept back information which would have shown that the distress is far from being universal; but is this a fair mode of putting the matter? For I before said that the distress is not universal, but that it was widely spread, extending over almost every county in Ireland, and that the difficulty of dealing with it arises from the fact of its being scattered, and from its intensity where it exists. That is the statement I have made, and to that statement I adhere in the most deliberate manner. Sir, I do not know whether the hon. and gallant member for the county of Armagh is in his place; but I wish to say with reference to the speech he made the other night, that I have here a letter which I received not very long ago, in which he depicts the distress of his own neighbourhood in the most glowing terms, and declares that it is deserving of Government aid, in the shape of a pecuniary grant (a cry of "Read"). This letter is addressed to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and states that the undersigned, being deeply sensible of the calamity with which Ireland is threatened, by the failure of the potato crop, and considering that in such an emergency it is the duty of every man to do his utmost to avert the frightful evils that might be expected, recommended the outlay of a sum of money in draining Lough Neagh, and the last paragraph is in these terms:—"That a grant of 38,000l. by the Government would be met by 118,000l., raised by the proprietors of the neighbourhood, and others, and that the result would be a mighty improvement to the north of Ireland, and to the health of the district; and that it would afford an opportunity"—let the house mark this—"of employing the labouring population, whose condition it would be frightful to contemplate, unless industrial measures of this kind were applied." This memorial bears the signatures of the Lord Primate, Dr. Crolly, Lord Charleville, Lord Acheson, and, among other names, that of William Verner, M.P. (hear, hear). But though I am afraid that the Irish case is one of unquestionable pressure, as is more apparent from day to day, yet I am bound to say that I never have rested my support of this measure on the Irish case. I have stated before, and I state it again, that the urgency of that case did precipitate the reconsideration of the laws which prohibit or impede the importation of grain into this country; but I say also that, from the moment that the reconsideration shall become necessary, views of general policy, views of the general good of the people of this country did convince me that a change

in this respect had become necessary. I am not on this occasion about to trespass on the time of the house by repeating the arguments which brought me to that conclusion, but I will say this much:—The hon. member for Shrewsbury (Mr. D'Israeli), I think it was, who said that the measure would have an injurious effect from the export of the precious metals which must arise from the constant large importation of grain for this use of the country. Now I agree that in the present state of our monetary system large exportations of the precious metals are inconsistent with a sound state of the currency here. But my belief is, that if the ports of this country were kept open regularly, so far from that exportation of the precious metals taking place in ordinary years, that exportation would be prevented by this measure. The corn taken by this country will, when the trade has become an established trade, be mainly paid for by barter; and the result, I think, will be, that trade will be extended, and that the injury which the export of the precious metals to meet distress arising from failure of the home production causes, will be prevented. I shall now, with the permission of the house, state shortly my opinion as to the effects to be apprehended on our foreign trade from this measure. But I cannot separate the question of the home trade from the foreign trade. My opinion is, that the foreign trade and the home trade, in a series of years, will be found to be indissolubly connected. Now the foreign trade can only be maintained by our having the power of consuming the articles taken in exchange; but a high price of provisions disables the consumer from taking those articles. He cannot go into the home market, consequently the home market is paralysed, and what is the result of that? That a stimulus is given for the forced exportation of goods for the foreign market; the foreign market in consequence becomes glutted, the exporter is injured, and the result is, again diminished power of consumption at home; and, therefore, it appears that the foreign trade cannot be injured without the home trade suffering also. Then as to procuring wheat in the foreign market; I conceive wheat is more universally consumed in this country than in any other country in the world, and whatever the price or scarcity is, it is found that the quantity consumed varies less with the price than that of any other article that is consumed in this country. All those who are in easy circumstances, whatever is the price, always consume the same quantity of wheat, and the labouring poor are so much attached to wheat, that they will forego almost all other articles approaching to articles of the first necessity, rather than go without wheaten bread. Consequently, whatever is the price, the quantity of wheat used in this country is never much diminished. Now, if wages do not fall when wheat rises, then the price of wheat rising, and the quantity purchased remaining the same, the sum available for the purchase of all other articles is diminished. What, therefore, is the consequence of a rise of prices?—that the labourer is incapable of purchasing articles of manufacture. The effect on the home market is instantaneous; there is a glut in that market, this reacts upon the foreign market, and there is an immediate derangement, which may be traced to the effect of this increased price of corn (hear, and cheers). And this, sir, brings me to the point, which, after all, is the point of primary importance; what is the effect of this state of affairs upon the condition and the happiness of the labouring classes? Now it has been said, that although the manufacturing labourer may gain by a prosperous state of trade, and by the low price of provisions, that truth is not equally applicable to the case of the agricultural labourer. I admit the number of the agricultural labourers; I admit their importance; I will not say their paramount, but their very great importance; and if you can show, as heretofore I thought I could, that this portion of the community will be injured by an alteration of the Corn Laws, your argument will be conclusive against this change; but having given my most anxious attention, to the best of my understanding, which the noble lord the member for Lynn calls one of sexagenarian imbecility (laughter), I have come to the conclusion that it is not true of the agricultural labourers, that their position is different with reference to the high price of provisions from that of the manufacturing labourers: their position is in this respect identical, and both the agricultural and manufacturing labourers suffer by the high price of provisions. I know not whether my hon. relative the member for Shaftesbury is in the house, but I was surprised, when he had detailed to us the condition of the agricultural labourers in Dorsetshire, and the wages which they habitually received, to find with all his warm-hearted sympathy for them the conclusion at which he has arrived (hear, hear). What is the statement he has made? That these labourers receive only for wages 7s. or 7s. 6d. a week, and as I understand from the hon. member for Dorsetshire, who followed the hon. member for Shaftesbury, and who went further than him in one respect, from this pittance of 7s. or 7s. 6d. a week there is a deduction of 1s. or 2s. for house rent, thus making the whole earnings of a Dorsetshire labourer from 5s. to 5s. 6d. a week; and my hon. relative declares that the rate of wages does not vary with the price of provisions, and that when provisions are high wages do not rise. He thinks that their condition is hopeless, but let him try one experiment; if they could not alter the rate of wages, let him alter the price of wheat (cheers). Other interests may suffer, possibly the farmers may suffer, possibly the landlords may suffer by the change, but I defy you to do any injury to the Dorsetshire labourer (cheers), by lowering the price of an article of the first necessity, on which he lives, and without which he cannot subsist. I understand, also, that this is not only the present condition of these labourers, but that it has been their condition for the last 30 years. Now, we are not debating Magna Charta, or any great principle of the constitution, but we are discussing a law which happens to be about coincident with this condition of the Dorsetshire labourers, and to be about thirty years old (hear, hear). And when my hon. relative despairs of procuring any rise of wages in Dorsetshire, let him try the experiment of lowering the price of food (cheers). And now I am about to state why I think it is quite clear that this change will affect the manufacturing and the agricultural labourer palpably and distinctly. It is easy to consider the condition of the country at the period which the noble marquis reviewed, the close of the reign of Elizabeth, and to carry ourselves back to that period; but what we have to contemplate is the state of affairs which now exist, and with which it is the duty of statesmen and of Parliament to deal. It cannot be denied that this country can no longer be regarded as an agricultural country (ironical cheers from the protectionist benches). I repeat that if we act and legislate as if this country were purely agricultural, error lies at the very root of the argument. Whether it be for weal or for woe, we have become a manufacturing and a commercial country, and we must legislate for the great commercial and manufacturing interests. I

admit this, and I say that the connection between the commercial, the manufacturing, and the agricultural interests, is intimate and palpable. There cannot be commercial and manufacturing prosperity without creating a demand for labour in the agricultural districts. We find a proof of this in the progress of docks, of railways and canals, and whenever the demand for labour in the seats of wealth and in the manufacturing districts is strong, labour is attracted from the most distant rural districts, where there is a state of manufacturing prosperity, and when the price of food is low, wages rise. What will be the effect of this change on the condition of the labourer? Now really let us be sincere in this matter (loud cheers from the protectionists). I appeal with confidence to the reason and candour of honourable gentlemen below the gangway; and if I can establish that manufacturing and commercial prosperity will so operate on the price of labour in the agricultural districts as to raise wages when the price of provisions is low, then, if we are sincere in our wish to legislate for the good of the labouring classes, whether agricultural or manufacturing, my reasoning will be conclusive, and you cannot resist the measure we propose. Wages do depend upon a demand and supply; and when a demand for labour operates among the agricultural classes, and raises wages, they obtain the three greatest advantages which a working man can simultaneously enjoy—full employment, high wages, and a low price of provisions (hear, hear, hear). There is a period of oscillation, production is stimulated, the prices are low, the demand is large, and this demand for labour affects the rate of wages in the agricultural districts: the oscillation again comes, the quantity has been unnaturally stimulated, the price of wages is low, with a diminished quantity of food the price is enhanced, the ports are closed, the home market is destroyed, the foreign trade is injured, the exportation of the precious metals caused by the sudden demand for corn operates upon prices, and wages fall (hear, hear). What, then, is the condition of the labouring classes, whether in the agricultural or manufacturing districts? That whereas before they enjoyed the three greatest benefits of full employment, high wages, and low prices, they are now subjected to the evils of deficient employment, low wages, and an artificial high price of food (hear, hear). I am unwilling, Sir, needlessly to prolong this argument, but I state what has carried conviction to my own mind. I am satisfied that the effect of a change will be on the labouring classes, agricultural as well as manufacturing; and if that be the issue we have to try—and the hon. member for Shrewsbury has put it upon that issue, which is most fair, I am satisfied that we have no course to take, but to agree in the passing of this measure (cheers). No sophistry, no ingenuity of argument will satisfy the people of this country that it is to their interest for the price of food to be directly raised, and that indirectly wages should fall; no sophistry, however able, will satisfy the people of this country that you are thereby doing what is really calculated to promote their interest, however generous may be your intentions, and however unequivocal may be the expression of your wishes (hear, hear). I will next glance at one other argument, that it is to the interest of the working farmers that these laws should be maintained. There was, Sir, a committee over which you presided, which sat in 1836, and before which several witnesses of great experience and ability gave evidence upon this point. I am unwilling to detain the house, but there are two witnesses to whose testimony I wish shortly to call the attention of the house. They are statements made by the tenant farmers with reference to their own interest, and as regarded themselves. The first witness to whose testimony I would call attention, is that of Mr. John Ellis, a large tenant farmer, in the neighbourhood of Leicester. The first question was asked him by my right hon. friend the Paymaster of the Forces (Mr. B. Baring). He was asked—

"It is for the advantage of the farmer to raise prices, is it not?—I do not think so; I am not of that opinion. I do not think it is to the advantage of the farmer to have very high prices."

"What do you consider most advantageous to the farmer?—A steady price (cheers); that the farmer, when he goes to take land, should look to some steady price, and not look to adventitious circumstances, to keep him out of a difficulty."

"Do you think the present scale has had the effect of creating greater fluctuations of price than there would have been under a more reduced scale?—That is a question that I cannot answer, not having been in the corn trade, but I am certain that the Corn Laws have raised delusive hopes in the farmers."

Then the hon. member for the Tower Hamlets (Sir W. Clay) asked, "You are decidedly of opinion that steadiness of price is the circumstance most important to the farmer?—My opinion is not in accordance with that of most people with respect to the interest of landlord and tenant. Up to a certain point, I hold that they go together; that it is the interest of the tenant to keep the land in good condition, as it is of the landlord that he should do so; but his landlord's interest is to have a high price, to enable him to pay a high rent. I do not think it is the tenant's interest to be clamorous about a high price; it makes very little difference to me whether I pay a high price or a low price, and I think the country thrives better all round me if the price is a moderate one; it is better for me not to have a high price, provided my expenses are in proportion."

"The farmer is a capitalist, and is it of importance to him to be able to calculate the returns upon his capital?—Just so. "He would do that better, and feel more certainly, if he were sure of a steady price of wheat?—Yes he would."

"Suppose that the present system, or any system of Corn Laws, tends to produce fluctuations in the price of wheat, that must be minor in its consequences to the farmer?—There is no doubt of it."

Then he was asked by the honourable member for Somerset, (Mr. Miles)—

"Do you think you could do without protection altogether?—Not in the present state of things. I think we must come to that ultimately, but we must go by easy steps."

"But you think that the poorer class of farmers at present look at 59s. as the price at which wheat can be maintained?—Yes."

"Is it your opinion that upon the average of years prices can attain to that height?—It is my opinion that they cannot, and that they will not attain 59s. with fine seasons."

"And the consequence is, that the poorer farmers have fallacious hopes raised?—Yes."

These questions were put in 1836, and recollect that in 1842 the protection was reduced one-half, and under the present measure there is to be a less duty, which is to endure for two years, and so we shall arrive by easy steps (laughter and cheers) at what this tenant farmer, in 1836, forewarned you was inevitable, and which he considered desirable. That is the opinion of an English farmer. I shall now give you the opinion of a Scotch farmer, of a gentleman with whom I have long had the pleasure of being acquainted, and who is one of the most experienced and successful agri-

culturists in that seat of excellent farming—I mean the Lothians. The following is the testimony of Mr. Howden: The hon. member for the North Riding of Yorkshire asked him, "If you had been sold off in 1820, do you think you would have been better off than you are now?" Now, observe the answer which Mr. Howden gives, after twenty years of protection. He replied:

"I do not know that mine is a fair case to be taken as a general case, because I started very poor in life, and I have had a hard struggle, and other circumstances that contributed to assist me. I am the only remaining farmer in the parish where I was brought up. Except myself, there is not a farmer, nor the son of a farmer, remaining within the parish but myself." This was brought out still more clearly by the next question put by the hon. member for the North Riding of Yorkshire:

"What is the reason of their having all gone away?" Mr. Howden replied, "The money-rents that were exacted of them; they all conceived that they were to have 80s. a quarter, and their calculations were made upon that; it soon appeared that that could not be realised, and they were not converted, and ruin has been the consequence."

"Then there has been a great change of tenantry in your neighbourhood?—There has been."

"And that has been caused by the fall of prices?—Yes, and the want of accommodation on the part of the proprietors."

"The proprietors have not reduced their rents in proportion?—They now have generally done so, but they were later in doing it than the circumstances required, and therefore the tenantry fell."

Now, what does this show? It shows that there was a miscalculation on the part both of the tenant and the landlord. 80s. was said to be the price which the protection law of 1815 would afford. Landlords believed themselves justified in assuming that 80s. would be the price which *communibus annis* wheat would bring; and, although I know the landlords in that district to be generous and honourable men—for I have known them from my earliest youth—yet, acting with perfect honour and fairness in their calculations in the belief that wheat would bring 80s. per quarter, they postponed the reduction of rent too long, and the fall of their tenants was the consequence (hear, hear). Mr. Howden was next asked—

"In your opinion did the Corn Law that was made in 1815 deceive both the landlord and the tenant?—It did. I believe that the calculation upon which they took at that time was almost universally 4s. a quarter."

"The general impression was that the Corn Laws then made would have the effect of keeping wheat at the price of 80s., and both landlord and tenant were deceived in that?—Yes."

"If the Corn Law had not the effect of keeping up the price, something must have reduced the price?—It did reduce; but as to the cause, I shall not pretend to say."

"The Corn Law having promised a price of 80s., failed to perform it?—Yes."

Now, that is the statement of a tenant farmer. I have shown you the effect of protection upon the labourer, and I have shown you its effect upon the tenant farmer in relation to his landlord. I have shown you, whatever the amount of protection at any given period, the conclusion inevitably resulted which happened in Mr. Howden's case, and in many others in the United Kingdom, not from any want of generosity on the part of the landlords, but from a false conviction of the inevitable effect of the law (hear, hear). I believe that it is as much the interest of the tenant farmer as it is of the landlord, that there should be a greater certainty of price, which can only be obtained by a repeal of your restrictive laws (hear, hear). Let me now glance for a moment at the condition of the landlord. And here I must observe—and I state it without meaning the least offence to the gentlemen below the gangway—that they assume to themselves that they have a monopoly of the land of the country, and that the opinion of all the landed proprietors is in favour of protection (cheers). Now, I know not where you will find a very prosperous large landed property where this happy result may not be traced directly, either mediately or immediately, to the prosperity of trade and commerce (cheers, mingled with cries of "oh, oh"). Allow me, without offence, to try this particular question with reference to the manufacturing districts. Take the county of Lancaster, for instance,—the seat of the cotton trade. Who are the great landed proprietors in that county? There is the Earl of Derby, on whose land the town of Bury is built. Is he opposed to this measure (cheers)? There is also the Earl of Burlington. Is he opposed to this measure (hear)? But it may be said that the Earl of Derby and the Earl of Burlington are not fair examples of the feeling of the landed proprietors in that county. Well, then, take Lord Francis Egerton, who is connected both with commerce and agriculture, and the inevitable effect of whose experience is to render him a strenuous advocate of the proposed alteration (hear). Let us go, in the next place, to the West Riding of Yorkshire, the great seat of the woollen manufacture. There is Lord Fitzwilliam. Is he opposed to this change (hear)? Or let us go to the seat of the cotton manufacture in Scotland. What is the county in Scotland which is most dependent on commerce and manufactures? Why, Lanarkshire. And what is the opinion of the Duke of Hamilton on this question (cheers, answered by ironical cheers)? You may treat this argument with contempt if you please, but it will be impossible for you to hold yourselves forth as the exclusive representatives of the agricultural interest on this question (hear). The hon. member for Somersetshire mentioned an extraordinary fact, that the price of wheat, which averaged 90s. in 1805, had fallen to 48s. in 1845, while the produce of the country had increased. Now it is a curious fact that, coincident with the commercial and manufacturing prosperity of that period, the rent of the land has risen, and not the rent of the land only, but the fee simple of the land has increased, while, as the hon. member has shown, the produce of the soil itself has increased. If you pass this measure, a great fall of price may take place below that which we have known for the last three years; but I am satisfied that the great body of the people will obtain this inestimable advantage—that they will have an ample and perfect security against a sudden rise of price to any great height (hear). Now I may take shame to myself, but I am bound to say that, although late, I have arrived at this conclusion after a more recent and careful consideration of this matter, combined with experience, and I say that the real truth of the matter, as it appears to me, is summed up in a masterly manner by Lord Grenville, in 1815, and I believe that what he says is actually true. I cannot persuade myself that the laws which regulate the importation of corn tend to produce plenty, cheapness, or steadiness of price. As far as they operate at all, my belief is that when carefully examined in practice and tested by experience, they produce the very opposite effects. Lord Grenville lays down the general principle which is the converse of this. He says that monopoly is the parent of scarcity, of dearth, and uncertainty. I believe that this proposition is strictly true (hear, hear). I

believe that it is impossible to cut off any of our sources of supply, and not trench upon the means of securing abundance. I believe you cannot show that you can limit the supply of any commodity and not enhance the cost of the article. To reject the advantages which I have pointed out would be to deprive ourselves of the beneficial arrangements that have been made by Providence for the sustentation of man. It is perhaps scarcely necessary for me to add that I am most anxious to see this measure pass unamalgamated; for I entertain a strong conviction that if it becomes the law of the land, it will protect the labourer against the effects of dear prices imposed upon the first necessary of life; that it will prove a security to the farmer in his speculations and his profits, and more than all, that this measure will reconcile the prosperity of the landlords with the interests and the goodwill of the community at large; that it will extend our commerce; increase the prosperity of our manufactures; that it will place our foreign relations upon a safe and stable foundation; I conscientiously believe that it will be memorable in our history (cheers), as securing the prosperity, contentment, peace, and happiness of the great body of the people, without reference to the exclusive interests of any particular class (hear, hear).

A NEW KIND OF MAY FESTIVAL.—Intersected as our land is with railways—covered as our seas are with steamers—we should wish to see our May festival become a grand and instructive pilgrimage time. It is good for man to run among his fellows—to see distant spots—to become acquainted with new and untrodden localities. Travel is a glorious pill for purging nonsense. The lion of the country coterie has the conceit taken out of him by London's cold shoulder. The prejudice-stuffed John Bull, who hates the French for eating frogs and wearing wooden shoes, very soon becomes ashamed of his cherished opinions, if he airs them on the other side of the water. The townsman has much to learn from the countryman—the countryman from the townsman. Let them mingle as often as may be. Whisk your agricultural population amid the chimneys of the regions of iron and cotton. Bring the sooty men of the forge, and the pale men of the loom, amid ploughs and harrows. The change will do both good—will inspire both with new ideas—will kill old prejudices—will make people think less of themselves and more of their neighbours. We have had too much class warfare lately. Now that a peace seems likely to be at hand, we would cement the alliance with personal intercourse. We should like to see the man of Lancashire shake hands with the man of Somersetshire. We would have the ruddy tenant of 500 arable acres conducting the weaver—freed for a space from the roar of the engine and the clatter of the power-loom—around the rustic homestead; and again, it would as much delight us to see a friendly *lex talionis* practised by the operative of the north in conducting, in his turn, his country acquaintance from engine to furnace—from mill to mechanics' institute. Now, this is much more than mere dreaming. It would have been but idle imaginings were it not for steam; but, thank heaven, we now wield a power which 20 years ago we wot not of—a power which is working a greater revolution than ever was rung in by clang of tocsin, or baptized in the blood of kings. Let May time be celebrated then, not by the monster devices of yore, but by the monster trains of the present day. Our ancestors danced round a pole—let our holiday movements run in a more extended circle. Railway companies can do much in this way; and if employers of labour unite with the rulers of the rails, cheap, very cheap trips might every summer be instituted which would reveal to millions new beauties of creation—open to them fresh fountains of thought—fresh means of enjoyment.—*Jerrold's Shilling Magazine for May*.

ROYAL POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTION.—Dr. S. Ryan, in his chemical lecture during the last week, has taken the opportunity of explaining a patent fire detector, the employment of which, to use the learned doctor's own words, would prevent the possibility of fire occurring in any situation undetected. Its construction depends upon two points that may be easily understood. First, the suspension of a weight by a material which is separated by a moderate heat exceeding the highest temperature of summer; and, secondly, the employing the weight thus disengaged to discharge an alarm by its fall. The weight consists of a metallic box, weighing about six ounces, which is hung on a nail by a ring or staple in its cover, and there are two kinds. In one the union is effected by means of a glass cylinder, hermetically sealed, and completely filled with mercury, at a temperature of about 90 deg., and which is consequently fractured by the expansion of the mercury, on being exposed to a temperature slightly higher; on the other form, the union is effected by a fusible cement, which suddenly liquifies at about 100 deg. The effect of any undue temperature on both is the same; viz., to detach the box from its cover, and cause the box to fall, which discharges the alarm—and the report which follows would be heard throughout the largest building, and is perfectly harmless. We regret that Dr. Ryan was prevented lecturing on Friday last, by sudden indisposition; but we trust that in a few days he will be enabled to resume his duties.

We with much pleasure notice a new envelope, and for which a patent has been obtained by a Mr. Morgan. Its advantages are, that greater dispatch is obtained, as sealing is not required; it having a cemented flap at the end, which incloses the letter with perfect safety; or it may be fastened with the stamped head of her Majesty. The machine by which these envelopes are cut, is in the Polytechnic Institution, and affords great amusement to the visitors by the rapidity with which it performs its operations, cutting many thousands in a minute.

MAINT UNNECESSARY FOR BEER. In the report of Professor Thompson, of Glasgow, to Government, on the qualities of malt as an alimentative, the following curious revelation is made:—"In the year 1805, I was appointed by the Excise Office in Scotland, along with Drs. Hope and Coventry, to make a set of experiments to determine the relative value of Scotch and English barley. Many experiments were made; among others, a quantity of barley was ground, and mixed with a good quantity of oatseed, to prevent it from cohering into a pulp; the mixture was infused, in water of about the temperature of 190 deg., and the infusion drawn off after standing several hours. It became speedily sweet, and the wort drawn off was as sweet as wort from malt. Being fermented it made excellent beer. The brewers who assisted us were much struck with this experiment; they imitated it successfully, and in a few years all the beer in Edinburgh was made from raw grain. The brewers were prosecuted by the Excise; they were prohibited from using raw grain, but no penalty was exacted."

CONDITION OF OUR WEST INDIA COLONIES.

LETTER II.—JAMAICA INTERESTS.

To the Editor of the Economist.

SIR,—I will now endeavour to trace some of the evils which beset Jamaica interests.

The monster evil of Jamaica is absenteeism. We know something of Irish absenteeism and of its effects, but we shall fail to appreciate the evils of Jamaica absenteeism by any comparison with what occurs in Ireland. It is of a different character. In Ireland we have absentee landlords—in Jamaica, absentee cultivators. Just take one moment to imagine the distinction. It will assist you to fancy an English landowner who, instead of letting out his estate in Lincolnshire to one or more tenants, shall decide on keeping the whole in his own hands, and carrying on the cultivation by means of bailiffs and farm servants, while he removes to take up his permanent residence in Rome or Naples. Just take one step further, and imagine his health so delicate that he avows his determination never to hazard a return to the climate of England, and his bailiff knows this. If such a man should tell you that his estate was profitable, I think the most that could be said would be, that he was more lucky than wise; but if, on the contrary, he told you that he got no returns, and cited his individual case as a reason for maintaining the Corn Laws, you would laugh in his face.

Here then you have, *mutatis mutandis*, an absentee Jamaica proprietor.

Now I have no desire to say anything disrespectful of these gentlemen—I have no quarrel with them for preferring a residence in England to the personal supervision of their estates in Jamaica—I cannot even fairly blame them for having remained so long in the position of farmers instead of landlords, because the institutions of slavery were wholly opposed to the existence of a middle or tenant class. Their position excites neither wonder nor sympathy, and it is only recorded because I desire to point out the evils which have been entailed upon the island by the system.

The first and self-evident evil (and which is common to Irish and Jamaica absenteeism) is, that society is deprived of those influences which would be exercised by a resident proprietor, in raising the tone and tastes of all below them—in begetting and cherishing that interchange of regard and respect between the rich and poor, which forms so strong a link in the social chain, and in dispensing the benefits of their expenditure among the community whence their revenue is derived.

The second evil is peculiar to the case of the absentee farmer. It is the temptation which is held out to the abuse of power and trust on the part of those who are invested with (as it were) irresponsible authority in matters of detailed management and expenditure. I am sure that I shall not be accused of libelling a community, when I assert that the tendency of Jamaica absenteeism has been to foster unfaithful stewardship to a notorious extent. It is unnecessary to enlarge on this subject. Every one who knows anything of the past history of Jamaica will join with me in lamenting that the moral standard has been most grievously debased by the flagrant and unblushing examples of successful knavery. The perquisites of planting attorney have passed into a proverb.

Let us turn to evils of a different character. Let us imagine the absentee proprietor, who 20 years ago was accustomed to receive a large revenue from his Jamaica estate—has seen that revenue year by year diminishing, and at length from less efficient management, unfavourable seasons, want of labour, or any other imaginable cause, finds his income annihilated, or at best precarious. If he has no other resource, he feels the necessity of retrenchment, and he joins the crowd of fellow-sufferers in calling for immigration and protective duties. If he is a man of substance, he holds his Jamaica estate as a sort of lottery in which he is occasionally to draw a prize, but he never thinks of putting it into comparison as a property with his smaller estate in Kent or Sussex. If you converse with these parties, you will find them eloquent in assigning reasons for failure (high duties were the cry once—want of labour is the bugbear now), but you will also find that diligence to examine and apply the remedy bears but small proportion to the earnestness of complaint. Talk to them of going to Jamaica, and giving their personal supervision to their affairs, and there will be no lack of reasons to prevent them. Talk to them of expending capital in either an improved tillage of their land, or in the adoption of implements for the economy of labour, and they will tell you either that they are too poor, or too little confident of the result to try the experiment. In the meantime the estate is worked on a beggarly hand-to-mouth system—nothing is done that can be left undone—the land is badly tilled—the pastures are neglected—the cattle are starved—the buildings fall into decay—apathetic indifference and false economy take the place of energetic exertion and judicious expenditure. Want of labour, and want of rain, are found more palatable excuses than want of industry and capital.

But the evil does not rest here. Colonial society is composed of ever-changing materials. The ranks of the planters are supplied by young men, who, for the most part, leave the mother country before they have acquired any practical acquaintance with true principles of agriculture or rural economy. Many of them have been brought up in towns, with no previous knowledge whatever of their future pursuits. They see the system which I have described in full operation under experienced managers, and they readily enough believe that it is a sound one. They copy the example and extend its operation.

But to follow the absentee a step further. When matters get desperate—when, instead of revenue, he finds a loss as the result of the year's cultivation, he begins to think seriously of abandoning his estate; and the probability is, that the manager who has (at all events if not promoted) been unable to avert the depreciation, offers a rental, and is accepted as a tenant. It is equally possible that, instead of renting, he may purchase the estate. This introduces us to another class of planters. It will be readily understood that the former manager has no large amount of available capital. It will be assuming a better state of things than actually exists to believe that he is able to pay for the estate if a purchaser, or for the cattle if a tenant. The more usual course is to incur a debt for these purposes with some Kingston merchant. Be this as it may, I am sure that the instances are exceedingly rare where, as either purchaser or tenant, he has 500*l.* in the shape of floating capital to carry on the cultivation. Now, when I tell you that this party will attempt to cultivate and manufacture a crop of, say 100 *hds* of sugar and 30 *punchons* of rum, of a gross value of some 3000*l.*, in a country exposed to

droughts and other drawbacks, upon such slender means, it surely will not require much penetration to understand the causes and chances of failure. You will not be surprised to learn that one-half of the available sugar land upon the estate is uncultivated; that it is impossible for him to anticipate the various processes of cultivation; to substitute machinery, or any but the simplest and least expensive implements for the economy of manual labour, or to expend his scanty means in drainage or irrigation, or in the application of artificial manures. Here, then, we see that the want of capital brings with it imperfect farming. Let us now examine how their combination acts upon labour and wages.

I have elsewhere said that the planter does nothing which he can leave undone; and as it is important that this part of the subject should be well understood, I will endeavour to illustrate it by an instance which fell under our observation, and which will be readily admitted as by no means of unfrequent occurrence. We were visiting an estate on the north side of the island, in a district where the want of continuous labour was most severely felt. The estate was in the hands of a tenant, a most industrious, deserving gentleman. It was one of large capabilities; but a considerable portion of the cane land was uncultivated. Our host had pointed out a certain number of acres, which he intended to put into plants in a few months, and in the course of conversation on the subject of labour, he told us he had that day discharged 50 labourers. We were somewhat startled at this, and ventured to suggest that a portion of these might have been advantageously employed in preparing the cane land for planting; but his immediate reply was—"Oh! I cannot spare the money to do that so long before it is wanted, although I should like to do so, because I should so much more readily get labour now than I shall then." On our endeavouring to explain the effect which these wholesale and sudden changes might have on the question of continuous labour, we were met by the assurance that it could not, in his opinion, make any difference; and he justified his own views by quoting the example of an adjoining estate, where they had discharged 100 labourers on the previous day.

What alternative, then, has the negro, but in self-defence to look to his provision ground as a stand-by for subsistence? and where is the wonder that, when the periodical rains have fallen, he should be more ready to attend to his own cultivation than to that of the planter? What is more natural than that a want of continuous employment should beget a want of continuous labour?

But we must trace the evil of want of capital still further. The planter is insensibly led to identify good management with small expenditure. He thinks rather of making a good money bargain with his labourers than of paying them liberally, and taking care, by personal supervision, that they give him an equivalent. He has not yet learned that quality is as essential a consideration as price, and he would think it the height of extravagance to lend labour-saving tools to men who ought to provide their own. They do provide them, and sadly inefficient they are. From the fact of his employing labour (to any extent) merely after rains or during crop, he is exposed to the competition of his neighbours who are in the same predicament; he therefore soon finds that, if he attempts to superadd strict surveillance to low wages, the negroes will strike and go elsewhere. He thinks to get over this difficulty by employing the labourer on job work. This, if less troublesome, is not less costly. The constant drain upon his small stock of ready money irritates and annoys him. He can look with comparative complacency on the loss of cattle, the dilapidations of his buildings, the failure of a field of canes, or the imperfect working of his mill. These are all contingencies which either require no immediate outlay to remedy, or will at the most only diminish his annual profits; but the wages are a weekly infliction. His want of capital, which prevents his availing himself of labour at other seasons of the year, in like manner prevents his adopting machinery as the means of diminishing his dependence on manual labour at a time when the demand is greater than the supply. He looks upon immigration as the panacea for all his troubles, and he demands it.

Another difficulty which besets West India interests is the want of that subdivision of labour which is at the root of economical production. This is the peculiar legacy of slavery. The planter is at once an agriculturist, a manufacturer, and a carrier; nay, we might go further, and say that he carried on the trades of a cooper, a carpenter, a wheelwright, and a blacksmith, for during the existence of slavery he was obliged to perform all such work upon his own estate; and so stagnant is everything like individual enterprise in Jamaica, that the system still prevails to a most injurious extent. I trust that the introduction of railways will lead to the more general employment of public carriers; and I have no doubt that an enlarged competition in the home market would require that greater attention should be paid to the manufacturing process, for the purpose of securing not only economy of cost, but a great improvement in the quality of the sugar.

The subject of central manufactories has been already mooted, and their establishment is looked forward to with anxiety by the colonists. I am not, however, inclined to think that their adoption can ever become so general as to dispense with the keeping up of works upon the majority of estates. There are comparatively few localities where the canes could be economically removed. For the purposes of centralisation tramways are indispensable, and these could only be applied in particular districts. Immense advantages would, however, be derived by the island from a more complete and scientific manufacture of sugar, as it would not only show the necessity for superior tillage of the lands now under cultivation, but would afford facilities and encouragement for bringing forward all others in the neighbourhood.

I will resume the subject in my next.—I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,
WILLIAM SMITH.
London, May 6, 1846.

FALSIFICATION OF ADAM SMITH.—MR. CAYLEY AGAIN!

(From the Daily News.)

The long-wished for deliverance from that wearisome word grinding which the protectionists call "speaking," is now at hand. To-night a division is looked for most confidently. Human nature can bear it no longer. Even the party itself is tired of its own talk. It is difficult to keep 39 members within ear-shot of the one who is on prosiody duty for the passing hour. Machinery is said to tire in time. Steam-engines need some intervals of rest. The mill-wheel of protectionist oratory is coming to a state of exhaustion. The ceaseless humming and droning becomes

fainter. The act of dividing will seem, comparatively, an intellectual operation.

No future Dryasdust will ever explore the unhappy volumes of Hansard, sacrificed to the reports of this debate. Wooden volumes will answer every purpose, and keep the numbering of the series unbroken. The wear and tear of type is all in vain. A thought; a new fact; an unexploded sophism; an original illustration; any indication of mentality; where shall we find it, through all this dreary waste of words? "There's no such thing." Not one argument has been set up, the refutation of which had not long ago become tiresome by frequent and needless iteration. As to intellectual combat in reply, as much of that stimulus might be found in beating a feather-bed. There may be mind in pin-making and reason in roasting eggs; no species of occupation, however humble and unskilled, is so utterly mechanical as this protectionist speech-making.

People will go great lengths to save their lives; though few, whose lives are worth saving, could undergo the drudgery which protectionists have sustained, to save, as they believe, their pockets. They have shown themselves alike soulless and sordid. Sometimes, looking only at the pertinacity evinced, we have been disposed to say, what a gallant stand this would have been, if made in defence of some great principle, some public right, some claim of justice! But no such senseless mechanical stand could have been made for a really good cause. The grandeur of the theme would have been inspiration. Stupid mediocrity would have risen into dignity by the truthful aim at a noble object. Integrity, for great purposes, supplies the place of genius. To pry into prisons rather than dwelling-houses, and to be interested about chains and fever rather than intrigues and routes, makes the difference between a busy-body and a Howard; but no gleam of brightness glances over this Serbonian bog. The only semblance of luminousness is in some fitful flashings of sarcasm, coruscations from the foul vapours of revenge and malignity, engendered in its level dreariness. All else is dark and mean.

And on Tuesday night the dark debate had a narrow escape from a mean termination. The unpleasantness of hearing Mr. Newdegate had enforced the members to run, forgetful of possible consequences. And then the voice of Lord G. Bentinck raised a cry to "Divide." This, reader, is British and noble statesmanship! We are greatly disgusted, forsooth, by the ungentelemanly proceedings of Congress. Would a manœuvre, worse than any trick of the turf, have been tolerated there? In this country, anything is reckoned fair in politics and in law; politics and law being, by that argument, the mere conventional description of two kinds of prostitution, by which the privileged replenish their purses and gratify their passions.

Lord George, or St. George, as the Marquis of Granby dubs him by the bit of Shakspeare which formed a portion of his "cram," was disappointed of his honourable and patriotic purpose by the obtuseness of Mr. G. Palmer, who had been enlisted to serve as a speechmaker that night, and was determined to do his duty literally. On he went, regardless of noise or nudging, like the stupid servant in a farce, who is sure to nonplus his master, at the critical moment, by a most rigid adherence to his instructions. So the speech was made; and the time for division, with a protectionist majority, was lost. Leaders like Lord G. Bentinck are well matched with followers like Mr. G. Palmer.

While we are upon this characteristic of pettiness and paltriness in the monopolist opposition, there is one point in the speech of Mr. Cayley on Monday night recommending it to a notice for which it possesses no other claims. Mr. Cayley professed to cite an opinion of Adam Smith's; the citation was a perversion and the opinion a falsification. Even this, however, is not so very remarkable in protectionist speeches as to call for especial comment. But this is not all. Mr. Cayley was Tract writer to the Protectionist Association. Under the sanction of the committee, he put forth a pamphlet on the reasons for the formation of that society, which was largely distributed. In that pamphlet, were sundry demonstrated falsifications both of the opinions and the language of Adam Smith. The demonstration, by Lord Radnor in the House of Peers, and by a writer in THE LEAGUE journal, was so complete, that Mr. Cayley was compelled, for common decency's sake, to make some apology; and he did make a partial and pitiful acknowledgment and apology in the columns of the *Morning Herald*. The citation in his speech, on Monday night, is one of those very quotations, so garbled, so falsified in meaning and implied opinion, and so partially and pitifully acknowledged and apologised for. At the time, it was justly declared to be "rare to meet with literary dishonesty so glaring." After the exposure, to repeat the trick in his speech is yet more glaring. In any working class club for discussion, as the means of arriving at knowledge and truth, such conduct would have been promptly followed by ignominious expulsion. Occurring in the House of Commons, amongst many instances of disingenuous rhetoric in protectionist speeches, we shall only say that it deserves to be recorded. Let that page of Hansard be read, when all else is disregarded, that monopolist morality in debate may be distinctly understood.

The passage referred to by Mr. Cayley, for the purpose of showing that he has Adam Smith's authority for "instead of making manufactures the foundation of the commercial system to make agriculture its foundation," is in chapter eleven of book 2, of the "Wealth of Nations." Few readers would suspect Adam Smith of making agriculture the foundation of a commercial system. After a picked and perverted phrase, Mr. Cayley suppresses, both in his tract and his speech, the sentences immediately following, and which are remarkably applicable to the present discussion:

"When the public deliberates concerning any regulation of commerce or police, the proprietors of land can never mislead it, with a view to promote the interest of their own particular order; at least, if they have any tolerable knowledge of that interest. They are, indeed, too often defective in this tolerable knowledge. They are the only one of the three orders whose revenue costs them neither labour nor care, but comes to them, as it were, of its own accord, and independent of any plan or project of their own. That indolence, which is the natural effect of the ease and security of their situation, renders them too often, not only ignorant, but incapable of that application of mind which is necessary in order to foresee and understand the consequences of any public regulation."

A HINT.—An American physician announces that he has changed his residence to the neighbourhood of a churchyard, which he hopes may prove a convenience to his numerous patients.

A London newspaper informs its readers that an additional number of sentinels are to be placed in Hyde Park, to prevent the robberies which happened last winter.

PROTECTIONIST MEETING AT MACCLESFIELD.

TRIUMPH OF FREE TRADE.

(From the Macclesfield Chronicle, May 16.)

A meeting of the silk weavers of Macclesfield was held on Park Green, on Monday evening last, the object of which will be seen from the following placard, by which it was convened:

"FAIR TRADE" VERSUS FREE TRADE.

"He had not received any remuneration against this reduction from the silk trade itself. If Coventry, or Leek, or Macclesfield had been so, they had intelligence and courage enough to resist this reduction."—Sir Robert Peel's speech on the proposed reduction of the silk duties, March 16.

"This is the challenge I offer; show me one relaxation—show me one removal of protective duties that has not contributed to the welfare of the producer."—Sir Robert Peel's speech, February 16.

"Men of Macclesfield.—The above challenge has remained too long unanswered, we have already experienced some of the benefits of this new tariff, we have received what may be called the 'first instalment' in our empty looms and threatened reduction of wages. Let us answer the challenge of Sir Robert Peel, and let us prove that we have 'courage' enough to tell him that we have a right to have a protection for our property—our labour. For this purpose a public meeting will be held on Park Green, Monday, May 11th, 1846, at 7 o'clock in the evening, when Mr. J. West, and Mr. J. Leach, of Manchester, will attend and address the meeting; and a petition against Sir Robert Peel's measures will be submitted for your adoption. Silk manufacturers and weavers are invited to attend, and the Anti-Corn Law League, their friends, or agents, are challenged to public discussion! as every opportunity will be afforded to all parties to express their sentiments on this important question."

The hour of meeting was seven o'clock, and when the business commenced, shortly before half-past seven, there were not less than two or three thousand persons present, and ultimately the crowd around the hustings amounted to nearly double that number. The show of hands being in favour of the motion that Mr. John Stubbs should preside, that gentleman took the chair, and commenced the proceedings by a brief speech.

Mr. WEST opened the discussion by remarking that it might be said the silk weavers of Macclesfield had been somewhat tardy in coming forward to protest against the Government measure, which took away a portion of the protection hitherto enjoyed by their trade. The fault of the delay was not altogether theirs. A correspondence had been opened by some of them with Mr. Brocklehurst, M.P., eight or nine weeks ago, when the advice of that gentleman was given against a public meeting, it being his opinion that any opposition on their part to the proposed silk duties, might stir up the Lancashire manufacturers to a counter agitation, the result of which might be the abolition of all import duties on silk. This, he (Mr. West) thought was very unsatisfactory reasoning, and he considered that the weavers had as good a right to have and express an opinion as Mr. Brocklehurst. They had now begun to feel the bitter effects of the alteration of the duties, in actual or proposed reductions of wages; and, therefore, at the eleventh hour, they had determined to come forward to meet the challenge of Sir Robert Peel, to show that the reduction of protective duties was injurious to their trade. Mr. West asserted that a reduction of wages would be the inevitable effect of the more intense competition with France, which they were now called upon to maintain. In many branches of the silk manufacture the French could manufacture cheaper than the English, and he would adduce satins as an example. He had been shown a piece of French satin by a manufacturer, who told him that the like could not be produced in Macclesfield at less than 3d. or 4d. a yard higher than the price charged for the French article. Our inability to compete with the French, and the consequent reduction of wages to be anticipated from the diminution of protection, were the main points insisted on by Mr. West, though he also dwelt at some length on the general view of the Free Trade question, maintaining that the universal cheapness which Sir Robert Peel's measures were intended to produce, would not benefit the silk-weaver, but the contrary, if, as he firmly believed, they would tend to a great reduction in his wages. He would tell his fellow-workmen that if they did not oppose this measure, they would repent when it was too late; and if they were so foolish, he, for his part, would not feel it his duty to stand forward, as he had done formerly, to defend them from an evil which they had brought upon themselves for want of timely resistance. The effects of the change were already felt in the depression of their trade, and in an actual proposal for the reduction of wages. Mr. West concluded by proposing a resolution condemnatory of the policy of the Government, especially as applied to the silk manufactures. (cheers). The resolution was seconded from the body of the meeting.

Mr. FALVEY, who was received with cheers, said he had been over on a visit to Macclesfield, when the placard called the present meeting, and inviting discussion, had attracted his attention as he passed along the street on Sunday morning, and that was the first intimation of it which he had received. It had been his intention to return to Manchester on Monday (that day), but on seeing the placard, he at once resolved to accept the challenge it contained, and therefore he now stood before them to oppose the resolution now submitted to them by Mr. West. Mr. Falvey commenced by referring to his connection with Macclesfield, and the deep interest he felt in its prosperity. He would not advocate measures which he thought would be injurious to Macclesfield, but he considered that the Government policy, now under discussion, would be advantageous instead of being detrimental to its interests, as had been asserted by Mr. West. He was borne out in this view of the subject by the opinions expressed by many of the silk manufacturers themselves. He had that day met with Mr. Potts, whom they would all admit to be an excellent master, and one who paid as high as in Macclesfield, and he had told him that he would prefer the Government measure of 15 per cent. duty to the present state of things when the nominally high duty was so much evaded by means of smuggling. Mr. Falvey said he would mention that as his opinion at the meeting, when Mr. Potts gave him full authority to do so. Mr. Falvey also mentioned that many other manufacturers in Macclesfield entertained the same view. He advised them to beware of being led away by Mr. West's predictions as to the reduction of wages. Jonathan Martin predicted that York Cathedral would be burned, and that the prediction might not go unfulfilled, he had at last put the torch to it himself (hear, hear). It was a somewhat suspicious circumstance that the present proposal to reduce wages was being made by a protectionist instead of a Free Trade firm, and that Mr. West should have been selected as the negotiator of the matter between them and the operatives (hear, hear). He contradicted Mr. West's assertion that the people of this country were unable to compete with

the French in the manufacture of silks, and warned them against the folly of proclaiming their belief in their own inferiority by the vote of that evening. By doing so they were virtually inviting the manufacturers to reduce their wages. Mr. West ought to have produced the cheap French satins with which he had frightened them, and thus enabled them to compare them with those of their own manufacture. He (Mr. Falvey) would tell them that they were not equal in quality to the satins manufactured in Macclesfield, and that in plain heavy goods of every description we could beat the French. In some of the lighter fancy articles, the French, through their superiority in the arts of design, might have the advantage of us. But even in regard to these, the difficulty of competition could not be so very great, seeing that Coventry, which depended principally on the ribbon trade, and other light fancy articles, and which had a very large constituency, embracing a great proportion of the working classes, sent two Free Trade members to Parliament (hear, hear, hear). As to the depression alluded to by Mr. West, and paraded by him as a proof of the alleged ruinous tendency of Sir R. Peel's measures in regard to their trade, they all knew that that depression was not confined to the silk trade. Business of every kind throughout the country was paralysed, in consequence of the suspense in which the country had been so long held through the bigoted and obstinate opposition of the protectionists to the passing of Sir R. Peel's Corn Bill and Tariff. In Manchester several thousands of hand-loom cotton weavers were out of employment in consequence of this stagnation. But it was not from Free Trade, but for the want of it, that the people were now suffering (cheers). He felt confident that, instead of falling off, the trade of Macclesfield, as well as that of other manufacturing towns, would become more flourishing than ever they had seen it, when Sir R. Peel's measure came into full operation. These are only a few of the leading points of Mr. Falvey's speech, which was listened to throughout with deep attention, and frequently cheered, to the great chagrin, we believe, of the protectionist party, who had persuaded themselves that he would meet with a different reception in a direct appeal to the working men of Macclesfield. Mr. Falvey concluded by proposing the following amendment to Mr. West's resolution:

"That we entirely approve of the commercial policy propounded by her Majesty's Government, and especially of the great and comprehensive measure for the total abolition of the Corn Laws."

Mr. LEACH, from Manchester, replied to Mr. Falvey in a rambling speech, which was more declamatory than argumentative, and which appealed to the feelings rather than to the reason of the people. Some idea of the staple of it may be drawn from the fact that Mr. Leach condescended to retell the hundred-times-repeated joke of the Irishman, who boasted that he could buy potatoes for a penny in Ireland which cost him sixpence in this country, but who confessed that the sixpence was easier got in England than the penny was in Ireland! He met the assertion of Mr. Falvey in regard to the hand-loom weavers of Lancashire, who were out of employment, by pointing to the increase of cotton-spinning and weaving factories which had taken place within the last few years. The deplorable condition of Ireland was appealed to, as an illustration of the working of Free Trade. The Irish, in following out the principles of Free Trade, sent over to this country those provisions which ought to be kept at home, for the subsistence of their own miserable people, and the same principle would equally apply to other places. He held that it was wrong to take away the calico from Lancashire, or the woollens from Yorkshire, so long as the inhabitants of these places were in want of a shirt, or a pair of blankets. Mr. Leach also complained bitterly of the suffering inflicted on a race of weavers in India, who had been ruined by the competition of English manufacturers. According to Mr. Leach, one country or province ought not to interfere with another in that way, but he did not explain how the innumerable links, which already connect all countries, and render them dependent on each other, were to be severed in pursuance of his new system. He dilated on the toils and privations endured by the working classes in this country, which none denied; but he did not condescend to propose to the meeting any plan of his own which would be more effectual than Free Trade, as a remedy for the awful state of things produced by a long perseverance in monopoly. Mr. Leach concluded by exhorting the meeting to vote for Mr. West's resolution, and sat down amidst the cheers of a portion of the meeting.

Mr. JOSEPH EDWARDS, a silk weaver, seconded Mr. Falvey's amendment. He said that from the style in which they had been addressed by the speakers on the other side, one would be induced to conclude that the operatives of this country had flourished under what was misnamed protection, but they all knew that the reverse of it was the case, and even Mr. Leach's speech itself proved as much. He considered the question of wages, in its connection with Free Trade, was very simple. The price of labour, like that of everything else, was regulated by the demand for it, and Free Trade, by increasing the demand for labour, had a necessary tendency to raise wages. This was the general view of the question, looking to the trade of the country at large, and this general result could not fail to affect Macclesfield, which depended mainly on the home demand, and was, therefore, deeply interested in the prosperity of the country. After delivering a speech full of sound reasoning, Mr. Edwards concluded by seconding the resolution.

Mr. S. BENTON made a few remarks which, though on the side of protection, were delivered in a very calm and reasonable style. He doubted the correctness of the statements and the arguments that were advanced by the Free Trade party as to the large quantity of French silks smuggled into this country. Were the amount as large as was stated, they would often hear of seizures of silk goods by the custom-house officers. He had heard that remark made by a Member of Parliament to Lord Dalhousie, in an interview held by his lordship with a deputation from the silk trade.

As it was now half-past 9 o'clock, the meeting, which had kept well together, notwithstanding the increasing darkness, began to be impatient for a division. The Chairman, therefore, proceeded to put the question to the vote with great clearness and deliberation, stating that the vote on Mr. Falvey's amendment, approving of the Government measures, would be first taken. Having called on all who approved of that amendment to hold up both hands, the number which were instantly raised, left no doubt as to the issue. The numbers held up for the original motion, according to the statement of parties who had a commanding view of the far-extending crowd, did not amount to more than a third or fourth of those who voted for the amendment. The Chairman declared the amendment carried, which announcement was received with cheers.

THE BUILDING TRADES' STRIKE.

(From the Times.)

BIRMINGHAM, WEDNESDAY EVENING.—The strike of the operatives of the building trade, carpenters and bricklayers, in this town, may, as far as present appearances go, be said to have virtually terminated to-day. The meeting of the masters at Newton-in-the-Willows, on Thursday last, has not been without its effect on the men, although it must be admitted, as subsequent proceedings prove, that the adherence of the masters on that occasion to the declaration required by them to be signed by the men, produced an unfavourable impression against the builders. So soon as it became evident, after the proceedings of the conference at Newton, that the masters were resolved to resist the strike, and were determined, at all hazards of loss and inconvenience, to close business rather than submit to the demands of the operatives, it became manifest that owing partly to the exhausted state of the union funds, and the dissatisfaction of many of the unionists themselves, but more especially to the disagreement which had arisen between the carpenters and bricklayers, that some mode of arrangement must be adopted. Accordingly the mayor of Birmingham (Mr. H. Smith) was requested to interpose his kind offices, and that gentleman, without loss of time, in the most friendly and conciliatory spirit, sought an interview with the heads of the principal building establishments in Birmingham. The result of the mayor's interviews with these gentlemen at first appeared extremely doubtful: but on Monday evening a meeting of the master builders (at which Mr. S. Briggs presided) took place at the Acorn Temple, in Temple-street. A deputation from the men attended, and as a matter of course considerable discussion ensued. Reporters were not present; but it may be stated, upon the best authority, that while the employers expressed themselves upon all occasions inclined to listen to the reasonable claims of those they employed, they were determined to resist the "unreasonable" and "tyrannical authority" of "Unionists," whether for "a diminution of time or a disproportionate rise of wages." Still, as was admitted by many masters present, they could not altogether justify the "declaration" they had required to be signed by the men previously to taking them back to their employ. The declaration referred to, and which received the sanction of the Newton meeting, was as follows:

"We the undersigned do hereby declare that we are not, or will not remain members of any trades' unions, or of other societies under whatever designation they may be known, which have for their objects any interference with the rights of labour, or with the arrangements that may be entered into between employers and workpeople."

"And we further declare that we will not appropriate, and, as far as we are able, will not permit to be appropriated for the purpose of supporting a turn-out here or elsewhere amongst the building branches, or otherwise, any sum or sums of money belonging to any sick, burial, or other society, which has been established for benevolent purposes only."

The Birmingham masters on Monday night, as before intimated, doubted the policy of requiring subscription to the above declaration, and the more especially as it was contended that the press of the country had denounced it as unjust, and likely to injure rather than benefit the cause of free and uncontrolled labour. In fact, according to the opinion of more than one influential builder, it was placing the masters in a wrong position, and so far from enlisting the sympathies of the public in their favour was likely to excite them in favour of the unionist turn-outs. In accordance with this feeling the meeting at the Acorn came to the following resolution, which was placarded through the town this morning:

"It was resolved, that in order to convince the workmen engaged in the building departments, and the public generally, of the disposition of the employers to meet the views of their men, in a fair spirit, that the written declaration lately submitted be withdrawn, and that they may merely be requested to declare that they do not support any branch of the building trade that is at present 'out on strike' for an advance of wages."

"May 11." "JAMES DAVIES, Secretary pro. tem."

After the adoption of these resolutions the masters assembled intimated to the deputation of workmen in attendance (understood to be from the carpenters), that upon such a verbal declaration they were willing to receive them back into their employ at the old rate of wages (4s. per day), leaving for future consideration any addition they might be disposed to make to men whom they deemed entitled to increased remuneration for their labour. There seems to be a prevailing opinion that while some of the journeymen carpenters, in consequence of their superior handicraft are deserving of a higher rate of wages than at present paid, there are others, who, at the present time, are receiving more than their workmanship merit. According to the present scale there is no distinction—skill and industry receive no higher remuneration than the opposite of those qualifications.

The deputation expressed themselves, individually, as satisfied with the terms proposed by the masters, but as they had no authority from their brother workmen to conclude any arrangement, they left the Acorn without expressing any conclusive determination.

It ought, however, to be observed, that as regarded the bricklayers, the masters made no proposals. They caused the strike, requiring an additional 6d. per day, and it is left for them to make what arrangements they best can to resume their work. From the carpenters they will now receive little or no support. A quarrel in Birmingham, at least, has taken place between the two bodies, and the bricklayers will be left to take their own course.

The "strike," however, may, as before observed, be considered as at an end. The unionists had a meeting at the "Odd Fellows' Hall" yesterday, and at many of the large works in the town and neighbourhood work was resumed this morning. At the extensive establishment of Messrs. Branstone and Gwyther, a firm who employ several hundred of workpeople, in London, Crewe, Birmingham, and other parts of the country, 50 out of about 100 carpenters employed in this town returned to the shop and pursued their former avocations, and there is no doubt that many more would have done the same, but anxious not to take an active part in the strike, in fact, altogether inimical to it, many of the workmen had, in prospect of its long continuance, gone to visit their friends at a distance until its termination.

"It should be mentioned that, although the carpenters' 'strike' is thus, at least for a time, at an end, a great portion of the workmen expect an advance of wages, and it is hoped that the masters, many of whom are pursuing a prosperous business, will not forget the deserving."

To Mr. Smith, the mayor, great credit is due for his kind conduct as *amicus curiæ*.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE QUARTER OF A
MILLION FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, May 15, 1846.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

As the regulations of the Post Office require that the Christian Name of the party to whom Post Office Orders are sent should be given in full, subscribers are respectfully requested to procure their Orders in future for GEORGE WILSON, League Offices, Manchester, or ABRAHAM WALTER PAULTON, 67, Fleet-street, London.

	£.	s.	d.
*Greg, Samuel and Sons, Manchester	200	0	0
*Brooks, John, Mosley-street, do	200	0	0
*Cobden, Richard, and Co., Mosley-street, do	100	0	0
Winkworth and Proctors do	80	0	0
*Taylor, Thomas, and Brothers, Wigan	60	0	0
*Christy, Wm. M. and Sons, Fairfield Mill, near Manchester	50	0	0
Slater, John and Co., Little Bolton	50	0	0
*Swainland, Charles, Crayford, Kent	40	0	0
*Evans and Nicholson, Cross-street, Manchester	40	0	0
*Grundy, T. A. and J., Bury	30	0	0
*Walker, John do	20	0	0
*Kellsall, Henry, Rochdale	20	0	0
*Tweedale, James, Rochdale	20	0	0
*Bannatyne, Neil, Aytoun-street, Manchester	10	0	0
*Gibb, James, 29, Mosley-street, do	10	0	0
Duffield, Lofthouse, and Whitworth, do	10	0	0
Edmundson and Brothers, Charles-street, do	6	0	0
*Oocleshaw, Wm., Piccadilly do	6	0	0
*Armstrong, Hugh, Clayton, Newcastle-on-Tyne	5	0	0
*Shields, James, Grey-street, do	5	0	0
Ree, H. P., 27, Falkner-street, Manchester	5	0	0
Millington, George, 100, Mosley-street, do	5	0	0
Holt and Bount, York-street do	5	0	0
McClure and Stroyan do	4	0	0
Yates, Joseph, Rose Villa, Ardwick do	4	0	0
*Wainley, John, 3, Bedford-street, Salford	2	0	0
*Dunlop, John, draper, Chapel-street, do	2	0	0
*Barker, Thomas, Ant-nich do	2	0	0
Ashworth, Wm., Acton-square, Salford	2	0	0
Humble, J. W., Jesmond-street, Newcastle-on-Tyne	1	0	0
*Hope, T. M., do	1	0	0
Gibson, Thomas, New Quay, North Shields	1	0	0
Samuels, Thomas, Stenhouse, near Stroud	1	0	0
*Merret, J., George-street, do	1	0	0
*Smith, F. M.D., Boston, Lincolnshire	1	0	0
*Saxton, James, Crayford, Kent	1	0	0
Scadding, D. F., Manchester	1	0	0
Hughes, Christopher, High-street, Manchester	1	0	0
Butterworth, Wm., 27, Shude Hill, do	1	0	0
Buckley, W., 8, Hull-street, near Butler-st., do	1	0	0
Gill, Joseph, 55, Back King-street, do	1	0	0
Swingley, Mrs., Wharfedale, High-street, do	1	0	0
A Friend	0	5	0
White, John, Willmearoad-buildings, Salford	0	5	0

Halley, Messrs., & Norrice, calenderers	4	0	0
*Eason, Alexander, manufacturer	3	0	0
*Gammichael, Peter, mill manager	3	0	0
*Tava, James, and Son, flax spinners	3	0	0
Stewart, David, jun., contractor	2	0	0
*Russell, James, gas works	2	0	0
*Miller, Richard A., merchant	2	0	0
Island, George, flax spinner	1	0	0
Millar, James, bleacher	1	0	0
Brough, Thomas, manufacturer	1	0	0
Compar, John, baker	1	0	0
Mild, James, flax dresser	1	0	0
Nimmo, Mathew, surgeon	1	0	0

*Nash and Co., Castle street	20	0	0
*Bruce, Robert, Frenchay	10	0	0
*Wheeler, Daniel, White Ladies Road	5	0	0
*Rankin, Thomas, and Son, Quay-street	5	0	0
Samuels, Edward, Park-street	2	0	0
Mills, H. and J., Nicholas-street	2	0	0
*Burler, Rev. John, Highbury-place	1	0	0
*Chick, George, Stapleton-road	1	0	0
Watts, James, 21, Mary-le-part-street	0	10	6
Joy, J. R., All Saints-street	0	6	0
Hart, Isaac, Oxford-street	0	4	0
Hill, Francis, Mercury Office	0	2	0

*Wilkinson, Henry, Norfolk-street	40	0	0
*Greaves, Nath., Shirley, near	2	0	0
*Mitchel, Samuel, 8, Campolane	1	0	0
Anderson, Edward, Portobello	0	4	0
Buchan, Messrs., Welch & Pyne, Disley	50	0	0
*Yates, John, and Charles	50	0	0
Sidebottom and Ridgway	5	0	0

*Pattison, James, M.P., 571, Old Broad-street	40	0	0
*Thorne, Benjamin, Stockwell	30	0	0
God, W. Thos., 51, Tavistock-square	10	10	0
*Cooper, Emanuel, 50, Castle-street, Borough	5	0	0
*G. and H. F.	5	0	0
*Charwood, Geo., 14, Tavistock-row, Covent Garden	2	0	0
Ward, H. W., 36, Seething-lane	1	1	0
*Pyne, Samuel, 54, Newman-street, Oxford-street	1	1	0
*Powe, John, 1, York-grove, Peckham	1	1	0
*Bl.ckman, John, 22, Teman-street, Goodman's-fields	1	1	0
*King, Wm. D., Su.bury	1	1	0
*A-kew, Thomas, Kendal	1	1	0
*Forsyth, James, baker, Aberdeen	1	0	0
*Birch, J., 6, Barlow-st. west, Derby-road, Liverpool	1	0	0
*Hole, Charles, Cowley, Middlesex	1	0	0
*Gilbert, James, 3 Vault, Dundee	1	0	0
*Martin, J., R.N., Hamilton-terrace, Greenwich	1	0	0
*Northern, Wm., 14, Vauxhall-walk	1	0	0
*E. F.	1	0	0
*Huntor, Walter, Bow	1	0	0
*Holme, Wm., 91, Walling-street	1	0	0
*Dunford, John, 81, High-street, Aldgate	1	0	0
*Jackson, Henry, 51, Broad-street, Golden-square	1	0	0
*Smith, Joseph, West Drayton	1	0	0
Patterson, David, fisher, Hawick	1	0	0
Scott, Wm., tobaccoist, do	0	10	0
Harrison, James, Brownlow-yard	1	1	0
Dawson, George, Stone-street	0	10	0
Moore, John, clerk	0	2	6
Small Sums	0	1	6

* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed subscriptions.

FALL OF MANNA IN TURKEY.—The *Courier de Constantinople* communicates the interesting news of a rain of manna having fallen at Yenishbehir, by which the inhabitants of that place have been plentifully supplied with food in the form of a hazel nut, but capable of being ground into meal. A kilo of it is sold there for twelve piastres, while the bread prepared from this mysterious product of heaven is said to be most excellent.

CORRESPONDENCE.

14, Octagon, Plymouth, 11th May, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR,—I was much pleased with Mr. Smith's letter on the cultivation of the cane and manufacture of sugar, inserted in the LEAGUE of the 9th inst., and as a companion to it I send you a letter by a Tobago planter, addressed to the Editor of the *Tobago Chronicle*, and dated on the 29th of August, 1845, which not only corroborates Mr. Smith's statements but even goes beyond them. It is abundantly clear, from the statements of both writers, that the blacks are as ready to work as any other people when they receive fair wages for their work, and are assured of honest payment. The object of immigration is not to supply any deficiency of labour, but to overstock the labour market, and thus bring down the rate of wages. It is an aggravated form of slavery under the disguise of a new name, and without its legal responsibilities. It is a renewal of the slave trade at the expense of the resident labourers, and for which they have to thank those mistaken friends who imagine they best serve the cause of freedom by giving free-labour (?) produce a preference in the British markets.

I now remain, my dear sir, yours, faithfully,
A. W. PAULTON, Esq. WILLIAM HAMILTON.

PROFITS OF SUGAR CULTIVATION IN THE
WEST INDIES.

To the Editor of the *Tobago Chronicle* and *Royal Gazette*.

SIR,—Since the period of freedom, almost every planter in this island has bitterly complained of the ruinous returns of his sugar cultivation, and it is seldom I have spoken with any parties on the subject of our prospects but they look to me for sympathy in their want of prosperity; and not a few thought proper to remark that, within six months of the period of my purchase of Arno's Vale Sugar Plantation (it was placed in my possession on the last day of February, 1844), there would not be a cane or labourer on that estate. To show how utterly mistaken my kind friends have been in their prognostications, I beg leave, through your columns, to lay before my neighbours the accompanying debtor and creditor account for the crop just shipped, which I pledge myself to be correct. Up to the 18th October, 1844, I employed a manager, but, I thank God, I find myself capable of managing my own affairs, and can do better without one. I am also my own attorney, and my own book-keeper, all which, in these times, is important to a renter or proprietor, as it saves a few hundred pounds per annum, in one shape or other, and makes a man master of his own business, and prevents his falling into expensive and, it may be, indifferent hands. An experienced planter estimates my ensuing (1846) crop at upwards of 100 hhds.; but I calculate upon 90 hhds.; which (seasons permitting) will be an increase of 10 hhds. upon 1845 crop; and mark! my expenses will be less. I recommend proprietors at home to rent their plantations. An industrious renter on the spot would be, in these difficult times, deeply interested in the soil, and in the welfare of the labouring class; would exert every means to improve the capabilities of the property; and, by being frugal at all ends, might reap a fair remuneration for his hard services. But it is evident to all who dare to speak out, that proprietors resident in Europe, employing multifarious agents both at home and in the colonies, may expect, on poor estates nothing but ruin, and on the very best, but little short of it. The maximum of my wages is 8d. per diem. I have 110 people on my pay list, constantly engaged; and, instead of Arno's Vale being abandoned, I refused, in the past month, the aid of no less than 12 effective labourers. In writing this letter I do not mean anything offensive to any man or set of men, but I think it time to speak the bare truth, and put down the malignant observations that are occasionally hurled at those who are as independent as your most obedient servant.

Arno's Vale, 29th August, 1845. JOHN KITSON.

Expenditure and Receipts at Arno's Vale Estate for one year, from the 1st of August, 1844, to the 1st of August, 1845.

To	Dr.	£	s.	d.	By	Cr.	£	s.	d.
31½ tons of coals at 20s.					80 hhds. of Sugar,				
per Barbara Gordon	36	4	6		40 inch truss				
Lighterage on ditto	4	10	0		hoops; average				
45 hhds. at 18s.	40	10	0		price, 17½ per				
Insurance	1	0	0		hogshead	1360	0	0	
17 tons, 5 sacks, at 23s.					33 puncheons of				
per Helen	19	18	0		Rum, proof, 19,				
Lighterage	2	10	0		20, 21, at an average				
22 hhds. at 18s.	22	10	0		price of 7½				
4 kls. temper lime	4	0	0		per puncheon	231	0	0	
20 bundles, wood hoops	3	3	0		31 puncheons of				
Oats, 10 4-6th quarters	10	10	0		Molasses	139	10	0	
Lighterage	0	12	0						
33 puncheons at 18s.	29	14	0						
1 barrel, beef	5	0	0						
6 baskets potatoes, at 3s	0	18	0						
1 large bell	3	3	0						
3 hms, weight, 60lb. at 1s	3	0	0						
30 iron bars	6	5	0						
45 feet pitch pine scant-									
ling, 17s, insurance 1½	1	17	0						
3 barrels, lime	1	4	0						
1 horse, 10l. 10s.; 1 ass,									
5l.; 150 fire bricks, 30s	16	10	0						
Pay list	459	2	6						
Blacksmith's work, with									
horseshoeing	6	5	0						
Porter, wine, brandy,									
&c., for house use	30	0	0						
31 Molasses puncheons									
at 18s.	27	18	0						
Sundries, and doctor's									
charge	30	18	0						
2 jars, temper lime,									
purchased in town	1	12	0						
1000 feet of lumber	5	4	10						
Plank, 11s. 2d., and 50									
fire bricks, 10s.									
Taxes, 23l. 10s.	24	17	2						
11 hhds. coals in new									
hhds. from Scotland,									
at 20s., landed in the									
Bay	11	0	0						
Commission on 11 hhds	0	11	0						
Nails, rivets, and hoops	2	10	0						
3 months' salary for									
Manager, from 1st									
August to 18th Oct.,									
1844	21	12	0						
This sum paid Engi-									
neer for 1 year	3	4	0						
Overtime for crop	38	10	0						
Paid carriage of burnt									
cane	7	0	0						
3 doz. of loes at 17s.	2	11	0						
Total disbursements	805	4	10						
Balance due the estate	835	5	2						
	1730	10	0						

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

Birmingham, May 13, 1846.

SIR,—I have read with much interest your remarks on what fell from me at a recent meeting on the subject of abridging the hours of labour, and beg to thank you for the very friendly, as well as candid, spirit by which they are distinguished. I wish, however, to correct what seems to me to be a misapprehension on your part as to the particular aim of my observations. I concur entirely in your views, both as to the ultimate beneficial effects of Free Trade, and as to its certain and early triumph over the mistaken policy of protection. I therefore hail the changes advocated by the present Government as measures of infinite value and importance. But I hold that, even when these are carried, much will still remain to be done before the industrious classes can reap the full advantage of their skill and patient toil, in the attainment of that legitimate share of rest and leisure which all the discoveries of modern science and all the aids of improved art, as applied to agriculture and manufactures, have hitherto failed to secure to them. The laws by which the weight of our heavy taxation may be equitably apportioned—the laws which, under a sound and natural system, regulate the distribution of that wealth which is due to the exertions of the producing classes—are yet, I think, imperfectly understood, or only partially acknowledged. So long as this is the case,—so long as an artificial and erroneous system takes the place of those natural laws, so long, in my opinion, may there be need for artificial restraints and legislative interference to protect those who can so ill protect themselves—the overtaken women and children of this overworked country.

These are the views to which my observations were meant to refer. Whether they be just, or otherwise, is a question, with the discussion of which I have no right to occupy your valuable space. I write to offer an explanation of words which I conceive you to have misunderstood; and to that explanation I wish strictly to confine myself.

I am, Sir, your obliged and faithful servant,
WM. SCHOLEFIELD.

THE SHORT TIME BILL.—A letter addressed by Mr. J. Eccles, a well known cotton spinner and manufacturer of Blackburn, to the editor of the *Blackburn Standard*, gives an account of the results of an experiment made by him, similar to those made by Messrs. Horrocks, Miller, and Co., and by Mr. Greg:—"I find that the result of my late trial of working 11 in place of 12 hours is exactly the same as that of Messrs. Horrocks, Miller, and Co., of Preston; and also of Messrs. Greg, of Bollington; say a loss of 7½ per cent. of work. Now I am bound to say that this is a much greater loss than I expected, or than I was led to believe would be the result both from past experience (as referred to in my former letter) and from the conviction of those in my employ who were desirous of trying the plan. I may explain to you that my machinery is now all on the self-acting principle, and is, consequently, moved by the steam-engine, and, therefore, is much less dependent on manual labour than the hand mules; and it was to these I had reference in my former address. It is well known that the cost and fixing of self-acting mules is nearly, if not quite, double that of hand-mules; and they dispense with what will be acknowledged by all persons conversant with the matter the most arduous employment in cotton mills. The loss in spinning was greater than in weaving; but in consequence of starting some new looms, and altering others at the time, I could not draw a fair comparison of the difference." The results of Mr. Eccles's experiment are the more important, as he is well known to be decidedly favourable to a diminution of the hours of labour; and because, as may be gathered from his letter, he was of opinion, previously to his experiment, that no material diminution of produce would arise from the abridgment of the time of working.—*Manchester Guardian*.

FACTS FOR THE MONOPOLISTS.—Facts are continually transpiring which prove the groundlessness of the prediction, that Free Trade will ruin the agriculturist. At all the markets in the north of England, the prices of all kinds of stock have for some time been inconveniently high; and this description applies to the sales by auction which have taken place throughout Northumberland at the May term, just past. Horses, which were last year scarcely saleable at any price, now realise twice the sum then asked; lean cattle are bought with avidity at good prices; and the demand for sheep greatly exceeds the supply. To show that this general account is not exaggerated, we will narrate more particularly the prices given at the sale of Mr. Johnson's stock, at Chillingham Newton, near Wooler, on Thursday last. The short-horned cows averaged about 45l. each, some bringing nearly 70 guineas; bulls ranged from 30 to nearly 90 guineas; the best one fetching 90l. 10s. and a year old bull 51l. 10s. The two year old queys averaged from 41l. to 42l., the one year olds within a trifle of 30l., and the calves between 15l. and 17l. Draught horses averaged 36l., the best selling at 50 guineas. Tups and tup hogs sold for 16 or 17 guineas, and ewes and lambs for four guineas. Surely these are prices high enough to cheer the heart of the most desponding protectionist. We cannot believe that, with these facts before them, the Dukes of Richmond and Cleveland will again venture to talk of the "alarmed agriculturist," still less of "the ruined farmer;" for it is deserving of remark, that though several foreign breeders and dealers were present, they failed, with only one exception, to outbid our native breeders. This proves that our farmers do not mean to abandon stock breeding as a hopeless attempt to compete with foreigners. But Mr. Johnson's farm supplies a still more "telling" fact. The new tenant, we are informed, has taken it at an advance of rent, over that paid by Mr. Johnson, of no less than 300l. a year. And this with a certainty of Free Trade! It is gratifying to know that our agricultural labourers participate in this prosperity. At the hirings held here and at Morpeth, last week, both male and female farm servants were engaged readily at advanced wages. We leave our readers to draw their own conclusions.—*Newcastle Advertiser*.

At the last meeting of the Royal Agricultural Society, Mr. Fuller, M. P. transmitted from the Rev. James Williams one of the potato-eye scoops used in North Wales, along with a statement of his experience in the improvement in the bulk of the potato as food after the extraction of the eye, around which the development of the vegetative principle being the strongest, the removal of such portion along with the eye removes, in his opinion, the cause of that "strong" flavour found in the potato at this season of the year.

A BROTHERLY COMPLIMENT.—"OCTOBER 10th, 1688.—Up, to walk up and down the garden with my father, to talk of our concerns; about a husband for my sister, whereof there is at present no appearance; but we must endeavour to find her one now, for she grows old and ugly."—*Pepys*.

PASSAGES FROM THE LIFE OF AN ENGLISH FARMER.

PASSAGE I: *Indicating what kind of man he was.*

Mr. Hurst took a hammer from his pocket and a nail; and when he had closed the gate of the Wellburn field, he drove the nail into the post above the latch. He then tried to lift the latch, and could not; and then he shook the gate with his arm outstretched, and it was firm. After that, he took the faggots of thorn which old Adam had cut from the hedge with his bill-hook, and warped them into the bars of the gate—the rough heads undermost, to keep out the pigs. When all was finished, he looked across the field, and said the second week of May was late to sow barley; still, if it pleased God, they might have a good crop even yet.

And old Adam said, "Ees, master, an' it please God."

Mr. Hurst then bade Adam go home with him to the farmhouse. Whereat, when they arrived, the other men of the farm who held the ploughs, and the lads who drove the ploughs, and the head carter, and the threshers, and the shepherd, were all seated in the kitchen on the forms around the large table. And Mrs. Hurst had put bread on the table and beer, and the round of beef, and the cold chine of pork, and the cheese; and Mr. Hurst said he was glad to see it all ready, and bade the men begin. It had always been his custom, and the custom of his father and grandfather, in Berryhill farm, to give God thanks and the men their supper at the end of seed-time and harvest; and he would not, he said, let the custom go down, if he could keep it up. Yet this might be the last seed-time they would all see in Berryhill together. The great event which had just happened, and which they were all to be engaged in, the last duties of to-morrow might bring about changes on the Berry estate which none there assembled would like to see.

All of them said they hoped nothing would happen to put Mr. Hurst out of Berryhill farm; or if they did not all say so, they looked as if they would have all said so had it been necessary for all to speak. Even the boys who drove the teams at plough, and scared the birds from the seed corn, seemed as if they would have said they hoped Mr. Hurst would never go out of Berryhill, had not their mouths been so full of bread and meat that they could not speak. Old Adam said he remembered that time one-and-fifty years as if it had been yesterday, when the last event of the kind happened, and that was the year before Mr. Hurst was born, and he was not sure but there was barley in the Wellburn field that very year.

And then he reckoned how many times he had known barley in that field; how many times he had mown it, and how often it had been reaped; and how many bushels an acre he had known on it in the best years; and what was the price of barley in those years, and what the price of wheat; and when wheat was at a certain price, what bread was at a gallon. And Mr. Hurst told what he had made per acre from that field, after paying the rent and all charges, in some years when it was barley, and some years when it was wheat. And the shepherd told of the ewes with two lambs, and these lambs he had seen in that field when it was grass. And the ploughman said they had never turned up soil and harrowed in seed in better order than the soil was that day. And Mr. Hurst said, that to their credit he must say the ridges had never been more neatly finished off, and the water furrows drawn more evenly and expeditiously in any field on Berryhill farm since he had known it as had been done in the Wellburn that day. And the two young men who drew the water furrows in the ridges after they had been sown and harrowed, were so pleased to hear their master speak of their work in such a measure of praise, that tired as they were, they would have gone out on that instant and furrowed up twenty fields if the work had been required, and never have felt the shadow of discontent upon them. They would have done anything to please Mr. Hurst, and one another—run a race, leaped the hurdles, danced a hornpipe, or sung a song; and they were so near the singing point of good fellowship, that Mr. Hurst, perceiving it, said "No, not on this occasion. We have always had a song on such nights as this before; but the solemn and mournful duty we shall be all engaged in to-morrow must forbid singing and jollity to-night."

And then, speaking of what was to be done to-morrow, he said the horses not wanted to go in the procession would be turned into the meadow to grass. Diamond and Dick, the two black nags, would be taken to Crookley Down, to join the procession; and as Adam was old, and not able to walk as he once could, he had better get the second riding saddle and put it on Rosy, and ride. But Adam said he would not ride. Mr. Hurst pressed on him that for his own comfort he should do so. But Adam said no, it would trouble him too much to get on and off; he was too old to ride. Besides, the nobles and the gentry would be all riding, on horses or in coaches; no, he would not ride; he would walk on foot. He had walked on foot on the last occasion of the kind, this time one-and-fifty years, and he would walk now.

Whereupon, Mr. Hurst said they would, in that case, turn Rosy into the meadow, with the other horses. And he soon after bade them all good night, and reminded them that to-morrow would soon be here. Upon which the men departed, and went to their own houses; and agreed as they went that the sky looked as if to-morrow would be a fine day.

PASSAGE II: *Foreshadowing a change.*

The morning of to-morrow came, and it came early. It had no mountains of clouds to climb over to make it late; no fogs to wade through, to make it ill-humoured and out of countenance. It came overflowing with the joy of the year's youthfulness. It came hand-in-hand with young summer; not the full-grown, full-dressed, blooming June, but with May in her girlhood—fairy-footed, happy, romping young May. On her head were the first of the forest leaves, and sprigs of budding hawthorn, from the hedge-rows. Around her feet were the flowers that childhood loves—the field-daisies, and the cowslips. She tripped along the copse-wood sides, where the cowslips grow, and stood on tiptoe and looked into birds' nests. She found the diligent thrush on her warm eggs, and dried the dew from her back, and bade her mate sit on the next bough and sing to her, and make her happy. She bade the bees, that had not been with

her since last year, come with her, and she would show them where blooming gardens were, and orchards. And the cherry blossoms that had slept all night in the darkness, and the dew, woke, and opened their eyes as infants do; and she kissed away their tears; and bade them, and the birds, and the bees, join all together, and bloom, and work, and sing. She found the young Forget-me-not, infant of its race, and she embraced it, welcomed it to the world, and called it pretty. The primroses, then growing old, and the daisies, that are never old, she found on the grassy margin of the farm fields, where horses, and ploughs, and heavy-footed men had trampled and crushed them; and she lifted their bruised heads and healed them, and made them look up and bloom as if they had never been trodden on.

Wherever she set her young foot and breathed her sweet breath, deadness came to life, and age took upon itself a new youth. So frolicsome was she that she would touch the log, felled last winter, that had neither root nor branch, but which lay at the carpenter's shop to be sawn into boards, and even it would put out buds and leaves. Not even the despised turnip, from the farm-fields, which had fallen into the winter ditch, and was there abandoned as too worthless to be recovered, did she despise and think too mean. She touched it; and it felt the hand of life upon it, and put forth its feeble shoot to lay hold of that hand. And it grew in strength, and raised itself higher and higher every day, until it burst forth in bloom, as if in gratitude and praise to the Author of all life, whose summer angel had come upon the earth and had not overlooked even it, the lowliest and the lost.

Early as the morning came, Mr. Hurst and his men came forth from bed as soon. The horses not to be used that day were turned out, for the first time that year, to grass; and the very oldest of them, even old Captain, who could hardly reach a slow trot on other days, snorted and threw up his hind-heels, and lay down and tumbled, and got up again and cantered, so pleased was he with liberty and the first day of summer grass. As for the younger nags, they careered at the gallop to the farthest end of the meadow, below Berry turnpike and up again, and into the river itself. And the ass followed them routing with delight; and the cows, always sober and disposed to graze peacefully at that time of the morning, raised their tails and hobbled after the ass and the slowest of the horses. And the geese with their goslings, and the old drake, waddled to the meadow and cackled and ate grass, though it was ordered they were not to go there; and the sows and the young pigs went too, and gave much trouble to the boys who were sent to bring them back again.

And the boy Adam, grandson of old Adam, was out at the Wellburn field as early as any bird of the morning, to keep the rooks and the wood pigeons from the barley-seed sown yesterday. And never had rooks to contend with a more vigilant watcher of a newly-sown field; for this was young Adam's first day at working for wages. All the work he had done before had been voluntary, and paid for by a hunch of bread and cheese. Now he was hired, and this was his beginning. Not a rook alighted nor came within sight of him, even on wing, but he shouted to it. And he not only walked round and round the field—he sometimes ran; and though he more than once asked himself what he was running for, he ran again, he was so light-spirited, and so pleased to be working for wages. He knew the squire was dead; but if he had been made squire in his stead he could not have been more happy than he was at being advanced to earn fourpence-halfpenny a-day, and to have his dinner in a bag with him, to eat it in the field, at whatever hour he chose. He knew all the people were going to meet the squire's funeral coming from London, at Crookley Down, or that those who did not go to Crookley Down to meet it would go to the top of Morton-hill, to see it coming, and that Morton-hill was three miles away, and that nobody would be left within that space of three miles but himself. Still he was pleased, even to be left alone, because he had been told that the care of everything on the farm had been left to him.

And by the hour before mid-day not a human being but himself was left on three miles of country between Berryhill farm and Morton hill—all had gone to meet the squire's funeral coming from London. But long before that hour, the rooks had discovered that the watcher of the seed corn had nothing more formidable to keep them off than his loud voice and a stone thrown at them if they came near enough, and which stone they could avoid, and still pick up the seed.

And they did pick up the seed, and the solitary watcher could not prevent them; but at last they flew away, one after the other, until only two were left, and everything around him was silent, and he almost wished that those two would not go away. But first one of them, and then the other, flapped its wings, and rose into the air, and circled round him, and went away and left him alone. And the shining sun had also gone, and the south was black. Morton-hill had its darkly-wooded north side towards him, and it was black. Everything was still, not a chirrup of a bird was heard, and he thought he felt the shadow of the dark woodlands of Morton-hill, and of the black clouds above them, falling upon him, and going into him, and taking all the pleasant thoughts that were in his mind, and turning them upside down, and making them horrid and fearful. One of these fearful thoughts was, that this might be the last day; that everybody and everything was perhaps dying or dead, and nobody left in the world but himself; that the whole world was putting on black to go to its own funeral!

There was a tree; he would go up into that tree and look all round, and see if there was any living or moving thing within sight. And he did so, and almost fell from the tree with fear when he saw the white roads in the valley below him covered with a moving black line of people, and horses and coaches more than a mile in length.

It was the squire's funeral; and as it moved on, the darkness of the sky grew deeper, and the air became denser and hotter, and more silent and solemn, until about the time when the coffin was laid in the family vault of the old Abbey; at which time there was not an unweeping eye in or near the Abbey grounds—for he had been a good squire, and many mourned for his death, and those who did not weep for grief wept because others did so—they could not restrain tears upon a sorrowing day, in sorrowing company.

The darkness of the sky grew deeper, the clouds came nearer, and pressed the hot thick air to the earth; and as the people turned from the death vault of the Abbey, and came out of the Abbey doors, the firmament seemed to have come down from its place in the heavens, and to stand upon the earth, and crowd into a heap the hearse and mourning coaches and black horses, and the horsemen and the foot people, as if it would suffocate them, and lay them all where they had been laying the squire's coffin.

Not one of them but expected to see every moment a flash of lightning followed by a burst of thunder. But there was no thunder. Drops of rain—slow, large, and uneven in their slow

dropping—came down. Then they ceased. Then they began again, and once more ceased. And gusts of wind, that seemed to rise from the dead, came through the Abbey doors and made the plumes of the hearse flutter, and made weak women, and men weaker than women, think they saw ghosts upon the wing escaping among the trees by the chance of the Abbey vaults being open.

And the wind rose into conflict with the rain, and neither yielded to the other; both came on pouring and blowing, and the heat went as if it had never been a warm day, and left nothing but cold, and people shivering in the cold and the wet for the remainder of that day; or marvelling when they kindled good fires at home to warm and dry themselves, that the weather should have changed so unaccountably; or prophesying when they tried to warm and dry themselves, and could not become comfortable, that, "who could tell but this day was the forerunner of evil days to Berry estate!" The old told the young of such foreshadowing of changing fate, which they had heard of in their young days. And the young did not resist the prophecy.

And evil days to Berry estate did come, and to Berryhill Farm before long. But when we recount, as we may possibly do in a few other passages of Mr. Hurst's life, the causes that brought about those evil days, we shall see that the state of the weather at the old squire's funeral was not one of them, though the death of the squire was.

ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH.

THE "MARK LANE EXPRESS" AND FREE TRADE.—We noticed on Wednesday last, the leaning which the *Mark Lane Express* was beginning to show towards Free Trade opinions. In its number of Monday last, the bias is still more decided; indeed, its principal article would have been quite in character in a journal devoted to Free Trade. The writer says:

"It is passing strange that, despite the serious apprehensions of a considerable number, and the positive conviction of a great proportion of the agricultural body, that the proposed measures of the Government, if passed into law, will most materially affect the profits to be derived from the cultivation of the soil, there seems no lack of disposition to embark capital in the pursuit, that improved appliances are brought in aid with more earnestness than heretofore, and an increased vigour manifested incompatible with the dreary prospects that would seem to await the result of their labours. We are sensibly alive to the indomitable perseverance of our countrymen; we know that there are no men more brave, more resolute, more determined, or who will advance on a forlorn hope with more firmness and determination; but yet, forlorn though it be, there is even in that case a 'hope.' Must we then come to the conclusion that the British farmers are resolved to display in their peaceful occupation that spirit of determination to meet an ordeal which threatens ruin to themselves and families, entertaining still the 'hope' that the result may not be forlorn, but that they may surmount the difficulties and dangers which seem to await them? We conscientiously believe that such is the case with many of those who entertain serious apprehensions for the future. If such be the spirit of the British farmer, that tricked and deceived as he has been, he is prepared to exert his energies in the pursuit of his occupation, and that he is met by his landlord in such a manner as the exigencies of the times require, who can form an estimate of the probable produce of the soil of the United Kingdom?"

If, as the *Mark Lane Express* anticipates, the farmers are disposed to manifest a spirit of determination, in their struggle with their foreign competitors, we quite agree in the conclusion, that no one can form an idea of the prosperity to which agriculture may attain.

M. GUIZOT ON FREE TRADE.—The discussion on the commercial treaty between France and Belgium was resumed on Monday in the Chamber of Peers, and derived all its interest from a speech delivered by M. Guizot on his commercial policy, and which the honourable member wound up thus:

"Putting aside the legitimate interests of Free Trade, which I am far from disavowing, there are others which call for the attention of the Government. There is always at a given time a defined state in the capital employed in production, and in the same way a defined state of national labour. It is a serious act to cause disorder in a capital thus employed, either as regards its investments, or the use it is turned to: it is a serious act to cause disorder in the labour of production—to change it, or displace it. Numerous interests would suffer from it—interests which have as urgent a claim to protection as any others. The evil consequences would be still greater, as influential and political interests would be compromised."

"This is a question of public interest—one of those state questions which demands the undivided attention of a Government. I do not say this to reject in an absolute manner all change in the economical system; I do not mean to say that greater concessions must not be allowed to Free Trade than have already been conceded; I am far from thinking so; its end is an increase of intercourse between nations, the maintenance of the blessings of peace, and the establishing of that peace on a firm footing; but the first condition of this great work is to proceed generally, and not to strike a sudden blow in the established order of things, which, instead of being salutary, would cause disorder. This is an imperative duty of the Government—a part and parcel of all well-founded legitimate and healthy policy. And in the great example, so often quoted in the Chambers, and which is taking place at our very gates, you may be assured that this principle is much more respected than it seems to a first and superficial glance."

"Gentlemen, our commercial policy has not neglected any one of the great duties imposed upon it; it has acted in a liberal spirit, tending to remove the obstacles that separate nations; to facilitate and extend their commercial relations; to consolidate them by a general harmony so dear to all; such has ever been the aim of our commercial policy. But at the same time, as was its duty, it remained conservative, avoiding to occasion any disorder in the state of things actually established in the investment of capital and of the labour whence riches are derived. This was our duty, and we trust we have fulfilled it. We are convinced that any Government in its senses and any length of time in power, will feel, as we have felt, the imperious necessity of accomplishing it. This was the twofold idea which presided over all our acts of commercial policy, over the treaty now under discussion, as over the other treaties concluded between Sardinia and the kingdom of Naples, as over other commercial negotiations now pending. We do not mean to say that policy in general is a stranger to these transactions; we hold that national industry owes a tribute to national policy; but we at the same time deem it the duty of the Government to restrict this tribute within the smallest limits; to ward off from industry as well as from other great public interests, all disorder, all sudden change, which, being unexpected, might be fatal."

SODA.—When this article was "protected" by a duty its sale was unimportant. A first-rate grocer in a town like Leicester, for instance, would think 2 cwt. a large order to give a traveller at one time. Now, however, that the article is entirely exempted from duty, the same grocer ordered 10 tons' weight instead of 2 cwt. When it was proposed to take the duty off, the manufacturers of the article, like the landed interest with corn, petitioned against its removal, and predicted their own removal in consequence. So great, however, has been the demand for the article, that it is exported to nearly every part of Europe and to America, as well as to our colonies.—*Leicester Chronicle*.

AGRICULTURE.

DEFEND THE LABOURERS FROM PROTECTION.

It seems that the squires of Dorsetshire are determined to keep up their notoriety to the last. Known throughout Europe as the scandal of Britain, they persist in blazoning their shame in the House of Commons. Dorsetshire is the county in which, of all England, landlordism reigns supreme. The squirearchy dispose of the county representation at their will and pleasure. Game preserving is the rule of the county; good farming the exception, if it exists at all. The labouring population is said to be redundant, yet there is less capital, and a smaller number of hands employed to the acreage in farming the cultivated lands in Dorsetshire than in any other English county. What more need be said? Yet it must be added, that there are wide tracts of land, now in waste and woodland, which only require to be cultivated to give full employment to the labouring population. Moreover, if the Dorsetshire vales were to be completely drained, as they ought to be, the county would not produce labourers enough to do the work. Nor would there be any difficulty in finding farmers to farm Dorsetshire as well as Lincolnshire is farmed. But landlordism, surrounded by hosts of obsolete notions and fantastic prejudices, bearing in its heart the direst feelings of tyranny, forbids it; and, meanwhile, how fare the Dorsetshire labourers? Why, it was made a moot point in the House of Commons a few nights ago, by two protectionist Dorsetshire members, whether the average rate of wages for able-bodied men in Dorsetshire is 7s. or 7s. 6d. a week!!

It appears that the senior member for the county, Mr. G. Bankes, made the destitute condition of the Irish peasantry the ground of some attack on the policy of the Government—forgetful of the old proverb about those who live in glass houses—and drew down upon himself the retort that in his own county, and on his own estates, the destitution and degradation of the labouring classes might be stated as a parallel case to that of Ireland.

Mr. R. B. Sheridan, member for Shaftesbury, in Dorsetshire—a gentleman who seems to want the logical faculty of drawing conclusions from premises, who looks one way and goes another, argues against, and votes for, monopoly—had just published, in the *Times*, a correspondence between himself and the Poor Law Commissioners, with respect to the refusal of a Board of Guardians to give relief to an agricultural labourer, whom Mr. Sheridan thought to be entitled to it. Mr. Sheridan's letter was reprinted in *THE LEAGUE* of last week. The substance is this,—he was applied to by labourers in full employment to interfere on their behalf, that the men earned but 7s. a-week, out of which they had 1s. 6d. a-week to pay for rent, were compelled by their employers to take inferior grain at full market price, and paid at the rate of 9d. per acre for a bit of potato ground. Mr. Sheridan visited them, and found them at dinner on “boiled horse-beans and turnip-tops.” We do not know that any details can deepen the misery of such a picture, and it is beside our present purpose so to do. But there is one thing mentioned by the complaining labourers which distinctly marks the ordinary rate of Dorsetshire wages, namely that when at job-work, such as threshing, &c., the price is always so set that no more than 7s. a-week can be earned! That is a fact worth more as a guide to the rate of wages than all the assertions, general or particular, of all the landlords of the county.

Nevertheless, Mr. Floyer, one of the new members for Dorsetshire, freshly sent to Parliament to represent the monopolist landocracy of the county, ventured to charge Mr. Sheridan with the publication of falsehoods, and to deny that in Dorsetshire wages are so low as 7s. a week. Upon the third reading of Sir Robert Peel's Corn Bill, and immediately after the monopolist Marquis of Granby had based his defence of monopoly on the assumption that the wages of agricultural labourers vary with, and in proportion to, the price of corn, Mr. Sheridan came forward to correct the imputation on his own veracity. A few passages from that speech conclusively overturn the protectionist fallacies about rural wages, and place the Dorsetshire squires in no

very favourable light before the public. Mr. Sheridan said:

“It would be in the recollection of the house that the noble lord the Secretary for Ireland, in reply to some observations made by the senior member for the county of Dorset (Mr. G. Bankes), suggested that the honourable member would be more properly occupied in comparing the agricultural condition of the peasantry in Dorsetshire than that of the peasantry in Ireland. With all respect to the honourable member, he must say he thought this was very sound and wholesome advice, and he hoped that the honourable member and his colleagues would take it into their consideration.”

He then adverted to Mr. Floyer's contradiction of his own statement, as to wages in Dorsetshire, and said that he had in consequence written to several persons in the county, clergymen, guardians of unions, and so forth. The Rev. Sidney Godolphin Osborne, whose full exposure of the destitute condition and miserable abodes of the Dorsetshire poor our readers will remember, in reply said:

“I have read with much astonishment the speech of Floyer. I send you a statistical return of the Blandford Union, made three years ago, and I believe it to be true in the present year. At the time it was made I was chairman of the union, and tested its truth myself. In 1843 something between one-seventh and one-eighth of the whole population were paupers. The average pay of the union—the best, I believe, in the county—did not, I believe, reach eight shillings a week, including carters.”

And the Rev. Mr. Scott, brother of a monopolist member of that name, replied:

“I do not understand Floyer's saying that he never knew wages so low as seven shillings a week, for I have known several instances of the kind, and if you are below the mark in stating seven shillings as the average amount of wages, it is only sixpence under the mark.”

Nor is that all. Mr. Floyer is the Chairman of the Dorchester Board of Guardians; and although he had week after week signed his name to the application book for relief, in which 7s. are constantly named as the ordinary weekly wages, yet he ventured to assert in the House of Commons that he did not know any case in which wages so low had been paid. Thus writes the relieving officer of the Dorchester Union to Mr. Sheridan:

“I believe that the average wages in my district does not exceed more than from 7s. to 7s. 6d. per week; and I think that the extract which I send fully bears me out in that opinion.”

He had been asked whether any labourers had received more than 8s. a week, and his answer was, “I cannot point to any case in my district.” After reading the extract sent by the relieving officer, Mr. Sheridan said:

“As to the district of the Blandford Union, the wages there were on the average 7s. a week. House rent was high, the cottages dilapidated and unhealthy, and fuel scarce and dear. In the Monkton district wages were 8s.; house-rent, 1s. to 1s. 6d., but for this large gardens were attached to the cottages. About Anderton the wages were 7s. About Hilton, 7s., with low house rent. About Milpoint 7s., with house rent from 1s. 6d. to 2s. About Spetsbury from 7s. to 8s., house rent from 1s. to 1s. 6d. About Howton 8s., house rent, 1s. About Kingston from 7s. to 8s., with high house rent. Here, however, the labourers had potato ground free. Fuel, however, was scarce and dear. About Strickland wages were from 7s. to 8s., house rent, from 1l. to 3l. per annum. About Felton the wages for single men were 6s., for married men 7s.; house rent was high.”

He afterwards said these low wages were not exceptional cases, but rather form the rule, and added:

“Now, in the name of heaven, how could a man be up to his work on horse-beans and turnip-tops? He stated, in his place in Parliament, that the labourers' cottages were so small, so dilapidated, and so crowded, that they engendered disease and immorality, that their wages were scandalously low, quite inadequate for the support of the labourer and his family. These were not his opinions alone, they were the opinions of the resident clergy and gentry in the neighbourhood, and they were also the opinions expressed at a public meeting at Stourminster, by the noble lord the late member for Dorsetshire, an expression of opinion which, as he (Mr. Sheridan) believed, had cost him his seat in that house. Now, it might be said, how could he, with these opinions—with these details staring him in the face—how could he, after the expression of his desire for the improvement of the labouring classes, have the courage to oppose the measure which the right honourable baronet had brought in?”

Yet, with singular inconsistency, Mr. Sheridan said he “did not see how the withdrawal of all protection would have the effect of improving the condition of the agricultural labourer.”

Is Mr. Sheridan incapable of reasoning? At all events, on his own showing, they cannot be worse off than at present; and he admits that “the repeal of the Corn Laws will give a stimulus to trade and cause an increased demand for labour.” Does he suppose that such effects will not operate on Dorsetshire? Or, perhaps, he thinks that the prejudices of landlordism in that county are such as to bar every kind of rural improvement? Badly as

the Dorsetshire squires stand before the world, we do not believe they will long resist the tide of improvement in husbandry, which will set in with unrestricted trade, and that simply because their own interests will compel them to adopt a wiser course.

Yet, protectionist as he is, Mr. Sheridan completely overturns the plea for protection, founded on the interest it is pretended the labourers have in monopoly. He said:

“The noble lord opposite (Lord G. Bentinck) stated that the price of labour depended upon the price of corn. He did not agree with the noble lord in that—indeed, he thought that the question had been for ever set at rest. He maintained that in Dorsetshire wages never varied, whether wheat was 20l. or 10l. per load, and referred to a letter from a Dorsetshire labourer, complaining of the treatment experienced by his class at the hands of the farmers, who would not allow the labourer to earn more than 7s. a-week, which ‘made their lives bitter, and them to wish for the grave.’”

And again:

“He would remind the house that at this moment trade was flourishing and labour in demand; still he would venture his life that there had not been an increase in the wages of the Dorsetshire labourer; that now, when wheat was from 50s. to 60s. a quarter, the rate of remuneration to the agricultural labourer was the same as it had been last year, when wheat was 47s.”

When the Dorsetshire squires shall enable their tenants to improve their farms, by granting fair leases for long terms of years, without the reservation of game, then, and then only, will wages in Dorsetshire rise.

Mr. Floyer attempted to escape from his position:

“In his neighbourhood the common rate of wages was 7s. at the lowest, with a house free, a garden, some fuel, and a patch of potato ground—advantages which, taking the value of the house to be from 1s. to 2s. per week, might be estimated as raising the rate of wages to about 9s.”

Now, had this been true, the rate is scanty enough; but the truth is, the house-rent is usually, in ninety-nine cases out of every one hundred, paid by the Dorsetshire labourer out of his slender pittance of 7s. a-week. We say this advisedly, and upon the authority of those who have long known the wretched condition of the Dorsetshire peasantry. And we doubt whether the average is so high as 7s. a-week, for there are more able-bodied single men receiving less than that sum than the number of those who get 8s. And it must be remembered that the man who receives 8s. a-week is always carter, shepherd, or something of that sort, and gives extra labour fully equivalent to the additional weekly shilling.

However, refutation takes no effect on the monopolists. Facts seem to make no impression on their minds; for, notwithstanding the correction of a fellow monopolist, Mr. Miles with the utmost stolidity afterwards, during the same evening, asserted, “that protection was a system adapted to benefit the labourers!!!” How has the system of protection benefited the Dorsetshire labourers?

WHERE'S THE OBSTACLE TO GOOD HUSBANDRY?

There is something wrong somewhere in the farming business; else why are farmers alone, of all the industrious of the nation, unable to go alone? Why has it been said they must have “protection?” Why are they belaboured by every squire who gets a smattering of chemistry, and seeks to use it, like an alchemist, to convert his clods into gold, to uphold his rents?

But agricultural chemistry and scientific farming are not what farmers want. They must have something else first. Don't let us be misunderstood; we by no means depreciate the value of science in connection with husbandry. But it is of no use to talk about scientific farming to the yearly tenant, who incurs great hazard in undertaking even the most common improvements. We say advisedly, farmers are ready to farm with science and enterprise as soon as the landowners will let them.

Let the farmers look at the following description of their class, given by Mr. Cayley, the monopolist member for the North Riding of Yorkshire, and which he used as an argument for resisting the Government measure on the importation of corn:

“Mr. Ellis had been alluded to by the right hon. baronet, and portions of his evidence before the committee of 1826 quoted. He (Mr. Cayley) distinctly remembered the examination of Mr. Ellis (being one of the committee); but who was Mr. Ellis? He was a farmer and also a market gardener. Did the farmers of England consist of market gardeners? Were they all large farmers and men of education? Were they all of that class? No, they were not. They had risen from the labouring classes; many of them had been old servants in the employment of large landed proprietors, who looked forward with pleasure to the ultimate possession of a piece of land, and who eventually were

enabled to obtain that possession, by investing the earnings of their earlier years. SUCH MEN COMPOSED, IN HIS OPINION, THE MAJORITY OF THE FARMERS OF ENGLAND; the exceptions were those who had large capital, and those who received a liberal education. It was the former class—the smock-frock farmers, he might call them—who would be most affected by a repeal of the Corn Laws."

Hear this, ye farmers of England! Look at the above picture of your class drawn by one of your protectionist "FRIENDS!" This is the condition to which the monopolist squires would, if they could, reduce you—a bettermost kind of upper servants.

We deny that farmers with little capital are benefited by monopoly; on the contrary, they have suffered more from it than farmers of ampler means; but it seems now confessed that it is to protect the "old servant" class of farmers that the community is to be afflicted by monopoly.

But away with such silly twaddlers as Mr. Cayley, and their nonsense about "old servant" farmers, and let us see what those who write and speak for the farmers, the real farmers of England, are writing and talking about. Now the *Mark Lane Express* is perhaps the most accurate representative of farmers' opinions of the day, and what do we find the objects of that journal? Why, to justify the farmers from imputations of want of skill and enterprise, and to show that bigotted adherence to obsolete usages, which has so retarded agriculture, is not fairly attributable to the farmers; and it seeks to place the blame where blame is due, upon the landlords. Contrast the following remarks on the coming Corn Law with Mr. Cayley's puerilities:

"It is passing strange that, despite the serious apprehensions of a considerable number, and the positive conviction of a great proportion of the agricultural body, that the proposed measures of the Government, if passed into law, will most materially affect the profits to be derived from the cultivation of the soil, there seems no lack of disposition to embark capital in the pursuit, that improved appliances are brought in aid with more earnestness than heretofore, and an increased vigour manifested incompatible with the dreary prospects which would seem to await the result of their labours. We are sensibly alive to the indomitable perseverance of our countrymen: we know that there are no men more brave, more resolute, more determined, or who will advance on a forlorn hope with more firmness and determination; but yet, forlorn though it be, there is even in that case a 'hope.' Must we, then, come to the conclusion that the British farmers are resolved to display in their peaceful occupation that spirit of determination to meet an ordeal which threatens ruin to themselves and families, entertaining still the 'hope' that the result may not be forlorn, but that they may surmount the difficulties and dangers which seem to await them?"

Here is a quiet vein of sarcasm, directed to the loud-tongued prophets of ruin to farmers, from Free Trade; to which prophecies the farmers are calmly giving the lie by "embarking" more "capital in that pursuit."

But the issue does not rest with the farmer alone. He is ready to do his part, and more than his part; but how is he backed by the landlord? See what the farmers' advocate says on the subject:

"If such be the spirit in which the British farmer, tricked and deceived as he has been, is prepared to exert his energies in the pursuit of his occupation, and that he is met by his landlord in such a manner as the exigencies of the times require, who can form an estimate of the probable produce of the soil of the United Kingdom? We hear much of the necessity of stimulating the tenant farmers to increased exertion, of rousing them from their old jog-trot habits, of forcing them to cast aside their antiquated prejudices; but what, we ask, is the extent of reform required of the tenantry as compared with the landlords? We have no hesitation in asserting that, taking the landlords as a body so far as regards the management of their estates, and the tenantry as a body so far as regards the management of their farms, the former are centuries behind the latter."

This is strictly true. Nor do the landlords employ the most competent agents; but even the agents are far a-head of their employers, though often fearful drags upon enterprising farmers.

The tenants, however, have found out that to be successful, they must be secure of reaping where they have sown, and that they must attain social independence.

The writer proceeds to say:

"It is, however, gratifying to know that the tenant farmers are beginning to look into their real position, and that the relation of landlord and tenant will, beyond a doubt, be speedily better understood and better defined. We cannot concur in the opinion, that, in order to maintain a kind and friendly feeling between landlord and tenant, the latter must be kept in a state of dependence upon the former. In a primitive state of society, that species of connection might be not only agreeable but useful to all parties; but to the tenant farmer of these times, who possesses an educated mind and independent spirit, the surest bond of friendship between himself and his landlord will be, a reciprocity of interests, and the recognition of his just rights, as well of position as of property. By the time that the question of 'tenant right' has been discussed at the various farmers' clubs throughout the country (and we trust it will be in every one before the year 1846 has expired), we may hope that tenants generally will begin to understand the subject better, and that the landlords will see that instead of lessening the value of their estates, or decreasing their legitimate influence, it will have a direct tendency to increase both."

The abrogation of the delusions of protection was a necessary preliminary to the assertion of independence

by the tenant farmers; the game has been well opened for them by the Free Traders, and we shall be mistaken if the farmers do not play it out.

FLAX CULTURE.

The growth of flax is attracting the attention of vast numbers of farmers, who see that by the ordinary four-course system all has not been done for husbandry of which it is capable. We learn also that fabrics of flax are coming more into use than heretofore, and that there is every prospect of an increased demand for flax, which, however, at present sells at prices amply remunerative to the grower. At this time, therefore, the publication by Mr. Warnes of his book "On the Flax Crop, and the Use of its Seed" (printed by Clowes and Son) is very opportune.

The readers of THE LEAGUE will be well aware of the general outline of Mr. Warnes's plans. He grows flax; and in preparing the stalk for the spinner, employs at good wages so many men, women, and children, that it is quite clear, that should the growth of flax become general, it will at once furnish employment for all our (so-called) redundant agricultural population. The growth of flax too is very profitable; then why is it not more grown? There is a notion that it is an exhausting crop, and most leases forbid its cultivation; but it is not so, provided the seed be consumed on the farm for feeding stock. On the contrary, the cultivation of flax and consumption of the seed is one of the most certain means of improving the fertility of all kinds of soils. The great object required for the general introduction of flax culture is, that there should be persons to purchase the stalks in their raw state from the growers: for though the manufacture of the stalk into flax is not very difficult, it is not strictly a farming process, and will not be readily adopted by the general run of farmers. However, we have no doubt that as the growth extends, a class of flax-dressers will soon arise.

Another part of Mr. Warnes's plan is feeding cattle with the seed (linseed) crushed, boiled, and mixed with cut straw, grass, &c., and a little meal; and that in boxes, by which the manure is improved and economised.

We cannot give an extract from the book more useful to our farming readers than Mr. Warnes's description of his bullock boxes, which is as follows:

"It is impossible for the inexperienced to form a correct estimate of the advantages of box feeding cattle. The plan is simple and feasible,—its greatest recommendation. Lofty and incomprehensible theories have been too long obtruded upon the agricultural community, to the exclusion of those benefits which were absolutely within their grasp. The farmer's attention has been directed to fattening his cattle upon foreign food, and to the vain attempt of enriching his land by foreign manure, instead of obtaining both from the resources of his own farm. In attempting to point those out, I am sensible that I shall again be subjected to the fate of a prophet in his own country."

"The sketch in the appendix represents the elevation of one angle of my boxes, and the ground-plan of the whole; including passages, space for cribs, grinding, turnips, grass, and straw houses. The angle in which the cooking department is situated, consists of buildings that were formerly used as stables, &c. The whole is surrounded by a wall. The cost of erecting similar boxes, with the same advantage of a wall, including such materials and labour as could fairly be brought into the account, would average about 30s. a box, which would be repaid in a year. For instance, if the erection of a box costs 30s., and the bullock fattened in it pays that sum more than he would have done if grazed abroad, the money is of course returned to the pocket, and the box remains for future inhabitants. To be more explicit; let twenty bullocks be divided, and ten fattened in boxes, and ten in the yard or field. I assert that the former will pay 15l. more than the latter. But in justice to my own experiments, I must add that the advantage of box feeding would be from 2l. to 3l. per head, over the field or yard; and the extra expense of attendance amply repaid by the economy of the food."

"The description of these buildings is difficult, because however clear and explicit, it must convey ideas of magnitude and intricacy, while neither exists. To make ten boxes, a space will be required of 90 feet long and 12½ wide; then let a line be drawn from one end to the other, three feet and a half wide from the side most convenient for the passage. Next let the mould, to the depth of one foot, be excavated from the other part and thrown on the side intended for the front, and spread to the thickness of a foot deep. This will give two feet from the bottom of the boxes to the surface. A wall of brickwork, four inches wide and two feet high, is next to be built round the inside of this part excavated, and intersected at distances of eight feet and a half. At each angle the brickwork should be about nine or twelve inches square, which will both support the posts and afford strength and durability. Upon the wall a sill of wood is next to be placed, for which purpose large poles, either squared or split, are adapted. The foundation being now complete, posts six feet long, and the necessary sills and ties, may be placed upon it. Across the ties the most ordinary poles may be laid to support a roof composed of the trimmings from hedges and ditches, and completed with a thatch of straw or rushes. Two gates, according to the drawing, must be added to each box; one of which is to move on hinges, and the other to be secured to the top and bottom sills of the building, so as to be taken down at pleasure. Presuming that we have taken advantage of a barn or other walls on farm premises, the external part is finished. The internal has merely to be parted off with a few poles between each bullock and the passage separated by the cribs, which are to move up and down between the interior posts,

which are placed upon the angles of each box, and support the roof on the passage side.

"The superiority of box feeding, and summer grazing over any other system I shall attempt to point out next week. In the mean time, I offer the following questions for the calm consideration of all interested persons; and I hope their calculations will be made with the aid of their pen and ink, that when mine shall appear they may be compared, squared, and the balance drawn; and then, I feel persuaded, that the account will preponderate much in my favour. But there is a spirit in men worse than prejudice, which I do not expect to overcome, nor shall I make the attempt. Time is the best developer of all things."

"1st. What are the advantages to be obtained by feeding cattle in boxes, with turnips, and with or without the addition of artificial food?"

"2nd. With grass, or without the addition of artificial food?"

"3rd. What extra degree of efficacy may be expected from the box manure over that of the farm-yard?"

"In conclusion, I would observe that straw houses are very necessary appendages to the boxes. Their shape is immaterial, and structure simple. According to the space in the yard the circumference must be adapted. The earth should then be excavated to the depth of five or six feet, and a wall four inches thick of brick or stone be built from the bottom to the surface, which wall is then to be thickened and raised three feet higher, leaving a space for the door. Upon the wall planks are to be laid on posts five or six feet long attached, which are to be covered over with a roof, according to the elevation. A building of this kind, placed near the doors of a barn, will be found at all times most convenient to receive straw from the threshers; and being sunk in the ground, is rendered capable of containing an extra quantity of straw, particularly if trodden down by a horse."

We may mention that this plan of feeding with boiled linseed and cut straw, and making manure in boxes, is not confined to fattening cattle. We have adopted it with milch cows and young stock, with the best results. In feeding young stock, the proportion of straw to linseed would of course be much more than for fattening cattle. Nor is it necessary that the farmer should grow his own linseed.

In Mr. Warnes's book the farmer will perceive full accounts of his experiments, his plans, and their results; and he has illustrated his text with cuts which will be very useful to those who wish to adopt the plan of box feeding.

In recommending this work, we must not omit to guard the reader against some very croneous economical notions on the subject of Free Trade—home production, independence of foreigners, and so forth; but which, however, ought not to repel the intelligent farmer from the truly valuable suggestions made by Mr. Warnes, who often gives a bad reason for a very useful practice. Neither can we altogether overlook the writer's occasional flings at the League, which we suppose were necessary to keep up his reputation as a "protectionist;" for, assuredly, the whole scope of his work is to show, in practice, the utter absurdity of protection to agriculture.

Indeed, Mr. Warnes's quarrel with the League is founded on a mistake. He seems to suppose that the Free Traders have discountenanced and opposed the growth of flax. Nothing is further from the truth. The use made of the protectionist's recommendation to grow flax was this—we say you monopolists pretend that you require protection on wheat against foreign competition, and yet you recommend farmers to grow flax—an article altogether open to foreign competition; and the argument is one which has pinched the monopolists not a little. So far from opposing the system Mr. Warnes recommends, we ask him whether his plans have not met with more effective support, and been made more extensively known, through the medium of THE LEAGUE during the last six months, than by all the monopolist aid he has had from the very commencement of his exertions?

WHEAT, &c.—The following is an account "of the quantities of wheat, barley, oats, wheat-flour, and oatmeal, imported into Great Britain from Ireland, from the 5th day of March to the 5th day of April, 1846 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 162, of the present session)." Month ended the 5th of April, 1846:

	Quarters.
Wheat	19,540
Barley	10,148
Oats	80,802
	Cwts.
Wheatmeal or Flour	89,048
Oatmeal	50,360

CATTLE.—An account "of all cattle, sheep, and swine imported into Great Britain from Ireland, from the 5th day of January to the 5th day of April, 1846 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 25, of the present session," published by the House of Commons yesterday, gives the following results:

	Number.
Oxen, Bulls, and Cows	14,859
Calves	183
Sheep and Lambs	11,121
Swine	152,841

Since the year 1825, when the trade between Great Britain and Ireland was placed under coasting regulations, the official record of the interchange of produce and manufactures between the two countries (except in so far as the article of corn is concerned) has of necessity been discontinued. The foregoing return, therefore, has been framed from non-official documents collected at the ports of exportation, and consisting chiefly of printed market and shipping reports.

REVIEW.

The Life and Times of the Right Hon. Henry Grattan. By his Son, Henry Grattan, Esq., M.P. London: Colburn.

At a time when the affairs of Ireland attract a more than ordinary share of public attention, these volumes, which comprise nearly all that is valuable in the history of that country, and which supply materials for elucidating, and perhaps explaining, the principal anomalies in its social condition, are replete with interest and instruction, not merely to the statesman and politician, but to all who feel desirous to maintain the integrity of the empire. We differ from the estimable writer of these memoirs in the general inference he deduces from the record, but this does not lessen our estimate of the value of the record itself. We know not, indeed, a better repository of arguments for the maintenance of the union between England and Ireland than this work, a very disproportionate part of which is devoted to the advocacy of repeal. The very first measure advocated by the great patriot, "the Free Trade" for Ireland, involved in its principles an identity of commercial interests between the insular kingdoms which stand between Europe and the Atlantic, and must, if fairly developed, have compelled an identity of legislation. The spirit of monopoly delayed the union which was vainly sought as a boon by the Irish themselves in 1707. The spirit of monopoly rendered the measure so imperfect, that the attainment of its objects was long impossible; and the spirit of monopoly still prevents their complete realization.

It has been said that the Turks have only encamped in Europe. When Grattan was born, Ireland with more truth might be said to be merely garrisoned by that class on which the law conferred exclusively the privileges of political existence. But these garrisons submitted as reluctantly to English rule as the Beys in Egypt did to the sovereignty of the Sultan; and only consented to dependence because the strength of England was necessary to support their powers of oppression. Grattan attempted from these discordant elements to form a nation; it was a glorious effort—it was even magnificent as a failure. But, unlike most other failures of statesmen, Grattan accumulated in his struggle so many elements of good, and developed so many resources of power, that his ill success is fraught with more advantage to his country than most other nations have reaped from the most decisive triumphs of patriotism.

Henry Grattan was born in Dublin, July 3d, 1746. His father was Recorder of the city, and for many years its representative in Parliament, where he supported the system then pursued by the English Government towards Ireland. The difference in politics between the father and son was early developed; and the former, who died while Henry was a student in the University, alienated from him the paternal mansion. He lost his mother, to whom he was fondly attached, while qualifying for the bar in London, and she died so suddenly, that she had not time for taking the measures necessary for securing him the reversion of some landed property she had destined for his use.

Though Grattan had obtained high honours in the Dublin University, and had been a most diligent student while at the Temple, he did not exhibit any remarkable powers in his first essays as a lawyer; but his abilities as a politician becoming known to Lord Charlemont, that patriotic nobleman brought him in for one of his boroughs, and he took his seat in the Irish Parliament Dec. 11, 1775. At this time, the restrictions imposed on the manufactures and commerce of Ireland for the supposed benefit of England had reduced the country to a state of bankruptcy; and this distress was aggravated by an embargo which the Government imposed by proclamation on the export of provisions; but also, at this time, England was involved in a calamitous and expensive war with her American colonies; and as the struggle deepened, it became necessary to court the aid of Ireland by a conciliatory policy. The patriotism of the Irish senator and the policy of the English Minister had, however, to struggle against a pensioned Parliament. The Irish administration was nothing but a series of bribes and jobs. As Grattan said, in one of his earliest speeches, "Ministers had taken the jewels out of the crown, and had staked them against the liberties of the people." Grattan's motion for an address to the crown, simply setting forth the distressed condition of Ireland, was lost by a majority of 113 to 66.

About this time intelligence was received that the French meditated an invasion of the north of Ireland. The inhabitants of Belfast and Carrickfergus applied to the Government for protection, and were informed that the only force which could be spared for their defence amounted to about 60 troopers! The inhabitants armed themselves, formed independent companies, and assumed the name of VOLUNTEERS. Their example was contagious. Similar associations were formed in various

parts of the country; and the Lord Lieutenant, after having delayed until the enemies were almost in sight of the coast of Ireland, found himself obliged to furnish the volunteers with arms.

In Ireland and in England this has been generally represented as a great national movement. It was no such thing; it was, in fact, nothing better than an association of the partisans of the ascendancy—an armed Orange League, not to defend the rights of Ireland, but to prevent English participation in the plunder and oppression of the Irish Catholics. The demand for Free Trade was a land-lord cry to raise the price of produce at home by exporting to foreign markets; and it was accompanied by the formation of associations to prevent the import of English manufactures, Catholics being at the time excluded from every lucrative branch of manufacture, and even prohibited from residing in many of the corporate and market towns. Most of our readers have heard of the distich said to have been inscribed on the gates of Bandon:

"Turk, Jew, or Atheist,
May enter here, but not a Papist."

And they may also have heard of the clever retort by a poor scholar, when excluded from the anti-Popish town:

"Whoever wrote those lines, wrote well;
For the same is inscribed on the gates of hell."

We know not whether the poetic prohibition was literally emblazoned over the gates; but we know that its spirit was observed with the most rigid strictness, as any one may see who consults the strange records of impolicy and intolerance preserved in the Report on Irish Corporations. We have two lists before us,—that of the officers of the Volunteer companies who took the most active part in the great movement of 1782, and that of the officers of yeomanry corps and of the magistrates who exhibited the greatest barbarity and cruelty in the melancholy insurrection of 1798. The lists are almost identical. The most flaming patriots in the one period were the most bitter persecutors in the other. Let us not be misled by names. The "Free Trade" sought by the Volunteers in 1778 was simply freedom of exports to enrich landlords, and prohibition of imports to enrich Orange manufacturers. The combination was a decided fraud and wrong on the great mass of consumers—the Catholic population. It was significant of the real object of the movement, that its greatest demonstration was made on the 4th of November, 1779, King William's birth-day, and round the statue of that Orange idol in College Green.

We by no means assert that all the Irish patriots were patrons of ascendancy and monopoly. We believe that from the first such men as Grattan, Yelverton, and Hussey Burgh embraced in their view the whole Irish people. The following brief speech of Burgh's is decisive on that point:

"The usurped authority of a foreign Parliament has kept up the most wicked laws that a jealous, monopolising, ungrateful spirit could devise, to restrain the bounty of Providence, and enslave a nation, whose inhabitants are recorded to be a brave, loyal, and generous people; by the English code of laws, to answer the most sordid views, they have been treated with a savage cruelty; the words penalty, punishment, and Ireland, are synonymous, they are marked in blood on the margin of their statutes; and though time may have softened the calamities of the nation, the baneful and destructive influence of those laws have borne her down to a state of Egyptian bondage. The English has sowed their laws like serpents' teeth, and they have sprung up in armed men."

But assuredly this cannot be said of Fitzgibbon, Latouche, Langfield, Ogle, St. George, and Sir Richard Musgrave. None of these men had sympathy with the sentiments of the brilliant peroration in which Grattan wound up his speech on moving the Declaration of Right:

"Hereafter, when these things shall be history, your age of thralldom and poverty, your sudden resurrection, commercial distress, and miraculous armament, shall the historian stop at liberty, and observe, that here the principal men among us fell into mimic traces of gratitude,—they were awed by a weak ministry, and bribed by an empty treasury,—and when liberty was within their grasp, and the temple opened her folding doors, and the arms of the people clanged, and the zeal of the nation urged and encouraged them on, that they fell down, and were prostituted at the threshold."

"I might, as a constituent, come to your bar and demand my liberty. I do call upon you, by the laws of the land and their violation, by the instruction of eighteen counties, by the arms, inspiration, and providence of the present moment, tell us the rule by which we shall go,—assert the law of Ireland,—declare the liberty of the land."

"I will not be answered by a public lie, in the shape of an amendment; neither, speaking for the subjects' freedom, am I to hear of faction. I wish for nothing but to breathe, in this our island, in common with my fellow-subjects, the air of liberty. I have no ambition, unless it be the ambition to break your chain, and contemplate your glory. I never will be satisfied so long as the meanest cottager in Ireland has a link of the British chain clanking to his rags: he may be naked, he shall not be in iron; and I do see the time is at hand, the spirit is gone forth, the declaration is planted; and though great men should apostatise, yet the cause will live; and though the public speaker should die, yet the immortal fire shall outlast the organ which conveyed it, and the breath of liberty, like the word of the holy man, will not die with the prophet, but survive him."

"I shall move you, 'That the King's most excellent

Majesty, and the Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind Ireland."

We find that the Rowleys, the Steffingtons, and others who were supporters of the Declaration of Right, opposed the concessions which the English Government made to the Catholic body; and that these concessions were carried by the "Castle hacks," or the party which always voted as the Government directed. Thus the Catholics were indebted for the first measures of emancipation to the English Government, not to the Irish Parliament; and we may add, that in a preceding generation Sir Robert Walpole had to exert all the power and influence of England to prevent the Irish penal code from being rendered even more oppressive and disgraceful than it now stands. Grattan, on this occasion, made a noble profession of nationality:

"The question is now, whether we shall grant Roman Catholics the power of enjoying estates,—whether we shall be a Protestant settlement or an Irish nation? whether we shall throw open the gates of the temple of liberty to all our countrymen, or whether we shall confine them in bondage by penal laws? So long as the penal code remains, we never can be a great nation. The penal code is the shell in which the Protestant power has been hatched, and now it has become a bird, it must burst the shell or perish in it."

"In Holland, where the number of Roman Catholics is comparatively small, the toleration of their religion is an act of mercy to them; but in this country, where they form the great bulk of the inhabitants, it is an act of policy, an act of necessity, an act of incorporation. The question is not, whether we shall show mercy to the Roman Catholics, but whether we shall mould the inhabitants of Ireland into a people: for so long as we exclude Catholics from natural liberty and the common rights of men, we are not a people; we may triumph over them, but other nations will triumph over us. If you love the Roman Catholic, you may be sure of a return from him; but if you treat him with cruelty you must always live in fear, conscious that you merit his just resentment. Will you then go down the stream of time, the Roman Catholic sitting by your side, unblest and unblest, blasting and blasted?—or will you take off his chain, that he may take off yours?—will you give him freedom, that he may guard your liberty?"

"In Ireland, as connected with England, the indulgence we wish to give to Catholics can never be injurious to the Protestant religion,—that religion is the religion of the state, and will become the religion of Catholics if severity does not prevent them. Bigotry may survive persecution, but it never can survive toleration. But gentlemen who speak of the enormities committed by Catholics groaning under a system of penal laws, do not take into account the enlightening and softening of men's minds by toleration, nor do they consider that as they increase in wealth they will increase in learning and politeness."

"I give my consent to the clause in its principle, extent, and boldness; I give my consent to it as the most likely means of obtaining a victory over the prejudices of Catholics, and over our own; I give my consent to it, because I would not keep two millions of my fellow-subjects in a state of slavery, and because, as the mover of the Declaration of Rights, I would be ashamed of giving freedom to but six hundred thousand of my countrymen, when I could extend it to two millions more."

The independence of the Irish Parliament was unanimously asserted on the 16th of April, 1782. Grattan's speech, on proposing an address to the royal message, in which the claims of England to legislate for Ireland are asserted, has the solemn grandeur of a pæan:

"I am now to address a free people: ages have passed away, and this is the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that appellation."

"I have spoken on the subject of your liberty so often, that I have nothing to add, and have only to admire by what heaven-directed steps you have proceeded until the whole faculty of the nation is braced up to the act of her own deliverance."

"I found Ireland on her knees; I watched over her with an eternal solicitude; I have traced her progress from injuries to arms, and from arms to liberty. Spirit of Swift; spirit of Molyneux! your genius has prevailed! Ireland is now a nation! in that new character I hail her! and bowing to her august presence, I say, *Esto perpetua!*"

"She is no longer a wretched colony, returning thanks to her governor for his rapine, and to her king for his oppression; nor is she now a squabbling, fretful sectary, perplexing her little wits, and firing her furious statutes with bigotry, sophistry, disabilities, and death, to transmit to posterity insignificance and war."

"Look to the rest of Europe, and contemplate yourself, and be satisfied. Holland lives on the memory of past achievement; Sweden has lost her liberty; England has sullied her great name by an attempt to enslave her colonies. You are the only people—yon, of the nations in Europe, are now the only people who excite admiration, and in your present conduct you not only exceed the present generation, but you equal the past. I am not afraid to turn back and look antiquity in the face; the revolution—that great event, whether you call it ancient or modern I know not, was tarnished with bigotry; the great deliverer (for such I must ever call the Prince of Nassau), was blighted with oppression; he assented to, he was forced to assent to acts which deprived the Catholics of religious, and all the Irish of civil and commercial rights, though the Irish were the only subjects in these islands who had fought in his defence. But you have sought liberty on her own principle; see the Presbyterians of Bangor petition for the freedom of the Catholics of Munster. You, with difficulties innumerable, with dangers not a few, have done what your ancestors wished, but could not accomplish, and what your posterity may preserve but will never equal; you have moulded the jarring elements of your country into a nation, and have rivalled those great and ancient commonwealths, whom you were taught to admire, and among whom you are now to be recorded; in this proceeding you had not the advantages which were common to other great countries; no monuments, no trophies, none of those outward and visible signs of greatness, such as inspire mankind and connect the ambition of the age which is coming on with the example of that going off, and forms the descent and concatenation of glory; no; you have not had any great act recorded among all your misfortunes, nor have

you one public tomb to assemble the crowd, and speak to the living the language of integrity and freedom.

"Your historians did not supply the want of monuments; on the contrary, these narrators of your misfortunes, who should have felt for your wrongs, and have punished your oppressors with oppressions, natural scourges, the moral indignation of history, compromised with public villany and trembled; they excited your violence, they suppressed your provocation, and wrote in the chain which entrained their country. I am come to break that chain, and I congratulate my country, who, without any of the advantages I speak of, going forth as it were with nothing but a stone and a sling, and what oppression could not take away, the favour of heaven, accomplished her own redemption, and left you nothing to add and everything to admire.

"You want no trophy now; the records of Parliament are the evidence of your glory; I beg to observe, that the deliverance of Ireland has proceeded from her own right hand; I rejoice at it, for had the great requisition of your freedom proceeded from the bounty of England, that great work would have been defective both in renown and security; it was necessary that the soul of the country should have been exalted by the act of her own redemption, and that England should withdraw her claim by operation of treaty, and not of mere grace and condescension; a gratuitous act of Parliament, however express, would have been revocable, but the repeal of her claim under operation of treaty is not; in that case, the legislature is put in covenant, and bound by the law of nations, the only law that can legally bind Parliament; never did this country stand so high; England and Ireland treat *ex æquo*. Ireland transmits to the King her claim of right, and requires of the Parliament of England the repeal of her claim of power, which repeal the English Parliament is to make under the force of a treaty which depends on the law of nations—a law which cannot be repealed by the Parliament of England.

"I rejoice that the people are a party to this treaty, because they are bound to preserve it. There is not a man of forty shillings freehold that is not associated in this our claim of right, and bound to die in its defence; cities, counties, associations, Protestants and Catholics; it seems as if the people had joined in one great national sacrament; a flame has descended from heaven on the intellect of Ireland, plays round her head, and encompasses her understanding with a consecrated glory."

In the excitement of national gratitude, the sum of 50,000*l.* was voted to purchase an estate for Grattan; within three or four months he was an object of popular dislike and mistrust. The *Volunteers* were not satisfied with what had been achieved; they formed a military convention under the guidance of Flood, and resolved to frame a constitution which would secure the perpetual domination of the Orange party. A personal altercation of unequalled bitterness was the first consequence of these differences. We shall extract some specimens of this Irish invective without any comment; and we shall first give Flood's attack on Grattan:

"I am not afraid of the right hon. member; I will meet him any where, or upon any ground, by night or by day. I would stand poorly in my own estimation and my country's opinion, if I did not stand far above him. I do not come here dressed in a rich wardrobe of words to delude the people. I am not one who has promised repeatedly to bring in a Bill of Rights, yet does not bring in that bill, or permit any other person to do it. I am not one who threatened to impeach the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, for acting under an English law, and afterwards shrunk from that business. I am not the author of the simple repeal. I am not one who would come at midnight, and attempt by a vote of this House to stifle the voice of the people, which my egregious folly has raised against me. I am not the gentleman who subsists upon your accounts. I am not the mendicant patriot who was bought by my country for a sum of money, and then sold my country for prompt payment. I am not the man who in this House loudly complained of an infringement made by England, in including Ireland in a bill, and then sent a certificate to Duncannon that Ireland was not included. I never was bought by the people, nor ever sold them. The gentleman says he never apostatized; but I say I never changed my principles; let every man say the same, and let the people believe them if they can. But if it be so bad a thing to take an office in the state, how comes that gentleman connected with persons in office? They, I hope, are men of virtue, or how came that gentleman so closely connected with Colonel Fitzpatrick? I object to no man for being in office; a patriot in office is the more a patriot for being there. There was a time when the glories of the great Duke of Marlborough shrunk and withered before those of the right honourable gentleman; when palaces, superior to Blenheim, were to be built for his reception, when pyramids and pillars were to be raised, and adorned with emblems and inscriptions sacred to his virtue. But the pillars and pyramids are now sunk, though then the great Earl of Chatham was held inferior to him. However, he is still so great, that the queen of France, I dare say, will have a song made on the name of Grattan.

"Lord Harcourt practised economy; but what was the economy of the Duke of Portland?—One hundred thousand pounds was voted to raise 20,000 seamen, though it was well known that one third of that number could not be raised; and what was the application of the money? It was applied to the raising of the execrated Fencibles.

"It is said I supported Lord Harcourt's administration; it is true, but I never deserted my principles, but carried them into the cabinet with me. A gentleman who now hears me, knows that I proposed to the privy council an Irish Mutiny Bill, and that not with a view of any parliamentary grant. I supported an absentee tax; and while I was in office, registered my principles in the books of Government; and the moment I could not influence Government to the advantage of the nation, I ceased to act with them. I acted for myself; I was the first that ever told them that an Irish Mutiny Bill must be granted. If this country is now satisfied, is it owing to that gentleman? No, the simple repeal, disapproved and scouted by all the lawyers in England and in Ireland, shows the contrary; and the only apology he can make is, that he is no lawyer at all. A man of warm imagination and brilliant fancy will sometimes be dazzled with his own ideas, and may for a moment fall into error; but a man of sound head could not make so egregious a mistake; and a man of an honest heart could not persist in it after it was discovered. I have now done; and give me leave to say, if the gentleman enters once into this kind of

colloquy with me, he will not have much to boast of at the end of the session."

We now come to Grattan's reply, but cannot insert it without protesting against the allusion to Flood's personal peculiarities, his sallow complexion, hoarse voice, and deformed nose:

"I will suppose this man's honour equal to his oath. I will suppose him an insufferable egotist; I will stop him in his career, and say,—Sir, you are mistaken if you think your talents are as great as your life is infamous. We have seen you a violent opposer of Government, and afterwards on the most trying questions silent—silent for years, and silenced by money; we have seen you haunting this house like a guilty spirit, watching the moment when you should vanish from the question; or you might be described hovering about this dome like an ill-omened bird of night, with sepulchral note, cadaverous aspect, and a broken beak, watching to stoop and pounce upon your prey; or we have detected you hid behind that chair, to avoid a division, or feigning infirmities to excuse your absence. Influenced by place, or stung by disappointed ambition, we have seen you pursue a course of most manifest duplicity. You can be trusted by no man—the people cannot trust you; the Minister cannot trust you; you have dealt out the most impartial treachery to both, and now you tell the nation she was ruined by others when she was sold by you. You fled from the Mutiny Bill—you fled from the Sugar Bill—you fled from the Six Month's Money Bill—I therefore tell you, in the face of your country, before all the world, and to your beard, you are not an honest man."

On this occasion, the great majority of the Volunteers joined with Flood. A plan of Parliamentary reform was prepared, and one of its leading features was the continued exclusion of the Catholics from the elective franchise. They chose for their head a madman, the Earl of Bristol, who was then Bishop of Derry; and they obtained from Lord Kenmare a kind of unofficial declaration that the Catholics were willing to relinquish their claims to emancipation. Flood's measure of reform was opposed on the constitutional ground that it had originated in an armed convention. It was rejected, and for a few days it was doubted whether the Volunteers would not take such a course as might precipitate a civil war. Prudence finally prevailed over passion, the Convention was dissolved, and the Volunteers sunk into insignificance. Their fall was hastened by Flood's insisting on a denial of the right of Catholics to carry arms, and on the resolutions adopted by a large proportion of the independent companies not to admit Catholics into their ranks.

When we are called upon to admire the age of the Volunteers as the most brilliant period of Irish history, we feel ourselves compelled to make large abatements in their claims. Their Free Trade was a disguised monopoly; their free constitution an undisguised ascendancy; their great Convention at once a confederacy and conspiracy of a minority against the rights of a majority.

In the debates on the commercial propositions, the legislatures of the two countries vied with each other in exhibiting the most perfect contempt for all sound principles of commercial economy; and we have no wish to disinter the masses of brilliant nonsense with which protections, prohibitions, and restrictions were advocated at both sides of the water; but this very circumstance so strongly showed the inconvenience of two imperial legislatures in one empire, that we have ever regarded the event as one of the strongest proofs of the necessity of a union. Custom-houses are strange links of union between the constituent parts of an empire.

We give Grattan the credit of having won for his country an independent legislature; but instead of regarding this legislature as a blessing, we look upon it as a nuisance which ought to have been abated. As an instrument of local government, it became such an engine of oppression, that Grattan himself seceded from it in despair. As an imperial legislature, the only time that it acted with freedom it showed that its existence was incompatible with the integrity of the empire. On the question of a regency in 1789, the English and Irish legislatures differed beyond all hope of reconciliation. Had not the king recovered, the two countries must have had different executives. The able biographer whom we are reviewing laments the occurrence, but does not seem to perceive that the very same difference of opinion might have arisen in the case of a disputed succession, and actually did arise in the war between William III. and James II. The worst result of this great calamity was the alienation of George III. and Mr. Pitt from the great body of the Irish nation; the Catholics were devoted to the party of the Prince of Wales, whose *liaison* with a lady of their religion was matter of notoriety. The king believed that it was intended to take advantage of his insanity to deprive him of his crown, and the attempt was never forgiven or forgotten. The majority of the Irish Parliament hastened to make terms with the king and his ministers; the terms were for their own aggrandisement, and they included the abandonment of the nation. On this point we adduce the evidence of Mr. Grattan himself:

"The people of this country suppose that England acceded to their liberties, and they were right; but the present Ministry has sent us the curse after that blessing: hear the curse! You have got rid of the British Parliament, but we will buy the Irish; you have shaken off our final judicature,

but we will sell yours; you have got your Free Trade, but we will make your own Parliament suffer our monopolists in one quarter of the globe to exclude you, and you shall remain content with the right, destitute of the possession. Your corporate rights shall be attacked, and you shall not stir. The freedom of your press, and the personal freedom of the subject shall be outraged, and you shall not arraign. Your city shall be put under contribution to corrupt its magistracy, and pay a guard to neglect and insult her. The seats of justice shall be purchased by personal servitude, and the qualification of your judges shall be to have borne their suffrage and testimony against the people. Taxes shall be drawn from the poor by various artifices to buy the rich. Your bills, like your people shall be sold. You shall see the genius of your country neglected, her patriotism dismissed from commission, and the old enemies of your constitution made the rulers of the realm."

The treatment of the advocates of the Catholics in the Irish Parliament, and on a question in which that body was opposed to the English Parliament and Government, is thus described by the same authority:

"I could hardly obtain a hearing. As to Denis Browne (who always supported the Catholics), he could not be heard at all; they would not listen to him. I spoke against the sense, Browne against the noise of the house, and he was abused, insulted, and covered with reproaches."

In 1793, the year following this disgraceful exhibition, the Speech from the Throne recommended concessions to the Catholics; and the address on this occasion was seconded by Mr. Wellesley, the present Duke of Wellington, who expressed himself in favour of their claims. None were more conspicuous in their opposition than some of those who had been the chief leaders of the Volunteers. Pitt, at one time, seemed disposed to pursue the policy of conciliation, and sent over Earl Fitzwilliam as Lord Lieutenant; but the powerful party of the ascendancy prevailed over the minister's better judgment, and Earl Fitzwilliam was recalled by *Irish* intrigues, and at the instigation of *Irish* factions. Let us now take Grattan's account of the treatment received by the Catholics from the Parliament of the Volunteers:

"They scolded the people from the bar of the House of Commons—they had kicked their prayers after them, they had instructed Grand Juries to punish denunciations against the Catholics—they had then taken up the Catholics—they had then resumed the Protestant ascendancy; again they had taken up the Catholics, and again they had let them down—encouraging and maturing by alternate hope and apprehension, the zeal of the distinct sects—the blockhead's sense and the Court's deistical devotion, to unite under the crazy colours of religious war and carnage—they had in the progress of their defeat promised a change of ministers and measures—they get a great supply—recall the minister for making the promises under their own authority, and tell the Catholics, whom they had deceived, that they must for ever remain disqualified for seats in Parliament, and offices in the State, for the better securing the Crown and the connection—the people petition—they then answered their grants by disappointment—they had answered their petitions by Fencibles; the army they had withdrawn when the French had threatened the country—and they pour it in when the people petition the Crown. The leading Catholics who had assisted in planning the petition to his Majesty they had prosecuted, without colour or pretence, for high treason—the lower orders of the Catholics they give up to an armed mob, to be exterminated with violence—triumphant in a course of years, and put them out of the protection of the law: they do this, when by their misconduct abroad, they had reason to apprehend invasion at home, and when they had so reduced the army, that they had left his Majesty's Government no chance for its safety, but in what, I imagine, now must be its best security—the unanimity of his people. If ever this country is lost to England, depend on it this system will be the cause."

This country can only be saved by her own force, and her own force can only be procured by adopting the Catholics, and they can only be adopted by a total and entire change of maxims, measures, and manners, accompanied with a free and full participation of whatever privileges the constitution can boast, and what is infinitely more essential, whatever privileges the constitution intended. This is the force, the power, the charm, the staff of your Saint, that will banish from your isle all noxious animals; the wand that opens the sea to the English, and will wall it up against the French. Quick—very quick—you have not a moment to lose—you have given your fellow-subjects a share of your taxes, your defeats, and depopulation, kindly, very kindly—give them now a share of your blessings, whatever your ministers have left you. Let us make no more sacrifices of our liberties—let us now sacrifice our prejudices—they will ascend in incense, the best use you can make of them—and be a tiding to your God, that you are become a convert to your country."

On this part of our subject we are not disposed to dwell; but we must in justice quote the strong condemnation of the Irish Parliament, pronounced by Mr. Grattan himself; it is a painful comment on his high hopes and proud anticipations, in 1782:

"There are but two measures in the country—Reform, or force. We have offered you the former, you seem inclined to the latter. Let us consider it—to subdue, to coerce, to establish unqualified submission.' An arduous, a precarious undertaking—have you well weighed all its consequences? Is there not much of passion in your judgment?—have you not lost your temper a little in the contest? I am sure you have shown this night symptoms of irritation—a certain impatience of the complaints of the people. So it was in the American business. Nothing less in that contest than their unconditional submission—alas! what was the consequence? As far as you have tried your experiment here it has failed—the report shows you it has failed. It has increased the evil it would restrain—it has propagated the principles it would punish, but if repeated and invigorated, you think it will have more success—I apprehend not. Don't you perceive that instead of strengthening monarchy by constitutional principles, you are attempting to give it force by despotic ones?—that you are giving the new principle the advantage of success abroad, and of suffering at

home—and that you are losing the people, while you think you are strengthening the throne—that you have made a false alliance with unnatural principles, and, instead of identifying with the people, you identify with abuses. Before they are to be reformed, rebellion, you tell us, must be subdued. You tried that experiment in America—America required self-legislation—you attempted to subdue America by force of angry laws, and by force of arms—you exacted of America unconditional submission—the Stamp Act and the tea tax were only pretences—so you said; the object, you said, was separation—so here the Reform of Parliament, you say, and Catholic emancipation, are only pretences—the object you say is separation—and here you exact unconditional submission—“YOU MUST SUBDUED BEFORE YOU REFORM;”—Indeed!—Alas! you think so; but you forget you subdue by reforming—it is the best conquest you can obtain over your own people. But let me suppose you succeed—what is your success?—a military government—a perfect despotism—a hapless victory over the principles of a mild Government and a mild Constitution—a Union!—but what may be the ultimate consequence of such a victory?—a separation. Let us suppose that the war continues, and that your conquest over your own people is interrupted by a French invasion—what would be your situation then? I do not wish to think of it; but I wish you to think of it, and to make a better preparation against such an event than such conquests and such victories. When you consider the state of your arms abroad, and the ill-assured state of your government at home, precipitating on such a system, surely you should pause a little: even on the event of a peace you are ill secured against a future war, which the state of Ireland under such a system would be too apt to invite; but on the event of the continuation of the war—your system is perilous indeed—I speak without asperity—I speak without resentment—I speak, perhaps, my delusion; but it is my heartfelt conviction—I speak my apprehension for the immediate state of our liberty, and for the ultimate state of the empire; I see, or imagine I see, in this system, every thing which is dangerous to both; I hope I am mistaken; at least I hope I exaggerate—possibly I may—if so, I shall acknowledge my error with more satisfaction than is usual in the acknowledgment of error. I cannot, however, banish from my memory the lesson of the American war, and yet at that time English government was at the head of Europe, and was possessed of resources comparatively unbroken. If that lesson has no effect on Ministers, surely I can suggest nothing that will. We have offered you our measure—you will reject it; we deprecate yours—you will persevere; having no hopes left to persuade or to dissuade, and having discharged our duty, we shall trouble you no more, and AFTER THIS DAY SHALL NOT ATTEND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS!”

When Mr. Grattan pronounced these words, he justified the Union.

We shall, perhaps, return again to these very important volumes; but before we conclude, we should suggest the propriety of an abridged life of the great Irish patriot, whose example belongs not to Ireland alone, but to the civilised world. The volumes before us are too large and too weighty. They contain documents of great value, but not of general interest. Grattan was one of those for whom two biographies should be written: one for the politician, and one for the general reader.

VOICES FROM THE CROWD.

FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

We make no boast of Waterloo;
Its name excites no pride in us;
We have no hatred of the French,
No scorn of Yankee or of Russ.
The glory that our fathers gained
In bloody warfare years ago,
And which they talk of o'er their cups,
Gives us no joy to think upon.
In truth we rather love the French,
And think our fathers did them wrong;
And sometimes blush when in the streets,
Quite out of date, an ancient song—
Ghost of a prejudice—comes back,
And tells us how, in days gone out,
The best of Englishmen was he,
Who put a dozen French to rout.
We have no foolish thoughts like these,
Of France, or any other land;
And jealousies so poor and mean,
We're somewhat slow to understand.
We'd rather with our friends, the French,
Encourage kindness of thought,
Than gain a score of Waterloos,
Or any battle ever fought.
And in this year of “forty-six,”
We rising men, in life's young prime,
Are men who think the French have done
The world good service in their time.
And for their sakes, and for our own,
And freedom's sake o'er all the earth,
We'd rather let old feuds expire,
And cling to something better worth.
If thought of battles gained by us
Disturb or gall them, let it rest;
Napoleon was a man of men,
But neither wickedest nor best:
Neither a demon nor a god;
And if they will adore a king,
The honest man who rules them now
Deserves a little worshipping.
To be at strife, however just,
Has no attraction to our mind:
And as for nations fond of war,
We think them pests of human kind.
Still—if there must be rivalry
Between us and the French;—why then
Let earth behold us, while we show
Which of the two are better men.
We'll try the rivalry of Arts,
Of Science, Learning, Freedom, Fame—
We'll try who first shall light the world
With Charity's divinest flame—
Who best shall elevate the poor,
And teach the wealthy to be true—
We want no rivalry of arms,
We want no boast of Waterloo.

C. M.

IN WHAT DOES PLEASURE CONSIST.—An American paper, announcing the opening of a new cemetery, says, “Mr. — had the pleasure of being the first individual buried there!”

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POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Friday Evening, May 15, 1846.

Before this paper reaches the hands of our readers, it is probable that the Corn Bill will have passed through its last stage in the House of Commons, with a greater majority, and with less reluctance on the part of the minority than the resistance offered to its early progress would have led the public to expect. The manly testimony of Mr. Stafford O'Brien to the reality of Irish distress, the dreadful picture of the destitution of the labourers in Dorsetshire, truthfully and powerfully portrayed by Mr. Sheridan, are gratifying proofs that there are some in the ranks of the protectionists who will not sanction the falsehoods of faction, nor give currency to the inventions of party. Many of the protectionists who took a lead in opposing the ministerial measures when first proposed, are likely to absent themselves from the division on the third reading, because they are weary and ashamed of the leadership of Lord George Bentinck. His lordship, however, may still count on the support of those legislators who qualify themselves for the duties of statesmanship by making the stable their school, and the race-course their university, whose private tutors were grooms, and who selected jockeys as their most honoured professors. Patience is worn out by a debate which has so diminished in interest that the House was nearly counted out during its continuance. The only point which can engage a momentary addition is the amount of the majority on the division, and this we hope to be able to give in part of our impression.

Thursday night was mainly devoted to the case of Mr. Toulmin Smith, introduced to the House by Mr. Spooner; and we need hardly add that it was utterly unimportant, else it would not have been entrusted to the care of that very erratic gentleman. When this case was disposed of, Lord George Bentinck called the attention of the house to one of those

brilliant discoveries commonly called “mares' nests.”

In a formal division on some minor point, the Government was left in a minority in the Canadian legislature, whereupon Lord George declared that our Colonial empire was about to be ruined by Free Trade, and that the Canadas were about to withdraw their allegiance from Great Britain, and throw themselves into the arms of the United States. Such an inference from the simple fact of the Canadian ministers being left in a minority on a mere question of adjournment, is a precious sample of protectionist logic. On this basis however, Lord George founded one of those stories which the great English dramatist has aptly described as “Tales told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.” Mr. Roebuck replied to the noble lord by a simple explanation of the facts of the case:

“We had had hardly any news from Canada for the last six weeks, and now that we had a small fragment of information, it was trumpeted forth by the organ of the protection party, as if there were something important in a division upon a motion for an adjournment. It was true that the Government were left in a minority of seven upon that division, but he would suggest to the noble lord that this result might have been attributed to some party disputes to which they were not in that house altogether unaccustomed. He might suppose the Government to be not very warmly supported, and he might suppose an acute party leader leading his forces in direct opposition to all his former political feelings. Now, this was not mere supposition, as he knew it to be the fact. Did not the noble lord know that the particular administration which had the confidence of the country had been put out of power, and that by various means a party was now in power which was not the party of the great Canadian people? That party was the one which was usually called the narrow English party of that country—the protectionists. The solicitor-general for Canada stated that patriotism, he found, meant pecuniary profit, and that loyalty meant selfishness; and so it was that the party which had always professed loyalty and affection to this country now turned round and threatened us with the annexation of Canada to the United States. The *Orange Irishmen*, and peccant Englishmen, were the parties who threatened us with the annexation of Canada. It was not the Lower Canadians who now spoke of annexation, but the English, the Irish, and the Scotch merchants, who threatened us with annexation when they thought their interests were in danger.”

We have long known that the great proportion of the Canadian population has felt the system of protection to be a serious disadvantage to the development of their national resources; the carrying trade on the St. Lawrence, and the system of canals connected with that river, would yield tenfold more profit than the timber monopoly, which is advantageous only to a few jobbers, while it seriously impedes agricultural progress. We have before us the report of a Free Trade meeting at Montreal, when the following resolution was unanimously adopted, though a small majority appeared in favour of maintaining the protection on timber:

“That, in order more effectually to secure the carrying trade by the River St. Lawrence, it is, in the opinion of this meeting, desirable that American produce, imported into Canada, should at once be admitted into England on the same terms as colonial produce, the advantage of which would be that a transit trade might be permanently established through Canada before the total repeal of the Corn Laws in Great Britain shall have left us exposed to unrestricted competition with the United States.”

Now here we have Canadian monopolists themselves joining in the demand for the repeal of those duties on the import of American corn, the preservation of which Lord George Bentinck declares to be the condition and essence of their allegiance. Mr. Roebuck has exposed, with caustic severity, the gross inconsistency of the protectionists on this question of Canadian corn:

“But of what did the noble lord complain? Within the last two years they passed the Canadian Corn Bill, Who were its greatest opponents? Why, the party opposite—the gentlemen who represented the landed interest. They called it the first great step to the destruction of the landed interest. But what was the noble lord's argument to-night? Why, it was based on the Canada Corn Bill. Let him remind them that they could not have two cries at once if they wished to be considered honest (hear, hear). To what cry did they attach themselves? Was it to the cry against or with the Canada Corn Bill? He did not dispute the noble lord's knowledge. No doubt the few months which he had given to the consideration of our commercial policy might have enabled him, by that species of divine intuition which he possessed, to acquire all sorts of knowledge upon all sorts of subjects; but here was a country of which, from particular circumstances, he had a particular knowledge, a knowledge which enabled him to suggest an explanation to the noble lord as to a subject which appeared to have puzzled him not a little. The noble lord said, the exportation from this country to Canada formed something like three eighths of the whole of our export trade. Did the noble lord know why it bore so high a proportion? If he took a glance at the map of the American Continent, he would see that on the south of the St. Lawrence lay a not unimportant country, that of the United States. The noble lord talked of Canada as if the exports thither were exports to Canada alone. Now they knew what that meant. The large Canadian imports were not to Canada, but through Canada. They went to the United States. Now the noble lord began by saying that he would prove the importance of Canada, and carried out his

Printed at the Whitefriars Printing-office, Bouvarie-street, in the precincts of Whitefriars in the City of London, by Joux GARNY, printer, of Number 7, Ridgmont-place, Hampstead-road, in the County of Middlesex, and also of Number 4, Fairfield-place, Chestham-hill road, in the parish of Manchester, in the County of Lancaster, and published at Number 67, Fleet-street, in the parish of St. Dunstons in the West, in the City of London, by ANTHONY WATTS PAVSON, of Number 67, Fleet-street aforesaid, - Saturday, May 16, 1846.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 139.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, MAY 23, 1846.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

*By order of the Council,
JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.*

THE PEERS AND THE PEOPLE.

In the course of our long and exciting controversy, we may have been occasionally betrayed into bitter expressions towards the landed aristocracy, but we confidently appeal to the general tone of this organ of the League, extending over seven years, and to the speeches of its leading orators, as proof that we have not sought to convert our agitation to democratic purposes. In the time of our weakness, when Whigs and Tories alike repudiated our principles, we resisted all offers of alliance from the advocates of organic change, whether in the guise of Radicalism, Complete Suffragism or Chartism. Ours has been a politico-economical struggle, and nothing more. We have not sought to pull down, or remodel institutions, or to touch constitutional forms and privileges. Upon questions of Church and State we have observed as strict a neutrality as if we had been an association of anti-quaries or geologists. Nor have we advocated Free Trade as a class interest. What we have demanded for one portion of the community, we have offered to all—*freedom to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market.* We have laboured to reconcile the interests of every calling with the universal application of a just principle, without the exclusion of farmers, landlords, or any one member of the community. Although we have been occasionally brought into collision with individual dukes and lords, who can charge us with having arrayed ourselves against the institution of the peerage? Nay, where have rank and title been more gladly welcomed than in the persons of the only three living peers who have joined the ranks of the League? Did Lords Radnor, Ducie, and Kinnaird, ever have a more willing or enthusiastic homage—was conventional precedence ever more deferentially offered them than in crowded meetings of Leaguers in London, Manchester, Bristol, Birmingham, and Dundee?

We are most sincerely anxious that this state of things should continue—that our agitation should neither merge in a conflict of classes, nor become, however remotely, a question of constitutional privilege. There is, however, danger ahead. The repeal of the Corn Laws is no longer a question at issue with the people, whose representatives have

closed the controversy by the majority of last week. No human power can reverse that verdict of the Commons. Henceforth, therefore, the struggle, if it be prolonged, will be between the people and the peers. "What will the Lords do with the Bill?" is now the question everywhere. The public mind is nervously and irritably sensitive. The funds will rise and fall, like the barometer, as every rumour, adverse or favourable, reaches the city; and trade will be paralysed until the problem be solved—what will the Lords do?—Pass the Government measure gracefully and without mutilation, we would fain hope. If so, it is our conscientious opinion, that neither in a pecuniary sense, as touching their revenues, nor in a political or moral view, as affecting their influence and privileges, will the Free Trade triumph involve the slightest sacrifice to our landed aristocracy. But we regret to find that there is a large number, perhaps a majority, of the peers bent upon a different course. The Bill, it is said, is to be mutilated in committee. Everything is to be risked for the sake of a wretched attempt to retain a tax of a few shillings a quarter upon corn! We say everything is to be risked; because it is well known that any alteration in a money bill in the Lords is tantamount to its entire rejection. By the constitutional practice of the legislature, all taxes must originate in the Commons, at the request of the Crown. In the present instance, the Queen, through her Minister recommends the removal of the tax on corn as unnecessary, impolitic, and unjust. The Commons comply, and the Lords, we are told, are going to insist that the representatives of the people shall tax the food of the people!

We hardly like to anticipate so unwise a decision, but it may not be amiss to consider its consequences. The two houses will be brought into collision, and who shall yield? This might not be a question of very difficult solution if the matter rested solely in the hands of the statesmen and members of the two branches of the legislature; for we candidly confess we believe a majority of them might not be irreconcilably averse to a compromise. But the matter will be taken in hand by the public out of doors, and it will be settled *there*. The Free Trade agitation will instantly assume a new character. Instead of the proselytings and lecturings of the League, there will be a sharp agitation against the lords. It will, we repeat, become a struggle of the people against the Peers. Folks will ask why the bill has been rejected?—why the Lords insisted upon having a tax upon bread? Was it for revenue? No, they have nothing to do with providing revenue. Besides, in this case, the Queen and her Prime Minister have declared they don't require a tax upon corn. Was it for protection? People will then analyse bluntly and coarsely the incidence of this tax for protection. They will say it is intended to keep up the price of corn. They will ask, who and what are the men who want to enhance the price of corn, and the answer will be, that they are not manufacturers, or merchants, or tenant farmers, or shopkeepers, or labourers, but, to a man, *landlords*, whose rents are regulated by the price of corn. All this, and a great deal more, will be said, in a very different tone and spirit, to the past speeches of the Leaguers.

We do not wish to say one syllable which can be construed into an attempt to intimidate their lordships. They have a right to the credit of delivering

an unbiassed verdict; and should their decision be, as we trust it will be, in favour of Free Trade, no body can justly charge them with having yielded to coercion or menace. But they have also a right to know that if they resist the Government measure—if they attempt to patch up a compromise of a small fixed duty, or to perpetuate Sir Robert Peel's diminished scale, the League will be no party to the measure. From the moment that the present bill is rejected or altered in the Lords, the League will fall back upon the country and renew the agitation for the full measure of justice; and thenceforth no minister will be entitled to a moment's confidence from the people who shall propose to Parliament any plan short of the total and immediate repeal of the Corn Law. We write with the full concurrence of the leaders and the council of the League, whose forbearance and moderation during the last four months have confirmed the confidence of the Free Traders, and deserved the respect of their opponents; and in their name we announce once for all that there shall be no compromise with injustice—that the question at issue is whether there shall be any tax upon the necessary food of the people. Yes, or no—this question shall for ever be decided. Should the lords say "aye," we answer "nay," and, in the confidence of a just and righteous cause, we shall appeal from their decision to the highest human tribunal,—the public opinion of this great empire.

WHAT WILL SIR ROBERT PEELE DO, IF THE LORDS MUTILATE THE BILL?

"When the time comes, honourable gentlemen will see whether her Majesty's Government are sincere or not. I can tell honourable gentlemen, that there is NO PROOF OF SINCERITY with regard to this Bill, WHICH SHALL NOT BE GIVEN in the event of its failure, or ALTERATION, in its progress through Parliament."
—SIR ROBERT PEELE, March 30.

We take this to be answer enough to the profoundly momentous question above indicated. The Premier has made it very easy to us all, to solve queries anticipatory of his course with respect to the great measure with whose doctrines he has charged himself. If the Lords mutilate the Bill, Sir Robert Peel WILL DO HIS DUTY. Let his sincerity be tested by the event of the "*failure or ALTERATION*" of the Bill—and "*THERE IS NO PROOF OF SINCERITY WHICH SHALL NOT BE GIVEN.*" There will be no resigning—no running away—no desertion of the glorious and most responsible post which the Queen, and the people, and the course of events, and the necessities of the time, and the intelligence of the age, have committed to his fidelity and courage. He will not be faithless to a great trust—he will not let slip a great opportunity—he will not throw away a great power. His colleagues may resign—HE will not resign. In such a business, a Prime Minister has no colleagues. The country does not want a cabinet, but a MAN. Any cabinet, or any *pro tempore* substitute for a cabinet, will do the work of the time, if only we have the head and heart, the resolute manly will, of a statesman cognisant of national wants, in sympathy with national ideas, and bent on giving effect to the national purpose. If the Lords mutilate the Bill, Sir Robert Peel will go TO THE COUNTRY, though he go alone.

Our full and unhesitating conviction of this, we risk not merely on the Premier's deliberate and explicit pledges, but on the palpable demands of the crisis, as these must have already interpreted themselves to his sagacious and prescient mind. An appeal to the people, in the event supposed, is exactly the consummation to which the whole Parliamentary history of his measures points. An appeal to the people will be Sir Robert Peel's answer to the monopolist taunt, that he has "treacherously"

and "perfidiously" used the pliancy of a once protectionist Parliament to break faith with protectionist constituencies. It will dispose of the question of the "moral competency" of the House of Commons. It will inform protectionist peers of that which they have professed so eager a solicitude to ascertain—the real opinion and will of the people. All along they have been saying, "Appeal to the country,"—with the implicit addition, "What the country says ought to be done, we will do." Thus far, Sir Robert Peel has, most wisely and justly—on grounds as strong in point of constitutional legality as of practical utility and necessity—declined taking a course which assumes the incompetency of the legislature to legislate, and which, had it been adopted, would have thrown the whole public business of the year into most disastrous confusion. Still, if they press him, he has nothing left for it but to take them at their word. If they must have it so, they shall have it so. If they appeal to Cæsar, to Cæsar shall they go.

For his character's sake—for the sake of that honourable name and fame in history which Sir Robert Peel has avowed to be a cherished object of his aspirations—he will keep the faith which he has pledged, and fulfil the just expectations which he has awakened. Not for an instant will he loose his hold of the great question with whose fortunes he has so manfully identified his own. At the very moment when history may be said to be already waiting, pen in hand, to inscribe his name on the noblest national enterprise of this age, Sir Robert Peel will not run away from his work, and take his chance of being called back to finish it another day. He will not leave the vacant niche to be filled by a rival. He will not risk losing the honour of a task, which, though he never did anything else afterwards—though, in the very hour of its completion, he retired from public life and became politically dead—he might contentedly show to after ages, as constituting his title to historic fame.

We repeat it, then—if the Lords mutilate the Bill, Sir Robert Peel will go to the country. He will bid the people—the real "Commons of England"—to judge between him and the faction that brand him "treacherous" for postponing a fictitious class interest to the most substantial and vital of national rights, and impudently use the people's name to consecrate a tax on the people's bread.

He will go to the country. Need we add—he will go to the country on an issue that the country can understand. In leaving the question to the people, he will take care to simplify it into a shape suited to the popular capacity. There will be an end, at once, and for ever, of the worse than nugatory concession of the three years' "interval of preparation." The offer which was made once; in the very vain hope of propitiating landlord prejudice, and disarming landlord hostility, will not be made again. Sir Robert Peel cannot repeat the sort of overture to compromise contained in the terms of his present bill. He has as good as told us that he cannot—and why he cannot. Since he made that overture he has seen what he did not see then. "During the debates on the question, his opinions have undergone a change, and the change is this—that restrictions which he at first believed to be impolitic, he now believes to be unjust." He did not perceive the injustice, when he first proposed the three years' reduced sliding scale—and these are those calling themselves Free Traders of long standing, who seem not to perceive it now. It was then a question of policy with him—to be dealt with, like other questions of mere policy, as one of degree—a little more or a little less. It is now a question of ethical obligation; it ranks among the moralities, and admits of no other answer than a plain downright Yes or No. If the Lords compel him to begin his work again, he must start from the point of his present moral convictions. He will say, not that "Monopoly is impolitic and inconvenient, and we must endeavour to get rid of it on the cheapest and easiest terms," but "Monopoly is wrong, and we will have none of it, on any terms." We entertain the fullest confidence—we cannot deem it a case open to the intrusion of a rational

doubt—that if Sir Robert Peel must call in the people at last, to finish their own and his work, he will instantly unfurl the banner of *Total and Immediate Repeal*. In justice to the great principle which he has espoused, in justice to those by whom he has been so heartily and vigorously supported, in justice to himself and his own reputation as a statesman, he cannot do less than take that course which can alone ensure him the full, undivided, and enthusiastic support of the people.

We tell our friends everywhere to be of good cheer. Do any among them make themselves uneasy about the Parliamentary casualties which befall a Free Trade Government on those questions of second rate, or tenth rate, importance which have of late occupied so large a portion of the legislature's very abundant spare time? These are not worth a thought. They make no manner of difference in the position and power of the ministry. The Government is, with all its defeats, a surpassingly strong Government—inconceivably stronger than in the palmiest days of the "working majority." Sir Robert Peel may be defeated once a day, in each House of Parliament—it does not signify, and he knows, and the wiser among the landlords know, that it does not signify. He is our FREE TRADE MINISTER—and that makes up for everything. He can afford to be in a minority, any number of times that it may please fortune and the protectionists. He is irresistibly strong on the Corn Bill—and the Corn Bill is his only business now. No Parliamentary mishaps, no party weakness, can harm the minister who is in the act of championing the rights of industry, and untaxing the bread of the millions.

The people's Minister is, in every ordinary political sense, at the head of a very "weak Government," and his enemies, open and secret, are many and unscrupulous. Yet, despite all the intrigues, negotiations, and private party arrangements now on foot, or said to be on foot—despite all the rumours, and reports of rumours, that clog and thicken the political atmosphere, and make breathing difficult in "political circles," the people's cause is safe—safe in the people's own strength, union, and determination. We have kept throughout to our first faith, and we are rewarded through all the difficulties and temptations of a seven years' struggle; our question has been kept intact of party—and we now reap the fruits of our fidelity to principle. We are ready for all contingencies; ready to meet in the field of constitutional warfare the rash men who dream of stemming with a lordly "non-content" the tide of a nation's will—ready to obey, on the shortest notice, the summons of a patriotic Minister to work out our own enfranchisement—and ready to rend to shreds those Lilliputian meshes in which an unprincipled faction of monopolists and quasi-monopolists would entangle the noblest of causes.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION OF 1846.

Eighteenth Week, ending Saturday, May 23.

With unfeigned satisfaction we anticipate an early termination of the duty of holding up a Free Trade Mirror of legislative proceedings. The two great bills are now in the House of Lords—the Corn Bill and the Customs' Duties Bill; and in spite of hostile rumours, and threats of mutilation, we have some reason to believe that they will both pass through the trying ordeal of the great House of Protection, and finally become the law of the land.

The closing debate on Friday on the third reading and passing of the Corn Bill in the House of Commons was long, but interesting. The House sat from 4 o'clock in the afternoon till half-past 4 o'clock on the following morning. The sun was up long before the house: and broad daylight streamed in upon the important division. Although we gave the result in last Saturday's LEAGUE, there are some of the speeches which deserve a passing notice.

The early portion of the debate was comparatively uninteresting, none of the speakers throwing out a single new idea on the subject, or even by their manner enlivening it. At last Mr. D'Israeli rose. Everybody anticipated something. He was to make out his "complete and overwhelming case," and probably something more. His "complete and overwhelming case" was a complete and overwhelming failure; nor did he secure anything like attention until he got upon his own line of epigrammatic malignity and spark-

ling but most insolent personality. The early part of the speech was an elaborate attempt to show that though a Corn Law raised the price of food, it correspondingly increased the purchasing power of the community, and thereby augmented the commercial vitality of a country. Taking England as an agricultural as well as a commercial nation, he apprehended that the displacement of corn-growing labour by the competition of foreign-produced corn would injuriously affect our industrial energy. We were, relatively, less a manufacturing people than we were a century ago. Formerly our manufacturers were diffused over the country; now they are concentrated in one or two counties; and the policy which preferred a particular county to the entire kingdom was but a restoration of the heptarchy. The English agriculturist, comparing him with the corn growers of the rest of the world, wasted less and produced more than any other; and yet they were going to withdraw that protection from the English farmer under which our rural industry has been developed. Lincolnshire, in relation to agriculture, held a similar position as Lancashire did to manufactures; and its prosperity and productiveness were a striking testimony to the efficacy of protection. But for protection, Lincolnshire must have remained in its primitive condition, of wild wold, heathy fen, and plashy marsh. Nothing in the condition of the country—not even in that of Ireland—justified so great a change as the one now proposed. The change he attributed to the efforts of the Anti-Corn Law League—the cause of it must be traced to the energy and eloquence of a commercial confederation, which, however, was more remarkable for these qualities than for a knowledge of human nature, or of political science. This led him to slide into his attack on Sir Robert Peel. The agricultural party were not to be blamed for want of a combination similar to that evinced by the Anti-Corn-Law League: they confided in leaders who had deceived them. Nothing could be more complete than the success of Sir Robert Peel in deceiving his party. The first information of his intentions was furnished by a journal not in the habit of announcing facts except on the highest authority. Being abroad at the time, he knew that the highest potentates had sent to British ambassadors for an explanation, and British ambassadors had assured these high potentates that there was no truth in the rumour. After all the changes, the Minister who formed the omnipotent minority in the Cabinet met the house and his party as if they had deserted him, and not he them. But injustice had been done to Sir Robert Peel; for his success in converting the 112 who supported his measures against their own conviction, reminded him of that conversion of the Saxons by Charlemagne, when they were converted in battalions and baptised in platoons. Throughout his political life Sir R. Peel had traded on the intelligence of others; his career was a great appropriation clause; he was the burglar of other men's intellects; in our whole history there was no statesman who had committed so much petty larceny on so great a scale. True, the minister avowed that he was not humiliated by his change of policy. Humiliation was a matter of feeling, depending much on the idiosyncrasy of the animal; but if Sir Robert Peel did not feel humiliated, his country ought. He had bought his party on the cheapest, and had sold it on the dearest terms. But he felt confident that the country would not much longer submit to the huckstering tyranny of the Treasury bench, and though all confidence in public men was at present lost he believed that the national intelligence and spirit would once more revert to that which constituted the cause of the people, of the nation, of England. The whole speech was as great a failure in logic as it was successful in concentrated vituperation. Mr. D'Israeli was followed by

Lord John Russell, who thought that Mr. D'Israeli was much happier in invective than in argument; his speech had little relation to the bill before them. Trusting that he was addressing the house for the last time on the subject of the Corn Law, he entered into details, showing that the proposition of the 8s. fixed duty in 1841 was no suddenly adopted idea, either on his own part or on that of the other members of the then Whig Government. He still thought that if it were practicable, a fixed duty would have been the best settlement of this great question, as it would have rendered the transition from protection to Free Trade comparatively unfeeling. But in the existing state of public opinion such a transition was impossible; the change to Free Trade was as imperative as its necessity was just. After arguing the general principles of Free Trade, he expressed himself not displeased with the disruption in the Conservative party. With all its activity and energy, it had no great public object for which to contend. The only thing on which it had been united was turning the Whig Government out of office. Sir Robert Peel was also undoubtedly to blame for his cautious reserve of opinion; but he had acted with Huskisson in the promotion of the Free Trade measures of that statesman, and the discordant party which accepted him as its leader ought to have known his predilections. He believed that the bill before the house would raise England amongst the nations of the world. Already its influence was manifest in the United States, with which he hoped that we would long remain in amity, and that a satisfactory arrangement would be made of the Oregon dispute; and, trusting that the House of Lords will pass it by a large majority, he expressed his cordial concurrence in the measure.

The First Lord of the Treasury then followed, making what we trust has also been his last speech in the House of Commons on the Corn Laws. He commenced by an expression of his belief that it would be an insult to the house and the country if he were to delay the final reading of the Bill by bandying personalities. He foresaw that the break-

ing up of political ties, and much acrimonious attack, would be the consequence of the change in his policy; but the smallest of the penalties which he contemplated was the continuance of the venomous assaults of Mr. D'Israeli. He who now reviewed his whole political career, and charged him with continuous petty larcenies, had been willing, in 1811 and 1812, to unite with him his political fortunes, and had given him the strongest proof of political confidence. He went over the reasons which had led to the change in his views and policy with respect to corn and trade. Though on the subject of protection to native agriculture he had changed, he gave a peremptory contradiction to the allegation that his present principles of commercial policy were at variance with the opinions of his whole political life, and concluded with an emphatic vindication of the motives which have actuated him as a Minister. "Deprive me," he said, "of power to-morrow, you cannot deprive me of the consciousness that I have exercised the power committed to me from no corrupt or selfish motive." These and other expressions were greeted with loud cheers.

Mr. D'Israeli assured the house that he had never applied to Sir Robert Peel for any favour whatever. A communication had been made to him in 1841, which he presumed came from the Government; and it was asserted that he had solicited a diplomatic appointment to Madrid. He denied it, and affirmed that his opposition to the Government proceeded not from personal disappointment, but conviction.

Sir Robert Peel said that, in 1841, he understood Mr. D'Israeli was ready to afford that proof of political confidence which is implied by acceptance of office.

Lord George Bentinck spoke at great length, though, from the lateness of the hour (or rather, from the early hour), but little of it has been reported. The same reason operated against an adequate report of the speech of Mr. Villiers, who most fitly closed this debate, which, we trust, crowns his longlabours on the great question of the Corn Laws.

The house then divided, when the numbers were—

For the third reading of the bill	327
Against it	229
Majority	98

The bill was then passed amid loud cheering, which, when it subsided, Mr. Eliot Yorke, the brother of the Earl of Hardwicke, proposed, much after the fashion of a schoolboy, that the title of the bill should be "The Foreign Lands Improvement Bill," *alias* "The Ministerial Mutability Consolidation Bill." He was too late; the bill was passed; and members went home to bed or to breakfast.

On Monday, in the House of Commons, there was what we may literally term a *sham* debate on the order of the day for bringing up the report on the Customs' Duties Bill.

Lord George Bentinck, in a speech in which he urged that the reductions proposed in the tariff were all in favour of countries commercially hostile to us, while we did nothing in favour of such countries as China, which received our manufactures on favourable terms, and during which he criticised in detail the commercial policy of the Government, especially with reference to our colonies, moved that the report be taken into consideration that day six months.

Mr. Lawson and Mr. Alderman Humpfrey having addressed the House,

The Chancellor of the Exchequer vindicated the commercial policy of the Government, as conducive to the interests of the consumer, favourable to commerce and trade, and beneficial to every interest of the country.

Mr. Banks reiterated the usual arguments, contending that the measures of the Government were wholly distasteful to the country.

Mr. Hawes asked, if that were so, why no one connected with manufactures had that night joined in opposition to measures which must as seriously affect them as others? The commerce and trade of the country were really seriously affected by the delay, and urged the importance of arriving at a definite conclusion.

Mr. Peter Borthwick, Mr. Plumptre, Dr. Bowring, Col. Sibthorp, and Mr. Henley, spoke for and against the measures, as did also Mr. Hudson, who gravely assured the house that he had listened most attentively to the debate,—a fact of which there was a good-natured doubt expressed by loud laughter and cheering.

Lord George Bentinck then withdrew his amendment, a little to the surprise of the house, and the report was received, and on Tuesday the Customs' Duties Bill was read a third time and passed, after a brief conversation on the subject of agricultural statistics, and the bill was straightway carried up to the House of Lords.

Turn we now to the House of Lords, where the future interest of these great measures now centres. On Monday about five o'clock, the Corn Bill was carried up to the bar, with the usual announcement of "My lords, a message from the Commons." And shortly afterwards, F. M. the Duke of Wellington rose, and the crowded house became still. In his blunt and brief way he moved that what he termed the "Corn Law Repeat Bill" be read a first time.

The Duke of Richmond rose, and, with considerable emphasis and warmth, entered his protest against the measure and the Ministers by whom it had been introduced. He regretted to see the distinction which was drawn between public and private honour. Sir Robert Peel was a man of strict honour; his private honour was unimpeachable; and at Tamworth his word was his bond. But he did not consider it to be consistent with his honour as a public man, to abandon all the principles he had ever professed, and to induce others to violate promises and pledges. The present

Parliament, elected for the support or protection, had no right to abrogate it; and he trusted that the House of Lords would sustain their character with the country, and stop rash and dangerous legislation, full of peril both to great interests and public confidence. He, however, reserved his formal opposition till the second reading.

Lord Brougham thought that a conscientious change of opinions in a statesman was honourable, and reminded the Duke of Richmond that he was a member of the Government which, in 1831, never dreamed of advising a dissolution of Parliament until it had rejected the Reform Bill.

After an exchange of explanations from Lord Brougham and the Duke of Richmond,

The Marquess of Londonderry deprecated personal attacks upon Sir Robert Peel for a change of opinion, seeing the Duke of Richmond had himself frequently changed his position in that house.

The Duke of Richmond assured the house that he had only expressed himself on the present occasion, because, on the second reading of the bill, he intended altogether to abstain from personal considerations.

The Earl of Ripon was glad to hear this assurance, partly for his own sake (this raised great laughter, the noble earl, as Mr. Robinson, being the author of the Corn Bill of 1815), and partly on account of Sir Robert Peel. He was, however, ready to meet any attacks which might be made upon him for his share in the awful responsibility of the present measure.

"There is no terror, in thy threats,
For I am armed so strong in honesty,
That they pass by me as the idle wind,
Which I respect not."

The bill was then ordered to be printed, and to be read a second time on Monday next.

On Tuesday, the Duke of Buccleugh moved the first reading of the Customs' Duties Bill, which had just been brought up from the House of Commons, where a few minutes previously it had been read a third time and passed.

The Duke of Richmond entered his protest against the measure, as an unauthorised abandonment of the great principle of protection to British industry, and leading consequently to the destruction of our colonial system, and an ultimate sweeping away of all customs' duties.

Lord Montagu would not admit the principle thus laid down, for the doctrine of Free Trade recognised a clear distinction between protective and revenue duties.

A conversation, partly explanatory and partly contradictory, arose between the Duke of Richmond, Lords Montagu, Beaumont, and Brougham, when

Earl Grey rose, and declared that he could not accept the measures of the Government as a perfect scheme of Free Trade, but only as an instalment. He was still, as he had ever been, against all duties for protection; and he could answer for the great body of the manufacturers of this country, that they desired not a particle of protection for themselves when they asked for the removal of all protective and differential duties on every article of consumption.

Lord Ashburton said that it was important that they should have full information on the question respecting which new light had so suddenly dawned on the Government. Under this new system, of what future use were to be our colonies? All the manufacturing body were not in favour of Free Trade; and he felt it to be an unwarrantable assumption during the debates in the House of Commons, that the only interest which required compensation was land. During a storm, it might be some consolation that all were to founder together; but here, in a scheme of policy threatening general ruin, they were told that there was no interest likely to suffer, unless it were the agricultural. He protested against the shuffling logic which confounded revenue and protective duties together.

Lord Montagu would not suffer any imputation to rest upon him of unfair argument.

Lord Ashburton meant nothing of a personal nature—he only spoke generally.

The Earl of Dalhousie pointed out the inconvenience of raising a debate on the first reading of a bill just brought up from the House of Commons. At the proper period the Government would be prepared to adduce good and sufficient reasons that it was for the general good of the community that the measures of the Government should be adopted.

The Duke of Richmond admitted that it was an unusual course to raise a debate on the first reading of such a bill, but then it was justified by the fact, that the Government had adopted the unusual course of suddenly abandoning all the former principles of protection to British industry, which only last year, they had strenuously advocated.

The Earl of Haddington reminded the house that the Government had not suddenly become advocates of Free Trade, for during several previous sessions they had heard, from the cross benches on which the Duke of Richmond sat, earnest declamations against the course which they were pursuing. The delay which had occurred in bringing up these measures had been owing to a protracted opposition, unexampled in the history of Parliamentary debate; and whether their lordships approved or rejected them, it was highly expedient that a termination should be put to the uncertainty in which the commerce and trade of the country were kept.

A conversation now arose as to the day on which the second reading of the Customs' Duties Bill should take place.

Lord Stanley rose, and suggested that it might be nomi-

nally fixed for Thursday, the 28th, with the understanding that if the debate on the Corn Bill was not then over, it should be fixed for a still future day.

The Duke of Richmond said that even if he disagreed with Lord Stanley, he would acquiesce in the arrangement proposed by him, because he looked upon him as their mainstay in the approaching debates. This remark provoked loud laughter.

The bill was then read a first time, and ordered to be printed.

We give below the entire speeches of Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel, on Friday night, on the third reading of the Corn Bill; and likewise a corrected copy of Mr. Villiers' speech at the close of this memorable debate. The speech of Mr. Villiers was very imperfectly reported in the morning papers, from the lateness of the hour when he rose.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S SPEECH.

LORD J. RUSSELL: In rising to address the house after the hon. gentleman who has just sat down, I should feel certainly considerable hesitation if I thought that the hon. gentleman had been equally successful in his commercial theories and in his agricultural views, as in his powerful invectives against the right hon. baronet the first Minister of the Crown, whom he accuses of having deserted his party (hear, hear). But the house cannot but have felt how great was the contrast, and that the hon. gentleman's talent lies in wrapping up and adorning in very powerful language his invectives against the Minister, rather than in proving that the bill before the house is not a measure which should pass into a law (hear, hear); and, as it does happen that the business of to-night is to determine whether this bill shall be read a third time, and not whether we shall pass a censure upon the Minister of the Crown, I feel much comforted in addressing the house after the hon. gentleman (hear, hear). I acknowledge that the hon. member had a good opportunity,—for I am rather a spectator than a party concerned,—which has not been neglected by him, of dwelling upon the conduct of the hon. members opposite with reference to this subject. But to begin with the beginning, according to the old rule. The hon. member begins by an accusation of abandoned arguments. I do not think this need at all hang upon the minds of the hon. gentleman and his party; we have no right to complain, for they have not abandoned arguments which are not merely old, but have been repeated twenty, fifty, or a hundred times; arguments which we supposed had been disposed of and become obsolete. Indeed I do not know if the whole case of the protectionists could be more accurately stated than in the language of an old letter which a noble lord has referred to as having been written by an ancestor of his in the year 1610. I think that letter does contain, in its antique language, the whole argument of the protectionists, and to this day they have not abandoned that argument. But I did suppose that some of these old arguments—prejudices, I must call them—had been abandoned and become obsolete. The noble lord's ancestor said that, in the year 1610, the wicked bakers were always raising the price of bread. Even this argument is not abandoned, for an hon. member to-night has told us that potatoes in Yorkshire are cheap, and may be had for 2s. a-bushel, but that the wicked potato monopolists in London will not sell them so cheaply; and the simple Yorkshiremen (who I always thought were sufficiently alive to their own interest), though they have potatoes in abundance, do not send them to a market where they can get 10 times the price they obtain in the country; so that there is not any one of the arguments of the protectionists which has been abandoned by them. The hon. member said that I have abandoned the doctrine that protection is the bane of agriculture. I have not abandoned that doctrine, for I do consider that the agriculture of this country has been injured by protection. I do not deny that under that system there has been high cultivation in several parts of the country; but in other parts of the country cultivation is still in a backward state; and in those parts where there is good agriculture it dates only from six, or eight, or ten years ago; and my opinion is, that if protection had not been kept up, the agriculture of this country would have been greatly improved ("No, no"). If it must be admitted that within a few years agriculture has made enormous advances in this country, they have not been equal to the impulse given to agriculture by the number of persons seeking to possess property and to cultivate farms; and it is only since about ten years ago that these great advances have been made. But the noble lord who commenced this debate asked me whether protection was not the bane of manufacture, and I say it is. First, with respect to cotton and wool, the protection being insufficient, did no harm; but where the protection has been an effectual protection, trade and manufactures have been injured by that protection. But let me suppose instead of altering that system of protection no such system had ever existed, and we bought our wheat and bread and manufactures as cheaply as we could, and imposed taxes solely for the revenue; I should like to know what would be thought of a Minister who should come down to Parliament and say, "I have a great plan to propose, in order to promote the domestic industry of the country; I propose that you should pay dearer for the articles you consume; that you should pay a high price for your bread, and high prices for your coffee and your sugar." Why, if that were the case, I believe that such a system, if proposed now for the first time, would be scouted at once; and not the authority of St. George himself, far less that of his namesake, would succeed in persuading the house to adopt it. But this is not a new thing proposed for the first time; it is an old system, and the question is, how is it to be changed? And I must beg the permission of the house—and I trust I address the house for the last time on this subject (hear)—and I request their attention for a few minutes whilst I state what has been my course on the subject of the Corn Laws for a number of years past. When I gave my support to the principles of Mr. Huskisson, I considered him the soundest Minister in his views respecting corn and commerce the country ever had, and I never voted against him. But when I perceived the working of the bill of 1828, and weighed the arguments and observations respecting that measure, as I thought that bill was working injuriously to the country, I stated, first to Mr. Ricardo, and afterwards to the house, that my opinion had been changing in favour of a fixed duty, and I thought then that a moderate fixed duty was the best system that could be adopted, and a permanent fixed duty of 10s. a qr. was first mentioned by me to Mr. Ricardo. In the year 1840 that question was again brought before the house, and I again stated my opinion in favour of a fixed duty; but I wish to show further, that that was not a solitary opinion, and that of the Government to which I belonged the greater portion had stated the same opinion. In

1840 the question of the Corn Laws was brought before both houses, in the House of Lords by Lord Fitzwilliam, and on those two occasions 11 members of Lord Melbourne's Cabinet voted for a consideration of the Corn Laws—in the House of Lords for a resolution that it was expedient to reconsider them, and in this house for a committee, I declaring that either myself or my right hon. friend then the President of the Board of Trade would propose a fixed duty, if that committee were granted. I said at that time that I thought the settlement of the tithe question and the New Poor Law made a great difference as to the corn question, and that a greater competition with foreign corn and foreign produce might be adopted with safety to British agriculture. There were two or three members of the Cabinet who did not give any opinion on the subject, but of those who did, Lord Melbourne, the Prime Minister, and one other member of the Cabinet, voted against any change. There was an opinion of Lord Melbourne's given on the occasion, which has been so often referred to that I beg to state what Lord Melbourne did say on the occasion (hear). Referring to Lord Fitzwilliam, he said, "The noble earl proposes that it is neither expedient nor necessary to maintain the present Corn Laws. Now, although I am distinctly of opinion that it is expedient, yet I wish to guard myself against being supposed to be determined always to maintain the existing laws. I never pledged myself to that, nor do I mean to do so. It is no stubborn question of principle, and I will not pledge myself that various considerations of policy might not arise which would justify, if not render necessary, a different course." Now, with that opinion so given by Lord Melbourne while he voted against the proposed change, and four members of the Cabinet in the other house, and all those who were in this house declaring for the change, that was going as far in favour of a change in the Corn Laws as Mr. Canning ever went at the end of his life on the Catholic question. Then I say, after these facts in 1839 and 1840, that the whole ministry as an united Cabinet should in 1841 propose a change in the Corn Laws was not surprising (hear). Sir, I feel justified in thus troubling the house with this detail, because I know that it has been over and over again said, for years, that the proposal of 1841 was a sudden thought produced by the difficulties of the Ministry. The fact was, that we had long, as individual members of the Government, been for a fixed duty, but then we for the first time proposed, as a Ministry, what we thought should be the amount of that fixed duty. I have already said that if the circumstances of 1841 could come over again, I should still be of opinion that a moderate fixed duty would be the best change from the law of 1828. I was of opinion that when the laws of protection had not only been imbedded in your statute book, but also incorporated in the habits of your people, these changes should be made gradually, and with a general assent. I believe that the manufacturing interest and the Anti-Corn-Law League would then have been prepared to accept an 8s. duty, although they would still have considered it a high duty (cries of "No, no"). I have authority, good authority, for making that statement (hear). Sir, from that time to the middle of last year I was still the advocate of a fixed duty, as being the best mode of changing the law. I considered, that after a fixed duty had lasted for a number of years, and a steady trade in corn had been the consequence, the change to Free Trade would be almost imperceptible, and that it would excite no panic or alarm. But, Sir, when those changes were obstinately resisted, when for seven years the association called the Anti-Corn-Law League had advocated this question in public, and had made the deepest impression on the public mind, the question bore no longer the same aspect. Having had the offer of a fixed duty rejected, there was not, from the days of the Sibyl down to the time when Mr. Canning threw over the securities on the Catholic question, any precedent for adhering to an offer that had been rejected (hear, hear, hear). Therefore I had to consider last year, and I think I have to consider it now, whether there was anything short of the settlement proposed by the right hon. baronet, resting on total repeal, which was likely to give satisfaction to the country, or to terminate the angry discussions on the question (hear, hear). Had I been able to carry a fixed duty with the general consent of both the manufacturing and agricultural interests, and with the concurrence of the great body of the people, I might have felt proud to accomplish that object. But to be placed in the situation of defending a duty which could scarcely be called a large protection, and yet which would be the constant source of irritation—to defend such a duty from year to year, and debate after debate, would have been a position which I confess I was not anxious to occupy. I am therefore of opinion, that as matters now stand, the question is between keeping up the present protection, which most gentlemen seem to think can scarcely be maintained, and the total abolition, after the lapse of a few years, which the right honourable baronet proposes of all the duties on corn. Do I say that it is the way in which I should at first have wished to have made the change? No; I agree with Adam Smith and Ricardo, and others, that such changes should be gradual, and so conducted as to inflict as little injury as possible on existing interests; but, as matters now stand, and as the question is now put before the country, believing that repeal of the Corn Laws is a right object, and that in itself it is the best system, I see no course between keeping up the system of protection as it exists, or to come to a total repeal almost immediately (hear, hear). Sir, I may as well tell the honourable gentleman who spoke last, that at the same time that he made an assertion he made an admission also. He admitted that the Corn Laws tend to enhance the price of corn, and that at the same time the power of the community to purchase was increased also ("hear, hear," from Mr. Roebuck). But, Sir, while what he admitted is capable of proof (and his admission strengthens that proof), he gave at the same time no proof of the other part of his proposition—that the power to purchase was also increased by this law. The hon. gentleman said, indeed, that the prices of corn would be ruinously low—that new markets would be opened, immense supplies of corn introduced, and the English labourer displaced. But let us observe in the first instance that his argument destroys entirely what has been the main strength of the case for protection—that we ought to be independent of foreign nations for our supply of food. I could understand, if all our supplies of corn came from one or two countries, and they our rivals, that in time of war this country might run a danger of scarcity from the supplies being intercepted. I have, however, gone over in my mind the case of Russia, Prussia, and America, and I find that during the last century, as regards the two former, and since 1783 as to the latter, it has been a very few years indeed during which we have been at war with either; and that there was no period at which we were at war with all. I was comforted by this reflection, because it showed that we need not regard with apprehension our de-

pendence on foreigners. But the hon. member went further and said we could receive a supply of corn from Hungary, Spain, and Egypt; in fact, that there was no place on the globe which would not send us supplies of corn. Then what becomes of his argument as to the fear of war? So long as we retain our maritime superiority, and are at peace with nine out of the ten of the nations of the globe, we shall have the supply the honourable gentleman has so kindly told us of (hear, hear). But now as to the very low prices the honourable gentleman told us of. He tells us of a number of places in Hungary, Sissek among the rest, from which corn would be brought at 18s. the quarter. I confess, Sir, it does appear to me that this is very like another Tamboff story. I rather think that this immense supply can scarcely be calculated upon from those places. I find that there were even very low prices after that, the averages having been from 40s. to 50s., and I at least am not much alarmed at such a rivalry with this country. It is, indeed, very much a question whether the prospect of having a great quantity of cheap corn is a prospect which ought to alarm the people of this country (hear, hear). I have heard the honourable gentleman, the member for Somersetshire (Mr. Miles) go on by the hour, showing how great would be the fall in the price of wheat, and at last we began quite to dread that a gentleman's butcher's bill would fall almost to nothing; and now the hon. gentleman, the member for Shrewsbury, gives us additional alarm about the butter, and has shown that our bread will be excessively cheap indeed (laughter). Why, my opinion is, that if you admit there will be a large quantity of bread, as an honourable gentleman said at the commencement of to-night's discussion, there will be a great many mouths to eat it—that there will be a much greater consumption of food by having a greater plenty, and thereby consuming many of the products of agriculture. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Disraeli) gave us a very vivid picture of the state of Lincolnshire, owing to the existence of protection; but it is not partly owing also to the flourishing state of manufactures, and the ready market for the agricultural produce, that produce being demanded and consumed by the persons who are dependent on the foreign trade of this country (hear, hear)? And much of that protection at the same time co-exists with an increased foreign trade in respect to corn. I do not feel those apprehensions which the hon. gentleman has expressed of an increased foreign trade in corn; I think that in some years great quantities of corn will come into this country in the expectation of prices which will not be realised; but that there will be a permanent depression of the market such as to cripple the agriculture of this country is not an apprehension that I think need be felt (hear, hear). The hon. gentleman has spoken of the great fluctuations in this market. I will not venture with him to compare the fluctuations which have occurred in the European and American markets; there may be causes for these fluctuations of which we are not aware. But with regard to the fluctuations in this market, they have been not only very considerable, but the prices have been exceedingly high. In January, 1838, corn was 52s. the quarter; in December, it was 78s. 4d.; and in January, 1839, it rose to 81s. 6d., falling again to 65s. in October. Is there not to be found in the fluctuations of these two years a very sufficient reason for the Government saying, "Let us have a greater admission of foreign corn; let us, if possible, have the people of this country better fed than they now are" (cheers)? I said just now that I think we have got accustomed to much higher prices of corn than our ancestors had any notion of. Looking to the prices which ruled in the last century, after there was an admission of foreign corn, in 1763, when this country ceased to be an exporting country, and there became a large import of corn, I find that Mr. Burke, in a pamphlet of his, says, with no sort of compassion for agriculture, that he thought the people had no great cause to complain of the high prices of bread, because, for many years, the prices of Baltic wheat ruled from 32s. to 40s. Taking the years from 1752 to 1784, the price per quarter for wheat was about 45s. That was a price which was not generally complained of; and so little complained of, that when in 1791 Mr. Pitt proposed that the duty should fall to sixpence, when the price rose from 50s. to 61s., Lord Liverpool in the House of Lords spoke of it as a great injury to the manufacturing classes. We may believe that high prices in a time of war, and especially depression of the currency, altered our views and made us expect that there ought to be much higher prices of corn than were just—much higher prices than the producer was entitled to (hear, hear, hear). Look likewise to the question as it regards manufactures and corn (hear, hear). We find that while the prices of manufactures have fallen about 23 per cent., the prices of corn have risen about 20 per cent. (hear). Is not that a reason in some respects why we should not exclude foreign corn; is it not a reason why—as manufactures have fallen to so great a degree, as corn has thus risen in comparison to the last century—you should no longer retain a law which presents such obstacles to its import. The hon. gentleman has spoken of an important principle of which he has been the advocate; but, unless it was for maintaining the present Corn Law, I do not know what that important principle was. The hon. gentleman referred to our colonies, and asks, are we going to ruin them? Now I do not think we run any risk with respect to our colonies (hear, hear). I think that they have great advantages, setting apart those which they may enjoy from the differential duties. The law for the colonies, I think, ought to be proceeded with more gradually than that with respect to the people of which we are the representatives; but being, as they are, united to this great empire, forming a part of this empire, they will not be sorry to see this restrictive system abolished (cheers). And as for Canada, I cannot find in the accounts from that colony any symptom of that alarm which has been spoken of (hear, hear). It does not appear either from the meetings of the house of the Legislative Assembly, or from the public meetings, that the people of Canada do entertain those fears, or those insuperable objections of which we have heard to the change (hear, hear). The hon. gentleman ended his speech by giving an account of the mode in which the right hon. gentleman opposite came into power, and of the manner in which he abandoned the principles he before professed. Now, upon this subject, I cannot agree in thinking that all the blame belongs exclusively to the right hon. gentleman and his colleagues. I think that some part of it must be shared by those who for so many years have been his followers (cheers). I think, indeed, that the right hon. gentleman, coming forward to declare that that system of protection, of which he has long been the upholder, was unjust, having declared some four years ago that another bill of which he was a great opponent in opposition, was fraught with injustice and founded on injustice, shows a want of wisdom in his former opinions upon political matters.

But when I consider what the party was which existed in 1841, I am not one of those who lament the disruption which has taken place (cheers and laughter). I will frankly confess that, in my opinion, there was one inherent defect in that great Conservative party which came into power in 1841. Their discipline was admirable; their machinery for elections was exceedingly well organised; they had candidates for every hustings, being, I may say, "*Bene nati, bene vestiti, mediocriter docti*" (laughter); and these gentlemen had many party cries which they found of exceeding value at the elections, with little inventions of their own (hear, hear). There was the fable of the Lichfield-house compact; another fable of Mr. O'Connell governing the whole Whig party; and various other inventions which indicated a great deal of fancy on the part of those who used them, found exceedingly useful, and which diminished by degrees, but certainly to the very smallest possible amount, the majorities of the Whig Government. At the same time there were great orators and great leaders in both houses of Parliament: persons, too, of every grade. There was, which was a great glory, the Duke of Wellington at the top, and at the bottom, with ready though smaller services, were the runners of the Carlton (laughter). Yet there was one thing which was wanting to this great Conservative party, and that was, some public object for which to contend (loud cheers). Mr. Burke says that a party means a "union of men for some great object of public welfare"; but such a union did not exist among that party (loud cheers). The opinions of many honourable gentlemen who have spoken in the course of this discussion against the measure of the Government were very decided, and in all cases, no doubt, very honest. I think, however, that often they were exceedingly narrow (hear, hear, hear). These opinions were that protection, that the whole system of protection to native industry, was bound up with the prosperity of this country (great cheering from the protectionists). They had also great fears of the Roman Catholics, and demanded that the Protestant ascendancy, the Protestant supremacy, or, as Lord Stanley called it, the Protestant constitution, should be maintained above all others. Among their leaders such were the views entertained, and, I do not doubt, honestly entertained, but they chose the right hon. gentleman, now First Minister of the Crown, who had sat with Mr. Huskisson, as a great promoter of Mr. Huskisson's measure, who had acted with caution in Mr. Huskisson's measures of Free Trade, but who was known, in principle, to be of those opinions of Mr. Huskisson, in favour of Free Trade, and against the system of protection (hear, hear). The right hon. gentleman, too, in regard to the Catholics, had been the person who moved the Relief Bill for the removal of the disabilities under which they laboured; and he repeatedly declared in general terms his persuasion that that Act ought not to be repealed, and that it should be observed in the spirit as well as the letter. Those opinions as to Free Trade and protection, relating to the measure of 1842, have led him in time to the measure of 1846. Those opinions as to the Roman Catholics led him to the Maynooth Bill, which met with such violent opposition last year. But then, I say, what was this great Conservative party? What but a union of men to turn out a Government they disliked? but being in office they had no bond of union, and no principle which they held in common (cheers). When that opposition was carried on entirely against particular measures of the Whig Government, when these measures were found fault with from day to day, and no general principle was stated as the ground of opposition, when the party was going on in its course with the prospect of final triumph, how came none of those gentlemen to ask, with Sir Christopher Hatton, "What mean these mighty preparations?" And is their reply, that they could not till the play began, that till their party was in office they could not give an answer. In fairness they ought to have come to some understanding when in opposition, as to the principle they were to carry out when in power (cheers, and cries of "hear"); and therefore I do not wonder that they are disappointed in this and other measures. I think the right hon. gentleman to blame. He ought not causelessly to have reserved his opinion (cheers from the protection benches); but he ought to have stated to them fully the principles on which he acted—principles in which I see little to find fault (cheers from the protection benches), however much they might be blamed by honourable gentlemen opposite. But to go on week after week and year after year in order to overturn Government, risking the peace and safety of Ireland (cheers),—risking the security and tranquillity of the empire, without having some settled views as to the way in which Ireland might be tranquillised, and the empire governed—that was a fatal defect in their Government; and I am not sorry that that defect should have led to their dissolution. I can admire the Cavaliers of 1684, who struggled on behalf of their sovereign against popular rights—I can admire the Jacobites of 1784, who fought for the Stuarts against what I believe the just cause of the house of Hanover; I can admire in both cases the chivalrous spirit, the determined loyalty, the firm adherence to settled opinions which led men to contend for those two unfortunate causes. But when I come to this triumphant cause of 1845, I find such an absence of all chivalry, such a want of all united principle, that in my opinion it were far better that men so disunited in principle should, as a party, be totally disconnected. Honourable gentlemen opposite have stated that they consider the measure before the house injurious to the country. They have done great credit to themselves, not only by the great talent, but by the spirit with which they have asserted their opinions. They conceive that the bill will tend to lower this country among the nations of the globe. I consider, on the contrary, that it will tend to raise this country among the nations of the globe. I think it will tend to foster peace and amity among them. Looking at one of the greatest nations of the globe, I am happy to find there are symptoms of returning feelings of amity and good will. When I read the speeches of Webster, Calhoun, and others, I forget all the idle menace wafted from the other side of the Atlantic. I trust her Majesty's Government will be able to fix finally the limits which divide the dominions of her Majesty from those of the United States; and I trust the convention or treaty which shall settle that boundary will be but the prelude of a more intimate connection between us and that vast commonwealth of a free people; that we shall carry on together our manufactures and our agriculture, vying with each other, if you will, to make our productions more and more perfect, striving, in the neutral markets of the world, for pre-eminence; striving also, in our respective branches of production, that we may clothe them and they may feed us, but hoping that there never shall be occasion to cross the bayonets of Britain and America on any bloody field whatever (loud cheers). Sir, with this wish that such may be the prelude

of this bill, to which I trust the other House of Parliament, should it pass by a great majority here, will give their assent. I shall give my hearty support to the motion for the third reading (great cheering).

SIR R. PEEL'S SPEECH.

SIR R. PEEL: Sir, I believe it is now nearly three months since I first proposed, as the organ of her Majesty's Government, the measure which I trust is about to receive this night the sanction of the House of Commons; and considering the lapse of time, considering the frequent discussions that have taken place, considering the anxiety of the people of this country that these debates should be brought to a close (cheers), I feel, Sir, that I should be offering an insult to this country, if I condescended to bandy personalities on such an occasion as this (loud cheers). Sir, I foresaw that the course which I had taken from a sense of public duty would expose me to serious sacrifices; I foresaw, as its inevitable result, that I must forfeit friendships which I sincerely valued, that I must interrupt political relations in which I took a sincere pride; but the smallest of the penalties which I contemplated was the continued venomous attacks of the member for Shrewsbury (loud and vehement Opposition cheering). Sir, I will only say of that hon. gentleman, that if he, after reviewing the whole of my previous political life—a life of 30 years before my accession to office in 1841—if he then entertained the opinion of me which he now professes—if he thought I was guilty of those petty larcenies from Mr. Horner and others, of which he has spoken to-night, it is surprising that in 1841, after that long experience of my public career, he should have been prepared to give me his confidence (cheers); it is still more surprising that he should have been ready, as I think he was, to unite his fortunes with mine in office (loud cheers)—thus implying the strongest proof which any public man can give of confidence in the honour and integrity of a Minister of the Crown (continued cheering). Sir, I have explained more than once what were the circumstances under which I felt it my duty to take this course. I did feel in November last that there was cause for apprehension of scarcity and famine in Ireland (“oh, oh,” and cheers). I am stating what were my apprehensions at that time, and what were the motives under which I acted; and those apprehensions, if denied now, were at least shared by hon. gentlemen who sit below the gangway, because the member for Somerset did expressly state that at the period to which I refer, he was prepared to acquiesce in the suspension of the Corn Laws (loud cheers); and another hon. gentleman, a recent addition to this house, who spoke with great ability the other night, the member for Dorset, distinctly declared that he thought I should have abandoned my duty, if I had not advised that, considering the circumstances of Ireland, the restrictions upon the import of foreign corn should be removed (cheers). I may have been wrong, but my impression was, first, that duty towards a country threatened with famine required that that which had been the ordinary remedy under all similar circumstances should be resorted to, namely, that there should be a free access to the food of man from whatever quarter it should arrive. Sir, I was prepared to give that best proof which public men can in general give of the sincerity of their opinions, by tendering my resignation of office, and devolving upon others the duty of proposing this measure. And, Sir, I felt this: that if these laws were once suspended, and there was an unlimited access to food, the produce of other countries, I, and those with whom I acted, felt the strongest conviction that it was not for the public interest—that it was not for the interest of the agricultural party, that an attempt should be made permanently to re-impose restrictions on the import of food (hear). I could not propose the re-establishment of the existing law with any guarantee for its performance. As the noble lord says, I had acted with Mr. Huskisson in the years 1824, 1825, 1826, in revising the commercial system, and applying to that revision the principles of Free Trade. In 1842, after my accession to office, I proposed the revision of the Corn Laws. Had anything taken place at the election of 1841 which precluded that revision? Was there a public assurance given to the people of this country at the election of 1841 that the existing amount of protection to agriculture should be retained? (“Yes, yes.”) There was? Then, if so, you were as guilty as I was (Opposition cheers). If there was the assurance given that the amount of protection to agriculture that existed in 1840 and 1841 should be retained, opposition ought to have been made by you to the revision of that system (cheers). Why was the removal of the prohibition upon foreign meat and foreign cattle assented to? That removal must have been utterly at variance with any assurance that the protection to agriculture which existed in 1840 and 1841 should be continued (hear, hear). Yet that removal was voted by this house by large majorities (hear); and after the passing of the bill of 1842, was I not repeatedly asked this question—“Now you have passed this bill; now you have enacted a new Corn Law, will you give a public assurance that to that law you will at all times adhere?” And did I not uniformly decline to give any such assurance (“hear,” from the protectionists)? I said I had no intention of proposing an alteration of that law at the time the question was put to me (“Oh, oh!” from the protectionists); but I distinctly declared I would not fetter myself from the discussion of this question (“oh, oh!”—with cheers from the Opposition). These things are upon record. And then, it was impossible for me, consistently with my own convictions, to propose the re-enactment of the existing law, after the suspension of its operation, with any security of its continuance (loud cries of “hear, hear, hear”). I think the question that naturally arose was this,—shall we propose some diminished protection to agriculture in the state of public feeling that would exist after the suspension of restriction, or shall we propose a permanent and ultimate settlement of this question (hear, hear)? And now, after all these debates, I am firmly convinced that it is better for the agricultural interest to contemplate the final settlement of this question, rather than to attempt the introduction of a law giving a diminished protection (loud cheers). My belief is, that a diminished protection would in no one respect conciliate agricultural feeling (hear, hear); to be of any avail, the amount of protection must be greatly diminished beyond that which at the present moment exists; I believe that it would have met as much opposition from the agricultural body as the attempt to procure a final settlement (hear, hear): and this I must say, nothing could be so disadvantageous as to give an ineffectual protection and yet incur all the odium of giving an adequate one (cheers). What have we been told during this discussion? With scarcely an exception, I have listened attentively to every speech that has been made on this side of the house; and, admitting the talent that has been displayed, I confess they have in no respect altered the conviction upon which I have acted (“oh, oh,” and murmurs from the protection benches).

You tell me it would have been possible, with such support as I should have received, to have continued the existing law; I believe it might have been done. As far as the gratification of any object of ambition is concerned (loud cries of “oh, oh,” and laughter from a few protectionists)—I am perfectly ready to listen to any reply that may be made to my observations (hear, hear, and tremendous cheers), and I think it is hardly fair to attempt to interrupt me by such expressions (hear, hear, hear); but it has so far succeeded. [The right honourable baronet paused a few moments as if to recover the thread of his argument, and then continued.] I was told it would have been possible to have continued the existing law, after the suspension of it: for I assume the suspension of it as a necessity on account of the state of Ireland; but the difficulty of maintaining it would have been greatly increased, because it would have been shown after the lapse of three years, that although it had worked tolerably well during the continuance of abundant, or at least average harvests, yet the moment it was exposed to the severe trial of scarcity, then it ceased to effect the object for which it was enacted (hear, hear). And that, in addition to the state of public feeling with reference to restrictions on imports generally greatly increasing the difficulty of continuing the law, there would have been public proof of its inefficiency for one of the great objects for which it was enacted. And let me say, although it has not been brought prominently under consideration, that without any reference to the state of Ireland, the working of the law as far as Great Britain is concerned, during the present year, has not been satisfactory (hear, hear). You would have had to contend not merely with the difficulty arising from the suspension of the law on account of the Irish case; but it would have been shown that the rate of duty has been high on account of an apparent lowness in the price of corn, that lowness of price arising from deficient quality (hear). You would have been shown conclusively that there has been a greater disparity in point of price between corn of the highest quality and the lowest than existed at former periods; it would have been proved that there never was a greater demand than during the present year for wheat of a fine quality for the purpose of mixing with wheat of an inferior quality, the chief article that is brought for sale into the domestic markets of this kingdom (hear). It would have been shown that had there been freer access to wheat of a higher quality, the whole population of this country would, for the last four months, have been consuming bread of a better quality than they have done (hear). I say when after the suspension you came to propose the re-enactment of the existing law, my belief is you would have had to contend with greater difficulties than you now have to sustain. But you tell me you would have had a majority (hear, hear); I think you would have had a majority (hear, hear); I think you would have maintained this law, notwithstanding these enormous difficulties, some short time longer. But I believe that continuance would have been but short; and that during that period of continuance there would have been a desperate struggle between different classes in this country (hear, hear). Your arguments in favour of the law would have been refuted, and had the cycle of unfavourable harvests returned,—and who could give an assurance that they would not—you might have had no alternative but to concede the alteration of this law under circumstances infinitely less favourable to a settlement of this question (loud cheers). The hon. member for Dorsetshire (Mr. Banks) says, “We could have fought the League with its own weapons” (“hear, hear,” and cheers from the protectionists). That is to say, finding that you could not control by law those measures, the resorting to which I do not defend, which I for one sincerely reprobate,—the establishing in counties voters not being naturally electors in them—you could have fought the League by making faggot votes as well as they (hear, hear). And you say that the landed interest would have had greater facilities for making faggot votes than the League (cheers from the protectionists). But what a sad alternative is this (cheers)! What a sad conflict to be carrying on (hear, hear). It may have been necessary; but I think if you could consistently with your honest convictions avert the necessity for such a conflict, one that was destroying the independence of the constituency of the country, it would be wise to consider whether the alternative may not be avoided (loud cries of “hear, hear”). And believe me, you who are anxious for the maintenance of the aristocratic system, you who desire wisely, and justly desire, to discourage the infusion of too much of the democratic principle into the constitution of the country, although you might for a time have relied on the faggot votes you created in a moment of excitement, yet the interval would not be long before that weapon would break short in your hands (cheers). You would find that those additional votes created for the purpose of combating the votes of the League, though when brought up at the first election, under the influence of an excitement connected with the Corn Laws, they might have been true to your side, yet after the lapse of a short time, some exciting question connected with democratic feelings would arise, and then your votes and the votes of the League, not being subjected to legitimate influence, would unite, and you would find you had entailed on the constitution permanent evils, for the purpose of providing a temporary remedy (cheers). I believe you were about to enter into a bitter and ultimately an unsuccessful struggle, and that has induced me to think that for the benefit of all classes, for the benefit of the agricultural class itself, it was desirable to come to a permanent settlement of this question. These are the motives on which I acted. I know the penalty to which I must be subject for having so acted; but I declare, even after the continuance of these debates, that I am only the more impressed with the conviction that the policy we advise is correct (hear, hear). An hon. gentleman, in the course of this evening, the hon. member for Sunderland (Mr. Hudson) informed us that he had heard that there was an excitement about the Corn Laws, but he undertook to give a peremptory contradiction to that report (“hear” and a laugh), for he never recollected any public question being proposed involving such great interests which, on the whole, was received by all the classes concerned—by the manufacturing and by the agricultural classes—with less excitement and with a greater disposition to confide in the wisdom of the decision of Parliament. Well, if that be so—if this question is proposed at such a time—(“No, no,” from Mr. Hudson, who was sitting at the time on the extreme benches near the doorway, but who immediately moved, amidst some laughter, to the seat usually occupied by him, more in the body of the house). I certainly understood the honourable member to make that statement.

MR. HUDSON: I will explain after.

SIR R. PEEL: I may be mistaken, and of course I am, if the hon. member says so; but I understood him to say,

that so far from there being any undue excitement, he thought that there was much less than could have been expected, and that all parties were disposed to acquiesce in the decision of Parliament.

MR. HUDSON: What I stated I believe was this: that there was no excitement in favour of the bill—not that there was a deep feeling on the part of the agriculturists against it, but that there was no public excitement in its favour. [This was what we understood the hon. member to say, but from what afterwards occurred it would seem to have been his intention to say, “not but that there was a deep feeling on the part of the agriculturists against the bill”]

SIR R. PEEL: That varies very little from the expressions I used, and entirely justifies the inference which I drew (cries of “No, no”). If there be no excitement in favour of the bill, and no strong feeling on the part of the agriculturists against it (“No, no,” and some confusion), it appears to me that this is not an unfavourable moment for the dispassionate consideration by Parliament of a subject otherwise calculated to promote excitement on the part of one class, and to cause great apprehension on the part of another; and the hon. member's statement is a strong confirmation of my belief that it is wise to undertake the settlement of this question when there is such absence of excitement, rather than to wait until a period when unfavourable harvests and depressed manufactures may have brought about a state of things which may render it less easy for you to exercise a dispassionate judgment on the matter (hear, hear). I do not rest my support of this bill on such temporary ground as the scarcity in Ireland (cries of “Oh!” and cheers). I do not rest it on the ground of temporary scarcity. I believe that that scarcity left us no alternative but to undertake the consideration of this question, and that consideration being necessary, I think the permanent adjustment of the question necessary (hear). But I repeat now that I have a firm belief that it is for the general interest, independent of all obligations from temporary pressure—it is for the general interest of the great body of the people that an arrangement should be made for the permanent removal of these restrictions (hear). I will assign my reasons for so saying, and I will take the facts from you—who are the strong opponents of this bill. I take the speech of the hon. member for Oxfordshire,—a speech distinguished by his usual ability and gentleness. I repeat, we will have no difference about facts. I take them from the opponents of the measure; and the only question is as to the inference to be drawn from them. The hon. gentleman made these observations:—he said that “he looked at the facts and figures produced for the last 30 years, and that he found that there had been a great increase of trade; that there had been a cheapening of commodities; but that there had been no improvement in the social condition of the people.” Why, I apprehend we all admit that the real question at issue is what is for the improvement of the social and moral condition of the masses? what will elevate in the gradations of society that great class which subsists by manual labour (hear)? The mere interests of the landlord or the occupying farmer, important as they are, are subordinate considerations, as is admitted on all hands, to this great question—what is calculated to increase the comfort, to improve the condition, and to elevate the moral character of the millions who subsist by labour, whether agricultural or manufacturing (hear)? And what says the hon. member for Oxfordshire? I take his statements to be correct, and if they are, they suggest matter for deep consideration (hear). Here is a country in which wealth has increased, trade increased, and commodities cheapened; but the hon. gentleman says that he takes every test by which he can determine whether the social condition of the people has improved, and he comes to the conclusion that it had not. That is a formidable statement (hear, hear). Increased wealth, increased trade, and cheaper commodities give you no ground for contentment, if the hon. gentleman's statement be correct, that there has been no corresponding improvement in the social condition of those who form the great foundation and platform of society (hear, hear). He says that he has looked at crime, and finds that increased; and that he looks to the great articles not of subsistence, but luxuries which, by use, have become necessities, such as sugar, tea, &c., and he finds no corresponding increase in their consumption, and he says he founds this statement on the facts and figures of the last 30 years. Well, let us go back to the period when that 30 years commenced. That was 1815 (hear). Then began the system of protection to agriculture (cheers). The honourable gentleman says he has carefully considered these things, and that, looking at the facts and figures for the last 30 years, he finds increased wealth, increased trade, but a deteriorated condition of the people. With what preceding period do you compare the condition of the people during these last 30 years? Take any period of the last century, excluding the period of war, which began in 1793, during which there were great dislocation of capital and great derangement of social interests. Compare, then, the condition of the people during a period of peace in this century with their condition during a period of peace also in the last century (hear, hear, hear). Take what period you please—that period which elapsed from 1740 to 1791; and let us compare the state of the law when the people were in a more prosperous condition than during the last 30 years. For the first 66 years of the last century there was no impediment to the importation of corn in this country. For the first 66 years of the last century, this country was an exporting country; the price of corn was low here, and did not exceed 41s. What was the law passed in 1773? It admitted free import at a 6d. duty whenever corn was above 49s. 6d., and under that law for six years after 1773, this country was an exporting country of corn. Did agriculture suffer? Why, during that period, when foreign corn might be brought here at a duty of 6d. when the average price of corn exceeded 49s. 6d., there were, I think, not less than 1560 Enclosure Bills passed. Do you say, then, that during that period the condition of the people was better in point of morality, in point of command of comfort, in point of happiness, than it has been since 1815? Well, in 1815, the commencement of that period of 30 years, this law was passed, that foreign corn should not be imported into England until after the price had arrived at 50s.; there was a positive prohibition of import unless corn was above 80s. (hear, hear). Now that was the perfection of protection. Was that to continue? You relaxed it. In 1822 you permitted the import of foreign corn when the price exceeded 70s. In 1828 you altered this law again, which the honourable member for Newcastle (Mr. Colquhoun) ranks with principles and national institutions; and by the law of 1828 you subjected foreign wheat, when wheat was under 64s. a quarter, to a duty of 23s. 8d.; when it was 69s. a quarter you subjected it to 16s. 8d.; and that law remained till 1842

(hear, hear). Under the influence of these laws, only altered in 1842, as I have it on the admission of the honourable member for Oxfordshire, the social and moral condition of the people of this country was not improved (hear, hear). Now, what did we in 1815? We imposed these enormous duties upon imports from foreign countries (hear, hear)—a positive prohibition until the price exceeded 80s. At that time the duty upon foreign butter and cheese was 2s. 6d. and 1s. 6d. respectively; we raised it to 1l. and 10s. 6d. Therefore did we in 1815 adopt the principle of strict protection to agriculture, and the hon. gentleman says that he finds crime increased, and the command over comforts and the moderate luxuries which partake of the nature of necessities lessened. He says that is the result of the inspection of 30 years (hear, hear). So much, then, for the condition of the great body of the people. Now I come to the facts of the hon. member for the North Riding of Yorkshire (Mr. Cayley). I heard his speech; I was sorry to observe the indisposition under which he laboured—an indisposition which in no degree prevented the exercise of his intellectual faculties, or prevented him from speaking with his usual clearness and power (hear, hear). I ask you to take the facts of the hon. gentleman since 1815. I am quoting every expression; the account I am giving of agriculture since that period is not mine, but his. I followed him closely, and took down his account of the position of agriculture under a state of almost perfect protection. In 1815 you had prohibition of foreign importation till corn exceeded 80s.; and these are the historical annals of the hon. gentleman, the advocate of agricultural protection. In 1816 and 1817, he says, you had severe distress. (Mr. Cayley: "In 1815 and 1816.") I think it was after 1815 and 1816—I think it was in 1817 that a speech was made from the throne lamenting the state of society, the efforts that were made by designing men to take advantage of the distress of the country. It was in 1817 that the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended and the Sedition Meetings Bill was passed. In 1819, the hon. gentleman said, such was the severity of distress, the Six Acts passed into a law. In 1822, he said, agricultural distress was so intense that a committee was appointed for the purpose of devising a remedy. He said that at that time the price of wheat—of beautiful wheat—was 40s.; that a farmer stated, I think, that where there were 150 persons usually out of employ, there were then 300, and that he had the greatest difficulty, on account of the low price of wheat, in giving employment to the agricultural labourers. From 1822 the hon. gentleman advanced to 1830, and he said that in 1830, on account of the depressed state of agriculture, we had the "Swing" fires. In 1833 agriculture was again so depressed that it was necessary to appoint a committee to consider the state of that distress, and to attempt to devise a remedy. He said that there were 35 villages in the North of England with a population of 200,000 persons depending upon their labour, and their wages did not exceed 3s. 8d. per week. In 1834, the honourable gentleman said, the Preston operatives presented a petition to this house, in which they complained of poverty, of ignorance, and of vice. The year 1835, he said, was as bad as the year 1822, and prices were so low that the ordinary employment of agriculture could not be afforded. 1836 and 1837, he said, were years of sudden prosperity, but that came to end in 1838, and there was prostration and suffering from 1839 to 1842. That is the account which the honourable member gives of the state of agriculture under that protection, which was terminated by the bill of 1842 (cheers). Now, observe what the hon. member also said; he said that there was a constant alternation of high prices and of low prices; and he said, differing from many who concur with him in their vote, that the low prices, though caused by favourable harvests, entailed the greatest suffering upon the agricultural classes, and that in 1822 and 1835 the farmer who had sold his wheat for less than 40s. complained, on account of the lowness of prices, that he could not give the usual employment. That lowness of price did not arise from competition with foreign corn; there was no foreign corn imported to reduce prices; that low price was caused by the suspension of the natural dealing in corn. There was a glut on account of productive harvests, there was no outlet for it, and there was prostration and suffering in consequence. That is the account which the hon. member gives of the result of high protection, not upon the manufacturing interest, but upon the agricultural; and when he had given that account—when he had detailed those sufferings on the part of the agriculturists, I was surprised to hear the hon. gentleman conclude with a quotation,

"Woodman, touch not that tree."

(Laughter.) I beg pardon, I am afraid I should have to ask the hon. member to supply me with the verse (a laugh), but the purport of it was that not a bough must be touched, that those whom it sheltered in youth ought to let it remain in their old age (hear, hear)—after that account of the consequences of this high protection upon the agricultural interest, I was surprised to hear that advice which the hon. gentleman gave us, not to touch a bough of that tree, under the shade of which agriculture had so long flourished (a laugh). If he had said:

"Ille et nefasto te posuit die

* * *

* * "agro qui statuit meo

Te, triste lignum, te caducum

In domini caput immeritis."

I think it would have been a more appropriate quotation (laughter and cheers). But now, is there no exception to be made from this period of 30 years? Did nothing occur at the latter part of that period of 30 years to exempt it from the stigma which the hon. gentleman cast upon the preceding part? There have been three years—1843, 1844, and 1845—during which you have had, from some cause or other, the benefits of plenty and of cheapness. During the last three of these 30 years the average price of wheat a little exceeded 50s.; and let us see whether during that period that censure will apply which applies to the former period—let us see whether, during the last three years, there has been no increase of comfort, no improvement in morality, no abatement of seditious feeling or disaffection. I care not what may be the cause of the abundance which has prevailed during the last three years; you say the cause is not to be attributed to the tariff; but that good harvests have produced abundance. Be it so. But there has been comparative abundance. There has been a less outlay required for the purchase of articles of first necessity. You say there has been a demand for labour on railways. Why, that is an effect, and not a cause (hear, hear). It is on account of your prosperity that you are enabled to supply your capital to internal improvements, causing this demand for labour and increasing wages; and do you believe if wheat had been at 70s. instead of 50s., there would have been the same stimulus to the application of capital (hear, hear)?

But grant that the tariff of 1842 had nothing to do with the abatement of price in 1843, 1844, and 1845. I will concede it to you that it is attributable to the favour of Providence—to good harvests. But let us see what has been the result of this abundance. I will take the tests of the hon. gentleman. He says, facts and figures show that there has been no increase of consumption. Now, I will show you that during the last three years trade has flourished, capital has accumulated; but that you cannot say of the last three years what you can say of the preceding 27 years—that there has been a deterioration in the social condition of the people. I will first take those articles which enter largely into consumption. I have here a statement of the quantities of the undermentioned articles entered for home consumption in the United Kingdom from 1839 to 1841, and from 1843 to 1846, showing the average quantity of each article in each of those periods. In the first three years, when the prices of provisions were high, the average consumption of sugar—for the three years ending in 1841—was 3,826,000 cwt. The average consumption for the last three years, ending the 1st of January, 1846, had increased from 3,826,000 cwt. to 4,346,000 cwt. (hear, hear, hear.) The average consumption of tea in the first three years was 31,685,000 lbs. In the last three years it had increased to 42,000,000 lbs. The average consumption of coffee during the first three years of high price was 27,941,000 lbs. annually; the average consumption of the last three years was 31,883,000 lbs. The consumption of cocoa in the first three years averaged 1,859,000 lbs. annually; in the last three years 2,575,000 lbs. Take another article, which, though in a smaller degree, enters largely into the consumption of the poor, and which is not a bad test of their comfort. During the first three years the consumption of currants averaged 175,000 cwt.; in the last three years it had increased to 280,000 cwt. (cheers). I take then the tests of the hon. member for Oxfordshire—the consumption of articles necessary to the comfort of the people; and I show him that comparative plenty has produced this change in the command of the working classes over the smaller luxuries of life (cheers). I will next come to a more important point—the state of crime. You have now an official record, presented within a few days, of what has been the state of crime in this country during the last 30 years. Now, what was the state of crime during the first period of 27 years? From the first record in 1805 down to 1842, when the commitments attained the maximum number hitherto recorded, the increase in crime progressed from year to year, until it had extended to above 600 per cent. In 1843 a change commenced. In that year the number of commitments decreased. Within the last six years, three years of great increase of crime have been followed by three years, during which the decrease was so considerable that the number of commitments in 1845 has been reduced to what it was seven years ago (cheers). In the three years of high prices, this was the state of crime in each year:—The number of commitments in the first year was 27,187; in the second, 27,760; and in the third, 31,309. During the last three years the number of commitments has been—in the first year, 29,591; in the second, 26,542; and in the third, 24,303 (hear, hear, and cheers). Well, then, I take this other test of criminality and the extension of morality, and I ask whether we can resist the legitimate inference that the comparative cheapness and plenty which have existed during the last three years have had their effect in producing this diminished criminality (cries of "hear, hear, hear"). The gentleman who drew up this return says:—"The decrease of commitments in England," for the last three years, "has therefore been general, continued, and extensive, to a degree of which there is no recorded example in this kingdom" (loud cheers). He says again:—"In the 6th class, containing those offences which do not fall within the definitions of the foregoing classes"—violence to the person, and offences against property—"there is a total absence of commitments for seditious riots or sedition." A total absence of commitments for these offences (hear)! Why, can you have a stronger proof of the improvement of a country, apart from the command of comforts, than the fact that there should have been this progressive diminution in commitments, and a total absence of any commitments for sedition or seditious riots (cheers)? I say, therefore, comparing the result of the three years when we have had diminished protection to agriculture and a reduced price of provisions with the 27 preceding years, the inference is—just that the diminution of crime is attributable to an increased command over those articles which constitute the food of the people (hear, hear). But you say, "As this happy state of things has arisen during the existence of the present Corn Laws—as the present Corn Laws have been co-existent with cheapness and plenty, on what principle do you seek to disturb this happy arrangement? You have proved that, co-existent with the Corn Laws, there have been cheapness and happiness; why then do you now come forward to propose their alteration?" Why, if you can show me that those laws were the cause of this happiness and plenty, that would no doubt be a strong and powerful reason for their continuance (hear, hear). But this cannot be denied, that simultaneously with a reduced protection to agriculture, there has been not only no diminution in agricultural improvement, but diminished prices and increased comfort (hear, hear, hear). As you have proceeded downwards from 1815 to 1842, there has been a corresponding benefit from the abatement of protection. If we could anticipate that the law of 1842 would continue to produce all the advantages to which I have referred, that might be a conclusive reason for adhering to it (hear). But you assert that favourable harvests have occasioned these advantages (hear). Why, what guarantee have you for the continuance of favourable harvests? You have had comparatively favourable harvests for the last three years, and you say, "As a matter of necessity, therefore, continue the law." Continue the law, if the law has been the cause of these advantages. But if favourable harvests have been their real cause, that is no reason for the maintenance of the law. Those who have remarked the vicissitudes of seasons, have observed that there have been cycles of favourable and unfavourable seasons. You had three unfavourable seasons in 1830, 1840, and 1841. You then had great distress. You have had three favourable seasons since, and in them there has been comparative abundance. But, supposing a cycle of years as unfavourable as those which preceded the last three years should return, have we any security that the law of 1842 would guarantee an ample supply of food (hear, hear)? Supposing that, co-existent with these unfavourable seasons there should be a depression in manufactures, should we then be in a favourable position to consider an alteration of this law (hear, hear)? Remember how short a time has elapsed since the state of Paisley, of Sheffield, and of Stockport, was brought under your consideration. If such times should again return after this interval of comparative happi-

ness, when the contrast of misery would be heightened by the comfort which had previously prevailed, do you believe it would be possible to maintain in existence a law which levies a duty of 10s. a quarter when the price is 56s? You may say, "Disregard the progress of public opinion; defy the League; enter into a combination against it; determine to fight the battle of protection, and you will succeed." My firm belief is—without yielding to the dictation of the League or any other body (loud cries of "Oh, oh!") which interrupted the right honourable baronet for some moments),—yes, subjecting myself to that imputation, I will not hesitate to say my firm belief is, that it is most consistent with prudence and good policy, most consistent with the real interest of the landed proprietors themselves (renewed cries of "hear, and oh, oh!") from the protectionists) most consistent with the maintenance of the influence of a territorial aristocracy, seeing by how precarious a tenure—namely, the vicissitudes of seasons, you hold your present comfort; that we should, at this time of comparative calm, anticipate discussions which might hereafter arise, and propose a final and just settlement of the question. But you may say,—"You are acting upon the experience of three years, and contrary to the principles you have avowed during your whole life." I admit that I have defended the continuance of the present Corn Laws; I admit that to the present period I have defended the Corn Laws, and refused to acquiesce in any change; but when I am told I am acting inconsistently with the principles of my whole life when I advocate Free Trade measures, I give the assertion a most peremptory denial. During the last three years I have subjected myself to many taunts. You say Lord Grey found out something. Why, did I not say that I thought the true policy to which we should conform, not hastily, not disturbing vested interests by rash legislation, but that the principle to which you should conform was that principle of political economy which suggested purchase in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market? Did I not say that there was nothing special in the case of agriculture that should exempt it from the application of those principles which had been applied to other articles? You may have a right to taunt me with a change of opinion with respect to the Corn Laws, but when you say that by adopting the principles of Free Trade I am acting in contradiction to the doctrines I have avowed during the whole of my preceding life, I say that charge, at least, is destitute of foundation (cheers). Sir, I will not enter at this late hour into the discussion of any other topic (cheers). Sir, I foresaw the consequences that have resulted from the measures which we have proposed. We were charged with the heavy responsibility of taking security against a great calamity in Ireland. We did not act lightly. We did not form our opinion upon merely local authorities likely to be influenced by an undue alarm. Before I and those who agreed with me came to that conclusion, we had adopted every means—by local inquiry, and the transmission of perfectly disinterested authorities to Ireland—to form a just and correct opinion. Whether we were mistaken or not—I believe we were not mistaken—but, even if we were mistaken, a generous construction should be put upon the motives and conduct of those who are charged with the responsibility of protecting millions of the subjects of the Queen from the consequences of scarcity and famine (cheers). Sir, whatever may be the result of these discussions, I feel severely the loss of the confidence of those from almost all of whom I received such generous support. So far from expecting them, as some have said, to adopt my opinions, I perfectly recognise the sincerity with which they adhere to their own. I recognise their perfect right, on account of the admitted failure of my speculations, to withdraw from me their confidence. I honour their motives, but I claim, and I always will claim, while intrusted with such powers and subject to such responsibility as the minister of this great country is intrusted with, and is subject to,—I always will assert the right to give that advice which I conscientiously believe to be conducive to the general well being (loud cheers). I was not considering, according to the language of the hon. member for Shrewsbury, what was the best bargain to make for a party. I was considering what were the best measures to avert a great calamity, and, as a secondary consideration, to relieve that interest which I was bound to protect from the odium of refusing to acquiesce in measures which I thought to be necessary for the purpose of averting that calamity (cheers). Sir, I cannot charge myself or my colleagues with having been unfaithful to the trust committed to us (cheers). I do not believe that the great institutions of this country have suffered during our administration of power (cheers). The noble lord (J. Russell) says he hopes that the discussions which have threatened the maintenance of amicable relations with the United States will be brought to a fortunate close. Sir, I think I can appeal to the course which we have pursued, against some obloquy, some misconception, some insinuations, that we were abandoning the honour of this country—I think I can appeal to the past experience of this Government, that it has been our earnest desire, by every effort consistently with the national honour, to maintain friendly relations with every country on the face of the globe. This principle, so long as we are entrusted with the management of public affairs, will continue to influence us in respect to the settlement of our unfortunate differences with the United States (hear, and cheers). Sir, if I look to the prerogative of the crown—if I look to the position of the church—if I look to the influence of the aristocracy—I cannot charge myself with having taken any course inconsistent with Conservative principles, calculated to endanger the privileges of any branch of the legislature, or of any institution of the country (cheers). My earnest wish has been, during my tenure of power, to impress the people of this country with a belief that the legislature was animated by a sincere desire to frame its legislation upon the principles of equity and justice (cheers). I have a strong belief that the greatest object which we or any other Government can contemplate should be to elevate the social condition of that class of the people with whom we are brought into no direct relationship by the exercise of the elective franchise (cheers). I wish to convince them that our object has been so to apportion taxation, that we shall relieve industry and labour from any undue burden, and transfer it so far as is consistent with the public good to those who are better enabled to bear it. I look to the present peace of this country; I look to the absence of all sedition—to the absence of any commitment for a seditious offence; I look to the calm that prevails in the public mind; I look to the absence of all disaffection; I look to the increased and growing public confidence on account of the course you have taken in relieving trade from restrictions, and industry from unjust burdens; where there was dissatisfaction I see contentment, where there was turbulence I see peace; where there was disloyalty I see loyalty; I see

the disposition to confide in you, and not to agitate questions that are at the foundations of your institutions; deprive me of power to-morrow; you can be neither depriving me of the consciousness that I have exercised the powers committed to me from no corrupt or interested motives (loud cheers), nor for the gratification of ambition or any personal object (continued cheers). But I have laboured to maintain peace abroad consistently with national honour and dignity—to uphold every public right—to increase public confidence in the justice of your decisions, and, by the means of equal law, to dispense with all coercive powers, relying on the attachment and loyalty of the great body of the people (loud and protracted cheering).

MR. VILLIERS'S SPEECH.

MR. VILLIERS said that the noble lord had commenced his speech by an assumption somewhat presumptuous—that he and his party had a higher regard for religion and honour than the rest of the house; in either respect he must dispute that title. The noble lord insinuated that when the Government referred the improvement of the people to the cheapness of food, they forgot that this cheapness was to be traced to the bounty of Providence, an influence which he said the ministers had been much disposed of late to forget. He (Mr. Villiers) considered, on the contrary, that this disregard of the bounty of Providence was directly chargeable upon the noble lord and his party. It was the bounty of heaven, in this country and abroad, with which gentlemen opposite were always warring. The noble lord says, that he is glad when cheapness comes from abundance in this country, and admits the blessing it confers on the people. But the noble lord knows nothing of the history of his subject, or the objects of his party, if he believes that such was, or had ever been, their view of cheapness and plenty. The law was passed to prevent cheapness, and whenever it failed in its object, his party had never omitted to complain of it as an evil. Let the noble lord ask the honourable member for Somersetshire if he could deny this (hear, hear, hear); he (the honourable member for Somersetshire) said that, but without reference to the cause of the cheapness, he had himself complained of the fact, though he never disputed the blessing it conferred upon the people. It was then of the bounty of Providence that they complained; and what was it that the noble lord had been doing himself for so many weeks past but complain of the abundance of other countries which, by Free Trade, might be made accessible to the people of this country? But was abundance abroad not equally the bounty of Providence as the abundance at home? and when the Ministers had proposed a measure giving the people access to it, and the noble lord tried to defeat that measure, were they or the noble lord with most justice chargeable with indifference to the gifts of Providence? It was precisely to enable the people to enjoy these blessings that we had been labouring so long; and when the hon. member for Shrewsbury said that they had abandoned all their leading positions, one of which was to make the necessities of life abundant, which he calls the cry of "cheap bread," he (Mr. V.) told him that there was no foundation for such a statement; and it was satisfactory to reflect that, during the annual discussion which for nine years past had taken place on this question, there was no fact, no argument, no opinion that he had ever stated in its support that was not now recognised as true, or that he had reason to retract; they had been admitted to be sound by the measure itself before the house, and the arguments by which it had been supported; but above all, by their having, during the long and dreary debates of this session, received no answer or refutation from the gentlemen opposite. It had been shown how the law had failed in all its pretences of advantage, and how it had verified every prediction of mischief attending it. Gentlemen opposite could have no better proof of their failure than the fact that the more they had spoken, the more time they had wasted, the more they had alienated their partisans from them, and while there was no vestige of panic or alarm at the measure out of doors, there was as little interest taken in their proceedings against it from within. There was one circumstance elicited during this debate, that had shown the hollowness of all that had been said in favour of the law, and of the little reliance to be placed on it by its friends. He meant the admission that the whole House of Commons was willing, upon an apprehended deficiency of food last October, to suspend the Corn Law, and considered that the cure for scarcity was to abolish for the time all protection to agriculture. The law which was to produce plenty, and to save the country from scarcity? Yes! the whole house, it seems, deemed the remedy for a deficiency of food, was to abolish the Corn Law. He thought this was a most instructive circumstance, and could not be repeated too often, to show the value of protection: for in the first place, he asked how this was to be justified to the farmers, who were promised protection against foreign competition? They were told that they could be protected consistently with the welfare of the community, and they relied upon its continuance. But how was it more just to them to suspend the law than to repeal it entirely?—they would have been less prepared for it in October last than at any other time; and if any suffering was to follow from it, it would have been the farmers alone, and no one else, at that time, that would have felt its effects. Again, if this was the proper remedy last year, who can say it would not be equally required this year? And if the farmer was to be constantly subject to this suspension of the law, where was the worth of protection to him. But he asked attention to the fact that this was the remedy proposed when famine was expected. Now what was meant by famine?—it only meant, in reality, that food would become comparatively scarce, and less accessible to a greater number of people than before; but for this difficulty in getting food, every party in the House of Commons considered in last October that the remedy was to suspend the Corn Law! There was no doubt then that this would meet the evils of a scarcity of food, and prevent the people from starving, or resorting to coarser food; but if this is the remedy for food being too dear for a few more people than usual, why, he asked, was it not the remedy for the millions who are usually deprived of good and wholesome food on account of its dearth? It was apprehended from a scarcity in England, that perhaps one or two million would find it difficult to get good food; but that is habitually the case in Ireland. Why is not the remedy then so considered good for England to be deemed also good for Ireland, suffering as she does habitually from the same malady. When the Government, then, sees that we have to expect periodical scarcity in this country, and as the people increase, that we have to expect we shall be obliged constantly to suspend the Corn Law, what is it but wisdom and justice to all concerned, to remove altogether the barrier to a regular and plentiful supply, and dissipate the delusion under which those who depend on its continuance have ever been placed. It was for this reason that he considered the ministerial in-

sure an honest one, founded on all the evidence and experience which this country has had offered of its necessity, and one which promises nothing but advantage to the people. It was honestly intended; and ministers have therefore had the advantage of being able to argue and defend it honestly, which they have done. Had it been founded on the notion that a tax or toll of 10 or 20 per cent. upon the entry of an article into this country could be imposed, without raising its cost to the consumer, or had it given any sanction to the fancy that a fixed impediment to commerce would not limit the supply because that impediment was fixed, and not fluctuating,—or had it proceeded on the principle that food could be wisely taxed for revenue in this country, after the experience they had had that whatever raised the price of food impairs the other sources of revenue, it would have been deemed a fraudulent and delusive measure, and would have failed to obtain the requisite support for its success. The measure, has, however, wisely recognised the failure of the experiment of having a Corn Law at all in this country, and provided for its total abolition. The country was therefore under a deep obligation to the Government for the measure; and if there was anything that could enhance that obligation, it was the spirit, ability, and courage with which it had been supported; and now he asked those hon. gentlemen opposite to pause before they proclaimed themselves to the country, and transmitted their names to posterity, as having to the last endeavoured to withhold from the people the unquestionable right, the undoubted privilege and great advantage, of carrying the fruits of their industry to the highest market, and of allowing them the freest access to the bounties which Providence, through the industry of other nations, had provided for them—let them reflect before they vote, that the law of which they are so tenacious has been discredited by all experience, denounced by every intelligent authority, and has, upon facts undisputed, because they are indisputable, been shown to have brought upon the poorest of our fellow-creatures as much misery, affliction, destitution, and crime as was ever produced by any pestilence or calamity that ever visited the country—let them pause then, he said, before they offer to the country and posterity no other or better testimony of their efforts in public life than that of endeavouring to withhold from it a great advantage, and to perpetuate on the poor an enormous injury and wrong.

RETALIATION OF SPAIN—THE SUGAR DUTIES.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

The Tariff Bill, on which so much opposition was threatened by the protectionists, passed the House of Commons last night without even a division, and was immediately carried up to the House of Lords, where, after another tirade from the Duke of Richmond, it was read a first time. We have thus the pleasure of congratulating the country upon the whole of the commercial reforms which have been proposed to the House of Commons having passed that branch of the legislature unaltered and unmodified. While the House of Lords is called upon to deliberate upon a bill providing for the ultimate freedom of the trade in corn, it cannot fail to be a matter of important consideration to their lordships that at the same time they have before them a bill, which has also received the sanction of the House of Commons, providing for an immediate repeal of all duty on the most important staple manufactures of the country. By this bill all duties on woollen, cotton, and linen manufactures are repealed. The manufacturers and artisans interested in these great branches of trade have unhesitatingly assented to the free competition of all the world. Their lordships are at one and the same time called upon to affirm Free Trade in corn, and in the great leading articles of manufacture.

The only remaining part of the general plan of commercial reform contained in Sir Robert Peel's announcement at the commencement of the session, which has yet to be brought under the consideration of Parliament, is the proposed alteration of the sugar duties. We sincerely wish that Sir Robert Peel had displayed the same wise determination to abandon at once the flagrant and dangerous fallacies on which our recent legislation has been conducted in regard to sugar, as he has done in the case of corn. Unfortunately, however, the right honourable baronet adheres not only to the principle of a differential duty; but, what is of more serious and immediate consequence, he has announced the determination of the Government to persevere in that invidious distinction between *free-labour* and *slave-labour* sugar which has already led to an open rupture between this country and Brazil, and to the most scandalous disregard of national honour in our refusal to comply with the plain and unquestionable rights of Spain, under existing treaties. From the first, when the Duke of Sotomayor made a demand for the admission of the sugars of Cuba under those treaties, we have not failed to urge, not only the justice of the claim, but the interest of the British public, as sufficient grounds on which they should be admitted. We, moreover, showed the imminent danger which we incurred by relying upon any construction of those treaties which would justify their refusal. The treaties themselves, of which we last week gave extracts, bear the intention of the parties obviously on their face. Both countries had on all occasions, but more especially of late years, recognised these treaties, and the construction contended for by the Spanish Government, in their daily practice and frequent negotiations affecting the commercial relations of this country. The fact, however, that the British Ambassador has not for many years been without complaints before the court of Madrid founded upon some breach of these treaties, and based on the construction contended for in support of the Spanish claims, shows how much more our interests are involved in the matter in dispute than those of the other contracting party. The complaints of our Minister have invariably received attention, and our rights, under those treaties, to all the advantages of the "most privileged nation," have always been clearly and distinctly recognised. We foresaw that our refusal to admit the construction contended for by the Spanish Government must strike a blow at British trade, not only in Spain but in the Spanish colonies, and leave us at the mercy or caprice of a power smarting under a deep sense of wrong.

We regret that the apprehensions of danger which we so often pressed upon the Government last year, when this question was under discussion, have received a practical confirmation. The Spanish Government, finding after the discussion which took place in Parliament in the last session that there was no chance of obtaining an acknowledgement of their just claims—finding, in fact, that Mr. Gladstone, in his defence of the Government, really and practically threw overboard the existing treaties between the two countries, and treated them as so much waste paper; and knowing, at

the same time, that the abandonment of those treaties and the construction contended for would be a matter infinitely more serious and inconvenient to Great Britain than to Spain, determined to abandon their application as *legal*, to take us at our word, and to deal with British commerce and British produce in that way only that might best suited to their own views and interests. The *acuerdo* which we have received from *His Majesty's* foreign office with a detail of the first fruits of a retaliatory policy. Instructions had been received by the Governor from the Government at Madrid, and steps had been taken to carry them into effect, which must exterminate British trade in Cuba and Porto Rico. British ships are to be subjected to heavy additional charges. Differential duties are to be placed upon British manufactures, but especially upon our cotton goods, which constitute the great bulk of our trade. The differential duties are to be of three different and distinct classes, increasing in amount exactly as they will inflict most injury on British interests. A certain rate of differential duty is to be placed on British cottons imported from Spain in a Spanish ship; a second and a higher rate is to be placed on British cottons, imported from Great Britain in Spanish ships; and a third, still higher rate, is to be placed on British cotton goods imported from Great Britain in British ships. In proportion as the transaction becomes more purely British it is to be prohibited, or at least rendered profitless, by high duties.

We are free to admit that in pursuing such a policy the Spanish Government displays but a short sighted regard to its own interests. It is difficult to conceive how the disappointments of the Cuban sugar-growers, in being deprived of this market for their produce, is to be compensated by thus inflicting upon the community of that island the necessity of paying a higher price for their cotton goods. They could not, however, have selected any other article which would do us so much injury, and themselves so little. Cotton goods form the great bulk of our trade, and a practical prohibition of these goods will, therefore, affect us more than any other. But cotton goods are at the same time those with respect to which the Americans, the Swiss, and the Germans come nearest to us in competition. With respect to some classes of those goods, a differential duty of five per cent. against us would effectually destroy our trade altogether. The Spanish Government, therefore, in selecting that class of goods in particular, have shown that they have discriminated in order to do us most mischief at least cost to themselves. But this is not altogether a question of pounds, shillings, and pence. It is a question of outraged feelings and broken faith. It is the only revenge which a weaker nation feels it can take for wrongs perpetrated by the more powerful.

A combination of events at the present moment tend to show in the strongest light the folly and impolicy of the course we pursued last year with respect to Spain. Sir R. Peel last year reduced the sugar duties, giving up between one and two millions of revenue, with the hope of encouraging an extensive consumption. But the right honourable baronet made no provision for a supply to make that consumption possible. The stocks of sugar have been gradually undergoing a reduction, until they are *thirty per cent.* less than at the same period last year, and the price has been rising in proportion. To make matters worse, the crop in the West Indies is ascertained, at the lowest calculation, to be short of last year's quantity by *twenty thousand tons*. Free-labour sugar arrives in extremely small quantities, altogether inadequate to supply the increasing demand. The consequence is that the consumer gets little or no benefit from the reduction of the duty, while the revenue is seriously injured. There is now a difference between the price of Java sugar in Holland and in London of *ten shillings the cwt.*; but our navigation laws prevent the importation of colonial produce from any Continental port. Do what we will there is but one escape from our difficulties—one way by which the supply of sugar can be so increased as to meet at once the wants of the country and the interests of the revenue. If we will supply the country with cheap sugar, and rely upon a large consumption, we must take it from those countries, whence alone it can be supplied in large quantities; we must throw aside the policy which has exposed us to the ridicule and suspicion of other countries, and admit the sugars of Cuba and Brazil. There is no other way by which the consumer can now be saved from an exorbitant price, or the revenue from an enormous loss. An honourable course pursued towards Spain would have saved us from the whole difficulty.

SUNDERLAND CORPORATION.—On Wednesday, May 20th, at a general meeting of the council of this borough, the Mayor in the chair, it was moved by Mr. Thompson that a petition from the Corporation be sent to the House of Lords, praying their lordships to pass the bill sent up from the Commons, for repealing the Corn Laws without delay. The motion was seconded by Mr. R. French, shipowner; and Mr. Featherstonhaugh, an extensive manufacturer and local magistrate, thought it more especially necessary for the council to express the public feeling of the borough, in consequence of the unfortunate circumstance that a Conservative gentleman (Mr. Hudson) had been returned as one of its members (applause). He rejoiced in the opportunity of showing to the country that Sunderland is, as it ever had been, a liberal borough. He trusted that it would always be so, and that by their divisions they would never again be guilty of returning an anti-liberal member to misrepresent the opinions of the town (loud applause).—The petition was adopted unanimously. It was then resolved that Earl Grey be requested to present the petition to the House of Lords, and the Marquess of Londonderry (who has become a convert to Free Trade principles) to support it.

EFFECT OF FREE TRADE.—At one of the Dumfriesshire farms of James Oswald, Esq., of Auchincruive, now out of lease, twenty offers were received, and the farm has been let at a rise of 33 per cent. on the former rental.

A correspondent of the *Times* says, the disease in the new potato crop in Portugal is clearly detected. The disease has appeared in Madeira; and in many other places nearly one-half of the old crop is unfit for food.

The seven dealings of John Bull are—the shop, the stocks, the newspaper, religion, roast beef, prejudice, and port wine.

As storm following storm, and wave succeeding wave, give additional hardness to the shell that encloses the pearl, so do the storms and waves of life add force to the character of man.

At sixteen we risk our lives for a joke, notwithstanding that life is then most delightful; and at sixty we take a thousand precautions to guard against death, although weighed down by infirmity. There is not much more to be said for our sense at sixty than at sixteen.—*Paul de Kock.*

ESTATE WANTED.—Wanted to purchase, a small FARM, of not more than 30 acres, with good HOUSE and OUT-BUILDINGS. Apply, Mr. S., 116, Tottenham-court-road, London.

RICHARD COBDEN, ESQ., M.P.—J. STEPHENSON and CO. beg to announce that the Exhibition of the Whole-Length Portrait of RICHARD COBDEN, ESQ., M.P., will shortly CLOSE, and they respectfully invite to those who have not yet seen this National Portrait to avail themselves of an early inspection. Art Union Repository, 46, King-street, May 21, 1846.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, May 20, 1846.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

As the regulations of the Post Office require that the Christian Name of the party to whom Post Office Orders are sent should be given in full, subscribers are respectfully requested to procure their Orders in future for GEORGE WILSON, LEAGUE OFFICES, Manchester, or ABRAHAM WALTER PAULTON, 67, Fleet-street, London.

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*Subscriptions from Aucthermucky, per A. Holley	3	17	0
*Daniels, W. and A., 3, Aldermanbury, per R. Bailey	2	2	0
*Browning, Wm., 119, Minories	2	1	0
*Philpot, Mrs., 12, Middleton-square, per R. Bailey	1	1	0
*Stevens, Wm., 80, Bishopgate-street within	1	1	0
*Moore, J., Woolwich	1	1	0
*Espie, Robert, Blythe Hill, Sydenham	1	1	0
*Phillips, W., Belle Vue House, Bristol	1	1	0
*X. Y. Z., Southam, Warwickshire	1	0	0
*Hodgson, Wm., South-terrace, Hartlepool	1	0	0
*Taylor, Henry, do do	1	0	0
*Homesey, Joseph, St. Loyes-street, Bedford	1	0	0
*Mann, Wm., Southwood House, Halfway-street, Eltham, Kent	1	0	0
*Goodman, Thomas, White Hart, Stafford-street, Wolverhampton	1	0	0
*Wingate, Thomas, and Co., Springfield Engineer Works, Glasgow	1	0	0
*Roy, Wm., Clyde Bank Print Works, Glasgow	1	0	0
*Wallis, Arthur, Bartholomew-street, Brighton	1	0	0
*Parsley, Samuel, Worle, Somerset	1	0	0
Brown, John, East-street, Wareham, Dorset	1	0	0
Milnes, Henry, Oldmellows Arms, Bradford, Yorkshire	1	0	0
*Payne, Edward, 24, Cloudsley-street, Islington	1	0	0
*Aked, Joseph, 1, Paisgrave-place, Strand	1	0	0
*Dennis, J., 17, Vere-street, Clero-market	1	0	0
*Peppercorn, Joseph, Broadway, Deptford	1	0	0
*Tanner, Thomas Wm., Nelson-street, Greenwich	1	0	0
*Booth, Joseph, Lower Tooting, Surrey	1	0	0
A Friend, do	0	5	0
Hays, Thomas, 28, Fore-street	0	2	6
*Addison, Colonel, Sudbury	1	0	0
Per Colonel Halford, J. F., 7, Navarino-ter., Dalston	1	0	0
Addison, A. Friend, Sudbury	0	5	0
Ditto do	0	2	6
Ditto do	0	2	6

* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed subscriptions.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO GEORGE WILSON, ESQ., CHAIRMAN OF THE LEAGUE.

Ellet Vale, Blackheath, May 16, 1846.

DEAR SIR,—The easiest of roads to parliamentary distinction is to attack a man who it is at the same time boasted is not there to make reply.

Let the League should take too much to heart the inferences which might be drawn from the member for Shrewsbury's song of triumph over me in the House of Commons on the night of the vote of the third reading, allow me to put you in possession of a reason for doubting their validity.

It is quite within my recollection, that at the election for Maidstone in 1837 alluded to, on the day before the poll my decision was asked on a proposal, purporting to come from a hundred of the electors, who would vote for me for 5*l*. a-head, and declared they should ask the Tory 8*l*. They were refused, and so they voted against me: how far they put in execution the part of their intention which was not relating to myself, is what is not in any degree within my knowledge, or I would declare it. I am sorry I had not the opportunity of adding this circumstance to the graphic account of the election contained in the romance of Coningsby.

You see, sir, where the pinch lies. You see why it is, that an enemy, of talent in his way, shall go to Parliament to oppose your cause, and an ancient advocate, whom many consider as having as deeply attended to the subject as anybody save some of the Queen's ministers, shall be made into a cushion to stuff out his greatness. And you must perceive the senselessness of the system, which settles that because a man refuses to break through the duties of an officer and a gentleman, he shall be proscribed from Parliament, and be personally triumphed over there by the individual who had the benefit of his refusal. These things will be altered; but that is not exactly within your line.

To the objection urged against anything of mine, I could answer better if I knew more distinctly what it was. As far as my perception goes, there is nothing but an attempt to note the discrepancies among what has been said by different persons at different times and places; a sort of curry powder substituted for argument. What the Protectionists will never grapple with, whatever the triumphs the state of the representation may afford them, is the knowledge by this time pervading every Mechanics' Institute in the country, that whenever a trader of any kind attracts increased prices or employment to himself through what is called protection, every fraction of it is abstracted from industrious members of our own community in some other part, which makes a balance, and the difference of price stands out after it all, as a gratuitous loss to the consumer.

The public, now or at some time, will decide among all concerned. I only implore the member for Shrewsbury to pay marked attention to the fact, that however he may be pleased to place your opinions and mine in his "limbo," it is his opinions and not ours, that are in the limbo of a minority of 98 on the third reading in the House of Commons.

I am, dear sir, yours, very sincerely,
T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

LETTER FROM THE FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL TO THE COUNCIL OF THE ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

Montreal, Canada, Free Trade Association Office,
3, St. Sacrament street, April 28, 1846.

SIR,—I am requested by the Montreal Free Trade Association to put myself in communication with you, in order that you may be made aware of the movement which is going on in this part of the British empire in favour of a system of unrestricted commerce. You will learn with satisfaction the existence of a Free Trade Association in a colony which has been hitherto so deeply bound up in the protective system; and that, far from desponding at the prospect afforded, a large portion of the most influential of the mercantile class in Canada regard the approaching changes with hope and satisfaction. It is felt that, however kindly meant and gladly received, the protective system has operated as a dead weight upon the energies of the country, and prevented that development of its vast resources which would otherwise have taken place. The Montreal Free Trade Association have a most confident feeling that Canada can safely be left to herself in the management of her commerce, and that the time has arrived when this liberty cannot be denied her. They do not, however, conceal from themselves that, as the pioneers of the Free Trade movement on this question, they have a sturdy battle to fight. The great mass of the people of this colony has been so long used to look to the protective system as essential to the connection with Great Britain, and their own colonial existence, that they look with some suspicion on the new movement. The vicious course of the provincial government also, acting in imitation of the policy of the mother country, has encouraged these feelings, and made the agriculturist of the west almost as inveterate a protectionist as his yeoman brother at home. These feelings must, however, yield before a calm discussion of the questions at issue, and a knowledge of the capability of Canada to engross the large carrying trade of the western states of the neighbouring union—which fact it has been one of the objects of the Montreal Free Trade Association to show.

You will see from a copy of the *Montreal Herald* of the 11th inst., that a public meeting has been held in this city, and that resolutions in favour of Free Trade were carried. The result was very much more favourable than could have been anticipated, considering that it was the first attempt of the kind, and that the protective party had taken alarm, and assembled in considerable numbers. You will see by the report that they succeeded, through Mr. Gilmore, in carrying one resolution.

Since the meeting, the operations of the association have been directed to the dissemination of their opinions and views by the means of printed reports, and through the influence secured by members. They have taken charge of the petition adopted at the public meeting, and have obtained nearly 1000 signatures, including the names of many of the most influential residents, both commercial and professional. Another step they are now engaged in is the publication of a weekly Free Trade newspaper, the first number of which will appear on Saturday next. It is to be called the *Economist*, and will, I trust, be the means of enlightening the public mind on the subject of Free Trade, and its applicability to the colonies.

I have not thought it necessary to state in this letter what are the precise objects which the Montreal Free Trade Association propose to accomplish, as you will find them fully set forth in the speeches of the different speakers at the public meeting, and particularly in that of Mr. Elder.

One of my objects in writing to you is to solicit that you

will afford us such assistance as may be in your power, by furnishing us with your publications, and in any other way that you may consider consistent with your rules, and the interests of your association. On our parts, we will let you know from time to time what progress we are making, and be always glad to attend to any suggestions emanating from your body.

Trusting I have not wearied your patience,
I have the honour to remain,
W. H. FLEET, Sec. F. T. A.
The Chairman of the Anti-Corn-Law League.

OUR WEST INDIAN COLONIES.

MY DEAR SIR,—While the selfishness of legislative cupidity has been obstructing, as far as it could, the admission of food to relieve the wants of a starving population, it may be worth while to call attention to the following paragraph, which I find in the *St. John's* (New Brunswick) *Morning News* of the 10th of last month which has just reached me:

"YANKEE NOTIONS.—The *New York True Sun* says—Upwards of SEVEN THOUSAND of white gravel have been shipped from this city to London since the 15th of September last. It is taken from the beach of Long Island, and used to beautify the parks and gardens of London!!"

Surely while the monopolists clamour so lustily for "Protection to British Industry," when food is the subject of discussion, they ought not to exclude from the benefits of that "PROTECTION" the gravel of our own shores, or the wages of the Dorsetshire slaves, who might find employment in raising it, and thus make some addition to the horsebeans and turnips which constitute their normal diet.

I was glad to see Mr. Kitson's letter respecting the success of his new system in Tobago, in your last LEAGUE. But valuable as it is for the facts it contains, there is one fact which demands more particular notice, as furnishing a flat contradiction to the demand made by the West Indians for a further supply of labour. Upon referring to Mr. Kitson's letter, it will be seen that his maximum rate of wages does not exceed 8*d*. per day, or 4*s*. a week; which currency is not much above 2*s*. sterling, or below even the Irish standard of 4*d*. per diem; and yet even for this pittance, a powerful competition exists among the sable candidates for employment. Mr. Kitson says:

"I have 110 people on my pay list constantly engaged, and, instead of Armo's Vale being abandoned, I refused, in the past month, the aid of NO LESS THAN TWELVE EFFECTIVE LABOURERS!!"

What is true of Tobago, is no doubt true of all our islands; and yet in the teeth of this glut of labour, I find, from the West Indian papers, that the following provision has been made for the introduction of no fewer than 7993 unfortunate beings to swell the bloated tide of human misery, and rob the native of the soil of the fair remuneration for his labour:

Jamaica, 7 vessels to carry 1787 Coolies.
British Guiana, 16 " 3978
Trinidad, 8 " 2228

In all 31, to transport 7993 victims from India to toil and starve and die in our West Indian Islands, to aggravate the evil, and make the cup of iniquity overflow the brim. The fund from which the expenses of this immigration are defrayed, is raised from taxes imposed upon the very portion of the community whose means of living are to be lessened by their introduction. And what is the condition of the Coolies already imported? From the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for the present month, we learn that:

"The Kingston papers of last week contained statements to the effect that great discontent prevailed amongst the Coolies, and that several in a state of nudity had been to Spanish Town to complain to the Agent-general of ill-treatment; but, owing to that gentleman's illness, and absence from town, their object could not be secured. On Thursday they returned in greater numbers, and wandered about the town in a state of nakedness and misery. The police were compelled, for the sake of decency, to take them in charge. We are told that clothing was distributed among them, and that the people willingly supplied them with food. The cause of their discontent we have not learned, but report says, it arose from the ill-treatment they received from their *Sindars*. What the end of Coolie immigration will be is pretty evident. Many lives will be sacrificed, much bad feeling engendered, large sums of money wasted, and the whole scheme pronounced a failure. The editor of the *Falmouth Post* states, that a party of Coolies had come to town in a state of the greatest destitution and misery. He describes them as mere walking skeletons, infected with disease, and indulges in severe strictures on the inhumanity of bringing them from their own country, to die a wretched death in Jamaica."

And yet we learn from the same authority:

"A correspondent at Lucea, writing to us on the 23d of February, says, 'The *barque* Mandarin, commanded by Captain John Cleland, arrived here yesterday, with 276 immigrants. Of this number 237 are Hill Coolies, and 39 are Africans, the latter having been taken by British cruisers out of slave ships, and shipped on board the Mandarin, by order of the Governor of St. Helena. Captain Cleland reports that he made the passage from Calcutta to this place in 105 days, and that the Hyderabad was to have left in a fortnight after he did, with another lot of Coolies for Savanna-la-Mar. A third vessel would sail in a month after for some part on the north side, probably Falmouth.'"

Altogether it is expected that in the course of the year not fewer than 12,000 immigrants will be introduced into the three colonies of Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad, in the course of the year at the expense of those unfortunate labourers who are natives of the soil, with whose labour they are intended to interfere, and whose remuneration they are designed to reduce. The principle is the same as that of the New Poor Law, as administered at home—to place the labourer in a state of hopeless, endless, dependence upon the tyrant landowner, and mock him with the name of independence while he is robbed of the reality. And this is what the protectionists call giving encouragement to native industry!

Mr. Smith and Mr. Kitson prove the readiness of the negro to work for fair reward; but the object of the hypocritical predilection for free labour sugar is to compel him to accept what his employer will give, however below the just standard. It is this unfair and impolitic preference which perpetuates the horrors of slavery under another name, and furnishes the enemies of freedom with a plausible argument against the abolition of slavery.

Leaving you to use the extracts I have given, and the arguments I have used, in any manner your judgment suggests, I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours truly, Wm. HAMILTON.

A. W. Paulton, Esq.

THE SCHOOLMASTER WANTED.—The following epistle was sent a short time since from a farmer in Devonshire to his friend.—"Der Jan,—The Oxen ar com to praise the Gods." Meaning to inform him that the auctioneer was come to appraise the goods.

PASSAGES FROM THE LIFE OF AN ENGLISH FARMER.

PASSAGE III: Giving some account of his landlord.

Mr. Hurst's farm contained 120 acres, including roads, hedgerows, ditches on each side of the hedgerows, banks raised on the side of the ditches; marshes containing willows and wild ducks—the willows for himself, the wild ducks for the young squire; copses for game; a covert of furze (only in part on Berryhill farm) for foxes; and the ground on which stood the farm buildings and some cottages forming the outskirts of Berry village. On the Berry Park estate there were from fifty to sixty farms as large as this, and upwards of one hundred smaller. Altogether including 3600 acres in Berry Park, and 750 acres of copse and fox covert and common, outside the park walls, the estate contained nearly 47,000 acres.

And there was not an estate of land on the beautiful face of England more fair to look upon than that of Berry Park. There was not one less deceptive in its outward beauty; for below that beauty lay all the elements of excellent agriculture; and, as Mr. Hurst has since said, they only wanted money and men's strength, and two or three other advantages which the young squire could have added to money, and men's strength to have worked those elements into activity, to have made him a richer squire than his father was. And his father was rich enough to charge the estate only with 1000*l.* of annuity to an elderly relation, and 2000*l.* a-year to his widow, the young squire's mother. All his other children, daughters as well as sons, and the widow in part, were provided for out of his personal property.

No; there was not at that time a fairer inheritance of land in England than that which fell to this young squire by his father's death. Larger properties there are in England, and in Scotland too. It would not have measured with the acres of the noble Cavendish of Chatsworth, Grosvenor of Eaton Hall, Percy of Alnwick Castle; nor with the acres of twenty or thirty other Lords and commoners. Least of all with the regions of the grouse and the red deer of Athole or Argyle, or the sheep walks and the fields of oats and barley of Buccleuch. Yet it was a rich and a beautiful inheritance, large even amongst the lordly lands of England.

But fair and fruitful and exceeding lovely as were those 47,000 acres of woodland, rock, river, green meadow, and corn field, they lay not on the face of England more pleasant to the beholder than stood the young owner of them, generous and beloved, among those who enjoyed his personal friendship and favour. To have said to him who never heard the alms-seeker ask for a halfpenny without giving a shilling, who never had an act of duty or generous service done to him, so far as he knew it, without rewarding the duty with more than its payment, and the generous service with five-fold generosity; to have intimated to him that to sustain his dignity and provide himself with the pleasures which he was educated to desire and enjoy as necessities of life, he would make poor men of men not then poor, that men of honesty and industry would be by him driven in old age to the workhouse—to have told him of this he would as soon have leaped from the tower of his college at Oxford headlong, and broken his bones, every one of them, as have believed it; nor believing it, could he have continued to ride his racers and steeple-chasers across break and bar, ditch deep and hedge high, and drive his mail coach to Woodstock and Banbury and back again, loaded with young noblemen and the heir of a dukedom, in the uniform of a guard blowing the guard's bugle. No; such was the native generosity of his nature that he would not and could not have made the pleasures and pastimes to which these college exercises were but initiatory, the necessities of his life, had he known to what they would lead. But if he had been told to what they would lead, or might lead; had he been told what as a certainty they would prevent him from doing, namely, his duty to himself and his country, as the owner of 47,000 acres of land, he would not have believed those who so told him. His education led him to form different opinions on the duties of a rich landowner.

Had it been intimated to him by some friend who sat near his ear when he first went into Parliament, a young member and a young man, two years before his father's death, that instead of being a protector of agriculture, as he was sent to Parliament to be, and believed himself to be, he was its enemy, though its owner, he would have deemed that friend unfit for further confidence, kind and forbearing as he naturally was. Such had been the purport of every thought implanted in him by others; such the bent of every opinion which had grown within him of his own conception. For men's opinions, like a plant's leaves, grow to the light by which they are cherished.

We need not now take time to recount in detail all the elements of agricultural wealth which were then known to be on the Berry estate—but though known, not applied to use; nor the greater store of unapplied resources on it, and not then known—not known by reason of the traditions of agriculture having been for centuries deemed superior to new discoveries; nor then known, because it was left to the English manufacturers to take science by the hand and say, "Come work for us," while English farmers turned their backs on science, and would not let it even touch their dung-hills, saying, "We have always done as we do; we will do well enough if let alone;" the farmers speaking thus, because landowners had no higher knowledge of their duties and their interests than our young squire had. We shall not occupy time and fill space by putting into this narrative the details of the wasted wealth of the 47,000 acres of Berry Park, nor yet to put into form and shape palpable to the understanding that which is almost impalpable to human perception—the legal intricacies which are interwoven with all English tenures, and in such seemingly simple tenures as tenancies-at-will; and which, unhappily for English agriculture, ensnare it and mar its progress at every step. We may have yet time and space to give these in detail. At all events, we shall soon see in this little history what their effects are.

But at present let us proceed to say that the young Squire Thornecliffe—Francis Augustus de Aubrey Thornecliffe, at the age of 25, succeeded his father, Francis John de Aubrey Thornecliffe, who died at the age of 63. Let us proceed to review how the young rich man, now the possessor of property in land, the market value of which was about

1,500,000*l.* sterling, exclusive of timber, minerals, buildings, furniture, much valuable live stock, six church livings, the great tithes of several parishes, and the almost undisputed power to return two borough members to Parliament; let us proceed to review how he, already two years a legislator, pledged to support the interests of agriculture in Parliament, and honestly inclined so to do according to his best ability (his natural abilities were good)—and according to the political opinions which he had inherited with his high rank and great wealth; let us see what he did to advance that great interest which he believed to be beyond comparison paramount to all others in this country—the agricultural interest. And as we write and read in this paper for instruction, and not for mere amusement, let us put the actions of his early life in that point of view where they will be most instructive, though at the risk of being less entertaining. And let us touch upon some of those facts of occurrence and traits of character which have sober truth in them, though little romance.

Squire Thornecliffe was not a frequent speaker in Parliament. He had little time, and not much inclination, to attend the House of Commons. His two packs of hounds; his horse-races, steeple-chases, yeomanry cavalry, game preserves, and grand battues among the game; his coursing and breeding, and buying of hounds and horses for coursing and hunting and racing, his betting on all events and amusements, and paying of bets to gentlemen less wealthy, but sharper or more fortunate than himself; all these left him little time, and less inclination to spend his evenings in the House of Commons. Still he was often there when a vote was required for the party to which he was attached by inheritance and education, and always there when a vote was required to support, as he honestly believed it was to support, that interest which was his interest, and to which he was voluntarily pledged.

He had spoken in Parliament before succeeding to his estate in deprecation of some motion for Parliamentary reform, and, in doing so, founded his objection to reform on the ground that it would weaken the agricultural interest, and transfer its political strength to the manufacturing and commercial towns. He spoke then slightly of the men called cotton lords; and even seriously warned the legislature of the national danger involved in the increasing magnitude of English manufactures; and he has at times, when opportunities served, spoken similarly since. And when he has not spoken, his votes have conveyed to the public the fact that he has not altered his opinions.

Now it so happened, that in the year of his accession to the Berry estate, there died, at about the distance of 200 miles from London, a gentleman who was both a manufacturer and a merchant, and who left one son, the sole inheritor of his wealth; that wealth consisted of two coal-pits, with steam-engines and all the gear in working order; two large ships trading to the United States, shares in seven ships trading to the West Indies and South America; one steam-ship going between Liverpool and Dublin; shares in steamers working as pilots and ferry-boats on the Mersey; shares in several of the Midland Counties canals; one canal and the wharves on it all his own; a warehouse in Liverpool, and shares in a Marine Insurance office in the same place; also a cotton-mill, steam engine, and machinery for spinning and weaving in the neighbourhood of Manchester; which last was let at an annual rental of several thousand pounds to a manufacturer. Indeed, the greater part of all the property enumerated was under the management of second parties, who hired it and paid rent, or freightage, or dividends, as the case might be.

This young man of wealth, though not so rich as Squire Thornecliffe, was richer than most of the squires and many of the lords in England; and he might have used his property for pleasure, and pleasure only, as they used theirs, if he had been so inclined. Where he was educated, and what the maxims of his education were, cannot be now told with certainty.

But he did not stop the engine of the coal-pits and the pump, and go down into the pits for sport, and be hauled up again and again let down for sport at break-neck speed showing courage and spirit on his part, yet hindering the work of the coal-master, who rented the pits, and of the colliers, who worked the seams of coal.

He did not, when the ships were loaded with cutlery, and crockery, and plate, and calicoes, and silks, for Boston, New York, and Baltimore, and Charleston, go and fill them with vermin, for the pleasure of hunting the vermin, and killing some of it, and holding some of it by the tail, and cutting off the tail; overturning bales of goods upon the deck in the pursuit; breaking the cutlery and the crockery; defacing the plate, and treading the calicoes and the silks under foot; ordering the merchants, whose goods these were, and who had freighted the ships, to leave the ships, if they complained, with their goods instantly, before the voyage was made; he still taking freightage from them, by compulsion, because the goods were in his ships, and the law authorised him to take freightage, whether the voyage was completed or not; he did not do all, nor any of these things, to the merchants, his tenants.

He did not prevent those who held shares jointly with himself in the ships trading to the West Indies and South America from making the most of any new merchandise or new mercantile project, which the most sagacious of them deemed to be profitable.

He did not load his steam ship, going between Liverpool and Dublin, with idle passengers, who paid no fares, merely because those idle passengers were agreeable companions, well-dressed, and pleasant to be seen in a steam packet, even though that packet was entirely his own, and he might have got a premium for making such a show.

He did not, for the sport of taking pleasure-trips every day for nine months of the year in the ferry-boats on the Mersey, hinder the trade and the profit of those boats, and pay penalties to those who owned them jointly with himself; thus losing his own share of the profits, and making good their losses also.

He did not let the canal, which was all his own, flood the wharves and the warehouses, by defective drainage and broken flood-gates, nor keep that canal for the mere breeding of fish, with a force of armed men around it to preserve the fish, and keep away all fishers, and all boats and barges, and the navigators of them, who might attempt to use the canal for the common-sense uses of its construction.

He did not, when he let his spinning and weaving factory to the manufacturer, bind the latter to keep it all in repair, and yet allow him, the owner, to come into the mill with bet-headed associates, whose life was idleness, to get the steam up to a pressure which the safety-valve could not ease, that the machinery might be made to go at a rate which wheels, shafts, pulleys, cranks, spindles, and shuttles, never went at before—all to see which wheel could go fastest and

longest without breaking down. Nor did he bind this manufacturer to spin only certain kinds of cotton, certain numbers of thread, and weave certain lengths and lengths of pieces of cloth, under penalty of being fined triple, quadruple, and quintuple, the value of the threads and pieces of cloth made against rule. Nor did he depute the power of doing all or any of those things, in his name, to lawyers, who know nothing of ships and factories, and spinning and weaving, yet who like a job to do, and cannot live without a job to do.

He did not do all those things, and profess to be the especial friend, protector, and encourager of ships, canals, factories, and of the occupiers and workers of ships, canals, and factories. He offered his tenant, the manufacturer, no protection, but security, that he would not interfere with him until the term of years for which the factory was leased had expired, save to draw the rent, and see that the machinery was not wilfully injured or destroyed. He gave the merchants who freighted his ships, and the captains and crews of the ships no promise of protection,—only liberty to sail with what tide they chose, and what wind, to whatever port they chose, with whatever cargo—wisely judging, that they knew better than he how to choose a cargo and take advantage of wind and tide. As for them seeking redress for his stocking of the ships with vermin, that he might hunt the vermin over the bales of goods, shouting and tallyhoing as he hunted, and hold the vermin up by the tail when it was caught, and cut off the tail, and each of the four nearest of his companions cut off a foot as a trophy; as for the merchants and the captains seeking redress for goods damaged, and time wasted thus, they never once thought of such a thing. In commerce, and also in the dealings of the manufacturers, such waste of property, and of the resources and energies which produce property, are not known.

Not so in agriculture. The young Squire Thornecliffe believed that he did only what became a squire to do, and especially one so largely possessed of land as he was, in doing to his property and to those who hired it and paid rent for it, all those things which the young merchant did not do to his mercantile property.

And yet he continued to marvel why this adventurer in merchandise and manufactures became richer every year, and added to all his business that of a banker, and to all his ships and canals and shares in these more ships and shares in railways, and, before long, to all his wealth a landed estate; while he, the owner of land, born to it, and bred a landowner of the first class, advanced not in wealth, but sank into debt. And farther, he and many more of his Parliamentary party, continued to marvel why the manufacturer, who only rented the factory, should become so rich as to build a new one for himself, and extend his business far beyond its former limits, while those who were tenants in land became no richer, and could not extend their manufacture of corn and cattle and human food without loss or complaints of loss.

Yet did he continue to keep his two packs of hounds that he might hunt four days in the week, and also all the horses necessary for so much hunting, and many more than was required even for that. And his packs of hounds were the most complete in his county, and the hunts were the best attended. So was his mansion noted for its hospitality, as he was for generosity in all personal actions. Yet he was only a fair specimen of the richest of English landowners, and a specimen of what even the most moderately endowed of the squires attempted to be; for though they could not all spend thousands a year on the mere items of hounds and horses, they all hunted and spent as far as their land, and those who lend money on land, would let them spend.

They rode with Squire Thornecliffe, and were proud of the honour and the privilege of hunting with his hounds four days of the week. And a hundred of them, and sometimes half as many more, would scour at the gallop across the farm fields, a fox first, hounds next, and the fleetest of them at the tails of the hounds. Some would halt not at hedge, or ditch, or high wall, but clear these, or any other obstacles, at a bound, plunging into another field of October sown wheat, it might be, or fold of fattening sheep, or meadow with cows in calf, striking terror into the sheep and cows, and making them run and stand appalled, as nothing on earth can terrify them; others, and by far the greater number, did not clear at a bound every hedge, ditch, and high wall; they rode through gaps in the fences; if there were gaps; they pulled down palings to make gaps, if there were none, or they rode to the gates and forced a way through them, and rode on and left them broken and open. And even the richer of the tenant farmers rode over one another's land thus; and were proud of the permission to ride with their squire and the fifty other squires there. And they hallooed and tallyhoed like the best of the squires, and called that farmer a "muff" and a "knave," whoever he might be, that grumbled to have his fields of new wheat, and his fences, and cattle, and sheep thus ridden upon, broken, and terror struck.

And last of all was it admissible for a tenant farmer to make deep drains, to draw the water from his fields to the great ditches, and cover in the drains and make conduits into which foxes could run for shelter in the hunt; nor was it pardonable to do anything, no matter what agricultural philosopher might recommend it, that would interfere with the pleasures of the chase, the breeding of foxes for the chase, and the preservation of game of all kinds for the dogs and guns, and great days of killing, wounding, and unwinning.

But in sooth there was little heard of the murmurs, if there were murmurs. It was in the conditions of their occupation of the farms for the tenants to submit to all those things, and to many more. The four-footed game, and the winged birds of the woodland coverts, and of the weedy wastes by the ponderous hedges and ditch banks, the farmers were bound not to injure, depredators though these were; but, on the contrary, to aid in preserving them until they were of numbers exceeding in multiplicity even the rooks, the sparrows, the mice, and the rats; yea, exceeding these, when added to all the fowls and chickens, ducks and ducklings, geese and goslings, hogs large and pigs little, on the broad estate.

Then when the harvest had been gathered in, and the game could get no more of that, and the wheat seed and the winter vetches had been sown, and had sprung up, and they could not eat more of either than they had eaten, and longer life would have led to leanness, the birds and the beasts, which ten armed gamekeepers and assistants, with sticks in their hands, and as many Acts of Parliament as there were gamekeepers, and more magistrates than there were men with sticks—the birds and beasts which they had preserved to that time, by and with the assistance of the farmers on whose crops they were chiefly fed, were encompassed in the woodlands and in the weedy boundaries of the fields, and driven forth in the face of the squire and many lords and lesser squires.

And men, expert in loading guns with powder and shot, loaded them and put caps to the locks, and handed them to the noble lords and the squire, and even to the lesser squires, who all of them fired at the shrieking birds as they rose above the copse one after another, and half dozens at a time, and brought them to the ground broken winged or killed outright, and never halted in their killing until they had brought many hundreds of pairs to the ground, and could tell of an excellent day's sport.

And then, when the shooting and hunting season was over, and birds were allowed to be at peace, and choose their mates, and hatch young birds for next year's battue, Squire Thorncliffe, and the other squires and lords, who sat in Parliament, repaired thither, and sat on their legislative eggs and hatched them into new Acts of Parliament, still more to protect agriculture and preserve game.

And again was money lavished on London life, beyond the measure of income, on mere consumption without production. And again did the racing come round, and the betting and the cheating of those rich enough to be cheated. Again the hunting came, and the *battues*, and the steeple-chases, and again and again the Parliament.

At last Squire Thorncliffe had mortgaged Berry Park estate—even the whole of the 47,000 acres; and what with the bonds of the mortgages added to all the other disabilities of the tenants as agriculturists, and the breeding and feeding of game, which was not now lessened, though the squire went abroad and let the sporting out for hire; and what with the inevitable consequence of augmented rents to pay the mortgages their interest, and still allow the squire 10,000*l.* a-year, agriculture was marred and buffeted, and put back, and compelled to linger on the road a beggar for alms, while commerce and manufactures marched on, and gained strength and wealth and independence.

ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH.

AGRICULTURE.

"THEY HUG EACH DEAR DELUSION TO THE LAST."

"For repealed they are, though there be a respite of three years."—*Mark Lane Express*, 18th May.

It is said that the monopolists indulge in the dream of a compromise; that they can, in the Lords, make some terms for their monopoly; that they may be able to retain some power over the supply of food; that the production of artificial scarcity is still to be a privilege of the Peers. Poor day dreamers! Suppose they should succeed in substituting some modified scale, or "a moderate fixed duty"—now the height of monopolist ambition—for the prospective Free Trade of Sir Robert Peel's Bill; suppose a dissolution of Parliament, and the farmers cajoled, or frightened into the most active electoral exertions; and suppose some measure of compromise to be passed into an Act of Parliament, does any rational human being believe that such compromise would be a settlement? Why, the League would effectually prevent that.

In 1842, just four years ago, the existing Corn Law was passed by overwhelming majorities, and was to have been a final settlement of the Corn Law question. Farmers were to rely on the law; land agents were to value according to the promises of the law; monopolist landlords were to extract high rents from yearly tenants by means of the law; in a word, the substance of monopoly was to be retained in unimpaired integrity. Nothing but the "superfluous odium" of the old law was to be abandoned. The inoperative extremes of the sliding scale were alone to be given up. The *Standard* pledged its character and veracity—pledges of no great value, we admit—to the assertion that the Corn Law question had been settled for 20 years. Yet, in less than four years, monopoly is *in extremis*. Every public man of reputation has abandoned it as untenable. In the Commons, the monopolists have been compelled to seek for a leader in the elevated and intellectual region of the betting ring. Then, the protectionists had the countenance and counsel of Sir Robert Peel, and the practised band of public men who constitute his Government; now they must rely on the prudence of a Stanley, and the sagacity of a Richmond, to support their wrong against the aroused indignation of the British people.

And this indignation is no vague or momentary feeling, which may subside if opposed by a Stanley—Richmond—Bentinck Cabinet. It has its organised, disciplined, and tried interpreter. It is embodied in the League. In 1842, the League told the farmers that the question would never be settled till the trade in corn was free—till all laws respecting the importation of grain should be totally abolished; and the League has gone so far to produce the fulfilment of its prediction, that its absolute accomplishment is inevitable. As the shrewd protectionist of the *Mark Lane Express* says, "the Corn Laws are repealed," though the final extinction of all restriction is resented.

And what was the state of the public mind in 1842, as compared with its present state? The League then declared that the New Corn Law would be, and should be, no settlement of the question; and it relied upon its power to instruct the public. Has the League been idle in the interval? For every individual who then understood and admitted,—and to understand is to admit,—the economical truths on which the resistance to monopoly is founded, there are now fifty. The League fund of 50,000*l.* was then thought a grand effort—by some too great to be accomplished; yet it has been raised, and applied to the instruction of the people. Then a further fund of 100,000*l.* has been since raised, and applied in the same way; and now the creation of a third fund of a quarter of a million, for the same object, is suspended until it is sure whether the Peers will or not risk any real effort to uphold their monopoly. Now, too, the value of the 40*s.* franchise, as an instrument to break down the unrighteous power of monopoly, has become known. And, with these facts before them, do any rational persons believe that there can be any settlement of the Corn Law question by a compromise?

The very proposition is an absurdity. The League is pledged to the abolition of all restrictions on the import of grain; every statesman of the nation has also pledged himself to the same opinions; and can it be supposed that the mere brute force of landlordism—a force which has daily become weaker and weaker, as the people have become acquainted with its real character, can sustain monopoly even in a modified form?

We especially call the attention of farmers to these facts. We ask them to review the progress of the Anti-Corn-Law agitation. Let them start with the Free Trade meetings in the rural districts—pass on to the counter-agitation of the landlords by their "Protection Societies,"—an agitation which has indirectly done as much to spread Free Trade efforts amongst the farmers, as the direct efforts of the League itself,—then to the county franchise movement; and, finally, to the proposal by Government of a measure which eventually provides for the total abolition of the Corn Laws. After such a review, can they hug the delusion that "protection" in any form can be maintained? We venture to say they cannot. Yet there is a considerable section of landowning monopolists who still hug that delusion with a devotion amounting to fatuity. These are the men who dream of a compromise. The realisation of their dream is impossible. Nevertheless they may attempt to realise it; for, as politicians, they are not accountable beings. And the attempt will be made by the agency of the farmers they can control, and at the expense of the whole farming body.

That the League will defeat the attempt of any section of the landed oligarchy to uphold the Corn Laws is absolutely certain, and in all probability, if the contest be renewed, it will be of no very long duration.

But what, in the mean time, becomes of the questions about which farmers are naturally so anxious, and which so directly and seriously affect their interests? Till the question of the Corn Laws has been settled—and nothing but total repeal will settle it—all hope of improved and secure tenures, of the arrangement of tenant rights, of rational leases, or abandonment of game preserves, must be suspended. Self delusion, and to delude their tenants, will be the aim of the monopolist landlords; while uncertainty, and possible miscalculation, will beset every arrangement in his business which the farmer may attempt to make. For their own sakes, then, as well as in mercy to their infatuated leaders, let the farmers meet any efforts to impede the too tardy settlement of the Corn Law question, which the Government bill proposes to effect, by a distinct declaration that they have had enough of protection; that it is not worth the turmoil of its maintenance (even if it could be maintained), and that above all things, the farmers desire to have the question settled.

THE FOREIGN CATTLE TRADE.

If anything was now necessary to convince the farmers that the monopolist landowners, who have hitherto assumed to act in the name of the agricultural interest, have been actuated by motives which they have not

avowed, it would be found in their ridiculous exaggerations of the capacity of foreign husbandry. Take, for instance, their fables about foreign cattle. What farmer does not remember the outcry about the tariff? How many of them sacrificed their stock under the influence of a sort of panic? Now, the most cursory inquiry would have satisfied the most timid stockholder that any serious depreciation of the value of British cattle from foreign competition, was, and is, impossible. Nothing but the absurd premium offered by our Corn Laws to foreign feeding of stock could have made the tariff worth the farmer's consideration.

But although the cattle panic has passed away, the "farmers' friends" in Parliament are endeavouring to raise similar false alarms upon the subject of corn; and it will, therefore, be useful to farmers to learn upon what unsubstantial foundation their former tales about cattle were based.

We have, elsewhere, made some remarks upon the farmers' prospects, with an open market for corn; and we shall here give some passages from the letter of a correspondent of the *Times*, from "the Banks of the Elbe," on the importation of German cattle.

The information is derived from an English gentleman, who has for upwards of 20 years farmed his own estate in Northern Germany, and his remarks on the tariff are divided into two heads: 1*st*, its effect on the English grower of stock; 2*d*, on the grower of corn. On the first point he says:

"The English stock grower dreads being overwhelmed by such an importation of foreign cattle and sheep as will reduce prices to, if not below, the cost of production. My decided conviction is, that no quantity of stock which can now, or for many years to come, be spared from the home consumption of Germany, can in any degree lessen the profits of the English farmer, or produce any perceptible fall in the markets; and I ground my assertion on the following data—1*st*, whilst the importation of foreign cattle into England during the last three and a half years has (with the exception of the panic period) caused no diminution whatever of English prices, the small number of 8000 head removed from our consumers has produced so sensible a rise in our markets that good meat now fetches in this country very nearly as much as in England. An attention to the following quotations will at once show the relative positions of the two countries in this respect:—Prime beef is stated in *The Times*, of the 14th inst., to have brought 4*s.* 4*d.* per stone on the 13th of April. The best oxen which can now be procured in this country sell at 14 dollars per 100*lbs.*; but they are far from being what an English butcher would term prime; I question, indeed, if they would be esteemed equal to the second quality at Smithfield, and for this reason—oxen of first quality are very rarely to be met with in this country, except in autumn, when the cattle fatted in the rich delta of the Elbe are brought to market; while, at this season, few beasts are offered for sale except draught oxen, which, having been cast at the commencement of winter from the ploughing team on account of age or stiffness, and having been since fed on dry food or the refuse of potato distilleries, have not, it may easily be imagined, exchanged during such a process of stall-feeding the tough, stringy muscle induced by eight or nine years' hard work for flesh of a much more palatable or juicy nature. And when, in addition to these deteriorating circumstances, the inferior class of animals bred in these countries is taken into account, with their heavy heads and foreheads, their long legs, and their light hind quarters, it will, I think, be granted that such can never be classed higher than with second-rate beef in England. And yet even these coarse animals cannot, as I have said, be bought here at present for less than 14 dollars per 100 *lbs.*, or about 3*s.* 8*d.* a stone. Now, as *The Times* of the 14th states second quality beef as selling at 4*s.* per stone, the speculator in foreign cattle here has, in return for risk, freight, commission, and profit, the tempting possibility of realising 4*d.* per stone!"

Nor is the risk of transporting cattle trifling. In October last no less than 18 oxen were thrown overboard from one Hamburg steamer, during a storm; and the unprofitable nature of the trade has been shown by the fact that comparatively few cattle have been shipped from Hamburg during the last four months, though the navigation has been quite open. But then it has been said that the rise of price abroad will give an impulse to the German stock farmers. But the well-informed correspondent says:

"It so happens, however, that serious, in some respects insurmountable, obstacles oppose themselves to this being done to any considerable extent. The first and most unconquerable difficulty is the climate, which necessitates the housing of all fatted animals during the whole winter (seven months on an average), if they shall retain the flesh they brought with them from the pastures; and it need hardly be remarked, that building is an expense which proprietors alone will undergo, and one which few would be likely to go to on speculation. Germany, it may be said, is a wide world, and that although the far north may deserve this description, it cannot apply to the more southern portions. I reply, meteorological tables prove a very remarkable similarity of temperature throughout the whole of Germany. Thus it is ascertained that the mean temperature of what is called the north-west district (Hamburg, Brunswick, &c.) is,—winter, 1 deg.; summer, 18 deg. 2 min.; while that of the valley of the Rhine, including Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Mannheim, and Würzburg, is only,—winter, 1 deg. 10 min.; summer, 18 deg. 9 min.) of Reaumur—much too small a variation to afford any just ground for calculating on a different mode of animal treatment, even were it not well known that the warmest portions of Germany are not grazing countries. Again, it may and has been said, 'Admit cattle into England, and the vast plains of the Bannat and of Poland will send us millions of cattle.' But how are they to reach a sea port? How support or be supported through the arid sands of Prussia? And in what condition would they reach the English shore? But the

necessity of housing cattle is not the only obstacle which the German climate presents to any extensive increase of stock-breeding; the difficulty of producing and securing an adequate supply of food arising from the same cause is very great. Turnips, that foundation of English agricultural prosperity, and the hinging point of English agricultural argument, cannot be grown to any extent. Many a soil which, to the eye of the traveller posting for amusement or business through Prussia, appears a second Norfolk, requiring only English skill to raise turnips, and English sheep to eat them off, in order to become the finest land in the world, is, in fact, wholly incapable of growing them at all from the moistureless aridity to which it is reduced in the summer months.

But that is not all :

"Even where the soil is not unfavourable, the very short interval—usually four weeks—which can be reckoned on as intervening between the frosts of winter and the sudden heat and consequent rapid development of summer, now and then varied by a parching drought which bakes the ground into iron, leaves scanty time, with the aid of a comparatively small agricultural population for getting in the grain and potato crops, and renders the laying down of any considerable breadth of Swedes (the only turnip which is worth taking trouble with here) very nearly an impossibility."

But, suppose all the difficulties of want of hands, want of implements, and want of capital, in an unfavourable climate surmounted, the turnips sown, and escaped from the fly—"in that country a very Egyptian plague"—and suppose the plants cleaned and hoed, no easy matter, the troubles of the German breeder and feeder are not over :

"The frost, which generally sets in sharply the first days of November, even although it afterwards relaxes, may deprive him of the fruit of all his labour, since it is no easy matter to get all the winter corn sown, the potatoes pitted, and every other esculent rescued from the frost. But even when taken up, the difficulty is not surmounted. If the weather becomes mild and moist, the turnips grow in the pit; if it be severe, they can scarcely be saved from freezing by any depth of covering in a climate which occasionally, and often most unexpectedly, freezes two feet deep in a couple of nights. Feeding off is, of course, wholly out of the question, and the trouble, expense, and uncertainty connected with turnip culture, as above depicted, are much greater than the mere renter of a farm will encounter, while the rich proprietors know little of, and care less for, farming."

But the summer supply of food for stock is as limited as the winter. The writer says :

"Nor is it in winter only that the German cultivator suffers from climate. Green crops, too, are of very uncertain attainment. Last year, for example, was one singularly unpropitious to the stock farmer. Not only did the severe and late-continued frost destroy nearly all the clover and ryegrass throughout the country, but the supervening long drought, and the alternations of extreme heat and cold withering winds which characterised the summer, prevented the deficiency being made good by vetches, or other fallow crops; the consequence was, a great dearth of fodder, to which was afterwards superadded the potato disease, thus cutting off the usual resource of the German farmer when hay is scarce. From all this it is plain the agriculturists here have little encouragement to breed cattle on speculation, and that whatever, in the usual routine course can be spared from home consumption for exportation must ever remain a mere drop in the bucket as to any influence it can have in depressing the English market, even were the British population to remain stationary."

But if population is increasing here, it is increasing also in Germany :

"The rapid increase of population here, as elsewhere, in these peaceful times; the vastly-increased consumption of butchers' meat since the cholera was affirmed to be fostered by a vegetable and fruit diet; and the very high price it bears in Prussia and Saxony (both of them destitute of pastures), whether any surplus from their neighbouring lands will assuredly go so soon as the railroad communication, now in a great state of forwardness, affords the means of rapid, cheap, and regular transport. Any considerable exportation of fat sheep from Germany to England is a chimera. There are three breeds kept in this country—the long legged, coarse-wooled, small-carassed, indigenous heath sheep; the fine merino, kept for the sake of the fleece as long as it can eat, and which by no process of feeding can be made to lay up flesh on the forequarters; and the large marsh sheep, which affords a heavy, coarse, woolly-tasted mutton. The larger English breeds have been repeatedly imported, with the view of improving the native sheep, but have always proved a failure, as they can neither endure the heat and drought of summer, nor the being housed for months in winter; and as mutton is very justly considered the worst meat Germany produces, home consumption would never repay the farmer for the loss on wool he must incur, should he, by crossing with English rams, obtain a better carressed animal. On all these grounds, the English farmers need not waste a thought on any evil likely to accrue to them from the admission of foreign cattle into England free of all duty."

The German feeders, however, quite understand the value of our present Tariff and Corn Law to them, which, by excluding their cheaper grain and admitting their stock when fattened, offer a direct premium to the German graziers at the expense of the British stock-feeder; for the writer adds :

"But should the House of Peers be so obliging as to persevere in opposing Sir R. Peel's measure in regard to corn, while they sanction its adoption in respect of cattle, we farmers on this side of the water ought to drink their healths in champagne every day of our lives, for nothing could be a greater boon to us."

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS.

In the House of Commons on Tuesday night, Mr. Stafford O'Brien inquired whether Government had framed any machinery to obtain agricultural statistics,

which, in 1844, had been suggested to, and undertaken by, the Government. He thought that though the farmers might not at first readily furnish all the information that was desirable, yet they would become gradually familiarised with the subject, and in time furnish more complete and detailed information than could be expected at first.

Sir George Clerk, on the part of the Government, stated that they had tried the experiment in Hampshire, in the county of Edinburgh, and in Cavan, in Ireland. From Ireland and Scotland—in the latter the parochial schoolmasters having been employed to furnish the returns—they had obtained the required information :

"In the northern division of Hampshire, however, they had not succeeded so well. They had employed the officers of the Poor Law; but from some jealousy which had sprung up they had only received returns from a few places. He admitted the importance of the subject; and he trusted that in a short time the returns would be completed. When they were obtained and presented, then the house might consider the question whether the information obtained should be voluntary or compulsory. After the opinion expressed by his hon. friend he trusted that the agriculturists would afford all the information required of them."

And, from a fuller report than that from which we have quoted, it appears that the Hampshire farmers are unwilling to furnish the information required. We are not much surprised at this; because we know that amongst the great body of English farmers, who are yearly tenants, an opinion prevails that if they are known to have made any considerable improvements in the cultivation of their farms, advantage will be taken by the landlords of such information, in order to advance their rents. We regret to say, so many advantages have been taken of tenants, that it is impossible to deny that the apprehension has some foundation. We think, however, that farmers generally need not decline to give information of the statistics of their farms on that ground, because most farms are rented to the full as high as they ought to be, under yearly holdings, and the existing state of the relations of landlord and tenant. But, in every other respect, it is to the interest of the farmers to give full and accurate statements of the statistics of their farms.

Say, for instance, the acreage, the division into pasture and arable, the breadth of the various grain, root, and green crops, the number of labourers employed; the horses, the stock of cattle, sheep and pigs, kept, bred and fed; the quantities of artificial food and artificial manure purchased, the extent of damage done by game, the size of the enclosures, the prevalence of timber, the state of the hedge-rows, the ditches and the drainage, the extent and condition of the homestead and farm-buildings, and so forth; so the return of each kind of grain, roots, and other produce per acre, would furnish a mass of information which would greatly elucidate the actual state of English husbandry.

We have no doubt that such a return would redound much more to the credit of the tenantry than the landlordism of the country. It would be found, that where the produce is large—where much stock is maintained, and many labourers employed—where land is well drained, and fences well kept, the tenant is exempted from some of the burdens of landlordism, and has practically a secure tenure, and complete possession of his farm; that he either has a lease, or holds under circumstances, which induce him to expend capital in cultivation with the full expectation of reaping where he has sown. On the other hand, it would almost invariably appear, that where the produce of the land is small, the stock scanty, labour stinted, and so forth, that the cold shade of landlordism has overspread the farm; that the tenant has no security of tenure; that he is oppressed by obsolete or injudicious regulations; that timber abounds; that his buildings are bad; that he is infested with the pest of game, or that other evils of the same nature exist.

Now it is better for the tenant that these things should be known, for that would be the first step to a remedy. With the exception of game-preserving landlords, who must be put out of the category of civilized persons, as many proprietors mismanage their estates and oppress their tenants, from ignorance and bad advice as from design; and a large proportion of them would, ere long, on the evils being plainly shown to them, consent to apply a remedy. It is so clearly the interest of all persons connected with land, that accurate statistics should be accessible to all, that we hope some general and effective plan for collecting them may ere long be adopted.

GOOD ADVICE.—Never cut a piece out of a newspaper until you have looked on the other side, where, perhaps, you may find something more valuable than that which you intended to appropriate. Never burn your fingers, if you can help it; people burn their fingers every day, when they might have escaped it if they had been careful. Let no man ever quarrel with a woman; if you are troubled with her, retreat; if she abuse you, be silent; if she tear your eyes out, feel your way to the door, and fly—without a word!

MEETING OF THE MANCHESTER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

MANCHESTER, THURSDAY.—An unusually large and influential meeting of the Chamber of Commerce took place here to-day to petition the Lords in favour of the Corn Bill, in consequence of reported danger to the measure in that branch of the legislature. The attendance included T. Bazley, jun., Esq., the president, James Kershaw, Esq., W. R. Callender, Esq., John Brooks, Esq., John Budd, Esq., H. Ashworth, Esq., E. Armitage, Esq., W. Bickham, Esq., Edward Shawcross, Esq., Lewis Williams, Esq., Wm. Mayson, Esq., James Hindle, Esq., John Leisler, Esq., Nicholas Heald, Esq., Jos. Simpson, Esq., and T. Nicholson, Esq.

The CHAIRMAN, in rising to open the proceedings, was loudly applauded. Having read the advertisement calling the meeting, he said:—Under ordinary circumstances our excellent secretary would have convened this meeting; but his absence from town compelled me to take the responsibility of summoning you to meet on the present occasion—and probably on no occasion of greater importance could you be called together (hear, hear). Having been informed, upon good authority, that the Free Trade measures which are in progress in the legislature are threatened with serious obstructions, I thought it right to take the opinion of the members of this chamber upon the subject, with the view of placing that opinion upon record, as well as with the intention of giving support to the passing of the measures referred to, and which we desire to see consolidated (hear, hear, hear). The chamber, it will be in the recollection of the members, petitioned Parliament upon this question, as late as the month of February last, when the Board of Directors took the opportunity of saying to the House of Commons, "That your petitioners regret that the principle to which they refer is not so extensively applied as they could wish, nor made immediately operative; they believe that no moment could be selected at which the change could be made full and final with less disturbance to existing interests, or with greater effect upon the well-being and solid happiness of all classes of her Majesty's subjects than the present." These expressions were contained in the petition of the 9th of February. Since then, finding that in the House of Commons the commercial proposition of Sir Robert Peel was making very slow progress indeed, and that it was being impeded by the efforts of factious individuals, while the trade of this extensive district was suffering very greatly, and that that state of things was then every day being increased, the directors of the Chamber thought it right to petition the House of Commons for the purpose of urging upon them the propriety and necessity of increasing, if possible, the speed with which they were deliberating upon the measure; and on the 25th of February, the Chamber petitioned the house to carry forward, and to pass the ministerial propositions with the least possible delay. We are aware that this chamber petitioned for the speedy passing of the measure, having for its object the prospective repeal of the Corn Laws. The Commercial Association, you are also aware, likewise petitioned for the passing of the measure. So intense has been the public feeling in the town of Manchester upon this subject, that the bankers, merchants, manufacturers, and other inhabitants, voluntarily and simultaneously came forward for the purpose of petitioning the legislature to pass the Free Trade measures now before it with as little delay as possible. And for the purpose of giving some little weight to such a general petition of the merchants, traders, and other inhabitants, it was considered proper, and acted upon, that a deputation from Manchester should proceed to London to place that petition in the hands of Sir Robert Peel. Accordingly the president of the Commercial Association, Mr. J. Aspinall Turner, myself, Mr. Edward Tootal, and Mr. Stewart, were appointed a deputation to carry the petition to Sir Robert Peel. We had a satisfactory interview with the Premier (hear, hear). He said he required not to be urged to promote with as little delay as possible, and as far as was in his power, a proposition which he had himself originated (hear, hear). We heard, gentlemen, while in London, that very serious danger was apprehended to the commercial measures of the Government, in consequence of the course which was likely to be pursued by Lord Stanley, when they reached the upper house. Under these circumstances the deputation thought it right to make an endeavour to obtain an interview with his lordship (hear, hear). And assisted by the efforts of some members of Parliament, who took great trouble with us, and showed us great courtesy (hear, hear), we attempted to see his lordship, but without effect I regret to say (hear, hear). His lordship said it would not be convenient for him to see us. But before leaving London we thought it right to put him in possession of the object we had in view in visiting London, and accordingly to write to him on the subject (hear, hear). The letter was dated the 24th March, 1846, and was signed by Mr. Aspinall Turner and myself. The following is a copy of the letter:

"We think it proper that, connected as you are with the county of Lancaster, you should be informed of the deep interest which is felt, both in Liverpool and Manchester, in the speedy passing of the Customs and Corn Importation Bill, introduced into the House of Commons by Sir Robert Peel. The desire felt that this bill should become the law of the land is almost universal among commercial men of all grades of political opinion in the whole town, as well as in the neighbouring boroughs; and this desire is equally felt by the working classes. A great anxiety, however, is beginning to manifest itself as to the delay and slow progress of the measure, and as to its ultimate success in the House of Lords. We feel, therefore, most desirous of communicating to your lordship our conviction that serious consequences are likely to arise from such a far extending among the mercantile houses and operatives whom they employ."

We duly reported to the petitioners of Manchester, the result of our mission to London. A committee of the petitioners, consisting of the bankers, merchants, manufacturers, and other inhabitants, thought it right that another application should be made to Lord Stanley, with the view of sending a more numerous deputation from this town to wait upon his lordship at Knowsley during the Easter recess (hear, hear). Mr. Gardner, as the chairman of that committee, wrote a letter to his lordship on the subject, with a copy of which letter Mr. Gardner has favoured me, and which I will read to the meeting:—

"My Lord.—As chairman of a committee appointed at a large meeting of the bankers, merchants, and manufacturers of this district, to promote the speedy passing of the tariff measure now before Parliament, I am requested respectfully to solicit the favour of an interview with your lordship for a deputation consisting of gentlemen deeply interested in the subject. The deputation from the committee to London having been made to see your lordship, in consequence of your lordship's being so fully occupied with Parliamentary duties, it is hoped that your lordship will now be able to grant the desired interview.—I am, my lord, your lordship's most obedient servant,
(Signed) "ROBT. GARDNER."

To that letter, three days afterwards, Mr. Gardner received the following reply:

"Knowsley, April 21, 1846.

"Sir—I have to acknowledge your note, requesting an interview with me on the part of a deputation from a committee appointed to promote the speedy passing of the Corn Measures now before Parliament. Entertaining an opinion entirely at variance with that of the gentlemen whom you represent, as to the policy of the measures in question, it is my intention to give them a decided opposition in the House of Lords, whenever they may reach that body; but I have no control whatever over their progress, or the delay of their progress, in the House of Commons; and this being the case, I trust you will excuse me if I decline giving the deputation the unnecessary trouble of calling here for the purpose of an interview, which can lead to nothing—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"R. Gardner, Esq." (Signed) "STANLEY."

The propriety of our attempting to obtain interviews with Lord Stanley is, as I think, fairly established by recent events (hear, hear). We find that his lordship is now engaged in the leadership of a kind of forlorn hope against the commercial measures of the Government (hear, hear); and these measures, be it remembered, are eminently qualified to benefit the people, his fellow-subjects (hear, hear, hear). Knowing that Lord Stanley is a resident in this vast industrial county, we have, in deference to him and to his position, thought it right and dutiful to make a proper appeal to his lordship; and we had thought it possible he would be desirous of showing courtesy to parties among whom he is residing—parties who have increased vastly his personal importance (hear, hear, hear); parties who have contributed immensely to the princely revenues of the house of Derby (hear, hear). Now, gentlemen, was it courtesy, was it just, on the part of his lordship, to refuse an interview to gentlemen who merely wished to furnish him with such evidence as would enable him to form a sound and correct opinion on a subject which would be brought before his notice in the upper house (hear, hear). We find his lordship simply in the position of a hereditary legislator, willing to take the responsibility of legislation without at the same time being willing to receive the evidence of facts by which he should be ruled and governed in the exercise of his legislative functions (hear, hear). I wish to say nothing which may be considered either severe or disrespectful to Lord Stanley. But I hope he may be disposed to reconsider the position he has assumed, and that instead of putting himself in opposition to the wants, to the interests, and the comforts of the people of the United Kingdom, he will array himself on their side (hear, hear); that he will desert the banners of fancied protection and of monopoly (loud cries of "hear, hear, hear"), and that he will evince some community of feeling with the great mass of mankind (applause). Hitherto employment has been continued to a great extent in this district, I believe, in the confident hope that the measure now before Parliament, if passed into law, will bring immediate and permanent relief to the trade of this country, and to the trade of Lancashire in particular (loud cheers). And I have some doubt that, to a very great extent, the labouring classes are being paid at the present time—more especially those in connection with the establishments having steam or other power to propel them—I have some doubt, I say, that these labouring classes are being paid to a great extent out of capital (hear, hear)—neither out of money received from ordinary sales, nor from the usual resources of business, but clearly out of the capital, which I fear in many instances is rapidly diminishing (hear). We see that amongst print houses of the first importance and respectability many of them have thought it right and prudent to suspend their operations altogether, and I believe that some most respectable and extensive shippers are standing almost totally still (hear, hear). We know, too, that the handloom weavers are unemployed to a very great extent (hear, hear), and, consequently, distress of a serious character exists among that very depressed body—a body depressed by circumstances. And unless some step in the direction of right and justice be taken by the legislature, with the view of supplying the wants of those people, I see nothing almost but annihilation for them (hear, hear). And I cannot contemplate without great fear the results of any disappointment which may possibly arise from the commercial measures now before Parliament not becoming the law of the land (hear, hear, hear). The general indications from manufacture and commerce are, on the one hand, most depressing and discouraging, whilst, on the other hand, if the propositions of Government were realised, I believe the prospect would be exceedingly cheering (loud applause). Perhaps at no time has greater harmony existed than at the present meeting (hear, hear). The people were waiting with patience (hear, hear)—with extreme patience (hear, hear)—and I believe that a remedy for many of the evils under which they have long suffered has at length been proposed; and though the benefits it will confer are not to be immediately realised, it is yet prospectively before us (hear, hear); and if it can be attained it will, I believe, accomplish all that which those who support it consider it capable of accomplishing (loud applause). We are relying on the legislature, under the circumstances upon which I have very briefly dilated, believing that no permanent benefit can arise to the circumstances of distress around us but such as the legislature has the power of giving. And I look forward to the time of the obtaining of something like Free Trade, when the people shall receive the practical advantage of those further moral improvements and changes which must eventually confer benefit upon the labouring classes, and in fact upon the masses of our fellow countrymen (applause). And I believe that the people, instead of directing their attention to political subjects for relief, as they have been accustomed to do, will eventually direct their attention to the advance of social improvement, when they will endeavour to raise themselves in the scale of civilisation (hear). And they will succeed, for there is an elasticity in the human mind, and especially in the minds of Englishmen, that gives them sea room, and they fear no danger (loud applause).

Mr. LEWIS WILLIAMS moved the adoption of the petition.

Mr. Alderman CALLENDER said it was a new state of things, he was sure they would all say, that the Chamber of Commerce should send a petition to his Grace the Duke of Wellington to present on Free Trade (hear, hear); but it was one which he believed they all felt would be the best under the circumstances. In rising to second the motion he would only make a remark or two, and one remark was, since last September there had been no good business done in the general trade of this town (hear). There might have been particular trades which were an exception; but if they took the general trade, he would say, without the fear of contradiction, there had been very little indeed; and he thought their rulers ought to know the condition in which they were, and should be, unless steps were taken by them

to enable trade to right itself (cheers). He had conversed with several of the gentlemen who were doing the largest business in the country trade and with shipping houses that visited this market, and one and all, they said they never had so bad a spring trade. For eight months and a half they might be said to have had no business, and were waiting in fond hopes that the passing of these measures by Government would liberate corn from the bonded warehouses, and afford the means of paying for goods, till which there could be no prospect of improvement (cheers). Indeed, unless something of that kind was done, he was persuaded that the fears of the chairman were within the mark, and they should have a degree of excitement that would tell upon the House of Lords. Sorry should he be if they put them selves in the unenviable position of first saying, "there is no excitement in the country," and thus compelling excitement, and then say, as they had done before, "we are not to be intimidated into a course by clamour out of doors" (hear, hear). He hoped a wiser course would be adopted on this occasion, and with these remarks he would second the adoption of the petition (cheers).

The PRESIDENT asked if any gentleman had any remarks to make on the subject before he put the motion?

Mr. HENRY ASHWORTH did not know how far in a false position they might be at the present moment, inasmuch as they were anticipating injury to the Government measure more from an alarm being sounded than from any specific information, or from any real position which had yet been taken up in the House of Lords by the opponents of the bill (hear, hear). In the present position of affairs it would be premature for them to array their strength against the opponents of the measure, and thus be said to become the aggressors. He thought they had great reason to complain of the want of courtesy of a nobleman intimately connected with this county (hear, hear). They could not shut their eyes to the fact that on Saturday last his lordship and sixty or seventy others met to consider what description of obstruction they could throw in the way of the passing of these measures (hear, hear). There was obviously something like good earnest in the course he was taking, and quite sufficient to warrant this body in considering what was the course they should adopt, if it were attempted to put into execution that which was thus threatened. When they came to look at the advantages likely to result from the passing of these measures, there was no party in this country—there was no part of the world—that was not intimately connected with the interests involved in them (applause). And if they were to judge of the propriety of their being adopted, they had only to refer to the state of public opinion on the subject. They might also refer to the fact that the representative portion of the Government had responded to the feeling out of doors, that they had not only the guarantee of public opinion, but that that opinion had been acted upon by one branch of the legislature. They had tolerated up to the present period a description of legislation which had been based permanently on the ownership of the soil, and they had tolerated it up to the time when toleration of it might become matter of consideration (hear, hear). He believed they were most of them willing to defer the political government of this country to the hands of those in whom it had been vested, so long as they might be willing to derive from the country a practical acquaintance with its opinions, and to be guided in legislating by the result of those practical opinions; but when those who opposed these measures refused to receive the opinion of practical men, when they met together to co-operate against the interest of every class of society, it behooved them to consider in what way we should deal with such an obstructive body if they persevered in the course they had been taking (applause). It was not for him to consider what might be done under the guidance of mind such as had raised this country to its present commercial eminence, nor what should be done by the influence and power of a body with 200,000 at their command. He believed they might safely leave any antagonism of class interests in the hands of those who had undertaken to conduct the opinion of the country in reference to this question—he meant the Anti-Corn Law League (cheers). With becoming courtesy to the measures of the ministry, and with a feeling of unwillingness to disturb an extensive and well-considered act of justice, the League had refrained for months past from parading before the public their opinions and the means they had of carrying out their ends; but it was not for him to consider how long forbearance on the part of that body would be allowable in reference to the obstruction of the opponents of this measure (hear, hear). He would rather leave the question of antagonism and class against class to be taken up by some other body, and on some other occasion, than enter upon it here; but he believed that if a conflict of opinion were to be undertaken, the event would be by no means favourable to the estimation of that house which was now placed beside the Thames (applause and laughter).

Mr. Alderman BROOKS humorously referred to the silence of Lord Stanley by the Tamboff exhibition at Lancaster, and his repeated disagreement with the various governments and parties with which he had acted, and likened him to what in Lancashire is called a "self acting mule."

The motion was carried unanimously.

The Chamber then separated.

The following is a copy of the petition:

"That your petitioners have seen with satisfaction that a bill to amend the laws relating to the importation of corn has been passed by the honorable the House of Commons, and is now under the consideration of your right honorable house.

"That in thus expressing their satisfaction, your petitioners respectfully avow that it is rather to the principle on which this, and the other commercial measures introduced into the legislature by her Majesty's Government, are founded, than to the manner in which that principle is carried out, that their approval extends; they would have preferred that the change from an unjust and unwise policy, to one which they regard as the harbinger of peace and blessings, not only to this country but to the whole human race, should have been full and immediate, and not partial and deferred; and your petitioners still regret that that course has not been pursued, inasmuch as this great and inevitable change could never be made with less disturbance to existing interests than at the present time.

"That the progress the questions to which your petitioners refer have made in the minds of the reflective and intelligent of all classes, renders it unnecessary to recite at length the grounds on which the fixed opinions of your petitioners are based, but they feel themselves bound to state most energetically to your right honorable house that the tedious delay which has intervened between the introduction of the measures of her Majesty's Government and the present time, though useful in having afforded opportunities for discussions which have more firmly cemented the determination of the people, has yet been attended by many evils: the transition even from an unwise to a wise course of legislation must necessarily be accompanied by a state of uncertainty in commercial transactions, so that the period of such transition should at all times be as short as possible.

"In the present instance, a degree of embarrassment has been hitherto patiently endured by those who are engaged in the commerce and manufactures of this district, which cannot be much longer supported, and which would long ere this have caused distress and loss of employment to our labouring classes, had not the certainty of a favourable change from the passing of the measure, now before your right honorable house, cheered and sustained their employers.

"Approving, therefore, of the principle on which the great and beneficial measures of her Majesty's Government are founded, but retaining their regret at the application of that principle as not being made full and immediate, your petitioners humbly but firmly pray that your right honorable house would pass the bill as sent up by the Commons in all its integrity, in order that an easy and wise settlement of this all-important question may relieve commerce and industry from an embarrassment, and the people from a suppressed excitement, not the less resolute because momentarily to be suppressed, and which, if longer continued, threaten combinedly immediate and fearful consequences."

REPRESENTATION OF ORKNEY AND SHETLAND.

The following requisition, bearing the signatures of the senior magistrate of Lerwick, and a large majority of all the electors who could be conveniently communicated with, has been addressed to Mr. Arthur Anderson, of London:

TO ARTHUR ANDERSON, ESQ., LONDON.

SIR—Believing that a dissolution of Parliament is an event not unlikely to occur soon, we take the earliest opportunity of soliciting that you will stand as a Parliamentary candidate for this county, convinced that both on public and private grounds no more eligible person could possibly be found to represent its interests in Parliament.

It is known to us, and we have no doubt to most of the inhabitants of these islands, that you are, and have always been, a staunch and zealous supporter of liberal political opinions, and of the great principles of Free Trade. Those principles, long recognised by the ablest political economists and the most enlightened statesmen as just in themselves and essential to the prosperity of a commercial and maritime state like Great Britain, have, at length, in spite of all opposition and obliquity, forced themselves upon the conviction of the greatest and most influential public men of our time, without reference to party connexions or previous opinions.

Their ultimate triumph, therefore, we conceive to be certain. Still the crisis is an important one; and unless men of liberal views and business habits be returned to Parliament, the successful issue of the struggle, and its consequent benefit, may be deferred at least for a time, to the great detriment of the trade of the country and danger of its peace. But, sir, in addition to these public motives, we confess we are actuated by more private and local considerations. You are a native of the county, and entertain towards it, as you have often already shown, those feelings of interest and goodwill which it is natural for every man to bear to the land of his birth. Its resources and capabilities, as well as its wants, can be understood by none better than by yourself; and when we reflect that it is by your own energy and ability that you have been placed in the position which you now occupy, we feel satisfied that (without disparagement to any), no one has yet represented it more capable of developing the one or of supplying the other. With these sentiments we therefore, would now respectfully invite you, in the event of a contemplated dissolution of Parliament, to come forward as a candidate, when we pledge ourselves to support you to the utmost of our power.

Lerwick, 20th April, 1846

In consequence of the above requisition, Mr. Anderson has issued the following Address to the constituency:

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE COUNTY OF ORKNEY AND SHETLAND.

GENTLEMEN—A requisition to become a candidate for the representation of your county in the next Parliament has been addressed to me by a numerous and respectable portion of your body; and I am informed that the sentiments and wish therein expressed are participated by a still larger proportion of the constituency, who had not an opportunity of appending their names to the requisition.

Feelings of personal respect towards your present representative would have prevented me from taking, of my own accord, any steps tending to interfere with his relations with you, in the event of his wishing to represent the county in another Parliament. But I feel that I should respond very unworthily to the spontaneous call which has been, in such gratifying terms, made on me, were I to permit considerations of a merely personal nature to deter me from affording to you the opportunity of selecting by whom you will be represented. I therefore place my humble services at your disposal, and should it be your pleasure, when the time arrives, to confer upon me the honourable post of your representative, I will make it my endeavour to repay so great a mark of your confidence by devoting my best energies to the highly responsible duties which it involves, and by the most earnest and active efforts to promote your general, local, and individual interests, by every legitimate means in my power.

My political opinions are, I believe, not unknown to most of you. I have always been, and still continue to be, a zealous though humble advocate of the relief of commerce and industry from all injurious restrictions; and, especially, from such as tend to limit the supply and enhance the cost of the first necessities of life. An important approximation to the giving effect to the great principles of commercial freedom is, I trust, on the eve of accomplishment in the measure now before Parliament. But much will still remain to be done in the reformation of our fiscal system requiring the exertions in the legislature of practical men.

I am decidedly opposed to the extension of state endowments to the Roman Catholic priesthood.

And in regard to other points of public policy, I may describe myself as a constitutional reformer,—that is, by a timely correction of such defects and abuses as are found to be practically injurious to the great body of the people, I would the more firmly consolidate and perpetuate our otherwise excellent constitution.

I am unfettered by any party ties, and will support good, and oppose bad measures, without regard to who may originate them.

For a guarantee of an active and vigilant attention to the local interests of the county, I trust, I need only appeal to my past and not unsuccessful exertions to improve its trade and industrial resources.

I hope to be able to take an opportunity ere long of personally ascertaining the general sentiments of the constituency as to my eligibility to become their Parliamentary representative.

And in the meantime, Gentlemen, I remain, your faithful servant, countryman, and sincere well-wisher.

LONDON, May, 1846.

ARTHUR ANDERSON.

RISE IN FARM RENTS.—Occasional notices have appeared of late of farms out of lease being re-let at an advance of rent; but we have now to announce perhaps the most remarkable instance of the late improvements in agriculture, and the expectations entertained of its continuance on the part of the tenantry, in the case of the large and fine Farm of Mains of Elcho. This Farm, which is the property of the Earl of Wemyss, is situated on the banks of the Tay, about four miles below Perth. The lease, which has just expired, was one of nineteen years' duration, and at an average of the fairs prices for that period, the rent has been about 600*l.* per annum. At the same average the new rent, which is to be partly money and partly grain, will reach nearly to 1000*l.* and has been taken by no inexperienced and rash farmer but by one of the oldest and most successful agricultural families in the country.—*Perth Courier.*

REVIEW.

The Life and Times of the Hon. Henry Grattan.
By his Son, Henry Grattan, Esq., M.P. London, Colburn. (Second Notice.)

In our preceding notice, we mentioned the secession of Mr. Grattan and a body of his friends from the Irish Parliament, as evidence of their opinion that the Irish Legislature was inadequate to the task of governing the country. Of this fact every statesman must have been convinced who attended to the practical working of the Irish administration. A rebellion was provoked by a series of atrocities, compared with which the conduct of the Russians in Poland, of the Turks in Greece, or even of the Spaniards in Peru, might be quoted as examples of leniency; and these measures were defended in the House of Commons by the ministerial measure as judicious means to make the insurrection prematurely explode. An undisciplined army, which Sir Ralph Abercrombie declared to be so demoralised as to be formidable to everybody but the enemy, was let loose at free quarters upon the peasantry; a bigoted yeomanry, taught that their personal and party ascendancy was at stake, was hounded on, not by the Government, but by the local magistracy, and all the excesses they committed were sanctioned by the local legislature. A schoolmaster, named Wright, was seized by Judkin Fitzgerald, the high sheriff of Tipperary. A letter of introduction from a French royalist was found in his pocket, but the sheriff, being ignorant of French, wisely concluded that everything written in that language must be treasonable, and ordered Wright to be flogged in order to extort a confession. The unfortunate man had received five hundred lashes, when an officer came up who could read French; to him Fitzgerald showed the note, and its innocent nature was explained. Wright brought an action against the sheriff, and recovered damages; but as other victims threatened to seek similar redress, the Irish Parliament passed an Act of Indemnity, and we shall extract a few specimens of the outrages thus solemnly sanctioned by a "native" legislature.

"The case of Matthew Scott, tried in 1799 before Mr. Justice Kelly, at Clonmel, is also illustrative of the character of the laws, and of the temper of those who administered them. Scott was a wealthy and respectable inhabitant of Clonmel—a man of large property, and high repute; he was imprisoned on a charge (totally false) of sending pikes in his boats that were laden with corn. Judkin Fitzgerald refused no less a sum than 100,000*l.* bail for him! and when applied to, swore 'By God he shall not be brought to trial!' However, after much intercession in his favour, he was let out of jail on giving bail in the amount of 20,000*l.*: an action was brought against Fitzgerald, who relied on the indemnity act, protecting those who had acted since the 25th of October, 1798, for the suppression of the insurrection, and the preservation of the public peace. Captain Jephson, who commanded a corps of yeomanry in the county, was examined on the trial, and swore that the conduct of Fitzgerald was the most infamous he ever witnessed, and such as if persevered in would assuredly ruin the country: that he had persecuted in a most oppressive and cruel manner, a man of the name of Wells, who was perfectly innocent, and what Fitzgerald had stated was utterly false; the jury, however, found a verdict for Fitzgerald.

"Another case was that of Doyle, merchant and cloth manufacturer, of Carrick; it occurred in 1798, but the trial did not take place till 1801. Doyle had been arrested by Fitzgerald, tied up, and flogged; he could not endure the torture, and after 100 lashes he fainted. He was guilty of no offence, and accordingly brought an action. Fitzgerald defended himself; and in his speech disclosed some of his enormities, in which he seemed to glory. He stated, as a proof of his services, that he had arrested a Mr. O'Brien, (whom he called colonel of the united party,) to have him flogged. O'Brien made an excuse to retire, as he wanted to shave himself, and pretending to do so, he cut his throat to avoid the horror and ignominy of the torture. This act Fitzgerald gravely advanced as a defence to the action! He then gave a catalogue of the tortures he had inflicted: he had flogged many men on the 16th of May, at Nenagh; on the 23rd he had flogged a Mr. Fox, whom he called a general; a Mr. Quinn, whom he called a colonel; a man of the name of Kearey, and a man of the name of Wells, a yeoman in Captain Jephson's corps; that Capt. Jephson had threatened he would get his men to fire on him, but 'I defied him, and flogged Wells and two more men, THOUGH THEY WERE ALL INNOCENT!'—these were his words; and it was for this man that the Attorney-General Toler (afterwards Lord Norbury) got the indemnity bill passed.

"The reader must bear in mind that Lord Clare, Lord Camden, and Mr. Pitt, denied such acts of torture had been used. Lord Camden, in his speech in the English House of Lords was express on this point, saying, 'nothing more than necessary was resorted to'; but here appears the naked fact, proved by their friend and protégé, the man for whom was passed this very indemnity bill; here he comes forth, avowing and glorying in the fact, and adding this very remarkable note and comment, 'THAT HE FLOGGED THEM, THOUGH THEY WERE ALL INNOCENT!' But another circumstance appeared on this trial: a disclosure was made which brings the guilt nearer to head-quarters. In his defence, Fitzgerald produced a letter, addressed to him, and signed by William Bagwell, 'Brigade Major,' dated 6th June, 1798,—a military rank, and then in the employment of Government: in this letter, Bagwell informed Fitzgerald, 'that if he found any good to arise from fighting, he might go on with it, but let it not reach my ears.' Well might Lord Camden say he knew nothing of flogging. The evidence given on this trial also, by Captain Jephson, is too important to be omitted, and serves to lift up the veil from the entire scene of these sanguinary Government orgies: he swears, 'I wrote to Government for troops, for two reasons; 1st, because I thought from Fitzgerald's conduct no loyal yeoman would bear arms; this I feared from the despair manifested by the

inhabitants of the country on hearing of the flogging; 2ndly, I was afraid that not only the yeomen would not bear arms, but that the cruelty exercised in inflicting the torture would infuse a spirit of disloyalty into the most loyal, and consequently encourage the most disaffected. I am of opinion that Sheriff Fitzgerald's conduct was calculated to promote rebellion; for had it not been for my being possessed with superior information, the oath of allegiance I had taken, the property I had in the country, and my being a captain of a yeomanry corps, I would, on seeing such wanton cruelty, have joined the rebels!"

"Lord Avonmore, in charging the jury said, 'Before the indemnity acts passed, no damages you could give would be too great, but if under these acts you believe the defendant was forced, through imperative necessity, to commit this abominable outrage against the plaintiff, (a man of acknowledged loyalty) you are bound to find for him: the information he acted on he has told you was that of a vile, perjured, and infamous informer, and this too not upon oath! To render a verdict for the plaintiff of any avail, you must find that the defendant acted maliciously, and not with the intent of suppressing the Rebellion, or of serving the state; such are the words of the Act, which places an insuperable bar between injury and redress, and sets all equity and justice at defiance!' at the same time he dashed the Act upon the cushion, and threw himself back on the bench. THE JURY ACQUITTED FITZGERALD!! upon which he took legal proceedings against the man he had so flogged, and recovered damages against him to the amount of 12*l.*, as by the law a verdict for defendant saddled the plaintiff with double costs."

There were but two courses open to the English Government: they must either have delivered over the Irish people to the tender mercies of an Orange ascendancy, or procured for that people the protection of the British Parliament by the Act of Union. In fact, the Orangemen were bitterly opposed to the Union, which they clearly foresaw would lead to the extinction of their exclusive privileges of misgovernment; and on the other hand, the Catholic hierarchy and a large portion of the laity materially assisted in accomplishing the measure. They subsequently became repealers, not because the Union was bad in itself, but because the promises made to them were violated by the obstinate resistance of George III. to the concessions proposed by his ministry. Mr. Grattan says:

"There can be no doubt that the Catholics were intentionally and basely deceived, and that Lord Cornwallis was the direct participator in the fraud appears from the following facts, which are here given as they were narrated by one of the parties concerned in the transaction, and who was desirous that they should be known. Mr. Robert Johnson voted for the Union and was created judge; he favoured the Catholics, and thought they had been deceived at the Union. Under these impressions he stated to the Author, in 1816, the following occurrences:—That he was one of twenty-five members in the Lower House who had agreed that they would oppose the Union if they found that the Roman Catholics were hostile to it, and that they would vote for the measure if the Roman Catholics were friendly to it; that, as the Catholics constituted the majority of the population, their wishes on a subject in which they were so deeply interested would guide them, and that their numbers (twenty-five) were certain to turn the scale on a division. Lord Cornwallis sent for Johnson, and he went to the castle, accompanied by some of the twenty-five, and Lord Cornwallis declared that they were mistaken in their opinion as to the Catholic resistance; that 'they were betrayed by the Catholics,' (such were the words) for that the Catholics would not hold out in opposition to the measure. The party took the assurance of the Lord Lieutenant, they believed his statement, and thus (said Johnson) we were dissolved."

It is an error to say that the Catholics were intentionally deceived. We learn from Lord Malmesbury's letters and diaries, that Pitt had no reason to anticipate the king's opposition, and that his Majesty's latent prejudices were only worked up to obstinacy by the intrigues of a section of the Cabinet at the head of which was the late Lord Auckland. Had emancipation accompanied the Union, that measure would have been complete; but so long as emancipation was delayed, the Union was imperfect; it existed only in name.

A stronger case for a Union could hardly have been made out than that which Grattan himself established in his reply to Mr. Cony, one of the most terrible pieces of invective existing in any language.

"The right honourable gentlemen says I fled from the country after exciting rebellion, and that I have returned to raise another. No such thing. The charge is false. The civil war had not commenced when I left the kingdom, and I could not have returned without taking a part. On the one side there was the camp of the rebel, on the other the camp of the minister, a greater traitor than that rebel. The stronghold of the constitution was nowhere to be found. I agree that the rebel who rises against the Government should have suffered; but I missed on the scaffold the right honourable gentleman. Two desperate parties were in arms against the constitution. The right honourable gentleman belonged to one of these parties, and deserved death. I could not join the rebel—I could not join the Government—I could not join torture—I could not join half-hanging—I could not join free quarter—I could take part with neither. I was therefore absent from a scene where I could not be active without self-reproach, nor indifferent with safety.

"Many honourable gentlemen thought differently from me. I respect their opinions, but I keep my own; and I think now, as I thought then, that the treason of the Minister against the liberties of the people was infinitely worse than the rebellion of the people against the Minister."

"I have returned, not, as the right honourable member said, to raise another storm; I have returned to discharge an honourable debt of gratitude to my country that conferred a great reward for past services, which, I am proud to say, was not greater than my desert. I have returned to protect that constitution, of which I was the parent and the founder, from the assassination of such men as the right honourable gentleman and his unworthy associates. They

are corrupt, they are seditious, and they, at this very moment, are in a conspiracy against their country. I have returned to refute a libel, as false as it is malicious, given to the public under the appellation of a Report of the Committee of the Lords. Here I stand, ready for impeachment or trial. I dare accusation. I defy the honourable gentleman. I defy the Government. I defy their whole phalanx; let them come forth. I tell the Ministers I will neither give them quarter nor take it. I am here to lay the shattered remains of my constitution on the floor of this house in defence of the liberties of my country."

Now in the heat of debate it might be allowable to speak of "the treason of the Minister against the liberties of the people;" but in sober truth, all the atrocities which Mr. Grattan enumerated were not merely sanctioned by the Irish Parliament, but in many cases extorted from the ministry by the majority of that Parliament. So far as the Government had free power of action, it interfered on the side of mercy; and it had to exert all its influence to prevent an Orange Parliament from giving martial law a retrospective effect, and butchering at once all the State prisoners who had been taken into custody. Grattan then in effect declared that no true patriot could join either the Parliament or the people, and from this it clearly followed that the existing state of things must have terminated either in a peaceful union or a sanguinary revolution. In the last speech which Grattan made on the question he points to a defect in the terms of union, which has not yet been adequately remedied.

"The cry of the connection will not in the end avail against the principles of liberty. Connection is a wise and profound policy; but connection without an Irish Parliament is connection without its own principle, without analogy of condition, without the pride of honour that should attend it, is innovation, is peril, is subjugation—not connection."

"The cry of disaffection will not in the end avail against the principle of liberty."

"Identification is a solid and imperial maxim, necessary for the preservation of freedom—necessary for that empire; but without union of hearts—with a separate Government and without a separate Parliament—identification is extinction, is dishonour, is conquest—not identification."

"Yet I do not give up the country; I see her in a swoon, but she is not dead. Though in her tomb she lies helpless and motionless, still there is on her lips a spirit of life, and on her cheek a glow of beauty."

"Thou art not conquered; beauty's ensign yet
Is crimson on thy lips and in thy cheeks,
And death's pale flag is not advanced there."

"While a plank of the vessel sticks together, I will not leave her. Let the courier present his flimsy sail, and carry the light bark of his faith with every new breath of wind—I will remain anchored here, with fidelity to the fortunes of my country, faithful to her freedom—faithful to her fall!"

The continuation of a separate Government in Ireland after the Parliaments had been united, was a palpable blunder; but it was to some extent rendered necessary by the long delay of Catholic Emancipation. The want of uniform legislation in the two countries, the excitement of religious differences when a cry was necessary to support the exigencies of parties, the appeals made to English and Protestant prejudices against "aliens in language, religion, and blood," and the limitations maintained on electoral and municipal rights in Ireland, are the real causes of the present popularity of the Repeal cry. The experiment of a real Union has never yet been tried, for there can be no identity of nations without an identity of legislation.

A curious instance of the malice which the agents in the misgovernment of Ireland manifested to the only Irish statesman who ventured to expose their malpractices, was exhibited by the notorious Giffard, (father of the Editor of the *Standard*) at the Dublin election of 1802:

"When Mr. Grattan presented himself to vote for Sir Jonah Barrington, Mr. Giffard objected to his competency, as having been disfranchised by the Corporation of Dublin in 1798. The rival candidates disclaimed any wish to avail themselves of such an illiberal advantage. Mr. Grattan's competency was, however, established, inasmuch as the act of disfranchisement was not recorded in the original hall, and his name still stood on the records of the town clerk's office. Before Mr. Grattan voted, he thus forcibly expressed his feelings on Mr. Giffard's objection; to which no reply was attempted by the objector, or any of his Orange associates. 'The objection comes from the hired traducer of his country, the excommunicated of his fellow-citizens, the unpunished ruffian, the bigoted agitator, the regal rebel. In the city a firebrand, in the courts a liar, in the streets a bully, and in the field a coward.'

In the close of 1803, Mr. Grattan wrote a valuable letter to the Right Hon. C. J. Fox; it is a valuable state-paper, and clearly points out the means by which alone the Union could have been perfected.

Stradbally, Dec. 12th, 1803.

"My dear Sir,—Your idea is reducible to two questions—whether a better system be not necessary to Ireland's permanent allegiance? whether the rejection of that system would not hazard our present repose? I incline to the affirmative of both propositions. The rejection of such a system, together with the acquiescence of our Parliament in torture, free quarter, and conflagration, produced the union with England. A similar proceeding at this instant in the British Parliament, accompanied with justification of such violence, might lead to a union with France. The best way, perhaps, of showing immediate spirit is to bring forward the bad qualities of the enemy, but to keep in the background those of the Government. The question might be so greatly supported and the liberal sentiments so prevalent as to avoid my objection, but in that case the question would be substantially carried, and of such an event, so devoutly to be wished, I am no judge, not knowing the disposition or tone of the

house; but if the question be lost and debated as in the Irish Parliament, or as the Martial Law Bill was in the last English Parliament, the discussion would do mischief; on that debate (I think it was in that debate) you and a few others had to stand against the representatives of England and against the representatives of Ireland—the latter giving false evidence against their country (they had before given corrupt votes), and the former making laws on that false evidence.

"As to the other question, namely, the change of system, I must entirely agree. *The Union is not carried. The Parliament is destroyed, and that bond of union removed, but equality of conditions, civil or political, not even commenced.* All the subjects you mention—Catholic Emancipation (for such I must call it), payment of the Catholic clergy, tithe, and perhaps some little improvement regarding our church; and, above all, a faithful and cordial execution by the executive magistrate of the laws in favour of the Catholics; their appointment to a share in offices to which they are now qualified (I believe there are scarcely any of them so advanced); the withdrawing from any intrigue to exclude them from the corporations, to which they are admissible, but excluded by a faction; the imposing silence on any Government press who would wish to sustain a religious war; the withdrawing the countenance of Government from all such who are notoriously and inveterately foes to the Catholic body; the gracious reception of their persons (it was so in the time of Lord Fitzwilliam). These things, the manners of the court, as well as their measures, would be absolutely necessary for that security and unity which you desire. *Legislative provisions are not enough; it is necessary that the Minister should love those provisions.* Mr. Pitt lost the benefit of the Catholic Bill, because, after he had given the law to the Catholics, he gave the execution of the law and the Catholics to their enemies.

"That bill had hardly appeared when the leading Minister of Ireland pronounced it an act of *insanity*, and formed an intrigue with the ascendancy party to exclude the Catholic from getting corporate freedom, to which, by this bill, he was qualified. The Irish Government press accompanied laws of reconciliation by volumes of abuse against the parties to be reconciled.

"Mr. Pitt had never been able to raise a rebellion by his measure if he had not been assisted by the gross manners of his partisans. Therefore what you say is extremely just. Legislative provisions alone won't do. The general spirit of the executive government must be looked to. It was against the hostility of that general spirit that the people, notwithstanding their legal acquisitions, revolted; a revolt very criminal, very senseless, but deriving its cause from the Government, which was guilty not only of its own crimes but the crimes of the people.

"I am more fully convinced that *the system caused the rebellion, and that allegiance—permanent, active allegiance—is only to be secured by its removal*, when I consider the good effects that have attended its abatement.

"Without any alteration in the legal condition of this country, and merely by a temperate exercise of the existing laws, the present chief governor of Ireland has more advanced the strength of Government and its credit, than could have been well conceived. A rebellion broke out in the capital; in a few days, without the torture, he discovered, I believe, 2000 pikes; and in a very few weeks had more yeomen than Lord Camden in the whole of his government; and without a single act of violence put down, I think completely for the present, the insurrection; or rather, he set up the laws, and made them put down rebellion; withdrawing the credit of Government at the same time from religious and political controversy. From the manner in which this last rebellion was put down, I incline to think that if Lord Hardwicke had been Viceroy, and Lord Redesdale Chancellor, in '98, the former rebellion had never existed; but how far either have powers to effect that radical change, and to plant loyalty—permanent, unfeigned loyalty—in this country, I have great fears; rather, no hopes that I shall live to see that executive or legislative philanthropy that shall make the two countries act as one, not merely from the dread of France or the apprehension of plunder from their own populace, but from the love of one another. Should such an event take place, I shall feel much joy, and you will feel much comfort in the consciousness of being the principal cause."

In his first speech in the English Parliament, the completion of the Union, not its repeal, was the policy recommended by Grattan.

"The Parliament of Ireland—of that assembly I have a parental recollection. *I sat by her cradle, I followed her hearse.* In fourteen years she acquired for Ireland what you did not acquire for England in a century—freedom of trade, independency of the legislature, independency of the judges, restoration of the final judiciary, repeal of a perpetual Mutiny Bill, Habeas Corpus Act, Nullum Tempus Act—a great work! You will exceed it, and I shall rejoice. I call my countrymen to witness, if in that business I compromised the claims of my country, or temporised with the power of England; but there was one thing which baffled the effort of the patriot, and defeated the wisdom of the senate, it was the folly of the theologian. When the Parliament of Ireland rejected the Catholic petition, and assented to the calumnies then uttered against the Catholic body, on that day she voted the Union; if you should adopt a similar conduct, on that day you will vote the separation: many good and pious reasons you may give; many good and pious reasons she gave, and she lies there with her many good and her pious reasons. That the Parliament of Ireland should have entertained prejudices, I am not astonished; but that you, that you who have, as individuals and as conquerors, visited a great part of the globe, and have seen men in all their modifications, and providence in all her ways; that you, now at this time of day, should throw up dykes against the Pope, and barriers against the Catholic, instead of uniting with that Catholic to throw up barriers against the French, this surprises me; and, in addition to this, that you should have set up the Pope in Italy, to tremble at him in Ireland; and further, that you should have professed to have placed yourself at the head of a Christian, not a Protestant League, to defend the civil and religious liberty of Europe, and should deprive of their civil liberty one-fifth of ourselves, on account of their religion—this surprises me; and also that you should prefer to buy allies by subsidies, rather than fellow subjects by privileges; and that you should now stand, drawn out, as it were, in battalion, 16,000,000 against 35,000,000, and should at the same time paralyze a fifth of your own members, by excluding them from some of the principal benefits of your constitution, at the very time you say all your members are inadequate, unless inspired by those very privileges."

This was even more forcibly stated in 1812.

"Without enquiring whether the repeal of Catholic disability was actually promised, it was the expectation of that measure which carried the Union. It is the price for the Union; and an essential part thereof; you will now pay the purchase of that measure. National honour is power; in trade it is capital; in the state it is force. The name of England has carried you through a host of difficulties; we conjure you by that name to accede to those petitions; should you finally refuse, you repeal the Union; you declare the Irish and the English to be a distinct people; you not only declare it, but you do it; you dissolve the incorporation; they were kept together by hope, and you divide them by despair; you make them two distinct nations, with opposite and with hostile interests; the one with civil privileges, the other without; the one in the act of disqualifying the other; the oppressor and the oppressed.

"The idea of the Union is twofold; a union of Parliament, and a union of people. I see the union of Parliament; and in that I see the measure which makes the legislature more handy to the minister; but where are the people? where is the consolidation? where is the common interest? where is the heart that should animate the whole, and that combined giant that should put forth his hundred hands for the state? There is no such thing: the petitioners tell you so; they tell you, that it is impossible such a policy should last; a policy that takes away the Parliament of Ireland, and excludes the Catholic from the Parliament of England; a policy that obtained the Union by the hope of admission, and now makes the exclusion everlasting.

"The Catholics now come to you; they have brought their Protestant neighbours along with them, and they both call upon you for the civil capacities of the Catholics, and for the integrity of the empire.

"Thus, you perceive, it is no longer a question between the different sects of Ireland, no longer a question regarding the security of the Protestant property or the Protestant church. Far from looking for that security in civil disqualifications, they deprecate those disqualifications as their principal danger, and they reduce the subject to a question between the people of Ireland, and the ministers of the Crown.

"So it now stands. But should you wish to support the minister of the Crown against the people of Ireland retain the Union and perpetuate the disqualification; the consequence must be something more than alienation. When you finally decide against the Catholic question, you abandon the idea of governing Ireland by affection, and you adopt the idea of coercion in its place. National disqualification, national litigation, informations, attachments, an angry press, an angry prosecution, errors on both sides; men discharged for their virtuous sentiments in favour of the people; such was the case of Mr. Stanhope; domestic feud added to foreign war. Such must be the situation of Ireland; a situation which is nothing more nor less than preparation to render the Irish mind completely hostile to Great Britain. This misfortune will be very great to both of us. In what particular way it will break out I know not, but I know it will be ruin; when I say ruin, you must know I mean ultimate separation, separation either in fact, or separation in disposition,—either will undo us. Nature protests against it: France with all her powers, could not achieve it; civil disqualification may. We shall first be destroyed, and your gorgeous empire will follow; you are ruined by the hostility of Ireland, you are ruined by her neutrality. You are therefore pronouncing the doom of England. You, opposed to the population of France, with all her appendages; you, with only sixteen millions of inhabitants, strike out of actual operation four. Never was an instance of human insensibility so fatally displayed. The mad Athenian, when he disqualified for a few bushels of corn, a part of his fellow citizens, was not so frantic. The mad Greek, who in the last moments of his existence refused the assistance of the West, damned the cardinal, and gave up his empire, was not more frantic.

"A nation fighting for her existence, a wise nation, a civilized nation, striking out of operation one-fourth of her people, deliberately, in her senses, for no reason; the euclartist is no reason, the worship of the Virgin Mary is no reason; arguments of public sense, if they were not the cause of public ruin; without any cause, except we suppose that the land of death precipitates the empire; I say, you are pronouncing the doom of England. If you ask how the people of Ireland feel towards you, ask yourselves how you would feel towards us, if we disqualified three-fourths of the people of England for ever. The day you finally ascertain the disqualification of the Catholic, you pronounce the doom of Great Britain. It is just it should be so. The king who takes away the liberty of his subjects, loses his crown; the people who take away the liberty of their fellow-subjects lose their empire."

That Grattan would have preferred an Irish legislature to an Imperial Parliament we may well believe, because all the prejudices and affections of his life were connected with the legislature he had raised into independence. But he never sought the repeal of the Union. On the contrary, he insisted on Catholic Emancipation, chiefly because it was necessary to the completion and perfection of the measure. His son has made these volumes the medium for advocating the repeal of the Union, but he has not hesitated to expose the profligate character of the Irish Parliament during the period of its melancholy existence. He confesses that it was only "pushed forward to liberty by the bayonets of the volunteers," and that the liberty which it acquired was privilege for the minority and degradation for the great majority of the people. His case, therefore, is broken down under him; he would not, himself, prefer to the imperial legislature such a Parliament as that from which his father seceded in disgust and despair.

These volumes do not increase our admiration of the great Grattan, for his speeches long since published have won him an immortality of fame, from all who admire sublime eloquence,—of affection from all who love earnest devotion to the cause of freedom. But they lead us to regret that the living Henry Grattan has not read aright the policy pursued by his father in the British Parliament; he advocated justice to Ireland as essential to British greatness. He laboured for Britain's greatness as essential to Ireland's prosperity. His earnest wish

was to see the two countries united by the bonds of common liberties, common interests, and common affections;—this is a great work which remains yet to be accomplished, and the glory of Grattan will be rivalled only by that of the Irish patriot, who sets himself to the task with earnestness and devotion.

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POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Friday Evening, May 22, 1846.

The present quietude of the country, in the midst of much privation and commercial suffering, arises entirely from the confident hope of speedy relief from the passing of the Ministerial measures. Beneath this tranquillity there is a stern and fixed determination that monopoly shall be at once and forever abolished; and the very strength of this resolve is the cause of the apparent inaction. The nation is quiet in its self-reliance; it neither agitates nor blusters, because it is assured of success. Now that the principles of justice have been solemnly affirmed by the people's representatives, there is no obvious necessity for their enunciation by the people themselves, The Dukes of Richmond and Buckingham, mistaking the nature of the present tranquillity, and supposing, or appearing to suppose, that the silence of conscious might is apathy or indifference, have commenced an out-door agitation, for the perils of which they must be responsible. This worthy brace of hereditary statesmen have for some time laboured to get up a great protectionist demonstration, and missives have been sent to picked tenant farmers in all parts of the country. On Thursday last the monopolist convention met in Willis's Rooms, under the auspices of the two dukes aforesaid, supported by Lord Beaumont, Lord George Bentinck, Sir John Tyrrel,

Colonel Sibthorp, and Benjamin D'Israeli. It is sufficiently obvious that this was a convention of notoriety rather than of notables, since it included less than a score of peers and about the same number of members of the House of Commons.

The speeches delivered by the tenant farmers were rather above the average of the effusions of the agricultural members in the recent debates, for the poor farmers exhibited the sincerity of men frightened out of their wits by visions of imaginary Tamborfs and Utopian prairies. They cried that the soil would be thrown out of cultivation—that the sun would cease to shine and rains would no longer descend from heaven to fertilize British earth; they declared that Church and State would fall with corn, and that Queen Victoria, like Sultan Mahmoud, would only reign over ruined villages. We cannot deal with the insane ravings of these miserable dupes; the task of refutation is impossible when there are no arguments to refute; and as to the assertions, they have been so often reiterated and so often exposed, that we should be better employed commenting on the effusions of Bedlam. But passing from the dupes to the dupers, we find Lord George Bentinck very plainly menacing armed resistance to the Minister, and declaring himself ready to carry a musket instead of the marshal's baton which he has been chosen to wield as a leader of the monopolists. Mr D'Israeli recommended the continuance of agitation, and the Duke of Richmond spoke of the necessity of agricultural demonstrations to influence the House of Lords. If such vaunts belong not to the well known arts to which bullies have recourse, in order to frighten away fear, these noble dukes are challenging a conflict in which much more will be risked than is at present endangered. We know not how far this demonstration is approved by the other protectionists; it may be a miserable pretext for getting a sanction of something like public opinion to the rejection of the ministerial measure; should this be the case, they will find that the out-doors' agitation which has been thus provoked will be one without a parallel in the history of England, and, we believe, in the history of Europe. Let it be borne in mind that the League and the Free Traders are not the parties who provoke the conflict; the nation has been challenged to the contest by the Dukes of Richmond and of Buckingham; they have proclaimed agitation as a principle and a duty. Should the majority of the peers adopt a similar course, the nation will accept the lesson, and it will go hard if it does not better the instruction.

COMPOUNDING FOR POOR RATES.—THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE.

On Saturday was continued the public vestry of the inhabitants of the parishes of St. Margaret and St. John the Evangelist, Westminster. The meeting was for the purpose of making a poor rate, and was of importance, as "involving the question of the right of the occupiers of compounded houses to be on the rate book, and the legality of compounding for the rate in parliamentary boroughs."

Mr. FORTY was called to the chair. All persons except inhabitants being required to withdraw, the reporter sent by this journal was likewise excluded. Ratepayers only were present. The following report is from a ratepayer:

The Vestry Clerk (Mr. Rogers) informed the meeting that the overseers had received a requisition containing upwards of 300 names of occupiers of "compounded houses," demanding to be placed on the rate in the occupiers' column, in accordance with the provision of the 6th and 7th Wm. IV., cap. 96 (the Parochial Assessment Act), and likewise giving notice that the rating of the owners, to the exclusion of the occupiers, was illegal in all "cities and boroughs wherein the right of voting for members of Parliament depends on the assessment of the occupier to the poor rate." 59 Geo. III., cap. 12. sec. 23. In consequence of these notices, the parish officers had submitted a case for the opinion of Messrs. Jervis and Bodkin, and which opinion was read to the meeting. They stated that they were of opinion that there was no power to rate or compound with the owner, not being the occupier, in any parliamentary boroughs, and that a rate so constructed would be entirely illegal. The Vestry Clerk then announced that all the persons who had sent such notices had been placed in the occupiers' column in the rate now in course of preparation.

Inquiry was made whether the parochial officers intended to extend this arrangement to occupiers of tenements generally, when the Vestry Clerk stated that the names of all "occupants" would be inserted before the completion of the rate by the presence of the persons themselves, by a claim, or by the personal knowledge of an inhabitant present.

Much discussion then ensued, in which Messrs. Wood, Wilson, and others took part, the former of whom cast much crimination on the originators of the movement, and which was distinctly avowed to be for the purpose of enfranchising a class of persons, in these parishes, amounting to about 800, who had hitherto been systematically excluded from their political rights; and also in reference to the expediency of ceasing the long-continued practice of compound-

ing for the poor-rates in respect of small tenements; but the Vestry Clerk, as the legal adviser of the overseers, said, they could do no other than discontinue a practice now that they had had such opinion as to its illegality.

A motion was made by Mr. George Wilson, seconded by Mr. Huggett, which whilst requiring that all occupiers named should be inserted, also proposed that the convenient practice of compounding should be still continued; but the Chairman, by the advice of the Vestry Clerk, declined to entertain it, and the making of the rate was then proceeded with on the strict principle of "an equal rate or assessment," so that the practice of compounding is entirely given up in these parishes.

Mr. Huggett handed in some names of occupiers to be included in the rate, but were objected to on the ground that he had no personal knowledge of the fact; and it was moved by Mr. Rogers, "That no name be inserted in the rate, except on written claim, or personal application, or on the knowledge of those present."

Mr. Wright moved an amendment, seconded by Mr. Huggett—"That this Vestry do adjourn till Wednesday next, at 7 o'clock in the evening, for the purpose of allowing the collectors time to ascertain the names of the occupiers of the property hitherto compounded for."

It was argued, that the Parochial Assessment Act placed the onus of making up the rate according to the prescribed form given in the schedule of that Act, on the overseers, and that it was consequently incumbent on them to take all the necessary means, and that otherwise they could not conscientiously put their hands to the declaration at the foot of the rate, "that they had used their best endeavours to ascertain the several particulars required by the schedule."

The amendment was, however, lost by a small majority.

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. May 16	MON. May 18	TUES. May 19	WED. May 20	THUR. May 21	FRI. May 22
Bank Stock	205½	205½	205	206	206	..
3 per Ct. Red. Ann. ..	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½
3 per Ct. Con. Ann. ..	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 per Ct. Ex. Ann. ..	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
Long. An. Ex. 1860 ..	103-16	104	104	104	10 7-16	..
Cons. for Acct.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
Exc. Bills, pm.	24-20	22	23	22	19-20	..
Ind. Bds. un. 1000l. ..	..	29	..	25-30	28	..
Venezuela 2 per Ct. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. deferred. ....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Belgian 4½ per Ct. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Brazilian 5 per Ct. ..	84	83	..	..	82	..
Chilian	51	..	..	..	..	..
Column. ex. Venez. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Danish .....	..	87½	87½	..	..	..
Dutch 2½ per Cent. ..	..	59½	..	59½	59½	60
Dutch 4 per Cent.	92	91½	91½	91½	91½	91½
Mexican	33	32½	32½	..	..	32½
Peruvian .....	..	..	..	..	40	..
Portug. 4 per Cent. ..	..	57½	57½	57½	56½	57
Russian 5 per Cent. ..	110½	110½	109½	..	..	..
Spanish 5 per Ct. ....	..	21½	24	24½	21½	21½
Do. 3 per Ct.	37½	37½	37½	37½	37½	37½

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.
MONDAY, May 18.—We are not largely supplied with any kind of grain to this day's market, the trade generally is dull, notwithstanding the attendance of buyers being small. The inferior qualities of Wheat are difficult of disposal at 1s. to 2s. per quarter reduction from Monday last; but the finest samples were sold early at about the prices of that day. In Bonded there are few transactions at late rates. Barley is dull of sale, at rather lower prices. The buyers of Oats are as cautious as they have been for the last fortnight. Holders continue pretty firm, and no alteration can be quoted in the value of this article. Beans and Peas are in short supply, and the turn in favour of sellers.

BRITISH.		Per Imperial Quarter.	
Wheat, Essex,	Red 44 to 58	White 48 to 63	
Kent, & Suffolk	42 53	46 60	
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire ..	42 49	45 58	
Scotch .....	..	..
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feed ..	..	22 25	
Ditto	Black	24 25	
Ditto	Polands	New 28 29	
Scotch Feed	26 27	Potato 28 29	
Limerick .....	..	25 26	
Ditto	Fine	28 29	
Cork .....	..	25 26	
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black ..	..	22 24	
Sligo .....	..	..
Galway .....	..	19 21	
Barley .....	..	26 33	
Beans, Mazagan .....	..	51 33	
Harrow .....	..	33 37	
Small .....	..	39 40	
Peas, White .....	..	Boilers	38 42
Grey	30 32	Maple	32 34
Flour, Town-made .....	..	per sack of 280 lbs.	45 53
Norfolk and Suffolk .....	..	..	39 41

FOREIGN.		PER. IN BOND.	
		Per Imperial Quarter.	
Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed .....	..	58 to 66	48 56
Rostock .....	..	56 60	46 54
Stettin .....	..	48 56	41 49
Hamburg .....	..	46 56	42 47
Olesse .....	..	..	40 45
Odesa Polish .....	..	52 54	40 47
Russian	soft .....	..	..
Ditto	hard .....	..	..
Spanish .....	..	50 51	..
Blanquillo .....	..	54 54	..
Australian .....	..	54 69	..
Barley, Grinding .....	..	27 28	..
Distilling .....	..	29 31	..
Oats, Archangel .....	..	24 25	20 21
Danish .....	..	..	21 22
Swedish .....	..	..	..
Stralsund .....	..	..	..
Dutch Feed .....	..	..	20 21
Brew .....	..	..	23 24
Polands .....	..	..	25 26
Black .....	..	..	19 20
Beans, Egyptian .....	..	32 34	..
Peas, White .....	..	..	..
Ditto Boilers .....	..	..	42 42
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 196 lbs. ....	..	..	..
United States .....	..	..	..
Dantzic .....	..	..	..
Australian, per sack of 280 lbs. ....	..	..	..

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from May 11 to May 16, 1846, both days inclusive.

Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas.
English	5393	3410	39 0	415
Scotch .....	..	..	65	..
Irish .....	..	..	6695	..
Foreign	11532	2361	11194	..

Flour, 5838 sacks; 21175 barrels.

FRIDAY, MAY 22.—With short supplies of grain we have a dull

market for every description of corn. There is no new feature to remark in any branch of the trade, except a slightly improved inquiry for bonded oats. Holders of such ask rather more money than of late; but buyers will not concede to the demand, and the business done is at former prices. The duty rose 1s. on Barley yesterday.

S. H. LUCAS.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 15th of May to the 21st of May, both days inclusive.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	1720	..	15320
Barley	650	..	..
Oats	80	4290	2770

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending May 19, 1846.			
Wheat	5067 598. 0d.	Rye	156 31s. 5d.
Barley	2051 309. 5d.	Beans	618 34s. 5d.
Oats	24574 24s. 0d.	Peas	414 37s. 6d.

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending			
Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.
11th April	50 0.30	9.22	9.35
18th	50 10.30	6.22	9.35
25th	50 6.30	1.23	4.33
2d May	50 5.29	8.23	7.32
9th	50 8.29	7.23	9.33
16th	50 0.29	4.24	1.33

Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks, Wheat, 50s. 3d.; Barley, 29s. 11d.; Oats, 23s. 4d.; Rye, 33s. 7d.; Beans, 55s. 2d.; Peas, 31s. 3d.

Duty. Wheat, 16s. 0d.; Barley, 9s. 0d.; Oats, 5s. 0d.; Rye 9s. 6d.; Beans, 7s. 6d.; Peas, 8s. 6d.

Stock of Corn in Bond, April 5, 1846.

Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.	Flour
In London, 481401	18041	71515	..	9044	6127	1286 96
Unit. King. 1227374	88002	100120	..	29093	14067	940571

MEAT MARKET.		PER STONE OF 8 LBS. BY THE CARCASE.	
Prime Beef	3s 10d to 3s 8d	Middle Mutton	3s 6d to 3s 6d
Middling do.	3s 6d to 3s 4d	Veal, from ..	4s 6d to 4s 6d
Plain, or inf. ....	..	Small Pork ..	5s 0d to 4s 4d
rior Beef	3s 0d to 2s 8d	Large, or inf. ....	..
Prime Mutton 4s	0d to 3s 8d	rior Pork ..	3s 4d to 3s 0d

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MAY 15.
BANKRUPTS.
W. B. Lemon, North-end, Croydon, ironmonger. [Messrs. Lepard and Co., Cloak-lane.
L. Whitty, Poultry, City, builder. [Mr. Burnell, Fenchurch-street.
R. Smith, Snsex-street, Tottenham-court-road, cabinet maker. [Messrs. Davies and Son, Warwick-street.
T. Showell, Ludgate-street, merchant. [Mr. Lindo, King's Arms-yard, Moorgate-street.
W. Erick, Hackney-road, baker. [Mr. Hillearys, Fenchurch-street.
G. Sex, Stonecutter-street, Farringdon-street, job master. [Messrs. Collins and Co., Crescent-place, Blackfriars.
W. Aburrow, Liverpool, druggist. [Messrs. Gregory and Co., Bedford-row.
R. Mills and G. Puckle, Southwark, and Corn Exchange, hop and corn factors. [Messrs. Paruther and Fisher, Fenchurch-street.
C. M. Williams, Bristol, ironmonger. [Messrs. White and Co., Bedford-row.
P. Vaughan, Brecon, scrivener. [Messrs. Clark and Co., Lincoln's-inn-fields.
S. Hill, Bolton-le-Moors, boiler maker. [Messrs. Johnson and Co., Temple.
J. Bridgwood, Forebridge, Staffordshire, butcher. [Mr. Smith, Gray's-lun.
SCOTCH SEQUESTERATIONS.
J. Gordon, jun., Aberdeen, ship broker.

National Tableau of Public Interest, which has been Eight Months in Preparation.

THE Royal Family at Home, consisting of the Queen and Prince Albert caressing their four lovely Children. The Grouping and Colouring by Madame Tussaud, the Models and Portraiture by Mr. F. Tussaud, the Costumes by Mrs. F. Tussaud, is now added to the Collection. —JAZZAR, Baker-street, Portman square.

"This is one of the best exhibitions in the metropolis."—TIMES.

Admittance, 1s.; Napoleon Rooms, 6d. Open from 11 till 4; and from 7 till 10.

Dr. Robert Culverwell's Guide to Health and Long Life. (30 pages, pocket volume, price 1s., by post, 1s. 6d.)

WHAT TO EAT, DRINK, AND AVOID; with Diet Tables for all Complaints. By R. J. CULVERWELL, M.D., M.R.C.S., L.A.C., &c. Contents.—How to insure perfect digestion, tranquil feelings, a good night's rest, a clear head, and a contented mind. By an observance of the instructions herein contained, the feeble, the nervously delicate, even to the most shattered constitution, may acquire the greatest amount of physical happiness; and reach in health the full period of life allotted to man. To be had of Sherwood, 23, Paternoster-row, and all Booksellers, or direct from the Author, 21, Arundel-street, Strand, who may be advised with on these matters daily till 3, evenings, 7 till 9.

JONES'S 24. 4s. SILVER LEVER WATCHES warranted not to vary more than half a minute per week, are selling at the Manufactory, 338, Strand, opposite Somerset-house. They combine the truth of a mathematical instrument with the elegance of an ornament of taste. On receipt of a Post-office order for 1s. above the price, a Watch will be sent free to any part of the kingdom. Read Jones's "Sketch of Watch Work," sent free for a 2d. stamp.

LUXURY IN SHAVING.

JOHN GOSNELL AND CO.'S AMBROSIAL SHAVING CREAM (Patronised by Prince Albert). This inestimable Cream possesses all the good qualities of the Finest Naples Soap, without the disagreeable smell inseparable from that article in a genuine state. It is of a white pearly silvery appearance, produces a creamy lather, which will not dry on the face, and emits in use the delightful fragrance of the almond.

In Pots, price 2s. 6d., 3s. 6d., &c.

Perfumers to her Majesty, 12, Three Kings-court, Lombard street, London. Manufacturers of Combs and Brushes of the best quality, and on the most approved principles.

CHILDREN'S HAIR.—The balsamic properties of ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL, nourish the Hair in its embryonic state, accelerate its growth, sustain it in maturity, and continue the possession of healthy vigour, silky softness, and luxuriant abundance, to the latest period of human life. Genuin and purifying, it dispels all scurf and impurity, and renders the use of the hair comb unnecessary.

Beware of Spurious Imitations! The genuine article has the words "ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL;" on the Wrapper.

Price 2s. 6d., 7s. Family Bottles, (equal to 4 small, 1s. 6d., and double that size, 2ls. per Bottle.

Sold at 20, Hatton Garden, London, and by Chemists and Perfumers.

BRUSHES—NEW INVENTIONS.

THE TRIPLE HAIR BRUSH. One stroke of this is equal to the effect of one penetrating, five small-tooth combs, and one round brush. It is to be had in four sizes, No. 1, 2s. 6d. No. 2, 3s. 6d. No. 3, 4s. 6d. No. 4, 5s. 6d.

THE DOUBLE ANTI-PRESSURE HAIR BRUSH, which does not divide the quick from the dead, no pressure being required, and thoroughly cleans and polishes the hair in a tenth part of the time of any other method. Price, in Bone, No. 1, 2s. No. 2, 2s. 6d. No. 3, 3s. 6d. No. 4, 4s. 6d. of all sizes and prices in Ivory.

THE NEW TOOTH-PICK BRUSH, which entirely enters between the interstices of the teeth, and cleanses the full size brushes. No. 1, hard. No. 2, less hard. No. 3, middling. No. 4, soft. The Narrower Brushes, No. 5, hard. No. 6, less hard. No. 7, middling. No. 8, soft. It is, each, of 10s. per dozen Bone, and 12s. per dozen Ivory, also per dozen in Ivory, the Hair warranted to be correct and not cut.

THE MEDIUM SHAVING BRUSH. Between the usual Badger Hair and French Hair, being a selection of the strongest Hair only from the Badger's Skin, in a variety of sizes, both in Bone and Ivory. The above article also has the inventions of ROSS and SOUS, 119 and 120, Bishopsgate-street, London, and being protected, any one imitating them will be proceeded against.

GREAT HISTORICAL PICTURE OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE.

The accomplishment of Free Trade will be one of the most remarkable events, not only in the history of the British Empire, but of the civilised world. No movement so important, so effective, and so successful, has ever been before witnessed by mankind. Those to whose zeal, integrity, prudence, and ability this great triumph is due, will be recognised as the best factors of mankind to remote generations.

It is a duty, then, which we owe to the world and to posterity, to preserve some permanent memorial of the Council of the League—that deliberative and executive body, which has achieved more by moral force, than has been accomplished by associations that include physical strength and political power. For this purpose arrangements have been made with Mr. Herbert, R.A., to paint a Historical Picture of the Meeting of the Council of the League, including accurate portraits, not only of the principal leaders, but of those less prominent members, whose indefatigable labours during the whole course of the movement have entitled them to public gratitude. It is proposed that this shall be engraved by a first-rate artist, on a large scale (31 by 22 inches), and that the copies shall be sold at such a price, as to place within the reach of persons of moderate fortune, a monument of the mighty movement by which monopoly was overthrown, and the cause of justice established, without any remembrance of outrage or violence to lessen the enjoyment of so glorious a victory. The principles of universal peace have been established by their own practical development in peaceful agitation.

In order to accomplish this great work of Art, on a scale and in a style worthy of the subject it is designed to commemorate, those who are interested in its production, are requested to communicate to Mr. AGNEW, Printers and Publisher, Manchester, the Class of Engraving for which they wish to subscribe.

There will be three Classes of Engravings from this great Historical Picture, at the following prices:—
First Class Proofs, Ten Guineas. Second Class Proofs, seven Guineas. Third Class Prints, Four Guineas.

THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT GARDEN. M. JULIEN'S CONCERTS D'ETE,

(FOR ONE MONTH ONLY).

M. JULIEN has the honour to announce that emboldened by the success of his Winter Series of Concerts, and flattered by the kind and liberal patronage now for several years bestowed on his exertions, he has determined on organising also

AN ANNUAL SERIES OF CONCERTS D'ETE.

That portion of the year termed the London Season attracting as it does Artists of the first eminence, from all parts of Europe to this Metropolis, offers great facilities to an undertaking of this nature; while the congregation of VOCAL as well as INSTRUMENTAL talent will afford an opportunity of imparting novelty to the Concerts D'ETE.

Of these advantages it is M. JULIEN'S intention to avail himself in every possible way, and to present his Patrons with a SHORT SERIES of CONCERTS, embracing both VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC of a First rate order, and at such a reasonable charge as to allow all classes to enjoy the Entertainments.

The Concerts will commence early in June, and in due course full particulars will be announced. Advantage will be taken of the Season to arrange a NEW FLORAL DECORATION, and every arrangement made which can add to the attractions of a Popular Amusement.

ON AND AFTER THE FIRST OF JUNE,

THE DAILY NEWS, LONDON MORNING NEWSPAPER,

AT

TWOPENCE HALFPENNY.

The Newspaper is the intellectual life of the Nineteenth Century—the great agent of modern Civilisation. Not to speak of the moral and political safeguards which it affords, it places all, whatever their varieties of fortune and position, on a level as to information. By its means only, the small capitalist is enabled to contend successfully against his wealthy rival for a knowledge of those changes which affect supply and demand—and therefore prices. Without the daily Newspaper, a man and his family might be located as well in the back settlements of Canada as within ten miles of the great centre of European Civilisation. These facts are felt—the gain is understood—and the number and character of the Newspaper Press of any country are an admitted test of the enterprise and intelligence of the people. It is remarkable, then, that more than a century since, there were Eighteen Papers published in London, daily or three times a week—while now there are only Fifteen! Thus, the population of to-day bears a ratio to that of the period in question of more than 3 to 1; and by means of the post and other facilities, the whole kingdom has been brought within the easy range, and under the direct influence, of the London Press. In the single city of New York, more daily papers are published than in all England, Scotland, and Ireland put together. The circulation of papers in Paris exceeds that of London twenty fold. How is this? Of a fact so startling, where lies the explanation?—what is the cause?—PRICE!

That the public know the advantage of having a daily Paper is manifest, from the thousands and tens of thousands who pay twopence for an hour's reading, and threepence for a paper the day after publication. What, then, are the causes which maintain the high price? First, the amount of capital required to be invested in a Newspaper speculation—with whose extent and proper application the man of business and the capitalist are for the most part unacquainted. Next, the various talent, knowledge, and experience which must combine to produce the important result. The number and greatness of the requirements have, in truth, occasioned something very like a monopoly—and monopoly always commands its own price. Thus, whilst energy, enterprise, capital, and competition have been doing good service in all other things, including literature in various branches, nothing has been attempted, in the direction indicated, for the political, social, and intellectual wants of three great nations; and a daily Paper still remains a costly luxury, in which only the wealthy can indulge. In Paris within the last five years a reduction of one half of their old price has been made in the most distinguished journals, with the result of increased efficiency, power, and interest. Any such attempt in London does not seem to have been thought of.

The experiment is about to be tried of establishing a London Daily Newspaper, on the highest scale of completeness in all its departments, which shall look for support, not to comparatively few readers at a high price, but to many at a low price.

Its success depends upon the Public. In the first instance, however, it was necessary to prove that the projectors are capable of competing with the high-priced—that in energy and ability they are able to perform all that is required; and of this the Public have now had sufficient experience. THE DAILY NEWS appeared in January last, and no one has hinted a suspicion that it is inferior to its contemporaries in any respect. The time has now come when the projectors are prepared to develop their plans; whatever has hitherto attracted public favour to their enterprise will be continued and extended; and, working in the Spirit of the Age, they will publish

ON THE FIRST OF JUNE,

THE DAILY NEWS

AT

TWOPENCE HALFPENNY.

The Paper will be of the same size as all other journals were within seven years; it will be larger than many of the high-priced daily journals are now; and, in every particular of interest, it will contain as much information as the most successful amongst its contemporaries. But it will be expensive; and double sheets will be given whenever an important Debate, a pressure of News, or Advertisements, seems to require it.

THE DAILY NEWS, THEREFORE, WILL CONTAIN EVERYTHING THAT IS TO BE FOUND IN OTHER JOURNALS; AND ALL ACCOUNTS OF MARKETS—ALL TRADE INFORMATION—WILL BE SO ARRANGED THAT THE MERCHANT AND MAN OF BUSINESS SHALL FIND WHAT HE WANTS ALWAYS, AS NEARLY AS POSSIBLE, IN THE SAME PLACE, AND IN THE FEWEST POSSIBLE WORDS. THE MODERN NEWSPAPER HAS NOT BEEN DEvised AND PLANNED AS JUDGMENT MIGHT HAVE ORIGINALLY DIRECTED, BUT HAS GROWN UP UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH IT COULD NOT CONTROL; AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW PAPER AFFORDS THE OPPORTUNITY FOR A REVISION, WHICH SHALL EFFECT A SAVING OF THE READER'S TIME, AND PRESENT THE INFORMATION WHICH HE SEEKS IN A MORE SYSTEMATIC FORM.

THE DAILY NEWS WILL BE PUBLISHED IN TIME FOR THE MORNING MAILS.

Let us repeat the marking features of our scheme:

1st. We give to the reader, in what we hope will be an improved and more convenient form, all that he can find in the most approved of our competitors; enlarging always our surface to embrace whatever of unusual interest the times may present. The difference between them and us will be only in that host of Advertisements, which we too will be happy to give in an additional sheet whenever the public shall supply us with the occasion.

2dly. To the reader who now pays Fivepence for his paper, we offer the same thing at half the price; and to the man who hires his paper, a paper of his own at about the cost of the hire. It, then, only remains for the public to justify the experiment, remembering that their interest in the issue is no less than our own.

Let him who would support us in the reasonable attempt, subscribe at once. Where even the reduced price is beyond his means, let him at once join with a friend or neighbour in subscription. If, again, these friends can arrange with others in the country to receive the paper, by post, on the day of publication, at half price, the cost to each of the New Daily Paper, will be little more than One Halfpenny.

Every News Agent will, we hope, supply the paper at Twopence Halfpenny, where payment is made in advance; the same proportionate allowance as with other papers—something more than twenty-four per cent.—being allowed by the proprietors to the trade. When credit is given, it is a matter of private arrangement, with which the proprietors have nothing to do. As, however, in an undertaking so bold and so novel, it is advisable to guard against possible inconvenience, the proprietors of THE DAILY NEWS will undertake to get all persons supplied who shall forward a post office order payable to JOSEPH SMITH, DAILY NEWS OFFICE, Whitefriars, London.

FOR THREE MONTHS, 10s. 4d. Any longer period at the same rate.

Let all who are interested in the success of this undertaking—who is not?—be active, and success is certain.

NUMBER ONE, ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD,

London.—The following sample packages are recommended to families who wish to purchase their usual supply of TEAS, COFFEES, &c. to sample and prove the superior excellence of the goods sold by DAKIN and COMPANY'S Tea Merchants, and it will be forwarded to the country carriage-free on receipt of a post-office order for 12s. 6d. The 3d. being allowed as the cost of the post-office order.

	12s. 6d.	12s. 6d.	12s. 6d.
1 lb Finest True Rich Congou Tea	at 4s	6d	12s 6d
1 lb Very Fine Hyson or Gunpowder	3s 4d	6d	12s 6d
1 lb Strong Congou Tea for domestic use	2s 6d	6d	12s 6d
1 lb Strong, ripe and rich in flavour	1s 6d	1s 6d	12s 6d
1 lb The Old Blend Tea	1s 6d	1s 6d	12s 6d
2 lbs Best of Honduras Arrowroot (in a tin case)	1s 6d	2s 6d	12s 6d
1 lb Finest Tapioca Imported	0s 6d	0s 6d	12s 6d
1 lb Finest Benevolence Cloves	2s 6d	0s 6d	12s 6d
2oz Finest Brown Nutmegs	2s 6d	1s 6d	12s 6d
1 lb Very Best Cayenne Pepper	3s 4d	0s 6d	12s 6d

All goods afterwards ordered will be sent warranted equal to these samples.

THIRD ANNUAL VISIT TO LONDON.—MR. HOWARTH, son, Surgeon, from Rachdale, in Cheshire, is at Mr. Hill's, late Surgeon to the Royal Free Hospital, A.1, Sussex-terrace, Hyde Park-gardens, from 11 till 4, Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. And at 26, Albion-place, Watford, the road.

SHOWER BATHS.—Now a Show.—Purchasers of any description of BATHS should visit WILLIAM S. BURTON'S, late Rippon and Burton's bath show room, which contains, besides toilet sets, in imitation of fancy woods, china, &c., in enormous variety, all the requisites for the reason, so arranged in one room, devoted exclusively to articles of that character, that patterns, sizes, and costs can be instantly selected, and at 3 per cent. under any other house where attention is paid to the quality. Full size portable shower-baths, very strong and improved, with curtains and copper valve, 18s. 6d. each. Pillar shower baths, with copper conducting tubes, brass force pump and top, complete with curtains and, japanned, from 16s. 6d. each. Shower-baths, japanned, 2s. 6d. The ornate directions. Detailed Catalogues, with cuttings, as well as of every description of articles sent per post free.

WILLIAM S. BURTON'S (late RIPPON and BURTON'S), stock of general furnishing ironmongery and baths is literally the largest in the world, and as no language can be employed to give a correct idea of its variety and extent, purchasers are invited to call and inspect it.—39, Oxford-street (corner of Newman-street). Established in Wells-street 1820.

T. RIDDELL'S PATENT ECONOMICAL MICA-CREOSYLING for the protection of Bonnets, Caps, and Hats from the injurious effects of the natural and artificial moisture of the hair. Ladies and gentlemen, before purchasing such articles, should see that they are provided with this elegant and inexpensive article, which may be imperceptibly introduced into the most delicate bonnet or cap, thereby preventing the very unsightly stains produced by perspiration, oil, &c.; being a non-conductor of heat, it will be found invaluable in warm climates, especially in the East and West India, preventing the effects of a couple of strokes of the sun, which has proved so fatal to Europeans especially. To be had of all respectable hatters, milliners, haberdashers, outfitters, hosiers, &c. W. Patterson, 104, Wood-street, Chancery, London, is licensed to supply wholesale houses only. Price One Shilling.

BETT'S PATENT BRANDY, Exclusively used at Guy's, St. George's, St. Thomas's, the Westminster, and other hospitals; and at the Manchester, Bristol, Brighton, and other infirmaries, may be procured in every local city at 3s. per bottle, protected by the patent metallic capsules, embossed "Bett's Patent Brandy, T. Smithfield Bars," or at the Bottling, their only establishment, at 15s. per Gallon, in bulk, or at 18s. in the capsuled bottles, in quantities not less than 2 gallons.

BEARD'S IMPROVED COLOURED PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAITS so highly eulogised by all the leading journals, are taken daily, from Nine till Six, at 84, Parliament-street, Westminster, E.C.4, King's Cross, before purchasing such articles, should see that they are provided with this elegant and inexpensive article, which may be imperceptibly introduced into the most delicate bonnet or cap, thereby preventing the very unsightly stains produced by perspiration, oil, &c.; being a non-conductor of heat, it will be found invaluable in warm climates, especially in the East and West India, preventing the effects of a couple of strokes of the sun, which has proved so fatal to Europeans especially. To be had of all respectable hatters, milliners, haberdashers, outfitters, hosiers, &c. W. Patterson, 104, Wood-street, Chancery, London, is licensed to supply wholesale houses only. Price One Shilling.

GEORGE and JOHN DEANE, SADDLERS and HARNESS MAKERS, invite attention to their Gig, Tandem, and Carriage Harness, manufactured on their own premises, by workmen of much experience, and under the direction of foremen of superior ability and skill. Their trade is exclusively carried on by the most experienced workmen, the furniture is also of the best town manufacture, and G. and J. Deane warrant that the productions of their manufactory cannot be surpassed for beauty, strength, and cheapness, by any other house. Horse clothing made to order; customers of best materials, and at prices far more reasonable than usual, and all articles for stable and travelling use in large variety.—No. 7, Arthur-street East, opening to the Monument, London-bridge.

OUTFITS TO AUSTRALIA, INDIA, and the COLONIES. Parties leaving England will find it to their advantage to purchase their Outfits at J. J. MONTAGNY and CO.'S, 165, Fenchurch-street, City, where a large assortment of Shirts, Clothing, Hosiery, Gauze Merino Undershirts, &c., adapted for each particular colony, as well as for the voyage, is kept in stock, and at prices far more reasonable than usual, and charged for the same articles.

Bedding, Military Accoutrements, Cabin and Camp Furniture of every description. Lists, with Prices added, forwarded by post.

OBSERVE.—The Public are specially directed to notice that the Establishment of E. MOSES and SON will not be opened on Saturday 27th inst. May 3rd, nor Monday, June 1st, but will be open for business usual, on Tuesday Morning June 2nd.

THE SONG OF THE CITY.

Suggested by a visit to the magnificent new Establishment of E. MOSES and SON, now open to the public for inspection or for the transaction of business.

What a wonderful City am I!
How widely my flag is unfurled!
All gaze with a wondering eye
On London—the pride of the world!
What City in all the wide earth
Such mighty achievements has won?
What City has e'er given birth
To tradesmen like MOSES and SON?
What City can boast of a Man
Like MOSES'S commercial Exchange?
Behold the huge House! and you'll start
To see the magnificent range!
I am proud of this warehouse of fame!
I am proud of the good it has done!
And I'm proud of the dresses which claim
Such credit for MOSES and SON!

LIST OF PRICES.

READY-MADE.	£ s d	MADE TO MEASURE.	£ s d
Tweed Tailcoat, from	0 7 6	Coats in every material	
Cashmere Cordingtons		adapted for the season in	
and Tailcoats	0 18 6	every variety of style and	
Summer Coats in every de-		fashion to order, from	0 16 0
scription and make, in-		Quilting Vests, 6s 6d each,	
cluding the Registered		or 3 for	0 19 0
Coat	1 2 0	Clothing, in every variety	
Blouses in every material	0 2 3	of pattern	0 8 6
Splendid pattern Summer		Satin, plain, or fancy	0 14
Vests	0 2 3	Cloth or cashmere do	0 8
Cashmere and Persian in		Best single milled do	0 13 6
endless variety	0 4 6	Spring Trousers in every	
Black and Fancy Satins	0 6 0	pattern	0 10 6
Fancy Trousers	0 4 6	Single milled Albert and	
Black ditto	0 1 0	Victoria ditto	0 19 0
Dress Coat	1 0 0	Best or Black dress do	1 6 0
Frock ditto	1 3 0	Dress Coats	12 6
		best manufactured	2 15 0
		Frock ditto	1 15 0
		best manufactured	3 3 0

A new work, entitled "Past, Present, and Future," with full directions for self-measurement, may be had on application, or forwarded post free.

Mourning to any extent at 5 Minutes notice.

OBSERVE.—Any article purchased, or made to measure, if not approved of, will be immediately exchanged, or the money returned.

E. MOSES and SON, Tailors, Woolen Drapers, Clothiers, Hatters, Hosiery, Outfitters, and General Warehousemen, regret to be obliged to guard the public against imposition, but have learned that the unscrupulous man-like falsehood "of being connected with them," or "it is the same concern," has been used in some instances, and for obvious reasons they have no connexion with any other house in or out of London. Any of those who desire genuine cheap clothing should, to prevent disappointment, call or send to Minorities and Aldgate, opposite the Church, City, London.

Observe the Address, E. MOSES and SON, 151, 155, 156, and 157, Minorities, and 85, 87, 89, and 91, Aldgate, City, London.

Notice.—The entrance to the Bespoke Department is at 81, Aldgate.

N.B. No business transacted at this Establishment from sunset on Friday Evening till sunset on Saturday Evening, when it is resumed till twelve o'clock.

Printed at the Whitefriars Printing-office, Bouvierie-street, in the precincts of Whitefriars, in the City of London, by JOHN GAZLEY, printer, of Number 7, Ridgmont place, Ridgmont-road, Hammersmith, in the County of Middlesex, and also of Number 4, Fairfield-place, Chesham-hill-road, in the parish of Manchester, in the County of Lancashire, and published at Number 67, Fleet-street, in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, in the City of London, by ADAM SMITH, PATENT PRINTER, of Number 67, Fleet-street aforesaid.—Saturday, May 23rd, 1868.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 140.—Vol. III.]

SATURDAY, MAY 30, 1846.

[3d.]

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

THE QUESTION FOR THE LORDS.

"The next question was this—whether the Bill was called for by the people? * * * Their lordships' course was plain and easy. The Bill had been sent up to them by a majority of the House of Commons, but not by a clean majority. If the people were to send up the same Bill by a new House of Commons, by a clear and clean majority, he did not say he would abandon his opinions or apprehensions with respect to the measure, but as an ENGLISH PEER HE SHOULD FEEL BOUND TO BOW TO THE UNDOUBTED AND INDISPUTABLE WILL OF A MAJORITY OF HIS COUNTRYMEN."—The Earl of Malmesbury, May 26.

This really simplifies the case very much. The Earl of Malmesbury has certainly a happy way of stating a plain question in plain terms. This announcement of the noble Earl's is, in every respect, creditable to him, and to the party whose sentiments it is well known to express. It is a manly avowal of that deference which, according to the spirit and the forms of the constitution, the hereditary and aristocratic branch of the legislature owes to the will of the House of Commons and the people, on all matters of taxation and trade. By this declaration of the Earl of Malmesbury, which, as we need scarcely tell our readers, merely reiterates the repeated and uniform dictum of the entire protectionist party—and which was subsequently, on the same evening, confirmed by an interlocutory "hear, hear, hear," from the protectionists, in the course of the Earl of Haddington's speech—we are given to understand, that the protectionist peers are perfectly ready to pass the present or any future Bill for the total repeal of the Corn Law, if they can only be satisfied that such is the desire of the constituencies. Resistance to the popular will is not contemplated for a moment, and never was. The only question with them is, What is the popular will on the subject? Whatever may be their private opinion of the utility of a bread tax, they have not the remotest intention of keeping up any such tax, should it once clearly appear that the electors of the United Kingdom prefer eating untaxed bread. Nothing can be more fair and reasonable. We do not see what further the people could expect or desire, than this unreserved submission of the whole case to popular arbitration.

The question is thus narrowed to one of fact. What is it that the people really wish to see done with the Corn Law? To ask, "What will the Lords do?" is the same thing as to ask, "What would the people have the Lords do?" We submit, however, to the best consideration of the Earl of Malmesbury and the party with which he acts, that there are two modes of ascertaining the will of the people. It may be learned directly, or indirectly—expressly, or inferentially—by actual appeal to the people, or by that anticipation of the result of an

appeal to the people, for which ample arithmetical data, of indubitable authority, are afforded by a comparison of the division lists of the House of Commons with the registries. As the latter of these two modes is equally reliable with the former; as it must, one would think, be infinitely the more agreeable of the two to their lordships' political *amour-propre*; and as, in the existing state of the trading and agricultural interests of the country, and of the public and private business of the legislature, it has the further recommendation of tending to save many weeks of most precious time;—we would earnestly advise its adoption in the present instance. With all the respect due to the constitutional authority of the House of Lords, yet with the confidence justified by that thorough knowledge of the facts of the case which long and minute study has given us, we now beg the protectionist peers deliberately to entertain the question, in what position would they find themselves after a general election?

That a general election, taken on the question of the repeal of the Corn Law, would give the Free Trade Minister a "clear and clean" working majority; that no amount of protectionist successes which, according to the most sanguine calculations of agricultural arithmetic, can be regarded as coming within the bounds of possibility, could—we do not say, convert the Free Trade majority of 98 into a minority, but—reduce the majority below the point required for the convenient working of the Government;—this is a proposition on which we do not think it necessary to bestow one word of proof. It were needless to demonstrate what no one, so far as we are aware, affects to dispute. Our own impression, founded on a very careful study of the registries, goes, indeed, a good deal further than the above guarded and qualified statement—but we have no wish to add to the strength of a case which is superfluously strong already. We believe that the protectionists would literally gain *nothing* by the result of a general election—that their successes would be fully balanced by our successes—that the relative numbers of the two parties in the House of Commons would remain very much what they now are—and that Sir Robert Peel would open the new Parliament with a total-and-immediate-repeal majority of somewhere about ONE HUNDRED. As this is only our opinion—though a very decided opinion, formed after thorough and minute examination of the registries—we leave the protectionists to accept or reject it as they think proper. But it is something more than a matter of opinion, that—as Mr. Cobden told them in his speech of the 27th of last February, after an analysis of the constituencies which has never to this hour been contradicted—the Free Trade majority in the new Parliament would include the representatives of every town in England; having 20,000 inhabitants—the whole twenty representatives of the metropolis and the metropolitan county—the representatives of Edinburgh and Dublin, of Manchester, Glasgow, Liverpool, Leeds, Birmingham, and Bristol—the representatives of South Lancashire and the West Riding—the representatives of 'all the intelligence, industry, commercial wealth, and political activity of the country. It would embody an amount of moral, social, and political power, that would give overwhelming strength to any Minister who knew how to wield it.

Such would be the issue—the foreknown and foreseen issue—of that appeal to the people by which protectionist peers avow themselves ready to be bound;—a clear working majority of Corn Law repealers—of total and immediate Corn Law repealers—combining with its numerical preponderance all those elements of active power which would render even a numerical minority irresistibly strong. It is hardly necessary for the lords to tell us that

they would then repeal the Corn Law. Of course they would then repeal the Corn Law—with the fewest words. But why not anticipate? Why not deal with a proximate, as with a present certainty? Why make it appear, that their submission is not to the counsels of policy, nor to the demands of justice—but to "pressure from without," in its most palpable and obtrusive shape?

It is needless to say, that Sir Robert Peel knows exactly how this matter stands, and is prepared to act upon the knowledge. Our readers will have observed with satisfaction the explicit evidence given by the debate of this week, that the Premier takes that view of his duties and powers which we pointed out in our article of last Saturday. In the speech of his colleague, the Earl of Haddington, on Tuesday, we find the following highly significant passage—which, both as a manifesto of ministerial purpose, and as a piece of wise and friendly counsel to the Peers, is every way worthy of attention;

"He believed that by throwing out the Bill, their lordships would be entering into a hopeless contest for the maintenance of the Corn Law. He believed that on such a struggle they could not but be defeated in the end. If they threw out the Bill now, THEY WOULD HAVE THE BENEFIT OF A GENERAL ELECTION THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE COUNTRY. His own impression was, that the return of a new Parliament would show an overwhelming majority in favour of Free Trade, and that their lordships would, under that pressure, be in a manner compelled to pass the Bill. Indeed, most of their lordships who had spoken had stated that if the country really and deliberately decided in favour of Free Trade, the house would be compelled to accede to their request ('hear, hear, hear,' from the protectionists). Well, in the event of a general election, they would be directly and obviously yielding to pressure from without."

It is highly creditable to Sir Robert Peel's forbearance and moderation, that, with his knowledge of electoral statistics, he did not long ago take "the benefit of a general election." It would have made his work much easier and pleasanter to him. Both his interests as a politician, and his feelings as a man, would have been much better consulted by his taking the course which he has shown throughout so earnest a desire to avoid. By refusing to submit his new policy to the Parliament of 1841, and making his appeal at once to the people, he would have saved himself all the protectionist taunts of "treachery" and "perfidy," and would have secured a Parliamentary and popular ascendancy that would have immeasurably strengthened his tenure of office. The Premier has chosen the more patriotic and generous part. He has borne and forborne. He has declined making use of the enormous power which events had placed at his disposal. He has strained every nerve to accomplish a great national end in that particular mode which involved the *minimum* of éclat, and the *maximum* of odium and unpleasantness for himself individually, and whose only recommendation was that it seemed the most conducive to the public interests. He has eschewed the bold and brilliant *coup d'état* that would at once have made him the most powerful people's Minister of this age, and has been contented to negotiate, on terms extremely disadvantageous to his own political interest, the treaty which he might have authoritatively dictated. Nothing can be more thoughtlessly unjust than the protectionist denunciations of Sir Robert Peel for the course which he has taken on this question. Should the party eventually decide on committing that fatal blunder into which rash men would hurry them, they will see at a glance the full extent of the self-denying forbearance which they have hitherto so miserably ill required.

It now remains for the House of Lords to decide whether it would not be wise to do at first that which they have already made up their minds to do at last, on a certain condition—which condition is as sure of being fulfilled as to-morrow's sun is sure of shining. They are quite free to choose. There is no kind of competition in the case, other than

that which foresight of consequences imposes on the wise man. "Intimidation" is a thing quite out of the question. Their lordships may throw out or mutilate the bill, with the most perfect safety, so far as the peace of the country is concerned. There will be no disturbance, no rioting, no brickbats and bludgeons, neither breaking of heads, nor breaking of windows. We will stake the whole of our political credit on the prophecy, that not even the establishments in No. 17, Old Bond Street, will have the slightest occasion for the services of the glazier. We shall have quite a quiet time of it. It will be a profoundly interesting, and even exciting, but by no means a noisy, election. There will be *very few contests*. No monopolist will deem it expedient to re-appear on the hustings of Liverpool, Bristol, Birmingham, Newcastle, Sunderland, South Lancashire, or the West Riding—and we dare say that it is not within the contemplation of the Free Traders to disturb the squirearchical ascendancy in the counties of Bucks and Dorset. Each party knows its own, and the business of distribution will be conducted in a perfectly business-like way. We are so well satisfied of this, that we have not the least desire for the peers to go counter to their own choice and judgment. Certainly we do not wish for a general election now; we should exceedingly regret the loss of so much valuable time. Defective as is the Ministerial Bill in some respects, we should be sincerely glad to see it pass without further delay. Yet we cannot shut our eyes to the obvious and important countervailing advantages that the country would reap from an appeal to the electors. We should at once be rid of the nugatory and pernicious "three years." The clear and clean majority would pass a clear and clean bill. The time lost on the passing of the measure would be time gained as regards the practical effect of the measure. The date of the Royal assent would be retarded by some months—but the date of the total abolition of the Corn Laws would be hastened by upwards of two years. And not only would the settlement be more perfectly satisfactory in itself—but all parties would be more completely made aware that it really was a settlement. Still we do not desire to see it come to this. We had rather that the bill, as it stands, passed now, for our languishing commerce and straitened industry have need of it. On the whole, we leave the matter to their lordships, with no other wish than that they should act according to the dictates of their deliberate and unbiassed judgment of the right and expedient.

LORD STANLEY AND THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

The contrast, in matter and manner, between the speeches of the above-named peers—the only speeches which, up to the moment of our writing, have relieved the tedium of an otherwise insufferably dull discussion—is as wide as is that antagonism of principle of which the noble speakers respectively represent the two extreme terms. The difference between their lordships is the difference between the clever boy and the wise man. The fall of an expiring monopoly was graced by a dashing harangue, in which flimsiness of thought, and a certain free and easy way of dealing with facts, were helped out by all the force of diction, and imposing confidence of tone, characteristic of "the Rupert of debate;" and the advent of a new and juster policy was signalled by the calmly earnest eloquence, and the lucid, cogent argument of a statesman, whose generous sympathies and large intelligence renders him the fitting advocate of that cause with which his family name will be identified in our future history.

Lord Stanley's extravagantly bepraised speech of Monday night is certainly not undeserving of some portion of that laudation of which protectionist critics have been so excusably lavish. It was well put together, and well spoken. It was a very telling speech. It could not be otherwise. Lord Stanley came to the question with great advantages. His oratorical talents had unusually free scope. Lord Stanley has kept himself singularly free from

those harassing and cramping restraints which an accurate knowledge of the facts of a case is apt to impose on a man's rhetoric. As, during the four years that he remained in the House of Commons after the Free Trade question had begun to assume its present prominence, he never could be induced to take sufficient interest in it to open his lips in debate; as he has taken excellent care of late to avoid the intrusion of that unwelcome description of useful knowledge with which the "school of Manchester" sought, the other day, to disturb his rural leisure; and as, of course, he never gave his private hours of study to the perusal of works illustrative of "the cold, and selfish, and calculating doctrines of political economy;" he was able to approach the subject with a happy exemption from the paralysing influences which exact information sometimes has on the orator's fancy. The inspirations of his imagination had free scope. He could come out, very strongly and effectively, with "*the combined authority of all times and of all countries, in favour of protection to agriculture*"—a burst which would have been completely spoiled had he been at all deep in "The Industrial History of Free Nations," or had he even read the article, "Amsterdam," in that most useful compendium of politico-economical information, Mr. McCulloch's "Commercial Dictionary." His lordship's very brilliant and splendid exordium would have fallen dead on the ear, had he been obliged to qualify "*all this weight of authority, both past and present, not only of the statesmen of this country, but of every other country,*" with such an exception as that of the statesmen of the most powerful and flourishing commercial country of Europe, during two brilliant centuries of its history. It was well for his eloquence that he had never heard of HOLLAND, which grew no corn—which was absolutely "dependent on foreigners" for food—and which, in virtue of that dependence, never knew scarcity, and was always ready to meet the demands of European famine from her overflowing granaries. Lord Stanley's rhetoric is under great obligations to his ignorance.

We trace, throughout his lordship's harangue the happy influence of this convenient and agreeable destitution of politico-economical knowledge. His very effective prediction of the five millions of quarters of best wheat annually coming pouring in upon us from Hungary and Ukraine at 40s. per quarter, would have been lost to the house and the world if Lord Stanley had been in possession of a little accurate information as to what it takes to grow and carry five millions of quarters of wheat—how much seed—how much labour—how much capital—how much science—what implements—what roads—what vehicles. His indignant invective against the prudent Premier, for declining to tell the landlords what their corn is likely to fetch on and from the 1st of February, 1849, could never have been uttered by a man cognizant of the elements that constitute price, and capable of understanding that experience of the last 30 years which so decisively demonstrates the impossibility of fixing the price of corn by Act of Parliament. Neither should we have had the old Tamboff story over again (with the *venue* changed to Hungary and the Ukraine), had Lord Stanley's mind been open to the corrective influence which argument and ridicule exercise on error and absurdity. Nor would it have been possible for a man in the slightest degree acquainted with what is going on in the public mind, to venture on so felicitous a piece of rhetorical daring as that of deprecating the "pauperism" of the "landed aristocracy"—expatiating on the national peril of "*reducing to a lower position in the social scale*" those men who "*spend their money at least as fast as they get it*"—and pleading for the sanctity and perpetuity of a "moral influence," created and sustained by a bread tax. Lord Stanley is fortunate in his ignorance. It is an immense advantage to be able to come so fresh to a subject. This happy viridity of intellect gives his oratory that charm of a brilliant and dashing frankness, without which it were an intellectual nullity.

We do not know whether any, and what, effect, beyond a momentary admiration of a successful

rhetorical hit, was produced in the house by the display of the new protectionist leader. We should think, however, that the speech of the Earl of Clarendon, on the ensuing night, must have had great weight even with some of those in whose willing ears the Stanley declamation sounded like philosophy. Both in argument and in tone, it was a speech well worthy of the occasion, and of the speaker, and will be abundantly satisfactory to those who had felt that they might naturally look to the brother of Mr Villiers for an earnest and able defence of the rights of industry. We regret that our limits do not permit us to do more than allude to the noble earl's demonstration, that no one class or section of the industrial community—neither the agricultural labourers, nor the tenant farmers, nor the great manufacturers and merchants, nor the little manufacturers and tradesmen—can, by possibility, have a beneficial interest in the landlord's bread tax, and that "*this is a landlord's question, and no one's else.*" The concluding portion of his speech, in which he adverted to the bearings of England's Free Trade policy on the commercial fellowship and political amity of nations, will be peculiarly welcome to that large class of our readers to whom Free Trade principles are especially endeared by their peace-preserving tendencies; and his lordship's sentiments on this weighty topic derive additional force and authority from his diplomatic experience:

"He need not repeat what had often been said as to the failure of diplomacy and negotiation on subjects of trade. All such negotiations had proceeded upon the basis of an exchange of equivalents, which it was found impossible to adjust with satisfaction to the various parties. If a treaty were concluded, one of the contracting parties always thought it was over-reached, and becoming dissatisfied, either violated the engagement or evaded its stipulations, as in the case of the Brazils; or all negotiations were broken off, as in the case of France and Spain, and some other countries, leaving the contracting parties in a disposition far less friendly than they were before. The only safe course was, for each country to pursue the course best adapted to its own interests, without regard to that taken by any other nation. We had to look only to our own interest, and whilst we were advancing in wealth, by adopting our own course, their lordships might rely upon it that we should be setting an example which the rest of the world not only would but which they must follow."

"As for ourselves, impelled as we were by a necessity to provide for increased demand by increased powers of production, we were about to adopt a policy which other nations must follow—a policy by which we should extend the intercourse of nations, and carry into effect that law of God which ordained men to be mutually useful to each other—a policy by which we should give and receive perpetual guarantees for placing upon a solid foundation that greatest and most inestimable blessing of peace."

We regret that unavoidable and painful circumstances prevented Earl Ducie from taking a share in the debate on the second reading of the Corn Bill in the House of Lords.

THE SUGAR CROP.—The letters by the West Indian mail were received here on Wednesday, and contain a more favourable account from the sugar plantations in some of the colonies, where they had at length experienced a genial fall of rain. Its principal effect, however, will be felt by the ensuing crop, which had just been planted, and to which it was invaluable; the present can benefit but slightly by it. In Jamaica, Trinidad, and Porto Rico, they were still under the influence of the drought, although in the south-west part of the first-named island some of the plantations would exceed their shipments of last year. It is, however, the exception to the rule, as the aggregate deficiency of the present crop of sugar in Jamaica, as compared with the last, is estimated at fully one-fourth. Barbadoes will suffer the least of all the islands, as it is anticipated that her exports will be from 23,000 to 24,000 hhds. against from 24,000 to 25,000 hhds. for last year. The sugar market here has been quiescent under the effect of these advices.—*Liverpool Albion.*

THE SUGAR TRADE.—During the recent influx of shipping at the several dock establishments of the port of London, a large number of the vessels consisted of East Indianmen, and also ships from the Mauritius, and the quantities of sugar (in bags) brought to and housed in the docks, out of the vessels alluded to, have been very extensive. Some idea may be formed of the correctness of this remark, when we state that at the East India Docks alone, since the commencement of the month of April ultimo, there have been landed and warehoused between 60,000 and 70,000 bags of sugar, of the finer description and best quality. The qualities imported into and housed at the other docks have been in a proportionate degree not less extensive or important. The mention of this is of interest and importance at the present time, when the rumoured or actual insufficiency of the crops, and the supply of sugar for consumption in the country, is made matter of particular remark, and the general questions of the importation of and the duties leviable on sugar are on the eve of consideration by the legislature.

POTATOES.—We notice a great deal said *pro* and *con* about the scarcity of potatoes in other journals; but from all we can learn, they have in this district never been sold at half their present price. On Saturday last they brought, in Brecon market, the enormous price of 25s. per sack,—just five times the rate at which they have frequently been sold here, and throughout the previous week not a single potato was offered for sale.—*Shiruria.*

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE
SESSION OF 1846.

Nineteenth Week, ending Saturday, May 30.

The hope which we expressed, last week, that the House of Lords will pass the Corn Bill, even against its own predilections, was confirmed in a striking manner on Monday. On the morning of that day it was announced that all those members of the peerage constituting the Whig party, and who usually act together, had assembled on Saturday last at Lansdowne House, and had formally agreed to resist all and any amendment in the bill, which they also pledged themselves to support steadily through all its stages. This destroyed the hope and the fear that the bill in committee would be mutilated, a circumstance which would ensure its rejection, as it is against the privileges of the Commons to agree to alterations by the Lords in a money bill. So far this is creditable to the Whig party in the House of Lords, as many of them have been long advocates of a fixed duty, which they now abandon with reluctance. Should the division take place on Friday morning, we will of course be enabled to communicate the result before going to press.

The interest outside and within the House of Lords, on Monday, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, was very great. Crowds of strangers were assembled round the passages, and blocked up the entrance to the gallery door, more armed with peers' orders than could possibly gain admission. The house was exceedingly full; and amongst the visitors were several of the foreign ambassadors, one of them being the Count de St. Aulaire, the French Ambassador, who was in attendance on each night, and evinced great interest in the debate. There were ladies also present, anxious to hear the debate, and to listen to their noble relatives; while great numbers of the members of the House of Commons, quitting their own legislative assembly, in which, as if by consent, all interest has been for the time suspended, listened to the first vital Free Trade discussion which has shaken the "dry bones" of monopoly in the House of Lords. The body of the house was filled with a greater throng of Peers than we ever remember to have seen assembled since the days of Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bill. Altogether the scene was exceedingly animated, evincing the grave importance of the measure, which is to effect one of the greatest social changes of modern times.

The Earl of Ripon moved the second reading of the bill. This, in itself, is an extraordinary fact. Frederick Robinson is now 64 years of age, and he introduced into the House of Commons the Corn Bill of 1815. This naked statement is in itself an illustration of the maxim that we are, or ought to be, "schoolboys from the cradle to the grave." His speech will be read entire by every man who wishes to have some portion of "secret history," as well as some idea of an extraordinary system now disappearing before public opinion. The first portion of his speech was a vindication of himself. Though he had introduced the Corn Bill of 1815, he had, at the time, expressed to the Earl of Liverpool his reluctance to do so; and the only ground on which he had ever supported a Corn Law was a conviction, sincerely entertained, that it was not desirable this country should be unduly dependent on foreign countries for the supplies of the chief article of subsistence. The tendency of population, according to Lord Ripon, is to outrun the productive powers of a country; the question of the abrogation of the Corn Law with him was never other than one of time. That time has now arrived. This was something to hear from the introducer of the measure in the House of Commons in the year 1815. Protection to native agriculture or native industry, in his idea, was never the system of England; there were a series of regulations in this direction, each of which grew out of some chance circumstance, as the duties upon timber, upon wool, on butter, and on cheese, &c., which were never intended to be of permanent endurance—the country is now in a condition to set its face against these fortuitous enactments being allowed to harden into a system. Lord Ripon entered at length into the history of the Corn Laws from 1791 down to 1842, and stated that the only ground upon which he had ever rested his support of any of them was independence of foreign supply, and, in his opinion, regard being had to the increase of population, this ground was no longer tenable. He stated it as his belief that land would not be thrown out of cultivation, and instanced the case of Lincoln Heath, over the approaching desolation of which, our readers will remember, Mr. D'Israeli so picturesquely bewailed himself in the House of Commons, and stated that a portion of that district, which, according to the protectionists, was to be thrown out of cultivation, was his own property, and that during the excitement of last autumn, when it was known that a fundamental change in the Corn Laws was impending, certain parcels of land belonging to him fell out of lease, which he immediately was able to re-let, not at a reduced, but at an increased rent. This shows pretty clearly what the opinion of practical farmers is upon this momentous head of the discussion. After the noble earl had given his elaborate history of the Corn Laws, contending that they originated in fiscal and not in constitutional considerations, he urged that we had now outgrown their necessity, as the investment of capital in the cultivation of the soil was going on more vigorously than ever.

The Earl of Ripon was followed by the Duke of Richmond, in a speech full of acrimonious feeling. His grace thought it necessary to play the old farce over again, with which we have been already nauseated in the House of Commons, by reading pages of *Hansard* over to Lord Ripon, containing his immature opinions upon the Corn Law question. After citing and contrasting the past and present opinions of the Earl of Ripon, he contended that this great change, which would ruin thousands of tenant farmers, was undertaken to serve and gratify a mere section of the Manchester cotton spinners. If the vote were taken by ballot a majority of their lordships would be found opposed to the measure. But noble lords were reluctant to oppose the Government—they were determined to vote with their party. But Sir R. Peel had abandoned his party, not the party Sir R. Peel. The Prime Minister had no more chance of regaining the confidence of the people of this country than he had of

occupying the throne. He believed that the adoption of this measure would shake the foundations of the throne, and sap the institutions of the country. The only thing in the shape of argument was his usual clap-net for the farmers. Do you hope to improve the condition of those who depend for their subsistence upon the soil, by lowering the price of agricultural produce? The question should rather run—Do you hope to improve their condition by impoverishing their markets? Does not a large portion of every shilling gained by the manufacturing and commercial classes go to enrich the agriculturists? What would the mere soil of England be worth minus her manufactures, minus her commerce? What would that soil be worth to its owners were these doubled in amount? Can these ever so double themselves under any other system than one of free imports? He concluded by moving, as an amendment, that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

Earl Fitzwilliam expressed his determination to vote for the Bill, because he considered the settlement of the Corn Law question a matter of paramount consideration. But he vindicated his own views of commercial policy, especially with reference to a fixed duty, which he had advocated for many years, and considered the Government deserving of severe blame for the manner, time, and mode of introducing the Bill. Earl Fitzwilliam, however, implored the house not to reject the Bill, nor to prolong a contest for repeal which has been so mischievous to all classes of society, more especially to the agricultural. The noble lord wished certain changes to be made in our system of taxation, and was averse to the three years' delay.

The Duke of Cleveland, as might have been expected, vindicated the cause of protection, and affirmed that the Government were unworthily yielding to mere clamour, the effect of which would be visible, a few years hence, in the destruction of other and more important interests than the Corn Laws. If, said, his grace, such taxes as the poor rates and tithes were thrown equally on all the great sections of society, then the produce of the land would require no more protection than the produce of manufactures. An important admission this from the Duke of Cleveland.

The Marquis of Londonderry, in a characteristic speech, vindicated Sir Robert Peel, whose administration, foreign and domestic, had been pre-eminently beneficial for the country, and who now only yielded the question of the Corn Laws from a conscientious conviction of the necessity of the measure. He maintained that not only in the county of Durham, but throughout the whole of the north of England, the feeling of the farmer was in favour of the Government measure. The noble marquis saw no reason for withdrawing his confidence from her Majesty's ministers, considering how well they had carried the country through great difficulties. He maintained that this was more a question of rent-roll and profit than one of high principle.

Lord Stanley must, however, be considered as having made the speech of the night, and a brilliant piece of declamation it was. In delivery and in force it was altogether the best speech on behalf of protection that has yet been delivered. Lord Stanley was quite conscious that he was keenly observed, and in order to avoid all imputation of being actuated by personal feeling, steered clear of personalities. He, in fact, took the tone, hitherto so grievously wanting in all protective speeches—something resembling *statesmanship*. He spoke for upwards of three hours; and during all that time sustained the attention of the house. The principle of protection to native industry, he argued, had been recognised by all our past legislation, and had received the sanction of our most distinguished statesmen—Chatham, Pitt, Huskisson, Liverpool, Canning, and Grey. All foreign countries also, who had any interest in the cultivation of the soil, protected by special legislation their native industry. After complimenting the Duke of Wellington, whose character raised him above all suspicion, and also admitting that Sir Robert Peel really believed in the emergency which had led him to propose the present measure, he contended that the Government had mistaken the brawling torrent of agitation for the strong still current of public opinion. The Anti-Corn-Law League had triumphed over the ministers of the Crown, and these again had triumphed over their own political supporters, and even over the independence of Parliament. But when the Government were asked what would be the probable consequence of the present measure, they frankly declared that they did not know. They were about to try this great experiment, not in some remote corner of the globe, where an error was not irrevocable, but in the wealthiest, mightiest, and most artificially constructed country in the world. The noble lord then entered into personal details respecting the dissensions in the Cabinet during last autumn, intimating that though he disbelieved in the existence of a "famine," he had, nevertheless, been willing to join in a temporary suspension of the Corn Laws, provided that it were temporary. He urged that the Corn Law had fulfilled its purpose of keeping prices moderate and steady, as well as rendering us independent of foreign supply, while the great progress in the annual value of our manufacturing industry showed that it had not been inconsistent with its welfare. These points he argued at great length, contending that our shipping, our commerce, and trade had all flourished under protection, while no increase in the exports of our manufactures could take place without a cheapening of the value of the articles, and inevitably a reduction in the wages of labour. He granted that we might, for a time, stimulate the production of manufactures, but a time of reaction must inevitably arrive; and when we had destroyed our great home market, and found our foreign one failing us, what was to become of the great industrial community of this country? The adoption of the cold, calculating doctrines of political economy involved the destruction of the yeomanry of England. All small farms must be broken up, for the sole question being reduced to one of profit and loss, all associations and old ties must be broken up, and the tenantry turned adrift. He did not think so hardly of the landlords of England as to suppose that, even under the pressure of Free Trade, they would be guilty of cruelty like this. But if this were to be the case in England, what were they to do with Ireland? There it must end in extermination. And what was to become of our great colonial system, based as it was on reciprocal and mutual advantages? There was no zone in either hemisphere in which our power and influence were not recognized; and we were now about to tell the British emigrant that henceforth his interest was of no more concern to us than those of any foreigner. The St. Lawrence would no longer be the great highway of Canada; New York would supplant Quebec and Montreal; and the consequences of the removal of protection, involving, as it did, the welfare of our colonies, had been pointed out in a recent message from Lord Cathcart. He conjured them not to sacrifice their home and colonial markets for supposed advantages, admitted to be very doubtful of realization, even

by so leading a manufacturer and member of the Anti-Corn-Law League as Mr. Gore. The House of Commons, which, a year ago, had rejected the repeal of the Corn Laws by a large majority, had now passed the present measure by a majority of ninety-eight. Sudden conversions like these could not command the respect of the country. Organized agitation was never put down by concession, and he quoted a passage from a speech by Mr. Lawrence Heyworth, of Liverpool, in order to show that the advocates of Free Trade had ulterior objects. The noble lord concluded a speech of more than three hours in duration by an emphatic appeal to the House not to become the mere registrar of the edicts of a Minister, but to save the country from the consequences of rash and hazardous legislation.

Lord Brougham followed in reply; and when he had concluded the debate was adjourned till Tuesday. There was not quite the same amount of excitement as on the previous day, nor was the attendance of peers quite so large, which was probably partly owing to the fact that it had been arranged that there should be another adjournment. Still the interest felt was great, and the eagerness of peers to speak was occasionally the cause of a "scene" in the usually calm and well ordered assembly.

The debate on Tuesday was opened by

The Earl of Wilton, who stated his extreme regret at being obliged, from his sense of public duty, to oppose the Government in their present measure for repealing the law of 1842, which he considered had realised all the conditions desirable in a Corn Law.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge then rose, along with other peers; but the cry of "Cambridge, Cambridge" from all parts of the house made those who were up give way. Some curiosity was felt to know the line which would be taken by the uncle of the Queen towards the Queen's Ministers. He had heard Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons state his reasons for the introduction of the bill, and notwithstanding his respect for the great ability of the right honourable baronet, he had failed to convince him of the necessity for the measure. But in accordance with the policy which he has pursued during the last 45 years he has been a member of the House of Lords, as he cannot vote with the Government, he will therefore not vote at all.

The next speaker was a young peer,

Lord Granville, who addressed the house for the first time, and who delivered a neat and pointed speech, advocating the truth of Free Trade as a principle, and the necessity as well as the safety of its application in a country like this, with its accumulating capital and increasing population.

The Marquis of Normanby, though not participating in the exaggerated expectations of advantage to be derived from a repeal of the Corn Laws, supported the bill because he felt that the balance of the benefit was in its favour. At the same time he thought that the Government had not acted with reference to the repeal of the Corn Laws in a way calculated to sustain either the character of the executive, or the dignity of the legislature. It was obtained at an enormous waste of that confidence which ought to be reposed in public men. After pointing out the necessity for ameliorating the moral and physical condition of our manufacturing classes, he urged their lordships not to encounter the responsibility of rejecting a measure which had been sent up to them by so large a majority of the House of Commons, inasmuch as it would expose them, however unjustly, to imputation of an interested nature, calculated to impair their legitimate influence.

The Earl of Cardigan protested against that abandonment of the policy which has hitherto united the great Conservative party, and which he regarded as broken up by this mischievous and uncalled for measure.

The Earl of Winchelsea also, with great vehemence,—in fact, with oratorical violence, which sounded excessively ludicrous,—argued against the adoption of Free Trade as ruinous to our agriculture, which, since the passing of the Corn Bill of 1842, had been making rapid progress, through draining, artificial manures, and other scientific improvements. Our farmers would be unable to compete with the overwhelming produce of the United States, and our heavy clay soils must go out of cultivation. He implored them not to forfeit their credit with the country by registering the edicts of any Minister of the House of Commons, which had abandoned the principles on which it had been elected.

The next speech was indeed an able one, and was so felt by every one who listened to it, whatever his opinions might be. In manner, in style, and in argument, it was unique; and we observed that the bench of bishops paid it a marked attention. It was delivered by

The Earl of Clarendon (elder brother of Mr. Villiers), who reminded the house that the question was not one of party, but of time, fact, and experience. There was no question on which, during the last thirty years, so great a change of opinion had taken place. Even those who, a few years ago, had scornfully rejected a fixed duty, were understood to be now favourable to its adoption, and were ready thereby to abandon their principles of protection to agriculture for the sake of protection to the exchequer. No Minister, under a due sense of responsibility, could have acted otherwise than Sir Robert Peel had done, with such reports as were officially transmitted to him from Ireland in October last. He referred to the oft-repeated declarations of Ministers within the last four years, that with cheapness and abundance were connected the diminution of turbulence, the abatement of crime, increased commerce, and improved morals; and that in periods of scarcity and dearth the contrary of all those results prevailed. From these assertions, the repeal of the Corn Law was the practical deduction. And even if any of their lordships were blind to the intentions of the First Lord of the Treasury, the country was not. It was impossible to apply the principles of Free Trade to colonial asses, prunes, and oils, and yet refuse to apply them to the staple food of our rapidly-increasing and always underfed population. The cry was formerly "Protection to agriculture." Something more comprehensive was required, and "protection to native industry" was substituted. But the industrial interests of the country did not ask for it. "British industry," said Lord Clarendon, "wants no protection—it repudiates alike your newborn sympathies, and your worn-out legislation." He denied that the labouring agricultural classes were interested in the maintenance of protection to agriculture, for this simple reason, that when you looked at the rate of wages which the labourers received, at the quantity and quality of food by which their lives were maintained, their helpless life of unbroken toil, their sanitary condition, it was impossible that the labourers could sink lower in the social scale than the point at which they were at present. Their condition might be made better by the change—it could not be made worse. Protection had not in the slightest degree benefited the agricultural labourer; and then Lord Clarendon, with

great point and emphasis, ridiculed the wild fears entertained of some overwhelming importation of foreign grain, as if it were to be borne on the waves of the ocean, and delivered gratis at every man's door. The alleged panic was not manifested by farmers selling their stock, discharging their labourers, or throwing up their farms, while land still maintained its value. Looking at the progress of public opinion, no Ministry could maintain the protective system much longer. Passing to the subject of hostile tariffs, he showed that our exports to France had rapidly increased, as was in fact the case in Spain, Italy, and elsewhere, for the smuggler was always at hand to modify the prohibitory system. We had, therefore, only to pursue our own course, and look to our own advantage. At the same time it was impossible not to observe the effect which our example was already producing on public opinion in other countries. The noble earl concluded a most effective speech by depicting the probable results of a liberal commercial policy in harmonising the intercourse of nations, and placing the question of peace on a new and firmer basis.

The sense of pleasure and satisfaction which the speech of the Earl of Clarendon had excited, was completely smothered by the next peer who spoke. It was the Earl of Carnarvon, who, in a most tedious, drawing, sermonising way, was on his legs for two or three hours, repeating the same idea over and over again, till every body was sick of listening to him.

The Earl of Carnarvon, while admitting that the principles of Free Trade might be true in the abstract, urged that they were utterly inapplicable to the circumstances of such a country as this. Great as was the desolation which had been effected by the Currency Bill of 1819, the mischief which would be produced by the present bill amongst the small occupiers of the soil would be far greater. He traced the mode in which he considered it would operate, leading to glut and ruinously low prices at one period, and unnaturally high prices at another, as injurious ultimately to manufacturing, as in the first instance it would be to agricultural industry. Sir Robert Peel had no right to abandon the principles which had secured him the following of a powerful party, without at least one more contest on the battle-field of the country, and enabling the constituencies to say whether or not they had changed their opinions with the Government. He expatiated on this point at great length, deploring the insatiable policy adopted in a time of profound prosperity at the bidding of unfounded clamour, and calling on the House of Lords, to vindicate its honour and character by refusing to abdicate its legislative functions, or submitting implicitly to adopt any measure dealing with great interests.

The Earl of Malmesbury, who has repeatedly visited the Hebrides, pointed out the destitution of the population consequent on the reduction of the duty on barilla, by which the manufacture of kelp had been destroyed. He considered this to be an example on a limited scale of what would be the result of the adoption of Free Trade, enforcing this view by several other illustrations.

The Earl of Haddington stated that his opinion on the question of protection had long been modifying, and he had frequently, of late years, expressed in private his conviction that no injury would arise from a repeal of the Corn Laws, were it not for the panic which he apprehended, would ensue. He then recounted the share he had in the circumstances which led to the breaking up of Sir Robert Peel's Cabinet, and its resumption of office. The Government of the country was at a stand; and seeing that the Corn Laws were doomed, he felt no shame, either in his change of opinion, or in his official connection with a Cabinet which undertook their repeal. But though anticipating much opposition, he did not expect to hear so many prophecies of evil—anarchy, confusion, and ruin to Church and State—as the result of the adoption of this measure. So far from entertaining these fears, he believed that the great majority of the people of this country, including a considerable portion of the landed interest, were in favour of the bill. The sagacity of Sir Robert Peel was unquestioned; and it would have been madness in him to break up his party and weaken his power, did he not sincerely believe that the exigencies of the country demanded the change. For his part, he believed that, by effecting it, Sir Robert Peel had conferred on the country one of the greatest benefits any Minister ever had it in his power to bestow. After dwelling on the probable immaterial effect on prices which will be the result, he declared his firm conviction that, if there were a general election on the Corn question, the new Parliament would exhibit a great majority in favour of the total repeal of the law, and urged them no longer to delay the settlement of a question, which not merely the Anti-Corn-Law League, with its great power, but the tenant farmers themselves were anxious to see disposed of.

The Earl of Hardwicke said it was an aristocracy of wealth which was pushing on this question. With the mighty power of the steam-engine, they were prepared to flood the world with their goods; and if they were able to do this, they cared not a straw for the rights of humanity or the interests of the poor. The rich landed proprietors would suffer least from the repeal of the Corn Laws—it was the smaller owners and occupiers, with the poor, on whom the greatest amount of injury would fall. Under a system of protection, agriculture had flourished, commerce had expanded, and the revenue had been elastic. The wages of skilled labour had not varied with the price of food; but the unskilled labour of the agricultural districts did, and therefore the price of corn was an important element in the employment of the poor man. The temporary pretext for the repeal of the Corn Law (the famine in Ireland) had now been abandoned. The noble Earl dwelt on the great fall in price which must ensue from free importation, and urged that a reduction of one-fourth in the incomes of their lordships would be most disastrous to the country generally, including the manufacturing interest. The policy of this country was to keep us independent of foreign nations—hence the Sovereign must be a Protestant; but if we depended on foreigners for our supplies, we might find ourselves driven into a war to obtain our daily bread. It was the imperative duty of their lordships to let the question be referred to the country for decision.

A lively conversation now arose about the adjournment of the debate. The House of Lords does not sit on Wednesdays; and there was this additional circumstance, that the Wednesday of this week was "Derby day" at Epsom races. Earl Grey implored them, for their own character and credit with the country, to prefer business to amusement. But their lordships preferred amusement to business; and the debate was adjourned till Thursday, with the understanding that Earl Grey should open it.

Before the debate was resumed on Thursday, a significant incident occurred. The Earl of Dalhousie, President of the Board of Trade, was entrusted with the important position from the bankers, merchants, and influential indi-

viduals, of the City of London, praying that the measures of the Government may be speedily passed into law. He reminded the house that a similar petition from similar parties, in 1820 preceded those measures of commercial reform which we are only now in process of completing. Lord Ashburton, the Thomas Baring of former days, got up, and affirmed that a petition as numerous and respectfully signed could be got up, in the City, praying that the measures should not be passed into law. "If so," said Lord Brougham, "why not get it up?" "Yes," added Lord Montagu, "there is plenty of time yet for its presentation, before the measures are passed." The Duke of Richmond made rather an ingenious attempt at an escape. He asked how many of the merchants who signed that petition are owners of corn in bond? This raised great laughter. Earl Grey, at the close of his really able speech, adverted to this circumstance, and said if they rejected the bill it would set the country inquiring how many of their lordships were owners of land!

Earl Grey began the adjourned debate; and spoke at great length but with great power. In the House of Commons he delivered a number of remarkable speeches in favour of Free Trade, characterised by a straightforward boldness, lucid argument, and powerful appeal. He had, however, a tendency to be verbose, using an unnecessary number of words. On Thursday, he eschewed this habit, and delivered an animated speech, all the parts of which had strict relation to each other, forming a continuous pleading on behalf of Free Trade, not only overthrowing the whole of Lord Stanley's argument, but leaving nothing farther to be said. It was as gratifying to the advocates of Free Trade, as calling to monopolist lords, to hear him defend the Anti-Corn-Law League, and render homage to the genius and perseverance of Mr. Cobden and his colleagues.

Lord Ashburton followed; and spoke in a low, monotonous tone, humming and hawing over his words, repeating his ideas, his words, and his facts. It was positively a poor display.

The Marquis of Lansdowne and the Earl of Dalhousie both made admirable speeches—bold, spirited, full of facts and arguments, manly in tone, and unanswerable. As for the rest of the speakers, they were of the usual stamp on behalf of protection, with the exception of the Earl of Essex, who assigned very creditable reasons for his conversion to Free Trade views. The Duke of Wellington closed the debate, his speech being simply a defence of himself. The House of Lords sat from five o'clock on Thursday till half past four on Friday morning. Then came the division:

Contents present	138
Proxies	73
	211
Non-Contents present	126
Proxies	38
	164
Majority	211
Minority	164

Majority in favour of the second reading of the Corn Bill, FORTY SEVEN.

We subjoin, at full length, some of the most prominent speeches delivered during the debate. We regret the impossibility of giving in full the excellent and able speech of Lord Lansdowne, as well as the masterly, high-toned, and most logically practical and statesmanlike speech of Lord Dalhousie. We shall, however, endeavour to give them without abridgement in our next number.

SPEECH OF LORD STANLEY.

Lord STANLEY then rose and addressed the house as follows:—I can assure your lordships that it is with the most unfeigned distrust of my own powers, but at the same time with the most unhesitating conviction of the truth and strength of the case which I have to support, that I venture to submit myself to your lordships' indulgence while I enter into a defence of that system and that law which has been designated by a noble earl on the other side of the house as absurd, and which has been most vehemently, but I can hardly say vigorously, assailed by those who have hitherto boldly and most strenuously defended it (cheers). I feel, my lords, how much need I have of your indulgence, because I find myself unhappily on this occasion opposed, *inpar congressu*, to all those who have been hitherto the leaders of both the great parties into which this house and the other house of Parliament have been divided. But, however much and however painfully I may feel the inequality of the contest in point of ability, I cannot admit that the weight of authority is in favour of those who propose the abolition of the Corn Laws (hear, hear). My lords, I will not appeal—it would be invidious to do so—to the authority and opinions of noble lords on either side of the house. I will not cite the opinions they may have formed or the expressions they may have made use of; but, my lords, I will venture to appeal from the authority of the living to the authority of the dead (hear, hear)—I will venture to appeal from the authority of the statesmen of the present day, to all the great names among those who have been the most liberal commercial ministers of England in times not long gone past; I will appeal to the authority of Chatham, to the authority of Mr. Pitt, to the authority of Mr. Huskisson; and, my lords, while I mention their names, I will refer to those of others whose eloquence still rings in our ears—and would to God their wisdom and prudence were still directing our councils—trusting I shall be forgiven by my noble friends who now occupy seats in this house, if I refer to those who first cast imperishable lustre on the names of Liverpool, of Canning, and of Grey (great cheering). But, I can appeal not only to statesmen of almost the present day; I can appeal against the statesmen of the present year (cheers),—to the authority of all those who have swayed the destinies of this country ever since it took a prominent place among the nations of the world. The noble earl (Ripon) says this question was not raised by former Governments on the principle of protection; and says that if you search the records of our history from the earliest times, you will find in the most distinct form, from the preambles of successive statutes in successive ages, that the principle which guided the ministers of this country was not the principle of encouraging the domestic industry, and protecting the agriculture of this country (cheers). As early as the time of Edward IV. I recollect a memorable preamble, one which might almost be applied to a statute of the present day: it recites, if I remember the words—"That whereas the labourers and occupiers in husbandry"—not the great owners of land, observe, not the great proprietors—but "the labourers and occupiers in husbandry be daily grievously endangered by the bringing in from foreign countries of corn into this realm when the

price of corn within this realm is low," and the statute with that recital goes on to prohibit the importation of corn when the price here was 6s. 8d. per quarter. The same principle has guided the legislature of this country from that day to the present, varied according to the circumstances of the country, varied according to the exigencies of the times, varied according to the state of husbandry, and the state of our relations with foreign powers. But through all, without an exception, there has been maintained this principle, and in order to secure the independency of this country of foreign supplies for the food of its own people, it was the policy and wisdom of this great country to give encouragement and protection to the cultivation of its own soil (hear, hear, hear). But I will not be satisfied with appealing to home authorities; there is not one nation in the world of any eminence that has ventured up to this hour upon the bold and rash experiment upon which your lordships are invited to enter, of leaving the provision of the food of its people unrestrained by legislation, unprotected by fiscal regulation, and subject to mere chance, or worse than that—to chance controllable and controlled by the caprice, the enmity, or the inability to supply, of foreign countries (cheers). I will go through the principal nations of the earth. France and Holland have both not only a system of protection, but both have a sliding scale, and France has a sliding scale infinitely more complicated and stringent than our own. Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, the Germanic Confederation, Prussia, Portugal, Spain, the Roman States, Austria, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, and the United States of America. Have I gone through all the principal nations of the world (hear, hear)? Not one of all these countries has ventured to leave its agriculture unprotected, or to allow the provision of the food of its people to be dependent on foreigners. And when I see all this, not only can I not admit that the weight of authority is with the opponents of the measure, but I venture to doubt the truth of that which has been put forward as an indisputable axiom—that the *prima facie* inference is in favour of unrestricted importation (hear, hear). On the contrary, I think the weight of authority, the authority of the past and the present, of this and of all other countries, nations with every variety of soil and climate, with every variety of density and sparseness of population, under all varieties of civil institutions, from the most absolute monarchy to the most unrestricted republicanism, the combined authority of all times and countries is in favour of the system of protection (cries of "hear, hear"). I dispute that which has been held to be an indisputable axiom; I contend that the inference, the *prima facie* inference, is, that all statesmen of former times and countries were not wholly destitute of political wisdom and political sagacity (cheers). I cannot believe that not a single beam enlightened and dispelled the universal darkness, till that which flashed simultaneously and with such wonderful and marvellous power of conversion upon the statesmen of the present age, in the month of November last (great cheering). I hope I need not assure your lordships, and I am quite confident I need not assure the noble and gallant duke near me (the Duke of Wellington), that however deeply I may deplore the course he has pursued as a Minister of the Crown, no words shall fall from me in the course of the observations I shall have to offer in the slightest degree inconsistent with the deep personal respect I entertain both of his public and private character, or to cast the shadow of a suspicion—which does not exist or find a place in my mind—upon the entire purity of the motives by which he has been actuated (cheers). Even if my noble friend's brilliant career and the prominent position he occupies in this age and country, did not place him, —I will not say beyond criticism,—but above all apprehension of censure, the uniform singlemindedness of his character, his utter forgetfulness on all occasions of self, and his abhorrence of all that is low, mean, and selfish, would be a guarantee to your lordships and to the world, that whatever be the circumstances which have produced it, his decision has been formed upon a sincere, but, I respectfully think, a mistaken sense of what is best for the public interest (cheers). Nor, my lords, will I presume to doubt the sincerity of the conviction of my right hon. friend at the head of her Majesty's Government, that this measure was called for by a great exigency. A man of far less sagacity and experience than my right hon. friend could not long have failed to foresee that the inevitable consequence of this measure must be the dislocation and disruption of all those party ties without which, in my humble judgment, the affairs of this great country can never be steadily carried on; he must have foreseen the shock it would give to public confidence in public men, to the confidence of constituents in their representatives, to the confidence of the country in the House of Commons, and, forgive me for saying so, in your lordships' house also, if you should unhappily imitate the too facile conversion of that house (great cheering). He must have known the embarrassment, the painful conflict and struggle between personal attachment and public principle, to which it would expose his warmest and most devoted adherents (hear, hear); he must have felt the injury he was doing to his own public reputation, and the diminution he was causing to the means of his own future usefulness; I believe my right hon. friend foresaw all these circumstances, and therefore I cannot but think that he conscientiously believed the emergency of the case required this course to be pursued. But I think my right hon. friend fatally and unhappily mistook that emergency, that he mistook the public judgment, that he mistook the urgency of the position in which he was placed. I think he committed the error the most fatal a statesman can commit,—I think he took the brawling torrent of agitation for the still, deep current of public opinion (cheers). And it will not be the least unhappy consequence of this unhappy measure that this country and the world will believe,—truly or falsely, justly or unjustly, I will not say,—that a triumph has been gained by an organized and interested association over the Minister of the Crown (cheers), and that a still more fatal triumph has been gained by the Minister of the Crown, acting under the influence of that association, over his political supporters and the independence of Parliament (loud cheering.) With these observations I dismiss all that is personal with regard to this question. I will not be tempted to enter into personal motives even by that general panegyric of inconsistency (laughter) which has been pronounced by the noble marquis (the Marquis of Londonderry). But I must, in passing, express my regret that the noble marquis should have thought it becoming in him to cast a taunt upon those able, zealous, and conscientious men who, abandoned by those in whom they formerly placed their confidence, have been put forward in an unwonted struggle, and in that struggle have exhibited ability, talent, and courage which only reflect the greater credit upon them, because, for a long period of time, —as long as they could confide in those who formerly led

them,—they had modestly kept those talents concealed from public view (cheers). I say I will not enter upon personal considerations. I will not expose myself to the sort of attack intimated by the noble marquis; I will not quote a single page of *Hansard* (hear, hear); I will not go back to one previous opinion or one previous speech; I do not desire to appeal to your lordships' passions, but to your reason; I do not desire to aggravate the feelings of mortification, perhaps I might use a stronger word, with which you must regard those who have been, I think, at least misled; I wish to omit all personal considerations; if, indeed, I were to enter into the question of consistency, I think I should have to direct my observations with tolerable impartiality to both sides of the house (hear, hear). I cannot concur with the noble duke (Richmond), who thought that those on the other side of the house are entitled to say that on this question they are pursuing a consistent course (hear, hear). I take leave, with great respect, to remind noble lords opposite that, up to 1841, there was little or no difference of opinion among them as to the necessity of maintaining the then existing Corn Laws. And though since that period there has been a difference between the two sides of the house, it has not related to the question whether agriculture is entitled to protection or not, but simply as to its extent and amount, and the most efficient and politic mode of applying and administering that protection (hear, hear). And such I believe was the case down to that memorable month of November, 1845—down to the day when the *verbosa et grandis epistola venit* (cheers and laughter); from that period, and that period alone, we can date the claim—if, indeed, there be a claim—to be considered the opponents of protection. It may be that some of your lordships who are about to vote for the second reading, desire to record your opinion against the principle of the sliding scale, to give effect to your own conscientious, and I believe I may say unaltered opinion in favour of a fixed duty (hear, hear). In that case I have nothing to say against your perfect consistency; but if you are about to join a Government for the purpose of abolishing all protection to agriculture, in whatever shape, you must not flatter yourselves that you are altogether free from the imputation of that inconsistency with which you are so ready to taunt her Majesty's Government (cheers). And now, I turn from the personal part of the question, and from the discussion of those by whom the measure was proposed and supported, to the much more important matter, the arguments by which it is maintained. But, here I must say, we are met at the outset by a difficulty of rather a singular kind. When, in the other House of Parliament, we have asked the Minister of the Crown a question,—not, I think, an unfair or an unreasonable one,—what do you anticipate will be the result of this measure? the simple answer given was, that they must decline to prophesy; their prophecies failed in 1842, and they would not risk their reputation as prophets hereafter. If we ask what the effect of the measure will be, we are frankly told they cannot say (hear, hear). Now where is it you are about to try this experiment, of which the Minister who brings it forward cannot tell what will be the possible or probable results? The old proverb says, *fiat experimentum in corpore vili*; try your experiment on some small scale, in some insignificant corner of the globe, in some infinitesimal state of society; try it where a mistake would not be irrevocable; where an error in judgment would not lead to such formidable consequences. But you are going to try this experiment in the wealthiest and mightiest empire of the world; you are trying it in this England of ours, the highest and mightiest among the nations of the world, that which is in the most artificial state of society—that in which the slightest derangement of the social scale, the slightest disturbance of the relations between the different classes of the community—may produce extensive, serious, and most irremediable mischief (cheers). And it is in this country, and supported by such arguments as you have heard from my noble friend to-night, that you are invited to try this great experiment, the issue of which the Minister of the Crown tells you he cannot foresee! It may be very well for an irresponsible body, like the Anti-Corn-Law League, engaged in an active and an interested pursuit of their own objects—I do not mean to say not believing that their own personal interests are not inconsistent with the public interest—it may be very natural, if not very legitimate, for their agents, and those whom they employ, to hold different language to different classes of the community (cries of "hear, hear") to speak to the manufacturing classes of cheap bread, of bread at half the price and wages double the amount, to talk of a grinding aristocracy, of the plunder of the poor, of robbery by the monopolists, of the heartless landlords, and all those clap-trap phrases by which an ignorant multitude have been deceived and deluded (hear, hear), and then to turn round to the agriculturists of this country, and to tell them of the universal prosperity that will result from this measure, and to say, "Do not for a moment apprehend a fall in the price of your produce, the price will rise; far from losing you will only be sharers in the universal gain." Somehow or other bread is to be infinitely cheaper to the consumers—somehow or other you are to get a much better price for the corn you grow (hear, hear). But, my lords, if this conduct be natural or legitimate in the members of the Anti-Corn-Law League, it is neither natural nor legitimate in the First Minister of the Crown (cheers), wielding the authority of the Crown, speaking in the name of the Crown, exercising the influence of his high station, and his high character, and his high talents, to carry measures of deep and vital importance, of hazardous and doubtful policy. Your lordships and the other house of Parliament have a right to be told by the Minister under such circumstances what is the object at which he aims; and you have a right to canvass fully and distinctly, first whether the object be in itself desirable, and next whether the means which he proposes for effecting it are likely to attain that object if it be desirable (hear, hear). You have a right to know from the Minister what he calculates upon, as being the probable effect of this great measure. My lords, in the silence of the Government upon this point, we turn to the arguments which they have made use of; and although certainly one of them has been in a considerable degree abandoned by my noble friend this evening, yet in the course of the discussions that I have heard, this measure has been rested mainly upon two arguments, namely, the apprehended famine in Ireland, and the successful operation of the tariff in 1842 (hear, hear). But, my lords, this does not relieve my difficulty. These arguments may both be invalid, as I will endeavour to show by-and-by that they are; but valid they cannot both be, for they are mutually contradictory, the one of the other. If the repeal of the Corn Laws, in any mode or by any possibility, be calculated to relieve the famine in Ireland, supposing always the famine to exist (hear, hear), it must be by bringing a large amount of corn into consumption at so

low a price as to place it within the reach of the poorest and the most distressed of that starving population; but if I am not much mistaken in the boast which her Majesty's Government make of the successful operation of the tariff, it is this: that while it is materially extending commerce it has not diminished—on the contrary, it has rather tended to raise the price of the articles which have been subjected to its operation (hear, hear). Let me, however, examine these two questions: the famine, and the operation of the tariff; and if, in entering upon this topic, I am compelled to trouble your lordships at much greater length than I desire, and to enter upon some details which may be wearisome, but which are certainly not unimportant to the decision of this great question, I must pray your lordships' indulgence, on the consideration that in entering upon these dry details, I cheerfully and willingly sacrifice all advantage which I might derive in dwelling upon more exciting because more popular topics (hear, hear). Now, with regard to the famine, I must beg to call your lordships' attention so far back as to the period of October and November last. The noble lord has told us that the famine was not the inducing cause of this alteration in the Corn Law being proposed. With all respect for my noble friend, I will venture to say—and I am confident that I shall not be contradicted by any single member of her Majesty's Government—that if it had not been for the apprehension of scarcity in Ireland, and the supposed failure of the crops, your lordships would never have been asked—in the course of this session at all events—to alter or repeal the Corn Law (hear, hear). When the Cabinet was called together in the close of October last, it was for the purpose of considering the state of Ireland. Papers were laid before us, representing the failure of the potato crop, the anxiety that was felt, the reports of certain learned professors—which reports, by-the-by, tended mainly to aggravate the difficulty, and with all respect for them, if their advice had been followed, I believe the evil would have been aggravated (hear, hear). We were called upon to consider what steps should be taken for the relief of Irish distress—and it was for the relief of Irish distress, and it was in consequence of the supposed failure of the potato crop that we were invited to open the ports by Order in Council, and thereby to suspend the operation of the Corn Law (hear, hear). My lords, I was of opinion then, and I continue of opinion now, that at the close of October, in the first place, the real state of the case with regard to the famine, or the apprehension of scarcity in Ireland, was wholly unknown to the Government or to any one else. Not above a third of the potatoes had at that time been examined. Further, I believed then, and I believe now, that there never was a season in the history of Ireland when, so far from there being either famine or scarcity, there was so large a supply in the country of all descriptions of food for the consumption of the people. We were also told that foreign countries were taking steps to prevent the export of their supplies, that crops upon the Continent were short, and that if our supply failed we should have no means of renewing it from abroad. I certainly thought that was an additional reason against taking such a step as opening the ports, because the effect of this step under such circumstances would be to stimulate consumption at a time when, upon the hypothesis, it was desirable rather to discourage it, and that to stimulate consumption would be likely to aggravate the evil of distress, if indeed distress and scarcity existed (loud cries of "hear, hear"). But I entreat your lordships to bear in mind the wide and manifest distinction that there is between scarcity or famine, and great local and individual distress (hear, hear). My lords, I speak of the famine as a vision, an utterly baseless vision—(hear, hear)—which haunted the imagination of the Government. I speak in very different terms, and with very different feelings, of that amount of destitution and distress, into which a large body of the small cottiers in Ireland have been thrown by the partial or total failure of their potato crop; but I conceive, that this is a kind of distress, this is a species of destitution, upon which your repeal of the Corn Law, whatever effect it produces upon the price of wheat, will produce no more effect, and can produce no more, than if you were to pass a law which should reduce the price of pine-apples (hear, hear). The evil to these people is not that corn is dear, or potatoes dear; corn never was dear; the price of corn, in spite of all that took place, never rose to any very high pitch. The state of distress and suffering to which these people are exposed, arises from this, that they are not, as the labourer in England is, dependent for their subsistence upon labour and steady wages, the produce of their gardens serving to eke out their wages with some additional comfort; but that they have invested their labour, invested their all, in the cultivation of some small plot of ground, for which they pay a large rent, and if the produce of that plot fails, they have no labour to look to, their stock of provisions is gone, and having no means of employment they have no prospect of obtaining money wherewith to purchase food to replace the potato crop which has failed. That is the cause of the distress of the smaller cottiers of Ireland (hear, hear). But now I pray you to mark another class, and it is not an unimportant one, a class which, including the families of those who compose it, comprises probably 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 of the people of Ireland, namely, the small farmers and occupiers of land in Ireland. In what state are they placed? Their subsistence is upon oats and potatoes; their potato crop had failed, or a great part of it was diseased; it was unfit for human food. It was not unfit for the food of animals, and many of them very wisely increased the number of their pigs, fattened them upon the diseased potatoes, and realised a very fair profit. But what was the compensation to those farmers? Why, the potato crop had failed, but his oats were superabundant, bringing a very fair price; and he had in his superabundant oats the means of sustaining himself, and, in their price, of recovering in some degree the loss of his potatoes. And by way of relieving that man you propose, when he has lost his potatoes, to inflict a further injury upon him by reducing the price of his oats (hear, hear). Therefore, as applicable to the famine in Ireland—if famine there were—I took the liberty of recording my opinion against the proposed opening of the ports. At the same time, so strongly and so forcibly did I feel the importance of unanimity in the Cabinet,—so strongly was I convinced of the injury done by the breaking up of any Government, that without hesitation, doubting whether a suspension of the Corn Laws, and the opening of the ports would be of avail, or might not even be injurious, I intimated my entire readiness to yield my own opinion, and consent to a suspension of the Corn Law, provided a suspension only was proposed (hear, hear). But when I was told, not exactly in the language of the noble marquis, just now, who talked about a skilful general, and an able diplomatist, making use of the best plea he could find (cheers), but still told that that temporary expediency, that passing emergency of apprehended scarcity in Ireland, was not to lead to

a remedy commensurate in duration with the expected evil, but to be made the groundwork of suspending, for the purpose of re-enacting, the Corn Law, I felt that I could not take that course consistently with my own feeling as an honourable man (cheers); and that to make such a proposition to Parliament was leading those who were disposed to support us, into a snare and a delusion (renewed cheers). Your lordships are aware, that the discussions at the close of October terminated by an adjournment of the question; several of my colleagues being of opinion with me, that at all events we had not sufficient information to act upon (hear, hear). When the Cabinet met again in November, I was one of those who cordially concurred in those measures for the relief of Irish distress adopted by the Government; the chief of those measures consisting in the appointment of a commission consisting of the heads of those departments of the Government who would have the best opportunity of furnishing the population in case of distress with employment as the means of subsistence, of communicating with the lords lieutenant of counties, establishing local committees in every district, compelling the landlords of Ireland to know the real state of the population and the provision which ought to be made for them, rendering assistance and co-operation through the medium of the commissariat, even entering upon the very delicate task of regulating the markets which settle the transmission of food from one part of the country to the other, to meet the consequences of extravagant speculation, giving employment where local funds were insufficient, and laying in a certain portion of provisions, in order to feed the destitute in the last extremity, when employment should not be found. I considered these measures applicable strictly to the case of Ireland. I considered that the abrogation of the Corn Law, unjustifiable in itself, could not be warranted upon that ground, and far from doing good would assuredly injure the people of Ireland (hear, hear). The question when the Cabinet met again was not different, but I confess it was with some surprise and no little disappointment that when the question was put to the Cabinet, not of an immediate issue of an order in council, but of an early summoning of Parliament for the purpose of proposing a gradual abrogation of the Corn Law, I found myself alone in my opposition. I felt deeply and painfully the prospect of separation from colleagues I esteemed. I felt most painfully the awful weight of responsibility which I found was about to devolve singly upon myself. I am not ashamed to say that I asked for 48 hours to enable me to decide. My lords, it was no sacrifice to me to abandon office; on the contrary, I had to examine most rigidly in my own mind whether I were unduly influenced to escape from the responsibilities and labours of public life; I tried to school myself into the belief that, under certain circumstances, the interests of the country might require even a sacrifice of personal and public character. My lords, I could not bring myself to so humiliating a conclusion (cheers), and most reluctantly, but without difficulty or doubt, supported as I was by one of my colleagues, whom I am not at liberty to name, (but whom, if I could name, I am quite sure his position and his character would satisfy all your lordships, that in his subsequently rejoining the Government he could be actuated by none but the most honourable motives,) I was compelled to tender the resignation of my office. Upon that the Government of Sir R. Peel was broken up. Your lordships are all aware of the circumstances which followed. I owe an apology for now detaining you upon them (hear, hear). Then we are called upon to abandon the Corn Law of 1842. And why? In what respect has it deceived your expectations? How has it falsified your prophecies? Your prophecies have been realized to a wonderful degree of accuracy (hear, hear). In what respect has it failed? The object of this and of every Corn Law, I take to be, to place this country in a state of virtual independence of foreign countries for its supply of food. I know that object may be scouted by some of the very enlightened politicians of the present day (a laugh); but it was not thought unworthy the consideration of great men, not long passed away (hear, hear). Your lordships will forgive me for referring to one passage in a letter of Mr. Huskisson's, which places this question in a very clear and forcible point of view; it was written immediately at the close of the war, when the consequence of our dependence upon foreign supplies, before 1815, had not been yet forgotten. (The noble lord here read the passage in which Mr. Huskisson urged the danger of leaving the food of the people dependent on foreign supply, even in peace, since the season when we might want a large import would frequently happen to be a bad harvest also with the foreign exporting country, which then would stop its export, and drive us, always partly dependent on it, to a state of famine in the year of scarcity. We had no security against frequent scarcity approaching to starvation, but in our country becoming habitually independent of foreign supply. Let the bread we eat be the produce of corn grown among ourselves, and the cheaper it was, so much the better. It was cheap then, owing to its sufficiency; but to ensure the continuance of that sufficiency and cheapness, our own growers must have that protection against foreign imports which produced these blessings. Cheapness produced by foreign import was the sure forerunner of scarcity.) You aim, then, by a Corn Law, at independence of foreign supply, accompanied and produced by such an encouragement to your home-grower, as shall guarantee him up to a certain point against foreign competition, and shall, beyond that point, protect the consumer against exorbitant and extravagantly high prices, protecting all parties against that which is most injurious to all—rapid and sudden fluctuations. Now, I say, that beyond any law which has ever been in force in this or any other country, this law of 1842 has accomplished these its great and main objects (hear, hear). First, with regard to the provision of a home supply, I find that from 1826 down to the present time (and I take a series of years, because any one year might be affected by that particular season), in the course of these last 20 years we have imported 21,432,000 quarters of wheat. The yearly average for the last 20 years amounts to 1,021,000 quarters; for the last three years, to 741,000 quarters; and in the course of the last year it was 308,000 quarters. Has this result, I would ask, been produced by any increased price of wheat at home? A great number of fallacies have been made use of, and statements attributed to us, who defend this Corn Law, which we never uttered. We are constantly told that the intention of this Corn Law was to guarantee to the farmer the price of 55s. a quarter. The intention of the Corn Law was no such thing. My right hon. friend, in introducing the measure, stated that if, by legislation, he could fix the average price of corn, he would fix it from 54s. to 58s. The object of the Corn Law, therefore, is this, that when the price is above 58s. the consumer

may be protected by a large influx of foreign corn; and that when the price is below 5s., the producer may be protected against any other competition than that which he can engage with upon equal terms—namely, competition with those who are exposed to the same vicissitudes, and who have the same advantages and disadvantages. What has been the result of the Corn Law as far as the consumer is concerned? I find that the average price of wheat for the last 20 years has been 57s. 4d. a quarter, whilst the average price for the last three years, since the Corn Law passed, has only been 50s. 9d., and the price last year, which we have been told was a period of great scarcity, was 50s. 10d. My right hon. friend stated his wish to keep the price between 54s. and 58s., and since the passing of the bill the average price has not risen above 50s. 9d. or 50s. 10d. But a return last before the House of Commons gives a more accurate test of the operation of the sliding scale, and of the manner in which it acts to check the tendency to a rise of price whenever that tendency is exhibited. The paper I allude to is a return of the weekly price of corn in every week from March, 1844, to March, 1846; and with respect to those 104 weeks, the result was that the price has been between 54s. and 58s. in no less than 43 of those weeks; the price has been below 54s. in 53 other weeks; the price has been above 58s. in seven weeks only, and the price has never risen in any one week above 50s. (hear, hear). That is precisely the point where we desire to bring competition to bear, and the result has been, that above that price there has been a large proportional increase in the importation of foreign corn. This is conclusive that the present law acts in the direction and manner in which it was anticipated to act (hear). Another great and important point respects the fluctuation in the price of corn. Since this Corn Law passed, the fluctuation of price which has taken place between 1844 and 1846 is only from 58s. 4d. down to 45s. 2d. The whole difference between the highest week and the lowest week in those two years, is not a difference of 30 per cent. The greatest weekly fluctuation in the price, between any one week and the succeeding, is 1s. 6d., and the greatest fluctuation in any period for the whole four weeks of the month is a fluctuation of 4s. and no more (hear, hear). When this Corn Bill was introduced in 1842, I recollect it being put forward as a matter of boast, that the Corn Laws as they then stood had produced only a fluctuation of 19 per cent. in any one year, while the existing Corn Law has produced no more than a fluctuation of 30 per cent. in two years. But let us look to the fluctuation of price in other countries, from the month of December, 1844, to December, 1845. Observe, that in two years the total amount of our fluctuation has been 30 per cent., while in that one year the fluctuation at Dantzic was 56 per cent.; at Hamburg, 86; at Rostock, 78; at Stettin, 84; at Odessa, 50; and at Alexandria, 54 (hear, hear). Perhaps you may tell me, that this is the effect of our own sliding scale and of our Corn Law operating upon prices abroad. Then I will refer you to America. In 1842 my right hon. friend the Secretary for the Colonies moved for a return of the maximum fluctuation of prices in the markets of America, from 1834 to 1840, and according to that the greatest fluctuation in New York was 70 per cent.; in Philadelphia, 76; in Portsmouth, 72; and in New Norfolk, 62. The account of these fluctuations has been carried down to the present time, and between the years 1841 and 1846 (whilst our fluctuation never exceeded 30 per cent. between 1844 and 1845, and whilst on the market of Montreal, which ought, if the argument of the opponents of the Corn Laws is just, to have been affected by them, the fluctuation did not exceed 17 per cent. on the price of last year), in New York the fluctuation was 51 per cent.; in Philadelphia, 50; in Richmond, 76; and in Baltimore, 90. As far then as the experience of three years has gone, no law in this or any other country has produced so great a steadiness of price with cheapness as the law of 1842, which your lordships are now called on to abandon (hear, hear). If your lordships wish to refer to a period of the greatest fluctuation, refer to the period between 1792 and 1805, a period when there was the greatest dependence on the foreigner, and it appears from a pamphlet of Mr. Malthus, that during that period there were great fluctuations of price, corn having risen in that time from 42s. a quarter to nearly triple, namely, 118s., and having again fallen to 56s. If it were necessary to prolong the discussion on this point, I would ask your lordships to look to the fluctuations in other articles. You are told that the fluctuations in the price of corn are attributable to the sliding scale. Look to the fluctuations in the price of potatoes. There is no sliding scale as respects them; but there is free trade. They may be imported from anywhere, and they pay no duty. Yet I know that the price of potatoes varies from 100 to 150 per cent. in the course of a single year (hear, hear). Then, again, look at the price of upland cotton. No sliding scale affects it, yet scarcely any fluctuations could compare with the fluctuation in the price of upland cotton. I trust that I shall be excused for adverting to another point of importance, namely, the supply which our Corn Laws procure for us, and keep on hand to meet possible emergencies. I will recall to your lordships' recollection what was the state of the different countries of Europe at the commencement of the present year. There existed a great apprehension of scarcity among all, and measures were taken for their own protection and security, and that I may not be supposed to misrepresent in the slightest degree the facts of the case, I will read from a statement made by my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Treasury. [The noble lord here read an extract from a speech delivered by Sir R. Peel, in which he stated that the Belgian government had prohibited the exportation of articles of consumption until next harvest, on account of anticipated scarcity; that the same precaution had been adopted by Egypt, Turkey, and Sweden, &c.] This shows that the moment a pressure takes place measures are taken by these parties to stop the exportation of food, and deprive us of the opportunity of obtaining it from them. We were also told to stop the export and encourage the import—to take off the duty and prohibit distillery. We took none of those steps. We trusted to the operation—the steady, quiet, certain operation of our existing Corn Law. I believe that the best test of scarcity is to be found not in the report of learned professors (hear, and a laugh); but that there is a much better barometer as to that point, and that is the price of food in the market (cheers). The self-acting operation of the Corn Law did not come into effect, and because it did not, its authors said that it was a sliding scale that would not slide (hear, hear). Of course it would not, and for this good reason—because there was not a deficiency in the country to increase the price (cheers). By relying on the operation of the Corn Laws what was the result? What was the amount of corn in bond at the close of the year 1845, to meet the exigencies of our demand? I am not talking of the amount in bond now which has most

unfortunately accumulated in consequence of the introduction of this measure; and which may now come in with a ruinous effect on the market (hear, hear). I am speaking of the amount which your Corn Laws provided in bond at a time of universal scarcity. The average quantity in bond in December for the last 20 years has been 445,000 quarters; and the highest amount in bond in December in any previous year was 899,000 quarters. But in December last, in face of the difficulties in Europe, in face of the established prohibition of export, you had in bond in waiting for an exigency that did not come, 1,103,000 quarters (cheers). Will any man then tell me that the Corn Law has failed in the essential points of keeping us, in the main, independent of foreign supply, in securing cheapness and steadiness of price, and in providing for us an abundant foreign supply in case we should require to make up any deficiency in this country (hear)? Will any man seriously contend that this great advantage resulting from the Corn Law has been purchased by the sacrifice of commercial interests? Is there any man who does not know the enormous and unparalleled strides which this country has made in commercial and manufacturing industry, I do not say on account of, but I will say notwithstanding, the operation of the Corn Laws? Since 1827, the exports of this country have increased from 36,000,000*l.* in value to 58,500,000*l.*; and in the course of those years the import of cotton alone had increased from 17,000,000*l.* to 721,000,000*l.* In the course of the period since 1814, while the value of landed property, as shown by the property-tax paid in respect to schedule A, has increased from 39,300,000*l.* to 45,750,000*l.*, being an increase of about 16 per cent., the increase on schedule B, showing the profits of trade, manufactures, and professions, has increased from 35,800,000*l.* in 1814, to 64,344,000*l.* in 1842, being an increase of no less than 84 per cent., against 16 per cent. increase in the value of land (hear, hear). Have, then, these Corn Laws been inconsistent with manufacturing prosperity? and why are we now invited to enter upon this great experiment (hear, hear). It is for the purpose, I suppose, of still further expanding the manufacturing activity of the country. I belong to a manufacturing county, and no man is less inclined than myself to depreciate the great advantages derived from the manufactures of this country, the great increase they have caused in the wealth of the nation, and in many cases the addition they have given to the comfort of the labouring classes. But this system of manufacturing activity is not without its attendant drawbacks, and requires to be steadily and carefully watched rather than to be unduly pampered and fostered. Manufacturing industry is subject to constant, great, and rapid fluctuations. Its powers of production are always overtaking the powers of consumption. A period of prosperity is invariably followed by the glutting of every market in the world, and by a corresponding period of adversity. Do nothing, for God's sake, to check the prosperity of manufactures, but do not be led by unwise legislation to promote and pamper an unwholesome increase, which, when the bubble bursts, involves all in serious evils (hear, hear). But if it is certain that the increase and extension of manufactures are desirable, it is not clear to my mind that the repeal of the Corn Laws would have the effect of increasing manufacturing industry. If there be no great reduction in the price of corn in consequence of this measure, it needs no demonstration to show that there will be no largely increased consumption of corn; and if there should be no great increase in the consumption of corn the consequence is, that there will be a transfer to a certain extent of the consumers and customers in this country to the foreign grower, and that would be all. If the Government are to be believed, there is to be no great fall in the price of corn; as in like manner they say that the new tariff has increased the prices of articles. Of all the paradoxes which were ever palmed on the credulity of mankind, and passed under the authority of great names for sovereign and supreme wisdom, the boldest and most laughable is that increased competition tends to raise the prices of articles (hear, hear). Reason and facts are both against it. True, the reduction of the duty of a halfpenny on wool in the course of last year taking place at a thriving period of manufactures did not produce the effect of checking the consumption, but what happened in 1825, when Mr. Huskisson made a more considerable reduction of the duty on wool? From 1819 to 1824 the average price of wool was 1s. 4d. per pound, and for five years after the reduction of the duty the price was 10d. per lb., the depreciation being equivalent to the reduction of the duty. With respect to timber, it is true that Baltic timber has not fallen to the full extent of the reduction of the duty; but what has become the price of the article in this country with which it competes? What is the effect of the tariff on British timber in this country? I hold in my hand a return with respect to the price of timber, which shows that the mean price for 50 cubic feet of timber for the three years preceding the operation of the tariff was 103s., and since the operation of the tariff the price was 91s. 8d., and in the course of last year the price fell to 86s. 8d. I would ask the noble lord connected with the Woods and Forests whether, having intended a sale of bark and timber out of the Forest of Dean, he was not obliged to withdraw those articles from the sale in consequence of the depreciation of price?

Lord CANNING stated that they were sold, and not withdrawn (cheers from the Ministerial and Opposition benches).

Lord STANLEY continued: I will not enter into the question about the rise in price on butcher's meat; which arose from the diminished supply afforded to the markets as compared with the supply of last year. I contend that, under this proposed abrogation of law, there will be a large reduction in the price of corn. But, before I leave the question of the tariff, I may be permitted to refer for a moment to the effect the tariff has had upon British shipping. Great stress has been laid on this point. Prices were to fall, but the tariff was to have the effect of immensely increasing our commercial activity in the employment of British shipping. A great deal has been said of the increase in the amount of our shipping employed between 1842 and 1845. But, my lords, how does this case stand? Why, unfortunately for the tariff—to which I was a consenting party, because I thought it would have a tendency to settle prices when there was a tendency to extravagant prices; and because I thought it would tend, moreover, to expose the home grower to such an amount of competition, and not more, as he could fairly and safely meet (hear, hear). The principle of the tariff was protection, and not prohibition (hear, hear). The principle of the tariff was competition; but my notion of competition is this—that you must have the competing parties placed upon an equality to start from, and that unless you have this equality to start from, and that unless you have this equality of circumstances in the competing parties, your principle of Free Trade may turn out to be the most rank and entire monopoly (hear, hear). Now what has been the

increase of British shipping employed under the new tariff. The tonnage of vessels belonging to different ports of the British empire in 1842, was 3,619,000 tons; in 1844, it was 3,636,000 tons; showing, in two years, an increase of 17,000 tons. Now, since 1833 there has been a progressive annual increase in the amount of your shipping tonnage, each year, with one exception, surpassing the year preceding. The total amount of that increase has been 985,000 tons, and the average biennial increase 197,000 tons. But the increase in the two years since the adoption of the tariff has been 17,000. Is that all (hear, hear)? Now I will show you a branch of the shipping trade of this country in which there has been a large increase, and which compensates for the very large deficiency which would otherwise have been presented in the last two or three years—a branch certainly for which the tariff can take no credit, and which depends and has depended upon the prosperity of agriculture (hear, hear), and the agricultural improvement encouraged by the system of protection. I refer to the number of ships engaged in the guano trade in the years 1843 and 1845. You may smile, and think this an inconsiderable branch of trade; but what has been the increase in the tonnage and number of ships employed in it? That trade commenced in 1841. In 1843, the tonnage of British ships engaged in the guano trade was 4056 tons, and it afforded employment to 202 seamen. In 1845, British shipping of the tonnage of 219,000 tons, and 11,434 British seamen were engaged in the trade (hear, hear). There was, therefore, an increase of above 200,000 tons of shipping in the guano trade alone, to set against an increase in our whole commercial marine of 17,000 tons since the tariff was adopted (hear, hear). Now I contend that the fall in the price of corn, under the proposed law, would not be equal to the reduction of the duty. I do not think it is very difficult to estimate at what price we may expect to have a large quantity of foreign wheat brought into this country under the bill now before us. I do not found my calculation on the prices at Dantzic or Riga, or elsewhere. We are now called upon to legislate on the experience of the tariff. I find that, at a price of 55s., we had, as was expected, a very large importation of foreign corn. Now, at 55s., the duty is 15s. We had then a large importation of corn, realising to the importer something below 40s. a quarter. We may, therefore, fairly anticipate that, when the duty is taken off, we shall have a large importation of foreign corn at 40s. inundating our markets, and making 40s. a quarter pretty nearly the maximum price you can ever expect to realise (hear). I fear, my lords, I am troubling you at too great length (cheers). I am ashamed to do so; but this is a great question (renewed cheers). I feel that I am arguing it very imperfectly and feebly, but I trust your lordships will bear with me for a few moments (cheers). I this morning received a letter from a gentleman, who describes himself to be the head of the oldest firm engaged in the corn trade in Liverpool. He writes to inform me that he now holds in bond two cargoes of fair red wheat, imported last year from a port on the Danube. It cost him 14s. per qr., free on board, the freight to Liverpool being 9s. 6d. per qr. [The noble lord proceeded to read an extract from the letter, the writer of which expressed his "deliberate opinion that if the measure now before your lordships is suffered to become law, we shall, at the expiration of three years, be annually in the receipt of 5,000,000 qrs. of foreign wheat, provided the seasons be ordinarily favourable," and he added, that the prices would admit of the sale of this wheat at from 36s. to 40s., per qr., the duty in England being 1s. per qr.] In 1844 and 1845 there were imported above 120,000 quarters of wheat, when the price was permanently at 45s. and the duty 20s., and this corn realised to the importers from 25s. to 26s. a quarter. But I am not absurd enough to suppose that if the duty were taken off, and parties could import and sell corn at from 25s. to 26s., they really would do so (hear, hear). There are many districts of country on the Continent, larger, perhaps, than many of your lordships imagine, which might be devoted to the growth of corn. Look for example at the plains of Hungary. There you have a very considerable district, admirably qualified for the growth of wheat; and there can be no doubt that the application of skill and capital to the improved cultivation of that land, would give to the cultivator a far greater amount of produce from the present area than it now yields. Your cultivated and ill-treated farmers can produce about 28 bushels to the acre; in hardly any other country is the produce more than 14 bushels to the acre (hear, hear). A large profit is derived by the importers from these countries. This tends to produce the application of capital to the improvement of the soil. The continued application of capital and skill enables the cultivator to produce his corn much more cheaply, and he will apply his capital to increase and facilitate the means of shipment. My objections to this measure, therefore, are not lessened but rather aggravated by the fact, that you will not feel the injury it entails, all at once, but that, gradually and progressively, the importation of a larger and larger amount of foreign supply will be encouraged by your legislation, and will by degrees drive out of cultivation a larger and larger amount of corn land in this country (hear, hear). But it is said, that when the price of corn falls the manufacturers will obtain a great outlet for their goods, and will be able to sell them at a much cheaper rate. But how are they to sell them more cheaply than at present? How is this cheapness to be effected? If it is to be effected at all, it will be effected by a reduction of wages (loud cries of "hear"). I thought it was the favourite doctrine of the Anti-Corn-Law League—I know it is a view which has been taken by some members of her Majesty's Government, that the price of corn has nothing to do with the amount of wages. As I have said, it is anticipated by the repeal of the present Corn Law that the manufacturers will be able to produce their goods more cheaply. I do not exactly understand how they can do this without paying their labourers lower wages (hear). Now I do not mean to say that either in the manufacturing or the agricultural districts the rate of wages exactly or regularly follows the price of corn; but certainly it does not follow all the fluctuations in the price of corn. I say that wages, like everything else, are regulated by the proportion between the demand and supply. In proportion to the demand for labour, the working classes were ready to enter into competition for that labour, which would afford them the necessities and comforts of life. But the amount of the necessities and comforts of life must be ultimately measured by money; and consequently, the competition remaining the same, if a lower amount of money would procure the same amount of the necessities and comforts of life, the price of labour must fall in proportion as the price of corn falls. I do not say, however, that it will follow all the fluctuations of the price of corn. This is a most important point. It is of vast importance to the labouring population that the price of corn should be steady, be it high or be it

low. The labourer, where prices are low, has not the prudence or foresight to economise his earnings, and when the pendulum swings the other way he is too often plunged into a state of distress. If, however, the labourer's wages are to be reduced, he ought, I think, to have fairly stated the balance of advantages and disadvantages to which he is about to be exposed under this system. Take the case of a man with a wife and family of three children in the manufacturing districts. I will make a large allowance, and suppose that they consume five quarters of wheat in the course of a year. I will assume that there is a permanent fall in the price of wheat. A diminution of 1s. per week from the wages of any member of that family (and you can hardly suppose that any diminution would be less than that) more than counterbalances all the advantages he and his family could derive from a reduction of 50s. in the price of the five quarters of corn they consume (hear, hear). We are led to believe that Russia, Prussia, and the United States do not take our manufactures because we refuse to receive their corn in exchange. There never was argument less founded on fact than that. The fact is, with regard to all those countries, that at the present moment our imports from them largely preponderate over our exports to them, and the duties we impose upon their goods—aye, even upon corn and timber, are far lower than the average amount of duties which all those countries charge upon the principal articles of our manufacture which we export to them. Take the case of our trade with the United States. You may, perhaps, be surprised to learn that the value of the cotton alone which we take from the United States, in the course of a single year, far exceeds the value of all the goods put together which we export to the United States in the same period. For a period of five years the average value of our imports to the United States has been 5,700,000*l.* a year. For a period of 18 years it has averaged about 7,000,000*l.* a year. This is indeed a stationary trade. I may refer on this point to an authority which would not be disputed, that of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and I beg those noble lords, who advocate a system of reciprocity (a laugh, and cries of "hear, hear"), and who anticipate those great advantages which we are to derive from taking a larger quantity of the produce of the United States, of Russia, and of Prussia, to bear with me while I quote from this report from the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States to his Government, the fact that during the last six years the average value of the imports into the United States from British possessions had been 253,000,000 of dollars. The value of the exports from the United States to this country and to British possessions during the same period had been 354,000,000 of dollars, leaving a balance of 101,000,000 of dollars in favour of the United States. The noble lord then proceeded to read the report to which he referred. It stated that the imports and exports were entered at their nominal value merely, but that about 25 per cent. must be added to make up their real value. It also stated that there had been a balance upon the imports and exports in favour of the United States, during the last six years, with the exception of 1830, for the last nine years. It added, that any modification made in the Corn Law of Great Britain, permitting the introduction into England of American bread stuffs on reasonable terms, would tend materially to increase the export trade of the United States, and to afford an additional outlet for their produce. The writer of this report then goes on to expatiate on the unfriendly relations and correspondence subsisting between the two powers (a laugh). "He refers to the indissoluble links in which we are bound by commercial advantages, and he seems ready to congratulate us that the little cloud in the west seemed to have passed away (a laugh)." But the secretary goes on to say that every improvement effected in their manufacturing establishments serves to afford a better supply for the home demand, and to obviate the necessities of foreign importations (hear, hear). This, then, is to be the result of a liberal measure for allowing the importation of bread stuffs from the United States. If you flatter yourselves that by such a measure you will gain any advantage for your manufacturers, undeceive yourselves; the Secretary to the Treasury of the United States tells you that they will soon be able to dispense with your assistance, and that they will not require your manufactures. Then with regard to Russia, Mr. McGregor states, that in 1838, the total exports of that empire were valued at 11,096,000*l.*, of which 6,977,000*l.* were imported to Great Britain. The average value of the exports from Great Britain to Russia is 1,633,000*l.*, leaving a balance of 5,000,000*l.* in favour of Russia. The declared value of our imports from Prussia is 505,000*l.*, and the estimated value of our exports was 31,000*l.* You talk about a duty of 25, 30, or 50 per cent. upon timber as an extravagant and prohibitory duty. By the United States tariff the duty upon our woollens and silks is 40 per cent., upon our cotton, ale, and porter, 50 per cent.; upon coals 60 per cent., and upon paper 75 per cent.; and their duties upon various other articles of our manufacture, which are principally articles of export, range from 45 to 150 per cent., and upon glass amount to 245 per cent. But the tariffs of Russia and Prussia are equally restrictive. Mr. McGregor says that Russia prohibits the importation of every material which can be drawn by the labour of her serfs from her mines and forests, and indeed of every manufactured article. Those articles of your manufacture, the importation of which is not prohibited by Russia, are subjected to an average duty of 65 per cent., ranging upon some articles, for instance glass, to 900 per cent. Prussia imposes a duty varying from 50 to 130 per cent. And yet the argument is boldly put forward, that our protective system, which imposes a duty of about 25 per cent. upon the importation of corn, prevents us from receiving the wheat of those countries which levy a duty of 60, 70, or 100 per cent. upon our manufactures. In 1839, Dr. Bowring, who was employed by the then Secretary of State in prosecuting some inquiries on this subject, held out expectations that the head of the customs' department in Russia would entertain a proposal for a general reduction upon our cottons, glass, and woollens, provided that we established a fixed duty upon wheat, instead of the fluctuating scale. But Dr. Bowring then said that he did not find any of the authorities anticipating the introduction of their corn into England duty free. Now what had been the effect of the reductions we have already made in the duty on timber with regard to our exports of cotton to Russia? Since the alteration in our tariff our imports of timber had increased from 351,000 loads to 642,000 loads. In 1843, we exported to Russia 2,200,000 yards of cotton; now we exported only 2,000,000. We then exported 1,200,000 yards of printed cottons; now we export only 900,000 yards. Your imports of timber have nearly doubled, but your exports to these people, who deluded Dr. Bowring, have fallen off nearly in the same proportion. I suppose, at all events, that your shipping trade has improved. I have been told that British merchants will not engage in the corn

trade because it is speculative. Speculation is the basis of all trade. Take off what duties you please, the corn trade must be eminently speculative, because it is dependent upon the seasons and the probable demand in this country. But it is said our merchants are too wise to engage in these speculations (hear). It is said they are unsuited to the character of the British nation. It is said that hazardous speculations, leading possibly to greater risk, and possibly to great gain, are so adverse to the character of the people of this country (loud laughter) that it is not likely any great number of persons would engage in them. And this is said of the year 1846! Well, but the timber trade is not a speculative trade. We have opened that trade. Our shipping, of course, have entered largely into that trade. Listen to a fact which is of great importance. In 1839 the Baltic trade employed 612 British ships against 566 foreign ships. In 1845 it employed 609 British ships against 1845 foreigners (hear, hear). In 1839 there were 115,000 tons British employed against a nearly equal amount of foreign tonnage; in 1845 there were only 133,000 tons British against 378,000 tons foreign (hear, hear). In 1839 there were 6016 British seamen employed, against 6300 foreign seamen; in 1845 there were 5375 British seamen employed against 17,169 foreigners (cheers). I admit that you might produce a large increase in your manufactures for a time under a system of Free Trade. It is true you might puff up your manufactures with a brief but extraordinary prosperity. But when that fails, as it will fail—when the day of difficulty and distress comes—when war intervenes—I think my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs would feel much more easy, in the event of a war with the United States, if, instead of drawing four-fifths of our cotton from the United States, we drew four-fifths of it from our own territories—but, when war comes, these markets will be closed against you. You will have destroyed the home market, and when you have destroyed the home market, when the period of depression has arrived, the bitter sufferings of the manufacturers will cause a bitter feeling of reaction against those who are now deluding their unhappy dupes with the prospect of cheap wages and of cheap bread (cheers). Now, my lords, I have spoken of the home market. Don't let your lordships, and don't let the country, undervalue the importance of the home market. If you were to believe the cotton manufacturers—if you were to believe what has been put forward in another place—you would believe that two-thirds of the whole quantity of cotton goods is exported, and that the consumption of cotton goods among the population of this country only amounts to 4s. per head. I doubt the accuracy of that statement, when I find that in 1840 the consumption of the West Indies was, not 4s. per head, but 1*l.* 6s. per head of the population (hear, hear). I cannot believe, that when the West Indies consume 1*l.* 6s. per head of your cotton goods, the population of this country consume only 4s. per head. Now, I don't hesitate to state my conviction that the home market of this country is to the foreign as 40 to 17. In the year 1820 there were exported 248,000 yards of cotton made up into cotton goods. In the year 1844 there was an increase of fourfold in their total amount, while there was only an increase of one-fourth in their total value. In the year 1828 Mr. Huskisson estimated the value of cotton goods consumed in England at 32,000,000*l.* sterling, and at present 40,000,000*l.* is the lowest estimate I can form of the value of the cotton goods worked up for consumption in this country. If you take cotton, wool, silk, coals, culm, and other articles, the value of the exports of these amounts to 48,000,000*l.*, while the total amount produced is 250,000,000*l.* (hear, hear), leaving 200,000,000*l.* out of 250,000,000*l.* for home consumption. That, my lords, is the market which you are about to endanger; that is the market you are about to sacrifice in your blind zeal for the importation of foreign corn. But I am told by the manufacturers, that if we reduce the price of corn, that will be followed by an increase in the consumption. That, my lords, is not so clear, but "cheap" and "dear" are relative terms, and not absolute terms. Wheat is cheaper in Ireland than it is in England—it is cheaper in Prussia than it is in England—but from the ability of the consumer in this country it is virtually cheaper, because he has the money to pay for it, and it is therefore within his reach (hear, hear). But, my lords, it does not follow, because there is an increase in the amount of corn, that there will be an increased ability on the part of the consumer, or that the consumer will be able to command the same quantity as now. The question arises, on whom will this loss fall? I saw lately an article in a French newspaper on the probable effects of abolishing the Corn Laws in this country, in which the writer said, that although a quarter of our income would be taken away, yet that we should have some of the sweets of life left (a laugh). I shall not be satisfied with such an arrangement. Something has been said elsewhere (which I know has been misapprehended) about the difficulties of administering the government of this country—of reconciling the government of a limited monarchy, of a proud aristocracy, with a reformed House of Commons. I put by the error in the interpretation of that, and I admit the difficulties. I go further, and I admit that you ought not to legislate for a class. I admit that we ought not to legislate for a class, if that legislation is against the interests of the people at large. But, my lords, I tell you that, if you make an alteration in the social relation of the different classes in this country—if you attempt to lower any one class at the expense of another—then that you will inflict not a private injury, but a public injury to society. And, whatever the difficulties may be of reconciling the action of our mixed constitution—of keeping the balance even between a proud aristocracy and a reformed House of Commons—depend upon it those difficulties will not be less if, instead of a proud aristocracy, you substitute a pauper aristocracy (cheers). If you do, you will break down the firmest breakwater and the strongest bulwark between the proud aristocracy and the democracy which is represented in the reformed House of Commons. I do not speak exclusively of those who are generally understood as the aristocracy—not even mainly of the body which I am now addressing. I speak, my lords, of the great body of the landed aristocracy of the country, not ennobled by rank, and many of them undistinguished by great wealth. But, my lords, they and their ancestors before them have been the centres of their respective localities; they conduct the business of their respective counties; they influence the opinions and feelings of their respective neighbourhoods; they exercise a modest and decent hospitality; they preside over tenantry who possess hereditary claims to their respect and affection. My lords, these are the true aristocracy of the country (cheers). Reduce these men in the scale of society, and you will inflict an irretrievable and irreparable injury on this country. God forbid I should say that our successful manufacturers and our princely merchants should

not take their place among our aristocracy; such an infusion adds vigour and strength to that class. But if you sweep away at once an aristocracy with so many members as in history, and substitute a new body of capitalists, who shall come among an unattached tenantry, with no connection connected with their name to exercise a moral influence, you will suffer an irretrievable loss. I am satisfied that never was there so great a delusion as that the loss caused by this measure will fall solely upon the aristocracy. A fall of 10s. per quarter on wheat is 40s. per acre on wheat land, and if that is accompanied by a corresponding reduction in the price of other articles, it will eat up all the rent of the land. But the fact is, the loss will fall—and they know it will fall on them, as they showed by their meeting the other day—the loss will fall mainly on the tenant-farmers (cheers). And the first step they take will be to suspend improvement, to discharge their labourers, to reduce wages, and to force their population into the manufacturing districts, there to enter into hopeless competition with the population of those districts. They will carry their own wretchedness and misery into the manufacturing towns, and will press down the wages as well of the manufacturing districts as the agricultural (cheers). I will assume the case of a landlord who is entirely unencumbered, and free from debt. I don't know whether there are any such cases (a laugh), but I will assume there is. He discharges a certain portion of his establishment, and turns upon the labour-market those whom his fortune had formerly enabled him to employ. For it cannot be laid, I think, to the charge of the landed proprietors of this country, as a class, that they are given to accumulating and hoarding wealth. So far from that, I think they will be found to spend it at least as fast as they get it (a laugh). We are told how their losses are to be made up to them, if they will only adopt the real principles of Free Trade. They are to discharge their useless and unprofitable hands; they are to employ no labourers beyond what are absolutely required to make a profit to themselves. They are to have no consideration for tenant farmers who have been on their estates for 50 years. They are told it is more profitable to have one large farm than several small ones; so they must pull down the houses of their present tenants and turn them adrift. Their tenants have no capital, they must let them go. There are 600,000 tenant farmers in the country under 200*l.* a year—at least, there were in 1814. Turn them adrift, bring their successors from a distance—bring them from the Anti-Corn-Law League (hear)—encourage them to expend their capital, and then you will be able to recover from all the effects of the injury you have sustained from a reduction in the price of corn. Perhaps you might, but the law imposes the burden upon you of maintaining all the poor of the manufacturing districts as well as your own. I have too good an opinion of the landlords to believe that they will take this advice. They will go on giving employment to the poor on their estates, for they have to deal not with stocks and stones, but with men having the same affections and attachments as themselves, and I won't believe that they will adopt the cold, calculating, and selfish doctrines of political economy and Free Trade (cheers). But if you adopt these doctrines in England—if you venture to recommend them in England—will you dare also to put them in execution in Ireland? In Ireland the bulk of the population are small farmers—hardly what we should call farmers in England; the majority of the holdings are from 1 to 15 acres. They have no capital, and very little skill. I admit they exhaust the land; they don't pay half the rent a larger farmer could. Carry your political economy into effect there, and see what would be the result. I think I have heard it advanced that the clearance system is at the root of half the evils of Ireland. But Free Trade requires it, and you must make more money. Turn them out, and when the existing generation are starved off, you may, perhaps, see your system in successful operation. My lords, he must be a bold minister who would advise such an experiment to be made, but he must be a bold as well as a hard man who would act upon it (cheers). And then to tell me that this measure has been brought in for the relief of Ireland (cheers)! England is an importing country; it may be for her benefit, but I doubt whether it is in the long run. But Ireland is an agricultural country—an exporting, and not an importing country—and if you reduce her exports by 1,500,000*l.* or 2,000,000*l.*, you do her the greatest injury. Lastly, my lords, and you will be glad to hear that, I will call your attention to one branch of the question, so important that it cannot be overlooked, and which, from the situation I lately held, I am entitled to bring under the notice of your lordships (cheers). That subject, my lords, is the effect that will be produced by the repeal of the Corn Laws and by Free Trade upon the colonies of this country. You have seen in your foreign trade how large is the amount of foreign shipping, and how small the amount of British shipping. I now call your attention to the fact that, by a return to the House of Commons, it appears that in the year 1845 there were 1,273,305 tons of British shipping entered inwards from the colonies, and not one ton foreign; while outwards there were 1,263,000 tons of British and 372,000 foreign. The colonial trade is, therefore, almost exclusively carried on by British shipping; it employs British seamen; and gives the profits of the trade on both sides to British subjects exclusively. In 1844 our exports to the colonies amounted to 14,270,000*l.* Destroy the principle of protection, and I tell you you destroy the whole basis on which your colonies rest (cheers). If you do not know the value of your colonies, Napoleon Buonaparte knew it well (hear, hear). It is by the colonial principle you have extended your arms—I don't mean your military arms, but your commercial arms,—into every quarter of the globe. It is to your colonial system you owe it that there is no part of the world where your flag is not planted—that there is no quarter of the globe in which the English language is not heard—that there is no zone in which British subjects do not recognise the sovereignty of Britain. You are to say to them in their distant homes that they are no longer to be identified with your commercial interests—that they shall not share your glories, or sympathise with you in your advances—that they shall not bear your burdens—and that they shall no longer feel that they are within the arms of your vast empire, and members of your imperial Zollverein (cheers). I think it was Mr. Cobden who said it was a system of mutual robbery. I admit that it is a mutual system, where each sacrifices something peculiar to himself for the purpose of obtaining an advantage derived from the other. It is a mutual system where each sacrifices something of his trade for the purpose of obtaining reciprocity; and I am not sure but that you will find in the end that that desire of reciprocity and of profit on both sides—that security against foreign interference, against foreign hostility, and against foreign caprice, is like selling in the cheapest market and buying in the dearest, although that difference may not be precisely explained in a money value; but the

additional price which you may pay for colonial produce, and which they may pay in consequence of taking British produce, is cheaply purchased by extending your power over the wide world; by establishing in every quarter friends and allies; by having a certainty of employment everywhere, uninterfered with by foreign competition, for a vast amount of British shipping and British seamen, and thus extending and strengthening the power of this country; and I will concur with Mr. Cobden if he will substitute for a system of mutual robbery a system of mutual insurance (hear). I say then upon this system of protection is based the whole of your colonial empire; and that it rests upon far more than pecuniary grounds. I know that the political economists say, "Cast off the colonies, let them trade with you or with any other country,—give them the full advantage of Free Trade, let there be no protection." I do not doubt the loyalty of the colonies or their attachment to this country; but by this measure you do all in your power to weaken that loyalty and attachment. You grant them commercial independence, invite them to trade freely and liberally with all other nations, and you tell the emigrant who quits this country,—"From the time you leave the shores of England, though you are still in British security, you are no more to us than a Dutchman, or a Frenchman, or an American. Trade where you please, you are entitled to no favour from us; we give you no protection; we do not impede your trade with any other country you may think fit, you are just as much connected with them as with us." But, my lords, we are now upon the question of corn, and I will now apply that question to one of the most important of our colonies—I refer to the case of Canada, and of the effect upon the trade of Canada which will be produced by the passing of this measure (cries of "hear, hear"). I have heard that it is looked forward to that this will be a great boon to the Australian colonies. I do not exactly see how, at the present moment—the Australian colonies are subject to a duty charged to the extent of 5s. a-quarter upon their produce imported into this country; it cannot exceed 5s. a quarter. They have the exclusive admission to a protected British market. You are about to take that away, and the effect will be to prevent Australian corn coming into your market, for if the price of corn in this country falls more than 5s. a quarter, to that amount the colonial produce of Australia will be in a worse position than at present. But with regard to Canada, what have you done? You proposed that Canada should have admission for her produce into your protected market, and upon the faith of that she imposed a duty of 5s. upon corn and flour taken from America, you led her to improving the communication by the St. Lawrence; you lent her money for that purpose; you are now about to render that valueless (hear, hear). You are going to break the promise you made to Canada (hear, hear). You are going to destroy the trade you fostered and encouraged. Nay, you are going to do much more; you are going to destroy the improved communication of the St. Lawrence; you are going to make the port of New York the channel of commercial intercourse between this country and Upper Canada, by your own St. Lawrence. Those who know that colony know that I am speaking the truth, and nothing but that (hear, hear). It is a matter almost of indifference whether wheat grown in the western states of the union and in Upper Canada is carried to New York or Montreal. The communication with New York is somewhat cheaper and easier. The market of Montreal regulates the price of the markets of New York; but now the corn of the western states and Upper Canada comes down the St. Lawrence to Montreal, employing British shipping, and that in our own territory, because there is a differential duty in favour of its going to Montreal, and against its going to New York. But if this measure passes, that will be changed, and the corn will come, not by your own St. Lawrence, in ships navigated by your own countrymen, but through the United States; and I will tell your lordships what is the fact. There are merchants in Montreal who, in anticipation of this measure passing, are preparing to set up their establishments in New York (hear, hear). I say nothing of the effect you are producing upon the feelings of the people (hear, hear). I say nothing of the shock you will give to the loyalty of the people; but I say this, you are doing your utmost to irritate them, to break off their commercial intercourse with you, and throw them into the scale, perhaps, of a hostile state. My lords, political independence may follow from commercial independence (hear, hear). Are the United States blind to this fact? Do they not see the nature of your suicidal policy? Are your lordships aware of the bill passed by Congress one or two years ago?—that a bill was passed, actually granting a drawback to the full amount, or almost so, of the import duty upon goods going into the seaports of the United States, provided those goods were carried through the United States, and re-shipped to Upper Canada; and that a bill is now pending in Congress for the purpose of extending the import of goods from Canada, to be re-shipped to this country from the port of New York? Will that fact of the policy of the United States open your lordships' eyes to the nature of the policy you are pursuing (hear, hear)? Again, your lordships have read, or if not, I hope before you come to a decision upon this measure you will read (hear, hear) the dispatch of the Governor-General of Canada. This is the dispatch laid upon the table of the house by the Government from Lord Cathcart, who was recently sent out, forwarded to the Government here, not in his own name only, but in the name of the executive of the province of Canada. [The noble lord then read the dispatch, which was to the effect that the province of Canada was so vitally interested in this question, that it became the duty of the executive of the province of Canada to urge upon the consideration of her Majesty's ministers the necessity of a protected market for the produce of Canada, and the effect that would be produced if it were taken away; that upon the faith of the last measure expensive improvements had been undertaken, and that if that protection were removed, the ruin of the colony would follow.] I have stated the case of Canada and the Corn Laws, and having shown the effect which this measure will have upon the individual province of Canada, I will not trespass upon your lordships' attention by entering into details with respect to other colonies, or the effects which a similar course may have upon them. But there is one other point I must refer to. When we are told it is essential for the advantage of the manufactures of this country that Free Trade should be established, and that no advantage should be derived by the colonies, I presume that if you deprive the colonies of all the protection they now enjoy, you strive to repeal that Act of Parliament which compels the colonies to impose a differential duty in favour of your produce (cries of "hear, hear"). You cannot be guilty of such injustice as not to do so, feeling that protection is now mutual (hear); that one-third and more of our exports are taken by the colonies.

And now hear what a gentleman, Mr. Gregg, a member of the Anti-Corn Law League, says of the state to which British markets are exposed in competition with neutral markets. [The noble lord here read a document, in which Mr. Gregg said that we were undersold in all the staple markets of British manufacture, that the cotton manufacturers of the Swiss, the cutlery of Alsace, and the woollens of Saxony were driving us not only out of the foreign markets, but our own. That in hosiery, Saxony, with a duty of 25 per cent., sold 30 per cent. cheaper than the produce of the Leicester looms; that whilst the number of stockings in Leicester was formerly 16,585, there were now only 4040; but in Saxony their number had increased from 4090 to 25,000.] How far with cheaper food, no taxation upon the raw material, and no duty but for the sake of revenue, we might yet recover our lost superiority, is a matter of grave consideration. He did not believe that we could, either in woollens or hosiery, or even in cutlery, or the cotton trade. Under a free commercial system, the price of the raw material was nearly the same in all countries; but the advantage of labour was, in general, on the side of the foreigner, whilst machinery itself was sold in large quantities in foreign countries. The only item, then, in which manufactures were to be cheapened was the cost of production,—that was, the wages of labour. Foreign nations had reduced them, and, by lowering them here and raising them abroad, the difference might be regulated; but he doubted whether our lost market could ever be entirely recovered. With better education, with more sober habits, more frugality, with cheaper food, the people might be enabled to live much better than at present upon smaller earnings, and that was the only way in which it could be done (hear, hear). That is the language of Mr. Gregg, a distinguished manufacturer, and a member of the League. The neutral markets have failed you, and he calls upon you to try that last and desperate remedy, of cheapening food and lowering wages to recover them, and for that you are to throw open the markets which take one-third of your whole foreign exports, your home exports, which are about five to two of your foreign exports (hear, hear). You are called upon by these sapient manufacturers to damage your home market and take away protection (hear, hear). I do not think the force of folly can go further. I trust your lordships will not be led away by these fallacies and delusions, and that you will not sacrifice the home produce and colonial market (hear, hear). I am sensible, my lords, though at great length, how feebly, how unsatisfactorily I have performed my task. I know I must have wearied your lordships. I know I have in a very indifferent manner discharged my duty. But I hope at least I shall have the credit of having kept closely to the subject of discussion, and I hope, further, I have redeemed the pledge I gave at the outset, that in no observations I made would I make one remark, if I was aware of it, that would be likely to wound the feelings of any one (hear, hear). But, before I sit down, I must be permitted to say a few words to those of your lordships, and I believe they are many, who, in their hearts, go along with me in the arguments I have submitted to you, and are dismayed and alarmed at this measure as much as I am, and yet from various grounds mean to give your votes for the second reading of the Bill. I can conceive various motives operating upon the minds of high-minded and honourable men. I know there may be those who plead the authority of the House of Commons. I have a great respect for the authority of that house, of which I had the honour of being a member between 22 and 23 years. But where are we to collect the opinion of the House of Commons (hear, hear)? Are we to collect it from their collected votes? Then are we to take the votes of 1816, 1844, or 1842? When I find in 1842 a similar measure rejected by a majority of 213 (hear, hear), and again a similar measure rejected the same year by a majority of 105; and another measure rejected by a majority of 114 (hear, hear)—when I find a similar measure rejected by a majority of 256 in 1843, and again by a majority of 209 in 1844,—when I find a motion for the repeal of the Corn Laws rejected by a majority of 132 in June, 1845, and when I find that same measure of the repeal of the Corn Laws not negatived by 132, but affirmed by a majority of 98 (loud cheers) by the same men in the same house, I say this sudden conversion must tend to diminish the value I attach to the authority of the last vote of the House of Commons (loud cheers). I respect the judgment and decision of the House of Commons, but not because it is a decision of a majority of gentlemen more or less well educated and enlightened (hear). I respect their decision because it is the decision of the representatives of public opinion in this country; and if I am to take the decision of the House of Commons, I must, if I am to be bound by either decision, take that decision of the collected representation in 1842, as well as the collected representation in 1846, of the deliberate judgment and opinion of the people of this country (cheers). There are those who disapprove of this decision, but who, from a personal feeling of attachment to the Government, are prepared to vote with them. I sympathise with that feeling, but I cannot assent in justice to their course (hear, hear). There are two great interests at stake in this question, and compliment should not stand in the way out of deference to any minister (hear, hear). Depend upon it, the public interests can never be benefited by the sacrifice of your own deliberate judgment, by turning round upon your own principles for the purpose of saving an administration. My conviction is, that if you make the sacrifice it will be made in vain (cheers), for there never was a Government which permanently maintained its existence by the somewhat contemptuous support of its opponents, and by the ill disguised disgust and half-ashamed support of its allies (cheers). There may be those, my lords, who hope, by giving their consent to this measure, to put an end to agitation, and to give satisfaction to the members of the Anti-Corn-Law League. When, my lords, was an organised agitation put down by concessions extorted from its opponents? Depend upon it, that when this body shall have once tasted the cup of political power, the draught will be too sweet to induce them to relinquish it. I agree with my noble friend, that this is only one of the measures which one after the other will be the object of the Anti-Corn-Law League. Why, my lords, there is no secret made of it. I do not say that every member of the Anti-Corn-Law League enters fully into those opinions, for I believe that there are many excellent men who have joined that body with none but commercial objects, who sincerely believe that Free Trade will be a benefit to the country and to themselves, and who would withdraw if there were any attempt to carry those objects further; but recollect the origin of their complaints, and hear the language which was used at a public meeting, at which Mr. Lawrence Heyworth was in the chair, and which was held, I believe, in this town. After talking of the miracles which had been wrought by the conversion of Prime Ministers (cheers), the

speaker said, "They must have something more than a Free Trade in corn." He asked why were they levying taxes in this country pressing severely on the people, and whether it would not be better to put a tax upon property, to abolish the custom-house system, and to say, "Honest traders of all nations, you may lay your stuffs here, there are no taxes and no duties" (laughter). He said further, that he would not have the friends of Free Trade relax in their exertions; they must remember that the House of Lords yet lived; that this was the stronghold of the aristocracy, where they would be struggling for something more than a commercial policy. After the settlement of the Free Trade question the people would have more time to agitate for universal suffrage (hear, hear); and if it were good for commerce to be free, it was good for man to be free also; if it were good for cotton and corn to be free, it would be good for man likewise. And now I beg the attention of the right rev. bench to what follows:—"Could they have a Free Trade in commerce without a Free Trade in religion; or could the system of commercial despotism continue the blight of this country? The Catholics and the Dissenters would demand why the church of Christ should be under the trammels of the State; and he predicted that the freedom of religion, as shown by the separation of Church and State, would be one of the glorious results of Free Trade" (loud cheers). And lastly, my lords, there is another motive which is most likely to operate with high-minded men; it is an unworthy fear and suspicion that they are acting from interested or dishonourable motives. My lords, if I were speaking to an ordinary assembly, I might warn them of the danger of yielding to such fears; but, speaking to the assembly which I have the honour to address, which cannot be unduly biased by considerations of fear, I can assert that you do not act from your personal interests. You are the trustees for far more than your personal interests; you are the trustees for your country, you are the trustees for posterity, you are the trustees for the constitution of the empire (cheers). My lords, you, each and all of you, live amongst your neighbours, by whom you are looked up to as the guides for their political opinions; from you your neighbours take the colour of their opinions and their views; to you they look, to your opinions a respectful deference is paid, and it is you who have encouraged and promulgated the opinion that for the great interests of this country agricultural protection is essential. With what feeling, my lords, with what face, having voted for the destruction of all protection to agriculture, can you show yourselves in the midst of those neighbours, who have hitherto regarded you with respect, and whose principles and opinions you have heretofore influenced (cries of "hear, hear")? They will charge you, and charge you justly, as you now charge the Government, with having misled and betrayed those who have placed their confidence in you (loud cheers). Therefore, my lords, if against your own deliberate opinions you consent to pass this measure, be prepared to abdicate the hitherto high place you have held in the constitution: if you sacrifice your own opinions to the intimidation of others, be prepared hereafter to be looked upon as a subordinate branch of the constitution, to be looked upon only as the registrars of the edicts of the House of Commons, and as the blind followers of the Minister of the day (cheers). My lords, if I know anything of the constitutional value of this house, it is to interpose a salutary obstacle to rash and inconsiderate legislation; it is to protect the people from the consequences of their own imprudence. It never has been the course of this house to resist a continued and deliberately formed public opinion; your lordships always have, and always will, bow to the expression of such an opinion; but it is yours to check hasty legislation, leading to irreparable evils; and it is yours—though the constitution can hardly have been deemed to have provided for such a contingency—to protect the people, not against their own hasty judgments, but against the treachery of those whom they have chosen to be their leaders (loud cheers). My lords, if, acting on your own deliberate and impartial opinion, scorning the degrading suspicion of being actuated by unworthy motives you follow the course which in your consciences you believe to be for the good of the country, you may rest assured that neither your country nor your conscience will condemn you. You may be conquered; you may be overbalanced in numbers; but you will not be degraded. You may fail in saving the people from the threatened evil, but you will secure the approbation of your friends and the respect of your opponents (cheers). And if, by the blessing of God, your decision on this great question shall arrest the progress of this hasty and inconsiderate measure; if you shall thus give time for the intelligence of the country to act upon the public mind; if, happily, you shall succeed in going back to a wiser course, and in adopting the too much despised wisdom of your ancestors, then you may well be proud of your position and of your conduct; then may you well be proud that you have discharged your duty conscientiously and fairly, that you have withstood the seductions of power, and that you have honestly and fearlessly proceeded to save your country from this great and hazardous experiment. The best reward, my lords, that you can have will be this approval of your own consciences in having done your duty; but there will be another reward in the approbation and the thanks of a grateful and admiring people, who will then justly exclaim—"Thank God we have a House of Lords!" (The noble lord resumed his seat amidst great cheering.)

SPEECH OF LORD BROUGHAM.

Lord BROUGHAM: I am quite aware, my lords, that I stand before you under some disadvantages ("Adjourn, adjourn"), and I certainly mean to take the sense of the house on the question of adjournment. We have just heard a speech of surpassing ability delivered at so late a period of the evening (renewed cries of "Adjourn"). My lords, I can't go on without the opportunity, in the first place, of hearing my own voice, which is necessarily preparatory to making any one else hear. (Cries again for an adjournment.) Among the many great advantages which my noble friend enjoys over me—which I need not stop to enumerate, because all who have heard his speech will acknowledge the merits which intrinsically belong to him, at all times and at all hours of the night—but certainly one of the advantages which he has upon the present occasion, purely by accident, is, that he is equal to all his other advantages put together, but that he has made a most exciting and animated, and, to a great portion of your lordships, a most successful speech, and also a very long speech—though I did not feel that it was long, or that it needed those apologies which he frequently addressed to us, yet nevertheless the clock shows that it was a very long speech—and that I rise to address your lordships not at 9 o'clock but after 12, which is a great disadvantage at all times, but more especially in this house, where we are not in the habit of having long debates. But,

my lords, this circumstance teaches me to confine myself within the smallest limits possible, and to proceed without further preface to the duty before me ("Adjourn"). As I am about to address myself not to those who agree with, but those who differ from me in opinion, I must beg the favour of some portion of their attention whilst I apply myself to answering the speech of the noble lord which has given them such satisfaction. I wave with my noble friend all personal allusions; he did well, and I am sure that other speakers will follow his example; but there is one subject of a personal nature which I cannot resist mentioning—the origin of the present bill (cries of "Adjourn"). If those noble lords who cry "Adjourn" have business to do elsewhere, I think they ought to go, and leave me to get on. If they are desirous of tasting other enjoyments (loud laughter) in preference to listening to me, peradventure the house will not be the worse for their absence, and they themselves will greatly profit by the move which I have recommended (laughter). But I proceed to say a word, begging the attention of the noble lord in return for the undivided attention which I assure him I paid to his speech, which I promise him shall not be one-third the length he exacted from me. I say I proceed at once to the origin of the present measure. It is said to have been the pressure of the famine, or the supposed famine, in certain districts of Ireland. I doubt the fact of there being a general famine in Ireland; I have never heard it stated that there was a general famine there; but that a general pressure of misery and scarcity did exist in many large districts of Ireland is a fact as certain as that we are sitting debating here to-night (hear, hear). But, says my noble friend, that is no reason—that furnishes no sufficient ground, for doing away with protection, or even of opening the ports, as had been recommended. I deny the fact, as I am ready to show that it was a sufficient ground. But I beg, before proceeding further, to say that it is quite immaterial to the merits of the bill what was its origin. I might most consistently say that the Government were wrong in proceeding with the bill this year; I might consistently contend that there was no ground for the precipitancy with which it has been brought forward in 1846;—I might consistently argue that Sir Robert Peel did a rash, an indiscreet, and an imprudent act, by bringing in the measure this year; but that upon the merits of the measure, howsoever recommended, whensoever introduced, under whatever pressure, or under no pressure at all, if the measure is a sound one in itself, I am bound to give it, as an honest man, my cordial support (hear, hear). I state this to guard myself from being mixed up with the extraneous and accidental circumstances connected with the measure—and as the real and substantial ground upon which I approve of it. But I am free to admit that I see nothing superfluous, nothing unnecessary, nothing rash, nothing indiscreet whatever in the choice of the last autumn and the last winter for the first proposal of the repeal of the Corn Laws (hear, hear). For what is the real state of the case as regards the potato disease? A vast number of people, my noble friend himself admits, found themselves reduced to distress by the failure of their crop. It was not merely that their potatoes were bad, but they did not have wages to pay for their food, except the produce of their little plots of ground—the currency in which the Irish labourer is paid. Are your lordships aware what has happened since this question began? Is my noble friend ignorant of what happened since this measure was introduced into the other house? He omitted to refer to it, but he certainly must be aware that one part naturally belonging to the Corn Bill was transferred to the Customs Bill, by which foreign maize was allowed to be imported as if the Corn Bill were already passed, and we were now enjoying the benefit of it. How does this apply to answer the argument of my noble friend? Why, he says that the measure is unnecessary—that the mischief has been remedied. But how has it been remedied? Why, in order to supply the wants of the people; in order to remedy the failure of the potato crop, maize was allowed to be introduced free of duty, and my learned friend might learn from the people that they have been taught by the evidence of experience to be thankful for that food, not for their cattle merely, but for the inhabitant, for the poor peasant of the country (hear, hear). Then, says my noble friend—and there was no part of his able address which excited greater attention or louder applause, for it led away some of my friends in my own neighbourhood for a moment, but only for a moment—I say there was no part of his address which excited greater approbation than this. "What," says my noble friend, "do you do to the poor Irish peasant? Because his potatoes are useless, you take away protection from his corn, you make him sell his oats cheaper, you make the candle burn at both ends, you take away the means by which he purchases both food and potatoes, by making him sell cheaper oats." But my noble friend supplied an answer to his own argument, for he candidly admitted that he was perfectly ready to open the ports for the purpose of letting in oatmeal, thereby of course lowering the value of the Irish peasant's oats (hear, hear). I only mention this to show that my noble friend has no right to charge others—as he has lavishly done to-night both sides of the house—with inconsistency. Is he not liable to the charge himself (hear, hear)? I admit it as a charge; but he charges all around him. He says that the Ministers are paragons of inconsistency; but don't you, the Opposition, triumph, for you have as many inconsistencies to account for as they have. But has my noble friend none to account for himself? I have shown that he has been guilty of a little inconsistency in this very speech. But is there nothing else? Has he forgot the Canada Bill? I highly approved of that bill; I supported it; I objected to all the attacks that were made upon it; I defended the consistency of my right hon. friend, the author of the bill. Well, what did the bill do? It reduced the duty to 3s. per quarter, and allowed the whole American bread stuffs to come through Canada over to England, where protection was in full vigour—where it was regarded as absolutely necessary for the landlord, the farmer, the peasant, the manufacturer, and for all our institutions, and yet this bill allowed American corn to be introduced at this low duty, be the price here ever so cheap, and without reference to any sliding scale (hear). I mention this not to taunt my noble friend with inconsistency, but to show that *nemo omnibus horis sapit*—that no one is wise at all times; that no one who acts the part of a wise man will refuse to profit by reflective reason and further experience—and that no one on any side of the house, not even my noble friend, is totally free from the charge—if it be a charge—of having at different times advocated and proposed opposite measures (hear, hear). But the argument of my noble friend in support of the former bill is equally applicable to the present bill. Think, says my noble friend, of the increase of the population—consider how rapidly the numbers of the people

augment—think how every year 300,000 or 400,000 persons are added to the number of consumers of food in this country, and that unless you bring down food to the lowest possible price you cannot hope long to feed the increasing numbers, and you cannot discharge your duty to the people. The same argument applies to the Corn Law at all times; and it is upon the ground of its applicability at all times, and without reference to accidental and temporary circumstances, that I have uniformly advocated the repeal of the Corn Laws. This leads me to come at once to the point; that is, the probable effect of the repeal of the Corn Laws in reducing prices. I wish I could take the same view of it as my noble friend does. I wish I could believe in the possibility that one-fifth part of 20 per cent. of the price of grain would be taken off by the repeal of the Corn Laws. The noble lord calls upon the supporters of the measure to say what effect the repeal of the Corn Laws will have upon the state of the markets—he requires of us that we should tell him what increase or diminution that event may produce in the course of two, three, or four years. Now, I take upon myself to say that that is about one of the most difficult problems which any one could be called upon to solve. When a change takes place in the nature and materials of our importations nothing can be more difficult than to tell beforehand what the effect of that will be. Suppose that corn be sold for 30s. at Dantzic at the time that our Corn Laws are repealed, who can undertake to say what the effect of that will be upon our corn market? Supposing it to be 30s. now, who can say how cheap it will be when the Corn Laws are repealed? To answer that question I must be able to tell the effect upon the English market, which will be produced by the knowledge in Dantzic that the English Corn Laws have been repealed. I must estimate the 5s. freight, the 2s. insurance, the 3s. other expenses, and having brought it up to 40s., I must then be able to tell what the effect of all this will be on the market at Dantzic. But though neither I, nor my noble friend, nor any one else can answer these questions, my noble friend went on to tell us that new land would be brought into cultivation, and then my noble friend talked to us of the state of the land in the Ukraine, and of the land in Hungary; and whether he knew less of the land in the Ukraine and more of that in Hungary, or less of the latter and more of the former, does not very distinctly appear; but, nevertheless, he did not abstain from telling us that these lands, of which we know so little, would come suddenly into cultivation, that there would be an immediate clearance of the lands in Hungary, and yet I venture to assert, that if my noble friend will make inquiries of any Hungarian nobleman, who may now happen to be in London, he will find that he has been reckoning without his host. The probability is that it will take much time to effect any material increase in the productive powers of the land of Hungary—that acre after acre must be slowly and laboriously brought into cultivation—that there can be no sudden clearing away of the impediments to tillage—that you cannot in one day go through all the operations of stubbing up trees, clearing roots, digging deep below the surface, sawing, burning, ploughing, and harrowing—that you cannot by a single effort divide fields, make fences, erect barns, granaries, and farm-houses—that all this cannot be done by a mere exercise of volition—that a numerous peasantry must be called into existence for the execution of such works; and be it remembered that the population of the Ukraine and of Hungary do not increase at the rate of 1000 a day, as they do in this country. Besides, a vast amount of capital will be required for effecting such great objects upon so large a scale. We know very well that in this country it requires a capital of 10l. an acre to carry on the business of farming, but how much per acre does it require to clear a primitive farm, and bring it out of a state of nature into a state of cultivation? My noble friend, however, supports his argument upon the authority of his most respectable correspondent Mr. Sanders, and upon the authority of that gentleman my noble friend told your lordships that the effect of this bill would be to cause the cultivation of 5,000,000 additional—

Lord STANLEY: No; what I said, was that in the course of three years there would be an increase of 5,000,000.

Lord BROUGHAM: That "no" is in effect "yes"—my noble friend seems to say no, but really the effect of his answer is an affirmative, and the result is that I am right and he is wrong—three years! Surely in talking of the eternal interests of trade, three years are but an instant. When we are dealing with that which has endured since the time of Henry IV., anything that depends upon a period of three years may well be called sudden—it is most sudden. No doubt Mr Sanders is a respectable correspondent, but I wish he was a little more sensible. I do not require that he should be a man of powerful intellect or large views, because he is not giving any opinion; but I am entitled to require that he should be a rational man, seeing that he speaks to matters of fact. If I am called upon to be governed by his authority, I must be satisfied that he is trustworthy. I must have no reason to suspect any lack of judgment. I must be convinced that he is able to put two ideas together; and yet when I consider the correspondence of this Mr. Sanders, I cannot repress feelings of the utmost astonishment at the monstrous stories which he tells. I will give him the full benefit of the three years and three days—a year and a day as the lawyers are accustomed to grant. Three years and three days are only an instant for purposes of that kind; and can any one believe that in the short space of three years 6,000,000 can be added to the productions of the Continent—that within that short time our markets can be overwhelmed—that we can be deluged with foreign corn, the production of the Ukraine and of Hungary. I believe nothing of the sort; I believe that the advance will be gradual; I believe that for years to come there will be no great application of capital, and therefore no considerable augmentation of supply; you must calculate not upon a great change, but upon a moderate decrease of prices, and upon a slowly augmenting supply. I by no means intend to argue that there will be a diminution of prices, though I perfectly recollect that a noble friend of mine, now no more—I mean the late Lord Spencer—held that such a change in the Corn Laws as is now proposed, would not effect any diminution whatever in the price of provisions—that was his deliberate and serious opinion; and though I have always thought that that opinion was entitled to the highest respect, like every other opinion entertained by that noble lord, I still hold that there is in it something of exaggeration, and my expectation is that in the price of corn there will be a small and moderate reduction after the passing of this bill. In maintaining this opinion, and generally in the support of this bill, I may appeal to my noble friends on the cross benches. I may fearlessly appeal to them because I know they have a great respect for a very estimable class of men, the tenant farmers. Now it does so happen that the tenant farmers are not so very apprehensive of the effects of this

measure as they are said to be. I should be glad to be enlightened upon this point; but as far as my information goes there is no great apprehension amongst the tenant farmers. If they are alarmed they adopt a most singular mode of showing it, for they are every day taking farms at increased rents, and upon long leases; and when a farm is out of lease is it let at a reduction in rent? No such thing; it is let at a higher rent. My noble friend has great reason to despise my experience on this point, he having many tenants and I few; but I can assure him that such is the fact, not alone in the part of the country with which I am connected, but in all parts of the country; for in all parts I have made inquiries, and I know of nothing but instances of farms being let at an increase of rent, and of no instance whatever of land being out of lease. Now, really, if these men entertain no alarm about the Corn Laws, I think it is a duty of supererogation for us to be so much alarmed for them. If my noble friends say, "If rent shall fall, that is our look-out," then they shift the argument, but I conceive them, acting for the tenant farmers, and not for themselves. Some tenant farmers were lately asked by a connection of mine when farms were being let, if they were aware of what was going on about the Corn Laws? "Oh," said they, "we have taken all that into account, we have calculated all that, we have no doubt whatever that the measure is going to pass." (I hope they'll be true prophets.) And of those farms one was let at a rent of 70l., and the other at 10l. a year higher than before. That was in Durham. These are facts; there are many such facts; and these show that the alarm does not pervade the tenant body of farmers generally. Then, as to the argument of prices, it is one of which no one on either side can undertake confidently to speak. I should form a very mean opinion of the good sense of any man who would take upon himself to say, and who with confidence would foretell, the effect of this measure on prices. I have no opinion of that sort. We ought to speak with becoming modesty, but above all with great moderation, as to our expectations of the effect of a change in a system so long upheld (hear). Nothing, in my opinion, but a clear view that these results would be advantageous, would justify us in countenancing it; but as to the precise amount I will not venture to calculate. Wheat, not immediately, but in time, will be cheaper to a certain degree, perhaps 3s. or 4s. a quarter; but in mentioning that small amount we need not pledge ourselves to a calculation. Anything more absurd, more conceited, if I may so say, than that person is who assumes the ability, on so difficult and complicated a subject, to give the precise amount which this change will have the effect of producing, cannot be imagined (hear, hear). I am confident that the agriculturists will benefit much more by this great improvement in our laws than they will lose by a diminution in the market value of their produce (hear, hear). I look forward to this measure as almost undoubtedly certain to extend our foreign trade incalculably, and in a very short period of time (hear, hear). But before I come to that part of my noble friend's speech—and with regard to some portions of that speech they are puzzling, and require some explanations—I will say a word or two on the main argument urged in favour of the protective system. My noble friend said, quoting great authorities in support of the assertion, that the use of protection is to make this country independent of a foreign supply, and among others he quoted the late Mr. Huskisson, who said, "The great object was for ourselves to grow the corn which makes the bread of the people." There is no question whatever that the great interest of this country and of every other country, is to grow the bulk of the food of the people within the bounds of the country; and, except in one instance, I mean that of the United States' provinces, there is and can be no country under the sun in which, whatever the system of Corn Laws may be, and whether there exists protection or not, the people must not find it necessary to be fed by corn growing within the bounds of their own country. The only object of free importations must be to relieve you in years of scarcity or in the dearth of a bad year; this is a matter of absolute certainty. Why, in years of famine in this country there were never anything like 2,000,000 of quarters imported. The whole importation in 1800 and 1801 was 1,100,000 quarters each year from the whole of Europe, and if you add 200,000 quarters of corn, you do not show a very large importation. In 1810 it was 1,500,000 quarters, and why, therefore, do you wish these restrictions? And why do you say that the people of this country ought to be independent of the people of other countries for the supply of food? Oh, it is said, foreign powers may change their law, and, at any moment, close their ports and starve you. I have an answer to that in one word; I point to 1810 (hear, hear), and I say that that argument survives not the mention of that year one single instant (cheers). When did you ever see the Continent under such a power as that to which it bowed in 1810? When ever again are you likely to see it enthralled by such an iron hand as that which then grasped the universal sceptre of Europe—I may say, of the Continental world (cheers)? Do you remember what year that was? Talk to me of petty sovereigns now stopping exportation from Egypt, from Belgium, from Antwerp, from the Hague; why then, Napoleon, in his iron grasp, held, as I said before, the sceptre, not of France only, but of all Continental Europe, and do you remember the degree to which he had enforced his despotism over these states? Why, from the very centre as it were—from the heart, the pulsations of which influenced all Europe—from Paris to the millions of the world, he could send forth an edict which would shut all Europe against us (hear, hear). From the Channel to the Gulf of Leghorn, from Paris to the outermost parts of Poland, there was not one single person in authority, not a troop of horse, not a company of foot, not a custom house officer, not an excise man, who did not tremble at his name, or refused to obey his mandate (cheers). Is that likely to happen again? Did that ever happen before? And yet, what was the result of it all? Was Napoleon bent upon any single thing so much as destroying the trade of England? Was he bent upon any one project so much, was anything so dear to his heart, as sealing up our own produce, and preventing any one bushel of corn ever reaching this country? And yet the result of it was that 1,200,000 quarters, and talking also of the corn, that 1,514,000 quarters were imported into England, during that same year—1810. And not from outports, observe, where his power might be supposed to be somewhat weakened; not from Odessa where he had little influence; not from Africa, where, it may be said, he had none at all; not from Naples, where his strength was unimportant; not from Sicily, the olden granary of Rome—no: no such thing; but 39 parts in every 100 of these 1,514,000 quarters came from France itself—from thence imported into this country (cheers). The mention of that year, 1810, at once extinguished the argument. The noble lord said the protection system was supported by universal consent. He

quoted our own law to show how deep a root it had taken. But if we are to go back upon old statutes, I could furnish the noble lord with many examples of as ludicrous statutes, of as absurd provisions, as he could wish to see, which the wisdom of our ancestors, to which he so eloquently referred, fixed in the statute book, and carefully preserved for our edification and amusement, if not for our instruction. The laws against forestalling and regrating were once said to be the pillar of our commercial prosperity. These are things laughed at by universal consent. But it was no laughing matter when those laws were in force. It was an offence for people to forestall and regrate, and men were punished by imprisonment for committing that offence. No man could purchase corn for the purpose of selling it again at market (hear, hear). No man could purchase corn before it came to market (hear, hear, hear). There was to be no middleman. The object was that the good, worthy, honest, tenant farmer should come to market that he might sell corn cheap to the people. The law said, "You shall buy standing corn;" and the same rule was applied in the case of hops. But, said the noble lord, other countries have the same law. Are not these, he triumphantly asks, the great countries of the world? and have they not laws for the protection of native industry? Another part of the noble lord's speech gave the answer to this argument, that notwithstanding their protection laws, they all had found it necessary, when there was a pressure on the means of subsistence, to suspend that protection law. The protection laws of Belgium, of Holland, of Egypt, were all suspended in the autumn of 1845. It was no bad or useless commentary upon the inefficient nature of any system of laws that those countries were obliged to get rid of them the moment the pinch came. My noble friend then argued that the trade of the country was not likely to be benefited by this great measure. And here I may defend him against himself (cheers); because anything more harsh, more cruel, I should say more uncharitable—nay, I should almost say unchristian (laughter), than his treatment of himself in his argument on the tariff, I never witnessed. I could not have believed that any one would have had so little bowels of compassion as the noble lord showed to himself. I pitied him. My noble friend is so great an artist that he drew himself in such colours that I pitied him. I was forced to separate the two individuals. There is one active and one passive—the party punishing and the party punished—and it is one and the same person who punishes and is punished. I wish to say one word, if not in defence, at least in extenuation, to rescue him from the clog of the imputation with which he has been visiting himself. The tariff did not deserve all the vituperation which it received; and I wish to say one word in its favour before sentence is recorded. No rational man would say that increased competition among producers tends to increase prices. By increased competition among producers you reduce prices. But the object of the tariff was to enable you to obtain cheaper goods from abroad, and to enable you thereby to send your own produce more advantageously to foreign parts. The noble lord said the tariff afforded no precedent for the present measure. "See," he said, "with all your tariff of 1842, to what it is come? What advantages do you expect from a repeal of the Corn Laws?" Very great advantage I should reply. I must refer to the argument as to the increase of seamen and the diminution of the tonnage of vessels. It is said, taking so many years before the tariff was adopted, your vessels in the Baltic trade were so much; taking a similar period since, they are so much less. The proportion was somewhere about 6,000 to 5,000. That was a very trifling diminution; and if the means of transport were made up by foreign vessels, your trade was so far extended; these foreign vessels carried your goods, and the difference before and after the tariff was made up with a vengeance; for the number indicating the increase of foreign shipping engaged in your trade after the tariff is 17,000. It is a most complete demonstration that our trade has increased. Then my noble friend called on noble lords to attend to a report of the American Secretary of the Treasury; and as I may have found an ex-secretary wrong, so I may find an actual secretary equally wrong. The statement which the noble lord read does not prove that we take less from the United States than the United States take from us. Did they get what was stated as imports for nothing? You must pay the balance in bullion, or in goods. Did we send two and a half millions of dollars to clear off the balance? No, we paid it in foreign produce. It is what is called a "round-about" trade, and is almost as profitable as a direct trade. Then we are told the same thing occurs in Russia. About 11,000,000 were imported from Russia, 8,000,000 only were exported to Russia; there was a balance of 3,000,000. Are we to believe that the Americans having made us a present of three millions, the Russians will be anxious to vie with them in giving us three millions of their goods for nothing, as if the two hemispheres were emulating the one the other—the West endeavouring to prove to the world that she is able to excel all that has been told us of Eastern gorgeousness? But we have received no such gifts from either of them. If we have not sent them our own goods, we have given them the coffee and the sugars of Brazil (cheers). But, my lords, what is my expectation with regard to the Corn Law so far as relates to foreign trade? I do not look forward to any sudden, rapid, instantaneous increase of our traffic with foreign countries; but one thing I confidently expect, that if we set the example, and remove the restrictions from our commercial code, other countries will follow the same line (cheers). We do not live in a period when any country, especially countries like France and Belgium, with constitutional governments, and Germany, which is likely soon to obtain a constitutional government—when the voice of the consumer is heard, and the opinions of the capitalist and manufacturer are consulted—are likely to remain behind; these countries, you may be perfectly assured, if you withdraw your restrictions and your restrictive line of policy, will effect a corresponding change in theirs (hear, hear). Of this also, I am certain, that you can do yourselves no kind of service by retaining your restrictions; even should the improvements of this system be postponed by other countries, you will be none the worse for it; while if your example be followed by them it will be a most important and valuable circumstance for this country. I am not one of those who take the gloomy view of the subject that Mr. Gray, the correspondent of the noble lord, has done (hear, hear). If ever I heard a statement on any occasion which appeared to be made under the influence of a prevailing bias on the mind of the man who made it, it is Mr. Gray's statement made to your lordships this evening. According to him, we are plunged into an abyss of ruin; our capitalists make no profit; our manufacturers are working at a loss; and our labourers are receiving nothing like adequate wages, because they cannot

compete with the labourers of other countries. And yet my noble friend garnished another part of his speech with accounts of the great extent of our foreign commerce, and the exports of our manufactures (hear). As to the sliding scale, my noble friend spoke much in its favour, and asked, why adopt this new system when the sliding scale has operated so advantageously? My lords, that argument does not apply to me, who never approved of the sliding scale. My argument against it was always this, that the inevitable consequence of such a system was to cause a great accumulation in foreign ports, or in the bonded stores; and that our market was sure to be flooded and drenched with it just at the time when the home grower could least bear up against it. Let me here remind you that the years which have passed since 1842 were such as could not by possibility test the utility of the sliding scale (hear, hear). The true test of the sliding scale is to be found in a time of scarcity; but we have had abundant harvests since 1842—even last year was in many respects abundant, though not of such good quality as some preceding years, and it is well known that 1844 was so very prolific that three-fourths of the produce of that year are still on hand. In these circumstances no one is entitled to say that the last few years have tested the sliding scale (hear). My lords, I am no party to the follies and exaggerations I have seen prevail out of doors; I am no party to the abuse I have seen heaped on the landowners of this country (hear). I value the landed interest of this country as the great, substantial, and most important of all the interests in the kingdom. I regard the advocates of that interest, even when I differ with them in their opinions, as performing a great and conscientiously discharged duty to their country. Above all, I deny that the supporters of the landed interest in this country are only to be numbered by the landlords, and the tenants, and the yeomen, who are more immediately engaged in the cultivation of the soil (cheers). The great landed interest of this kingdom, my lords, is of power, and might, and influence enough to counterbalance all the other interests, if they were put in opposite scales the one to the other (hear). That has ever been my fixed and decided opinion. But they are not in opposite scales; for there is on the part of the landed interest, not perhaps the middling merchants or the petty tradesmen—though the tradesmen in your small towns will always be found ranged with them in all controversies in which they appear as a party—but all the great traders, and great capitalists, and merchants and mercantile men in the country, all the important public bodies, the Bank, the East India Company, the insurance companies, the railway companies, the law, the church, the army, the navy, all these bodies forming the prodigious mass of the whole power, and wealth, and influence of the kingdom,—all are found, for the most part, and in the main, and in the long run, to take part with the landed interest, as the great Conservative supporters of the institutions of the empire (loud cries of "hear, hear"). Therefore, when I have made up my mind to support this measure of Corn Law repeal, and to take away what they most fallaciously call their natural and necessary protection, it must not be thought that I wish to injure the landed interest; on the contrary, I believe I am adding to the safety and security of that great body (hear). I hold that any shilling of protection on the quarter of wheat, is a full tax of 1s. on every man in the kingdom, be he rich or poor. Though I do not think the landed interest or the institutions of the country require this protection, and that the sooner they get rid of it the better for those institutions it will be, yet I will tell the landed interest where they will find a protection for themselves and a bulwark for our institutions. I would say to them, "*Si monumentum queris, circumspice*," look at the talent they have exhibited in the present discussion, and then let those blush, if they are capable of that decorum, who have ever talked with contempt of the talents, accomplishments, and acquisitions of the aristocracy of this country. Reflect on the splendid exhibition of talent there has been in another place during the whole discussion; in their own ability in their best protection. And though they have failed there, as I hope they will here, in attaining the object they strove for, yet they have gained a more effectual protection for themselves, and a far better security for the institutions of which they are the chosen guardians. They have displayed talents for affairs and powers of debate which their adversaries had given them little credit for, and which their country must ever after benefit by. I think I should be guilty of public ingratitude if I did not also express my deep sense of the public virtue, prodigious power of mind, and moral courage exhibited by my right hon. friend at the head of the Government in bringing forward this measure. He has cast away all selfish, private, and personal considerations—he has disregarded his own interest in every step and stage of the process. He has given up what to a minister is, of all positions, the most to be envied—calm, unquestioned, undivided power and superiority; he has exposed himself to the most tempestuous and troubled sea the political world ever exhibited; he has given up what to an ambitious man is much—the security of his power; he has given up what to a calculating man is much—his influence and authority with his party; he has given up what to an amiable man is much—private friendships and party connexions. All these he has sacrificed voluntarily and with his eyes open, for the discharge of what he deemed a great public duty. In these circumstances he can scorn the sordid attacks and ribaldry with which he has been out of doors assailed, because he knows he has entitled himself to the gratitude of his country, and left his name to an admiring posterity as one of the greatest ministers who ever ruled this country.

SPEECH OF THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

The Earl of CLARENDON said that he did not find himself in the category of those who were so solemnly warned by the noble lord last night against giving upon this occasion a vote contrary to the opinions they had expressed in former years; for, since he had had a seat in their lordships' house, he had rarely missed an opportunity of stating what he conscientiously believed to be the evils of the protective system, and that the time was rapidly approaching when the Corn Laws must be abolished. But, as he trusted that this was nearly the last time when they would be called on to discuss this question, he could not avoid expressing the unfeigned satisfaction with which, in common with all those who desired to carry out the principles of Free Trade, he viewed a measure that would for ever, and he wished he could add at once, put an end to that system of protection, and which was brought in with all the weight and authority of a Conservative Administration. It appeared to him of little consequence what had induced the Government to propose this measure. The decision of the Cabinet was unanimous, with the important exception of the noble lord; and he might say that none regretted more sincerely than himself that those doubts which took the noble lord 48 hours to re-

solve were not terminated in a manner that would have remained to the country the great advantage of his services. Whatever had influenced the Government in proposing it, he rejoiced at the introduction of the measure, and almost as much in the wisdom and justice of the avowals and arguments by which those who had been hitherto opposed to such a measure had supported it in the long ordeal it had undergone elsewhere. But he could never consider that this was a party question. It was one that appeared to him to rest more upon experience and fact than the considerations of party; for, of all questions, this was one with respect to which opinion had undergone more modifications than any other during the last 30 years, as knowledge and science advanced and the number and wants of the people increased. There was scarcely any one whose opinions had not during that time undergone some change with respect to it. Could the protectionist party say they had been uninfluenced by certain circumstances? Would they take upon themselves the responsibilities of an office—an event which they knew from his noble friend on the cross bench might speedily occur (hear, hear)—and maintain the present law—or were they prepared to make any change (hear, hear). Would they say they would not now gladly accept the duty of 8s., which they scornfully rejected five years ago, as likely to lead to revolution and ruin (hear, hear). In fact, were they not threatened with some such amendment in committee? But would they throw overboard their principles and advocate not protection for corn, but for the Exchequer? He said then, that this was not a party question; and he regretted that so much time had been wasted in discussing, not the merits of the measure, for that would have been a useful and legitimate employment, but in demonstrating that this was a party question. All the opposition had been raised against the Minister more than against the measure; but all the invectives poured upon Sir R. Peel proved that he was influenced by higher views than those of party, and that if he forfeited the goodwill and support of his political friends, he did it for that which was of higher importance—his country's good (hear, hear). With famine making rapid strides in Ireland (hear, hear)—it was very well to say "hear, hear," but if those noble lords who now said so were on the ministerial bench next October, and if they received from the Lord-Lieutenant and official servants in Ireland such accounts as Sir R. Peel received last October, he defied them not to take some measures with respect to the Corn Laws (hear, hear). It was incumbent on the Government to take all human means to arrest the progress of starvation, and its attendant evils of disease and turbulence in Ireland. They might have opened the Irish ports by an order in Council, and heartily he wished they had; indeed, one of the protectionist gentlemen in the other house, who had distinguished himself as much as any one, came forward in the late debates and said that the mere apprehension of scarcity would have justified such a course. That was admitting the insufficiency of the present laws in cases of emergency; but had the Irish ports been opened? There being at that time a duty of 17s. in the English ports, with trade free between the two countries, it required little argument to show what the effect would have been. But suppose the right honourable baronet had opened the ports of the United Kingdom, and suspended the law for six months, could he have given any guarantee to restore, much less to maintain, the law at the expiration of that time (hear, hear)? In the present state of public opinion in this country—and there was none who could dare to disregard public opinion,—such a guarantee could not have been adhered to. Could any Government precipitate a conflict which was the only description of civil war which the present manners and civilisation would admit of, and which was not the less mischievous on that account? The noble duke on the cross-benches, and others, had declared that the measure took them and the whole party by surprise (hear, hear); but if they were blind to the intentions of Sir R. Peel the country were not, for they saw the direction in which he was steering for the last four years. For his own part, he must take occasion to say, that he never could comprehend how any statesman of acknowledged foresight and experience, or how any political leaders who must have known that a speedy return to power was theirs, could have maligned the motives and misrepresented the conduct of the late Government, and could have denounced that policy of Free Trade which they knew must be soon adopted. It had always been incomprehensible to him how any one could have done this consistently with common sense and common honesty (loud cheers). Since, however, the present Government had been in office, they had had the power to do good, and they had an opposition without the will to thwart it. For the last four years Sir R. Peel had spoken a language which was perfectly intelligible, and which could not have been mistaken by those not willing to deceive themselves ("hear, hear," from Earl Stanhope). He did not know that the noble earl had during those four years expressed any confidence in the Government.

Earl STANHOPE had certainly felt no confidence at that time or since.

The Earl of CLARENDON: Then Sir Robert Peel had spoken a language which was perfectly intelligible to the noble lord, if not to others. Was it to be conceived that when he broached a broad commercial principle applicable to colonial asses (laughter), to drugs, to gums, and to fruits, that it was not to include the food of a daily-increasing and always underfed population (hear, hear)? Notwithstanding the important statements of Sir James Graham, who, from his official situation and from his remarkable industry, was so great a master of the statistics of this country, as to plenty and cheapness being the real foundation of our prosperity, the agricultural party, with the exception of the noble lord (laughter), doubted to the last moment, and then stood agast, and raised the cry of "Protection to native industry," not, be it observed, of protection to agricultural industry—another proof of the change of opinion, for he recollected when the noble duke stood up in that house, and declared that if the present Government dared to meddle with agricultural protection, he and his friends would reject them, as he had done their predecessors: but now protection to agriculture was too exclusive, a more comprehensive cry was necessary, and the cry was raised of "Protection to native industry." But in that comprehensive sense native industry did not want that protection, and it repudiated alike their new-born sympathy and their worn-out legislation (loud cheers). The manufacturers of linens and of cloths did not require it; and though from boots and hats and other articles all protection had been withdrawn, the manufacturers found that they had suffered no harm, and they had the maxims to come forward and avow it. He said that there was not an instance in which they had withdrawn the protective system in which they had produced a disadvantage to the producer or the consumer. He entirely agreed that

the interests of all the different classes of society were identical; but, if those interests were to be identified with, or to be embodied in, protection, he denied their identity. He denied any one to prove that the condition of the labourers had been improved by protection. The noble duke had drawn a pathetic picture of the air and scenery amid which the labourers performed their work, but he had not said a word about the wages paid in the south of England.

The Duke of CLEVELAND lived in the north, and not in the south.

The Earl of CLARENDON.—But he had not said a word about the labourers' wages in the north; of the quality of their food, of their moral or social condition, of their hopeless life of toil, or of the impossibility of their saving anything. To know their state he need only to remind noble lords of the evidence given by medical witnesses before Parliament two years ago, that with few exceptions the large mass of the labourers of England were miserably underfed, and that this was the reason why they could not perform a good day's work. He thought it impossible to show that the labourer could sink lower in the social scale, and he therefore could have no interest in protection. The next person who was protected was the tenant; and he admitted that some, who had not skill, money, or education, and who took 200 acres or 300 acres of land, as they would do a public house, and who had no more reason for being farmers than for being jewellers, might want protection to save them from their own incapacity. The arguments used for protection were always to make progress wait upon ignorance, and were as valid against the competition of home-grown corn as of foreign, and would be equally in favour of the spade over the plough, and the distaff over the spinning-jenny; but, with the good farmer, the man of intelligence, and capital, and industry, who did not obstinately adhere to the system and the implements of his forefathers—who considered the discoveries of science and reaped the profit of his own skill,—with such a man, he said, that competition would only do what it did in the case of all other articles—promote a healthy stimulus (hear). But it was supposed that they were to be inundated with a flood of foreign corn, and some imagined it would come on the waves of the ocean, and be delivered gratis at every man's door. It seemed only necessary to picture a plain in some distant part of Hungary or Poland, and it was at once invested with the power of growing 25 quarters to the acre to be delivered in 24 hours for a mere trifle at our own homes, without any remembrance of the inveterate habits of bad farmers and antiquated instruments, or the badness of the roads, or the want of transport; but when they had the example of Ireland at our own doors, governed by our own laws, infinitely less burdened with taxation than ourselves, with every facility for becoming the storehouse and the granary of this country, and when they saw a large portion of that country still waste, and affording annually a less and less supply, he said, with such an example before them of the difficulty of changing the habits of the people, they might have been spared a reference to the bugbear of inundation (cheers). But suppose that all at once there should be this inundation, the tenants could not pay so much rent, there must be a reduction, and this, in his opinion, was what would come of this groundless and hypothetical notion of a reduction of prices. He did not impute any selfish interests or motives to any one, but his own conviction was, that this was a landlord's question, and no one's else. To their honest and conscientious alarm they owed all the opposition to this measure, and all these lamentations. Not a word had been heard in that house when the import duty on linen and cotton and wool, and hats and boots, was reduced, and when the export of machinery had been allowed, and those changes which had been in accordance with the policy of this country for the last 20 years were adopted. All knew that the British lion was not then roused, and that the British sun did not then set for ever (loud laughter). It was only when corn and cattle, and hops and apples, were touched that they had heard of men denounced for abandoning their duty, and told that if they had been in India they would have all run away. The reason why he said that those fears were groundless and hypothetical was, that in consequence of the improvements in the science and practice of agriculture of late years, although the price of wheat had fallen 50 per cent., the rent had increased 16 or 17 per cent.; so that the price of wheat was no test of the production of the land, or of the rent which would be paid to the landlord. Although he admitted that at first some of their lordships might be very great sufferers, yet there was no panic in the country. No stimulus had been wanting to create it, but all the efforts had fallen still-born, whether made in or out of Parliament, at meetings, in the press, or at that great focus of alarm, No. 17, Old Bond-street (cheers), and notwithstanding the petition presented by the noble duke or the provincial assembly of very worthy men who were well paid for spending an agreeable day in London ("No, no"); but at least an assembly of such men who came to pass a day in London gratis, whether their expenses were paid or not he could not tell, did not constitute a panic. They could not set off such a meeting against the four months' discussion on the measure. There had been no proof of a panic from the farmers selling their stock or discharging their labourers, or of the tenants stopping improvement, notwithstanding their complete ruin, which had been so studiously explained to them; they did not throw up their farms; on the contrary, they renewed them, and land, notwithstanding the certainty of its being turned into waste, would most unaccountably fetch the accustomed price (loud cheers); nay, if any of their lordships would publicly announce that he would sell his estates for two or three years less than the present market price, the difficulty would not be to find a purchaser, but to select from the competitors for the property by whom he would be next week assailed (cries of "hear, hear"). Either the apprehensions were groundless, or there was good ground for them. If they were groundless, and if there was no reason to expect an inexhaustible supply of corn at a low price,—if it would be the same as in the Channel Islands, where with a power to select their own time for importation the average price was, in Jersey 50s., and in Guernsey 48s. to 50s.,—if the British farmers were as a body the most skilled farmers in the world, and if we had as good a climate and fertile a soil as any other, for in no other country in the world was the same quantity of wheat produced (hear),—if we had a better breed of cattle, better roads, and better markets, and cheaper labour for the quantity of work done—and that had been proved by the English labourers employed abroad in the construction of railways, who received double the wages of foreign labourers, and yet the capitalists found that they did more than double work;—if there were all these circumstances in our favour, how could the profits of agriculture or the rent of land materially fall? Or, suppose the price of

corn to fall 10s., as his noble friend opposite calculated, what was this but saying that except for the existing law, the people would obtain their corn 10s. a quarter cheaper, and that they were laying a tax in that proportion on the consumer, not one farthing of which went into the Exchequer, or into the pockets of the landlords, but which was consumed in the increased cost of production, and was just as much wasted as if it were cast into the sea? He entertained a very strong persuasion that the working man would be very little grateful to those who made him lay out all the produce of his industry in the purchase of mere necessities, and permitted him to expend nothing in the comforts, still less in the refinements which a civilised state of society furnished (hear). It seemed to be the great argument of the protectionists, that the producers of corn would derive great advantages from a continuance of the old system. Did any impartial and intelligent person suppose that an exclusion of foreign corn would have the effect of preventing a diminution in the value of land? It was notorious that land did not offer a better investment than any other mode of employing capital. The rents of land and the profits of agriculture yielded a very insufficient return for the capital devoted to those pursuits, and yet the laws which were intended to regulate production and to protect industry were passed by and for the landed interest. Still that interest made but little progress. No class came so often before Parliament for relief as did those who were engaged in the cultivation of land; none made so many and such piteous complaints; yet noble lords called upon Parliament to keep up a system which experience had shown to work so ill—a system of which no one could guarantee the continuance for three years. For such a system the aristocracy of the country placed themselves in a condition of great disadvantage, in lieu of occupying that position to which their wealth, character, and influence justly entitled them. For the sake of maintaining such a system they exposed the country to infinite uncertainty and confusion, while they exposed themselves to the hostility of those powerful associations which the wealth, the activity, and energy of the middle classes enabled them to form. It had been said, and he quite concurred in the opinion, that we ought to meet hostile tariffs with Free Trade. Sooner or late all negotiations with foreign countries upon such a subject must fail. Whenever treaties were entered into, it generally happened that in the long run one party or the other conceived that they were overreached. Whichever happened to yield to that persuasion immediately entertained an irresistible desire to break through the terms of the treaty; and that state of feeling led to never-ending disputes, and often to hostility; therefore he entertained a strong conviction that all nations would act prudently if they did that which was best for themselves, without too minutely inquiring whether other countries observed the strict rules of reciprocity. If the Governments of other countries acted upon unsound or illiberal principles, that was no reason why the people of England should not buy in the cheapest, and, if they pleased, sell in the dearest markets. If England did what was wise and prudent, other countries would soon follow her example. The recent history of our commercial intercourse with Germany appeared to him in a remarkable degree to illustrate and confirm the doctrines for which he had been contending. When the Zollverein commenced, in 1833, our exports to Germany fell to a very low point. In 1839, when our commercial policy underwent a change, our exports to Germany rose to 4,800,000*l.*; and in the year 1844 those exports rose to between 6,000,000*l.* and 7,000,000*l.* He would remind them also of our intercourse with France. When the revolution of 1830 took place in that country, there was a proposition for revising the commercial relations of France and England. He was one of the commissioners appointed by the Government of that day to arrange the terms of the treaty then about to be formed, and he was bound to say that the French Ministry were quite as eager as the representatives of England could be to conclude a treaty upon the fairest terms; but the result was not satisfactory, and our exports to France did not amount to 500,000*l.* till an alteration in the tariff took place, and then they rose until at length they reached 2,600,000*l.* The same principles, though in a different form, applied to Spain and Portugal. Their laws were absolutely prohibitory, yet British manufactures were to be found in those countries cheap and abundant. Prohibitions were vain, the smuggler always took care that wherever there was a large demand there should always be an abundant supply. In Switzerland, in Belgium, in the United States, the same rules were found uniformly to apply. The Emperor Napoleon, with all the means and appliances which he possessed, was not able to check the progress of the contraband trade, and it was even thought that his attempts to do so contributed to his downfall. In this country, with all the power that the Government possessed, we were not able to prevent the operation of the contraband trade. Formerly we could not do it in the case of silk, and now it is found to be equally impossible in the case of tobacco. The only way to put it down was to render the trade of the smuggler unprofitable, and it was highly encouraging to those who earnestly desired to witness the triumph of Free Trade principles, that at the present moment there was a Free Trade League in Paris with a duke at its head. It was well known that in the American Congress it had been proposed that no duties should in future be imposed, except for the purposes of revenue; and it was quite evident that the tendency of all public opinion must be towards a free intercourse between all nations. Restrictions upon trade were rapidly crumbling away, and would soon be forgotten amongst other antiquated systems. To promote Free Trade was to carry into effect the law of God. Freedom of commercial intercourse was a policy which gave and received the best guarantees for the preservation of that most inestimable blessing, peace. The present measure appeared to have been brought forward, not only with reference to our foreign policy, but also with regard to our domestic position, at a most favourable moment. He conceived it to be a measure founded upon the true interests of all classes as well as upon a comprehensive view of the varying circumstances and complicated interests of this great country (hear, hear).

SPEECH OF EARL GREY.

Earl GREY rose to resume the debate. He proceeded to say that the subject before the house had been both in and out of Parliament—in speeches and in pamphlets—so long and so fully discussed, that their lordships might be of opinion that no new argument could be now brought forward, and that they were anxious, therefore, to bring the debate to a close; and were it not that he had for many years taken a deep interest and an active part in the discussion of the question, he would have stood aloof in this, probably the last, battle to be fought betwixt Free Trade and monopoly. One of the reasons, however, which influenced him in rising was the feeling that a great impression had

been made on their lordships by the speech which they had listened to on the first night of the debate, from the noble lord the late Secretary for the Colonies, whose absence, from what he heard of the unfortunate cause of it, he very greatly lamented. He had listened to the speech in question with as much attention and delight as any of their lordships. His arguments were put with so much skill, and clothed in language of such extreme beauty, that for upwards of three hours he rivetted the attention of every noble lord who listened to him, and made listening to him—very different to what listening to many others was—not a labour, but a delight. He (Earl Grey) knew that some of the arguments in that speech had already been answered, especially by his noble friend who sat behind him. But it seemed to him that there were still portions of that speech to which it was requisite that their lordships' attention should be particularly called. He was not vain or presumptuous enough to suppose that he was fitted to enter into the lists with his noble friend, but he had such confidence in the power of truth that he believed that even in his (Earl Grey's) feeble hands the cause which he advocated might be sufficiently recommended to their lordships, and that he should be able to show to the satisfaction of the house that in some most important points of his noble friend's speech his noble friend was mistaken. Through the whole course of the debates it had struck him very forcibly that noble lords opposite had avoided an explicit avowal of that which he took to be the main object and aim of the Corn Laws. He thought it was clear that the real aim of those laws, and the object really intended by them, was to secure what was called a remunerating price for corn, or, in other words, to raise the price of food for the people by artificially restricting the supply (hear, hear). If, as he ventured to submit to their lordships it was, this was the real object of all these laws, it was one which required strong arguments to prove its expediency. Unless some very cogent reasons could be advanced for it, it must naturally be concluded that it was not scarcity and dearth, but plenty and cheapness in the food of the people which was to be desired. But although the proof of the necessity of raising the price of corn lay, as he thought, at the root of the matter, he must say that throughout all the speeches which their lordships had heard in opposition to this bill it must have struck them that the opponents of the measure had to a great extent evaded this question. There had been an attempt made to show that upon other and different grounds protection was necessary, and in particular, most of the noble lords who opposed the bill had told the house that the great object of the Corn Laws was really to secure a certain supply, and to save the empire from the great danger of depending on foreign nations for a supply of the most necessary article of national subsistence (hear). Without meaning any offence, he hoped he might be permitted to say that it was unfortunately out of his power to regard this as anything more than a colourable argument. Let him ask their lordships what they would say, supposing similar arguments under similar circumstances were urged by others. Would those noble lords who now defended the Corn Laws give implicit credit to such arguments? He would suppose, for instance, that the cotton manufacturers of this country, instead of manufacturing for the whole world, manufactured for this country only. He would suppose, also, that foreign cotton manufactures were virtually excluded by high protecting duties. Now, if the cotton manufacturers of this country were to come to their lordships' house under such circumstances, and say, "Oh, do not repeal those duties, or in the event of a war the population will be left without shirts and without gowns," he wanted to know whether their lordships would feel perfectly convinced that it was their disinterested alarm for the welfare of the consumers of cotton in this country which induced them to clamour for a continuance of high protecting duties. Would their lordships consider that these representations were made out of a just regard to the interests of the consumer? He must say, therefore, that he was a little incredulous, whether that which had excited so much enthusiasm at the protectionist meetings, and had attracted such crowds to Willis's Rooms that the noble dukes on the cross benches had been obliged to divide their forces, was a mere apprehension that at some future time our supplies from abroad might fail, and that, as a consequence of that failure, prices might rise to an extravagant height. He could not help suspecting that it was rather an apprehension of having too much corn now, and too low prices at the present time, than of having at some future time too little corn, and that corn too dear. Taking the latter apprehension, however, to exist in the minds of those who advocated a Corn Law, the groundlessness of the fear had been completely established by his noble and learned friend (Lord Brougham). His noble and learned friend's reference to the undoubted fact that Napoleon, in the height of his power, was not enabled to prevent the corn which was wanted in this country from coming into it, was conclusive on the subject. If they wanted further proof, he would refer their lordships to what had been said by his noble friend the late Secretary for the Colonies. His noble friend had contended, that it was one of the boldest and most laughable of paradoxes to maintain that competition did not tend to make articles cheaper. He (Earl Grey) on the other hand maintained that it was just such a paradox to assert that security for a certain and cheap supply of corn was not to be found in extending as widely as possible the sources from which supplies could be obtained, and by sweeping away artificial restrictions. Utterly rejecting then, as he did, the notion that this law was to be maintained, if it should be maintained, for any other purpose than restricting the supply and enhancing the price of corn, he would ask if this was a fair and legitimate object. His noble friend who sat behind him, had said that upon a bare calculation of the amount to which prices might be expected to fall when the Corn Laws were repealed, the existence of a Corn Law could not be considered as imposing a tax of less than 10,000,000*l.* sterling upon the people of this country (hear, hear). This charge was double the amount of the income-tax, and double that of the malt-tax, and it was imposed, as his noble friend justly observed, not for the purposes of the State, for not one farthing came into the Exchequer, but for the imaginary interests of a particular class. He said the imaginary interests of a class, because he really believed that the landholders themselves shared greatly in the evils which the existence of a Corn Law produced. Their lordships had been told, however, that this statement was an unfair representation of the fact, and that admitting that the price of corn was raised by a Corn Law, and admitting also that the payment of a higher price for food would in itself be a burden to the working classes, still they were not really injured by the protection which was given to agriculture, because the effect of the existing law was to keep up the wages of labour in the same proportion as it raised the price

of corn. This was the great argument used by his noble friend who spoke on Monday night. Now, it was clear that in the first instance, at all events, an increase in the price of food was a tax on the income of the working population, and therefore, before they determined to maintain the law on the ground that the labouring classes were compensated for this tax by a corresponding rise in their wages, they ought to be very sure that this was the fact. This point, however, which lay at the root of the matter, was very lightly passed over by his noble friend. His noble friend argued that if the prices of corn were reduced, wages also would be brought down, and the labouring population would be no gainers whatever by the reduction in the price of food. That was certainly a very easy way of disposing of the question, but it was not satisfactory to his (Earl Grey's) mind, and his noble friend had made an admission in the course of his speech which seemed to him (Earl Grey) to lead to a directly opposite conclusion. His noble friend admitted that wages did not vary year by year with the price of corn. He said that in cheap years the labourer had no doubt a temporary advantage; and that as in dear years wages did not instantly rise in a corresponding ratio with the price of corn, he was for some time a considerable sufferer. The experience, however, which they had in the last few years was perfectly decisive on that question. He would compare the years 1833, 1834, and 1835, when corn was plentiful, with the years 1839, 1840, and 1841, when it was dear. In the first of these triennial periods trade was good, there was a great demand for labour, and wages were consequently high. In the years 1839, 1840, and 1841, trade was slack, there was very little demand for labour, and wages were low. The condition of the country at that time was too recent, and made too great an impression, to require him to dwell upon it. There could be no doubt that the difficulties experienced in these bad years could be easily accounted for. When corn rose to a very high price, every family throughout the kingdom was obliged to spend a larger portion of its income on food than was the case in other years. There was, therefore, less of available income for other purposes. There was less demand for clothing, less demand for tea and sugar, and less demand for manufactures. The trade of the manufacturers and the merchants fell off, and consequently there was a general diminution of their power of employing labour, and a general diminution in the power of production. His noble friend admitted this to be the working of high prices for corn, and he (Earl Grey) wanted to know what ground there was for supposing that any difference would occur if high prices became permanent instead of temporary. He believed that if the price of food was permanently high the result would be the same as that produced by occasional high prices, namely, that less employment would be given, leading of course to low wages. On the contrary, if low prices prevailed, industry was better employed—there was a great demand for labour, and wages rose. This was the conclusion which he thought they had a right to infer from simple reasoning; but the correctness of that reasoning was borne out by the fact that when their lordships looked to other countries, where there was permanent plenty and a low price of food, unless there were some countervailing circumstances, wages were invariably high. A noble earl who had spoken on the other side had said that wages were not regulated by the price of food, because, although in America and Australia, where food was cheap, wages were high; yet in Poland, where food was also cheap, wages were low. Poland, however, was not a fair instance to cite, as that country was kept down by misgovernment, and the unhappy social condition of its population; but he would challenge the noble earl to mention any country in the world, beginning from Canada, to Australia, where there was a small population in proportion to the extent of territory, and where food was cheap, and good order and good government prevailed, where wages were not also exceedingly high. This was an acknowledged fact, and the reason why wages were so high was simply on account of the abundance of food, which obliged employers to compete for labour instead of finding that which took place in this country, where labour was compelled to compete for employment. The Corn Laws in this country inflicted on us a double disadvantage, for while they enhanced the price of food, they depressed the rate of wages. He observed that a noble marquis denied that conclusion, but he hoped that if there were any defect in the chain of reasoning by which he had arrived at that conclusion, it might be pointed out to him before the termination of the debate. If such, however, was really the operation of the Corn Law on the condition of the labourers, that fact in itself ought to be conclusive. As a Christian legislature, if they were only satisfied of that fact, no other argument ought to be necessary to induce them to sweep away these restrictions altogether. When he looked at the condition of the labourers in this country—when he saw the frightful condition to which the agricultural labourer was reduced in Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, and other counties—when he knew how low their remuneration was even in other more favoured counties—and when he knew that the working of the Corn Law was at once to depress wages and to raise the price of food, it was of no further use to argue the question. Taking what he assumed to be the case as true, it was of no use for noble lords to come down to the house and state at what very low prices large quantities of foreign corn might be introduced into this country. Noble lords might excite panic and needless alarm by making such declarations; but supposing them to be right in their views upon this part of the case, though he believed them to be wrong, and assuming that the price of corn would fall to the extent which they supposed, then the wrong done to the labourer was only so much the greater. While he stated this, however, he must at the same time say that he thought it a great evil that any such panic should be created. It was well known that, in 1842, those who were called "the farmers' friends" did the farmers very great injury by their predictions of what would take place. The farmers, many of them at least, were gulled by prophecies of the great fall which would take place in the price of meat, and they were induced to rush to market, and get rid of their property for less than it was worth; and he believed that at this moment the country was still suffering from the effects of that panic (hear, hear, hear). He hoped, therefore, that no panic would be created, and he was happy to find from all the information which had reached him, that it was not likely that any such panic would be excited. He found that land was never better let, and never sold better than at the present moment (hear, hear). He believed that the demand for draining tiles was at this moment particularly active, and so great was the desire to use them that, when a kiln of draining tiles was known to be ready, there was quite a competition among the farmers of the neighbourhood to obtain them. He thought that in this the farmers and

occupiers of land showed much judgment. He believed that all the calculations which had been made of the price at which corn could be sold in this country, if protection were taken away, were made without proper data; and while upon this point he could not help adverting to a statement made by his noble friend (Lord Stanley) who spoke on Monday night, and which had been furnished to his noble friend by a high practical authority. His noble friend told the house that there were two cargoes of wheat at Liverpool, which his correspondent had purchased at twenty-three shillings and sixpence a qr. Now, as this statement seemed to him to be a specimen of those which had been made upon this part of the question, he would read a short extract from a letter which he had received from Liverpool:—"It is perfectly true that Lord Stanley's correspondent holds two cargoes of wheat, imported from the Danube, which cost him the price named in his letter. The natural inference is, that wheat can be shipped from the Danube at 14s. per quarter, free on board. Nothing, however, could be more fallacious. The cargoes in question were ordered in 1844 from Ibrail by a house in Manchester, by whom they were sold at a loss of 10s. per quarter. The original cost was about 33s. per quarter, including freight; but (thanks to the glorious uncertainty of the sliding scale) they were too late to be released at the lowest point of duty in that year, and were sold to the said gentleman at 23s. 6d. Now, to adduce this as any evidence of the shipping prices of wheat is equally absurd and unfair. As well might railway shares, selling at 50 per cent. discount, be adduced to indicate cheapness of construction. As regards Hungary, and other countries contiguous to the Mediterranean, Lord Stanley's ideas of their capabilities of supply are a mere chimera."

Under 35s. per quarter, free on board, for middling qualities of wheat, I venture to say we shall get no additional supply of any magnitude from that quarter. Freights thence, too, are nearly double, compared with freights from the Baltic. To return to Lord Stanley's correspondent, I may mention that he actually bought yesterday a cargo of red Wismar wheat, just arrived, at about 45s. per quarter, which, allowing 10s. for duty, charges, and profit, would make it stand 55s. per quarter free. This, at all events, proves he has no great practical fears of the effects of the new measure, however potent his theoretical may be. Lord Stanley wished to make it appear that wheat could be imported from the Danube at 14s. per quarter; the present price is 25s., which may appear low enough; but it is wheat of the most inferior description, mixed with rye and black seeds, and not within 15s. per quarter of the value of good Dantzic wheat, besides which it often arrives so heated as to be unfit for bread" (hear, hear, hear). It appeared, therefore, that taking into consideration the risk of heating, and the quality of the corn, wheat could not be brought into this country and sold at a lower price than that which British wheat now bore in the market. He thought that the result of former predictions of the same kind ought to teach those who were interested in the land how little reliance ought to be placed on such predictions. He would take, for instance, the case of wool. His noble friend had said that wool was a strong case in point, and that as the price of that article was very much relied on by the Free Traders, he would show how the price had been affected by the reduction of the duty. His noble friend then took the prices of wool in the years immediately preceding the removal of the duty, and the prices of wool in the years immediately subsequent, and endeavoured in this way to show what had been the effect of a removal of protection. But what were the real facts of the case? The duty on wool was reduced just at the time of the panic in 1833. After that time the trade and commerce of the country declined considerably, and the price of wool went down like the price of other articles. For some years the price remained low, and he remembered that in 1828 there was a committee of that house moved for to consider this subject by his noble friend the noble duke (the Duke of Richmond) who sat on the cross benches. A great number of farmers were brought before that committee to show that wool was then at a ruinously low price. These parties proved, with great minuteness and detail, what advantages the foreign producer of wool had over the home grower, and they stated that the low prices which had already been experienced were nothing to what was coming, and that when there was Free Trade in wool, prices would fall to a ruinous extent. Parliament was wise enough to listen to those apprehensions, and what was the result of that wisdom? The result was that in one or two years after the alteration was carried into effect wool recovered, the price rose, the manufacture improved; and from that moment to the present wool was one of the greatest articles of agricultural production (hear, hear, hear). The noble duke (the Duke of Richmond), he perceived, shook his head at that statement; but he would remind the noble duke that although a good deal of wool was produced in Sussex, yet there was also a great deal of wool produced in Cumberland, so that he (Earl Grey) had an excellent opportunity of becoming acquainted with the facts of this case; and he could state that from 1828 up to this time wool had maintained a good price, and was higher than it had been before the removal of the duty (hear, hear). If, then, the predictions as to the loss which was to result from a free competition in the case of wool had not turned out to be true, were they not justified in supposing that the predictions as regarded the probable effects of the proposed change in the Corn Laws would be equally fallacious (hear, hear)? When the tariff was under consideration, the greatest possible apprehensions were entertained by some as to the effect which the permission to introduce foreign cattle was calculated to produce upon the price of corn. It was stated that if stock were allowed to come in from foreign countries free from duty, the effect of such an alteration would be virtually to repeal the Corn Laws, for the same agricultural produce which could be produced cheaply in foreign countries could be sent into this country in the more portable shape of fat stock. That argument would be very forcible and well founded if corn could in reality be produced so cheaply in foreign countries as those who relied on the argument presumed. If such were the case, cheap agricultural produce could indeed be introduced in the more portable shape of fat sheep and oxen. They all knew that the apprehension as to the effect of the reduction of duty on stock, as regarded agricultural produce, was quite fallacious, and had now altogether passed away. His noble friend (Lord Stanley), in his speech on Monday night, dwelt very forcibly upon the argument which had been used by some, that the present high price of cattle was owing to the tariff; and he (Earl Grey) must remark that notwithstanding the fears which were entertained, four years' experience of the tariff had altogether disproved the assertion that the introduction of foreign cattle would have the effect of lowering the price of cattle the produce of our

own country. If it were capable of producing any such tendency, it might have produced it at the end of four years at least to some extent; and yet within the last year the supply of cattle from abroad was not sufficient to check the tendency to a rise in price which prevailed in our own markets, whilst the few thousand head of cattle exported from Germany had produced a sensible effect upon the markets of that country, so that in many of the German towns the price of the fat stock was within a small degree as high as in this country. Similar apprehensions had been indulged in with respect to the reduction of the duty upon flax; and, in fact, of all the important articles of agricultural produce which were included in the tariff. But although flax was more valuable in proportion to its bulk than corn, yet subsequent experience had proved that the British growers of flax had no just cause of fear from foreign competition. His noble friend (Lord Stanley) had asked those who were in favour of the removal of restriction on the importation of corn, what advantage would come of it, if, as they stated, it would not considerably reduce the price of bread? His noble friend thought on that occasion that he had reduced the advocates of Free Trade in corn to a dilemma from which they could not escape. It seemed rather a probable argument in the beginning, but if they looked closely to it what became of it? It was quite fallacious. For his part, he (Earl Grey) did not assert that there would be a great fall in the price of corn, and he was one of the advocates for the removal of restriction. He did not think it would cause as low a price as 36s. per quarter, which they all had witnessed in the last week of December, 1835, nor did he think it would produce as high a price as 81s. 6d., which corn had reached, as their lordships would recollect, in the week ending the 11th of January, 1839. But this he expected, that whilst neither that high price or that low price would be the natural result of the alteration in the law, an average price would be produced by it, but not greatly lower than the average of the last twelve years, and that the price of corn would invariably fluctuate within narrower limits than it does under the present system. The fact of its fluctuating less would be in itself a most important advantage, for it would be admitted on all hands that great benefit would arise from a more steady price. One of the greatest advantages which a civilized country could possess over barbarous countries was its power of preventing those great variations in supply which barbarous countries were apt to suffer from, the latter having at one time a superabundant supply of the necessities of life, and suffering the utmost distress at another period from a deficient supply of food (hear, hear). Civilized countries, by the natural operations of commerce, enjoyed very great advantages as regarded the steadiness of supply. By those natural operations of commerce, mercantile men, for their own interest, would buy corn in cheap years for the purpose of selling it in dear years; and according to this beautiful system, if it were not interfered with by law, the prices would be to a great extent regulated, the alterations would be checked, and the suffering which must result from an insufficient supply would be removed without injury to any class (cheers). The wholesome operation of this system we had prevented by our own interference, by the operation of an artificial law. It appeared from evidence before the agricultural committee of 1836, that at a former period, when a different state of the law rendered dealing in corn less hazardous than it is at present, there was usually in this country a stock on hand of six months' consumption; but such had been the effect of the law of 1815, in rendering the corn trade hazardous, that the usual stock on hand now at the same period of the year was a fortnight's consumption. What had caused that? It was caused by a law which rendered the trade in corn a sort of gambling transaction (hear, hear). His noble friend had stated that some of the agricultural distress which was complained of under the operation of a system of protection was to be referred to abundant crops in particular years, and the consequent effect upon prices. Why was it that farmers had exerted themselves to such an extent as to exceed the demand that would be profitable? It was because high prices had been artificially stimulated, and excess of consumption thus became a cause of agricultural distress. So long as the country depended on its own supply there must be a chance of agricultural distress; but if the supply were more regular, if a steady trade were established in corn, then in cheap years the freight of corn from foreign ports would be much higher in comparison to the price of corn than it would be in dear years, and therefore, there being less inducement to exportation from foreign ports in those years, there would be the greater inducement in the home market to take our home produce instead of foreign corn, so that under such a system the farmer would be compensated for the fall in price by the greater sale of corn than usual; for he (Earl Grey) would not go the length of saying that corn would not be cheaper in years of abundance, even after this measure was carried (hear, hear). Another advantage, and one of, in fact, incalculable importance, would be, that there would be an immense increase in the consumption of corn on the part of the people of this country; for no one would, he was sure, deny that a portion of our population consume at present much less corn than it was desirable that they should consume (hear, hear). Every one would admit that the labourers of Wiltshire and Dorsetshire, who at present consume more potatoes and less bread than it was desirable they should consume, would be benefited by being enabled to consume a greater quantity of food than they consume under the existing law (hear, hear). He knew that one gentleman, who advocated the Corn Laws, had stated that millions rejoiced in potatoes; but he (Earl Grey) believed that they would rejoice more in the substitution of a description of food mainly composed of corn (hear, hear). He (Earl Grey) was of opinion, notwithstanding that statement, that those millions would rejoice far more in a food consisting more of bread and less of inferior articles of consumption, than that which they can under existing circumstances obtain. He had described some of the advantages which were to be expected from a Free Trade in corn. A steady trade, which it was calculated to produce, would secure constant employment to the manufacturer; and those engaged in manufactures would thus become greater consumers of corn and cattle than they are at present. And what would be the effect of that increased consumption of articles of agricultural produce? The effect would be, that an impulse would be given to the farmers to produce more cattle than they do now; and he need not tell their lordships that the foundation of every attempt to improve agriculture was to enable the farmer to keep a larger amount of stock, and that if the farmer had encouragement to keep more stock, he could produce corn cheaper (hear, hear). The direct effect, therefore, of this increased demand would be to cause agricultural improvement, and he believed that

agriculture—which might now be regarded as almost in its infancy—would, under these improved and favourable circumstances, advance with a rapidity of which we had now but little notion (cheers). This was one of the advantages which he anticipated from the proposed alteration in the law, and it was an advantage which, he was convinced, could be obtained without any sweeping away of tenantry, such as had been described by the noble duke (Richmond) on Monday (cries of “hear, hear”). He (Earl Grey) should be as sorry as the noble duke to witness any such sweeping change in the tenantry of the country as the noble duke anticipated from this measure, if carried into effect; but he felt that no such change would be required, for the farmers were disposed to improve the cultivation, and, as his noble friend had remarked, the effect of foreign competition could only be felt by degrees. The cultivation could therefore be improved and extended to meet that foreign competition. His noble friend had said that some time would elapse before the foreign competition could come into effect; but he (Earl Grey) thought it rather an advantage that the progress of the competition should be gradual, and that the increased cultivation abroad for this market should be accompanied by an increased cultivation at home—a cultivation which would have all the benefit of the skill and energy of our farmers (hear, hear). Amongst the causes which would operate to improve our agriculture, he would mention a change in the law to facilitate the conveyance of landed property as one that was calculated to do a great amount of good if carried into effect. Under those circumstances he was of opinion that the removal of protection would afford the strongest possible encouragement to improved farming, and increased production; and their lordships were all aware, from their acquaintance with the subject of the cultivation of land, that improved farming implied more employment to labour (hear, hear, hear)—that by higher farming the employment of more hands on the land, and their employment more continuously, were necessarily implied (hear, hear, hear). Part of the evidence before a committee moved for by a noble friend of his was to the effect that the farmers in the south of England were obliged, in order to keep down the poor rates, to employ more hands on their land than under other circumstances they would be inclined to do, but he (Earl Grey) would undertake to say that there was no farm in England on which every man now employed—aye, and more than were now employed—might not be employed with profit and advantage, with a better demand for agricultural produce (loud cheers). [A noble lord remarked that the increased employment would require increased capital.] All that was required in order to make capital flow towards the improvement of the land was to remove the uncertainty caused by the present system of protection (cheers). It appeared to him that any one who soberly and deliberately considered the subject, would see that the effect of the measure now before them would not be to throw land in this country out of cultivation (hear, hear). He was so far from supposing the effect of the measure would be to throw land out of cultivation, that he thought they might date a new progress in the cultivation of land from the removal of protection (loud cheers). Another anticipation which had been indulged in as regarded the probable effects of the measure, was a fall of rent, and that too was an anticipation which he did not expect to see realised. What was it, he would ask, to which they owed the value of landed property in this country? There was infinitely better land than 50 out of every 100 portions of this country in the prairies and wilds of America, which might be bought at 2s. 6d. an acre; and what was it which made our land, that was so much less fertile, so much superior in value to that land in America (hear, hear, hear)? It was the existence in this country of a large, an industrious, and a rich population (hear, and cheers). That and that only it was which gave value to the landed property in this country, and it was only consistent with common reason to suppose that anything which went to increase the national wealth, and develop the national industry, and increase the prosperity of the realm, would also increase the value of landed property (hear, hear, and cheers). His noble friend (Lord Stanley), in his speech on Monday night, adduced the case of Ireland, which being an exporting instead of an importing country, would necessarily suffer a great deal from the proposed measure. He (Earl Grey) could show their lordships that no part of the United Kingdom would gain so largely from the passing of this law as the sister kingdom; but he had already gone so largely into the question that he would not enter upon the subject of its probable effect upon Ireland at that stage of the bill, and he would now direct the attention of their lordships to another point, which had been dwelt upon very forcibly by his noble friend on Monday night. The noble lord produced a great impression on the house by describing the effect which this measure would be likely to create upon the condition of our colonies and upon our interests as connected with the maintenance of our colonial possessions. That was a subject of very great importance, and he (Earl Grey) was so impressed with the high value which ought to be laid on the preservation of our colonial empire, that he believed if this law would shake the security of that empire, or its connection with the mother country, it would deserve the gravest consideration before they agreed to repeal the present system of protection. He, however, entertained unhesitatingly the conviction that, so far from being a disadvantage to the colonies—so far from having a tendency to weaken the ties which unite them to us, the adoption, in the largest sense and in the most complete manner, of the principles of commercial freedom, was the policy of all others, which was best calculated to strengthen those ties (loud cheers). His noble friend had asked, that if the colonists were told that they were no more to this country than Frenchmen or Dutchmen, what inducement would they have to wish to be united to this country? To that he (Earl Grey) would answer, that his noble friend should recollect that by this measure it was not proposed to apply the principle of the removal of restriction to the colonies exclusively, but it was merely intended to apply to them a principle which we proposed to apply to ourselves (hear, hear). Would any one say that Cumberland and Yorkshire would be treated badly by this measure because we did not leave them a protective duty (hear, hear)? If our own counties, then, were to be treated in the same manner by this bill as the colonies, then the colonies had no reason to complain. He could understand how some persons in the old country, where there was a great competition for employment, could be induced to take a narrow view of the subject, and thus be could see how it was that many persons had been induced to form the opinion that protection was an advantage, and that it was not wise to let in foreign goods to compete with our home market, but with respect to the colonies there was no such difficulty as that competition for employment (hear). On the contrary, in every one of

our own colonies, the great difficulty was to find sufficient labour to develop fully its natural resources; and if the effect of the proposed system should be to divert labour in the colonies to its natural and most productive channels, instead of to artificial and unproductive channels, there could be no doubt that it would be an advantage to our colonies (hear, hear). Could any one doubt that Canada was poorer now than she would have been if there never had been a protective duty in favour of her timber (hear, hear)? If, instead of letting into our markets bad timber, when we could have had good, we had never adopted that system, Canada would be better off; and the same principle would apply to all our colonies. The colonies had received no advantage from protecting duties, whilst in many cases those duties had been directly injurious to them. The West Indies had suffered from not having been allowed to get their necessities in the cheapest market, or to send their supplies in the cheapest form to this country. They gained nothing by protection, and as regarded the effect of commercial dependence in strengthening the ties between the colonies and this country, he would put it to their lordships whether the system of commercial dependence had in reality strengthened the ties between the colonies and the mother country. Did they not all know that jealousy, arising from that commercial dependence, had produced that American war, which ended in the loss of those extensive colonies to the Crown of this country (hear, hear)? He would not say that in their present state of importance those states would have been kept in dependence on the British Crown; but they might have parted from us in a different manner, and without leaving any feeling of jealousy towards the mother country, if it had not been for commercial dependence (hear, hear, and laughter). He was rather surprised that his noble friend, in the course of his speech, touched on the colonies for an illustration; for he thought that the principle with respect to trade which he had adopted towards the colonies was not, to say the least of it, very fortunate. Under that policy the corn of Canada was allowed into this country at a nominal duty, whilst that advantage was not given to any other colony. That advantage had been given to Canada almost avowedly because it had been recently in a state of rebellion, but it was refused to those which had been always obedient and loyal (hear, hear, and cheers); and he (Earl Grey) thought that such a course of policy was calculated to excite a spirit of disaffection (hear, hear). His noble friend asked, if we were to have no advantage in the markets of the colonies, of what use were they to us? He would be permitted to say that such a mode of argument was rather defective. It was those who defended protection who were to prove that it was good; but how did they prove it? They said that if they did not keep up protection they would lose the colonies. They said they kept the colonies by a protective duty, and they then turned round and said, if they did not keep up protection, of what use were the colonies? That was a specimen of what was called arguing in a circle. He believed that the connection between the colonies and the mother country was a mutual advantage, requiring no such support to maintain it. In our colonial empire we possessed friends and allies in every quarter of the globe—we had thus a large population in various parts of the world, possessing great natural resources, united heart and soul with us, ready to take part with us in all our conflicts—and thus we maintained in each possession a garrison of the cheapest kind, whilst they gloried in the security of being an integral part of the greatest and most enlightened, and most civilised nation upon the face of the earth (hear, hear, and cheers). They gloried—and he knew that they felt it as a glory in calling themselves British subjects, and in having their interests and rights protected by the power of this country, which was ready to be called forth to maintain their interests when it was required (hear). He believed that if they pursued a liberal policy in other respects towards the colonies, by extending to them the dearest rights of Englishmen, the privilege of self-government, and not needlessly interfering in their domestic concerns—that if they adopted a sound policy, politically as well as commercially, they would bind them with a chain which no power on earth could break. His noble friend told their lordships that this country had encouraged Canada to expend large sums of money in the improvement of their navigation, and that we had encouraged Canada to impose a duty on wheat from the United States; he said that this had been done on the faith of the Corn Law, and he asked would it not be unjust to the Canadians to alter that law on the faith of which they had acted? His noble friend described the route for commerce by Canada, and through the United States, and after detailing the effects which he anticipated from this measure, he asked what chance would the Canadians have to compete with the United States if this law were carried? The noble lord continued: Now I want to know what are the feelings of the Canadians themselves upon the subject, for surely that is an important point (hear, hear). My noble friend says “hear, hear.” Now I hold in my hand a newspaper containing a report of the debates in the Canadian Assembly, which I will presently read. Her Majesty’s Government, when they determined on repealing the existing Corn Laws, addressed the Canadian Legislature, saying that they were at liberty to repeal the duty of 3s. a quarter on American wheat, which at our instigation they had imposed (cries of “hear, hear”). Accordingly a measure for the repeal of that duty was submitted to the Canadian senate, on which occasion it happened that a motion for reporting progress was carried, and that was assumed to be a declaration on the part of the Canadian Assembly that they were altogether hostile to the measures of the Government. What, however, was the fact? It seems that that amendment was carried, almost under a misapprehension, from the parties not exactly understanding the effect of the vote; for a few days afterwards, when the consideration of the subject was resumed, and a vote was to be taken, the result was very different. I have read the speeches on the subject, and instead of finding them characterised by a tone of despondency—instead of crying out against the injustice of this country—instead of lamenting the ruin to which they were to be liable, the utter destruction of their great public works, and of their commercial interests, I am happy to say that, by the majority of that assembly, language far more manly and more creditable was held. They say, “As England will no longer give us protection, let us see if we can’t do without it; and as the first step, let us repeal this duty on American corn. We can grow corn cheaper than America” (hear, hear). One gentleman says that he has been over to Buffalo, and that he finds corn there always 8d. or 6d. per bushel dearer than he can afford to give in Upper Canada. Another says, “Our public works were never in a more promising state, and when they are completed we shall enter with great advantage into competition with America. The locks upon

the Erie canal are much more numerous and more expensive in working than those upon the St. Lawrence. We can then not only carry our own corn, but the corn of the western states through the St. Lawrence, cheaper than the Americans can carry it by the Erie canal” (hear, hear, hear). When they came to divide upon the question, I find those who are in favour of repealing the duty, who have no fear in the success of Canadian energy and Canadian enterprise in opposition to American are in a majority of 45 to 27. The resolutions were carried by that majority, and the Canadian assembly determined on admitting American corn for passage through their country to England (hear, hear). But, my lords, my noble friend said something more. My noble friend said that this was treatment so unjust to the Canadas, that he thought it was calculated to shake their feeling of loyalty to the British Crown. I confess I heard that language with great regret; because I think he prophesied a diminution in the strength of those ties which now unite the people of Canada to ourselves in such a manner as almost to imply that they would be justified in disregarding our claims upon their loyalty (hear, hear). But, my lords, in the same week in which the Canadian assembly had been discussing the effect which the change of our commercial policy would produce, a militia bill is brought under their consideration, and with your permission I will read to the house a passage from a Canadian newspaper, containing a summary of what passed on that occasion:—“Dr. Taché made an admirable speech—temperate, argumentative, and well-timed. No appeal was made to party feeling, no attempt to enlist sectional prejudice. It was a speech which will raise the character of the honourable gentleman immeasurably in the opinion of all who heard him. It would be well for Canada if such addresses were more frequent—if measures of such importance were always taken up in the calm, deliberate manner that this has been, and with a disposition on both sides of the house in endeavouring to make a perfect measure. After stating the objections which he had to certain clauses, Dr. Taché concluded by suggesting that the bill should be referred to a special committee.—Mr. Lafontaine followed and treated the question in the same admirable spirit; he agreed in the suggestion of Dr. Taché, and hoped it would be complied with; he assured the Attorney-General that every aid which could be given by that side of the house would be freely afforded to perfect a measure of such importance to the country.—Mr. Draper, after some remarks from other members, moved to refer the house to a select committee, which was carried unanimously.—Thus the bill, which has been looked upon as one over which the great battle of the session was to be fought, has virtually passed through the house without an angry word. We congratulate the country on the event of last evening: the members on the Opposition benches acted in a manner which did them honour, and entitles them to the thanks of the country. We feel convinced that the conduct of the French-Canadian members has done very much to create a better feeling between them and their fellow-colonists of British origin. No man who saw the demonstration of last evening could feel a doubt, that in case of need, they would be found shoulder to shoulder with the Anglo-Saxon in defence of our territory and the honour of the British crown.” These are the effects of our commercial policy in weakening the ties between the two countries (hear, hear). The result then, my lords, of these considerations is in my mind sufficient to prove that the passing of the bill now before your lordships is imperatively required in justice to the great mass of the people of this country; whilst it also proves that by adopting that course we run no risk of inflicting the slightest injury or any interest, either colonial or domestic (hear, hear). I believe that none of the great interests of the empire will be exposed to the slightest risk by passing this bill; but on the other hand, I believe that by rejecting it you will run serious hazards, and incur great responsibilities. I would remind the noble duke (the Duke of Richmond) that at an early part of this evening, when the petition of the merchants of the city of London was presented by the noble earl, he asked a very significant question, “How many of the signers of that petition are holders of bonded corn?” Do you not think that we all know the *inuenudo* conveyed by the question (hear, hear)? But I wish to ask whether, if we reject this bill, my noble friend’s example will not lead those who think themselves injured by this bill to ask how many of your lordships are owners of land. I do not believe that consciously any of your lordships are actuated by personal motives; but after what has been said by my noble friend, I believe that when you impute to others interested motives, interested motives will in their turn be imputed to you (hear, hear, hear). And I believe though you are not yourselves conscious of it, yet that unconsciously you are influenced in your decisions by the effect which you believe this bill will have on the interests of the owners of land; it is not in human nature that it should be otherwise. And, though I admit that the noble duke was justified in putting the question which he did, yet I ask what effect will be produced on the public mind if we, an assembly of landowners, reject this bill, the more especially after the manner in which it has come up to us from the lower house (hear, hear, hear). My lords, I trust before you take a course which seems to me so full of danger that you will reflect a little on what the practical consequences of this measure will be. As men of judgment and experience I am sure you will not act with the view of gratifying mere passion or temper; that you will not inquire into the changes of the Minister who has introduced it; but that you will consider before rejecting this bill, what practical advantages to yourselves and to the nation will result from your adopting such a course (hear, hear). What are those supposed advantages? Do you believe that you can maintain permanently the existing Corn Law? Looking at the events of the last few years, I ask, will any one of the three noble dukes, now on the cross benches, say they believe it possible that by any combination of circumstances the existing Corn Law can be much longer maintained? [An affirmative “hear, hear” from the Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Cleveland, and the Duke of Buckingham, and general laughter.] I think my noble friends stand nearly alone in that opinion (“No, no,” from several noble lords). I can only say that the noble earl who spoke on Tuesday with great animation, and at great length on this subject, stated that he for one did not look to the permanent defeat of the proposed measure. He expects that some alteration of the Corn Laws will be carried. All he looked for was what he called giving the country “breathing time” (hear). If by giving the country “breathing time” it is meant that we should allow an interval for reflection, that an appeal should be made to the country, I confess that that seems to me one of the greatest misfortunes that could happen. A dissolution of Parliament at this exciting time—

town arrayed against county—the angry passions that will be excited—the suspension of industry and trade—the absolute paralysation of all the enterprise of the country that must exist during that mighty contest—are all these, the inevitable consequence of a dissolution, to be desired, if after all the result is still to be the passing of this bill (hear, hear)? The result, however, would not be precisely the same, for I believe the consequence would be the passing of a bill for the immediate and entire repeal of all duties. But we are not to look to maintaining permanently the existing Corn Law; let me ask the noble lords whether they do really believe that by throwing out this bill they could obtain anything of a compromise, on the principle of a fixed duty for example, which I know has been thought of? My noble friend the other evening threw out many hints in order to catch the parties who are in favour of that measure, and my noble friend said it would be inconsistent for those who had before supported a fixed duty to vote for the present bill. I disagree with my noble friend; I have myself supported a fixed duty. In 1842 I thought that a fixed duty would, on the whole, be the best settlement of the question that could then be proposed, and I then urged its adoption; but not with a view to protection, for I have uniformly, and on every occasion, objected to the whole principle of what is called protection. At that time, however, I thought that a moderate fixed duty was advisable for one reason, because I thought it would produce a little perceptible effect on the price of corn, whilst it would afford a considerable revenue; but chiefly I thought it advisable because I regarded it as a reasonable compromise, because I believed that it would give us, some years sooner than we could hope to obtain it by other means, the practical advantages which I saw from Free Trade, and that it would avert the great and most injurious struggle which I foresaw. But, even at that time, when I was advocating a fixed duty, I took the liberty of warning those gentlemen who were then supporting the Government that they were supporting a measure which must necessarily lead at no very distant day to entire Free Trade. I told them that if they desired a fixed duty the days and hours when a fixed duty could be accepted were rapidly passing away—that they must close with the offer as it was made, for that if that measure were not quickly conceded, such a settlement would in my opinion be impracticable (hear, hear). That anticipation was correct. If you had passed a moderate fixed duty in 1842, it would have been accepted by the country; but I am firmly persuaded that if Parliament were to pass such a measure now, the country would not be satisfied. Agitation would still continue; and, as one deeply interested in land, there is nothing which I should so much deprecate as the legislature now sanctioning a measure for a fixed duty. The consequence would be a continuation for some years longer of the agitation which has of late been going on, and which, I believe, of all things is most deeply detrimental to the landed interest (hear, hear). But even if such a measure were likely to be accepted by the country, let me ask how is it to pass through Parliament? By what party can a measure for a fixed duty now be carried? Certainly not by the existing Government, for we know that they pledged themselves within the last week or two to consent to nothing of the kind. The whole tone of their declaration has been that a fixed duty is perfectly out of the question—that protection might be right, but that the alternative was between protection, as it then existed, and Free Trade—that to make corn the subject of mere taxation, to impose a duty on food for mere purposes of revenue, was a proposition to which they never would assent (hear, hear). Then the great party who is opposed to them, will they do it? My noble friend, who with such distinguished ability conducts that party in the other House of Parliament has publicly declared that in December last he was prepared to form a Government on the principle of the immediate and complete repeal of the Corn Laws. Can he, then, and those connected with him, take up a measure, after that declaration, which has been rejected by the present Government as not going sufficiently far? We all know that my noble friend is the last man in the world to listen to such a suggestion (cheers). To expect him to come forward and propose a measure for a fixed duty now is altogether irrational and improbable (hear, hear). Then there is a third party, as they call themselves at least. There is my noble friend who made so eloquent a speech on Monday night, and the noble duke on the cross bench—are they prepared to form a Government and to propose that measure? I should think, after the very severe language which they have held in the course of the last few weeks on the subject of inconsistency, deserting pledges, eating words, and so on, that they would be the last persons so to come forward; and but last year the most prominent members of that party declared that they never would consent to it—that Free Trade itself even was a less abomination in their eyes (cheers). Then there is nobody to propose it, and I really think that all idea of a fixed duty may at once be consigned to oblivion. I thought that if adopted at the proper time, and at the proper season, it would not have been a bad settlement of the question; but that time and that season having passed, you must decide between maintaining the law as it now stands, or the more complete measure of reform which is opposed to it (hear, hear). My noble friend (Lord Stanley) on Monday night warned us against the dangers of concession, and referred to ulterior measures which a speaker had alluded to at a League meeting.

Lord KINNAIRD: It was not a meeting of the League. Lord GREY continued: I am reminded that it was not a meeting of the League: whether it was or not is quite immaterial. I believe no man will attempt to defend all the speeches which have been made by all the members of the Anti-Corn-Law League. For my own part, I should certainly be very sorry to do so. I quite agree that the speech in question was a most absurd speech, and that the speaker referred to most vicious measures—to measures which, I trust, will never receive the sanction of Parliament (cheers). I am also prepared to admit that the existence of the Anti-Corn-Law League is a very great evil. I say it is a great evil—but let me not be misunderstood. Do not suppose that I mean to throw any blame on those individuals who are at the head of that body, for I have no hesitation in saying, however the declaration may be received in this house, that, in my opinion, this country owes a debt of gratitude to the leaders of that body, and more especially to Mr. Cobden (hear, hear). I say that to him, to his genius and to his indefatigable energy and perseverance—not to Sir R. Peel, not to that party in Parliament with which I have the honour of being connected, but to my honourable friend, Mr. Cobden, are we indebted for the achievement of what I believe to be one of the most important measures with reference to the future welfare of the British people which ever received the sanction of Parliament (hear, hear). To him

we should feel indebted. He has achieved this triumph by means altogether unexceptionable. There has been no appeal to physical force, no threatening displays of great multitudes of persons collected together. (A noble lord: Because he couldn't get them.) The noble lord says "because he couldn't get them." I attribute it, however, to a different cause. I believe it was because Mr. Cobden thought, and thought justly, that the proper way of acting on the opinion of Parliament was through the opinion of the nation. All his efforts have been addressed towards converting the opinion of the nation—towards teaching both farmers and manufacturers what the real interests of the community upon this subject were; and, my lords, considering the time in which this great change of opinion was attempted, I must say that his success appears to me almost miraculous (hear, hear). But still I say that the existence of the Anti-Corn-Law League is an evil; and I believe if you were to ask Mr. Cobden himself, he would tell you that he was of the same opinion. It is an evil, because such a body never can exist unless it is created by a strong feeling amongst a large proportion of the people that wrong and injury are being inflicted on them (hear, hear). It is, I believe, only a monster grievance which could have created such a formidable organisation as the Anti-Corn-Law League. But I agree with my noble friend (Lord Stanley) that, once created, the redress of the grievances complained of will not destroy in all quarters the desire to maintain that organisation. The noble lord, with the happy language peculiar to himself, said that the cup of political power was too sweet when once tasted to be readily relinquished. That is perfectly true, and no doubt there will be a great anxiety amongst many members of that body to keep up their formidable organisation, and to apply their powers to the carrying of other measures. It is consistent with all past experience that such should be the case. But what, let me ask you, is the inference you ought to draw from that consideration? Is it that you should keep up the grievance which has created that formidable power until the present sense of wrong, aggravated by disappointment, forces concession from you? The inference which I draw, my lords, on the contrary, is, that you ought with the least possible delay to repeal this law; and I may observe, in passing, that one great objection which I entertain to a portion of this bill is on account of the delay in adopting it; and if in accordance with the forms of Parliament we had the power of amending bills of this nature, I should certainly have liked to have altered the three years' provision; for that "rag of protection," as it was aptly termed the other evening, is only calculated to afford an excuse for those who wish to keep up the Anti-Corn-Law League—a power which, if kept up, it is not impossible we may see directed to other and more dangerous purposes (hear, hear, hear). My noble friend (Lord Stanley), in the course of his speech on Monday, went on to say, that if we consented to pass this measure, we must be content in future to be regarded as a subordinate part of the constitution—as the registrars of the edicts of the House of Commons. But my noble friend went on in the same breath to describe, in most beautiful and glowing language, the real purpose of this house. "My lords," he said, "if I know anything of the constitution and the value of this house, it is that it should interpose a wholesome and salutary obstacle to rash and inconsiderate legislation. It is to protect the people against the consequences of their own imprudence. It is not, my lords, it never has been, and never should be, to resist the expression of continued and deliberately-formed public opinion—to that your lordships have always, and I trust always will, bow; but it is yours to check the progress of hasty and irreparable legislation." In those words my noble friend, with his usual happiness of expression, detailed most accurately our proper place in the constitution of the country. As he told you, it is our office to check the progress of hasty and irreparable legislation, but not to oppose ourselves to continued and deliberately-formed public opinion (hear, hear). It is therefore of the deepest importance that we should discriminate between the cases. That we should distinguish accurately when the desire of the country for a change in the law does proceed from a hasty and inconsiderate passion for alteration, and when it rests on a continued and deliberately-formed opinion. It is of the deepest importance that we should accurately distinguish between these two cases, because if we make a mistake, if under the notion that we are opposing hasty legislation we do set ourselves against deliberately-formed and rational opinion, it is perfectly clear we must give way, and that by so giving way we seriously stake and impair our proper authority and power in those cases in which they really may be exercised with advantage to the country and to the constitution. In this case, then, it is your duty to determine whether the desire of the people, as represented by the votes of the House of Commons, is founded on a deliberately-formed opinion, or whether it is the cry of hasty and inconsiderate legislation. Let me ask you, what are the symptoms by which we are to judge? Let me remind you, in order that you may form an opinion on this point, which lies at the very bottom of the decision which you are this night to come to—let me remind you what are the symptoms which lead to the inference that the desire of the nation rests on a continued and deliberately-formed opinion. I will remind you, then, that the principles on which this bill was formed were first brought under the consideration of the public so long as eighty years ago, when the first edition of Dr. Adam Smith's immortal work was published, in which he laid down, with a force of reasoning which the experience of succeeding years has fully justified, that it was wise and just to emancipate commerce from all artificial restrictions. It was not long in working conviction in the minds of all theoretical men; every political philosopher in every quarter of the globe was soon found adhering to that principle; but it was long before those engaged in the practical affairs of life would concede it—before practical statesmen and manufacturers and farmers would consent to admit the validity of the doctrines of Adam Smith. But at length they did begin to yield—the authority of those maxims of commercial wisdom which had long been received as infallible by philosophers in their closets, began also to be recognised in the councils of the nation; at first in a hesitating and timid manner, but still a silent and gradual advance was being made to their consummation. As discussion went on, as the good effects were experienced of the partial measures which had been founded on those principles, more and more converts came over (cheers). In Parliament and in the country, every succeeding year showed an increase of strength to that great cause of truth and of reason (hear, hear). In my own recollection of political life how vast are the changes which I have seen on this subject! Nineteen years ago, when I first voted on these questions in the other House of Parliament, in favour of a very timid application of Free Trade principles,

I have voted in very small minorities; in minorities as small as 15, and never, I think, greatly exceeding 50; whilst those who were for out and out protection, who resisted the Corn Law of 1828 almost as strongly as the proposed measure is now resisted, doubled us and trebled us in the divisions, so powerful was the extreme agricultural party in that day. We now see that year by year, from that time to the present, the strength of the party in favour of the bolder and bolder application of the principles of Free Trade has been gradually increasing; and in the last few years, though we have still had large numerical majorities arrayed against us in divisions, yet no man who attended to the debates in the other House of Parliament, no man who looked at the signs from which to judge of other men's feelings, could have failed to foresee symptoms of the rapid approach of that event which has now arrived. Our opponents spoke in the tone of men who felt conscious of defeat, like men who felt that their struggle could not longer be maintained; and last of all we see her Majesty's Ministers themselves coming forward and manfully avowing a complete change in their own opinions, a complete adherence to the doctrines of Free Trade (hear, hear). Severely as they have been censured, I, my lords, give them credit for that avowal. I have no doubt it is a sincere and an honest avowal (hear, hear). There is no reason why it should be otherwise. Their party interest and their personal feelings would have led them, consistently with their sense of public duty, to have maintained their former opinions; and when I find them unable to do so, it is, I say, indeed a strong proof of the irresistible current of public opinion (hear, hear). You may say the reasons that they have assigned for the change are altogether inadequate, that the potato famine is a delusion, and that there is nothing in the state of affairs to justify such a measure. You may say the arguments which they use are precisely the same arguments which they themselves had so often combated. You may say all this, but I do not think you will inquire what were the motives which led those gentlemen to hold other opinions on former debates. I do not wish to inquire whether it was a want of foresight or a want of moral courage to avow opinions which, though unpopular, made them in 1839 and 1841 still the advocates of protection. Whatever opinions we may form upon this point, it is impossible any rational man can doubt that the change which they have now avowed is sincere (cheers)—and that they feel the repeal of the existing Corn Laws to be required by the best interests of the country (renewed cheers). And I say their adopting that opinion, their coming forward to advocate it, and their sacrifices for it, is a convincing and a striking proof of what is the state of public opinion on this question. Out of doors are precisely the same symptoms (hear, hear, hear). Do we not remember that out of doors at one time the merchants and manufacturers of this country were as strongly in favour of protection as the agriculturists are at this day? Were they not the main originators of the whole protective policy (hear, hear, hear)? They, I believe, are perfectly willing to admit the fact. This great mistake in our national policy is far more attributable to the mercantile and manufacturing interests than the agricultural, and when I first came into public life this was the general state of public opinion. I remember Mr. Huskisson being regarded as a public enemy in the great seaport towns in the north of England, and the repeal of the discriminating duties on foreign shipping being considered as something like treason to the best interests of the country. From those very towns, in the present session of Parliament, I have presented petitions praying your lordships not only to pass this bill, but to abolish all protective duties whatever (cheers). Such, my lords, are the symptoms of the desire of the nation for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and it is not a desire for rash and hasty legislation, but it is the continued, the deliberately formed, and the rationally expressed public judgment (cheers). These measures, I say, are the symptoms of it, and public opinion being so, it is not according to my noble friend's own admission, wise in this house to disregard it (hear, hear). My lords, that you will not disregard it, and that you will pass this bill by an overwhelming majority, is no less my firm and confident expectation than it is my fervent and earnest hope (cheers).

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER BY ELIHU BURRITT TO A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT.

Worcester, Mass., U. S., April 27, 1846.
* * * * * May heaven, and all who hope for heaven, bless you and Brotherton for lifting up your voice in the House of Commons against the upreaching blasphemy of war, when the vote of thanks to the army of India was moved. There was more of true courage and heroism in that act than in all the deeds of violence that have reddened the plains of India this year. And a new heroic age has opened upon humanity, in very deed, when the spirit, not the sign, of the cross must create a new order of knighthood, which shall perform such deeds of Christian chivalry over the sepulchre of the gospel of peace, as to rescue it from the Saracen selfishness and sophistry which have sought to stain its love-breathing leaves with human blood, and put its message-trumpet into the iron lips of war. Is it too much to suppose that no songs sung on earth are such music to Satan's ear as the *Te Deums* performed in Christian churches for victories on the battle-field? It seems to me that he would delight to pitch the tune of such songs with his hell-fork every day in the year; for his kingdom will prevail in the hearts of men so long as he can induce Christians to ascribe the glory and success of war to God, rather than to the devil. Had the devil been burnt in effigy at the end of every battle as the instigator of the butchery on both sides, and the throne of God left intact by the bloody-handed abominations of professing Christians, that great deified cannibal, War, would have long ago been exterminated from the abodes of men. O, what a terrible libel on the God of love and Father of mankind to ascribe the issue of these Indian battles, or any other waged on earth, to His presence and aid and spirit!

I long to see the day when the statesmen of your country and mine shall apprehend the destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race as indicated by Divine Providence; when they shall see clearly that that race is one people in the most social elements of unity; and that they are set apart from all other nations as God's peculiar people, in which all other tribes of men will not only be blessed, but absorbed; that they are to fill the whole earth with the light of Christianity and civilisation; to fuse mankind into one race and brotherhood, until all the inhabitants of the earth shall speak the English language. When they shall fully perceive this, and know that the consummation of this glorious destiny depends upon their dwelling together in unity, and labouring

together in unity, surely they will never let the idea of war enter their hearts. War between the two countries thus related to each other, to God, and humanity! As well, far better, might the *Siamese Twins* talk of going to war with each other, when the death of one would destroy the survivor. The ligament that binds us together is more vital than the one connecting that singular pair of human beings. The rest of the race would bleed out of its inmost heart, if our two nations should lift up the sword against each other. Banished for ever be the thought of war between us, for we are brethren. There is room enough, and to spare, and to fill, for us all. The whole continent of humanity must be *Siamised*, and not an English or an American life can be sacrificed for territory. When FREE TRADE shall be ushered in to sweep from the face of the earth the mountainous ranges of prejudice and nationality, which have made enemies of nations, there will be no questions of disputed territories to embitter them; no narrow-minded policy to feed international jealousy, or dam the currents of fraternal and commercial intercourse. The smallest nation may then say, "the whole boundless earth is ours, where we may buy and sell, and trade in the commerce of good will, without any to make us afraid." If, by Free Trade, England should lose Oregon, and even Canada, she would gain in the United States what would be worth to her a dozen of these countries. For one, I regard Free Trade as the commercial barbing of the Millennium which shall beat all swords into ploughshares, and spears into pruning hooks. Even in anticipation of the partial triumph of this gospel economy, in the opening of your ports to corn and other productions of our great West, the warlike people of that region are even now fulfilling that blessed prophecy in a degree. They are beating their swords into ploughshares, and driving those ploughshares deep into their Eden soil, inspired with the hope of feeding the British. I devoutly hope that the coming seedtime in that vast region of unequalled fertility will be a seedtime of better feelings towards Great Britain. I cannot find words to express my sense of the importance, to humanity at large, of annexing that fat universe of land to your crowded shores, by opening your ports to its produce. The moral influence of such a measure, on the labouring people of both countries cannot be meted out in words. There are thousands and thousands in that region of our country, living in the rudest state of civilisation, with regard to every article of furniture, dress, and the other comforts, and elegancies known to a cultivated society, while, at the same time, they are surrounded with breastworks of golden corn and wheat. On the other hand, are there not thousands and thousands of ill-fed labourers in your country, pining amid fabrics that would adorn princes—articles of clothing and comfort, which, if exchanged for food, would fill our great West with the paradise of comfortable homes, transformed from the floorless log-cabins of Western wheat-growers! What an effect it would have on the morals of your manufacturing population, if the fountains of American food should be broken up, to feed them from our granaries! * *

REPRESENTATION OF LANCASTER.—Mr. S. Gregson, jun., has announced himself a candidate for the representation of this borough, when a vacancy occurs. In his address, Mr. Gregson avows himself "an advocate for the abolition of the Corn and Provision Laws; for progressive reform, and for all those Liberal principles which promote universal education, and secure to all the enjoyment of civil, religious, and commercial freedom."—*Leeds Mercury*.

THE MILK TRADE WITH LONDON.—A striking illustration of the creative effect of railways upon the trading resources of a district is manifesting itself along the course of the Eastern Counties line. The neighbourhoods of Romford, Brentwood, &c., places the inhabitants of which would probably, not many years ago, have laughed at the idea of sending their milk to the metropolis, now carry on a very considerable and daily increasing trade in that article. Persons in traversing the line can hardly fail to have seen, at the stations referred to, a number of huge canister shaped tin vessels, used for the purpose of transit; and these having a van specially appropriated to them, the milk reaches London in prime condition. At Chelmsford, one extensive grazier at least is preparing to enter into the same trade; and we should not be at all surprised to find parties at Colchester, and other towns upon the line, following the example, as there is very little difference in the expense of conveyance, as far as the railway is concerned, for long or short distances. This promises a complete revolution, not only in the price, but the composition and quality, of the above extensive article of consumption. When each railroad from the grazing districts into London, shall have become "a milky way," there will no longer be the temptation, which at present exists, to resort to artificial ingredients; and people—even milkmen, will be content to leave the manufacture of their commodity to the proper artificers—the cows.—*Essex paper*.

THE ISLAND OF LABUAN.—At a meeting of the directors of the Manchester Commercial Association, held at their offices, York Hotel-buildings, King-street, on Thursday week, the proposed cession of this island by the Sultan of Borneo to the British Crown, free of all charges, was the subject of consideration; and it was unanimously agreed to memorialise Sir R. Peel, as First Lord of the Treasury, expressing their regret that her Majesty's Government had not availed themselves of so liberal an offer, and praying that Government would accept it, as a step highly important in connection with our commerce to China and the East. We believe that a similar memorial has also been agreed to and forwarded from the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. This island, though small, being not more than about six or seven miles across, is rich in vegetable and mineral products, and would be of immense value as a coal station and a harbour of refuge. It possesses rich beds of coal and iron, and immense quantities of growing timber, fit for the purposes of marine refitting. It is most advantageously situated near the mouth of the Borneo river, and in the track of our steamers between Singapore, Ceylon, and Hongkong, and the other ports of China; and it would fill up the chain of our marine communications in the eastern archipelago. Those interested in the subject will find some particulars of the island, its situation, and productions, in the recent work of Captain Keppel. We ought to add, that it is just off a district of Borneo, a considerable tract of which has been granted by the Sultan to an Englishman, named Brooke, who now exercises vice-regal powers over it.—*Manchester Guardian*.

In instructing others we improve ourselves; he who is engaged in the tuition of others acquires a proficiency in his attainments, of which he was not previously conscious.—*Chinese Saying*.

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M. JULIEN has the honour to announce that emboldened by the success of his Winter Series of Concerts, and flattered by the kind and liberal patronage now for several years bestowed on his exertions, he has determined on organising also
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That portion of the year termed the London Season attracting as it does Artists of the first eminence, from all parts of Europe to this Metropolis, offers great facilities to an undertaking of this nature; while the congregation of VOCAL as well as INSTRUMENTAL talent will afford an opportunity of imparting novelty to the Concerts D'ETE.
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The Concerts will commence on Friday, June 12, and in due course full particulars will be announced. Advantage will be taken of the Season to arrange a NEW FLORAL DECORATION, and every arrangement made which can add to the attractions of a Popular Amusement.

In consequence of the great length to which our report of the debates in the House of Lords has extended, we are obliged to defer our notice of Mr. Torrens McCullagh's Industrial History of Free Nations till next week.
We are compelled to omit the Subscription List until next week.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Friday Evening, May 29, 1846.

At five o'clock in the morning of Friday, May 29, 1846, a day which will ever be memorable, not only in English annals, but in the commercial history of all civilised nations, the debate on the second reading of the Corn Bill in the House of Lords was brought to a close. The division insures the speedy triumph of truth and justice. There appeared—

FOR THE SECOND READING:

Present	138
Proxies	73

Total	211
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FOR THE AMENDMENT:

Present	126
Proxies	38

Total	164
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MAJORITY OF PEERS PRESENT—TWELVE.

MAJORITY OF PROXIES—THIRTY-FIVE.

TOTAL MAJORITY—FORTY-SEVEN.

The most original in character, and the most profound in philosophy of all the speeches yet delivered on this great question was undoubtedly that of Earl Grey. His arguments for legislative change were derived from the immutable laws of social existence; and in his analysis of these laws he exhibited the strict severity of science united to the graces of eloquent diction. His rhetoric was his logic; his instruction was his persuasion. There was no part of his address which at all approached declamation, save his

warm eulogium of the League and Mr. Cobden. To the agricultural body he furnished not merely consolation, but hope; he pointed out the absurdity of their fears and the groundlessness of their alarms. The imaginary Tanbolls and visionary prairies, where harvests sprung without labour, and corn might be had for the asking, which Lord Stanley had shown to his hearers in a brilliant series of dissolving views, melted away under his exposure, as the pictures of the magic lantern are effaced on the admission of the light of the sun. His examination of the true policy which ought to be adopted by a parent country towards its colonies, was conceived in the philosophic spirit of Bacon, and expounded in the lucid logic of Paley. It was indeed a speech, not to be heard, applauded, and forgotten, but to be "marked, learned, and inwardly digested." While it expounded the past, it illuminated the future. It was a chart which laid down the rocks and quicksands to be avoided, and at the same time pointed out

Each beacon light
For pilots to hold course aright.

Lord Ashburton succeeded in perplexing both himself, his hearers, and his readers. The Corn Law was originally as odious and strange to him as the cuckoo's egg is to the sparrow, when first discovered in the nest; but having failed in the first effort to throw it out, affection grew up during the process of incubation; and when the brood was hatched, the attachment for the ugly intruder proved to be greater than the love for the natural offspring. Lord Ashburton went beyond the sparrow in affection for his cuckoo; he even adopted its peculiarities, and gave the wearisome iteration of note, which is at first pleasing, soon scarcely tolerable, then vexatious, and finally unendurable. In fact, without intending a pun, Lord Ashburton was "beyond Baring."

Lord Lansdowne spoke as a practical statesman, exhibiting more animation than he has recently evinced in debate. His exposure of Lord Ashburton's followers was triumphant, but rather too merciless. The delicate question of a fixed duty was only raised to be abandoned, with a little amiable regret for the hopelessness of its ever finding acceptance.

A tumultuous contention, not very usual in the House of Peers, ended in the Earl of Essex assigning his reasons for conversion, and Lord Beaumont professing his adhesion to perversion. Lord Dalhousie expounded the commercial and statistical reasoning on which the ministerial measures are founded, and the Duke of Wellington concluded the debate by simply, but sternly, stating the circumstances which had rendered the repeal of the Corn Laws a political necessity.

We believe that this division and majority may be regarded as final. The *Standard-Herald* and *Herald-Standard* join in a solo-duet of despair, and the *Morning Post* exhibits the graceful sorrow of a lady-like gentleman. We, however, feel too much pleasure in witnessing the interment of the Corn Law to quarrel with the antics of the few mourners that follow its hearse.

PUBLIC MEETING AT HULL.—A crowded meeting took place here on Monday last, called in pursuance of a requisition from merchants, shipowners, &c., to petition the Lords for the speedy passing of the measure now before them. We shall give a full report of it next week.

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. May 23	MON. May 25	TUES. May 26	WED. May 27	THUR. May 28	FRI. May 29
Bank Stock	206	205½	206½	206½	206½	...
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½
3 per Ct. Con. Ann.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
Long An. Ex. 1860	103-16	103-16	103-16	103-16	103-16	103-16
Cons. for Acct.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
Exc. Bills, pm.	17-22	22	17-18	20	15-20	...
Ind. Bds. an. 1000½	20	25	20-28	27	...	...
Venezuela 2 per Ct.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Do. deferred.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Belgian 4½ per Ct.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brazilian 5 per Ct.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chilian	...	...	...	...	50½	...
Colomb. ex. Venez.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Danish	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dutch 2½ per Ct.	59½	60	60	60½	60½	60½
Dutch 4 per Ct.	91½	92	92½	92½	92½	92½
Mexican	31½	31½	31½	31½	31½	31½
Peruvian	39½	39½	...	39½	...	39½
Portug. 4 per Ct.	...	...	56½	57½	...	...
Russian 5 per Ct.	100½
Spanish 5 per Ct.	21½	21½	...	21½	...	21½
Do. 3 per Ct.	37½	37½	37½	37½	37½	37½

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OF THE

COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE.

The accomplishment of Free Trade will be one of the most remarkable events, not only in the history of the British Empire, but of the civilised world. No movement so important, so effective, and so successful, has ever been before witnessed by mankind. Those who possess the zeal, integrity, prudence, and ability this great triumph is due, will be recognised as the benefactors of mankind to remote generations.

It is a duty, then, which we owe to the world and to posterity, to preserve some PERMANENT MEMORIAL OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE;—that deliberative and executive body, which has achieved more by moral force, than has been accomplished by associations that included physical strength and political power. For this purpose arrangements have been made with Mr. HERBERT, R.A., to paint a

HISTORICAL PICTURE OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE,

including Accurate Portraits, not only of the Principal Leaders, but of those less prominent Members, whose indefatigable labours during the whole course of the movement have entitled them to public gratitude. It is proposed that this shall be engraved by a first-rate artist, on a large scale (31 by 22 inches), and that the copies shall be sold at such a price as to place within the reach of persons of moderate fortune, a monument of the mighty movement by which monopoly was overthrown, and the cause of just establishment, without any remembrance of outrage or violence to lessen the enjoyment of so glorious a victory. The principles of universal peace have been established by their own practical development in peaceful agitation.

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THE LEAGUE.

No. 141.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 6, 1846.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

THE CORN BILL IN COMMITTEE.

It has cost us upwards of seven years of incessant agitation to abolish the sliding scale. Had the Corn Law been in the shape of a fixed duty, one-half the time and labour would have repealed it. There is something subtle and plausible in the "scale," with its apparently humane fall of duty to meet the rise in the price of corn, which recommends it to weak minds; and then it assumes the character of "protection," so captivating to the ignorant! The clever monopolist who first christened the Corn Law with the name of *protection*, added several years to its life. One-half the labours of the League has been expended in proving to the consumers that the "scale" is really a bread tax. That once accomplished, half our work was done. The national conscience revolts at the idea of levying a tax upon the first necessary of existence. The instinct of justice calls out to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to try any and every other source of revenue—to tax easy arm-chairs, great-coats, opera-glasses, or whatever he likes, so that he keeps his fiscal hand off the people's bread. The men who invented the "scale" understood this, and they enacted the last, and only Corn Law, which this country will ever tolerate. The protectionists were right in 1841 when they denounced a fixed duty as indefensible, and repudiated it as the certain prelude to total abolition. "The fact is," said the *Quarterly*, in June, 1841, "that neither Lord John Russell, nor Mr. McCulloch, nor any one else, contemplates for a moment the maintenance of a fixed duty; and the proposition is therefore neither more nor less than a wicked and delusive fraud." We all remember the exclamation of Lord Winchelsea, in reference to the proposed 8s. fixed duty, "For God's sake don't tax the people's bread!"—a sentiment loudly cheered in the House of Lords, and re-echoed from many a hustings at the general election of 1841.

Well, after all, we are still told by parties from whom we should have hoped better things, that a fixed duty would have been the proper settlement of the question—that it was want of statesmanship that prevented such an adjustment, which would have been highly satisfactory to the leading mercantile interests, &c. &c. These pleaders for a fixed duty forget to give us the arguments by which it is to be sustained,—a task which they kindly leave to the Minister who is to form a bread tax administration. Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, and Sir James Graham, the three ablest statesmen of

the day, decline the undertaking. They know that in the present enlightened state of public opinion, and with the national interests concentrated upon the question, it would be impossible to defend in argument the proposition of a fixed duty. They know that the subject has been so discussed, sifted, and exposed in all its bearings, that it could not be evaded, or put upon any other than the broad issue of justice to the great mass of the people. They know that not only the intellectual conviction of the country, but its moral sentiment, and religious feelings, are against any tax upon bread; and, even if their own minds were not made up to the impolicy of a fixed duty, they would be unworthy of the name of statesmen if they attempted to enforce any fiscal arrangement of the kind against the will of the great majority of the people.

We know not whether a serious attempt will be made to perpetuate a duty on corn. If so, we should like to see the arguments of Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham, upon the working men's case, answered by the noble lords who support the amendment in committee. They must be prepared to disprove the proposition that the wages in the manufacturing districts vary, as a rule, inversely with the price of bread; that when corn is moderate in price, the demand for labour increases, and wages rise; and that when corn is excessively dear wages decline, owing to the falling off in the employment of labourers. They must also be able to disprove the Prime Minister's assertion, that the wages in the agricultural districts do not advance in the same proportion with the rise in the price of bread. They must likewise be ready to discuss minutely that vital question to the great mass of the working people, of the bearing upon their incomes of a tax upon bread, which forms so disproportionate an item in their expenditure as compared with the easier classes of society—a question, by the way, most fearlessly analysed by Sir Robert Peel in one of his ablest speeches.

Let noble lords, before they commit themselves to a fixed duty, be prepared to meet these arguments; for they may be assured that from the moment the "scale" is abandoned, and a permanent tax is substituted for it, the whole controversy will be narrowed to a very small compass, and that it will turn mainly upon the interests of the working millions. We should be very sorry, for many reasons, to see the question referred back to the country, by an adverse vote in committee; sorry for the lords themselves—for the interests of commerce, which would be temporarily suspended, and for the inconvenience to the business before Parliament. But we should not dread the result, so far as the interests of Free Trade were concerned; for a more hopeless contest for our adversaries we could not desire than that in which would be arrayed on one side the landed aristocracy, on the other the great body of the people, and the question at issue to be, whether, in spite of the recommendation of the Crown, and the will of a majority of the House of Commons, a tax should be imposed, at the instance of a few proprietors of the soil, upon the food of an entire nation. We reiterate the opinion we expressed in our last, that a majority of the peers will see the impolicy and injustice of attempting any mutilation of the Government measure.

THE "TALENTED" GENTLEMEN BELOW THE GANGWAY.

Notwithstanding the prevailing sentiment of delighted satisfaction with which we view the triumph of last week, we must confess that certain incidents of that ever-memorable passage in our Parliamentary history have occasioned us considerable uneasiness. The Corn Law is as good as gone, despite

Lord Stanley's brilliant and vigorous advocacy of protection in its integrity, and Lord Brougham's neither brilliant nor vigorous championship of commercial freedom; but we cannot conceal from ourselves that other perils yet beset the state. We are afraid that both these noble lords have but too effectually contributed—we must do them the justice to believe, without *malice prepense*—to burden the country with a new grievance, only second in oppressiveness and powers for mischief to the sliding scale itself. It is impossible to suppose that they really meant any harm by their high-flown panegyrics on the "talent" with which the flag of protection has been hoisted in a certain well-known quarter of the House of Commons. But they should have reflected on the responsibilities that attach to the lightest words of genius. They should have remembered that irony is sometimes apt to be taken *au sérieux*. For our own part, we much fear that the gentlemen below the gangway will swallow the compliment which these eminent critical authorities have so indiscreetly paid to their recently developed oratorical abilities, and that the stimulant thus administered may prove of disastrous potency in eliciting future exhibitions of that peculiar description of mental accomplishment. Once let it be imagined, that the juvenile statesmen, who have been "put up," or have put themselves up, during the dreary discussion of the past months, to gain time by their unconscionable length of dull speechification, to regard themselves as regularly enrolled among the talking men of the House of Commons, and that a grateful and admiring public will no longer be satisfied to accept their silent services—and all we can say is, Heaven help the country, and the men who do the country's business!

As it really is not desirable that the sort of inflection which Parliament and the public have lately had to endure should be drawn into a precedent, and made a permanent accompaniment of British legislation, we are anxious to apply what corrective we can to the unthinking and ill-judged eulogies passed by Lords Stanley and Brougham on an oratorical "talent," any further displays of which must be deprecated by every patriotic mind. We beg, therefore, to assure the gifted and "talented" gentlemen under the gangway, that the country, so far from being rapt in admiration of their Parliamentary and statesmanlike abilities, is, to this hour, in peaceful ignorance of the precise nature of those phenomena which have called forth the Stanley and Brougham panegyrics. Their speeches remain, and are likely to remain to the end of time, unread. The world knows nothing of the protectionist oratory of the year 1846, except that it has abstracted a certain number of hours, days, and weeks from the working portion of the Parliamentary year. Even the *Dryasdusts* of other generations, who shall busy themselves with compiling English history out of *Hansard*, will take to skipping when they come to that volume. We may add, in general, that the description of talent for which the gentlemen in question have obtained so melancholy a notoriety, is decidedly at a discount. We are living just in those times in which the mere mechanical faculty of word-stringing, irrespectively of truth and soundness of principles, accuracy of facts, and cohesiveness of logic, is least respectable in the eyes of a busy and earnest people.

After all, this "talent" is a very sorry sort of thing. Whether we take the test of cost of production, or of exchangeable utility, nothing can well be cheaper. Any Harrow or Eton boy could talk prose by the hour, with as few offences against Lindley Murray as Mr. Newdegate is in the habit of committing. Any Newmarket man—only cram

him well—would make as good a show with his facts and figures, as the noble head of the protectionist Government that is to be—or that was to have been—and vindicate for himself a proud intellectual equality with the statesmen of stable mind, who

"Of bets, not taxes, learnedly debate,
And guide, with equal reins, a steed or state."

And we can assure Mr. D'Israeli that it does not need his order of genius to make a bad logician and a bungling statistician. The comparison will, we fear, be disagreeable to the accomplished author of "Coningsby," but truth compels us to say, that Mr. G. P. R. James—if we may judge from his superlatively silly displays before the Kentish squires—might qualify himself for all the duties of the philosopher in ordinary to the landlords, with no greater amount of mental labour than he is in the habit of expending on his familiar trimestrial task of writing an historical romance in three volumes post octavo.

The fact is, these men's "talent" is infinitely indebted to their destitution of all useful political knowledge. Their ignorance is a marvellous help to their loquacity. A certain vivacious garrulity is the privilege of political youth and inexperience. There are advantages in coming new to a subject. Our statesmen below the gangway have found talking easy, simply because they had not the remotest conception that the whole question had been settled long ago. It would have been a sad damper to their eloquence to have known, that the controversy which they fancied was just beginning, was, in fact, just finished. Most conveniently for themselves, they have commenced their political education too late in life to be aware, that what is new to them is old to all the rest of the world—that the sophisms which they think philosophy, are merely effete absurdities which people are tired even of laughing at—that Adam Smith, and the League, and public opinion, and thirty years' experience, have already brought the matter to a point at which nothing more remains to be done than to clothe a foregone conclusion in statutory form. When our elderly young gentlemen attain—if they ever do attain—to years of political discretion, they will look back with amazement on the exhibitions of pert and presumptuous nescience which signalled their Parliamentary boyhood.

ONE GLANCE MORE AT THE DEBATE.

The transcendent importance of the event which we had last week the satisfaction of recording—presaging, as it does, the early and final consummation of our labours—will probably be felt to detract materially from the interest that would otherwise attach to the three nights' preliminary debate; and our readers perhaps may be little disposed to accompany us in any retrospect of Parliamentary speeches, however excellent and valuable in themselves, at a time when words are so soon to be exchanged for deeds, and all speeches and speaking are about to merge in one great fact. Still, we must pause for a moment on the two principal speeches of the closing night of the discussion—those of Earl Grey and Earl Dalhousie. Of their very remarkable ability we need not say much;—that which especially strikes us is their happy practical adaptation to the very useful purpose of reconciling the minds of all classes of the community, and in particular of the agriculturists, to the approaching legislative change. The noble lords whom we have named stamp that change, by anticipation, with the characters of permanence and legitimacy. They show at once its inevitableness and its beneficence; and thus extinguish in the mind of every intelligent agriculturist not merely the hope, but even the desire, of that most desperate of all impossibilities—the resuscitation, in some remote and unknown futurity, of a dead and buried Corn Law.

Nothing could be more effective than Earl Grey's exposition, towards the close of his speech, of the true character of that public opinion to which the Upper House is about to give legislative sanction

and embodiment. The noble lord showed, with admirable force and clearness, that the present public opinion in favour of Free Trade possesses, in an almost unexampled degree, those attributes of fixity and deliberateness, in which even Lord Stanley recognises a moral authority, that statesmen and Parliaments must bow to. It has nothing hasty or passionate about it. It is rooted in science, and has grown with experience. It has grown slowly, too; yet with a steadiness that has been without reaction—almost without intermission. Eighty years ago, Adam Smith convinced the philosophers, and the philosophic statesmen, of the wisdom and justice of freeing commerce from artificial restrictions. After a while, convictions began to reach the practical statesmen, who, at first cautiously and timidly, yet with an ever-increasing clearness and confidence, announced the maxims of commercial wisdom, and applied them to the current exigencies of commerce and the state. From year to year the process went on—experiments provoking discussion, and discussion justifying and inviting experiment—the sphere of conversion gradually widening, and embracing new classes of the community. Of late, the work has advanced with immensely accelerated speed. National distress and fiscal impoverishment necessitated a more earnest, a more comprehensive, and a more thorough going investigation of the sources of the Wealth of Nations. Agitation popularised philosophy, and brought home to the many the convictions which individual research had imparted to the few; until, at length, disowned alike by official intelligence and by public opinion and morality, the vicious system of protection had nothing to stand on but the bare fact of possession, and the merest touch was sufficient to bring it to the ground. A public opinion that can give such an account of itself as this, is palpably irresistible and irreversible. It must have its way—and what it does is done once for all.

Lord Dalhousie's argument takes us, by a somewhat different route, to the same practical conclusion. This public opinion is irresistible, not merely in its force and universality, but in its truth. Free Trade ideas rest on "*the authority of facts*." They have on their side "*the history of the commerce of this country*"—and, "*more especially, the commercial history of the last thirty years—above all, that history since the adoption of the tariff of 1842.*" Never was a principle subjected to a greater number and variety of experimental tests, or verified by a more copious and demonstrative induction. Take the woollen trade, or the cotton trade, or the linen trade, or the silk trade, or the iron trade, or the shipping and timber trade—they all tell the same tale;—"not only have they not flourished by reason of the principle of protection, but they have flourished as that protection has been removed—*nay, more, they have flourished still more in proportion as the protection has been withdrawn.*" We abstain from the superfluous task of following the noble lord through the details of fact and argument, with which he so amply elucidated this now familiar truth. His speech will already have been read far and wide through the country, and have produced its natural effect on those who conceive themselves more immediately interested in the great legislative act now on the verge of completion—convincing every agriculturist, who has a mind susceptible of conviction, that there is no sort of reason for a "*panic*," that nothing is to be feared from any "*inundation*" that lies within the bounds of physical and commercial possibility; that agricultural industry *must* be prosperous in a country which commands the largest capital, the best labour, and the best market in the world; and that, of all delusions, the absurdest is that of fancying that land and its produce can lose their intrinsic value in a country that has added *one hundred thousand* to its population, during the four months that we have been discussing the safety and desirableness of letting in more food.

It is, on every ground, highly satisfactory, that

the moral effect of the division of last week has been sustained and enhanced by expositions so clear and decisive of the inevitableness and the beneficence of the legislative revolution now on the point of consummation. The agriculturists are plainly given to understand, that it is not Sir Robert Peel, or Lord John Russell, or the House of Commons, or the House of Lords, that repeal the landlords' Corn Law—but the irresistible course of opinion, events, and national experience. And they will, we doubt not, cheerfully accept a necessity which is as benign as it is irreversible and place themselves in intelligent harmony with the new and improved conditions of their lot as a section of the great industrial community of Englishmen.

THE SUGAR DUTIES.

We are glad to perceive that Mr. Milner Gibson has given notice of a motion for the immediate abolition of all discriminating duties on sugar. Such a measure is the natural complement of the repeal of the Corn Laws; and the failure of the sugar crops in the British West Indian Islands renders the necessity for enlarging the field of supply so obvious, that we cannot guess by what arguments the proposal can be resisted. We prefer Mr. Gibson's form of motion to that of Lord John Russell; the latter proposes—first, to equalise the duty on slave and free labour sugar; and, if successful in that step, then to provide for the prospective abolition of the distinctive duties between foreign and colonial sugar. The noble member for London divides into two measures that which the honourable member for Manchester proposes to effect by one; and he unnecessarily introduces an incidental discussion on slavery, not likely to prove interesting to the house or profitable to the nation. In fact the distinction between slave and free labour sugar is a piece of such patent hypocrisy that it is hardly necessary to attempt its exposure; but there is reason to fear that a sham battle on this point may divert attention from the insidious attempt to continue protection to a petted branch of colonial produce for some time longer. Mr. Gibson fairly meets the real evil, Monopoly, for the overthrow of that will bring down hypocrisy in its fall. He assails the key of the enemy's position, for when that is taken, all other points will be abandoned; while Lord John Russell wastes time and force in a strong demonstration against an untenable outpost.

The West Indian interest, as it is called, has sought strange alliances in its decadence; it has even sought the favour of the great object of its former vituperation, the Anti-Slavery Society. But when everybody knows that the cry against the use of slave produce is the veriest *sham* that was ever used to delude a people, why should we assail the pretext rather than the principle which that pretext has been assumed to hide? Lord John Russell gives to this hollow pretence a factitious importance by making it the subject of a substantive motion; but it is merely extraneous matter which has crept into the discussion between Free Trade and protection to divert attention from the real issue. Mr. Gibson has acted with his usual manliness in passing over this hollow pretence altogether, and proposing a motion which will raise a debate on what alone is the true question to be decided. The League has taken the same position with regard to sugar which it originally took respecting corn; it never entered into a discussion of the relative merits of a sliding scale or a fixed duty, because it protested against all forms of protection; and it will not tolerate any discriminating duties on the import of sugar, whether the protection be complicated by a hypocritical distinction between free labour and slave produce, or whether the differential duties stand in the simple nakedness of protection.

A GREAT FACT.—On the 7th ult., at Furness, Derbyshire, a respectable farmer of that place summoned a few of his neighbours to witness the christening and turning out to grass of three heifers, to which he gave the names of Cobden, Bright, and Wilson, amid the applause and approbation of his surrounding friends and servants. We live to improve.—*Manchester Guardian*.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE
SESSION OF 1846.

Twentieth Week, ending Saturday, June 6.

While the news of the great victory achieved in the House of Lords, on Friday morning, on the second reading of the Corn Law Repeal Bill, was yet booming in the public ear, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was making a significant commentary on the Richmond-Bentinck predictions and affirmations. It is no part of our present business to inquire where Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Goulburn have found their diminution-of-duty principles. It may be that Sir Robert Peel would have reformed the tariff in 1842, if no such document had been in existence as Mr. Hume's Import Duties Committee Report, drawn up in 1840. And it may be that Mr. Goulburn would have made precisely the same financial statement he did on last Friday, drawn solely from the results of the reform of the tariff in 1842, even if the Anti-Corn-Law League had not been in existence, or a fixed duty had never been proposed. These things are at once possible and improbable—but we take no note of them. We have only to deal with facts; and the one great fact is before us, that Mr. Goulburn, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in the performance of the important annual duty of opening the Budget, did, on last Friday afternoon, make a most gratifying and cheering Free Trade speech; and yet the name of this same Mr. Goulburn has been, in by-past years, associated with ideas of monopoly and exclusiveness. It is honourable to individuals to see them, in their old age, yielding to the demonstrations of fact and experience; and it must afford a thoughtful and a grateful pleasure to all thinking minds to see how strongly as well as steadily public opinion sweeps onwards.

The contents of the "Budget" had all been anticipated by Sir Robert Peel, when he developed his Corn and Customs scheme, at the commencement of the session. We knew, that, notwithstanding the reductions of duties which had taken place last year, there was a large surplus of revenue over income. We also knew that in consequence of the great reductions proposed during the present year, as well as the contemplated increase in the 'army, navy, and so forth, any anticipated surplus for the ensuing year would be very small. So far there was but little novelty in the financial statement which Mr. Goulburn made. But his review of the results of the financial policy commenced in 1842 was exceedingly interesting; and though this led him into some laudation of the existing government, and, by consequence, into a depreciation, rather insinuated than asserted, of its predecessors, we pass all by, for the sake of the results. It has been supposed that, in thus bringing under review the whole commercial policy of the Government, Mr. Goulburn was acting on the premonitory intimation of "Give an account of thy stewardship, for thou mayest be no longer steward." That may be so, but the effect of the exposition has been to raise a strong feeling of regret in the commercial world, that such excellent "men of business," and first-rate financiers, should be under the necessity of contemplating retirement from the responsibilities of office.

It will be recollected that after the division on the second reading of the Corn Bill on Friday morning, the House of Lords adjourned for the Whitsuntide holidays. But the House of Commons met on Friday evening, the chief business being the financial statement. The house having gone into a Committee of Ways and Means,

The Chancellor of the Exchequer made his annual financial statement. He was anxious to do so before the house separated for the holidays, in order that during the approaching leisure there might be time for considering the one general view he now presented. It would show how successful has been the financial policy of the Government, and dispel any apprehensions of difficulty which might remain as to the effects of reduction of duties.

The first point was that of income and expenditure. Last year, a revenue of 49,762,000*l.* had been anticipated; the actual amount which had been received was 51,250,000*l.*, independently of the China money. This great increase in the revenue of last year was a striking evidence of the beneficial effects of a reduction of duties. A great diminution had been accomplished during last year, yet the Customs, the Excise, the Stamps, and the Post-office all exhibited a large increase, beyond the anticipated receipts; and, notwithstanding the loss to the revenue from the reductions, there was a surplus of income over expenditure of no less than 2,350,000*l.* This afforded a striking proof of the elasticity of the resources of the country; for the only important branch of income which had declined was the property and income tax, the slight falling off in which had been caused by repayments.

Notwithstanding the additional great reduction of duties proposed during the present year, the experience of the past enabled him with confidence to anticipate the future. The results of their previous reductions taught him that he might take the anticipated loss in the Customs at two-fifths of the duties to be repealed, and set down the amount to be received from that source at 19,300,000*l.* But as, notwithstanding the uncertainty caused by the delay of the Government measures, there was every indication of continued prosperity, and the reports from the revenue officers at all the outposts were very satisfactory, he would advance his estimate, and set down his expected revenue from the Customs during the next year at 19,500,000*l.* It was to be borne in recollection that though the measures of the Government were not yet passed into law, the reduction of duties was in actual operation, under the Treasury order. In the Excise a very large reduction had also taken place during last year, yet the revenue from it fell short only by 100,000*l.* from what it was when the auction, glass, and other duties were in full operation. He would take the excise at 13,400,000*l.*; the stamps at 7,400,000*l.*; the property tax at 5,100,000*l.*; the post office at 850,000*l.*, which with other items, and 700,000*l.*

of China money, will render the anticipated income for the ensuing year 51,450,000*l.* The expenditure, if taken at the same amount as last year, would be 49,400,000*l.*, which would leave a surplus upon the year of 2,200,000*l.*—a sum nearly as large as the surplus of last year, notwithstanding the great reductions which have been made. But the expenditure for next year is considerably increased. Our public establishments were increased, which would nearly absorb the surplus. The army and navy are augmented, the specific additional charges for which he stated, which, with other extra expenses, will reduce the 2,200,000*l.* to 776,000*l.*, the main portion of which will be derived from the 700,000*l.* of China money.

The system which had brought about our present financial prosperity was begun in 1842, soon after the present Government entered on office. Previously there had been a great deficiency, which had been attempted to be supplied by increased taxation. This having failed, resort was had to a revision of our prohibitory and protective duties, and the result was striking. In 1842 the balances in the Exchequer were only three millions. In 1846 they amounted to eight millions, the specific increase during these four years being 4,798,000*l.* Then, during these four years, there had been a considerable diminution of the capital stock of the funded and unfunded debt. The total amount of these two descriptions of debt, the funded and unfunded, in 1842 was 792,209,000*l.* In 1846 it was only 785,115,000*l.*, being a reduction in the capital of the debt of seven millions and a half sterling. The deficiency bills have also been reduced by 4,133,300*l.* In addition to these two sums, by which the capital of the debt has been reduced by eleven millions, the interest and charge for the debt had been abated by the annual sum of 800,000*l.*, the amount in 1842 being 29,597,000*l.*, and in 1846 28,129,000*l.*; while another prospective reduction has been effected of 625,000*l.*, which is to come into operation in 1854, making the total annual reduction thus amounting to 1,500,000*l.* Exclusive of the prospective reduction, it might be alleged that the China money had mainly assisted them to accomplish these results. The amount thus received had been 3,323,000*l.*, from which had to be deducted the expense of the war, 2,050,000*l.*, and the opium compensation, 1,270,000*l.*, leaving only a sum of 3,000*l.* actually available from this source in aid of the Exchequer. But the benefit derived from reduction of taxation was not to be measured by the mere amount of the duties reduced. Since 1842 the present Government have imposed the Property and Income-tax, which, with some small Excise duties, makes an annual amount of taxation imposed of 5,600,000*l.* But during the last four years Customs and Excise duties have been remitted to the extent of 8,206,000*l.*, which leaves a balance of taxation reduced of no less than 2,582,000*l.* It might be said that good harvests had brought about the present favourable condition of the people. He did not undervalue the beneficial influence of good harvests. But to the commercial and financial policy pursued by the Government, he contended, ought to be mainly attributed the present aspect of the country. Reduction of duties and increased consumption, improved the revenue, diffused comfort, and extended trade, the effects of which were displayed in increased deposits in the savings banks, the diminution of crime, the diffusion of education and of religious instruction. Instead of building fifty churches during a century, we built fifty in a year. These results were obtained without any derangement of any great national interest, but by proceeding gradually. He hoped we would go on as we had begun, and cautiously and gradually diminish the burdens of the people.

Several speakers criticised the statements of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, especially Lord George Bentinck and Mr. Hudson, who vainly attempted to throw discredit upon them. But it was of no use—there the facts were, without gainsay or contradiction.

The House of Commons adjourned from Friday till Friday; but the House of Lords resumed its sittings on Thursday.

In the House of Lords, their sittings were resumed after the recess, on Thursday. Lord Stanley introduced the subject of the Canadian Address, which afforded Lord Dalhousie an opportunity of refuting the absurd calumny that he had knowingly misrepresented the sentiments of the Canadian legislature. Lord Stanley gave notice of his intention to direct the attention of the house to this address, which, however, it is probable that the next packet will show to be a matter wholly unimportant.

The second reading of the Customs' Duties Bill was then moved by the Earl of Dalhousie, who admitted that the measure was not a perfect scheme of Free Trade, but such an approximation towards it as considerations of revenue and of existing interests enabled them to make. At the same time, he said the Government were fully convinced of the unsoundness of the principle of protection. The present bill, as our readers may recollect, proposes the abolition, or the considerable reduction, of the duties on linen, cotton, woollen, silk, and metallic manufactures, on butter and cheese, on spirits and timber, and so forth.

The Duke of Richmond entered his usual protest, and made his usual amendment, but did not divide the house. He is, however, going into committee on the bill, to raise the silk question, by moving that the Spitalfields' weavers be heard by counsel at the bar against the proposed bill for lowering the silk duties.

The Earl of Wicklow deplored the removal of protection from the linen manufacture of Ireland. Lord Ashburton traced our periods of stagnation to the Currency Bill of 1819, and said that trade and commerce could never be secure, so long as they were at the mercy of every new crotchet in the head of Sir Robert Peel. Earl Grey spoke a few sensible words for Free Trade, of which the bill was an instalment; and Lord Montague took a similar view, and refreshed the memory of Lord Ashburton, by quoting from the celebrated petition of the city of London, in favour of Free Trade, which, in 1820, was presented by a Mr. T. Baring, who supported the petition with a speech! It was evident that Lord Ashburton did not relish the reminiscence.

The bill was read a second time, their lordships rising in time for dinner.

DEBATE ON THE SECOND READING IN
THE LORDS.

We here present the reader with a full report of three speeches for which we could not find room in our number of last week:

SPEECH OF THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE and the Earl of EGLINTON rose together; but the call for the former prevailing, the noble earl gave way, and the noble marquis proceeded to address the house. This debate having now arrived at its third night, which would also, most probably, be its last (loud cries of "No, no," from the cross-benches, and of "Yes, yes," from other parts of the house)—he would take the liberty of offering a few observations on the great question now under consideration; but their lordships might rest assured that the length of his observations would not be such as to prevent them from coming to a decision that evening, if they had already determined on doing so. His noble friend who had just sat down (Lord Ashburton) need not be alarmed by the apprehension that he (the Marquis of Lansdowne) intended to trouble him or the house with any remarks having reference to that awful subject, political economy—a subject of which his noble friend appeared to have an especial horror (a laugh). It was not his noble friend, however, who first discussed its horrors. Lord John Russell, 26 years ago, when a young man, and before he had as yet held office under the Crown, characterised it as "an awful subject" then, and after sitting for such a long series of years in Parliament, he had declared that he considered it "an awful subject" now. On this formidable topic he would not, therefore, touch. He had risen, however, for the purpose of also assuring his noble friend, that following his precept rather than his example, he would studiously abstain from entering into that which his noble friend had promised not to touch upon, but which he had, notwithstanding largely dilated on—the question of the burdens on land. He (the Marquis of Lansdowne) would dismiss from his consideration this subject, which was in itself an immense and important one, but which, however, was not essentially connected with the present debate in any other sense than this, that whereas it was fit that justice should be done to the consuming classes in this country; it was also fit that at proper seasons justice should be done to the proprietors of land (hear, hear). This was the opinion which he had always held upon this subject; and it would be in the recollection of his noble friend, that he (the Marquis of Lansdowne) had never asserted it more strongly than at the present moment, when he thought it possible that he might have some influence in directing or advising the proceedings of their lordships' house. He would implore of their lordships, however, to dismiss from their minds the question of the burdens on land, and to fix their attention on the consideration, in its intrinsic merits, of what his noble friend (Lord Ashburton) had very properly described as one of the greatest questions, if not the very greatest that had ever been submitted to their notice (hear, hear, hear). That question which had for years engaged public public attention—which had for years been the subject of debate and discussion in Parliament and out of it—which had been canvassed for such a length of time in every town and village of the country—assumed a somewhat new aspect as it presented itself to their lordships' consideration, for now for the first time it came before them in the shape of a bill which had been taken under the special charge of her Majesty's Government, and which had been sanctioned by a majority of the other house. His noble friend who had just sat down, and the noble lord who addressed the house with such eloquence on Monday night—he meant the late Secretary for the Colonies—had said that against the decision of the House of Commons, recently come to and communicated to their lordships, he would set the decision of the House of Commons in 1842 (hear, hear). In fact, he said that he could set the House of Commons of 1842 against the House of Commons of 1846. But surely this was no fair mode whereby to dispose of such a question as the present. Unless it was to be supposed that the House of Commons became senile, infirm, and incapable of rational conduct in the fourth or fifth year of its existence, he could not understand on what ground the early decision of that house, arrived at in the days of its youth and inexperience, should be preferred to its maturer and more deliberate counsels (hear, hear). Another noble lord who addressed the house on Tuesday evening, and who had thought it necessary to apologise for doing so, though he had displayed a degree of talent which would entitle him to be heard with attention at any time—had been so rash as to say that the majority on this question in the House of Commons, though a clear one, was not a clean one; but he would take the liberty of inquiring of the noble lord whether he pretended (and if so, on what ground?) that the former decision of the Commons against the repeal of the Corn Laws was more clean than the more recent one in favour of that repeal (loud cheers)? Could a decision be ever arrived at by either house of Parliament to which could be attached that degree of importance which the decisions of the legislature ought to command, if it were to be required that those decisions should in all cases be come to without the exercise of any authority or influence brought to bear on the great mass or body of the persons composing the deliberative assembly (hear, hear, hear)? It would be foolish and irrational to make any such requirement, for in all assemblies of men the leading minds must ever exercise great influence and authority (hear, hear, hear). It was not for their lordships to enter into an examination of the motives which had influenced the House of Commons, when, by a large majority, they sent up to them for their concurrence and approval this bill, intended to settle a most important and difficult question. The noble lords opposite had thought fit voluntarily to reveal the circumstances under which and the occasions on which of late years their private meditations had differed from their public votes (hear, hear, and a laugh); but, although they had in the exercise of their private discretion thought proper to make these revelations, he did not think he had any right to urge them to give information on such points. He protested against dragging either them or their supporters to the confessional. It was enough for him that they had altered their minds. He was to take the decision of the House of Commons as he found it, and he received it as the emphatic declaration of the people through their representatives (hear, hear). Thus much on the subject of the majority. And now, before entering on the commercial view of this question, he wished to say a few words on two points, on both of which his noble friend had touched, and which were to be regarded as separate and distinct, and as preliminary to the general consideration of this question. The first of these was one to which the noble lord the late Secretary for the Colonies had attached much

importance—this country's independence of foreign nations in the supply of food, and the political danger which he feared would arise from the admission and constant importation of foreign corn into this country. The noble and learned lord on his left (Lord Brougham) had most triumphantly exposed the fallacy and utter groundlessness of any apprehension of danger on this score, by referring to the great historical fact, which no one had ventured to impeach, namely, Napoleon's utter inability (notwithstanding all his gigantic influence was exerted towards that end) to prevent England from having a foreign supply of corn during the war (hear, hear). Despite of all his exertions, foreign grain poured in enormous quantities into this country during the war; and were it not that the fact was so, the price would have been 150s. a quarter instead of 105s. (hear, hear). As it was, there was great scarcity during the war, but had it not been for the foreign supply, there would have been absolute famine, so that a reference to our history in war-times, so far from showing that it was unsafe or inexpedient to rely on a supply from foreign ports, proved the very opposite fact. The fact was that if, from political considerations, dependence on foreign countries was to be avoided, it could only be avoided at the expense of the farmer, who must be made to grow more corn than he could sell in one year, in order to secure a supply for another (hear, hear). This being obviously the fact, he was, he confessed, not a little surprised to find noble lords standing up to maintain that the sliding scale was the system which was best calculated to ensure security on this point. Why, if there ever was a law so contrived as to expose the country to the danger of political animosity, it was the law of the sliding scale (hear, hear). In the case of fixed duty or Free Trade, there would be always a regular growth of corn in other lands especially designed for this country, and the home-growers could make their arrangements accordingly; but the sliding-scale system was fraught with the most dangerous results; for when there was scarcity in England it proclaimed the fact all over the world, and that was the moment for foreign nations—supposing them to be animated with no very friendly feelings towards England—to step forward and say, "You are suffering from scarcity; now, we will stop your supplies, and reduce you to starvation" (hear, hear). So it was clear that if there was any system which left us more than another at the mercy of the foreigner, it was the sliding-scale system (hear, hear). There was another point he would allude to. The opponents of the present measure appeared to be haunted by the apprehension that a considerable alteration in the social system of this country must ensue as the consequence of the repeal of the Corn Laws (a laugh). Nor was this strange idea confined alone to the occupants of the cross-benches, nor indeed exclusively to this country, for he had it on high authority that an eminent personage in a neighbouring country had pronounced a glowing eulogium on the right honourable baronet at the head of her Majesty's Government for having undertaken to cause a revolution in the social system of England (laughter). He thought it extremely doubtful whether the right honourable baronet would be inclined to regard this as a compliment, for most assuredly nothing could be more remote from his intention than any such purpose (hear, hear, hear). The only constitutional change that could by any possible contingency be involved would be the imputed diminution of respect and consideration to the landed proprietors, but even this apprehension was unfounded and absurd. Let the regulations of society as to commerce or manufactures be what they might, there would always attach to the possession of land an importance which would give to the landed proprietors not more power than they ought to have, but their just and legitimate position, and a preponderating influence in the affairs of government and legislation (loud cries of "hear, hear"). Many appeals to experience and testimony of the past had been made by the opponents of this measure; but it appeared to him that they entirely overrated, and indeed misunderstood their pretensions in this respect. He would not go so far as to say that he altogether approved of this measure in all its bearings (loud cries of "hear, hear," from the protectionist peers); but this he would say, that those who were friendly to the general principles on which this bill was based, and thought them wise and salutary, were the men who founded themselves on experience (hear, hear). Whatever may be urged on the score of political economy, this at all events was certain, that those who were friendly to the principle of this bill were emphatically the men who relied upon experience, and that it was those who maintained the protective system who were supporting theorists (hear, hear). Whatever restrictions on commerce had been introduced into the legislation of this country were so many experiments, and all these experiments had failed, and were ultimately abandoned without any attempt being subsequently made (*vide* the case of wool) to restore them, or call them into renewed existence (hear, hear). And he begged their lordships to consider, when this commercial policy was called the system of our ancestors, that there never had been a fixed system at all. The barometer of commercial policy had always pointed to change, and if it was to be deemed a part of and bound up with our institutions and religion, our institutions and religion could not have been the same for these twenty years. Look to every change that had taken place in the course of the last thirty or forty years, and the effect of those changes in respect of wool, of silk, and of hops (hear, hear). His noble friend who had quoted Mr. Huskisson would remember that one of the first and ablest efforts of that statesman in the way, not of maintaining, but of destroying protection, was the doing away with the duty on silk (hear, hear). And when that wise man made the attempt to do that, who had been his opponent? His noble friend (hear, hear), who had thought Mr. Huskisson a most hard-hearted man for not duly weighing the misery he was inflicting upon the large part of the population he was throwing out of employment. Mr. Huskisson said he might be called hard-hearted, but he would persevere, and persevere he did. What was the result? Instead of 2,000,000 lbs. of silk, 6,000,000 lbs. were manufactured (hear, hear). Did his noble friend find in this an instance of the value of the system of our forefathers? Did it appear that large bodies of labourers were dependent upon the system of protection, when the effect of this change was not only to preserve a large number of them, who could not otherwise have subsisted, but to call many into existence (hear, hear). The case was the same with respect to wool. He would not weary their lordships with the figures, but those who had paid attention to the subject knew that there had been an immense increase. As to our shipping, which had been dwelt upon as an instance of the mischief attending the removal or relaxation of our commercial system, what were the facts? His noble friend had surely read from the wrong paper when he drew the inferences he had with respect to shipping. In 1820, the ton-

nage in the ports of England was 2,648,593, and in 1832 the number of tons entered inwards—and the numbers entered outwards bore a proportionate increase—was 1,936,000. In 1845, the number of tons was 3,669,000. And this was called a diminution of tonnage in England under tariff relaxations. Could anything be more decisive as to the state of the shipping interest? and until other figures were brought to confute those he should assert that the shipping interest was never more prosperous. He cared not that the tonnage in other countries had increased also (hear, hear). God forbid the effect of any of our systems should be to diminish the trade of any country on the globe! On the contrary, he regarded it as an additional source of satisfaction, that if our tonnage had increased, that of other countries had increased even in a greater degree (hear, hear). He accepted it as a benefit, and he considered that both the one increase and the other was conducive to the wealth and prosperity of all (hear, hear). In 1785 Mr. Pitt introduced commercial propositions relative to our trade with Ireland, which were founded upon the principle of liberty of commerce. But then, as now, there had not been wanting persons who saw in the adoption of such resolutions nothing but ruin and destruction. At that time, Colonel Stanley, a near relative of his noble friend the late Secretary for the Colonies, came forward and presented a petition, which he enforced with a speech stating in common with the petitioners, who prayed to be heard by counsel at the bar in proof of their allegations, that what was about to be done would put the finishing stroke to the cotton manufacture in England. And what was this proposal which excited so much alarm? The admission of Irish flustians and cottons (hear, hear, hear). The petitioners declared, that if once those productions were admitted, there would be an end of the English cotton manufacture. The resolution, however, was carried into effect, and to this day Ireland, unfortunately, did not produce cotton manufactures for her own use, while the English cotton manufactures had doubled, nay quadrupled, quintupled, which proved how little it was dependent upon protection (hear, hear). The next year came on the commercial treaty with France, which was debated in their lordships' house in a form he could have wished the present question to have before them—that of a resolution, by which Mr. Pitt afforded to their lordships an opportunity of alteration, of which they were now deprived. In that debate, an individual of high eminence, of great knowledge, and scientific attainments, whom he (the Marquis of Lansdowne) remembered in early youth, he meant Dr. Watson, Bishop of Landaff, put forth this notion of protection, and told their lordships that they were overturning all the experience of their ancestors by this treaty of commerce, and like the late noble Secretary for the Colonies, the bishop read the preamble of an act of the reign of Charles the Second, which said—"Whereas, it is universally known that the wealth of the country is disappearing, and ruin is advancing, from the money sent out of the country for the purchase of French wines" (hear, hear, and laughter). That was the experience of our ancestors, to which reference had been made, and revering as he did the experience of our ancestors upon the great principles of the constitution and government under which we lived, believing that our ancestors had laid that government upon the surest and most certain foundations, and had contributed thereby to the greatest happiness and prosperity of the country, he could not extend his respect to a principle such as that which they had thought fit to apply to our commercial policy. If his noble friend at the head of the Board of Trade would look through all the papers and memorials which, from time to time, had been presented to that board, he would find that the commerce of the country had encountered more dangers and hair-breadth escapes than had ever fallen to the lot of any voyager-adventurer, not excepting Sindbad the sailor himself. Never had an alteration or improvement been adopted, but commerce had been represented as standing on the brink of a precipice, whence it would presently be hurled to the bottom. Nevertheless, after a few years, it had always been found placed on a higher eminence than before, and further out of the reach of danger and difficulty. He therefore confidently repeated his opinion that experience was against and not for protection and prohibition. Nothing could lead him to believe that the British farmer, with all the advantages of increased knowledge, and the easiest possible communication, with the certainty of a growing population around him, was dependent for his prosperity upon the sickly atmosphere of protection (cheers). His noble friend had quoted Mr. Huskisson for the purpose of gaining the sanction of his name to the maintenance of the prohibitory system for the production of the land; but it was to be wished when his noble friend told their lordships that he had not only quoted the opinions of that statesman in 1815, but in 1826, that his noble friend had not entirely suppressed his opinions of 1830. But as his noble friend had quoted Mr. Huskisson, he (the Marquis of Lansdowne) must be permitted to read a remarkable sentence or two contained in the last speech that statesman ever made (hear, hear), and then he would leave their lordships to decide whether his authority would be quoted in favour of a prohibitory policy:—"Our Corn Laws, however expedient to prevent other evils in the present state of the country, are in themselves a burden and a restraint upon its commercial and manufacturing industry. Whilst the products of that industry must descend to the level of the general market of the world, the producers, so far as food is concerned, are debarred from that level. If the price of sustenance—that is, the price of those particular articles which we never export and are frequently compelled to import—be materially dearer here than anywhere else, that dearness cannot be shifted to the articles which we do export. It must fall in the way of deduction either upon the wages and comforts of the labourer, or upon the profits of those who afford him employment" (cheers). After that quotation, from the last opinions of Mr. Huskisson, it would be most extraordinary to him to hear the authority of that statesman claimed for the maintenance of the Corn Law. The opinions of the farmers had been referred to, and whatever his noble friend might say of the farmers of the south, there were hardly any persons better informed, more long-sighted or more intent on acquiring the means of forming a correct judgment than the Scotch farmers (hear, hear). He held in his hand a list of lettings which had taken place last year in some of the most important places, at an advance varying from 10 to 25 and 30 per cent. (The noble marquis here read the list, but in so low a tone as to be inaudible in the gallery.) Again, they were told that the system of protection was good for other things, and therefore must be good for the cultivation of the soil. We had the experience of a now very important article—that of flax. That was formerly protected, but the protection was in a great degree removed in 1824, and was finally and entirely removed in 1842. At that time memorials to the Board of Trade, petitions to Par-

liament, depositions of members of Parliament to the Treasury abounded, to represent all the injury that would ensue from the withdrawal of protection. What had been the effect of the measure? The produce of Irish flax in 1841, before the withdrawal of the last protection, was 25,000 tons; two years after the protection had been withdrawn it was 36,000 tons (hear, hear), so that unprotected flax had extended itself with the most unaccountable rapidity, in spite of all the terrors and fears which the removal of the protection had inspired. He took from the evidence of Mr. Blake, a very intelligent witness, examined by Lord Devon's Commission in its inquiries in the north of Ireland, these questions as to flax: "What is the state of the country as regards the cultivation of flax?"—"The cultivation is daily becoming more prevalent." Mr. McCulloch was afterwards asked whether he considered flax a remunerative crop, and he said that of late years it had become a remunerative crop (hear, hear). Then he had the evidence both of figures and of persons staying in the country, the best of all evidence, that the withdrawal of protection was immediately followed by the increase of cultivation in the case of flax. Perhaps some noble lord would tell him that the increase was owing to the protection of the linen manufactures; but that would not do, for the protection was withdrawn from them in the same year, and our linen manufactures were left to compete with the foreigner. Then he said he concurred with Mr. Huskisson, not in those earlier opinions which his noble friend had quoted, but in his later opinions which he omitted to quote, that the Corn Laws, as declared in the last speech pronounced by him in 1830, were an impediment to the progress of commerce and manufactures, and ought to be repealed (hear, hear). He did maintain that the speculations of calamity founded on the removal of past restrictions had completely deceived those who entertained them, and that they had been succeeded by an immense increase in the prosperity of the country. Those persons who had entertained these apprehensions, and denounced those reforms as dire calamities, if permitted to revisit this country, would, with undoubted confidence in their own predictions, have rushed to scenes which they would have expected to see reduced to desolation:

"Desertosque videre locos, litusque relictum," but would have found them the flourishing seats of industry and wealth. His noble friend, the late Secretary for the Colonies, had told them there was a danger of too great prosperity of manufactures; but how had the agricultural community reached the prosperity it now enjoyed, but through the agency of manufactures? They were told last night that too little was said of the importance of the home market to the manufactures, and that it was to that the manufacturers ought to look. He had recently read a historical account of the county with which his noble friend the late Secretary for the Colonies was immediately connected—that of Lancashire, which well illustrated this subject. He knew nothing peculiar in the circumstances of that county, which might not equally apply to the whole kingdom. In the course of the last 150 years, the property of the county, as a whole, had been advanced 6300 per cent., while the property of the agricultural parts had been advanced in the time 3500 per cent. Now, he would ask their lordships, had not the manufacturing parts advanced 6300 per cent., if it would have been possible for the agricultural parts to have advanced 3500 per cent. (hear, hear)? One was the effect of the other; the increase in the value of landed property in this country depended, and would depend on the greater increase in the manufacturing property of the country. He therefore said it was short-sighted indeed not to consider that the manufacturing interest was entitled to its part in the universal prosperity of the country (hear, hear). Many seemed to consider manufacturing prosperity as a kind of unhealthy reptile, which the state physician was to keep down, and not to encourage by allowing it to obtain the cheapest food in the cheapest market. Others of their lordships entertained opinions favourable to a fixed duty. He (the Marquis of Lansdowne) had never dissembled his opinions as to a fixed duty; he had omitted no fit occasion to state his preference for a fixed duty as a mode of settling this question. He thought that this would have been preferable, first because he was unwilling to impair the revenue of the country; he was for it, because, if adopted on a moderate scale, it appeared to him consistent with a very large import of foreign corn, and furthermore with the freest intercourse with foreign nations (hear, hear). He was not ashamed to say that he was for it also, because wishing that in all great changes the sentiments and feelings, and even the prejudices of large bodies of men should be consulted, it had appeared to him that the adoption of such a duty would naturally conciliate such an amount of support from those who constituted what was called the landed interest, as would enable a settlement to be adopted which might be considered equally satisfactory to others as to them (hear, hear). These were his opinions, and if he had the settlement of this question in his hands at present, these would still be his opinions (hear, hear). But the question he was now called upon to answer, and must answer to himself, was, whether, in voting in committee for any amendment calculated to have that effect, he should not be, in fact, nominally voting for such an amendment, but really voting against the settlement of this question (hear, hear). He could not disguise from himself that whether the forms of the two houses of Parliament were or were not what they ought to be, yet, after the sentiments expressed by the right honourable gentleman at the head of her Majesty's Government, possessing a great though diminished influence in the other house of Parliament—after the letter written in November last, but to which he (the Marquis of Lansdowne) was no party, by his noble friend the member for the city of London—after the general sentiments expressed in favour of the change in doors and out of doors—he was obliged to conclude that the effect of such an amendment being to throw out this bill, it would be followed, not by a fixed duty, but by a bill of a totally different description (cries of "hear, hear"). Under these circumstances, looking, as he was bound to do, to the practice of the constitution, and finding the practical inference confirmed by the speech of his noble friend the late Secretary for the Colonies the other night, who directed the whole scope of his argument quite as much against a fixed duty as a sliding scale, and studiously took the high ground of protection, not of revenue, for the purpose of letting them understand how little they had to hope from him as to the enactment of a fixed duty under that influence; after these circumstances, and having deliberately reflected on the consequences that might be expected to follow a different line of conduct, he had finally determined, for the purpose of obtaining a settlement in this country, to accept the bill as tendered by her Majesty's Government (hear, hear). His fears and hopes as to the result of the bill as connected with the fall

or rise of the price of provisions in this country, were neither up to the apprehensions entertained on the one side by the noble lords opposite, nor up to the equally exaggerated expectations entertained on the other as to the great increase of cheapness. He thought the way in which the bill would answer the objects of its framers, and be productive of great and lasting beneficial consequences to this country would be by a gradual and certain extension of commerce, placed on a solid foundation (hear, hear). The increase of the linen trade, and the much greater amount of flax grown, was an instance of the manner in which it might be expected to operate; extension of commerce would contribute to the wealth and prosperity both of the land and trade of this country, so that at the end of a few years, they would not be able to determine which benefited most. He had every confidence that the exertions of the British farmer would save him harmless from the effects resulting from any small decrease in the amount of the price of grain that might for a time ensue. He could not undoubtedly adopt the political economy of a man who was one of the greatest ornaments of this country, who, in one of his most beautiful poems had declared,

"That trade's proud empire hastes to swift decay,
As ocean sweeps the labour'd mole away."

Though he was inclined to adopt the sentiment of the two following lines, and apply them to the farmers and the landed interest of this country:

"A self-dependent power can time defy,
As rocks resist the billows and the sky."

(cheers). In that confidence he felt himself bound to give his vote in favour of the measure proposed to them by her Majesty's ministers (cheers).

SPEECH OF LORD DALHOUSIE.

The Earl of DALHOUSIE.—I am sure your lordships will do me the justice to believe that I am entirely sincere when I say, that in rising to submit to your lordships the reasons which induce me to give my vote in favour of the second reading of this bill, and to bear my share of the responsibility of proposing it, I do so under a deep and unfeigned distrust of my own capacity to discharge the task which devolves upon me. I should labour under a feeling of still stronger discouragement, were it not that I venture even now to hope that I may receive at your lordships' hands a continuance of that kindness and indulgence which for many years your lordships have invariably shown me (hear, hear). I should not have contested with the noble baron the right to occupy the attention of the house, were it not that there was an understanding (the noble duke will bear me out) that I should follow the noble lord who had sat down. [The Duke of Richmond.—"After the noble marquis spoke, it was right that a protectionist should answer him; your lordships have already heard, that though the noble earl was once a protectionist, he is not so now."] "I hope the house will not permit itself to lose its good humour; I can assure your lordships that nothing whatever shall fall from me calculated in the slightest degree to increase the feelings of impatience, and I hope the house will not be offended if I say of discontent, which it is too apparent prevail among your lordships. In the course of the debate here and elsewhere it has divided itself into two parts; one of these has reference to the merits of the measure itself, and the other to the conduct of those by whom it has been brought forward; and there have been said things which it is, no doubt, hard to listen to and galling to bear. I am not about, either on the part of myself or of my noble friends by my side, to offer any complaint upon that subject. We cannot help being conscious, that however strong are our own convictions of the expediency and the necessity of the course we have pursued, the introduction of the measure by us cannot but have created feelings of mortification in the minds of those with whom we have hitherto acted, and I at once admit that we have no right to be quickly sensitive to the natural expression of that feeling (hear, hear). I assure your lordships again that, if I can help it, not a word shall fall from my lips calculated to increase any animosity which may at present exist (hear). My noble friends, I am sure, will not be inclined to think that I misstate the case when I say that a large proportion of that which has been stated by them was stated previously in the brilliant and comprehensive address delivered by the noble lord the late Secretary for the colonies. I am sure that they will not think it flows from any disrespect to them, if I direct myself chiefly to his speech, which was so comprehensive, as a whole, and which, in my opinion, placed the matter on those grounds on which alone I think it is expedient this question should be considered. The noble lord gave his opinion, not only on this bill, but submitted to the house his views on the whole commercial policy of the country. He stated that he objected to this bill because he wished to sustain protection to native industry. Now, the bill which is submitted to your lordships, and in which is proposed a change of the law, is based on precisely the opposite principles, and it is in defence of that proposed change that I now address your lordships, for I feel bound to maintain the opinion I hold, that the principle of protection is altogether unsound (cheers). I believe that the principle of protective duties is unjust to the consumer, by raising the price of the article he purchases, and in the long run in no degree beneficial to the producer (hear, hear). I found that opinion, not merely on the teaching of political economists, for it has not been impressed on my mind with a fearful and irresistible weight by that which my noble friend (Lord Ashburton) has referred to this evening, as that "awful thing" political economy (a laugh); but I have derived this opinion from an examination of the history of the commerce of this country—and the authority I shall to-night quote is the greatest of all authorities—I mean the authority of fact (hear, hear, hear). I maintain that the history of our commercial legislation,—more especially of the last 30 years, and, above and beyond all, the history and course of our commercial legislation, which the noble lord the late Secretary for the Colonies the other evening referred to so much in illustration of the tariff of 1842,—affords demonstration of the truth of the doctrine I have just laid down (hear, hear). Permit me here to address to the house a few words personally relating to myself. In making the statement I do now with respect to the principle of protection, I say nothing at variance with the sentiments I have ever expressed in this house (cheers). During the three years I have conducted a portion of the public business of the country, not only has nothing been said by me adverse to the opinion I express now, but that opinion itself has always been held and expressed by me (hear). It has been my lot to express this opinion amid the dearest and duldest silence of noble lords on this side of the house, while it received the cheers of the noble marquis and the noble lords who usually agree with him on the outside of the house (hear); when noble lords beside him were shaking their heads at the doctrine which he put forth, while

noble lords opposite nodded acquiescence (hear). The noble lord proceeded to say, that upon occasions when he was called upon to bring forward any liberal measure in that house, the noble duke on the cross benches, if he supported the motion, did so not because he loved the sentiments of the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, but because he abjured and hated them in some degrees less than he did those of his noble friend's opposite (hear). During the 11 years he had been in public life he had not in any one case expressed an opinion adverse to that which he now held on this question. He had the honour of a seat in the other House of Parliament for an agricultural constituency, the county of East Lothian, and never to them on the hustings or elsewhere had he uttered a word adverse to his present principles. He never gave a vote on the Corn Laws but one, and that was for a diminution of duty, and a relaxation of protection (hear). He asked pardon for thus occupying their attention with matters personal to himself, but as that debate had turned so much on inconsistency, he thought it due to himself to say thus much (cheers). It would be unpardonable in him at that late hour of the night, and in the temper of the house, and after the fatigue it had endured, to proceed at any length to illustrate the views he held upon this question; but he did feel strongly the extreme importance of not permitting the speech of the noble lord (Lord Stanley) on the commercial policy pursued by her Majesty's Government to go unanswered. He would not go into details, but would touch merely on two or three of the points urged by the noble lord. But he had stated to their lordships that he rested wholly on facts for the principles he entertained, and was prepared to go into the question and to deny that the commercial prosperity of this country had risen from the operation of protection, and in this he agreed with Lord Liverpool, who was not usually quoted by noble lords opposite on such a question as this, but who had said he thought it more than doubtful whether the prosperity of the various trades, woollen more particularly, had not existed in despite of, and not in consequence of protection (hear, hear). He was prepared to combat the statements of the noble lord, on the authority of Mr. Greg, and to assert that with respect to the woollen, cotton, linen, silk, iron, and, indeed, every branch of trade in the country, not only did they not flourish by reason of the principle of protection, but that they flourished just as that protection was removed. Nay, more, that they flourished all the better in proportion as that protection was removed (cheers). His noble friend had adverted to various points in the tariff of 1842, and he made certain statements as to the price of wool and timber, and ships in the Baltic trade, and guano ships, the whole tendency of which was to impugn the effect of that tariff, and to show that protection to native industry ought to be continued. The noble lord then went on to say that he remembered his noble friend had two years ago remarked on the great increase on the importation of butter, and he had stated the other night that that increase was owing to the duty having been lowered; but there were two reasons why that effect could not be traced to the reduction of duties. The first was, that the duty had not been lowered; the second was, that the importation had not increased (a laugh). He should endeavour to say nothing respecting the statement of his noble friend (Lord Stanley) which ought not to be said in his absence. One of his noble friend's statements was that his right hon. friend (Sir Robert Peel) had made it his boast that the tariff of 1842 had had the effect of increasing the prices of articles, and that he argued that increased competition tended to raise the prices of articles. Now, his right hon. friend had made no such statement. His right hon. friend said that, notwithstanding the alarm that was expressed that the tariff would have the effect of lowering prices, those prices had not been lowered, and he distinctly stated that the result was not owing to the operation of the tariff, but that he mentioned it only to show that the apprehensions that were felt at that time had not been realised. What had been the effect of protecting wool with reference to the price? In 1819, when the duty of 6d. a lb. was imposed, the price was 1s. 4d., which had fallen, under the operation of protection, to 10d. in 1826. He had by him a paper which had been laid on the table containing the prices and quantities of wool from 1818 to 1845, and the return was made so extensive in order to comprise three different rates of duty. In 1818 the duty was 3d. a lb.; in 1819 it was 6d. a lb., which it continued till 1826, when the duty was lowered to 1d., and that duty remained until 1844, when it was finally abolished. Now, when the duty of 6d. a pound was proposed, those who urged that a protective duty was necessary were distinctly told that it would have the effect of lowering the price, for that foreign wool was essentially necessary for combination with our own wools in the manufacture of cloth, and that the demand for home wool would diminish if foreign wool were rendered so much dearer, and that the price would accordingly fall. The price when that duty was imposed was 2s. 6d., the importation of foreign wool being about 17,000,000lb. During the continuance of the high duty the importation fell from 17,000,000lb. to 14,000,000lb., and the price of home grown wool fell to 1s. 4d. The consequence was that our woollens were entirely excluded from the markets of the Continent, and in fact from that hour to the present the woollen trade had never wholly recovered from the blow then inflicted upon it. His noble friend would have found, if he had looked a little more closely into the subject, that the price had begun to revive upon taking off the high duty of 6d. a lb., and had continued to increase up to 1834, when it was 1s. 3d.; that was to say, the price was as high with an importation of 42,084,247lb., as when the importation was only 17,000,000lb. The price was now 1s. 4d. Whether, therefore, his noble friend had in the case of wool made out his position that on lowering the duty on importation the price fell, he would leave to their lordships to consider, the price having been 2s. 6d. under a low duty in 1818, and having fallen to 1s. 4d. under the operation of a high duty. Then his noble friend had said, "Look to the case of timber; you lowered the duty on foreign timber in 1842;" and then he put it to his noble friend at the head of the Woods and Forests to say whether the prices of Crown timber sold in England had not to a considerable extent fallen. Now, he (the Earl of Dalhousie) held in his hand a return, not of a single sale of timber, but of the contracts of the whole of the British navy. The price of oak timber from Tuscany in 1841 was 12l. 4s. 6d.; in 1845 it was 10l. 14s. 8d. Dantzic oak in 1841 was at 14l.; in 1846 it had fallen to 12l. But the price of English oak in 1841 was 12l. 14s. 6d.; in 1842, 12l. 14s. 4d.; in 1843, 11l. 1s. 4d.; in 1846 it was again 12l. 14s. 6d., showing that the operation of the reduction of duty had not been to lower prices. Those were the contract prices.

The Duke of RICHMOND: My noble friend was speaking of sales of British timber.

The Earl of DALHOUSIE resumed by saying that the

question was, what was the contract price? Now, the conditions and circumstances were precisely the same in the four years to which he had referred; and whatever had operated on the price in 1841 had had precisely the same effect in 1846. His noble friend (Lord Stanley) said, "See what you have done with the shipping interest: the number of British ships employed in the Baltic timber trade in 1839 was 612, whilst in 1845 it had fallen to 609; the number of foreign ships was 566 in 1839, and in 1844 it was 1845." He (Lord Dalhousie) did not deny that there were more foreign than English ships employed in the timber trade; but their lordships should bear in mind that those ships were of small capacity, and unfit for any other purpose; they were kept afloat by the cargo they carried. However, the whole amount of our shipping trade generally with the Baltic had not diminished. In 1842, which was the first year of the tariff, the British ships employed in the Baltic amounted to 3519, with a tonnage of 613,000; and in 1844 the number of British ships was 4424 (being an increase of about a thousand), with a tonnage of 818,000, being an increase of 200,000 tonnage (hear, hear). So much as respected the trade with the Baltic. Perhaps their lordships would permit him to read an extract which must have greater authority than anything he could say, inasmuch as it consisted of observations stated at a business meeting, and related to affairs in which the interests of the parties present were concerned. At a late meeting of the dock companies at Liverpool, the chairman said that some surprise had been expressed at the increase of 100,000 tonnage talked of some time since; but he now had to deal with an increase, not of a hundred thousand, but of hundreds of thousands; the increase in six months, from June to the 31st of December last, having exceeded that of any previous period, inasmuch as it showed an increase of 600 vessels and 209,409 tonnage over the corresponding six months of the preceding year (hear, hear, hear). Now, what were the expectations of these parties under a relaxation of the protective laws? The chairman proceeded to say, that in proportion as they afforded accommodation, in the same proportion they would draw trade to the port of Liverpool; and supposing that at no distant period the rates of duty on other foreign productions, which were now virtually excluded, should be modified, it would not be in the power of any man to divine, whenever those duties should be reduced, what accommodation would be required at the port of Liverpool, which stood in the pre-eminent position of having 203 acres of dock with 15 miles of quay-way (hear, hear). After this would their lordships say that the tariff of 1842 had been injurious to the shipping interest (hear, hear)? With respect to the number of ships employed, his noble friend (Lord Stanley) took a return on the table, and said that up to 1832 there had been a biennial increase of tonnage amounting to 180,000, whilst in the two years after the tariff the increase had only been 17,000 tonnage. That was true; but there was an explanation of the circumstance, which was this, that during the four years from 1839 onwards, there was an immense and inordinate speculation in shipping; and in consequence of that, application was made for a duty to be laid on colonial shipping, and a committee was appointed in the other house to inquire into the subject. That was the reason why the tonnage appeared to be so small in the two years referred to; but if they compared 1843 with 1845, instead of comparing 1842 with 1844, they would find that, instead of there being an increase of 17,000 tonnage only, the increase was 126,684 tonnage (hear, hear). He now came to the other branch of the subject to which his noble friend had adverted—protection to corn. His noble friend had stated to their lordships in the first place that he had high authority to adduce on this point, and he mentioned the names of Chatham, Pitt, and Huskisson. Now, he (Lord Dalhousie) entertained, quite as highly as any noble lord could do, reverence for the wisdom of our ancestors; but, with reference to Lord Chatham, for instance, it was utterly impossible that, unless he had possessed the faculty of omniscience, he could have expressed an opinion with respect to the fiscal and social relations of the present day (hear, hear, hear). On questions relating to the immutable laws of the liberty of the subject Lord Chatham's opinions were unquestionably of paramount importance; but upon a question respecting the regulation of commerce, it was utterly impossible that Lord Chatham, or any other person could have foreseen or anticipated the state of things which now exists (hear, hear, hear). Then with respect to Mr. Pitt, it was impossible for anyone who adverted to the proceedings of Mr. Pitt in 1787, or who read his speeches, to doubt that if he had lived now he would have been the foremost to advocate the policy which had now been submitted to their lordships, and to bring the whole weight of his vast influence and his gigantic talents in carrying this policy into effect (hear). Mr. Huskisson lived at a later period, and did not therefore lie under the disability to which he had referred. But he (Lord Dalhousie) appealed to him—he called his voice from the grave, in order to show that the course now pursued by the Government in the circumstances of the present time, and in the present condition of the country, was exactly such as he, if he had lived, would himself have pursued. (Here the noble lord quoted the sentiments of Mr. Huskisson). He begged to adduce to their lordships, as another authority on this subject, a noble lord whose name he was sure would be received with the greatest respect, as that of a man of the deepest sagacity, of enlarged experience, and great and varied powers of mind—he meant the late Lord Lauderdale. That noble lord was as strong an advocate of the Corn Laws as anybody; but he advocated them solely because he thought, that while protection was extended to other interests, it ought not to be withdrawn from agriculture; and he distinctly indicated his opinion, that as soon as protection was removed from other articles it should be removed from agriculture also (hear). A noble lord (Lord Ashburton) who sat beside him, repeating a statement which was made on the preceding night, said that they were going to do that which no country on earth ever thought of attempting to do—namely, establish a free trade in corn; and he asked them to solve the question what they were to do in cheap years, when the ports of this country were the only ports open to the importation of foreign corn. His noble friend (Lord Stanley) had cited all the countries of Europe, from Turkey round to Sweden, stating that each and all of them had a Corn Law; and that statement had been repeated to-night. Now, it was quite true that each and all of them had a Corn Law; but what sort of Corn Laws were they? Were they anything like the Corn Law in this country? No, they were nothing like it (hear, hear). There was none of them imposed for the sake of protection, and none of them whatever excluded foreign corn in the years to which his noble friend had referred (hear, hear). He (Lord Dalhousie) held in his hand a statement of the various Corn Laws in Europe, which he would read to their lordships. In Turkey there was a duty

upon corn of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*. In the Danube provinces of Turkey (which he begged their lordships to bear in mind were the corn-growing provinces), the duty was 3 per cent. *ad valorem*, and there was no point which the population of those provinces held with greater tenacity than their right to have the duty at 3 instead of 5 per cent (hear, hear). How his noble friend could draw any argument in favour of protection from this source he declared he could not see. The Papal states of Italy admitted corn free when the price was 48s. per quarter. In Sardinia there was a duty of 5s. per quarter. In the smaller Italian states there was a duty of 3s. per quarter. In Tuscany the duty was a mere fraction. In Greece it was 2d. a quarter, and in Austria 3s. per quarter; and he begged their lordships to observe that Austria, possessing the rich provinces of Hungary, Transylvania, and Galicia, nevertheless in the ports of Venice, Fiume, and Trieste granted admission for the importation of foreign corn free of all duty.

Lord ASHBURTON remarked that Trieste was a free port.

Lord DALHOUSIE (in continuation) replied that he was quite aware of that; but that the corn was imported into the interior free of duty. In Spain and Portugal there was a total prohibition; and here he wished simply to mention one fact as showing what was the advantage or disadvantage of this description of protective duty on corn. The fact rested on the authority of official papers before their lordships, and it was this, that from Portugal and Spain corn could be purchased in the port of New York at 4s. 6d. per quarter, and brought back for sale into Spain while wheat was to be had on the plains of Castile at 1s. 6d. per bushel, but which was entirely useless, because from the high cost of carriage it was impossible to bring it to a part where it could meet a profitable sale; Belgium had a sliding scale, but free importation was allowed when wheat was 33s. a quarter. A similar regulation was adopted in Holland. In Mecklenburgh a duty of three per cent. was levied; in Hanover 6s. a quarter; and in Denmark 3s. a quarter. The duty levied in the places he had named ranged from three to five per cent. In Russia, a duty of 14s. a quarter was imposed on the importation of wheat. But were these countries in the habit of regulating their duties upon the system advocated in that house? No; and it was unnecessary to go further back than the present year to show the course they pursued. One of the earliest steps taken by the Government of Holland this year was altogether to suspend the Corn Laws (hear, hear). In Russia also—hermetically sealed Russia—the duties on the importation of corn were altogether removed; and in Belgium the Chambers were convoked in order to remit for a year the duties on corn. What analogy was there, then, in the course pursued by these countries in favour of a permanent protecting duty upon corn? What was the cause of their suspension of the importation duties? Did it arise from any great failure of the corn crops? No; but from the very same cause which had been treated with such distrust and discredit in that house—the failure of the potato crop (hear, hear). And yet some noble lords believed it would have been possible for her Majesty's ministers to have come down to Parliament and have asked the corn consumers of Great Britain to grant a sum of money to relieve the distress of the Irish people, while at the same time they maintained a duty of 11s. a quarter upon wheat (hear, hear). There was no alternative between that course and the suspension of the Corn Laws for a time; and he would ask whether, in the face of a suspension of the Corn Laws in other countries, if such a suspension had been adopted in this kingdom, it would not have been utterly impossible ever to attempt to restore the Corn Laws to their former position (hear, hear, and cheers)? It had been asserted that the main object of a Corn Law was to prevent a country from being dependent upon foreign supplies of corn; and the permanence of the law of 1842 had been advocated on the ground that, under the operation of that law, this object had been attained. It was said that the quantity of corn produced in this country was keeping pace with the demands of the population; and a noble friend of his stated that the importations of corn for the last 20 years had averaged 1,700,000 quarters per annum; while, during the last year, it had only been 305,000 quarters. From this circumstance the inference was drawn that of late years our dependence upon foreign supplies had been diminished; but they could not draw a correct inference from an average extending over so long a period as 21 years. The only way of arriving at a satisfactory result was to take an average, so far as they could, for equal periods. He held in his hand a return of the importations of corn into this country from 1791 to 1840, from which it appeared that in the first 10 years, from 1791 to 1800, the importations were 94,000 quarters; from 1801 to 1810, 555,000 quarters; from 1811 to 1820, 420,000 quarters; from 1821 to 1830, 534,000 quarters; and from 1831 to 1840, 908,000 quarters. Now, in the five years from 1840 to 1845, partly under the operation of the new Corn Law, the average importation had been 1,807,000 quarters annually, of which 1,583,000 quarters had been admitted for consumption. In 1843 the total entries for consumption were 990,000 quarters; in 1844, 1,026,000 quarters; and in 1845, 305,000 quarters. It was, therefore, evident, upon the face of these returns, that the importation of foreign corn was increasing, and that the existing law did not render us independent of supplies from other countries (hear, hear). Now, he would ask their lordships to consider for a single moment this question of dependence upon foreign countries. What single trade, or art, or employment of life was there with respect to which they were not almost hopelessly and entirely dependent for supplies upon foreign countries (hear, hear)? Let them take the case of the woollen trade. There was not one of their lordships who was not dependent upon foreign supplies for the coat he wore (a laugh). Nay, there was not one of their lordships' footmen who, if they were to propose to become independent of foreign supplies of wool, would not give warning to-morrow (laughter). But were they less dependent upon foreign supplies with regard to the cotton manufacture? His noble friend had stated that the total annual imports of cotton wool into this country amounted to 721,000,000 lbs. Did not this fact show how entirely, and almost hopelessly, they were dependent upon foreigners for their supply? So it was with respect to silk. They could not even carry on a war or fire a shot without being dependent upon foreign supply for the articles used in war (hear, hear). This country was dependent upon her exports and imports for her revenue, and she was therefore dependent upon foreign nations for the maintenance of her credit. From 1812 to 1814 they were at war with the United States, from which this country drew her supplies of cotton. Would it not have been death and destruction to them if the United States had stopped the supply of cotton to this country? But that had not been the case. The China war was another example, and our supplies of tea during the period of

the war were greater than in any year preceding. The same principle would govern other nations with respect to corn. If we were dependent upon them for our supplies, we could get what we wanted, notwithstanding they were at war with us, as had been the case during the war with Napoleon. But then his noble friend said "Look at the price!" Why, 10 years back the price was as high as in any of the years his noble friend had quoted. The price, too, had no effect upon the argument, which was, that if we were at war with other countries we could not obtain supplies of corn. During the course of the war in which we were engaged with the whole of Europe, large imports of corn came in every year. Even in 1810, we had importations from France itself, and he maintained that, if this country again required foreign supplies, those supplies would be got. The Government had been reproached for not stating what, in their opinion, the price of corn would be under the new system (hear, hear). He was not prepared to answer any demand so unreasonable—(cheers from the Opposition, and ironical cheers from the cross benches)—as to say what the actual and specific price of corn would be. He would also respectfully ask their lordships whether they were quite entitled to demand that information from him? Would they have been prepared in any given year, under the present system, to say what the price would be in the year following? It had been stated that, during the last 21 years the average price of wheat was 57s. But what consolation was it to the farmer to be told what was the average price during a series of years, if it had been racing up and down the scale during that period? In one year the price had been 58s., in the next it was 39s., in the next but one it was 64s., and in the next 57s. How could their lordships, when there had been such fluctuations under a system the boast of which was that it prevented fluctuation, ask him to name a specific price?

The Duke of RICHMOND.—Go to the last bill.

The Earl of DALHOUSIE said, that if he did not mistake, the noble duke had predicted precisely the same effects from the consequences of the bill of 1842 as he now prophesied from the operation of the present bill.

The Duke of RICHMOND said he never did anything of the sort. He did not vote for that bill, but he probably should have done so if he had happened to have been in the house.

The Earl of DALHOUSIE thought the noble duke had voted against that bill, but it was immaterial for the purposes of his argument. The present law had proved to demonstration that the whole system of averages was a fiction (cheers). The noble lord had boasted of the great fixedness and steadiness of price that had followed the law of 1842. The average price of the last year, 50s. 10d., had also been pointed to as a proof of the abundance of corn in this country. He maintained that that price of 50s. was no index whatever to the actual price of corn; it was only an index to the inferiority of the quality. He held in his hand a return of the prices at the different market towns, not of the lowest prices, but of the highest average towns and the lowest. In the year 1845, which was an abundant year, the highest price in January was 55s. and the lowest 40s.; in the next month the difference was from 55s. to 40s.; in the next, from 55s. to 38s.; and in the next from 54s. to 39s. In November of the same year, the difference was from 68s. to 48s.; and in the week ending the 29th, from 69s. to 38s. In January, 1846, the difference in the first week was between 69s. and 41s., in the next 67s. to 40s., and in the next 71s. to 42s.; and during other periods of the same year, the difference, instead of ranging at near 15s., as in former periods, was as much as 25s., 26s., 29s., 30s., 31s., 32s., and so on, while on the 28th of March it was between 69s. to 32s., or a difference of 37s. In the face of these facts to talk of equalising prices by means of this law was a gross fallacy. He had also the further evidence of the contract price from the Victualling office for the years 1843, 1844, 1845, and 1846. In January, 1843, the price of red wheat was 2l. 9s. 3d.; in January, 1844, 2l. 17s. 10d.; in 1845, 2l. 6s. 10d.; and in February, 1846, 3l. 5s. 5d.; and in other kinds there was a price varying from 3l. 7s. to 3l. 11s., in the face of the professed object of the law, which was to produce an average price of 50s. He therefore altogether repudiated the idea of attempting to fix a price. He was disposed to agree with Earl Spencer in his opinion that everything as regarded price would remain as nearly as possible where it was, and that the advantage of the measure would consist in the steadiness of trade, and the encouragement which the agriculture of the country would derive from the increased stimulus given by Free Trade to our manufactures. One false notion seemed to pervade all the arguments on this question,—it was that there should be an enormous importation of foreign grain under this measure. Whence was this supply to come? It seemed to be generally assumed that Germany, Denmark, Poland, Russia, some Austrian provinces, and the United States, were the countries from which the grain was to come. But noble lords who entertained those apprehensions never attempted to state in what quantities this grain would come, and where it was to come from. Mr. Jacobs, in 1828, visited the countries in the north of Europe, and reported that they could not send to this country a larger quantity than they then sent. In 1842, another gentleman was sent to the same countries to make the same enquiries; the result was embodied in the consular returns, and it was there stated that the whole amount which those countries could send to this country was 2,200,000 quarters of grain. There was nothing whatever to contradict, not the general assertion, but the facts stated by that gentleman to show that no great quantity could be imported into this country at all. He (the Earl of Dalhousie) perfectly credited the statement of the noble lord opposite as to the virgin soil and fertile plains that might be brought into cultivation in various countries in Europe. He did not dispute that there were millions on millions of acres on which corn might be raised; but what was their value if the corn was not attainable. As well might noble lords point to the plains of South America, where thousands upon thousands of cattle were roaming about. There was no doubt of the capacity of those countries which were so dreaded; there was no doubt of the abundance; but distance rendered the capacity and the abundance unavailable. He would not fatigue their lordships with calculations as to trade and carrying charges. With regard to the produce of Germany, and of Hungary, which found an exit northward, it went by rivers, which in winter were frozen and in summer were dried up. That which found an exit southward was transported in bullock-carts a distance of 250 miles by a very tedious mode of conveyance, raising the charges to a very high amount. So that, though in those countries the produce was large it was totally useless. The same was the case with Spain; no country could be more fertile; but though corn could be got at a very moderate rate in Castile, yet before it could have

been brought to the market of South America, as mentioned in Mr. Jacobs's report, the price it would have reached rendered it unavailable for the purposes of supply. In the Continental countries of which so much was said, cultivation was carried on by serfs; neither they nor their landlords had means for improving agriculture; their implements were of the rudest kind; and he did venture to think, that nothing had been stated by any noble lord to invalidate the testimony of the official documents to the fact that the quantities of corn introduced from those countries would be extremely limited, and that the price at which they could be brought was above anything that would yield such a return as to encourage importation. Their lordships had heard it stated the other evening, that 5,000,000 of quarters would, in three years, be brought into this country, purchased where the corn was produced at a price of 14s., and of excellent quality. He would not read letters to their lordships; but he would lay before them documents infinitely more authoritative, namely, actual bills of sale. He held three of these in his hand in reference to cargoes of grain imported from Galatz. They were purchased in the abundant year, 1844. They were not detained in warehouse, yet on each transaction there was a loss to a very great extent. They were sold on account of Mr. R. Gardner, Manchester. The first was purchased on July 29, 1844, and the price paid was not 14s., but 23s. 9d. per quarter. They were sold in bond on October 25, and the balance of loss was 10s. per quarter. Another cargo purchased in June, 1842, for 23s. 9d., was sold on October 12, and the balance of loss was 14s. 11d. per quarter. A third cargo purchased about the same time with the others for 18s. 9d. per quarter, was sold after a similar interval, when the balance of loss was 12s. 3d. per quarter. There were the invoices sent to him by a gentleman of high respectability, with whom he was, indeed, personally acquainted; but they bore evidence on their face of their value, for the agents in the transaction were Messrs. Baring Brothers (hear, hear). But supposing there was a large importation, it was not an entire surplus. The population was increasing, and it was as much as they could do to find supplies. And abroad the same necessity would be felt. If they grew for themselves, they could not grow wheat to send it here. In the course of 10 years the population of the different countries which were regarded with such apprehensions had greatly increased. Such was the case in Russia, Norway, the German States, and all the others. The population of Prussia had increased from 12,000,000 to 15,000,000. In Austria it increased, between 1820 and 1840, from 31,000,000 to 37,000,000. But there was another consideration which had not been fully dwelt upon in this debate with the weight that ought to be attributed to it, and that was, the increase of our own population (hear, hear, hear). There had been a total failure of proof to show that they could adopt fresh land to meet the wants of the increased population, or that they could increase the produce of that land for the same purpose. (The noble earl then referred to a report of the Sanitary Commission to show that the additional extent of territory annually required to meet the wants of the increasing population would be much larger than the counties of Leicester, Nottingham, Hereford, or Cambridge). In the last 30 years there has been an increase of 15 per cent. in the population, or of 300,000 a year. Did their lordships realise the fact that, since this bill now under consideration was introduced to Parliament, there were 100,000 souls and upwards more to feed? Was it in their power to increase the produce of the country in the same proportion (hear, hear)? No proof of that had ever been attempted (hear, hear). He did not believe that that immense increase of supply would take place; but if it did, would it meet the increase of population that was constantly going on (hear, hear)? Before he left this part of the subject he would direct their lordships' attention to the question of supply from the United States. He knew that it was usual to trace the United States as an unbroken and inexhaustible source of food. Such, however, was not the experience of past years, nor was it the opinion in the United States themselves. The wheat-producing states were limited to certain districts of country,—they were all in the extreme west, and, consequently, whatever was produced there could not reach this country from their own ports except at a large charge. Let them trace what had been the increase of supply in that country for a considerable number of years. He had the official tables of the states before him for the period from 1791 to 1840, and, although it appeared that the increase in produce had been enormous, as was admitted, yet the increase of population had been concurrent; and it appeared that now they had for export a smaller amount than they had 50 years ago. In 1790 the population was 3,900,000, and the wheat exported to foreign countries amounted to 4,700,000 bushels, being 28 per cent. of the whole produce. In 1820 the population had risen to 7,000,000, and the amount of wheat exported was 4,000,000 of bushels, being 14 per cent. of the whole produce. In 1840 the population had increased to 17,000,000, and the amount of wheat exported was only 12½ per cent. of the whole produce, or only half what it was formerly. That was the amount of wheat exported by the United States; and yet they were not without markets, for the markets of Cuba, of the West Indies, and of South America were open to them. Their lordships would see, then, that with the increase of population that was going on in the United States, the increase of produce would be required there. But there would be nothing like the enormous exportation that was expected from them into this country. Again, the prices of New York ruled at about 40s., and in addition to that there would be the cost of carriage before it could reach this country; so that, the same as with respect to the Continent, the expectation of an enormous importation was most unreasonable. But then it was said, "Why try this experiment in this great country?" It had been tried here before, and had perfectly succeeded; for from 1770 to 1791 we had practically and entirely Free Trade in corn. No doubt taxation at that time was not so heavy as now (hear, hear), but it was distinctly stated by writers of that period that it did weigh heavily upon labour here as compared with labour on the Continent. At that time we could grow corn cheap enough to export it to foreign countries; but what was the case in those years? Was the agriculture of the country in a depressed condition? By no means. On the contrary, large quantities of land were taken into cultivation. From 1766 to 1769, 300,000 acres were taken in, afterwards other large quantities, and high prices for that time ruled extremely low, varying from 41s. to 60s. In like manner they had tried it in other parts near their own doors. In Jersey they had had a Free Trade in corn, and the prices had ruled little, if at all, higher than prices here. He knew that noble lords would turn round and ask if they did not increase the supply, and did not anticipate a diminution of prices, why they proposed this change (hear, hear)? The Government did not propose it because

it would reduce prices, but because it would give a stimulus to trade, and set in motion the industry of this country, and provide the fullest means for agricultural employment. The noble duke shook his head, but he remembered last year, when he received deputations with respect to the railways, that with respect to each of the railways in the centre, or from the sides of this country, noble lords set forth the advantages it would afford for an easy and rapid access to the manufacturing districts (hear, hear). In the districts of Derbyshire this benefit was to be the access to Manchester; in the districts of Lincolnshire or Goole (laughter) it was still the access to manufacturing population; in Argyll and Dumfries it was an easy access to Fleetwood, and so to the manufacturing districts; and if in Ireland there was still the same burden of the song, the access was to be to some port whence they could reach Liverpool, and so the same manufacturing districts in England. Why was there this yearning after the manufacturing districts (hear, hear)? Because the manufacturing districts were the great markets for the agricultural. Every loom they stopped in Manchester stopped half a dozen ploughs in some agricultural part of the country (cheers). There could not be a closer connection between all these districts than was shown by the reports of committees and the statements of members of Parliament. Unless the manufacturing interests were in a state of prosperity, there was depression in the agricultural districts. Whatever promoted a demand in the manufacturing districts, acted as a stimulus in the agricultural districts also; and, therefore, in addition to the wish to impose no restriction on the free importation of the food of the people, the Government were convinced that this measure would be attended with none but good results to all classes, and would confer equal benefits on all districts, and hence it was that her Majesty's Government ventured to propose it to their lordships' attention (loud cheers). The noble baron near him (Lord Ashburton) had adverted to the colonial interests, and had asked whether they had anticipated the effect of this alteration of policy on the colonies, and he asked of what use were the colonies if they did not afford a protected market for our manufactures? He (the Earl of Dalhousie) ventured to think that the colonies would be of advantage to us if there were not a compulsory market. But the question raised by the noble lord was no longer open, the colonial system to which he referred had been broken long ago. In the West Indian colonies it was only in 1842 that under the presidency of his noble friend the late Secretary of the Colonies there was a free importation of many articles which previously came from Canada, and had since come from America, and in other colonies the maximum rate of differential duties on all articles, with few exceptions, such as tobacco, were only seven per cent.; which were nothing as compared with the rates which used to be in existence under the old colonial system. So far from forcing upon the colonies these protective duties, the constant struggle of this country had been to prevent the colonies from imposing greater differential duties than this country approved, and no part of the duty of the Colonial Office gave more trouble than sending back these acts imposing the higher differential duties. Therefore, the colonial system, as it used to be called, existed no longer. What, then, was the state of facts as to the alteration they were about to make? He thought that if his noble friend the late Secretary of the Colonies were in his place, he would bear him out in saying that the only articles on which the change would act injuriously were timber and corn; and of corn there was the most grievous complaint. His noble friend said that they were about to ruin the political connection and the whole of the navigation interests of the colonies if this measure passed. But with respect to corn, what was the amount of the carrying trade? The loss would apply only to the corn of the United States, which, by being ground into flour in Canada, acquired the character of colonial produce, and was admitted at 1s. duty, and to the corn the produce of Canada herself (hear, hear). He held in his hand a return of the American corn thus brought through Canada; and from the 11th of October, 1843, to the 5th of January, 1844, the quantity was 618 quarters; from the 5th of January, 1844, to the 5th of January, 1845, it was 43,860 quarters; and for the year ending the 5th of January, 1846, it was only 24,490 quarters. Inasmuch as 24,000 quarters was the quantity imported by Canada, in the course of the year, it must be obvious, that anything affecting such an amount could produce no very serious result. But some stress had been laid upon the dispatch received from Lord Cathcart, which was dated the 28th of January, 1846. Now that dispatch did not contain, by any means, the most recent intelligence received from that colony. Lord Cathcart in writing that despatch, stated that he wished to lay before her Majesty's ministers the views entertained by the executive Government of Canada, and that he wrote in great haste in order to save the post. That statement surely showed very clearly that the opinions conveyed in that despatch had not been very deliberately formed. There had, however, since that time been a despatch received in this country from Canada, dated the 26th of March last; that was written after much deliberation, and after the House of Assembly had calmly discussed and considered the intended measure which was now before their lordships; and at the time to which he referred an address to the Crown was agreed to by the House of Assembly in Canada, the sum and substance of which was, that they wished the duty to which they were liable of 1s. on every quarter of grain, should be changed into 1d.—that what was considered in this country a nominal duty of 1s. should be changed into that which they really considered to be nominal duty—namely, 1d. In their address they set forth that as one of the just claims of the province. Now he would ask their lordships if that could be said to bear any appearance of alarm. It was also not unimportant that he should call the attention of their lordships to the views entertained on this subject by the leaders of the two parties. Mr. Prince, the leader of the Ministerial party, stated that he had unbounded confidence in the loyalty of the inhabitants of the province; and he confessed that he did not view the proposition of her Majesty's Government with any feelings of alarm—he saw no cause whatever why they should despair; and that, for his part, he had always been a supporter of Free Trade. Mr. Baldwin, the leader of the Opposition party, said that he wanted no foreign interference; that he was proud of the connection which subsisted between Canada and the mother country; and he believed that, though England had formerly treated Canada in the manner that a step-mother treats the family over which she is placed, yet now he rejoiced to say that Canada began to receive better treatment at the hands of the mother country, and that there seemed to exist in England no disposition to oppress her colonies. On these points, then, it was evident that the leaders of the two parties were agreed. He hoped that the house would now per-

mit him to mention two other colonies: he meant Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. In the former of these, when a proposition was made for improving the defences of the colony, the colonists at once proposed that their whole revenue should be taken for that purpose; and in New Brunswick it was proposed that, in addition to a sum of 12,000*l.*, which had been assigned for the purposes of defence that should not only be applied to those objects to its fullest extent, but that the whole ordinary revenue of the country should be taken for that purpose also, in order that their connection with the mother country should be maintained in its fullest and most perfect condition. Although he had never held any office in these colonies, yet he had long resided in them, and he possessed connections and means of information which enabled him to speak upon these points as it were from his own knowledge. He could confidently say, with respect to them, that there was no want of loyalty in these quarters. For their attachment to the mother country, he could safely pledge his head, if such a pledge were good for anything. He entertained not a shadow of doubt that they would now be as ready to stand by the mother country in matters of mere pecuniary interest, as they had formerly been to shed their blood as evidence of their attachment to England. He had touched briefly upon various points, and even in that brief way not upon as many as he should have wished to notice, feeling as they had devoted so many hours to the discussion of this question he ought not to take up much more of their time; but there was one point on which he did not wish to remain altogether silent, he referred to the charges of treachery which had been brought against the Government with reference to their present measure. He would admit that it would have been infinitely better if the proposal of the measures now before them had come from another quarter; and he believed every one of his noble friends around him would echo him in saying that they had witnessed with sincere regret the unsuccessful attempt made by the noble lords opposite to form a Government. When, however, that attempt proved unsuccessful, when the servants of the Crown were called upon to give effect to their own convictions, the treachery would have been in taking any course different from that which they had taken (hear, hear). Their lordships might abuse her Majesty's servants with change of opinion—with vacillation; they might arraign them for those crimes before the bar of public opinion; but even when all this was granted, their lordships would not be justified in using the word "treachery" (hear, hear). No man rated higher than he did the necessity of governing such a country as this by party; he recognised as fully as could any man the obligations of party; but he recognised higher obligations still. He had not the honour of a seat in the Cabinet at the time a decision on these measures was come to; but he was not on that account desirous of repudiating the responsibility of adopting them. He would not, he could not be called upon to state the course which had been of that Cabinet, he would have taken; but he ventured to think they could not find any proportionate degree of responsibility between the First Minister of the Crown, who originated a measure, and his colleagues in subordinate capacities by whom that measure has been approved. Of he recognised no such distinction of responsibility; and if it were ever his fate to be placed as member of a Government, with the alternative such as that placed before his right hon. friend before him, either of adhering to a party, or giving effect to a faithful and solemn conviction, he should pursue the course pursued by that Minister (hear, hear). He was bound to adhere to his party, he was also bound to do his duty. It were a thousand times better that one should walk the earth branded as a traitor to party than that one should live with the consciousness, which under such circumstances would be felt, of having, while adhering to party, been, if not in the eye of the law, at least in the court of conscience, a traitor to the sovereign he was bound to advise, and a traitor to the responsibility he had assumed (cheers). He would meet the obloquy he would submit to the penalty, but he would give free counsel to the sovereign he served, and would act for the best interests committed to that sovereign's care; and when he had done that, he should bow to the indignation of his party, but he should also stand upright before a higher tribunal (cheers). One word he would add in reminding their lordships of the consequences of a rejection of this measure, and of the blessings which would arise from an instant adoption of it. He did not wish to be understood as appealing to their fears; he knew that would be the last human emotion which could affect the conduct of the House of Peers; but he did venture to appeal to their prudence and to their justice; he appealed to their prudence that they would not, without an earnest deliberation, reject a measure which came to them backed by the recommendation of a large majority of the representatives of the people (cries of "No" and cheers). And he appealed to their justice that they would not, as had been by some recommended, fixedly resolve on maintaining a fiscal policy, the effect of which was, and always must be, to inflict an injury upon the many for the benefit of the few (cheers). He adjured them to search closely their hearts before they decided; he adjured them to test closely the arguments offered for such a maintenance; he entreated them to dismiss prejudices, if any such there were, and to satisfy themselves that, when they acted, they acted solely and only for the public weal. Should they so act, he awaited confidently the result of their deliberations. He truly believed that if they adopted this measure they would, ere long, look back with marvelling, at the time when they doubted what would be its effects; and he was equally certain they would look back with satisfaction to the assent which they had given. They would look back with satisfaction, because they would then feel they had done all that in them lay to remove a reproach from this legislature—one which added new bitterness to the bitter cup of adversity; that they had done all that in them lay to smooth poor poverty's rugged path, to mitigate the primeval curse; and that they had done all that in them lay to soften the hard fate of those whose lot it was to earn their bread in the sweat of their brow (great cheering).

SPEECH OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

The Duke of WELLINGTON: My lords, I cannot allow this question to be put, and your lordships to decide upon it, without addressing to you a few words upon the vote which you are about to give. My lords, I am aware that I address you under many disadvantages. I address you under the disadvantage of appearing here as a Minister of the Crown, to press this measure upon your adoption, knowing how disagreeable it is to many with whom I have been constantly in the habit of acting in political life, with whom I have been living in the utmost intimacy and friendship, with the greatest satisfaction to myself, and upon whose good opinion I have always relied; and I am happy to say I have hitherto enjoyed it in no small degree (hear, hear). I have already,

in this house, adverted to the circumstances which gave rise to this measure. In the month of December I considered myself bound in duty to my Sovereign not to withhold my assistance from the Government, and not to decline to resume my seat in her Majesty's Councils. I accordingly gave my assistance to the Government of my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Treasury, knowing, as I did at the time, that he could do no otherwise than propose to Parliament a measure of this description—may, my lords, this very measure, for this is the very measure stated at the Cabinet previous to the period at which it resigned early that month. My lords, it is not necessary that I should say more on that subject. I am perfectly aware that I address your lordships at present with all your prejudices against me for having advised that course—a course which, however little I may be able to justify it to you, I thought myself bound to take, and which, if it was to do again to-morrow, I should take again (loud cheers). I am in her Majesty's service, bound to her Majesty and the Sovereign of this country by considerations of gratitude of which it is unnecessary for me to say more to your lordships (hear, hear). Possibly it may be true, and it is true, that in those circumstances I should have no relation to party, and probably party ought not to rely upon me. Do so, if your lordships think proper; but I have stated to you the motives on which I have acted. I am satisfied with them myself, and I should be exceedingly concerned if any dissatisfaction remained in the minds of any of your lordships. I am perfectly aware that I have never had any claim to the confidence which your lordships have placed in me for a considerable number of years. Circumstances have given it to me,—in some cases the confidence of the Crown, in others the zeal with which I have endeavoured to serve your lordships—to promote your lordships' views, and to facilitate the transaction of your business in this house. I will not omit, even on this night—possibly the last on which I shall ever venture to address to you any advice again—I shall not omit giving you my counsel as to the vote which you should give upon this occasion. My noble friend (Lord Stanley), whose absence I lament, and who addressed you a few nights ago, urged you in the strongest manner to vote against this measure, and told you, in terms I certainly cannot imitate, that it was your duty to step in to protect the public from rash and inconsiderate measures passed by the other house of Parliament, and which in his opinion were inconsistent with the views and opinions of the public. My lords, there is no doubt whatever it is your duty to consider all the measures that are brought before you; and it is your right to vote upon them as you think proper, and most particularly to vote against those that you think rash and inconsiderate. But I beg leave to point out to your lordships, that it is your duty to consider well the consequences of any vote that you give upon this subject—to consider well the situation in which you place this house. Nay, it is the duty of each to place himself in the situation of the house before he determines to give his vote, and to consider what would be, under all the circumstances, the consequence if the house were to follow the course he may be about to do on this occasion. This is a line of conduct which has been followed before. I myself once prevailed upon the house to vote for a measure against which it had pronounced positive opinions by former votes. I pressed on them to take a course different from that which it had taken on previous occasions (hear, hear). I beg of your lordships to look a little to the measure upon which you are about to vote; and the consequences likely to follow from a rejection of that measure. I ask your lordships to look at the manner in which this measure has come before you, and consider what is likely to follow from your rejecting it. My lords, this measure was recommended by the speech from the throne; it has been passed by a majority of the House of Commons, consisting of more than half of the House of Commons. My noble friend has said in the course of this debate, this vote of the House of Commons is inconsistent with the original vote given by the same House of Commons on this same question, and inconsistent with the supposed views of the constituents by whom they were elected. My lords, I do not think that is a subject which this house can take into its consideration; for, first, we can have no accurate knowledge of the fact; and, in the next place, whether it was a fact or not, this, my lords, we know, that it is the House of Commons that has passed this bill; we know that the measure has come up to us passed by a majority of the House of Commons. That we know by the votes of the House of Commons. We know, too, that the measure has been recommended by the Crown (murmurs), and we know that if we reject this bill, it is a bill which has been agreed to by the two other branches of the legislature, and that the House of Lords stand alone in rejecting this measure. I beg to remind you, my lords, that you ought not to take a position on which you cannot stand, on which you can do nothing. You have great influence on public opinion; men have great confidence in your judgment; but separately from the House of Commons, you can do nothing; and if you break your connection with the Crown and the House of Commons, you will then put an end to the functions of the House of Lords (laughter). My Lords, I ask you to reflect what must be the immediate consequence of your rejecting this bill. It appears to me very clear that whatever may be the result of this debate in this house, the object I had in view in resuming my seat in her Majesty's Councils will not be attained if your lordships reject the bill. I conclude that another Government would, in that case be formed; but, do noble lords suppose that this measure, or some other measure of the same kind, will not be proposed by the next Administration that can be formed? Do you mean to reject the measure a second time? Do you mean that the country should go on discussing this measure two or three months longer? But then it is the object of noble lords that Parliament should be dissolved (cheers from the protectionist benches), and the country have an opportunity of considering about returning other representatives, and seeing whether or not another House of Commons will agree to this measure. Now, really, my lords, if your lordships have so much confidence as you appear to have in the result of other elections and the exercise of public opinion on this question, I think you may venture to rely on the elections which must occur in the course of little more than 12 months from this time, according to the common course of the law; and you might leave it to the Parliament which will then be just elected to consider of the course which it would take upon the expiration of the bill now before you, if it become a law, which is to last till 1849; you might, I say, trust to Parliament to take it into consideration at that time, without interfering with the prerogative of the Crown, by advising the Crown to dissolve Parliament as the immediate consequence of rejecting the bill. Now, my lords, by rejecting the bill, you have the option of having immediately another bill brought before you that you will

have to pass or reject again; or, by passing the bill you will have the election in a short period of time, and you may then again appeal to the new Parliament, if you think proper to do so, because the bill will expire in 1849.

CORN IMPORTATION BILL.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—MAY 28.			
MAJORITY.—PRESENT. 138.			
Ld. Chancellor	Dalhousie	Loveclace	Thurlow
DUKES.			
Norfolk	Aberdeen	Zetland	Lytelton
St. Albans	Rosebery	Auckland	Caithorpe
Buckeuch	Glasgow	Ellenborough	Blayney
Roxburgh	Cowper	Uxbridge	Gardner
Leinster	Radnor	Erce	Rivers
Wellington	Spencer	VISCOUNTS.	
MARQUISES.			
Winchester	Bathurst	Strathallan	Creve
Huntley	Clarendon	Torrington	Churchill
Landedowne	Talbot	Sydney	Prudhoe
Abercorn	Fortescue	Clifden	Howden
Sligo	Liverpool	Hawarden	Glenlyon
Camden	Meath	Canning	Delamere
Cholmondeley	Besborough	BISHOPS.	
Londonderry	Mornington	Darham	Wharnccliffe
Conyngham	Courtoun	Lincoln	Brogham
Ormonde	Charlemont	Chester	Dinorben
Clauricarde	Clanwilliam	Ripon	Denman
Breadalbane	Clare	Salisbury	Carow
Westminster	Leitrim	Norwich	Glenelg
Normanby	Brandon	Hereford	Hatherton
EARLS.			
Devon	Rosslyn	St. David's	Stratford
Suffolk	Craven	Worcester	Cottonham
Denbigh	Romney	Lichfield	Langdale
Westmoreland	Chichester	Oxford	Lovat
Essex	Gosford	Tuam	Portman
Shaftesbury	Grey	LORDS.	
Scarborough	Minto	Dacre	De Mauley
Jersey	Verulam	Canoys	Wrottesley
Erroll	St. German's	Byron	Sudeley
Home	Morley	Bollo	Leigh
Haddington	Howe	Kinnaird	Laurie
Galloway	Burlington	Montfort	Dunfermline
PROXIES, 73.			
ARCHBISHOP.	Ailsa	Camperdown	Dunally
Canterbury	EARLS.	Lichfield	Abercomby
DUKES.			
Somerset	Pembroke	Ducie	Erskine
Leeds	Lindsey	VISCOUNTS.	
Bedford	Carlisle	Melbourne	Manners
Devonshire	Albemarle	Melville	Castlemaine
Hamilton	Stair	BISHOPS.	
Argyll	Buckingham	London	Bexley
Northumberland	Fitzwilliam	Carlisle	De Tabley
Sutherland	Cornwallis	Peterborough	Plunket
MARQUISES.			
Tweeddale	Mt Edgumbe	Ely	Talbot of Ma-
Hertford	Cork	Limerick	hide
Bute	Fingall	LORDS.	Poltimore
Donegal	Kingston	Stourton	Mostyn
Headfort	Setton	Petre	Godolphin
Northampton	Caledon	Saye and Sele	Mathen
Anglesey	Kennmare	Dorner	Stuart de De-
Bristol	Rossa	Ward	cies
MINORITY.—PRESENT. 126.			
Richmond	Ashburnham	Ranfurly	Willoughby de
Grafton	Warwick	VISCOUNTS.	
Beaufort	Guilford	Hereford	Broke
Marlborough	Hardwicke	Maynard	St John
Rutland	Delwarr	Stratford	Salmon
Montrose	Mansfield	Middleton	Polywarth
Manchester	Beverley	Gage	Sondes
Newcastle	Carnarvon	Doneraile	Boston
Buckingham	Cadogan	St. Vincent	Hawks
Cleveland	Malmesbury	Sidmouth	Walsingham
MARQUISES.			
Salisbury	Egmont	Lorton	Southampton
Downshire	Longford	Lake	Granley
Ely	Ennis-killen	Exmouth	Berwick
Exeter	Wicklow	Bereford	Sherborne
Westmeath	Luan	Combermere	Kenyon
Huntingdon	Wilton	Canterbury	Boylbrooke
Winchelsea	Limerick	Ponsobly	Carrington
Chesterfield	Clancarty	Hill	Bayning
Sandwich	Powis	Nelson	Bolton
Cardigan	Nelson	BISHOPS.	
Abingdon	Charleville	Winchester	Lifford
Eglinton	Manvers	Bangor	Clonbrock
Kinnoull	Oxford	Rochester	Crofton
Airlie	Lonsdale	Landaff	Redesdale
Seldirk	Harwood	Gloucester	Colchester
Orkney	Browlow	Exeter	Rayleigh
Xford	Bradford	Chichester	Faversham
Dartmouth	Sheffield	LORDS.	
Aylesford	Eldon	Stanley	Tendron
Pamphlet	Falmouth	De Ros	Stelmersdale
PROXIES.			
Waldegrave	Glengall	Sinclair	
Hechester	Yarborough	Reay	
Digby	Grimsborough	Dynevor	
Shannon	Viscounts.	Bagot	
Poulett	Arbuthott	Farham	
Moray	De Vesci	Alvanley	
Balcarras	O'Neill	Ravensworth	
Seafeld	Erne	De Saumarez	
Ferrers	Donoughmore	Willoughby de	
Tankerville	Onslow	Erreshy	
Macclesfield	Beauchamp	Vanx	

Lord Bellhaven paired for the bill, with the Earl of Lauderdale against.

CORN LAWS.—In Huntingdonshire, the parish of Leighton contains 2770 acres. The owner, who possessed the whole parish, died in the autumn without a male heir, leaving the estate to be divided amongst his daughters. The rents were undoubtedly low; in consequence, the trustees employed a surveyor, who was a stranger to the county, to make a new valuation, which raised one tenant 200l. per annum, another 70l., another 100l., and so on, raising the whole rental from about 3000l. to 4000l. a year, in the very face of Corn Law repeal. The tenants complain, but consent to remain; they are respectable men in all the relations of life, but the evil genius of monopoly warped their otherwise good conduct; they could not enjoy the good fortune of their low rents, with clarity to those tradesmen who refused to sign the protection petitions, and from whom they not only withdrew their own custom, but endeavoured to persuade others to do the same. Another farm at Bussmead, which for 16 years let for 21s. per acre, was lately re-let to a respectable tenant at 28s.

It has been officially noticed from Berlin that all further discussion respecting the tariff of the Zollverein will be postponed until the decision of the British Parliament on the repeal of the Corn Laws and the new commercial tariff be known.

THE BUDGET.—COMMERCIAL FINANCE.

(From the Economist.)

The Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his budget last night. In doing so upon this occasion, it was divested of much of that intense interest which in the last four years has always attended the budget, in consequence of Sir Robert Peel having entered fully into an explanation of the reductions contemplated in the present year, in his speech at the commencement of the session. Mr. Goulburn, however, imparted considerable interest to his statement, by taking a general review of the financial changes of the last four years, dwelling upon the principles on which they had been made, and showing the general result which had attended them.

In the first place, Mr. Goulburn compared the estimates made a year ago with the actual produce of the revenue, which have been as follows:

Revenue estimated last year.	Actually received.
Customs.....	19,500,000
Excise.....	12,500,000
Stamps.....	7,250,000
Taxes.....	4,200,000
Property tax.....	5,200,000
Post office.....	700,000
Crown lands.....	150,000
Miscellaneous..	250,000
China.....	49,750,000
Total receipts	52,009,000

The expenditure has been altogether 49,659,000l., leaving an excess of income above expenditure of 2,350,000l. The next subject to which Mr. Goulburn went, was the estimated produce of the various branches of revenue in the current year, ending 5th of April, 1847. The produce of the customs in the past year was 19,765,000l. The duties on the articles reduced or repealed in the present session amount to a sum of 1,041,000l. Mr. Goulburn, however, has learned by experience, that in the event of a reduction of duties, the loss to the revenue does not exceed two-fifths of the sum given up; the remaining three-fifths being made up by increased consumption of the articles reduced, and of other articles. But he has so much confidence in the prospects of the country, and in the consumption of the current year, that he only reduces the income of last year by a sum of 205,000l., instead of 1,041,000l., as the probable loss. In this he has been guided by the flattering accounts received within the last six weeks, since the reduced tariff came into operation, of the receipts at several of the outports, among which he mentioned Liverpool, Hull, Newcastle, Leith, Port Glasgow, and Dublin.

Mr. Goulburn's estimate of the income and expenditure for the current year is as follows:

Income.	Expenditure.
Customs.....	19,500,000
Excise.....	12,500,000
Stamps.....	7,400,000
Taxes.....	4,230,000
Property tax.....	5,102,000
Post office.....	850,000
Crown lands.....	120,000
Miscellaneous.....	250,000
From China.....	70,000
Total.....	51,652,000

Leaving a surplus of only 776,000l. With a similar apparent surplus last year, Mr. Goulburn stated that the result had so greatly exceeded the estimate that he entertained the greatest confidence he would be agreeably disappointed, in finding at the end of the current year a much larger surplus than the estimate shows; and this confidence was based on the result which had been experienced by the policy pursued since 1842, in abolishing all duties which were prohibitory, and reducing such as were protective.

Mr. Goulburn then passed to a general review, or summing up of the experience of the country on all the measures which had been introduced since 1842. In 1842, duties were reduced or repealed on five hundred and eighty-two articles; in 1843, on seven articles; in 1844, on four articles; and in 1845, twenty-one articles were reduced, and on four hundred and forty-eight articles the duties were repealed. In the present year, the measures which have already passed the House of Commons, reduce the duties on one hundred and twelve articles; and repeal the duties on fifty-four articles. In the whole period in question—in the five sessions beginning with 1842, and ending with the present—the duties on seven hundred and twenty-seven articles have been reduced, and those on five hundred and one articles have been entirely repealed—articles, too, which have nearly all, though some to a lesser and others to a greater degree, affected the condition of the great masses of the people, either in their food or clothing, or in the supply of those great staple articles of raw material which are so essential to the manufactures, and consequently to the industry of the country.

Considering the great reductions thus made in the customs and excise duties, Mr. Goulburn was anxious to show that the experiments which the Government had made in this wise and enlightened course of financial legislation, by which commerce and industry had been so much benefited, had not in any degree impaired the general state of our finances, or added to the permanent debt of the country. On the contrary, the success of these Free Trade experiments had been so great, that notwithstanding the great reductions, every test which could be taken of the financial condition of the country showed that it had rather been improved than impaired.

The first test which Mr. Goulburn applied, was the amount of balance available, and at the command of the Government, on the first of January, 1842, and the first of January, 1846, which was as follows:

Balance available, January 1st, 1842	3,650,000
Balance available, January 1st, 1846	8,450,000
Difference....	4,800,000

Nor had the debt of the country been added to in order to increase the balance in hand, or to make up the deficiency caused by the reductions which had taken place. In 1842, the whole debt of the country, funded and unfunded, was as follows:

January 1st, 1842.	£
Funded debt	77,531,000
Exchequer bills	19,678,000
Total debt.....	795,200,000

And at January 1st, 1846, it was	£
Funded debt	756,715,000
Exchequer bills	18,400,000
Total debt.....	785,115,000

Showing a reduction of about 7,000,000l. in these branches of the public debt due at this time. But, besides this, the average amount of deficiency bills, for money borrowed from the Bank, amounted in the four quarters of 1842, to 6,183,000l., while the same in the average of last year amounted only to 2,029,000l., showing a further reduction of the debt of the country to the extent of 4,153,000l., making a total reduction of the whole debt, between 1842 and the present time, of more than eleven millions.

Not only had these reductions been made in the national debt, but a further reduction in the permanent annual charge of that debt, even in a greater proportionate degree, had also been effected. The charge for the debt in 1842 and in 1846, was thus compared by Mr. Goulburn:

	1842.	1846.
Interest	24,444,000	23,620,000
Terminable Annuities....	4,490,000	4,400,000
Management	100,000	93,000
Interest of Exchequer Bills	890,000	456,000
	29,924,000	28,429,000

Thus showing a sum of more than 1,500,000l. already saved in the annual charge on the debt, besides a further sum of 625,000l., which is also secured in the reduction of interest; but which will not take effect until the year 1854; the whole making a saving, effected in the annual expenditure on the debt, of 2,125,000l., besides a reduction on the capital itself of 11,000,000l. Mr. Goulburn stated that it might be supposed by some, that the large amount of money received from China had contributed to these improvements in our general finances. Such an idea would, however, be erroneous; for although the sum of 3,350,000l. had been received from this source, yet of that 2,050,000l. had been expended upon our establishments in that country, and 1,270,000l. had been paid to the owners of the opium which had been seized, as compensation; so that nearly the whole of that sum had been exhausted in these ways.

Mr. Goulburn then made a comparison between the entire amounts of taxes imposed during the period in question, and those which had been repealed. The statement was as follows:

Taxes imposed.	Taxes repealed or reduced.
1842 to 1846....	5,624,000
Balance	2,563,000
	8,197,000

Thus showing that taxes to the amount of 2,563,000l., had been repealed during the period in question; in excess of those which had been imposed.

The right hon. gentleman expressed the greatest satisfaction in being able thus to bear the testimony of his own experience to the extraordinary efficacy of the principles of commercial legislation which this country has adopted during the last five years; by which the springs of industry had been relieved, the commerce of the country set free, the people rendered prosperous and contented, and by which the finances of the country had improved in so remarkable a way. It will surely be impossible for any foreign Government or people to peruse this statement, and to see the extraordinary effects which our Free Trade policy has produced—to consider, moreover, the numerous evidences of the improved condition, physical, social, and moral, of the population of the country, by which these changes have been accompanied, without feeling the strongest inducement to follow our example. It will be by such means that the benefits of our policy will become known and adopted by other countries. These statements are well calculated to give the most ample assurance to the most timid and the most doubting of the safety of the Free Trade policy, in which, thank God, we are now safely embarked.

GREAT PUBLIC MEETING IN HULL TO PETITION THE HOUSE OF LORDS.—On Monday evening a very numerous meeting, convened by the Mayor, was held in the Town Hall, to petition the House of Lords to pass the Corn Bill. The meeting was called by his worship in pursuance of a numerous signed requisition from merchants, shipowners, tradesmen, and other inhabitants of Kingston-upon-Hull. On the platform were, besides the Mayor, Mr. Alderman Thompson, H. S. Bright, Esq., Mr. Alderman Atkinson, Mr. Alderman Brownlow, Henry Levee, Esq., John Hall, Esq., — Taylor, Esq., Mr. Alderman Cookman, Joseph Jones, Esq. (ex-Mayor), Messrs. Town Councillors Wilkinson, Sisson, Dr. Gordon, Richardson, Ashton Cox, Mr. W. H. Holdsworth, Rev. E. Higginson, Rev. — Shannon, John Petchell, Esq., E. F. Collins, Esq., Mr. Hodgson, surgeon, &c. The Mayor was unanimously called upon to preside; and the meeting, which ultimately became crowded, was addressed by Mr. Alderman Thompson and several of the gentlemen whose names appear above. The resolutions were duly proposed and seconded amidst much cheering. A letter was read by the Town-clerk, from Sir Walter James, dated 11, Whitehall-place, and regretting his unavoidable absence, but expressing his entire concurrence in the object of the petition. Towards the close, the meeting was very ably and eloquently addressed by the Rev. James Aspinall, rector of Althorpe, Lincolnshire, who, on rising, was received with loud cheers, and who, in the course of his speech, expressed his satisfaction that the question of the Corn Laws was now beginning to be "especially and peculiarly regarded as the working-man's question." We regret, that neither to this speech, nor to the proceedings generally, will the crowded state of our columns permit us to do justice. Mr. Wilkinson concluded the proceedings by moving the adoption of the petition, to be forwarded to the Earl of Dalhousie for presentation, which was agreed to. The Mayor, after receiving a vote of thanks, declared the proceedings closed.

A SCENE FOR THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.—When the news of the third reading of the Corn Bill arrived at Forfar on Monday, every face wore a smile of congratulation. The bells were rung; music gladdened the streets; a quarter loaf marked price 4d., with a very nice-looking bacon ham marked 2d. per lb., were paraded on the top of a pole, as specimens of what might be expected were the Corn and Provision Laws abolished. And we believe oatmeal is selling a penny per peck lower than it was last week.—*Montrose Review.*

NEW NEWSPAPER, PRICE THREEPENCE.
THE PUBLIC are respectfully informed that
arrangements are in progress for the Establishment of a
NEW PAPER, PRICE THREEPENCE, to be called,

THE NEW ERA.

Particulars will be given in future Advertisements.
To be published by J. Gadsby, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street,
London.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending
Wednesday, May 27, 1846.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from
Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on
Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the
LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding,
but are included in the list of the week following.

As the regulations of the Post Office require that
the Christian Name of the party to whom Post
Office Orders are sent should be given in full, sub-
scribers are respectfully requested to procure their
Orders in future for GEORGE WILSON, League
Offices, Manchester, or ABRAHAM WALTER PAULTON,
67, Fleet-street, London.

	£.	s.	d.
*Bright, John, and Brothers, Rochdale	200	0	0
*Simpson, Thompson, & Co., 17, Strutt-st., Manchester	50	0	0
*Schwabe, Salis, 49, George-street do	50	0	0
*Wrigley, Thomas and James, Bury, Lancashire	50	0	0
*Butterworth, S. A., 47, High-street, Manchester	21	0	0
*Earl Ducie	20	0	0
*Wrigley, James, sen., Bury, Lancashire	10	0	0
*Fernihough, Wm. and Son, Cheadle, Cheshire	5	0	0
*Lacy, John, Bankfield Buildings, Todmorden	4	0	0
*Holroyd, Henry, Colne, Lancashire	2	0	0
Bridge, Messrs., and Maden, Oak Mill, Rawtenstall	2	0	0
W. Bipsley, and other hands in the employ of Messrs.			
Bradshaw, Blacklock, and Co., Brown-street, Man-	1	6	6
chester			
Ruckley, Joseph, Higher Hurst, Ashton-under-Lyne	1	0	0
Woodhead, Joseph, Clough, Todmorden	0	19	0
Saxon, Daniel, Hooley Hill, near Ashton-under-Lyne	0	1	0

Stockport.	£.	s.	d.
*Cheetham, T., surgeon, Middle Hillgate	1	1	0
*Hooper, Edward, Manchester Arms	1	0	0
*Hallworth, Joel, Newton-st., Edgeley	1	0	0
Eitchells, John, Beehive Inn	0	10	0
Hallworth, James	0	2	6

Stockport.	£.	s.	d.
Coppock, George, Castle-street, Edgeley	0	10	0
Swindells, Samuel, 102, Gt Egerton-st.	0	5	0
Taylor, Wm., do	0	5	0
Moorcroft, Wm., 18, Mosley-st., Edgeley	0	5	0
Leach, James, 50, Spring Gardens	0	3	6
Massey, J., 79, Love-lane, Heaton Norris	0	3	6
Goodwin, John	0	3	6
Littlewood, John	0	3	6
Markland, John	0	3	0
Branswood, John	0	3	0
Smith, James, Brunswick-street	0	2	6
Cope, Wm., 8, Lavender-brow	0	2	6
Stanley, Daniel, Duke-street	0	2	6
Stokes, Samuel, Daybank	0	2	6
Benpett, James, Portwood	0	2	6
Shaw, John, Hope Hill	0	2	6
Shaw, Charles do	0	2	6
Jackson, Peter do	0	2	6
Beverley, Joseph, do	0	2	6
Jones, John, Heaton-lane	0	2	6
Taylor, James, Portwood	0	2	6
Barrett, Edward, do	0	2	6
Cooley, John, Chestergate	0	2	6
Wood, Joseph, Lendyard	0	2	6
Gregory, George	0	2	6
Barlow, John	0	2	6
Potts, Emanuel	0	2	6
Jackson, Joseph	0	2	6
Thorne, James	0	1	0
Fogg, William	0	1	0
Hulme, Elizabeth	0	1	0
Boyd, Catherine	0	1	0
Smith, Lettice	0	1	0
Daniels, Amelia	0	1	0
Tipping, Richard	0	1	0
Nield, Adam	0	1	0
Gulldford, Thomas	0	1	0
Thornley, Eliza	0	1	0
Barnett, Ann	0	1	0
Higgins, John	0	1	0
Wiley, Hannah	0	1	0
Clarke, John	0	1	0
Clayton, Ann	0	1	0
Cope, Ann	0	1	0
Bancroft, William	0	1	0
Hawthorne, David	0	1	0
Seldon, Thomas	0	1	0
Pilling, John	0	1	0
Whittaker, John	0	1	0
Clarke, John	0	1	0
Walton, Thomas	0	1	0
Parkinson, John	0	1	0
Portitt, John	0	1	0
Goodwin, William	0	1	0
Shaw, John, jun.	0	1	0
Shaw, George	0	1	0
Hall, George	0	1	0
Swindells, William	0	1	0
McDonald, Michael	0	1	0
Fagg, William	0	1	0
Cooper, Philip	0	1	0
Taylor, John	0	1	0
Bracegirdle, Samuel	0	1	0
Warburton, John	0	1	0
McDonald, Michael, jun.	0	1	0
Haughton, Henry	0	1	0
Cocker, James	0	1	6
Walker, William	0	1	0
Neo Lam, Samuel	0	1	6
Preston, Benjamin	0	1	0
Rogerson, John	0	1	0
Small sums	5	10	0

Stockport.	£.	s.	d.
Pott, Samuel, Portwood	0	5	0
Smith, Alexander, do	0	5	0
Rigley, Joseph do	0	5	0
Bailey, Charles do	0	2	6
Warrington, Peter, do	0	1	0
Taylor, Solomon, Hemphaw-lane	0	1	0
Saunders, John, Portwood	0	1	0
Hollinshead, Joseph, Edgeley	0	1	0
Bailey, Joseph, Shaw Heath	0	1	0
Blackwell, John, Hillgate	0	1	0
Cotterel James, Portwood	0	1	0
Kirk, Thomas, do	0	1	0
Winfield, John, do	0	1	0
Warren, W. do	0	1	0
Ditchfield, Samuel, do	0	1	0
Laetan, Samuel, Churchgate	0	1	0
Gosling, Joseph, Hope Hill	0	1	0
Tortington, William, Portwood	0	1	0
Small sums	0	0	2

Stockport.	£.	s.	d.
Port, Samuel, Portwood	0	5	0
Smith, Alexander, do	0	5	0
Rigley, Joseph do	0	5	0
Bailey, Charles do	0	2	6
Warrington, Peter, do	0	1	0
Taylor, Solomon, Hemphaw-lane	0	1	0
Saunders, John, Portwood	0	1	0
Hollinshead, Joseph, Edgeley	0	1	0
Bailey, Joseph, Shaw Heath	0	1	0
Blackwell, John, Hillgate	0	1	0
Cotterel James, Portwood	0	1	0
Kirk, Thomas, do	0	1	0
Winfield, John, do	0	1	0
Warren, W. do	0	1	0
Ditchfield, Samuel, do	0	1	0
Laetan, Samuel, Churchgate	0	1	0
Gosling, Joseph, Hope Hill	0	1	0
Tortington, William, Portwood	0	1	0
Small sums	0	0	2

Stockport.	£.	s.	d.
Ward, Joseph	1	0	6
Schofield, Charles	1	0	0
Burton, John	0	10	0
Cauldwell, John	0	2	6
Henry, Thomas	0	2	6
Wainwright, Joseph	0	2	6
Barratt, Laurence	0	2	6
Harrison, Thomas	0	2	6
Balderstone, Samuel	0	2	6
Harter, Richard	0	2	6
Barratt, John	0	2	6
Corbishley, James	0	2	6
Eaton, William	0	2	6
Anderson, James	0	2	6
Taylor, Robert	0	2	6
Kitchen, William	0	2	0
Schofield, Samuel	0	1	0
Cauldwell, Joseph	0	1	0
Corbishley, Elijah	0	1	6
Small sums	0	3	6

Stockport.	£.	s.	d.
Fanton, J., 15, Water-street, Portwood	0	2	6
Oldham, Edward, 8, Piccadilly	0	2	6
Miller, John	0	2	6
Pickford, Thomas	0	1	0
Bromley, Thomas	0	1	0
Brookes, Thomas	0	1	0
Parkinson, Ralph	0	1	0
Small sums	0	19	10

Stockport.	£.	s.	d.
Helm, Wm., Harrison-street, Portwood	0	10	0
Thelwell, John, Back Park-street, do	0	3	0
Turner, Robert, Edgeley	0	3	0
Bardsley, John, Back Park-st., Portwood	0	2	6
Hill, James do	0	2	6
Hadfield, Abel do	0	2	6
Haworth, Wm. do	0	2	6
Redfern, John, Park-street do	0	2	6
Jones, Matthew do	0	2	6
Carter, John do	0	2	6
Wright, Richard do	0	2	6
Doxey, George, Portwood Hallfold	0	2	6
Doxey, Thomas, Water-street, Portwood	0	2	6
Hanley, Charles, Heald's Buildings	0	2	6
Hazel, Samuel, Water-street, Portwood	0	2	6
Fallows, Samuel, 11, York-street, do	0	2	6
Hawridge, James, 76, Gt Portwood-street	0	2	6
Hague, W. 5, Stanley-st., Lancashire Hill	0	2	6
Travis, Thomas, Marsland-st., Portwood	0	2	6
Richardson, Thomas, Ashton-street, do	0	2	6
Pontefract, Joseph, Lancashire Hill	0	2	6
Gibson, Richard, Water-street, Portwood	0	2	6
Pollitt, Richard, Barn-street do	0	2	6
Clayton, Thomas, Portwood Hall Fold.	0	2	6
Bancroft, Thomas do do	0	2	6
Jackson, Samuel, Lancashire Hill	0	2	6
Tomlinson, Geo., Coulston-st., do	0	2	6
A Friend	0	2	6

Stockport.	£.	s.	d.
Stansfield, Robert, Chestergate	1	0	0
Gleane, James, do	0	10	0
Smith, Wm., Wellington-road South	0	10	0
Pearson, Elias, Higher Hillgate	0	10	0
Hough, David, Mottram-street	0	5	0
Wilson, Samuel, George-street, Edgeley	0	5	0
Prestwick, John, Shaw Heath	0	2	6
Turner, John, Brinkway	0	2	6
Greaves, Joseph, New Zealand road	0	2	6
Potts, John, Creek-street	0	2	6
Sharpley, James, Heaton lane	0	2	6
Alcock, Jonathan, Brown-street	0	2	6
Bavley, John, Frederick-street	0	2	6
Wild, Emanuel, Brook-street	0	2	6
Shepherd, Samuel, Brown-street	0	2	6
Furness, William	0	2	0
Gosling, Peter, Wood-street	0	2	0
Bracegirdle, John, Heaton Norris	0	1	6
Bailey, John, Brook-street	0	1	6
Okell, John, Larkhill	0	1	0
Hickman, Thomas, Cheadle Heath	0	1	0
Parker, Thomas, Brook-street	0	1	0
Wood, Thomas, Brown-street	0	1	0
Bancroft, Joel, Edgeley	0	1	0
Murphy, John, Carr Green	0	1	0
Devsbury, Henry, Heaton-lane	0	1	0
A Friend, Lancashire Hill	0	1	0
Morris, William, Brinkway	0	1	0
Shepley, Samuel, Edgeley	0	1	0
Lees, J., Dawbank	0	1	0
Pearson, Levi, Wellington-road	0	1	0
Dawson, Robert, Cooper-street	0	1	0
Johnson, George, Edgeley	0	1	0
Hall, Isaac, Carr Green	0	1	0
Rayner, John, King-street, west	0	1	0
Newton, James, Walker-street	0	1	0
Turner, Robert, Castle-street	0	1	0
Love, William, Chapel-street	0	1	0
Pownall, Wm., King-street, west	0	1	0
Howard, Joseph, Heald-street	0	1	0
Salt, Thomas, Great Egerton-street	0	1	0
Smith, Edward, Chestergate	0	1	0
Pettaney, Wm., Union-street	0	1	0
Maguire, Bartholomew, Rock-row	0	1	0
Sherratt, Samuel, Bannister-street	0	1	0
Johnson, Henry	0	1	0
Shepherd, James	0	1	0
Small sums	1	5	11

Stockport.	£.	s.	d.
Davies, William, Chestergate	1	0	0
Cheetham, George, Rosemary-lane	0	10	0
Cheetham, Joseph, do	0	10	0
Sawyer, Joseph, do	0	2	6
Robinson, Jonathan, Gorse-row	0	2	6
Brooks, Joseph, do	0	2	6
Brooks, Edward, Market-place	0	2	6
Slack, Robinson, do	0	2	6
Slack, William, Park-street	0	2	6
Sefton, Alfred N., Grosvenor-street	0	5	0
Harrison, John	0	1	0
Moore, Edward	0	1	0
Pickford, James	0	1	0
Morley, Alfred	0	1	0
Furniss, Thomas	0	1	0
Moore, Henry	0	1	0
Green, Francis	0	1	0
Goodier, George, Ridgeway-lane	0	2	6
Small sums	0	5	9

Stockport.	£.	s.	d.
Coop, Peter, Edward-street	0	2	6
Warratt, W., 6, Queen-street, Wellington-			
road north	0	2	6
Small sums	0	1	0

Stockport.	£.	s.	d.
*Sharpe, Wm., 41, Bedford-row	5	5	0
*Allen, Stafford, 7, Cowper-street, City-road	5	0	6
*Hutton, John, Cupar, Fife	2	0	0
*Lyons, Henry, Lendal, York	2	0	0
*Firmstone, George, Lawnswood, near Dudley	1	1	0
*Le Gallois, John, 3, Maize Hill, Greenwich	1	1	0
*Hunt, George, Lakewell, Derbyshire	1	1	0
*Heal, John Harris, 196, Tottenham-court-road	1	1	0
*Forrest, George, 12, New-street-square	1	1	0
*Fisher, Thomas, 8, Wilton crescent	1	1	0
*Robertson, Wm. and Co., Old Swan Wharf, Upper	1	1	0
Thames-street			
*Adams, Butler, 11, Union-court, Old Broad-st., City	1	1	0
*Gilchrist, Can. Wm., R.N., Bungay	1	0	0
*Ford, John, Bootham, York	1	0	0
*Matthew, Wm., merchant, Cupar, Fife	1	0	0
*Hall, John, Berkhampstead	1	0	0
*Winter, Mr., Cowley, near Cupar	1	0	0
*Poole, John, 19, Surrey-square, Kent-road	1	0	0
*Birdseye, Michael, 17, Houndsditch	1	0	0
Archer, G. S., Notting Hill	1	0	0

Subscriptions received from Wednesday, May 27,
to Wednesday, June 3.

	£.	s.	d.
*Eccles, Josh., Mill Hill, Blackburn	260	0	0
*Harding, John, Salford	50	0	0
*Ewart, W., M.P., 6, Cambridge-square, London	20	0	0
*Houldsworth, Josh., Square, Halifax	4	0	0
*Heaps, Christopher, Woodhouse Cliff, Leeds	2	0	0
Hearne, Rev. Daniel, Manchester	2	0	0
Smith, Wm., New Bank, Halifax	1	0	0
Payne, Thomas, Castle-street, Hinkley	1	0	0
*Serle, Dr., Bath	1	0	0
*Barrow, Jacob, 9, Belvidere, Bath	1	0	0
*Horton, Thomas, Snow Hill, Wolverhampton	1	0	0
*Darbey, Thomas, jun., Sedgley, near Dudley	1	0	0

James, J. W., Cambrian-place	..	1	0	0
Davies, Rev. Daniel, St. John-street	..	1	0	0
Howell, George, Wind-street	..	0	10	0
Rutter, Joseph, Strand	..	0	7	0
Hughes, Isaac, Castle-street	..	0	7	0
Oakeshot, Mr., High-street	..	0	7	0
Madge, Mr., do	..	0	5	0
Pollard, Benjamin, Union street	..	0	5	0
Jenkins, Mr., jeweller, Wind-street	..	0	5	0
Rees, David, High-street	..	0	5	0
Grove, J., Wind-street	..	0	2	6
Lewis, J., Castle-street	..	0	2	6
Pollard, Mr., do	..	0	2	6
Walters, P., Fisher-street	..	0	2	6
Rosser W., Peir-street	..	0	2	6
Small Sums	....	0	8	0

Stockport. The Workpeople of Mr. Thomas Stewart.	Sefton, James, Great Portwood-street ..	0 5 0
	McCreery, Charles .. do ..	0 5 0
	Potts, Edward .. do ..	0 5 0
	Wilson, James .. do ..	0 2 6
	Hadfield, John, Chestergate ..	0 2 6
	Bannister, Henry, Hillgate ..	0 2 6
	Wall, Stephen, Hillgate lane ..	0 1 6
	Axon, Thomas, Hillgate ..	0 1 6
	Orrell, Wm., Portwood ..	0 1 3
	Lomas, George, do ..	0 1 0
	Sefton, Samuel, Great Portwood-street ..	0 1 0
	Patterson, James, Portwood ..	0 1 0
	Williams, John .. do ..	0 1 0
	Smith, Joseph .. do ..	0 1 0
	Hadfield, Nancy .. do ..	0 1 0
	Hibbert, Frederick .. do ..	0 1 0
	Walters, Wm., Henton-lane ..	0 1 0
	Brooks, Henry, Hillgate ..	0 1 0
	Ward, John .. do ..	0 1 0
	Goodwin, Emily, Cale Green ..	0 1 0
Stockport. The Work-people of Messrs. C. Howard and Co. Second Remittance.	Sharples, Elizabeth, Wellington-street ..	0 1 0
	Lewis, Robert, King-street west ..	0 1 0
	Lomas, Joseph, New Bridge-lane ..	0 1 0
	Jackson, John, Hillgate ..	0 1 0
	Small Sums ..	2 0 4
	Brown, Richard, Portwood Hall Fold ..	0 2 6
	Alcock, Josiah, Water-street ..	0 1 0
	Lingard, Ellis, Portwood ..	0 1 0
	Grantam, Aaron, do ..	0 1 0
	Smith, Robert, do ..	0 1 0
* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed sub- scriptions.	Alcock, Wm., do ..	0 1 0
	Clarke, John, do ..	0 1 0
	Small Sums ..	1 10 6
	* Leaf, Wm., Old Change ..	100 0 0
	* Forster and Smith, New City Chambers ..	50 0 0
	* Gillett, George, 24, Watling-street ..	20 0 0
	* Dimmack, Thompson, and Firmstone, St. Peter's Chambers, Cornhill ..	10 0 0
	* Thomas, W. and Brothers, 128, Cheapside ..	10 0 0
	* Lawes, Thomas, Canal Bridge, Old Kent-road ..	5 0 0
	* Frost, John, and Co., Wood-street, Cheapside ..	5 0 0
	* Lund, Christopher, 51, Newgate-street ..	5 0 0
	* Balls, James, 20, Liverpool-terrace, Islington ..	2 0 0
	* Burroughs, J., 18, Adde-street, City ..	2 0 0
	* Agnew, Alex., 21, King Edward-street, City ..	1 1 0
	* Clare, Charles, 48, Blackman-street, Borough ..	1 1 0
	* Bass, J. G., Brighton-place, Brighton ..	1 1 0
	* Lambert, E. P., brewer, Broadway, Deptford ..	1 1 0
	* Cove, Henry, Tottenham ..	1 1 0
	* Goodwin, Edwin, Hanley, Potteries ..	1 1 0
	* Barnish, E. H., Wigan ..	1 1 0
	* Wright, Thomas, 39, Grosvenor-row, Piccadilly ..	1 1 0

PASSAGES FROM THE LIFE OF AN
ENGLISH FARMER.

PASSAGE IV.—The Amended Poor Law, when it was new.

It was a warm day in June,—one of the days on which maidens who have butter to make, make it in the morning and go out to wash it at the springs, with dew on their feet; a day when the mowers of the new hay rise with the birds, when birds are up before the sun; a day when June hastens before the day is done to the wheat that's green, and looks for young ears, and gives them dew to drink; and finds them again in the morning, and dries them and makes them strong enough for the hot sun, which, by God's command, must, for the sake of men and women and children hungry, be as hot as wheat can bear, to hasten on the harvest,—it was a day when June gives her freshest greenness and her coolest breezes to those who deserve them best,—the workers, who go soonest out in the morning; a day when the luxurious, idle, and indolent of all conditions, who lie late abed, come out to pant for breath, and to be broiled in a sun which is up high, and hot, in the performance of other duties than that of caring for their comfort and their skin; a day when, happy ordinance of Nature, even the mower in the fields is relieved by his violent exercise and his perspiration from the languor that afflicts the idle.

It was on such a day that Mr. Hurst said to his men that they would all be required in the afternoon and the evening to wash sheep; that they would begin sheep-shearing next day; that all the flock would need washing, but those that grazed on the hill where the sand holes were would more particularly, as they had stained their wool by rubbing against the red sand. And he said two of the men and some of the boys must go at once and make a dam across the stream, stemming the water deep enough to take a man up to the middle, or nearly, but not deep enough to drown anybody standing on his feet.

It was on this same day that the venerable Adam, ten years older than when we saw him first, and now past all work but to rock the cradle of the fourth generation—a future Adam of the fields—was sitting on the bench under the honeysuckle porch of his cottage, winking his aged eyes as if he slept, yet not asleep. He said to Mr. Hurst who was passing, and who stopped for a few minutes to speak with him, "Ees, master; it be God that gives the weather; it be well for we that the hand of man does not hold the wind, and rain, and sunshine; it be well for we that we ha'n't to go to the parish for the showers and the shining sun, master; now that they have made that new law. I have been trying to understand the grounds of it; but I be'n't able to see through it. I have tried it with Scripture; but I can find no Scripture for it; no, all Scripture be right against it. I have even tried to forget that I am the poor man, and have put myself in the place of the rich man; yet I cannot see why this law should be as they have now made it. It be seven miles going and seven miles coming, and I have been twice, once this week and once the week before, at what they call the board of guardians; all that way, ill able to go; and I sat on the door steps four hours until they called me in; and then they said I must give up everything I am possessed of to them, and go into that great new house. Oh, master, what terrible things some of them as have been in and out again tell of that union house. They are put to work and to their virtuals like soldiers to drill. The unions, they say, are to have all masters out of the army and from the men-of-war ships as have been used to severity over other men; and they say we be all to be drilled and punished if we do not obey the word of command. And I do not doubt it; for him as they have got to this union came out and gave orders not to sit on the steps of the door, and orders for this one to come in, and that one to stand aside, just like as we used to hear the drill-sergeants

speak in the time of the local militia and the volunteers. It be a very hard case, master, for they as have worked a long life like I, and went, as you know, when I need not, for I was above age, and offered to be a volunteer at the time of all the fright about Boney. It be a hard thing when they would not drill me then because I was too old, though I was young enough to have the spirit to defend my country, that thirty years after, when I am old in spirit and body both, they are going to put me into the hands of a severe man, chosen because he has been a breaker in of men in a barrack-yard; to break me in now in my old days to what they call strict discipline; to learn me and poor old Sarah who have lived in this cottage, man and wife, nine-and-forty years come Michaelmas, and brought up a family in honesty and the fear of God—to 'sunder we whom God did join together, that we may live apart and meet death in our old age each alone, to deter, for they say that is it, to deter other poor creatures from coming on the parish. I never believed, Mr. Hurst, it could have been true. When they spoke about mending the old law, they never said a word about this, as I heard on, never a word."

"No, Adam; nor did I know what kind of new law it was to be when I complained like many other farmers of the old one. Here am I now leaving this farm where I and my fathers before me have been so long—obliged to leave it because I have not submitted quietly to imposition; here am I with my last crop in the ground, with men working to me, all brought up to work by me and my father, all of them good workmen!"

ADAM—"Good masters get good men."
MR. HURST—"It may be so. At any rate I have good men here, and I do not expect to find as good where I am going. Now one of the worst, if not the very worst, parts of the old Poor Law is preserved in this new one, indeed the most mischievous part of the old law; I mean that which prevents me from taking the people who work for me now, or any of them, or even you yourself, Adam, with me to another parish out of this union. This is a great hardship both to me as a farmer, and to you all as workmen. I must submit to employ such as I find in my new parish, be they good or bad, and leave my best hands here to my successor in this farm, be he a good master or a bad. This is one of the evils which I see the agriculture of England suffering under; and I must confess that since our young squire has run in debt as he has, and the management has got into the hands of the lawyers, I see many things more which I did not once think to be so detrimental to a farmer, as I do now. Since the squire has mortgaged Berry estate, the game has been let with the mansion and park, as you know. New sets of game-keepers have been put over us, and that which was disagreeable before is now a pest. I have stood out against it, and here is the consequence,—at six months' notice I am obliged to leave Berryhill. I begin to think that both farmers and their farm men need some different kind of laws than any we have now, or else not so much law as we have now. I am grieved, more than I can tell, that I had ever signed a petition against the old Poor Law; but I had no thought of such a change being made as they have made. To deny an old worn-out man and woman, like you and Sarah, relief, until you give up and part with all your old furniture, and that you must even then go into a place ruled as the House of Correction is ruled, to deter others, is indeed grievous. I hope we may yet prevent this. It is that 'cold-hearted,' new-fangled doctrine, called political economy, that has led to this new law."

As old Adam had perhaps never heard of political economy, or, like many others who use its name, knew nothing about it even if he had heard of it, he could not make any remark upon it in response to Mr. Hurst. We shall, however, take this opportunity to make a few remarks on this popular error, that of charging the oppressive clauses of the New Poor Law on the principles of political economy.

In the first place, nobody supported those provisions of the Poor Law which have severity in them, and which are intended to deter the poor from seeking relief, more zealously than the landed gentry and landed nobles, in Parliament, who make it their boast that political economy is neither believed in nor understood by them. They, as their ancestors, the feudal barons and knights of chivalry, who deemed it derogatory to acquire literary education of any kind, even the ability to write their names,—boast now, in the same spirit, that the merest elements of political economy are a mystery to them. The time will come when their boast of being ignorant of political economy, at the very time they are sitting as political legislators, will be looked upon as evidence of intellectual barbarism, as truly as the declaration of the Norman knights, that they were not dishonoured by not having learned to write their names.

But even where persons professing to be political economists supported the cruel clauses of the Poor Law, it is no more a proof against those principles which they professed to believe in, than was the cruelty of the inquisition by one party of believers in religion, and the enactment of penal laws against that party by another, a proof that religion justified the inquisition of Rome or the penal laws of England.

The principles of political economy are as true and unerring as the principles of gravitation, attraction, or repulsion in natural bodies, if political economy is freed from political superstition. There never has been any legislation unmixed with what we may call political superstition. The present Free Trade measure is a step towards it, yet it is not more than a step upon the threshold.

PASSAGE IV. CONTINUED.—The Sheep-washing.
Mr. Hurst said again, that he hoped some plan might be devised to prevent Adam from incurring the terrible calamity of breaking up his old home and going with his aged wife into the union house, to be separated worse than by death and the grave—to be separated in life in a grave, alive. And then he asked if Adam would take his staff in his hand and walk up the dell, and sit down on the knoll by the green birches, and see the sheep washing. He believed that Adam had never once been absent from a sheep-washing at Berryhill since the year he was born; and as this would be the last they would have in Berryhill while he was farmer, he would like to have it in all respects like the sheep washings of days gone by.

And Adam took his staff in his hand and went up the dell above the pool to the knoll where the bushes grew, and sat in the shade and looked down upon the sheep-washing, as did other old people, and all the young children not engaged below. It made the old people young again; every one of them declared that, and they even rebuked some of the more timid of the young ones for not going to help; they, when they were young, never stood looking on. See how the young tugs, that had never been washed before, were breaking away.

At which all the youngsters—the very youngest that could toddle alone—ran to bring back the young sheep that were running away without being washed; the boys that were helping to swim the sheep along the pool to the men who stood in the deepest place got out and ran; the dogs barked and ran; the young women who came to look on, and be very timid in going near the edge of the pool, though they knew well they would be, before the evening was over, pursued and caught, and brought back and soused in the pool according to the custom of sheepwashings—they ran to bring back the fugitive sheep; and the shepherd called to them all to keep back, his dog would do more than the whole. But dogs, and children, and boys, and women, and sheep that would not be turned, went out of sight up the dell, each making their own noise, the sheep and the shepherd's oldest dog being the only parties to the uproar really in earnest; the rest in part or wholly in fun.

Meantime the more sober three-year-old wethers were brought forward from the corner beneath a crag where they were awaiting their turn. The shepherd, who knew best how to lay hold of them, introduced them to the water. He did it thus:—He got a wether by the long wool of the neck, and by the shoulder and fore feet. He lifted his fore feet from the ground, and stood astride over him, and made him walk on his hind legs to the water's edge. The wether did not like it, and did not go willingly in; but when he really was in, and felt his hind part getting wet, he made a bold spring, such as would overturn a man that was not prepared for it, into the water. Here two men stationed for the purpose caught him, and his only struggle was to get further into the pool, and further from the shepherd who put him in. But as soon as he was afloat and off his feet, he quietly resigned himself to be washed, which was done by a man standing beyond the two men, who held his head above water by the wool of the neck, and guiding him by the shoulders, which were below water, kept him thus on end for half a minute or more, rolling and plunging him to the left and to the right.

This man then, the shepherd having another ready, turned this wether over the water to another man who, like him, stood three and a half or four feet deep. This man held the sheep in the same way, and in his turn gave him to another man a yard or two farther in the pool. That man treated him in the same way, and gave him to a fourth, and perhaps a fifth, who at last pushed the drenched sheep to shore on the opposite side, where he climbed his way up the low bank dripping and in silence until he saw those that had gone before him dripping also. They greeted him and he greeted them, and then he turned round with them to watch the others, and salute them with the language and sympathy of sheep as they came out of the water in their turn.

Then the flock of tugs was brought back, and they were washed one by one the same way as the wethers. And beer and bread and cheese, were handed across the water to the men who stood in the pool, for they declined to come out to get it. They said to stand in the water for a long while was not so bad as to come out and go in again; and the old people who now came down to the side of the pool said that was true; and some of the young ones said the best way to keep from cold was to be wet all over; and they had no sooner said so than one of them was pushed in, and laid hold of by the men who had washed the sheep, and dipped deeper even than the sheep. And the young women threw water from the bank over the men in the pool to wet them; and the men came out to catch the women, who in their turn ran, and screamed as they ran. And some of them were caught and carried back—the oldest matrons there, the grandmothers and great-grandmothers of the village telling the young men that it was well done, only to be gently with it. And no onlooker thought wrong of it; save, perhaps, some very young child, whose eldest sister or aunt it was that struggled in arms which were too strong for her, and put her in the middle of the pool. And there was more cases than one where three women, or four or five, would pursue and get hold of one man, and carry him and throw him into the water, and some of them roll over on the top of him, where they might have been drowned but for the more grave of the old people, who drew them out again.

If anybody ever took cold at such a time the case was rare. Still rarer was it that such rough sport produced ill-humour. On this occasion so joyous was every one, they forgot even that this was Mr. Hurst's last sheep washing; and old Adam, after he had gone home and had his supper, and said family prayers, confessed that until he was on his knees beseeching heaven for grace and mercy to himself and all men, he had forgot even the union workhouse, and the barrack-yard drill-sergeant who was set to be master of it. But at the solemn hour of family prayer solemn thoughts came back upon him, and he prayed fervently that he and his might be delivered from that great oppression in their age of helplessness—the oppression of the men who were possessed of riches, strength, and injustice.

Happy morning was it in Berryhill next day, when Mr. Hurst mounted his horse and rode to the market-town, six miles distant, to meet the agent of the estate and the solicitors of the mortgagees, who had written to him to meet them there, to see if they could not make a new arrangement to keep him as tenant of Berryhill. And when he returned and said the farm was again his, if he chose to take it at an advance of rent, the people were still happier, for Mr. Hurst had said often before that he would rather pay a higher rent than leave it, provided only the same was kept within bounds. He had been told that day that prices, which had lately risen, would rise farther and be maintained; that the Conservative party was gaining strength in Parliament; confidence would not be shaken again as it had been in 1835, and prices would not fall as the Whigs had made prices fall. The only thing required now of the farmers was to support the efforts of the Tories to put down the Whigs.

Mr. Hurst was not clear upon this doctrine, either for or against it. But within a few days of giving in his new offer for Berryhill, news came that the King was dead, and a general election was pending, and Mr. Hurst was called upon by all that was valuable to a farmer and to the labourers of the farms, to the landed estates and to the nation at large, to assist those who were now contending to rescue England and the young Queen from the counsels of "Whigs and destructives."

Mr. Hurst's sheep-shearing was not yet done; his ewes were still to shear when this political sheep-washing began—an immersion of one party by another far more uproarious and far from being so harmless as that at Mr. Hurst's pool in the dell.

ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH.

Dickens is preparing, with his wife and family, for a tour to Constantinople.

THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT; HIS TENANTS-AT-WILL, AND M.P.s-AT-WILL.

At Badminton, in Gloucestershire, the "stable talk" has been the Duke of Beaufort may, before the year is out, remove one of his huntsmen from the upper end of the servant's hall, and put one of the kennel boys in his place. At present, if we may believe the Monmouth correspondents of the London daily press, both the "stable talk" and the "table talk" is, that the duke will remove from the representation of Monmouthshire his brother, Lord Granville Somerset (a practical business member of the Commons, and supporter of the Free Trade Government), and put in his place his nephew, Captain Edward Somerset, a young military officer. In the "table talk" it is not doubted that the duke will try to do it, and will do it if he can; but it is doubted that he can. In the "stable talk" it is not doubted for a moment by any one that the duke can do it and will do it. Why should it be doubted? Does not Bob, who pumps water and sweeps the yard, order Bill, who is only a boy in the kennel, to do what he thinks kennel boys should do, namely, whatever pumpers may declare to be law for kennel boys? And do not the under grooms condemn Bob to obedience at the pump? And does not the upper groom send, or say he will send, the under ones far deeper down than where the pump water comes from, if they doubt the justice of his law, and power to give law and enforce its execution? And is there not the coachman and the huntsmen above the upper groom, and the master of the hounds above them, who is yet only to the duke what the smallest moon of Jupiter is to the sun?

"Stable talk!" Such heresy never entered the head of man or boy in Badminton as to doubt that Lord Granville Somerset must submit to be removed, and have his place filled by Captain Somerset, if the duke wills that the places in his family establishment shall be so altered. Nor is the creed of the stables more exact than the creed of the farmyards. The faith of Badminton, in Gloucestershire, is the faith of Ragland, in Monmouthshire. The man who, at the Badminton stables, is as the seventh of Saturn's moons to the sun, has not all the horses, and dogs, and men, and boys in their several gradations at command, on pain of twitch upon nose, or whip upon flanks, or kick upon buttocks, more effectually for obedience than the man at Ragland, the Jupiter himself, has the command of the "independent electors" who inhabit the Ragland property.

"Table talk," however, has it that the Ragland property, extensive as it is, may not overbalance the electors in other parts of the county who will support Lord Granville Somerset; and those who talk thus deny the right of the Duke of Beaufort to give to the county members of Parliament-at-will as he gives to his estate tenants-at-will.

But the subject has, since these remarks were written, gone beyond the talk of either stables or tables. Public meetings have been held in Monmouthshire, and men to whom the public of that shire raises its head and opens its eyes and its ears have spoken. One of them, Mr. Dowling, has said:

"Time has shown Lord Granville Somerset the fallacy of what is called 'Protection': he has seen the delusion of the dogma that the rate of wages is regulated by the price of food. He is no doubt aware of the hollowness of the cuckoo cry of protection to native industry—a protection which renders the tillers of the soil a most piteous and suffering race, prostrate and famine-stricken."

So say the speakers who are on the spot to see the tillers of the soil of Monmouth. But even at the distance of London we were not uninformed of the condition of the tillers, at least, of the soil of Ragland. As the following case will show, some of those who should be ashamed of the agriculture of Ragland, and of the subjugation of its agriculturists to a bondage disgraceful to Englishmen, have been at some pains to force themselves upon public notice; that is, so far as man's injustice to his fellow man is likely to engage public notice.

Sometime in December last, the correspondent of a London morning paper wrote, and his writing was published in the paper, that a tenant on the Duke of Beaufort's estate in Monmouthshire had, during several years, made improvements on his farm, until it had become noticeable amongst other farms for neatness, cleanness, and productiveness; but that the Duke's steward had increased the rent to a very considerable amount; that the tenant thus lost the profit of his improvements before he was paid for them; and that, in a county so badly cultivated as Monmouth, and so needful of better cultivation, this tenant had been made a terrible warning to others to remain as they were, and not attempt to produce more corn and feed more cattle.

The name of the tenant was not mentioned, nor even the locality of his farm pointed at. But it seems a Mr. Ford, was at once named as the man, by the duke's agent; and accordingly, Mr. Ford at once got notice to quit his farm. The agent also wrote angry letters to a Monmouth paper, explaining, or attempting to explain away the facts, as applicable to Mr. Ford; but in reality strengthening their applicability.

Meantime, Mr. Ford employed a Monmouth solicitor to prosecute the London paper, for damages sustained by him in being dismissed from his farm; and the London paper in turn took legal counsel, as to the extent of its responsibility for damage done,—as damage, and a grievous amount of it, had certainly been done to Mr. Ford, by the duke's agent.

Herein was involved a curious question of "protection to agriculture;" and the more so, that Mr. Ford got his dismissal from the farm he had been improving at the very time the duke's son was at the hussings at Gloucester, in opposition to the Government supporter, Mr. Francis Charteris.

Not less singular was it that on that night when the Marquis of Worcester made his maiden speech in the House of Commons, in favour of protection to agriculture, and strongly condemnatory of all persons and parties who would not protect and cherish the farmers, the mail-bag from Monmouth was on its way to London, containing a letter which set forth in bitter terms the ruin which had come upon the writer's (Mr. Ford's) family, by his dismissal from the farm, and demanding redress from the London newspaper.

Mr. Ford had denied emphatically that he had given the correspondent the information; which I have reason to believe is not only true, but that the correspondent had never seen Mr. Ford, and did not know his name. Yet, though a man of honour and integrity Mr. Ford was not believed;

and though an agriculturist whom the duke and duke's agent, and duke's heir to boot, should have cherished and held in his farm for the good of the estate, even if he wished to go away, he was dismissed as a scullion of the kitchen would be dismissed if dishonest, and without a character, or with a bad character—such as would prevent him from getting another farm.

Of the human insect whom the duke arms with such a sting to wound while it extracts honey, neither its own nor its master's, I say nothing. It is the public principle as affecting public property, the agriculture of the county, of which we have note to take. The Ragland estate in Monmouthshire, which is of very great extent (giving a rental of 50,000*l.* a year, though in a deplorable state of waste), has not the advantage of the duke's presence, as he usually lives at Badminton, in Gloucestershire, when not in London. But even in Gloucestershire, though the tenantry have the advantage of speaking to him personally to tell their wants and wishes, he is an obstructor of good agriculture, and not a promoter of it. It is in the region of his fox-chase that the Whitefield example farm is situated. There, a poor dairy farm, fit only for fox-hunting, as most of Gloucestershire still is, bearing inferior grass, foul weeds, feeble crops of corn, employing two men, one boy, and two women to 232 acres at low wages; affording the farmer a bare living; paying with difficulty 200*l.* per annum of rent; being worked with a capital barely amounting to 700*l.*; there, on that same farm, the working capital is now above 4000*l.*; the rent is double what it was before; the assessment to the poor rate triple what it was before; the wages paid six times what was paid before; the produce of the farm such, that all these increased charges are paid, and a handsome profit left to the farmer. Yet there, living in a country of pauperism, amid farmers always in distress, with this example farm before him, the Duke of Beaufort sees nothing in it worth notice from him, save that it impedes the fox-chase.

And yet his Grace of Beaufort meets his Grace of Richmond at the consultation of protectionist peers, and stands pledged, so the *Post* says, to oppose by vote and influence the measure which is to remove that thing called protection to agriculture—that agriculture which he himself does not protect who alone has the power. And now he is to remove the member at-will as his tenant-at-will is removed, because the member believes that monopoly is not protection.

When recently at Whitefield farm, I expressed surprise at seeing so many cattle feeding at the stalls, Mr. Morton, who is now tenant of the farm, said "Yes, the number is great for the acreage of the farm, comparing it with what we see elsewhere; but we shall feed more cattle still, and extend all our operations when the Corn Law is repealed."

REUBEN.

FREE TRADE AUTHORITIES CONVERTED INTO ADVOCATES OF MONOPOLY.—Mr. Cayley, M.P. for East Yorkshire, and tract-writer for the Central Agricultural Protection Society, had the hardihood in one of his publications to twist and torture Adam Smith, the great champion of Free Trade, into an advocate for protection. The stupidity or the fraud having been exposed, Mr. Cayley had the temporary grace to retract and apologize in a letter to the *Morning Post*; we say temporary, because the hon. gentleman has since repeated his fault in the House of Commons. In a like spirit Mr. D'Israeli has cited Mr. Mill as being an opponent of Free Trade, and the *Morning Chronicle* has set the question at rest by the following quotation from Mr. Mill's "Essays on some unsettled questions of Political Economy":—"A prejudice appears to exist against the theory in question, on the supposition of its being opposed to one of the most valuable results of modern political philosophy, the doctrine of freedom of trade between nation and nation. The opinions now laid before the readers are presented as corollaries from the principles upon which trade itself rests. The writer has also been careful to point out that, from these opinions, no justification can be derived from any protecting duty, or other preference given to domestic over foreign industry. But in regard to those duties on foreign commodities which do not operate as protection, but are maintained solely for revenue, and which do not touch either the necessities of life or the materials and instruments of production, it is his opinion that any relaxation of such duties, beyond what may be required by the interests of the revenue itself, should in general be made contingent upon the adoption of some corresponding degree of freedom of trade with this country by the nation from which the commodities are imported."—*Liverpool Mercury*.

ROYAL POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTION.—Dr. Ryan has been giving a most instructive and interesting lecture on the process of diving and submarine operations. The lecturer divided his subject into two departments; considering—first, the physical difficulties attending upon diving; and secondly, the means suggested by the ingenuity of man for the purpose of overcoming such difficulties. Under the first head, Dr. Ryan gave a most clear and concise view of the theory of respiration, which he aptly termed the most important act of our existence. He remarked that respiration was so important, that in Holy Writ life and breath are synonymous terms. Witness the expression, "And God breathed into his nostrils the breath of life." In Latin, the connection between life and breath is shown in the words *spiro* and *spiritus*; and, in the Greek, the first and last act of a man's life is expressed by a word composed of *Alpha* and *Omega*, the first and last letters of the alphabet. The Doctor then proceeded to explain the action of the oxygen of the air in converting venous into arterial blood, and also pointed out that the venous blood could not circulate through the arterial system without becoming a most deadly poison. He described asphyxia resulting from suffocation, and demonstrated that the cause of that condition was the prevention of the passage of oxygen into the lungs in order that the blood might be arterialised. Dr. Ryan then proceeded to show that man was formed merely for breathing a gaseous atmosphere, and that although water contained air, yet man could not separate it for respiratory purposes, as fishes do. He then gave some most interesting details, describing the diving dress, and proving that unless the head and chest of the man were protected by the protruding helmet, the weight of the water would prevent him using the muscles of respiration; for the Doctor stated that if the chest exposed half a square foot of surface at the depth of 15 feet, the weight on the chest would be 450 lbs. The learned Doctor concluded his admirable lecture amid loud applause from a most crowded audience.

A new umbrella has been manufactured in Connecticut, called the "lending umbrella." It is made of brown paper and willow twigs, intended exclusively to accommodate a friend.

AGRICULTURE.

THE LATEST CONVERT.

It is a good sign of the times that the only real organ of the farmers, the *Mark Lane Express*, has declared in favour of Free Trade. We wish it had been done earlier, for an unequivocal expression of opinion on the part of farmers would have prevented the retention of a modified protection for three years, which we foresee will be used in various ways against the weal of the farmer. The following passages in the leading article of the *Express*, on Monday, represent very closely the tone of opinion amongst the farmers, who very generally say the apprehensions which have been expressed are groundless. After referring to the debate and division in the House of Lords on the second reading of the Corn Law Bill, and stating that the result left scarcely an opening for doubt as to the success of the Government measure, the writer says:

"Having arrived at this stage of the proceedings, when we consider, in point of fact, that the Bill must become law, and when we contemplate the extraordinary change of opinion which has taken place upon the question of the Corn Laws, we are disposed to ask ourselves—and we think that all who regard the repeal of those laws as fraught with injury to British agriculture, should ask themselves the same question, 'Is it not possible that we may have been mistaken in our views?'—may not our apprehensions be groundless?" We must, for our own part, confess that circumstances are daily occurring, which lead us to doubt whether the results will be of such a serious nature as has been anticipated."

Referring to Lord Londonderry's frank avowal that his adherence to monopoly was simply an adherence to his party leaders, without having himself formed any defined or intelligible opinions on the subject, the writer remarks:

"Now the noble Marquis is no orator; but we very much doubt whether he has not assigned the true cause of the change which has taken place. 'Not able to form an opinion of their own,' noble lords and honourable gentlemen have taken the opinions of the Premier and the Duke of Wellington. Can we suppose that individuals placed in their high position have any other object than the general good of the country in view? Can we imagine that they would adopt a course opposed to the opinions of a large and influential class of the community, without being well advised on all hands? And if so, seeing their position, their ability, their means of acquiring information, and capability of arriving at a sound conclusion, and further, the support they have acquired from the landed interest itself, have we not reason to ask ourselves, 'Is it not possible we may have been mistaken in our views?' A comparatively short space of time will furnish the answer."

Perhaps there is nothing which has more disgusted the manly and intelligent minds of the British middle classes with the monopolists than the anile scoldings and coarse abuse of Ministers by the monopolist leaders. Every man who thinks at all puts this question to himself, "What possible motive can Sir Robert Peel have but the general welfare?" And the answer does not exalt the Richmonds, the Bentincks, and D'Israeli in his estimation. We do not hesitate to say that there never was a party of public men towards whom the great body of the British community entertained so much contempt as towards the monopolist party in Parliament.

The course of the farmers is now plain. Let them treat the ravings of protectionist politicians as of about the same value as the promises of their exploded Corn Laws; let them rely upon their own exertions for success in farming, and quietly but resolutely demand from their landlords the security of long and rational leases.

It is not probable that any real attempt will be made in the next Parliament to alter the law now about to be enacted; but it is by no means unlikely that during the general election sundry monopolist lords and squires will talk largely upon the subject; and if the prices of grain happen to be low, they may divert farmers from considering what are the public questions in which they are really most interested. It does not matter that the promises of the squires refer to impossible things, inasmuch as landlords have been promising, and farmers believing in impossibilities for the last 30 years; these things will be attempted. There are many questions on which the squires, ambitious of representing the counties, would not like farmers to ponder and act according to their own convictions. We therefore caution the farmers beforehand against attributing prices, should prices be low, simply to the change in the law. That the effect of that change on the market has been anticipated is clear from the following account of the state of the corn market in the *Mark Lane Express* review of Monday last:

"Whilst the weather continues auspicious for the growing crops we shall probably have no great change in prices; but any circumstance tending to create a feeling of uneasiness respecting the result of the harvest would, in all probability, give an impetus to the trade. Such may at least be inferred from the generally firm tone sellers have maintained at the leading markets held during the week, under a combination of circumstances by no means calculated to impart confidence to wheat holders."

The range of prices during next year will depend upon the coming harvest. The prospect of that harvest is at present favourable. The great heat of the last few weeks will go far to recover the wheat plant, which previously was somewhat feeble; and should the summer prove a hot one, there will certainly be an abundant produce. Now, should that happen, let the farmers mark and distinguish how much of the reduction in price has been brought about by good crops, and how much by the alteration of the law; and let them form their own conclusions and act upon them without reference to the clamours of the protectionist landocracy.

FOREIGN COMPETITION.

"The agricultural community have been more frightened than hurt."—George Robins.

If farmers have not been frightened, it certainly has not been the fault of their "friends," who have stuck at nothing likely to produce the most extravagant alarm in the agricultural mind. But the fright of the farmers has for the last two or three years been a very shadowy affair, which none but the Parliamentary monopolists have been able to perceive. That there has been a very infinitesimal portion of fear is, however, possible; and that the eloquent and practical George Robins may have been perfectly right, when, in describing "An Elizabethan Villa, a Manor, and five farms in Warwickshire," he said "the agricultural community have been more frightened than hurt."

On the other hand, the eloquent and impracticable Lord Stanley has been labouring with more zeal than success in trying to persuade the Lords and the farmers that they are not half enough frightened, and that they are about to be most seriously hurt. His lordship's, "Tamboff" story, has made all persons of average intelligence and information very careful in taking Lord Stanley's facts as real facts. His lordship's *forte* is not in that direction; his facts and figures are very like figures of fancy. And he seems to have met with a congenial mind in some Liverpool corn merchant, from whom he produced a letter. On that letter Lord Stanley, in the House of Lords on Monday night, founded the following statement:

"I received this morning a letter from a gentleman, who described himself as the head of the oldest firm in Liverpool engaged in the corn trade, and he writes to inform me that he holds in bond two cargoes of red wheat from Dantzic which cost 14s. a quarter. The freight to Liverpool was 9s. 6d. This gentleman then gives us his deliberate opinion, that if the measure now before their Lordship's House passed, we shall, after the expiration of three years, be annually in the receipt of five millions of quarters of foreign wheat, and probably more—but that would depend upon the seasons and the demand here—at a price between 35s. and 40s., the duty being 1s. a quarter."

If this wheat in bond has any real existence, all that can be said is, that Lord Stanley's correspondent ought to be thankful for a good bargain. If the story be real, it is impossible to say what peculiar circumstances, or combination of circumstances, have induced that particular transaction; but to cite it as a specimen transaction is simply ridiculous. On turning to the review of the foreign corn trade published in the *Mark Lane Express*, on the same Monday evening, we find that at Dantzic:

"The best samples of old high-mixed were then held at 51s. to 53s., good qualities at 48s. to 49s., and other sorts at prices varying from 44s. to 47s. per qr. Vessels to load wheat for London might have been chartered at 3s. 9d. to 4s. 3d., and to Liverpool at 4s. 6d. to 5s. per qr."

And at Rostock and Stettin wheat would cost 45s. and 46s. a quarter, which in London, in bond, would not be worth more than 46s. and 47s. a qr. Such being the state of the Baltic markets, of what possible use, as a guide to form a general inference, is the Liverpool corn merchant's isolated bargain? Lord Stanley's present Tamboff, the country of his imagination, from which unlimited supplies of corn are hereafter to be obtained for next to nothing, is Hungary. "The plains of Hungary are, by the application of skill and money," to be the source of that "inundation" of corn the monopolists affect to apprehend. Now all this is lamentable trifling. Lord Brougham answered the monopolist admi-

rably upon this point. After reminding him that the opening our market would have the effect of advancing the price of wheat abroad, his lordship said:

"Now, would their lordships consider what was involved in the operation of clearing the soil for the growth of corn? They must cut down the trees—they must grub up the roots—they must saw them in pieces—they must get rid of them in some way or other before they could convert the land into arable soil. They must farm the land; they must enclose it; and barns and granaries must be constructed. Now, he would stop here to ask if all this could be done without people—without workmen to carry these operations into effect? And did their lordships think that the population would increase just because we wanted them? Did they suppose that they increased at the rate they did in this country—at the rate of a thousand a day? But that was not all. Capital also was required. Where was that capital to come from? It was estimated in this country that, properly to cultivate a farm, a tenant required to be possessed of capital at the rate of 10*l.* per acre. How much, then, would be required for the clearing of a farm? Why, less than 40*l.* or 50*l.* per acre would not do that. What could be expected, then, from the cultivators of the Ukraine, the Danube, or the interior of Poland?"

Now this is the practical view of the subject, which will at once satisfy farmers, and all who practically know aught of the cultivation of land, that any great increase of grain on the Continent of Europe can only be the result of many changes, occupying a long period of time. The only practical risk to the farmer arises from the three years' postponement of absolutely Free Trade. It is not impossible, indeed, it is not improbable, that at the cessation of the duty in 1849, a larger accumulation of grain may be thrown upon our market than it can absorb, and which will happen from over estimating its capacity. But that will be only a temporary, though perhaps a severe loss to farmers. That loss, however, be it what it may, must be placed to the account of the "farmer's friends."

That the price of wheat, under Free Trade, will not be far from that which has been the average in the Channel Islands, 47s. a quarter, all evidence on the subject renders probable. The extravagant statements of the monopolists are absurd.

In order to dispel any unfounded alarm on this point, we recommend farmers to read Mr. T. F. Salter's "Rough Notes of a Farmer during an Agricultural Tour through Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, in August, 1842." They will there find, upon the authority of a Norfolk farmer, that the power of Russia and Prussia to supply corn has been greatly overrated, and "that the inhabitants neither possess the skill, the knowledge, or the means, of injuring the British farmer."

We have no doubt that when the trade in corn becomes free, completely free, there will be a sufficient and constant importation to prevent the price rising to an exorbitant rate; but if the price be much reduced, it will be effected by the increased growth of wheat in this country, the result of the stimulus to husbandry given by Free Trade. The tale about the unlimited foreign supply is a mere buggaboo story, which nobody believes, not even those who tell it.

SHADOWS OF COMING EVENTS.

While the Richmonds and the Dentincks are bellowing forth prophecies of the ruin of farmers and the deterioration of husbandry, it is impossible to take up a periodical devoted to agricultural topics without perceiving that, whatever may be the other effects of coming free trade, one immediate and important one will be to stimulate the farmers to increased activity and more energetic pursuit of their business. Now we all know what is the result of such exertions. And it is from the incidental remarks of writers on rural topics that these conclusions are to be drawn, at least as much as from direct remark. A correspondent of the *Mark Lane Express*, writing upon the subject of "landlord and tenant arrangements," remarks that tenants can now properly call upon their landlords for new and more liberal arrangements, and adds:

"There can be no doubt now that a new Corn Bill will become the law of the land. Neither landlord nor tenant can honestly affect to believe that the existing Corn Laws can last three months longer."

He thinks no man must be surprised if the price of wheat for the next ten years shall rule below 40s. a quarter, and that the improved farming now so much recommended will do at least as much to keep down the price as importations from abroad. He, therefore, calls the attention of the farmers to the absolute necessity of securing leases. He says:

"Taking it for granted, however, the tenants may live by greater sacrifices and exertions, what security have they at present that they shall reap the benefit of these sacrifices and

exertions? A yearly tenant at will has nothing to depend upon but the good opinion and just consideration of his landlord. But that landlord may be a speculator—may get involved—may have nothing but those "good intentions" with which a certain place is said to be paved, or—he may die. How then? The heir, successor, or mortgagee, may wish to make as much as he can of his newly acquired property; and this he may think he can best effect by turning the present tenant out. What security has the latter that he will not? What inducement, therefore, has he to improve, enrich, or extend his farm?"

And no landlord can feel it to be any imputation on him, that a tenant, under the new state of things, should ask for a lease:

"You may believe—and you may tell him you believe that he will never disturb you while he lives; but life is proverbially uncertain; and surely he will not wish you to be at the expense of insuring his life to the extent of the capital you desire to invest in his land. Without such insurance, or a sufficiently long lease, every farthing you invest may be lost to you, though it will go to others. Parliament does not seem disposed to pass any law to protect or to compensate tenants. All the Corn Laws they have hitherto passed have been for the benefit of landlords, and used as excellent excuses for demanding rents greatly beyond the prices they really promoted. Farmers, therefore, must individually protect themselves. Every tenant farmer can (surely without offence) in this altered state of things, ask for a lease. What honest reason can any landlord allege for not granting one?"

The Corn Bill will probably be carried in a few weeks, and from thenceforth farmers must expect their prices to be only higher than the Continental prices by the cost of transport; that is the opinion of the writer whose remarks we have quoted; but does he, therefore, believe, as the Duke of Richmond says he believes, that farmers are, therefore, about to withdraw their capital from the soil? Quite the contrary. He says:

"How, then, when tenants are increasing their expenses by improvements, with the certainty of decreasing their prices by foreign competition, can any just and reasonable landlord refuse to them a lease with covenants recognising and providing for their rights? In less than a week the Lords may be expected to give a conclusive indication of their concurrence with the Commons. Every tenant farmer at will should then look to his landlord for a lease, at terms, and with covenants, fitted to the altered state of things. If they do not make the attempt now, they will find it much more difficult, and likely to be much less successful, next year than this. The three years' small duties are obviously carried on to prevent present abatement of rents; but if a tenant can get a lease for 7, 14, or 21 years, he can justly and strongly argue, that during the larger portion of his holding he will be altogether unprotected by the law, and ought, therefore, to be the better considered by his landlord."

We have repeatedly said that it is not so much reductions of rent the tenants require as secure tenures, and relief from landlord-imposed burthens. Now the remarks of the writer, a protectionist, show that the immediate effect of Free Trade will be to bring both landlords and tenants to the conclusion that it is no longer for the advantage of either party that the thriftless practice of yearly tenancies should continue. We have all heard a good deal of the superiority of Scotch over English farming; but from the following passages we extract from a letter addressed by a Scotch farmer travelling in England, to the editor of the *Galloway Advertiser*, it appears that the differences are chiefly those which arise from the difference of tenures:

"When you asked me to report on English farming, I believe both of us thought that my report must be all against English farming, particularly in this and other central counties, when compared with Scotch farming. We were both very much mistaken. In passing hurriedly through these central counties of England, as we have formerly done on our way to London, we see little of the details of farming, and form our opinion of the state of agriculture chiefly from the great clumsy waggons, the heavy and inefficient ploughs, and the expensive misapplication of horse-power, which meet our eyes on all sides, and which we hastily conclude must belong to an age of prejudice and general ignorance. But these are only the outside defects of the machinery; and a minute examination of the farms leads to a very different conclusion as to the details of English farming. I hesitate not to say, that the farming in many parts of Warwickshire is, as good, or better, than in Wigtownshire or Ayrshire—though it is much in the same way as I would say a man is a good walker if he beats another on a road, at a great cost of physical power, although loaded with his great-grandfather's boots, which happened to weigh each a hundred-weight."

And he adds:

"I do not mean to say that an English farmer is able to pay more rent for his farm than a Scotch farmer would do—quite the contrary; but he grows better crops on the same quality of land, feeds better, raises more manure, puts on more compost, keeps his land more clear from weeds, and his houses, farm roads, and fences, in better order; so that, in my opinion, the English farmer only requires to throw off his grandfather's great cumbersome implements to beat us both in neat and profitable agriculture."

There is no doubt that the English farmer has great advantages of climate, and often of soil, over his brother farmer north of the Tweed; and the only advantage the Scotch farmer has—and it is an enormous one—arises from his long and rational lease. The Scotch farmer says:

"The great hindrance to profitable English farming is the unwillingness of landlords to grant leases for a term of years. To a Scotch farmer it appears wonderful how much some tenants have expended under so discouraging a system; but the general and only possible result of short leases is to check improvement—to cause draining and other expensive

improvement to be either neglected or imperfectly executed; and no inducement is held out to the great body of farmers to forsake the clumsy implements and expensive system of working of their fathers, the effect of which would be to put all the profits of the change into the pockets of their landlords within a year or two after the improvement is adopted. A great part of their clay lands are undrained, and, on the very best managed farms, the draining is quite inefficient—the drains being perhaps 36 feet asunder, and only two feet deep, where they should have been placed at every 16 or 18 feet, and 2½ feet deep."

The wetness of the land from insufficient draining, forms an excuse for the misapplication of horse-power, both in ploughing, and in the use of heavy waggons instead of one-horse carts. So he threshes out his corn with great and unnecessary expense:

"The English farmer suffers a great loss, both in the cost and dispatch, in preparing his grain for the market, from the want of threshing machines; and this evil is not reduced by occasionally hiring a clumsy, ill-constructed machine, which is done even on farms of a considerable extent. In Scotland, and even in the north of Ireland now, almost every farm of 100^l., or even 80^l. rent, has its well constructed threshing machine, drawn by two horses, if water power is not at command, completed at an expense of 30^l. or 35^l., or, with winnowing-machine attached, a few pounds more. The English farmers must adopt this improvement; and they, or the labourers, need not fear that they will find every economy to the farmer produces increased employment and benefit to the workman."

By increased accommodation for keeping cattle, and the use of much of the straw—with linseed, let us add—for feeding them, instead of using it all for litter, the English farmer would be much benefited.

The writer thus adverts to the coming abrogation of the Corn Laws:

"I blame the English farmer for unnecessary expense or extravagance in his management, and the Scotch farmer for unwise economy in many things, or niggardliness, and to cure our mutual faults may yet take some time; but there is a spirit abroad now which will, I have no doubt, tend to the improvement of both countries. An Englishman, for odd work, might bring neatness and order to our Scotch farms; and the alarm among English landlords on account of the proposed change in the Corn Laws will force them to grant leases, and tend to a more economical management on the part of the English farmers. If a Warwickshire farmer can work his farm with half the number of horses he now employs (as I am convinced he could do), here would be a source from which he could draw security for a very considerable fall in the price of grain. If such were to be the result of the change in the Corn Laws, the possession of a farm for a lease of nineteen or twenty years would certainly lead to such safe means of realising profit. The great objection is the expense of purchasing new carts and ploughs, and the difficulty of getting workmen to go heartily into the change."

Now all this indicates anything but an intention, on the part of farmers, of giving up cultivation in despair at the prospect of foreign competition.

Again, a "salesman," writing to the *Mark Lane Express* upon the subject of complain's made by some farmers of the manner in which sales of stock are sometimes conducted in Smithfield says:

"I beg to recommend in future that the feeders of cattle and sheep will send their cattle or sheep by rail; for by sending a certain quantity, small in number, the feeder or owner of them is entitled to a ticket to come up to Smithfield and return again free of expense. By coming to Smithfield with their stock, they would then judge for themselves the salesmen who sell cattle that will bear selling twice on the same day, in the same market, at a profit; and they would then know the value of salesmen who are judges of the real value of the cattle they sell. If they did so, the best salesmen would find their value in Smithfield as well as the cattle; and it would not be as now is the case, that ignorance and assurance would be a sufficient capital to start a salesman—to please the easiest and most contented race of mankind who do not even think for themselves, but leave it to other people to think for them. Should Sir Robert Peel's measure be carried in the House of Lords, the feeders of cattle and sheep, to pay their rent, &c., must take out a licence to think, act, and speak for themselves, or they cannot keep pace with the times, and must make place for wiser and more thinking men."

Here the stimulating effects of Free Trade are distinctly recognised. That farmers are, as a body, quite equal to the emergency, we have always maintained; we wish we could say the same thing of the landlords. The great impediment to improved husbandry really lies in that quarter.

GAME VERSUS FARMING.

A correspondent of the *Mark Lane Express* observes that the game presents one of the greatest difficulties to a satisfactory arrangement of the terms between landlords and tenants; and we believe that when the Corn Laws are abolished, game and the Game Laws will be the chief obstacle to good and profitable farming:

"Of all the features involved in the question of tenant right, there are few, if any, more difficult of general adjustment than that of game-killing and game-preserving. Incomings, outgoings, repairs, courses of cropping, and so forth, ought all by comparison to be easy indeed of arrangement, for the very simple reason that they all pull one way, all increasing the profits, and, we may very naturally add, the pleasures of those concerned in properly determining them. The game, we repeat, has no moral recommendation of this kind, though it still holds an influence over the fortunes of the farmer that contains some good, and which consequently should cause us to hesitate before cutting it away altogether. The curse of Ireland, they tell us, is the absentee landlord; and once do away with or deny the land-

owner's right to the game, and the curse of England might not improbably correspond with it."

The notion that game preserving is necessary to induce any landlord, whose presence is worth a rush to his neighbours, to reside in the country, is altogether preposterous; but that game does present a matter difficult of adjustment between landlord and tenant, is most true, and we fear it will continue to do so, until the force of public opinion shall have compelled the landowners to abandon game-preserving as a barbarous and demoralising practice.

The writer seems to imagine that there can be a moderate preservation of game, such as existed many years ago, when farming was in a rude state, and there was more wild land in the country than at present. He says:

"The English gentleman, on the one part, shall be content with finding game sufficient for himself and his friends, without supplying his poultry; and the English farmer, on the other, shall provide for him as sportsman without condemning him as landlord. *With moderation in the supply and the demand, the tenant may farm without loss, and the owner sport without complaint.*

"Over or modern game-preserving affects and injures the tenant farmer in two ways: it lowers his profit, and deadens his spirit. Even allowing that full compensation is given for the mischief occasioned—a fact granted, by the way, that we should think was not realised one time in twenty—even admitting this, the 'give and take' must surely pass in a most unsatisfactory manner."

We think this moderate supply is not what landowners who preserve game would care for. They want a large head of game for a battue; or they would rather give up the game to their tenants; and it is thus we hope that battue shooting, and the game preserving it induces, are evils which will ultimately cure themselves. At present game is an evil of great magnitude. If the squirearchy would preserve their influence with the farmers, they must give up the game:

"The great support of the gentlemen of this country has been the yeomanry, and never perhaps had they more need to depend on them than they have just at present. The benefit, however, cannot come all one way, but must rather be met and joined in step for step from either side. One of the first of these steps, we repeat, must be made with the fashion of preserving game; an amendment, we trust, that may once again cause a good landlord and a good sportsman to sound as much the same thing."

As farmers, we look forward to the day when game shall have ceased to exist in the cultivated districts.

BREAKING UP PREJUDICES AND PASTURES.

The most absurd prejudices are entertained by the landowners of England against breaking up pasture land. At least, one-half of our permanent grass lands would pay more to the tenant, as well as the landlord, when converted, if properly converted, into tillage. We are glad to see that farmers' clubs are discussing the subject:

"HARLESTON FARMERS' CLUB.—May 6th.—Subject, 'The breaking up of old pasture lands; its advantages and the best process.' Resolved:—That it is highly desirable to break up a large portion of the heavy land pastures in this district, thus adding to the sources of labour and increasing the produce of the soil. That thin paring and burning the flag is the best process of converting such lands into tillage, spreading at least two-thirds of the ashes on the new soil, and carrying the remainder, if desirable, on to the old tilled lands. The club not only considers that the first should be a root crop, for which the ashes will be an excellent preparation, but recommends that the succeeding crop or crops should be roots also. Aware of the prejudice which most landlords entertain against the breaking up of old pasture land, it is believed that making it compulsory to crop new lands with roots for the first two or three years (for the growth of which they are so well calculated) will tend to diminish their objections, and be at the same time advantageous to the tenants, as the manure from the extra root crops will be more beneficial to the old lands than the manure from the extra straw crops would have been, and the whole farm will be thus improved instead of impoverished. Draining and claying in the interim will prepare the land for the corn crops at the expiration of the limit, and by breaking up annually a portion only of the pasture intended to be converted, the whole will come regularly into course with the old ploughed lands. It is believed that permission thus given to break up inferior pasture land will encourage good farming amongst the tenantry, by increasing the fattening of cattle and reducing the stock of cows, which it is well known, as they are generally kept, impoverish the land as much as cattle and sheep improve it."

KISSING.—Dow closed a sermon on kissing with the following quaint advice:—"I want you, my young sinners, to kiss and get married; and then devote your time to morality and money-making. Then let your homes be well provided with such comforts and necessities as piety, pickles, pots and kettles, brushes, brooms, benevolence, bread, charity, cheese, faith, flour, affection, oider, sincerity, vinegar, virtue, wine and wisdom. Have these always on hand, and happiness will be with you. Do not drink anything intoxicating—eat moderately—go about business after breakfast—loungue a little after dinner, chat after tea, and kiss after quarrelling; then all the joy, the peace, and the bliss the earth can afford shall be yours, until the grave close over you, and your spirits are borne to a brighter and a happier world."

The *Parliamentary Punch, Le Charivari*, has been, by superior order, prohibited from being read in Vienna; all copies destined for that capital being seized in the frontier post-office.

REVIEW.

The Industrial History of Free Nations. By W. T. McCullagh, Esq. London, Chapman and Hall.

The obvious disproportion between the title of these volumes and their contents,—the limitation of the *Industrial History of Free Nations* to a comment on the connection between the political state and economic conditions of the Greeks and the Dutch,—has led many to stigmatise the work, very harshly and very unjustly. They say that in the ancient world the Greeks had neither the monopoly of industry nor of freedom. The Tyrians, the Carthaginians, the Campanians, and others, have left at least traces of their existence in commercial history; while in modern times, the municipalities of Catalonia and Languedoc, the free States of Lombardy, the federated cities of the Rhine, the Hanseatic League, to say nothing of Genoa, Florence, Venice, and other republics, had as glorious an industrial history as Holland, and an equal claim to rank among free nations. The source of these mistaken objections is the title, which certainly does not express the object of the book. The author includes nationality, independence, and self-government in his notion of freedom; and his main object appears to be to prove that the most inclusive spirit of commerce is not inconsistent with the most exclusive spirit of nationality. It was perhaps for this reason that the author limited his attention to the Greeks and the Dutch, because of all industrial races they were the most signally remarkable for nationality and localisation of government.

It is to the exclusive nationalities arising from the multitude and small size of the States into which the Hellenes were divided, after they had established their supremacy over the Pelasgi, that our author ascribes the growth of the industrial arts in Greece. The theory is eloquently stated, but sufficient care has not been taken to distinguish mere concomitancy from causation.

"As the lava of conquest began to cool, and to split into unconnected masses, between each rift the indigenous popular industry sprang up, and gradually sheathed many of the rugged forms into which the Hellenic flood had congealed with a Pelasgic verdure. Thus in Samos, where from an age exceedingly remote many descriptions of useful labour had been carried on, the ancient spirit of inventive toil revived. There, we are told, did Rhæus and Theodorus, in the seventh century B.C., perform the curious feat of moulding shapes in clay; which Debutades, an artificer of Sicily, having improved upon, found that he could render applicable in the way of ornaments for the roofs of houses, and even for embellishing the summits of temples. These figures were sometimes stained with various dyes—madder being particularly mentioned among the colouring stuffs employed. It was discovered also, by experiment, that certain kinds of clay were suitable to particular purposes; and the valuable art being once applied to ordinary uses, it gradually became to the Samiotes a permanent and extensive source of profitable occupation: vast quantities of earthenware being annually exported to distant countries, as well as to the other states of Greece. They had several rivals among their neighbours, more especially at Corinth, whence we are told that Eucheir and Eugrammus, two skilful potters, emigrated to Etruria, and so introduced the knowledge of their art among that tasteful people. In the isle of Cos, likewise, a description of porcelain, exceedingly thin and fair, was manufactured; exquisite vessels, shaped on the wheel, were fabricated at Erythra; and Sicily claimed the pre-eminence in works of alabaster. All these emulously laboured to maintain each their own reputation for some peculiar excellence of composition or design; and the proof that no monopolising discouragement ever fell upon their free and honourable competition is unconsciously afforded by Pliny, when he states that in his late time each of their productions was so highly valued, that it paid the merchants to import them into Italy, and even to more distant countries, where the same manufacture was carried on, but in somewhat less perfection. Can any one in the least degree conversant with the history of such inventions entertain a doubt that to this free competition of successive ages was attributable the perfection of skill and fertility of design which, even in the fragments that have escaped the wreck of classic civilisation, fill us with delight and admiration? Imbued with the traditional taste and skill on which success in any art, but more peculiarly in that of design, necessarily depends, the Samiotes applied themselves, moreover, to manufactures of gold and silver. In these they soon attained celebrity. Traffic with Asia, if it had not as yet rendered the precious metals very abundant, supplied at least sufficient materials to those who made vessels of ornament, or for sacred uses. Among the articles most highly prized in the palace of the Persian king was a cup wrought by the Samian Theodorus; and numerous shrines in Greece contained specimens of his highly valued workmanship."

The policy of the Corinthians receives its full meed of praise, but their connection between public festivals and commercial exchanges was no Greek invention. From the remotest ages, trade in the East was connected with religious observances, and the greatest national temple was the most frequented of national marts.

"Whatever the faults of their colonial system may have been, the domestic policy of the Corinthians was, in most things, pre-eminently wise. They seem to have very early understood their position, and how it might be turned to most advantage. Though the traffic overland between the Peloponnesians and the Continental Greeks could not at first have been very extensive, it was every year increasing, and all of it necessarily passed their gates. Of the importance of rendering this intercourse safe, they seem to have been fully conscious, as well as of the best means of encouraging it. Instead of exacting oppressive tolls, which from their weaker neighbours they were strong enough to do,

and of which we should infallibly have heard abundant complaints, had they thought fit to attempt it, they sedulously strove to augment them by more legitimate expedients. They greatly extended, if indeed they did not actually found, one of these national festivals or games, the influence of which on the manners and habits of the Greeks it is, perhaps, impossible adequately to estimate. Of these there afterwards were many originating in various circumstances and commemorative of different events. All of them partook, more or less, of the character of religious celebrations—all presented splendid and ennobling spectacles to the popular sight—all tended, in a high degree, to the political fusion and nationalisation of the heterogeneous tribes who were thus periodically induced to come together; and, finally, by all of them were inestimable benefits conferred on every species of inventive industry. They were festivals; but they were likewise fairs. They were termed Public Games—*panegyres*—as expressing that they were the common opportunity for worship and relaxation to all who were privileged to take part in them; and even the fury of war was suspended during the period of their celebration, and the truce, which permitted enemies of yesterday to meet in safety at the Isthmus, was religiously observed. They afforded places of resort for business men—halls of exposition for ingenious men—theatres of trial for ambitious men.

"To attribute to the originators of any of these festive reunions political or commercial foresight sufficient to anticipate all the important uses which they served, would be, no doubt, an error. But it is one thing to plant a tree near your dwelling in the belief that it may one day help to shelter its isolation, and another to foresee that its destined growth will eventually overshadow your home with its luxuriant foliage, and eminently contribute to make it an object of envy and admiration. Those who explain great events or influences by postliminous prefaces full of deep designs which their authors (never) had in view, perplex and mar the best lessons history is capable of teaching; but we may err in the opposite extreme: in the life of nations one naturally leans to the belief that what appears to have been done systematically, was done with continuous, though perhaps infected purpose; and when we find early, though comparatively scanty, fruit upon the branches, it is hard to think that the planting and primary culture were without design.

"An idea certainly prevailed among the ancients that several of the most celebrated panegyres were deliberately instituted for the united purposes of festivity and trade. Iphitus is said to have 'founded the games and fair of Olympia' in a certain year which is named. The precise year may be doubtful, but there is no doubt whatever of the mingled character of these memorable festivals; and the national importance attached to them is sufficiently indicated by the well-known fact of their institution being recognised as the Grecian era, and their periodical recurrence as the universal measure of Grecian time."

Parts of Solon's legislation appear to us extravagantly overrated. We are surprised to find so enlightened a writer vindicating the exclusion of resident aliens from the rights of citizenship. The experiment of separating freedom of trade from the exercise of municipal and constitutional rights was long tried in Ireland; it was indeed the favourite policy of the Orange ascendancy. A similar course has been recommended in the United States by what is called the "Native American party," but we did not expect to find it advocated by a Free Trader. To us, the cry of "Athens for the Athenians," as of "Ireland for the Irish," does not appear one whit more rational than the cry of the "Oregon for the O'Regans."

"To this end was the fundamental principle laid down, that all men, of whatever race or clime, were free to trade at Athens; and so long as they obeyed the laws and complied with the easy stipulations annexed to their condition as 'resident aliens,' they might compete with the native-born citizens of the state in every branch of trade. The enlightened policy which thus boldly sought to attract and attach foreign enterprise and skill as an inexhaustible stimulant to native industry, appears no way inconsistent with the political reserve which guarded the public offices and municipal privileges from foreign intrusion. A broad distinction lay between the rights of citizenship and those of resident alienage. The freedom of trade demanded the one, a young and self-distrustful nationality insisted upon the other. The time came when civic rights also were made accessible to foreigners by easy forms of naturalisation; but at no period does the policy of encouraging the competition of foreign skill appear to have been doubted."

Hitherto we have found a little to censure as well as much to praise; but we can quote the account given of the Athenian Corn Laws with unqualified approbation:

"Popular tradition said, that during a season of scarcity Cærops had imported corn into Attica from Sicily and Lydia; and the practice was certainly a very ancient one. As population increased the supplies of foreign grain became every year more indispensable; and at no period of which written history has cognisance were the Athenian people independent of foreign corn.

"The physical circumstances of the country in fact rendered this inevitable. The total area of the Athenian territory, including the adjacent isles of Salamis and Helena, which early came to be considered integral portions of the realm, is estimated at about 874 square miles; and the average population in prosperous times may be taken at 500,000 persons of all ages and conditions. Of these about 200,000 dwelt within the walls, in the city properly so called, or in the suburban quarter, near Piræus and Munychia. For the annual wants of this population 3,000,000 measures of corn are calculated to have been requisite; and the produce of their own fields seldom exceeded, and often fell short of, two-thirds of this quantity. From one-third to one-half the daily bread of the Athenians, therefore, of necessity came from abroad.

"Nor was this the consequence of any disfavour shown to agriculture, or of its practical neglect. Solon took infinite pains to better the condition of the industrious classes among the landowners. He gave a legal remedy for injuries done by trespass; he secured a right of use to all who dwelt within a certain distance of fresh springs,—no trivial benefit in a land where supplies of water were exceedingly precarious; and his celebrated enactments for the relief of estates from

incumbrances, though questioned on other grounds, possessed at least the merit of stimulating and securing the improvement of the soil. By every means he sought to increase agricultural produce, not with the vain hope of rendering the domestic supply of corn equivalent to the demand, but because he perceived in native agriculture a natural and certain source of national health and mercantile prosperity. Far from desiring or designing, by artificial means, to keep down the demands of population to the native supplies of food, or deprecating commercial progress when it outstripped the tortoise pace of agricultural improvement, Solon proposed a variety of measures, the avowed scope of which was inseparably connected with a more rapid increase of population. He believed that the more skilled, industrious, and intelligent hands the city contained the better. If the country could feed them all, well; if not, they could provide themselves with subsistence elsewhere. Egypt, Sicily, and the inexhaustible realms washed by the Euxine, would be only too glad to supply the domestic deficiency; and they were capable of doing so had the demand been a hundredfold greater.

"But the policy of Athens, Solon clearly saw, was to give every possible facility to the introduction of foreign corn. He went even farther, and rendered it compulsory on all ships that entered Piræus laden with corn to discharge two-thirds of their cargoes there—so great was his anxiety that the cost of the necessities of life should, under all possible contingencies, be kept down by an abundant supply. It is easy to condemn such a restriction on commerce;—at least it must be admitted to have been intended *in favorem vite*.

"Let us now glance briefly at some of the results of the system. Agriculture steadily improved. The estates, liberated from the palsying grasp of usurious mortgage, became better distributed in course of time, and small properties cultivated by their owners multiplied. The national importance of this was well understood by the statesman of after years. It rendered invasion more terrible: but it rendered its success hopeless.

"As for the apprehension that population would outstrip production, or production over-supply the wants of the population, we are happily spared, in Grecian history, all dissertations upon that score. If any fears of the kind ever arose, they were speedily dissipated. The impetus given by trade to population reacted upon industry by a constant augmentation of demand. Instead of trying to make corn grow upon light soil never intended by nature for the purpose, the science of the Greeks was applied to discovering to what better uses it might be turned. Nor was it unsuccessful. Improvements, which no wheat crop would repay, apparently became common. Every species of gardening, both for ornament and use, was popular. Planting of every kind was carefully attended to. Vineyards and olive-yards were formed wherever it was practicable. The richer lands still yielded wheat and barley remuneratively, nor does it appear that the total quantity grown at home diminished. But the general demand kept far ahead of the domestic supply; in Demosthenes' time, there was no state in Greece which consumed annually so much corn; for the great object of securing always a plentiful supply of provisions at a moderate price was gained. Periods of scarcity sometimes recurred, but they were rare, and almost without exception the result of long-protracted war,—a cause, we know, sufficient to create them in exclusively agricultural, as well as in commercial countries. There is no proof, however, that corn was ever so scarce at Athens as it was in Rome during Hannibal's occupation of Campania. So long as Athens was at peace the price of food could never rise exorbitantly; and, except on one or two occasions of utter and unforeseen discomfiture in war, her people knew nothing of the privations which are caused by inadequate supplies of food.

"With regard to exports, the policy of Solon was different from that pursued regarding importation in a few remarkable points; although, upon the whole, their practical weight is hardly appreciable when set against the general freedom of Athenian industry. In the paramount anxiety to secure cheap provisions and to render their price more equitable, Solon departed from his own principles of free sale; and, lest provisions should at any time become too dear, declared that their exportation might lawfully be restrained. It comes easy to us to call this a blunder; but let us remember that at least it was no selfish one—that its intention was humane—that in nine years out of ten it was wholly inoperative, inasmuch as the importations of corn were immense; and that when it did come into force, its operation could only have been to prevent the agriculturists from turning a period of general dearth to unusual and exorbitant gain."

We can also recommend the able account given of the commercial treaty between the Etrurians and the Carthaginians.

The nature of the contest and of the subsequent alliance between the aristocracy of property and the aristocracy of wealth is thus described:

"Wealth, which had been recognised as an alternative qualification for rule, admitting of infinite degrees, those who were upon a social level with their neighbours, and who yet felt short of the arbitrary wealth-mark of worth, naturally resented an exclusion which was much less venerable, and, perhaps, less intelligible at the time than that of the original geneocracy. It seemed a deeply-rooted instinct of the Greeks to resist the exclusiveness, whether social or political, that was based on the mere possession of money, far more inveterately than that of a dominant race. They had submitted unresistingly to the one for ages; but there is scarcely an instance where the distinctions of caste were broken down and a narrow pecuniary limit substituted instead, that discontent and further changes did not ensue. The exclusion that was absolute and insuperable was less mortifying to popular self-love than the barrier it had seen overpassed by a few, and which it was unwilling to confess beyond its own capacity to surmount. Where no hope is, there is no ambition—no social clambering—no political chagrin. It is the bitterness and envy of secret discontent that undermine proud systems and corrode the sanctions of authority, which may more safely rob a hundred than affront one: for mortified vanity is a more implacable rebel than the keenest sense of injury or hatred of oppression. Popular theories arise to give disaffection form and plan; but it is not the speculation of the wise or the plot of the ambitious rulers have most need to fear. Social heart-burnings are the true seeds of revolution; and the popular leader can do little more than watch their ripening.

"Meanwhile the increase of city-states, by stimulating invention and trade of every kind, had undermined exclusive power. The conquering race had hitherto enjoyed almost a monopoly of land, the only species of property once existing. Industry created various new descriptions of property, trade

found ways of bartering them; and art, lending her inventive aid, devised means of transferring still more rapidly and easily the largest or the smallest portions of them. To the establishment of the towns, more particularly of the colonies, and to the regular intercourse kept up between them, has been attributed the introduction of coined money among the Greeks."

Here we must pause, at least for the present. But we cannot conclude without protesting against the spirit of exclusive nationality which it is the main purpose of these volumes to recommend. Greece teaches the very opposite lesson to that which our author has deduced from its history. The exclusive nationality of the republics may have acted as a stimulus when commerce and trade were in their infancy. But this very emulation had a tendency to degenerate, and did degenerate, into commercial jealousy and a grasping spirit of monopoly. What Greece wanted was centralisation, some point of unity where the separate interests of the petty states might be co-ordinated to the common good. Municipal Governments are bad imperial governments; they are always directed in a narrow and corporate spirit. We have only to look at the Parliamentary reports to be convinced that small corporations have been infinitely more corrupt than larger bodies. It is a mistake to suppose that a controlling central power interferes unnecessarily with local government; on the contrary, it gives strength to municipal institutions by preventing the evil of mutual interference. There is a sickly sentimentality of patriotism which serves as an excuse for selfish policy; we regret that it has appeared to receive some countenance from an author whom we respect, for the spirit which it inspires is not national, but provincial; the exclusiveness it cherishes is less productive of love than of hatred.

JOSEPH HUME AND COLONEL THOMPSON.

On the 19th May, 1829, Mr. Hume moved in the House of Commons that in lieu of the then sliding scale there should be imposed a fixed duty of 15s. per quarter on wheat, 12s. on barley, and 8s. on oats, and to diminish this duty 1s. per annum until it wholly ceased. He showed the great increase in employment which would arise if this alteration took place:

"In this country there are now one million of persons who, at the present moment, are ready to produce whatever might be sold to those who would purchase it; and yet this million of persons, consisting of men, women, and children—who, I may remark, by the by, are frequently brought too soon to labour, and kept too long on it—these men, women, and children are in want of employment; why should they not have it, when we could, at any hour of the day, send out the produce of their labour and exchange it for food."

He denied that the Corn Law was of any benefit to the farmers, for whose advantage it was professed to be passed:

"He denied that the landed interest was benefited by this restriction. Certainly, if there was an average crop, the landed interest, by its monopoly, might be able to raise the price of corn a few shillings; but if the crop were bad, the foreign corn would rush into the market, and destroy the farmer by the fluctuations which it would cause in price; and if, on the contrary, the country were blessed with a plentiful harvest, for two or three years successively, it would be an actual misfortune to the farmer, because for a time the price had been kept, by artificial means, above the average price of Europe. This being the case, he thought that he had a right to contend that the advantages of the farmer did not equal his losses. The fact was, that the interest of the farmer was perfectly distinct from that of the landlord (hear, hear)—and it was the landlord only that could be benefited, because it was his interest to keep up high rents (hear, hear). The only drawback upon the farmer would be in the event of his having a long lease; but he nevertheless held, that by the alteration proposed no material change in the price would take place; and that at present the agricultural interest was actually starving the population of the country without benefiting itself."

Mr. Huskisson and Lord Althorp were amongst the 154 members who opposed the motion, and there were only 12 who voted for it. Had it been carried there would have been a gradual and not very rapid diminution of the duty, but oats would have come in free in 1837, barley in 1841, and wheat in 1844. This ought to be recollected to the credit of Mr. Hume. At that time we recommended that the people should be instructed, and we pointed out a NEW TEACHER:

"Mr. V. Fitzgerald, in reply, accused Mr. Hume of having described the Corn Laws as nothing less than a tax imposed for the sake of the agricultural interest upon the industry of the country, and repelled the charge with as much indignation as he could have shown had he really believed it to be unfounded. The equality of prices since the passing of the last act was, with the Honourable President of the Board of Trade, abundant proof of the excellence of the present Corn Laws, and of the impolicy of any alteration; and as only twelve members were found with Mr. Hume, and one hundred and fifty-four with ministers, no hope can be entertained of any amelioration of this part of the starvation code during the present session. The continued distress of the manufacturing districts, for we anticipate no immediate improvement, and its certain extension to the agricultural districts will, however, force the subject upon the attention of Parliament next session. In the meantime let there be a wholesome 'agitation' throughout the country. Let every man who knows anything of the mischievous operation of those laws, endeavour to enlighten his neighbours, and let all who wish to be informed lay out sixpence on the 'Catechism of the Corn Laws,' which meets every fallacy which has been adduced in favour of their continuance."

In a short time subsequent to Mr. Hume's defeat, the TEACHER was effectively set to work in this vicinity. We printed 4000 copies of the "Catechism," and presented them to our readers; and no doubt to that distribution much of the superior knowledge of the Corn Law question which, from that period until now, has been manifested in this district, may be attributed. Ten years afterwards the League gave national utterance to Colonel Thompson's terse argument; and, under Cobden's leadership, we have now the prospect before us of a release from an oppression of a third of a century's duration.—*Manchester Times*.

The people of Coventry and the neighbourhood have been completely swindled out of their money by a party of vagabonds, who announced a concert under royal patronage, tickets 5s. each, and just before the commencement, bolted with the receipts.

THE
FREE TRADE INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION.—

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Prospectuses may be obtained, gratis, on application at the Society's Office, East Temple Chambers, 71, Abchurch-lane, Fleet street. The Rules (6d. each) are now ready, and may be had as above.
Persons desirous to join the Society are requested to make application immediately.

THE
FREE TRADE INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION.—

The Second Sale of Shares will take place on Tuesday next, the 9th of June. Parties can obtain advances in the Free Trade Investment Association without any delay.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Friday Evening, June 5, 1846.
THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND THE SILK WEAVERS.

Among the most amusing incidents in the last struggle of monopoly is the new-born zeal of the Duke of Richmond for the silk-weavers of Spital-fields. His affection for them is so excessive, that he devised their grievance before he proclaimed their wrong. No sooner was the Agricultural Trades' Union formed at 17, Old Bond-street, than its titled leaders, like the Jacobin Club of Paris, sought to fraternise with some of the lower Trades' Unions in the metropolis; and for this purpose they sought the acquaintance of the fag end of the Chartist in the classic regions of Bethnal-green. Sticks and strikes have not been of late very profitable; Chartist clubs have become niggardly to their secretaries, and suspicious of their treasurers; the potentates of Lubberland found that supplies began to flow in scantily from their dupes, but when streams of beer and clouds of tobacco were opened to their vision by the protectionists, they eagerly accepted a treat to be purchased on the easy terms of grumbling and discontent. The sun of aristocratic patronage shed its radiance on the Parliament of the pot-house, and produced a growth of speeches and petitions redolent of the soil in which they had their birth. The pewter and the pipe became powerful patrons of protection; muddy ale prepared the way for muddle-headed argument, and puffs of smoke appropriately typified the evanescent nature of the oratory they accompanied. Glorious was the alliance between dukes and dustmen, Buckingham and Billingsgate, Stanley and Shoreditch, Richmond and Rag Fair. Even the delicate *Morning Post* was infected with the new passion; Jenkins deserted the opera for the beer-house, and preferred the oratory of Sherrard to the notes of Grisi. Grave reports were given of these meetings; they were honoured with the same dignity of lead which had been previously reserved for aristocratic outpourings at agricultural dinners, and it must be confessed that they were equally worthy of such weighty reward. Mrs. Harris protested that the titled monopolists of Old Bond-street were recognised as the only true friends of manufacture by the unionists of the Cat and Bag-pipes; Mrs. Gamp declared that the voice of the operatives of England was heard only through the medium of delegates assembled at the Pig and Whistle. The farce was amusing, for it deceived nobody; not even the managers and the actors themselves. Speeches and signatures were no unpleasant accompaniments to smoking and drinking; and the union at Old Bond-street paid the tavern bills, in the hope of thus cheaply averting the payment of the more formidable bill presented by the nation.

It never was worth while to expose so shallow a delusion; the Chartists themselves only pretended to be dupes for the sake of the liquor, and they often whispered their surprise at the credulity of those who supplied the treat. They were well aware that no real sympathy existed for their condition in the halls of Stowe or Goodwood, and that nothing but the desperation of a bad and beaten cause could have led to a recognition of their existence at the Conservative Club. But they found it profitable to practise on the easy faith of the protectionists, whose belief was the slave of their desire, and they

soon discovered that they might give any account they pleased of their demonstrations in the remote east, without the slightest chance of detection in the western halls of Bond Street. The agitation which only made itself heard by the clatter of the pint pots was represented to the Dukes of Richmond and Buckingham as a popular movement second only to that which carried the Reform Bill; and the pipes of tobacco were said to inspire as much legislative wisdom as the smoking of the calumet was supposed to confer on an Indian Sachem. Surely such a development of power and intellect was cheaply purchased by a few ounces of short cut and a few gallons of porter.

Patent and palpable as such a delusion is, the Duke of Richmond entertains such extravagant notions of the gullibility of his order as to propose that the petitioners of the pot house should be heard by counsel at the bar of the House of Lords.

“What cannot craft effect in ducal minds,
When flattery soothes, and when ambition blinds?”

The Duke of Richmond, however, has as good a claim to be a manufacturing oracle as those whom he supports to pass themselves off as representatives of any manufacturing interest. Thirsty Chartists and turbulent Unionists do not represent the artisans of the metropolis, much less the industrial classes of England. Their modest demand to be heard by counsel savours strongly of the inspiration of old beer and Old Bond-street. It would be worth something to discover the original author of so bright a suggestion. The only difficulty in the matter is, to discover who would be the counsel's clients. But on this subject the duke himself could best enlighten us, for both counsel and clients would find that their existence dated from 17 Old Bond Street.

We know not on what day the Duke of Richmond will vouchsafe us the rich treat of fun which the presentation of this modest petition will afford. The Customs Bill has been read a second time without a division, which may be taken as proof that no further attempt will be made to offer active resistance to the ministerial measures; and it may be that his grace will abandon the cause of the petitioners, to prevent any inquiry into the origin of their petition.

GREAT HISTORICAL PICTURE OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE.—It was an admirable idea of Mr. Agnew, to project an historical picture of the Council of the Anti-Corn-Law League, including portraits, not only of the principal leaders, but of the less prominent members, whose indefatigable labours have contributed, in no small degree, to the success of the cause. As the League Council is too large a body to represent even a tithe of its members, we understand the plan is to be to select the more distinguished members of the Council resident in Manchester and the immediate neighbourhood, and then to invite each large town to nominate, as its great local champion in the cause of Free Trade, some individual whom his fellow-townsmen and Free Traders deem worthy of this distinction. Arrangements have been made with Mr. Herbert, R.A., the artist who painted the picture of the “Independents asserting Liberty of Conscience, in the Westminster Assembly of Divines,” to paint a large picture representing the Council of the League in conclave, in the Council Room of the League, Newall's Buildings. We understand that Mr. Herbert is now in Manchester, for the purpose of collecting materials for this picture. He will take drawings of the room, and during his stay here, we believe, will take several portraits of the more prominent members of the council resident in Manchester. Yesterday, Mr. Cobden gave him a sitting, and from what we know of the perseverance, energy, and enthusiasm of Mr. Herbert—himself a zealous Free Trader—we doubt not that he will produce a picture of great historical interest, including portraits of many of the men who have done so much to maintain the bloodless struggle, and to achieve the peaceful triumph of the principles of Free Trade in Great Britain, in this our nineteenth century.—*Manchester Guardian*.

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. May 30	MON. June 1	TUES. June 2	WED. June 3	THUR. June 4	FRI. June 5
Bank Stock	206½	206½	205½	206½	206½	206½
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½
3 per Ct. Con. Ann.	96½	96½	96½	97	96½	97
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
Long. An. Ex. 1840	101	101	101	101	101	101
Cons. for Acct.	96½	96½	97½	97½	97½	97½
Exc. Bills, pm.	17	17-13	17-19	23	27	27
Ind. Bils. un. 10000.	17	17-13	18-25	42	27	27
Venezuela 2 per Ct.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. deferred. ....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Belgian 4½ per Ct.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Brazilian 5 per Ct.	..	82½	..	..	82½	..
Chilian .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Colum. ex. Venez.	..	..	..	..	..	..
Danish .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dutch 2½ per Cent.	..	60½	60	..	60½	60½
Dutch 4 per Cent.	..	59½	..	..	92	92½
Mexican	20½	20½	20½	20½	..	20
Peruvian	39	..	..	..	..	..
Portug. 4 per Cent.	53½	54	54½	54	53½	..
Russian 5 per Cent.	..	..	110½	..	..	..
Spanish 5 per Ct.	24½	24½	24½	24½	..	24½
Do. 3 per Ct.	37½	37½	37½	37½	..	37½

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MONDAY, JUNE 1.—The weather, for the last three weeks, has been uninterruptedly brilliant, and nothing could be more promising than the present appearance of all the crops on the ground. The supply of English Wheat this morning is short, and a fair proportion of it was taken off early at last week's prices; but later in the day the inquiry flagged, and the market closed rather in favour of buyers; but quotations are not altered. Bonded Wheat is not inquired for. Barley, Beans, and Peas all in short supply, and the prices are unaltered. Oats also come sparingly to hand; and the trade is very dull, though we do not quote lower prices.

BRITISH.		Per Imperial Quarter.	
Wheat, Essex,	Red 44 to 58	White 48 to 63	
Kent, & Suffolk	42 53	46 60	
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire	42 49	45 58	
Scotch .....	..	..
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feed .....	..	22 25	
Ditto .....	..	24 25	
Ditto .....	..	24 29	
Scotch Feed	26 27	Potato 28 29	
Limerick .....	..	25 26	
Ditto .....	..	27 28	
Cork .....	..	25 26	
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black .....	..	20 23	
Sligo .....	..	..
Galway .....	..	19 21	
Barley .....	..	26 33	
Beans, Mazagan .....	..	51 33	
Harrow .....	..	33 37	
Small .....	..	39 40	
Peas, White .....	..	38 42	
Grey	30 32	Maple 32 34	
Flour, Town-made .....	..	per sack of 280 lbs. 45 53	
Norfolk and Suffolk .....	..	39 41	

FOREIGN.		FREE. IN BOND.	
		Per Imperial Quarter.	
Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed .....	..	58 to 66	48 56
Rostock .....	..	56 60	46 54
Stettin .....	..	48 56	44 49
Hamburg .....	..	46 56	42 47
Odessa .....	..	..	40 45
Odessa Polish .....	..	52 54	40 47
Russian .....	..	..	..
Ditto .....	..	..	..
Spanish .....	..	50 51	..
Blanquillo .....	..	..	..
Australian .....	..	54 69	..
Barley, Grinding .....	..	27 28	..
Distilling .....	..	29 31	..
Oats, Archangel .....	..	23 24	20 21
Danish .....	..	..	21 22
Swedish .....	..	..	..
Stralsund .....	..	..	..
Dutch Feed .....	..	18 19	..
Brew .....	..	23 24	..
Polands .....	..	24 25	..
Black .....	..	19 20	..
Beans, Egyptian .....	..	32 34	..
Peas, White .....	..	..	..
Ditto Boilers .....	..	42	..
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 196 lbs. ....	..	..	..
United States .....	..	..	..
Dantzic .....	..	..	..
Australian, per sack of 280 lbs. ....	..	..	..

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from May 25 to May 30, 1846, both days inclusive.				
Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas.
English	6766	1922	4653	628
Scotch .....	..	495	350	..
Irish .....	..	..	5363	..
Foreign	11208	580	5679	..

Flour, 6665 sacks; 10 barrels.
FRIDAY, JUNE 5.—We have very limited arrivals of Wheat, Barley, and Oats since Monday. There is no new feature whatever in the trade except that the show of Oat samples is more scanty than of late. In quotations there is no alteration to notice. The duties remain as last week, except for Wheat, on which it has risen 1s. S. H. LUCAS.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 29th of May to the 5th of June, both inclusive.				
Wheat.	English.	Irish.	Foreign.	
Barley	1940	..	3550	
Oats	1270	..	..
..	1880	606	470	

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending June 2, 1846.				
Wheat	Qrs.	Price.	Rye	Qrs.
Barley	5592	55s. 5d.	255	33s. 5d.
Oats	1380	28s. 1d.	446	35s. 7d.
..	15161	23s. 9d.	300	37s. 2d.

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending				
Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.
25th April	55	6.30	1.23	4.33
2d May	56	5.29	8.23	7.32
9th	56	8.29	7.23	9.33
16th	57	0.29	4.24	1.39
23d	55	5.28	10.23	8.34
30th	53	4.28	4.23	9.32

Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks. Wheat, 55s. 9d.; Barley, 29s. 4d.; Oats, 27s. 8d.; Rye, 33s. 3d.; Beans, 35s. 6d.; Peas, 34s. 4d.
Duty. Wheat, 17s. 0d.; Barley, 9s. 0d.; Oats, 5s. 0d.; Rye 9s. 6d.; Beans, 7s. 6d.; Peas, 8s. 6d.

Stock of Corn in Bond, April 5, 1846.				
Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.
In London, 523524	19258	80903	..	29123
Unit. King. 1339955	92572	127473	..	53803

MEAT MARKET.
The warm weather had considerable influence; but the supplies being so limited had the effect of keeping prices firm for fresh articles.

PER STONE OF 14 LBS. BY THE CARCASE.				
Prime Beef	3s 10d to 3s 8d	Middle Mutton 3s	2d to 3s	6d
Middling do.	3s 6d to 3s 4d	Veal, from ..	5s	0d to 4s
Plain, or infe-	..	Small Pork ..	5s	0d to 4s
rior Beef	3s 0d to 2s 10d	Large, or infe-	..	..
Prime Mutton 4s	0d to 3s 8d	rior Pork ..	3s	4d to 3s

We are informed that the ladies of Leeds have procured 3000 signatures to a memorial addressed to her Majesty, praying for the enactment of vigorous laws with a view to the suppression of infamous houses, and the removal of a system of profligacy by which thousands of young females, are annually sacrificed.—*Leeds Times*.
COAL.—The produce of coal in Europe amounts annually, on a rough calculation, to 120,000,000 florins, or 12,000,000 sterling.—*Lloyd's Austrian Gazette*.
ANCIENT ROME.—Professor Hoeck estimates the population of Rome in the time of Augustus at 2,265,000, of whom 580,000 were slaves.
Dr. Johnson compared plaintiff and defendant, in an action-at-law, to two men ducking their heads in a bucket, and daring each other to remain longest under water.
By the ancient laws of Hungary, a man convicted of bigamy was condemned to live with both wives in the same house; the crime was, in consequence, extremely rare.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 142.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 13, 1846.

[3d.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

LEAGUE FUND.

All Subscribers of £1 and upwards to the LEAGUE FUND will be entitled to, and receive, a copy weekly of this publication for twelve months from the date of the receipt of their subscription.

Subscribers of half-a-crown, and under £1, will have forwarded to them a copy of THE LEAGUE, containing an acknowledgment of their subscription; and it is requested that all subscribers will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to the offices of THE LEAGUE, Newall's-buildings, Manchester, or 67, Fleet-street, London.

N.B. As there is considerable risk in the transmission of gold and silver by post, parties wishing to forward small contributions to THE LEAGUE FUND are particularly requested to make their remittances by post-office orders.

The Council of the League would also suggest to their friends in the country the importance of transmitting their copies of THE LEAGUE newspaper, after perusal, to such parties (more especially farmers) as may be either hostile or indifferent to the question of Free Trade.

By order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

IF SIR ROBERT PEEL BE OUT-VOTED, WHAT THEN?

The atmosphere of the "political circles" is still thick and heavy with rumours, and "reports of rumours." The spirit of party intrigue and negotiation is still busy, with an activity that makes it as necessary as ever that the country be wakeful and alert. To this hour, there are men who talk darkly of "adjustment." And circumstances, to which we need not more particularly allude, give them a sort of encouragement. Questions are now before Parliament, in which it is highly probable that the Government may be placed in a minority; and it is very possible that this may happen before the Corn Bill passes the House of Lords. It is superfluous to add, that the mere surmise of Ministers being defeated, and of such defeat being followed by its usual consequence—a resignation and a crisis—tends to embolden the protectionists to delay, mutilate, and destroy the Free Trade measure.

It becomes, then, a question of capital importance—a question on which the Premier and the country must be ready with an instant and decisive answer—If Sir Robert Peel be outvoted, WHAT THEN?

We say, without a moment's hesitation or reserve, Sir Robert Peel will keep his faith with the Queen and the people. "When the time comes," he will be prepared with practical evidence of that "sincerity" of which he has so emphatically dared the proof. He will not run away, and leave his work broken off in the middle. There will be no resigning. SIR ROBERT PEEL STAYS IN OFFICE, COME WHAT WILL, UNTIL HIS CORN BILL SHALL HAVE BECOME THE LAW OF THE LAND. He stays in office, though he were "defeated," as they call it, every night in the week. Nothing can happen between now and the passing of the Corn Bill that can in the slightest degree impair his powers, or relax his responsibilities with reference to that Bill. Under any circumstances, or combination of circumstances that may arise, Sir Robert Peel is and remains the Free Trade Minister of the empire until Free Trade reach the statute-book. In any event, he will be true—true to the people, who, during five weary and anxious months, have given him so earnest a support, and so quiet and assured a confidence—true to the great public rights and interests with which he has so manfully identified himself—and true to his own name and fame as a public man. Come what will, Sir Robert Peel is Prime Minister of Great Britain until the

bill for the total abolition of the bread tax receives the Royal assent. The "political circles" may set this down as a fixed thing.

A position, however, so novel and peculiar as that in which the Premier would be placed by a defeat in the House of Commons, pending the progress of the Corn Bill in the Lords, would need to be reinforced by the strongest, loudest, and most unequivocal expressions of the national will. Sir Robert Peel must not be left to fight our battle alone. The people will have their duty to do, as he has his. In the event which we have indicated as not unlikely to arise—not unlikely to arise before we next address the public—it will be incumbent on the country, without one hour's loss of time, to stir itself from one end to the other, and, by public meetings, and memorials from every town in the United Kingdom, to show him that there is intelligence enough, heart enough, and energy enough in the people of Great Britain, to stand by the Minister who stands by them.

We shall be very glad if it turns out to be needless. Very possibly, when we next address our readers, it may be to congratulate them that the bill is fairly passed, and that all is over. But there is no knowing. We only say, LET THE COUNTRY BE READY—ready to speak and act on the instant—ready so to speak and act as to put the "political circles" in prompt and full possession of the great fact, that SIR ROBERT PEEL IS AND REMAINS FIRST MINISTER OF THE CROWN UNTIL THE DAY AND HOUR OF HER MAJESTY'S ASSENT TO THE BILL FOR THE TOTAL REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS.

MR. THOMAS DUNCOMBE AND THE LEAGUE.

"It was well known to the country, and it was well known to Ministers, that Free Trade in the abstract was not popular with the great operative classes in this country (elchers from the protection benches), who looked upon this contest between the agricultural and manufacturing districts with perfect apathy and indifference; they considered it a sort of 'pull baker, pull devil' conflict, though he must at the same time say that the baker was rather most of a favourite (laughter). Why were they so indifferent to what he believed would ultimately tend to their benefit? Because they had not believed, and they did not believe, that the great capitalists of this country really were favourable to them, or took a deep interest in their welfare (hear)."—Mr. Thomas Duncombe's Speech, June 5th.

"Defend us from our friends," says the old proverb, and well may the operatives of this country utter the sentiment when they read the above. We are on the very eve of the abolition of the greatest legislative wrong ever inflicted by the powerful few upon the suffering millions. A long, arduous, and glorious struggle is about to be crowned with victory. A proud triumph awaits the peaceful victors, and Mr. Duncombe asserts that the working class shall have no part in the honour! He says the operatives have been opposed to their own industrial emancipation—that they have looked on with indifference, whilst others have fought and paid for liberty to them to eat and live. Is this true? If so, what willing self-abased slaves must they be! Is this so? Then what amount of wrong and injustice may not, with impunity, be inflicted upon the operatives of this country? If it be true that the middle class has, alone, and without the aid of the operatives, wrested the bread tax from a dominant party in the state, then what need has that class to care for the co-operation of the operatives in any future struggle? If it were true, is it wise in Mr. Duncombe thus to stamp the working class with the brand of slavery, and to give the middle class the sceptre of absolute power? But it is not true. We know not how often we may yet have to intrude upon our readers, for our work is nearly done; but we will not let this opportunity pass of putting on record our protest against the libel which the above extract contains against the

working-men of this country, who have not been opposed as a class to the Free Trade movement. All the clear-headed and sound-hearted portion of the operatives have been favourable to our cause. They have signed our petitions, and formed the great proportion of our public meetings. Mr. Cobden has often said, that, in his open air meetings, held three years ago in almost every county, he always reckoned upon the hand of every man in a fustian jacket or round-frock being held up in his favour.

True, the League has, from its very birth, been bitterly opposed by a fanatical party of Chartists, headed by Mr. Fergus O'Connor out of doors, and represented, as they tell us, by Mr. Duncombe in Parliament. The organ of this party, the *Northern Star*, has fought the battle of the bread taxers more zealously than the *Morning Post* itself. Truly did Mr. Bright, with manly straightforwardness, observe that:

"He would tell the hon. member this, that however oppressive to the operatives the Corn Laws might have been, they would never have been repealed either by him (Mr. T. Duncombe) or his associates out of the house, who had been all of them the greatest enemies of repeal. He told the hon. member that those parties with whom he was found at public meetings out of doors had been the greatest enemies of the repeal of the Corn Laws (cries of 'Name'). Let the hon. member read the public reports of those meetings, and they would find out the names. He (Mr. Bright) stated the fact, and he meant to maintain it. He would only add, that the hon. member did not represent the opinions of the working classes when he said that they were apathetic on this question, and though he might have succeeded in inflaming the bad passions of the working classes within his sphere, he (Mr. Bright) would warn him not to call himself the representative in that house of the working classes in Lancashire and Yorkshire."

In answer to the cries of "Name," we will mention a few only of the most prominent and active of these tools of despotism:—O'Connor, Leach, McDowall, Pitkeithly, Nightingale, O'Brien, Marsden, Bairstow, Cooper, Harney—some of whom, to our knowledge, and as we are ready to prove, were well paid for their opposition to the Free Traders. Nor would it be difficult to show where the money came from. Let one fact suffice. In June, 1841, on the occasion of a great open air Anti-Corn-Law meeting being held in Stevenson-square, Manchester (in answer to the taunt of the Duke of Richmond that no public meeting could be held against the Corn Law), the monopolists made a great effort to upset the meeting. Every Chartist leader of any notoriety was brought to Manchester, from places as distant as Leicester and Sunderland. The most prominent leader and fugleman of the opposition was Mr. Charles Wilkins: Doctor Sleight and he moving and seconding the amendment to the Free Trade resolution. On that very morning Mr. Wilkins cashed a cheque for 150*l.*, drawn by the Duke of Buckingham, at Jones and Loyd's bank. At that meeting of ten thousand working men, the Chartists were driven off the ground. Blows being exchanged, and blood spilt in the fray, the aim of the Chartist party to create confusion was so far gained; and the moral effect of the demonstration was effectually marred. For more than three years, in the beginning of our agitation, every public meeting called by the Free Traders was subjected to outrages of a similar kind by the followers of O'Connor; and, yet, Mr. Duncombe indulges in the following taunt in his reply to Mr. Bright:

"He had had invitations to attend League meetings, but he had always set his face against what were called 'ticket meetings' (hear, hear). He had invariably stated that he would attend any meeting in favour of a repeal of the Corn Laws, provided it was an open and public meeting; but he had always declined to assist in any of those repeated attempts at genteel comedy on the boards of Covent-garden, or to join in tumbling with certain gentlemen at Sadler's Wells (cheers from the protection benches). An attempt was accordingly made by the League in Finsbury to call him (Mr. Duncombe) to account for not going and tumbling with them at Sadler's Wells; but he explained his reason satisfactorily. He had no objection to meet the working classes on any public occasion, but those gentlemen of the League would not submit to public opinion ('hear, hear,' from the protectionist benches)."

Nobody knows better than Mr. Duncombe that, at the time to which he alludes, his friend Mr. O'Connor had issued his fiat that every Anti-Corn-Law meeting should be "upset," and that there was then a gang of his fanatical followers always ready, at all hazards, to do his bidding. Mr. Duncombe knows that an open air Free Trade meeting then would have begun with an amendment for the Charter, to be followed with a row, and ended probably in a fight, which would have been very pleasing to the monopolists, but not so gratifying to the League. The Free Traders took refuge in tea-parties and ticket meetings from the violence and tyranny of the Chartists. Influential men, ladies, and dissenting ministers frequented those meetings, and gave to them a moral force which compensated for the want of numbers. And we now thank heaven that it was so! Our labours have been somewhat prolonged, but the triumph of truth has been more complete. The fortitude of the men who had charge of that truth has been tested, and proved not unworthy of the cause in which they were engaged. Above all, we are thankful for the obstacles thrown in the way of multitudinous demonstrations, because it compelled us to rely solely upon appeals to the reason and feelings of our countrymen, and to discard for ever all dependence upon even the semblance of physical force. We do not grudge the time and labour which it has required to win the minds and consciences of the people to our cause. The process has been slow, but sure. Had we carried the question of Free Trade by a *coup de main* in 1839, we should have wanted that guarantee which we now possess for the permanent triumph of our principles.

We have been tempted to refer to our past trials and exertions, solely with a view to the vindication of the great body of intelligent working men from the injurious stigma cast upon them by the member for Finsbury. We have never confounded the few Chartist leaders, and their noisy and fanatical followers, with the operatives as a class. In the days of their greatest strength, we knew that the partisans of O'Connor were a contemptible faction; and, from the moment that they hoisted the colours of the monopolists, we predicted that every working man of honour and intelligence would abandon their ranks. And so it has since proved, in the utter disruption of their party, and the infamy which clings to the character of its leaders. But whilst we thus put on record our honest vindication of the operatives as a body, let us add a word of advice. They must learn to repudiate the men who flatter only to betray them; and to suspect the motives of those who insult them with fulsome praise, and array them against the rest of society. We tell the working class that they are powerless to effect any legislative or constitutional changes in opposition to the will of the middle class. We tell them that the electors of this kingdom can carry every just and necessary reform, in spite of any opposition which interested or dishonest men may array against them. The constituencies can and will repeal the Corn Law. It is possible that Free Trade may yet be referred to the test of a general election. It is quite possible that the protectionist cheers which greeted Mr. Duncombe in the house, and were re-echoed in the monopolist press, when he asserted that the working men are opposed to the repeal of the Corn Law, may encourage the Lords to mutilate the Government Bill and compel a dissolution. We know not what the object of the member for Finsbury was in making the declaration, but it was calculated to embolden the flagging courage of the peers, and produce an adverse vote. If so, let the toiling millions be prepared, by cheering on the electors to their willing duty at the hustings, to prove that they are not the willing slaves described by Mr. Duncombe, but that they, like their fathers in 1815, are conscious of the foul injustice inflicted upon them and their families by the Corn Law, and no less determined now than then to aid in the emancipation of their own honest industry.

Observe, too, the false and humiliating position in which this insulting theory of Mr. Duncombe's places the working classes, as a political power in

the country. He makes them out to be absolute cyphers—as insignificant as they are stupid. They have none of the honour of the repeal of the Corn Law. It is not, in any respect, or to any extent, their doing. They owe it all to other people. They got their rights, by way of boon, from Sir Robert Peel and the aristocracy. One of the greatest questions of the age—a working man's question, too—has been settled without the working men. In one of the grandest legislative revolutions of modern history, the working men of England have had no part—they have only looked on, folded their hands, and sulked. The whole thing has been done, not *by* them, but *for* them. The middle classes, the upper classes, the manufacturers, the merchants, the squires, the farmers, the shopkeepers, the dukes—all have had their opinion and their say, one way or the other—all have made themselves heard, seen, and felt—all have done something to forward, or to retard, this mighty national act—only not the working men. They have neither helped nor hindered. Their moral, social, and political influence has been *nil*. And this from a man who puts himself forward as the champion of the working men's right and title to govern the empire! It must be confessed that Mr. Duncombe well earned his "*cheers from the protection benches*," and amply merited the gratifying and creditable distinction of being "*honourably friended*" by Lord George Bentinck.

THE TEN HOURS' AGITATORS AND THE LEAGUE.

Having in the previous article balanced accounts with Mr. Thomas Duncombe and his Chartist allies, we may as well proceed to settle a somewhat similar score with the "short time" party. In the course of the late discussion on the Ten Hours' Bill, it was stated by Mr. Cobden, that the men who agitated in favour of that measure had always been opposed to Free Trade, and had frequently interrupted the League meetings. The delegates who were in London, watching the proceedings in Parliament, most of whom are new names to us, assuming that the charge was levelled exclusively at them, held a meeting, and protested that they had not interfered with the meetings of the Free Traders. One of the speakers declared with great *naïveté*, unconscious of the two-edged argument he was using, that *he had incurred great obloquy with his friends for having supported the Free Trade agitation*. They passed a resolution, at the same time, censuring the conduct of Mr. Cobden, and declaring that he had promised them that if they would support the Free Trade agitation, he would agitate for a Ten Hours' Bill. The censure must be borne; the latter assertion is of course a pure fiction, as everybody who knows how resolutely Mr. Cobden has repudiated, as a fundamental principle of the League, every kind of alliance, compact, or understanding, with any other association, must readily believe. We have his authority for saying, if a more specific denial be necessary, that there is not a shadow of foundation for the statement. The delegates were equally at fault when they took to themselves a charge which must be borne by other shoulders besides theirs, and extended over a period long antecedent to the present victorious era of the League.

Mr. Cobden's argument was simply this: that the advocates of the Ten Hours' Bill acted upon a principle totally at variance with the views of the Free Traders; that they did not look to extended markets for increasing the demand for labour and raising wages, or to the removal of monopolies for diminishing the cost of the necessaries of life; that they seemed to believe that Parliament had the power to maintain wages and profits by merely restricting the amount of production; that acting upon this principle, the leading advocates of the Ten Hours' Bill had always, honestly as he believed, opposed Free Trade, and the operatives engaged in that agitation had opposed and interrupted the League meetings. Now the simple question between the delegates and ourselves is, Can they refute one of these statements? Who and what was the first great apostle of the Ten Hours' question? Why, Mr. Sadler, the consistent

and strenuous upholder of the Corn Law, and every other restriction on trade. To a famous speech of his, at Whitby, in 1829, in favour of commercial monopolies, we are indebted for the first production in defence of Free Trade by the author of the Catechism on the Corn Laws. Had it not been for Michael Thomas Sadler's advocacy of "protection," the world might never have been edified and charmed by the pen of Perronet Thompson. Mr. Sadler's disciple and successor is Mr. Oastler, the self-styled "factory king." We are spared the trouble of going back to his early speeches, or the "Fleet Papers," for his opinions, for within the last month he has published a stout defence of the Corn Laws in the columns of the *Morning Post*. Lord Ashley supported the Corn Laws until the League, in spite of his hostile votes, had decreed their "destiny;" and the most ardent champions of the Ten Hours' Bill in the present House of Commons are, Mr. Banks, Mr. Colquhoun, Mr. Ferrand, Lord George Bentinck, and the rest of the "gentlemen below the gangway." Amongst the manufacturing capitalists, we do not know one advocate of the Ten Hours' Bill who has not been a supporter of the Corn Law. Mr. Fielden, it is true, has voted for Free Trade, but in public and private he has spoken against it.

Turn we now to the operatives engaged in the agitation. We don't mean the delegates during the last debate, mostly new men, who found a majority of Free Traders in the house. But what has been the course pursued by the party during the long struggle of the League? Almost to a man, the leaders have laboured to perpetuate the Corn Law. At the general election in 1841, they ranged themselves under the banners of the monopolists; and in Yorkshire they contributed their quota to the defeat of Lords Morpeth and Milton. In almost every manufacturing town of Yorkshire and Lancashire they were the dissentients at the Free Trade meetings; and Bradford, Huddersfield, and other places can bear testimony to the violence with which their opposition was characterised. Everybody remembers the celebrated interview between the short-time delegates and the newly-installed Ministers in 1841, when a long address, penned we believe by Mr. Oastler, was presented to the members of the then protectionist Government, the main object of which appeared to be to disparage the principles of Free Trade. We have forbore to mention names. The individuals to whom we refer may have acted from honest motives. Mr. Cobden says he believes them to have been in earnest; and we have no proof, as in the case of certain Chartist leaders, that they were bribed by the monopolists. Besides, we were willing to "let bygones be bygones;" and have only been driven to recur, in this and the preceding article, to the proceedings of either Chartists, or Ten Hours' advocates, by the indiscreet attacks made by Mr. Thomas Duncombe and the delegates upon the League and its leaders.

If, after our labours are ended, an impartial writer should give a history of the League, he will do us the justice to applaud our rigid devotion to the one object in view, to the exclusion of every extraneous topic. We have avoided every controversy but our own—even those questions, which, partaking of an economical character, might have been without much violence brought within the range of our discussions. We have carefully eschewed all allusions to strikes, turn-outs, and short-time bills. If it be true, as Mr. Thomas Duncombe is fond of alleging that we represent only the manufacturing capitalists, they have not at all events instructed us to use our pages in opposition to the pretensions of the operatives. In this hour of our strength, when every word we utter is invested with a moral weight, derived from long, arduous, and consistent efforts in a great and just cause, we shall preserve the same strict neutrality upon the agitation for the Ten Hours' Bill. We offer no opinion upon the agitation, but concede to others the right which we claim for ourselves, to unite together for the promotion of any legal object. We cannot, however, shut our eyes to the fact—the protectionist papers and the speeches of the protectionists will not permit us—that we, the Free Traders, are accused of being the advocates of twelve hours of

work, while the supporters of the Corn Law assume to be the friends of ten hours. We maintain, on the contrary, that the Free Traders are the real promoters of short hours of toil.

Why do men work at all? Simply to possess the necessities and comforts of life. What is "protection?" A law to raise the price of bread, sugar, coffee, butter, cheese, &c. Again, men work for money wages. Wide markets increase the demand for labour, and raise money wages. But what is "protection?" *Restricted markets.* Here is "protection" at work with a double-thonged whip, to compel the operative to work longer hours than necessary,—first, to make up for diminished money wages, caused by the restricted demand for his labour; and secondly, to pay the increased price for his bread, sugar, &c. Is there any fallacy in our argument? We protest, before heaven, we believe it to be as demonstrably true as that two and two make four. And, so believing, we, as Free Traders, say to "the gentlemen below the gangway," remove your burden of "protection," and let us see whether the working man, when free to choose, will work longer hours than are necessary to procure him those necessities and comforts which he deems essential to his healthful existence. But, instead of this, what is the proposition of the "protectionists?" Why, to add another thong to the whip, by cutting off two hours a day of the working man's labour, or one-sixth of his earnings. We protest that we cannot, with all our charity, regard the men as wholly rational, if *sincere*, who propound such a scheme. There is no other way of dealing with it but by borrowing a phrase from a letter addressed by Colonel Thompson to the working class upon the subject: "Feel every man," says he, "for his tail, who, after shutting up your markets, and raising the price of your provisions, offers you as a compensation a Ten Hours' Bill."

The time will come, and it will not be long in coming, when the operatives will regard the Free Traders as the only pioneers in the path which is to conduct them to lighter hours of labour.

THE STABLE SCHOOL OF STATESMANSHIP.

As a high authority has warned us against the folly of expecting to gather "grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles," we scarcely feel entitled to complain of the sporting lord's violations of Parliamentary decency. Tattersall's is not generally accounted a good school of the proprieties; the morals and manners of the turf have never stood high in public estimation; and men whose ideas, tastes, and whole cast of thought and sentiment, have been formed by familiar association with horse-jockies will, naturally enough, give indications of a thoroughly stable mind. We have no right to wonder that Lord George Bentinck's Parliamentary exhibitions evince a mean, malignant, and vulgar nature. We cannot affect to be surprised that the hero of Newmarket and Epsom addresses the House of Commons in "language seldom heard in that house—language which it would be better for the character of that house, should not be heard—language which is better suited to some other arena." Such flowers of rhetoric as "*baseness and dishonesty*," "*treachery*," "*treason*," "*guilt*," "*janissaries*," "*renegades*," and "*kicking out her Majesty's Ministers*," come with a sort of propriety from a person who has put himself through that very peculiar description of intellectual and moral training which has formed this man's mind and manners.

What we do wonder at is, that in an assembly which is generally understood to be composed of gentlemen, this kind of language should find admirers. It is not Lord George Bentinck's speech of Monday night that surprises us, but the "*cheers*," the "*loud cheers*," the "*immense cheering*," the "*vociferous cheering*," the "*vehement cheering*," and the "*most vehement cheering, that lasted for several minutes*," with which, according to the newspaper reporters, this piece of coarse and stupid raving was received by that not very inconsiderable section of the "gentlemen of England," known to the world as "protectionists." We beg to tell those who made themselves parties to this most pitiful

and disgraceful exhibition, that the unmannerly trash which they are spiteful enough, or silly enough, to admire, can hurt none but those who utter it, those who approve and encourage it, and those who show a disposition to profit by it. If any party in the House of Commons feel itself aggrieved by anything in Sir Robert Peel's conduct, it would be but common prudence to find some other way of showing it. Breaches of the decencies and proprieties of legislative discussion only damage those who commit them. The protectionists may rest assured that Sir Robert Peel loses nothing in the respect and regard of the country by being made the victim of outrages that revolt the public sense of decorum. The great inquest of public opinion will be slow to entertain an indictment which has all the appearance of having been framed by a maniac.

If the protectionists are really of opinion that Sir Robert Peel has "lost the confidence of every honest man, in the house and out of it," there is a simple way of testing and verifying that opinion. Nothing is easier than to move a vote of "want of confidence" in Sir Robert Peel. Until that be done, all the rest is mere brawling, which produces no other impression on the public mind than disgust and contempt, coupled with a lively gratitude to the Minister who has boldly delivered himself and us from the dominance of such a faction. In the meanwhile, nobody cares about what is said or done by men who, as they are without responsibility, are beneath criticism. Of course, neither Sir Robert Peel, nor Sir James Graham, nor any other man occupying the position of a Cabinet Minister, will condescend to meet attacks so utterly devoid of every ingredient of moral weight and dignity. It might not, however, be amiss were there some among Sir Robert Peel's "base and renegade" supporters who would give themselves the trouble to mark the contempt in which they hold men imbecile enough to impute "baseness" to those who have become "renegades" from error to truth, and from wrong to right.

THE 20TH JULY.—The advocates of political and commercial progression are requested to notice, that to be enabled to exercise the elective franchise at the next election, the Reform Act requires the payment of the assessed taxes and the poor rates on or before the 20th July. This compliance with the Act of Parliament is of paramount importance, it being within the range of possibility that an attempt may be made to restore commercial restriction, and to resuscitate the Corn Laws.

THE SUGAR DUTIES.—We understand that the amendment to the ministerial sugar resolutions which Lord John Russell submitted to his friends on Saturday, proposes that the distinction between free-grown and slave-grown sugar shall forthwith cease, and that the protecting duty imposed on foreign sugar shall be gradually diminished, so that in five years all sugars shall be admitted on equal terms.

PROTECTIONIST REVENGE.—On Wednesday last, the annual meeting of the Bedford Level was held at the Shire Hall, Ely, under the presidency of the Earl of Hardwicke. After the usual routine business had been transacted, the meeting proceeded to elect the officers of the corporation for the ensuing year; and the protectionist party attempted to oppose the re-election of the Duke of Bedford as governor, but without success, as it was carried by a majority of 24 to 12. They were, however, subsequently more successful in their opposition to Earl Fitzwilliam, who was rejected as a conservator by a majority of 22 to 14. It was publicly declared by Lord Hardwicke and others, that the recent votes of the Duke of Bedford and Earl Fitzwilliam on the second reading of the Corn Bill were the sole cause of the invidious course pursued towards them.

THE PROTECTIONISTS.—We understand that there was a strong muster of peers, members of Parliament, and others of the protectionist party, at their rooms in Bond-street on Tuesday morning, when it was fully resolved to oppose to the uttermost the Corn Law Abrogation in the Lords' Committee; and hence, we presume, the alteration in the notice of the Duke of Buckingham, which, on Monday last, was to move in committee to omit in the first clause the words "until January 1, 1849," the effect of which would have been, if carried, to perpetuate the reduced sliding scale; whereas the noble duke now proposes to omit all the words in the first clause, after the words, "in the schedule to this act annexed," which, we need hardly say, would have the effect of doing away with the measure altogether.

CORN LAW REPEAL.—On Monday the upper portions of the town were thickly studded with flags, expressive of the approbation of the inhabitants on the second reading of the Corn Law Repeal Bill in the House of Lords. It was intended to have perambulated the town in the evening with music and banners, but that idea was ultimately abandoned for another, which contemplates a demonstration at the final settlement of the measure more worthy of the important change which it is intended to commemorate. We hear that delegates from the more extensive workshops and different manufacturing establishments are already making arrangements for the contemplated manifestation—*Perth Advertiser*.

Cucumbers are now imported in considerable numbers from Holland.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION OF 1846.

Twenty-first Week, ending Saturday, June 13.

Although the legislative proceedings of the past week have been of some importance, they had no connection with our own great question until Thursday night, when the debate on the Corn Bill was revived in the House of Lords. It is true, that the Poor Removal Bill has been attempted to be made one having the appearance of *punishing* the manufacturing districts for the crime of having given employment to the superfluous and starving portion of the rural population, whom neither landlords nor Corn Laws could supply with sufficient work or food. But we cannot take any part in a discussion turning on whether or not a question of humanity and social policy is to be degraded into a party one, or rather into one of the most miserable faction. For what can be more miserable than the spirit displayed by Mr. Banks and Mr. Thomas Duncombe in this matter concerning the removal of the poor?

The Poor Removal Bill, it will be recollected, is one of Sir Robert Peel's subsidiary measures. It gives to individuals who have had an industrial residence of five years, in a town the option of obtaining relief (when they become chargeable) in the locality where they reside, instead of compelling them to return to their own parish, wherever that may be, in which they have a claim of settlement. Mr. Evelyn Denison moved and carried an instruction that the bill shall provide for a change from *parochial* to *union* settlements. Sir James Graham supported the proposition, remarking that there were 14,500 parishes, and only 620 unions, so that the change from parochial to union settlements would be a great benefit to the working man, by enlarging the sphere for his labour. The bill is accordingly to be altered, in order to effect this object.

On Saturday there was a meeting of the friends and supporters of Lord John Russell, at his house, at which a resolution was agreed to, of opposition to the Irish Coercion Bill. The bill came on for second reading on Monday night, when an amendment was moved for the purpose of throwing it out. The debate went on, with very little of novelty, unless divers unsuccessful attempts to "count out" be so considered. Late in the evening, Lord George Bentinck rose. For violence and vulgar brutality we never heard his speech surpassed—not even by Ferrand, in his wildest "devil-dust" days. But his violence and his vulgarity were surpassed by his unblushing avowals. A short time ago, Lord George Bentinck declared that his principles of protection did not lead him to protect the "midnight murderer and the broad-day assassin," and charged those who delayed the measure as being responsible for all the blood that might be shed in Ireland. To gratify the party, and satisfy his own notions of propriety, Sir Robert Peel proceeded with the first reading of the Coercion Bill, to the chagrin of the Free Traders, who saw the Corn and Customs Bills delayed, and possibly imperilled. Now comes this lord, with the odour of the stables, the manners of the turf, and the language of the ring, accuses Sir Robert Peel of delay, and says he will join with anybody, on any question, in order to "kick out" the bill and Ministers together.

We are glad that the Whig party feel the awkwardness of defeating Sir Robert Peel by the aid of Lord George Bentinck and his kind. The division on the Coercion Bill, on which it is expected that Ministers will be placed in a minority, has been postponed, in order to allow the Corn Bill to be somewhat more advanced in the House of Lords. Then, we suppose, Sir Robert Peel will be defeated, as he and the Duke of Wellington were defeated at the close of 1830, by a combination of furious Tories with calculating Liberals.

Times, however, are now changed. Then, the Wellington-Peel administration was ousted for resistance to the demands of the people; and the leaders of the Whig party stood high in the confidence of the country, and came into office in order to develop a great scheme of policy. Now, the crime of Sir Robert Peel is yielding to popular necessity, and popular will; and it is generally believed that the Whigs have no policy to develop.

In the House of Lords, on Thursday, there was an amusing discussion on the presentation of a petition from Cheshire, in the course of which the Marquis of Londonderry was accused of having permitted Mr. Bright to be returned as Member for Durham. The noble marquis denied the charge, but declared that at Durham Mr. Bright had made the very best speech ever heard in favour of a repeal of the Corn Laws. "But," he added, "I am not responsible for that!"

The stage at which the Corn Bill stood was that of going into committee.

Upon this motion being made, the Earl of STANHOPE rose to oppose it, and to move that the bill be committed that day six months. He regarded this measure as more important than the Reform Bill, considering the magnitude of the interests involved in it, and the serious consequences which would inevitably result from it. The noble earl maintained that no proposition was ever submitted to the legislature which had been so feebly and miserably defended, and he proceeded to show the false assumptions upon which it was in his opinion founded, especially the pretence of an imminent danger of famine in Ireland, which could be averted by no other means. After noticing the inconsistency of Lord Ripon's conduct upon the question, the noble earl passed to that of Sir Robert Peel, taking for the text of his commentary the eulogy bestowed upon him by Lord Brougham; and asked what man, after past experience, could repose any confidence in the political integrity of Sir Robert Peel? Yet they were expected—upon his authority—upon the *ipse*

disgrace of one of the rashest Ministers that ever governed a country—to reverse a system which had subsisted for centuries, and under which this country had acquired unparalleled prosperity. Why was this principle of Free Trade applied to corn alone at the end of three years; why was it not applied generally to all manufactures? Let us have either the fullest protection for every branch of British industry, or no protection at all (hear, hear, hear). This bill might bring ruin upon millions, especially those who had no other resource but their industry; and yet those who introduced it had not even formed to themselves any definite ideas upon two of the most important elements of the question—first, what was a remunerating price to the British grower; secondly, the probable price of foreign corn. After exposing the fallacy lurking in the promise of a “large loaf” held out by the advocates of a measure, the avowed object of which was to reduce the wages of the labourer, and insisting upon the heavy losses which this experiment would inflict upon the owners and occupiers of land, Lord Stanhope showed that rent was no element in the question, for if all rent were abolished, the price of the four pound loaf would not be diminished $\frac{1}{3}$ d. The argument of the Prime Minister, that, because we had a large amount of debt and a high taxation, commodities should be cheap, was irrational, absurd, and contradicted by the experience of all ages, which showed that where wages, and profits, and prices were low, the most oppressive and despotic monarch could not raise a large amount of taxation. His lordship contended that the tenant farmers, whom he vindicated from the imputation of deficiency of skill, would be unable to continue upon their farms if this bill passed, and must be driven into destitution and despair; and he reminded their lordships of the popular commotions of 1830 and 1842. If this measure were really inevitable, it had become so from the base, sordid, and pusillanimous conduct of those who had supported a measure which in their conscience they condemned; and the effect of this unwise concession would be to render the conflict between the agriculturists and the manufacturers fiercer than ever, for to talk of this being the end of agitation was absurd; it was the commencement of a long train of evils. It had been suggested that their lordships must pass this bill, because it had been proposed by the Ministers, and agreed to by the House of Commons. Such an unconstitutional doctrine had never before been proclaimed in that House; if it were true, the independence of that house was at an end; its legislative functions were useless, nay, injurious; and there would be a general cry throughout the country for its abolition. It was the duty of their lordships to reject this bill if they wished to preserve their political existence, and unless they desired to dismember the British empire, disorganize the whole country, and surrender all its institutions to immediate destruction.

The Earl of ESSEX, with some warmth, complained of the imputation of “base and sordid motives” to those who had supported this measure, which called forth a short explanation from Lord STANHOPE.

The Earl of RADNOR said that he hoped to produce such arguments as would induce the house to pass this bill without alteration. As to the apprehensions of the noble earl, he did not lay such stress upon them as he would have done if he had not heard the noble earl in former years make similar prophecies, which had not been fulfilled. For himself he had nothing to explain, for he had uniformly supported similar measures; but he could find other motives than baseness and servility for those who had altered their opinions. Neither was it his duty to say anything in support of Sir R. Peel, who had friends enough in that house to defend him; but the insinuations against the right hon. baronet were unfounded, for what motive could he have had in proposing this measure, and making great sacrifices for it, except the most honourable (hear, hear)? But when a charge was made against an hon. friend of his (Mr. Bright) for what he might have said at Covent Garden, he thought that, with the provocation given, persons might have used expressions which could not in cooler moments be justified. As an example of the abuse used against his friends, he might refer to a report in the *Times* of a meeting in Dorsetshire, in which it was said that Mr. Cobden “was properly called the Devil, for he was the father of lies.” And the expression of his hon. friend as to putting an end to the domination of the hereditary peerage, and overwhelming in it the dust, alluded only to the domination with which the aristocracy was standing up for the Corn Law, which he (the Earl of Radnor) maintained was most unjust. But then it was said that agitation would continue; he must say this was not the first time agitation had prevailed; it had prevailed on other occasions, but none would prevail unless the good sense of the people went along with the object. That was the case with respect to Catholic Emancipation, and that was the case with respect to this bill; and, if the League should continue agitation for an improper purpose, it would no more prevail than agitation now prevailed for the repeal of the union (hear, hear). Next, it was said that the bill was founded on theory, and in practice could not be successful; but theory was only tested by practice, and if practice did not prove it to be good the theory was bad; theory was only the *rationale* of practice; but those who supported the protectionists were the wildest theorists. For 30 years they had in theory promised to benefit the farmers, and yet in practice they had never done so. The practice had proved that their theory was bad: they had been carried away by the word protection, and nothing else. In fact, the sliding scale men were the wildest theorists that had ever been seen in England; while the principles of Free Trade wherever they had been tried had been found perfectly successful in practice. The noble duke had dwelt upon the effect of this measure on the small tenantry, and he had told the house that he had on one of his estates tenants of that class whose families had been on the land for 450 years, and he had asked why he should be obliged to turn them off the land; but it struck him (the Earl of Radnor) that these small tenants, whose ancestors were serfs to the ancestors of the noble duke, had not thriven much under a system of protection, for they were probably at present little better off than the serfs, their ancestors. Then he did not see why the noble duke should turn them off the land in consequence of this measure. If the country generally was benefited by it, these persons would be sharers in the common good. At any rate the noble duke had no right to wish to be charitable to them at the expense of the people of England (cries of “hear, hear”). It was said that we could not contend, if this bill passed, with the low wages and low food of the Poles; but if so, how was it that we had competed successfully against the low wages and low living of Ireland? He had never heard that question answered, or any explanation how it was that we could not compete with a country 13 days’ sail from us, when we competed successfully with a country 13 hours’ sail

from us, in precisely similar circumstances of fertility, cheapness of labour, and lowness of food. Appeals had been made to the antiquity of the Corn Laws, and their lordships had been warned to adhere to the wisdom of their ancestors with respect to them. Now it was true that this country had had Corn Laws since the reign of King John; but every one of those laws, with the exception of one, the 3d Edward IV., cap. 2, which the noble lord (Stanley) referred to in the late debate, up to the period when the landed interest obtained greater power in Parliament, had been laws, not for protection, but for providing food for the people. That act, the 3d Edward IV., cap. 2, prohibited the importation of corn up to a certain price; but if the noble lord had looked a little further, he would have found that chapter 4, of the same year, also prohibited the importation of all articles of manufacture whatever from abroad. This country was to have no communication with foreign countries for the supply of its wants; it was to be self-dependent; was the noble lord prepared to go that length? The noble earl then quoted, from the *Paston Letters* some expressions in a letter (written about the same period) of Dame Margaret Paston to her son Sir John, stating that malt was very dear, and wheat was 8s. 8d. a quarter, and that the king had prohibited the exportation of wheat, and ending with the remark, “I fear we shall have a right strange world,” for the purpose of showing that exportation was forbidden as well as importation, and then went through the titles of various statutes up to the reign of Charles II., to show that all the legislation up to that period on this subject had been, not for protection, but with a view of providing food for the people. When the landed interest got the upper hand in Parliament a new system was introduced, and the idea of protection began to be acted on. An act was passed in the 12th year of the reign of Charles II., imposing duties on the importation of corn, and another in the 15th year, by which those duties were increased. At that time it was confessed without scruple that the object of these acts was to keep up the rent of land. This was not so openly confessed at present; but there could be little doubt that protection was desired for that purpose. Then came the system of bounties upon exportation in the reign of William and Mary, by which the gross injustice was perpetrated that not only was the price of food raised, but a tax was laid upon the people for the advantage of the owners of land. Under this system exportation, of course, took place to a large extent. Between six and seven millions of money was paid in the shape of bounties, and upwards of 2,000,000 quarters of wheat imported. Owing, he presumed, to the increase in the population, in 1750 exportation began to decrease, and from that period it went on constantly diminishing until we became an importing country, and as such we had gone gradually increasing up to the present time. One would imagine, to hear the arguments on the other side of the house, that the natural state was a state of restriction, and that commercial freedom was a mere experiment, whereas it was just the very reverse of this. The Corn Laws were an experiment, and the natural state was a state of freedom. It was Paine, he believed, who in one of his publications, speaking of the plan of a sinking fund for paying the national debt, said it was like a man with a wooden leg running after a hare, the faster he ran the wider they were apart (a laugh). And so it was with protection—the more they increased protection the further were they from benefiting agriculture (hear). It was said the present measure would benefit merely the manufacturing interest. He denied this, and thought it would benefit both the agricultural and manufacturing interest; but maintained, that even if it were true that the manufacturing interest alone would be benefited by it, the landed interest ought to give it their best support. In the first place, he would remark that it was said on the other side that the landed interest was by far the largest and most important in the country. He denied that it was so, and appealed to the population returns in proof of his assertion.

The Duke of RICHMOND remarked that the population returns were not true.

The Earl of RADNOR replied, that the returns were prepared with great care, and that he had no doubt of their perfect accuracy.

The Duke of RICHMOND said that what he meant was, that in the last population returns every man was calculated as a manufacturer who belonged to any trade or handicraft, though supported by the agriculturists; for instance, every tradesman in a country village was put down as a manufacturer (hear, hear).

The Earl of RADNOR repeated his belief in the perfect accuracy of the returns, and proceeded to say that in 1811 it appeared that the agriculturists amounted to 35 per cent. of the population; in 1821 they were only 33 per cent.; in 1831 they were reduced to 28 per cent.; and 1841 they were still further diminished to 22 per cent. (hear). Had the agricultural population in 1841 borne the same proportion to the other classes of the population as they did in 1811, they would have consisted of 2,445,500 more persons than at present. The consequence would have been, that the agricultural interest would have had so many more persons to support; and, as these would generally have been of the poorer sort of persons, an additional poor-rate of nearly 1,000,000*l.* would have been thrown on the agriculturists. From this additional payment, however, they had been relieved by the diminution of the agricultural population (hear). The noble earl also entered into calculations to show, that from the same cause the agricultural interest had been relieved of 6,500,000*l.* of other taxes, which would have fallen upon them had they continued to bear the same proportion to the other classes of the population in 1841 as they did in 1811. He said, therefore, that even if there was no reason in the justice of the case why the Corn Laws ought to be taken off the landed interest, they ought to do anything rather than injure the manufacturer. But he maintained, that on the ground of justice alone, the measure ought to be supported. When the Canada Corn Bill was before that house he (the Earl of Radnor) opposed it, because it was a departure from the principles of Free Trade; and he felt, what had since come to pass, that it would create interests which at a future time would be against the principle of Free Trade. Wherever Free Trade had been really carried out it had been successful—more particularly in the case of the shipping interest, woollens, and silks. The noble lord (Lord Stanley) had argued that there had been a falling off in the Baltic timber trade; but that had been amply made up by the greater increase in the general shipping trade. From 1812 to 1845 the increase had been from 563,000 tons to 1,114,000 tons. The same results had followed with regard to the articles of the tariff, on which reductions had been made. Upon the whole, he was prepared to support the measure.

The Earl of WICKLOW claimed to be heard as the only Irish peer who had hitherto offered himself to their lordships,

He avowed that he entertained sentiments upon this subject different from both parties. He conceded that protection was not necessary to British industry, because by means of protection our manufactures had been brought to their present state of perfection. He opposed this bill, not on the ground of protection, but because it did not carry out the principle of Free Trade justly, equally, and fairly. If our farmers were compelled to compete with the slaves of America and the serfs of Poland, they ought to be placed upon an equality in other respects. Why should our farmers pay high prices for their coffee and sugar? There should be reciprocity between us and other nations to justify this measure, or we gave a benefit to other nations at the expense of our own pockets: the people of England would, in fact, pay an income tax to support the revenue of other countries. The noble earl then animadverted upon the conduct of the Government in the origin of this measure, and contended that they had been outwitted in respect to the potato disease. His alarm was not so great with reference to this country as to our colonies. In what manner were our colonies to be of use to the mother country, if we exercised neither of the privileges which Mr. Burke has said constitute the only value of colonies—that of taxation or that of monopoly? On the other hand, what was to bind the colonies to the mother country? He believed, if this bill passed, Canada would not five years hence be a part of this empire. He trusted that their Lordships would weigh well the matter before they passed this bill in its present state. This measure was in a different position from the Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bills. This was the first time that so important a measure had been brought forward here, and he hoped their Lordships would not be led away from their duty to the country by the activity and the noise of Free Traders and Anti-Corn-Law Leaguers.

Lord LYTTELTON, representing the colonial department in that house, was anxious to say a few words. On the subject generally he was satisfied with the argument that, in a matter of this kind, the colonies must needs follow in the wake of the mother country, and partake of the system adopted by her; indeed, unless by a bounty on colonial produce, which would find but few supporters, the colonies could not be exempt from the operation of this law, if adopted here. But there need be no apprehension entertained by our colonies interested in this question, namely, Canada and some of the Australian colonies; he said “some,” because the leading one, New South Wales, imported wheat for its own consumption, and while it was a country of very great and rapidly-increasing prosperity, it was one in which the capital and industry of the people were more and more taking the direction of pastoral occupation; it would be found a better market than this country for the produce of its neighbours (hear, hear). Then with reference to Van Diemen’s Land and South Australia, the average price of wheat in 1843 and 1844 was 26s. a quarter in the one, and 28s. in the other; the freight thence to this country was never much above 20s. a quarter, bringing the price at which they could sell their corn here to 46s. or 48s., besides which they had a natural protection, which would be put exceedingly low if stated at 10s. a quarter, in the incomparable quality of their produce; Australian wheat was the finest grown in the world (hear, hear). But by far the most prominent feature in these discussions was the Canadian question. Now, first, all that had been alleged on that head by the opponents of this bill had been alleged by every interest that had been affected by alterations in customs duties of late years; in 1842 there was hardly an interest affected by the reductions in the tariff of that year, the representatives of which did not visit the Board of Trade, in many instances with a case apparently irrefragable upon paper, showing the inevitable ruin which would befall them; but a pamphlet was published last year by Mr. Gladstone explaining how all these apprehensions and anticipations had been falsified, and the trade affected remained as it was, or improved. Were the Canadian interests backward in that year to make such representations (hear)? Far from it. Those interested in the Canadian timber trade, asserted that the diminution in the differential duty in favour of Canadian timber would bring total destruction upon that trade, and, as was now said, weaken the connection with that colony. The house had heard on a former night from the President of the Board of Trade (the Earl of Dalhousie) what was the present state of that trade. The price of Canadian timber, which for two or three years after that alteration had been lower, giving the consumer the whole benefit of the reduction, had of late, in consequence of the increase in the demand, entirely recovered its former amount. That a similar result would attend this measure as respected Canada he had every confidence. As to the feeling which prevailed in that colony on the subject, he did not wish to deny that he was now arguing the question at a disadvantage in consequence of the receipt of the address from the Canadian Legislature to which so much allusion had been made. But he laboured under another disadvantage in consequence of the non-receipt of the last mail, which he felt confident would bring intelligence favourable to the policy of the Government. The whole tone and purport of the address was entirely inconsistent with what had taken place in the Canadian Legislature. That address, it was understood, was passed by the Legislative Assembly unexpectedly; and, if any of their lordships had referred to the reports of the debate or no debate, for there was really none, they would have seen that what was carried—and it was carried the very night before the mail went out—was simply a motion made by a gentleman named Holmes for a select committee to consider the address; and in the newspapers nothing was stated beyond the appointment of the select committee. It might be said that this proceeding showed the unanimity of the Legislative Assembly upon the subject. But if their lordships had read the debates on the previous resolutions, they would have participated in the surprise with which her Majesty’s Government received the news that the address was adopted. The resolutions did not go to any definite approval of the policy of her Majesty’s Government; but the bare idea of any diminution of the spirit of loyalty in Canada was as wild and absurd as could possibly enter into any man’s imagination. So far as an opinion had been expressed in Canada on the subject of the Ministerial measure, it had not taken a line of disapproval, but somewhat of alarm, unless the measure were accompanied by certain others. Mr. Merritt, a member of the Canadian Legislature, in a speech characterised by great ability, while so far he disapproved of the measure, concluded, after proposing a great number of measures which he conceived it was within the power of the Canadian Legislature to adopt of itself, by asking,—“With these resources at command, why should we not avail ourselves of the accidental and natural advantages we possess, and promptly follow this great movement; which, happily, has been introduced under the sanction of the most eminent statesman in

the greatest nation of the present day?" He might also refer to the proceedings at the great public meeting held in Montreal. Though he admitted the resolution proposed at that meeting, to express entire approval of the Ministerial measure, was defeated by a very small majority, yet he should call the attention of their lordships to the fact, that the resolution which was carried embodied an expression of opinion in favour of the ultimate establishment of Free Trade in Canada. The resolution was—"That, whilst this meeting has in view the ultimate establishment of Free Trade in this colony, it nevertheless, if hereafter found necessary, will use its influence to insure the continuance of such protective duties on our produce going into the markets of Great Britain and Ireland as the Imperial Parliament, in its wisdom and justice, may now or hereafter see fit to enact for the welfare and prosperity of this country. In the meantime, however, this meeting is of opinion that the dangers apprehended from the change of system may only be met by a wise and timely adjustment of depending interests to suit the altered circumstances of her relations with the mother country." Much stress had been laid upon the first despatch of the Governor-General of Canada on this subject. That despatch, it was obvious, was not intended to convey his own views, but to state the representations made to him in his official capacity. The Governor-General, in common with the Legislature of Canada, desiderated other measures to accompany the Corn Bill. So far with regard to the feeling which prevailed in Canada on the subject. He should endeavour to show from the facts of the case that the people of Canada need not be under any apprehensions as to the result of the Ministerial measure. Mr. Cayley, the Inspector-General, that was the Finance Minister of Canada, entered into the question how far Canada might be able to bear a share in the general trade of the world with England as regards corn, excluding any reference to the special competition with the United States. He stated the charges on grain imported from Quebec, and deduced from his calculations that it might be landed in Liverpool at or about 40s. One or two items in Mr. Cayley's calculations were too low; but he (Lord Lyttleton) had received a calculation from a Canadian merchant, the greatest indeed in this country (Mr. Gillespie), who stated that Canadian corn could be landed in this country at or about 46s. But the chief apprehensions which were entertained as to the effect of the Ministerial measure related to the presumed competition with the United States. He was at a loss to understand on what ground it was that it had been so strongly asserted that it was out of the question for the Canadians to compete with the Americans with respect to the corn trade in the English market. Why could not the people of Upper Canada compete with the Americans of the western states? Their soil was about the same, the wages of labour were about the same, and the quality of the best Canadian wheat was equal to the best grain in England. He believed that the difference of freight between New York and England, as contrasted with the freight between Quebec and England, was considerably in favour of the Americans, but that advantage was counterbalanced by other considerations; and could, it might be safely said, be overcome by the enterprise and energy of the Canadians. It had been stated in 1842, before the improvements in Canada had arrived at the maturity which they had now reached, that with respect to the export of wheat from the corn-growing districts of Canada, and the western states of America, the Canadians ought to be on an equality with the Americans. The report of a special committee of the Legislative Assembly of Canada on the subject of a Free Trade with Great Britain in the agricultural productions of British North America, and of a protection to those productions from the competition of foreigners in the colonial home markets, alluded to "the relative and nearly-balanced advantages possessed by the two rival communications with the Atlantic, the St. Lawrence, and the Hudson Rivers." It is also stated, "After the enlargement of the Erie Canal shall have been completed, which is our most formidable rival, notwithstanding the reduction heretofore mentioned by the St. Lawrence, the cost of transportation through the two channels will be nearly equal." He had seen a calculation in figures, with which he would not now trouble their lordships, in reference to the two routes—one from Buffalo to New York by the Erie Canal and Hudson river, and the other from the entrance of Welland canal on Lake Erie to Montreal—in reference to transshipment, &c.; and in every one respect, except the length of canal, the advantage was in favour of the Canadians. He would read to their lordships the following extract from a despatch of his right hon. friend (Mr. Gladstone) to Lord Cathcart, dated the 3d of March, 1846, in reference to the advantages possessed by Canada:—"Among them," stated the despatch, "I reckon her light taxation; the assistance she has received from her British credit and funds, in the construction and improvement of her internal communications; her more regular and steady course of trade with this country; her low tariff, so favourable to importation, and, on that account, powerfully tending to encourage her reciprocal commerce outwards; some advantages in the point of proximity, as compared with the most westerly states of the Union, which are also her most formidable rivals in cheapness of production; and lastly, the means of carriage without transshipments by the St. Lawrence, which cannot be had by way of the Erie Canal. She will likewise have this in her favour, that her corn trade will have become a settled one of some standing, with all its arrangements made and in full operation, while any regular commerce in that article from the United States must be a new creation, and must go through the processes attending its self-adjustment to circumstances as yet untried; and if it be true that New York offers some advantages as compared with Montreal, particularly in regard to the rate of insurance, on the other hand I consider that the shipping of British North America has many advantages over that of the United States in the competition for freights, as it is constructed at far less expense, and is, I must assume, navigated with equal vigour and equal economy." He was not aware in what particular any part of that statement could be controverted. And what argument in opposition was brought forward in this Canadian address which was now so much talked of? Only one, and that was, that the route by the St. Lawrence was frozen up six months in the year. But the same was nearly the case with the Erie Canal, which was the great route for American produce. He therefore thought that there was no doubt that with reasonable efforts on the part of the Canadians, they could compete successfully with the Americans, especially as great improvements had recently taken place in Canadian agriculture by the application of increased capital and in other respects. Having said thus much, he was not willing, if he were able, to follow noble lords at any length into a general disquisition of what was called the colonial system. He did not believe in the

advantage or benefit of that system. He would not adopt any of the violent language of the Anti Corn Law League and call it mutual robbery, but it was mutual privation and mutual impediment. These restrictions were either injurious or superfluous; injurious, if the protected produce could be more conveniently obtained from other places, superfluous if it could not. Then they were asked,—"What are the use of colonies, unless this system is maintained?" Now, he denied that this system was of any use, either to the mother country or to the colonies. It was not in such a pecuniary way that the use of colonies to the mother country was to be estimated. He had always considered the advantage of colonies to consist in providing an outlet for the teeming population of this country, and in forming the foundation of great communities, where our laws, our habits, and our religion might prevail. This he had always considered to be the use of colonies, and the way to preserve their attachment was by imparting to them the same freedom as we enjoyed, and not by an adherence to a scanty remnant of a perishing system. This vaunted colonial system could hardly be said to exist but in name: it was against the interest of the mother country, and only nominally in favour of the colonies. They had heard of the antiquity of this system; yet, however ancient it might be, it was not coeval with our early settlements. Our early charters with Virginia gave the inhabitants the power of Free Trade with all the world; and with respect to parts of this system—the system of timber duties, for instance—there was hardly one of their lordships within whose lifetime that system had not begun. It commenced in 1808. Was there no actual example to prove the truth of what he was now stating? His right hon. friend (Mr. Gladstone) had in his last despatch referred to the Australian colonies. With respect to those great communities, which owing to the incredible rapidity of their advance, were calculated to add to the glory of the English name, this system was hardly anything but nominal; and in regard to their most important and most abundant produce, that of wool, within the last few years the trade had been entirely thrown open, and the opening of the trade had been followed by an enormous increase in it, and had tended to the general prosperity of those colonies (hear, hear).

The Duke of BUCKINGHAM said the question before their Lordships was very simple, namely, whether they could carry Free Trade into this country under the circumstances in which it was placed. It was all very well in theory, but in practice it was another thing. It was not right, proper, or just that Free Trade should be introduced into a country so burdened with taxation. His Grace then argued that this bill would throw land out of cultivation, reduce the wages of labourers, which ought to be increased, and compel the clergy to submit to a reduction of 25 per cent. in their incomes. So far from settling this question, as some supposed, it would keep up agitation, and the noble duke believed that, if he lived a few years hence, the Minister of the day would come down to Parliament and ask again for protection for the land. He looked upon this measure with the greatest possible alarm; it would affect all classes, and the manufacturers would be the first to suffer. No bill ever came to their lordships' house more generally disliked; it was the offspring of party feeling, and a desire to retain office, from which the present Ministers, if they could not maintain the principles upon which they assumed the Government, ought to retire.

Lord COLCHESTER spoke against the bill, supporting the amendment. With reference to the remark of Lord Lyttleton, that colonies were useful to the mother country in carrying off our surplus population, his lordship observed that there were two other important uses of colonies—one, the taking off our manufactures; another, the affording stations for our navy; and he showed the extent of the colonial demand for the products of home industry.

Lord HOWDEN was merely anxious to state a few circumstances which he believed to be not foreign to the question now before their lordships, and which he hoped would not be considered inapplicable to the discussion in which they were engaged; and he trusted, that in bringing these considerations under the notice of the house, he should be enabled, by the brevity of his observations, in some degree to repay the indulgence of their lordships. He should at once relieve their minds from the fear, and himself from the imputation of arrogance, which might arise if he entered at any length into the facts, or even a small portion of the reasonings, which in the course of the discussion that took place upon the present measure had been brought under the notice of Parliament. If he wished to reproduce arguments already threadbare, he might, without the least difficulty, occupy a great deal of their lordships' time; but it was his intention, on the contrary, to confine himself to a few short observations, and he should proceed to submit them to the house without further preface. The first vote which he had an opportunity of giving in that house was on a subject connected with the Corn Laws; but it was quite a milk-and-water proposition as compared with the present measure. Upon that occasion, which occurred six or seven years ago, he was left in a very small minority, for it was strenuously opposed by the noble viscount then at the head of her Majesty's Government, and as might have been expected, it also was strenuously opposed by every member of the Cabinet excepting one noble earl; but the recollection of that should not tempt him into any digression; he said it should not tempt him into any of those personalities which for some weeks, nay, for some months, had been so prevalent, and which often induced him to imagine that there must be something very agreeable in saying disagreeable things (hear, hear). The flash of that sort of talent showed him the way in which he should not tread, rather than lighted him on the way which he ought to pursue. Some of his earlier years had been spent in a country the institutions of which were in great favour with noble lords who sat on the cross-benches; there existed in that country the greatest possibly antipathy to change of any description. Every individual in that land concurred in the wisdom of his ancestors. Now, it so happened, that in the year 1810 or 1820, he forgot which, two of the southern provinces of Spain were in a very peculiar position; one of those provinces lost its harvest wholly; whilst the other enjoyed the advantage of an harvest more than sufficiently abundant. Now, circumstances precisely analogous to those were reproduced on a larger scale in different countries. In the year 1810 between France and England there was a similar state of things, and it might fairly be thought that the existence of such relations demanded free commercial intercourse upon a large scale. Of that, however, he should now say no more. Returning to the state of Spain, he should merely remind their lordships that the legislation of that country contemplated no freedom of trade, and that even the inter-

course between those provinces was restricted by Custom-house regulations; regulations which actually applied to wheat. The noble lord then proceeded to show the application of this case to the intercourse between different countries. But how could they prevent that increase in our manufactures? With our increasing population it was impossible, for they could not expect that the people would remain still, with their hands unemployed. It was, then, policy and justice to feed the population as cheaply as they could. In the exigencies under which they were legislating, theories were useless; for hard realities derided the economies of the schools. It had been said that protection had always been the principle of the statesmen of this country; and had pervaded our commercial regulations; and a noble lord near him had referred to an old Act of Parliament in support of that opinion. But he (Lord Howden) might be permitted to surmise, that that which was necessary in the 14th century was not necessary in the 19th. He might, indeed, remind their lordships of the advice given by a celebrated character of Cervantes, who, like Shakespeare, was said to know everything. Sancho Panza, in giving advice to some person in authority, said, "Take care and provide an abundance of eatables and drinkables for the people, for nothing sooner alienates their minds from their rulers than any deficiency in those things" (hear, hear). He had no fear of what foreign nations would do; but he did fear that there were circumstances in this country which would deprive this measure of much of its benefit and all of its grace. He would not use the language which the other house had been compelled to hear from the accredited organ of a party, but he asked their lordships who opposed the bill, what was to be expected from the present state of affairs? The noble earl opposite had withdrawn his support from the Minister.

Earl STANHOPE said he had never given him his support (cheers).

Lord HOWDEN.—Well, then, the Opposition would make him, who had sacrificed the hope of place to the strength of his convictions, cease to rule the destinies of this country (protectionist cheers); but he (Lord Howden) was *stirred* he was the true expositor of their lordships' feelings, when he said that the noble earl and those noble lords had no hope or expectation of succeeding to the inheritance (cheers). They were only rendering impossible a Government with reference to which they had one feeling of dissent and a thousand in common, whilst they were paving a way for and making a macadamized road (great laughter) for a party for which they had not one sympathy, and with which they had not a single tie (cheers). He had no hereditary or personal reasons for attaching himself to either of the great parties of the country, but their lordships had ancient rank, vast possessions, and extended influence, and they were throwing into the scale the weight of their authority in favour of a party from the great majority of whose opinions they differed. He had heard the word "treachery" used (protectionist cheers); an ungracious word—treachery by the Minister to his adherents; but as an humble individual, sincerely attached to true Conservative principles, he hoped from the bottom of his soul that their lordships would never be found to be traitors to themselves (hear, hear). And here he must allude to what, in modern phrase, and in epigrammatic language, was called the pressure from without. Their lordships were sensible, as they ought to be, of the well-expressed opinion of the nation, though they would scout what was, in the invidious sense, to be taken as the pressure from without. But there were such things as worthless fears, and there were prophecies which worked their own accomplishment. So long as their lordships did their duty to themselves and the country he cared not in what unholy aspirations the members of the League indulged, but fears heedlessly expressed might verify their own sinister forebodings, and those who really thought they were approaching the end of their senatorial existence might, in his opinion, adopt more dignity in their preparations for their decease ("Oh!" and cheers). He, on the contrary, had every confidence in the good sense of the country—if it were not attended with moderation it would not be good sense, and he did not dread what the noble earl called accumulated agitation, unsatisfied encroachments, subjects not yet broached, and theories not yet hatched (hear, hear); but he asked what must be the immediate disposition and expectation of the millions upon a question on which there was no longer any speculation, which was not in embryo, and which had passed triumphantly through the other branch of the Legislature, and which was now waiting on the threshold of their lordships' house for a final judgment to be pronounced (hear, hear)?

On the motion of the Marquis of EXETER the debate was adjourned till next day, Friday.

The glad tidings of the reading a second time in the House of Lords of the Ministerial Corn Bill diffused unmingled joy throughout our community on Monday morning. The ringing of the steeple bells, at eight o'clock, communicated the gratifying intelligence to the inhabitants; and since the measure is now perfectly safe, we feel confident that, on the occasion of the anniversary of her Majesty's birth—Tuesday next—the citizens will be proud to testify publicly their devotion and gratitude to our beloved Sovereign, to whose wise, firm, and benevolent resolve is traceable, it seems, the triumphant success of the Bill.—*Montrose Review*.

AN APOLOGY.—At an agricultural dinner there was recently given the toast—"The Duke of Richmond and the protectionists." It was followed by the song—"A man's a man for a' that."—*Punch*.

FOREIGN FRUIT.—The General Steam Navigation Company's packet, James Watt, which has arrived at the St. Katharine's steam-packet wharf, from Havre, in addition to the usually large cargo of French productions and manufactures, has brought the very large number of 999 packages of fresh fruit, the produce of France. The importation of fruit having commenced thus largely, may be looked for from the present time with certainty and regularity from the principal orchards and gardens in the neighbourhood and suburbs of Rouen, the usually extensive supplies from which luxurious place on a former season were unhappily despoiled by the ravages of a terrific storm, which will not be forgotten, and which caused very great and serious destruction to the crops of every description, at the time when they were fast arriving to profuse abundance and maturity. The same company's vessel Giraffe, from Rotterdam, has brought 20 packages of cherries, the produce of Holland. Altogether it may reasonably and with justice be remarked that both France and Holland are of the utmost importance to us with regard to the extensive supplies of fruits of the earth, cattle, and provisions of the most esteemed descriptions furnished to us by those countries.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND'S LOVE FOR THE LABOURERS.

(From the Times.)

The labourer is still the theme of eloquence at agricultural meetings, where his importance is energetically urged, and his condition spoken of with affectionate interest. To hear the speeches of protectionists at their dinners, where the labourer is never omitted as a toast, and is sometimes tolerated as a guest, one would imagine that the humble cultivator of the soil must be better provided for than the members of any other class of industry. Goodwood on Tuesday last was the scene of one of those annual meetings which are held in many parts of the country for the purpose of giving the worthy labourer his reward, in the shape of ten shilling prizes for the twelvemonth's stock of virtue he may have exhibited. The Duke of Richmond was in the chair, supported by a Bishop, an Archdeacon, an Honourable and Reverend, and an M.P., besides a number of clergy and landowners of the district; while, to do honour to the humble hero of the day, the Duchess of Richmond and the Ladies Lennox were present in a side gallery. There is something very beautiful in the idea of the master sitting down to the same meal with his men, and the presence of a galaxy of godliness is highly appropriate to such a truly Christian act as the feasting of the employed by the employer at his own table. The charm, however, of the proceeding is speedily dissipated when we find that at such a very early stage of the business as the first toast after the health of the Royal family having been drunk, the labourers had entirely expended their allowance of beer, and were compelled to keep up their enthusiasm as well as they could with empty mugs to the end of the entertainment. When the Bishop of Chichester was toasted, the gentlemen present pledged him in a bumper; but the labourers were forced to shout and gesticulate with nothing to drink, like the "happy peasantry" that we see on the stage tossing off copious draughts of mere atmosphere to the long life of their Prince. The whole of the proceedings, however, were of the same false, unsubstantial, and dramatic character as the phantom libations of the humbler portion of the guests. The Duke of Richmond's speech was crammed with clap-traps, which would have told admirably on the audience at a minor theatre, but which could not for a moment stand the test of sober criticism. He talked glowingly of the value of the "honest, meritorious, and industrious labourer," and added, that "one man who felt a deep interest in the welfare of his employer is worth a hundred of those who only worked for the sordid consideration of their daily pay." There is something absolutely comical in the idea of taunting a poor wretch who gets perhaps eight shillings a week with "the sordid consideration of his daily pay." Archdeacon Manning adopted the same truly comic conceit, and reiterated the noble chairman's sentiment, that "one man who worked from affection was worth a hundred who worked merely for lucre." This high disdain for filthy dross ought not, we think, to be exacted from labourers at eight shillings a week, who certainly, if they are actuated by the sordid love of lucre imputed to them by their employers, have very little to gratify their avaricious appetites. Well may the working man entreat to be saved from his friends, when those who assume that character call upon him to work from affection, and to show an utter contempt for pay. Surely he already accepts the *minimum* of wages on which it is possible to exist. We have heard of things being so dear that they are not to be had for love or money. The toil of the labourer is an article that has hitherto been paid for by a little of both, but it would seem that his friends the protectionists would like to obtain his services purely for love, without having to expend any money at all. Simple as the labourer is, we do not think he will be persuaded into a belief that such a proposition can be for his benefit. We wonder if it has ever occurred to the Duke of Richmond to pay a hundred times as much wages to a man who works "with a regard to his employer's interests," as his Grace would pay to a mere every-day labourer working for lucre—or, in other words, toiling for his own and his family's support. Surely the employers ought to be satisfied with the labour, such as it is—and it surely is cheap enough at its present miserable price—without grumbling that the article is not given in a spirit of the purest disinterestedness. One might as well taunt a servant with a love of lucre for wanting his wages, or a tradesman with sordid considerations for sending in his bill. The agricultural labourers cannot afford to put money entirely out of the question, though their employers, by reducing wages to the lowest possible point, take care not to encourage sordidness too far, or, at all events, not to give avarice too much to feed upon. It is quite clear that the motive for giving what are by courtesy termed prizes to the agricultural labourers, is that they may become more valuable in a pecuniary point of view to their pretended friends. This was avowed at the West Sussex Agricultural Association, and the purpose is, perhaps, legitimate, or even laudable; for, as a general rule, workmen, in becoming more valuable to their masters, must be happier in themselves.

We fear, however, that there is too much hollowiness in the words of encouragement addressed to them, and that the premiums offered are too nominal and contemptible to have much influence in producing the desired effect. The distribution of a few Bibles and Prayerbooks, and a few prizes, varying from 10s. to 4l. will not compensate for a year's privation, caused by a rate of wages so miserable as to be wholly inadequate for comfort, and frequently insufficient for support. That such is the doom of the labourer almost every day's experience affords some proof, and we need go no further back than our paper of yesterday for a strong case in point. Under the title of *The Poor Law in a Rural District* will be found the report of some proceedings taken by the parochial authorities to force upon a married labourer, earning only 8s. a-week, the maintenance of his mother, whom he declared himself unable to support. The energy with which the overseer went to work to prove the man capable of bearing the burden, affords an amusing illustration of the difference of treatment the labourer experiences as the hero of after-dinner eloquence at protectionist meetings and in the board-room of his own parish, to which he is summoned that another weight may be thrown upon him in addition to those he is already struggling to bear. In the case to which we allude every inquisitorial measure seems to have been adopted for the purpose of proving that the labourer earning eight shillings a-week, and having to keep a wife, ought to spare the parish funds by taking also the support of his mother wholly upon himself. First he was taxed with having "four pigs and six stocks of bees," as if a man could keep his mother all her life on honey and pork, and could afford to expend these luxuries upon her. It turned out, however, that half the bees were dead, and the pigs were still unpaid for. So that before his mother could be fed from these sources there was a mortgage to be paid

off, and the magistrate, acting, probably, on this view of the question, refused to make the order for which the parish authorities had applied. We should be glad to know whether this poor man, if he were to enter the Duke of Richmond's service, full of affection for the nobleman who has expressed so deep a concern for the welfare of the labourer, and who, actuated by this affection, would be worth a hundred ordinary labourers—we wonder, we repeat, if he would obtain from the Duke of Richmond a hundred times, or even ten times, or twice the amount of wages usually paid. If masters were to be found to appreciate such zeal as it deserves, it is most likely that the poor man whose case we have referred to, and many others in similar circumstances, would not have to appear before boards of guardians to resist orders for the support of their aged parents. The labourer, however, can be much more cheaply cared for in an after-dinner speech than by giving him a fair remuneration for his services. "Civility costs nothing," but unfortunately it is intrinsically worth nothing to the party on whom it is bestowed.

DISSOLUTION OF OLD PARTIES.

(From the Times.)

The debate—if debate so disorderly a scene deserves to be called—of Monday night, is strangely and even gloomily ominous of that troublous pass which the nation seems now in careless haste to essay. A picture is presented to us of a legislature in which all things are out of order, out of place, out of proportion, out of season, out of keeping, out of all political and decent rule. On one hand a Government, which by singular energy and address, though not by its own resources, is in the very act of sealing a great victory, falls itself under the weight of its spoils, and by the mysterious law of the weapons it has thought fit to employ. On the other, an ancient rival, wasting under the wounds of repeated and confirmed defeat, is able at this critical moment to avenge his wrong, and perhaps even to repair his disappointment. In another part of the scene an army of mercenaries, smarting under the breach of impossible engagements, having neither share in the victory, nor hope of redress, seeks a last consolation in the sweetness of revenge. If it is a reality we are beholding, how near akin is it to falsehood! If it is a drama, what chance or caprice has had the casting of the parts? The golden apple of this conflict lies on the ground. The victorious possessor is apparently devoting himself to another object, which he seeks only that he may fall in the enterprise, and thereby gain a remediable loss. The deserted auxiliaries, after long fighting for order, think to find their account in a general confusion. This bout has failed them, so a fresh start is their object. The representatives of territorial rights, and a heaven-sent aristocracy, think to write antiquity again on the *carte blanche* they will obtain, by permitting an interval of democratic usurpation. The guardians of "property," the protectors of land, are recording their decision against a measure whose chief aim is the security of these objects.

There is also in the scene that mixture of feverishness and listlessness which give us the least security for discretion, and the greatest chance of extravagance. Private reasons, or rather private fancies, are uppermost. The house is with difficulty assembled for the debate which professes so serious an object, and is actually pregnant with such weighty consequences. False stimulants must be applied. Vehemence of attack, petulance of interruption, reproaches, remonstrances, discursive allusions, reckless predictions, old standing arrears of ranking grievances, and bitter recollections, are the substitute for a legislative debate. Something, meanwhile, either chastens the spirit or ties the tongue of the party that has to endure this sharp warfare. Could one judge of its tone, it expects its doom. It is impossible not to recognize the eve of great changes, not to say great convulsions, when the chief powers of the political world have so departed from their wont. It is not growth, but dissolution, we are beholding. It is a house divided against a house, and it cannot but fall. The extempore ring-leader of the disaffected may be set aside as far as concerns his power upon the present question, but he is effectually destroying that social framework on which we must rest our hopes for the future. The edifice that cost the labours of patient years even before its foundations were seen above the ground, after being first betrayed by its author, now crumbles to pieces by blows from within, exchanged by familiar and once friendly hands.

The attacks of enemies may be forgiven, and even forgotten. They may be accounted for on a theory. The opponent renounces his opinions, and thereby retracts his invectives. The bitterest philippics are often little more than political conventionalities, which proceed on certain assumptions, and are forgotten when the assumptions are no longer received. It is so with the indignation of friends and allies. Their angry words are the seeds of enduring hostility. Their allusions are too familiar to miss their mark, too pointed not to sink deep, too envenomed not to rankle. The mutual recriminations of the divided host will live for years in the disruption and annihilation of party. Our comfort for the solitudes that must naturally throng upon each peaceful mind at the prospect of the coming confusion, is that really the present distribution of parties has lasted too long, if not for moral truth, at least for moral clearness, and for moral emphasis. There is no existing section of the political world which is not hampered with pledges and alliances that entail an irreconcilable struggle with the ripening necessities of the age, and with its growing convictions. The work of the next generation must be done, if by parties, at least by new ones. At present the signs of decomposition predominate. The House of Commons shows rather the fusion, than the reconstruction of systems. The old forms of opinion are passing away, but the new organisation scarcely begins to appear.

How much change, again, must we expect in the administrative and legislative element before we shall have a Government and a Parliament really able and willing to address themselves to the wants of the times! For example, is there the least prospect, with our present Ministers and present legislators, of that great subject, the religious, moral, and sanitary condition of our towns being fairly taken in hand? What statesman have we who so much as dreams of such a thing as a sound and comprehensive municipal system? Who is there that we can trust with the simplification of our laws, the reform of our courts, and the protection of our charities and other foundations? Who has heart, or nerve, or sinew, to grapple with the Irish landlord? Who has the skill to plead the cause of the poor, and establish their claims, so as to steer clear of a decayed and abusive antiquity, on the one hand, and the iron invention of political economy, on the other? The great problems of this age are everywhere discussed, and receive every other than a Parlia-

mentary solution. The present legislature cannot even master the business actually brought before it. Perplexing, painful, and disastrous, therefore, as may be the approaching passage of our public destiny,—even though we have to pass through the fiery furnace of social reconstruction,—even though the names of Whig and Tory, Conservative and Radical, agricultural and manufacturing, country and town, may pass away, and become as mere matters of history as the white and red rose, the Guelph and the Ghibelline, we still trust that the good sense and good heart of this nation will, under Providence, raise out of this chaos a legislature and a Government better able to apprehend and to grasp the real wants of the people, under no slavish thralldom to parties or classes, and not driven to the continual alternatives of disloyalty to the commonwealth, or treason to their partisans.

THE ONLY PLAN FOR A FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE SUGAR DUTIES.

(From the Economist.)

The time has arrived when the final adjustment of the sugar duties can no longer be postponed. The removal of protection to the cultivator of the soil at home renders the maintenance of that principle in favour of the planter, in the colonies, no longer possible. Every argument which has been so successfully employed to show that protection has been a delusion—a false and deceptive prop—at home, is equally applicable to the colonies. We are bound, however, to admit, that in some respects an important difference has existed between the owner of the soil at home and the planter in the colonies. It is true that protection has been claimed for the farmer, at home, on the assumed existence of special burthens imposed upon him by the state, for the public good, but the existence of which, so far, it has been impossible to discover. On the contrary, he has been exempted from the charge of every assessed tax, which would otherwise have borne upon him in his capacity as a farmer, even down to that upon a shepherd's dog. If any doubt could have existed of the utter absence of any claim on this score, on the part of the home farmer, before the recent inquiry by a committee of the House of Lords, Lord Montagu's report of that inquiry must have effectually dispelled such doubt, and have proved to any candid inquirer, that, instead of special public burthens, the home agriculturist enjoys many special exemptions from taxation. But such, we are free to admit, is not the case with the colonial planter. We readily admit that restrictions have been, and still are, imposed upon him, of which he has a right to complain, and from which he has a right to demand relief. At the same time, nothing will be more evident than the fact, that these restrictions or disabilities to which the planter may be thus exposed, can form no compensation to the consumers at home for the extra price which they are obliged to pay for their sugar.

Admitting, however, as we do, the existence of restrictions and impositions, to which the colonial planter is exposed, we propose now to examine what they are, as alleged by the West Indians themselves, and in what way relief should be given. The grievances of the West Indians may be thus stated. *First*, they aver that the effect of emancipation has been to withdraw a large portion of labour from sugar cultivation, and materially to raise the rate of wages, as compared with that paid by other sugar-producing countries; and that the restrictions imposed upon immigration have precluded them from obtaining such additional supplies of free labourers as would have enabled them to cultivate their estates with profit. *Secondly*, they complain that they are restricted as to the sources from which they can supply themselves with those articles which they require to import for the consumption of the islands. *Thirdly*, they complain that there are restrictions placed upon the sale and use of their produce. And, *fourthly*, they complain that a portion of their produce is, to a great extent, practically prohibited from consumption at home, in consequence of the high differential duty to which it is subjected, in order to protect the manufacture of British spirits. With respect to the whole of these complaints, we freely admit there is some foundation, and that the West Indians have a right to seek the same advantages from the principles of Free Trade, by the removal of those restrictions, as we have with respect to the introduction of their produce into the home market. This is a right which we have never denied, but for which, on the contrary, we have often, on principle, contended. But the great error hitherto made by West Indians has been, an inference, that restrictions imposed upon their trade, were to be regarded by the consumer at home as a compensation for the high differential duties imposed in favour of their sugar in this market. They may all be just grounds of complaint against our colonial policy, but certainly they are no satisfaction to the home community for the high price of sugar to which it has been exposed. It would be difficult to show in what way restrictions placed upon the imports into the colonies, or restrictions imposed upon the sale of their produce, or a high duty upon West Indian rum, could be regarded as any compensation to the great mass of the community at home, for the high price of sugar to which they have been subjected for so many years. Moreover, the community have had more reason to complain against the course pursued by the West Indians, inasmuch as no great efforts have ever been used to obtain direct redress of these grievances, with some exceptions in regard to immigration, while every effort has been used to maintain protective duties against the home consumer. On the part of the home consumer, too, it cannot be denied that we have to regard the sum given for emancipation as a large payment. It may be denied by the West Indians that it amounted to full compensation. But whether or not is not now a practical question to be settled; for it is certain that very much of the West Indian property has changed hands since that time, and has been either inherited or purchased, subject to the existing state of circumstances. Moreover, the extra price already paid by the country for colonial sugar since the termination of the apprenticeship cannot amount to a smaller sum than the twenty millions paid as a direct compensation. For the five years ending in 1844, Mr. Gladstone, in the pamphlet entitled, "*The Ministry and the Sugar Duties*," calculated that additional sum at sixteen millions sterling; or at the rate of 3,200,000l. per annum; to which, if we add the two years which have since passed, we make a total sum of more than twenty-two millions sterling, as paid by the country, in addition to the original sum of twenty millions for compensation. It would appear, therefore, that the sugar colonies have cost the country, in direct payment, and in the shape of a higher cost of sugar, more than forty-two millions sterling, during the last 10 or 12 years. The time has, however, arrived, when this additional expenditure to the country must shortly cease, and when all restrictions or disabilities, as far

as they are imposed by the legislature, on the colonies, must cease also. We propose, therefore, to offer some observations on these alleged grievances.

First, then, with respect to immigration to free labourers. We confess that we can see no good defence for the jealousy with which the Government have regarded the subject of immigration into our sugar colonies, from the time when the entire abolition of slavery took place. The reasons which were so commonly given, viz., that of the fear that immigration might relapse into a revival of the slave trade, and that specific contracts for labour might assume the character of slavery, appear to us to be wholly unworthy of a great country, having an executive sufficiently powerful to enforce the observance of its laws throughout the whole of its empire. Whether the immigration of labourers from the East Indies and from Africa would be an economical application of capital, is altogether another question, with respect to which we would probably differ from the great bulk of the West Indians themselves. But we cannot deny the political and civil right which the West Indians have to employ capital in the importation of free labour, as much as the land companies of Canada or Australia, always of course subject to the same regulations as are considered in the latter cases, needful for the protection of the immigrants, and any other which the peculiar circumstances attendant on African immigration may render necessary. As a right we have not an objection to urge against it. As an economical application of capital, we feel that the safest course is to leave those on whom the responsibility rests, to decide that point. We cannot suppose that West Indian proprietors would continue to lay out their own capital, or burden their estates with the payment of taxes to satisfy the interest of a loan, for the purposes of immigration, if found to be unprofitable, and, especially, considering the legal obligations which they take upon themselves to send their immigrants back at the end of five years. As far as we are concerned, in the mother country, we may safely rely upon the owners of West India estates, and upon the colonial assemblies not committing themselves to any very injurious extent by such an outlay, if it proved by experience a less profitable means of applying capital than others open to them. For our own parts, nothing can persuade us, while yet there is so much to be done, by the application of capital, to economise and render productive the existing amount of labour in the colonies, that it can prove a very desirable means of investment to import Hill Coolies from India at the enormous cost which is required. But that, we repeat, appears to us a proper question for the West Indians themselves to entertain, but no ground for our denying them the full right, if their interests dictate the course.

On the ground of humanity, we contend that all the argument is in favour of immigration, and especially from Africa; and we only wish we could persuade ourselves that economically it is desirable to as large an extent as immigrants could be obtained. There can be no question that every negro removed from Africa to the British West Indies, really changes the condition of the most abject and degraded slavery for the benefits of a comparatively highly civilised life. In the case of the free immigrant too, the horrors of the middle passage, against which our feelings have been so justly excited, are entirely removed. The removal of Africans to the British West Indies, can only be regarded as a process of emancipation from the most degraded and brutal condition in which the human race can be found, to one of great moral and physical advantages; from the tyranny and cruelty of brutal slave-masters in Africa, to the protection and security of the most advanced and enlightened government. We know that there are those, who see a great danger of promoting internal wars in Africa for the mere purpose of procuring slaves to carry to the coast, as long as there is a demand for them. A demand it is said on the coast will promote cruelty in the interior in order to supply it. This no doubt is so in the case of slavers who give high prices for slaves. But with respect to the free immigrants, who are not purchased, for whom no money is given, excepting in the shape of a free passage, and of which no part would go to enrich the Africa slave-dealer, this can not be urged as an objection. On the contrary, the more abundant free labour becomes in our colonies the less will be the temptation or the ability of slave-owning states to pay the price for slaves on the coast of Africa, which leads to the internal African slave trade. While, therefore, we may doubt the prudence of a large investment of capital, in the introduction of immigrants into the West Indies, at a great cost, and with onerous future obligations, we cannot deny to the West Indians the right so to employ their capital under proper regulations if they think fit. To prevent abuse which might arise therefrom, the executive is bound to rely on its own powers.

Secondly, the West Indians complain that they are restricted in the sources from which they can supply their wants, or, at least, that the imposition of duties on commodities, the produce of other countries, from which those of Great Britain and our other colonies are exempted, raises the price to their disadvantage. It cannot be denied that, in principle, this protection to the produce and manufactures of England and the North American colonies, against the West Indian consumer, is an evil of which he has a right to complain, and which ought to be removed. Till a very recent period, the prohibitions and protective duties imposed upon foreign commodities were extremely prejudicial to the West Indies; a great step was, however, taken in 1842, to abolish the prohibitions, and to modify the protective duties. In that year the *Act 5th and 6th Victoria*, c. 49, repealed the former duties, and established a new and modified tariff; but which is still open to the objection that considerable duties are imposed on goods from foreign countries, while our own are admitted free. On foreign wheat flour we impose an import duty of 2s. per barrel; on foreign-taken fish 2s. per cwt.; on foreign salted or cured meat 3s. the cwt.; on foreign butter 8s. the cwt.; on foreign spirits and cordials 1s. per gallon; on glass and silk goods of foreign manufacture, fifteen per cent. *ad valorem*; on cotton, linen, woollen, leather, and paper manufactures, hardware, soap, and candles, from foreign countries we impose a duty of seven per cent.; and on all foreign goods not enumerated a duty of four per cent.;—from all of which British products and those of our other colonies are free. It is quite clear that when we call upon the West Indies to relinquish protection in the home market, we must also be prepared to relinquish it in their market.

Do not let us be misunderstood. The duties which we have quoted are not the Island duties raised by the colonies for the local revenue, but are imposed by the Imperial Parliament. It may be urged, and no doubt with great truth, that these duties in most instances are nominal and inoperative. With respect to most articles of British manufacture, the protective duties in the colonies are no more operative than they are at home; nor would their removal make any

difference to the cost of those goods, because there is no other market where they can be bought so cheap. But if so, there can be no reason why even an imaginary grievance should be allowed to remain among our laws. But though this is the case with respect to British manufactures generally, it is not so with respect to flour, fish, meat, butter, cheese, and probably some kinds of glass and silk goods. With respect to provisions these duties clearly raise the price, and are a ground of just complaint. These protective duties are, therefore, either useless, if inoperative, or unjust to the West Indies if operative, and in either case should be repealed. They cannot be retained a day longer than the equalisation of the sugar duties is provided for.

Thirdly, the West Indians complain that they have been subjected to restrictions on the manufacture, and still are in the uses to which their produce can be applied. The restriction which so long existed against the produce of the colonies being shipped to other countries, cannot be said ever to have led to any real disadvantage, as England has always been the best market. The practical prohibition against refining sugar in the colonies has already been removed, but still the restriction against the use of sugar and molasses in distilleries at home continues. It is much to be doubted whether this restriction is any real disadvantage or not; nevertheless, its maintenance is impossible on the principles by which we now wisely seek to govern the material interests of the country. If not advantageous, it would not be done, and if more profitable to the importer than the present uses to which his produce is put, it ought to be left open to him. The true interests of the country can only be consulted by the most economical use of every product which it possesses, and which perfect freedom alone can determine.

Fourthly, the West Indians complain that, in bringing their rum into the British market, they are subjected to a duty, which acts to a great extent as a practical prohibition, in order to protect the home distiller. This, no doubt, is true, and cannot be justified. The duty charged on colonial rum is 9s. 4d. the gallon, while on British spirits in England it is 7s. 10d., in Scotland 8s. 8d., and in Ireland 2s. 8d. the gallon. The effect of the high duty on rum has been to banish its use altogether from Scotland and Ireland, or nearly so, and materially to reduce the whole consumption of the country. In 1802, the consumption of rum was fifty per cent. greater than in 1844, while in the latter year the consumption of British spirits was 100 per cent. more than in 1802. The following table shows the comparison of rum and British spirits taken for consumption at the two periods in question, with the duties chargeable thereon:

Rum taken for Home Consumption.					
	Year 1802.*	Duty.	Year 1844.†	Duty.	
		s. d.		s. d.	
England.....	2,204,897	9 03	2,143,865	9 4	
Scotland.....	468,163	—	42,092	—	
Ireland.....	637,005	5 6½	12,635	—	
United Kingdom	3,310,065		2,918,592		
BRITISH SPIRITS.‡					
	1802.	Duty.	1844.	Duty.	
		s. d.		s. d.	
England.....	3,464,400	5 4	8,234,440	7 10	
Scotland.....	1,160,000	3 10	5,922,950	3 8	
Ireland.....	4,715,100	2 10	6,451,140	2 8	
	9,339,500		20,608,500		

The present price of proof rum being 2s. 1d. per gallon, the difference of duty amounts in

England, 1s. 6d. per gallon is	72 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i> .
Scotland, 5s. 8d.	is 272
Ireland, 6s. 8d.	is 320

* Porter's Progress of Nations. Vol. III., p. 56.
 † Porter's Tables. Section A., part XIV.
 ‡ Parliamentary Paper, 8th May, 1845.—"Spirits"—Sessional Number, 296.

It is impossible on Free Trade principles to defend any differential duty against the rum of the West Indies. But the West Indies must, on the same principle, be prepared for the admission of foreign rum, brandy, and other spirits at the same rate of duty.

As far as we have been able to collect, these are the whole of the grievances of the West Indians, and which, we are perfectly free to admit, require, upon every principle of fairness, to be redressed; and which may be easily done, with great advantage to the revenue and to all parties concerned. We are glad to observe that Mr. Hume has given notice of a motion which will bring all those questions under discussion, and we trust they will before long be all disposed of in a general scheme for the entire equalisation of the sugar duties. No other settlement of this question is now possible; and the best interests of all parties will be consulted, as well as that of the revenue, by that settlement being made with as little delay as possible. We may take an early opportunity of working out the probable effects upon the revenue of such a comprehensive scheme, involving the entire removal of all these restrictions and the equalisation of the sugar duties, by the time the Corn Bill is finally operative in 1849. To conclude, we are bound to say that many of the parties most influentially and extensively interested in West Indian property have expressed their entire concurrence in such a settlement of the question, which appears to us in every way fair and just; and we therefore have great pleasure in congratulating the country upon the probability of an early and satisfactory settlement of this important question; the constant and necessary changes in respect to which, during the last few years, have done more to unsettle commerce and puzzle merchants than all other causes put together.

THE BRITISH UNICORN.

(From Punch.)

MR. PUNCH.—"You have made my companion, the British Lion, very popular; can you do nothing for me? Understand, I shall be well content with half the notoriety you have bestowed upon my leonine friend; for, certainly, since you have signalled him by your notice—since you have drawn him from the obscurity of the National Arms, and discussed the length of his mane and tail, the sharpness of his teeth and claws, and the various modulations of his roar—the poor beast has been worked and belaboured more than any costermonger's donkey. 'Twill not surprise me, soon, to see the British Lion advertised as peculiarly fitted for 'the most timid lady.' Certainly, timid gentlemen, who might pass for ladies, have of late ridden him hard enough. I much question whether the Culling Smiths, the Sibthorpes, and the Plumptres, are not—for their sharp taskwork inflicted on the British Lion—obnoxious to an information for cruelty to animals. However, to my own case.

"I am a modest brute; so modest, that I have suffered all sorts of scholars and philosophers—men who take the universe to bits and put it together again, like a child's puzzle—to question even my existence. By some I have been

called the Indian ass; by others the rhinoceros; and all these presumptuous men have flatly denied my right to the graceful form made familiar by the Royal Arms to every true-born Briton. But, sir, patience has its limits. Trodden worms will turn; and—it will be found—outraged unicorns will gore.

"Nevertheless, for myself, I could still endure the contempt and slander of the world with perfect indifference. Yes, sir: I could hear my companion, the British Lion, praised for his courage, his magnanimity, and every other after-dinner virtue (though between ourselves I have known him guilty of certain rogueries and fooleries more worthy of the British fox and the British goose; only lions, by virtue of their claws, are privileged as occasional knaves and simpletons)—I say, I could, unmoved, listen to his praises—unmoved as one opera-singer hears the applauding fame of another (my frequent position over the proscenium has familiarised me with all play-house virtues), were I alone concerned. But, sir, consider; if I am called a fabulous beast, a fictitious nonentity, a thing that never had a place in the ark, what a rebellious insult is thereby cast upon the Royal Escentee! The Lion is a terrible verity, says the world, and with his truthful strength, his awful looks, supports and watches the Royal Shield; but the Unicorn is a nondescript nincompoop: a fib upon four legs: at the very best a horned flam? Now, I ask it, is not this opinion treasonous? Does it not make the Royal Arms lopsided? On the right they are supported by leonine power; on the left by a word than nothing—by a fiction! Now, sir, will you urge Lord George Bentinck to move for a committee to inquire into the truth of the existence of the British Unicorn? I suggest Lord George, because as I am more than half equine, the inquiry could be best carried out by his stable mind. Did I really feel myself the ass that some naturalists have written me down, I could name other honourable members of the honourable house as being peculiarly fitted for the investigation.

"And in the meantime, Mr. Punch, do think of me. Let me not suffer for my long endurance. Folks must tire of the roar of the British Lion; therefore, do now and then say something about the honour of the British Unicorn. For I put it to you, whether it is not too bad that I should bear half the weight of the Royal Shield, and the Lion monopolise all the glory? Besides, the British Lion, for a time, at least, has had his day; therefore, do justice to his long-silent and long-suffering companion.

"THE BRITISH UNICORN."

POTATO CROP IN DEVON.—Last year, through the month of June, it was observed that the potato crops in my locality had never previously been seen in a more healthy, vigorous, and evenly state of growth. The tubers, too, of the early kinds, in the month of July, were not only numerous, but large; any quantity could be purchased at fourpence per score pounds. But this spring they have been selling as high as twenty pence per score pounds. It is now the last week in May, and the early crops of potatoes are equal in strength and evenness with what they were a month later last year, and the tubers are equally fine and numerous, more particularly all the autumn planted varieties; those which were protected through bad weather with dry dust, fern, and other refuse, have actually now about finished their growth—the foliage is cupping up as if ripening; other crops also appear in most luxuriant health, when viewed at a distance; but I am sorry to state that the detestable enemy has again made its appearance, in its too generally-known forms of rustiness, black spotted inky blotchings on the foliage, canker, gangrenous, sore-looking spots on the stems or stalks and ribs of the foliage. Whether the cold rains which we have had—the remarkably cold north winds we have experienced for the most part of the first twenty days of this month—have in any way accelerated the disease or not I cannot say; but I am sorry to again observe its appearance even on some of the young tubers. We cut and pick off all the diseased stalks and leaves as we discover them, and burn them, although by this means I do not expect wholly to stay or prevent its ravages; but the trouble is little, and it puts out of sight an eye-sore. I never had crops so prosperous in appearance, when viewed at a distance; and this has led many to suppose that all was right. It would, however, be strange indeed were not some of us to produce good crops and clear from disease this season; for no doubt can be entertained that many have been careful in the preservation, selection, and planting of this year's crop, and the after-management will, no doubt, be performed with more than usual care, and this useful vegetable may yet possibly be an average crop. I am happy to say, too, that at present we have here some pieces of potatoes in which no disease has been observed; still I am doubtful as to the future.—*Correspondent of the Gardener's Chronicle.*

DESTITUTION IN THE SHETLAND ISLANDS.—From a communication, dated Lerwick, 23th May, in the *John O'Groat Journal* of Friday last, it appears that famine is spreading rapidly among the Shetlanders. We sincerely trust that public sympathy will be extended towards the sufferers without loss of time. The following is part of the communication alluded to:—"Want and misery are now written on many a face, where, till now, such had not been seen, and, if not promptly relieved in some way or other, there is great reason to fear that, during the summer, and before the crops can come on so far as to be made available, even in a half-price state, for the pressing wants of the population, cases of death, from actual starvation, will be neither few nor rare. During the years 1837-38-39—well named the 'bad years'—the want of food through these islands was not greater than it is at the present time. At this moment individuals are known to the writer of this, who have not tasted bread for a whole week, and others who have neither tasted bread nor meal in any shape for periods varying from ten to fifteen days; who, when they had scraped together the sum necessary, had to take their bags under their arms, and to travel distances of from six to eighteen miles—Zetland miles, too—before they could procure the small quantity of meal which they were able to purchase, and that, too, at a most exorbitant price. The breakfast of shell-fish has to be gathered in the morning, at the sea-side, among the rocks, before the cravings of hunger can be satisfied; then the next meal, consisting of fish, with, perhaps, a few potatoes; and if they have a little meal, fish, and bread, or else fish and potatoes again, before going to bed, comprises all that they can afford, fish and potatoes being the chief, almost the only articles of diet, and bread being used more like a luxury than as the staple article of food. These are not cases of rare occurrence."

Accounts from Leeuwarden, in Holland, state that the potatoes in that district appear to be infected with the same disease as last year.

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FREEHOLDERS BUILDING SOCIETY, MANCHESTER.—Shareholders in this Society wishing to transfer their Shares are requested to apply to Mr. Senior, League Office, Newall's-buildings, Manchester.

A few copies of No. 93 of the ANTI-BREAD-TAX CIRCULAR, and of Nos. 68, 75, 81, 83, 84, 97, 99, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 117, 119, 122,

of "THE LEAGUE," are particularly wanted. A liberal price will be paid for them on their being forwarded to Mr. Whitome, 67, Fleet Street, London.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, June 10, 1846.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

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THE STRIKE IN THE BUILDING TRADES.—This ill-advised strike of the men still "slowly drags its weary length along." All the bricklayers have resumed work, and the greatest activity prevails in that trade, and the joiners and carpenters are gradually resuming work on the masters' terms; and this refers not only to strangers, but to the old hands who have been unionists, but who are tired of the sway of "the central committee." In one establishment, six men commenced work on Monday morning last, including three of the old hands, who were unionists, but have ceased to be so. The conference of the National Association of United Trades, which commenced its proceedings on Whit-Monday, and the transactions of which we noticed in our last, terminated on Friday afternoon, but on that day no business of importance was done. At present we are informed there are 400 workmen on the strike in Manchester and Salford, but it is expected that twenty or thirty will go in to-day (Wednesday) to Mr. Birch's, near Faulkner street, who, it is stated, has acceded to the terms of the union. In Liverpool, as here, the strike has ceased to be a general one; the masons being still out we believe.—*Manchester Guardian.*

LETTERS FROM KENT.

LETTER I.

At no time perhaps since Kent got its name from Canute the Dane, did its rich corn crops look richer than now; certainly in the best of the summers within living memory they never looked better, seldom so well. It may turn out that fruit will be an exception. But of wheat, and beans, and peas—the green peas of the market gardens for million-mouthed London, never had Kent such a lapful of plenty. Nor is the promise of abundance confined to Kent. Surrey is the same, and also Sussex; at least, such parts of it as I have just seen. And by analogy and common report, all agricultural lowland is the same. Let me tell of what I have just seen.

First, of wheat. It was well grown in May; but in most parts of Surrey and Kent, a rusty-coloured fungus settled on it. This fungus was very minute in its particles, but so universally spread, that the fields looked for several weeks as if scorched with red fire. In walking only for a few yards through the wheat thus affected, the feet were covered with red dust, as if one had walked in the rubbish of a brickyard. The fungus was generally attributed to atmospheric causes, and some good reasons were given to show that it was related in its origin to the disease which last year affected the potato plants, and that both proceeded from humidity and low temperature. Other plants had this rusty fungus on them besides wheat; gooseberry bushes, the natural grasses by ditch banks, the hawthorns, and even the more early grown potato plants. But now, with a high temperature and dry atmosphere, the fungus has disappeared. Plants affected by it are not only convalescent, but in the enjoyment of a robust health equal to anything ever known. One would almost think the field crops are rejoicing as they grow in having been purified of internal diseases by that which was external.

Taking a glance at the thinly sown wheat, near Croydon, where Mr. Davis has been for several years laudably, and I am told, successfully engaged in practically reforming the seed-sowing of wheat, we cannot help believing what our ears bear, that half the usual quantity of wheat sown per acre, is better for the ensuing crop than the usual amount of sowing.

Yet again, as we go on, the old system is seen; and assuredly at the present time, it is more than judgment can determine to say which promises most profit, the thin sowing or the thick, the new system or the old.

One thing is clear, clear as fine weather—that so far as the national welfare depends on abundant crops: abundant comforts of clothing and furniture depending on abundance of food; full employment, and full wages depending on the ability of the millions to spare for clothing and furniture the money not required for food; the buoyancy of mercantile enterprise reciprocating with all these, producing them and being produced, until we reach nationally that condition which is called prosperity.—I say, that so far as all these happy circumstances arise from good harvests, plenty and cheapness, there never was a brighter prospect before England than there is in this blessed month of June, 1846.

In the preparation of green crops, such as turnips and wurzel for the feeding of stock, rain is prayed for; but the farmer's prayer for rain in one parish is put up at the same time that his brother farmer in another prays for dry weather to continue; one has his turnips to get sown as the chief dependence for his live stock in winter; the other has his hay to get in as the chief dependence for his stock. The weather at present is good for all of them. The turnip sower in Kent is getting his land prepared in the best manner, and all the weeds destroyed, (so far as a Kent farmer troubles himself about destroying weeds,) and the haymaker is going on most gloriously making his hay while the sun shines. Then there is the Corn Bill about to become law, and admit maize, and beans, and peas, and oats, and barley, to help to feed cattle and sheep with their green crops. Already has mustard feeding been tried, and the green mustard, which grows up four or five times in an ordinary summer, a product of the soil far more abundant and profitable than any other succulent, only wants to have an admixture of grain or pulse (some dry mealy food) to qualify it to become the favourite of the farmers for the summer supply of the markets with mutton, and the pockets with cash, and the soil with fertility.

Then again there is the flax seed, which will doubtless soon become a home product on every farm when the coarser grains and pulse can be obtained freely and moderately priced, to mingle with it and with roots for cattle food in winter (thanks once again to Mr. Waines, of Norfolk, for his indefatigable exertions in the cause of flax seed and cattle feeding, and thanks to the Free Trade which is to supply him with material and consume his beef!)

All these things are pointing to the coming circumstances of agriculture; namely, that the best of all manures shall be produced at home, not purchased at an expense of five or six millions sterling per annum as now; that less land shall be sown with wheat, yet not less wheat shall grow; that the cultivation of wheat shall consequently cost less per acre; that more labour shall be employed per acre in producing beef and mutton, which will render a scientific system of feeding, like that of Mr. Waines's, return the farmer's capital at least three times a year, with a profit each time, instead of once a year, as upon corn, with occasionally (from the expense of fertilising) no profit at all.

These thoughts arise in the mind while in Kent more readily than anywhere else. We already see the two millions of mouths in London agape for more food, for more, more, more; they get mutton, and they must have turnips; and they must have greens, cauliflowers, broccoli, carrots, &c., not forgetting potatoes; potatoes and greens, and they must have beef to them or bacon; lamb, they must have green peas; green peas, they must have lamb, or ducks, or a young goose; a dinner of meat and vegetables, they must have puddings, tarts, custards, and fruit after these. If they do not all live thus why is it? Only because they cannot all afford it. And what is Kent doing? Growing more; growing year after year, crop after crop, even in the same year, to feed London that has its two millions of mouths always open. And Kent finds (so do all the metropolitan counties) that the more food she supplies regularly to the metropolis the greater becomes the demand for it. Who are they that do not eat the best of everything? Those who cannot afford it; none else. Who, then, shall set bounds to the consump-

tion of all England, and Scotland, and Ireland; even to Ireland, when her people at home shall do as her people removed to London do, eat beef and mutton with their potatoes? Up, farmers, and to work, and open the nation's gates to commerce—and get commerce to help you to feed cattle and sheep in thousands where you have only now hundreds; thousands of people are ready to eat them as soon as they can get them, where hundreds only eat them now. Up, merchants, and abroad upon the world, and get cattle for the farmers; help them to be manufacturers of human food, and make every farm a factory of the first necessities of life. Up, manufacturers, and craftsmen, every one who cover and lodge and adorn the human body, make one another and all able, as nature has made you all willing and ready, to be the customers of the food manufacturers on the farms! Shall all this not be? Aye, shall it; and England shall be one broad market garden, as truly as the fields of Surrey and Kent nearest London are so now.

LETTER II.

But omitting anticipations of the future, let us revert to the present, as indicated at the beginning of the previous letter. Let the reader take a few minutes of his spare time and follow me; I will take him quicker through Kent even than the locomotives on the rails, so he need not fear his loss of time. I will let him see what the cuttings and tunnels and speed of the trains permits him not to see, so he need not fear that his journey will be mere locomotion and noise and bustle.

Once more I say, when did wheat look better than this year's wheat? See, some of the farmers have old ricks on hand yet. They had better thresh out and sell. See, how their farm buildings stand unhelpful of one another on the farm; a stable and a yard here; a shed for cattle 400 yards from the stable and the yard; a barn half a mile, on this large farm, from either; another barn in another field; a rick half-way between the barns! No order, no economy of labour. Kent is lovely. No eye that was formed to look upon and admire the beauty of wooded hill and watered valley, of luxuriant green and profuse blossom, can look upon Kent and be unkind and ill-contented in its looks. Still Kent might be all as lovely, and have her barns more conveniently assembled for the work of each farm.

Look here! We are between Maidstone and Tunbridge. Has the world, any part of it beyond these two towns, anything like those ten miles of country lying between the towns? This has been asked by other travellers; and Cobbett, long ago, said, the world has nothing else like this. We, who see this for the first time, in June, 1846, say the same. Not but there are rich alluvial valleys in the world, with hills rising on the outsides of them, and even a better river than the Medway in the centre; but what country in the world brews beer like England? Where is the hop culture for the beer brewing carried to such perfection? Where is the plant that equals the hop in beauty, when seen as we now see it, over miles of country. When seen even naked of the hop and of all adornment, it is still lovely.

Let us glance at these hop-grounds; the poles are all up in clusters of four, six, or seven, or eight, and perhaps more, according to the size of the stool of the plant and number of its shoots. Three or four feet apart, those clusters of poles stand in rows. The men are "shimming." We see a kind of plough, drawn by horses, a man holding it, and a boy leading the horses. It turns out the weeds and loosens the earth; that is what they call "shimming."

The women are "tying," and some of them "horseing." They, as we see, tie the vines to the poles; and when the vine grows near the top of the pole, the tyer gets a folding ladder, called a horse, and mounts to tie them. This is called "horseing." A woman takes for the season from one to two and a-half acres to tie and horse, according to her ability, or her freedom from family cares. They will earn, the best of them, about 1s. 6d. a day at the work.

The women we see feeding and working in the fields with the hoe, are paid about 10d. or 1s. a day. The hay-makers get from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d.; the hours of work being longer and the work harder. But they are mostly all hired by the men who take the "job of haymaking" from the farmer by contract.

Whatever may be said in favour of Scotch farming in general over English farming, the Scotch haymaking is far behind English haymaking; and in the metropolitan counties the making of hay has attained to an excellence matchless anywhere else. At any age to which hay is kept, it is found here to be as sweet and fragrant as at first. It never withers; from the hour it is cut it is worked with the rakes and forks until it is finally built into a rick. The sun and the enamoured atmosphere would luxuriate with it, and rob it of its sweetness, if it lay ungarded on the open field; but they are not suffered to make waste of it; and it yields the atmosphere all the more fragrance that it is never out of the hands of those who have the care of it.

Breathe it in this odorous air! Would you not say that the favourite meeting place of heaven and earth must be among the new hay? Yet in Kent you would even doubt this if you saw the forests and fields of fruit trees in blossom when they are in their prime.

But the blossom is over now. Some of it was bit by frost this year because it came too soon out, and was caught by lingering winter while it looked for early summer. Some say there is a caterpillar, too, and many other insects more than enough. Perhaps there are more than usual; but who shall say they are not performing the useful office of counteracting, in their existence, some disease inherent in vegetation, which in their absence would appear in another and a worse form?

We proceed on. We have left Canterbury, and our journey is north. Can we say so much of vegetation, and say nothing of the people? Here is Blean Wood; there is Boughton; and again, here is the ozier bed. Has the world forgot what happened here in hot weather just like this eight years ago?

Perhaps the world has; and so perhaps has Canterbury, and all its priesthood. Not so those tillers of the fields. Despite their proximity to the head-quarters of that church which in England has taken Christianity under its special care, they (not a few of them) believe as religiously in the sanctity of Mad Thom, who with their brothers and fathers was slain here, as ever pilgrims believed in Thomas A'Beckett. In short, there is still a dismal lingering faith among the unlettered peasantry of this part of Kent that the monomaniac Thom, alias Sir William Courtenay, Knight of Malta and Jerusalem, was what in his wildest moments he said he was—the second incarnation of divinity upon earth.

A disposition to believe in superstitious marvels is common in other parts of Kent as well as here. Mr. Vaughan, in his "Report on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture," says, "I was informed credibly of a

very substantial farmer in the north-east of Kent, who within a very few years used to arrange his scythes in a particular order around his stables to secure his horses from witchcraft."

And, again, Mr. Vaughan says: "Superstition (the result here, at least, of ignorance) still lurks among the labouring classes in these counties; the belief in charms for the healing of bodily hurts is not uncommon; faith in the same means of fertilising the ground and trees is said to exist."

Mr. Vaughan might have spoken more positively. Faith in fertilising the soil by charms and incantations, does exist, as certainly as Acts of Parliament for the maintenance of high prices exist. The gypsies, who are so plentiful in Kent, and the political jugglers, who are hardly so excusable as the gypsies, keep up both delusions.

ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH.

AMERICAN PRODUCE.

The importations of provisions from the United States, into the ports of London and Liverpool, have continued to be of an extensive nature, and are of importance as showing the extent to which the supply of such articles from that quarter is carried. The following are the principal arrivals of the kind, since our last notice of the subject some days since:—The Margaret Evans arrived at this port from New York, having 3050 barrels of flour, 400 packages of oil cake, 50 of clover seed, 40 of lard, 104 of arrow root, and 9600 staves for coopers' use on board, in addition to an extensive cargo, comprising rosin, turpentine, and other articles; and the Paoli, from Baltimore, brought 3501 packages of flour, 102 of pork, 10 packages of cyder, and other articles; and the Diamond, from Alexandria, United States, 8634 packages of flour, and other produce. The ship Swan, which arrived at the port of Liverpool, from New Orleans, had on board 2753 packages of flour, 408 of pork, 50 of tongues, 111 packages of oil cake for feeding cattle, and 5000 staves for cooping purposes, in addition to an extensive cargo of cotton, hemp, hides, &c. The ship Henry, subsequently arrived at this port from New Orleans, brought 1254 packages of beef, 459 of lard, 147 tierces, and 586,758 lb. loose of oil cake, and 1500 staves for cooping purposes; and the Oceana, also from New Orleans, a very large quantity of oil cake, seeds, staves, &c. The North Star, from Philadelphia, at the port of Liverpool, brought 2535 packages of flour, a quantity of clover seed, &c.; the Actæon, from New Orleans, 204 bags of Indian corn, 279 of beef, and 2400 staves; the Eleanor, also from New Orleans, a large quantity of cotton, 1200 staves, and a quantity of heading for making casks; the United States, from New Orleans, a quantity of cotton, 6000 oak staves, 200 packages of pork, 813 of flour, 432 of lard, 60 of bacon, and 746 packages of beef. The Charlemagne, arrived from New Orleans, brought 5000 bales of cotton, 2000 sacks of Indian corn, 4000 of flour and other articles; and the Athole, from Montreal, Quebec, and St. George's Bay, Newfoundland, 1797 packages of flour, 910 quarters of wheat, 340 of butter, 100 barrels of herrings, and a large quantity of coopers' staves, of Canadian produce. The T. H. Perkins, subsequently arrived at the port of Liverpool, from New Orleans, brought 1960 packages of flour, 471 of lard, 754 of beef, 1009 sacks of Indian corn, and 30,000 tree-nails for ship-building purposes; the Siddons, from New York, 4316 packages of flour, 60 of bread, 70 of beef, &c.; the Astræon, also from New York, 1226 packages of beef, 500 of flour, and 3400 staves; the Corin, from New Orleans, 1773 packages of beef, 928 of flour, and 10,000 staves; the Ram-mohun Roy, from Philadelphia, 3712 packages of flour, 60 of beef, &c.; and the Susekannah, from the same place, 4420 barrels, and 48 half barrels of flour and other articles; the Great Western brought 1000 bags of corn meal, a large quantity of clover seed, and other articles; the Ward Chipman, from New Orleans, 1666 packages of flour, and 85 of grease, 49 of pork, 260 quarters of wheat, 153 of beans and 269 of corn, 1079 packages of lard, 168 of beef, 19,200 staves, and other articles; and finally, the ship Barbara, from Halifax, brought among other articles 573 packages of flour, 40 of pork, 129 of herrings, 13,260 staves, 55,400 lbs. for the peculiar purposes to which they are especially applied, and a large quantity of hardwood, timber, planks, battens, and other wood goods peculiar to North America. The numerous vessels mentioned have contained, in addition to the articles named, extensive cargoes of the usual description of articles known as being produced in the United States, and brought thence to this country; but we have generally confined ourselves to the articles of food and general provisions which have arrived, it being our intention to show the extent to which the production of such articles in the States is carried, and to how great a degree we avail ourselves in the matter, both of which will be evident from a cursory glance at the list of importations which we have enumerated, and which are of interest and importance. From the extensive arrivals of food and general provisions which appear to be constantly brought here from North America, coupled with the extensive importations from almost every State in Europe, Holland, France, and Germany especially, not to speak of the amazing supplies of every description from the sister country, all of which appear in our columns at full length, and in round figures, so plainly as to afford no chance of a mistake about the matter, it will, we think, appear conclusive that although the supplies of our own country are immense, and the soil most productive of all that its inhabitants can require or desire, we are in no trifling measure indebted to extraneous sources for the further supply of food; or if it be willed so, we avail ourselves of the means afforded by foreign and distant countries, which would argue that such supply is eminently necessary and advantageous, otherwise it would not be the case.—*Times*.

NOVEL ASPECT OF CONSERVATISM.—As soon as the Lords had given their assent to the second reading of the Corn Bill, the *Morning Herald* and *Standard* commenced a most furious attack on the house, denounced the absurdity of an hereditary peerage, and accorded a preference to the nobility for life of France, or the elective senate of the United States. Not content with attacking this branch of the legislature, it has since turned against the Crown, declaring that "all her Majesty's maternal relations, as well as the relations of her royal consort, have a deep, personal, and pecuniary interest adverse to the interests of British agriculture." Surely this is Conservatism with a vengeance. Did any Corn Law repugner ever advocate such destructive views?

Dr. Lardner is engaged in preparing a philosophical work to be called "Five Years in America,"

AGRICULTURE.

AN EMPTY THREAT.

The political monopolists are strange people. They live in a little dreamy world of their own. Possessed of land, to which an enormous value has been given by the labour and industry of the rest of the community, without thought or effort of their own, they are angry that the people won't submit any longer to be taxed, in order to give monopolist landowners' land an artificial value. In their despair at having their hands taken out of other people's pockets, they utter all kinds of nonsensical prophecies, and indulge in most ridiculous threats. "Wheat will be to be had for next to nothing, while nobody will have anything to buy any, when the trade in grain shall be free, is, in brief," the burthen of monopolist prediction. But perhaps the most serious threat, if it had been serious, is that which we lately met with in the leading columns of the monopolists' organ, the *Morning Post*. After commenting on a pamphlet, by the elder Mr. Gladstone, who stoutly writes in support of that mischievous monopoly his son has aided to break down, and says the price of wheat will be 40s. a quarter when the corn trade is free, the editor of the *Post* proceeds thus:

"The consequence anticipated to the English landowner is that he must abandon his present position in society—that he must cultivate his own land according to the Continental custom. But he cannot convert his tenants into servants. They cannot descend to the position of labourers, because there are already enough of labourers without them. What, then, it is asked, is to become of the tenants?"

Now, speaking as a tenant farmer, bound by a long lease at a high rent on land naturally poor, we have no sort of apprehension, and we believe there is no good farmer in Great Britain who does entertain any serious apprehension of ruin, or even loss, should the price of wheat become 40s. a quarter. The occasion for putting the *Post's* threat in execution is, therefore, not likely to arise. But if there was any chance of the landowners taking to cultivate their own lands—where they are to find the lowest amount of capital even now regarded as necessary for farming, we are at a loss to guess—we must admit that it would prove a very serious affair for the community. Then, indeed, there would be danger of scarcity; then we should probably have prices high enough to content the most stony monopolist heart. The landowners of this country, however, are utterly incapable of growing on their own land, taking the country through, one-half of the produce which is now grown by tenant farmers. Yet it is allowed on all hands that full one-third more of produce—we speak within the mark—might be grown by the tenants, but for the injudicious regulations and mismanagement of the landowners.

It is very well for the oracle of the servants' hall, and, of late, of the monopolist lords and squires themselves, after imagining a long concatenation of impossible contingencies, to ask, "What is to become of the tenants?" but there is a previous question to be considered by the landowners before they will have to become occupiers of their own land, namely, "What is to become of the rents?"

Now the slightest reflection on the part of those least acquainted with agriculture, would convince them that all threats of landlords occupying their own land, and turning their tenants upon the world, are the most silly imaginable. Lord Stanley tells the peers, boasting, that the landowners are not a saving class—that they spend all their incomes as soon as they get them, if not a little before—and we have no doubt the house fully assented to the statement. Moreover, there is scarcely a landowner of any extent whose estates are not mortgaged, and charged with annuities to a greater or less extent; and nearly all are merely tenants for life under settlements, who could only raise money to begin farming with by way of annuity, or by changing their life interests, and insuring their lives to secure repayment of the principal money borrowed. But let us suppose all these difficulties got over, and that by hook or by crook the landlord has scraped together enough ready money to take to his farms. In the first place, he must trust the management to a steward or bailiff having none of the knowledge or habits of business necessary to farm even moderately well. Let this difficulty, however, be also surmounted, and we behold the

owner of 10, 20, or 40,000 acres his own tenant, and himself his only tenant. Let the crops be well got in, let the season be propitious, let all be supposed to happen to the man of little knowledge and no industry, which could under the most favourable circumstances be produced by enterprise, skill, and activity in husbandry, and what is the tenant-landlord's position? Why, for one year certain, he has no income; in fact, for two years, the farmer commencing business can scarcely be said to derive any income from his farm.

But for our illustration the absence of one year's income is amply sufficient. How, during that year, is the interest on mortgages and incumbrances to be kept down? The tenant-landlord would find that by his first harvest some Chancery suit to foreclose his mortgages would be pressing him sharply. Then there would be the interest on the money borrowed to farm with, and, in the case of a tenant for life, the premium on life assurances whereby that money was secured. Imagine the position of a lordly or squirearchical household under such circumstances. What is to become of my lady's pin-money? How are the wine-merchants' and the coachmakers' bills, the opera-box, and the cost of the racing and hunting stables to be paid? How will the portly butler, the burley porter, the fat coachman, the train of spruce footmen, the housekeeper, the ladies' maids, and the long muster roll of an aristocratic establishment be provided for?

Need we go on? Is there a monopolist in either House of Parliament to whom this view of his position is not convincing, if not satisfactory?

The circumstance that some landlords farm, and so far as produce goes, farm well, tells nothing; for they merely conduct their farming as an amusement, without regard to profit or loss. As a wealthy and highly educated landlord once observed to us, "the plough is a very expensive play-thing."

But, after all, even these threats of the *Post* go for nothing. They probably echo only the second-hand obligations of monopolists' servants' hall, for the monopolist landlords are taking just the opposite line to that indicated by the *Post*. They are improving, or promoting, or compelling improvements on their estates. The money-loving Marquis of Salisbury is converting cold and poor woodlands into farming land as a good speculation; while the moneyless Duke of Buckingham is making his tenants do the same kind of thing, at their own cost, and charging them full rents for the land when improved by their own capital. This does not look like English husbandry going back to the primitive condition of that of Germany.

FOREIGN COMPETITION FALLACIES.

The following passage from the letter of an English farmer resident on the banks of the Elbe, shows very sufficient reasons why the British farmer has nothing to fear, at all events, from German competition:

"The English farmer's dread of any change in the Corn Laws (says my informant) is founded on four chief particulars, in which he supposes himself likely to be placed at a disadvantage compared with the Continental corn grower; and these are, the great surplus grown abroad beyond the requirements of the inhabitants, the vastly increased quantity of land which the stimulus of a certain market will bring under the plough, the low rate of Continental labour, and the absence of all public burdens on the land. But a more competent knowledge of the position of those German states whose competition is most generally dreaded would entirely remove those fears, by showing the utter groundlessness of some of them, and the immensely more than counterbalancing advantages which the British cultivator possesses in regard to climate and command of labour, the first of which his Continental competitor can never, and the second not probably before the lapse of centuries, hope to equal, not to touch (at present) on his incalculable superiority in agricultural implements and breeds of farm stock. The first supposed ground for alarm, viz., the great grain surplus grown on the Continent, may be got rid of by a single sentence—we have no stock. For three successive years droughts in some parts and tropical rains in other, causing the most devastating inundations, have literally swept away the hopes of the farmer before his eyes. This has especially been the case in Upper Silesia, where even recently tremendous rains have damaged the winter and limited the sowing of spring grain, and Poland, whence large supplies of the finest wheat used to be shipped at Dantisc, Elbing, and other Prussian ports, in consequence of which the inhabitants of those once fruitful, but, for years to come, greatly deteriorated districts, so far from having anything to spare, have had a scanty supply for themselves. Russia, too, has suffered from more than one bad harvest, and such was last year the famished state of some of her provinces, that it was esteemed a Providential interference that the almost unprecedented circumstances of the Baltic remaining open till January permitted the uninterrupted transport of grain to the starving population of Livonia and Esthonia. Stores of grain, therefore, do not now exist here, with which to inundate the English market; neither is there a prospect of any

redundance from the ensuing harvest, since the inundated banks of the Vistula and Elbe will produce comparatively little, while the high price of grain last autumn naturally restricted the sowing to what was considered unavoidably requisite. Furthermore, the yearly increasing population of these countries calling here as elsewhere for increase of food, there is little likelihood that the land now under cultivation can produce, even in favourable seasons, so large a surplus as to make an essential impression on English prices, setting aside the self-evident consideration that the German corn-grower hopes, and assuredly will strive to obtain, by a rise in his price, a share of that profit which English importation, under the sliding scale, has hitherto poured into the pockets of the corn-merchants only, without benefiting either the English consumer or farmer; for a short crop being generally an ill-saved one, the consequent low average and high duty, though they grind the face of the poor buyer, do not enrich the English grower, who cannot obtain for his ill-conditioned corn more than it is worth, however large the price given to the importer of sound foreign corn."

Then the repetition of five and six grain crops, followed by a four or five years' rest in half-and-half pasture, being the common German rotation, is of itself sufficient to calm the alarm of the most sensitive agriculturists. Again the land in Germany is all under culture of some kind or other, and the character of the people is such that they are not easily induced to become improvers.

RURAL ECONOMY.

We are convinced that one of the consequences of an earnest, business-like attention to the details of farming, which will result from the abandonment of the delusions of "protection" will be, the more economical feeding of our stock. Can any one have seen cattle turned into abundant pasture without remarking what a large proportion they soil, waste, and destroy unprofitably?

We know from our own experiments that by keeping cattle in the houses and sheds, and cutting grass for soiling them, they can be kept for less than half the cost they occasion when turned out. By having a paddock into which they can be turned a few hours daily, all the advantage of exercise is attained, and a greatly increased quantity of manure during the time they remain in the stalls. The following is another mode recommended to economise food:

"A HINT FOR DAIRY FARMERS.—Last week we took an opportunity of visiting a farm occupied by Mr. Dumbrell, who has adopted the system of tethering his cows upon a somewhat new and profitable system. The land is of a light and shaly soil, and through the judicious management of the tenant, by the economical use of liquid manure, and by judicious depasturing, he has brought the land into a high state of cultivation. The Alpha and the Omega of his system is, perhaps, that of root culture, which has enabled him to keep a much greater number of cows upon the land to the acreage than is to be met with in the neighbourhood. The great difficulty which most dairy farmers meet with in keeping cows profitably during the two months preceding the hay harvest has been overcome by Mr. Dumbrell, who by tethering the cows is enabled to make the meadows, of comparatively smaller dimensions than is customary, yield food in sufficient abundance for his dairy. The usual way of tethering is to allow a cow the range of a circle to the extent of the chain; and when it has eaten down its food within its area, it is removed to another spot. Instead of doing this, Mr. Dumbrell tethers his cow with a chain of 12 to 15 feet, and begins at the side of the field; and when it has consumed the grass within its reach, the pin is removed onwards a foot or a foot and a half; the cow then eats this quantity, and is again allowed another bite of the same extent. This plan prevents the animal from treading on the food which it consumes while quite fresh, and the chain assists in distributing the droppings. The field is thus fed over evenly, and all is consumed and none trodden upon. Mr. Dumbrell professes to realise good profits from his system, and with a degree of liberality highly creditable to his character, reserves no information from his visitors."—*Surrey Standard*.

TENURES AND TENANT RIGHTS.

It is surprising how rapidly agricultural opinion is forming definite and sound conclusions on these topics; and conclusions which are directly opposed to all the prejudices and semi-feudal notions of the landowners.

We scarcely take up an agricultural paper without meeting some such notices as the following:

"TENANT RIGHT.—NORTH AND SOUTH WILTS FARMERS' CLUB.—At the first meeting of this Tenant Farmers' Club held in August last, the subject of 'tenant right' was brought under discussion, and so fully persuaded were the members of establishing the principle for the mutual advantage of landlord and tenant by improved covenants, it was resolved: 'That a committee be formed, to frame a model lease.'

Again, at Monmouth, Mr. George, apparently a landowner, seems to hesitate about granting 21 years' leases, the shortest term a farmer ought to accept, but says:

"My opinion is, that any lease for a less term than ten years is a disadvantage to a tenant, as many landlords who grant leases, say seven years, consider they have a moral right to make a fresh bargain at the expiration of the term; and if the farmer has ventured to invest his capital in the improvement of the land, he will run the risk of paying in interest upon such capital in the shape of increased rent; and probably the same landlords would not on any account give a yearly tenant notice to quit, unless they had good reasons, such as great arrears of rent, or negligent farming."

The truth is, that a seven or even a ten years' lease is nothing but a trap for farmers; they may get their land into good condition in that time, but it will be for

the landlords' benefit, not their own. Every man who means to farm well ought to require a 21 years' lease. There are many cases in which it would be reasonable on the part of the landlord to stipulate for an agreed advance of rent at the end of each period of seven years; and if farmers would accede to some such plan, we think many landowners would abandon their objections to long leases.

Mr. George made the following remarks on the prudence of not taking too much land, which the farmer of every grade would do well to bear in mind:

"Before I conclude, allow me to call your attention to a rock upon which many an industrious farmer has been wrecked, and just at the time that he has considered himself in smooth water. I mean the too great eagerness to get into a larger farm. I would caution every farmer, before he much increases his farm, to calculate his increased liabilities, and clearly ascertain that he will provide for such increase, not only in fair weather but in foul. Depend upon it that a farmer, in a moderate-sized farm, with a few pounds at his banker's to meet his half-year's rent, is much better off than he would be in a larger farm with all his capital invested in his stock. In the former case it is true he has small interest, but it is certain: in the latter case, he may probably be compelled to sell, just at the time that he ought to hold; and these forced sales, by depressing the markets, not only injure the farmer himself, but his brother agriculturists."

The following account of tenant-right in Madeira shows that everywhere secure tenure is the indispensable preliminary to high cultivation:

"TENANT RIGHT.—In Madeira there is very little change respecting tenants, and every inducement is given for encouraging the tenant, which is not in vain, as generally the island may be said to be tilled on the most approved plan for producing the greatest quantity. In every district there are valuers appointed, who, in case of removal, value what the incoming tenant has to pay, and they proceed on a twofold plan. If the landlord takes possession, then the valuers give the outgoing tenant what they consider the full value for all improvements in buildings and land; but should the tenant be followed by another tenant, then two-thirds only of the value is paid by the incoming tenant. Then, again, while the tenant is allowed to make all improvement he pleases, yet it guards the landlord by not allowing him to give up the land without providing another tenant; and the outgoing tenant is obliged to find a third, unless the landlord accepts either of the two first; but if he refuses them he is bound to accept the third, otherwise a tenant might lay out a very great sum in building and other improvements (as he might call them), and make his landlord pay the full value; this plan is well adapted to protect both landlord and tenant."

MONOPOLIST EVIDENCE FOR FREE TRADE.

The Duke of Buckingham, like his fellow monopolist, the Marquis of Salisbury, is giving the best practical contradiction to his own votes and the speeches of his faction in the House of Lords. Land must go out of cultivation, say the Parliamentary monopolists. Farmers must be ruined, belloweth Bentinck of the stable mind. There will be no work for the agricultural labourer, whineeth the Duke of Richmond; and all these dire forebodings are to be realised on the passing of the Government measure.

Now we have always said that the political monopolists have no faith in their own nostrum. Their marked characteristic is that of political profligacy; for what can be more base than to delude the more ignorant farmers with these fabulous tales of prospective injury? However, so far as the Duke of Buckingham is concerned, we are content to set his acts against his votes and his speeches, and to ask the farmers whether they believe in the duke's sincerity. Here is the contradiction of his speeches by his own act.

"The Duke of Buckingham is causing land to be brought into tillage on his Wotton estate. Twenty acres of rush beds, wood, in the parish of Brill, is now being cleared by his grace's orders, and is forthwith to be laid to two neighbouring farms, the tenants of which are, we understand, to pay the same rent for it as they do for the other land in their occupation, and are to 'grab it' at their own expense. The timber is chiefly oak, and a great portion of it very fine, and the underwood is all cut down. The duke has had from 50 to 60 men at work in felling and barking."—*Bucks Gazette*.

THE FREE TRADE CURRENT.

Though farmers, and amphibious squires in the fens, may be used, or stimulated to cause the rejection of liberal noblemen as conservators of the fens, on account of their votes on the Corn Law Bill, the quiet undercurrent of agricultural opinion, when undisturbed by the presence of monopolist lords or squires, is setting strongly and steadily towards Free Trade. Even those who still doubt desire a settlement, an immediate settlement, of the question, and they know that whilst a remnant of "restriction" exists there can be no settlement. Thus we find that at the South West Middlesex Agricultural Society, which was a quiet gathering of farmers, such sentiments were more than once expressed. For instance, Mr. May, alluding to the Metropolitan Sewerage Manure Company, whose Secretary had explained the objects and plan of the society, said:

"If they should be enabled to accomplish what they in their prospectus set forth, but of which he professed he had

his doubts, then he thought he might with justice say that they would be far greater friends to the agriculturist than their pretended friend Sir Robert; and although he much disapproved of the present plan, still he thought the time had arrived when it was necessary that a settlement should take place, and that agriculturists would then know the worst, for that would be far preferable to the doubt and uncertainty that had lately prevailed; for now every one knew what they had to expect: formerly they had only to make up their minds to meet the difficulty in the best manner they could. Although he had expressed a doubt of the practicability of the plan proposed by Mr. Moore, it should be borne in mind that the agriculturist had nothing to lose by its failure; but, on the contrary, if it succeeded, he felt no hesitation in saying the agriculturist would be glad to become their customer, and that led him to repeat that the Metropolitan Sewerage Company would indeed be the true friend of the agriculturist if they succeeded."

And we may suggest to Mr. May that the same line of argument might be made more widely applicable to the condition of the farmers.

Mr. Moore, the company's secretary, truly said that the farmers are not the parties who are backward to improve. But they cannot improve, with safety to themselves and their families, as yearly tenants. He said:

"Even the subject to which he solicited their attention, to many appeared a strange one; and notwithstanding the too often expressed opinion of gentlemen in the metropolis, 'that the farmers were so bigoted to their old modes of management, they could not be induced to alter their system, however advantageous it would be to their interest,' he was happy to be able to state, that he had not come in contact with a single farmer in the country but was desirous of embracing every real improvement, and all of them were unanimous in their desire to obtain the liquid manure on the terms proposed by the company; and he had frequently to stand up in defence of the agriculturists in that respect; but he had to admit that they manifested a degree of caution in receiving merely theoretical projects introduced by persons having a smattering of chemical science without agricultural experience. The occupiers of land in that neighbourhood had many advantages, in climate, soil, manure, and market for their produce; the application of the liquid manure would be a very great addition to those advantages, and would enable them to sustain their position."

SIGNS OF AN ELECTION.

When certain birds or beasts fly or lie in particular ways, the observant naturalist predicts certain changes in the weather or peculiarities of seasons. Now geese, especially wild geese, are supposed by their flight and acts to indicate coming meteorological events. So do the deeds of some members of Parliament—we would not be supposed for a moment to liken any of these personages to geese—tell pretty distinctly when an election may be expected.

Perhaps a reader here and there may remember that a certain loquacious Squire Finch has been returned for some midland county in the room of a member who, on recovering his reason, found himself pledged chin-deep to monopoly, and consequently, obliged to give up his seat. Well, Squire Finch finds Parliament so much to his taste, that he wants to be elected again; and accordingly he sensibly enough seeks to propitiate the farmers. Behold the mode of propitiation:

"Mr. Finch, M.P., has informed his tenantry in Rutlandshire that he shall not in future preserve the game on his estates, and that they have his permission to shoot on their respective farms."

This is a move in the right direction, and one which will naturally incline the Rutland farmers to look with favour on Mr. Finch at the next election. But let them carry their recollection a little further back, and they will find that they are indebted to the Free Traders and the leaders of the League for the exposure of Game Law evils which the Squire Finches of the day would have fostered and concealed. This Game Law question is one of such vital importance to the farmers that we should strongly recommend them never to vote for any candidate who preserves or reserves game. Whatever else he may be, he is not a farmer's friend.

EARLY WHEAT.—On Thursday there were exhibited in the Exchange News-rooms specimens of wheat in full ear, from the farm of Harold Littledale, Esq., at Egremont. The stalks were full four feet high; the heads were strong and healthy. There is one peculiarity about this crop; the seed came last year from Australia, was the crop of 1844, and was taken from the ship's side to the three acre field, where it was sown in December. The wheat sown in October from the best English seed, in an adjoining field, though looking well, is not yet in ear. If a general conclusion may be drawn from this experiment, it is desirable to import seed from southern into northern climates; and it demonstrates the erroneousness of the prevalent opinion respecting the unfitness of seed intensely dried, while it shows, at the same time, the capacity of Australia as a wheat-producing country. In general, it is considered sufficient for the farmers' prospects if wheat gets into ear by the 20th of June, and we were about to take for granted that this early specimen was owing to the seed being Australian, when we learned that a whole field, from English seed, at the farm of R. E. Harvey, Esq., at Walton, was also in ear on Thursday. Still, as the Australian seed has anticipated the English seed on Mr. Littledale's farm, the inference is inevitable that Australian wheat is an early harvest under like circumstances. Mr. Harvey's mode of cultivation ought to be noted, for early harvests would be, generally, a blessing in this climate.—*Liverpool Journal*.

The Mint has resolved upon the issue of a new small silver coinage, namely, three penny pieces.

LORD MOUNT-EDGCUMBE AND LORD STANLEY.

My Lord,—Had the state of my health rendered it possible for me to attend the House of Lords, I should certainly have attempted there to have defended the vote which, by proxy, I have given in favour of the Government Corn Bill, and I cannot conceive that the motives which would have justified me in so doing will not equally justify the method I now adopt for making known my opinions. I can think of no more convenient form for the purpose than that of a letter to you, who have consented to lead that party with which it is now my misfortune, for the first time, to differ.

Although admitting that I still think much danger attends the great experiment which Ministers are attempting, and that my mind is not yet satisfied of the necessity of its introduction in a manner so destructive of confidence between the different classes in the commonwealth, I never yet gave any vote with more thorough confidence that it was in entire accordance with my duty.

It will be asked, What I vote for so important a measure of which you do not entirely approve? But, in return, let me ask, whether, in the existing complicated state of society, an isolated view can, or ought to, be taken of any subject; whether with it should not be taken into consideration concurrent circumstances from which it is impossible to separate it; and whether it is not a legislator's duty then to adopt that course which, after such a general view, his judgment and his conscience indicate? My principle is to do what is most expedient, looking to the future, for the general good, and to that I will be consistent; and let those who exclaim against expediency say upon what other grounds taxing food can be defended, in a country heavily taxed to maintain millions of paupers.

Were it possible to conceive that protection could for any number of years be continued, or that any Government could be found capable of carrying on the affairs of the State who would consent to maintain it, I might hesitate; but as my mind cannot entertain the smallest doubt upon either point, it is unable to conceive that any good could arise from the rejection of the measure, while the evils which must be produced by such a step are manifest and manifold. Let us consider what would be its immediate results.

First, Government might not dissolve. The consequences, then, would only be a miserable delay, a prolongation of that state of uncertainty which I believe no one denies that all trades and all classes are now suffering from, and a renewal of hatred-stirring excitement and clamour. Tell me not it is cowardice to listen to such clamour. I would never advocate attention to any such unsupported in Parliament; but to turn a deaf ear to one so violent and mischievous, supported by a majority of the Commons, and at least 19 out of 20 of the men who, by their talents and acquirements, have raised themselves one jot above their fellows, I hold not to be courage, but (I can use no milder term) recklessness folly.

Secondly, Ministers may dissolve, and possibly a majority in favour of this measure may be returned. But here I must observe, that I hold that such an appeal, upon any specific point, to the constituency is an act to be avoided as most democratic in principle. It is evidently the desire of many of the constituent body to become legislators themselves, instead of the electors of legislators; and any call upon them to send men not to consult, but merely to enforce an already-formed determination, can but sanction and encourage that desire. Too much care, on the contrary, cannot be taken to maintain the independence, so much threatened, of the members of Parliament. But to return. Suppose a majority in favour of the measure be elected, what will then be gained to compensate for the evils which must arise from the bitterest class-contest that was ever yet inflicted upon this country, and the putting into action that threatened system of employing manufacturing capital to overbear, by bagot votes, the local interest in the counties?

Thirdly, suppose that a small majority against, which is all, I imagine, that the most sanguine could expect, were returned—can it be believed that if, upon such principles, a Government could be formed, it could maintain itself against an opposition so formidable in numbers, yet infinitely more formidable in talent, ranged against them? and, if the attempt were made and failed, what then would be the consequences? I think the country would, from their recent lesson, have little desire of another dissolution; and that majority would be placed in the alternative of arresting all Government, or of passing the measure they were actually, in that case, sent as delegates to resist—they being the men, too, who had most violently denounced the change of opinions in others. I am unable to foresee any other possible contingencies, or aught but mischief to flow from either of these.

But it has been said, that it is derogatory to the honour of the Lords to yield their known opinion to that of the other powers of the State. Their right to maintain it, they, I trust, will never yield; but it is not for those who were parties to the Reform Bill to blame a cautious exercise of that right. They were implored to consider what would be the effect of removing that unseen influence, evidently granted for the purpose of guarding against the danger of collisions. I wish not here to discuss, or give an opinion as to the propriety of the resistance to that appeal; but it is clear that since then that danger has been admitted and acknowledged. The evil apprehended has not yet occurred—but what has, on more than one occasion, protected us from it? What alone but the beneficent influence of the Duke of Wellington, controlling, by his wisdom and character, the feelings of the large party outraged by that measure, and still more by the means employed to pass it; and manifold and eminent as have been the services rendered to the State by the noble duke, for none ought the friends of the Constitution to feel more deeply grateful than for his conduct and success upon those occasions.

But is the danger over? Would that I could think so! On the contrary, it is but too probable that many years may not pass before a demagogue-elected Parliament may send up measures which it will be our imperious duty not only to oppose, but steadfastly, permanently to resist. In such a contest I am sure you, my lord, would take a prominent and leading part, and I think that I should not be found shrinking from the performance, to the utmost of my power, of mine, however humble; I will, however, not join in any such struggle, unless I know that there are competent statesmen ready to carry on the Government on the principles we combat for, or in which we can be supposed to engage, unaided by personal, still less pecuniary considerations. No man on earth can be deemed less likely to be influenced by base motives than British peers. Yet he is a bold man, he who he may, who will assert that he is aware of each hidden motive that may act upon his judgment; and

he exacts much, who requires the public to believe him totally free from that weakness of human nature upon the supposed general existence of which is founded the law, that no man shall be a judge in his own case. Our consciences must not only be clear, but our character and motives must be exposed to no imputations that cannot more decidedly be met; let those who charge us with timidity, say what we have to dread but injury to the state—and is that a fear of which any man need be ashamed?

My conviction is, that, yielding this point, we shall, by confirming general confidence in our honour and disinterested patriotism, strengthen the grounds upon which alone our power rests.

Another important question still remains.—This measure passed, is the political horizon clear? Although the consequences of the conduct adopted by the ultra-Protestant party, after the Catholic Relief Bill, were such as emphatically to demonstrate that it is one which every man who pretends to be a friend to the constitution, or an enemy to change, ought most carefully to avoid, yet it is said it will be followed. Yes, undeniable though it be, that it is the duty of a party not strong enough to form a Government itself, to support, or at least not furtively to thwart, the one least likely to act in opposition to the principles they themselves avow.

Danger may be apprehended from a Minister on whose firmness and consistency reliance cannot be placed, but evil is certain to flow from a Government so weak that it must pander to extreme parties for existence; and deep is the responsibility of those who render it impossible for any to be carried on except by such means.

'Tis hard to think that men of indisputably high character will let any sense of wrong from individuals, or desire for what they consider retributive justice, blind them to such considerations; fortunately, impossible to believe that you, my lord, would encourage them in such a course. Their opposition to Ministers who have given them such grounds for offence may be in accordance with justice and consistency. Justice is to be admired, but not political justice so blind that, in aiming at individuals, it wounds the State. Inconsistency is to be deprecated, but let all who fear violent changes dread and defend us from the honest indignation of reckless consistency!

I have the honour to be, with unfeigned respect for your talents and character,

Your Lordship's most faithful servant,
MOUNT-EDGCUMBE.

Bath, June 8.

P.S. Since the above was in print, I have heard of the meeting at Lord John Russell's, and seen the report of Lord George Bentinck's speech. Not doubting, that from a Government they did not wish to thwart, the Irish measure would have been accepted by both, I am only confirmed in my belief that the suggestions I have ventured to make are well worthy of attention, come from what source they may. If Lord George Bentinck intends to take office with Lord John Russell, or, with his cheerers, to form a fellow-joint to Mr. O'Connell's in his lordship's tail—although nothing, in my opinion, can justify the violence of his language—his conduct may be in accordance with his public duty. The formation of a Government by his party alone is held, by all I have ever met with, as a chimera only calculated to raise a smile. The talent to vituperate and destroy a minister does not prove the ability to be one; and the determination to impede all government—aid none, though the expression of it may excite party cheers, will not gain the nation's confidence. The opinion that it is for the public good that the Queen should have an efficient Government is not entertained by the Duke of Wellington alone.

When the Irish Church is prostrate, social changes now too violent to be more than vaguely hinted at, embodied in Ministerial measures, and another phalanx of ultra-Liberals corralled to enforce them, consistency may even by him be deemed a virtue that may be pushed too far. My consolation under such national misfortunes will be, that I have not permitted the fear of being deemed presumptuous to prevent me from making this feeble effort to awaken men's minds to consequences, the probability of which none, I think, whose judgment anger does not blind can dispute or deny.

CANADA AND THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS.

The following is a copy of the address to her Majesty from the Legislative Assembly of Canada, respecting the admission of foreign corn into the British markets, which was so frequently alluded to in the last debate upon the subject:

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"Most Gracious Sovereign,

"We, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Canada in Parliament assembled, respectfully beg leave to address your Majesty on a subject of the highest importance to the inhabitants of this province.

"We assure your Majesty, that while we have seen with unmingled satisfaction the happiness and prosperity of the people of this colony advancing in steady and successful progression under that moderate system of protection of her staple productions, grain, and timber, which your Majesty and your Imperial Parliament have hitherto graciously secured to them, we feel that we should be wanting in our duty, as well to your Majesty as to our constituents, did we fail earnestly to represent to your Majesty that we view with serious apprehension and alarm, as detrimental to the best interests of this colony, the adoption of the proposed principle of commercial intercourse now under the consideration of the Imperial Parliament.

"We cannot but fear that the abandonment of this protective principle, the very basis of the colonial commercial system, is not only calculated materially to retard the agricultural improvement of the country, and check its hitherto rising prosperity, but seriously to impair our ability to purchase the manufactured goods of Great Britain; a result alike prejudicial to this colony and the parent state.

"We feel truly grateful to your Majesty for enabling us, by guaranteeing the payment of 1,500,000*l.*, to undertake many valuable public improvements, which are now approaching to completion, and which under the existing laws would ultimately prove productive. But should the duties on foreign and colonial produce entering the United Kingdom be assimilated, as at present proposed by your Majesty's Imperial Government, it is much to be apprehended that the agriculturists of this province will be deprived of a fair and remunerative price for their surplus produce; and that, consequently, the increase of our staple products, which was reasonably anticipated, will be checked to such an extent as materially to lessen the prospect of our canals and other

public works proving as productive as we had reason to expect.

"We respectfully represent to your Majesty, that, situated as Canada is, and with a climate so severe as to leave barely one-half of the year open for intercourse by the St. Lawrence with the mother country, the cost of transporting her products to market is much greater than is paid by the inhabitants of the United States; and that without a measure of protection, or some equivalent advantage, we cannot successfully compete with that country.

"It therefore becomes our duty, as faithful subjects of your Majesty, to point out what we sincerely believe must be the result of measures which have for their object the repeal of the laws affording protection to the Canadian export trade. First, it will discourage those at present engaged in agricultural pursuits from extending their operations; secondly, it will prevent the influx of respectable emigrants from the mother country, who have for many years past settled in large numbers on the waste lands of the province, and who, by their industry and capital, have materially contributed to that rapid advancement of the country which we have before noticed; and, lastly, it is much to be feared that, should the inhabitants of Canada, from the withdrawal of all protection to their staple products, find that they cannot successfully compete with their neighbours of the United States in the only market open to them, they will naturally and of necessity begin to doubt whether remaining a portion of the British empire will be of that paramount advantage which they have hitherto found it to be. These, we humbly submit, are considerations of grave importance both to your Majesty and the people of this province; and we trust we need not assure your Majesty that any changes which would tend in the remotest degree to weaken the ties that have for so many years, and under trying circumstances, bound the people of Canada to that land which they are proud to call their mother country, would be viewed as the greatest misfortune which could befall them.

"We would further remind your Majesty that while, in compliance with the recommendation of the Imperial Government, we have passed a law repealing all duty on American produce coming through our country for exportation, no similar advantage is accorded by the American Government to the people of this province, but that duties, amounting in most cases to prohibition, are rigorously maintained by that Government on every article of ours entering within their ports. The disadvantage we must labour under in this respect is so apparent that we respectfully request your Majesty will be pleased to cause the necessary steps to be taken for opening a negotiation with the Government of the United States for the admission of our products into their ports on the same terms that theirs are admitted into those of Great Britain and this colony.

"We also humbly request that your Majesty will favourably consider the justice of admitting the products of this province generally into the imperial ports free of duty, as the expense of transportation is in itself all the protection which our fellow-subjects in the United Kingdom can reasonably expect as respects the imports from a colony situated at such a distance from the mother country, and with ports closed to commerce for so large a portion of the year. And we the more confidently appeal to your Majesty's justice upon this point as the relief we seek in this particular is in strict accordance with the very principles upon which the charges that we deprecate are based, as well as to the assurance received through your Majesty's Secretary of State, that it is the desire of your Majesty's Government that the trade of Canada should in all respects approach as nearly to perfect freedom as the wishes of the inhabitants and the exigencies of the public revenue may permit.

"While the subject that we have thus brought under the notice of your Majesty embraces other points requiring the gravest deliberation, and calling for the most favourable consideration on the part of the imperial authorities, your Majesty's faithful Commons have felt it to be their duty to your Majesty, to the Imperial Parliament and the mother country, and to their own constituents, to lose no time in at once approaching your Majesty with the declaration of their views upon that part of it embraced in their present address, and to which, renewing their assurance of devoted attachment to your Majesty's person and Government, they earnestly entreat your Majesty's most gracious and favourable consideration.

"Attested,

"W. B. LINDSAY, Clerk of Assembly.

"Legislative Assembly, Tuesday, May 12, 1846."

The following is Mr. Gladstone's reply:

"Downing-street, June 3.

"My Lord,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's despatch, No. 54, of the 13th of May, transmitting to me, for presentation to her Majesty, an address which has been voted by her Majesty's loyal subjects the Commons of Canada. In this address it is set forth that the Assembly of Canada regard the adoption of the principle of commercial intercourse now under the consideration of the Imperial Parliament with serious apprehension and alarm, and various grounds are stated for entertaining such impressions. Her Majesty has been pleased to receive this address with the fullest confidence in the loyalty and intelligence of her faithful Commons of Canada; but it is with sincere concern that her Majesty has learned the existence, in such a quarter, of anticipations of such a character.

"I have it in command from her Majesty to address to your lordship the following observations in regard to the matter of the address, which have been submitted by her Majesty's advisers for her gracious approval, and to which she has been pleased to give her sanction.

"Her Majesty's Government conceive that the protection principle cannot with justice be described as the universal basis, either of the general connection between the United Kingdom and its colonies, or even of their commercial connection. There is a large and important group of the colonies of this country, having a very extended commerce, and one of a peculiarly British character, in relation to which the protective system has at no time exercised a powerful influence, and in relation to which at present it has little more than a nominal existence. I speak of the Australian colonies. And it cannot fail to be remarked that while these are the most distant, and therefore, according to the supposition of many, the most in need of commercial preference, they have also made the most rapid progress, and have thus most effectually belied that necessity. It is true, indeed, that a part of their material prosperity may be ascribable to the supply of penal labour; but this is far from affording an explanation of the case, since perhaps the most remarkable instances of vigorous and rapid growth among the Australian possessions of her Majesty have been instances in which penal labour has been altogether unknown. The energy of the colonists has, without doubt, under Divine Provi-

dence, been the main cause of their singular advancement; stimulated, but not overborne, by distance, and aided, not repressed, by the enjoyment of commercial freedom. The same energies, with less disadvantage of distance to contend against, will, it may be confidently predicted, have a similar effect in developing the resources of British North America, and not with less, but rather with the more signal success when capital, industry, and skill shall be left to take their own spontaneous direction, and to turn to account, as individual prudence shall suggest, the abundant materials and instruments of wealth which the bounty of heaven has bestowed.

"Her Majesty's Government have been glad to find that the Assembly has viewed with an unmingled satisfaction the prosperity of Canada under the moderate system of protection which has hitherto prevailed; but the Assembly cannot fail to recollect that all the progressive relaxations of that system, which for a series of years past have been introduced into the law, have been met and resisted by predictions of the ruin that was honestly but erroneously conceived would follow them, and that those predictions have with a remarkable uniformity been disappointed. Experience cannot but suggest that a similar insecurity attaches to the renewal of the same expectations founded on the same arguments.

"It is not for the sake of controversial or purely argumentative advantage that her Majesty's Government refer to former apprehensions, and to the manner in which they have been dissipated by the event. A retrospect of this kind is calculated to throw clear and abundant light upon the real merits of the question. The fears which are now entertained have reference to the circumstance that it is proposed to remove all differential duty between Canadian and foreign corn. Is it, then, to be shown that the Canadian corn trade has prospered heretofore in proportion to the amount of such differential duty? Far otherwise. The law of 1828 diminished the difference in favour of Canada; the law of 1842 further and greatly diminished the difference in favour of Canada; the law of 1843, which reduced the duty on Canadian wheat to 1s. per quarter, still left a much smaller difference in its favour, as against foreign wheat, than existed under either of the former Corn Laws; and yet the corn trade of Canada has grown and prospered; and its extension has, doubtless, contributed in no small degree to the happiness and prosperity of the people of the colony, which the Assembly, sharing in the unmingled satisfaction of her Majesty and the British Parliament, has seen advancing in steady and successful progression. But this extension has taken place, not under protection secured from change, nor under protection fortified by successive increments, but contemporaneously with a series of changes involving its great diminution.

"It appears to be the impression of the Assembly that some great revolution of prices is likely to occur, as the consequence of the pending changes in the law, which will deprive the Canadian farmer of all hope of remuneration for his surplus produce. But the Canadian farmer is advancing from year to year in capital and in science; and, to say nothing of the great advantages he cannot fail to derive from improved communications, it would surely be rash to assert, nor probably do the Assembly in their address intend to imply, that his industry must be paralysed unless he shall continue to receive the precise amount of average payment for his grain that he has hitherto received for it. Doubtless the alarm which has been excited has reference to the idea of some sudden, great, and permanent reduction of price, to follow the repeal of the British Corn Law. Without pretending to estimate too nicely the momentary or the occasional effects of that measure, her Majesty's Government cannot but admit that they could better appreciate at least certain presumptive, though far from demonstrative, grounds for the alarm of the Canadian agriculturist in regard to the future fortunes of the colony if they shared in such an anticipation. To some reduction of average and usual price, from the removal of artificial restraints, they are disposed to look forward, but when they consider the steady and rapid growth of population in the corn-producing countries of the globe, they cannot but be persuaded that it would be unwise, whether in the friends or the opponents of commercial relaxation, to recommend or dissuade it on the ground of any great revolution in permanent prices to be operated by it; and their expectations of advantage, sanguine as these anticipations are, have reference in a greater degree to the increased steadiness of the market, and to the vigour which general trade will derive from the removal of restraints upon the exchange of commodities, and agriculture, from the cessation of all artificial influence disturbing the balance of its several pursuits, and from the wholesome stimulus that competition, which in farming pursuits can scarcely become overwrought, rarely fails to impart to industry.

"I am unwilling to repeat at length the arguments which I have addressed to your lordship in my despatch, No. 66, of the 18th of May, with respect to the other great subject of the alarm of the Assembly—namely, the trade in timber. When, however, we revert to the year 1812, it cannot but be acknowledged that this was the case of a trade peculiarly artificial as it stood under the former law. The reduction, though graduated, was decisive; perhaps in no case has it been more so; and certainly in no case have more uniform, confident, or sincere prophecies of ruin been hazarded by the opponents of the change. The result is, that the export of timber from British North America to this country attained during the last year to a height which it had never reached under the more protective law. I do not mean that the withdrawal of protection was either the exclusive, or even the principal direct cause of this prosperity; although there cannot be a doubt that many trades have to refer their vigour to the fact, that the absence of artificial support has in their case given free operation to the stimulus necessary for the development of natural and permanent resources. Increased demand in the United Kingdom has without doubt been the main and the immediate cause of the increased export of wood from British North America; but it is the conviction of her Majesty's Government that such increased demand was itself referable in no small degree to the relaxations of our commercial law; and therefore, in its due proportion, the growth of the timber trade is truly and justly, even if circuitously, to be ascribed to that very diminution of protection from which its ruin had been anticipated. We are now to look forward with hope to a further increase of the consuming power of this country; a further encouragement to the use of timber as compared with competing articles capable of being applied to the same purposes; a further encouragement to the use of Canadian timber, in combination with the wood of the Baltic, for those objects in regard to which the consumption of the one directly stimulates the consumption of the other. Is it too much to hope that causes so similar may produce like effects; and that the caution with which Parliament has proceeded in the gradual

reduction of the timber duties to a moderate standard may be again rewarded by the satisfaction with which it will witness a further growth in the wood trade of Canada?

"Her Majesty's Government therefore cannot, on the part of the Imperial Exchequer, share in the fear that increased freedom of trade will have the effect of crippling the revenues of those important public works which are designed to facilitate the transit of the produce of Canada by the St. Lawrence to the sea. They can by no means subscribe to the opinion, that the comparative dearthness of this route is an established fact; and they likewise feel that if they did subscribe to that opinion, although it might corroborate the propriety of the course they have pursued in suggesting to Parliament the interposition of an interval before entire freedom shall be given to the corn trade, it could do no more; it could not induce them to ask, nor Parliament to grant, nor, they are certain, could it induce the people of Canada to desire, that the market of their farm produce should be maintained by means of a perpetual tax upon the people of England. In referring to the unchecked competition which, so far as British law is concerned, will be established between colonial and foreign corn by the repeal of the Corn Law, it perhaps may not have occurred to the Assembly that British law alone cannot suffice to establish this competition. The price which the foreign and colonial exporters of corn respectively will obtain for their grain in Great Britain must always be materially affected by the comparative degrees of facility which may be afforded in the country of the one and of the other for the introduction of those British goods by which payment for the corn must substantially be made. British goods are admitted into Canada at very low, into the American Union at very high, import duties. The effect of this is not merely to give to the British exporter a better position in the Canadian market than in that of the United States, but to enable him to give a better price for the commodity he purchases in return, and therefore to give to the corn trade of Canada a corresponding advantage, so long as the present tariffs continue, over that of the United States.

"With respect to that portion of the address which prays her Majesty to invite the Government of the United States to establish an equality of trade between the dominions of the republic, and the British North American colonies, I am commanded to instruct your lordship to assure the Assembly that her Majesty will readily cause directions to be given to her Minister at Washington to avail himself of the earliest suitable opportunity to press this important subject on the notice of that Government, and that it will afford her Majesty the most sincere satisfaction if any communication which may hereafter be held for this purpose shall have the effect which is desired by her faithful Commons of Canada.

"Her Majesty's Government have, as may be known to the Assembly, on several occasions endeavoured to make arrangements with foreign powers for the mutual relaxation of tariffs; and similar attempts have taken place among foreign powers, one with the other, but almost uniformly with ill success. Whatever arguments may be used to show the great increase of benefit that would accrue on both sides if states could have been induced to act simultaneously for this purpose, experience has sufficiently shown the difficulty of effecting those combined operations upon matters which are properly of domestic concern, and has suggested the wisdom of securing the incomplete advantage which depends upon our own free agency alone, rather than of foregoing it, in the vain endeavour to realise benefits larger indeed, but not within our reach. Should the Government of the United States continue to maintain the scale of import duties now in force upon its frontier, her Majesty's Government will view with regret a policy injurious to Canada; but they will reflect with satisfaction on the prevalence of laws more favourable to commerce on the Canadian side, and will anticipate from those laws both a direct benefit to the people and trade of the province, and the further advantage which a consistent example given by this country and by its colonies will, as they believe, not fail to realise in disposing foreign states towards the removal of restrictions on trade.

"With respect to that part of the address which relates to the duty of 1s. per quarter, which it is proposed to charge on all wheat imported into England after the repeal of the Corn Law, I am to refer your lordship to my despatch, No. 59, of the 18th April, on the same subject. From the purport of that despatch it would of course be even more difficult to recede at a period when the bill introduced into the House of Commons by the advisers of the Crown has passed through all its stages in that house, and has been affirmed, as to its principle, on the second reading by the House of Lords.

"It is necessary for me here to offer an explanation with regard to an expression of mine, which appears to have given rise to misapprehension. I have stated to your lordship, in a previous despatch, that her Majesty's Government desire that the trade of Canada should, in all respects, approach as near to perfect freedom as the dispositions of its inhabitants and the exigencies of the public revenue there may permit; and from this it is inferred, that the amount of 1s. per quarter, which has been adopted for a long period in this country as the standard of a nominal duty upon corn, ought to be removed. But the language which I employed had reference to the trade of Canada as effected by laws applicable in her own markets and on her own waters. Indeed, if the allusion had been to a rigid and perfect equality of trade in the ports and markets of this country, its first and most important bearing would, I apprehend, have been, not upon the nominal duty of 1s., which it is proposed to retain upon colonial in common with foreign corn, but rather upon the very considerable duties of 15s. and 18s. respectively, which, as against nominal duties of 1s. and 2s. on Canadian timber and deals, it is proposed to continue to charge on the corresponding foreign articles.

"Her Majesty's Government, in the discharge of their duty to the Crown and to the people of this country, and likewise to the empire at large, have not felt themselves to be at liberty to advise her Majesty to pass by the address of her Canadian Assembly with a brief or merely formal answer, although the advanced stage at which the deliberations of Parliament have now arrived might have afforded at least a technical justification for such a course. They have thought a more frank and full exposition of their views of this great question in its bearings upon Canada was due to the important body from which the address proceeds, and from which they are well assured may be anticipated the most candid consideration even of arguments opposed to their own. It is due especially on account of the importance of that body and of the province of Canada; but, even in the case of the smallest portion of her subjects, I have it in command to say that it would equally have been the desire of her Majesty that such a frank exposition of the policy of her Government should be made. Her Majesty does not recognise the distinction between her nearer and her more remote subjects

with reference to a matter so nearly touching her relation towards them, and the duties and the sentiments of consideration and affection which it involves. Nor can she recognise in this view any distinction between the more and the less powerful, particularly at a time when her Parliament is engaged in the discussion of measures which are recommended to its notice, especially upon the ground that they tend to improve the condition of the most numerous and the least opulent classes of her people.

"It would indeed be a source of the greatest pain to her Majesty's Government if they could share in the impression that the connection between this country and Canada derived its vitality from no other source than from the exchange of commercial preferences. If it were so, it might appear to be a relation consisting in the exchange, not of benefits, but of burdens; if it were so, it would suggest the idea that the connection itself had reached, or was about to reach, the legitimate terms of its existence. But her Majesty's Government still augur for it a longer duration, founded upon a larger and firmer basis—upon protection rendered from the one side, and allegiance freely and loyally returned from the other—upon common traditions of the past, and hopes of the future—upon resemblances in origin, in laws, and in manners—in what inwardly binds men and communities of men together, as well as in the close association of those material interests which, as her Majesty's Government are convinced, are destined not to recede but to advance, not to be severed, but to be more closely and healthfully combined under the quickening influences of increased commercial freedom.

"I have, &c., W. E. GLADSTONE."

GOATACRE.

(From the *Wiltshire Independent*.)

The labourers of Goatacre and the adjoining villages have again met; but under circumstances which afforded a striking contrast to their former meeting. Then they assembled to detail their distress and to petition Parliament for relief. Their cry went through the breadth and length of the land, and reached the ear of the legislative assemblies of the empire. It has not been unheeded, for the very measure of relief which they so earnestly desired, is now almost in the certain road of becoming the law of the land. At this juncture of affairs, it was deemed desirable that a meeting should be held for the purpose of expressing the grateful feelings of the labourers towards the Government who have introduced this measure. This took place yesterday. Previously to the public meeting, the labourers with their wives and children, to the number of about 150, drank tea in the garden in front of Mr. Read's house.

At seven o'clock, Mr. W. WHITE, of Rushall, was called to the chair, and said that the meeting was called for a threefold purpose: 1st, to explain the principles of the Goatacre and North Wilts Building Society—a society which, he believed, would have a tendency to develop the principles of civil and religious liberty, and to raise the labourer in the social scale; 2dly, to acknowledge the kindness of those friends who had so generously responded to the call made upon their sympathies by the former meeting, and so kindly contributed to relieve the necessities of the sufferers; 3dly, to congratulate her Majesty's Ministers, and the friends of Free Trade who had so manfully advocated the cause in the House of Commons, on the success which had attended their efforts.

WM. EDWARDS then explained to the meeting the principles of the New Benefit and Building Society. He showed the evils of the old "club system," remarking that in North Wilts alone upwards of 28,387 was known to have been spent at the season of Whitsuntide in drinking. They saw this evil, and their object was to do away with the system of meeting at public-houses, and to apply all the funds for the benefit of the members. The building society was separate from the benefit society, and the principle on which they acted was this:—Every year the members would receive a dividend from the funds, which, instead of being paid over to them, should be transferred into the Building Society, in the name of trustees, on behalf of the members, and at the end of 13 years each member would receive his dividend in the shape of real property. Trustees would be appointed for every certain number of members, and the following agreement would be signed by all the members:—"We, the undersigned, members of the Goatacre and North Wilts Benefit Society, do mutually agree to transfer our dividends into the Goatacre and North Wilts Building Society, in the name of three trustees on our behalf. Such trustees shall take as many shares in the said Building Society as the directors of the Benefit Society shall instruct them to do, and shall take the shares jointly in the names of we the undersigned. The property so purchased shall be the property of us the undersigned members at the end of 13 years. Each member shall then receive his share of the property purchased by his dividend with interest thereon." It was proposed that "when sufficient shares were paid up in the Building Society, the Trustees shall purchase freehold or leasehold property to the amount of the sum paid up; that a ballot shall take place among the members of the Benefit Society holding the scrip of the said dividends, and the successful member shall have the property leased to him for his own life and that of his wife, at a rental of 4½ per cent." The Benefit Society was established on the same footing as many recently formed in London; each member under 26 years of age paying 2s. entrance fee, and so on according to age. The payments were made once in six weeks, and were as follows:—1s. 6d. for the six weeks, which secured 7s. a week in illness for the first three months and was then reduced to 3s. 6d.; 1s. 8d. securing 8s. a week for the first three months and 4s. a week after; and 1s. 10d. securing 9s. per week for the same period and 4s. 6d. a week after. Should any man die before the 2d of March next he would receive 5l. for his funeral expenses, to be raised by equal subscriptions amongst the members; or his wife 2l. 10s., to be raised in the same way. After that time an increased rate would probably be adopted. One benefit connected with the society was that a man did not pay his money, and then see it no more, but he would have scrip every year for his dividends, which in case of extreme distress he might always sell for its full value. Another article had been introduced into their rules which enabled men above the age for entering and women, profitably to invest their money. Thus they might take either a share, or a half, a quarter, or an eighth of a share in the Building Society. The value of a whole share was 60l. The rates of payment for a full share would be 1s. 9d. a week, for a half share 10½d., quarter, 5½d., half 2½d. The payments had been regulated according to the receipts, and there was no doubt there would always be sufficient money coming in to supply the out-

REVIEW.

A Letter of Remonstrance to his Grace the Duke of Richmond on the Repeal of the Corn Laws. By the Hon. and Rev. Sir Erasmus Williams, Bart. London: Longman and Co.

Those who have been engaged in the whale fishery inform us that the greatest danger to which they are exposed is when the monster of the deep feels sensibly his exhaustion and musters up his last energies for one great struggle of dying despair. "Beware of the creature in his *flurry*," is the earnest recommendation of the experienced harpooner. Monopoly, the giant monster of the political deep, has been harpooned; and the judicious captain of the fishers has allowed an unusual length of line for the run and play of the animal; but now that the final struggle approaches, it behoves us to beware of the monster in his *flurry*. He may endanger not only the boat in which the Ministers are embarked, but the vessel which carries the fortunes of the State. The signs of *flurry* cannot be mistaken; the vindictive vehemence of Lord George Bentinck, the menacing threats of his Grace of Buckingham, and the more gentle anger of the self-complacent Earl of Wicklow, are signs of a danger not very far ahead. Sir Erasmus Williams is anxious to point out to the Duke of Richmond the hazard at which these demonstrations of impotent and fruitless rage will be made. The measures are safe, whatever may become of the Ministry. The fate of monopoly is sealed, whoever may be the sacrificial priest fore-doomed to offer up the victim on the altar of justice. Like the harpooned whale, the monster of monopoly may overset the boat from which the weapon was launched; but:

"Hæret lateri lethalis arundo."

Or, in plain English:

"The deadly weapon quivers in his side."

Yes; monopoly is harpooned; it has run out every inch of line which the Ministerial boat can spare, and now comes the final tug of war. It is the object of Sir Erasmus Williams to show that the protectionists are adopting a course which they have neither the power nor the wisdom to pursue with even a moderate chance of success. He justly says:

"Peel has triumphed: the success of his grand, comprehensive, and benevolent measure is as certain as any thing political can be certain. England has pronounced the doom of protectionism; 'nay, but that's past praying for.' The House of Commons has responded by significant majorities to the wishes of the Sovereign, and to the prayers of her people. The House of Commons has decreed that the odious, unjust, oppressive Corn Law shall be blotted out of her Statute Book."

As a clergyman, Sir E. Williams is anxious to exonerate the episcopal bench from any share in the iniquitous maintenance of a system of artificial famine, and he dwells with great complacency on the absence of the prelates from the protectionist meeting at the Clarendon:

"There is, however, a circumstance respecting the meeting of too high import to be overlooked; namely, the *absence of every Archbishop and Bishop from it*. Not one Spiritual Peer could be found to lend his sanction to your views. 'The advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual' has been happily refused; and it may thence be fairly inferred that the object of your meeting does not meet with their approbation, and that, consequently, their approbation, will be also withheld when the matter comes before them for discussion in the proper place. God forbid that 'a man of God' should be found to raise his voice for starving the poor! What more violent improbability can be propounded?—what more atrocious and bitter calumny against the entire Bench of Bishops can be spit forth even by those ungodly ones, whose delight it is always to be foul, if possible, God's High Priests, than the bare supposition that a Bishop of the pure and reformed Church of Christ established in these kingdoms would uphold or sanction a system which *practically* abnegates the doctrines of the Holy Bible, defeats the gracious intentions of the Blessed Author and Giver of all good things for Christ's sake to man, and generates in the breasts of those, who are doomed in the sweat of their brow to eat their bread, any thing but love and good-will towards their more fortunate brethren? So far from receiving the concurrence of a Spiritual Peer, you may, perhaps, be reminded by some of them of what the Scriptures speak on this matter. They may, perhaps, refer you to the man after God's own heart, who says, 'Blessed is he that considereth the poor. The Lord will strengthen him upon the bed of languishing; thou wilt make all his bed in his sickness.' They may, perhaps, remind you of a proverb uttered some three thousand years ago by another king, reputed to be the wisest of men, 'He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him, but blessing shall be upon the head of him that selleth it.' It is possible that they may desire you to see in your own mirror the resemblance of the noble Roman, complaining of his countrymen:

'They said they were an hungry, sigh'd forth proverbs
That hunger broke stone walls, that dogs must eat,
That meat was made for months, that the gods sent not
Corn for the rich men only: with these shreds
They vented their complainings;'

and they may, with the freedom becoming a minister of heaven, inquire whether it is becoming in the great ones of the earth to ransack the world for meats and drinks to gratify their palates—for purple and fine linen to adorn their persons—while Lazarus shall not be permitted to satisfy his hungry soul with a grain of foreign bread."

It is much to be regretted that some of the prelates neglected the precepts of the Gospel and the example of their Divine Master in the late division

in the House of Lords. They voted for starving the sheep of the Christian fold instead of feeding them; they showed an anxiety to reverse the miracles of the loaves and fishes; instead of multiplying the means of sustenance, they declared themselves anxious to stint and abridge the existing supply of food. We have got in our land a valuable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; it would be no bad preparation for its missionaries if, before going to distant lands, they would endeavour to convert the right reverend patrons of monopoly to Christianity.

Sir Erasmus Williams deals summarily with the Duke of Richmond's coarse vituperation of the Premier:

"Do not buoy yourself up with the idea, that because the country is *silent* it is therefore indifferent: it is *silent*, because it considers the measure to be *safe*; it is *silent*, because it believes that the House of Lords, 'a very small body of a very small body,' the receivers of rent, have the 'grace' to regard, the 'wisdom' to perceive, and the 'understanding' to bow to public opinion. Your Grace may be disposed to risk the danger of a contest with the people, but the House of Lords will not sympathise with you; they will admire your bravery, but will not applaud your judgment; you may, like others have done, vituperate Sir Robert Peel for carrying on this important measure without an appeal to the people, because you think he ought. But Sir Robert Peel is responsible for the right government and peace of the country, and not your Grace; and he, fortunately, has thought otherwise. Why should he appeal to the people against a Parliament which approves his measures? Why should he dismiss a Parliament honest enough in its character, as the representatives of the people, to carry his righteous measure for the benefit of the people?"

But you will say, Sir Robert Peel has *changed his opinions*. Well, what then? He tells you he has changed them. Has your Grace never changed your opinion? Are you the same reformer you were when a member of the noble Earl Grey's Cabinet? I am not going to impute to you any unworthy ground for your change; on the contrary, I give you all the credit due to an English Peer, and to any man of honour—the credit for having changed only on conscientious conviction; (bestow the same charity on Sir Robert Peel!) and I am sure that if your Grace is desirous of serving your country, you will never do it so effectually as by changing your opinions *once again*, and by withdrawing from the righteous measure now submitted to your consideration your threatened opposition, which will bring no honour to you, nor to the nonpareil order to which you belong.

"But your Grace provokingly complains, that if Sir Robert Peel had chosen to change (perhaps he could not help himself—he might not require to be trepanned in order to be convinced), he should *not have converted others*. What higher compliment could you have paid the noble statesman who sits at the helm, than this unintentional one? What can be more grateful to him—what more grateful to us, the people—than to find that his brilliant talents, his persuasive eloquence, should have been so eminently successful? and what a blessing it is to the community that your grace is not possessed of the same alchemical powers!"

The division on the second reading in the House of Lords indisputably proved that the peers possessing the largest landed properties and the most unencumbered estates are the leading supporters of the Ministerial measure; while in the list of the minority we find titled paupers, men whose estates are eaten up with mortgage, and some who are as bankrupt in reputation as they are in fortune. With such forces, it seems wonderful how even the practised hardihood of Richmond could venture on a conflict.

"Protect us mighty Providence,

What would these madmen have?—
First they would bribe us without pence,
Deceive us without common sense,
And without power enslave?"

In noticing the attacks on Sir Robert Peel's character, Sir Erasmus Williams seems inclined to expand Pope's maxim:

"Its proper power to hurt each creature feels,
Bulls aim their horns, and asses kick their heels."

We could wish that he had given us a full and complete sketch of the zoology of protection; it would have been a worthy companion to Old Collier's pamphlet on the "Unclean Beasts in the Ark;" but we trust that the hint will not be lost on *Punch*, and in the mean time we quote the description of some recent scenes in the House of Commons, graphically given by our author:

"I have watched with anxious feeling the progress of this noble measure. I hailed its announcement by Sir Robert Peel with unmixed satisfaction, for I saw in it the future weal of my country. I have seen its noble author rise in the majesty of conscious integrity, and declare that his country's good compelled a change of his political opinions. I have searched in vain among all the tirades of his bitter and some rather unscrupulous opponents for something like proof of corrupt motive for the change. I have seen him challenge them to establish any motive but his country's welfare. I have seen him give up his high office, to which even dukes sometimes condescend to pay homage, rather than yield his honest convictions. I have seen him return to office, fight his country's battle, spurn with indignant scorn the odious accusation of treachery (of which more by and by), and, God be thanked, triumph over his unrelenting foes, beating them to powder, yea even the bitterest of the bitter—the hero of invective, who appears to have considered Sir Robert Peel only as a Shrove-Tuesday cock, placed to be pelted at. Bishop Warburton, addressing one of his adversaries, observes—'Though your teeth are short, what you want in teeth you have in venom, and know, as all other creatures do, where your strength lies.'"

There is perhaps too strong a dash of bitterness mixed up with the defence of Peel against the charge of treachery so vehemently urged by the Duke of Richmond:

goings. It was likewise agreed (on the principle of some London Societies) that when the number ill, and on full pay, exceeded 4 in 100, a reduction should be made in the amount paid; but this was a circumstance which it was very unlikely would ever occur. The Society would hold their meetings every six weeks, after which, instead of resorting to the public house, certain subjects would be introduced calculated to give instruction and information on important and popular matters. Until the people were better educated and instructed they would not be able to cope with their enemies. He trusted that when the articles were completed, which would be very shortly, every man would obtain one and read, examine, and join the Society. Mr. Edwards then defended the legality of the proposed Society, and the correctness of its principles; and concluded by earnestly begging the meeting to take the subject into their earnest consideration.

MARY FERRIS then moved the thanks of the meeting to those gentlemen who had so kindly stepped forward to relieve the necessities of the poor in this neighbourhood. I hope, said the poor woman, the press will make known to those kind gentlemen our gratitude for what we have received, for if we had not had this relief our distress must have been great indeed. My poor children would have been almost starving, and without a bit of clothes. I hope the Lord will never send them a bit the less for what they have spared for us. I thank God for the kindness of those gentlemen, whom I never saw, and who never saw me, for if God had not put it into their hearts they never would have done it. I received more from those gentlemen than ever I received out of Brewhill parish in bringing up eight children. We received the money through Mr. Edwards, and we hope the Lord will reward them all for sending it.

LUCY SIMPKINS said, I have come to return thanks to those gentlemen who sent relief to us from Liverpool through Mr. Edwards; and also for the present we received through Mr. Read. I wish to say that what I said at Brewhill was quite true, although they said I had spoken falsely (cries of "It was true"). I did, when confined with my eleventh child, pass one whole day and part of the next without a mouthful of victuals. I am thankful to those members of Parliament through whom we are likely to have Free Trade, and hope when it comes about, we shall be able to get a bellyful of victuals.

The resolution was then carried unanimously with loud cheering.

MR. READ remarked, that they had held several interesting meetings in Gontacre, and now their efforts were crowned with success. Their voice had been echoed through the length and breadth of the land; it had entered the House of Commons, and he hesitated not to say that he firmly believed the meetings held in Gontacre, and other parts of North Wilts, had had great influence with the Prime Minister; and now they were drawing near the period when they believed monopoly would fall (cheers). One object of the meeting was to return thanks to those gentlemen who had so kindly assisted the poor people in their distress (hear). As he had taken an active part in this matter he would make a few remarks. After the great Gontacre meeting he received a letter, the writer of which wished to know to whom he could send a little money to be distributed to the most necessitous and deserving characters. He (Mr. Read) answered that he had resided in the parish nearly twenty years, that he knew most of the speakers, and believed their accounts to be strictly true; and that he would gladly undertake the proper distribution of any donation which might be sent. In a few days he received a sum of money. He immediately called the directors together, stated the circumstances of the case, read the names mentioned in the letter, all of whom received the exact sums the donor wished. ("That's correct.") "The rest I leave to your own judgment," was the instruction given in the letter. I accordingly made enquiry, and distributed the money in the best possible manner (hear, hear). Of course every one was not satisfied, that was too much to expect; but he acted to the best of his knowledge. Money, beds, blankets, and petticoats, had been distributed in this way. The beds were given to large families where they were much wanted, and one poor woman who received one, told him that she cried for joy all night, so that she could get no sleep upon her new bed. There were, however, still more families to whom the gift of a bed would be most serviceable. Upwards of 200 persons had been relieved to a greater or less extent, besides children; and only last night a kind lady in Bath had sent several packs of child-bed linen, to be lent out to the poor women in Gontacre who needed it (cheers). More than 40 smockfrocks had been given to the boys at the two schools, and the same number of frocks to the girls. He hoped that it was understood that these presents did not come from him; he only had the trouble—nay, the pleasure, of distributing them, for indeed it was the greatest pleasure he had ever enjoyed. Mr. Read then spoke of the great assistance which the sums expended in seed potatoes had been to the poor men who had received them; and said that he had still reserved a small sum of money in case of any emergency.

WILLIAM COLE, of Calne, then moved that the thanks of the meeting be given to her Majesty's Ministers for the introduction of, and their successful efforts in carrying through the house, a measure for the repeal of the Corn Laws. Mr. Cole delivered a very sensible address, urging on the people the importance of educating themselves, and showing that they were not unworthy of the kindness and attention which had been showed them.

WILLIAM EDWARDS seconded the resolution, which was carried by acclamation.

Several women then addressed the meeting, showing that their condition must yet be greatly improved before they can deserve the epithet by which they are so often described—"A bold peasantry, their country's pride."

MR. WHITE having made a few concluding remarks, the meeting quietly separated, first giving three hearty cheers for Free Trade.

EXTRAORDINARY MUSHROOM.—On Saturday last, James Stubb, of Buglawton, near Congleton, was somewhat surprised that one of the flags just within the threshold of his door had been so far displaced by some invisible agency, that it had become almost impossible to open or shut the door. To discover the hidden cause of this strange effect the flag was removed, and underneath it was found a fine mushroom, measuring nearly half a yard in circumference. The flag which was thus pushed from its place by the upstart fungus, was two feet long by eighteen inches wide, and two inches thick!—*Macclesfield Courier*.

Lord Morpeth has consented to take the chair at the next annual soirée of the Manchester Athenæum, in October.

"It is the fashion of the protectionists, your Grace among the number, to accuse Sir Robert Peel of treachery,—in other words, of insubmission to their dictation. 'Call me traitor' may be startlingly say: 'I who collected your *disjecta membra*; I who formed you into a compact body; I who nourished and cherished you through ten long years; I who marshalled you in battle array, and led you to victory over your enemies! Alone I did it! and call me 'Traitor! Have you forgotten who made you what you are? Have you forgotten the loaves and fishes I distributed so unsparringly among you? Have you not betrayed me into the hands of my (fortunately generous) opponents, because I will not obey your rebellious call? Prophecy not unto us right things, speak unto us smooth things; prophesy deceits, and call me traitor. Ungrateful, ungenerous souls! But the question is, not whether Sir Robert Peel has changed or not, whether he is or is not a proper object for vituperation and invective, whether he is the traitor or the betrayed,—the simple question for your grave consideration is this, *Is the measure good or bad?* The House of Commons, by astounding majorities, has pronounced it to be good; and nine-tenths of the people accord with this judgment. What good can possibly arise from your opposition? Do you hope to terrify Sir Robert Peel out of his propriety? He does not fear you. Will you, in your distress, imprecate the nine days' wonder? *Punch*, last week, settled the matter. *Punch* weighed him; but, though well in figure, his deficiency was awful. Will you venture on Lord Stanley? He is a congenial soul with your Grace; *Arcades ambo!* both Reformers! both Conservatives! and what now? You had better be content with Sir Robert Peel. It is manifest he can do without you, and equally manifest that you cannot do without him; but, in disgust with the ungrateful, ungenerous, malignant treatment from those from whom better things might have been expected, he should retire from the office he fills with so much honour to his sovereign and so much benefit to his country, you will have for a Premier one who fears you as little as Sir Robert Peel, and whose honesty of purpose and determination of spirit you may not perhaps relish, but you must admire."

In conclusion, Sir Erasmus Williams very forcibly states the case of the labourer:

"Your Grace considers yourself better acquainted with the feelings of the farmers of England than any one else is. Be it so. I pretend to know something of the labourer. A few months ago one of this class was brought before me for punishment. He was 27 years of age, and 'a better ploughman I should not wish to see in my field,' and he was sent to prison, for running away from FOUR SHILLINGS a week! I venture to assure your Grace, that 99 out of every 100 labourers of any parish in the kingdom exultingly rejoice at the decrease of their arch enemy—the Corn Law. They submit with pious resignation in their suffering, whenever it may please a gracious Providence, whether as a punishment for our sins, or in order to 'humble and to prove us, to know what is in our hearts, whether we will keep his commandments or no,' he refuses to give his usual abundance of the kindly fruits of the earth; but they will never patiently submit that the decrees of God shall be overthrown by the decrees of man; that their country—'a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack any thing in it, a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass,'—that this garden of the Lord's planting shall be turned into 'a desert' by the selfish act of man. The whole labouring population of the land demand the repeal of the odious Corn Law. *Delenda est*. The Queen, God bless her! is with them, public opinion is with them, the Houses of Lords and Commons are with them; and let not any mistaken zeal for the supposed interests of the farmers of England deter your Grace, and your Clarendon Hotel confrères from joining in the joy of emancipated England, nor induce you to withhold a blessing from the man who has opened your fatherland to receive the homage of the world."

"This Letter has extended to a length far beyond what I intended: I shall now, therefore, conclude with another quotation from Sir James Graham's admirable brochure (page 75), which I recommend to your serious consideration. 'The paramount duty of every government is attention to the interests of the community, of which the labourers must form the great majority. The right of property is instituted for the good, not of the few who possess wealth and honours, but of the many who have them not. If the majority be deeply injured, the public peace is in danger. If the majority want food, private property becomes a nuisance.'"

We have extracted largely from this remonstrance, because it expresses the feelings of a very large portion of the Conservative party, who believe that their interests as a party have been seriously perilled by being conjoined with the infamy and the selfishness of protection. But we differ from the rev. writer when he hopes that this remonstrance will produce any effect on the conduct of the Duke of Richmond and his followers. We have too much respect for these hereditary legislators to attribute their blind hostility either to obliquity of intellect or hardness of heart; but the course they have taken in the present debates show that they have not any materials in their mental composition on which reason and argument can be brought to operate, and that, therefore, all human means must fail to convince them of their error, or turn them from the evil of their proceedings.

A NEW CIDER COUNTRY.—It appears that the region acquired by England beyond the Sulej is remarkable for its fertility, and one district more especially, the vicinity of the city of Jellinder, abounds in orchards and fruit trees—a second Herefordshire, in fact. With all the advantages of climate, and with the improvements in agriculture which will doubtless take place under the peaceful sway of the British Government, it is by no means improbable that this portion of the Punjab will become an exporting country, and particularly if Ibrahim Pacha or his father should consent to the construction of a railway from Cairo to the Isthmus of Suez.

A RARE PLEASURE.—The last person Joseph Ady wrote to was Lord Stanley, for he made sure that his lordship would send him twenty shillings if only for the novelty of "hearing something to his advantage."—*Punch*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

COPENHAGEN, JUNE 1.—It can hardly be denied that the late modification in the Sound and canal tolls are chiefly to the advantage of Russian commerce, with which England and Sweden are contending. The reductions were considerable in comparison with the late tariff. For instance: on cotton, from 18 to 10 stivers; on brandy, from 4 to 3; and on raw sugars, from 5 to 4.—*Hamburg. Borsenhalle*, June 6.

A disease has recently attacked a large plantation of young fir trees near Cirencester. It is due to a plant, a fungus, which spreads by seed with great rapidity.

The West Indian steamer *Tweed*, which arrived at Southampton on Sunday, brought 9000 pine apples, 61 barrels of potatoes, and a quantity of turtle.

Mr. Watson stated in the House of Commons a few days since that though Lord Denman's salary is 10,000*l.* a year, he has never taken more than 8000*l.*

The great chess match of two games, by correspondence between the Paris and Pesth clubs, commenced in 1842, terminated in favour of the Hungarians.

In the county of Kerry, since the survey of it in 1842-3, there have been reclaimed 8,373 acres; and there are also 351,876 acres at present under cultivation, and 362,413 still unreclaimed.

The state of the growing crops in Lower Austria is said to be most satisfactory. In Hungary, however, the greater part of the growing corn, grass, &c., has been destroyed by the various rivers.

ANCIENT IMPORTATION INTO HULL.—About 1595, we find entered in the household book of the Cliffords, a sum of 11*s.* "for six cabbages and some caret roots bought at Hull." These were then imported from Flanders, whence even Queen Catherine, in the reign of Henry VIII., had her salads. Potatoes and turnips were not generally known, even to the gardener, until the reign of Elizabeth.—*Hull Packet*.

INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT.—We are able to state on unquestionable authority, that a treaty for the international protection of copyright has just been signed at Berlin between Prussia and England; in which it is confidently expected that, before the ratification, Saxony will join. The consequence will be a reduction of the duty to 15*s.* per cwt. on at least half the German books imported into England.—*Athenæum*.

CORNISH SILK.—The thirteenth annual report of the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society states, that, at the annual exhibition, seraves were shown which had been manufactured in Spitalfields from the produce of between 700 and 800 worms, kept in an attic-room in Truro. In size and weight, the worms rather surpassed those of Italy; the cocoons were larger; the quality of the silk, when reeled, was fully equal to the best imported, and the quantity exceeded the Italian average; and this in a season not remarkably propitious.

News from the hop-growing districts now becomes interesting, and so far as the reports up to the present time are concerned, that interest is not unfettered by anxiety. The fly appears to be most abundant; neither Kent, Sussex, nor Worcester being exempt from the destructive visitation.

Mr. Francis Egerton, son of Lord Francis Egerton, is appointed a lieutenant in the royal navy.

NEW HAY.—Mr. Thomas Webster, of Bootle, brought the first load of new hay to Liverpool market on Friday. This is twenty five days earlier than last year.

RISE IN AGRICULTURAL WAGES.—At the feeing fairs of Bathgate, Stirling, Elgin, and Forres, which have been held during the past week, farm servants and labourers in husbandry have been in great demand, and wages have generally advanced. At the Whitsuntide hiring fairs held at Carlisle, Brampton, Penrith, Keswick, Cockermouth, Gosforth, Appleby, Kendal, Ulverstone, &c. farm servants were much sought after, and higher wages were paid than for many years past.

GAME CASE.—At the petty sessions at Bicester, held a few days since, Andrews, one of the Earl of Jersey's game-keepers, charged Thomas Izzard, aged 11, with an offence against the Game Laws. To prove his case he called Hitchcock, a looker-out, who said he saw Izzard go into Ardley wood, and set a snare which was lying on the ground, and which he (Hitchcock) was watching. The lad said he went through a gap in the hedge into the wood to look after bird's nests; that he saw the snare lying down and just touched it, but did not set it or take it up. The constable gave the lad a good character, and the keepers said that they never caught him at anything before. The father said he worked for Mr. Jackson; he knew he had been in the habit of getting birds' eggs for his master's son, and that he did believe he had never seen a snare before. He was ordered to pay a fine of 1*s.* and 14*s.* 6*d.* cost, and in default to be imprisoned in the House of Correction for fourteen days. His father said he had a large family; the lad earned 3*s.* per week, and asked for time to pay it in. Allowed a month.

AMERICA AND THE TIMBER DUTIES.—"I heard frequent discussions on the present state of the timber duties, both here (Nova Scotia), and in Canada, and great was my surprise to find the majority of the small proprietors, or that class in whose prosperity and success the strength of a new colony consists, regretting that the mother-country had legislated so much in their favour. They said that a few large capitalists and shipowners amassed considerable fortunes (some of them, however, losing them again by over speculation), and that the political influence of a few such merchants was naturally greater than that of a host of small farmers, who could never so effectively plead their cause to the Government. But, on the other hand, the labourers engaged during the severe winter, at high pay, to fell and transport the timber to the coast became invariably a drunken and improvident set. Another serious mischief accrued to the colony from this traffic; as often as the new settlers reached the tracts from which the wood had been removed, they found, instead of a cleared region, ready for cultivation, a dense copsewood or vigorous undergrowth of young trees, far more expensive to deal with than the original forest, and what was worse, all the best kinds of timber, fit for farm buildings and other uses, had been taken away, having been carefully selected for exportation to Great Britain. So that, while the English are submitting to pay an enhanced price for timber, inferior in quality to that of Norway, the majority of the colonists, for whom the sacrifices are made, feel no gratitude for the boon. On the contrary, they complain of a monopoly that enriches a few timber merchants, at the expense of the more regular and steady process of agriculture."—*Lyell's Travels in North America*, vol. 2, p. 225.

FREE TRADE INVESTMENT ASSOCIATION.—

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SOLICITOR.
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Prospectuses may be obtained, gratis, on application at the Society's Office, East Temple Chambers, Whitefriars street, Fleet-street. The Rules (6*d.* each) are now ready, and may be had as above.

Persons desirous to join the Society are requested to make application immediately.

THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT GARDEN.—

M. JULLIEN'S CONCERTS, D'ETE.—(For one month only.)

PROGRAMME FOR MONTH, JUNE 15, 1846.

PART I.
Overture, "William Tell." Rossini.
Quadrille, "The Marble Maiden." (First time) Jullien.
Song, "My heart's on the Rhine." Herr FISCHER, Meyer.
Symphony, Pastorale. H. HULL, Esq., Beethoven.
Duet, "The Laughing Fairies." The Misses WILLIAMS, J. L. Hutton.
Valse, "The Timbrel." (First time) performed on the New Harmonic Timbrel, by MASTA STOKEL.
Duet, Madame and M. GOLDBERG.
Quadrille, "The Crusaders." Jullien.

PART II.
Opera, "I Puritani." Selection Bellini.
Song, "Der Schmeiz." Herr HOLZEL, Holz.
Polka, "The German Polka." (First time) Jullien.
Song, "Die Fiancine." (The Standard Bearer.) Herr FISCHER, Landpainter.
Valse, "The Hymn." (First time) Kuenig.
Tarentella, "De Belphegor." Jullien.

Commence at Eight—Terminate at Eleven.

The Refreshments consist of Ice, Sherbet, Carraway Water, &c. and are under the direction of Mr. G. Payne.

Places and Private Boxes may be secured on application to Mr. Reilly, at the Box-office of the Theatre, which is open from 1*o* till 5*o*; also of Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Sims, Mr. Olivier, and at the principal Libraries and Music-Sellers, &c.; and at M. Jullien's Musical Establishment, 214, Regent street.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Friday Evening, June 12, 1846.

"Drowning men grasp at straws," but even a straw possesses more firmness and stability than the incident on which the protectionists in the Lords have based their new policy of obstruction. Lord George Bentinck's declaration of his determination to oppose the second reading of the Irish Coercion Bill renders it very probable that the Ministers may be left in a minority on that measure. Hence arises a second contingency that Sir Robert Peel may resign before his Free Trade measures are carried; and from both these chances is inferred a third probability, that in the confusion incident to a change of Ministry the Corn Bill may be defeated, and the existence of monopoly protracted a little longer. It would puzzle an acute calculator to determine the value of these contingencies from the doctrine of chances. They are apt illustrations of the theory of vanishing fractions. Yet on these infinitesimal quantities the resistance to going into Committee on the Bill is founded. Earl Stanhope led the van. He is the Calchas of his party, and has been the "prophet of evil," but without the inspiration of the seer, as long as the memory of the present generation exists. If England has not been ruined some hundred times over, his lordship is not to blame, for he has some hundred times informed us that the sun of our prosperity was set, and the day of our glory departed. Peel's Currency Bill was declared by his lordship to be our national dose of Prussic acid, and he must in all consistency regard our present vitality as the galvanised animation given to a corpse. Hence he assumed the boding and sepulchral tone of the raven hovering around the chambers of death, but forgetting that unbelievers in omens only laugh at the croak of the melancholy bird. Superstitious old women could alone be terrified by such ill-boding notes; they have been heard too often and too long to inspire further terror; they belong to those visionary fears which haunt the night of ignorance, but which are at once dissipated by the first dawn of intelligence and light.

Lord Radnor vindicated the policy advocated by the League, and exposed the last of Lord Stanley's fallacies and misrepresentations which remained undetected. The over-rated speech of the heir of the house of Derby reminds us indeed of the fable of the daw in borrowed plumage. When first presented to the house, it was decorated with declamation, plausibilities, and positive statements, so that the peacock itself was hardly more brilliant; but Lord Brougham pulled some feathers from the tail, Earl Grey tore the crest from the head, Lord Clarendon laid bare the body, Lord Dalhousie plucked the wings, and Lord Radnor finished by leaving it as bare as the cock which Diogenes cruelly stripped of its feathers, as a practical refuta-

tion of Plato's definition of man, a "featherless biped."

The Earl of Wicklow disappointed us; he has of late shown some indications of a wish to become acquainted with the elements of economic science, and we regret that his progress in this part of a legislator's education has not been a little accelerated. The only point which he attempted to make out was the value of protection to our colonies, and his arguments on this head were so effectually demolished by Lord Lyttleton, that they require no further notice.

The only other speech on which we intend to offer a comment is that of the Duke of Buckingham, the self-named descendant and representative of the Plantagenets. His grace referred to the burthens on land in this country; and as he is probably very familiar with the subject, we are surprised to find that he misstated its nature. Mortgages, not taxes, are the burthens under which the land groans; but if landlords choose to be improvident, they must bear the consequences themselves, and not endeavour to throw them upon the industrial classes. In order to obtain political influence, certain noblemen have purchased more land than they had money to pay for, and have been thus compelled to borrow at a very high rate of interest. But they have found that what Johnson said of States is equally true of estates:

"Extended empire, like expanded gold,
Exchanges solid strength for feeble splendour."

To such men the repeal of the Corn Laws will eventually prove the greatest of blessings. It will compel them to co-ordinate their affairs, and to proportion their extent of possession to their ability of management. They have at present little better than provisional proprietorship of their estates; and they would be greatly served if they were compelled, though in spite of themselves, to accept even a limited certainty in exchange for precarious pauperism. To them the Corn Laws have been like the corks which recently caused the death of the boys who went to bathe at Boulogne during the ebb of the tide; their heads have been artificially kept above water, but the receding waves have carried them away from the shore, and led them to neglect the line that limited the depth to which their efforts should have been confined.

We regret that the Lords at this stage of the measure should have resumed the obstructive policy which they virtually agreed to abandon. They cannot defeat the measure; its ultimate success does not depend on any possible combination of parties; no man can be Minister whose first measure will not be an immediate repeal of the Corn Laws. Delay may be obtained, but it will be very dearly purchased; the experiment on the public patience has already continued too long; an interlude of party playing at cross-purposes would damage the reputation of all the actors; it might indeed perplex or even overthrow the present Ministers, but it would create a complication of difficulties around their successors, whoever they may be, which, in all human probability, would be insurmountable.

THE EFFECT OF FREE TRADE IN GLASS.—An example will serve to show how the supply of an article may indefinitely increase without meeting the demand, and how the profit of the maker and the wages of the artisan may be found compatible with an indefinite reduction of prices. It is a comparison of the plate-glass trade in 1827 and 1846. It must be premised that, in 1827, a ton of coals cost at the works 30s.—now only 13s. The difference in the price of plate-glass is almost as great. The chief difference, however, is the great improvement in the methods of manufacture, in the use of larger furnaces, melting pots, steam engines, grinding and polishing benches. The result is, that whereas large plates were then made with great difficulty, they are now made with perfect facility; the manufacturers then kept a large supply on hand,—now they can only supply their customers from hand to mouth, and that with difficulty. Wages were then comparatively low; now, though of course not so much per foot, they are high. The prosperity of the trade has been progressive. In 1827, glass sold for about 12s. per foot, to the extent of about 5000 feet per week. In 1836, for 8s. or 9s. to the amount of 7000 per week. In 1844, for 6s. or 7s. to about 23,000 feet per week. In 1846, for 5s. or 6s. to about 40,000 feet per week, exclusive of foreign glass. There can be no doubt, then, in a few years the demand will increase, and the price fall, till every small tradesman has plate glass, not only in his shop, but also in his parlour, or even in his bedroom, with a great increase of his comfort, and without much extravagance. Even at the present prices, at 5s. or 6s. per foot, builders are recommending the use of plate glass, by the argument that, in a few years, the want of it will be remarkable.—Times.

HAY HARVEST IN WESTMORELAND.—Mr. Richard Sani, of Milnthorpe, commenced cutting a field of seed-grass upon Milnthorpe Marsh, being the first we have heard of in this neighbourhood for the present season.—Kendal Mercury.

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. June 6	MON. June 8	TUES. June 9	WED. June 10	THUR. June 11	FRI. June 12
Bank Stock	205½	206½	205½	205½	205½	205½
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½
3 per Ct. Cn. Ann.	Shut.	Shut.	Shut.	Shut.	Shut.	Shut.
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
Long. An. Ex. 1860	10½	10½	10 3/16	10 3/16	10½	10½
Cons. for Acct.	10½	10½	10½	10½	10½	10½
Exc. Bills, pm.	16-22	21-17	21-16	21-15	17-21	17-21
Ind. Bds. in. 1000l. ....	..	..	28	..	..	..
Venezuela 2 per Ct. ....	..	..	..	42	42	..
Do. deferred. ....	..	..	..	..	12½	..
Belgian 4½ per Ct.	96½	..	..	96½	..	98
Brazilian 5 per Ct. ....	..	..	83½	..	..	84
Chilian	50½	..	..	..	..	..
Colomb. ex. Venez. ....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Danish .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dutch 2½ per Cent.	60	60½	59½	60	59½	60
Dutch 4 per Cent. ....	..	91½	..	91½	91	92
Mexican .....	..	29½	29	..	29	29½
Peruvian .....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Portug. 4 per Cent.	50	49½	..	46½	46½	48
Russian 5 per Cent. ....	..	110½	109½	109½	..	..
Spanish 5 per Ct.	37½	..	19	..	..	24
Do. 3 per Ct. ....	..	..	37	37½	..	36½

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MONDAY, June 8.—Samples of every description of Corn have fallen off during the last few weeks, and to-day the market is bare of samples generally. English Wheat sells steadily at last week's prices. Foreign Wheat is not inquired for. In Barley, Beans, and Peas there is no alteration to notice; the two latter exhibit rather a downward tendency, but lower prices are not generally taken. Oats, of which the show is extremely scanty, are 6d. better than this day week; and middling qualities of Irish fetch 1s. more money.

S. H. LUCAS.

BRITISH.

	Red 44 to 58	White 48 to 63
Wheat, Essex,	42	46
Kent, & Suffolk	42	46
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire	42	45
Scotch .....	..	..
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feed	22	25
Ditto .....	..	25
Ditto .....	..	29
Scotch Feed	26	27
Limerick .....	..	26
Ditto .....	..	28
Cork .....	..	26
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black .....	..	23
Sligo .....	..	..
Galway	19	21
Barley	26	33
Beans, Mazagan	31	33
Harrow	33	37
Small	39	40
Peas, White	38	42
Grey	30	32
Flour, Town-made	per sack of 280 lbs.	45
Norfolk and Suffolk .....	..	39

FOREIGN.

	FREE.	IN BOND.
Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed	58 to 66	48
Rostock	56	46
Stettin	48	50
Hamburg	46	56
Odessa .....	..	40
Odessa Polish	52	54
Russian	soft	..
Ditto	hard	..
Spanish	50	51
Blanquillo	54	..
Australian	54	60
Barley, Grinding	27	28
Distilling	29	31
Oats, Archangel	23	24
Danish .....	..	21
Swedish .....	..	22
Stralsund .....	..	..
Dutch Feed .....	..	18
Brew .....	..	23
Polands .....	..	24
Black .....	..	19
Beans, Egyptian	32	34
Peas, White .....	..	..
Ditto Boilers	42	..
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 196 lbs. ....	..	..
United States .....	..	..
Dantzic .....	..	..
Australian, per sack of 280 lbs. ....	..	..

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from June 1 to June 6, 1846, both days inclusive.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas.
English	2577	1391	2703	508	137
Scotch .....	..	..	..	..	..
Irish .....	..	..	1014	..	..
Foreign	4348	..	472	4400	..

Flour, 3953 sacks; — barrels.

FRIDAY, June 12.—With very short arrivals of Grain since Monday, we have had a dull trade to-day. English Wheat is without any alteration in price. There is a little inquiry for low qualities of Mediterranean Wheat in bond for export to Holland and Belgium, at 38s. to 40s. Barley, Beans, and Peas continue as on Monday. Oats, both free and in bond, are 1s. dearer than Monday, with only a limited trade for the former. There was no alteration in the duties yesterday.

S. H. LUCAS.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 8th of June to the 12th of June, both inclusive.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	1990	..	1650
Barley	910	..	..
Oats	160	2260	..

Flour, 1470 sacks.

LONDON AVERAGES for the Week ending June 9, 1846.

	Qrs.	Price.	Qrs.	Price.
Wheat	4161	55s. 2d.	Rye ....	..
Barley	1211	28s. 2d.	Beans	943
Oats	12538	23s. 11d.	Peas	175

IMPERIAL AVERAGES, Weeks ending

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.
2d May	56	5. 2d.	8. 2d.	7. 3d.	6. 3d.	11. 3d.
9th "	56	4. 2d.	7. 2d.	9. 3d.	5. 3s.	8. 4d.
16th "	57	0. 2d.	4. 2d.	1. 3d.	5. 3s.	11. 3d.
23d "	55	5. 2d.	10. 2d.	8. 3d.	6. 3d.	0. 3d.
30th "	53	4. 2d.	4. 2d.	9. 3d.	4. 3s.	10. 3d.
6th June	52	10. 2d.	8. 2d.	4. 3d.	10. 3s.	10. 3d.

Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks. Wheat, 55s. 3d.; Barley, 28s. 11d.; Oats, 23s. 8d.; Rye, 38s. 2d.; Beans, 35s. 8d.; Peas, 34s. 6d.

Duty. Wheat, 17s. 6d.; Barley, 9s. 0d.; Oats, 5s. 0d.; Rye, 9s. 6d.; Beans, 7s. 6d.; Peas, 8s. 6d.

Stock of Corn in Bond, May 5, 1846.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Rye.	Beans.	Peas.	Flour
In London, 52524	12958	80003	..	29123	825	16894	Cwts.
Unit. King. 1339955	92572	127473	..	53803	18347	1119427	

THE LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5

BANKRUPTCY ANNOUNCED.

Edward Fox, cabinet-maker, Muschington.
Stephen Knowles, brewer, Leicester.
BANKRUPTCY
F. Clark, builder, Mortimore-road, Kingsland. [Mr. Wickings, Finsbury-terrace, City-road.
C. G. M. J. Hopkins, tailor, Portman-square. [Mr. Meel, Bedford-row.
W. Mitchell, furniture dealer, Finsbury-place south. [Mr. Kinney, Bloomsbury.
M. Smithson, printer, Canterbury. [Mr. Lewis, Warwick-court, Gray's-inn.
J. Hoddington, corn dealer, Manchester. [Messrs. Russell and Co., High-street.
R. Sheel, grocer, Wilsted-street, Somers-town. [Messrs. Hill and Co., St. Mary-axe.
J. D. Paine, publisher, Hatcham, Surrey. [Mr. Richardson, Coleman-street.
P. Shawson and T. B. Young, druggists, Louth. [Messrs. Humphreys and Co., Chancery-lane.
H. Stelling, woolcomber, Well, Yorkshire. [Messrs. Williamson and Co., Gray's-inn.
W. Nortcliffe, dyer and stover, Milk-street, Manchester. [Messrs. Jaques and Co., Ely-place.
J. Beetham, gum-maker, Richmond, Yorkshire. [Mr. Kirk, Symond's-lane.
J. Conlen, woollen-draper, Cheltenham. [Mr. Dowling, Gloucester.
J. Solomon, outfitter, Exeter. [Mr. Jones, Size-lane.
SCOTCH SEQUESTERATIONS.
R. Walker, warehouseman, Glasgow.
A. Flockhart, tanner, Kinross.
N. Macdonald, plumber, Glasgow.
G. Nicol, corn merchant, Newburgh.

TUESDAY, JUNE 9.

BANKRUPTCY.

J. Wright, Oxford-street, druggist. [Messrs. Tilson and Squire, Coleman-street.
J. Gishorne, Coleman-street, City, merchant. [Messrs. Marten and Co., Mincing-lane.
J. Smith, Wellington-street, Newington-causeway, cheesemonger. [Mr. Pullen, Basinghall-street.
E. Weeks, King's-road, Chelsea, hothouse-builder. [Mr. Lettis, Bartlett's-buildings.
J. R. Miskin, Chadham, Kent, tea dealer. [Mr. Butler, Tooley-street.
F. F. Phillips, Bristol, coachmaker. [Mr. Blaggs, Bristol.
J. Child, Wakefield, grocer. [Messrs. Fidley and Co., Wakefield.
J. Scott, Sheffield, flour dealer. [Mr. Tattershall, St. James-street.
F. Sly, Truro, currier. [Messrs. Bourdillon and Sons, Great Winchester-street.
C. Gallimore, Birmingham, pearl button maker. [Mr. Wright, Birmingham.
SCOTCH SEQUESTERATIONS.
J. R. and T. Nicoll, Dundee, iron merchants.
H. and W. Brown, Glasgow, stockbrokers.

THE GAME LAWS.—The abominable Game Laws were a source of as bitter and as numerous complaints, a hundred years ago, as they are now. "We have lately (says the *Manchester Mercury*, of August 25, 1752) received letters from farmers in different parts of the country, expressing strong apprehensions that, as soon as the harvest is over, their hedges and ditches and fences are like to suffer greater damage than usual from the more than ordinary care taken of late to preserve the game, which care they would allow to be very laudable, provided the labour and property of the honest husbandman were at the same time duly considered. They likewise think it very hard to be denied the privilege of walking about their own grounds with a dog and gun, since the game live all the year at their cost, and, when fit to be killed, might as reasonably fall occasionally to the share of the feeders as their betters." Above 90 years have passed over since the above was written, and yet patient Englishmen still submit to the same wrongs, and content themselves with ineffectual grumbling. The counsel which follows the above extract is, however, somewhat different to that which would be given by a newspaper in the present day, and shows the cautious tone which the journals were obliged to adopt—"In answer to these and other cavils, which we don't think fit to crowd in our paper, the best advice we can give them is to be patient; and if they are not endowed with this virtue, let them pray for [it]; or, if they don't like this counsel, let them at least wait till a new el—n, and then pursue such measures as they think may best mend the matter."

GEORGE and JOHN DEANE, SADDLERS and HARNESS MAKERS, invite attention to their Gig, Tandem, and Carriage Harness, manufactured on their own premises, by workmen of much experience, and under the direction of foremen of superior ability and skill. Their leather is invariably dressed by first-rate London curriers, the furniture is also of the best town manufacture, and G. and J. Deane warrant that the productions of their manufactory cannot be surpassed for beauty, strength, and cheapness, by any other house. Horse-clothing made to order, of the best and most seasoned wood. Deane's London made whips, and all articles for stable and travelling use in large variety.—No. 2, Arthur-street East, opening to the Monument, London-bridge.

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BRUSHES—NEW INVENTIONS. THE TRIPLE HAIR BRUSH. One stroke of this is equal to the effect of one penetrating, five small-tooth combs, and one even cut brush; to be had in four sizes, No. 7, 8s. 6d. No. 8, 7s. 6d. No. 9, 8s. 6d. No. 10, 11s. 6d.

THE DOUBLE ANTI-PRESSURE NAIL BRUSH, which does not divide the quick from the nail, no pressure being required, and thoroughly cleans and polishes the nails in a tenth part of the time of any other method. Price, in Bone, No. 1, 2s. No. 2, 2s. 6d. No. 3, 2s. 6d. No. 4, 4s., and all sizes and prices in Ivory.

THE NEW TOOTH-PICK BRUSH, which entirely enters between the interstices of the closest teeth, marks, full size brushes, No. 1, hard. No. 2, less hard. No. 3, middling. No. 4, soft. The Narrower Brush, No. 5, hard. No. 6, less hard. No. 7, middling. No. 8, soft, at 1s. each, or 10s. per dozen in Bone, and 2s. each, or 21s. per dozen in Ivory, the Hair warranted never to come out.

THE MEDIUM SHAVING BRUSH, between the usual Badger Hair and Bristle Brush, being a combination of the strongest Hair only from the Badger-skin, in a variety of sizes, both in Bone and Ivory. The above articles are the inventions of ROSS and SON, 119 and 120, Bishopsgate-street, London, and being protected, any one imitating them will be proceeded against.

THE DAILY NEWS,

NEW LONDON MORNING NEWSPAPER,

PRICE TWOPENCE HALFPENNY.

PUBLISHED IN TIME FOR THE MORNING MAILS.

WHITEFRIARS, JUNE 11th.

The Proprietors of the DAILY NEWS regret to learn, that the Paper has not always reached the Subscribers so early or so punctually as might reasonably have been anticipated. Their apology is, that the success of the great experiment so far exceeded all expectation, that it was not possible to produce the required numbers, even with the most powerful machinery, in time for the Morning Expresses and Mails; and the number of Post-office Orders which poured in made it difficult, and some days impossible, to distribute them amongst the Trade—so that delays in executing such orders were unavoidable. They trust, however, that their arrangements are now so complete as to insure the Subscribers against all chance of delay; yet, as all the respectable News Agents have given to the DAILY NEWS an active support, and many have announced by advertisement their willingness to supply the paper for 16s. 4d. per quarter—payment being made in advance—the Proprietors recommend that new Subscribers should order copies direct from a News Agent, and only when there is an apparent difficulty transmit a Post-office Order, payable to JOSEPH SMITH, DAILY NEWS Office, Whitefriars, London.

GREAT HISTORICAL PICTURE

OF THE

COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE.

The accomplishment of Free Trade will be one of the most remarkable events, not only in the history of the British Empire, but of the civilised world. No movement so important, so effective, and so successful, has ever been before witnessed by mankind. Those who see the zeal, integrity, prudence, and ability this great triumph is due, will be recognised as the benefactors of mankind to remote generations.

It is a duty, then, which we owe to the world and to posterity, to preserve some

PERMANENT MEMORIAL OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE;

that deliberative and executive body, which has achieved more by moral force, than has been accomplished by associations that included physical strength and political power. For this purpose arrangements have been made with Mr. HERBERT, R.A., to paint a

HISTORICAL PICTURE OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE,

including Accurate Portraits, not only of the Principal Leaders, but of those less prominent Members, whose indefatigable labours during the whole course of the movement have entitled them to public gratitude. It is proposed that this shall be engraved by a first rate artist, on a large scale (33 by 22 inches), and that the copies shall be sold at such a price as to place within the reach of persons of moderate fortune, a monument of the mighty movement by which monopoly was overthrown, and the cause of justice established, without any remembrance of outrage or violence to lessen the enjoyment of so glorious a victory. The principles of universal peace have been established by their own practical development in peaceful agitation.

In order to accomplish this great work of Art, on a scale and in a style worthy of the subject it is designed to commemorate, those who are interested in its production, are requested to communicate to Mr. AGNEW, Printseller and Publisher, Manchester, the Class of Engraving for which they wish to Subscribe.

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The publication of a NEW ETYMOLOGICAL AND PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, based upon the Dictionaries of Johnson and Walker, and comprehending all the principal terms which have been introduced and established since their day to the present time in Literature, and in the various departments of Natural and Mechanical Science, Arts, and Manufacture, has been long felt as a desideratum in British Literature, which, if well supplied, could not fail to prove highly useful and acceptable to the Literary and Scientific World wherever the English Language is read or spoken. To supply this desideratum, is the object of the present Work. It will be completed in about 31 Monthly Parts, and form two handsome Royal Octavo Volumes, of about 1700 Pages. Several thousands of words which occur in our old standard English Authors will be embraced, the obsolete being carefully marked as such, and quotations generally given from the passages in which they occur. The roots from which the Terms are derived are printed in Italics, obviating the difficulties which otherwise occur to persons not familiar with the Greek, Hebrew, or other ancient Alphabets. A comprehensive GLAMMAR OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE will be given during the course of publication; and at the end of the Work, a copious Vocabulary of French, Latin, and other foreign phrases and words now used by English writers. In Natural History, all the classes, orders, families, and recognised genera of animals, plants, or minerals, will be described, as now classified by the most eminent Naturalists; in fact, nothing shall be wanting to render the Work one of universal reference and useful information for the Private or Public Library, the Counting-House, the School, or the University.

The Publisher has received a great many communications, inquiring who the Author of the UNIVERSAL DICTIONARY is? In answer to all such Correspondents, Mr. GILBERT has to state, that there exists no reason why the Author's name should not be known, save an earnest wish on his part that the Work should be tested solely by its own intrinsic worth. Mr. GILBERT, however, may state, that the gentleman in question is personally known, and his talents appreciated by some of the most eminent Professors in the Universities of London, Oxford, Dublin, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, and that he is himself an Author of several publications connected with Natural Science and Polite Literature, and has been for several years a Lecturer in one of our Universities.

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Wherever we travel—or at home—
Whether by day or night—
This phrase is sure to arrest our ear—
This well known phrase, "All right!"
Now, readers, might we not apply
A sentence such as this,
To MOSES' name which stands so high,
Where nothing is amiss?
Yes, yet we might apply the phrase,
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In all that MOSES' house displays,
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"All right" in cloth! "All right" in style!
And not one garb disposes
The purchaser to wait in vain
Before he goes to MOSES.
Not over-short—not over-long—
Not over-loose nor tight—
MOSES and SON have nothing wrong,
And hence they say, "All right!"

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Black ditto - - - 1 0 0	Dress Coats - - - 2 15 0	
Dress Coat - - - 1 2 0	best manufactured - - - 1 15 0	
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MR. E. MOSES and SON, Tailors, Woollen Drapers, Clothiers, Hatters, Hosiers, Outfitters, and General Warehousemen, 122-1/2, to be obliged to guard the public against imposition, but have learned that the unscrupulous-like falsehood of "being connected with them," or "is the same concern," has been resorted to in many instances, and for obvious reasons they have no connexion with any other house in or out of London. Any of those who desire genuine cheap clothing should, to prevent disappointment, call or send to Minorities and Aldgate, opposite the Church, City, London.

Observe the Address, E. MOSES and SON, 151, 153, 155, and 157, Minorities, and 83, 81, 85, and 86, Aldgate, City, London.

Notice.—The entrance to the Bespoke Department is at 81, Aldgate.

N.B. No business transacted at this Establishment from sunset on Friday Evening till sunset on Saturday Evening, when it is resumed till twelve o'clock.

Printed at the Whitefriars Printing-office, Bowyer-street, in the precincts of Whitefriars, in the City of London, by JOHN GOSNELL, printer, of Number 7, Ridgeway-place, Hampstead-road, in the County of Middlesex, and also of Number 1, Finsbury-place, Chesham-hill-road, in the parish of Manchester, in the County of Lancashire, and published at Number 67, Fleet-street, in the parish of St. Dunstan in the West, in the City of London, by ARTHUR WALTER PATTERSON, of Number 67, Fleet-street, aforesaid.—Saturday, June 13, 1846.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 143.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 20, 1846.

[3d.]

COUNTY REGISTRATION.

Between the 20th of June and the 20th July, a valid claim can be made, which should be in the following form:

To the overseers of the parish of —

I hereby give you notice, that I claim to be inserted in the list of voters for the county [riding or division] of —, and that the particulars of my place of abode and qualification are stated in the columns below. Dated the day of , in the year

(Signed)

Christian name and surname of the claimant at full length.	Place of abode.	Nature of Qualification.	Street, lane, or other like place in this parish (or township), and number of house (if any) where the property is situate, or name of the occupying tenant, or if the qualification consist of a rent-charge, then the names of the owners of the property out of which such rent is issuing, or some of them, and the situation of the property.

Taking care to sign their Christian names (if more than one) and surname in full, their true place of abode, nature of qualification, and locality, conformable with the heading of the notice, so that it may be identified. In the third column state, if the qualification is freehold, say "Freehold house," or "land," or "rent-charge" (if for life, only £10 value is required), giving the name of the owner and the situation of the property.

If copyhold, say "Copyhold house," or "land," as the case may be.

If leasehold, say "Original lease of twenty years," or "sixty years of house," or "land," as the case may be.

If a sub-lease, then "Sub-lease of sixty" or "twenty years," as the case may be.

If tenancy qualification, say "House" or "land occupied at a rental of £50 per annum."

QUALIFIED FREEHOLDERS

Are those possessed of an estate of inheritance of the yearly value of 40s., or an estate for life or lives of the yearly value of £10, or an estate possessed prior to June 7, 1832, or since. If by marriage, or will, or promotion to office, or if the freeholder is himself the actual occupier, 40s. value will be sufficient.

Parish clerks, sextons, schoolmasters, Dissenting ministers, and holders of office, if entitled to emoluments of 40s. out of land, but the appointment must be for life, or during good behaviour. Six months' possession prior to the 31st of July will entitle the freeholder to be registered.

QUALIFIED COPYHOLDERS

Are those possessed of copyhold "houses or land of £10 value." The period of possession the same as for freehold.

QUALIFIED LEASEHOLDERS

Are those who possess an original lease or a sub-lease (if in occupation), originally created for sixty years, of the clear yearly value of £10, over and above all rents and charges, or for twenty years of the clear yearly value of £50, over and above all rents and charges, and in possession thereof twelve months previous to the 31st of July.

QUALIFIED OCCUPYING TENANTS

Are those who occupy as tenant any lands or tenements for which they are bona fide liable to a yearly rental of £50, and the period of occupation must be the same as the leaseholder.

Many electors during last year's revision lost their right of voting for twelve months, owing to their mistaking the tenancy qualification and leasehold qualification; but the reader will see they are totally different, and those who were struck off should reclaim.

The holding of a lease at a rental of £50 will not confer a leasehold qualification. The lease must be worth annually £50, over and above the rent, &c., and persons holding as described, when in occupation, should claim as occupying tenants at £50 rental. The claim, then, can be maintained, and costs demanded, if frivolously and vexatiously objected to. The notice, when filled up in duplicate, may be served on the overseer of the parish where the qualifying property is situate, by taking it to the post-office, where money orders are paid and received, and, on the payment of 3d., the postmaster will stamp the duplicate and forward it by post, or the notice may be left at the residence of the overseer or office for the transaction of the parochial business. It is to be observed that a redeemed land-tax of 40s., if purchased and

entered under Schedule D, will confer a county vote; but neither freehold in occupation of owner, or a copyhold of £10 value, or a leasehold on which a tenement is built, will confer a county vote, if the property is situate in a city or borough. It has to be observed, however, that two or more copyhold or leasehold houses of less clear annual value than £10 each, but more together, will confer a county vote, even although situated in a parliamentary borough.

THE "AMENDMENTS."

"The smallest trifle thankfully received."—(From THE BEGGAR, a farce, lately performed by several persons of quality.)

We certainly ought to have known the faction well by this time; yet, we confess, even a seven years' intimacy had scarcely prepared us for that unblushing exhibition of sordid, spiritless, and crest-fallen mendicancy which disgusted the country on last Monday and Tuesday nights. Never was anything so "cruel small" as this last scramble for odds and ends. The wholesale plunder being over, they come, these aristocratic tradesmen, with beggars' wallet and beggars' whine, and ask for broken victuals and bones to pick. They are not nice. They will take a boon at the very hands of "treachery and perfidy" itself, and say, "thank you kindly, good gentleman." Anything. The new slide, with its 10s. maximum—or, in default of better, a very moderate and low fixed duty. "Some remnant of protection to the agricultural interest," cries the agonised lord of Stowe—"some fragment"—some "shadow"—something, if it were only to show and talk about. "Some small protection," whines that baron bold, De Mauley—something that shall "act as a sort of compromise," and at least "show a kindly feeling." But no! The House Steward is a hard man, and has no bowels of compassion. You have had your answer, and had better "move on there!" Cruel Peel! To think of being so short with "noble lords!"

These men are, in truth, to use the familiar phrase of eleemosynary commiseration, "real objects;"—objects of most real and heartfelt pity to those whose regret at witnessing so humbling displays of mean and hungry importunity on the part of members of a "proud aristocracy" overpowers the indignant scorn called forth by the exhibition of lordly legislators suing for leave to tax poor men's bread, and take toll of poor men's appetites. They are likewise, we must in fairness add, real objects of that charity which makes merciful allowance for the blindness and perverting influence of class privileges—which discriminates between individual character, and the class character induced by a vicious system of legislative favouritism—and which never forgets, that the very men whom the world knows only as the reckless supporters of a fabric of political extortion and injustice, may be, in every relation of private and social life, patterns of all the virtues. We freely give these noble lords all the benefit of the wide moral tolerance due to those misdoings which come under the category of "sins of ignorance."

The truth is, they are punished enough. They have done ample, though unconscious, justice on their own delinquencies. They have spoken—and reporters have written down—and printers have printed—and the too faithful *Hansard* will transmit their lightest, hastiest, and most fugitive utterances to other generations that may feel curious to learn how English protectionist peers, in the year 1846, comported themselves at the last crisis of their political fortunes. It was an awful slip. If they could but have kept quiet one week more! Posterity would have let them off for all the rest. Posterity would never have brought up in judgment against them the rant and nonsense of seven years. Even the "flag of protection," and the "British lion" posterity would have literally "forgiven and for-

gotten" it all, if they could but have been silent at the last. But the closing scenes of the protectionist drama will be profoundly interesting, and each trivial incident will borrow an adventitious attraction from its near vicinity to the *denouement*. We of the League have always been averse to everything savouring of "intimidation;" yet we cannot refrain from warning those noble lords who meditate saying a few more last words for protection, on the occasion of the third reading, that they will do wisely to have the fear of history before their eyes. Every syllable of the last of the Corn Law debates will be read, as long as English history is read. As the whole thing will so soon be over, would it not be judicious to avoid gratuitous self-exposures?

THE TIMES ON A FIXED DUTY.

We believe we may now, for the first time, indulge ourselves in the confident hope, that THE BILL IS SAFE. With every wish to abstain from premature rejoicing, it would be a sort of affectation to hold any longer the language of uncertainty. After the decisive majorities by which, on Monday and Tuesday nights, the committee of their lordships' house rejected the two great protectionist amendments, it is impossible to entertain any serious doubts, that the Government Bill will, in a very few days, become the law of the land. We expect to be enabled, when we next address the public, to announce that the principle of the total abolition of monopoly is definitively placed on the statute book of the United Kingdom.

It is a pity that the general unanimity of national sentiment and conviction which marks the legislative consummation of this great and beneficent measure should be broken by the dissent of any voice entitled to be heard. We regret to perceive that so powerful an organ of opinion as the *Times* places itself, to a certain limited extent, among the minority of objectors and non-contents, and enters a kind of half-retrospective, half-prospective protest on behalf of the principle of a "moderate," or "low," "fixed duty" for the purpose of revenue. As our contemporary treats the matter in a very temperate and argumentative tone, and as we have a little leisure on our hands just now, we willingly take the opportunity to advert once more to a question which henceforth can have no other than a purely speculative interest.

The *Times* complains, with a seriousness and emphasis that almost rise into pathos, that the scheme of a fixed duty has scarcely had fair play in this great national settlement; that it has been "swamped" in a "strange juggle of parties just at the time when it might have been introduced with great advantage to the country at large;" that it has suffered from the "heats of faction" and the "struggle of rival leaders," and has succumbed to what is no better than "a moral prejudice," a "sentiment," and a "cant." Our contemporary sees no more harm in a tax on foreign corn (if levied exclusively for revenue) than in a tax on any other foreign commodity ranking among the necessities, or quasi-necessaries of life. There is "no abstract reason why men should not pay a tax on bread as well as on anything else entered for consumption. There is no good *a priori* reason why they should not pay it on bread as well as on tea, or any article of food." And he views accordingly with natural uneasiness the ascendancy of a doctrine which, according to his theory, puts in jeopardy the entire customs' revenue of the empire. He fears that, some day or other, the tea tax and the sugar tax may go the way of the bread tax, and "an agitation which has prevailed over one branch of the customs' duties may triumph over the rest." Or rather, as it would elsewhere seem,

our contemporary, having a strong faith in the good sense of the British people, and in the ultimate triumph of truth, does *not* fear this, but looks forward to an eventual "revulsion, at some not distant day"—when the "struggle with a stinted exchequer" shall necessitate new fiscal experiments, and, perhaps, "*another Parliament may, at the desire of the people, undo in part what this has already done.*"

There must be few, if any, among the habitual readers of THE LEAGUE, who will not see at a glance the fallacy of all this. The objection which we Free Traders take to the "low-fixed duty" is not exactly that it is a *tax on bread*; the objections to *any* tax on bread rest on grounds valid in themselves, but perfectly distinct from the principle of our movement. We object to the "low fixed duty" on foreign corn, that it is a *protective duty*; that, although imposed in the name of revenue, it would also act in the way of protection; that, by restricting supply, it would raise price—the price of *all* the bread eaten in the country; and that of this enhancement of price the state would receive only that part paid on the corn imported—the rest would go into the pockets of the landlords. The "low fixed duty" would, in fact, be a *differential duty in favour of the home grower, at the cost of the consumer*. It would be making the public pay what the Queen's and people's exchequer would not receive. In what precise proportion it would raise prices—whether by the exact amount of the duty, or by some less or greater amount—is a question which there is no occasion to decide. It is clear that it would raise prices, more or less, for it would narrow the field of supply. It would keep out some corn—namely, that corn which could not afford to pay the duty; and the statutory diminution of supply would be a statutory enhancement of price, of which, not the state, but the landlord, would have the benefit.

The *Times'* analogies fail altogether. Customs' duties on commodities that are exclusively of foreign growth—or customs' duties balanced by an equivalent excise on the same commodity when produced at home—may, or may not, be objectionable, in nature or in amount, on other grounds; but they are not objectionable on that ground on which the British people and legislature now object to the low fixed duty on foreign corn. They are free from the vicious ingredients of protection. There is no artificial enhancement of price for the gain of a class. What the consumer pays, the exchequer receives. The tax on tea is, in its principle, a fair revenue tax, for Great Britain does not grow tea—there is no British tea interest to make a profit by the fiscal enhancement of price. Sugar, the same—for we have a countervailing excise on home-manufactured sugar. Tobacco, the same—for we prohibit its home-growth, to save the cost and trouble of keeping the army of excisemen that would be wanted to protect the revenue from fraud, were its cultivation allowed. And a bread tax would be a fair revenue tax, so far as the *special principle of the League* is concerned, were it levied in the shape of an excise at the mill, on *all* the bread eaten in the country. It would be a burden on all classes—not on all classes except one, for the benefit of that one. It would be a very bad and oppressive tax; but it would be bad and oppressive on grounds perfectly distinct from those on which the Parliament of the United Kingdom is now legislating.

Our contemporary may make himself quite easy. Free Traders mean no harm to her Majesty's treasury, which, indeed, they are only too happy to defend against the invasions of the great "interests" that impudently employ her Majesty's revenue officers to levy private taxes for their own dear protected selves. The League leave the whole question of the relative merits of direct and indirect taxation exactly where they found it. Their work terminates with the emphatic and practical legislative recognition of the principle, that all taxes paid by the people shall go to the people's receiver-general, her Majesty the Queen. As we have none but the very kindest feelings towards our contemporary, we warn him,

as he values his peace of mind, to get this "low fixed duty" out of his head with all convenient speed. He will never live to see it. The "revulsion" will never come. What is done now, in this year 1846, is done on principles that will stand every conceivable test of reason and experience—even the test of a "struggle with a stinted exchequer;" and will never be undone—not even "in part"—while England is England.

THE CHRISTIAN BISHOPS.

We only perform an act of justice, which is as grateful to our own feelings as it is due to the eminent and truly "right reverend" persons above designated, when we record our high sense of the services rendered to the cause of commercial and industrial freedom, by the Bishops of St. David's and Oxford. To those prelates who have simply given their silent votes in favour of the enfranchisement of industry, we tender our thankful acknowledgments; but an ampler and more special tribute is due to those occupants of the episcopal bench who, on the night of Friday, the 12th instant, so luminously expounded, so persuasively recommended, and so energetically enforced, the great principle of the working man's right to earn and eat his bread.

Our Bishops, it will be seen, put the question on its broadest and highest ground. Doctors Thirlwall and Wilberforce understand that it is a working man's question—a people's question—a question of work, wages, food, physical comfort, domestic happiness, intellectual and moral improvement, affecting the great mass of the community; and they refuse—indignantly and scornfully refuse—to narrow and debase it into a question of special class-interest. They resent, as an insult to the church, the appeal which protectionist advocates make to the episcopal order, to stand forward in defence of dear bread and a high scale of tithe rent-charge. The landlords profess superiority to sordid class interest, and our Free Trade prelates deem themselves and their order insulted by an argument that assumes class interest to be the rule of clerical action. The interests of the clergy "*either coincide with those of the great mass of the community, or are distinct and separate from them*;"—if coincident, there is no need of talking of the clergy at all in the matter—if distinct and separate, the great mass of the community must be considered before the clergy. The representatives of the clerical order will not allow the church to be placed in the odious position of living on a public wrong.

"*There is only one way*" in which the Bishop of St. David's "*can consent to look upon this question, and that is, the effect it is likely to have on the COMFORT, AND WELL-BEING, AND PROSPERITY OF THE GREAT MASS OF THE COMMUNITY.*" And his right reverend brother of Oxford repels with scorn "*appeals to the episcopal bench on the MISERABLE SYSTEM OF THINKING WHAT WOULD BE THE BEST FOR THE CLERGY, AND NOT WHAT WOULD BE BEST FOR THE COUNTRY.*" As regards the question of fact, both prelates are sufficiently well versed in the laws of economical science, to know that any nominal diminution in the amount of the tithe rent-charge, resulting from a lowered average price of wheat, will be amply made up to the clergy in the "compensations" arising from increased cheapness of living, and from the general prosperity of the country.

It is not wonderful that the Bishop of Oxford, in particular, spoke with an emphatic and almost vehement earnestness, that gave offence to sensitive protectionist nerves. Doctor Wilberforce remembers 1815—when his father's house was garrisoned by a military force, to defend the supporter of a bread tax from the vindictive fury of a maddened population. He was then but a lad of ten years old—yet thirty years had not effaced the impression which the spectacle of violence and outrage made on the mind of a generous-hearted and quick-sighted boy. All the landlord sophisms are thrown away on him. The memories of that year are conclusive. The Bishop of Oxford

needs nobody to tell him the inherent viciousness of a food law that had to be thrust down the throats of the people at the point of the bayonet. In general, our Bishop's moral perceptions are of a fineness and promptitude to the last degree inconvenient and embarrassing to the advocates of a public wrong. He has a keen eye for a fraud. He sees through a lie at a glance. He made himself particularly disagreeable to their protectionist lordships, by some very plain speaking about "*the nominal owners of heavily-mortgaged property*;" and the unpardonable allusion to labourers who, "*on a day of false festivity, drink from empty glasses a welcome to their landlords*," provoked, naturally enough, the coarse and insolent sarcasm of that lord of salmon who never opens his lips, but something comes out characteristic of the mean and vulgar nature of the man.

From our hearts we thank these Christian bishops. They well merit all that they have won—the rude contumelies of titled bread taxers, and the gratitude and honour of the working and bread-eating millions of the British people. This time, at all events, Christianity has "*lifted a mitred front in courts of Parliament*," to good purpose. The Church of England may set a white mark in her calendar opposite to the day on which, by the lips of two of her most distinguished prelates, she protested, on behalf of "*THE ECONOMY OF THE GOD OF NATURE*," against the "*MOST UNNATURAL PRINCIPLE OF PROHIBITING THE POOR MAN FROM BUYING HIS BREAD ON THE CHEAPEST TERMS.*"

THE TEN HOURS' AGITATORS.

The leaders of the agitation for a ten hours' bill are doing their best to justify the charge we brought against them in our last of having been from the commencement of our labours in collusion with the monopolists. They have held a gathering in Manchester, at which the most virulent abuse has been heaped upon Messrs. Cobden and Bright. We do not know how many persons attended the meeting, or what really passed, beyond the information afforded by the *Morning Post*, to which journal a special report of the proceedings appears to have been given, whilst the reporters for the local press, who might have furnished a faithful account, were either excluded, or did not deem the affair worthy of notice. One of the speakers reiterated a charge, made in London, that Mr. Cobden had attended meetings of the "trades" in Manchester, to induce them to support the League, by holding out hopes that the Free Traders would assist the ten hours' agitation. In yesterday's *Post* appears a letter from "our correspondent at Manchester," reiterating the charge more specifically:

"Mr. Cobden having abstained from voting against the bill in 1844, was selected as the most likely person to complete the fraud the League were about to perpetrate on the factory operatives and the country. Immediate steps were taken to ascertain the places of meeting of the different branches of factory workers, and the whole having been carefully arranged, Mr. Cobden commenced his tour through the various public-houses where those meetings were held. The operatives who constitute such meetings are, as it was well known to Mr. Cobden, to a man, zealous supporters of the Ten Hours' Bill, and do not care a rush about the repeal of the Corn Laws. To secure their support it was of course necessary to promise largely respecting the Factory Bill; but these promises were so well managed and so vaguely made, that Mr. Cobden may have got out of the difficulty by referring to the *actual words* used at such meetings, which are of so jesuitical a character as to be capable of bearing a different construction. The fact, however, is, that the men unanimously believed that the Free Traders would help them to get the Ten Hours' Bill if they (the operatives) would join them for the repeal of the Corn Laws. The bait, in some cases, succeeded, and now, the working classes find they were deceived. Several meetings of them have been held recently on the subject, at which the double-dealing of Cobden has been explained to the workmen. Reports of the proceedings have been published, with which Mr. Cobden has been furnished, but up to this time he has never dared to reply to the charges made against him. In 1838, Mr. O'Connell, as it was alleged, sold the factory children for 1000*l.*, but Mr. Cobden—so the rumour goes—has demanded a higher price. He has stipulated, it is said, for an estate worth 100,000*l.* at least, and subscriptions are now collecting for that testimonial. It is added here, that the millowners are the principal subscribers. Surely such deceptions as these will open the eyes of the working classes of this district, and stimulate the protectionists in all parts of the country to expose these dealers in fraud. The fact is, the working classes of this part of the country do not care sixpence about the repeal of the Corn Laws, and they only want an opportunity of expressing their attachment to the principles of protection to native industry. The Leaguers dare not hold an open meeting or allow the question to be fairly discussed."

Now let our readers observe that here is a specific

statement of certain facts, easily proved if true, and we are going to offer a sufficient temptation to bring out the proof. Mr. Cobden was absent from the division on the factory bill in 1844, because he was engaged in the contest for South Lancashire. It is alleged that he has subsequently lent himself to a scheme for bringing over the factory workers to the League by attending their meetings at public houses, and holding out vague promises, &c. Now we hereby offer 100*l.* reward to any man who will prove that Mr. Cobden has from that time to the present day attended a meeting of factory operatives of any kind whatever. As for the statements made by these worthies of what passed between the delegates and certain members in London, including Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Cobden, we believe them to be as destitute of all foundation as the above; nay, they are so utterly absurd as to be unworthy of contradiction. There is but one way of avoiding the spread of similar falsehoods in future. We advise the Free Trade members of Parliament to confine themselves in their intercourse with these self-styled factory delegates to written communications; or, if they trust themselves in an interview with them, to take the precaution of having a short-hand writer present.

THE CORN BILL AND THE SUGAR DUTIES.

(From the Economist.)

Nothing has transpired to indicate with any certainty the course which will be pursued with regard to the sugar duties. It has even been a matter of doubt whether the present Government will remain in office to deal with the question, or whether it will fall to another Minister to do so. Sir Robert Peel gave notice a fortnight since that he would bring forward the sugar duties on the 12th of June (last night), provided the second reading of the Irish Coercion Bill was disposed of. In the meantime it has been arranged, among the opponents of that bill, that the debate shall be continued, and that a division shall not take place until the Corn Bill has passed the House of Lords, on the ground, that it is expected the Government will be placed in a minority on that bill, and which, it is thought necessary to abstain from doing until the Corn Bill is passed. The Corn Bill will not go into Committee in the House of Lords before Monday next, and it is now very unlikely that it will be finally passed before Monday, the 22nd. If, therefore, the division on the Irish Coercion Bill is to depend upon the time when the Corn Bill is passed, and the introduction of the Sugar Duties Bill is again to depend upon the division on the second reading of the Irish Coercion Bill, it will be the 25th before the sugar duties can be proposed. But as the present bill expires on the 5th of July, it is obvious that there would not be sufficient time left for the discussions which must arise on that bill and all the amendments, of which notices have been given. It is, therefore, more than likely that Sir Robert Peel will take an early day in the ensuing week for the sugar duties, without waiting for the disposal of the Coercion Bill; and even in that case it is difficult to see how sufficient time will remain for the discussions which must arise on those duties, considering the multiplicity of other business before the house. Under any circumstances, therefore, it appears not unlikely that a short bill will be passed to continue the present duties at least for a time, unless, indeed, Sir Robert Peel should be prepared with such a measure (which is by no means unlikely), as should at once secure the approval of a great majority of Parliament. As it is at present, the whole question remains in the greatest uncertainty and doubt, not only as to what will be proposed, but as to who will propose it. All that is positively known is, that Sir Robert Peel expressed an intention at the beginning of the session, of making no further change than that of reducing the present duty upon foreign free labour sugar, to 19*s.* 10*d.* the cwt. from 28*s.* 4*d.*

Lord John Russell has indicated his policy with respect to the sugar duties, not only in the notice which he has given of an amendment upon the proposed plan of the Government, but also (according to the published report), at the meeting of his supporters held at Chesham place, on Saturday last. The noble lord proposes at once to equalise the duty on all foreign sugars, to the rate intended by the Government to be placed on foreign free labour, to take effect immediately, and, further, to provide for the extinction, by equal annual instalments, of the differential duty in five years. According to this plan the duties would be as follows:

	Colonial sugar.	All foreign sugar.
	s. d.	s. d.
1846	14 0	19 10
1847	—	18 8
1848	—	17 6
1849	—	16 4
1850	—	15 2
1851	—	14 0

By this plan the practice, which in many respects has proved exceedingly inconvenient, but which inconvenience would be greatly modified, if not entirely removed, if the sugar duties were placed on a permanent basis, would be abandoned of making these duties an annual bill. As a principle, a deferred reduction of duties has been shown by experience to be highly objectionable. We must, however, admit, with respect to the case before us, that there are reasons which render any other principle so difficult to adopt, that we should not feel disposed to urge any objection to it, except that the time is somewhat too long. After an arrangement based on this principle has been acted upon in settling the question of protection at home, it could not with any fairness be denied to the colonies. Moreover, sugar being an article on which we rely for a large revenue, it is doubtful if a more sudden reduction of duties would not be only an addition to the price paid to the importer, and not a reduction to the consumer, from the want of a sufficient quantity, in the first place, to meet the demand which a

lower price would create. And again, so small a reduction annually as one or two shillings per cwt. will not be sufficient to impede the progress of trade or interfere with usual transactions. Being fixed before-hand, calculations can be made in reference to each change, and supplies will be as uniform as if no change had to take place. The only difference will be, that for a month prior to the time of reduction in each year, some dealers will circumscribe their purchases to immediate wants, but the difference will again be made up in the following month; and even this effect will be partial, as it will be doubtful if the dullness of the market before the change, will not enable the dealers to buy as well, as the brisk market will, immediately after. The difference proposed at any one time will not exceed 2½ per cent. on the price.

As far as revenue is concerned, there can be no doubt this plan would lead to a very important increase from the first, while the immediate reduction of price to the consumers could not be estimated at less than 5*s.* to 6*s.* per cwt. So far we know the views of Lord John Russell; but the doubt still remains, whether, in the event of any circumstance immediately placing the noble lord in power, he could carry them into effect, unless it shall turn out that Sir R. Peel and his colleagues have changed their views since the beginning of the session, and have determined to abandon the distinction between free labour and slave labour.

As to what really are the present views of Sir Robert Peel with regard to the sugar duties, nothing is accurately known. It may, however, be taken for granted that the right hon. baronet has relinquished the principle of protection. To allude to all the rumours which have been circulated during the session of the views of the Minister, of his differences with some of his colleagues on this subject, and finally, of the Cabinet having at length consented to some extensive plan, advocated by Sir Robert Peel, would only be to entangle the subject more than it is. We may, however, allude to some circumstances which point less or more to the course which Government have had in view in relation to these duties, to be acted upon sooner or later.

The Spanish claim for the admission of Cuba sugar at the low duty was at last entirely disposed of and put at rest, by the Duke of Sotomayor, on the part of his Government, accepting the construction put upon the treaties by our Government. But a letter was addressed from Lord Aberdeen to the Spanish Ambassador, dated the 5th of December last, by which it appears that our Minister at Madrid, "was already furnished with instructions, based on a principle of strict reciprocity, and therefore in accordance with the engagements taken in 1783 and in 1809, for a renewal of negotiations" for a new treaty. It may therefore not unfairly be hoped that these negotiations shall have proceeded far enough to enable the present Government, if they do deal with the sugar duties, to relinquish the distinction between free and slave labour, without which, for the present year at least, no other arrangements could meet the wants of the country.

A rumour has been circulated, with some appearance of authority, that it is intended to propose three rates of duty,—one of fourteen shillings on Colonial, one of twenty shillings on foreign free labour, and one of twenty-five shillings on foreign slave labour. We do not give any credit to this rumour. It would be an unjustifiable departure from all principle to reduce slave labour sugar to such a duty as would serve to admit it for consumption, but in such a way as to raise the price of all other sugars to the English consumer. At the present relative prices, the sugars of Brazil could freely pay a duty of twenty-five shillings; but once departing from the principle of practical exclusion, how could a high duty be justified, which only tended to keep the price of sugar at a high rate, to the advantage of the producers in the colonies and in Java? On no pretence could two rates of duty be justified the moment the principle of admitting slave sugar to consumption is acted upon.

Another mode of escaping the present difficulty has been suggested, viz., to suspend the navigation laws, and admit Java sugars from Holland, where the stock is at this moment twenty thousand tons more than last year. Here, again, we meet with the difficulty that those sugars have not the needful certificates of growth, though their origin is easily ascertained. For our own part, we do not think it likely that Sir Robert Peel will adopt any of these temporary expedients. We are rather disposed to think that he will either be prepared with some large and comprehensive scheme with a view to a final settlement of the sugar duties, based, perhaps, on the result of recent negotiations with foreign countries for the purpose of more effectually suppressing the slave trade, or, if not, that he will simply propose the duties announced at the beginning of the session.

Nothing, however, can be so desirable on every account, as that a final arrangement should be made with regard to these duties; and no parties are, probably, more interested in such a final settlement than the colonists themselves. As long as the question is suspended in doubt and uncertainty, we are satisfied nothing really will be done to meet the new competition to which the colonies must sooner or later be exposed, with that earnestness which is required. But a final settlement of the sugar duties must provide for a much lower duty than any as yet contemplated in the various proposed plans. On an article of such universal consumption, and capable of so much extension in its use,—an article, moreover, which must ever be one of the most important objects of exchange for the manufactures of this country in all tropical countries, a high duty cannot be maintained. We are apt to think that fourteen shillings per cwt. or three half-pence the lb., is a low duty, and so it is, compared with what we have been accustomed to;—but, when we consider that that is about seventy-five per cent on the first price of sugar, we are satisfied it is too high either for the permanent interests of the consumer, or for those of commerce, and, ultimately, for the revenue itself.

In order to give a very great stimulus to the consumption of sugar it should be retailed to the public at fourpence per lb.; and such an arrangement of duties is quite possible at this moment to secure that object within four years, without any sacrifice of revenue in the meantime, and with an ultimate and permanent increase after that period. In order to accomplish this great object, we would propose, first to pass resolutions which should bind Parliament to take measures with as little delay as possible to remove all the restrictions to which the colonies are now subjected, and then to pass a sugar bill, establishing a duty of fourteen shillings the cwt, or 1½*d.* per lb., on colonial sugar, and one of eighteen shillings and eightpence per cwt, or twopenny the lb. on all foreign sugars, the former to be reduced at the rate of one shilling and twopenny, and the latter at the rate of two shillings and fourpence per cwt, each year, until they become equal at nine shillings and fourpence per cwt, or one penny the lb. This would be accomplished in four years, thus:—

	Colonial.	Foreign.
Years.	s. d.	s. d.
Duty 1846	14 0	19 10
1847	12 10	18 8
1848	11 8	17 6
1849	10 6	16 4
1850	9 4	15 2
1851	8 2	14 0

Such a reduction of duties we believe would give a stimulus to the production of sugar both in our colonies and in foreign countries, far beyond any calculation that the most sanguine dare now make. But taking merely the experience of the present time, let us see what the effect would be on supply, price, and revenue in 1850, the first year of the lowest duty which would be the most trying one. Last year we consumed 4,880,606 cwt., at an average wholesale price of about 50*s.*—which therefore cost the country 12,415,600*l.* Then take the price of all sugar in bond in 1850 even at 25*s.* 8*d.* per cwt., to which add the duty of 9*s.* 4*d.*, we should have a price of 35*s.* the cwt., or of 3½*d.* per lb. to the dealer. Then suppose each individual expending only the same sum which he does at present on sugar, will give a quantity of 6,972,294 cwt., and if to that we add a quantity in proportion to the increase of population, we shall have a consumption of 7,490,265 cwt., which at 9*s.* 4*d.*, would give a revenue of 3,500,000*l.*, which is, as nearly as may be, the present amount. But our own belief is, that with such a reduction of duty the consumption would be much greater at the low rate of fourpence the lb., at which good sugar would be sold.

The most important consideration is, whether a sufficient quantity could be obtained to supply such a demand. Last year, we imported of all kinds 5,811,281 cwt., or 290,000 tons. What we should require for the contemplated consumption would be 374,000 tons, or 84,000 tons more than the supply of last year. When we consider that the production of the world, available for European and American consumption, is estimated at 905,000 tons, or about 55,000 tons in excess of that of last year—when we look to the rapid increase of production in Java and in the Southern States of North America, by which the latter will soon be rendered more independent of the supplies of other countries—and, chiefly, when we consider the means now being used both in the East and West Indies, to increase the cultivation of sugar, an additional supply of 8,000 tons at the low duty of 9*s.* 4*d.* per cwt. in 1850, is a matter on which any statesman may calculate with the greatest certainty.

One word as to the fiscal effects of this plan. It will be said that an increase of the present revenue may be obtained by a higher scale of duties. We think it probable such might be the case; but it would be at the sacrifice of commerce, and the ultimate perfect success of the scheme. The plan proposed would lead to an additional import trade, amounting at the first price of the sugar, to 2,000,000*l.* annually, and would lead to an export of our manufactures to a similar amount, the profits and wages secured in the production of which would be a much greater boon to the country than any relief from taxation which the revenue derived from a higher scale of duties could afford, besides securing to all classes a plentiful supply of this article of universal consumption at a low price. We are satisfied, before ten years have passed, the revenue derived from such a duty would be greater than from any higher one which may now be imposed; and that without involving any sacrifice in the meantime. With the colonial planters, moreover, such a measure would meet with great approval;—in short, we can hardly imagine any party who could object to the plan, except those who are in favour of resorting more to indirect, and relinquishing direct taxation, who are now few in number. It is the most essential consideration in all fiscal arrangements that we should consider how we can best increase the ability in the community to bear the necessary burthens of the state. They may be lightened by a greater prosperity of trade, but cannot be by a mere shifting from one source to another.

DEATH OF THE REV. DR. HEUGH, OF GLASGOW.—We have to announce with the deepest regret, the death of the Rev. Hugh Heugh, D.D., of Glasgow, which took place on the 10th of June, at his residence in Montrose-street, in the 64th year of his age. Dr. Heugh has, from the commencement of our movement, been an able, zealous, and uncompromising advocate of Free Trade.

SUDDEN DEATH OF MR. J. D. FERNELEY, OF STOCKPORT.—It is with extreme regret we have to announce the awfully sudden death of Mr. John Dyson Ferneley, of Greek-street. Mr. Ferneley died, at his residence, about six o'clock on Sunday evening, in consequence of an attack of an apoplexy. We believe he was in the enjoyment of his customary state of health on Saturday, but on Sunday morning felt somewhat indisposed. He availed himself of some simple aperient medicine, and did not attend chapel in the forenoon. At two o'clock in the afternoon he was attacked by the malady already mentioned; and although Dr. Turner, Mr. George Downs, and Mr. John Blackshaw, surgeons, were incessant in their attentions, he died at six o'clock in the evening. In all the relations of life, Mr. Ferneley's conduct was exemplary, and his loss will be very severely felt by a wide circle of relatives and friends; while his death will occasion a decided blank in the general society of the borough. He was a distinguished member of the Wesleyan Methodist body, and deeply interested himself in all their concerns. His piety was conspicuous and decided, though without a shadow of ostentation. In politics, he was moderately Conservative, without party spirit, and an ardent advocate of Free Trade, and of every measure calculated to promote the general welfare of the people. The enlightening, liberalising spirit of the present times, had its influence upon him, and induced him to devote his talents and energy to the advancement of the cause of commercial reform. To any one at all acquainted with the physical or constitutional peculiarities of individuals, it would at once be obvious, that in Mr. Ferneley there was a natural predisposition to the malady of which he has died. This, acted on probably, by the present oppressively hot weather, has brought about the result which is now so deeply and universally lamented by his fellow townsmen.

In the city and county of Philadelphia, comprising a population of 150,000 persons, nearly 1800 annually wash themselves of their debts by the process of bankruptcy.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE
SESSION OF 1846.

Twenty-second Week, ending Saturday, June 20.

Passengers, after a long sea voyage, when they draw near to their desired haven, brighten up, look after their effects, adjust their persons, and anticipate, with hilarious excitement, the pleasure of walking on *terra firma*. A similar pleasure has animated the friends of Free Trade—meaning thereby the friends of national prosperity, of the improvement and elevation of the working classes, of universal peace, and of our common humanity—in watching the last stages of the Corn Law debate, and waiting on what is now an *assured* victory. The Corn Bill has not, at the time we write, passed quite through the dreaded ordeal of a committee of the House of Lords. But the red-hot bars, and the boiling water, have been administered in vain; a steady majority of THIRTY-THREE, on Monday and on Tuesday nights, have rejected the attempt of the Duke of Buckingham to perpetuate the minimised sliding scale, and of the Earl of Wicklow to impose a fixed duty; and though there remains an amendment of the Duke of Richmond, it is exceedingly probable that on Friday (last night, though we go to press before the fact is known) the bill will be passed through committee, and then, on an early day, the concluding stage, that of third reading, will terminate the triumphant procession.

On Friday night week the exhausted debate received novelty and interest, from the fact that *three* bishops took part in the debate. Hitherto, the episcopal bench had abstained from all expression of opinion; the votes of the prelates were silent ones, though a majority undoubtedly voted in favour of the bill. But on Friday week the silence was broken, and broken in a way which, to a thoughtful observer, proclaims the wonderful power, the majestic influence, of that PUBLIC OPINION which the ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE has evoked, and which has now achieved a peaceable and a bloodless victory, that, a few years ago, might only have been obtained under the lurid glare of Bristol burnings, and the coercion of a revolutionary excitement, more destructive than the outpourings of lava from a volcano.

On Friday week, the adjourned debate was resumed by the Marquis of Exeter, who, throughout his speech, spoke in a tone inaudible except to those in his immediate neighbourhood. He was understood to advocate protection as a system, and consequently to deprecate the measures of the Government.

The Earl Delawarr, who has lately resigned the office of Lord Chamberlain, referred to the kindness with which he had been treated in a distinguished quarter, to which he dare not farther allude, but which called forth his deepest gratitude. His allusion, of course, was to her Majesty, whose zeal for the repeal of the Corn Laws is well known, and who has vainly endeavoured to retain this Corn Law lord in his official situation. But as an honest man he could not support the measures of the Government, in favour of which he denied that public opinion was enlisted.

Dr. Connop Thirlwall, who, in 1840, was created Bishop of St. David's, and whose name is a familiar one in the literary world, then rose, and immediate attention was directed to the significant circumstance of the first member rising on episcopal benches.

The Bishop of ST. DAVID'S said, if he was anxious to be allowed to say a few words before the debate came to a close, he could assure their lordships that it was not because he had any intention to trouble them with a discussion of the general merits of the great question now under consideration, but simply to state the grounds of the vote he had given and meant again to give on that question. This was a subject so alien to his ordinary studies and pursuits, that it was one on which he could have no claim whatever to their lordships' attention. He was conscious he possessed no authority whatever on it that could give the slightest weight to his opinion, and that he was not able to adduce any facts or arguments with which their lordships were not familiar, even to weariness and satiety. It was a very different motive, and one of a very special kind, that had induced him to depart from his original intention, and break the silence he intended to preserve, in order to solicit their lordships' attention. It was a motive that compelled him in a manner to speak in his own defence; for their lordships would not have forgotten that in the course of the recent discussions very numerous appeals—most pointed, emphatic, pressing, and earnest appeals—were made by a great number of noble lords—he did think in a very unusual manner—to those who occupied a place in that part of their lordships' house where he was situated (hear, hear). And their lordships must be aware—as was every one to whom those appeals were addressed—that they were of such a nature as to involve very serious charges against those members of their lordships' house in that place who held the opinions he had, who had given a vote conformable to that which he had given on this question—charges involving a neglect of duty which they (the bishops) ought to hold most sacred, and an indifference to interests which ought to be most dear to them. Under these circumstances it was perfectly natural and proper that one of those to whom such remarks had applied should for a short time solicit their lordships' attention to meet these appeals. At the same time, he was speaking simply in his own name; he had not the presumption to pretend to stand forward as the representative of others, many of whom would be much better able to discharge the duty, and to whom he should most gladly have resigned it, if he had seen any manifestation of an intention on their part to address the house; still, however, he believed that in the most part he should, in what he was about to say, be speaking the sentiments of the whole of that (the episcopal) bench (hear, hear, hear). There was one thing in the appeals made to the episcopal bench which he must acknowledge afforded him some satisfaction; namely, that those appeals came exclusively from

one quarter, and one part of the house—from noble lords adverse to the measure. The case might have been far otherwise, considering the arguments used on other occasions; and he could not help expressing surprise that those noble lords should not consider that in these appeals they were using a weapon which might be employed just as effectually by their opponents, and turned against themselves. For it would not have been surprising, if that bench had been appealed to on principles, not merely of public policy, but of justice, of humanity, nay, of religion itself, and if even texts of Scripture had been adduced to prove that it was their bounden duty not to lend their countenance to any measures which had for their visible object that of thwarting the benevolent designs of Providence, by restricting the supply of food to the population of the country (cheers). It would have been quite as specious a kind of appeal. Not that he attached the slightest value to such arguments, he considered them as gross fallacies; but at the same time he admired the moderation of noble lords favourable to this bill, in refraining from those popular and specious topics (hear). He held them to be fallacies, because it was quite clear that they took for granted the question at issue; that they supposed, not only that one view of the subject was the only right one, but that it was known and felt to be so by those who opposed it (hear). Another circumstance connected with these appeals deserved attention; and he really looked upon them as a very curious and remarkable feature in this discussion. The noble lords who made them seemed a little inconsistent with their own professed principles. They appealed to the episcopal bench, in their quality of representatives of the rights and interests of the clergy, to give their votes against a measure which threatened to be injurious to those interests; but what was the language, and what were the professions of the same noble lords in other parts of their speeches? Had not every one of them most indignantly repudiated the idea of treating this as a landlord's question, or a question affecting the peculiar interests of a class (hear, hear, hear)? They all stood forward as the advocates of the interests of the great mass of the community, the friends of the labouring man; they cast away all considerations of private interest, all considerations affecting their own order. But must not the clergy stand in that position also (hear, hear)? If the interests of the clergy were identical with those of the great mass of the community, then what occasion was there to bring the episcopal bench into particular notice, and appeal to them as the representatives of those particular interests? When their lordships considered the line of argument taken by those noble lords—how they had represented the measure as pregnant with ruin to the institutions of the country, as well as to the labouring population, did it not border upon the ridiculous, that there should be placed in juxtaposition with those mighty interests anything so comparatively diminutive and insignificant as the effect the measure was to have upon the interests of the clergy? Were they (the bishops) to be told in the same breath to resist this bill, because it tended to the overthrow and ruin of the empire, and also because it would produce a considerable reduction of tithes (hear, hear)? There appeared to him to be indications of something which those noble lords were willing to conceal, not only from the house but themselves. All must recollect the vehement language of one noble lord, who held out some vague indefinite threat of retributive consequences, which were to fall upon the members of that (the episcopal) bench, if, as he said, they deserted—what? Not the interests of their country, or of the labouring population, or any interests which might be expected to be dear and sacred to them in the character which they sustained in that house; but, said the noble lord, if they (the bishops) should desert "us." It was evident what was uppermost in the noble lord's mind. Why, he felt, although he might not be distinctly conscious of it, that this was not the question of the labouring classes, not the question even of the tenant farmers, but that it was a landlord's question (hear, hear, hear). But there was another circumstance still more remarkable about these appeals; noble lords who expressed such a sympathy for the interests of the clergy appeared to understand their wishes and feelings better than the clergy themselves. For not only had the clergy as a body abstained from expressing any opinion on the subject publicly or by petitions; but they had never in private, as far as he (the Bishop of St. David's) knew, signified to the members of the episcopal bench any desire as to the course of conduct they should pursue on this subject (hear, hear, hear). He conceived that in so acting the clergy had acted most wisely, and had earned the approbation and respect of their countrymen (cheers); but what could be the purport of the appeals made by noble lords to that (the episcopal) bench, except that they should, by their voluntary, officious interference, place the clergy in that very invidious position which they themselves had declined to stand in (hear, hear)? What must those noble lords have thought, if there had been in that sense a perfect unanimity among the members of that bench, but that part of the house at least had been swayed, not by their dispassionate and deliberate convictions, but by a sense of the interests of their own class (hear)? He rejoiced that it was otherwise, proving that they (the bishops) as a body had followed their own convictions; and he might appeal here to the fact, that two of that body, united not only by their office but by ties of blood, took opposite sides of this question (hear, hear). A noble duke (the Duke of Buckingham) had spoken of the effect of this measure upon the interests of the clergy, and had calculated it so precisely as to be able to say that their incomes would be diminished by one-fourth; he (the Bishop of St. David's) did not pretend to be able to follow that calculation, but he conceived that the noble duke had overlooked everything in the shape of compensation which the clergy might receive to make up for this deficiency in consequence of the effects of this measure, and which, being anticipated by its advocates, could not fairly be left out of the account. Moreover, whatever the bad effects of the bill on the interests of the clergy, they could not properly be laid upon this measure, but resulted from one passed long since, for it was by this measure in connection with that for the commutation of tithes, that the interests of the clergy were placed on a different footing from those of other classes interested in land. But, if so, although it was possible that the clergy might sustain loss, they could not say they suffered any injury, for that measure was undoubtedly passed with the concurrence of those who represented their interests in that house, and with full warning of the possibility, if not probability, that it would be followed by the proposal now under consideration. Some who took part in that discussion distinctly adverted to the possibility of a repeal of the Corn Law at no very distant period. He (the Bishop of St. David's) alluded to that, to show the uncertainty of calculations of this nature; for those who adverted to this possibility did so, not because they conceived the inte-

rests of the clergy would be affected in such case, but because the repeal would operate as a grievance and a hardship to the owners of land ("Oh!" from the front cross-bench). The noble duke who cried "oh!" would find that the fact was so. However, he (the Bishop of St. David's) would only say here, that the clergy did not entertain the slightest desire that their (the bishops') votes on this question should be in the least degree influenced by their view of its operation upon the particular interests of the clergy; and if he were to say to them, "I think I have merited your approbation, for although, according to my own convictions, the measure was one likely to promote the general interests of the community, still, because I understood and believed that it was likely to operate injuriously to you, I complied with the exhortations I received from some of your best friends by voting against it;"—if he were capable of such folly and such dishonesty, he was quite sure he should be as far from earning the good will and thanks of any part of the clergy, as from deserving the good opinion of any man in the country (hear, hear). He could not consent to place such a momentous question as this upon any such narrow, paltry, and miserable ground, as its effect upon any particular class, however closely he was connected with it. He could consent to look at it only in the view of its probable effect upon the comfort, prosperity, and well-being of the great mass of the community (hear, hear). Now, looking at it in that point of view, he would wish to ask those noble lords to whom he had been referring, whether he rightly understood them, that the state of the great mass of the labouring population of this country was, upon the whole, so satisfactory, that it did not stand in need of any great change (hear, hear)? He thought that expressions which fell upon his ear pointed strongly to such a notion; and yet, when he reflected on all that he heard and saw, it appeared so monstrous a paradox, that he scrupled to attribute it to the good sense and good feeling of any of their lordships (hear). It was impossible to doubt that, if this measure were a great and a fearful experiment, as was said, at all events it was not a gratuitous and wanton one. Gratuitous and unnecessary it might be with reference to the case of those noble lords, and the class immediately below them, the occupiers of their land, who might have no desire for any uncertain or perilous change; but with regard to the interests those noble lords most particularly professed to advocate, he must contend that this was far from a gratuitous experiment, that it was one forced upon Parliament by the emergencies and necessities of the case, and that the question was one of life or death to the people of this country. To his own mind it was the great recommendation of the measure, that at all events it held out that which was the sweetener of all human adversity and misery—hope ("hear, hear," and a laugh), the hope of an improvement in the condition of the people. If their lordships rejected this experiment, and declared their determination to abide by the system advocated by the noble lords to whom he had referred, what had they to hold out in exchange? What prospect of improvement did they present (hear)? It was a natural and inevitable consequence of their principles, that they should more or less directly, openly, or covertly deny the existence of the need of such improvement (hear, hear). The house had been reminded in this discussion of the consequences likely to ensue from the rejection of this measure—reminded of what he believed to be an unquestionable fact, that such a step would be likely to produce a very great degree of disappointment, and discontent, and irritation, in the country. That was a topic on which he should be most unwilling to touch for the purpose of influencing their lordships' determination; but there was one thing deserving their most serious attention,—the reason why the rejection of this measure was likely to produce such discontent and irritation. Was it not simply this, that the country at large, the labouring population, felt that if their lordships rejected this measure, they were excluding them from the only hope which they had at present to look to of a favourable change in their condition (hear, hear)? He (the Bishop of St. David's) did not mean to say, that although he looked at this measure with hopeful expectation, he anticipated any very great advantages from it (laughter, and ironical cheers from the cross-benches). He was glad to have afforded some transient gratification to any of their lordships (a laugh). If the Government had represented the measure in the light in which it had been placed by many popular declaimers, as the beginning of a new epoch of unbounded prosperity in the country, he should have viewed it with the greatest distrust; he felt his confidence in it very much strengthened by the sobriety and caution of the language in which they expressed their expectation, contenting themselves with declaring their belief that it will produce an increased steadiness in the market, more constant and regular employment for the labouring man, give a certain and very active stimulus to trade, and a considerable and healthy stimulus to agriculture itself (hear, hear). With all this, he was quite aware that it would be unreasonable to expect it to promote the great interests of the manufacturers, and at the same time produce very considerable advantage or addition to the comforts and enjoyments of the labouring man. But he still anticipated some such results; and he would remind their lordships that, however small individually those results might be in adding to the means of existence enjoyed by the labouring men, it became a matter of great importance when the vast surface over which the benefit was to be spread came to be considered. He was not sure that noble lords were all fully aware of the importance of the addition made to the comfort, happiness, and well-being of the labouring population by a very minute addition to their means. It was frequently the case that the poor were unable to take advantage of the means of education and instruction accessible to them, in consequence of the misery of their physical condition. In a parish where there might be an excellent school, and a place of worship affording abundant room for the population, there might be seen swarms of ragged children playing about throughout the whole of the Sundays and other days, and contracting habits of idleness. Why was this the case? In nine cases out of ten it would be found, that it occurred because those children had not decent clothing to appear in at church or at school. Now, if it happened that the parents had a little surplus, however small, out of the share they received of the productions of the soil which they cultivated, and which surplus they might send to Manchester in exchange for decent articles of clothing, such an addition to their means would be an inestimable blessing, as it would enable them to obtain for their children the means of instruction, and would thus tend to improve their moral and religious condition (hear, hear). He had heard noble lords speak of this measure as a wanton and gratuitous experiment, because it was not positively certain what amount of benefit was to be derived from it. Though that might be a fair consideration for those

who had to bear the whole responsibility of introducing it, it was no argument against the measure which ought to operate on their lordships' minds; because, if this measure were to leave the country in the precise state in which it was at present, still he contended that by rejecting the measure their lordships were incurring imminent danger of altering their position in the most injurious manner. It would be no contemptible gain if their lordships relieved themselves from the obloquy and suspicion of having rejected such a measure from selfish and interested motives (hear, hear). Their lordships might feel conscious of the purity of their intentions; but, as a strong feeling with respect to this measure was entertained out of doors, their lordships' conduct might be subjected to a different construction. A noble lord who spoke last night observed, that it would be remarkable that a measure of this importance should be passed through the House of Lords on the very first time when it was brought forward in that house, and had reminded their lordships how differently they had dealt with another great question, on which they had first differed from the other house, but to which they ultimately acceded—viz., the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. He would remind that noble lord that there was a wide difference between the two cases. With respect to the question of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, it was possible that for rejecting it their lordships might be charged with short-sighted prejudices, but there could be no suspicion that they were biased by motives of personal interest. Could there be a more glaring contrast than that which existed between the two cases? Though he had said that he did not entertain any exaggerated expectation of benefit to be derived from the passing of this measure, still he had a very decided belief that the alarm of disastrous consequences to be expected from it had been very greatly exaggerated. There were several reasons for believing that those consequences were not of a nature which ought to excite any reasonable apprehension. In the first place, those who threatened these disastrous consequences had, throughout their whole arguments, entirely overlooked all the compensations which might arise from the nature of things for any of the evils which they anticipated even if those evils were realised. It had been assumed that if the legislature passed this measure, it would thereby divest itself for ever of the power of interposing at any future period for the purpose of redressing and correcting any inequality, injury, or inconvenience, which experience might show to be the result of it. Now, he took it to be quite certain that Parliament did not, by passing this measure, abrogate any such power, and did not preclude itself from receiving lessons from experience, or of adopting any legislative enactment applicable to the state of things which might result. He placed unbounded confidence in the wisdom and justice of Parliament, and he hoped and believed that, if it should appear that the result of this measure was unfair and injurious to the people or oppressive to any particular class of men, it would be found not beyond the reach of the wisdom and justice of Parliament to provide a remedy. Therefore he felt on every ground that he had not in the vote he had given, and which he was about to repeat, betrayed any of those interests which ought to be dear and sacred to him, while at the same time he had consulted, to the best of his poor ability and judgment, the interests of the community (hear, hear). It was, at all events, a great consolation for him to reflect that with respect to the vote he had given he found himself coinciding with men who had bestowed the most anxious and careful study on this question, and with the great majority of all the parties between which the legislature had hitherto been divided (hear, hear). He could not believe, in coming to the same conclusion with them, that he had fallen into any very great, serious, or fatal error; and with respect to those interests to which he had more particularly adverted, it would be a great consolation to him to feel that, whatever might be the result of the present measure, the conduct of the clergy with respect to it had increased for them the respect, the good-will, and the confidence of the mass of the people (cheers).

The Bishop of Exeter agreed with the Bishop of St. David's as to the disinterested conduct of the clergy, but differed wholly from him as to the probable effects of the measure. It might not be a main argument, but it was an important subsidiary one, that the temporal interests of the clergy would be affected by the bill, and to these they could not be indifferent. The worthy bishop disclaimed all knowledge of the thing called "POLITICAL ECONOMY;" and in that ignorance, declared that good wages and good food were far better for the poor than mere cheap bread, and he believed that the effect of the bill will be to place the labouring classes on the footing of the Polish serfs, while its most ardent promoters would be completely disappointed. He hoped that their lordships, discarding all other considerations, would act as in their judicial capacity, and, laying their hands on their hearts, say "Content," or "Non-content."

Several Peers having risen to address the house, and a great tumult having been raised as to who should have precedence, a short conversation on the subject of precedence arose, Lord Brougham thinking that speakers should follow each other for and against, and the Duke of Richmond suggesting that in that case they should measure time by the clock. At last the Earl of Warwick was allowed to proceed in a speech in which he strongly censured the proceedings of the Anti-Corn-Law League, and condemned the Government measures.

The next speech was a striking one. Dr. Wilberforce, the son of the Wilberforce, is still a young man, somewhere about 49 years of age. His rise in the church has been rapid. A short time ago, he was Archdeacon of Surrey. He was promoted to be Dean of Westminster; and about the commencement of the present year was made Bishop of Oxford. This is understood to be owing to the favour of her Majesty, whose admiration of the talents and the character of Dr. Wilberforce is very great. But the Bishop of Oxford (the youngest bishop who has attained the episcopal bench for many years past) is a remarkable man. His style of speaking is very showy; but then it is based on solid acquirements, accompanied by a boldness of spirit, and a freshness of heart, absolutely gratifying. Several times during his speech, on Friday week, the Protectionist peers, who writhed under his manly declarations, attempted to put him down by smiles, laughter, sarcastic cheers, and even

groans. But nothing daunted him. Every interruption only inspired him; and his rebukes were delivered with a calm dignity which gave them force and power.

The Bishop of OXFORD said: After what has fallen from my right rev. friends, and from many noble lords, in the course of this debate, I feel it necessary, holding the opinions I entertain, and being prepared to record a similar vote to that which I have before given on that question, to trouble your lordships with a very few plain remarks, explaining the reasons which guide me in giving my vote. My right rev. friend on my left (the Bishop of Exeter) expressed great gratification at the appeals which have been made to himself and to other right rev. prelates on this occasion; and he gave a version of those appeals marked, I may venture to say, with singular skill and subtlety. He said, "We occupy these benches under peculiar circumstances; we are, as it were, authorities upon morals and religion; and, therefore, noble lords, anxious to be right upon matters of morality and religion, naturally appeal to us and ask for our opinion upon those questions." To all the appeals made to the bench upon which I have the honour to sit I have been a diffident and attentive auditor; but I cannot admit that such has been the character of the appeals made to us. I appeal to your lordships to give a verdict upon this point. What was the appeal of the noble marquis who began the debate? He said we had been devising schemes to increase the incomes of the clergy, and that now we were going by the present measure to diminish them. Was this the appeal becoming our position as authorities upon moral and religious matters in this house? One noble earl allowed himself to use language of this character. He began with the erroneous assumption of a fact. He said that the incomes of the bishops had been commuted into a fixed money payment (hear, hear). That is a view entirely fallacious. He then said to us,—"Your incomes are separate and distinct from those of the working clergy, and whereas this bill will lower their incomes, it will, inasmuch as it raises the value of money, improve your fixed incomes." The noble earl said to us that we should mend our incomes by diminishing those of the working clergy. My lords, these appeals are not only improper, they are utterly unconstitutional. We do not sit here to represent a particular class, and it is destructive of all sound constitutional principle to say so. The House of Lords is constituted by drawing members from every profession and rank in society, and is composed of those who by hereditary descent, and those who by the favour of the Sovereign, sit here to represent, not the interests of the class in which they were born, but the interests of all classes of the community (hear). If it were not so our mouths would be sealed upon all subjects except those affecting the interests of the clerical class. I cannot therefore welcome an appeal addressed to us as if we sat here to consider what is best for the clergy, instead of what is best for the country (cheers). I do not say that we neglect the interests of the clergy in taking that course, because I believe that their interests are intimately bound up with the interests of the country. The noble earl opposite on a former night addressed us on the principle that we were going to do something fatal to the country, and that we ought not to do so. But something was wanting in the noble earl's argument, and that was the shade of a reason why what we are going to do should be fatal to the country. That argument, therefore, so far as I am concerned, is entirely beside the mark. I shall not follow the example of the right rev. prelate in disclaiming all knowledge of political economy, because some slight knowledge of it is necessary for the consideration of this subject, and if the right rev. prelate says he has none, he puts himself out of the condition of the argument (hear, hear). I would rather suppose that he said this out of modesty, because the right rev. prelate is a very judge and master in all other matters which come before him in his legislative capacity, and this is a matter which lies in the alphabet of political economy. On the surest principles of political economy, so far as I have been able to understand them, I approve of this measure. It is, I admit, an experiment; but when was a great measure anything else but an experiment? All legislation is but a series of experiments. You meet a certain evil by a remedy embracing the greatest probable amount of good. I look at this question, my lords, chiefly as affecting the position and habits of the working class. Noble lords who have opposed this bill have been but too happy to appear as the labourers' advocates; but I cannot allow them to occupy that position. The present law, with regard to the importation of corn, must be admitted to be an unnatural state of things (cries of "No, no," from the cross benches). Do noble lords who cry "No, no," know the meaning of the term "natural"? In the providence of God and by the order of nature, wheat grows in the field; it is fed by the dew and ripened by the sun. God working through certain known laws. But does any one believe that for the working man to have bread on the cheapest terms is not a part of the economy of the God of Nature (cheers)? I say a Corn Law is unnatural. Legislation is for the most part, I admit, an interference with nature, but that legislation which as little as possible interferes with the order of nature is the best. The labourer is now prevented from being that important element in society in this country which he will be in the natural working of your altered law. The effect of repealing the present law is that it will produce competition.

The Duke of RICHMOND: Competition with foreign labour!

The Bishop of OXFORD: I thankfully accept the agreement which I crave (a laugh). What is it that makes any man more valuable in a life of labour? It is the amount of competition he has to strive against. Be he farmer or be he labourer, what is it that makes him important and valuable to those above him? It is competition; and, unless the foreign labourer competes with our own, he will never raise his present position. The noble duke smiles. It is agreeable to see a person in a matter affecting his own personal feelings smile rather than be angry (a laugh); but I do not forget that I am met by a smile instead of an argument,—by a laugh instead of an answer,—and I shall go on through the chain of reasoning I was about to enter upon, although the noble duke's laugh should increase to the highest degree of cachinnation (laughter). My lords, in the woollen manufacture, as long as there was no room for competition with foreigners, there was no room for skill, but when competition came in it became worth the while of the manufacturers to create a better class of labourers. So it will be found that competition generally both requires and makes it worth while to employ a better class of labourers. As long as the growth of our fields is protected, the grossest form of unskilled labour will be sufficient to enable the labourer to earn his bread, and the farmer to pay his rent. But when you admit foreign corn, the result will be that the owners

and holders and tillers of the soil will all suffer if they make no change in their mode of cultivation. Self-interest here steps in, and when they cannot look to the legislature to protect them, they are compelled to protect themselves, by using the advantages which they possess. The farmers of this country must make an acre of land produce corn in greater quantity (an ironical cheer from the Duke of Richmond). The principle of protection has so completely eaten into the heart of the noble duke, that he cheers as if it were untrue that the English agriculturist could grow any larger quantity of produce from his land.

The Duke of RICHMOND said that the whole course of his life contradicted this opinion. He had always urged the English farmer to increase his produce as much as possible.

The Bishop of OXFORD:—I was not speaking of the whole course of the noble duke's life, but of the sound of his voice, which I admit was of an inarticulate, and doubtful, and easily mistaken nature (a laugh). Will the noble duke, will any one say, that the introduction of a better sort of agricultural husbandry will not bring in an increase of cattle-feeding, and that it will not be attended by a greater demand for labour (hear)? Let noble lords remember that we have a measure proposed to us, not by a bare authority, but proposed by the only two great parties who, as parties, can conduct the government of the country. I am not voting for this measure to keep the right honourable baronet in power. There is an essential difference between supporting a Government, and supporting the present Government. The one is a lawful, and the other an unlawful and treacherous motive. But, noble lords impute to us who support this measure motives of a contradictory and irreconcilable character. They say we do not give a free vote on a great constitutional question, because we are biased by a desire to keep the right honourable baronet in power, and yet they say we do not believe it will have the effect of keeping him in power. Then, it is said, that her Majesty's Government have brought forward this measure on account of certain agitation and clamour; and the noble duke cheers me. He will say, perhaps, that this agitation and clamour have been caused by the League. But has the noble duke read so little of constitutional history and of the proceedings of this house, as to tell me that the League, though they may have raised a large sum of money, ought to be spoken of as a body which the House of Lords must dread. The great consideration which gives them power and influence is, that the great mass of the thinking men in this country are with the League. In the depth of their hearts, and in the centre of their convictions, noble lords must know that the opinions of the people accord with this agitation, and they know that then and not otherwise such an agitation becomes fearful. Would the machinery of the League terrify this house, if their objects did not come home to the sympathies of the people? If the League had double their actual funds and proposed the repeal for instance of the Reform Bill, that agitation would not be dreaded by your lordships, because there is nothing in the great mass of the English people to answer to such an appeal. The secret, my lords, is, that in the thinking mind of England and the feeling heart of England, the opinions of the League are sympathised with, and this is why noble lords are roused by what they call agitation and clamour. There is this feeling risen and rising. The minds of men have undergone a change, and they are ready to support a Government which proposes a measure in conformity with that change. The condition of the working clergy has been referred to, as it will be affected by this bill. My lords, I know no class of persons who encounter more hardships and make sacrifices more cheerfully than the working clergy. I believe that in many cases a reduction in their incomes will be a reduction not merely in their luxuries, but in many cases in the essential necessities of life (hear, hear, hear). But it is a striking circumstance that the clergy have not raised their voices anywhere in support of the Corn Laws. This has not been from want of invitation, for they have been invited to throw themselves into the battle, and they would be covered by the capacious shields of their defenders. But they would not respond to the invitation; not because they fear to oppose the Government, for the table of this house has been covered with petitions against a bill supposed to be advocated by the most leading mind of the Government; because when they did indeed believe that a great national principle was at stake they were the first and most numerous in coming forward with their addresses to your lordships; but in this other case, because they suspected that they themselves must be injured—for I admit so much,—because they considered that they had no grounds of justice upon which to withstand this measure, they have been altogether silent (hear, hear). I say grounds of justice, because I very much desire that your lordships should distinctly see that injustice to them—injustice to the parochial clergy was committed by the Tithe Commutation Act, and not by the alteration in the Corn Laws. Before the Tithe Commutation Act it was urged that the clergy had a great interest in the agriculture of the country; but it was judged needful, I will not say whether it was wise or not, that they should lose that interest; and take in future an annual sum out of the income of the concern, instead of being, as they had been, sleeping partners in it; and why were they asked to do that? Because it was said that agriculture would be greatly improved if other persons who would come forward and advance the money were to have the whole interest of that money, instead of the clergy taking any part of it. What, then, is this Corn Law repeal, my lords, but the simple carrying out of that same object?—making it worth while for capitalists, if necessary, to lay out money in improving agriculture, in order that we may compete with the foreign grower; and therefore the injury done to the English clergy, when you take from him an increasing share in an increasing concern, and not allowing him any share in the increasing profits of that concern, is but in accordance with your former Act; and therefore the clergy, feeling that they have no ground of justice on which to resist this measure, have held a noble, dignified, self-denying silence, have refused to join in the clamour which they might most injuriously have swelled (hear, hear), and have set to all classes in the community an example such as it is rarely the habit or in the power of any one class to set, by showing that they knew there were interests beyond the interests of money, and a reward for themselves greater than the reward of their annual income (hear, hear). And when I say this, I admit that I think it probable that, to a certain amount, the income of the English clergy will be injured by this bill, and I do not see how that can be met except in one way, they will be made partakers in that compensation which this bill will produce in the cheapness of articles of consumption. This will be direct; but there will be another upon which I will say one word (hear, hear). But, before I do so, I think

there is one class which will also be injured by this bill. I think it right and fair in argument to admit that. It is a class who may possibly have some representatives in this house—I mean the nominal owners of great property mortgaged to their creditors (hear, hear); and I will say of them that they appear to me to be in precisely the same position as the English clergy, and they may do well to copy in this respect their example (hear, hear). I think they will be injured by this bill, because, as I said, the foreign grower is only to be met by improved agriculture in England—by bringing corn into the markets of a better quality and in greater quantity, with the advantage which greater security of price will give to increasing such agriculture—of having better markets, and freedom from the liabilities of change, to which they are now subject. Now, in the case of noble lords who have capital, where money will be laid out, the capital will come from the possession of those noble lords. But I grant you, and it is my bounden duty in argument to do so, that when the estates of a noble lord are mainly and wholly another's, when they are mortgaged to his creditors, when he has no money to improve his land, then does arise the deep and solemn question which the noble earl put with that plainness of language upon which I could hardly have ventured, but which I may adopt, when he said, in a tone of sepulchral demand—“and where is the money to come from” (laughter)? Now it does appear to me an undeniable fact, that with regard to those mortgaged estates, the effect of your legislation must be that many of those lands must change hands (hear, hear), because we know that the tenantry of a poor proprietor are generally poor themselves; I know, from their cottages, that the labouring workmen of a poor proprietor are lamentably poor. It happened to me, the other day, to inquire into the moral condition of a certain parish, and I was told by the clergyman that it was in the worst state of immorality; and when I asked how it came, he said from the miserable dwellings of the poor making everything like decency of life absolutely impossible. I followed up my question by asking, “why have you not told the proprietor of the estate that he must, upon the higher claims of duty and upon the lower grounds of expediency, lay out some of his money in building better cottages?” The answer I received was, “I have already done so, the case has been looked into, but he says he has no money to build cottages with.” And this, my lords, is the case with many who, in the common parlance of society, are the owners of vast tracts of land, and who consider it necessary to their territorial greatness, but who are only nominally lords of the land, for others really possess them, and displace all the influence of the proprietor, who alone can feel the responsibility with reference to the poor on their estates. He alone can feel that responsibility; but if he does, he is unable to acknowledge it in any degree, because instead of having a small property really his own which he could improve, he has nominally a great property altogether beyond his means, and so he is, in fact, reduced to the condition which I fear some of your lordships are too familiar with, of the farmer with a larger farm than he has the capital to work, and which is altogether neglected, whilst the same man with a small farm equal to his capital, would be a good and successful farmer. And therefore, my lords, although I admit fairly that there must be much evil in such a change of property, I say that, looking forward to that as one of the possible contingencies of the working of this bill, yet it appears to me to be no reason why your lordships should not adopt it; because, in fact, it will be only one means of bringing the whole of property into a healthier and better condition—a condition in which it will be more easy to improve the land and more natural to acknowledge the responsibility which waits upon the possessor of it. This, my lords, seemed to me to be a most important view of this question, which it was the duty of a person in my situation, even at the risk of offending some of your lordships, to present to your notice. My lords, it is because I think that the condition of the poor is such as to require some such measure as this that I am an advocate in its behalf. But, my lords, I said there was another reason for the silence of the clergy. I believe that many of them, many who are acquainted with this state of society, are looking forward to this measure because, from the effects it will produce, they will minister to a happier, more contented, better provided, elevated peasantry (hear, hear). I know that they who live amongst that class, who do not see them only upon the days of forced festivity, drinking out of empty glasses “health to their landlord, and prosperity to agriculture” (hear, hear, and laughter), they who see them amongst their homes and trials, who visit them when they lie on the bed of fever and of death—I know that those men, for I myself was 15 or 16 years one of them, are continually grieved in their hearts at sights of wretchedness which they cannot alleviate, and wants to which they can only administer by spiritual consolation. I believe, my lords, that the other side of the hypothesis of Lord Bacon is made good in England. I believe, my lords, that the absolute necessity of this measure can be proved. I know that the clergy of this country believe that the state of the great mass of the labouring population and the peasantry of England is such that they cannot desire it long to continue as it is (hear, hear). They see other mouths to provide for, and no work likely to be found to furnish them with food; they see these things practically,—and looking round for a remedy, they believe it will be found in anything that increases the general prosperity of the country (hear, hear). But, some noble lords say, that this measure will not increase the prosperity of the country; that our best markets for our manufactures, our home markets, will be injured, and that we shall suffer more than any body else (hear, hear). The noble lord cheers that, and I will join in it, because if it be so what becomes of the argument brought forward with the usual eloquence and power of the noble earl who at the beginning of this debate told us to calculate on the step we were taking, for it is irremediable for us and our posterity. Why? Because you give way to some strong necessity and admit to a share of power persons heretofore excluded, there is no retracing of your steps, because the persons to whom you give this power will be strong enough to keep it. But the noble lord says you are altogether in mistake about this measure. It will be ruin to the manufacturers and agriculturists. Then I ask, my lords, who is the third party to maintain this measure (hear)? Why is it to be irremediable? If it is found that the home markets will be ruined by this measure, will any one of those who claimed this concession stand up in the House of Commons and ask that it might be continued? If the manufacturers are on the brink of ruin, if agriculture is on the verge of destruction, they will forget their past dissensions and ask that this measure shall not continue. They will have found the evil of this experiment, and the utmost harm will be that you will have to retrace your steps and re-enact the former law (hear, hear). Therefore, this argu-

ment, my lords, is clearly most destructive to the other argument from which the opposite side of the house draw their conclusions. The two cannot be held together by any rational man. Therefore, with the utmost deference to those who differ from me, but with a full determination not to act upon the judgment of others, but to the best of my poor ability to judge for myself upon the subject under discussion, I am prepared, for one, to risk the dangers, and as I hope to partake of the benefits of the experiment you are now invited to make. It would ill become me, my lords, and it is most alien to my feelings to suppose that your lordships were influenced by any motive of fear upon this measure. If any strong motive be brought to bias your decision, there is but one motive of fear which your lordships have any danger of falling into—and that is the fear of being thought afraid (hear, hear, hear). I believe that this is the fear your lordships should, more than any other, guard against—that you should not, for fear of being thought, out of fear, to have changed your purpose, refuse to show that the time is come when that which might once be useful has become noxious; for let me remind your lordships of one of the arguments mentioned in this debate from an agricultural quarter, but in a manner which seemed to me not to savour of any great agricultural faith. The argument was this:—“Protection is the course you pursue with regard to everything else. You nurse carefully and protect the tender fruits of the earth; and you ought to do the same with this tender plant, the agriculture of England.” I do not think that our agriculture is so tender an exotic; and I have no doubt that, free from the shackles of protection, it will assert its own indigenous strength and power (hear). But my lords, I am a protector of native industry (ironical cheers from the crossbenches); and, in spite of the cheer of the noble duke, of which I am as little afraid as of his arguments (a laugh), I again assert the same thing (hear), and I say that we, on this side of the question, are the true protectors of native industry; for what is that true protection? Simply to bring it into the field, and enable it to maintain a wholesome competition with the foreigner. Such was the course with respect to the great manufactures of this country. In the commencement of those manufactures they were sheltered with protection, even as you would place a glass upon a tender seedling (hear, hear); but as soon as they had asserted their native strength, and had based themselves upon the habits and minds of the people, that protection was found to be an impediment to their growth, and was withdrawn. When Mr. Burke said he would raise the woollen manufactures of England until they supplied the markets of the world, by raising foreign competition, he was met by clamour, to which even in this house we have not been altogether strangers this evening (laughter). He was told he was going to exterminate our manufactures. But the truth of his prophecy was proved, because it was based upon the eternal truths that govern all human conduct and human things (loud cries of “hear, hear”). You must provide for human necessities by human exertions—by human skill. You must teach men that they must depend upon their own right arm, their own moral habits, their own genius, and the ever favouring providence of God. You must teach them to compete with the world, and not, by your system of protection, to destroy that object. Make it worth while for that native industry to meet that of the world, and you will be the true protectors of that native industry (hear, hear, hear). You will make it as sure as it ever can be now, for who can depend upon any legislation, when any rash Minister (as we are told), at the sacrifice of place—of everything which a party man esteems of the highest value, but fulfilling that which his conscience tells him he ought to fulfil, in order to provide the necessities of life for a great nation, which Providence has placed under his government, may abandon it at any moment? In spite, then, of those derisive cheers, I venture to say that I and the noble lords who think with me are, and at one day will be acknowledged to be the true protectors of the native industry of the English people; and, believing this, I would most earnestly beseech you not to be led away by that taking declamation which has tickled our ears (a laugh). I hope your lordships will not be misled by the splendid declamation with which we have been favoured. What is declamation? Is it not painting in the most glowing colours certain propositions, which, when they come to be tried and examined, prove to be rottenness and delusion (cries of “hear, hear”); telling you that you are about to do that which the most partial Englishman could not have admitted into his brain, and then proving them by saying that wheat was sold in the Liverpool market at 15s. per quarter, and then, when the fact comes to be examined, it crumbles away, and you find that 15s. was 25s. on the spot in a distant port, to which was to be added the expense of freight, the outlay of capital, and that the wheat was also of inferior quality (hear, hear, and a laugh). I entreat your lordships not to be led away by any such declamation, delightful to hear, but not matter upon which Englishmen and English statesmen should draw their conclusions. I do believe, my lords, that there is in the minds of the people of this country a deep seated conviction, a firm persuasion, that your lordships will in this, as in other matters, gravely, soberly, and wisely consult, not for your own interests, but for the best interests of the whole nation. Here, my lords, is your strength, and I do beseech you not to shake its foundations. Her Majesty's Government has been said to be mainly culpable in that it did not send back to the electoral classes this question for decision before calling upon Parliament to settle it. My lords, such a course I believe would have been alike unworthy of English statesmen acting on an enlightened view of their duties, and contrary to the essence of the constitution. I believe the very principle of representation as settled by the constitution of this country, to be that the electoral body, when they elect, should leave to the judgment and discretion of their representatives for a limited time the decision of those questions which may arise and call for decision during that period, and I think, therefore, with respect to any separate question, of such a nature as that it can easily be made matter of divers representations addressed to and acting mainly on the feelings of those who have to decide in elections, that such a question is one which would be reserved by the theory of the constitution, not for the decision of the electoral body, but would be left to the decision of the elected. It had been stated to their lordships that this question was mixed up with a multitude of questions of political economy; but if so, how alien was such a question from the habits that could alone lead to a proper decision of it on the part of the people? How surely, at an election, would it be carried by appealing to the feelings and passions, and not by the sober exercise of cool, calm judgment; how certainly would it be decided by appeals from one side and the other to those particular prejudices, feelings, and passions, by which, of all others, it was most undecidable, for the welfare

of the nation, that such a question should be settled? Therefore, my lords, I think it would have been unworthy of a great statesman to have taken this course, and have flinched from calling upon Parliament for a decision upon this question—flinched, first from a regard for himself, and then from a regard for your lordships. I think it would have been unworthy of a great statesman, after having satisfied himself by cogent arguments and reasons, to have said, “I dare not rest on them; I must risk a dangerous convulsion, which will reach to every county and borough in England, in order to set the question at rest.” What would that have been—what else could it necessarily have been—but to set class against class in a struggle of a doubtful issue; what but to tell the manufacturer, “Now is the moment for you to try all your strength;” and to tell the agriculturist, “Now is the time come for you to raise your loud shout for protection to agriculture?” My lords, it cannot be doubted that the effect would have been to cause this question to be decided as a great party question instead of deciding it by the dictates of the wisdom of the best informed minds, if the Government had gone to the country instead of coming to Parliament for the settlement of it. Sit on this question then, my lords, I beseech you, divested of party feeling; sit on it judicially, not as the representatives of one interest or another, not as owners of rents (hear, hear), not as owners of land, not as owners of inappropriate titles who are about to suffer by the change; but as the natural heads of the great English people, in whose welfare your whole welfare is necessarily bound up—in whose success you must succeed, and in whose prosperity you must prosper (hear, hear, hear). Remember, I beseech you, that the labouring classes of this country look to you, in the patient endurance of long-continued suffering—suffering which, I am sure, no other class of men but the English peasantry could be found to endure with patience—but with the anxious hope that you are about to do something to assuage that hard and consuming suffering. Do not disappoint the expectations that they have built upon your known justice. Do not, above all, mistake the greatness of that suffering for apathy to that which is passing around them. Do not read the signs of the times so. Never was there in this country, a time in which there was less outbreaking dissatisfaction, but that is not because the labouring classes are apathetic with respect to their condition, but the reason is, because they believe that those who have the power have also the inclination to do something for the improvement of their situation. Beware, my lords, of disappointing those expectations. Show the people of this country that your decision of this question is based on the broad and grand principle of justice to all, not on the narrow one of advantage to a few. In coming to this decision on those broad grounds, you will set on the firmest and broadest foundations the authority of this assembly. In this assembly, I believe, is laid the main ground of British liberty. Show that you are ready to make any sacrifice—if sacrifice there be—of that which has been only given to classes for the benefit of the people around. Your power is indeed great; but there are some things which it cannot effect. It cannot stand, my lords, against the rising tide of a great nation's conviction. Do not think, therefore, that even you can set your curule chairs on the edge of the rising waters, and think that you can bid them, on a principle of hereditary prescription, recede and fall back from your feet. Do not, my lords, set this house in a position in which it shall seem to represent the hereditary wealth, and not the hereditary justice, wisdom, and virtue of this mighty people (cheers).

Lord Ashburton, with reference to the allusion of the Bishop of Oxford to mortgaged estates, reminded the house of one of the heroes of the French revolution, who said, “I have great respect for the rights of property, but we must change the proprietors.” A one-sided Free Trade would not change the policy of other nations, and could only ruin ourselves. It was evident, also, from the recent despatch of Lord Cathcart, that he entertained great apprehensions as to the result of the measure on the social and commercial interests of Canada.

Lord Montagu adduced from the population returns evidence that the non-agricultural portions of the community were rapidly accumulating, as compared with the agricultural; and this result, on the principles of political economy, was the condition of every prosperous country in which land was increasing in value and productiveness. But protective legislation retarded the natural development of this prosperity, as he showed by tracing the effects of the successive Corn Acts which have been passed since 1815, and which he contended have worked injuriously to all interests, agricultural as well as commercial.

The remainder of the evening was occupied by speeches from Lord Stanley, who predicted ruin; from Earl Grey, who ably grappled with Lord Stanley's allegations and arguments; from Lord Brougham, who performed a similar operation; and from the Duke of Richmond, who attacked the Bishop of Oxford. At the close of all, Earl Stanhope's motion was either withdrawn or negated, without a vote; and it was agreed that the house should go into committee on the following Monday.

On Monday night, in the House of Lords, before their lordships went to the order of the day,

Lord Stanley presented a petition, signed by the chairman of Lloyd's, the chairmen of the London and East India Dock Companies, six Bank directors, a large number of bankers, merchants, shipowners, and traders of the city of London, including all engaged in the Canada and Australian trades, expressing doubt whether the petition which had been presented by Lord Dalhousie represented the general opinion of those classes in the city, and declaring that they did not believe the bill before the house was necessary or called for; and that, in their opinion, it was an experiment affecting vital branches of our national interests, and involving the most serious consequences, which called for the anxious consideration of their lordships.

The Earl of Dalhousie observed, that the petition he had presented did not profess to express more than the opinions of the petitioners, “certain” merchants, bankers, and traders of the city of London, including, however, 24 or 26 Bank directors, 14 other banking firms, and 267 other signatures.

Earl Grey took notice of an erasure in the petition of a passage which had expressed an opinion that there was no necessity for passing the bill with the least possible delay, which erasure implied that, in their opinion, it ought to pass without any delay.

The debate on the order of the day for going into committee was resumed by

Lord COLVILLE, who very shortly declared his hostility to the Bill.

The BISHOP of ST. DAVID'S, with reference to a remark of Lord Stanley upon a former night, said, that of his public income little more than one-third was derived from a fixed payment, and as to the rest, it was subject to the reductions consequent upon any depreciation of the prices of agricultural produce, exactly in the same proportion as the incomes of any other of the clergy.

Lord STANLEY justified the allusion he had made by an observation which had fallen from the Bishop of St. David's, that there might be an impression out of doors that their lordships were influenced in their votes by motives of personal interest, and he insisted that there was a broad distinction between the episcopal bench and the parochial clergy in relation to the measure.

The BISHOP of SALISBURY vindicated himself and his brother prelates from any suspicion that motives of personal interest could sway their opinions.

The Earl of Malmesbury, the Bishop of St. David's, the Bishop of Oxford, and the Earl of Winchelsea addressed their lordships with some warmth upon this personal matter.

The house then went into committee on the bill, when

The Duke of BUCKINGHAM, with a view of saving a shadow of protection to the agricultural interest, moved the omission from the first clause of the date "1st February, 1849," when the 1s. duty is to come into operation, the effect of which would be to continue a portion of the sliding scale, so that, after 1849, the duty on wheat at 48s. would be 10s. per quarter, and at 53s. and upwards 4s. He was aware that many of their lordships were in favour of a fixed duty, instead of the remains of a sliding scale; but he still claimed their votes for the protection he proposed.

The Earl of RIPON opposed the amendment. An objection had been made to the interval of three years; but this did not destroy the principle of the bill, and it had been considered that it might have the effect of mitigating the evils which might arise from the greatness of the change. The amendment of the noble duke was at variance with the principle of the bill; it professed to give a protection, and a protection which, so far from being an efficient one, was not worth the acceptance of the agricultural interest, if they could hope to maintain it.

The Earl of CLANCARTY supported the amendment. His lordship went over several of the topics which had been urged by other peers in opposition to the bill. He defended the Irish landlords from the charges which had been attempted to be fastened upon them. The landlords of Ireland felt that they held the land in trust for the benefit, not of themselves merely, but of the nation. This measure would fall with severity upon them, and not on them only, but upon the class of occupiers. He should cordially support the amendment, not in order to defeat the bill, but because, if carried, it would show that their lordships recognised the principle of a *minimum* of protection.

Earl STANHOPE likewise supported the amendment. In reply to the objection of Lord Ripon, he contended that the principle of the bill was contained in its preamble, which was not opposed to the amendment, for it merely declared the expedience of altering the laws relating to the importation of corn. After repeating, with increased severity, his animadversions upon the "great dictator of the Cabinet," and upon those who had basely and pusillanimously supported him at the expense of a violation of duty and breach of the trust reposed in them by their constituents, his lordship admitted that, as a measure of protection, the amendment was inefficient, still it recognised the principle that protection was necessary to British industry, and upon the same ground he had supported the sliding scale, though he did not think it a full and sufficient protection to agriculture; and in voting for the amendment he did not pledge himself to adhere to this or any other sliding scale.

Lord BEAUMONT was also in favour of the amendment. He admitted that it was no efficient protection, but still those who supported it might justify their votes upon the ground that it retained the name of protection. This, however, was not the ground upon which he gave his vote, but, first, because he thought it was wrong to abandon, at the end of three years, one of the chief sources of our revenue; secondly, because he believed that, instead of being an advantage to the farmer, the delay of three years would be seriously injurious to him; and, thirdly, he thought their lordships had no right to legislate this year for another Parliament, adopting a principle which they dared not carry into effect. If the principle of Free Trade was to be adopted, it should be adopted at once; whereas this bill would derange our foreign commerce as well as our agriculture, exhibiting the monstrous absurdity of a sliding scale without the benefit of the sliding scale, and which was intended neither for revenue nor protection. His lordship denied the assertions made respecting the effect of this bill upon commuted tithes. The tithes had been commuted upon the result of years of high farming upon protection, which had brought poor lands under tillage, which were now saddled with arable tithes, though they would be thrown out of cultivation by this bill. He likewise attempted to show that the operation of the measure would be to put into the pocket of foreigners the amount of revenue which was sacrificed by this bill.

The Marquis of BUTE opposed the amendment. He thought the noble duke who moved it, in his own mind, considered that it was no real protection; and if it was not, the landed interest were much better without it. This was not his own opinion merely, but the opinions of a large proportion of the farmers of this country. Then, would it not place a large portion of her Majesty's subjects in the invidious position of desiring a tax upon foreign corn which would be of no use to themselves or to any one else? The noble marquis considered that the supposed alarms of the farmers had been much exaggerated; he did not think they viewed the measure with apprehension.

The Earl of HARDWICK, in support of the amendment, said, when this bill passed their lordships would hear no more of Free Trade except from farmers, who would be the parties anxious to buy their articles of consumption as cheaply as they could. The object of the amendment was to have a fraction of protection left, in order that they might come to the house hereafter, if necessary, for more protection; for without protection he was convinced the poorer soils of this country could not be cultivated. Their lordships were less likely to suffer from this measure than another class, a numerous class in this country, and particularly in Ireland—namely, those who cultivated or owned small portions of land. In Ireland there were 157,000 farmers who cultivated less than 15 acres of land each. These were the classes who would suffer from this bill, so unjustly said to

be a landlords' question. The noble earl then showed, from a detailed statement of the expenditure and produce of a heavy clay farm, assuming, as he did, that the price of wheat under this bill be 40s. a quarter, that if no rent at all was taken, the tenant would be a loser. Their lordships must not lose sight of the political consequences of this measure. How was the Government to be maintained if, with a manufacturing class imbued with radical sentiments, the county constituencies were offended and disgusted? If that protection was withdrawn from the landed interest which had enabled it to discharge the peculiar burdens cast upon it, it was only an act of justice to make the monied interest take an equal share in the burdens of the State.

Lord KINNAIRD agreed with his noble friend who had just addressed the house, in deprecating the clause which held this question in suspense for three years longer. He should certainly have preferred a total and immediate repeal (hear, hear). His noble friend stated that, if this measure were carried, all the farmers of the country would become Free Traders. He (Lord Kinnaird) should not be surprised at that, for, as a member of the Anti-Corn-Law League, he might say that the principle of universal Free Trade was a principle on which they had always relied (hear). One of the dangers the noble lord opposite had set forward with much force was the irruption of foreign grain to be expected upon the reduction of the duty. This was an assertion which apparently deserved some attention, but in effect it would be found of no importance. There was a large quantity at present in bond which could not be sold at a profit to the merchant for less than 60s. He contended that the improved method of cultivation which would be introduced would more than compensate for the less price to be obtained for the grain. He would instance the successful competition of the Scotch agriculturists with those of England as an example of the advantage to be derived from a better education of the agriculturist, and the introduction of a better system of farming. A friend of his had stated that two Scotch agricultural labourers were fully equal to three labourers of Hampshire or Dorsetshire; and their work, besides being equal in quantity, would be much better done. An experiment had been tried in Ireland on two fields, side by side; one was cultivated on the old system, and the net profit for three years was 6l. 12s. 6d. The other was cultivated on an improved system and thoroughly manured, and the profit for the same period was 23l. 7s. 6d. (hear, hear). Much had been said about the ruinous effect which the repeal of the Corn Laws would have upon the value of landed property. He (Lord Kinnaird) had had the advantage of hearing the opinion of Mr. Simpson, the eminent auctioneer, a few days back; and what did their lordships think was the effect already produced? Mr. Simpson said, that in all his long experience he had never known estates more in demand, or more easily either let or sold. Rents were rising, and prices were firm and to be obtained with facility. Few better or more competent authorities than that gentleman could be found, and such was his statement; and he had added that the sliding as well as other scales had fallen from his eyes (laughter). But there was another high and competent authority, whose opinion was of great weight upon the question—he meant the tenantry themselves. On an estate which he (Lord Kinnaird) would mention as an instance merely of what was taking place, a number of farms having lately fallen out of lease, the tenants, in retaking them, demanded the insertion of a clause giving them the option, in case the Corn Laws should be repealed, of giving up their holdings. The agent consented upon condition that a similar option were given to the landlord of rescinding the lease, in case the property should, after the repeal of those laws, become more valuable. The terms were agreed upon, but before the completion of the deed the tenants came voluntarily forward, and declined to have the option in either case inserted, preferring to take their chance in the ordinary manner as theretofore. He could cite several similar instances to their lordships; but he did not wish at that late hour to trespass further upon their time. But before he sat down he wished to add a word or two with regard to what had been said of the League, of which he was a member. Many allusions had been made to that body, and it had been asserted that no such excitement existed in the towns upon the question before them as had been represented by the League to exist. Their lordships would, he hoped, give them (the League) credit for having remained perfectly quiescent during the progress of the debate in both houses. To such an extent, indeed, had they been quiet as to have given some sort of right to the noble lord opposite to say that no excitement could be got up by them in the towns upon the subject; but he could assure the noble lord that the League had resisted all the applications which had been made to them from all parts of the country to make a movement during the discussion, from a motive of respect to their lordships, to the other branch of the legislature, and to the Government which had taken the matter in hand, lest it might be said of them, in case they made a great demonstration, that their intention was to intimidate their lordships (laughter and cheers). He was well aware that the League had been already frequently charged with an attempt to intimidate, and he was equally aware that many protectionists had asserted that their lordships could not be intimidated; but although that had been said, yet he could assure them that the motives of the League were such as he had stated. They would not give a colour to such an assertion. They left the matter in the hands of the Government, and to the wisdom and discernment of their lordships and the other House of Parliament, and that had been the reason for the great quiescence of that body (hear, hear). But if their lordships imagined that there was any apathy abroad upon the subject they greatly mistook the feelings of the country. The opinions of the manufacturing districts were deep and unanimous. He could speak for Scotland from personal knowledge, and he should say that if they were disappointed in their expectation that the Corn Bill would pass—if anything should occur to mar those hopes which were regarded at present as almost certain—they would soon be heard, and in an unmistakable voice.

Upon his lordship resuming his seat, two or three noble lords essayed to be heard, but the calls of "question" and for a division were so general that they desisted, and the house divided. The numbers were:

For the amendment 103
Against it 136
Majority in favour of the original motion — 33

The house resumed, and immediately after adjourned at a quarter past 11 o'clock.

On Tuesday, farther procedure was resumed, on the order of the day for going into committee.

Earl Stanhope asked if the Government could inform him

whether, under the Corn Law Repeal Bill, the price of corn would be raised, lowered, or remain stationary.

The Earl of Ripon replied, that under each of the former Corn Laws there had been extreme fluctuations in the price of corn, and though not anticipating any very material change, he declined to prophesy.

Earl Stanhope said it was evident that the Government had brought in their measure in total ignorance of what its effect would be.

The Earl of Winchelsea then convulsed the house with laughter by likening the conduct of ministers to that of a medical man, who, after 20 years' discreet management of his patient, suddenly proposed, on the recommendation of a quack, to try a wholly different course, though utterly unable to say what would be the effect of the experiment he proposed.

The Duke of Richmond pointed out that in a recent despatch to Canada, Mr. Secretary Gladstone stated it to be the opinion of competent persons that prices would remain about the level of the average of the years 1844-45. If no great change were to take place, why all this agitation?

Earl Stanhope thought that the country would form its own opinions of the suspicious silence of the Government.

The Earl of Ripon would not submit to the imputation of a "suspicious silence."

Earl Stanhope did not impute personal motives.

Earl Grey remarked that the object of Free Trade was to obtain, not an assumed price of 80s., as in 1815; nor of 65s., as in 1827; nor of 55s., as in 1842; all of which assumptions were never realised; but to confer on the country the advantage of obtaining corn at the natural price, whatever that might be. They ought no more to be called on to predict the price of corn than of tea, cotton, for any other commodity.

Some further conversation was kept up, turning on the point of order, and the subject dropped.

The house having gone into committee on the Corn Bill,

The Earl of WICKLOW moved an amendment in the first clause, that the duty upon wheat not the produce of our colonies, after February 1, 1849, be 5s. instead of 1s.; and if their lordships agreed to this proposition, he should move that there be a proportionate alteration in the duty upon other grain. The noble Earl adverted to the conflicting opinions respecting the effect of this bill upon prices—some thinking they would fall, others that they would rise, whilst others believed that there would be little or no change, but a less fluctuation of prices. To secure the latter object was said to be the aim of the bill, and if it did get rid of that fluctuation, so injurious to the farmer as well as to the consumer, he needed no argument to prove that a 5s. duty would not have the effect of raising prices, which would be much the same with the duty as without it; so that, whilst the consumer lost nothing, the revenue of the country would be a considerable gain. After enlarging upon the evils which would flow from the measure in its present shape, his lordship asked, if it was wrong to tax the necessities of life and the food of the people, why were other necessities of life taxed except corn—sugar, for example, which was as much a necessary as wheat? He knew that the consequence of his amendment, if carried, would be to cause the loss of the bill, and he wished it, in order to get a better bill, a measure likely to be permanent, for it was impossible to settle this question, and the agitation connected with it, by this bill, which, as respected Canada was the most impolitic measure ever introduced.

The Marquis of CLANRICARDE opposed the amendment. He pointed out the different position in which this question stood now and when he, on a former occasion, supported a fixed protective duty; the sudden withdrawal of all protection would have then created a panic, and he had never been an uncompromising enemy of all protection. The country has since undergone great change of circumstances and of opinion. As to whether this bill would depress the prices of corn, he believed that prices would be lowered by this bill; but not in a way to injure the landed interest, for he thought our farmers, in spite of their burdens, which had some compensations, would be able to compete with any foreign growers, who had none of the advantages of good roads and other appliances of the British farmer. Meanwhile, the prosperity of the country would be increased, and with increased prosperity the value of landed property would increase. He agreed with the noble earl that bread might be taxed for revenue, a 5s. duty was only a shadow of protection, and he thought a low duty upon corn for revenue might be judicious: not from any abstract love of a tax, but as a substitute for another tax, and when he had advocated a fixed duty, it was to avoid the alternative of an income tax, under which, however, the nation now seemed to be patient. He had no love for this bill, though he had voted for its second reading. He agreed with the Duke of Richmond that it was a bill which seemed to have been framed, as far as the retention of the sliding scale, for the purpose of embarrassment. Still less did he admire the pretences under which this great measure had been introduced; and the way in which it had been carried was, in his opinion, very injurious to men in high stations. After a severe criticism of the conduct and arguments of the Premier, the noble Marquis declared he entertained every one of the principles he had professed, and it was not without difficulty that he had come to the determination to vote against the amendment.

The Earl of CARNARVON, who supported the amendment, considered that the great question was, whether this measure would practically improve, or practically deteriorate, the condition of the poor man. He thought that the cheapening of corn would throw land in this country out of cultivation, and that the poor man would lose more on the one hand than he gained on the other, and as far as the agricultural labourer was concerned, any diminution of the profits of the farmer would infallibly act upon his interests. His lordship predicted from this measure the most destructive consequences to the tenant farmers and lesser tenants, who would suffer utter shipwreck, and their lordships were bound to look to the interests of little men. He shortly replied to some of the arguments against a fixed duty; and deprecating the application of the pure principle of Free Trade to a commodity in which so large a class was interested, he urged their lordships to consent to this fragment of protection, which would put this great question at rest, and instead of keeping up a conflict that set class against class, pour all the balm they could into the wounds of the agricultural interest.

Lord DE MAULEY supported the amendment, considering that a fixed duty so small as that proposed would assist the revenue, and enable the Government to repeal other taxes which weighed more heavily upon the mass of the country, whilst it would afford some slight protection, incidentally, to the landed interest.

Lord CLONCUNRY declared, that the people of Ireland, who had suffered much misery from the famine, would gladly assent to and acquiesce in this law, though many of them did not know what bread was.

The Earl of WINCHELSEA supported the amendment, not because he concurred in the reasons for which it was proposed, but in the hope of another and a better bill. His lordship reiterated, with little diversity, the arguments of preceding speakers against the bill, and denied that a measure could set this question at rest which would entail a reduction of 20 and 25 per cent. of the retail of the country. So fearful a revolution would keep up a constant ferment and agitation.

Lord POLWARTH, being connected with various counties in Scotland, and cognizant of the feelings of the agricultural interest there, explained the circumstances under which certain farms in Scotland had been let at higher rents in 1844 and 1845, from which he nevertheless drew conclusions adverse to the bill. The agriculturists of Scotland felt great alarm at this measure. The farmers considered that if they weathered the storm, it must be by changing their mode of agriculture, and by increasing their stock. He believed the measure would have the effect of causing a considerable displacement of labour, a great quantity of which would be driven out of the agricultural counties.

The Earl FITZWILLIAM complained that that house had been ill-treated by her Majesty's ministers, who ought to have allowed their lordships a voice in this measure. Men who had obtained power in the way they had, by the support of the aristocracy and of the landed interest, ought to have brought to the consideration of this question that branch of the legislature in which the aristocracy sat, and which was most connected with the agricultural democracy of England; and the noble earl declared, amidst loud cheering, that her Majesty's ministers had betrayed all who had placed a reliance upon them, and that he trusted, whatever coincidence of opinion there might be between his friends about him and the Government upon this question, they would never sully themselves by an intimate connection with those who had conducted themselves in such a manner. After referring to the strange contrast between the year 1833, when he proposed a measure like this and stood alone, and the present time, when both houses were in its favour, the noble earl said he would not with Lord Winchelsea reject this bill in the hope of getting a better, or run the risk of a general election upon it. He believed that the measure would confer a great benefit upon the mass of the people, all classes of whom would be placed by it in circumstances of more ease and comfort; whilst it would be advantageous to agriculture in every part of the kingdom, and most in those parts which were least advanced.

Lord BROUGHAM lamented the loss of time in a discussion of the bill in general, instead of the amendment, which was the question before the house. His lordship dispelled the languor of the discussion by some amusing remarks upon Lord Fitzwilliam's speech, justifying the course pursued by her Majesty's Ministers with regard to this bill, and soothed the terrors of the "alarmists" by reading accounts of recent land sales in Essex and Suffolk so far exceeding the valuation as to astonish the auctioneer, an enemy of Free Trade. With reference to the amendment, he was and always had been an enemy to a fixed duty. He preferred the sliding scale, little as he liked it. To say a 5s. duty was a measure of finance was absurd; unless a corresponding duty was imposed upon our own corn, it was a measure of protection, and it imposed a tax upon the people in the shape of an enhanced price of bread. The noble and learned lord, in touching upon the delicate subject of a change of administration, said he would not ask Lord Stanhope to say who would be Ministers a fortnight hence; but he would venture to prophesy that there would be no change, and he assigned the grounds of his prediction in the proceedings of certain parties with reference to this bill and the Coercion Bill, which he had learned from certain "eminent oracles." He called upon their lordships to reject the amendment on its own merits, and because it would be neither more nor less than throwing out the bill.

Lord STANLEY retorted upon Lord Brougham, in a tone of raillery, the charge he had made against other peers of wandering from the proper subject of discussion. He adopted Lord Fitzwilliam's objection against the course of proceeding in this measure by a bill originated in the House of Commons, which gave their lordships no alternative between agreeing to or rejecting the bill as it stood. The rights of this house were infringed, the constitution itself was infringed, if a measure involving great political considerations was sent up from the Commons in the shape of a money bill; it should have been done by resolution in the other house sent up to this house. His lordship was commenting upon a part of Lord Brougham's argument upon the effect of a 5s. duty, which brought up

Lord BROUGHAM, who repudiated the argument attributed to him, and the debate was suspended for a time by a contention on the question of order.

Lord STANLEY, upon resuming, adverted to the coalitions and meetings spoken of by Lord Brougham, professing his ignorance of such proceedings. He acknowledged the justice of Earl Fitzwilliam's remark upon the extraordinary combination of parties now existing; it was by that combination alone that this measure would be inflicted upon the people. Disclaiming for himself and those who acted with him all desire to seek to overthrow the present Ministry—they were above such a proceeding—and applying himself to the amendment, his lordship observed that he had long been of opinion that, as a measure of protection, the sliding scale was infinitely preferable to a fixed duty; and if this amendment had been proposed before the second reading of the bill, he should have opposed it. But the house had rejected a modified sliding scale, and he, therefore, without hesitation, should vote for this amendment, preferring a fixed duty to no duty at all. He urged the evil effects attending the exchange of indirect for direct taxation, and the impolicy of binding succeeding Parliaments, Ministers, and constitutions. He concluded by affirming that this measure never would have been passed but for considerations alien to it, and for the combinations of parties to which he had alluded.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE began by referring to the statements of Lord Brougham relative to certain meetings, distinctly declaring that what really took place at the private house in question was the reverse of what had been stated by Lord Brougham, whom he defied to prove that he (Lord Lansdowne) had taken any other course than a fair parliamentary one in respect to either the Corn Bill or the Coercion Bill. With regard to the amendment, he had never supported a fixed duty in any other sense than that of revenue; and even now he considered that a low fixed duty for revenue might be desirable. But a 5s. duty, either for revenue or for protection, was not worth contending for, with

the prospect of losing the measure. He was prepared to make a sacrifice in order that this bill might become the law of the land; and although he was sanguine enough to hope that it would extinguish agitation, if, at the end of a few years, the agricultural interest should suffer injury from the measure, there would be a union of opinions in the country which would procure a revision of the whole subject.

Lord BROUGHAM replied with some warmth to the observations of the noble marquis, which seemed to imply that he had been an informer or an eaves dropper, and he entered, amidst symptoms of impatience, into some details in vindication of what he had before stated respecting private meetings of the Opposition. The noble lord then turned to Lord Stanley, with whom he expostulated for having cast what he conceived to be an imputation upon his motives in defending the measures of the present Government, and declared that it was his own fault, not that of the present Ministers, he was out of office, for he had firmly but respectfully declined most high and brilliant offers.

The Earl of BESBOROUGH explained what had taken place at the meeting referred to, confirming the statement of Lord Lansdowne.

The committee then divided, when the numbers were—

For the amendment 107
Against it 110

Majority —3

The house then resumed, with the understanding that the other clauses of the bill would be considered on Friday.

Their lordships then adjourned.

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*Gortside, Thomas, Woodrow, nr do	..	1	0
A Friend, per J. Bottomley	..	1	0
*Winterbottom, John, Dobcross	..	1	0
Buckley, Miss, Uppernill	..	1	0
Whitehead, Daniel, do	..	1	0
Mills, Thomas, Wood, near Delph	..	1	0
A Friend	..	1	0
Eastwood, Wm., Dobcross	..	0	16
Platt, Joseph, Uppernill	..	0	8
Arison, John, do	..	0	5
Bottomley, John, Road End	..	0	5
McKinnel, H., Woolroad	..	0	5
Wrigley, John, per J. C.	..	0	5
Hall, Isaac, Dobcross	..	0	4
Chapman, Moses, Uppernill	..	0	4
Schofield, Edmund, do	..	0	4
Kenworthy, James, do	..	0	3
Shackleton, Thomas, Boarshirst	..	0	2
Sykes, David, Tamewater	..	0	2
Small Sums	..	0	9
*Armstrong, Wm., Percy street	..	4	0
Carr, John, 37, Quay-side	..	1	0
*Smith, Robert, Collingwood-street	..	1	0
Forster, Wm., St. Thomas's Terrace	..	1	0
*West, R. J., Dean-street	..	1	0
E. M.	..	1	0
J. B.	..	1	0
A Free Trader	..	0	10

*Craven, Messrs. John and Joseph	..	20	0	0
*Butterfield, Messrs., Brothers	..	20	0	0
*Turner, John, Cross Hills, near	..	10	0	0
*Clapham, S. B.	..	6	0	0
*Brigg, John	..	4	0	0
Sugden, Messrs. Jonas and Brothers, Oakworth, near	..	4	0	0
*Wright, Wm., Silsden, near	..	4	0	0
Haggas, Messrs. Wm. and Sons, Oakworth, near	..	3	0	0
*Town, John	..	2	0	0
*Lund, Wm.	..	2	0	0
Keighley. Wilson, John, Carr Head, near	..	2	0	0
*Pearson, Abraham, Steeton, near	..	1	0	0
*Green, John, Sutton, near	..	1	0	0
*Parkinson, John, Eastburn, near	..	1	0	0
Hopkinson, Gilbert	..	0	8	0
Hopkinson, Thomas, Cross Hills, near	..	0	4	0
Hall, Edward, do	..	0	4	0
Smith, Wm., do	..	0	4	0
Parkinson, Robert, do	..	0	4	0
Greenwood, Wm., do	..	0	4	0
Arnold, Solomon, Eastburn, near	..	0	4	0
Asquith, Charles, Sutton, near	..	0	4	0

Devonport. Sargent, D. W., 33, Catharine-street	..	1	5	0
James, Peter, 9, Drury-street	..	0	8	0
Easton, Richard, 1, Queen-street	..	0	2	6
Wood, Wm., Foxe-street	..	0	2	6

Stockport. Messrs. Lees, Kershaw & Co.'s Work-people, 2nd remittance.				
*Turtou, Thomas, Wellington-road north	..	1	0	0
Dickens, Henry, 55, Ridgeway-lane	..	0	2	6
Bancroft, Peter, James-street, Edgeley	..	0	2	6
Small Sums	..	0	19	0

Potts, Joseph, 13, Queen-st., Hope Hill	..	0	5	0
Tatton, George, Larkhill	..	0	2	6
Morris, Peter, do	..	0	2	6
Tongue, James, do	..	0	2	6
Roy, George, Travis Brow	..	0	2	6
Brierley, Philip, do	..	0	2	6
Jackson, John, Bower House Fold	..	0	2	6
Burgess, Samuel, Brinksway-road	..	0	2	6
Gosling, Samuel, Hope Hill	..	0	2	6
Haigh, Samuel, Edgeley	..	0	2	6
Boyle, Thomas, Portwood	..	0	2	6
Swift, Jonathan, Travis Brow	..	0	2	6
Shawcross, Isaac	..	0	2	6
Horrocks, Wm., Brinksway-road	..	0	1	6
Hopwood, James, Larkhill	..	0	1	6
Owen, Joseph, Wood-street	..	0	1	6
Armfield, John, Larkhill	..	0	1	6
Turner, Charles, Lawrence-street	..	0	1	6
Ashton, John, Travis Brow	..	0	1	6
Bromley, Benjamin, Brinksway-road	..	0	1	6
Tagg, George, Hope Hill	..	0	1	3
Fletcher, Thomas, Edgeley	..	0	1	3
Parry, George, Heaton-lane	..	0	1	3
Taylor, James, Lockwood Fold	..	0	1	3
Howard, John, Brinksway	..	0	1	0
Howard, Wm., do	..	0	1	0
Sheldermine, J., do	..	0	1	0
Pritchard, Wm., do	..	0	1	0
Cooke, Robert, Brinksway-road	..	0	1	0
Prince, Asprey, do	..	0	1	0
Hunt, James, do	..	0	1	0
Alcock, Ralph, do	..	0	1	0
Hampson, Thomas, do	..	0	1	0
Whittaker, Wm., do	..	0	1	0
Williams, Robert, do	..	0	1	0
Saxby, George, do	..	0	1	0
Gill, Wm., do	..	0	1	0
Ashton, Thomas, do	..	0	1	0
Bickerton, Joseph, do	..	0	1	0
Lee, Joseph, Hillgate	..	0	1	0
Harper, Richard, Heaton-lane	..	0	1	0
Hampson, Wm., do	..	0	1	0
Marsh, Henry, do	..	0	1	0
Cheetham, Edward, Bridge-field	..	0	1	0
Hall, James, Norris-street	..	0	1	0
Howarth, John, Allen-street	..	0	1	0
Howarth, Benjamin, George's-road	..	0	1	0
Ferns, Joseph, Shaw Heath	..	0	1	0
Venables, James, Hope Hill	..	0	1	0
Hummett, Thomas, do	..	0	1	0
Hallum, Wm., Allen-street	..	0	1	0
Holt, George, Edgeley	..	0	1	0
Holt, James, do	..	0	1	0
Barton, Edward, do	..	0	1	0
Pearson, West, Portwood	..	0	1	0
Yarwood, Robert, do	..	0	1	0
Yeoman, Robert, Love-lane	..	0	1	0
Daybrook, Joseph, Angel-street	..	0	1	0
Small sums	..	0	1	3

*Beauchamp, Richard, 11, Hereford-street, May-fair	..	2	0	0
*Hibbert, Walter, Bridgend, Glamorganshire	..	1	1	0
*Lester, Wm., Darlington	..	1	0	0
*Winter, Stephen, Hordle, near Lymington	..	1	0	0
*Kingsley, Charles Taylor, Fairford	..	1	0	0
Bennett, Mr., draper, High Wycombe, per John Green	..	0	5	0

* Those names marked with an asterisk are renewed subscriptions.

THE AMERICAN COTTON CROP.—The accounts from the United States, received by the Britannia, show a decrease in the deficiency of cotton received at the ports, as compared with the same period of last year; so that, in all probability, the entire crop will be a little larger than had been previously anticipated. Taking into account the increase of stock in the interior towns, the falling-off of receipts is now only about 337,000 bales (instead of 380,000, which was the amount of the deficiency at the departure of the Cambria, on the 16th of May), and, from the rate at which the arrivals have been recently going on, it seems not unlikely to be reduced, before the termination of the season, to less than 300,000 bales; giving a total crop for the year 1845-6, of very nearly 2,200,000 bales, instead of 2,100,000, which was the highest estimate about a month ago.—*Manchester Guardian*.

REPRESENTATION OF NORTH CHESHIRE.—It seems that the Liberal party in North Cheshire are preparing for the probable event of an election. We had previously heard the Hon. E. J. Stanley and John Cheetham, Esq., of Dukinfield, mentioned as the candidates at the next election, whenever that event might occur; but another has now actually offered himself, in the person of E. D. Davenport, Esq., of Capes-thorne. Mr. Davenport issued an address to the electors on Monday. He states, that having been repeatedly consulted as to his intention to stand, if supported, he thinks there is no reason for withholding a declaration that he is ready to do so. He assigns as his chief reason for coming forward, "an earnest desire to promote the better instruction and moral improvement of the people;" and declares his principles to "consist in political and commercial freedom and religious toleration, all of which are included in that still more ancient precept, 'To do unto others as you would have others do unto you.' It is, at all events, understood that Mr. Tatton Egerton does not intend again to contest this division.

PASSAGES FROM THE LIFE OF AN ENGLISH FARMER.

PASSAGE V.
In which the political uses of the tenantry at an election are given. This is omitted.

PASSAGE VI.
Which relates how Mr. Hurst kept his old farm, and not getting rid of his new one—how he, like many others, had more land than he could manage well, is also omitted.

PASSAGE VII.
Which relates how the mortgagees caused Berry Park and mansion to be let to a sportsman who brought a new corps of gamekeepers on the estate, and preserved the game more than ever, is also omitted.

PASSAGE VIII.
Containing an account of the movement (metaphorically) of heaven and earth, in 1811, to return Tory Members of Parliament, who were to protect such men as Mr. Hurst from the enemies of agriculture. This is likewise omitted.

PASSAGE IX.
In which it is related how Mr. Hurst, having followed the recommendations of the Royal Agricultural Society, in his efforts to make his farm more productive, was prosecuted for penalties, and made to pay them at the instance of members of that society for so doing. An instructive passage; but also from necessity omitted.

PASSAGE X.
Showing how Mr. Hurst examined closely for the first time, and found the conditions of agreement between him and his landlord to be such, that he was bound hand and foot not to improve the culture of his farm. This, too, must be omitted.

PASSAGE XI.
In which Mr. Hurst, being in London, is going up Fleet-street, and sees a notice on the house, No. 67, that a League meeting is to be held that evening in Covent Garden Theatre, and that seats will be reserved for tenant farmers who may wish to attend it, tickets to be had on application within. How he, always a believer in the virtue of the Corn Law, went in, his political conscience smiting him at the same time, and got a ticket, and went to the theatre and heard Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright; the first exposing the delusion practised on tenant farmers by the political landlords; the latter the wrongs to agriculture and to society by the feudal landlords in stocking the country with wild beasts, and preserving them by savage laws. This we must also omit.

PASSAGE XII.
Setting forth how Mr. Hurst thought he had heard the real farmers' friends speaking for the first time in respect of the feudal landlords and the Game Laws; and how the Corn Law was after all not such a sacred law as he had hitherto deemed it to be. How Mr. Cobden's exposition of it took root in his mind as seed sown upon new soil, and how he applied for and obtained copies of all the League tracts, read them and believed them, and endeavoured to make his brother believe them. This too is omitted.

PASSAGE XIII.
Showing how he had struggled to succeed, and had succeeded, in making his two farms pay the high rents that he had a few years before contracted to pay for them, notwithstanding the obstacles of unfriendly gamekeepers, swarms of game and conditions of agreement which bound him not to improve his agriculture. How he employed more people per hundred acres than his brother farmers, and raised better crops; but how he had his character as a farmer decried because he had been to a League meeting, and now said that he believed the Corn Laws had never been of any benefit to the farmers or to agriculture.

PASSAGE XIV.
Tells how he went before the Parliamentary Committee on the Game Laws and gave evidence of the great injury done to himself and to the agricultural interests of his county by the excessive waste committed by the game; but owing to the parliamentary forms, forbidding the publication of the evidence for the present, his statements are not inserted; and this passage of his life is also omitted.

PASSAGE XV.
Showing how he was received by his brother farmers, whose interests he had served as well as his own, in giving evidence against the Game Laws, he being now an avowed opponent of the Corn Law.

It was rent day, the receiver of the rents was an elderly gentleman, a lawyer, from the precincts of Lincoln's Inn. He came down to the Royal George Hotel in a glass coach; and when he alighted from it, there would have been no violence done to truth to have said, he looked as if he had come out of a glass case; so prim, so scrupulously perfect was this elderly little gentleman in his dress. From the gold spectacle on the wig of his head, to the silver buckles on the shoes of his feet, there was no spot upon him.

And his professional conduct was as precise and formal, his moral character as spotless as his dress. Fiction will have it that lawyers living in the deep recesses of the temple and inns of court, in those caves of social life, called chambers, are the spiders of human kind reposing in dust and cobwebs, sleeping with their eyes open to dart out upon any human flies that may go too near them. But this is only fiction, or, if there be such lawyers, ours in the glass coach was not one of them; ours in the glass coach, if we may be so irreverent, was like a cockroach, or a black-beetle, to whose glossy exterior no impurity adheres, rather than a dusty spider. He had dealings with the world, and as a lawyer, not unfrequently with those who bring upon it the appellation wicked world; but he never touched wickedness, as we may say, with his bare hands. He read his law books through his glasses, and he knew mankind through his law books. He knew there were bad men and good men. He knew there were bad men, because laws had been made to hang them. He knew there were good men, because laws had been made to hang the bad ones. He knew the world must have more good men in it than bad, else the bad ones would have been strong enough to hang the good ones. He ranged himself on the side of the laws and of good men,—thus, of mankind generally.

Individual men were revealed to him in a similar manner. He knew there were good farmers and bad farmers, because some were always ready with their rents on rent day and others were not. He knew the relationship of landlord and tenant because it was written on parchment. He knew the progress of agricultural science from the applications made to him by the tenants, when paying their rents, for authority to make and deduct the expense of making, next rent day, new gates, or repairs of old ones; repairs of floors and roofs of barns; construction of cesspools to save wasted manures; farm roads; drains to dry wet land; drains to keep the wasted manure of the yard from defiling the pond where the

cattle had to drink; palings to protect young quickthorns; young quickthorns to supplant old ones; and other improvements akin to these. He knew that those who applied to have these things done had not done them. He knew their farms needed such improvements else such applications would not have been made. And he inferred that those who made no such applications for repairs and new works did not require them. Therefore it was logical to conclude that the tenants who being content to have broken gates, dilapidated roofs and floors, wasted manures, poisoning the ponds and pools where cattle got drink, bad fences, who never made a new fence or repaired an old one, who never drained wet land nor cleared out a ditch that made land wet,—it was a logical consequence to conclude that such tenants, who made no complaints and no demands, were the best farmers, and had their farms in the best condition; seeing agriculture, as he only saw it, through his gold spectacles on a map or on parchment, riding in a glass coach.

He was the very perfection of a legal land-agent. His integrity was as firm as the bank buildings; the cash committed to his keeping as safe as the Bank cash. His rules of procedure were so squared off by a legal straight-edge, that, as all the clauses in the agreements between landlord and tenant were provisoive of penalties for the landlord against the tenant, the latter never made a claim that was allowed to be good, so as there were no good claims preferred by tenants, there were no decisions in their favour. He decided the claims made by the tenants according to the parchment. And, on the same authority, he decided the complaints preferred against the tenants. The complainants in such cases were the gamekeepers, for disturbance of the game (some fields of hay being mown when it was ready to be mown with pheasant's nests still in it—a grievous crime, if the farmer did not make friends with the gamekeeper); or the woodman, the farmer having, perhaps, cut some overshadowing branches from a hedgerow tree; or the secret informer, never known precisely who, that had a farm on the estate, and kept his eyes open to see if all the crops were sown in the exact rotation written on the parchment, according to the rules of the agricultural science dwelling in the legal chambers of the Temple or Lincoln's-inn. The more numerous the informations laid by those servants of the estate, for disturbance of pheasants on their eggs, for the lopping of an overbranching tree, or for judging what crop would grow best by the quality of the soil, rather than by the provision in the parchment, the more vigilant were they held to be, and the better claim did they feel themselves to have for augmented salaries and ultimate pensions.

Well, it was rent-day, or as it is more genteely termed, the audit. More, to whom it is the pleasantest day in the calendar, call it by the pleasantest name. More, who see it coming on them long before it does come, coming as certainly and as sternly as an annual day of judgment, call it by the name which they know it best by, the rent day. It was the rent day at the Royal George Hotel, at the nearest market town for the Berry tenantry. They met there to pay their rents, and to prefer their complaints. Let us look at some of them.

There sits in a private room of the hotel the little elderly gentleman with his clerk beside him. There stands before him Mr. John Bull, with his hat in his hand. He has got his receipt—what more does he want? He might be as bold as any man that ever trod on English ground, yet he is timid. He has paid his rent, and owes no man anything. A little ago he was so bold in the public room as to tell Mr. Hurst to his face that he and all like him who went to League meetings were "no good to their brother farmers," that all who minced matters now a-days, and did not speak out for protection, would deserve to lose protection. Why does this Mr. John Bull now hesitate in presence of this one man and his clerk to say his say? He has not a farm gate that will hold in a cow, or a horse, or a pig, and has not had for half a dozen years; they have been patched and patched, and again broken and broken, and at last thrown down by the fox-hunters, and by his own work-people, who found them more trouble than service, so often that the wreck is fit for nothing else than fire-wood. He has no timber to mend gates and fences, and he is trying to ask for authority to have the old ones replaced by new, the expense to be paid out of his next rent. He has a mind, too, to ask for repairs to the old barns, which let rain through the roofs and the corn through the floors; but he has asked such favours before, and there is a feeling within him that those who have asked most earnestly and frequently to have their farm buildings repaired have been least successful. Yet his have got into such a state of absolute wreck that he cannot help urging the request once again. He bears in mind the very eminent services rendered at the last election in getting in the candidate for whom the gentleman now before him was concerned, and he gives hints, imperfectly expressed, that he should not be overlooked in any favours which are to be conferred.

Here is Mr. John Bull's error, the fatal error of farmers in submitting to ask for rights as for favours. The man who exacts rent for a farm of land which he does not provide with suitable buildings, and which he professed to provide, and at the same time lets the farm to the tenant on the condition that he shall quit at six months' notice, thus rendering it utterly impossible for him to supply the requisite buildings, or fixtures himself—that man, be he agent or landlord, is no better than another Pharaoh exacting the bricks from the bondmen without supplying the straw.

But look at the bondman, this John Bull, whose voice is as loud as a lion's—as a British lion's—so loud as to be called the British lion's voice, when he happens to roar on the same side of the table, or the same side of the subject with the agents and the landlords. Listen to him, then, while now on the right side of a good cause—his own cause—in which the first principles of justice are involved, he dares hardly open his mouth to that one little old man.

But listen to the old gentleman. Mr. Bull is to be favoured. Authority is to be given for the expenditure of 100*l.* in repairs. The tenant is pleased beyond expression. He bows low and is grateful, and retires. He should be grateful for a favour. He should be polite under any circumstances. But has he anything to be grateful for? Will this expenditure of 100*l.* in repairs be a favour? Will it not rather be a perpetuation of unfit buildings, make-shift gates, and fences? Will it not make it requisite for Mr. John Bull to go again next year, or the next, begging once more to have some other part of his farm put in repair?

Then here is another tenant in the private room paying his rent. He has determined for the last nine months, and has sworn it a hundred times in his daily conversation, that he will not quietly submit to have his fields nearest the sand hills eaten up with rabbits any longer; again, and again, has

he even this day formed in his mind what he would say to the agent when he paid his rent. But he cannot now say it. And why? because there is no door to his stable; and the stable itself is flooded whenever wet weather comes, and he has lost two horses by death, and the use of one, or two more by disease, because the drainage cannot be made complete, without leave to alter the water course and money to make another. If he begins to talk about rabbits, he will take the ground from under him to ask for a new stable; for his ambition, or daring, does go as far as an entire new stable on a dryer piece of ground. So he talks of the stable, and omits the rabbits.

Then comes Mr. Hurst. He also is in the private room and has paid his rent. He has taken it into his head that all patchwork repairs are useless, and that no thorough improvements can be effected without he obtains a lease of twenty-one years. He thinks if a new set of farm-buildings were erected, and new fences also, at a cost of 3000*l.*, on which he would pay five per cent. of additional rent, it would be of greater benefit to him and to the farm than if he received an annual drawback of ten per cent. from his present rental to repair the old buildings. He offers to prove this, and the old gentleman listens; but at last stops him by saying he has no power to alter the present system of letting the farms: which is true.

Others of the John Bull family enter and pay their rents, and tell how dilapidated their farms are, if they have any hope of an allowance for repairs. Some express a hope that they are not going to lose "protection to agriculture," to which the elderly lawyer says that is impossible; it can never be taken away and never will; and though he may grant them no drawback for repairs, no redress for rabbits, tell them he has no power to interfere with the game, doom them to their undrained bogs and sour cold clays, without an allowance for drain tiles, or for any one thing recommended by the Royal Agricultural Society as needful and indispensable to agriculture; they retire comforted and happy in heart that they are not to lose "protection." They retire to their dining room, and in due time the dinner is on the table, and the elderly gentleman who came from Lincoln's Inn in a glass coach, and who reads his law books through his glasses, and mauls through his law books, is chairman of the dinner.

This was in the autumn of last year, 1845. The dinner might be worth description, and the speakers worth reporting, but they were the same as have often been given to the public in print. The "enemies of agriculture" were denounced, and the hints that there was only one "renegade" to the good cause of protection in the room, and on the estate, was cheered.

The only man who had dared to go before the parliamentary committee, to expose what they all suffered from—the overbearing game, and the only one who had the courage in the private room to speak of those requirements which alone would have been favours, if granted by the old lawyer, was Mr. Hurst, who was roared at by the British Lions around the dinner table, as a "renegade to the cause."

I conclude this brief sketch. If the names are not real, the facts and the persons are; and deeply do I regret to say that what is here written is too true, and too generally applicable all over England.

ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH.

THE STRIKE IN LIVERPOOL.—We hope this struggle is approaching a full termination. So far as bricklayers, joiners, and plasterers are concerned, workmen are in abundance. The masons, however, still form an exception; being a strong body, and there being a great demand for their services on the Holyhead, Carlisle, and other railways, together with the desire of the Liverpool and Birkenhead Dock Companies to forward their river walls and dock works during the summer months, they will stand out, and the lamentable consequence is, that a number of other artisans cannot procure employment because bricklayers and joiners are unable to proceed for want of masonry. The masons wish the hours of labour to be reduced to nine hours, which the masters cannot comply with, in justice to the operatives in the other branches of the building trades.—*Liverpool Standard.*

THE STRIKE IN THE BUILDING TRADES.—The symptoms of this strike being near its termination are becoming every day clearer and more numerous. Last week, from individual inquiry, it was ascertained that 22 masters were employing 486 men, all of whom have either signed the declaration that they do not belong to the national association, or have joined the new society, which makes a declaration to that effect the basis of its constitution. This week no fewer than twenty-one men have resumed work at one establishment, all of whom have either signed the declaration, or joined the new society. There are several other instances of applications being made to the masters, to know on what terms they will again employ the men; amongst others to a firm to which there has been previously no communication from their old hands since the strike. The masters abide by the declaration, or the alternative of the men joining the new society. Yesterday the following note was received by Mr. J. B. Rogerson, the secretary of the masters' association:—

Railway Inn, Deansgate.
Sir,—A deputation from the central committee of the United Trades' Association for the protection of industry, consisting of Messrs. Robson and Bush, desire an interview with the committee of the association of master builders, of which you are secretary, with a view, if possible, of coming to an amicable arrangement of the unfortunate differences now existing between your association and their workmen.—Sir, yours respectfully,
W. ROBSON.
Mr. J. B. Rogerson, Secretary of Master Builders' Association. JOHN BUSH.

We understand that Robson is not in any way connected with the building trades; but is in fact a working boot and shoe maker, No. 14, Richards Place, Haggerstone Bridge, London; and he is named as one of the auditors of the accounts of the National United Trades' Association for the protection of industry. John Bush is a carpenter, but also residing in London, at No. 1, York-street, York Road, Lambeth, and he is, or was, vice-president of the National Association. The note was laid before the association, at their meeting yesterday, and after some observation on the course pursued by the men—that of sending two strangers from London, and one of them a boot and shoemaker, to discuss terms between master builders and their workmen, the meeting unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"That the masters do not recognise any national association, and consider that their own workmen are the only parties with whom they should hold communication."

Here the matter stands; but men, including turn-outs, are applying daily to the masters, and resuming work on the terms already stated.—*Manchester Guardian.*

AGRICULTURE.

HOME TRUTHS FOR THE LANDLORDS.

Honour to the Bishop of Oxford. Right worthily has he discharged the duty of a leader among the teachers of Christian men. But, above all, the tenant farmers and farm labourers of England ought to be grateful to Dr. Wilberforce for his fearless and manly exposure of the defenders of monopoly. He has laid bare the source of all the evils under which English husbandry labours, and which depress all who depend upon it for subsistence. Our readers will find in another column a full report of the speech of the Bishop of Oxford on Friday se'nnight during the Corn Law debate in the House of Lords; and we commend it to their attention as worthy of a most attentive perusal. We do not know that there has been any speech delivered during the weary years of agitation against the monopoly of food which bespeaks more moral courage, comprehensive intelligence, and enlarged sympathy for the industrious millions. We shall in this place confine our remarks to that part of Dr. Wilberforce's admirable address which relates especially to the condition of agriculture.

Having referred to the appeals which monopolist lords had made to the Bishops to induce them to oppose the Ministerial Bill, upon the ground that the incomes of the clergy would suffer from a low price of corn, Dr. Wilberforce admitted that the clergy might possibly suffer, but said that they scorned to put their own personal and class interests in competition with the national weal. "They felt that there was an interest greater than the interest of money; and a reward for themselves of more importance than their annual income." Dr. Wilberforce then added:

"There was another class, also, who would be injured by the measure—a class which it was just possible to suppose had some representatives in that house—he meant the nominal owners of great properties which were mortgaged to other parties. There was just the possibility that persons so situated might be called upon to vote upon this question—their interests with respect to it were in something like the same position with those of the English clergy, and they would do well indeed to profit by the example which the clergy had afforded them. This measure would advance the general interests of the country, and would cause a greater demand for labour, as in order to ensure a return for the owner of the land its production should necessarily be increased."

"Earl Stanhope: Where is the capital to come from?"

"The Bishop of Oxford: That was an important question, which had been so plainly put by the noble earl in a tone of sepulchral demand (laughter). It was clear that the person who was the nominal owner of a large property, which was deeply mortgaged, could not increase its production fully; and it was also clear that the tenants of poor proprietors were generally poor themselves, and he knew, from visiting their cottages, that the labourers of such proprietors were lamentably poor. It was only the other day that he was inquiring of a clergyman as to the moral condition of a parish in his diocese, and he was answered that a lamentable degree of immorality prevailed there. He asked why that was the case, and he was told that one great cause of immorality was to be found in the uncomfortable and confined description of dwellings, which were highly opposed to the observance of the decencies of life. He then asked why the clergyman did not represent to the landlord that if he wanted to have a moral peasantry he should build better cottages for them, and the answer which he received was, that the landlord was aware of that, but he had not money sufficient to enable him to build houses for those on his estates who required them. Property which was in the hands of nominal possessors was in this condition, that the mortgagees did not feel any responsibility as regarded the condition of the tenantry and labourers, whilst the nominal owner, who felt the responsibility, was not in a position to relieve it, because, instead of a small property which he could manage, he preferred to be the nominal possessor of a great property. His position was like that which their lordships must have often witnessed, an instance of where a man kept a larger farm than he was capable of managing, whilst he could successfully cultivate a smaller one. These nominal possessors of heavily mortgaged property would suffer from the change, and although he admitted that prejudices might be shocked and some injury effected by changes of property, yet looking at such a change of property as one of the results of this measure, it formed no reason why they should not adopt it, for he viewed it as one of the means of bringing the holding of property into a more healthy and natural state, and of providing for meeting those responsibilities which naturally lie on the holders of land."

Here we find the origin of protection laid bare. The deeply-seated sore which infects the landed interests of England is probed with a firm, unflinching hand. Deep and difficult as the wound is, its depth has been ascertained and disclosed without circumlocution. It is the mortgaged interest which requires "protection"—the nominal possessors of large estates who want artificial scarcity as the means of maintaining their own false position. Labourers and farmers are poor when they work and rent on heavily encumbered estates. We have shown all this again and again; but now the exposition comes backed by the authority of a spiritual peer.

And let us here note that the position of a bishop, if he be a courageous and large-minded man, is singularly favourable for the acquirement of sound views on this subject. His course of life must have led him to mix with all classes, and to understand the way in which the actual system of landed property affects all orders of the landed interests. They who regard the labourers exclusively and chiefly contemplate their condition, will not thereby arrive at the origin of the evils, "the unnatural" and unnecessary evils, which fall upon the agricultural labourers of this country. Tenant farmers must be known, and known intimately, not merely at agricultural shows, protection meetings, or elections, but by their firesides, on their own farms, in their daily, weekly, ordinary temper, before the influence of a mortgaged and effete landocracy can be understood. Neither will the examination of the condition of the labourer and the farmer alone be sufficient to realise to the mind the extent of the mischiefs caused by nominal landowning. The observer who would know all, must have known something of the landlords; he must have been behind the scenes; he must have penetrated beneath the glare, and glitter and frivolity, and ostentation, which cover the real condition of the landlord; he must have heard of the large slice of the apparent income which goes to pay interests and debts and jointures and annuities; of the landlord's pressure on his steward for money, of the steward's pressure upon the tenants, of the tenants' pressure upon the labourers. The paralysis which insolvency—that is the word—brings upon the "great" landholder descends with more or less of ill upon all connected with him, and must be noted before the true position of the landed interests can be understood.

Now the Bishop has had the means of observing most of these things. Beginning life as a parochial clergyman, in a rural district, he visits the poor at all times and seasons; he knows, and constantly converses with the farmers, he becomes the depository of the complaints of both classes; and that, not by formal and direct complaint for any special object, when perhaps complaint might be carried too far, but incidentally. Then, the constant opportunity of observing the material condition of both of the industrious classes, the obstructions to their advancement, and those silent indications of the stationary or receding state which can be better observed than described, form a study which to the man of education and reflection must lead to settled convictions upon the landed system of this country. Moreover, a man can scarcely arrive at the station of a Bishop, whatever be his personal merits, without much acquaintance and personal intercourse with the landed aristocracy. Carrying with him the practical knowledge acquired in his parish, and the clear views which that knowledge, in combination with book-learning, has given him, he has a light for reading aristocratic society, which no mere aristocrat can possess. He has the key to the mixture of hauteur and meanness, the combination of profuse expenditure and want of money, the greediness for high rents with the neglect of economy, the lavishing hundreds on an opera girl or a race-horse, and the utter inability to find a few pounds to build cottages and preserve human decencies on the patrimonial estate, and various other characteristics of a large, very large, section of our landed aristocracy.

It is plain that Dr. Wilberforce has not been through this course of training without advantage; and, to his credit, he has dared to give the short and comprehensive result of his experience and observation in the passage we have quoted, from his speech in the House of Lords. And what was the effect of these outspoken truths upon the peers? Did they deny the facts or displace the conclusions? Nothing of this kind. On the contrary, each monopolist peer seemed to take the general propositions of the Bishop of Oxford as a personal attack upon himself. Earl Stanhope, when improved husbandry by the outlay of capital was hinted, groaned out with an agony evidently real, "Where is the capital to come from?" Ashburton, as a new lord and a rich lord, anxious to pander to the prejudices of his elder brethren, declared that insolvent landowners should by law be shielded from the ordinary consequences of insolvency.

Hardwicke, Malmesbury, and Winchelsea, by their attacks on the Bishop, proved that they felt he had pointed at them personally, when he described the false position of the nominal owner of heavily incumbered estates. Like galled jades they winced.

But there was one peer, the Duke of Richmond, who over and above these reasons for deeming Dr. Wilberforce's speech personal, appropriated to himself the following remarks about the agricultural labourers.

The Bishop said:

"He believed that the passing of this bill would, in the first place, have a great effect upon the condition of the labourers, who were at present in a most unnatural state (expressions of dissent). Did the noble lord who differed from him mean to say that the principle of prohibiting the poor man from buying his bread on the cheapest terms was a part of the economy of the God of nature (hear)? He (the Bishop of Oxford) would say that it was a most unnatural arrangement."

And afterwards:

"It was, therefore, the duty of their lordships to give their support to such a measure as this, which was calculated to produce a happier, a better contented, and a more elevated peasantry than that which at present was to be found in England. He knew the peasantry, for he had lived amongst them, and had seen them not only on a day of false festivity drinking from empty glasses a welcome to the landlord, but he had seen them amongst their hovels, he had visited them in their homes, he had seen them on the bed of fever, he had watched them struggling with these difficulties which beset the English peasant during the long English winter. He knew their hearts, for he had lived 15 or 16 years amongst them. He had witnessed their patient endurance, and he was convinced that the time had come when the other side of Lord Bacon's observations might be observed, and that there was great and necessary cause for the experiment. The mass of the peasantry were in a state in which he did not wish them to continue, if it could be prevented. He did not wish to see their children suffering from physical wants, and from moral and religious destitution. He did not wish to see them living in cottages from which the decencies of domestic life were necessarily banished, and children looked at in their upgrowth with the feeling that so many additional mouths required to be filled, whilst the difficulties of obtaining food were increasing (hear, hear, and cheers). Seeing those things, and looking round for a remedy, he believed that one would be found in anything which would extend the general prosperity of the country."

This certainly was personal to the Duke of Richmond, because he is one of the greatest promoters of the humbug of professing to feast the labourers at show feasts at the landlords' tables, while all that really promotes the welfare, the decency, and the material comfort of the labourers is totally neglected.

But truly has Dr. Wilberforce said, that if Free Trade should bring about the dispossession of the nominal owners of heavily encumbered estates, it will thereby produce a more healthy condition of landed property, which will greatly conduce to the welfare of the community.

WHO ARE THE LAGGARDS?

John Bull having now acquired, by a somewhat laborious course of teaching, a clear knowledge of the protective system and the backwardness of British agriculture, asks, in a peremptory tone, "Who are the laggards?"—Why, of all his sons, the farmers alone require the "sickly" shelter of protection?—Why Anglo-Saxon energy becomes paralysed when turned to the culture of the soil? And John has a full right to receive a precise answer to these questions.

Now the farmers say, and say truly, we are no laggards. They point, and justly, to what some of their body do under favourable circumstances to increase the production of our land. They ask for a fair field for their industry, security of possession, and no absurd or obsolete interferences with their management, and they want nothing more. But, they add, the proprietors prevent this. Now, what say the landlords? First, by inference, they admit that they require protection; for the peers resented the manly speech of the Bishop of Oxford on the Corn Law Bill as personally insulting. This is how the Bishop of Oxford spoke of protection:

"It had been said during the debates on this question, that protection was the principle which was applied in other cases, and therefore it ought to be applied to agriculture, that we nursed the tender and delicate fruits of the earth, and that we ought to do some with the tender interest of the agriculture of England. He, however, was not one who thought that the agriculture of England was such a sickly and fantastic exotic as to require the aid of protection; he thought that all it required was to be set free from the shackles of protection, and it would assert its own indigenous strength and vigour. Protection to native industry had become a favourite phrase in reference to this subject; and he could say for himself that he was one of those most favourable to the protection of that industry (an ironical cheer from the Duke of Richmond). The noble duke might cheer; but he (the Bishop of Oxford) feared his cheers as little as he feared his arguments. What was protection to native industry? It was to bring it into a field where every opportunity would be afforded for wholesome competition."

This is a healthy and a hopeful view of British agri-

culture. But now let us hear the Lords themselves. For instance, Lord Hardwicke may be taken as an exemplar of the protectionist landlord. He owns a large estate in Cambridgeshire, which is let to yearly tenants, who are in a deplorable state of dependence. None of them can make any profit worth naming, and but few can make a living at all. He sometimes has six or eight farms on his hands at once, and we remember to have seen an advertisement of a lot of his lordship's farms to let, subject to conditions so onerous, that no man who deserves the name of a farmer would think of taking one. Amongst other terms, the tenants were to be "subject to the general regulations of the estate!"

Such is the Earl of Hardwicke as a proprietor. Let us follow him into the House of Lords, and watch his capacity for legislating on agriculture. During the debate in committee of the Lords on the Corn Bill, Lord Hardwicke said:

"He was as convinced as he stood upon the floor of that house that the Government measure would throw the poorer lands out of cultivation. His noble friend (Lord Kinnaird) shook his head; but he must remember that that noble lord was of opinion that no land was fit for tillage unless it would produce thirty-two bushels an acre. No land to be cultivated unless it produces thirty-two bushels an acre. Then how are you to feed the people? Why the average production on most inferior soils is not more than twenty bushels an acre. Thirty-two bushels is a very large average, indeed. So you will displace all the labour, and throw all the land out of cultivation which does not produce thirty-two bushels an acre. What are you to do for bread?"

"Lord KINNAIRD: I said thirty bushels an acre."
"The Earl of HARDWICKE: Oh, the noble lord has come down a bit (laughter). But no land is to be cultivated which does not produce thirty bushels an acre. My lords, this is very important, considering that it comes from the head of the Anti-Corn-Law League ('bear, bear,' and laughter). We are to starve, unless all lands produce thirty bushels an acre, or unless foreign countries feed us. Why, if the noble lord thinks that thirty bushels an acre is the average produce of the kingdom, I must say he knows nothing about farming."

"Earl STANHOPE: Kitchen garden cultivation the noble lord must mean."

"The Earl of HARDWICKE: Truly, my noble friend is correct. The noble lord of the thirty bushels (laughter)—must be speaking of the produce of the kitchen garden. It was a mistake to suppose that the farmers were interested in causing bread to be dear. The cheaper the bread, the better for them; but it must be the bread of home-grown corn. Protect them—protect them he would say, and he would answer for it, that under the system of protection the people of England would eat cheaper bread than ever they would under the proposed measure."

Now there is not a real farmer in England who would think of growing wheat upon land of which he had secure tenure and complete possession, except with the reasonable expectation of getting 30 bushels to the acre. And one year with another he will do it. We know that 30 bushels per acre is not the average produce of wheat, because three-fourths of the farmers of this country farm under the cloud of a Stanhope's mortgages, or a Hardwicke's "general regulation of the estate." Kitchen garden cultivation, indeed,—why the circumstances and "regulations" of half the estates in England prevent anything which deserves the name of cultivation at all. It is a kind of annual battle between the cultivator and a landlord-created waste, and the waste generally gains three-fourths of a victory. But mark the notions entertained by the monopolist lords of the soil of the incapacity of the soil. They assume that land is to remain in this bad state, to which their mismanagement has reduced it; and the national trade is to be tied down to their narrow limits.

We say distinctly no man should grow wheat without expecting 30 bushels to the acre. On some land, or by some systems, he might not get that return, if he sowed wheat oftener than once in five or six years; but then he should not attempt it more frequently. Poor lands, as the monopolists call them, will not grow corn so often, but no man can reasonably expect to farm with profit, unless he determines that when he does grow corn, be it once in three years, or once in ten, he will have a good crop; and nothing less than 30 bushels of wheat to the acre deserves the name of a good crop.

ANECDOTE OF A TAME LEOPARD.—While on the subject of wild animals, I may mention a leopard that was kept by an English officer at Samarang, during our occupation of the Dutch colonies. This animal had its liberty, and used to run all over the house after its master. One morning, after breakfast, the officer was sitting smoking his hookah, with a book in his right hand, and the hookah snake in his left, when he felt a slight pain in the left hand, and, on attempting to raise it, was checked by a low angry growl from his pet leopard. On looking down, he saw the animal had been licking the back of his hand, and had by degrees drawn a little blood. The leopard would not allow the removal of the hand, but continued licking it with much apparent relish, which did not much please his master; who, with great presence of mind, without attempting again to disturb the pet in his proceeding, called to his servant to bring him a pistol, with which he shot the animal dead on the spot. Such pets as snakes 10 feet long, and full-grown leopards, are not to be trifled with. The largest snake I ever saw was 25 feet long, and 8 inches in diameter. I have heard of 60 feet snakes, but cannot vouch for the truth of the tale.—*Davidson's Trade and Travel in the Far East.*

THE POTATO CROP.

Fears are entertained that the potato crop will again be in many instances a failure, more especially the early crop of ash-leaf kidneys. A person at Bicester, Oxon, planted six bushels of the above description, and they are a failure, though he paid no less than six shillings per bushel for the seed, in order that it might be good. Other persons are in a similar situation.

THE POTATO CROP IN DEVONSHIRE.—I beg to forward an account of what I have observed in regard to the potato crop of Devon within this last week. I have visited many potato fields, most of which have a very luxuriant and thriving appearance when seen at a distance, but on examination I find the whole to be diseased; I could not discover one not affected less or more. I fully believe that the whole I have examined will be roasted or scorched up with the direful calamity within a month of this time. Many considered their crops to be doing remarkably well, and, indeed, expressed themselves satisfied that their crops were quite clear from disease until I pointed out its defects. Mr. Bridle, of Otterton, called my attention to a fine piece of early potatoes, which he had planted pretty early in February last, in a sheltered, dry situation; they had remarkably strong stalks, from two to three feet in height, and many of them at the base as thick as the middle finger, with foliage as large as good spinach leaves. Mr. Bridle, on Monday last, calculated that he should be able to take up 50 bags of good tubers from this piece in the last week in this month, and I do not doubt but that quantity would have been produced by the end of the month had they kept clear from disease, which attacked them on Thursday the 4th inst., and the whole have now dropped down dead, many of the stalks looking as if charred. I enclose a stalk, that you may have ocular demonstration of those facts. The effluvia is uncommonly disagreeable in this hot sunny weather. The fact is, on my examining them I could distinctly observe that they never had been free from disease; it originated in the old tubers which produced strong cankerous watery shoots. Whatever may have been the origin or first cause of this destructive disease, it is clear that it now proceeds from the tuber—that its first appearance is, if either in tuber, stalk, or foliage, in the shape of little watery spots, pimples, or bulgings, swelling into a dropsical contortion until it bursts, at which time the disease runs through the crop like wild fire, carrying rapid destruction before it. It is now almost a certainty that the whole of the crops which have been planted at the usual season, and that too without any previous preparation of the seed-tuber will be again destroyed, whatever certainty there may be with prepared seed and early planting.—*Sidmouth Correspondent of the Gardener's Chronicle.*

THE POTATO CROP IN SCOTLAND.—The agricultural report of the *Glasgow Herald* states that the young potato crop in the neighbourhood of that city is extensively affected with the same disease as that of last year. The diseased plants generally look tolerably well; but, on digging round them, the seed from which the plant had sprung is found wholly or partially decomposed, and the sets had assumed a brown tinge, which was generally communicated to the stem.

THE NEW POTATO CROP IN IRELAND.—In the course of Friday, a gentleman who resides northward of Dublin, at Raheny, sent to us some stalks of potatoes of the now growing crop, in which the blight, as it appeared developed towards the harvest of last year, was painfully evident. The stalk was full of sap, the leaves luxuriant, and the upper part, which were manifestly about to throw out a blossom, was particularly full and green. About midway down all the stalks the marks of blight were apparent. The disease appeared as it were to enter the stalk at a joint, whence it appeared to run downwards only towards the root. The whole of the canal which transmits the nutriment to the tuber bore, from the point where the disease struck in a brownish hue, and in the centre the sap itself seemed to have become stagnant and corrupt. The gentleman who transmitted us the stalks, and who is an excellent agriculturist, says—"I send you a potato stalk attacked with the rot or blight, from which last year's crop suffered so much. The potato from which this stalk grew was a pink eye, and planted in February,—the field in which it grew had not the disease last year."—*Dublin Freeman.*

POTATO DISEASE IN PORTUGAL.—It may be interesting to know that my potato crop, which was a few days ago most flourishing, suddenly became black and withered; the same has occurred to many others, both in the neighbourhood and at some miles distant.—*Correspondent of the Gardener's Chronicle.*

ELIHU BURRITT, THE LEARNED BLACKSMITH.

As this indefatigable philanthropist will probably visit Great Britain in the course of a few weeks, it will, no doubt, gratify many of our readers to learn something more regarding his history than they may have been able to glean from the newspapers of the day. The following brief sketch of the life of Mr. Elihu Burritt, extracted chiefly from American documents, is from a letter of Dr. Dick, of Dundee, to the *Evangelical Magazine*.

"Elihu Burritt was born in New Britain, Connecticut, in the year 1811, of honest and respectable parents. He enjoyed the privilege of attending the 'District school' for some months every year, till he was sixteen years old; and by his diligence and attention to his studies he became well versed in the elementary branches of an English education, and by cultivating a taste for reading, he acquired much valuable information. When he arrived at the age of sixteen his father died, and he was apprenticed to the trade of a blacksmith; and when the term of his indenture had expired, and he had attained his legal majority, he had gained the reputation of being a young man of good moral and religious character, a skillful workman in his vocation, and one who cherished an ardent attachment for books. The Bible was the first book which he thoroughly studied; and at a very early age, he was familiar with almost every passage in the Old and New Testaments. He next availed himself of the opportunity of reading afforded by the 'Social Library' in the town in which he lived; and afterwards was dependent on the kindness of his friends. Before he reached the age of 21, he was conversant with the English classics, both in prose and poetry, and passed delightfully many of his leisure hours in poring over the pages of Milton, Young, Thomson, Cowper, Addison, &c. In the winter of the year in which he attained his majority, he commenced under the direction of a brother-in-law, who was an accomplished scholar, the study of the Latin language, for the purpose of reading Virgil in the original. He soon after turned his attention to French, which he mastered with

wonderful facility. He then acquired the Spanish, and afterwards the Greek and German languages. During two winters he devoted nearly all his time to study, but he was occupied a large portion of his time during spring and summer in working at his trade as a blacksmith, and in this exemplary way, acquiring the means of subsistence.

"When about 23 years old, he accepted an invitation to teach a grammar-school; but this employment did not suit his convenience or his inclination. He was then engaged for a year or two as an agent for a manufacturing company, when he returned to his avail, and has since been industriously engaged in the honourable occupation of a blacksmith, to which he was apprenticed in his youth; but devotes all his leisure hours to literary pursuits. After having mastered the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages, and all the languages of modern Europe, he turned his attention to Oriental literature, and in order to avail himself of the facilities afforded by the valuable library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, he removed to that place, where he has ever since resided, and been regarded as a useful and exemplary citizen. By dint of hard labour he has become a proficient in the most difficult languages of Asia, and in many of those languages of Europe which are now nearly disused and obsolete—among them are Gaelic, Welsh, Celtic, Saxon, Gothic, Icelandic, Russian, Slavonic, Armenian, Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Sanscrit, and Tamil! It was stated, in a public meeting, in 1838, by Governor Everett, that Mr. Burritt by that time, by his unaided industry alone, had made himself acquainted with FIFTY LANGUAGES.—Mr. Burritt shows no disposition to relax from his labours. He usually devotes eight hours to study, and eight hours to physical indulgence and repose; and, by pursuing this course, he enjoys the advantages—vainly coveted by many literary men—connected with 'a sound mind in a healthy body.' Nor does he confine his labours to the mere acquisition of literary wealth—he also diffuses it with a liberal hand. He has written many valuable articles for periodicals of high standing; he has delivered many lectures which have been replete with interest and valuable information; and has been repeatedly listened to by large and highly respectable audiences in New York, Philadelphia, and other places with edification and delight. He has not yet reached the meridian of life, and it is to be hoped that many years of usefulness are still before him. He is indeed a man of whom New England may well be proud."

The following extract from a letter written by Elihu Burritt, in 1839, to Dr. Nelson, a gentleman who had taken some interest in his history, displays the simple, unassuming, earnest character of the man, in a very interesting point of view:

"An accidental allusion to my history and pursuits, which I made unthinkingly, in a letter to a friend, was, to my unspeakable surprise, brought before the public as a rather ostentatious *debit* on my part to the world; and I find myself involved in a species of notoriety, not at all in consonance with my feelings. Those who have been acquainted with my character from my youth will give me credit for sincerity, when I say, that it never entered my heart to blazon forth any acquisition of my own. I had, until the unfortunate denouement which I have mentioned, pursued the even tenor of my way unnoticed, even among my brethren and kindred. None of them ever thought that I had any particular *genius*, as it is called; I never thought so myself. All that I have accomplished, or expect, or hope, to accomplish, has been and will be by that plodding, patient, persevering process of accretion which builds the ant-heap—particle by particle, thought by thought—fact by fact. And if I ever was actuated by ambition, its highest and farthest aspiration reached no farther than the hope to set before the young men of my country an example in employing those fragments of time called 'odd moments.' And, sir, I should esteem it an honour of costlier water than the tара encircling a monarch's brow, if my future activity and attainments should encourage American *working men* to be proud and jealous of the credentials which God has given them to every eminence and immunity in the empire of mind. These are the views and sentiments with which I have sat down night by night, for years, with blistered hands and brightening hope, to studies which I hoped might be serviceable to that class of the community to which I am proud to belong. This is my *ambition*. This is the goal of my aspirations. But, not only the prize, but the whole course lies before me, perhaps beyond my reach. 'I count myself not yet to have attained' to anything worthy of public notice or private mention; what I may do is for Providence to determine."

"As you expressed a desire in your letter for some account of my past and present pursuits, I shall hope to gratify you on this point, and also rectify a misapprehension which you with many others may have entertained of my acquirements. With regard to my attention to the languages, a study of which I am not so fond as of mathematics, I have tried, by a kind of practical and philosophical process, to contract such a familiar acquaintance with the head of a family of languages, as to introduce me to the other members of the same family. Thus, studying the Hebrew very critically, I became readily acquainted with its cognate languages, among the principal of which are the Syriac, Chaldaic, Arabic, Samaritan, Ethiopic, &c. The languages of Europe occupied my attention immediately after I had finished my classics; and I studied French, Spanish, Italian, and German, under native teachers. Afterwards I pursued the Portuguese, Flemish, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Icelandic, Welsh, Gaelic, Celtic. I then ventured on further east into the Russian empire; and the Slavonic opened to me about a dozen of the languages spoken in that vast domain, between which the affinity is as marked as that between the Spanish and Portuguese. Besides those, I have attended to many different European dialects still in vogue. I am now trying to push on eastward as fast as my means will permit, hoping to discover still farther analogies among the oriental languages, which will assist my progress."

Amongst his works of philanthropy, Elihu Burritt issues almost weekly 1000 or 1200 of his "Olive Leaves" for the press; and, in proof of his powers of writing, we may mention the fact,—a fact perfectly unparalleled in the annals of periodical literature,—that the articles thus forwarded are regularly printed in about three hundred newspapers in various parts of the Union.

THE CROPS IN CUMBERLAND.—Wheat, which in a few favourable situations southward, is in ear, will be light, but of better than average quality. Barley promises well, but oats have in many places suffered to a great extent by the attack of the grub, and fears are entertained in many quarters that this crop will prove a failure.—*Carlisle Journal.*

REVIEW.

Three Lectures on National Education. By the Very Rev. G. Waddington, D.D., Dean of Durham.

These admirable lectures are devoted to a subject of such great and permanent interest, that little more is required from us in the way of introduction than to state that they were delivered to large and intelligent congregations in Newcastle-on-Tyne, and that they evince, in a very marked manner, the same depth of Christian philosophy and the same extent of Christian philanthropy, for which the other writings of the Dean of Durham are distinguished. It is gratifying to find the prelates and dignitaries of the English church identifying themselves with the wants and wishes of the English people; rebuking the apathy and coldness with which the rights of the industrious, and the wrongs of the poor, have been treated in high places. Every true friend of the Church of England has reason to congratulate himself on the evangelical eloquence displayed by the Bishops of St. David's and of Oxford, in the recent debates. The Bishop of Oxford especially deserves our gratitude for his vigorous exposure of those abuses in the exercise of the rights of property which impede and even prevent the performance of its duties. The adding of field to field for the mere purpose of extending territorial domination is equally condemned by reason and by scripture. It makes both the proprietors and cultivators slaves to the soil, fixing on the one the yoke of mortgage, and on the other the yoke of uncertain tenure. It was worthy of a Christian bishop to demand the emancipation of land from this double bondage, to require that proprietorship should be free to encourage improvement and tenancy free to reap the rewards of industry and expenditure. The abolition of slavery is the hereditary task of a Wilberforce, and the Bishop of Oxford, in accepting the inheritance, has added new honours to the imperishable name of his father.

It was not the least evil of the food question that it kept the education question out of sight. It would be vain to proffer books, when bread was withheld; to offer culture to the mind, when the body was fainting for want of sustenance. Though we felt with the Dean of Durham that the education of the poor in this country is still most imperfectly conducted, in regard both to its extent and its quality, and that the wealthier portions of the community, if they value either their honour or their security, must make, in some form or other, a very much larger provision than has yet been made for the purpose, we deemed it inexpedient to open so important a discussion, so long as the corn question remained undecided. That great measure of substantial justice, that great engine of redress for wrongs which, during the space of a whole generation, have crushed the energies and aggravated the toils of the labouring population, has passed through the perils of every legislative ordeal, and will, before another number of this journal appears, in all human probability, be the law of the land. The time then has come when the investigation of another social evil, preparatory to its removal, may fairly be commenced; and it could not be begun under better auspices than those of the Dean of Durham. After having described the storm of opposition with which the first effort to obtain legislative assistance for the education of the poor was received, Dr. Waddington thus describes the present state of the question:

"Discussion succeeded to declamation, men's passions subsided, and their blindness departed with their passions; and then this much desired project was discovered to rest on the very principle so loudly demanded by all—it was a project for improving the secular and moral instruction of the poor on the foundation of the Christian religion.

"And here you will not expect me to enlarge on a truth which is admitted by every man, that any system of education not so founded would be any thing rather than a blessing to those who received it. To sharpen the intelligence only, without cultivating the heart—to inculcate secular knowledge only—to make men acute and ingenious and subtle, without teaching them the duties of integrity, temperance, chastity, general self-control—this would be no better than to become school-masters for Mammon, to prepare our pupils for his service, and to bid them walk in his ways. Again: to inculcate morality on any other than Christian principles would be fruitless as well as irreligious. For from what other source can be derived precepts so sublime and pure, or motives so commanding, even if the conduct of this life only were in question? But if you will rise to higher considerations—if you will but for a moment reflect, how fugitive and comparatively worthless is all that this life can give, you will still more strongly feel, that those, whose knowledge must after all be very limited, ought to possess at least the knowledge which concerns them most. For the knowledge of God is not only the beginning, but also the end, of wisdom. It is the knowledge of an eternal Father by children whom he is preparing for eternity. It is the knowledge of a righteous Judge, by culprits whom he has destined to judgment. It is the knowledge of a merciful Redeemer, by sinners who have no other hope but in his merits and his mercy. Whatever other lessons we may teach them, at least let us never, on any consideration, omit this.

"It only remains for us now to consider one other aspect which this question assumed, before it reached its present position. It was understood, as I have said, by all parties,

that the system of national education, to be established in this country, should stand on the foundation of Christianity. But there are many forms of Christianity, differing from each other more or less on points of doctrine, or observance, or discipline. Indeed, in no other European country are they so numerous as in this, in consequence, no doubt, of the greater latitude of individual opinion that has long been enjoyed by this people. Hence then arose, another question, involving a very serious difficulty, and supplying a subject of grave consideration both to divines and statesmen. It was this—Whether the children of parents of different persuasions should be educated together in the same schools, or apart from each other in separate establishments? This led again to controversy. On the one side it was urged—that the former scheme, that of mixed education, involved what was called a 'compromise of principle'; that the distinctive points of the particular creeds would not by this method be sufficiently inculcated; that religious indifference might flow from this; or, if not indifference, that religious disputes would arise among the children thus collected within the same walls.

"It was argued on the other side—that the points on which Christians are divided are not nearly so numerous, nor for the most part so important, as those on which they agree; that the habit of receiving together the same instruction, from the same instructor, would tend to soften the asperity of religious difference; that the distinctive dogmas might be taught separately by the respective ministers; and that it would be well for those, who were so soon to become active members of our community, to derive together, from the same sacred source, all their moral and the greater portion of their religious knowledge. This method was thought by some to be best fitted to sow the seeds of mutual forbearance and evangelical charity.

"But it was not thus ordained: the aspirations of a too sanguine philanthropy were stifled—the zeal of reciprocal jealousy was too strong and too intense. After some short controversy it became quite manifest, that there was no religious party in this country which desired the system of mixed education; all seemed to claim alike the privilege and the right of exclusive establishments. Though the opposite principle is still asserted by one great society, yet it is obviously the general feeling among all denominations, that, by the separate system alone, they can all secure their respective independence, without any fear of proselytism, or any suspicion of compromise. And the Government, acquiescing in this feeling, distributes its assistance, as I am led to believe, with strict impartiality to all."

The dangers of allowing the increasing masses of our population to grow up in ignorance, are thus forcibly described:

"Let us not close our eyes against this truth. Let us not attempt to deceive ourselves. Let us not forget the past, or lose sight of the future, in the prosperous tranquillity of the moment. Any self-delusion in this matter may terminate, after a short dream of fatuous confidence, in some signal calamity. You all know, as appears from the last census, that the population of the greater part of this diocese—this more immediately connected with the mining interest—has recently increased with a rapidity almost unparalleled; and you have only to cast your eyes around you to perceive that it is still steadily and fast advancing. These very seasons of peaceful prosperity in which you rejoice, and perhaps confide, accelerate that increase; and the increase will remain, when the prosperity may possibly have departed. Now, my brethren, you constantly hear this increase designated as *fearful*—but why *fearful*? What cause is there for fear in the multiplication of your species? What is there terrible in the aspect of a large multitude of honest, industrious, orderly, moral, and contented fellow-Christians? Surely this should be a subject of hope rather than of fear! A population trained in the love of God and of man, intelligent, considerate, peaceful, can never be too large, either for the general prosperity of the country, or for any individual interest. Why, then, do you call this increase *fearful*? I will tell you. It is because you apprehend that the character of this rising population is not such as I have described—that it does possess those qualities, which would make it a gain and a blessing to the community; and you foresee great danger—and in this I entirely agree with you—in the rapid multiplication of masses not so imbued, not so trained, but possessing other and perhaps opposite qualities.

"More than this. You are well aware that, in this vast augmentation, by very far the larger portion belongs to the lower orders. And this is a fact deserving your very serious reflection; for it indicates, no doubt, a great approaching change in the social system, for good or for evil. You do reflect—for you are very far from inconsiderate. You reflect, and the consequence is, that you fear. Why, I repeat, why not rather derive hope from your meditation? Are those men who are thronging round you, so destitute of the good feelings of your common nature, and so ignorant of the first principles on which society is founded, as to move only your jealousy and distrust? You reply, that they are ignorant. Aye, my brethren, that is true indeed—they are ignorant—and thence is the only real danger. But the crime of that ignorance does not rest with them.

"However, let us not enquire with whom it rests. Rather let us once again implore the Father of Mercies to avert from this nation the just consequences of our past omissions and neglects, and to give us grace to apply more virtue and more wisdom to the time to come.

"They are for the most part ignorant. Many of them have never been taught so much as the rudiments of their religious and moral duties. Their intellects have seldom been trained by any discipline, or stored with any useful information. They are uninstructed, or they are misinstructed, as to the foundation of their social obligations. They are conscious of certain rights; but, if their rights be greater than their knowledge you must see how certainly they will abuse them. They have intelligence enough to understand an appeal to their passions; not enough to detect the sophistry, which is sometimes employed to mislead them. They have virtue enough to love their families, to apply a good deal of industry to their support, and to abstain generally from any flagrant violation of the law; not enough to make them provident against casual distress or disappointment, or to preserve them from much disorder in their lives. They congregate together in large masses, and are capable of firm and continuous co-operation, whether for a good purpose, or, as it might possibly happen, for a purpose the reverse of good.

"Now, this condition of such large multitudes is by no means that which promises security, or inspires confidence. In worldly intelligence and technical knowledge they are far removed from incapacity—in character, if not independent, they are certainly not servile; but they are for the most part

deficient in moral principles as the motive of their actions, and in sound religious principles as the basis of their morality. If then there be danger, this is the source of it. You are surrounded by masses of men whose physical energy and mechanical skill surpass their moral qualifications; and among whom an indefinite sense of their power, and a possible misapprehension of their rights, are not regulated by habitual self-control. And how should this be otherwise? Self-control is the end and fruit of education; and these men have been instructed very partially, and educated not at all. They have learnt their trades, but they have not been taught their duties. They know the value of their hands, but they are uninformed as to the price of their souls. They have a strong sense of the interests of this world, but they have been left—many of them—without any certain knowledge, whether there be so much as a world to come, or not.

"I may here suggest to you another consideration, less important indeed, yet not without much weight in the treatment of this subject—what are the recreations to which they usually have recourse in their hours of leisure?—for these, you will observe, are exactly the hours of their temptation, from various objects unconnected with their daily pursuits; from the subtle suggestions of political or social corruptors; from the mere gross impulse of uncontrolled sensuality. With what principles then are their characters fortified for resistance to these seductions? With what light is their intellect provided to divert them from such vulgar and sinful occupation of their spare time? For I need not inform you, that when the curiosity has been awakened early, and the mind exercised and informed, the seasons of repose often become golden moments for moral reflection, or scientific enquiry, tending not only to increase the knowledge and improve the habits of the man who employs them, but also to augment the general store of information and virtue. And I would not by any means be understood to say, that there are none among the working men in these districts who answer this description—on the contrary, I believe that there are many of acute intelligence, considerable mechanical knowledge, and uncorrupted moral integrity. But what we all lament in common is, that these form no more than a body of honourable exceptions, and not, what they ought to form, and what they might form—the very heart and substance of the people."

Dr. Waddington fearlessly points out what is really the greatest defect in all the systems of education which have been established, either in England or on the Continent, the want of providing efficient schoolmasters by systematic training. Nowhere is this essential element of success so sedulously cultivated as in Ireland, under the National Board; and the teachers trained in the model school of Dublin are superior to the average of those entrusted with the education of the middle classes. It was one of the crying evils of the Kildare Place Society that they permitted a system of private patronage to influence the appointment of the schoolmasters they selected, so that in nine cases out of ten, every such appointment was nothing better than a local job. The Dean of Durham eloquently describes the qualifications which should be required in a schoolmaster:

"And now let us enquire, in a very few sentences, what are the principal qualities requisite for the office of a schoolmaster,—and I have no doubt that there are many among you, even parents it may be, who have never to this moment asked yourselves this question. First among them, we require in him sound religious principles, not as a matter of belief only, but also as a motive of action; we require a spotless moral character—these are essential; nothing can compensate for their absence. Next, we insist that he be familiar with the various authorised methods of imparting information; but, besides this, he ought to command an extent of knowledge larger than that which he is called upon to impart; for thus only will he be able to illustrate his lessons, and give them perspicuity and force. Next, he must possess the art—the very difficult art—of communicating his information. This cannot be learnt, of course, without experience; but experience alone did not suffice;—to awaken the curiosity of the child, to interest his imagination, to attract his attention, to teach him to think—rather than to repeat dry formalities of mere words which convey no meaning to his mind—to teach him to *think*, I say, and to understand and to infer and to reason—this, my brethren, is the secret, the very essence, of the art of teaching; and without it you may construct, indeed, an useful, animated machine, but you will never form a considerate and intelligent man.

The requisites that I shall last mention are gravity of deportment, discretion, self-control, and perfect command of temper. And this is a mere outline of the qualities which must combine to constitute the character of a good schoolmaster.

"Now I need not inform you that such men as these are not to be sought in the refuse of other trades and professions; on the contrary, a profession so composed would possess a moral elevation to which most others might look up with deference. You perceive, besides, that they cannot be self-created; that they cannot attain that model without much diligence and discipline,—in a word, that the art of teaching must first be taught to them; that they must be tutored and instructed themselves, before they can be qualified to exercise tuition and impart instruction.

"Till very lately we have lived with different notions. For all other professions some previous training and knowledge have been required—from the schoolmaster alone we have exacted no special preparation, but allowed him to enter, as if self-enlightened, or gifted with some sort of inspiration, on his most important mission; and to this, no doubt, as I have just remarked, it may be mainly ascribed, that the amount of instruction communicated to the poor has been hitherto disproportionate even to the insufficient means employed.

"It is for these reasons that during the last ten years, since people have begun to think at all on the subject, we have seen the establishment of institutions called Training Schools—that is to say, schools for schoolmasters—schools where the men to whom the education of the youth of this country is to be committed are prepared for that office—where they are taught that they will have solemn duties to discharge towards their pupils and their country, and are taught, too, how to discharge them. It is in these establishments that they may attain the model which has just been placed before you. These, my brethren, are the nurseries, whence the men who will greatly influence the destinies of

the next generation will proceed; and on their number, and conduct, and efficiency, will mainly depend the extent of the general good to be expected from our present exertions."

The Christian lessons inculcated in the conclusion of these lectures are so eminently suggestive, that we shall not weaken their effect by comment.

"We are by this time, I hope, convinced that the welfare of all classes is deeply interested in the improvement of what is called the lowest; that that class stands in great need of improvement; that any further delay might be fraught with danger; and that the instrument which God has given us for that purpose is education. We have seen, likewise, that the means of education must in every district be chiefly provided by the wealthier inhabitants, while some conditional assistance may be expected from the Government. Now, as a nation, we are capable of noble sacrifices. Many millions of our treasures have been expended on the emancipation of our slaves, and year after year we still continue our willing contributions in support of that holy cause. Yet it is a part of rational philanthropy not to confine its exertions to foreign and remote objects, however sacred, but at the same time, and with still greater zeal, to contend with any vast and wasting domestic corruption. I therefore repeat my opinion, that it is the duty of the Legislature to consecrate to the education of the poor of this country sums very much larger than the present grant.

"But even when this shall be done, the main part of the burden must still fall, as I have told you, in some shape or other, upon the locality; and if you who are rich, if you have any superfluities, will not contribute to this purpose by the spontaneous exercise of an ample benevolence, you must expect an alternative which will be much less grateful to your feelings, in some form of compulsory impost.

"You are not insensible to the importance of sound and earnest spiritual instruction; as is proved, not only by your regular attendance in this church, but also by an act of grateful munificence lately performed by you. You recognise the value of literary and scientific information, whether for the exercise of your intellects, or the recreation of your leisure hours; and this is shown by the number and magnitude of your institutions, and the liberality with which you dispense their advantages to all within their reach—but those within their reach are not the poor.

But in respect to the poor, you are not indifferent to their bodily wants and sufferings. Individually, or associated for humane purposes, you support the helplessness of infirmity, you alleviate the pangs of pain, you satisfy the cravings of physical necessity. . . . But there are other necessities of which you do not dream, and which, though less visible, less obtrusive, are evils not less real, not less important—nay, in their consequences far more important—than those which your charity relieves. The children in your streets cry aloud for your assistance. They ask for bread, and you give it to them. It is but half your duty. Give them at the same time that for which they do not ask—knowledge of their God, knowledge of their duties, and understanding to perform them.

"Act a more generous and a wiser part. Form societies for the improvement of the schools which exist, for the establishment of others in districts where they are most needed. Infant schools, as I have said, are valuable at least as means of moral discipline. Evening schools are frequently useful to those whose mornings have been employed in labour; and Adult schools to those whose early education has been neglected. Further these objects,—further them, not by pecuniary assistance only, but by the contribution of your time and your talents. Employ any influence that you may possess over the parents, to show them how clearly both their interests and their duties lie in the education of their children. Above all, improve the character and raise the condition of your schoolmasters. Bear in mind how entirely the result of your exertions must depend on their qualifications; and extend your support to the diocesan institution in which they are trained.

"If at any time you shall have any funds generally available for educational purposes, let me advise you to apply them principally, or at least some considerable share of them, to the education of the poor. And this for two reasons. Because the upper and middle classes are already much more abundantly provided with facilities of instruction than those below them; and because, even if this were not so, they never can want the power to provide them for themselves. It is not wisdom, my brethren, it is not good sense, it is not common foresight, to widen that broad space which already separates the upper from the lower orders. To raise the one still higher, is in effect to depress the other to a lower depth; to accelerate the progress of those already too far in advance, is but to excite the despair of those who have not the means to follow. And you may be well assured of this besides,—they will not stand still; and unless you lead them along in the same path with yourselves, they will find out other paths, devious and perhaps crooked paths, pointing in a different and perhaps opposite direction, and ending—where you would least desire to see them end.

"Then let others take pride in their academic halls, or in their simple institutions for the growth of science, and the embellishments of art, that is, for the advantage and delectation of the classes who have raised them. But let it rather be said of you, that your foremost attention was directed to the wants of the destitute and the helpless. It will be a prouder boast than if some new towers should crown your hills and add to the splendid monuments of your prosperity. For you will thus leave behind you monuments of your virtues too; and though the temples which you shall raise will be of humbler elevation and ruder structure, they will bear a more glorious inscription on their front, for they will be dedicated to the holiest of all human purposes, by the purest of all human motives. . . . Act thus, my brethren, and you will build both more honourably and more permanently. Place your foundation in the interests and affections of the poor, and then your walls will stand fast in immortal security, and the protection of Heaven will be upon you.

"I have now performed my task: I know how imperfectly, how unworthily of the cause which I have presumed to plead, but with an earnest heart and with a single purpose. I commit the result to Heaven—only entreating you, when you shall reflect, as you sometimes will reflect, on my advice and warnings, to consider through whose bounty it is that you have received what you possess; through whose mercy it is that you preserve what you have received; and to manifest your gratitude to God by your loving kindness towards man."

Our course draws to a close. The mission of the League is almost accomplished. One great victory

has been won for our common humanity, and monopoly has fallen before the unaided force of moral principle. The ground is clear for philanthropy and philosophy to combine with piety in the great work of the moral elevation of the people. Hitherto the Minister has been waiting for the country; and the country has been waiting for the Minister. Time waits for neither; and every day which we leave unimproved adds to an appalling mass of moral degradation, which, if allowed to accumulate unchecked, menaces the country with most perilous consequences.

Prisons and Prisoners. By Joseph Adshead. With Illustrations. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman.

This work is a valuable contribution on a subject to which the author appears to have devoted very considerable reflection and labour. The important topics on which it treats have been, for some years past, attracting an increased share of attention from thinking and philanthropic persons; but much remains to be done before a due regard will be paid to them by a sufficient number of influential individuals, or by the public at large. Abuses and abominations have to a considerable extent been abolished in old modes of prison discipline; yet so many serious evils still remain, so large a sphere is left for reformation, that benevolence has even in the present day a mighty task to accomplish in this direction of improvement. It is no easy thing to excite a general and full consideration of the principles which should regulate criminal treatment—at least, there are many difficulties in the way of doing so. The great majority of the people fortunately know nothing practically of the interior of our gaols. They pass by the strong, gloomy, stone walls with a notion, if they think on the matter at all, that strength and security are the only requisites for a prison. Of what is going on inside, whether the influences to which the inmates are subjected are corrupting and degrading, or reformatory as well as punitive, they are ignorant, and consequently are not stimulated to exert themselves for the removal of abuses which may, and often do, exist in sad abundance. Some persons more sensitive than others shudder at some indefinite idea of prisoners' sufferings, but few think of inquiring if any of that suffering is unnecessary, or if the ordeal of pain is really promotive of the interests of society and the improvement of the law-breaker. Much of this indifference is certainly attributable to the fact that what is passing in the interior of prisons is necessarily out of sight to the bulk of the community. We trust, however, that an enlightened public opinion will speedily be directed to the establishment of our penal institutions on a right basis, whereby the proper and only justifiable ends of punishment may be carried out.

There can be no better test of the degree of a nation's civilisation and humanity than the principles on which it acts in the treatment of crime. Barbarous conditions exhibit blind revenge and extravagant cruelty as the impulses of an injured party—wild justice, as some have called it. By degrees, as barbarism subsides, justice becomes less savage; it loses a portion of its vindictiveness by its being taken out of the hands of offended individuals, and confided to the care of magistrates; still it long retains a retaliative character. To make the lawbreaker suffer seems to be the sole object. The law is not constructed with an intelligent regard to the welfare of all through the security of the social fabric, but with a view to the gratification of vindictive feeling. Gradually, ameliorations are introduced into the penal code; and ultimately intelligence and humanity are associated with the administration of justice, and with those processes which the morally corrupt must undergo, to prevent contagion, and for their own purification.

It is out of our province to say anything in this place on the practicability of resorting to plans for the prevention of crime; by the diminution of poverty and its temptations; by extending the benefits of sound, healthy, moral, education, and by promoting various elevating influences among those classes which are now most exposed to vitiating circumstances. In passing by these measures we do not undervalue their overwhelming importance; but the mind must dwell upon one department of a subject at a time. The book before us relates to the treatment of criminals after conviction, and will be found to assist in solving the problems.—How far may humanity to the prisoner be made consistent with the conservation of society? and what method is the best adapted for reforming the culprit, and at the same time deterring others from the commission of crime?

Various systems of prison discipline are at the present time in operation in different parts of the civilised world, and in the same nation; as in our own country and the United States. Each of these systems meets with its respective defenders, between whom a great contrariety of opinion exists as to the principles and details in practice of penal management. We have prisons where the inmates are thrown into indiscriminate associations, and where

they have every opportunity of full communication with each other; with little, if any, attempt at classification. Then there is the *silent and congregated system*, generally connected with such a classification as the gaols will allow of; under which system the prisoners work together during the day, and an attempt is made to prevent them communicating, inflicting severe punishments for breach of the prison rules in that respect. There is also the *separate system*, which provides a separate cell for each inmate of the gaol, and in no case whatever allows the criminals to be brought into contact, so that communication is impossible. Work is given to the prisoners; a habit of industry is promoted among them; they receive moral and religious instruction; and are frequently visited by inspectors, the chaplain, and other officers. The silent and congregated method is sometimes called the Auburn system, from its being adopted in a prison of that name in the State of New York; and the separate arrangement is often known as the Pennsylvania system, from its being acted upon in the eastern penitentiary in that State. Many of the provinces throughout the States have adopted one or the other of these methods. Mr. Adshead gives his voice in favour of the separate system; and adduces a vast array of facts, derived from numerous authorities and extensive personal observation in England and America, in reply to its opponents, more particularly the *Times* newspaper, Mr. Dickens's *American Notes*, and the *Boston Society's Reports*.

Very little reflection appears to be needed to convince of the direful effects which must necessarily result from the *free associations of the depraved*, in their different degrees of guilt. Under such circumstances the tyro in crime learns lessons of deeper sin; the heart yet open to impressions of goodness is hardened by contact with the confirmed villain; scoffs and jeers greet a tear of repentance; and he who entered the prison door with fear, designing a better life, comes out with bravado, an accomplished enemy of his fellow men. Yet such contamination is permitted in this the city of London, the metropolis of England, and seat of so much that is great and good. Newgate and other gaols under the management of the city authorities have frequently called forth the censures of the Inspectors of Prisons. In the Report of the Inspectors of the Home District, for 1843, the following passage occurs:

"It has been our painful duty again and again to point out attention to the serious evils resulting from gaol association, and consequent necessary contamination in this prison (Newgate). The importance of this prison, in this point of view, is very great. As the great metropolitan prison for the untried, it is here that those most skilled in crime of every form—those whom the temptations, the excesses, and the experience of this great city have led through a course of crime to the highest skill in the arts of depredation, and to the lowest degradation of infamy, meet together with those who are new to such courses, and who are only too ready to learn how they may pursue the career they have just entered upon, with most security from detection and punishment, and with greater success and indulgence. The numbers committed, nearly 4000 per annum, which have rapidly increased, and are still increasing, render this a subject of still greater moment. Of this number about one-fifth are acquitted; many of these return to their associates with increased knowledge and skill in crime; with lost characters; with more hardened dispositions, from their association here with others worse than themselves; and with their sense of shame and self-respect sadly diminished, if not utterly destroyed, by exposure to others, and by increased gaol acquaintances. We most seriously protest against Newgate as a great school of crime. Associated together in large numbers and utter idleness, frequently moved from ward to ward, and thereby their prison acquaintance much enlarged, we affirm that the prisoners must quit this prison worse than they enter it. It is said that prisoners are here but for a short time, and that, therefore, much mischief cannot be done. Many of them are here for three weeks and more, and are locked up together in numbers from 3 to 30, for 22 out of 24 hours, without the restraining presence even of an officer, without occupation or resource, without instruction, except that afforded by the daily chapel service, and by the short visits which a chaplain can pay from ward to ward, in so large a prison, and by the books which are placed in the wards. At the end of three weeks what remains to be learnt that any inmate of a ward can teach? What narrative of guilty or sensual adventures remains untold? What anticipation of future success and indulgence that has not been dwelt upon?"

Very few persons would have expected a character like this attaching, at so recent a period as 1843, to the chief metropolitan gaol, under the management of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of the City of London. Mr. Adshead is of opinion that there can be no radical constructional improvement in Newgate, to admit the introduction of proper discipline, without the entire demolition of the present building. He also adds, that since the date of the report above quoted from:

"There has been no alteration in the construction of the prison, for the prevention of the characteristic contaminations of the gaol. There may be a more frequent removal than formerly of the prisoners, and the number of its inmates may be somewhat lessened by prison regulations, but opportunities for mutually demoralising contact exist in all their proportionate extent, without an attempted remedy. A deputy-governor has been appointed, by whom there is a more direct surveillance (the governor being now principally occupied in office details), and who is fully alive to the ill-adapted construction of this prison for any purpose of proper discipline amongst the prisoners there confined."

The amount of injury effected by a continuation

of these arrangements; the sources of pollution thus opened up, to spread vice and misery in a thousand different channels, cannot be calculated. If the extent of contamination could be reckoned, and the number given of those who might have been restored, by a superior discipline, to respectable citizenship, but who are now pests in the social state, the estimate would be fearful. Of course, these remarks as to the lamentable consequences of indiscriminate gaol association apply to all the prisons throughout the country where the same practice is in operation. It is to be hoped that the metropolis will soon entirely put away these abominations, and by the application of correct principles to the management of its penal institutions, cease to be an example of error—taking its proper position of leadership in the march of improvement.

The silent system, with classification, is certainly better than the licentiousness just described, but just doubts are entertained of its being adequate to fulfil the purposes for which it was designed. It is adopted at the Coldbath-fields and Tothill-fields Houses of Correction. In the first place, a classification of the prisoners, which shall prevent injury from their mutual contact, is impossible with the various degrees and shades of guilt which must exist within the walls of a prison. Under the head of the New Prison, Clerkenwell, the following remarks occur in the present volume:

"Let us examine into the nature of prison classification. Take, for example, a department under that mode of discipline, termed the 'vagrant-yard'; or a prison subdivision in which are placed prisoners of a very heterogeneous character, committed under the Vagrant Act. They include persons charged with the offence of begging, sleeping out at night, and not able to give a satisfactory account of themselves, suspected persons, gamblers, reputed thieves, for petty thefts, &c. All these are summarily convicted for various periods, without going to the sessions.

"The real character of the occupants of this yard we will endeavour to analyse.

"They are frequently strangers, who have never before seen the interior of a prison. There are also to be found gamblers, who may not be known to be thieves, and persons committed also for the most trifling offences; whilst it would be seen that a large proportion are comprised of those who have previously been on the misdemeanant, or felon's side, and also in the transport yard; some who have been transported, and have again returned to their own country, to plunder upon the community, and here we find them in what is termed the vagrant-yard. We may refer, also, to the 'Convicted felon's first offender's yard'; there may be 40 or 50 under this head. Having, during the day, mingled with old offenders or transports at the treadmill, or in some other mode of employment in the different workrooms, they return in the evening from their labour to their yard and day-room. On these occasions it is, after the day's work has terminated, that free and mutual communication takes place, when they relate to each other their several acquirements in criminal knowledge.

"The disposition or placing of *untried prisoners* must not be overlooked. Those who are committed as first offenders, and old offenders, are placed in distinct wards. By first offenders is meant those who have never been known to have been convicted of felony, but who may nevertheless have been frequently in the vagrant ward as reputed thieves. Amongst those who appear as first offenders may also happen to be included those who are deeply steeped in crime, and who may have been confined in other prisons for misdemeanours or felonies; but being apprehended in another county, are classed as first offenders; for when questioned on their admission to the prison, such characters take especial care not to make the worst of themselves. It is an acknowledged fact, that in the first offence ward there are, with those who are confined in a gaol for the first time, in constant association, some of the most depraved and hardened characters, who are brought in contact with the novice in crime, both in their bed cells and during their employment in the lighter kind of labour assigned to them. Such prison classification may aid the prison officers in more readily distinguishing the character of their criminal charge than under detention, but as a point of discipline for any important purpose of moral improvement, it is quite out of the question."

Where a number of prisoners are brought together, though under an injunction to maintain silence and avoid all communication with each other, it must be evident that the circumstance of their being brought together constitutes a strong and almost irresistible temptation to break the rules in this respect. They are naturally curious to know the terms of each other's imprisonment and the crimes for which they are committed, besides being desirous of varying the monotony of constant muteness. Insubordination, too, is likely to meet with mutual encouragement. Recourse to severe punishments, in addition to the sentences of judges and magistrates, is thus rendered necessary. Dark cells, solitary cells, handcuffs and irons, stoppage of diet, and other punishments are in frequent use for the preservation of discipline. In the year 1842 there were upwards of 125,000 committals in England and Wales; and in the same year there were 65,969 offences committed in our prisons and punished in various ways. Of two modes of punishment—imprisonment in dark cells and in solitary cells—there were 9026 of the former, and 15,310 of the latter. To take an example of one prison conducted upon the silent and congregated system, we find (Report for 1843) in Coldbath-fields prison, in one year, a total of 16,808 offences for 10,380 prisoners, or 161 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of prison delinquency. A contrast favourable to the separate system is shown in the Pentonville prison, which gives a total of 82 offences for 714 pri-

soners in the course of the twelve months, or 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of delinquency in prison.

After all, communication cannot be prevented. The ingenuity of the prisoners is taxed to evade the officers' vigilance; and that cunning which characterises so many criminals is exerted to devise means of signalling or communicating with one another undetected. The Inspectors' Return for 1843 states, with reference to Coldbath-fields prison:

"Notwithstanding the discipline is attempted to be maintained by never overlooking a single breach of it, however trifling (for if a prisoner speak only once—even one word—he loses his meal), notwithstanding punishments generally are inflicted to the extent which the law sanctions; and notwithstanding the frequency of these punishments, yet it is admitted by Mr. Chesterton, that 'The punishments are decidedly insufficient to keep up the discipline.' 'They will not deter—it is almost impossible to make the prisoners work.' 'The punishments are not preventive.'"

Under this discipline, however successfully carried out, there must be one evil of serious magnitude. The utmost silence with congregation cannot prevent recognition. On coming out of gaol the unreformed thus have an introduction to a larger circle of criminal acquaintances; while those who feel inclined to a better life are annoyed by the approaches of former fellow-prisoners, and by importunities are often tempted to a repetition of crime.

The separate system obviates this difficulty. Prisons under this method cease to be places for the formation of new companionships in guilt; and become what they ought to be in every case—means of disconnecting the fallen from depraved associations. No doubt the idea of exclusion from the pleasures of companionship and society is appalling to a sensitive mind; but it must be remembered that imprisonment in any shape is distressing, and that to a person of delicate feelings, forced association with the coarse, brutal, and depraved would, to say the least of it, be quite as shocking as total solitude. The advocates of separation in our gaols are not monsters of cruelty, as some suppose, delighted with torturing the unfortunate sons of guilt. Many of its promoters are men of exemplary benevolence. Absolute solitary confinement is not defended; indeed, such mitigations and ameliorations as are necessary for the preservation of bodily health and mental elasticity are strongly contended for. The author of "Prisons and Prisoners" gives, in the introduction to his work, the substance of a definition or description of the separate system, supplied by the Inspectors of the Home District, a portion of which we here quote:

"What is separate confinement? It is totally different in its nature from *solitary confinement*. It differs from it in the following particulars: In providing with a large, well lighted, and well ventilated apartment, instead of immuring him in a confined, ill-ventilated, and dark cell; in providing the prisoner with everything that is necessary for his cleanliness, health, and comfort, during the day, and for his repose at night, instead of denying him these advantages; in supplying him with sufficient food of wholesome quality, instead of confining him to bread and water; in alleviating his mental discomfort by giving him employment, by the regular visits of the officers of the prison, of the governor, surgeon, turnkeys, or trades' instructors, and particularly of the chaplain, instead of consigning him to the torpor and other bad consequences of idleness, and the misery of unmitigated remorse, resentment, or revenge; in separating him from none of the inmates of the prison except his fellow-prisoners, instead of cutting him off, as far as may be, from the sight and solace of human society; in allowing him the privilege of attending both chapel and school, for the purpose of public worship and education in class (securing, on those occasions, his complete separation from the sight and hearing of his fellows), instead of excluding him from divine service and instruction; in providing him with the means of taking exercise in the open air, whenever it is proper or necessary, instead of confining him to the unbroken seclusion of his cell. The object of separate confinement, is the permanent moral benefit of the prisoner—an object which he can plainly see this object has in view.

"Under the separate system an appeal is made to the moral sense and understanding of the prisoner; he is treated as a man, and with the respect and benevolence due to humanity, even in its lowest debasement.

"Separate confinement is fitted and designed to induce reflection, kindness, gratitude, and amendment: in short separate confinement is the separation of each offender from all communication and association with his fellow-offenders, regard being had to his bodily health, his mental sanity, his intellectual improvement, and his moral amendment, by inculcating industrious habits, and by religious and moral instruction."

We have no hesitation in acknowledging our confidence in a system of penal discipline, conducted consistently with the principle enunciated above, that the prisoner should be "treated as a man, and with the respect and benevolence due to humanity, even in its lowest debasement." The task of reforming those who are deeply dyed in guilt, while they remain within the sphere of mutual contamination, is hopeless. Some plan of separation must be adopted, or we must come to the conclusion that the restoration of criminals to the paths of rectitude is but seldom to be expected, and that in most instances they must remain centres of moral pollution. To the objection often urged against the separate system, namely, its alleged tendency to cause insanity, Mr. Adshhead brings forward in reply a host of statistical details and many explanations which are too numerous for notice in this article.

We cannot refrain, however, from mentioning one explanation given with reference to the sudden and extraordinary alleged increase in the number of cases of mental aberration, continuing for two or three years after 1837, in the Eastern Penitentiary, Pennsylvania. In 1837 a new physician was appointed to the Penitentiary, and the authority of Dr. Varrentrapp is quoted to show that a very considerable number of the cases reported, as those of alienation of the mind, would not have been so designated by the profession in Europe.

The returns which present this extent of lunacy, also present cures in the proportion of 80 per cent. of the patients; while the disorder in most instances was of short duration. Now, the highest proportion of cures ever known to have occurred in any lunatic establishment, even the best regulated, is 50 per cent.; so, if it be argued from the statements referred to, that separate confinement is likely to produce insanity, it follows from the other part of the statement that the same discipline constitutes by far the best cure yet discovered. In giving this explanation we are at the same time fully convinced of the injurious effects of *unmitigated solitary imprisonment* on the mind: and we coincide with the author of the volume before us, that the relaxation of some of the rules of the Eastern Penitentiary might be effected with propriety and advantage, to bring them in accordance with the regulations of the Model Prison, Pentonville, which are not a jot too lenient. Every good principle is liable to be carried to extremes; and in carrying out the separate system in our gaols, care must be taken to introduce all such ameliorations as are consistent with the purposes of a penal institution, for the prevention of morbid mental excitement or unnatural torpor. Powerful and useful medicines, when injudiciously prescribed, destroy the patient, instead of curing the disease; so must the separate system be administered with judgment and humanity, to benefit the morally diseased individuals submitted to the treatment.

Space will not permit us to comment upon the different branches of the subject treated of by Mr. Adshhead. The book is evidently penned in an earnest and benevolent spirit, and exhibits a close acquaintance with the workings of the various penal systems in operation in this and other countries. It contains a mass of information; and those who feel interested in the subject (and who should not?) will find "Prisons and Prisoners" a useful aid in arriving at sound conclusions. May a few years witness a great advance in the adoption of improved means for the cure of crime and its prevention for the future.

JOURNALISM IN FRANCE.—The recent laws directed against the press in France have rendered the establishment of newspapers much more expensive and difficult than formerly. To secure the payment of the highest fine, the security, or *cautionnement*, for a journal has been raised to 100,000 francs, or 4000*l.*, and the responsible editor must be proprietor of one third of that sum. In a country where capital is so limited, the necessity of paying 4000*l.* operates very unfavourably to enterprise in journalism, and may be considered almost as a prohibition, when it is remembered that this money is at the mercy of a Government whose judges may interdict the publication of the paper after two judicial condemnations. But notwithstanding the sinister influence of this law, and the efforts used by the Government to corrupt public writers, these combined causes do not operate to raise the rich proprietor of a journal above the poor but able writer, as in England. The main cause of this lies in the social habits and institutions of France which are more favourable to talent, and far less favourable to the power and influence of mere wealth than the social system of England. Ministers in France seek to bribe and debauch writers in newspapers, and too often succeed—ministers in England, if there be a favour to confer, or a good thing to bestow, confer it on the proprietors of journals, not on the writers of them. In England, the proprietor of such a paper is made a deputy-lieutenant, the proprietor of such another is created a baronet, the proprietor of a third is appointed a local magistrate. In France, it is the writers, and not the proprietors, who are rewarded; and the Bertrins are no exception to this rule, for they were far more celebrated as writers than as proprietors. Fievre, Etienne, Keratry, and Chevalier, with many others, were made councillors of state, while at least twenty other writers were made prefects, sub prefects, *maitre des requêtes*, &c. The number of newspaper writers who have taken a still higher flight over the heads of proprietors, and attained ministerial "port-*feuilles*" or the peerage, is by no means inconsiderable. Chateaubriand, Salvandy, Guizot, Thiers, Duchâtel de Remusat, Villemin, Cousin, and many others, may be numbered. Thus is a homage paid to talent, both by government and people in France, which in England is reserved for wealth or title. The late Mr. Thomas Barnes, of the *Times*, though not a man of genius, like Chateaubriand, nor a man of such varied attainments as M. Guizot, was yet far superior, both as a scholar and a writer, to all the other French newspaper writers who attained the rank of minister. But Mr. Barnes was born in a wealth-worshipping and aristocratic land; never was an M.P.—never was a privy councillor—never was a minister in a country which has had a Knatchbull, a Lincoln, and an Ellenborough in the Cabinet, and an Addington, a Goderich, and a Peel, for prime ministers.—*British Quarterly Review* for May.

A Fancy Fair and Fete Champetre will be held in the grounds of the Almshouses, Waltham-green, Fulham, on Tuesday, the 23d, and Wednesday, the 24th of June, in aid of the Butchers' Charitable Institution. A Concert and Ball are amongst the varied amusements of the day. Vocal talent of a superior order have been engaged, and several original and appropriate pieces, written for the occasion, will be presented.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 144.—VOL. III.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 27, 1846.

[3d.

COUNTY REGISTRATION.

Between the 20th of June and the 20th July, a valid claim can be made, which should be in the following form:

To the overseers of the parish of ———
I hereby give you notice, that I claim to be inserted in the list of voters for the county [riding or division] of ———, and that the particulars of my place of abode and qualification are stated in the columns below.
Dated the _____ day of _____, in the year _____
(Signed)

Christian name and surname of the claimant at full length.	Place of abode.	Nature of Qualification.	Street, lane, or other like place in this parish (or township), and number of house [if any] where the property is situate, or name of the property, or name of the occupying tenant, or if the qualification consist of a rent-charge, then the names of the owners of the property out of which such rent is issuing, or some of them, and the situation of the property.

Taking care to sign their Christian names (if more than one) and surname in full, their true place of abode, nature of qualification, and locality, conformable to the heading of the notice, so that it may be identified. In the third column state, if the qualification is freehold, say "Freehold house," or "land," or "rent-charge" (if for life, only £10 value is required), giving the name of the owner and the situation of the property.

If copyhold, say "Copyhold house," or "land," as the case may be.

If leasehold, say "Original lease of twenty years," or "sixty years of house," or "land," as the case may be.

If a sub-lease, then "Sub-lease of sixty" or "twenty years," as the case may be.

If tenancy qualification, say "House" or "land occupied at a rental of £50 per annum."

QUALIFIED FREEHOLDERS

Are those possessed of an estate of inheritance of the yearly value of 40s., or an estate for life or lives of the yearly value of £10, or an estate possessed prior to June 7, 1832, or since. If by marriage, or will, or promotion to office, or if the freeholder is himself the actual occupier, 40s. value will be sufficient.

Parish clerks, sextons, schoolmasters, Dissenting ministers, and holders of office, if entitled to emoluments of 40s. out of land, but the appointment must be for life, or during good behaviour. Six months' possession prior to the 31st of July will entitle the freeholder to be registered.

QUALIFIED COPYHOLDERS

Are those possessed of copyhold "houses or land of £10 value." The period of possession the same as for freehold.

QUALIFIED LEASEHOLDERS

Are those who possess an original lease or a sub-lease (if in occupation), originally created for sixty years, of the clear yearly value of £10, over and above all rents and charges, or for twenty years of the clear yearly value of £50, over and above all rents and charges, and in possession thereof twelve months previous to the 31st of July.

QUALIFIED OCCUPYING TENANTS

Are those who occupy as tenant any lands or tenements for which they are bona fide liable to a yearly rental of £50, and the period of occupation must be the same as the leaseholder.

Many electors during last year's revision lost their right of voting for twelve months, owing to their mistaking the tenancy qualification and leasehold qualification; but the reader will see they are totally different, and those who were struck off should reclaim.

The holding of a lease at a rental of £50 will not confer a leasehold qualification. The lease must be worth annually £50, over and above the rent, &c., and persons holding as described, when in occupation, should claim as occupying tenants at £50 rental. The claim, then, can be maintained, and costs demanded, if frivolously and vexatiously objected to. The notice, when filled up in duplicate, may be served on the overseer of the parish where the qualifying property is situate, by taking it to the post-office, where money orders are paid and received, and, on the payment of 3d., the postmaster will stamp the duplicate and forward it by post, or the notice may be left at the residence of the overseer or office for the transaction of the parochial business. It is to be observed that a redeemed land-tax of 40s., if purchased and

entered under Schedule D, will confer a county vote; but neither freehold in occupation of owner, or a copyhold of £10 value, or a leasehold on which a tenement is built, will confer a county vote, if the property is situate in a city or borough. It has to be observed, however, that two or more copyhold or leasehold houses of less clear annual value than £10 each, but more together, will confer a county vote, even although situated in a parliamentary borough.

VICTORY!

Our work is done. The great principle in whose name and power we leagued ourselves together, and which we undertook to see finally embodied in an Act of Parliament, has now received the seal of statutory enactment. The British legislature has made its last Corn Law—has relinquished henceforth and for ever, the unholy office of restricting the people's food. By and with the assent and consent of the three estates of the realm, in Parliament assembled, FREE TRADE in the first article of human use and necessity is now part and parcel of the law and constitution of the country.

It has taken a long time to do. First, seven years of popular agitation; and then, five months of Parliamentary conflict! Never was a public and social wrong more deeply rooted and ingrained in the institutions, habits, and prejudices of a country, and in the pride and supposed interests of a dominant class, than was that which, in the commencement of the year 1839, we pledged ourselves to wrench from its place in the British statute-book. Future generations will marvel that it should have cost so much to achieve an end so simply right and rational—to win legislative recognition for such palpable rudiments of common justice and common sense. Yet, now that all is over, we are not disposed to complain, with any bitterness, of the tardy action, either of popular intelligence or of Parliamentary forms. Delay itself has not been without its compensatory advantages. It marks deliberation and settled purpose. It serves to indicate, to the obtusest perception, the finality and irrevocableness of a national act, which the national judgment has so slowly and cautiously matured. Nobody has been taken by surprise. All opinions have had fair play—all parties have had free speech. Neither violence nor hurry has shared in effecting this great consummation. The act to which her Majesty's most gracious and glad assent yesterday gave the force of law is, most emphatically, the work of the national intelligence, the expression and embodiment of national conviction—of a conviction wrought very gradually, spread over many years, tested and confirmed by a long course and wide variety of national experiences, and successively embracing larger and larger classes of minds, until at length it has reached that maturity and universality which constitute a moral necessity for the statesman to recognise and obey. It is too little to say, that what is so done can never, in the nature of things be undone;—the bare notion of the possibility of undoing it is one that can never enter a sane mind. A legislative revolution so slowly and gradually elaborated, and so tranquilly consummated, bears the unmistakeable stamp of legitimacy, inevitableness, and finality. Its credentials are in its history. It is certificated against all attempts at reaction and counter-revolution—guaranteed against all political casualties. There it is, and there it will be, in all its grandeur of principle, beneficence of tendency, and fruitfulness of result—as truly an integral element of our national being as the steam-engine, the printing press, or the House of Commons.

That this vast and beneficent change in our national policy has not been effected with absolute national unanimity—that, even to the last, a few voices are feebly raised, in dissent and "protest,"

against the dictates of policy and justice—is too much in the ordinary course of things to excite any strong emotion either of surprise or indignation. We should, of course, have liked to see it otherwise; but it is impossible to be angry with men whose offence carries with it its own punishment. It is penalty enough for the would-be taxers of the people's bread, that they are doomed to sulk while the country rejoices, and that their share in the legislative revolution of the age has been only that of unavailing and impotent obstruction. We cannot be hard upon them. The retributions of history will be sufficiently prompt and painful to answer all the ends of justice. That the Stanleys, and Richmonds, and Buckinghams think proper to commit themselves by formal and solemn "protest" against an act of legislative wisdom and moral right which places this country in the front rank of the world's civilisation, is much more their business than it is ours. If noble lords will register themselves, in the archives of the empire, in the singularly disadvantageous character assumed by these protesting peers, there is no help for it. The time is not distant when their lordships will regret having taken pen in hand for so silly a purpose, and will vainly wish that it were possible to erase from the journals of their house, and from the memory of their country, all record of the fact, that in the year 1846 they deprecated food as a nuisance to be abated—obstinately resisted the people's claim to earn and eat their bread in their own way—and pledged their credit and reputation to absurd predictions of the misery and ruin consequent on an "inundation" of edible products. As we are, however, in no mood for re-opening a closed controversy, and would like to part pleasantly from our old opponents, we content ourselves with wishing them, one and all, a speedy conversion to wiser and happier views, and moral courage to proclaim such conversion to the world. We have much faith in the efficacy of "three years' experience."

Of an event so wide and far reaching in its bearings, both present and future, as that which it is this day our happiness to record—an event which will ever constitute one of the great dates in the history of this country—it is difficult to speak fitly and adequately, on the spur of the moment. Our readers are probably, with ourselves, disposed just now rather to enjoy the "great fact," than to theorise on its consequences and tendencies. The tone of congratulation is that which best befits the hour of victory. And from our hearts do we congratulate all classes and parties of our countrymen on the achievement of a blessing in which, quite irrespectively of their share in the toils and sacrifices of the conflict, ALL will substantially participate. To those tried friends and fellow labourers who have borne with us the burden and heat of the day—who have fought with us this fight from the beginning—battled for a true, just, and generous principle, through evil report, and through good report—and lived to see it espoused by the collective statesmanship of the empire, and finally written on the statute book; to those more recent converts who, by their timely and efficient aid, have fairly won that equal share of the meed and honour of success which a high authority assigns even to labourers who begin their working day only at the eleventh hour; to all ranks and orders of the industrial community of Englishmen, who, whether conscious or unconscious of their own enfranchisement, are this day liberated from the bondage of a most grievous yoke, and from the pressure of a most fatal hindrance; to the hardworking agriculturists, in particular, who are now again placed in their true and natural relations to their countrymen, and re-enter on equal terms the great fraternity of British producers; to the landowning gentry and aristocracy, who have

cleared themselves of the odium of enacting laws for their private pecuniary advantage, and making a class "interest" of national impoverishment and misery; and to the statesmen who have, once for all, cast off a responsibility too vast and onerous for any human rulers to sustain, and are no longer charged with the awful task of "regulating the supply of food to the people;" to ALL our countrymen, of every rank and degree, do we tender our most fervent congratulations on a triumph which opens a new career of progress to our common country, widens and brightens the horizon of our national future, and more than any other act or event of this age, re-asserts for England her old prerogative of TEACHING NATIONS HOW TO LIVE.

THE PROTEST OF 1815 AND THE PROTEST OF 1846.

Before our labours conclude we are anxious to place on record, in striking contrast, Lord Grenville's protest against the establishment of the Corn Laws and Lord Stanley's protest against their repeal. The experience of thirty years has established the truth and wisdom of every syllable of the former. The latter is one of those documents likely to puzzle posterity, by rendering it doubtful whether it emanated from a Lord Stanley, of the nineteenth century, or from some unlettered baron of the darkest of the dark ages.

LORD GRENVILLE'S PROTEST.

DISSENTIENT,—

1. Because we are adverse in principle to all new restraints on commerce. We think it certain that public prosperity is best promoted by leaving uncontrolled the free current of national industry; and we wish rather, by well-considered steps, to bring back our commercial legislation to the straight and simple line of wisdom, than to increase the deviation by subjecting additional and extensive branches of the public interest to fresh systems of artificial and injurious restrictions.

2. Because we think that the great practical rule, of leaving all commerce unfettered, applies *more peculiarly*, and on still stronger grounds of justice as well as policy, to the corn trade than to any other. Irresistible, indeed, must be that necessity which could, in our judgment, authorise the legislature to tamper with the sustenance of the people, and to impede the free purchase of that article on which depends the existence of so large a portion of the community.

3. Because we think that the expectations of ultimate benefit from this measure are founded on a delusive theory. We cannot persuade ourselves that this law will ever contribute to produce plenty, cheapness, or steadiness of price. So long as it operates at all, its effects must be the opposite of these. *Monopoly is the parent of scarcity, of dearth, and of uncertainty.* To cut off any of the sources of supply can only tend to lessen its abundance; to close against ourselves the cheapest market for any commodity, must enhance the price at which we purchase it; and to confine the consumer of corn to the produce of his own country, is to refuse to ourselves the benefit of that provision which Providence itself has made for equalising to man the variations of climate and of seasons.

4. But whatever may be the future consequences of this law at some distant and uncertain period, we see with pain that these hopes must be purchased at the expense of a great and present evil. To compel the consumer to purchase corn dearer at home than it might be imported from abroad, is the immediate practical effect of this law. In this way alone can it operate. Its present protection, its promised extension of agriculture, must result, (if at all) from the profits which it creates by keeping up the price of corn to an artificial level. These future benefits are the consequences expected, but, as we confidently believe, erroneously expected, from giving a bounty to the grower of corn, by a tax levied on its consumer.

5. Because we think the adoption of any permanent law for such a purpose, required the fullest and most laborious investigation. Nor would it have been sufficient for our satisfaction, could we have been convinced of the general policy of a hazardous experiment. A still further inquiry would have been necessary to persuade us that the present moment is fit for its adoption. In such an inquiry, we must have had the means of satisfying ourselves what its immediate operation will be, as connected with the various and pressing circumstances of public difficulty and distress with which the country is surrounded; with the state of our circulation and currency, of our agriculture and manufactures, of our internal and external commerce, and, above all, with the condition and reward of the industrious and labouring classes of our community.

On all these particulars, as they respect this question, we think that Parliament is almost wholly uninformed; on all we see reason for the utmost anxiety and alarm from the operation of this law.

Lastly, Because, if we could approve of the principle and purpose of this law, we think that no sufficient foundation has been laid for its details. The evidence before us, un-

satisfactory and imperfect as it is, seems to us rather to disprove than to support the propriety of the high price adopted as the standard of importation, and the fallacious mode by which that price is to be ascertained. And on all these grounds we are anxious to record our dissent from a measure so precipitate in its course, and, as we fear, so injurious in its consequences.

LORD STANLEY'S PROTEST AGAINST THE CORN BILL.

The following is the Protest of Lord Stanley against the Corn Bill, which was laid on the table of the House of Lords last night:

DISSENTIENT,—

1. Because the repeal of the Corn Laws will greatly increase the dependence of this country upon foreign countries for its supply of food, and will thereby expose it to dangers against which former statesmen have thought it essential to take legislative precautions.

2. Because there is no security nor probability that other nations will take similar steps; and this country will, therefore, not only be exposed to the risks of failure of supply consequent on a state of war, but will also be exclusively subject to an unlimited influx of corn in times of abundance, and to sudden checks whenever short crops shall reduce the ordinary supply from the exporting countries, or their Governments shall deem it necessary to take precautionary measures for their own protection, thus causing rapid and disastrous fluctuations in the markets of this country.

3. Because under a system of protection the agriculture of this country has more than kept pace with the increasing demand of its increasing population; and because it is to be apprehended that the removal of protection may throw some lands out of cultivation, and check in others the progress of improvement which has led to this satisfactory result.

4. Because it is unjust to withdraw protection from the landed interest of this country, while that interest remains subject to exclusive burdens imposed for purposes of general and not of special advantage.

5. Because the loss to be sustained by the repeal of the Corn Laws will fall most heavily on the least wealthy portion of the landed proprietors, will press immediately and severely on the tenant farmers, and through them, with ruinous consequences on the agricultural labourers.

6. Because indirectly, but not less certainly, injurious consequences will result to the manufacturing interest, and especially to the artisans and mechanics, from competition with the agricultural labourers thrown out of employment, but principally from the loss of the home market, caused by the inability of the producers of grain, and those dependent on them, to consume manufactured goods to the same extent as heretofore.

7. Because the same cause will produce similar evil results to the tradesmen, retail dealers, and others in country towns, not themselves engaged in agricultural pursuits, but mainly dependent for their subsistence on their dealings with those who are so engaged.

8. Because the effect of a repeal of the Corn Laws will be especially injurious to Ireland, by lowering the value of her principal exports, and by still further reducing the demand for labour, the want of which is among the principal evils of her social condition.

9. Because a Free Trade in corn will cause a large and unnecessary diminution of annual income, thus impairing the revenue of the country, at the same time that it cripples the resources of those classes on whom the weight of local taxation now mainly falls.

10. Because a general reduction of prices, consequent on a reduction of the price of corn, will tend unduly to raise the monied interest at the expense of all others, and to aggravate the pressure of the national burdens.

11. Because the removal of differential duties in favour of Canadian corn is at variance with the legislative encouragement held out to that colony by Parliament, on the faith of which the colonists have laid out large sums upon the improvement of their internal navigation; and because the removal of protection will divert the traffic of the interior from the St. Lawrence and the British ports of Montreal and Quebec, to the foreign port of New York; thus throwing out of employment a large amount of British shipping, severing the commercial interests of Canada from those of the parent country, and connecting those interests most intimately with the United States of America.

12. Because the adoption of a similar system with regard to other articles of commerce, will tend to sever the strongest bond of union between this country and her colonies, will deprive the British merchant of that which is now his most certain market, and sap the foundation of that colonial system, to which, commercially and politically, this country owes much of its present greatness.

THE CORN MARKET.—The accounts from the Continent lead us to expect a continuance of the demand for wheat for shipment to Belgium, Holland, and the Rhenish provinces. The present stocks appear much exhausted; and the accounts of the growing rye crop are more unfavourable. Throughout Belgium and Holland, and along the banks of the Rhine, the crop has been ascertained to be bad for some weeks past, but these letters not only confirm those accounts, but extend them to Pomerania, and other more important grain growing districts of Germany; and the opinion is confirmed that a very serious deficiency will this year be experienced in this most important grain for Continental consumption, which will lead to a demand for inferior and cheap wheat.—*Morning Chronicle.*

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE SESSION OF 1846.

Twenty-third Week, ending Saturday, June 27.

Thursday night, the 25th of June, 1846, must be memorably marked in the political calendar. On that night Sir Robert Peel carried, in the House of Lords, his bill for the ultimate repeal of the Corn Laws, and his bill for the further revision of our commercial tariff. And on that night, the same minister was defeated in the House of Commons by a majority of SEVENTY-THREE. Such a concurrence of events on the same night in both houses of the Legislature is unparalleled in our political history. It shadows forth the enormous difficulties of Corn Law repeal, and yet the power of that political opinion which has compelled it; and though Sir Robert Peel has fallen on a Coercion Bill ("true 'tis pity, and pity 'tis true") there is no reason to suppose that he could have much longer retained political power. He has redeemed all his past errors by sacrificing his political life for the service of the people; and the gratitude of a commercial people, emancipated from the stern grip of monopoly, will follow him into private life, and attest, as Mr. Cobden did, on Thursday night, their sense of that "steady perseverance, unswerving firmness, and great ability," with which he has conducted to a triumphant conclusion the most "magnificent reform" of modern times.

It was agreed that there was to be no division in the House of Lords on the third reading of the Corn and Customs' Bill. It was felt to be useless; and the whole debate was therefore dry and empty. There was a speech from Earl Wicklow; the Earl of Ripon briefly defended the financial course of the Government; the Duke of Cleveland deplored; Earl Stanhope objurgated; Lord Feversham lamented; Lord Gage vaticinated; and the Duke of Richmond threatened. Then came the question, "That this bill do pass." "Content," exclaimed some voices; "Non-content," replied others; and then the Lord Chancellor gravely said, "the Contents have it." So the Corn Law repeal bill was passed; and will probably have received the royal assent before our paper is in the hands of our readers.

Below the bar of the House of Lords it was interesting to mark the groups that were awaiting the final sanction of the legislature to the long and arduous struggle that has so incessantly absorbed public interest and attention for the last seven years. Members of the House of Commons crowded around the bar—amongst whom we remarked, with more than joyous aspect, the hon. member for Durham, Mr. Bright, engaged probably in exchange of congratulations with Mr. Gibson; the veteran member for Salford, Mr. Brotherton, Mr. Thornely, Mr. Moffat, and many other well-known Free Traders. A little behind the front ranks Lord John Russell stood, apparently in jocular conversation with the hon. member for Stockport, and as the words "*that this bill do pass*," fell from the lips of the Lord Chancellor, a suppressed cheer ran through the ranks of the Free Traders within the strangers' gallery; amongst the foremost of whom we observed the Chairman of the League, Mr. George Wilson, Mr. Rawson, the Treasurer of the League, Mr. Paulton, Mr. Lees, and several members of the Council.

The Customs' Bill was passed in a similar way; and after this serious and important work, the House of Lords adjourned, and the House of Commons pursued its course of defeating the Government.

The long protracted debate on the Coercion Bill was dragging along, when messengers from the Lords announced that their lordships had agreed to the Corn and Customs' Bills, *without amendments.* The members on the Opposition benches marked their satisfaction by a loud burst of cheering. The debate then went on, its dulness redeemed by an excellent speech from Mr. Charles Buller, and a sparkling one from Mr. Shiel. It was fitly concluded by Mr. COBDEN, whose speech, short and pithy, placed the whole question in so clear a light, and so clearly expounded the *rational* of the ministerial defeat, that it will be read by every man desirous of understanding it. Then came the important division—

For the second reading of the bill . . . 219

Against it . . . 292

The Government, therefore, being defeated by a majority of SEVENTY-THREE.

After the division in the commons a considerable number of Free Traders remained in the lobby of the house, and as Sir Robert Peel passed through to the cloak room he was greeted with several rounds of most enthusiastic cheers.

On Friday, after an aimless discussion raised by the Duke of Richmond, about giving to tenants the right of vacating leases, and for which he proposed and withdrew clauses (a mere piece of claptrap on the part of the Duke of Protection), the Corn Bill safely passed through committee, and was reported, *without amendments.* The peril was therefore over; and nothing remained but the third reading, which was then fixed for Tuesday, though on the subsequent Monday it was postponed till Thursday, Lord Stanley giving an assurance that the Protectionists did not mean to divide on it, but simply to content themselves with entering a protest on the Journals.

On Monday, by agreement, Lord Ashburton brought forward a motion, the object of which was to prevent bonded corn from being entered for consumption at the low rate of duty, should the bill pass. Here it is, in precise terms:—

"That whatever may be the alterations which it may be expedient permanently to make in the laws regulating the introduc-

tion of foreign corn, it is the opinion of this house that the sudden admission of the large quantity of wheat and wheat flour now in bond at a very low rate of duty, while the prices are moderate, and the prospect of the approaching harvest is promising, may be productive of great injury and injustice to the cultivators of the soil of the United Kingdom; and that some better provision against such a calamity should be provided than is contained in the bill now before the house.

In support of his motion, Lord Ashburton attempted to frighten their lordships by a speech which the Earl of Dalhousie characterised as "dark in alarm, and fruitful in prophecy, but utterly destitute of argument." Not only were there 2,500,000 quarters of grain in bond, but more was to come in upon them like a flood, and literally to swamp us all. It is painful to look upon Lord Ashburton, now an old man, muttering gibberish which, in his younger days, he despised. Despair is too strong a word, for the beginning of the speeches of Mr. Thomas Baring, in the House of Commons, were always flatly contradicted by the conclusion; but, at all events, Mr. Thomas Baring uttered more sense and shrewdness than ever Lord Ashburton has done.

The Earl of Dalhousie, on whom has devolved the conducting of the Corn and Customs' Bills through the house, answered the speech of Lord Ashburton. Instead of there being in bond 2,500,000 quarters, the quantity was only 1,900,000; while under the sliding scale there had been imported, in 1842, in the short space of four weeks, no less a quantity than 2,180,000 quarters. In 1841, also, there had been in bond at one time no less than 2,017,000 quarters. But the point which struck Lord Ashburton hardest, was the fact that the lord of the breeches-pockets had voted for the amendment proposed by the Earl of Wicklow for imposing a fixed duty of 5s.; and all the stock now in bond would be admitted, under the new law, at precisely a similar rate of duty! The Earl of Dalhousie also reminded the house that the Government were not to blame for any alleged accumulation of stock in bond. The following is an abstract of the debate:

Lord ASHBURTON said he would not enter into the general policy of the great change about to be made in our commercial law, and particularly the Corn Law, after the opinion which had been twice expressed by their lordships upon the principle of the measure. But assuming they were right in the general policy and expediency of this great change, he wished to call their attention to the want of caution exhibited in the hasty, inconsiderate manner in which the measure had been conducted, and to contrast it with the proceedings of former Governments and Parliaments in analogous cases. Their lordships were about to take away, he did not say all protection, but every safeguard against the shock and oscillation of prices which must be occasioned by the vast quantity of corn and flour now in bond coming at once upon the market. That quantity was some time ago not less than two million quarters, and since then foreign corn had been pouring in every day from all parts of the world, exceeding all power of absorption by the effectual demand in this country, where there was, moreover, every prospect of an abundant market. Upon an average of six years, we had required only about 100,000 quarters of foreign wheat in aid of our own produce, and they were now going to open the flood-gates and let in recklessly, without the slightest precaution to prevent individual ruin, at least two millions and a half actually in bond. This had not been the course pursued by Mr. Huskisson in 1822 when proposing a much less change than this; which, whatever supposed advantage might accrue from it, showed very little feeling towards the cultivators of this country. They might suspend the operation of the bill till prices reached 60s.; but he suggested no particular plan; he merely proposed a simple resolution, that whatever their lordships did, they would take care not to expose the country to any unnecessary risk.

The Earl of DALHOUSIE observed, that the speech of Lord Ashburton was dark in alarm and fruitful in prophecy, but a speech more bare in facts, or less supported by argument, it had never been his fate to hear. His noble friend had talked of some unheard of and dangerous amount of foreign corn that was to come into this country; whereas the latest accounts from the Custom House showed that the quantity of wheat and wheat flour together in bond is under 1,900,000 quarters; and so far from there being any anticipation that this quantity would be unduly or inordinately increased by imports from foreign countries, the very reverse is the fact; for from every quarter of the world the Government had the same information as in the last year—namely, that there was a short-coming harvest; Nature appearing to set herself in array in her various elements against us by an excess of wet in one quarter and drought in another. He showed that the quantity of foreign corn in bond, and actually admitted, under the existing law, had been greater than 1,900,000 quarters. In reply to the complaint of Lord Ashburton regarding the hasty and reckless manner in which this measure had been conducted, he reminded their noble lordships that the measure had been announced a quarter of a year back, at the time when Sir Robert Peel proposed that the same rule should be applied to the gradual admission of corn as it was customary to apply to other merchandise when the duties were altered. But this was objected to, and Sir Robert, finding it not according to precedent in respect to corn, withdrew the proposition, and Lord Stanley had given him credit for so doing. He believed the proposition of Lord Ashburton to be unjust in principle, and that, so far from benefiting, it would injure those who were affected by it. How did the noble lord propose to deal with the subject? He spoke of "better provisions"—what provisions? His resolution was in the teeth of our whole warehousing policy, whilst, by an *ex post facto* law, it would inflict gross injustice. Whatever effect this measure might have been expected to produce upon prices had been produced already; and if their lordships intended to make this change in the Corn Law, it should be done as much as possible at once; for experience had shown that the worst thing that could be done was to hang up such a measure over the heads of those who were affected by it.

Lord KINSAIRD confirmed the argument he had urged upon a former occasion, by stating that the price of wheat at Mark-lane, at 2 o'clock this day, was 1s. higher, with a short supply.

Earl GREY trusted that the house was not going to consent to this resolution without an explanation of its practical

consequences. How did the noble Lord who proposed it intend to work it out? If it was adopted, did he mean to say their lordships must not then agree to the third reading of the Corn Bill? If so, this was an indirect way of throwing out the bill. (Lord Ashburton disclaimed this design.) Then, if they were to pass both this resolution and the bill, the former would be a dead letter. Nay, it would be worse than useless, for it held out a threat that the legislature meant at some time to check the admission of corn in bond, the consequence of which would be, that the holders of corn would not lose an hour in getting their corn out of bond; so that the resolution would defeat its own object.

Lord REDESDALE defended Lord Ashburton from the suspicion of desiring to throw out the bill by a trick, and contended that some provision was absolutely necessary to protect the farmers of this country from ruin.

The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH observed, that delay in this measure was now deprecated by all, yet this resolution must interpose delay. Lord Ashburton had supposed that because corn in bond became saleable, therefore it would be brought to market; but this was contrary to experience. Every year, after harvest, from 30,000,000 to 40,000,000 quarters of corn became saleable, though a very small quantity came to market. He believed that a week or two after the corn in bond became saleable there might be an influx, for the same reason that brought corn to market after harvest, namely, the distress of the holders, who were anxious to realise the value.

The Earl of WICKLOW confessed that his opinion had been influenced by what had been stated by Lord Dalhousie. If instead of 2,500,000 quarters in bond, there were but 1,900,000, and the prospects of the Continental harvests were so unfavourable, the necessity for the resolution fell to the ground; and he agreed that great inconvenience would result from the procrastination of this measure.

Lord ASHBURTON shortly replied, and their lordships divided, when there appeared—

For the resolution	..	..	..	47
Against it	..	..	..	70

Majority against the resolution .. 23

The next business was the consideration of the Customs Duties Bill in committee. This was the opportunity for the Duke of Richmond to shine—his last grand effort to prove that the question was not a mere landlord's one. He held in his hand the got-up petition from the Spitalfields weavers, praying to be heard by counsel at the bar against the proposed reduction of the duties on silk. He had secured the aid of Lord Brougham; and felt so sure of success that a learned counsel (Mr. Sergeant Talfourd), armed with a ponderous brief, was in attendance to endeavour to arrest, by his eloquence, the progress of the bill; and a body of Spitalfields weavers stood below the bar. The question having been put that the house should go into committee, and the duke having presented his petition, and made his motion,

The Earl of DALHOUSIE said it was ungracious to oppose this motion, but with reference to convenience and to precedent, their lordships should not agree to it. The usage and practice of the House precluded the hearing of counsel on a Customs' Bill, or a measure of general policy.

Lord BROUGHAM denied the existence of such a rule, and appealed to the precedent of the orders in council, when he had been heard as counsel in the house.

The Earl of ELLENBOROUGH said their lordships must take care not to establish a dangerous precedent which would obstruct business.

The Duke of WELLINGTON also reminded their lordships that they could not consent to any alteration of the details of the Tariff Bill in committee without an infraction of the rules of proceeding between the two Houses of Parliament.

The Duke of RICHMOND protested with some warmth against this doctrine, and declared he would divide the house upon the question.

The division showed the following numbers:

For the motion	..	..	74
Against it	..	..	78

Majority against the motion .. 4

The motion having been negatived by the proxies (the majority of the peers present being in favour of the motion), a warm discussion ensued as to the rules which regulated proxies, and as to the expediency of that mode of voting.

Lord STANLEY, before the house went into committee upon the Tariff Bill, addressed their lordships upon its principle, and with reference to some articles embraced in it. The Earl of Ripon had declared the principle of Free Trade to be the great rule of the Government; yet, after taking off all protection from corn, they brought forward this bill, which recognized the principle of protection, and it was because (Lord Stanley) found that principle recognized in the bill that he should support it. But it was on the score of revenue that he should deal with this bill. The Government calculated upon a very small surplus, and there was great danger next year of a deficiency of revenue. In these circumstances, they proposed to repeal or reduce duties on articles which produced last year 2,739,187*l.*, and the probable loss of revenue would be 1,400,000*l.* If there was one financial maxim better recognized than another, it was that those duties should be the last reduced which were in a state of progressive productiveness to the revenue, showing that they did not press upon consumption. The noble lord pointed out various articles in which, under the present duties, the revenue was increasing and competition was becoming day by day more brisk; and, therefore, there should be some explanation of the reason why so large and unnecessary a sacrifice of revenue is made.

The Earl of DALHOUSIE denied that this measure was introduced as a Free Trade measure. He had admitted that there were various anomalies and exceptions to the principle of Free Trade in the bill, the object of which was to remove all duties from articles of food and of the first necessity, as well as from raw materials; and with respect to articles not of prime necessity, but which entered largely into consumption, to reduce the rates of duty as far as practicable. Upon some articles, for various reasons, the principle was not worked out, and he admitted that the tariff did not profess entirely to depart from the principle of protection. The noble earl then replied in detail to the specific objections of Lord Stanley, observing that it did not follow because the importation of an article was increasing, or the revenue collected upon it augmented, that this was a healthy increase;

high duties created an illicit trade, which deranged all calculations.

Earl STANHOPE, whilst he predicted the most ruinous consequences to British industry from the operations of the Tariff Bill, expressed his conviction to be that the full principle of Free Trade had not been carried out in it, simply because, though the agriculturists allowed themselves to be led like cattle to the slaughter-house, the ministers durst not treat the manufacturers in the same way.

The Earl of RIPON neutralised the apprehensions of Lord Stanhope, by exposing the groundless vaticinations with which he had been overwhelmed at the introduction of the tariff of 1842, by deputations from the glovers, the dealers in salt provisions, and the milling interest, some of whom had since assured him they had found that he (Lord Ripon) was right and they were wrong.

Lord MONTEAGLE observed, that there was one matter which had not been noticed by Lord Dalhousie, namely, the connection of this measure with the question of finance. Their lordships had a right to know what it was expected would be the financial result of these measures. Did they expect the possibility of the removal of the property tax; or was it not a matter of inevitable necessity that that tax must be perpetuated? He lamented that Lord Stanley should lend the authority of his talents to the opposition offered to this measure; it was inconsistent with his past conduct; and his arguments applied to 1842 and to the Canada timber measure. He denied the principle laid down by Lord Stanley, that taking off the duty upon the raw material and levying a duty upon the manufacture was protection, which our manufacturers did not want. The noble lord pointed out some defects in the tariff, but he vindicated its general policy.

The Marquis of SALISBURY mentioned some facts which showed that the tariff of 1842 had not worked so advantageously as the Earl of Ripon supposed, and he contended that for every farthing by which articles were cheapened to the consumer by this bill, so much would be taken out of the pocket of the English artisan.

After a few observations from Lord Colchester, in opposition to the bill,

Lord ASHBURTON warned their lordships, upon every trustworthy authority, against the reckless dealing with finance which these measures discovered. The application of the broad general principle of Free Trade would be fatal to the national industry, though as far as raw materials were concerned, the removal of duties was good policy in a manufacturing country.

The house then went into committee. Upon the second clause

Lord STANLEY said the house was asked to sacrifice, in the article of timber alone, 400,000*l.* out of 1,000,000*l.*, which it was unnecessary to throw away, and he moved that the clause be omitted.

The Earl of DALHOUSIE, upon the results of official accounts of the timber trade, refuted the arguments of Lord Stanley, and contended that the admission and consumption of foreign timber did not diminish the importation of colonial timber; and that the duty of 15s. was a fair duty.

The Committee divided, when the numbers were—

For the original clause	..	..	64
For the amendment	..	..	52

Majority in favour of the clause .. 12

This was the division, as announced in the gallery, and as given in all the daily papers. But it seems there was an error, the numbers being only 54 to 52, giving to the Government the narrow majority of two.

All the clauses were then agreed to, as far as the schedule when

The Duke of RICHMOND objected to proceeding further.

Lord STANLEY said that, after the decisions which their lordships had come to upon the Corn Bill, it was not intended to prolong the discussion upon that measure, or to divide upon the third reading; but he and other noble lords would record a protest, setting forth their objections to the bill.

On Tuesday the great question of the silk duties, and some minor ones, were debated.

On the articles "butter and cheese,"

Lord HARDWICKE moved that they be struck out of the table, as an act of justice to the poorer classes of farmers in this country and in Ireland. The importation of butter amounted to 2,000,000 cwt., the value of which was 80s. per cwt., and the reduction of duty, 10s. per cwt., would be so minute and insignificant a relief to the consumer, as not to be felt, whilst it would take 500,000*l.* a year from the farmers of Ireland, and cause a serious loss to the revenue.

Lord DALHOUSIE said, if the Government had had no other object in view than revenue, the argument of Lord Hardwicke might prevail; the schedule, however, had not been framed with that view; but, precisely upon the ground upon which Lord Hardwicke conceived the existing duty should be retained—namely, the benefit of the poorer classes—the Government considered it ought to be reduced.

Lord STANLEY contended that the reduction would put a large sum into the pocket of the foreign grower, without affording any benefit to the people of this country.

The committee then divided; the numbers were—

For the omission	..	..	33
Against it	..	..	50

Majority for the abolition of the duty .. 17

The Duke of RICHMOND then proposed the omission of "hops," in the cultivation of which a large capital was invested. Sir Robert Peel had triumphantly appealed to the few foreign hops which had been imported since the last reduction of duty; but it took three years to get a good crop of hops upon new land. During the last year, however, samples of foreign hops had been produced, and were only kept out of the market by the duty. He founded his objection to the reduction on the ground of the large capital and numerous population employed in the cultivation of hops. If cheap hops were wanted, why not take off the Excise duty?

Lord DALHOUSIE was so far from agreeing with the Duke of Richmond that the amount of duty had been unduly reduced, that he had expected to be told that it was still too high, and that this was one of the anomalies of the measure. Hops might certainly be brought from Belgium and the south of Prussia; but, in addition to the duty of 25s., they would be substituted to the Excise duty of 19s. 7d., which afforded a protection to the home-grower of 60 per cent.

Lord WICKLOW hoped that the Excise duty would be

repealed—the only instance in which an Excise duty was levied upon a growing crop.

Lord ASHBURTON condemned the reduction as a wanton experiment, not justified by any argument hitherto employed.

After some observations from Lords Colchester, Stanhope, and Ripon,

The Duke of RICHMOND urged that the only sure means of giving the people cheap beer was to repeal the duty upon malt.

Lord FITZWILLIAM concurred in this suggestion. Beer was just as much part of the food of the people as bread, and the repeal of the malt duty would be a great boon conferred upon the landed interest. The noble Earl was led to touch upon the general question of protection to British industry, in which he was followed by Lord Ashburton, but no new argument was employed by either.

Lord RADNOR supported the reduction of the duty upon hops, and the amendment was negatived without a division.

Lord STANHOPE objected to the reduction of the duty upon thread lace and pillow lace, which would destroy a branch of domestic manufacture carried on in cottages by poor industrious women and children. He declared his determination to take the sense of the committee upon this item.

The Duke of RICHMOND likewise deprecated the sending the cottage lace makers into cotton factories.

Lord DALHOUSIE considered that the effects which the two noble peers had ascribed to a reduction of duty from 13l. 2s. 6d. per cent. to 10l. per cent. were extravagant. These were articles of great value, easily smuggled, and the effect of the reduction would be to prevent their illicit introduction.

Lord STANLEY ridiculed the idea that a reduction of three per cent. could check smuggling. The reduction was unnecessary, whilst it took away *pro tanto* an extravagant protection from an humble but deserving class of manual labourers.

Lord FITZWILLIAM observed, that nothing was less conducive to the nurture of the young mind under the eye of a careful parent, or tended more to foster immorality, than employment in home lace making, in which the earnings were small, and which rendered the persons engaged in it unfit for other female employments.

The Earl of GALLOWAY confirmed the above observations.

The gallery was then cleared for a division, but none took place, and the item passed.

Upon the item of paper-hangings,

Earl STANHOPE objected to the reduction from 1s. to 2d.

Lord ASHBURTON could not see what possible object could be gained by this reduction. The manufacture of the higher and tasteful descriptions of ornamental paper had been entirely given up in this country. He entered his protest at the manner in which this measure was carried out for the mere pedantry of political economy.

Lord DALHOUSIE could only meet this sweeping assertion by a general denial.

Upon the article of silk,

The Duke of RICHMOND came to the table with a brief before him, which he stated had been prepared for the counsel on behalf of the Spitalfields silk-weavers, and proceeded to show the depressed condition of the petitioners, who were threatened already by their masters with a reduction of wages. The protection of 15 per cent. retained to them, they contended, would not amount to more than 9 per cent. upon the finer articles; and they stated that the gross annual value of the silk manufactures at home was less than in 1824 by 2,000,000l. or 3,000,000l. The noble duke lamented that this loyal and deserving class were not allowed to have their case stated by counsel at the bar; and he concluded by reiterating his former arguments in favour of protection to the artisans of this country, and proposing that the article of silk should be left out of the bill.

The Duke of CLEVELAND, reverting to the case of the lace-weavers, observed it was a strange argument to urge their immorality, when the immorality in cotton factories was tenfold greater.

Lord DALHOUSIE expressed his regret that he had been constrained, upon precedent and for public convenience, to resist the prayer of the petitioners, whose case, however, had not suffered in the hands of the noble duke. The petitioners had complained that, whilst the bill professed to retain a duty of 15 per cent. upon foreign silks, on many articles it amounted to only 9 per cent. The noble lord explained the difficulty of adjusting exactly the duty upon so large a number of articles, varying so much in value; but he believed that 15 per cent. was, as far as it was possible to fix it, the general amount of duty. With respect to the allegation of the petitioners, that twenty years ago the legislature began that alteration in the silk trade from which they dated their depression, if, the noble lord observed, capital had been withdrawn from this trade, the importation of the raw material had diminished, and the demands of the home-market and of the foreign trade had decreased, the petitioners might have a case founded upon their past history; but if in all these respects the very reverse was the fact, the petitioners were not borne out in their statement, and their prophecies were groundless. The noble lord then demonstrated the truth of his assertions from official accounts laid before Parliament. The fact of silk manufacturers being exported from this country to France, which excelled in silk fabrics, was itself a triumphant proof of the ability of our manufacturers to maintain a competition with foreigners. The noble lord then demonstrated the truth of his assertion from official accounts laid before Parliament. The fact of silk manufactures being exported from this country to France, which excelled in silk fabrics, was itself a triumphant proof of the ability of our manufacturers to maintain a competition with foreigners. The noble lord showed that our silk trade had prospered during the last three months, since the reduction of duty had been actually in operation, and stated that there never was a time when, as a whole, those who were employed in the silk trade were in a greater state of prosperity. In Spitalfields itself advertisements for hands were put up, and the throwing-mills in the country could not get them in sufficient number. The very night on which the Duke of Richmond was to have presented the petition of the silk weavers (a fortnight ago), a meeting of those weavers was held to consider whether they should not ask an increase of wages; the meeting was held, a rise of wages asked, and many masters in Spitalfields had acceded to the demand.

Lord STANLEY asked, if the silk trade had been so prosperous, why it should be interfered with? But he differed with Lord Dalhousie as to the facts, and as to the

effect, said to have been produced, having been produced, not by diminishing the duty upon the raw material, but by the concurrent reduction of duty upon the manufactured article. Lord Stanley then produced counter statements of the silk trade since the year 1824. Lord Dalhousie, he observed, had spoken of the vast increase in the importation of raw silk; but whilst the quantity had increased from 1,388,000 lb., the average of 1815, 1816, and 1817, to 3,884,000 lb. in 1824, in 1844 it only reached 4,600,000 lb.—an increase of 800,000 lb. in twenty years, instead of 2,000,000 lb. in six years; and of this quantity great part consisted of knubs and husks—a specimen of which his lordship exhibited, observing, that of this rubbish the largest portion of the boasted exports to France had been made. The noble lord, in like manner, showed that, in the export trade and the import of finished goods, the evidence of the success of Mr. Huskisson's measure in 1824 was equally equivocal. After pointing out various instances of the practical inequality of the silk duties, he stated that there was only one article in this trade in which wages had not fallen and were falling, and that was figured velvet, which had a high protective duty of 1l. 7s. 6d. per lb., and that was now to be reduced to 9s. The noble lord contended that the alteration was neither called for by policy, nor justified by the arguments of Lord Dalhousie, and its effect would be to injure the revenue by reducing one-half duties which now produced 300,000l.

The committee then divided, when the numbers were—

For the amendment	..	..	50
Against it	..	..	75

Majority against the amendment .. 25

After a smart dialogue respecting a deputation from the silk-weavers to the Board of Trade, the schedule was agreed to; the bill was reported without amendments, and ordered to be read a third time on Thursday.

Their lordships then adjourned.

On Thursday the Earl of RIPON moved that the Corn Importation Bill be read a third time.

The Earl of WICKLOW said, as they were now at the last stage of these proceedings, and were about finally to conclude this dreadfully long chain of the commercial policy of this country, he begged to direct the attention of Government and their lordships generally to two points on which, it appeared to him, that no information had been afforded to their lordships in the course of these proceedings, and on which he thought that both to the country and their lordships information was due from the Government. The first of these respected the promises made by the first Minister of the crown to confer certain equivalents or compensations, which, it was stated, should accompany this measure. They had now reached the last stage of it, and yet up to the present time he had not been able to ascertain that in either house of Parliament anything like a proposal as to any of these matters had been made. It appeared that this point was not considered by the Government of small importance at the time of the measure being introduced, for ministers then represented that the equivalent to be proposed would in some degree compensate the landed interest for the loss which they would sustain. How was it, then, that they had now come to this period of the session, and that no notice had been taken of the subject in either house of Parliament? Was it the intention of ministers that the session should close without any proposal of compensation being brought forward? One such compensation had been promised to the country with which he was connected, which, though not equivalent to the landed gentry or tenantry for the injury to their interests which would be inflicted by the Corn Bill, was in itself of some little importance; and it ought to have been brought forward by the Government, independently altogether of this measure, for it was one of the bills strongly recommended to the Government by the commission of which Lord Devon was at the head. He referred to the proposition by which the whole of the constabulary force of that country was to be thrown on the consolidated fund, and the various counties relieved from any portion of the expense. Upon that subject they had heard no proposition of her Majesty's Government made to either House of Parliament. He, therefore, thought, before they agreed to the third reading of this bill, it was incumbent on some member of the Government to explain to their lordships what was their intention with reference to any measure to be brought forward. He now came to the second point, which appeared to him infinitely more important. Allusion had been occasionally made to the subject in that house, especially by his noble friend opposite (Lord Montagu), but no explanation had been afforded by her Majesty's Government. When Sir R. Peel brought forward in the House of Commons his proposition for an income-tax, he obtained the consent of the house to the tax for three years on the especial ground that he was then effecting great financial changes and extensive reductions in the customs, which would inevitably lessen the amount of the customs' duties, so as to require for a certain short period a means of taxation in lieu of them. But the right honourable baronet held out strong hopes to Parliament that by the end of three years those reductions would so much increase the produce of the customs' duties as to render it unnecessary to renew the income-tax. It was solely on this ground that the right honourable baronet had obtained a three years' income tax, for he believed that no other Minister who had governed this country for many years would have obtained it on any grounds whatsoever; but the great confidence reposed in the right honourable baronet as a financial minister by Parliament and the country, induced them to waive the strong objection which prevailed against an income-tax in time of peace, and so far to confide in his promises that the operation of the reductions would be successful, as to concede the renewal of the tax. The right honourable baronet's promises, we knew, had remained unfulfilled, but Parliament was induced to extend the period for which the tax had been granted, from a belief that by the reductions in the customs' duties the revenue of the country would be so increased as to make the continuance of the tax unnecessary. He believed this would have been the case if things had gone on as they were then doing, for the revenue was improving, and the state in every department was flourishing. But most unfortunately, in the present session, partly owing to the very increase which had been thus predicted, the right honourable gentleman and his government were determined by a sense of duty not to remain content with the alterations they had made, but to make those other alterations which their lordships had been considering during the last three weeks. His noble friend at the head of the Board of Trade (the Earl of Dalhousie), by the able manner in which he had conducted these proceedings—and he gave his noble friend credit for having done so in a most masterly manner—had shown himself an able statesman, a

great debater, and capable of conducting affairs in any department which might be entrusted to him; but his noble friend had never ventured to hold out to their lordships that the result of the measures he proposed would ever raise the revenue beyond the point which it had attained previous to the reductions, for he had swept away, in a great measure, the income derived from the duties which they affected. His noble friend only proposed his reductions in the hope that in the course of years the buoyancy of the public resources and the augmentation of trade might raise the revenue, not up to the amount anticipated by Sir Robert Peel, but up to the point at which the revenue stood at the present time. The financial minister, in bringing forward his budget, held out to the country no prospect of any surplus whatever. The whole amount of the surplus for the present year, including the remittance from China, which would be of course confined to this year, did not reach more than 700,000l. Had they not a right to demand that her Majesty's ministers should state their expectations with respect to the future revenue of the country? Was it not perfectly clear, on their own showing, that the customs' duties would not rise to the point at which they had formerly stood? Had not their lordships a right to know if it was the intention of Government to renew the income tax? If it was not their intention, they had a right to know to what sources of revenue Ministers intended to look as a compensation for the taxes they were now abolishing. If it was their intention, they were bound to announce it fairly (hear, hear). A new Parliament would be chosen before the expiration of the present tax; and if Ministers intended to propose a renewal of the tax, it must be to a new Parliament. He asked them, did they believe that a new Parliament would ever sanction that tax as a permanent tax? If it was not their intention to propose it, they must have some other measure to propose which they ought to let the house know. But did they believe that any Parliament that would ever meet in this country would sanction the imposition of the income tax as a permanent tax? He believed the contrary. He believed that no Parliament would ever sanction that direct mode of taxation as a permanency. See to what this would drive them. If they determined to adopt the direct mode of taxation, and to abolish that indirect mode which had hitherto been looked upon as the most proper for a commercial, or indeed for any country, then it became absolutely necessary that the whole, or almost the whole, of the taxation of the country should be derived from that source. It was impossible that another Parliament, if it sanctioned that measure, would ever allow the malt tax to continue, or that tax which they had been discussing lately, the duty on hops (hear, hear). It was impossible that Government, in considering the measures they had brought forward, should not have fully and distinctly deliberated on these matters. Was it fair or just that they should now conclude these measures without any information whatever being given respecting the points to which he had called their attention? Let him not be told that the financial ministers in the other house were the proper persons to answer those questions. There was his noble friend at the head of the Board of Control (the Earl of Ripon), who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer, and without whose full sanction no measure of this kind could be proposed to Parliament. His noble friend at the head of the Board of Trade was also perfectly capable of giving an answer, and if they declined, on this last stage of the measure, to give an answer, the country would draw its own conclusions from their silence. Let it not be said because ministers were going to resign, they would throw the affairs of the country in an embarrassed state into other hands. Let it not be said that because they had received the affairs of the country in an embarrassed state from their predecessors, they would retaliate by leaving them in a similar condition. Such an excuse would not be received by the country; it would be tampering with public feeling to offer it; but he knew that his noble friends were men of too high honour to be influenced by such considerations. He said that, before the measure passed, ministers were bound to give their lordships the information upon these subjects which they must possess, and he called on his noble friends to give him an answer on the two points he had stated, which he considered of vast importance to the country.

The Earl of RIPON and Lord Ashburton rose together but the call of the house for the former noble lord being unanimous, he proceeded to address their lordships accordingly, and said that as he had no right to object to the questions which had been put to him by the noble earl, and as he had no fault to find with the manner in which they had been put, he would endeavour to give them an answer. The first question which the noble earl had asked was whether it was the intention of her Majesty's Government to carry into effect those measures which were stated by them at the commencement of the present session as being intended to accompany the alteration in the Corn Laws, and which were considered by them as measures calculated to be beneficial to the agricultural classes—not as equivalents or compensation for those alterations, but as right in themselves, and as far as they went, tending to diminish the cost of production to those whose capital was employed in the land. The Government felt then as they had done when they proposed the measures to Parliament, and were bound to adhere to them, and though it might be quite true that they had not yet passed, he believed that some of them would not require an act of Parliament, except in so far as the sum, to be raised from the consolidated fund, instead of in other ways, was concerned. Besides this, there were other measures of considerable importance proposed with respect to the removal of paupers; but they were in themselves quite independent of the question of the Corn Laws, and would have been exceedingly good and proper measures to adopt whether the Corn Laws were passed or not. Those measures had been brought forward in the other House of Parliament, and he could not say when they would be brought up to their lordships' house. With respect to the remarks of the noble earl on this point, he (the Earl of Ripon) thought the noble earl might understand that those measures could not, from their very nature, have been brought forward in this house. The noble earl having asked those questions, proceeded to inquire what it was the intention of her Majesty's Government to do as to the continuation of the property tax. Now, under all circumstances, he apprehended that no Government could undertake to give answers or pledge themselves in reply to such questions as these. The property tax had been brought in for three years; it had been since renewed, and he thought it would be exceedingly unwise to give any pledge that it would not again be renewed (hear, hear). Looking on the question in that light, he must therefore decline answering it. But he would make one or two remarks on the observations of the noble earl as to the actual condi-

tion of the revenue with respect to the effect of the reductions which he had made within the last four years. He thought that having made those observations the noble earl could hardly have attended to the document that had been laid on the table of the house, and which would explain the grounds on which he trusted that the reductions they were about to make would not only not be attended with loss to the revenue, but that in point of fact they were entitled to count on them as being productive of a considerable increase. He thought from the history of past reductions to be able to satisfy the noble earl that such was the case. In the year 1842 the amount of customs' duties had been 19,661,000*l*. In that year those duties had been reduced by 1,338,000*l*., which would have reduced the amount of customs in a corresponding degree the following year, unless there had been an increase in the amount of goods, so that the customs in 1843 should not have amounted to more than 18,323,000*l*. if the revenue underwent the full loss of that reduction. But in that very year 1843, the customs' duties produced 20,275,000*l*., being an increase of 614,000*l*. on the preceding year. In the year 1843 the customs had been still further reduced, to the extent of 171,000*l*. Had the customs of 1844 suffered that entire loss? Not by any means. The amount of duties for that year had amounted to 21,460,000*l*., being in effect 1,800,000*l*. more than the duties for 1842, notwithstanding the immense reduction which had been made in that and the subsequent years. In 1844 the duties had been reduced still further, to the extent of 286,000*l*., and the products of those duties in 1845 certainly had not amounted to as much as in the two preceding years; but in 1845, their lordships would recollect that a great reduction had taken place, the extent of 2,418,000*l*., in the customs' duties, and as that reduction did not take place until late in the year, a great portion of the loss would take place in that year itself. Notwithstanding all this, the amount of duties had been 19,329,000*l*., exceeding the absolute amount even in 1842, by about 200,000*l*., although in the course of the four preceding years duties had been removed to the amount of upwards of 4,000,000*l*. If then there had been no increase in the receipts connected with the reduction of duty, the sum which stood at 19,691,000*l*. in 1842, should have been only 15,661,000*l*. in 1845; whereas it had actually been 19,329,000*l*. Had not the Government then, with those facts before them, a right to anticipate that that there would not be a permanent reduction in the customs to the amount of the duty which would be removed? His noble friend would observe that the increase had not been confined to any particular period, but had been spread over the whole of the years of diminished duties. In the excise, to which the noble earl had alluded, reductions had also taken place. In 1842 the excise had produced 12,517,000*l*., and in 1843 had amounted to 12,879,000*l*. In 1844 a reduction had been made to the extent of 70,000*l*., and in 1845 a further reduction of 913,000*l*. had taken place. But, notwithstanding these reductions, the excise in the subsequent year amounted to 13,585,000*l*. He did not apprehend that the whole loss of those reductions would take place in the course of the year; but the excise of 1845 exceeded that of 1844; the excise of 1844 exceeded that of 1843. The sum total of the excise and customs in those four years had been—32,178,000*l*. in 1842; 33,152,000*l*. in 1843; 34,711,000*l*. in 1844; and 33,450,000*l*. in 1845; while the total amount of duties removed had amounted to 5,197,000*l*., notwithstanding while the receipts in 1845 had exceeded those of 1842 by upwards of 1,000,000*l*. (hear, hear). He thought the experience of those four years, therefore, tended to show there were rational grounds for assuming that the total amount of the reduction, great as it might be, would not cause a reduction in the amount of the revenue. That was the basis on which the Government went, and he thought they were justified in going upon it. He was sure that the same principle had been acted upon before, and therefore he did not think his noble friend had just grounds of complaint against the Government for not putting the general ground on which they had brought forward those measures before Parliament. He believed that in making those reductions an equivalent would be made up for what had been lost in the course of a limited number of years; but it was impossible to suppose that the amount of those reductions would be made up immediately. The Government, therefore, intended to make up the loss by the income tax, to which there were, he admitted, grave objections not only to the tax itself, but because it had been introduced in time of peace, and not of war; still, in introducing it, the Government had fair reason to think that the amount of those losses would be made up as years went on, so as to dispense with that tax. He must, however, decline expressing any opinion or giving any pledge on the subject; but of this he was quite certain, that Parliament would never be unwilling or afraid to pass any measure which might appear to them to be necessary for preserving the revenue of the country, so as to enable it to meet all demands upon it, and the heavy expenses it had to incur. It was deeply to be lamented that there was but little chance of there being reason to hold out the prospect that those expenses were to be diminished. But as to one source of these expenses, there had been considerable reduction. He meant the charge of the national debt, which had been reduced by the amount of 1,100,000*l*.; and which, considering the state of our finances, was a circumstance of material importance. He had thus endeavoured to answer all the questions which had been put to him. He had brought no papers with him, not having expected the discussion to take such a turn; but, recollecting there was a document on the table from which he could satisfy their lordships, he had availed himself of the information it contained to do so.

Lord FEVERSHAM denied the assertion that the tenant farmers were in favour of those new measures. The assertion had been made, and had been several times repeated, but nothing had been shown to prove or corroborate it. What had they done? They had held meetings all over the country, at which they had passed resolutions that indicated beyond the possibility of doubt what were the real feelings of their body. The noble lord then read extracts from resolutions passed at protectionist meetings in Doncaster, in the North Riding of York, in Lincoln, at Spalding, and in Dorsetshire, which were strongly condemnatory of Free Trade in corn. These were the opinions of the tenant farmers, who were said to be favourable to the bill. But, said the supporters of this measure, they have nothing to fear; the land which will be thrown out of cultivation by the operation of the bill, must be of the worst and poorest soil. Why, it was that poor soil which required the greatest number of labourers for its tillage (hear, hear). So that the evil of diminished employment would be increased instead of lessened. No one knew what the price of corn would be reduced to. When a member of the Government in that house had been asked what the probable price of corn would be,

he replied that he would not hazard any prediction on the subject. That might be satisfactory to the noble lord, but he doubted if it would satisfy the house. Indeed, it did not appear that Government had taken any pains to calculate the price of corn under the new law. He had lately spoken to an intelligent American gentleman, who assured him that corn could be exported from America under 30*s*. a quarter. He could not at all concur with those who thought this measure would be so conducive to the improvement of the labouring classes. A much more useful measure, in his opinion, would be the Ten Hours' Bill, which would be a benefit to them in every way. That bill had been introduced into the other house of Parliament, where it had been rejected by a very small majority, aided by the Government; but he believed the time was not very far distant when it would receive the sanction of that house. When it should come up to their lordships, as it was but a measure of policy and justice, he hoped they would give it their favourable consideration. As to the bill before them, he regretted they had passed it, as in effect they had done, and more particularly that the majority of the right reverend prelates had supported it, because he believed it had been very greatly through their influence and votes that the measure had been successful. Their lordships' house and the agriculturists had always supported the rights and privileges of the Established Church, of the right reverend prelates, and of the rural clergy, and he therefore regretted it. This bill was a premium to agitation. It had been brought forward by the ministers of the Crown, but they could not be said to be its originators or promoters. Those who really originated and promoted it were the manufacturers and masters of Stockport and Manchester. It was nothing but concession to intimidation and agitation to pass this bill. He looked upon it as a downward movement, calculated not to uphold, but to overthrow the constitution (loud cries of "hear, hear"). It was impossible, he maintained, to say which of the great institutions of the country would not be subject to attack after their lordships had given their consent to a bill like the present, which had been commenced by a great agitation, which had been carried by a betrayal of great public trusts, and which would be regarded as a concession to that agitation, and a record of that betrayal (hear, hear, hear). In conclusion, he begged leave to enter his decided protest against the third reading of the bill.

The Duke of CLEVELAND said that on this, the last stage of the memorable Corn Law debate, he did not wish to create any further delay, but merely rose to protest in the most solemn manner against the policy of the measure. After all the debate and lengthy arguments they had heard he was still of the same opinion. Scarcely had any measure ever passed the house on which so many of their lordships had given their opinions *à la voce*, and the occasion would, on that account, be memorable in history; but still more memorable would it be for the sacrifice of private opinion to party interest. The house was constituted by three distinct parties, two of which had been hitherto the rival parties of the state, but being agreed on this subject, had overcome any opposition which could be made to them. Many noble lords on the other side of this house said that this bill was not quite suited to their ideas, but, nevertheless, they had not moved any amendment upon it. With respect to noble lords on his own side of the house, so many of whom had changed their votes but not their opinions (hear)—many of them had very prudently recorded their votes in silence. No one could doubt the prudence of that course. Some noble lords, however, had not followed that course, among whom was the noble lord the President of the Board of Control, who had been the author of the bill of 1814, and who hitherto had always advocated protection to agriculture. There was a third party, to which he belonged, and which was opposed to this bill on principle. They had given the grounds of their opposition. Though their lordships had decided against them by a large majority, he hoped he might claim credit for his party for consistency, for independence of conduct, for fairness in their actions, and honesty in their intentions (hear, hear). He had taken the liberty at an early period of the discussion of appealing to the episcopal bench as the representatives of the parochial clergy. That appeal was responded to by a right reverend prelate, who said the parochial clergy were not justified in opposing this bill; first, because they were a small body, and next, because they had taken no part in the agitation against it; extraordinary reasons he must take leave to say, and the latter of which not doing much credit to the right reverend prelate's charity. If the bench of bishops had voted with his party they should have had a majority of those present against the bill. The number of proxies was large—35, and a majority were in favour of the bill. It was not his intention to deprecate the system of proxies. It was founded on long and established usage. That was the only ground of its justification; for voting in any society by proxies was not in accordance with public taste at present. If they meant to preserve this privilege they should take care not to abuse it (hear, hear). It was true that noble lords resident in this country might be as capable of forming a judgment on a public measure if they resided 200 miles from town, as if they attended in that house. But that the proxies of lords in different parts of Europe, who never heard of this measure, or never imagined that such a measure would be brought forward, should be resorted to, he thought a most extraordinary proceeding. He should give one instance. There was the Marquis of Tweeddale, Governor of Madras, who had been absent for four years from this country, and who was so engaged by the late war in India, that he doubted whether he ever heard of this measure. The lamentable part of this measure was, the loss of confidence which it inspired in the humble followers of leading men like himself. His political life had not been a short one. For half of it he attached himself to the Whig party; but in 1833, he found himself unable, on the Reform Bill, to go as far as the Government was inclined to go. Far be it from him to say there was any breach of faith on that occasion by the Whigs. From that time to the present he had supported Sir R. Peel, whom he looked on as one of the greatest men this country had produced, whose talents he admired, and in whom he had placed implicit confidence. It could be easily supposed what his feelings now were at finding himself deserted and standing aloof, as it were, from both parties. But he had some consolation in the fact there was still left a leader whom he could follow, and that a man of no mean talents—he meant the noble lord near him (Lord Stanley). He had no hesitation in saying that he should for the future look up to that noble lord as not only his guide but his polar star (hear, and a laugh). He had no favour to expect from him, nor had he received any; but he had the greatest possible admiration for his talents, and for what he considered

much more essential to a statesman—honesty in his professions. He had sat a long time near his noble friend in the other house, and he had always heard him speak without hesitation or equivocation, and he had never seen him look for a loop-hole through which he might one day escape (hear, hear). He must say the Government had been, in his opinion, guilty of an uncalled for and thorough breach of faith (hear).

The Earl of DALHOUSIE wished to notice a remark of the noble duke as to a noble and gallant relative of his—the Marquis of Tweeddale. Whether it was right or not to preserve proxies, so long as they continued they amounted to a delegation of the mind of the peer, in whose name they were given, to the person who held them. It mattered not, therefore, whether the peer who sent his proxy was in India or dining in Belgrave-square. As to this vote being at variance with his noble relative's opinions, the noble duke forgot that this question was substantially before the country for seven months, and that the period of communication with India was six weeks. He begged to assure the noble duke that during this whole discussion he had been in possession of the sentiments of his noble and gallant relative, and it was his firm conviction that if present he would have voted for the second reading. He would frankly state that his noble and gallant relative would, in his opinion, have supported the proposal for a fixed duty; and had their lordships assented to the noble earl's (the Earl of Wicklow's) proposal, and that it was proposed to reserve it on the third reading, he should not have felt himself at liberty to use his noble relative's proxy to negative a proposal for a fixed duty.

Lord GAGE said the Government had but one valid argument in favour of this measure—power. The independent exercise of their lordships' functions was gone, and it was idle to talk of the balance of estates. Where did those who called themselves the Liberal party mean to stop? Could they go the length of saying that they, the protectionists, were not justified in opposing a measure which they thought would destroy themselves without doing any good for any part of the community? It was not merely for rents that they opposed this measure, but for the sake of the yeoman and farmer, who would be ruined by it. How was the revenue to be collected—the touchstone of our existence as a state? Was there a suspected enemy of the church, state, and crown, that was not a supporter of this bill (hear)? If they approved of this bill, as nine-tenths in their hearts disapproved of it, notwithstanding their votes, it was their duty to stand firm until they heard the constitutionally expressed voice of the country (hear). No institution in the country could be safe from the results of such agitation. Its continuance and encouragement would lead to the destruction of all order and property. The noble and gallant duke opposite, while giving them his advice to yield this bill, also said that it might be the last time that he would counsel them. The pain given him by that hint was not lessened when he considered the elevated character of the noble duke who uttered it. He had long venerated that character as displayed and illustrated in the noble and gallant duke's splendid volumes of despatches, and he deeply grieved that the last triumph of so great a general should be one over his own political friends and allies (hear, hear).

Earl STANHOPE urged that the measure before the house had been carried by a monstrous and unnatural combination of parties. The agricultural classes had now a right to demand that they should not be subjected to any exclusive taxation—to any land-tax, or malt, or hop duties. Indeed, even if the bill had not been proposed, the agricultural interest would be justified in demanding an equitable revision of their peculiar burdens—of the county rates, highway rates, and other imposts now levied upon them. If they were to have Free Trade in corn, he did not see why they should not have Free Trade in all agricultural produce—why they should not be allowed to grow tobacco, and extract sugar from beetroot. It was quite impossible for the farmers to stand against foreign competition, without an enormous reduction of taxation. The noble earl concluded by solemnly warning the house of the consequences—consequences involving nothing short of ruin and revolution (hear, hear).

The Earl of SELKIRK observed that it was said that this was to be the last time that this question was to be debated in the legislature. He did not believe that (protectionist cheering). If his views were correct, he trusted that their lordships would not hesitate to reconsider the subject, and to entertain fresh measures with respect to it (hear, hear).

The Duke of RICHMOND said that as no noble lord had moved that this bill be read this day six months, and that as he should be sorry to see the measure become law without some such amendment appearing upon the journals of their lordships' house, he should take upon himself to make the motion in question (protectionist cheers). He should wish now, in reference to what had fallen the other night from the noble lord the President of the Board of Trade, to put a question to noble lords opposite. His noble friend had stated that Government still intended to persevere in the introduction of the bill giving what was called compensation to the agricultural interest for the measure now to be enacted. What he (the Duke of Richmond) had to complain of was, that these bills were not yet introduced into Parliament at all (hear, hear). The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in bringing forward his budget the other night, said not a word about the sums to be paid out of the consolidated fund in aid of the county rates (hear, hear). He wished distinctly to know whether her Majesty's Ministers still maintained the opinions uttered by Sir Peel, when he stated his conviction of the justice and necessity of the compensatory measures in question (cheers). He thought, however, that it was possible, that when these acts were brought forward, if they were brought forward, it would not be by the present advisers of the Crown, and then the fact would be, that their lordships would have given a third reading to the Corn Bill without any security further than speeches, and they knew the value of speeches as pledges, that the other measures which were to accompany that before their lordships would ever be introduced (hear, hear). He agreed with the noble lord who had just spoken that this would not be the last time that the question would be debated by their lordships (hear, hear). It was out of the question that this measure should be a final one (cheers). Did they think that the great majority of the farmers and the middle classes of the country would sit down patiently under the injustice now heaped upon them? No. They would agitate—not for the miserable sliding scale of the present bill being made permanent, or for any nonsensical 4*s*. duty they would agitate for an adequate degree of protection to agriculture, and not only to agriculture, but to every species of national industry (loud cries of "hear, hear, hear").

For his own part, he would try to persuade the farmers not to yield, but to behave like men; he would recommend them to be up and stirring—to agitate for the remission of local burdens, and if they did not take his advice, he did not understand their character (cheers). He denied utterly and positively that the farmers were indifferent to this measure. He denied, too, notwithstanding what had been said the other night by a right reverent prelate connected with Wales, that the parochial clergy were indifferent to the measure. True, they had not met in bodies to oppose it, and they acted wisely. He objected as much as any man to large meetings of the clergy on political subjects; it was better for them to avoid entering into such disputes. But the clergy had done what they had a perfect right to do—they had agreed with their parishioners on this subject, and had headed the lists of signatures to petitions against the bill, petitions which had been presented in such numbers by himself and by other noble peers. Indeed the case of the working-clergy was a peculiarly hard one. They were a highly meritorious and most deserving class. He had always found them doing their duty by their poor parishioners, and practising what they preached. They ought certainly to be the last body of men to be treated in the way in which it was now determined to use them. The noble duke went on to express his doubts as to whether the ministry contemplated, when they introduced the Corn and Customs' Bills, that their ultimate effect would be to break up the cabinet. The Government would pass the Corn Law and the Customs Duties Bill, and they would have the satisfaction of reflecting that they had broken up a powerful party in this country, and that, for some time at least, there would not be a strong Government, and that the business of the country must be carried on by an administration which could count on a majority of perhaps half a dozen votes. He was glad that the Government were going to resign, because it would show future statesmen that they could not break the pledges which they had given with impunity (hear, hear). Although this disruption of the cabinet might disappoint those 110 followers, he for one was not very sorry to find that those 110 gentlemen would not gain anything by their conversion.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH said that a question had been put by the noble duke to the members of her Majesty's Government, and he thought that it was inexpedient that it should remain without an answer. As he understood the noble duke, his object was to inquire whether the views of the Government had undergone any change with respect to those measures which had been announced at the commencement of the session as intended to accompany the present measure. He believed he could most distinctly state for his colleagues that their opinions on those subjects had undergone no change (cheers), and he could say for himself individually that his own opinion was not changed, and that he should feel himself bound to do all in his power to ensure the passing of every one of those measures (hear, hear).

The amendment was then put, and negatived without a division, and the bill was read a third time and passed.

On the motion that the Customs' Duties Bill be read a third time,

The Duke of RICHMOND moved as an amendment that it be read a third time that day six months. The noble duke said that he rose chiefly for the purpose of putting a question to his noble friend at the head of the Board of Trade on the subject of the Spitalfields weavers. He wished to know whether his noble friend would object to receive a deputation from that body, for the purpose of hearing a statement of their case. Their lordships were aware, from what fell from his noble friend the other evening, that his noble friend considered the statement which had been made respecting that deputation as one that affected his personal honour (hear, hear, hear). It now appeared, however, that a deputation of the petitioners went to the Board of Trade at a time when his noble friend was ill in bed. The deputation were received by the Vice-President of the Board of Trade and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and they left those right honourable gentlemen with the impression that the statement of their case had produced a considerable effect. He believed that the official answer given was, that the case would be considered (cries of "hear, hear," and a laugh). He understood from the petitioners that they had asked for precisely the same classification which had been granted to the Coventry silk-weavers, the justice of whose case had been admitted by his noble friend. He wished to ask his noble friend, therefore, whether, during the short time that he would stay in office, he would receive a deputation from the Spitalfields weavers, and whether, if their case should turn out to be similar to that of the ribbon-weavers of Coventry, he would propose, or at any rate support, a bill to place them in the same position? He thought he had a right to appeal to the Government to rectify a mistake which he must say had occurred through the negligence of the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, who ought to have informed his noble friend of what had taken place. With regard to the present bill, he must say that he objected to the whole of it, with the exception of that part of it which related to the colonies.

The Earl of DALHOUSIE said that the noble duke had adverted to what had been stated the other night with respect to the deputation of the Spitalfields weavers. He (the Earl of Dalhousie) stated on that occasion that he was not aware that the deputation had attended at the Board of Trade. The noble duke had stated correctly, as appeared now, what had occurred. Their lordships, however, must permit him to offer a defence of his right honourable friend the Vice-President of the Board of Trade. He (the Earl of Dalhousie) was ill at the time when the deputation called; but although it was true that his right honourable friend did not acquaint him with the circumstance, he was not liable to the imputation cast upon him by the noble duke, because the noble duke had assumed what was not the fact, namely, that these parties had not had a full hearing. The deputation, however, had had a full hearing from that officer of the Government with whom rested the final determination upon their case, he meant the Chancellor of the Exchequer. As their lordships, therefore, would perceive, these parties had not been left without a hearing, and their case having been determined on, he should be mocking them if he were to propose to see them now, and hear their case.

After a few words from Lord Stanley and the Earl of Dalhousie,

Lord ASHBURTON, who spoke with his back to the gallery, and was almost totally inaudible, was understood to ask whether there would be any means of ascertaining the amount consumed at home of those articles which would now be relieved from an import duty.

The Earl of DALHOUSIE said that a record was kept of

all articles that passed the Custom-house, although no duty was paid upon them, and by comparing the record of imports with the record of exports, the quantity which was entered for home consumption might be easily ascertained.

The amendment of the Duke of Richmond was then put and negatived, and the bill was read a third time and passed.

HAYDON AND SIR ROBERT PEEL.

(From the Times.)

Our columns of yesterday detailed the particulars of one of those terrible catastrophes which occasionally burst upon the nation, and startled the most giddy and unheeding by a transient but fearful glimpse of the miseries that are doing their deadly work below the smooth surface of our social state. A gentleman of high talent, untiring industry, exemplary temperance, and fervent piety, has fallen by his own hand, having been unable to preserve his reason amidst the complicated embarrassments of mental trouble and intellectual toil, or under the prospect of overwhelming difficulties and imminent distress. It is impossible to peruse, without feelings of inexpressible pain, the notes which this unfortunate gentleman has left of his daily hopes and emotions, his successive struggles and disappointments, through the last months of a cheerless professional existence. With exertions and efforts of the most exhausting kind—exertions of the intellect under circumstances of harassing and distracting trouble—he had completed a laborious task, to which he looked with the natural confidence of his profession and position as promising a release from his perplexities, and a recompense for his pains. He offered to the public the first of a series of paintings on a noble and national subject, conceived, at least, with grandeur, and directed towards the highest objects of his art. When the days of trial came he saw his hopes dashed and his efforts spurned; while the patronage which would have ransomed his pencil and restored his peace, was lavished on a rival exhibition of the most puerile and offensive character. The display of a disgusting dwarf attracted hordes of gaping idiots, who poured into the yawning pockets of a Yankee showman a stream of wealth one tithe of which would have redeemed an honourable English artist from wretchedness and death. It is terrible to think, that in the London "season" of this century, in the heart of the greatest city, and under the eyes of the wealthiest people in the world, such should have been the lot of a gentleman who, if he wanted those pliant qualities which sometimes supersede both talent and merit in worldly success, had almost merit and talent enough to compensate the deficiency, and failed in no other of the requisites for competence and fame. These are the events which impel even sober-minded men towards the conviction that this condition of society should no longer exist, whatever be the cost of the change.

One circumstance connected with this melancholy transaction was disclosed at the inquest which must leave a deep impression on all who heard it. The unhappy man, as his troubles closed around him, attempted a few despairing applications to the rich and powerful of his friends. One of these appeals met with an instant reply, and secured kind commiseration and unhesitating aid. The person who thus answered a call of distress without the delay of an hour was the Prime Minister of this kingdom. From the midst of criminations and controversies, under a pressure of unexampled burdens, in the hour of peril, and in the day of defeat, Sir Robert Peel found time for an act of charity. And if this should be among the last acts of his official life, it will be more to his comfort in his chamber, that he cheered the last moments of a dying artist with the means of leaving a little legacy to his desolate family, than if he had carried all his measures over the heads of an exasperated house, and crushed his combined foes with the sweep of a conqueror into a helpless and humiliated mass.

CORONER'S INQUEST ON HAYDON.

EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY OF MR. HAYDON.

"And this Peel is the man who has no heart."

"May 21.—Worked hard at my picture, and advanced immensely. Felt uneasy because I could not give my dear son money to go and see his college friends.

"June 3.—Called on my dear friend Kemp, who advanced me some cash to get over my difficulties. By the time my pictures are finished they will be all mortgaged; but never mind so that I can get them done.

"June 13.—Picture much advanced; but my necessities are dreadful, owing to the failure of my exhibition at the Hall. In God I trust. It is hard—this struggle of 42 years duration; but Thy will and not mine be done.

"June 14.—O God! let it not be presumption in me to call for Thy blessing for my six works. Let no difficulty on earth stay their progress. Grant this week Thy divine aid. From sources invisible raise me up friends to save me from the embarrassments which want of money must bring upon me, and grant that this day week I may be able to thank Thee for my extrication.

"June 15.—Passed in great anxiety, after harassing about for several hours in the heat of 5 o'clock staring at my picture like an idiot; my brain pressed down by anxiety and the anxious looks of my family, whom I have been compelled to inform of my condition. I have raised money on all our silver to keep us from want in case of accident. I have written to Sir Robert Peel, to —, and to —, stating that I have a heavy sum to pay. I have offered 'The Duke's Study' to —. Who answered first? Tormented by D'Israeli: harassed by public business; up came the following letter:

"(Sir.—I am sorry to hear of your continued embarrassments. From a limited fund which I have at my disposal, I send, as a contribution for your relief from these embarrassments, the sum of £50.

"I remain, Sir, your obedient Servant,

"ROBERT PEEL.

"Be so good as to sign and return the accompanying receipt."

"That's Peel. Will —, —, or answer?"

"June 17.—My dearest wife wishes me to stop the whole thing and close payment, but I will not! I will finish my six pictures, by the blessing of God!

"June 18.—This morning, fearing I should be involved, I returned to a young bookseller some books for which I had not

paid him. No reply from — or —! And this Peel is the man who has no heart!

"June 21.—Slept horribly, prayed in sorrow, and got up in agitation."

The next was the last entry made, evidently, immediately before the world closed upon the unhappy man; it ran thus:

"June 22.—God forgive me. Amen.

Finis.

"B. R. HAYDON.

"Stretch me no longer on this rough world."—*Lear*.

"The end of the 26th volume."

The reading of the above extracts having been concluded, The Coronersaid, he could not suppose that the jury would now require any further witnesses. For himself, he felt the case to be too distressing for remark. They must all agree that the deceased had committed an act of self-destruction, and the only question for the jury was the state of mind in which the unfortunate man was at the time. In leaving the case in the hands of the jury, he could not fail, however, to remark on the munificent act of Sir Robert Peel towards the unfortunate deceased. He thought it must speak to the heart of a great many thousand persons, that whilst others were so to speak, attempting to destroy his own mind, and amidst a pressure of public business almost unparalleled, Sir Robert Peel had not forgotten the sufferings of others.

The Rev. Mr. Hyman here begged permission to state that he had not yet said all that he could in reference to the generosity of the right hon. baronet. Subsequently to the deceased's death, Sir Robert, addressing one of the executors, had enclosed a check for 200*l.* from the Royal Bounty Fund, in order, as he stated in his letter, that the family might not be molested before a public appeal could be made in their behalf; the right hon. baronet added, that when that was done, of course he should be most ready to come forward so far as his private purse and personal influence were concerned.

The Coroner, after having again remarked on the munificence of the Premier, inquired whether the jury were unanimous on their verdict.

The Foreman, on behalf of himself and the rest of the panel, replied in the affirmative, and the following return was accordingly recorded:—

"We find that the deceased, Benjamin Robert Haydon, died from the effect of wounds inflicted by himself, and that the said Benjamin Robert Haydon was in an unsound state of mind when he committed the act."

The proceedings, which had lasted nearly four hours, and excited the greatest possible interest, here terminated.

Appearances indicate that the next general election will take place upon the ensuing register of voters. The residents in boroughs, to be entitled to vote, will have to pay the assessed taxes, and poor-rates, on or before the 20th July. This requirement of the Reform Act it is most important should be complied with, as no person can vote without being inserted in the register, and the safety of the present and the success of future measures will mainly depend upon the progressive party in the next House of Commons.

HERBERT'S PICTURE OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE.—We have been gratified by an opportunity of seeing the progress made in this historical picture. Mr. Herbert has nearly finished the portrait of Mr. Cobden, and it is the most striking likeness we have ever seen of that gentleman. The artist has not only portrayed the features, but he has caught the intellectual expression of the countenance, that undefinable combination of minute touches which at once marks and reveals character. There is a thoughtful mildness in the face which evinces conscious possession of truth, and resolution to maintain it without any intolerance of opposite opinion. Should Mr. Herbert proceed as he has begun, his production bids fair to rank as high in the annals of art as the event he commemorates does in the history of commerce.

PEDIGREE OF THE PEEL FAMILY.—We have seen a copy of a beautifully-executed genealogical tree, showing the pedigree of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel and the Peels of Lancashire, extending backwards about two centuries and a half. This curious piece of workmanship has been executed by Mr. John Davies, printer, of this town; the collection of the materials having imposed on him an amount of labour and research which only those who have trodden the same path before him can fully appreciate. Mr. Davies successfully proves that the Latin proverb, *ne sutor ultra crepidam*, is not always true, for the printer has in this case been a more successful tracer of pedigrees than many who have been educated in the Herald's College. His inducement to undertake the task was the letter written by the late Sir Robert Peel to Mr. John Corry, the Lancashire historian, wherein the worthy baronet, speaking of his family with all humility, says—"It is not in my power to furnish you with any particulars of much interest." The research expended by Mr. Davies may be estimated when we mention that hitherto history-men have sought eagerly, but without success, to trace the Peel pedigree. The family, consisting of four married brothers, William, John, George, and Thomas Peel, came from Craven, in Yorkshire, and settled at Hoyle-house, Blackburn, somewhere about 1600. The first baptism in the county is that of George, son of John Peel. It is probable that the family were accompanied from Yorkshire by their father, as the first burial of the name is "1608, Robert Peele." The late Sir Robert Peel was the son of Robert Peel, of Oswaldtwistle, now called "Peel Fold," whose father, William Peel, was the fourth in descent from the eldest of the family above mentioned. Mr. Davies's justification for expending the time necessary to consult so many parish records and to complete the connecting links of a family chain, in the achievement of which he had no personal object to gain, we give in his own words:—"he feels 'assured that the leisure hour of an unlettered artisan thus employed would create fewer enemies, and lead to self-gratification in having pursued pleasure unalloyed with pain.'"—*Manchester Guardian*.

A most remarkable circumstance occurred on board the *Lindsey* steamer, on her passage from Hull to Gainsborough, on Friday morning week. When she reached opposite Gunthorpe, a large swarm of bees settled on her, taking up their position near the chimney, where they remained as passengers till she reached her destination; they were then conveyed to Captain Johnson's garden, Little Church Lane, and may now be seen "gathering honey from every opening flower."—*Hull Advertiser*.

DESTITUTION IN IRELAND.

(From the Economist.)

Much has been said as to the exaggeration of the destitute state of Ireland, in consequence of the failure of the potato crop, but very little or no evidence has been produced to confirm the statements of the asserted abundance, or even of the ordinary plenty, in the present, compared with former years. It is asserted that Ireland borders on a state of starvation in some part or other of every year; and that sufficient of the produce of no year is retained to sustain the people till the gathering of the next crop. Unwilling to judge by bare assertions, we have looked for some unquestionable test of the real state of the case, which could not be suspected of being influenced either by a desire to make out a case for the repeal of the Corn Laws, or for reproach to a Government. Now, we take the surest test of abundance or scarcity to be the quantity of potatoes supplied at the chief markets, and the prices obtained in these markets. No one will suspect that the Irish farmers will hold back their produce from a market giving a high price, or that the buyers in those markets will consent to give a high price, merely to justify the policy of a Government.

We find that it is the practice in Cork, the chief market for potatoes in Ireland, to make a return to the magistrates of the quantity supplied on each market day, and of the prices at which they are sold. These returns are published in the *Cork Southern Reporter*, from which we extract the following table of the quantities and prices for the last month; and of the corresponding month of last year:

Potatoes brought to Market.		Prices of White Potatoes.	
		1845.	1846.
		Loads.	Loads.
		Per Stone.	Per Stone.
May 13	90	32	41 to 44
15	51	12	34 40
16	527	215	34 40
19	43	54	3 4
21	149	76	24 4
23	26	8	3 5
25	59	45	34 4
27	40	10	34 4
29	31	7	34 4
June 1	110	24	3 4
4	111	18	24 4
6	459	153	3 4
12	72	3	24 4
		1798	657

It would be difficult to find more conclusive evidence of scarcity, and the consequent high prices to which scarcity leads, than is furnished by the above table. But it is a very unfair test to take the facts as they at present exist, bad as they are, of what would have been the condition of Ireland, had no precautions been taken by the Government. No one can deny the strong case which existed in the autumn and winter of last year for the apprehension of scarcity and famine. There was not a farmer or dealer throughout the whole of this kingdom whose personal observation and experience did not lead him to anticipate great scarcity, and there was scarcely a Government in Europe that did not feel it an incumbent duty to make unusual preparations to protect its subjects against the consequences of a general blight. Our Government followed the example of others, and not only took precautions against the immediate evil, but wisely determined to do so against the recurrence of such an evil in future, as far as human efforts could do so. How far the timely warning of the great extent of the potato rot, which was ascertained and made known to the country by the Government commissioners, has acted as an inducement to care and economy in the use of that article, and has thus contributed to a greater abundance in the later part of the season it is difficult to say, but certain it is that there is much evidence that potatoes which are usually used for the feeding of stock and for other inferior purposes have this year been preserved for human food. Moreover, how far the introduction of Indian corn and meal at a small nominal duty early in the spring, have had the effect of saving Ireland from suffering, it may be difficult precisely to measure; but the evidence of dealers connected with the provision trade in Ireland all agrees, that this article has exercised a most extraordinary check upon the rise of prices of other articles of food. Still, after all the precaution and all the care which have been used, the above table of the supply of potatoes and their prices for the last month in the largest markets of Ireland, shows that the cure has been very inadequate to the evil. Still this is the case which the Government are now charged with having exaggerated.

The truth is, that the Minister who has sagacity to foresee an evil, and who provides against it, will seldom receive much credit for doing so. Mankind never properly estimate an evil until they suffer under it. We are always ready enough with our censure, when public misfortunes occur without any provision against them; and, when provision has been successfully made to avert a threatened disaster, we are only too prone to underrate the danger which existed. In our estimation, the present Government were seriously to blame for not, at a much earlier period, taking the necessary guarantee against famine, after their experience of 1842; but they have now made such ample and unreserved reparation for former neglect, as to recommend them to the warmest gratitude, especially of the labouring population, as well in Ireland as in other parts of the country.

FUNERAL OF MR. JOHN DYSON FERNLEY.—The remains of Mr. John Dyson Fernley were interred in the family vault, Teviotdale Chapel, on Monday morning last. The interment took place about twelve o'clock, and the interest, depth of feeling, and even excitement, which prevailed among all classes of society, was most extraordinary. The funeral cortege moved from Mr. Fernley's house in Greek-street, down the Wellington-road and Heaton-lane, and almost every available inch of space was thronged by persons anxious to catch a sight of it. There were four mourning coaches in the procession, besides eight private carriages, and these were followed by friends of the deceased once connected with him either in business, or in the schools and other concerns of the Wesleyan Methodist Society, to the number of about 130. On the arrival of the procession at Teviotdale chapel, the spacious gallery was found to be nearly filled with spectators. The burial service was read by the Rev. J. Nelson, after which, the Rev. Dr. Hannah, D.D., Professor of Theology in the Wesleyan Institution, Didsbury, delivered a feeling and appropriate address, in which, while he lamented the early and sudden death of one so promising and useful, he pointed out the duty of submission to the divine will, and urged upon all, but especially upon the junior part of the assembly, the advantages of early piety, which, in the deceased, had been illustrated so strikingly, and had proved the cause of all his usefulness and success. After the interment, the immense assemblage of persons quietly dispersed.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. T. DUNCOMBE AND THE LEAGUE.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

SIR,—In an article under the above title, in your last Number, you have made a statement which I know to be incorrect, and think it sufficiently important to request you to insert this contradiction of it. In reference to the Anti-Corn-Law meeting held in Stevenson-square, Manchester, in June, 1841, and which was opposed, as you think, from corrupt motives by many of the Chartist leaders, you state, "Every Chartist leader of any notoriety was brought to Manchester from places as distant as Leicester and Sunderland." Now, in justice to the character of the Chartists of this borough, but more especially to certain individuals, to whom (from their prominent position in connection with that body in this place at that period) your statement will probably be considered to refer, I beg to assure you that no Sunderland delegate or leader was present at the meeting referred to, nor did the Chartists of this borough then, or at any other period as a body, countenance the protectionists' doctrines.

Though in principle an ardent Chartist, I am deeply sensible of the great service the leading Free Traders have rendered to the interests of industry; and I feel therefore an honest pride in subscribing myself,

A CHARTIST AND FREE TRADER.

Sunderland, June 15, 1846.

Sheffield, June 17th, 1846.

DEAR SIR,—Your remarks about Duncombe's associates aroused me, and this morning I penned the enclosed. I am prepared to prove some of it, and to swear to the whole of it. Perhaps I can prove the whole. At all events, those who know me will require no further proof than my deliberate declaration. You may do what you like with it. I think its publication would do good.—Yours faithfully,

To A. W. Paulton, Esq., Wm. IBBOTSON.
67, Fleet-st., London.

SIR,—In the first page of your last week's journal, I noticed your remarks respecting Mr. Duncombe and his associates. The fact which you repeat relative to the payment of money to the Chartist leaders, you are aware has been long known to the public, and doubtless furnishes abundant proof that at least some of the Chartist leaders were paid by Conservative landholders.

It is an old saying, that those who pay the piper ought to choose the tune, and it is fair to presume that the Chartists were prompted, instructed, and directed, by those who paid them; and that their constant efforts to create disturbance and to carry amendments at Free Trade meetings was simply done in compliance with the instructions they received from those who employed them.

Sir, it occurs to me that this is a subject of great national importance, and I think it must be so regarded by every honest man who loves his country. I therefore conclude that it is a duty which I owe to society to contribute something further on the same subject.

Some months before the Chartist agitation was commenced, a gentleman, greatly distinguished as a talented politician, who mixed with men of the highest rank amongst the Conservative class, presented himself to me with letters of introduction. Having previously read reports of this gentleman's opinions and speeches, his name was familiar to me; and whatever might be my doubts as to the correctness of his views, I could not but admire his talents, and I gladly availed myself of the opportunity thus presented to me of making his acquaintance. I had long and repeated conversations with him, and although I suspected him of being strongly Conservative, yet, as he repudiated party, and since I considered myself as a Liberal in the best sense, at his urgent request, I procured him a highly respectable and numerous meeting, which consisted of men of every shade of politics, to hear his statements.

After a familiar and lengthened intercourse, I found that he was in daily correspondence with Conservatives of the highest rank. At length he strongly urged me to adopt his views, and publicly co-operate with him. This I declined, but urged as a reason that neither my abilities nor my influence were worth his acceptance. I suggested the policy of his inducing his noble friends to adopt his peculiar views, and to devote their efforts and influence to the promotion of his object.

Mark his reply. It was this: "I would rather have the energies and influence of a respectable manufacturer, who enjoys the confidence of his neighbours, than of all the nobles in the land."

This remark was rendered emphatic by the style in which it was delivered, and was made still more striking by other remarks with which it was associated. It instantly flashed across my mind, if these are the opinions of our Tory aristocracy, most assuredly some plan will be devised, and some attempt will speedily be made, to lessen the power and influence of this class of men.

I questioned the gentleman as to the extent and prevalence of his opinion, and I found in his view at least it was universal amongst the highest ranks of society. When subsequently repeating these remarks to my contemporaries, I declared if this gentleman was correct, soon some attempt would be made to lessen our power. About this time a Tory magistrate, of great talent, but who was still more notorious for cunning and perfidy, prevailed upon some artisans, by liberal promises of reward, to get up some cases and apply to him for warrants against their employers. They did so, and when he and his man Friday heard the various cases, as was fully expected, they were all decided against the masters.

On this occasion, before leaving the bench, he made a formal speech to the men, denouncing manufacturers as the greatest tyrants in the world, and concluded by assuring the workmen they had only to bring their employers before him, and he would do them justice.

This man's speech was amply discussed in the neighbourhood, both by artisans and agricultural labourers; many of the latter were heard to say, how happy they should be to exchange the services of this kind and paternal magistrate for the services of these tyrant-manufacturers, since in that district the artisan, by less labour, got two-thirds more wages than they could obtain as agriculturists. Not many weeks after, these proceedings were reported to me by the suffering masters. I found in the newspapers the report of a speech delivered to the working classes by a man who subsequently became notorious as a Chartist leader. I was really startled to find that he adopted the very form of words, *verbatim*, which had been used by the magistrate before referred to; and he, in like manner, applied them to manufacturers with scarcely any variation. As the first

speech had not been printed, and as the second speaker had probably no knowledge of the first, it was natural to conclude that they both derived the matter from one source, and I therefore at once concluded that my predictions were fulfilled, and that landholders, or rather the party men who represented them, had adopted this plan to lessen the power of manufacturers.

It is not necessary to notice the progress and movements of the Chartists; and I beg now to state a fact for the introduction of which the preceding remarks have been made.

A few months after the Monmouth riots, I one evening met in a neighbouring city a distinguished gentleman, whom I had previously known. He requested I would spend the evening with him. I accepted his invitation, and waited upon him at his hotel, when he introduced me to a number of honourable associates. On looking round, I perceived all the appearance of the committee of some public company. A secretary sat at a side table, which was covered with books, papers, and letters. I was scarcely seated when the chairman of the company, if I may so term him, introduced the subject of Chartism; and he astonished me beyond measure with the knowledge which he manifested of all their movements and designs. I listened with attention for hours to his statements, until he entered into details so minute, that I began to suspect some person had been practising upon his credulity. I gradually and delicately made him acquainted with my suspicions, when he seemed somewhat excited with the idea that I should doubt his authority; and, turning to his secretary, he asked for a parcel which lay on the table addressed to a noble lord. This parcel he cut open. It contained nothing but a large batch of letters, all open and neatly strung together, and probably from 1½in. to 2in. thick. He placed these letters in my hand, requesting I would read them; and then he assured me I should know from whence he received his information.

I complied and read the whole of these letters, which occupied me two hours. I found they were a regular series for weeks and months past, dated from various towns in Great Britain, bearing the names of the towns, and the postmasters of the places where it was professed they were written, and they were all signed by well-known Chartist leaders.

These letters contained reports of the proceedings of these leaders and their associates. The movements they made—the effects they produced—the writers acknowledged the receipt of money—they repeatedly urged the necessity of more being sent—they answered numerous inquiries, and solicited opinions in return. In short they were regularly employed and paid by this party.

Perhaps I need not say more, unless it be that subsequently I had substantial proof that these Chartists and the party referred to formed one party. These gentlemen also subsequently acknowledged to me that they were members of a notorious Conservative Club in London. They never informed me from whence the money was derived which kept the Chartist leaders in operation. I put one question which they did answer. Do all the men who receive money know from whence it is derived? The reply was *no*; only a select few know that. The other men act according to instructions, because the money comes with those instructions; but they are ignorant of the parties supplying it.

You may judge of my feelings when after this I read in the papers, from week to week, reports of the speeches made by these very men, who, though employed, instructed, and paid by Conservative landholders, were occasionally pretending to attack them with severity; but I did remark that landholders were attacked generally, while manufacturers specially. I have said sufficient to induce all classes to pin their faith to no one, but to judge for themselves. If they do follow any man, let him be a well tested and tried neighbour. If any portion of what I have stated should be questioned, I am prepared with proofs to satisfy a few men of honour.—I remain, sir, your most obt. servant,

Sheffield, June 17, 1846. Wm. IBBOTSON.

To the Editor of THE LEAGUE.

SIR,—I never was more surprised in my life than in reading in THE LEAGUE the statement that "Kent got its name from Canute the Dane," in the first letter of "One who has Whistled at the Plough." Really, Sir, I considered that every tyro in his country's etymology was aware that long prior to the era when the Romans, the most deceptive and imposing people that ever lived, planted their eagles upon its soil, Kent rejoiced in the name of Cantium. As I am writing this note on board one of the Gravesend steamers, I have not Cæsar at hand for reference. I believe his words are—The inhabitants of "Cantium," or the "Canti," are more civilised than those of the interior, on account of their connection with the Gauls. Horace, in the Augustan age, alludes to the Cantii; so also Tacitus, in his "Life of Agricola," written after the decease of Domitian.

It is, Sir, as you well know, a *vexata questio* how far Cæsar marched into the country. Mr. Dunkin maintains in "The Chronicles of Kent," that Cæsar misalled "the Medway" the "Thames;" and he partially founds his reasoning upon the circumstance that "Tamesis" literally translated from the Celtic gives "Tam-ys," a winding river.

The Rev. Mr. Barry asserts that Cæsar's autobiography consists entirely of garbled statements; and he most satisfactorily proves in his "Cæsar and the Britons," that the Roman general was disgracefully beaten in all three of his Kentish invasions. Geoffrey of Monmouth, in the earliest British Chronicles we have, asserts that there were three invasions; in which statement the modern antiquaries I have named coincide.

Sir William Betham, the Ulster King-at-Arms, abides in his "Gael and Cymri" with Cæsar in only enumerating two expeditions; but as his work was published some years prior to Messrs. Barry and Dunkin's labours, it is hardly fair to bring him into the arena.

As, Sir, I am treating of Kent, it may be as well to mention that the discovery of the City of Cassivelaunus or Casswallon in the woods near Crayford and Dartford within the last three years has done more to set the question at rest than pages upon pages of the massive lore which annually appears in the *Archæologia* would ever have done. From this happy accident it is clear that Cæsar never in any of his expeditions (be they two or three) went out of Kent; it also evidences that the Medway was the river instanced in his "Commentaries."

I remain, &c.,
ONE OF THE LATE CONTRIBUTORS TO THE WEST
KENT ANTI-CORN LAW MAGAZINE.

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GENERAL MEETING of the COUNCIL of the LEAGUE in MANCHESTER, on THURSDAY NEXT.

A SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE will be held in MANCHESTER on THURSDAY next, to take into consideration the course to be pursued on the passing of Sir Robert Peel's measures.

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Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, June 24, 1846.

N.B.—As the Subscription List is made up from Wednesday to Wednesday, contributions received on Thursdays and Fridays are not published in the LEAGUE of the Saturday immediately succeeding, but are included in the list of the week following.

As the regulations of the Post Office require that the Christian Name of the party to whom Post Office Orders are sent should be given in full, subscribers are respectfully requested to procure their Orders in future for GEORGE WILSON, League Offices, Manchester, or ABRAHAM WALTER PAULTON, 67, Fleet-street, London.

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ARRIVAL OF SPECIE.—On Wednesday the steam-ship Victory arrived at the St. Katherine's steam-packet wharf, from St. Petersburg, with a large quantity of specie on board, amounting to nearly 200,000*l.*, packed in twelve large cases. It is consigned for a number of merchants in the city, and the greater part has already been entered.

LETTERS ON THE CORN LAWS.—

No. LVIII. AND LAST.

TO GEORGE WILSON, ESQ.

Sir,—With whose name can I more appropriately close this series of letters than with that of the Chairman of the Anti-Corn-Law League? With you, that chairmanship has been no merely formal and honorary office. Yours has been a real presidency, both in the crowded meeting and in the Council Chamber. The public has become accustomed to a sway always efficient and never obtrusive. The densest multitudes have been hushed into stillness by the waving of your hand; and the quiet tones of your voice, while you were making statements always most lucid, or enforcing principles ever most important, have never failed of ensuring eager attention and prompt response. The still rarer aptitude for direction and organisation which induced the Council to place you at its head, can only be in any degree appreciated by those who have inspected the arrangements at the principal League Offices; and have discovered in them a perfectness of order, and a facility for dealing with the most multifarious combinations, well worthy of imitation in the bureaux of an empire. Fully to appreciate your worth in the functions you have discharged, required that familiarity with the foresight of your suggestions, the readiness of your resources, the calmness of your temper, the soundness of your judgment, and the determination of your character, to which they who have enjoyed it most bear the strongest testimony. Partaking in that general quiescence which has been deemed the fittest policy since the introduction of the Corn and Customs' Bills into Parliament, I have ceased to occupy my wonted place in this Journal, except in the letters on the approaching close of their heroic labours addressed to Richard Cobden, Esq., and John Bright, Esq.; and now that the conclusion has actually and happily arrived, I have only, as one of the millions for whom the victory has been achieved, to record, in connection with your name, a final expression of gratitude and gratulation.

The peculiar character of the agitation over which you have presided, will command the attention of future historians. It was the first of its kind; may the wisdom of the ruling classes allow it to be the last. No violence has stained its course. No party alliances have been purchased by unworthy compromises. No base tendency has been appealed to, for the exercise of intimidation, or the accession of seeming strength. The great agency has been that of instruction. The power relied upon was that of truth and justice. No prejudice has been flattered, whether of the few or the many. Zeal has been directed in channels sanctioned by morality and known to the institutions of our country. Only wise, just, and beneficent means, valuable in their immediate and incidental as well as in their direct and ultimate result, have been employed for the accomplishment of a wise, just, and beneficent end.

That end is attained. The royal sanction, noblest act of Queen Victoria's reign, is given to bills which avowedly constitute Free Trade the policy of the country. The cries of the destitute are heard and answered. The speculations and hopes of philosophers have grown into practical realities. Relieved from artificial pressure, the springs of industry will soon play freely. Labour receives the charter of its rights. Unfounded apprehensions fade away like shadows in the dawning. A great example is given to the nations. They are invited to that unrestricted interchange which makes the teeming earth, and the productiveness of human art, subservient to universal good. Free Trade, spreading over the world, will become the pledge of peace and the bond of brotherhood. Let the moral, as is its tendency, follow the material good, and earth will rejoice in the renewal of the primeval benediction.

The instruments and agencies of this change have done their work, and will pass away. The League may be dissolved; but what shall dissolve the memories of that season of anxious consultation, of harmonious co-operation, of strenuous effort, of heartfelt unity, of sincere devotedness? Or of those mighty and unprecedented gatherings, when the popular mind expanded under the growing light of knowledge, and the popular heart vowed itself to the cause of mercy and of justice?

The history of the League is a bright and affecting chapter in the philosophy of humanity. It comprises much to make us love our fellow-creatures, and reverence, in them, our common nature.

Until the new laws have thoroughly established themselves, by their tried and satisfactory operation, some danger, though I trust but slight, must remain of attempts to revert to exploded monopolies. On you, Sir, the public will rely for watchfulness. From you they will expect the signal of peril that shall call them to the rescue.

"Tho' no longer the hurricane rave o'er the deep;
The skies tho' no longer black tempests deform;
In fancied security shall we then sleep?
No! look to the pilot that weathered the storm."

Your call, should there unhappily be occasion, will be responded to by millions, through the length and breadth of the land; and the Anti-Corn-Law Agitation present itself revived in all its formidable power, to crush the faintest hopes of monopoly. But that time can be but short. An unlimited time follows, during which your name will be gratefully looked to, as it introduces the list of those who, in winning commercial freedom for their country, became the benefactors of all succeeding generations.

A NORWICH WEAVER BOY.

THE LOTHIAN FARMERS, THEIR MEN AND THEIR BEASTS.

The tenant farmers who met in the county town of Haddingtonshire last week to speak and to act against the Game Laws, have again attracted public notice to that distinguished section of their country known as East Lothian, which they well cultivate.

My present intention is not to dwell on their speeches and resolutions; these will, perhaps, be inserted in another part of this paper; and if not, the omission will be of no great consequence, as their arguments against the preservation of game are similar to those which have frequently appeared here. But as we are now almost at the end of our Anti-Corn Law journey, within sight of the point which was once so far from us that human penetration could neither tell where it lay nor how far off; having as few days between us and the end as the League had years when the League began; having overcome all obstacles, left behind those who cried to us to halt, shaken off those who never advance but by clinging to the skirts of some other party, walked steadily away from those who ran by our sides, before and behind, and among our feet to trip us up, covered with scorn those bolder enemies of progress who stood in front, not alone as the dolers out of a nation's bread, but bullying as if they would knock the nation's teeth out should the nation seek bread elsewhere than from them; having passed all such opposition, and gathered more associates of progress from the opposition—more a thousand times told than all who now linger like idle boys throwing stones, and calling ill names to decent people, we have nothing to do but walk leisurely onward to the place of rest. All the attention now requisite is to keep a look out, which must be done to the last step of the journey. We may therefore breathe more freely, look around us more leisurely, and speak of what we see or expect to see beyond the point to which we are at present bound. The fact of the East Lothian farmers being the first farmers in the kingdom to associate together to put down the last remnant of feudal injustice—the stocking of a man's land with game for the pleasure of another man who bears none of the expense of feeding it, suggests several considerations both as to what that county has been and what it may yet be.

In the year 1750 the first turnpike bill for Scotland was an Act of Parliament obtained for repairing the post road from Dunglass on the eastern boundary of the county to Ravenshough on the western boundary. It was long after that before there was any sign of that great agricultural success since characteristic of the county; but the first element of good agriculture there as elsewhere was the formation of good roads.

On Thursday, the 18th of this present month of June, being the day previous to the meeting of farmers held to denounce the feeding of wild beasts for the sport of the landlords as a relic of barbarism, the North British Railway was opened from Edinburgh to Berwick-upon-Tweed, entering this county on the west at or near Ravenshough, and passing from it at Dunglass. This line will soon communicate with Newcastle-upon-Tyne and with all the manufacturing districts of England and the metropolis. Already, by the steamers from Leith to London, occupying forty-eight hours on the passage, mutton and beef are sent to London, fed in the Lothians and killed at Edinburgh, to compete, and to compete successfully, with the beef and mutton fed within fifty miles of the metropolis. Here we see what farming capitalists who have security in their farms can do for agriculture. With a soil fully equal to the best of the Lothian soils, and superior to the average soils in East Lothian, with a better climate, and paying less rent by at least one-third than the Lothian farmers pay, living within two or three hours' journey of the metropolis where the best markets of the world cry to be supplied, the tenant farmers of Essex, Kent, Herts, Bedford, Bucks, Berks, Surrey, and Middlesex itself have as little, many of them less, profit from their farms than the Lothian farmers four hundred miles distant, whose cattle and sheep have hitherto travelled as far to Edinburgh as the Essex cattle and sheep travel to London; have been there killed, and then sent to London five hundred miles by sea. The absence of those feudal

privileges of the landlords and the enormous inventions of the farmers which weigh down the English farmers (chief of which are occupation of the farms without any security of tenure, and the legal obligation to do nothing new for the improvement of fertility), the absence of these in Lothian, and their consequent evils, make the chief difference between the profits of English and Scottish agriculture. The Lothian farmer is still, like his English brother, afflicted with the vermin which the Game Laws bind him to preserve; but he is now in motion to throw off even that remnant of feudalism. It is not improbable that when the Game Laws go down, the English farmer and the Scotch farmer will be relieved of them at the same time. But the English occupier of rumble-tumble barns and stables—here a one on the farm, there a one, few of them more than a wooden shell—and the farms overrun with waste ditches, waste land, hedge-rows which encumber many acres on each farm but perform not the uses of a fence; and legal covenants which encumber everything, and perform not in one instance the uses of a security to the man who most needs security—the cultivator of the soil—the English occupier will, if the Game Laws were abolished to-morrow, and all the game now breeding were in the pot, still be a poor farmer in any sense of the designation. Security to employ capital, and riddance of the rules of agriculture made in the legal chambers of Lincoln's Inn, will still be far from him.

On the other hand, the Lothian farmers with their secure leases, with corn rents which always bear relation to the prices of produce, with improved markets opened by improved roads, with the great meat markets of England opened to them by the new railways just made, and in progress of making, will more effectively than ever employ their science and capital to the augmentation of produce and profit. The greatest obstacle to a more rapid extension of sheep and cattle feeding, has been the distance from populous places. The market towns in the county have little trade, and not many well paid or well fed inhabitants. But the very effort to supply distant places, now that railways make it possible so to do, may improve the ability to consume at home. Take the small town of Dunbar as an instance. It is a town with little trade, and, for the present, with the appearance of less, so far as the opening of the railway will deprive it of its coach-road traffic. But it stands in the richest corner of East Lothian, where turnip-fed cattle and sheep fatten numerously and fast. Is it too much to suppose that they may yet be sold and slaughtered there, and the carcasses sent off to London, where they will arrive in sixteen hours (at intermediate English towns in a time proportionate to the distance), instead of forty-eight hours, as per Leith steamers at present? The reduction of time will completely carry the question of killing meat, against that of carrying live animals.

The town of Dunbar—and I particularise it as a specimen of many others similarly situated in districts of rich agriculture—is likely enough to be the port that will bring to the Lothian farmers ships loaded with the oats and barley, and peas and beans, and maize, which, perhaps, with flax-seed of their own growth, instead of the oil-cake they now buy, they will feed their cattle with, united to those large crops of roots which they now grow. Their land is already too valuable, and their system now on the increase of feeding more cattle and growing less corn will make it more so, to grow the inferior kinds of grain. A ready supply of these from the countries opened by the abolition of the Corn Law will greatly augment the feeding system, improve the trade of the district, enlarge the supply of the best manures, spread over thousands of more acres the culture of turnip and other root crops, make the production of good wheat more profitable, employ more people on the farms, and give the general population of the kingdom a supply of butcher's meat, which only needs to be abundant and regular to be readily paid for and consumed.

The fact of East Lothian being at present in advance of any other agricultural district of like soil and situation is not suggestive that it will linger where it is until others reach up with it. On the contrary I look upon its present superiority as the best evidence that it will advance, and advance fast. The race of agriculture is yet to come; Lothian is saddled, bridled, and ready for the race. It is on its feet, while four-fifths of all England are yet dreaming with the nightmare of the feudal ages on them, and not dreaming of what agriculture will some day reach to in England; not even dreaming of what it is already in East Lothian.

Although there are no factories nor public works in the country, save some of inconsiderable extent in the market towns, and a few collieries in the western parts of the county, the stranger on crossing the Lammermoor hills, is surprised to see on every farm a steam engine, its tall chimney, and occasionally its smoke rising above the farm buildings, and these, laid out in squares on parcellotowns, the outside of which are again surrounded with large corn-stacks, as neatly built, thatched, and finished, as if each farmer had an architect on the farm.

The late William Cobbett, in his "Northern Tour," described very well such parts of East Lothian as he saw—not so well what he did not see. He did not see the villages and churches, as they do not happen to stand by the side of that great post road, which is more modern than the villages; so he concluded that East Lothian has no villages nor churches. But he saw the turnip fields, the corn fields, the corn stacks, and the houses, or hovels, or styes, or dens, or whatever they may be called, inhabited by the farm labourers; and all these he describes as they were then, and, as with very few exceptions, they are now. He says:

"We entered into what is called East Lothian, and just at a little village called Cockburnspath, where there is the second church which I have seen since I quitted Berwick. We set into the county of Haddington, where we see the sea all along upon our right until we get to Dunbar; and such corn fields, such fields of turnips, and turnips in those fields, such stackyards, and such a total absence of dwelling houses, as never surely were before seen in any country upon earth. You very frequently see more than a hundred stacks in one yard, each containing on an average from fifteen to twenty English quarters of wheat, or of oat, all built in the neatest manner; thatched extremely well, the thatch bound down by exterior bands; spars not being in use, owing to the scarcity in wood. In some of these stacks the thrashing machine is worked by hot sea, but in the greater part by steam; and where the coal-are at a distance beyond the power of horse, in 1846 they were all worked by steam, except in a very few cases where there is a good mill of water." So that in this country, the finest land that ever was seen, all the elements seem to have been put into the admirable system of manuring the people from the bowels of the earth, in order that the great amount of the produce may go into the hands of a small number of persons, that they may squander it at London, at Paris, or at Rome. Before we got into Dunbar we found the road, which was very fine and broad, actually covered with carts, covered with men with one horse, all loaded with sacks of corn. For several miles it appeared to be a regular cavalcade

of carts, each carrying about twelve English sacks of corn, and all going to Dunbar, which is a little seaport through a large town (not a very large town), apparently made for the express purpose of robbing Scotland of all its produce, and of converting it away to be squandered in scenes of dissipation, of gambling, and of every other vice tending to vitiate men and enfeeble a nation."

These last words suggest a remark. The corn carted into and sold in Dunbar was not sent out of Scotland to be squandered in scenes of dissipation and gambling. It was sold and sent out of Scotland to help to supply London with bread, where there is a very great demand for it, where working people certainly work as hard and deserve as well to be supplied with bread in return for the money they earn as any working people whatever. The farm labourers of Lothian could have kept as much wheat at home as they chose for their own use, if their wages had enabled them to pay the price paid for it by those who sent it to London; but their wages did not, and do not now, enable them to buy the wheat they want, nor any wheat, therefore they do not eat wheaten bread. The question is between wages and rent. The Lothian farmers pay low wages and high rents. If less wheat was sold and sent away from Dunbar, lower rents might be paid, but there would not be higher wages, and wheat would be still farther out of the labourers' reach, for the general markets would rise, and wheat be dearer when the supply was less. In all countries of the world where least of the produce is sold, the people are poorest. Even in East Lothian, when less was sold than now, the people were still poorer than now. Cobbett's error is that of those who despise the principles of political economy up to the present day. He thinks, and they think, that agriculture is and may be the chief interest of a nation. Now the converse of their belief is true. The more people who buy the produce of agriculture, and who earn the money to pay for it by producing something else than corn, the richer will the nation be, and the higher the price of agricultural produce.

The disproportion between rent and wages on the Lothian farms is greater than anywhere else that I know. Rent is fully three times the amount of what it was fifty-five years ago in that county, and wages are now as then; food enough to live and work upon, with the means of getting clothes enough to wear for use, but hardly for ornament. Yet both the food and the clothes have improved in quality within that time. There should be more animal food used by the farm workers; but it is no hardship to them to use oatmeal porridge, at least for breakfast. Food more wholesome and better relished than oatmeal porridge is not used anywhere.

But how are the hinds of Lothian to get better suppers than potatoes and salted herrings? Surely they should have better. And how are they to get better dinners than their barley bread and butter and milk three or four times a week, or their potatoes and "kail and flesh" two or three times a week; the "kail" being three or four gallons of liquid, with greens and barley, and about two pounds weight of salt pork boiled in the water? I say how are better dinners and suppers (save when a family can afford to use oatmeal porridge for supper as well as for breakfast) to be got? Lothian farmers pay their way; but do they not get rich? The less they pay their labourers the more they pay their landlords; and if we are to turn to the landlords to ask them to raise wages, we must, I fear, wait until we have raised in them sentiments which they do not possess—which are in fact not common to mankind. The only practicable means of augmenting wages, whether in manufactures or in agriculture, whether in well-cultivated Lothian or ill-cultivated Devonshire, is to enlarge the demand for men by extending employment. The more men we can take away from agriculture by employing them better otherwise, and the more agricultural employment created for those remaining (such as a great increase in the stall feeding of cattle will create) the better will wages be, and the more power will every one have to consume good food and pay for it.

But the houses in which the farm labourers live in Lothian are the landlord's property; and the hinds cannot live elsewhere than in those houses. But it is a misuse of the word to call them houses. Here is their description by Cobbett—literally true, every word, and rather under the truth as regards the hinds' houses on some of the best cultivated and highest rented farms in the county, where the most complete and appropriate buildings have been erected for the lodgment of the four-footed beasts of the farm which ingenuity can devise, and where the lodgment of the human beings has never cost the owner of the land a thought, beyond the thought of how human habitations may cost him the least money. Cobbett is addressing a letter to the "chopsticks of the south of England," and describing to them this famous county of East Lothian. He says:

"With the exception of about seven miles, the land is the finest I ever saw in my life; though I have seen every fine vale in every county of England and in the United States of America. I never saw any land at tenth part so good. (He, like many other strangers, who only pass through the best of the district, attributes that to native fertility of soil, which is mainly attributable to co-operation and energy.) You will know what the land is when I tell you that it is by no means uncommon for to produce seven English quarters of wheat upon one English acre, and forty tons of turnips upon one English acre; and that there are almost in every half-mile, from fifty to a hundred acres of turnips in one piece; sometimes white turnips and sometimes Swedes, all in rows, as straight as a line, and without a weed ever to be seen in any of these beautiful fields. Oh! how you would wish to be here! 'Lord! you will say to yourselves, what pretty villages there must be there!—what nice churches and churchyards! Oh! what and what precious nice old houses! Come, Jack, let us set off to Scotland. What nice gardens shall we have to our cottages there. What beautiful flowers our wives will have climbing up about the windows, and on both sides of the path leading from the wicket up to the door; and what prancing and barking pigs we shall have running out upon the common; and what a flock of geese grazing upon the green.' 'Stop, stop! I have not come to listen to you, but to make you listen to me.'"

Upon a steam engine farm there are perhaps eight or ten of these married men. There is at a considerable distance from the farm-yard a sort of barrack erected for these to live in. It is a long shed, stone walls and painted roof, and divided into a certain number of bouthies, each having a door and one little window, all the doors being on one side of the shed, and there being no back doors; and as to a privy, no such thing for them appears ever to be thought of. The ground in front of the shed is wide or narrow, according to circumstances; but quite smooth, merely a place to walk upon. Each distant bouthie is about 17 feet one way, as nearly as my eye could determine, and 15 feet the other way. There is no ceiling and no floor but the earth. In this place a man, his wife, and his family have to live. When they go into it there is nothing but the four bare walls and the tiles over their heads, and a small fire-place.

Mr. Cobbett should have added, not even a grate nor a cupboard; and as regards some of the hovels farther south in Scotland, and in Northumberland, on the princely domain of the Percys, and others not less proud if less princely, which he also described in his Tour, he might have added

to the deplorable picture by stating the fact, that even the window, if glass there be, is carried from one hovel to another by the tenant hinds when they remove; the window being but a single small pane in some instances, and seldom fitting the place in which it is fixed, letting in the weather, keeping out the sun, and just allowing a bird's eye view, literally so, of such as Haggerstone House, or Alnwick Castle, whose inmates boast of having as many windows as there are days in the year. Of the hinds' sheds in East Lothian, Cobbett continues:

"To make the most of the room, they, at their own cost, erect berths like those in a barrack room, which they get up into when they go to bed; and here they are, the man and his wife, and a parcel of children, squeezed up in this miserable hole, with their meal (oatmeal store) and their washing tackle, and all their other things; and yet it is quite surprising to behold how decent the women endeavour to keep the place. These women, for I found all the men out at work, appeared to be most industrious creatures, to be extremely obliging and of good disposition, and the shame is that they are permitted to enjoy so small a portion of the fruits of all their labours, of all their cares."

This is true to the present time; for though signs of improvement in the sheds erected for the Lothian ploughmen to live in are beginning to appear, the sheds erected for cattle being long ago of the best kind, yet progress is very slow.

Mr. Hope, of Fenton Barns, though only a tenant, has improved the dwellings of his workpeople at his own expense, by building an apartment with a back door and window to each. There Cobbett's chopsticks would see pretty flowers "all a growing and a blowing."

There are also some pretty cottages in the neighbouring village of Dirlerton. Still, taking Lothian all over, the men of the farms are housed more meanly than the beasts.

Having noticed that East Lothian was the first county in Scotland to improve its roads by Acts of Parliament, and that it has since kept ahead in all its improvements; and further that it has now taken the lead in associating the farmers against the Game Laws, it is also proper to remember that it gave the League, from the pen of a farmer, the first of the prize essays, showing the injury done to tenant farmers and labourers by the Corn Laws. More of the men of capital and science who farm in that county, have declared for Free Trade, than in any other county.

And now that men of all opinions in politics meet together there to put down the Game Laws, it is pleasing to see them giving the lead to Mr. Hope, the father of the prize essayist, who is a distinguished agriculturist, who instilled into his son from childhood the errors of the system mis-called protection.

ONE WHO HAS WHISTLED AT THE PLOUGH.

THE STRIKE IN THE BUILDING TRADES.—As we anticipated in our last, the men are going in, and the strike is rapidly drawing to a close. In one builder's establishment, 20 have gone to work, consisting chiefly of men from Stalybridge, Ashton, and other neighbouring places, with some few of the turn-outs. Many others have applied at the same place for employment; but they have been told, what is the fact, that the full number have been engaged, and that there is no room for any more. At another establishment, where, from the commencement of the strike, there has been an obvious holding back of applicants, a number of men are to resume work to-day. The resumption of work is attended with one circumstance which distinguishes the close of all strikes:—There are more applicants for work than can possibly obtain it; as during the turn-out many strangers have been engaged, and the masters will not discharge these men in order to accommodate their former workmen, who, by exercising their undoubted right of ceasing to labour, have exposed their employers to great inconvenience and loss. In this state of the labour market, the masters are exercising their right in turn, of engaging the best workmen of those turn-outs who are now seeking employment, and declining to employ the less skilled hands,—who, as has often been observed, are usually the most strenuous advocates of trades' unions and strikes. Under these circumstances, it is clear that the turn-out here must be nearly at an end. In Liverpool, we understand the bricklayers, joiners, plasterers, and plumbers have generally resumed work at the old rates, both as to hours and wages; but the master masons of Liverpool, owing to the great demand for masonry work at public works, and to the want of co-operation on the part of the two dock companies of Liverpool and Birkenhead, have been obliged to comply with the demands of their men, both as respects increase of wages and diminution of labour. We understand that the present wages of joiners and carpenters, it has been agreed, shall not exceed 28s. in Birkenhead, 27s. in Liverpool. The hours to be 60 per week, which is the same amount as before, only differently arranged. The men commence work now at six instead of seven on Monday morning; breakfast from 8.20 to 9 A.M.; dinner, one to two; ceasing work at six; on Saturday, at four o'clock. In Birkenhead they are paying the best joiners 26s.; bricklayers chiefly 27s.; plasterers 24s. and a few 25s., and even 26s.—Since writing the above, we have seen a placard, addressed "To the master bricklayers in Manchester and Salford, journeymen not in the bricklayers' union, and others." It states that:

"A number of journeymen bricklayers having received grievous and oppressive treatment from the trades' union of journeymen bricklayers, beg to acquaint the masters of Manchester and Salford, that, in order to protect themselves from the oppressive interference of such body, they are about to establish a society unconnected with it; hoping to meet with their countenance and support."

They announce the first meeting, and trust that the parties addressed "will unite to resist the rule and oppression of the present union."—*Manchester Guardian*.

THE CROPS ABROAD.—Accounts from Holland and Belgium state that the rye crop is in a very precarious state in both countries, the plant having changed its colour, and ripened before the seed was properly formed. This will be a great loss to those countries where, as well as in Germany, rye bread is still generally eaten, and even preferred to wheaten bread, as it was in the north of Lancashire half a century ago. The use and growth of rye have now almost ceased in this country; but a few patches which we have seen this year are unusually luxuriant in their growth, and promise to yield abundantly. Much of the straw is upwards of six feet high. The potato crop seems to be failing this year in Portugal, Tuscany, and other parts of the south of Europe. In Portugal the weather has been unusually wet, whilst in Italy it has been unusually dry. It thus appears that either extreme is fatal to the plant. The same fact has been observed in the United States, and it strongly confirms the opinion that the sets of the plant now in use are in a weak and degenerate state, and therefore unable to resist any kind of extreme in the weather.—*Liverpool Times*.

AGRICULTURE.

THE MONOPOLISTS' LAST HOWL.

Probably before this meets the reader's eye, the bill, which will eventually relieve the farmer from the incubus of protection, will have become law; and farmers will do well to mark the foolish and helpless opposition offered to the measure by his self-styled friends, the political monopolists. Perhaps the most entirely absurd amendment which has been proposed is that offered by the Duke of Richmond on Friday, the 19th inst., when the Corn Bill finally went through the committee in the House of Lords. The proposal was to insert a clause—

"That in six months after the passing of this Act, the tenant shall have the power of giving to the landlord six months' notice of his intention to quit his occupation, that then arbitrators shall be agreed upon between them, and, if the arbitrators shall not agree, that then the matter shall be left to the decision of the commissioners under the Act for the inclosure of commons, who shall value the unexhausted improvement of the farm."

Now, had this clause been proposed in sober seriousness it would have betrayed great ignorance of the condition and business of farmers on the part of its proposer and supporters. But it was not seriously proposed. It was a mere sham, or, perhaps, we should say it was a puerile exhibition of effete rage on the part of the monopolists. Nevertheless it exhibits their utter ignorance of agriculture in a strong light.

First, it may be observed that in England comparatively few farmers hold leases at all; consequently the clause would be, as to them, inoperative. Then is it to be supposed that in six months after the enactment of the law, the farmer, who has embarked a large capital in his business, and who has arranged his plans for several years onward, will hastily determine to throw up his lease? Why, the real effects of Free Trade will not be known till February, 1849. Depend upon it the farmers jump to no such hasty conclusions as the monopolist landlords, who misrepresent them, would have believed. Except from peculiar causes, affecting individuals, there would be no farmers who would avail themselves of the power of surrendering their leases.

The farmers have already lost the apprehensions of Free Trade they once entertained, and are now anxious to get leases rather than give them up. They feel that new exertions and a difference of system may be necessary under Free Trade, and therefore they demand security of tenure, not so much to shield them from foreign competition as to protect them against their landlords. The Duke of Richmond says he shall offer to release his own tenants from their leases; and states that he did the same thing in 1842, but he forgot to tell the house that not a single tenant accepted the offer.

In contending for his sham clause, however, the monopolist duke made some admissions which tell rather awkwardly against the monopolists. He said:

"The tenant farmers of this country feel most strongly that this measure—which, I fear, must now pass this house—will very seriously diminish the price of their produce—and that they must naturally be anxious to be enabled to get rid of those engagements which have been entered into upon faith of Acts of Parliament—that protection should continue to be the policy of the Government of this country. My lords, it is no fault of theirs, for I must remind you, that in 1841, the farmers of this kingdom returned representatives to Parliament for the sole object, at all events for the great object, of maintaining protection to our domestic industry; and you cannot blame them, my lords, because some few of them may have been either seduced or converted. But it is surely very hard, my lords, when, after a farmer shall have entered upon a twenty or thirty years' lease of a farm when wheat was at from 50s. to 56s. a quarter, that that farmer shall, when wheat comes down to 40s. a quarter, be bound to carry on his lease. This, my lords, is very unfair."

Be it so, most sapient duke. But what say you of the fairness of those legislators who have promised the farmers prices for wheat, varying from 80s. a quarter in 1815, to 56s. in 1842, without the slightest power of performing such promises? When the law promised 80s., did not the price fall in October and November 1822, below 39s. per quarter?

How was it that the law of 1828, which was to secure to farmers at least 65s. a quarter, and induced them to enter into engagements "upon the faith of Act of Parliament" prices, left them in December, 1835, with an average price of 35s. 4d. a quarter?

So, in 1842, when the "Act of Parliament" promised 56s., the actual price was only about 44s.

Who then is to be taunted with deceiving the farmers and "consigning them to entire ruin,"—so far as the law can do so,—they who teach them to rely on such Act of Parliament promises, or the Minister, who now, though late, tells them that all such promises are vain things, idle impossibilities?

The answer is practically given by the fact that farmers are quietly preparing for the more natural and wholesome state into which their trade is about to be brought; and we believe that the coarse virulence, which the violent and feeble party, represented by the Duke of Richmond in the Lords and Lord George Bentinck in the Commons, have exhibited, arises from their consciousness that their influence over the farmers has been annihilated. That influence was based on a delusion now pretty well, and soon to be completely, seen through by those it has deceived.

ANTI-GAME-LAW MEETING.

FARMERS MUST HELP THEMSELVES.

It is difficult to conceive a law more obnoxious to the farmer than the game law, or a practice more injurious to his business than game preserving. And upon this point farmers are perfectly unanimous. They may differ on all other subjects, yet on this they will be found to agree. Game is the farmer's grievance. It is the badge of his social serfdom. It forms both an injury and an insult, and the effort by which he frees himself from this wrong will go far to emancipate him from the lingering habits of feudalism by which he is oppressed.

We have always said the farmers must stir themselves in order to obtain relief from the game nuisance; and we are right glad to find that the farmers of East Lothian have begun to move upon the subject. This is as it should be; the foremost farmers of Great Britain have taken the lead against the most intolerable evil by which agriculture is afflicted. The meeting consisted of proprietors and tenant farmers, and was called on a requisition signed by more than one hundred of the principal tenants of the district. It was held in the Court House of Haddington:

"Hugh Francis Caddell, Esq., of Cockenzie, was called to the chair. Among those present, in addition to the chairman, we observed the following:—Sir George Grant Suttie, Bart. of Balgone; John Martin, jun., Esq., Morham Bank; Provost Dodds, Haddington; Messrs. Waugh, Eweford; Johnston, Westfield; Miller, Gilchriston; Tweedie, Deuchray; Dodds, Pathend; Begbie, Queenstonbank; Burns, Bonnington; Bruce, Woughton; Hogg, Begbie; Miller, Newhouse; Hope, Fenton Barns; Shepherd, Gleghornie; Stevenson, Redside; Dodds, Nunra; Richardson, North Berwick Abbey; Mylne, Bolton; Stenhouse, Quarryford; Waterston, Balgonie Barns; Harvey, Stevenson Mains; Christie, Markle; Roughhead, Myreside; Russell, Beaunstone; Brodie, Fortune; Handyside, West Fenton; Ferme, Barney Mains; Henderson, Longniddry; Deans, Penstone; Hood, Woodhall; Howden, Traprairie; Howden, Boggs; Cuthbertson, Penkithland; Ritchie, Dunbar; Turnbull, Coulston Mains; Skirling, Luffness; Johnston, Westfield; Hepburn, Whittingham; Mylne, Luggate; Wilson, Sheriffside; Peacock, Papple; Ferme, Duncrahill; Learmouth, Fortune Bank; Todd, Castlemains; Rate, Lampockwell; Kilgour, Hoprig; Rate, Milton; Howden, Wintonhill; Henderson, Byres; Ainslie, Samuelstone; Skirling, Muirton; Pringle, Seggersdean; Bell, Townhead; Douglas, Athelstonmains; Welsh, Spott; Reid, Balloncrief; and many other tenant farmers."

The chairman, after reading the requisition, remarked that the names of the requisitionists made it plain that they were not actuated by any political opinion whatever, but simply by a desire to represent the oppressive system of the Game Laws. After observing upon the harshness of the law in general terms, he gave some particular instances:

"He might mention that of a small farmer in the centre of the Lammermoors. He had very great difficulty in bringing to maturity a crop of oats; and when he did succeed, he found that the moor game preferred his oats to the juniper berries. Well, one morning he took his gun, and killed two or three of these birds; but no sooner had he fired than a gamekeeper, who had secreted himself in the tenant's own premises, made his appearance, and gave immediate intimation to the Tax Office, when he was fined in the sum of 10l. and expenses; and all this for preserving his laboriously reared crop of oats from the ravages of these destructive birds."

Again:

"Another instance that he (Mr. Caddell) happened to have heard of happened to a tenant not far from Haddington. His crops being much destroyed by the excessive number of the rabbits, he received permission from his landlord to trap and snare them. One morning a hare got into the trap. The tenant's proceedings were watched by the gamekeeper of an adjoining property, who gave immediate information, and the result was as in the previous case; the farmer was fined in a heavy penalty. These circumstances showed the extreme harshness of the law."

And he most justly said:

"The fact was, that no sooner did the farmer take measures to frighten away the game from destroying his crops,

than another description of vermin, not much better than the other—he meant gamekeepers—made their appearance; and unfortunately these individuals were too much listened to by their employers, in the misrepresentations which they not infrequently made of what actually took place."

Mr. Hope, of Fenton Barns, whose good service in the cause of Free Trade is well known to our readers, followed. He had personally no complaint about game, but knowing the "incalculable mischief" and the demoralisation caused by game, he could not remain silent. He said:

"Had this matter been merely a question of pounds, shillings, and pence, betwixt landlords and tenants, I for one would not have been here to-day; but it has other, and, to me, far more interesting bearings, and I feel that if knowing to do good, and doing it not, to me it would be sin; besides. I consider it the duty of each and all of us to use our utmost endeavour to bring all laws more and more into harmony with the noblest conceptions of the highest minds. Why, what are these Game Laws but the arbitrary selection of certain wild birds and beasts by their legislators, which they declare to be game, for there is no inherent difference in the animals selected from many of those omitted, except, perhaps, they have chosen those most ravenous and destructive to crops. They might have included rats and hedgehogs with rabbits and hares, blackbirds with blackcocks, parrots and popinjays with partridges and pheasants, for all might have been 'tabooed' with equal justice."

Game are now styled property by preservers. But are they so till caught?

"Are they not bred on one estate, and too frequently fed on another? If they stray, can you go after them and bring them back? Are you liable in damages for not keeping them at home? Nothing of the kind. Oh; but they are the property of the person whose land they chance to be on for the time. What! they are your's just now; they fly over the hedge, or hop across the road, then they are another's, and thus our poor partridge may have belonged to some score of people during one forenoon (loud applause). Curious property!—very different from sheep or pigs, or barn-door fowls. If wild animals really are yours, put your brand on them—keep them at home, do not let them roam the country at large (hear, hear). But it is utterly ridiculous to expect that ordinary people ever look upon game as property in the usual acceptation of the word."

It was only a few years ago that game was legally made saleable, though it might before have been bought in every poulterer's shop.

And he added:

"What, I wonder, was the opinion of our legislators then, regarding this sort of property, which you durst neither buy nor sell, without being liable to penalties? Did the community at large view game as property, would bands of armed men sally forth at night to attack the well-guarded preserve in preference to the unprotected sheep fold, or the almost open hen-roost? It is a crying evil for which our legislators are seriously responsible, this attempt to confound right and wrong. They have no title to expect any law whatever to be respected, unless it carries on its forehead the broad impress of truth and justice, and which the law under consideration certainly does not."

Mr. Hope thus referred to a case which happened to one of his own men:

"I may tell you of a case which makes me indignant whenever I think of it. One of my men was prosecuted some years ago, for firing at a rabbit with a ball, when on his way to Linton to shoot for an eight-day clock on that high festival, Auld Hansel Monday. It was on a farm where his father resided; and not that he hit the vermin—he scarcely frightened it—for he had never fired a gun half a dozen times in his life, and I do not suppose he has touched one since, yet it cost him one-twelfth part of his year's earnings, which, to a working man on 10s. a-week, and with a wife and four children depending on him for bread, is no joke."

The tenants are not unwilling to keep a moderate stock of game:

"I am certain that it would be far better for them, as well as the whole community, were a tenant enabled to show his gratitude to a landlord fond of field sports, by voluntarily preserving for him a moderate head of game, as I am sure every tenant in the room would be happy to do, in place of being grateful, as some are at present, that they are not wholly eaten up. A friend has assigned that as a reason to me for not joining us to-day. He quite approved of our meeting; but if his laird chose to increase the game a little more, he asked what would become of him. I rejoice that we have cast the stone into the still lake; the circling wave of truth will extend, and be ever succeeded by another and another, until justice, love, and mercy take in the whole expanse."

Mr. Roughhead said:

"We assemble here in a constitutional manner to give expression to our sentiments regarding one of the most obnoxious laws that was ever placed upon the statute book of a free country. I oppose the Game Laws because they are oppressive and unjust in their principle, and in their spirit tyrannical, and have ever been a great bane to agriculture, and it is full time in this enlightened age that such a thorn were extracted from her side (hear, hear). I oppose the Game Laws because they are injurious to the interest of the landed proprietor. In many cases they have been the means of preventing agricultural improvements going forward, of keeping up a bad feeling, and causing much discontent to exist between the landlord and tenant, and preventing that harmony and co-operative spirit that ought ever to subsist between those contracting parties."

He thus referred to the position of the game-ridden farmer:

"I can conceive no case of hardship equal to that of the tenant farmer paying a high rent for his lands, spending his capital—wasting his time and talents in order to produce an abundant crop; and, at the very time when he expects to be paid for his toil, to see his fields run over with useless vermin, of game against whose ravages he is not entitled by law to protect himself; nor when he has sustained the injury,

to demand damages against the landlord who claims a right of property in the game. But the hardship of the tenant farmer has of late in many cases been made doubly hard by some proprietors preserving the game upon their estates, not as it was intended by the legislature when the Game Act was passed into a law, for affording the proprietor a fair day's sport, but in order to have the poulterers' shops well supplied; in fact, forcibly laying hold of the capital of their tenants, and justifying their proceedings under the shade of unjust and ill-defined Acts of Parliament."

The damage by game is enormous:

"I shall be bold enough to state in this meeting, where I can be so easily contradicted, that, throwing the amount of damage done by game to the crops of grass, turnips, oats, and barley, entirely upon the wheat crop, upon the average it is not under 10s. per acre. Now, if it is allowed that the average produce of that crop is seven bolls per acre, certainly the Game Laws puts a direct tax upon the staff of life to the extent of from one-fourth to three-eighths of a penny upon each four pound loaf that is consumed (applause). And for what is the people of this country so taxed? Certainly not for the preservation of life or property, or for any advantage to science, art, or education, but to give to a mere fraction of the population a most unchristian and barbarous amusement."

He thus vindicates the labourers from the imputations of game preservers:

"I have heard it objected against our proceedings that the tenant farmers will be in a worse position if the Game Laws were repealed, by having their fences destroyed and their flocks disturbed by every idle trades' lad in pursuit of sport; but did it never occur to those who have raised this objection that the Legislature could alter the law of trespass, and make it a criminal in place of a civil offence? But should the right of game be thrown open to all, I fear no loss. I form too high an opinion of the labouring class to think that for the mere purpose of procuring a good day's sport they will wantonly destroy the property of their neighbour (hear, hear). Yes; I have yet to learn that because a man is poor he is an inferior animal. I have also yet to know that because a man is poor he cannot possess proper feelings of honour."

And he addressed this argument to the protectionists:

"I regret to see so few landed proprietors attending this meeting. I must say that I think it inconsistent in the protectionist party not to give us their aid; for if they are anxious to protect native industry from the importation of foreign corn, they ought to consider it as great an evil to have native industry destroyed or weakened by the operation of the Corn Laws."

Sir George G. Suttie opposed the resolution on the ground that to abolish the Game Laws would be a confiscation of the property of the landlords, and that game would become common property; and he thought the resolution should be confined to hares and rabbits. Mr. Stevenson referred to the returns on this subject, which cannot be brought too often before the public. He said:

"I will refer you to the returns moved for by Mr. Mainwaring and Mr. Bright. The one is for the number of inquests and verdicts of the juries; the other is for the number of persons convicted for offences against the Game Laws. I consider these to be the most melancholy documents ever submitted to this country. From these I find that the number of deaths of gamekeepers was 42, from the year 1833 up to 2d April, 1844. The number of convictions at the assizes for the year 1833 was 152; at the quarter sessions 4877, making a total of 4929. Here you have something like 4529 persons made criminals annually for game. Are the people of Great Britain sensible that they have a budget to pay, with a frightful regularity, of fines, prisons, banishments, and murders, and all to protect them? Is this not a question that every one must have an interest in—the question of the expenses of convictions, of building jails, and the keeping and maintaining these prisoners, irrespective of the expenses of those who had been banished? Is this only a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence? There is, however, another question of a more serious nature, namely, that of engendering crime."

After commenting on some of the statements in Mr. Grantley Berkeley's pamphlet, he spoke of the necessity of total abolition:

"If game could be made property, and if you could identify them when they went astray, and prove them to be the property of a particular person or spot of ground, this might be all very well; but seeing this is impossible, what is the next best course to adopt? Say, to secure to the tenant an equal right with the landlord to kill game. Now, this is at present quite in your power, for don't take land except under such conditions, and you require only to make your bargain accordingly. But observe, although the laws were altered to the extent of giving you an interest in the game, proprietors would at once state, as they do at present, 'There is my form of lease, and I will part with my property under no other condition.' I need not remind you that there have been hitherto no lack of tenants willing to take land upon almost any terms. The following are specimens of leases lately granted containing clauses in reference to the preservation of game: 'The said noble earl binds and obliges himself to use all due means for keeping down and destroying rabbits on the lands hereby let, and otherwise preventing the crops growing thereon being injured and consumed by rabbits, it being hereby specially provided and declared that the said tenant and his forebears shall not be at liberty to kill or otherwise destroy rabbits or any game; and except what damage may arise from an undue fulfilment by the said noble earl of the foresaid obligation undertaken by him, he the said TENANT RENOUNCES ALL RIGHT OF DAMAGES FROM GAME OF EVERY SORT OR KIND.' Here is another copy of a lease: '1st, If said tenant keeps a dog, he must be tied up. 2d, If said tenant has a gun, he is bound by his lease not to put ball into it. 3d, His lordship's gamekeeper has a right to examine said gun at his pleasure.' After denouncing this treatment of the tenant, Mr. Stevenson said—I was rather struck with the observations of a factor upon this same agitation; he stated to me that I was wrong in stirring in the matter, for that there

never was yet an alteration in the Game Laws which did not make them more stringent. Mr. Stevenson, in conclusion, called upon the meeting to beware of agitating merely for tenants' right to the game stopping short of total abolition of the Game Laws. It was only by doing that that they would obtain the support of the rest of the community. It required only public attention to be directed to the subject till the majority of the people would demand the total abolition of the Game Laws."

Mr. Sheppard referred to the reluctance with which farmers had moved in the matter:

"Indeed, although throughout Scotland and England the suffering to the farmers from this source has been so cruel, and so long, if I mistake not, this is the first public meeting of farmers that ever was convened on this subject. There is no class of men in any other department of business that would have suffered in silence so long. Not that I would infer from this that we possess any patient merit—if merit it be—beyond other classes. I only mention it to show with what timid reluctance we ever venture on any political measure that may be offensive to our landlords."

The preservation of game is inconsistent with modern husbandry:

"The landlords proclaim every day that all this is at an end—that your connection and holding with them is of a purely commercial character (hear)—that long continuance upon their grounds, though a long life has been spent there, though the landlord has never lost by you, is matter of no account, and there is to be nothing founded on this circumstance—and that when the expiry of your lease shall come, this is a matter of no moment whatever—and that if a stranger from the other end of the island shall offer a shilling an acre more than you, that stranger shall have the farm (hear, hear, and applause). Now, I am far from presuming to object to this. No one will deny the perfect right of the landlords to do this. I do not even say that they are wrong in doing this—in insisting that their whole connection with their tenants shall be of a purely commercial character. But what we would presume to insist on here is, that if the connection is to be a commercial one, it shall be worthy of the name—it shall be one in good faith—that it shall not be infringed indefinitely by the one party without the possibility of recompense to the other. We think that, through the instrumentality of those enactments which we are met here to-day to protest against, that the rights of the tenants are frequently, and to a most serious extent, infringed upon. It is a fact that they have been ruinously infringed upon by the Game Laws. It is a fact that, throughout the country generally, there has been sore and galling annoyance, and loss, and wide ruin inflicted through game—for which no recompense is allowed, and the damages caused by which can never be properly valued, even if it were allowed (hear, hear). It is notoriously the fact, that there has been manifested no proper anxiety by the landlords generally to prevent the tenants' suffering from this cause, but rather the contrary. For if a tenant complains of excess of game (and you are all aware with what unwillingness he ventures to do this, and how much he will submit to rather than run the risk of displeasure in consequence); but if he does so complain, you all know there is but little readiness to inquire into the case, for the honourable purpose of redressing the grievance (hear). But, on the other hand, if a tenant has been reported against by a gamekeeper for interfering with the game, how instant and angry a measure will find its way to the tenant."

Landlords and tenants do not stand on equal terms:

"The landlord is guarded at all points by law against the machinations of his tenant; but the tenant is not guarded by law against the abusive exercise of his privileges by the landlord. In regard to this matter of game in particular, the tenantry are left wholly in the power of every thoughtless heir who may be cast up to rule over them. It is astonishing that the landlords choose to have an imputation of this sort resting on them—that they will for a moment submit to the dishonourable allegation of soring their vermin upon their disabled tenantry."

The damage by game can't be fully ascertained:

"You hear people talking of valuing the damage caused by game. The injury so caused can never be properly valued. Such valuation at the best is no other than a vague guess, even if we were allowed to get remuneration in this way. And if tenants were all in a condition to insist strictly on their rights, this process of estimating damages would have to be renewed every season, and probably more than once in a season; but it is a fact that the Court of Session has never yet granted recompense for injury caused by game; and if they did, it is absurd to think that the tenants are to be for ever fighting with the landlords in this way. In the vast majority of cases, they are unable or afraid to do so. Rather than risk disputes of this fatal nature, we all know what withering injury will be submitted to by the weaker party. They never can, and they never will, fight with their landlords in this manner. There is no remedy but repeal. It is undoubtedly for the good of all parties, and the peace and profit of all parties, of the landlord as well as of the tenant, that these vindictive enactments should be utterly and for ever repealed (applause). We have heard the statement of Sir George Grant Suttie, that the repeal of the Game Laws would be equal to a confiscation of property. I deny that, in point of fact, game is private property at all (applause). Every one knows, although not in their leases, that game is public property; and therefore cannot be confiscated. But, says Sir George, unless you are prepared to substitute something for these laws, you ought not to go the length of proposing their repeal. Sir George, in making this statement, overlooks the important fact that these laws, from their very nature, do not require any substitute at all; and why? Because they are an unmitigated evil (hear). I am confident that the majority of this meeting do not think that they require any substitute whatever."

And he added:

"The only case resembling injury from their repeal is that of the proprietors of highland districts, whose income from leasing the right of shooting is often as great as from farming the land. But his rights and whole interests could be as well guarded by means of the law of trespass as by means of the Game Laws."

What are the means used for getting rid of the Game Laws? Mr. Sheppard says:

"These means are of two kinds. We may content ourselves simply with petitioning, or we may in addition to this, in our respective districts, use what influence we can in the event of elections to Parliament, to obtain the return of candidates whose sentiments harmonise with our own, and this last is the mode especially recommended in the resolution. But the question is, when shall we get a representative who shall subscribe to these terms?"

But it is said that if you demand such a strict pledge on the Game Laws, no fitting member of the aristocratic body will so far violate fashion as to submit to come forward on such terms. I am not of this opinion. But if it shall so turn out that, while they are ready to pledge themselves to any amount to the parties who are in the possession of power and patronage in London, they shall nevertheless scorn to acquiesce in so moderate—I submit so reasonable—a request on the part of their constituents, as that which we now presume to insist on, they certainly do not deserve either the name or the situation of representatives at all. And, perhaps, by far the best thing that could happen to stamp with effect the resolution to which this meeting has now come, would be that of our using the freedom of selecting one of our own class, on whose hearty and faithful advocacy of this and other good measures we could securely rely. He would, indeed, be the first member of our class that ever entered St. Stephens. I say, perhaps, by far the best way of producing a strong moral effect in the country on this question, would be to have to resort to the novel and heretofore unheard-of impudence of selecting for the important county of East Lothian a farmer for once to be its representative in Parliament till this question shall be disposed of. But whoever should be selected, let us at all events show to the country that we are in earnest in this matter, by making choice of no one whose opinions on this subject are in the smallest degree doubtful (hear, hear). In reference to the class called gamekeepers, who have been so often alluded to, there was an expression used by the late Sir John Dalrymple, of North Berwick, which deserves to be quoted on this occasion. Sir John said that he did not know what use gamekeepers were for an estate, except to breed, not game, but mischief, between landlord and his tenant (applause)."

The Game Laws can't be modified:

"Although this is the first meeting of farmers that I suppose was ever assembled in Scotland for such a purpose—and though a few anonymous and stray appeals in the public prints, and now and then a poorly signed petition to Parliament, are the only forms in which our complaints have yet been put before the public, there is perhaps no question, nevertheless, on which the public mind is more fully matured and ripened than on this, as to what should be done with the Game Laws. It is no longer a question with other classes of the community, any more than it is with us, as to what should be done with them. Modify them! Why not modify them? What modified good have they done? They have worn down the farmer. They have demoralised the labourer. They have wrought no good. They have produced nothing but distress, and dissension, and crime, and misery. And why should we modify them? And in the public mind, as I have said, this question is already disposed of;—repeal—instant repeal—without any mistake."

This is a good beginning; and we trust this example will be followed in every county in Great Britain.

The farmers must resolve to vote at the next election against every man who preserves game, and who will not pledge himself to a total repeal of the Game Laws.

We deem this question so important to the farmer, that, notwithstanding the length of our extracts, we reprint the resolutions. Let others adopt them:

"I. That it is the opinion of this meeting that the Game Laws are unjust in principle—cruel and oppressive in their penalties—and that their whole working is fraught with great moral and social evil to the community.

"The resolution being put to the meeting, was unanimously adopted—Sir Geo. Grant Suttie dissenting.

"II. That a greater bane to agriculture than those laws can scarcely be conceived, as by their means the landlord retains power to consume and destroy the crops on the lands which he lets for arable husbandry. Thus they have ever been, and must continue to be, the source of dissensions and unkind feeling betwixt landlord and tenant—depriving the latter of every motive for exertion, and too frequently even of the means of improving his farm.

"III. That these laws being iniquitous in principle, and tyrannical in operation, it is hopeless to attempt their amendment. It is the opinion of this meeting, therefore, that they should be utterly abolished.

"IV. That in order to carry into practical operation the above resolutions, this meeting determines to use its influence to obtain the return of Parliamentary candidates whose sentiments harmonise with their own on this most important question. It further resolves to form an association to receive subscriptions, and to use such other means as shall be deemed proper for effecting the repeal of those injurious enactments.

"The meeting then named the following committee, for the purpose of carrying these resolutions into effect, viz.:—Mr. Cadell, of Cockenzie; Messrs. Miller, Newhouse; Harvey, Stevenson; Watterston, Balgobarns; Hope, Fentonbarns; Ronghead, Myreside; Henderson, Longmiddy; Myle, Bolton; Stevenson, Redside; Shepherd, Glegborne; and Ainslie, Samuelston; with power to add to their number—five a quorum. Mr. Cadell, convener.

"The meeting direct these resolutions to be published in the *Edinburgh Courier*, *Scotsman*, *Witness*, and *North British Advertiser*, and *Mark Lane Express*.

"Upon the motion of Mr. Watterston, Balgobarns, the cordial thanks of the meeting were voted to Mr. Cadell for his conduct in the chair. H. FRAS. CADELL, P.S.

"The committee appointed Mr. Alexander Matheson, writer, Haddington, their secretary and treasurer, with power to receive subscriptions."

IMPORTATION OF GOLD FROM RUSSIA.—The Victory steam ship, William Pedder, commander, belonging to the London and St. Petersburg Steam-ship Company arrived in the river on Wednesday last, from St. Petersburg, after an unprecedented passage of seven days and a few hours, including the usual detention at Copenhagen in clearing the Sound. She brings with her, besides a general cargo and 20 passengers, 380,000l. in gold coin and bars, exceeding by 100,000l. the quantity imported last month by the Company's vessel the Maguet.

CONDITION OF THE PEASANTRY IN DORSETSHIRE.

(From the Correspondent of the Times.)

In pursuance of the duty assigned me, I shall to-day lay before you the result of my inquiries in Stourpaine, a parish about two miles distant from Blandford, and forming part of the district to which the public attention has been drawn.

The first feature which attracts the attention of a stranger on entering the village, is the total want of cleanliness which pervades it. A stream, composed of the matter which constantly escapes from pigsties and other receptacles of filth, meanders down each street, being here and there collected into standing pools, which lie festering and rotting in the sun, so as to create wonder that the place is not the continual abode of pestilence—indeed the worst malignant fevers have raged here at different times. It may be sufficient to add for the present that the inside of the cottages in every respect corresponds with the external appearance of the place. I will, however, come to the consideration of that point hereafter.

As the subject of "grist" will form a prominent feature in this letter, it is necessary that I should give an explanation of the term. "Grist," or "tailings" as it is usually called in other counties, is that portion of the wheat which remains after the best, which is designed for the market, has been separated from the mass. It then undergoes a second separation, and the dirt and useless stuff is removed. It is the custom in several parts of the county for the farmer to allow his labourer to take a bushel of this article as often as his wants require it, at 1s. below the market price of the best wheat. This is one of the "advantages," as it is termed, of the labourer, and I am ready to admit that when conducted on fair principles, it may deserve the name. My researches in Stourpaine have, however, taught me that in that village at least, so far from "grist" being an advantage to the labourer, he pays for it a sum equal to, if not exceeding, the price of the best wheat, and in support of this assertion I will now enter into an examination of the "grist" system as practised in this parish.

As the wages in this place, in very few instances, exceed 7s. per week, it may readily be seen that under such circumstances the labourer is often without food or money. What is to be done? He cannot allow his wife and children to starve. The shopkeeper will not trust him. In such a place the shopkeeper himself is generally a needy man, and his customer has 7s. a week and a family. He takes the only course open to him. He goes to his master, and, as the phrase is, "gets a grist," the price of which is generally 7s. a bushel, which is stopped from his wages on the ensuing Saturday. In some few instances I have found the price to be 6s. 6d. per bushel. Thus it will be seen that in most cases the whole amount of his wages is at the end of the week withheld in payment for his bushel of "grist."

I have before me a weekly return of the price of the best wheat in Blandford market for the last two years, ending Lady-day, 1846, by which it appears that in 1844 the average price of a bushel of wheat was 5s. 11½d., and in 1845, 6s. 7d. Thus it is clear that the labourer, pressed by want and necessity, of which the farmer takes an undue and dishonest advantage, pays for this second or third-rate article a sum exceeding the average price of the best corn during the last two years. So much for the price of "grist;" the quality now demands attention.

A few days since I had a conversation with a miller who resides and carries on his trade near the place, and to whom the labourer is in the habit of bringing his "grist" to be ground. I will give you his description of it, as nearly as I can recollect, in his own words:

"Some of the stuff they bring is very bad; I do not think it is worth 3s. a bushel. I don't much like having anything to do with it, for I am obliged to keep a separate pair of stones to grind it. If it is ground by the same stones that I use for the finer sort of wheat, it fouls the better sort and spoils it."

With this remark of the miller's I close my observation for the present on "grist" and its "advantages."

Although it must be apparent to every one how dreadfully insufficient the usual amount of wages in these parts must be for the support of a labouring family, the following extract from Mr. Austin's "Report on the Counties of Wilts, Dorset, Devon, and Somerset" (p. 59), will perhaps render that clearer which was but too obvious before. A gentleman of Wiltshire (his remarks will apply equally well to this county), in his examination, says:

"The wages are certainly insufficient. Even when there are only two children it requires good management to keep them decently out of 8s. a week. Take any standard of comparison, and it will show the insufficiency. Perhaps the fairest is the cost of the paupers' food in the Union workhouses, where the articles are such as usually form the poor man's food at home—bacon, bread, and potatoes, without beer or other luxuries, and where the quantity is supposed to be absolutely necessary to keep the inmates in health. If the labourer has not so much food as the pauper, he ought to have. In our Union the cost of each individual, taking the average of men, women, and children, is 1s. 6d. for food only; and buying by tender and in large quantities, we buy at least 10 per cent. cheaper than the labouring man can. But without considering this advantage, apply the scale to the poor man's family. A man, his wife, and two children will require, if properly fed, 6s. weekly, then rent, at least 1s., and fuel will very nearly swallow up the remainder. But there are yet many things to provide—soap, candles, clothes, and shoes. Shoes to a poor man are a serious expense, as he must have them strong, costing about 12s. a pair, and he will need at least one pair in the year. When I reckon up these things in detail, I am always more and more astonished how the labourer contrives to live at all."

Another witness says:

"I never could make out how they live with their present earnings, after examining accurately the accounts of their necessary weekly expenditure, and trying to compare it with their weekly earnings, in all cases that I have tried their expense seems to exceed their earnings. This problem several of us have tried, but without success."

In the above extracts a man is supposed to be earning 8s. a week, which is to support a family of two children. In Stourpaine unfortunately the families are generally much larger, and the rate of wages a shilling a week lower. The conclusion which, therefore, must necessarily be drawn is, that during a part of the week at least the labourer must be starving. A labourer's wife, in the course of my progress through the village, told me she had eaten nothing since the previous morning. It was about 11 A.M. when she gave me the information.

Another fruitful source of misery, as well as immorality, is the great inadequacy of the number and size of the houses to the number of the population, and the consequently crowded state of their habitations, which in Dorsetshire generally, and in Stourpaine particularly, afford the most limited accommodation. It is by no means an uncommon thing for the whole family to sleep in the same room, without the slightest regard to age or sex, and without a curtain

or the slightest attempt at separation between the beds. In one instance which came under my notice, a family, consisting of nine persons, occupied three beds in the same bedroom, which was the only one the house afforded. The eldest daughter is 23 years of age, the eldest son 21. I am enabled to give you the dimensions of the room into which these nine persons are nightly crammed. It is 10 feet square, not reckoning two small recesses by the sides of the chimney, about 18 inches deep. In some few instances, when circumstances admitted of it, I have seen most ingenious and laudable attempts to effect a barrier between the sexes, but in general there does not appear to exist any anxiety on the subject; and indeed in most instances the size and form of the rooms, and the number of beds required for the accommodation of the family, render all such attempts futile. It will be easily imagined that the nightly and promiscuous herding together of young people of both sexes is productive of the most demoralising effects, and it is no matter of wonder that there are more illegitimate children in Stourpaine than in any village of equal size in the Union of Blandford. In case of a death occurring in a family, should there be but one bedroom, which, I think, generally the case, the inmates of the house are compelled to pass their nights in the same room with the corpse until the time of burial. A gentleman informed me that he once inquired whether, in such cases, there was not much difficulty in reconciling the children to such an arrangement. The answer he received, from the deep tone of philosophy which pervades it, is particularly deserving of attention:

"Why, sir, in such cases we let the children get dead asleep before we take them to bed, and in the morning we pull them out of bed and hurry them down stairs before they are properly awake. It is worse for the grown folks than for them."

The rent of these hovels vary, with few exceptions, from 1s. a week up to 3l. and even 4l. per annum; but it should here be stated, that the rent of all cottages belonging to the chief landed proprietor have lately been considerably reduced.

It may be useful to give a few examples of the miserable and degraded state in which the inhabitants of this village pass their lives. I should premise that every case came under my own personal observation, and that I generally obtained my information from the labourer's wife, but sometimes from himself.

Silas Upward.—Has 7s. a week, out of which house rent takes a shilling weekly. There are seven in family. This man's house was a miracle of littleness. John Allen.—Has eight in family; wages 7s. a week; house-rent, 3l. per annum. William Hew.—Has six children, all under 14 years of age; wages, 8s. a week; rent, 3l.; one bedroom, in which all the family sleep; pays 7s. for grist. Robert Hayter.—Wages, 7s.; gives 7s. for grist; has four children living, and has buried five; rent, 1l. 5s. a year. George Ball.—Has six children under 12 years of age; wages, 7s. a week; pays 7s. for grist; one bedroom. James Ainsworth.—Pays 4l. rent; wages, 7s.; has six in family; the eldest girl is 15 years of age, and the eldest boy 14; all these sleep in one room; pays 6s. 9d. for grist. —Jeans.—Has 11 in family; two bedrooms in the house; in the first the husband, wife, and six daughters sleep; the eldest daughter will soon be 20; in the smaller room three boys occupy the same bed, the eldest of whom is 19, the next 16, and the youngest 7 years of age; wages, 8s.; rent, 2l. William Jeans.—Family consists of seven persons; there is one bedroom, which contains three beds, in one of which the husband and wife sleep; the second is occupied by three boys, the eldest of whom is 15; and the third by two girls, of the respective ages of 19 and 16; pays 2l. rent; wages, 7s.

These are a few of the numerous examples I am enabled to produce, but I think these are amply sufficient to illustrate the horrible mode of existence which prevails here. I could also produce instances of the most frightful depravity which it is evident must be the inevitable consequence of this disgusting and indiscriminate herding together of so many persons of both sexes into one common and confined sleeping apartment, but I prefer suppressing them, more especially as they may be easily imagined. The want of proper ventilation in these houses must be to the last degree detrimental to the health of the inhabitants; the atmosphere, especially of the sleeping apartments, to an unpractised nose is almost unsupportable. It is perhaps worthy of remark that dishes, plates, and other articles of crockery, seem almost unknown; there is, however, the less need for them, as grist bread forms the principal, and I believe only kind of food which falls to the labourer's lot. In no single instance did I observe meat of any kind during my progress through the parish. The furniture is such as may be expected from the description I have given of the place—a rickety table and two or three four-legged chairs generally forming the extent of the upholstery. Want, famine, and misery are the features of the village, and yet I am credibly informed that the peasant of the Vale of Blackmore and the western parts of the county is as hungry, emaciated, and squalid a being as the denizen of Stourpaine.

From the picture of a Dorsetshire parish, it may be readily gathered that apathy and indifference on the part of the landed proprietor, and the grasping and closefisted policy of the farmer, are the causes of the prevailing distress. The default of one is apparent in his neglect to provide proper habitations in which the labourer may bring up his family in comfort and decency. In no county, notwithstanding the universal increase of population, is the want of new cottages so apparent, and the neglect of the landlord, in this point at least, so conspicuous. The latter, in withholding from the man who serves him a just and reasonable reward for his services, is acting neither wisely nor honourably. Both seem to have forgotten, or at least to have shut their eyes to the undoubted fact, that one of the surest methods of consulting the public advantage is to secure to the lower class comfort and competence.

DUBLIN, JUNE 21.—THE HARVEST—POTATO DISEASE.—Further accounts have been received, of the extension of the disease amongst the early kinds of potatoes, which had entirely escaped the pestilence last year. The disease has appeared, in the most unequivocal manner, in the vicinity of Dublin. At Roebuck, two miles from this city, is a field of potatoes, a portion being sown with early bangors, of the kidney kind. The steward of the owner had previously reported the breaking out of disease amongst this description. The leaves were quite withered, and vegetation seemed entirely destroyed. On digging out, the disease was quite manifest, a brownish spot appeared on the side of the tuber, and on cutting it, the interior, down to the heart, was corroded by the disease. The blight commenced at the end of the side, and has been moving upwards. These potatoes were sown from excellent and perfectly sound seed.

REVIEW.

The Philosophy of Magic Prodiges and apparent Miracles. By A. T. Thomson, M.D. London: Bentley.

This very interesting work is taken from the French of Eusebe Salverte, but with so many alterations, both of omission and addition, that it has fair pretensions to originality. Salverte's theory is that the prodigies recorded as miracles by ancient writers may be generally received as facts, and that they may be explained by supposing that the priests and magicians were in possession of a scientific secret which enabled them to produce phenomena that to the uninitiated passed for miracles. Let us take a pretty notorious instance.

"It is often related in ancient history, that distinct words have been uttered by a child at the moment of its birth; that trees' also and statues have spoken; and that sounds have been spontaneously uttered in the sombre gloom of a temple. The phenomena of ventriloquism affords a satisfactory explanation for many of these stories, but not for all of them. It is, therefore, more natural to admit that these sounds, the origin of which is not perceptible, are the effects of art; and to attribute these to the invention of the Androides, which, although, in our own times, explained in well-known works, yet has, under the name of the Invisible Girl, excited the admiration of the vulgar, and even of those who are unwilling to class themselves among the ignorant. Questions are addressed, in a low tone, to a doll, or a head made of card-board or of metal, or even to a glass-box; in a short time replies are heard which appear to proceed from the inanimate object. Acoustics teach us the methods which enable a person, at some distance, to hear and to be heard as distinctly as if he occupied the place whence the doll apparently speaks. It is not at all a modern invention; for more than two centuries have elapsed since Porta explained the principles of this invention in his *Natural Magic*; but, in more ancient times, its principles were kept secret and only the wonders performed by it presented for the admiration of the multitude.

"Towards the end of the fourteenth century, a speaking head, made of earthenware, excited in England the astonishment of the curious. The one made by Albertus Magnus, in the thirteenth century, was of the same material. Gerbert, who under the name of Sylvester the Second, occupied the papal throne from the years 999 to 1003, constructed a brazen head possessing a similar property. This masterpiece of art was the cause of his being accused of magic; perhaps the accusation was not unfounded, if they applied the same meaning to the word as we do; it was the result of science concealed from the knowledge of the common people."

Salverte assigns very strong reasons for believing that the ancients were acquainted with the practice of distillation, and that ardent spirits were employed in the mysteries of these temples. On this point, Dr. Thomson makes some acute remarks, which deserve to be extracted:

"In the opinion of the Editor, the reasoning of our author as to the introduction of the art of distillation into Asia Minor, Etruria, and Greece, from Hindostan, is by no means necessary in order to account for the knowledge of ardent spirits by the priesthood, and, their employment in some of the mysteries of the temples. It is a well known fact, that there is no variety of the human race, of however low a grade, that has not some means of inducing intoxication, by means of beverages. In the Friendly Islands, when Captain Cook first visited them, the natives made an intoxicating beverage, by chewing the root of the Kava plant, and, mixing the juice thus extracted with water. The Tartars make Araka, a strong liquor, from the fermented milk of the cow and the horse: in Egypt Araki is the produce of the date, and in India that of the flowers of the Madhuca tree (*Bassia butyracea*). The Siamese become intoxicated with lau, made from rice: the Chinese with show-choo, a species of brandy, distilled from the lees of mandarin, a rice wine; the Mexican on a spirit made from pulque, the fermented juice of the *Agave Americana*; and the Kamshatkains on Slutkaia trava, a spirit made from a sweet grass, and another from the juice of the whortle berry, mixed with that of the *Amanita Muscaria*. Now all inebriating liquors, however produced, and whether obtained from vegetable or from animal substances, derive their inebriating properties from alcohol; and, if that opinion be admitted, it is easy to conceive that as, when these liquors were heated or boiled, they must consequently have become weaker, and lost much of their intoxicating properties, those who observed this effect would be led to suppose that something was driven off with the vapour during the boiling, and without this the liquors ceased to intoxicate. The natural result of such an observation would be an attempt to regain this important ingredient, by condensing the vapour; and the possibility of doing this would be observed almost as early as the discovery of its being carried off by the vapour: hence the first step to the performance of the process of distillation. It is, therefore, probable that the discovery of ardent spirits is coeval with civilization; and that the process of procuring them was known in many countries, without being communicated from other nations; and, consequently, must have been familiar in the temples, the repositories of all the science and learning of antiquity."

The effects produced by intoxicating liquids in kindling enthusiasm are best illustrated by the history of the Assassins, of which Dr. Thomson gives a brief summary:

"The followers of Hassan were bound to the most rigid obedience to the precepts of Islam, or Abdallah Maimon, the projector of the sect. It is unnecessary here to describe the rules which were requisite to be practised by the aspirants, proselytes to the faith of the society. Assassination was an obligation on the Ismailite Fedavee, one of the divisions of the sect; any one of whom, ordered by a superior to assassinate a stranger, was obliged to obey; and, in the performance of the order, the wretched Fedavee firmly believed he was promoting the cause of truth. It has been supposed that the name Assassins, given to the society, originated in this obligation; but the appellation is derived, according to M. De Sacy, from the Oriental term *Hashishcen*, corrupted by the Crusaders into Assassins. This term implies takers of Hashiché, a species of hemp, from which an intoxicating drug was compounded, which the Fedavee took previously

to their engaging in their daring enterprises; and which procured for them the delicious visions of Paradise, promised to all the followers of the Sheikh-el-Jebel. This Paradise was typified on earth, according to Marco Paulo, who travelled over the East in the thirteenth century, by gardens of the most luxurious description, stored with the most delicious fruit and fragrant flowers and shrubs, and containing palaces inhabited by exquisitely beautiful and highly-accomplished damsels, clothed in the richest dresses, and educated to display every grace and fascination that could captivate the senses.

"The Chief, in discoursing of Paradise to his followers, persuaded them that he had the power of granting admission to it; and to prove the truth of his assertion, he caused a potion of a soporific kind to be administered to ten or twelve of them at a time, and when they were sound asleep, he had them conveyed to the palaces in the garden. On awaking from their sleep, their senses were struck with the beauty and splendour of every object upon which their eyes rested; their ears were ravished with the most harmonious voices; and their fond glances at the lovely damsels were returned with the most alluring caresses; until, truly intoxicated with the excess of enjoyment, they believed themselves actually in Paradise. After a time they were again thrown into sleep, and carried out of the garden. They were questioned before the whole Court as to where they had been, and what they had seen; and having detailed all the pleasures they enjoyed, the Chief assured them that those who yielded implicit obedience to him should inherit such a Paradise for ever.

"The effects of such an imposture display, most strikingly, the lengths to which credulity and superstition will conduct mortals. The following anecdote powerfully elucidates this remark. 'An Ambassador from the Sultan Malek Selah having come to Alamoot to demand submission and obedience of the Sheikh, Hassan received him in a hall in which he had assembled several of his followers. Making a sign to one youth, he said, 'Kill thyself!' Instantly the young man's dagger was plunged into his own bosom. To another he said, 'Fling yourself down from the wall.' In an instant his shattered limbs were lying in the castle ditch. Then turning to the terrific envoy, he exclaimed—'I have seventy thousand followers who obey me after this fashion. This is my answer to your master.' These victims died in the full conviction that they were immediately to pass into that sensual Paradise, of which they had received a foretaste in the gardens of the Sheikh."

The influence of imitation in propagating and supporting fanatical delusions and similar hallucinations is thus elucidated:

"A thousand instances might be brought forward to demonstrate the influence of imitation. One of the most remarkable was the dancing mania which prevailed all over Europe in the fourteenth century, and which actually grew into a real epidemic. It is only requisite to relate two or three instances of more recent date in this kingdom. At a cotton manufactory, at Holden Bridge, in Lancashire, a girl, on the 15th of February, 1787, put a mouse into the bosom of another girl, who was thereby thrown into convulsions, which lasted for twenty-four hours. On the following day, six girls, who had witnessed these convulsions, were affected in a similar manner, and on the 17th six more. The alarm became so great, that the whole work was stopped, under the idea that some particular disease had been introduced in a bag of cotton opened in the house. On the 18th three more and on the 19th eleven more girls were seized. Three of the whole number, namely twenty-four, lived two miles from the factory, and three were at another factory at Clitheroe, about five miles off, but who were strongly impressed with the idea of the plague, as the convulsions were termed, being caught from the cotton. Dr. Sinclair relieved all the cases by electrifying the affected girls. The convulsions were so strong, as to require four or five persons to hold the patients, and to prevent them from tearing their hair and dashing their heads on the floor or on the walls.

"Upwards of a century ago, a woman in Shetland, labouring under epilepsy, was attacked with paroxysms of the disease in the church; the result was, that many adult females and some children became affected in a similar manner; and the disease has continued to occur very frequently, ever since, during divine service. When Dr. Hibbert visited the Island of Unst, and was attending the kirk of Balnasta, a female shriek was heard; but the person was carried out by the desire of the clergyman, who also requested any woman, who felt that she might be similarly affected, to leave the church. Dr. Hibbert says, 'On leaving the kirk, I saw females writhing and tossing about their arms, on the green grass.'"

Most of our readers will remember that the Roman historians declare that Numa, their second king, was instructed by certain Etrurian deities in the art of drawing down the lightning from heaven, and rendering it harmless, but that Tullus Hostilius, his successor, was destroyed in a similar attempt. Salvete thus explains the matter:

"To render lightning less hurtful, and to make it descend without danger from the bosom of the clouds, was, both in effect and in end, obtained by Franklin's beautiful discovery, as well as by the religious experiment repeated many times with success by Numa. Tullus Hostilius was less fortunate. 'They relate,' says Titus Livy, 'that this Prince, when perusing the notes left by Numa, found among them some instructions on the secret sacrifices offered to Jupiter Elicius. He attempted to repeat them; but in his preparations for, or celebration of them, he deviated from the sacred rite; and being thus exposed to the anger of Jupiter, aroused by a defective ceremony (*sollicitudo prævia religione*), he was struck by lightning, and consumed in his own palace.'"

"An ancient annalist, quoted by Pliny, explains this event much more explicitly, and justifies the liberty I have taken in deviating from the sense commonly given to the words of Livy by his translators. 'Guided by Numa's books, Tullus undertook to invoke the aid of Jupiter by the same ceremonies employed by his predecessor. But having performed imperfectly the prescribed ceremony (*parum rite*), he perished, struck by thunder.' Instead of the term ceremony, if we substitute the word experiment, we shall perceive that the fate of Tullus was similar to that of Professor Reichman. In 1753 this learned man was killed by lightning while repeating, with too little caution, one of Franklin's experiments."

We think it much more likely that the Etrurian priests were acquainted with some explosive compound similar to gunpowder, of which many are known to exist, and that Tullus Hostilius fell a victim to want of caution in its use. There can, how-

ever, be little doubt that many mechanical, chemical, and even electrical combinations which pass for modern discoveries were tentatively known to priests and wonder-workers of ancient times, and were kept profoundly secret as a means of working on the credulity of the people. But we think that Salvete has carried his theory too far, and has not made sufficient abatement for the exaggerations of ignorance in the accounts given of prodigies. Lane has very ably shown that the wonders related in the voyages of Sinbad the sailor are mostly exaggerations of real phenomena in the Eastern seas. The tale of the "Three Black Crows" is more than fulfilled when the superstitious give an account of what has actually passed before their own eyes, and still more, when tradition gets hold of the prodigy, and repeats it with its usual habit of exaggeration. In the recent discussions on the Corn Bill we have found tales gravely told by those who pass for statesmen even more wild than those of the Arabian Nights. Aladdin's palace is not one whit more extravagant than the supernatural abundance of Tamboff, and Sinbad's Old Man of the Sea is but a tame invention when compared with the imaginary burdens on land of which we have heard so much. Had Salvete lived, he would have witnessed in our day a proof of his favourite theory, that occult sciences pass into real sciences so soon as protection is withdrawn.

Margaret Russell: an Autobiography. London: Longman and Co.

We know not whether this interesting narrative has had any foundation in fact, but there is an air of life and truth in the incidents, and a consistency in the characters, which we rarely find in works of pure imagination. The lady by whom the work is written may not have passed through the ordeals she has described, but she has so vividly delineated the feelings which such situations must produce, that we are persuaded she drew more from the experience either of herself or of some intimate acquaintance than from the simple suggestions of fancy. Margaret Russell describes herself as forced to seek refuge with a maternal aunt, under whose roof her mother dies. The character of this aunt is one which too many will recognise among their acquaintances:

"Although a person who, in her own opinion, exercised an important influence, both by precept and example, in her own immediate neighbourhood, yet so perverse were the principles upon which she acted, and so constantly were her efforts to inculcate lessons of piety counteracted by the method she took to impart them, that it would have been difficult to say what real good she did, or what specific purpose she fulfilled in the scale of being. She was one of those who are content to 'act religion instead of doing it.' Her love,—if indeed she could ever condescend to love what she termed 'corrupt humanity,'—was not heart-warm; there was no pulse of life in it. Her charity was the mere charity which ministers to the wants of the body, while it leaves those of the mind uncared for; and in this her means would not allow her to indulge. That a generous sympathy for the distress of the afflicted, generally, and a forbearance even towards those who are sufferers from the consequences of their own evil passions, were necessary portions of the creed she professed, seemed never to have occurred to her. If she visited the sick, she left the cottage of the labourer more desolate than she found it; for she gave only that of which the heart of the sufferer was full—prayer; while she took away that of which it is most barren—hope, the two-fold hope of the sinner against sinning, the hope of sympathy on earth and of mercy in heaven. If she entered the Sunday-school, it is true that the children were awed by her presence, that they put on a graver aspect, and lifted up their little voices in the Sabbath-song of praise with a more solemn intonation; but the image of the Deity in their minds was in a moment transformed from a God of love to a God of fear, by the sudden apparition of this—to them—severe herald of his displeasure.

"In her own household the same cold, harsh measures were pursued. For the house itself, a gloom seemed to rest on everything, animate and inanimate, within its walls. And as for the servants,—God help them! I pitied them from my heart. Like the inhabitants of Chorasin, they were driven to worship with the scourge. Not only their actions, but their words, their looks, their dress,—nay, if possible, their very thoughts, were ruled over with a strictness of supervision that would have done honour to an Inquisitor."

Another aunt who "had suffered persecution, and learned mercy," came to share Dorothea's protection with Margaret:

"Excluded from all sympathy where it should have been most abounding, the mourner, ever gentle and uncomplaining, instead of resenting a coldness which nevertheless she felt acutely, only turned with a more relying tenderness to the bosom ever ready to give sigh for sigh, and tear for tear. And now as time went on, beautiful was the affection which sprang up between the motherless child and the childless mother.

"I call her childless, for unchilded she was in a double sense, although her son yet remained to her; since, by of one those unaccountable turns and shifts in the strange machinery of fate, this child, at the very thought of whom her whole soul overflowed with tenderness, had been torn from her.

"Her husband, some time previous to the boy's birth, had exhibited unequivocal signs of insanity. His family termed these occasional aberrations, 'eccentricity of manner;' some hesitated not to attribute them to hereditary disease; while others, with more reason, supposed his derangement to arise from a local injury, the result of a severe attack of brain fever, from which he had never wholly recovered.

"As these symptoms increased in strength and frequency, the mania—for such in reality he was—began to evince an intolerable aversion to his unoffending wife. This at first showed itself merely in avoidance of her society. No sooner, however, was his son born, than, seizing the opportunity to

deal a cruel and deadly blow, he immediately made over the boy to the care of his own family; and, with the cunning natural to the insane, set about making a will, by which the mother was to be debarred from the presence or knowledge of her child until he should come of age. The reason he alleged—for he was still plausible enough to himself all the privileges of a person of sound mind—was, that women were, from want of capacity, unfit to have the guardianship of male children.

"Soon after this he died, utterly and hopelessly deranged. But the time of appeal was past.

"His family, tremulously alive to the taint of insanity resting upon their name, which it would have done had the validity of the document been called in question, acted up, in every point, to the instructions contained in it. And as the bereaved mother, the only person whose interest it was to contest the will, refrained from doing so, the wrong, as usual, prevailed, and injustice triumphed."

Alice was re-united to her son so soon as his majority allowed him to act on his own impulses; but her frail frame did not long sustain her struggles of feeling.

"It soon became evident to herself, although we were yet unconscious of the pang which awaited us, that nature was gradually sinking; and that, however she might rally for weeks, or even perhaps for months, the seal of death was no less assuredly set upon her brow.

"And now all the beauty and the truth, the trust, the devotedness of her woman's nature were daily and hourly developed. Although life was becoming every moment more endeared to her, not a complaint, not a murmur was ever heard from her lips, that could indicate how sorely she felt the doom which was to shut her out from it for ever. She was yet in the matronly prime of her years; and much as she had undergone, her feelings had never been deadened or unyouthed. She had not to sink into the grave with the comforting thought that she was laying down a burthen greater than she could bear; she had to go down to darkness with the thrilling consciousness of an increased power of enjoyment strengthening within her. The passage to the grave, too, was to be trodden alone, without the sympathy which smooths the bed of the dying. None knew but herself what was going on within. She did not regret this; she rejoiced at it; but not the less did she feel it. She assumed a cheerfulness which was but a mask for the melancholy that devoured her. Like the poor Hindoo, while writhing in the pangs of her self-imposed penance, she scattered flowers around her. She smiled; but her smiles were but as sun-rays upon the tomb: they might gladden and chase the thoughts of corruption from those who were without,—but she was within its shadow.

"Her whole thoughts were now directed to the future prospects of her son. Fortune he would have none, beyond the little she could bequeath him at her death. His father had been a younger brother, and brought up to the church. After passing his best years as a poor country curate, he eventually obtained a small living, barely sufficient for the maintenance of himself and family; and at his death his widow would have been left wholly unprovided for, but for the small patrimony which had been settled upon her at her marriage.

"It is true, that the uncle with whom Francis had been reared, himself childless, had always declared his intention of making him his heir; and, under this idea, had not educated him for any profession. But Sir Richard Bruce was a man of strong passions, haughty, and overbearing; and any offence, however unintentional, on the part of his nephew, might at once place him beyond the pale of his uncle's favour."

Alice died almost in the arms of Francis and Margaret—a circumstance which naturally developed and strengthened the growing affection of the cousins. Just at this crisis, however, Dorothea informs Margaret that she was not, as she believed, an orphan, but that her father was a convicted felon, sentenced to death for forgery, but allowed to escape with transportation for life. Her resolution not to involve her cousin in any portion of the disgrace attached to such a parent, and her self-devotedness in rejecting all his offers, are very powerfully portrayed, but a fresh trial is in store for her; the father secretly returns to England, lives in daily dread of being delivered up to justice as an escaped convict, and tries to drown his fears and his shame in the most degrading dissipation. She quits her aunt to share her father's poverty. It was at a time when pestilence ravaged some of those haunts of wretchedness in London, commonly called "rookeries," and we extract one picture of misery, such as London could alone produce, to illustrate what many still call "the short and simple annals of the poor."

"Day by day the pestilence increased. A constant cloud, deepening towards night into a fog, thick and stifling as an Egyptian plague, hung overhead. Silence, unbroken save by the everlasting toll of the death-bell, reigned within and without the dwellings of the dead and dying; while, amongst the survivors, the stupefaction of despair made them seem, as they walked abroad upon the earth, almost as corpse-like as the forms that rotted beneath; till the sleep of the living became more awful than the sleep of the dead.

"That such scenes should have an engrossing and absorbing interest for one who was but newly, as it were, rescued from the very grasp of death, is scarcely to be wondered at. It was something better than the mere vulgar craving for horrors, for excitement, that now led me to look intently upon the life that breathed,—or rather gasped, on every hand about my path. It is probable that I might, in happier days, have shrunk from such fellowship; but my present lot had cast me, as by a magic, into the darker places of the world,—among the stern and gaunt realities of life; and, emerging as I was, slowly, out of pain into a renewed existence, I paused and looked around me to see if out of that darkness, light might be struck.

"I was yet very feeble; weakened in body, and with scarcely the energy of mind needed for the formation of new plans or resolves for the future. My spirit for the time was broken; but still I longed for action, or rather for the capability of acting. It occurred to me that, subdued as I was, and unfit for any continued exertion of body or mind, I might still be of some use to the wretched beings I saw around me. Much as I had heard talked of poverty, I had

never till now met it face to face; never known more of its sting than belonged to the mere absence of wealth. Here a new chapter in the history of man was opened to me, and I could not pass it by unread,—dared not say to my own soul—“What is this page of humanity to thee?”

“Far from finding my advances repulsed when, on being once more able to move abroad, I sought the dwellings of those with whom I had a fellowship in suffering, my offers of personal assistance were, in most cases, gratefully accepted. I had no difficulty, therefore, in gaining access to the abodes of poverty and wretchedness by which I was encompassed, and in studying the phases of human life, as they were here presented to me, devoid of that veil with which civilisation, in the better ranks, hides man from his fellow man.

“The first house I sought was that where lived the parents of the child who had so tenderly nursed me during my illness, and to whose ministry, together with the occasional aid of her mother, I owed my life, helpless and otherwise untended as I was.

“Crowded together in a single room, of a size which those who are accustomed to the merest decencies of life would have considered too close and unwholesome for a single occupant, I found the entire family, consisting of the parents, an aged woman, the mother of the man, and their four children. One wretched bed, if bed it could be called, which was composed of a few rugs huddled together on the floor, served for them all. Two of the children—one, and the fairest of whom was my poor little favourite, already mentioned as having passed her previous years away from the city, and who had been brought up by an aunt, since dead,—were in the last stage of the fever. Another, and apparently the eldest lay a corpse in the midst of them, the coffin resting upon two chairs within a few inches of the bed where the others were passing out of life. Here, by the lifeless remains of its brother, played—as only the children of the very poor do play, especially the city poor—with a heart and a step alike joyless and unchilded, the last and only one of the four yet untouched by disease.

“Of the two already signed and sealed for death, my little woodland flower was the first to perish. I stood by her side when her tender spirit passed away. She was dreaming of the green fields she had left behind, and her prattle was of woods and flowers. Her sense was drinking in the odours from the bean-field at the end of the little garden paddock—the ripple of the brook waters trembled into her ear. Her pale hands moved to and fro,—she was weaving in thought fairy-chains of the golden king-cups.

“She died. They buried her in a pit heaped up with putrefying bodies, over which a little earth was shovelled, in that noisome place,—the churchyard of a city. The solitary candle that lighted her to her last resting-place, was extinguished by the noxious gases that exhaled and steamed up into the faces of the mourners as they lowered her into her grave. A few hasty words were muttered over her coffin, as ‘dust’ was given to ‘dust,’ and she from whose clay flowers should have sprung was left to fester almost beneath the eyes of her parents, poisoning the air they breathed.”

We need not tell the rest of the history, for we hope that the little volume will become generally known. Its high moral tone, the lessons of purity and self-devotion which it inculcates, united to the spirit and powers displayed in its portraiture, will, we hope, command, as we are sure they must, an excellent circulation.

VISIT OF ELIHU BURRITT, THE LEARNED AMERICAN BLACKSMITH.

In our last number we gave a brief sketch of this wonderful man, this “walking polyglot,” as Byron said of Mezzofanti. It is proper our readers should know that he is a most devoted advocate of Free Trade. Referring to our journal of the 30th ult., we now give a few more extracts from his letters, a few more sparks from his anvil. We understand he is expected to arrive in Liverpool to-morrow, by the Boston steamer; and that his visit to this country will be made subservient to the great cause of unrestricted commerce. Considering the circumstances under which he acquired his stores of learning and knowledge, he may perhaps be looked upon as the most extraordinary man living:

THE LEARNED AMERICAN BLACKSMITH'S PROPOSED VISIT TO ENGLAND, AND PEDESTRIAN TOUR.
(From the Christian Citizen.)

“For some time past, the idea has been running in our mind, that a voyage to England and a short visit in that country would much benefit our outward man. We have been much confined during the last two or three years, and thus deprived of the physical exercise which our earliest habits have rendered constitutionally necessary to our health. We have thought, therefore, of this plan, which we would now submit to the committee of the whole list of our readers and friends. About the first of June, we propose, under certain conditions, to take steamer or pack-trail for England. On our arrival, we propose to take a private hickory staff and travel on like Bunyan's pilgrim, through the country, at the rate of about ten miles a day.

With a pocket for my wheat, and a pocket for my rye, And a bag of water by my side, to drink when I am dry, Passing thus leisurely on foot through the agricultural districts, we anticipate the opportunity of looking through the hedges and into barn yards; sometimes into the kitchens of the common people, once in a while into a blacksmith's shop to smite at the anvil. In fact, we intend to pull at every latch-string that we find outside the door or gate, and study the physiology of turnips, hay-ricks, cabbages, hops, &c., and of all kinds of cattle, sheep, and swine. We propose to avoid the lions of the country, and confine our walks to the low lands of common life; and to have our conversation and communion chiefly with the labouring classes. Perhaps we might get together a knot of them some moonshiny night and talk to them a little on temperance, peace, and universal brotherhood. During such a pedestrian tour, we think we might see and hear some things which a person could not do while whizzing through the country on the railroad at the rate of thirty miles an hour.”

“I rejoice with joy unspeakable at the appearance of new stars of hope and promise in the heavens of humanity. Brethren, the morning of a new era has illumined the horizon of mankind. Free Trade, the commercial harbinger of the millennium, with its white, world-wide wings, is crossing the threshold of this hate-seared world, to fuse the nations into one peaceful and happy brotherhood. The prospect of unrestricted social and commercial intercourse makes my heart palpitate for joy, especially in view of the interesting and intimate union in which it will merge our two great nations.

“Let Free Trade, in its simplest sense, be declared between us, in the enriching commerce of friendship; let no restriction, no narrow-minded thrift, be longer imposed on the wealth of our good will; let not the commerce of cotton, corn, and manufactures absorb all the correspondence carried on between us; but let humanity and universal brotherhood speak in tones that shall make music to the ears of the enslaved.

“It is not the fault of our western brethren if their voice is not loudest, and their hearts warmest for peace and amity with

Great Britain. Occupying a region capable of supplying the whole human family, they have been almost entirely shut away from your country, and from every other one on the globe. The stunted commerce which has slipped through the iron fingers of restriction, has hardly opened a channel larger than that which might run through a rye-straw, for the swelling ocean of their agricultural productions. The opening of the British ports to these productions will have a moral effect on their attitude towards your country and in this, and make them the greatest peace-makers in the Union.

“I watch with the deepest anxiety every movement that tends to increase our international commerce and comity. I look upon the increasing number of letters exchanged, as a favourable omen; of passengers in the steamers, &c. I long to see more steamers put on the Atlantic, to cheapen and popularise the communication between us. I have watched with earnest hope for the repeal of your Corn Laws, as a great peace measure, which would take immediate effect on the most warlike portion of the Union. It would have a great influence here, and serve to extinguish the war-spirit in its very heart.”

“A PROBLEM FOR THE PEOPLE.—More than half the commerce of the United States is with Great Britain. British ships carry across the ocean nearly half of our exports. On whom does it devolve to protect these merchant ships into British ports?—on Great Britain or the United States? In case of war with England, would not the navies of the two nations be on the same side in protecting this commerce, which they own in partnership?—and would it not be binding on both nations to send each a fleet of armed vessels to convey the cotton of the United States to English ports, either directly or by way of Hamburg? In such a war, would it not be perfectly consistent for half-a-dozen British seventy-fours to lead the van, and as many of the United States to bring up the rear, of a squadron of cotton-freighted ships?”

“THE COTTON STRING OF BROTHERHOOD.—The value of the produce shipped from the United States to Liverpool for six months of the past year, was 39,000,000 dollars, of which 36,000,000 dollars was in cotton. A large hawser, that, to be severed by the sword, before the two nations may swing clear of each other. If Christianity and civilisation should help to moor the two kindred countries together with a cable of equal strength, all the swords that War ever sharpened could not cut apart these Anglo-Saxon Twins.

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Persons desirous to join the Society are requested to make application immediately.

THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT GARDEN.—
M. JULIEN has the honour to announce that it is his intention to terminate the series of his concerts D'Ete with a GRAND BAL MASQUE, which will take place on Monday, July 2, 1846. Tickets for the Ball 10s. 6d. The Prices of Admission for Spectators, (for whom the audience portion of the Theatre will as before be set apart, will be as on former occasions, viz., Dress Circle 5s., Boxes 3s., Lower Gallery 2s., Upper Gallery 1s. Private Boxes from 4s. 3s. od. upwards. Persons taking Private Boxes will have the privilege of passing to and from the Ball Room without extra charge.

POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Friday Evening, June 26, 1846.

On the same night that Sir Robert Peel brought to a triumphant issue the greatest, the most important, and the most beneficent measures ever introduced to a British Parliament, he was defeated on a different question by a majority of 73, and his tenure of power was thus brought to a close. It is no small merit of the right hon. baronet that he foresaw this issue from the very beginning, and was aware that the prosperity of his country could only be purchased by a greater amount of self-sacrifice than was ever yet required of any Minister. He had devoted years of patient toil and anxious thought to the construction of a Conservative party from the wreck of the party which had opposed the Reform Bill. He undertook to inspire the despairing with hope, and the timid with courage; to win confidence from constituencies, the enfranchisement of which he had opposed, and to obtain influence in a system which he had resisted and denounced. No other leader could have organised such a party; his caution prevented the excesses into which unexpected success tempted many of his followers; his prudence checked the violence with which the desire of vengeance inspired others. He showed his adherents that discipline was the great element of success in party warfare; and he maintained that discipline by winning confidence, not by inspiring fear. In executing this task, he was sadly hampered by the nature of the materials with which he had to deal; he was stunted in the choice of his associates and his instruments, and he was generally under a stringent necessity of withholding from them the confidence which he required for

himself. He was thus a leader from circumstances, a chief chosen by his party, not because they loved or sympathised with him, but simply because they could not do without him. Peel was with the Conservatives, but not of them; he shared not in the selfishness of monopoly or the bigotry of ascendancy, but he taught both that their gains and their privileges could only be maintained by occasional and graceful concessions. As a leader of opposition, he had to suppress occasional murmurs and to check incipient mutinies. Though his policy at that time was simply “to obstruct,” there were those around him who would have pushed their obstruction so far as to stop the entire business of the nation; they would thus have infallibly produced a reaction which would have given back to the Whigs all their waning popularity and all their declining power. To such men he was reluctantly compelled to concede more than his prescient view discovered to be either prudent or politic, for he was too wise a statesman not to foresee that an anti-Irish cry in England would infallibly produce an anti-English cry in Ireland.

The differences between Peel and his party, latent to some extent so long as it was only necessary to oppose, became rapidly developed when accession to office compelled them to act. Sir C. H. Williams once compared party to

“a snake,
Where the tail moves the head.”

In the present case, the “tail” typified by the Duke of Richmond laid claim to the direction of the movement, and significantly declared that “the power which had made could also unmake a Cabinet.” The Premier spurned a servile tenure of office. He was the Minister of a Queen at Windsor; he would not be the serf of a duke at Goodwood. He looked to the country; he saw that the country was to be gained; but that in the attempt the party must be lost.

Sir Robert Peel felt himself isolated, though surrounded by a crowd of supporters. He knew them, but they did not know him; and he was conscious that the hour of explanation would be also the hour of division and separation. But circumstances rendered it dangerous, if not impossible, to keep silence any longer. The season of scarcity began, that of famine cast lengthening shadows before. His sense of duty as a Minister was strengthened by his depth of feeling as a man; and with noble resolution he declared that he would no longer be a party to the maintenance of artificial starvation.

Lord John Russell had preceded the right hon. baronet in the same declaration, and had similarly disregarded the ties and obligations of party. We discuss not the relative merits of the rival statesmen—in their conduct at this crisis we equally admire both. We are neither remiss in gratitude nor deficient in respect to the noble member for London, whose efficient aid in this struggle we have ever thankfully acknowledged, when we state that the right honourable baronet made far the greater amount of sacrifice, and encountered far the fiercer hazards. During six months he has been the butt for every shaft which faction could aim, disappointment wing, and malignity tip with poison. But his part was taken. With untiring perseverance he laboured for one great object, the emancipation of British industry; and he held to his position as firmly as the ocean-rock, unmoved by the billows that fret, foam, and dash against its cliffs. He was a pilot adhering to the helm, regardless of the storm and heedless of the ignorant clamour of a mutinous crew. He has steered the craft of which he had charge into a haven of safety, but those whom he rescued are ignorant of the impending danger from which they were saved. For if monopoly had continued, nothing short of a miraculous interposition could have saved monopolists from destruction. He descends from power just as he had attained the summit of popularity, as if it were part of his pride to pay in person the price which the salvation of England's prosperity required. He sinks like the tropic sun, with light unshaded and heat undiminished, leaving earth to

enjoy the growth he has cherished, and the fruits he has ripened.

We cannot conclude without directing attention to Mr. Cobden's speech. It is a tribute equally worthy of the giver and the receiver; and we have no hesitation in declaring that it embodies the sentiments of every member of the League.

Mr. COBDEN then rose, and was received with loud cheers. He said: I am not going to argue the question; but I wish to say one or two words as to the spirit of the votes we are going to give. I shall find myself in the lobby to-night—and probably in a majority—with three classes of voters. The first class are those gentlemen who voted against the first reading, because they were opposed to the principles of legislation for Ireland which the measure involved; the next are those hon. members on this side of the house who voted for the first reading; and the third, to my great surprise, are a large number of gentlemen below the gangway, who also voted for the first reading. Now, I don't intend to offer one word in the way of putting a construction upon the motives of hon. gentlemen who are to vote differently upon this occasion; but as such a combination may seem rather odd, and may be looked upon by the country with some suspicion (hear, hear), I wish to clear myself at all events, and probably in doing so, I may also render some service to other hon. members by showing that the construction which may be put upon the vote about to be given by the noble lord, the member for Lynn, at all events does not apply to us. The noble lord has told us very frankly what he considers the object of the majority to be,—that we are joining together to do justice to the right honourable baronet for his policy during the present session. I think he said that it must be the object of every honest man to inflict summary punishment upon the traitor, although some of us may like the treachery (hear, hear). That I humbly think is not acting upon the merits of the question. It is a vote of censure upon the right hon. baronet in the estimation of the noble lord. Now I beg to repudiate for myself (loud cheers) and for many hon. gentlemen on this side of the house, such an unjust and unfair construction upon the votes we are giving (renewed applause). We should be acting very inconsistent indeed with popular opinion, and we especially affect to represent popular opinion, if we were to give such a vote as this (hear, hear). Because I apprehend there will be no dispute on this point, that the right hon. baronet has been the means of passing this session one of the most popular measures that any Minister could possibly undertake (cries of "Oh, oh," and cheers). We should be outraging public opinion if we allowed such a construction to be put upon our vote at this moment, on the very day that this great measure has been brought down to this house from another place. Yes, I can imagine the noble lord feeling that there is a sort of poetical justice in carrying a vote of censure at the very moment of the passing of the Corn Bill; but I beg to say that he must not put this construction at all events upon my vote (cries of "Divide.") I do not mean to say one word on the merits of the bill. But it seems the right hon. baronet attaches so much importance to the bill that, according to general report, he has determined to stand or fall by it. With that I have nothing to do (cheers); for I have resolved that I shall not imitate the noble lord, and stultify myself by voting that black is white, merely to serve another purpose (cheers). I said two months ago that I believed it possible that before the Corn Bill passed the House of Lords, the right hon. baronet would be put in a minority by a cross vote, for I said then, as I say now, that the hon. gentlemen below the gangway were prepared to give any vote consistent with their personal honour, which we must not question in this house, for the purpose of throwing out the right hon. baronet. I therefore feel that it would be quite hopeless for any man to seek to keep a party in power by giving a single vote against his convictions, because we should then be soon again put to the test by the hon. gentlemen opposite, and we should go on voting black was white to no purpose (hear, hear). Now, I beg to assure hon. gentlemen opposite that this state of parties will ere long receive a solution out of doors (loud cheers). We cannot continue with three parties in this house, neither party being able to carry on the Government. There must be a fusion of two parties. I see no immediate prospect of an amalgamation between the gentlemen below the gangway and their late friends on the other side; and I must say that I am very glad to think so (cheers). There is nothing which I should regret more than to see the right hon. baronet forced into an alliance with that rearward party. But there is another alliance which I imagine, in some shape or other, must take place here, and which has already taken place in the country. There is no distinction in the country, so far as I am aware, between those who follow the noble lord the member for London and those who give in their adhesion to the policy of the right hon. baronet (cheers from the protectionists). I don't understand the logical inference to be drawn from that cheer. I don't think it holds out a cheering prospect to the hon. gentlemen below the gangway. But I augur that if this fusion has taken place out of doors, and the rank and file of those who follow these two distinguished leaders are found mingling in their ranks and fraternizing with each other throughout the country, there cannot long be a separation between the two chiefs themselves, and the result will be an abandonment of their strife, and a fusion between the two parties in this house (cheers). Well, I apprehend that this will give us a Government and a majority—which will not be a protection Government, at all events. Now I have only to say, in contradiction to the noble lord, that if the right hon. baronet chooses to retire from office in consequence of this vote, he carries with him the esteem and gratitude of a larger number of the population of this empire than ever followed any Minister that was ever hurled from power. [Mr. Rashleigh.—"Not of the working classes."] The hon. member for Cornwall says, "not of the working classes." [Mr. Rashleigh.—"And I repeat it."] I am sorry the hon. member is so excited in making the declaration (cheers and laughter); but has he the same expression of opinion to give with regard to the voting classes (cheers)? I think the right hon. gentleman has shown great forbearance to hon. members below the gangway, in not having availed himself of the strength he has with the country, and taking them at their words, before he abandons office, appealing to the country (cheers). But should he not do so, I am not misinterpreting the opinion of the people, not only of the electors, but especially of the working classes, when I tender the right honourable baronet, in my own name, as I might

do in theirs, my heartfelt thanks for the unwearied perseverance ("oh, oh!"), the unswerving firmness ("oh!") and the great ability with which he has during the last six months conducted one of the most magnificent reforms (cheers, and "oh, oh!") ever carried in any country, through this House of Commons (cheers).

The house then divided, the numbers were—

For the second reading 219
Against 202

Majority against the second reading —73

The division was received by the house in silence.

Our task is nearly accomplished. It will in all probability be our duty, next week, to bid our readers farewell; and we cannot now give vent to the feelings which such an event inspires.

THE FUNDS.

	SAT. June 20	MON. June 22	TUES. June 23	WED. June 24	THUR. June 25	FRI. June 26
Bank Stock	206½	..	206½	205½	205½	..
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	95½	95½	95½	95½	95	94½
3 per Ct. Con. Ann.	Shut.	..	Shut.	Shut.	Shut.	Shut.
3 per Ct. Red. Ann.	97	97	96½	96½	96½	96½
Long. An. Ex. 1860 . . . . .	..	103-16	10½	10½	10½	..
Cons. for Act. . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..
Exc. Bills, per Ct.	8	5-10	8-13	14-9	9-13	..
Ind. Bds. un. 1000l.	26	20	16-20	18	23	..
Venezuela 2 per Ct. . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..
Do. deferred . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	98
Belgian 4½ per Ct. . . . .	..	..	..	..	84½	84
Brazilian 5 per Ct. . . . .	..	..	84	..	..	..
Chilian . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..
Colomb. ex. Venez. . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..
Danish . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..
Dutch 2½ per Ct.	60½	60½	..	60½	60½	60½
Dutch 4 per Ct.	92½	92	92½	92½	92½	93
Mexican . . . . .	..	27½	27½	27½	27½	27½
Peruvian . . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..
Portug. 4 per Ct.	49½	50	50½	49½	49	43½
Russian 5 per Ct. . . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..
Spanish 5 per Ct.	24½	24½	24½	24½	..	24½
Do. 3 per Ct.	37½	37½	..	37½	37½	37

MARKETS.

CORN MARKET.

MONDAY, June 22.—We have again short supplies of all British Grain to this day's market. The Free Wheat in the hands of factors is small in quantity, and they are not quite willing to quit without an advance of 2s. or 3s. per qr., which is consequently paid. In Foreign Wheat no alteration. Barley is about 1s. dearer. Beans are 2s., and Peas, 1s. dearer, except White, which are unaltered in value. In Oats there is more activity than for some time past; Free Corn fetches fully 1s. over the prices of this day week; Bonded, of which the arrivals are fair, is not dearer, but holders are unwilling to make extensive sales, though there is rather more inquiry than has been experienced for these descriptions lately. S. H. LUCAS.

BRITISH.

	Per Imperial Quarter.	
Wheat, Essex,	Red 44 to 58	White 48 to 63
Kent, & Suffolk	42 53	46 60
Lincolnshire & Yorkshire	42 49	45 58
Scotch . . . . .	..	..
Oats, Lincolnshire & Yorkshire Feed . . . . .	..	25
Do.	Black	24
Do.	Polands	New 28
Scotch Feed	26 27	Potato 28
Limerick . . . . .	..	26
Do.	Fine	27
Cork . . . . .	..	25
Waterford, Youghal, & Cork Black . . . . .	..	20
Sligo . . . . .	..	19
Galway . . . . .	..	21
Barley . . . . .	..	26
Beans, Mazagan . . . . .	..	31
Harrow . . . . .	..	33
Small . . . . .	..	39
Peas, White	Boilers	38
Grey	30 32	Maple
Flour, Town made	per sack of 280 lbs.	45
Norfolk and Suffolk . . . . .	..	39

FOREIGN.

	Per Imperial Quarter.	
Wheat, Dantzic, high mixed	58 to 66	48 56
Rostock	56 60	46 54
Stettin	48 56	44 49
Hamburg	46 56	42 47
Odessa . . . . .	..	40 45
Odessa Polish	52	54 40 47
Russian	soft . . . . .	..
Do.	hard . . . . .	..
Spanish . . . . .	..	50 51
Blanguillo . . . . .	..	54
Australian . . . . .	..	54 69
Barley, Grinding . . . . .	..	27 28
Distilling . . . . .	..	29 31
Oats, Archangel . . . . .	..	23 24 20 21
Danish . . . . .	..	21 22
Swedish . . . . .	..	..
Stralsund . . . . .	..	..
Dutch Feed . . . . .	..	18 19
Brew . . . . .	..	23 24
Polands . . . . .	..	24 25
Black . . . . .	..	19 20
Beans, Egyptian . . . . .	..	32 34
Peas, White . . . . .	..	..
Do. Boilers . . . . .	..	42
Flour, Canada, fresh, per barrel of 196 lbs. . . . .	..	..
United States . . . . .	..	..
Dantzic . . . . .	..	..
Australian, per sack of 280 lbs. . . . .	..	..

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from June 15 to June 20, 1846, both days inclusive.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peas.
English	3045	1061	2500	452	60
Scotch . . . . .	..	1389	..	..	..
Irish . . . . .	..	..	2154	..	..
Foreign	11638	3323	16067	6925	..

Flour, 3744 sacks; 9018 barrels.

FRIDAY, JUNE 25.—The third reading of the Corn Bill took place last night, and it is fully expected that duties will be payable by the new scale to-morrow. The market is in a very unsettled state, there being no confidence as to the future range of prices. There was a very brisk inquiry for all kinds of corn at the beginning of market. English Wheat, of which the show is trifling, was neglected. Foreign was offered free at 2s. lower than late free prices; but millers were uncertain what to bid, and but little business has been transacted. The last remark applies necessarily to every branch of the trade. Buyers of Oats bid about 2s. to 2s. 6d. less than on Monday for free corn. On the other hand, holders of Foreign ask 1s., and the new duty of 1s. 6d. over the bonded prices of Monday, which checks business. We cannot expect settled markets for a few days. In Barley, Beans, and Peas no alteration can be quoted. S. H. LUCAS.

Account of CORN, &c., arrived in the Port of London, from the 19th of June to the 25th of June, both inclusive.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	3700	..	10320
Barley	1740	..	..
Oats	3150	590	10750

Flour, 1850 sacks.

IMPROVED COTTAGES FOR THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.—We have been favoured with a sight of some plans, and sections, of a design for improved cottages for the industrious classes. They are the production of Mr. Robert Owen, of Manchester, and are intended for the use of the Freeholders' Building Society of that town. Mr. Owen's principal object has been to obtain a thorough ventilation in the cottages built for the society; but in addition to the attainment of this object, he has made some architectural improvements, and given greater convenience to the inhabitants than is usually to be obtained in cottages of the same size. The houses can be built back to back, with the same advantages as with a passage between. The present offensive state of back accommodation among the working classes is done away with by these designs, a greater number of sleeping rooms is secured, unpleasant smells are prevented or provided against, and everything is done on the principle of a sanitary improvement. The cost of a pair of these houses is variously estimated at from 200l. to 240l. Altogether the designs appear unexceptionable—nay, highly advantageous. Here we appear to have as much convenience as possible, on the least possible ground, and at the smallest possible cost; and these are no inconsiderable advantages to districts so populous as Manchester and its vicinity. Mr. Owen is entitled to the warmest thanks of his fellow members in the society, and of all who are interested in the sanitary improvement of our towns. The members of the Freeholders' Building Society cannot but be proud of the co-operation of Mr. Owen. His services have been indeed valuable, not only in the production of these designs, but also in his active exertions for the establishment and prosperity of that very successful society. We believe the plans may be purchased at a low figure of the secretary to the society.

T. RIDDELL'S PATENT ECONOMICAL MICA-CEOUS LINING for the protection of Bonnets, Caps, and Hats from the injurious effects of the natural and artificial moisture of the hair. Ladies and gentlemen, before purchasing such articles, should see that they are provided with this elegant and inexpensive article, which may be imperceptibly introduced into the most delicate hats, and thereby preventing the very unsightly stains produced by perspiration, oil, &c., being a non-conductor of heat, it will be found invaluable in warm climates, especially in the East and West Indies, preventing the effects of a sun de soleil or stroke of the sun, which has proved so fatal to Europeans especially. To be had of all respectable hat and cap makers, hatters, outfitters, hosiers, &c. W. Patterson, 104, Wood-street, Cheap side, London, is licensed to supply wholesale houses only. Price One Shilling.

FOR FILLING DECAYED TEETH.

DALE'S ENAMEL, price 2s. 6d.—This preparation is confidently offered to the public as the best material ever discovered for filling decayed teeth, which it effects without giving the least pain or inconvenience, becoming, in a short time, as hard and as durable as the tooth itself, and, by perfectly excluding the access of air, it arrests all further possible progress of decay. The preparation, by its use, is in a soft state, and continues so for a short time; and it may therefore be used by any person with perfect facility, and is warranted to succeed in every case, however large the cavity. Prepared by John Dale, analytical chemist, Manchester. Sold in packets at 2s. 6d. each, by most respectable druggists and medicine vendors in the kingdom. Directions for use are inclosed with each packet.

Wholesale Agents: Mottershead and Roberts, Manchester; Barclay and Sons, 95, Farringdon-street, London.

"AN ADVERTISEMENT HERE CAN CONVEY but a faint idea of the excellence of this manufacture for wear or use, nor can it show the saving in actual money on the various articles. In the aggregate this is over fifty per cent. The Catalogue, with 150 illustrations, gives the pattern and the price against every article." All housekeepers should have this book; and, by addressing C. WATSON, 41 and 42, Abchurch-lane, 16, Norton Folgate, near the Eastern Counties Railway London Terminus, it will be forwarded Gratis and Post Free.

JONES'S 44. 48. SILVER LEVER WATCHES warranted not to vary more than half a minute per week, are selling at the Manufactory, 338, Strand, opposite Somerset-house. They combine the truth of a mathematical instrument with the elegance of an ornament of taste. On receipt of a Post-office order for 1s. above the price, a Watch will be sent free for any part of the kingdom. Read Jones's "Sketch of Watch Work," sent free for a 2d. stamp.

SHOWER BATHS, with curtains, 9s. each.—Purchasers of any description of BATH should visit WILLIAMS, BURTON'S late Rippon and Burto's) bath show room, which contains, besides toilet sets, japanned in imitation of fancy woods, china, &c., in enormous variety, all the requisites for a season, so arranged in one room, devoted exclusively to articles of that character, that patterns, sizes, and costs can be instantly selected, and at 20 per cent. under any other house where attention is paid to the quality. Full-size portable shower bath, very strong and japanned, with curtains and copper valve, 9s. each. Pillar shower bath, with copper conducting tubes, brass force-pump and top, complete with curtains and japanned, from 60s. Hand shower bath, japanned, 2s. 6d. The omnidirective bath. Detailed Catalogues, with engravings, as well as of every ironmongery article, sent per post, free.

WILLIAMS, BURTON'S (late RIPPON and BURTON'S) stock of general furnishing ironmongery and baths is literally the largest in the world, and as no language can be employed to give a correct idea of its variety and extent, purchasers are invited to call and inspect it.—39, Oxford-street (corner of Newman-street). Established in Welles-street, 1820.

ELECTRO-PLATE SUPERSEDED BY RICHARD E. and JOHN SLACK'S PURE NICKEL SILVER.—This incomparable Metal possesses all the richness of Silver in appearance, with all its durability and hardness, and is warranted to stand the test of analysis. Fiddle. Tinned. Victoria and pattern. King's pattern. Table Spoons and Forks, per dozen 12s. 6d. 20s. 0d. 20s. 0d. Dessert ditto, ditto 10 0 21 25 0 0 Tea Spoons, ditto, ditto 5 0 10 0 10 0 R. and J. S. beg to caution the public against several spurious imitations of their articles. The genuine are to be had only at their establishment, 336, Strand, where may be inspected the most extensive assortment of Furnishing Ironmongery in London, at prices 30 per cent. under any other house. Patterns returned for any article, and approved of. Their drawings, containing drawings and prices of every article, may be had gratis, or sent post free to any part. Richard and John Slack, 336, Strand, opposite Somerset House, established 1818.

LUXURY IN SHAVING.

JOHN GOSNELL and CO.'S AMBROSIAL SHAVING CREAM (Patronised by Prince Albert). This inestimable Cream possesses all the good qualities of the Finest Naples Soap, without the disagreeable smell inseparable from that article in a genuine state. It is of a white pearly silvery appearance, produces a creamy lather, which will not dry on the face, and emits in use the delightful flavour of the almond. In Pots, price 2s. 6d., 3s. 6d., &c. Perfumers in Her Majesty's 12, Three King-court, Lombard-street, London. Manufacturers of Combs and Brushes of the best quality, and on the most approved principles.

G R E Y H A I R.—The nourishing properties of ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL are eminently successful in the prevention of Grey Hair, and in the restoration to its original colour. It is the only article that really possesses nutritious virtues for promoting a luxuriant growth of the human Hair, preventing it from falling off, or turning grey, and for cleansing it of scurf and all impurities.

CAUTION.—The words "ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL" are on the wrapper of each genuine bottle. * * * ALL OTHERS ARE FRAUDULENT IMITATIONS!!

THE ATHERLATORS, or LIQUID HAIR DYE, the only dye that really answers for all colours, and does not require re-doing but as the hair grows, as it never fades or acquires an unnatural red or purple tint common to all other dyes. ROSS and SONS can, with the greatest confidence, recommend the use of this dye, as an infallible means of their establishment, and the sole and exclusive privilege of it is registered, to bring a friend or servant with them, to see how it is used, who will enable them to do it afterwards without chance of failure. Several private apartments devoted entirely to the use of the dye, are some of them, established having usually the dye in use, and at 2s. 6d. at once, so that they think it necessary to add that by attending strictly to the instructions given with each bottle of dye, numerous persons have succeeded equally well without coming to them.

Address Ross and Sons, 119 and 120, Bishopsgate-street, the celebrated Perruquiers, Perfumers, Haircutters, and Hairdressers. N.B. Parties attended at their own residence, whatever the distance.

aforesaid.—Saturday, June 27, 1846.

THE LEAGUE.

No. 145.—Vol. III.]

SATURDAY, JULY 4, 1846.

[3d.

NOTICE.

All persons having claims upon the COUNCIL of the LEAGUE are requested to send in their accounts forthwith to the Offices, Newall's Buildings, Manchester, that they may be discharged.

By Order of the Council,

JOSEPH HICKIN, Secretary.

FAREWELL ADDRESS.

Our task is concluded, our labours are at an end. We have seen the great principles for which we have struggled through seven years of doubt and difficulty brought to a triumphant issue, and permanently established in the legislation of the empire. The records of Parliament are the evidence of our services; the freedom for which wise men wrote, and good men sighed, and brave men struggled, has been won peacefully, honourably, and completely. Laws devised by a jealous, monopolising, and ungrateful spirit to restrain the bounties of Providence, and fetter the energies of an industrious, a brave, and a loyal people, have been swept from the statute-book to take their place in the records of unhonoured history. We have extended the right hand of fellowship to every nation upon earth, and laid the foundation of a brotherhood which will unite the whole family of man.

Compared with such a victory the triumphs of conquerors and the achievements of heroes sink into insignificance. Our march has been stained by no blood—our success is sullied by no tear. There is no regret in the bosom of the victor, and there soon will be none in the heart of the vanquished, for ours is the triumph not of force but of reason; not of ambition, but of benevolence; not of a party, but of the united empire; and we might add, of universal humanity. As there is nothing to cloud the joy of present success, so is there no painful association connected with the history of the agitation by which that success was obtained. Our march from the starting point has been steadily onwards; our course has never swerved from the single object which we had resolved to pursue, and our means have been as noble as our end.

For the first time in the world's history a great revolution has been accomplished without physical force being so much as mentioned in the whole struggle. Convinced of the power of intelligent opinion, we set ourselves to develop that intelligence and to form that opinion. We foresaw that our mission should be educational, and we accepted its conditions. The League undertook to instruct the people, to reform the economic creed of the country, and to overthrow the fallacies devised by an ignorant selfishness, and supported by an unthinking credulity. We had no bribes to offer our converts; on the contrary, large sacrifices were required from all who joined our cause. So hopeless did our enterprise appear when first undertaken, that it was regarded as something little short of insanity. Hope and encouragement, however, grew rapidly around us. We asked men to inquire, to investigate, and to examine, and we found that every one who thus exercised his mind ended by adopting our sentiments.

The system of lectures was an early and necessary part of our educational course; the gentlemen employed for this purpose by the League spread the doctrines of Free Trade through the length and breadth of the land, and the reception which they everywhere met convinced the Council that there was a mass of sound opinion spread over the country which only required to be organised and concentrated to attain its object. Nothing was more surprising than the rapidity with which sentiments of sympathy and confidence were developed among Free Traders. Community of feeling became the

bond of friendship, and it was cemented by community of suffering.

The financial and manufacturing distress which the Free Traders clearly saw would be the result of a perverse code of commercial legislation after sending before it a premonitory shadow, spread a deep gloom over all the branches of British industry, but more especially over those engaged in the production of textile fabrics. The ministers of religion met to protest against a system which violated the first principles of Christianity, and outraged every precept of the gospel. Appeals were made to the Government of the country by deputation after deputation, but instruction had not penetrated into high places—the educational mission of the League remained still incomplete. An outbreak of a singular character in the manufacturing districts equally attested the distress of the operatives and the strength of their moral principle. The League held out to them hope and encouragement; they were saved from the wild excesses of despair, and tranquillity was restored without bloodshed. Men at a distance were astonished and perplexed by such a phenomenon. They called for inquiry, and it was granted; the investigation only showed that physical suffering had prompted to the movement, and that moral principle had brought it to a peaceful end.

The crisis passed over; a more prosperous period arrived produced by the causes which the League had accurately predicted, and attended by all the circumstances which it had minutely foretold. The soundness of our principles had thus been tested by the two extremes of fortune; our own confidence in their truth was strengthened; the process of conviction was accelerated; and new converts gathered around us every day. We had multitudes of recruits, and not a single renegade; countless volunteers, and not one deserter. The League had taught the lessons upon which events supplied a commentary; the evidence of the truths we inculcated was brought within the daily range of every man's experience.

For a long time the monopolists viewed the progress of Free Trade opinions with apathy or indifference; sound opinion had already taken a deep root in the country before they showed themselves conscious of its existence. At length they discovered their danger, and began to prepare for defence. All the fallacies which Adam Smith had exposed, and his followers demolished, were dragged from obscurity and obstruction, and were reiterated in nearly the same words and syllables at every farmer's dinner and agricultural association. But the Free Traders had gained an immense advantage by forcing the monopolists to speak out. Fallacy after fallacy was demolished as fast as it appeared; farmers began to think, and labourers to reason; they saw the monopolists ever shifting their ground—driven from pillar to post, and from post to pillar—while the Free Traders constantly preserved the same simplicity and consistency of truth.

Publication was one of the earliest modes of diffusing sound principle which the League adopted. Tracts were disseminated through a large portion of the electoral body, and a journal was established in Manchester as a record of proceedings. When the increased importance and interest of the debates on Mr. Villiers's motion gave evidence that the time of a decisive struggle was approaching, the journal was removed to London, where it took the name of THE LEAGUE. Like the body which it represented the journal strictly confined itself to the discussion of Free Trade and its collateral topics, holding itself independent of every political party, unawed by the frowns of power, and inaccessible to the blandishments of seduction. No man, no journal, and no institution, can be expected to please every body;

but there never was a journal so widely circulated against which fewer complaints were made, either in public or in private. Whatever may be thought of our pretensions to talent, we believe that no one will contest our claims to temper and discretion, even under circumstances which might have rendered a little warmth excusable, if not justifiable. It is neither our wish, nor our purpose, to enter into any details of the management; but we may state that it is an unprecedented event in literary history for a journal, devoted exclusively to a single topic, to maintain a permanent interest for its readers through anything like the period over which our publication has extended. A progressive increase of demand is, at least, some evidence of sustained influence; and though the paper was published at a price which rendered it unprofitable as a pecuniary speculation, we have reason to know that this was more than compensated by the subscribers it procured to the general fund.

There was one department of the business of the League, unconnected with its educational mission, which has excited much attention on account of its constitutional importance; we mean the registration. Sir Robert Peel was the first to proclaim that the battle of the constitution should be fought in the registration courts, and his party found the benefit of following his advice. As the League depended for success solely on constitutional means, it was necessary, as the combat deepened, to investigate the means which the constitution had placed at their disposal. By the ancient laws of the realm the possession of a forty shilling freehold confers a vote in a county; and hence Free Traders were urged to procure such freeholds, the League providing proper agency to facilitate their acquisition. It has been absurdly supposed that some of these freeholds were purchased from the League fund; but in every instance they were bought and paid for by the individual Free Trader, the League only procuring for the purchaser legal aid and guidance in effecting the transfer. Had the existence of monopoly been protracted to a new Parliament, we have little doubt that the League system of registration would have been found as effective in other counties as it proved to be in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

The announcement of the ministerial measures just brought to a successful issue under the guidance of Sir R. Peel, tested the strength and consistency of the League. It was supposed that it should of necessity declare either for one party or the other; but it held to its independent course, and submitted to the house its demand for total, immediate, and unqualified repeal. When that motion was rejected, it refused to play the factious game of the monopolists, but steadily supported the Minister who "paid 17s. 6d. in the pound, and gave good security for the remaining half-crown."

Let it be remembered that the Free Trade agitation was the only movement exclusively originating with, and conducted by, the middle classes recorded in British history. The League sought no aristocratic leader, and submitted to no titled guidance; it was perfect democracy with all the unity of a despotism; it had no recognised head in whom its powers were concentrated, no absolute leader by whom its proceedings were uniformly directed. When any business was to be done, the fit man was found to volunteer without the trouble of a search; and he took the lead in his selected department until his mission was accomplished. Mutual agreement and mutual confidence supplied the place of command and obedience; and hence the steadiness of the power applied effectually prevented any derangement of the machinery. Everywhere in the League the spirit of self-sacrifice destroyed the spirit of selfishness so often apparent in other asso-

ciations. The desire of all was to have the good effected; but the individual instrumentality was never brought into question. But the League itself was founded in self-sacrifice to an extent unparalleled in the world. The members of the Council were not idle men of fashion, on whose hands time hung heavy; as little were they professional politicians, taking up an agitation as a means of opening paths to place and power. They were all merchants and manufacturers to whom their counting-houses, their warehouses, and their factories were more valuable and precious than any offices which it is in the power of the Crown to bestow. Splendid as were their pecuniary donations, their devotion of their time and toil to the cause was a far heavier tax, and involved a greater amount of loss. They had no ambition to gratify; and, as the event proves, so far from seeking to make the League a leverage for personal elevation, they have resolved on its dissolution the moment that its object has been accomplished.

Many zealous friends of the cause will no doubt grieve over the dissolution of the League, and regret that its machinery was not applied to effect some other social improvement. But the League has never broken faith with the public. The most precious point in its history is its unsullied honour; and this must be preserved not only without taint, but without suspicion. To preserve the organisation and machinery of the League, and hand over the direction to some other association formed for a different object, however beneficial, would be inconsistent with the promises made from the beginning of the agitation, and would violate, if not the letter, most certainly the spirit of the League's engagements. Hitherto there has been the most perfect unanimity in the working of the League. Never was there so large a body in which there was so little, not merely of dissension, but even of difference of opinion. But this unanimity would be at an end the moment that it became necessary to choose a new subject for new exertions, and the result would exhibit a majority with little reason to boast, and a minority with much reason to complain.

Singleness of object has been one of the chief elements of the success which has crowned the efforts of the League. There were many occasions in the course of the struggle when a large addition of strength seemed likely to be gained by allying our cause with other demands more or less popular, but the seductions of temporary advantage were resisted, for the League relied for success more on strength of argument than on strength of numbers. Truth must in the long run prevail, and its progress would be retarded if it had been presented to the public mind in such a form as to distract attention. To have superadded another topic to our legitimate demand would have alienated many whose aid was desirable, not merely to increase our strength, but to smooth down the prejudices of adversaries. We sought to win our way, not by conquest, but by conviction; our victory has therefore been noiseless, and for that very reason is likely to be perpetual in its results. The silent ebb and flow of ocean produces eternal changes on the continents of the earth, but the effects produced by the storm and the tempest are either effaced by time or again altered by the next convulsion of the elements. Truth, like its Divine Author, is to be found neither in the whirlwind nor the earthquake, but in the still small voice.

That on some occasions more violent language was used than the occasion required, or than strict decorum might sanction, may safely be confessed; the immensity of the means was inseparable from the excess. An agitation spread over the whole extent of Britain must have occasionally fretted and foamed, like the tide when it passes over a shoal or is impeded by a rock; but these aberrations were lost in the general advantage; the dashing of the spray was but an incident in the onward flow of the mighty waters. There was an element of safety present in the very worst of these perils—the perfect publicity of the League's proceedings; and publicity is the best means to keep men innocent and

to keep them rational. In none of the League's proceedings was there any vulgar denunciation against the Government, or any mysterious admiration of revolution; we had no crime to conceal, and no folly of which we should be ashamed.

The objects of the League were national, not selfish; they sought to protect the rights of the industrious from the wrongs of the idle; to secure to every man who sought to earn his subsistence "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work," and they sought this as earnestly for the labourers of Dorsetshire as for the operatives of Lancashire. They showed that *protection* deprived labour of its fair remuneration, and they listened to the cry of distress which the agricultural labourers uttered in their homely but forcible language, "We be protected, but we be starving." If the country is now convinced that the condition of the agricultural population imperatively demand investigation and redress, it is owing to the League;—if the Arcadian pictures of rural felicity which floated before the poetic vision of lords and squires have been dispelled to reveal the naked realities of misery and degradation they concealed, it is owing to the League; if the ravages committed by game on the property of the farmer, and the moral ruin brought by Game Laws on the character of the labourer, have been so exposed as to render the continuance of such a system impossible, it is owing to the League; if the wrong which insecurity inflicts on the tenant, and the limitation which the same insecurity affixes to the amount of employment for the labourer be now notorious and palpable, it is owing to the League. In fact, the League has done more for the agricultural than for the manufacturing interest; and ere long farmers will hallow its memory more affectionately and more devotedly than traders.

Our association, like every other institution, must perish when its destiny is fulfilled; but it leaves to the world the rich bequest of a bright example. Henceforth let no labourers in the cause of enlightened philanthropy despair of final success. The stripling with his stone and sling has proved adequate to the overthrow of the mighty giant. Noble ends sought by noble means more than compensate for any original disproportion of physical strength and power. The League is truly a great fact—a fact gained for humanity, and established as an eternal precedent in human improvement. "Recorded honours shall gather round its monument," for its origin was in rectitude, its course in justice, and its end in blessing.

A GLIMPSE INTO THE NEW ERA.—

In terminating our labours, we have the cheering satisfaction, that we have not merely achieved one vast reform, and uprooted one gigantic wrong, but laid the foundation, and cleared the way, for a wide variety of social and moral blessings. The benefits of the repeal of the Corn Law do not begin and end with the removal of a single vicious and oppressive enactment from the statute-book—nor even with the definitive establishment of just and true principles of economical legislation, applicable throughout the entire range of our commercial and industrial interests. They are not measurable by the rules and terms of economical science; they transcend altogether the formulas by which that science expresses the growth of the wealth of nations; they are not to be described in the statisticians' dialect of "facts and figures." Our commercial and industrial reform will be found very fruitful and far reaching in its scope and tendency—more so, perhaps, than any of us have yet habitually realised to our thoughts. The repeal of the Corn Law opens up a wide future of hopeful and beneficent endeavour to the philanthropist, the educator, the social reformer, and—as inclusive of these, in the new social era on which we are about to enter—to the statesman.

The great fact that will ever render this year, 1846, memorable in our annals may truly be called a "revolution." History has given the name to

many and many a political event far less worthy of it—containing far less of the elements of social change and progression. It is characteristic of this revolution of ours, that it implies a fundamentally new conception, on the part of the ruling power of these realms, of the legitimate functions of legislation and government. The whole science and art of statesmanship are simplified. A fallacy which absorbed the time of the legislature, misdirected its attention, wasted its strength, perverted its morality, and fatally damaged its character and influence, is for ever swept away. Once for all it is ruled, that legislation and government have henceforth nothing to do with taking care of special class interests. Parliament is relieved of the endless, hopeless, profitless, and impossible task of making special statutory provision for the lucrativeness of this, that, or the other line of business. Never again will Parliament concern itself with guaranteeing the profits of any class of traders or producers—never again will it be regarded as among the duties of a statesman to settle the selling price of wheat. From this time forth, the legislature will no more think of controlling and regulating the supply and price of the people's food, than of controlling wind and regulating the rain. The law of Parliament will no more meddle with the law of trade than with the law of tides. The merchant, the manufacturer, the farmer, will mind his business—and the statesman his.

A great deliverance this! Having rolled away this enormous obstruction from the path of legislation and statesmanship, we have now a clear field for those social reforms, which have so long lain in abeyance, while our politicians were vainly harassing themselves about matters with which politicians have properly nothing to do. The repeal of the Corn Law has set free all the best minds of the country for the highest work that can engage the thoughts and efforts of public men. The intellectual and moral forces that have fought and won the battle of economical truth and justice, are at length liberated for other and yet nobler service. It is now open to our reformers to gird themselves to the task of assailing and subduing social and moral ills which it seemed little better than hopeless to attack so long as the spirit and power of evil had the vantage ground of a law that perplexed every social relation, made the enjoyment of every social blessing precarious, and poisoned the very breath of society by tainting the moral atmosphere with injustice. We are now at liberty to carry the war against ignorance, vice, crime, and misery. Sanitary reforms, criminal-law reforms, plans for the more effectual prevention of crime, and reformation of the criminal, may now be hopefully pressed on the attention of a legislature and a public released from the labours of assailing or defending a law for giving corn-growers a higher price than their corn is worth. We are now at leisure to grapple with the difficulties of that which is coming to be the first and foremost of national questions—THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE;—as the people themselves will be placed, by the improved conditions under which their industry will henceforward be carried on, in a better state to receive the blessings of education, and to appreciate and respond to the endeavours of an enlightened Government. We may say, of all questions of domestic policy affecting the intellectual, moral, and social amelioration of the people, that they will now, for the first time within the memory of man, begin to have fair play.

It will ever be matter for animating and joyful reflection to those who have toiled and struggled together in the great cause now happily triumphant, that they leave their country in a more hopeful condition than they found it, with reference, not merely to those economical interests which have been the more immediate aim of their agitation, but to all the higher ends of philanthropy and patriotism. The one great and decisive reform which we have leagued ourselves to achieve will be, directly or indirectly, the fruitful parent of an endless series of beneficent and peaceful changes. The whole social atmosphere is purified. An enlightened and invigorated public opinion—new securities for that phy-

sical and material well-being of the industrious millions which is the indispensable pre-requisite of social and moral improvement; an abolition of the old traditional landmarks of party contention—and a treaty of peace and amity between classes whom a false and vicious legislation had placed in temporary relations of antagonism;—such is the legacy of the expiring ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE to that NEW ERA which dates from its euthanasia of victory.

ANNALS OF THE LEAGUE.

If there be anything unusual in noticing works which are as yet unpublished, and to a great extent unwritten, we have to plead in excuse that when they are completed and published, our Journal will have ceased to exist. No one will deny the great interest and importance of an accurate record of the great Free Trade movement which has been just brought to a successful issue; and there is not among all who have taken part in its proceedings a gentleman so peculiarly qualified to become its historian as Mr. A. W. Paulton. He sat by its cradle, he shared in all the toils of its life, and he has largely contributed to its glorious consummation. Seven months before any society had been formed to organise agitation, the lectures on the Corn Laws which he delivered under peculiar circumstances at Bolton directed public attention to the food monopoly as the great source of mercantile and manufacturing distress; and the public meetings he subsequently held in all the principal seats of our national industry, during the autumn and winter of 1838, led to the formation of associations for emancipating trade from the injurious restrictions with which it was fettered. Mr. Paulton was in fact the immediate precursor of the League, and it was chiefly through his exertions that delegates were assembled from the principal manufacturing districts during the spring of 1839, at 'Brown's Hotel, in Palace-yard, from which assembly the League sprang. The preceding months may be regarded as a period of gestation, during which the League was struggling into existence; its proper birth-day was the 19th of March, 1839, the day after the rejection of Mr. Villiers's motion in the House of Commons. For the last three years Mr. Paulton has acted as the managing director of the League resident in London, and has superintended all its metropolitan proceedings. The ability with which these were directed, afford as decisive a proof of his competency as his position does of the unrivalled opportunities he had for acquiring minute and accurate information. His work will come before the public with all the weight of official authority. No other writer could possess equal advantages, and we know of few prepared to use such advantages with equal diligence, equal talent, and equal integrity. Such a historical record, as we are certain of obtaining at his hand, will be in literature what Herbert's historical picture will be in art, the only memorial of our great agitation, sanctioned by the approbation and assisted by the personal evidence of the great leaders of the movement.

THE "ECONOMIST" AND "OUR READERS."

The *Economist* newspaper, as our readers will learn on reference to our advertising columns, is about to enlarge its sphere of usefulness by the immediate addition of several new and important features. These changes have been rendered necessary in some measure by the great reform that has just been achieved in our commercial policy. The principles of Free Trade, adopted to so large an extent in the Corn Bill and Tariff, are no longer the main or exclusive objects of public interest. Devoted to the advocacy of these principles during a period of three years, the *Economist* has laboured with a zeal, ability, and fidelity, that has contributed in no small degree to the triumphant issue of our long struggle. No tribute that we could pay to the able conductor of that journal would adequately express our sense of the powerful aid he has rendered to our cause and principles. Whilst thus acknowledging our obligations, we are anxious at the same time to testify our future confidence in the integrity and vigilance with which the further application of these principles will hereafter be maintained. A wide futurity of fruitful reforms remains yet to be accomplished in our commercial and financial policy. An important, if not the chief portion of the business of the legislature for some years will necessarily lie in this direction. The *Economist* needs no vindication from us of its well-merited claims to public confidence and support. We are, however, about to close our labours as journalists. The work for which the League was organised is accomplished. Whatever remains to be done, the silent and steady growth of public opinion will speedily realise. As a guide for that opinion—as the just and fitting depository of

that confidence which has been reposed in ourselves, we are anxious—most anxious, to recommend to our readers the claims of the *Economist* newspaper. It has already a large and influential circulation throughout the mercantile, manufacturing, and banking establishments of the country. We should rejoice to extend its influence among the great bulk of the middle and trading classes. It is impossible to estimate too highly the importance of popularising effectually the principles of which it has been so logical and practical an exponent.

As one means of conducing to this result, the changes contemplated by the *Economist* are most opportune. It is intended to associate all the elements of a perfect political and family newspaper, with the less attractive but most valuable department of commercial economics. Every member of the family circle will herein find its appropriate food. Each department, whether commercial, political, or literary, will be rendered as complete as possible, and conducted we have no doubt with an ability equal to that which has hitherto characterised its main features. It will therefore combine advantages which we will venture to say few other newspapers can adequately contest. For further particulars we must refer to the prospectus in our advertising columns, and content ourselves with thus cordially recommending the *Economist* to the confidence and support of our readers.

FREE TRADE CLUB.

This establishment, we are glad to learn, is in a prosperous and growing condition. Since the commencement of the present year, there has been a large accession of town and country members, and there is little doubt that the Free Trade Club will be one of the most numerous and widely supported institutions of the kind in the kingdom. It is, as most of our readers are aware, a Club composed of gentlemen who seek the abolition of all protective and differential duties, and has been brought into existence for the purpose of enabling such persons to come into friendly contact with Member of Parliament, and others who are interested in the emancipation of capital and industry from the restrictions which have been placed upon their productive powers.

We are exceedingly happy that this Club survives the dissolution of the League. In the progress of the great struggle for the abolition of the Corn Laws, men of all political parties, in every part of the country, have been brought acquainted with each other; and while they have been zealously labouring for a common object, now happily achieved, they have been led mutually to desire that their communion should not terminate with the disbanding of the great League army. We have ourselves strongly participated in this desire, and we know that such is the feeling also of every gentleman in Parliament and out of Parliament distinguished for his efforts to obtain the victory we are now celebrating. The FREE TRADE CLUB now presents itself as a place of occasional resort for all who have in times past fought shoulder to shoulder in the holy war. The terms of admission (which we give below) are such as to enable Free Traders throughout the kingdom to belong to it without inconvenience; and its advantages are such as to offer ample compensation for the annual fee, though the visits of a country member to the metropolis should be seldom and brief. Here, then, we hope to meet, from time to time, those who have been our fellow-labourers in the cause of Free Trade. Already the Club numbers amongst its supporters and regular frequenters the men to whom the nation is returning its thanks for the greatest national benefit ever obtained by peaceful means; and we cannot doubt that many hundreds will hasten to enrol themselves on the same list, and so perpetuate their connection with Free Trade measures, and Free Trade men:

TERMS.

Resident Members (within fifty miles of London)	
Entrance Fee	£5 5
Annual Subscription	2 2
Non-Resident Members (beyond fifty miles from London)	
Annual Subscription	2 2
No Entrance Fee is required from non-resident members.	

RULE V. Each candidate for admission shall be proposed as a Free Trader, by one member (on personal knowledge) and seconded by another; and the candidate's name and usual place of residence, his rank, profession, or other description, must be forwarded to the Secretary (Mr. A. Moore) at the time of application.

The situation of the Club House, 27, Regent-street, is peculiarly convenient for country members—intersecting, as it does, the great thoroughfares of Piccadilly and Regent-street. Public conveyances to all parts of the town and its suburbs pass the door at all times of the day and night.

A list of sleeping apartments, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Club, is kept by the Secretary, and members intending to come to town can, by writing to him, and stating particulars, have an apartment engaged, and ready for them on arrival.

Having thus placed before our readers the objects, the principles, and the terms of the Free Trade Club, it only remains that we should recommend it to the attention of our friends throughout the country, who, we feel persuaded, have only to be aware of the facts we have placed before them to be induced to join it.

HERBERT'S PICTURE OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE.

We have great pleasure in recording the progress of this truly national work. Mr. Herbert has nearly completed the likeness of Cobden, and has sketched the heads of several other leaders. His portrait of Cobden has an intellectual life, such as we have rarely seen in the works of modern artists, and is one of the most revealing of mental character which we have ever beheld. The grouping is pre-eminently artistic; it conveys those ideas of earnestness and attention which were the marked characteristics of every meeting of the Council, and there is a delicacy in the management of the light and shade which makes all the accessories of the picture subservient to the principal design. We may now safely predict that Mr. Herbert's work will have very few rivals in the English school of historic art,—a school to which it essentially belongs by the singularity of purpose which is manifest in every part of the artist's delineation. We may also add, that the undertaking is one highly creditable to the spirit and enterprise of Mr. Agnew, who has entered into the speculation at his own individual risk, and who looks for no other patronage than that which the interests and merits of the work will win from a discerning public. We earnestly hope, indeed we confidently believe, that Free Traders throughout the empire will be anxious to possess a historical memorial of the greatest social victory that has ever been obtained by peaceful means; and that Mr. Agnew will obtain the reward due to his patriotic anxiety to render this pictorial record worthy of the great event which it commemorates.

THE MAN THAT PLAYED PUNCH.

(From the Nonconformist.)

When the noisiest of puppets has talked his fill, and the dog Toby has snarled and snarled through the part which was the consideration for his supper and the cracked trumpet is still, there is a shuffling of something like a curtain, and out there steps a man as little resembling any of the preceding performers as fancy could invent, whose entrance was undeniably the spring and mover of all that has been squeaked, or barked, or with less decorous inarticulate explosion discharged upon the public ear.

Let now, when the game is up, the drawing of the curtain reveals the authors and movers of the agitation which men mistook for Chartists. The protest of the protectionist peers has been made with paste and scissors, from the bills in which the migratory orators of the *Northern Star* went to challenge to wordy war the travelling preachers of the League. Not a word is omitted of what is weak, nor added of what is strong. Surely neither Punch nor his managers will ever be made ministers.

It is serious matter of hope, that none who have been capable of committing themselves to such a protest, will ever be found in a position to influence the fortunes of the country. In a few years the matter will have grown into a burlesque; or men at large will have so outgrown it, that it will be like those dresses of our ancestors which cannot in these days be looked upon with a grave countenance. The West Briton who wanted to lengthen his coat by sewing at the bottom a piece taken from the top, will be held only a type of a lordly protectionist and his commercial policy. Our children's children will wonder at what school men were educated for such a process of arithmetic; and most of all they shall admire the fatality by which, being simple, they could not refrain from chronicling their simplicity.

OUR EARLY FRIENDS.—In a recent article upon the House of Lords, we stated that only three peers of the realm had joined the League, viz., Lords Radnor, Ducie, and Kinnaird. A correspondent has, however, reminded us of the services of Earl Buchan, a peer of Scotland, who has for many years been a consistent supporter of our cause, and who joined the League, and presided at our meetings at a time when it was very unfashionable to do so. We should be sorry if, in the exultation over new converts, we should lose sight of one of our early friends.

MANCHESTER REFORM ASSOCIATION.—At a numerous meeting of this association on Tuesday, held at the Albion Hotel, Mr. Alderman Potter was elected chairman of the association, in the room of his father the late Sir Thomas Potter; and Mr. John Moorhouse was elected secretary of the association, in the place of the late Mr. Richard Webb.

REPRESENTATION OF NEWCASTLE UNDER-LYNE.—Mr. Geo. Graville Francis Egerton, the eldest son of Lord Francis Egerton, and nephew of the Duke of Sutherland, has announced himself, in the following terms, as a candidate for the representation of this borough:—"Having seen in the newspapers a letter addressed to you by one of your present members, declaring his intention of retiring from the representation of your borough in the event of a dissolution of Parliament, I take the liberty of announcing my intention of becoming a candidate for the honour of your suffrages at the earliest opportunity; and I shall venture to hope that the explanation of my political views and opinions will be such as to secure for me your confidence and support." Although the political views of the honourable candidate cannot be gathered from the above address, it is understood that he will come forward upon independent principles, irrespective of party, adopting the conduct of his noble father as the guide of his political life. The high claims of the noble family with which Mr. Egerton is connected—Trenttham, the seat of the Duke of Sutherland, being within four miles of Newcastle—are of themselves sufficient to insure the hon. gentleman's success.—*Times*.

EXPORTATION OF WHEAT.—Some time ago, in remarking upon the state of the corn markets in England, we expressed an opinion that some of our wheat in England would be exported to that country. During the last week, we find that about 20,000 quarters of the lower qualities have been bought at prices from 34s. to 40s. per quarter for that purpose.—*Morning Chronicle*.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THE FREE TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE
SESSION OF 1846.

Twenty-fourth Week, ending Saturday, July 4.

A few years ago there was a gentleman in the House of Commons, whose manners were much more eccentric than his judgment was profound, and who, in this respect, was a tolerable rival of one of those gallant colonels, whom Mr. O'Connell has transmitted to future ages in an immortal parody. The name of the senator may be recollected from the fact, that in 1837 he was committed by the Lord Chancellor for contempt of the Court of Chancery; and the House of Commons refused to interfere in his behalf. On one occasion, our worthy representative made a vehement speech, though we doubt if it has been embalmed in *Hansard*. It was on some really unimportant matter, which, however, to his perceptions, seemed to involve the ruin of our glorious constitution. With vehement action, and in excited language, he declared his determination to stand by that flag which, he affirmed, had floated over us, unaltered and unchanged, for a thousand years. A thousand years is a long time for a flag to float, unaltered and unchanged. Lord Brougham, on a recent journey in the south of France, took shelter from the noon-day sun in the porch of an old church, situated in a secluded rural district. Here he was struck by an *affiche*, or placard, nearly as perfect as it had come from the printer's hands, and which contained a copy of a Government edict issued during the first French revolution. The document had remained undisturbed and undestroyed for half a century. But this was in the "sunny south;" and our damp climate, and restless spirits, are ill adapted for the preservation of literal or metaphorical flags or placards. Even in the British Museum the vivid colours of the paintings from the tombs of the Pharaohs are fading; and the Corporation of the city of London find it very hard to scrape a marble statue (Queen Anne, to wit) into pristine purity, when once it has been coated over with the coal-dust of ages. No wonder, therefore, that those present in the House of Commons laughed when they heard of the metaphorical flag of the constitution floating unaltered and unchanged during a thousand years. The monomania, like the leprosy, has disappeared; and if ever it should again exhibit itself, the humanest method of cure will be to move that the honourable member subject to the attack be ordered to read patiently and continuously the whole series of the "statutes at large."

Yet Lord Stanley was very near being violently affected by a fit of the "unaltered and unchanged." In that great speech of his, which he himself regards with some complacency, he answered that the principle of PROTECTION had been recognised by the legislature during five centuries. There is something excessively droll in such an impudent assumption. Dark and barbarous as were the notions and the customs of our ancestors, the great object of early legislation, however stupidly it was attempted, was to cheapen the price of food. No doubt the Richmonds, the Ashburtons, the Stanhopes, the Bentincks, and the Stanleys say, that modern protection is identical in spirit with ancient protection, namely, to secure and to cheapen home-grown produce. But the darkest night is not more different from the brightest day, than the circumstances of England now, and five centuries ago. The people of London can now get corn with more certainty from Australia than they could then from Lincoln, to say nothing of the ten thousand other considerations which affect the question. The possession of the soil has, of course, been always an important matter in this country: but PROTECTION, in its true, genuine, modern acceptance, only began when increase of population taught landlords the value of their property; when, by BOUNTIES on exportation, they enhanced the price of their produce, by getting the nation to pay them for sending corn abroad; and at last, when the population had outrun their ability to supply, changing the bounty on exportation into a PENALTY on importation, and thus tying down a great nation to deal, almost exclusively, at one chartered corn shop. Happily, we are now reverting to a state of things, and to a state of feeling, which will lead a House of Commons, as in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to stare with amazement at the idea of BREAD being put amongst the "patents."

And even since 1815, what a curious and amusing history might be made, out of legislative doings and wriggings with respect to corn! The Corn Bill of the latter year just mentioned, with its prohibition of importation so long as prices remained under 80s.; the rise of the price in 1816-17—say in eighteen months—from 53s. 1d. to 112s. 7d., and then the rapid fall from 112s. 7d. to 74s., thus combining the baffling of the landlords, with the punishment of the people; the cry of agricultural distress during 1820-22; the grave proposal of Sir Thomas Lethbridge that there should be levied on all foreign corn a permanent duty of forty shillings a quarter; the no less grave proposal of Mr. Bennett (who lives to weep over the ruin of his beloved protection) that there should be a permanent duty of twenty-four shillings a quarter when the averages had reached 80s., and a drawback of 18s. on every quarter exported; the object being the same as that of the bounty system, to tempt exportation, and keep up home prices. Add to all this, that a Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1821, had under its consideration a proposal for withdrawing the permission to warehouse foreign wheat or any other foreign grain in England; and when, in 1822, it was proposed that one million sterling in Exchequer bills should be applied by the Government for the purpose of buying up British wheat,

and placing it in store. Indeed, the alternate BULLYING and WHINING of the agricultural interest, ever since 1816, remind us of the Lincoln's Inn beggar, as described by Gay, who whined over his crutch in the day-time, but used it for knocking down at night. Thus does Gay, in his *Trivia*, or "Art of Walking the Streets of London," published in 1712, caution the metropolitan pedestrian:

"Where Lincoln's Inn, wide space, is railed around,
Cross not with venturous step: there oft is found
The lurking thief, who, while the daylight shone,
Made the walls echo with his begging tone;
That crutch, which late compassion moved, shall wound
Thy bleeding head, and fell thee to the ground.
Though thou art tempted by the linkman's call,
Yet trust him not along the lonely wall;
In the mid-day he'll quench the flaming brand,
And share the booty with the pilfering band."

We say this in no spirit of taunt or of triumph. The moral victory we have won wholly indisposes us to trample on a fallen foe. Animated not by the lust of conquest, but by the spirit of conviction, we have fought to bring, not merely our friends but our adversaries, under the beneficent reign of sound principle. We have done this, as Sir Robert Peel has avouched, by "appeals to reason;" and the exultation of our triumph is, or at least ought to be, a reasonable one. Nevertheless there are good grounds for *historical* reminiscences. If the children of Egypt were to remember for ever the Egyptian bondage out of which they were brought, the people of England (and we use the illustration with reverence, though at the risk of being termed "blasphemous" by an Earl of Warwick) should never forget the dark days of monopoly. The agricultural mind has been pre-eminent for proving that "Tenterden steeple do be the cause of Goodwin sands;" and we are not yet fairly launched into the great ocean of Free Trade. Should anything occur while we are on the slips of the three years' probation, there are Bentincks and Stanleys on the watch, ready to tell the farmers that if a sheep be stolen, or a stack takes fire, it is all owing to the want of protection! Public opinion must, therefore, remember what has been, as well as observe what is; and in that case, we may safely conclude that agricultural protection will be consigned to a dictionary of obsolete phrases, and its history and meaning only hereafter to be found in some volume of the "Curiosities of Economic Legislation."

The legislative action of the ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE on public opinion commenced in 1839. At that time, on the subject of protection, the House of Commons was a too faithful reflection of the House of Lords. The question of the Corn Laws had all but died out of recollection; and though the present SPEAKER of the House of Commons, Mr. C. S. Lefevre, in a report which he drew up in 1836, recommended a moderate fixed duty, it was quite true what Mr. CORDEN subsequently said, that in 1835 the eloquence of a Demosthenes would not have attracted attention to the importance of Free Trade. But, at the close of 1836, occurred the commercial collapse, arising out of the monetary crisis in the United States, and its action on our own commerce; and this collapse was accompanied by a slightly deficient harvest. The foreign exchanges turned against us. Yet the cause or causes were very imperfectly understood. A large exportation of bullion was going on; and this compelled a great contraction of commercial accommodation, which was aggravated by the discredit thrown on the best houses, owing to the American revulsion. But men abused the Bank of England, and forgot the sliding scale; they talked much of currency, and said little about corn. We struggled through 1837, and seemed to be recovering, when the deficient harvest of 1838 plunged the country deeper into gloom and suffering. By this time, thinking men were laying their finger on the true cause of all our disasters. Colonel THOMPSON and Dr. BOWRING originated the Anti-Corn-Law crusade; and Mr. PAULTON commenced the first of that series of "appeals to reason" which have ended in so signal a moral triumph. On the 13th of December, 1838, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce agreed on a petition to Parliament, praying for the total and immediate repeal of the corn and provision laws; and in January, 1839, the first meeting of deputies was held in Manchester. This led to the delegation which assembled in London on the commencement of the session—the memorable Anti-Corn-Law Parliament which met at Brown's Hotel, Palace Yard, in the spring of 1839. Dr. BOWRING was placed at the head of an EVIDENCE Committee; Mr. VILLIERS was selected to lead the battle in the House of Commons. Mr. VILLIERS moved "That this house will immediately resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the act regulating the importation of foreign corn." He did not obtain even a respectful hearing. The division was called for, amidst the wildest hootings and outcries; and 344 against 197 rushed into the lobbies to silence a national demand.

In truth, we can hardly wonder at it. Protection had shot its roots into the soil; capital had been invested; mortgages made; incumbrances created; settlements assigned; leases contracted—all on the faith of the unjust and exclusive possession of the home market. A strong self-interest was the foundation of protection; and that foundation has become concrete. The "agricultural mind" sat in its arm-chair of statutory law; and the daughters of fraud and delusion, whose names are fallacy, clap-trap, and sentiment, waited upon the portly personage. When public opinion came into the presence of the "agricultural mind," fallacy stepped forward, and spoke of capital invested in the soil, of labourers employed, of great incomes spent, of money circulated, and of a home market, the loss of which would bring ruin to millions.

Then Clap-trap sung a song, the burden of which was "independence of foreigners," and which implied that in the event of a war, our snug little island would supply us with all that we wanted, and enable us to laugh at all our enemies. And Sentiment, with grave aspect, would point to the "broad acres," and the village rustics, blooming with health, and redolent of content, all dancing on the village green; while in the dim distance tall chimneys vomiting clouds of smoke, partly disclosed and partly concealed the squalid regions where avarice counted its money bags, and ground humanity into "devil's dust." Public opinion was somewhat bewildered; and retired, muttering that "much might be said on both sides."

We know not that we can better exhibit, in a few lines, a more vivid condensation of the fallacy, clap-trap, and sentiment which were associated with the Corn Laws than by quoting a celebrated passage from a celebrated speech, which, in 1839, drew thunders of applause from all parts of the House of Commons. The orator has since bravely recanted his error. He has since applied his vigorous mind to the question, has spoken with a power and an eloquence which have been of immense benefit to the cause in its last struggle, and has proved his sincerity by submitting to the penalty which has followed his change of opinion and of action. With no feeling of disrespect towards Sir JAMES GRAHAM, but the reverse, we quote the passage, because it embodies all that poetry could achieve in defence of a Corn Law, and represents to us *historically* the nature of the feeling prevalent in the minds of not a few of the working, a considerable portion of the middle, and nearly all the higher classes, in the year 1839:

"What change more cruel could despotism itself inflict than a change from 'the breezy call of incense-breathing morn,' to a painful and grievous obedience to the sad sound of the factory bell; the relinquishment of the thatched cottage, the blooming garden, and the village green, for the foul garret or the dark cellar of the crowded city; the enjoyment of the rural walk of the innocent rustic Sabbath, for the debauchery, the temptations, the pestilence, the sorrows, and the sins of a congregated multitude? Where were their moralists, that their voices were not raised against the fearful consequences that would follow in its train? Talk of sending the Poles to Siberia, or the Hill Coolies from Coromandel to the Mauritius—the authors of the proposed change contemplated the perpetration, 'within the limits of their native land, of a cruelty far more atrocious.' It was the first step towards making England the workshop of the world, dependent for its daily support upon Continental supplies."

In this passage Sir James Graham re-echoed the prevalent feelings and opinions of a great bulk of the British public. That he was sincere in 1839 we have no reason to doubt; that he is sincere now we have ample evidence to show. Since 1839, "appeals to reason," official experience, the force of circumstances, the results of legislative experiment, and deliberate investigation, have shown him the fallacy of his fears; and the greatness of the change wrought in public opinion may be inferred from the fact, that, with the approbation of a majority of the House of Commons, and the admiration of the British people, Sir James Graham concluded one of his many able speeches in 1846, by a quotation from Pope, as to the probable results of Free Trade:

"The time shall come, when free as air or wind,
Unbounded Thames shall flow for all mankind,
Whole nations enter with each swelling tide,
And seas but join the regions they divide;
Earth's distant ends our glories shall behold,
And a new world launch forth to meet the old."

Amongst the most formidable of the antagonists which the Anti-Corn-Law League had to overcome, in the earlier portion of its career, were the believers in the "abstract" truth of Free Trade doctrines, but who denied their applicability to such a country as this. Strong minds are apt to undervalue this class of reasoners, and to speak of them with contempt. Of this, a somewhat whimsical example is given by Mr. Austen, in his "Province of Jurisprudence Determined." Speaking of the usual fallacious disjunction of theory and practice, he bursts out in the following characteristic way: "'Tis true in theory, but then 'tis false in practice. This says NOODLE. And this he propoundeth with a look of profundity that were enough to make ye split. But with due and discreet deference to this worshipful and weighty personage, that which is true in theory is also true in practice."

So no doubt it appears to minds that can reason like Mr. Austen. But in the early stages of a great national controversy, before public opinion has been enlightened on the subject, that generic creature whom Mr. Austen contemptuously terms "Noodle," is really a "worshipful and mighty personage." For "Noodle" embraces a large portion of the average respectability and intelligence of the nation—cautious bankers, quiet merchants, sober shopkeepers, who revolve a new opinion a long time before they can persuade themselves to take it up—men who prefer being led to being driven, and who like to lean on authority. And we are not sure but that Sir Robert Peel himself, in the early stages of the Corn Law controversy, was a light and an example of Noddledom. He never denied the "abstract" truth of Free Trade principles—nay, he admitted them. In 1825, he joined with Mr. Huskisson in partially applying them in practice. As leader of the Opposition, he repeatedly told his followers that there was no special virtue in the sliding scale; and declared that he would not pledge himself to maintain it. His memorable speech of the 27th of August, 1841, contained a distinct declaration to that effect; and he even went the length of putting a hypothetical case, in which he said, alluding to the condition of the country, that if any sacrifice on the part of the agricultural interest could prevent their being the "real cause of the distress—could

prevent the continuance of it—could offer a guarantee against the recurrence of it—I would earnestly advise a relaxation, an alteration,—nay, if necessary, a repeal of the Corn Laws.” But hail-stones pattering on a pent-house make no impression; and abstract belief has little influence on many minds, until they come into positive contact with circumstances. When Sir Robert Peel assumed office in 1841, the responsibility of having to provide for a state of things indicated by the appalling state of Paisley, of Stockport, and of the manufacturing districts generally, made an indelible impression on him. He studied the report of the Import Duties’ Committee, made in 1810; he tried the experiment of reducing the sliding scale; he revised the tariff; he listened attentively to Free Trade debates; and again and again his countenance indicated the effect which the speeches of Mr. VILLIERS, Mr. COBDEN, and Mr. BRIGHT, made upon him; his defence of the Corn Laws, growing feebler every session, indicated it still more; until at last, compelled by the force of argument, the power of truth, the demonstration of experience, and the danger to which the country was exposed from a deficient harvest, he plucked the idol from its niche, and dashed it on the ground.

During 1840, the Anti-Corn-Law League continued its up-hill work; and though Mr. VILLIERS again brought forward his annual motion, and was again defeated, by 300 to 177, the controversy was mainly carried on out of doors. Innumerable were the pamphlets, the speeches, and the lectures. Grave, and even reverend men, rushed into cheap tracts, conjuring the working classes not to listen to selfish manufacturers, who, for an inappreciable fractional reduction on the price of a loaf, contemplated the ruin of the upper classes, and the bondage of the lower. Philosophic economists started unsolved problems, and in letters addressed to men high in office or station, expressed apprehension that this country could not “fight hostile tariffs with free imports.” Professional men, attorneys and doctors, assailed the “millocracy.” Cotton lords would prove, so it was said, far worse despots than landlords. The *Standard* newspaper thought that England would be as happy and glorious, if all our manufacturing towns were razed to the ground. Yet in 1840 appeared Mr. Hume’s Import Duties’ Committee Report, one of the most memorable legislative “appeals to reason,” by which the great contest has been carried on. And though Free Trade seemed to suffer a reverse at the general election of 1841, it must not be forgotten that the present Parliament was opened with a Free Trade Royal Speech; and Lord John Russell, even in the act of laying down his power, declared to the citizens of London his strong conviction, that though the people of England had repudiated the principles of commercial legislation proposed by the Whigs, yet they would discuss, hesitate, pause, and deliberate over, and finally adopt them!

The general election of 1841 gave us what was thought to be a protective administration; but it gave us, also, RICHARD COBDEN as a legislator. In 1842, the controversy which had been carried on chiefly out of doors, was transferred to the floor of the House of Commons. We had passed through a dreadful winter. The manufacturing districts were in an appalling condition. Paisley was living on public bounty. Whole streets in Stockport were depopulated. Bolton endured a “famine siege.” Workmen, wandering about idle and hungry, cheered the expression of the hope that “Captain Swing would take command.” The commercial distress reached the metropolis; and the poor-rates in the city of London shot up enormously, because crowds of despairing creatures, flying from the “wolf” behind them, thought to find bread or food in the vast and wealthy capital of the country. A “Queen’s Letter” called on the more fortunate to contribute to the support of the poor; the churches resounded with exhortations; thousands of pounds were collected, and speedily disappeared. Thus opened the year 1842; and all were waiting on the plans of Sir Robert Peel. He had not then made himself up to part with the sliding scale—that was still too bold a step. So, on the 9th of February, 1842, when he propounded his new edition, which, last week, went out of print, the minds of the swarming country gentlemen were relieved of dreadful apprehensions; and the only voice which, on that evening, spoke of the measure, was that of Mr. COBDEN, who denounced the modification as “an insult to a suffering country.”

But the first real Free Trade movement made by Sir R. Peel, was when he propounded his new tariff on the 11th of March, 1842. In carrying through that measure, which occupied a great portion of the session, the Prime Minister had the high honour of receiving the approbation and the support of Mr. D’ISRAELI. The member for Shrewsbury sat immediately behind the Treasury bench; his speech is preserved in *Hansard*, wherein he proved that Lord Shelburne and Mr. Pitt were our first legislative Free Traders, and that the Whigs, including Burke, Fox, Grey, Sheridan, had opposed themselves to a relaxation of our commercial policy, when Mr. Pitt proposed it. True, Mr. D’Israeli changed his place, and altered his opinion; but thereby the speech of 1842 is not deprived of one particle of its cogency, because the measures of 1842 are surpassed by the measures of 1846.

The tariff of 1842 nearly led to a disruption in the Conservative camp, Sir Richard Vyvyan, the member for Helston, in particular, denouncing Sir Robert Peel in strong language, especially through the medium of a publisher’s letter. Mr. Miles was also valiant on the subject of foreign cattle, which, for the first time, were permitted to land on British shores, on the payment of a duty of 1*l.* per horned head—a duty now swept away by the greater tariff of 1846. The late Lord Western bitterly complained in the House of Lords

that the agriculturists had been deceived by Sir R. Peel, in his introduction of the new Corn Law, although Sir R. Peel, not eight months previously, had told a crowded House of Commons that he would not accept the support of the agricultural interest of the condition of maintaining all the details of the law of 1828. And the Dukes of Buckingham, Richmond, and Cleveland, Earl Stanhope, and Lord Beaumont, poured out, in 1842, lamentations, ejaculations, and objurgations, precisely as they did in 1846, and with as little effect. The Free Traders in the House of Commons were not idle. Manifest were the amendments proposed, and the discussions raised, and the “distress of the country” afforded a theme for animated and earnest debate. Mr. Ward raised the subject of “special burdens.” Mr. Cobden moved that as it was beyond the power of Parliament to regulate the wages of labour, it was unjust to pass an act to regulate, with a view to raise unnaturally, the price of food; and Mr. Villiers had his annual debate on the Corn Laws. The session of 1842 thus laid the legislative foundation of Free Trade. Imperfectly, as the tariff of 1842 realised the doctrine, the people saw in the Customs’ Act of that year a very decided attempt to carry out the principle of “buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market; while the admissions of Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone, and the arguments of Mr. Villiers and Mr. Cobden deepened the impression.

Meantime, the protracted discussions of the session of 1842 had the effect of aggravating commercial embarrassments, for trade and commerce were all but suspended, waiting the passing of the Tariff. We had already witnessed five harvests in succession, more or less deficient; and the moist heavy rains of July threatened us with another. Lord Palmerston gave warning of the danger. Sir Robert Peel nervously assured the house that in some favoured nook of the south of England, “the harvest had already begun.” And Mr. Cobden protested against closing the doors of Parliament, proclaiming, in thrilling accents, that “the country was drifting on to confusion without rudder or compass!” But the doors of Parliament were closed; the insurrection of the working classes in the north broke out; though Providence, in his mercy, saved us from the horrors of a sixth deficient harvest in succession, the month of August proving one of extraordinary heat and dryness, filling the grain, and ripening the crops.

The speculators in foreign grain had fully made up their minds that we should have another deficient harvest; and they made extraordinary preparations. A large stock in bond was lying, ready to be taken out at the critical moment. Prices, instead of going up, went down; stock had to be taken out of bond at a high instead of a low duty, in order to satisfy the Lombard Street bankers, who had made large advances: enormous loss instead of profit was the result; a commercial pestilence swept Mark Lane. The abundant harvest was of itself sufficient to cause a considerable fall in price, which was increased by the great quantity of foreign grain poured on the market; and the farmers had now to encounter a phenomena with which, ever since 1836, they had not been familiar. They had hitherto been in some sort compensated for diminished consumption by high prices; now low prices and limited demand came together; and the “agricultural mind” was driven into imperfect cogitation on the causes of distress.

Notwithstanding agricultural distress, the winter of 1842-3 was got over much easier than previous winters. Cheapness of food had something to do with this; while commerce and trade received some impetus from the news of the termination of the war with China, and the opening of its ports to our manufacturers. Still at the opening of the session of 1843, the state of the country was such as to justify the Government in stating in the Royal Speech that the “diminished receipts from some of the ordinary sources of income” was “attributable to the reduced consumption of many articles, caused by that depression of the manufacturing industry of the country which has so long prevailed.” Little was practically done in 1843 for Free Trade; but much was effectively said. In the famous debate on Lord Howick’s motion, Sir James Graham admitted that the principles of Free Trade were recognised by every man of common sense; and this declaration was confirmed, in subsequent debates, by other members of the Cabinet. Mr. Goulburn said that the “abstract” truth of Free Trade principles had never been disputed; and Mr. Gladstone assented. It is true, that in the debate on the annual motion of Mr. Villiers, another Cabinet Minister advanced to the table, and gravely stated that one of the reasons why the Corn Laws should be kept up was that landlords should be enabled to keep their position in society, and provide marriage settlements for their daughters. If one did not know that Sir Edward Knatchbull was perfectly sincere and serious in this, it might be suspected that he was enacting the part of a Parliamentary Dean Swift, and battering down the Corn Laws by a stroke of imitable humour. But though little was done in 1843, the session was not wholly barren. Mr. BRIGHT appeared in the House of Commons, having made at Durham, as the Marquis of Londonderry recently assured the House of Lords, “the very best speech that ever was heard, on the subject of the repeal of the Corn Laws.” [Doubtless, that speech laid the foundation of the conversion of the noble marquis.] Lord Stanley, too, introduced his Canada Corn Bill, the loss of which, by the measures of the present session, seems to have caused him so much chagrin; Mr. Gladstone repealed the restrictions on the exportation of machinery; and those discussions on SUGAR began which are not yet terminated. Towards the close of the session Mr. COBDEN delivered a powerful speech on the

relative value of our colonial and foreign trade, and startled the house with one of his pithy sayings—“It is with people we should deal, and not with barren wastes!”

Commercial prosperity, slowly returning, made its presence palpable in the autumn of 1843. Short-sighted people then indulged in the delusion that Anti-Corn-Law agitation would “die.” Little did they know the energy, the earnestness, and the faith which inspired the leaders of the League. In this department we cannot properly intermeddle with the history of the Anti-Corn-Law League outside the walls of Parliament. The fund, first of FIFTY THOUSAND, then of ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS; the issue of ten millions of tracts; the deputations to the agricultural districts; the electioneering movements; the removal to London—all these events will be fully recorded by Mr. PAULTON, himself one of the earliest of the actors in this great movement. But though commercial prosperity did not abate the ardour of the leaders of the League, they were so far discouraged by Parliamentary apathy as to advise that for the present the agitation should be carried on rather in the country than in the House of Commons. That this was a mistake was soon seen, and remedied afterwards; for however hostile the House of Commons might be on the subject of corn, the fiscal reductions which Sir Robert Peel effected in 1844 on glass, vinegar, currants, coffee, marine insurances, and wool, showed that the Prime Minister was steadily pursuing his course of financial reform: while the memorable debates on the Ten Hours’ clause in the Factories Bill, and the no less memorable phrase used by Sir James Graham about the “HOUSE OF CARDS” (the significance of which was immediately discerned by Mr. COBDEN) caused a deep impression to be made on the public mind. But it would be quite wrong to convey the impression that in 1844 the Anti-Corn-Law League did nothing in Parliament. It was on the 12th of March of that year that Mr. COBDEN moved for a select committee to inquire into the effects of protective duties upon the interests of tenant farmers and farm labourers. The speech which the member for Stockport made on this occasion was one of those creative things which give a new aspect to a controversy, and a fresh impetus to the national intellect. The country gentlemen, who attended in crowds, and sat in silent amazement, listening to their teacher, showed by their interest at once the power of the orator and the novelty of the subject; and though Mr. Gladstone opposed the motion, that speech of Mr. Cobden’s sank at the time into the heart and soul of Sir Robert Peel, and prepared the *finale* of the Corn Laws.

At the commencement of the session of 1845, the public of London rushed in crowds to hear Sir Robert Peel propose still more sweeping financial reductions, repealing the cotton, glass, and 430 other duties, lowering the duty on sugar, and otherwise amending our tariff. All this, of course, furnished abundant opportunity for keeping up the Free Trade discussion; while the conduct of the lauded interest on “GREASE,” “LARD,” and other infinitely small matters, plunged them into the mire of public odium. The annual motion of Mr. VILLIERS was met by speeches from Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham, in which there were clear indications that they were on the eve of surrendering the citadel. Then followed the cold wet autumn; the potato rot; the apprehended scarcity; and the cabinet “crisis.”

The results of the session of 1846, not yet brought to a close, are too fresh in the recollection of our readers to require recapitulation. Throughout the whole of the present Parliament, from the autumn of 1841 till the present time, we have had the opportunity of attentively observing the conduct of the Parliamentary leaders of the ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE. Never shrinking from seizing every available opportunity for discussion, they have never frittered away their resources. All their “appeals to reason” have been conducted with due deference to constitutional and Parliamentary forms. They never turned the debate into a *bore*, by keeping it up beyond all reasonable length. They never lowered the dignity of their cause by coming unprepared. They always watched the suitable time (a matter of great importance in the House of Commons) so that no use of the forms of the house could throw ridicule on their efforts. Their first quality has been earnestness; their second perseverance; their third patience; their fourth, intellectual ability and incessant effort; and their fifth, moral power. But admirable as has been their conduct throughout, it has been surpassed during the present session. From the moment that the Prime Minister came forward to repeal the Corn Laws, the Anti-Corn-Law League was quiet. The leaders did not rush forward with vulgar haste, exclaiming to Sir Robert Peel—“That’s our thunder!” Nor did they ostentatiously parade their support of the Government; their speeches were few, and to the point, made not to show that they were the authors of Corn Law repeal, but simply to afford the needed aid at the fitting time. And they have their reward. The Prime Minister proclaims to the world that the repeal of the Corn Laws is due neither to himself nor to Lord John Russell, neither to Tory nor to Whig, but to that combination of moral and intellectual power, of which the type is the name of RICHARD COBDEN.

END OF THE FREE TRADE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT.

MINISTERIAL EXPLANATIONS.

SIR R. PEELE at half past five o’clock entered the house amid profound silence and took his seat. In a few moments he rose and spoke as follows: Mr. Speaker—Sir, I feel it to be my duty to avail myself of the earliest opportunity of notifying to this house that, in consequence of the position of her Majesty’s Government, and especially in

consequence of that vote to which the house came on the night of Thursday last, by which they refused to give to her Majesty's Government those powers which they deemed necessary for the repression of outrage and the protection of life in Ireland, her Majesty's servants have felt it their duty to tender their resignation to a gracious Sovereign. The resolution to tender that resignation was the unanimous resolution of her Majesty's servants, adopted without hesitation. Sir, if I had any complaint to prefer with respect to the course pursued by the house, this is not the occasion on which I should venture to prefer it. It is impossible not to feel that that occasion by which a great change takes place in the councils of a great empire, affecting for weal or for woe, the welfare of many millions of the Queen's subjects, in almost all parts of the habitable globe—it is impossible not to feel that that is an important, I might almost say a solemn occasion—and it is not on such an occasion that one word ought to be said by a Minister, acting in homage to constitutional principles, which can by possibility revive controversies of an acrimonious character. Sir, such controversies would be wholly unsuited to the magnitude of this occasion, and I must also say, the provocation of any such controversy would be wholly at variance with the feelings which influence me in addressing this house (cheers). These feelings would rather prompt me to acknowledge with gratitude the many occasions on which, speaking of the great body of the gentlemen on this side of the house, at periods antecedent to the present session, I and my colleagues have received a generous and cordial support. These feelings would also rather prompt me to acknowledge with gratitude the occasions on which, from those gentlemen opposite, in omission of party differences, her Majesty's Government have received, for measures of which those gentlemen approved also, a cordial support; and I trust therefore, Sir, that nothing will escape me in explaining the course which her Majesty's Government have thought it their duty to pursue which can run the risk of provoking those controversies which I so deprecate. Sir, her Majesty has been graciously pleased to accept that tender of resignation, and her Majesty's servants now only hold their offices until their successors shall have been appointed. Sir, I said that if I had complaints to prefer, this would not be the occasion on which I would prefer them; but I must also say, that I did not propose those measures connected with our commercial policy at the commencement of this session without foreseeing that, whether those measures succeeded or failed, they must cause the dissolution of the Government which proposed them; and therefore, Sir, I rather rejoice that her Majesty's Government have been relieved from any doubt by an early decision of this house, as to the course it would be their duty to pursue; for I do not hesitate to say that, even if that vote had been in my favour, I would not have consented to hold office by sufferance or by the evasion of any principle (great cheering). I believe that it is not for the public interest that a Government should remain in power unable to give practical effect to the measures which they consider necessary to the public welfare; and in the position in which her Majesty's Government was placed, by the withdrawal, perhaps the natural withdrawal, of the confidence of many of those who had heretofore given them their support, I do not think it probable that even if the vote to which I refer had been in my favour, her Majesty's Government would have been enabled, with credit to themselves and with advantage to the country, to continue in the administration of public affairs (great cheering). Sir, we have advised her Majesty to accept our resignations without adopting that alternative which we might have adopted, viz., recommending to the Crown the exercise of its prerogative, and to dissolve the present Parliament. We have preferred the immediate tender of resignation to the adoption of that alternative. Sir, I do not hesitate to say, speaking with a frankness which I trust will offend no one, that if her Majesty's Government had failed in carrying in all their integrity, those measures of commercial policy which it was my duty to recommend, I do not hesitate to say that there is no exertion I would not have made (loud cheering) in order, if not to insure their ultimate success, at least to give the country an opportunity of pronouncing an opinion on the subject (loud cheers). In that case I should have felt myself justified in advising a dissolution, because I think that the continuance of doubt on such a subject would have been a greater evil than resorting to a constitutional expression of opinion by the people of this country (cheers). But there is no necessity for a dissolution on this ground:—those who dissented from those measures have withdrawn their opposition, and I am bound to say it was not a factious or unseemly opposition, to them; simply protesting against them, they have given finally their consent to those measures, and those measures having passed into law, I do not feel I should have been justified, for any subordinate consideration, for the interest of the Government merely, in advising the exercise of the prerogative to which I refer, and dissolving the Parliament (hear, hear). Because I feel strongly this,—that no administration is justified in advising the exercise of that prerogative unless there be a fair, reasonable presumption, even a strong moral conviction, that after a dissolution they should have had a party powerful enough in this house to enable us to give effect practically to the measures which we might propose. Now, I don't mean a support founded on mere temporary sympathy with our position on the part of those who, otherwise, are opposed to us; I do not mean a support founded on a concurrence on one great question of domestic policy, however important that may be. I think we ought not to dissolve without having a full assurance that we should have the support, not of those who differ from us on almost all questions of public policy, agreeing with us in one, but that we should have the support of a powerful party united to us by a general concurrence of political opinion (cheers). And I am bound to say, that in the general division of parties, and after all that has occurred, I did not entertain a confident hope that a dissolution of Parliament would have given us that support (hear, hear). I must also say that, after all the excitement which has taken place, and after the stagnation of trade consequent upon our protracted discussions, it did appear to us that this was a period when it would not be judicious to take such a step (hear, and cheers). Upon these grounds, we preferred instant resignation to the alternative of a dissolution. We were left in a minority on a question connected with Ireland (hear). Now I should lament, not merely because it is an Irish question, but I should most deeply lament if it could be thought that the measure which we proposed for the repression of outrage in Ireland was an indication that her Majesty's servants held any different opinion with regard to the policy to be pursued in Ireland from that which I declared towards the close of the last session of Parliament (hear, hear). To the opinions which I then avowed—to those opinions which had a practical effect given to them by the Charitable Bequests Act,

and by the additional vote for the endowment of Maynooth—to those opinions I, now about to relinquish power, entirely subscribe (great cheering). We brought forward that measure, believing that resistance to the contagion of crime and the vigorous repression by law of the offences which disgrace some parts of Ireland, were not measures calculated permanently to improve the social condition of that country; but we thought they were measures which could be taken in conjunction with others necessary for the purpose of giving effect to legislation upon that subject (hear, hear). The house has, however, decided, and I am not about to impeach their decision. I only deprecate any inference, which would be unjustifiable, that, because we proposed those measures, which some called measures of coercion, which we call measures for the protection of life, therefore our views with regard to the policy to be pursued towards Ireland have undergone any change. Speaking for myself, I do not hesitate now to say that, in my opinion, there ought to be established between England and Ireland a complete equality (great cheering) in all civil, municipal, and political rights (renewed cheers). When I say complete equality, I don't mean, because I know it is impossible, to have a literal equality in every particular. Here, as in matters of more sacred import, it may be that "the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life;" I speak of the spirit, and not of the letter, in which our legislation with regard to the franchise and other privileges should be conducted (hear, hear). I mean, there should be a real, substantial equality, in political and civil rights (cheers); so that no person, viewing Ireland with perfectly disinterested eyes, and comparing its franchise with the franchise either of England or Scotland, should be enabled to say, "A different law is enacted for Ireland, and on account of some jealousy or suspicion, Ireland has curtailed and mutilated rights." That is what I mean by equality of political franchises. Does any gentleman think I am making a reserve (cheers, and cries of "No, no")? I speak of the spirit in which we should legislate. I think it ought to be impossible to say that there is a different rule, substantially, with regard to civil or municipal franchise in Ireland from that which prevails in England (cheers). Now, Sir, with regard to our executive administration in Ireland, I think the favour of the crown ought to be bestowed in that country, and the confidence of the Crown, without reference to religious distinctions (loud cheers). It has not been from entertaining a different opinion that there may be, in our case, the appearance of partiality. Where we have taken the opportunity of manifesting confidence in some Roman Catholics, I cannot say that justice was always done to our motives, nor has the position of the individual in accepting favour from us been altogether such as to create an anxiety for the repetition of similar favours (hear, hear). Those who succeed us may have different means of carrying that principle into execution; but if they do act upon that principle, and bestow the favour and confidence of the Crown, without reference to religious differences of opinion, they shall hear no complaint from me on that ground (loud cheers). Then, Sir, with respect to the spirit in which our legislation should be conducted; adhering to all the opinions which I have expressed on the greater and more important points of Irish policy, yet I must say I, for one, am prepared to co-operate with those who feel the present social condition of the people in respect to the tenure of land, and the relation between landlord and tenant, to be one that deserves our immediate and most cautious consideration (cheers). I think it may be impossible, by legislation, to apply any immediate remedy to the state of things which unfortunately prevails in that country; but, even if the benefit is remote, if it is of a permanent character, so far from being deterred from measures calculated to afford a remedy, the distant period at which the benefit may be derived ought to operate as no discouragement to us to apply our minds most sedulously and impartially to the consideration of the subject (loud cheers). Again, with respect to legislation on all those matters connected with the tenure of land and the relation of landlord and tenant—while upholding the rights of property, which I believe you will find no advantage in violating, yet, on the whole, I think the course we have taken during this session of extreme pressure of public business is a sufficient proof that there has been no disinclination on our part to consider that subject (hear, hear). Neither will there be any disinclination to co-operate with those to whom the practical administration of affairs may be committed (hear, hear, and cheers). Sir, I have reason to believe that the noble lord the member for the city of London has been commanded by her Majesty to repair to her for the purpose of rendering his assistance in the formation of a Government (hear, hear). Sir, I presume the general principle upon which the Government formed by the noble lord will act, so far as a commercial policy is concerned, will be the continued application of those principles which tend to give us a freer commercial intercourse with other countries (loud cheers). If that be the policy which will be pursued, as I confidently expect it will be, I shall feel it to be my duty to give to that Government, in pursuance and execution of that policy, my cordial support (immense cheering). I presume, therefore, that her Majesty's Government will adopt that policy—and that, if other countries choose to buy in the dearest market, it will be no discouragement to them to permit us to buy in the cheapest (cheers). I trust that they will not resume the policy which they and we have felt most inconvenient, namely, haggling with foreign countries, instead of taking that independent course which we believe to be conducive to our own interests (cheers), trusting to the influence of public opinion in other countries, that our example, with the practical benefit we derive from it, will at no remote period insure the adoption of the same course, rather than hoping to obtain commercial privileges as an equivalent for the reduction of particular duties ("hear" and cheers). Sir, when I say I presume that these general principles will influence their commercial policy, I do not of course mean to say that the adoption of these principles is at once to overrule every moral consideration, and at once to subject every part of the inhabitants of this empire to unequal competition with other nations. I speak generally as to the tendency of our commercial policy, and I trust that every step that is taken will be towards the relaxation of restriction upon trade. I, for one, shall not urge upon them a hasty and precipitate adoption of principles sound in themselves, if they are likely to incur the risk of a great derangement of the great social system. I shall bear in mind, that great experiments have been recently made under the present administration; that the surplus amount of revenue is smaller than I could wish it to be, consistently with the permanent interests of the country, and while I offer a cordial support in enforcing the general principles of commercial policy which have received the sanction of Parliament in the present session, I shall not urge them to any such simultaneous and

precipitate adoption of them as may be either really injurious to interests from special circumstances entitled to some continued protection, nor shall I urge them to any such rash and precipitate adoption of them as would incur the risk of deranging the finances of the country. Speaking thus, I am bound to say that I am rather indicating my own intentions and the course I shall pursue, than that I have had the opportunity of conferring with others and speaking their sentiments. I cannot doubt, however, that those who gave their cordial concurrence to the measures which I proposed will be ready to give their general acquiescence and support to measures of a similar character to be proposed (loud cheers). Sir, I do not know that it is necessary that I should make any other declaration than those I have made. I wish to draw no invidious contrast; I wish to make no unseemly allusions; but I cannot surrender power without making at least this observation,—that I do hope, during the five years for which power has been committed to our hands, neither the interests nor the honour of this country have been compromised (cheers). I think I may say with truth that, during that period, the burden of taxation has been equalised, and the pressure which was unjust and severe has been removed from many classes of her Majesty's subjects (cheers). I think I may say with truth, that many restrictions upon commerce injuriously affecting the trade of this country have been removed (cheers). I think I may say that, without at all interfering with legitimate speculation; without at all paralysing or deranging the credit of the country, stability has been given to the monetary system of this country, through the cordial support which again (without reference to party distinctions) the measures I proposed with regard to the Bank of England, the joint stock banks, and the private banks of this country, received in the year 1843. Sir, I trust also that the stability of our Indian empire has not been weakened by the policy we have pursued; and that the glory and honour of the British arms both by sea and land in every part of the world have been maintained, not through our exertions, but through the devoted gallantry of the soldiers and sailors of this country (cheers). Sir, although there have been considerable reductions, great reductions made in the public burdens, yet I have the satisfaction of stating to the house, that the national defences of this country have been improved both by sea and land, and that the army and navy are in a most efficient state. I trust I may also congratulate the house, that notwithstanding the great reductions in the fiscal burdens of the country, our finances are in a prosperous and buoyant state; and that, on the 5th of July next, the return which will be made to the house will be, that notwithstanding the reduction of taxation, the increased consumption of articles of Customs and Excise and the general prosperity of the people have supplied the void which might otherwise have taken place (cheers, and loud cries of "hear, hear"). Sir, lastly, I think I may say, that without any harsh enforcement of the law, without any curtailment either of the liberty of the press, speaking of Great Britain, there has been as much of obedience and submission to the law as there ever was at any period of our history (cheers). Nay, I will say more: in consequence of the greater command of the necessities and minor luxuries of life, in consequence, too, of confidence in the administration of the law, there has been more of contentment, less of seditious crimes (hear, hear, hear), less necessity for the exercise of power for the repression of political outrage, than there ever was at any antecedent period in this country (cheers). I said, lastly,—but I have reserved one topic, on which I also think I may, without any unseemly boast or invidious contrast, say a few words. I think I may take credit to her Majesty's Government, at least to that distinguished member of it, less prominent, perhaps, in debate, than others, but as deserving of public honour and public credit for the exertions which he has made in the maintenance of peace (loud cheers)—I mean my noble friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (loud cheers)—he has dared to avow that he thinks in a Christian country there is a moral obligation upon a Christian Minister to exhaust every effort before incurring the risk of war (loud cheers). But while he has not shrunk from the avowal of that opinion, I will in justice to him say this—it is perfectly consistent with that opinion, as to the moral obligation of maintaining peace while peace can be maintained with honour, that there never was a Minister less inclined to sacrifice any essential interest, or to abate anything from the dignity and honour of this country, for the purpose of securing even that inestimable blessing (cheers). Sir, I do hope that we leave the foreign relations of this country in a satisfactory state (loud cheers)—that, speaking not only of France, but speaking of the other great powers of Europe, there is confidence in the intentions of this country, and a real desire on the part of the Governments of other powers to co-operate with us in the maintenance of peace (cheers). Sir, it is that mutual confidence in the honour and intentions of public men which most facilitates the maintenance of peace. We come in conflict with France in distant parts of the world: there are heated partisans naturally and justly jealous of the honour of their respective countries; quarrels, small in themselves, might be magnified by the spirit of jealousy, and a too nice rivalry about national honour might easily be fomented into a cause of war, desolating nations, unless the counsels of the great powers were presided over by those who, feeling peace to be the true interest of the civilised world, are determined that the heated passions of angry partisans shall not involve their respective countries in warfare (loud cheers). Sir, if anything could have induced me to regret a decision on the part of the house prematurely terminating the existence of the Government, it would have been the wish that we should have survived the day when intelligence might be received from the United States (loud cheering) as to the result of, perhaps, our last attempt to adjust those differences between this country and the United States, which, unless speedily terminated, might have involved us in war. The house will probably recollect that, after we had offered arbitration, and that offer had been rejected, the President of the United States sent a message to the houses of Congress in that country, which led to discussions with regard to the termination of that convention which provided for a temporary adjustment of our differences,—at least, for a temporary avoidance of quarrel,—and enabled the two countries jointly to occupy the territory of the Oregon. Sir, the two houses of the American Congress, although advising the President of the United States to signify to this country, as he was empowered to do, the termination of the existing convention, by giving a year's notice, added to that advice, which might perhaps, have been considered of an unsatisfactory or hostile character, the declaration that they advised the notice for the termination of the convention to be given, in order that it might facilitate an amicable adjustment of the dispute. We thought the addition

of these words by those high authorities, the expression of a hope that the termination of the convention might the more strongly impress upon the two countries the necessity of amicable adjustment—yet thought those expressions removed any barrier to a renewal by either country of the attempt to settle this difference. We did not hesitate, therefore, within two days after the receipt of that intelligence of a wish expressed by the houses of Congress that efforts might be made for the peaceful termination of these disputes, although the offer of arbitration had been rejected—we did not hesitate to do that which, in the present state of the dispute, it became essential to do—not to propose renewed and lengthened negotiations, but to specify frankly and at once what were the terms on which we could consent to a partition of the country of the Oregon (cheers). Sir, the President of the United States, I must say, whatever might have been the expressions heretofore used by him, and however strongly he might have been personally committed to the adoption of a different course, wisely and patriotically determined at once to refer our proposals to the Senate—that authority of the United States whose consent is requisite for the termination of any negotiation of this kind; and the Senate, again acting in the same spirit, has, I have the heartfelt satisfaction to state, at once advised the adoption of the terms we offered them (loud cheers). Sir, perhaps from the importance of the subject, and considering this is the last day I shall have to address the house as a Minister of the Crown, I may be allowed to state what are the terms of the proposals we made to the United States on the Oregon question. In order to prevent the necessity for renewed diplomatic negotiations, we sent a convention, which we trusted the United States would accept. The first article of that convention was to this effect, that

"From the point on the 49th parallel of north latitude, where the boundary had been in existing treaties and conventions between Great Britain and the United States terminates, the line of boundary between the territories of Her Britannic Majesty and those of the United States shall be continued westward along the said 49th parallel of north latitude to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel, and of Fuca's Straits, to the Pacific Ocean; provided, however, that the navigation of the said channel and straits, south of the 49th parallel of north latitude, remain free and open to both parties."

Those who remember the local conformation of that country will understand that we proposed the continuation of the 49th parallel of latitude till it strikes the Straits of Fuca; that it should not be continued across Vancouver's Island,—thus depriving us of any part of Vancouver's Island,—but leaving us in possession of the whole of Vancouver's Island. Sir, the second article of the convention we sent for the acceptance of the United States was to this effect—that

"From the point at which the 49th parallel of north latitude shall be found to intersect the great northern branch of the Columbia river the navigation of the said branch shall be free and open to the Hudson's Bay Company, and to all British subjects trading with the same, to the point where the said branch meets the main stream of the Columbia, and thence down the said main stream to the ocean, with free access inland through the said river or rivers, it being understood that all the usual usages along the line thus described shall in like manner be free and open. In navigating the said river or rivers, British subjects, with their goods and produce, shall be treated on the same footing as citizens of the United States, it being, however, always understood that nothing in this article shall be construed as consenting, or intended to prevent, the Government of the United States from making any regulations respecting the navigation of the said river, or rivers, not inconsistent with the present treaty."

Sir, I will not occupy the attention of the house with any more of the details of this convention (cheers). I would only state that, on this very day on my return from my mission to her Majesty to offer the resignation of her Majesty's servants, I had the satisfaction of finding an official letter from Mr. Pakenham, intimating in the following terms the acceptance of our proposals, and giving an assurance of the immediate termination of our differences with the United States:—

"Washington, June 13, 1846.

"My Lord,—In conformity with what I had the honour to state in my despatch No. 68, of the 7th instant, the President sent an message on Wednesday last to the Senate, submitting for the consideration of that body the draught of a convention for the settlement of the Oregon question, which I was instructed by your lordship's despatch, No. 19, of the 18th of May, to propose for the acceptance of the United States.

"After a few hours' deliberation on each of the three days, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the Senate, by a majority of 22 yeas to 12 nays, adopted yesterday evening a resolution advising the President to accept the terms proposed by Her Majesty's Government. The President did not hesitate to act on this advice, and Mr. Buchanan accordingly sent for me this morning, and informed me that the conditions offered by Her Majesty's Government were accepted by the Government of the United States, without the addition or alteration of a single word.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"R. PAKENHAM.

"The Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen, K. T., &c."

(Lord and continued cheering). Thus, Sir, these two great nations, impelled, I believe, by the public opinion, which ought to guide and influence statesmen, have, by moderation—by the spirit of mutual compromise, averted that dreadful calamity of a war between two nations of kindred race and common language (loud cheers), the breaking out of which would have involved the civilised world in calamities to an extent it is difficult to foresee (not one year—probably not one month of such a war, but would have been more expensive than the whole territory that had called it forth); but they have averted that war, I believe consistently with their true interests—consistently with perfect honour on the part of the American Government, and on the part of those who have at length closed, I trust, every cause of difference between the two countries (loud cheers). Sir, I may say, also, to the credit of the Government of this country, that, so far from being influenced in our views in regard to the termination of these disputes about the Oregon by the breaking out of the war with Mexico, we distinctly intimated to Mr. Pakenham, that although unexpected events had occurred, it did not affect, in the slightest degree, our desire for peace (cheers). Mr. Pakenham, knowing the spirit of his Government, being aware of the occurrence of these hostilities, having a discretionary power in certain cases, if he had thought this offer would have been likely to prolong negotiations, or diminish the chance of a successful issue, yet wisely thought the occurrence of Mexican hostilities with the United States, was not one of the cases to which we had adverted, and therefore most wisely did he tender this offer of peace to the United States on his own discretion, and the confidence of his Government. Now, let me say, and I am sure this house will think it to the credit of my noble friend, that on the occurrence of these hostilities between Mexico and the United States, before we were aware

of the reception which this offer on our part would meet with, the first packet that sailed tendered to the United States the offer of our good offices for the purpose of mediating between them and the Mexican Government (loud cheers). Sir, I do rejoice, therefore, that, before surrendering power at the feet of a majority of this house, I had the opportunity of giving them the official assurance that every cause of quarrel with that great country on the other side of the Atlantic is terminated before we retire from office (loud cheers). Sir, I feel that I have now executed the task which my public duty imposed upon me. I trust I have said nothing which can by possibility lead to the recurrence of those controversies I have deprecated. Whatever opinions may be formed with regard to the extent of the danger with which we were threatened, I can say with truth that her Majesty's Government, in proposing these measures of commercial policy, which have disintegrated them to the confidence of many of those who heretofore gave them their support, were influenced by no other desire than the desire to consult the interests of this country (cheers). Our object was to avert dangers which we thought were imminent, and to avoid a conflict which we believed would soon place in hostile collision great and powerful classes in this country. The love of power was not a motive for the proposal of these measures; for, as I said before, I had not a doubt that, whether these measures were accompanied with failure or success, the almost certain issue must be the termination of the existence of this Government. Sir, I am not sure that it is not advantageous for the public interests that this should be so—I admit that the withdrawal of confidence from us by many of our friends was a natural result of circumstances; and I do think that, when proposals of such a nature are made, apparently at variance with the course which Ministers heretofore pursued, and subjecting them to the charge or taint of inconsistency—upon the whole, it is advantageous for this country, and for the general character of public men, that the proposal of measures of that kind under such circumstances should entail that which is supposed to be a fitting punishment—namely, expulsion from office. I, therefore, do not complain of it; anything is preferable to attempting to maintain ourselves in office without a full measure of the confidence of this house (cheers). I said before, and I said truly, that in proposing those measures I had no wish to rob others of the credit justly due to them. Now, I must say, with reference to hon. gentlemen opposite, as I say with reference to ourselves, neither of us is the party which is justly entitled to the credit of them (cheers). There has been a combination of parties, and that combination, and the influence of Government, have led to their ultimate success; but the name which ought to be associated with the success of these measures is not the name of the noble lord, the organ of that party, nor is it mine (cheers). The name which ought to be, and will be, associated with the success of those measures, is the name of a man who, acting, I believe, from pure and disinterested motives, has, with untiring energy, by appeals to reason (loud cheers), enforced their necessity with an eloquence the more to be admired because it was unaffected and unadorned (cheers);—the name which ought to be associated with the success of those measures is the name of Richard Cobden (loud and protracted cheering). Sir, I now close the address which it has been my duty to make to the house, thanking them sincerely for the favour with which they have listened to me in performing this last act of my official career. Within a few hours, probably, that power which I have held for the period of five years will be surrendered into the hands of another—without repining—I can say without complaint—with a more lively recollection of the support and confidence I have received than of the opposition which during a recent period I met with (cheers). I shall leave office, I fear, with a name severely censured by many hon. gentlemen, who, on public principle, deeply regret the severance of party ties—who deeply regret that severance, not from any interested or personal motives, but because they believe fidelity to party engagements—the existence and maintenance of a great party—to constitute a powerful instrument of Government; I shall surrender power severely censured, I fear again, by many hon. gentlemen who, from no interested motive, have adhered to the principle of protection as important to the welfare and interests of the country; I shall leave a name execrated by every monopolist (loud cheering from the Opposition), who, from less honourable motives, maintains protection for his own individual benefit (continued cheering); but it may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of good will in those places which are the abodes of men whose lot it is to labour, and to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow—a name remembered with expressions of good will, when they shall recreate their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened by a sense of injustice (loud and vociferous cheering, during which the right hon. baronet resumed his seat).

FREEHOLDERS' BUILDING SOCIETY, MANCHESTER.—The seventh monthly meeting of this Society was held on Wednesday evening last. About 1500 members were present. The amount of money received was 4331l. 18s. 1d. The number of shares sold amounted to nearly 4000l.

PROPOSED FREE TRADE CELEBRATION IN MANCHESTER.—The following is a copy of a requisition to the Mayor of Manchester on the subject of some particular day being set apart for a general holiday, in connection with the passing of Sir Robert Peel's Corn Bill. The requisition has already received the signatures of a number of influential gentlemen:

"TO HIS WORSHIP THE MAYOR OF MANCHESTER.

"From an extensive acquaintance with the opinions and wishes of a large portion of the inhabitants of this town and neighbourhood as to the propriety of your recommending a holiday-demonstration in commemoration of the eventful passing of the bill for the repeal of the Corn Laws, we are induced respectfully to address your worship on the subject. We need say little—the people, we assure you, are most anxiously looking for some early official announcement containing a proposition for some particular day to be set apart for cessation from labour, and for recreation upon this joyous occasion; and we are persuaded that no recommendation would be so proper in itself, and so universally well received, as one issuing from yourself, holding as you do the highly-important office of chief magistrate of this borough, and enjoying as you do the good opinion of all classes of the people."

Amongst the gentlemen who have signed this requisition are Mr. Cobden, Mr. J. B. Smith, Mr. Henry Ashworth, Mr. Alderman Callender, Mr. Alderman Walker, and a number of manufacturers and merchants.

It is stated in Preston that the protectionists of that town are about to forward a requisition to Lord Stanley's son to become a candidate for the borough, in the event of a general election taking place.

A BLUSH FOR MONOPOLY.

In looking over a very old work, entitled "Luckombe's History of Printing," we find the following allusions to the introduction of some of the early monopolies. Printing itself seems to have been a favourite object of monopoly from a very early period, and continued so less or more to a very recent date; indeed, some of the old patents are still not yet expired:

"Towards the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign a patent was granted to Thomas Morley for printing music; but it being much the same with Talia and Birde's before mentioned, we forbore reprinting it. Patents were also granted to John Spilman, to make cards; to Richard Watkins and James Roberts, to print almanacks; to Richard Wright, to print the History of Cornelius Tacitus; to John Newton, to print Speculum Britannia; to Sir Henry Singer, touching the printing of schoolbooks; to Thomas Morley, to print songs in three parts; to Thos. Wight and Bonham Newton, to print law books; Edward Derry, for cards; &c. In the debate concerning monopolies, when that of cards was mentioned, Sir Walter Raleigh blushed. Upon reading of the list of patents, Mr. Luckwell, of Lincoln's Inn, stood up, and asked, 'Is not bread there?' Bread! says one. Bread! says another. 'This request seems strange, says one of the members. No, not in the least, says Mr. Hacket; for, if not speedily prevented, a patent for bread will be procured before the next session of Parliament.'

Sir Walter Raleigh blushed at the mention of a patent for cards, and to most members of the House of Commons the bare allusion to bread being included in the list of monopolies of the day, "seemed strange." How easily is the most unjust and impolitic imposition converted by time and habit into a strenuously asserted right!—*Economist*.

THE POTATO MURRAIN.—A correspondent in the immediate vicinity of this town, states, "That the potato disease, so prevalent in the past last year, has again manifested itself, a great quantity of the forward kinds being affected, particularly kidneys; and when it is remembered that the early potatoes last year were scarcely affected, it gives rise to fears that had as the disease was last year, it is very probable it will be worse this." We sincerely hope that our correspondent's fears will prove groundless, but a few weeks will determine the matter.—*Kendal Mercury*.

SCARCITY OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.—The cutting of the grass has, in many instances, been impeded by the great difficulty of obtaining mowers. Although the price of labour has been advanced, still men could not be obtained. We have heard of a case where mowers have refused 5s. 6d. per acre for cutting grass, which is a great increase of wages over those paid at other seasons.—*Aylesbury News*.

THE MAYOR OF BORDEAUX.—Those who have taken any interest in the progress of the Free Trade movement in France, will know that that country does not possess a more earnest and thorough Free Trader than the present mayor of Bordeaux, M. Dufour Dubergier. This gentleman being in England, has been attracted to Manchester by the present triumphant position of the principles of commercial freedom; and on Tuesday he spent some time in the offices of the Anti-Corn-Law League, where he had interviews with several of the principal members of the Council of the League, amongst others with Mr. Cobden, Mr. J. B. Smith, Mr. Henry Ashworth, &c.; and Mr. Cobden and Mr. Thos. Bazley, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, was introduced to his worship. The Mayor of Manchester and the Mayor of Bordeaux were mutually introduced, and the latter expressed the gratification he derived from a visit to Manchester at so auspicious a moment. M. Dufour, we believe, was educated in England, and speaks English with considerable fluency. His admirable speech in advocacy of Free Trade attracted considerable attention at the time on both sides the Channel. Amongst fourteen gentlemen named as intended to be promoted to the dignity of peers of France on the 6th July, there are two mayors—those of Bordeaux and Lisle; and by those who are qualified to judge, it is said that the elevation of M. Dufour to the upper chamber of France, will give great satisfaction to his fellow-citizens, and to the friends of Free Trade throughout France.

FREE TRADE JUBILEE.—We understand that from all parts of the kingdom letters have been received by the Council of the Anti-Corn-Law League, expressing a hope that they would appoint or recommend a general jubilee, in celebration of the passing of Sir Robert Peel's Corn Importation Bill. In some towns preparation has already been made for this celebration in various ways. At Rochdale, they have determined to celebrate the occasion by a general holiday. The holiday proceedings there are to include the closing of the mills and other places of business, and a grand procession through the town. At Newcastle-on-Tyne, it was at first proposed to have a Corn Law repeal banquet, and to invite Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright; but as those gentlemen could not attend a title of the similar celebrations there are likely to be in the various large towns of the United Kingdom, the hope of having their presence was ultimately abandoned; but it was determined, nevertheless, to have the banquet on some early day, and a committee has been formed to make the requisite preparation for giving all *clat* to the celebration.

RELEASE OF BONDED CORN.—Monday, being the first of the operation of the new measures, was a busy day at the Liverpool Custom House. We understand that the duty received up to the close of the day was about 35,000l. above the daily average receipts from this source. A very large quantity of grain of all sorts, say upwards of 200,000 quarters, must, therefore, have come at once into the market in this town alone.—*Liverpool Standard*.

THE CORN BILL AND WAGES.—We have heard of one instance of the influence which the passing of Sir Robert Peel's Corn Importation Bill has had on wages, which we commend to the consideration of monopolists throughout the kingdom. A large manufacturer, who employs from a thousand to twelve hundred hand-loom weavers, in the neighbourhoods of Preston, Chorley, &c., went amongst them on Monday last, and announced, that in consequence of the passing of this measure, he had come to the determination to advance their wages. The week's work commencing the following day (Tuesday), the manufacturer in question has not lost a single day in making the announcement and the advance. If, as the monopolists have tried to persuade people, repeal of the Corn Laws means low wages, this is certainly an extraordinary mode of accomplishing their prediction.

Farmers, in the south of England, are this year obliged to make a considerable advance in the rate per acre paid for mowing, owing to the difficulty of obtaining mowers. It is said that in some parts of Middlesex 7s. per acre is paid for cutting meadow grass; which is 2s. 6d. above the average rate paid last year.

TO NEWSPAPER PROPRIETORS, &c.—The LEAGUE Newspaper being now discontinued, J. GADSBY has an opening in his Commodious Office for the PRINTING of a NEWSPAPER.

J. G. refers with confidence to the way in which "The League" has been got up, as a specimen of his style of work. Whitefriars Printing Office, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, London, July 4, 1846.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE QUARTER OF A MILLION FUND.

Subscriptions received during the week ending Wednesday, July 1, 1846.

*Hindley and Sutcliffe, Ashton-under-Lyne	..	50	0	0
*Eccles, William, Withy trees, near Preston	..	50	0	0
*Knott, James, and Son, Ashton-under-Lyne	..	40	0	0
*Friend, A. Manchester	..	40	0	0
*Gibson, Thomas Milner, M.P., London	..	40	0	0
*Goodier, Krauss, and Cooke, Manchester	..	30	0	0
*Gregson, T. and J. Bolton	..	25	0	0
*Hilton, John, and Co., Saddleworth	..	20	0	0
*Kelsall, Robert, Rochdale	..	20	0	0
*Nicholls, Benjamin, Ardwick-place, Manchester	..	20	0	0
*Ogden, James, and Sons, Duckingfield, near do.	..	20	0	0
*Lees, Henry, Glossop, near do.	..	20	0	0
*Mader, J., and Brothers, Newton Moor, near do.	..	20	0	0
*McGuth, Thos. and Wm., Preston	..	20	0	0
*Lees, Samuel, Manchester	..	20	0	0
*Heon, J. K., Manchester	..	20	0	0
*Thompson, Joseph, 11, Palace-street, do.	..	10	0	0
*Thompson, James, do.	..	10	0	0
*Fothergill, Thos., 24, Booth-street, do.	..	10	0	0
*Openshaw, L. R., Bury, Lancashire, do.	..	10	0	0
*Willert, P. F., Booth-street, Manchester, do.	..	10	0	0
*Stott, Porter and Nichol, Halifax	..	10	0	0
*Whitehouse, George, 16, Back Mosley-st., Manchester	..	6	0	0
*Stenson, W., jun., Hazleote, near Ashby-de-la-Zouch	..	5	0	0
*Edwards, James, 57, Mosley-st., Manchester	..	5	0	0
*Hayward, Wm., Birmingham	..	5	0	0
*Hampson, John, Stockport	..	5	0	0
*Haslam, Joseph, and Sons, Preston	..	5	0	0
*Friends, Two, per Wm. McCall, Manchester	..	5	0	0
*Darbyshire, Thos., 49, Market-street, do.	..	2	0	0
*Woolley, James, Market-street, do.	..	2	0	0
*Mills, James, Saddleworth	..	2	0	0
*Blyth, Alex., and Co., Park Head, Kirkcaldy, N.B.	..	2	0	0
*Jones, John, 43, Dale-street, Manchester	..	1	0	0
*Friend, A., per Wm. Hayward, Birmingham	..	1	0	0
*Turner, Wright, Pendleton, Manchester	..	1	0	0
*Lamb, John, Plymouth Grove, do.	..	1	0	0
*Spencer, John, Holt Town, do.	..	1	0	0
*Armistage, John, Rastrick, near Huddersfield	..	1	0	0
*Morton, Wm., do.	..	1	0	0
*Ferth, S. and J., Silly Lane, Halifax	..	1	0	0
*Haigh, Benjamin, Skeanthorpe, near Huddersfield	..	0	8	0
Brook, Samuel, Rastrick, near Huddersfield	..	0	8	0
Workpeople of Walmesley, Stockport.	..	0	2	6
Smithies, J.	..	0	2	6
Hollis, J.	..	0	2	6
Jenkinson, R.	..	0	2	6
Bostock, J.	..	0	2	6
Bland, W.	..	0	2	6
Lowe, J.	..	0	2	6
Bradley, S.	..	0	2	6
Brown, T.	..	0	2	6
Robinson, W.	..	0	1	0
Walmesley, Wm.	..	0	1	0
Buckley, A.	..	0	2	6
Small sums	..	0	13	11
Workpeople of Mr. J. B. Moody	..	0	12	0
Davenport, John, Brinkway	..	0	5	0
Eccleston, James, Mersey-street	..	0	5	0
Faulkner, Isaac, Heaton-lane	..	0	2	6
Bennett, John, Howard-street, Portwood	..	0	2	6
Thomas, Edward, Great Egerton-street	..	0	2	6
Smith, Henry	..	0	1	0
Booth, Edward, Great Portwood	..	0	2	6
Turner, James, Howard-street, Portwood	..	0	2	6
Harvion, Wm., 50, Breunall-street	..	0	5	0
Caine, Jno., Cooper-street	..	0	1	0
Hollis, Thomas, Higher Millgate	..	0	1	0
Whittle, Henry, do.	..	0	1	0
Blackwell, W., Barlow-row	..	0	1	0
Hobbert, Joseph, Higher Millgate	..	0	1	0
Cragg, Joseph, do.	..	0	1	0
Needham, Alex., Portwood	..	0	1	0
Lee, Squire	..	0	1	0
Massey, Wm., Hope Hill	..	0	1	0
Axon, John, Millgate	..	0	1	0
Johnson, Thos., do.	..	0	1	0
Rowland, David, Chestergate	..	0	1	0
Leedham, John, Mottram-street	..	0	1	0
Leedall, Jos., Henshaw-lane	..	0	1	0
Millward, Thomas, Portwood	..	0	1	0
Knight, William	..	0	1	0
Lawton, Moses	..	0	1	0
Booth, John	..	0	1	0
Small sums	..	0	1	0
*Marshall, Wm., M.P., Carlisle	..	75	0	0
*Rawlin, Charles E., jun., 28, Catherine-st., Liverpool	..	40	0	0
*Rawlin, Charles E., 4, Blackburn-terrace, do.	..	30	0	0
*Crook, T. H., do.	..	10	0	0
*Rawlin, J. H. and R. C., Hope Mills, Wrexham, & do.	..	6	0	0
*Wright, Joseph, 11, Aldermanbury	..	5	0	0
*Bennock, F., 78, Wood-street	..	4	0	0
*Twentyman, R., do.	..	2	0	0
*Diggle, Joseph, Tadcaster	..	1	0	0

TO THE ELECTORS OF STOCKPORT.

The following Address has been sent by Mr Cobden to the Electors of Stockport:

GENTLEMEN,—The state of my health, and other private considerations, induce me to seek a temporary withdrawal from public life. With this view, I have obtained leave of absence from Parliament for the remainder of the session; and it is my intention, after making the necessary arrangements for leaving home, to go abroad for a twelvemonth.

I therefore most respectfully beg to be considered in the enjoyment of the privileges and immunities of private life; at the same time, I feel it my duty to place my seat at your free disposal in case a dissolution should occur during my absence from England.

Allow me to take the present opportunity of expressing the grateful sense I entertain of the confidence and kindness with which you have honoured me. To your favour alone have I been indebted for the opportunity of advocating, however humbly, in the British legislature, the now happily-triumphant principles of Free Trade. I thank all and each of you for the considerate forbearance with which you

have allowed me to devote myself uninterruptedly to one absorbing question; and assuring you how deeply I regret that a necessity should arise for suspending my connection with your important borough.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your faithful Servant,

RICHARD COBDEN.

Manchester, 3d July, 1846.

FINAL MEETING OF THE LEAGUE COUNCIL.

SUSPENSION OF PROCEEDINGS.

MANCHESTER, JULY 2.—An important meeting of the Council of the Anti-Corn-Law League took place in the Town Hall, on Thursday, being a meeting not only of the executive body resident in Manchester and neighbourhood, but of the general body throughout the kingdom. The meeting was called by circular, and its object was stated to be "for the purpose of considering what course the League shall take now that the Bill for the repeal of the Corn Laws has received the royal assent." The proceedings commenced soon after eleven o'clock. No less than 500 gentlemen were present; and for wealth, talent, and moral standing in the country, perhaps it was such an assemblage as has never before been congregated, even in this extraordinary movement. George Wilson, Esq., occupied the chair; and amongst the gentlemen present we observed Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P.; John Bright, Esq., M.P.; J. Brotherton, Esq., M.P.; Wm. Brown, Esq., Liverpool, the new candidate for South Lancashire, in the place of Lord F. Egerton, who is elevated to the peerage; William Rawson, Esq., Treasurer of the League; W. R. Callender; J. Mellor, Esq., Liverpool; W. Bickham, Esq.; A. Ashworth, Esq., Torton; W. R. Greg, Esq., the Mayor of Bordeaux; W. Hargreaves, Esq., Milnthorpe; G. Thomas, Esq., of Bristol; C. Thomas, Esq., Bristol; W. Tooty, Esq., Bristol; J. Mullineux, Esq., Liverpool; W. Evans, Esq.; T. Woolley, Esq.; J. B. Smith Esq.; A. Prentice, Esq.; P. A. Taylor, Esq., London; J. Finch, jun., Esq., Liverpool; F. Pennington, Esq.; C. Rawdon, Esq.; James Harvey, Esq.; Robert Mather, Esq.; John Mather, Esq., Liverpool; T. Mather, Esq., Glynn Abbott, Holywell; B. Pearson, Esq., Manchester; W. Rathbone, Esq., Liverpool; Thomas Taylor, Esq., Liverpool; H. Rawson, Esq., Manchester; J. T. Crook, Esq., Liverpool; C. J. S. Walker, Esq.; J. Simpson, Esq.; R. H. Greg, Esq.; W. A. Wilkinson, Esq., London; R. R. Moore, Esq.; J. Lord, Esq., Bacup; W. B. Watkins, Esq., mayor of Manchester; J. Cheetham, Esq., Stalybridge; W. Foden, Esq.; D. Jerrold, Esq., London; T. Thomasson, Esq., Bolton; S. Lees, Esq., Manchester; R. Steuart, Esq.; E. Smith, Esq., Sheffield; A. Henry, Esq.; J. Whitaker, Esq., Hurst; S. Bean, Esq.; J. Barratt, Esq.; W. Morris, Esq., Salford; P. Seville, Esq., Lees, near Oldham; G. Smith, Preston; A. Watkin, Esq.; W. Johnson, Esq., Wigan; W. Biggs, Esq., Leicester; E. Baines, jun., Esq., Leeds; H. Stansfeld, Esq., Leeds; T. Bright, Esq., Burnage; Jacob Bright, Esq., Rochdale; W. Harvey, Esq.; Samuel Matley, Esq., Mottram; James Kershaw, Esq.; T. Baxley, Esq.; E. Armistage, Esq.; R. Johnson, Esq.; J. Potter, Esq.; J. R. Barnes, Esq., Halsey Moor; John Mayson, Esq.; John Bird, Esq.; S. Lucas, Esq., Collyhurst; J. Chadwick, Esq., Eccles; J. Gadsby, Esq.; C. Cobden, Esq.; P. R. Arrowsmith, Esq., Bolton; E. Evans, Esq.; S. Schwabe, Esq.; P. R. Atkinson, Esq.; James Procter, Esq.; D. Procter, Esq.; R. Nicholson, Esq.; W. Nicholson, Esq.; R. Hibbert, Esq., Godley; C. Tysoe, Esq.; R. Dalgleish, Esq., Glasgow; James Edwards, Esq.; N. Heald, Esq.; W. Shuttleworth, Esq.; E. W. Watkin, Esq.; Thomas Ashton, Esq., Hyde; W. Woodcock, Esq.; S. P. Robinson, Esq.; B. Syddall, Esq.; N. Buckley, Esq., Ashton; Russell Taylor, Esq.; R. P. Greg, Esq.; S. Greg, Esq.; John Shawcross, Esq.; Robert Lees, Esq., Dukinfield; J. C. Dyer, Esq.; J. E. Royle, Esq.; W. McCall, Esq.; W. Macartney, Esq.; Frederick Douglas, Esq., lecturer on slavery; Elihu Burritt, Esq., U.S.

The CHAIRMAN rose amidst loud cheering, and said:—Gentlemen, I have no doubt that all the members of the Council who have received invitations to attend here this day are prepared to expect that the special business of this meeting will have reference to the course which this great organisation shall adopt, now that the chief purpose for which it was established is virtually accomplished (hear, hear). There will, therefore, be submitted for your consideration resolutions which have engaged the anxious attention and consideration of the Executive Council. I would, by no means, have it for one moment supposed, that because they are so introduced and so recommended, that it is intended to restrict the opinions of any gentlemen, members of the Council, who may entertain different opinions, or who are disposed to discuss the propriety of the course which we propose for your consideration, but that on this, as on all previous occasions, the fullest and freest discussion is invited by the members of the Executive Council, from those of the general governing body (hear, hear, hear). I rejoice, as all members of this association must do, that we meet no longer to sharpen our weapons, or to prepare to concentrate our forces for another attack upon that absurd system of legislation which has for seven years invited our special opposition. The corn monopoly, thanks to the last bill which has passed the legislature, has now its days dated and numbered; although, perhaps, if the League had been invited to prepare that measure, or if they had been consulted on its preparation, they would not have allowed the prolongation of its existence for a single day. Yet, as provision has been made for its final extinction in 1849, as during the time intervening all its horrors will be removed, we propose to take a common sense view of the subject, and discuss it as if it was altogether done away with (hear, hear). It is due then to ourselves, and to the public who have entrusted us with such unlimited authority for the last seven years, that we should inquire, whether in the administration of their affairs we have ever violated a single pledge, or departed on one single occasion from the principles which it was our duty to support, and lay before them (hear, hear). We all know that the only restrictive provision of our organisation were these—that we should seek on all occasions the total and unconditional abolition of the Corn Laws, and that we should seek it peacefully, legally, and constitu-

tionally (cheers)—that, on the one hand, all men who joined this association, should join it, knowing that they should be privileged from being dragged into the consideration of any other question; and that in doing so, they should be free from penal and legal responsibility. Now, perhaps, if we were called upon to defend ourselves, I might say, what other question has the League touched or interfered with? And I might ask, what man has suffered penal or legal consequences, from becoming a member of this association? But as it will only take a few moments to show you that from the first we have adhered to our principles, I propose, in a few words, to show you the means we have made use of, and leave you to judge, whether they have been such as are likely, with the least delay, to secure the accomplishment of our object. We all know the origin of the League; we all know that at a meeting in September, 1838, held in this town, at which that accomplished gentleman, Doctor Bowring, was present, a number of gentlemen resolved to form an Anti-Corn Law Association,—that that association grew larger and larger, extending its influence. Shortly after its formation the merchants, traders, and manufacturers of Manchester held a meeting near this place, and there voted for the purpose of supporting the Manchester Anti Corn Law Association 3000*l.*, which was afterwards increased to 6000*l.* Thus armed, the Anti-Corn-Law Association convened a meeting of delegates from all parts of the kingdom,—they assembled in Manchester, and resolved to form an Anti-Corn-Law Association throughout the kingdom. The delegates returned home; they empowered the Manchester Association to convene a meeting in London in February, 1839. This meeting took place, and then it was resolved by the merchants, traders, and delegates there assembled, to petition Parliament that they might present evidence at the bar of the House of Commons. Mr. Villiers made a motion to that effect; the petitioners were Mr. Greg, Mr. J. B. Smith, and others. The motion was negatived, and the delegates separated. A month elapsed, when they were again invited to meet at Palace Yard. They met. Mr. Villiers brought forward a resolution inviting the house to agree to the formation of a committee for the consideration of the abolition of the Corn Laws. That motion was again negatived; whereupon the delegates assembled, and there and then resolved, at the suggestion of Mr. Cobden, to form this association which we have now met to dissolve. They voted that its head quarters should be at Manchester, and that for the sake of communicating with its members and introducing notices of all its proceedings to the public, an *Anti-Corn-Law Circular* should be established, the first number of which was published in April, 1839. Thus armed, the Executive Council at once proceeded to work. We engaged lecturers, sent them throughout the country; they held meetings and discussions; they were interrupted; they conquered; Anti-Corn-Law Associations were formed throughout the country, and at the end of 1839 upwards of one hundred towns joined the Anti-Corn Law League. Our course of proceeding during that year was simply confined to lectures, the distribution of stamped publications, and public meetings. In 1840 we commenced those large assemblies for which Manchester has been since so famous. In January of that year there was erected on the spot that is now occupied by the site of the Free Trade Hall a pavilion, where on the 13th a public dinner was given, at which 4000 of the members and friends of the association were present; and on the 14th, 5000 operatives. Delegates attended that meeting from all parts of the kingdom. On the morning of the 15th the delegates resolved again to assemble in London, at the opening of Parliament: they met in London, when Mr. Villiers again brought forward his motion. The debate closed without a division. The delegates separated and returned home, and made their reports to those who had delegated them. In March of the same year they again assembled at Brown's hotel, Palace Yard. Mr. Villiers again brought forward his motion, and it was negatived by a great majority. The delegates again separated, resolving to adopt other means for insuring the success of this great agitation. To the end of 1840 few changes took place, our proceedings being confined to lectures and the distribution of publications; but in November, 1840, the delegates again met, and voted confidence in the Executive Council, and recommended us further to proceed. In 1841, as you all know, Lord John Russell gave notice of his resolution for wheat to be admitted at a duty of 8*s.*, and other things in proportion. A dissolution took place, and our question went before the country. The monopolists throughout the counties gained their elections. During that election we were numerically worse than we were in the previous Parliament, but there was sent to Parliament one ally to Mr. Villiers, whose return was worth a score of those we had lost during the election (hear, hear). Previous to the meeting of Parliament, and well knowing the great majority against the League, we applied for aid to those who, in the times of privation and distress, had shown it to be their special duty to attend to the wants and privations of the poor—the dissenting ministers; and in August of that year there was held for four days an assembly of men which, I am prepared to say, speaking the opinions of all who had the privilege of listening to their discussions, has never yet been equalled on any subject in this country. Parliament met; the Ministers were defeated; Sir R. Peel was restored to power; they were proposing to separate without the slightest consideration of the relaxation of the corn duties, when a meeting was held in this Hall in September, to protest against the prorogation of Parliament until the subject of the Corn Laws had been again considered. A deputation was appointed by that meeting to wait upon Sir Robert Peel, and to him was conveyed the resolutions they had passed. Thus was finished 1841. Most in Parliament were hostile to us; we had only a few who sympathised with the principles of the League. In the House of Commons we had two able men, who were prepared on all occasions to discuss this question; and it was discussed, and the benefits arising from the discussion consequent upon the dissolution are such as will form an era in the agitation of this question (hear, hear). The winter of 1841 now exhibited an increasing amount of distress, suffering, and privation, and then for the first time the ladies of this and the principal towns in England met together and agreed to canvass from house to house and door to door, to promote a memorial to her Majesty, humbly imploring her to instruct her Ministers to bring in a bill for the relief of the distressed community. In the depths of winter, in this town, the ladies, who were not otherwise engaged in behalf of the bazaar, canvassed and obtained upwards of 100,000 signatures to their memorial. They did more in 1842; they had a bazaar in the Theatre-Royal, Manchester, from which was netted, for the use of the League, during the succeeding year, a sum greater than the revenue of the League for any previous year, amounting to 10,000*l.*

Thus armed, we commenced the year 1842. As before, our principal movements were petitions, lectures, and publications, but in the commencement of 1842 Sir R. Peel brought forward another amended sliding scale. The delegates again met in London, and they denounced this sliding scale; a meeting was convened in Manchester, for the same purpose; it was there denounced, and the principles of the League were voted to be the only principles upon which a good bill could be framed, and in every town this principle of the repeal of the Corn Laws was introduced without opposition. Mr. Villiers then brought in a measure for the first time, proposing that all duties upon the importation of foreign corn should cease and determine. It was rejected, 395 voting against it, and 92 for it, leaving 303 majority against total repeal. Following this came the disturbances, to which I will not refer beyond this, that every attempt was made in that critical time by the monopolists to connect the League with the promotion of that disturbance. It is due to the League to say that it suspended its ordinary meetings in consequence; but it is also due to the League to say, that immediately after that it commenced its weekly meetings; those meetings which have since formed so important a movement in the promotion of this object. In 1842 we closed, having made little progress in Parliament, and under the persuasion that other measures must be used forthwith in the commencement of the new Parliament, to induce the legislature to adopt our principle. At the end of 1842 we again met, and resolved to hold a weekly meeting. We resolved, on a review of the previous session, to distribute information much more freely, especially among the farmers and farm labourers, and we resolved, for the purpose of the coming agitation, that a sum of five times the amount of the previous subscription should be asked for, namely, 50,000*l*. The weekly meetings became more important, and were removed to the Corn Exchange, and then was erected that building which now stands a monument of the energy of the men who conduct the League,—THE FREE TRADE HALL (cheers). 50,000*l*. was a large sum to collect in those days, without the object for which it was asked being especially explained to those who contributed. For that purpose, and at the invitation of the principal merchants, and influential persons in almost every town in the country, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright visited, assisted by Col. Thompson and Mr. Moore, all the large towns of Scotland, and most of the large towns of England, and received contributions which flowed in, exceeding our expectation. We opened the Free Trade Hall in January, 1843, announcing that 44,000*l*. had been collected. We then commenced a most important year. We resolved to adjourn our ordinary meetings of the Council for a month to London; also the weekly meetings. We then commenced at the Crown and Anchor; from thence we proceeded to Freemasons' Hall; and then, invited by that distinguished man, Mr. Macready, took possession of Drury Lane Theatre. From week to week these meetings were being held; our tract distributors were at work, traversing hill and dale, delivering to every elector in the register a packet of tracts, containing an exposition of our principles; and over and beyond this, the first broadside was given to the agricultural monopolists by Mr. Cobden, announcing his intention of holding a series of agricultural meetings. These meetings were continued, and, with one questionable exception, in 31 or 32 open county meetings, the monopolists, on their own ground, were overcome and defeated (hear, hear, and cheers). We thus closed the year 1843. We had lectured to the people; deputations had waited upon Government; deputations had called upon the Ministers; information had been spread widely and freely to the people; and our county meetings had every one, save one, declared in our favour. We made a report to our constituents, and then we proposed that which they at once conceded, that the fund to be collected for the next year should be 100,000*l*. It was agreed upon at a meeting held in this room, and presided over by Mr. Greg, when 12,000*l*. was given at one collection. It was afterwards increased to 20,000*l*. I shall not go over a detailed history of our proceedings for 1844; they were in almost all respects similar to those of 1843—public meetings, agricultural meetings, lectures, and the distribution of publications; nor shall I refer to the proceedings of the League during 1845, because they were in all respects, save the agricultural meetings, of the same character as those of 1844. Nor will I refer for one moment to that extraordinary exhibition of man's ingenuity and woman's devotion, the Anti-Corn Law bazaar, which was held for 21 days in the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. But in order, after having educated the country, that we might bring all the influences of the past agitation to bear on the legislature, we projected the last and greatest movement—the registration. I may say of that movement, much as it has been objected to, that every vote which has been acquired according to the suggestions laid down by the League, has been pronounced, when presented for the consideration of the Lord Chief Justice, good in every respect (hear, hear); that the desire and disposition of the operatives or others who may seek to possess the franchise have been said by the same eminent authority to be laudable and commendable (cheers). I have thus gone over the principal plans pursued by the League: they were confined to few leading operations; it is for you to judge whether those operations are such as should entitle any man to say they were at variance with the principles on which this League was established, or in any respect than legal, peaceful, and constitutional (hear, hear). It has been a glorious thing that to the men of Manchester and to those of other large towns, who have connected themselves with the League, the country is mainly indebted for the abolition of the Corn Laws. It would have been glorious to have carried our flag over the heads of our hostile opponents to victory; but surely it is more glorious, more desirable, to see our forces recruited, and our armies led, by men who all their lives, and up to the present moment, have opposed the abolition of the Corn Laws (hear, hear), and that the flag of Free Trade should wave in peaceful triumph over the heads of a reconciled and united people (cheers). The chairman then called upon Mr. Cobden, who was received with the most enthusiastic cheers, which lasted for some minutes.

Mr. COBDEN: If this were a meeting for any other purpose than that of business, in the strictest sense of the word, I am quite sure that I should feel more embarrassed at meeting you on this occasion than I have done at any previous time; for I feel myself almost oppressed with the consciousness of the importance of the events we have been passing through lately, and of the great interest which is involved in the present meeting; and I am sure I could not do justice to the feelings which are now affecting me. We are met here on the present occasion as a meeting of the Council of the League. We have, in the working of this body, as you are aware, an executive committee of gentlemen living in Manchester, and also the Council of the

League, consisting of the subscribers of 50*l*. and upwards. The Executive Council of the League have called you, the Council, together, for the purpose of taking your opinion as to the course we shall now pursue: and I think the importance of that question is such that I shall confine myself as strictly as possible to business details in what I have to say, because I do not wish to prevent the many gentlemen who have come from distant parts the opportunity of giving their advice and assistance on this occasion. The Executive Council of the League in Manchester have talked over the matter repeatedly, and are now prepared to submit their views; and as I may as well put you in possession of what the general purport of all the resolutions is, I will just explain the substance of the whole (hear, hear). We propose to recommend, not that the League shall be absolutely dissolved in the strict sense of the word, and yet we propose to take such steps as amount to a virtual dissolution of the League, unless the protectionist party compel us again to revive our agitation. We propose to ask from you the authority and instruction to wind up and suspend the affairs of the League. We recommend that you should pass a resolution, absolving all those gentlemen who have put their names down to the large guarantee fund and paid their first instalment, from any further liability. We propose that you shall pass a resolution, authorising the gentlemen in Manchester, who have acted on the Council of the League, in case they should see any serious efforts made by the monopolists to revive the system of protection, or to induce Parliament to retrace its steps, then to request these gentlemen again to call the League into active existence. Gentlemen, we have thought that the course by which we shall fulfil our duty to the general body of subscribers, and likewise our pledges to the public. We have pledged ourselves not to retire from this agitation, or disband the League until the Corn Laws were totally and immediately abolished. We are therefore not competent to dissolve this League. At the same time I ought to say, that with reference to our practical operations, it would be exceedingly difficult to draw a line between a total suspension of the League and a partial suspension. If we continue active operations at all, it must be on a large scale, and at an enormous expense. I do not think you can draw a distinction between 500*l*. a week and nothing. We have been spending the last three years at least 1000*l*. a week. Under these circumstances, I think it is a fair practical question to consider, what can be the object gained if we continue the active agitation of the League. In two years and a half the Corn Laws will be abolished by an Act now upon the statute book; and let us entertain the supposition that our efforts in agitation out of doors should be ever so successful, it is hardly possible that in less than two years and a half we should succeed in altering the law which now exists; therefore I do not see that any practical good can result from continuing the agitation in any form whatever (hear, hear). Now many people may say, "Are you safe in disbanding this great organization; are you safe in taking off your uniform (if I may use the expression), of casting aside your weapons of moral warfare? Will not the protectionists gain strength and confidence if they see you abolish the field?" I am of opinion that there is no danger of anything of the kind (hear, hear, hear). I look upon it that the mere boasting and vapouring of a few of the less wise part of the protectionist party may be very well excused by us. It is quite natural that men who felt worsted in an argument, and in all the tactics of political action during the last seven years, should console themselves with the promises of what they will do the next seven years. But I hold that you may as soon abolish Magna Charta, or do away with Trial by Jury, or repeal the Test and Corporation Act, or the Catholic Emancipation Act, as ever re-entertain protection as a principle again in this country (cheers). Some people say we go back in this country. I maintain that we never go back after a question has been discussed and sifted as ours has (hear, hear). You have never gone back in any of the great questions; if settled once they have been settled altogether. People do say that we went back after the Reform Act was passed. I will tell you what we did. We got hold of a machine which we did not know how to use, and the proper use of which we are now learning, but we never went back. Nobody ever proposed the repeal of one enactment of the Reform Act. Therefore I hope our friends everywhere will bear this in mind, and if they should hear a noble lord, or even a poble duke, talking of what they will do, not let their nervous system be excited or alarmed. They must raise a fresh crop of statesmen to carry out their principles, for we have all the statesmen now on our side of the question (hear, hear). Such being our position, we have very good grounds for gratulation on the present occasion. I confess, I hardly know whom to thank, or how to account hardly, for our present position; there has been such a combination of fortunate accidents, that I must confess that I am disposed to thank that Providence which has overruled so many apparently conflicting incidents for this great and mighty good—(hear, hear). I believe, gentlemen, we at all events may say, that humanly speaking we owe a debt of gratitude to our gracious sovereign, the Queen (hear, hear, and cheers). I believe it is not in strict etiquette to allude to our Queen's personal views and feelings in any matter, but it is well known that her Majesty's predilections are strongly in favour of the cause we have been agitating. Then, there's her late first Minister. Well, gentlemen, along with our success, we have seen the downfall of that Minister. Some people say he has lost office by giving us Free Trade. Well, if he has lost office, he has gained a country. For my part, I would rather descend into private life with that last measure of his, which led to his disfigurement, in my hand, than mount to the highest pinnacle of human power (hear, hear, hear). Well, among the statesmen, we owe a debt of gratitude to Lord John Russell (hear, hear). Individually, I believe, we owe to him and his firmness, to his letter, and to his firmness during the intrigues of the last six months in London. I believe we owe it to his individual firmness that we had the support of the Whig aristocracy at all in this measure (hear, hear). I am anxious as an individual on this occasion that I should lose sight of nobody to whom the country is indebted for the passing of these measures, because I do feel there has been a disposition to make one of us a great deal more a monopolist in this matter than he deserves (no, no). I speak of myself, and I say, that when I entered upon this career we found the road very much prepared; the mighty impediments had been removed by the labours of others; we had had men preceding us who had been toiling to beat down great prejudices, and destroy fallacies, and prepare a path for us which we had simply to macadamize to win our way to victory. There are many of these men here around me. I would not forget men who,

like the late Mr. Deacon Hume, Mr. Macgregor, and Mr. Porter, in the privacy of their closets, furnished the world with statistics, arguments, and facts, which, after all, have swayed mankind more than any declamation or appeals to the passions can possibly do. There is one man especially whom I wish not to forget: it is Colonel Thompson (hear, hear). Colonel Thompson has made more large pecuniary sacrifices than any man living for Free Trade, and we all know his contributions in an intellectual point of view, which have been invaluable to us—we will not forget the worthy Colonel amidst our congratulations amongst each other. Gentlemen, I said I should not detain you with a long speech, and in fact I cannot do it, for I do feel oppressed with the feelings which now pervade my mind (hear, hear). I believe we are at an era which in importance, socially, has not its equal for the last 1800 years. I believe there is no event that has ever happened in the world's history, that in a moral and social point of view—there is no human event that has happened in the world more calculated for the enduring interests of humanity than the establishment of the principle of Free Trade,—I don't mean in a pecuniary point of view, or as a principle applied to England, but we have a principle established now which is eternal in its truth and universal in its application, and must be applied in all nations and throughout all times, and applied not simply to commerce, but to every item of the tariffs of the world; and if we are not mistaken in thinking that our principles are true, be assured that those results will follow, and at no very distant period (hear, hear, and cheers). Why, gentlemen, it is a world's revolution, and nothing else (hear, hear), and every meeting we have held of this League, and this its last meeting probably, may be looked back upon as the germ of a movement which will ultimately comprehend the whole world in its embrace (cheers). I see and feel, and have always felt, the great social and moral importance of this great question (hear, hear). I believe many who have taken an active part in this question have been influenced solely by its moral and social consequences (hear, hear). Gentlemen, we have amongst us on this occasion a gentleman who has come from a neighbouring country, France, an eloquent advocate of Free Trade there, Mous. Duffour Dubergier, the Mayor of Bordeaux (hear, hear, and loud cheers). Gentlemen, it is gratifying that we should attract by a kindred sympathy the visit to our meeting of so distinguished a man (hear, hear); and I know he will go back, not with fresh emotions of sympathy towards our cause, for those he has entertained already, but I have no doubt he will go back inspired by what he sees here, and that he will be anxious that France should not stand long apart from England in this glorious career, but that we join hand to hand in setting nations the example of the mutual advantages of peace and prosperity (loud cheers). Well, gentlemen, this League must dissolve—it must suspend. Our elements must be scattered. Well, I cannot help saying personally for myself, that the greatest pleasure I have found in the course of those proceedings has been in the acquaintances I have formed with, and the kindness I have received from, the men connected with this association (hear, hear). If I could ever have despaired of this country, after the acquaintances which I have made with the men in connection with this question—men who will be found the salt of this land in whatever good is to be accomplished—having known what I do of my fellow-countrymen in this agitation, I shall never despair of this moral power to conduct this good ship through whatever storm may arise, which will save us from anarchy at one end, or tyranny at the other of society (hear, hear). I am going to be egotistical; but I will say that, so far as I myself am concerned—so far as my tastes go—a release from an active life of agitation will not be unacceptable to me (hear, hear). I ought, in order to enjoy the full pleasure of an agitator, to be differently constituted; and I don't think nature ever intended me for that line (laughter). I say it most unaffectedly, that I entered upon the career of agitation without the slightest idea that it would ever have conducted me to the point to which I have arrived (hear, hear, hear). I had not the most distant idea of it. I don't think circumstances would have warranted myself in taking the step eight years ago if I could have seen what it would lead to (hear, hear). We got into the groove, and were pushed along, and we found ourselves carrying a train of good hardy spirits who would not leave us; and having given us their support we were impelled forward in the groove at an accelerated speed, and with a constantly accelerated sympathy. Well, gentlemen, for myself, you will hardly credit it, when I say that with respect to myself, I have precisely the same feeling now with respect to the ordeal of public meetings that I had when I began this agitation. It is a matter of great reluctance and difficulty for me to appear before an audience at all (hear, hear). Many people would think that we had our reward in the applause and *ecclat* of public meetings; but I declare upon my honour that it is not so with me, for the inherent reluctance I have to address public meetings is so great that I don't even get up to present a petition in the House of Commons without reluctance. I therefore hope I may be believed when I say that if this agitation terminates now it will be very acceptable to my feelings; but if there should be the same necessity; the same feeling which has impelled me to take the part I have will impel me to a new agitation,—ay, and with tenfold more vigour, after having had a little time to recruit my strength (cheers). Well, gentlemen, we are going to dissolve; those good spirits must disband, and I am not quite sure that it is not wise and proper that it should be so. Now we have been kept together for seven years without one single dispute, without anything to cause the slightest alienation. We have had the bond of freemasonry and brotherhood so closely knit about us, that I don't think there has been a keen word in the happy family of the Anti-Corn-Law League (cheers). Well, that is the spirit in which we should break off. Were we to continue our agitation, when the object for which we associated is gone, I am afraid that the demon of discord would be getting in among us. It is in nature so. It is in our moral nature necessary that when an organised body has performed its functions, it must pass into a new state of existence, and become differently organised. We are dispersing our elements to be ready for any other good work; and it is nothing but good works that will be attempted by good Leaguers (cheers). Our body will, so to say, perish, but our spirit is abroad, and will pervade all the nations of the earth (renewed cheers). It will pervade all the nations of the earth because it is the spirit of truth and justice, and because it is the spirit of peace and good will amongst men (cheers). I move:

"That an Act of Parliament having been passed providing for the abolition of the Corn Laws in February, 1846, it is deemed expedient to suspend the active operation of the Anti-Corn-Law League; and the Executive Council in Manchester is hereby requested to take the necessary steps for making up and closing the affairs of the League with as little delay as possible."

JOHN BRIGHT, Esq., M.P., rose to second the resolution, and was greeted with loud cheers. He spoke as follows:—I need not say that I participate to the fullest extent in the feelings which have been expressed by Mr. Cobden; feelings which must arise, I believe, in the hearts of most of us, when we contemplate the fact that this is in all probability the last meeting of the Anti-Corn-Law League (cries of "hear, hear, hear"). I am at this moment impressed with a feeling of the greatest possible delight that the object for which we have been banded together is at length accomplished; but that feeling is tinged with one of another character, when I remember that in all probability we are now about to separate from friends with whom we have been long connected, and that have no longer in pursuit an object which has been the dearest and most cherished of our lives (hear, hear). At such a meeting as this, and in such circumstances, I would be the very last man to utter one syllable of unworthy exultation over those who have been defeated (hear, hear). I would not add one word to the unpleasant sensations of a party whose hopes have been altogether destroyed; I would not say anything that should add to the exasperation and the bitterness which have unfortunately been introduced to some extent between various classes of this community during the protracted struggle which is now concluded; but I am of opinion that this final meeting may have some result beyond that of merely determining to wind up the affairs of this League; that it may have some result, and that by it we may point a moral, and we may learn a lesson, we may contemplate the past, and we may for a little survey the future (hear, hear). To the public, the men, especially, who don't think very deeply, the object of the Anti-Corn-Law League is accomplished when the Corn Law is repealed; but if a thinking and philosophic mind were asked what the League has done, I am of opinion that his answer would include many other points and many other things beyond the repeal of a particular statute (hear, hear). We have taught the people of this country the value of a great principle (hear, hear). They have learned that there is nothing that can be held out to the intelligent people of this kingdom so calculated to stimulate them to action, and to great and persevering action, as a great and sacred principle like that which the League espoused (hear, hear). They have learned that there is in public opinion a power much greater than that which resides in any particular form of Government; that although you have in this kingdom a system of government which is called "popular" and called "representative," a system which is somewhat clumsily contrived, and which works with many jars and joltings, that still, with a great principle, and with great labour, and with great sacrifices, all those obstacles are overcome, and out of a machine specially contrived for the contrary, justice and freedom at length is achieved for the nation; and the people have learned something beyond this, that is, that the way to freedom lies forward is not through violence and bloodshed (hear, hear, hear, and loud cheers). Why, there can be no power on earth with which we can ever be again called to contend more powerful than that which we have overthrown on this question (hear, hear)—for we have had the particular privileged class banded together, many of them strong in prejudices, many of them believing that their personal and class interests depended upon the views which they then held being maintained; and we have had also mighty prejudices and ignorances among the people to contend with, and yet all these have been dispelled; and there is nothing in the whole United Kingdom at present to oppose us, except the miserable remnant of the ignorance which once prevailed (hear, hear, and cheers). I take it that there is no better lesson for the people to learn from it than this,—that by persevering effort,—that by no infraction of moral law,—by strict obedience to the principles which we believe to be enjoined by the Christian code, they can obtain so great and signal victories, and victories which are not tarnished in the gaining, and victories which can never be lost—more great and more glorious than any other nation ever achieved by force of arms (hear, hear, and cheers). But this Anti-Corn-Law League will stand before the world as a sign of a new order of things (hear, hear). Until now this country has been ruled principally by the class of great proprietors of the soil. Every one must have foreseen that as trade and manufactures extended the balance of power would, at some day or other, be thrown into another scale. Well, that time has come (hear, hear)—and the rising of this League seven years ago was sufficient to have pointed out to any statesman that the power of the landed aristocracy had reached its height, and that henceforth it would find a rival and an opponent to which eventually it must become subjected (hear, hear, and cheers). Now we have been living through a revolution without knowing it. In 1832 the House of Lords deemed itself a power in the state irresponsible except to heaven, and able of itself to say that a law should or should not pass. The House of Lords now makes no such pretensions. Lord Stanley declared, "God forbid that your lordships should set yourselves against the clearly expressed will of the people" (hear, hear); and I heard (for I listened to most of their debates on this question)—I heard several other members of the House of Peers make use of very similar expressions (hear, hear). They therefore understand their position now that they sit there not directly representing certain constituencies, or elected by them, but still that they are supposed to represent the people to some extent, and that they are responsible to public opinion for the exercise of the power which the constitution has entrusted them with (hear, hear, and cheers). But it is this and a neighbouring county that the great element of power in this country is henceforth to be found. Lancashire, the cotton district, and the West Riding of Yorkshire, must govern England (hear, hear). I don't mean that they must of themselves assert a superiority over other parts of the kingdom, like that which the rural and agricultural counties have asserted over us in times past; but I say that the vast population of those counties, with their interests, their morality, their union, that all these must exercise an immense influence upon all future legislation in this kingdom, and that the direction of legislation must be in accordance with the prevailing sentiments of the population of those two counties,—(hear, hear). And there is not a man in the kingdom knows it better than Sir Robert Peel (hear). There is no man more likely to know it, for he was born amongst us, and I confess that in looking at the course he has taken during the last session, I have felt some satisfaction that the man who in the last place came forward to give the finishing stroke to that gigantic monopoly to which we have been opposed, should have been a man born amongst us, sprung from the trade of this district, of a family who have done much to create and extend the industry of this district, and the wealth of whose family has to be traced entirely to that industry (hear, hear). Two years ago, Col. Thompson, at a meeting at Bristol, prophesy-

ing of Sir R. Peel—for the Colonel undoubtedly is a prophet,—(cheers and laughter)—he said Sir R. Peel began in cotton spinning, and in plenty of cotton spinning he would end (laughter). But at the commencement of the present session Sir Robert Peel showed that he knew what was the power of this kingdom. When the address was to be moved, which was an address almost pledging the House of Commons to sanction some great measure of commercial reform, the members chosen to move and second the address were the members for the West-Riding of Yorkshire, and for the constituency of South Lancashire—(hear, hear, hear)—and I am certain that henceforth a representative from these districts will have a large influence in the House of Commons, and that as the spirit which is now originated extends and becomes perpetual we shall have a much better representation for these districts than we ever had before; and that in the House of Commons, as well as in the country, they will take the position which their constituencies take out of doors (hear, hear). I said we have been living in a revolution, and I am prepared to maintain it. Not such a revolution as that which we were charged with. We all recollect the seditions, the conspiracies, and the ulterior objects, and the democracy, and the revolution, and the destruction of property, and all other things, which were laid to the charge of this National Anti-Corn-Law League. Now, I am prepared to maintain, that the result of this agitation has been of the very best character, not only as respects the great mass of the population who live by labour, but as respects the holders, the owners, and the enjoyers of the great mass of property in this kingdom (hear, hear). Now, I put it to the meeting,—is it to be believed at this moment that the Crown is less popular than it was seven years ago? (Cries of "No," and cheers.) Is not the Queen as much in the occupation of her throne without any aspirant—without any one to envy or to slander her, as she was at any time (hear, hear)? Even the House of Lords itself, I believe, at this moment stands infinitely better in the respect of the affections of the people than it has for many years possessed (cheers). Why, we don't look at the House of Lords now as a body in the state which either ignorantly or wickedly is maintaining a law which we believe to be unjust to millions (hear, hear). We look upon it as a house tending, unfortunately sometimes too much—(hear, hear)—to moderate the legislation of another house, which nobody, I think, will contend goes on too fast for us; but I must confess that I have a greater respect for the House of Lords, from watching their passing of this bill, and the manner in which they have passed it, than I have ever had at any former period (hear, hear, and cheers). And of the House of Commons also we may have a better opinion, for notwithstanding we had so few votes before the Peel conversion, yet there can be no doubt that a very large number, almost every one of the men who have come round with him, had been before partially or wholly convinced of the necessity of the measures which he has introduced, and were only prevented from helping us because they were bound in by those fetters of party by which so much good is often prevented, and I must say also by which so much good is often accomplished. I believe this country also is in a much better position now than it was when our agitation commenced, because I believe the effect of all our writing and speaking has been to create a greater reverence for law—not for bad law, but for justice; for we have taught that justice between man and man is really the principle on which legislation ought to take place (cheers). I look upon the effort which has given the great strength to this League with more interest than ever; but although we have accomplished this object, and the Corn Law is as good as dead, I would just speak one word of consolation to the men and capitalists of this district, that there are many more things to do; and I speak not of political or constitutional changes, but I believe at this moment there is a feeling among the great mass of the operatives of this district that there has been a persevering and determined effort on the part of the middle classes here to obtain for themselves and for the operatives a great measure of justice from the Government (hear). There is prevailing now (I speak of the working classes) a very great degree of harmony in Yorkshire and Lancashire. I am most anxious that this harmony should be fostered and rendered permanent. The duties by which that can be done are duties which do not devolve entirely upon workmen, but are duties to the performance of which capitalists and employers are also called—(hear, hear)—and I am persuaded if the capitalists and employers of these districts would, with an increasing kindness and sympathy of feeling, unite themselves with the operative classes, do all they can to instruct them, do all they can to add to their enjoyments, treat them always with sympathy and always with justice (cheers)—I am perfectly satisfied that should our million and a half become three millions within this already densely crowded district, that all those visions of danger which men love to paint as the result of manufacturing enterprise and manufacturing employment, will remain only visions and will never be realised (hear, hear, and cheers). I will not pretend, in conclusion, to add anything to what has been said before with respect to the dissolution of this League. I wish it only to be remembered as being the example of the intelligent middle and working classes of the community rising up, banding themselves together, without violence, in obedience to every just law, strengthening year by year, until at length the greatest and the most odious tyranny from which any so-called free country ever suffered has been entirely overthrown (loud cheers). We need not raise monuments of stone, or of brass, or of any such durable material, to the honour of this League (hear, hear). If we have not been mistaken in the seven years we have worked, if we are not mistaken now—and I think I may say for all that have been working in this cause, that we not only do not believe we are mistaken, but we are confirmed in our conviction, that we shall find the result of this measure will be extended freedom to all classes of this country (hear), with extended freedom, increased security, not only for property, but increased security for labour, and for the rewards and for the enjoyments which are procured by labour; and I trust and believe—I speak conscientiously, I speak it after years of consideration—I believe that we have cleared away the greatest obstacle that stood in the path of the people, that we now stand on the threshold of a new career, and that if the spirit, and the energy, and the intelligence, of the great and noble qualities of which we boast ourselves, and which to some extent have been exhibited in the working of this League,—if those qualities we still possess, and we still bring into action, I know not that there is any height to which this nation may not aspire; and I know not but that in all good things, as we have often in all bad things, we may not lead forward other nations in the same career (great and prolonged cheering).

This resolution was then put, and carried unanimously, amidst loud cheers.

R. H. GAGE, Esq., was next called upon, and said,—The following resolution has been put into my hands, which I shall have great pleasure in moving:

"That after payment of the first instalment the subscribers of the £250,000 League Fund be released from all further liabilities."

I suppose, Mr. Chairman, this resolution has been placed in my hands because I was chairman of that meeting some six months ago, at which we called for the subscription of £250,000. (loud cheers), in the hope thereby of securing the repeal of the Corn Laws (renewed cheers). Now, gentlemen, if you subscribed with pleasure to that fund in the hope of obtaining that great boon, I have no doubt you will receive with great pleasure that you will not be called upon for any future instalment—the end having been obtained for which it was entered into (hear, hear). It is to be hoped, however, that those who have not paid their first instalment will lose no time in doing so (hear, hear). You see the release is conditional (hear, hear, and laughter), because there are many debts to pay, which I am sure everybody will wish to be discharged with honour and punctuality (hear, hear). And unless we have this money we cannot discharge those debts with that justice and liberality with which I am sure every friend of the League would wish them to be discharged. Before sitting down, I should like to add one or two words to this "last dying speech," as I suppose I may call it, of our body (hear, hear, and laughter). There are only two great public objects for which I ever felt intensely interested—the reform in Parliament and the abolition of the Corn Laws (hear, hear). Gentlemen, I esteem myself happy to have lived until the time when both these objects have been accomplished (cheers). There may be different opinions as to the value of these measures, and it may be asked, "Are you not somewhat disappointed in the result of the Reform Bill, and may you not be equally disappointed in the advantage you expect to derive from the repeal of the Corn Laws" (hear)? Now, gentlemen, up to this time, after the passing of the Reform Bill, I think it has not sufficiently been appreciated—I think its value has not been duly appreciated and acknowledged; and I think with Mr. Cobden, we have never made a full and proper use of it (hear). But this I will say, that the carrying of a reform in Parliament has had the effect of saving us from a revolution, and of more firmly attaching the middle classes to the constitution of the country (hear, hear, hear). In this point of view it is perhaps worth all the trouble and risks we ran in pursuit of it (hear, hear, hear). With respect to the passing of the measure for the repeal of the Corn Laws, I will mention my views, and you may judge from them whether the opinions I have formed are extravagant. I think we may expect to see the average price of corn and provisions somewhat lower than they have been (hear, hear). I expect the range of prices will be much less than we have hitherto witnessed, and this, both to the benefit of the producer and consumer (hear, hear). I think the general value of the produce of the necessities of life will be increased beyond the decline in prices, by the better development of the resources of the country, by a fair interchange of the great staple articles of consumption which every country possesses (hear, hear). I believe we shall not have the extreme glut in manufactures and commerce which we have hitherto seen (hear, hear, and applause). I am far from being so sanguine as to say, we shall be entirely free from them. I am glad to see one thing, that the Government and landed aristocracy have learnt to appreciate the power and influence of the middle classes; and I believe they will regard us in future as brothers and equals, and not as dependants and inferiors (loud cheers). I am also induced to believe, that those results mentioned by Mr. Cobden will be realised through the world, from the example we have set of freely exchanging the products of the industry of one country with those of another (hear, hear). With respect to agriculture, I believe it has received a greater stimulus from the repeal of the Corn Laws than from all the agricultural societies that ever have been established (applause and laughter). I am confident the produce of the land will be greatly augmented, and that the landowner, instead of viewing mischief, will derive great advantages. With respect to the tenant farmer, I believe it will secure to him a better tenure of his farm, and tend to increase the wealth and comfort of the whole body of farmers (loud cheers). With respect to the League, though I am one of that body, I must give it credit for the uniform energy and wisdom with which it has carried out all its proceedings; and most of all I have admired the unanimity and single-mindedness which have distinguished it through the whole of the long period of the seven years of its existence (cheers). I must say that I am most of all satisfied with our present act of suicide, (hear, hear, and a laugh)—that our death is as worthy as our life has been; and that in dissolving as we now do, we give an effectual answer to those insinuations of our enemies, that we should use our power for ulterior purposes (hear, hear, and cheers). Gentlemen, I have felt that the existence of such a body as the Anti-Corn-Law League would be intolerable in any country, were not its powers limited, and its dissolution provided for, when it has accomplished the purpose for which it was established (cheers).

HENRY ASHWORTH, Esq.: Mr. Chairman, I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution. It has been my duty more than my pleasure on former occasions to address you, and on the last occasion it was for the purpose of proposing that the sum of £250,000, should be raised with a view to obtaining the abolition of the Corn Law. I now congratulate you that the work has been accomplished for one-fifth of the sum (hear, and loud applause). Gentlemen, I have greater pleasure in rising to take part in these proceedings than in any former ones, because I believe it may be the last one on which I may have occasion to appeal to the public. I shall be thankful to take leave of public life if I may be permitted to do so; and I am thankful that the residue of my life may be spent in domestic life, instead of being as it has been for some years, in political agitation (hear, hear, and applause). In conclusion, I would briefly advert to the period when we became banded together. For several years previous to 1837 we had abundant harvests, good trade, prosperity, and comfort; and for several years after we had the reverse of that position (hear, hear). We found merchants and manufacturers engaged in trade, who, without any cause or sensible reason, so far as they were concerned, found their property wasted, their business consumed, and themselves turned into the *Gazette*, without any charge of dishonesty; and in this way a wreck of property took place which it was painful to behold (hear, hear, hear). And we saw also that the working classes were brought into want and suffering. In fact, those were the years when it was said, "human food

was very dear, and flesh and blood were very cheap (hear, hear). In the time we became associated together for the purpose of repealing those laws, which, we believe, brought these injuries upon us. It may appear a long time that we should have been engaged for seven or eight years in a controversy to bring about that which is merely an act of justice (hear, hear); but if we consider that, let us also consider the elements we had at our command to effect our object (hear, hear). We were an association composed mostly of commercial people, unlearned in agitation and unskilled in logic or rhetoric, and lacking the knowledge of those arts which our opponents were possessed of, and therefore it was hardly to be expected that we should be prepared for the accomplishment of a result such as that we have now achieved (applause). Gentlemen, it has now been seen that business industry, with a good cause, can beat tilted power with a bad one (cheers). We know our strength,—it becomes us not to use it heedlessly and improperly, but not to hesitate to use it on all proper occasions. The League has now finished its work, and in taking leave of you I may adopt the language of one of our distinguished disciples on a recent occasion—namely, that the name of the League will live in the execution of monopolists, but that it will be gratefully remembered in the homes of toiling labour (hear, hear); and that when the workman comes to refresh his strength with food, it may be all the sweeter that it has not been leavened with taxation (cheers).

The resolution was carried with applause.

EDWARD BAINE, Esq., jun., of Leeds: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—It is not my intention to detain you with any general remarks on this occasion; but inasmuch as I am a member of the League who does not belong to the county of Lancaster, I feel that I should not do my duty if I did not take the opportunity of saying for the West Riding of Yorkshire, that we feel, and that the country feels—(hear, hear)—the liveliest gratitude to the men of Manchester for the wise, the admirable, the persevering manner in which they have conducted this great constitutional struggle to a triumphant issue (cheers). And now, sir, I will not make another general observation, but come to the matter which seems to me to be clearly the duty of this day (loud applause). There is a duty I think to the members of the League, and to the Free Traders throughout the country, which we ought to discharge, which is to give them advice; and that advice I think they ought to accept and act upon. You, sir, in the course of the excellent observations with which you opened this meeting, told us that the last and greatest movement of the League was the registration movement (hear, hear). You told us, sir, and most truly, that it was by means of the registration movement that those manifestations of public feeling and opinion were brought about throughout the country which have ended in this glorious result we are met to congratulate ourselves upon; but I think after the League has ploughed the ground, and sowed the seed of registration for Free Trade throughout the country, that, seeing we are just on the eve of another registration, and that that registration is to determine the character of the next Parliament—probably for six or seven years—I think, I say, that under these circumstances, it is incumbent throughout the country to reap at least the crop of which you have sown so plentifully the seed (hear, hear). We must not forget, notwithstanding the delightful assurances which have been given us by my honourable friend (to whom I feel a personal gratitude for his invaluable labours in this cause)—Mr. Cobden—we must not forget, notwithstanding those assurances he has given us so strongly, and in which, on one condition, I agree that the Corn Laws will never be revived,—we must not forget two or three things on which we have cast our eyes in the course of the scenes through which we have passed. We must not forget that Lord Stanley and the Duke of Richmond—the leading protectionists—have given a distinct and solemn pledge, that they intend at the next election to fight this battle of protection and Free Trade over again (hear, hear). Now when we recollect that the Corn Laws have existed in England for centuries, in one form or another, that the principles of protection are deeply-rooted in the selfishness of human nature,—when we recollect that in the last election a majority of 90 was returned in favour of protection,—when we consider that the converts in the House of Lords, have not been the most sincere,—when we consider these things, and the pledge given by the leading protectionists, it would not be expedient that we, throughout the country, should be indifferent to it (hear, hear). You are well aware that the new registration will almost immediately commence, and, under these circumstances, I say it becomes the duty of the League to offer this advice to the various Parliamentary constituencies,—that inasmuch as it has become desirable that the League should dissolve, in consequence of Free Trade having become the law of the land, they recommend that the Free Traders shall so attend to the registration as to secure a Free Trade majority at the next election to uphold that law (hear, hear). With these views, I have great pleasure in submitting the following resolution:

"That the Council of the League, whilst discontinuing its active efforts, cannot be insensible to the information given by the leading protectionists in both Houses of Parliament, of a determination to contest the ensuing general election with a view to obtain the repeal of the Corn Importation Bill; and, under these circumstances, the Council of their earnest recommendation to the Free Traders in the Parliamentary constituencies to continue their diligent attention to the registration, so as to be able to return a decided Free Trade majority to the next House of Commons."

Mr. P. Taylor, of London, seconded the resolution. He had served his apprenticeship to the League in Manchester, and he rejoiced that he was at last out of his time (hear, hear, and applause). He assured the meeting that the gratitude felt in London towards Mr. Cobden was not exceeded by any part of the Kingdom. If there had ever been a slight feeling of jealousy, the amiable conduct of the League itself, and the great efforts they had made, had rendered that body as popular in London as anywhere. He was gratified at the resolution of the League to dissolve itself, for this was national dissolution, for it was good that it should expire in its full strength (hear, hear), and that it should exhibit no signs of weakness and decay (hear, hear). It had succeeded in its object, and it was good that it should now expire, and leaving behind a monument of great and noble exertions in a great and noble cause (cheers). He had great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

WILLIAM BROWN, Esq., Liverpool, rose amidst loud and prolonged cheering, which was repeatedly revived, and said: Gentlemen, I may well rise with hesitation to address a few words to you. For the speeches I have heard of surpassing eloquence and feeling; but I cannot let the opportunity pass without congratulating you all upon the great fact we have heard, that we are released from the Corn Law (cheers).

That bill, which will, at no distant period remove restrictions which have so long trammelled the energies of the country, and kept up scarcity, has at length received the Royal assent; and gentlemen, it is not only here this happy effect will follow, but I am convinced that it is the best measure that has been adopted, or ever can be adopted, to keep us at peace with all mankind (cheers). And I must say that I do attribute the pleasant news we have recently received from the United States to a knowledge of the fact, that those Free Trade measures had passed (hear, hear, and cheers). It is exceedingly gratifying, gentlemen, that we have it in our power, and that we are this day met to redeem that pledge given to the world,—that the Anti-Corn-Law League should only co-exist with the Corn Laws. As has been said, we have been called an unconstitutional body—a body having ulterior and revolutionary views; this day will prove to mankind the singleness and honesty of our purpose (hear, hear, cheers). It is quite true, gentlemen, that the Anti-Corn-Law League have made a great revolution in our commercial policy, and one which I believe will have a more happy effect in keeping the peace of the world than the most brilliant victories ever achieved by arms created (cries of "hear, hear," and loud applause). We must feel, gentlemen, a deep debt of gratitude to the early members of the League, who undertook the Herculean task of teaching a whole nation the folly of protective laws. When they had to encounter the scoffs and sneers of those with whom they had to contend, they never once forsook their course, but took a plan which has made truth triumph over error, and by that they have now brought us together in this hall to celebrate the victory (cheers). All honour to such men! If it had not been for their zeal, their single-mindedness, their willingness to submit to great personal sacrifices of time and convenience, I fear we should be here—or rather not here, but in the country deploring a defeat instead of celebrating a victory (hear, hear). I fear, also, these labours have not only interfered with the time, but with the health of our distinguished leaders (hear, hear); and the country owes them, I am sure, a debt of gratitude which it can never repay; but as there is another meeting in connection with that subject, at which I shall be happy to be present (hear, hear, and cheers), I shall not further refer to the matter now. I think the chairman has placed in my hands a resolution, which he ought not, because that it is a protective resolution (a laugh); but I hope we shall never be called upon to carry it into effect. I have great pleasure in moving it.

"That in case any serious attempts be made by the protectionist party to induce the Legislature to retrace its steps, or prevent the final extinction of the Corn Law in February, 1849, the gentlemen who have hitherto so ably fulfilled the duties of the Executive Council be hereby authorised to call the League into renewed existence."

JOHN CHEETHAM, Esq. (Stalybridge): I rise, Sir, with great pleasure to second the resolution moved by Mr. Brown, whose presence on this occasion, standing in his public, and I might almost say, official position, (loud and protracted cheering) is an example of the no small results which have sprung from the organisation of this League (cheers). The resolution he has proposed, and which I have been called to second, asks you to leave in the hands of the Executive Council of the League the duty of carefully and zealously watching the progress of the events, so that if it be required you shall be once more summoned to the field. I admit that it is a large power to leave in the hands of these gentlemen, but I am sure the best guarantee you have for its proper exercise is the care and wisdom and discretion, which have characterised their past actions (loud cheers and applause). In alluding to the past proceedings of the League, almost all the speakers have seized upon some point of interest in those proceedings to remind you more particularly of; and there is one which, as it comes to my mind associated with many pleasing recollections of the room in which we are now assembled, I would also mention. It is to that gathering which you, Sir, called together in this room of these 700 ministers of the gospel from different parts of the country (hear, hear, and cheers). Now, I am sure—for my worthy chairman himself has acknowledged it—that he who looks back to the history of the last seven years must regard that as an event of no ordinary consequence in producing the results at which we have now arrived. You had gone, before this, with your facts, and arguments, and reasons, to Parliament; but when you gathered these men together here, you threw these things aside, and left them to decide, "Are these laws just?" And when they solemnly declared before the country, and of Him in whose presence they were assembled, that these laws—be their object what it might—were (they necessary to one interest or another,—were essentially unjust, (hear, hear, hear)—I say, when this declaration was made, when the never-dying feeling went forth that these laws were unjust and unrighteous, your work was half done (hear, hear, and applause)!—Mr. Cheetham went on to say that there was great encouragement in their past proceedings to struggle for other rights; for it taught this lesson, which ought ever to be inscribed on the banners of men banded together in pursuit of the public good, that "great is the truth, and it must prevail (applause)."

F. R. ATKINSON, Esq., said, he would remind the meeting, now that they were about to suspend proceedings, of the remark of Oliver Cromwell, when he said, "Gentlemen, let us go to pray, but keep your powder dry (applause and laughter). Now he had not much confidence in the promises of the protectionists, unless they (the Free Traders) kept their powder dry, and kept a sharp look-out; for he feared there would be some treachery (hear). All he had to say was, that he hoped the Council would exercise great vigilance, and be ready at the slightest alarm to call together that powerful and active body the League, which had accomplished so much (loud applause).

GEORGE THOMAS, Esq., of Bristol, said, he thought the League was bound to dissolve, but still he thought this resolution was the safety valve (hear, hear). It was a gratifying thing to him to meet so many noble spirits on this occasion, and that they owed a debt of gratitude to the men of Lancashire especially, which they could never repay. He thought they could hardly calculate the results of this measure to the world: it was beginning a new era, and what we had known of prosperity in his opinion would be far exceeded by that which was to come (cheers).

The Chairman put the resolution, and it was carried with much applause.

JOHN WHITTEKER, Esq., of Harist, here rose and moved, that the Chairman do leave the chair, and that Mr. Robert Hyde Greg be called thereon.—Mr. Greg took the vacant chair amidst loud cheers.

RICHARD GORDON, Esq., presented himself, and was received with renewed cheering. He said Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: When we were discussing the proceedings

of this meeting, we did think of proposing a number of resolutions of thanks to individuals—we found, however, that the field was so very wide, and that it would be likely to lead to some invidious exceptions or omissions, so that we thought it would be best to avoid any compliments (hear, hear). It must not be supposed, therefore, that we forgot any one (hear, hear); especially do we bear in mind, I am sure, the services of our friend Mr. Villiers (hear, and loud cheers). I have always considered it, gentlemen, one of the most fortunate accidents of this agitation—a providential incident, I should almost call it—that our question fell into the hands of Mr. Villiers; for there is not a man in the kingdom, in the hot bed of the League itself, that has more undimly held the principles of repeal, nor who, during the last six months that we have been on the tenter-hooks of anxiety on this question, has had his mind more absorbed in the result, than Mr. Villiers (hear, hear, and cheers). I am sure that my friend Mr. Bright, and every one who has been in London, can bear testimony to the deep anxiety of our friend—"hear, hear," from Mr. Bright, and cheers)—and also to the exertions which he was constantly making to help forward our question, by encouraging those who were disposed to support it; while he discouraged others who had hopes that they might be able to compromise the principles of that measure. Well, gentlemen, there were other parties to whom I might with propriety allude; and amongst others I might mention the quiet members of the League—the silent members, I might call them (hear, hear, and cheers). There are a number of gentlemen who, during the last seven years and a half have been almost daily in attendance at the League rooms in Newall's Buildings; and bear in mind for the first two or three years of our agitation it was a very hopeless matter,—there was no *esprit*, no applause, the result of the power we now enjoy (hear, hear);—we sat in a small room, the same we now have, and we had a dingy red curtain drawn across the room, that we might not feel chilled by the paucity of our numbers (cheers and laughter). Two or three were all that were there on one occasion, and I recollect smiling and saying to my friend Prentice, "What a lucky thing it is the monopolists cannot draw aside that curtain, and see how many of us there are, for if they could, they would not be much frightened" (cheers and laughter). Now it would give you an idea of the almost unheard-of labours of these men if I gave you the number of times half-a-dozen of them have attended meetings of the League, and had their names recorded on the minutes of proceedings (hear, hear, hear). There is our friend George Wilson, the chairman, 1361 times—(loud cheers);—Mr. Prentice, who stands next, 1127 times—(loud cheers);—Mr. Samuel Lees 863 times—(loud cheers);—Mr. Rawson 601 times—(loud cheers);—Mr. T. Woolley 485 times—(loud cheers);—Mr. W. Bickham 474 times—(loud cheers);—Mr. W. Evans 444 times—(loud cheers);—and Mr. Henry Rawson 358 times—(loud cheers). I have given you here the names of those gentlemen who have attended most frequently there, and others have also given their attendance for 100 and 150 times. Now these gentlemen have also been most assiduous workers in private, in conducting the correspondence and others labours of the Council: and some of them have never been heard of before, and never would have been heard of, if I had allowed their modesty to have prevailed (cheers and loud laughter). Now I think it is a matter to be referred,—not to the Executive Council, because they are the parties themselves—but to members of the Council from a distance.—I think it should be recommended to them to consider some mode of giving a testimonial, something which should be durable and remain in the families of these gentlemen (loud cheers). I am sure it is less the value of the thing than it is desirable that a tribute so honourable to them and to you should be presented to them, to hand down their names to their children and to posterity, as having contributed to this great event (loud cheers). I leave that in the hands of others; but now, gentlemen, I come to a question of an important kind. We have moved our friend Mr. Wilson out of the chair; it was because I have a few words to say which it would not be agreeable to his modesty to listen to. Gentlemen, these proceedings cannot be allowed to determine without taking into consideration the best mode of testifying to Mr. Wilson the opinions we entertain of the unparalleled services he has rendered to this cause (loud and prolonged cheering). Mr. Wilson, Mr. Prentice, myself, and another or two, were at the outset the members who most frequently attended these meetings. There are only a few gentlemen who can touch, as I hope they will, for the labours of Mr. Wilson. Now, some of you may have thought that he was remunerated for his services to the League. I know that there has been such an opinion abroad, and when you have heard it you will no doubt have said that nothing could be more fair and just than that he should have been remunerated (hear, hear). But, gentlemen, from the first, Mr. Wilson has refused to receive one farthing of compensation for his services (loud and prolonged cheering). Seven years ago I pressed it upon Mr. Wilson to allow us to give him with his office as chairman of the Council of the League a stipend; and although we were then poor and hardly knew where to raise funds for our humble agitation, I proposed to him to receive 500*l.* a year, to abstract himself from business, and give his attention almost exclusively to the League. He declined the offer, but stated his willingness to bear all the weight of business we could lay upon his shoulders. Well, gentlemen, as our friends increased, we pressed upon him to accept 1000*l.* a year; but this he declined. He probably thought—what none of us did—that if he sat in the chair as a stipendiary chairman, he would not preserve that independence and usefulness which he has done. Gentlemen, the services of Mr. Wilson have not been on the surface like those of some of us. My friend Mr. Bright and myself have been rewarded with the applause and encouragement of public meetings,—one of us far beyond his deserts—(no, no, and cheers)—but the labours of Mr. Wilson have been the labours of the counting house and the closet (cheers). He has had the labours of this body entirely under his control—and the practical details of the business of the League have been entirely under the care of Mr. Wilson; and I will say, after seeing many public men, and knowing something of public business, that I never met with a man who possesses such instinctive sagacity in ascertaining the principles and motives which actuate men, and such a comprehensive power of dealing with matters of business as my friend Mr. Wilson (cheers). Organisation—the organisation of men is, with our friend Mr. Wilson, an instinct; the management of details of the largest possible extent are with him practicable, and he manages them with ease at the same time that he grasps a thing in its whole extent. There is not a thing, whether it has come in the shape of a bazaar or a public movement, but Mr. Wilson has taken

charge of the whole details from the first advertisement that there was to be a bazaar, as in the case of that in London, down to the superintendence of painting the interior of the theatre; he has taken the whole of the details under his care so as no other man could do it. It has been one of the most gratifying features, indeed, of this movement, that we have found men fitted to fill every department; men have fallen into their places instinctively, but of all the talent, the labour we have had at our command, I do not know of any human means by which we could have reached the point we have, if we had not had the services of Mr. George Wilson (hear, hear, and loud cheers). And now, gentlemen, after saying that, I beg to propose that we pass to some fitting mode of seeing how we can in some measure reward—for we cannot adequately reward him, I am sure (hear, hear hear). Gentlemen, on the receipt of the whole of the first instalment of our last fund, we shall have such a sum as I believe will enable us to wind up the affairs of the League—though there are many things which we may not have yet taken into account, and there are many points that come as a sort of backwater, after so much agitation,—but I believe we shall have in our power, after meeting all our engagements, the means of pressing upon his acceptance the receipt of a sum of not less than 10,000*l.* (loud and repeated shouts of applause). I have not said a word to him as to his feelings in this matter, but my friend Wilson possesses sound common sense, and is not a churlish man (laughter), and therefore I hope he will not refuse us the satisfaction of paying this tribute to his worth (loud cheers). I therefore move:

"That this meeting views with feelings of unfeigned admiration and gratitude the long, arduous, and invaluable services rendered to the League by the Chairman of its Council, George Wilson, Esq., and hereby authorises the Executive Council to present to him, and to accept of a sum of not less than 10,000*l.*, to be paid out of the funds of the League."

Mr. SMITH: The unanimity which pervades the meeting on this resolution is what I anticipated, therefore I shall not trespass further upon your time to say I give my cordial assent to that motion.

Mr. BROTHERTON, M.P., said that, like his friend, Mr. Cobden, he had been always extremely reluctant to present himself before a public meeting; but he really could not deny himself the pleasure of supporting the motion which had just been put from the chair. He had been a witness of Mr. Wilson's conduct during the last seven years, and he had no hesitation in saying that whatever might have been the exertions of the others of the League, he did consider that the success of this great measure was as much attributable to the unexampled assiduity, and wisdom he might say, and the conduct generally, and the influence of Mr. Wilson in the League, as to any other member of it, however distinguished. Therefore he (Mr. Brotherton) could not sit still without offering his tribute of praise to that gentleman, and expressing his extreme gratification that such a vote had been proposed. And whilst he was on his legs, perhaps they would allow him, as that was the last morning that ever would be held on the subject, to congratulate that great community on what he believed to be the virtual repeal of the Corn Laws. He must say that he felt it to be a great honour and privilege that he had the opportunity of aiding, in a humble degree, in the promotion of this great cause. It had been beautifully expressed by Mr. Cobden, that "no man, however sanguine, could have expected the result so soon, and that it could be only attributable to an all-wise and overruling Providence" (hear, hear, hear). He considered that the present Parliament might be considered a Whig Parliament, because it was called by the Whigs to carry out the wishes of their beloved Sovereign to put down the monopoly in corn, in timber, and in sugar; but when the election took place they found that instead of those members being elected who would carry out these principles, a great majority of monarchists was elected. It appeared to the nation at large that it was impossible that this measure could ever be carried; but, in spite of all the combination of circumstances they had seen during the last five years, there had been that homage paid to truth and justice that the League was triumphant (cheers). He could not but see in that great measure a proof of the power of public opinion. In every other great agitation there had been, to a certain extent, intimidation or an appearance of physical force; but with regard to the agitation in favour of the repeal of the Corn Laws, they found that it had been entirely accomplished by enlightening the public mind (cheers). And they saw how great measures might be accomplished when founded on truth and justice, however appearances might be against them (cheers). It only required the thought and disposition to be implanted in the heart of their beloved Queen to carry out this measure, for which she had dissolved Parliament, and to put that thought into the mind of a powerful man to aid in carrying it out, and the measure was accomplished (cheers). He (Mr. Brotherton) congratulated that community on the great benefits which were likely to arise from the measures that had passed, and the measures which he trusted would yet be passed before this Parliament was dissolved. They might see agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, all flourishing simultaneously, and they probably would not then experience those alternations of prosperity and adversity which had been seen during the last twenty or twenty-five years, or at least, since the Corn Laws were passed (hear, hear). It had been proved that those measures would not tend to the injury of agriculture, but that all classes in the community would be benefited by them. They would see the important results of those measures in the improved state of society in general, they should see increased comfort and industry, and the commercial energies of the country extended and prospering—they should see less crime, less poverty, and a better state of society (hear). He (Mr. Brotherton) was delighted to hear that there might be a cordial union between the operative and manufacturer (hear, hear). They knew that property had its duties as well as its rights, and if all classes had combined together in wise measures to promote the general benefit of the community, a degree of prosperity would be enjoyed in this country of which, perhaps, the most sanguine mind in the room could scarcely form an idea (hear, hear). In many respects this measure would be advantageous. It would be advantageous both in a physical and commercial point of view (hear, hear). Let them only consider what the state of that country was when he told them that the repeal of the Corn Laws took off a tax of one million a year which was levied on the people of Lancashire (hear, hear). Such benefits as those were worthy of great exertions, and he had been accomplished in the most striking manner, and he trusted they should all unite together in making the best use of that which had now been placed within the reach of that great commercial community (hear, hear). He (Mr. Brotherton) again tendered the tribute of his thanks to Mr. Wilson and the other gentlemen who had displayed so much attention in carrying out this great and peaceful agitation, and he trusted they should have no occasion whatever to renew their exertions (hear, hear). He could not say he agreed in the sentiment that had been expressed by Mr. Atkinson with regard to distrusting the aristocracy or anybody in the carrying out of this measure. It had been accomplished by truth and justice, and if there was an attempted breach of faith, there was energy enough in the nation to induce them to rise up as one man to resist such an attempt (cheers). He did not wish to be distinctly understood, and he believed that now the measure was carried, and the nation convinced of its advantages, no power on earth could repeat that law (cheers).

A. PATTERSON, Esq., I did not intend to address you; after having sat for 30 years, and spoken for 30 years against the Corn Laws, you were meeting that I came rather to listen than to talk. But I cannot help rising when the subject is the cause of Mr. Wilson to your gratitude (loud cheers and applause). Mr. Cobden has told you that Mr. Wilson's attendance at the meetings amounted to 1360 times; but that is no half of the amount of his attention to this cause. Why, there is not contained in this list of attendances any notion of his journeys to London on the business of the League for weeks together, after occupying

night and day; there is no notice of his journeys to other parts of the country on the business of the League. I think that if we take 7½ years and multiply it by 300 working days, and count all those days as fully employed in this cause, you would have a notion of his services. Gentlemen, it is nothing but the dictate of gratitude that we should offer him this testimonial. I do not think any money will repay his services, and I think that 10,000*l.* has not been fixed upon because it was in any way conceived to be the measure of the value of his services, but the thought that dictated the sum was rather that that was the amount which remains in our hands as a surplus. Then there is the subject of attendances: Mr. Woolley, Mr. Lees, and others have attended upon sub-committees. I do not take much credit for having attended more general meetings, because these gentlemen have often attended meetings of committees which have occupied much more time, and often till a late hour of night, when I have not.

Mr. Broes expressed his gratification at being present at that meeting, and coming as he did from a midland county, he could not, with justice to himself, or those from whom he came, refrain from expressing the deepest sense of gratitude for the services of the Council of the League (cheers). He regretted that the distance of his place of residence had prevented him from rendering the effectual assistance which his inclination would prompt to render; but he was glad the management of their affairs was in the hands of gentlemen so patriotic and energetic, and who had accomplished such great social results (applause). He conceived the passing of the measure for the repeal of the Corn Laws was not only one of the greatest events of modern times, but would confer more advantages on the people of this and other countries than any measure that had passed for centuries. The work in which they had been engaged had conferred benefits on humanity at large; and they felt that the services of those gentlemen who had been occupied in carrying out the details of that work had been invaluable. He entirely agreed in the vote to Mr. Wilson (cheers), and suggested that some token should be paid to those gentlemen whose names had been read over by Mr. Cobden (cheers). On behalf of the midland counties, he wished to say how entirely they approved of the conduct and how deeply grateful they were for the services of the Council of the League.

The resolution was then put and carried by acclamation in the most enthusiastic manner, all the members of the Council and of the general body standing up, and cheering vociferously.

Mr. KATHBONE, of Liverpool, briefly proposed the next resolution which was as follows:

"That the members of the Executive Council of the League are entitled to the warmest gratitude of the League and of the country for their high-principled, laborious, and most successful exertions during the seven years of our constitutional agitation; and that a committee be appointed, consisting of Joseph Brotherton, Esq., M.P., and such gentlemen as he may associate with himself, to determine on some suitable testimonial to be presented to those gentlemen out of the funds of the League." It was not necessary to say one word as to the propriety of giving some token of gratitude to those who had worked so laboriously without any reward but the approbation of their own consciences (cheers). He hoped, now their efforts had been successful, that a moral regeneration would take place among the people, without which cheap bread would be of little value indeed (hear, hear).

Mr. Broes briefly seconded the resolution, which passed with applause.

The CHAIRMAN: As no other gentleman has anything to address to this meeting, it is now my duty to say that the Anti-Corn Law League stands conditionally dissolved.

A deep silence followed this announcement for a few seconds, when some one called out for "three cheers," and

Mr. COBDEN, rising, said, "I don't think we can get up a cheer (hear, hear, and laughter), for, as I have just been observing to my friends on my right and left, I never felt so 'flat' in all my life (laughter). I never heard speeches that fell so flat, and never saw an audience that looked so flat as to-day (a laugh). It is right it should be so, for we have been celebrating the obsequies of the League. We began in solemnity, and we end in solemnity (hear, hear). The world will see, at all events, that whatever else they may be, they are earnest men who have engaged in this work (hear, hear). If you would like to have a cheer, let us try if we can't get up a few sepulchral ones (loud cries of 'hear, hear,' and laughter). Come, I'll be your friar."

The honourable gentleman then led off, and was followed with right and will by the meeting, in very loud, prolonged, and effective cheering.

"The Queen" was then named, and the mention of her Majesty was received with a long and hearty burst of applause, and the meeting then separated.

AGRICULTURE.

THE EMANCIPATION OF INDUSTRY.

A FEW LAST WORDS TO THE TENANT FARMERS.

The work of the League is accomplished. Absolute freedom of trade in corn, within three years, is provided for by Act of Parliament; and in the mean time a modified and moderate scale of duties will be in operation. We believe that this period of transition will be mischievous to farmers; first, by preventing them from gaining at once the full advantage of freely importing grain for cattle food; and next, by inducing an exaggerated expectation on the part of foreign growers of the ultimate capacity of our market. Moreover, it will postpone arrangements with the landlords. However, whatever be the effects of one or all of these causes, they will be only temporary, and ought not seriously to derange the plans of any intelligent and calculating farmer. Virtually the trade in corn is free. A legislature of landowners no longer metes out to the people the quantity of their food. Parliament has given up the hopeless, impossible task of "regulating" the price of grain. Henceforth that must depend upon the seasons, the enterprise of our agricultural capitalists, and of our merchants. The prices of corn, be they high or be they low, will be natural prices, the result of natural causes. Artificial scarcity will no longer be brought in aid of the landlord's rental. Like the rest of the community, he is to come into fair competition in the world's market. Wheat grown on ducal and squirearchical acres will not again be sold at a price beyond its real value, because the duke or the squire who owns the acres is "heavily mortgaged," or has large portions and family jointures to provide for. Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, London, and the hundreds of other

places in which the toiling artisan gives indirectly an enormous value to the land of this country will no more be taxed, to uphold the "station" or satisfy the greed of a landed aristocracy. The combination of trading energy and educated knowledge, which constituted the power of the League, has emancipated the trading and commercial industry of the nation from the last bond of feudalism.

Would that we could say that rural industry is emancipated also. The blight of feudalism still rests on agriculture. Customs, which have no better source than landlord prejudices, and regulations, which result from the capricious exercise of landlords' will, still prevent the development of the art of husbandry. That business, which of all others is most congenial to the human mind, which affords a wide sphere of usefulness, and requires for complete success the exercise of many and varied talents, is the only one from which educated, high-minded, and independent men, are excluded; and excluded by that system of managing landed property, which renders the tenant farmer—the agricultural capitalist—in point of position and security, but one degree removed from the condition of the landlords' bailiff. And is this state of things to continue? We firmly believe that it cannot for any great length of time; measuring time by the period of national existence. But the problem is, how to emancipate the present generation of farmers?

We have laboured earnestly during the last three years, to draw the attention of tenants to their true position. We have shown them, not only the direct losses and injuries they have sustained from the system of "protection," but still more the bar it has presented to their emancipation from a state of real and practical vassalage. We have exposed the delusions which have been fostered amongst them by their only political leaders, the landowners; who, for their own party or class objects, have operated upon the hopes or fears of the tenantry, deluding them alike whether promising an Act of Parliament price for wheat, or threatening an "inundation" of foreign corn, at next to no price at all. We have steadily argued the question of Free Trade upon agricultural grounds; we have left to others the wider field of the injustice and public wrong inflicted by the Corn Laws upon the community, in order to demonstrate that, passing the more general question, the Corn Laws inflicted, directly and indirectly, the deepest injury upon the capitalists engaged in husbandry.

But while seeking to induce the industrious agriculturists to join with the other industrious classes in the demand for Free Trade, we have not flattered the prejudices of farmers. On the contrary, we have told them that there is no royal road to success in farming. We have shown, from every chapter in the history of British husbandry of the last thirty years, that legislative protection is a mere illusion, a mirage, mocking the distressed agriculturist with false hopes of special dispensation in his favour; we have told the farmers that upon their own exertions they must rely, and that so relying success is certain.

We have stated facts to illustrate the capacity of our soil for improvements almost indefinite, and for an increase of production incredible to the farmer, who has relied upon protection and high prices for profit. We have pointed to successful farmers, and their methods of cultivation, as evidence that success in agriculture was to be obtained only by disregarding the promises of the Corn Laws, that is, by looking to quantity without reference to price. Nor have we hesitated to show the nearly universal deficiency of capital with which the business of farming is carried on, or to trace that deficiency to its source, the absence of permanent holdings and the existence of landlord imposed burdens, which prevent the secure application of capital to the culture of the soil. And we have reason to believe that the course of remark into which our advocacy of Free Trade has led us, has not been without effect upon both tenants and landlords. Both may have been occasionally offended by direct or implied rebukes, but they have been led to examine and consider the points upon which observation has been made. And we have ever maintained that the tenants as a body are, in all that relates to agriculture, far in advance of the landlords as a class; that, in spite of the greater advantages of leisure and education of the latter, the

sharpening effects of self-interest have brought the tenant farmers to more correct views of the wants and impediments of agriculture than the landowners, with a few eminent exceptions, entertain. But what the farmers most require is independence—mental independence—to demand that fair consideration, that equal share in contracts with their landlords, which is essential in the main to their mutual benefit. There is, however, an immense mass of prejudice to be overcome, before the business of a farmer can become what it ought to be—the simple occupation of land at a money rent. This can only be accomplished by vigorous action on the part of farmers. They must resolutely resist the continuance of semi-feudal practices, such as the reservation of game, and yearly tenancies. They should insist upon long leases, free from obsolete covenants and restrictions, while they ought to be prepared to offer a full equivalent in the shape of rent, founded upon a careful calculation of the fluctuations of seasons, and which they must expect to pay under all circumstances. There is nothing so adverse to the farmer's independence as eleemosynary abatements of rent; and with the introduction of well-considered leases, that abatement system will cease. This will probably be our last opportunity of addressing the tenant farmers, and we use it to urge upon them the necessity of trusting to themselves.

Henceforth the object of farmers must be to attain independence, social and political independence. They must think for themselves, and they must act for themselves. Above all, they must avoid "farmers' friends." The landowners can never be true representatives of the farmers.

In most questions of material interest, the two classes, the landlords and the tenant farmers, are directly opposed to each other; and the prejudices and recollections of the past will long induce the landowners to desire the depression rather than the elevation of the social position of the tenant farmers.

The means by which alone the farmers will attain independence will be SELF-RELIANCE.

They must do as the trading classes have done before them, select for their representatives in the House of Commons men of their own class, or men who sympathise with their class. Now no one can do so less than a landlord. That must be a standing rule; and every landowner who, as a public man, seeks the confidence of the farmers, should establish affirmatively his right to be considered an exception.

The farmer should always remember, that as a capitalist his interest is identified with that of the trading classes, that their well-doing is his well-doing, and that the kind of patron and client relation which has hitherto subsisted between landlord and tenant in England is utterly inconsistent with the successful prosecution of farming as a business. Let the farmers learn from the success of the League, and of the classes who have supplied the energy of the League in emancipating their own industry, that fortune helps those only who will help themselves.

REVIEW.

THE HISTORY OF COMMERCE. By W. Cooke Taylor, Esq., LL.D. of Trin. Coll., Dublin.

The above work is intended to set forth the history of commerce in connection with the science of political economy, as its principles were gradually developed by the progress of exchange, to show the connection between the increase of commercial intercourse and the spread of civilisation; to show how commercial enterprise prompted to maritime and inland discovery, and to exhibit how commercial credit becomes the bond of brotherhood between nations. The "History of Commerce" must, in fact, to some extent, be an exposure of pernicious errors and perverted truths; but in a still greater degree it will be a record of honourable exertions in the cause of humanity, and brilliant discoveries for the moral advancement of mankind. It will show that truth, justice, and freedom, are the great elements of commercial prosperity; and that no individual, and no nation, can violate their principles with impunity. We have witnessed the dawn of a system, rising on the world as a sun of righteousness, with healing in its wings; and at such a time it would be ungrateful to neglect the memory of

those who toiled and struggled through the long night that is now gone down the sky.

The literary and personal connection between Doctor Cooke Taylor and Archbishop Whately will no doubt be continued through the proposed work, and will, of course, ensure both its scientific accuracy and its moral value. It will elucidate many points, both in ancient and modern history, which have received but little attention from English writers; as, for instance, the Carthaginian system of banking; the Greek plan of colonisation; the state of the trading municipalities under the Romans; the effect produced on commerce by the invasion of the barbarians in the west, and the conquests of the Saracens in the east; the rise and growth of commerce among the Lombards, the Albigenses, the Moors, and other communities in the Western Mediterranean; the formation of the Hanseatic and Rhenish Leagues, and a succinct view of the commercial history of the principal European nations since the discoveries of Vasco di Gama and Columbus.

We have merely to announce these works; there is no need of dwelling upon their importance; and it would be rather premature to speculate on the style of their future execution.

Bentley's Modern Literature. Part I. Walpole's Letters. London. Bentley.

We have seen no more acceptable series of cheap literature than that which Mr. Bentley has commenced, for it gives us cheapness, without any sacrifice of convenience or comfort. The works appear with such elegance of paper and print as to fit them for the most luxurious library, and at a price which places them within the range of persons of moderate fortune. The eye is not wearied by small print and crowded pages. Instead of imperfect woodcuts, we have steel plates, executed in the best style of art. We are glad that the publisher has commenced the series with the inimitable letters of Horace Walpole, a correspondence which, for lively wit, shrewd appreciation of character, and thorough knowledge of English parties at an important period of history, has no rival in the whole range of the world's literature. To criticise a work which is known and esteemed wherever our language is spoken would be superfluous, but we shall extract some of the passages relating to the expulsion of Sir Robert Walpole from office, which have the greater interest at a crisis when a still greater Sir Robert has been forced to abandon the reins of power.

The opposition to Sir Robert Walpole was conducted with a personal ferocity to which modern times can afford no parallel. It was known that the session of 1742 would decide the issue; and though there was no division on the address, there were significant indications of a desperate struggle, which Horace thus describes:

"We had no division, but a very warm battle between Sir R. and Pultney. The latter made a fine speech, very personal, on the state of affairs. Sir R. with as much health, as much spirits, as much force and command as ever, answered him for an hour; said, 'He had long been taxed with all our misfortunes; but did he raise the war in Germany? or advise the war with Spain? did he kill the late Emperor or King of Prussia? did he counsel this king? or was he first minister to the King of Poland? did he kindle the war betwixt Muscovy and Sweden?' For our troubles at home, he said, 'all the grievances of this nation were owing to the Patriots.' They laughed much at this; but does he want proofs of it? He said, 'They talked much of an equilibrium in this Parliament, and of what they designed against him; if it was so, the sooner he knew it the better; and therefore if any man would move for a day to examine the state of the nation, he would second it.' Mr. Pultney did move for it; Sir R. did second it, and it is fixed for the 21st of January. Sir R. repeated some words of Lord Chesterfield's, in the House of Lords, that this was a time for truth, for plain truth, for English truth, and hinted at the reception his lordship had met in France. After these speeches of such consequence, and from such men, Mr. Lyttleton got up to justify, or rather to flatter Lord Chesterfield, though everybody then had forgot that he had been mentioned. Danvers, who is a rough, rude beast, but now and then mouths out some humour, said, 'that Mr. P. and Sir R. were like two old bawds, debauching young members.'

"That day was a day of triumph, but yesterday (Wednesday) the streamers of victory did not fly so gallantly. It was the day of receiving petitions; Mr. Pultney presented an immense piece of parchment, which he said he could not just lift; it was the Westminster petition, and is to be heard next Tuesday, when we shall all have our brains knocked out by the mob; so if you don't hear from me next post, you will conclude my head was a little out of order. After this we went upon a Cornish petition, presented by Sir William Yonge, which drew on a debate and a division, when lo! we were but 222 to 215—how do you like a majority of seven? The Opposition triumphs highly, and with reason; one or two such victories, as Pyrrhus, the member for Macedonia, said, will be the ruin of us. I look upon it now, that the question is, Downing Street or the Tower; will you come and see a body, if one should happen to lodge at the latter? There are a thousand pretty things to amuse you; the lions, the armoury, the crown, and the axe that beheaded Anna Bullen. I design to make interest for the room where the two princes were smothered; in long winter evenings, when one wants company, (for I don't suppose that many people will frequent me then,) one may sit and scribble verses against Crouchback's Richard, and dirges on the sweet babes. If I die there, and have my body thrown into a wood, I am too old to be buried by robin redbreasts, am I not?"

"Boote, the prince's chancellor, made a most long and

stupid speech; afterwards, Sir R. called to him, 'Brother Boote, take care you don't get my old name.' 'What's that?' 'Blunderer.'

"You can't conceive how I was pleased with the vast and deserved applause that Mr. Chute's brother, the lawyer, got; I never heard a clearer or a finer speech. When I went home, 'Dear Sir,' said I to Sir R. 'I hope Mr. Chute will carry his election for Heydon; he would be a great loss to you.' He replied, 'We will not lose him.' I, who meddle with nothing, especially elections, and go to no committees, interest myself extremely for Mr. Chute.

"Old Marlborough is dying but who can tell! last year she had lain a great while ill, without speaking; her physicians said, 'She must be blistered, or she will die.' She called out, 'I won't be blistered, and I won't die.' If she takes the same resolution now, I don't believe she will."

The Duchess of Marlborough kept her word; she lived more than three years after the date of this letter, and she urged on the opposition to their first great victory on the Westminster petition. The letter, describing this part of the contest, furnishes more than one curious illustration of the morality of party:

"Monday and Tuesday we went on the Westminster election. Murray spoke divinely; he was their counsel. Lloyd answered him extremely well; but on summing up the evidence on both sides, and in his reply, Murray was—in short, beyond what was ever heard at the bar. That day (Tuesday) we went on the merits of the cause, and at ten at night divided, and lost it. They had 220, we 216; so the election was declared void. You see four is a fortunate number to them. We had forty-one more members in town, who would not, or could not come down. The time is a touchstone for wavering consciences. All the arts, money, promises, threats, all the arts of the former year, 41, are applied; and self-interest, in the shape of Scotch members—nay, and of English ones, operates to the aid of their party, and to the defeat of ours. Lord Doneraile, a young Irishman, brought in by the Court, was petitioned against, though his competitor had but one vote. This young man spoke as well as ever any one spoke in his own defence; insisted on the petition being heard, and concluded with declaring, that 'his cause was his defence, and impartiality must be his support.' Do you know that, after this, he went and engaged, if they would withdraw the petition, to vote with them in the Westminster affair! His friends reproached him so strongly with his meanness, that he was shocked, and went to Mr. Pultney to get off; Mr. P. told him, he had given him his honour, and he would not release him, though Lord Doneraile declared it was against his conscience; but he voted with them and lost us the next question which they put (for censuring the High Bailiff) by his single vote; for in that the numbers were 217 against 215: the alteration of his vote would have made it even; and then the Speaker, I suppose, would have chosen the merciful side, and decided for us. After this, Mr. Pultney, with an affected humanity, agreed to commit the High Bailiff only to the serjeant-at-arms. Then, by a majority of six, they voted that the soldiers, who had been sent for, after the poll was closed, to save Lord Sundon's life, had come in a military and illegal manner, and influenced the election. In short, they determined, as Mr. Murray had dictated to them, that no civil magistrate, on any pretence whatsoever, though he may not be able to suppress even a riot by the assistance of the militia and constables, may call in the aid of the army. Is not this doing the work of the Jacobites? Have they any other view than to render the riot act useless? and then they may rise for the Pre-emptor whenever they please. Then they moved to punish Justice Blackerby for calling in the soldiers; and when it was desired that he might be heard in his own defence, they said he had already confessed his crime. Do but think on it! without being accused, without knowing, or being told it was a crime, a man gives evidence in another cause, not his own, and then they call it his own accusation of himself, and would condemn him for it. You see what justice we may expect if they actually get the majority." But this was too strong a pill for one of their own leaders to swallow: Sir John Barnard did propose and persuade them to give him a day to be heard. In short, we sat till half an hour after four in the morning; the longest day that ever was known. I say nothing of myself, for I could but just speak when I came away; but Sir Robert was as well as ever, and spoke with as much spirit as ever, at four o'clock. This way they will not kill him; I will not answer for any other. As he came out, Whitehead, the author of *Manners*, and agent, with one Carey, a surgeon, for the Opposition, said, 'D—n him, how well he looks! Immediately after their success, Lord Gage, went forth, and begged there might be no mobbing; but last night we had bonfires all over the town, and I suppose shall have notable mobbing at the new election; though I do not believe there will be any opposition to their Mr. Edwin and Lord Perceval. Thank God! we are now adjourned for three weeks. I shall go to Swallowfield for a few days: so for one week you will miss hearing from me. We have escaped the Prince's affair hitherto, but we shall have it after the holidays. All depends upon the practices of both sides in securing or getting new votes during this recess. Sir Robert is very sanguine: I hope, for his sake and his honour, and for the nation's peace, that he will get the better; but the moment he has the majority secure, I shall be very earnest with him to resign. He has a constitution to last some years, and enjoy some repose; and for my own part (and both my brothers agree with me in it), we wish most heartily to see an end of his ministry. If I can judge of them by myself, those who want to be in our situation, do not wish to see it brought about more than we do. Is it fatiguing to bear so much envy and ill-will undeservedly.—*Otiūm Divos rogo*; but adieu, politics, for three weeks."

The next struggle was on the appointment of a secret committee, and it occasioned a scene without a parallel in the history of the House of Commons:

"It was a most shocking sight to see the sick and dead brought in on both sides! Men on crutches, and Sir William Gordon from his bed, with a blister on his head, and flannel hanging out from under his wig. I could scarce pity him for his ingratitude. The day before the Westminster petition, Sir Charles Wager gave his son a ship, and the next day the father came down and voted against him. The son has since been cast away; but they concealed it from the father, that he might not absent himself. However, as we have our good-natured men too on our side, one of his own countrymen went and told him of it in the House. The old man, who looked like Lazarus at his resuscitation, bore

it with great resolution, and said, he knew *why* he was told of it, but when he thought his country in danger, he would not go away. As he is so near death, that it is indifferent to him whether he died two thousand years ago or to-morrow, it is unlikely for him not to have lived when such insensibility would have been a Roman virtue.

"There are no arts, no menaces, which the Opposition do not practise. They have threatened one gentleman to have a reversion cut off from his son, unless he will vote with them. To Totness there came a letter to the mayor from the Prince, and signed by two of his lords, to recommend a candidate in opposition to the Solicitor-general. The mayor sent the letter to Sir Robert. They have turned the Scotch to the best account. There is a young Oswald, who had engaged to Sir R. but has voted against us. Sir R. sent a friend to reproach him: the moment the gentleman who had engaged for him came into the room, Oswald said, 'You had like to have led me into a fine error! did you not tell me that Sir R. would have the majority?'"

"When the debate was over, Mr. Pultney owned that he had never heard so fine a debate on our side; and said to Sir Robert, 'Well, nobody can do what you can!' 'Yes,' replied Sir R., 'Yonge did better.' Mr. P. answered, 'It was fine, but not of that weight with what you said.' 'They all allow it; and now their plan is to persuade Sir Robert to retire with honour. All that evening there was a report about the town, that he and my uncle were to be sent to the Tower, and people hired windows in the city to see them pass by—but for this time I believe we shall not exhibit so historical a parade."

The night of the committee, my brother Walpole had got two or three invalids at his house, designing to carry them into the House through his door, as they were too ill to go round by Westminster Hall; the patriots, who have rather more contrivances than their predecessors of Grecian and Roman memory, had taken the precaution of stopping the keyhole with sand. How Livy's eloquence would have been hampered, if there had been back-doors and keyholes to the Temple of Concord!"

We have a less lively, but still a graphic account of the catastrophe:

"I am miserable that I have not more time to write to you especially as you will want to know so much of what I have to tell you; but for a week or fortnight I shall be so hurried, that I shall scarce know what I say. I sit here writing to you, and receiving all the town, who flock to this house; Sir Robert has already had three levees this morning, and the rooms still overflowing—they overflow up to me. You will think this the prelude to some victory! On the contrary, when you receive this, there will be no longer a Sir Robert Walpole; you must know him for the future by the title of Earl of Orford. That other envied name expires next week with his ministry!"

Preparatory to this change, I should tell you, that last week we heard in the House of Commons the Chippendale election, when Jack Frederick and his brother-in-law, Mr. Hume, on our side petitioned against Sir Edmund Thomas and Mr. Baynton Rolt. Both sides made it the decisive question—but our people were not all equally true; and upon the previous question we had but 235 against 236, so lost it by one. From that time my brothers, my uncle, I, and some of his particular friends, persuaded Sir R. to resign. He was undetermined till Sunday night. Tuesday we were to finish the election, when we lost it by 16; upon which, Sir Robert declared to some particular persons in the House his resolution to retire, and had that morning sent the Prince of Wales notice of it. It is understood from the heads of the party, that nothing more is to be pursued against him. Yesterday (Wednesday) the King adjourned both Houses for a fortnight, for time to settle things. Next week Sir Robert resigns, and goes into the House of Lords. The only change yet fixed, is, that Lord Wilmington is to be at the head of the Treasury—but numberless other alterations and confusions must follow. The Prince will be reconciled, and the Whig-patriots will come in. There were a few bonfires last night, but they are very unfashionable, for never was fallen minister so followed. When he kissed the King's hand to take his first leave, the King fell on his neck, wept and kissed him, and begged to see him frequently. He will continue in town, and assist the ministry in the Lords. Mr. Pelham has declared that he will accept nothing that was Sir Robert's; and this moment the Duke of Richmond has been here from court to tell Sir R. that he had resigned the mastership of the horse, having received it from him, unasked, and that he would not keep it beyond his ministry. This is the greater honour, as it was so unexpected, and as he had no personal friendship with the duke.

For myself, I am quite happy to be free from all the fatigue, envy, and uncertainty of our late situation. I go everywhere; indeed, to have the stare over, and to use myself to neglect, but I meet nothing but civilities. Here have been Lord Hartington, Coke, and poor Fitzwilliam, and others crying: here has been Lord Desford and numbers to wish me joy; in short, it is a most extraordinary and various scene.

There are three people whom I pity much; the King, Lord Wilmington, and my own sister; the first, for the affront, to be forced to part with his minister, and to be forced to forgive his son; the second, as he is too old, and (even when he was young,) unfit for the burthen: and the poor girl, who must be created an earl's daughter, as her birth would deprive her of the rank. She must kiss hands, and bear the flirts of impertinent real quality."

It is not necessary to compare the fate of the two Sir Roberts; the scene we have extracted terminated Walpole's public life, but with Sir Robert Peel we fondly hope and believe that the "the end is not yet."

REPRESENTATION OF WINDSOR.—Colonel Reil, one of the representatives of Windsor, was in the town on Saturday and Monday, and made several calls upon those voters who supported him at the election in November last. Mr. Neville, the other member for the borough, was expected to arrive yesterday. A rumour was in circulation, that there was a probability of a son of Colonel Vyse, of Stoke, and a brother of the member for the southern division of the county of Northampton, offering himself on the protectionist interest at the next general election. It is not expected that Sir John de Beaufort will again contest the representation of the borough.—*Morning Post*.

FRUITS OF THE CORN LAWS.—Many cargoes of the oats that have arrived at Shields this week, are in a very bad condition with insects, owing to the lengthened time they have been in bond.—*Newcastle Guardian*.

SUBSCRIBERS TO THE ENGRAVING OF THE GREAT HISTORICAL PICTURE OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE.

The Mayor of Manchester
The Mayor of Salford
The Mayor of Birmingham
The Mayor of Nottingham
The Mayor of Stockport
The Lord Provost of Glasgow
The Right Hon. the Earl of Radnor
The Right Hon. the Earl Ducie
The Right Hon. the Earl of Devon
The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby
The Right Hon. the Earl of Lincoln
The Right Hon. the Earl of Portland
The Right Hon. the Earl of Salisbury
The Right Hon. the Earl of Suffolk
The Right Hon. the Earl of Westmorland
The Right Hon. the Earl of York
The Right Hon. the Earl of Arundel
The Right Hon. the Earl of Bath
The Right Hon. the Earl of Brecknock
The Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon
The Right Hon. the Earl of Chester
The Right Hon. the Earl of Devonport
The Right Hon. the Earl of Dorset
The Right Hon. the Earl of Essex
The Right Hon. the Earl of Gloucester
The Right Hon. the Earl of Hereford
The Right Hon. the Earl of Kent
The Right Hon. the Earl of Lancashire
The Right Hon. the Earl of Leinster
The Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool
The Right Hon. the Earl of Mansfield
The Right Hon. the Earl of Mar
The Right Hon. the Earl of Meath
The Right Hon. the Earl of Monmouth
The Right Hon. the Earl of Norfolk
The Right Hon. the Earl of Northampton
The Right Hon. the Earl of Northumberland
The Right Hon. the Earl of Oxford
The Right Hon. the Earl of Pembroke
The Right Hon. the Earl of Peterborough
The Right Hon. the Earl of Portland
The Right Hon. the Earl of Roxburgh
The Right Hon. the Earl of Sefton
The Right Hon. the Earl of Shrewsbury
The Right Hon. the Earl of Sutherland
The Right Hon. the Earl of Tenterden
The Right Hon. the Earl of Thanet
The Right Hon. the Earl of Torrington
The Right Hon. the Earl of Warwick
The Right Hon. the Earl of Westmorland
The Right Hon. the Earl of Wiltshire
The Right Hon. the Earl of Worcester
The Right Hon. the Earl of York
The Right Hon. the Earl of Arundel
The Right Hon. the Earl of Bath
The Right Hon. the Earl of Brecknock
The Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon
The Right Hon. the Earl of Chester
The Right Hon. the Earl of Devonport
The Right Hon. the Earl of Dorset
The Right Hon. the Earl of Essex
The Right Hon. the Earl of Gloucester
The Right Hon. the Earl of Hereford
The Right Hon. the Earl of Kent
The Right Hon. the Earl of Lancashire
The Right Hon. the Earl of Leinster
The Right Hon. the Earl of Liverpool
The Right Hon. the Earl of Mansfield
The Right Hon. the Earl of Mar
The Right Hon. the Earl of Meath
The Right Hon. the Earl of Monmouth
The Right Hon. the Earl of Norfolk
The Right Hon. the Earl of Northampton
The Right Hon. the Earl of Northumberland
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The Right Hon. the Earl of Sutherland
The Right Hon. the Earl of Tenterden
The Right Hon. the Earl of Thanet
The Right Hon. the Earl of Torrington
The Right Hon. the Earl of Warwick
The Right Hon. the Earl of Westmorland
The Right Hon. the Earl of Wiltshire
The Right Hon. the Earl of Worcester
The Right Hon. the Earl of York

ORDERS FOR THE LONDON DISTRICT to be sent to
Mr. WICKHAM, 4, Queen's Office, Fleet-street, London.
ORDERS FOR THE COUNTRY to Mr. THOMAS AGNEW, Exchange-
street, Manchester.
Repository of Arts, Exchange-street, Manchester, July 1, 1846.

To file and bind for present use and future reference, a valuable Annual
Library and Office Volume of 1846 Pages.

THE ECONOMIST.

The extensive and increasing support which this Journal is receiving from the leading Mercantile, Banking, and Manufacturing Classes, without reference to political party, has induced a constantly increasing care to render the Commercial Department of the paper as complete and accurate as possible. The Editors are enabled to do this by the assistance of a Practical career usefulness, and work of future reference.

THE ECONOMIST.

WEEKLY COMMERCIAL TIMES, BANKERS' GAZETTE, AND
RAILWAY MONITOR.

First—Leading articles on Political, Economical, Financial, Commercial, and general subjects, discussed in strict economical and Free Trade principles.

Second—A careful digest of the Proceedings and Debates in Parliament.

Third—A careful Abridgement of the News of the Week, with a notice of the Proceedings of the Public Assemblies.

Fourth—Literary Notices, and particularly of all Works on Economical, Financial, and Commercial Subjects.

Fifth—Correspondence and Answers to Queries on subjects of Statistical and Commercial Interest.

The Bankers' Gazette contains a careful account of the Money and Discount Market, a Review of the Foreign Exchanges, of the Returns of the Bank of England, and the general state of the Circulation of the whole Kingdom; Notice of Banks on Currency and Banking, and Leading Articles on all new and important questions connected therewith.

COMMERCIAL TIMES.

BOARD OF TRADE OFFICIAL MONTHLY ACCOUNTS
Of the Imports and Exports of the whole Kingdom, are given every month for the current year and the two preceding years. These accounts are published only in the Economist.

The Economist contains an accurate Price Current, the prices of each article in which are carefully revised on the evening of every Friday by an eminent House in each Department. The same of Railway Shares, Public Funds, Foreign Securities, and Banking Companies.

A List compiled of all the Ships which arrive at and sail from the Port of London, engaged in the American (North and South), the Colonial, African, East India, China, and South Sea Islands Trade, and Foreign Shipping generally.

THE RAILWAY MONITOR.

Contains a careful digest of all the Railway News of the week, of Public Meetings, and Parliamentary proceedings, with full Tables of the Prices of Shares of British and Foreign Lines, and a carefully kept Table of Traffic, and care is taken to furnish the fullest and most accurate statistics of all Central Railways, in which so much British Capital is now invested, and for that purpose Direct and Special Correspondents have been established at Paris, in Belgium, Holland, and Germany.

ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

NEW FEATURES OF THE ECONOMIST.

London, June 26th, 1846.

Such has been the Economist hitherto. It is not for us to say how far these numerous departments have been efficiently managed. The general approbation of our readers is the only evidence we have to refer to on that point. But we have now gained one great object for which this paper was established.

THE CORN LAWS ARE THIS DAY PRACTICALLY REPEALED.

The first and most important aim of Free Trade has been accomplished; but the great and practical fruits of that Freedom are yet to be secured; the danger of many doubtful doctrines is yet to be avoided; and numerous evils of the present system are yet to be swept from our institutions and our commerce.

The same principles on which the truth and advantages of Free Trade are based, will be found equally applicable to all other political and social improvements. It is the foundation of all moral and intellectual improvement, and it is to consist in the same great and noble principles on which the truth of Free Trade depends. Self-respect, a consciousness of individual responsibility, a healthy reliance on independent exertion, and a high sense of that justice which, while it demands what is due to itself, bids the possessor of power regard to the rights of others, constitute the basis of free men of industry, and of all the great social virtues and duties of life. Our principles are therefore closely associated with the great questions of Education, the Physical Improvement of the People, and the general advancement of Civil and Religious Liberty.

From this day the real practical value of the Economist begins.—Our principles are all consistent; their practical application is now of the first consequence. Relations of an entirely new character will in future exist between this and other countries, with which an intimacy must spring out of free intercourse, and facilities of communication as close as now exists between different parts of the United Kingdom.—our new country wants will be supplied from new sources; the want of new communities must be supplied by this country. To meet these new necessities, we have already established efficient Correspondents, intimate with the Trade and Agriculture of each Country, in Germany, Belgium, France, Holland, and Austria; and we are now sending similar agents for the United States, that everything important to the interests of this country may be communicated through our columns.

Not the least important consequences of Free Trade will be improvements of our own internal industry, under the influence of competition. And this will apply especially to

AGRICULTURE.

To which we shall in future devote an entire department of the paper, under the immediate and able guidance of the experienced and able agriculturist who has hitherto so efficiently conducted that department in the *Economist*. We shall send a select and experienced body of improvers will be carefully noticed, and the relation between landlord and tenant will receive careful attention.

In order to render the Economist suitable to the general reader, more space will be occupied in General News and in Literary Reviews than hitherto, so as to render it

A PERFECT FAMILY NEWSPAPER.
In addition, therefore, to the important departments which have been embraced in the Economist, and which will all be retained as perfect as hitherto, these new features will be placed upon an efficient and ample basis, conducted with the same care and uniformity of principle, as the articles characterised this Journal. It will consist of 32 pages, and will be the largest size admitted under the Stamp Act.
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POSTSCRIPT.

LONDON, Saturday Evening, July 4, 1846.

The usual events for the vacancies caused by the formation of a new Ministry have been moved for, and Lord John Russell has published his address to the citizens of London. A new era in English history has commenced, and not the least significant novelty is the fact that the Premier will be the representative of the metropolis. Another remarkable novelty will be the return of a merchant, Mr. Brown, as member for South Lancashire. No more striking proofs could be given of the recognition of the dignity of commerce in the empire, when the Prime Minister is the representative of the largest commercial constituency, and when one of the largest county constituencies selects a commercial gentleman for its member. It is also gratifying to observe the almost perfect identity of sentiment between Lord John Russell's address, and the speech with which Sir Robert Peel closed his Ministerial career. Both have emphatically pledged themselves to consummate the great work of Free Trade; and both have declared themselves ready to adopt such measures as will ensure for Ireland equal participation in the rights and privileges of the British constitution.

In another part of this paper we have taken our farewell of our readers; and we have now only to add that our pride in the past is not greater than our hope in the future. The speech of the out-going, and the address of the in-coming Premier, are equally manifestos of a course of policy suited to the circumstances, the position, and the dignity of the British Empire. Whatever men may hold power, the measures propounded by those whom we can no longer regard as rival statesmen, will be, and must be, the basis of every future administration. Henceforth monopoly is no longer practicable:

"Prone in the dust Protection shall be hurld,
Its name, its nature banished from the world."

Already its power has been shaken in France and smitten in America: Russia has begun to remodel her tariff, and the voice of Free Trade is heard in the Zollverein. The mutual interests of commerce are felt to be the very bonds of peace, and the mutual exchange of benefits is found to be the only alliance deserving the name of Holy. We have a new era opening before us; the dawn of a brighter day than ever yet shone upon England is already sending its rays above the horizon, cheering, illuminating, and inspiring. Grateful to Providence that has bestowed upon us such blessings, we call upon our country to accept her high mission, and fulfil her great destiny: "Arise, shine, for thy light is come; and the glory of the Lord hath risen upon thee!"

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It is a duty, then, which we owe to the world and to posterity, to preserve some

PERMANENT MEMORIAL OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE;

that deliberative and executive body, which has achieved more by moral force, than has been accomplished by associations that included physical strength and political power. For this purpose arrangements have been made with Mr. HEIBERT, R.A., to paint a

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including Accurate Portraits, not only of the Principal Leaders, but of those less prominent Members, whose indefatigable labours during the whole course of the movement have entitled them to public gratitude. It is proposed that this shall be engraved by a first-rate artist, on a large scale 78 1/2 by 22 inches, and that the copies shall be sold at such a price as to place within the reach of persons of moderate fortune, a monument of the mighty movement by which monopoly was overthrown, and the cause of justice established, without any remembrance of outrage or violence to lessen the enjoyment of so glorious a victory. The principles of universal peace have been established by their own practical development in peaceful agitation.

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With the natural desire that what is here set down shall be read, we shall be brief. Indeed, we could wish that the laconic notice of a finger-post were sufficient for our object: merely pointing the way to the printer's, with no verbal flourish of what awaits those we hope to send there. Custom, however, will not be so satisfied. The prospective editor of every gravest determination must, like the pedlar, after some sort vaunt the character and variety of his wares. Whilst we yield to the practice, we hope to carry out the similitude, and—like the pedlar—bear our weekly pack of NEWS, and POLITICS, and LITERATURE, to the remotest nook and corner of the land.

NEWS.

Were it possible for a man to realise a recent forlorn idea of Lord Brougham's, and live seven days "in an air-pump," it is our hope that our proposed New Paper, would, on his deliverance, salve him with the fullest History of the World for his last week: its greater and lesser events—its hourly gossip. To achieve this, we shall imitate the chemical doings of certain purveyors: who to make food portable, condense the essence of whole bodies into packets. After this fashion shall we deal with the penny-a-liner. Let one instance suffice for our general plan.—Hanging being still continuing as an aid to public morale, we shall not circumspectly say, "the unfortunate man, or woman (children are not hanged now) was launched into eternity." No; we shall give the stark fact without flourish. We shall say—"the man was publicly killed." Now this simplicity yields a two-fold advantage—it gives us brevity; and more, in a clearer light, it sets forth truth.

POLITICS.

We shall deal with Politics as men deal with melons: accept a slice from any side, if the slice be good. And the simile holds out. For whereas, in the good old times, and times not so good or old, laws, like exotics, were cultivated for the few, so are they now, equally desirable by the many. And more; they will be had: peacefully—but determinedly—had. And in this inevitable adjustment, far be it from us to wish "to set class against class." No: let us have justice and not tumult to back us. And for this good reason; Justice must at some time conquer, if tumult do not betray her. In a word, our Politics will be the Politics of Progress. And for the wisdom of our ancestors, we shall not, like antiquarian meddlers, desire to preserve it for the rust and verdigris of the past, but solely for its current value and utility to the present and the future.

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

It was recently said (and well said, too), by the Bishop of Oxford, "that it was a good thing the people would not now be kept quiet by a low standard of education." In plain words, "Dance School" Education; administered like laudanum, not to promote intellectual health, but all "for peace and quietness." The people are no longer to be thus drugged. They will assert their rightful condition in the State. Let the State, then, be their conscientious teacher; nor leave the task to demagogues by trade and patriots for ready money. Therefore, NATIONAL EDUCATION, as the handmaid of UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, will have our unceasing advocacy.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

Unless Heaven could be mapped out by Government Survey, we are for no government way to immortality. We say with Hood—"Our heart ferments not with the bigot's heaven, / All men we view with toleration thorough, / And have a horror of regarding heaven / As any Prince or Prelate's rotten borough." Hence, the vessel of the Bishop's Church—a very different vessel, by the way, from the boat of Simon Peter—would not, we think, inevitably founder, were her golden tow-ropes cast off from the State, and the rest of her voyage worked by volunteers.

FREE TRADE.

As was the design of Providence, in its great bounty, is made manifest. For surely, every land would have contained everything within itself, had not the Giver of the Good intended its free exchange among the family of man.

PEACE WITH ALL THE WORLD.

The First Lord of the Admiralty has recently avowed his preference of "the man who serves his country upon seas, to the man who serves it on land." Thus, in the Ellonborough mind, Private Smith in a shower of bullets is nobler, than Shakespeare in his study;—than Newton, Copernicus, Watt. We would not underrate the courage and endurance of Private Smith; but we shall do our best to do without them; to show that we have glory sufficient; and that the noblest and most humanising truths are written not in laurel leaves, but in life.

Enough of profession. We have briefly indicated our principles. We will no further dwell upon the weekly CONTENTS OF OUR NEWSPAPER, than to state that they will comprise more than the usual subjects of INFORMATION and AMUSEMENT, animated, it is hoped, with a spirit of novelty. WE WRITE FOR THE MASSES. We shall endeavour to write not down, but UP TO THEM. Assuredly, we shall not imitate a too common practice; thinking, that like certain yeomanry of indelible memory, the surest way to hit the crowd is—to aim low.

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LEAGUE will be commenced in an early Number, and continued weekly.

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This day is published,
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Contents.—History of St. Giles and St. James, Chapter XXIX.—Joe Huish's Kat—Ireland and the Irish—The Ragged School—The Wind at Harwich—Edmund Burke—The Semptress to her Mignonette—How the Greenwoods got over their Trouble—The Toilet Tomfooleries—More Light for All—Humility—Crankum Crankum—Researches in Belgravia—Reviews, &c. &c.
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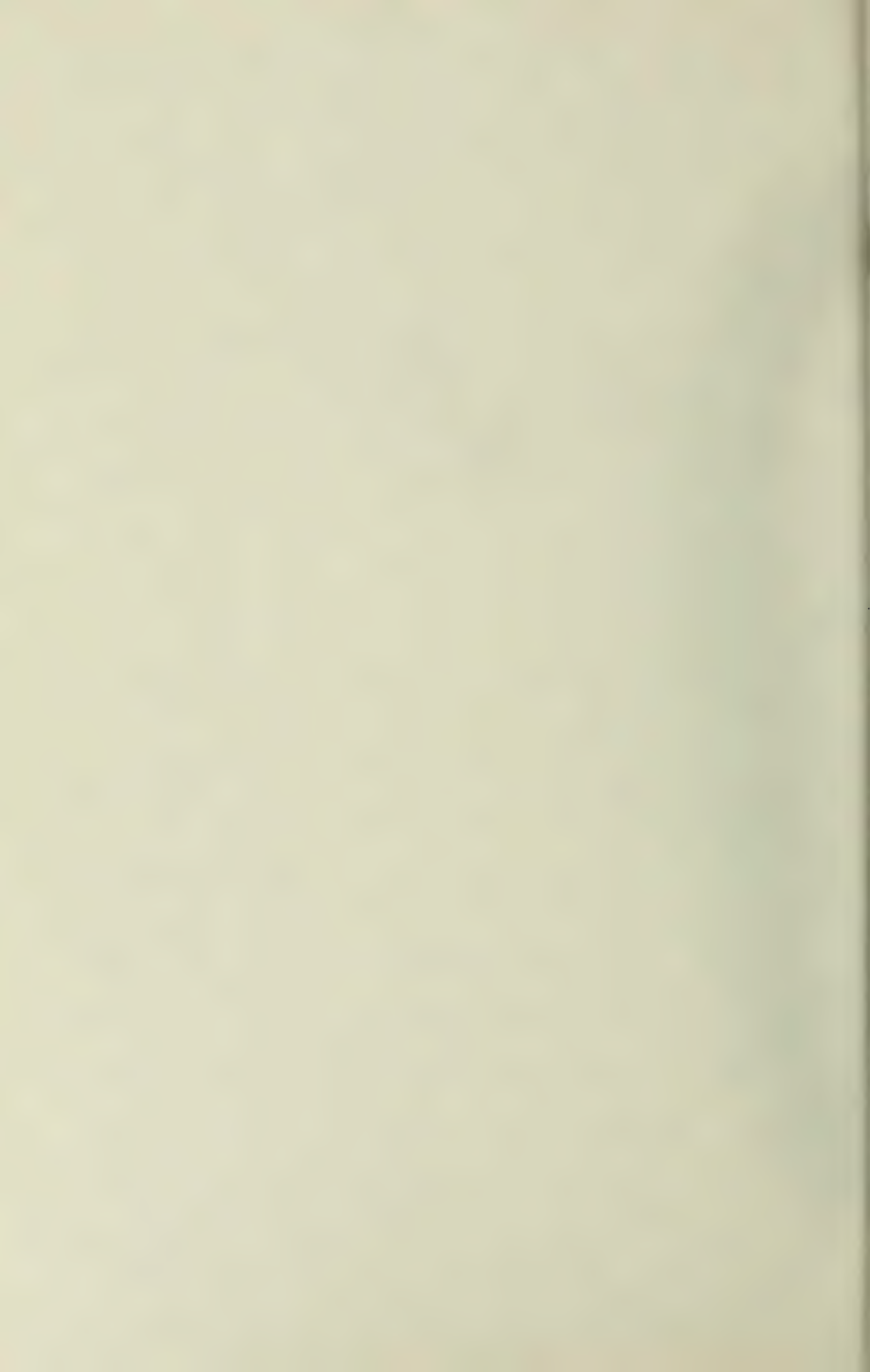
THE MANCHESTER TIMES.
Edited by Mr. PRENTICE, one of the seven originators of the Manchester Anti-Government Association, in September, 1834, and Member of the Executive Council of the League, from its appointment in March, 1836. The Manchester Times, commenced in 1835, was established as a business speculation than as a means of promoting civil, religious, and commercial liberty; and every great political, moral, and social reform, a period of unusual excitement and conflict of opinion, has received its zealous assistance. It was the first paper in this part of the country which removed from what was then called the ultra-liberal press the imputation of infidelity; and by its reports of meetings which had previously been utterly neglected by the Manchester papers, was at first shown that Lancashire possessed a religious public. It supported Catholic Emancipation, not from indifference to the value of Protestantism, but on the ground that men should not be excluded from civil rights on account of their religious opinions. Its expositions of the inequality and deficiency of the old representative system previous to the proposal of the Reform Bill were of acknowledged utility; and, since the passing of that great but still imperfect measure, it has not ceased to advocate a fuller and more complete representation of the people, with full protection to the voter from the exercise of undue influence. It was the only paper in Manchester which devoted its space to the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Society; and the editorial articles which appeared from time to time to show that man could not justly hold property in his fellow-men, were not unavailing in forming that public opinion which effected the emancipation of the negroes in our colonies. It took the lead of all the provincial papers in opposition to Church Rates, either as a direct impost, or as the Whig administration proposed, a permanent charge on the Consolidated Fund; and it is now the only paper in Manchester which asserts that the religion of the people is not a proper subject for statute legislation. Recognising the advantages of Education, in the establishment of new and the reform of old Educational Institutions, it has been eminently useful; and it was the only paper published in Manchester which opposed the transfer of Church aggression brought forward by Sir James Graham, under the guise of a "Factory Education Bill." It was the only provincial paper in the Kingdom which exposed that iniquitous monopoly of the King's Printer and the Universities which made the Word of God double, and, in some instances, treble the price at which, in consequence of the destruction of the monopoly in Scotland, it is now published. It has unceasingly been the earnest advocate of perfect freedom of trade, not only for its direct benefits, but as a means of promoting Universal Peace; and it is not too much to affirm, that the lead which Manchester has taken in the present great movement against the landowners' monopoly may, in a considerable degree, be attributed to the effect produced upon the public mind by its constantly-repeated expositions of the mischiefs inflicted by the Corn Laws. Such was the course pursued when the proprietors were in advance of public opinion, and when they had to struggle with difficulties which would have overwhelmed men of less attachment to principle and less determination to carry out the views which they were pledged to maintain. That such a course has been pursued, under such circumstances, is no slight guarantee, that notwithstanding the temptations to expediency offered by the example of public men hitherto enjoying much of the public confidence, Civil, Religious, and Commercial Liberty will continue to be promoted with unabated zeal and energy.
Ducie-place, Manchester, Dec. 31st, 1845.

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